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HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

(ANCIENT AND MIDDLEVAL PERIODS
AND CIVIL LAW IN INDIA)

Vol IV

(PĀTAKA, PRĀYAŚCITTA, KARMAVĪPĀKA,
ANTYESTI, ĀŚAUCĀ, ŚUDDHI, SRĀDDHĪ
AND TĪRTHAYĀTRA)

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona

1953

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PREFACE

The third volume of the History of Dharmasāstra was published in October 1946. In the brief preface to that volume I intimated that the remaining topics of Dharmasāstra would be dealt with in one volume. But as I proceeded with the task I found that that was a miscalculation. To present in one volume all the topics that remained in the manner and on the scale that I had adopted in the first three volumes was found to be impossible. Besides, as my age advanced, I could not maintain the same speed and finish the whole history in a few years as I intimated I would do in the preface to the third volume. Therefore, I had to decide, however reluctantly, to spread the remaining work over two volumes. Owing to the scarcity of paper and paucity of skilled workers, this volume has been in the press for more than three years. This volume deals with eight topics, viz Pātaka, Prāyascitta, Karmavipākā, Antyesti, Āśauca, Śuddhi, Śrāddha and Tirthayātrā. These subjects are of great interest to anthropologists. There was great temptation for me, when dealing with these topics, to indulge in dwelling upon similar beliefs, usages and rites described in such works as Frazer's 'Golden Bough.' For two reasons, however, I have rarely succumbed to this temptation. In the first place, there was the fear of increasing the bulk of the work which has already assumed enormous proportions. In the second place, dwelling on comparisons of ancient and medieval Indian usages and rites with similar usages and rites found elsewhere is liable to serious misunderstanding. Frazer's volumes are largely made up of materials concerning the beliefs, usages and rites of very primitive people. It appeared to me that readers of such comparisons might be led to think that people in ancient and medieval India were at a primitive stage of culture, while as a matter of fact they had a very high culture in most matters, although they retained certain beliefs and usages derived from remote antiquity. Many cultured societies retain some usages that belong to periods of antiquity. The queen in France was not to leave for a whole year the room in which the death of her consort was announced to her. Wretched old women deemed to be witches were prosecuted and sentenced to death in England up to the beginning

of the eighteenth century, while Manu (IX. 290) more than two thousand years ago prescribed the mild punishment of a fine of two hundred *panas* for all incantations intended to destroy life, for magic rites and for raising ghosts and goblins. My main aim has throughout been to discover, collect, classify and interpret the facts of the various departments of Dharmaśāstra and my endeavour has been, as far as in me lies, to present the truth with detachment and intellectual integrity and without bias (except what might have been unconsciously engendered in my mind owing to my being born and brought up in a brāhmana family) to show the continuity, the developments and transformations in Indian beliefs, rites and usages throughout the ages and, while bringing the past in its causal relations with the present, to indicate and suggest future trends and changes in these matters. †

The fifth and last volume will mainly deal with the following subjects *vratas* and *utsavas*, *sānti* rites, *kāla* and *muhūrta*; *paurāna-dharma*, the influence of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* and other *śāstras* on *dharmaśāstra*; the cosmological, religious and philosophical background of *dharmaśāstra*; the fundamental aspects of our culture through the ages; the impact of modern social and other ideas and trends on the dogmas and ideals of *dharmaśāstra* and the future of the latter. This by itself is rather an ambitious programme. Now that I am over seventy-three years of age and suffering from several ailments I have misgivings whether I would be able to write this last volume and publish it while all mental and physical faculties are sound. I am myself extremely anxious to write this last volume as early as possible and bring to a conclusion an undertaking to which I have devoted all my leisure for over thirty years regardless of monetary losses and bodily ailments. With that object in view I have given up either entirely or very largely most of my other activities and engagements and have thereby offended many of my friends.

This volume also is full of quotations, references to inscriptions and judicial decisions. The reasons for this have

† Prof. J. B. Bury, a distinguished Professor of History in the Cambridge University, thought that freedom from bias was not possible and was not also desirable, since a man writing history completely free from bias would produce a colourless and dull work. Vide 'Selected Essays' (edited by Harold Temperley, 1930) p. 70

been stated at length in the preface to the second volume and therefore they need not be repeated here. The list of additions to this volume is much larger than in the preceding volumes. I may be pardoned for frankly stating the reason. The first and second volumes of the History of Dharmasāstra were published so far back as 1930 and 1941 respectively. No second edition of these has yet been called. It seems to me quite possible that during my life-time no second edition of the volumes of the History, or at least of this volume, might appear. Therefore, I tried to incorporate by way of additions such information as had escaped me while the work was being written in order to make it as complete as possible.

I now discharge the pleasant duty of acknowledging my obligations to others. Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance, the Vedic Index of Professors Macdonell and Keith, and the volumes of the Sacred Books of the East have been very useful in preparing this volume as in the case of its predecessors. Paramahansa Swāmi Kevalānanda Sarasvatī of Wai has been a tower of strength in all matters of doubt and difficulty and has helped me by offering prompt guidance in solving some intricate problems. I am highly obliged to Mr. S. N. Savadi of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona, for help in the correction of proofs and to Mr. P. M. Purandare, Advocate (O. S.), Bombay High Court, and Tarkatīrtha Raghunath Shāstri Kokje of Lonavla for reading the printed sheets as they came and making valuable suggestions.

It is difficult to name all those who in various ways, during the progress of this volume for over six years, kindly rendered assistance, but I should like to make special mention of Prof. K V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Mr. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Prof. G. H. Bhatt, Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, Mr. N. G. Chapekar, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, Dr. G. S. Gai, Prof. P. K. Gode, Tarka-tīrtha Lakṣmanashāstri Joshi, Mr. G. H. Khare, Pandit Balacharya Khuperkar, Dr. Umeshā Mishra, Dr. V. Raghavan, Prof. L. Renou, Prof. H. D. Velankar. Thanks are due to these scholars and many others for help and interest in this volume. I am conscious that in spite of so much help and generous encouragement from friends there are in this volume several mistakes, the sole responsibility for which rests on my shoulders. In a work replete with thousands of quotations and references

it is quite likely that many slips have escaped my attention. § For these and for the elision of a few diacritical marks and the displacement of parts of Sanskrit letters in the process of printing the indulgence and forgiveness of all readers are sought. I sincerely thank the Manager of the Aryabhushan Press Poona, for carrying out the work of printing this volume with care in spite of difficulties caused by paper and labour shortage.

BOMBAY, }
10-10-1953 }

P V KANE

§ I take this opportunity of correcting two mistakes that I regret I committed in the third volume of the History of Dharmasāstra. In note 1886 on p 968 (of vol III) I refer to a work of Mr Batuknath Bhattacharya that contains a full treatment of *Kalivarjya*. I suggested in that note that Mr. Bhattacharya probably retouched his thesis after 1937 though it was written in 1933, in view of the fact that he referred to the Smṛtimuktāphala (which was published in 1937 by Mr Gharpure) Through oversight I forgot that Mr. Bhattacharya had expressly stated that he used the transcript of a ms of the Smṛtimuktāphala specially made for him. Therefore, I was wrong in my surmise that he probably retouched his thesis and I must say that the thesis as published in 1943 is the same as that written in 1933 for the Jogendrachandra Ghose Research Prize. The second mistake refers to Dr. U. N Ghosal on p 32 (of vol III) I stated 'it is not possible to hold as Jayaswal, U Ghosal and others do that the theory of social contract was the earlier one and the theory of divine right of kings was later on propounded by the Manusmṛiti to support the brāhmana empire of Puryamitra' In writing this sentence my memory was at fault. I find that Dr. Ghosal does not hold the view that I attributed to him. In the 'Indian Historical Quarterly' (vol 23, pp 68-70) Dr Ghosal justly protests against my bracketing him with Jayaswal, but I cannot help observing that the last sentence in the paper shows unexpected acerbity. In his whole career as a writer Dr Ghosal was not probably guilty of a single slip and could not therefore bring himself to believe that my mistake might have been *bona fide*.

ABBREVIATIONS

(Most of the abbreviations on pp. 728-29
are not included in this list)

- A. G. = Ancient Geography of India
 Am. A. = Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazal
 At. Br. = Aitareya Brāhmana
 A. I. R. = All India Reporter
 A. K. D. = Antyakarmadīpika
 All. = Indian Law Reports, Allahabad series
 Anu. = Anusāsanaparva
 Āp. = Āpastamba
 Āp. Dh. or Āp. Dh. S. = Āpastambadharmasūtra
 Āp. Gr. = Āpastambagrhyasūtra
 Āp. M. P. = Āpastambamantrapātha
 Āp. Śr. or Āp. Śr. S. or Āp. Ś. S. = Āpastambasrautasūtra
 A. S. R. = Archaeological Survey Reports
 Āśv. gr. or Āśv. gr. S. = Āśvalāyanagrhyasūtra
 Āśv. Sr. S. or Āśv. Sr. = Āśvalāyanasrautasūtra
 A. V. = Atharvaveda
 Baud. = Baudhāyana
 Baud. Dh. S. = Baudhāyanadharmasūtra
 Baud. Gr. = Baudhāyanagrhyasūtra
 Baud. P. S. = Baudhāyanapitrmedhasūtra
 Baud. Śr. = Baudhāyanasrautasūtra
 Beng. L. R. = Bengal Law Reports
 Bom. G. = Bombay Gazetteer Volumes
 B. I. = Bibliotheca Indica series
 Bom. = Indian Law Reports, Bombay series
 Bom. L. R. = Bombay Law Reporter
 B. Up. = Brhadāranyakopanisad
 B. R. W. W. = Buddhist Records of the Western World by Beal
 Cal. = Indian Law Reports, Calcutta series
 C. I. I. = Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
 Chān. Up. = Chāndogyopanisad
 C. L. J. = Calcutta Law Journal
 C. W. N. = Calcutta Weekly Notes
 Dh. or Dh. S. = Dharma-sūtra
 ed. = edited
 E. I. = Epigraphia Indica
 Gaut. or Gaut. Dh. S. = Gautamadharmasūtra
 Gobhila Gr. = Gobhila-grhyasūtra
 G. O. S. = Gaikwad Oriental series
 G. P. S. = Gautama-pitrmedhasūtra
 Gr. R. = Grhastharatnākara
 H. of D. or H. of Dh. = History of Dharmasāstra
 Hir. Gr. or Hir. gr. = Hiranyakeśigrhyasūtra
 Hir. P. S. = Hiranyakeśipitrmedhasūtra
 I. A. = Indian Antiquary or Law Reports, Indian Appeals (according to context)
 I. L. R. = Indian Law Reports series

- I. H. Q. = Indian Historical Quarterly
 J. A. S. B. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
 Jai = Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra
 Jaimini Gr. = Jaimini-grhya-sūtra
 JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
 Jiv. = Jivananda Vidyāsagara's edition
 J. O. R. = Journal of Oriental Research (Madras)
 J. R. A. S. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain
 Kāt = Kātyāyana
 Kāt Śr. or Kāt. Śr. S. = Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra
 Kāthaka Gr = Kāthaka-grhya-sūtra
 Kātyāyana = Kātyāyana-smṛtisāroddhāra (ed. by me)
 Kauś or Kauśika = Kauśikasūtra
 Kaus Up = Kausitaki Upanisad
 Khādira Gr = Khādira-grhya-sūtra
 m = mentioned
 Märk = Märkandeyapurāna
 Mit = Mitākṣarā, commentary on Yājñavalkya
 M. S. = Maitrāyaṇī-samhitā
 Nir = Nirukta
 Nirn. = Nirṇayasāgara Press ed
 Pān = Pāṇini's Astādhyāyī
 Pār. gr = Pāraskara-grhya-sūtra
 Par M. = Parāśara-Mādhaviya
 Pr M. = Prāyaścitta-mayūkha
 Pr. Pr. or Pr Prakāśa = Prāyaścitta-prakāśa
 Pr. Prakarana = Prāyaścitta-prakarana
 Pr S or Pr. sāra = Prāyaścittasāra
 Pr T or Pr Tattva = Prāyaścittatattva
 Pr. V. or Pr. V1. = Prāyaścittaviveka
 q = quoted
 Q. B. D. = Queen's Bench Division
 Rg. = Rgveda
 Sāma. Br. = Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa
 Śān. Br. = Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa
 Śān. gr = Śāṅkhāyana-grhya-sūtra
 Śān Sr or Śān. Śr. S. = Śāṅkhāyanaśrauta-sūtra
 Śat. Br = Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
 Sat Śr = Satyāsādhasrauta-sūtra
 S. B. E. = Sacred Books of the East (ed. by Maxmuller)
 S K. = Śuddhikaumudī
 S. K. L. = Śrāddhakalpalatā
 Sm. C. or Smr. C. = Smṛticandrikā
 Smr M = Smṛtimuktāphala
 Śr. P. or Śr Pr = Śrāddhaprakāśa
 Śr. K. K. = Śrāddhakriyākaumudī
 S. V = Sāmaveda
 Tai Ā. or Tai. Ār = Taittirīya Āraṇyaka
 Tai Br = Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
 Tai. S. = Taittirīya Samhitā
 Tai Up = Taittirīya-upanisad
 Tāndya Br. = Tāndyamahābrāhmaṇa
 Tīr. C. = Tīrthacintāmaṇī
 Tīr. K = Tīrthakalpataru
 Tīrthapr. or Tīr Pr. = Tīrthaprakāśa
 Trī. S. = Trīsthalisetu
 T S = Tīrthasāra
 Up. = Upanisad
 Vaiḥ Smārta or Vaiḥ Sm. S = Vaiḥānasa-smārta-sūtra
 Vaiḥ Śr or Vaiḥ Śr. S = Vaiḥānasa-śrauta-sūtra
 Vāj. S. = Vājasaneyā-samhitā
 Vas = Vasīstha-dharma-sūtra

Viṣṇu Dh. or Viṣṇu Dh. S. =

Viṣṇudharmasūtra

Vy. M. = Vyavahāramayūkha

Yāj. = Yājñavalkya-smṛti

अ. क. दी. = अन्त्यकर्मदीपक

अग्नि. or अग्निपु. = अग्निपुराण

अथर्व. = अथर्ववेद

अनु. = अनुशासनपर्व

अन्त्येष्टिप. = अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति of नारायण

आ. गृ. परि. = आपस्तम्बगृह्यपरिशिष्ट

आप. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र

आप. गृ. = आपस्तम्बगृह्यसूत्र

आप ध. or आप. ध. सू. = आपस्तम्बधर्मसूत्र

आप म. पा = आपस्तम्बमन्त्रपाठ

आप. श्रौ. or आ. श्रौ. = आपस्तम्बश्रौतसूत्र

आश्व गृ. परि. = आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्ट

आश्व. गृ. or आश्व गृ सू. = आश्वलायनगृह्य-
सूत्र

आश्व. श्रौ. or आश्व श्रौ. सू. = आश्वलायन-
श्रौतसूत्र

ऋ. = ऋग्वेद

ऐ. आ. = ऐतरेय-आरण्यक

ऐ. ब्रा. = ऐतरेयब्राह्मण

क. उप. or कठ. or कठोप. = कठोपनिषद्

कल्प. = कृत्यकल्पतरु or कल्पतरु of लक्ष्मीधर

कात्या. = कात्यायनस्मृतिसारोद्धार

का. श्रौ. सू. or कात्या. श्रौ. or कात्या. श्रौ. सू.

= कात्यायनश्रौतसूत्र

कौ. ब्रा. उप. or कौषीतकि-ब्रा. उप. =

कौषीतकिब्राह्मणोपनिषद्

गङ्गाभक्ति. or गङ्गाभ. = गङ्गाभक्तिरङ्गिणी

गङ्गावाक्या or गङ्गावा. = गङ्गावाक्यावलि

गरुड or गरुडपु. = गरुडपुराण

गृह र. = गृहस्थरत्नाकर

गौ. or गौ. ध. सू. = गौतमधर्मसूत्र

गौ. पि. सू. = गौतमपितृमेधसूत्र

चतुर्विंशति. or चतुर्विंश. or चतु सं. = चतु-

विंशतिमतसंग्रह

चतुर्वर्ग. = चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि of हेमाद्रि

छा. उप. or छां. उप. or छान्दोग्योप. =

छान्दोग्योपनिषद्

ताण्ड्य. = ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण

तीर्थकल्प. = कल्पतरु on तीर्थ (G. O. S.)

ती. प्र. or तीर्थप्र. = तीर्थप्रकाश

ती. चि. or तीर्थचि. = तीर्थचिन्तामणि of
वाचस्पति

तै. आ. = तैत्तिरीयारण्यक

तै. उप. = तैत्तिरीयोपनिषद्

तै. ब्रा. = तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मण

तै. सं. = तैत्तिरीयसंहिता

त्रि. से. सा. स. = त्रिस्थलीसेतुसारसङ्ग्रह of
भट्टोजि

त्रिस्थली = त्रिस्थलीसेतु of नारायणभट्ट

निर्णय. or नि. सि = निर्णयसिन्धु

पद्म. or पद्मपु. = पद्मपुराण

परा. मा. = पराहारमाधवीय

पा = पाणिनि's अष्टाध्यायी

पार. गृ. = पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र

पृथ्वी. or पृथ्वीच. or पृथ्वीचन्द्र. = पृथ्वी-
चन्द्रोदय

प्राय. तत्त्व = प्रायश्चित्ततत्त्व

प्राय. प्रकरण or प्राय प्रक. = प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरण

प्रा प्रकाश = प्रायश्चित्तप्रकाश

प्राय. वि or प्रा. वि. or प्राय. वि. = प्राय-
श्चित्तविवेक

प्राय. म. = प्रायश्चित्तमयूख

प्राय. सा. or प्राय. सार = प्रायश्चित्तसार

बृह उ. = बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्

बृ. सं = बृहत्संहिता of वराहमिहिर

बौ. गृ. = बौधायनगृह्यसूत्र

बौ. ध. सू. = बौधायनधर्मसूत्र

बौ. श्रौ. = बौधायनश्रौतसूत्र

ब्रह्मपु. = ब्रह्मपुराण

भवि पु or भविष्यपु. = भविष्यपुराण

मत्स्य = मत्स्यपुराण

मद. पा. = मदनपारिजात

मनु = मनुस्मृति

महाण्व. = महाण्वकर्मविपाक (ms.)

मानवगृ. = मानवगृह्यसूत्र

मिता. = मिताक्षरा

मेधा. = मेधातिथि, commentator of मनु

मै. सं = मैत्रायणीसंहिता

या. or याज्ञ. = याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति

राजत. = राजतरङ्गिणी of कल्हण

वाज सं. = वाजसनेयसंहिता
 वायु or वायुपु. = वायुपुराण
 विष्णुपु = विष्णुपुराण
 वि र. = विवाहरत्नाकर
 विष्णु or विष्णुध. सू = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र
 वृद्धया. = वृद्धयानवल्क्य
 वे. सू = वेदान्तसूत्र
 व्यव नि = व्यवहारनिर्णय
 व्य म. = व्यवहारमयूख
 गत ब्रा or गतपथ or गतपथब्रा. = गतपथ-
 ब्राह्मण
 गातातप = गातातपस्मृति
 शाङ्खायनब्रा or शा ब्रा = शाङ्खायनब्राह्मण
 शा. श्रौ. or शां श्रौ. सू. = शाङ्खायनश्रौतसूत्र

शान्ति = शान्तिपर्व
 श्र कौ. or श्रद्धिकौ. = श्रद्धिकौमुदी
 श्रद्धिकल्प. = कल्पतरु on श्रद्धि
 श्रद्धिप्र or श्रु प्र. = श्रद्धिप्रकाश
 श्रा. क ल = श्राद्धकल्पलता
 श्रा. कि कौ = श्राद्धकियाकौमुदी
 श्राद्धप्र. or श्रा. प्र = श्राद्धप्रकाश
 सत्या श्रौ. = सत्यापाठश्रौतसूत्र
 साम शा = सामविधानब्राह्मण
 स्कन्द or स्कन्दपु = स्कन्दपुराण
 स्मृतिव = स्मृतिचन्द्रिका
 स्मृतिसु or स्मृ सु. = स्मृतिसुक्ताफल
 श्रा. वि = श्राद्धविवेक of स्मृधर
 हिर गृ. or हिरण्य गृ. = हिरण्यकेशिगृह्यसूत्र

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

some important Sanskrit works and authors referred
to in volume IV

N. B.—Some dates, particularly of ancient works, are conjectural and disputed by several scholars. Most of the dates about authors from the 8th or 9th century refer to the probable periods of their literary activity except in the case of a few authors such as Śankarācārya and Vidyāpati.

4000 B. C.—1000 B. C.—The period of the Vedic Samhitās, Brāhmanas and Upanisads. Some hymns of the Ṛgveda, of the Atharvaveda, and in the Taittirīya Samhitā and Brāhmana may possibly go back to a period earlier than 4000 B. C. and some of the Upanisads (even from among those that are regarded by most scholars as the earliest ones) may be later than 1000 B. C. Some scholars have criticized me for ascribing the vedic samhitās to such an early date as 4000 B. C. Time and health permitting, I may have to deal with this question in a separate work after I finish the 5th and last volume on which I am now engaged.

800 B. C.—500 B. C.—The Nirukta of Yāska

800 B. C.—400 B. C.—The principal śrautasūtras (of Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana, Baudhāyana, Kātyāyana, Satyāsīdha and others) and some of the grhyasūtras (such as those of Āpastamba and Āśvalāyana)

600—300 B. C.—The Dharmasūtras of Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Vasīṣṭha and the Grhyasūtras of Pāraskara and a few others.

600 B. C.—300 B. C.—Pāṇini

500 B. C.—200 B. C.—Jaimini's Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra

500 B. C.—200 B. C.—The Bhagavadgītā

300 B. C.—Vararuci Kātyāyana, author of Vārtikas on Pāṇini's sūtras

300 B. C.—100 A. D.—Arthaśāstra of Kautilya (rather nearer the former date than the latter)

150 B. C.—100 A. D. The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (probably nearer the former date than the latter)

200 B. C.—100 A. D.—Manusmṛti

- 100 A. D -300 A. D.—Yājñavalkya-smṛti
 100 A. D.-300 A. D.—Viṣṇudharmasūtra
 100 A. D.-400 A. D.—Nārada-smṛti
 200 A. D.-400 A. D.—Śabara's bhāṣya on Jaimini's Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra (rather nearer the former date)
 300 A. D.-500 A. D.—Brhaspati-smṛti on Vyavahāra and other topics (not yet found) Extracts on Vyavahāra were translated in S. B. E. vol. 33 and extracts on many topics of Dharma were collected by Prof. Rangasvami Aiyangar and published in Gaikwad Oriental series
 300 A. D.-600 A. D.—Some of the extant Purānas such as Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇdeya, Matsya, Kūrma
 500 A. D.-550 A. D.—Varāhamihira, author of Pañca-siddhāntikā, Brhatsamhitā, Brhat-Jātaka and other works
 600 A. D.-650 A. D.—Bāna, author of the Kādambarī and Harsacarita
 650-665 A. D.—Kāśikā, commentary by Vāmana and Jayāditya on Pāṇini's Astādhyāyī
 650-700 A. D.—Kumārīlabhatta, author of Tantravārtika and other works.
 600 A. D.-900 A. D.—Most of the smṛtis such as those of Parāśara, Śaṅkha, Devala and some of the Purānas such as Agni, Garuda.
 788 A. D.-820 A. D.—Śaṅkarācārya, the great Advaita philosopher
 800 A. D.-850 A. D.—Viśvarūpa, the commentator of Yājñavalkya-smṛti
 825 A. D.-900 A. D.—Medhātithi, a commentator of Manusmṛti
 966 A. D.—Utpala composed his commentary on the Brhajjātaka of Varāhamihira
 1000 A. D.-1050 A. D.—Dhāreśvara Bhoja, author of numerous works
 1080 A. D.-1100 A. D.—Viṣṇūneśvara, the author of the Mitākṣarā commentary on Yājñavalkya-smṛti
 1080 A. D.-1110 A. D.—Govindarāja, a commentator of Manusmṛti
 1100-1130 A. D.—Lakṣmīdhara, the author of a vast digest on Dharmaśāstra called Kalpataru or Kṛtyakalpataru
 1100-1150 A. D.—Jīmūtavāhana, author of the Dāyabhāga, Kālaviveka and Vyavahāramātrkā.
 1100-1150 A. D.—Bhavadevabhata, author of Prāyaścitta-prakarana and other works
 1110 A. D.-1130—A. D.—Aparārka, Śīlāhāra king, composed a commentary on Yājñavalkya-smṛti
 1127 A. D.-1138 A. D.—Mānasollāsa or Abhilāsitārtha-cintāmani of Someśvaradeva

- 1150 A.D.-1160 A.D.—Rājataranginī of Kalhana
 1150 A.D.-1180 A.D.—Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, author of Hāralatā and Pitṛdayitā
 1150 A.D.-1200 A.D.—Smṛtyarthasāra of Śrīdhara
 1150 A.D.-1300 A.D.—Haradatta, commentator of the Dharmasūtras of Gautama and Āpastamba and some grhyasūtras
 1200 A.D.-1225 A.D.—Smṛticandrikā of Devanabhatta
 1150 A.D.-1300 A.D.—Kullūka, a commentator on Manusmṛti
 1175 A.D.-1200 A.D.—Halāyudha, son of Dhanañjaya and author of Brāhmanasarvasva
 1260 A.D.-1270 A.D.—Caturvargacintāmani of Hemādri
 1275 A.D.-1310 A.D.—Śrīdatta, author of Pitṛbhakti, Samaya-pradīpa and other works
 1300 A.D.-1370 A.D.—Candēśvara, author of Grhastharatnākara, Vivādaratnākara, Kṛtyaratnākara and other works
 1300 A.D.-1380 A.D.—Sāyana, compiler of bhāṣyas on Vedic Samhitās and Brāhmanas
 1300 A.D.-1380 A.D.—Mādhavācārya, commentator of Parāśara-smṛti and other works and brother of Sāyana
 1360 A.D.-1390 A.D.—Madanapārijāta and Mahānavaprakāśa compiled under king Madanapāla and his son
 1360 A.D.-1448 A.D.—These are the dates of the birth and death of Vidyāpati, author of Gangāvākyāvalī and other works. Vide Indian Antiquary vol. 14 pp 190-191 for an inscription which records in four eras the grant of the village Bisapī to Vidyāpati by king Śivasimha, son of Devasimha (śaka 1321, samvat 1455, La. Sam. 283 and *see* 807)
 1375 A.D.-1440 A.D.—Śūlapāni, author of Dīpakalikā, commentary on Yājñavalkya, Prāyaścitta-viveka, Durgotsavaviveka and other works.
 1375-1500 A.D.—Prthvīcandra, son of Nāgamalla, author of a vast digest called Dharmatattvakalānidhi, divided into Prakāśas on śrāddha, vyavahāra and other topics.
 1425-1450 A.D.—Madanaratna, an extensive digest compiled by king Madanasimbadeva
 1425 A.D.-1460 A.D.—Rudradhara, author of Śuddhiviveka, Śrāddhaviveka and other works
 1425-1490 A.D.—Vācaspati, author of Śuddhicintāmani, Tīrthacintāmani and numerous other works.
 1450-1500 A.D.—Vardhamāna, author of Dandaviveka, Gangākṛtyaviveka and other works
 1490 A.D.-1515 A.D.—Nṛsimhaprasāda of Dalapati, of which Śrāddhasāra, Tīrthasāra, Prāyaścittasāra and several more are parts.

- 1500 A.D.-1540 A. D.—Govindānanda, author of Śuddhikaumudī, Śrāddhakriyākaumudī and other works
- 1513-1580—Nārāyanabhāta, author of Prayogaratna, Antyestipaddhati, Tristhalisetu
- 1520-1575—Raghunandana, author of numerous works called Tattvas on Śrāddha, Tīrtha, Śuddhi, Prāyaścitta and other topics
- 1520-1589—Todarānanda compiled under the patronage of Todarmal and divided into Saukhyas on Śuddhi, Śrāddha, Tīrtha, Prāyaścitta, Karmavipāka and about 15 more topics
- 1590-1630 A. D.—Nandapandita, author of several works such as Vaijayantī (com. on Viṣṇudharmasūtra), Śrāddha-kalpalatā, Śuddhicandrikā, Dattakamīmāṃsā
- 1610-1640—Kamalākaraḥbhāta, author of Nīrnayasindhu and over 20 works besides
- 1610-1640—Viramitrodaya of Mitrāmīśra, of which Tīrthaparakāśa, Prāyaścittaparakāśa, Śrāddhaparakāśa are parts
- 1610-1645—Nilakantha, author of Bhagavantabhāskara in 12 Mayūkhās on Prāyaścitta, Śuddhi, Śrāddha and other topics
- 1700-1740—Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha
- 1700-1750 A. D.—Nāgeśa or Nāgojibhāta, author of about 30 works among which Tīrthenduśekhara, Prāyaścittenduśekhara, Śrāddhenduśekhara were used in this volume
- 1790—Kāśinātha Upādhyāya, author of Dharmasindhu, composed it in śake 1712
- 1730-1820—Bālabhāta, author of a commentary on the Mītākṣarā, called Bālabhāttī
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Chapter XII Ganges eulogised in Rgveda, Mahābhārata and purānas; Tristhalī i. e. Prayāga, Kāśī and Gayā, eulogy of Prayāga, tonsure at Prayāga; suicide at Prayāga; sub-tīrthas of Prayāga such as Aksayavata. ... 585-617

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Chapter XIV Gayā; Gayāmāhātmya in Vāyupurāna (chapt. 105-112); views about its date; Viśnupada and Gayāsiras in Nirukta; brief summary of Gayāmāhātmya; most important spots in Gayā are the Phalgu river, Viśnupada and Aksayavata; the five tīrthas of Gayā; offering of śrāddha and pindas at Gayā; the seven holy cities, twelve Jyotir-lingas, and four Dhāmas ... 643-679

Chapter XV Kuruksetra and some other famous tīrthas. History of Kuruksetra and its other names viz. northern Veda of Prajāpati and Samanta-pāñcaka; tīrthas of Kuruksetra such as Sarasvatī,

Prthūdaka, seven forests; Mathurā, its history, twelve forests, Vrndāvana, Govardhana, Gokula or Vraja, Purusottama tīrtha or Jagannātha; peculiar features of Jagannātha, viz. car festival, army of attendants, five important tīrthas, obscene sculptures on walls of Jagannātha temple. Narmadā, eulogy of and sub-tīrthas on Narmadā, Godāvarī and 100 tīrthas thereon described in Brahmapurāna such as Tryambaka, Janasthāna, Nāsik, Govardhana, Pañcavatī, Kāñcī, Pandharpur, its chief temple of Vithobā, large staff of priests, temple of devotee Fundalika, Vārkaris . 680-722

Chapter XVI Comprehensive list of tīrthas and concluding remarks on tīrthas ... 723-827

IMPORTANT WORKS CONSULTED

(N. B.—Works referred to only once or twice have generally been omitted)

Ānan, stands for Ānandāśrama Press edition; B I. for Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta; Ghar. for Mr. J. R. Gharpure's Publications; G. O. S. for Gaikwad Oriental series; Nirm. for Nirmaya-sāgara Press editions, Jiv. for Jivānanda Vidyāsagar's Publications and Venk. for Venkatesvara Press Publications.

Aitareya Āranyaka (ed. by Prof. Keith in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*)
Aitareya Brāhmana with Sāyana's *bhāṣya* (Ānan.)

Atharvaveda-samhitā (ed. by S P. Pandit and sometimes the edition of Pandit Sātavalekar)

Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad

Chāndogyopaniṣad

Gopatha Brāhmana (B. I. series)

Jābālopaniṣad

Jaiminīya Samhitā, ed. by Dr. Raghu Vira.

Kāthaka Samhitā (Pandit Sātavalekar's ed.)

Kaṭhopeniṣad

Kausītaki Brāhmana (ed. by Lindner, Jena, 1887)

Kausītaki-brāhmanopaniṣad

Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā (Pandit Sātavalekar's ed.)

Rgveda Samhitā with Sāyana's *bhāṣya* (ed. by the Poona Vaidika-saṁsodhana-mandala)

Sāmavidhāna Brāhmana (ed. by A. C. Burnell, 1873)

Śāṅkhāyana-brāhmana (Ānan.)

Śatapatha-brāhmana (ed. by A. Weber)

Taittirīya-āranyaka (Ānan.)

Taittirīya-brāhmana (Ānan.)

Taittirīya-samhitā (Ānan.; sometimes Pandit Sātavalekar's edition has been used)

Tāndya-brāhmana (also called Pañcaviṁśa-brāhmana)—B. I. series

Vājasaneyya Samhitā (ed. by Pandit Sātavalekar).

Śrauta, grhya and dharma sūtras, Vedāṅgas

Āpastamba-dharmasūtra with the commentary of Haradatta published at Kumbhakonam by Halasyanatha Sastrī

- Āpastamba-grhya-sūtra with the com. of Sudarśanācārya (Mysore Govt Oriental Library series)
- Āpastamba-mantra-pātha (ed. by Dr. Winternitz, 1897)
- Āśvalāyana-grhya-sūtra with Nārāyana's commentary (Nirn.)
- Āśvalāyanaśrautasūtra with the com. of Nārāyana (B. I. series).
- Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra (Ānan.)
- Baudhāyana-grhyasūtra with grhya-śesa-sūtra, grhyaparibhāsā and Baudhāyana-pitrmedhasūtra (ed by Dr Sham Sastrī in Mysore University Oriental Library Publications, 1920).
- Baudhāyana-śrautasūtra (ed. by Dr. Caland in B I series)
- Bhāradvāja-grhya-sūtra (ed. by Dr. Salomons, Leyden, 1913)
- Brahmasūtra—see Vedāntasūtra
- Bṛhad-devatā (ed by Prof. A. A Macdonell)
- Gautamadharmasūtra (Ānan.)
- Gobhila-grhya-sūtra (B I. series)
- Gobhila-smṛti or Karmapradīpa (Ānan.)
- Hiranyakeśi-grhyasūtra (ed by Dr. J. Kirste, 1889)
- Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra with the bhāṣya of Śabara and the Tantravārtika of Kumārila (Ānan.)
- Kāthaka-grhya with the commentaries of Ādityadarśana, Devapāla and Brāhmanabala (ed by Dr Caland, 1925)
- Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra (ed. by A. Weber)
- Kauśikasūtra (ed. by Prof Bloomfield)
- Kausītaki-grhya-sūtra (Benares Sanskrit series) or Madras University Sanskrit series
- Khādiragrhyasūtra with the com. of Rudraskanda (Mysore Govt. Oriental Library series)
- Mānavagrhyasūtra with the com. of Astāvakra (G O. S.)
- Nirukta of Yāska, ed by Roth, sometimes the edition of Prof. V. K. Rajwade with a translation and notes in Marathi has been relied upon
- Pāraskara-grhyasūtra—edited by M M. Shridharshastrī Pathak with a Marathi translation
- Rgvidhāna of Śaunaka (ed by Prof. Jagadīsh Shastrī), 1940
- Sāṅkhāyana-grhya-sūtra (same as Kausītaki-grhya-sūtra)—published in the Benares Sanskrit series
- Sāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra (ed by Dr Hillebrandt)—B. I Series
- Satyāsādha-śrauta-sūtra (Ānan.)

Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra (edited with English translation by Dr. Caland)

Vaikhānasa-śrauta-sūtra ed. by Dr. Caland (B. I. series, 1941)

Vārābhaghyasūtra (G. O. S.)

Vasistha-dharmasutra (Bombay S. series)

Vedāntasūtra with the bhāṣya of Śankara (Nirn.)

Viśnudharmasūtra (ed. by Dr. Jolly)

Smritis

Āpastambasmṛti in verse (Ānan.)

Atri-smṛti (Ānan.)

Auśanasa-smṛti (Jiv.)

Bhagavad-gītā

Bṛhat-Parāśara-smṛti (Jiv.)

Caturvimsatī-mata-sangraha (Benares Sanskrit Series)

Dakṣasmṛti (Ānan.)

Devalasmṛti (Ānan.)

Harivaṁśa (Chitrasālā Press ed. Poona)

Kātyāyanasmṛti on Vyavahāra (reconstructed by P. V. Kane under the title 'Kātyāyanasmṛtiśāroddhāra' with English Translation and notes)

Laghu-Hārīta (Ānan.)

Laghu-Viśnu (Ānan.)

Laghu-Āśvalāyana (Ānan.)

Mahābhārata with the com. of Nilakantha (oblong Bombay edition)

Manusmṛti with the commentary of Kullūka (Nirn.), where other commentaries on Manu are referred to, it is Mandlik's edition with several commentaries that is cited

Nārada-smṛti (ed. by Dr. Jolly)

Parāśara-smṛti (Bombay S. series)

Prajāpatismṛti (Ānan.)

Samvartasmṛti (Ānan.)

Śankhasmṛti in verse (Ānan.)

Vedavyāsa-smṛti (Ānan.)

Vṛddha-Gautama-smṛti (Jiv.)

Vṛddha-Hārīta-smṛti (Ānan.)

Yājñavalkya-smṛti with the com. Mitākṣarā (Nirn.)

PURĀNAS

The Ānandāśrama editions of the Agni, Brahma, Brahmavaivarta, Matsya, Padma and Vāyu have been used, the Nirn edition of the Bhāgavatapurāna (text only) and the edition of the Narasimhapurāna published by Messrs Gopal Narayan and Co. have been relied upon, the Venkatesvara Press editions of the Bhavisya, Brahmānda, Brhan-Nārādiya (or simply Nārādiya), Garuda, Kālikā, Kūrma, Linga, Mārkaṇḍeya, Viṣṇupurāna and Viṣṇudharmottara have been used, the Nīlamatapurāna, ed. by Pandits Ramlal Kanjūlal and Jagaddhar Zadoo (1924)

COMMENTARIES, DIGESTS, MISCELLANEOUS
SANSKRIT, PĀLI AND PRĀKRIT WORKS AND AUTHORS.

Abhisatārthacintāmanī (= Mānasollāsa), published by Mysore Oriental Library and in G. O. S.

Antyakarmadīpaka of Nityānanda (Kashī Sanskrit series)

Antyestīpaddhati of Nārāyanabhata (Nirn.) except on pp. 212, 303 where a ms. of it was used.

Aparārka's commentary on the Yājñavalkyasmṛti (Ānan.)

Arthasāstra of Kautilya (ed. by Dr. Sham Shastri, second ed.)

Āśaucadaśaka of Vijñāneśvara (printed in Appendix pp 832-833)

Āśaucāstaka of Vararuci (published in Trivandrum S. series)

Bālabhāṭī, commentary on the Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya, ed. by Mr Gharpure

Bārhaspatya-sūtra (ed. by Dr F. W. Thomas, Lahore 1921)

Brāhmanasarvasva—D C. ms No. 9 of A 1883-84

Brhatsamhitā of Varāhamihira with the com of Utpala (ed. by M. M. Sudhakara Dvivedī)

Dandaviveka of Vardhamāna (G. O. S.)

Dāyabhāga of Jimutavāhana (Jiv)

Dharmadvaitanirṇaya of Śankarabhata (Ghar.)

Dharmasindhu of Kāśinātha with Marathi translation (Nirn, 6th ed. of 1936)

Dīpakalikā, com. of Śūlapani on Yājñavalkyasmṛti (Ghar)

Gangābhakti-taranginī of Ganapati, published at Darbhanga (oblong size) 1500-1550 A. D.

Gangāvākyaṅgalī of Vidyapati under patronage of Viśvāsadevī, ed. by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, 1940

Govindarāja's commentary on Manusmṛti (Mandlik's edition)

- Grhastharatnākara of Candēśvara (B. I. Series)
- Grhyāgnisāgara of Nārāyana Ārde (ms. in the Bombay Asiatic Society)
- Halāyudha's com. on Kātyāyana's Śrāddhasūtra (ms. No 518 p. 170 of B. B. R. A. S. cat.)
- Haracarita-cintāmani of Jayadratha (Nirṇ. Kāvya-mālā series)
- Haradatta's com. on Gautamadharmasūtra (Ānan)
- Hāralatā of Aniruddha (B. I. series)
- Hemādri's Caturvarga cintāmani, section on śrāddha (B. I. Series)
- Jātakas (ed. by Fausbøll)
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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

N. B.—Some cases where the correction can be easily made [as in the elision of an anusvāra or mātrā or a diacritical mark] have not been noted]

Page	Line or Note	Note
8	note 17	Read न स स्वो दक्षो वरुण धृति
9	note 19	Add at end 'Vide also विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 33 1'
15	last line	Put a full stop after the word 'Vīṣṇu'
17	note 36	Read 'व्यापारे रुढ'.
18	line 25	Read 'selling of flesh'
19	note 43 1 8	Read 'अग्निपुराण 173.5'
24	note 58	Read न तु गुरोरङ्गना गुर्वङ्गना
28	note 68 line 7	Read दोषो न संसर्गं
36	line 34	Read 'they pray'.
37	note 88	Read यत्किंचेद् वरुण दैव्ये
42	line 24	Read 'to be spread over from one'
43	line 23	Read 'yadadīvyan' (Tai. Ā II 4.1, and Baud. Dh. S. III 7. 10')
44	line 29	Read 'by offering either'
46	note 107 line 4	Read अथर्वाशिरस्.
47	line 7	Read 'four pākayañās or mahāyāñās'
47	note 109	Read 'the five mahāyāñās or pākayañās as they are called in Manu II 86'
54	note 133a	Add—The verse 'उपावृत्तस्य वर्जित' is अग्निपु 175 5-6 and is cited as from भविष्यपुराण by कल्पतरु on व्रत p 3. Hemādri on vrata, vol I. p 1009 quotes विष्णुधर्मोत्तर on the meaning of गुण as 'तज्जाप्यजापी तद्व्यान-तत्कथाश्रवणादिकम् । तदचनं च तन्नामकीर्तनश्रवणादय ॥ उपावासकृतो ह्येते गुणा' प्रोक्ता मनीषिभि ।' The verse उपावृत्तस्य is ascribed to Vasistha by Hemādri on vrata vol. I. p. 1004
58	note 139 line 6	Read प्रायश्चित्तं विध्यपराधे
94	lines 19	Add at end 'It may be noted that the digests on Dharma forbid bathing in the sea at any

Page Line or Note

- time one pleases and allow it only on Full Moon, on Amāvasyā and on *parvan* days and prescribe that at Setubandha one may bathe in the sea on any day. Compare. अश्वत्थसागरौ सेव्यौ न स्पृष्टव्यौ कदाचन । अश्वत्थं मन्दवारं च सागरं पर्वणि स्पृशेत् । न कालनियमः सेतौ समुद्रलान-कर्मणि ॥ धर्मसिन्धु I. 1 p. 36
- 106 note 242 line 3 Read प्राय. वि.
- 108 note 247 Add at end 'Verses from गाव. सुरभयो नित्यं to हविरन्यत्र तिष्ठति are अग्निपुराण 292. 14-20'
- 113 note 257 At the end add 'The Mit. on Yāj. III. 280 remarks: यदा गार्हस्थ्यपरिग्रहेण संन्यासात्प्रच्युतो भवति तदा संवतोक्तं ब्रह्मव्यम्—संन्यस्य दुर्मतिः कश्चित्प्रत्यापत्तिं ब्रजेद्यदि । स कुर्यात्कृच्छ्रमभ्रान्तः षण्मासात्प्रत्यनन्तरम् ॥' This is संवत् 171-72
- 114 line 2 Add 'Vide the bhāṣya of Śāṅkara on Vedānta-sūtra III. 4. 43 (bahis tūbhayathāpi)'.
- 116 line 23 Add after the words 'for a month'—'It appears that simply officiating as a priest or accepting a gift entailed a prāyaścitta; vide Tai. Ā. II. 16. 17 'याजयित्वा प्रतिगृह्य वानश्मन् त्रिः स्वाध्यायं वेदमधीयीत'. Manu X. 109-111 appear to endorse this view.
- 140 line 7 Read 'and as marking'
- 149 line 23 Add at end 'Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III 248 states that in the Āngirasa-smṛti an expiation called Vajra is described and it is provided therein that those who are guilty of a mahāpātaka are purified after three years. The Mit. on Yāj. III 254 quotes the same half-verse as of Angiras'.
- 164 n 395 line 2 Read अष्टाविंशतिकोऽयम्
- 169 n 406 Add 'This verse is quoted by नीलकण्ठ in his commentary on उद्योगपर्व 33. 72 and in the साहयतत्त्वकौमुदी of वाचस्पति Chowkhamba S series p. 45.'
- 185 line 11 Add after 'namo Vāsudevāya.'—Vide भगवद्गीता 8. 5-6 and पद्मपुराण V. 47. 262 'मरणे या मतिः पुसा गतिर्भवति तादृशी', for the belief about the thoughts of a dying man.'

Page	Line or Note	
185	n 432	Read 'शान्तिपत्रे, 285. 74 ff for शिवसहस्रनाम'
192	n 443 last line	Read 'Fargard'
200	n 476	Read in 2nd line 'recital' and 'bones' in line 3.
212	line 12	Add a new paragraph after this line viz 'A peculiar rite called Sampratti (transmission) is described in Br Up. I 5 17 and Kauṣītaki-brāhmanopanisad II 15, wherein a father when about to die calls his son and transmits to him his own finished and unfinished work such as yajñas.
212		Add footnote 500a 'Though in modern times Nārāyanabhata's Antyestipaddhati is generally followed, it must be stated here in order to avoid misunderstanding that now no one spreads kuśas and antelope skin on the funeral pile nor is the wife made to sit down near the deceased nor is she then raised up by anybody'.
216	n503 l 1	Read 'मिता on या. III. 2, मद्. पा p. 395'
239	line 29	Read 'text of Samvarta that a'
244	line 6	Put the figure 555 above Rg VIII. 95. 7-9
265	n 594a	Read in last line but one तद्रूपं देहमन्यं
269	n 603 l. 2	Read तन्तुं तन्वन्जसो भानुमन्विद्युक्षानहो
271	l 35	Add after the word 'death.' 'It should be noted that in almost all parts of India except in Bengal members of all varnas including śūdras observe by usage only ten days' impurity on death'
277	l 13	Read 'preferably'
300	n 677, l 3	Read 'पतितानां च'
308	l 17	Omit the words 'with Sanskrit explanation'
310	note 695	Read 'संमार्ष्टव्या जत'
312	n 700	Add at end "Though Manu V 130 says generally 'नियमास्यं शुचिं स्त्रीणाम्' the words must be narrowed down to the occasions of dalliance in view of what Baud Dh S I. 4 57 (स्त्रियश्च रतिसंसर्गो), Vas 28 8, S'ankha 16 16, Atri V. 14 and most of the commentators of Manu say."

- Page Line or Note
- 321 lines 11-15 I should have mentioned here the four verses beginning with 'Hiranyavarnāh' of the Tai S V. 6 1.1
- 345 top Read 'Pañcajanāh'
- " n. 776 l 4 Read 'पद् ऋतवस्तान् पितृन् परिवक्षते'
- 355 n. 807 l. 1 Read 'भेषमजं बालभते'
- 368 n. 838 l 2 Read शकुना इव
- 377 n. 851 l. 2 Read तृथेषु स्वभूमौ च प्रयत्नत'
- 382-383 note 861 Add at end " In several works the 96 śrāddhas are enumerated somewhat differently. For example the धर्मसिन्धु II. 2-p. 39 says 'अमा १२ युग ४ मनु १४ क्रान्ति १२ धृति १२ पात १२ महालयाः १५ ॥ अष्टका ५ अन्वष्टका ५ पूर्वेषुः ५ आर्द्धैर्नवतिष्व पद ॥ इति हेयानि ॥' For 12 Astakās there is very ancient authority; vide note 861 quoting शतपथब्राह्मण. It is very rare to find 15 Astakās mentioned; vide p 361 and note 828 above."
- 388 note 870 In last line but one read प्रदास्यति
- 389 note 873 Read अनर्हान् हव्यकव्येषु
- 410 note 921 Read स याति नरकं चोरं
- 427 n959l.5 from end Read यमायाङ्गिरस्वते
- 441 note 985 Read अर्हणीयानां पुरतः
- 442 l. 17 Read 'then turn it'
- 457 note 1018 Add at end of note 'The विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण (III. 176' 1-5) reads the names of the ten विश्वेदेवाः somewhat differently'.
- 532 note 1195 Read 'विस्तृतपार्वणविधिनाऽसम्भवे (separate as विधिना and असम्भवे)'
- 534 note 1200 Add at end—"Vide 'अन्नं ह प्राणः' ऐ. ब्रा. 33 1"
- 546 l. 17 Add after 'in an intercalary month' the following -
According to the Nirṇayasindhu (p 12) the first year anniversary śrāddha has to be performed in the intercalary month and subsequent anniversary śrāddhas are to be performed in the pure month and not in the intercalary month, if the deceased died in an ordinary month, while at the time of the first anniversary or subsequent anniversary śrāddha

Page Line or Note

- the year has the same month as an intercalary as well as an ordinary month. The Dharmasindhu also (p. 5) holds the same view 'इदमासं चृतानां तु प्रथमादिर्द्वे नलमास एव कार्यं न शुद्धे द्वितीयादिर्द्वे तु शुद्धे एव ।'
- 540 note 1260 After line 13 in note add 'The विष्णुघनोत्तरपुराण III. chap 17¹ mentions *nine* mountains 'हिनवान्देव-कूटश्च निषधो नील एव च । श्वेतश्च शृङ्गवान् मेरुर्मात्यवान्नाम्ब-साडन । नन्दवान् शैलवृषतीश्वर्या पञ्चयज्ञरः॥' (in पर्वतादमीश्वर)
- 561 l. 7 Read 'a work like that of Dr. Alexis Carrel.'
- 577 n. 1308 l. 5 Read 'उभेत्तु स. and attributes it to गरुडपुराण.'
- 588 note 1333 Read 'डिवि इव्यन्तरिजे च'
- 592 n. 1340 l. 21 Read 'Another rule is that one makes'
- 595 n. 1347 l. 2 Read 'जलं स ने प्रीत इति'.
- 599 note 1360 Read 'पादलोकेः'
- 605 n 1372 l. 6 Read 'the Apsad stone Inscription'.
- 609-613 The figures of the notes and the notes themselves have been wrongly arranged in these pages
On p 609 l. 5 put the figure 1385 above the word 'Gangāvakyāvali' and note (as printed) 1387 should be 1385 and brought under p 609
On the same page (both in the text and notes) the figures 1384a. 1385 should be changed to 1386 and 1387. On the same page the note 1386 should really be 1393a, which figure should be placed on p 613 in line 2⁴ on the word 'moksa' and the footnote so numbered should be placed after footnote 1393
- 615 note 1397 last line but one—Read 'occur in नारदीय'
- 633 note 1443 line 1 Read 'तावत्तैव'.
- 648 n. 1473 l. 3 Read 'तपेदेत्'
- 654 note 1500 Read 'गङ्गा पादोदके'
- 657 line 36 After 'difficult to say.' add 'Recently the Bihar State Legislature passed 'The Bodh Gaya Temple Act' (Act XVII of 1949) for the better management of the Bodh Gaya Temple and the properties appertaining thereto. It is provided by this Act that the Government of Bihar Province shall constitute a committee for the management and control of the temple and its properties, consisting of a chairman and

Page Line or Note

- eight members, of whom four shall be Buddhists and four shall be Hindus including the Mabanth i. e. the presiding priest for the time being of the Saivite monastery of Bodh Gaya, that the District Magistrate of Gayā shall be the ex-officio chairman, but that, if the District Magistrate happens to be a non-Hindu, the Provincial Government may nominate a Hindu as chairman and that Hindus and Buddhists of every sect shall have access to the temple and temple land for the purpose of worship and *pūda dāna*’
- 670 l 6 Read ‘*sṛāddhas* at Gayā’
- 673 note 1524 l 4 Read ‘*तीर्थचि.*’
- 689 n. 1565 l. 2 Add. It may be noted that in the विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I chapters 201-202 it is stated that Gandharvas, sons of Sālūsa, devastated the country on both banks of the Sindhu and Rāma sent his brother भरत to chastise them, ‘*जहि वैद्वधतनयान् गन्धर्वान् पापनिश्चयान्*’ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 202. 10”
- 691 n. 1568 l 2 Read ‘*सुषुम्ना*’
- 695 line 9 Add at end: ‘Vide, for example, the statement that Purusottama is situated on Nīlaparvata (chap 1), that a dialogue between Sabara (a *bhilla*) and Vidyāpati the brother of Indradyumna’s purohita took place (chap 7), that three *rathas* were manufactured for the three images (chap. 27) for being worshipped’
- 696 n 1577 l. 3 Read ‘*चक्रं दृष्ट्वा*’
- 799 l 13 Add after this line ‘Millions of devotees visit Jagannātha every year and the endowments of the principal temple and the shrines and sacred places within its premises are worth millions of rupees Great dissatisfaction is felt about the management of the funds and about the due performance of religious rites at Puri. The State of Orissa passed the Puri Shri Jagannath Temple Administration Act (No. XIV of 1952) providing for the consolidation of the rights and duties of the *Sevaks Pujaris* and such other persons as are connected with the *Seva, Puja* and management of the *devasthan*. But this Act does not, in the opinion of many devotees, go far enough. It only provides for some supervision.’

Page	Line or Note	
699	n 1582	Add at the end 'The mantra occurs in the मैत्रायणी-संहिता II, 9 10 and तै अा X 45.1'.
709	l. 20	Read ' in Pañcavati and on the left bank ' &c.
721	l. 14	Add at end " Vide a paper on ' Identification of the idol of Vitthala in the Vitthala temple at Hampi ' by Dr. C. Narayanrao in the Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference held at Mysore pp 715-728 and a very informative and exhaustive thesis for Ph. D Degree on ' the cult of Vithobā ' by Rev. G. A. Deleury accepted by the Poona University in 1952."
732		Add under Āmardaka ' Vide E I vol. I pp 354 ff. for Āmardakatīrtha in Rānod in Gvalior State '
758		Under ' Irāvati ' add—' Vide Visnudharmottara I, 149 (twenty-five verses) for a fine poetic description of this river and I 162, 61-65 for the confluence of Irāvati with Sindhu and of ten more confluences of several rivers of northern India.'
769		Column 2 under Konārka add " Vide Proceedings of the 8th Indian Historical Congress pp 153 ff. for an article ' Sungod of Konārka—where is he ' , which criticizes the article in the Modern Review. "
796		Add under Rohitaka—' In the Madanpur plate of Śrīcandra in E. I. vol 28 at p 53 the place of origin of the Chandra dynasty is said to be Rohitagiri : (acc to some Rohtasgadh in Bihar and Lalmai Hill, West of Comilla, acc to others)'
806		Column one under Śona add—' The Nirnayasinḍhu p 110 quotes a verse of Devala enumerating seven <i>nadas</i> शोणसिन्धुहिरण्याख्या कोकलोहितवर्षरा । शतद्रव्य नदा. सप्त पावना परिकीर्तिता ॥ It is difficult to say what rivers are meant by हिरण्य and कोक Lohita is Brahmaputrā
832	line 5	Read ' अञ्जुवथ '
832	lines 8 and 10	Read मृत्यो and मृतै
832	line 18	Read वयं
832	n. 693a 1 3	Read स्नानं

SECTION I

PĀTAKA, PRĀYAŚCITTA AND KARMAVIPĀKA

(Sins, expiations and the residual consequences of sins).

CHAPTER I

The Article on sin in Hasting's Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics (vol 11) will clearly show how the idea of sin varies from religion to religion, from age to age and from country to country. We are concerned here with the growth and development of the doctrine of sin in India from Vedic times to the medieval digests and commentaries on Dharmasāstra

Sin (*pātaka*) is a word that belongs to the terminology of religion rather than to that of Ethics ¹ It is very difficult to define sin. In a general way it may be said that it is an act which is regarded as a wilful rebellion against or disobedience of some law supposed to be laid down by God or Revelation; it is opposition to the will of God manifested in an authoritative work or at least failure to abide by the regulations contained therein.

1 In these days many people, both in the East and the West, question the very existence of sin. As Barbour puts it in his 'Sin and the new Psychology' (p 19) "The feeling is gaining wide acceptance that there is no such thing as sin in the Christian sense. Evil may encompass a man's life and bring disaster to his personality, but it is not sin. It is psychic evil that can be explained by psychic causes and perhaps cured by psychological therapy. Many say 'nothing is right and nothing is wrong. Every thing is the result of complexes'. It has resulted in an easy tolerance of sin". Sir Oliver Lodge in his article on 'Christian Doctrine' in the Hibbert Journal for 1903-4 at p 466 says 'The highest man of to-day is not worrying about his sins at all, still less about their punishments. His mission, if he is good for anything, is to be up and doing and in so far as he acts wrongly or unwisely he expects to suffer'. The followers of Cārvāka who was the prince of Atheists in ancient India used to say 'man should live among pleasures as long as life lasts, he should feed himself sumptuously (lit. should drink *ghae*) even by borrowing money from others. There is no coming again into the world after the body is reduced to ashes by cremation'.

The R̥gveda is full of fervent and heart-felt expressions of the sense of sin and betrays intense desire on the part of the sages of old to be free from it. The idea of sin in the R̥gveda is bound up with the conception of *rta*. The conception of *rta* cannot be discussed here in detail. But a brief statement is absolutely necessary in order to be able to convey what the Vedic doctrine of sin was.²

R̥ta had a threefold aspect. It means 'the course of nature' or 'the regular and general order in the cosmos'; with reference to sacrifice it means 'the correct and ordered way of the cult of the Gods', and thirdly, it also means the 'moral conduct of man'. A few passages to illustrate these three aspects of *rta* may be cited here. R̥g. IV 23 8-10 are³ three verses in which the word *rta* occurs no less than twelve times and which breathe the all-pervading influence of *rta* throughout the universe. 'Plentiful waters (or riches or gifts) belong to *rta*, the thought (or laudation) of *rta* destroys crooked acts (sins), the brilliant and rousing hymn of praise to *rta* pierces the benumbed ears of man. The props of *rta* are firm, its (physical) manifestations are many and lovely for the sake of the body (i e man). Through *rta* they (people) desire food. The cows (sun's rays) entered *rta* by *rta*. He who wins over *rta* acquires it. For the sake of *rta* (heaven) and earth are wide and deep, the two highest cows (i e Heaven and Earth) yield milk (desires or rewards) for the sake of *rta*.' Some other passages are. 'The Sindhus (rivers) follow the *rta* of Varuna' (*rtam sindhavo Varunasya yanti*, R̥g. II 28 4), similarly R̥g I. 105 12 (*rtamarsanti sindhavah*), The wheel of *rta* (i e the year) revolves round the

2. For the conception of *rta* and the idea of sin in the R̥gveda the following works may be consulted. 'The religion of the Veda' by M. Bloomfield (pp 12, 125 ff), 'Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads' by Prof A. B. Keith (pp. 35, 83-85 &c.), 'The Vedic idea of sin' by Dr. Henry Leffer (1935). One regrets to observe that Bloomfield's work is marred here and there by a certain levity of thought and expression out of keeping with the seriousness of the subject.

3. ऋतस्य हि शुक्रं सन्ति पूर्विक्रितस्य धीतिर्द्विजिनानि हन्ति । ऋतस्य श्लोको यथिरा ततर्दं कर्णां बुधानं शुचमान आयोः ॥ ऋतस्य ह्यहो धरुणानि सन्ति पुरुषाणि चन्द्रा वपुये वशुषि । ऋतेन दीयमपणन्तं पुक्षं ऋतेन गावः ऋतमाविवेशुः ॥ कर्तं येमानं ऋतमिह्नोत्सुतस्य शुभ्रमस्तरपा ज गद्दुः । ऋताय पुष्पे बहूले गभीरे ऋताय धेनुं परमे दुहाते ॥ ऋ IV 23 8-10. These are rather obscure verses. The Nirukta X 41 understands *rta* to mean 'water' and explains X 23-8 as 'ऋतस्य प्रज्ञा वर्जनीयानि हन्ति ऋतस्य श्लोको यथिरस्यापि कर्णो आतृणन्ति । यथिर चन्द्रोत्र । कर्णो बोधयन् दीप्यमानश्च आयो अयनस्य महत्पस्य ज्योतिषो वा उदकरय वा ।'

sky with twelve spokes (dvādaśāram . . . varvartī cakram pari dyām-rtasya, Rg. I 164 11), 'the dawn, the daughter of heaven, correctly follows the path of rta' ('rtasya pāthānam-anvetī sādhu', Rg I 124 3); the young woman (Usas) does not destroy (or come in the way of) the light of rta (Rg I 123 9); the sun is the bright and lovely face of rta (Rg VI 51. 1. 'rtasya śuci darsatam-anikam); 'the path of rta became united with the rays' (Rg. I 136 2); 'when exhilarated by drinking this (Soma) Indra released for the sake of rta the concealed host of cows' (Rg. I 121 4, probably a reference to drought and subsequent rainfall).

Many of the principal gods of the Vedic pantheon are described as the guardians, promoters or charioteers of rta. Mitra and Varuna rule over all the world by rta (Rg V. 63 7, rtena viśvān bhuvanān vi rājatah); Mitra and Varuna, the protectors of rta, occupy a chariot (Rg V. 63 1), Mitra, Varuna, and Aryaman are said to be charioteers of rta (yūyamrtasya rathyah, VII 66 12); they and Aditi and Bhaga are protectors of rta (Rg. VI 51 3) Agni is called 'the charioteer of rta' (rathī rtasya, Rg. III 2 8), the protector of rta, in Rg. I. 1 8, III 10.2, X. 8.5, X 118.7 and rtāvān (in Rg IV. 2.1). Soma is styled the protector of rta (in Rg. IX. 48 4, IX 73 8) and is said to support rta (IX. 97.24 rtaṁ bharaṭ subhrtam cārindub) In Rg. VII 66.13 the Ādityas⁴ are said to be *rtāvan* (acting according to the fixed order of nature), *rtāyāta* (sprung from rta) and *rtāvrdh* (augmenting or rejoicing in rta) and further they are said to be fierce haters of *anyta* (what is opposed to rta).

Rta is distinguished from sacrifice (*yajña*). It is not any particular sacrificial rite itself nor the institution of sacrifice. It stands for the ordered course of sacrifice in general. In Rg. IV. 3.4. Agni is styled *rtact* (conversant with or observing rta) and is invoked to know the rta (of the sacrifice); in several verses we meet with the words 'rtena rtaṁ' (e. g. in Rg IV. 3.9 rtena rtaṁ niyatam-ila ā goḥ', V. 15.2 'rtena rtaṁ dharunam dhārayanta yajñasya sake, V. 68.4 rtaṁ-rtena sapantā 'conforming to or joining rta with rta', where 'rtena' appears to mean the correct course of sacrificial rites and 'rtaṁ' the settled order in the universe. Soma is said to be the thread of rta spread on the *daśāparitra* (Rg. IX. 73.9 'rtasya tantur-vitataḥ pavitra ā). In

4. सतोर्वानो क्रतवर्जिता क्रतावृधो धोरसो अद्वतद्विय. । तेषा वः सुम्ने सचर्द्विदने नरः
स्वामि ये अ सूर्य. ॥ ऋ. VII, 66.13

Rg. I 84.4 it is said 'O Indra, drink this (soma) that is extracted ..the streams of the bright (soma) flow towards thee in the seat of rta' (i e. in the soma sacrifice) Vide also Rg IV 113—(asmākam-atra pitaro manusyā abhi pra sedur-rtam-ā susānāh) 'in this world former men, our ancestors, approached rta etc', Rg I 71 3 (dadhanrntam dhanayannasya dhitim-ādidaryo) Rg. X 67 2 (rtam śamsanta rju didhyānā yajñasya dhāma prathamam mananta) 'the Angirasas,, declaring the rta and reflecting straightforwardly first thought of the abode of Yajña', Rg. X 37 1 (maho devāya tad-rtam saparyata, 'offer this rta to the great God')

The conception of rta as a moral imperative occurs in several passages Rg I. 90 6 (madhu vātā rtāyate madhu ksarantī sindhavah) 'the winds carry sweets, the rivers do the same to him who keeps rta', Rg V 12 2 'O Agni, that knowest rta, know rta alone (in me) .I shall not resort to magic either by force or by duplicity, I shall conform to rta of the reddish bull (i e of Agni)⁵; Rg. X 87 11 'O Agni! may the evil spirit who injures rta by anrta be thrice bound in thy fetters' Yama in rejecting Yami's advances says (Rg X. 10 4) 'What indeed we never did before (shall we do it now?); shall we who have spoken rta (so far) now speak anrta?' (rtā vadanto anrtam rapema)

In two or three instances rta appears to be almost personified and invoked as a divinity. 'O Agni! for us offer sacrifice to Mitra and Varuna, to the gods and to the great (brhat) rta' (Rg I 75 5). Similarly, in Rg X. 66 4 the great (*mahat*) rta is mentioned alongside of Aditi, Heaven and Earth, Indra, Visnu, the Maruts &c.

Rtu and *satya* were distinguished in several passages of the Rgveda For example, Rg. V. 51 2 speaks of the *Vīśve Devas* as 'rtadhītayah' (whose thoughts were fixed on rta) and 'satyadharmānah' (whose characteristic is truth or whose dharmas are true). In Rg. IX 113.4 rta and satya both occur and appear to mean almost the same thing In Rg X. 190 1 rta and satya are distinguished as having sprung from '*tapas*'. Rta involves a wider conception and satya had originally a restricted meaning (viz truth or static order). The word anrta, however, is the

5. ऋतं त्विकित्त्वं ऋतमिच्छिकित्त्वं ऋतस्य धारा अहं त्वाभिं पूर्वी । नाहं पादु सहसा न ह्ययेन ऋतं सपान्यदुदस्य वृष्ण. । ऋ V 12.2.

opposite of both *ṛta* and *satya* as may be seen from Rg X. 10.4, Rg VII. 49.3 (Varuna who marks the *satya* and *anṛta* of people), Rg. X. 124.5 (Varuna who separates *anṛta* by means of *ṛta*). Gradually, however, the word *ṛta* receded into the back-ground and *satya* took its place even in Vedic literature, though here and there (as in Tai. Up. II 1 and I.9.1) both *ṛta* and *satya* are found in juxtaposition.

The sages of the Rgveda were acutely conscious of sin or guilt and pray to the gods, particularly to Varuna and the Ādityas, for forgiveness and for being freed from the consequences of sin. In this connection they employ numerous words such as *āgas*, *enas*, *agha*, *dhṛta*, *dushṛta*, *drugdha*, *anhas*. A few examples of the employment of these words may be cited here. The most frequent words are *āgas* and *enas*, both of which appear to import sin in its deepest and most ethical sense. Rg. VII 86 is a hymn to Varuna in which there are several verses that breathe a deep and heart-felt consciousness of guilt. The sage begins in verse 3 by saying that all wise men of whom he inquired told him the same thing viz. 'Varuna is angry with you'. Then the sage proceeds 'O Varuna! what is that great guilt (*āgas*) (of mine) whereby you desire to injure your worshipper and a friend? Declare that to me, then I shall quickly approach thee with an obeisance and be free from sin (*enas*). Cast away from us the transgressions (*drugdha*) of our father and those that we committed in our own person;...free Vasistha (from guilt) like a calf from the rope (that binds it)'. In Rg. VII. 89.5 (almost equal to Atharva-veda VI. 51.3) the sage says 'whatever transgressions (*abhidroha*) we who are mere men have practised as against the divine hosts and whatever *dharma*s laid down by you we may have confounded through our ignorance (or heedlessness) do not destroy us on account of that guilt (*enas*).' It will be noticed that in these verses the words *āgas*, *abhidroha* and *enas* are employed in the same verses and therefore practically mean the same thing. In Rg. II 27.14 the sage prays 'O Aditi! O Mitra! O Varuna! take pity on us though we may have committed some sin against you'. In Rg. II. 28.5 Varuna is implored to loosen sin (*āgas*) from the devotee just like a girdle. Rg. VIII. 45.34 states: 'O Indra! do not kill us for one sin, for two sins or three sins or for many (*āgas*).' In Rg II. 29.1 the Ādityas are implored⁶ 'cast away from me sin (*āgas*) as a woman who gives birth to a child in secret'. For some other passages

6. भूतत्रया आदित्या इषिरा अरे मत्कर्तृ रक्षस्विनाः । ऋ II. 29.1.

in which *āgas* or its opposite *anūgas* occur, vide Rg I 162.22, I 185 8, II.29.5, IV. 12.4, IV 54 3, VII 51 1, VII 57 4, V. 85.7, VII 87 7, VII 93 7, X 36 12, X. 37 7 and 9. *Āgas* and *enas* are employed in the same verse, Rg. IV.12.4 'O Agni! Whatever sin (*āgas*) we may have committed through heedlessness make us free from it before Aditi and loosen from us our sins (*enas*) from all sides'.

Some more passages about *enas* are Rg VI 51 7 'May we not have to enjoy (i.e. suffer for) the *enas* committed by another and Rg VI 51 8 'Whatever sin be committed by me I shall remove it by obeisance', Rg VI 74 3 'O Soma and Rudra! Loosen from us and cast away from us whatever sin attaches to our person'; Rg VII 20 1 'Indra is our saviour even from a great sin'; vide also Rg I 189 1, II 28 7, VII 52 2 'The word '*agha*', also seems to mean sin 'Apa nah śośucad-aghān' (may our sins perish) is the refrain of Rg. 1 97. 1-8. 'O gods! May your fetters and may sins (*aghān*) be far away from us' (II 29 5, in which verse in the first half '*āgah*' occurs), X 117 6 (kevalāgho bhavati kevalādi) 'one who simply eats food alone (without offering to others) reaps only sin'.

Another word is *amhas*. The following passages may be cited. In Rg II, 28 6 Varuna is implored 'remove *amhas* (sin) as one removes the rope from the (neck) of the calf; one has not the power even to wink without you (your favour)' 7 It should be noted that in the preceding verse (II 28 5) already quoted the simile of the girdle is employed with regard to *āgas*. 'May Indra take us away from *amhas* as persons on both sides (of a river) call one who is going in a boat' (Rg III, 32 14), 'No evil caused by the gods or by men reaches him from any side who worships Agni with fuel, oblation or sacrifice' Rg VIII 19, 6, 'May Aditi, the mother of the affluent Mitra and Varuna, save us from all sin' (Rg. X. 36. 3).⁹ Rg. X. 36. 2 also prays Heaven and Earth, the upholders of *ṛta*, to protect the sages from '*amhas*'. Vide also Rg X. 126. 2.

Another important word is *vrjina* which is often placed in opposition to *sādhu* or *rju*. The *Ādityas* are said to 'see inside

7 दामेव वत्साद्विष्टस्यर्ष्यहो नहि स्वदारि निनिपश्चनेने । ऋ. II, 28 6, compare II 28 5 'वि मच्छुथाय वरुणानिवाग ऋष्याम ते वरुण स्वाशुतस्य ॥

8 न तमंहो देवकृत कुतश्चन न मर्त्यकृत नशत् । ऋ. VIII, 19 6

9 विश्वस्मान्नो आदितिः पालेहसो माता मित्रस्य वरुणस्य रेवतः । ऋ. X, 36 3

(the hearts of men) sins as well as good (thoughts and actions)¹⁰ and it is added that everything though far-off is near to them who are kings. In Rg. II, 27. 2 the Ādityas are called 'avrjināh' (free from *vrjina*). The Sun is said to mark among men their right and sinful deeds (Rg. IV 1 17). The same words (*rju martesu vrjinā ca paśyan*) occur in Rg VI, 51. 2 and VII, 60,2 about the Sun.

The word '*anrta*' is often used in the Rgveda. It has already been shown how Varuna is said to mark the *saiya* and *anrta* of men. In Rg. VII 60 5 it is said 'these gods, Mitra, Aryaman and Varuna mark (or know) many sins; they flourish in the abode of *rta*' Rg. VII 66 13 calling Mitra, Varuna and Aryaman haters of *anrta* has already been quoted (in n. 4).

The word '*durita*' is sometimes used in the sense of sin. In Rg I 23 22 the waters are invoked as follows:¹¹ 'O waters! carry away from me whatever sin may exist in me, whatever transgressions I may have been guilty of as regards my sensual appetite or whatever falsehood I may have uttered'. Here all three words '*durita*, *droha* and *anrta*' are brought together and convey almost the same idea, viz. sin or guilt against the law of the Gods. In Rg I, 185 10 Heaven and Earth are called father and mother and are invoked to save the worshipper from *durita* (sin) which involves blame (*pātām-avadyād-duritaḥ*) '*Avadya*' means 'garhya' acc. to Pān. III, 1. 101. Rg. VII, 82. 7 states 'Him neither *amhas* (sin) nor *durita* nor worry reaches from anywhere to whose sacrifice you go, O Mitra and Varuna'. In Rg. X, 126, 1 '*amhas*' and '*durita*' are brought together (*na tam-amho na duritam devāso asta martyam*) In Rg VIII 67 21 the words *amhati* and *rapas*¹² seem to be employed in the sense of sin. '*Duskrta*' (evil deed) is used in the sense of sin in Rg. VIII, 47. 13 and in Rg X 164. 3 Agni is implored to keep far away from the worshipper all sins¹³. The word '*pāpa*' generally¹⁴

10 अन्तः पश्यन्ति वृजिनोत् साधु सर्वे राजभ्यः परमा चिदन्ति । ऋ II 27 3 ; आ सूर्यो बृहत्स्तिष्ठदर्शो ऋजु मर्तेषु वृजिना च पश्यन् ॥ ऋ IV, 1 17.

11 इदमापः प्रवहत यत्किं च दुरिति मयि । यद्वाहमभिदुद्रोह यद्वा शेप उताहृतम् ॥ ऋ I 23-22 शेप (or-फ) means मेह

12 वि दु द्वेषो व्यंहतिमादित्यासो वि संहतिम् । विष्वग्वि बृहता रपः ॥ ऋ. VIII 67 21, 'रपः स्मिमिति पापनामनी भवतः' निरुक्त IV. 21

13. यद्वाग्निं देवीर्ष्यं देवासो अस्ति दुष्कृतम् । त्रिते तद्विश्वमाव्य अग्ने अस्मद्घातन ॥ ऋ VIII 47 13, अग्निर्विश्वान्यप दुष्कृतान्यञ्जुष्टान्यारे अस्मद्घातु ॥ ऋ. X, 164.3

14 पापमाहुर्ष्यः स्वसारं निगच्छात् । ऋ X, 10 12, पापासः सन्तो अद्यता अस्तस्य इदं पदमजनता गभीरम् ॥ ऋ. IV 5-5,

occurs in the Rg. in the sense of 'sinner' (Rg. VIII. 61. 11, X. 10 12, IV. 5. 5) or 'sinful' or 'evil' (Rg X 108 6, X. 164 5, I. 129. 11) In Rg VII 32. 18, VII. 94 3, VIII. 19 26 'pāpātva' occurs and appears to mean 'sinfulness' In the Brāhmanas 'pāpam' (neuter) occurs in the sense of 'sin' as in Śat Br. XI. 2 7. 19; vide also¹⁵ Ait Br 33. 5 In the Upanisads 'pāpam' means 'sin' (e g in Tai Up II 9, Chāndogya IV 14. 3). Certain important modifications of the doctrine about sin and *Karma* were introduced in the Upanisads and the Bhagavadgītā, which will be discussed later on.

In spite of the voluminous references to the consciousness of guilt and sin in the Rgveda and to the transgression of divine laws briefly indicated above, European scholars were not wanting who boldly affirmed that the idea of sin was altogether unknown to the Rgvedic sages. Vide S B E vol I p XXII where Max-Müller replies 'the gradual growth of the concept of guilt is one of the most interesting lessons which certain passages of these ancient hymns can teach us'

How sin arises in the individual mind has been a difficult problem at all times¹⁶. Men are conscious of the sins they commit, though they may have no definite conclusions or theories about the origin of sin In the Rg VII. 86 6 a sage¹⁷ pleads with Varuna that sin is not due to a man's own power, but it is rather due to fate, to *surā* (intoxicants), to anger, dice or heedlessness and even dream state leads one to commit what is not right In the Kausītaki-brāhmanopaniṣad (III 9) it is stated 'the Lord of all makes that man perform good works whom He desires to raise to higher worlds

15 सहोवाचाजीगर्तः सौयवसिस्तद्धै मा तत तपति पापं कर्म मया कृतम् । दे आ 33 5 (=VII 17.)

16. Christianity seems to have solved it by stating that the source of actual sin is the Devil (Matthew 13 39) and by the legend of Adam's Fall (vide Romans 5. 12 'as by one man sin entered into the world and death by sin') it affirmed that there was a dose of original sin in all men In modern times many people don't accept the idea of 'original sin', for example, Sir Oliver Lodge says (in his article on 'Christian Doctrine') in Hibbert Journal for 1903-4 at p. 466 "As for 'original sin' or 'birth sin' or other notion of that kind that sits absolutely lightly on him (the man of to-day) As a matter of fact it is non-existent, and none but a monk could have invented it'

17. न स्यो दक्षो वरुण धृतिः सा सुरा मन्थुर्विभीदको आचिचिः । अस्ति ज्यापात्कभीपस उपारे स्वमश्वनेददृत्तस्य प्रयोत्वा ॥ ऋ. VII 86 6

than these and He makes that man commit bad deeds whom He wishes to drag down'.¹⁸ Here it appears to be suggested that some men are chosen by God for being saved and some are chosen for being damned. This sounds like the Calvinistic doctrine of pre-destination. In the Bhagavadgītā (III, 36) Arjuna questions Śrīkr̥ṣṇa as follows: 'impelled by whom does a man commit sin as if constrained thereto by force, even though he does not desire to do so?' The answer given is (III, 37) 'it is lust and anger springing from the element (*guna*) of *rajas* (passion) that are the enemies of man in this world. In another place the Bhagavadgītā (XVI, 21) says 'this¹⁹ is the three-fold door or entrance to Hell that is ruinous to the self viz. lust, anger and greed; therefore a man must shun these three.' But it must be said that this does not go to the real root of the matter. The question is why should carnal lust, anger or greed themselves arise in the mind of man. The only answer that is indicated is in accordance with the tenets of the Sāṅkhya philosophy viz. that there are three *gunas*, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* which combine in various proportions in different men and that it is *rajo-guna* that is the cause of man's sinfulness. In the Śānti-parva, chap. 163, it is stated that there are thirteen very powerful enemies of men beginning with anger (*krodha*) and *lāma* (lust) and it is said that *krodha* springs from *lobha* (covetousness), which latter arises from ignorance (verses 7 and 11). But there is no satisfactory discussion of the origin of ignorance in that chapter. Gautama 19,2 observes²⁰ that 'man in this world is polluted by a vile action such as sacrificing for a man unworthy to offer a sacrifice, eating forbidden food, speaking what ought not to be spoken, neglecting what is prescribed and practising what is forbidden'. Yājñavalkya III, 219 prescribes: 'by

18. एष ह्येव साधु कर्म कारयति त यमेभ्यो लोकेभ्यो उन्निनीयते एष उ एवासाधु कर्म कारयति त्रं यमधो निनीयते। कौषीतकिन्वा उप. III. 9. This is the basis of Brahma-sūtra II, 1,34 and II, 3,41.

19. त्रिविधं नरकरयेद्वं द्वारं नाशनमालम् । कामः क्रोधस्तथा लोभस्तस्माद्देवतत्त्वं त्यजेत् ॥ भगवद्गीता XVI. 21 = विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 33,6.

20. विदितस्यानद्युष्टानास्मिन्दितस्य च सेवनात् । अनियहाञ्चेन्द्रियाणां नरः पतन-सृष्टति ॥ या III 219, अकुर्वन् विहितं कर्म प्रतिपिबुद्धानि चाचरत् ॥ प्रायश्चित्तीयते होत्रं नरो मिथ्या तु वर्तयन् ॥ शान्तिपर्व 34 2 गौतम appears to mention the two causes of the rise of sin stated by Yāj in the first half of III 219 'अथ खल्वयं पुरुषो याप्येन कर्मणा लिप्यते यथैतद्व्याज्ययाजनमभक्ष्यभक्षणमवद्यवदन् शिष्टस्याक्रिया प्रतिपिबुद्धसेवनामिति । यौ. 19 2 शबर on जै. XII, 3 16 echoes the very words of गौ. viz शिष्टस्याक्रिया प्रतिपिबुद्धसेवनामिति'.

omitting to do what is ordained, by resorting to what is condemned (prohibited) and by not controlling the senses, man incurs fall (i e sin)' Manu XI 44 and Śāntiparva 342 are similar verses The Mitākṣarā explains that matters ordained are such as performing *Sandhyā* (morning and evening adorations) and Agnihotra and what are condemned are such actions as drinking liquor Viśvarūpa explains that *patana* (fall or sinfulness) in Yāj III, 219 is not used in the technical sense attached to that word by Gautama 21.4 viz 'to be a *patita* means to be deprived of the right to follow the lawful occupations of twice-born men,' but it is used only in the sense that the man so acting (as mentioned in Yāj III, 219) becomes liable to undergo *prāyascitta* and that the words of Gautama (21.4) are restricted only to what are called *mahāpātakas* The word *pātaka* is derived from the causal of the root 'pat' Vide Medhātithi on Manu XI 54 'pātakasabdah pātayatīti vyutpattyā sarva-vyatikramesu vaiatate' and Madanapārijāta p 786 In ancient works the word *patanīya* (meaning the cause of *patana*) has been employed as in Āp Dh S. I, 7 21 7 The Pr V (p 35) paraphrases *patanīyāni* by 'pātakāni' and derives it from the root 'pat' (*patanīyānena itī patanīyam*) with the addition of the termination 'ānīya' according to Pān III 3 113 The word occurs also in Yāj II, 210, III, 297, Śankha quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj, III, 237 (in prose) and other smrtis

The enumeration of sinful acts and the classifications of sins into several degrees or grades has gone on from very ancient times In the Rg X 5 6 it is said²¹ 'the wise made (jit chiselled) seven limits, the man who goes against even one of them becomes sinful' The Nirukta (VI 27) explains that the seven sins indicated in this verse are 'theft, violating the bed (of the *guru*), murder of a brāhmana, murder of a *bhrūna*, drinking of liquor, continual performance of the same sinful act, telling a lie as to a sinful matter'. Rg VII, 86 6 quoted above (in n 17) makes it clear that drinking *surā* and playing with dice were regarded as sinful. From the Tai. S. II, 5 1, 2, V 3 12 1-2, Śat Br XIII 3 1 1 and other Brāhmana texts it appears that the murder of a brāhmana was generally regarded in early vedic times as the gravest of all sins, though in the Kāthaka *samhitā* (31, 7) it is stated that there is no sin as

21. सप्त मर्यादा फलवस्ततस्तुस्तासामिकामिदमर्णहरो गात् । ऋ X 5 6 ; सप्त एव मर्यादा फलवश्चक्रुः । तासामिकामपि अधिगच्छन्तं हस्वान् भवति । स्तेप तत्पारोहणं ब्रह्महत्या भ्रजहत्या मुरापानं कुपठस्व कर्मण पुन पुन सेवा पातके अदृतोचनिति । निरुक्तं VI 27.

heinous as killing a bhrūna which is even worse than brāhmana murder)²². The Tai. Br. in detailing the story of Ekata, Dvita and Trita who was made a scapegoat for keeping off sins, enumerates the following sinners, viz. sūryābhyūḍita (one who sleeps on when the sun rises), sūryābhinimrukta (one who slept when the sun set), one who has black nails or teeth, *agradidhusu* (one who married a younger sister while the elder sister was yet unmarried), the elder brother remaining unmarried even though a younger brother has married, one who allows his sacred sacrificial fires to be extinguished, the killer of a brāhmana.²³ It may be noticed that most of these occur almost in the same order in Āp. Dh. S. II, 5. 12. 22 where it is²⁴ said that though

22. Bhrūnaban is either a killer of a learned brāhmana or the killer of a foetus when its sex is not known. Vide H of Dh vol II, p. 148n and vol. III p 612n for quotations and explanations. It may be noted that the four main prohibitions contained in the Decalogue (Exodus, chap 20 13-16 and Deut. 5, 17-20) against killing human beings, theft, adultery and bearing false witness are to be found in all well-known religious or moral codes.

23. ते देवा आप्येष्वद्वजत। आप्या अद्वजत। सूर्याभ्युदिते। सूर्याभ्युदित. सूर्याभिनिस्रुक्ते। सूर्याभिनिस्रुक्तः कुनाखिनि। कुनाखी इयावदति। इयावदकय्यादिधिषौ। अग्रदिधिषुः परिवित्ते। परिवित्तो वीरहाणि। वीरहा ब्रह्महाणि। तद् ब्रह्महर्षणं नात्यन्ववत्। तै. ब्रा III 2, 8.11. In the corresponding story in the काठकसंहिता (31.7) we read इयावदन्परिवित्ते परिवित्तः परिविविदाने परिविविदानोऽग्रेदिधिषा अग्रेदिधिषुद्विधिषूपतौ दिधिषूपतिर्वीरहाणि...ब्रह्महाणि ब्रह्महा भ्रूणहानि भ्रूणहननेनो नात्येति। The story of Trita is briefly referred to in the Atharvaveda (VI, 113). The germ of it is found in Rg VIII 47.13 quoted above in n. 13.

24. अभिनिस्रुक्ताभ्युदित—कुनाखिइयावदाग्रेदिधिषु—दिधिषूपतिपर्याहितपरीष्ट—परिवित्त-परिवित्त-परिविविदानेषु चोत्तरोत्तरस्मिन्नश्राच्चिकरानिवर्तौ गरीयाच्च गरीयात्। आप II 5. 12 22. It may be noted that both brothers (elder and younger) and sisters (elder and younger) were held guilty of sin in case of supercession in marriage. परिवित्त and परिविक्त often mean the same thing (viz. an elder brother before whom a younger brother marries or consecrates sacrificial fires) Vide Manu III, 171-172, Acc. to Manu III, 173 a dāhīṣūpati is one who feels love for his brother's widow and has intercourse with her under the system of *nyoga*. परिविविदान is the same as परिवित्ता अग्रेद्विधिषु or-दू is explained by Devala and by Aparārka p.451, by Haradatta on Gaut. 15.15 and Mit. on Yāj. III, 26 as 'a younger sister who marries before her elder sister' and द्विधिषु or दिधिषु is the elder sister who is thus superceded by a younger one In Āp the word पति is to be connected with both अग्रेदिधिषु and दिधिषु. The Amarakośa explains दिधिषु differently. शङ्करस्मृति (17, 43-44) makes even the father or other guardian for marriage getting a younger son or daughter married before an elder one and the priest officiating at such a marriage equally guilty 'परिवित्तिः परिवित्त परा च परिविद्यते। व्रतं संवत्सरं कुशुर्दानुयाजकपञ्चनाः ॥'.

these actions are not to be styled *patanīyas* according to Āp. yet they cause impurity which being greater and greater in each succeeding one requires higher and higher penances. Āp adds a few more sinners to those in the Tai. Br viz *didhṣupati* (husband of an elder sister whose younger sister was married before her), *paryāhuta* (an elder brother before whom a younger brother kindled fires), *parivudāna* (a younger brother who takes his share of the ancestral property before his elder brother), *parivṛna* (an elder brother before whom a younger brother takes away his share of the ancestral property). The Chāndogya Upanisad²⁵ (V. 10. 9.) quotes a verse that declares that the five great sinners are the thief of gold, the drinker of *surā*, the violator of the *guru's* bed, the murderer of a brāhmana, and one who associates with any of the preceding four. The Br. Up. (IV. 3. 22) mentions as great sinners the thief and the murderer of a *bhrūna*.

Coming to the sūtras there is great divergence as to the classification of sins and the enumeration of sins in each class. The Āp. Dh. S. divides sins into two classes viz. *patanīya* (those that cause loss of caste), *asucakara* (those that cause impurity, though no loss of caste is caused). Āp. Dh. S. (I. 7.21.7-11) states that *patanīya* sins are theft (of gold), crimes whereby one becomes an *abhisasta*, complete loss (by neglect) of the Vedic learning that one secured by study, destruction of a foetus, incestuous connection with relations born of the same womb as one's father or mother and with the children of such persons, drinking of *surā*, intercourse with persons with whom intercourse is forbidden, intercourse with the female friend of one's female guru (mother &c) or with the female friend of one's *guru* (father &c.) and with the wife of any stranger, constant commission of immoral acts (*adharma*) other than those already mentioned. Āp. Dh. S. I. 7.21.10 notes that, according to some, intercourse with a woman who is not the wife of a *guru* is not a *patanīya* sin. Among acts which render a man impure are (Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 12-18) the cohabitation of an Ārya woman with sūdras, eating the flesh of forbidden animals such as that of a dog or a human being or village cock or pig or other carnivorous animals, eating the excrement of human beings, partaking of food left by a sūdra, and cohabitation by Ārya men with *apapātra*

25. तदेव श्लोकः । स्तेनो हिरण्यस्य सुरा पिबश्च श्रोतस्तल्पमावसन्न ब्रह्महा चैते पतन्ति क्षत्रार. पञ्चमश्चाचरन्त. ॥ इति । छा उप. V. 10.9.

women.²⁶ According to some, those acts that are declared to be *aśucakara* are also *patanīyas*. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 7.21.19) states that acts other than those enumerated are also *aśucikara*. Āp. Dh. S. (I. 9. 24.6-9) enumerates those who are *abluṣasta*, viz. one who slays a person belonging to the first two varṇas (viz. brāhmana and kṣatriya) who had studied the Veda or who had been initiated for the performance of a soma sacrifice, one who kills a mere brāhmana (though he may not have studied the Veda or be not initiated for a soma sacrifice), also one who destroys the embryo of a brāhmana even though its sex be undistinguishable, or slays a woman who is an *ātreyī* (in her monthly course). The Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra divides²⁷ sinners into three classes, viz. those who are *enasvins*, those guilty of *mahāpātakas* and those guilty of *upapātakas* (I. 19-23). Among those who are styled *enasvinaḥ* are those mentioned in Āp. Dh. S. II. 5.12.22, with this difference that the 'brahmojha', who is included among 'patanīyas' by Āp. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 9 is put among 'enasvins' by Vasiṣṭha. In Vas. 20. 4-12 special *prāyaścittas* for each of these 'enasvinaḥ' (ordinary sinners) are prescribed. The *Mahāpātakas* (mortal sins) according to Vasiṣṭha are five, viz (violating) a *guru*'s bed, drinking of spirituous liquor, murder of a *bhrūpa* (a learned brāhmana), stealing gold from a brāhmana and associating with a *patita*. Those guilty of *upapātakas* (minor sins) are: He who forsakes sacred Vedic fires, he who offends a *guru*, an atheist, he who earns his livelihood from atheists, and he who sells the soma plant. The Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra²⁸ (II, 1) divides sins into *patanīya*, *upapātaka* and *aśucikara*. Among the first it cites making voyages by sea, stealing the property of a brāhmana or misappropriating a deposit, giving false evidence

26. For the meaning of *apapātra* vide H of Dh. vol. II pp. 309n and 785n. For the meaning of *ātreyī*, vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 527 note 970.

27. सूर्याशुद्धितः सूर्याभिनिष्कृतः कुनखी इषावदन्तः परिवित्तिः परिवित्तश्रेदिधिश्चद्विधि-
द्वयतिरिहत्वा ब्रह्मोज्झ इत्येनस्त्विनः । पञ्च महापतकान्याचक्षते । गुरुतल्पं सुरापानं भ्रणहत्या
ब्राह्मणं गुरुणापहरणं पतितसंयोगश्च ब्रह्मणेन वा योनिन वा । ... योगनीनयनिधेद्वृक्षं च यः प्रति-
दधुयात्तास्त्रिको नास्ति कश्चित्तिः सोमं च विक्रीणीयादित्युपपातकानि । ब्रह्मसूत्र I. 19-23,

28. अथ पतनीयानि । सहस्रसंयानम् । ब्रह्मस्त्रन्यासपहरणम् । भ्रूम्यद्वृत्तम् । सर्ग-
पण्यैर्न्यवहरणम् । शूद्रसेवनम् । शूद्राभिजननम् । तदपत्यत्वं च । ... अथोपपातकानि ।
अगम्यागमनं शूर्वासखीं गुरुसखीन्पपात्रां पतितां गत्वा भेषजकरणं आमयाजनं रङ्गोयजीवनं
मात्र्याचार्यता गोमहिषीरणं यञ्चान्यदप्येवं युक्तं कन्याद्वपणमिति । ... अथाह्याचिकराणि ।
घतनाभिचारोऽनाहिताग्नेरुच्छ्रुत्तिर्त्ति समावृत्तस्य नैकाचर्या तस्य चैव गुरुकुले वास ऊर्ध्वं
चतुर्थां मासेन्यस्तस्य चाध्यापनं नक्षत्रनिर्वेशश्चेति । बौ. ध. सू. II, 1.50-56, 60-61, 63-64,

regarding land (dispute), trading with merchandise of all descriptions, serving śūdras, begetting a son on a female of the śūdra caste and begetting a child (either male or female) from her²⁹. The upapitakas, acc. to Baud. Dh. S. (II. 1. 60-61), are: intercourse with females who must not be approached, cohabitation with the female friend of a female *guru* or with the female friend of a male *guru* or with an apapātra woman or with a female outcast, following the profession of medicine, officiating as a priest for a village, living by dramatic performances, following the profession of a teacher of dancing or singing or acting, tending cows and buffaloes³⁰ and similar (low occupations) and fornication. Among asueikara (causing impurity), Baud. Dh. S mentions gambling, black magic, subsisting by gleaned corn fallen in the field by one who has not consecrated sacred fires, subsisting by begging on the part of one who has returned to his home after finishing Vedic study, staying for more than four months at his teacher's seminary on the part of him who has finished his studies, teaching one who has finished his studies, gaining livelihood by astrology. Gautama (21. 1-7) appears to include among pataniyas the usual five mortal sins and also some of those that are mentioned by Āp. Dh. S. (I. 7. 21. 9-11) and Vasistha I. 23 (such as *nūstika*) and adds a few more (such as not casting off persons guilty of pataniyas, forsaking blameless relatives and instigating others to commit acts causing loss³¹ of caste.

29. That this is the correct translation of Baud. and not the one in S. B. E. vol. XIV p. 215 'becoming thereby her son' is clear from Manu III. 16 'शौनकरस्य पुत्रोत्पत्त्या तदपत्त्यया भृगो' Saunaka condemned the begetting of a son, from a śūdra female (and not the begetting of a daughter), while Bhrgu condemned the begetting of a child (whether male or female did not matter).

30. It must be supposed that these lists relate to brāhmanas and ksatriyas alone. Trading with merchandise or tending cows could not have been regarded as pataniya for Vaiśyas since trade and tending cows have been always prescribed as their special avocations. Vide Āp. Dh. S. II, 5. 10. 7, Gaut. X. 50, Manu X. 79, Yāj. I. 119. Following the profession of medicine or living by teaching dancing or by going on the stage made brāhmanas unfit to be invited at a śrāddha. Vide Gaut. 15. 15-16 for long lists of those brāhmanas who were not to be invited at Śrāddha dinners &c.

31. ब्रह्महृत्परायण्युत्पत्त्यगमाद्युपिदुष्योनिस्सम्बन्धागस्तेननास्तिकानिन्दितकर्माभ्यासि-पतिता-
। द्याव्यपतितस्याग्निः पतिताः । पातकसंयोजकाश्च । तैश्चान्द समाचरन् ।... कौटसाक्ष्य राज्यासि
पैक्षुन शरीरवृत्ताभिहसन महापातकसमानि । अपक्त्याना प्राग्दुर्बलाद् गोहन्तुब्रह्महन्-
त्सम्बन्धुव्यवकीर्णपतितसावित्रीकेपुपपातकम् । गौतम 21.1-3, 10-11.

The above statement about the classification of sins and their inclusion among the several classes or 'grades of sins' will show that among the early sūtra works there was no general agreement about the nature and number of mahāpātakas, upapātakas and other classes of sins, even though as early as the Chāndogya Upanisad the mortal sins had been declared to be five. It must be supposed that that Upanisad³² represented only one school of thought in the times of Āp., Baud. and Gaut., who did not entirely accept the tradition of that Upanisad, but followed other divergent ideas. It is impossible to suppose that the verse quoted in that Upanisad is later than the Dharma-sūtras of Āp., Gaut., Baud., and Vas

It appears that Kātyāyana³² divided sinful acts into five classes viz. mahāpāpa (mortal sins), atipāpa (the highest sins than which there is nothing worse), pātaka (sins similar to mahāpātakas), prāsaṅghika (due to association or contact) and upapātaka (minor sins). The Bhavisya-purāna also says that those sins that are declared to be equal to mahāpātakas (by Manu and others) are called pātakas. Vṛddha-Hārīta also (IX. 215-216) speaks of five kinds viz. mahāpāpa, pātaka, anupātaka, upapāpa and prakīrnaka (miscellaneous) and states (IX. 216-218) that those sins which are said to be like mahāpātaka are pātakas, that anupātakas are sins lesser than pātakas, that upapātakas are lesser than pātakas and prakīrnaka sins are the least sinful of all. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (33 3-5) speaks of nine kinds of lapses viz. atipātaka, mahāpātaka, anupātaka, upapātaka, jāmbhrāṁśakara (effecting loss of caste), saṅkarīkarana, (rendering one as degraded as a man of a mixed caste), apātrīkarana (rendering the perpetrator unworthy of receiving a gift), malāvaha (causing defilement) and prakīrnaka (miscellaneous). Atipātakas, acc. to Viṣṇu Dh. S 34.1, are sexual intercourse with one's mother, daughter or daughter-in-law and the only expiation for them is entering fire. Manu omits the separate mention of atipātaka and anupātaka and includes most of them under those that he designates as equal to one of the four well-known mahāpātakas. Kātyāyana quoted in the Prāyaścitta-muktāvalī of Divākara (folio 3 a) adds sexual intercourse with one's sister as atipātaka to the three mentioned by Viṣṇu

32. कात्यायनेन तु महापातकसमानां विष्णुमहापातकेत्वेनोकानापातकसंज्ञा दर्शिता । मित्ता. on या. III. 242 ; महापातकहृत्पानि पापान्युक्तानि यानि तु । तानि पातकसंज्ञानि ब्रह्मणे चोपपातकम् । भविष्यपुराण (ब्राह्मणपर्व 190 9)

Hārta Dh. S (it appears) quoted by the Mit knew³³ of a variety of pātakas called anupātaka, but from the way in which the several pātakas are arranged it looks as if *atipātaka* in Hārta was a lesser sin than mahāpātaka. Manu (in chap XI) refers to all the kinds of pātakas found in the Visnu-dharmasūtra except atipātakas. Usually five mahāpātakas have been enumerated from the days of the Chāndogya Up (quoted on p. 12) viz brāhmana murder, drinking spirituous liquor, theft (generally understood as theft of brāhmana's gold), sexual intercourse with the wife of a *guru* and association with the perpetrators of any of these four (for a year³⁴). Vide Vas I 19-20, Manu XI 55, 180, Yāj III 227, 261, Visnudharmasūtra 35 1-5, Vrddha-Hārta IX 174. Manu mentions certain sins as equal to Mahāpātakas which are styled anupātakas by the Visnudharmasūtra chap. 36. The most elaborate treatment of all kinds of sins in the smrtis is found in Manu, Yāj and Visnu. There is difference of opinion even among these three on certain points. For example, Manu³⁵ XI 56 says that forgetting the Veda, reviling the Vedas, giving false evidence, slaying a friend, eating forbidden food and food that is unfit for eating or should not be eaten, are lapses similar to drinking *surā*; while Yāj. III 228 states that three out of these (viz reviling the Vedas, slaying a friend and forgetting the Veda studied by a person) along with the reviling of a *guru* by attributing false faults are similar to the murder of a brāhmana. The result is that there is an option as to the expiation to be prescribed for these sins,

33. यसु हारीतेनोक्त—महापातकातिपातकाह्यपातकोपपातकानामेकतममेव सनिपाते चाऽ-
घमर्षणमेव त्रिजपेत्—इति तस्मिन्सकृद्विषयम् । नित्ता on या III 301, in अ प्रकाश
(folio 69a) हारीत is quoted as follows 'पञ्चविधमद्युभ भवति मासाङ्गिकोपपातकपातक-
महापातकात्यन्तपातकानि; and it is remarked (folio 69 b) 'मासाङ्गिकपदेन जतिभ्रष्ट-
काराणि पारिकेषाद् गृह्यन्ते'

34 In the Mahābhāṣya Patañjali mentions at least three of these five :
'यो हि अजानन्वै ब्राह्मणं हन्यात्सुरा वा पिवेत्सोऽपि मन्ये पतितः स्यात् । महाभाष्य vol. I
p 2, ध्वसते शुक्रतल्पनः । महाभाष्य vol. II p 103, दृषलरूपोयस् । अन्वय पलाण्डुना
सुरा पिवेत् । महाभाष्य vol II p 419 on चार्तिक 4 on वा V 3 66. In the Khol
copperplate of the Gupta year 214 (533-34 A. D.) it was stated that
whoever interfered with the gift would incur the five mahāpātakas and the
upapātakas (Gupta Inscriptions p 135).

35 ब्रह्मोज्झता वेदानिन्दा कौटसाद्य सुहृद्दधः । गार्हितानाथयोजर्जग्धिः सुरापानसमानि
पद ॥ मनु XI 56 , शुक्रगानाथयधिकेपो वेदानिन्दा सुहृद्दधः । ब्रह्महत्यासमं ज्ञेयमधीतर्य च
नाशनम् ॥ या III 228 मेधातिथि explains 'गार्हितं शास्त्रपतिविद्दं लज्जनादि । अनाथम-
ननस्तुष्टिकरं न मोक्ष्य इति कल्प्य (सङ्कल्प्य ?) यद्गुण्यते' ।, compare गौतम 21 10 कौटसाद्य
राजगामि पैशुन शुरोरद्वताभिशंसनमिति महापातकसमानि ।

It would be desirable to give some details as regards each of the mahāpātakas and then to describe the other varieties of sins and then to set out the expiations prescribed for all of them. It should be noted that both the secular law of penalties and the ecclesiastical rules about expiations made a difference between a sinful act intentionally committed (*kāmatah*) and one committed through ignorance or heedlessness and between an act done only once (*sakrt*) or done repeatedly (*asakrt*)

Brahmahatyā Halyā or *vadha* (killing) is applied to an act which immediately or after some time results in causing loss of life directly without the intervention of any other cause.³⁶ The Agnipurāna (173 1), the Mit, the Prāyaścittaviveka (p 47) and other works define what is meant by *vadha*. A man may be the cause of the death of a brāhmana in five ways, viz. he may himself kill (i e. he becomes the *karīā*), he may incite another to kill (*prayojaka*) by ordering that other to do so (as a king or noble by ordering his servant) or by imploring another to kill and giving advice about the killing, he may encourage another to kill by his own approval (*anumantā*), or by helping the killer when he wavers or by offering protection to the killer against others (*anugrahaka*) and by becoming a *nutta*.³⁷

The Mit on -Yaj. III. 227 and 243 (quoting verses from Paithinasi) explains all these at length. For the definition of *anugrahaka* it relies on a verse of Manu 'Where many persons are armed and have a common purpose in view, if even one of them kills a person, all of them are guilty of murder', which is very much like sec. 34 of the Indian Penal Code. This distinction into several degrees of killers is an ancient one and is based on Āp Dh. S. II. 11. 29. 1-2 'He who³⁸ instigates, he who approves, and he who commits an act—these share its results in heaven and hell; but he amongst these who contributes most to

36. हान्तिरयं प्राणवियोगकरणे व्यपारे ऋद्धः। यद्ब्रह्मपारसनन्तरं कालान्तरे वा कारणा-
न्तरानिपेक्षं प्राणवियोगो भवति स ब्राह्मणं हतवानिति ब्रह्मह्रा। मित्ता on या III. 227 ;
स्यात्प्राणवियोगफलो व्यपारो हनन स्मृतम्। अग्निपु. 173 1, quoted by प्रायःतत्त्व p. 519.

37. वाधित्वं पञ्चविधं कर्ता प्रयोजकोऽहमन्ताद्युग्राहको निमिची चेति। प्रायःति. p. 47,
अनुग्राहकश्च यः पलायमानमभिब्रह्मपुरुषं परमेश्वरं हन्तारं परिरक्ष्य हन्तुर्द्विदिमानसुपजनयस्व-
पकरोति स उच्यते। अत एव मनुना ग्राहकस्य हिसाफलसम्बन्धो सूचितः। बहूनामेककार्यार्थं
सर्वेषां शस्त्रधारिणाम्। यद्येको घातयेत्तत्र सर्वे ते घातकाः स्मृताः ॥ इति। मित्ता on या III. 227.
The verse बहूनामेका occurs in अग्निपु 173 3.

38. प्रयोजयिता मन्ता कर्तेति स्वर्गनरकफलेषु कर्मसु भागिनः। यो ध्रुय आरभते तस्मिन्
फलविशेषः ॥ आप. ध. सू. II. 11.29. 1-2.

the accomplishment of the act obtains a greater share of the results'. A *manthit*³⁹ is defined by Mit as one that angers another (who is a brāhmana) by rebuking or beating or depriving him of wealth and the like and in whose presence and on account of whom the brāhmana that is angered kills himself. The Mit. quotes a verse of Viṣṇu and also another verse (without name) on this point. If a person kills a brāhmana boy whose *upajanya* had not been performed he was yet regarded as guilty of brāhmana murder.⁴⁰ The *Sāmavidhāna Br.* I, 7, 5, Āp. Dh. S. (L 9 24 6-9), Vas. 20 34, *Manu* XI 87, *Yaj.* III 251 held that killing even a *ksatriya* or *vaiśya* who had studied the Veda had been initiated for a *soma* sacrifice rendered the killer guilty of *brāhmanahatya*, as also the killing of the foetus (of brāhmana parents) whose sex was unknown and of a woman who was an *ātreya*.⁴¹ Killing a brāhmana woman other than an *ātreya* or other than the wife of a sacrificer engaged in a *soma* sacrifice was only an *upapātaka*, as *Manu* (XI 66) and *Yaj.* (III 236) lay down. *Viśva-kṛpa* on *Yaj.* III 254 says that no *pṛvaścitta* can expiate the sin of killing a woman intentionally. In the case of the three varnas other than that of brāhmana some *śmitis* like that of *Cyavana*⁴² laid down other *mahāpātakas* in addition to the five, viz. punishing one who should not be punished and fleeing from the battle-field are additional *mahāpātakas* for *ksatriyas*, employing false balances and weights for *vaiśyas*, the soiling of flesh, injuring a brāhmana, sexual intercourse with a brāhmana woman, the drinking of the

39. इथा षोडि भर्त्सन्त उच्यन्ते तदापि वापि यत्करोति सोऽपि मन्थित इत्युच्यते ।
त्यादन्वितो हि मातृभवेत् । अत्र एव विन्दते । अत्र एव विन्दते । अत्र एव विन्दते ।
यत्करोति यत्करोति यत्करोति यत्करोति । इथा । इथा । इथा । इथा । इथा ।
यत्करोति यत्करोति यत्करोति यत्करोति । इथा । इथा । इथा । इथा । इथा ।
The *mit.* p. 5¹ ascribes the first verse to *Yaj.* and the 2nd to *Viśva-kṛpa* and cites two more verses of similar import from *Bhāṣya*. The *śmitis* (part.) p. 262 ascribes both verses to *Viśva* and quotes six or seven verses from *Manu*. The verse *अथ* is almost the same as *अग्नि* 173 4.

40. अत्र ब्राह्मणवधे मन्थितवचिदित्यदस्य केनाप्यनुक्तत्वात् मन्थितमिदं ब्राह्मणवधे
इति यथाप्यस्य च जनिवचनत्वात् अत्यन्तिसाक्षात्कृत्येति न्यायात्कम् । मय. वि. 2 25.

41. पुरीषोऽपि विदोऽप्यस्य इत्या मन्थनं चाभिहितम् । ब्राह्मणवधे च । मन्थित इत्युच्यते ।
मन्थितम् । अत्रैव च विन्दते । अप. ध. 2 1 9. 2-6-9; वाजसनेयि मन्थने इत्या
ब्राह्मणवधेन सुहृद्ब्रह्मण्यस्य । सान्निधान्या I 7.5.

42. इतिवादीनामप्यस्य न्यायात्कम् । ब्राह्मणवधे च । मन्थितम् । इत्युच्यते ।
ब्राह्मणवधे च । इतिवादीनामप्यस्य न्यायात्कम् । अत्रैव च विन्दते । मन्थितम् ।
मन्थितम् । मन्थितम् । मन्थितम् । मन्थितम् । मन्थितम् । मन्थितम् ।
टीकाटिका 03 वा. III, 227.

milk of a kapilā (dark-brown) cow in the case of sūdras. If a brāhmana or any other human being or a cow died while a competent doctor was administering treatment to them by means of drugs, oils or food, or cauterization by cutting or by opening a vein the medical man incurred no sin⁴³ But if a quack pretending to know medicine administered such treatment and death followed, Yāj. II 242 prescribed various punishments. If a brāhmana administers moderate corporal punishment to his son, pupil or wife for some fault and the son or pupil or wife suddenly dies he incurs no sin, according to the Bhavisyapurāna and the Agnipurāna.⁴⁴ Gautama (II 48-50), Āp. Dh S I 2 8, 29-30, Manu VIII 299-300 (= Matsyapurāna 227. 152-154), Visnu Dh. S 71 81-82, Nārada (abhyupetyāśusrūṣā 13-14) lay down that the punishment should be administered with a rope or bamboo slip on the back (but never on the head or chest) and Manu (VIII 300) provides that if these restrictions were violated the punisher would incur the same guilt or punishment as a thief. Vide H. of Dh. vol II. pp 362-363 for this topic

One important question that very much exercised the minds of ancient and medieval Dharmasāstra writers is whether a man can kill a brāhmana ātatāyin in self-defence without incurring any sin or punishment by the king. There is great divergence of views on this point, which has been dealt with at some length in H of Dh vol II pp. 148-151 and vol. III pp. 517-518. The conclusion of the Mitaksarā appears to voice the views of most writers that, if a brāhmana comes as an ātatāyin (as an incendiary, as a poisoner, as a kidnapper of women or with the intention of killing or wresting a field), then in self-defence one may oppose him without incurring any sin, but that if the brāhmana offender meets death though the defender did not desire to kill him (but only to stop him by causing injury short of death), the

43 क्रियमाणोपकारे तु मृते विमे न पातकम् । वा III 284, औषधं स्नेहमाहारं दृक्द्रो-
भाङ्गणादिषु । दीयमाने विपत्तिः स्यात् स पापेन लिप्यते ॥ संवर्त 138 (The Ānan ed. reads
last pāda as पुण्यमेव न पातकम्) q by विश्वरूप on वा III. 262, by the मिता on वा.
III 227 (with two more verses), by प्राय वि. p 56 (reads second half as प्राणिनां
प्राणदुःखार्थं प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते) The same verse occurs in चम 50, लङ्कशङ्ख 61, लङ्क
हारीत 28. The मिता and प्राय वि. quote another verse as संवर्त's which is 'दाहच्छेद-
गिराभेदमपत्नैरुपकुर्वताम् । प्राणसंज्ञागसिद्धार्थं प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते' ॥ The अग्निपुराण
173.5 has 'औषधाद्युपकारे तु न पाप स्यात् कृते मृते । पुत्रं सिद्धयं तथा भार्यां शासतो न मृते
द्वयम् ॥ ।

44. पुत्र शिष्यस्तथा भार्यां शासितश्चेद्द्विनश्यति । न शास्ता तत्र दोषेण लिप्यते देव-
सत्तम ॥ भविष्यपु. q. b5 प्राय. वि. p. 58; आश्रयु. 173.5 is similar.

defender is not liable to be punished by the king and he has to undergo a light expiation (i. e. he is not guilty of brāhmana's murder).⁴⁵

Surāpāna (drinking of *surā*) has been held to be a mahāpātaka. The word *surā* occurs several times in the R̥gveda (e. g. R̥g I 116 7, I 191.10, VII. 86 6, VIII. 2 12, X 107 9) R̥g. VII. 86 6 quoted above (in note 17) clearly indicates that *surā* was looked upon by the R̥gvedic singers as a cause of sin just as much as gambling. R̥g. I 116 7 (*satam kumbhān asificatam surāyāh*) read with R̥g I 117.6 (*śatam madhūnām*) implies that madhu (honey or some sweet substance) might have been used in preparing *surā*. Soma was a beverage to be offered to the gods and to be drunk by the brāhmana priests and was sharply distinguished from *surā* (e. g. in Tai S II 5 11, Vāj S. 197, Śat Br. V. 1 5 28). The last furnishes the striking antithesis 'soma is truth, prosperity, light, and *surā* is untruth, misery, darkness'. It appears that long before the Kāthaka Samhitā brāhmanas had come to regard the drinking of *surā* as very sinful [XII 12 'therefore the brāhmana does not drink *surā* (with the idea) that (by drinking it) he may become affected by sin']⁴⁶ The Chāndogya Up. (V. 10.9) speaks of the drinker of *surā* as a *patita*, while in V. 11 5 king⁴⁷ Aśvapati Kaikeya makes the boast before the five learned brāhmanas that had come to him for the knowledge of *Ātman Vaiśvānara* that in his kingdom there was no thief and no drinker of *madya*. Though Manu XI 54 enumerates the drinking of *surā* among the five mahāpātakas, Yāj. III. 227 speaks of the *madyapa* (drinker of *madya*) as one of the five great sinners. Therefore we must explain what is meant by *surā* and when *surāpāna* becomes a mahāpātaka. By Manu XI 93 *surā* is said to be the refuse of food and Manu XI. 94 states that *surā* is of three kinds, viz that prepared from molasses, that from flour and that from madhūka flowers (or from honey). There is a great deal of discussion about *surā* in many of the digests and the propositions

45 अतश्च ब्राह्मणादय आततायिनश्च आत्मादित्राणार्थं हिंसानभिसान्धिना निवार्यमाणा प्रमादाद्यदि विपद्येस्त्वत्र लडुमायश्चित्त राजदण्डाभावश्चेति निश्चय । मिता on II. 21.

46 तस्माद् ब्राह्मण सुरा न पिबति पाप्मना नेत्सद्यया इति । काठक XII 12 q by the तन्त्रवार्तिक on ऊँ I 3 7 p 210 and by शङ्कराचार्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III 4 31.

47 स इ प्रात सजिहान उवाच न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न रुद्ध्यां न मद्यपो नानादिपाणिर्न विद्वाञ्च स्वैरी स्वैरिणी कुत ... । छा. उ. V. 11.5.

established by most of them are⁴⁸: (1) that all the three higher varnas are forbidden to drink the surā prepared from flour and drinking it is a grave sin (mahāpātaka) in the case of anyone belonging to the three first varnas, (2) All intoxicants (*madya*) are forbidden to brāhmanas at all stages of life (Gaut. II. 25 'madyam nityam brāhmanah' and Āp. Dh. S. I 5. 17-21); but a brāhmana drinking surā of the gaudi or mādhvī kind would not be guilty of mahāpātaka but of anupātaka (acc to Visnu); (3) that intoxicants other than surā prepared from flour are not condemned for ksatriyas and vaiśyas; (4) the śūdra was not forbidden to drink any kind of intoxicant (including surā made from flour); (5) brahmacārins of all varnas studying the Veda had to abstain from intoxicants of all kinds. The Visnu Dh. S. (22 83-84) specifies ten kinds of madya (intoxicants) prepared from dates, jack fruit, cocoanuts, sugarcane &c and Pulastya quoted by the Mit on Yaj. III. 253, by the Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa of Bhavadeva (p 40), the Prāyaścittaviveka of Śūlapāni (p. 90), Pr. Prakāsa (folio 69 b) refers to eleven kinds of *madyas* apart from *surā* (dvādaśam to surāmadyam sarvesām adhamam smṛtam). Vide H of Dh. vol. III pp 964-966 for further discussion on intoxicating drinks,

The Mit points out (on Yaj III. 253) that the prohibition against drinking surā applies to boys who have not yet been invested with the sacred thread and also to unmarried girls, since Manu XI 93 makes no distinction of sex but only forbids to the three first castes the drinking of surā and since the Bhavisyapurāna⁴⁹ expressly forbids to a brāhmana female the drinking of *surā* The Kalpataru appears to have held otherwise. But a woman and a minor had to undergo lesser prāyaścitta as will be shown below. Vas 21 11 and Yaj III 256 state that the wife of a brāhmana, ksatriya or vaiśya who drinks surā (made from flour) would not reach the worlds of her husband and she

48 अयमत्राय । त्रैवर्णिकानामुत्पत्तिप्रभृति पैटीप्रतिषेधः । ब्राह्मणस्य तु मद्यमात्र-
निषेधोऽप्युत्पत्तिप्रभृत्येव । राजन्यवैश्ययोस्तु न कदाचिदपि गौड्यादिमद्यप्रतिषेध । शूद्रस्य न
सुराप्रतिषेधो नापि मद्यप्रतिषेध ॥ मिता. ८०८ या III. 253 ; पैटीशब्दप्रतिषेधब्रह्मिण्येवैवकारो
सुख्यसुराशब्दार्थः । तत्पानमेव त्रैवर्णिकस्य सह.पातकम् । गौडीमाध्वीसुरापाने तु ब्राह्मणस्य
पैटीपानवदेव प्रापश्चिकम् । क्षत्रियवैश्येस्तु तत्पाने न दोष इति । प्राय. प्रक P 42

49. तथा भविष्ये । तस्मान्न पेयं विप्रेण सुरामद्यं कथञ्चन । एतेनाहुपेतविप्रस्य कुमारिका-
याश्च दोषाभावो द्विजग्रहणादिति वदन् कल्पतरुः परास्त । प्रा मकाश folio 70 b The
word द्विज occurs in मनु १.1 90. ब्राह्मण्यापि न पेया वै सुरा पापभावाद्वा ॥ प्राय वि. p. 92.

would become in this world a bitch or a sow⁵⁰ The Mit. remarks⁵¹ on this verse that though a śūdra is not forbidden to drink surā even the śūdra wife of a brāhmana should not drink surā

Drinking *surā* means taking it down the throat Therefore if a man's lips only touch surā or if surā enters his mouth but he spits it out, then there is no *drinking* of surā (i. e. no mahāpātaka) and he would have had to undergo in such a case a light expiation for the touch of surā⁵².

Steya (theft). In order to constitute theft as a grave sin according to the commentaries the theft must be of a brāhmana's gold of a certain quantity *Steya* is defined by Āp Dh S I. 10 28 1 as⁵³ 'a man becomes a thief by coveting another's property (and taking it) in whatever situation he may be (without the owner's consent)' Kātyāyana (810) defines⁵⁴ it as 'depriving a man of his property, whether clandestinely or openly and, whether by night or by day, is known to be theft'. Vyāsa defines it similarly. Vācaspati in his bhāṣya on Yogasūtra II, 30 defines *steya* as taking property from another in a manner that is not allowed by the śāstras (*steyam-asāstra-pūrvakam dravyānām parataḥ śvikaranam*). Though Manu (XI 54) and Yaj (III 227) simply employ the word 'steya' (theft) or 'stena' (thief) yet in speaking of the *prāyaścitta*

50 या ब्राह्मणी च सुरापि न ता देश पतिलोकं नयन्तीहैव सा चरति क्षीणदुग्धायुष्टु
लुभयति झुक्तिका वा । वसिष्ठ 21 11. This is cited as श्रुति in प्राय वि. p 92 and
these very words occur in the महाभाष्य on वार्तिक 1-2 on पाणिनि III 2 8 'या
ब्राह्मणी सुरापि भवति नैनां देश पतिलोकं नयन्ति' vol II p 99 (the वार्तिक are सुरा-
नीचोः पिबते । बहुलं तग्नि ।)

51. ब्राह्मणसिंहणं चात्र 'तिस्रो वर्णास्तुपूर्वमेव' इति न्यायेन यस्य द्विजातेर्पावत्यो
भार्यास्नानास्तुपलक्षणम् । अत एव मनु । पतत्यर्धं शरीरस्य यस्य भार्या सुरा पिबेत् । पतितार्ध-
शरीरस्य निष्कृतिर्न विधीयते ॥ इति । द्विजातिभार्याया. छुद्राया अपि सुरामतिवेधमाद्वयवर्धम् ।
मिता on या III 256 The verse पतत्यर्धं is not found in मनु, but is वसिष्ठ
21 15 and पराशर X 27.

52 पानं च द्वयीभूतस्याश्ववहार. स च कण्ठदेशादधीनयनं न तु बन्धमात्रमेव ।
निष्टीवनाद्यर्थं कपोलधारणे पानगन्धाप्रयोगात् । . अत एवौत्राम्भे लेपे न पाननिष्पत्ति ॥ अतरत-
त्रोत्तमाङ्गुष्पणप्रयश्चित्तम् ॥ प्राय वि p 93.

53 यथा कथा च परपरिग्रहमभिमन्यते स्तेनो ह भवतीति कौस्तुहरीतौ तथा काण्व-
शुक्ररसादी ॥ . सर्वत्राशुमतिपूर्वमिति हारीत ॥ आप. च सू I, 10 28 1 and 5

54 प्रच्छन्न वा प्रकाशं वा निग्रायामथवा दिवा । यत्परद्वयहरणं स्तेयं तत्परिकीर्तितम् ॥
कात्या- 810, q by द्वायभाग p 224 and प्राय. वि p 112, समक्षं वा परोक्षं वा बलाञ्जी-
येण वा पुन ॥ परस्वानाशुपादानं स्तेयमित्युच्यते इयं ॥ व्यास q by स्मृतिशु (प्रा) p 883,
स्तेनो विप्रस्वामिकयोऽन्नमापपरिमितस्य हेम्नश्छलबलचौर्यान्पतरेपरहर्ता ॥ प्रा प्रकाश folio
70 b

for steja Manu (XI, 99 'suvarnasteyakrt') and Yaj. III, 257 (brāhmanasvarnahāri) add the qualification that he should be a thief guilty of stealing gold (from a brāhmana, acc. to Yaj.). Vas. 20, 41 and Cyavana (q by Pr V. p. 117) mention 'brāhmanasvarna-harana' as a mahāpātaka and the Samavidhāna Br. (I, 6, 1) also employs the words 'brāhmanasvam hrtvā'. Vide Samvarta 122 and Viśvāmītra (q. by Pr. V. p. 108). A further qualification was added by Viśvarūpa (on Yaj III, 252 'anākhyāya &c'), the Mit. (on Yaj. III, 257), the Madanapārijāta (pp 827-28), Prāyāścittaprakaraṇa (p. 72), the Prāyāścittaviveka (p 111) and other commentators that the gold stolen must be at least sixteen māśas in weight, otherwise there is no mahāpātaka⁵⁵. So, if a man steals gold belonging to a brāhmana which is less than 16 māśas or steals gold of any weight (even more than 16 māśas) from a non-brāhmana (i. e. from a ksatriya or the like) he would be guilty only of a minor sin (*upapātaka*). The Mit. relies on the verses of Yaj. I 362-363 for the technical meaning of suvarna (as 16 māśas) There was no guilt of theft acc. to Vārsayāni if (Āp. Dh. S. I 10, 28, 2) a person took only a small quantity of cereals ripening in pods (such as *mudga*, *māṣa* and gram) or took grass for his oxen while he was going (in a cart.⁵⁶) According to Gautama 12, 25 a man may take (without permission and without incurring the guilt of theft) for the sake of cows and for the sake of *śrauta* or *smārta* fires grass, fuel and flowers of trees and plants as if they were his own property and the fruits (of trees and plants) that are not fenced around. Manu VIII, 339 (=Matsya 227, 112-113) is almost like Gaut 12, 25 and Manu VIII, 341 adds that a traveller of the three higher castes may, if his provisions have run short, take (without fear of punishment) from another's field two sugarcane stalks and two mūlakas (esculent roots).

Gurvaṅganūgamah (sexual intercourse with the wife of the guru). Manu (XI, 54) employs this word, while Yaj. III, 227 and Vas. 20, 13 speak of the offender as *gurutaḥpaga* (who violates the bed of the guru) and Vas. I, 20 mentions the sin as '*gurutaḥpam*'

55. अत्र च सुवर्णशब्दः परिमाणविविधहेतुमद्भ्यवचनो न जातिमात्रवचनः ॥ 'जालसूर्य .. कृष्णल, पञ्च ते मापस्ते सुवर्णस्तु षोडश ॥' (पा. I 362-363) इति षोडशमापपरिमिते हेतुनि सुवर्णशब्दस्य परिभाषितत्वात् । ...अतः षोडशमायात्मकसुवर्णपरिमितहेतुहरण एव महापातकित्वं तन्निमित्तं मरणान्निर्वादिमायश्चित्तविधानं च ॥ द्विजादिमायात्मकहेतुहरणं तु क्षत्रियादिहेतुहरण-बहुपपातकमेवेति युक्तम् ॥ मिता. on III, 257

56. सन्त्यपवादाः परपरिग्रहेष्विति वापर्यायिणि । शम्पोवा दुग्धवासी न स्वामिनः प्रतिषेधयन्ति । अतिष्यवहारो द्युद्धो भवति । आप. ध सू. I, 10, 28 2-4

(the bed i. e. wife of the *guru*) *Guru* primarily means acc to Manu II.142 and Yaj. I 34 (= Śāṅkha III 2) the father. Acc to Gautama II.56 'the teacher (of the Veda) is the foremost amongst *gurus* while some say that the mother is so'. Samvarta⁵⁷ 160 and Parāśara X, 13 (employing the words 'pitrdāraṇ samāruhya') convey that the primary meaning of *guru* here is 'father' as stated by the Mit. on Yaj III, 259. Acc to many digests such as the Mit and the Madanapārijāta p 835 *gurvanganā* means one's own mother Bhavadeva in his Pr. Prakarana (p. 80) takes *gurvanganā*⁵⁸ as a *karmadhāraya* compound, following what is called the *nsādasthapati-nyāya* (Jai. VI.1 51) After quoting Devala's dictum⁵⁹ that there are eleven persons among males who are to be looked upon as *gurus*, and adverting to the way in which the word '*gurvanganā*' is explained by the Pr Prakarana, the Prāyāścitta-vivēka expresses its dissent from the views of the Pr. Prakarana and holds that '*gurvanganā*' or '*gurupatni*' means not only one's mother but also one's step-mother of the same varna as the father The Madanapārijāta (p. 835) holds the same view as the Pr V The Pr. M., p. 73 finds fault with Bhavadeva (author of Prāyāścitta-prakarana) and also with the Pr V. that held the view that sexual intercourse with one's Vedic teacher's wife was also a

57. पितृभार्या समाकृष्ट मातृवर्जं नराधम । भगिनी मातृराता च स्वसारं चान्यमातृजायम्
पतास्तिन्नः स्त्रियो गत्वा तसकृच्छ्र समाचरेत् । सर्वं 159-160; 'शुक्रशब्दश्चात्र मुख्यया ह्यस्या
पितरि वर्तते । ..अतः पितृपत्नीगमनमेव महापातकम् । गमनं च चरमधातुविसर्गपर्यन्तं कथयते ।
अतस्तयोऽर्थात् निवृत्तौ न महापातकित्यम् । मित्ता on या III 259

58. तेन शुर्वी (शुक्र ?) चासौ अङ्गना चेति कर्मधारयसमासात् स्वमातृवचनं एवापं
शुर्वङ्गनाशब्दः । न तु शुरोरङ्गनं शुर्वङ्गना इति षष्ठीसमासात् सपत्नीमातृवचनोऽपि । तेन निषाद-
स्थपतिं याजयेत्-इतिवत् कर्मधारयसमासे स्वमातृवचनं एवापं शुर्वङ्गनाशब्दः । प्रायः प्रकरण p. 80,
ज्ञानर on जै VI. 1 51 says 'समानाधिकरणसमासस्तु षष्ठीयान् । . तस्मात् निषाद एव
स्थपतिः स्यात् । (and not निषादानां स्थपतिः) . Vide H. of Dh vol II p 46 for
निषादस्थपतिभ्याम्.

59. तथा देवलः । आचार्यश्च पिता ज्येष्ठो भ्राता चैव महीपतिः । मातुलः स्वशुरज्जाता
मातामहापितामही ॥ वर्णज्येष्ठः पितृव्यश्च सुरयेते शुरवो मताः । ज्ञाता प्राणरक्षकः । वर्णज्येष्ठः
क्षत्रियादीनां ब्राह्मण । माय वि p 129, यद्यपि देवलवचनेनैव एकादश शुरवो दक्षिणा-
स्तथाप्यत्र पितैव शुक्याश्चो नाचार्यादि । . मातृगमनस्यातिपातकत्वात् सपत्नीमातृगमनस्य
शुर्वङ्गनागमनत्वेन महापातकत्वाद् अर्थाद्व्यपातके लज्जनि हीनवर्णया पितृपत्न्या ग्रहणम् ।
माय वि pp 134-135 ... तस्माद् मातृव्यतिरिक्तैकादशशुर्वङ्गनागमनमेव महापातकमिति
शुज्यते देवलवचनमिति । अत्र भवदेवेनेक्तं नाम शुरोरङ्गना शुर्वङ्गनेति षष्ठीसमासः तदशु-
समासाश्रयणे निषादस्थपतिवत्प्रथमलक्षणायत्तेः । अतो शुक्रशास्त्रावङ्गना चेति कर्मधारयः ।
शुक्रत्वं च मातृरेव न मातुः सपत्न्या । ... तदसमत् मातृगमनं दुहितृगमनं स्तृषागमनमि-
त्यतिपातकानीति विष्णुहारीताभ्यां मातृगमनस्यातिपातकत्वाभिधानात् । यद्यपि देवलवचनेनैव
एकादशशुर्वो दक्षिणास्तथाप्यत्र पितैव शुक्याश्चो नाचार्यादिस्तपत्नीगमनस्य शुक्रतत्त्वगमनस्य
स्याद्यप्येतेष्वपातकत्वगतेश्च । माय. वि. pp 129-134.

mahāpātaka. The Pr. M. relies on Yāj. (III, 233) where there is an express extension of the sin of *gurutalpagamana* to intercourse with one's teacher's wife, or one's daughter and other nearly related women. This would have been unnecessary if *gurutalpa* was primarily meant to include the teacher's wife; while the Pr. V. relies upon Gaut. II. 56 ('the ācārya is the most eminent among gurus, some say that the mother is so'), Visnu Dh. S. 31.1-2 'three persons are *atigurus* (exceed even guru in their greatness) viz. the mother, the father and the ācārya and Devala who mentions eleven persons as gurus. The Pr. M. does not seem to be quite correct since the Pr. V. ultimately (pp. 134-135) states its final view that guru here means only the father and not the ācārya and others and that Visnu Dh. S. 36.4-8 holds that sexual intercourse with the wife of the teacher and several other women relatives is an *anupātaka*.

Mahāpātaka-samsarga—Association with those who are guilty of the four mahāpātakas has already been described in H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 614, 944. Gaut. 21.3, Vas. I. 21-22, Manu XI. 180 (=Śantiparva 165. 37), Yāj. III. 261, Visnu Dh. S 35.3, Agnipurāna 170. 1-2 prescribe briefly that one who closely associates or dwells with any one of the four grave sinners for one year himself incurs mahāpātaka⁶⁰ and they add that this applies when a man occupies the same conveyance or same seat (as the sinner) or dines in the same row (with the sinner), but that if a person enters into spiritual relationship (such as that of teaching the Veda to the sinner or learning it from him or of officiating as a priest for him or allowing him to officiate as a priest for himself) or into a sexual or matrimonial alliance with him (i. e. a man who cohabits with a woman that is a grave sinner or if a woman cohabits with a male that is a great sinner or if a man marries the daughter of a *patita* or if a woman marries a bridegroom that is *patita*) that person becomes guilty of mahāpātaka at once. Brhaspati speaks⁶¹

60. तैश्चाहं समाचरन् ॥ गौ. 21.3, संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहाचरन् । याजनाध्यापनाद्यौनाञ्च तु यानासनाज्ञानात् ॥ मनु XI. 180, वसिष्ठ I 22, बौ. ध. सू. II. 1.88, विष्णु 35.3 (only the first half of Manu), अग्निपु. 170. 1-2.

61. एकशय्यासनं पङ्क्तिर्भाण्डपक्वान्नामिश्रणम् ॥ याजनाध्यापने योनिस्तथा च सह-भोजनम् ॥ नवधा सङ्करः प्रोक्तो न कर्तव्योऽधमे सह ॥ बृहस्पति १ by अपरार्क p. 1086, एह र 587, प्राय. प्रकरण p 101, प्राय. वि p 143, the नित्यं on III 261 ascribes it to बृहस्पति The प्राय म p. 91 explains the divergence of views as to योनिः, 'योनिः पातकिने कस्यादानं तत्कस्यापपरिणयनं वेति-विज्ञानिभ्यश्चकल्पतश्चकारादयः । पातकिनीगमनमित्यपराकेशुलपाणी । योगपरित्यागात्त्विदमेव युक्तम् ।' The प्रा प्रकाश folio 74a also says the same.

of nine kinds of *samsarga* (contact or association) out of which the first five were treated as light sins, but the other four were serious viz. occupying the same bed or seat, taking food in the same row with the sinner, cooking food in the sinner's cooking pots or partaking of food prepared by him, being his sacrificial priest or employing him as one's sacrificial priest, being the sinner's teacher of the Veda or employing him as one's teacher of the Veda, sexual intercourse, taking food with him in the same pot. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 74a) holds that *samsarga* is of three kinds, the highest, middling and lowest. The first includes four viz. *yonisambandha* (marriage), *srauva* (i.e. that due to sacrificing for a sinner or making him a priest), *maukha* (about learning or teaching Veda) and eating of food from the same vessel (*ekāmatrabhojana*), the middling is of five kinds viz. using the same vehicle, seat, bed or coverlet, eating in the same row and learning the Veda together (*sahādhyayana*). The lowest is of various other kinds such as intimate talks, touching, cooking food in the same vessel, eating food at his house, receiving a gift from him &c. *Adhyāpana* in order to be a great sin must relate to the Veda, and so also *yajana* must relate to such Vedic sacrifices as *Darśapūrnamāsa*, *Cāturmāsya*, *Agnistoma*. Helping a *mahāpātaka* to perform the five daily *yajñas* or teaching him the *aṅgas* (metrics, grammar etc.) and the *śāstras* is only a minor sin. Parāśara⁶² (XII. 79) states that sins are transferred (or spread) from man to man like a drop of oil on water by sitting or sleeping together or by using the same conveyance or by speaking with or dining in the same row. Devala and Chāgaleya q. by the Mit. on Yaj. III. 261, the Pr. Prakarāna (p. 101), the Pr. V. (p. 145), the Par. M. (II, part 1, p. 28) and others contain similar verses. Acc. to Pr. Prakāśa (folio 75a), in order to become *patita* one must simultaneously practise these four together, if practised separately, there is no *pātitya* but only *doṣa*. Parāśara (I. 25-26) states that in the *Kṛta* age a man became *patita* by speaking with a *patita*, in *Tretā* by touching him, in *Dvāpara* by partaking of food prepared in his house and in *Kālī* by actually committing a sinful act and that in the *Kṛta* age a district was abandoned (if any one therein became *patita*), in *Tretā* the village, in *Dvāpara* the family (of the *patita* was abandoned) and in *Kālī* only the actual perpetrator himself (is

62 आसन्नान्दृष्टयनाद्यानास्तम्भावात् सहभोजनात्। संक्रान्तिं हि पापानि तैलविन्दु-
रिवाम्भसि॥ पराशर XII 79, which is the same as a verse of कृष्ण पृ. by परा. मा.
II. 1 p. 28.

abandoned as *patita*). It is clear from this that such contacts with a *patita* as speaking with him,⁶³ touching him or eating food (in the house of a *patita*) were not regarded as involving a man in the same sin as that of the actual perpetrator. Speaking, touching and eating are also actions (*karman*) and Parāśara did not include them in the word 'karmanā' which refers only to the actual perpetration of a murder, *surāpāna* etc. Therefore when some writers include such contacts as eating or touching under 'karmanā' they put two meanings on the word *karman* in Parāśara viz. perpetration of a murder or the like and also doing some of the acts (touching, eating) which are forbidden to be done in reference to a perpetrator by some *smṛtis*. This is a procedure which is against the maxim of the *Mīmāṃsā* that the same word conveys only⁶⁴ one sense in the same context. The reasonable inference from the words of Parāśara is that merely touching a *mahāpātaka* or eating food in his house did not involve the toucher and eater in *pāṭitya*. In spite of this medieval writers gradually extended the scope of *samsarga* in a spirit of exclusiveness and of over-emphasis on ideas of ceremonial purity. For example, the *Smṛtyarthasāra*⁶⁵ (p. 112) remarks that he who associates with the person that associates with a *mahāpātaka* has to undergo half the expiation that the first associator has to undergo. But that work does not go beyond this. The *Mit.* (on *Yāj III, 261*) appears to hold that the associator even though he does not become *patita* is liable to undergo expiation and that even the 4th and 5th associators in a series are liable to undergo expiation

63. संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहान्धरत् । एकयानभोजनासनहायनैः ॥ यौनश्रीवमौरव-सम्बन्धात् सद्य एव ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 35. 3-5 यौन (derived from योनि) refers to marital connection, शौच (derived from शुद्ध a sacrificial ladle) means 'employing as a sacrificial priest or becoming such a priest for another), मौख (from मुख) means 'teaching the Veda or learning it by word of mouth). So *Vīṇu* prescribes that *pāṭitya* results at once from the first kind of *samsarga* referred to above तत्र पञ्चमहायज्ञादिविषय याजनं लडु । अङ्गशास्त्राध्ययनं लडु । दुहितृभागिनीव्यतिरिक्तौ परिणयो लडु ॥ पतितेन सहैकपात्रे अन्नव्यतिरिक्तसक्त्वादिभक्षणं लडु ॥ भा. प्रकाश folio 75a.

64. सङ्कलुत्त. शब्दस्तेनैवार्थं गमयति ।, which maxim is relied upon in 6 Cal. 119, 126, (FB), that is quoted with approval in L R. 41 I A 290, pp 303-4, 54 All 698, 722 (FB) अन्यायश्चलिकार्थत्वम् ॥ शबर on जै VI, 1 22, मद्. पा. p. 369.

65. महापातकिसंसर्गिसंसर्गे तु तत्संसर्गिद्वयस्यार्थं कुर्यात् ॥ स्वत्यर्थसार p. 112.

though it is lesser and lesser⁶⁶. The Pr. Prakarana (p 109), Pr V. (pp 169-170) and the Pr T. (p 547) quote certain verses of Āpastamba and Vyāsa which very much widen the circle of *samsarga*. Āpastamba-smṛti⁶⁷ (III, 1-3) states. 'if a cāndāla stays in the house of any one of the four castes without being known, the latter on coming to know of the fact should undergo expiation, which is Cāndrāyana or Parāka for a member of the first three varnas and Prājāpatya for a śūdra. Those who partook of cooked food in that man's house should undergo Kṛochra; one should prescribe one half of Kṛochra for those who took cooked food in the house of the 2nd associator and for those who partook of cooked food in the house of these last one-fourth of Kṛochra is prescribed'. So besides the original associator three more in succession were held to be liable for *prāyaścitta*. Mercifully they stopped at the 4th from the original associator. A few writers took a more reasonable view. The Par M (II part 2, p 90) remarks⁶⁸ that Parāśara did not prescribe any expiation for *samsarga* (with those guilty of grave sins) with the idea that in the Kali age

66 अतः संसर्गिसंसर्गिणा द्विजातिकर्मण्यो हानिर्न भवति प्रायश्चित्तं तु भवत्येव ॥ . तत्र पादहीनम् ॥ .. एवं चतुर्थपञ्चमयोरपि कामत ससर्गिणोरधीर्न त्रिपादौ न च ब्रह्मण्यम् ॥ नित्त on या III 261 या प्रकाश (folio 110a) finds fault with this and holds on the strength of a verse of Vyāsa 'यो येन संसृज्यते स तदीयमेव प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यात् तेन द्वितीयससर्गी नवाह्वानि कुर्यात् तृतीयस्तु पादौ न समाह्वानि कुर्यात् । एव चतुर्थपञ्चमाद्य. पूर्वपादौ न प्यासवाक्याविकोपात् ॥'.

67. अन्यजातिरविज्ञातो विवसेद्यस्य वेदमनि ॥ स वै ज्ञात्वा तु कालेन कुर्यात्तत्र विज्ञो-धनम् ॥ चान्द्रायणं पराको वा द्विजातीनां विज्ञो धनम् ॥ राजापत्यं तु शूद्राणां तथा ससर्गद्वये ॥ यैस्तत्र युक्तं पक्षात् कृच्छ्रं तेषां विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ तेषामपि च यैर्युक्तं कृच्छ्रपादो विधीयते ॥ आपस्तम्ब quoted by प्राय. वि pp 170 and 492, प्राय तत्र p. 547 The verses occur with slight variations in the versified आपस्तम्बस्मृति (Ānan. edition) III 1-3. The प्राय वि p 169 remarks 'प्यासादिवचने तृतीयसंसर्गिपर्यन्त प्रायश्चित्तदर्शनात् । तथा चान्दालादिसङ्गरे प्यास ॥ ये तदज्ञाक्षिणो विमाः कृच्छ्रं तेषां विधीयते ॥ तद्भोजिनीष्वकृच्छ्रेण तदज्ञादाश्च पादत् ॥'.

68. आचार्यरुह कालियुगे संसर्गदोषाभावमभिप्रेत्य ससर्गप्रायश्चित्तं नाग्यथात् । अत एव स्तुत्यन्तरे काली वज्रानामनुक्रमणे-संसर्गदोष पापेषु-इत्युक्तम् । परा. मा II part 2 p 90 For a severe onslaught against Mādhava, vide धर्मद्वैतनिर्णय (p 132) The प्राय प्रकाश (folio 77a) explains away Mādhava's emphatic remarks as follows: 'कृते सम्भाषणमात्रात्पतति काली तु कृत्स्नेन निषिद्धकर्मणा याजनादिभिरित्यर्थः । अन्यथा पूर्ववाक्ये कतारं तु काली न्यसोदित्यनेन साक्षात् कत्रादि. ससर्गो निषिद्धः । द्वितीयवाक्ये तु काली पतति कर्मणेत्यनेन साक्षात्कुरुव द्रोषोऽन संसर्गकस्तृति परस्परविरोध स्यात् । एवं च माधवस्य काली संसर्गदोषाभावोक्तैरेव तात्पर्यम् । तथा च कालिनिषिद्धेषु संसर्गदोष इत्युक्तिः पातकिना सह पूर्वोक्तयाजनाद्यनेकविधससर्गाभावेपि यो देशादिमात्रससर्गं कृतयुगादौ द्रोपजनकत्वेनोक्तः पाराशरपूर्वश्लोके यश्चोत्तरश्लोके कृतयुगादौ सम्भाषणमात्रादौप उक्तस्तद्विषया ।'.

there is no blemish of samsarga and that it is on account of this that in the enumeration of things to be avoided or not allowed in the Kali age (*Kali-varjya*) another smṛi includes 'pollution through contact with a sinner' (as a Kalivarjya). The Smṛtimuktāphala (Prāyaścitta pp. 897-98) echoes the very words of Mādhava and quotes further authorities on the point⁶⁹. The Nirvayasindhu⁷⁰ holds that though there is blame in association with a *patita* the associator does not himself become *patita*. As Yāj III, 261 employs the word 'vatsaram' and as the accusative of time is, acc. to Pānini, to be used only when there is '*atyantasamyoga*' of time and space (distances) it follows that the associator who is to undergo penance for contact must have been day and night in contact for a year. Devala employs the word 'sārvkālikam' in this connection.

Though many crimes do not in so many words come within the words of the definitions of the mahāpātakas the smṛtis extend by analogy the same condemnation as the mahāpātakas in three ways. For example, Yāj. III. 251 expressly states that one who kills a ksatriya or vaiśya engaged in (soma) sacrifice or a foetus or an ātreya woman has to undergo the same expiation as for brāhmana murder (therefore this is *vācamkātudeśa*). Yāj. III. 232-233 extends the sin of *gun utalpa-gamana* to intercourse with several near female relatives (such as mother's or father's sister). This is extension by *tād rūpya*. The smṛtis declare many actions as equal to (*sama*) mahāpātakas in general or as equal to one of the mahāpātakas. This is *atudeśa* by *sāmya*. A few words must be said on this topic. The general rule is that the expiation for those lapses that are declared to be equal to a mahāpātaka is less than (i. e. half of) what would be prescribed

69. अत एव कलियुगधर्माभिधाने प्रवृत्तः पराहारः ब्रह्महत्यादिमहापातकचतुष्टयस्य भावयित्तस्युक्तवान् कलियुगे संसर्गदोष(भावमभिप्रेत्य संसर्गमयश्चित्तं नाभ्यधात् । कर्मण एव पातित्यहेतुत्वम् । तथा कर्मणा पातित्यं कण्ठस्तेनाह पराहारः (1 25) 'कृते संभाषणादेव ... कलौ पतति कर्मणा ॥ इति । .. स्मृतिकामधेनौ । संसर्गदोषो नैव स्यान्महापातकभिः कलौ । संसर्गदोष स्तेनाद्यैर्न महापापानिष्कृतिः । तथा स्मृत्यन्तरे । संसर्गदोषः...पापेष्विति पठितम् ॥ कलौ संसर्गस्य पापमात्रहेतुत्वम् । संसर्गदोषस्य पातित्वापादकत्वाभावेऽपि पापमात्रापादकत्वमस्तीत्याह पराहारः । स्मृतिह (मा) pp 897-898.

70 कलौ कर्तव्यं लिप्यते इति व्यासोक्तेः पतितसंसर्गे दोषसत्त्वेऽपि पातित्यं नेत्यर्थः । निर्णयसिन्धु III, p 368, तत्रापि (याज्ञवल्क्ये) वत्सरमिति द्वितीया श्रुपते सा च कालाख्यनोरत्यन्तसंयोग इत्यत्यन्तसंयोगे स्मृता । अत्यन्तसंयोगश्च यावद्दोरात्रसंयन्धः । .. संवत्सरेण पतति पतितेन सहाचरन् । भोजनासनशय्यादि कुर्वाण. सार्वकालिकमिति देवलवाक्ये सार्वकालिकशब्देन द्वितीयाथ एवोक्त । मा, पकाज्ञ (folio 76 b),

for the mahāpātaka itself⁷¹. And the penance for those that come under *atideśa* of the *vācanika* or *tādrūpya* kind is three fourths of that for the mahāpātaka itself. But it has to be noted that there is divergence of views about these in the *sūtras* and the *smrtis*. Acc. to Gaut 21. 10 giving⁷² false evidence, backbiting about another's guilt that will reach the king, falsely accusing one's *guru* with a grave sin or crime are equal to mahāpātaka. In Manu XI 55 (= Agnipurāna 168. 25) the last two of these three and false statement about one's caste or learning or family (1 e- saying that one is a brāhmana when one is not) for securing prosperity or eminence are stated to be equal to brāhmana's murder. Acc to Yāj. III 228 falsely charging one's *guru* is equal to *brahmahatyā* and false statement about one's caste or learning is equal to drinking *surā* (Yāj. III 229), while acc. to Viṣnu Dh. S 37. 1-3 the three sins mentioned in Manu XI. 55 are to be included among minor sins (*upapātakas*), while giving false evidence is declared by Viṣnu to be equal to drinking *surā* (36. 2). No useful purpose would be served by dilating at great length on the divergences of *smrtis* on what lapses are equal to one of the Mahāpātakas. The digests explain that where the same lapse is described as equal to *surāpāna* by one *smṛti* and as equal to brāhmana-murder by another the idea is that there is an option as to the penance prescribed for that lapse. Therefore only the remarks of Manu and Yāj. will be set out here. Manu XI. 56 (= Agnipurāna 168. 26) prescribes that forgetting the Veda (already studied), reviling the Vedas, giving false evidence, killing a friend, eating forbidden food or food that should not be eaten, these six are equal to *surāpāna*. Vide Yāj III 228 already referred to above. Manu XI. 57 holds that stealing a deposit or a man or horse or silver or land or diamonds and other gems is equal to the theft of brāhmana's gold. Yāj. III. 230, Viṣnu Dh S. 5 383, Agnipurāna 168. 27 are to the same effect. Acc to Manu XI. 58 (= Agnipurāna 168 28) carnal intercourse with a sister by the same mother, with maidens, with females of the lowest castes (like Cāndālas), with the wife of a friend or son is declared to

71. अत्र साम्यातिदेशेऽर्धं ताद्रूप्यवाचनिकयोस्तु पादोनम्॥ प्राय स p. 8, vide प्राय प्रकरण pp. 85-87. एतेनातिदेशे पूर्णमायाश्चित्तं वदन्तौ शूलपाणिभवेद्देवानपास्तौ । प्राय स p 9, अत्र समत्वाभिधानात् सिद्धाचारखलेन पादोनं कल्प्यम्॥ ऋषिसमो ब्राह्मणो राजसमो मन्त्रीत्यादिषु समशब्दस्य किञ्चिन्न्यूनं प्रयोगदर्शनात्॥ मद. पा p. 808, vide नित्त. on या. III, 231 for similar words

72 कौटसादर्थं राजगामि पैशुनें युरोरुत्ताभिज्ञंसनं महापातकसमानि॥ गौ. 21.10

be equal to the violation of a guru's bed. Yaj. III. 231 is practically the same (but he adds intercourse with a *sagotra* woman to the list). Gaut. 23. 12 and Manu XI 170 are very similar. Yaj. III, 232-233 declare that a man who has sexual intercourse with a sister of his father or mother, with his maternal uncle's wife, with his daughter-in-law, with a co-wife of his mother, with his sister, with the daughter or wife of his Vedic teacher or his own daughter, is guilty of being a violator of the guru's bed and should have his penis cut off and be killed (by the king) and the woman concerned, if she was a willing party, should also be killed. Nārada (*śrīpumsayoga*, verses 73-75)⁷³ states: "If a man has sexual intercourse with any of these women viz. mother, mother's sister, mother-in-law, maternal uncle's wife, father's sister, a wife of the paternal uncle or of a friend or of a pupil, a sister, sister's friend, daughter-in-law, daughter, the wife of one's Vedic teacher, a woman of the same gotra, one who has come for protection, a queen, an ascetic woman, one's wet-nurse, a woman performing a *vratā* and a *brāhmana* woman, he becomes guilty of the sin of the violator of the guru's bed (i. e. incest). For that crime no other punishment is laid down except that of the cutting of the penis." These two, Yaj. and Nārada, show that excision of the organ and death are both the expiation and the punishment for this crime. The Mit. (on Yaj III, 233) adds that this punishment applies only to the offenders other than a *brāhmana*, since Manu (VIII, 380) prescribes that a *brāhmana* offender should not be punished with death whatever sin or crime he may have committed and that he is to be banished from the country unhurt and is to retain all his wealth. The Visnudharma-sūtra (36.4-7) adds a few more women to the list of Yaj and Nārada (such as a woman in her monthly illness, the wife of a learned *brāhmana* or of one's sacrificial priest or of one's *Upādhyāya*).

These lapses described above from false accusation against the guru⁷⁴ (Yaj. III, 228 or Manu XI 55 to Yaj. III 233 or Manu

73. सखीसयोनिसगोत्राक्षिण्यभार्यासु स्त्रियायां गवि च शुकतल्पसप्तः ॥ गौ 23 12; माता मातृवत्सा श्वश्रुर्मातुलानी पितृवत्सा । पितृव्यसखिक्षिण्यस्त्री भगिनी तत्सखी स्त्रिया ॥ दुहित्वाचार्यभार्या च समोत्रा शरणागता ॥ राज्ञी प्रव्रजिता धात्री साखी वर्षोत्तमा च या ॥ आसामन्यतनां गत्वा शुकतल्पग उच्यते ॥ क्षिण्यस्योत्कर्तनं तस्य मान्यो दण्डो विधीयते ॥ नारद (स्त्रीयुसयोग 73-75), compare आप. घ. सू. I 9 25 (शुकतल्पगामी सन्नृपयं क्षिण्यं परिवारस्याञ्जलावाधाय वृक्षिणां दिशमनाहृत्ति ब्रजेत्) and गौ. 23.10

74. एतानि शुकीक्षेयादितनयामनपर्यन्तानि महापातकानिदशविधयाणि सद्यःपतन-
वेदुष्यात्पातकान्युच्यन्ते ॥ मिता.-on य. III. 233,

XI 58) and said to be equal to some mahāpātaka or other are designated as pātakas by Vṛddha-Hārīta (IX. 216-17) and by the Mit. (on Yāj. III 233) and as *anupātakas* by the Visnudharmasūtra (36.8). Gautama⁷⁵ (21.1-2) adds a few more to the list of pātakas or *pāṭakas* viz. he who has connection with the female relatives of his mother or father or with sisters and their offspring, a thief of gold, an atheist, one who constantly repeats censured acts, one who does not cast away a *pṛīta* or who abandons blameless relatives or those who instigate others to commit pātakas. These pātakas are less than mahāpātakas in their culpability and greater than upapātakas.

Upapātakas (minor sins). The number of these has greatly varied from time to time and from smṛti to smṛti. Vas I 23 speaks⁷⁶ of only five upapātakas viz. forsaking the sacred fires (after beginning Agnihotra), offending the guru, being an atheist, taking one's livelihood from an atheist, selling the soma plant. Śātātapa as quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 229-236 mentions only eight. Baud. Dh. S. (II 1 60-61) mentions a small number as upapātakas. Gaut. 21.11 states⁷⁷ that the guilt of upapātaka attaches to those who have been declared to defile the company at a Śrāddha dinner and have been named above before the bald man (in Gaut. XV. 18), killers of kine, those who forget the Veda, those who pronounce Vedic texts for these last, Vedic students who break the vow of chastity and those who allow the time for upanayana to pass without performing it. Śankha quoted by Viśvarūpa on Yāj III 229-236 mentions only 18 upapātakas and styles them *upapātānīyas*. The longest lists are contained in Manu XI 59-66, Yāj III 234-242, Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 208-210, Visnudharmasūtra 37 and Agnipurāna (168 29-37). According to the Pr. V. (p 195)⁷⁸ the upapātakas mentioned by Manu

75. ब्रह्महत्यापशुवधस्वयंमातृपितृयोनिस्वन्धागस्तेननास्तिकानिच्यितकर्मण्यसिपतितार्याग्यपतितर्यागिनः पतितः ॥ पातकसंयोजकाश्च ॥ गौतम 21 1-2 गौतम 20.1 mentions the persons whom one should abandon 'स्यजेत्यितरं राजयातकं शूद्रयाजकं शूद्रार्थयाजकं वेदविहावकं भ्रूणहन यश्चान्यावसायिनि' सह सवसेदन्त्यावसायिन्यां वा ।⁷

76. योऽग्नीनपविध्वेद् श्व च प प्रतिद्वष्टयान् नास्तिको नास्तिकवृत्तिः सोम च विक्रीणीयादिषुपातकानि ॥ वसिष्ठ I 23.

77. अपंक्त्याना माग्दुर्बालाद्गोदन्तुब्रह्मघ्नतन्मन्त्रकृद्वकीर्णिततसावित्रीकेशुपातकम् । गो. 21.11. The word दुर्बाल occurs in गो 15 18.

78. एवं च गोवधादिनास्तिकयान्तानि ऊनपञ्चाशदुपयातकानि । प्राय. वि. p. 195.

come to 49. Those enumerated by Yāj. are set out below⁷⁹ (they are 51 according to Viśvarūpa on Yāj. III. 229–236, who omits one verse commented on by the Mit. viz 'śūdrapṛeṣyam' &c. which contains five): slaying kine, being a *vṛātya* (i. e. one whose *upanayana* was not performed at the prescribed age), theft (other than that of brāhmana's gold or other than what is described as equal to theft of the mahāpātaka type), non-payment of debts borrowed (and not satisfying the three debts due to gods, sages and *pitṛs*), not establishing the *śrauta* fires (even though one has the capacity to do so); selling what ought not to be sold (such as salt); *parivedana* (a younger brother's marrying before an elder brother or establishing sacred fires before him); learning (the Veda) from a paid teacher; teaching the Veda for payment; adultery (with women other than those referred to in *gṛhṇatapaḡamana* or those lapses equal to it); an elder brother's remaining unmarried when a younger brother has married; usury (i. e. taking more interest than is allowed by the *smṛtis*); manufacture of salt; killing a woman (of any caste, except an *atreyī*); killing a *śūdra*; killing a *ksatriya* or *vaiśya* (who is not initiated for a *śrauta* sacrifice); maintaining oneself on wealth which is condemned; atheism (denial of the soul and a world after death); giving up the observances peculiar to one's status (e. g. a vedic student having sexual intercourse or one guilty of brāhmana murder or the like giving up the performance of the expiation already begun); sale of one's children; theft⁸⁰ of corn, inferior metals (like lead and copper) or cattle; officiating as a priest at a sacrifice for those who are not entitled to sacrifice (such as *śūdras* or *vṛātyas* &c.); driving out of the house one's father, mother or son (without a proper cause such as that

79. गौषथो ब्राह्मता स्तोत्रमुणानां चानपाक्रिया ! अनाहिताग्निता पण्यविक्रयः पारिविदन् । श्रुताद्ध्ययनादानं श्रुतकाध्यापनं तथा ॥ पारदार्यं पारिविष्यं चार्थुष्यं लवणक्रिया ॥ स्त्रीशूद्र-
विद्वज्जवथो गिन्विताथोपजीवनम् ॥ नास्तिक्यं ब्रतलोपश्च सुतानां चैव विक्रयः ॥ धान्यकुण्ड-
पशुस्तेयमयाज्यानां च याजनम् ॥ पितृमातृसुतत्यागस्तहागारागविक्रयः ॥ कन्यासन्धूपणं चैव
पारिविद्वकयाजनम् ॥ कन्याप्रदानं तस्यैव कोदिल्यं ब्रतलोपनम् ॥ आत्मनोऽर्थे क्रियारम्भो मद्य-
स्त्रीनिषेवणम् ॥ स्वाध्यायाग्निमुत्त्यागो बान्धवत्याग एव च ॥ इन्धनार्थं दूमच्छेदः स्त्रीहिंसो-
पधिजीवनम् ॥ हिंस्रपञ्चविधानं च व्यसनाभ्यासविक्रयः ॥ शूद्रमेष्यं ह्योनसरथं ह्योनयोनिनिषेवणम् ।
तथैवान्ध्रमे वासः पण्यपरिपुष्टता ॥ असच्छास्त्राधिगमननाकरेण्यधिकारिता ॥ भार्याया विक्रय-
श्वैरामैकैकशुपपातकम् ॥ या III. 234–242.

80 'Steal' has already been mentioned as the third upapātaka. The mention of the theft of corn &c. here either serves the purpose of showing that the theft of corn &c. will always be expiated as an upapātaka while other kinds of thefts may be dealt with more leniently. The same remark applies to *पितृमातृसुतत्याग* and *बान्धवत्याग* separately mentioned below.

mentioned by Gautama 20.1); the sale of a tank or of a park intended for a charitable object (though not actually dedicated to the public), ascribing demerits to an unmarried girl (or interfering with her private parts by means of a finger or the like); officiating as a priest (at the marriage) of one who though a younger brother marries before an elder brother, giving one's daughter in marriage to one who marries before his elder brother; cheating or following crooked ways (except against one's guru, which is equal to surāpāna), giving up an observance voluntarily undertaken⁸¹, cooking for the sake of oneself only (and not for deities, guests &c, which attitude is condemned by Rg X 117 6 and Manu III 118), sexual intercourse with a woman (even one's own wife) who is given to drinking wine, giving up the Veda already learnt so as to forget it by the study of other subjects); not tending one's *śrāuta* or *smṛta* fire, abandoning one's son⁸², not maintaining one's relatives (such as the maternal or paternal uncle, when one has the means), cutting down a big tree for fuel (to be used only in cooking one's food⁸³), maintaining one's self on one's wife (i.e. on her immoral earnings or by means of her stridhana) or by killing animals or by herbs (used as charms), setting up of machines that cause death or injury to beings (such as for pressing oil from sesame or for crushing sugarcane stalks); addiction to the vices (declared to be eighteen by Manu VII. 45-48); selling one's self (as a slave for money), being the servant of a śūdra, friendship with low persons, intercourse with a woman of a lower caste (either as a wife or as a concubine); living outside of the four āśramas⁸⁴, fattening oneself on food charitably supplied by others, studying the works of false sāstras (such as those of atheists like Cārvāka); holding the office of the superintendent of mines (of gold and the like); sale of one's wife

81. *Vratalopa* has already been mentioned above in verse 236 as an *upapātaka*. Therefore the repetition of 'vratalopana' (in verse 238) must be differently explained as done by the *नित्याक्षरा*.

82. In च III 237 we have *पितृनातुसुतत्याग*, and then in 239 again *स्वाध्यायाग्निमुतत्याग*. Therefore अपराकं p 1051 explains: 'सुतस्यारक्षणमत्र त्याग स्वाध्यायाग्नित्यागसाहचर्यात् । पितृनातुसुतत्याग इत्यत्र तु जातकर्मादिसत्काराकरण सुतस्य त्याग ।'

83. पाकादिप्रयोजनानि सन्निधनार्थमशुष्कवृक्षमज्जनं कुमच्छेदः । अपराकं p 1051

84. अनाश्रमी न तिष्ठेच्च क्षणमेकमपि द्विजः । आश्रमेण विना तिष्ठन् प्रापश्चित्तीयते हि सः ॥ दक्ष I 10, one must belong to one of the four आश्रमसः, ब्रह्मचर्य, गार्हस्थ्य, वानप्रस्थ and संन्यास and act as would befit that āśrama.

The above list, though long, is not thoroughly exhaustive. Vas I 18 quoted above mentions several persons as *enasunoḥ* (who acc. to Viśvarūpa on Yāj III. 229-236 are *upapātakinah*), some of whom (such as one who is asleep when the sun rises or sets) are not included by Yāj. in his list of upapātakas. Though almost all of the upapātakas listed by Yāj occur in Manu (XI 59-66), yet some of them such as 'abhicāra' (performing a sacrifice like Śyenayāga for the destruction of an enemy), 'mūlakarma' (employment of herbs for bringing under one's control a person) are not noted by Yāj. The Mit on Yāj. III. 242 observes that some upapātakas if repeatedly indulged in make a man *paṭita* (as provided by Gaut 21. 1) Viśvarūpa, therefore, derives upapātakas as one 'that may become a pātakas by constant addition (*upacaya*) or by constant practice' (*upetya*⁸⁵).

Manu XI. 67 (= Agnipurāna 168⁸⁶. 37-38) and Visnu Dh. S. 38 1-6 mention certain lapses as 'jātibhramśakara' (that cause the loss of caste) viz giving pain to a brāhmana (by means of a stick or by the hand), smelling things which ought not to be smelt at (such as garlic, ordure &c.) and smelling spirituous liquor, cheating (saying one thing and doing another), an unnatural offence with a man (or beast also, acc to Visnu) According to Manu XI 68 (= Agnipurāna 168 38-39), killing a donkey, a horse, a camel, a deer, an elephant, a goat, sheep, fish, a snake or a buffalo must be known to be *saṅkarikarāna* (reducing one to a mixed caste). Visnu 29. 1 says that *sankarikarāna* is the killing of village or forest animals. Manu XI 69 holds that accepting presents from condemned men (such as those mentioned in Manu IV. 84), trading, serving śūdras and speaking a falsehood make a man unworthy to receive gifts (*apatrikarāna*). The Visnu, Dh. S. 40. 1 adds 'maintaining one's self by usury' to these. Manu XI. 70 prescribes that killing insects, small or large, or birds, eating any thing kept close to spirituous liquors, stealing fruits, fuel and flowers and unsteadiness of mind are *malāraha* (which make a man impure). Visnu Dh. S. 41. 1-4 are similar. Visnu Dh. S. 42. 1 says all other lapses not specifically mentioned in

85. उपपातकसंज्ञाप्येवमर्थेव । उपपद्येन उपेत्य वा सेव्यमानं पातकमेव स्यादिति । अर्हं एव गौतमेन पातकमध्ये निन्दितकर्मिणासौ दक्षिताः । विश्वरूपेण on या. III 229-236. The reference is to गौतम 21.1, quoted above in note 75.

86. The printed अग्निपुराण reads भैक्ष्यं for जैह्वं in मनु XI.67 and अग्निः 168.39 reads मनुज for महिष.

the several kinds are styled miscellaneous (prakirnaka) Vrddha-Hārīta (IX. 210-215) specifies several lapses as prakirnaka viz. cutting big trees for fuel (used for cooking one's food), killing insects, big and small, eating of food that has become uneatable owing to *bhāva*⁸⁷ (i e its resemblance in colour or flavour to some forbidden food or because it is offered with disrespect) or *kāla* (food on ekādasi or in an eclipse, or in a mourner's house &c or that is stale) or *karṣā* (action, such as food served with the bare hand or seen by a *patita*, *cāṇḍāla* or a dog &c); theft of clay, skin, grass, wood, over-eating, falsehood, restlessness about pleasures, sleep by day, spreading false rumours; making others hear false rumours, eating at another's house, sexual intercourse by day, seeing women in their monthly illness or just after delivery, looking at others' wives; sexual intercourse on a fast, on a śrāddha day, on a *parvan* day; service of a *sūdra*; friendship with the low, touching the leavings of food; broad laughs with women, talking at random (or love prattle), looking at women that have untied their hair It will be noticed that some of these like the cutting of big trees for fuel, service of a *sūdra*, friendship with low persons have been already included by Yāj under upapātakas

Having dealt at length with several classes or grades of sins, we have now to address ourselves to the question of the consequences of sins and the means recommended or adopted for removing sin and its consequences.

It has already been shown above how the sages of the Rgveda prayed to the gods, particularly to Aditi, Mitra, Varuna, the Ādityas and Agni to free them from *ūgas* or *enas* etc. They often say that they violated the *dharma*s or the *vatas* (ordinances) of the gods and implore forgiveness. They were afraid of the consequences of their guilt, viz. the god's anger. They thought that when God was angered by their transgressions he smote them with adversity, destruction, disease and death. For example, they pray 'whatever ordinance (*vratā*) of yours we may violate every day like subjects (in the case of a king's ordinances) do not subject us to your death-dealing blow' (Rg I 25 2), 'O Varuna! whatever transgression we men have committed towards the divine host and whatever rules of yours we may have confounded through heedlessness, do not, on

87. For भावदुष्ट, कारुदुष्ट and क्रियादुष्ट food mentioned in वृद्धयहित IX 211 vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 771-772.

account of that sin (*enas*), 'strike us down' (Rg. VII, 89.5)⁸⁸. In Rg. X, 89.8-9 it is said that Indra hurls his sharp and deadly weapon at those who break the settled order (dharma) of Mitra, Varuna and Aryaman. The gods are implored to save the worshipper from the deadly attacks of the wolf and from sinking into a pit (in adversity) in Rg. II, 29.6. In Rg. IX, 73.8 it is said that the wise God has his eye on all worlds and he pierces in pits those who do not observe his ordinances and who are therefore not liked by him⁸⁹. On the other hand, when God is pleased with the worshipper, he is implored to lead the latter by the path of virtue (Rg. I, 189.1), to confer happiness on the worshipper's offspring (Rg. I, 189.2, IV, 12.5) and to bestow wealth on him (Rg. VIII, 45.40).

In the Rgveda the first means of removing the consequences of sin appear to be prayers for mercy and for the remission of sin as in Rg. VII, 86. 4-5, VII, 88. 6-7, VII, 89, 1-4 (where 'mṛṣa suksatra mṛlaya' is the refrain of all four verses). Even in the Rgveda water was supposed to remove sin, e. g. I, 23. 22 says 'O water! carry away whatever sin (*durita*) may exist in me'. This shows that sin was supposed to have physical effects like a disease, which were removed by water. Sacrifices were offered to the gods in order to win their favour and in order that the sacrificer may be freed⁹⁰ from the consequences of even grave sins. The Tai S. V. 3, 12.1-2 and the Śat. Br. XIII, 3, 1, 1 (S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 328) state that the gods redeemed themselves from all sin by means of this (Aśvamedha sacrifice), they even redeemed themselves from the sin of brāhmana murder. That a confession of sin was deemed to remove sin is illustrated in a striking way by what happened in the Varunapraghāsa (one of the *cāturmāsya* sacrifices). In that⁹¹ sacrifice the wife of the sacrificer had to confess whether she had any lovers and if she felt ashamed to

88 यत्किंचिद् द्वैष्ये जनेऽभिद्रोहं मनुष्याभ्यं चरामसि ॥ अचिन्तौ यत्तव धर्मा युषोयिम मा नस्तस्माद्देवो देव धीरिया ॥ ऋ. VII 89.5

89. विद्वान्स विश्वा धुवनामिपदयत्पनाञ्जुष्टाय विध्यति कर्ते अत्रतात् ॥ ऋ. IX, 73.8.

90 सर्वं वा एतेन पाप्मानमतरन्त्या वा एतेन ब्रह्महत्यामतरन्सर्वं पाप्मानं तरति तरति ब्रह्महत्या योऽश्वमेधेन यजते । तै सं. V. 3 12.1-2.

91 यजार्ं सन्तं न प्रभूयाद्विषं ज्ञातिं वन्द्यात् । असौ मे जार इति विद्विज्ञेत् । निर्दिश्येवैनं वरुणपाशेन ज्ञाहयति । तै ऋ. I.6.5. Vide Kātyāyana śr. V,5, 6-10 'संमार्जनाय भेषितोऽसंस्तुते प्रतिमस्थाता पत्नीमानेऽप्यसाह केन चरसीति । संस्तुतानाचष्टे । घृणानि बोद्धुर्ज्ञाति यथासंस्तुतम् । अनाख्यातमहितं ज्ञातिभ्य इति श्रुतेः । आख्याते प्रवासिन प्रत्येना वाचयति नयत् ।', 'प्रवासिनो इवामहे' in वाज. सं III, 44

reply in so many words she had only to raise up in her hand small pieces of grass blades to indicate the number of lovers, if any. If she confessed she had to recite the verse, Vāj. S III 44 and was allowed to take further part in the sacrifice. If she concealed the truth, it was stated in the Tai. Br that evil would befall her near and dear relatives (her son or husband). It is said by many European scholars who have written on the religion of the Veda that sacrifice became a sort of magic rite to wrest from gods or independently of them what the worshipper desired (e.g. see Keith's Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads pp. 260-268)⁹² But this is an over-statement. When initiated for a sacrifice the sacrificer and his wife had to observe a fast or live on a low diet, both were called upon to observe many strict rules such as telling the truth, they had to make large preparations and spend wealth on the materials and the fees to the priests. These things were deemed to cleanse the mind and soul of the taint of sin. There is no reason to suppose that it was only the ritual that was thought to bring about the desired result (and not all the other matters referred to above).

We shall now discuss the prescriptions of the sūtras and smṛtis about the consequences of sins.

In this connection the doctrines of *Karma* and *Punarjanma* must be well remembered. The details of the origin and development of those doctrines will be discussed in a later section. Here it is enough to state the few main propositions of the doctrine of Karma. The fundamental proposition is that cause and effect are as inseparably linked in the moral sphere as assumed in the physical sphere by science. A good action has its reward and a bad act leads to retribution. If the bad actions do not yield their consequences at once or in this life, the soul begins another existence and in the new environment undergoes suffering for its past bad deeds. The theory of karma and

92. Christ gave a model prayer to his disciples in Luke 11 2-4 and Matthew 6. 9-13, where after invoking the heavenly Father the first thing asked for is the daily bread, then the forgiveness of sin and deliverance from evil. Pious Christians have an easy and complacent self-assurance of getting the things prayed for, since Christ himself has said that they have only to ask and it shall be given to them (Luke 11 9). This also is a sort of magic but it is simple as compared with elaborate Indian sacrifices. It seems rather perverse for a Christian who believes in Luke 11 9 to say that if an Indian believes that a sacrifice will yield some reward it is all magic and nothing more.

the theory of transmigration of souls (of pre-existence and post-existence) are inextricably mixed up in Indian thought from at least the ancient times of the Upanisads. The general rule is that *Karma*, whether good or evil, cannot be got rid of, except by enjoying or undergoing its consequences. This is said by Gaut. 19, 5, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna and many other works. 'Because the deed does not perish' Gaut. 9³; 'whatever human action it may be, whether good or evil, it cannot be got rid of except by enjoying its consequences; know from me that a man gets rid of good and evil deeds by enjoying (their consequences)'. This doctrine is based on the Śat. Br. V. 2, 2.27, Br. Up. IV. 4 and VI. 2, Chān. Up. III, 14, and V. 3-10, Kāṭha 5, 6-7 and other Upanisad texts.

Therefore they say, 'a man is born again in that world for which he has worked.' 'According as a man acts and according as he believes so will he be; a man of meritorious acts will be meritorious, a man of evil deeds sinful. He becomes pure by pure deeds and evil by evil deeds. And here they say that a person consists of desires. And as is his desire, so is his will; and as is his will, so is his deed; and whatever deeds he does that he will reap' (Br. Up. IV. 4, 5); 'a man is made up of will; whatever he wills in this world the same he becomes after departing from this world' (Chān. Up. III, 14, 1); 'some human beings enter the womb in order to have an embodied existence; others go into inorganic matter (the stump of a tree and the like) according to their deeds and according to their knowledge' (Kāṭha Up. 5, 7).⁹⁴

'Actions done by a man do not perish unless they (i. e. their consequences) are enjoyed even after crores of years, (the fruits of) actions whether good or evil must of necessity be enjoyed'⁹⁵.

93. न हि कर्म क्षीयते । गौ ष सू 19 5 q. by शङ्कराचार्य in his भाष्य on वेदान्त-सूत्र IV 1 13, न तु भोगाहते पुण्यं पापं वा कर्म मानवम् । परित्यजति भोगाद्दुष्प्रापुष्ये निबोध मे ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 14 17, हरमाकृतस्य पापस्य मायश्चित्तं समाचरेत् ॥ नास्तु कस्या-न्यथा नाशः कल्पकोटिशतैरपि ॥ भविष्यपुराण I 19, 27

94. यथाकारी यथाचारी तथा भवति साधुकारी साधुर्भवति पापकारी पापो भवति पुण्यः पुण्येन कर्मणा भवति पापः पापेन । अधो खल्वाहुः काममय एवायं पुरुष इति स यथाकामो भवति तत्कृतुर्भवति यत्कृतुर्भवति तत्कर्म कुरुते यत्कर्म तदभित्यजते ॥ बृह उ. IV, 4 5, अथ खलु क्रतुमयः पुरुषो यथाक्रतुस्मिहोके पुरुषो भवति तथेत्ये प्रेत्य भवति ॥ छा III 14 1, योनिमन्ये प्रपद्यन्ते शरीरत्वाय देहिनः । स्थाश्रमन्येऽश्रुतं यन्ति यथाकर्म यथाश्रितम् ॥ क उप. 5 7.

95. नाशकं क्षीयते कर्म कल्पकोटिशतैरपि ॥ अवश्यमेव भोक्तव्यं कृतं कर्म सुभाश्रुम् ॥ स्मृति quoted by गोविन्दानन्द on प्राय वि p. 17 and by सायण in his भाष्य on ते. अ 8 2 In परा. मा II part 1 p 11 the verse is read as अवश्यमनुभोक्तव्यम्.

Vide also Āp. Dh. S. II. 1. 2. 2-7 and Visnu Dh. S. XX. 47 'just as a calf finds out its own mother from among thousands of cows, so actions done in a former life unerringly reach the perpetrator thereof.'

But this general principle was modified in various ways by the smrtis and later writings. Gautama 19.11⁹⁶ (= Vasistha 22.8) states 'Reciting the Veda inaudibly (japa), austerities, a sacrifice, fasting and giving gifts are the means of expiating that (i. e. a blamable act)' Vas. 20. 47 and 25. 3 lay down 'A sinner is freed from sin by tormenting his body, by austerities, by reciting the Veda and also by making gifts' and 'those who are constantly engaged in *prānāyāmaś* (suppression and regulation of breath), reciting purificatory texts, giving gifts, offering sacrifices, muttering sacred texts will undoubtedly be freed from sins'. Manu III. 227 observes. 'by confession, by repentance, by austerity, by reciting Vedic texts (sacred Gāyatri or other texts), a sinner is freed from guilt and in case of difficulty (i. e. if he is unable to perform austerities or to recite Vedic texts) by liberality'. Similar provisions occur in Parāśara X. 40, Śatātapa I. 4, Samvarta 203, Hārīta (q. in Pr. T. p. 467), Yama, (q. in Pr. V. pp. 30, 31), Bhavisiyapurāna (q. by Pr. V. p. 31)

Before proceeding with the subject of *prāyaścittas* we shall speak briefly about the other means of reducing the consequences of sin. And first comes confession. With reference to the confession of paramours by the wife in the Varunapraghāsa, the Tai. Br. (I. 6. 5. 2)⁹⁷ says 'He makes the wife confess, thereby he renders her pure and then he leads her to penance'. The Śat. Br. (II. 5. 2. 20) puts it in this form 'for when confessed the sin becomes less, since it becomes truth'. This was a confession before God (Fire) and men (the priests) to restore one to divine forgiveness and favour. As regards several lapses, confession was part of the procedure prescribed for atoning for the sin.

96. तस्य निष्कयणानि जपस्तपो होम उपवासी दानम् । गौ 19.11=वासिष्ठ 22.8=शौ घ. सू. III. 10.9 The word निष्कय occurs in Jar. VI. 4.33 (niskraya-vādācca) which refers to a vedic passage about विश्वजित् 'सर्वभ्य एष देवताभ्य आत्मनं निष्क्रीणीति' quoted by Śabara on Jai. VI. 4.32.

97. पत्नी वाचयति मेध्यामेवैनां करोति । अथो तप एवैनाह्वययति । यज्जार ..माहयति । यवास्यान एवामहे इति पत्नीह्वययति । तै ब्रा I 6.5, vide note 91 above for the passage यज्जार...माहयति.

CHAPTER II

MEANS OF REDUCING CONSEQUENCES OF SINS

Confession—In Āp. Dh S. I. 9, 24, 15, I. 10, 28, 19, I. 10, 29, I it is prescribed that the person undergoing a penance for being an *abhusasta* or for unjustly forsaking his wife or for the murder of a learned brāhmana has to declare his misdeed while begging for alms to support himself. The Vedic student who was guilty of sexual intercourse had also to proclaim his lapse while begging at seven houses (Gaut, 23.18, Manu XI 122) ⁹⁸

Repentance (*anutāpa*)—Manu⁹⁹ XI 229-230 (= Visnudharmottara II. 73 231-32) provide: "The more a man's mind loathes his own evil deed the more does his body become freed from the unrighteousness (committed by him). If after committing a sin a man feels repentance for having done it he becomes free from that sin. He becomes purified only by the resolution of ceasing to sin and thinking 'I shall not do so again'".¹⁰⁰ The Visnupurāna II. 6.40 lays emphasis on repentance and humble devotion to Kṛṣṇa. Pr. V. (p. 30) quotes a verse of Angirasa 'A man after committing sins, if he is consumed by repentance and is sorry day and night (for his misdeed), is purified by *prāṇāyāma*'. The view of digests like the Pr. Prakāśa is that

98 Confession of sins has played a prominent part in early and medieval Christianity. For example, (First epistle of) John I. 9 says 'If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness'.

99. Manu XI. 229 also occurs in ब्रह्मसूत्राणि 218. 5.

100. Compare Christ's call to repentance in Matthew 4, 17 and Mark I 15 and his last words (in Luke 24 47) that 'repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations'. शोचते मनसा नित्यं दुष्कृतान्यस्य चिन्तयन् । तपस्वी चापमत्तश्च पापेभ्यः । स ममुच्यते ॥ इति कल्पतरुसूत्राद्गत-
चाम्पेन तपस्विपदोपादानात् ।... पुनरङ्गिराः । विकर्मणा तप्यमान पापाद्धि परिसुच्यते । इति ।
अत्रासुतापसात्रदय पापनाशकत्वात्सुपपत्तेः पापनाशकमायश्चित्ते अधिकारिविशेषणत्वेन पापनाश-
मपोजकत्वमुक्तम् । विष्णुरपि । मन संतापनात्तीव्रमुद्दहेच्छोकमन्ततः । ... अत्र सर्वत्रासुतापस्य
निहितत्वेन मन्थानि निकृन्वति इत्यादिवद् दीक्षितत्ववैराग्यवज्जाधिकारिविशेषणत्वमेव । प्रा-
प्रकाशः folio 11, यम । पश्चात्तापो विदुस्त्रिंशत् रत्नान् चाद्भुतयोद्धितम् । नैमित्तिकानां स्वातन्त्र्ये
तद्विधिः स्यादनर्थक ॥ महाक्लेशसाध्यं हि प्रायश्चित्तम् । अल्पक्लेशा हि पश्चात्तापादय । ते-
प्रायश्चित्तफलं कृते प्रायश्चित्तविधिरफल इति स्पष्टम् । अपराकं p 1231.

repentance by itself is not enough to destroy sins, but that repentance renders the sinners fit to receive penance, just as paring the nails and the like make the person intending to perform a Vedic sacrifice fit to be a *dīkṣita* Yama quoted by Aparārka (p 1231) states that repentance and stopping from repeating the sin are merely the *aṅgas* (subsidiary elements) of *prāyaścittas* and cannot independently take the place of penances.

Prāṇāyāma (restraint of the breath) Vide H of Dh. vol II p 317 for a description of this Manu XI 248 (which is the same as Baud. Dh S IV 131, Vas. 264, Atri II 5, Sankhasmṛti XII 18-19) lays down 'sixteen *prāṇāyāmas* attended by the *Vyāhrtis* and the *Pranava* (*omkāra*), if performed every day, would purify after a month even the murderer of a *bhrūna* (a learned *brāhmana*)'. Visnu Dh S. 55.2 (in prose) is to the same effect. Vas 261-3 provide that on the proper performance of three *prāṇāyāmas* all the sins committed by day or in the night are at once destroyed Yāj. III 305 states that for the removal of all sins, of *upapātakas* and of sins for which no special expiation is provided by the texts one hundred *prāṇāyāmas* should be performed. This refers to sins not known to others for which expiation is to be performed secretly. Baud Dh. S (IV 15-11) provides for varying numbers (3, 7, 12) of *prāṇāyāmas* to be spread over one day to a year for different kinds of sins ranging from the eating of the food of a *śūdra* to *brāhmana* murder This whole passage is quoted by the Mit on Yāj III 305 which points out the kinds of sins it deals with The *Agnipurāna* 173.21 has the same half verse as Yāj. III 305 (first half)

Tapas (austerity) Even Rg X 154 2 speaks of *tapas* as leading to heaven and as unassailable. The Chān. Up V 10 1-2, Mundaka Up I 2 10-11 place *tapas* over *yajña* Gaut 19 15 says that celibacy,¹⁰¹ truthfulness, bathing thrice daily (in the morning, at noon and in the evening), wearing wet clothes (till they are dried on the body), sleeping on the ground (on a raised part or altar) and fasting constitute austerities Baud Dh S III 10 13 adds to these '*ahimsā*' (non-injury to any being), *astanya* (not depriving any one of his property) and *guru-susṛīṣā* (attendance upon a teacher) Gaut. 19 17 states that

101. ब्रह्मचर्यं सत्यवचनं सवनेषु द्विकोपस्पर्शनमाद्र्वैकल्लाध. श्रावितान्नाशक इति तपासि । गौ. 19.15.

the periods for which *tapas* is to be observed are a year, six months, four months, three months, two months, one (month), 24 days, 12 days, 6 days, 3 days, a day and a night (according to the nature of the sin). Manu XI. 239-241 declare that those guilty of mahāpātakas and others guilty of evil deeds are freed from sins by well-practised *tapas* and that whatever sins are committed by people in thought, word and bodily actions are all quickly burnt by *tapas*. This doctrine is shared by the Jains as stated in the Uttarādhyayana XXIX 27 'by austerities he cuts off karman' (S. B. E. vol 45 p. 166).

Homa (sacrifice into fire). The Tai. Ā. (II 7-8) describes¹⁰² the kūsmanda homa and dikṣā and II. 8 prescribes that the man who regards himself as impure should offer a sacrifice with the kūsmanda mantras (mentioned in Tai. Ā. II. 3-6, viz 'yaddevā devā-hedanam' (Vāj. S. 20 14-16 = Tai. Ā. II. 3.1) The Mahārnavakarmavipāka (folio 8 a) prescribes the procedure of Kūsmanda homa taken from Jamadagni which is brief. It is as follows.— After shaving the hair on the head and the moustache and taking a bath in holy water one should offer the ajyabhāgas and then offer oblations of clarified butter with the three *Anuvākas* beginning with 'yad devā devāhedanam,' and then he worships fire with the verses beginning with 'Vaiśvānarāya pratipādayāmi' He then offers *śamudh* with the mantra 'yadadivayam' and then he repeats the Jayā mantras. He has to observe the rules for a dikṣita viz not eating flesh, avoiding sexual intercourse, not telling a falsehood and not sleeping on a cot. He has to subsist on milk (if he is a brāhmana), on barley gruel if a ksatriya and on amikṣā if he is a vaiśya. The Kūsmanda-homa as prescribed by Baudhāyana is a longer one. The Baud. Dh. S. III. 7 1 prescribes that he who considers himself impure should offer burnt oblations reciting the kūsmanda mantras, that he who has had forbidden intercourse becomes even like a thief or even like a slayer of a learned brāhmana

102 अथ कूष्माण्डैर्ब्रह्मपाद्योऽपुत्र इव मन्येत यथा स्तेनो यथा भ्रूणहैवमेव भवति योऽप्यनैरेतः सिञ्चति । यद्वर्षाचीनमेनो भ्रूणहत्यायास्तस्मान्मुच्यत इति । ते आ II 8, which is repeated in बौ ध सू. III. 7 1, that is q. by the मित्ता. on वा. III 303, 'यत्र कर्मणि यदेवा देवश्रेष्ठनमित्याद्यो मन्त्रास्तैस्त्रिरीयारण्यके समाप्नताः स कूष्माण्डहोमः । परमिन् अग्रे नय सुपथेति च तथा अग्रे मत्वे प्रथमस्य प्रचेतस इत्याद्या मन्त्रास्तैस्त्रिरीयशाखायां समाप्नताः स गणहोमः । महार्णवकर्मविपाक folio 7 b For अग्ने नय vide Rg I 189 1, Tai. S. I. 1, 14 3, Tai. Ā. I. 8 8.

and that (by performing homa with kūsmandas) he becomes free from any sin that is less than the murder of a learned brāhmana Yāj III, 309 provides that whenever a twice-born man feels himself mixed up in heavy sins he should perform a *homa* with sesame with the sacred Gāyatri *mantra*. The Mit following a verse of Yama says that one lakh of offerings of sesame must be made. Both Manu XI 34 and Vas 26 16 say that a brāhmana becomes free from all distresses by Vedic recitations (*japa*) and sacrifices (*homa*). When the wife confessed to the existence of a paramour, the Śat. Br. II 5 2. 20 states that she made an offering into the *Dakṣināgni* with the *mantra* (Vaj S. III 45) 'whatever¹⁰³ sin we have committed, whether in the village, in the forest, in society or by the organs of sense, we cast that away by this sacrifice, *avāhā*.' Both Manu (VIII 105) and Yāj (II, 83) prescribe that when a witness tells a falsehood in order to prevent an accused person from being sentenced to death, he should offer for expiating his perjury an oblation of boiled rice to Sarasvatī. There are other homas also prescribed such as the *Gānahoma*, in which such verses as 'agne naya supathā' from the Taittirīya *sakhā* are recited (*Mahārṇava*).

The old idea of sacrifice seems to have been that it was propitiatory in character. Sacrifice was not demanded or required by God. Sacrifice was probably regarded as a gift which pleased God, induced Him to forgive a man for his transgressions and enabled erring man to regain God's favour which had been lost by some shortcoming or some sinful act. Sacrifices therefore had an expiatory or cleansing function or character. Sacrifices may be performed by offerings either an animal (meant as substitute for the sinner himself who had forfeited his life for his sins and transgressions) or a burnt offering or any other thing offered to God and then distributed to others.

Japa (muttering of Vedic passages as prayers) *Japa* is of three kinds, *vācika* (audibly uttered), *upāṅku* (inaudibly uttered) and *mānasa* (mentally revolved), each succeeding one being ten times superior, acc to Laghu Hārīta IV. p 186,

103 यद् याने यद् रूप्ये यत्समायां यदिन्द्रिये । यद्देनश्चक्रुना ययमिदं तद्दवयजामहे
स्वाहा ॥ वाज सं III. 45, vide also तै. स. I. 8 3 for a similar passage.

(Jīvananda I).¹⁰⁴ Śābara (on Jai. XII 4. 1) distinguishes *japa* from *stuti*, the former being simply an utterance or recitation of a *mantra* or *mantras*¹⁰⁵. Inaudible *japa* is praised¹⁰⁶ in Śāṅkhāyana Br. 14. 1. The Āśv. Śr I 1 20 provides that *japa*, anumantṛana, āpyāyana and upasthāna are uttered *upāmsu*. The Āp. Śr (24 1. 8-10) provides that mantras from the Rgveda and the Sāmaveda are uttered in sacrifices loudly and that passages of the Yajurveda are muttered *upāmsu* and the Tai. Prātiśākhya 23. 6 states that *upāmsu* recitation is made by means of the effort of speech organs but without sound (i. e. in a very low voice) and without the mind being directed (to utterance with udātta and other accents) i. e. 'Karanavad-asābdam-amanah-prayogam-upāmsu'. Gaut. 19. 12 (= Baud. Dh. S. III. 10 10= Vas 22 9) prescribes the following Vedic texts as purifiers: Upanisads, Vedānta texts, the Samhitā texts of all the Vedas (and not the *padapūtha* or *kramapūtha*), the *Yajus* texts in which the word 'madhu' occurs, the Aghamarsana hymn (Rg. X. 190 1-3), the Atharvashīras, (the *anuvākas* called) Rudras, the Purusa hymn (Rg. X. 90), the two *sāmans* called Rājata and Rauhineya, the Brhat-sāma and the Rathantara, the Purusagati sāman, the Mahānāmni verses, the Mahāvairāja (*sāman*), the Mahādivākīrtya (*sāman*), any of the Jyestha sāmans, the Bahispavamāna (*sāman*), the Kūsmānda, the Pāvamāni (Rg. IX) and the Sāvitrī (Rg. III. 62 10).¹⁰⁷ The

104. अत्र जपयज्ञं मकृत्य नरसिंहपुराणम् । त्रिविधो जपयज्ञः स्यात्सत्य भेदं निबोधत । वाचिकारूपं उपांशुश्च मानसश्चिद्विधः स्मृतः । त्रयाणां जपयज्ञानां श्रेयान् स्यादुत्तरोत्तरम् । इति । अत्र हारीत । उच्चस्विकल्पणं मौक्तो ध्यानाद्विशाल्यः स्मृतः । उपांशुः स्याच्छतकण्ठः सहस्रो मानस स्मृतः । स्मृतिश्च I p. 149. The verses त्रिविधो . उत्तरोत्तरम् occur in वृत्सिंहपुराण 58. 78-79 and also in लघुहारीत IV. p. 186 (Jiv I). Both these also define वाचिक and उपांशुजप as follows. 'मन्त्रलुञ्जारयन् वाचा जपयज्ञस्तु वाचिकः । शनैश्चकारयन्मन्त्रं किञ्चिदोठो मन्त्रलेयेत् । किञ्चिच्छ्रवणयोग्यं स्यात्स उपांशुजप स्मृतः ॥'

105 वचनं जपनमिति समानार्थं, यस्मात् जप इत्यकारायां वाचीति स्मर्यते । तेन यत्र वचनमार्थं मन्त्रस्य क्रियते न स्तुयते नाज्ञास्यते स जप । शबर OB जै. XII. 4, 1.

106. अथात आज्यमज्येन वै देवा. सर्वान्कामानाजयन्त सर्वममृतत्वं ..तद्वा इदं पद्विधमाज्यं तूष्णीं जपस्तूष्णीं शंस. पुरोचक्रुस्तस्युक्तयवीर्यं पाजयेति । ... अथ यत्सुरस्तात् तूष्णीं जपं जपति स्वर्गो वै लोको यज्ञस्तथत्सुरस्तात्तूष्णीं जपं जपति स्वस्थयनमेव तत्कुर्वते स्वर्गस्य लोकस्य समष्टौ । शांखायनब्रा. 14. 1.

107. 'Madhūni' are explained by Haradatta as 'मधुशब्दयुक्तानि यजूषि ब्रह्मेतु मानित्यादीनि'. These occur in तै. आ X 38. It is better to hold as done by the मद्र. पा p 761, by Maskarin in his bhāṣya on Gaut and by Pr Prakāśa (folio 86a) that the word मधुनि refers to the three verses beginning with the words 'Madhu vāiā' that are Rg. I, 90. 6-8 and occur in Tai. S. IV 2, 9 and

(Continued on the next page)

original idea of japa was highly spiritual. Deep knowledge of the Upanisads and other texts would have made the soul pure and enabled it to realize the supreme reality and induced in the mind love of all human beings as sparks of the one Divine Essence. Japa at the highest level was contemplation of God and endeavour to attain unity with God. The habit of repeating the sacred texts should lead to maintaining the soul in the presence and thought of God. Japa demands three things, purity of heart, detachment and placing oneself in the hands of God.

Manu XI. 46 provides that a sin unintentionally committed is expiated by the recitation of Vedic texts as prayers, but that which men in their folly commit intentionally is expiated by *prāyaścitta*.

(Continued from the last page)

Vā. s XIII. 27-29 also, since they are styled मनुमती by आश्व. सू. पार. सू. I 3, भावव्यू. I. 9 14. Atharvāsūras is an उपनिषद् which begins with देवा ह वै स्वर्गं लोक-मायस्ते इदमप्युच्यन्तु की भवानिति. Vide the Nir. edition of 108 Upanisads (printed in 1925) for the अथर्वशिखरम्. The अयमर्षण is highly eulogized as a destroyer of sins like Aśvamedha in Manu XI 259-60, Visnu Dh S 55.7, Vas 26 B, Baud. Dh S. IV 2 20. Rudras are the eleven *amṛtāṅkas* of Tai S IV 5. 1-11 beginning with तमस्ते इदं मन्त्रे. Acc. to Haradatta the two *Sāmans Rājata* and *Rauhina* are sung on the Rk verse 'Indram narō nemadhītā havante' (Rg. VII 27 1, *Sāmaveda*, *Pūrvārcika* 318). The बृहत्स्तान is sung on the verse स्वामिदिं हवामहे (ऋ. VI 46 1, *Sāmaveda* *Pūrvārcika* No. 234), the *Ratbantara* on the verse अभि स्वा ह्यर (ऋ. VII 32 22, *Sāmaveda* *Pūrvārcika* 233) In the भगवद्गीता X 35 SriKṛṣṇa puts the *Bṛhatsāma* as the foremost among *Sāmans* (बृहत्स्तान तथा सामनां) *Purusagati Sāman* is sung on the verse 'Aham-asmu prathamajā rtasya,' (*Sāmaveda*, *Aranyakānda* VI 1 594) महानग्नी verses are those beginning with विद्वा मयदन् विद्वा which occur in the ऐ. आ. IV, in the जैमिनीयसंहिता of the सामवेद (ed. by Dr Raghuvira) and in other संहिताः. The महावैराज (सामन्) is sung on the verse पिना सोमनिन्द मन्तु स्वा (ऋ. VII 22 1, सामवेद पूर्वाचिक 398, उत्तराचिक 927), the महादेवाकीर्त्य is sung on विभ्राह्महृत्पिबतु सोम्य (ऋ. X 170 1, सामवेद अरण्यकाण्ड 628, उत्तराचिक 1453), about the ज्येष्ठसामानि हरदत्त mentions two interpretations (of the तलवकार शाखा and छन्दोग), one holding that they are sung on उद्गु त्य (Rg I 50 1, सामवेद पूर्वाचिक 31) and चित्रं देवाना (Rg I 115 1), the other that they are three *Sāmans* sung on सूर्यान् दिवो (Rg VI 7.1, सामवेद पूर्वाचिक 67, उत्तराचिक 1140) *Maskarin* holds that ज्येष्ठसामानि are those sung on the verses को नो देवी (Rg X. 4) and चित्रं देवाना (Rg I 115 1) The बहिर्यवमान is sung on उपपास्मे मायता नर. (Rg IX 11 1, सामवेद उत्तराचिक 651, 763) Vide H of Dh vol II pp 1169-1170 for further details of the बहिर्यवमान. For the कुशमाण्डमन्त्र, vide तै. आ. II, 3-5 पावमान्य are the verses about *soma* in the 9th Mandala of the Rgveda *Sāvitrī* is the famous *Gāyatrī* mantra (Rg. III 62 10)

Manu II 85-87 (which are the same as Vās. 26 9-11 and Visnu Dh § 55. 10-21) lay¹⁰⁸ down: 'the performance of *japa* is ten times more efficacious than the sacrifices (like Darsapūrnamāsa) prescribed by the rules (of the Veda), *japa* when carried on inaudibly is a hundred times superior (to sacrifices) and mental revolution of mantras is a thousand times superior. The four pākayajñas¹⁰⁹ (Vaiśvadeva, *bali*, daily *śūddha*, and honoring guests) together with the Vedic sacrifices do not come up to even the 16th part of *japa*. A brāhmana attains perfection (the highest goal) by *japa*; he may or may not engage in other duties (such as Vedic sacrifices), a brāhmana befriends all creatures'. Great eulogy is bestowed on the inaudible *japa* of the Gāyatri *mantra* (Rg III. 62 10) for which pp. 303-305 of H of Dh. vol. II may be consulted. Where no particular number is specially mentioned the recitation of a mantra is to be performed a hundred times.¹¹⁰

Manu^{110a} XI. 261-262, Vas 27 1-3, Angiras 101 and other works go so far as to assert that the fire of Veda study consumes guilt caused by evil deeds just as a fire burning strongly consumes even green trees or that a brāhmana who remembers Rgveda (studied by him) is not tainted by any guilt, though he may have destroyed the three worlds and have eaten the food of any person whatever. But these are simply laudatory (*atthavūdas*) and are not to be taken literally, as Vas. 27. 4¹¹¹ (= Angiras 102) gives the warning 'one should not become addicted to (or take pleasure in committing) evil deeds relying on the power of the Veda (stated in some smṛti passages). (The effects of) actions done through ignorance and negligence are alone consumed (by Veda study) and not those of other actions (intentionally done).'

Many smṛtis such as Manu XI 249-257 (which are almost the same as Visnudharmottara II. 74. 4-13), Vas 26. 5-7 and 28 10-15 (the former of which are the same as Manu XI 249-251), Visnu

108. Manu II. 87 occurs in Śaṅkhasmṛiti also (XII. 28).

109. The five pākayajñas are enumerated in Manu III 70 and the four meant are all of them except brahmayajña (teaching and studying Veda).

110. 'जपस्तु शतसंख्याक, अनावेशे शतमिति सूत्रादिति शूलपाणि. । प्रा प्रकाश. folio 143a.

110a. Manu XI. 262 and Vas. 27 3 are identical.

111. न वैद्वेषलमाभित्य पापकर्मरतिर्भवेत् । अज्ञानाच्च प्रमादाच्च दृष्ट्यते कर्म नेतरत् ।। ऋसिष्ठ 27.4, अङ्गिरस 102

Dh. S 56 3-27, Atri VI.1-5 (which are almost the same as Vas ¹¹² 28 10-15), Śankha, chap. 11 (= Vas 28 10-15), Samvarta 227-228, Baud Dh. S IV 2 4-5, IV. 3 8, IV 4. 2-5, Yāj III 302-305, prescribe several Vedic hymns or single Vedic verses or prose passages as specially efficacious for removing all sins. It is not possible nor necessary to set down all of them, but by way of sample the verses of Manu (XI 249-257) are translated here. 'Even a drinker of *surā* becomes pure if he mutters the hymn (seen) by Kutsa ¹¹³, the three verses beginning with 'pati' (Rg VII 80 1-3) seen by Vasistha, the Māhitrā hymn (Rg X 185), the verses called Śuddhavatīś (Rg VIII 95 7-9 where the word 'śuddha' occurs 13 times in different connections). Even he who has stolen gold (of a brāhmana) instantly becomes free from guilt if he once mutters (the hymn) beginning with 'asya vāmasya' i e. Rg I 164 1-52), and the Śivasankalpa (Vāj S XXXIV. 1-6). The violator of a guru's bed is freed from sin if he repeatedly recites the hymn beginning with 'havispāntam' (Rg. X 88 1-19) and the hymn beginning with 'na tam-amho' (i e. Rg X 126 1-8), the hymn beginning with 'iti' (i e. Rg X 119) and the hymn addressed to *Puruṣa* (Rg X 90). He who desires to do away with sins, great and small, should mutter during a year the verse beginning with 'ava' (i e. 'ava te helo varuna namobhih' Rg I 24. 14, Tai S I 5 11 3), or the verse 'yat kim ca' (Rg VII 89 5) or the verse 'iti vā' (Rg X 119 1). That man who, having accepted a gift that ought not to be accepted, or having eaten forbidden food, mutters the hymn beginning with 'tarat sa mandī' (Rg IX 58 1-4)¹¹⁴ becomes pure after three days. He who has committed many sins becomes pure if he recites for a month the hymn beginning with 'Somā rudrā' (Rg VI 74 1-4) and the three verses beginning with 'Aryamanam' (Rg. IV 2 4-6) while he bathes in a river (and not in a pond or other reservoir of water). One guilty of a grievous offence should mutter the seven verses beginning with 'Indram' (Rg I 106 1-7). A twice-born man removes even very great guilt by offering clarified butter for a year (in fire) with the mantras for the Śakalahomas (Vāj S VIII 13) or by muttering the

¹¹² Vas 28 10-15 are quoted in स्मृतिच I p 187 Atri VI. 1-5 are quoted as Atri's in Gr R p 245.

¹¹³ The Kautsa hymn is Rg. I, 97 1-8, all of which have as their refrain अप न. शोभन् च दधन्, 'may he burn away our sin'

¹¹⁴ नरत्स मन्दी धावति is the refrain of all four verses of Rg IX 58. It means 'He who presses (soma) gets over (all sins), he runs (to higher worlds),' Vide Nir. XIII 6.

mantra 'nama id-ugram' (Rg. VI 51. 8) One who is stained by mortal sin becomes pure if with a concentrated mind he attends cows for a year, reciting the Pāvamāni hymns (the whole of Rg. IX) and subsisting on alms ^{114a}

So much importance and such occult powers came to be attached to the words of the Rgveda that the Rgvidhāna of Śaunaka (which is later than Manu) concerns itself with prescribing numerous hymns of the Rgveda for the removal of various diseases, of sins, for the conquest of enemies

The Sāma Br I 5 2 says ¹¹⁵ generally that when no particular hymns are prescribed for the removal of sins Vedic mantras are powerful and become purifiers if accompanied by *tapas* and the Sāmans may be repeated for the same purpose from ten times as the minimum to 100 times as *prāyaścitta*. Gautama 19. 13 prescribes the kind of food on which one should subsist when one is engaged in *japa* viz. one was to live on milk alone, to eat vegetables only, to eat fruits only, to live on barley gruel prepared from a handful of grain, to eat gold¹¹⁶, to eat clarified butter, and to drink *soma* and so forth. Gautama 19. 14 further lays down that all mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwellings of sages (*ṛṣis*), cowpens and temples of the gods are places (which help to destroy sin).

As the Veda could be studied in and after the sūtra period only by the male members of the first three classes, the *japa* of Vedic texts for the removal of sins was not possible for śūdras; therefore, the Mit. (on Yāj III 262) says that although the śūdra (and women and those born of pratiloma marriages also) has no *adhikāra* (power or capacity or authority) for the recitation of Gāyatrī and other Vedic mantras, still the śūdra and women after revolving in the mind the name of the deity put in the dative case can engage in *japa* with the word *namaḥ* (i e he can only utter the words 'namo namaḥ' and not *om* &c)

114a. In Rg. I. 106. 1-7 the first six verses have the refrain विश्वस्मान्नो अहसो निष्पितृन् ('May you take us beyond all sin').

115. अनादेशो मन्त्रा बलवन्तस्तपोन्विताः पावना भवन्ति। आपन्न. मायश्चित्तं चरेत्। अन्त्यासं साम्नां शतं दशवर्षम्। सामविधानम् I. 5 2-4.

116. 'To eat gold' is explained by हरदत्त as 'सर्पिरादौ हिरण्यं निवृण्व्य प्राज्ञं हिरण्यपाशनम्'.

as stated by Gaut Dh S. X 66-67 and Yāj. I 121¹¹⁷. When Manu IV. 80 says 'let him not explain to a śūdra the sacred law (*dharma*) nor impose upon him a *vrata*' all that is meant is, according to the Mit on Yāj III 262, that it applies only to a śūdra who does not wait upon or serve higher varnas. Similarly, when Gaut IV. 20 says that those born in the inverse order are outside the pale of the sacred law, the meaning is that *samskāras* like upanayana are not to be performed on them. The mystic syllable 'om' is said by Āp Dh S (I 4 13 6) to be the door to heaven and was to be employed before the recitation of any Vedic passage. The Yogasūtra (I 27) avers that *om* (called *pranava*) is expressive of the idea of God and that the repetition of *om* and revolving the meaning of it in the mind lead to concentration.¹¹⁸

Not only were certain Vedic hymns and passages recommended for recitation with the object of removing sins some works, particularly the Purānas, proposed an easy way for all viz. that the remembrance of God Nārāyaṇa (or Hari or Kṛṣṇa) removed all sins. The Brahmapurāna (chap. 176) contains a stotra (hymn of praise) of Viṣṇu, which when recited is said to free a man from all sins (mental, vocal or bodily). The Pr. V. p 31 quotes a verse from the Bhaviṣya-purāna^{118a} and three verses from the Viṣṇu-purāna as follows.—'even a great sin is removed by (the resolve of) not doing it again, by gifts, by confessing it to others, and by meditation (on Viṣṇu) and not only by *prāyascittas*' (Bhaviṣya); 'of all the expiations (for sins declared by the sages) such as *tapas* (Cāndrāyana and others) and other actions (*japa*, *homa*, *gifts*) the meditation on

117 अङ्गनातोऽस्य नमस्कारो मन्त्रः । पाप्मयज्ञी स्वयं यजेतेत्येके । गी X 66-67, on which हरदत्त comments 'अस्य अङ्गस्य वैश्वदेवादिषु तत्तद् देवतापदं चतुर्थ्यन्त मनसा ध्यात्वा नमो नम हृत्पेवस्वपी मन्त्रोऽङ्गनातो धर्मज्ञे ; नमस्कारेण मन्त्रेण पञ्चयज्ञात् प्रायेत् ॥ यः I 121 Vide H of Dh, vol II p 158 note 371 for further details मङ्ग X 41 says that all patilomas are like śūdras

118. ओङ्कार स्वर्गद्वार तस्माद् ब्रह्माभ्येष्ट्यमाद्य एतदादि प्रतिपद्येत । आय. ध. सू. I 4 13.6, 'तस्य वाचक प्रणव । तज्जपस्तदर्थभावनम् । योगसूत्र I. 27-28, वाचस्पति comments: प्रणवस्य जप प्रणवामिधेयस्य चेश्वरस्य भावनम् । तदस्य योगिनः प्रणवं जपत-प्रणवार्थं च भावयतश्चित्तमेकाद्य सम्पद्यते ।

118a भविष्यपुराणम् । अयुन करणार्यागात्स्वयापनाद्ब्रह्मचिन्तनात् । ध्ययति महत्त्वेनः प्रायश्चित्तैर्न केवलम् ॥ विष्णुपुराणम् । प्रायश्चित्तान्यशेषाणि तप कर्मात्मकानि वै । यानि तेषाम-शेषाणां कृष्णाह्मरुण परम् ॥ प्रातर्निशि तथा सन्ध्यामध्याह्नादिषु संस्मरन् । नारायणमवामोति सद्य पापक्षय नर ॥ प्राय वि p 31 The verse प्रायश्चित्. परम् is विष्णुपुराण II 6.39. The verse प्रातर्निशि is q by अपराकं p 1232 and by प्राय तत्र also (p. 524) The two verses are also respectively ब्रह्मपुराण 22 37 and 39.

Kṛṣṇa is the highest. If a man remembers Nārāyaṇa in the morning, at night, at twilight, at midday and the like, he at once secures the removal of sin' (Viṣṇupurāna). The Brahma-purāna¹¹⁹ (216. 87-88) gives expression to a popular belief as follows:—"Men, even after committing sins many times through folly, do not go to Hell if they prostrate themselves before Hari who destroys all sins. Those men also who always remember Janārdana even by roguery go to the world of Viṣṇu after death." The Viṣṇupurāna affirms that those who contemplate upon the mantra of twelve letters (viz. 'om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya') do not return to the cycle of births and deaths. The great power of mantras is mentioned in the Ādiparva (161. 14) by Kuntī. The Nṛsiṃha-purāna in chap. 18 eulogises the mantra of eight letters (om namo Nārāyaṇāya) and chap. 63.6, states "what is the use of many mantras and the performance of many *vratas*, when the mantra 'om namo Nārāyaṇāya' is capable of securing all desired objects". The mantra of five letters 'namah Śivāya' is dealt with in Lingapurāna (pūrvārdha, chap. 85) and Saurapurāna 65. Brahma-purāna speaks of *vaidika* mantras and *āgamokta* mantras (41. 63). The Nītyācāra-paddhati (p. 67) says that it is necessary to understand the meaning of vedic mantras in śrauta rites but in smārta rites it is not so.

Dāna (gifts). Gaut. XIX. 16 provides¹²⁰ that gold, a cow, a dress, a horse, land, sesamum, clarified butter and food are the gifts (that destroy sin) and may be optionally undergone as penance if no express mention is made thereof. Vas. quotes several verses on gifts one of which (29. 16) states: "whatever sin a man distressed for livelihood commits he is purified from that by giving land even if it be as small in extent as 'gocarma'"¹²¹. Viṣṇu Dh S. 92.4 is to the same effect. Samvarta¹²² (204) prescribes that the gifts of gold, cow and land

119. कृत्वापि बहुश पाप नरा मोहसमन्विताः ॥ न पान्ति नरकं नत्वा सर्वपापहर हरिम् ॥ शास्त्रेणापि नरा नित्यं ये स्मरन्ति जनार्दनम् । तेषु यान्ति तदं स्यक्त्वा विष्णुलोकमनामयम् ॥ ब्रह्मसु 216.87-88: अद्यापि न निवर्तन्ते द्वादशाक्षरचिन्तका । विष्णुपुराण I. 6 39.

120. हिरण्यं गौर्वासोऽथो भूमिस्तिला इतमन्नामिति देयानि । एतान्येवानादेशे त्रिकल्पेन क्रियेत् । गौ 19 16 and 18

121. अथायुद्धाहरन्ति । याक्त्वित्कुर्वते पापं पुरुषो वृत्तिकर्षितः । अपि गोचर्ममात्रेण भूमिदानेन शुध्यति ॥ वसिष्ठ 29 16. For the meaning of गोचर्म, vide H. of Dh vol. III. p. 432, n. 718.

122. सुवर्णदानं गोदानं भूमिदानं तथैव च । नान्यथापापानि अन्त्यजन्मकृतान्यपि ॥ सर्वत्र 204 q by प्राय. तत्र p. 483 (which reads 'महापातकजान्यपि at the end'). हिंसायां दानमेव शुद्धयन्त्युक्तं भविष्ये । हिंसात्मकानां सर्वेषां कीर्तितानां मनीषिभिः । प्राय-श्चित्तकवृत्तानां दानं प्रथममुच्यते ॥ प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 86a).

quickly destroy sins even if committed in former lives Medhātithi (on Manu XI, 139) remarks that the verse implies that as to sins arising from injury to living beings gifts are the principal expiations. The subject of *dāna* has been dealt with at length in H. of Dh vol II pp. 837-888 A few further remarks may be made here In many inscriptions and copperplate grants of lands or villages the donor usually states that the grant is made for the increase of the merit of himself and of his parents (e g. E. I vol. XI p. 219 at p 221). Brhaspati¹²³ as quoted in the Madanaratna (vyavahāra p 66) expressly provides that in land-grants the king should state that he made the gift for securing merit to his parents and to himself¹²⁴. The Rājatarangini (I 143)¹²⁵ refers to the founding of *vihāras* (monasteries).

Upavāsa (fasting). Fasting strictly means total abstinence from food and drink, but generally it means light diet restricted in quantity and also as regards the nature of the articles taken. Even the Tai S. (I 6, 7 3-4) refers¹²⁶ to three ways of observing *vratā* on the days of the *Daśāpūrṇamāsa-śukla* either by subsisting only on food available in the village or on forest food or partaking of no food at all. Gaut 19 11 includes *upavāsa* among the several means of removing sins. *Tapas* is also one of such means acc. to him. But in Gaut, 19 15 as stated above, Gaut includes fasting (*anūśāka*) among 'tapāmsi'.

123. इत्था धृत्वादिर्कं राजा ताम्रपट्टे पदेऽथवा । शासनं कारयेद्धर्म्यं स्थानवन्त्यादि-
संयुतम् । मात्रापिप्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यायास्तुकञ्जनवे । इत्त नयास्तुकायाद्य दानं सन्नद्धाचारिणे ॥
बृह. in मदनरत्न p. 66 on व्यवहार

124. In Europe the same practice prevailed in the middle ages, 'The founder (of monasteries) constantly tells us that this sacrifice is made for the atonement of his own sins and those of his progenitors and kinsfolk' G. G. Coulton in 'Five centuries of Religion' (1936) vol III p. 27. Redemption of sin by monetary payments or by leaving property to the churches and monasteries was a very firm belief in the Middle Ages in Christian countries, so much so that men who had earned properties made large gifts to the church when the prospect of death was near and vast estates accumulated in the hands of churchmen, which led to the passing of the Statute of Mortmain in England.

125. तस्मिन् कृते न जायेत निहारच्छेदवहोसम् । तस्य तत्परकाणां च भायश्चित्तं कृतं भवेत् ॥ राजतरङ्गिणी I, 143.

126. यद्दाम्पान्यपवसति तेन दाम्पान्यवसन्धे यद्दारण्यस्यादनाति तेनारण्यान् यदनाम्वा-
ञ्जुषसेत् पितृदेवत्यं स्यात् । तै. स. I, 6, 7, 3.

Haradatta explains *upavāsa*¹⁸⁷ as giving up the eating of boiled rice (*bhaktatyāga*) and adds that *upavāsa* is again included under *tapāmsi* to show the great importance attached to it. Haradatta notes that a predecessor of his relying on a Purāna passage explained *upavāsa* in Gaut. 19.11 as 'restraint of senses'. In many of the Grhya sūtras *upavāsa* means only eating light food prepared from corn usable in sacrifices (such as rice) once in the day excluding vegetables, māsa (pulse), salt and flesh (compare Gobhila gr. I. 5 26, Khādīra gr II 1.4 and 6, Kauśika-sūtra I 31-32, Kāthakagrhya 46.2¹²⁸). The Br. Up IV. 4. 22 closely associates 'anāśaka' (fasting) with *tapas* as a means to the mystic realisation of the Supreme Soul¹²⁹. Jaimini (III. 8. 9-11) appears to regard fasting as *tapas*¹³⁰. Manu XI 203 (= Visnu Dh. S. 54.29) provides that fasting (for a day) is the penance for omitting the rites ordained by the Veda (such as the Darśapūrnāmāsa sacrifice and the performance of *sandhyā* adoration) and for neglecting the special duties of a *snātaka* (laid down in Manu IV. 34 ff). When a person was observing a fast he had to avoid doing certain other actions. Acc to Devala a fast becomes bereft of its good results by drinking water often, by chewing *tāmbūla* by sleep in the day-time and by sexual intercourse¹³¹; but the Garuḍapurāna I. 128. 6 and Bhavisya-purāna (I. 184 27) allow even when one is fasting the use of flowers, ornaments, rich clothes, garlands, unguents, applying collyrium to the eye and the cleansing of teeth. Dakṣa quoted by the Par M states that if a man observes a fast for the day and night on the day on which the sun first turns towards the

127. उपवासो भक्त्याग । स एव तप स्वपि पुन पठते आदरुपापनाथम् । अपर आह । निष्कपणेषु पठित उपवास इन्द्रियनिग्रह । स्वाहुत्तत्वेव दोषेभ्यो यस्तु वासो युगे सह । उपवासं तमाहुस्तु न शरीरस्य शोषणात् ॥ इति पुराणे दर्शनादिति । हरदत्त on गौ 19. 11. The स्मृतिच= II p 355 attributes the verse to व्यास and it and अपरार्क p. 199 read it as उपाहुत्तस्य पापेभ्यो ..सर्वभोगविवर्जित . मा. मकाज्ञ. (folio 44a) reads as अपरार्क does and says it is taken from अग्निपुराण.

128 काठकयुद्ध 46 2 is औपवर्षं श्रुत्वा and the com of देवपाल says उपवस्तु-रशनमौपवर्षं तस्युनर्वर्षं हविष्यान्न शकामावलवणसांसवर्जम् । व्रीहियपयोद्युतमभूतिभिर्धुक्त्वा ।

129. स वा य एव महानज आत्मा...तमेतं वेदाह्वयचनेन ब्राह्मणा विविद्विपन्ति यज्ञेन दानेन तपसाऽनाशकेन । बृह. उ. IV. 4. 22. Vide झाङ्गरभाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III 4.26 and 33 for the explanation of this Up passage.

130 तपश्च फलसिद्धित्वाद्भोक्तव्यं । जै. III. 8. 9. शबर 'तपः श्रयते इच्छं नाशनाति इत्यह नाश्रयति इति । तत्र सन्देह किमास्तिर्जं तप याजमानमिति । याजमानं तप इति ।'

131 असक्तजलपानाच्च तान्बुलस्य च भक्षणम् । उपवास मद्रुष्येत्तु दिवा स्वापाच्च मैथुनात् ॥ देवल 9. by अपरार्क p. 199. स्मृतिच= II. p. 355. The गरुडपुराण (I. 128. 7-8) has almost the same verse.

north or south, or on the Visuva day (day of equinox), and on an eclipse of the sun or the moon and bathes he is freed from all sins¹³². Manu XI 166 (= Agnipurāna 169.31) prescribes a fast for three days as a penance for theft of grass, firewood, tree, dry food (i e. grains of rice), jaggery, clothes, hide and flesh. The Anuśāsanaparva (106 1) remarks¹³³ that men of all varnas and even Mlecchas thought highly of fasts and that chapter contains an exaggerated eulogy of fasting. Almost all religions (except Zoroastrianism) such as the Hebrew, Christian (in Lent) and Moslem (in Ramjan) emphasize the necessity of fasting as a discipline or as a preparation for penitence. The Bhavisiya-purāna (I, chap 16, 12-14) states that those who have not kindled sacred fires can please the gods by *vratas*, restraints, gifts and particularly by *upavāsas* and points out (verses 18-22) what substances (eatables) should be given up from the first to the 15th *tithi* in each fortnight. In the Śatapatha Brāhmana and the śrauta and grhya sūtras the word *upavasatha* is used in the sense of 'upavāsa' and is derived from 'vas' (to dwell) with 'upa'. Vide H of Dh. vol II, p 1010 and n 2276 for the Śat Br. The Khādira gr II 1 4, Gobhila gr I 6 2, Kauśika-sūtra I 31 employ the word *upavasatha*. Āp Dh S. II 1 1 4-5 prescribe an *upavāsa* for husband and wife on *parvan* days and if they cannot totally abstain from food they should eat only once by day food proper for *upavāsa*. Aparārka p. 199, Smr C (śrāddha p 355) and Kṛtya-ratnākara quote a verse from Vyāsa deriving the word *upavāsa*^{133a}. The Āp Dh S. II 5 9-13, Baud. Dh II 7 32, Vas 6 21 and Śān gr. II 16 5 have the same verse viz. 'an āhitāgni, a draught ox and brahmacārin, these three fulfill (their work) by eating, they cannot fulfill their duties by non-eating'. This is explained as not applying to *prāyaścittas* (Baud. Dh 5 II 7 34) and to fasts on *Ekādaśī*. The Śāntiparva 323 17 states 'Just as a dirty garment is afterwards cleansed by water, so to those who are heated in (the fire of) fasting inexhaustible happiness for a long time comes.' Śānti 79 18, however, says 'merely emaciating the body by fasting is not *tapas*, but *ahimsā*, truthfulness, freedom from cruelty, restraint and compassion are *tapas*'.

132. अयने विषुवे चैव चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे तथा । अहोरात्रोपित स्नात्वा सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥
दृक्ष q. by परा मा I 1 p 438.

133. सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां म्लेच्छानां च पितामह । उपवसे मतिरियं कारणं च न विग्रहे ॥
अनुशासन 166 1.

133a 'उपावृत्तस्य पापिभ्यो यस्तु वासो ह्यग्नौ स ह । उपवासः स विज्ञेयः सर्वभोगविवर्जितः
अपरार्क p. 199. ह्यग्नौ means 'क्षमादिभिः,' and वास. means 'नियमेनावस्थानम्.'

Tirthayātrā :—Pilgrimage will be dealt with exhaustively in a later section. It was believed that going on a pilgrimage and bathing in such holy rivers as the Ganges freed a man from sins. Visnu Dh. S. (35.6) lays down that those guilty of *mahāpātakas* may become pure by *Aśvamedha* sacrifice or by visiting all the sacred places on the earth. Devala says that a man removes the consequences of such grave sins as the murder of a *brāhmana* that he may have committed unintentionally by the performance of great sacrifices or by going on a pilgrimage. *Parāśara* (XII 58 ff) prescribes¹³⁴ pilgrimage to see Rāma's bridge to Lankā for a murderer of a *brāhmana* who has studied the four Vedas. Devala states: 'a man becomes freed from sin by approaching holy places and shrines, *brāhmanas* that practise austerities, that all rivers that fall into the ocean, all great mountains, all shrines and all forests are holy.' The *Matsyapurāna* (184 18) says that a heap of sins as big as the mountain Meru or Mandara becomes destroyed when man reaches *Avimukta* (Benares). The *Kūmapurāna*¹³⁵ (*pūrvārdha* 29.3) says 'I do not see any other expiation for destroying all sins in the *Kaliyuga* for all beings except Benares'. Even in the times of the Peshwas of Poona pilgrimage was prescribed for *brāhmana* murder (vide 'Selections from Peshwa Records,' vol. 43 p. 107) and the *brāhmanas* were ordered that after the sinner performed the penance they were to dine with him and recognize that he had been purified. In an order dated *śaka* 1659 (1737 AD) the Peshwa Bajirao the first informs the *Deshmukhas*, *Deshpandes* and *Mukadams* that four brothers named Zende approached him with the story that their father was born when their paternal grandmother lived with one *Pilaji Zende* after she became a widow and that she intended to remarry that man but that had to be postponed owing to famine, that the caste meeting were prepared to take them into the

134 चातुर्विंशोपपक्षे तु विधये ब्रह्मघातके । सद्युद्धसेतुगमनं प्रायश्चित्तं विनिर्दिशेत् ॥
पराशर XII 58 q. by अपरार्क p. 1061, प्राय. वि. p 45. The प्रा प्रकाश (folio 66 a and b) remarks. 'ब्रह्महत्याजतस्यक्रम्य भविष्यपुराणे । विन्ध्यादुत्तरती यस्य निवासः परिकीर्तित । पराशरसं तस्य सेतुबन्धस्य दर्शनम् ॥ इति । ..अत्र च विन्धयोत्तरवर्तिन षडथधिकसातत्रययोजनगमनेन तावत्संख्याकमाजापत्यपनोद्यब्रह्महत्यापनोदोकेरमीथाडुकूले कैकयोजनगमनस्यकैकमाजापत्यपुल्पत्तमर्थादुक्तं भवति ॥'.

135. नान्यत्यद्यानि जन्तूना मुक्ता वाराणसीं पुरीम् । सर्वपापप्रशमनं प्रायश्चित्तं कलौ युगे ॥ कूर्मपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 29.3) q by परा. मा II, 2 p. 162; अनिसंगम्य तीर्थानि पुण्यान्पायतमानि च । नरः पापात्सद्युच्येत ब्राह्मणांश्च तपस्विनः ॥ सर्वाः सद्युद्रगाः पुण्याः सर्वे पुण्या नगोत्तमाः । सर्वमायतनं पुण्यं सर्वे पुण्या वनाश्रया ॥ देवल q. by परा. मा II, 2 p. 201, मा. प्रकाश folio 66 b.

caste and hold them pure if a Government order was issued Then the Peshwa issued an order that they should go to Tulapur on the banks of the Bhimā river and that they and their male progeny together with their wives should be restored back to the caste and complete association with them as to taking food and marriage be carried on with them from generation to generation.¹³⁶ The Pr. Prakāśa quotes a verse from the Bhavisyapurāna about the penance for brāhmana murder to the effect that for him who dwells to the north of the Vindhya mountain Parāśara prescribes the sight of Setubandha as a penance and then remarks that a man from the north of Vindhya has to travel 360 yojanas to reach Setubandha and that since 360 Prājāpatya penances are declared to be enough to remove the sin of brahmahatyā, it impliedly follows that each yojana towards a tirtha is equal to one Prājāpatya. The Smṛtyarthasāra (pp. 149-150) quotes several verses from the Purānas stating that gods like Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, great sages like Bṛghu, Vasistha and Viśvāmitra, great kings like Hariscandra, Nala, Sagara obtained greatness by means of tirthas and that Pāṇḍavas, Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Nārada, Vyāsa and other sages engaged in pilgrimages for securing kingdoms and for removal of evil fortune. This subject of *tirthas* will be dealt with at length in a separate section.

136. Vide राजवृत्ति खण्ड 6 letter 113 p 225

CHAPTER III

PRĀYASCITTA; ITS ORIGIN, DERIVATION AND MEANING

It is now necessary to turn to *prāyascittas* as removers of sin. A number of subjects will fall to be treated here.

First, an attempt must be made to understand the etymology and meaning of the word 'prāyascitta' in ancient times. There are two forms of the word, *prāyascitti* and *prāyascitta*, which occur in Vedic works without distinction of meaning and both forms are fairly old, though *prāyascitti* appears to be the older of the two. The form *prāyascitti* frequently occurs in the *Tai. S.* (as in II. 1.2.4, II. 1.4.1, III. 1.3.2-3, V. 1.9.3, V. 3.12.1)¹³⁶. In some of these passages no question of sin arises. The word means 'doing some thing which would get rid of some accidental happening or mishap such as the breaking of an *ukhā* (a pot or saucepan for boiling or cooking) or the sun's losing its brilliance.' In *Tai. S. V. 3.12.1* the word is used in the sense of an expiation for a sin. So even in very old books the word had two shades of meaning. The *Kausītaki*¹³⁷ Br. (vi. 12) states: "they say 'whatever mistake or excess occurs in the sacrifice that affects the priest *brahmā*, that he treats with the three-fold learning (i. e. the three Vedas)". The word also occurs in the *Atharvaveda* XIV. 1.30, *Vāj. S.* 39.12 (in close proximity to *niskṛti*), in the *Ait. Br. V. 27*, in the *Śat. Br. IV. 5. 7.1, VII. 1.4.9, XI. 5.3.8, XII. 4.1.6* and in other works also. The form *prāyascitta* occurs in *Kausītaki Br. V. 9, VI. 12* and elsewhere. The *Āśv. Śr. III. 10.38* and *Śāṅkhayana Śr. III. 19.1* respectively employ the words *prāyascitti* and *prāyascitta*¹³⁸. In *Pār. gr. I.*

136 a असत्वादिभ्यो न व्यरोचत तस्मै देवा. प्रायश्चित्तमैच्छन् । तै. सं. II. 1.2.4, II. 1.4.1; यदि भिद्येत तैरेव कपालैः संघृजेत्सैव ततः प्रायश्चित्ति । तै. सं. V. 1.9.3, एष वै मज्जापानं सर्वं करोति योऽश्वमेधेन यजते सर्व एव भवति सर्वस्य वा एषा प्रायश्चित्ति सर्वस्य भवत्यम् । तै. सं. V. 3.12.1

137 यद्वै यज्ञस्य स्वयलितं बोल्लभणं वा भवति ब्रह्मण एव तत्प्राहुस्तन्त्रं त्र्यया विद्यया भिषज्यति । कौषीतकि ब्रा. VI. 12.

138. विध्यपराधे प्रायश्चित्तिः । आश्व औ. III. 10, विध्यपराधे प्रायश्चित्तम् । अथर्लोपे प्रतिनिधि । श्रौ. औ. III. 19.1; विध्यपराधे प्रायश्चित्तं दोषनिघातार्थं विधीयतेऽनाज्ञाते विशेषे ध्यानं नारायणस्य सज्जपेज्याहोमाश्च हनन्तीति । वैखानसश्रौतसूत्र 20.1 (ed by

(Continued on the next page)

10 the form 'prāyaścitti' is employed. Jai. in several places employs the word prāyaścitta (as in VI 37, VI 4.10, VI 5.45 and 49, XII 3.16). Śābara¹³⁹ on the last sūtra (XII 3.16) explains that the prāyaścittas (in the Śruti texts) are of two kinds, viz some are meant to make good the defect in the procedure and materials of sacrifice which arises or befalls through some neglect or heedlessness, while others are subsidiary parts of a rite when an occasion arises if they are undertaken to atone for not doing what is ordained or doing something which is forbidden (e.g. non-performance of daily Agnihotra even though the sun rises). The Śat. Br.¹⁴⁰ XII 4 and Ait. Br. 32.2-11 provide some interesting and amusing examples of the mishaps for which prāyaścittas are provided e.g. when a vicious boar, ram or dog runs between the sacrificial fires, or if Agnihotra milk gets spilled while the cow is being milked or if the milk pot is turned upside down or if it were to break or if the cow were to lie down while being milked, or if the fire were to go out after the first libation is offered etc. Vide also Mānava-grhya I 3, Hir. gr. I 5.1-16, Bhāradvāja gr. II 32, Kauśika-sūtra 46.14-55, Āśv. Śr. III 10 and Āśv. gr. III 6-7 for similar occurrences and prāyaścittas. The Mahābhāṣya on Pān. VI 1.157 explains¹⁴¹ both prāyaścitti and prāyaścitta on the analogy of the word *Pāvaka*. Prāyaścitta may be said to be, in the language of the Mīmāṃsā, either *krativartha* or *purusārtha*. The former are prescribed in the Śrautasūtras. It is the latter kind of prāyaścittas that are generally dealt with in Smṛti works on prāyaścitta. In this work the prāyaścittas mentioned in Śrauta

(Continued from the last page)

Caland). The com. Nārāyaṇa explains आप् च नौ III. 10 as follows विहितस्याकारणेष्वप्याकारणे च प्रायश्चित्तिः कर्तव्या । प्रायो विनाश चिति सन्धानम् । विनष्टसन्धानं प्रायश्चित्तिरित्युक्तं भवति ।

139. 'प्रायश्चित्तानि द्विप्रकाराणि । कानिचिद्वैशुष्यस्य प्रमादादापतितस्य समाधानार्थानि कानिचिन्निमित्ते कर्माङ्गानि । तत्र समाधानार्थानि यथा यदुक्तं यद् अतिमित्यात् भूत्वाहेति गार्हपत्ये ब्रुह्यात् । शबर on जै XII. 3. 16, 'यानि तु न दोषनिर्घातार्थानि तेषु समुच्चय । कानि पुनस्तानि यानि श्रुतस्याक्रियया प्रतिषिद्धसेवनानि तान्मुच्यन्ते । यथा यस्याहतमग्निहोत्र स्वर्गोऽभ्युदियान्मैत्रं चरुं निर्वपेत् सौर्यमेककपालम् । शबर on जै XII. 3. 17 Compare आप् च नौ IX 1 1 श्रुतिलक्षण प्रायश्चित्ति विध्यपराधे विधीयते । जपो होम इत्या च । दोषनिर्घातार्थानि भवन्ति ।

140 यस्याग्निहोत्र दोषमान कन्देत् किं तत्र कर्म का प्रायश्चित्तिरिति । शतपथ XII. 4 1.6

141 प्रायस्य चित्तिचित्तयोः महाभाष्य on 'पारस्करप्रश्नोत्तरे च सज्ञायाम्' । पा. VI 1.157 (ed by Kretschmer, vol III p 96)

works are passed over, as they have either been mentioned in vol. II. or were of rare occurrence even in olden days.

Most digests and commentaries derive the word *prāyaścitta* relying on a verse (attributed to Angiras¹⁴² by some) from *prāya* (meaning 'tapas') and *citta* (meaning resolve or firm belief), the idea being that *prāyaścittas* are so called because of their association with or emergence from a resolve to undergo *tapas* or because of the firm belief that it will be a means of the removal of sin. Various other derivations are suggested by some writers. The *Bālabhāṭṭi*¹⁴³ on Yāj. III 206 quotes a half verse to the effect that 'prāya' means 'sin' and 'citta' means 'purification', which had been quoted by Paksadharamiśra¹⁴⁴, Bhaktūpādhyāya and the Tadarānanda, but the Pr. M. (p. 2) says that the source or authenticity of that verse is doubtful. Hemādri refers to an unnamed bhāṣyakāra's explanation viz. 'prāya' means 'destruction' and 'citta' means 'joining together' and *prāyaścitta* means the making good what is lost and that the word denotes a *naṣṭtīha* action on sin.

The Par. M. quotes a *smṛti* text¹⁴⁵ and says that that is *prāyaścitta* whereby the 'citta' (the mind) of a repentant sinner is made generally (*prāyaśah*) free (from emotion i. e brought to a normal state) by the *parśad* (assembly of learned brāhmanas). Here 'prāyah' seems to be taken as equal to 'prāyaśah' and 'citta' has its usual sense. In Sāyana's¹⁴⁶ comment on the

142 प्रायो नाम तप मोक्तं चित्तं निश्चय उच्यते । तपोनिश्चयसंयोगात्प्रायश्चित्तमिति स्मृतम् ॥ अङ्गिरस्य acc to ह्रदय on गौ. 22.1., प्राय चि. p 2 (० निश्चयसंयुक्तं) । मत्कारि on गौ 19.20 quotes व्यास as प्रायो ...चित्तं संयम उच्यते । तप संयमसंयुक्तं, while प्राय प्रकरण p. 8 reads चित्तं नियम उच्यते.

143 तदुक्तम् । प्राय. पापं विनिर्दिष्टं चित्तं तस्य विशेषणम् । इति । अतुर्विज्ञातिभते ऽ-प्येवम् । तथा पापनिवर्तनक्षमधर्मविशेषे योगरूढोऽयं शब्द इति तत्त्वम् । बालम्भट्टी on या. III, 206.

144. यत्तु पक्षधरमिश्रभक्तूपाध्यायटोडरानन्दकृत—प्राय. पापं विजानीयाच्चित्तं तस्य विशेषणमिति च पेटुस्तत्राकारश्चिन्त्य । प्राय. न. p. 2, भाष्यकारस्तु प्रायो विनाश. चित्तं सन्धान विनष्टस्य सन्धानमिति विभागयोगेन प्रायश्चित्तशब्द पापक्षयार्थं नैमित्तिके कर्मविशेषे वर्तते । हेमाद्रि (on प्राय०) p, 989.

145. प्रायश्चर्यं समं चित्तं चारयित्वा पदीयते । पर्यदा कारयेत् यस्तु प्रायश्चित्तमिति स्मृतम् ॥ पापिनोऽज्ञतापिनश्च चित्तं व्याकुलं सत् विषमं भवति तच्च पर्यदा येन व्रताच्छ्रानेन प्रायश्चर्येणैव समं कारयेत् तद्ब्रतं प्रायश्चित्तम् । ब्रतं चारयित्वा चित्तवैषम्यानिमित्तं पापं पदीयते सञ्जयते विनाश्यते इत्यर्थः । परा. ना. II part 1 p. 3.

146. अयं अयः प्राप्तिः प्रकर्षणाय. प्रायः । विहितधर्माकरणस्य प्राप्तिरित्यर्थः । तत्प्रकार-विषयं चित्तं चित्तिर्ज्ञानम् । तत्पूर्वकाच्छ्रानानि प्रायश्चित्तानि । com. on सामविधानभा. I, 5, 1.

Sāmavidhāna Br I 51 another derivation is suggested viz that 'prāyah' is composed of two parts 'pra' and 'ayah' and means 'happening or finding' (of the non-performance of what is ordained) and 'citta' means 'knowledge'; and so religious observances after knowing a certain happening are called prāyaścittas. The Pr VI p 3 and Pr. Tattva p 467 quote Hārīta and give¹⁴⁷ yet another derivation (from 'prayata' pure and 'cita' collected), in accordance with which 'prāyaścitta' means such actions as *tapas*, gifts and sacrifices whereby a man becomes purified (*prayata*) and destroys his accumulated sins ('cita' being equal to 'upacita'), just as clothes are made clean by the employment of salts, moist heat, putting in boiling water on a fire, and washing in water. Hence, as the Mit says, the word prāyaścitta conventionally¹⁴⁸ denotes a certain act or rite of the *namittika* type (since it takes place only when an occasion arises) intended for the destruction of sin (and therefore being desired for removal of sin it may also be called *kāmya*). The Par. M quotes verses from Brhaspati's¹⁴⁹ work of which the section on prāyaścitta holds at the beginning and at the conclusion thereof that prāyaścitta is *namittika*¹⁵⁰ (to be performed when a cause

147 तत्र हारीत । प्रयतत्वाद्द्वैपचित्तमशुभं कर्म नाशयतीति प्रायश्चित्तमिति । यत्प्रायश्चित्तं कर्म उपचितं सञ्चितमशुभं पापं नाशयतीति । कृततत्कर्मभिः कर्तुं प्रयतत्वाद्वा । शुद्धत्वाद्देव तन्प्रायश्चित्तम् । तथा च शुनहरीत । यथा क्षारोपस्तेद्वच्छण्डनिर्णोद्विनप्रक्षालनादिभिर्बोसासि शुष्यान्ति एवं तपोदानयज्ञैः पापकृतः शुद्धिमुपयन्ति । प्राय तत्र p 467, vide also प्राय. वि. p. 3 for the first sūtra and p. 17 for the rest of the passage of हारीत. The मद्. पा. p 703 quotes the passage from यथा क्षारोप. मद् पा p 704 explains चण्डनिर्णोदनम् as 'सुल्लघयिष्ययणादिना तल्लेद्वनम्' and मा प्रकाश (folio 9a) 'चण्ड अग्नि. निर्णोदनं तस्मिन्नाधिभयणं क्लेदनमिति'.

148 प्रायश्चित्तज्ञान्द्वयाय पापक्षयार्थं नैमित्तिके फलविशेषे रुद्ध । मित्ता on चा. III 220, which is q by स्मृतिह्र (प्राय) p 859, परा मा II part 1 p. 3

149 तथा च बृहस्पतिः प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणस्योपक्रमोपसंहारयोः नैमित्तिकत्वं दर्शयति । नैमित्तिकं धर्मजातं गन्तव्ये मे निबोधत । विहितस्यानष्टानात् प्रतिपिद्धनिषेवणात् । प्रायश्चित्तं यत्कियते तन्नैमित्तिकमुच्यते । बृहस्पतिक्रमः । नैमित्तिकं समाख्यातं प्रायश्चित्तं समासतः । बृहस्पतिसंहारश्च । परा मा. II part 1 p. 7, also in बालम्भडी on चा III 206 and प्राय प्रकाश folio 7 b तथा च जाषालः । अतः काम्य नैमित्तिकं च प्रायश्चित्तमिति स्थितिः, मा प्रकाश folio 8a,

150 Actions are divided into three kinds, *niitya*, *namittika* and *kāmya*. *Niitya* acts are those like *sandhyā-vandana* (which are obligatory and performed daily as a duty and which if not performed lead to sinfulness), *namittika* are those acts which have to be done only on some occasion (as a bath on an eclipse) and *kāmya* rites are those which are performed out of a desire to secure some object (as the sacrifice called *putresti* for a son). Manu in XI 53 says 'therefore (because of the remnants of the guilt of

(Continued on the next page)

or occasion arises), Jābala q in the Pr. Prakāśa holds that *prāyaścitta* partakes of the nature of both *naimittika* and *kāmya* actions. The Pr. Prakāśa finds fault with the definitions of *prāyaścitta* proposed by the Kalpataru, Śūlapāni and others and ultimately arrives at the conclusion that those alone are *prāyaścittas* which are so spoken of by the learned, just as on Jaimini II 1.32 (tac-codakesu mantrākhyā) Bhattācārya explains that mantras are those which the respectable *ṛājñīlas* and those who studied the Vedas so designate^{150a}

Sins as stated by Brhaspati¹⁵¹ and others are of two kinds, viz. intentionally committed and unintentionally committed.

Great divergence of views has prevailed from very ancient times as to whether *prāyaścittas* can destroy sins intentionally committed. Manu XI. 45 and Yāj. III. 226 are positive that sins committed unintentionally are destroyed by *prāyaścittas* or by the study of the Veda. The difficulty arises about sins committed intentionally or with full knowledge. Gaut. (19. 3-6 = Vas. 22. 2-5) states two views,^{151a} one holding that *prāyaścitta* should not be performed since deeds (here sinful deeds) are not destroyed (except by experiencing the consequences thereof), the other view holding that *prāyaścitta* should be per-

(Continued from the last page)

crimes in former lives men are born blind or idiots &c.) penances must always be performed for the sake of purification, because those whose sins have not been expiated are born with disgraceful marks.' Though Manu employs the word 'nityam' here, what is meant is that when a sin is committed, a *prāyaścitta* must necessarily be performed and it is not left to the volition of the sinner whether to perform it or not. Vide Mit on Yāj. III. 220. But it does not follow from this that if *prāyaścitta* for removing a sin is not performed, another sin is thereby committed, for in that case there would be *anavasthā* (regressus ad infinitum)

150 a 'यथा महाचार्यैस्तज्जोदकेषु मन्त्राख्येति .. यत्र वैदिकपात्रिकानामभियुक्तानां मन्त्र इति प्रसिद्धिः स मन्त्र इति सूत्रात्पर्यं वर्णितमेवाभिहापि यत्राभियुक्तानां प्रायश्चित्त-प्रसिद्धिस्तत्राप्रायश्चित्तमिति लक्षणे मन्त्रयाज्ञवल्क्यवाक्यानां तात्पर्यमुक्तेयम् । folio 76 of Ma. Prakāśa Ms.

151. कामाकामकृतं त्वेवं महापापं द्विधा स्मृतम् । पुरुषापेक्षया चैव निष्कृतिद्विविधा स्मृताः ॥ बृहस्पति q. by प्राय वि p. 24, परा मा II part 1 p 13 (first half).

151 a तत्र प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यान्न कुर्यादिति सीमांसन्ते । न कुर्यादित्याह । न हि कर्म क्षीयत इति । कुर्यादित्यपरम् । गो 19 3 B = वासिष्ठ 22 2-5 (the last being कुर्यादित्येव तस्माच्छ्रुतिनिदर्शनत्) न कुर्यादित्याह । This is the पूर्वपक्ष view. The सिद्धांतम् 18 'कुर्यात्' which is supported by indications derived from vedic passages

formed (for the removal of the effects of sin). The latter relies upon certain indications in Vedic passages. Gaut. relies upon four such passages. The first says "152 'after performing the *punahstoma*¹⁵³ one can come back to (become fit for) *soma* sacrifice (i. e. for Vedic rites in general). Another indication is 'after performing *Vrātyastoma* (one becomes fit for Vedic sacrifices).' A third is: 'He, who offers the *Āsvamedha* sacrifice, crosses beyond all sin, beyond *brāhmana* murder'. The fourth is one should make a person charged with grave sins perform the *Agnistut* *Vasistha* also (20 1-2) gives expression to the two views about the efficacy of penances.¹⁵⁴ *Manu* XI. 45 (latter half) states, that according to some, *prāyaścittas* may be prescribed for the removal of intentionally committed sins from indications contained in the *Vedas*. It cannot be said that these *Śruti* passages are mere *arthavādas* (i. e. laudatory texts). They must really be taken, though expressed in the form of ordinary *arthavādas*, as laying down (a *vidhā*) that one desirous of destroying his sins should perform *Āsvamedha* and the other sacrifices mentioned. In this case the maxim of *rātrisattra*¹⁵⁵ applies (vide *Jai*. IV. 3. 17-19). There are certain *sattras* (sacrifices extending over more than twelve days) called *Trayo-*

152. पुनः स्तोत्रेनेष्ट्वा पुनः सवनमायान्तीति विज्ञायते । आत्यस्तोत्रेनेष्ट्वा । तरति सर्वं पाप्मानं तरति ब्रह्महत्यां योऽश्वमेधेन यजेत । अग्निदुतानिज्ञस्यमानं याजयेदिति च । गौ 19.7-10. वसिष्ठ (22.6) is the same as गौ 19.9, while it (22.7) reads इति चाभिज्ञस्तो गोसवेनाग्निदुता यजेत तरति सर्वं इति. स V 3 12 2 quoted above and शतपथभा XIII 3 1 1. गोसव and अग्निदुत् are different sacrifices. The गोसव is a strange rite, for which vide H. of Dh. vol II p 1213 n. 2644. It is described in ते आ II. 7 6.

153. The *Punahstoma* is a *śrauta* sacrifice, of the class called *ekāha* (i. e., performed in one day) acc. to *Haradatta*. Vide *Lātyāyana-śrauta* IX 4 and 5 for its efficacy. The *Vrātyastoma* is also an *ekāha*, which was prescribed for those whose *upanayana* was not performed at the proper time (and who had therefore become *patita-sāvitrīka*). *Yāj* I, 38 provides *vrātyastoma* for *patitasāvitrīka*. Vide H. of Dh. vol II p 377 and p 385 (for its description from the *Tāndya Brāhmana*). The *Agnistut* is an *ekāha* (vide *Tai. Br.* II 7 12 and *Āśv. Śr.* IX. 7 22-25). *Manu* XI 74 prescribes *Āsvamedha*, *Gosava* or *Agnistut* and several other sacrifices for the removal of the grave sin of *brāhmana* murder.

154. अनभिसन्धिकृते प्रायश्चित्तमपराधे । अभिसन्धिकृतेऽप्येके । वसिष्ठ 20 1-2.

155. राज्ञी. प्रकृत्य श्रूयते प्रतितिष्ठन्ति ह वा य एता राजीरुपयन्ति । ब्रह्मवर्चस्विनाऽ-
भादा भवन्ति य एता उपयन्ति । इति । सत्र सन्देहः । किं ते फलार्थवादा उत फलविधय इति ।
ज्ञवर on जैमिनि IV 3. 17. The second alternative is the सिद्धान्त view.. Vide
ताण्ड्यब्राह्मण 23.2.4 for the passage प्रतितिष्ठन्ति.. उपयन्ति ।

daśarātra, Caturdaśarātra and so on. All these are called rātrisattras. With reference to these a Vedic passage says 'those who approach (i. e. perform) these rātrisattras attain stability (long life or super-eminence)'. In the text prescribing the rātrisattras there is no mention of any special reward for performance. Therefore 'stability' (*pratisthā*) contained in the passage must be held to be the reward of the performance of rātrisattras and not mere heaven (which is the reward of all sacrifices for which no special reward is mentioned, according to Jai. IV, 3, 15-16). The same maxim applies to passages like Yāj. III, 226 which say that sin is removed by penances¹⁵⁶. Medhātithi draws attention to the story in the Tai. S. VI, 2.7.5, Kathaka S. VIII, 5, Ait Br 35.2 that Indra consigned yatis to *śālāurkas* (dogs or wolves) and had to perform the rites called Upahavya to get rid of the sin. Manu states his own opinion in the next verse (XI, 46) that sins committed unintentionally are destroyed by the recitation of Vedic texts and sins committed intentionally through folly are destroyed by various *prāyaścittas*. Yāj. III, 226 (latter half) appears to hold that *prāyaścittas* do not destroy sins intentionally committed, but the sinner undergoing the prescribed penance becomes fit to be associated with other people on account of the texts (laying down the *prāyaścittas*); but Yāj. implies, it seems, that the results of sin intentionally committed (such as Hell and the like) are not got rid of. Manu XI, 189 prohibiting social intercourse with sinners who have not performed penance practically conveys the same idea as that of Yāj. in III, 226 (latter half). Yāj. III, 220 observes that a man guilty of *pātakas* should perform *prāyaścitta* for his own purification (here and in the next world); in this way (i. e. if he performs penance) his inner soul recovers its composure and the people also become satisfied. This verse puts in a nutshell the purposes of *prāyaścittas* as conceived by the *smṛtis*, viz. purging of sin (or purification), the satisfaction of the sinner's mind, admission to intercourse with

156 'सुन स्तोमेनेष्ट्वा .. यजते इति !... न चेदमर्थवादमात्रम् । अधिकारिविशेषणा-
काक्षया रात्रिसत्रस्यायेनार्थवादिकफलस्यैव कल्पनाया न्याय्यत्वात् । अतो युक्तं प्रायश्चित्तैर-
दित्येन इति । मित्त on या III 226, vide प्राय वि p. 9 and p. 18 for similar views
' अतो रात्रिसत्रस्यायेनार्थवादिकपापक्षयकामिना प्रायश्चित्तं कर्तव्यमिति निर्णीतम् । प्राय. वि
p. 18. The उपहव्य sacrifice is prescribed for one desirous of prosperity,
ownership of a village or offspring. Vide कात्या. श्रौ. सू. 22.8.7 'भूतिकामो वा
ग्रामकामो वा भजाकामो वा उपहव्येन यजेत.'

all people. Chāgaleya¹⁵⁷ holds that *prāyaścittas* free the sinner from the consequences of sins committed unintentionally, but no penance exists which frees a man from the consequences of sins knowingly committed except in the case of *upapātakas* and in suicides or attempts at suicide. The Par. M. (II 1 pp 200-201) cites a verse of Jābali and verses of Devala setting forth the two views about the efficacy of *prāyaścittas*, while it also cites the view of Baudhāyana-smṛti that there is no *prāyaścitta* for sins committed knowingly and the view of Angiras that the penance is double in the latter case¹⁵⁸. Angiras further says that *prāyaścittas* do destroy the sin arising from committing acts that are forbidden and the like, just as the rising sun removes darkness. Manu XI 47 provides: 'A twice-born man having become liable to perform a penance (for a sin), whether he committed it through fate or by some act committed in a former existence, must not have intercourse with virtuous men until he performs the proper penance.' Āp. Dh. S (I 9 24 24-25) provides 'If a man slays a *guru* (father, Vedic teacher &c) or a *brāhmana* who has studied the Veda and finished the ceremonies of a soma sacrifice he shall live according to these very rules (contained in Āp. Dh. S I 9. 24. 10-32) until his last breath. He cannot be purified (of the sin of the murder of a *guru* or learned *brāhmana*) in this life. But his sin is removed (at his death)'.¹⁵⁹ It appears to follow from Āpastamba's words that penance ending in death destroys the sin. The same was the view of Angiras, Yama and others.

157. छागलेयेऽपि । प्रायश्चित्तकानानां कानावार्ता न विद्यते । उपपान्तक एव स्थापना चान्नोपधाने ॥ अन्वार्थः । कानावार्ता ज्ञानपूर्वकपापे मत्कर्मोपनिवारकं प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते । उपपान्तकानहहनयोगेन ज्ञानपूर्वकत्वेपि स्थाश्चित्तं न वेति । आत्महननापि विपन्नज्ञे कृते यदि जीवति नदा प्रायश्चित्तं विद्यते यदा हूनस्त्वदा तच्छेषेण्णुणा कर्त्तव्यमित्युभयवर्थापि प्रायश्चित्तं विद्यते इति न विरोधः । नद. पा p. 705 The half verse प्रायश्चित्तं विद्यते occurs in परा ना II part 1 p 201

158. अकान्तं कृते यापि प्रायश्चित्तं न कानतः । स्थानकानकृते यत् द्विसुणं दुडिदुवके ॥ अङ्घ्रिचू q. by परा ना. II part 1 p 201; अस्ति निषिद्धक्रियाजन्यं पापं सत्कामकत्वं तु प्रायश्चित्तम् । नया चाङ्घ्रितः । उद्यन्पद्दृष्टादित्यस्तनः सर्वे व्योहति । वदुक्त्वागमनादिषु नर्त्त पापं व्यपोरति । पापं चन्दुक्त्वा कृत्वा कल्याणमभिपद्यते । सुच्यते पातके सर्वैरिहास्ति चन्द्रना ॥ कल्याणं प्रायश्चित्तम् । या. नकाश folio 6a.

159. सुदं हस्त आन्त्रियं वा कर्ममन्त्रासनेनेव विधियोत्तनादुद्भुत्साञ्जरेत् । नास्वास्तिहोके अन्नापचित्तविद्यते कल्पं तु निर्हण्यते । आप. घ सू. I 9 24 24-25 Vide also आप. घ सू. I 10, 28 18 for the same words हृदयत gives his own and another's interpretation of आप. घ सू. I 9 24 24-25 'अस्तिहोके जीवति प्रत्यापति. कृद्धिर्नास्तीत्यर्थः । कल्पं तु निर्हण्यते । वस्य उवादिभिः संस्कारादिः कर्मण्य इति भावः । अन्ये तु पूर्व सूत्रं तस्मिन्पद्ये नग्यन्ते । अन्नापचित्तं सुत्रादिभिः उवादिमात्रेण मन्त्रव्य इति ।'

In this conflict among the authors of smrtis the solution proposed by the Mit. on Yaj III 226 has been accepted by most medieval writers and is as follows¹⁶⁰. The potentialities and consequences of sins are twofold, viz those leading to Hell and the others preventing intercourse with members of the society to which the sinner belongs. Therefore, even though a *prāyaścitta* may not be efficacious to prevent the first mentioned consequence (viz fall into Hell), there is nothing improper in *prāyaścitta* being effective in removing the obstacle to association with other people. As to sinful acts that are not *pataniya* (do not cause loss of caste) *prāyaścitta* does destroy such sinfulness as expressly stated by Manu, XI 46. Even as to sins that are *pataniya* and are committed intentionally, if a penance ending in death is undergone as laid down by Manu XI 73, Yaj III 247-248 and Gaut 22, 2-3 for *brāhmana* murder; Manu XI 90-91, Yaj III 253, Gaut 23 1 for drinking *surā*; Gaut 23 8-11, Manu XI 103-104 and Yaj. III 259 for sexual intercourse with the *guru*'s wife; Manu XI 99-100 and Yaj. III 257 for theft of *brāhmana*'s gold; then the sin is destroyed as stated by Āp. Dh S I 9 24 25 and I 10. 28.18 quoted above. When Manu says (in XI 89 latter half) that there is no penance for the sin of slaying a *brāhmana* intentionally, the proper interpretation of this read along with Manu XI 46 quoted above is not that there is total absence of *prāyaścitta* in such a case, but that ordinary *prāyaścittas* (such as those in Manu XI 72) would not do in such a case, but only very heavy ones that would end in death. Medieval digests like the *Prāyaścitta-muktāvalī* (folio 32a) hold that according to the *Kalvaṅga* section penance ending in death is forbidden in the case of *brāhmana* sinners and therefore a

160. यत्तु महत्तत्त्वं 'हर्यं विशुद्धिरदिता' इत्यादि (11 89) तदपीयमिति सर्वनाम-
पराष्टुष्टहादशशायिकादिब्रतचर्षाया एव 'कामते...विधीयते' इत्यनेन अतिवेधो न पुनः
प्रायश्चित्तमाश्रय । मरणान्तिकोदः प्रायश्चित्तस्य दर्शितत्वात् ।.. हे हि पापस्य शक्ती नरकोत्यादिका
व्यवहारनिरोधिका चेति । तत्रैतरशक्त्यविनाशेऽपि व्यवहारनिरोधिकाया शक्तेर्विनाशो नास्त्यपन्न-
स्तत्त्वात्पापपननेऽपि व्यवहारस्यैव नास्त्यपन्नम् । यत्तु महत्तत्त्वं (11 45) 'अकामतः...निदर्शनात्'
इति तदापि कामकृते प्रायश्चित्तमाप्त्यर्थं न पुनः पापक्षयप्रतिपादनपरम् । अपतनीये पुनः कामकृतेऽपि
प्रायश्चित्तन पापक्षयो भवत्येव 'अकामतः...पुण्यवियैः ॥' इति महत्स्मरणात् (11 46) । पतनी-
येऽपि कर्मणि कामकृते मरणान्तिकप्रायश्चित्तेषु कल्पपक्षयो भवत्येव फलान्तरभावात् ।
'नास्परिमिच्छोके . निहृयते' इत्यापस्तम्बस्मरणात् । मित्ता on या III 226 इन्द्रहारीत IX.
173 and Yama hold the view that intentional sins are destroyed by penances
that end in death. 'प्रायश्चित्तैरपैत्येनो यद्कार्यकृतं महत् (यद्कामकृतं?) । कामतस्तु
कृतं यत्तु मरणास्तिसिद्धिरुच्छति ॥ . महापातककर्तारश्चत्वारो मतिपूर्वकम् । अग्निं प्राविश्य
ह्युष्यान्ति स्माला महति वा क्रतौ ॥ यम p by प्रा. प्रकाश, folio 16 (b), अपराकां p. 1039
reads 'चत्वारोऽप्यविशेषतः' The words of the mitta are quoted or paraphrased by
subsequent works such as the *Prāyaścittasāra* (p 4).

brāhmana murderer can only be made to undergo the twelve years' penance.

The Par M. (II part 1 pp 201-203) sets out this view of the Mit and appears to hold it itself. It sets out another view also. Those who hold this latter view read Yāj. III, 226 as 'kāmatosvyavahāryastu' with an *avagraha*. The meaning then is that one who has performed the penance prescribed for a sin does not fall into Hell, but he cannot be allowed to associate with good men (*sistas*) if he is guilty of a wilful sin. There is a verse of Manu (XI 190 = Visnu Dh. S. 54.32) that one should not associate with those who slay children, who return evil for the good done to them, who slay those that come for protection and who kill women, even though they might have become purified by undergoing the appropriate penance. There is a similar verse of Yāj III 298 on which the comment of Vijnānesvara is most interesting as indicative of the spirit of our medieval writers who were always oppressed by the might of words (Vedic or *smṛti*) deemed as authoritative. The Mit remarks ¹⁶¹ 'the prohibition (contained in Yāj. III, 298) is based on the text alone (and not on logic or reasoning). What cannot a text do? There is nothing too heavy for a text. Therefore, even though a light penance is prescribed for slaying an adulterous woman, still there is a prohibition against associating with such slayers based on the words of the text'.

161. मायश्चित्तेन क्षीणदोषानपि न सव्यवहरोदिति वाचनिकोऽप्य प्रतिषेध । 'किमिति वचनं न कुर्यान्न हि वचनस्यातिभारोऽस्ति' । अतश्च यद्यपि व्यभिचारिणीना वधेऽस्तीप एव मायश्चित्तं तथापि वाचनिकोऽप्य संव्यवहारप्रतिषेधः । मिता on वा III 298 The words किमिव हि वचनं. भार. occur frequently in शाबरभाष्य, e g on जै II 2.27, III 2.3, III. 7.11, IV 3.38, V 4.17 etc On जै VI 1.44 (about the privilege of the rathakāra to consecrate Vedic fires) Sabara employs slightly different words 'न हि वचनस्य किञ्चिदलभ्यं नाम.' Even Sankarācārya relies on these words of Sabara in his bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra III 4.32. When Yāj I 58 says that a son born of a brāhma form of marriage renders 21 generations holy (10 paternal ancestors, ten descendants and himself) Viśvarūpa says that this is all laudatory of the brāhma form and not to be taken seriously as it would be contrary to the doctrine of *Karma*, but then he turns round and says that it may be taken literally as stated by those who know *Mīmāṃsā* 'स्मृतिमात्रमेतन्नूताना भाविना पावनानुपपत्तेः । उपपत्तौ वा कृतनाशाकृताभ्यागमप्रसङ्गात् । यद्वास्तु फलविधिः । विवाहविशेषस्य फलविशेषापेक्षत्वात् । न चागमादुत्सारिण्यर्थेऽनुपपत्तिरिति ज्ञानं वक्तव्यम् । तथा च नैयायिका — न हि वचनस्यातिभारोऽस्तित्याहुः ।' विश्वरूप on वा I, 58. Vide Apārarka on Yāj II, 73-75 (p, 673) who says that one man's merit (*puṇya*) cannot be transferred to another and that Yāj, II, 73-75 are simply intended to frighten away witnesses from perjury as Nārada (*ṛṇādāna* 200) clearly states.

This maxim is taken from the bhāṣya of Śābara and is a favourite device with all Dharmasāstra writers from Viśvarūpa downwards to justify any statement of the smrtis however illogical or exaggerated it might appear to be. The Pr. T. (pp. 544-545) quotes ¹⁶² the Mit. about the two śaktis of sin and its remarks on Yāj III, 298 and does not approve of them, relying on the words of Brhaspati that no decision should be arrived at on the bare words of the śāstra, but it should also be supported by reasoning and that the words 'slayers of women' do not refer to adulterous women but to innocent women (such as the wives of one's enemies). Nārada (sāhasa, verse 11) holds that those who are punished by the king with a fine of the first or second (madhyama) kind can be allowed to associate with other members of society but those who are awarded the highest fine should not be spoken to by others ^{162a}. Those who take the view of the sinner's inability to associate with other men even after undergoing penance rely also upon Vedānta-sūtra III, 4, 43 (bahis-tūbhayathāpi smrtēracārācca). The Par. M. very rightly points ¹⁶³ out that the sūtra refers to those who after going in for life-long celibacy abandon the duties of that stage of life (āśrama) and that it does not refer to householders and quotes a verse of Kauśika in support. The Smṛti-muktāphala (Pr., pp. 867-868) refers to this discussion contained in the Par. M. The Pr. M. (p. 7) appears ¹⁶⁴ to hold that the great Śāṅkarācārya explained

162. एतेन यद्यपि व्यभिचारिणी प्रतिषेध इति मिताक्षरोक्तं न युक्तिसिद्धम् । केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्तव्यो विनिर्णयः । युक्तिहीनविचारे तु धर्महानिः प्रजायते । पापे युच्यते यस्मिन् स्वल्पान्यल्पे च तद्विदुः । प्रायश्चित्तानि नैत्रेय जगुः स्वायम्भुवाद्यायः । इति बृहस्पतिवचनात् । प्राय त p 545.

162 a. स्यातां संव्यवहार्यौ तु धृतदण्डौ तु पूर्वयोः । धृतदण्डोऽप्यसम्भाष्यो ज्ञेयं वस्तुनसाहसे ॥ नारद (साहस, 11).

163. अयं हि बहिष्कार ऊर्ध्वरेतोविषयः न तु गृहस्थविषयः । ऊर्ध्वरेतोविचाराणामेव तत्र प्रस्तुतत्वात् । इदं च कौटिलिकेन स्पष्टीकृतम् । नेष्टिकानां वनस्थानां यतीनां चावकीर्णनाम् । छुदानामपि लोकेऽस्मिन् प्रत्यापत्तिर्न विद्यते ॥ इति । परा मा. II part 1 p. 205. प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 17 b) quotes कौटिलिक's verse.

164. श्रीशङ्कराचार्यास्तु 'कामतोऽव्यवहार्यस्तु' इति अकारप्रश्लेषेणेदं पाज्ञवल्क्यवचो 'बहिस्तूभयथापि स्मृतेरन्यथाश्च' इति सूत्रे कृतप्रायश्चित्तनेष्टिकब्रह्मचार्यादिपरम् । आरूढो नैष्टिके धर्मे यस्तु प्रच्यवते पुनः । प्रायश्चित्तं न पश्यामि येन ह्युच्येत्स आत्महा ॥ इति । प्राय. न p. 7. The verse आरूढो is अत्रि VIII 16 and is quoted by शङ्कर without citing the name. The प्रा प्रकाश (folio 17 a) also refers to Śāṅkara's comment on Vedāntasūtra III, 4.43 and the two verses quoted by him. It observes. एवं तावत्सकलनिबन्धुसमतं व्यवहार्यं इतिपदच्छेदेन पाज्ञवल्क्यवाक्यस्य ध्याख्यानसुक्तम् । शारीरकमीमांसाया तु .

Vedāntasūtra III 4. 43 after reading Yāj III 226 as 'kāmato vyavahāryastu' and that those who fell from the vow of life-long celibacy (either as naisthika brahmacārins or as sannyāsins) were to be excommunicated (and not to be associated with). The printed editions of the bhāṣya contain no express quotation of Yājñavalkya's verse, but from the fact of his quoting Atri's verse it is possible to hold that Śankarācārya understood Yājñavalkya as the Pr. M. says he did.

A question may naturally be asked: why should it be accepted that penances destroy sin (as stated in Yāj III 226). The answer is: what ¹⁶⁵ actions are grave sins or minor sins or not sins at all is laid down by the śāstra (śruti and smrtis). For example, it is not clear to ordinary people why being an officer over mines or making friends of low people or being a servant of a śūdra should be a sin at all. But the smrtis say so. If the smrtis are to be relied upon for determining what acts are sinful, then it follows as a matter of course that the same smrtis which speak of penances as removers of sins must also be accepted and that no other means for determining the efficacy of penances can be appealed to. So also the Bhagavad-gītā (IV 37) states that the fire of spiritual knowledge consumes all (accumulated, *sañcita*) actions (and their consequences).

Many of the sins (though not *all*) for which penances are provided in the smrtis are also offences punishable by the king or State. For example, murder, theft, incest, perjury are acts punishable by the State in almost all countries even now and were so in ancient and medieval India. Persons guilty of these were also liable to undergo *prāyaścittas*. It is probably due to this double liability that punishments for crimes in ancient and medieval India were light as compared with the heavy punishments for even trifling crimes inflicted in western countries only a century or two ago. But there are other acts which are not punishable by the State now and were not probably punished even in ancient or medieval India by the king. For example, forgetting Veda studied by a person, not tending Vedic fires consecrated by a person himself, sleeping till after sun-rise and sleeping at sunset are *pātakas*, acc to Vas I 19 and some of those are *upapātakas* acc to Yāj III. 239. It does not seem

165 ननु प्रायश्चित्तैरेवमेव इति न युक्तम्। फलविनाशयत्वात्कारणम्। नैवम्। यथा पापोत्पत्तिः। शास्त्रगम्या तथा तत्पत्तिक्रियोपीति। नात्र प्रमाणांतरं क्रमते। अत एव गौतमेन पूर्वोक्तपक्षमङ्ग्यायमर्थो दर्शितः। मित्रा on या. III. 226.

likely that an Indian king ever punished any person for these. On the other hand, obstructing the road, prying when the king is taking his meals, sitting before the king on one's haunches, speaking loudly before the king are among the fifty *chālas* of which the king could take cognisance *suo motu* and award suitable punishment (vide H. of Dh vol III p. 266). But there is nothing to show that such actions ever fell within the purview of the rules about *prāyascittas*. The important questions are: What was the relation of the rules about *prāyascittas* which were to be prescribed by a *pariṣad* (a meeting of learned *brāhmanas*) to punishments by the king as regards actions which were both *pātakas* inviting penances and crimes entailing punishments by the King? Which of these two sets of rules was earlier? Were penance and punishment cumulative or alternative? It is difficult to give definite opinions on these questions. We know that *prāyascittas* like *Āsvamedha* are spoken of even in the *Tai S*. We also know that the *praśnavivāka* (which is quite close to *prādvivāka* in derivation and meaning) occurs in the *Vā. S.* XXX. 10 and *Tai Br.* III. 5. 6. Therefore it follows that judicial functions were very early separated from the executive functions of the king. The reference to the ordeal of fire in the *Tāndya Br.* 14. 6. 6 (vide H. of Dh. vol. III p. 361) and the grasping of a red-hot hatchet in the hand by a person accused of theft and his being killed show that ordeals were administered and the punishment for theft was death. *Bṛhaspati*, quoted in the *Vivādaratnakara*, says 'When a man of good character and a diligent reader of the Veda has committed theft he shall be kept in prison for a long time and shall be caused to perform penance after having been compelled to restore the goods' (*S. B. E.* vol. 33 p. 362¹⁶⁶).

The *pariṣad* made its own rules about *prāyascittas* and the king awarded punishments. Which set of rules was earlier it is difficult to say. The king did not very probably interfere with the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the *pariṣad* and the *brāhmanas* helped the king in the administration of justice by being judges and by advising him as to the punishments to be imposed (vide

166. वृत्तस्वाध्यायवान् स्तेयी बन्धनात् क्लिश्यते चिरम् । स्वामिने तद्धनं दाप्यः
मायश्चित्तं तु कारयेत् ॥ बृहस्पति उच्यते ॥ विवादरत्नाकर ॥ 331. It is possible that this
verse means that a learned *brāhmana* who has been well conducted but fell
a victim to the temptation of theft should not be jailed for a long time
because jail life torments his mind and therefore he should be made to
restore stolen property and given penance.

Visnu Dh. S. V. 194). Gautama VIII.1, echoing the words of the Śat. Br. V. 4. 4 5, observes:¹⁶⁷ 'the king and the brāhmana with profound learning uphold the moral order in the world (or are upholders of the sacred law). The Āp. Dh. S. (II 5.10.12-16) contains very important information: 'The ācārya shall order those who, while participating according to the śāstras (in the privileges and responsibilities of their castes), have gone astray through the weakness of their senses to perform penances according to the dictates (of the smṛtis) commensurate with their (sinful) acts. If they transgress their ācārya's order he shall take them to the king. The king shall send them to his purohita proficient in dharmasāstra and the science of government. He (purohita) shall order them to perform (proper penances) if they are brāhmanas. He shall reduce them by forcible means except corporal punishment and slavery.' So this passage shows that the king helped in carrying out prāyaścittas. Nārada includes 'neglect of penances' among matters solely dependent on the king (prakīrnaka, verse 3) and not on complaints by private individuals. Devala¹⁶⁸ probably conveys the real position when he says: 'The king is the giver of krocchras (i. e. his consent is required for actually undergoing the prescribed penances), the learned man who has studied Dharmasāstras prescribes the prāyaścitta, the sinner carries out the penance and the king's officer sees to the safe performance of the prescribed penance' Parāśara VIII. 28 says 'an assembly should point out the proper penance after getting the permission of the king, it should not be done without reference to him, but slight penance may be done without informing him'. The Par. M. II, part 1. p. 232 explains that this applies to prāyaścittas for sins like govadha or those that are greater than it. Devala¹⁶⁹ also has similar verses.

167. 'हौ लोके धृतव्रतो राजा ब्राह्मणश्च बहुश्रुत । गो VIII. 1. इतपथ V. 4. 4 5 has 'नियसाद् धृतव्रत इति धृतव्रतो वै राजा. एष च अनिययश्चैतो ह वै हौ मनुष्येषु धृतव्रतो.'

168. कृच्छ्राणा वापको (वायको v 1) राजा निर्देष्टा धर्मपाठकः । अपराधी प्रयोक्ता च रक्षिता कृच्छ्रपालकः॥ देवल p. by मद्र. पा p 777, माय सा p 8. राजश्च/कुर्वते स्थित्वा प्रत्यश्चित्त विनिर्दिशेत् । स्वयमेव न कर्तव्य कर्तव्या स्वल्पनिष्कृति ॥ पराशर VIII. 28, on which परा मा II. 1 p 232 says: अत्र गोवधस्य प्रकृतत्वान्तरात्म्याधिकेषु राजाऽज्ञयैव व्रतं निर्दिशेत् ।

169. याचितास्तेन ते चापि ब्राह्मणा. पापभीरुणा । निष्कृतिं व्यवहारार्थं कुर्यान्तस्ते ह्यप्राज्ञया ॥ स्वयं वा ब्राह्मणे कृच्छ्रमल्पदोषे विधीयते । राज्ञा च ब्राह्मणेश्चैव महत्सु ह्यपराधस्य च ॥ देवल p. by परा. मा II part 1 p 232-233 and by प्राय सा p 21. प्रा. प्रकाश (folio 25 a) reads देवल's verse as स्वयं तु ब्राह्मणा ज्युरल्पदोषेषु निष्कृतिम् । राजा... महत्सु परिचक्षते ॥

Parāśara VIII, 29 states that the king also should not ignore the parisad and should not by himself prescribe penance. Paithinasi quoted by the Dandaviveka (p. 76) provides¹⁷⁰ for both *prāyaścitta* and punishment and from the tenor of the verse it appears that both were to be enforced by the king. The position is tolerably clear as to medieval times. One feels great hesitation in stating definitely the relation of punishment to penances and the king's position as to both in ancient times. Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 1-4 provide¹⁷¹ that one who kills a *ksatriya* or a *vaiśya* or a *śūdra* shall respectively give one thousand cows, a hundred cows and ten cows for the purpose of removing the enmity and that in each of these cases one bull was to be given in addition for the purpose of expiation. Āpastamba does not expressly state to whom the cows were to be given. The commentator Haradatta explains that they were to be given to *brāhmanas*. Manu XI, 127, 129, 130, and Yaj III, 266-267 have similar provisions but in the chapter on penances. On the other hand, Baud. Dh. S. I. 10 23, expressly states that the cows are to be given to the king. As both the words '*vairaniryātanārtham*' and '*prāyaścittārtham*' are employed by Āp. it may be said that the cows were to be made over to the king even according to Āpastamba. The cows were to be made over to the king for bestowal on the family of the murdered person to mollify them and if they refused to receive them the king was to retain them for himself but was to distribute them among *brāhmanas*. We know that Manu (IX, 243-245) provides that the fine recovered from a man guilty of mortal sins was not to be taken for himself by the king but was to be offered to Varuna and thrown into water or was to be distributed among learned *brāhmanas*. Manu IX, 236 provides that for those who were guilty of the four grave sins (*brāhmana* murder &c.) and did not undergo penance for the same the king should inflict corporal punishment (branding on the forehead) together with fine in accordance with the *śāstra*. Manu IX, 237

170. अकार्यकारिणामेषां प्रायश्चित्तं तु कल्पयेत् । यथासक्यस्वरूपं च दण्डं वैषा प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ पैठीनसि q. by दण्डविवेक p 76.

171. क्षत्रियं हत्वा गवं सहस्रं वैरनिर्यातनार्थं दद्यात् । शतं वैश्ये । दश शूद्रे । कृषमश्वत्थाधिकः सर्वत्र प्रायश्चित्तार्थः । आप ध. सू. I. 9. 24 1-4, क्षत्रियवधे गोसहस्रमैकाधिकं राज्ञ उस्त्यजेद्वैरनिर्यातनार्थम् । शतं वैश्ये दश शूद्रे कृषमश्वत्थाधिकः । शौ. ध. सू. I. 10. 23-24.

(= Matsya 227 164) and Visnu V. 4-7 say that on the forehead a mark of female private parts with red-hot iron should be branded in the case of incest, the mark of a tavern flag in the case of drinking *surā*, the mark of dog's foot in the case of theft (of brāhmaṇa's gold) and the mark of a headless trunk in the case of a brāhmaṇa-murder. Manu IX. 240 further prescribes that men of all castes guilty of the four mahāpātakas committed unintentionally that perform the proper penance should not be branded on the forehead by the king but should be awarded the highest fine. Manu IX. 241 and 242 provide that a brāhmaṇa guilty of these grave sins unintentionally may be punished with the middle amercement (if he himself be possessed of good qualities) but if he was guilty of the grave sins committed intentionally he should be banished from the kingdom being allowed to take with him his wealth and paraphernalia; while persons other than brāhmaṇas when guilty of grave sins unintentionally committed were to be deprived of all their wealth and if guilty intentionally they were to be sentenced to death. These verses show that though *prāyaścitta* be performed persons guilty of grave sins were liable to undergo punishment and if no penance was performed then they were liable to branding and also fines etc. Manu XI. 56 provides that bearing false witness is similar to the drinking of *surā* and Manu XI. 57 and Yāj. III. 230 hold that misappropriation of a deposit is like the theft of gold. Visnu Dh. S (V 169) provides that the misappropriator of a deposit was to be made to return the deposit or its price with interest and was to be punished like a thief by the king and V 179 that a false witness had all his property confiscated. These instances establish that both fines by the king (i. e. *rāja-danda*) and penances prescribed by the assembly of learned men (i. e. *parisaddanda* or *daiva danda*) had to be undergone by those guilty of some grave sins that were also looked upon as crimes. In some cases the penance and the punishment were the same. For example, Gaut 23 10-11, Vas. 20, 13, Manu XI 104, Yāj. III 259 and several other *smṛtikāras* prescribe for incest the penance of the excision of the testicles and penis and proceeding toward the south or south-west till the body falls. Nārada as quoted above prescribes for incest the punishment (*danda*) of the excision of the testicles. The Mīt. on Yāj. III. 233 quotes Nārada and remarks that the punishment of excision and death prescribed by Yāj III 233 applies only to non-brāhmaṇas and that in such cases the punishment of death itself is the

prāyaścitta. There were works like the Madanapārijāta¹⁷² (p. 827) and the Mitākṣarā that held that the prohibition against corporal harm to brāhmanas (Manu VIII. 380) applies only to matters other than prāyaścittas and that since the Manusmṛiti itself (XI. 100) states that a brāhmana guilty of theft of brāhmana's gold may go to the king with an iron club and have his head smashed by the king, the death of a brāhmana as a penance for theft by being struck with a club presented by himself was not ruled out. In some cases punishment by the king was deemed to have purged a man of sin and no penance seems to have been thought necessary, as Manu VIII. 318 (= Vas 19.45) says 'men that commit sins and are punished by the king become purified and reach heaven like good men who perform meritorious deeds.' The Mit on Yāj. III. 259 explains that this holds good only where the punishment is death, as in the case of incest noted above. Āp. Dh. S. II. 10.27. 15-16 provide¹⁷³ that a person guilty of slaying a man, of theft and of forcible seizure of land was to be deprived of his wealth by the king and was to be sentenced to death and that if the offender was a brāhmana he was to have a piece of cloth tied over his eyes for the whole of his life (i. e. he was not to be sentenced to death). It appears that in very ancient times as provided by Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.25.4 the thief approached the king¹⁷⁴ with a club (of iron or *khadira* wood) on his shoulder and announced his guilt, when the king struck him with the club; on his being killed he became free from guilt. This was a penance as well as a legal punishment. Manu has a similar rule in his chapter on punishments (VIII. 314-316) providing that the thief should carry a weapon (called *musala*) or a club of *khadira* wood or a double-edged *śakti* or an iron staff and that if the king strikes him once with the club and he is killed

172. अथ च लिङ्गच्छेदवधात्मको दण्डो ब्राह्मणव्यतिरिक्तस्य । न जातु ब्राह्मणं हन्यात्-सर्वपापेष्ववस्थितम्-इति तस्य वधानियेधात् (मनु. ८.३८०) । वधस्यैव प्रायश्चित्तरूपत्वात् । नित्त. on वा III 233, but on वा III 257 the nitta says 'मनुना सुवर्णस्तेयकृद्भिर्-इत्यभिप्रायं पृथिव्या सुसलं राजा सकृद्दृश्यात् सं स्वयमिति सर्वनाम्ना प्रकृतब्राह्मणपरमर्शोनेव हननविधानात् । न जातु ब्राह्मणं हन्यादित्यस्य प्रायश्चित्तव्यतिरिक्तदण्डरूपहननविधयत्नेनाप्युपपत्तेः ।' ; vide also मद् वा p. 827 for the same view.

173. पुरुषवधे स्तेये भूत्यादान इति स्वान्यादाय वध्यः । चक्षुर्नितोद्यस्वेतेषु ब्राह्मणस्य । आप. ध. सू. II. 10. 27. 15-16.

174. स्तेन. प्रकीर्णकेशोत्ते सुसलमाधाय राजानं गत्वा कर्माच्छ्रित तेनेनं हन्याद्वधे मोक्षः । आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 25. 4. , ब्राह्मणसुवर्णहरणे प्रकीर्णं केशान् राजानमभिधावित्तेनोस्ति भो शास्त्रं मा भवानिति तस्मै राजादुम्बरं शस्त्रं दद्यात्तेनात्मानं प्रमापयेन्मरणाद्युतो भवतीति विज्ञायते । वसिष्ठ 20.41. औदुम्बर means 'made of udumbara wood' or may also mean 'red in colour' (i. e. made of copper).

or if he is not killed but is allowed to go half dead and lives, the thief is freed from the guilt. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 257 quotes a prose passage from Śankha and a verse from Samvarta (122) to the same effect. Manu in the chapter on penances (XI. 100-101 = Agnipurāna 169. 20-21) provides the same procedure for theft as a penance. Vas. 20. 41, Yāj. III. 259, Viṣṇu 52. 1-2 and Parāśara XII. 69-70 provide a somewhat similar penance for the thief of brāhmana's gold. Vasistha introduces an important change viz., that the king hands over to the thief a weapon made of udumbara wood (or probably of copper) with which the thief is to kill himself. It appears that gradually the king gave up this unpleasant method of awarding punishment personally. Nārada¹⁷⁵ (pariśista, verses 46-47) provides that after the thief comes running to the king and announces his guilt, the king was to touch him (with the club, as a symbolic gesture) and then let him off and the thief became freed from sin by his confession of guilt. It has to be remembered, however, that the thief had to restore, even when he underwent penance, stolen property, as stated by Manu VIII. 40, Yāj. II. 36 and 270, Brhaspati and by digests¹⁷⁶ like the Pr. Prakaraṇa. If it were impossible to make the thief restore the stolen property the king had to make it good from his own treasury¹⁷⁷ (Gaut. X. 47, Śāntiparva 75. 10, Kautilya III. 16) or he had to make his officers¹⁷⁸ entrusted with the duty of preventing thefts pay the price of the stolen property (Ap. Dh. S. II. 10. 26. 8). Vide for further details H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 166-168. It appears that the actual carrying out of the sentence of death was later on assigned to Cāṇḍālas as stated by Manu X. 56 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 16. 11 (vadhya-ghātavyam caṇḍālānām).

175. राजा स्तेनेन गन्तव्यो मुक्तकेशेन धावता। आचक्षणेन तल्लेयमेवंकर्मास्मि ज्ञाप्तिमाश्च ॥ अनेना भवति तेन स्वकर्ममतिपादनात् । राजा ततः स्पृशेद्वहस्यस्त्रेणु शक्तिविषयम् ॥ भारद्, परिशिष्ट 46-47.

176. दुस्त्वैवापहृतं द्रव्यं धनिकस्याप्युपायत। अपश्चितं ततः कुर्वात्कल्मषस्यापद्रव्यैः ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 52. 14. सर्वमेव सुवर्णहरणादिस्तेयमायाश्चितं विद्यमानस्यापहृतद्रव्यस्य स्वागपुरसर्वमेव कल्पयम् । इतरथा कृतमायाश्चितस्यापि पुनस्तद्द्रव्यस्वीकारे तथैव स्तेयप्रसङ्गात् । विन्दे तु द्रव्ये पुनःस्वीकाराभावात्मायाश्चित्तमेवेति । माय प्रक. on p. 77

177. चौरहतमपजित्य यथास्थान गमयेत् । कौशाद्रा दद्यात् । यौ X. 46-47 ; प्रत्याहृतमशक्य स्याद्धनं चौरहेतं यदि । तत् स्वकीशात्मदेवं स्यादशक्तिनोपजीवत ॥ ज्ञान्ति 75. 10 q. by the मित्ता on या II. 36, चौरहतमविद्यमानं स्वद्रव्येभ्यः प्रयच्छेत् । कौटिल्य III. 16 p. 190.

178. तत्र यन्मुच्यते तैस्तत्प्रतिदाप्यम् । आप. ध. सू. II. 10. 26. 8.

Another point to be noted is that as regards the awarding of punishments and prescribing of penances, the matters to be considered were the same viz. whether the lapse was intentional¹⁷⁹ (*kāmataḥ*) or unintentional (*akāmataḥ*) or whether it was the first offence or whether it was repeated and what the circumstances as to the time, the place, the caste, the age, the capacity, learning, wealth were. Compare Kautilya IV. 10, Gaut. XII 48, Manu VII 16 and VIII 126, Yāj I 368, Visnu V. 194, Vas. 19. 9 about punishments with Baud.¹⁸⁰ Dh. S. I. 1. 16, Yāj. III 293 (= Atri verse 248 and Agnipurāna 173. 6), Angiras 143, Viśvāmitra, Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 297, and Vyāghra as regards penances. It is on account of this close connection between punishments and penances that the Prāyaścittatattva, after quoting Devala to the effect that if a man makes no move for taking prāyaścitta for one year, he has to undergo double penance thereafter and to pay a double fine to the king, remarks that the maxim is that prāyaścittas are to be moulded on the lines of punishments¹⁸¹. The Pr. M. (pp. 124-125) quotes Kāśyapa who provides a penance for one that causes mischief to a well, public park, bridge, rampart wall or a temple or idol, then quotes Visnu V. 169 which prescribes the highest fine for a breaker of idols, Manu IX 285 which provides a fine of 500

179. ज्ञात्वापरार्थं देशं च कालं बलमयापि वा । वयः कर्म च वित्तं च दण्डं दण्डयेद्यु पातयेत् ॥ या. I. 368; अनुबन्धं परिज्ञाय देशकालौ च तत्ततः । सारापराधौ चालोक्य दण्डं दण्डयेद्यु पातयेत् ॥ मनु VIII. 126, on which मेधातिथि remarks that this is the fundamental or basic verse on the question of punishment 'उक्तादुक्तदण्डेष्वपराधेषु मातृकाभ्रोजोष्यत् । एतदधीस्तसारेण सर्वदण्डकृतिः कर्तव्या' .

180. ज्ञारीरवलनायुश्च वयः कालं च कर्म च । समीक्ष्य धर्मविद् इन्द्रया प्रायश्चित्तानि निर्दिशेत् ॥ बौ ध. I. 1.16; देशं कालं वयः शक्तिं पार्थ चविश्य यत्नतः । प्रायश्चित्तं प्रकल्प्यं स्वाधत्त चोका न निष्कृतिः ॥ या III. 293; सर्वत्र चैव प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणे जातिशक्तिगुणपरिणं सकृद्बुद्धिकृतं तथा । अशुबन्धं परिज्ञाय प्रायश्चित्तं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ इत्येतदेव संक्षेपपञ्चमम् । विश्वरूप on या. III. 262 The verse is quoted as विश्वामित्रस्य in प्राय. प्रकरण. p 8, प्राय. वि p 29, परा. मा II. part 1 p 235 and as देवलास्य by the मिता on या III. 243. Vide also व्यात्र q by परा. मा. II part 1, p 24.

181. यथा स्मृतिसारादे देवलः । कालातिरेके हिशुणं प्रायश्चित्तं समाचरेत् । हिशुणं राजदण्डं च दत्त्वा शुद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ कालातिरेके संवत्सरातिरेके । संवत्सराभिशास्तस्य दुष्टस्य हिशुणो दन-इति मनुवचने (8 373) संवत्सरात्परतो हिशुणदण्डदर्शनेन दण्डवत्यायश्चित्तानि भवन्तीति न्यायेन एकत्र निर्णीतः शास्त्रार्थो बाधकमन्तरैरान्यत्रापि तथेति न्यायाच्च । प्राय. तत्त्व p 474; vide p 530 of the same work for the same न्याय. 'अथ मण्ड-पोद्यानादि-देवतागारादि-भेदने काश्यपः । वापीकूपारामसेतुलतातडागवप्रदेवतायतनभेदने प्रायश्चित्तम् ।... ब्राह्मणान्भोजयेत् ॥ इति । एतच्चाल्योपपाते । महतीपपातेऽप्यास्ते प्राजापत्यादि कल्पनीयम् । देवता चात्र दृग्मयी पूजोच्छिस्ता च शास्त्रा । प्रायश्चित्तस्याल्पत्वादप्यत्र दण्ड-गौरवदर्शनेन प्रायश्चित्तगौरवं कल्प्यं दण्डवत्यायश्चित्तानि भवन्तीति वचनात् । तथात्र दण्डगौरवनाह कात्यायनः । ..विष्णुरपि ..मनु. . इति ।

paṇas for a breaker of idols and re-instatement of the idol by him and then remarks 'dandavat prāyascittāni bhavanti'. Nārada divided *sāhasa* into three kinds viz. *mathama*, *madhyama* and *uttama*, the last of which consisted in killing a person with poison or weapon, adultery and rape and injury to life. He then provides that when offenders guilty of the first two kinds were punished by the king, they became fit for association with the people, but that one guilty of the *uttama-sāhasa*, though punished by the king, was not fit even to be talked to (Nārada, *sāhasa*, verse 11).

The king had jurisdiction¹⁸² to punish sinners if they did not agree to undergo the *prāyascitta* prescribed by the *pariśad* but it is extremely doubtful whether he exercised that jurisdiction in all cases. Society or the caste also had a weapon in its hand viz that of excommunication by *ghatasphota* if one guilty of a grave sin refused to perform the *prāyascitta* prescribed (i. e. it was *jatidanda*). Vide Gaut 202-9, Manu XI 182-185 and Yāj III 294 and II, of Dh vol II p 388 and vol. III p. 1009-1010 for the rite of *ghatasphota* and re-admission to caste after *ghatasphota*. Many of the *prāyascittas* prescribed for the grave sins were terrible (such as throwing oneself into fire, drinking boiling surā or water or cow's urine or milk or ghoo for drinking surā, Manu XI 73, 90-91, 103 &c) and were to be self-inflicted and were not to be prescribed by the *pariśad* as the words of Manu in XI, 73 'icchayātmanah' and 'prāsyed-ātmanam-agnau vā' clearly convey and as some of the digests expressly provide¹⁸³. In order to enable a man to become fit for intercourse with his caste men he had to give a dinner to them or distribute sweetmeats even after undergoing *prāyascitta*. So it follows that a man guilty of a crime was liable to three burdens, punishment by the king, penance prescribed by learned *brāhmanas* and giving dinner or sweetmeats to castemen. Vide H. of Dh vol. II p. 971.

182 दण्डं कुर्यान्नुपै चूणा प्रायश्चित्तमकुर्वताम् । कामतोऽकामतो वापि प्रायश्चित्तं कर्तुं शक्रेत् ॥ अग्निपुराण 168 1 प्रायश्चित्ते ज्ञानं याति पापं कृतमसंशयम् । राजदण्डाच्छमं याति प्रायश्चित्तमकुर्वताम् । प्रायश्चित्तविहीना ये राजभिश्चाप्यदण्डिताः । नरकं प्रतिपद्यन्ते तिर्यग्योनिं तथैव च ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण II 73 3-4 q. by परा मा II part 2 p 210. प्रा प्रकाश folio 102 a.

183 प्राणान्तिकप्रायश्चित्तं तु पर्यदा न देयम् । तत्त्वयमेव ज्ञात्वा कुर्यात् । प्राय सा. p. 41. एतच्च मरणान्तिक प्रायश्चित्तं पर्यदा नादेष्टव्यमपि तु ह्युत्पन्नश्चेत्त्वयमेव ज्ञात्वा कुर्यात् । अपुत्रत्वश्चेत् प्रायश्चित्तस्वरूपं दिष्टेषु ज्ञात्वा तदज्ञानमन्तरेण स्वयमेव कुर्यात् । मद् पा p. 817.

The literature on *prāyaścittas* is vast in extent, since in ancient times they loomed very large in the popular mind. Out of the 28 chapters of the Gautamadharmasūtra, ten (i. e. more than one-third of the whole) are devoted to penances. Out of the 30 chapters of the printed Vasistha-dharmasūtra, *prāyaścittas* cover nine (20-28) Manu devotes verses 44 to 265 (in all 222) of chapter eleven to penances and the Yājñavalkyasmṛti containing 1009 verses deals with *prāyaścittas* in 122 verses (III, 205-327). Several printed smṛtis such as those of Angiras (168 verses), Atri (chapters 1-8), Devala (90 verses), Brhad-Yama (182 verses), Śatātapasmṛti (in 274 verses) from the Anandāśrama collection of smṛtis alone deal only with *prāyaścittas*. Many other smṛtis and several purānas, such as the Agni (chap 168-174), Garuda 52, Kūrma (Uttarārḍha 30-34), Varāha 131-136, Brahmanḍa (Upasamhārapāda chap. 9), Viṣṇudharmottara (II 73, III 234-237) contain hundreds of verses on *prāyaścittas*. Besides commentaries like the Mitaksarā, Aparārka, Par. M. and others and digests like Madanapārijāta (pp. 691-994), there are special digests dealing with *prāyaścittas* alone such as Hemādri on *Prāyaścitta* (which is of doubtful authenticity), the *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa* of Bhavadeva, *Prāyaścittaviveka*, *Prāyaścittatattva*, *Smṛtimuktāphala* (*prāyaścitta* section), *Prāyaścittasāra* (part of Nṛsimhaprasāda), *Prāyaścittamayūkha*, *Prāyaścittaprakāśa* (ms. in the Anūp Sanskrit library, Bikaner, No. 2610), *Prāyaścittendusekhara* of Nāgejibhatta, which have been utilised in this work. The most elaborate treatment is found in *Prāyaścittaviveka*, Par. M. II parts 1 and 2, and *Prāyaścittaprakāśa*.

The commentators discuss the question about the persons who have *adhikāra* (capacity) for having penances prescribed for them. Since Manu XI, 44 (*prāyaścittiyate narah*) and Yāj III, 219 (*narah patanam-rechati*) both employ the word 'man' without¹⁸⁴ any qualification, the commentators and digests say that penances are meant for men of all varnas, for all persons born of unions in the reverse order (*pratilomajas*) and for even *cāndālas*. Yāj. III, 262 states that a *sūdra* sinner

184 नरग्रहणं सर्ववर्णिकमदर्शनार्थम् । विश्वरूपेण वा. III, 210, नरग्रहणं प्रतिलो-
मजातानामपि प्रायश्चित्ताधिकारमाप्त्यर्थम् । तेषामप्यर्हि सादिसाधारणधर्मव्यतिक्रमसम्भवात् ।
नितो वा III 219, नर इत्यनेन ब्राह्मणादिचाण्डालान्तानां सर्वेषां प्रायश्चित्तं कर्तव्यं ।
अस्ति च चाण्डालादीनामपि विधिनिषेधश्च । यथा देवलः । स्वजातिशोचनं सर्वजनप्रणामस्ति-
तिज्ञा व्यवहारश्चाङ्घ्रिपसापमान स्वभृत्यपोषणं प्रधानकर्मपरिवर्जनमिति चाण्डालधर्मः । मद्भ. ।
गवार्थे... ब्राह्मणां श्लोकारणम् ॥ (10.62) अतो वेदार्थव्यवहारिणामेव प्रायश्चित्तीयता न
चाण्डालादीनामिति प्रत्युक्तम् । प्राय. वि. p 12.

though he has no *adhikāra* (for recitation of Vedic *mantras* and *homa*), yet becomes purified by undergoing the observances (except *japa* and *homa*) for the periods prescribed. Angīras¹⁸⁵ provides that penance may be administered to a *śūdra* devoid of *japa* and *homa*. Even as to *japa* and *homa* there were works like the *Madanapārijāta* p. 749 and Vy. M (p. 112) that relying on a verse of Parāśara VI, 63-64 held that a *homa* could be performed for women and *śūdras* in the ordinary fire through a *brāhmana*¹⁸⁶. The Pr. V. relies on Manu X. 62 and a prose passage of Devala for the proposition that even *Cāndālas* have to perform penances, if they act contrary to the rules and prohibitions laid down for them. Since the non-performance of what is prescribed and doing what is forbidden lead to sin, the person guilty of these or the person who has a desire to destroy his sins is a person entitled to perform *prāyaścitta*, as also one who repents of his guilt.

Before going into the subject of the several *prāyaścittas* prescribed for each grave or minor sin, some questions of a general character have to be disposed of.

Some *smṛtis* like *Brhad-yama* III. 1-2 and *Śankha* state that a boy over five years of age and less than eleven years old, if guilty of some *pātakas* such as drinking *surā*, has not to undergo penance personally, but his brother, father or other

185. तस्माच्छूद्रं स्नानात्तद्य सदा धर्मपथे स्थितम् । प्रायश्चित्तं प्रदातव्यं जपहोमवि-
जितम् ॥ अङ्गिरस् q. by the मिता. on चा III. 262, प्राय न p. 12, मा. सार p. 173.

186. श्रीशङ्खयोरपि ब्राह्मणद्वारा लौकिकाग्नी होमो भवत्येव । अत एव धर्मविद्वदौ
'उपवासो व्रतं होमस्तीर्थस्नान जपादिकम् । विभैः सम्पादित यस्य सम्पूर्णं तस्य तत्कलम् ॥ इति ।'
मद्. पा p. 749. This is पराशर VI. 63-64 (the printed edition in B. S.
Series reads व्रतं चैव स्नान तीर्थं जपस्तप). It is rather inexplicable how while
Nūkanantha in his *Vyavahāramayūkha* holds, relying on Parāśara, that
the *dattahoma* may be performed by a *śūdra* or a woman through a *brāhmana*,
the *Prāyaścittamayūkha* of the same author propounds a different view in
the words 'एतेन यन्महाणंमन्दनरत्नयो. श्रीशङ्खादेविमद्वारा समन्त्रकौ जपहोमौ भवत
इति तत्परास्तम्' (p 13) Did the author change his views or is the text of one
of the two *Mayūkhās* tampered with by his successors? The मा प्रकाश
(folio 30 b) explains Parāśara VI. 63-64 in a different way. It says that
the verse does not lay down generally that a woman or any one else can
in every case have a *homa* performed for her through a *brāhmana*, but that
where in a rite *japa* and *homa* are obligatory and the person concerned is
unable to perform *japa* and *homa* in person there alone he can appoint
a *brāhmana* as *pratinidhi* अयं प्राप्तेषु जपहोमादिषु अहं कौ विप्ररूपप्रतिनिविनि-
यममात्रार्थत्वात् । प्रायश्चित्ताङ्गजपहोमयोस्तु निषेधादेवामहत्तेस्तत्र तस्यामहृत्तिः । ..एतेन
यन्महाणंमन्दनरत्नयो. श्रीशङ्खादेविमद्वारा समन्त्रकौ जपहोमौ भवत इति तत्परास्तम् ।
मा प्रकाश folio 30 b

relative or friend has to undergo it for him and that if a child is less than five then whatever act it may do it is not deemed a crime, nor is it a sin and it is not liable to any legal penalty nor to any¹⁸⁷ prāyaścitta. The Mit. (on Yaj. III. 243) comments that these verses are not meant to prescribe a total absence of prāyaścitta in the case of children of five or less but are meant to convey that they are not liable for the full prāyaścitta prescribed for a sin. Its argument is that the texts lay down generally without any reference to the stage of life that a brāhmana should not be killed or that a person belonging to the three higher castes should not drink surā.¹⁸⁸ Hence any one of whatever age who is guilty of having done such prohibited acts is liable and the words of Gaut. II 1 and of Kumāra are to be interpreted as not excusing altogether the drinking of surā by a child but as referring to minor lapses. Brhaspati expressly states that the dictum about a child being allowed to eat what it likes is confined to such matters as will not fall under grave sins.

It has already been stated above (n 180) that the prāyaścitta to be undergone depended upon many circumstances such as the time, the place, the age &c. And first as to age, several smrtis¹⁸⁹ provide that a man 80 years old or a boy less than

187. अनैकादशवर्षस्य पञ्चवर्षात्परस्य च । प्रायश्चित्तं चरेद् भ्राता पिता वान्य सुहृज्जनः ॥
अतो बालतरस्यास्य नापराधो न पातकम् । राजदण्डो न तस्यास्ति प्रायश्चित्तं न विद्यते ॥ शङ्खः
quoted by the मिता on या III 243, बृहद्यज III 1-2 (reads वान्योपि वान्यवः).
These are quoted by हरदत्त on यौ II 5 (without name) and the first occurs
in आपस्तम्बस्मृति III 7 as चरेद्भुवः सुहृद्भापि प्रायश्चित्तं विशेषतः । The first
verse is द्वेव 31 Both are ascribed to अङ्गिरस् by प्राय. वि. p. 29.

188. मास्यपनपनात् कामचार कामवाद् कामकम् । यौ. II. 1, लघुमृगपुरीषाणां भक्षणं
नास्ति कश्चन । क्षोयस्त्वा पञ्चमाहर्षादूर्ध्वं पित्रो सुहृदुरो ॥ कुमार १ by मिता. on या. III.
253, by प्राय. प्रक्र. p. 50, स्यात्कामचारभक्षणोक्तिर्महत पातकादते । बृहस्पति १ by प्रा.
तत्र p. 551.

189. अशीतिवर्षस्य वर्षाणि बालो बान्धुनपोढहा । प्रायश्चित्तार्थमर्हन्ति स्त्रियो रोगिण एव
च ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 54 33, लघुहारित 33, द्वेव 30, आपस्तम्बस्मृति III 3, बृहद्यज III. 3
(reads अशीत्यधिकवर्षाणि). This verse is ascribed to अङ्गिरस् by the मिता. on या
III 243 and to भार्गव by हरदत्त on आप. ध सू. I. 9 26.5 The सू. पा. p. 796
ascribes it to विष्णु, पराशर, बृहस्पति and अङ्गिरस् तथा बालद्विधादीनां साक्षात्कृत्यैः
उपधमेव । अशीति रोगिण एव चेत्यङ्गिरस् स्मरणात् । तथा । अर्वाकू द्विदशद्वितीतेरुध्वमेव
वा । अर्धमेव भवेद्युतां तुरीयं तत्र योषिताम् ॥ इति । तथा लघुपनीतस्यापि बालकस्य पादमात्रमेव
प्रायश्चित्तम् । स्त्रीणामर्थं प्रदातव्यं बृहदानां रोगिणां तथा । पादो बलिषु द्वातम्य. सर्वपापव्ययं
विधिरिति विष्णुस्मरणात् । मिता on या. III 243. The verses अर्वाकू and स्त्रीणामर्थं
are ascribed to विष्णु, पराशर, बृहस्पति and अङ्गिरस् by सू. पा. p. 796 and the
latter is ascribed to लघुविष्णु by प्राय. वि. p. 28 and to बृहद्विष्णु by प्राय. प्रकरण
p. 17.

16 years of age, women and diseased persons should be liable only to half the *prāyaścitta* (prescribed for able-bodied men) The Mit on Yāj III 243 quotes a verse of Sumantu that for a male below twelve and above eighty years of age the penance is half (of that for ordinary men) and one fourth for women within the same limits and a verse of Viṣṇu that for women, old men and diseased persons half the penance should be prescribed and for boys (before *upanayana*) only one-fourth. Some say that for boys less than five the penance is one-fourth. Cyavana (prose) prescribes half *prāyaścitta* for boys, old men and women and declares that a person is a *bāla* up to 16 years and a man is to be regarded as similar to a *bāla* after 70. Kātyāyana provided generally that the fines to be levied from females were to be half of those leviable from male offenders as regards all offences and when the punishment for a male would be death, a woman criminal was to be punished with the cutting of a limb (nose, ears &c)¹⁹⁰

The difference between a sin committed unintentionally (*akāuatah*) and the same sin committed with full knowledge (*kāmatah*) is this that for the latter the *prāyaścitta* is double of what is prescribed for the former as provided by Angiras,¹⁹¹ Vyāsa and the Agnipurāna. As Yāj. III. 226 employs the word 'ajñāna' in the first half and the word 'kāmatah' as its opposite in the second half instead of the word 'jñānatah' it follows that Yāj. makes no difference between the consequences of *jñāna* (knowledge) and *lūmannū* (desire).

The caste of the offender as well as of the victim made a difference in the *prāyaścitta* as well as in the legal punishment. Vide H. of Dh vol. III pp. 395-399 as to punishments for crimes dependent on caste. Viṣṇu¹⁹² provides that the *prāyaścitta* for

190 बालवृद्धस्त्रीगामर्षं प्रायाश्चित्तम् । आ दोषशाब्दबाल । सतत्पूर्वगतं वृद्धा । अथन
q by परा मा II part 1 p 122 and प्राय. वि p 28 सर्वेषु चापराधेषु पुंस्तौ चोर्धदन
स्युत ॥ तदर्थं योपितो द्युर्वधे पुंसोऽङ्ग-कर्तनम् ॥ कात्या 487

191 स्थात्त्वकामकृते चतु द्विगुणं शुद्धिपूर्वके । अङ्गिरस् q b; प्राय वि fp 22 and
24; विहितं यदकामाना कामान् द्विगुणं स्युतम् । अग्निपुराण 173 9. q by the नित्त on
या. III 226 (without name), and as that of अङ्गिरस् by प्राय प्रकरण p 12 and
as of मध्यमाङ्गिरस् by या प्रकाश (foho 16b) शतैतदेव कुर्वीत सुकृतल्पमकामत
कामतो द्विगुणं शोक पूर्वेषु च यदुच्यते ॥ व्यास q b; प्राय. वि p 21

192. विभे तु सकलं देयं पादोनं सत्रिये मतम् । वेदेयं पादशेषस्तु शूद्रजातिषु शरयते
विष्णु q by प्राय वि p 102 where it is stated that निकन noted that this verse
was not found in the विष्णुसंहिता It is ascribed to बृहद्विष्णु by प्राय प्रकरण
p. 16 and to बृहद्विष्णु by नित्त on या III. 267.

a ksatriya, vaiśya and sūdra sinner should be respectively $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of what is prescribed for a brāhmana sinner. The Agni-purāna says¹⁹³ the same thing. The Par. M II. 1. p. 231 quotes the Caturvimsātimata¹⁹⁴ to the same effect. The Mit. on Yāj. III. 250 explains that the verse of Caturvimsātimata applies to all cases except where any one of the four *sāhasas* is committed by a man of a lower caste as against one of a higher caste. Brhad-Yama (IV. 13-14) in prescribing penance for the killing of a cow provides the same scale of 4, 3, 2, 1 for the four varnas Angiras (verse 3) prescribes the penances of Krocra and Candraṃyana for a brāhmana partaking of the food of an *antyaja*, half of these for a ksatriya or vaiśya guilty of the same. Yāj. II. 206-207 provide that the punishments for defamation depend upon the higher or lower varna or caste of the offender as well as of the person defamed and that if a ksatriya or vaiśya defames a brāhmana the fines are respectively twice or thrice as high as the fine for a brāhmana defaming a brāhmana and conversely if a brāhmana defames a ksatriya or a vaiśya the fine is reduced by half in each successive caste. The Mit quoting Angiras says that the rules about punishments apply to *prāyaścittas* for slaying a person i. e. if a brāhmana slays anybody and a certain penance is prescribed for him, then a ksatriya killing the person would have to perform double the penance prescribed for the brāhmana and a vaiśya offender three times as much¹⁹⁵ It may be pointed out here that though the smrtis provided for different punishments according to the castes of the offender and of the person wronged and though some commentaries and digests went into all those details for the sake of presenting a

193 सर्वत्र शूद्रे पादः स्याद् द्वित्रयं वैश्यशूद्रयोः । अग्निपुराण -168 13

194. प्रायश्चित्तं यद्ब्रह्मनातं ब्राह्मणस्य महापैत्रिभिः । पादोनं क्षत्रियः क्षुर्यादर्धं वैश्य-समाचरेत् । शूद्रं समाचरेत्पादमशेषेष्वपि पादमसु ॥ चतुर्विंशतिमत् १ by the मिता on या. III 250. देवल 28 is a verse of similar import यस्तु चतुर्विंशतिमत्तवचनं प्रायश्चित्तं ..पादमसु-इति प्रतिश्लोमाहप्रितचतुर्विंशत्साहस्रव्यतिरिक्तविषयम् । तथा सूर्यावसिक्तादीनामप्यल्लोनीत्यकाना दृष्टवत्यायश्चित्तमूहनीयम् । मिता. The four साहस्रs are 'मन्व्यमारणं स्तेयं परदारानिमर्शनम् । पापव्यस्तुभयं चेति साहस्रं स्याच्चतुर्विंशम् ।'

195. यथाहाङ्गिराः । पर्यया ब्राह्मणाना तु सा राजां द्विगुणा मता । वैश्याना त्रिगुणा मोक्षा पर्यद्वच्च व्रतं स्युत्तम् ॥ इति । ..अनयेव दिशा क्षत्रियवैश्यादावपि द्विगुणोत्कृष्टवधे द्वौपगौरवा-त्यायश्चित्तस्यापि द्वैगुण्यादि कल्पनीयम् । द्वौपगौरवं च दृग्गौरवात्तवगम्यते । मिता० on या III 250 Vide मिता on या III 267 also This verse is १ by परा मा II part 2 p 67 while the प्राय वि p 102 ascribes it to देवल; 'परिवद्या ..स्युता-इति देवल-वचनं ब्रह्मवध एव द्वैगुण्यादिकं बोधयति । The प्राय . प्रक p 16 reads the verse of अङ्गिरस् as 'वैश्यानां . मोक्षा शूद्राणा तु चतुर्गुणा ॥ परिवद्वच्च व्रतं मोक्षं शूद्रे ये पापकर्मणाम् ।'

complete statement or digest of the smṛti material, such discriminatory punishments had mostly ceased to be enforced by the rulers from about the 12th century A. D. at least, as stated by the *Smṛticandrikā*, the *Madanaratna* (vyavahāra) and the *Sarasvativilāsa*. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III p 512 note 924 for the relevant quotations from the three works. Since, as stated above (n. 181), *prāyaścittas* were to be moulded on the lines of legal penalties, it appears that the discriminatory treatment about *prāyaścittas* depending upon the varna of the sinner must also have gradually fallen into disuetude with the disappearance of the more severe *prāyaścittas* and the substitution of cows and monetary equivalents in later digests. And some digests expressly state this to have been the case in relation to *prāyaścittas*. For example, the *Pr. Prakarana*, after quoting *Gaut.* 22. 14-16 about the *prāyaścitta* for killing a ksatriya or vaiśya or śūdra under certain circumstances, remarks that in its day those *prāyaścittas* were no longer part of the practices of the people.¹⁹⁶

Whether an act made a man liable to undergo *prāyaścitta* depended in some cases on the country also. For example, marrying a maternal uncle's daughter was and is allowed in certain countries and among certain castes in the Deccan and Southern India on the ground of custom, but such a practice was severely condemned by *Manu* XI 171-172 and *Baud Dh S. I* 1 17-24 and other smṛtis. *Bṛhaspati* refers to this custom as prevalent among southerners and states that in these countries persons following it are not liable to undergo *prāyaścitta* or penalty (at the hand of the king). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 462 for *Bṛhaspati*'s verses.

Severity and extent of *prāyaścitta* depended also on the question whether a sinner had repeated the lapse or was a first offender. The *Āp Dh S* (II. 10. 27. 11-13) prescribes that a brāhmana who has once committed adultery with a married woman of equal class shall perform one-fourth of the penance prescribed for a śūdra having intercourse with a woman of the three upper castes, that for every repetition (of the crime) one

196 यच्च शौतेनेनोक्तं राजन्यवधे .गा दद्यात् (२२ १४-१६)-एवमादीनि नानाहनिवचनानि नानाविधमायश्चित्तोत्कर्षप्रतिपादकानि तानि ब्राह्मणजातवृत्तस्थ-यागस्थ-पङ्कवेदाध्ययनादिपुण्यकृत्-कामाकामादिदुक्तक्षत्रियादिवधविषयाणि यथायोग्यं व्याख्येयानि । इदानीं तु तथाविधक्षत्रियाद्यभावेन व्यवहारानङ्गत्वात् न मत्पेकं विषयव्यवस्था व्याख्यातानीति सर्वे वेद ब्राह्मणस्य क्षत्रियादिवधभाषितस्तुक्तम् । प्राय प्रक. p, 22.

fourth of the penance must be added and if (he commits adultery) for the fourth time, the whole penance (of 12 years must be performed 197). The Mit on Yaj. III. 293 remarks that for a sin that is committed knowingly the *prāyaścitta* is double of what is prescribed for the same sin if committed unintentionally and that if a sin is committed intentionally and is repeated then for the repeated lapse *prāyaścitta* is four times as much as that for the same deed done unintentionally. Similarly, the *āśrama* to which the sinner belonged made a difference in the *prāyaścitta* as stated by Angiras 'when persons in other *āśramas* are guilty of sins for which penance is prescribed if committed by householders, then the *prāyaścitta* is increased in the same proportion that is laid down for *śauca* (bodily purity¹⁹⁸). Manu V. 137, Vas. VI. 19, Viṣṇu Dh. 8 60 26, Śāṅkha 16. 23-24 provide that Vedic students, forest hermits and *sannyāsins* have respectively to perform twice, thrice and four times as much *śauca* as is prescribed for householders (e. g. by Manu V. 136 = Viṣṇu 60. 25).

One convenient and merciful rule laid down by the *smṛtis* was that if a man died in the midst of the period for which penance had to be performed (sometimes it extended to twelve years or more) he became free from the sin here and in the next world as stated by Hārīta, Vyāsa and Yama¹⁹⁹.

Though the *smṛtis* have entered into very great details about the *prāyaścittas* for different individual lapses, still they cannot be supposed to have dealt with every lapse. Therefore,

197. सर्वार्थामन्वपूर्वार्थं सकृत्संनिपाते पादः पततीत्युपदिशन्ति । एवमन्यसे पादः पादः । चतुर्थे सर्वम् । आप च छ. II 10 27.11-13.

198 तथाभ्रमिणामपि अङ्गिरसा विशेषेण दर्शितः । गृहस्थोक्तानि पापानि कुर्वन्त्या-
भ्रमिणो यदि । शौचवच्छेदान्नं कुर्यात्सर्वब्रह्मनिदर्शनादिति । शौचवदिति -एतच्छौचं गृहस्थानां-
द्विगुणं ब्रह्मचारिणाम् । त्रिगुणं तु वनस्थानां यतीनां तु चतुर्गुणम् ॥ इति (मनु ५ ३३७) वचना-
द्यथा ब्रह्मचार्यादीनां शौचं द्वैगुण्यदिक्रमेण वर्धते तथा क्रोधनं प्रायश्चित्तमपि भवतीत्यर्थः ।
ब्रह्मचारिणस्तु प्रायश्चित्तद्वैगुण्यं योऽज्ञानवर्षाद्बुद्धनेव ॥ निता on या. III 250 On ब्रह्म-
निदर्शनात् the प्राय. म p 3 says 'ब्रह्मनिदर्शनं तच्चज्ञानम् । ज्ञानोत्पत्त्यनन्तरं तत्पक्षपातं
ज्ञानेनैव नाशयते । ज्ञानाग्निं सर्वकर्मणि भस्मसात्कृतेऽर्जुनेति भगवद्गीतोक्तेः । (गीता ४ ३७).

199. न च द्वादशवार्षिके चतुर्गुणे क्रियमाणे मध्ये विपत्तिशङ्कया समाप्त्यनुपपत्ते-
भृत्तिरेव नोत्पद्यते इति शङ्कनीयम् । यत् प्रक्रान्तप्रायश्चित्तस्य मध्ये विपत्तावपि पापक्षयो
भवत्येव । तथा हारीतः । प्रायश्चित्ते व्यवसिते कर्ता यदि विपद्यते । पुनस्तद्दहरेवासानिह लोकं
परत्र च ॥ इति । व्यासोऽप्याह । धर्मार्थं यतमानस्तु न चेच्छक्नोति मानवः । प्राप्तो भवति
तद्युग्यमत्र वै नास्ति संशयः ॥ इति ॥ निता. on या III 250 बृहद्यन II 7 is almost the
same as हारीत प्राय वि p. 86 ascribes the verse प्रायश्चित्ते व्यवसिते to बृहन्मनु ;
अपराके p. 1058 ascribes it to यम

Gaut. (19. 18-20) provides that these acts (viz Vedic recitation, *tapas*, fasting, gifts &c) may be optionally performed, when no (particular penance) has been prescribed, that for grave sins difficult penances and for trivial faults easy ones may be prescribed and that *Krcchra*, *Atikrcchra* and *Cāndrāyana* are penances for all sins ²⁰⁰ *Manu XI 209 (= Visnu 54 34)* provides that for the expiation of offences for which no particular atonement has been prescribed, let (the *pariṣad*) prescribe a penance after considering the (offender's) strength and the nature of the offence. *Parāśara (XI, 55-56)* provides that the recitation of the *Gayatri* ten thousand times is the best penance for all sins and that *Cāndrāyana*, *Yāvaka*, *Tulāpurusa* and serving cows destroy all sins *Yāj. III 265* provides that a man is purified from all sins by undergoing the penance for cow-killing or by *Cāndrāyana*, observance for a month of the milk *vrata* or by *Parāka*. *Manu XI 117* provides for all *upapātakas* except the sin of sexual intercourse by one who is in the stage of Vedic student the penance prescribed for *goradha* or *cāndrāyana*.

One guilty of a sin, even though he may himself be a learned man, should approach an assembly of learned *brāhmanas* and after making some present (a cow or the like) announcing the nature of his lapse seek their decision about the proper penance for his lapse (*Yāj. 201 III 300* and *Parāśara VIII 2*) The *Mit*, *Par. M.*, *Pr. S* and other digests quote long passages in verse from *Angiras* ²⁰² who provides that the sinner should

200 एतान्धेवानादेशे विकल्पेन क्रियेरत् ॥ एन-स्तु शुक्रसु शुक्लि लघुसु लघुनि ॥ कृच्छ्रा-
तिकृच्छ्रा चान्द्रायणमिति सर्वमायश्चित्तम् ॥ गो 19 18-20. Vide *ब्रह्मपुराण* 22 36 and
विष्णुपुराण II 6 38 for very similar words 'पापे शुक्लि शुक्लि स्वल्पान्यत्पे च महिद ।
मायश्चित्तानि विभेन्द्रा जगु स्वायंभुवालय ॥ Instead of विभेन्द्रा the *विष्णुपुराण* has
मैत्रेय This very verse is quoted as बृहस्पति's in *माय हर* p 545 (with मैत्रेय
for विभेन्द्राः)

201. विख्यातदोष-कुर्वीत पर्यदोऽहमसं व्रतम् । यः III 300. This is ascribed
to both बृहस्पति and यः by परा मा II part 2 p 153. Vide *ज्ञान* 17 62 also

202 A few of the verses of अङ्गिरस् are cited here. कृत्वा पापं न एहेत एव-
मानस्य वर्धते ॥ सचैलं वाग्यत स्नात्वा क्लिञ्जवासा समाहितः । क्षत्रियो वाध वैश्यो वा परि-
षद्युपतिष्ठति । उपस्थाय तत शीघ्रमातिनान्धरणीं व्रजेत् । गात्रैश्च हिरसा चैव न च
किञ्चिद्बुदाहरेत् । ततस्ते प्रणिपातेन दृष्ट्वा सं सद्यपरिथतम् । बृद्धा- पृथ्यन्ति किं
कार्यमुपाविश्यायत स्थितम् । किं कार्यं का च ते पीढा किं वा नृगयसे हिज । एव ते समुद्गाता
सर्वे न्यादशेषत । तस्माज्जिवोदिते कार्ये निष्कारयो यस्तु कार्यवान् । सर्वेषां निश्चितं यत्पदात्
यच्च माणान् न घातयेत् । आहूय आवायेदेकः पर्यदा यो नियोजित । शृणुष्व भो इदं विम यत्ते
आदिश्यते व्रतम् । वच पूर्वमुदाहारी यथोक्त धर्मकर्तुभि । पश्चात्कार्याद्विस्तारेण शक्यत्वा कुर्व-
त्यहम् ॥ अङ्गिरस् प by परा मा II 1 p 206-207 and 235-236 माय सा pp 7.
17-20, माय न pp 11-12, मा. प्रकाश (folio 27b and 28a).

not conceal his lapse and lose time; he should bathe with his garment on, and with the garment still wet approach the assembly and should prostrate himself on the ground. Thus the elders of the assembly ask the man prostrating himself before them 'what is your business, what is the trouble and what do you seek from us'. The assembly then asks him to go aside a little and debate among themselves what the penance should be, considering all the circumstances of time, place, nature of the lapse, age &c. Then one of them at the desire of the assembly should declare the assembly's decision as to the proper penance after citing the *smṛti* passages and reducing the penance in view of the weakness and other circumstances of the offender. It has already been stated that the *parisad* acted under the direction of the king in matters of *prāyaścitta* and that the king was not to interfere with the decision of the assembly. The principal stages in a penance were four viz. approaching the *parisad*, the declaration of the appropriate penance by the *parisad*, the actual performance of the penance declared and the announcing of the sinner's freedom from taint (Angiras q. by Fr. Prakāśa folio 27a 'upasthānam vratādeśasācaryā śuddhiprakāśanam : prāyaścittam catuspādam vihitam dharmakartṛbhiḥ ").

It is not necessary here to set out the details of the constitution of the *parisad*, of the qualifications of the *śiṣtas* who were to be the members of the *parisad* and their privileges and duties. These points have already been discussed at length in H of Dh. vol. II, pp. 966-974. A few matters not stated there are mentioned here. Caste exclusiveness and pride had gone so far that Parāśara (VIII, 25) and the *Caturvimsātimata* quoted by Par M. state that a *dvija* though he may be of bad character is to be honoured and not a *śūdra* who may have controlled his senses, that the advice of a *śūdra* even though learned and devoted to the knowledge of the *śāstras* should not be accepted like sacrificial food when licked by a dog²⁰³. Instead of the word '*parisad*' the word *parsad* (which is an irre-

203 दु.शीलोपि द्विज पूज्यो न तु शूद्रो जितेन्द्रियः । कः परित्यज्य गा वृष्टां वृष्टे-
च्छीलवर्तो खरीम् । पराशर VIII. 25 on which परा म II 1. p 228 observes
जातिशीलोर्मध्ये जात्युत्कर्ष एव प्राधान्येनोपादेयः । शीलं तु यथासम्भवम् । अत एव चतुर्विंशति-
मते शूद्रोपदेशस्यानुपादेयत्वं प्रपञ्चयति । स्वचर्मणि यथा क्षीरमेपयं ब्राह्मणादिभिः । तद्वच्छूद्र-
श्चादास्य न भोज्यं कथञ्चन ॥ पण्डितस्यापि शूद्रस्य शास्त्रज्ञानरतस्य च ॥ वचनं तस्य न
माद्यं शूनोच्छिष्टं हविषेया ॥

gular abbreviation) is employed in several smṛti passages^{203a}. Parāśara (VI 55-57) provides that the assembly should take compassion on the weak, on boys and old men and should reduce the penance, but not otherwise and that if learned men through affection, greed, fear or ignorance reduce the penance that should be prescribed they themselves incur the sin^{203b}. Devala says the same and adds^{203c} that the reduction in the penance should not be directed by one man alone or by a person ignorant of Dharmaśāstra and that it is only a number of brāhmanas who are proficient in Dharmaśāstra that are entitled to reduce the penance through compassion for the sinner. The decision of the assembly should be unanimous²⁰⁵ as far as possible

If the learned brāhmanas of the assembly knowing the proper prāyaścitta do not declare it in the case of those who are distressed by their own sin and seek direction, they incur sin similar to that of the seeker after proper penance²⁰⁶.

203a पर्षच्छब्दोऽत्र प्रयोदरादित्वात्साधु । प्राय. वि. p 26, on which गोविन्दानन्द says 'परिपीडन्यस्यामिति पर्षत् प्रयोदरादित्वादिकारलोपो विकल्पित.' पाणिनि provides प्रयोदरादीनि यथोपादिष्टम् । VI 3 109.

203 b दुर्बलेऽनुग्रहः शोकस्तथा वै बालवृद्धयोः । अतोऽन्यथा भवेद्दोषस्तस्मात्तानुग्रहः स्मृतः ॥ स्नेहाद्वा यदि वा लोभाद्भयादज्ञानतोऽपि वा । कुर्वन्त्यनुग्रहं ये तु तत्प्रायः तेषु गच्छति ॥ पराशर VI. 55-57.

204 प्रायश्चित्तं यथोद्दिष्टमज्ञानं दुर्बलादिभिः । इत्यनेऽनुग्रहस्तेषां लोकसंग्रहकारणात् ॥ एको नार्हति तत्कर्तुमज्ञो वा नाप्यनुग्रहम् । धर्मज्ञा बहवो विभः कर्तुमर्हन्त्यनुग्रहम् ॥ देवल q by परा सा II 1, pp. 130-131, प्राय. म p 12.

205 विचारस्तादृशः कार्यो यथा सर्वे सभासदः । एकवाचयतया ह्युस्तथा श्रेयोपि गच्छति ॥ q by प्राय सा p 18

206. आर्तानां मार्गमागानां प्रायश्चित्तानि ये द्विजाः । जानन्तो न प्रपच्छन्ति ते यानि सन्तानु त्तैः ॥ आङ्गिरस् q. by मिता on या III 300, प्राय. तत्त. p. 512, परा. सा II part I p 234.

CHAPTER IV

PENANCES FOR PARTICULAR SINS

It is now proper to turn to the penances prescribed for individual sins of different types (grave sins, minor sins and the like). It may be noted that the *smṛtis* contain numerous *prāyaścittas* for the same sin and that it is often difficult to reconcile all the dicta. The commentaries and digests such as the *Mit* and the *Prāyaścitta-viveka* therefore try to assign to each penance an appropriate provision, looking to all the circumstances noted above (i. e. they are bent on 'visayavyavasthā').^{206a} In this work, it is not necessary to set out in detail the numerous penances for numberless lapses that are prescribed in the several *smṛtis* and digests. In the *Śabdakalpadrūma* (part III) there is an analysis from the *Prāyaścitta-viveka* alone of the several lapses, the penances for them, the number of cows to be donated as substitutes, the monetary equivalents when even cows cannot be donated and the *dakṣiṇā* in each case, which occupy pages 321 to 364. Setting out all these lapses together with the penances for them would only be a matter of academic interest and of no practical value, as almost all the *prāyaścittas* have become antiquated and are hardly ever performed now except in the form of gifts of cows or money to *brāhmanas*, pilgrimages and recitation of Vedic mantras or *japa* of the names of some favourite deity such as *Viṣṇu* or *Śiva*. Therefore only a few typical sins alone will be taken for treatment here and later on a list of all penances with brief descriptions will be furnished.

First come the *Mahāpātakas*. *Śankha*²⁰⁷ (17. 1-3) prescribes the following penance for the four *mahāpātakas*: the sinner should bathe thrice every day, should erect in a forest a cottage thatched with leaves, should sleep on the ground, should subsist

206 a. एवमादीन्यन्यानि उत्कर्षापकर्षप्रतिपादकवचनानि ब्राह्मणादिजातत्वं—द्वत्तस्था-
द्वत्तरथत्वं—वेदान्यादित्युक्तत्वायुक्तत्वं—कामाकामकृतत्वं—व्यवस्थया व्याख्येयानि। प्राय. वि.
p. 220, vide also प्राय. वि. pp. 338-39 for a similar passage

207 नित्यं त्रिपवणस्नानी कृत्वा पर्णकुटीं वने । अधःशायी जटाधारी पर्णमूलफल-
ज्ञान ॥ ग्रामं विशेषं भिक्षार्थं स्वकर्म परिकीर्तयन् । एककालं समन्वीयाहर्षेण तु द्वादशे गते ॥
हेमस्तेयी सुरापानं ब्रह्महृत् शुचतल्पग । व्रतेनैतेन शुध्यन्ते महापातकिनस्त्रियमे ॥ शङ्ख 17 1-3
q. by अपराके pp. 1053-54, परा मा II. part 1 p. 320-321, मा. प्रकाश fo. 87b.

on leaves, roots and fruits, should enter a village for alms all the time declaring his misdeed, should eat only once a day. When the 12th year passes in this way, the thief of gold, the drinker of surā, the murderer of a brāhmana and one who is guilty of incest become free from sin. Visnu Dh S. 34.1 speaks of sexual intercourse with one's mother, daughter or daughter-in-law as *atpātala* and (34.2) provides that there is no penance except entering fire for this grave sin. The Bhavisyapurāna, Hārīta and Samvarta (q. by the Pr. V p 43) say the same. But other smrtis like Manu XI. 54 and Yāj III 227 treat *mātrgamana* as a *mahāpātaka* (*gurutaḷpa-gamana*) and intercourse with the daughter or daughter-in-law as equal to violating guru's bed (Manu XI. 58, Yāj. III. 233-234). Therefore we begin with the *mahāpātakas* the first of which is the murder of a brāhmana Gaut. 22 2-10, Āp Dh. S I. 9. 24 10-25 and I. 9 25 12-13, Vas 20. 25-28, Visnu Dharmasūtra 35. 6 and 50. 1-6 and 15, Manu. XI 72-82, Yāj III 243-250, Agnipurāna 169. 1-4 and 173 7-8, Samvarta 110-115 and many others prescribe various penances for brāhmana-murder. As the treatment of Manu is tolerably long, an analysis of it alone will be given here. Manu as stated by the Bhavisyapurāna (quoted by Kullūka on Manu XI 72-82, Aparārka p 1055 and Pr V. p 63) speaks of 13 separate penances for *brahmahatya*²⁰⁸. The general rule was that for a man of any class who is directly guilty of intentional murder of a brāhmana the penance was to end in death²⁰⁹. The thirteen penances as set out by Govindananda in his commentary (called *Tattvārthakamudī*) on *Prāyascittaviveka* (p 63) are as follows —

(1) The murderer of a brāhmana should construct a hut in a forest and dwell therein for twelve years, should subsist on alms and should carry a piece of the head-bones of the murdered man on a staff. This is a very ancient penance and other smrtis add some details. For example, Gaut 22 4 provides that the sinner should submit to observances meant for a Vedic student (such as not partaking of flesh, honey etc. stated in

208 तथापि ब्राह्मण्यवधे प्रायश्चित्तानि ह्युच्यते । मनुना कीर्तितानीत त्रयोदश यथाक्रमम् ।
भविष्यपुराण q. by अपरार्क p 1055, प्राय वि p 63

209. तत्र कामत साक्षाद् ब्रह्मवेध विशेषाश्रवणात् सर्वधामेव पर्णाना मरणास्तिक प्रायश्चित्तम् । यदाह याज्ञवल्क्य (3 247.) 'लोमस्य स्वाहित्येधं । तथा च मध्यमाङ्गिया . प्राणान्तिकं तु यत्कोक्तं प्रायश्चित्तं मनीषिभिः । तच्च कामकृतं प्राप्य विज्ञेयं नात्र सशय' । प्राय. प्रक pp 8-9 , परा मा II. part 2, p 72 and मा प्रकाश 94 a, quote the verse of मध्यमाङ्गिरस

Gaut. 2. 19), should announce his sin and enter a village only for begging alms. Yaj. III, 243 prescribes that the sinner should have a piece of the head-bone in the hand (left) and another placed on a staff (in the right hand) and that he should eat a moderate quantity (i. e. only once a day). The carrying of the piece of the head-bone in one hand is not meant for begging alms therein but only as a symbol. There was some divergence of views on this point^{20a}, Āp Dh. 8. 1. 9. 24. 14 further provides that he should beg for alms at seven houses in only a broken reddish vessel (of clay or copper) and wear a piece of hempen cloth round his waist that will reach a little above his knees and that if he got no food at the seven houses he had to go without food that day and that he should protect cows and may for that purpose (for taking them out for grazing or bringing them back) enter the village again. The Mit. (on Yaj. III. 243) adds that the staff with head-bone on and the head-bone carried in the left hand are merely symbolic (in order to remind him and others of his being guilty of brāhmana murder), that he should on seeing an ārya avoid his path (Gaut. 22. 5), that he should keep standing by day and only sit down at night (Gaut. 22. 6) and bathe thrice in the day (Gaut. 22. 6). It is added by the Mit. that, if the murdered brāhmana's head-bone cannot be had, that of any other brāhmana would do. The Mit. adds that this *vrata*²¹ for twelve years propounded by Gautama, Manu, Yājñavalkya and others is one and not different for each *smṛti* and therefore all the details that are not opposed to each other should be included. Aparārka p. 1053 (on Yaj. III. 243) relies on the 'sarvasākhapratyayanāyā'²¹ and states:

209 a. स्वप्नापादितविप्रत्येव क्षिरो द्वेषा कृत्वाथ ध्वजदृष्ट्यामे स्वापयेद्वर्षं च इति. धृष्टीयादिति .केचिद् । अपरे तु द्वेषाकरणे ममाणाभावात् कृत्वा शवक्षिरोध्वजमिति .सङ्घातये. अस्त्रिभ्रतक्षिरोःमतीतेश्वान्याशेषकपालं इति ब्राह्मं स्वप्नापादितविप्रतिरस्तु दृष्ट्यामे स्वापयति-
ध्याह् । इत्यमेव विज्ञानेश्वरशुलपाण्यदयः । वयं तु स्वप्नापादितक्षिरोकपालं इति ब्राह्मं
अन्यदीयक्षिरसा तु ध्वजः कार्यः । मा. मकारा folio 88a.

210. इयं च मनुयाज्ञवल्क्यगौतमादिमतिपादिता द्वादशवार्षिकव्रतवर्षा एकैव न
द्वामिज्ञा । परस्परसापेक्षताद्विरोधाच्च । तथाहि—मिक्षाशी कर्म वेद्यन्—(मा. 3. 243)
इत्युक्ते किं मिक्षापात्रं केषां वा ग्रहेषु कतिपु जेत्याकार्हाक्षा जायेतेव । तत्र लोहितकेन स्वप्नस्रा-
वेण (अप. ध. सू. 1. 9 24. 14.)—इत्यापस्तम्बवचनेः परिपूर्णमविरुद्धम् । अतः सर्वैकः
कल्पोपदेशालौकिकद्रुकं मनुयीतमाद्युक्तेतिकर्तव्यतायाः परस्परसापेक्षत्वेऽपि विकल्प इति
तत्पिठव्येचोक्तमिति । मित. on या III. 243.

211. अत्र च सर्वेशास्त्रामत्ययमेकं कर्मेति न्यायेन स्थूलन्तरोक्ता अविच्छेदा धर्मः सः-
न्नायेन कर्तव्यः । विषद्वास्तु विकल्पेन । अपराकं प. 1053. Vide H of Dh. vol. III.
p 870 for explanation of this Nyāya (maxim) which is based on जै II, 4. 9
and Śabara's bhāṣya thereon.

that there would be an option where the details of several smrtis are in conflict. It was Viśvarūpa²¹² on Yāj. III, 237 who held that the procedure prescribed by each smṛti was separate and that all details taken from different smṛtis were not to be mixed up. According to the Mit. and Kullūka (on Manu XI, 72) this vrata for 12 years is appropriate in the case where a brāhmana is murdered unintentionally and Kullūka quoting Angiras provides that for intentional brāhmana murder the penance will be double (i. e. 24 years). The Mit (on Yāj. III, 243) states that this observance for twelve years applies only to one who was himself directly the murderer of a brāhmana and that the *anugrahaka* has to undergo only 9 years' vrata, the *prayojaka* only six years, the *anumantā* only 4½ years and the *manutū* only three years. It is further provided by the Mit. (on Yāj. III, 243) following a verse ascribed to Manu (not found in the printed text) and Devala²¹³ that if a man commits several murders of brāhmanas one after another, and performs penance at one time for them, for two murders he has to undergo the penance for 24 years and for three murders 36 years and when he commits the 4th murder there is no penance (but only death is the penance). The Pr. T. (p. 468) on the other hand,²¹⁴ following the Bhavisya-purāna holds that one performance of the 12 years' penance is enough penance for the murder of several brāhmanas, on the analogy of the *Ksāmavati istī* (Jai. VI, 4, 17-20) which is performed when both the purohāsas and the house are totally burnt up by accident before the oblations are offered. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 19 a) also says the same and adds that Devala's verse is to be interpreted as laying down that repetition of the same sinful act is more blamable. If the murderer of a brāhmana

212. न चैकमेवेतत् सर्वस्मृतिस्त्रिंशद् द्वादशवार्षिकं व्रतमित्याहङ्गुनीयं प्रतिस्मृति मयोग-
भेदस्य-वकारो धर्मशास्त्राणामित्यत्र श्लोके (पा. १.५) अभिहितत्वात् । विस्वरूप ०५ वा III,
237 (शिर कपालवान्)

213. पञ्च मनुवेपलाभ्यामुक्तं विधेः माधनिकादस्माद् द्वितीये द्विगुणं भवेत् । वृत्तिये
विद्युपं प्रोक्तं चतुर्थं नास्ति निष्कृतिः ॥ तच्च प्रतिनिमित्तं नैमित्तिकशास्त्रमावर्तते इति न्यायेन ।
मिता. on या III 243. प्राय वि. pp 25 and 77, प्राय प्रकाश (19a) ascribes the verse
to देवल alone, while परा मा. II part 2 p. 60 ascribes to both and स्मृतिह. (पाय)
p. 872 attributes it to मनु and गालव (if the ms was properly read by the
editor). हरदत्त on गौ. 22 6 ascribes it to मनु alone

214. तथा नानाब्रह्मण्यसर्वे सर्वोद्देशेन सकृत्प्रायश्चित्ते कृते सर्वब्रह्मवधजन्यपापनाश ।
पथा वधानुवृत्तौ भवित्ये । ब्राह्मणस्य ब्राह्मणयोर्ब्राह्मणानां च पुत्रक । प्रायश्चित्तस्य चैकत्वं
आतिमाहित्यं लक्ष्यते । क्षामवत्यादिना यद्दत्तं फर्मणा व्रतनापते । वैवदोषादकरणे जाते-
द्वोषकदम्बके । होमनैकेन दोषाणां सर्वेषां क्षयमादिशेत् । मा. तत्र p 468.

was a ksatriya or a vaiśya or a sūdra he had to perform the penance above described respectively for 24, 36 or 48 years. (Smṛtyarthasāra p. 105). Instead of staying in a hut for twelve years he may stay at the end of a village or a cowpen and should tonsure his head and the hair on the lips or he may stay in an hermitage or at the foot of a tree and should devote himself to doing good to brāhmanas and cows and should observe celibacy (Manu XI, 78 and 81). At the end of 12 years he destroys the sin of brāhmana-murder.

(2) According to Ap Dh. S. I. 9.25.12, Gaut. 22, 3, Manu XI, 72, Yaṅ. III, 248, if a ksatriya intentionally killed a brāhmana he may at his will enter a fight and if he were killed by his opponents who knew that he was a brāhmana murderer, or even if he was wounded and left unconscious on the field but subsequently recovered he should be free from the sin of brāhmana-murder.

(3) According to Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.25.13, Vas. 20. 25-26, Gaut. 22.2, Manu XI, 74, Yaṅ. III, 247, he may cut off with an axe his hair, skin, blood, flesh, muscles, fat, bones and marrow and offer them into an ordinary fire kindled by him for the purpose and offer these eight offerings into it for Death (Mṛtyu) as the deity and then throw himself into fire (thrice with head downwards, according to Manu XI, 73). This penance is for intentional murder of a brāhmana by a ksatriya according to the Madanaparīkṣā and Bhavisyapurāṇa q. by Pr. Prakāśa folio 95 a.

(4)–(8) The murderer of a brāhmana may perform the Aśvamedha sacrifice or Gosava or Abhijit or Viśvajit or the threefold Agnistut (Manu XI, 74) The Aśvamedha could be performed only by a king or an emperor (samrāj). The others could be performed by any one belonging to the three higher classes. This applies only where the murder was unintentional as stated by Kullūka following the Bhavisyapurāṇa.²¹⁶ Visnu

215. अग्नौ सक्तिर्मह्यन्नस्त्रिस्त्रिंशत्तरुषु । सौ 22 2 ; अपि वा लोमानि त्वन्नं मासमित्ति क्षयचित्वाग्निं प्रविशेत् । आप. ध I. 9 25.13 : अणुहाग्निश्चपसमाधाय उहुयादेता । लोमानि सृष्योर्लुहेमि लोमभिर्मुत्सु वासय इति प्रथमाश्च । मज्जानं सृष्योर्लुहेमि मज्जाभिर्मुत्सु वासय इत्यष्टमीश्च । वसिष्ठ 20 25-26 When वा III. 247 prescribes that he should utter लोमयः स्वाहा, the देवता = सृष्यु and लोम, त्वज्जु and all others are the आहुतिसः .

216. तदुक्तं भविस्यपुराणे-त्वज्जितादेश्च यद्द्वीर कर्मणा पुत्रनापते । अद्धतानं द्विजातीनां यथे ह्यमतिपूर्वकं ॥ कुल्लूक on मनु XI.74. For the Aśvamedha, vide H. of Dh.

dharmasūtra (chap. 35 last verse) states that all persons guilty of any of the 'mahāpātakas' are purified by the performance of *Āsvamedha* or by going to all the *tīrthas* on the earth.

(9) Manu XI. 75 provides that for the removal of the sin of *brahmahatyā*, the sinner may walk one hundred *yojanas*, subsisting on limited food, controlling his senses and reciting one of the four Vedas. Kullūka says that this applies only where the killing is unintentional and the victim is a mere brāhmana by caste (i. e. has not studied the Veda &c.). For *yojana*, vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 145 note 185, 217.

(10) Manu XI. 76 provides that the murderer of a brāhmana may make a gift of all his wealth to a brāhmana who has studied the Veda.

(11) Manu XI. 76 and Yāj. III. 250 provide that the murderer may donate to a worthy brāhmana (who has studied the Veda and whose character is good) as much wealth as would suffice to maintain the latter throughout his life and a house with all paraphernalia. This is the view of Govindānanda. But the Mit. on Yāj. III. 250 appears to hold that Nos 10 and 11 are not separate penances. It combines the two into one, viz. that if the murderer has no offspring then he was to donate all his wealth or if he had offspring he was to donate a house with paraphernalia. This explanation is certainly preferable. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p 105) states that if the murderer is devoid of qualities but is well-off he may give a house and lands sufficient for the maintenance of a worthy brāhmana or he may donate a house with appurtenances or if he be childless all his wealth.

(12) Manu XI. 77 218 and Yāj. III. 249 provide that the murderer subsisting on sacrificial food (such as *nivāra*, milk or

(Continued from the last page)

vol II 1228-1237. The *Viśvajit* and *Abhyjit* are *ekāhas* and the first and last rites of the *Astarātra* and *Abhyjit* follow the procedure of some sacrifice. Vide Jai. VI. 7. 14 and VIII. 1. 16 and *Āsv Śr.* VIII. 5. 13. In the *Viśvajit* one has to make a gift of all his wealth. vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 1212 n. 2644. For *Gosava* and *Agnistut* vide note 153 above.

217. तथा च भविष्यपुराणेऽयमेव श्लोकः पठित्वा क्वाल्पात्तश्च-जातिमात्रं यदा विद्वद्भ्यामभित्पूर्वकम् । वेदविद्याशिक्षोर्वा च तदा तस्य भवेद्विद्वत् ॥ कुल्लुका on मनु XI. 75.

218. हविष्यमुन्वाहसरेत्यतिश्रोत सरस्वतीम् । मनु XI. 77. मेधातिथि comments 'हविष्यं ह्यव्यक्तं नीवारान्दि प्राण्यमपि पयोद्वितादि । प्रतिश्रोत श्रोत श्रोत. प्रति याचन्ति

(Continued on the next page)

ghee) should follow the course of the (holy) river Sarasvatī in all its branches. This, acc. to the Bhavisyapurāna and Kullūka,⁴ applies where a mere brāhmana by caste (without Vedic learning) is killed intentionally by a man who is himself rich but has no vedic learning. The words 'pratisrotah sarasvatīm' have been variously explained. Medhātīthi explains as above. Aparārka, Sarvajñanārāyana and Rāghavananda explain that the murderer should follow the course of the Sarasvatī in the opposite direction from the sea to its origin. This appears to be a better explanation, since it brings out the force of 'pratisrotah' more clearly.

(13) It is provided by Manu XI, 77 and Yāj. III, 249 that the murderer should recite in a forest thrice the *samhitā* text of the Veda, while subsisting on limited food. The express mention of *samhitā* text precludes the *pada* text or *krama*. The Bhavisyapurāna and Kullūka hold that this penance is proper where a mere brāhmana by birth (without Vedic learning) is killed unintentionally.

Manu XI, 79, Yāj. III, 244 and 246, Vas. 20, 27-28 and Gaut. 22, 7-8 and 11 mention three more penances, but they are not independent ones (as is made clear by Śankha). If a murderer, while undergoing the 12 years' penance, fights him who attacks a brāhmana and saves him (or fights for the king, acc. to Vas.) or dies in the attempt, he becomes at once free from the sin and if he lives after the fight he had not to continue the penance for the whole period. The same applies to the saving of 12 cows by the murderer by putting his own life in danger²¹⁹. Similarly, if a murderer fights a marauder depriving a brāhmana of all his wealth and restores the wealth to a brāhmana or dies in the attempt or is severely wounded (thrice acc. to Yāj, Vas and Gaut.) and is unable to restore the wealth to the brāhmana he becomes free from the grave sin of brāhmana murder.

(Continued from the last page)

सरस्वती स्तोत्रं वाच्यं यज्ञसरेत् । अपराक p 1060 says 'सरस्वतीं प्रति स्तोत्रं स्नादारभ्योद्धर्मं वाचयति गत्वा ह्युद्यति'; सर्वज्ञनारायण explains प्रतिस्तोत्रं प्रभासमारभ्य ह्यस्रप्रक्षयान्तं यत्र यत्र सरस्वतीं तत्र तत्र स्तोत्रं लक्ष्मीकृत्य तीरेण गमनम् । The मित्ता. on या. III 249 explains स्नात्वा प्रक्षयान्तं पश्चिमोदधेः प्रतिस्तोत्रं स्तोत्रं प्रति सरस्वतीं इत्या गत्वा. For the sacredness of the Sarasvatī, vide H. of Dh vol II, pp 13-15 and later on under *sīrthas*

219. अन्तराले वा आह्वयं नोच्यते वा च वा द्वादशानां परित्राणात् । इति । शङ्ख पृ. by ह्यदत्त on गो 22 14 and मित्ता. on या. III 244.

Manu XI. 82, Yāj III. 244, Śaṅkha and Gaut 22.9 lay down that if the murderer of a brāhmana announces his sin when the king and priests have met together for the ceremonial bath after the Aśvamedha sacrifice and being permitted by them bathes along with them, he becomes free from the sin.²²⁰ According to Haradatta this is an independent penance, while according to the Mīl on Yāj III. 244, Aparārka p. 1057 and others it is not so but is to be performed while undergoing the 12 years' penance.

Yāj. III. 245 provides that if the murderer treats and cures a brāhmana or a cow (or cows) lying helpless on the public road suffering from a long-standing and serious ailment he becomes free from the sin.

Parāśara (XII. 65-67) prescribes for *brāhmahatyā* the penance of going to the sea and Rama's bridge, begging and declaring on the way one's sin, walking without an umbrella or shoes and residing in cowpens, forests, *tirthas* and river streams; on seeing the *setu* he was to bathe in the ocean and on return to feed brāhmanas at a dinner and to donate 100 cows to learned brāhmapas.

There are other penances for *brāhmahatyā* mentioned by Jamadagni, Atri, Kaśyapa and others quoted by Aparārka (pp. 1064-1065) and others which are passed over here for want of space.

If a brāhmana killed his own father, mother, full brother, his teacher of the Veda, a brāhmana who has studied the Veda or has consecrated sacred Vedic fires, he had to undergo penance till his last breath (acc. to Pr. Prakarana p. 13 quoting Bhavisya-purāna, Pr. V. pp. 70-71, Smṛtimuktāphala Pr. p. 873 quoting Dakṣa III. 27-28 and Āp. Dh. S I.9 24). If a man killed a priest that was engaged at a *soma* sacrifice the penance was double (Yāj III. 252). The Pr. Prakarana (p. 13) says that this means that the murderer should perform 12 years' penance and then donate cows²²¹ in proportion to the difference between his

220. अश्वमेधावभूयं गत्वा तत्रालङ्कारं स्नात्वा सद्यः शूलो भवति । शङ्खे च by नित्यं on या III 244. अपरार्के p 1057 (on या III 244) and प्राय. सा p. 33 combine the two sūtras of Śaṅkha into one.

221. तथा च भविष्यपुराणम् । मातरं पितरं हत्वा सोदर्यं भ्रातरं तथा । सुहं हत्वा भोजिष्यं च आदिताम्रिणयापि वा ॥ आ उत्तनादुद्धृतासाद् व्रतं श्रीर्गो विमुह्यन्ति । अत्र ऐक्यं सङ्कलनाया जीवनकालस्यानियतत्वाद् विशुद्धचरं शतं परमादरेण आद्यम् । तेन द्वादशवारिणं कृत्वा षड्कालाद्दृष्ट्वै विशिष्यधिकशतस्य षाषड्विंशतिं तावत्परिमाणद्वादशवारिणकर्मताद्विरूपा धेनवो द्वातस्याः । प्राय. प्रक p 13.

age at the time of finishing twelve years and 120 years (which is regarded as the highest limit of life). If a person strikes a brāhmana intending to kill him but only injures him he should perform the *vrata* for *brahmahatyā* (acc. to Yāj. III. 252, Gaut. 22.11'). The Mit. explains that this is an extension (*atideśa*) of the rules about *brahmahatyā* and so the penance is a little less than the full one (i. e. 9 years). Where certain sins are said to be equal (*sama*) to *brahmahatyā* or *surūpāna*, the penance for them is half of what is prescribed for the latter. If a person intending to commit suicide by entering water or fire or by hanging himself or by taking poison or by falling from a precipice or the dome of a temple or by cutting his belly with a weapon or by fasting, does not die, but luckily lives, he has to undergo a *prāyaścitta* for three years (acc. to Pr. Prakarana p. 15). Vas. 23.18-19 and Parāśara XII.5-8 prescribe other *prāyaścittas* for such persons (who are styled '*pratyavasita*'). Pr. Prakarana (p. 15) and Pr. V. (p. 75) quote two verses of Yama^{221a} for nine kinds of *pratyavasita* and prescribe Cāndrāyana or two Taptakrochras for them.

If a *ksatriya*, *vaiśya* or *śūdra* intentionally and directly killed a brāhmana, the expiation was death, but otherwise each had respectively to undergo twice, thrice or four times as much *prāyaścitta* as a brāhmana sinner would have had to undergo for killing a brāhmana.²²² Conversely, if a brāhmana killed a *ksatriya* or *vaiśya* or a *śūdra* the sin was only an *upapātaka* (acc. to Yāj. III. 236 and Manu XI. 66), unless the *ksatriya* or *vaiśya* victim was engaged in performing a soma sacrifice (*Sāmavidhāna* Br. I. 7. 5, Yāj. III. 251, Vas. 20. 34) when the penance was heavy. Yāj. III. 266-267, Manu XI. 126-130 and Āp. Dh. S. I.9.24. 1-4 prescribe other penances for killing a *ksatriya*, a *vaiśya* or a *śūdra*. The penance for a *ksatriya*

221. a अलाभन्सुदन्धनभद्राः प्रत्रयानाशकच्युताः । निषमपतनमाशङ्कवातहताश्च ये ॥ नृषैते मृत्यवसिताः सर्वलोकबहिष्कृताः । चान्द्रायणेन ह्युच्यन्ति तप्तकृच्छ्रद्वयेन वा ॥ यम, versea 22-23, बृहथम 3-4, नारदपुराण. These include those who give up *sannyāsa* and those who sit down at the door of another for killing themselves (माय).

222 प्राय मक. II. 16 says: तत्र क्षत्रियादीनां साक्षाद्ब्रह्मवधे विशेषाश्रवणात् प्राणान्तिकमेव । इतरत्र तु यद् ब्राह्मणस्य ब्रह्मवधे प्रायश्चित्तं तत् क्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्राणां यथाक्रमं द्वियुगं त्रियुगं चतुर्गुणमिति बौद्धव्यम् ।... तथा च ब्रह्मवधप्रकरणेऽङ्किराः । परिबथा ० (vide note 195 for the quotation), vide the प्राय वि p. 75 (which quotes भविष्यपुराण that quotes the verses of अङ्किरस्य, स्तुत्यर्थसार p. 105, स्तुतिः. (म.) p. 873. परा. म. II part 2 p. 74 and म. प्रकाश (folio 94 a) quote a verse of प्रजापति 'द्वियुगं त्रियुगं चैव चतुर्गुणमथापि वा । क्षत्रविद्भूद्भजातीनां ब्राह्मणस्य वधे व्रतम् ॥ .)

killing a ksatriya is a little less (i. e. by $\frac{1}{2}$) than the penance for a brāhmana killing a ksatriya Vide the verse 'vipre tu saḥalam deyam' quoted above (note 192).

Women victims were placed on the same footing as ksatriya, vaiśya and sūdra males (Yāj. III. 236 and Manu XI 66), except the cases where the woman was an Ātreya or pregnant or in her monthly illness (Gaut 22 17, Āp Dh. S. I. 9. 24. 5 and 9, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1.10, 12-13, Vas 20 34, Viṣnu Dh. S. 50 7-9) or the wife of a twice-born performing a soma sacrifice, when the penance was heavy (like the one for *brahmahatyā*) The period of soma-yāga was reckoned from the *Diksanīyā* isti to the *Udavasānīyā* (acc to the Mit) or up to the end of *avabhṛtha* bath (acc. to Aparārka). For killing women guilty of adultery the penances were higher and varied according to the caste of the paramour and of the woman (vide Gaut 22, 26-27, Manu XI. 138, Yāj III. 268-269).

Manu (XI. 208=Viṣnu Dh. S 54 30) and Yāj III. 293 prescribe that for threatening to beat or strike a brāhmana the penance is *kṛcchra*, for striking him it is *Ati-kṛcchra*, for shedding his blood a *Kṛcchra* and *Atikṛcchra*. The *Samavidhana Br. I. 7. 4* prescribes other penances (i. e. recitation of certain *sāman* texts) for these.

Gaut. 23.1, ²²³ Āp Dh S. I 9 25.3, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 21., Vas. 20.22, Manu XI. 90-91, Yāj. III. 253 and Brhaspati prescribe that if a brāhmana drinks intentionally spirituous liquor prepared from flour even once he has to undergo a penance that ends in death, viz. he has to drink that liquor boiling-hot or to drink boiling hot cow's urine, milk, ghee, water or liquid cow-dung, and when his body has been completely scalded thereby and he dies he becomes free from that sin. Some like Haradatta on Gaut. 23 1 hold that this horrible penance is meant for one who knowingly and repeatedly drinks *surā* (manufactured from rice flour). Manu XI 92 and Yāj. III. 254 prescribe another penance in place of the one ending in death viz. that the sinner should eat during one year (during three

223. सुरापोऽग्निस्पर्शां सुरा पिबेत् । आप. घ. सू. 1 9 25 3 ; सुरापस्य बाह्यणस्यो-
ष्णामासिञ्जेत् । सुरामारये मृत. छुभ्येत् । गो 23. 1, सुरापाने कामकृते ज्वलन्तीं तां विनिसिपेत् ।
सुब्रे तथा विनिर्दग्धे मृत- छुज्जिमवाप्सुयात् ॥ बृहस्पति प. by मित्त. on वा III 253, अपराकं
p. 1071, माय एक p 43, प्रायेण धर्मशास्त्रेषु सर्वेष्वेव नराधिप । मतिपूर्वं सुरापाने प्राणान्तिक
सुदाहृतम् ॥ पैडीपाने तु ऋषिभिर्नैतरेत्यां कदाचन । भविष्यपुराण प by द्वीपकलिका on वा.
III. 253.

years, acc. to Yāj.) once (a day) at night the (boiled) small grains of rice, or oilcake, should wear clothes made of cow's hair, should have matted hair on his head and carry a flagstaff (with a wine cup thereon). The same rules apply to a ksatriya or vaiśya drinking *surā* (manufactured from rice flour). Only they have as stated above (in note 192) to undergo three-fourths and one-half respectively of the penance for a brāhmana sinner. This penance was to be undertaken after vomiting the contents of the stomach. According to the Madanapārijāta (p. 818), Pr. V. p 104, Pr Prakarana p. 43, Mit. (on Yāj III. 24) and other works the twelve years' penance is meant for one who drinks *surā* (made from flour) through ignorance or fores. According to Gaut 23, 2-3, Yāj. III 255, Manu. XI 146, Atri 75, for drinking intoxicants or human semen, ordure or urine through ignorance a person of the three first classes had first to undergo the penance called Taptakrochra and then his *upanayana* was again performed. Vasistha 20.19 prescribes for drinking any intoxicant unintentionally the penances of Kṛochra and Atikrochra, the drinking of ghee and the performing of *upanayana* again. There is great divergence of views about Manu XI 146 and Yāj III 255 which is passed over here. Brhaspati²²⁴ quoted by the Mit, Aparārka and others prescribes that a brāhmana who drinks *surā* prepared from raw sugar, flour and honey (or madhūka flowers) should respectively undergo Taptakrochra, Parāka and Cāndrāyana. This light penance is restricted acc. to the Mit, and others to cases where *surā* is drunk for curing a malady which no other medicine could cure. If a brāhmana drank *surā* (not manufactured from flour) or any other intoxicant, various easy penances were prescribed for him (such as undergoing Cāndrāyana on a river falling into the sea, feeding brāhmanas and donating a cow and a bull to the brāhmanas, Parāśara XII 75-76). Vide Yāj. III 255 and the Mit thereon. Ksatriyas and vaiśyas incurred no sin by drinking intoxicants other than *surā* (made from flour) and the śūdra incurred no sin even by drinking *surā* of the

224. गौडो पेटो तथा मर्हो पीत्वा विमः समाचरेत् । तप्तकृच्छ्रं पराकं च चाश्वापण-
मनुकामात् ॥ इत्यस्मिन् q. by मितः on या III. 254, अपराकं p. 1073, परा. मा II part 2 p.
84, मद्. पा p. 821, प्राय. सा. p. 42 The मितः comments यच्च बौधायनीयं त्रैमासिक-
मन्त्या सुरापाने कृच्छ्रान्दपार्श्वं चरित्वा पुनश्चपनयन्मिति, यच्च पाम्भं 'सुरां पीत्वा द्विजं हत्वा
कृशं हुता द्विजन्मनः । सप्येयं पतितेगत्वा द्विजश्चाश्वापणं चरेत् ॥' इति, यदपि पाहंस्पत्यं
'गौडो...कामात् ॥' इति तत्रितयमप्यन्यौपधसाध्यव्याधुपशमार्ये पाने वेदितव्यं प्रायश्चित्तस्या-
ल्पत्वात् ।

paisti variety. The Mit (on Yāj III 243) holds that since Manu XL 93 generally forbids the drinking of *surā* on the part of brāhmanas, ksatriyas and vaiśyas the prohibition applies even to boys who have not undergone the rite of *upanayana* and girls who are not yet married and adds that for drinking *surā* the child has to undergo only one-fourth penance (for 3 years) if the offence was unintentional and double of that (6 years) if it was intentional (vide also Pr. prakarana p 48). The Kalpataru, it appears, held, relying on Gaut II. 1 ('before *upanayana* a child may do as it pleases as regards behaviour, speech and eating'), that no sin (*doṣa*) was incurred by a child before *upanayana* and by a girl before marriage for drinking *surā*. The Pr. V (p. 104) and Pr. Prakāsa criticize the Kalpataru for this view.²²⁵ As Brhaspati states (vide n. 188 above) the license allowed by Gautama is limited by the Mit and other digests to the partaking of sour or stale drinks and the like and is not extended to drinking *surā* which is a mahāpātaka Jātūkarnya²²⁶ (q. by the Par. M.) provides that if a boy whose *upanayana* has not been performed drinks an intoxicant (*madya*) through foolishness, his father, mother or brother should perform three *krochras* as an expiation for him. Angiras (Jiv. p. 557), Āpastambasmṛti III, 7, Laghu-Hārīta 34-35, Brhad-yama III. 1-2 also provide that a *patimdhū* (brother, father, friend) may undergo an expiation for a boy who is himself unable to do so or is less than eleven and above five years of age.

The Āśv. gr. (I 22 22-26)²²⁷ prescribes what is to be done and what is to be omitted in *punar-upanayana*. It provides that the rites of the cutting of the hair and the production of intelligence are optional, there are no express rules about giving the person in charge (of the deities) and as to the time, and the verse to be recited as the Savitri is Rgveda V. 82.1 instead of the usual Gayatri (tatsavitur-varenyam, Rg. III. 62.10)

225. अत्राहुपनीतब्राह्मणकुमाराच्छुभ्राह्मणकुमारिकयो. सुरापाने दोषाभावे सुर पीत्वा द्विजो मोहादित्यादि प्रायश्चित्ते द्विजग्रहणादिति कल्पतरुस्तत्र तस्माद् ब्राह्मणराजन्यौ इति मह्यवचनात् सुरापाननिषेधोऽयं जात्याश्रय इति स्थितिः । न पिबेद् ब्राह्मणो मद्यं निषिद्धमपि चापरम् ॥ इति कुमारवचनाच्च द्विजग्रहणस्य जात्युपलक्षणार्थत्वात् । प्राय ति pp 104-105.

226. अनुपेतस्तु यो बालो मद्यं मोहादपिबेद्यदि । तस्य कृच्छ्रत्रयं कुर्यान्माता भ्राता तथा पिता ॥ जादृक्पर्यं q. by परा मा. II part 2 p 80.

227. अधोपेतपूर्वस्य । छुत्ताकृतं केशवपनं मेघाजननं च । अनिकरं परिदानम् । कालञ्च । तत्सविहृष्टीमदे इति सावित्रीम् । आश्व. श्र I. 22 22-26. q by मद्. पा. p 821.

Vasīṣṭha 20.18 quotes Mānu XI. 151 on this point²²⁸ and Visnu (Dh. S. 51.4-5) in prose is to the same effect. Visnu (Dh. S. 51. 2-3) provides Cāndrāyana for drinking any of the (twelve) unclean excretions of the body (Manu V. 134) or any of the several kinds of intoxicating drinks and for eating garlic or onion or red garlic or any plant having a similar flavour or the flesh of village pigs, of tame cocks, of apes and of cows and then adds (in sūtra 4) that they (the sinners) must undergo fresh *upanayana* also. The smrtis provide different *prāyaścittas* for various lapses about drinking and eating such as drinking water from a pot which had already been used for holding *surā*, for drinking water from the water vessel of a *cāndāla* or of a washerman or from a *sūdra*'s house or for drinking milk which should not be drunk (Gaut. 17.22-26, Yaj. I. 170, Manu V. 8-10), for eating forbidden food, which must be passed over here, because²²⁹ they are too many and too various and depend on circumstances for their application as observed by the Pr. V and because they are now of academic interest alone. Some reference, however, may be made to show how some of these lapses were treated. Śankha states that there are many articles that are allowed or forbidden to men, particularly to brāhmanas and in cases of transgressions the decision rests with the *śiṣṭas* (the *parīṣad* of respectable people). Brhaspati²³⁰ (quoted by Aparārka) prescribes that in the case of the partaking of things that should not be licked or drunk or eaten or in case of taking in human semen, urine or ordure, the penance of a *cāndrāyana* is the purification. Some of the sages such as Samvarta, Śankha-likhita took a lenient view, prescribed Cāndrāyana even for eating cow's flesh and human flesh²³¹

228. मानवं चात्र श्लोकस्तुदाहरन्ति । अपनं जेखला दृष्टो भैक्षचर्यां कृतानि च । एतानि तु निवर्तन्ते ब्रह्म-संस्कारकर्मणि ॥ इति । षष्ठि 20. 18 The verse is मनु XI 151.

229. यानि चाप्यानि ह्यन्यस्तरोक्तानि अभक्ष्यभक्षणं अथेवपाने शुक्लपुत्राथश्वितानि तानि कानाकामकृतसकृद्व्यासपेक्षया योज्यानि द्रव्याणामानस्यत्वात्प्रतिष्पत्तिषु अभक्ष्यत्वमभिधातुमशक्यमिति तत्संस्कारकर्मद्वैवावगन्तव्यम् । शिष्टवाक्याच्च । यथा शङ्ख । भक्ष्याभक्ष्याण्यनेकानि ब्राह्मणस्य विकीर्यतः । तत्र शिष्टा यथा ब्रह्मस्तथा कार्यो विनिश्चयः ॥ q by भाव. वि. p. 339. The verse is quoted by परा. मा II, part I p. 462.

230. अलेख्यानपेयानामभक्ष्याणां च भक्षणं । रेतोवृत्रघ्नरिपाणां शुद्धिश्चाप्युपायं रतुतम् ॥ इदं q by अपरार्क p. 1164, परा मा II part I p 367.

231. गौमांसं मासुषं चैव सुनिहस्तात्ममाहृतम् । अभक्ष्यं तद्भवेत्सर्वं भुक्त्वा चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥ संवत् 197 q by अपरार्क p. 1165, परा. मा II part I p 367; शृगालशुकुद-वर्ति-कस्याव-वानर-खरोर-गजवाले-विद्वरह-गौमासुषमांसभक्षणे चान्द्रायणम् ॥ शङ्ख-लिखित q by अपरार्क p. 1166, परा मा II part I p 368, vide गौ 23. 4-5, षष्ठि 23 30, मनु XI. 156, विष्णु 51 3-4 for similar provisions

The general rule stated by the Sāma Br. I 5 13, Manu XI 160 and others is that one desirous of inner purity should not eat forbidden food, that if he eats it through ignorance he should make efforts to vomit it and if that is impossible he should quickly take some *prāyaścitta* (which is slight in the case of ignorance). It may be mentioned that even from very ancient times exceptions were recognised to the prohibitions against the partaking of forbidden food. The Chāndogya Upanisad (I, 10)²³² narrates the story of Usastī Cākṛāyana, who when the country of the Kurus had been devastated by hailstones (or by locusts), begged (along with his very young wife) of a chief eating beans and took from the latter the beans that had been put away for the chief (and so were *ucchista*), but when asked to take water for drinking meant for the chief replied that if he drank of it he would be drinking what was unclean, since he could get water whenever he liked. This Vedic passage indicates that even unclean things may be eaten when there is distress (*āpad*) or danger to life, but that when there is no distress or danger even one who has knowledge of *brahmayā* should not violate the injunctions of *sāstra* about eating. The Vedāntasūtra (III.4 28) has an aphorism on this incident Manu X.104 provides that he who, when in danger of losing his life, accepts food from any person whatsoever is not tainted by sin as the sky is not tainted by mud. Manu then refers (X 105-108) to the stories of Ajigarta who, when famished, approached for slaying his own son, of the sage Vāmadeva who when tormented by hunger desired to eat the flesh of a dog in order to save his life and did not sully himself, of Bharadvāja who when distressed by hunger along with his son in a lonely forest accepted many cows from the carpenter Vrdhu (Brbu?) or of Viśvāmītra who, well knowing what was right or wrong, proceeded, when tormented by hunger, to eat the haunch of a dog, receiving it from the hands of a Cāṇḍāla.^{232a}

232 स हेमं कुल्माषान्खादन्त विभिन्ने त्त होवाच नेतोन्ने विद्यन्ते यन्न ये स इव उपनिहिता इति । एतेषा मे देहीति होवाच तानस्मै भद्रो हस्तामुपानित्तुच्छिद्य वै मे पितृभ्यादिति होवाच । न त्विदंतेषुच्छिद्य इति न वा अजीविष्यमिमांश्च खादन्निति होवाच कामो म उदुपानमिति । छा. उप 1. 10 2-4, सर्वोक्तात्मनिश्च प्राणात्यये तदज्ञानात् । वेदान्तसूत्र 111 4 28, on this शाङ्करभाष्य observes तदेतदुच्छिद्योच्छिद्यपुत्रपितृभक्षणं दर्शयन्त्याशुतेराशयातिशयो लक्ष्यते प्राणात्ययमसङ्गे प्राणसन्धारणायामभ्यनपि भक्षयितव्यमिति । स्वस्थावस्थाया नु तन्न कर्तव्यं विद्यावतापीत्युपानमत्याख्यानानाद्भवति ।

232a For the legend of Ajigarta, vide Aitareya Br. VII.13-16 (or 33 1 ff) and H. of Dh vol III pp 563-64, 660, 663. In Rg. VI 45 31-33 Brbu is described as the carpenter of the Panis and his liberality is highly praised. For Viśvāmītra trying to steal from a hamlet of cāṇḍālas a dog's leg, when famished, vide Śāntiparva 141.26-96

For eating the flesh of various birds Visnu Dh. S. 51. 29 and 31 and others prescribe fasting for three days or one day and also for eating several varieties of fish (Visnu 51.21).

We may now revert to the penances for the other Mahāpātakas. It has already been seen how the thief that had stolen a brāhmana's gold of a certain weight was to approach the king with a club (p. 73 above). Even Ap. Dh. S. I.9.25.4 refers to this and prescribes as an option (Āp Dh. S. I.9.25.6-7) entering into fire as an expiation for theft or starving oneself by reducing the intake of food. Therefore, the penance for the theft of brāhmana's gold of the weight of 80 *raktikās* or more (Manu VIII.134 and Yāj. I.363) was death for the offenders of all varnas, except a brāhmana offender, who clad in rags (or bark garment) was to undergo a penance in a forest for twelve years of the same kind as for brāhmana murder (Manu XI.101) or for the drinking of *suā* prepared from flour (Yāj. III.258). The offender may also give as much gold (if he is rich) as his own weight or as much wealth as would be required for the maintenance of a brāhmana's family for the latter's lifetime (Yāj. III.258 and Mit. thereon) The Āp Dh. S. I.9.25.8 provides the observance of the penance of Krochra for one year (as defined in Āp Dh. S. I.9.27.7-8) and quotes a verse "those who have committed a theft (of gold), drunk spirituous liquor, or had connection with a *guru's* wife, but not those who have slain a brāhmana, shall eat every fourth meal-time a little food, bathe thrice a day, pass the day standing and the night sitting; after the lapse of three years they cast off their sins."^{232b} The digests contain numerous and varying expiations for theft depending upon the weight of gold stolen, upon the qualities of the man robbed and of the thief, upon the caste of both, upon whether it is a first offence or a repeated one, on the price and nature of the thing stolen and on the time and place and so on Vide Pr V. pp. 117-127, Pr. Sara p. 49, Madanapārijāta pp. 828-834, Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 108-109, Smṛtimuktāphala pp. 883-885. These have to be passed over here for reasons of space.

If the gold stolen (even from a brāhmana) was less than 80 *raktikās* or if gold of any weight was stolen from a ksatriya

232 b कृच्छ्रसंनत्सरं वा चरेत् । अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । स्तेयं कृत्वा दूरं गीत्वा शुद्धात् च गत्वा ब्रह्महत्यामकृत्वा चतुर्थकाला मितभोजना स्थुरपीम्यनेतुः सवनाद्युक्तपद् । स्थाना-सनाग्वा विहरन्त एते त्रिभिवर्षेण पापं मुदन्ते । आप. ध. सू. I. 9. 25. 8-10.

or any other non-brāhmana, the expiation would be as one for an upapātaka. Manu (XI 162-168 = Matsyapurāna 227. 41-47) and Visnu 52. 5-13 prescribe various penances such as krochra for a year for the theft of corn or cooked food or wealth; cāndrāyana for abducting men and women (slaves) or for appropriating a field or house and the water of wells and cisterns; māntapana for thefts of objects of small value; pañcagavya for stealing eatables of various kinds or a vehicle or a bed or a seat or flowers or roots and fruits; fasting for three days and nights in the case of theft of grass, wood, trees, dry food, molasses, clothes, leather (or armour) and flesh, subsisting for twelve days on small grains of rice for stealing gems, pearls, coral, copper, silver, iron, bell-metal or stones, subsisting on milk alone for the theft of cotton, silk, wool, animals with cloven hoofs (cows &c.) or unclaven hoofs (horses &c.), birds, perfumes, medicinal herbs or a rope (used for drawing water). It must be remembered as stated above (p. 74) that the thief had to restore to the owner the thing stolen and then undergo a penance (Manu XI 164 and Visnu Dh S 52.14) and Medhātithi (on Manu XI 164) adds that if he is unable to restore the thing (or its price) the penance is to be double. Besides, in certain cases of theft if corporal punishment or death was not inflicted by the king, the thief was fined eleven times the price of the thing stolen (Manu VIII 321, 323, Visnu Dh S. 5.82) 233

Steja (theft) is of two kinds, by force (such as robbery and dacoity and called *sāhasa*) and by clandestine means. In the former case the penance goes on increasing (twice, thrice) according as the offender is a ksatriya or vaiśya (*paraśadyā brāhmaṇūnam*, quoted above, Par. M. II part 1 p.231) In the case of theft by clandestine means if the owner whose gold or wealth is stolen is a brāhmana and the thief a ksatriya or vaiśya, then also the penance must be higher than for a brāhmana thief (since, as, Nārada says in his chapter on *sāhasa* verse 16, the wealth belonging to idols, brāhmanas and kings is the best) But conversely, if the owner of stolen property is of lower class than the thief then the verse of Brhad-Visnu ('vipre tu sakalam dayam,' quoted above in note 192) will apply.

233. द्वित्रादिमापात्मकहेमहरणं तु क्षत्रियादिहेमहरणवदुपपातकमेवेति युक्तम् । किं च सूर्याभ्युत्थनपरिमाणहेमहरणे प्रायश्चित्तान्तरौपदेशात्तत्परिमाणस्यैव हेमनो हरणे सत्प्रणतिकारि मायश्चित्तमिति युक्तम् । तथा चोक्तं षड्विंशन्मते । मित्ता on या III 257.

The penance for incest with the *guru's* wife was prescribed from very ancient times as follows: Gaut. ²³⁴ 23. 8-11, Āp. Dh. S. I. 9, 25. 1-2, Baud. Dh. S. II. 1. 14-16 (almost in the same words as in Gaut), Vas. 20. 13-14, Manu XI, 103-104 prescribe that the offender shall confess his guilt and then extend himself on a red-hot iron bed or embrace the red-hot iron image of a woman or having himself cut off his organ and testicles and having taken them in his joined hands may walk straight towards the south or south-west until he falls down dead and that he becomes purified by death. According to the Mit. on Yāj. III 259 the three are not distinct penances, but that two of them, viz. embracing the red-hot iron image of a woman and sleeping on a bed of red hot iron form one penance. The words of Yāj. no doubt convey that the two together are one penance (viz. sleeping on red hot bed and clinging to a red hot image). Others like the Madanapārijāta (p. 837), Medhātithi ²³⁵ on Manu XI. 103 do not accept this interpretation. The latter moreover relies on Gautama who employs the word 'vā' (or) in the two latter of his three sūtras on this point. The Pr. V. (p. 138) points out this difference between Gaut. and Yāj. Manu XI. 58 and 170-71, Yāj. III 231, Samivarta 159 regard sexual intercourse with a friend's wife or a maiden of a higher caste and the wives of one's son or of sagotras and women born of the same womb (sister &c.) or with an *anyaja* woman as equal to *gurutalpagamana* and the penance is only a little less than for the latter. Manu XI 105 and Yāj. III 260 prescribe a penance (other than one ending in death), viz. that the sinner should dwell in a tenantless forest, allow his beard to grow, should wear tattered garments and practise Prājāpatya Kṛochra for one year (three years acc. to Yāj.). The commentators say that this was meant where the sin was committed by mistake. Manu XI. 106 and Yāj. III 260 provide another penance viz. Cāndrāyana for three months, Manu prescribing that the sinner should subsist on sacrificial food (fruits, roots or *nivāra* grain) or on barley gruel and Yāj. adding that he should recite for the three months the Vedasamhita. The commentators say that this applies in cases where the *guru's* wife is of a lower varna or of the śūdra class.

234. तस्मै लोदशयने सुकृतल्पगः शयीत । सूमी वा शिरःपेज्जलन्तीम् । लिङ्गं वा सङ्घणसुकृत्याञ्जलाभायाय दक्षिणपतीर्चीं ब्रजेदन्विह्यमा शरीरपातात् । शौ 23 8-10.

235 आचार्याणीं गत्वेदं प्रायश्चित्तमपरा मत्तैव । समानजातीयायमने इमानि त्रीणि प्रायश्चित्तानि कल्पन्ते । मेधातिथि ०७ मनु XI. 103.

Parāśara (X 10-11) provides three different *prāyaścittas*, viz. excision of the organ, three *krccnas* or three *cāndāyjanas* if a man commits incest with his mother, sister, or daughter and in X, 12-14 prescribes other penances for adultery with other near female relatives. The Mit on Yāj. III 259 quotes Śankha for twelve years' penance for all four kinds of Mahāpātakas, which applies acc to it to intercourse with guru's wife of the same class. It is not necessary to quote further smṛti passages which vary greatly as to the extent of the penance. Manu XI 178 (= Visnu Dh S 53. 9 = Agnipurāna 169 41), Śānti 165 29 state that the sin which a twice-born man commits by sexual intercourse for one night with a *vṛśālī*²³⁶ (a *cāndāla* woman) is removed by him by the penance of subsisting on alms for three years and reciting mantras (like the *Gāyatrī*). Āp. Dh S. I 9 27. 11 has a somewhat similar verse about a brāhmana's intercourse with a *śūdra* woman²³⁷. Yāj III 233 prescribes for women death as a legal penalty and the same *prāyaścitta* as for a male if a man has sexual intercourse with his paternal or maternal aunt, or daughter-in-law, maternal uncle's wife and others (enumerated above) with their consent. Manu XI 175 (= Laghu-Śātātapa 155 = Agnipurāna 169 38) holds that a brāhmana, who has sexual intercourse with a *cāndāla* woman or *mleccha* woman or dines with *cāndālas* or *mlecchas* or accepts gifts from them, has to perform penance as if he were *patita* if he unknowingly did these things, and becomes like them by committing these sins knowingly. Compare Vasistha 23 41, Visnu Dh. S 53 5-6.

If a woman be guilty of a Mahāpātaka the general rule stated by Manu XI 176 (latter half), Katyāyana and Brhaspatir²³⁸ was that whatever penance was prescribed for a male in cases of adultery with other's wives the same was to be administered to women in case of adultery with males. In this parti-

236 वृषली in मनु XI 177 is explained as चण्डाली by कुल्लुक and मित्त on पा III 260, which quotes a smṛti verse 'चण्डाली बन्धकी वेद्या राज.स्था या च कल्पका। उवा या च सगोत्रा स्याद्दृष्टव्य. पञ्च कीर्तिता ॥' शुलपार्णि understands वृषली as वृषली, vide Pr. Prakāśa folio 111 b for this difference.

237 यदेकरत्रेण करोति पापं कृष्णं वर्णं ब्राह्मण. सेवमानश्चतुर्थकाल उदकाग्नयवापि त्रिभिर्वर्षैरेतद्वपुहन्ति पापम् ॥ आप ध. सू. I. 9 27 11. शान्तिपर्व 165.29 reads 'निकुलवर्णं and 'स्थानासनान्या विहरन् व्रती स त्रिभिर्वर्षे शमयेद्वात्मपापम् ॥'

238. यत्सुतः परदारेषु समानेषु व्रतं चरेत् । स्वभिचारानु भङ्गं क्वी तद्वशेष समाचरेत् । वृद्धे वा by अपरार्क p 1124, माय वि. p 371 ; एवं दोषश्च छुद्भिश्च पतितानाहदाहता । क्षीणापि प्रसक्तानामेव एव विधिः स्युतः । कात्या. प by मित्त. on पा. III. 260.

cular case the rule about half penance being prescribed for women did not hold good when a woman with full knowledge committed adultery and half penance was to be prescribed only where the adultery was through mistake. A similar rule was laid down by Angiras^{238a}. If a woman became *patita* and did not undergo *prāyaścitta* she could be excommunicated by the process called *ghatasphota* (described in 'H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 615-616 and 1009). But there was a difference between a male and a woman in this respect. A woman, however, was not to be altogether abandoned on the street and left to fare for herself, though she be *patita*, but she was to be lodged in a cottage thatched with grass near the house and was to be guarded against further lapses and given bare maintenance (enough to keep body and soul together) and (dirty) clothes (Yāj. III. 296, Manu XI. 176). There were certain acts, however, which were specially condemned in women (Yāj. III. 297) viz. sexual intercourse with a man of a lower class, causing abortion and killing the husband. Vas. 21. 10 provides²³⁹ that four classes of women may be altogether abandoned (and not given even starving maintenance &c) viz. a woman who has sexual intercourse with (her husband's) pupil or with his *guru* or one who kills her husband or one who sexually approaches a man of a lower degraded class. Women, however *patita* they may be, were to be dealt with as stated in Yāj. III. 296 even if they did not perform any penance. Vas. 21.12 states that women of the *brāhmana*, *ksatriya* and *vaiśya* classes, if guilty of sexual intercourse with a *śūdra*, can be purified by penance if they do not give birth to a child, but not those others (who give birth to a child born of the condemned connection). Vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 946-949 for penance and other matters in relation to adultery by men and women.

It is now necessary to turn to the penance for association with those that are guilty of grave sins (*mahāpātakas*). Manu XI. 181, Visnu Dh. S. 54 1, Yāj. III. 261 provide that whoever associates with (for a year, acc. to Yāj.) a person guilty of one

238a अतं चञ्चोदितं इसां पतितस्त्रीनिषेवणात् । तच्चस्यि कारयेन्मूढां पतितासेवनात्
स्त्रियम्॥ अङ्गिरस् प. by माय. वि. p. 372.

239. चतस्रस्तु परित्याज्याः शिष्याया इत्या च या । पतिनी च विशेषेण छुद्वितोपगता
च या॥ वसिष्ठ 21 10 q by the मित्त on या III. 297 and अपराक्ष p. 1208 on या.
I. 72. The मित्त attributes the verse to व्यास and explains छुद्वित as
'प्रतिलीमज्जन्मकारादि.'. The दीपकालिका explains as 'छुत्सित. प्रतिलीमज्ज'. The माय.
वि p. 374 attributes it to अङ्गिरस् and explains 'छुद्वितः कुत्सितो हीनवर्णः'.

of the four mahāpātakas has to undergo the *vata* (the observances) prescribed for that grave sinner in order to free himself from the sin of association. Kullūka, the Pr sāra (p. 61) and others state that the penance here referred to is the one for twelve years and not death since it is the word *vata* that is employed by Manu and *vata* does not ordinarily convey the idea of death.²⁴⁰ If the association was due to ignorance the penance was half. Vyāsa prescribed²⁴¹ for the knowing associator $\frac{1}{2}$ ths of the penance provided for the sinner himself. According to the Pr. V (p 171) there was no difference in the extent of the penance for association with a sinner in the case of a brāhmana²⁴² and a śūdra, though in other cases penance was reduced by one quarter for each varna. If the association was for less than one year, then the penance was proportionately reduced. Not only was the *patita* condemned but even his son born after he became *patita* and he was excluded from inheritance. But the daughter of a *patita* was treated differently and she could be married without any stigma being attached to the husband. Vide Vas. 13 51-53, Yāj. III 261, Baud. Dh. S II 1. 73-74, Hārta q by Pr V. p 174 and Pr prakaraṇa p 110 and H of Dh vol III. pp. 614-616.

Viṣṇu Dh S (chap 36) speaks of certain sins as *anupātakas* which are declared by Manu (XI 55-58) and Yāj (III 228-233) to be equal to or like one or other of the mahāpātakas and provides that those guilty of them become pure by Āsvamedha sacrifice or by resorting to pilgrimages. It has also been seen that such sins are removed by the penances that are slightly less (i. e. by $\frac{1}{2}$ th) than those for the mahāpātakas themselves.

The penances for *upapātakas* must now be briefly dealt with. The number of upapātakas is very large and it is of no practical importance to deal with each of them separately. First of all, some general rules about them will be stated and

240 अत्र च ब्रह्महादिषु यद्यपि कान्तो मरणान्तिकस्यपिदं तथापि सप्तगिणस्त्रयानि दिश्यते । स तस्यैव वर्त कुर्यादिति व्रतस्यैवातिदेशात् । मरणस्य च व्रतस्यैवातिदेशाभावात् । अतोऽत्र कान्तकृतेऽपि संसर्गे द्वादशवार्षिकमकामतस्तु तदर्थम् । मिता. on या III. 261, vide also मद्. पा p. 853

241. यो येन संबन्धेर्ह्यपि सोऽपि तत्समतामियात् । पादहीन चरेत्सोऽपि तरप तस्य ब्रह्म द्विज ॥ ध्यास q. by the मिता on या III 261, कुट्टक on मनु XI 181

242 अतः संसर्गिणि ब्राह्मणे शूद्रे च न प्रायश्चित्ते विशेषः । तथा निन्तरेत्सवत्सरेत्सं यत् प्रायश्चित्तस्यैव तस्य च संबन्धस्यैव पूर्णं भागहार कार्यं । तथा च बृहस्पतिः । पाप्मानसिं ह्यु संयोगे याजनाद्यापनादिना । एकत्रासनशय्याभिः प्रायश्चित्तार्थं चरेत् । मद्. pp. 171-172.

a few of them that are of some importance will be dealt with individually. The Sāmavidhāna ²⁴³ Br. (I 5.14) states that on committing several upapātakas a man becomes pure by reciting thrice the whole of the veda while fasting. Manu XI. 117, Yāj. III. 265, Visnu Dh. S. 37 35 prescribe that purification from all classes of upapātakas (except the sin of the *avalīrṇin*) is effected by the same penances that are prescribed for *govadha* or by *cāndrāyana* or by subsisting on milk alone for a month or by *Parāka* or *Gosava*. The digest prescribes that *Parāka* is meant for him who is strong enough to undertake it, *Cāndrāyana* for him who is weak, *Gosava* for him who repeatedly commits the same upapātaka or is guilty of several at the same time (vide Pr. Prakāsa, folio 122 a).

Govadha stands at the head of upapātakas in Manu, Yāj., the Agnipurāna (168 29-37). Several smrtis provide different penances for the sin of killing a cow. Gaut. 22. 18 prescribes²⁴⁴ the same penance for *govadha* as for killing a vaiśya (Gaut. 22. 15) viz. staying for three years in a forest, subsisting on alms, observing celibacy and donating one hundred cows together with a bull. In Āp. Dh. S. I. 9. 26. 1 for killing a milch cow or a full grown ox the penance is said to be the same as for killing a śūdra Vas. 21. 18 provides that if a man kills a cow he should cover himself with the raw hide of the cow (that is killed) and should observe *Krocra* or *Atikrocra* for six months. Manu²⁴⁵ XI. 108-116, Visnu Dh. S. 50. 16-24, Samvarta 130-135, Parāśara VIII. 31-41 (q. in Smrtimuktāphala p. 875, *prāyaścitta* section) prescribe elaborate observances as penances for *govadha* Yāj. (III. 263-264) provides four separate *prāyaścittas*, viz (1) the killer of a cow should control his senses for a month, should subsist on *pañcagavya* (cow's urine, cow-dung, milk, curds and ghee), should sleep in a cowpen, should follow the cows so penned (by day) and at the end of a month donate a cow; (2) or he should perform *Krocra* penance while sleeping in a cow-pen and following cows by day; (3) or should perform an *atikrocra* in the same way; (4) or should fast for three days and donate ten cows together with

243 बह्व्युपपत्तनीयानि कृत्वा त्रिभिरनश्नन्यारायणे. पूतो भवति। सामविधानम्।
I 5. 14.

244 मां च वैश्यवत्। गौ 22 18; धेनवन्हुहीश्चाकारणात्। आप. ध. सू. I 9. 26 1

245 अत्रिपुराण 169, 5-7 are the same as मनु XI. 108-110; संवर्त 130-134 are quoted (with slight variations) by विश्वरूप on वा. III. 262.

one bull. Śankha provides²¹⁶ that the killer of a cow should fast for 25 days and nights subsisting on pañcagavya, should tonsure his head together with the top-knot, should wear as an upper garment cow-hide and should follow cows, lie down in a cow-pen and donate a cow. Some of the smrtis and digests declare that the penance differed according as the cow that was killed belonged to a learned brāhmana or to a mere brāhmana by caste, to a ksatriya or vaiśya or śūdra. For example, Devala (q. by Pr. V. p 202) states that if a cow belonging to a brāhmana were killed, then the sinner should wear as upper garment that cow's hide for six months, should bring fodder for cows, should imitate cows, should subsist on barley gruel, should move among cows and then he becomes free from the sin. Śātātapa (q. by Pr V. p 203) states that one killing the cow of a vaiśya should subsist on pañcagavya for a month, should recite the Gomati-vidyā²¹⁷ and stay in a cowpen for a month. Viśvāmitra (Pr. V. p 203) says about the killer of a cow belonging to a śūdra that he should undergo four krochras if he kills intentionally and two if unintentionally. The Gomati-vidyā is quoted by Aparārka (p. 1102), the Madana-pārijāta (p. 862) and Pr T. p 522 (which takes it from the Prāyaścitta section of the Kalpataru that takes it from Yama) is a laudation of cows: 'cows always emit fragrance, they have the smell of guggulu (bdellium), they are the support of beings, they are a great blessing, cows are (yield in their milk) the best food and the best offerings for gods; they are purifiers of all beings and offerings ooze from them; they please the gods in heaven by the offerings (of milk and ghee) that are rendered pure by the mantras recited over them; in the agnihotra (keeping up the sacred fire) of sages cows help

216 गोचनः पञ्चगव्याहार पञ्चविंशतिरात्रहृदयवसेत् सशिशं वपनं कृत्वा गोचर्मणा माहुतो गाश्चाष्टगच्छन् गोष्ठेशयो गा च दद्यात् । इच्छन् १ by विश्वरूप on या III. 262, मित्ता. on या III 264, हरदत्त on गौ 22 18, अपरार्क p. 1094. The मित्ता and हरदत्त ascribe the passage to both इच्छन् and मचेतस् ।

217 गोमतीविद्यामाह मायश्चित्तकाण्डकल्पतरौ यम । गोमतीं कीर्तयिष्यामि सर्वपापप्रणाशिनीम् । तां तु मे गदतो विभ्राः शृणुष्वं सुसमाहिताः ॥ गावः सुरभयो नित्यं गावो शुभ्रं गन्धिका । गावः प्रतिष्ठा भूतानां गावः स्वस्वयनं महत् । अन्नमेव परं गावो देवानां हविश्चमम् । पावनं सर्वभूतानां क्षरन्ति च हवींषि च ॥ हविषा मन्त्रपूतेन तर्पयन्त्यमरान्दिति । ऋषीणामग्निहोत्रेषु गावो होमप्रयोजिका ॥ पावनं सर्वभूतानां गावः क्षरणशुचमम् । गावः पवित्रं परमं गावो महत्शुचमम् । गावः स्वर्गस्य सोपानं गावो धन्याः सनातना । नमो योग्यं श्रीमतीभ्यः सौरभेयीभ्य एव च । नमो ब्रह्मसुताभ्यश्च पवित्राभ्यो नमो नमः । ब्राह्मणाश्चैव गावश्च कुलमेकं द्विधा कृतम् । एकत्र मन्त्रादित्तदन्ति हविरन्यत्र तिष्ठति ॥ प्राय तत्र pp. 522-523, अपरार्क and प्रा प्रकाश folio 1166 with some variations such as 'सर्वभूतानां रक्षन्ति च बहन्ति च' । अपरार्क p. 1102 quotes the verses from गावः सुरभयो 10 पवित्राभ्यो नमो नमः ।

to bring about *homa*; cows are the holy and eminent protection for all beings; cows are extremely holy and most auspicious; cows are blessed; salutation to cows that abound in wealth and are called *saurabheyī* salutation to the cows that are holy and the daughters of Brahṃā. Brāhmanas and cows are (really) one family divided into two parts, in one (brāhmanas) reside the (vedic) *mantras* and in the other reside offerings (to Gods of ghee &c).” The Pr. prakarana 218 (p 33) says that Kātyāyana, Gautama, Samvarta, Parāśara and other sages prescribe differing penances for govadhā, which are to be explained away by reference to the killing being intentional or unintentional or to the fact of the cow being owned by a brāhmana engaged in a *soma* sacrifice or by a brāhmana who has studied the Veda with the six auxiliary śāstras, or by the fact that the cow was useful for the *homa* of a brāhmana possessed of good qualities or was a pregnant cow or of the *lapilā* (brown or tawny) variety. It adds the important statement that in its days such cows being not found in ordinary life it is not necessary to expressly assign to each of those texts its appropriate subject matter.

Yāj. III. 284, 219 Samvarta 137, Agnipurāna 169.14 provide that if a cow or bull dies while being treated with medicine or while an attempt is being made to help the cow in delivery, or being brauded (as a treatment) there is no sin. This applies as an exception in all cases of injury or death of brāhmanas, cows or other animals Parāśara (IX. 4 ff) and Angiras (q by Pr. T. pp 526-527) prescribe $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ of the *prāyaścitta* for killing out-right a cow, if the death is due to putting an obstacle in the cow's or bull's free movement or to tying it up or to yoking it with thongs. Before undergoing a penance for *govadhā*, the sinner had to make good the price of the animal to the owner, according to the Brahmapurāna and Parāśara. 250

248. यत्पुन काल्पायनेन .. पराशरादिभिरपि न्यूनाधिकयत्नश्चित्तुक्तानि तानि कामाकामकृत-सवनस्य-श्रोत्रिय-बद्धमेवाध्यायि-ब्राह्मणसम्बन्धिमुणवद्धोमेधेनु-गर्भिणी-कपिलादिवधविययाणि यथायोग्यं व्याख्येयानतीति । इदानीं तु तथाविधगभावेन व्यवहारानङ्ग-साधु भवेको विषयव्यवस्थया व्याख्यातानीति । माय प्रक p. 33,

249. क्रियमाणोपकारे तु सूते त्रिमे न पातकम् । विपत्ते गोवधायो तु भेदजात्रिक्रियासु च ॥ या. III. 284, यन्मणे गोचिकित्सायि यद्धवर्भतिमोचने । यदि तत्र विपत्तिः स्यात् स पापेन लिप्यते ॥ संवर्त 137 q. by the mita on ya. III. 284, माय प्रकरण p 33.

250. गोवधे तु स्वामिने गोमूल्यं दत्त्वा व्रतं करणीयम् । आदौ गोपतये दत्त्वा गोमूल्यं साधुकल्पितम् । इति ब्रह्मपुराणत् । न चैतद्ग्रहणे दोषः । ... तथा च पराशर । प्रमाणे माणधृतां मवधात् मतिरूपकम् । तस्याल्लक्ष्यं मूल्यं वा दद्यादित्यजरीन्मनुः । माय तत्र p. 513. The verse प्रमाणे is quoted as कारवायना (792) by the परा मा III. p 425 and ज़ि. र p 284.

The Sāmavidhāna Br (I 7.8) prescribes that on killing any animal (except a cow or bull) the guilty person should fast for one night and recite the sāmaveda verse 'Agnis-tigmena' (I 1 3 2) Āp. Dh S (I 9.25.14) provides for killing a crow, a chameleon, a peacock, a *chakravāka*, *hamsa*, *bhāsa*, a frog, ichneumon, musk-rat, a dog the same penance as for killing a sūdra. Gāut 22 19-22, 24-25, Manu XI. 133-137, Yāj III 269-274, Visnu Dh. S 50.25-32, Parāśara VI 1-15 prescribe several penances for killing an elephant, a horse, a tiger, a monkey, a cat, a serpent and numerous other animals, which are passed over here. Some smrtis such as Samvarta 10 and Paithinasi make a difference between *grāmya* and *āriya* (forest) animals, in each class seven being specified by Paithinasi.²⁵¹ The great concern of the sages for anything possessed of the principle of life or growth went so far as to prescribe the penance of reciting one hundred *rk* verses if a man cut off big trees (like mango or jack-fruit tree) or shrubs and creepers, except for purposes of sacrifices or agriculture²⁵² (Manu XI. 142, Yāj III 276, Vas 19. 11-12) These provisions tended against wanton destruction of trees, shrubs and forests that are so beneficent to humanity and lend a charm to the landscape.

It is remarkable that in case a man was bitten by a harlot or a monkey or an ass or by a dog or jackal or a camel or a crow he had to perform (in addition to the pain of the bite) *prāṇāyāma* while standing in water and to drink ghee for purification (Manu XI 199, Yāj. III 277, Vas 23. 31) Parāśara V 1-9 prescribe elaborate rules of purification for bites by wolves, dogs and jackals (such as a bath and *japa* of Gayatri &c).

PĀRADĀRYA (adultery with another's wife)—is a minor sin (acc to Yāj III 235, Manu XI. 59). This excludes intercourse with *guru's* wife and other intercourse declared to be like *gurutalpagamana* or with *cāndāla* women (Manu XI 170-172, 175, 178, Yāj III 231-233, Vas XX. 15-17 and XXIII 41) Āp. Dh S. I 10 28 19 is very severe on a male adulterer who transgresses his vow of loyalty to his wife; one who proves false to his wife shall put on the skin of an ass with the hair turned

251. ग्रामारण्यपञ्चविके पैठीनसि । ग्राम्यारण्याश्चतुर्विंश । गौरविरजोऽश्वोऽश्वतो गर्दनो मनुष्यश्चेति सप्त ग्राम्याः पञ्चवः । महिषवानरकक्षसरीसृपकुरुपृथतद्वयाश्चेति सप्तारण्याः पञ्चवः । प्राय वि P 233. Even the तै स VII. 2 2. 1 says 'सप्त ग्राम्याः पञ्चवः सप्तारण्याः'.

252. शुष्पकलोपगान्पावपाक हिंस्यात् । कर्पणकारणार्थं चोपहत्यात् । वसिष्ठ 19 11-12.

outside and beg at seven houses saying 'give alms to him who played false to his wife'. This should be his livelihood for six months". Conversely, Āp. (I. 10.28.20) provides that if a wife plays false to her husband she should perform for as many months (i. e. six months) the twelve night *krcchra* penance. In another place Āp. Dh. S. (II 10. 27. 11) states that if a brāhmana commits adultery once with a married woman of equal class he shall perform one-fourth of the penance prescribed for an outcast. Gaut (22 29-30, 34) provides penances for two years generally and three years if the woman be the wife of a learned brāhmana. The Mit. on Yāj. III, 265 quotes numerous texts dealing with the penance for adultery that does not amount to a mahāpātaka and tries to evolve order by assigning to each its proper province. This is passed over here. A woman guilty of adultery with a male of the same or higher caste than herself had to undergo the same penance as a male adulterer (Manu XI 176 and Brhaspati), but if she committed adultery with a male of lower caste, then the penances differed as stated above (vide Vas. 21. 1-5 and Saṁvarta 167-172). Brhadayama IV. 48 states that adultery in the inverse order of classes is a grave sin, but adultery in the *anuloma* order of classes entails different penances for purification from it.²⁵³

Vrātyatā (failure to have upanayana performed at the right time)—A person whose upanayana is not performed at the proper time is called *vrātya* or *patitasāvritrika*. Vide Āśv. gr. I. 19. 5-7, Āp Dh. S I. 1. 1. 22-26, Baud. gr. III. 13. 5-6, Vas. XI 71-75, Manu II 38-39, Yaj I. 37-38. The penances also such as the performance of *Vrātyastoma* and *Uddālakavrata* (Vas. XI. 76-79, Gaut. 19 8) are prescribed by some of these works, while Manu XI. 191 (=Visnu Dh. S. 54. 26-27 = Agni-purāna 170. 8-9) prescribes a milder penance of three *krcchnas* and then *Upanayana* is to be performed again. Vas. XI. 77 describes *Uddālakavrata* as follows: 'for two months he should subsist on barley gruel, for a month on milk, for half a month on amikṣā, for eight days on ghee, for six days on food obtained without begging or asking for it, for three days on water and he should observe a complete fast for one day.' Āp. Dh. S (I. 1.1. 24-27) prescribes another penance for *vrātyatā*. For *vrātya* or *patitasāvritrika*, vide H. of Dh. vol II. pp. 96, 376-379. Haradatta as

253. संवर्त 167-168 are q. by माय. वि प 358 and परा मा. II part 1 p. 330; संवर्त 169 is q. by विश्वरूप on या. III. 254 p 132, बृहद्यन IV.48 in यातिलोम्णे महत्पाप भवन्ति सर्वाणिः। मायश्चित्तं चात्रुलोम्पेन भवत्येव चान्यथा ॥

quoted in H. of Dh. vol. II, p 379 appears to hold that even if generations before the great-grand-father of a man had been without *upanayana*, still proper penance should be prescribed and the man taken in the fold of Hinduism. But there were others who stuck literally to the words of Āp. and Parāśara and hold that if all the generations from the father of the great-grand-father of a man were without *upanayana* then nothing could be done for that man ^{253a}

Vratalopa (non-observance of the vow of celibacy on the part of a brahmachārin). A Vedic student who has sexual intercourse with a woman is technically called *avakīrṇin*. The Tai. Ā. II. 18 contains the penance for *avakīrṇin* first promulgated by Sudeva Kāśyapa ²⁵¹. Āp Dh S. (I 9, 26, 8-9) provides ²⁵⁵ that such a student shall offer to Nirrti (goddess of Hell or death) an ass according to the manner of *Pākayajñas* and that a śūdra shall eat the remainder of the offering. Jaimini (VI 8 22) provides that the offering is to be made in the ordinary fire (*laukikāgni*) and not in the consecrated Vedic fire. ²⁵⁶ Vas. (23 1-3) prescribes 'if a Vedic student approaches a woman, then he should offer an ass to the goblins (*raksas*) in a forest where four roads meet, kindling an ordinary fire or he may offer an oblation of boiled rice to Nirrti and throw into the fire four oblations of that food saying 'To lust, *svāhū*; to him

253a. इदं व्याख्यात हरदत्तेन भाष्यकृता । यस्य अपितामहस्य पितृरस्य नामुस्मयंत उपनयनं तस्य प्रायश्चित्तं नोक्तमिति । तथा च सस्कारस्य विदुषोर्धर्मानपि व्याख्ये कथनपि संस्कारस्य उपनयनं न भवतीति कलितम् । प्राय. सूक्तावली folio 80 a

254. यो ब्रह्मचार्यवाकिरेदनावास्याया राज्यामग्निं प्रणीयोपसमाधाय त्रिराज्यरूपोपान्तं उहोति कामावकीर्णोऽस्त्ववकीर्णोऽस्मि कामकामाय स्वाहा कामाभिद्रुग्धोरस्त्वभिद्रुग्धोरस्मि काम कामाय स्वाहेत्यसृतं पा आउपमसृतनेवात्मन्धत्ते । तै आ II. 18.

255. गर्दभेनावकीर्णी नैर्ऋतिं पाकयज्ञेन यजेत । तस्य शुद्ध माश्रियात् । आप ध द् I 9 26 8-9, ब्रह्मचारी चैत्रिपक्षुपेयाद्वरण्ये चतुष्पथे लौकिकेग्नौ रक्षोदेवतं गर्दभं पशुमालभेत् । नैर्ऋतं वा चक्र चिर्वपेत् । तस्य उद्धृयात्कामाय स्वाहा कामकामाय स्वाहा । नैर्ऋत्ये स्वाहा रक्षोदेवताय स्वाहेति । वसिष्ठ 23.1-2 अवकीर्णोऽस्ति is explained by शीररजानी as अमरकोश as 'अव अन्तरे कीर्णं ततोऽस्यावकीर्णी' The वैश्वानसस्मृत्युद्ध VI 8 employs the word in a wider sense 'सप्तराज्ञौ हीने नित्य-कर्मणि अवकीर्णी भवति' For पाकयज्ञस which are ordinarily said to be seven, vide H. of Dh vol II p 194 The Āśv. gr I 1.2-3 speaks of three and quotes Rg VIII 19.5 in support The commentator explains 'पाकयज्ञाः अल्पयज्ञा प्रशस्तयज्ञा वा' and quotes Rg VII 104 8 in support for the latter meaning The स्वादिरवृद्ध I. 1 20 defines 'गणकयज्ञ इत्याख्या य कश्चैः शान्तो' इन्द्रगौ. VIII p. 557 speaks of five पाकयज्ञः.

256. अवकीर्णपशुञ्च तद्वदाधानस्यामामकालत्वात् । जै. VI 8.22, on which शबर says 'अस्त्ववकीर्णपशुः, ब्रह्मचार्यवकीर्णी नैर्ऋतं पशुमालभतेति । तस्माद्विदुषोर्धर्मानं लौकिकेभ्यति ।।'

who follows his lust, svāhā; to Nirrti svāhā; to the deities called *Raksas*, svāhā'. Gaut 23. 17-19, Manu XI. 118-123, Baud Dh. S II. 1. 35-43; Yāj. III. 280, Agnipurāna 169. 15-18, Pār gr. III. 12 contain similar provisions, Gautama adding that he shall beg for a year at seven houses with a red vessel (earthen) in his hand and proclaim his misdeed. The Baud. Dh S. and Pār gr furnish elaborate details. The former states that the Paśupurodāśa may be offered to Raksas or to Yama or he may offer on the Amāvāsyā at night two offerings of clarified butter in fire after performing the preparatory rites of a *darvahoma* and that he may then invoke fire with the verse (Tai. Ā. II 18) 'Sam mā ciñcantu maruṭah &c.' (may the Maruts grant me long life and strength).

If an ascetic reverted to the life of a householder, Samvarta (171-172) prescribes the penance of krochra for six months²⁵⁷. Such a man is called *pratyavasita*. The *pratyavasitas* are said to be of nine kinds²⁵⁸ by Yama (22-23), Bṛhad-Yama (3-4) and others viz. those who turn back from water, fire, halter (by means of which they wanted to kill themselves), those who revert back from the stage of *sannyāsa* or from a fast (unto death), or from poison, precipice or sitting *dharmā* and those who (desiring to commit suicide) strike themselves with a weapon (but are not killed), these nine are called *pratyavasita* and are beyond commerce with people, become pure by the penance of *Cāndī āyana* or two *Taptakrochras*. Vṛddha-Parāśara quoted by Par. M. and Prāyaścitta-muktāvali provides that *sannyāsins*, who revert to the life of the householder, are to be treated as *cāndālas* even after undergoing penance and their children born after they fall from the ascetic stage are to be made to dwell among *cāndālas*. This explains the harsh treatment alleged to have been meted to the great saint Jñāneśvara and his brothers at Paithan in the 13th century. A person who after becoming a *sannyāsin* reverts to another *āśrama* or acts contrary to the

257 सन्वत्यं दुर्मति कश्चिदपत्यार्थं स्त्रियं व्रजेत् । कुर्यात्कच्छं समानं तत्पन्मासा-
त्सदन्तरम् ॥ सर्वत 171-172, quoted in परा मा. II part 2 p 129 (reads प्रत्यापत्तिं
व्रजेद्यदि । स कुर्यात्कच्छं मन्थ्रान्त पन्मासात्सत्यन्तरम्) and प्राय सा p 123 (reads
प्रत्यापत्तिं विकीर्णति) 'सत्यपि प्रायश्चित्ते लुप्तधर्माः परिव्राजका गृहिता इत्याह वृद्धपराशर ।
लुप्तधर्मास्तु चान्द्राला. परिव्राजकतापसा । तेभ्यो जातान्यपत्यानि चान्द्रालैः सह वासयेत् ॥
इति । प्राय. मुक्तावली folio 73 b, परा मा II part 2 p 11

258 अलाभ्युद्धवन्धनभ्रष्टा प्रसवयानाशकश्च्युताः । विषप्रपतनमायशास्त्रघातहताश्च ये ॥
यैते प्रत्यवसिता. सर्वलोकवद्विष्कृताः । चान्द्रायणेन छुध्यन्ति तत्कच्छद्वयेन वा ॥ यम 22-23
q. b) प्राय सा p 126

rules of his āsrama is called *ārūḍhapatta* also (vide Par. M. II, part I p 373 quoting Hārīta).

Elaborate purifications are prescribed for removing the taint of touching certain men, unclean objects like bones (Manu V. 87), women in their monthly illness or within certain days after delivery and animals (like dogs, village pigs, cocks, crows). They have to be passed over here for reasons of space. But a few passages may be cited by way of sample. Gautama²⁵⁹ (14, 23) provides that on touching *patta*, cāṇḍāla, a woman freshly delivered, a woman in her monthly illness, a corpse, or on touching any one who has touched any one of these or any one who is the third in contact, the purification is brought about by a bath with the clothes on. Manu V. 84 and Yāj III 30 contain similar provisions. The Pr. V. (pp. 495-499) discusses the question whether *spaśa*²⁶⁰ (touch) means direct touch or includes even indirect touch and ultimately arrives at the conclusion that indirect touch also is included and cites Āpastamba-smṛiti in support that if a brāhmana and a cāṇḍāla or the like are both seated on the same branch (without actually touching each other) the brāhmana can become purified only by a bath. A verse quoted as Yājñavalkya's by Pr. Prakaraṇa²⁶¹ p. 110 (not found in the printed text) states: 'on touching a cāṇḍāla, pukkasa, mleccha, bhilla, a *pārasika* (one coming from Persia) and the like and persons guilty of grave sins one should bathe with the clothes on.' The Sat-triṃśan-mata²⁶² provides 'on touching

259 पतितच्छण्डालश्चित्तकोदकपाशवस्पृष्टितस्सृष्ट्युपस्पृष्टेन सचैलोदकरर्षान्प्रुरयेत् ।
शौ 14 23 The मित्ता on या III. 30 reads it as सचेलोदककोः and एतद्
observes that the latter is the better reading.

260 उपस्पृष्टो यद्यपि न स्पर्शाशब्दस्यार्थं तथाप्यत्र वचनादेकावपिहाता परम्परा-
स्पृष्टोऽपि ग्राह्यः । तथा चापस्तम्बः । एकहास्यं समारूढश्चाण्डालादियंवा भवेत् । ब्राह्मणस्य
भिवसत् स्नानेन शुचितामियात् ॥ आदिशब्दाद्बुद्ध्यादीना ग्रहणम् । शास्त्रग्रहणमेकावप्यु-
पलक्षणार्थं तेनैकपावागादेरपि ग्रहणम् । माय. वि. p 496. The verse in आपस्तम्बस्मृति
VII 14 (reads somewhat differently) It is quoted in मा प्रक p 111 also

261. तत्र यज्ञवल्क्यः । चाण्डालशुक्लसन्लेच्छभिष्टपासिकादिकान् । मरणातस्मिन्शी-
ष्टुणा स्नायास्तचेलकः ॥ मा प्रक p 110 This verse is quoted as पृष्टपाशवस्य
by अपरार्क p 923

262 पदत्रिंशन्मत् । शौद्धान्याशुपताश्चैव लोकायतिकनास्तिकान् । विस्मृत्यः
द्विजान् सृष्टु सचेलो जलमाविशेत् ॥ चैत्यवृक्षाभित्तिर्पश्चाण्डाल सोमविक्रमी । एतद्
ब्राह्मण सृष्टु सचेलो जलमाविशेत् ॥ मा प्रक p 110, and स्मृतिच I p. 115 (which
reads पाशुपतान् जैवान् लोकायतिककापिलान्) The first verse is quoted as from
the Brahmānda-purāna by the मित्ता. on या. III. 30 and by स्मृतिच I ; 115
(reads जैवान् पाशुपतान् सृष्टु and ज्ञान् for सृष्टु) and the 2nd is credited to
परशर by अपरार्क p 923.

Baudhas, Pāsupatas, Laukayatikas, atheists and those who follow forbidden actions, one should plunge in water together with the clothes on. On touching a *cantya* tree (such as a fig tree round which a platform is built), a funeral pile (or brick altar prepared in the śrauta rite called Agnicayana), a sacrificial post, a cāndāla, one who sells the soma plant, a brāhmana should enter water with the clothes on.' Samvarta²⁶³ requires a *dvija* to sip water on touching a shoemaker, a washerman, a *lena* (Manu X 19, 49, one who beats drum &c.), a fisherman, a dancer (*nata*) and Śātātapa²⁶⁴ provides that if any limb of a *dvija* (except the head) is touched by one who colours clothes, a shoemaker, a hunter, a fisherman, a washerman, a butcher, a *ṭhaka* (*Thug*), an actor, one who allows sexual intercourse in the mouth, a dog, a prostitute allowing men of all varnas to visit her, an oil-grinder, the keeper of a tavern, an executioner, a village pig or cock, he should wash the limb with water and perform *ācamana*. If the head is touched by any one of these, then he should bathe. In this connection it may be noted that Hemādri quotes (on p. 38) the Garuḍapurāna and (on p. 316) Parāśara for the 16 castes in a village that were treated as cāndālas in the matter of touch, speech or sight. Devala (q. by Hemādri on *prāyaścitta* p. 312) says that Cāndāla and Turuska (Turk) are equally low. The chapter on untouchables in the 2nd vol. of the H. of Dh pp. 165-179 may be consulted in this connection. On pp. 175-176 of the same work references are given to verses of Atri, Śātātapa, Brhaspati and others stating that no purification is required on the ground of untouchability in the case of religious festivals and marriage processions, in battle, in the case of fire or invasion and similar calamities. By no stretch of imagination can these verses be restricted to the untouchability arising from death or birth as some propose

263 चर्मरं रजकं वेणं धीवरं नदमेव च । एतान् स्पृष्ट्वा द्विजो मोहादाच्चात्मेत् प्रयतोऽपि सन् ॥ संवत् १. by प्राय वि pp 472-473.

264. रजकश्चर्मकृच्चैव व्याधजालोपजीविनौ । निर्णेजकः सौनिकश्च ठक शैल्लूपकस्तथा ॥ सुलेभगस्तथा श्वा च वनिता सर्ववर्णा । चक्री ध्वजी बधयथस्त्री शान्प्रशूकरकुक्कुटौ । एभिर्विदङ्गं ससृष्ट सिरोवर्जं द्विजातिषु । तोयेन क्षालनं कृत्वा आचान्त छुञ्चितमियात् ॥ ज्ञातानप १. by प्राय वि p 473 and स्मृतिच I p 119. The word ठक explained by प्राय वि as धूर्त may be noted as the original word for the modern word 'Thug' The स्मृतिच० reads सत् for ठक and explains as जातिविशेष रजकश्चर्मकारश्च सद्यो बुद्ध एव च । कैवलेन्दुभिष्ट्याश्च स्वर्णकारश्च सौमिक (सौविदः ?) ॥ काणको लोहकारश्च गिलाभेदी तु पापिन । तक्षकस्तिलयन्त्री च सुलश्चक्री तथा ध्वजी । एते दोषशया मोकाश्चाण्डाला ग्रामवासिनः । गदहडगत १ by हेमाद्रि (on प्रा p 38 and also पराशर on p 316)

to do. The words are too sweeping for this explanation and there being no untouchability on birth for any one except the mother and persons in mourning not being likely to join religious festivals and marriage processions those verses cannot be so construed.

The smrtis were very keen on keeping a high ideal before brāhmanas as regards receiving gifts. The Sāma Br. (I. 7. 1-2) prescribes that if a brāhmana receives a gift from a ksatriya when not in distress (or difficulty) he should eat only one meal by day for a month and recite the Sāma verse 'mahat tat some mahānsōakāra' (Sāmaveda I 6. 1. 5. 10, No 542) for one month, while standing in water and if he accepts a gift from any one else from whom he should not accept it, he should undergo *krcchra* penance and recite the sāma verse 'trikadrukesu' (Sāmaveda I. 5. 2. 31, No 457) Yāj. I. 140 provides that a brāhmana should not accept a gift from a king who is parsimonious (or greedy) and acts against the dictates of śāstra and Manu XI. 194 (= Visnu Dh. § 54.24) provides that a brāhmana becomes free from the sin of the acceptance of a thing which should not be accepted or of the acceptance of a gift from a condemned donor by reciting the Gāyatri three thousand times (in a month) or subsisting on milk alone or staying in a cowpen for a month. It may be noted that Manu X. 102-103 and Yāj. III. 41 allow a brāhmana when in distress to accept a gift from anybody or to take food from anyone whatever or to maintain himself by teaching any one whatever and state that he is not tainted by sin in so doing, since he is like fire and water (like that of the Ganges) and since it is unreasonable (or impossible) to assert that what is pure can be sullied. Manu X. 109, however, regards acceptance of a gift from an unworthy (or low) person as worse than teaching an improper person or officiating for him. A brāhmana was not to sell things declared to be unfit to be sold by him such ^{264 a} as sesame, oil of sesame, curds, bees' wax (ksaudra), salt, grapes, wine, cooked food, female or

264 a अथाविक्रयविक्रयप्रायश्चित्तानि । शङ्खलिखितौ । न विक्रीयादविक्रीयाणि । तिलतेलदधिक्षौद्रलवणद्राक्षामद्यमासकृताक्षणीषुरुषटस्वयम्बुधुपगन्धरससौमकृष्णाजिनसोमोदकनीलीविक्रयात् सद्यः पतति ब्राह्मणस्तत्र प्रायश्चित्तमकामावाप्तौ कामकृतेष्वेके पतितौ ह्यात्मानश्चद्वरेत् । सवत्सर तप्तकृच्छ्रमाचरेत् । कृतवापनं शुचिर्पोशुपेयात् त्रिरेकाद्रवासा काष्ठमौनी धीरासनमासीत रात्रौ दिवा निष्टेद्यकोत्रिः कार्यपर (त्रिकार्यपर ?) सावित्रीं सवनाङ्गां जपेत्सयं व्रतमशुपगम्य कुरुचीरासा मौसी मेखली दण्डी पवित्रपाणिर्विन्ध्य वा अपर्यञ्चक भैक्षमदुष्ट वा यात्रिकमवनीयात् द्वादशरात्र चोपवासे ब्राह्मणतर्पणं यवाङ्गिकमित्येव व्यवहार्यो यथा पतितः शितैरसभाभ्यः शुद्धयति । मा. प्रकाश folio 127b.

male slaves, elephants, horses, bulls, fragrant substances, liquids, silken cloth (kṣauma), black antelope hide, soma plant, water, indigo; by selling these he at once incurs sin. As penance he should practise *Tapta-kṛcchra* for a year after tonsuring his head, he should enter water thrice, wear only one wet piece of cloth, should observe silence, should practise the *Virāsana*, should sit up at night and stand by day, should recite the *Gāyatrī*.

One important matter dealt with by a few of the smrtis and some of the digests is the re-admission into the Hindu fold of those who were converted by force by the invading *mlecchas*. About the meaning of the word *mleccha*, there is some divergence of views. From the *Sat. Br.* (III 21 23-24) it appears that the *mlecchas* spoke a degraded and corrupt speech (such as saying 'helavaḥ' for 'heṣṛayaḥ'). *Parāśara* (IX. 36) refers to the *mlecchas* as the eaters of cow's flesh. The *Pr. T.* (p 549) quotes a smṛti²⁶⁵ text to the effect that a *mleccha* is an eater of cow's flesh and talks much that is contradictory, and cites a passage from the *Harivaṃśa* for the manner of the dress and of the trimming of hair in the case of *Śakas*, *Yavanas*, *Kāmbojas*, *Pāradas*, *Pahlavas* &c. Vide for *mleccha* and for the return to the Hindu fold of those that were forcibly carried away as slaves by *mlecchas* and robbers or made to kill cows or to eat the flesh of asses, camels, village pigs, H. of Dh. vol. II p 92, 383-385, 389-392 (where verses of *Devala* ascribed by some like the *Mit.* to *Āpastamba-smṛti* are set out), 973-974. A few matters not dealt with there may be added here. The *Viṣṇudharmottara*²⁶⁶ *purāna* (II 73. 203-206) provides that when persons are kidnapped by *mlecchas* or raiders or persons passing through forests are so treated and return to their own country, the penances for purifying them from the sin of eating forbidden food are to be prescribed after considering their class (*varna*), viz that a

265. गोमोक्षसादको यश्च विकृष्टं बहु भाषते । सर्वाचारविहीनश्च स्लेच्छ इत्यभिधीयते ॥ बोधायन व. by प्रा तत्त्व p 549, रायसुकुट as q by माय हुक्कावली (folio 104 b) reads गो ... भक्षको यस्तु अपशब्दं च भाषते । सदाचारविहीनश्च ; सगर. स्त्वं प्रतिज्ञा च युरोर्वर्षं निशम्य च । धर्मं जघान तेषां वै देवान्यर्त्वं चकार ह ॥ अर्थं शकानां शिरसो मुखं कृत्वा व्यसर्जयत् । यवनानां शिरः सर्वे काम्बोजानां तथैव च ॥ पारदा हुक्केशाश्च पल्लवाः श्मश्रुधारिणः । निःस्वाध्यायवपुष्काराः कृतास्तेन महात्मना ॥ शका यवनकाम्बोजा. पारदाश्च विज्ञायते । कोलिसर्पा समाहिषा दायांश्चोला सकेरलाः ॥ सर्वे ते क्षत्रियास्तात धर्मस्तेषां निराकृत । इ र्वंश, हरिवंशपर्व 14 15-19 q by प्राय तत्त्व p 549.

266. स्लेच्छेद्द्वानां चौरैर्वा कान्तारे वा प्रवासिनाम् । भक्ष्याभक्ष्यविशुद्धचर्यं तेषां यस्यानि निष्कृतिम् ॥ पुन प्राप्य स्वदेशं च वर्णानामनुपूर्वशः । कृच्छ्रस्यार्थं ब्राह्मणस्तु पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥ पादोनान्ते क्षत्रियस्तु अर्धार्थे वैश्य एव च । पादं कृत्वा तथा शूद्रो दानं दत्त्वा विशुध्यति ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 73. 203-206.

brāhmana should undergo half kṛcchra penance and should have the Upanayana performed again, a ksatriya should undergo three-fourths of Kṛcchra (and also upanayana), a vaiśya one-fourth Kṛcchra and a sūdra becomes pure by undergoing only $\frac{1}{2}$ of a kṛcchra and by making a gift. In view of the fact that Manu VIII 169, Visnu Dh. S. VII 6-7, Yāj II 89 declare that what is given by force, what is enjoyed by force and what is caused to be written by force and all transactions whatever that are brought about by force are void, and the burning desire of many people forcibly converted in times of disturbances to return to the Hindu fold and to the religion of their forefathers, the movement now called *suddhi* should be encouraged by all interested in the well-being and stability of Hindu society. It is better to call this return by the name of 'parāvartana'. A model but brief rite for the *parāvartana* of those who were forcibly converted or for those who voluntarily left the Hindu fold but want to return to it is given in the Appendix. The same *prayoga* with suitable changes may be employed for taking into the Hindu fold any one who was not born a Hindu. In ancient times such people appear to have been taken into the Hindu fold by the performance of *Vṛtyastoma*. For this latter, vide H. of Dh. vol II pp. 385-387 and for the spread of Hinduism in Java, Bali, Sumatra, Siam and other countries of South-East Asia, vide H. of Dh vol. III, pp 934-935. Recently, through the kindness of Dr. J. M. Unvala, I had an opportunity of reading several inscriptions of the 18th and 19th centuries at the fire temple called Jvālāji at Suruhani near Baku, the capital of Russian Azerbaijan, situated on the northern shore of the Caspian sea, which were inscribed by Hindu pilgrims or visitors, that begin with obeisance to Ganeśa and in one of which occurs the verse quoted below.²⁶⁷

Manu XI 124 (= Visnu Dh S. 387) prescribes the penance of Sāntapana for committing with full knowledge any of the deeds described above as *jātubhramśakara* and the penance of Prājāpatya for doing it unintentionally. For doing any of the deeds called *sanharikarana* or *apātīkharana* described above, Manu XI 125 prescribes the penance of cāndrāyana for a month and for doing any of the deeds called *malāvaha* prescribes that the perpetrator should scald himself with barley gruel for three

267. श्लोक । देवयज्ञे व्रते तीर्थे सत्यान्नब्रह्मभोजने । पित्र्यश्राद्धे जटीहस्ते धन
 व्रजति धर्मताम् ॥

days Those two verses of Manu occur in Agnipurāna (170, 23-25). Visnu Dh. S. (39,2, 40,2, 41 5) prescribes somewhat different penances for sankarīkarana, apātrīkarana or malīnīkaraniya deeds Vide also the Mit on Yāj III. 290 for the penances prescribed for these deeds by Yama and Brhaspati. About miscellaneous *pātakas* the rule laid down by Manu XI. 209, Visnu Dh S 42 2, Yāj. III 294 and others is that the penance should be prescribed by the brāhmanas after taking into account the nature of the deed, the ability of the perpetrator and other circumstances of time and place &c.

Some of the digests prescribe certain times for the performance of penance. The first rule is laid down by Hārīta that having done something sinful or improper through trustfulness, affection, greed, fear or heedlessness one should resort to purification at once Dakṣa²⁶⁸ II 73 also states that all *naṣṭhka* and *kāmya* matters must be performed as they fall due and no delay should be caused. If more than a year is allowed to pass after the sin is incurred the penance would have to be double of what it otherwise would have been, according to Devala and Manu.²⁶⁹ The Pr. T. (pp 474, 512) quotes a verse from the Vyavahāra-cintāmani²⁶⁹ and an astrological work to the effect that a penance or ordeal should not be administered on the 8th or 14th *tithi* of a month, nor should an ordeal or marriage take place on a Saturday or Tuesday. The Prāyaścittendusekhara (p 15) says that according to respectable people (*śiṣyas*) the *sankalpa* (declaration of undergoing a penance) should be made on the 14th *tithi* and the actual rite should be performed on the *amāvāsya*. If the guilty person is in mourning he may perform penance after the period of mourning is over.

The procedure for undergoing penances for sins and lapses prescribed by the assembly of learned men has varied in details from time to time. The Gaut. Dh S. 26 6-17 prescribes

268 नैमित्तिकानि काम्यानि निपतन्ति यथा यथा । तथा तथा हि कार्याणि न कालं तु विदम्बयेत् ॥ दक्ष II 73 q by मा तत्त्व p 512.

268 a. यथा स्मृतिसागरे देवल । कालातिरेके द्वियुर्ण प्रायश्चित्तं समाचरेत् । द्वियुर्ण राजदण्डं च दत्त्वा ह्युद्धिमवामुयात् ॥ कालातिरेके संवत्सरातिरेके । संवत्सराभिशास्त्रस्य दुष्टस्य द्वियुगो दमः । इति मनुवचने० । मा. तत्त्व p 474 This is मनु VIII 374.

269. 'तस्माद्द्विभ्राम्नात् स्नेहात् लोभाद्भयात्प्रमादाद्वा अशुभं कृत्वा सद्यः शौचमारभेत्-इति हारितेन सद्यःकरण्यकम् । अत्रापि व्यवहारचिन्तामणौ विशेषः । नाष्टम्या न चतुर्दश्या प्रायश्चित्तपरिक्षणे । न परीक्षा विवाहश्च शनिभौमदिने तथा ॥ मा. तत्त्व p 474. The words 'तस्मात्... चरेत्' (for आरभेत्) are quoted from हारित by मन्. पा. 703-704.

the method of performing Krcchra penance It is briefly as follows: The sinner desiring to be free of sin quickly should stand by day and sit up by night (i e. should take sleep in a sitting position and not lie down), he should speak the truth and should not hold conversation with *amāryas* (sūdras &c.), should bathe thrice in the day, should perform *mārjana* (splashing or sprinkling water on the head and other limbs by means of *kuśas* dipped in water after repeating sacred mantras) with the three verses 'āpo hi sthā' (Rg. X.9.1-3), with the verses called Pavitravati and with the eight verses beginning with 'hiraṇyavarṇāḥ sucayaḥ pāvakaḥ' (Tai. S V. 6.1.1-8) Then he should perform the *tarpana* ²⁷⁰ (satiating with water) with thirteen mantras beginning with *namaḥ* and ending with *namaḥ* (each respectively containing 6, 4, 4, 13, 2, 2, 2, 6, 5, 2, 2, 6, 2 names of deities) This constitutes for him the worship of Āditya (the Sun) and he offers oblations of clarified butter with these thirteen *mantras* and, after he passes twelve days in this way, on the 13th he offers nine oblations of boiled rice to Agni, Soma, Agni and Soma, Indra and Agni, Indra, the *Viśve Devas*, Brahman, Prajāpati, Agni Svistakṛt Then he serves dinner to brāhmanas The Āp. Dh. S II, 6.15.9 states ²⁷¹ the general rule that in all religious observances one should give dinner to brāhmanas that are pure (in conduct) and that have studied the Veda. The Baudh Dh S. (II. I. 95-99) prescribes that in a krcchra penance one has to bathe thrice in the day, to lie down on the ground (not on a cot &c), to wear only one piece of cloth, to shave one's hair on the head, the moustache and the body and to pare one's nails, and that the same mode is prescribed also for women (sinners) except the tonsure of the head Manu (XI, 222-225) prescribes that in all penances there is *homa* with the *mahāvyaḥrtis* every day, the sinner has to practise *ahiṃsā* (non-injury to all sentient beings), truthfulness, absence of anger and straight-forwardness, has to bathe thrice by day and thrice by night together with the clothes on, he should not talk with women, sūdras and *patitas*, he should stand by day and sit down at night or if unable to do so he should sleep on the ground (raised platform called *sthandila*), should observe celibacy and the rules of a student, such as wearing girdle of *muñja* grass and carrying a staff (of *palāśa* &c), should honour gods, brāhmanas and his elders, should always recite the Gāyatri and sacred texts.

270 For the usual tarpanas, vide H. of Dh vol II, pp 689-695

271. शुचीन्मन्त्रवत् सर्वकृत्येषु भोजयेत्। आप ध सू II 6.15.9.

Vas. 24.5 (a long prose passage) contains similar provisions. Yāj III 312-13 are very important. They prescribe the practice of certain virtues and rules of conduct called *yamas* (such as *brahmacarya*, kindness, forbearance, truthfulness, *dhīnsū* &c.) and *niyamas* (such as bath, silence, fasting, purity of body &c.) as necessary adjuncts in all penances. The Laugākṣigīhya (V. 3-11) prescribes the procedure for all penances Yāj. III. 325 holds that one should, while performing the penance of *crochra* or *cāndrāyana*, bathe thrice daily, recite holy mantras (as stated in Vas 28.11-15) and should eat balls of rice over which the *Gāyatrī* has been recited. Śāṅkha²⁷² (18.12-14) also summarises the different items that have to be gone through in undergoing a penance. The *Madanaparījata* (pp 781-784), Pr. V. (pp 503-506), Pr. Sāra (pp 21,22 and 200-203), Pr. T. pp. 497-510, 523-524, Pr. Mayūkha pp. 18-21, Pr. Prakāśa (folios 38b to 43b), *Prāyaścittendusekhara* (pp. 15 and 88) and other works provide elaborate rules about the procedure of undergoing *prāyaścitta*s. It is not possible nor necessary to set out these in detail here. Briefly put, on the day previous to the actual day of commencing penance the sinner should pare his nails, shave his head, bathe with clay, cow-dung, holy water &c, drink clarified butter, make a declaration of performing the penance indicated by the assembly of learned men. On the next day he should bathe, perform *śrāddha*, drink *pañcagavya*, should perform *homa*, give *dakṣiṇā* (gold, cows &c.) to the *brāhmanas* and feed them. Parāśara (XI 3) says that at the end of the rite of penance *pañcagavya* should be taken and one, two, three or four cows should be donated respectively by a *brāhmana*, a *ksatriya*, a *vaiśya* and a *sūdra*. Yama (verse 63) says that *brāhmanas* should be fed on the performance of a penance and a *dakṣiṇā* of one golden *māsa* should be given to each *brāhmana*. Jābali says that at the beginning and close of all penances the sinner should offer in the *smārta* fire oblations of clarified butter to the accompaniment of the *Vyāhrtis*, perform *śrāddha* and offer *dakṣiṇā* consisting of a cow or gold. Vide Aparārka (p. 1230) and Par. M II part 2 p. 195 for Jābali's verses. The Pr Prakāśa (folio 30a) adds that according to the *Mahārṇava* the number of *vyāhrti-homas* should be 28 or 108.

272. सुष्टुत्रिपवणस्नायी अथ ज्ञायी जितेन्द्रियः। स्त्रीशुद्धपतितानां च वर्जयेत्परि-
भाषणम्॥ पवित्राणि जपेच्छकस्या जुहुयाच्चैव शक्तिम्। अयं विधिः स विज्ञेय सर्वकृच्छ्रेषु
सर्वदा। शङ्ख 15 12-14, which are almost the same as the last two verses of
विशुद्धनसूत्र 46.

A few words may be said about the tonsure of the head (*vapana* or *mundana*). The Tai Br (I 5 6.1-2) states²⁷³ 'The Asuras first shaved the hair on the head, then the moustache and then the armpits, therefore they went down (or with face downwards) and were defeated, while the gods first shaved the armpits, then the moustache and then the hair on the head'. The Pr Prakāśa quotes this passage in a mutilated form and then states that *vapana* is of three kinds, *daiva* (of the gods), *āsura* (of the *asuras*) and *mānusa* (of men), that the *āsura* method is condemned, that in consecrating the Vedic fires, in the *istis* and *soma* sacrifices the *daiva* method is ordained, while in *prāyaścittas*, there being no special *vidhi*, there is an option. Tonsure of the head is enjoined on several occasions e.g. the *Viṣṇupurāna* provides²⁷⁴ 'Tonsure should be carried out at *Prayāga* when on a pilgrimage, and on the death of one's father or mother, one should not in vain (lightly) tonsure the head'. To these occasions may be added penances. The idea seems to have been entertained that whatever sin a man commits it becomes centered in the hair, as a verse quoted by the *Madanapārijāta* and Pr M. states²⁷⁵ *Gaut.* (273), *Vas.*²⁷⁶ (245), *Baud. Dh. S.* (II.1.98-99) and others provide for the tonsure of the hair on the head and lips (except those on the eye-brows, the hair on the trunk and the top knot). Exceptions were introduced to the rule about tonsure *Dakṣa*²⁷⁷ forbade tonsure, the offering of *puṇḍas* and the carrying of a corpse and 'all funeral rites to

273. तैःसुरा ऊर्ध्वं वृष्टेभ्यो नापश्यन् । ते केसान्मग्नेऽवपन्त अथ इमश्चुणि अधोपपक्षौ । ततस्तेऽवाञ्च आपश्च पराभवन् । यस्मैवं वपन्ति अवाङ्गति । अथ देवा ऊर्ध्वं वृष्टेभ्योऽवपन् । ते उपपक्षौ अग्नेऽवपन्त अथ इमश्चुण्यथ केशात् । सुवर्गं लोकमापन् । तै वा I. 5 6. 1-2 (about the *vapana* of a *Cāturmāsya-jājin*). वपन त्रिविधं दैवमाहुर मानुष चेति । आहुर निन्दितं मानुषदैवयोर्विकल्प । आधानेदिसोमेषु दैवस्य विहितत्वात् । प्रायश्चित्तेषु ह विशेष-विषयभावाद् विकल्प एव । प्रा प्रकाश folio 31 b.

274. प्रयागे तीर्थयात्राया पितृमामृतवियोगतः । कश्चाना वपनं कार्यं न हृद्या विकची भवेत् ॥ विष्णुपुराण पृ by माय तत्त्व p 489

275. यानि कानि च पापानि ब्रह्महत्यासमानि च । केसानामश्रेय विदग्धि तस्माकेशा-स्वपाश्चहम् ॥ इति मन्त्रहृत्वा कक्षोपस्थाक्षिखावर्जं क्रमेण इमश्चुपपक्षकेशात्तदकृतस्यान् प्रापयेत् । यतिविधवादीना सक्षिख वपनम् । ब्रह्महत्यादिद्वयपि सक्षिख सर्वाङ्गलोम्ना च । प्राय-स p. 19.

276. कुच्छ्राणा घतरूपाणि इमश्चुकेशात् । अपयेद्भ्रुवोक्षिलोमाक्षिखावर्जं । वसिष्ठ 24 4-5, कुच्छ्रे त्रिषवणस्यदकोपसर्धानम् । अधः शयनम् । एकवस्त्रता । केशमश्चुलोमनखवपनम् । एतदेव क्षिया. केशावपनवर्जम् । यौ ध सू II. 1. 95-99 The मित्ता on या III 325 reads वसिष्ठ as इमश्चुकेशादि वापयेत् कुक्षिरोमक्षिखावर्जम् ।, should it not be अक्षिरोम ?

277. सुण्डन पिण्डदानं च मृतकर्म च सर्वज्ञ । न जीवन्पितृकः क्षुर्याद् शुर्विणीपतिरेव चेति दक्षीयानिवेधस्य रागमाप्तविषयत्वाद् विधिस्तुष्टे निवेधानवकाशात् । प्रा प्रकाश folio 32a.

one whose father was alive and to a man whose wife was pregnant. But this prohibition did not apply to penances. The Baud. Dh S already referred to prohibits the tonsure of women in penances Angiras 163, Apastamba-smṛti I. 33-34, Bṛhad-Yama IV.16, Vṛddha-Harita IX 386, Parāśara IX. 54-55, Yama 54-55 provide ²⁷⁸ that in the case of married women whose husbands are alive and in the case of maidens all their hair should be held together and only two finger-breadths of hair should be cut off. In the case of widows and ascetics the entire head was to be shaved. It was further provided by Parāśara (IX 52-54), Śankha (q. by Par. M. II. part I, pp. 290-291) that in the case of a king or prince or a learned brāhmana tonsure of the head should not be insisted upon, but that they should have to undergo double the usual penance and the *daśanū* would have to be double. ²⁷⁹ The Mit. on Yāj. III. 325 quotes a verse of Manu ²⁸⁰ (not found in the printed text) 'tonsure of the head is not desired in the case of learned brāhmanas and kings except in the case of those guilty of mahāpātakas, of cow-killing or of being an *avalīrin*'. The Mit. (on Yāj. III 264) further quotes *Samvarta* ²⁸¹ to the effect that when the penance prescribed is only a quarter then only the hair on the body below the throat is to be shaved, when half is prescribed then in addition the hair on the lips is to be cut, when three-fourths then all the hair on the body except the knot is to be cut and in the case of the full penance all hair including the *śikhā* (the top-knot) also are to be cut off. The Par. M (II part I. p 300) while describing cāndrāyana penance requires the cutting of the hair on all parts

278. सर्वान्नेशाच्च सहस्रधृत्य छेदयेदङ्गुलिद्वयम् । एवं नारीकुमारीणां शिरसोऽसुष्ठुनं रमुत्तम् । न स्त्रिया केशवपनं न दूरे शयनासनम् ॥ पराशर IX. 54-55.

279 केशाना रक्षणार्थाय द्वियुगं व्रतमाचरेत् । द्वियुगे व्रत आदिदे द्वियुगा दक्षिणा भवेत् । राजा वा राजयुजो वा ब्राह्मणो वा बहुश्रुतः । अङ्गुला वपन तस्य प्रायश्चित्तं विनिर्दिशेत् । पराशर IX 52-54, नारदपुराण, पूर्वोर्ध्व 14 52-54, for the half केशानाम्, vide शुद्धहारीत IX 387. The मित्ता on या III 325, प्रायश्चित्तं p. 503, प्रायश्चित्तं p. 22, नन्द पा. p 762 quote these verses as हारीत's in a different order and प्रायश्चित्तं p 519 ascribes almost similar verses to लघुहारीत

280. विद्वद्विभ्रष्टपत्नीणां नेष्टते केशवापनम् । व्रते महापातकिनो गोहन्तृश्चावकीर्णिनः ॥ मयि q by मित्ता on या. III 325, प्रायश्चित्तं pp 22-23 (as महादि). The प्रायश्चित्तं p 516 expressly refers to this text as cited by the मित्ता

281 पादोऽङ्गुलमवपनं द्विपादे इमंशुणोऽपि च । त्रिपादे तु शिखावर्जं सशिखं तु त्रिपातने ॥ सर्वत्र q. by मित्ता. on या III 264, प्रायश्चित्तं p 14, भा प्रकाश folio 31a, which remarks 'शिखावर्जमिति शिखावतामेव तेन यतिविधवादीनां सर्ववपनमेव । यतिः शुद्धश्रित्तिवा सशिख वपनं चरिदिति वचनाच्च ।'

of the body (including private parts).²⁸² The tonsure is to be performed by a barber and yet the *śaikhalya* is 'vapanam karisyē' and not 'vapanam kārayisyē' From Gaut 27.3 (vapanam vratam caret) prescribing tonsure in cāndrāyana Haradatta and others infer that *vapana* is unnecessary in krcchra penance

Baths that are subsidiary to *prāyaścitta* are performed with ashes, cowdung, clay, water, pañcagavya and water in which *kuśa* grass has been dipped *Mantras* that are to be recited at the time of bath are laid down in the *Linga-purāna*, the *Bhaviṣyapurāna* and elsewhere.

There are certain virtues to be cultivated as being common to all *prāyaścittas* whether secretly or openly undergone. They are called *yamas* and *niyamas* and have been set out above (p 121) from Yāj III 312-313. Atri (verses 48-49) sets them out somewhat differently. Manu IV. 204 (= Atri verse 47) refers to *yamas* and *niyamas* which Medhātithi explains as follows. viz *yamas* are in the nature of prohibitions (e. g. a brāhmana should not be killed), while *niyamas* consist of what is to be done (such as one should always recite the Veda, as in Manu IV. 147).

While undergoing *prāyaścittas* certain rules about food and other matters were to be observed. For example, *Hārta*²⁸³ prescribes that the person undergoing penance should omit on all days *māsa* and *masū*; a pulse, honey, taking food at the house of or belonging to others and sexual intercourse, should not speak at an improper time, should perform *ūcamana* if he speaks with women or *sūdras* or those who are *ucchuṣṭa*. Yama ordains that one who is undergoing a penance should omit massaging the body or head with oil, the chewing of *tāmbūla*, applying unguents and every thing else that causes one to feel strength or sexual passion.

According to the Pr 76: *Prakāśa* when undertaking a penance one should begin with the mantra 'Agne vratapate

282. पूर्णमास्याद्युपेतस्तु ब्राह्मणः सुसमाहितः। केशश्मश्रुणि लोमानि कक्षोपरश्च वापयेत् ॥ १ ॥ by परा. मा II. part 1 p 300

283. माषमसूरमधुपराकनैथुनानि प्रत्यहं वर्जयेत्। व्रतोपेतो नाकाले वाच विद्यजेत्। स्त्रीशूद्रोच्छिष्टाभिभाषण आचामेत्। हारीत १. by अपरार्क p 1230, गात्रान्यङ्ग शिरोगङ्ग ताम्बूलमङ्गलेपनम्। व्रतस्थो वर्जयेत्सर्वं यज्ञान्यङ्गचलरागकृत् ॥ यम १ ॥ by परा. मा II part 2 p. 196

284. व्रतनिषेदनविमोचनमन्त्रौ तैत्तिरीयशाखाया अग्ने व्रतपते व्रतं चरिष्यामि तच्छ-
केय तन्मे राक्ष्यताम्, अग्ने व्रतपते व्रतमचारिष तव्शकं तन्मे राचि इति तु व्रतसमाप्तौ ॥ मा प्रकाश
folio 37 b, अग्ने...राक्ष्यताम् 18 तै सं I 5 10.3 = वाज सं I.5 and अग्ने व्रतपते व्रतसचारिष
18 तै सं I 6 6.3 = वाज. सं II 28.

vrataṃ carisyāmi' (O! Fire, lord of vratas! I shall perform a *vata*) and when finishing a penance one should repeat the mantra 'agne vratapate vrataṃ-acārisam tad-aśakam tan-me rādhi' (O! Fire, lord of vratas; I have performed the vrata, I had the strength to do it, may it be propitious for me &c.').

Prāyaścittas are of two kinds, *prakāśa* (undergone openly) and *rahasya* (undergone secretly). A few words must be said about the latter. Gaut. (24 1-11), Vas. (25 1-3), Manu XI. 248-265, Yaj. III. 301-305, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 55 and other smṛtis lay down rules about secret *prāyaścittas*. Where a man's ²⁸⁵ sin is not known to anyone except himself he may perform secret expiation. In the case of adultery and in the case of association with one guilty of a grave sin, one may still perform a secret penance, even though the adultery is known to the adulteress and even though the man guilty of a *mahāpātaka* is aware of the association. Vas. ²⁸⁶ 25 2 states the general rule that secret penances are meant for those who have consecrated the Vedic fires, who are disciplined, old or learned and that the openly undergone penances are meant for others. If such a man is himself aware of the proper penance, he should perform it without going to an assembly (*parṣad*), but if he is not so aware he may consult some knowing person privately, asking him in a general way what the penance for a particular sin may be. Vas. 25.3 provides that those who are *always* intent on *prānāyāmas*, holy texts, gifts, *homas* and *japa* are released from sin. Manu XI.226 states that those whose sins have not become public may be purified by *homas* and *mantras*. Even women and *sūdras* can perform penance *in secret*, since, though they cannot perform *homas* and repeat Vedic *mantras*, they can, as the Mit on Yaj. III.300 says, perform expiation by means of gifts and *prānāyāmas*. Gaut 26 2 and Manu XI. 253 prescribe that one who desires to receive a gift which he should not accept or who receives such a gift should recite in water (navel-deep according to some) the hymn of four verses beginning with 'tarat

285. हारितोऽप्यह। अथ ब्राह्मणस्य श्रुतधर्मशास्त्रस्य रहस्यमनुकामिन्यामः। रहस्ये रहस्यं प्रकाशे प्रकाशमिति। प्राय. सा. p. 161, परा. मा. II part 2 p. 153, vide प्रा. सार. p. 161 and प्राय. वि. p. 500 for रहस्ये...प्रकाशमिति as from यम.

286. आहितोऽग्निर्निवस्य बुद्धस्य विदुषोऽपि वा। रहस्योक्तं प्रायश्चित्तं पूर्वोक्तमित्ते जनाः॥ प्राणायामैः पवित्रैश्च दानैर्होमैर्नैवेत्तथा। नित्यशुकाः प्रलुप्यन्ते पातकेभ्यो न संशयः॥ बसिष्ठ 25. 2-3; the first verse is q. by अपरार्क p. 1212 as from चतुर्विंशतिमत (reads इतरस्य तु).

sa mandī' (Rg X.581-4). For one who is guilty of brāhmana murder Gaut. (246) prescribes that for the first ten days he should subsist on milk alone, on clarified butter for a further ten days, on water for another period of ten days, that he should partake of the articles specified only once in the morning, should wear wet clothes and should offer every day eight symbolic *homās* with clarified butter, of his hair on the body, nails, skin, flesh, blood, muscles, bones and marrow with the words 'I offer in the mouth of Death' added at the end.²⁸⁷ Yāj III.301 prescribes that the murderer of a brāhmana should fast for ten days, should recite the Aghamarsana hymn (Rg X.190) while submerged in water, donate a cow yielding milk, while Visnu prescribes that he should bathe for a month in a flowing stream or river, should perform every day 16 prānāyāmas, should eat only once a day sacrificial food and may then become purified. Visnu provides that the drinker of *surā* becomes pure by observing the *vata* (as stated) for brāhmana murder and reciting Aghamarsana; while the thief of brāhmana's gold becomes pure by fasting for three days and reciting the sacred Gāyatrī ten thousand times and one guilty of incest by the repeated recital of the hymn beginning with 'sahasrasīrṣa' (Rg X.90).

The sages observed that some of the penances mentioned in old *smṛtis* were terrible and involved loss of life. Therefore, gradually more humane and easier penances came to be prescribed. For example, Hārīta²⁸⁸ states 'brāhmanas who have studied dharmasāstra should prescribe a penance appropriate to the age, the time and the strength of the brāhmana (sinner), the penance being such that he may not lose his life and yet may be purified; one should not prescribe an observance that will cause great distress (to the sinner) Āngīras also says that the *parīśad* should indicate the penance resolved upon by all the members which would not cause loss of life Śaṅkha

287. हरदत्त on गी 246 explains that he will have to say लोमानि आत्मनो मुखे मृत्योरारभ्ये जुहोनि स्वाहा नखान्यात्मनो मुखे मृत्योरारभ्ये जुहोनि स्वाहोपेवंमकारं ह्येमाः.

288. यथावयो यथाकालं यथामाणं च ब्राह्मणे । प्रायश्चित्तं प्रदातव्यं ब्राह्मणैर्धर्मपाठकैः ॥ येन जुद्धिमवाप्नोति न च माणैर्वियुज्यते । आर्तिं वा महतीं याति न चैतद् ब्रतनादिशेत् ॥ हारीत पृ. by परा मा II. part 1 p 235. पर्यत्संविन्त्य तत्सर्वं प्रायश्चित्तं विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ सर्वेषां निश्चितं यत्स्याद्यद्य माणात् न यातयेत् ॥ अङ्गिरस् पृ. by परा मा II part 1 p 236, नद पा. p. 779.

declares:²⁸⁹ ' a brāhmana should never practise the performance of a penance in a forest full of thieves, ferocious beasts, elephants and other animals through fear of injury to life. The body that is the all in all (i e. the only source) of (the observance of) dharma must be protected with efforts; just as water oozes down from the mountain, so dharma springs from the body '.

As times changed easier substitutes (called *pratyāmnūyas*) were found and prescribed. The word *pratyāmnāya* was used in this sense in the Āp. Śr. S. V. 20.18 (*yadyanādhyo-gñin-ādadhita kāmam-evaikam gām dadyāt sā gavām pratyāmnāyo bhavatīti viñāyate*), 6 30 9 and Śān. Śr. S. 14 51.6 and other sūtras. Samvarta²⁹⁰ states that if a sinner is unable to undergo the Prājāpatya penance, he may donate instead a cow yielding milk and if he cannot donate such a cow he may donate the full price of such a cow. Parāśara²⁹¹ (XII 63-64) provides four substitutes for a Prājāpatya penance viz the recital of the famous Gāyatri mantra (Rg. III. 62 10) ten thousand times or 200 *prāṇāyāmas*, or bathing twelve times in a sacred watery place after drying the head on each bath, or taking to a journey of two *yojanas* towards a holy place. From the words of Gaut. 19 16 and 18 (quoted above in note 120) it follows that gold is a substitute for a cow by way of penance. The Brahmapurāna²⁹² provides that in the absence of a cow a *niska* or half *niska*

289 तस्करम्बपदाकीर्णे षड्बालद्वये वने । न ब्रत ब्राह्मण. कुर्पात्मागवाधामयात्सदा । शरीरं धर्मसर्वदे रक्षणीयं प्रयत्नत । शरीरात्सर्वते धर्मं पर्यतात्सलिलं यथा । शङ्ख 17. 63 and 65 q. by मद्. पा 728, अपराकं p. 1231 (which inserts one more verse between the two (सर्वतो जीवितं रक्षेज्जीवन्त्यापं व्यपोहति । ब्रतै. कृच्छ्रैस्तथा दानैरित्याह भगवान्ममः)). This is शङ्ख. 17 64.

290. भाजापत्यब्रतान्तौ धेक्षं दद्यात्पयस्विनीम् । येनैरभावे दातव्यं तुल्यं मूल्यं न संशय ॥ सर्वतं q by परा मा. II. part 2 p. 197, मा सार p. 203, माय. तत्त्व pp. 517 and 541. The मिता on चा. III. 326 quotes this verse as स्मृत्यन्तर and adds another half as ' मूल्यार्थमपि निष्कं वा तदर्थं शक्यपेक्षया ' The verse is q from मार्कण्डेयपुराण by अपराकं p 1248.

: 91 भाजापत्यकृच्छ्रस्य चतुर मत्याम्नायानाह कृच्छ्रं देव्यसुत चैव प्राणायामज्ञातहयम् । शुभतीर्थेऽनार्द्रशिरःस्नानं द्वादशसंख्यया ॥ द्वियोजने तीर्थयात्रा कृच्छ्रमेकं प्रकल्पितम् ॥ परासार XII. 63-64 and परा मा II part 2 p. 47.

292. मूल्यं च यथाशक्ति देयम् । अत एव ब्रह्मपुराणे गवामभावे निष्कं स्यत्तदर्थं पादमेव वा । परा मा. II part 2 p 197, मा. सार p 203, The मिता. on चा III 326 quotes it without name.

or a quarter niska may be given. The *Caturvimsātimata*²⁹³ provides several *pratyāmnāyas* for Prājāpatya viz recital of Gāyatri ten thousand times, standing in water, gift of a cow to a brāhmana—these four (including Prājāpatya) are equal, as also a thousand *homas* with sesame, recitation of the whole *samhitā* of the veda, feeding twelve brāhmanas, Pāvakeṣṭi are equal. The *Caturvimsātimata*²⁹⁴ stated that one should substitute the gift of one cow for Prājāpatya penance, of two cows for Śāntāpana, of three cows for Parāka, Tapta-krocra and Ati-krocra and eight for Cāndrāyana. The result was that from medieval times at least even in the case of mahāpātakas there was a sliding scale of penances ultimately ending in feeding brāhmanas or making monetary or other presents to them. For example, the *Mit* (on *Yaj. III* 326) says that in the case²⁹⁵ of the twelve years' penance, optionally 360 prājāpatyas could be performed, each prājāpatya extending over twelve days, that if a man was unable to undergo this he should donate as many (i. e. 360) milch cows, if that was impossible he may donate their price or 360 niskas or even half or quarter thereof &c. *Yaj. III* 309 provides (a lakh of) *homas* with sesame to the accompaniment of the Gāyatri or making brāhmanas recite the Veda by the gift of sesame. *Vas* 28 18-19 (= *Atri VI*, 7-8) and *Viṣṇu Dh* § 90 10 state that by feeding seven or five brāhmanas on the Full moon of Vaiśākha with sesame and honey a man becomes free of all sins. These provi-

293 कृच्छ्रोऽस्युतं च गायत्र्या उद्वासस्तथैव च । धेनुमदानं विप्राय समनेतश्चतुष्टयम् । तिलहोमसदृशं तु वेदस्याध्यायमेव च । विमा द्वादश वा भोग्याः पावकोद्विस्तथैव च । अग्नानि वा पवित्राणि समान्याहुर्मनीषिणः । चतुर्विंशतिमत q. by परा मा II part 2 p 47 and also p 196 (with some variations). मा मयूख p 26 The *mita* on या III, 326, मा सार p 204 ascribe the first verse to पराशर and the latter reads उपवास for उद्वास . There are similar verses in the षड्विंशन्मत also (vide मा सार p. 204).

294 राजापत्ये तु गानेका दद्यात्सान्त्वयने द्वयम् । पराकतघातिकृद्धे तिस्रस्तिस्रश्च शास्तथा ॥ अष्टौ चान्द्रायणे देया प्रत्याम्नायविधौ सदा । यथा विभवसरेण दानं दद्याद्वि-
शुद्धये । चतुर्विंशतिमत q. by परा मा II part 2 p 200, अपराकं p 1248, मा सार p 204 (first verse)

295. न च महापातकमलुक्तनिष्कृतिक सम्भवति कस्मादुक्तनिष्कृतिकेभ्यो राजापत्यादयो योजनीयाः । तत्र द्वादशवार्षिकव्रते द्वादश द्वादश दिनार्थिकैः राजापत्ये परिकल्प्य गण्यमाने राजापत्यानां षड्व्यधिकशतत्रयं द्वादशवार्षिके वैकल्पिकमलुष्टेयं भवति । तदशक्तौ तदवधौ वा धेनवो दातव्याः । तदसम्भवे निष्काणां षड्व्यधिकशतत्रयं दातव्यम् । तथा सद्यस्त्यन्तरम् । राजापत्यं ...मूल्याधर्मपि निष्कं वा तदर्थं शक्त्यपेक्षया । गवामभावे निष्कं स्यात्तदर्थं पाद एव वा इति स्मरणात् । *mita*. on या III 326. The मा प्रकाश says 'सुवर्णचतुष्टयसमतोलितं रूपं निष्क इत्यर्थः' (folio 62 b). This is the view of the *Prāyascitta-muktāvālī* (folio 17 a) which remarks, 'तथा च धरण-पुराण-कार्षापणशब्दा अन्योन्यं पर्याया मासन्ते'.

sions are maintained in almost all medieval works such as the *Smṛtyarthaśāra* pp. 149, 155, *Prāyaścittasāra* p. 203, *Pr. T.* pp. 517, 541, *Pr. Mayūkha* p. 18 &c The same method is followed in penances for lesser periods. It is due to this provision in the *smṛtis* that in modern times men, when on death-bed, perform *prāyaścittas* for all their sins by donating a cow or more or by monetary presents to priests.^{295a}

Some interesting sidelights are thrown on the prices of milch cows, cows and bulls by the medieval writers. The *Pr. V.* (p. 199) states that the price of a milch cow (*paṇasvini*) was 3 *purānas*, that of an ordinary cow (*go*) one *purāna* and that of a bull was five *purānas*. The *Pr. T.* (pp. 517-18) quotes *Kātyāyana* to the effect that the price of a cow (*go*) is 32 *paṇas* and that of a male calf one *purāna*, that a *pana* is copper weighing 80 *raktikās* or equal to 80 *varūtakas* (*cowies*), that 16 *panas* were equal to one *purāna* (following *Bhavisya* and *Matsya purānas*), that by *niska* is not meant the one indicated by *Manu* (VIII. 137) but a *dināraniska* i. e. gold weighing 32 *raktikās*. The *Prāyaścittendusekhara* p. 7 follows *Yāj* I. 365 and holds that *niska* is silver equal (in weight) to four *suvarnas* or a *pala*. A *raktikā* weighs on an average 1.8 grains; so a copper *pana* of 80 *raktikās* would weigh about 144 grains. Therefore a *dhenu* was equal to 32 *panas* (or two *purānas*) i. e. about 26 *tolas* of copper (one *tola* being taken as equal to 180 grains). Vide H of Dh. vol. III pp. 120-121 notes 161 and 162 for information about ancient coins and their weights. There appears to be owing to lapse of centuries some difference in the views of several writers. According to *Vijñāneśvara* four *suvarnas* are equal to a silver *niska*. According to the *Lilāvati* 20 *varātakas* are equal to a *kākini*, 4 *kākinis* are equal to a *pana* and a *niṣka* is equal to 256 *panas*.

295a There was a parallel to this method of *pratyāmnāya* in Europe as remarked by *Gibbon* 'A year of penance was appreciated at 26 *solidi* of silver, about four pounds sterling, for the rich, at 3 *solidi* or nine shillings for the indigent; and these alms were soon appropriated to the Church which derived from the redemption of sins an inexhaustible source of opulence and dominion' *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. VII. p. 187 (*Smith's* ed. of 1862).

CHAPTER V

NAMES OF ALL PRĀYAŚCITTAS

Now all the prāyaścittas mentioned in the smrtis and digests will be arranged in alphabetical order (Sanskrit, transliterated into English), excepting mere hymns, fasts, &c. and brief explanations and references will be added to each.

AGHAMARŚANA—(The hymn Rg. X 190 1-3)

This is prescribed as a penance for all sins by even the most ancient Dharmaśāstra works such as Gaut 24.11, Baud. Dh S IV. 2 19-20, Vas 26 8, Manu XI 259-260, Yāj III 301, Viṣṇu Dh S. 55 7, Śankha 18 1-2 and others. They prescribe that if a man recites (for three days, according to Haradatta) the Agharmarsana hymn thrice in the day while immersed in water for a bath, he is freed from all sins and that this penance is equal in sanctification to the bath at the end of the Aśvamedha sacrifice The Pr. Sāra p 199 speaks of the Agharmarsana-vrata He has to fast for three days and stand up by day and sit up by night and donate a milch cow at the end. Śankha 18 1-2 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46.1-9 prescribe the details.

ATIKROCCHRA—Vide under Krochra Manu XI 219 prescribes that this penance is constituted by eating only one morsel of food for three days in the morning only, for three days in the evening only, for three days eating one morsel got without asking for it and observing a complete fast for the next three days Yāj III 319, on the other hand, prescribes the eating of just as much food as would fill the hand (and not merely one morsel) The Mit, Pr Sāra (p 176) and others state that the rule of Manu applies to those who are able to undergo it, while that of Yāj is meant for those who are unable (*aśakta*) The Sāmavidhāna Br. 1.2 6-7, Gaut 26.18-19, Viṣṇu Dh S 54 30, Laugākṣigṛhya V.12-13, Parāśara XI.54-55, Vas 24 1-2, Baud Dh S IV 5 8 also speak of this Manu XI 208 (= Viṣṇu 54 30) prescribes this penance for striking a brāhmana with a weapon or a cudgel Gaut 26 22 states that this penance purifies a man of all sins except the *nahūpātaka*s

ATISĀNTAPANĀ—See under Mahā-sāntapana This is variously defined According to the Agnipurāna 171 10 and Viṣṇu Dh S. 46 21 it lasts for 18 days (3 times of the Mahā-sāntapana in which for six days one has to subsist on cow's urine and five

other things). The Mit on Yāj. III 315 quotes a verse of Yama according to which this penance lasts for 12 days.²⁹⁶ The Pr. M. (p. 23) speaks of it as lasting for 15 days.

ARDHAKRĀCCHRA—See under Krcchra. According to the Āpastamba-smṛti 9 43-44, this is constituted by taking food only once in the day for one day, only once in the evening for one day, taking food for two days without asking for it and completely fasting for two days²⁹⁷ (in all six days). The Mit. quotes another variety of it, viz. subsisting for three days on food obtained without asking for it and thereafter observing a complete fast for three days.

ĀŚVAMEDHAVABHARTHASNĀNA—the ceremonial bath in the sea or a holy river at the end of an Āśvamedha sacrifice. Visnu Dh. S. 36 (last verse) prescribes for those guilty of mahāpātakas and anupātakas the Āśvamedha sacrifice. It is only an emperor or a crowned king who is entitled to perform an Āśvamedha, at the end of which comes a ceremonial bath. Vide H of Dh. vol. II, pp. 1228-1236 for a description of the Āśvamedha. According to Pr. V. p. 65 only a ksatriya could perform Āśvamedha and so this bath was a penance for him alone. But according to Kullūka (on Manu XI 92) and Pr. T. (both quoting a verse from Bhavīsyā-purāna) even a brāhmana could participate in the bath at the end of the Āśvamedha and become free from the sin of brāhmana murder if committed unintentionally.²⁹⁸

ĀGNEYA KRĀCCHRA—According to the Agnipurāna and Visnudharmottara if a man subsists for twelve days on sesame alone that is āgneya Krcchra.²⁹⁹ Vide also Pr Pr. (folio 48 b.)

296 यदा तु षण्णां सान्तपनद्वन्पाणमैकैकस्य द्वचहृष्टयोगस्तदाऽतिसान्तपनम् । यथाह यमः । एतान्येव तथा पैयान्यैकीकं तु द्वचहं द्व्यहम् । अतिसान्तपनं नाम श्रुपाकमपि क्षीययेत् ॥ इति । मित्ता. on या III 315, प्राय. सा p. 191, अपरार्क p 1234 (reads द्वचहं द्व्यहम्)

297. सार्यमातस्तथैवैकं दिनद्वयमयाचितम् । दिनद्वयं च नादनीयात्कृच्छ्रार्थं तद्विधीयते ॥ आपस्तम्बस्मृति 9 43-44 q. by मित्ता. on या III, 318, प्रा. वि p 509, परा मा II part 2 p 173, प्राय. सा. p 172.

298. अश्वमेधमायाञ्चितं तु राज्ञ एव तत्र तस्यैवाधिकारात् । ...अश्वमेधावश्रुयस्ताने विप्रस्याप्यधिकारः । तथा च कल्पतरुद्वयं भविष्यपुराणम् । यदा तु श्रुण्वान् विप्रो हन्याद्विप्रं तु नियुङ्गम् । अकामतस्तदा गच्छेत्स्नानं चैवाश्वमेधिकम् । ततश्चावश्रुयस्तानं क्षत्रियविषयमिति प्रायश्चित्तविवेकीकं हेयम् । प्राय. तत्र p 544. Vide प्राय वि. p 65 for the opinion referred to.

299. तिलैर्द्वादशपत्रेण कृच्छ्रमाश्रयमार्तिष्ठत् । अग्निपुराण 171. 14, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर p. 11 मा. प्रकाश folio 48b (reads ° श्रेयसुच्यते)

KSICANDRĀYANA—According to Brhad-Visnu quoted by Pr. Prakarana p. 132 this penance requires that one should take only three mouthfuls of sacrificial food every day for a month ³⁰⁰

EKABHAKTA—According to Pr. Pr. (folio 48a) if one takes for a month only one meal a day it is ekabhaktaka. ³⁰¹

KROCHRA—This is the general word for several penances. The Sama, Br (I 2 1) starts ³⁰² by saying 'we shall now expound three krochras' and adds that one should eat sacrificial food for three days only by day and eat nothing at night, then for three days more one should eat at night only, then for three more days one should not beg or ask for food from others and should then observe a complete fast for three days. If he is in a hurry to purify himself he should pass the day standing and the night in a sitting posture. Gaut. (26.2-16) describes the procedure of the first Krochra (called Prājāpatya by later writers), then Atakrochra (26 18-19), and then Krochratikrochra (26 20). Baud. Dh. 8 (II.1.91) speaks of Parāka as Krochra. Āp. Dh 8 (19.27.7) describes the Krochra penance of twelve days. The Krochra penance described by Gaut. 26 2-16 is one for twelve days and is called Prājāpatya by Manu (XI 211), Śankha (18 3), Yaj III 319 and others. Laugaksi Gr. (5 3-11) describes Krochra. According to the Par ³⁰³ M. (II part 1 p. 30) and Pr. Pr. (folio 64a) the word Krochra without any qualifying epithet (*upapada*) means Prājāpatya. The Pr. T. (p 481) states that the Krochra described by Gaut. (26 1-5) is given the name of Prājāpatya by Manu (XI. 211). Besides the rules about the intake of food, Gaut. prescribes certain other observances viz speaking the truth, not holding conversation with

300. तथा बृहद्विष्णु । श्रींखीन् पिण्डान् समश्नीयान्क्षियतामा बृहद्वत् । हविष्यान्नस्य वै माससृषिचाच्छ्रायणं चरन् । प्राय. प्रक p 132. This verse is quoted as Yama's by Pr. V. p 520, Pr. T p 544, प्राय. सा p 196 (reads ब्राह्मन् for पिण्डान्)

301. एकभक्तेन मासेन कथितं वैकभक्तकम् । नक्तुकृच्छ्रं तु नक्तेन महत्संस्तराद्भवेत् । मा प्रकाश (folio 48 a),

302. मातराज्ञान् शुभत्या तिस्रो रात्रीर्नाश्नीयात् । अथापरं ब्रह्म नक्तं शुशीताथापरं ब्रह्म न कञ्चन याचेदथापरं ब्रह्मसुपवसेत् । तिष्ठेद्दहनि रात्रावासीति क्षिप्रकाम । साम मा. I 2 1-4 गी (26. 1-6) is word for word the same except that Gaut. omits the word श्री in the first sūtra. अथातस्त्रीन् कृच्छ्रान् दशारुपाह्वयाम् । हविष्यान् ब्रह्ममनकारपवित्रादी तत्संब्रह्म ब्रह्ममयाचितव्रतवत्संब्रह्म नाश्नाति किंचनेति कृच्छ्रद्वयदशारात्रस्य विधि । आप ध. ४. I. 9 27 7

303. स्मृतिज्ञातेषु निरुपपदस्य कृच्छ्रज्ञान्दस्य प्राजापस्य एव प्राचुर्येण प्रयोगात् कृच्छ्रमिति प्राजापस्यमिति देवदस्मरणञ्च । परा मा. II part 1. p 30

men and women that are *anāyās* (not of the three higher castes), always singing the *sāmans* called 'Raurava' and 'Yaudhājapa', bathing thrice in the day in the morning, the noon and the night, then performing *māṛjana*³⁰⁴ (sprinkling of water) with the three verses beginning with 'Āpo hi stha' (Rg. X.9.1-3), with the mantras called 'pavitravati' viz. those beginning with 'pavamānah suvarjanaḥ' (Tai. Br. I 4 8 1) and the eight verses beginning with 'Hiranyavarṇāḥ' (in Tai. S. V. 6.1), he should perform *tarpana* with water with 13 mantras (Gaut. 26.12); he performs the worship of Āditya (the sun) with the same mantra (i. e. after *tarpana* with the 13 mantras, he is to perform the worship of the sun with the same thirteen mantras) and offers oblations of clarified butter with the same 13 mantras and then on the 13th day he cooks boiled rice and offers oblations into ordinary Agni ('svāhā' added at the end of each, such as 'agnaye svāhā'), Soma, Agni and Soma, Indra and Agni, Indra, Viśve devāḥ, Brahman, Prajāpati and Agni Śvistakṛt and then feeds the brāhmanas.

Kṛcchra-saṁvatsāra—Āp. Dh. S. I. 9.27.8 speaks of this as a penance in which *Kṛcchras* are undergone continuously in a cycle for one year.

Kṛcchrātikṛcchra—Gaut. 26.20 and Sāma. Br. I. 2. 8, Vas. 24 3 define it as a *kṛcchra* where only water is drunk on those days on which food is allowed and Gaut. 26.23 and Sāma. Br. I. 2. 9 state that this penance frees a man from all sins,³⁰⁵ Yāj. III. 320 (= Devala 86, first half) and Brahmapurāna q. by Pr. Pr. (folio 40 a) prescribe that in this one has to subsist on water alone for 21 days. This difference between the views of Yāj on the one hand and of Gaut. on the other is reconciled by the digesters by saying that the period depends on the capacity of the sinner. According to Pr. Pr. (folio 46b) and Aparārka p. 1238, Yama prescribed a *kṛcchrātikṛcchra* for 24 days.³⁰⁶ Vide Par.

304. For *māṛjana* vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 317, 812 n and for *tarpana* the same vol. pp. 668-9, 689-695. Raurava Sāman is sung on the rk 'punānah soma dhārayā' (Rg. IX. 107.4=Sāmaveda Nos. 511 and 675) and Yaudhājapa on 'Duhāna ūdhar' (Rg. IX. 107.5=Sāmaveda No. 676).

305. अन्मक्षस्तुतीयः स कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रः । ..तृतीयं चरित्वा सर्वेभ्यो देवसो मुच्यते । यौ. 26, 20, 23; कृच्छ्रोऽन्मक्ष स कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रः । बसिष्ठ 24, 3.

306. चतुर्विंशतिरात्रं तु नियतात्मा जितन्द्रियः । कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रं कुर्वीत एकस्थाने द्विजोत्तमः ॥ यम पृ. by अपरार्क p. 1238, मद्-पा. p. 716, महार्णव folio 182 explains. पूर्वोक्तादशाहासाध्यातिकृच्छ्रद्वयेन एकः कृच्छ्रातिकृच्छ्रो भवतीत्यर्थः ।

M. II part 1 p. 179 and Madanapārijāta p. 716. According to Manu XI 208 (= Visnu Dh. S. 54.30) when a person strikes a brāhmana with a weapon and draws blood, he has to undergo this penance. The Pr. Prakarana (p 15) states that for those unable to undergo Krocra, one milch cow is a substitute, for Atikrocra two milch cows and for Krochrātikrocra four.

GOMŪTRA-KROCRA—The Pr. Sāra p. 187 quotes a verse about this: one should make a cow eat to satiety grains of wheat mixed with barley and then may collect the yava grains that are to be found in her dung and then drink the gruel of those yavas cooked in cow's urine. ³⁰⁷

GOVRATA— Pr. Prakarana (p. 132) quoting the Mārkaṇḍeya describes this as follows: One should bathe with cow's urine, should subsist on cow-dung, should always stand among cows, should sit down on cowdung, should drink water only when cows have drunk water; one should not eat when they have not eaten, should stand up when they stand, should sit down when they sit down. This should be continued for a month.

CĀNDRĀYANA—The word is derived in this way That rite, where there is action by means of increase and decrease (in the intake of food) in imitation of the course of the phases of the moon, is cāndrāyana ³⁰⁸ The word occurs in Pān. V. 1. 72 (pārāyana-turāyana-cāndrāyanam vartayati) From very ancient times Cāndrāyana has been divided into two varieties, called Yavamadhya ³⁰⁹ (lit. being large in the middle like a grain of yava, and therefore tapering or thin at the ends) and Pīpīlikāmadhya (lit. having a middle like that of an ant, that is, slender in the middle and large at the ends), Baud Dh 8. III 8. 33 names these two varieties. According to Jabāli ³¹⁰ there are five

307. अग्नौ चोत्सृज्यारविता मा गोधूमान्यवमिश्रितान् । तान् गोमयोतयान् संयत्त पिबेद्गोमूत्रं यावत्कम् ॥ q. by प्राय. सा p.187. This is quoted as from योगशास्त्रवत्स्य by महाशयः folio 185a (which reads एचेत् for पिबेत्)

308. चन्द्रस्यायननिवायर्षं चरणं यस्मिन् कर्मणि प्राप्तवृद्धिर्वा तच्चान्द्रायणम् । संज्ञाया दीर्घः । मित्ता on या III. 323. These very words are quoted in प्राय सात् (p. 192), मा. भकाश (folio 50b) and other works The word should be चन्द्रायणम्, but being a technical term the first syllable is lengthened

309 तदेतच्चान्द्रायणं पिपीलिकामध्यं विपरीतं यवमध्यम् । औ. ध III 8. 33. 'यवन्तु मान्तयोरणीयो मध्ये च स्थवीय इति' प्राय. सा p. 192. पिपीलिकावमध्ये इति भवतीति पिपीलिकामध्यमिति कथ्यते । मित्ता on या III 323.

310. पिपीलिकायवमध्यं च यतिचान्द्रायणं तथा । चान्द्रायणं तथा ज्ञेयं चतुर्थं सर्वतो- मुखम् । पञ्चमं शिष्टुसाहं च तुल्यमुष्णफलोद्दयम् । जाबालि q. by दीपकलिका on पा. 325, प्राय वि p. 517.

varieties of Cāndrāyana viz. *Yavamadhya*, *Pipilikāmadhya*, *Yatīcāndrāyana*, *Sarvatomukha* and *Śīśucāndrāyana*. These will be described later on. Yājñavalkya says (III, 326) that where no specific penance is prescribed in the smṛti texts, cāndrāyana effects purification and cāndrāyana may be undergone not as a penance but for the purpose of accumulating merit and that in the latter case (when performed for a year) the performer enjoys the happiness of going to the world of the moon after death.³¹¹ Manu XI, 221 and Gaut. 27.18 state the same view about cāndrāyana for accumulating merit. When the *vrata* of cāndrāyana is performed for the sake of merit, there is no tonsure (vide Gaut. 27.3 '*vapanam vratam caret*' and Haradatta thereon). Gaut. 19.20 (= Vas. 22. 20) prescribes that Krochra, Atikrochra and Cāndrāyana are the same penance for all sins (collectively for grave sins, for lesser ones separately, according to Haradatta and others). Compare Manu V 21 and XI, 215 (=Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5. 16). Manu XI, 27, Yāj. III, 323, Vas. 27 21, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5.18 and others define Cāndrāyana (of the Yavamadhya type) as follows: On the first day of the bright half of a month only one morsel of food (*grāsa* or *pañḍa*) is taken, on the second *tithi* two and so on; on the full moon (Paurṇamāsī) 15 morsels are taken; then on the first of the dark half 14 morsels, one being reduced on each succeeding day. So on the 14th of the dark half only one morsel is eaten and on the Amāvāsyā there is a complete fast. Here in the middle of the month of thirty days the largest number of morsels is taken (and so this is Yavamadhya) just as on the Paurṇamāsī day the moon becomes full and begins to wane from the next day. Here Paurṇamāsī is in the middle of the period of the observance as Visnu Dh. S. 47.6 says. If one begins the *vrata* on the first *tithi* of the dark half, he reduces one morsel on the 1st i. e. takes 14 morsels on that day, 13 on the 2nd *tithi* of the dark half and so on. On the 14th of the dark half he eats one morsel and on the amāvāsyā he eats nothing. Then on the 1st of the bright half he takes one morsel and goes on increasing the intake till on the Paurṇamāsī he takes 15 morsels. The month is taken in this latter case to be Pūrṇimānta. Here in the middle of the observance there is no food taken and a large number of morsels is taken at the beginning and at the end. So this is called Pipilikāmadhya. This latter is described by Vas 23.45

311. अनादिष्टेषु पापेषु छुद्धिश्चान्द्रायणेन तु । धर्मार्थं यश्चरेदेतच्चन्द्ररथैति सलोकताम् ॥
या. III 326. सवत्सरं चाप्यत्र चन्द्रमसः सलोकतामाप्नोति । गो. 27. 18.

and Manu XI 216. Visnu Dh. S. 47.5-6 say: Yasyāmamāvāsyā madhye bhavati sa piplikā-madhyah yasya purnamāsi sa yavamadhyah. If there are 14 or 16 tithis in any particular paksa (half of a month) then the number of *grāsas* must be regulated accordingly. There are other descriptions of cāndrāyana. Vide Haradatta on Gaut. 27.12-15. The Kalpataru appears to have held (explaining two verses of Jābala) that on the first of the dark half of a month 15 morsels were taken, then one morsel less was taken on each succeeding tithi; so that on amāvāsyā one morsel was eaten, then on the first of the bright half two morsels were eaten and one morsel was added every day so that on the 14th of the bright half fifteen morsels were taken and there was a complete fast on Purnamāsi. But this seems to be opposed to the very idea of increase and decrease of the intake of food on the analogy of the waxing and waning of the Moon and to several smṛti texts such as Vas 23.45 and Parāsara X 2. Therefore the Pr. Prakāśa (folio 58b) finds fault with it.^{311a} Cāndrāyana may be divided from another point of view into two varieties: (1) *MUKHYA* (in the primary sense, viz. following exactly the waxing and waning of the moon) and *GAUṆA* (having a secondary or metaphorical sense). The former is either *yavamadhya* or *piplikā-madhyah*, while the latter is of four kinds, viz. *sāmānya*, *rsi-cāndrāyana*, *śiśucāndrāyana* and *yaticāndrāyana*. The last two will be described later. The *Sāmānya* (or *sarvatomukha*) consists in eating only 240 morsels of sacrificial food in a month of 30 days, distributing them according to one's choice (not necessarily in imitation of the phases of the moon) as stated by Manu XI 220, Baud. IV. 5.21, Yāj. III. 324 and the Mit (on Yāj. III. 324), the Madana-pārījāta and other works. Here the penance, though it is not regulated by the phases of the moon, is called Cāndrāyana for the purpose of prescribing the same procedure and observances in it as in the Cāndrāyana which follows the phases of the moon. Here the Mimāṃsā rule of Kundapīyānam-ayana applies.³¹² From the words of Gautama

311a अत्र कल्पतरुयाख्यानम्। एकैकं द्वादशेद्वासासि कृष्णप्रतिपदि पञ्चदशग्रसा-
नारभ्य एकैकापचयेनामावास्यायामेको ग्रासः। तदनन्तरं प्रतिपदि द्वौ ग्रासौ एवं वृद्धिक्रमेण
चतुर्दश्या पञ्चदश्यासा संपद्यन्ते पौर्णमास्यां चोपवास इति पिपिलिकातनुमध्यं चान्द्रायणम्।
आय वि p 519.

312. अत्राय क्रमः। दिने दिनेऽष्टौ ग्रासान् श्रुजित, अथवा नक्त चतुरो दिवा चतुर
इति। अथैकास्मिन्दिने चतुरोऽपरस्मिन् द्वादश तत्रैकरात्रसुषोभ्यापरस्मिन् षोडश। यद्वा दिन
द्वयसुषोभ्य वृत्तियादिने द्वात्रिंशदादित्यादिसंख्या मध्ये शक्यपेक्षया श्रुजितेति। अत्र तिष्ठपेक्षया

27.12-15 it appears that he envisaged a cāndrāyana of 32 days (pipīlikāmadhya) or 31 days, when he says that the performer should fast on the 14th of the bright half, eat fifteen morsels on the Full Moon day, then reduce it by one morsel, so that there is a total fast on the amāvāsyā and then on the first of the bright half one morsel is taken until on the full moon 15 morsels are taken. Thus from the 14th of the bright half (when there is a complete fast) to the full moon of the succeeding month there are in all 32 days and the penance is of the pipīlikā-madhya type.

As regards the size of the morsels, different views are expressed. Gaut. 27.10 and Visnu Dh. S. 47.2 prescribe that the size of a morsel shall be such as not to cause a distortion of the mouth (while swallowing it) Yāj III. 323 allows that the morsels may be as large as the egg of a peahen, and Parāśara X.3³¹³ prescribes the size of a hen's egg and Sankha that of an undried āmalaka fruit (*myrobalan*). The Mit explains that Gautama's words apply to boys and young people and that the other sizes confer an option according to the capacity (śakti) of the man undergoing penance. The procedure of cāndrāyana is described in Gaut. 27.2-11, Baud. III.8, Manu XI.221-225, Vṛddha-gautama chap. 16 and other works. The one given by Gautama, being probably the oldest among Dharmaśāstra works, is here set out.

The general rules prescribed for the Kṛcchra penance in Gaut. 26.6-11 are applicable to Cāndrāyana also. If it is performed as a penance the performer must tonsure his hair and observe a fast on the day preceding the Full Moon. He offers libations of water, oblations of clarified butter, consecrates the sacrificial food and worships the moon, reciting 'āpyāsva', (Rg I. 91. 17), 'san te payāmsi' (Rg. I. 91. 18). He shall offer clarified butter, reciting the four (ṛks) beginning with 'yad devā devahedanam' (Vāj. S. 20.14 or Tai. Br. II. 6. 6.1). These

(Continued from the last page)

शान्तिपानो नास्ति उपक्रमस्तु कुक्कुडपापतिपदोरन्यतरत्र पच कर्तव्यः। नदं पा. p. 743, वच
 ह चत्वारिंशदधिकशतव्ययमासानां नास्तेन पचाकथञ्चिद्भक्षणं तत्र चन्द्रयत्पद्मविधानाचरण-
 भवेत् कार्द्रायणशब्दः कुक्कुडपापिनानामने अनिहोत्रशब्दस्तद्धर्मशास्त्रेषु गीण इति। प्र. पकाश
 56b. Vide नदं. पा. p. 743 for the maxim of the Agnihotra in Kundapāy-
 āyana and Jai. VII. 3. 1, where श्वर says कुक्कुडपापिनानामने श्रूयते मास-
 न्निहोत्रं कुहोर्विति। तत्रैतन्तानावेवर्तं नैयनिकादिनिहोत्रात्कर्मोन्तरेतिविति। अधुना आग्निहोत्र-
 शब्दाधिक्येन। ...नैयनिकरपाग्निहोत्रस्य वै धर्मास्तोत्रंतिजनेन नाम्नातिदिश्येत्।।

313. कुक्कुडान्दधनार्णं ह्य आसं वै परिकल्पयेत्। पराशर. X 3; vide also प्राय. न. p.21.

four together with the preceding are seven oblations of clarified butter that have to be offered. At the end of the offering of clarified butter he shall offer pieces of sacred fuel while reciting the (eight) texts beginning with 'devakṛtasya' (Yāj S VIII, 13). Each mouthful must be consecrated by (mentally) reciting one of the ³¹⁴ following words 'om bhūḥ, bhuvah, svah, tapah, truth, fame, prosperity, vigour, refreshment, strength, lustre, brightness, soul, dharma and śiva' ³¹⁵; or he may consecrate all of them at once saying 'adoration' svāhā'. The sacrificial food must be one of the following. boiled rice, food obtained by begging, ground barley, grain separated from the husk, barley gruel, vegetables, milk, sour milk, clarified butter, roots, fruits and water. Among these each succeeding one is preferable to that enumerated earlier.

JALA KRCCHRA—See under Toyakrcchra

TAPTAKRCCHRA—There is great divergence of views about this penance. Manu XI 214, Vas 21 21, Viṣṇu Dh. S 46 11, Baud Dh. S. IV 5.10, Sankha-smṛti 18.4, Agnipurāna 171 6-7, Atri verses 122-123, Parāśara IV. 7 speak of it as of 12 days' duration comprising four periods of three days each. In this one drinks hot water, hot milk, hot ghee for three days each and then for three days there is a complete fast when he inhales hot vapour or atmosphere (acc to Manu XI 214). Manu adds that the performer has to bathe only once (and not thrice as in some other penances) and that he should practise self-control. Yāj III 317 (= Deva 84) speaks of this as of four days' duration, viz he takes hot milk, hot ghee and hot water for one day each and observes a total fast on the 4th day. The Mit on Yāj. III 317 calls this *mahātapta-krcchra* and also mentions a *taptakrcchra* of two days, viz on the first day the sinner takes ... three, viz hot water, hot milk and hot ghee and observes a total fast on the 2nd day. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 50a) remarks that the authority for the two days' taptakrcchra spoken

314. Haradatta says that on the days when the performer eats less than fifteen morsels, the counting is to be from the beginning and the later mentioned texts must be left out and that, while eating, the performer must employ the Prāṇāhuti mantras, viz, 'prāṇāya svāhā, apāṇāya svāhā' etc

315. The words of the Mantras are 'ओं भूर्भुवः स्वस्त्य सत्यं यज्ञं श्रीसर्गिणी-
स्तेजो वर्चं पुरुषो धर्मं शिव इत्येतैर्गामाद्यन्वयं प्रतिमन्त्रं मनसा । नमः स्वाहेति वा मन्वादि ।
मौ 27. 8-9, some MSS omit वर्चं

of by the Mit has to be found out. The Pr. Prakāśa refers to a *tapta-krocchra* for 21 days. It may be said, as done by the Pr. Prakāśa, that the penance of *tapta-krocchra* for twelve days is meant for great sins and that the one for four days is meant for lesser sins. The quantity of water, milk and ghee, that was to be taken is laid down by Parāśara³¹⁶ IV, 8, Atri 123-124 and Brahmapurāna (q. by Pr V. p. 511) viz. that hot water, hot milk and hot ghee should be six *palas*, three *palas* and one *pala* respectively. The Brahmapurāna adds that water, milk and ghee are to be taken respectively in the evening, morning and noon.

TULĀPURUSA KROCCHRA—Jābali speaks³¹⁷ of the duration of this penance as eight days; Śankha (18,9-10) and Visnu Dh. S. 46 22 describe one of ten days where oil-cake, the foamy scum of cooked rice, butter-milk, water and barley meal are to be eaten, each respectively on one day, followed by a fast on the next day. Yāj. III, 322 (= Atri verses 129-130) describes one of 15 days where the above five ingredients are eaten for three days each. Yama on the other hand speaks of Tulāpurusa for 21 days, when the five things are separately eaten for three days (vide Mit. on Yāj III 322). Aparārka pp. 1239-1241, Par. M II part 2 pp 184-189, Madanaparījata pp. 718-727, Pr. Sāra pp 179-181 set out at length the mode of the performance of Tulāpurusa as a penance. In this penance two images of the performer made of fragrant *uśīra* grass were to be prepared and placed in the pan of a balance a span high made either of gold or silver or sandalwood and were to be weighed against pebbles and placed in another pan and worship was to be offered to Mahādeva and Umā and many other subordinate deities such as Agni, Vāyu, the sun.

316. पदपलं तु विवेदन्मस्त्रियलं तु पयः पिवेत् । पलमेकं विवेत्सापिस्ततःकृच्छ्रं विधीयते ॥ पराशर IV 8 (B S series) vol II part 1 p 26 It may be noted that the Mit on Yāj. III 317, the Pr. Sāra p 136 read पराशर's verse as 'अथापिन्तु त्रियलं द्विपलं तु पयः पिवेत् । पलमेकं विवेत्सापि त्रिरात्रं चोष्णमाकृतम् ॥' and that the Mit. explains 'त्रिरात्रमाकृतस्य पूरणे उष्णोदकवाणं विवेदित्यर्थः' । The mñ. pā. pp. 735-736 contains both these verses and ascribes both to पराशर. According to Yāj I 363-64 a pala is equal to 4 or 5 suvarnas and a suvarna is equal to 80 krsnalas (guñjas) in weight.

317. तत्र जाबालिः । पिण्याकं च यथाचामं तर्कं चोदकसकच । त्रिरात्रस्यपवासश्च ह्यनुपच उच्यते ॥ q. by मा. सार p. 178, परा मा. II. part 2 p. 183.

TOYA-KRCCHRA—This is also called Varuna-krcchra by Yama (q in Pr. Prakāśa, folio 48 a) and by Śankha (q in Pr. Sāra p. 182). Viṣṇu Dh S. (46. 14) states ³¹⁸ that subsisting on nothing but ground barley mixed with water for one month is called *Udakakrccra*. Since Varuna was regarded as the lord of waters even from the times of the R̥gveda (e. g. in R̥g. VII. 49. 3) and to mark the truth and falsehood among men, this Toya-krcchra was called Vārūna. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 47 b)³¹⁹ quotes Jābala to the effect 'If a sinner remains immersed in water for a whole day and night without taking food and recites mantras (addressed to Varuna) he removes by the *jalakrccra* the sins which he may have committed for a year'. According to Yājñavalkya (q in Pr. Sāra p 187) this penance consists in observing a fast for a day and night standing up the whole day and passing the night without sleep in water and reciting the next day the sacred Gāyatri mantra 1008 times. According to Śankha (q. by Madana-pārijāta p 737) this penance is constituted either by subsisting on lotus stalks grown in water or on *saktus* boiled in water.

DADHIKRCCHRA—This is spoken of by the Pr Prakāśa quoting from the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāna as a penance in which the sinner subsists on curds alone for a month.³²⁰

DEVAKRCCHRA—Yama quoted by Par. M. (II part 2 pp. 191-192) describes this as follows ³²¹: One should partake

318 उदकसक्त्वा मासाभ्यवहारेणोदककृच्छ्रं । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46 14. 'चितान्मुदक-
सिद्धानि मासमश्नीत संयतः । सक्त्वा सोदकान्मासं कृच्छ्रो वाचुण उच्यते ॥ शङ्खे q by
पालम्भट्टी on या III 318, मा सार. pp 186-87.

319. अनहनजलमध्यस्थस्त्वहोरात्रं जपन्मुच्यते । सवत्सरकृतं पाप जलकृच्छ्रे व्यपोहति ॥
जाबाल q. by मा सार p 187. मा. प्रकाश folio 47 b, where it is said जपश्च वाचुण-
मन्त्राणाम्, as to योगियाज्ञवल्क्य 'वायुभक्षो दिवा तिष्ठेद्भ्रानि नीत्वाण्ड सूर्यदृष्ट्वा । सप्तसाठ्यधिक
जप्त्वा भायत्रीं जलसज्ञकम् ॥', vide द्वितीयोक्तिः सूर्यं दृष्ट्वाद्योत्तरसहस्रगायत्रीजप कृत्वा पापण
कुर्याद्विधिः । मा सार p. 187. This is q. by मा प्रकाश folio 47 b. The first half is ya
III, 311.

320 विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । दध्ना क्षीरेण तत्रेण पिण्याक्वाचानकैस्तथा । शार्कैर्मासं तु कार्याणि
स्वनामानि विचक्षणैः ॥ मा प्रकाश folio 48a.

321. यवाद्यं यावकं जाकं क्षीरं दधि घृतं तथा । ज्यहं ज्यहं तु प्राक्षीयाद्वायुभक्षस्त्वहं परम् ।
मरुद्भिर्वृद्धभी रुद्रैरादित्यैश्चरितं व्रतम् । व्रतस्यास्य प्रभावेन निरजस्ता हि तेऽभयम् ॥ कृच्छ्रं देवकृतं
नाम सर्वकल्मषनाशनम् । यम q. by परा मा II part 2 pp 191-192 and by मा सार pp.
183-184 (which omits the last verse मरुद्भिः) लौगाक्षिशृङ्ग VI 3 reads 'यवाद्यं
.शार्कं पयः सर्पिः कुशोदकम् । ज्यहं ..ज्यहम् ॥'. देवपाल explains 'यवाद्युपासिततुपयव
सम्पाद्या वैषमाद्या प्रासिद्धा यान्कोपि तद्वत्स तु भक्तयाः कठिनः.'

of only rice gruel, barley gruel, vegetables, milk, curds, ghee each for a period of three days in succession and then should observe a complete fast for three days; this is called *Devakṛta* (performed by the gods) penance and destroys all sins. It was practised by the Maruts, the Vasus, Rudras, and Ādityas. By the power of this penance they became free from *rajas* (impurity). Thus this penance lasts for 21 days. The Pr. Prakāśa (folio 48 b) refers to another variety of it and quotes a long prose passage on it, which is passed over here for want of space.

DHANADAKṚCCHRA—See under *Vayavya-kṛcchra*. According to the *Visnudharmottara* ³²² (q. by Pr. Prakāśa) this penance consists in subsisting for a month on food just sufficient to fill the extended but hollowed palm, mixed with gold (i. e. in which gold is rubbed or boiled).

NITYOPAVĀSA KṚCCHRA—The Pr. Prakāśa (p. 48 a) states that this is constituted by a man eating only twice in the day (in the morning and evening) for six years and not drinking even water between the two meals. ³²³

PAÑCAGAVYA—For the various details connected with *pañcagavya* prepared from cow's urine, dung, milk, curds and ghee, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 773-774. *Pañcagavya* is to be offered into fire with the mantras 'Irāvati' (Rg. VII. 99.3), 'idam Visnur' (Rg. I. 22.17), 'mā nastoke' (Rg. I. 114. 8), 'Sam no devir' (Rg. X. 9. 4) and then the remainder is to be drunk. It is to be drunk with the middle of a sprig of three *Palāsa* leaves or with a lotus leaf. *Manu*. XI. 165 (= *Agnipurāna* 169. 30) prescribes this drinking of *pañcagavya* as the penance for petty thefts. Similarly, *Yāj.* III. 263 prescribes that one guilty of killing a cow should drink *pañcagavya* for a month. The *Mit.* on *Yāj.* III. 263 quotes *Visnu* to the effect that one who kills a cow should perform one of three penances, viz. drinking three *palas* of *pañcagavya* every day for one month or undergoing the penance of *Parāka* or *Cāndrāyana*. ³²⁴ Though *Visnu* 54. 7 and *Ātri* (verse 300) state that a *brāhmana*

³²² वाजमद्यतिमप्येका कनकेन समन्विताम्। शुक्रानस्य तथा नासं कृच्छ्रं धनद्वैवतम् ॥ निष्णुधमोत्तरं q. by प्रकाश folio 48 b.

³²³ सार्यं प्रातश्च शुक्रानो नरो यो नात्तरा पिबेत्। पञ्चभिर्विधैरिदं योक्तं कृच्छ्रं नित्योपवासात् ॥ प्रकाश p. 43a.

³²⁴ गोहनस्य पञ्चगव्येन मासनेकं पलत्रयम्। प्रत्यहं त्याग्यराको वा चान्द्रायणमथापि वा ॥ निष्णु q. by मिता. on या III. 263 and परा सा II part I p. 243 (which reads मासमेकं निरन्तरम्। मात्रापत्यं पराको वा)

drinking *suṁ* and a *sūdra* drinking *pañcagavya* both went to hell (Mahāraurava, according to Visnu), yet Devala (verse 61) and Parāśara XI 3 and 27 and medieval works like the Pr M. (p 13) and *Sūdrakamalākara* (p. 42) allowed *sūdras* to take *pañcagavya* without Vedic *mantras*. And women of all *varnas*, being treated like *sūdras* for certain purposes, were also allowed optionally to do the same.

PATRAKROCCHRA—Vide Parna-kūrca below.

PARĀKA—Manu XI 215 (= Baud. Dh S IV. 5,16), Yāj. III 320 (= Śankha 18 5 = Atri 128), Agnipurāna 171, 10, Visnu Dh. S. 46. 18 and Br. ³²⁵ prescribe that this penance is constituted by not taking any food for twelve days, while the performer controls his senses and remains vigilant, and that this penance removes all sins.

PARNĀKŪRCA—This is a more severe type of *patra-krocchra* Yāj. III 316 (= Devala 83) and Śankha-Likhita ³²⁶ define Parnakrocchra as one where the leaves of *palāśa*, *udumbara*, *lotus*, and *bilva* are boiled separately on each day in succession and the decoction of each is drunk on each day separately and then water in which *kūśas* have been dipped is drunk. Thus *parnakrocchra* is a penance of five days. The Mit. on Yāj. III 316 quotes a verse of Yama to the effect that when a sinner fasts for three days and nights and thereafter he drinks together the decoctions of all the four and *kūśa* water on the same day then the penance is called *parnakūrca*. The Par M (II part 2 p 181)³²⁷ regards Parnakūrca as a variety of Parnakrocchra. Vasistha, Jābāli and Atri (116–117) make Parnakrocchra a penance of six days by adding the leaves of *Āsvattha* to the five mentioned above. Visnu Dh S 46 23 mentions another variety of Parnakrocchra for seven days ³²⁸

325. जपहोमरत कुर्याद् द्वादशाहमभोजनम् । पराक एष विख्यातः सर्वपापमोक्षण ॥
इह प by प्राप वि p 515.

326. शङ्खलिखितौ—पद्मविल्वपलाशोदुम्बरकुशोदकान्येकैकमभ्यस्तानि पर्णकृच्छ्र । मद्
पा p 733, दीपकालिका on चा III. 317, while अपरार्क p 1234 reads
एकैकमभ्यस्तानि पर्णकृच्छ्र. समस्तान्येतानि त्रिरात्रेणोपयुक्तानि च पर्णकृच्छ्र. (0 कूर्च 1)
The मद् पा p 734 reads पर्णकृच्छ्र

327. तथा वसिष्ठ । पद्मोदुम्बरपलाशविल्वान्वत्यकुशानामुदक पीत्वा षड्रात्रेणैव
सुध्याति । प्रा प्रक p. 128.

328. कुशपलाशोदुम्बरपद्मशङ्खुष्णीवदम्हसुवर्चलाना पत्रै कथितरयाम्भस प्रत्येक
(प्रत्यह ?) पानेन पर्णकृच्छ्र. । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46 23 चालम्भही on चा III 316
remarks on this 'इति विष्णुना समाहसाध्य उक्तः.', मद् पा p 733 explains 'शङ्खुष्णी
लताविशेषः । ब्रह्मसुवर्चला ब्राह्मीविशेषः. '

PARṆAKṚCCHRA—Vide Parnaṅkṛca above.

PADAKṚCCHRA—According to Yāj. III. 318 (=Devala 85) this is defined as a penance where a sinner takes food one day only once by day, only once by night, then once only (by day or night) but without asking for it from any one (a stranger, a servant or even his own wife) and observes a total fast for one day. Thus this penance lasts for four days. There was difference of view as to the number of mouthfuls to be eaten, Āpastamba (q by Mit. on Yāj. III. 318) saying that the mouthfuls are respectively 22, 26 and 24 when food is taken only once in the evening or morning or without asking for it, while Parāśara states the number of mouthfuls to be 12, 15 or 24 respectively when food is taken only at night or in the morning or without asking for it. The Caturvimsātimata (q. by Par. M. II part 2 p. 172) puts them as 12, 15 and 10 respectively.

PĀDONAKṚCCHRA—This lasts for nine days³²⁹ only instead of the 12 days of the Prajāpatya and in it one eats by day only for three days, eats food once only for three days without asking for it from any one and observes a complete fast for three days (i. e. three days when food is eaten by night only are omitted here).

PUSPAKṚCCHRA—According to the Agnipurāna 171. 12 and the Mit. on Yāj III. 316 (quoting Mārkaṅḍeyapurāna) this penance is constituted by drinking for a month the decoction of flowers boiled in water.³³⁰

PRASRTA-YĀVAKA or **PRASRTIYĀVAKA**—Visnu Dh S chap. 48 and Baud. Dh. S. III. 6 contain elaborate descriptions (which agree with each other in many respects almost *verbatim*) and so does Hārta (q. by Par. M. II. part 2 pp. 192-194) who has many sūtras and verses in common with Visnu and Baud. Prasrti means the hand with all fingers strictly closed out, the palm being hollowed. The yavas taken out were as many as could be placed on the palm of the hand thus stretched

329 मासं प्रातर्दिनार्थं स्वात्पादोन नक्तवर्जितम् । आपस्तम्बस्त्वृति I. 14, q by मिता on या III. 318, मास सार p. 172, परा मा. II part 2 p. 173

330 यथाह मार्कण्डेय । फलेर्मासेन कथितः फलकृच्छ्रो मनीषिणि । श्रीकृच्छ्रं श्रीफले मोक्ष पद्माक्षरपरस्तथा । मासेनामलकैरेवं श्रीकृच्छ्रमपरं स्मृतम् । पत्रैर्मत पत्रकृच्छ्रं शुषीस्तकृच्छ्र उच्यते । मूलकृच्छ्रं स्तुतो मूलैस्तोषकृच्छ्रो जलेन तु ॥ मिता. on या III. 316, नद पा p. 234 We should read कथित for कथितः as नद पा does, which remarks 'शरीरवात्रामात्रमयुक्तफलानि मासं भक्षयेत् तत्र सर्वत्रतसाधारणतिकर्तव्यतापि कर्तव्या । तानि च फलानि कानोत्पाकाह्वायामाह श्रीकृच्छ्रः ।'

out and hollowed. Some passages from Baud who is probably the oldest of the three authors may be set out here. 331 "Now if a man feels his conscience heavy with bad actions committed by himself, let him boil for himself, when the stars have risen, a handful of barley and prepare gruel with that. Let him not perform (the Vaiśvadeva) offering with (a part of) that nor a *Bali* 332 offering. Let him consecrate the barley before it has been placed on fire, when it is being boiled and after it has been boiled with the following mantras 'thou art barley, the king of grains, thou art sacred to Varuna and mixed with honey, the sages have declared thee to be an expeller of all sins and a means of purification' Then there are five verses more invoking the barley grains to purify the performer from all sins whether due to deeds, words, or thoughts, to destroy distress and evil fortune, to free him from the food of *ganas* (guilds or multitudes of men), harlots, *sūdras*, or food offered at *śrāddhas* by persons in impurity due to birth or death, food of a thief, food at *navasrāddha* (i e on 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th, 11th days after death) or from dreadful mortal sins or from guilt against children and guilt due to serving in a royal court, from sin of stealing gold, sin of the violation of a *vata* or sacrificing for an unworthy person and sin of speaking ill of *brāhmanas* Then Baud proceeds "while the barley is being boiled he should guard it and recite 'Adoration to Rudra, lord of created beings; pacified

331 अथ कर्मभिरात्मकृतैर्दुष्कृमिवात्मानं मन्येतात्मार्ये प्रसूतयावक अपयेद्भुविषु नक्षत्रेषु । न ततोऽग्नीं छुहृपात् । न चात्र बलिकर्म । अशुत अल्पमार्गं शृत चाभिमन्त्रयेत् । पयोसि धान्यराजोसि वाक्यो मधुससृत । निर्णोद सर्वपापाना पवित्रसृष्टिभि ससृतम् ॥ सर्व पुनथ मे यवा ॥ इति । अल्पमाणे रक्षा कुर्यात् । ननो रुद्राय भूताधिपतये द्यौ ज्ञान्ता कृष्ण्य पाज मसिते न पृथ्वीमित्येतेनाहवाकेन । ये देवा इर सद्योऽग्निभेन्ना रक्षोहण इति पञ्चभि पर्यापि । मानस्तोके ब्रह्मा देवानामिति ह्यन्यात् । शृतं च लघ्वदनीयात्पयत पात्रे निदिच्य । ये देवा मनो-जाता मनोयुजः सुरक्षा दक्षपितरस्ते न पाप्मु ते नोऽनन्तु तेभ्यो नमस्तेभ्य स्वाहेति । आत्मानि छुहृयात् त्रिरात्र मेधाधीं पञ्चरात्र पीत्वा पापकृच्छ्रद्वो भवति । सतरात्र पीत्वा ज्ञणहननशुचतल्प-गमने छवर्णस्तेभ्य सुरापानमिति च पुनाति । एकादशरात्र पीत्वा पूर्वयुवपकृतमपि पापं निर्मुदति । अपि वा योगिष्क्राताना यवानामेकविंशतिरात्र पीत्वा गणान्ययति गणाधिपति पर्यति विद्या पश्यति विद्याधिपतिं पश्यतीत्याह भगवाद् बोधायनः । बो ध सू III, 6. The verses eulogising yava (यवोसि) are Band. III 6, 5-10, Visnu Dh S 48 17-22 and Hārīta (q. in Par M. II. part, 2 p 193) with some variations and omissions. As to the rest Hārīta agrees closely with Baud while Visnu differs a good deal from Baud. as to the mantras. Visnu has a verse referring to food licked by dogs and pigs and food defiled by leavings and the sin of disobeying parents, but omits two verses that occur in Baud about *mabāpātakas* Visnu 48 6 prescribes Rg IX 96 6 (ब्रह्मा देवाना°) as the mantra to be recited at the time of guarding the grains that are being cooked

332. For Vaiśvadeva and Bali, vide H. of Dh II pp. 741-747

is the sky'. He should recite the text beginning with 'Kṛnuṣva pājah' (Tai. S. I. 2. 14. 1), the five sentences beginning with 'Ye devā' (Tai. S. I. 8. 7 1), the two texts 'mā nastoke' (Rg. I. 114 8 and Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 2) and 'Brahmā devānām' (Rg. IX. 96.6, Tai. S. III. 4. 11. 2) "Then having sipped water he should eat a little of the boiled food after pouring it into another vessel. Let him offer it as a sacrifice to the soul reciting 'ye devā' (Tai. S. I. 2. 3. 1)."

Then Baud. prescribes: "one desirous of wisdom must perform this rite for three days and nights. A sinner who drinks it during six days becomes pure, he who drinks this during seven days becomes purified from the mahāpātakas, he who drinks during eleven days removes even the sins committed by his ancestors. But he who during 21 days drinks gruel of barley grains which have passed through a cow (i. e. cowdung) sees the Ganas, the lord of the Ganas, the goddess of learning and the lord of learning."

PRĀJĀPATYA—Vide under Krochra above where it is shown that the word Krochra without any qualifying epithet means Prājāpatya. Manu XI. 211, Yaj. III. 319, Visnu Dh. S. 46 10, Attri 119-120, Śankha 18 3, Baud. Dh. S. IV. 5 6 mention the word Prājāpatya and define it. This Prājāpatya has several varieties. The first is that described by Manu XI. 211 and Vas. 21. 20 viz. four periods of three days each following one another in which there is respectively eating once only by day, once only by night, eating once only without asking for it and complete fast. The second is that described by Vas. 23. 43, where on the first day food is taken only by day, on the 2nd only at night, on the 3rd day food got without asking for it is taken and on the 4th a complete fast is observed and where the same process is repeated for two periods of four days each. The first³³³ is called Prājāpatya by 'sthānavivṛddhi' and the 2nd is called 'Dandakalita'. Further, both these are said to be made 'ānulomyena' (by the proper and straightforward order). If the sequence described above is reversed i. e. if for three days there is first a total fast, then subsisting for 3 days on food got without asking for it, then for three days eating at night only

333. अपमेव पादकृच्छ्रः यथाकथञ्चिद्दण्डकलितवदाहृत्या स्वस्थानविवृद्ध्या वा, तत्राप्याल्लोभ्येन प्राप्तिलोभ्येन वा तथा वद्वयमागजपादियुक्तं तद्द्रवितं वा त्रिरयस्त. प्राजापत्योऽभिधीयते । मिता on या III 319 The मद् पा p 710 explains 'तत्रार्थं पश्चाद् मद् —अयद् मत' .॥ अत्रैकभक्तादीना स्वस्थान एवामिद्वृद्धत्वात् स्वस्थानवृद्धिः ।'

and for three days eating by day only, it is Prājāpatya by 'prātilomya'. Further it may be performed with recitation of Vedic texts or without (for women and śūdras)³³⁴

PHALAKRCCHRA—Subsisting on fruits alone for a month. Vide the passage from Mārkaṇḍeya quoted above (n 330). Śrīkrcchra mentioned below will be also phalakrcchra. The fruits of Bilva and of Āmalaka and lotus seeds were the only fruits to be employed and they were to be eaten only for bare subsistence.

BĀLAKRCCHRA—See Śīśukrcchra

BRHAD-YĀVAKA—The Pr. Pr. (folio 49 a) quoting Brahma-purāna describes it as follows—One should feed cows on plenty of yavas anointed with clarified butter. Then he should mix water with the dung of those cows and take out the grains of barley which are voided by them after eating them. He should then dry them in the sun, should grind them on a clean stone and cook them mixed with sesame and anointed with ghee in cow's urine on a fire brought on an altar. He should place the boiled holy grains in a vessel of gold or in a cup made of *palāśa* leaves and present them to the gods and *manes* and he may eat them. He should carry this on for twelve, twenty-four or thirty-six years for the removal of all sins. This is prescribed as a penance for killing one's *guru*, brother, friend or a near relative &c.

BRAHMAKŪRCA—The Mit³³⁵ on Yajñavalkya III 314 states that when a man fasts on one day and on the next day mixes up the ingredients of pañcagavya with Vedic *mantras* and drinks it with mantras it is called Brahmakūrcā. According to Śaṅkha cow's urine is taken with the Gayatri (Rg. III. 62 10), cowdung with the mantra 'Gandhadvāram' (Tai. Ā. X. 1), milk with 'āpyāyasa' (Rg I 91.16), curds with 'dadhikrāvno' (Rg. IV. 39. 6), ghee with 'Tejosi' (Vāj. S. 22. 1) and Kuśa water with 'devasya tvā' (Vāj. S. 22 1, At. Br. 37. 3 &c.). Jābāla³³⁶

334 तस्माच्छुद्धं समासाद्य सदा धर्मपथे स्थितम् । प्रायश्चित्तं प्रदातव्यं जपहोमविवाजितम् ॥ अङ्गिरस् ५ by the Mitā on ya III. 319 and महार्णवो folio 182 a

335. यदा पुनः पूर्वैश्चरुपोष्यापरैश्च समन्त्रकं सयुज्य समन्त्रकमेव पञ्चगव्यं पीयते तदा ब्रह्मकूर्चं इत्याख्यायते । मिता on ya III 314. Vide लघुशाततप 156-166 for ब्रह्मकूर्चं, which is the penance for a'l sins where no specific penance is prescribed

336. अहोरात्रोषितो भूत्वा पौर्णमास्या विशेषतः । पञ्चगव्यं पिबेत् प्रातर्नक्षत्रकूर्चविधिः स्मृतः ॥ जाबाल ५. by मा वि p. 515, मा. प्रकाश folio 50a and प्राय म प 22

prescribes that when a man observes a fast for the whole day and night on a day and particularly on a Full Moon day, and then drinks pañcagavya the next morning this is called the rite of Brahmakūrca. Parāśara (XI. 27-28) appears to hold that Pañcagavya and Brahmakūrca are synonyms. The Madana-pārijāta p. 729 and Pr. Sāra. p. 189 state that the Śāntapana described by Yāj. (III. 314) is styled Brahmakūrca.³³⁷

BRAHMAKŪRCHA— Vide Hemādri's work on Prāyaścitta p. 964 quoting Devala and Mārkaṇḍeya. It is a penance for 12 days on each of which one has to drink in the noon Pañcagavya in a temple or cowpen after offering it with mantras in fire; one has to contemplate on Viṣṇu till the evening and should sleep near an idol and give up tāmbūla and unguents.

MAHĀTAPTAKŪRCHA— Vide Taptakūrcra.

MAHĀSĀNTAPANA— Śāntapana, according to Yāj. III. 314, Manu XI 212 (= Baud. Dh. S.IV. 5.11 = Śankha 18.8 = Brhad-Yama I. 13), Atri 117-118, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 46.20, lasts for two days; on the first the sinner drinks together cow's urine, dung, milk, curds, ghee and kuśa water and on the second day he fasts altogether. Mahāsāntapana penance consists, according to Lau-gakṣigṛhya VII 3, Yāj. III. 315 (= Devala 82 = Atri. 118-119), in drinking separately for six days in succession the six ingredients mentioned above and fasting on the next day (i.e. it lasts for 7 days) According to Śankha 18.9, Baud Dh. S.IV.5.17 and Jābala³³⁸ the Mahāsāntapana lasts for 21 days, each of the six ingredients referred to above being taken for three days and a fast being observed for three days. Yama speaks³³⁹ of a mahāsāntapana for 15 days viz when each of cow's urine, dung, milk, curds and ghee is taken as subsistence for three days consecutively.

337. तप्तञ्च योगीश्वराभिहितं सान्तपनमेव ब्रह्मकूर्चं इत्युच्यते । स एव ब्रह्मकूर्चोपवास इति । भा. सार p. 189, vide also मह. या. p. 729. The reference is to the verse 'परमार्थिगतं परं देहं तिष्ठति मानवे । ब्रह्मकूर्चोपवासस्तु दहत्यग्निर्विन्ध्यन्म् ।' cited as पराशर's in भा. सार p. 189, while पराशर (XI. 37-38 reads) यच्च .. देहिनाम् । ब्रह्मकूर्चो देहेत्सर्वं प्रदीप्तगिर्विन्ध्यन्म् ॥

338. पण्यभैकमेतेषां त्रिरात्रद्वयपोजयेत् । इयं चोपस्तेदन्त्यं महासान्तपनं विदुः ॥ जायसत q, by अपराक. p. 1234, परा सा. II. part I p. 31.

339. इयं पिबेत् गोमूत्रं इयं चै गोमयं पिबेत् । इयं वधि इयं क्षिरं इयं सर्पि-स्ततः क्षुत्ति. ॥ महासान्तपनमेतत्सर्वपापप्रणाशनम् । यम. q. by सित्त. on या. III. 315, भा. सार p. 191, परा सा. II part I p. 31.

MAHEŚVARA KRCCHRA— Vide Hemādri (on Prāyaścitta) p. 961, which sets out a passage from Devala, that states that Brahmā prescribed it for Maheśvara on the burning of Madana. In this penance in the after-noon one should carry a broken jar (kapāla) and beg at three houses of learned brāhmanas for vegetables, offer them to God and eat them and should sleep in the evening near an idol. After getting up the next day he should donate a cow and drink pañcagavya.

MŪLAKRCCHRA—Visnu Dh. S. 46 15³⁴⁰ states that it is so called when one subsists on lotus stalks alone and the Mit. on Yāj III. 316 quotes Mārkaṇdeya to the effect that one must subsist on mūlas (edible roots) alone.

MAITRAKRCCHRA—The Pr. Prakasa (folio³⁴¹ 53 a) mentions it. Its peculiarity is that in the Sāntapana on the third day milk of a *kapilā* (tawny) cow is to be partaken of. The same work notes that the Kalpataru states that this is a sāntapana in which on the first day all the six ingredients (cow's urine &c) are taken followed by two days of fasting.

YAJÑAKRCCHRA—This is a penance for one day laid down by Angiras (q. by Pr. Sāra p. 183, Smṛti-muktāphala p. 939) as follows: The sinner should bathe thrice, should be self-controlled and silent; and after the morning bath he should recite the sacred Gayatrī 1008 times together with *om* and the Vyāhrtis at the beginning. When reciting he should be in the Virāsana³⁴² posture. He should drink cow's milk only once either sitting down or standing or curds of cow's milk (if he cannot secure cow's milk) or butter-milk or barley gruel mixed with cow's urine (in the absence of milk, curds or butter milk). This one-day penance called Yajña-krccra removes all sins.

340 विसाम्यवहारेण मूलकृच्छ्र । विष्णुष ३ ४६ १५

341 द्वितीयसान्तपने तृतीयदिने कपिलाक्षीरपाननाधिकम् । एष नैत्रकृच्छ्रेषीति प्रायश्चित्तविवेके । कल्पतरौ तु गोमूत्रादिकमेकस्मिन्कहानि द्वात्र्यंशत्वादिति दिनत्रयसाध्यं सान्तपनमिति यज्ञस्वामी । या प्रकाश folio 53a, कपिलायास्तु दुग्धाया धारोष्णं तु पय पिबेत् । एष नैत्रकृत कृच्छ्र सर्वपापमनाशनक । यम in प्राय. वि p 513; the words द्वितीयसान्तपने . कृच्छ्रेषीति (in या प्रकाश) are taken from प्राय. वि p 513

342 वीरासनं निराश्रयमुपवेशनम् । तथा विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे । उत्थितस्तु दिवा तिष्ठेदुपविष्टस्तथा निशि । एतद्वीरासनं नाम महापातकनाशनम् ॥ प्राय. वि pp. 197-198 The word occurs in several smṛtis such as Saṅkha 18.2, Laghu-Viṣṇu III 9, The Agnipurāna (171 3-4) defines it in the same way

YATICĀNDRĀYANA—Manu XI 218 (= Baud Dh. S. IV. 5.20), Agnipurāna 171. 4, Visnu Dh. S. 47. 7 define ³⁴³ it as a penance where the sinner eats only eight mouthfuls of sacrificial food only once in the noon for a month and exercises control over himself.

YATISĀNTAPANA—When the ingredients ³⁴⁴ of Pañcagavya are mixed together (with kuśa water) and drunk for three consecutive days it is Yati-sāntapana according to the Mit. on Yāj. III. 314. The Pr. Prakāraṇa p. 128 adds that the three days must be followed by a fast for one day.

YAMYA.—According to Visnudharmottara-purāna quoted by Pr. Prakāśa (folio 48 b) this consists in subsisting for a month on *saktu* grains found in cowdung.

YĀVAKA—Śankha ³⁴⁵ (18. 10-11) states that partaking of boiled yavas obtained from cowdung for a month is the Yāvaka penance for destroying all sins. The Par. M. and Pr. Prakāśa quote a prose passage from Devala, ³⁴⁶ according to which the penance may last for seven days, a fortnight or a month and which states that the procedure of Prājāpatya will apply to this penance.

VAJRA—Atri 164 defines ³⁴⁷ it as a penance, where barley grains fried in clarified butter and mixed with cow's urine are partaken of.

343 अष्टौ घासान् प्रतिदिवसं मासमश्नीयात् स यतिश्चाण्ड्रायणः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 47. 7, q as बृहद्विष्णु by मा. प्रकरण p 131. As to द्विविष्य food, vide कात्यायन 'द्विविष्येषु यवा मुख्यास्तद्वद्व द्वीह्यः स्मृताः । अभावे त्रीहियवयोर्द्वैनापि पयसापि वा । तदभावे यवाग्वा वा खड्गुयादुदकेन वा । q. by स्मृतिश्च I p 163 गोभिलस्मृति I. 131 has द्विविष्येषु.. स्मृता. । and then adds 'माषकोद्भवगौरादि सर्वालाभे विवर्जयेत् । and गोभिल III. 114 has the verse अभावे त्रीहिः. On आश्व य. I 96 (हौम्यं च मांसवर्जम्) हरदत्त quotes 'पयो द्विष्य यवाग्वा सपिरोदनतण्डुलाः । सोमो मासं तथा तैलमापश्चैव द्दशैव तु ।'. Vide कृत्परत्नाकर p. 400 and निर्याचाचारपद्धति (p 320) for this last verse and further details about द्विविष्यान्न.

344. यदा खेतदेव मिश्रितं पञ्चगव्यं त्रिरात्रमभ्यस्यते तदा यतिसान्तपनसज्ञा लभते । एतदेव स्वहान्यस्तं यतिसान्तपनं स्मृतम्-इति शङ्खस्मरणात् । मित्ता. on मा. III. 314.

345 गोपुरीपाशानो मूला मासं नित्यं समाहितः । व्रतं तु यावत् कुर्यात् सर्वपापापञ्चत्तये ॥ शङ्ख. 18.10-11 q. by परा० मा. II. part 2 p 192 (reads=रीयवाम्यासो) and प्राय. सार p 199, मद् पर. p 746 (reads = रीपाद्यवाकं च)

346 देवलोऽपि । यवानामण्डु साधिताना सप्तरात्रं पक्षं मासं वा प्राशनं यावकः । एतेन यावत्कपायसोदकानि व्याख्यातानि । q by परा. मा III. part 2 p 192 and मा. प्रकाश folio 49 a

347. गोमूत्रेण तु संयुक्तं यावकं घृतपाचितम् । एतद्व्रतमिति श्रोकं भगवानत्रिरत्रवीत् ॥ अत्रि 164.

VĀYAVYA-KROCCHRA—According to the Agnipurāna³¹⁸ and Visnudharmottara this penance consists in subsisting for a month every day on food that will just fill the extended palm.

VRDDHAKROCCHRA—**VRDDHI-KROCCHRA**—This is a penance for eight days, according to Śankha-Likhita³¹⁹ and Yama, in which one takes food only by day for two days, only by night for two days, without asking for food for two days and fasts for two days

VYASAKROCCHRA—This is the same as Maitra-krochra,³⁵⁰ for which see above p 148.

ŚISUKROCCHRA—also called Bālakrochra by Śankha-Likhita and Pādakrochra by Devala and Prāyaścittamuktāvali (folio 10 a) and is the same as Laghu-krochra³⁵¹ It lasts for four days, eating once only in the day, eating once only by night, eating food got without asking for it only once on one day and fast on one day. Vide Vas 23,43 (q by Haradatta on Gaut. 26.5), Baud Dh. S II 1. 92. Yāj. III 318

ŚISU-CĀNDRAYANA—Manu XI 219, Baud Dh. S IV. 5 19, Agnipurāna 171.5 state that when a brāhmana eats (for a month) four mouthfuls in the morning and four after sun-set, that is Śisu-cāndrayana (cāndrayana for boys, old men &c).

ŚITAKROCCHRA—This is the reverse of Taptakrochra, as here all the articles are to be taken when they are cold³⁵² and not hot (as in Tapta-krochra). Vide Visnu Dh S 46 12, Agnipurāna 171 7 and Mit on Yāj. III 317 According to Visnu quoted by Pr Sara (p. 185) and Madana-pārijāta (p. 736) this is a penance for 10 days (and not for twelve days as the Mit. states), viz cold water, cold milk and cold ghee are drunk three days each and there is a total fast for one day

348 मास वायव्यकृच्छ्रं स्यात्पाणिपुराक्षभोजनात् । अग्निपु. 171. 14. वायव्य कृच्छ्रसुक्तं तु पाणिपुराक्षभोजनम् । मासेनैकेन धर्मज्ञ सर्वकल्मषनाशनम् । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर q by मा प्रकाश foio 48 a

349 तत्र शङ्खलिखितौ । प्रात सायमयाचितसुषवासरुयह इयहमिति प्राजापत्यं द्वचह द्वचहमिति वृद्धकृच्छ्रः, एकैकमिति बालकृच्छ्रः । प्राय. वि. p. 511. The प्राय सार p 177 quotes a verse of यम to the same effect.

350 The मा प्रकाश (folio 56b) cites a verse of अङ्गिरस् which is कपिलाया ..एष व्यासकृतः कृच्छ्रः स्वपाकमपि शोधयेत् ॥

351. लडुकृच्छ्रस्यैव शिशुकृच्छ्र इति नामान्तरम् । प्राय न p. 21.

351a. यदा तु शीतं क्षीरादि पीयते तदा शीतकृच्छ्रः । इयह शीत विवेत्तौ इयह शीत पय विवेत् । इयहं शीतं घृतं पीत्वा वायुभक्ष परं इयहम् ॥ इति यमस्मरणात् । मिता. on या III. 317.

ŚRĪKR̥CCHRA—According to Visnu Dh. S. 46.16, Agnipurāna 352 171.12 and Mit. on Yāj III. 316 (quoting Mārkaṇḍeya) this is constituted by subsisting on Bilva fruit or lotus seeds or āmalaka fruit for a month. The Madanapārijāta (p. 737) quotes a verse of Śankha to the same effect.

SĀNTAPANĀ—Vide Mahāsāntapana and Atisāntapana above. It is of five kinds, viz the first for two days, the 2nd for seven days, the third for twelve (Atisāntapana), the 4th for 15 days and the fifth for 21 days.

SURACĀNDRĀYANĀ—The Agnipurāna defines it as one where somehow or other (and not in a rising or falling scale) a man partakes of 240 morsels of food in a month. Yāj. III. 324 speaks of it as a variety of Cāndrāyana. Visnu. Dh. S. (47. 9) calls it 'sāmānyacāndrāyana' 353

SUVARṆA-KR̥CCHRA—Vide Hemādri on Prāyaścitta pp. 969-972 quoting Devala and Mārkaṇḍeyapurāna, in which a *va āha* or a half of it or quarter of it had to be donated. A Varāha was equal to nine rūpakas and a rūpaka was one māsa of five *guṇjas* (of silver it seems). For killing a brāhmana secretly or for the guilt of incest one had to perform ten thousand or 40 thousand suvarna-krochras and a lesser number for various other lapses.

SOMĀYANA—According to the Madanapārijāta pp. 744-746 (quoting Hārītadharmasūtra and Mārkaṇḍeya) and Pr. Prakāśa (folio 60b) the penance lasts for thirty days divided into five periods of 7, 7, 7, 6, 3 days, in which the milk of all the four udders of a cow, of three udders, of two udders and of one udder is respectively drunk and for the last three days there is a complete fast. There is another variety which lasts for 24 days from the 4th tithi of the dark half of a month to the 12th of the bright half of the next full-moon, the 24 days are divided into eight periods of three days each; in the first four

352 विल्वाभ्यवहारेण श्रीफलकृच्छ्रः पञ्चाक्षरैर्वा । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 46.16 ; फलैर्मासं फलं कृच्छ्रं विल्वैः श्रीकृच्छ्रं ईरितं । पञ्चाक्षरैः स्यादात्मलकैः शुष्णकृच्छ्रं तु शुष्णकैः । अग्निपु 171.12. Vide note 330 above for मार्कण्डेय.

353. यथा कथंचित्पिण्डानां चत्वारिंशच्छतद्वयम् । मासेन भक्षयेद्वैतत्सुरचान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥ अग्निपु 171.5-6 वा III 324 reads the 2nd half as मासेननोपशुजीत चान्द्रायणमथापरम् ॥ The Mit explains यथाकथंचित् as 'प्रतिदिनं मध्याह्ने षडौ ग्रासान्, अथवा नकादिनयोश्चतुरश्वतुरे वा, अथवैकास्मिश्चतुरोऽपरस्मिन्द्वादश वा तथैकरात्रमुपोऽप्यपरस्मिन्पौदश वेत्यादिप्रकाराणामन्यतमेन शक्यवाद्यपेक्षया शुजीत' यथाकथंचित्त्वद्यथा त्रिशांती मासेनाशनीयास्त सामान्यचान्द्रायण. । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 47.9

periods of three days each the milk of a cow's four udders, three udders, two udders and one udder is respectively drunk and then in the next four periods of three days each the milk of one udder, two, three and four udders is respectively drunk Vide also Prāyaścittendu-śekhara p 12

SAUMYAKRCCRA—According to Yaj III 321 this penance lasts for six days, in the first five of which one subsists in succession upon oilcake alone, foamy scum of boiled rice alone, butter-milk alone, water alone and *saktus* (barley) alone and on the last day a total fast is observed The Mit., Madanapārijāta p 717, Pr Sāra p 178 and other digests state that one has to partake of the five ingredients in quantities just sufficient to keep body and soul together. Jābāla (quoted by the Mit., Par M. II part 2 p 183 and others) makes it a penance of four days' duration, in the first three of which one partakes successively of oilcake, *saktus* and butter-milk and observes a fast on the 4th day. Atri (128-129) also mentions it. The Pr. Prakāśa (quoting Brahma-purāna) speaks³⁵⁴ of another variety of six days' duration, on the first of which there is a complete fast and on the last of which the sinner subsists on *saktus* alone and in the intervening four days he subsists on the thick gruel of barley cooked in cow's urine.

354 प्रकारान्तरेण षड् सौम्यकृच्छ्र उक्तो ब्रह्मपुराणे । प्रथमेऽहनि नाशनीयात्सौम्य-
कृच्छ्रेऽपि सर्वदा । गोमूत्रयावकाशार पठे सक्तैश्च तत्समाप्तं ॥ इति । मा. प्रकाश folio 46b

CHAPTER VI

CONSEQUENCES OF NOT UNDERGOING PENANCES

If a sinner did not undergo a *prāyaścitta*, the *Smrtis*, *Purānas*, medieval digests declared that he had to suffer dire and far-reaching consequences. *Yāj.* III. 221 declares that men addicted to sins, who feel no repentance and who (therefore) do not undergo the proper penances, fall into painful and horrible hells. *Manu* XII. 54 ff and *Yāj.* III. 206 ff provide that those guilty of grave (and other) sins after having passed numbers of years in hells and suffered the tortures of horrible hells are born again in this world because of (the remnants of their) evil actions in different forms such as lower animals, insects, trees and shrubs &c. *Manu* XI. 53 ordains that one should always perform penance in order to free oneself from sins, since those who have not destroyed their sins (by means of *prāyaścittas*) are born again endowed with disgraceful marks (such as having bad nails, black teeth &c.). *Manu* XI. 48 also emphasizes that wicked men suffer mal-formations owing to their wicked deeds committed in this very life or in a former life. The *Viṣṇu-purāna*³⁵⁵ echoes the words of *Yāj.* III. 221. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* declares³⁵⁶ that those (sinners) who do not undergo penances nor are punished by the king fall into hell and are born also as lower animals and even after attaining human bodies they become marked (with bodily defects). *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* (44. 1-10) prescribes³⁵⁷ that evil-doers, having experienced the horrors of hell pass into animal bodies and that those guilty of *atipātakas*, *mahāpātakas*, *anupātakas*, *upapātakas*, *jāti-*

355. पापकृत्याति नरक प्रायश्चित्तपरानुष्ठान । विष्णुपुराण IV. 5 21. q by परा मा II. part 2 p 209

356. प्रायश्चित्तविहीना ये राजमिश्राप्यवासिता । नरकं प्रतिपद्यन्ते तिर्यग्योनिं तथैव च ॥ मातृभ्रमपि चासाद्य भवन्तीह तथाङ्किता । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 73. 4-5 q. by परा मा. II. part 2 p. 210 and प्राय वि. p. 120 (both of which read अदृष्टिता: for अवा-सिता: of the printed ed.).

357. अथ पापात्मना नरकेष्वनुसृतु खाना तिर्यग्योनयो भवन्ति । अतिपातकिनां पद्या-
येण सर्वाः स्थावरयोनयः । महापातकिना च कृमियोनयः । अल्पपातकिनां पक्षियोनयः । उप-
पातकिना जलजयोनयः । कृतजोतिर्भेदकाराणा जलचरयोनयः । कृतसङ्करीकरणकर्मणां सूत्रयो-
नयः । कृतपात्रोत्तरणकर्मणां पशुयोनयः । कृतमालिनीकरणकर्मणां मनुष्येष्वसृष्टययोनयः ।
प्रकीर्णेषु प्रकीर्णां हिंसा. क्रव्यादा भवन्ति । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 44. 1-10.

bhramśa-kara actions, sankarīkarana, apatrikarana, malīnīkarana and miscellaneous sins, respectively enter the bodies of all plants, of worms (or insects), of birds, of aquatic animals, of animals roving in waters, of deer, of cattle, of untouchables among men, of miscellaneous and cruel carnivorous animals (like tigers). Visnu Dh. S. 45.1 provides³⁵⁸ that sinners, after having undergone the horrors of hells and after having passed through the bodies of lower animals, are born as human beings with certain marks (indicative of their sins) So the teaching of these and other authorities comes to this that sins when not expiated by penances or by State punishment, lead to hell, that then, owing to some remnants of the evil deeds, to birth as lower animals and then as decrepit or diseased human beings.

It is now necessary at this stage to enter upon a historical though brief account of the idea of Hell and of its opposite Heaven³⁵⁹ There are in the R̥gveda hardly any clear or express references to Hell In R̥g II. 29.6 the sage prays to the Visve-Devas 'save me from the pit, from falling down into it' (trādhvam kartād-avapado yajatrāh). In R̥g IV. 5. 5 it is said³⁶⁰ that those men who are bereft of *rta* and *satya*, being sinful, create a deep place for themselves. In R̥g. VII. 104.3 the poet calls upon Indra and Soma to strike down³⁶¹ into bottomless darkness evil-doers, and in VII. 104.11 the poet prays that whatever enemy desires to harm the poet by day or night may be deprived of his body and progeny and may be hurled below the three earths Indra is implored in R̥g X. 152.4 by the sage to send down into darkness whoever attacks him and his people. In R̥g. IX. 73.8 Soma is said to throw down in a pit those who do not observe Soma's ordinances and who are disliked by him. From these passages what emerges is that the sages of the R̥gveda had some faint glimmerings of (or belief in) the idea of a dark

358 अथ नरकाभिधूतदुःखानां तिर्यक्त्वसृष्टीर्णानां मनुष्येषु तद्वृत्तानि भवन्ति । विष्णु धर्मसूत्र 45.1.

359 Vide for 'Heaven' and 'Hell' in Vedic Literature 'Vedic Mythology' by Prof. A. A. Macdonell, pp 167-170, 'The religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanisads' by Prof. Keith pp 405-410, Journal of American Oriental Society, Vol. 13 pp ciii ff, Vol. 61 pp 76-80, Vol 62 pp 150-156,

360. पापास सन्तो अहृता असत्या द्रुदं पद्मजनता गभीरम् ॥ ऋ. IV 5 5.

361 इन्द्रासोमा दुःकृतो वने अन्तरारम्भणे तमसि म विध्यतम् । ऋ VII 104. 3; पर सो अस्तु तन्वा तना च तिस्र पृथ्वीरथो अस्तु विश्वा । ऋ VII. 104. 11. यो अस्मि अभिदासत्यधरं गमया तम । ऋ X. 152 4. विद्वान्म विश्वा भुवनाभिवश्यन्नामुदाद्य विध्यति कर्तं अम्रताम् । ऋ IX 73.8.

deep pit below the earth to which wicked persons were relegated by the gods. But there is no mention in the R̥gveda of the tortures of Hell. It is in the Atharvaveda that we find the clearest references to Hell (Naraka). Sorcerers and demons dwell in a house below (the earth), according to A. V. II. 14. 3. Atharvaveda V. 30. 11 asks a man to come out from death, from the deep and black darkness. In Atharvaveda³⁶² V. 19. 3 it is asserted that those who spat in the face of a brāhmana or who imposed a levy of money on him remain biting hair in the midst of a river of blood. Atharvaveda XII. 4. 36 mentions 'Nāraka-loka'. In the Vāj. S. XXX. 5 the *Viñahan*³⁶³ (i. e. one who gives up or extinguishes the consecrated Vedic fires) is relegated to *nāraka* (*nārakāya viñahanam*). A *viñahan* may also mean 'one who kills a valiant man' but that does not seem to be a proper sense in this passage of the Vāj. S. In the Śat. Br. XI. 6. 1-4 we find a reference to torments of Hell, viz. men cutting up the limbs of others one by one for crimes committed. The Tai. Ā. I. 19 speaks of four *narakas* called Visarpiṇ, Avisarpiṇ, Viśādin and Avisādin in the south-east, south-west, north-west and north-east. From the Kathopaniṣad it appears that at that time there was a belief that those foolish men who do not know the Reality and who only believe in the existence of the mundane world alone have to be born again and again and fall into the hands of Yama³⁶⁴ (II. 5-6). The same Upaniṣad (V. 7) states that after the death (of the body) some enter the womb in accordance with their actions and knowledge to have an embodied existence, while others go into fixed matter (the form of trees and the like). But that Upaniṣad says nothing about the torments of Hell. They were therefore probably not believed to exist in those days, at least, to the same degree as in the days of the Epics and Purānas. The very words at the beginning of the Katha Up. (I. 21 'devair-atrēpi vicikitsitam') indicate that there were even then various views about the fate of the departed. The Kausītaki Br. (XI. 3) propounds the remarkable proposition that

362 ये ब्राह्मण प्रत्यङ्गिष्यन्ते चास्मिन् शुक्लमीषिरे । अस्नस्ते मध्ये कुल्यायाः केशान् खादन्त आसते ॥ अथर्व. V. 19. 3

363 अपाह्नुरिक् लोके निरुन्धानस्य याचिताम् । अथर्ववेद XII. 4. 36, वीरहा वा एष देवाना योऽसिद्धासयते । तै. स. II. 2. 5. 5

364. न सांपराय प्रतिभाति बालं प्रमाद्यन्तं वित्तमोहेन मूढम् । अयं कोको नास्ति पर इति मानी पुन. पुनर्विज्ञापयति मे ॥ कठोप. II. 6, vidē n. 94 above for कठोप. V. 7.

just as men in this world eat the (flesh of) beasts, so in the next world the beasts eat men.³⁶⁵

As regards the opposite idea of *svarga* (Heaven) the matter is much clearer. In certain Rk verses there are said to be three heavens (e g Rg I 35 6, VIII 5 8, VIII 41 9, IX, 113, 9) The generous donor or worshipper is said to occupy heaven and to mix among gods; and gods like Mitra and Varuna are implored to give the worshipper immortality³⁶⁶ (Rg I, 125, 5, V. 63. 2, X 107 2) Life in heaven is full of joys and delights and the denizen of heaven has all his desires fulfilled (Rg. IX, 113 10-11).³⁶⁷ In Rg IX, 113 8 the poet prays 'make me immortal (in heaven) where dwells king Varivasvata, where the sun is confined (i e. where it never sets) and where the divine waters flow' A person who neither offers sacrifices to gods, nor worships, and observes ordinances other than those of Indra is thrown down from Heaven³⁶⁸. A sage exultingly addresses Soma 'we have drunk soma, we have become immortal, we have reached Light (Heaven) and we have known the gods; what will an enemy or harmful person do to us who have been mortals so far?'³⁶⁹ The pious dead become united in Heaven with their *Istāpūta* (merit due to sacrifices and charitable acts) and with their fore-fathers and become endowed with a refulgent body (Rg X 148). Those who practise *tapas* or those who perform sacrifices in which the fees run to thousands (of cows) reach Heaven (Rg X, 154, 1-3)³⁷⁰, and Soma, ghee and honey flow for them there. Heaven is said to be the abode of Yama and there resounds the sound of flutes and of songs³⁷¹ The Atharvaveda, being more popular in

365. तद्यथा इ वा अस्मिँल्लोके मनुष्या पशून्हनन्ति यथैभिर्जुलत एवनेवाहमिँहोके पशवो मनुष्यान्हनन्त्येवमेभिर्जुलते । कौपी भा XI 3

366. नाकस्य वृष्टे अधि तिष्ठति अितो यः पृणालि स ह देवेषु गच्छति । ऋ I 125 5, उतो अस्मानमृतत्वे दधातन । ऋ V 55. 4, वृष्टिं वा राधो अमृतत्वमीमहे । ऋ V 62 2, उच्चा दिवि दक्षिणावन्तो अस्थुर्ये अश्वदा सह ते सूर्येण । ऋ X, 107 2.

367. यत्रानन्दाश्च मोदाश्च सुद मसुद आस्तते । कामस्य यत्राता कामास्तत्र माममृत कूर्ध्वीन्द्रायेन्दो परिस्त्रव । ऋ. IX, 113 11

368. अन्यन्नतममाद्यपमयज्जानमदेवयुम् । अव स्व सखा इजुवीत पर्वत सुभ्याय दरुड पर्वत. ॥ ऋ. VIII, 70 11.

369. अपाम सोमममृता अश्रुसागन्म ज्योतिरविदाम देवान् । किं सूत्रमस्मान्कृणवदराति किञ्च धूर्तिरमृत मर्त्यस्य ॥ ऋ VIII, 48 3.

370. ये युभ्यन्ते प्रथनेषु शूरासो ये तद्वत्यज । ये वा सहस्रदाक्षिणास्तांश्चिदेवापि गच्छतात् ॥ ऋ X, 154 3

371. इदं यमस्य सादन देवमान यदुच्यते । इयमस्य धम्यते नाडीरय गीर्षि. परिष्कृत ॥ ऋ. X, 135. 7,

character, contains much more information about Heaven. In Atharvaveda III. 29.3 it is said that a donor goes to Heaven where a weak man has not to render to the strong any contribution.³⁷² In Atharvaveda IV. 34.2, 5-6 it is stated that in the heavenly world there are bevis of women (for the denizens), that there the dwellers get many edible plants and flowers and that there are ponds of ghee, streams of milk and honey, wine flows like water and lotus lakes surround the denizens. In Heaven the meritorious enjoy delight, their bodies being free from disease.³⁷³ Atharvaveda VI. 120.3 and other verses express a yearning to meet one's parents, wife and sons (vide Atharva XII. 3.17).³⁷⁴ The Tai. S. is full of references to Heaven and so no quotation is cited here except one where it is said that he who offers the Adābhya cup in Jyotistoma goes to heaven while still living in this world.³⁷⁵ The Tai. Br. appears to hold that those who offer sacrifices become shining stars in the firmament (I. 5. 2. 5-6)^{375a} The Sat. Br. (XI 1. 8. 6) states 'that sacrificer who offers a sacrifice as this redemption is born in the next world (Heaven) with his body entire'.³⁷⁵ Survival of the soul after death is emphatically asserted in the Tai. Br. III. 10. 11. These passages are enough to establish that the state of the pious after death and of heroes killed in battle was one of happiness in heaven, that there the food and material things (such as honey, ghee) that a person required in this world were also available in greater perfection and abundance. The remark of Macdonell 'Heaven is a glorified world of material joys as pictured by the imagination not of warriors but of priests' (Vedic Mythology p. 168) is not (in view of Rg. X. 154.3) quite accurate or justified. There is nothing to show

372. स नाकमन्पारोहति यत्र ह्युत्की न कियते अमलेन बलीयसे ॥ अथर्व III 29. 3.

373. नैवा शिर्षं प्र दहति जातेवदा स्वर्गे लोके बहु ज्ञेयनेपाम् ॥ वृत्तददा मनुकुलाः सुषोदकाः सीरेण पूर्णा उदकेन वृष्टाः एतास्त्वा धारा उप पशु सर्वा स्वर्गे लोके मधुमत्पिन्व-मासा । उप त्वा विदन्तु शुक्ररिणीः समन्ता ॥ अथर्व IV, 34.2 and 6

374. यत्रा सुहार्दः सुकृते मद्मन्ति निहाय रोगं तन्वः स्वाया । अश्लोणा अङ्गैरद्भुता. स्वर्गे तत्र पश्येन पितरौ स पुत्रात् ॥ अथर्व VI. 120 3, स्वर्गे लोकमानि नो नयासि सं जायया सह सुवै. स्वाम ॥ अथर्व XII 3 17.

375. किं तद्यज्ञे यजमान. कुरुते येन जितन्धुवर्गे लोकमेतीति जीवयहो वा एय यददाम्योऽ नभिपुत्रस्य यद्वाति जीवन्तमेवैर्न सुवर्गे लोकं गमयति ॥ तै सं VI. 6 9 2.

375 a 'यो वा इह यजते अहं स लोकं नक्षते ... देवग्रहा वै नक्षत्राणि । तै. ब्रा. I. 5 2. 5-6

376. स ह सर्वतद्वेषे यजमानोऽसुमिह्लोके सम्भवति य एवं विद्वान् निष्कृत्या यजते । शतपथ. XI. 1. 8 6.

that the warriors of Vedic times did not believe what the priests believed. In later times (as in the Bhagavadgītā II 37 'hato vā prāpsyasi svargam' or in the Raghuvamśa VII. 51) warriors killed in battle were supposed to go to heaven and were privileged to have the company of beautiful damsels. Heaven as a place or state of eternal bliss to which the spirits of the religious or meritorious people or warriors go, is an idea common to most ancient peoples and was probably based on the idea that the Earth was flat and the sky was a dome carrying various celestial objects. In the Brhadāranyaka Up (IV 3 33) and Tai. Up. (II. 8) it is³⁷⁷ stated that the joys of the world of gods are hundreds of times more delightful than those of the mortal world³⁷⁸. In the Kathopanishad (I 13) it is stated by Yama himself that in Heaven there is no fear and no old age, that the denizen of Heaven is beyond hunger, thirst and sorrow and is in the midst of all delights. The Kausītaki Br Up as quoted by Śankarācārya on Vedāntasūtra I. 1 28 contains the statement that the abode of sinners is below this world or³⁷⁹ the earth. The Chāndogya Up in one place remarks³⁸⁰ 'those whose conduct has been good will quickly attain some good birth, the birth of a brāhmana or a ksatriya or vaiśya. But those whose conduct has been evil will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog or a hog or a cāṇḍāla'.

We have here a complicated blending of two theories. The original theory of early Vedic times was that of Heaven and Hell which is also that of most religions. Later on when the doctrines of *karma* and *punarjanma* came to be universally believed in India the theory of Heaven and Hell came to be modified by holding that the pleasures of heaven and the torments of Hell both came to an end some time or other and the author of sins was born again as an animal or a tree or a human being suffering from diseases and defects.

377 तस्यैवं दृष्टिर्वा सर्वा वित्तस्य पूर्णा स्यात् । स एको माह्व आनन्द । ते ये ज्ञात माह्वषा आनन्दा स एको मह्वष्यगन्धर्वाणामानन्द । ..ते ये ज्ञात देवानामानन्दा स एक इन्द्रस्यानन्द । ते उप. II. 8.

378 स्वर्गे लोके न अथ किञ्च नास्ति न तत्र त्व न जरया विभेति । उभे तीर्त्वाश्नाया-
पिपासे शोक्रातिगो मोदते स्वर्गलोके ॥ कठोप I. 12

379 एष उ एवासाधु कर्म कारयति त यमेभ्यो लोकैभ्योऽधो निनीषते । कौ. ब्रा. उ III 9.

380 तद्य इह रमणीयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते रमणीया योनिमापद्येरन्नाह्वणयोर्नि वा क्षत्रिययोर्नि वा वैश्ययोर्नि वा । अथ य इह कपूयचरणा अभ्याशो ह यत्ते कपूया योनिमापद्येरन् श्वयोर्नि वा सूकरयोर्नि वा चण्डालयोर्नि वा । छान्दोग्योप V. 10.7.

The fate of the departed soul after the death of the body will be touched upon in the section on Antyesti and Śrāddha, but in connection with the doctrine of Hell it is necessary to say something about Yama. In Rg. X. 58. 1 Yama is called Vaivasvata (son of Vivasvat, the Sun). Yama is at least an Indo-Iranian deity. Yama is eulogised in Rg. X. 14. He is called a king and is credited with the task of gathering together people (X. 14. 1); he is said to have been the first to make a way (to Heaven) which was followed by former ancestors of mankind (X. 14. 2 'Yamo no gatum prathamō viveda. yatrā nah pūrve pitarah pareyuh'). The soul when departing from this world is told that when he follows the paths of the ancient ancestors he would see the two kings Yama and Varuna. In Rg. X. 14. 13-15 the priests are asked to press Soma for Yama, to offer oblations to him and it is said that *yajña* reaches Yama, Agni being the messenger. In Rg. X. 135. 1 Yama is stated to drink in the company of gods, he is the lord of men. Yama owns two dogs each having four eyes who guard the way, who are the spies of Yama and who move among men and mark their doings. In Rg. X. 97. 16 the sage prays 'May the plants release me from the (effects of the) violation of oaths, from the violation of the ordinances of Varuna, from the fetters which Yama claps on the feet of sinners and from all sins against the gods'.³⁸¹ In Rg. X. 165. 4 Yama is identified with Mrtyu (death) and the owl (an evil omen) or a *kapota* is said to be the *dūta* (harbinger) of Yama. Rg. I. 38. 5 (addressed to the Maruts) appears to crave for something which is opposed to what other references to Yama state 'May not the singer of your praises go by the path of Yama'.³⁸² Thus, though in the Rgveda, Yama is a god and mostly a beneficent ruler of men, there is an element of fear associated with him as the two prying dogs that guard the way to heaven and his being called Mrtyu would suggest. The Atharvaveda refers to Yama in several places in the same strain as in the Rg. In A. V. 18. 3. 13 it is said³⁸³ 'serve the king Yama with offering, who was the first to die among men, who was the first to depart from this world and who, the son of Vivasvat, is the gatherer of men'. In Tai. S. V. I. 82 and V. 2. 3. 1 it is stated that Yama is the lord of all mortals and of

381. सुञ्जन्तु मा शपथ्यादथो वदन्त्याहुत । अथो यमस्य पद्वीशित् सर्वस्माद्देवकिल्बिषात् ॥ ऋ X 97.16.

382. मा वो मृतो न यवसे जरिता भूदलोऽथः । पथा यमस्य गार्हप ॥ ऋ I 38.5.

383. यो ममार प्रथमो मर्त्याना यः प्रेयाय प्रथमो लोकमेतत् । वैवस्वत् सङ्गमनं जनानां यमं राजानं हविषा सपर्यत ॥ अथर्व 18.3.13.

the whole extent of the earth. In Tai S III. 3 8 3-4 it is declared ³⁸⁴ 'Yama is indeed Agni and this (earth and altar) is Yami. When a sacrificer strews *Oṣadhīs* on the Veda it is indeed tantamount to taking up a debt from Yama. If he (the sacrificer) were to go from this world without burning them they (Yama's men) might take him to the next world with fetters round his neck.' In Rg X. 14. 10³⁸⁵ the *pitṛs* are said to enjoy delights in the company of Yama. In the Ait Br ^{385a} (XII 3) *Mṛtyu* is credited with having fetters (*pūras*) and wooden maces (*sthānu*) for catching erring men. It has already been seen how Yama is said to have within his powers again and again foolish men who believe in the existence of this world alone and deny the existence of the next. Thus, from being a beneficent ruler of the departed souls in the very early Vedic times, Yama came gradually to be looked upon as a dreadful punisher of men.³⁸⁶ The Purānas contain graphic descriptions of Yama's abode and of his assistants, chief among whom is Citragupta. For example, the Varāhapurāna ^{386a} chap 205 contains a dialogue between Yama and Citragupta, in which the latter recommends the fate that a dead person deserves for his actions. The Agnipurāna chap. 371. 12 states that a sinner falls into horrible hells that are declared by Citragupta at the order of Yama.

384. अग्निर्वाच यम इयं यमी कुसीरं वा एतद्यमस्य यजमान आदत्ते यद्वेषधीभिर्वेदिंस्तृणाति यदद्वेषौघं प्रपायाद् धीवचन्दनेनमहान्निहोक्ति नेनीयिरत् । तै तं. III 3 8 3-4.

385. अधा पितृन्नुषिदत्रो उपेहि यमेन ये सधमाद् नवन्ति । ऋ X 14 10

385a स सर्वान्पाशान्स्तर्बात् स्थण्डिलं सुत्योरविस्तुच्य स्वस्त्येषोद्वसुच्यत । ऐ ऋ XII 3

386. Vide an article in the Journal of the Benares Hindu University, vol. IV pp 19-46 on 'Yama and the Pitṛs' (where Vedic, Avestic and Norse evidence is led and a naturalistic explanation is given such as Yama being the light of dawn, pitṛs as 'rays of light' and *saramā* 'light of twilight') Vide Dr R. N. Dandekar in B C Law Presentation vol I pp 194-209, where most of the theories of Western scholars about Yama are presented and examined. The naturalistic explanations have been in vogue from very ancient times, as the Kāthaka Samhitā VII 10 implies 'अर्हवासीक राज्ञी सा यमी भ्रातरं नृत मादृच्यत तां यददृच्छन् यमि कार्हे ते भ्रातादृतेत्यथेत्येवावचीत्'.

386 a. अयं वृक्षस्त्वयं तिर्यग्यं मोक्षं ब्रजेत्कर ॥ 2 अपमानोघने इत्तुं हत्वा इ निघन गतः । आह्नणार्थं यवार्यं वा राष्ट्रार्थं निघने गत । शक्रस्य ह्यनरावत्पां निवेद्यत ना बिरत् । verses 9-10 of chap 205 of वराहपुराण; अन्यच्छरीरमादत्ते पातनीय सकर्मभि । हुंकेय पापकृद्दुःखं सुखं धर्माय सङ्गत् ॥ यमाज्ञते किङ्करैस्तु पात्यते नरकेषु च । अग्नि. 203 4-5; तृह्णाति नत्स्त्रणाधोगे शरीरं चातिवाहिकम् । आकाशवासुदेजांसि विग्रहादूर्ध्वगतानि । . यम इत्तु यमोकेन चित्रयुगेन चेतितान् । भ्रामोति नरकान्शौद्रान् पर्मा शुभपर्थादिवम् ॥ अग्नि. 371. 9 and 12.

We must now turn to the ideas of Heaven and Hell contained in the post-Vedic Literature, sūtras, smritis, purānas and digests. The Nir. (I 11) quotes³⁸⁷ a quarter of a Vedic verse which means 'for fear that if we (women) acted crookedly (towards our husbands) we might fall into Hell' The word Naraka is derived by it in two ways (*m + a + ka*), viz. as meaning 'going below' (the earth) or (*na + ra + ka*) 'where there is not the slightest place for joy'. In another place, while deriving the word 'putra' (son) the Nir. (II 11) declares that the son is called *putra* because he saves (the father) from the hell called *put*. The same derivation of the word *putra* is offered by Manu IX 138 (= Ādiparva 229.14 = Viṣṇudharmasūtra 15.44). Gautama (13.7) promises³⁸⁸ heaven to the witnesses in a cause if they speak the truth, but Hell (*naraka*) if they tell the opposite (of truth). After defining *patana* as loss of the capacity to perform the privileged acts of twice-born classes (such as Veda study &c) and stating that by being guilty of sins a man does not in the next world reap the fruits of his good actions, Gautama states the striking view of other sages that *naraka* is nothing more than this loss of capacity and of the fruits of good acts, his own view however being that *naraka* is a particular place where a man has to dwell solely in distress and sorrow. It was the emphatic view of Gautama that men of the several *varnas* and *āśramas* that are devoted to the actions prescribed as peculiar to each, enjoy after departing from this body, the fruits of their actions and then owing to some remainder of their total actions are born in bodies in appropriate circumstances as to the country, caste, family, appearance, length of life, learning, conduct, wealth, happiness and intelligence, while those who act contrariwise

387. अथापि न हृत्पे हृद् हृत्पेनेन ह्ययुज्यते परिमये नेज्जिह्वायन्त्यो वरकं पतन इति। वरकं स्वरक भीर्चेयमन्व मास्मिन्मरणं स्थानमल्पमप्यस्तीति वा । निरुक्त I. 11. Some editions give the whole verse हृदिभिरके स्वरितः सचन्ते सुवन्त एके सवनेषु सोमम् । शचीमदन्त उत दक्षिणाभिर्न०. This is a Vedic verse after Rg X. 106.1. विश्वरूप on p. III 217 quotes नेज्जि० and explains 'जिह्वायन्त्यः कौटिल्येन यद्युचा कामकार- म्बुचा इति यावत् । अतश्चाकामकृते नैव नरकप्राप्तिः' ; युज्ज. युज्ज प्रायते निपरणाद्वा शुव् वरकं ततश्चायत इति वा । निरुक्त II. 11.

388. स्वर्गः सत्यवचने विपर्यये नरकः । गौ 13 7. द्विजातिकर्मभ्यो हानिः पतनम् तथा परत्र चास्तिद्विः । तमेकं नरकम् । गौ. 21. 4-6, on the last of which हरदत्त remarks 'स्वमत तु विशिष्टे येशु दुःसैकतानस्य वासो नरक इति'; vide also अपराकं p. 1045 for the view of Gautama.

pass into all sorts of births and are ruined³⁸⁹. Āp. Dh. S. holds that a man becomes fit for Naraka if he follows activities solely dictated by sensual pleasures.³⁹⁰ In another place Ap. Dh. S. affirms that *Naraka* is indeed one's lot when one transgresses one's *dharma*. It also states that rewards without end are denominated *svargya*. The Vedāntasūtra III 1.13 makes it³⁹¹ clear that after enjoying the fruits of one's actions in the abode of Yama (*Samyamana*) evil-doers ascend to this mortal world. In Vedāntasūtra III 1.15 the *narakas*³⁹² are said to be seven Pānini VI 2 38 teaches the accent of *mahāraurava*. In the *Kāśikā* com on Pānini III 2.88 a vedic verse is cited according to which one who kills his mother enters the 7th *naraka*. The *Visnupurāna* I. 6.41 names seven hells, *Tāmisra*, *Andhatāmisra*, *Mahāraurava*, *Raurava*, *Asipatravana*, *Kālasūtra* and *Avīci* and (in II. 6 2-5) names 26 *narakas*. Śankha-Likhita as quoted by the *Madanapārijāta* pp 694-695 mentions in detail the torments that evil-doers undergo in the hells called *Kumbhipāka*, *Raurava*, *Mahāraurava* &c. *Manu* IV. 88-90, *Yāj. III* 222-224, *Visnu Dh. S.* 43. 2-22, *Agnipurāna* 371. 20-22, *Nārada (prakīrnaka* 44) enumerate 21 *narakas*. The names are almost the same in all these works, the variations being due mostly to the scribes having read certain letters differently. The 21 names are generally significant and may be set out from *Manu* as follows: *Tāmisra* (darkness), *Andhatāmisra* (blinding darkness), *Mahāraurava*, *Raurava* (abounding in paths with heated surfaces, according to Pr. V. p. 15), *Kālasūtra* (like the thread on the wheel with which the potter cuts off a raw earthen pot in two), *Mahānaraka*, *Sañjivana* (where one is made to revive and is again killed), *Mahāvīci* (where one is submerged in surging waves), *Tapana* (as burning hot as fire), *Sampratāpana* (same as *Kumbhipāka*, according to Pr. V. p. 15), *Sanghāta* (making many stay in a small place like the legendary Black-

389. वर्णाश्रमा स्वस्वधर्मनिष्ठा मेव कर्मफलमनुभूय तत क्षेपेण विनिवृत्तदेशजाति-कुलरूपाश्च श्रुतद्वचवित्तसुखमेधसो जन्म प्रतिपद्यन्ते। विष्वञ्चो विपरीता नश्यन्ति। गो XI. 29-30, q by शाङ्कर in his भाष्य on वेदान्तसूत्र III. 1 8

390. तदनुभवमानो नरकाय शयति। आप. ध. सू. I 4 12 12, हृद्यो वर्पति हृद्यो धर्ममतिक्रामति धर्मातिक्रमे खलु पुनर्नरकः। आप. ध. सू. I 4 13 4, तत. परमनन्द फल स्वर्गशब्दं श्रूयते। आप. ध. सू. II 9.23.12.

391. संयमने त्वदनुभूयेतरेषामारोहावरोहौ तद्गतिदृशनात्। वेदान्तसूत्र III 1 13 शाङ्कर in his भाष्य relies on Kathopanisad II. 6 and Rg. X.14.1 (both quoted above) in support

392. अपि च सप्त। वेदान्तसूत्र III.1.15; अपि च सप्त नरका रौरवमखला दुष्कृतफलो पभोगशुभित्तेन स्मर्यन्ते पौराणिके.। शाङ्करभाष्य.

hole of Calcutta), Kākola (where one is preyed on by crows), Kṛdmāla (where one is bound with ropes into a bundle, which looks like a closed bud), Pātīmṛttika (where the clay has a putrid smell), Lohaśaṅku (piercing one with iron nails), Rjisa (where boiled flour is thrown about), Pañhāḥ (where one is made to walk constantly to and fro), Śālmali (where one is struck with thorns like those of the silk-cotton tree), Nadi (i. e. where one is carried away by a river such as the Vaitaraṇī), Asipatravana (where one is cut up by a forest of sword blades), Lohadāraka (which cuts up limbs with iron). Manu (XII 75-76) again mentions the Tāmisa, Asipatravana and Kumbhīpāka narakas and Manu III 249 Kālasūtra. Kullūka (on Manu. IV. 88-90). Pr. V. (p. 16), the Dipakalīkā (on Yāj. III. 222-224) and other commentaries say that the conditions in the hells may be read in the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna and other works. Vide Agnipurāna 303 and 371 (where Hells are said to be 144), Brahmapurāna, chap. 22 (which names 25 narakas and states what sinners fall into which of them), chap. 214 (verses 14-17 of which speak of 22 narakas and verses 51-103 contain harrowing descriptions of the horrible torments of hell), chap. 215. 83. ff. (for names and descriptions of several narakas).³⁹³

Brahma-vaiṣvarta (praktikhaṇḍa chap. 29 which names 86 narakakhaṇḍas³⁹⁴ and chap. 33), Nārada-purāna, pūrvārtha 15.1-20 (for narakas and torments), Padmapurāna (Uttara, chap. 227 for 140 narakas and Pātālakhaṇḍa chap. 48 for several narakas), Bhaviṣya-purāna (Brahmaparva, chap. 192.11-27 for torments of Hell and Uttaraparva Chap. 5-6 for sins and narakas). The Bhāgavatapurāna V 28.6 states that there are 28 narakas, though according to some there are 21. Vide also Viṣṇu-purāna

393. Yāj and Viṣṇu read 'avīci' 'for mahāvīci. Yāj. reads Sampratāna (throwing down in a pit) for Sampratāpana and adds Kumbhīpāka separately, which latter means 'heating after placing inside a jar'. The printed Manusmṛiti reads 'Pratimūrtikam', which is a misreading of some mss. Some Mss read 'Lohacāraka' which may mean 'being made to walk over red hot iron' or 'being fettered with irons' (Pr. V. p. 16) All the names are explained by Pr. V. (pp. 15-16) and by some of the commentators of Manu. According to Jamadagni quoted in Pr. V p. 16 Vaitaraṇī is a river in the nether regions which is full of foul smell and blood, which has hot water, is very rapid and has on the crest of its waves bones and hair. Śaṅkha-Likhita (q. by Madanapārījāta p. 695) describes Vaitaraṇī as 'taptodakī' (having hot water).

394. नरकानां च कुण्डानि सन्ति जलनिधानि च । जलानुसृत्य भेदेन नामभेदानि तानि च । ...पतन्निवस्य कुण्डानि क्षीरनद्यां वसन्ति च । प्रकृतैर्वत्, महातिष्ठत् 29. 4-6,

V. 6.2-5, Skandapurāna I, chap. 39 and VI 226-227. In the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāna (chap 12) we have a description of several narakas like the Raurava, Mahāraurava, Asipatravana &c and chap 14 (verses 39-94) mentions the punishments meted out to perpetrators of various sins. In the Mahābhārata also narakas and the torments thereof are frequently referred to. For example, Śāntiparva 321-32 speaks of Vaitarani and Asipatravana, Anuśāsana (23 60-82) speaks of the actions that lead to hell* (each verse having the refrain *te vaḥ nraya-gāmnah*). Anuśāsana 145.10-13, Svargārohanika-parva (2 16-26) describes the several horrible sights and torments of such hells as 'Asipatravana' (named in verse 23) and Kūṭasālmali (named in Svargārohanika 34). The Vṛddha-Hārīta-smṛti (IX, 167-171) mentions almost the same 21 narakas as the Manusmṛti does. The craze for multiplying narakas went so far that the Brahma-purāna, the Viṣṇudharmottara³⁹⁵, the Garuda-purāna and others declared that there were thousands, lakhs and crores of narakas.

The Viṣṇu Dh. S. (46. 23-29) provides that those guilty of atipātakas, anupātakas, sankarīkarana, who have not under gone prāyaścittas suffer respectively for one Kalpa,^{395a} for one Manvantara, for four Yugas, for a thousand years in the 21 narakas in rotation and the other sinners for many years. Yama quoted by the Madanapārijāta p. 696 says that those guilty of Mahāpātakas stay in Hell with face downwards for a yuga and Yama has numerous other verses stating what sinners undergo which horrors of Hell.

Buddhists appear to have borrowed the doctrine about hells from Brahmanical writers. Vide Dr B. O. Law's monograph on 'Heaven and Hell in Buddhist perspective' (1925), pages 111-113, which refer to eight Mahānirayas and there are other lesser Hells. The eight Mahānirayas are Sañjīva, Kālasutta, Saṅghāta, Roruva, Mahāroruva, Tapa, Mahātapa and Avīci. It will be noticed how those names agree closely with Manu's list

395. खड्गसूत्रनिपातैश्च भिद्यन्ते पापकारिणः । नरकाणां सहस्रेषु लक्षकोटिषु च स्वकर्मापार्जितदोषैः पीडयन्ते यमाकिङ्करैः । ब्रह्मपुराण 215 82-83 . अष्टादिशक्तिकोत्सवस्युद्योराणि नरकाणि वै । महापातकिनश्चात्र सर्वे स्थुर्नरकाधिपु ॥ आचन्द्रतारकं यावती ज्वान्ते विविधैर्वधैः । अतिपातकिनश्चान्ये निरयान्बकोदितु । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर ५. 10 स्मृतिषु (भा) p 859, गरुडपुराण (प्रितस्रण्ड) chap 3 3 नरकाणां सहस्राणि वर्तन्ते दारुणाहज ।

395a For Kalpa, Manvantara and Yuga, vide H of Dh vol. III pp. 890-891.

of hells. For the gruesome details of Hell and torments therein in ancient Jain works, vide Uttarādhyayana-sūtra (S B.E. vol. 45 pp 93-97) and Sūtrakṛtāṅga I 5 (S B. E. vol. 45 pp. 279-286). Similarly, for the ideas of Heaven and Hell in Zoroastrianism, vide Mr. S. N Kanga's 'Heaven and Hell and their location in Zoroastrianism and in the Vedas' (1933).

The Buddhists held their penitential meetings (Pātimokkha), for which see S. B. E. vol. XIII pp 1-69 and for the 92 *pācittiya* (Prāścittiya) rules, vide pp. 32-55 of the same volume.

There are very glowing descriptions of Heaven (*svarga*) in the Mahābhārata, the Purānas and other works. We have already seen how Heaven was supposed to be a place of delights in the Rgveda and even in the Upanisads like Katha (I 12-13 and 18 'śoṭatigo modate svargaloke'). Rg. X. 107.2 affirms that those who give (large) *dakṣiṇā* stand high in the Heavens (as stars), those that donate horses go in the company of the Sun and those that donate gold become immortal. An³⁹⁶ echo of this is found in Vanaparva 186.9. The Kaus Up 13 speaks of several worlds (*lokas*) of the gods such as those of Agni, Vāyu, Varuna, Āditya, Indra, Prajāpati, Brahmā and a similar gradation of higher worlds is described in Br. Up. III.6 (such as Devaloka, Indraloka, Prajāpatiloka, Brahmaloaka) The Br. Up. I.5. 16 speaks of manusyaloka, pitrioka and devaloka and holds that devaloka is the best of all worlds³⁹⁷. Kaus. Up. 1. 4 implies that in the heavenly world divine nymphs, garlands, collyrium, fragrant powder, garments wait upon the fortunate denizens. Śānkara on Vedānta-sūtra (IV. 3 4) says that the word 'loka' means 'a place for enjoying the fruits of one's actions' (*bhogāyatana*) and that Hiranyagarbha is the *adhyakṣa* of *Brahmaloka* (on Vedānta-sūtra IV. 3 10) In the Vanaparva (54. 17-19) it is stated that svarga is the place for those who die in battle How *svarga* is like and what the pleasures of heaven are is described in Vanaparva, chap. 186. 6-7, viz. that there are extensive lakes full of golden lotus flowers and fish and devoid of mud, that on the banks of those lakes dwell the meritorious honoured by Apsarasas who apply fragrant cosmetics to their

396 परं लोकं भोमदास्त्वाप्नुवन्ति दत्तानहुहं स्वर्लोकं व्रजन्ति । वासो दत्त्वा चान्द्र-
मस तु लोकं दत्त्वा हिरण्यममस्त्वमेति । वनपर्व 186 9.

397. त्रयो वाव लोका मनुष्यलोकः पितृलोको देवलोक इति सोऽयं मनुष्यलोकः पुत्रैर्गैव
कर्मो नान्येन कर्मणा कर्मणा पितृलोको विद्यथ देवलोको देवलोको वै लोकानां श्रेष्ठः । बृह उप.
1.5 16.

bodies, wear ornaments and have brilliant golden complexions. Similar pleasures enjoyed in the Nandana park are promised in Brahmapurāna, 225. 5-6. Vanaparva (chap. 261 verses 28-29) says that there is one great draw-back in going to heaven, viz. that there one simply enjoys the rewards of one's good actions, no new merit is accumulated there, one simply subsists on the accumulated principal or store of merit and that when that store is exhausted one has to fall down, the only good point about this being that one is born a man and that too in such a way that he enjoys³⁹⁸ happiness. Anusāsana (23. 84-102) sets out numerous actions whereby a man attains heaven (each verse having the refrain 'te narāḥ svarga-gāminah') Similarly, in Brahmapurāna 224. 9-14, 18-25 and 30-37 we have the same refrain. Vide also Anusāsana chapters 144 (verses 5-15, 19-26, 31-39) and 145 Śānti (99. 4-5) states that svarga is full of those fallen in battle, there are Gandharva damsels there for the brave (and there is hell for the coward) and that svarga yields all desires that one may entertain. The Śāntiparva (192. 8 and 21) states that svarga was in the North, that (Śānti 191 13, 193 27) there was neither hunger nor thirst nor weariness nor old age nor sin (in Heaven), that good men (Śānti 271. 24) are seen as stars (or become stars). In the Matsyapurāna (276 17) it is³⁹⁹ stated that he who performs Brahmādadāna (one of the 16 mahādānas) reaches the world of Viṣṇu and delights in the company of Apsarases. The Brahmapurāna (225. 6-7) assures us that a generous donor goes to heaven where he enjoys the best pleasures in the company of Apsarases and in the heavenly garden called Nandana and when he falls down from heaven he is born as a mortal in a rich and noble family. Vide also Garuḍapurāna II. 3.86-89. It is not necessary to multiply passages. There are two matters to be noted in connection with Heaven and its pleasures. One is the calculating or bargaining spirit which the smṛtis and purānas display viz. make this or that gift and then there is so much delight to be enjoyed in heaven, a sort of profit and loss account; and the second is that the highest

398. कृतस्य कर्मणस्तत्र भुज्यते यत्फलं दिशि। न ज्ञान्यत् कियते कर्म मूलच्छेदेन भुज्यते ॥ सोऽत्र दीपो नम मत्स्तरयान्ते पतने च यत्। सुखव्याधमनस्कारां पतने यत्र सुलल ॥ अयं लक्ष्म्यो मुणः। श्रेष्ठः च्युताना स्वर्गतो मुने। ह्युभास्त्रययोगेन महद्वैश्वजापते। तत्रापि स महाभागः सुखभागमिजायते। वनपर्व 261 28-29 and 33.

399 ह्यथं य एतदखिलं पुरुषोऽत्र कुर्याद् ब्रह्माण्डदानमधिगम्य महाद्विगानम् । निर्धुतकल्मषाधिष्ठाद्दत्तसुरारोरानन्दकृत्यदसुपैति सहाप्सरोभि ॥ मत्स्यसु 276.17 q. by अपर्वाङ्क p 323.

pleasures of Heaven have a time limit, i. e. they are to come to an end one day and the meritorious have to be born again in mortal bodies. The doctrine was gradually evolved that there is no final release from the cycle of births and deaths by the performance of meritorious deeds alone

It is not necessary to set out at length the gruesome torments of Hell described in great detail in several smritis and purānas. By way of a sample, the following description taken from a Dharmasāstra work (viz. Visnu Dh. S. 43.32-45) will be quite enough. "Sinners guilty of having committed (one or more of the nine kinds of) sins have to endure terrible sufferings when they have left this life and reached the path of Yama. Being dragged hither and thither by the fierce servants of Yama they are led (to hell) by them with frightening gestures. (In Hell) they are devoured by dogs, jackals, crows, herons, cranes and other birds eating raw flesh, by snakes and scorpions that have fire in their mouths (i. e. that emit stinging poison). They are scorched by fire, pierced by thorns, divided into parts by saws and oppressed by thirst. They are afflicted with hunger and by terrible hordes of tigers and they faint away at every step on account of the stinking smell of pus and blood. Desiring to secure the food and drink of others they are beaten by the servants (of Yama) whose faces are similar to those of such horrible animals as crows, herons and cranes. In some places they are boiled in oil, in others they are pounded with pestles or ground down in iron or stone vessels. In some places they (have to) eat what is vomitted or pus or blood or excrements, and hideous meat smelling like pus. In one place they have to stay in terrible darkness, and are devoured by horrible worms having flames in their mouths. In some places they are overwhelmed by cold or have to pass through the midst of unclean things and in other places the departed devour each other, thus becoming most horrible. In some places they are beaten on account of their former deeds and are suspended in other places (from trees &c.) or are struck with heaps of arrows or are cut into pieces. In other places they have to tread upon thorns and they are encircled by the hoods of serpents, they are tormented with machines and are dragged by their knees. Their backs, heads and necks are fractured, they become terrible (to look at), their throats being reduced to the size fit for a cave shelter and they become unable to bear torments. Sinners are being tormented in this way and having suffered intense

pain undergo various further sufferings in their passage through animal bodies (in which they are thereafter born) ”

That *naraka* is a place below the earth is frequently stated in the Purānas For example, in the Garuda and Brahmānda purānas all Hells such as Raurava are stated to be situated below the earth. Vide Visnupurāna II 6.1 also. The Bhāgavatapurāna states that Hells are below the earth and above water to the south of the three worlds and hang without support, in which dwell the troupes of pitrs called *Agmsvāta* and others.⁴⁰⁰ The Agnipurāna (371 13-14) avers that the 28 groups of *narakas* are below the earth and even below the 7th *Pātāla*

We come across Vedic passages such as these ‘This sacrificer who is possessed of the utensils of *yajña* directly reaches Heaven’ (Śat. Br. XII 5 2 8)⁴⁰¹, ‘one who desires Heaven should offer the Darśapūrnamāsa sacrifice’, ‘one desirous of attaining heaven should perform the Jyotistoma sacrifice’. What is meant by *svarga* or *naraka* has given rise to hot discussions from very ancient times The popular view as reflected even in the Vedas, the smrtis and purānas was that *svarga* was a place above the earth and *naraka* was a place of actual torments below the earth Even ancient astronomical works located *svarga* thousands of *yojanas* above the earth. Parāśara,⁴⁰² an astronomer and a predecessor of Varāha-mihira quoted by Utpala on Br. Saṁ I 11, stated ‘Bhū (the earth) is 67080 crores of *yojanas* and it is the expanse of the earth; beyond it there is impenetrable darkness, in the midst of which there is the golden

400 अनेरघस्तादे सर्वे रौरवाद्याः मकीर्तिता । गण्ड (मित्रबण्ड) 3. 55, ब्रह्माण्ड, उप-संहारपाद chap 2 52, ततश्च नरकाश्च विप ह्युवोऽथ सलिलरूप च । पापिनी येषु पाप्यन्ते तान् शृणुन् महासुने ॥ ब्रह्मसुराण 22 6. 1. राजावाच । नरका नाम भगवन् किं देशविशेषा अधवा बहिर्भिलोक्या आहोस्विदन्तराल इति । ऋषिवाच । अन्तराल एव त्रिजगत्प्रास्तु दिशि दक्षिणस्यामधस्ताच्चूमेरुपरिष्ठाच्च जलाद्यप्यामग्निष्वात्तादप पितृगणा . निवसन्ति । भागवत सुराण V 26 3-4

401 Vide H of Dh. Vol II p 985 note of 2233 for enumeration of the ten *yajñāyudhas* from Tai S I 6. 8 2-3 and Śat Br I 1 1 22

स एष यज्ञायुधी यजनानोऽञ्जसा स्वर्गं लोकं याति । इतपथत्रा XII 5 2 8 quoted by ऋचर on जै I 1 5 in the पूर्वपक्ष ; दर्शपूर्णमास्या स्वर्गकामो यजेत q by ऋचर on जै II 1. 1.

402 सप्तषट्सहस्राण्यज्ञीतियोजनकोट्यो भूर्वपृथिवीमण्डलं परस्मादगम्यं तम । तन्मध्ये हिरण्ययो मेरुश्चतुरशीतियोजनसहस्रोच्छ्रितो पादश चाधस्तात् । त्रिष्टणवित्स्तरायामो यं स्वर्गमाचक्षते तन्मध्येनाकेचन्द्रो ज्योतिष्कं च पर्येति । पराहार q by उत्पल on बृ. सं. I. 11.

nountain Meru, 84000 *yojanas* high and sixteen below and brice as much in length and width, which is called svarga, but it would be far from the truth to say that all eminent writers were agreed on the actual existence of svarga and naraka as *places*. It has already been shown how several centuries before Christ Gautama refers to the view of some predecessors of his that naraka is *not a place*, but simply means the loss of the capacity to perform the peculiar actions of one's *guna*. There were others who argued in the same strain. Śabara (on Jai IV. 3. 27-28) quotes a Vedic passage where the view of the sage appears to be that sacrifices yield the reward promised by śruti in the next life and where Kumārila ⁴⁰³ in his brief comment propounds the view that the injunctive passage (*vidu*) of the Veda only promises a reward but does not state that it follows immediately in this life, that svarga which means unsurpassed joy, can happen only in another life. On Jaimini VI. 1. 1. Śabara first puts forward the *prima facie* view that *svarga* ⁴⁰⁴ imports in popular language such things (*dravya*) as fine silken clothes, sandalwood paste, young damsels only 16 years old and that the word *svarga* is also popularly applied to a particular *place* where there is neither heat nor cold, neither hunger nor thirst, neither distress nor fatigue and where only those that have done meritorious deeds can reach and not others. Śabara refutes this view and holds that the primary meaning of the word *svarga* is joy ⁴⁰⁵ or delight and not a thing (*dravya*) which brings joy.

There is a well-known and oft quoted verse which defines *svarga* as follows: ⁴⁰⁶ that happiness which is not mixed up with

403 फलं भवतीत्येतावति विधिज्ञाद्वोऽस्ति । न त्वनन्तरत्वे । तस्मादनिवयः । स्वर्गस्तु जन्मान्तर एव । स हि निरतिशया मीतिं कर्माहुरूप्या चेति न शक्येह जन्मन्पञ्चमवित्तुत् । यथो-
रिमहोके क्षणोक्षणे सुखदु खे अशुभवन्ति । ... देहान्तरं तु निरतिशयमीत्यहमवनायान्यथाशु-
पपया फलप्यते । तन्नामृतस्य न भवतीत्यतो जन्मान्तरे स्वर्गः । हुपुटीका on जै IV. 3. 27-28.

404. सर्वेषामेव ज्ञानानामर्थज्ञाने लौकिक प्रयोगोऽनुपायः । तस्मिंश्च लौकिके प्रयोगे
द्रव्यवचनः स्वर्गज्ञाने लक्ष्यते । कौशेयानि सूक्ष्माणि वासवसि स्वर्गः, चन्दनानि स्वर्गः, ब्रह्मचर्याः
स्वर्ग इति । यथात् मीतिमद् द्रव्यं तत्तत्स्वर्गज्ञानेनोच्यते । ... न तु स्वर्गज्ञाने लौकिके प्रयोगे
विशिष्टे देशे यस्मिन्निष्पन्नं न शीतं न शुद्धं न तृण्यं नारतिर्न ग्लानिः शुच्यकृत एव प्रेत्य तत्र
गच्छन्ति नाम्ने । शबर on जै VI 1 1.

405. तत एतत्तावद्दर्शयन्ति । मीतिं स्वर्गं इति । कुतः । एवमुक्तं भवता मीतिविशिष्टे द्रव्ये
स्वर्गज्ञाने वर्तते इति । यद्येवं पूर्वं तर्हि मीतौ वर्तितुमर्हति । तां हि स न व्यभिचरति । व्यभिचरति
सुनर्द्रव्यम् । शबर on जै VI. 1. 2. On जै VI 1 1 the हुपुटीका remarks 'एकस्य (सिद्धान्त-
वादिन) मीतिं स्वर्गज्ञानेनोच्यते, अपरस्य (पूर्वपक्षवादिन) मीतिमद्द्रव्यम् । विशिष्टो देशो उभ-
योरप्यवाच्यः । किं कारणं, तस्याप्यत्यक्षत्वेन व्यवहारभावः । तेन व्यवहारभावतात्पर्ययोगाभावं ।',

406. यत्र तु खेन सम्भिन्नं न च अस्तमनन्तरम् । अभिलाषोपनीतं च तत्सुखं
स्य.पक्षारपद्म्॥

pain, which is not immediately afterwards overwhelmed (by pain) and which is present whenever desired, is denoted by the word *svah* (or *svarga*). The Prakaraṇa-pañcika of Śālikanātha,^{406a} one of the early works of the Prabhākara Mīmāṃsā school, affirms that in such sentences as 'one desirous of heaven should perform the Jyotistoma' the rite is simply commended by Vedic passages, which are no more than *arthavādas*, as a means of securing long-enduring happiness which is free from the taint of all kinds of sorrow and which is present at the mere desire of the enjoyer. The Śāntiparva expressly states 'The wise do not regard the other world as directly seen by anyone; one has to entertain faith (in the existence of the other world) because otherwise one may run counter to the Vedas.'⁴⁰⁷ The Brahmapurāna and the Viṣṇupurāna speak in the same strain as Śābara that *svarga* is what causes happiness to the mind, that *naraka* is the opposite of it and that meritorious deeds and wicked deeds are designated as *svarga* and *naraka* respectively and that *svarga* and *naraka* are really states of the mind characterised by happiness and pain respectively.⁴⁰⁸

One need not wonder at the crude ideas of *naraka* and *svarga* entertained by most ancient Indian writers and works. The same ideas were prevalent among peoples of all religions all the world over. For example, The Egyptians whose dynastic history covers a period of about 5000 years had very remarkable beliefs about Heaven and Hell which were illustrated with pictorial representations copiously (as no other nation had ever done), although the oldest Books of the Dead are without illustrations of any sort (vide E. A. W. Budge's 'Egyptian Heaven and Hell', 1905 p. XI and 2). Sheol was the name the Hebrews gave to the gloomy abode of the dead in the lowest parts of the earth and it was a land of darkness, which was appointed as the house for all living (Job 10. 21-22 and 30, 23). The Greek Hades closely resembles the Hebrew Sheol in its chief characteristics. In the New Testament also Hell is a land of everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels and it is a place where the wicked go into everlasting torment

406 a ज्योतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेतेत्येवमादिसामान्याय सकलदुःखसम्भेदरहिताभिलाषोपनीतदीर्घतरसुखसाधनत्वैर्नार्थवादौ स्तूयमानं कर्म दृश्यते । प्रकरणपञ्चिका (P 102).

407. न दृष्टपूर्वं प्रत्यक्ष परलोकं विदुर्बुधा । आगमास्त्वनतिक्रम्य अद्भुतव्यं ब्रुवन्ता ॥ शान्ति 28 42.

408. मन-श्रौतिकार-स्वर्गो नरकस्तद्विपर्ययः । नरकस्वर्गसंज्ञे वै पापदुष्णे द्विजोत्तमा ॥ ब्रह्मसू. 22.44, विष्णुसू. II.6.46. मनस परिणामोऽयं सुखदुःखगदिलक्षणः । ब्रह्मसू. 22 47.

and punishment, while the righteous attain life eternal (Matthew 25. 41 and 46, Luke 16.23). The words of the New Testament are plain enough that Heaven was supposed to be a place above the earth and the clouds and that Hell was a place below the earth full of darkness and torments. Vide Luke 23. 43, Ephesians I 3 and 20, II. Cor. 12. 4, Rev. 2. 7; and Luke 12.5 and 16.23; II. Peter 2.4 and Rev. 6 8, 20. 13-14. Bloomfield in his 'Religion of the Veda' p. 253 remarks 'In later Hindu times Hell is filled out with the usual gruesome stage-setting in the style of Dante's Inferno or the wall painting in the *campo santo* at Pisa'. Even men of genius like Shakespeare and most Christian theologians⁴⁰⁹ down even to modern times believed in a literal interpretation of passages from the Bible which speak of Heaven and Hell as places. It is only recently that many Christians have begun to hold that the language of the Bible about Heaven and Hell is purely symbolical in character⁴¹⁰.

409. Vide William James in 'Varieties of religious experience' p. 264, where he says that the fear of the old-fashioned Hell fire was employed by Christianity to extract from it fruits for repentance and conversion value and Pringle-Pattison in 'Idea of Immortality' pp. 15-19. Vide for the Quranic ideas of Hell, SBE. vol IX p. 317 'Hell is a reward for the outrageous to tarry therein for ages. They shall not taste therein cool nor drink but only boiling water and pus'. Vide also SBE. vol. VI p 247 (Hell contains seven divisions), vol. VI p. 165 (for the misbeliever is the torment of hell fire), vol. XIV p. 317 and p. 340 (for boiling water, pus and fire). In the Quran Heaven was supposed to consist of seven divisions viz Garden of Eternity, Abode of peace, Abode of rest, Garden of Eden, Garden of Resort, Garden of pleasure, the Garden of the most High, the Garden of Paradise.

410. The Report on the 'Doctrine of the Church of England' published in 1938 by a Commission consisting of some of the highest dignitaries of the English Church makes interesting reading, though to a non-Christian the language appears rather full of circumlocution and far from clear and definite. On p. 206 the Report states "The drama of the Last Things as set forth in the medieval 'Doom' pictures rests on a tradition which makes use of a more or less literal conception of heaven and hell as specific 'places', of which a picture was formed by drawing upon traditional material, more especially the imagery of the Book of Revelation, which is itself largely drawn from Jewish and other pre-Christian sources... ..A quasi-literal interpretation of the imagery has in fact generally prevailed among Christians and has been wide-spread even in educated circles almost down to the present day.' On p. 219 the above Report remarks "As the essence of Hell is exclusion from the fellowship of God, so the essence of Heaven is that fellowship. It is not a selfish happiness offered in reward for

(Continued on the next page)

The Smṛtis had evolved the doctrine, as stated above, that if a sinner did not undergo *prāyaścitta*, he had to suffer torments in hell, thereafter he became born as some insect or lower animal or a tree on account of some remnants of his sins and that he was born as a human being afflicted with certain diseases or with defects.⁴¹¹ These last two consequences are described under the title *karmavipāka* (the fruition of evil deeds). Śātaṭapa (I, 1-5) asserts that men guilty of grave

(Continued from the last page)

self suppression at an earlier time, it is fellowship with God who is love ... This is *infinite bliss* to the soul which is purged of self-interest. Heaven is also a fellowship of finite spirits " It will be patent how modern European minds have begun to think of Heaven and Hell in terms analogous to those in which some of the best minds of India thought of them centuries before and after the Christian era. In spite of the glowing pictures of the pleasures of Heaven and terrifying descriptions of the torments of Hell detailed in many of the sacred and popular works in Sanskrit and other Indian languages people have gone on committing all sorts of sins. The ancient machinery of Heavens and Hells must be deemed to have largely failed of its purpose in these days. Large masses of men appear to be slipping into an abyss of despair, misery, hardness of heart, wanton brutality and lawlessness. The lurid accounts of bombings and night raids on big cities, the reports of the bloody battles for six years in the World War No 2, the harrowing tales of tortures in such prisoners' camps as at Belsen, the phenomenal rise in the prices of all necessities of life (food, clothing and shelter), frequent strikes and struggles between the employed and the industrialists, growing indiscipline, arson, plunder and bestial treatment of human beings on the ground of race or religion have produced hardness of heart and debased large masses of Indian people. It is a very difficult question for our leaders how to revive among the common people of India, (whom Westerners dubbed mild Hindus) the old characteristics of tolerance, peacefulness, goodwill and respect for human life and property, how to build up a new fabric of society, a new civilization and culture on the ancient Upanisadic foundations of the pursuit of Reality, brotherhood of man, the unity of all life, and love of mankind even without pressing into service the ancient and mediæval literal conceptions of Heaven and Hell,

411 प्रायश्चित्तविहीनाना महापातकिना वृणाम् । नरकान्ते भवेज्जन्म चिद्वाङ्कित-
शरीरिणाम् ॥ प्रतिजन्म भवेत्तेषां चिद्ध तरपापसूचकम् । प्रायश्चित्ते कृते याति पश्चात्तापवता
धुनः ॥ महापातकजं चिद्ध सप्त जन्मनि जायते । उपपापीन्द्रव पञ्च त्रीणि पापसहस्रवम् ॥ दुष्कर्मजा
वृणां योगा यान्ति चोपक्रमे ज्ञाम् । जाप्ये सुराचवेहीमैदानैस्तेवा ज्ञामो भवेत् ॥ शातातप
I 1-4. The verses 5-10 (about the diseases) and the following verses about
the gift of cows, bulls, land and gold are quoted in the महार्णवकर्मविपाक of
मान्धातृ (folio 4a and 4b) as from शातातपीयकर्मविपाक The माय वि p 106 remarks
'पूर्वजन्मकृतयो सुवर्णोपहारसुरापानपापयोर्नरकोपभोगक्षीणयोरपि सुवर्णचौरः कौनख्यं
सुराप- ह्यावदन्तवाम् (मनु ११ ४९) इत्युल्लभितयो' किञ्चित्सावाशिष्टत्वादल्पमायश्चित्तमाह
वसिष्ठ (20 6) ।'

sins that have not undergone *prāyaścitta* are, after undergoing the torments of Hell, born with bodies marked with certain condemned signs. One guilty of grave sins bears such signs for seven births, one guilty of *upapātaka* for five births and one guilty of *pāpa* for three births. These marks indicative of their having committed a particular sin are observed in each life and only disappear after they repent and perform *prāyaścitta*. Similarly, the diseases arising from sinful deeds subside by adopting the remedies of the recitation of Vedic texts, worship of gods, homas and gifts.' Verses 6-10 specify the diseases that arise in consequence of sins such as leprosy, tuberculosis, gonorrhoea, dysentery, kidney trouble, stone in the bladder, cough, fistula &c. A man may commit sins of three kinds viz. by the body, in words and mentally (Manu XII 3). Really speaking, it is the mind that is the spring of all actions (Manu XII 4), but for the sake of convenience, this threefold division is made. Coveting another's wealth by unfair means, desiring that evil should befall another and persistence in false ideas (such as the one that there is no soul, but that the body is the soul)—these three are mental sins (Manu XII 5). Harshness of speech, falsehood, backbiting and irrelevant prattling—these four are vocal sins (*ibid* XII 6). Appropriating to oneself another's wealth without his consent, injury to sentient beings against the injunctions of *sāstra*, sexual intercourse with another's wife—these three are bodily sins (*ibid* XII 7). Manu provides that bodily sins reduce a man to the state of a fixed object (tree &c.), vocal sins reduce him to the state of birds and beasts and mental sins to the lowest castes (Cāṇḍāla and the like). *Hārīta* (q. by Par. M)⁴¹² speaks of 18 evil actions that lead to hell, of which six are mental, four vocal and the rest are bodily sins. Manu XII. 54-59 and 62-68, Yāj. III 131, 135-136, 207-208 and 213-215, Viṣṇu Dh. S. Chap. 44, Atri Chap. 45-14, 17-44 (in prose) state into what animals, trees and creepers sinners are born after undergoing hell torments. The statements of Yāj being concise are set out here. "This soul enters into hundreds of bodies in this *samsāra*, viz. as one of the lowest castes, bird or fixed object (tree &c) on account of his lapses springing from the mind, speech and body (Yāj. III 131); a man who

412. सर्वाभिर्यभक्षणमभोज्यभोजनमपेयपानमगन्धायुगमनमयाज्ययाजनमस्तत्पतिग्रहणं पर-
 धाराभिगमनं द्रव्यापहरणं प्राणिहिंसा चेति शारिराणि । पादभ्यममृतं विवादं श्रुति-
 विक्रयश्चेति वाचिकानि । परीपत्नयनं पराभिद्वेदं क्रोधो लोभो मोहोऽहङ्कारश्चेति मानसानि ।
 तदेतान्यष्टादश त्रैयणिक कर्माणि... । हारितं q. by परा. भा II part 2 pp 212-213.

tells lies, who is a back-biter, whose speech is harsh and who babbles what is irrelevant is reduced to being a bird or a beast (*ibid* III. 135); one who is addicted to misappropriating another's wealth and to sexual intercourse with another's wife, who injures another against *śāstric* rules is born as a fixed object; the murderer of a brāhmana becomes born in the body of a beast (deer &c), a dog, a pig or a camel; the drinker of *surā* is born as an ass, a *pukkasa* (one born from *śūdra* woman of a *nisāda*), or a *vena* (one born of an *Ambastha* woman from a *vaidhaka*); the thief of gold reaches the state of a worm, an insect (an ant &c) or a moth and one guilty of incest becomes grass, a bush or a creeper (Yāj. III 207-208). On stealing leafy vegetables one is born as a peacock, on stealing perfumes one is born a *chuchundarī* (musk-rat), the thief of corn, of a vehicle, fruits, water, milk, domestic utensils (like pestle), honey, flesh, a cow, fire, cloth, juice (of sugarcane or the like) and salt is born respectively as a mouse, a camel, a monkey, a *plava* (duck), a crow, a sparrow, bee, vulture, *godhā* (iguana), crane, a man suffering from white leprosy, a dog, *chī* (cricket bird). The *Brahmapurāna* (chap 217 verses 37-110) contains a long disquisition on the different kinds of animal births that sinners of various kinds have to undergo. Vide also *Garudapurāna* (*Pretakhanda*) 260-88, *Agni* 371 30-32 (which latter states that the murderer of a brāhmana is born as a beast or deer or a dog, hog, or camel, the drinker of wine as an ass or *pukkasa* or *mleccha*, the thief of gold as a worm or pest or moth, one guilty of incest as grass or a bush).

It was believed in very ancient times that diseases were the consequences of sins⁴¹³. In the *Atharvaveda* VIII. 7.3 plants are said to have destroyed from each limb the disease due to sin⁴¹⁴. *Manu* XI. 49-52, *Vas.* 20 44, *Yāj.* III. 209-211, *Visnu Dh.* S Chap 45, *Sātātapa* I. 3-11 and II. 1, 30, 32, 47, *Gautama-smṛti* in verse chap 20 and *Gautama* (in prose q by the Mit on *Yāj.* III. 216) or *Vṛddha-Gautama* (according to *Smṛtimuktāphala*

413 This belief is not confined to India. In the Gospel of St John (9 1-3) when a man blind from birth came before Jesus the disciples asked him 'who did sin, this man or his parents that he was born blind'. Jesus is said to have rejected that idea and performed a miracle by restoring to him his sight after applying to the man's eyes clay mixed with the spittle of Jesus and washing his eyes in a pool.

414. आपो अत्र दिव्या औषधयः । तास्ते यक्षमेनेत्यमङ्गादङ्गादङ्गीनश्च ॥ अथर्व. VII.7.3.

p. 861), Yama (q by Pr. M. p 9), Śaṅkha (q. by the Mitaksarā on Yāj. III. 216), Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 99-100 state the diseases and bodily defects from which sinners suffer after they are born as men. As a sample Yāj. III. 209-211 may be cited here; the murderer of a brāhmana suffers from Tuberculosis, a drinker of *surā* has black teeth, the thief of brāhmana's gold has diseased nails, one guilty of incest suffers from leprosy; the thief of food suffers from dyspepsia, one who stealthily learns without permission (or one guilty of plagiarism) is born dumb, one who mixes up inferior corn with superior corn is born with excessive limbs (with six fingers &c.), a backbiter is born with pus in the nose; a thief of oil is born as *tlapāyī* and one who falsely reports faults in others has a foetid breath. Yāj. III. 217 states that after reaping the consequences of their (evil) deeds (by falling into Hell and) by reaching the state of lower animals, sinners are born as human beings of a low order, poor and with condemned marks on the body; even medical works like the Carakasamhitā held the belief that diseases were the consequences of actions done in past lives (vide Sūtrasthāna, Chap. I 116),

The smṛtis are not in complete agreement about the diseases or bodily defects that sinners of various grades suffer. For example, though Vas 20 44 and Śaṅkha (q by Mit. on Yāj. III. 216) state that the murderer of a brāhmana suffers from leprosy, Manu XI. 49, Yāj III. 209, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 45. 3, Agni. 371. 32 aver that he suffers from phthisis. For want of space the long lists of the births as lower animals and the diseases and deformities from which sinners suffer contained in Śaṅkha, Hārta, Gautama, Yama and the Purānas quoted by the Mit. on Yāj III. 216, the Par. M. II. part 2 pp. 230-240, 242-272, Madanapārijāta pp 701-702, the Mahānava-karmavipāka are passed over here.

Āp. Dh. S (II. 1. 2. 6-7) states that a brāhmana, ksatriya or vaiśya sinner guilty of brāhmana murder, after undergoing the torments of Hell is born again respectively as a Cāṇḍāla, Paukasa and Vaina and that other sinners who have become outcasts by their sins are born on account of these as certain animals (like pigs) Similarly, Manu XII. 61 provides that one who from greed steals precious stones, pearls, corals and jewels of various kinds is born as a goldsmith.

Although the word *Karman* is ordinarily employed to denote good as well as evil actions still in the section on penances the word 'Karman' prominently presents to the mind the idea of evil deeds. Hence *Karmavipāka* means the ripening (or fruition) of evil actions or sins. This fruition takes three forms, as stated in the *Yogasūtra*⁴¹⁵ II 13, viz *jāti* (birth as a worm or animal &c), *āyuh* (life i. e. living for a short period such as five or ten years) and *bhoga* (experiencing the torments of Hell &c). The word *Karmavipāka* appears to have been known to Yāj. III 131 (*vipākaḥ karmanām pretya kesām cid-īha jāyate*) and it occurs frequently in the *Purānas* (e. g. in *Brahma-purāna* 224 41, 225 43 and 59, *Matsya* 115 14 &c). The *Pr. Sāra* pp. 219-231 contains probably the longest treatment of *Karmavipāka*. The doctrine of *Karmavipāka* was well known to the Buddhist philosopher *Nāgārjuna*, who in his *Ratnāvalī* refers to it⁴¹⁶. The Buddhist *Avadānaśāstakas* also refer to the doctrine of *Karmavipāka*. Vide also *Suttanipāṭa* (S. B. E. vol 10 part 2) p. 38 and S. B. E. vol 21 p. 130 (*Saddharma-pundarika*). In some medical works also such as the *Hāritasambhitā* it is said that the murderer of a *brāhmana* suffers from white leprosy and the killer of a cow from black leprosy; a regicide suffers from phthisis, and the destroyer of a park from dysentery &c.⁴¹⁷. In the *Vivāgasuyam* (*Vipākaśrutam*), which is the 11th *anga* of the *Jaina-āgama* and an edition of which was brought out by Dr. P. L. Vaidya (in 1933) we have stories of persons who suffered from evil diseases owing to their committing evil deeds in former lives and other stories of the fruits of good deeds.

The doctrine based upon the implications of *Manu* XII⁴¹⁸, 3, 9 and 54 and *Yāj* III 206 was that it is human beings alone (and not lower animals like tigers &c.) that have to experi-

415 सति मूले तद्विपाको जात्याद्युर्भोगः । योगसूत्र II 13. The ब्रह्मसूत्राण 217 40 illustrates both *jāts* and *āyuh* viz. 'पतितं राजयित्वा तु कुमियोनिं प्रजायते । तत्र जीवति वर्षाणि दश पञ्च च भो हिजा ॥'

416. Vide *JRAS* for 1934 p 307 at p 311 for the views of नागार्जुन on कर्मविपाक Verse 14 is हिंसया जायतेऽप्याद्युर्भवाद्यो विहिंसया । चौर्येण भोगव्यसनी सशत्रु परदारिकः ॥

417. Vide *Journal Asiatique* (Paris) for 1934, pp 125-139 for the text of the हारीतसंहिता 'ब्रह्मघ्नो जायते पाण्डु कुष्ठो गोवधकारकः । राज्ञो राजयस्मी स्यादाश्रमघ्नोऽतिशारवान् ॥ स्वाम्यङ्गनाभिममने मेहरोगा भवन्ति हि । शुक्रजायामसङ्गेन मूत्ररोगोऽश्मरीगद ॥ स्वकुलजामसङ्गेन जायते च भगन्दर । शूली परोपतापी च पैशुन्याच्छ्रात-कासिन ॥ verses 12-14 at p 134.

418. कर्मजा गतयो नृणास्तत्तमाधममध्यमा ॥ मनु XII, 3, शरीरज्ञैः कर्मदोषैर्यति श्यावरता नरः । मनु XII, 9,

ence in Heaven and Hell the consequences of their deeds. The Viṣṇudharmottara explicitly states so⁴¹⁹.

The Mī. (on Yāj. III. 216), the Smṛtyarthasāra, Par. M., Pr. Sāra and other works state that the disquisition on Karmavipāka⁴²⁰ is merely an *arthavāda*, that it is not to be taken literally, but is meant to induce sinners to undergo such *prāyaścittas* as *Prājāpatya* which entail great worry and trouble and which no one might willingly undertake. The Mī. points out that the description of the diseases (like phthisis) is not intended for requiring those who suffer from them to undergo the penances for twelve years or the like nor for inducing people to avoid contact with such persons, that *śiṣtas* do not avoid contact with those who have bad nails, that in the case of such persons the disease or defect is the last result of what little sin remained attached to them and that by the very fact of their having the disease or defect mentioned in the texts they become free from the last remnants of their sins and therefore they do not stand in need of any further penance and as their sin is finally removed by suffering the disease or defect their fitness for being allowed to mix among people is established.

The teaching of the works on Karmavipāka, though dismal and terrifying, comes to this that no soul need be without hope provided it is prepared to wait and undergo torments for its misdeeds, that it need not be appalled by the numerous existences foreshadowed in those works and that the soul may in its long passage and evolution be ultimately able to discover its true greatness and realize eternal peace and perfection.

Manu XII. 69 (almost the same as Visnu Dh. S. 44.45 and Garuḍapurāna II. 2. 89) states that women guilty of the sin of theft become the wives of men who are guilty of the same offences.

VĀMANAPURĀṆA, chap. 12 is called *Karmavipāka* and Mārkaṇdeyapurāna chap. 15 treats of the same subject. The

419 मनुष्याः प्रतिपद्यन्ते स्वर्गं नरकमेव वा । नैवान्ये प्रणिनः कौञ्चिसर्वे ते फलभोजिनः ॥
शुभानामशुभानां च कर्मणां भृगुनन्दन ! सञ्जय. क्रियते लोके मनुष्यैरेव केवलम् ॥ तस्मान्
मनुष्यस्तु द्युतो यमलोकं प्रपद्यते । मान्य प्राणी महाभाग फलयोगी व्यवस्थितः ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर-
पुराण II, 102 4-6 q. by परा न्त. II, part 2 pp. 208-209, या. सार p. 215 (after
affirming मनुष्याणामेव शुभाशुभकर्मफलोपभोगः) .

420. इदानीन्तनपापिनां प्रायश्चित्तोन्मुखत्वार्थं पूर्वजन्मकर्मविपाका दक्षिताः । स्तुत्यर्थ-
कार p 100 ; ननु नार्यं विपाको विधातुं प्रतिषेद्धं वा शक्यतेऽननुष्ठेयत्वाद्बर्जनीयत्वाच्च । अत
श्रुतेस्तस्मिन्निधिविषये शक्ये तन्निरूपणमयुक्तम् । नार्यं दोषः । प्रायश्चित्तार्थवाद्त्वेन तदुपयो-
पाद् ..अत्र च प्राजापत्याद्यद्वैतानुरूपस्य प्रायश्चित्तरय क्लेशात्मकत्वाद्वागतः प्रवृत्तिर्न सम्भवतीति
तत्र प्रवृत्तिरिदमेव प्रतिबन्धा कर्तव्या । परा न्त. II. part 2 pp. 206-207,

Varāhapurāna (chap. 203 21 ff) expatiates at length upon the topic how sinners endure torments in Hell for innumerable years, how after their evil deeds have been almost wiped out they become human beings suffering from various diseases or deformities.

In the Mahārṇava-karmavipāka of Mādhātṛ it is stated that there are two means of destroying the consequences of (evil) actions, viz krocchra (penances) and the reversal (or remedies) against diseases⁴²¹. The latter consists in making golden images of the sun (as the superintending deity of good health) and of the deity of a disease and offering worship to both these in a *mandapa* on a raised *vedikā* (platform). The work expatiates at length on the Vedic verses employed according to Āśvalāyana and the Taittirīya Śākhā for *ghosa-śānti* (propitiatory ceremonies with loud recitation of Vedic mantras); the worship of the sun with Vedic mantras and of the planets, the offerings of *āhuts*, the Rudraikāśāni, Mahārudra (11 times as many as the preceding) and Atirudra, repeating the thousand names of Viṣṇu, Vināyaka-śānti (as laid down by Yāj. I. 271-294), Navagraha-yajña in which it assigns each planet to some country and some gotra⁴²². It also prescribes how for the removal of particular diseases particular *dānas* may be given (such as *Kadalidāna* i. e. manufacturing a kadali plant from one *pala* of gold and donating it). It deals with the gifts of the images of all diseases supposed to be incurable and quotes Śātatapa II. 47-48 in connection with the removal of *rājayaksmā* (phthisis). It deals at length with fevers and other diseases and bodily defects such as greenish or cat-like eyes, deafness &c. But the detailed treatment of all these matters is passed over here from considerations of space, and also for the reason that these prescriptions are now either hardly believed in by people or hardly ever performed.

421. अथ कर्मक्षयोपायौ कृच्छ्रव्याधिविपर्ययो। तत्राय व्याधिविपर्यय इत्यनेन व्याधि प्रतिकृतिदानं वक्ष्यत इति... प्रतिमा द्विमकारा अधिदेवता देवतात्मिका च। आतङ्गी देवता तत्र तत्र पूज्याधिदेवता प्रायेण सूर्यं सर्वथा रोगाणामधिदेवता-आरोग्य भास्करादिच्छेत् इति प्रख्या श्रुति स्मृतिः। तत्र व्याधिप्रतिमायामातङ्कनाम्नी देवता भवति। महार्णव folios 33b and 34a, रोगप्रतिमादाने सर्वत्र सूर्यं एवाधिदेवता व्याधिदेवता च भिन्ना व्याधीना भिन्नत्वात्। अतश्च जलरोगादिषु वरुणादयो देवता भवन्तीति। *ibid* folio 44a

422. 'ओं भूर्ध्रुव स्व कलिङ्गदेशोद्भव काश्यपसगोत्र सूर्यं इहागच्छेत्प्रायास इह तिष्ठेति एकपुण्याक्षतैः स्थापयेत्। ओं भूर्ध्रुव स्व, अवन्तीसङ्घ-द्भव भरद्वाजसगोत्र भौम इहागच्छेत् स्थापयेत्... स्थापयेत्। ओं स्व मागधदेशोद्भव आत्रेयसगोत्र इध इहागच्छे...। महार्णव, folio 157 b.

SECTION II

ANTYĒṢṬI (rites after death), *ŚUDDHI* (purification from impurity due to death, birth and other causes)

CHAPTER VII

ESCHATOLOGY

What happens after death to a human being (which is the subject matter of Eschatology) has been a great mystery that has intrigued and baffled mankind in all ages and was a question of vital importance among almost all ancient peoples such as the Indians, Egyptians, Chaldeans, Greeks and Persians. The word Eschatology is derived from a Greek term meaning 'last things' and is applied to the study of opinions that men have held from time to time concerning the future, including such matters as the state of man after life on this earth and the end of the world. It exercises a great fascination over most people and speculation on it can be carried on endlessly. Every religion has its own eschatology. There are two aspects of Eschatology; one is concerned with the destiny of the individual after death, immortality of the soul, sin and punishment, the meaning and content of 'Heaven' and 'Hell'; the other aspect of eschatology has relation to the whole universe, its creation, destination and renovation, and the ultimate end of all things. The first aspect and matters relevant to it from the ancient Indian point of view will be dealt with in this section and the second aspect of Eschatology is reserved for treatment in a later section. In ancient works far more emphasis was laid on the first than on the second, while modern men with a more or less scientific outlook and attitude are inclined to think more of the second aspect.

Death has been generally looked upon with feelings of awe and terror, though there were men (often philosophically minded) who looked upon it as a blessing and as a release of the spirit from the shackles imposed upon the latter by the body. The terror of death was in many cases due not so much to the pain

caused at the time of death but rather to the mystery that surrounds what happens after death and to the thoughts about what the survivors would have to undergo. It is said by C. E. Vulliamy in his work 'Immortal man' (p. 2): 'although the idea of that life (ghostly life) ranges from the most dismal and horrible fantasies to the most sublime imaginations, the fundamental thought is always the same, the body dies but not the spirit'. There were several attitudes adopted by primitive as well as civilized people towards death. In the Kathopanisad we read (I.1.20) 'When a man dies there is a doubt, some saying that there is survival after the death of the body and some denying any survival' and Naciketas requests the dreaded God Yama to solve this doubt. There are several beliefs^{422a} even among those who hold that there is survival after death. Some say that there is a world of the dead to which whatever survives goes after death. Others believe that the surviving part goes to Heaven or Hell according as the man has been virtuous or sinful in his life on earth. Others believe in transmigration and re-incarnation. Several of the great writers in ancient Greece believed in this last doctrine, as Pindar (in second Olympian Ode), Plato (in Phaedrus and Timaeus) and Herodotus (II, 123) indicate.

The Brahmapurāna (chap. 214 verses 34-39) sets out the persons to whom death is happy and easy and not a source of misery and sorrow. A few may be mentioned here.—'He who did not tell lies, he who did not prove false to affection or friendship, who is an *āstika* (a believer in God and the life to come), who is devoted to the worship of gods and the honouring of brāhmanas, he who does not bear malice to anyone—these have a happy death.' Similarly, the Anusasanaparva of the Mahābhārata (chap. 104, 11-12, chap. 144 49-60) states at length the causes of premature death and of long life. Some of them may be translated here. 'Those who are atheists, do not perform the acts (or sacrifices) proper for them, violate the (dictates of) elders and of śāstras, who do not know what *dharma* is and are evil-doers are short-lived. Those who have no character, who always break all rules of conduct, who have promiscuous sexual intercourse become short-lived and go to Hell. One who is not irritable by temper, speaks the truth, does not cause injury to beings, who bears no malice to any one and who is not crooked—these live for a hundred years' (104, 11-12 and 14).

^{422a}. Compare C. E. Vulliamy's 'Immortal man' (p. 11).

Several works specify the signs indicative of the approach of death. The Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata (chap. 318. 9-17), Devala quoted in the Moksakānda of the Kalpataru (pp. 248-250, about 20 verses), the Vāyupurāna (chap. 19 verses 1-32), the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāna 43. 1-33 (chap. 40 verses 1-33, Venkatesvara Press ed.), Lingapurāna (pūrvārḍha chap. 91) and other Purānas contain long lists of the signs of approaching death. It is impossible for want of space to set out in detail these signs. But the gist of a few verses is mentioned by way of sample. The Śāntiparva (chap. 318) states that a man who is not able to see the star of Arundhati which he could formerly see, nor the pole-star nor the full moon, nor his own reflection in another man's eye has only one year to live; he has only a span of six months of life left to him who sees the orb of the moon with a hole in it; a man has only seven days left of life who sees a hole pierced in the orb of the Sun, who smells the odour of a corpse when fragrant substances are near; when the nose and ears bend down, when his teeth and eyes become discoloured, when there is loss of consciousness, and loss of bodily heat, when smoke emerges from the crown of the head, when the left eye begins to ooze moisture all of a sudden—these are indications of the immediate approach of death. Devala states indications that prognosticate life for only one year, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2 months, one month, half a month, 12 days, 4 days, 3 days, 2 days and winds up by saying that one who cannot hear the humming sound in his ear (when closed with fingers) or cannot see the light in the eye is going to die immediately. The Vāyupurāna (19.28) and Lingapurāna 91.30 regard the last two as the worst indications of approaching death⁴²³. The Lingapurāna (pūrvabhāga chap. 91.24) states that he who cannot see his own reflection in another's eye will not live. There is an interesting paper by Dr R.G. Harshe in the Munshi Diamond Jubilee volume (pp. 246-268) where the learned writer gives the text of two mss. on the prognostications derived from dreams e. g. if a man sees an ass in a dream he is sure to die, or if he sees an old maid then it is an indication of danger, disease and death (p. 251) or if he sees a trident death is indicated (p. 254).

423. हे खात्र परमेऽरिष्टे एतद्रूपं परं भवेत् । घोषं न शृण्वन्स्वर्गं ज्योतिर्नेत्रे न पश्यति ॥ वायुपुराण 19.27 ; नर्तनं वा अनर्तनं दृष्ट्वा विद्यान्मृत्युं ह्यपारिथयत् । सिद्धिपुराण (पूर्वभाग 91 19).

When a man is sinking and is almost on the point of death it was and even now is the practice in many parts of India to take the dying man down from the bedstead and place him on a bed spread on the earth⁴²⁴. For example, the Kauṣika-sūtra (80 3) prescribes⁴²⁵: When the man is losing all strength, he (the son or other attending relative) spreads *kuśas* on the grass growing in the shed and takes him down (from the bedstead) with the *mantra* 'syonāsmai bhava' (mayst thou be good to this man, Oh Earth). The Baud P S III 1 18 says that sand should be spread on the ground in the sacrificial shed when it is feared that the sacrificer is dying and *darbha* grass should be strewn on the sand with the sharp ends turned to the south and the dying man should be placed thereon and one (son or the like) should repeat in his right ear the *anuvāka* beginning with 'ayusah prānam santanu'. The Gobhīlasmṛti III 22 and later works like the Pitrdayita provide the same procedure.

Medieval digests like the Śuddhiprakāśa (pp 151-152) state that when a person is moribund, has half closed his eyes and is taken down on the ground (from a bedstead), his son or other relative should make him give one or more of ten gifts viz of cows,⁴²⁶ land, sesame, gold, clarified butter, clothes, grain, jaggery, silver, salt. These gifts are superior even to a śrāddha performed at Gāyā or to even hundreds of Aśvamedhas. The

424. In Europe a very widespread custom is to take a dying man out of bed and to lay him on the earth or on straw. Vide Prof Edgerton's very exhaustive article on 'the Hour of Death' in Annals of the Bhandarkar O.R. Institute, vol. VIII pp 219-249.

425. दुर्बलीमरणं कालातुगेषु दुर्मान्तास्तीर्थं स्थानास्मै भवेत्स्वरोहयति। मन्त्रोक्तावशु-
मन्त्रपते। यत्ते कृष्णेरवशदीपयति। कौशिक 80 3-5. अथर्व० 18.2-19 is 'स्थानास्मै भव
पृथिव्यदक्षरा निवेशनी। यच्छास्मै शर्म समया ॥ ऋ I 22 15 and वाज सं 36 13 are
almost the same, reading स्थाना पृथिवि भवादक्षरा and स्थाना पृथिवि नो भवा-
respectively; vide निरुक्त 9.32 for explanation of this verse. The मितृदयिता
(p 74) states यदा कण्ठस्थानगतजीवे विद्वलो देही भवति तदा बहिर्गोमयेनोपलिताया भूमौ
कुशादक्षिणायास्तास्तीर्थं तदुपरि दक्षिणाशिरस स्थापयित्वा सुवर्णरजतगोभूमिदीपितलपात्राणि
वापयेत्। गोभिलस्मृति III 22 'दुर्बल स्नापयित्वा तु शुद्धचैलाभिसद्वत्। दक्षिणाशिरस
भूमौ बहिष्मत्वा निवेशयेत्'.

426. दानानि च जातुकार्यं आह। उत्कान्तिवैतरण्यौ च दश दानानि चैव हि। प्रेतस्य
कृत्वा तं प्रेत शवधर्मेण दाहयेत्। दश दानानि च तेनैवोक्तानि। गोभृतिलहिरण्याज्यवासीधान्य-
शुभानि च। रूपं लवणनिरयाहुर्दश दानान्यशुक्रमात् ॥ शुद्धिप्रकाश p 152, for a similar
verse about ten dānas vide. वरदशु. (प्रेतखण्ड) 44. An Inscription of
Vikramāditya, a chiefstain under the Kalachuri king Sankama (published in
E I vol XIX pp 230) records the gifts of land, coins, house and gold on
the occasion of the prāyāścitta in honour of his deceased father.

sāṅkalpa (verbal declaration of the gift) is made in the words 'I shall make ten gifts for the attainment of heaven (*abhyudaya*), or for the removal of all sins'. After the ten *dānas*, a cow with a calf should be donated if possible ⁴²⁷ (this cow being called *nikrānti-dhenu* 'a cow donated in view of death') and then another cow called *Vaitaraṇī* with gold (or two pieces of cloth &c) should be donated. The *Antyestipaddhati* and the *Sūddhi-prakāśa* (pp. 152-153) set out all the mantras (not vedic) that are to be recited at the time of making the several gifts, which (mantras) are passed over here for want of space. The *Antyestipaddhati*, the *Antyakarmadipaka* and other works prescribe that when a person is near death, his son or other relative should make him perform *Vratodyāpana*, *sarvaprāyaścitta* and the gift of ten *dānas* or if the dying man is unable to do these himself, the son or the other relative should perform these and give the merit thereof to the dying man. A person often resolves upon observing certain *vratas*, but fails to carry out all the details of those *vratas* to the end. The *Vratodyāpana* for the dying man is meant to cure all such unfinished *vratas*. The A. K. D. (pp. 3-4) has a long note about the performance of *vratodyāpana*. Briefly it comes to this. The son or other relative having brought about the purity of the dying man's body by a bath or by sprinkling it with holy water (*mārjana*) or by making him drink Ganges water, having himself taken a bath and performed his daily duties (of *sandhyā*), having lighted a lamp, having bowed to Ganeśa and prayed to god Viṣṇu, having placed before him the materials of worship and having repeated the usual *sāṅkalpa* (see note ⁴²⁸), he should honour a *brāhmana*

427 आसन्नमृत्युना देया गौः सवस्ता तु पूर्ववत् । तदभावे तु गौरैव नरकोत्तरणाय वै । तदा यदि न शक्नोति दातुं वैतरणीं तु गाय । शक्तोऽथोऽङ्गु तदा दत्त्वा दद्याच्छेवो सुतस्य च ॥
 ग्यास. q. by शुद्धितत्त्व p 300, शुद्धिमकाश p 153, अ. क. दी. p 7. पूर्ववत् means हेमकृष्णादिना. The गण्डपुराण (मैत्रे) 4 6 says 'नदीं वैतरणीं तद्वृद्धाद्वैतरणीं च गाय । कुण्डलनी सङ्कण्णाङ्गी सा वै वैतरणी स्मृता ॥' The idea was that at the door of यम there was a river called वैतरणी, full of blood and sharp weapons and that there those who donated a cow at the time of death cross that terrible river by holding the cow's tail, vide स्कन्दपुराण VI 226 32-33 for वैतरणी and verse 34 is 'मृत्युकाले प्रयच्छन्ति ये धेनुं नाह्वणाय वै ॥ तस्या. पुच्छं समाश्रित्व ते तरन्ति च तं नृप ॥'. The आङ्गिरस of लक्ष्मीपति prescribes two mantras at the time of donating the वैतरणी cow, one of which is उच्ये वर्षति शिति वा मारुते धाति वा शुशम् । दातारं द्रापते यस्मिन्नस्माद्वैतरणी स्मृता ॥.

428. अत्र शुषिण्या जम्बूद्वीपे भरतखण्डे आर्यावर्तकदेशे विष्णोराज्ञया प्रवर्तमानस्य ब्रह्मणो द्वितीयपरार्थे...अशुकतिथौ अशुकगोत्रः...अशुकशर्माणं ममाम्बन. (मम पित्रादेः)

(Continued on the next page)

already invited and should give to him the gold (or silver) set apart for the purpose and the brāhmana should pronounce the words "May all vratas be fulfilled! May there be the attainment of the fruits of *udyāpana* (accomplishment of vrata)". In the sarvaprāyaścitta the son approaches 4 or 3 learned men or one man knowing *adhyātma* (metaphysics) and offers the substitutes (of gold &c.) for sins that involve penances for 6, 3 or 1½ years or makes a declaration and performs the prāyaścitta, after the days of impurity.

The sarvaprāyaścitta was to be performed by the dying man or by his son or other relative who was to shave himself, take a bath, drink *pañcagavya*, honour a brāhmana with sandal paste and other things; after having honoured the cow or the money to be paid in lieu of it, and after referring to the several kinds of sins that one may be guilty of (vide note 429) he is to make a gift of a cow (with a calf) to the brāhmana or in lieu of it, of some money. After sarvaprāyaścitta come the ten *dānas* stated above. In the *dānas* the *Kāmastuti* 430 as studied by the followers of each veda was to be recited. The *Garudapurāna* (II. 4. 7-9) further prescribes other *dānas* called *mahā-dānas* viz., of sesame, iron, gold, cotton, salt, seven kinds of corn, land and cows when a man is dying and also other gifts called *padādānas* such as of umbrella, sandals, ring, water-jar, seat, food. The *Garudapurāna* (II 4 37) further provides that if a man about to die takes *sannyāsa* according to the rules laid

(Continued from the last page)

अतमह्यणादिवसादारभ्य अद्य पावकलाभिलाषादिशुधीतानां निष्कानतया पृथीतानां च
अमुकाशुकवसानानामकृतोपापनक्षोपपरिहारार्थं क्षुतिरुद्युतियुपायोक्ततद्ब्रह्मजन्मसाङ्गफलमाप्त्यर्थं
विष्णुवादीनां तप्तदेवानां मीतये इदं तुवर्णमार्गिदैवतं (तद्भावे इदं रजतं अग्निदैवतं) अमुक-
गोत्रायाःकृशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय क्षारये ओं तत्सद् न मन इति सङ्कल्प्य etc. अ. क. सू. प. 4 -

429 देशकालौ संकीर्णं मम (मत्पित्रादेवां) ज्ञाताज्ञातकामाकामसङ्कल्पसङ्कल्लतकावि-
कवाचिकमानसिकसार्सार्गिकस्पृष्टास्पृष्टशुक्लाशुकपितापीतसकलपातकानुपातकोपातकलज्जपातक-
सङ्करीकरणमलिनीकरणपात्रीकरणजातिभ्रंशकरपकीर्णकादिनानाविधपातकानां निरासेन देहा-
वसानकाले देहशुद्धिद्वारा औपरनेश्वरमीत्यर्थमिमा सर्वमापश्चित्तरयन्नाप्यधृतां पथाशक्यपल-
कृतां सवत्सां गो बभूवैवताममुकगोत्रायाःकृशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय तुभ्यमहं क्षमहवै ओं तत्सद् न
मम। अ. क. सू. प. 5 अन्वयेषि of नारायण has also the words ज्ञाताज्ञात पातकानां
निरासार्थं.

430. क इदं कस्मा अवाक्काम कामायावाद्। कामो ज्ञाता काम प्रतिमहीतः। काम-
सङ्कल्पमाविशेद्वा। कामेन त्वा प्रतिशुक्लामि कामैतत्से। अथर्ववेद III. 29.7, ते आ II. 2.5.9
(where this *Kāmastuti* is explained) and Tai. Ā III. 10. This *Kāmastuti*
occurs in many ceremonies (such as marriage, adoption etc.). Vide H. of
Dh. vol. II p. 1069, and आश्व. श्रौ. V. 13.15 (which reads कामं सङ्कल्पमाविशं) and
आप. श्रौ. 14.11.2.

down for what is called *āturasannyāsa* he never returns to the cycle of births and deaths.

From ancient times it was a firmly held belief that the thoughts that a dying man entertains at the time of death determine what will happen to his spirit after physical death (this is expressed in the well-known words 'ante matih sā gatih'), that therefore a man should, when death approaches, give up all thoughts of mundane affairs and all earthly attachments, should think of his favourite deity (Hari or Śiva), should inaudibly recite such *mantras* as 'om namo Vāsudevāya'. Several texts insist on making the dying man listen to holy Vedic texts. The Gautamapitr-medhasūtra (I. 1-8) prescribes that one should at the time when one's father, mother, brother, teacher or a brāhmana friend is on his death-bed make the dying man hear the first and last verses of the Veda and certain *sāmāns* and should mutter in the dying man's right ear (one *sāman*) The R̥gvidhāna provides that one should repeat at the time of death the *sūkta* beginning with 'trātāram' 431 (?)

The Hir. P. S. I. 1 provides that when it is thought that the *āhstāgṃ* is going to die, he (the son or the like) should mutter in the dying man's ear (if he is a knower of Brahma) the two *anuvākas* of the Tai. Up. II. 1 (beginning with 'brahmavidāpnoti param') and III. 1 (beginning with 'Bhrgurvai vārunih'). The A. K. D. (p 18) says 432 that if the dying man is unable to engage in *japa* he should revolve in his mind the benign form of Visnu or Śiva and should listen to the thousand names (of Visnu or Śiva), the Bhagavadgītā, the Bhāgavata, Bhārata, Rāmāyana, the Upanisads like Īśāvāsya and hymns to Soma.

431. त्रातारमिति सूक्तं तु अन्तकाले सदा पठेत् । जपत्वा चैव परं स्थानममुत्तवाप कल्पते । ऋग्विधाने प 18 शुद्धिककाङ्ग p 154 The अन्त्येष्टियद्धति of वाराणसमङ्ग (Nir. edition, *poth*, size p. 163 b) reads नानामिति : स्थानममुत्तवं स गच्छतीति ऋग्विधानवचनात् ॥ The R̥gvidhāna edited by Jagadīsh Shastri reads (III. 19-20) नानामिति सूक्तानि अन्तकाले जपेत्सकृत् । नाना is the first verse of Rg IX 112. It is likely that the editor of शुद्धिककाङ्ग misreads नानामिति as त्रातारमिति, since त्रातारम् is not a sūkta (hymn) but only one stanza in a hymn.

432. जपेऽसमर्थश्चेद् द्वये चतुर्थेऽं शङ्खचक्रगदापद्मधर पीताम्बरकिरीटकेयूरकौस्तुभ-वनमालाधरे रत्नपीयरूपं विष्णुं विशुद्धमरुधर चन्द्रचूडे विनेत्रं गङ्गाधरे शिबे वा भावयन् सहस्रनामगीताभागवतभारतरामायणेशावास्याद्युपनिषद् पावमानादीनि सूक्तानि च यथासम्भवं श्रेयथात् । अ. क. वी. p 18. For विष्णुसहस्रनाम vide अनुशासनपर्व 149 14-120 and अनुशासन 17.31-153 for 1008 names of शिव, vide also ज्ञान्तिपर्व 285,74 ff.

The germs of this idea are found even in the Upanisads. The Chāndogya Up. (in the famous Śāndilya-vidyā, III, 14, 1) remarks 'All this is Brahman. A man should meditate on that (all this) as beginning, ending and subsisting in it (Brahman). Now man is a creature of his will. According to whatever is his will (or thought) in this world, so will he become after departing from this world.'⁴³³ The Prasna Up. III, 10 contains a similar idea. It is here asserted that it is thought power or the will that raises the soul higher and higher, and that the human mind should try to realize the idea that behind all physical transformations the Universe is one and is informed by one all-pervading Essence. Similarly, the Bhagavadgītā puts this idea in a much more clear way. 'The man, who remembering me alone in his last moments, departs from this life, comes to me, there is no doubt about this' (8. 5). But in order to guard against the possible inference that it is only the thoughts at the approach of death that matter whatever the past life led by a dying man may have been, the next verse emphasizes that a man's spirit is engrossed by the thoughts that he has entertained throughout life and that a man can think of spiritual matters or about God at the time of death only if he has been thinking about such matters or about God throughout his life. That verse (8.6) is 'whichever form (or thing) a man remembers when he leaves the body at death, to that alone he goes, having been always (throughout his life) engrossed in meditating over it'

Some of the digests, on the authority of several Purānas, prescribe that the dying man should be taken, if possible, near a holy place (*tiṭha*) such as the Ganges. For example, the Suddhitattva⁴³⁴ (p 299) quotes a passage from the Kūrmapurāna to this effect: 'a man attains *mokṣa* (final release from *samsāra*) by dying in the waters of the Ganges, on land or in water at

433. सर्वं स्वचित्त्वं ब्रह्म तज्जलानिति ज्ञानं उपासीताथ खलु क्रतुमय- उरषो यथाकतुरस्मिँहोकि उरषो भवति तथैत मेत्य भवति स क्रतु कुर्वति। छा उप III. 14 1. अन्तकाले च मामेव स्मरन्मुक्त्वा कलेवरम्। य. प्रयाति स मद्भावं याति नास्त्यत्र संशय ॥ य य वापि स्मरन्भावं स्थजत्यन्ते कलेवरम्। स तमेवेति कोन्तेय सदा तद्भावंभावति ॥ भगवद्गीता 8.5-6, vide शाङ्करभाष्य on वे सू I 2 1 for the explanation of तज्जलान् and on वे. सू IV. 1 12 for quoting the छा. उप and भगवद्गीता 8. 5-6.

434. कूर्मपुराणम्। गङ्गाया च जले मोक्षो वाराणस्या जले स्थले। जले स्थले चान्तरिक्षे गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे ॥ तथा (स्कन्दे)। तीराद्दृष्ट्यतिमात्रं तु परितः क्षेत्रमुच्यते। अत्र ज्ञान जपो हीनो गङ्गाया नाम संशय। अत्रस्थाञ्जितिव यान्ति ये श्रुता न पुनर्भवाः। अद्वितत्त्व pp 299, 300, शुद्धिप्रकाश p 155, गच्छति is equal to two क्रौṣas.

Vārānasi (Benares) and at the confluence of the Ganges with the sea either on land, in water or in the air.' Another passage to the same effect is quoted from the 'Skanda-purāna and it is further said in the same Purāna that for one *gavyūti* from the banks of the Ganges is a *kṣetra* (holy place): 'gifts, *japa* (muttering of sacred texts), *homa* performed within this extent is equal to doing the same on the Ganges itself, those who die within this *kṣetra* go to heaven and are not born again.' In the Pujāratnākara⁴³⁵ it is said: 'Hari is present wherever there is the Śālagrāma stone; one dying near a Śālagrāma stone reaches the highest abode of Visnu'. It was said that a person (even a non-Aryan) dying within one krosa of a Śālagrāma reaches Vaikuntha (world of Visnu) Similarly, one dying in a garden of *tulasi* (Basil) plants or with *Tulasi* leaf placed in his mouth at the time of death attains *moksa* even if guilty of crores of sins. These are popular notions held even up to this day among common people, not thoroughly affected by modern ideas.

There are also dicta about the time when it is best to die. The Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata states 'he who dies after the sun has gone to the northern direction (i. e. when the apparent motion of the sun towards the north begins) and on any auspicious *naksatra* and *muhūrta* is really one who has a store of merit (with him)'⁴³⁶. This is based on the ideas of death in *Uttarāyana* and *Dakṣiṇāyana* found in the Upanisads. For example, the Chāndogya Up. (IV. 15. 5-6) states 'Now (if one who knows this dies) whether people perform obsequies for him or not he goes to light (*arcas*), from light to day, from day to the bright half of the moon, from thence to the six months during which the sun goes to the north, from the months to the year, from the year to the sun, from the sun to the moon, from the moon to

435. पूजारत्नाकरे । शालग्रामशिला यत्र तत्र संनिहितो हरिः । तत्सन्निधौ त्यजेत् प्राणात् पाति विष्णोः परं पदम् ॥ लिङ्गपुराणे । शालग्रामसमीपे तु क्रीडामात्रं समन्ततः । कीकटेऽपि सुतो पाति वैकुण्ठभवनं नरः ॥ वैष्णवाभ्युते व्यासः । तुलसीकामने अन्तोर्वादि मृत्युभवेत् कश्चित् । स निर्भर्त्स्य नरं पापी ह्रीलयैश्च हरिं विज्ञेत् ॥ मयागकाले यस्यास्ये दीयते तुलसीदलम् । निर्वाणं पाति पक्षीन्द्र पापकोटिदुतोऽपि सः ॥ शुद्धितन्त्र p. 299, शुद्धिप्रकाश p. 155. कीकट is the country of Magadha, which was regarded as a land beyond the pale of Aryanism in the Rgveda (III 53.14). Vide Nir VI 32 where the country of कीकट is said to be अनार्यनिवास. The शुद्धिप्रकाश reads कीटकोटि (even a worm) for कीकटेदि, which is better, but might be an emendation.

436. आपञ्चे दृशरां काष्ठा सूर्ये यो निधनं ब्रजेत् । नक्षत्रे च सुहृते च पुण्ये राजन् स सुपपङ्क्तुः ॥ शान्तिपर्वे 298.23 q. by the शौककाण्ड of कल्पतर्क p. 254.

lightning. There is a person who is not human that leads them to Brahman. This is the path of the Devas, the path that leads to Brahman. Those who proceed on that path do not return to the life of man, yes, *they do not return*'. There is a similar passage in Chāndogya Up. V. 10. 1-2 where it is said that even householders who know the doctrine of the five fires (*Pañcāgni-vdyā*) and those who in the forest follow the path of faith and austerities (i. e. *vānaprasthas* and *parivrājakas* who do not yet know Highest Brahman) go by the path called Devayāna, while (V. 10. 3-7) those, who, living in a village, practise sacrifices, works of public utility and alms, go to smoke, from smoke to night, from night to the dark half of the moon, from thence to the six months when the sun goes to the south, from thence to the worlds of the fathers, from thence to ether (*ākāśa*) and to the moon, where they consume their works and return again the way they came. The Chān Up. (V. 10. 8) refers to a third place where small creatures (like flies, worms &c.) are continually going and returning. The Br. Up. (VI 2. 15-16) contains similar passages about Devaloka, Pitrioka and the third world of worms, birds and creeping beings. The Bhagavadgītā, basing itself on these Upanisad passages, puts the matter succinctly (in 8 23-25) as follows:—'I shall state the times at which devotees departing from this world go, never to return or to return. The fire, the flame, the day, the bright fortnight, the six months of the northern (apparent) motion of the sun; departing from the world in these those who know the Brahman go to Brahman. Smoke, night, the dark fortnight, the six months of the southern (apparent) motion of the sun; dying in these the devotee goes to the lunar light and returns. These two paths, bright and dark, are deemed to be eternal in this world. By the one a man goes never to return, by the other he comes back'. The Vedāntasūtra (IV. 3 4-6) explains that the words 'light' 'day' and others are not to be taken in their literal sense (i. e. as signposts or stages on the paths) but they are to be understood as referring to superintending deities that help the spirits and lead them on the path to the worlds of the Devas or of Pitrs (i. e. they are *ātīvāhikas* and *abhimānidevatās*). Śāṅkara on Vedāntasūtra IV. 2. 20 (*ataścāyanepi daksine*) explains that the waiting for the day of Uttarāyana on the part of Bhisma (narrated in the Mahābhārata) is only meant as a eulogy of the path called 'arcirādi', that one who has realized Brahma, even if he dies in dakṣiṇāyana, does secure the fruits of his knowledge (viz.

teaching Brahma), that Bhīṣma waited for the beginning of *uttarāyana* to abide by popular ideas and practices and to show that he possessed the power to depart from the world at his will owing to the boon conferred on him by his father. The Yājñavalkya-smṛti refers to the path (*devayāna*)⁴³⁷ that leads to Devāloka (in III. 193-194, where it reads 'mānasah' for 'amānavah' of the Ch. Up.) and the Pitryāna (in III. 195-196). In spite of the interpretations of the Vedāntasūtra (and of Śāṅkara) the popular belief that death in Uttarāyana is best persisted and still persists. For example, the Baud. P.S. (II. 7. 21) remarks '(the sages) provide that death during the northern path of the sun, in the bright half of a month, during the day and at the end of a Śrauta sacrifice is best'⁴³⁸. The G. P. S. (II. 7.1-2) remarks: 'It is desirable to avoid dying in the dark half of a month or at night and the following sūtras provide for the offering of certain oblations if the death occurs in the dark half or at night.

FUNERAL RITES (*antyeṣṭi*) are a *samskāra*. *Antyeṣṭi* is one of the 16 (or more) *samskāras* of a twice-born person

437. The words 'devayāna' and 'pitryāna' are a legacy from the hoary past. Even in the Rg. there are frequent references to them. In Rg III. 58 5 the Aśvins are addressed a prayer 'may you come here (to this sacrifice) by the paths leading to the abode of the gods' (*eha yātam pathibhūrdevayānāh*). Rg. VII 38 8 also has a similar idea 'may you, being gratified, go by the devayāna paths' (*īrptā yātam pathibhūr-devayānāh*). In Rg. VII 76.2 (addressed to Uśas) the sage Vasistha exclaims that he has seen the Devayāna paths when the dawn shone in the East (*pra me panthā devayānā adrāra*). Agni is asked to make the devayāna paths easily accessible, and to carry the offerings in a pleased mood (Rg. X 51.5, *sugān pathaḥ kṛnuhī devayānān vaha havyāni sumanasyamānāh*). Rg. X 98 11 describes Agni as knowing the *devayāna* paths according to the seasons and a prayer is offered to him to place Aulāna (son of Śantanu) in heaven among the gods (*vidvān patha ṛtuo devayānān-apyaulānaṁ divi deveṣu dhehī*). In Rg. X 18.1 it is stated that the path of Death is different from devayāna (*param mṛtyo anu parehī panthām yaste sva itaro devayānāt*). In Rg. X 2.7 Agni is said to know the pitryāna path (*panthāmanu pra vidvān pitryānām*). In the Tai. Br. II 6 3 5 it is said 'I have heard of two paths of the Fathers; I have heard about the paths of the gods and mortals' (*dve sṛtī aśṛnavatu pitṛnām aham devānām-uta martyānām*). The Sat. Br. I 9.3 2 remarks 'this is the path called Devayāna or Pitryāna.' In the Br. Up. I.5.16 it is said 'there are indeed three worlds, viz. the world of men, the world of *pitṛs* and the world of gods'.

438 उद्वगपन्ते आर्षुर्माणसो दिवा कृत्वन्ते श्रेयो मरणमित्युपदिशन्ति ॥ ऋ. वि. ४. II 7 21 (ed. by Dr. Shamsastri, Mysore).

performed with Vedic mantras according to Manu II, 16, Yāj. I, 10, Jātukarnya⁴³⁹. These saṃskāras were formerly performed for women also (Āśv gr I, 15.12, I, 16 6, I, 17-11, Manu II, 66) but without Vedic mantras (except in marriage) and for sūdras also (Manu X, 127, Yāj I, 10) but without Vedic mantras. The Baud. P. S. III, 1.4 states that there are two saṃskāras of every human being and they are like a debt i. e. they must be performed, just as a debt must be discharged viz the saṃskāra on birth and the one on death (mṛtasamskāra). Funeral rites and rites after death varied according as the deceased was an aṣṭāgni (one who had consecrated the śrauta fires) or one who had only kindled the smārta fire, or one who had neither the śrauta fires nor the smārta fire, or a woman, a child, an ascetic (*parivrājaka*), or one dying in a distant land or one dying by accident or committing suicide &c. The śrauta and grhya-sūtras differ among themselves in many details even on the same topic and the procedure becomes more elaborate in medieval and later times. It would be impossible to state all the differences on each topic in this section. A separate volume would have to be written for the purpose of setting out all the variations and additions from ancient times to modern times, to discuss why and how they arose or were made, to compare the various sūtras and to compare these again with the purānas and medieval digests, and to appraise their worth or usefulness. All that can be attempted here is to give the bare outlines of the procedure in different sūtras, smṛtis and digests by way of sample in a chronological order. The Nirṇayasindhu (p. 569) expressly says that the last rites differ in each Śākha, though certain things are common to all ^{439a}. Chronological conclusions have been drawn about the relative ages of the sūtras (as Dr. Caland does), of the smṛtis, purānas and nibandhas from the presence or absence of this or that detail or the elaboration of this or that ritual. But with all respect to the industrious scholars of the West such conclusions are often tentative or misleading and are purely subjective in many cases and are often due to ignorance or loss of ancient works.

439. निवेकादिस्मशानान्तो मन्त्रैर्यस्योदितो विधिः । तस्य शाल्लोथिकापोऽस्मिन्त्रेणो
 नान्यस्य कस्यचित् ॥ मनु II, 16, ब्रह्मसंहियविद्विज्ञा वर्णास्त्वाचारयो हिजा । निवेकाद्या-
 स्मशानान्तास्तेषां वै मन्त्रतः क्रियाः ॥ या I 10, आधानयुससोमन्तजातगामाश्चोल्काः ।
 मोक्षी व्रतानि गोदानं समावर्तविवाहका ॥ अन्यं चैतानि कर्माणि मोक्ष्यन्ते षोडशैव तु ॥
 आदर्कण्य q. in संस्कारप्रकाश p 135 and अन्यकर्मदीपक p 1

439 a. इतिहास भिन्नेष्वन्यकर्मणि साधारण किञ्चिद्भूयते । निर्णयः p 569.

Before setting out the rites of cremation contained in the Śrauta sūtras, Grhya sūtras and later works, it would be best to give here a translation of the five hymns from the Rg. (X. 14-18)⁴⁴⁰. The verses in these hymns are employed by most of the sūtras and are used even now in the cremation rites and most of them occur in the other Vedic Samhitās. Varying interpretations have been given of some of these stanzas by Indian and Western commentators and critics. Only a few of these have been mentioned in the notes. Besides some stanzas are employed for different details of the cremation rites by the different sūtras. All such differences cannot be set out for want of space. The five hymns are so placed that they follow the order of the stages in which the funeral ritual proceeded in fact and is performed even now to a great extent. Vide Appendix for the text of the Rgveda hymns without accents.⁴⁴¹

X. 14. 1 (O sacrificer!) worship with an offering Yama, king (of pitrs), son of Vivasvat, the gatherer of men (that are dead), who sought out the way for many (men who do meritorious acts) and who passed along great (non-terrestrial) heights⁴⁴². 2. Yama was the first to know (find out) the path for us men; that is a pasture (abode) that cannot be taken away (by anybody), that is (an abode) where our ancient

440. The work of Bertram S Puckle on 'Funeral customs' (London, 1926) is a very interesting and instructive one. It describes at great length funeral customs in various parts of England, France and other countries in Europe and among Jews and also in other parts of the world. Many of the customs and beliefs that he records bear a close resemblance to customs and beliefs in ancient and modern India, such, as, for example, the alighting of a raven or other black feathered bird on a cottage where a man is very ill as a death warning (p 17), washing and anointing of dead bodies before burial (pp. 34, 36), the hiring of professional women for wailing and shrieking for the dead (p 67), condemning burial at night (p 77), the cutting of the hair as a sign of mourning (p. 91), placing meat and drink on the grave for the spirit of the departed (pp 99-100), refusal of burial in the churchyard by the Church for unbaptised children, suicides, lunatics, and those excommunicated (p. 143).

441. Vide Appendix.

442. X.14.1. This verse is explained in Nir X 20. 'Pareyivāmsam' may also be taken with 'panthām'. The meaning of 'pravataḥ' is rather uncertain. The Tāi. Ā. VI 1.1, Sat. Śr. 28 I 20, Baud. P. S. (I.2), Vaik. Śr. S. 20.22 (p. 311) read 'pareyuvāmsam'.

ancestors went, each knowing his own way thereto⁴⁴³. 3. Mātali (Indra's charioteer or Indra himself) with the (pitrs) called *kāvya*, Yama with the Angirases and Brhaspati with the Rkvas become prosperous (or increase in strength); whom (the pitrs) the gods support and who support the gods; some of them (the gods, Indra and others) are delighted by *svāhā* (by offerings given after uttering that word) and others (pitrs) are delighted by *svadhā*⁴⁴⁴. 4. O Yama! Being of one mind with the pitrs called Angirases come to this (sacrifice) and sit down on the seat (of kuśas). May the *mantras* recited by the wise (priests) bring you (here). May you (O king) delight yourself with this offering! 5. O Yama! (come with the adorable) Angirases and Vairūpas and delight (or exhilarate) yourself. I invoke Viśvasvat, your father; (May he delight himself) after sitting on the kuśa grass (spread) in this sacrifice⁴⁴⁵. 6. The Angirases, the Navagvas,⁴⁴⁶ the Atharvans, the Bhrgus are our pitrs and love soma (drink). May we secure the good will of those adorable ones! May we be in their gracious favour also! 7. Hasten, hasten⁴⁴⁷ by the ancient paths (to that place) where

443 It is quite possible to understand 'eva jāññāh' as meaning 'being thus born' (like ourselves), 'eva' being taken adverbially and 'jāññāh' from 'jan' (to be born). Compare A V 18 3.13 *यो सप्तार यमो मर्त्यानां च देवाय यमो लोकनेत्रः*. The Parsi scriptures also speak of Yama (Yima) as the first mortal and as the son of Vivanghat Vide Vendidad, Far. and II 1, p 11. (SBE. vol. IV)

444. *Kāvya*s, Angirases and Rkvas are different classes of Pitrs. In Rg VII 10 4 the Rkvas (singers) are associated with Brhaspati. In other places they are associated with Viśnu, Aja-Ekapāt and Soma also. The exclamation *svāhā* is uttered when making an offering to Gods and *svadhā* when making an offering to pitrs

445. 'Nisadya' is really a gerund and not a finite verb. We have to supply some verb like 'mādyatām' understood from the preceding half. Vairūpas are a subdivision of the Angiras group

446 Navagvas seem to be a subdivision of Angirases, just as 'daśagvas' are, as in Rg III 39.5, IV 51 4, V 29 12, X 62.6. The late Mr Tilak in his 'Arctic home in the Vedas' (pp 162-169) gave a somewhat far-fetched interpretation of these two words which can hardly be accepted as satisfactory in the presence of words like 'atthigva' (Rg. I 53 8, I 30 7, II 14 7, IV 26 3, VIII 68.17), 'abhryugvan' (Rg VI 45 15), 'etagva' (Rg. VIII 70.7). This verse is explained in Nir XI 19.

447. This and the following three stanzas are addressed to the departed man. For the meaning and history of the word *Istāpūrta*, vide H of Dh. vol II, pp. 843-845. It means 'the cumulative spiritual result or merit due to the performance of sacrifices and charitable acts'.

our forefathers that went before us passed. May you (the departed) see the two kings Yama and god Varuna rejoicing as they will. 8. (O departed one!) be united in the highest heaven with the pitrs, with Yama and with your *istūpūrta*; leaving here blamable acts (sins), come back to your home! Being endowed with bright lustre, be united with a (new) ⁴⁴⁸ body! 9. (Ye evil spirits!) Go away, depart, move aside from this place (the cemetery), the pitrs made (or assigned) for him (the departed person) this abode Yama gives to him (this) resting place characterized by waters, days and nights. 10. (O departed!) proceeding by a good path, hurry on past the two dappled dogs (of Yama), offspring of Saramā, each having four eyes. Thus approach the pitrs who will recognize ⁴⁴⁹ you and who enjoy delight in the company of Yama. 11. O king Yama! Give him (the departed one) in charge of those two dogs of yours, who are guards, having four eyes each, who guard the path (to pitr-loka) and who watch men. May you bestow on him happiness and health! 12. The two messengers of Yama, that have wide nostrils, that are very strong, that are satisfied with difficulty, move among the people. May those two (messengers) restore to us to-day auspicious life in order that we may see the Sun! ⁴⁵⁰ 13. Extract Soma juice for Yama (O priests!), offer oblation to Yama, ⁴⁵¹ Sacrifice, in which Agni is messenger (carrier) to the gods and which is well prepared reaches Yama. 14. (O priests) offer oblation sprinkled with ghee to Yama and then start. May he keep us (tied) to the 'worship of gods, ⁴⁵² so that we may live a long life! 15. Offer to king Yama an oblation which is extremely sweet. Here is salutation to the sages who were born before us and who made the path for us,

448 This appears to postulate the acquisition of a new ethereal body for the departed enabling him to enjoy the pleasures of pitrloka.

449. 'Suvidatrān'—who will know or recognize you. The Nir. VI.14 explains 'suvidatrāḥ kalyānavidyāḥ'.

450. The life implored for here is that of the persons related to the deceased who are left behind on the earth. 'Asutṛpa' according to Sāyana and Oldenberg means 'who steal away the lives of men'. This is a good meaning in view of what is stated in the last *pāda* of the verse. In translating as done above the word is taken as 'a+su+trpa', while Sāyana takes it as 'asu+trpa'.

451. This and the following two verses are addressed to the priests.

452. 'Sa no devesvāyamad'—For the translation of these words given above, compare Rg. IX. 44 5,

16. The one great (Bṛhat-sāman) passes in three sacrifices (called Jyotir-gaur-ayuh) to the six wide expanses⁴⁵³. Tristubh, Gāyatrī and the metres are all centered in Yama.

X. 15. 1. May the Soma-loving⁴⁵⁴ pitrs, whether of the lower, middling or higher grade, come forward, those pitrs that attained life (an eternal life or a life of spirit) being kind-hearted and knowing *ṛta* (the rule of right)! May those pitrs protect us when invoked! 2. Today may this be our salutation to the pitrs who went (died) before (the birth of this departed one) or who went after (the birth of the departed⁴⁵⁵), also (those pitrs) that are seated in this world or those who have places among the powerful people. 3. I have known the pitrs as those who will recognize (me, their descendant) and I have known the stride of Viṣṇu and the child (viz. Agni), the pitrs who sit on kuśa grass and partake of food and Soma offering at their will, repeatedly come here.⁴⁵⁶ 4. O pitrs, that occupy kuśa grass! (come) down towards us with your protection, we have prepared for you these offerings; accept them. May you come with very blissful protection and then may grant us happiness that is free from trouble (or evil)!⁴⁵⁷ 5. May the Soma-loving pitrs invited by us to the dear treasures (offerings) placed on the kuśa grass come! May they hear (our prayers) here! May they speak

453 This is rather a very obscure stanza. The A. V. reads 'pavate' for 'patati'. 'Trikadruka' occurs frequently in connection with Soma (as in Rg II 22 1; VIII 92, 21). Sāyana explains that for the performance of Trikadruka sacrifices Yama gives protection and that he comes to the six wide ones for supervising over what was done or not done. The six are mentioned in Śat Br I.5 1, 22 as fire, earth, water, wind, day and night. The six wide ones are referred to in Rg VI 47 3. The conception is rather vague. The meaning probably is that in the Trikadruka sacrifices the Bṛhatsāma is sung and it reverberates throughout the universe (symbolized as the six wide ones) and that all the verses recited in the several metres do the same.

454. X 15. 1. This and the following seven stanzas were employed as mantras in offering oblations to pitrs in the rite performed on the day previous to the day (Śiḥ tithi) of Astakā-śrāddha, vide Āśv. gr. II. 4 6.

455 X 15. 2. 'Purvāsah' and 'uparāsah' may simply mean 'ancient and modern'. 'Pārthive rajasi'—here probably means 'the regions contiguous to or just above the earth'.

456. X. 15 3. 'Nāpātām' is difficult to construe: probably it refers to Agni who is often addressed as 'ūrjo nāpāt' (Rg. I. 58.8, II. 6.2, VI. 48.2).

457. X. 15.4. 'Sam yoh' is explained by the Nir. IV. 21 as ज्ञानं च श्रेयसां यवनं च भयानाम् and रयः in अरयः as meaning पाप .

in favour of us and may they protect us! 6. O Fathers! May you all, bending your knee and sitting to the right side (of the offering) commend our sacrifice; whatever fault we may commit in reference to you through our being (erring) men, do not injure us for the sake of that. 7. O Fathers! sitting in front of (in the lap of) brilliant (flames) may you bestow wealth on (me) the mortal sacrificer! May you give wealth to the sons (of the deceased mortal) and may you impart vigour (to them)! 8. May Yama desiring offerings and enjoying the company of our ancient and rich pitrs, who came to (or valued) Soma drinks one after another, who were glorious and in whose company Yama (the king of pitrs) found great delight, partake of (eat) the offerings (given by us) according to his liking⁴⁵⁸ 9. O Agni! come down towards us with the pitrs that were thirsting and gaping (to reach the world of the gods), that knew about sacrifice and that were authors of *stomas* by means of prayers (that they offered), that know us well, that are unfailing (in responding to our call), that partake of the *kavya* offering and that sit round the heated milk. 10. O Agni! come with the pitrs earlier and later (in time) that are unfailing, that partake of the offerings (presented to them), that drink the offerings, that are seated in the same chariot with Indra and the gods, that make obeisances to the gods in their thousands, that sit round the hot milk. 11. O pitrs called Agnisvāta⁴⁵⁹, that are good guides! Come (to this rite) and sit down each on his proper seat. Eat (partake of) the pure offerings (offered) on the sacred kuśa grass and then bestow wealth (or prosperity) together with all heroic sons. 12. O Agni Jātavedas! when praised (by us) you, having made the oblations savoury, have carried them and presented (them to the pitrs). May they eat them as is their wont (or as they are offered with the word *svadhā*)! O God! May you eat (partake of) the pure offerings! 13. O Jātavedas! you know how many (pitrs) are there, viz. those who are here (near us), those who are not here, those whom we know and those whom we do not know (because they are remote ancestors). Be gracious to accept as is your habit this

458 X. 15. 8.—अनुहिरे is perfect of either वृह् with अहु or of ऊह् with अनु. वसिष्ठाः may be taken as meaning 'Vasistha, his descendants and others' and as the worshippers of Pitrs or simply means 'rich or dressed in rich clothes.'

459. X, 15 11. अग्निष्वात् = अग्नि + स्वात् (from स्वद्) means 'tasted or licked by Agni'.

sacrifice which is well prepared. 14. (O Agni) Resplendent (or self-ruling) along with those (pitrs) who (whose bodies) were burnt by fire and also whose bodies were not burnt and who enjoy delight (on account of offerings made) with *svadhā* (or as is their wont) in the midst of the heavens. May you arrange a body as (the deceased) desires that will inspire him to a (new) life (in heaven)

X. 16. 1. O Agni! Do not burn out this (departed person?), do not singe him all round, do not throw here and there (parts of) of his skin or his body, O Jātavedas (fire)! when you burn him completely, may you send him (the deceased) on to the pitrs! 2. O Jātavedas! When you thoroughly burn this (departed person), then may you hand him over to the pitrs! When he (the dead person) follows this (path) that leads on to a (new) life, may he become one that carries out the wishes of the gods⁴⁶⁰! 3. May your eye (of the deceased) go to the Sun, your breath to the wind, may you go to Heaven and earth by your merit or you may go to the waters if you find pleasure there (or if that be your lot)! May you rest (stand) with all your limbs in the herbs! 4. O Jātavedas! May you burn by your heat the goat that is your share! May your flame, may your bright light burn that goat,⁴⁶¹ carry this (departed) to the world of those who do good deeds by means of your beneficent bodies (flames). 5. O Agni! discharge again towards the pitrs (this deceased) who being offered on to you moves about (or wanders) as is his habit. O Jātavedas! may he take on (a new) life and increase his offerings and be united with a new (ethereal) body.⁴⁶² 6. (O dead man!) May Agni who consumes all make free from blemish that limb of yours which the dark bird (crow) has pierced or an ant or a snake or a wild beast struck at and may Soma that entered into the brāhmanas do the same⁴⁶³.

460 X. 16. 2. The words अद्भुनीतिमेता have in view the words अद्भुनीतिमेता यथावत् तन्वं कल्पयस्व in X 15 14 above.

461. X 16. 4 अजो भान्—This refers to the goat that was optionally carried with the dead body. Vide note 486 below and Rg. X 16.7 where the cow is mentioned as being burnt with the dead body.

462. X 16 5. For the meaning of शेषस्, compare Rg. VII 4.7 (न शेषो अग्ने अन्वजातमस्ति).

463. X 16 6—For सोम ..आविवेह, compare 'सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां राजा' शतपथब्रा V. 4.2 3 and 'स यदि सोमं ब्राह्मणानां भक्ष' दे. मा. 35 3 In X.16.7 the idea seems to be that when the corpse is covered with the parts of a skinned animal the corpse may not be burnt too quickly.

7. (O deceased) put on (yourself) with cows an armour (i e. against fire flames) of Agni (i e. with the skin of the cow) and surround yourself with the thick fat (of the cow), so that (Agni) that overwhelms with his lustre, that takes delight (in destroying things), that is bold and seeks to burn completely may not scatter (all your parts). 8. O Agni! do not destroy this cup that is dear to the gods and the Soma-loving (pitrs). In this cup from which the gods drink, the immortal gods take delight⁴⁶⁴. 9. I send far away the fire that eats raw flesh: may Agni that carries evil (or sins) go (to regions) where Yama reigns! The other Agni (Jātavedas), knowing everything, may take even here the offering to the gods. 10. I, observing the other Agni (Jātavedas) for the purpose of offering a sacrifice to the pitrs, leave aside the fire that devours raw flesh and that entered your house; may he (the other fire) urge on to the highest world the *gharma* (heated milk or sacrifice⁴⁶⁵). 11. May that fire which carries the *kravyā*⁴⁶⁶ offerings offer them to the pitrs that prosper according to *ṛta*! May he offer the oblations to the gods and pitrs! 12. (O Agni!) we who love you have established you and have kindled you. May you loving (the pitrs) bring here the pitrs that love us in order that they may partake of the offering! 13. O Agni! May you extinguish (with water) that spot which you burnt (at the) time of cremation! May Kiyāmbu (plant) arise here and may dūrvā creeper spreading its tendrils grow here! 14. O Śītikā (cool plant), O herb full of cooling effect, O Hlādikā (freshening herb) causing delight, may you be well associated with a she frog! May you gladden this fire!

464 X 16. 8. This mantra is repeated as invocation when the *pranīā* water is carried forward in the cup. As stated below all sacrificial implements are placed on the body of the deceased *āhūtāgnī* and burnt. But the sage prays that the cup may not be completely destroyed, since it may have to be used in the other world by the departed spirit.

465. X. 16. 10. This verse is rather involved. If the words of this verse and the next are literally construed it would seem that the *kravyā* fire was employed for *pitryajña*. It is possible to hold that *kravyā* fire was considered as something evil and to be kept distinct from the ordinary or sacrificial fire.

466 X 16.11. Śāyana explains on the assumption that the word is *kravyāvāhana* in this, while the *Sambrītā* and the *padapātha* have *kravyāvāhana*. The *Vāj S.* 19.65 and *Tai S. II.* 6.12.5 read '*kravyāvāhanah*'. Here apparently at least the flesh-eating fire is admitted not only in the rites for the pitrs but also in the rites for gods.

X. 17. The verses of this hymn, except 3-6, have hardly any bearing on funeral rites. Therefore only those four verses are translated here. The first two verses refer to the marriage of Vivasvat with the daughter of Tvāstr and to the legend of the birth of Yama and Yami from Vivasvat. Both are explained at length in Nir. XII. 10-11. Verses⁴⁶⁷ 7-9 which contain prayers to Sarasvatī are almost the same as A. V. 18. 1. 41-43 and are employed by the Kausika-sūtra (81.39) in the cremation rite along with A. V. 7.68 1-2 and 18 3.25.

3. May the all-knowing Pūsan, who does not allow cattle to perish and who protects the world, discharge (despatch) you from this (world to the next)! May he (Pūsan) hand you over to these pits and may Agni hand you over to the gods that know you well! 4. May Pūsan, who is the life of the Universe and who is himself life, protect you! May he who is ahead of you guard you on the way (to heaven)! May god Savitr place you in that place where the doers of good deeds went and dwell 5. Pūsan knows all these quarters in order; may he take us by (a path) most free from danger! He is the bestower of happiness, full of refulgence, he has all heroes with him; may he (Pūsan) the wise one go in front of us without committing a mistake! 6 Pūsan exists (stands) in the forefront of the paths (leading to the world of pits), of the paths leading to heaven and of the paths on the earth. He stands facing both the worlds that are very dear (to all) and he, the knowing one, travels towards and away from both.

X. 18. 1. O Death! Move aside along another path that is your own and different from the Devayāna path. I address you who have eyes and ears. Do not injure our children, do not harm our heroic sons. 2. (O relatives)⁴⁶⁸ that are sacrificers! Since you have come obliterating the foot-prints of Death and firmly establishing long life for yourselves, prospering with progeny and wealth, may you be pure and holy! 3. These living (relatives) have turned back separated from the dead; this day our invocation (sacrifice to) of the gods became auspicious. We then went forward for dancing, for

467. Sarasvatī is a sacred river and also imagined as a deity Rg VI. 61 and VII 95 are two hymns addressed to Sarasvatī. Probably waters of rivers were used at the time of cremation and they are all identified with and held as sacred as Sarasvatī.

468. X §8.2 This verse is addressed to the relatives when they turn homeward after cremation.

laughter (with our children) firmly establishing our long life. 4. I place (here) this barrier (stone) for the (protection of) the living (relatives, son and the like) so that none of them may go this goal (that the departed went). May they live for a hundred prosperous autumns! May they keep off Death by means of the mountain⁴⁶⁹ (the stone). 5. O Dhātṛ! Arrange the lives of these (the survivors) in the same way as the days come one after another in proper order, as the seasons follow each other in a proper order, as a younger one does not abandon an elder (relative)⁴⁷⁰. 6. May you (the survivors) accepting old age attain (long) life, striving in order (of age) whatever your numbers may be; may Tvaṣṭr of noble birth and gracious give you here (in this world) a long life to live!⁴⁷¹ 7. Let these women whose husbands are worthy and are living enter the house with ghee (applied) as collyrium (to their eyes). Let these wives first step into house, tearless, without any affliction,⁴⁷² and well adorned. 8. O wife (of the dead)! Raise yourself up towards the world of the living (your sons and other relatives); you lie down near one (your husband)

469. X 18 4. Paridhis are encircling sticks of sacrificial wood such as palāś, khadira placed round the fire. This verse is employed by Āśv. gr. IV. 6.9 in the śāntikarma performed after the collection of bones. Here the fire is surrounded on three sides by the wooden sticks and a stone is placed on the north of the fire with the last quarter as stated by Āśv. gr. IV. 6. 10 अन्वद्वन्द्वं दधतां पर्वतेनेत्यह्नानहुत्तरतोऽग्नेः कृत्वा...पथाहान्पद्भूर्ध्वं भवन्तीत्यनात्पानाग्नेदत्तः। अनात्प here means all members of the family, men and women, except the performer of the rite.

470. X. 18.5 पथा न पूर्वमपरो &c. Probably this refers to the funeral procession arranged according to ages, as Āśv. gr. IV. 2.9 states expressly 'अन्वद्वन्द्वानात्पाना अघोनिर्वीताः मृशुत्तशिक्षा ज्वेष्टमथनाः कानिद्वजघ्न्याः'. The बौ. पि. सू. I. 21.4 remarks 'अथैवानहृपूर्वं कल्पयति पथाहान्पद्भूर्ध्वं भवन्तीति or the idea may be that each generation should die in the order it was born and that a son should not die before his father.

471. X. 18 6. This may be symbolic of the fact that the members of the family of the deceased are made to stand on the hide of an ox placed to the west of the fire. Vide Āśv. gr. IV. 6.8 'अथाग्निहोतसनाघाव पश्चादस्यानहुर्ध्वं चर्नन्तीर्षं...वाल्किरुनात्पानारोहयेदाग्नीहोतयुजस्सं वृणाना इति.'

472. X 18 7. This verse was employed in the procedure of widow burning (*sati* or *sahamarāca* or *anugamana*) by medieval and later writers. Some of them read 'agneḥ' or 'agne' for 'agre'. But even without this change Apararka (p. 111) and others rely for the practice of *sati* on this verse. For a discussion on this verse and the next, the different readings in the old texts, the different theories built upon these and the practice of widow-burning, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 617-619 and pp. 625-635.

·who is now lifeless; come' You have kept true to this your wifehood of the husband who held your hand (formerly in marriage) and who loved you passionately⁴⁷³ 9. (I) Take the bow from the hand of the departed (ksatriya) in order that there may be in us martial vigour, brilliance and strength⁴⁷⁴. May thou (the departed) there and may we here be endowed with heroic sons and conquer here all competing and aggressive enemies! 10. (O departed) approach this mother Earth which is spread wide and is pleasant May this young one (the Earth) as soft as (wool) to you who have bestowed gifts save you from the lap of Death,⁴⁷⁵ 11 O Earth! heave yourself up, do not crush it, be of easy approach and of easy resort to him, and O Earth! cover him (the dead person represented by his bones) just as a mother would cover her son with the fringe (of her garment).⁴⁷⁶ 12 Let the Earth heave itself up and remain firm. Let the

473. X. 18 3 This verse is somewhat misplaced. It should occur earlier in X.14 The last quarter is rather difficult to construe In the Tai. Ā VI 1 there is a similar verse 'इयं नारी पतिलोकं इणाम निपथव उपत्वा मर्त्यं मेतद् । विश्वं पुराणमनुपालयन्ती तस्यै प्रजा इविर्णं चोह धेहि ॥' The Tai. Ā. VI 1 also has the verse उदीर्ष्व नार्यभिः and as printed reads 'सम्बुध', but Sāyana explains आभिस्तुभ्येन सम्बुध् माण्डहि (i. e. he explains सम्बुध्) The ऋषिः इ 1.8.1-2 reads सम्बुध् and says about Rg X 18 8 and Tai. Ā verse अथास्य भार्यासुसवे चापति । इयं नारी . धेहीति । ता प्रतिदितः सन्वे पाणावभिपाद्योत्थापयति उदीर्ष्व...बुधेति ।

474. X 18 9 अस्मे is used with all cases as shown by the Nir. VI.7. Here it may be equal to अस्मभ्यं or अस्माह This verse also should occur earlier along with verse 3 above In Sān Sr 16 13 13 both 8 and 9 are called utthāpini (verses) 'उदीर्ष्व नार्यदीर्ष्वान् पतिवत्सुदीर्ष्वानो विश्वासोऽस्मन्वतीसु-त्थापिन्य' The com remarks 'आभिर्होत्राद्यो महिषीसुत्थापयन्ति'. उदीर्ष्वान् पतिवती is Rg X 85 21, उदीर्ष्वानो विश्वासतो is Rg X 85.22 and अस्मन्वती is Rg X 53 8 These are recited in अश्वमेध at the time of making the crowned queen get up from near the dead horse Compare H of Dh, vol II, p 1235. The तै. आ. VI. 1 reads three verses respectively applicable to ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय or वैश्य departed person as 'सुवर्णं हस्ताददानां, धनुर्हस्तादां, सर्पिं हस्तादादानां' and ऋषिः इ 1 83-5 cites them and remarks 'अथास्य सुवर्णेन हस्ते निमृजते सुवर्णे हस्तां इति ब्राह्मणस्य, धनुर्हस्तां इति क्षत्रियस्य' &c.

475 X 18 10 Vide the passage from Āśv Sr 5 where this and the following three verses are stated to be among the 24 verses to be recited on the death of a *dīksita* The Āśv gr 4 5 5 employs this as a *mantra* to be recited at the time of depositing in a pit the jar containing the burnt bones of the dead The बृहदेवता (VII 17-18) says that X 18 10-13 are employed in the rite of collecting the bones

476 'X 18. 11. This verse is employed by the Āśv gr 4.5.6 for *hecata* at the time of scattering dust over the jar containing the charred bones

pillars in their thousands stand up supporting this house. May these homes (the clods of earth) drop him nourishment! May they become here for all days the shelter⁴⁷⁷ for him (the departed represented by bones)! 13. I prop up the earth around you for your sake. May I placing this lump of clay receive no harm! May the pitrs support (make steady) this post!⁴⁷⁸ May Yama provide here seats (or resting places) for you. 14. (The gods) have placed me in the day that will come back (tomorrow) like the feather of an arrow; (therefore) I restrain backwards (stop) my speech as a person restrains a horse with a bridle.⁴⁷⁹

It should be noted that the word 'pitr-yajña' actually occurs in Rg. X. 16. 10. What does it mean? It has to be remembered that the hymns Rg. X. 15-18 refer to rites immediately on the death of a single person. They are not concerned with rites performed for deceased male ancestors long after their deaths. The anxiety (in X. 15-18) seems to be to make the ancient pitrs (styled Barhisadaḥ and Agnisvātāḥ in Rg. X. 15. 3-4, 11) favourably disposed to the recently departed spirit. *Havis* (sacrificial food such as boiled rice) was offered to the ancient pitrs (Rg. X. 15. 11) who were supposed to have partaken of the food offered (X. 15. 12). The purpose of these Rgvedic hymns is entirely different from the purpose of the mantras in Tai. S. I. 8. 5 (which refer to the pitryajña performed in Śākamedha). As a matter of fact three of the mantras in Tai. S. I. 8. 5 do occur in Rg. X. 57. 3-5 and are employed in the piṇḍa-pitryajña. There is hardly any reason to suppose that the pitryajña in Rg. X. 15. 10 is more ancient than the piṇḍapitryajña. It is quite possible that both referring as they do to different matters were coeval.

477. X. 18. 12. This is recited after the bones are covered with particles of dust. It is probable that the particles were poetically described as posts.

478. X. 18. 13. It looks very likely that a wooden post was employed as a support for the urn that was deposited under ground.

479. X. 18. 14. This verse is rather obscure and various interpretations have been proposed by German scholars (Roth, Grassmann, Ludwig, Geldner and Oldenberg) and others like Whitney and Hopkins. The translation is only tentative, but it probably brings out the sense in the context much better than many other interpretations. The idea probably is that the speaker wants to disconnect himself from the dead just as a feather may become loosened from an arrow that is shot and therefore he states that he wants to stop addressing the dead and close up all connection with the dead. The *Bṛhaddevatā* (VII. 18-19) remarks on this verse 'प्रतर्ज्जिने यथाहानि अपहृत्येतराणि तु । अहः पितरो बभूवित्याज्ञास्तेऽन्यथासिपः' ॥

It would be interesting to see how the ceremonies on the death of an *āhūtāgni* are described in the *śrauta* and *grhya* sūtras. The *Āśv. Śr. S. VI. 10* describes what is to be done in case one that has undergone a *dīksā* (initiation) for a Soma sacrifice or a *sattra* dies before the sacrifice is finished. It states "When the *dīksita* is dead, they take out the body by the *tīrtha*,⁴⁸⁰ place it on the spot where it was intended that *avabhṛtha* (bath at the end of a soma or *sattra* sacrifice) was to be taken and deck the body with the decorations that ordinarily are placed on a dead body. They cut the hair (on the head) of the corpse, the hair on the lips, the hair on the body and also pare the nails. They apply paste of *Nalada* (Indian spikenard) to the corpse and throw on it a garland of *naladas*. Some (having cut open the entrails) take out the fecal matter from them and fill them with *prśadājya* (when clarified butter is mixed with curds it is so called). They cut off a portion as wide as the foot of the corpse from a new (unworn) garment and cover the dead body with it in such a way that the fringe is towards the west (the head being placed towards the east) and the feet of the corpse are exposed to view. The portion cut off from the piece of cloth is taken by the sons and the like. The deceased man's *śrauta* fires are placed on the churning sticks. (the two *arānis*), the dead body is taken outside the *vedi* (fire altar) towards its south, fire is produced by attrition and then the body is burnt therewith. After returning from the cremation, they should finish the work of the day. On the next morning, the recitation of the *śāstras*, the singing of the *stotras* and the *samstavas* (reciting hymns in chorus) should be without repetition and the uttering of the *hum* sound. On the same day before taking up the *grahas* (cups), the priests come out by the *tīrtha*, go round the place of cremation with the right hand turned away (from the place) and sit round it in the following manner viz. the *hotr* priest sits to the west (of the place of cremation), the *adhvaryu* to the north, and the *sāma* priests to the west of the *adhvaryu* (and the *brahmā* priest to the south). Then the *sāma* priests sing in a low voice the verse beginning with 'āyam gauh *prśnirakramit*' When the singing is finished the *hotr* walks round the place of cremation thrice with his left

480. तीर्थ means the path to the sacrificial ground between the चालार and उत्कर (vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 984) For स्तोत्रिय that occurs a little lower down, vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 1186.

turned towards the place of cremation and without uttering the syllable 'om' recites immediately after the song of the sāma priests the stotriya in a low voice and also the following verses attributed to Yama and Yāmyāyanas (as seers or authors) viz. Ṛg X 14. 7-8, 10-11, X. 16. 1-6, X. 17. 3-6, X. 18. 10-13, X. 154. 1-5. They should finish with Ṛg. X. 14.12, then collect the charred bones in a jar, take the jar by the way of the tīrtha and place it on the seat that was occupied by the deceased sacrificer.⁴⁸¹

The Śāṅkhāyana Śr. Ś. (IV. 14-15) deals at great length with the death of an *āhūtāgni* and the rites that follow. Kat. Śr.

481. संस्थिते तीर्थेन निहत्यावभृष्टे प्रेतालङ्कारात् कुर्वन्ति । केशदमश्चलोमनखाणि वापयन्ति । नलवेनाहलिम्पन्ति । नलदमालां प्रतिशुश्रून्ति । निष्पुत्रीवमेके कुत्वा वृषदाप्य पूरयन्ति । अहतरस्य वासस पाशात् पादनाञ्जनवच्छिद्य भोर्ष्यन्ति प्रत्यग्दशेनावि पादम् । अवच्छेदमस्य पुत्रा अमा कुर्वीरन् अग्नीनस्य समारोप्य दक्षिणतो बहिर्वेदिं दहेयुः ।...प्रत्येत्याह समापयेयुः । प्रातरन्यासमनभिदिङ्कृतानि शस्त्राहुवचनाभिष्टवनसंस्तवानि । पुरा ब्रह्महृणात् तीर्थेन निष्कम्य त्रिः प्रसम्यमायतनं परीत्य पर्युपविशन्ति । पश्चाद्धोता । उचरोश्चरुः । तस्य पश्चाच्छन्दोगा । आर्यं गौः पृश्निरकनीदित्युपाह्वय कृत्वते । स्तुते होता प्रसम्यमायतनं परिव्रजन्तोत्रिषमह्व-वृषदमश्रुवन् । यामीश्व । मेहि मेहि पथिभिः पूर्वोभिरिति पञ्चाना वृतीयाह्वरेत् । मैनमग्ने विद्वो माभिसोच इति वद् । पूषा त्वेतन्व्यावयतु प्र विद्वानिति चतस्र उपसर्पमातरं भूमिनेतानिति चतस्रं सोम एकैभ्यः । उरणसा उदुम्बलाविति च समाप्य सञ्चिर्य तीर्थेन प्रपाद्य यथासमनासाद्येयुः । आश्व. औ 10.

The Śat. Br. (XII, 5 2.5) refers to the practice of cleansing the deceased of all foul matter, but does not approve of it. It recommends 'having washed him out inside he anoints with ghee and thus makes the body sacrificially pure' आर्यं गौः पृश्निरकनीत्—is the first verse of the hymn Ṛg. X. 189. 1-3 which are also S. V. No. 630-632 (Āryanakānda) and 1376-78 (Uttarāroka). The hymn also occurs in the other Vedas. The verses are called सार्वराज्य ऋचः. It may be noticed that the Āśv. gr. (IV.4 6) prescribes the recitation of the 24 mantras prescribed in the Āśv. Sr. above and employs some more verses (from Ṛg. X. 14-18) in the ritual set out below from the Āśv. gr. In the Āśv. Sr. II, 19 there is a description of a rite called 'pitryā karma,' in which offerings are offered in fire taken from the Dakṣiṇāgni and in which the *devatās* are five viz. Pitarah-somavantaḥ, Soma pīrmān, Pitarah barhiṣadaḥ, Pitarah Agnisvātāḥ, Yama, for each of whom three verses are recited respectively in order viz. Ṛg. X. 15. 1, IX.96 11, X 15.5, Ṛg. I 91.1, I 91 12. VIII, 48 13, X. 15.4, X 15 3. X. 15.2; X. 15.11, X 15 13, X. 15.14; X. 14.4-5, X. 14 1. Ṛg. X. 16 12 (repeated thrice) becomes the sāmīdhenis in that rite, X. 14 5 is Yājyā and X 14.4 and X 14.1 are anuvālyās, Ṛg. X. 15 9, IV 11 3, I 96.1 are recited when the rite is finished (instead of Agni Sviṣṭakṛt Agni Kavyavāhana is invoked); Ṛg. X. 16 11, X. 15.12 are two Samyājyās in Vasaṭkāra. The editor of the Prayogarātna explains that Nalada means 'Uśira' (i e Wāḷā in Marathi) and that some substitute japā flowers (china rose) for *naladaś*.

S. 25.7 does the same but more briefly. Kāt. (25. 7, 18) refers to the cutting of hair and nails and taking out fecal matter and Kauś. (80. 13-16), Śān. Śr. 4. 14 4-5 also speak of the cutting of hair, of bathing the dead body, applying paste and putting garlands. The Baud. P. S (1 2) refers to these and adds that if they cut open his entrails from the right side they again sew it with darbha grass or they may simply wash the body (without taking out the fecal matter), cover the body with a piece of cloth, deck it, remove the body by the way between the *vedi* and *utkara*, place it on a couch (*āsandī*) over which a black antelope skin was spread with the head to the south, put Nalada garland on it and cover it with an unworn piece of cloth (as in Āśv. Śr. above). Sat Śr. 28 1. 22 and G. P. S. I. 10-14 contain similar provisions adding that the toes of the feet and thumbs of the corpse are tied with a white thread or the fringe of a garment (*baddhvā daśenāngusthau-pādayoh pānyośca*, G. P. S. I 12) and that the *āsandī* (a small couch or chair on which the corpse was carried) was to be of *udumbara* wood. The Kauśikasūtra (80. 3. 3-45) refers to numerous stanzas from A V. that are to be recited in kindling the funeral fire and offering oblations, viz. 18. 2. 4 and 36, 18. 3. 4; 18. 1. 49-50, 58; 18. 1. 41-43; 7. 68 1-2; 18. 3. 25; 18. 2 4-18 (omitting 18. 2. 10); 18.4.1-15 &c. Compare SBE vol. XI p. XLI for Buddhist practices.

The Āśv. gr. ⁴⁸² (IV. 1 and 2) prescribes in general the ceremonies on the death of an *āhutāgni*, while the Āśv. Śr. S. quoted

482, It deserves to be noted that the numbering of the sūtras in Āśv. gr. IV. 1-2 differs in different editions considerably. The rules about the selection of the site for cremation are ancient. The Sat Br. XIII. 8.1 and Kāt. Sr XXI. 3, 15-26 also lay down elaborate rules. The latter may be set out here. 'the site for cremation should be one surrounded by a thicket of trees, but it should be so open that the sun shines directly on it at mid-day. It should be saltish land or land sloping to the north or it may be all level land. Some say that it should slope towards the south. The spot should be such that the houses in the village cannot be seen from it and should be at a distance from the road and from the vata, pīpala, tilvaka, haridru, sphūrjaka, bibhīdaka and other trees that have an evil name (such as ślesmātaka and kovidāra). The Sat. Br. XIII 8.1.16 names all these trees that are to be avoided. The spot should be such that a pile of wood (as directed in Kāt. Śr. 25 7 16-17) can be constructed thereon. It should be a pleasing one and should have a thicket of various trees to its west or in default, water, which may be to its west or north. The spot should have streams or holes and grass growing thereon. The Kāt Sr. S.

(Continued on the next page)

above deals with what should be done in case the *āhutāgṇi* dies while engaged in a Soma or other sacrifice. The Āśv. gr. remarks 'when an *āhitāgṇi* dies, one (a son or other relative) should arrange to have a piece of land dug up to the south-east or south-west at a place sloping towards the south or south-east, or according to some towards the south-west. The piece of land dug up should be of the length of a man with upraised arms, of the breadth of one *vyāna*⁴⁸³ and one *vitasti* (twelve finger breadths) in depth. The cemetery (*śmaśāna*) should⁴⁸⁴ be free (open) on all sides. It should abound in herbs, but plants with thorns and with milky juice (should be dug out) as stated before (in Āśv. gr. II 7.5 about *vāstu-parikṣā*). From which the waters flow on all sides (that is the spot should be a little higher than the surrounding ground); this should be a characteristic required for that (kind of) cemetery where (the body) is to be burnt. They should cut off the hair on the head, the lips and the body and pare the nails (of the deceased); this has been declared already (in Āśv. Śr. VI. 10.2). They should make provision for plenty of sacrificial grass and clarified butter. In this (funeral rite) they pour clarified butter into curds. This is the *prṣadāgṇya* used

(Continued from the last page)

21 3. 27 adds that a bamboo staff with a bundle of grass at its top is carried to the cremation ground and held by a person to the north of the ground while the rites go on and that it is brought back to the house and kept raised at the house. The ground is measured and pegs of *palāśa*, *śamī*, *varana* and a stone are driven into the ground from the east, north, west and south in order. The Sat. Br. XIII. 8. 4. 1 mentions pegs (*śanku*). Śān. Sr. (IV. 14, 6-9) states that the ground of cremation slopes to the south or south-east, that the ground is swept with a *palāśa* branch with the verse 'apeta' (Rg. X. 14. 9), then it is cleared with the *śphya* and sprinkled with water and the pile of wood is made to face south-east.

483. व्यान is defined as 'व्यानी बाहोः सकारयोस्ततथोस्तिर्यगन्तरम्' अनरकोशः. It is as much as the out-stretched arms together with the hands (i. e. a fathom).

484. इमज्ञान has two meanings viz. the place where a corpse is cremated and also the place where the charred bones (after cremation) collected in a jar are deposited in the earth. नारायण remarks on आश्व. गृ. IV. 1.11 (अभित आकाशं इमज्ञानं) 'इमज्ञानग्रहणेनात्र इमज्ञानद्वयं गृह्यते । ..दहनदेशश्च इमज्ञानं सञ्चित्य यत्रास्थिनि निधीयन्ते तत्र इमज्ञानम् । तद्द्वयं सर्वतआकाशं भवेत्'. The शतपथब्र. XIII 8.1.1 derives इमज्ञान in two ways as being a form of इवाङ्ग or इमज्ञान in the words अथास्मै कल्याणं कुर्वन्ति । अथास्मै इमज्ञानं कुर्वन्ति । इमज्ञा उ हेव भाम धितृणामचारस्ते हासुमिहोकेऽकृतइमज्ञानस्य साधुकृत्यासुपदम्भयन्ति तेभ्य एतद्वक्त्रं करोति तस्माच्छुशानं इमज्ञानं ह वै तच्छुशानमित्याचक्षते परोक्षम् । अथर्वः 18 4 44 shows that the dead body was carried in a cart drawn by oxen.

(in the rites) for *pitr̥s*. (The relatives of the deceased) carry his sacred fires and his sacrificial vessels in that direction (viz. where the ground is dug up for cremation). After these aged persons, in odd numbers, men and women not going together, carry the dead body. Some say that (the dead body) should be carried in a cart with a seat drawn⁴⁸⁵ by oxen. Some prescribe that a she-animal, either a cow⁴⁸⁶ or a she-goat, of one colour or of a dark colour (should be taken to the cemetery). The (relatives of the dead) tie (a rope) to the left fore-foot and lead it behind (the corpse). Then follow the relations (of the deceased) with their *yajñopavītas* brought low (round their body) and with the top knot untied (dishevelled), the older ones going first, the younger ones last. Having thus arrived at the spot (of cremation), the performer (of cremation rites) while walking three times round the spot (for cremation) with his left side turned towards it, sprinkles water on it with a *samī* twig with the verse 'apeta vīta vi ca sarpatāṭah' (Rg. X. 14. 9). To the south-east on a slightly raised corner (of the spot for cremation), he (son or the like) places the *Āhavanīya* fire, to the north-west the *Gārhapatyā* fire and to the south-west the *Dakṣiṇā* fire. Then a person that knows (how to prepare a funeral pile) collects a pile of fuel between the fires (on the dug-up spot). Then the performer of the rites spreads *baḥiṣ* (*kūśas*) and a black antelope skin with the hairy part outside on the pile, (the relatives) place the dead body thereon carrying it by way of the north side of the *Gārhapatyā* fire and turning its head towards the *Āhavanīya* fire. They make the wife

485. The Baud. P. S. (I. 4. 5-6) says that servants or old men should carry the dead body on a couch or chair covering the body with a mat or according to some in a cart.

486. अहस्तरणी is a cow or she-goat which is killed and then is made to cover the dead body with its limbs. The word is explained by नारायण as 'प्रेतमनुस्तरयति वा स्त्री पशुः साहस्तरणी ।'. The कात्यायनश्रौत (25.7.34-37) 'अनुस्तरणी श्वेतश्वाराकर्णमाह्वय हस्तयोर्वृक्षौ । अङ्गेष्वङ्गानीति जातुकर्ण्यः । न वास्ति सम्देहात् । वपया सुख-नवचण्ड्याग्निनिरादीपयति । अह्वयिं जुहोति शुचौ भोताभ्योवा ब्राह्मणोऽस्मात्स्वमधिजातोऽस्ति स्वद्वयं जायता शुचः । असौ स्वर्गाय लोकाय स्वाहेति । The mantra अस्मात्स्व.. लोकाय स्वादां is वाज स 35 22 Vide शतपथ ब्रा XII, 5 2 15 for the same words and mantra as in Kāt Sr. The com of Yājñikadeva on Kāt. Sr. 25 7 34 explains वृक्षौ as कुशिनोल्कौ Vide also Baud. P. S I 4 1 and I 9-10, Sat. Sr 28.2 3-13, Kauś 81.20-27 The latter prescribes that the cow is led round with the left side towards the corpse with the mantras A V 18 3 3 and 4, that the cow is struck on her buttocks and loins, that two vr̥kṣas are taken from the cow's back and placed on the hands of the corpse with the mantra 'ati drava' (A V. XVIII 2 11) which is Rg. X 14 10

of the deceased (belonging to any one of the three higher varnas) lie down (on the pile) to the north of the dead body, and also place his bow to the north if (the deceased was) ksatriya. The wife's brother-in-law⁴⁸⁷ (husband's brother) or a representative of the husband or a pupil (of the deceased) or an old servant (slave) should make her rise (from the pile) with the mantra 'udīrsva nāryabhi jīvalokam' (Rg. X. 18. 8); the performer (of the rites) should mutter this verse if a śūdra (servant) makes her rise and he takes away the bow with the verse 'dhanur-hastādadađāno' (Rg. X. 18. 9). It has been stated (above what is to be done) in case a śūdra (should perform this act). Having strung the bow he should before the piling up of the things (mentioned below on the dead body) is done, break the bow to pieces and throw it on the pile.⁴⁸⁸ He then should put the following sacrificial implements (on the dead body) viz. into the right hand the spoon called Juhū, in the left hand the spoon Upabhrt, on his right side the Sphya (wooden sword), on his left side the Agnihotrahavani (the ladle with which the Agnihotra offerings were offered into fire), on his chest, head and teeth respectively the dhruvā (the big sacrificial ladle), the dishes (or the *kapālas*), the pressing stones (used for pressing out Soma juice in a soma sacrifice), on the two nostrils the two small ladles (*śruva*), on the ears the two Prāśitra-haranas,⁴⁸⁹ if there be only one then breaking

487. Many of the sūtras refer to this act of making the wife of the deceased lie down to the north of the dead body on the funeral pile and then making her rise up from it. Vide Kauśikasūtra 80. 44-45 'इयं नारीति पत्नीसुपसंवेक्षयति । उदीरस्वैत्युत्थापयति ।' These two verses are A. V. XVIII. 3. 1-2. Sat. Sr. (28. 2. 14-16) states that before the corpse is placed on the pyre the wife is made to lie down near it with the verse 'iyam nārī' and then her husband's brother or another brāhmana makes her get up with the verse 'udīrsva nārī'. The same sūtra (28. 2. 22) says that the wife may be made to lie down near the corpse after the latter is placed on the pyre or before (as it appears to prefer).

488. Here the Sat. Br. XII 5. 2. 6 and some of the sūtras (such as Kāt. Sr. 25. 7. 19, Sān. Śr. IV. 14. 16-35, Sat. Śr. 28. 2. 23-30, Kauśika 81. 1-19, Baud. P. S. I. 8-9) and smṛtis like Gobhila (III 24) add that in the seven seats of vital air viz. the mouth, the two nostrils, the two eyes and the two ears, they cast small pieces of gold. Others add that sesame wetted with ghee are also thrown on the corpse. The G. P. S. II. 7. 12 says that it is the adhvaryu who deposits the *kapālas* on the head (of the dead body).

489. On the Prāśitrahana, vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 1064 (the vessel in which a portion of purođāsa is kept for the brāhmā priest). For the Samyā (yoke-pin), vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 1112 n. 2487.

it into two; on the belly the *pātrī* (in which the oblations are collected before offering) and the *camasa* (cup) in which (the *śḍū* portion) cut off is placed; on his private parts the *śamyā* on the thighs the two *aranis* (wood sticks for kindling fire by attrition) and on the spanks the mortar and pestle, on the feet the winnowing baskets (*śūrpa*) or if there be one only, by tearing it in two pieces. Those of the sacrificial implements which have a hollow (into which a fluid can be poured) are filled with *Prṣadājya*. The son (of the deceased) should take the upper and the lower mill-stones for himself and the implements made of copper, iron and earthenware⁴⁹⁰.

The Śat. Br. XII. 5. 2. 14 first states that sacrificial implements made of stone or earthenware should be donated to a brāhmana but people regard the latter as a corpse-bearer (and so) they should be thrown into water.⁴⁹¹ Taking out the omentum (*vapū*) of the *Amustarani* she-animal he should cover therewith the head and the mouth (of the deceased) with the verse 'Agnar varma' (Rg. X, 16. 7). Taking out the two kidneys (*vrkkau*) of the animal he should deposit them into the

490. It should be noted that there are some variations in the statements about the sacrificial implements made here and in the Śat Br. XII. 5. 2, Śat Sr. 28. 2 23-50, Kāt Sr 25 7 21-33, Kaus. 81 1-19, Baud. P. S. I. 8 11-I. 9 7, Śān Śr. IV 14. 18-36. For example, the Śān Śr. (IV. 16 21-31) prescribes that the *Agnihotra-havani* is placed on the throat and the two *aranis* on the private parts, while Āśv. gr. places the *agnihotra-havani* on the left side and the *śamyā* on private parts. Sabara quotes several times a passage which says 'They burn the *āhitiṅni* with his (vedic) fires and sacrificial implements' (*āhitiṅni-agnibhir dahanā yajñapātraiḥ*) on Jai IV 1 9, VI, 6 34, XI 3.34. Those words occur also in Baud P. S. III 1.9. Jai XI 3 34 states the proposition that the cremation of the sacrificer with the sacrificial implements is what is called *pratiṣṭāṭikarman* (the final disposal) of the *yajñapātras*.

491. अधारूप सप्तह प्राणावतनेषु सप्त हिरण्यशकलान्प्रत्यक्षति ज्योतिर्गोऽमृतं हिरण्य ज्योतिरेवास्मिन्सदमुत दधाति। अथैनमन्तरेणाधींश्चितिं चित्वा कृष्णाजिनमुत्तरदोम प्राचीनधीं च मस्तीर्य तस्मिन्नेनमुत्तानं निपाद्य सुहृ धृतेन पूर्णां दक्षिणे पाण्यावदधाति सप्त उपसृतमुरसि ध्रुवा मुखेऽग्निदोत्रद्वर्णी नासिकयोः क्लृवो कर्णयोः प्राग्नित्रहरणे त्रीर्षधमसं प्रणीताप्रणयन पार्श्वयोः शूर्पे उद्धरे पात्री समवत्तधानी ध्रुवदाज्यवर्ती शिश्रुर्यान्ते श्यामाणाज्यो-रन्ते दृषारवावन्सुहृत्खल च सुसलं चान्तरेणोरु अन्यानि यज्ञप्रात्राणि दक्षिणे पाणी रथम्। स एष यज्ञासुधी यजमानः। यथा विष्यदानोपमतीयादेवमेव योऽस्य स्वर्गं लोको जितो भवति तप्तयत्वेति। शतपथभा. XII. 5 2 6-8 The Gō. pi. Ś. I 2.31, Śat Sr. 28. 2 23-4 and others provide that either gold bits or drops of clarified butter were to be cast over the seven orifices (mouth and others). A comparatively later *smṛiti* like that of *Parāśara* mentions this depositing of sacrificial implements on the sacrificer's body (Y. 19-22)

hands (of the deceased) the right kidney in the right hand and left kidney in the left with the mantra 'ati drava' (Rg. X. 14, 10, recited once only). He puts the heart (of the animal) on his heart and according to some also two lumps of flour (of rice or barley); according to others only if there are no kidneys.⁴⁹² Having deposited the whole animal limb by limb (on corresponding limbs of the dead body) and having covered it with its own hide he recites when the Pranita water is being carried forward, by way of invocation the mantra 'imam agne' (Rg. X. 16. 8). Bending his left knee he should offer into the Dakṣiṇa fire oblations of clarified butter with the formula 'to Agni svāhā! To Soma svāhā! To the world svāhā! To Anumati svāhā!' A fifth oblation (is to be offered) on the chest of the deceased with the formula 'from this one, indeed thou hast been born! May he now be born out of thee, N. N. | To the heavenly world, svāhā' (Vaj. S. 35. 22). He gives the order 'Light the fire together.' Then the Āśv. gr. (IV. 4. 2-5) states what one has to understand if the Ābhavantiya or Gārhapatyā or Dakṣiṇa fire reaches the dead body first or if all the fires reach the body at the same moment; while the body is burning he recites over it the same texts (Rg. X. 14. 7 and others quoted above in n. 481 from Āśv. Sr. sūtra). Being cremated by a person who knows this he goes to the heavenly world together with the smoke (of the funeral pile)—thus it is known (in the Śruti). After he has recited the verse 'ime jivāh' (Rg. X. 18. 3) they (all relatives) turn round from right to left and go away without looking back. When they have come to a place where there is standing water, having once plunged into it and raised their heads out of it they pour one handful of water, pronounce the gotra name and the proper name (of the deceased),

492. According to Kāt. Sr. quoted above in n. 486 the Anustaraṇi animal was to be struck behind the ear and killed. According to Jātūkarnya the several limbs of the animal were to be placed on the corresponding limbs of the dead body. But Kāt. disapproves of this since when burnt there may be a doubt (in collecting bones) whether they are of the deceased or of the animal (and so only the flesh of the animal was to be placed on the limbs according to Kāt.). Compare Sat. Br. XII. 5. 9-12 for similar remarks. Āśv. gr. IV. 2. 4 (as interpreted by Nārāyaṇa) itself shows that there was an option viz. that the animal may be killed or let off and donated to a brāhmaṇa (vide also Band P S I. 10. 2). The Sāh. Sr. (IV. 14. 14-15) states that the kidneys were to be taken from the killed or living animal from behind and being slightly heated on the Dakṣiṇa fire were to be placed in the two hands of the deceased with the two mantras 'ati drava' (Rg. X. 14. 10-11)

come out (of the water), put on other garments, wring out (already worn garments) once, lay them away with their skirts to the north and sit down until the stars appear or they may enter their houses when a part of the Sun's disc is still visible, the younger ones entering first, the older ones last. When they have come to the house they touch a stone, the fire, cow-dung, fried barley, sesame seeds and water. Compare Śat. Br. XIII. 8. 4. 5 for bath and offering of water by relatives and touching a bull on returning from cremation and reciting 'udvayam' (Vaj. S. 35. 14 = Rg. I. 50. 10) and applying collyrium and unguent to their bodies⁴⁹³.

It is not possible from considerations of space to set out all that is said in the other grhya sūtras. A few interesting points may be noted here. The Śat. Br. XIII. 8. 4. 11, Par. gr. (III. 10. 10 ff) expressly provide that funeral rites for any one whose upanayana has been performed are the same from the choosing of the site for the burning of the body to the descent into water on the part of the relatives (for bathing themselves) as those prescribed for a person who has set up the śrauta (Vedic) fires, the only difference being that an *ūhitāgri* is cremated with the three Vedic fires kept by him, that one who has kept only the smārta⁴⁹⁴ or aupāsana fire is burnt with that and that common persons who have neither kept the śrauta fires nor smārta fire are burnt with the ordinary⁴⁹⁵ fire. Devala provides that when using ordinary fire, one should avoid taking the fire from a cāndāla or any unclean fire or the fire in the room of a freshly delivered woman or the fire of a *patita* or fire from a funeral pyre.⁴⁹⁶ The Pitṛdayitī states that the mantra 'asmāt tram &c' was not to be recited when the deceased was a person

493 अपानार्गिरपसृजते । यत्रोदकं भवति तत्सन्नास्ति सुमित्रिया आप ओषधयः सन्निवृत्त्यञ्जलिनाप उपोचति । स्नात्वाहृतानि वाससति परिधापानहुह सुचमन्वारभ्यायन्प्राग्गो घान्पानशिमृश्या एवं तत्पितृलोकास्त्रीगलोकमभ्यायन्ति । उद्वयं समसस्परीति । एतासृचं जपन्तो यन्ति .. तिस्र आगतिस्य आञ्जनाभ्यञ्जने मयश्चन्द्ये ए माहपोलङ्कारस्तेनैव तं सुच्युमन्तर्दधते । इतः मा. XIII. 8.4 4-7. सुमित्रिया ऽ वाज. स. 35 12 and उद्वयं ऽ वाज. सं. 35.14 (= ऋ. I 50 10)

494, अधानशिक्षितः । एतदेव भूमिजोपणमेतत्सर्वा नैर्न कर्म यदन्यदाशिकर्मणः । इतपथना. XIII 8.4, 11

495 आदित्याग्निस्थान्यायं दग्धन्यास्त्रिभिरग्निभिः । अनारित्याग्निरेकेन लौकिकेनेतरो ज्ञनः ॥ उद्वया q. by मित्त. on या III 2, अपरार्क p 873 This is कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध) 23 67

496. लौकिकाग्निश्च चण्डालादिष्पातिरिक्ता ग्राह्य । चण्डालाग्निरेभ्याग्नि स्तिकाग्निश्च कार्त्तित्व । पतित्याग्निश्चिताग्निश्च न शिष्टग्रहणोचिता ॥ इति देवलस्मरणात् । मित्त. on या. III, 2, अपरार्क p. 873, परा. मा. I. 2 p. 286,

who had not kept sacred fires.⁴⁹⁷ The Pār. gr. further provides that all relatives residing in the same village, if they can trace the relationship, do the same, that they wear only one garment, suspend their sacred thread over the right shoulder, that with the fourth finger of the left hand they spurt away the water with Vāj. S 35. 6 and facing the south plunge into water and pour out one libation of water with joined hands. The Āp. Dh. S. (II. 6. 15. 2-7) lays down a bath when a person's relatives on the mother's side and father's relatives up to the 7th degree or as long as relationship can be traced die, except in the case of children less than a year old. In the case of a child's death before one year, the parents and those who carry the child's body have to bathe. All the above should have dishevelled hair, should throw dust in the hair, wear only one garment, turn their faces to the south, plunge into water, offer water to the dead thrice and then sit down on the bank (of the river or pond), then come to the village and do what the women tell them to do (such as touching fire and bull &c.). Yāj. III 2 also provides the same rules as Pār. gr. and prescribes the recitation of the mantra 'apa nah śośucad agham' ('May evil be burnt away from us,' Rg. I. 97 1, A.V. IV. 33 1, Tai. Ā. VI. 10.1). The G. P. S. (II. 23) provides that the funeral pyre is to be made with the wood of sacrificial trees, (II. 37 and 39) that the sapindas of the deceased headed by the women, the youngest being the first, fan the corpse placed on the pyre with the fringes of their garments, that the performer of the funeral rites takes a jar filled with water, places a *darbhendua* (?) on his head and goes round the corpse thrice and the priest gives a light stroke on the jar thrice separately with a stone (*aśman*) or an axe and recites a mantra 'imā āpo &c.' when a stream of water rushes out of the broken jar, (changing the words about 'asmin loke' to 'antarikse' and 'svarge' at the 2nd and 3rd perambulations). The performer while standing should drop behind him the jar of water. Then after repeating the mantra 'tasmāt tvam adhiṅatosi...asau svargāya lokāya svāhā,' he should set fire to the pyre to burn the body.⁴⁹⁸ The Sat Śr 28 1 38 provides that the family members

497 अनग्नेर्ब्राह्मणस्य यज्ञपात्राभावात्प्राञ्चयात्सन्धिविरिक्तसमस्तेतिकर्तव्यतया दग्धव्यः । अस्मात्त्वं ..मन्त्रत्वेतिमन्त्रपि न प्रयोक्तव्यः । पितृदयिता p 78

498. अथ कर्तव्यं दक्षुः मनादाय पत्नी वा । दर्भेणुं शिरसि निधाय द्रुतं पर्येति । तमश्नना परशुना वापस्तात्किञ्चित्ददति । तां धारामधुमन्त्रयेत इना आयो मधुमत्वोत्तिस्ते लोक उपदुस्त्यामस्तीयमागा. स्वधा नन इति । ..तिष्ठन्नेवोदक्षुः मं पृष्ठतो विष्टजेत् । ..तरमाश्मथि-जागोति त्वदयं जायता पुनरसौ स्वर्गाय लोकाय स्वाहेत्यसौ शब्देन प्रैतरय मान संद्रुद्धयन्तेन शुद्धता शरीरिणाग्निं संयोजयेत् । गौ. पि. सू. I. 3.1-13.

beat their right thighs, fan the corpse with the fringes of their garments and go thrice round the corpse with the left side towards the corpse and recite the *mantra* 'apa nah śośnacā-
agham' (Rg. I. 97 1. Tai. Ā. VI. 10. 1). It further provides (28, 1 37-46) that the corpse is carried in a cart or by (four) men and while being carried four stops are made, at each of which clods of earth are dug up and boiled rice is offered thereon with mantras like 'pūṣā tvetaḥ' (Rg. X. 17 3., Tai. Ā VI. 10 1), 'ayur viśvāyur' (Rg. X. 17. 4, Tai. Ā VI. 10. 2). The Varāha-purāna prescribes that a Paurānic mantra should be recited, that the performer should go round the pyre and apply the kindled fire towards the part of the pyre where the head is placed.⁴⁹⁹

In modern times the procedure of cremation is generally on the lines of that described in the Āśv. gr. cited above and the procedure described in the Garudapurāna II, 4, 41 ff. The following is a summary of the procedure set out in the Antyestī-paddhati of Nārāyanabhatta which is generally followed by R̥gvedins in Western India. The dead body is washed with water, is decked with a *tilaka* on the forehead, is clothed in a garment, is covered with a paste of *Jatāmānsi* and a garland of *naladas* is placed round its neck. Then the performer washes his own feet, sips water, performs *prāṇāyāma* without Vedic mantra, then makes a *Sankalpa* (as in note 500),⁵⁰⁰ he wears his sacred thread under the left shoulder (and on the right shoulder) and prays to the earth with the mantra 'upasarpa' (Rg. X. 18.10), he then thrice goes round the place dug up (for cremation) and sprinkles water with a *śami* branch at the end of the mantra 'apeta' (Rg. X. 14. 9). This mantra is repeated thrice. Then he draws three lines on the ground with an iron piece or kuśa roots saying 'I draw a line for Yama, the lord of cremation,' 'I draw a line for Kāla, lord of &c' 'I draw a line for Mrtyu, lord of &c' Then he throws into the dug-up ground pieces of gold and sesame and water mixed with sesame in the middle of the dug up spot for Yama, to the north for Kāla and to the south for

499. कृत्वा सुदुष्करं कर्म जानता वाच्यजानता । सृष्टुकालवर्षं प्राप्य नर पञ्चममगतम् ॥
धर्माधर्मसमायुक्तं लोभमोहसमायुतम् । दहेय सर्वगात्राणि दिव्यान् लोकान्स् गच्छतु ॥ एवमुक्त्वा
ततः शीघ्रं कृत्वा श्वैव प्रदक्षिणम् । ज्वलमानं तथा वदति शिर स्थाने प्रदीपयेत् । चतुर्वर्णेषु सरकार
एवं भवति शुक्रक ॥ ब्राह्मपुराण q. by छुद्धिमकाश p. 170 and by छुद्धिकौस्तुभ p. 115.
These verses occur with variations in ब्राह्मपुराण chap 187.106-108.

500 अथेत्यादि देशजालौ स्मृत्वायुक्तगोत्रस्यायुक्तशर्मणोस्मन्निवादे. प्रेतस्य प्रेतव-
दिमोक्षार्थमौर्ध्वदिक्षि करिष्ये इति सङ्ग्रह्ये प्राचीनाधीती भूमिं प्रार्थयेत् । अन्येदिपद्धति
folio 165 a.

Mṛtyu (each being associated with pits, the formula being 'Yamāya dahanapatāye pītṛbhyaḥ svadhā namaḥ'). He puts sesame in the mouth of the corpse and prepares a funeral pile sufficient for burning the body by means of sacrificial wood brought by the castemen of the deceased. On that pile he spreads kuśa grass and over the latter black antelope skin with the hair outside. Then the corpse is carried to the north of the fire and is placed on the funeral pile with the head to the south. To the north of the dead body, he makes the wife of the deceased sit down. Then the husband's brother, pupil or an old servant makes her get up with the mantra 'udīrsva' (Rg. X. 18. 8). Then the performer puts pieces of gold in the seven holes of the body (vide above note 491) or drops of clarified butter. He then throws on the body of the departed sesame anointed with ghee, he performs *parśamūhana* (wiping with the wet hand) of the fire, then *parīstarana* (strewing darbha grass) round the fire together with the funeral pile) and *pariyuksana* (sprinkling water) and brings to the south of the fire the vessels viz *prokṣaṇī*, *śruva*, *camasa* and the vessel containing clarified butter. Then he puts water in the *camasa* (cup), covers it with darbha grass and carries it forward and invokes the *camasa* with Rg. X. 16. 8 (*īmam-agne* &c.) He makes a *saṅkalpa* that he would wait upon (or worship) the dead, takes two fuel sticks and offers them into fire and performs the worship of Agni, Kāma, Loka and Anumati by offering clarified butter in fire with the appropriate formula (viz. *agnaye svāhā*, *agnaya idam na mama*). Then he offers on the chest of the deceased clarified butter (or *prśadājya*) (according to some) with the mantra 'asmādvai &c. (vide above note 498). Then he prepares *apūpas* (balls) with barley flour and mixes them with *prśadājya* and places portions of the balls on the five parts viz. forehead, mouth, the two arms and chest with the following mantras viz Rg. X. 16. 7 (for the ball on forehead and mouth), Rg. X. 14. 10 (for the two arms) and Rg. X. 14. 11 (for the chest). Then he makes the fire flame up with the mantra Rg. X. 16. 9 (*kravyadam-agnim*) towards the head of a male (and the feet of a woman). Then he should repeat certain mantras while the body is being burnt viz. Rg. X. 14. 7-8, Rg. X. 14. 10-11, Rg. X. 16. 1-6, X. 17. 3-6, X. 18. 10-13, X. 15. 1-6, X. 14. 12. While muttering these mantras he should throw sesame on the body that is being burnt. Then the performer should take a jar (full of water) on his left shoulder, should make a hole in it on the back of the jar with a broken but smooth stone. He should go round thrice with the left towards the

burning body from the spot where the feet of the corpse lie and mutter certain mantras. The jar is struck thrice. All the *sagotra* relatives go round the burning corpse. Then the jar is completely broken near that part of the funeral pyre where the head rests. The relatives without looking back turn to the left and come out of the cemetery with the youngest members first. The performer recites Rg. X. 18. 3 (ine *jivā* &c.). The relatives repair to a spot where water is flowing, wearing only one garment and with faces to the south and hair dishevelled, plunge into the water once, sip water, place on the bank that stone (*aśman*) with which holes were made in the jar, offer water mixed with sesame on that stone with folded hands with the words 'O departed, of such a gotra and of such a name! May this water mixed with sesame reach you'. The performer offers water with the *uttariya* for allaying the thirst (of the departed) due to the burning.

Many rules were prescribed as regards the carrying of the dead body. It has been seen above that the corpse was carried in a cart or on a couch by the relatives or by the servants (*dāsas*). Some *sūtras*, *smritis*, *commentaries* and other works lay down many other rules here. The *Rāmāyana* (*Ayodhya* 76. 13 ff) states that on the death of *Dāśaratha* his Vedic fires were carried by his priests before the corpse, that the dead body was placed in a palanquin (*śibikā*), that his servants carried it and that coins of gold and clothes were thrown about on the road in front of the bier (for the poor). The general rule was that members of the three higher varnas alone should carry to the cemetery a dead body belonging to any one of those varnas and a *śūdra* should not carry the dead body of a man of a higher caste (when there were men of the caste of the dead available) nor should a man of one of the three higher varnas carry the dead body of a *śūdra*, and that the impurity in the case of a *śūdra* carrying a dead *dvijātī* or a *dvijātī* carrying a *śūdra's* body is determined by the caste of the dead man. Vide *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 19. 1-4, *Gaut. Dh. S.* 14. 29, *Manu* 5. 104, *Yāj. III* 26, *Parāśara III* 43-45. A *brahmacārin* was not permitted to be a carrier of the dead body of a person or relative even of his own caste, except his parents, *guru*, *ācārya* and *upādhyāya* and he was not guilty of breaking his vows of student-hood if he carried the bodies of any one of the five mentioned above. Vide *Vas.* 23. 7, *Manu* 5. 91, *Yāj. III* 15, *Laghu-Hārīta* 92-93, *Brahmapurāna* (q by *Par. M. I* 2 p. 278). *Guru*, *ācārya* and *Upādhyāya* are defined

by Yāj. I. 34-35. If a *brahmacārin* carried the corpse of any one except the above five he was held to have swerved from his *vrata* and he had to undergo the expiation for *vratalopa*. Manu 5. 103 and Yāj. III. 13-14 state that those who merely carry a dead body of their own caste should bathe with the clothes on, then bite off *nimba* leaves, should perform *ācamana*, touch fire, water, cowdung, white mustard, place slowly a foot on a stone and then enter their house. It being the duty of *sapinda*s⁵⁰¹ to carry the dead body of their relative they, after doing so, had simply to bathe, to touch fire and drink clarified butter for being pure (Gaut. 14. 29, Yāj. III. 26, Manu IV. 103, Parāśara III 42, Devala q. by Par. M. 1 2, p. 277, Hārīta q. by Aparārka p. 871). Carrying the dead body of a *brāhmaṇa* who has no relatives is highly extolled by Parāśara (III 39-41) who says that a person, that thus carries the dead body of a *brāhmaṇa*, secures at each footstep the reward of the performance of a sacrifice and he becomes pure at once simply by plunging into water and performing *prāṇāyāma*, while Manu (5. 101-102) prescribes that if one carries the dead body of a person who is not a *sapinda* through affection he becomes pure after three days. The Hārīlatā p. 121 quotes the *Ādipurāṇa* that if a *ksatriya* or *vaiśya* cremates the dead body of a poor *brāhmaṇa* or of a *ksatriya* who has lost everything or of a poor *vaiśya*, he secures great merit and becomes pure at once after a bath. Even now generally (particularly in villages) men of the same caste carry or follow a dead body and are held to be purified by a bath with clothes on. The medieval commentaries like the *Mitākṣarā* stuck strictly to the extreme exclusiveness of caste by prescribing 'if a man⁵⁰² carries a dead body through affection, eats food in that family and dwells in their house he is under impurity for ten days; if he simply stays with the dead man's family but does not eat their food he is impure for three days; these rules apply when the carrier is of

501 विहितं तु सपिण्डानां भेदानिर्हरणादिकम् । तेषां करोति यः कश्चिदस्वाविकर्म न विद्यते ॥ देवल q. by परा मा I 2 p. 277, विहितं हि सपिण्डस्य भेदानिर्हरणादिकम् । दोषः स्यादसपिण्डस्य तत्रानाधिक्रियां विना ॥ हारीत q. by अपरार्क p. 871.

502. अत्रेयं व्यवस्था । यः स्नेहादिना जवानिर्हरणं कृत्वा तदीयनक्षत्राति तदृहे च वसति तस्य दशाहेनैव शुद्धिः । यस्तु केवलं तदृहे वसति न पुनस्तदक्षत्राति तस्य त्रिरात्रम् । यः पुनानिर्हरणमात्रं करोति न तदृहे वसति न च तदक्षत्राति तस्यैकाह इति । एतत्सजातीयविययम् । विजानापवियये पुनर्यज्ञातीयं भेवं निर्हरति तज्जातिभ्युक्तमाशौचं कार्यम् । यथाह गौतम. (१४.२१) ... विमस्य शुद्धनिर्हरणे मासमाशौचं शुद्धस्य तु विमनिर्हरणे दशरात्र-नित्येयं शत्रवद्वाशौचं कार्यनित्ययेः । नित्य. on य. III 14.

the same caste as the dead person. But if a brāhmana carries a śūdra's corpse, the brāhmana is impure for a month, but if a śūdra carries a brāhmana's body the śūdra is impure for ten days.' The Kūrmapurāna prescribes that if a brāhmana carries the dead body of a brāhmana for a fee or from other interested motive he becomes impure for ten days, a ksatriya, vaiśya and śūdra doing the same becomes impure for 12, 15 or 30 days and the Visvupurāna says that the person carrying a dead body for a fee has to become impure for the period of impurity prescribed for a man of that caste. It may be stated that these rules about impurity on the ground of carrying or following the carrying of a dead body of another caste are no longer enforced and it is extremely doubtful whether they were ever strictly enforced or followed. Hārīta⁵⁰³ prescribes that a dead body should not be carried through the midst of a village if while going to the cemetery a village comes in the way, but it should be carried away from it. Manu, 5.92 and Vṛddha-Hārīta IX. 100-101 prescribed that the dead body of a śūdra, vaiśya, ksatriya and a brāhmana was to be taken out respectively by the southern, western, northern and eastern gates of the town or village. It was provided by Yama and the Garudapurāna II 4.56-57⁵⁰⁴ that the fuel for the funeral pyre should not be carried (for higher *varnas*) to the cemetery by a śūdra and if a śūdra did so the deceased would always remain in the state of *preta*. The Hārītatā (p. 121) says that if firewood is carried by śūdras still the pyre should be made by brāhmanas only (for a brāhmana's body). The smṛtis and purānas provide that the corpse⁵⁰⁵ should be first bathed with water and then cremated, that the corpse should never be burned naked, but that it should be covered with cloth, decked with flowers and have fragrant unguents (sandalwood

503. तथा हारीतोऽपि न ग्रामाभिमुखं भेतं हरेयुरिति । मित्ता on या. III. नद. 2. या p. 395, हारलता p. 119 which explains 'निर्हरेता यदि पत्नीनि ग्राम. स्यात्तदा तन्मध्ये न वन्तस्यमित्यर्थः' ।

504. पर्याणयति शूद्राग्निं वृणं काष्ठं हवीषि च । भेतत्वं च सदा तस्य स चाग्नेर्गल्लिप्यते ॥ यम q. by मित्ता. on या. III. 2, अपराकं p. 871, हारलता p. 120 (reads मन्वते ह्येव धर्मोऽस्ति) which last takes स-लिप्यते as referring to the brāhmana who is cremated, वृणकाष्ठतिलाज्यादि स्वयं निन्दु. सुतादय ॥ शूद्राग्नीते. कृत कर्म सर्वं भवति निष्फलम् । गच्छ०.

505. चन्दनोक्षितसर्गङ्गं सुमनोभिर्निभूयितम् । निर्हरेत् सुतादय. ॥ आनपात्रेऽन्नमादाय भेतमाग्निपुरं सप्तम् । एकील्लगच्छन्नस्यार्धमर्षपयुत्सुजेऽह्नि ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III 23-25 q. by अपराकं p. 873, प्रचेता । स्नानं भेतस्य पुत्रार्थेऽथैवै पृजनं ततः । नम्रदेष्टं दृष्टेर्भयं किञ्चिद्देयं परित्यजेत् ॥ किञ्चिद्दत्तं पक्षेके दिपत्नेन ग्रसिद्धं तत्परित्यजेत् तत्स्येभ्यश्चण्डालादियम् । अपराकं p. 871, मित्ता. on या. III. 2 also quotes प्रचेतत्.

paste &c.), that fire should be carried in front of the corpse and one man should carry cooked food in an unbaked earthen vessel and another should deposit part of the food on the way and one should give clothes and the like to cāndālas and the like (that stay near the cemetery).

The Brahmapurāna (q. by Śuddhiprakāśa p. 159) states that when carrying a dead body to the cemetery, a great deal of noise should be created by means of the four kinds of instruments, ⁵⁰⁶

There were differing rules laid down about *vapana* (shaving) for the performer as an auxiliary (anga) of the rite of cremation, after the cremation and bath thereafter. A smṛti text provides⁵⁰⁷ 'shaving of the head and moustaches is declared in seven cases, viz. on the Ganges, at the Bhāskaraksetra, on the death of the mother or father or *guru*, on consecrating the śrauta fires and in a Soma sacrifice'. The A. K. D (p. 19) prescribes that the son or other performer of the rites of cremation should first perform *vapana* and then bathe, then carry the dead body to a sacred spot, bathe it there, or if such a spot is not at hand should invoke the presence of the Ganges, Gayā and other *tīrthas* in the water to be used for washing the dead body, then anoint it with ghee or sesame oil, again bathe it and put on it a fresh garment, should deck it with *yaśnopavīta*, *gopīcandana*, garland of basil leaves and then should apply to the whole body fragrant substances like sandalwood paste, camphor, saffron, musk &c. But if the cremation took place at night, there was to be no *vapana* at night, but on the next day.⁵⁰⁸ Other smṛtis allowed *vapana* on the 2nd, 3rd, 5th or 7th or any following day up to the offering of śrāddha on the 11th day.⁵⁰⁹ Āp Dh. S. I 3. 10. 6

506. The four kinds of वाद्य were enumerated by भरत as 'तत् त्रैवावर्ण्यं च वपनं सुषिरमेव च' and the अमरकोश illustrates them as follows : 'तत् वीणादिकं वाद्यमानञ्च सुखादिभ्यम् । वशादिकं तु सुषिरं कांस्यतालदिकं चनम् ॥'

507. गङ्गाया भास्करक्षेत्रे नातापित्रोर्हृत्पृथ्वी । आधानकाले सोमे च वपनं सप्तस्रसृत्तम् ॥ q by मित्ता. on या III 17, परा. मा I 2, p. 296, शुद्धिमकाश p, 161' माय सत्र p 493 (from स्रसृत्तिस्रसृत्तय) भास्करक्षेत्रे is प्रयाग

508. राज्ञो दग्ध्वा तु पिण्डान्तं कृत्वा वपनवर्जितम् । वपनं नेष्यते राज्ञी भस्मन्नी वपनक्रिया ॥ संयह q in शुद्धिम p 161

509 अलुप्तकेनो यः पूर्वं सोऽत्र केनान् प्रवापयेत् । द्वितीयेऽह्नि तृतीयेऽह्नि पञ्चमे सप्तमेऽपि वा । यावच्छ्राद्धं प्रदीयेत तावदित्यपरं मतम् । बौधायन q by. परा मा I. 2, p. 2. वापनं वृत्रमेऽहनि कार्पम् । तदाह देवल ! दशमेऽहनि संयाति स्नानं ग्रामाद् बहिर्भवेत् । तत्र त्याज्यानि वासन्ति केदात्मश्चनक्षानि च ।; this verse is q. by the मित्ता on या III. 17; the मद् पा. p 416 after quoting देवल and other authors remarks 'प्रथमादिदिनेषु कृतक्षौर-स्यापि शुद्धयर्थे ब्रह्मन्दिनेषु वपनं कर्तव्यम् ।.'

provides⁵¹⁰ *vapana* for all sapindas that are younger than the deceased. The Madanapārijāta holds that the performer of cremation rites had to undergo *vapana* on the first day and also on the expiry of the period of impurity, while the Śuddhiprakāsa (p. 162) following the Mit on Yāj. III 17 states that the day on which *vapana* is to be undergone is determined by the usage of each country. This difference in usages has been even judicially noticed. In *Chandra choora Deo v. Bibhuti Bhushan Deva* A.I.R. 1945 Patna p. 211 at p. 219 it has been stated that according to the Benares School the person who performs the cremation shaves his head at the time of cremation, whereas under the Mithilā school there is no such shaving at that time.

The Garudapurāna (II. 4. 67-69) provides that loud weeping may be indulged in when the body is burning but there should be no weeping after cremation and the offering of water to the departed.

There was some difference of opinion as to the offering of water (*udakakriyā* or *udakadhāna*) to the deceased by his *sapindas* and *samāmodakas*. Āśv gr. quoted above (p. 209) speaks of offering water once, but the Sat. Śr 28 2. 72 and others prescribe that water mixed with sesame is offered thrice with joined hands on the day of death to the deceased after reciting his gotra and name and every day thereafter up to the 11th.⁵¹¹ Gaut Dh. S. 14. 38, Vas. 4 12 prescribe that water should be offered by *sapindas* to the deceased with their faces to the south on the first, third, seventh and ninth days of death and Haradatta says that in all 75 *añjals* of water were to be offered (three on 1st day, 9 on 3rd, 30 on 7th and 33 on 9th), but that the usage in his country was that on the first day water was offered three times with joined hands and then one more *añjal* on each succeeding day from the 2nd. On the other hand, Viṣṇu Dh S. 19. 7 and 13, Pracetas, Paithinasi (both quoted by Aparārka p. 874)

510. अह्मभाविना च परिवापनम्। आप ध सू I. 3.10 6 For explanation of this sūtra, vide मित्ता on या III 17.

511. केशान् प्रकीर्य पांसुलोप्यैकवात्सलो दक्षिणाह्वला सकृद्धन्मज्ज्योतीर्य सत्यं जाल्वाच्य वासः पीडयित्वापोविशन्त्येवं त्रिस्तम्बपर्यं गोत्रनामधेयं तिलमिअह्वक त्रिकृत्तिच्यपदर-
हरञ्जलिनैकोत्तरद्विज्जिरेकादशाहात्। सत्यापादश्रौत 28 2 72 The गो पि. सू I. 4.7 is almost in the same words. The water would be offered in the form 'काश्यपगोत्र देवदत्तशर्मन्, एतत्ते उदकम्' or 'काश्यपगोत्राय देवदत्तशर्मणे प्रेतायैतिलोदकं ददामि' (हरदत्त) or 'देवदत्तनामा काश्यपगोत्र प्रेतस्तुप्यत्तु' (मित्ता. on या III. 5.). Vide गोभिलस्मृति III 36-37 also, q by अपरार्क p 874 and पुरा मा I. 2 p 287.

prescribe that water and pinda were to be offered to the deceased for ten days.⁵¹² The Śuddhiprakāsa (p. 202) quotes verses from Gṛhya-pariśista, one of which says that some declare that only ten añjalis were to be offered, some say 100 were to be offered and others that 55 were to be offered and that one should follow the usage settled in one's vedic Śākha. The Āsv. gr. pariśista 3. 4 has a similar rule in prose. The Garuḍapurāna (Pretakhanda chap. 5 verses 22-23) also refers to the offering of 10, 55, or 100 añjalis. Some smrtis prescribed that the number of añjalis of water were dependent on the caste of the deceased. Pracetas (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 4) provides that 10, 12, 15, 30 añjalis should be respectively offered to a deceased person of the brāhmana, ksatriya, vaiśya or śūdra varna. Yama (verses 92-94) states how water is to be offered to the deceased standing in navel-deep water and (98) prescribes that water is to be offered in water to gods and pitris but on the ground to those that died without upanayana being performed. In a smṛti quoted by Devayājñika⁵¹³ it is stated that six pindas were to be offered from the day of death as follows: at the place where the death occurred, at the door of the house, where four roads meet, where the funeral procession on the way to the cemetery rested, on the pile of wood arranged for burning (*citā*), and at the time of the collection of the burnt bones. It was further provided that for the benefit of the departed a lamp fed by sesame oil was to be kept burning continuously for ten days after death and an earthenware vessel was to be kept filled with water and a handful of cooked rice was to be offered on the ground at the time of the mid-day meal after uttering the name and gotra of the departed. This was called *pāṭheya śrāddha* because it helped the departed to go on his way from the earth to the world of the departed (vide Dharmasindhu p 463). According to some of the digests

512. द्विनेदिनेऽजलीन् पूर्णान् प्रदद्यात्प्रेतकारणात् । तावद्विंशच्च कर्तव्या यावत्पिण्डः समाप्यते ॥ मचेतस् q. by मित्त on या III. 3; 'यावदासौचं तावत्प्रेतस्योदकं पिण्डं च दद्यात् । निष्पृथग्मन्त्र 19.13 If water is offered only once a day for ten days there would be only ten añjalis in all, but if 10 were offered on each day there would be 100, if one was offered on first day and one more added on each succeeding day to the 10th there would be 55 añjalis

513. अन्नं च आद्धीत्तरं पिण्डदानमुक्तं देवयज्ञिकोदाहृतार्थां स्मृतौ । घृतस्योत्क्रान्तिसम्पत्त्यद् पिण्डान् कमशो दिशेत् । घृतस्थाने तथा हारे चत्वरं तार्क्ष्यं कारणात् । विश्राजे काङ्कचपने तथा सञ्चपने च पृ० । q. by सुब्रिजमता p. 158. Vide शबडपुराण II. 4 48 for a similar provision.

a śrāddha called Nagna-pracchādana was to be performed on the day of the death of a person after his sapindas undergo shaving and bath, enter the village and the house. It consists in filling a jar with grains of rice wound round with a piece of cloth and putting clarified butter in a vessel of bell-metal and some gold (or coins) thereon according to one's ability. The whole was to be given to a poor brāhmana of good family after remembering Visnu for the benefit of the departed Vide Smṛti-muktāphala (on śr) pp. 595-596, Sm C (on Āsauca p. 176),

The smṛtis and purānas (like Kūrma, uttarārḍha 23. 70) prescribe that after offering with joined hands water to the deceased a ball of rice or barley flour with sesame was to be presented on darbha grass. There are two views on this point. According to Yāj. III. 16 a *pinda* was to be offered for three days after death according to the procedure prescribed for Pinda-pitr-yajña (such as wearing of the sacred thread on the right shoulder and under the left shoulder), while according to Visnu 19. 13 one *pinda* was to be offered every day as long as impurity on death lasted. The *pinda* was to be offered on darbhas spread on the ground if the deceased had his upanayana performed, but without mantras or may be offered on a stone⁵¹⁴ While water could be offered by any and every sapinda, *pinda* was to be offered only by the son (and when there were many sons, by the eldest if free from defect); in default of a son the nearest sapinda like a brother or brother's son was to offer it and in default of such then the sapindas of the mother (maternal uncle, his son or the like) could⁵¹⁵ offer it. Even when *pindas* were to be offered for three days or *āsauca* lasted only for 3 days the *pindas* were prescribed to be ten by Śatātapa and Pāraskara distributed them as follows: three on the first day, four on the 2nd and 3 on the third and Dakṣa⁵¹⁶ distributed them as follows: one on the first day, four on the 2nd and five on the 3rd Pāraskara prescribed that 10, 12, 15, 30 *pindas* were to be offered according to the varna of the deceased. In the case cited above from A. I. R. 1945 Patna p 211 at p 219 it has been stated that according to the Benares school 4, 5 or 6

514. सूतौ मालयं पिण्डं पानीयमुपले वा दद्यात् । शङ्खे च. by मिता. on या. III 16.

515. सुत्रभावे सपिण्डाः साहसपिण्डाः त्रिपिण्डाश्च वा दद्यात् । तदभावे त्रिपिण्डाचार्यो । शौ. च. सू. 15.13-14.

516. मथनेऽहनि सपिण्डे द्वितीये चतुरस्रया । तृतीये पञ्च वै द्वादशैव पिण्डानिभिः स्मृतः । शङ्खे च. by अपरार्क p. 688.

pindas are offered at the time of cremation, while according to the Mithilā school only one pinda is offered. Everybody, whether a person of the same gotra as the deceased or of another gotra, had to carry out all the rites up to the tenth day when he once began them on the day of death, as stated by the Grhya-pariśista⁵¹⁷ and Garudapurāna. It is further prescribed that when the funeral rites are begun by a person and then a nearer relative such as a son comes, even then the former is to carry on all the rites up to the 10th day, but the rites of the 11th and later days are to be performed by the son and in default of him by a near sapinda. The Matsyapurāna states⁵¹⁸ that pindas should be offered to the deceased for twelve days; they become his food on his journey (to the other world) and they give him satisfaction; since the deceased is taken to the abode of departed spirits after twelve days, he (his spirit) sees his house, sons and wife for twelve days. Rśyaśrngā quoted by Aparārka (p. 889) specifies the limbs of an ethereal body with which the deceased is endowed on each day of the ten days after death when a pinda is offered. The Garudapurāna (pretakhanda chap. 5. 33-36) says the same.

Just as sapindas of the same gotra and *samānodakas* were bound to offer water to the deceased, a person was bound to offer water to his maternal grandfather and to the two further ancestors and to his ācārya on their death. Every man, if he so desired (i. e. he was under no religious duty), could offer water to his friend, to his married sister or daughter, to his sister's son, father-in-law and his sacrificial priest on his death (Pār. gr. III. 10, Śankha-Likhita, Yaj. ⁵¹⁹ III. 4) Pāraskara (III. 10) refers to a peculiar practice. When the sapindas are about to enter water for bathing and thereafter offering water to the deceased they pray to their relatives or brother-in-law for water with the words 'we shall perform udakakriyā', where-upon

517. असगोत्रः सगोत्रो वा षड्वि स्त्री षड्वि वा पुमात्। प्रथमेऽहनि यो दद्यात्स दशार्हं समापयेत्॥ शुद्धपरिशिष्ट q. by मिता on वा. I. 255 and III 16, अपारर्क p 887, नद. पा. p. 400, हारलता p. 172. This is लघ्वश्रवायन 20.6 and बरहस्पृशण (प्रेतखण्ड) 5 19-20.

518. नेताय पिण्डदानं द्वादशार्हं समाचरेत्। पाथेयं तस्य तत्प्राप्तं यतः प्रीतिकरं महत्॥ यस्मात् प्रेतपुरं नेतो द्वादशाहेन नीयते। शुद्धपुत्रकलत्रं च द्वादशार्हं प्रपश्यति। नस्तपसुराण q. by अपारर्क p 889. These two verses are the same as परमपुत्राण, सुदिवखण्ड 10.5-6.

519. 'उदकक्रिया पाठं श्वशुरमातुलयोः शिष्ये सदाध्यायिनि राजाने च।' नृसिंहलिक्षिते p by श्रीपतालिका on वा III. 4.

the other replies 'do so but don't come again (with a similar request), if the deceased was less than one hundred years of age, but the reply would be simply 'do so' if the deceased was hundred years of age or more.⁵²⁰ The G. P. S. (I, 4, 4-6) has a somewhat similar symbolic dialogue. A king's officer, a *sagotra* or a brother-in-law takes a branch having thorns and prevents them from entering water with the words 'don't enter'; then the sapindas should reply 'we shall not again enter water'. The probable significance of this was that they thereby would be able to escape from another death in the family soon after.

There were rules prohibiting certain persons from offering water to the deceased and also directing that water should not be offered to certain deceased persons. Impotent⁵²¹ persons and the like, thieves of gold, *vrātyas*, those who follow forbidden conduct and women that kill their own foetus or husband and that drink the kind of liquor (forbidden to them) should not offer water to a deceased person. Yāj (III. 6) provides that water should not be offered to and no *śāuca* observed for heretics, for those who do not belong to one of the four *āśramas*, to thieves, to women who kill their husbands or who are guilty of prostitution or who drink *surā*, or who commit suicide. Manu (V. 89-90) is to the same effect. Gaut Dh. S.⁵²² 14. 11 provides that in the case of those who start (through anger) on the Great

520 संयुक्त मैथुनं बोदकं याचैरनुदकं करिष्यामह इति। कुरुष्व मा चैव पुनरिष्यात्-
वर्षं मेते। कुरुष्वमित्येवेतरस्मिन्। पाररररुष्या III 10, which are included in the
procedure of *udakadāna* even by such a late writer as Govindānanda
(S. K. p. 122) and explained by छात्रिमकाश pp 199-200, अप' प्रतिपद्यन्ते। अत्र
राजपुरुषः सगोत्रमिथुनी (सगोत्रो मैथुनी?) वा कण्ठकिनीं शास्त्रमादाय नावतरतेति वारयेत्
न पुनरवतरिष्यात् इति प्रतिब्रूयुः। गौ पि छ I 4 3-6.

521 क्लीबाद्या नोदकं कुरुः स्तेना व्रात्या विधर्मिणः। गर्भभर्तृमुहश्चैव ह्यराप्यश्चैव
योवित्. ॥ बृह्मेमह १. by कल्पतरु (छात्रि) p. 89, छात्रिमकाश p 203. The word क्लीबाद्याः
probably includes all those mentioned by Yāj II. 140 For *vrātyas* vide H.
of Dh. vol. II, pp 96, 386

522 प्रायानाशकशास्त्राग्निविषोदकोद्धन्धनभपतनैश्चेच्छताम्। गौ 14 11; क्रोधात्पार्यै
विषं वद्विः शस्त्रद्वन्द्वधनं जलम्। गिरिवृक्षप्रपात च ये कुर्वन्ति नराधमाः। ब्रह्मादण्डहता ये च ये
चैव ब्राह्मणैर्हताः। महापातकिनो ये च पतितस्ते प्रकीर्तिताः। पतितानां न दाहः स्यात् च
स्यादस्थितश्चापः। न चाश्रयतः पिण्डो वा कार्या आह्निकिया न च ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण १. by
हेरदत्त on गौ 14 11 and by अपरार्क pp. 902-903, quoting many more verses;
similar rules are laid down by *Aśānasamrta* VII. 1. p 539 (Jiv.), सर्वर्ष
verses 178-179; *Atri* 216-217, कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध chap. 23. verses 60-63) १.
by हार्लता p. 204, छात्रिम P. 59.

Journey, who commit suicide by fasting or by means of a weapon or by fire, by poison, in water, by hanging or falling from a precipice or tree, there is no cremation, no *śśauca*, no offering of water or pinda. Haradatta on Gaut, 14. 11 quotes three verses from Brahmapurāna that those who die of a brāhmana's curse or black magic and those who are *patitas* are dealt with in the same way. But Angiras (q. by Mit. on Yāj. III. 6) says that if one dies by water or fire or the like through inadvertence, there was *śśauca* for him and *udakakriyā* was performed. Vide Vaiḥ. Sm S. V. 11 for a long list of persons who must not be cremated. In the Mahābhārata the rites of cremation have been described frequently e. g. the cremation of Pāṇḍu in Ādiparva, chap 127 (the body was carried in a *śśīkā* covered on all sides, there were musical instruments, the royal parasol and chowries were carried in the procession, distribution of wealth to mendicants, carrying the dead body to the bank of the Ganges on a charming sylvan spot, bathing the body, applying sandalwood paste to it), of Drona in Strīparva, chap 23.38-42 (three *Sāmans* were sung, his pupils with Droṇa's wife in front went round the funeral pyre, going to the Ganges); of Bhīṣma in Anuśāsana 169 10-19 (fragrant resins were used on the pyre, his body was covered with fine clothes and flowers, an umbrella and chowries were held over the body, Kaurava women fanned the body with fans, *sāmans* were sung); of Vasudeva in Mausalaparva 7. 19-25; of killed warriors in general in Strīparva, chap. 26. 28-43 and of Kuntī, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gāndhārī in Āśramavāsikaparva, chap. 39. In the Rāmāyana (Ayodhyā, chap 76 verses 16-20), it is said that the funeral pyre for Daśaratha was made with sandalwood, *aguru* and fragrant resins, with Sarala, Padmaka and Devadāru (pine) wood and various fragrant substances were heaped thereon, then Daśaratha's body was placed on the pyre and that Kausalyā and other women followed the corpse in *śśīkās* and conveyances according to their status.

If an *āhitāgni* died away from home, the Śat. Br. (XII. 5.1.13-14) provides that, having brought his bones home they were to be spread on a black antelope skin and arranged in imitation of the human frame, were to be covered with wool and ghee and burnt with his *śrauta* fires and sacrificial implements. Similar rules are laid down in Kāt. Śr. 25.8-9, Baud. P. S. III 8, Gobhīlasmr̥ti III.47, Vas. Dh. S. IV. 37.

If even the bones could not be found, then the sūtras following the Ast Br. (chap. 32.1) and similar ancient works⁵²³ provide that on a skin of black antelope one should make the effigy of a human frame with *palāśa* stalks (leaves) 360 in⁵²⁴ number, the effigy should be bound round with woollen thread, should be covered with *yava* flour mixed with water and anointed with clarified butter and cremated with his fires and sacrificial implements. The Brahmapurāna (q. by Suddhiprakāśa p. 187) contains similar rules about burning an effigy and ordains three days' impurity thereafter. Acc. to a smṛti (q. by Aparārka p. 545), the *palāśa* leaves were to be 362. They were to be distributed according to Baud. P S and Gaut. P S, as follows: 40 represent the head, 10 the neck, 20 the chest, 30 the abdomen (*udara*), 50 each of the arms, 10 the fingers of the two hands, 70 each of the two legs, 10 the toes of the feet, 8 the male organ, 12 the testicles. This is also the enumeration in Sat Śr. 29.4.39. Vide also Śān. Śr. IV 15.19-31,⁵²⁵ Kat. Śr. XXV. 8.15, Baud. P. S. III 8, G. P. S. II 1.6-14 Gobhila-smṛti III 48, Hārta q. by Suddhiprakāśa p. 186, Garudapurāna II. 4. 134-154 and II.40 44 ff. It may be stated here that all the sūtras and smṛtis do not entirely agree as to the number of *palāśa* leaves taken as representing the several parts of the body, as may be seen from a comparison of the Śān. Śr. quoted in the note with Baud. P S. set out here. A smṛti quoted by Aparārka (p 545) gives the numbers as follows: 32 for the head, 60 for the neck, 80 for the chest, 20 for the hip and loins, 20 each for the two arms, 10 for fingers, 6 for testicles, 4 for the penis, 60 for the two thighs, 20 for the knees, 20 for the

523. The वे ज्ञा reads यदि क्षीराणि न विद्येरन् पर्णैश्च. यदि क्षीणि च शतान्पाद्वरप
तेषां पुत्रवत्पुत्रकामिव कृत्वा तस्मिन्शतानावृत्तं कुर्तुर्यैनाञ्छरीरैराहते संस्पृश्यात्सपेयुरस्यर्थेसतं
काये सन्निधनी द्विपञ्चाशो च विंशो चोक्त द्विपञ्चविंशो दोषं तु शिरस्युपवध्यात् सा तत्र मापञ्चिताः।

524. क्षीरिनाशो त्रीणि यदिज्ञातानि पलाशद्वन्द्वानां कृष्णाजिने पूर्ववत्। कात्या श्रौ
25. 8 15, on which the com. remarks 'पुत्रवद्विध्यादि पूर्ववत् श्रावणात्। तेषामेव
सञ्चयनं पितृमेधश्च तैरेवेति।'

525. चत्वारिंशच्छिरसि। त्रीवापा दृश। अंताम्बस्योर्षादो शतम्। उरसि त्रिंशत्। जडरे
विंशतिः। बद्धदृषणयोः। शिभ्रे चत्वारि। ऊर्वो शतम्। त्रिंशज्जाञ्जलङ्घादीवतो। पादाङ्गुलीषु

विंशतिः। एव त्रीणि यदिज्ञातानि भवन्ति। पुत्रवद्विध्यादि कृत्वोर्णसूत्रे परिचये यवपूर्णेः प्रलिप्य
सर्पिषाम्पञ्चाशिभिः संस्कुर्वन्ति। शा श्रौ. च. IV. 15. 20-31 Each stalk of *Palāśa*
has three leaves, ऊर्णसूत्रस्य will represent the muscles and यवपूर्णेण will re.
present flesh It will be seen that as enumerated in Śān S. the *palāśa* stalks
are exactly 360 The कूर्मपुराण (उत्तर) 23.68 refers to it as 'देहाभावात्पलाशैश्च
कृत्वा प्रतिफलं तुन,।'

lower parts of the legs, 10 for toes of the feet. Jātūkarnya (q by Aparārka p. 545) and Bhavisyapurāna (q. by Śuddhiprakāśa p. 187) say that when a son does not hear for 15 years about his father who had gone to a distant land, he should perform the cremation of the effigy (called 'akṛtidahana'). Bṛhaspati advises waiting for 12 years before resorting to *ākṛtidahana* (Śuddhipr. p. 187). The Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra V. 12 regards the burning of the effigy as a meritorious act for every one and does not restrict it to the case where the body or bones are not found. The Śuddhiprakāśa p. 187 quotes several verses from the Brahmapurāna that the procedure of burning an effigy of palāsa stalks was to be followed even in the case of one who has not consecrated Śrauta fires and āsauca for three days has to be observed, while the āsauca for burning the effigy of an *āhitāgni* was ten days.

It is further provided in Sat. Śr. 29. 4. 41, Baud. P. S. (III. 7. 4) and Garudapurāna II. 4. 169-70 that, if after the effigy is cremated in the belief that a person died in a foreign land, he returns alive, then he is plunged in a pit containing clarified butter and then he comes out of it, takes a bath, then all the *saṃskāras* from *jātakarma* are performed on him, then he marries the same wife again or if she be dead, he may marry another girl, then consecrate again śrauta fires. Some sūtras provide that if the wife of an *āhitāgni* dies before him, he may, if he so desires, cremate her with his śrauta fires or he may cremate her with fire prepared from cowdung and some easily inflammable things (like straw) placed in three *sthālis* (cooking pots ⁵²⁶). Manu (V. 167-168) provides that if the *savarṇa* and virtuous wife of a twice-born person who had consecrated sacred *śrauta* fires died before him she was to be cremated with his fires (śrauta and smārta) and with the sacrificial implements. Then he may marry again and consecrate śrauta or smārta fires again. To the same effect are Yāj. I. 89, Baud. P. S. II. 4. 6, Gobhila-smṛti III. 5, Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra VII. 2, Vṛddha-Hārta XI. 213, Laghu-Āśv. 20. 59. ⁵²⁷ Viśvarūpa on Yāj. I. 87 quotes a Kāṭhaka-śruti to

526. इच्छन् पत्नीं पूर्वमारिणीमग्निभिः संस्कृत्य सान्तपनेन वाग्यामानीय ततः पुनरादधीत । शं औ IV. 15.32. How the सान्तपन fires are produced is stated in Sat. Br. XII. 5. 2. 3 'इत्यमेव क्षुर्यात् । तिस्र एव स्थालीरेष्टवै ब्रूयात्ताडु गोमयानि च क्षुम्बलानि वावधाय नाना त्रिविधेषु प्रवृज्याते ये ततः सन्तापादग्नेयौ जायेरंस्तेरेन दहेयुः ।' क्षुम्बल means some material which is easily inflamed such as straw.

527. तस्माद्यावत्प. पत्न्यः सर्वा एवाग्निहोत्राद्यर्थेनाग्निना दग्धव्या इति स्थितम् । तथा च काठके श्रुतिं 'शवाग्नेयो या एते भवन्ति ये पत्न्यां प्रतीतायां धारयन्ते' इत्युपधास्य 'तस्मात् पत्नीमग्निमिदंहेत्' इति विस्पष्टो विशेषाविधिः । विश्वरूप on या I. 87.

the effect that if a person keeps the same śrauta fires after the death of his wife they are (impure like) the fires used for burning a corpse and adds that even if a brāhmana āhitāgni had a wife of the ksatriya class and she died before him, she was to be cremated with his śrauta fires. This view is opposed to that of many other commentators and he explains Manu V 167 (where 'savarnām' occurs) as merely illustrative and that if it were interpreted as restricted to a savarna wife alone, there would be the fault of *vāhyabheda*. Some of the smrtis provide that he may remain a widower and perform his Agnihotra by having a golden effigy of the wife or one made of kuśa grass, as Rāma did. Vide Gobhīlasmṛti III, 52^a 9-10, Vrddha-Hārīta XI 214. If the householder did not marry again (when his wife died before him and was cremated with his śrauta fires) and did not consecrate fresh vedic fires he was to be cremated with ordinary fire. If the householder was unable to marry again, he may cremate his wife with fire kindled by means of the kindling sticks (*arams*) and keep his śrauta fires and carry on *agnihotra* with the image or effigy of the wife. If the āhitāgni died first and his wife then died as a widow she was to be cremated with fire (*ni manthya*) kindled by attrition of the *arams*. Vide Baud P. S II, 4 6-8, Kat Śr. 29 4 34-35, and Trikāṇḍa-māndana II, 121, 52^a. When the wife was cremated the mantra 'Asmāttvam-abhijātosi' quoted above was to be recited (vide Gobhīlasmṛti III, 52). It was only a virtuous wife and not an unchaste one that was cremated with śrauta or smārta fire (Gobhīlasmṛti III, 53) Kratu (q. by

528 सुतायामपि भार्याया वैदिकाग्निं न हि त्यजेत् । उपाधिनापि तत्कर्म यावज्जीवं समापयेत् ॥ रामोऽपि कृत्वा सौवर्णां सीतां पत्नीं यज्ञदिवनीम् । ईजे यज्ञैर्वहुविधैः सह भ्रातृभिरचित्तैः ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III 9-10, the first being quoted by अपरार्क p 114 as विष्णु's. It is also quoted by गृह्यसूत्रकार p 110 अपरार्क does not accept the interpretation that the verse सुतायां etc allows the householder to have an image of his deceased wife beside him while performing a Vedic sacrifice. The words 'उपाधिनापि' according to अपरार्क mean that he may marry a woman not of the same varna. Both verses are q. by ह्युद्धिप्रकाश (pp. 164-165) which summarises various views on this point.

528a तयोर्यं पुत्रौ भ्रियेत तस्याग्निनेत्रया यज्ञपात्रैश्च पितृमेधः । यः पश्चात्तरयौपासनेन । औपासनेऽधिकमानेन निर्मल्येन पितृमेधः । चौ. पि. सू. II 4 6-8, compare सरया. औ. 29 4 34; 'पत्नीं चैद्विधवा भूत्वा मनीयेत कदाचन । तदा श्रौततामिच्छत्यलक्षिर्मन्थयेन्नैव दूषते ॥ त्रिकाण्डमण्डन II 121.

Suddhiprakāśa p. 166) ^{528b} and Baud P. S. III. 1. 9-13 state that a widower and a widow were to be cremated with fire generated on a *kapāla* (made red hot and then cow-dung thrown thereon), a brahmacāin and yati were to be cremated with *uttapana* (or *kapāla*) fire, an unmarried girl and a boy whose Upanayana is not performed are to be cremated with fire produced from chaff. If an *āhitāgni* became *patita* or guilty of suicide in various ways or met death by challenging animals or snakes, his *śrauta* fires were to be cast into water and *smārta* fire was to be cast on the place where four roads meet (or in water), his sacrificial implements were to be burnt (a *smṛti* q by Par. M. I. 2, p. 226, Parāśara V. 10-11, Vaik Smārta V. 11) and he was to be cremated with ordinary fire.

Manu V. 68, Yāj III. 1, Parāśara III. 14, Visnu Dh. S. 22. 27-28, Brahmapurāna quoted by Par M. I. 2 p. 238 provide that in the case of abortion, the foetus, and a still-born child, and a child that has not yet struck teeth should be decked with clothes and the like and should be buried. Children of tender years were not to be cremated, but there was some difference of opinion among ancient writers on the exact age at which one or the other method of disposal was to be resorted to. Pāraskara-gr. ^{528c} III. 10, Yāj III. 1, Manu V. 68-69, Yama and some others provide that a child that had not completed two years at death was to be buried under ground in an unsullied spot outside the village (other than the usual cemetery), the dead body being anointed with ghee and decked with flowers and sandal paste and that no burning nor offering of water nor the collection of bones was to be performed in this case. The relatives may all follow the body or not

528b निघुर विधवा चैव कपालस्याग्निना दधेत् । ब्रह्मचारियती चैव दधेदुत्तपनाग्निना ॥
तुवाग्निना च दग्धय कम्पका बाल एव च । अग्निवर्णी कपालं ह कृत्वा तत्र विभिक्षिषेत् ।
कारीयाद्दे ततो यस्तु जातः स ह कपालज ॥ क्रद्ध q. by छुद्धिमकाज्ञ p 166 The उत्तप-
नाग्नि is explained as दग्धयेऽग्निं ह मग्वालय पुनर्दग्धेऽस्तु संयुत । पुनर्दग्धे तुतीयेऽग्निरेव
उत्तपन स्मृतः ॥ स्मृत्यन्तर q. by छुद्धिमकाज्ञ 166, अथाहितानि . यज्ञायाश्च । गृहस्थ-
सौपासनेन । ब्रह्मचारिणं कपालसन्तपनाग्निना ॥ उत्तपनीयेनेतरात् । एव स्त्रियम् । औ पि छ,
III. 1 9-13.

528c. अधोदककर्माद्विषर्षे मेते मात्रापिनोरामौचं शौचमेवेतरेपामेकरात्र त्रिरात्रं वा
शरीरमद्गन्ध निखनन्ति । .. नात्रोदककर्म । पारस्करशुद्ध III. 10, ऊनद्विवर्षिकं मेत श्रुताक्त
निलेभेद्भुवि । यमगाथा गायमानो यमसूक्तमनुस्मरन् । यम q by मितः on या. III. 1. यमगाथा-
are verses addressed to यम such as 'nāke suparnam' {Rg X. 123 6 acc to
दीपकालिका), or तै. आ. VI 5. 3 अहरहर्नयमानो गामश्वं पुरुषं जगत् । वैवस्वतो न तुप्यति
पञ्चभिर्मानवैर्वयः ॥, or योस्य कौण्ड्य जगत्. and the two following verses from तै. आ.
VI. 5. 2 (acc. to अपराक p. 871) and स्मृतिच. (आज्ञोचकाण्ड p 201)

and Yama allows the recital of the Yamasūkta (Rg. X. 14) and the verses in honour of the god Yama. Manu V 70, however, states other optional provisions viz. that the offering of water may be done (and therefore the cremation also of the dead body) in the case of infants that have struck teeth or after *nāmakarana*. Therefore there is an option as to cremating an infant of less than two years, viz it may be buried or cremated after *nāmakarana* or after the appearance of teeth. In this case it is not necessary that all the sapinda relatives should follow the dead body. If a child is two years old or more at death and *upanayana* has not been performed it must be cremated with ordinary fire and water must be offered silently. The same rule applies to a child whose *cūḍā* (tonsure) had been performed before death as stated by Laugākṣi.^{528a} The Vaik. Sm. S. V.11 lays down that there is no burning with fire until the 5th year for a boy and the 7th year for a girl. After *Upanayana* the child was to be cremated according to the rites prescribed for an *āhitāgni* so far as they could be applied (i. e. there would be cremation without sacrificial implements and the mantra 'asmāt tvam-abhijātosī' was not to be recited). The Baud⁵²⁹ P. S. (II 3.10-11) provides that there is no cremation for children dying before the performance of *cūḍā* (tonsure) and there is no *pitrmedha* for those whose *upanayana* had not been performed at death or for unmarried girls. It also provides that infants that have struck no teeth are to be buried with syllable 'om' and those that have had teeth with the *Vyāhritis*. The Mit. on Yaj. III 2 summarises the rules as follows: Before *Nāmakarana* there was to be only burial and no offering of water and the like; after *Nāmakarana* up to the third year cremation and offering of water are optional with burial, from the third year up to *upanayana* there is cremation and also offering of water but silently (without mantras), if *Ūṇḍā* ceremony was performed before the 3rd year and the child died then also the same rule applied. After *Upanayana* the deceased was to be cremated with ordinary fire but the procedure was to be the same as for an *āhitāgni*.

528a. दूर्णीमेवोदकं कुर्यान्पूर्णीं सस्कारमेव च । सर्वेषां कृतचूदानान्मन्त्रापीच्छया
इत्यम् ॥ लौगाक्षि प. by मित्त. on या III 1

529. न प्राक् चोलात्मनीतानां दहनं विद्यते । नाद्यपनीतानां कन्यानां वा पितृमेघः ।
षी पि. सू II. 3. 10-11. सायण on तै आ III 21 explains 'आहितान्मित्रे सति
धो ब्रह्मतत्त्वं जानाति तस्य दहनमादिस्कारो ब्रह्ममेघः । आहितान्मित्रो दहनादिसंस्कार. सोषं
पितृमेघः ।.'

A yati (sannyāsin) was and is even now buried. In a previous note (n. 528b) a verse of Kratu is quoted that a brahmacārin and yati are to be cremated with *uttapana* fire. The explanation of the Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 166) is that the word yati here means an ascetic of the Kūticaka kind and quotes a⁵³⁰ verse as to how the dead bodies of the yatis of four grades are to be disposed of. The⁵³¹ Baud. P. S. III.11 gives a brief description which is adopted with some variations by the Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 98) that contains a description of the death rites of a *parivrājaka*.⁵³² One should go to the east or north of the village, he should dig a pit (lit. a sacrificial place) as deep as the staff (carried by the yati) under a palāśa tree or on a river bank or on some other pure spot to the accompaniment of the *vyāhrtis*; then he should sprinkle water thereon thrice repeating the seven *vyāhrtis* each time, should spread darbha grass on the bottom of the pit, should deck the dead body (with garlands, sandal paste), deposit the body in the pit with the *mantra* (Tai S.I.3.1) 'O Viṣṇu! guard this offering (the dead body).' He should place in the right hand the staff of the *parivrājaka* (breaking it into three parts) with the *mantra* 'Viṣṇu took strides over this' (Rg. I.22.17, Vaj. S. V. 15, Tai. S. I.2.13.1). He places the *śikya* (loop of strings) in the left

530 कुटीचकं तु प्रदक्षेत्पूरयेच्च बहूदकम् । ईसो जले तु निक्षेप्य परहंस प्रपूरयेत् ॥
q. by स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 98, शुद्धिमगादा p. 166. For the four kinds of sannyāsins, vide of H. of Dh vol II. pp. 338-342.

531 अथ परिव्राजकस्य संस्कारविधिं व्याख्यास्यामः । पृथिव्या 'अक्षिभ्यामोषधीभ्याम्' इति शरीरं निधाय 'भूमिर्भूमिमगात्मा मातरमप्ययात् । भूयास्म पुत्रैः पशुभिर्षोर्नो द्वेष्टि स भिन्नमात्' इत्युदरे पात्रं निधायाथ होवारमधीत्य तस्य दक्षिणे हस्ते कमण्डलुं निदधाति व्याहृतिभिर्देवयजनं पूरयेत् 'अग्निनाग्निं सन्निधयते' इत्यज्ञोषसंस्कारोऽन्वयेषफलम् । तत्रोदाहरन्ति । शृगालश्च वायसा. खादन्ति चैवोषमाहारयेत्कर्तुं । तस्माद्विशङ्कां वेदिं प्रच्छादयेदिति बोधायनः । औ पि. सू. III 11. अग्निना अग्निः १९ Rg I. 12.6 (= Tai. S. I. 4.46 3). The *mantra* भूमिर्भूमिः occurs in औ. सू. I. 4.9 also.

532. अथ परिव्राजकस्य संस्कारविधिः । ग्रामात्माचीशुदीचीं वा गत्वा ब्रह्महृक्षस्याधस्ताद्दक्षिणे वा शुचौ देशे वा दण्डममाण देवयजनं व्याहृतिभिः खत्वा त्रिं सप्तव्याहृतिभिः प्रोक्ष्य दूर्वाससंस्तीयालंक्रुष्य श्वं निदधाति श्वश्रे विष्णो हव्यं रक्षस्वेति । इदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमे इति दक्षिणहस्ते दण्डं निदधाति । अदस्य पारे रजस इति सव्यहस्ते शिखयम् । येन देवाः पवित्रेणेति शुखे जलपवित्रम् । सावित्र्या उदरे ब्रह्मभाजनम् । भूमिर्भूमिनेति शुखे कमण्डलुम् । चित्तिः सुमिति दशहोत्रिभिरुमन्त्रयते । नात्र शेषसंस्काराः पूर्वमस्त्युचितत्वात् । सर्वसङ्गनिवृत्तस्य ध्यानयोगरतस्य च । न तस्य दहनं कार्यं नाशीर्त्वं नोदकक्रिया ॥ स्मृत्यर्थसार p. 98. The Baud. Gr. Sesasūtra IV. 17.9 reads 'शुखे कमण्डलुं चैव भूमिर्भूमिमगादिति'. The verse सर्वसङ्गः occurs in Baud gr. Sesasūtra IV 17. 17-18. According to the Baud Dh. S. II, 10 11 the paraphernalia of a yati is चटयः शिखरं जलपवित्रं कमण्डलुं पात्रमिति

hand with the mantra 'what is beyond this world' (Tai. S. IV 2.5.2), the piece of cloth used as a water-strainer on the mouth with the words 'by which strainer the gods' (Tai. Br. I 4.8.6), the pot on his belly with the Gayatrī stanza (Rg. III.62.10, Vāj S III, 35, Tai. S. I 5 6 4), his water pot near his private parts with the mantra 'earth went to earth'. He then invokes with the mantras beginning with 'cittih sruk' (ten sentences in Tai. Ā, Mantrāyanī S I 9 1 which are called 'caturhotārah')⁵³³ The other rites are not performed here as they were performed before. No cremation should be done, no *śāuca* should be observed nor should water be offered to (an ascetic who is dead) who was free from all attachments and who had given himself up to meditation. The Smṛtyarthaśāra adds that no *ekoddveta śrāddha* nor *sapindikarana* is performed for an ascetic, but only *pāvana* on the 11th day, that a *kuticaka* should be cremated, the *bahūdaka* should be buried, *hansa* should be thrown into water and *paramahansa* should be thoroughly buried. The Nirṇayasindhu (pp 634-635) quotes the Smṛtyarthaśāra and then adds a few details from Brhat-Śaunaka, viz that the dead body of a *yati* should be bathed with the Purusasūkta (Rg. X, 90), then the pit (dug for burial) should be sprinkled eight times with the syllable 'Om' on all sides; having deposited the body in the pit with the Yajus formula 'O Viṣṇu! guard this offering' (Tai. S. I. 1. 3.1) and with 'Om', he should place in the right hand the staff with the mantra 'Viṣṇu took strides over this' (Rg. I 22. 17), then pierces the crown of the head with a conch by repeating the mantra 'bhūr-bhuvah-svah', he should fill up the pit with salt to the recitation of the Purusasūkta (Rg. X. 90). He should fill up the pit thoroughly (with sand) in order to guard against jackals and dogs and the like (exhuming the body with their paws). The Dharmasindhu (p 497) adds some details particularly as to the number of hymns and mantras to be repeated. It states that the crown of the head should be pierced with a conch or an axe, that one who is unable to do this should smash a ball of jaggery placed on the head. It adds that no *yati* except *kuticaka* should be cremated. In modern times a *sannyāsin* is always buried and not cremated, since *kuticaka* and *bahūdaka* kinds of *yati* are no longer in vogue and it is only the *paramahansa* that is prevalent in the whole of India. The reason why ascetics were buried and not cremated

⁵³³ Vide H of Dh. vol. II, p. 993 notes 2247 and 2248 for the *Dśahhotārah* and their relation to *caturhotāra*.

appears to me to be as follows; part of the procedure of becoming an ascetic consisted in giving up his śrauta fires and throwing in fire his sacrificial wooden implements (vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 954). One of the rules for ascetics is that he should not kindle śrauta or smārta fires nor kindle ordinary fire for cooking his food but was to subsist on cooked food obtained by begging (H. of Dh. vol II pp. 933-934). The householder was cremated with his śrauta or smārta fire but the ascetic, having abjured these, was without any fire and was therefore buried. The Vaikhanasasmārtasūtra X. 8 (ed. by Caland) contains a brief description of the burial of an ascetic who was not an ahitāgni and the cremation of an ascetic who was ahitāgni.

Special rules were laid down about the cremation of women dying in or immediately after child-birth and women dying while still in their monthly illness. A smṛti quoted by the Mit and the Smṛti-candrikā (I p. 121) provides that in the case of a *sūtikā*, one should take water and *pañcagavya* in a jar, should repeat holy texts (such as 'apo hi sthā' Rg. X. 9. 1-9, verses addressed to Varuna) over them, should then bathe the *sūtikā* with water and *pañcagavya* and then cremate the body. A woman in her monthly illness was to be similarly bathed and she was to be covered with another garment and then cremated. Vide *Garudapurāna* II, 4. 171 ff and *Nirayasinḍhu* p. 621. Similarly, elaborate rules are prescribed about the rites of cremation in relation to the death of a pregnant woman (vide Baud P. S. III 9, *Nirayasinḍhu* p. 622) which are passed over here.

Dead bodies were disposed off in different ways at different times and in different countries. The various methods of disposal were cremation, burial underground, water burial, exposure of the body for being destroyed⁵³⁴ by vultures and other birds (as among Zoroastrians) or beasts, being preserved in

534. According to the Parsi scriptures burying a human corpse in the earth was a grave sin and if the body was not disinterred there was no atonement in the case of a professor of the law of Mazd or one who had studied it and if he did not disinter it within six months or within a year, he was liable to receive five hundred or a thousand stripes respectively. Vide Vendidad, Bāgard III (S B E Vol. 4 pp 31-32). Corpses were to be laid down on the summits of mountains to be devoured by birds and dogs and the exposure of corpses was the most striking practice of the Mazdean profession (S B E Vol IV part I Intro p XLV).

caves,⁵³⁵ or being mummified (as in Egypt). The general rule in India from times of which we have literary evidence was cremation; though burial took place in certain exceptional cases such as in the case of infants, ascetics &c. How the ancient Indians hit upon this scientific though rather heart-rending method of the disposal of dead bodies it is difficult to say⁵³⁶. Burials were not unknown in India even in very early times, as Atharvaveda 5. 30 14 (mā nu bhumigrho bhuvat) and 18 2 34 show. The last may be rendered as follows: 'O Agni! bring all those *pitrs* here in order that they may partake of the offering, those (*pitrs* whose bodies) were buried or cast aside (exposed) or burnt or deposited above (on trees or in caves?)^{536a}. In the word 'anagnidagdhāh' occurring in Rg. X. 15. 14, scholars see a reference to burial. But it is quite possible that no burial is referred to. If some ancestors were killed far from home in a fight or if they were kidnapped and killed by enemies, their bodies might have been left uncared for in a distant land and not cremated nor buried. A passage in the Chāndogya⁵³⁷ Up. (VIII. 8. 5) is construed by some scholars as referring to burials. It may be rendered as follows: 'Therefore they designate even now a man, an *asura*, who does not make gifts, who has no faith and who offers no sacrifices; for this is the esoteric doctrine of Asuras. They deck out the body of the dead with *bhiksū* (perfumes and flowers?), with a raiment by way of decoration, and think that they will thus conquer the next world. Though the passage is not quite clear, the reference to Asuras, their usage of decorating the dead body and thereby being able to gain the next world render it probable that the usage of the burial of the body among Asuras is referred to. In Rg. VII 89. 1 the sage prays 'O Varuna!

535 In Rome the bones of over 4000 monks are preserved in the walls of the subterranean burial chapels in the Capuchin Church near the Piazza Barberia. For a description of the catacombs in Rome, vide Fuckle's 'Funeral customs' p. 136 (quoting from Frothingham)

536. Vulhamy in 'Immortal man' (p. 34) throws out the suggestion that one of the purposes of cremation may have been the complete destruction of the human aspect of the ghost or its transference to a region from which contact with mankind in any material sense was impossible

536 a. ये निगता ये पतोता ये दग्धा ये चोद्धिता । मर्त्यानामश्वासा विदुःश्रिते ॥ अथर्वः 18 2 34.

537 सत्त्वावप्ययेहादवानमभ्रदायाममपजमानादुरासुगे चतोरामुराजः । संपासित्व
स्वेतरप इतिरे निहाया मन्वेनालङ्कारिणामि मंत्रकुर्यायेता इति स्तोत्रे । अथर्ववेदोक्तम् ॥
छा. उप VIII. 8.5.

may I not go to the earthen house'. This is probably a reference to burial. Besides, after the charred bones were collected, they were placed in an urn or pot, which was buried in the ground and after a good deal of time a mound (*śmaśāna*) was built upon the bones as will be seen immediately from a passage in the *Sat Br.* and other sources. In *A. V. XVIII 2 25* it is said, 'may the tree not oppress them, nor the great goddess Earth'. This is probably a reference to a coffin and burial.

It is somewhat curious that the progressive nations of the West, believing in a literal interpretation of the Biblical words (such as *Matthew 22. 23-33*, *Mark 12. 18-27* and *Luke 20. 37-38*, *John 5. 19-31* and *6. 32-56*) about physical resurrection of the dead, held fast by burial alone and up to the end of the 19th century people in Christendom would not allow the cremation of a dead body. The case of *Reg. v. Price* illustrates how deep the sentiment against cremation was and how popular fury prevented Price from disposing of the body of his dead child of five months by petroleum fire in a field, how he was prosecuted for two offences viz. misdemeanor at Common Law for burning a dead body instead of burying it and misdemeanor on the ground that he attempted to burn the body with intent to prevent an inquest being held on it by the coroner.⁵³⁸ It was only in 1902 that the Cremation Act (2 Edw. 7 Ch. 8) was passed empowering burial authorities to establish crematoria on plans approved by the Minister of Health. The Catholic Church does not even now allow cremation. The ancient Romans on the other hand held cremation as the honourable means of the disposal of the dead body but reserved burial for the suicide and the murderer.

Embalming the dead for some time at least was not quite unknown in India. The *Sat. Śr. 29. 4. 29* and *Vaik. Śr. 31.23*⁵³⁹ prescribe that if an *āhitāgni* died away from his people his corpse should be laid down in a tub or trough filled with sesame oil and brought home in a cart. In the *Rāmāyana* It is several times said that the body of *Daśaratha* was placed for several

538 (1864) 12 Q. B. D p 247. Ultimately Price was acquitted on both charges.

539. आहिताग्निमज्जे प्रतीतं तैलद्रोण्यासवधाय शकटेनाहरन्ति निर्मन्थ्येन वा वृग्ध्वा ऋग्गाजिनेऽप्येति निधायाहवेन वाससा संवेद्य दीर्घवंशे मन्थयानधी निवृधाना. प्रयत्नान्मयभाजना आहरन्ति । सत्य ओ 29 4. 29; almost the same words occur in *वैकानसस्मृत* 31.23 p. 312 (Caland's ed).

days in a tub containing oil till the arrival of Bharata (vide Ayodhyā 66. 14-16, 76.4). In the Visnupurāna⁵¹⁰ it is stated that the body of Nimi being covered with oil and fragrant substances did not become decomposed and looked as if the death was recent.

What the state of things was before the composition of the R̥gveda cannot be said with certainty. There is no general agreement as to the age of the R̥gveda and of the ruins found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Sir John Marshall (in Mohenjo-daro vol. I, p. 86) refers to complete burials, partial burials and post-cremation burials. The excavations at Lauriya⁵⁴¹ Nandan-garh have brought to light supposed Vedic burial mounds in which has been found a small *repousse* golden plaque bearing the figure of a nude female, the Earth Goddess. These and the disposal of corpses in paleolithic ages are matters for archaeologists and are outside the proper scope of the present work.

The Hāratalā (p. 126) quotes a passage from the Ādipurāna to the effect that Magas (Magians) are buried underground and that Daradas and Luptrakas (?) go away after placing their dead relatives on trees.^{541a}

It appears that among early Buddhists in India hardly any religious ceremony was performed, whether the person deceased was a layman or even a member of the Order. In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta the death and the funeral ceremonies of the great founder of Buddhism are described in chapter VI (Section 14 ff). All that is gathered from that chapter is that the favourite disciple of the Buddha, Ānanda, uttered a stanza, some of the disciples that were not free from passion wept and fell headlong on the ground, while others (who were Arāhats) bore the grief with composure, that next morning Ānanda went to the Mallas of Kusināra, that the Mallas took perfume,

540. निमेषि तच्छरीरमतिमनोहरं तैलगन्धादिभिः परिक्रियमाणं जैव श्रेयार्थिकं दोषमयाप सद्यो मृतमिव तस्थौ । विष्णुपुराण IV. 5. 7.

541 Vide T Bloch in Z. D. M. G. vol. 60 pp 227-232 for the excavations at Lauriya, also Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India for megalithic burial and urn fields in South India, Prof V G Childe in 'Man' for 1945 p 13 ff for the disposal of corpses in Paleolithic, Neolithic and Bronze ages and Prof. E. O. James in 'Christian Myth and Ritual', chap' VII on 'Last rites'

541a. मया युष्मै निवृत्त्यन्ते बरदांश्च मृतान् सदाः आसत् (जय?) इक्षे मयज्जितं
 लुप्त्वाश्च स्वयान्धवम् ॥ अदियुराण q. by हारता p. 126 which explains 'बरदांश्च'
 धर्मस्तु धनञ्जयपुत्रे प्रच्छादितमदेशे बर्दानिकस्यलम्ब्य स्थापयन् । ततो मद्राज्जन्मन्तरप दाहः ।

garlands, all musical instruments and five hundred suits of apparel, the Mallas passed seven days in paying homage to the body of the Buddha that lay in the śāla grove with dancing, hymns, music, garlands and perfumes, in making canopies of their garments, that on the 7th day they carried the body of the Blessed One to the south but owing to a miracle (described in sections 29-32) they carried it through the city by the north gate and laid the body to the east (the general rule was that a dead body was not to be carried through the middle of a village, and was to be carried to the south but as Buddha was so extraordinary and holy the above was allowed to be done). The body of the Buddha was then wrapped in a new cloth, then with cotton wool, then in a new cloth and so on till 500 layers of cloth and cotton wool covered the body. The body was then placed in an oil vessel of iron which was covered with another oil vessel of iron. Then a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes was built upon which the body was placed. Then Mahākassapa and five hundred brethren accompanying him arranged their robes on one shoulder (representing the way in which the sacred thread is arranged among the brāhmanas), bowed down with clasped hands, went round the body reverently thrice. The body was then burnt and only bones remained. Then the narrative states that Ajātasatru, king of Magadha, the Licchavis of Vesālī and several others claimed portions of the relics of the Buddha. Then the relics were divided into eight parts. Those who received them built mounds (*Thūpas*) over the relics and the Moriyaas who got only embers also built a Thūpa over them and a brāhmana Dona (Drona) built a mound over the jar (*kumbha*) in which the bones were collected. Mr. Rhys Davids remarks (S. B. E. vol. XI Introduction p. XLV) 'though funerals are naturally not infrequently mentioned in the historical books and in the Birth stories there is nowhere any reference to a recognised mode of performing any religious worship'. It will be noticed that the Buddhist ritual⁵⁴², though simple, agrees closely with some of the rules of Āśv. gr.

542. Vide Fleets' papers in J. R. A. S. for 1906 pp 655-671 and 681-913 on the disposal of the bones and ashes of Buddha based on the Mahāparanibbāna-sutta, the Divyāvadāna, Fa Hian's work, the Sumangalavilāsinī and other writings. He therein states his view that the Piprahava relic vase, on which there is an inscription that is the oldest Indian Inscription found up to date (it is about 375 B. C.) and in which 700 articles were

(Continued on the next page)

After the relatives (sons and the like) of a deceased person have offered water, have taken a bath and after they emerge from the water (of a river or the like) and are sitting on a plot of soft green grass, elderly persons should talk to them (in order to lessen their grief) about ancient narratives (Yāj. III 7 and G. P. S. I. 4.2⁵⁴³). Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20. 22-53 contain a long disquisition on the grip that *Kāla* (Time, Death) has on every body including even Indra, gods, *daiṭyas*, great kings and sages, how everyone that is born is sure to die (i. e. Death is inevitable), and how no one (except the wife) can follow the departed on his journey to the other world, how the good actions and bad actions will accompany the spirit of the dead, how *śrāddha* confers great benefit on the departed; it winds up that therefore the surviving relatives should offer *śrāddha* and give up lamentations that help no one, that it is *dharma* that alone follows the soul through his wanderings⁵⁴⁴. Yāj III 8-11 (=Garudapurāna II. 4. 81-84) are verses in a similar strain and are intended to serve the same purpose. They are: 'He, who seeks everlastingness in this human life that is as devoid of strength as the stock of a plantain plant, and that is as inconstant as a bubble of water, is a deluded person. What is the use of lamentation if the body, created out of the five elements by reason of actions performed in a former life, returns to those five elements? The earth, the ocean and the gods

(Continued from the last page)

found, enshrines the relics, not of the Bhagavān Buddha, but of his kinsmen. Fleet further refers to the tradition that the great emperor Aśoka dug up seven out of the eight mounds of the relics of Buddha and transferred almost all their contents to 84000 boxes of gold and silver and distributed them throughout India and built monuments (stūpas) over them. Rhys Davids in 'Buddhist India' (pp. 78-80), after stating that deceased persons of distinction either by birth or wealth or official status or as public teachers were cremated and the ashes were buried under a *fope* (Pāli: *thūpa*), remarks 'The dead bodies of ordinary people were disposed of in a unique way. They were put away in a public place. There as a rule the bodies or the remains of the pyre were not buried but left to be destroyed by birds or beasts or dissipated by the process of natural decay'.

543. शोककृत्युज्य कल्पानीभिर्वाग्भिः सात्त्विकाभिः कृषामि इत्यनै हृदयिभिः शुभ्रं धेनुला व्रजन्ति। गोतनपितृनेघञ्च I. 4. 2.

544 It may be noted that Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20. 29, 45-49 and 51-53 are the same or almost the same as Bhāgavadgītā II, 27, 28, 13, 23-25 respectively. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20. 47 (yathā dhenuśahasreṇa &c.) is the same as Sāntiparva 181, 16, 187, 27 and 323, 16 and Viṣṇudharmottara II 78 27; and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 20, 41 is the same as Sānti 175. 15 and 322, 73. The कर्तव्यं (शुद्धि) pp 91-97) quotes वाङ्. (III, 7.11), विशु 20.22-53 and नील II, 13, 26.

are destined to go to destruction (at some future date when *pralaya* takes place). How is it possible that the world of mortals which is (evanescent) like foam will not meet with destruction? As the departed spirit, being helpless, has to swallow the tears and phlegm cast by kinsmen, they should not weep but should perform (obsequial) rites according to their ability.' Gobhīlasmṛti III. 39 urges 'do not lament for what is perishable and what is the characteristic (destiny) of all beings. Exert yourselves in the performance of meritorious acts which will accompany you' Gobhīja then quotes Yāj. III. 8-10 and one verse from the Mahābhārata ^{544a} viz. 'All collections are to end in dissipation, all rise is to end in fall, all unions in separation and life in death'. Aparārka quotes the Rāmāyana and Vāsudeva's words from the Śalyaparva to Dhṛtarāstra on the death of Duryodhana. The Par. M. I. 2 pp. 292-93, the Śuddhi-prakāśa pp. 205-206 and several other works quote the verses of Viṣṇu, Yāj. and Gobhīla.

The Garudapurāna here (II. 4. 91-100) waxes eloquent over the immolation of a wife on her husband's funeral pyre, over the miraculous power of a *pativrata*, and states that a brāhmana woman should not burn herself apart from her husband's body (or after he is cremated), but that ksatriya and other women may do so, that the practice of *sati* is common to all women even including chāṇḍāla women, but pregnant women or those that have young children should not do so and that a woman does not become free from the liability to be born again and again as a woman until she becomes a *Sati*.

After listening to the philosophical discourse of elders the relatives return to their house, placing children in front and standing at the door of the house, they with minds under control bite the leaves of the *numba* tree, perform *ūcamana*, touch fire, water, cowdung, white mustard; then they should enter their house after slowly (firmly) planting their foot on a stone. According ⁵⁴⁵ to Śankha the relatives should touch the tendrils of *Dūrvā*, fire and a bull, should offer a *piṇḍa* to the departed at

544a. सर्वे क्षयान्ता निश्चयाः प्रतनान्ताः सलुच्छ्रयाः । संयोगा विप्रयोगान्ता मरणान्तं च लीयन्ति ॥ This is Śāntiparv 331.20 (in 330. 20 in Citraśāilā edition).

545. दूर्वामालमग्निं वृषभं चालम्य गृहहारे प्रेताय पिण्डं दत्त्वा पश्चत्यविशेत् । शङ्ख प. by नित्त on वा. III. 13, परा न्य. I 2 p. 293.

the door of the house and then enter it. Baijārāpa⁵⁴⁶ g by Śuddhikasūtra prescribes the mantras to be recited in touching *samī*, the stone (*asmū*), fire and provides further that a cow and a goat should be touched holding fire between themselves and these animals: food should be purchased or obtained from another's house, it should be of one kind only without salt, that they should for one day eat only by day and stop all actions for three days. Yāj III. 14 prescribes that the actions prescribed by him in III. 12 for relatives (viz. biting *nirṅga* leaves up to entering the house) must be done by others who, though no relatives, carried the corpse or decked it &c.

The Śāh. Śr. IV. 15.10, the Āśv. gr. IV. 4.17-27, Band. P. S. I. 12.10. Kausikasūtra 82.33-35 and 42-47, Par. gr. III. 10. Ap. Dh. S. I. 3.10.4-10, Gaut. Dh. 14.35-36 Manu V. 73, Vas. 4.14-15, Yāj III. 16-17, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19.14-17, Saṁvartā 38-43, Śāṅkha 15.25, Garuḍapurāna (Pretakhaṇḍa chap. 5 1-5) and others lay down several rules for those (both men and women) who have lost a near *saṅghā* by death to be observed immediately after they return from the cremation and for three more days⁵⁴⁷ The Śāh. Śr. provides that they should sleep on the bare ground (not on a cot), they should subsist on sacrificial food, they should give up the performance of their usual religious duties (except in relation to the vedic fires) for one night, three nights or nine nights or till the day of the collection of the bones. The Āśv. gr. (IV. 4.17-24) provides these observations viz. 'Let them not cook food during that night, let them subsist on bought food or on food received from others,

546. शमीमालम्ब्ये शमी पापं क्षमयति इत्यान्वस्तेव रिपयो दूषयन्ति इति मन्त्रिनः शर्म यच्छालिति उपोतिद अन्तया गाननञ्जुपसृष्टान्त प्रीत्या लम्बा वा वाप्य दमे काङ्कमलवणमेकरात्रं दिवा भोन्त्यं चिरात्तं च क्लेशयन्त्यम् । वैश्वानरं quoted in कल्पतरु (शुद्धि p 100), शुद्धितत्त्व p 319, the शुद्धितत्त्व itself being q. by तिर्यकसिन्धु III p 580 (which reads लम्बा वाप्यगेहादेका)

547. अथ श्रद्धा दृष्टिपमहयता मत्सृहनं च कर्मणां वैतान्जनेनरात्रं चिरात्तं नरात्रं वा, वासश्चपन्नाद्विवातानि । शां. औ. IV. 15.10, मातरि पितृपञ्चार्यं इति चिरात्तन्नाहारात्तन् भोजनमथ शयनं ब्रह्मचर्यं उपहं पटं द्वादशार्हं संपत्तये वाच्यं इत्यं द्वादशदिवात्वात्तं पत्न्यं सुशुभेवमथोदकनिवरेषु चिरात्तं वाच्यजीवि मेवपत्नी । सो षि द्वा I. 12.10 ; न नरात्रमथ धीपीत्यम् । नित्यानि निवर्तन्वैतानमर्थम् । शाङ्गानी खड्गे । अथ एतानि कुर्वन् । धार इ III. 10 (ascribed to वैतान्जि in नित्या on वा III. 17); उभयत्र दश्यानि इत्यस्यात् न शुचये । द नं प्रतिग्रहो होमो स्वाध्यायश्च निवर्तते & cited as नरात्रं in अथरात्रे p 892, परा. ना I. 2. p 211 Aparārta and others explain that the cessation of home refers to smārta and not to śrauta home. The last verse is ascribed to द्वा by नित्या on वा III. 17, where it adds the half verse सुशुभे च कुलराजनेदोर्वा नरात्रं प्रीत् । The विश्वयुपाय III. 13 is reads दूषयन्मोक्षकारानि कुलराजानं . निवर्तते .

let them eat no mineral salt or ordinary ⁵⁴⁸ salt for three nights, let them optionally avoid for twelve nights the distribution of gifts and the study of vedic texts if one of the principal gurus (father, mother or the teacher who performed upanayana and taught the whole Veda) dies. Pār. gr. III 10 adds that they should remain chaste, eat food only once in the day and that they should not repeat Veda study, and should give up the daily obligatory duties except those connected with Vedic fires. Manu (V. 73) adds that they should not eat flesh for three days. Vas. (4.14-15) lays down that the relatives who returned from the cemetery should sit down for three days on mats and fast, that if they are unable (to fast for three days) they should subsist on food bought in the market or obtained unasked. Yāj. III 17 and Pār. III. 10 ⁵⁴⁹ provide that for the night they should put milk and water in an earthen vessel in the open space (on a *śūkyā*) with the words 'O departed one! bathe here (in the water) and drink this milk'. Yāj III, 17, Paithinasi, Manu V. 84, Pār. gr. III 10, and others state that the relatives of the departed should perform their own daily rites to be performed in the *śrauta* fires (such as Agnihotra and Darśapūrnamāsa) and in the *smārta* fire (such as morning and evening *homa*) on account of the peremptory dictates of the Veda (such as 'one should perform Agnihotra as long as one lives'). The commentators have added several limitations and restrictions. The Mīt. ⁵⁵⁰ on Yāj. III, 17 states that, as Manu V. 84 only prohibits the stopping of the rites in (Vedic and Smārta) fires, such religious duties as the five daily *Mahāvājñas* are excluded, that Vaiśvadeva, though performed in fire, is excluded because there is an express text of Samvarta a brāhmana should be without Vaiśvadeva for ten days (after the death of a sapinda), that the Śrauta and Smārta rites should be got performed by another, as Pāraskara (III 10 'anya etāni kuryuh) expressly lays down Only *ntya* and *narmittaka* acts to be performed in Vedic and Smārta fires are allowed and so *kāmya* rites cannot be performed. Even at present Agnihotritins

548. For the different explanations of 'ksāra-lavana' vide H of Dh vol II, p. 304 n 723.

549. मेनात्र स्नाहीत्युदकं श्वात्प्यं पिब च्चेदिति क्षीरम् । पार नृ III. 10.

550. दूतके कर्मणा त्याग सन्ध्यादीनां विधीयते—इति यद्यपि सन्ध्याया विनिवृत्तिः क्षयते तथा अलिप्रक्षेपादिकं कुर्यात् । दूतके सान्निध्या चाखिलं प्रक्षिप्य मद्रक्षिणं कृत्वा सूर्यं श्याय-
नसंस्कारादिति वैठीनासिस्मरणात् । मिता on या III. 17. दूतके कर्मणा त्यागः 19 गौतिल-
स्वतः III. 60. Vide निष्कुराण III-13 18 'दानं प्रतिग्रहो होमः स्वाध्यायश्च निवर्तते'

perform their *śrauta nitya homa* during days of impurity themselves, though some get it performed by another (Vide Yāj. III. 17, Manu V 84). Although there is a text of Gobhīlasmṛti (III 60) prohibiting the performance of *sandhyā*, yet relying on a sūtra of Paithinasi the Mit says that a man can offer water to the Sun in worship; others like the Smṛtimuktāphala (p. 478) say that *sandhyā* mantras may be revolved in the mind, except the *prānāyāna* mantras. This is followed in modern times in many parts of India. Viṣṇu Dh. S. 226 prescribes that in impurity due to birth or death *homa* (Vaiśvadeva), giving and accepting gifts and the study of Veda cease. The Vaik Sm. S. VI.4 states that the performance of *sandhyā* adoration, all rites for the gods and manes, gift and acceptance and Veda study should be given up during impurity on death. Gautama 14.44 appears to hold that a *brāhmana* is not affected by impurity on birth and death for the purposes of Veda study. On the other hand Samvarta⁵⁵¹ (43) affirms that on the days of impurity on birth and death there is no performance of the five *Mahāyajñas* nor of Veda study. The *Nityācāra-paddhati* p 544 states that even in *śāuca* the thousand names of Viṣṇu may be recited.

Aśhīśaśraṅgāyana or *Śaśraṅgāyana* means that rite in which the (charred) bones (of the cremated person) are collected. This rite is dealt with in many sūtra and smṛti works, such as Śān. Śr. IV. 15. 12-18, Sat Śr. 28. 3, Āśv. gr. IV. 5 1-18, Gaut P. S I. 5, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 19. 10-12, Baud P. S I. 14, Kausika-sūtra 82. 29-32, Vaik. Smṛta Sūtra V. 7, Yama 87-88, Samvarta 38, Gobhīla-smṛti III. 54-59 (q. by Hāralatā p. 183). There is great divergence of views about the day on which this was to be done. For example, Sat Śr. 28. 3. 1 provides: ⁵⁵² 'bones are collected on the next day (after cremation) or on the 3rd, 5th or 7th.' Samvarta (verse 38) and Garudapurāna (Pretakhanda 5 15) prescribe that collection of bones should be made on the 1st, 3rd, 7th or 9th and (particularly) on the 4th by twice-born persons. The Vāmanapurāna (14 97-98) allows it on the 1st, 4th or 7th day. Yama (87) requires the relatives to collect bones from the 1st to the 4th day after cremation and also provides (verse 88)

551. पञ्चयज्ञविधानं तु न कुर्यान्मृत्युजन्मनोः । वनाहातु परं सम्पत्किमोऽपीषीत धर्मवित् ॥ संवर्त 43.

552. अपरेद्युस्तृतीयस्यां पञ्चम्यां सप्तम्या वास्थीनि सञ्चिनोति । सत्या. अं 28. 3. 1. अथ सञ्चयनं स्युष्टे द्विरात्रं त्रिरात्रं चतुरात्रं पञ्चरात्रं च । गौ. पि. सू. I 5 1. प्रथमेद्वि चतुर्थे वा सप्तमे वास्तिपञ्चयन् । ऊर्ध्वं सञ्चयनात्तेषामङ्कुर्यहो विधीयते ॥ ब्रह्मसंहिता 114. 97-98.

that the four varṇas should respectively perform *sañcayana* on the 4th, 5th, 7th and 9th day. The Āśv. gr. Ś. IV. 5. 1 states that *sañcayana* should be performed after the 10th day from cremation in the dark half, but on uneven *tithis* (i. e. 1st, 3rd, 11th, 13th, 15th) and on a *nakṣatra* which bears a name not applicable to two or more *nakṣatras* (i. e. except on the two Āśādhās, two Phalgunīs and two Bhādrapadās). Viṣṇu Dh. Ś. 19. 10, Vaik. Smārta-sūtra V. 7, Kauś. 82. 29, Viṣṇupurāna III. 13. 14, Kūrmapurāna (uttara) 23 and a few other works lay down that *sañcayana* must be done on the 4th day after cremation. The various texts differ a good deal in details. The following is the procedure in the Āśv. gr. IV. 5:—The bones of a male should be collected into an urn that has no special marks (protuberances), those of a woman in an urn that has protuberances but no other special marks. Aged persons, odd in number⁵⁵³ not being together with women, (i. e. not as a mixed assemblage) collect the bones. The performer walks thrice round the spot (where the body was burnt) with his left side turned towards the spot, sprinkles on it with a śami branch milk mixed with water with a verse 'śitike' (Ṛg. X. 16. 14). With the thumb and the 4th finger they (gatherers) should put each single bone into the urn without making a rattling noise (of the bones in the urn), the bones of the feet being taken first, those of the head last. Having well gathered the bones and having purified them with a winnowing basket (i. e. removing the dust attaching to them) they should put the urn in a pit at a place where the waters from different sides do not flow together except rain water with the verse 'upasarpa' (Ṛg. X. 18. 10) and he should throw earth (into the pit) with the following verse (Ṛg. X. 18. 11) After having thrown (earth) he should repeat the next verse (Ṛg. X. 18. 12). Then covering (the mouth of the urn) with a lid with the mantra 'ut te stabhnāmi' (Ṛg. X. 18. 13) (he fills up the pit) Then without looking back they return (towards the house), bathe in water and then offer śrāddha to him alone (the departed). Dr. B. N. Datta in his paper 'Vedic funeral customs and Indus Valley culture in 'Man in India', vol. 16

553. The Hārālatā (p 184) explains अयुजो मिथुनाः प्रवयसः (in आश्व. सू.) as 'मिथुनं पुरुषद्वयं बहुवचनात् त्रयो मिथुनाः बह्व्यसः इत्यर्थः. पञ्च वा मिथुना बह्व्यसः प्रवयसः प्रकृतवयसः'. It is probable that women also accompanied the *cortège* to the cemetery in ancient times, that gradually they ceased to do so and by the time of the Hārālatā only men comprised the funeral procession and so it explained the words of Āśv. as above.

pp. 223-307 regards (p. 285) Rg. X. 18 as a hymn dealing with burial of the whole body (and not of ashes), while he admits (p. 287) that Rg. X. 16 is a cremation hymn. I dissent from him for various reasons; the most important is that if his theory be correct a period of several centuries must be postulated between the two hymns. This is inadmissible.

The Kausikasūtra (82. 29-32) prescribes certain details differently. It says that the bones are collected with A. V. 18. 2. 24, 26, then they are consigned to a jar over which all fragrant powders are scattered, then the jar is raised with the Utthāpani verses and carried with the verses called Harinīs (i e. A. V. 18. 2. 11-18). He (the performer) deposits (in the earth the urn) at the root of a tree with the verse 'mā tvā' (A. V. 18. 2. 25 'May the tree not injure thee all round, may not the wide goddess Earth also injure thee').⁵⁵¹

The other sūtras present several variations which are passed over here, excepting one or two matters. The Sat. Śr. provides that the twig should be of the Udumbara tree, that the bones are collected by women of the family of the deceased (his wife and others) odd in number (five or more), or other women (in the absence of women of the family). A woman who is not likely to have a child should tie in her left hand a Brhati fruit with two threads, blue and red in colour, should step on a stone with her left foot, collect the bones first from the teeth or head with the mantra 'uttisthata' (Tai Ā VI. 4. 2) and she should deposit those bones in a jar or garment, then a second woman of the same type collects bones from the shoulders or arms, a third woman from the sides or hips, a fourth from the thighs or legs, and a fifth from the feet. They or more women collect the bones completely. The urn is deposited at the root of a *śamī* or *palāśa* tree.

In modern times, particularly in towns and cities, the collection of bones has to be done immediately after cremation. The Antyesti-paddhati closely follows the procedure prescribed in the Āśv. gr quoted above. It says. the performer goes to the place of cremation, sips water, mentions the time and place, makes a *saṅkalpa* (declaration) that he will perform the collec-

554. मा ते मनो यत्ते अन्नमिति साञ्जिनोति पच्छ । प्रथम शीर्षकपालानि । पश्चात्कलशे समोत्प सर्वद्वारभिक्षुर्गैर्वकीयोत्थापनीभिरुत्थाप्य हरिणीभिर्हरेत् । मा त्वा वृक्ष इति वृक्षमूले निदधाति । कौशिकसूत्र 82 29-32. It appears that the sūtras are not properly arranged by Bloomfield. They should be read as पच्छ प्रथमम् । शीर्षकपालानि पश्चात् । कलशे etc. For the उत्थापनी verses see p. 474. The हरिणी verses from अथर्ववेद are 18.2. 11-18 and are the same as Rg. X. 14 10-12 and X. 154. 1-5.

tion of the bones of the departed naming him and his goṭra. He walks thrice round the place of cremation with his left towards it and sweeps it with a śami branch and sprinkles it with milk mixed with water with the mantra 'śitike' (Rg X. 16. 14). Then old men odd in number with the performer collect the bones (as stated by Āśv. gr. above) and place them in a new jar and if they are of a woman in a jar with protuberances. They also winnow the ashes with a śūrpa and place in the jar even small bones and throw the ashes into the Ganges. Then at some time other than the rainy season a pit should be dug in a pure spot whereon water would not flow and the performer deposits the jar in the pit with the mantra 'approach this mother, Earth' (Rg. X. 18. 10). With Rg X. 18. 11, he throws earth in the pit all round the jar and murmurs with folded hands the mantra (Rg X. 18. 12) and he closes the jar with a new earthen disk with the verse Rg. X. 18. 13. Then he should put earth on the jar in such a way that it may not be seen by anybody and without looking back should go elsewhere and bathe. The Nirnayasindhu (p. 586) expressly states that the procedure for the collection of bones may be gathered from one's sūtra or from the work of Bhaṭṭa (i. e. Nārāyaṇa, Kamalakara's grandfather).

The Visnudharmasūtra (19. 11-12) and Anu. 26.32 state that the collected bones should be cast in Ganges water, since as many particles of the bones of a man remain in Ganges water for so many thousands of years he dwells in heaven. It was provided in the Purānas that a virtuous son, brother or daughter's son or a relative on the father's or mother's side should cast the bones in the Ganges, that one not so related should not do it and that if he does it he has to perform cāndrāyana prāyaścitta. Even in modern times many Hindus take the charred bones of their parents or other dear relatives to the Ganges at Prayāga (Allahabad) or some other holy river^{554a} or cast them into the sea. The Nirnayasindhu (p. 587) quotes an elaborate rite of casting the ashes in the Ganges from Śaunaka. It is briefly as follows: The performer should go out of the village, bathe with clothes on, sprinkle the earth where the ashes are deposited with the Gāyatri and the other mantras usually repeated over

554 a. The स्मृतिसूत्र (आशौच) p. 190 quotes several verses on this point तत्र श्राद्धेऽप्यः । ह्यारवस्यां सेतुबन्धे गोदावर्यां च पुष्करे । अस्थीनि विद्यजेद्यस्य स मृतो मुक्ति-
नाम्नयात् । शङ्खलिखितौ । गङ्गायां च प्रयागे च केदारे पुष्करोत्तमे । अस्थीनि विधिबद्धं त्यक्त्वा
यथायां पिण्डदो भवेत् । पित्रोर्कृष्णात्प्रशुच्येत तौ नित्यं भोक्ष्यामिनी । इति । योगयाज्ञवल्क्यः ।
गङ्गायां यमुनायां वा कावेर्यां वा शतमृतौ । सरस्वत्यां विज्ञेयेण ह्यस्थीनि विद्यजेत्सुतः ॥

pañcagavya. With the four mantras 'upasarpa' (Rg. X. 18.10-13) he should respectively pray to the earth, then dig it, take out the earth, and then the bones. Then he should bathe and purify the bones by touching the bones again and again and repeating the mantras 'eto nvindram stavāma sūddham &c' (Rg VIII. 95. 7-9). Then he should bathe with pañcagavya and become pure. Then he should bathe ten times with cow's urine, cow's dung, cow's milk, curds, clarified butter, water in which kuśas have been dipped, ashes (of sacred fires), earth, honey and water. Then he should sprinkle (with kuśas) water on the bones with the mantras, viz. Rg. I.22.16. Rg VIII. 95.7-9,⁵⁵⁵ Rg VII. 56.12-14, Rg. X. 126.1-8, Rg. X. 119.1-13, Rg. IX. 1.1-10 (called Pāvamāni verses), Rg. X. 128.1-9, Rg. I. 43.1-9 (a hymn to Rudra); then he should offer a *hiṅanya śrāddha* for the deceased, offer *pinḍa* to him and perform *tarpana* with sesame. Then he should cover the bones in seven ways viz. by deer-skin, woollen blanket, *darbhās*, cow's hair, hempen cloth, birch leaf and palm leaf. He should cast among the bones pieces of gold and silver, pearls, coral and sapphire for the purification of the bones, then he should offer into fire 108 oblations of clarified butter and sesame with the hymn beginning with 'udiratām' (Rg. X. 15). Then he should cast the bones in holy water; thereby he does not incur the fault of touching an unclean object. While answering the calls of nature or performing *ācamana* one should not hold the bones.

The Nirṇayasindhu adds (p. 588) that there is no *sañcayana* for one whose upanayana had not been performed.

The Āśv. gr. IV.6, the Sat. Sr. 28.4, Śān. Śr. 4.6 (called *parudhikarma*) and some others prescribe a *Śānti* rite after collection of the charred bones of a deceased person. The Baud. P. S. (II. 3.3) and Visnu Dh. S. 19.19 appear to prescribe the *Śānti* rite after the ten days of impurity have expired ('*daśarātre saucam kṛtvā śāntih*'). It is described by Āśv. gr. as follows: They who have lost a *guru* (father or mother) by death should perform on the new moon day an expiatory ceremony. Before sunrise they should carry fire together with its ashes and with its receptacle to the south with the half verse 'I send away the flesh-devouring Agni' (Rg. X. 16.9). Having cast that fire down at a place where four roads meet or somewhere else, they

555. It should be noticed that in Rg. VIII. 95.7-9 the word 'sūddha' (pure) occurs thirteen times and hence it is appropriate that those verses are employed as purificatory ones. Similarly, in Rg. VII. 56.12 the word 'śuci' (pure) occurs six times.

walk round it thrice, with their left side turned to it and beating their left thighs with the left hand. They should then return home without looking back, bathe in water, have their hair, beards and hair on the body and nails cut, furnish themselves with new jars, pots, vessels for rinsing the mouth, with garlands of śamī flowers, with fuel of śamī wood, with two pieces of śamī wood for kindling fire⁵⁵⁶ and with branches for encircling the fire, with bull's dung and hide, fresh butter, a stone and as many bunches of kuśa grass as there are young women (in the house). At the time of the Agnihotra (in the afternoon) he should kindle fire (by means of the aranis) with the half verse 'Here may this other Jātavedas' (Rg. X. 16.9 latter half)'. Keeping the fire burning they sit till night silence falls, repeating tales of old men (of the family) and stories of auspicious contents, *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*. When all sounds have ceased or when the others (members of the deceased's family) have gone to their houses or resting place, (the performer) should pour out a continuous stream of water beginning at the south side of the door with the verse (Rg. X. 53.6) 'spreading the thread follow the light of the world' and go round the house ending at the north side of the door. Then having placed the fire and spread to the west of it a bull's hide with neck to the east, with the hair outside, he should cause the people of the house (including women) to step on that hide with the verse 'Arise to long life'⁵⁵⁷ (Rg. X. 18.6). He should place twigs round the fire with 'Here do I deposit an encircling thing' (Rg. X. 18.4). Having placed a stone to the north of the fire with the words 'May they placed a mountain between themselves and death' (Rg. X. 18.4 last *pāda*) and having sacrificed with four verses 'Go hence, O Death' (Rg. X. 18.1-4), he should look at his people with the verse 'as days follow each other' (Rg. X. 18.5). The young women (belonging to the house) should with each hand separately with the thumb and 4th finger salve (at one and the same time) their eyes with fresh butter by means of young *darbha* blades and cast

556. Nārāyaṇa explains that the fire means ordinary kitchen fire and he seems to be right in spite of Oldenberg's note to the contrary on p. 246 (of S. B. E. vol. 29). The deceased sacrificer is cremated with his śrauta fires (vide Āśv. gr. IV. 4) and smārita fire (if any) and on his death the śāntikarma is performed by the son or other relative who may have no consecrated fires at all or, if he has, he cannot cast them away as long as he lives. The Com on Sat. Sr. 28. 4, 1 states that it is the adhvaryu priest that kindles the fire and not he who performed the cremation.

557. Most of these mantras occur also in Tai. Ā. VI. 10

away the blades turning their faces away. The performer should look at them while they are salving their eyes, with the verse 'these women, being no widows and having good husbands' (Rg. X. 18.7). The former should first touch the stone with 'the stream containing stones flows' (Rg. X 53 8). After that, stationing himself to the north-east, while others go round with the fire, bull-dung and a continuous stream of water he should, after repeating the three verses (apo hi sthā, Rg X, 9.1-3), murmur the verse 'these have led round the cows' (Rg. X. 155 5). A tawny-coloured bull should be led round. They then sit down at a place where they like to stop, having put on fresh unwashed garments and they sit there till sunrise avoiding sleep. After sunrise, having murmured the hymns sacred to the sun and auspicious hymns, having prepared food and made oblations with the hymn beginning 'May he burn away evil from us' (Rg. I. 97.1-8), verse by verse, having given to the brāhmanas to eat, he should cause them to pronounce auspicious words. A cow, a cup of metal and a fresh unworn garment are the sacrificial fee for each of the brāhmanas.

A few details may be added from other sūtras. The Śat Śr. (28.4.1) provides that the Śānti is performed on the 10th day after cremation by a priest, that in the folded hands of the wives (of the members of the family) he puts the remains of the material used for oblations with the verse 'these women, not being widows' (Rg. X. 18.7 = Tai. Ā. VI. 10 2), that the priest plants in the earth the stalk of a plant with the verse 'yatha tvam' (Tai. Ā. VI. 10 2) 558, that after they return home, they cook goat flesh and boil *yava* grains and eat them and then may occupy couches and cots (i. e. give up the observances of mourning)

Interesting information is furnished by the Śat. Br. about graves (XIII. 8. 1-4) and Kāt Śr 559 It is said in Śat. Br that

558 The mantra is very significant, यथा स्वहृद्भिर्नस्ति ओषधे पुयिष्या अपि । एवमिह उद्भिन्दन्तु कीर्त्या यज्ञसा ब्रह्मचर्चसेन ॥ तै आ VI. 10. 2

559. अथैकेषां कुम्भान्तं निधानमनाहिताग्ने स्त्रियाश्च निवपनान्तं द्विर्पाजिनं पुनर्बृहन्तं सोमपाजिनश्चयनान्तमग्निचितं इति । सत्या ओ 28 4, 28, almost the same words occur in बौ पि. सू II 3 2 This passage refers to four modes of the disposal of the charred bones viz. burial in the earth of the urn for women and men who had not consecrated śrauta fires, depositing the bones alone on the earth for him who performs havir-yajñas (in which only boiled rice and clarified butter are offered, vide Gaut 8 20), re-cremation for one who had offered soma sacrifice and building a brick or clod structure for him who

(Continued on the next page)

the grave ⁵⁶⁰ or monument should not be built too soon after death, lest he (the performer) freshen up the sin of the deceased ; that he should make it a long time after and when people do not even remember the years (that have elapsed since the decease). He should make it in uneven years and under a single nakshatra (i. e. containing a single star such as Citrā and Pūsyā, and not dual such as Punarvasu and Viśākhā or plural such as Kṛttikā) and on the New Moon day. Let him make it in autumn or in Māgha or in summer. The sepulchral mound should be four cornered, because the people who are worshippers of gods (or godly) make their burial mounds four-cornered, while those who are followers of Asuras, the Easterns and such like people, make them round. As to the choosing of the ground, the Śat. Br. states several views viz. he makes it on ground sloping towards the north or, according to some, to the south ; but the Śat. Br. disapproves of both the views and proscribes that he should make the burial mound on any level ground where the waters flowing from a southernly direction come to the east and stand still without dashing forward and on such a ground one may make it (burial mound). Let him make it on a pleasant and peaceful spot, but not on a road nor in an open space lest he should make the deceased's sin manifest. It should have the sun shining on it (at mid-day). It should not be made at a place

(Continued from the last page)

had performed the solemn rite of Agnicayana. Modes of urn burial, earth burial and re-cremation resemble the funeral customs of the copper age folk of the lower Indus at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Vide Memoir No 31 of the Archaeological Survey of India by Ramprasad Chanda at pp. 13-14

560. अथारम्भे इमंशानं कुर्यात् । तद्वै न क्षिप्रं कुर्यात् । नेत्रमवधं कर्वाणीति चिर एव कुर्यादप्येव तन्निर. करोति यत्र समा नाड्य च न इत्येयुः .. यद्यहुरमरेयु । अयुग्मेयु संवत्सरेयु कुर्यात् । एकनक्षत्रे . अमावास्यायाम् । शरदि कुर्यात् ।... माघे वा मा गौऽथं भूदिति निदाघे वा नि नोऽथ घीयात इति । चतु ऋत्वि । तस्माथा वैष्य. प्रजाश्वतुःषक्तानि ताः इमंशानानि कुर्वतेऽथ वा आसुरं. मान्यास्त्वयत्वे परिमण्डलानि ।... अथातो भूमिजोषणस्य । उदीचीनप्रवणे करोति । दक्षिणाप्रवणे कुर्यादित्याहु ।... यस्मै समस्य सतः दक्षिणत. इस्तादाप एव्य संस्थायां प्रसृत्य एतां दिशोऽभिनिष्पद्यात्तस्या अपोऽपिपथोरेस्तकुर्यात् ।... कञ्चति कुर्यात् कं मेऽ सदित्यथो श्वति शं मेऽसदिति नाधिपथं कुर्यात्तस्मात्तौ नेदाविर्यं कर्वाणीति ।... आदित्यज्योतिष-मेवेन करोति । न तस्मिन् कुर्यात् । यस्येत्यादनुशास. स्यात् । चित्रं पश्चात्स्यात् ।... यदि चित्रं न स्यादाप. पश्चाद्गोचरतो वा स्यु ।... ऊदरे करोति । समूले .. । न भूमिपाशानाभिविद्धयात् । न शर नाश्मन्था नाध्याण्डा न पुंश्विपथो नाश्वत्थरयान्तिके कुर्यात् विभीतकस्य न तित्वकस्य न रङ्गकस्य न हरिद्रोऽन्यग्रोघस्य ये चान्ये पापनामान . । अग्निविधयान्निचितः इमंशानं करोति ।... तद्वै न महकुर्यात् । नेत्रमहदधं कर्वाणीति ।... पुरुषमार्जं त्वेव कुर्यात् ... पश्चाद्गीयः... उच्यते षष्ठीय. । तद्विधायपसलविद्युदाग्निः स्पन्धाभिः पर्यतनेति .. । शतपथत्रा XIII 8. 1 ; compare कौशिक 83. 5-7 for similar derivations of माघ, निदाघ &c

where it would be visible from the village and there should be charming objects to its west (woods, gardens &c.). If there be no charming objects there should be waters to its west or north. He makes it on salt (barren) soil, on such ground as abounds in roots. Let him not make it near where grows the Bhūmipāśā plant or where reeds grow, or Aśvagandhā or Adhyandā, or Prśniparnī grows. He should not make it near an aśvattha tree or near a vibhitaka tree or a tilvaka, a sphūrjaka or a haridru or nyagrodha tree or other trees that have an evil name (like slesmātaka or kovidāra) For one who has performed Agnicayana, he makes a tomb after the manner of the fire altar. One must not make it too large lest he should make the sin (of the deceased) large. He should make it just a man's size, broader behind (to the west) and broader on the north side. He encloses it with cords twisted in the non-sunwise way. He then bids them to cut out the earth which would be just sufficient for making the mound of a man's size.

The Kāt Śr. (21. 3. 1 and 6) closely follows the above directions contained in the Śat ⁵⁶¹ Br. The Śat. Śr. 29. 1,2 provides that when the day of cremation is not known or remembered one may erect a mound over the bones (with clods of earth or bricks) on the New Moon day that comes immediately after the Full Moon day of Māgha, Phālguna, Caitra, Vaisākha or of the summer months (Jyestha and Āsādhā)

The Śat. Br. (XIII. 8 2-4) pursues the subject of sepulchral monuments as follows: Godly people make their sepulchres so as not to be separate from the earth; while those who are of the Asura stamp, the Easterns and others, make the sepulchral mounds so as to be separate from the earth, either on a stone basin or a similar thing. He then encloses it with an undefined number of stones silently. He then sweeps the sepulchral site with a palāśa branch with (Vāj. S. 35.1 'May the niggardly god-haters go away') and prays that Yama may grant him (the deceased) an abode. He throws out the branch to the south side. He then yokes the team of six oxen to the plough on the south side or on the north side, as he chooses. Having given the order 'Yoke' he (the performer) utters the

561 The grave is to be constructed in such a way that the four corners would lie in the direction of the four quarters, as Kāt. Śr. (21. 3. 28-29) states 'dikrakṣī puruṣamātram mimīte uttarataḥ pṛthū pascācca.'

mantra (Vāj. S. 35. 2).⁵⁶² Having turned round the plough from right (south side) to the north, he ploughs the first furrow with Vāj. S. 35.3 'May Vāyu purify' along the north side towards the west; with 'May Vāyu purify' along the west side towards the south; with 'Agni's lustre' along the south side towards the east, with 'Sūrya's brilliance' along the front side towards the north. Four furrows he ploughs with a Yajus formula. He then ploughs across the body (of the sepulchral site) silently with an undefined number of furrows. He then unfastens the team of oxen. To the right side (south-west) he removes this (the plough and the team).

He then sows seeds of all kinds of herbs with a single verse (Vāj. S. 35.4); for long life he thersby prays for these (the performer's family) and accordingly each subsequent one of them dies of old age. He then pours out that (jar of bones). He does so before sunrise so that the sun should rise over him while he is doing it. He does so with Vāj. S. 35. 5-6. He then says to some one 'Proceed in that (southern) direction without drawing breath and having thrown down the jar, return hither without looking behind.' He then mutters Vāj. S. 35.7. He then arranges the dead man (the bones) limb by limb with Vāj. S. 35.8-9. Now thirteen unmarked⁵⁶³ bricks each measuring a (human) foot (*pada*) have been made and are laid down

562. It is not possible, owing to considerations of space, to set out all the verses of the Vāj. S. chap. 35 mentioned as mantras by the Sat Br. Only a few are set out here in order to show how appropriate they are as referring to the actions prescribed by the Sat Br. Verse 1 first half is 'अपेतो यन्तु पणयोऽ-सुन्ना वेदपीयवः । सविता ते क्षरीरेभ्य इधिव्याल्लोकमिच्छत । तस्मै इज्यन्तासुत्रियाः ॥ धाज सं 35.2. धाजु हुनातु सविता हुनात्वग्नेर्भोजसा सुयस्य वर्चसा । विदुच्यन्तासुत्रियाः ॥ धाज सं 35.3

563. The bricks of the fire altar are marked with lines (vide H. of Dh. Vol II, p. 1248). The bricks in Agnicayana are as long as the foot of the sacrificer. Thereon gods have to be worshipped. Here it is the fathers to be honoured. Throughout Sat. Br. XIII. 8.2-3 a distinction is drawn between what is done for the gods and what is to be done for pitrs in order to keep the divine distinct from what belongs to the fathers. In Agnicayana a bird-like pattern is the most frequent (vide H. of Dh. vol II p. 1249). It is hence that the Sat Br. speaks of wings and tails. The heights prescribed for men of the several varnas and for women are symbolic. Ksatriyas, brāhmanas and vaiśyas represent the arms, the mouth and thighs of the Purusa (as stated in Rg. X. 90.12). The Kāt. Sr. (21.4.13-14) gives an option in the case of a ksatriya viz. the mound may be as high as the chest or as high as a man with upstretched arms.

silently (and not with mantras as in the case of the Agnicayana). One of the thirteen he places in the middle, with the front towards the east (this represents the trunk), three are placed in front (representing the head), three on the right (that is the right wing); three on the left (that represents the left wing); three behind (representing the tail). He then directs them to bring some soil from a cleft in the ground. Some dig in the intermediate (south-eastern) quarter and fetch it from there; others dig in the south-west and fetch it northwards; he may do as he likes (there is an option) Let him not make the sepulchral mound too large For a ksatriya he may make it as high as a man with upstretched arms, for a brāhmana reaching up to the mouth, for a woman up to the hips, for a vaisya up to the thighs, for a sūdra up to the knee, or let him rather make it so high (for all) as to reach below the knee. While the mound is being made, they hold a bundle of reed grass to the north of it. Let him not throw it down after holding it up or after bringing it, but let him set it up in the house (as it represents offspring) Having prepared it he sows barley grain, thinking 'May they ward off (*yavaya*) sin from me!' He covers it over with *Avakā* plants in order that there may be moisture (*ka* or joy) for him and with *daubha* grass for softness.

They fix pegs round it, a *palāsa* one in front, a *śami* one on the north corner, a *vṛana* one behind and a *vṛtra*⁵⁶⁴ peg on the right (south corner). On the south side they dig two somewhat curved furrows and fill them with milk and water and they dig seven on the left (north) side and fill them with water for sin not to pass beyond They throw three stones each into the northern furrows and pass over them with *Vāj* S 35 10 (= Rg. X. 53 8) They cleanse themselves with *Apāmārga*⁵⁶⁵ plants with *Vāj* S 35 11; they thereby wipe away sin They bathe at any place where there is water. With *Vāj* S 35 12 he takes water with his joined hands and he throws it in the direction in which he who is hateful may be and thereby overthrows him⁵⁶⁶ Having bathed and put on garments that have never yet been washed they hold on to the tail of an ox and return to their

564 The meaning of *Vṛtra-Sanku* cannot be stated *Kūṭ Sr 213 31* reads *देवसङ्कुं* for *वृत्रसङ्कुं* and the *Com* explains *वृत्रसङ्कुं* as *पापान्शङ्कुं*

565 *अपाचमप किल्विचमप कृत्यामपो रिप । अपामार्गं त्वन्मदप वु वृत्रस्यं सुत्रं* वाज सं 35 11.

566 *सुमित्रिया न आप ओषधय मन्तु दुर्मित्रियान्तरमी सन्तु योऽन्नाद्देष्टि य च वयं द्विधम* ॥ वाज सं 35 12.

home. They proceed towards the village muttering Vāj. S. 35.14 (ud vāyam). When they have arrived, ointments for their eyes and feet are given to them; such indeed are human means of embellishment and therewith they keep off death from themselves. Then in the house having kindled (domestic) fire and laid enclosing sticks of *larana* wood round it he offers by means of a *sruva* (spoon) an oblation to Agni Āyusmat. Vāj. S. 35. 16 serves ⁵⁶⁷ as a *puronurākya* (invitatory formula). He then offers with Vāj. S. 35.17. He says this so that Agni may guard and protect these men. The sacrificial fee is an old ox, old barley, old chair with a head cushion. He may give more if he desires. This is the procedure in the case of one who has performed *Agnicayana*.⁵⁶⁸ In the case of him who has not performed *Agnicayana*, there is the same procedure for selecting a site and the same performance save that of the fire-altar. Having fetched a clod from the boundary he deposits it midway between the sepulchral mound and the village with Vāj. S. 35. 15 (imam ⁵⁶⁹ jivebhyah). He then makes this a boundary between the Fathers and the living, so as not to commingle the two.

The Sat. Śr. 29. 1 3 ff. and Baud. P. S. I. 17-20 provide a lengthy procedure for erecting a mound over the bones of one who has performed the special rite of *agnicayana* which is passed over here. In building a mound the urn deposited under a tree is taken out and after the bones are purified in various ways (such as the spilling on them of curds mixed with *vājina* from a jar, the digging up of the clods by means of a plough to which a certain number of oxen are yoked). The Sat. Śr. (29. 1. 3-12) deals with one kind of procedure in which there is no *dhavana*, while 29.1. 13-32 deal with the procedure where *dhavana* is employed and sūtras from 33 deal with procedure common to both *paksas* (viz. one without *dhavana* and the other with *dhavana*). The building of a mound with clods (*lostaciti*) in which there is *dhavana* is rather an obscure matter in its nature and had some symbolic significance which is now lost. It may be briefly described as follows.—The members of the deceased's house

567. अग्न आद्रूपि पवस आ सुवोर्जमिद च न । आरे वाधस्व इच्छुनाम् ॥ वाज. सं. 35 16.

568. आहुष्मानग्ने हविषा हृधानो दूतपनीको दूतयोनिरेषि । दूर्त पीत्वा मधु चारु गन्धं पितृव्यं पुत्रगमिरक्षतादिमान् स्वाहा ॥ वाज सं 35 17.

569. इमं जीवेभ्यः परिधिं दधानि मैवा इव गावंपरो अर्धमेतम् । दातं जीवेभ्यः हरदं पुरुषैरिन्मर्त्यैः दधतां पर्वतेन ॥ वाज. सं. 35. 15.

build a shed or a seat for a bed. They drive in the eastern half or middle or western half of it a three-pronged palāśa peg. In front of it one born of a śūdra woman or a *brahmabandhu* (a brāhmana only in name) sits down for a dialogue. He asks the principal wife (of the deceased) 'will you dwell with me.' That woman replies to him 'I shall not give (what you ask).' The same dialogue takes place on the 2nd day. Then on the third day she replies 'I shall give for one night.' Or if this peculiar practice (of talking about dhavana, which literally means 'sexual intercourse') was intended to last for more days than three she was to give a suitable reply (viz. for three nights or for five nights &c). When the words of the reply are uttered by the wife, the performer deposits the bones (of the deceased) at the root of the peg and places between the three prongs of the peg a jar having a hundred holes at the bottom. The mouth of the jar is covered with a hide and *kuśa* grass. On that jar he sprinkles curds mixed with *vājina* with the mantra 'Vaiśvanare haviridam' (Tai. Ā. VI. 6.1). When the liquid oozes from the jar on the bones he invokes the two verses 'drapsaś-caskanda' and 'imam samudram' (Tai. Ā. VI. 6). Then the Sat Śr. (29.1. 26-29) provides that four *brahmacārins* or other brāhmanas, that are pure, tie up their locks on their heads that are to the right and keep dishevelled those on the left side of the head, they strike their right thighs and also the hide that is wound round the jar of bones, fan it with the fringes of their garments, go round the peg thrice with their left side towards the jar and the people living in the same house (with the deceased) and women also do the same,⁵⁷⁰ that lutes (*vinā*) are played upon and also conches are blown and other instruments like *nāhla*, *tūna*, *panava* are beaten and there is also dancing, singing and playing on musical instruments. This practice of *dhavana* (symbolic) may go on for five, seven, nine, eleven days, a month, a month or a year during which time one has to donate food and money (gold &c) according to one's ability or on the last day according to some.⁵⁷¹ If one may offer a conjecture, this rite was intended to assure the deceased man (represented by the charred bones) that his wife had remained faithful and

570 Compare कौशिकसूत्र 85 10-11 'कस्ये सृजाना इति त्रि मस्य प्रकीर्णकस्य परिषन्ति दक्षिणाद्भूनाध्वाना । एवं मध्यरात्रे अपररात्रे च ।', कस्ये सृजाना 18 अथर्ववेद 18, 3, 17

571. On एकरात्राय वदामीति वृत्तिये (सत्या औ 29. 1 19.) the वैजयन्ती remarks 'एतच्च वचनमाद्यत् । न तु तेन सह वासः कार्य एवमेतेनाद्य'.

unattached to any one else even long after his death. The Baud. P. S. (I. 17.8) also states that female dancers dance in this rite. Various measurements are given in the sūtras for the mounds that are constructed over the bones. Sat. Śr. (29.1 5-6) says ⁵⁷² that the site of the mound (*śmaśānāyatana*) is five *prakramas* on all four sides (or six on the east and five in the other directions, acc. to some). The height of the mound is variously given even in the same sūtra. ⁵⁷³ Sat Śr. states that the height may be two finger-breadths, or three or four or a *prāḍeśa* (the distance between the thumb and index finger when both are stretched away) or a *maṣṭi* (twelve finger-breadths), or it may be up to the knee or thighs or buttocks. The Baud P. S. I. 18 gives different ⁵⁷⁴ measurements. It states 'if the mound to be raised is as high as the neck towards the west, then it is up to the navel on the east, if it is as high as the navel on the west, then it is as high as the knee on the east; if up to the knee on the west then on the east it is level with the ankle'. The Kauśikasūtra ⁵⁷⁵ (85 4-10) gives certain options viz. the *mandapa* on which the mound is to be erected is either 7, 7, 5, 3 *prakramas* on the south, north, east and west or 9, 9, 7, 5 on the same sides in order or 11, 11, 9, 7; that in the case of those who worshipped the gods, the length was eleven on all sides; that in the case of the Śaunakins the sides (of the mound) are to be measured in odd numbers (of *prakramas*) and the mounds are either round or four-cornered; that such mounds are seen (in those days) and that the grave built for one who had set up vedic fires was to be of the height of a man with arms upraised. These passages show that the graves were generally

572. अपराङ्गे इमं कानायतनं विनिर्मिते पञ्च पञ्च प्रक्रमान् सर्वतः । पदं पुरस्तादित्येके । सत्या. औ. 29 1. 5-6, the Com. वैजयन्ती explains 'तथा च पञ्च प्रक्रमसंमितं सप्त चतुरस्रं लोहाचितेरायतनं भवति । प्रक्रमो द्विपदोऽपि वेत्सुर्कं ह्युच्यते' ।

573. इमं गानस्य नाम्ना ह्यथ कुलं ऋक्षुलं चतुरङ्गुलं मादेसो पितस्तिजाह्नुद्वन्द्वमुरुद्वन्द्वं रिक्तद्वं वैषोत्तमा नाम्ना इमं गानस्य । सत्या. औ. 29 1 70. The com says 'हृदानी-भूधर्ममाह्वयन्ते । तत्र ह्यथ कुलादीनामदानामन्यतममूर्ध्वप्रमाणं स्थलस्य तस्योपरीष्टका-श्लेष्याः 17'.

574. तस्य नात्र यदि शीवद्वन्द्वं पश्चात्पुरस्ताज्जाभिद्वन्द्वं यदि नाभिद्वन्द्वं पश्चात्पुरस्ताज्जा-ह्नुद्वन्द्वं यदि जाह्नुद्वन्द्वं पश्चात्पुरस्ताह्लकद्वन्द्वं &c. । कौ पि छ I 18 6, Dr Caland's text reads the exact opposite (I 15 p. 21) 'यदि शीवद्वन्द्वं पुरस्ताज्जाभिद्वन्द्वं पश्चात्पुरस्ताज्जाह्नुद्वन्द्वं पश्चात्पुरस्ताह्लकद्वन्द्वं पुरस्ताह्लकद्वन्द्वं पश्चात्'.

575. एकादशभिर्वेदहस्तिनाम् । अयुग्मभानानि परिमण्डलानि चतुरस्राणि वा शौनिके-नाम् । तथाहि ह्यन्ये । यावान्युक्त्वा ऊर्ध्वबाहुस्तावानग्निचितः । कौशिकसूत्र 85. 7-10.

quadrangular but sometimes round also (acc. to certain schools). The mounds at Lauriya referred to above are round.

Another feature to be noted is that clods were employed (and so the mound was called *loṣṭāṅṅī*) or baked bricks in building the mound or grave over the bones by piling up layers of clay or bricks. In laying down the bricks first on the east, then on the north, then on the west and then on the south, the sūtras such as Sat. Śr. (29.1.53),⁵⁷⁶ Baud. P. S. (I 19.4-7) four verses were respectively employed that are (in order) Rg. X. 18.13, 10, 11, 12 (which are also A. V. XVIII 3.52. 49 50, 51 and Tai. A. VI.7.1). One of these (Rg. X. 18.12) speaks of pillars and the other (Rg. X. 18.13) of a post (sthūnā). Vide above p. 189. The discovery of two wooden posts in two mounds (at Lauriya above) in which the bones were deposited indicates that the Lauriya mounds followed a *vedic custom* which is mentioned by the *śrautasūtras*. The main difference between the Vedic and sūtra ritual on the one hand and the Lauriya mounds on the other is the height of the latter, which betokens a later age than that of the sūtras.

The Sat. Śr. describes in the 28th *praśna* what is called *pitr-medha* while in *praśna* 29 it describes the *brāhmanmedha*. The difference between the two is pointed out in Sat. Śr. 29.3.4-18 and it is stated⁵⁷⁷ (in Sat. Śr. 29.3. 20, 22) that the mantras called 'catur-hotārah' are spoken of as *brāhma* (in Tai. Br. III 12.5) and that the procedure of *Brahmamedha* is to be employed only for an *uśārya* or a *śrōtriya* and for no one else. The *Vaijayanī* by Mahādeva states (in the Introductory verses) that *praśnas* 28 and 29 of Sat. Śr. are taken from *Bharadvāja*. It may be stated here that the procedure of *dharma* described above in Sat. Śr. is no longer followed in India in

576 विधुतिलोटाद् प्रतिदिमानन्वीधमाण उपदधात्युत्तै स्तनोन्नीत्यै मनिम्बं द्वि-
न्निभ्राभिर्धानाभिस्त्रि मद्रक्षिणं परित्तिरत्येणीर्धाना इति। सत्या. श्री. 29 1. 53, 0-1131-
the Com. says अत्रापि पूर्वत्वा दिग्धारणः। अथ क्षेत्रविदुष्णां चतुरो दीदादुपदधात्युत्तै
स्तनोन्नि.. निनीक्षिणि पुरस्तादुपदधाति। उच्छुद्धमाना पृथिवी हि तिष्ठति सरत्वं त्वि उप हि
अपन्ताद्। सत्त्वत्रेति दक्षिणतः। नौ पि च

577. On 29. 3 2 (च ब्रह्ममेव इत्याचक्षते) of सत्या. श्री. 29 वैदवन्ती exp. 2-5
'अत्र सद्वैदवकोऽधिकारः। परमाद् ब्रह्मसंज्ञको मेघ इति विग्रहः। चतुरादिना मेघस्यैत इत्य-
देशसंज्ञानिः। चतुरादीनां चतुरो दहणकल्प इत्यर्थः। On 'ताद् परं ब्रह्मेत्याचक्षते' सत्या श्री
29. 3. 20, 21: वैदवन्ती 22: 'तां चतुरादीन्। परब्रह्ममेव सारभूतमन्त्रवाची। ब्रह्म इ चत-
होना इति।'

modern times. In the Baud. 578 P. S. I. 17 there are passages that bear a close resemblance to some passages of the Sat. Śr on *dhavana*. Similarly, Kāt Śr. 579 21. 3. 6 provides (immediately after the months in which mounds were to be constructed) that as many jars should be taken as there are persons performing *dhavana* (or *dhurana*) and the commentator explains that word as meaning 'fanning'.

It will be seen that the disposal of the dead in ancient India was divided into four stages viz. cremation, collecting the charred bones and depositing them underground in an urn, expiatory rites (called Śāntikarma) and erection of a monument over the bones. The last was not necessarily done in every case. The Andhau Inscription of the time of Rudradāman in the year 52 (probably of the śaka era) refers to the erection of a staff (*asti* i. e. *yasti*) as a funeral monument to the memory of a sister, brother and wife by Madana son of Sihila (vide E I. Vol. 16 pp. 23-25). In a long passage of the Brahma-purāna quoted by Aparārka (pp. 885-886) it is stated that the charred bones of a cremated person should be collected in an urn and deposited at the root of a tree or cast in the Ganges, that the place of cremation should be purified with cowdung and water, that a *puskaraka* tree should be planted there or an *eduka* (a structure) should be built over it. 580

The Sat Śr 28. 4 28 and Baud P S. II. 3. 2 state as shown above that the rites immediately after death were performed only up to the depositing of the urn (containing the bones) underground in the case of those householders who had not set up the vedic fires and in the case of married women and that in the case of him who had performed the solemn rite of Agnicayana a mound with bricks or clods was built up on the bones.

578 एकाहं शुद्धयस्त्रीप्यहानि शुद्धयुः पञ्चतप्तनैकादशाहान्यर्षमासं शुद्धयुरयुग्मा रात्रीर्यमासान् मासाद्दत्तु सर्वस्वर वा संपाद्य संशुद्धयति । अथाप्तरणे धानं च समशानं चागारं वा विमितं वा कारति भवति । ऋषिः सू I 17. 1 and 3, compare सत्य. औ noted above p. 252.

579. पावनो धुनित्वन्तं शुस्तान्त. कुम्भानादाद्य छत्राणि चापारिनिवृत्तानि । कात्या. औ. 21. 3. 6 On this the com says 'अत्रे अनात्वात्ना पुत्रपौत्रादीनामुपवाजनं वक्ष्यति । उपवाजनं धवनम्'

580. गृहीत्वास्थीनि तद्गम नीत्वा तोये विनिसिषेत् । ततः समाजनें भूमेः कर्तव्यं गोमया-
भूमिः । ..सूतेराच्छादनार्थं तु इक्ष. पुष्करकोऽथवा । एडुको वा प्रकर्तव्यस्तत्र सर्वैः स्वबन्धुभिः ॥
ब्रह्मपुराण q. by अपरार्क p 886, the same passage is quoted in रघुनाथ's Com-
mentary on त्रिसप्तश्लोको (verse 28 p. 253) which explains पुष्करकः as पुष्करिणि
and reads पद्मक for एडुक and explains it as अत्तर'.

It is remarkable that while slaves and even attendants were often buried with the master in Babylon and Celtic Britain, there is no similar reference to the burial or cremation of anybody with the deceased even in the ancient procedure found in the Śat Br. It is only possible to say that in some cases in the pre-Vedic age the wife might have burnt herself along with the deceased husband on the funeral pyre. There is no doubt that later works like the Visnudharmasūtra recommended to women the practice of *Sati* as an option to leading the life of perfect celibacy after the husband's death.

The persons entitled to perform the funeral rites after death (*anyakarmādṛkṛān*) are the same as those entitled to offer *śrāddha*. There is a good deal of difference as to the order of the persons so entitled. For example, Gautama (Dh. S 15 13-14) states 'On failure of sons the sapindas (e g. brother, brother's son), the sapindas of the mother (e g. maternal uncle or his son) and pupils may perform *śrāddha* for the deceased; in default of these the family priest and the *ācārya* (veda teacher).' Śankha says⁵⁸¹ 'The offering of pinda and water should be done by the son for the father; in default (i e absence or death) of the son, the wife (of the deceased) should offer, but in default of her the full brother' The Visnupurāna⁵⁸² provides 'the son, grand-son, great grandson (of the deceased), the offspring of the brother (of the deceased), the offspring of a sapinda become entitled to offer (pinda)' The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna provides (30. 19-21, chap 27. 19-23 of the Venk. ed.) 'On failure of the sons, sapindas, on failure of them the samānodakas, then the sapindas of the mother, and samānodakas of her, should perform these rites, a daughter's son should perform them (if the man dies sonless), the putrikāputra should perform them for his maternal grand-father; in default of all these, women should perform these rites for their husbands but without Vedic mantras; in default of wife the king should get the rites performed by some one belonging to the family (of the deceased)

581. पितुः पुत्रेण कर्तव्या पिण्डदानोदकक्रिया । पुत्राभावे तु पत्नी स्वयत्पत्यभावे तु सोदरः ॥ शङ्ख q by स्मृतिच. II p 335, निषेयसिन्धु III p 380

582. पुत्रः पौत्रः प्रपौत्रो वा तद्वद्वा भ्रातृसन्ततिः । सपिण्डसन्ततिर्वापि क्रियार्हा दृष्य जायते ॥ तेषामभावे सर्वेषां समानोदकसन्ततिः । मातृपक्षस्य पिण्डेन सञ्चर्या ये जलेन च । कुलद्वयेपि चोत्सङ्गे स्त्रीभिः कार्या क्रिया दृष्य । सङ्घातान्तर्गतैर्वापि कार्या मेतरस्य च क्रिया । उत्सङ्ग-बन्धुरिदधाना कारयेद्वनोपतिः । विष्णुपुराण III 13 31-33 q by अपराकं p 433, स्मृतिच II p. 336, परा मा I. 2 p 461, ह्युद्धितत्त्व p 383. The विष्णुपुराण mentions the king as the अधिकारी in v. 34.

or by persons of his caste, since the king is the relative of all varnas⁵⁸³ There was a close connection between taking the estate of a man and performing the rites after death up to the 10th day. For the doctrines represented by the Mitākṣarā and the Dāyabhāga, vide H. of Dh. vol III pp. 734-743. Even those that regarded that inheritance was based on relationship by blood and not on the capacity to offer pindas held that it was obligatory on everyone who took the estate of another (including the king who took as the ultimate heir by escheat) to arrange for the rites after death and śrāddha. Visnu⁵⁸⁴ Dh. S. XV. 40 declares 'whoever inherits the estate of a deceased person has to offer pinda to him.' Yāj. II 127 says the same thing about the Kṣetrajā son (ubhayorapyasau rikthī pinda-dātā ca dharmataḥ).

The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 94) states the order of *adhikārins* as follows; a competent son is the first *adhikāri* for offering pinda; in default of a son, husband, wife and co-wives; in default of these, the brother's son, the brother, daughter-in-law, daughter, daughter's son, any other *sagotra*, a *sapinda*, a fellow-student, a friend, a pupil, the teacher, any relative and anyone who takes the wealth of the deceased may offer *pinda*. The father is not competent to perform śrāddha rites for his (deceased) son, an elder brother for his younger brother; these may even do so through affection but they cannot perform the *sapindikarana*. Parents may offer pinda to unmarried daughters, and even to married daughters in the absence of another (proper) giver. The daughter's son and the maternal grandfather may offer to each other; the daughter's son to maternal grand-mother; the son-in-law and father-in-law to each other, the daughter-in-law to her mother-in-law, brothers among themselves, teacher and pupil to each other. For the order of śrāddhādhikārins, according to the Dāyabhāga, vide H. of Dh

583. पुत्राभावे सपिण्डास्तु तदभावे सहोदकाः । मातुः सपिण्डा ये च स्वयं वा मातुः सहोदकाः ॥ कुडुरेन विधिं सम्पन्नपुत्रस्य सुवाहृत । कुडुरेतामहायैवं पुत्रिकातनयास्तथा । सवाभावे स्त्रियः कुडु स्वभृतृणाममन्त्रकम् । तदभावे च द्रुपतिः कारयेत् स्वकुडुम्बिना । तज्जातीयेनैरे सम्पन्दाहाद्या सकला क्रिया । सर्वेयानिव वर्णानां बान्धवो द्रुपतिर्यतः । मार्कण्डेयपुराण 30 19-24 (B I. ed) q by स्थितिच II. p 336, पर. ना I 2 p 463 (reads कारयेत्स्य रिक्थत). These verses (पुत्राभावे . द्रुपतिर्यत) occur with the addition of a few half verses and variants in the ब्रह्मपुराण 220 76-80 and the reading of the ब्रह्म (द्रुपतिः कारयेत्स्वकुडुम्बिना by someone who does not belong to the family of the deceased) is better and makes good sense

584. मृतस्य रिग्भ्राहिणा येन केनापि राजपर्यन्तेनौषधेद्विके दशाहान्त कार्यम् । तथा च विष्णुः । यथापहंतः स पिण्डदायी स्थत इति । व्यवहारमयूख p 145.

vol. III p. 739. The Nirṇayasindhu⁵⁸⁵ says that in the Kali age only two kinds of sons viz. *aurasa* and *dattaka* are allowed (out of the twelve mentioned by Yāj. II 128-132) and the order of śrāddhādhikārins is given by it as follows: *aurasa* son, then grandson, then great grandson, then adopted son. If there are many sons then the eldest alone is the *adhikārīn*; if the eldest be not present or is *patita*, then the son next to the eldest is the *adhikārīn* (and not the youngest). If the sons are divided from each other, then all the rites up to *sapindikarāna* are to be performed by the eldest alone who may make the other sons contribute to the expenses, but the yearly śrāddha may be performed by each son separately. If the sons (of the deceased) are not divided, then all rites including the yearly śrāddha also are to be performed by the eldest alone. When the eldest son not being present, the younger one or the youngest performs the cremation, he should perform all rites up to and including the sixteen śrāddhas, but not *sapindikarāna* and he should wait for one year for the arrival of the eldest. If the eldest comes to know of the death within one year, he alone should perform the *sapindikarāna*. If the eldest son does not come even at the end of one year, then even the youngest may perform *sapindikarāna*. If before the expiry of one year the youngest son or some one other than a son performs the monthly, *anumāśika*, *sapindikarāna* śrāddhas, then the eldest son or a son should again perform these. If there is a grandson who has his *upanayana* performed and there be a son whose *upanayana* is not performed it is the latter who is a preferable *adhikārīn*, provided he is either three years old or has the *cūḍā* ceremony performed as stated by Sumantu⁵⁸⁶. Manu II. 172 states that a boy should not repeat the Veda before the performance of *Upanayana* except the mantras that are required for the śrāddha of his deceased father or mother. Such a son may perform with Vedic mantras the funeral rites on the death of his father or mother and their yearly and other śrāddhas. If he is unable to repeat the Vedic mantras, he may simply perform the cremation with mantras and the rest may be got performed through another person. In the

585 औरसाभावे पौत्रं तदभावे प्रपौत्रस्तदभावे दत्तकादय इति ज्ञेयम् । निर्णयसिन्धु p 381, which relies on Manu IX 137 (= Vas 17 5 and Visan 15 46) and Yāj. I. 78 This is opposed to the धर्मसिन्धु p 368 'दत्तकाभावे पौत्रं पौत्राभावे प्रपौत्रं । अन्ये तु औरसाभावे पौत्रं तदभावे प्रपौत्रं प्रपौत्राभावे दत्तका इत्याहुः'

586 अत्रुपेतोऽपि कुर्वति मन्त्रवद् पितृनेधिकम् । यद्यसौ कृत्युहः स्याद्यादि स्याद्य विवस्वतः ॥ धर्मसिन्धु p. by परा. मा I 2 p 465, निर्णयसिन्धु p 382, मद पा. p 403.

same way he should make only the declaration (*saṅkalpa*) of *darsasrāddha* and *mahālaya* and the rest may be performed by some one else. An adopted son becomes an *adhikārin* for funeral rites and the like only if the upanayana has been performed. If there be no lineal descendant up to a great-grandson and also no adopted son, then the wife should perform with mantras the funeral rites and yearly and other *śrāddhas* but if she is unable to repeat the Vedic mantras, then the same rules apply as in the case of an *anupanita* son. Even if the husband be not divided from his brother, or he be re-united with his brother, it is the wife and not the brother who is to be preferred as having *adhikāra* for *śrāddha*, though the brother gets all the property. Though some of the latest works on *dharmaśāstra* like the *Nirṇayasindhu*⁵⁸⁷ and *Dharmasindhu* (*bhāryayāpi samantrakam-eva-aurdhvadehikadikam kāryam*) allowed the wife to perform rites after death with vedic mantras, several works such as the *Mārkandeya-purāna* and the *Brahmapurāna* did not allow the wife to repeat Vedic mantras (vide note 583 above). In default of the wife, the daughter has the right to perform rites after death if the deceased was separated and not re-united. But if the deceased was joint then his full brother would be the proper *adhikārin* after the wife. Among daughters the married one is preferred, though an unmarried daughter is a preferable heir. In default of daughters, the daughter's son is an *adhikārin*; then a brother, then a brother's son. Among brothers a full brother is preferred to a half brother and if there be both elder and younger brothers, then the younger is preferred for performing rites after death (in order to make as near an approach as possible to the relation of father and son). If there be no younger brother, then even an elder one could be *adhikārin*; in default of full brother, a half brother. Some held that even if the deceased was separate from his brother and had a daughter or daughter's son as heir the funeral rites were to be performed by the brother (and not by the daughter or her son), since a *sagotra* is to be preferred as an *adhikārin* to one of a different *gotra*. If there be no brother, then a full brother's son was to be preferred, then the half brother's son, then father, then mother, then daughter-in-law, then sister. In case of there being

587 असंस्कृतेन पत्न्या च ह्यग्निदानं समन्त्रकम् । कर्तव्यमितरत्सर्वं कारयेदन्वयेव हि ॥ कात्यायन १. १०. पा pp 402-403, which remarks 'यदा स्वश्रुपनीत पुत्र संस्कर्तव्यो पत्नी वा तदाग्निदानमेव समन्त्रकं कार्यम् ।' This is opposed to the view of the *Nirṇayasindhu*, *Dharmasindhu* and other works.

full sisters, half sisters, younger and older sisters the same rules apply as in the case of brothers; in default of any sister, sister's son. If there be many sister's sons, the rules as to brothers would apply. Then come paternal uncle, his son, other sapindas;⁵⁸⁸ then samānodakas, then other persons born in the same family. In default of these, the sapindas of the mother, such as the maternal grand-father, maternal uncle, maternal uncle's son in that order; in default of the sapindas of the mother, the sons of the deceased's paternal or maternal aunt; in default of these the *pitṛ-bandhus* such as the sons of the father's father's sister, of the father's mother's sister, of father's maternal uncle; then the *mātṛ-bandhus* such as mother's father's sisters's son; in default of these, a disciple (of the deceased); in default of disciple, son-in-law of the deceased (or the father-in-law of the deceased); in default of these, a friend; in default, any one who takes the wealth of a brāhmana (deceased); if the deceased was other than a brāhmana the king (who took the wealth of everyone dying heirless, except the wealth of a brāhmana) who arranges for funeral rites through another.

In the case of women the following order of those entitled to perform rites of a deceased woman is given in the Dharma-sindhu (p. 370); If the female be unmarried then her father is the *adhikārin*, then her brother and the like; if the woman was married, her son, then her co-wife's son, then co-wife's grandson and then great-grandson; in default of these, the husband; in default of husband, daughter, then daughter's son; then husband's brother; then husband's brother's son; then daughter-in-law; then (the deceased) woman's father, then her brother; then her brother's son and the rest.

An adopted son should perform the śrāddha of his natural father if the latter left no son or other *adhikārī*. If a brahmacārin dies, his monthly, yearly and other śrāddhas should be performed by his father and mother. A brahmacārin may carry the dead body of his parents, or of his maternal grand-father, *upādhyāya* and *ācārya* and perform the cremation and other rites; but if another *adhikārin* is available, he should not do these even for the parents and the other three. A brahmacārin

588. The word *sapinda* here means a man of the same gotra as the deceased but within seven degrees of the common ancestor, tracing relation ship through males only, a *samānodaka* means one of the same gotra from 8th to the 14th degree descended from a common ancestor tracing descent through males only and *gotraja* means a relative of the same gotra as the deceased but beyond the 14th degree from the common ancestor.

should not at all carry the dead body of any one except of the above five or perform the cremation and other rites for any one else. If a brahmacārin performed all the rites for ten days he had to observe *āśauca* for ten days, but if he performed only the cremation he had to observe *āśauca* only for one day. Even while in mourning his obligatory acts do not stop; but he should not eat the food cooked for his relatives that are in mourning nor should he dwell among them; if he did (both these) he had to undergo *prāyaścitta* and perform *upanayana* again.

It is somewhat curious that Baudhāyana, the Lingapurāna (quoted in Śrāddhaprakāśa pp. 361-371), the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna, the Pitrdayitā (p 82) and several other works allow man himself while living to perform his own rites after death (*antyeṣṭi*).⁵⁸⁹ This will be dealt with briefly later on under śrāddha. Further, if a man became *patita* and refused to undergo *prāyaścitta*, he was driven out of the Hindu fold by the procedure of ghatasphota (vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 387-388), and Gaut. Dh. S. 20 2 and Manu XI. 182-183 provide that such a man was to be held to be dead and his relatives were to perform all rites for him such as offering water and śrāddha and were also to observe *āśauca* for him.⁵⁹⁰

Many commentators and digests quote certain verses of the Viṣṇupurāna (III. 13. 34-39) wherein the rites (*krvyāh*) after death performed for a person are enumerated as falling into three classes, viz. *pūrva*, *madhyama* and *uttara*. The rites from cremation up to the end of the 12th day are called *pūrva*, the śrāddhas performed monthly and *sapindīkarana* and *ekoddista* are called *madhyama* rites and those that are performed after *sapindīkarana*, when the deceased has reached the position of *pitṛ* after being a *preta*, are designated *uttara*.⁵⁹¹ The *pūrva* and

589 अन्वयेष्टिमात्मनः कृत्वा षाड्रत्नश्रीध्वदेहिकम् ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 3.45 (B. I. ed).

590 तस्य विद्यायुक्त्यन्योनिसम्बन्धाच्च संनियत्य सर्वाण्युक्तादीनि मेतकार्याणि कुर्युः । गो ध सू 20 2.

591. पूर्वा क्रिया मध्यमाश्च तथा चैवोत्तरा क्रियाः । त्रिप्रकाराः क्रिया एतेतास्तासां भेदे शृणुष्व मे ॥ आद्याहाद् द्वादशाहाश्च मध्ये याः स्यु क्रिया भताः । पूर्वस्ता मध्यमा मासि मास्येकोद्विदसङ्गिताः ॥ मेते पितृत्वमापन्ने सपिण्डीकरणाद्बुद्ध । क्रियन्ते याः क्रियाः पित्र्याः मोच्यन्ते ता दृष्टोत्तरा ॥ पितृमातृसपिण्डीश्च समानसलिलैस्तथा । तत्सङ्घातान्तमैतैश्चैव राज्ञा वा धनहारिणा ॥ पूर्वा क्रिया मध्यमाश्च पुत्राद्यैरेव चोत्तरा । दोहिनैर्वा नरश्रेष्ठ कार्यास्तत्तनयेस्तथा ॥ मृताहनि च कर्तव्याः स्त्रीणामप्युत्तरा क्रियाः । प्रतिनवत्सरं राज्ञेकोद्विदनिधानतः ॥ विष्णुपुराण III. 13. 34-39. q. by अपराकी pp 433-434, स्मृतिचन्द्र II, p 336, परा. मा I. 2 p 464, नद्. पर. pp 478-79, निर्णयसिन्धु p 387. The printed विष्णुपुराण reads आदावर्णार्थाद्युधादिस्पर्शाद्यन्तास्तु याः क्रियाः । It has been provided in विष्णुपुराण III 13 21 that after the brāhmanas are fed on the 11th day after death the relatives should touch water, weapons, whip or a staff respectively according as they belong to the four varṇas and then they become pure.

madhyama rites of the deceased may be performed by the father, the mother, sapindas, samānodakas and those belonging to the deceased's group (gotra) or by the king if he takes the wealth of the deceased. But the rites called *uttara* are to be performed only by the son, grandson, great-grandson, daughter's son or the latter's sons. Even in the case of women, on the day of the anniversary of death every year an *ekoddista śrāddha* may be performed for them. There is also another classification of *śrāddhas* viz. *Navasrāddha* (those rites up to ten days after death), *Navamiśra* (those performed after ten days up to six seasons), *Purāna* (those performed after a year).^{591 a}

As stated above, for ten days after death a handful of water mixed with sesame was to be offered to the deceased on a stone (*aśman*) placed on kuśa grass and one large pinda (called *pūraka-pinda*) was to be offered on kuśa grass everyday with the face to the south and the sacred thread on the right shoulder (*prācīnāvīti*) for the purpose of freeing the departed from the state of being a *preta*. On the pinda, water mixed with sesame was to be offered and leaves of *Bhrngarāja* (called *mākā* in Marathi) and *Tulasī* also. The verse 'anādi-nidhano' was to be repeated⁵⁹². The performer throws the pinda in water and then bathes. Vide A. K. D pp. 43-50 and *Antyesti-paddhati* of Nārāyaṇa for detailed treatment of the procedure of these ten days. Besides this, the *Āśvalāyana-grhyaparīśista*⁵⁹³ III, 6 speaks of five *śrāddhas* called 'nava-

591 a नवश्राद्ध दशाहानि नवमिश्रं तु पञ्चमवृत्तम् । अतः परं पुराणं वै त्रिविधं आस्त-
श्रुच्यते ॥ आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्टे ५. by अपराकं p 525, निर्णयसिन्धु III, p 395.
अपराकं (p, 521) says ' एकोद्विष्टसुक्ते तच्च त्रिविधम् । नवं मिश्रं पुराणं च । तत्रैकादशाहान्तं
नवम् ॥ तद्दूर्ध्वमा संवत्सराग्निभ्यम् । तत् उत्तरं पुराणम् । The printed आश्व तु परि. III 9
(B. I edition) reads अथेकोद्विष्टं तत् त्रैधा भवति नवं मिश्रं पुराणं चेत्यन्तर्वशाद् नव
मिश्राणि मासिकानि चतुर्विंशत्यादी पुराणानि । The सूत्रिच. on आश्वोच p 175 quotes
प्रजापति 'नवश्राद्ध दशाहान्तं मिश्रं संवत्सरावधि । एकादशाहमारभ्य कुर्यात्प्रेतत्वसुक्ते ॥ '

592. अनादिनिधनो वैव शङ्खचक्रगदाधरः । अक्षय्य पुण्डरीकाक्षः प्रेतमोक्षादो नव ॥
quoted by अन्वयेटिपद्धति of नारायण

593. अथ नवश्राद्धानि दशाहेषु विपमदिनेभ्यामेव कुर्यात्प्रेतमभिसन्धाय ब्राह्मण-
सुदृष्ट्युत्सुक्यपदेश्य तस्मिन्सूक्त्यां तिलानवकीर्य काश्यपगोत्र देवदत्तासुभिमन्त्रानि एतदामंरामुप-
तिष्ठतामिति तदहं सन्धयेनोत्सृज्य पिण्डं चामन्धयो कथन्मदाय श्नायाद्येव विधिरन्तर्वाहकर्मणि ।
आश्वलायनगृह्यपरिशिष्टे III, 6. The नवश्राद्ध's are एकोद्विष्ट and several details
which occur in other श्राद्ध's are omitted here and the word पितृ is not to be
employed, but only the word प्रेत. The गृह्यपुराण (II, 29 35-37) enumerates
eighteen details that were to be omitted in प्रेतश्राद्ध's. Vide दृष्टिमन्त्राः pp 215,
221 ; ' तथाचाङ्गिराः । प्रथमेऽह्नि तृतीयेऽह्नि पञ्चमे सप्तमे तथा । नवमेकादशे चैव तत्रश्राद्ध-
श्रुच्यते ।' ५. by मव. पा p 618, the मित्ता on वा I 252 (without name) and
भद्रोजि on चतुर्विंशत् p. 168.

śrāddhas' (or Visamaśrāddhas) performed on the uneven days (i. e. 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th and 9th) with uncooked food. According to the Garudapurāna (Pretakhanda 34, 36 which speaks of six śrāddhas on uneven days from 1st day to 11th) and Āpastamba they are six (Dharmasindhu p 464, Nirṇayasindhu p 588, Śuddhiprakāśa pp. 214-216, Śrāddhatattva p. 619) and according to others there is an option. Aṅgiras and Vasistha speak of six Navaśrāddhas on uneven days from the 1st to the 11th, while Baud Pitrmedha S. II. 10. 6 speaks of five. Some prescribe the placing of some cooked food sprinkled with ghee on the hand of a brāhmana. Others do not approve of this. They prescribe the placing of uncooked corn in front of a brāhmana or in front of a figure of a brāhmana made with kuśas (called *cata* in Marathi). The Garudapurāna (II 5, 67 ff) holds that the navaśrāddhas are those performed at the place where a man died, where the funeral procession rested on the way, when the bones were collected and those performed on the 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th day. The Śuddhiprakāśa p. 214 quotes similar views from Kātyāyana and the view of Vṛddha-Vasistha that the deceased does not become free from the status of a *preta*, unless the *navaśrāddhas* are performed. The Garudapurāna, Pretakhanda (chap. 34, 27-28, 44, 48) states that by the pindas offered for ten days the several limbs of a subtle body are provided for the departed spirit which at first wanders like thin air. There are several differing views on the navaśrāddhas which are passed over here. On the uneven days if navaśrāddha is performed two pindas will be offered (one the daily one and the other, of the navaśrāddha). The Padma (Śrstikhanda 10, 19) prescribes that one should not partake of the food at *navaśrāddha* and on doing so should undergo the cāndrāyana expiation.

In modern times, after the rites of the first day of cremation and of the collection of the bones, the rites for the dead generally begin on the 10th day. The performer goes to the place where the rites of the first day were performed, makes a *sankalpa* and offers a pinda with the words 'May this pinda wait upon the *preta* named N. N. and of the gotra (Kāśyapa &c) in order that hunger and thirst affecting the *preta* may be removed'. Then he offers water mixed with sesame, places leaves of *bhṛṅgarāja* and *tulasī*, repeats the verse 'anādinidhano' (note 592), removes the pinda to another place from the place where it was offered. Then he prepares a *vedi* with

loose earth with a triangular shape, purifies it by means of cowdung, decks it with turmeric powder and places thereon five jars full of water and on each of them a ball of rice. Then he offers a request to the middle jar with the words 'May this pinda together with the jar of water wait upon the *preta* by name N. N., of such and such a gotra in order that his hunger and thirst may be allayed'. There is a prayer before the jars to the east, south, west and north respectively to those whom the *preta* had befriended, to Yama, to crows, to Rudra respectively. There is a difference of view here, some prescribing four jars, some three, while others offer a pinda with the jar of water only on the place meant for the *preta* and mere pinda to others. Then water is offered over the pinda and to each of the above he offers sandals, umbrella, banner, bread. Then the performer waits till a crow seizes or eats the pinda placed to the west⁵⁹⁴. Then the *asman* (stone) is anointed with oil and cast in water. Then the performer requests the relatives, who offer one handful or three handfuls of water to the *preta* on the bank of the reservoir of water. Then the sons and others according to usage cut their hair and nails. Then all persons of the same gotra, according to the custom of the country, bathe with sesame and myrobalan, wear pure and dried garments, go home and take their meals there.

594 In modern times great importance is attached by many people to a crow touching and pecking at the pinda food. There is a common belief that if a crow does not touch the pinda then the deceased had some intense wish at his death that was unfulfilled and it is certainly heart-rending and a source of poignant sorrow even for passers-by to see the relatives waiting for hours and tempting the crow or crows to come down from trees with dainty pieces of *copra* and other things and also loudly declaring that they would do this or that and fulfil the last desire of the deceased. Often it so happens that no crow touches the pinda food in honour of the deceased, a very old and venerable man, and relatives are very much distressed to find that their venerable ancestor who could have hardly any ambition or desire at the advanced age of 50 or 90 (except to die speedily), judging from the reluctance of the crow, had some unfulfilled desire. Often the crow immediately touches the pinda offered to one who died very young (say 25 or 30 years old) and who would naturally be presumed to have many unfulfilled desires. In such cases the relatives feel very much relieved at the thought that their young relative passed away without any unfulfilled desires. The *Suddhikāumudī* refers to this offering to crows as a usage
 स्याच्चारत् फाकपल्लिवाम् । पिण्डकोपमकं पात्रे कृत्वा असुकगोत्रस्य प्रेतरपादुकरामणौ
 शिकोपद्रुतये पमहारावस्थितवायसाय एष बलिर्न म हृद्यस्त्वय्य कृताञ्जलि — काक त्व यमदृशोसि
 एहाण बलिच्छुभम् । यमलोकगतं प्रेतं स्वमाप्पायितुमर्हसि ॥ कानाय काकपुत्रपाय वायसाय
 महात्मने । नृप्य बलिं प्रयच्छामि प्रेतरस्य वृत्तिहेतवे ॥ इति पठेत् । शुद्धिकौमुदी p. 135.

Some of the Purānas and medieval digests assert that after a man dies, the soul or spirit assumes what is called an *ātivāhika*^{594a} body consisting of three of the five elements (viz. fire, wind and akāśa) that rise up from the dead body (while two viz. earth and water remain below), that such a body is obtained only by men and not by other beings, that with the aid of the pindas that are offered to the departed at the time of cremation and during ten days thereafter, the soul secures another body called *bhogadeha* (a body for enjoying the pindas offered) and that at the end of a year when *sapṛṇḍīkarana* is performed, the soul secures a third body wherewith the spirit reaches heaven or hell according to the nature of his actions. The word 'ativāhika' is comparatively an ancient one. It occurs in Vedāntasūtra IV. 3.4 (ativāhikas-tal-lingāt). But there the meaning is somewhat different. The Upanisads speak of the soul as going by the path of arcs, day &c. The sūtra says that these (viz. arcs, ahah &c.) are superintending deities that take the soul gradually onward by the path that leads to *Brahma*. Govindānanda in his commentary on the Prāyaścittaviveka (pp. 13-14) holds that there are only two bodies (and not three as appears at first sight), viz. the *ātivāhika* or *pretadeha* and the *bhogadeha*. The belief was that the man on whose death no pinda was offered or the sixteen śrāddhas (to be described below) were not performed remained for all time in the condi-

594 a. तत्क्षणादेव यद्वाति शरीरमातिवाहिकम् । ऊर्ध्वं ब्रजन्ति धृतानि त्रीण्यस्मात्सद्व्य
विग्रहाद् ॥ आतिवाहिकसंज्ञोऽसौ देहो भवति भार्गव । केवलं तन्महत्त्वात् नान्येषां भाषिनां
कश्चिद् ॥ मेषापिण्डैस्ततो दत्तैर्देहमाप्नोति भार्गव । भोगदेहमिति मोक्षं क्रमादेव न संशयः । मेष-
पिण्डा न दीयन्ते यद्य तद्य विमोक्षणाद् । इमंशानिकेभ्यो देवेभ्य आकर्षणं नैव विद्यते ॥ तत्रास्य
यातना घोराः शीतघातातपोऽज्ञवाः । ततः सपिण्डाकरणे पाण्डवैः स कृते नरः । पूर्णे संघसरे देह-
मतोर्ग्यं प्रतिपद्यते ॥ ततः स नरको याति स्वर्गे वा स्वेन कर्मणा । विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराण quoted by
माय सि. pp. 13-14, and श्रुद्धितत्त्व p. 324. गोविन्दानन्द explains शीतानि भूतानि as
'शुश्रूष्यन्तेजांसि' and thus differs from रघुनन्दन. The मरुत्पुराण (मेषपिण्ड chap. 10
79. ff) says the same. 'उत्क्रामन्तः.. ज्ञानचक्षुषः ॥ आतिवाहिकमित्येवं वायवीयं वदन्ति हि ।
...धृवादिनि कृताश्चेत्सु. पिण्डा दश दशाहिकाः । पिण्डजेन तु देहेन वायुजश्चेकर्ता ब्रजेत् ।
पिण्डतो यदि नैव स्थाहायुजोर्हति यातनाम् ॥' The first verse (उत्क्रामन्तः) is गीता 15 10,
The मरुत्पुराण states विहाय सुनहत्कृत्स्नं शरीरं पाञ्चभौतिकम् ॥ अन्यच्छरीरमादत्ते यातनीयं
स्वकर्मजम् ॥.. स्वशरीरं सद्युत्पद्य वायुधृतस्तु गच्छति । chap 214 29-30 and 51 ; निमित्तं
किंचिदासाद्य देही प्राणैर्विद्युच्यते ॥ अन्यच्छरीरमादत्ते यातनीयं स्वकर्मभिः । अग्निपुराण 230.
2-3, यद्वाति तत्क्षणाद्योगे शरीरं चातिवाहिकम् । आकाशवायुतेजांसि विग्रहाद् ऊर्ध्वगामिनः ॥
अलं मही च पञ्चत्वनायकाः पुरुषः सृष्टः । आतिवाहिकदेहं तु यमवृता नयन्ति तम् ॥ अग्नि.
371. 9-10. The मार्कण्डेय (10 63-64) says 'वाय्व्यवसारी तद्भ्रमं देहदन्त्यं प्रपद्यते ।
तत्कर्मजं यातनार्थं न मातापितृसम्भवम् ॥ . ,

tion of a *piśāca*, from which he would not be freed even if numerous other śrāddhas were later on offered for him.⁵⁹⁵ The Brahmapurāna calls the body 'yātaniya' (i. e. one that has to undergo trials and torments), while the Agnipurāna calls it 'yātaniya' or 'ātivāhika' and asserts that this body is made up of the elements of *ākāśa*, *vāyu* and *tejas*. The Padmapurāna (II 67. 98) states that persons who commit certain sins secure after death a body similar in shape to the physical body for undergoing torments. The underlying conception was that when the gross body was destroyed after death by cremation, burial or other methods an intermediate subtle body had to be built up before the departed soul was compelled to assume another body in a fresh incarnation. The subtle body was gradually built up, as stated by the Mark 10.73, by the rites performed on death and on several days after death. Though this conception is very clearly set forth in the Purānas it should not be supposed that it was altogether a new one. It had its roots deep down in the earliest Vedic period and was implicit in some of the hymns as indicated by Rg. X. 15. 14, X. 16. 4-5 translated above. Though in the Tai. S. I 8. 5 1-2 and in passages of the Tai. Br. and Śat. Br. to be set out later on it is said that the offerings are made to the paternal ancestors, it does not follow that the brāhmanas were not fed at the same time on the food prepared for being offered to the ancestors, just as in the solemn Vedic sacrifices offerings were made to the gods, Agni, Indra, Prajāpati, Viṣṇu and others and at the same time priests engaged in the sacrifices were fed and given presents (*dakṣiṇā*). Therefore, it need not be necessarily supposed that feeding the brāhmanas at śrāddha was a later idea and offering food to the dead was the original idea.

595. यस्वैतानि न दीयन्ते मेतआद्धानि षोडश । पिशाचत्वं भुवं तस्य दत्ते आद्द-
 शतैरपि ॥ यम उ. by आ क्रि. कौ p. 362 and तत्चार्यकौस्तुभे on प्रा. वि p. 14. Almost
 the same verse is लिखितस्मृति V. 16 and गरुडपुराण, मेतखण्ड 34. 131.

CHAPTER VIII

SUDDHI

Śuddhi (purification) is a very comprehensive topic including within it purification after āsauca (impurity on birth and death), purification of a person after contact with an impure object or on account of certain occurrences, purification of pots, wells, food &c., after they are polluted. Āsauca, however, is the most important subject under śuddhi and therefore the Śuddhi-kaumudī defines 'śuddhi' as 'the state of being fit for or capable of performing the rites that are understood from the Veda'⁵⁹⁶ The Smṛtis employ the word śuddhi in relation to purification after āsauca. For example, Manu V, 57 starts by saying that he will expound purification after a man is dead (pretasuddhi) and purification of things (dravyasuddhi). Manu V, 83 (= Dakṣa VI, 7) avers that a brahmana becomes pure after ten days (on the death or birth of a relative), a ksatriya after twelve &c. The Parāśara-smṛti starts chapter three by declaring 'I shall expound śuddhi on birth and death.' Yaj. III, 14, 25 also employ the word śuddhi. Therefore āsauca on birth and death will be first dealt with.

The word āsauca is formed from suci (pure) according to Pān. V. 1. 131^{596a} and Pān. VII. 3. 30 (vide note below) with the negative particle na (a). In some smṛtis such as that of Devala the form 'āsucya' also is found (see Hāralatā pp. 2, 9, 36 in quotations from Devala^{596b}). Another word which is often used as a synonym for āsauca is 'agha'. It has been seen above (p. 6) that the word *agha* means 'sin' in the Vedic Literature (as in Rg. I. 97. 1-8, X. 117.6). But in the Śān. Śr. IV. 15. 11,

596 वेदयोधितकर्माहता शुद्धिः । छ. कौ. p. 1.

596 a इगन्ताच्च लडुपूर्वात् । पा. V. 1 131 (अण् अङ्गन्तते)—शुचेर्भाव. कर्म वा शौचम् । न शौचमशौचम् । This is one way of explaining the word. We may also explain न शुचि अशुचि, अशुचेर्भावः कर्म च आशौचं or अशौचं according to नञः शुचौचक्षेत्रजकुशलनिपुणानाम् । (पा VII 3. 30).

596 b. जनते मरणे नित्यमाशुच्यमनुधावति । देवल q. by हारलता p 2. आशुच्यं दशरात्र तु सर्वत्राप्यपरे विदुः । देवल q. by शुद्धिम. p. 41.

Manu V. 84 (na vardhayed-aghāhāni) the word 'agha' has come to mean the same thing as āsauca.⁵⁹⁷ The Padmapurāna II. 66. 73-74 states that since the outlets of the body always emit mucus, urine &c. it is always impure.

The Mit. on Yāj. III 1 defines⁵⁹⁸ āsauca as an emergent attribute attaching to a person, which is got rid of by lapse of time or a bath and the like and which is the cause of the positive direction to offer (to a deceased person) pinda, water and the like and of the cessation of Vedic study and other actions. The Mit adds that āsauca is not merely the absence of the privilege or power to do religious acts, since even those who have incurred impurity (on death &c) are enjoined to do certain religious acts such as offering water (to the deceased). This definition of the Mit appears to be an echo of the Garuda-purāna (pretakhanda) 5. 9 and is probably based on a verse of the work called Sangraha. Haradatta⁵⁹⁹ on Gautama 14. 1 states that āsauca may be defined as 'the absence of the privilege to perform religious acts, unfitness for being one whose food may be partaken of, untouchability and the loss of the privilege to make religious gifts.' A comparatively early writer Bhattācārya,⁶⁰⁰ appears to have defined 'śuddhi' as the 'removal of sin' or as 'being fit for performing religious acts.' This was accepted by the Smṛti-candrikā, but rejected by Nandapandita, commentator of Śadaṣīti (pp. 2-3) Even the Mit. (on Yāj. III, 18) emphasizes that āsauca has two characteristics, viz. it takes away the privilege of performing

597 नाथाहानि बर्धयेदुपति इ स्नाह कीपीवकि । शां औ. IV. 15 11. The com. says 'अपशब्देनात्र मरणमुच्यते । येन ह्यु सपिण्डमरणं सवृत्तं तान्बन्धुहानि मरणादारभ्येकरात्रादीनि यानि व्रतैर्षासान्युक्तानि तानि न बर्धयेत्, नाम्पथितानि कुर्युः । कर्मानधिकारव्रतैर्न भ्यामयुः ।'

598. आशौचशब्देन च कालस्नानाद्यपनोच. पिण्डोदकदानादिविधेः अथयगादिपर्युदासस्य च निमित्तभूत पुरुषगतः कश्चनातिशय ऊच्यते न पुन कर्मानधिकारनामम् । नित् on या. III, 1, अपनोचं त्विदं कालादिभिराहु निषेधकत् । पिण्डाध्ययनदानादेः पुगतोति-शयो हि तद् ॥ गच्छ (नेतखण्ड 5 9), निमित्त पिण्डदानादेः पुरुषस्यमशुद्धिः । कालस्नानापनोच यत्तदाशौचनितीर्यते ॥ संवत् ५ by स्मृतिह (आशौच) p 477

599 किं पुनरिदमाशौचलक्षणम् । कर्मण्यनधिकारोऽभोज्यप्रताऽस्युप्यता दानादिपनाधिकारिता । हरदत्त on गौ 14. 1.

600 छाद्दिशद्वायंस्तु पापक्षयं शुद्धिर्धर्मयोगफलमेव वा इति भट्टाचार्योको वृत्तः । पापक्षयः सपिण्डादौ जनने मरणे वा तत्सम्बन्ध्यादापुत्रस्य पापविधेयस्य क्षयः । धर्मयोगस्य दानादिधर्मास्तुतानाहंस्वम् । एवं छाद्दिशद्वायं नतभेदेन द्विधा विरतो भट्टाचार्यः । स्मृतिच. (आशौचकाण्ड p. 2) स्मृतिह p. 477 mentions this view.

religious acts and it renders a person untouchable. The Smṛtimuktāphala follows this. Rudradhara in his Śuddhiviveka (D. C ms. No. 309 of 1887-91 folio 1) says that śuddhi is a special attribute which brings about a capacity or privilege for the performance of all dharmas, while aśuddhi is an attribute opposed to śuddhi and arises on the occasion of the birth of a sapinda or the like.⁶⁰¹

Āśauca is of two kinds, viz. that arising on birth⁶⁰² (and so called *jananāśauca* or *sūtaka*) and that arising on death (and therefore called *śāśāśauca* or *mṛtakāśauca* or *maranāśauca*). *Śāśā* is derived from *śava* (meaning a corpse). The word *sūtaka* occurs in the⁶⁰³ Ait. Br. (chap. 32. 8) and is there probably used in the sense of impurity on both birth and death. There it is said that if an aṣitāgni partook of food from the house of him who was affected by sūtaka, then the *prāyaścitta* was to offer a *puṛoḍāśa* cooked on eight potsherds to Agni Tāntumat. Tantu means also 'son or progeny' and so it may be argued that it is an indication that sūtaka is used in the Ait. Br. in the sense of impurity on birth. The word *sūtaka* is used in the smṛtis in three senses: (1) impurity on birth (vide Manu V. 58); (2) impurity both on birth and death, as in Gobhīlasmṛti III. 6) and 63;⁶⁰⁴ (3) impurity on death alone (as in Dakṣa VI. 1 and Gobhīlasmṛti III. 48)⁶⁰⁵. In some of the modern vernaculars (such as Marathi) the word 'sūtaka' is used in the 3rd sense alone. In each of these two divisions there are two varieties viz. where the duration is brief or comparatively long (Śadaśīti, verse 2).

A question arises why birth and death should cause impurity to the members of the family or to relatives. Only a

601. शुद्धिस्त्वावदखिलधर्माधिकारापादको धर्मविक्षेपः । अशुद्धिस्तु तद्विरोधी धर्मविक्षेप एव । स च सपिण्डजन्मादिनिमित्तकः । शुद्धिविवेकः of ब्रह्मधरः.

602. आशौचं द्विविधं कर्मानधिकारलक्षणं स्पृश्यत्वलक्षणं च । स्मृतिषु (p 477).

603. तदाह्वयं आहितान्गिर्यदि मृतकानं प्राप्तीयात्का तत्र प्रापश्चित्तिरिति । सोऽन्नये तन्तुमतेऽष्टाकपालं पुरोडाशं निर्वपेत्तस्य पाण्याहुवाक्ये तन्तुं तन्वन्नजसो भाहुमीन्वाह्वानहो नह्वानहो संम्या इति । आहुतिं वाह्वनीये अहुयादग्नये तन्तुमते स्वाहेति । ऐ वा. 3. 2. 8 तन्तु तन्त्र is Rg. X. 53 6 and अक्षानहा is Rg X 53. 7.

604. सूत्रे कर्मणा स्वयं सन्ध्यादीनां विधीयते । होम-श्रौतस्तु कर्तव्यं. शुष्काच्चेनापि वा कलैः ॥ गोभिलस्मृति called छन्दोगपरिशिष्ट q. by हारलत p 6, छु, कौ, and आञ्जय. p. 83.

605. सूतकं तु प्रवक्ष्यामि जन्ममृत्युनिमित्तकम् । पावज्जीवं तृतीयं तु यथावद्व्यपूर्वकः ॥ दक्ष. VI. 1, अस्थनामलाभे पाणानि शकलान्मुक्तयाहवा । मर्जयेदक्षिसत्त्व्यानि ततः मशुति सूतकम् ॥ गोभिल III. 48, The 4th pēda of the latter is q by हारलत p. 2,

few have to say anything on this question. Hārīta says 'the family incurs death impurity because by death the family feels overwhelmed (or frustrated), while when a new life appears the family increases (and there is gratification or joy)' 605.

The literature on Śuddhi (including āśauca) is very extensive. Apart from the sūtras, smṛtis and Purānas there are numerous digests dealing with the subject at great length. Some of them have been printed. The smṛtis contain a mass of contradictory dicta to such an extent and different from the usages of medieval times that the Mit on Yāj III 22 after quoting the views of Parāśara, Śātātapa, Vasistha and Angīras on the periods for which impurity had to be observed by persons belonging to the four varnas refuses to evolve order out of them and remarks that the usages in its day were different from the dicta of those sages 607. The Madana-pārijāta (p 392) agrees with the Mit and also suggests other modes of dealing with the conflict. Two examples may be cited of the way in which different smṛtis approach the same problem. Atri 83, Parāśara III 5 and Dakṣa VI 6 provide that a brāhmana who has consecrated the three Vedic fires and has mastered the Veda becomes free from impurity (on birth and death) in one day, one who has merely mastered the Veda (but has not consecrated the śrauta fires) in three days and one who is devoid of both in ten days. Manu V. 59 gives various options viz 10 days, 4 days, 3 days, 1 day but does not state explicitly to whom his remarks apply. Bṛhaspati 607a (q.

606. अथ च कुलम्पापित्ते कारणमाह हारीतः। प्रेताभिभूतत्वाच्छावनाशौचं जीवे वृद्धियोगेन कुलस्य भवति। इति। जायमानत्रियमाणयो न्यस्यिर्नां सन्नेपद्वातन्तोपदाण्या वृद्धिक्षययोगाद्वा कुलम्पाप्याशाचं भवतीत्यर्थः। शुद्धिचन्द्रिका on पदशतिते p 4 The चानिच (आशौच) p. 11 reads somewhat differently "नन्वयस्वरागौचं सपिण्ड अनि- रिकानां न भवति कारणभावादिष्याशाङ्कपाह हारीतः" प्रेताभिभूतत्वाच्छावनाशौचं जाते वृद्धियोगेन केनेति नीनासन्ते नाम्यच्छिन्नकालानाहच्छेदद्रुपस्वाच्च कुलस्याशौचं भवति। इति।"

607. इत्येवमनेकोच्छावनाशौचकल्पा दर्शिताः। तेषां लोके सनाचारामागतानां च धर्मप्रदर्शनरूपयोगीति नाम्न एवस्था मद्ध्यति। मिना on पा III 22. लोकसमाचारा- द्नाशौचयोगिनिति केचन। अथवा देशाचारात्तो एवमस्या। उत एतन्वदद्युगवद्विषये पयाकन न्यूनधिककल्पाश्रयेण निर्वाहः। किंवा आपदनापज्जेदेन एवमस्या। नद पा p 392

607 a त्रिरात्रेण विशुष्येत योऽग्निवेदस्तनन्निनः। पश्चाद्देवताश्रीर्नरु दशाहाद् ब्राह्मणब्रह्मः ॥ इत्यस्यति p. by कल्पः (शुद्धि) p 4. हारलना p 5 and मु को p. 7 अद्विरत् defines ब्राह्मणब्रह्म as 'गर्भाधानादिमस्कारैरुक्तश्च नियमब्रह्मः। नाशौचपति नापीने विज्ञेयो ब्राह्मणब्रह्म ३'.

by Hāralatā p. 5 and Haradatta on Gautama 14. 1) states that a brāhmana who is endowed with Veda and śrauta fires becomes pure after three days, one who is devoid of śrauta fires (but is master of the Veda) in five days and one who is only a brāhmana by caste (has not studied the Veda or does not teach it) in ten days. The Śān Śr. and Manu⁶⁰⁸ (both quoted above) urge a man not to increase through laziness the number of days for which impurity is to be observed. It is possible that persons claiming to be learned observed impurity for a few days only, while neighbours disputed their claim to this special dispensation in favour of Vedic learning and keeping śrauta fires. The result was that later on a flat number of ten days was prescribed for all brāhmaṇas whether learned or not and the provision for lesser number of days of impurity was relegated to *Kaḥvarjya* usages. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 941-42.

Another example of the dependence of the days of impurity on the caste of the deceased and of varying diota thereon may be cited. Manu V. 83, Dakṣa VI 7, Yaj III. 22, Atri (verse 85), Sankha (15. 2-3), Matsyapurāna (18. 2-3), Brahmapurāna 220. 63, Viṣṇu Dh. § 22. 1-4, all lay down periods of 10 days, 12 days, 15 days and a month for impurity among brāhmanas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras respectively. Yaj. III. 22 makes the virtuous śūdra observe impurity only for 15 days as a concession. Gaut. (15. 1-4) prescribes 10, 11, 12 days (or half month) and a month respectively for the four varṇas, while Vas. (4. 27-30) gives the periods of 10, 15, 20 and one month for the four *varṇas*. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, in his article on Nāgara brāhmanas and Kāyasthas of Bengal, protests that the Kāyasthas of Bengal (owing to social tyranny) still observe āśauca for one month as if they are ordinary śūdras (I. A. for 1932 at p. 71). On the other hand, Angiras (quoted by the Mit. on Yaj. III. 22) states that Śātātapa declared that all *varṇas* become purified after ten days whether the impurity is due to birth or death.⁶⁰⁹ Parāśara (III. 9) quoted by the Mit. on Yaj. III. 18

608. On न वधयेद्वाहानि (मनु. V 84) कुल्लुक comments: यस्य तु वृत्तस्वस्थ्या-
पायपेक्षया पूर्वमवसिर्नचयनादस्थनाद्-इत्याद्यासौचसङ्कोच उक्तः स निष्कर्मा सुखमासिद्ये
प्रति इन्द्रया नासौचदिनानि दशाहादिरूपतया वधयेत्सङ्कचित्तासौचदिनेष्वपि ।.

609. अङ्गिरसस्वाह-सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां सूतके घृतके तथा । दशाहाह्-इतिरेपामिति
शातातपोऽर्थोद् ॥ मिता. on या. III. 22.

provides that a *sapinda* who is 4th in descent from the common ancestor of the deceased and himself becomes pure after ten days, one who is 5th after 6 days, one who is 6th in descent after four days and one who is 7th after one day. The Mit. says that this should be discarded as it is in conflict with many other smrtis and is disapproved of by people.⁶¹⁰ Some of the rules mentioned by Vijñāneśvara (about 1100 A. D.) themselves underwent changes in 500 years as noted by the Nirṇayasindhu (composed in 1612 A. D. ⁶¹¹).

The Mit. on Yaj III, 18 declares that when a child that has not completed two years dies, it is the parents that have to observe *śāuca* for ten days and not all *sapindas* and that their *śāuca* entails untouchability for them. The Nirṇayasindhu (p. 517) remarks that what Vijñāneśvara said is not now (in its time) the usage and that the Smṛtyarthasāra also did not accept Vijñāneśvara's view.

In view of the above-mentioned circumstances no useful purpose would be served by setting out in detail the varying diets of the smrtis, Purānas ⁶¹² and the digests upon the several matters that fall to be treated under *śāuca*. Digests on this subject are too numerous to mention. The following printed ones and a few mss have been made use of in preparing the following account. In the first place, there are several works that deal with this subject in verse. The *Śāucaśataka* attributed to Vararuci (published in the Trivandrum series) with a

610 यद्युनः स्मृत्यन्तरवचनम् चतुर्थे दशरात्रे स्वात्पणित्वा मुक्तिं पश्यते। षष्ठे चतुरहाशुद्धिः सप्तमे त्वहरेव तु ॥ इति तद्विगीतत्वाज्ञादरणीयम्। यद्यत्परिगीतं तथापि मधुपर्काङ्गपश्चालम्भनवह्नौकविद्विदत्वाद्याद्युत्थम्। अस्वर्ग्यं लोकविद्विष्ट धर्ममन्याचरेत् नृशति मद्यस्वर्गगात्। निता. on या III, 18. अस्वर्ग्यं is the latter half of या I 156

611. यच्च विज्ञानेश्वरेणोक्तं ऊनद्विवर्षे उभयो सुतर्कं मातुरेव इति याज्ञवल्क्योक्तः धर्मस्थे प्रेते मातृदंशाद् जात उभयो. कृते नाम्नि सोदराणां च इति पैङ्गवोक्तेश्च पित्रो सोदराणां च दंशाद्मस्तृदयत्वमिति त्रिकेदानीं मञ्जरिति। अत एव स्मृत्यर्थसारे तत्राहृतम्। निर्णयसिन्धु p. 517 The स्मृत्यर्थसार (p. 80) states 'अद्यपनीतमरणे मातापित्रोर्दंशाद्दशौचं पक्षोऽनादृतः'।

612. Several among the Purānas devote considerable space to *śāuca*. For example, the Kūrma (Uttarārḍha Chap 23), Langapurāna (Purvārḍha, Chapter 89. 77-92), Garudapurāna (Pretakhaṇḍa Chap. 5), Agnipurāna (Chapters 157-158), Vāmana (14. 96-102) do so. In the Garudapurāna (Pretakhaṇḍa 5) several verses are taken from Yājñavalkya, Manu and other smrtis.

commentary by an anonymous writer that names the bhāṣya of Maskarin on Gautama-dharmasūtra (on p. 35) deals with the subject in eight *sragdharā* verses. The Āsaucadaśaka or Daśaślokī attributed to Viññāneśvara seems to have been a very popular work. There are several commentaries on it. The one by Harihara is the earliest of them. In the Deccan College collection of Mss (now at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona) there are several Mss of it, two of which were copied in *saṃvat* 1539 (D. C. No. 216 of 1879-80) and *saṃvat* 1579 (D. C. No 196 of 1884-87) and which expressly state that the work was composed by Viññāneśvara-yogindra. The ten Śārdūlavikrīḍita verses of the Āsaucadaśaka are set out in the appendix. The Kalpataru of Laksmidhara has a section on śuddhi which has been recently published in the G. O. S. The Hāralatā of Anuruddha is very useful (B. I. Series). The Āsaucakānda of the Smṛticandrikā has been edited by the late Dr. Shamsastry and published as No. 56 of the Mysore University Sanskrit publications. The Trimsacchlokī with the commentary of Raghunātha composed in *śake* 1645 has been published at the Poona Ānandāśrama press and contains 30 *Sragdharā* verses on āsauca. The Ṣaḍasī (86 verses in the Anustubh metre) of Kauśikaditya with the commentary Śuddhicandrikā by Vināyaka *alias* Nandapandita (composed about 1600 A. D.) has been published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series. The Śuddhikaumudī of Govindānanda (B. I. Series); the Śuddhitattva of Raghunandana (ed. by Jivananda pp. 233-412), the Śuddhiprakāśa (part of the Viramitrodaya of Mitramiśra) published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series, the Śuddhimayūkha of Nilakantha (edited by Mr. J. R. Gharpure) and the Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha (edited by Mr. J. R. Gharpure) are compilations that are useful in their own way. These exhaustive treatises on āsauca show one thing unmistakably that brāhmanas of the medieval ages attached an extremely exaggerated importance to ceremonial purity of the body on birth and death.

The periods of impurity depended on many circumstances. There was a difference between impurity on birth and that on death; so also the duration depended upon whether the deceased was an infant or a male or a female or one whose *upanayana* had been performed or not performed; it depended on caste and also on the question whether the deceased died near the relative or far away; also upon the degree of relationship; and on the time that elapsed from the birth or death till it reached the ears

of the relative. The intensity of impurity was different in each of the following: a *sūtikā* (a freshly delivered woman), *rajasvalā* (woman in monthly illness), impurity on death, impurity on birth (the last being the least).

Dakṣa (VI 2-3) states that there are ten varieties in impurity, viz. immediate purity (after taking a bath), one day, three days, four days, six days, ten days, twelve days, a fortnight, a month and till the end of one's life⁶¹³ Dakṣa then explains in what cases these different periods apply. As to what is meant by impurity till life's end (lit till he is reduced to ashes), Dakṣa (VI 8-10) says. 'those who take their meals without bathing or offering to gods or without making gifts—all such persons are in impurity till life ends. One who is permanently afflicted with a disease, who is close-fisted (i. e. stints himself, wife and son and religious acts through greed), who is always in debt (i. e. who has not paid off his debts to gods, sages and manes), who is bereft of religious acts (*niya* or *narmittika*), who is a fool and is under the thumb of his wife, whose mind is bent on vices (gambling, prostitution &c), who is always dependent (a king's servant or the like), who is devoid of faith and benevolence (charitable gifts)—he incurs impurity which ends only with his ashes (i. e. only when he is cremated).⁶¹⁴ These words are not to be taken literally; what is meant is that such a man is to be shunned by others (i. e. it is an *arthavāda* conveying merely censure)

We shall now turn to the impurity on birth.

That the impurity on birth lasted for ten days even in Vedic times can be inferred from the story of Sunah-sepa narrated in the Ait Br (chapter 33 2), where occurs the passage 'when the animal is more than ten days from birth he becomes pure (and fit to be offered in sacrifice)' The same

613. सद्यः शौचं तथैकाहस्त्र्यहश्चतुरहस्तयम् । षड्दशद्वादशाहश्च पक्षो मासस्तथैव च ॥ मरणान्तं तथा चान्यद् दश पक्षास्तु सूक्तम् । दक्ष VI 2-3, referred to by विश्वस्व on या III. 30 and q. by कल्प (on छुद्रि) p 5, अपराकं p. 894, परा मा I, 2. p. 207.

614. अस्नात्वा चान्यहुत्वा च ह्यदन्ता ये तु भुञ्जते । एवंविधाना सर्वेषां यावज्जीव ह्युत्तकम् ॥ व्याधितस्य कर्पूरस्य ऋणग्रस्तस्य सर्वदा । क्रियाहीनस्य मूर्खस्य स्त्रीजितस्य विज्ञेयतः । व्यस्तनासक्तचित्तस्य परार्थीनस्य नित्यशः । अज्ञात्यागविहीनस्य भस्मान्तं सूक्तं भवेत् ॥ दक्ष VI 8-10 q by विश्वस्व on या III. 30, कल्प (on छुद्रि) p 15, हारलता p 14, अपराकं p. 895 The last verse of षडशीति is to the same effect as the first verse quoted above The सूक्तम् (उत्त.) 23. 9 provides 'क्रियाहीनस्य मूर्खस्य महारोगिण एव च' पथेष्टाचरणस्येह मरणान्तमशौचकम् ॥ q. by हारलता p. 15.

inference can probably be drawn from Tai. Br. II. 1. 1.3, where it is said 'therefore people do not take the milk of a cow for ten nights when a calf is born.'⁶¹⁵

Abortion in the first four months⁶¹⁶ of pregnancy is called *srāva*, abortion in the 5th or 6th month is called *pāta* and from the 7th month of pregnancy onwards it is called *prasūti* or *prasava* (according to Parāśara III 16, Sadaśīti verse 9). When there is *srāva* the mother incurs impurity for three days, in the case of *pāta* the mother has to observe impurity for as many days as correspond to the months of pregnancy (i. e. 5 days or 6 days). The impurity consists in the mother being untouchable. The father alone has to bathe when there is *srāva*, but when there is *pāta* the father and sapindas have to observe impurity for three days (according to Madana-parijāta p. 380-381 and others) but they don't incur impurity as on death. These rules hold good for all castes. But when the foetus comes out dead in any month from the 7th or the child is still-born, then the impurity is for ten days for both parents and the sapindas for all varnas or for 10, 12, 15 and 30 days respectively for the four varnas as laid down in Yāj. (III. 22) and the samānodakas have to observe āśauca for three days and sagotras for one day (Dharmasindhu p. 427). The above rules are more or less laid down by Gautama 14. 15-16, Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 136, Parāśara III. 24, Manu V. 66, Yāj. III. 20 (latter half) and the first verse of Āśaucadaśaka. The mother is untouchable for ten days on birth, still-birth or abortion in 7th, 8th or 9th month but the father and sapindas⁶¹⁷ when they take a bath after the *prasava* are not untouchable (Yāj. III. 19). In ancient times there were several differing views about *jananāśauca* for the father as vouched for by Baud.⁶¹⁸ Dh. S. I. 5 125-128. Although a woman

615 अजनि वै ते पुत्रो यजस्व माग्नेनेति । स होवाच यदा वै पशुनिर्दशो भवत्यथ स मेधो भवति । ऐ वा 33 2; तस्माद्दत्तं जातं वृशारात्रीर्न दुहन्ति । तै. ब्रा. II 1.1.3.

616 आचतुर्थान्नवेत्सायः पातः पञ्चमषष्ठयोः । अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रसूतिः स्याद् दशाहं सूतकं भवेत् ॥ स्रवे मातृखिरात्र स्यात्सपिण्डाशौचवर्जनम् ॥ पाते मातृपंथामासं पित्रादीनां द्विनत्रयम् ॥ मरीचिं च by मित्ता on या III 20, हरदत्त on यौ 14.15, स्मृतिच (आशौच) p 4. The first is पराशर III 16 and is quoted as such in छुद्धिय. p 16.

617. Vide H. of Dh vol. II pp. 452-455 for the meaning of sapinda and samānodaka (H of Dh. vol III. pp 752-753). These words mean in this section generally (unless otherwise expressly stated) persons descended from a common male ancestor through unbroken male descent.

618. जनने तावन्मातापित्रोर्दशाहमाशौचम् । मातृरित्येके । तत्परिहरणात् । पितृरित्यपरे छुक्त्रमाधान्यात् । अप्यनिजा छापि पुत्रा श्रूयन्ते मातापित्रोरेव तु संसर्गसामान्यात् । बी. ध. छ I. 5. 125-128 q. by स्मृतिच (आशौच) p. 9.

becomes touchable in ten days after delivery she is not fit to take part in religious rites for 20 days after she becomes touchable (i. e. 30 days from birth) if she gave birth to a son but for 30 days (i. e. 40 days from birth) if a daughter was born.⁶¹⁹ Women of all varnas become pure (i. e. touchable) ten days after delivery—says Pracetas.⁶²⁰ Devala states that there is no āśauca on the ground of birth when the period of (ten or twelve) days has expired.⁶²¹ If a woman was delivered at her father's or brother's house, then her parents and her brothers staying with the father had to observe āśauca for one day (Dharmasindhu p. 427), but if a woman was delivered of a child at her husband's house then her father or brother had to observe no āśauca (on birth). Even when *sagotras* have to observe āśauca on birth they are not untouchable (Śadaśīti verse 6).

It would be better to state here certain general rules once for all. When any text employs the word day (*āhah*) or night (*rātri*) in prescribing the duration of āśauca what is meant is *ahorātra* (both day⁶²² and night). When counting the days of āśauca one has to begin from the day of the cremation, if the deceased was an *āhūtāgri*, but from the day of death in the case of one not an *āhūtāgri*⁶²³ (Āśauca-dāśaka verse 4, Kūrma, Uttarārḍha 23. 52). Birth and death are causes of āśauca only when they are known to the person who is to be affected by it and not by the mere fact of the birth or death. This follows from certain

619. पथाह संवर्तः। जाते पुत्रे पितुः स्नानं सचैलं ऽ विधीयते। माता ह्युभयेद्दशाद्येन रत्नानां स्पर्शनं पितुः। माता ह्युभयेद्दशाहेनेत्येतच्च सव्यवहारभोग्यवामाचम्। अष्टदशैषु पुनः कर्मसु पैठीनसिना विशेष उक्तः। स्रुतिका पुत्रवर्ती विंशतिरात्रेण कर्मणि कारयेत्। मासेन श्रीजननीम्। इति। नितः. on पा III 19.

620. स्रुतिका सर्ववर्णानां दशाद्येन विहृष्यति। क्रतौ ऽ न वृषद्वा शौच सर्ववर्णैस्सर्व विधिः। प्रचेतस् प by हारलता p. 20, शुद्धिचन्द्रिका on verse 6 सूत्रिच. (आशौच-काण्ड) p. 5 quotes it but explains it differently.

621. नाशौचं प्रसवस्यास्ति स्पर्शितेषु दिनेष्वपि। देवल प. by कुल्लुक on मद्र V. 76; एशुनाथ in his com. on त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी verse 6 p. 27 reads 'नाशुद्धिः प्रसवाशौचे स्पर्शितेषु दिनेष्वपि'.

622 अत्राशौचप्रकरणे अहर्ग्रहणं रात्रिग्रहणं चाहोरात्रोपलक्षणार्थम्। नितः. on पा. III. 18

623. हृदं चाशौचमाहितारात्रेपरमे संस्कारदिवसमयति कर्तव्यम्। अमाहिताग्नेः मरणदिवसमयति। नितः on पा III 20. दाहाहादाहिताग्ने मरणदिवसतोऽन्यत्र कुर्यात्तथादम्। त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी verse 11 (second पाद). दाहाशौचं कर्तव्यं द्विजानामाग्नेः मरणम्। सपिण्डानां च मरणे मरणादितरेषु च ॥ कूर्म (उत्तरार्ध 23. 52).

passages of Pāraskara gr. III. 10 and Manu V. 75-76 and the Brahmapurāna. Pāraskara (III. 10) provides: ⁶²⁴ 'if one who had gone abroad dies, (his relatives) should on hearing (of his death) sit down and offer him water and should remain untouchable for the days that remain out of the proper period (viz. 10, 12, 15, 30 days); if the prescribed period (of āsauca) has expired they should observe āsauca for one night or three nights,' Manu (V. 75-76) is to the same effect. The Brahmapurāna states: 'if a donor makes a gift and the acceptor accepts it when both are not aware of there being a birth or death in their family, no blame attaches.'

We should now turn to āsauca on death. Here again there is no unanimity and therefore the views preferably of the latest works (such as the Dharmasindhu) will be set out after referring to a few smṛti passages. Āsauca on death renders those who incur it untouchable and unable to perform religious rites. Pār. gr. III. 10, 29-30 (S. B. E. vol. 29 p. 357) stated generally that the impurity caused by death lasts through three nights and that according to some teachers through ten nights. If a child dies within ten days of birth, the father and mother have to observe *Jananāśruca* and become purified by the end of the āsauca on birth and the father remains untouchable for those days (Kūrma-purāna q. by S. K. p. 21). If a child died before it struck teeth the *sapindas* had only to undergo a bath, while the parents had to observe āsauca for three days if the child was a son and for one day if a daughter (vide Yāj. III. 23, Śankha 15. 4, Atri 95, Āsaucadaśaka verse 2). If the child died after striking teeth but before Cūḍā (or the end of the third year) the *sapindas* had to observe āsauca for one day and night (Yāj. III. 23, Śankha 15. 5), but the parents had āsauca (of death) for three days. If the child was a girl the *sapindas* became pure by a bath up to the girl's third year. If death occurs between Cūḍā (or three years) and *upanayana* or marriage (in the case of girls) the *sapindas* including the father have to observe āsauca for three days and *samānodakas* become purified by a bath alone. After *upanayana* all *sapindas* have to observe āsauca (on death) for ten days (Gaut. 14 1, Manu V. 59, Āsaucadaśaka 2) and all *samānodakas* for three days. In the case of a śūdra dying

624 श्रोतितश्चेत्येवात् अवनमभृति कुतोदकाः कालक्षेपमासीरजतीतश्चेदकराजं त्रिराजं वा । पारस्करपुराण III, 10.

after three and before marriage or 16 years the āsauca is three days for all sapindas. After sixteen years or marriage (in the case of a sūdra) it is the āsauca prescribed for his caste. In the case of a girl dying after three years and before *vāgdāna* (betrothal) the parents have āsauca for three days and the sapindas (up to three generations) one day. If a girl dies after *vāgdāna* and before marriage the sapindas of her father as well as of the proposed bridegroom had to observe āsauca for three days. In the case of women and sūdras if death takes place after marriage or after 16 years (if the Sūdra was unmarried) the period of āsauca for all sapindas is ten days. If a woman dies at her father's house after marriage, her parents, step-mother, full brothers and step-brothers have to observe āsauca for three days and her paternal uncle and the like that stay in the same house with her father for one day. Some say that if the married daughter dies in a village other than that of the father, the parents have to observe āsauca for a *paksini*⁶²⁵ (i. e. two nights with a day between or two days with a night between). There are other views on this point which are passed over. For example, *Visnu-dharmasūtra* (22, 32-34) says that in the case of a married woman there is no āsauca on the parents' side; but when she is delivered of a child or dies in the father's house then the impurity is for one day or three days respectively.⁶²⁶ A married woman has to observe āsauca for three days for the death of her parents or step-mother if ten days have not elapsed from the day of death or for the remaining days out of the period of ten (*Yāj. III, 21* latter half). If the married daughter hears of the death of the parents or step-mother at a time more than ten days after the death or within one year she has to observe āsauca for a *paksini*. If a brother whose *upanayana* has been performed dies at his married sister's house or vice versa, āsauca has to be observed for three days by them, but if they do not die at each other's house but in a different one

625. *Gaut Dh S. 14 17* (श्रुत्या चोक्तं दशम्या पक्षिणी), *Manu IV 97* and *V 81* employ the word पक्षिणी ह्रस्वत्त explains 'अहर्द्वयमध्यगता रात्रि पक्षिणी रात्रिर्द्वयमध्यगतमहर्वा'. The *Anurakosa* gives only the first meaning 'आगामिवर्तमाना-हर्षुक्तायां निशि पक्षिणी'. The *शुद्धिमकारा* p 36 remarks 'ह्रस्वह्रस्विकरात्रिश्च पक्षिणी-र्याभिधीयते—इति भट्टनारायणभूतवचनात् । पक्षह्रस्वो दिवसो पार्श्वयोः स इति पक्षिणी रात्रिरिति !'.

626. स्त्रीणां विवाहः संस्कार । संस्कृताद्यु स्त्रीषु नाशीर्चं भवति पितृपक्षे । तत्पत्न्यमनगे चेत्यित्युच्यते स्थातां तत्रैकपत्रं त्रिरात्रं च । *विश्वधर्मसूत्र 22, 32-34*.

then the āsauca is for a paksinī and if the death occurs in another village then there is āsauca only for one day. The same rules apply to step-brothers and step-sisters and also among sisters. A married woman on the death of her paternal grand-father or paternal uncle has to undergo only a bath. If a maternal uncle dies, the nephew and the niece have to observe āsauca for a paksinī. If the maternal uncle dies in the house of the nephew then there is āsauca for three days and for only one day if the maternal uncle had not his upanayana performed or died in another village; the same rules apply to one's mother's step-brother. If the wife of a maternal uncle dies, the nephew or the niece of the maternal uncle have to undergo āsauca for a paksinī. If a nephew whose thread ceremony has been performed dies, his maternal uncle and maternal aunt have āsauca for three days. The same rules apply if the deceased be the son of a step-sister of the maternal uncle. If the niece (sister's daughter) dies there is only a bath for the maternal uncle. If a maternal grandfather dies, the grandchild (the son or daughter of a daughter) has to observe āsauca for three days, but only for a paksinī if the maternal grandfather dies in a different village. On the death of the maternal grandmother the grandchildren have to observe āsauca for a paksinī. Some works do not prescribe āsauca for a female descendant such as a niece or grand-daughter. If a daughter's son, whose upanayana had been performed, died, the maternal grandfather and grandmother had to observe āsauca for three days and for paksinī if the daughter's son had not upanayana performed for him. On the death of a daughter's daughter the maternal grandfather and mother incur no āsauca. In all these matters the general rule is that a male whose upanayana had been performed and a married woman alone are liable to undergo āsauca for any relative other than the parents (i e. on the death of a parent a male though without upanayana and a woman though unmarried are liable to undergo āsauca).

If a man's father-in-law or mother-in-law die near (in the house of) the man, he has to undergo āsauca for three days, but only for paksinī if the death is elsewhere than with the son-in-law. On the death of a son-in-law, the father-in-law and the mother-in-law have to observe āsauca for one day or they have only to take a bath, but if the son-in-law dies in the house of the father-in-law then the āsauca is for three days. On the death of one's wife's brother, the āsauca is for one day i

upanayana had been performed; but if no upanayana was performed or if he died in another village a mere bath is enough.

On the death of one's mother's sisters (full or half) the person (whether man or woman) has to undergo āsauca for a paksini; the same rule applies on the death of the father's sister. If it is a step-sister of the father then a mere bath is enough. The father's sister has to undergo a bath if the nephew dies. If one's father's sister or mother's sister dies in one's house then the āsauca is for three days.

In the case of *bandhus* (described by the Mit. on Yaj. II. 135 as bhinnagotra sapindas) of ⁶²⁷ the three kinds, the āsauca is for a paksini, provided the bandhu is *upanita* but if he died before upanayana then āsauca is for one day and if the bandhu died in one's house then for three days. If the daughter of the father's sister (and of the other bandhus enumerated in the three verses) dies married, the āsauca is one day, but if they die unmarried only a bath is necessary. Among the three kinds of bandhus, a man himself and his three *ūtabandhus* have to observe āsauca for each other's death; but the case is different as to *pitrbandhus* and *mātrbandhus*. If any one of these latter dies, there is āsauca for the man whose bandhus they are, but if a man dies, his *pitrbandhus* and *mātrbandhus* have to observe no āsauca.

If an adopted son dies, his natural father and adoptive father have to observe āsauca for three days (the Vyavahāramayūkha differs from this) and the sapindas for one day.

If the adoptive or natural father dies, the adopted son has to observe āsauca for three days and for one day for the sapindas of any one of them. On the death of the son and the grandson of an adopted son, the sapindas of the natural father and the adoptive father have to observe āsauca for one day and

627 The bandhus are of three kinds, आत्मबन्धु, पितृबन्धु and मातृबन्धु. In three verses variously attributed to Baudhāyana or Sātātapa three illustrations of each of the three kinds of bandhus are given आत्मपितृबन्धुः पुत्रा आत्ममातृबन्धुः सुताः । आत्ममातृलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया आत्मबान्धवा ॥ पितृ पितृबन्धुः पुत्रा पितृमातृबन्धुः सुता । पितृमातृलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया पितृबान्धवा । मातृ पितृबन्धुः पुत्रा मातृमातृबन्धुः सुता । मातृमातृलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया मातृबान्धवा ॥ १ by the मिता. on Yaj. II. 135, व्यव नि. p 455, परा मा III p 528, मद पा. p. 674. For further details, vide H. of Dh vol. III. pp 754-762.

vice versa. These rules apply if the son adopted is not a sapinda or samānodaka of the adopter, when he was in his family of birth. But if a sagotra sapinda or a samānodaka be adopted, then the āsauca is for ten or three days respectively.

If one's ācārya⁶²⁸ dies, the pupil has to observe āsauca for three days, but only one day if he dies in another village (Gautama 14, 26, 52, Manu V, 80). On the death of the ācārya's wife or son the āsauca is for one day.⁶²⁹ On the death of a *guru* (who instructs in Vedic mantras) the āsauca is three days and paksini if he dies in another village. On the death of a teacher who imparted instruction in grammar, astronomy and other *aṅgas* (subsidiary lore) of the Veda, the āsauca is one day. Similar rules are laid down about the death of a pupil, *rtvik* (sacrificial priest), a sacrificer, a dependent śrotriya, a fellow-student, a friend, which are all passed over as not now useful. Vide Gaut. 14, 19-20 (which prescribe one day's āsauca on the death of a fellow-student or a dependent śrotriya).

These provisions about āsauca on the death of the ācārya and *rtvik* who were not sapindas show how closely the bond between teacher and pupil was thought to be in ancient times, almost equalling the tie of blood. When a *yati* (ascetic) dies,⁶³⁰ all his sapindas have simply to undergo a bath (and nothing more). Conversely, a *yati* and brahmachārin have to observe no āsauca. Manu V, 82, Yāj III, 25, Viṣṇu 22.45, Sankha 15.15 provide that on the death of the ruler of the country in which one resides one has to observe āsauca up till

628. An ācārya is defined by Manu II, 140 as one who performs the upanayana of his pupil and teaches him the Veda together with the Kalpasūtra and Upaniṣads. Rtvik is defined by Manu II, 143 as one who is chosen for the performance of Agnyādheya, the *pākayajñas* and the solemn sacrifices like Agnistoma.

629. आचार्यपत्नीपुत्रोपाध्यायमातुल्यश्चरुश्चक्षुर्यसहाध्यायिज्ञिष्येऽप्यतीतेऽपेकरात्रेण । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22. 44. चक्षुर्य means wife's brother, Manu (V, 80-81) prescribes three days' āsauca on the death of the ācārya, his wife and son, and śrotriya. Gaut. 14.26 does the same.

630. वानमस्ये यती चोपरमति कुलजे वण्डके चाह्वन. स्यात् । त्रिंशच्छ्लोकी 5th verse, 3rd पाठ. Vide मनु V, 91 (= Viṣṇu 22.86) about a ब्रह्मचारिन् carrying the corpse of his parents.

the coming of the day or night next to that on which the king dies.⁶³¹

As long as a corpse is not removed from the village in which a man dies, the whole village is in *āsauca* Āp Dh. S. 1 3 9 14 declares that there is no Veda study till a corpse lies in the village. The Smṛti-muktāphala (p 541) quotes⁶³² several smṛtis to the effect that in a village in which a corpse lies unremoved, there is to be no eating, no Vedic study and no sacrifice, but that this does not apply where in a village there are more than four hundred brāhmanas. The Dharma-sindhu (p 433) also says the same about a village, but adds that this rule does not apply to a town.

The ideas of ritualistic purity went so far as to provide (as stated in the Śuddhitattva quoted by the Nirṇayasindhu) that if a dog died in a brāhmana's house the house became impure for ten days, that, if a śūdra,⁶³³ a *patita* or a *mleccha* died in a brāhmana's house, the house became impure for a month, two months or four months respectively and the house had to be abandoned if a *śvapāka* died therein.

Atiśāntāśauca (impurity on coming to know of birth or death after the several periods fixed). The general rule⁶³⁴ is

631 भेते राजानि सज्योतिर्यस्य स्याद्विषये स्थित । मनु V 82 सज्योतिः is explained by the *Mitā* as 'ज्योतिषा सह वर्तते इति सज्योतिरासौचम् । आग्निं चैद्यावत्सर्वदर्शनं राज्ञौ चैद्यावत्सर्वदर्शनमित्यर्थः ।'. या. III 25 (निवासराजलिभेते तदद्य शुद्धिकारणम्) is explained by the *Mit* in the same sense as मनु V. 82, but the *सुद्धिम* p. 36 holds that the *āsauca* for king's death is for a whole day and night provided he is a good king protecting his subjects.

632 स्मृत्यन्तरे । ग्रामस्थे शवचण्डाले शुद्राद्यशुचिसंनिधौ ॥ नाप्येतस्य न भोक्तव्यं न होतव्यं कदाचन ॥ इति । ..स्मृत्यन्तरे विशेषो दर्शितः । चतुःशताधिकैर्वर्षे सम्पूर्णं ग्राममध्यके । विशेष संभवदयानि अपहोमार्चनं प्रति । अन्तः शवस्य दोषस्तु नास्ति तत्र समाचरेत् । स्मृतिषु (आसौच) p. 541

633 शुद्धितत्त्वे बृहन्मनु । श्वश्रुद्वपतिताश्चान्त्या मृताश्चेद् द्विजमन्दिरे । शोचं तत्र प्रदद्यामि मनुना भाषितं यथा । दशरात्राच्छुनि मृते मासाच्छूद्रे भवेच्छुचिः । ह्यास्या तु पतिते गेहमस्थे मासचतुष्टयात् । अत्यन्ते वर्जयेद्देहमित्येव मनुस्मृतौ । अन्यो म्लेच्छः । अत्यन्तं श्वपाक इति वाचस्पतिः । निर्णयसिन्धु III p 528, these verses are quoted by *शुद्धिम*. p 100 also

634 वैशान्तरगतः श्रुत्वा कुल्याना मरणोद्भवौ । यच्छेषं दशरात्रस्य तावदेगशुचिर्भवेत् ॥ ऋषु 15.11. The स्मृतिच० (आसौच) p 47 reads 'कल्याण मरण तथा' in the 2nd पाद. The same verse occurs in अग्निपुराण 157 12-13 which reads वैशान्तरस्य श्रुत्वा तु, भोषितश्चेत्तेयाच्छूदणमभूति कालक्षेपमासीरक्षतीतश्चेदकरान्नं चिरान्न वा । पार य III 10,

that, if a person stays in a different country and hears of a birth or death among his sapindas, he has to observe āśauca not for ten days after hearing but for that number of days that are short of the ten days (counting from birth or death) prescribed for sapindas. Vide Manu V. 75, Yāj III. 21 (latter half), Śankha 15.11, Pār. gr III. 10. Āśauca interferes very much with one's activities and it is hence that often-times people send a closed letter to their relatives living in a different place stating thereon that it be opened on a particular day (which is the 10th day from the death of a sapinda). Everyone knows the meaning of such a direction and by such a subterfuge inconvenience is avoided and the dictates of the śāstra are deemed to be satisfied. If a son hears of the death of a parent he has to observe āśauca for ten days from the day of hearing, but if he hears of the death of a parent before the collection of bones then he has to observe āśauca only for the days that remain (Smṛti-muktāphala p. 534). There is great divergence about the period of āśauca if the death of a sapinda comes to one's ears more than ten days after the day of death. Manu V. 77 provides that on hearing of the death of a sapinda or the birth of a son after ten days (from the event) a man becomes pure after plunging into water with the clothes on and Yāj III. 21 (last pāda, 'pūrṇe dattvodakam suciḥ') states that he becomes pure after (a bath and) offering water when the period fixed has passed off. From the words of Manu that only the father, even if he hears of the birth of a son more than ten days after the event, has to take a bath the Mit. infers that there is no atikrāntāśauca for sapindas on birth⁶³⁵. The Mit. quotes Devala in support (vide note 621 above). The Dharmasindhu follows the Mit. Manu V. 76, Śankha 15.12, Kūrmapurāna (Uttarārḍha) 23.21 state that when ten days have passed after the event of death, the man who hears of the death is impure for three days and if he hears of the death more than a year after death, he becomes pure after a bath. In order to remove the conflict among smṛtis Vṛddha-Vasistha lays down 'āśauca is for three days if the news of death is heard within three months (but later than ten days after death), for a paksinī if it is heard within six months (but later than

635. जन्मन्वतिक्रान्ताशौचं सपिण्डानां नास्तीति शक्यते। पितुरहं निर्दिशेऽपि जनने रत्नानमसरेव श्रुत्वा पुत्रस्य जन्म च इति वचनात्। एतच्च पुत्रग्रहणं जन्मनि सपिण्डानां नातिक्रान्ताशौचं नास्तीति ज्ञापकम्। अन्यथा 'निर्दिशं ज्ञातिमरणं श्रुत्वा जन्म च निर्दिशम्' इत्येवावश्यम्। न चोक्तम्। मित्ता. on या III. 21 (latter half).

three months), for one day if heard before nine months (but later than 6 months) and thereafter (i. e. up to one year but later than nine months) one becomes pure by a bath. But the *Mit.* says ⁶³⁶ that this holds good as to all except one's parents and quotes *Paithinasi* and another *smṛti* for the proposition that whenever a son staying in a distant country hears of the death of a parent whether within a year or after a year he has to observe *śāuca* for ten days from the day he becomes aware of it. *Laghu-Āśvalāyana* (20.88) lays down the same exception in the case of a son. The *Mit.* (on *Yaj.* III 21 last half) further says that the rules about *atīkrāntīśāuca* apply only to a deceased person whose *upanayana* had been performed. The *Dharmasindhu* (p 433) remarks that there is no *atīkrāntīśāuca* as regards the periods of one day and three days prescribed on the death of one whose *upanayana* had not been performed or as regards the periods of *paksini* and 'three days on the death of the maternal uncle and others of a different *gotra*. Similarly, there is no *atīkrāntīśāuca* with reference to the *śāuca* for three days prescribed in the case of *samānodakas*; but in these cases even after the lapse of the fixed time a bath is necessary. The rules about *ahīkṣāntīśāuca* apply only to *śāuca* on death for ten days. As in the case of the son, so in the cases of husband and wife and of co-wives among themselves even after the lapse of more than a year and even if the death is in a different country the husband or wife or co-wife has to observe *śāuca* for ten days. The parents, even when they hear of the death of an *aurasa* son after a year, have to observe *śāuca* for three days. On the news of the death of a *sapinda* living in the same country coming to a *sapinda's* ears after ten days but up to three months, the period of *śāuca* is three days, *paksini* up to 6 months, up to nine months one day and up to one year a bath. Here also there are various views such as those of *Mādhava* and others. Vide *Suddhiprakāśa* pp. 49-51 for various views.

The *Mit.* on *Yaj.* III 21 (latter half) makes a distinction between knowledge of the death of a *sapinda* staying in the

636. तथा च वृद्धवसिष्ठ । मासत्रये त्रिरात्रं स्वात्मणसात् पक्षिणी तथा । अदृष्टं नवमादूर्वापूर्वं स्नानेन शुध्यति ॥ इति । एतच्च मातापितृव्यतिरिक्तवियोगम् ।.. सवत्सरदूर्वापर्यन्तं त्रैतकार्यमाशौचदानादिकं कार्यं न युजः स्नानमात्राच्छुद्धिरित्यर्थः । *Mit.* on *Yaj.* III. 21 (latter half) The *para. ma.* I 2 p. 232 quotes a similar verse of वेदवत् 'आ त्रिपक्षात् त्रिरात्रं स्वात्मणसात् पक्षिणी तत । परमेकाहमा वर्षादूर्वं स्नानतो विमुच्यते ॥ इति । The *पक्षिणीति* (34) includes the verse of वृद्धवसिष्ठ. The verse *मासत्रये* occurs in *Laghu-Āśvalāyana-smṛti* 20 86

same country coming to a person's ears after ten days from death and of the death of a sapinda staying in another country separated by a big river &c In the latter case the sapindas coming to hear of the death after ten days but even before three months are purified by a mere bath. It quotes⁶³⁷ a smṛti verse 'on hearing that a person (sapinda) died in another country and in the case of the death of an impotent person or a forest hermit or an ascetic purification follows after a bath and the same applies to *śagoṭra* sapindas in the case of abortion.' The Śadaśīti (35) has a similar verse⁶³⁸ The Mit. quotes two verses of Brhaspati which define what *deśāntara* (a different country) means⁶³⁹ 'Where there is a large river or there is a mountain which separates (one territory from another) or where the languages differ then there is *deśāntara*. Some say that a different country means the distance of sixty *yojanas*, while others put it down at forty *yojanas* and still others at thirty *yojanas*.' There is a difference of opinion as to whether in order to constitute a different country all three must co-exist (*viz.* a large river, a mountain and difference of speech) or any one of the three will suffice or whether 60, 40 or 30 *yojanas* would constitute a different country or whether the requirement of ten days for news to be carried to a place would constitute *deśāntara* The Sm. C and Śadaśīti 37 hold the view that any one of the above three is sufficient while others hold other views. The *Sūddhiviveka*⁶⁴⁰ holds that a distance of 60 *yojanas* constituted *deśāntara* by itself, but even within sixty

637. पशु नद्यादिपवहिते देशान्तरे सुतस्तत्सपिण्डानां दशाहादूर्ध्वं मासत्रयाद्वाग्गपि सयः शौचम् । देशान्तरस्युतं श्रुत्वा कृषि वैजानसे यतौ । सुते स्नानेन शुष्यन्ति गर्भजादे च गो-
त्रिण ॥ इतिः मित्ता ०५ या III. 21.

638 क्वातिमुत्स्यौ पदासौत्रं दशाहाद्यु बहि श्रुतौ । एकदेश इदं मोक्तं स्नात्वा देशान्तरे
शुचि ॥ पशुशौचि 35.

639. देशान्तरलक्षणं च बृहस्पतिनोक्तम् । महानद्यन्तरं यत्र गिरिर्वा व्यवधायकः ।
वाचो यत्र विभिद्यन्ते तद्देशान्तरमुच्यते ॥ देशान्तरं वदन्त्येके षष्टिपोजनमायतम् । चत्वारिंशद्द-
न्त्यन्ये त्रिंशद्वन्ये तथैव च ॥ इतिः मित्ता ०५ या. III 21. The first verse is ascribed
to बृहस्पतु by अपरार्क p 905, स्मृतिच (आशौच) p 52 and 10 बृहन्नमु by शुद्धिम.
p. 51. The स्मृतिच. p 53 adds one more verse and शुद्धिम p 51 and the com
on पशुशौचि 37 add the same and another half verse from बृहन्नमु *viz.* देशान्त-
नदीभेदो निकटे पत्र वै भवेत् । तेन देशान्तरं मोक्तं स्वयमेव स्वयम्भुवा ॥ दशरात्रेण या वार्ता
पत्र न श्रूयतेऽर्थाः । लघ्वाश्वलायन 20 87 18 पूर्वतश्च (स्व?) महानद्या व्यवधानं भवेद्यदि ।
त्रिंशद्योजनदूरं वा सद्यःस्नानेन शुष्यति ॥

640 एतेषां च पक्षाणां देशपरिग्रहेण व्यवस्था । शुद्धिविवेके तु षष्टिपोजनान्तरत्वं तद-
भ्यन्तरोपि भाषामेदगिरिमहानदीव्यवधानानि चेति लक्षणद्वयमेव निष्कर्षणोक्तम् । रघुनाथ ०५
त्रिंशद्योजकी verse 6 p 29.

yojanas if a large river, a mountain and difference of speech occurred together, that could give rise to *deśāntara*. The *Smṛtyarthasāra*⁶⁴¹ avers that *deśāntara* is differently described in the *Smṛtis*, *Purānas* and the works on *tirthas*. For *yojana*, vide H of Dh. vol. III n 185 pp. 145-146

The *Dharmasindhu* (p. 435) provides that if the bones of an *āhitāgni* were not found and only an effigy of *palāsa* leaves were burnt, still the *āsauca* is for ten days even if he died in a different country and a long time had elapsed. Similarly, in the case of the effigy of one who is not an *āhitāgni*, the *āsauca* is for ten days for his son and wife if they have not already observed any *āsauca* for him but if they had observed it (on hearing of his death) then for three days (on the burning of the effigy). For other *sapindas* (than the son and wife) in the same circumstances three days and bath are respectively prescribed.

It is provided in the *Grhya kārīkas*, the *Smṛtyarthasāra* (p 94), *Dharmasindhu* (p. 435) and other works that if a man⁶⁴² went to a distant country and no news of his being alive was heard, then his son (or other relative), after the lapse of 20 years from the time when no news was heard if the man went away when he was young or 15 years if he left when he was of middle age or 12 years if he left later in life, should perform three *cāndrāyanas* or thirty *krachras*, prepare an effigy of the man with *kuśas* (or with *palāsa* leaves), should burn it and then observe *āsauca* and perform *śrāddhas* &c.

To summarize the above discussion it is clear that as indicated by *Medhatithi* on *Manu* V. 58 there is a distinction as regards the periods of *āsauca* and the persons affected by it in several ways (1) There is a distinction between *āsauca* on birth and *āsauca* on death; (2) As to *āsauca* on death numerous distinctions arise viz (a) when there is abortion (*garbhasrāva* or *garbhapāta*, as in *Śankha* 15 4, *Brhat-Parāśara* VI p 186); (b) when the foetus comes out from the 7th to the 9th month of

641 देशान्तरमनेकधा स्मृत स्मृतिपुराणतीर्थकल्पेषु। स्मृत्यर्थसार p 90.

642 देशान्तरगतस्य तु जीवद्दार्तानाकर्णने विज्ञेयो गृह्यकारिकायाम्। दूरदेशान्तरगते जीवद्दार्ता पुन पुनः। इतस्तत समान्विच्छेत्पर्यालोच्य गतागतैः॥ तस्यामभ्युपगमाया वय काल-विशेषतः। तस्य पूर्ववयस्कस्य विज्ञेयवद्विज्ञेय क्रियाः॥ ऊर्ध्वं पञ्चदशाब्दानु मध्यमे वयसि स्मृताः॥ चान्द्रायणत्रय कृत्वा विशाङ्कच्छ्राणि वा सुते। कुशैः प्रतिकृतिं तस्य दग्ध्वाशौचादिका क्रियाः॥ कार्या इति शेषः। रघुनाथ's com on विशाङ्कणी verse 15 p. 97.

pregnancy or the child is still-born or dies after being born but before the appearance of teeth (Yāj. III. 23, Atri 95); (c) after the appearance of teeth but before cūdā or three years (Visnu 22. 29, Yāj. III. 23); (d) after cūdā or three years up to upanayana (Manu V. 67), (e) after upanayana (Yāj. III. 23, Manu V. 59, Gaut. 14. 1); (f) as to āsauca on death after upanayana the duration at one time depended in the case of brāhmaṇas on Vedic study, the performance of *śrauta* rites and whether the brāhmaṇa subsisted on ears of corn left in the field after the crops were harvested⁶⁴³ (Parāśara III 5, Śankha 15 1, Atri 83, Agnipurāna 158. 10-11), (g) the duration of āsauca depended on caste (Gaut. 14. 1-4, Yāj III 22 & c); (h) the duration of āsauca depended on nearness of blood i. e. whether the person affected was a sapinda or a samānodaka (Gaut 14 1 and 18, Manu V. 59, 64); (i) the duration depended also on the nearness or distance from the place of death (Laghu-Āśvalāyana 20. 85, 89), (j) it also depended on whether the deceased died in a different country separated by a large river, a mountain or thirty yojanas (Laghu-Āśvalāyana 20.87); (k) duration depended on the time that elapsed before it came to the knowledge of the relative; (l) the duration depended upon whether another āsauca supervened when the period of the first was not over.

If a person is born or died at night or news thereof is received at night, a question arises as to from what day the periods of āsauca are to be calculated. For example, if a man died at 1 A. M. on Monday, was Monday to be included in counting ten days of āsauca or was it to be excluded? There are two views on this point.^{643a} One view is that any time before midnight is to be counted as belonging to the previous day, while any time after midnight is to be taken as belonging to the next day. On this view in the above illustration Monday would be excluded in the calculation of ten days. The other view is that the night is to be divided into three

643 शिलोच्छ्वापाचितैर्जीवन् सद्यः शुभ्येद् द्विजोत्तमः। संग्रहकार q. by परा मा. I. 2 p. 216 For शिलोच्छ्वापति vide मनु X 112 and या I. 128.

643 a. रात्रौ जननमरणे रात्रौ मरणज्ञाने वा रात्रि त्रिभागां कृत्वा प्रथमभागद्वये पूर्वदिनं द्वितीयभागे उत्तरदिनमारभ्याशीचम्। यद्यार्धरात्रात् याक् पूर्वदिनं परतः परादिनम्। अत्र देशाचारादिना व्यवस्था। धर्मसिन्धु p 435. This view is based on verses of पारस्कर and काश्यप 'अर्धरात्राद्स्ताञ्चेत्सुतके सुतके तथा। पूर्वमेव दिनं याद्यमूर्ध्वं ज्ये-
दुत्तरेऽपि॥ रात्रिं कुर्यात्त्रिभागं तु द्वौ भागौ पूर्ववासरः। उत्तरांशं परदिनं जातेषु च सुतेषु च॥ पारस्कर q. by सृष्टिच. (आशीच) pp. 118-119.

parts and if death occurs in the first two of the three parts then the day is to be included in the calculation; if the time of death falls in the 3rd part, the ten days are to be calculated from the next day. On this view Monday would be included in the ten days. The *Dharmaśāstra* (p. 435) remarks that in this matter the usage of the country is to be followed. Vide *Madanapārijāta* pp. 394-395 also.

Several rules are mentioned in the *smṛtis* about the periods of *āśauca* for the relatives of higher castes when they marry women of lower varnas (i.e. when there are anuloma marriages). For example, *Dakṣa* VI. 12 says that if a *brāhmana* has married wives of the four varnas, then the impurity on the delivery or death of these women respectively lasts for 10, 6, 3 or 1 day. *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* (22, 22-24) provides that when a *ksatriya* has *sapindas* of the *vaiśya* or *sūdra* varna the *āśauca* on the birth and death of these lasts for six or three days, if a *vaiśya* has a *sūdra* as *sapinda* then impurity is removed after six days. But when people of lower varnas have *sapindas* of higher varnas then impurity on birth and death ceases when the impurity of the higher varna *sapindas* ceases. *Laghu-Hārīta* 84 (= *Āpastambasṁti* IX verse 13) has similar provisions. Other *smṛtis* and *purānas* like the *Kūrma* (*Uttarārdha* 23, 30-36) mention differing views quoted in *Hārīlatā* pp. 54-60, *Smṛ. M.* pp. 495-496. The *Madanapārijāta* remarks (pp. 425-426) that some say that these varying provisions may be discarded or that they may be assigned their proper place according to the usages of the several countries or they should somehow be explained as based upon the person affected being possessed of virtues or not or they may be held to be applicable to seasons of distress or otherwise.

According to the *Mit.* on *Yāj.*⁶⁴⁴ III. 22 persons belonging to the *pratiloma* castes have no periods of *āśauca*, but they have to observe rules of purification similar to those relating to answering the call of nature. Others like the *Smṛti-mukta-phala*⁶⁴⁵ p. 495 aver, relying on *Manu* (X. 41), that the *pratiloma* castes are like *sūdras* and have to observe the *āśauca* prescribed for *sūdras*. The *Hārīlatā* (p. 12) quotes *Ādipurāna* to the effect that *varnasankaras* (i.e. *pratilomas*)

644. प्रतिलोमानां स्वाशौचाभाव एव प्रतिलोमा धर्महीना—इति महत्स्मरणम्। केवलं मृतौ प्रसवे च मलापकर्षणार्थं मूत्रपुरीषोत्सर्गवत् शौचं भवत्येव। मिता on या III. 22 प्रतिलोमास्तु धर्महीनाः is गौ 4. 20.

645. सङ्करजातीनां शूद्रेष्वन्तर्मात्सेषां शूद्रवदाशौचम्। स्मृतिह (आशौच) p. 495,

should follow the śūdras in the matter of āśauca and purification. The Smṛtyartha-sāra (p. 92) states that those born of pratiloma unions should observe āśauca if they perform prāyaścitta, but if they do not perform prāyaścitta then there is no āśauca for them.

It has already been stated (p 215) how it was the duty of sapindas to take out the corpse and to cremate it and how carrying the dead body of a poor brāhmana was highly eulogised (Parāśara III. 39-40). But, as Manu V 101-102 provide, if a brāhmana carried through affection the dead body of one⁶⁴⁶ who was not his sapinda, as if he were a bandhu or carried (the dead body) of his mother's bandhus (such as mother's brother or sister) he became pure after three days; but if he partook of the food of those who were bereaved by death he became pure after ten days and if he does not stay in the house of those bereaved nor partakes of their food he becomes pure in a day (but if he stays in their house though not partaking of their food he has to observe āśauca for three days). Vide Kūrmapurāna (Uttarārḍha 23, 37) and Viṣṇu 22, 7-9 also. Gautama (14, 21-25) has rules on the same subject but they somewhat differ and Haradatta remarks that this āśauca is somewhat different from the āśauca observed by sapindas, viz. he becomes untouchable but he need not follow the other rules such as sleeping on the ground &c. If a person carried a dead body through greed (for money), a brāhmana, ksatriya, vaiśya or śūdra had to observe āśauca respectively for 10, 12, or 15 days or a month. This was called nirhārāśauca, the word 'nirhāra'⁶⁴⁷ including the covering of the dead body with a garment, decking it with garlands, perfumes and ornaments, carrying it and cremating it. Sapindas who are observing āśauca for the death of the same person may dine in the same house and partake of the food cooked, but not others who are not undergoing the same āśauca.⁶⁴⁸

646. अतपिण्डं द्विजं मेत विप्रो निर्हृत्य बन्धुवत् । अशित्वा च सदोषित्वा दशरात्रेण शुध्यति । कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 23, 37), माशौचे कस्यचिदन्नमन्नीयात् । ब्राह्मणादीनामाशौचे य सङ्गदेवान्नमन्नाति तस्य तावदाशौचं यावत्तेषाम् । आशौचापगमे प्रायाश्चित् कुर्यात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22, 7-9.

647. निर्हारशब्दार्थं. स्मृत्यन्तरे दर्शितः । मेतस्य दास स्रग्गन्धयूपणाद्यैरलंक्रिया । यदनं दहनं चेति निर्हारार्थो निरुच्यते । इति । q. by स्मृतिह (आशौच) p. 544.

648. तथा सूतकाजभोजनमपि न कार्यम् । उभयत्र दशाहाते कुलस्यान्नं न शुष्यते-इति यन्स्मरणात् । उभयत्र जननमरणयोः कुलस्य सूतकयुक्तस्य सम्बन्धयुक्तमसकुल्यैर्न भोक्तव्यम् । सकुल्यानां पुनर्न दीपः । सूतके तु कुलस्यान्नमदीपं मन्त्रबन्धित्-इति तेनेबोक्तव्यम् । मित्ता on पा. III 17. कल्पतरु (on आशौच) p. 23 and अपराकं ascribe (p. 892) the verse उभयत्र= to मन्त्र Vide Mit. on Yāj. III. 17.

Gaut 14. 29, Manu V. 103, Yāj. III. 26, Parāśara III. 42 prescribe that a brāhmana should not follow the funeral procession of a deceased brāhmana, but if he does so, he has to bathe, touch fire, take in ghee and then he becomes pure. Parāśara III. 43-46 and Kūrmapurāna (Uttarārḍha 23 45) provide a rising scale of the days of āsauca if a brāhmana follows the corpse of a ksatriya (āsauca for one day and pañcagavya), a vaiśya (āsauca for two days and six prāṇayāmas), a śūdra (āsauca for three days, bath in a river going to the sea, 100 prāṇayāmas⁶⁴⁹ and drinking of ghee) Vide Trīmśac-śloki verse 13.

If a brāhmana who is not a sapinda of the deceased went to the bereaved family and wept along with the relatives before the collection of bones he had to observe āsauca for a day and then a bath if the deceased was a ksatriya or vaiśya, but āsauca for three days if the deceased was a śūdra; but he had to undergo only a bath if he went after the collection of the bones, when the deceased was a śūdra and the weeping took place after the collection of bones he had to observe āsauca for a whole day and night. Vide Kūrmapurāna (Uttarārḍha 23 46-47), Agnipurāna 158 47-48, Par M 12 pp 283-285, Smr M (āsauca) p. 543 and Āśaucadaśaka verse 9 (for nrhūra, following a funeral procession and weeping)

Persons⁶⁵⁰ undergoing an āsauca on birth or death for one person were forbidden to touch other persons undergoing āsauca for the birth or death of another person altogether. If they did so they had to perform prāyaścitta (Prājāpatya or Santapana)

Even if a person's wife left him and lived in illicit relationship with a person of the same or higher caste he had to observe on her death āsauca for one day. But if she lived with one lower in varna than her husband, the latter had not, on her death, to observe any āsauca at all (Yāj III 6) Similarly, one had to observe one day's āsauca on the death of sons that were not aurasa (such as ksetraja) Vide Yāj III. 25 and Viṣṇu 22 42-43

Certain exceptions were recognized to the above rules about partaking of food at the house of one who is afflicted with

649 एकादाश्विदिवे शुद्धिर्विद्ये च त्पाद् द्वयदेन तु । पृथे दिनत्रय मोक्ष मानापा-
कृतं पुन ॥ कूर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्धे 23 45) व ॥ शुद्धितत्त्व p. 293, शुद्धिम. p 63

650. आशौचिनामन्योन्यसंस्पर्शं निषेधति श्रुत्वा । श्रावणं च सहाय्ये पुनरे च तिजा-
तिभिः । अन्वाशौच्यतां स्पर्शो न कर्तव्यो द्विजन्मनाम् ॥ आशौचेत्यन्वदाशौच्यं रूमेत्यादि च
कामत । चरेत् सान्त्वनं कृच्छ्रं मानापत्यमकानत. ॥ स्मृतिसु (आशौच) p 502.

āsauca. While a marriage⁶⁵¹ rite (as also *caula* and *upanayana*), festival in honour of a deity and a sacrifice (like *Jyotistoma*) are in progress, if impurity due to birth or death overtakes the performer, the materials (money and other things) already set apart for them may be dedicated or donated to the deity or *brāhmanas* and no fault is incurred. As regards food, a *smṛti* text⁶⁵² quoted by the *Mit.* says 'if in marriage, in a festival in honour of a deity or in a sacrifice *āsauca* on birth or death intervenes, the cooked food should be served through others (not affected by the *āsauca*) and the donor and the partaker of the food incur no blame. Acc. to *Angiras*,⁶⁵³ *Paithinasi* (q by *Sm. C.*) and *Visnu Dh. S.*, when once a sacrifice (like a *Somayāga*), a marriage, a sacrifice or festival in honour of the mother Goddesses or a deity or the dedication or foundation of an idol or temple has been begun a supervening *āsauca* does not matter. Even in modern times this is followed as regards *upanayana* and marriage. When exactly a sacrifice or marriage ceremony may be said to have begun is laid down by *Laghu-Visnu* as follows⁶⁵⁴ in the case of a sacrifice it may be said to begin when the priests are chosen, in the case of *vratas* and *japa* when the *sankalpa* (declaration) is made, in the case of marriage when the *Nandīśrāddha* is performed, and in the case of a *śrāddha*, when the food meant for the *brāhmanas* has been cooked completely. Certain things could be taken from the house of one who was undergoing *āsauca*⁶⁵⁵ on birth or death and who was the owner thereof (though not actually

651. विवाहोत्सवपक्षेषु ध्वन्तरा सूतसूतके। पूर्वसङ्कल्पितं द्रव्यं क्षीयमानं न दुष्यति ॥ पराकार III. 27. The latter half is also ascribed to ऋतु by the *mita*. on चा. III. 29.

652. विवाहोत्सवयज्ञादिध्वन्तरा सूतसूतके। शेषमन्नं परिदेयं दातुं श्रेयसीकृतं न स्पृशेत् ॥ q. by *mita*. on चा III. 29 and परा मा I. 2. p 262. *हारलता* (pp. 105-106) quotes a very similar verse from *आदित्यपुराण* 'विवाहयज्ञयोर्मध्ये सूतकमग्निं चान्तरा। शेष ..स्पृशेत्'.

653. Vide सूतविच (आशौच p 70) for the verses of अङ्गिरस and पैठीनसि. न देवमतिशान्तिगहयो पूर्वसम्भृतयोः न देशविभ्रमे आपद्यन्ति च कटायाम्। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22 53-55 q. by *mita* on चा III. 29 (with variants)

654. व्रतपक्षविवाहेषु आद्धे होमार्चने जडे। प्रारब्धे सूतके न स्यादनुारब्धे तु सूतकम् ॥ प्रारम्भो वरणं यज्ञे सङ्कल्पो व्रतजापयो। नान्दीश्राद्धं विवाहादौ आद्धे पाकपरिक्रिया ॥ लघुविष्णु q by शुद्धिमकाल p 94, मद् पा p 423. The सूतव्यर्थसार p. 17 begins प्रारम्भाद्दर्शनशौचे विवाहः कार्य एव च, then has the verses प्रारम्भो वरणं ..परिक्रिया and adds 'निमन्त्रणं वा आद्धे तु प्रारम्भः स्यादिति स्मृति ।.)

655. फलानि पुष्पं शकं च लवणं काष्ठमेव च। तर्कं दधि सूतं तैलमौषधं क्षीरमेव च। आशौचिनां गृहाद्ग्राम्य शुष्कान्नं चैव नित्यज्ञः। कूर्मपुराण, अचरयं 23 66 q. in *हारलता* p. 31.

from his hand, but with his permission). The Kūrmapurāna enumerates such articles. They are 'fruits, flowers, raw vegetables, salt, firewood, butter-milk, curds, ghee, oil, drugs, milk and dry food' (like *laddus*, *lājas*). Marici (q. by Mit on Yaj III. 17) and Trīmśac-chloki verse 20 present even longer lists of such things.

Some smrtis and commentators lay down rules about the āśauca to be observed by slaves when their masters are in āśauca. Vide Visnu Dh. S. 22.19, Devalasmṛta verse 6, Brhaspati quoted by Haradatta on Gaut. 14.4. But as slavery has long been abolished this topic is passed over here.

Āśaucasampāta or *āśaucasampāta* (the knowledge of another āśauca coming to a person already observing one āśauca)⁶⁵⁶ The rules about this matter were promulgated early enough and they are based on convenience and common sense. The rules try to give relief to persons who may be sorely tried if it were held that, when another āśauca supervenes while a person is already in the midst of one, he has to finish all the days of the first āśauca and then begin the period of the second āśauca. The Gaut. Dh. S. 14.5 starts by saying that if another āśauca supervenes on one already being undergone, purification results after the remaining days of the first āśauca are over. Then sūtras 6 and 7 provide that if the second āśauca supervenes in the last night of the first āśauca then purification results in two days after the first āśauca ends and if the second āśauca comes to be known in the last watch of the night of the last day of the first āśauca, the second ends in three days after the first ends. Baud Dh. S. I. 5. 123 appears to be similar to Gaut. 14.5-6. Manu V. 79, Yaj. III. 20, Visnu Dh. S. 22. 35-38, Śankha 15. 10, Parāśara III. 28 lay down the general rule promulgated by Gautama 14.5.

Some general rules concerning this topic may first be stated. The first rule is that in a conflict between āśauca on death and āśauca on birth, that on death is stronger⁶⁵⁷ The

656. सम्पातो नामाशौचिनमिकाशौचिस्त्वज्ञाने पराशौचित्वज्ञानम्। धर्मसिन्धु p 436.

657. अचाना यौगपद्ये तु शुद्धिर्ज्ञेया गरीयसा। मरणोत्पत्तिभोगे तु गरीयो मरणं भवेत् ॥ देवल p by शुद्धिकल्प p 31. स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p 57. शुद्धिम p 74, and as from कुर्मपुराण by परा मा I 2. p 265; सततम् द्विष्टुं शानं शब्दाद् द्विष्टुणमात्मनम्। आत्मनाद् द्विष्टुणा सति सतेश्च शब्दाद्दक ॥ लघ्वत्रि (Jiv. vol I p 10) chap V, अद्विष्टुं according to हर्दस on गो. 14 5, वृद्धान्नि according to निर्णयसिन्धु p. 539. प्रागशौचं समुत्पन्नं

2nd rule is that if both āsaucaś are of the same kind and the second is of the same duration or of lesser duration than the first then a man gets rid of both at the end of the first, but if the second, though of the same kind, has a longer duration than the first, then purification follows at the end of the one that is of longer duration. It has to be remembered that birth and death give rise to āsauca⁶⁵⁸ only when they are known by a person.

On this topic there is a good deal of divergence between the views of the followers of the Mitākṣarā, of the Gaudāś and Maithilas (vide Śuddhiprakāśa pp 74-82, Nirṇayasindhu 536-540). Following the Nirṇayasindhu it may be said that twelve alternatives are possible, when another āsauca supervenes on an already existing one. They are set out here. (1 & 2) If both āsaucaś are due to birth and the second is of the same duration as the first or of lesser duration, then at the end of the first āsauca there is purification from both (Visṇu 22,35, Śāṅkha 15 70); (3) If both āsaucaś are due to birth and the second one is of longer duration than the first then purification results at the end of the second (Śāṅkha 15,10, Śadaśīti 19); (4 and 5) If both āsaucaś arise on death and the second is of the same duration as the first or of lesser duration, then at the end of the period of the first āsauca there is purification from both; (6) If both āsaucaś arise on death and the second that intervenes is of longer duration than the first then purification results at the end of the second (Śadaśīti 21); (7, 8 and 9) When the first āsauca is one arising from birth and an āsauca due to death intervenes, the āsauca on death must run its full course (i. e. there is no purification by the lapse of the first āsauca due to birth), whether the āsauca for death is of lesser duration than the āsauca on birth, or whether it is of the same or of longer

(Continued from the last page)

सूतं तु यदा भवेत्। ज्ञानेन ह्यप्यते सूतिर्न सूति। ज्ञानज्ञोचनी ॥ लडुहारित verse 80, यद्-
त्रिभक्त according to हारदत्त on गौ 14 5 and परा मा. I. 2 p. 264, यदि त्यास्तुतके
सूतिर्नरेण वा सूतिर्भवेत्। ज्ञेयज्ञेय भवेत्तद्विरुद्धं ज्ञेये विरात्रकम्। मरणोपत्ययोगे तु मरणेन
समाप्यते। क्रमेपुराण (उत्तरार्ध 23 18-19) q by ज्ञाद्विप्र. p 74 (reads विरात्रकम्);
सूतके सूतके चेत्यास्तुतके त्वथ सूतकम्। तत्राधिकृत्य सूतके शौचं कुर्याच्च सूतकम् ॥ अङ्गितम्
q by परा मा I 2 p 264, मद पा p 438. This occurs in अग्निपुराण 158 64.

658. समानं लब्धशौचं तु प्रथमेन समानयेत्। असमानं द्वितीयेन धर्मेराजवचो यथा ॥
अग्निपुराण 157. 11-12. This echoes शङ्ख (q. by हारलता p. 65) 'ममानाशौचं प्रथमे
प्रथमेन...यथा', while परा. मा. I. 2 p. 265 reads शङ्ख as समानाशौचसम्प्राते प्रथमेन ...
and explains असमानं as दीर्घनालाशौचम्. The reading समानं खलु शौचं तु printed
in श्रुतिकल्प. p. 31 makes no sense.

duration (Ṣadaṣīti 18); (10, 11) If the 659 first āsauca arises on death and the supervening one is due to birth and is of lesser duration than the one on death or of the same duration then both end at the expiration of the first āsauca on death (Ṣadaṣīti 21); (12) If the first āsauca arises on death and the supervening one arises on birth and is of longer duration, then both run their proper courses (Ṣadaṣīti 21)

The Dharmasindhu (p 436) generally follows the Nirṇya-sindhu but remarks: 'Āsauca on death cannot be done away with by āsauca on birth which is of the same or greater duration; āsauca on death of the extent of paksini cannot get rid of āsauca on birth which is three or ten days in duration and āsauca on birth extending to ten days cannot be got rid of by āsauca on death which is of three days' duration' These are the views of many writers. A certain writer says that āsauca on birth though longer in duration can be got rid of by āsauca on death which is of lesser extent

The Mit on Yāj. III. 20 (first half) states an exception to the above rules about āsauca-sannipāta. When a person's mother dies and then, while the period of āsauca for the mother's death is not over, the father dies, it does not follow that the āsauca for the father comes to an end with the end of the āsauca for the mother, but the son has to observe the full period of 660 the āsauca for father's death. Similarly, if the father died first and then, while the period of āsauca for the father was not over, the mother died, it does not follow that the āsauca for the mother's death comes to an end with the end of the first period of āsauca for the father, but the son after observing the period of the father's āsauca has to observe āsauca for the mother for one paksini in addition. It may be remarked that Aparārka construes this verse differently by stating that if the father dies during the period of āsauca for the death of the mother, then the general rule applies, viz that purification follows at the end of the āsauca for the mother

659 जातके नैव वृत्तकं क्षयं याति न संक्षय । बृहधन IV 20, जानके वृत्तकं वा स्याद् न तत्र वृत्तकं तथा । वृत्तको वृत्तके शुद्धिर्द्वये शुद्धिस्तु चल्के ॥ लडहरीत 58

660 तथा सजातीयान्त पातित्वेपि दास्य कश्चिद्द्वेषेदेव सुहृद्भारं स्वपत्ने दक्षितं । मातर्ये प्रमीतः पान्नाहुर्द्वौ म्रियते पिता । पितु म्रियेण शुद्धिं स्वपत्नौ कुर्वन्तु पक्षिणीम् ॥ नित्ता on या III 20 The verse is ascribed to नैद्य by अपराल p 503, परा ना I 2 p 267, शुद्धिमहाश p 76 Verses 24-25 of the परनीति contain the same idea, नद. पा. p 438 ascribes it to अहिरव्

If, while an āsauca on death is being undergone, an āsauca on birth arises, the father of the child born is able to perform the rites of Jātakarma and the like, because he is to be deemed to be purified for the nonce, according to Prajāpati.⁶⁶¹

The Sadaśiti (verse 22) provides⁶⁶² that the rule about purification on the expiry of the first āsauca in the case of succeeding āsauca on birth or death has three exceptions, viz. a woman who is delivered of a child, the person who actually cremates the body (of the deceased) and the sons of the deceased; that is, a *sūtlkā* has to observe the proper period of untouchability and one who cremates a dead body has to observe āsauca for ten days, though the delivery or cremation takes place in the midst of an āsauca on death.

SADYAH—ŚAUCA (purification on the same day). It has already been seen (p 274) that Dakṣa (VI 2) speaks of ten kinds of impurity on birth or death, the first two of which are *sadyah-śauca* and *ekāha*. *Ekāha* means day and night together (vide note 622 above). The ordinary meaning of 'sadyah' is 'at once, immediately.' But when Yāj III, 29, Parāśara III 10, Atri 97 and other smṛtis employ the word 'sadyah-śauca' what is meant is that there is no āsauca for a whole day or three days or ten days, but only up to the taking of a bath or up to the end of the day or the end of the night on which the event occurs. Pāṇini⁶⁶³ mentions 'sadyah' and thirteen other words in one sūtra 'as *niṣṭāḥ* (irregularly formed). From Yāj. III, 23 (*ādantajanmanah sadya ācūdānaisiki smṛta*) it impliedly follows that *sadyah* has the meaning of 'a part of a day or a part of the night' (as the case may be) and 'naisiki' means a whole day and night (as note 622 shows). The *Sūddhitattva*

661. प्रेतक्षिया युन. सुप्तकर्मनिपातेऽपि न निवर्तव इति तेनोक्तम् (ज्ञातात्पेन) । तथा शावदौच्योः सञ्चितेऽपि प्रेयकृत्यं कार्यम् । तुल्यव्यापत्वात् । तथा जातकर्मदिकमपि शुभजननिमित्तसकामादौ चान्तरसञ्चितेऽपि कार्यमेव । तथाह भजापतिः । आशौचे तु समुत्पन्ने पुत्रजनने यद्वा भवेत् । कर्तव्यात्कालिकी शुद्धिः पूर्वशीचेन बुध्यते । निता ca या III, 20, मद या p. 439.

662. पूर्वोपेण वा शुद्धिं क्षतिना मृतेना तथा । क्षतिकानशिद्धं हित्वा मेतस्य च क्षतानपि ॥ पदशीति 22 ; this is made clear by the verses of वैश्व and ज्ञातात्प quoted by शुद्धिचन्द्रिका on पदशीति 'क्षतिकानां भवेच्छुद्धिः काटनेव रज क्षये नाशौचान्तरपतेन सूतके मृतकेपि च । सपिण्डानां तु य. काश्चिद्ब्रह्मेताथ द्दहेत वा । तस्याशौचं दमाहं तु नान्याशौचेन बुध्यते ॥'

663. सद्यः परस्परपरिपन्न. परेद्यस्य च पूर्वोद्युरन्येद्युरन्यतरेद्युरितरेद्युरपरिद्युरवरेद्युरभवेद्युरस्तरेद्यु । या V, 3, 22, 'समानस्य समानो यस्य चाहनि' is वातिक on the सूत्र. Th मदाभाष्य explains 'समानेऽग्नि सद्य'.

(pp. 340-341) explains ⁶⁶⁴ 'sadyaḥ' as meaning 'a portion of the day or of the night' and cites several authorities in support. The Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 92) explains that 'sadyaḥśauca' in some contexts means 'absence of āsauca,' while in others it means 'bath' and with reference to those killed in battle and the like (to whom pinḍas have to be offered) it means 'a part of the day or of the night.' The Smṛtimuktāphala ⁶⁶⁵ (āsaucakānda) p. 481 says that 'sadyaḥśauca' means 'impurity that comes to an end by a bath.' That pinḍas have to be offered to those about whom there is 'sadyaḥśauca' is stated by the Ācīpurāna ⁶⁶⁶. According to the Śuddhikaumudī (p. 73) 'sadyaḥśauca' has two meanings, viz. (1) the entire absence of āsauca as in the cases of sacrificial priests &c (Yāj. III. 28), (2) āsauca that is removed by a mere bath (as in Manu V. 76).

The rules about āsauca for several days do not operate in five classes of cases, viz. certain persons are exempted altogether, certain activities of certain persons who would ordinarily be untouchable owing to āsauca are allowed without causing pollution, certain articles can be taken by anybody without fear of pollution from those who are affected by āsauca, no āsauca is to be observed for certain deceased persons owing to their faults, in the case of certain persons express texts say that no āsauca need be observed for them. These five classes will briefly be dealt with in order. In the principal texts these five classes of cases are rather mixed up. In the Viṣṇupurāna III. 13⁷ it is provided that there is sadyaḥśauca on the death of a child, or of a person dying in another country, of a patita, or of an ascetic or on the death of a person committing suicide by water, fire or hanging. Vide also Gaut. 14. 11 and 42 and Vāmanapurāna 14.99.

664 अत्र सद्यः पद्महोरात्रार्थपरम् । हे सन्ध्ये सद्य इत्याहुः खिलन्यैकाहिकं स्तुम् ।
द्वावहोरात्रैकरात्रिश्च पक्षिणीत्यभिधीयते ॥ इति भट्टनारायणवचनात् । हे सन्ध्ये सद्य इत्याहुः
खिलन्यैकाह उच्यते । दिनद्वयैकरात्रिस्तु पक्षिणीत्यभिधीयते इति ननुवर्धनामधुतवचनात् ।
सद्य एकादिनाशौचमिति पारिजाते सद्य एकादिनेति वृत्तिसारे । एकनदाः सद्य इति शास्त्रिपञ्चमं
दर्शनाच्चेति । तद्यार्थं दिनमात्रं रात्रिमात्रं च । एतदेव काचित् सज्योति पदेन स्वपदिश्यते । द्युःखे-
त्तच्च pp. 340-341. शुद्धिमकाश p. 93 states that the verse हे सन्ध्ये सद्य occurs in
the गोभिलभाष्य of नारायणभट्ट.

665 सद्य शौचे नाम स्नानान्ममघम् । सद्य शौचे तु तावत्प्रादाहाचं सतिपत्तरं तु ।
यावत्स्नानं न कुर्वन्ति सचैलं शान्धवा यदि ॥ इत्यङ्गिरस्मरणात् । स्मृतिसु p. 481

666 दिवसे दिवसे पिण्डो देय एव क्रमेण तु । सद्य शौचेपि दाताया सर्वेपि दुग्धसमा ।
आदिदुराण q. by हारलता p. 165 The latter half is cited as from ब्रह्मपुराण
रघुनाथ on त्रिशङ्कोकी verse 28 p. 249 It is not unlikely that the ब्रह्मपुराण
which is mentioned in several works as the first of the 18 दुराण was therefore
called आदिदुराण.

Yāj. (III. 28-29) prescribes that there is sadyahśauca (purification after a bath) in case of birth or death (of a sapinda) for priests chosen for a sacrifice (after they are offered Madhuparka), for those who have undergone *dikṣā* for a vedic sacrifice (like *Somayāga*) and those who are engaged in performing the constituent parts of a Vedic sacrifice, those who continuously distribute food at a charity house, those who are engaged in *prāyaścittas* like *cāndrāyana* or the vows of *śrātaśauca*, for brahmacārius (when performing the duties of their *śrāma*), for persons who everyday make gifts of a cow, gold etc (at the time of making the gift), for those who have realized Brahman (ascetics); there is sadyahśauca at gifts (when once begun), at marriage, in a Vedic sacrifice, in battle (for those who are about to be engaged in it), when there is commotion in a country (through invasion), and in a severe calamity (like famine when one can accept food from any body). Gaut. (14. 43-44) says that there is sadyahśauca in the case of kings as otherwise there will be obstacles in their duties and also in the case of brāhmanas in order to prevent the cessation of their duties of teaching. Śāṅkhalikhita say the same 'Rāja dharmāyatanam sarvesām tasmādanavaruddhaḥ pretaprasa-vadosaiḥ' (Śuddhikalpataru p. 62). It is stated in Manu V. 93 that kings,⁶⁶⁷ those engaged in *vratas* and *sattras* (like *Gavām-ayana*) are not liable to undergo the blemish of śauca, because they (kings) occupy the position of Indra (ruler) and are like Brahma (which is free from all taint) and Manu V. 94 clinches the matter further by observing 'sadyahśauca is ordained for the position of a king which can be obtained only by great merit (in past lives) for the sake of the protection of the subjects and the reason of this (rule) is the position that he occupies.' Similarly, Gobhilasūrti⁶⁶⁸

667. न राज्ञामघदोषोस्ति व्रतितान् न च सत्रिणां च । ऐन्द्रं स्थानसुपासीना ब्रह्मवृता हि ते सदा ॥ राज्ञो नादात्मिने स्थाने सद्यः शौचं विधीयते । प्रजातां परिरक्षार्थमात्मनं चात्र कारणम् ॥ मनु V. 93-94. The first verse is the same as Vasistha 19.48 (Furher's text is corrupt, which must be corrected into नाघदोषोस्ति) which cites it as Yama's. It is the position that he holds that renders the king (whether a ksatriya, brāhmana or śūdra) free from śauca. The विष्णुधर्मसूत्र (22. 47-52) restricts the absence of śauca by saying 'kings are free from śauca when they are performing the duties of a king (such as administration of justice)': 'न राज्ञां राजकर्मणि न व्रतितानां व्रते न सत्रिणां सत्रे न कारुण्यं स्वकर्मणि न राजाज्ञाकारिणां तदिच्छया ।'

668. न त्पजेत्सुतने कर्त्तुं ब्रह्मचारी स्वक क्वचित् । न वीक्षणायत्तरं यजे न कृच्छ्रादि तपश्चरत् ॥ पितर्यपि सुते नैषां द्यौषो भवति कर्हिचित् । गोभिलसृष्टि III. 64-65 g. by शारदा p. 107, अपराकं p 919, शुद्धिकल्प. p 64.

(III. 64-65, often quoted as Chandogapariśista of Kātyāyana) states 'in a sūta, a brahmacārin should not give up his peculiar duties (Veda study and vratas), a sacrificer his various actions (required) in a sacrifice after he has undergone dikṣā, one who is practising penance should not give up krochra and the like; these do not incur impurity even on the death of their father (or mother)' The Kūrmapurāna⁶⁶⁹ provides 'no impurity is declared on death in the case of perpetual or temporary brahmacārins, forest hermits or ascetics'. Similar rules are given by Atri 97-98, Linga-purāna, pūrvabhāga, chap. 89.77. The Mit. on Yaj III. 28 remarks that in the case of the three āśramas of *brahmacārin*, *vānaprastha* and *yati* there is freedom from impurity in all cases and at all times; ascetics and brahmacārins have to undergo a bath with clothes on the death of their father or mother (Dharmasindhu p. 442); in the case of several others such as those who are continually making gifts or are observing vratas there is freedom from impurity only when they are engaged in those particular actions and not when they are engaged in any action whatever or when they mix up among others for everyday work.⁶⁷⁰ Similar rules occur in Parāśara III.21-22. It has already been stated following Manu V. 91 (= Visnu 22.86) that a brahmacārin was not to perform the last rites (of carrying the corpse, cremation) for anybody except for five persons (viz. his parents, upādhyaya, ācārya and guru) He did not incur āsauca by performing the funeral rites of his parents and offering water and pinda to them. But if he did so for any one other than the five mentioned by Manu he had to observe āsauca for ten days, and to undergo prāyascitta and had his *upanayana* performed again. A brahmacārin had to observe after *samāvartana* (returning from the Vedic teacher) āsauca for three days for all relatives that died during the period of his studenthood (Manu V. 88, Visnu Dh. S. 22.87). Gautama (14. 42-44) says generally⁶⁷¹ that on the death of child-

669. नैष्ठिकानां व्रतस्थाना यतीनां ब्रह्मचारिणाम् । नक्षौचं कीर्तितं सद्भिः पतिते च तथा घृते ॥ धर्मपुराण (उत्तरार्ध) 23 61 q by हारलता P. 114, परा मा I 2 p. 254. देवल has almost the same verse, नैष्ठिकानां ..शौचं व्रतके प्रोक्तं शौचे घृति तथैव च ॥ q. by परा. मा I. 2 p. 254, निर्णयसिन्धु p. 543 A similar verse occurs in लिङ्ग-पुराण (पूर्वार्ध) chap 89 77.

670 सन्निपां व्रतिनां सन्ने व्रते च छुद्भिर्न कर्मसात्रे संन्यवहारे वा ।.. ब्रह्मविद्यति । एतेषां च व्रयाणमाश्रमिणा सर्वत्र छुद्भिः । विशेषे प्रमाणाभावात् । मित्ता on य. III 28.

671. बालवेशान्तरितमवजितासपिण्डानां सद्यःशौचम् । राज्ञां च कार्यविरोधात् । ब्राह्मणस्य च स्वाध्यायनिवृत्त्यर्थम् । गौ 14 42-44 पराशर III. 10 and कामन्दुराण 14.99-100 contain verses almost in the same words as the first sūtra.

ren (before the appearance of teeth or before Cūḍā), of those who are separated by a country, of ascetics and of those who are not sapindas, the relatives are purified by only a bath; so also there is sadyahśauca for kings, for otherwise there would be conflict with their duty (of protecting the subjects) and for a brāhmana also in order that there may be no cessation of Vedic study.⁶⁷² The Śuddhiprakāśa (p. 93) remarks that though there is no āśauca (as stated by Yāj III. 28) yet a sacrificial priest and a diksita had to bathe on the death of a sapinda, a brahmacārin also would have to take a bath if he followed the funeral procession of his father or mother &c, but an ascetic would not have even to bathe and that usage was the same in its day.

The second class of exceptions refers to cases where certain persons, though they have incurred āśauca, are allowed to do certain acts or carry on their activities without bringing pollution to those with whom they deal or come in contact. For example, Parāśara (III. 20-21) says; 'craftsmen (such as those who draw pictures or washermen), workers (cooks and the like), physicians, male and female slaves, barbers, kings and śratrīyas are declared to be sadyahśauca, as also one observing a vrata (cāndrāyana &c.), one purified by being engaged in a sattra (such as Gavām-ayana), a brāhmana who has established śrauta fires; the king has not to observe āśauca and also any one (such as his purohita) whom the king for his own purpose desires not to observe it' The Ādipurāna⁶⁷³ gives the reason why craftsmen, physicians and others were allowed not to observe āśauca when engaged in their peculiar tasks, viz. what these people do cannot be done by any one else at all or at least so well or so easily.

672 शिल्पिनः कारका वैद्या दासीदासाश्च नापिता । राजान श्रोत्रियाश्चैव सद्यःशौचाः मकीर्तिताः ॥ सन्नतः सन्नपुत्रश्च आदिताग्निश्च यो हिजिः । राज्ञश्च सूतकं नास्ति यद्य श्वेच्छति पार्थिवः ॥ पराशर III. 20-21.

673 इया चादिपुराणे । शिल्पिनश्चित्रकाराद्याः कर्म यस्माद्ययस्यलम् । तत्कर्म नान्यो जानाति तस्माच्छुद्धा स्वकर्मणि । सूपकारेण यत्कर्म करणीयं नरोऽपिह । तदन्वो नैव जानाति तस्माच्छुद्धः स सूपकृद् ॥ चिकित्सको यस्क्रुते तदन्वयेन न शक्यते । तस्माच्चिकित्सकः स्वर्शो ह्युद्धो भवति नित्यशः ॥ दास्यो दासाश्च यत्किञ्चित् कुर्वन्त्यपि च लीलया । तदन्वो न क्षमः कर्तुं तस्मात्तै ह्युच्य सदाः ॥ राजा करोति यत्कर्म स्वमेवपश्यत्य तत्कथम् । एवं सति द्वयः शुद्धः संस्पर्शो ह्युत्सृजे ॥ यत्कर्म राजभृत्यानां हस्त्यश्वगमनादिकम् । तस्मास्ति यस्मादन्यस्य तस्मान्ने ह्युच्यः स्तुता ॥ g. by परा ना I 2. pp 255-256 Three of these from सूपकारेण are quoted as from ब्रह्मपुराण by हरलता p 110, as from आदिपुराण by शुद्धिनच pp. 289-90 and all from सूपकारेण onwards are quoted from आदिपुराण by शुद्धिम p 95, the verse चिकित्सको is g. by मिता, on या III. 27.

It has ⁶⁷⁴ to be noted that the absence of *āśauca* in the case of craftsmen, physicians and the like has to be restricted to the peculiar activities of these and does not extend to all actions such as religious rites, *śrāddhas* and gifts. This is clear from the words of the *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* ⁶⁷⁵ 22, 48-52. The *Trīmaśacchloki* (verse 18) ⁶⁷⁶ gives a long list of such peculiar activities. The *Kūrmapurāna* (*Uttarārḍha* 23 57-64) has nine verses on this topic which are quoted by the *Hārata* (p. 114).

It has already been seen (pp 238-240) that *Pār gr.* III 10 (*nityāni vinivartante vaitānavarjam*), *Manu V. 84*, *Yāj III 17* (latter half) provide that even those who have to undergo *āśauca* on death should not stop rites to be performed with *śrauta* fires, but should perform them themselves or get them performed through others. Thus certain religious rites were allowed to be done even by those who were *āśaucin*.

The *Dharmasindhu* (p 552) emphasizes that this exception to *āśauca* should be availed of only when there is no other alternative or in a season of distress.

It has already been stated how certain materials and things can be received without any pollution from those who are undergoing *āśauca*. That is the third class of cases which are exceptions to the rules of *āśauca*.

The fourth class of cases where rules of *āśauca* do not apply relate to persons deceased to whom some fault or taint attaches. *Gaut.* (14. 11) ⁶⁷⁷ and *Śankha-Likhita* provide that there is *sadyahśauca* for those who kill themselves (to the *Himālaya*), by fasting, by a weapon (like a dagger), by fire or poison or water or by hanging or by falling down from a precipice.

674. अथ चाशौचाभावस्तदसाधारणकर्मण्यस्तुइत्यत्वमतिविधूरूपो बोध्य, न तु सर्वेषु दानभाङ्गादिधर्मकृत्येष्वशौचाभावः। ब्रह्मिण्य p 93.

675. (आशौच) न राज्ञो राजकर्मणि। न व्रतिना व्रते। न सत्रिणा सत्रे। न कार्त्स्न्या कार्कर्मणि। न राजाज्ञाकारिणा तदिच्छया। विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 22 48-52.

676. तत्तत्कार्येषु सत्रिव्रतिसृपहृपवदीक्षितविक्रस्वदेश नेशापत्त्वप्यनेकश्रुतिपठनाभिषङ्गाकरितिल्याहुराणाम्। संपरिच्छेषु दानोपनयनयजनश्राद्धयुद्धभतिष्ठाचूडतीर्थयात्राजपपरिणयनाद्युत्सवेष्वेतदर्थे॥ त्रिशच्छ्लोकी 18. हृपवत् means हृपसंबन्धक.

677. For गौ 14 11 vide note 522 above, प्रायाशिविषादकोद्बन्धनप्रपत्तौ श्लेच्छताम्। अथ शस्त्रावासाकारिण्यु-जल-विषमपणेष्वेवमेव। शङ्खलिखितौ p. by हारलता p. 113; भृगुप्रियाशक्त्याभोभिर्भूतानामात्मधातिनाम्। पतितान च नाशौचं विदुश्चन्द्र-हताश्च ये॥ अग्निपुराण 157.32. Vide दाननपुराण 14 99-100

Yāj. III. 6 provides ⁶⁷⁸ that women that have gone over to heterodox views and practices, that do not belong to any particular āśrama, that are thieves (of gold and the like), that (attempt to) kill their husbands, that are unchaste and the like, that drink liquor and that attempt suicide, do not deserve to have water offered to them (on death) and no āśauca should be observed for them. This verse applies to men also as far as possible. Manu V. 89-90 are to the same effect. The Kūrmapurāna also prescribes ⁶⁷⁹ that for him who kills himself by means of fire, poison and the like, no āśauca, no cremation and no offering of water is prescribed, there is no cremation for *patitas*, nor *antyeṣṭi* nor collection of bones, no shedding of tears and no pinda and no śrāddha should be performed for them. It is provided by Angiras quoted by Mit. on Yāj III. 6 that 'death results to evil-minded men from cāndālas (with whom a quarrel is purposely got up), from water, from a snake, from a brāhmana, from lightning and from animals that have sharp fangs (like tigers). If water and pinda are offered to such people (who die wilfully in these cases) they (water and pinda) do not reach them and perish in mid air.' These verses refer to death in a wrathful fight with tigers, snakes and the like or suicide in water through wrath or sorrow. But, if one died in water or by fire through inadvertence or negligence, then Angiras ⁶⁸⁰ himself provides that water should be offered and āśauca should be observed. Long passages are quoted from the Brahmapurāna by Haradatta on Gaut. 14. 11, Suddhīprakāśa pp. 56-57, Nirṇayasindhu p. 550, which elaborate the same ideas as those of Yāj. III. 6, Angiras and others and wind up by stating that if any one offers water or śrāddha to *patitas* through affection or cremates them, he has to undergo *prāyaścitta* (viz. two Taptakrobras).

678. For Yāj. III. 6 read p 222 above अपरार्क reads 'पापण्डानाभिता' and explains 'पापण्डानाभितादीनाभिता तद्दीक्षायां मदिता', while the मिता-reads पात्रण्डनाभिता; and makes two different classes

679. पतिताना न दाहः; vide note 522 above; the अग्निपुराण (159. 2-4) states 'आत्मनस्तपग्निना नास्ति पतितानां तथा क्रियाः। तेषामपि तथा गाङ्गे तीर्थेऽस्थनां पतनं दिवम्। तेषां वृत्तं जलं चार्चं गगने तत्पत्नीयते। अनुग्रहेण नहता प्रेतस्य पतितस्य च। नारायणपतिः कार्यस्तेनाद्भुतमभ्युते ॥'

680. यदि कश्चित्पसादेन श्रियेतान्मुदकादिभिः। तस्याशौचे विधातव्यं कर्तव्या चोदकक्रिया ॥ अङ्गिरस्य १. by मिता. on Yāj III. 6 A similar verse is औशनसस्मृति (Jiv. vol I p 540), chap. VII.

If an *āhitāgni* were killed by *cāndālas* in defiant fight with them or commits suicide, his corpse should be got cremated by *sūdras* without proper mantras and *Gobhīlasmṛti* (III, 49-51) provides for the disposal of his *śrauta* fires and sacrificial implements. Though suicide was generally condemned, the *smṛtis* (such as *Atri* 218-219) and *Purānas* allowed certain exceptions, viz. very old men (above 70), very weak men who cannot observe the rules of bodily purification or those who have no desire left for the pleasures of the senses or who have carried out all tasks and duties, may start on *Mahāprasthāna* or die at *Prayāga*. Vide H of Dh vol. II pp 926-928 for detailed treatment of this topic. If a man killed himself in the way allowed by the *śāstra* then there was no blemish and *śauca* had to be observed and water and *śrāddha* had to be offered. It may be noted that starting on *Mahāprasthāna* and suicide on the part of old men by falling down from a precipice or in fire are forbidden in the *Kali* age. Vide H of Dh. vol. III p. 939 and pp. 958-959

The *Mit* on *Yāj.* III, 6 quotes *Vṛddha-Yājñavalkya* and *Chāgaleya* to the effect that in the case of those who commit suicide in any manner that is not sanctioned by the *śāstras*, *Nārāyanabali* should be performed one year after their death and then the rites of *śrāddha* may be performed thereafter. The *Mit.*⁶⁸¹ on *Yāj.* III, 6) relying on *Viṣṇupurāna* describes the *Nārāyanabali* as follows. On the 11th day of the bright half of a month, having worshipped *Viṣṇu* and *Yama*, one should with the face to the south offer near them on *darbhās* with ends turned towards the south ten *pindās* laved with honey and ghee and mixed with sesame after bringing to mind the deceased⁶⁸² who should be looked upon as having the form of *Viṣṇu* and having uttered the name and *gotra* of the deceased; he should honour the *pindās* with sandalwood paste and the rest and having performed all the rites up to the removal of *pindās*, should cast them in a river and not give them to the

681 एवं नारायणबलिं प्रेतस्य श्राद्धव्यापादनद्वारेण श्राद्धदिंसंमदान्तरे योग्यतां जनयतीति औषधदेहिकमपि सर्वं कार्यमेव । अत एव पदत्रिंशन्मतेऽपि औषधदेहिकस्याप्युज्जाह्वयेत् । गोत्राङ्गणहतानां च पतितानां तथैव च । ऊर्ध्वं संवत्सरात्कुर्व्यात्सर्वमेवौषधदेहिकम् ॥ इति । एवं संवत्सराद्दूर्ध्वमेव नारायणबलिं कृत्वौषधदेहिकं कार्यम् । *mita* on *Yāj.* III, 6. The same provisions are recommended by *para* *mā.* I 2 pp 226-227, *ṣṭhāitiḥ* p 489 Vide *शब्द*, *प्रेतखण्ड*, 40 15-65 for *नारायणबलि*

682. The *सङ्कर* will be *अमुकगोत्रस्यामुकस्य दुर्मरणात्मपानजद्वेषनाप्रार्थनीर्ध्व-देहिकसंमदान्त्वयेत्यतासिद्धचर्यं नारायणबलिं करिष्ये इति सकल्प्य । निर्णयसिन्धु* p. 559.

wife or to others. Then on the night of the same day he should invite an uneven number of brāhmanas, should observe a fast, should worship Visnu the next day, in the noon he should perform all the rites from washing the feet of brāhmanas up to the query about the gratification of the brāhmanas (by the food served to them) according to the procedure of *ekodāśta śrāddha*, then he should silently go through all the rites from *ullekhana* (drawing lines) up to *avanejana* (anointing) by the procedure of *Pinda-pitryajña*. He should offer four pindas to (images of) Visnu, Brahmā, Śiva and Yama together with the attendants, should remember the deceased by name and gotra, should utter the name of Visnu and then offer the 5th pinda. Then having gratified the brāhmanas (after they have sipped water) with fee, he should bring to his mind one (of the brāhmanas) that is the most qualified of all as representing the deceased and having gratified him to the utmost with the gifts of cows, land and money, should then make the brāhmanas that have *pauṭras* on their hands offer to the deceased water together with sesame and should then take his meal along with his relatives.

The passage quoted by the Mit. makes it clear that Nārāyanabali is meant only for those who commit suicide and is to be offered one year after the death of the person guilty of suicide. The Hāratala⁶⁵³ (p. 212) also says the same and explains a verse of Visnu extending the performance of Nārāyanabali to those killed by cows and brāhmanas and those who become *patita* as a usage restricted to a certain country only.⁶⁵⁴

The Antyestipaddhati of Nārāyanabhata describes (on folio 187) Nārāyanabali rite at greater length than in the Mitaksarā. One or two details may be pointed out. Five *kalāśas* (jars) are to be placed over a quantity of rice or *yavas*, then filled with water, then have the three mantras 'Āpo hi sthā'

653 आत्मघातिन हृष्याभिधानात् आत्मघातकमात्रस्वैवेदं विधानं न तु महापातकपात्री नामिति वृत्तयति। विष्णुः। गोघ्राहणहताना च पतितानां तथैव च। ऊर्ध्वं संवत्सराच्छुषोत् सर्वमेवैश्वदेहिकम् ॥ एतच्च देशविशेषव्यवस्थितमिति आदिपुराणवचन एवोक्तं न तु दास्या पदतोपदानान्नारायणमलिदानयोः प्रथमसंवत्सराभ्यन्तरविषयत्वं व्यवस्थाप्यम्। हारलता p 212. A long passage is quoted from आदिपुराण in हारलता pp 203-205, the last verses of which are. क्रियते पतितानां तु गते संवत्सरे कश्चित्। देशधर्ममणल्लात् गयाकूपेषु चरुभिः। मार्तण्डपादमूले वा आर्द्धं हरिहरं स्मरत्।

654. Nārāyanabali is described in the Appendix B to the Sholapur District Gazetteer in Bom. Gaz. vol. XX. pp. 522-523.

(Rg. X 9. 1-3) repeated over them, then copper plates are to be placed over them on which five images of Brahmā, Visnu, Śiva, Yama and the deceased are to be drawn and the worship of these five is to be performed respectively with the Purusa-sūkta (Rg. X. 90), Rg. X. 121 1-10, Rg. I 43. 1 (= Tai. Ā. X, 17), Rg. X. 14. 13 and the name and gotra of the deceased, sixteen oblations of cooked rice are to be offered to Nārāyana with the sixteen verses of the Purusasūkta (Rg. X, 90). Ten pindas⁶⁸⁵ are to be offered on *darbhas* to the deceased after repeating his name and gotra (as stated in the note below). After the ten pindas are cast in a river, there is *tuṣṭi* of the deceased sixteen times with the sixteen stanzas of the Purusa-sūkta. Then *bali* is offered separately to Visnu, Brahmā, Śiva and Yama with his servants.

In the *Mitākṣarā*, there is no *homa* nor *bali*, both of which are described in the *Āntyestīpaddhati* and the *Smṛtyarthasāra* (pp. 85-86) copies verbatim the procedure given in the *Mit. Brhatparāśara* (V. pp. 175-176) contains the same procedure that is set out by the *Mit.* from the *Viṣṇupurāna*. The *Nirṇaya-sindhu* first describes Nārāyanabali as gathered from Hemādri and the *Garudapurāna* (III. 4. 113-119) it then describes Nārāyanabali to be performed for a deceased ascetic on the 12th day (along with *Pārvanaśrāddha*), following the procedure laid down by *Baudhāyana*. It then describes another form of Nārāyanabali based on *Śaunaka* which is meant for all those who commit suicide or who are killed by *cāndālas*,⁶⁸⁶ snakes, lightning, animals with fangs or who die in a distant land or for ascetics and *yogins*. The *Vṛddha-Hārītasṃti* (IX. 123-143) describes another method of Nārāyanabali for devotees of Visnu.

The *Vaikhānasa-smārtasūtra* (X. 9) sets out a rather brief procedure of Nārāyanabali which was intended for the benefit of men who committed suicide or were slain and for ascetics and provides that the same may be performed for those guilty of *mahāpātakas* after twelve years from their death. The

685. अर्चितदेवसमीपे अशुकगोत्रायशुकशर्मणे प्रेतस्य विष्णुरूपिणेऽर्पं विष्णु - इति मधुघृताहुतांस्तिलमिश्रान्दश पिण्डान् विष्णुरूपिण प्रेतमहस्मरन् प्रेतस्य नामगोत्रे उच्चार्य दक्षिणाश्रेषु वर्षेषु दक्षिणाहस्त्रोऽपसव्येन दत्त्वा । ततः पुरुषदूकेन प्रेतस्य नामगोत्रे उच्यता अशुकं नारायणरूपं तर्पयामीति षोडशवार तर्पयेत्य-चम् । अन्त्येष्टिपद्धति

686. चाण्डालावुत्कारसर्पाद्ब्रह्महृणाद्वैद्यतादापि । वृष्टिभ्यश्च पशुभ्यश्च मरण पापकर्मिणाम् ॥ षौ य शेषसूत्र III. 21. The same is q. by अपराकं p 877 as यम'स, as स्वल्पन्तर by शुद्धिम. p. 56 and without name by the *mita.* on च. III. 5.

Baudhāyana-grhya-śeṣasūtra III. 20 and 21 contain two different sets of the procedure of Nārāyaṇabali, the latter of which appears to be the later one. The latter contains the well-known verse about death at the hands of cāṇḍālas, from a snake &c.

The 5th class of exceptions to āśauca rules comprises those that are declared by express texts as not liable to observe an āśauca. Gautama (14. 8-10) provides⁶⁸⁷ that (the sapindas) of those that met death for the sake of cows and brāhmanas, of those that met death through the wrath of the king and those that were killed in battle have to observe no āśauca but only 'sadyahśauca'. Manu V. 95 and 98 state⁶⁸⁸ that (the sapindas) of those that are killed in a sudden affray or by lightning or by the king (for an offence) or of those that met death in protecting cows and brāhmanas and of one who was killed in the fashion of ksatriyas in a battle by the sword have to observe no āśauca, as also he whom the king desires (for his purpose) to observe no āśauca. It is provided by Śāstapa⁶⁸⁹ that as regards a *yati* dying, his sons and other sapindas are not to offer water or pinḍa to him or to observe āśauca for him. The Dharmasindhu (p. 449) says that this applies to all ascetics, whether they be *tridaṇḍin* or *ekadaṇḍin*, *hansas* or *paramahansas*. So also on the death of a vānaprastha there is no āśauca. In the case of one who has performed his own brāddha while alive his sapindas have an option either to observe āśauca or not. On the death of a brahmacārin āśauca is to be observed. The Dharmasindhu further notes that in all works it is stated that there is no āśauca⁶⁹⁰ for one killed in battle, but at least

687. गोवाह्मणहृत्वात्मन्वक्षम् । राजकोधाच्च । शुद्धे । गौ. 14 8-10. हरदत्त explains 'अन्वक्षयते मय्यद्यते श्वस्तावत्संस्कारान्ते इनात्वा ह्युपैरक्षिति', while the *mita* on p. III 21 (first half) explains 'तत्सम्बन्धिना चान्वक्षमहृगतमक्षमन्वक्षं सद्य शौचमित्यर्थः'. The *mita* takes the corresponding passage of Yāj. III 21 (first half) to mean 'of those that were killed by the king, by bulls or brāhmanas'. The *mita* reads राजकोधाच्चशुद्धे, while हरदत्त says that he does not like to read अशुद्धे but would read अशुद्धे.

688. द्विभ्याहवे हतानां च विद्युता पाथिवेन च । गोवाह्मणस्य चैवार्थे परस्य चैच्छति पाथिव. # मनु V. 95 द्विभ्याहव is explained by कुल्लूक and हारलता (p. 111) as 'द्वयति-रहितं शुद्धे', while हरदत्त takes द्विभ्य to mean जनसंमर्द and अपराकं p. 916 explains द्विभ्याहव as अशस्त्रकलह and शुद्धिकल्पतरु as अशस्त्रकलहः संमर्दो वा (p. 46).

689. एनोदिष्टं जलं पिण्डमाशौचं प्रेतसत्त्विषाम् । न कुर्यात्पार्वणाद्वन्धुं ब्रह्मीभूतात् भिक्षवे ॥ ज्ञातावपि स्मृतिच. (आशौच) p. 171 ascribes this to वसिष्ठ.

690. उद्धृतेऽप्याशौचं नेति सर्वग्रन्थेषुपुलम्बते न त्वेव ब्राह्मणेषु गिष्ठाचार इति । धर्मसिन्धु p. 449.

among brāhmanas (i. e. as to brāhmanas killed in battle) the usage of the *śiṣṭas* is different (i. e. *śāuca* is observed).

Parāśara (III. 12-13) provides that, if a man has gone for many years to a distant land and it is ascertained that he died there but the exact date of his death is not known, then either of three *tithis* viz. the 8th or 11th day of the dark half or the *anāvāsyā* should be accepted as the day of his death and water, *pinda* and *śrāddha* should be offered on that date and the Par. M. I. 2 p. 237 adds that *śāuca* also must be calculated from that date. On the other hand Laghu-Hārīta says that if there is some obstacle at the time of a *śrāddha* or when the date of death is not known, then the funeral rites should be performed on the 11th *tithi* of the following dark half (*Śuddhikaumudī* p. 17)

The digests lay particular emphasis on the fact that in matters of *śāuca* of a country must be observed. The *Hārājātā* (pp. 55, 205) quotes passages from the *Ādipurāna* where special reference is made to the authority of the usages of a country (*deśa-dharmapramānatvāt*). The *Śuddhitattva* p. 275 quotes⁶⁹¹ a verse of Marīci 'one should not disregard the manner of observing *śāuca* and religious usages that are current in particular localities; the dharma is of that sort alone in those localities'. On p. 276 it quotes a passage of the *Vāmanapurāna* to the same effect.

It deserves to be noted that Dakṣa⁶⁹² (VI. 15) states that all rules about *śāuca* apply when the times are easy and peaceful but when a man is overwhelmed by distress there is no (enforcement or application) of the (rules of) *śāuca*.

Viṣṇu (19. 18-19) provides⁶⁹³ that at the end of the period of *śāuca* one should go out of the village, get himself shaved and take a bath after applying a thick paste of sesame or white mustard to the body, change garments and then re-enter the house. Then he should perform a *śānti* (propitiatory rite)

691 तथा च मरीचिः । येषु स्थानेषु यच्छौचं धर्माचारश्च यादृशः । तत्र तत्साधनमेतद् धर्मस्तत्रैव तादृशः ॥ रुद्रधर इति छुद्धिविवेक (D. C. ms No 309 of 1887-91, folio 77 b), छ. कौ. p. 360, छुद्धितत्व p. 275, "तथा च वामनपुराणं 'देहाच्छिद्ये कुलधर्ममन्य स्वगोत्रधर्मं न हि सत्यजेच्च'" छुद्धितत्व p. 276.

692 स्वस्थकाले तथा सर्वं श्रुतकं परिकीर्तितम् । आपद्भयस्तरप सर्वत्र यत्कामे न श्रुतम् ॥ दक्ष VI. 15.

693. ग्रामाभिक्षन्पाशोच्चारणे कृतश्मश्रुकर्मणास्तिलकालकैः सर्वपकलकैश्च स्नात्वा परिब्रित्वासतो शृङ्गं मण्डिषु । तत्र शान्तिं कृत्वा ब्राह्मणानां च पूजनं कुर्यात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 19.18-19

and honour brāhmanas. Many medieval digests provide for a more elaborate procedure. For example, the Śuddhikaumudī (pp. 155-164) sets out the procedure of the 11th day separately for the followers of the three Vedas. A few salient points may be mentioned. After a bath for the whole body, the sapindas should touch a cow, gold, fire, *dūrva*, clarified butter and repeat the name of Govinda, then engage brāhmanas to sprinkle śānti water over them and say 'svasti'. If a brāhmana cannot be had one should himself perform śānti. The Hāratala and others say that without śānti water āsauca is not completely removed. The followers of Sāmaveda should sing the Vāmadevagāna for śānti or should repeat the four Vāmadevya verses viz. 'kayā naśoitra,' 'kastva satyo,' 'abhi sū nah' (No. 682-684 of the Sāmaveda) together with the last verse of the Sāmaveda ('svasti na Indro') preceded and followed by the sacred Gāyatrī; these form the śānti mantras for Sāmavedins. For followers of Yajurveda seventeen mantras beginning with 'roam vācam prapadye' and ending with 'dyauh śāntiḥ', preceded and followed by the Gāyatrī form the śānti mantras; the Rgvedins should employ for śānti Rg. X. 9. 4, VII, 35. 1, V. 47. 7 &c. preceded and followed by the Gāyatrī. Then some gold with silver as daksina should be donated to a brāhmana, then the Vaitarani cow should be donated, if one was not given at the approach of death, then a gift of the bedstead &c. should be made.

We have seen (p. 270) that originally the sūtras (like Śān Śr.) and smrtis (like Manu) emphasized that one should not increase the number of the days of āsauca and that men learned in the Veda and consecrating śranta fires had to undergo only one day's āsauca (Parāśara III 5, Dakṣa VI 6). But ultimately a flat period of ten days of āsauca (Manu V. 59) for all sapindas came to be prescribed. In the old days the means of communication were very limited, and hence the news of a birth or death must have taken considerable time to reach relatives staying even at a short distance and hence the restrictions imposed by the rules of āsauca were not felt to be very irksome. It is on account of this reason and also the great *penchant* of dharmasāstra writers for all sorts of divisions, sub-divisions and classifications that we find medieval writers bestowing an enormously exaggerated attention in very exuberant and enthusiastic style on such a subject as āsauca. Most nations have their own usages to indicate that a person (male or female) or a family is in mourning. But probably no country in the world

can equal (much less surpass) the Dharmasāstra writers in the elaborate rules evolved in books about āśauca on birth and death. In these days when there is a State postal system and the means of communication abound owing to railways, air-mail, telegraph and wireless, the ancient and medieval rules of āśauca are felt by all people to be most galling and troublesome. Mischievous people sometimes create trouble in the celebration of marriages by sending information about a death or a birth to persons against whom they have a grudge. Devices have to be employed for dodging the inconvenience due to rules of āśauca. It is therefore necessary to introduce substantial changes in the rules about āśauca that will prevent trouble, loss of time and work and would at the same time be more or less in agreement with the spirit of the dicta of the smrtis and the sentiments of most common people. At the end in the appendix note 693a is added which gives the text of the Āśauca-daśaka with Sanskrit explanation.

As regards āśauca on birth I would recommend that hereafter in the changed set-up of society in these days one simple rule should be observed, viz. it is only the mother that has to observe impurity for ten days and no one else has to observe impurity on birth. This is in general accordance with the ancient smrtis set out above.

As regards impurity on death four rules should ordinarily suffice.^{693a}

(1) *Āśauca* for ten days on death should be observed by the father and the mother for the son and by the son for the parents, by the wife for the husband and *vice versa* and by one who performs the rites of cremation and the rites after death.

(2) For others (than the above) staying near the deceased as members of a joint family āśauca for only three days should suffice.

(3) For all other relatives of the deceased whenever the news of death may reach them within a year after death, only a bath should be enough.

(4) When the death occurred more than a year before the news reached the relatives not even a bath should be required in the case of any relative except those mentioned in the first rule, who should be held clean after a bath.

Practices observed among ancient and modern primitive tribes show that the most important *tabus* were those on the dead, on women in child-birth and women in their monthly illness. Among the ancient Israelites all that were unclean through the dead were put outside the camp and they were not allowed to offer an offering at the Passover (Numbers V. 1-4 and IX 6). Among the Syrians those who belonged to the family of the dead man were *tabu* for 30 days and could then enter only with shaven heads. Child-birth made a woman unclean and the number of days that she was to be unclean depended on whether the child was a male or a female (Leviticus '12 2-5). In India also the ancient Aryans probably inherited their ideas about uncleanness on death and child-birth from their remote ancestors. If one may surmise one can say this it must have been found out by the remote ancestors of the Vedic Aryans that if a person touched a dead body or used the clothes worn by the dead man when living, he also suffered from the same disease (particularly in the case of contagious diseases like plague, cholera, typhoid &c.) and that segregating such a person for ten days from other members of the tribe or community made the latter immune from the attack of such diseases. Therefore, those who touched the dead or carried the corpse for cremation or burial and the members of the family were thought to be unclean and were segregated for ten days. Gradually the ideas about the uncleanness on death and the necessity of segregation were made applicable to death due to all diseases or causes whatever. The uncleanness on child-birth might have been a case of extension by analogy derived from the *tabu* on death. At all events *smṛti* writers put both on the same level (e. g. Manu V 61 "Just as impurity on death is ordained for ten days in the case of sapindas the same holds good in the case of birth"). Rules about women in their monthly illness were prescribed as early as the *Taj. S.* and have been already dealt with in H of Dh. vol. II. pp. 802-805.

We have now to turn to the subject of *suddhi* apart from *śāntauca*. *Suddhi* of a *dravya* means the⁶⁹⁴ removal of a taint attaching to a thing and it is of two kinds, purification of the body and the purification of an external object (Manu V. 110 and *Aparārka* p 253). It has already been seen (note 555

694. द्रव्यस्य दोषापगमः शुद्धिः । तत्र द्विविधा शुद्धिः । शरीरशुद्धिर्बोध्यद्रव्यशुद्धिश्च । अपरांशे pp 252-253, तत्राशुद्धिर्नाम द्रव्यादेः स्पर्शनाद्यनर्हतापादको दोषविशेषः । शुद्धिस्तु संस्कारविशेषोत्पादिता तल्लिख्यति । हेमाद्रि (on *भ्रातृ* p 787).

above) how even the Rg. lays great emphasis on *suddhi* and being pure (*śuci*). There are Vedic⁶⁹⁵ passages laying down that the cups (*grahas*) used in Jyotistoma and other sacrifices were to be cleansed with a strainer of wool, but not the *camasas*. In the Ait. Br. 32.4 it is provided that if the milk of an *agnihotra* that was heated by him for the *homa* became impure (*amedhya*, by an ant or worm falling therein), the milk is to be taken up in an *agnihotrahavanī* and was to be poured upon the ashes near the *Āhavantiya* fire. This shows that great care was taken about the purity of vessels to be used in sacrifices and about the offerings to be made. *Śauca* is one of the eight qualities of the soul (*ātmaguṇas*) mentioned by Gaut 8 24, Atri (verses 33, 35), Matsyapurāna 52, 8-10, Brhaspati (q. by Aparārka p 164). Haradatta on Gautama quotes a verse that *śauca* is of four kinds viz. monetary purity, mental purity, bodily purity and purity in speech; while Atri and Brhaspati⁶⁹⁶ (q. by Aparārka p. 164), aver that *śauca* is constituted by avoiding what ought not to be eaten, by associating (only) with those who are not censured (i. e. are not reprehensible) and by firmly abiding by one's own prescribed duties. Many works divide *śauca* into two varieties viz *bāhya* (external) and *āntara* or *ābhyantara* (internal). Vide H. of Dh vol. II, pp 651-52 for passages from Baudhāyana Dh. S. (I 5, 3-4), Harita, Dakṣa and others defining and subdividing these. Agni 372. (17-18) is the same as Dakṣa V. 3. The Vanaparva 200, 52 speaks of purity in speech, in actions and that brought about by water. The Padma (II, 66, 86-87) emphasizes that it is the mental attitude that is the highest thing and illustrates it by saying that a woman embraces her son and her husband with different mental states. There is an interesting passage in the Lingapurāna 8, 34-36 (not quoted there) which after stating that *ābhyantara śauca* is superior to *bāhya śauca* (verse 31) remarks⁶⁹⁷ that one void of inner purity is dirty even after a

695 अस्ति ज्योतिष्टोम । तत्र श्रूयते दशापवित्रेण ग्रहं समाटि इति । तत्रैवार्थे समधिगतं सर्वे ग्रहा समाजित्तया इति । इदमिदानीं सन्दिश्यते किं चमसा अपि समाटि वा उत नेति । शबर on जै III, 1 16

696 अभक्ष्यपरिहारश्च संसर्गश्चाप्यनिन्दितै । स्वधर्मे च व्यवस्थानं शौचनेतृत्वकीर्तितम् ॥ बृहस्पति (q. by अपरार्क p 164). अत्रि verse 35 (reads आचारेण व्यवस्थानं)

697. अवगाह्यापि मलिनो ह्यन्त शौचविवर्जितः । शैबला ह्यपका मत्स्या सरग मत्स्योपजीविन ॥ सदावगाह्य सलिले विशुद्धा किं द्विजोचमा । तस्मादाभ्यन्तरं शौचं सदा कार्यं विधानत ॥ आत्मज्ञानाभ्यासि स्नात्वा सकृदालिप्य भावतः । स्वैराग्यमुदा ह्यद्वा शौचनेत्र यकीर्तितम् ॥ लिङ्गपुराण 8 34-36, भावह्युद्धि परं शौचं-प्रमाण सर्वकर्मसु । अल्पपालिङ्गते कान्ता भावेन दुहितान्यथा ..अप्यथैव ततः पुत्रं भार्गवस्यपुत्रा पालेत् ॥ पञ्च (सूत्रिण्यत्र 66 86-87)

bath, that moss, fish and animals subsisting on fish are always immersed in water, that in spite of that no one would call them pure, that therefore one must always endeavour to secure inner purity and that one should bathe in the water of correct knowledge of the Self, apply once the sandal paste of faith and purify oneself by the clay in the form of desirelessness and that this is declared to be (the real) *śauca*. Manu V, 106 provides that of all kinds of purity mental purity is the highest. He who is pure as to wealth (i. e. who does not deprive another of wealth by unjust means) is the (only) pure man and not he who is purified by water and earth. Visnu 22. 89 is the same except that for wealth (*artha*) it substitutes food (*anna*). The Trikādamandana (*prakīrnaka* 21) has the same verse as Manu V. 106. Vide also Anuśāsana 108. 12 (for purity of conduct, of mind, of a holy place, purity due to correct philosophical knowledge); Brahmānda III, 14. 60 (*śuoikamā hi devā vai*), and Yogasūtra II 32 (for *śauca* as one of the five *niyamas*).

External purity of the body by various means (rinsing the mouth, bath & c.) has already been described in detail in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 648-668. The ancient and medieval Indians insisted on a daily bath for all, recommended two baths a day in certain cases and three baths to a hermit and did not subscribe to the view of some of the early Christians. St. Agnes was canonized primarily for her refusal to bathe and St. Francis of Assisi considered dirt as one of the proper insignia of holy poverty.⁶⁹⁸

In śrauta rites (such as Agnistoma) the sacrificer had to undergo a severe discipline of consecration (or *dikṣā*), one item of which was the purification of the intending sacrificer's body by the *adhvaryu* priest by rubbing the former's body twice with three bunches of seven darbhas each (vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 1136) Śātātapa 9 by Sm. C. I p. 120, Śuddhiprakāśa p. 147 provide bath for one who has sexual intercourse with his wife during the period from the 5th to the 16th day after monthly illness begins, but for intercourse after these days the purification is the same as for urination and voiding ordure; bath is also prescribed for vomiting after sunrise, after shaving, after a bad dream, on the touch of foul men (such as *cāndālas*).

698. Vide Reginald Reynolds' work on 'Cleanliness and godliness' p. 36 (chapter IV).

The Ap Śr. II 12 provides⁶⁹⁹ that *Pavitrestī* should be performed by him who is desirous of *suddhi* and that if one performs in each season the three *stis*, viz *Vaiśvānari* (to Agni *Vaiśvānara*), *Vrātapati* (to Agni *Vratapati*) and the *Pavitrestī* one purifies ten generations (of his family).

The following pages will deal with the purification of things (*dravyasuddhi*). But a few general observations must first be made. The Āp Dh. S (II 6. 15 17-20) states that infants do not become polluted or impure (by the touch of a woman in her monthly course) up to the time the *samskāra* of *annaprāśana* (taking cooked food for the first time), that, according to some, up to one year or as long as they cannot distinguish between the different directions or up to the time of *Upanayana* according to others. *Manu* V. 127-133, *Yaj* I, 186, 191-193, *Visnu Dh. S* 23. 47-52, *Baud. Dh. I* 5 56-57, 64, 65, *Śāṅkha* 16 12-16, *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna* 35 19-21 state that the following are always pure.—what is not seen to be polluted; what is cleansed with water; what is commended expressly (by a *brāhmaṇa* as pure, when there is a doubt), water collected on (pure) ground that is not visibly polluted by an impure thing and that in quantity is so much that a cow can slake its thirst therein and that has the smell, colour and taste (of pure water); the hand of a craftsman (such as a washerman or a cook while engaged in his peculiar work); articles exposed for sale in a market such as rice and barley (though touched by many intending buyers); alms (collected by a *brāhmacārī* though walking from house to house on the road), the mouth of a woman (at the time of dalliance), meat of animals seized or killed even by dogs, *cāṇḍālas*, and carnivorous birds, rays (of the sun), fire, dust, the shadow (of a tree or the like), a cow, a horse, land, wind, dew drops, flies, a calf at the time of making the cow flow with milk from the udder—these latter are pure when they come in contact with a person. Then it was said that certain birds and animals were either always pure or as to certain parts of the body e. g. *Yaj* I. 194 says that the mouths of goats and horses are pure but not of the cow. *Baudhāyana*⁷⁰⁰ quoted by *Aparārka* p. 276 provides that

699 शुद्धिकामो वा । तद्व्याभिपन्नगाथा गीयते । वैश्वानरं व्रातपतिं पवित्रेष्टं तपैरथ ।
क्रतुद्वयौ प्रयुज्जानो शुनाति दक्षणीयम् ॥ इति । आश्व श्री II 12

700. मुखवर्जं तु गीर्मेभ्य माजोरश्चक्षुःकर्म (? श्वरुमे) शुचिः । क्षीययन q. by अपरार्क
p. 276, almost the same words occur in ऋह्ण 16 14 (latter half).

the cow is pure except as to its mouth, and a cat when it is leaping or moving about. Bṛhaspati⁷⁰¹ and Yama (q. by Aparārka p. 276) state: 'the feet of brāhmanas, and the mouth of goats and horses, the backs of cows and all limbs of women are pure; the cow as to its back, the elephant as to its shoulder, the horse as to all its limbs and the dung and urine of cows, all these are pure'. Atri (240, 241) contains several verses⁷⁰² on this point. 'Things taken out from a mine or from kitchens (or places where grain is pounded &c.) are never impure, since all such places (where anything is prepared in the mass) except a place for the manufacture of liquor are pure. All fried (or roasted) things, fried barley and grain, dates, camphor, whatever else is well fried is pure'. In Atri V. 13 we read⁷⁰³ 'flies, a continuous stream (of any liquid), the earth, water, fire, a cat, a wooden ladle and a mongoose are always pure'. Parāśura (X. 41) states:⁷⁰⁴ 'space (ākāśa), wind, fire, water fallen on the earth, darbhas are not to be deemed polluted just as *camasas* in sacrifices are held to be not polluted.' Par. M. quotes a verse of Caturvīṃśatimata⁷⁰⁵ that raw meat, ghee, honey, oils extracted from fruits—these even when contained in vessels belonging to *caṇḍālas* become free from taint the moment they are taken out of these vessels. Bṛhaspati provides:⁷⁰⁶ 'machines for crushing grapes and sugarcane stalks, mines, the hands of craftsmen, the milk pail, fluids that come

701. बृहस्पति । पादौ शुची ब्राह्मणानामजाश्वत्थं कुलं शुचि । गवां पृष्ठानि मेघपानि सर्वान्नाणि पोषिनाम् ॥ यमः । पृष्ठतो गौरिजः स्तम्भे सर्वतोऽश्वः शुचिस्तथा । गोः पुरीयं च मूर्धं च सर्वं मेघपतिति स्थितिः ॥ पृष्ठशब्दोत्र कुलम्पतिरिक्तानिपयः । अपराक्षे p 276.

702. आकाशइतवस्तूनि नाशुचीनि कदाचन । आकराः शुचयः सर्वे वर्जयित्वा सुपाकरम् ॥ दृढा भृष्टपशुश्वैव तथैव चणका स्तृताः । जर्जरं चैव कपूरमन्पहृ भृष्टतरं शुचि ॥ अत्रि 240-241. आकराः. कारम् occurs in बी. ध. ह. I. 5 58. The शु. कौ. (p. 258) after quoting शब्द 16 15 (शुचं नदीगतं तोयं सर्वं एव तथाकारः) explains. सर्वं एवाकरा यन्पादिनदन्त्यानानि तथा अकलाजादिनिष्पत्तिस्थानानि चेत्यर्थः ।

703. मसिक्ता सन्ततिपरा भूमिस्तोषं हुताशनः । नार्जरीश्वैव दर्वी च नकुलश्च सच्य शुचि ॥ अत्रि V, 13. विश्वरूप on वा I. 193 quotes it without name as मसिक्ता विनो नार्जरी भूमि. दर्वी च मारुतश्च etc. नार्जरीश्च...मारुतश्च—occurs in लघुहारीत 43. शुद्धिकौस्तुभे p 357 explains: सन्ततिः शिशुः यश्चवर्षाम्पन्तत्रयस्कः धारा तु पतन्ती ।

704. आकाशं वायुरग्निश्च मेघं भूमिगतं जलम् । न प्रदुष्यन्ति दर्भाश्च यज्ञेषु चमसत यदा ॥ पराक्षर X. 41.

705. आमं नांसं पूनं क्षौद्रं स्नेहाश्च फलसम्भवा । अन्त्यभाण्डस्थिता ह्येते निष्कान्ताः शुचयः स्तृताः ॥ चतुर्विंशतिनत q. by पर. म. II 1 p 115 माय. विवेक p. 328 quotes the verse as यम's reading स्तृष्टभाण्ड. शु. कौ. p 318 also ascribes it to यम.

706. द्राक्षेडु यन्त्राककोरुहस्ता गोदीहनी यन्त्रविनिःसृतानि । बालैरप्यग्निनिद्राष्टि-
यानि मत्स्यद्वयानि शुचीनि तानि ॥ बृहस्पति q. by शुद्धिकशा p. 106.

out from crushing machines, actions (such as cooking) done by women and children when they are impure (by walking barefooted on the road) and are seen to be so, are still free from taint. One's⁷⁰⁷ own bed, garment, wife, child, water pot—these are free from taint for oneself, but these are impure to others. Śankha 16.15 is to the same effect.

Śankha⁷⁰⁸ states that whatever removes the dirt (or pollution) that is natural to a substance or arises from contact with another polluting substance must be declared to be its purifier. Śankha-Likhita⁷⁰⁹ declare that the substances that bring about purification of all (polluted things) are water, clay, the powder (or paste) of soap berries, bilva fruit, rice and mustard cake, salts (ashes), cow's urine and dung and that according to some when a substance is heaped up in a big mass, sprinkling with water. Manu V. 118, Yaj. I. 184, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23.13 also provide that sprinkling with water is the mode of purification when large quantities of corn or clothes are polluted, but when the quantity is small they must be washed with water. The quantity is said to be large when it is more than what one man can carry as a load (according to Kullūka on Manu V. 118).

The general rule laid down by Gaut. I. 45-46, Manu V. 126 (= Viṣṇu 23. 39), Yaj. I. 191 about the purification of things or bodies that are smeared with foul matter is that water and earth are to be employed for purification till the foul odour and the contact of the foul thing is entirely removed⁷¹⁰. Devala (q. by Aparārka p. 270) defines *śauca* as the removal by means of clay, water, cowdung and the like of the besmearing, the oiliness and odour of a thing that cause impurity.

707. आत्मघात्या च वस्त्रं च जायापरत्वं कमण्डलुः । आत्मनः सुचीन्पेतानि परेशान-
ल्लुचानि तु ॥ अपस्तम्बस्मृतिः II 4, औघायन I 5 61 (reads शान्पासनं यत्). अपस्तम्ब
p. 257 quotes it as औघायन's

708. मलं सयोगजं तज्जं यत्प चेनोपहृत्यते । तस्य तज्जोधनं शोकं सानात्वं द्वायशुद्धि-
कृतं ॥ शङ्ख q. by अपरार्क p. 256, दीपकालिका on या I. 191. मद् या p. 451 reads
मलसंयोगजम्.

709. सर्वेषामायो मृदरिष्टकेतुद्विलगत्पण्डुलसर्वपजलरुक्षारगोमृदुगोमयादीनीं द्रौच-
द्रव्याणि संश्रवणा मोक्षणानित्येकैः । शङ्खलिखितौ q. by चतुर्वर्ग vol. III part I p. 517.

710. लेपगन्धायकर्येण शौचमनेध्याकर्येण । तदन्दिं पूरं श्रुवा च । गौ पृथ्वी १-10.
Almost the same words occur in बसिष्ठ III.48, यावत्कापर्यनेध्यात्पादुषो लेपय
तत्कृत. । तावन्मृद्धारिः जायेय सर्वाद्यु द्रव्यशुद्धिषु ॥ मनु V. 126 = विल्ह 23.39

Gaut. Dh. S. (I, 28-33) briefly deals ^{710a} with the purification of things as follows: Purification of metallic substances (like bell-metal), earthenware, substances manufactured from wood, cloth made of threads or yarn is brought about respectively by rubbing (or scouring) them, by baking in fire, by chiselling or planing, by washing in water; objects made of stones, jewels, shells and pearls are purified by the same means as metallic substances; bones (ivory and the like) and mud (floor of houses) are purified in the same way as wooden substances; and earth (when polluted) is also purified by adding to it earth (brought from another pure spot); ropes, chips of bamboos and reeds, leather are purified by the same means as cloth or they may be abandoned when they are extremely polluted (as by the spilling of wine or urine or ordure). Vas (III, 49-53) has almost the same words, employing the word 'bhasmaparimārjana' (scouring with ashes and washing) for 'parimārjana'. The Āp. Dh. S. (I, 5, 17, 10-13) ⁷¹¹ provides: 'If one gets a used vessel only, he shall eat from it after having heated it thoroughly; a vessel made of metal is purified by being scoured with ashes and the like; a wooden vessel becomes pure by being scraped; at a sacrifice, vessels must be cleaned according to the precepts of the Veda.' Yaj. (III, 31-34) states; time (lapse of ten days or a year as to āśauca), fire, religious rites (like Āsvamedha or performing of *sandhyā*), clay, wind, mind, spiritual knowledge, austerities (such as *krōchra*), water, repentance (in the case of sins), fasting—all these are the causes of purification. Gifts are the (main) cause of purification for those who do what is forbidden, flow of water in the case of a river, clay and water are means of *suddhi* in the case of substances that are not clean, *sannyāsa* (order of asceticism) in the case of the twice-born, austerities in the case of those that have studied the Veda when they commit a sin (through ignorance), forbearance in the case of those who know the Self, forbearance in the case of dirty limbs, silent recital of Vedic mantras (*japa*) is the means of purifica-

710 a इव्यश्चुद्धिं परिमार्जनमदाहृतक्षणनिर्णेजनानि तैजसमार्तिकद्वारवतान्तवानाम् । तैजसवद्दुपलमणिशङ्खसुकानाम् । दारुवदक्षिपुष्यो । आवपनं च भूमे । चैलवद्भञ्जनिद्वल-
षर्मणाम् । उत्सर्गो वात्पन्तोपहतानाम् । गो 128-33. अत्यन्तोपहत is explained by
विश्वधर्मसूत्र 23.1 as 'शारीरमैलेः स्रताभिमर्शैर्वा यद्दुपहतं तदत्यन्तोपहतम् ॥

711. अनामीते सृणये भोक्तव्यम् । अमीतं वेदभिदग्धे । परिद्वष्टं लोहं प्रयत्म्
निर्लिखितं दारुमयम् । यथागनं यज्ञे । आप ध. सू. I. 5 17. 9-13 हरदत्त explains,
'अमीतं कश्चित्कार्ये पाकादावुपयुक्तम् . अग्निहोत्रहवणी दर्भैरग्निः प्रकालिता सोमपात्राणि
माजालीये प्रकालितानि आरुपपात्राण्युष्णेन कर्षिणा ॥

tion for those guilty of secret sins, truth in the case of the mind (that is full of or is polluted by sinful thoughts), austerities and esoteric knowledge in the case of the man who identifies his soul with the body, correct knowledge in the case of intelligence, knowledge of God is the pre-eminent purifier of the soul. Manu V. 107-109 (= Viṣṇu 22.90-92) contain almost the same ideas in almost the same words.

In prescribing the methods of cleaning polluted objects certain matters have to be considered according to a verse ascribed to Baudhāyana ⁷¹² by the Mit. (on Yāj I 190) which states: 'One should prescribe means of purification after considering the time, the place, the body (or himself), the thing (to be purified), the purpose for which the thing is to be used, origin (of defilement), the condition (of the thing or person defiled).'

There is some divergence of views about the means of purifying or cleansing certain objects. It is unnecessary to set out in detail these differences. It is proposed to take certain objects one after another and to specify how they were rendered pure according to several of the smṛtis and digests.

Certain foul things were said by the Smṛtyarīhasāra p 70 to be the causes of extreme pollution and certain others as causes of lesser or insignificant pollution. For example, excreta, urine, semen, blood, fat, marrow, liquor and intoxicants were the causes of great pollution; while dogs, village swine, cats, their urine, the wax from the ear, nails, phlegm, discharge from the eyes, perspiration are the causes of insignificant pollution.

Baud. Dh. S. I. 5 66 provides ⁷¹³ that the purification of the ground is brought about by means of sweeping with a (faultless) broom, by sprinkling (cow's milk, urine or water), by smearing with cowdung, by scattering (pure clay on it) and by scrubbing away (or scraping) some of the soil, when these are employed according to the situation of the ground and the particular impurity (of which it is to be purified) Baud. Dh.

712. देशं कालं तथास्थानं द्रव्यं द्रव्यप्रयोजनम् । उपपत्तिनदर्या च ज्ञान्ता रीचं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ बोधायन q also by विश्वस्व on या, I 195 and नेषातिथि on ननु V 118. बोधायनधर्मसूत्र I. 5 55 reads देशं ..वर्यां च विज्ञाप शौचं शौचज्ञः कुशलो धर्मोऽस्मान्मन्त्रेत् । The verse is ह्युपरासित 55 which reads कालं देशं । The मित्ता reads अथ मानं which means 'the bulk' (or extent of the thing to be purified)

713. भूनेस्तु संमार्जनमोक्षणोपलेपनावस्तरणोर्हसनेर्दधारथानं दोषविशेषान्नादयन्त्यौ । घ. ङ. I. 5 66 वसिष्ठ III. 56 is almost the same

S in another place states:⁷¹⁴ when firm soil is polluted it is purified by smearing it with cowdung, hollow ground (one having holes) is purified by ploughing, ground wet (with impurity) by covering it (with pure clay brought from elsewhere) after removing the impure thing Land is purified by means of four viz, being trodden under the foot of cows, by digging it up, by burning (firewood or grass thereon), by pouring over it (water, cow's urine or milk &c.) and fifthly, by smearing it (with cowdung) and sixthly, by the lapse of time. Vasistha III 57 quotes a verse which mentions five means of purification almost in the same words as those of Baudhāyana (except the sixth viz time) Manu V. 124 mentions five means of purification, viz, sweeping with a broom, smearing with cowdung, sprinkling, digging (and removing), the stay of cows thereon (for one day and night). Visnu Dh S. 23 57 adds *dāha* (burning) to the five of Manu Yāj. I 188 mentions seven means of the purification of the ground by adding *dāha* (burning) and *kala* (lapse of time) to the five mentioned by Manu. According to⁷¹⁵ the Vāmanapurāna the ground is purified by digging, burning, sweeping, treading by cows, smearing of cowdung, scrubbing and by sprinkling water. Devala quoted by the Mit and Aparārka on Yāj. I 188 gives a more elaborate treatment According to him polluted ground (*bhūmi*) is of three kinds, viz *amedhyā* (impure), *dustā* (soiled), and *mahnā* (dirty). Where a woman is delivered of a child or dies or is cremated or where a spot has been inhabited by cāndālas or where there are heaps of ordure and the like, ground that is full of foul things in this way is declared to be *amedhyā*.⁷¹⁶ That ground which is polluted by the contact of dogs, pigs, asses, camels and the like becomes *dustā* (soiled) and it becomes *mahnā* (dirty) by charcoal, husk, hair, bones or ashes. Then

714 घनाया भूमेरुपमात उपलेपनम् । ह्यविराया. कर्षणम् । क्लृप्ताया नेष्यमाहृत्प
प्रच्छादनम् । चतुर्भिः क्षुध्यते भूमिर्गविराकमगात्खननाद् दहनाद्भिर्वर्षणात् । पञ्चमाञ्चोपले-
पनात्पटात्कालात् । कौ. ध सू I 6.17-21 quoted and explained by छु कौ p. 100.

715. भूमिर्विशुध्यते खातदाहमार्जनगोक्रमैः । लेपादुल्लेखनात्सेकाद्वेदमसंमार्जनाचर्चनात् ॥
वामनपुराण 14 6S.

716. यत्र प्रक्षयते नारी म्रियते दह्यतेपि वा । चण्डालाधुषितं यत्र यत्र विद्यादिसंहति ॥
एवं कश्मलसुषिष्ठा भूमेरुष्या प्रकीर्तिता । श्वश्वकारखरोद्यादिसंस्पृष्टा दुष्टतां ब्रजेत् । अङ्गार-
तुपकेशास्थिमस्माद्यैर्मलिना भवेत् । मिता on या I 188. अपरार्क reads यत्रारिष्टादिसङ्घतिः
in the first verse and धूम for तुप. छु कौ. p. 101 reads प्रक्षते गर्भिणी यत्र म्रियते
यत्र मातुव । ..यत्र वा दह्यते शवः ॥ विष्मूञ्जोपहतं यत्र कुणपो यत्र दह्यते । एवं कश्मलः.
The definitions of दुष्टा and मलिना as quoted from देवल by छु कौ. p 101 and
छुद्वि. p 99 are different.

Devāla⁷¹⁷ prescribes the purification of the three kinds of ground: 'Purity is of five kinds, viz. digging up, burning (with wood or grass), smearing (with cowdung), washing (with water) or the fall of rain. Even *amedhyā* ground may be purified by these five means employed together (where a corpse is cremated or *candālas* dwell) or by four (i. e. omitting rainfall or burning in other cases of *amedhyā*); ground that is *dustā* is purified by three (digging up, burning and smearing with cowdung) or two (viz. digging up and burning) and *malinā* ground is purified by one (i. e. by digging up).

The *Smṛtyarthasāra* (pp. 73-74) provides that if an idol made of iron or other metal is slightly polluted (as defined above) then it can be purified by means of *pañcagavya* after rubbing it with ashes; similarly a stone idol, when slightly polluted, should be washed with water mixed with the clay from an ant-hill and becomes pure after being treated with *pañcagavya*. Any idol, if polluted with ordure, urine or village mud would become pure after first being flooded for five days with *pañcagavya*, after being well washed with cow's urine, cowdung and clay from an ant-hill and by being again installed (with all installation rites). Questions about the pollution of temples by the entry of the so-called untouchables or by the entrance of persons other than *brāhmanas* in the inmost shrine (*garbhagrha*) have come before the courts e. g. in *Gopala Muppanar v. Dharmakarta Subramama* 27 Madras Law Journal p. 253 at p. 258, where reference is made to the ceremonies for the removal of pollution according to the *Āgamas* and *Tantras*. In *S. K. Wodeyar v. Ganapati* (37 Bom. L R 584) the point arose whether, when a custom was alleged that in a temple at Banavasi in the Canara district none could enter the inner sanctum except persons belonging to the ten sub-divisions of *brāhmanas* and a *Lingayat* entered it in spite of the protests of the worshippers in charge of the temple, his entry polluted the temple and whether he was liable to pay for the sum spent over the purification of the temple, the High Court of Bombay held that the custom alleged viz. of excluding from the inner sanctum all that were not *brāhmanas* was proved and that the *Lingayat* gentleman who entered it in spite of protests was liable to pay damages for the wrongful entry. In the *Nirnayasinthu* (III

717. दहनं स्नानं भूमेरवलेपनवापने । पर्जन्यवर्षणं चेति शौचं पञ्चविधं स्मृतम् ॥ पञ्चधा वा चतुर्धा वा भूमेरध्या विदुष्यति । द्विधा त्रिधा वा दुष्टा तु शुद्ध्यते मलिनैकाधा ॥ वैश्वदेव १ by शु. कौ. p. 101 which explains वापनं as इदन्तरेण पूरणम्.

pūrvārḍha pp. 351-52), the Dharmasindhu (III p. 324) and other medieval digests provision is made for the re-consecration (*punaḥ-pratiṣṭhā*) of an idol in a temple when the idol is polluted by the touch of *cāṇḍālas* or wine or is burnt by fire or is defiled by the touch of sinners or the blood of a *brāhmana* ⁷¹⁸ If the idol be broken in two or more pieces or if it becomes broken (irregularly), if it be burnt or falls from its pedestal or be insulted, is without worship or is touched by an ass or the like animal, or falls on foul ground or is worshipped with the mantras of other gods,—in these ten circumstances Godhood ceases to indwell in the idol. If an idol be touched by robbers, *cāṇḍālas*, *patita* people, by a dog or a woman in her courses or if it be polluted by the touch of a corpse re-consecration is necessary.

The *Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra* (23, 34) provides that idols when polluted should be purified in the same way in which the substances of which they are made (such as stone or copper &c.) is purified and then they should be re-consecrated. If the worship of an idol already consecrated is stopped for a day, two days, a month, or two months or it is touched by *sūdras* or a woman in her monthly course, then at a proper time *puṇyāhavācana* should be performed, an even number of *brāhmanas* should be fed, the idol should be submerged in water for a night and next day bathed with *pañca-gavya* from a jar full of it to the accompaniment of the respective mantras, then another jar should be filled with pure water and therein the nine kinds of precious stones should be cast, the jar should then have the

718. अथ पुन प्रतिष्ठा । तानधिष्ठुत्व ह्यपशीर्षपञ्चरात्रे । चाण्डालमद्यसंस्पर्शद्विधा
 धदिनापवा । अपुपयजनसंस्पृष्टा विमलतजद्विधा ॥ संस्कार्येति शेषः । पदार्थादर्शं ब्राह्मे । खण्डिते
 स्फुटिते दग्धे ब्रह्मे नानविकर्जिते । पागहीने पशुस्पृष्टे पतिते द्रुष्टभूमिषु । अन्ममन्त्राचिन्ते चैव
 पतितस्पर्शद्विपतिते । दशस्त्वेतु नौ चक्रुः संनिधानं द्विवैकतः ॥ पाप. पूजा पशु गद्वैभादिः ।...
 सिद्धाप्नोते । चौरचण्डालपतितश्वोदक्यास्पृशने सति । श्वाद्युपहतौ चैव प्रतिष्ठा पुनराचरेत् ॥
 • शुद्धिविधेके विष्णुः । द्रव्यवत्कृतश्रीचानां देवतार्चानां भूयः प्रतिष्ठापनेन शुद्धिरिति । अर्वाः
 प्रतिष्ठा । तद्द्रव्यस्य ताभ्यादेवकगौचं कृत्वा पुनः प्रतिष्ठा कुर्यादित्यर्थः । तद्विधिर्नोपायनद्वये ।
 पूर्वमतिद्विस्पर्शाद्भिर्पूर्वकनेकरात्रं द्विरात्रमेकमासं हिमासं वा अर्चनादिविच्छेदे शुद्धरजस्वलाद्यु-
 पस्यन्ने पूर्वोक्तं काले पुण्याहं वाचयित्वा पुनान्द्र ब्राह्मणान् भोजयित्वा निशायां जटाधिवारसं
 कृत्वा श्वोक्ते कलगापूर्णेन पञ्चगव्येन तत्तन्मन्त्रैः स्नापयित्वा अन्यं कलगां शुद्धोदकेनापूर्वं
 तस्मिन्मन्त्रेणानि मक्षिप्य तं कलगां तत्तद्वायुपादसहस्रमष्टशतमष्टाविंशतिवारं वाभिमन्त्र्य
 तेनोदकेन देवं स्नापयेत्तत् शुद्धोदकेन स्नापयेदष्टसहस्रमष्टशतमष्टाविंशतिवारं वा पुष्यसूक्तेन
 मूढमन्त्रेण च । ततः पुण्याणि कृत्वा यथासम्भवमर्चयित्वा शुद्धोदनं निषेदयेदिति । ब्रह्मिपूर्वं
 तु विष्णुदेवो पूर्वोक्तं प्रतिष्ठां पुन कुर्यात् । निर्णयसिन्धु III पूर्वोर्ध्व pp 351-52 The passage
 from पूर्वमतिद्विस्पर्शाद्भिर्पूर्वकनेकरात्रं to the end is a quotation (with some omissions and
 additions) from कौषायनशुद्धशेषद्वय II.19 (Mysore Un, ed.)

Gāyatrī mantra appropriate to the idol repeated over it 1003 or 108 or 28 times and the idol should then be bathed with that water, it should be bathed with pure water to the accompaniment of the *Puruṣasūkta* (Rg. X. 90) and the *mūlamंत्रा* 1003, or 108 or 28 times. Then flowers should be offered and worship of the idol should be performed and a *naivedya* of boiled rice and jaggery should be offered.

Recently after the attainment of Independence some of the Provincial Legislatures in India have passed laws (e.g. Bombay Act 35 of 1947, C. P. and Berar Act 41 of 1947) throwing open all Hindu public temples to people who were once called untouchable. This is not the place to discuss in detail the arguments for and against these measures. Many orthodox Hindus hold that their inmost feelings are hurt by this tyranny of the majority in the Legislatures. They feel that these measures are contrary to the four freedoms that are promised in many constitutions viz. freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want and freedom from fear. These measures are likely to be followed by serious consequences. It is felt that the younger generation now being educated has hardly any faith in religion or in anything being sacred, that the so-called untouchables themselves when once they have asserted their right of entering Hindu temples scarcely ever care to frequent them and the orthodox Hindus also often cease to worship therein. There is the further fear that, if religious feelings even when unreasonable according to progressive views could be trampled upon by the views of the majority, there is no knowing where the process would stop. There would be temptation for the majority in a country to say that the sacred places of other religions should either not exist at all or be opened for any one not belonging to the faith of the minorities. It would have been far better that, while removing all the disabilities of the so-called untouchables as to employment, public places, courts and education, temples had been left alone for some years to come. The entrance of one set of people into the temples often entails the departure of another set, as said by P. C. in *Sahlat v. Balla* 28 Bom. L. R. 161, which is not a very desirable thing. The equality of the former untouchables in all secular matters is sure to spread in a generation or so to other non-secular matters and so to entry into temples. Adjustments on an unprecedented scale are taking place in modern India with regard to usages cherished for ages and the entry into temples of the so-called untouchables would have been effected in a few years without recourse to the threat of

punishments and without bitterness and rancour in the hearts of many people.

From very ancient times water has been regarded as a great purifier. Rg. VII. 47 and 49 are hymns addressed to waters as divinities and they are there described as themselves pure and as purifying others (as in Rg. VII. 49. 2 and 3 'śucayah pāvakah'). Similarly Rg. X. 9 and 30 are hymns addressed to waters, in the former of which the waters are invoked to remove whatever sin or wrong one may have committed (Rg. X. 9. 8 'idam-apaḥ pra vahata yat kiñca duritam mayi') Atharva-veda I. 33 is a hymn addressed to waters, wherein also they are described as 'śucayah pāvakah' (in A. V. I. 33. 1 and 4). The Vāj S. VI. 17 (closely following Rg. X. 9. 8) invokes waters to remove whatever is censurable and dirty.⁷¹⁹ In Vāj S. IV. 2 the sage prays 'May the Waters, our mothers, purify us!'⁷²⁰ The Śat. Br. I. 7. 4. 17 (S. B. E. vol. 12 p. 213) states 'water is a means of purification.' Viśvarūpa on Vāj. I. 191 quotes a long Vedic passage⁷²¹ wherein it is said "whatever creates doubt (whether it is pure or impure) should be touched with waters; then it becomes pure." It is therefore that water (hot or cold) is said to be the purifier of various kinds of vessels and of the ground in Yāj. I. 182-183, 188, Manu V. 109, 112, 126. Gobhila (I. 31-32)⁷²² lays down that when a man engaged in any religious rite hears a mantra addressed to the *pitrs*, scratches his body, looks at a man of the lowest caste, or allows the wind to escape from his intestines, laughs loudly or speaks an untruth, touches a cat or a mouse, or uses harsh language, has a fit of anger, he should perform *ūcamana* (or touch water).

According to Yāj I. 187 and Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23.56 a polluted house is purified by being swept and cowdunged. But more stringent rules were laid down if a dog, a śūdra, a *patita*, a *mleccha* or a *caṇḍāla* died in a brāhmana's house (vide note 633 above). After keeping the house vacant for the periods

719 इदमायं प्रवहतावर्धं च मलं च यद् । यत्राभिदुद्रोहादृतं यत्र शोषे अभीक्षणम् । आपो ना तस्मादेवत् । पवमानश्च सुञ्जतु । वाज सं VI. 17.

720. आपो अस्मान्मातरः शुन्धयन्तु घृतेन नो घृतञ्च. घृन्तु । वाज. सं IV 2.

721. तथा चान्नायः । वाग्वै देवेभ्योऽप्याक्रामत्.. तस्माद्यद्यन्मीमांस्यं स्यात्तच्छुद्धिः स्युशेत् शुन्देव भवति । विश्वरूप on या. I. 191.

722. पित्र्यान्ब्राह्मद्रवण आत्नालम्बेऽधनेक्षणे । अधोवायुसप्तसुक्तेर्गे महात्सेऽहवमाषणे ॥ माजोरनुपकल्पशो आमुष्टे क्रोधतन्भवे । निमित्तेष्वेपु सर्वत्र कर्म कुर्वन्नपः स्युशेत् ॥ गोभिलस्त्विति I. 31-32, quoted by कृत्परत्नाकर p 50.

stated in note 633, it is provided by Samvarta⁷²³ that a house that is polluted by the existence of a corpse inside it should be dealt with as follows: earthen pots and cooked food should be cast away and thrown out of the house which should then be smeared with cowdung and then a goat should be made to go about in it smelling it and then the whole house should be sprinkled over with water in which gold and *kuśas* are put in by brāhmanas rendered holy by the repetition of the Gāyatri mantra; then the house becomes pure. Marci prescribes⁷²⁴ that if a candāla (merely) entered a house, it can be purified by plastering it with cowdung, but if he were to stay in it long, purification can be had only by heating it and making flames of fire lick its walls.

The ground in a brāhmana's house, in a temple, in a cow-pen should, says Yama, always be regarded as pure (unless it has been polluted).

A great deal is said in the smrtis and digests about the purification of water. Ap. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 2 says⁷²⁵ in a general way that a person after sipping water from what is collected on the ground becomes pure. But the Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 65, Manu V. 128, Yaj. I. 192, Śankha 16. 12-13, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna 35.19 and others add that water collected on the ground that is of such volume that a cow can slake its thirst therein, that is in its natural state and is not polluted by any thing impure and that has natural colour (is transparent) and taste and odour (either no odour or a fragrant odour) is pure. Śankha says⁷²⁶ the same about water collected on a stony surface and adds that the water of a flowing river is always pure. Devala states⁷²⁷ that water brought in clean vessels is

723. संवर्तः । एहञ्छुद्धिं प्रवक्ष्यामि अन्त रथज्ञवद्वयणे । प्रोत्सृज्य घृन्मय भाण्डं सिद्धमक्ष
सर्वेषु च ॥ घृहात्पारस्य सत्सर्वं गोमयेनोपलेपयेत् । गोमयेनोपलेपित्याद्य छागेनाप्रापयेद् द्वयम् ।
ब्राह्मणैर्मन्त्रपूतैश्च हिरण्यकुशवारिणा । सर्वमभ्युक्षयेद्देहम् ततः शुष्पयसंज्ञापद् ॥ अपरार्क
p. 265, छुद्धिम pp. 100-101, छुद्धिकौ. pp. 303-304.

724. घृहेष्वजातिसंपेक्षे शुद्धिः स्वाद्वपलेपनात् । संवत्सो यदि जायते दाहतापै-
विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ मरीचि q. by अपरार्क p. 266, छुद्धिम p. 101, छु कौ p. 303 (reads
दाहलेपैः).

725. भूमिगतास्वप्त्वाच्चम्य भयतो भवति । आप. ध. सू. I. 5. 15. 2.

726. भूमिद्वेषवकं शुद्धं शुद्धिं तोयं शिलागतम् । वर्णगन्धरसैर्बुद्धैर्निर्जतं यदि तद्वयेद् ॥
अ. 16. 12-13 q. by छु. कौ. p. 297, छु. प्र. p. 102.

727. उदूताभ्यादि शुष्पन्ति शुद्धैः पानैः सङ्कृताः । एकरात्रोपिवा आपस्तयान्या. शुद्धा
अपि स्वयम् ॥ देवल q. by मिता and अपरार्क on या. I. 192.

pure but when it is (stale owing to its being stored) for one night (or more) it should be thrown though it was pure (when originally brought). There ⁷²⁸ is no taint in water that cannot be agitated by any beings and in the water of springs (that flow from hills). Tanks (that are so deep) that they cannot be agitated, rivers, wells and lakes (that are similar) should not be used by the usual way of descent (the *ghat*) if they come in contact with *candālas* and other impure persons or things. In *Narhari v. Bhumrao*, the Bombay High Court had to deal with the question whether a certain tank at Mahad in the Kolaba District could not be resorted to by untouchables for taking water and held that the untouchables were not prevented from using it (vide 39 Bombay L. R. p. 1295).

Bṛhaspati provides that if in a well the dead body of an animal with five nails (man or beast) is found or if the well is otherwise extremely polluted all the water of the well should be taken out and the rest should be dried up by means of clothes, then if the well be built with burnt bricks flames of fire should be made (to lick the surface of the walls), and then *pañcagavya* should be poured over when fresh water begins to flow in (from the springs) ⁷²⁹. Āpastamba (q. by Śuddhikaumudī p. 299) states the circumstances when a well may be said to be extremely polluted: 'hair, excrements and urine, menstrual discharge, a dead body—when a well is defiled by these one should take a hundred jars of water from it' (and further purification by putting *pañcagavya* in it should be resorted to if there is more water). Parāśara VII. 3 says the same about wells (with steps), wells without steps and tanks.

Yāj. I. 197 (= Visnu Dh. S. 23. 41) provides that mud and water on roads which come in contact with lowest castes (like *candālas*), dogs and crows and buildings (like *mathas*) constructed with burnt bricks are purified by the wind alone

⁷²⁸. असोम्यानि तद्भागानि नृविवर्षिसंरासे च । चण्डालाद्यद्युत्त्रिंशर्षो तीर्थतः परिजयेत् । असोम्याणामर्षा नास्ति प्रसूतानां च दूषणम् । देवल १ by अपराक p 272 छु ३ p 102 (reads कश्मलाद्युत्त्रियुक्तानि) and explains कश्मल as इवादे and अद्युत्त्रि as विष्मूत्रम्

⁷²⁹. मृतपञ्चनखात्कृपाद्व्यन्तोपहतात्तथा । अप. ससुद्धरेत्सर्वाः शेषं वस्त्रेण शोधयेत् ॥ धृष्टिमन्त्रालनं कृत्वा कृपे पकेष्टकाचिते । पञ्चगव्यं स्पृशेत् पश्चात्प्रतोयससुद्धये ॥ बृहस्पति १ by अपराक p. 272. The first is quoted as a text of Uśanas by छु. की. p. 298 and reads शालेण (शास्त्रविधिना) for वस्त्रेण. The two verses are विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 23.44-45.

(blowing on them). Parāśara VII. 34 states⁷³⁰ that mud and water on roads, boats, paths, grass and whatever is constructed with burnt bricks are rendered pure by the wind and the sun.

Rain water after it fell on the ground was supposed to be impure⁷³¹ for ten days. Similarly Yogiyājñavalkya (q. by S. K. p. 291) remarks that water of a river (dried up in summer) coming down in a flood for the first time (after rains) should not be taken (as pure) and also water that is agitated by some one (with the feet &c.) and waters that start in a separate stream by themselves from a holy river (like the Ganges). Even when a well (without steps) or a well (with a flight of steps) or a reservoir with a dam is constructed by men of the lowest castes, no *prāyaścitta* is prescribed for bathing therein or for drinking water therefrom.⁷³²

Visnu Dh S 23. 46 provides⁷³³ that the purification of small reservoirs of water that are static (i. e. from which no streams flow down) is made in the same way as that of wells (without steps), while in the case of large reservoirs no pollution is recognised. It is declared that waters are purified by the rays of the sun and the moon and the contact of the wind and by cowdung and the urine of cows; some of these ideas are supported by modern scientific discoveries.

A verse q. by Aparārka p. 273 provides⁷³⁴ that even the water at a *prapū* (a shed where water is distributed gratis to

730 *रथाकार्दमतोयानि नात्र पन्थास्तृणानि च । मत्तानेण ह्युच्यन्ति पक्केकाचित्तानि च ॥ पराशर VII. 34.* *श्रीयकालिका* on वा. I. 197 and *ह्यु* कौ p. 304 quote it but read *रथानात्त मद्भयन्ति पक्के* and the latter explains 'रथानाद्भयजातीनानिरवयं . .) विश्वरूप does not comment on वा. I 197 saying that it is superfluous, for the verse *रथाकार्दमतोयानि गावाः पथि तृणानि च सावतेवैव ह्युच्यन्ति* vide *दानमदुराण* 14. 73.

731. अजा गावो महिषश्च आहाणी च प्रसृतिका । दशरात्रेण ह्युच्यन्ति भूमिष्ठ च भिषोदकम् ॥ यम q. by *ह्यु* कौ. p. 297, while अपराक p. 293 ascribes it to मद्भ .

732. अन्वेषरपि कृते कूपे सेतो वाण्यादिके तथा । तत्र स्नात्वा च पीत्वा च मायश्चित्तं न विद्यते ॥ शातात्प q. by *मिता* and अपराक on वा. I 192. *ह्युद्धिमकाश* p. 106 remarks 'इति स्वल्पन्तापद्विषयमिति कूलिपाणि. .'

733. जलाशयेष्वथाल्पेषु स्थानरेषु महीतले । कूपवत्काथिता ह्यद्धिर्महत्तु च न दूषणम् । सोमसूयैर्ह्युपातिना सावतस्पर्शनेन च । गवा मूत्रपुरीषेण ह्युष्यन्त्याप इति स्मृतम् ॥ विष्णु q. by अपराक p. 273 The first is *विष्णुधर्मसूत्र* 23.46 and the 2nd is almost like आपस्तम्ब (in verse) II. 7.

734. मपास्वरूपे चटयं च कूपे द्रोण्यां जलं कोशजातस्तरथाप । कवेपि शूद्राचद्वेष-माह्वरापद्रवः काक्षितवत् पिबेत् ॥ यम q. by अपराक p. 273 and *ह्यु* न p. 104 (which reads 'भूमिगता पिबेत्'). This reading would mean that he should pour such water on the ground and when it is as much in volume as would slake a cow's thirst he may drink it. The first half occurs in अत्रि 233, आपस्तम्बस्मृति II. 2. *ह्यु* म. p. 103 quotes *इह* लिखित to the same effect

thirsty travellers) in a forest or from a jar placed near a well (for drawing water by any body) or the water in (a stone or wooden) trough (meant for all and sundry) and water from a leather bag even though these may not belong to a śūdra are unfit for drinking, but one may drink even such water as much as he desires when in distress. This shows that even in ancient times water was carried in leather bags or drums where there was scarcity of water and was allowed to be used even by twice-born people.

We may now turn to the purification of metals and vessels. Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 34-35 and I. 6. 37-41, Vasistha III. 58 and 61-63, Manu V. 111-114, Yāj. I. 182 and 190, Viṣṇu 23.2, 7, 23-24, Śaṅkha 16. 3-4, Smṛtyarthasāra p. 70 and others lay down rules about the purification of metals which do not agree in details. Therefore it is proposed to set out only what is said by Manu and one or two others. Manu (V. 113 ff.) says 'The wise declare that the purification of metals (like gold), of precious stones (like emerald), of all articles of stone is brought about by ashes, water and clay. Articles of gold that are not smeared (with dirty things like leavings of food &c.) become pure by means of water alone; the same holds good of articles that are found in water (coral and shells), that are made of stone and are made of silver on which no craftsmanship (such as drawing lines or figures) has been expended. Gold and silver sprang forth through the union of water and fire; therefore their purification is brought about best by their causes, viz. water (in case of slight pollution) and fire (in case of extreme pollution). The purification of copper, iron, bell-metal, brass, tin and lead should be brought about by salts (ashes), acids and water according to circumstances (i. e. pollution caused). Vasistha (III. 58, 61-63) says: 'bell-metal is purified with ashes, gold and silver with water alone and copper with acids.' Yāj. I. 190 says 'the purification of tin, lead and copper is brought about by salt water, acids and ordinary water, of bell-metal and iron by ashes and water.' The Lingapurāna (pūrvārdha, 189. 58) says: bell-metal is purified by ashes, iron articles by salt; copper, tin and lead by acids; golden and silver vessels are purified by water and jewels, stones, conches and pearls are purified in the same way as metallic vessels. Vide Vāmanapurāna (14. 70) which states that copper pots are purified by acids, tin and lead ones by salts, bell-metal by ashes and water. Medhātithi on Manu V. 114

quotes a verse ⁷³⁵ which says 'vessels of bell-metal (or brass) when licked (or breathed over) by cows, in which śūdras have taken their food and which have been defiled by dogs and crows are purified by being scoured ten times with ashes (salts).' Śātātapa has a similar verse (vide Par. M. vol II part 1 p 172).

Elaborate rules are laid down about the purification of polluted pots and vessels used in ordinary life, in Baud. Dh. S. I. 5. 34-50, I. 6. 33-42, Yaj. I. 182-183, Viṣṇu 23. 2-5, Śankha 16. 1-5 and others. There is some variation in all these, but, as the Mit. on Yaj. I. 190 remarks, it is not an absolute rule that copper must be purified by acids alone but if purification is possible by other means, they may be resorted to. It is not necessary to set out the different modes of purifying vessels. A passage from the Śuddhi-prakāśa pp. 117-118 would be sufficient to indicate how this matter of *pātraśuddhi* (cleansing of polluted vessels) was dealt with in medieval India. "vessels made of gold, silver, conches, shells, stones, precious stones, bell metal, brass, tin, lead are purified by mere water, provided they have no dirt or pollution sticking to them, if these vessels are polluted by the contact of leavings of food &c. they are purified by ashes and water or acids and water according as anyone of these is appropriate; the vessels made of the above substances that are polluted for a long time owing to being used by śūdras or owing to contact with leavings of food should first be scoured with salts (ashes) and water three times and should be then cast into fire so long as it can be borne (without the vessels being broken, melted or burnt up) and then they become pure. Vessels of bell metal when polluted by only dogs, crows, śūdras and leavings of food only once or licked by cows become pure by being scoured ten times with salts and water; but if they are polluted by the above several times then they have to be scoured 21 times for becoming pure. If in a vessel belonging to the three higher *varṇas* a śūdra takes his meal, it becomes pure after being washed four times with salts and being cast in fire and then taken up with hands that are washed clean with water. A vessel of bell-metal that is polluted once by the leavings of a

735 गवाभ्रातानि कार्पाणि सूक्ष्मच्छिद्यानि यानि च। ह्युध्वन्ति वृशभिः क्षत्रैः श्वका-
कोपहतानि च ॥ १. by मेधा on मनु V. 113 and मिता. on या I. 190 This is
लघुशातप 141. This verse is ascribed to अङ्गिरस् by छू कौ p 307 and to
शातप by छू. म. 116. This occurs in पराशर VII. 23, where the words सूक्ष्म-
च्छिद्यानि and श्वकाकोपहतानि are transposed.

woman freshly delivered or by intoxicants or liquors becomes pure after being heated in fire; but if it is polluted several times then it becomes pure by being again manufactured. A vessel of bell-metal that is polluted by being frequently used for holding the water expelled from the mouth after rinsing it or the water in which the feet are washed should be buried in the ground for six months, then heated in fire and then it becomes pure (compare Parāśara VII. 24-25); but if it is polluted thus only once it becomes pure after (being buried in the ground) for ten days. All metal vessels polluted for a short time by the bodily dirt such as urine, excrement, semen become pure after being placed for seven nights in cow's urine or in a great river; but if they are polluted as above many times or are polluted by the contact of a corpse, a freshly delivered woman or a woman in her monthly course they become pure after being thrice washed with salts, acids and water and after being heated in fire till they can bear it, but if these are polluted by urine and for a long time and frequently they become pure by being beaten into shape (manufactured) again.

Visnu (23. 2 and 5) provides that all metal vessels when extremely polluted (as stated in note 710) are purified by being cast into fire and that vessels of wood or clay when extremely polluted should be given up, but Devala⁷³⁶ and others provide that wooden vessels when slightly polluted become pure by being planed or chiselled or by means of clay, cowdung or water and that earthen vessels if not extremely polluted become pure by being baked in fire⁷³⁷ (also Yāj. I. 187). But Vas. III. 59 provides that an earthen vessel if polluted by the contact of wines, urine, excrement, phlegm, tears, pus and blood is not purified even by being burnt in fire,⁷³⁸

Special rules are provided for the purification of vessels and implements used in Vedic sacrifices. Baud. Dh. S. (I. 5. 51-52)⁷³⁹ remarks that the *camasa* vessels used in sacrifices

736 काष्ठानां तक्षणाच्छुद्धिर्घृत्तोरामयजतेरपि । सृष्टयानां ह पात्राणां वह्नाच्छुद्धि-
रप्यते ॥ देवल G. by शुद्धिम. p. 118. Vide मनु V. 115 for the same rule about
wooden vessels

737. Vide Leviticus 11. 32-33 about unclean vessels of wood and
earthenware and their purification.

738 मद्यैर्मुत्रैश्चुरीयैर्वा श्रेष्मत्प्राशुशोणितैः । संसृष्टं नैव शुष्येत पुनःपाकेन दृग्मयम् ॥
वासिष्ठ III. 59 = मनु V. 123. It may be noted that मेघातिथि does not comment
on this verse and quotes it on मनु V. 122 without naming the source

739. वचनायज्ञे चमसपात्राणात् । न सोमिनाच्छिष्टा भवन्तीति श्रुतिः । बौ. ध. सू.
I. 5. 51-52 Vide H of Dh vol. II p 1177 n. 2598, for the drinking of soma
from *camasas* by the priests one after another.

are purified according to the special Vedic texts, since the Veda says that *camasa* vessels do not incur the fault of being *ucchuṣṭa* when it is soma liquid that is drunk from them. Manu V. 116-117, Yāj. I. 183-185, Visnu Dh. S. 23. 8-11, Sankha 16. 6, Parāśara VII. 2-3 and others lay down rules about the purification of sacrificial implements. For example, Manu (V. 116-117) provides 'sacrificial vessels should be first rubbed with the right hand (or with darbhas or strainer) and then *camasas* and cups are to be washed with water before using them in the sacrifice; the *carusthālī* (the vessel in which the oblation of boiled rice is prepared), *sruc* (a wooden vessel used for pouring clarified butter on sacrificial fire), and *srava* (wooden ladle of a semicircular shape) are purified by being washed with hot water; the *sphya* (wooden sword), the winnowing basket, the cart (for bringing the soma plant), wooden mortar and pestle, are purified with water (or sprinkling water according to Yāj. I. 184).

Several rules were laid down about the purification of polluted corn and polluted cooked food. A reference has already been made to the purification of heaps of corn. Common sense, convenience and the loss that may be caused by very stringent provisions are the considerations which prompt the rules on this subject. Visnu 23.25 provides ⁷⁴⁰ that where a heap of rice (or other grain) is polluted, one should throw away only that portion of it which is actually defiled and should submit the rest to pounding and washing with water; cooked food that exceeds in volume one *drona* and that has been defiled does not all become tainted, but that throwing away the defiled portion alone, one should sprinkle over the rest water mixed with gold on which the sacred Gāyatrī verse has been repeated and should hold it before a goat to see it and should also bring fire near it. Vide Baud. Dh. S. I. 6. 44-48. 'If grains of rice are polluted they should be washed and dried. But if it is a large quantity then sprinkling with water is enough; husked rice (if polluted) should be cast away. The same rule applies to cooked offerings. But in the case of large heaps of cooked food that portion which is polluted by dogs or crows should be cast away and the rest should be sprinkled with the *Anuvāk* 1

740. असिद्धस्यान्नस्य शकन्मात्रमुपहृतं तन्मात्रं पारित्यज्य दोषस्य कण्ठनमहालने कुर्यात् । द्रोणाधिकं सिद्धमन्नमुपहृतं न कुप्यति । तस्योपहृतमात्रमपास्य गावश्याभिमन्त्रितं सुवर्णान्मम. प्राक्षिपेद् अस्तस्य च मद्भाषेदग्नेश्च । तिष्ठणः 23 11. The छादिकौ p 317 reads 'स्यस्य दग्नेदग्नेश्च'

paṇamānaḥ suvarjanaḥ' (Tai. Br. I. 48). Gaut. 17. 9-10 provide⁷⁴¹ that one should not partake of food that was cooked along with hair and insects (like ants), nor food that is polluted by the contact of a woman in her monthly illness, by a crow or by being struck with the foot (of some one). But where food is already cooked and then it is smelt by a cow or it is polluted by the falling into it of hair, insects, flies, then Yāj. I. 189 and Parāśara VI. 64-65 provide that in order to purify it water, ashes (with water) or loose earth (with water) should be cast over it. Āp. Dh. S. I. 5 16. 24-29 provide that one should not partake of food in which hair exists (i. e. it was there from the beginning) or anything else (like nails) that is impure or of food that is touched with an unclean substance or in which an insect that subsists on impure things exists or food which is struck by the feet of any person or in which the excrement or the tail (or limb) of a rat is found.

The general rule is stated by Manu V. 118 which applies not only to corn and clothes but to many other articles viz. if there is a heap or a large quantity then sprinkling with water (*prokṣaṇa*) suffices for purification but if the quantity is small then washing with water is necessary. Manu V. 125 (= Viṣṇu Dh. S. 23.38) provides that (a small quantity of) cooked food part of which is pecked by birds (whose flesh is eaten by men), which is smelt by a cow, which is struck with the foot (by a man) and over which some one has sneezed or which is polluted by the falling in of hair and insects becomes pure by casting into it loose earth (and water). Parāśara (VI 71-74) puts the matter⁷⁴² thus: "food licked by dogs and crows or smelt by a cow or ass, if little in quantity, should be thrown away by a brahmana, but purification should be resorted to if it is a drona or aḍhaka in quantity. That portion which is defiled by the saliva of a dog or crow should be thrown away and water in which gold is put should be sprinkled over the remaining portion, then flames of fire should lick the remaining

741. नित्यनभोज्यम् । केशकीटावपन्नम् । रजस्वलाकृष्णशकृन्निपदोपहतम् । गौ. 17 5-10.

742 काकश्वानावलीढं तु गवाघ्रात खरेण वा । स्वल्पमन्नं त्यजेद्दिमः क्षुद्धिर्दोषाढके भवेत् ॥ अन्नस्योदृत्य तन्मात्रं यच्च लालाहतं भवेत् । सुवर्णोदकमभ्युदयं हुताशेनैव तापयेत् । हुताशेनैव संसृष्टं सुवर्णसालिलेन च । विनापात्रं ब्रह्मघोषेण भोज्यं भवति तत्क्षणात् ॥ परोक्षर VI 71-74, q. by क्षुद्धिमकाश pp. 128-129 (which reads यच्च लालाकृतं भवेत् in the 2nd verse).

food and brāhmanas should loudly recite Vedic hymns (like the Pavamānasūkta) over it and then the food becomes fit for eating". The Śuddhiprakāsa explains that the wealthy should not throw away food if it is more than a drona in quantity and a poor man if it is more than an ādhaka ⁷⁴³.

Manu V. 115 ⁷⁴⁴ says that in the case of all liquids (such as oils, ghee &c.) purification (when they are little in quantity) is brought about by means of two kuśas dipped into them (or by straining them through a piece of cloth into another pot) and if the quantity is large then by sprinkling (water). Śankha provides ⁷⁴⁵ that purification is brought about by mera proksana in the case of all exudations (Asafoetida &c.), jaggery, salts, safflower, saffron and in the case of wool and cotton. Vide note 705 above about certain articles being pure the moment they are transferred from the pots of even mlecchas &c.

A few words may be said about the purification of different kinds of cloth and garments and the materials of which they are made. Laghu-Āśvalāyana (I 28-30) provides that a white garment is always commended for wearing (as a dhokā), but they are commended for wearing as upper garments and both are not defiled by the touch of anybody. Men may take their food or answer calls of nature while covered with both; trasara is purified by being washed while a silken garment is always pure. Manu V. 120-121, Yāj I 186-187 and Visnu (23. 19-22) provide almost in the same words that silken and woollen cloth is cleansed by saline earth (and with water and cow's urine), Nepalese blankets by the powder of soap berry, clothes made of tree bark with Bilva fruit and linen cloth by (paste of) white mustard. Visnu 23. 6 says ⁷⁴⁶ that when a garment is extremely polluted that portion thereof which when washed with water loses its colour should be cut off. Śankha ⁷⁴⁷ quoted by Vjāva-

743. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 124 for the measures of capacity called drona and ādhaka. According to most writers four ādhakas are equal to a drona.

744. द्रवाणां चैव सर्वेषां हृद्धिरुत्पन्नं स्तुतम् । मोक्षार्णं संहतानां च क्षारवाणां च तक्षणम् ॥ मनु V. 115. कुल्लूक explains 'प्रादेशयमाणकुशापत्रद्वयाम्बामुत्पन्नेन हृद्धिः ।', while the हृद्धिम p. 133 remarks उत्पन्नं वस्त्रान्तरितपात्रमक्षेपेण कौटिल्यपन्नमित्युक्तम् ।

745. निर्यासानां शुद्धानां च लवणानां तथैव च । कुसुम्भकुङ्कुमानां च कर्णार्ताणां सपोस्तथा । मोक्षणात्काथिता हृद्धिरित्याह भगवान्पुत्रम् ॥ शङ्ख 16. 11-12.

746. अत्यन्तोपहतस्य वस्त्रस्य यत्प्रक्षालितं निरज्यते तच्छिद्यथात् । विण्ण्यर्मद्वय 23.6.

747. खेलानामुत्सेवेन प्रक्षालनं तन्मात्रच्छेदो वा । शङ्ख. 9. by विश्वरूप 02 या.

rūpa on Yāj. I. 182 prescribes that garments are purified by being submitted to hot steam, by washing with water or by cutting off only that portion that is defiled. Parāśara VII. 28 provides that garments made from bamboos and barks of trees, linen and cotton garments, garments of wool and birch bark are purified by mere *prokṣana*.

The smṛtis speak of purification of many other things, which is of little importance and is passed over here. Only a few illustrations are given here. Manu, V. 119 provides that skins and things made of split bamboos (or canes) are cleaned in the same way as clothes, while vegetables, roots and fruits are purified on the analogy of grain. Manu V. 120-121 state that the purification of conches, horns (of buffaloes and rams) and bones and tusks (of the elephant or boar) is to be caused in the same way as that of linen or with cow's urine or water and that grass, wood and straw become pure by being sprinkled with water. Visnu Dh. S. 23. 15, 16, 23 and Yāj. I. 185 are very similar.

From the above it will be clear that purification of substances depends on many circumstances, viz. whether they are metallic or are earthen, whether they are solid or liquid, whether a polluted substance is small in quantity or is a big heap, whether the pollution is extreme or insignificant and so on.

In Manu the purification of substances follows (V. 110) the means of purifying one's own body. Purification of the body by means of *ācamana* and *snāna* (bath) has already been described in H. of Dh. vol II pp. 315-316 and 652-653 (about *ācamana*), 656-668 (about *snāna*). Purification by bath on *āśauca* has already been dealt with before. Special rules were prescribed for women guilty of adultery (vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 594, vol. III pp. 647-649), as also for women raped (vide vol. II p. 575). *Snāna* (bath) with the clothes on was prescribed for purification of the body when a person touches one who is *patita* (murderer of a brāhmana &c.), a *candāla*, a woman freshly delivered, a woman in her monthly illness, a corpse or one who has touched a corpse; also when a man follows a funeral procession or touches a dog (vide Gaut. 14. 28-30, Manu V. 85 and 103, Angiras verse 152, Ap. Dh. S. I. 5. 15. 15-16, Yāj III 30). Baud. Dh S I 5. 140 provides that on touching one who sells the Veda (teaches it for money), a *yūpa*, a funeral pyre, a *patita*, a dog and a *candāla* one should

undergo a bath ⁷⁴⁸ Parāśara also has a similar verse. ⁷⁴⁹ It has already been stated elsewhere (in H. of Dh vol. II, pp 175-176) how the rules about touching untouchables were relaxed when people congregated in a temple or in a religious procession, at marriages and festivals and at holy places. It is said by some that this refers not to the so-called untouchables, but to men who are untouchable owing to āsauca. But this is not correct. The explanation of the Suddhi-kaumudī and Suddhiprakāsa given below makes it clear that the untouchables are meant. In the first place, the words are quite general and not restricted. In the second place, there is no untouchability (except for the mother) on the ground of *Jananūśauca* and it is most unlikely that a person who has incurred mourning on death should visit a temple or go to a marriage or enter a religious procession, or festival. In the third place, looking to the several occasions mentioned together (particularly pilgrimages, battles, fire in a town or village and commotion or invasion of a country) it appears most unlikely that the verse refers only to āsauca on birth and death. ⁷⁵⁰

The ancient and medieval Indians put very great emphasis on purity of mind, of body, of the place where they resided or performed religious rites, of the vessels used by them and of the ingredients of their food and worship. Many of the rules about purification of substances may appear to modern minds as very stringent; but it should not be forgotten that the ancient Indians were imbued with the thought that purity of the mind followed from purity of food

748. वेदविक्रमिणं पूर्वं पतितं चित्तिमेव च। रघुना समाचरेत्तनानं श्वानं चण्डालमेव च ॥
शौ. घ. छ. I, 5.140.

749. चैत्यवृक्षाश्वितिरूपश्वाण्डालः सौमविक्रयी। एतास्तु ब्राह्मणं रघुना सच्येती गल-
भाविकेत् ॥ पराशर व by ह्य कौ p. 327, which explains 'चैत्यवृक्षौ ग्रामनभये देवदू-
र्द्धकः, यूपोत्प्लोष्टिकर्मरूपश्वितिसंनिधानात्'

750. तीर्थे विवाहे यात्रायां समाने देशविषये। मगत्प्रामदारो च रघुारघुहिनं दुष्पति।
दूहस्पति व, by ह्य कौ p 323, ह्य म p 130. ह्य कौ, explains 'रघु अरघुति
अरघुद्वयो चेन स तथा' and ह्य म remarks अरघुहिररघुद्वयं रघुपनरघुहिनंनेति च मृगीति ।
तेन तीर्थादी अरघुद्वयैरपज्ञेनि नाचमनस्नानादि'। The रघुतिव I pp 121-122 quotes
this verse and two others 'ग्रामे तु यत्र संरघुहिरायां कटरादिषु। ग्रामसंयुग्मे चैव
रघुहिनो न विद्यते' and 'दिवयात्राविवाहेषु यद्देषु मृतेषु च। उत्सवेषु च सर्वेषु रघु-
रघुहिनं विद्यते' from शातातप and द्वात्रिंशन्त respectively and explains ग्रामे रघु-
कर्मणो !.....एतच्च वाक्यत्रयं यत्रात्मनेन रघुह इति ज्ञानं भावितं तद्विषयमिति वेदेषु।
अनुचित्वाद्याचित्परीक्षयमित्यप्ये।

(as stated in the Chāndogyopaniṣad VII. 26.2 'āhāraśuddhau sattvaśuddhiḥ' and by Hārīta). It would be conceded that some of their rules about purification (such as about large quantities of corn or heaps of cooked food) are based on common sense and convenience. We are probably going to the other extreme in taking our food anywhere and in any surroundings.

SECTION III

CHAPTER IX

ŚRĀDDHA

This subject is of great practical importance from several points of view.

The Brahmapurāna defines śrāddha as follows. 'whatever is given with faith to brāhmanas intending it to be for the (benefit of) *pitrs* at a proper time, in a proper place, to deserving persons and in accordance with the prescribed procedure is called śrāddha⁷⁵¹. The *Mit* on Yāj I. 217 defines śrāddha as 'abandonment with faith of an article of food or some substitute thereof, intending it for (the benefit of) the departed'. The *Kalpataru* on śrāddha defined it as 'the giving up of sacrificial material intending it for *pitrs* and its acceptance by brāhmanas'. The Śrāddhāviveka of Rudradhara and the Śrāddhaprakāśa define śrāddha in the same way as the *Mit*, but in a more involved manner. Yāj. I. 268 (= *Agnipurāna* 163. 40-41) states that the *pitrs* viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas that are the deities of śrāddha, being gratified by śrāddha, give gratification to the ancestors of human beings. This verse and Manu III. 284 make it clear that the three ancestors of a man,

751. देशे काले च पात्रे च अर्द्धया विधिना च यत्। पितृवृद्धिष्य विभ्रयो वृत्त आर्द्ध-
हृदाएतम्॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by आ म p 3 and 6, आ क ल p. 3, परा मा I. 2.
p. 299; आर्द्धं नामादनीयस्य तत्स्थानीयस्य वा द्रव्यस्य मेतोद्देशेन अर्द्धया त्यागः। मितक्षरा
on या I 217; एतेन पितृवृद्धिष्य द्रव्यत्यागो ब्राह्मणस्वीकरणपर्यन्त आर्द्धस्वस्वर्प प्रधानम्।
कल्पतरु (आर्द्ध) p. 4, कल्पतरुलक्षणमप्युपादेयं सन्धासिनामात्मआर्द्धे देवआर्द्धे सनका-
दिआर्द्धे च्याप्यते। आ कि पौ pp 3-4, अत्र कल्पतरुकार पितृवृद्धिष्य द्रव्यपातो ब्राह्मण
स्वीकरणपर्यन्तो हि आर्द्धमित्याह तदयुक्तम्। पितृभक्ति of श्रीवृत्त (folio 21a) The
क्षीपकालिका on या I 218 accepts कल्पतरु; आर्द्धं नाम वेदबोधितयानालम्भनपूर्वक-
प्रमीतपित्रादिदेवतोद्देशको द्रव्यत्यागविशेषः। आर्द्धविवेक p. 1, अत्रापस्तम्बादिसकलवचन-
पर्यालोचनया प्रमीतमात्रोद्देश्यकारुत्यागविशेषस्य ब्राह्मणाद्याधिकरणप्रतिपर्यङ्कस्य आर्द्ध-
पदार्थत्वं प्रतीयते। आ म p. 4 The आर्द्धविवेक states that द्रव्यत्याग is enjoined by
the words of the Veda (वेदबोधित) and the thing abandoned is handed over
to a deserving brāhmana (पात्रालम्भनपूर्वक). प्रतिपत्ति in आ म means the
final disposal of a thing used in a sacrifice e g. in Darśa-pūrnāmāsa we have
the sentence सद् श्राव्यपा प्रस्तर प्रहरति Here श्राव्यग्रहरण is प्रतिपत्तिकर्म (Jai. IV 2.
10-13) and not अर्घकर्म; similarly, the cremation of an āhūtagm with his
sacrificial vessels is a प्रतिपत्तिकर्म so far as the यज्ञपात्रा are concerned.

viz. the father, paternal grand-father and the paternal great-grand-father are respectively to be identified with the three orders of superintending *pitr* deities, viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas, when performing śrāddha. According to some,⁷⁵² śrāddha denotes three things, viz. *homa*, the offering of *pinḍa* (ball of cooked food) and gratification of brāhmanas invited to a dinner; the application of this word to any one of these three can only be in a secondary sense.

A firm believer in the doctrine of *kaṁma*, *punarjanma* (reincarnation) and *karma-ūpāka* (explained above) may find it difficult to reconcile that doctrine with the belief that by offering balls of rice to his three deceased paternal ancestors a man brings gratification to the souls of the latter. According to the doctrine of *punarjanma* (as very clearly and succinctly put in Br. Up IV. 4.4 and Bhagavad-gīta 2.22)⁷⁵³ the spirit leaving one body enters into another and a new one. But the doctrine of offering balls of rice to three ancestors requires that the spirits of the three ancestors even after the lapse of 50 or 100 years are still capable of enjoying in an ethereal body the flavour or essence of the rice balls wafted by the wind. Further, Yaj. I. 269 (which is the same as Mārka. 29. 38, Matsya-purāna 19. 11-12, Agnipurāna 163. 41-42) provides that the grand-fathers (i. e. *pitrs*) being themselves gratified (by the offerings of food in śrāddha) bestow on men (their descendants) long life, progeny, wealth, learning, heaven, *mokṣa* (final beatitude), all happiness and kingdom. In the Matsya-purāna (chap. 19, verse 2) a question is asked by the sages how food which a brāhmana (invited at a śrāddha) eats or which is offered into fire is enjoyed by departed spirits that might have assumed (after death) good or evil forms of bodies. The answer given (verses 3-9) is that fathers, grand-fathers and great-grand-fathers are identified with Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas respectively according to Vedic passages, that the name and *gotra* (mentioned at the time of śrāddha), the *mantras* uttered and faith carry to the *pitrs* the offerings made, that if one's

752. होमश्च पिण्डदानं च तथा ब्राह्मणवर्षणम् । आह्नशब्दाभिधेयं स्यादेकस्मिन्सौ-
पचारिके ॥ q. by आह्नसार p 30 हरदत्त on आप. घ सू II. 7. 16. 2 says the same
thing. श्रीदत्त in पितृमक्ति (folko 23a) says 'पिण्डदानं तु न आह्नं किं तु आह्नं पिण्ड-
विरहेऽपि नित्यं ब्राह्मणवर्षणात्'.

753. अयमात्मेनैवं शरीरं निहत्याविद्यां गमयित्वा न्यन्नवतरं कल्याणघरं रूपं कुर्वते पित्र्यं
वा मान्धर्वं वा देवं वा प्राजापत्यं वा ब्राह्मं वा न्येवा वा भूतानाम् । बृह. उ. IV. 4. 4 ; तथा
शरीराणि विहाय जीर्णान्यन्यानि संयाति नवानि देही ॥ गीता 2.22.

father has become a god (by his good deeds) the food offered in śrāddha becomes nectar and follows him in his state of godhood, if he has become a *dātya* (an *asura*) then (the food) reaches him in the form of various enjoyments, if he has become a beast then it becomes grass for him and if he has become a snake the śrāddha food waits on him as wind (serpents are supposed to subsist on wind) and so on. Verses 5-9 of the Matsya, chap. 19 are quoted as from Mārkaṇḍeyapurāna by the Śrāddhakalpalatā p. 5. Viśvarūpa⁷⁵⁴ on Yāj. I, 265 (p. 171 of Trl. ed.) also raises the same objection and gives several replies. One is that this is a matter entirely based on *sūtra* and so when *śāstra* says that *pitrs* are gratified and the performer gets desired objects no objection should be raised. Another reply is that the gods Vasus and others that have access everywhere have the power to gratify *pitrs* wherever they may be situated. He does not call the questioners (*nūstīka*) as some other and later writers do.

The Śrāddhakalpalatā of Nandapandita⁷⁵⁵ (about 1600 A. D.) enters upon an elaborate reply to these persons (whom he dubs atheists) that aver that the performance of śrāddhas for departed fathers and the rest, who according to the particular actions of each go to heaven or hell or to other forms of existence serves no purpose. He asks: why is śrāddha useless? Is it because there is no prescriptive text laying down an obligation

754. 'कथं हि स्वकर्माहसाद्यदनेकाधिपीनियतपितृवृष्ट्युपपत्तिः । शाक्यमाणकत्वा-
ह्वर्यार्थस्याचोद्यमेतत् ।...एते देवा वत्सादय प्रीता. मीणयन्ति यन्नत्रन्वराद्य महृष्याणां पितृन्
आज्ञान्तरसाहस्यदानेनेत्यर्थः । सर्वमाणिगतत्वाच्चैवा सर्ववस्थितपितृवर्षणसामर्थ्यमविरुद्धम् ।'
विश्वरूप on या I 265 p. 171.

755. अथ ये नास्तिका मृतानां पित्रादीनां प्रतिस्तिवकशुभाशुभकर्मवशेन स्वर्गनरकादिषु
तत्तथोनिषु वा गतानां आज्ञाकरणमनर्थकमाहुस्तस्मिन्कारणं तावत् क्रियते । किं विषयभावाद्वा
आज्ञाकरणमनर्थकमित्यत फलाभावाद्वा तु पित्रादीनां तुष्ट्यसिद्धेः । न तावदाद्य. तस्मात्सर्वमयत्नेन
आज्ञं कुर्वादिच्छक्षण—इत्यादिविधिदर्शनात् । न द्वितीयः । आहुः प्रजा धनं विद्या स्वर्गं मोक्ष
शुभानि च—इत्यादिकल्पव्यवशात् । न तृतीयः । न ह्यत्र देवत्वाद्य एव आज्ञाकर्मणि समदानभूता
पित्रादिसाध्वैरुच्यन्ते किं त्वधिष्ठातृवत्सादिदेवतासाहिता एव । यथा देवत्वादिशब्देन शरीर-
मात्रं नाप्यात्ममात्रं किन्तु शरीरविशिष्टाः प्राणिन एवोच्यन्ते । एवमाधिष्ठातृदेवतासाहिता एव
देवत्वाद्य. पित्रादिशब्दैरुच्यन्ते । अतश्चाधिष्ठातृदेवता वत्साद्य. पुत्रादिभिर्देवतासाहितादिनां
तृप्ताः सन्तस्तानपि देवत्वादिदेवत्वेन तृप्ताः सती स्वजडगतमपर्यन्तं तर्पयति
गर्भोपवशादान्यदत्तेन दोहदाक्षयानादिना स्वयमुपसृष्टेन तृप्ता सती स्वजडगतमपर्यन्तं तर्पयति
दोहदाक्षयदानेन च प्रत्युपकारफलेन संयोजयति तद्वद्वत्सादित्याः पितरः पितृपितामहम्-
पितामहशब्दवाच्या न केवलं देवत्वाद्य एव । तदेते आज्ञादेवताः आज्ञाकर्मणि समदानभूता.
आज्ञेन तर्पिताः सन्तो मनुष्याणां पितृस्तर्पयन्तीति । आज्ञाकल्पलता pp 3-4. From
the passage from न ह्यत्र देवत्वाद्यः up to the end is taken almost verbatim from
the Mit. on Yāj. I 268. The *आज्ञातत्त्व* p 191 remarks 'वत्सादित्येतिहताः—
इति एतद्वचनं तु तदाकारत्वेन भावनापरमिति आज्ञाविवेकाद्यः.१'.

to perform it or is it because śrāddha produces no consequences or is it that it is not proved that *pīṭrs* and the rest are gratified by śrāddha? To the first he replies that there are such passages as 'therefore a wise man must perform śrāddha with all his efforts' that lay down the obligation; nor is the 2nd objection proper, since Yāj. I. 269 does declare the rewards (of śrāddha) viz. long life &c. Nor is the third alternative acceptable. In the śrāddha rites it is not that the mere ancestors named Devadatta and the like are the recipients and that they are denoted by the words *pīṭr*, *pīṭāmaha* and *prapīṭāmaha*, but that those words denote them as accompanied by the superintending deities viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas. Just as by the words Devadatta and the like what is denoted is not merely the bodies (so named) nor merely the souls, but what is denoted by the words is individual souls as particularised by the bodies; in the same way the words *pīṭr* and the like denote Devadatta and others together with the superintending deities (viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas). Therefore, the superintending deities viz. the Vasus and the rest, being gratified by the food and drink offered by the sons and the rest, gratify those also viz. Devadatta and the rest and endow the performers (of śrāddha) with such rewards as male progeny and the rest. Just as a woman expecting to be a mother becomes gratified by partaking of the food and drink for which she has a longing in pregnancy and which is given to her by another person for the sustenance of the child in the womb, she satiates also the child in her womb and endows those that offer her the food and drink for which she has longings by bestowing on them some reward in return. Thus the *pīṭrs* denoted by the words father, grandfather and great-grandfather are the deities Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas, and not merely (human beings called) Devadatta and the rest. Hence these deities of śrāddha become the recipients (of gifts) in the śrāddha rite, are gratified by the śrāddha and gratify in their turn the ancestors of human beings. The Śrāddha-kalpalatā then quotes 18 verses⁷⁵⁶ from the

756. अन्नप्रकिरणं यच्च मनुष्यैः कियते भुवि । तेन वृत्तिस्तुपायान्ति ये पिशाचत्वमागताः ॥
यदम्बु स्नानवस्त्रोत्तर्यं धूमो पतति ध्रुवकः । तेन ये तवतां प्रासास्तेषां वृत्तिः प्रजायते ॥ यास्तु गन्धा-
म्बुकणिकाः पतन्ति धरणीतले । ताभिराप्यायनं तेषां ये देवत्वं कुले गताः ॥ उद्धृतैष्वथ पिण्डेषु
पाश्चात्कणिका भुवि । ताभिराप्यायनं तेषां ये तिर्यक्त्वं कुले गताः ॥ ये वाद्ग्धाः (चाद्ग्धाः) १)
कुले बाह्याः क्रियायोग्या ह्यसंस्कृताः । विपश्चास्तेष्वविकिर्त्समार्जनजलाग्निनः ॥ सुक्त्वा
चाचान्तां जलं यच्च जलं यच्चाद्भिः शोधने । ब्राह्मणानां तथैवान्ये तेन वृत्तिं प्रयान्ति वै ॥ मार्कण्डेय
28. 8-13, स्कन्द VII I. 205 23-28 (with slight variations), ब्रह्मपुराण 220, 89-95,

(Continued on the next page)

Mārkaṇḍeyapurāna many of which are found in chap. 28 (verses 3 ff) of the printed text. It is said ⁷⁵⁷ that just as a calf finds its own mother from among many cows that are scattered about, so the mantras repeated in śrāddha carry the food to the pitrs.

The explanation offered by the Śrāddha-kalpalatā relying on passages of the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāna is not satisfactory and is rather far-fetched. The Mārkaṇḍeya and the Matsya appear to agree with the doctrine of Vedānta that immediately on leaving one body the soul has recourse to another body, either as a god or a man or a beast or a snake &c. The hypothesis propounded is that the food and drink offered in śrāddhas becomes transformed into various substances for the use of the ancestors (Matsya 141, 74-75). But the great difficulty in accepting this explanation is that the ancestors might die at different places, while śrāddha may very often be performed at one place far away from those places. It is difficult to believe that the grass growing in one place where the ancestor has been transformed into a beast as a result of his evil actions is the same that might have been produced from the substances offered in śrāddha at a place hundreds of miles away. Further, if one or all the three ancestors have been transformed into beasts or the like how can they recognize their offspring and bestow on them long life, wealth &c? If the Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas bestow these, it is better to say so directly and affirm that *pitrs* cannot bestow

(Continued from the last page)

quoted by स्मृतित्च. (आ p 333.), आद्धसार p. 7 (the first three from मार्कण्डेय and the rest from ब्रह्मपुराण), आ क. ल. प. 5; नामगोत्रं पितृणां तु मापकं हृष्यकल्पयोः। नामगोत्रकालदेशा (नाममन्त्रास्तथा देशा) भवान्तरगतानपि ॥ माग्निः शीघ्रयन्त्येते तदाहारत्वाभागतान्। देवो यदि पिता जातः ह्यभकर्मविशेषात् । तस्याहममृतं धृत्वा विश्वत्वेऽप्यपिठति। देवत्वे भोगरूपेण पश्यते च तृणं भवेत् । आह्लात वायुरूपेण सर्पत्वेऽप्यपिठति। पानं भवति पशुत्वे शकसत्वे तथापिदम् । वज्रजत्वे तथा माया (मांसं ?) श्रेतत्वे कथितोदकम् । मनुष्यत्वेऽस्त्रपातानि ज्ञानाभोगरतं भवेत् ॥ मत्स्य 19.4-9 (with changes in the order of verses) q as from मार्कण्डेय by स्मृतित्च. (आ. p. 448), आ क. ल. pp. 5-6, निर्णयसिन्धु III p. 394 (from मत्स्य) Vide पद्य (सूक्ति 10, 38-43) for same verses with variations. The गवह (श्रेतखण्ड) 10, 4-7 are almost the same as those from देवो etc. to the end and वषट् (श्रेत 10.12 and 15 are the same as the verses नामगोत्रं...तदाहारत्वाभागतान्. The स्मृतित्च. (आ. 448) explains: नामानि देवदत्तयज्ञवृत्तादीनि मन्त्राः पृथिवी ते पात्रमित्यादयः आदेशा इदमजादिकमशुष्मे भवत्विति एवमादिनिर्देशाः. मार्कण्डेय 29, 27-28 are similar.

757. यथा गोपु प्रनष्टासु पत्नो विन्दति मातरम् । तथा आक्षेपु ह्यहान्तो (वृत्तान्तं ?) मन्त्रः मापयते तु तम् ॥ मत्स्य 141, 76, वायु 56, 85 and 83, 119-120, ब्रह्माण्ड, अथर्वण्यपाद 218, 90-91, उपोद्घातपाद 20, 12-13, q. by स्मृतित्च. (आ p. 448) which reads गोदमणदो and आद्धेऽशुदित्ते, आ. क. ल. p. 5

any thing on their progeny. It appears very probable that the worship of ancestors by means of śrāddhas was a very ancient institution and that the doctrines of *punarjanma* and *karmaripūka* were comparatively later ones and that Hinduism being all-embracing retained the institution of śrāddhas while adopting also the doctrine of metempsychosis. The institution of śrāddha is from one point of view an excellent one. It provides an occasion for remembrance of one's ancestors and relatives that were dear and near when living. The Āryasamāja objects to the institution of śrāddha and interprets pitrs in the R̥gveda as meaning living men in the Vānaprastha stage. It may be noted that the texts support both views. The Śat. Br. expressly says that food is offered to the father of the sacrificer in the words 'this is for thee.' Visṇu Dh. S. 75. 4 'He whose father is dead may put down a pinda for his father &c.' On the other hand Manu III 284 states that fathers are spoken of as Vasus, grandfathers as Rudras &c and Yaj. I. 269 provides that Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas are the pitrs and the devatās of śrāddha. These latter are to be explained as containing an injunction to contemplate upon the pitrs as Vasus, Rudras &c.

As stated below (p. 347) with regard to the R̥gvedic passages, it was on account of the supposed power of pitrs to benefit or harm the living that the cult of the dead became a prominent feature in primitive societies. Offerings and ceremonies which may have in most ancient times been prompted in part at least by the desire to placate the ancestors are continued as tokens of pure affection and remembrance. Various beliefs about pitrs are mentioned⁷⁵⁸ in post-Vedic Literature. The Baud. Dh. S. II. 8. 14 summarizes a brāhmaṇa text stating that pitrs move about in the form of birds. The Auśanasa-smṛti and Devala quoted by the Kalpataru say the same thing. In the Vāyupurāṇa⁷⁵⁹ it is stated that at the time of śrāddha the ancestors

758. वयसां पिण्डं दद्यात् । वयसां हि पितरः प्रतिमया चरन्तीति विज्ञायते । औ. ध. सू. II. 8. 14; न च पश्येत् कालादीन् पक्षिणस्तु न वारयेत् । तद्रूपाः पितरस्तत्र समायान्ति बुद्धस्तवः ॥ औशनस (Jiv. I. p. 531), न प्वात्र श्येनकालादीन् पक्षिणः प्रतिषेधयेत् । तद्रूपाः पितरस्तत्र समायान्तीति वैदिकम् ॥ देवल १. by कल्पतरु ०२ आह p. 17.

759. आह्निकाले तु सततं वायुभूवाः पितानहाः । आविशन्ति द्विजान् दृष्ट्वा तस्मादेतद् ब्रवीन्ति ते ॥ वसैरत्नैः प्रदानैस्तैर्मद्वपयेत्तथैव च । गोभिरश्वैस्तथा ग्रामैः पूजयित्वा द्विजोत्तमान् । भवन्ति पितरः मोताः पूजितेषु द्विजातिषु ॥ तस्मादनेन विधिवत् पूजयेद् द्विजसत्तमान् । वायुपुराण 75.13-15 (= वायु. उत्तरार्ध 13.13-15, Venk. ed.); ब्राह्मणारसे समायान्ति पितरो ह्यन्तरिक्षयाः वायुभूवाश्च तिष्ठन्ति शुक्त्वा यान्ति परां गतिम् । औशनसस्मृति (Jiv. I. p. 526).

enter the brāhmanas (invited) after assuming an aerial form and that when the best of brāhmanas are honoured with clothes, foods, gifts, eatables, liquids, cows, horses and villages, *pitrs* become pleased. Manu III. 189 and the Auśanasa-smṛti also support this notion that *pitrs* enter the invited brāhmanas. The Matsyapurāna (18. 5-7) enjoins: *pindās* should be offered to the departed for twelve days after death, since they serve him as food on his journey and give him great satisfaction. Therefore, the soul leaving the dead body is not taken to the abode of the departed for twelve days (after death), the departed spirit hovers near his house, his sons, his wife for twelve days. Therefore for ten days after death milk (and water) should be placed (hung up) in space for ten nights for reducing all torments (or troubles of the departed) and for the removal of the fatigue of the journey (that the departed spirit has to make). The Vjśnudharmasūtra⁷⁶⁰ (20. 34-36) provides "the departed spirit enjoys in the world of *pitrs* the food offered in śrāddha with the utterance of the word 'svadhā'; whether the departed is in the state of a god or in the place of torments (Hell) or in the form of a lower animal or a human being, the śrāddha food offered by his relatives reaches him; when śrāddha is performed, the performer and the departed soul both certainly secure vigour (or prosperity)."

The Brahmapurāna⁷⁶¹ states that śrāddha is to be treated of under five heads, viz. how, where, when, by whom and with what materials. But before proceeding to deal with these five heads, it is necessary to dilate upon the underlying ideas and significance of the word '*pitrah*' from the most ancient times of which we have literary records.

The word '*pitṛ*' means 'father', but the word '*pitrah*' is used in two senses, viz. (1) a man's three immediate deceased ancestors, (2) the early or ancient ancestors of the human race that were supposed to inhabit a separate world (*loka*) by them-

760 पितृलोकगतश्चात्र आद्धे शुके स्वधासमम् । पितृलोकगतस्यास्य तस्माच्छ्राद्धं प्रयच्छत ॥ देवत्वे यातनास्थाने तिर्गम्यानी तथैव च । मातृव्ये च तथामेति आद्ध वत् स्वधान्धैः । प्रेतस्य आद्धकर्तृश्च शुद्धिः आद्धे कृते भुवम् । तस्माच्छ्राद्धं सदा कार्यं शोकं त्यक्त्वा निरर्पकम् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 20. 34-36 Compare मार्कण्डेय 23.49-51 (Venk. ed.) for similar verses

761. सृष्टुध्वं सुनिशार्द्रो आद्धकल्पं सुविस्तरात् । यथा यत्र यदा येषु (v. l. येन) वैश्वेस्तद्ददास्यहम् ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 2.

selves.⁷⁶² For this second meaning, vide Rg. X 14. 2 and 7, X.15.2 (translated above pp. 191-92, 194) and Rg. IX.97.39.^{762a} 'That Soma which becomes stronger and stronger and makes others strong, that is strained through a strainer, that flows in a stream, protected us by means of the luminary (the Sun)—that Soma with whose help our ancestors knowing the place (where the cows were kept concealed) and the higher regions, harassed the mountain for (the sake of recovering) the cows.' In Rg. X. 15 1 the *pitrs* are said to be of three grades, lower, middling or higher. They are also said to be earlier and later ones (Rg. X. 15 2). They are all known to Agni, though all *pitrs* are not known to their descendants (Rg. X. 15 13). The *pitrs* are divided into several groups such as Angirasas, Vairūpas, Atharvans, Bhrgus, Navagvas and Daśagvas (Rg. X. 14. 5-6), the Angirasas being particularly associated with Yama who is invoked to come to the sacrifice along with the Angirasas (Rg. X. 14. 3-5). In Rg. I.⁷⁶³ 62. 2 it is said: 'through whose (Indra's) help our ancient ancestors (*pitarah*), the Angirasas, who sang his praises and who knew the place, found out the cows.' The *pitrs* called Angiras were, it appears, again subdivided into two classes viz. Navagva and Daśagva⁷⁶⁴ both of which words occur in Rg. I. 62 4, V. 39. 12 and X. 62. 6. In several passages the ancient fathers are identified with the seven sages⁷⁶⁵ as in Rg. IV. 42.8 and VI. 22.2 and sometimes the Navagvas and Daśagvas also are said to be the seven sages (Rg. I. 62 4). Angirasas are said to be the sons of Agni (Rg. X. 62, 5) and also of Heaven (Rg. IV. 2, 15). The *pitrs* are often said to regale themselves in the company of gods,

762. This idea is at least Indo-Iranian, if not Indo-European. The ancient Parsi scriptures speak of *Fravashis* that were originally the same as *pitrs* of ancient Hindu works or the Manes among the ancient Romans. They were the everlasting and deified souls of the dead. Gradually the meaning of *Fravashi* was extended and even Gods and objects like the Earth and the sky were supposed to have each a *Fravashi*. Vide S. B. E. vol 4 p. 262 for the *Fravashis* of the holy Yama and for the different classes of *Fravashis*, also S. B. E. vol 23 pp. 180, 184, 230.

762 a येना न. पूर्वे पितरः पदज्ञा स्वर्विदो अभि या अद्भिःशृण्वन् ॥ ऋ X. 97 39.

763 येना न. पूर्वे पितरः पदज्ञा अर्चन्तो अद्भिरसो या अविग्दन् ॥ ऋ I. 62.2

764. नवग्वासं सुतसोमास इन्द्रं दशग्वासो अग्धर्चन्त्यैः ॥ ऋ. V. 39 12, ये अग्नेः परि जङ्गिरे विरूपासो दिवस्पतिः । नवगो उ दशग्वो अद्भिरस्तमः सचा देवेषु महेते ॥ ऋ X 62.6.

765 अस्माकमत्र पितरस्त आसन् सप्त ऋषयो दौर्गहि षड्यमाने । ऋ IV. 42 8 ; सप्त न. पूर्वे पितरो नवग्वाः सप्त विप्रासो अभि वाजयस्तः । ऋ VI. 22 2.

particularly of Yama (Rg VII. 76. 4, X. 14. 10, X. 15. 8-10) ⁷⁶⁶ The *pitrs* are said to be fond of Soma drink (Rg. X. 15. 1 and 5, IX. 97. 39), they lie down on kuśa grass (Rg. X. 15. 5), they come with Agni and Indra to partake of the offerings (Rg. X. 15. 10 and X. 16. 12) and Agni is also said to carry the offerings to the *pitrs* (Rg. X. 15. 12). Fire is supposed to take the spirit of a cremated person to the *pitrs* (Rg. X. 16. 1-2, 5=A. V. 18. 2, 10, Rg. X. 17. 3). In later works also (e. g. in Märk. chap. 45), Brahmā is supposed to have created in the beginning four classes viz. gods, asuras, *pitrs* and human beings Vide also Brahmāndapurāna, Prakriyā, chap. 8, and upodghāta chap. 9. 35 (ityete pitaro devā devāśca pitaraḥ punah anyonyapitaro hyete).

It was supposed that the departed spirit, after the cremation of the body, was endowed with an ethereal body and became associated with Yama, the gatherer of departed men (Rg. X. 14. 1 and 8, X. 15. 14, X. 16. 5), and with *pitrs*. The departed spirit went to the world of the *pitrs* and Agni was implored to take the spirit to the world of the departed whose deeds were good and to the stride of Visnu (Rg. X. 14. 9, X. 15. 3, X. 16. 4).

Although Yama is said to dwell in heaven (*divi*) in Rg. X. 64. 3, he is really a god of the middle region, as the Nirukta states, ⁷⁶⁷ The Atharvaveda states ⁷⁶⁸ 'let us worship with obeisance the fathers and grandfathers of our father, that enter the wide middle regions, that dwell on the earth and in heaven.' In Rg. I. 35. 6 ⁷⁶⁹ it is said there are three worlds; two of them (Heaven and earth) are in the lap of Savitr; one (i. e. the middle region) is in the domain of Yama where departed spirits congregate. 'The great Luminary (the Sun) has risen, a gift of the *pitrs*' (Rg. X. 107. 1). In the Tai Br. I. 3. 10. 5 ⁷⁷⁰

766 त इद्देवाना सहमाद् आसन्मृतावान कवय. पूर्यासि। गृह्ण उपोति। पितरो अन्वविन्दन् सत्यमन्त्रा अजनयन्नुवासन्॥ ऋ VII. 76 4. अथा पितृन् हविर्दानो उपेदि यमेन ये सहमाद् मद्न्ति॥ ऋ. X. 14. 10=अथर्व 18.2 11.

767. माध्यमिको यम इत्याहु। तस्मान् माध्यमिकात् पितृन् मन्यन्ते। निरुक्त XI. 18. The Egyptian legend of Osiris presents many of the details connected with Yama. Vide Vulhamy's 'Immortal man,' chap V pp 140-143

768. ये न पितृ पितरो ये पितामहा य आविषिष्टुर्षन्तरिक्षम्। य आक्षिपन्ति पृथिवीसुत द्यां तेषु. पितृभ्यो नमसा विधेम॥ अथर्ववेद 18 2 49.

769 तिलो द्याव सवितुर्द्वा उपस्थां एका यमस्य शुबने विरापाद्। ऋ. I 35 6.

770 वृत्तीषे वा इतो लोके पितर। तै. ब्रा. I. 3 10 5. अथ त्रयो वाव लोका मनुष्य लोकः पितृलोको देवलोक इति सोऽयं मनुष्यलोक पुत्रेणैव जन्मो नाग्येन कर्मणा कर्मणा पितृलोको विधया देवलोको देवलोकौ वै लोकानां श्रेष्ठस्तस्माद्विधा मशंसन्ति। बृह. उ. I. 5. 16.

it is said that the pitrs dwell in the third world from this. This means that after *hhūloka* and *antaniksa* comes the *pitrlōka*. In the Br. Up. I 5.16 three worlds of men, pitrs and gods are separately mentioned. In Rg. X. 135. 1-7, Yama is spoken of in somewhat different language. He is in this hymn mentioned as a god by himself and not as the first mortal who made a path (Rg. X. 14. 2) or as the gatherer of men (X 14. 1) or as being in company of the pitrs. In a few other places Yama is no doubt called *rājan* and praised in the same breath with Varuna (Rg. X. 14. 7). But such a position is very rarely mentioned. For the further development of Yama and his assistants as the punishers of men for evil deeds, vide pp. 159-160 above and notes 381-386.

There is another division of pitrs viz. *pitarah somavantah*,⁷⁷¹ *pitarah barhiṣadah*, *pitarah agnisvātāh*. The latter two are named in Rg. X. 15 4 and 11 (which occur also in Tai. S. II. 6. 12. 2). The Śat. Br. defines these as follows.—“those that performed a soma sacrifice are *pitarah somavantah*; those that offered cooked oblations (like *caru* and *puroḥāsa*) and secured a world are *pitarah barhiṣadah*; those that did none of these (two actions) and whom fire consumes when burning them are ‘*pitarah agnisvātāh*’; these are the only ones that are *pitarah*.” The Tai.⁷⁷² Br. has a somewhat similar passage and the Kāthaka Samhitā IX. 6. 17 also refers to these three kinds of *pitrs*. Later writers introduced certain changes in the meanings of the words for the different classes of *pitrs* and also increased the number of the classes of *pitrs*. For example, the Nandipurāna q. by Hemādri states: the *pitrs* of brāhmanas are called ‘*agnisvātā*’, those of ksatriyas ‘*barhiṣadah*’, those of vaiśyas ‘*kāvya*’, those of śūdras ‘*sukālin*’ and those of mlechhas and untouchables are called ‘*vyāma*’.⁷⁷³ Even Manu

771. तद्ये सोमेनेजानाः । ते पितरः सोमवन्तोऽथ ये दत्तेन पक्वेन लोकं जयन्ति ते पितरो बर्हिषदोऽथ ये ततो वायुतरञ्चन यानग्निरेव दहन्स्वदयति ते पितरोऽग्निष्वात्ताः । एत उ ते ये पितरः । षतपथना II 6 1 7

772. पितृन् बर्हिषदो यजति ये वै यज्वान् । . पितृन् अग्निष्वात्तान् यजति ये वा अयज्वानो यद्दमेधिनः । ते पितरो अग्निष्वात्ता । अग्निं कव्यवाहनं यजति य एव पितृणामग्निः । तस्मादा वृतीयात्युषपात्मानि युक्त्वन्ति । एतावन्तो हीज्यन्ते । ते. ब्रा I 6.9.5 वायुपुराण (30.6-7) echoes this ‘अग्निष्वात्ता स्मृतास्ते वै पितरोऽनाहिताग्नयः । यज्वानस्तेषु ये ह्यासन् पितरः सोमपीथिनः । स्मृता बर्हिषदस्ते वै पितरोऽनाहिताग्नयः.’

773. अग्निष्वात्ता ब्राह्मणानां पितरः परिकीर्तिताः । राज्ञां बर्हिषदो नाम विशां काव्याः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ सुकालिनस्तु शूद्राणां व्याना म्लेच्छान्यजतिषु । q. by आ प्र. p 11 from हेमाद्रि, compare मनु III. 197,

(III, 193-198) mentions several classes of *pitrs*, connects *pitrs* called Somapās, Havīrbhujah Ājyapās and Sukalins with the four varnas and in III, 199 states that the *pitrs* of brāhmanas are designated as Anagnidagḍha, Agnidagḍha, Kāvya, Barhisad, Agnisvātta and Saumya. Those verses of Manu appear to summarize different traditions about the several classes of *pitrs*. Vide Matsyapurāna 141. 4 for the same last four names and 141. 15-18 for their definitions. In Śātātapa-smṛti (VI 5-6) twelve groups or divisions of *pitrs* are mentioned viz. pindabhājah (three), lepabhājah (three), Nāndimukhas (three) and Ārumukhas (three). This is a classification of *pitrs* from two different standpoints. In Vāyu 72.1 and 73 60, Brāhmānda (Upodghāta 9 53), Padma V. 9 2-3, Viṣṇudharmottara I. 138 2-3 and other Purānas the classes of *pitrs* are said to be seven, three of which are formless (*amūrtimat*) and four have forms (*mūrtimat*) and they and their offspring are described in detail. All this is passed over here. The Skandapurāna (VI. 216. 9-10) speaks of nine groups of *pitrs*, being Agnisvātāh, Barhisadah, Ājyapāh, Somapāh, Rasmipāh, Upahūtāh, those called 'āyantunah', Śrāddhabhujah, Nāndimukhah. In this list old and new elements are mixed up. The Indian mind often revels in divisions, sub-divisions and classifications without much basis therefor and this is probably an illustration of that tendency. Manu (III 201) states that from the sages the *pitrs* sprang, from the *pitrs* sprang gods and human beings and from the gods arose the whole world whether moving or immovable. It is remarkable that here the gods are spoken of as springing from the *pitrs*. This is really a mere eulogy of *pitrs* (i. e. it is an arthavāda).

The *pitrs* were in a class apart from the gods. On the meaning of the word 'pañcayanāh' occurring in Rg. X. 77 53. 4

774. पञ्च जना मम होत्रं जुषस्वम् । गन्धर्वाः पितरो देवा अमुरा वसतासीत्येके । पञ्चानो
वर्णा निवाद् । पञ्चम इत्यर्थोपमन्थराः । निरुक्त III. 8. The Br. 13.7 has 'नत्पञ्च जना
जुष्यं देवमजुष्याणां गन्धर्वाप्सरसा सर्षणा च पितृणां च' The real meaning of पञ्चजना
is the same as that of पञ्चकुरुष्व. (in Rg X 60 4). पञ्च शितीमन्सुवी (Rg VII 79.1),
पञ्च चर्षणी. (Rg. V. 86 2) and we have यत् पञ्चजन्यया विना in Rg VIII. 63 7.
पञ्चजनाः means विना, the whole Aryan people divided probably into five classes.
By the time of the Ait. Br. the original meaning of पञ्चजना was probably
forgotten. The वेदान्तसूत्र (I. 4. 11-13) explains that the expression पञ्चजन्य
occurring in Br. Up. IV 4 17 refers to Prāna, Caksuh (eye), ear, food and
mind occurring in the next verse (Br. Up IV. 4 18). Śāṅkara's commentary in his
bhāṣya on Vedāntasūtra I. 4.12 states that the word पञ्चजना in Rg. VIII 63 7
means *pañcā* (people).

(pañcajanā mama hotram juṣadhvam) and other passages, the Ait. Br. (13.7 or 3.31) explains that they are the five classes, viz. Gandharvas with Apsarases, pitṛs, devas, sarpas and rākṣasas. The Nirukta III. 8 partly follows this explanation and also gives another. In the Atharvaveda X. 6. 32 the gods, pitṛs and men are mentioned in that order. The ancient Vedic texts and practice make a sharp distinction between the Gods and the Pitṛs. The Tai. S. VI. 1. 1. 1 states: 'the gods and men divided the quarters, the gods took the east, pitṛs the south, men the west and Rudras the north.' The general rule is that sacrifices for gods are begun in the forenoon, while the pitṛ-yajña is performed in the afternoon (Śān Br.).⁷⁷⁵ The Śat Br. II. 4. 2. 2 narrates that the pitṛs wearing the sacred thread over the right shoulder (and under the left arm) and bending their left knee approached Prajāpati, when Prajāpati said to them 'you will have food at (the end of) each month (on the Amāvāsyā), your *stadhā* (cordial) will be swiftness of thought and the moon will be your light,' while to the gods he had said that sacrifice will be their food and the sun their light. The Tai. Br. ⁷⁷⁶ I. 3. 10. 4 appears to make a distinction between pitṛs who are of the nature and position of gods and pitṛs that are more or less like human beings.

The Kauśika-sūtra (I. 9-23) neatly collects in one place the difference in the procedure of the rites meant for gods and for pitṛs. The performer of rites for gods wears the sacred thread on the left shoulder and under the right armpit, while in the case of the rites for pitṛs it is worn on the right shoulder and under the left arm; the rite for gods is either begun facing the east or north, while that for the pitṛs is begun facing the south; the rite for gods is finished in the north-east (or north or east), while that for the pitṛs is completed in the south-west; an action is done only once for pitṛs, while for gods at least thrice or as many times as the texts direct; in going round (perambulating) the right side is turned towards gods and the left one in the case of pitṛs; offerings are made to gods with the words 'svāhā' and 'vasat', while they are made to pitṛs with 'svadhā' and

775. अथ यद्वपराङ्गे पितृयज्ञेन चरन्ति अपक्षयभाजो वै पितरः । शा. ब्रा. V. 6.

776. देवान् वै पितृन् प्रीतान् मनुष्या पितरोऽनुपपिपते । तिस्र आहुतीर्होति त्रिनिदधाति । पद् तन्पद्यन्ते । पद् वा ऋतवः । ऋतवः खलु वै देवाः । पितरः । ऋतुनेव देवान् पितृन् प्रीणाति । तान् प्रीतान्मनुष्याः पितरोऽनुपपिपते । ते ब्रा. I. 3, 10 4 (com explains अनुपपिपते as प्रीता भवन्ति). This is alluded to in the वायुपुराण 30, 4 'मध्वाद्य पद् व तः तान् पितृन् पितृचक्षते । ऋतवः पितरो देवा इत्येषा वैदिकी श्रुतिः ॥'

'namaskāra'; the darbhas employed in rites for Fathers are those that are taken out from the earth with their roots, while for gods darbhas used are cut a little above the roots. The Baud. Śr. II, 2. also mentions some of these in one place. The Ṛgveda itself (in X. 14, 3 'svāhānye svadhayānye madanti') marks this distinction in the words employed at the offerings to Gods and *Pitrs*. The Śat. Br. (II, 1, 3, 4 and II, 1, 4, 9) speaks of the gods as immortal and of the Fathers as mortal.

Though the gods and *pitrs* are placed in separate classes, still the *pitrs* partake of some characteristics of the divine. As Rg. X. 15, 8 shows, the *pitrs* drank Soma. In Rg. X. 68, 11 it is said that the *pitrs* adorned the sky with nakṣatras (nakṣatrebhiḥ pitaro dyam-apimsan) and placed darkness in the night and light in the day. The *pitrs* are said to have feared out the light that was secreted and to have produced the Dawn (Rg. VII, 76, 4). Here the *pitrs* are credited with powers possessed by the highest gods. The *pitrs* are invoked with affection and regard for conferring various boons and their favour is sought in various ways. In Rg. X. 14, 6 the good will (*sumati*) and favour (*saumanasa*) of the *pitrs* are sought. In Rg. X. 15, 1 and 5 the protection of *pitrs* is sought. They are requested to grant happiness unmixed with trouble (Rg. X. 15, 4.), to bestow wealth on the sacrificer (Rg. X. 15, 7 and 11) and on his son. Rg. X. 15, 11 and A. V. 18, 3, 14⁷⁷ seek the bestowal of wealth and heroic sons. A. V. 14, 2, 73 says 'May the *pitrs* who throng round the bride to see her grant her happiness endowed with progeny.'⁷⁸ In the Vāj. S. II, 33 occurs the well-known mantra 'Oh *pitrs*' deposit (in this wife) an

777. प्रागपवर्गांश्चदगपवर्गाणि वा प्राप्स्यन्-प्रदक्षिणं पद्भोपरीर्णं दैर्घ्यानि शर्गाणि प्रतीति ।
वक्षिणाश्चक्षुः प्रसन्वं प्राचीनाधीती विख्याति । यौ. श्रौ. II, 2.

778. परा यात पितर आ च यातव्यं यो यज्ञो नशुना समन् । इतो अन्तर्यं द्योति
भद्रं रयिं च न सर्वरीरं दधान । अथवेद 18, 3, 14

779. ये पितरो यद्भूदक्षां दुर्नं वहतनागमन् । ते अस्तरे तत्रै सन्त्यं प्राणात्तमं यन्त्यन् ।
अथर्व 14, 2, 73.

780. आषत् पितरो गर्भं कुमारे एतद्वत्सजम् । सधेह पुत्रोऽमन् २ गा. मं II, 11
The Śrautakāṇḍa III, 5, 30 provides 'गर्भं विष्णुं एतान् प्राणात्तमं यन्त्यन् ।
गोभिलश्रुत IV, 3, 27 and also कर्मिकश्रुत S 9, 6. The same श्रौ. II, 2, 13 says 'य
प्राणयदाप्यत्त पितरो सजन् । यथाऽमरणा अमन् । The Aitareya recension has 'य
and so in इन्द्रकण्वे the idea is that the son may be regarded as 'प्राणात्तमं यन्त्यन्'
सधेह --अस्तम् may be explained as 'दितं प्राणोऽन्तः प्राणात्तमं यन्त्यन्'
भद्रिप्रयिता श्रुपात् तथा गर्भमापत् ।' वाद्वलमन्तरं एतान् प्राणात्तमं यन्त्यन् ।
says आपत्तेनि मत्पत्नारिन्त्यं यती प्राणानि पुत्राणां

embryo, a child that (will wear later) a garland of lotuses so that he may become a grown-up male' repeated when the wife of the performer of the śraddha eats the middle one out of the three pindas. It should not be, however, supposed that the element of fear of the pitr̥s is altogether wanting.^{780a} For example, Rg. X. 15. 6 prays 'whatever fault we may commit in reference to you through our being (erring) men do not injure us for that.' In Rg. III. 55. 2 we read 'May the gods and the ancient pitr̥s who know the place (of the cows or the path) not harm us here.' In Rg. X. 66. 14 it is said 'the Vasisthas praising the gods fashioned speech (hymns) like pitr̥s and like sages.' Here pitr̥s and rsis are separate groups and Vasisthas are compared to both.^{780b}

In many passages of the Vedic Literature the word *pitar̥ah* is applied to the three immediate deceased male ancestors of a man. 'Therefore up to three generations they specify (the ancestors) by name; for so many are the ones to whom sacrifice is offered' (vide n. 772 above). The Śat. Br. II 4. 2. 19⁷⁸¹ mentions the presentation formulas of the cakes to the father, grand-father and great-grand-father and

780 a Compare Vulliamy's 'Immortal man' (pp. 24-25) for fear and affection as the elements of the attitude towards the dead among primitive as well as civilized men.

780 b देवाः सौम्याश्च काव्याश्च अयज्वानो ह्यपोनिजाः । देवास्ते पितरः सर्वे देवास्तान्वाद्यन्सुत ॥ मद्भ्यपितरश्चैव तेभ्योऽन्ये लौकिकाः स्वृताः । पिता पितामहश्चैव तथा यः प्रपितामहः ॥ ब्रह्माण्डपुराण II 28.70-71; अङ्गिराश्च ऋतुश्चैव कश्यपश्च महादृषिः । एते कुक्कुलश्रेष्ठ महायोगेश्वराः स्वृताः । एते च पितरो राज्ञेषु आह्वयविधिः परः । मेतास्तु पिण्डसम्बन्धान्मुच्यन्ते तेन कर्मणा ॥ अह 92 21-22 This last shows that ancient sages like अंगिरस्, ऋतु and कश्यप are पितृs to whom water is offered (and no पिण्डs), while pindas are offered to one's immediate deceased ancestors.

781. स ददाति । असावेतत् इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रे ये च त्वामन्विस्तु हेके आहस्तु तथा न ज्ञयात् स्वय वै तेया सह येया सह तस्माद् ज्ञयाद्सावेतत् इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रे असावेतत् इति पितामहायासावेतत् इति प्रपितामहाय । तद्यदितः पराग्ददाति सकृदु होव पराश्च पितरः । ऋतपथ II 8.4 2. The ते सं. I 8 5 1 18 : सोमाय पितृमते पुरोडाशं षड्कपालं निर्वपति पितृभ्यो बर्हिषद्भ्यो घानाः । पितृभ्योऽग्निष्वात्सेभ्योऽभिवान्यायै दुग्धे मन्थम् । एतत् ते तत् ये च त्वामह एतत् ते पितामह प्रपितामह ये च त्वामह अत्र पितरो यथाभागं मन्दध्वम् । Again in ते. सं III 2.5 5 occurs the passage 'एतत्ते तत्...मन्दध्वम्'. This is carried on to later times as in अह 92 15 'सोमायेति च वक्तव्यं तथा पितृमतेति च'. Vide also अथर्व 18. 4. 71-77 'अग्रे कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नमः । सोमाय पितृमते स्वधा नमः । पितृभ्य सोमवद्भ्यः स्वधा नमः । यमाय पितृमते स्वधा नमः । एतत्ते प्रततामह स्वधा ये च त्वामह । एतत्ते ततामह स्वधा ये च त्वामह । एतत्ते तत् स्वधा ।' In Rg IX 11 2 3 काकरहं ततो भिषक्, तत् means 'father'. नपात् (=पौत्र) and प्रनपात् (प्रपौत्र) occur in Rg. VIII. 17.13.

then states that the performer mutters the words "here, O fathers! regale yourselves, like bulls come here each to his own share" (Vāj. S II, 31 first half). Some (such as Tai. S. I, 8, 5, 1) repeated the formula "this here (ball of rice) is for thee and (for those) that come after thee." But the Śat. Br. emphatically says that he should not offer with this formula, but rather with the formula 'this here is for thee.' In Śat. Br. XII 8, 1, 7 the three immediate paternal ancestors are said to be svadhā-loving. Relying on these Vedic passages and on the fact that Manu (III 221) and Visnudharmasūtra (21, 3, 75, 4) prescribe the invocation of pitrs after mentioning their gotra and names that the Śrāddhaprakāśa (p 13) concludes that it is really the father and the other ancestors that are the deities of śrāddha and not Vasu, Rudra and Āditya, since these latter have no gotra and that the description of the father and others as Vasu, Rudra and Āditya is meant only for contemplation (on them as identical with Vasus &c.). On a passage of the Brahmapurāna⁷⁸² prescribing that the performer should say to the invited brāhmanas that he would call the pitrs to the rites and that when the brāhmanas give permission to call them he should do so, the Śr. P. (p. 204) remarks that the pitrs here meant are the divine ones viz. Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas and also the human ones viz. the performer's father and the rest. The Vāyupurāna (56 65-66) Brahmanda and Anu. distinguish between pitrs who are above and pitrs who are *laukika*, viz. father, grand-father and great-grand-father. Vide also Vāyu 70, 34 for pitrs that are like gods.

In the post-Vedic Literature, particularly in the Purānas, a great deal is said about the origin and classes of pitrs. For example, the Vāyupurāna 56, 18 speaks of three classes of pitrs viz. 'kāvyāh, barhisadah and agnisvattāh', while the same Purāna, chap. 73, Varāha 13, 16 ff, Padma (Śrsti 9, 2-4) and Brahmanda III, 10 1 speak of the origin of pitrs of seven classes that dwell in heaven, four of which have a form (*mūrtimat*) and three of which are without form (*amūrtā*). The Śatātapa-smṛti (6, 5-6) speaks of 12 pitrs viz. pṛṇabhājah, lepabhājah, nāndimukhāh and ārumukhāh. All such descriptions have to be passed over from considerations of space.

782. ब्रह्मपुराणे । पितृणां वाहयामीति स्वयमुक्त्वा समाहित । आवाहयस्वेति परैरुक्तवा-
 पाहयेच्छुचिः ॥ पितरो दिव्याः बहुवद्वाहित्वा । मानुषाः यजमानस्य पित्रादयः । आ. म. P. 204.

From the sūtra period (about 600 B. C) to the most modern among medieval Dharmasāstrā works the authors wax eloquent over the praises or the importance or benefits of the institution of śrāddhas. One of the earliest works among these, viz. the Āp. Dh. S gives the following interesting information: ⁷⁸³ "Formerly men and gods lived together in this world. The gods went to heaven owing to sacrifices (i. e. as a reward of sacrifices that they performed), but men remained behind. Those among men who perform sacrifices in the same way as the gods did, dwell in the other world (i. e. heaven) with the gods and Brahman. Then (seeing that men lagged behind) Manu promulgated the rite which is designated by the word 'śrāddha' and which tends to the salvation (or happiness) of mankind. In this rite the Manes (*pitrah*) are the deities but the brāhmanas (that are fed) are in the place of the *āhavanīya* fire (in which in sacrifices to gods oblations are offered)". On account of this last sūtra Haradatta (com. of Āp. Dh. S.) and others hold that feeding the brāhmanas is the principal act at a śrāddha. The Brahmandapurāna (Upodghātapaḍa 9, 15, and 10, 99) speaks of Manu as the promulgator of śrāddha rites and Viṣṇupurāna III. 1 30, Vāyu 44, 38 and Bhāgavata III. 1. 23 designate Manu as Śrāddha-deva. Similarly, in the Śāntiparva 345. ⁷⁸⁴ 14-21 and the Viṣṇu-dharmottara I 139 14-16 it is stated that the institution of śrāddha was established in the Boar incarnation by Viṣṇu and that Viṣṇu should be regarded as dwelling in the three pindas offered to the father, grand-father and great-grandfather. From this and from the passage of the Āp. Dh. S cited above we may infer that it was believed even several centuries before Christ that the institution of śrāddhas had a hoary antiquity behind it and that it was as old as Manu, the father of mankind according to the Rgveda (VIII. 63. 1, VIII 30. 3.). It is, however, very remarkable that the word 'śrāddha' itself does not occur in any undoubtedly authentic and ancient Vedic passage, though the rite called Pindapitrayajña ⁷⁸⁵ (performed on the *amāvāsya* of each month by an

783. सह देवमनुष्या अस्मिँल्लोके पुरा बभूवुः। अथ देवा कर्मभिर्दिव जग्मुस्सहोयन्त मनुष्याः। तथा ये तथा कर्मण्यारभन्ते सह देवैर्ब्रह्मणा चास्मिँल्लोके भवन्ति। अथैतन्मनु. आह्वशब्दं कर्म श्रेयाश्च। प्रजाणि श्रेयसाय च। तत्र पितरो देवता ब्राह्मणस्त्वाहवनीयार्थं। आप घ सु II 7 16. 1-3

784. पिता पितामहश्चैव तथैव प्रपितामहः। अहमेवात्र विज्ञेयस्त्रिषु पिण्डेषु संश्रितः। शान्ति 345 21, q by आ p. 11.

785 That पिण्डपितृयज्ञ is a आह्व is stated by गोभिलगृह्य IV 4. 1-2 'अन्वत्क्यस्थालीयाकेन पिण्डपितृयज्ञो च्यारूयातः। अमावास्यां तच्छ्राद्धमितरदन्वाहार्यम्।।' Vide आ p. 4 for the same. For a description of पिण्डपितृयज्ञ, vide H. of Dh. vol II. pp. 1085-1090, for महापितृयज्ञ *ibid.*, pp. 1101-1103.

Ahitāgni), the Mahāpitrayajña (performed in the Cāturmāsya called Sakamedha) and the rites called Astakās were known to the early Vedic literature. The word śrāddha occurs in the Kāthopanisad (1. 3. 17) 'whoever proclaims this highly esoteric doctrine in an assembly of brāhmanas or at the time of śrāddha tends to secure immortality.'⁷⁸⁶ The other early occurrences of the word śrāddha known to me are confined to the sūtra literature. The most reasonable and probable inference to be drawn from these facts is this that only a few rites (mentioned just above) were known as related to the *pitr̥s* and that therefore no need arose for a generic term in very ancient times to comprehend several rites for the *pitr̥s*. But when the number of rites in honour of *pitr̥s* increased, the generic term 'śrāddha' was hit upon.

A few samples of the panegyrics on śrāddha may be set out here. The Baud.⁷⁸⁷ Dh. S. states that rites for the Fathers confer long life, heaven, fame and prosperity. The Harivamśa⁷⁸⁸ says 'the world derives support from śrāddha and Yoga (i. e. Moksa) springs from it.' Sumantu⁷⁸⁹ quoted in the Smṛticandrikā (śrāddha p. 333) states 'nothing else is declared to be more beneficial than śrāddha.' The Viṣṇupurāna (III. 14. 1-4) avers that if a man performs śrāddha with faith he thereby propitiates Brahmā, Indra, Rudra and the other gods, sages, birds, men, beasts, creeping animals, hosts of *pitr̥s* and whatever else is styled a being and the whole world. Yāj. I. 270⁷⁹⁰ promising long life and several other benefits arising from gratifying *pitr̥s* has already been quoted above (p. 337). Yama has a similar verse. It is said in a passage of the Viṣṇudharmottara⁷⁹¹ quoted by the Śrāddhasāra (p. 6) and Śrāddhaprakāśa (pp 11-12) that the *panda* offered to the

786. य इदं परमं शुभं आचयेद् ब्रह्मसंसदि। प्रपत. आश्रुकाले वा तदानन्त्याय कल्पते॥ कठ० I. 3. 17.

787. पित्र्यमाशुष्यं स्वर्ग्यं यज्ञस्यं पुष्टिकर्म च। बौ. ध. सू. II. 81

788. आश्रु प्रतिष्ठितो लोक आश्रु योगः प्रवर्तते॥ हरिवंश I. 21. 1.

789. आश्रुत्परतरं नान्यच्छ्रेयस्कारसुदाहृतम् । तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन आश्रुं कुर्याद्वि-
चक्षणः॥ सुमन्तु q. by स्मृतिच (आ) p. 333.

790. आश्रु. पुत्राच्च यज्ञः स्वर्गं कीर्तिं पुष्टिं बलं श्रियः। पशुन् सौख्यं धनं धान्यं प्रामुष्य-
त्पितृपूजनात्॥ यम q. by स्मृतिच (आ. p. 333), आश्रुत्तर p. 5. Similar verses are
या I. 270 (= Mārkaṇḍeyapurāna 32.38) and शङ्ख 14. 33.

791. पुजितैस्तैर्भविष्यामि चतुरास्मा तथाप्यहम् । पितृपैतामहः पिण्डो वासुदेवः प्रकीर्तितः ।
पैतामहश्च निदिष्टस्तथा सङ्कर्षणः मयुः । पितृपिण्डश्च विज्ञेयः प्रद्युम्नश्चापराजितः । आत्मा-
निरुद्धो विज्ञेयः पिण्डनिर्षणो ब्रुधैः॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 139.20-22, q. by आश्रुत्तर p. 6
and आश्रुत्तर. pp. 11-12.

great-grandfather is declared to be god Vāsudeva himself, the one to the grandfather is designated Sankarsana, that to the father is known as Pradyumna and the offerer of the pindas is himself in the position of Aniruddha. In Śāntiparva 345. 21 it is stated that Visnu should be looked upon as staying in the three pindas. In the Kūrmapurāna it is stated 'on the day of *Amāvāsya* the pitrs assuming an aerial form come to the door of their former haunt and mark whether śrāddha is being performed by men of their family. This they do till sunset. When the sun sets, being oppressed by hunger and thirst, they become full of despair and feel sorrow, breathe heavily for a long time and go away condemning their descendants. The pitrs of him who does not offer śrāddha on amāvāsya, even with water or vegetables, go away after cursing him'.

It is necessary to say a few words about the derivation of the word 'śrāddha'. That the word is derived from 'śrāddhā' is quite clear. In the definition quoted above from the Brahma-purāna and the definition⁷⁹² given by Marici and Bṛhaspati the connection of śrāddha with śrāddhā is emphasized. In śrāddha one entertains the firm faith or conviction that what is given up to the brāhmanas for the benefit of the departed man or the Fathers will reach him or them in some way. The Skandapurāna VI. 218.3 says that śrāddha is so called because śrāddhā is the root (or main spring) of that rite. This means that there is not only the conviction stated above but that there is a firm belief that a person is under an obligation to offer it. Śrāddhā is deified and addressed as a deity in Rg. 793 X. 151. 1-5, the first verse of which is explained in the Nirukta (IX. 31). The word also occurs in Rg. II. 26. 3, VII 32. 14, VIII 1. 31, IX 113. 4. In some verses the two components of the word 'śrāddhā' (viz. 'śrat' and 'dhā') are separated without any change in the meaning. For example, in Rg. II. 12. 5 (= A. V. 20. 34. 5) it is said 'Have faith in him; O people! he is Indra'. In Rg. X. 147. 1, addressed to Indra, we have 'I have faith in that high wrath of yours &c.' (śratte dadhāmi

792. प्रेतं पितृञ्च निर्दिश्य भोज्यं यन्नियमात्मनः। अद्भया दीयते यत्र तच्छ्राद्धं पतिकीर्तितम् ॥ मरीचिः quoted from the पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय by निर्णयसिन्धु III. p. 372, आ. म p 7. संस्कृतं व्यञ्जनादर्थं च पयोमधुसूतान्वितम्। अद्भया दीयते यस्माच्छ्राद्धं तेन निगद्यते ॥ वृहस्पतिः q. by हेमाम्नि p. 152, अपराकं p. 501, कल्पतरु (आ. p. 176), आ. म. p. 3, आद्भतत्त्व p. 189 quotes it as पुलस्तक्यः.

793. अद्भयाग्निः समिधयते अद्भया ह्वयते हविः। अद्भ्यां भगव्य सूर्यनि वचसो वेदयामसि ॥ ऋ X. 151. 1

prathamāya manyave). In the Tai S VII 4. 1. 1 it is⁷⁹⁴ said "Brhaspati desired 'may the gods put faith in me, may I reach the position of being their priest'". Vide also Rg. I. 103. 5. *Śrat* and *śraddhā* are both mentioned in the Nighantu (III, 10) as meaning 'satya'. In the Vāj. Ś. 19.77 we are told that Prajāpati put *Śraddhā* in truth and *āśraddhā* in falsehood, while in Vāj. Ś. 19.30, it is said that truth is obtained by *śraddhā*.

In the post-vedic Literature, Pāṇini explains the forms 'śraddhin' and 'śraddhika' in V. 2. 85, in the sense of 'one who has eaten a śraddha dinner'. The word 'śraddha' may be derived from *śraddhā* according to Pān. V. 1. 109⁷⁹⁵. *Śraddhā* is variously defined. In the *bhāṣya* on *Yogasūtra* I. 20, 'śraddhā' is defined as the composure of the mind⁷⁹⁶ (or mental approval). Devala defines *śraddhā*: 'confidence (in the efficacy) of religious acts is called *śraddhā*, one who has no faith has no reason (or motive) for engaging in religious acts'⁷⁹⁷. The *Śraddhasūtra*⁷⁹⁸ of *Kātyāyana* prescribes 'one endowed with *śraddhā* should offer *śraddha* even with vegetables (if nothing else is available)'. Vide *Manu* III. 275 which emphasizes *śraddhā* for the gratification of *pitrs*. The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāna* (29, 27) emphasizes⁷⁹⁹ the relation of *śraddha* to *śraddhā* and states that what is offered at *śraddhas* becomes transformed into that kind of food for the use of the *pitrs* who require food in the new bodies they might have assumed according to the doctrine of *karma* and *punarjanma* and it also remarks that *śraddha* offered with wealth acquired in an improper or unjust way is a means of gratification to the *pitrs* that are born as *cāṇḍālas*, *pukkāsas* and similar very low grades of people.

794. बृहस्पतिरिवाकामयत भस्मे देवा दधीरन् वन्द्येय पुरोषामिति । तै. सं. VII. 4. 1. 1.

795. प्रयोजनम् । पा. V. 1. 109, तदन्वयेत्येव । सि. कौ. ; अद्धा प्रयोजनं (कारणं) अस्य इति आद्धत् ।

796. अद्धा चेतसः संयसात् । सा हि जननीव कल्याणी योगिनं पाति । योग्यद्वयभाष्य I. 20.

797. प्रत्ययो धर्मकार्येषु तथा अद्धेत्युदाहृता । नास्ति ह्यअद्धधानस्य धर्मकृत्ये प्रयोजनम् ॥ देवत q. by कृत्परत्नाकर p. 16 and आद्धतत्त्व p. 189.

798. अद्धान्वितः आद्धं कुर्वीत शान्तेनापि । आद्धस्य of कात्यायन q. by हेमाद्रि p. 152.

799. अद्धया परया दत्तं पितृणां नामभोजनम् । यदाहारास्तु ते जातास्तदाहारात्मनेति तत् ॥ मार्कण्डेय 29. 27, अन्यायोपाजितैर्येषु अद्धं क्रियते नरे । तृप्यन्ते तेन चाण्डाल शुभसाध्याश्च योनितु ॥ मार्कण्डेय 28. 16, स्कन्द VII 1. 205 22

It has already been stated above (pp. 349-350) that in very ancient times there were only three rites for departed ancestors, viz. Piṅḍa-pitr-yajña (offered by those who had consecrated the śrauta fires) or monthly śrāddha in the case of those who had not done so (vide e. g. Āśv. Gr. II. 5. 10, Hir. Gr. II. 10. 1, Āp. Gr. VIII. 21. 1. Viṣṇupurāna III. 14. 3 &c.), the Mahāpitr-yajña and the Aṣṭakā śrāddhas. The first two have been already described in vol. II (as said above), but the Aṣṭakā śrāddhas have not been described at all so far. Therefore some remarks will be offered here about them. They are of special importance, but the authorities present great variations on almost all points such as the number of days and the months in which they were to be performed, the deities to be worshipped, the offerings to be made and the procedure to be followed.

Gaut. (VIII. 19) mentions 'Aṣṭakā' rite as the first among the seven kinds of *pākayajñas* and as one of the forty *samskāras*. Aṣṭakā appears to have meant the 8th *tithi* in any month after the Full Moon day (vide Śat. Br. VI. 4. 2. 10). The Śat. Br. states⁸⁰⁰ 'On the 8th day (after full moon) he (the performer of *agnicayana*) collects the materials for the fire pan, for sacred to Prajāpati is the 8th day (after full moon) and sacred to Prajāpati is this rite viz. the firepan.' Śābara in his *Bhāṣya* on Jai.⁸⁰¹ I. 3. 2 cites a verse occurring in the A. V. III. 10. 2 and in the Āp. M. P. II. 20. 27 as a *mantra* indicative of Aṣṭakā. The mantra is "May that (Aṣṭakā) night be very suspicious for us, whom people welcome like a cow coming towards a person and which is the wife of the Year.' In the A. V. III. 10. 8 the *Ekāṣṭakā* is said to have the year (Sāmvatsara) as husband. The Tai. S. VII. 4. 8. 1. provides⁸⁰² 'Men about to take dikṣā (consecration) for a *Sāmvatsarasatira* should undergo dikṣā on the *Ekāṣṭakā*; what is called *Ekāṣṭakā* is the wife of the year.' Jai. (VI. 5. 32-37) explains that *Ekāṣṭakā* is the 8th *tithi* after the Full Moon of Māgha. The Āp. Gr. (quoted by Haradatta

800. अष्टकायादृक्षां सम्भरति । प्राजापत्यनेतदहर्षदृष्टका प्राजापत्यनेतत्कार्मं यदुक्त्वा प्राजापत्य एव तदहर्षप्राजापत्यं कर्म करोति । शतपथः VI 2.2.23.

801. अष्टकालिङ्गाश्च मन्त्रा वेदे हृद्यन्ते यां जनाः प्रतिनग्दन्तीत्येवमाद्यः । शबर on जै. I. 3. 2. The verse as read by शबर on जै. VI. 5. 35 is: यां जनाः प्रतिनग्दन्ति यानि यद्विनिनायतीन् । संवत्सरस्य या पत्नी सा नो अस्तु सुनङ्गली ॥ and he adds 'अष्टकापि सुप्रयत्ने स्वाहा'. In the A. V. III. 10. 2 the readings are जैनाः for जनाः and वेदहृद्ययायतीन्.

802. संवत्सरायां दीक्षिष्यन्नाणा एकादकायां दीक्षेरत्नेया वै संवत्सरस्य पत्नी यदेकादका । जै. VII 4. 8. 1.

on Gāut. 8 19) says ⁸⁰³ the same, but adds that on it (the 8th *tithi*) the moon is 'in Jyēsthā' constellation. This means that if the 8th *tithi* is spread over two days, then that day on which the moon is in Jyēsthā would be called Ekāstaka ⁸⁰⁴ The Hir. Gr. (II 15 9) also says that Ekāstaka is called the wife of the year ⁸⁰⁵

According to the Āsv. Gr. II, 4. 1 the Astakā days (and rites) were four, viz the 8th *tithis* of the dark halves of the four months of the two seasons of *hemanta* and *śiśira* (i. e. of Mārgāśīrṣa, Pausa, Māgha and Phālgūna). Most of the Grhya-sūtras viz Mānava Gr. II 8, Śān. Gr III. 12 1, Khadira Gr. III. 3 27, Kāthaka Gr. 61.1, Kausītaki Gr. III. 15. 1 and Pār. Gr. III. 3 say that there are only three Astakā rites viz. on the 8th after the Full Moon day of Mārgāśīrṣa (called *agrahāyāni*) i. e. in the dark halves of Mārgāśīrṣa, Pausa (or Taisa) and Māgha. The Gobhila Gr. III 10. 48 mentions that the Astakās are four according to Kautsa and in all flesh is to be offered, but that Gautama, Audgāhāmānī and Vārkakhaṇḍī prescribe only three and Gobhila follows these latter. The Baud. Gr II. 11. 1 provides that the three Astakā homas are performed in the months of Taisa, Māgha and Phālgūna. Āsv. Gr II. 4. 2 refers to an option that Astakā rites were performed only on one Astamī (and not on three or four). The Baud. Gr. provides that ⁸⁰⁶ the rite may be compressed into the three days (7th, 8th and 9th) of the dark half of Māgha or even in one day (i. e. 8th of the dark half of Māgha). The Hir. Gr (II 14 2)

⁸⁰³ चो मास्या. पौर्णमास्या उपरिदोह् स्पष्टका तस्यांनष्टमी उपेक्षया संन्यते तामिकाद-
कोर्याचक्षते । अथ. गृ. VIII 21 10, अष्टकां व्याख्यास्याम । माघ्या. पौर्णमास्या योऽपर-
पक्षस्तस्यांष्टमीनिकादष्टकाचक्षते । द्दिर गृ II. 14 1-2 Both अनाहुला and तावपर्यवर्शनं
explain स्पष्टका as कुण्डपरक्ष.

⁸⁰⁴ According to a Vārtika on Pāṇ. VII 3. 45 the word Astakā is formed from "astan." धार्तिक 9 on धामिनि VII. 3.45 teaches that from अस्तृ we get Astakā as meaning a rite in which the pitrs are the deities and Astikā in any other sense (such as अष्टिका क्षारी)

⁸⁰⁵ The Full Moon night of Māgha is said to be the month of the year i. e. the year began on that day in ancient times. The Astakā day after the Full Moon day was the first and most important festival after the Full Moon and it was younger than the beginning of the year. It is probable that because of this it was spoken of as the wife of the year.

⁸⁰⁶ अथाष्टकाहोम । तेषु मासपरपक्षस्याष्टम्यां क्रियेत । एवं मासि एवं फाल्गुने यदि विहितः । चेद्यु वै समस्त उपरिदोह्माध्या पौर्णमास्या अपरपक्षस्य सप्तम्यांनष्टम्यां नवम्यामिति क्रियेतापि चाष्टम्यामेव । वी गृ II 11.1-4.

describes only one Astakā rite viz. the Ekāṣṭakā in the dark half of Māgha. The Bhāradvāja Grhya II. 15 also speaks of only Ekāṣṭakā but adds that the 8th of the dark half of Māgha on which the moon is in Jyesthā is called Ekāṣṭakā. According to Hir. Gr. II. 14 and 15 the one Astakā extended over three days viz. 8th, 9th (on which a cow was sacrificed for the *pitrs*) and 10th (which was the Anvaṣṭakā). The Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra (ed. by Caland) IV. 8 says that Astakā is to be performed on the 8th of the dark half of Māgha and Bhādrapada or on the 7th, 9th or 10th tithi.

There is divergence in the offerings also. The Kathaka Gr (61. 3), Jaimini Gr. 2, 3 and Śān. Gr. (III. 12. 2) provide that on the three different Astakas the offerings are of cooked vegetables, flesh and *apūpas* (cakes), while the Pār. Gr. III. 3 and Khādīra Gr. III. 3. 29-30 put *apūpas* for the first Astakā (and hence Gobhila Gr. III. 10. 9 designates it *apūpāstakā*) and boiled vegetables on the last. According to Khādīra Gr. III. 4. 1 a cow is sacrificed. According to Āśv. Gr. II. 4. 7-10, Gobhila Gr. IV. 1. 18-22, Kauśīka 138. 2, Baud. Gr. II. 11. 51-61, on the 8th day very many options are given, viz. either to sacrifice a cow or a ram or a goat; or to offer some jungle flesh that may be available or flesh mixed with sesame and honey, or flesh of the rhinoceros, deer, buffalo, ram, boar, spotted deer, hare, Rohita deer, pigeons, śārṅga and other birds, or an old red goat; fishes or rice cooked in milk so as to form thin gruel, or gifts only of uncooked corn or fruits and roots, or gold may be offered or only grass for cows or oxen or one may burn some thickets in a forest or present jars for holding water to those deeply learned in the Vēda or should recite the mantras relating to śrāddhas, saying 'this is the Astakā I offer,' but one should not remain without observing the Astakā day in some such manner as the above 807

It is remarkable that although the Vārtika quoted above, and the Kathakagrhya 61. 1 state that the word 'Astakā' is

807. अथ यदि गां न लभते संप्रमजं वा लभते । आरण्येन वा, मांसेन यथोपयत्नेन । शङ्खमुषमहिषनेष्वरादृष्यतशरुपोहितशङ्खानिचिरिकुपोतकपिञ्जलाग्नीषानामक्षर्यं त्रिलम्बु-संसृष्टम् । तथा मत्स्यस्य शतवलेः (१), क्षीरोद्वेनेन वा, स्रुषीद्वेनेन वा । यद्वा भवत्यासैर्वा मूलफलं मद्दानमाचम्य । हिरण्येन वा मद्दानमाचम्य । अपि वा गोप्रासमाहरेत् । अपि वा नूतनान्य उड्-कुम्भानाहरेत् । अपि वा श्राद्धसन्त्रानधीयीत । अपि वा रणश्रेणिना कक्षासुपयेत्तेषां, नैःशुद्धैः । न खेवानदकं स्यात् । नौ. श्र. II. 11. 51-61; अष्टकायामष्टकाद्दानमाहुर्वायुः । तस्या इषीपि धाना. कर्मन्ः शङ्खमुष पुरोडाश उदीचनः क्षीरोद्वानक्षीरोद्वानौ यथोपपाद्विष्युः । काशिकसूत्र 168 1-2. For वाग्नीषत्, vide note (951) below.

applied to a rite in which the *pitrs* are the deities worshipped, the greatest divergence prevails as to the *devatā* of the *Astakās*. The *Āśv. Gr.* (II. 4. 3 and II. 5. 3-5) provides that on the 7th of the dark half the offerings are made to the *pitrs* and on the 9th also, but *Āśv. II. 4. 12* refers to the eight options as regards the deity of the 8th day, viz *Viśve-devāh* (all the gods), *Agni*, *Sūrya*, *Prajāpati*, *Rātri* (night), *Naksatras* (constellations), the seasons, the *Pitrs*, *Paśus* (cattle). The *Gobhila Gr. III. 10. 1* starts⁸⁰⁸ by saying that Night is the *devatā* of *Astakā*, but adds that there are other views about the *devatā* being *Agni*, the *Pitrs*, *Prajāpati*, *Rtus* (seasons) or all Gods.

The procedure of *Astakā* comprises three parts, viz. *homa*, inviting *brāhmanas* for dinner (up to seeing them go away after dinner) and the rite called *Anvastakya* or *Anvastakā*. When the *Astakās* were deemed to be three or four performed in the several months noted above, all these were gone through at each *Astakā*. When the *Astakā* rite was performed only in one month i. e. after the Full moon in *Māgha*, the above parts were performed on three days, 7th, 8th and 9th of the dark half. When compressed in one day only, they must have been performed one after another on the same day.

Many of the *Grhyasūtras*, such as those of *Āśvalāyana*, *Kausika*, *Gobhila*, *Hiranyakeśin* and *Baudhāyana* describe a very elaborate procedure in the case of *Astakās*. One of the shortest being that contained in *Āp. Gr.* (VIII. 21 and 22) is given here by way of sample^{808a}. After defining *Ekāstakā* (in VIII. 21. 10) *Āp.* proceeds: 'He (the performer of the *Astakā* rite) should perform subsidiary (or preparatory) rites in the evening of the previous day (i. e. on the 7th of the dark half). He cooks (or bakes) a cake from rice taken up (from a heap) in four cups; according to some teachers the cake is prepared on eight potsherds (like a *puroḍaśa*). After the actions up to the

808. अष्टका पञ्चिदेवता। शुद्धिकर्मा। आग्नेयी पित्र्या वा राजापत्युदेवता वैश्वदेवीति देवताविचारः। गोभिलवृद्ध III. 10.1-3.

808 a या माघ्या ...त्याच्छते। तस्या सायनीपकार्यम्। अपुत्रं चतु शरारं श्रपयति। अष्टकाशाल इत्येके। पार्वणवदाज्यभागान्तेऽलिनीचरयापुपाञ्जहोति। सिद्ध शेषस्नग्ध कृत्वा ब्राह्मणेभ्य उपहरति। श्वोभूते व्रभेण गान्धुपाकरोति पितृभ्यस्त्वा जुष्टासुपाकरोतीति। तूर्णो पञ्चाज्याहुतीहुत्वा तस्यै वपा अपयित्वापस्तीर्णाभिधारिता मध्यमेनान्वमेन वा पलाशपर्णेनोचरया जुहोति। मांसोद्वजसुत्तराभि। पिष्टाजसुत्तरया। आज्याहुतीरुत्तरा। त्विदृक्त्वभृति सनानमापिण्डनिधानात्। अन्वदकायानेवैके पिण्डनिधानसुपदिशन्ति। अपैतदपरं वृध्न एवाजलिना जुहोति यथापुषम्। अत एव यथार्थं मांसं शिष्ट्वा श्वोभूतेन्वदका। तस्या मासिश्चाद्देन कल्पो व्याख्यातः। आप. श्र. VIII. 21.10-VIII. 22.12

'Ājyabhāgas'⁸⁰⁹ have been performed in the same way as at the *Amāvāsyā* and Full Moon sacrifices he makes with his joined hands oblations of the cakes with the next verse⁸¹⁰. The rest of the cake that is already baked is divided by him into eight parts and offered to the *brāhmanas*⁸¹¹. On the following day he prepares the cow for immolation by touching her with a *darbha* with the words 'I make thee that are agreeable to the Fathers ready (for sacrifice)'. Having silently (i. e. without uttering the word *svāhā*) offered five⁸¹² oblations of clarified butter, having cooked the omentum of that (cow) and having spread under (the cooked omentum) and sprinkled over it clarified butter he offers it with a *palāśa* leaf from the middle or the end of the stalk with the next verse (i. e. *Āp. M. P. II. 20. 28*)⁸¹³. He offers boiled rice together with the flesh (of the cow) with the next verses (seven from *Āp. M. P. II. 20. 29-35*). He offers the food of flour cooked (in milk) with the next verse (*Āp. M. P. II. 21. 1* 'Ukthyaścātīrātraśca')⁸¹⁴. Then (he offers) the oblations of clarified butter with the following (eight) verses (*Āp. M. P. II. 21. 2-9*). The rites from *Svistakṛt*⁸¹⁵ down to the placing of the *pindas* are the same as at the monthly *śrāddha* (described in *Āp. Gr. VIII 21. 1-9*). Some teachers prescribe that the *pindas* are to be offered the day after the *Aṣṭakā* (i. e. on the 9th of the dark half). Here follows another method (of celebrating the *Aṣṭakā* rite). He sacrifices curds with his joined hands in the same way as he offers the cake. Having left over from the meat (of the cow) as much as may be required, he performs on the day following

809. For *Ājyabhāgas*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1059, 1060.

810. The *Āp. Gr. S.* here and elsewhere refers to the collection of Mantras called *Āpastamba-mantra-pāṭha* (edited by Dr Winternitz) The verse meant here is *Āp. M. P. (II. 20, 27)*, quoted above in # 801 (*Yām janāḥ &c*)

811. The words '*siddhah śesaḥ*' are explained by the *Anākūlā* (of *Haradatta*) as meaning 'the rest of the rites are the usual ones without alterations'.

812. As no *devatā* is expressly named, the offerings must be taken to be made to *Prajāpati*.

813. *Āp. M. P. II. 20 28* is the *mantra* '*vaha vapām*' (carry the omentum to the Fathers, O *Jātavedas*), which is *Vāj. S. 35. 20* and is prescribed for this rite in *Āśv. Gr. II. 4.13, Śān. Gr. III 13 3* and elsewhere.

814. The Mantra '*Ukthyaścātīrātraśca*' occurs also in *Sān. Gr. III. 14. 2*

815. For '*Svistakṛt*' vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 208 and 125?

(the Astakā day) the Anvastakā, rite Its procedure is explained by the description of the monthly śrāddha.

Though Āp. Gr. (II. 5. 3) and Śān. Gr. III. 13. 7 state that the Anvastakya rite follows the procedure of Pindapitryajña, some Grhya-sūtras (such as Khādira III. 5, Gobhīla IV. 2-3) give very elaborate descriptions of that rite. The Āśv. Gr. and Viṣṇudharmasūtra 74 follow a middle course. The description in Āśv. Gr. is comparatively brief and it is set out below. It may be noted that some Grhya-sūtras state that the Anvastakya rite is performed on the 9th or 10th of the dark half (e. g. Khādira Gr. III. 5. 1 'navamim daśamim vānavastakyam'). Further, it may be stated that though most Grhyasūtras call the rite Anvastakya still it is also called, Anvastakā by Pār. Gr. III. 3. 10, Manu IV. 150, Viṣṇudharmasūtra 74. 1 and 76. 1. The most notable peculiarity of this rite is that therein female ancestors are invoked and offerings are made to them of which liquor (*surā*), scum of boiled rice, collyrium, salves and garlands form part. Though some sūtras (like Āśv. Gr. II. 5) declare that the Astakā and Anvastakya are modelled on the monthly śrāddha or Pindapitryajña, others (like the Baud. Gr. III. 12. 1, Gobhīla Gr. IV. 4., Khādira III. 5. 35) say that the Astakā or Anvastakya is the norm which is followed in the Pindapitryajña and all the śrāddhas. The Kāthaka Gr. (66. 1, 67. 1, 68. 1, 69. 1) avers⁸¹⁶ that the first śrāddha, the other śrāddhas (such as sapindikaraṇa), Paśuśrāddha (in which the flesh of an animal is offered) and the śrāddha performed every month follow the procedure of Astakā. The Pinda-pitryajña could be offered on amāvāsya only by one who was *āhitāgni* (i. e. had kept the sacred vedīc fires). It is impossible to believe that everyone became *āhitāgni*. The case was probably the reverse i. e. only a few became *āhitāgnis* and the rest had only the grhya fire or many of the rest were without even the grhya fire. It appears possible that all were required to offer śrāddha on amāvāsya on the analogy of pindapitryajña. As the latter became rare, the requirement of offering śrāddha on amāvāsya remained and in the sūtras and smrtis all the details were mentioned under māsisrāddha and in the case of the other śrāddhas the sūtras and smrtis pointed out only what was to be omitted. It is owing to this that the māsisrāddha came to be called the *prakṛti* and the other śrāddhas were called *vikṛtas*

816 देवपाल on काठकग्रह 66. 1 says अष्टकाविकाराणि हि सर्वं आहुति The
 नौ नृ III. 12. 1 states 'अष्टकाहस्तुतिमसिक तस्युत्तराद् व्यख्यातम्'

or variations of the māsisrāddha. Most of the details of the pīṇḍapīṭryajña were required in māsisrāddha and a few (such as giving arghya, *gandha*, *dīpa*) were added and more elaborate rules evolved.

The Anvāṣṭakya⁸¹⁷ is described in the Āśv. Gr. (II. 5. 2-15) as follows :—Having prepared a portion of the same meat,⁸¹⁸ having established the fire on a surface sloping towards the south, having fenced it in and made a door on the north side of the enclosed shed, having strewn round the fire three times sacrificial grass with its roots without touching it, turning the left side (of one's body) towards the fire, he should place down the things to be offered, boiled rice, boiled rice mixed with sesamum, rice cooked in milk, meal pap with curds and meal pap with honey. The ceremony should follow the ritual of the Pīṇḍapīṭryajña (vide Āśv. Śr. II. 6). Having sacrificed (part of the foods specified except meal-pap) with honey let him offer portions of those substances to the *pīṭrs* and to their wives with the addition of liquor and the scum of boiled rice. Some place the portion to be offered into pits, which may be two or six. In those situated to the east he should present the offerings to the *pīṭrs*; in those to the west, to the wives. Thereby the ceremony celebrated in the rainy season on the Maghā day in the dark fortnight after the full moon of Prausthapada (i. e. Bhādrapada) has been declared. And thus he should offer (a festival like the Anvāṣṭakā) to the *pīṭrs* every month, observing uneven⁸¹⁹ numbers. He should give food at least to nine (brāhmanas) or to any un-even number of brāhmanas. (Food should be given) to an even number on auspicious occasions⁸²⁰

817. अन्वष्टक्य is explained by रुद्रकान्ध on खगदिरगृह्य III. 5. as 'अष्टकान्ध क्रियते हृत्पन्वष्टक्यं कर्तुं एतच्च मत्पद्यकमनन्तरं कर्तव्यम्' and by देवपाल on काठकगृह्य 65 I as 'अष्टकाया अनु पञ्चाङ्गवमन्वष्टक्यनित्यन्वष्टक्ये संज्ञान्वष्टक्यमिति । एतच्च केचिद्वष्टकाया अह्नं वदन्ति केचित्तत्सदृशं विकारयुतं कर्मान्तरम् ।'

818. The meat is that of the animal killed on the Aṣṭakā day (Āśv Gr. II. 4. 13).

819. That is, selecting an uneven number of brāhmanas or on 'uneven *tithis*.'

820. 'Vṛddhi' or 'Ābhyudayika' (referring to prosperity or good luck) Śrāddha is performed on such occasions as the birth of a son, the marriage of a son or daughter, the *pīṭrs* in the Vṛddhi-śrāddha being designated Nāṇḍimukha Pūrta means charitable works such as construction of wells and tanks, building of temples, dedication of parks. Vide H. of Dh vol II p 844 n. 1992 and Yāj I. 250, Sāh. Gr IV 4 1 ff.

or on the performance of meritorious deeds; to an uneven number (on other occasions). The rite is performed from left to right. Barley grains are to be used instead of sesamum.

The Anvastakya rite was performed after each of the three or four Astakās and if only one Astakā in Māgha were performed, then after the 8th of the dark half.

There are two views about the rite called Māghyāvārsa⁸²¹ in Āśv. Gr. II. 5. 9. Acc. to Nārāyaṇa, the rite is performed in the dark half of Bhādrapada for three days on 7th, 8th and 9th.⁸²² The other view is that it is a rite like the Astakās but performed on the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada, when generally the moon is in the Māghā *nakṣatra*. There is doubt about the very name of the rite, as the mss. present various forms (vide Oldenberg's note in S. B. E. vol. 29, p. 103 on Śān. Gr. III. 13 1). The real name appears to be Māghyāvārsa or Māghāvārsa (meaning 'a śrāddha in the rainy season when the moon is in the Māghā *nakṣatra*'). The Visnu Dh. S 76 1⁸²³ mentions the following times for offering śrāddha viz. (twelve) Amāvāsyās (in a year), the three Astakās, the three Anvastakās, the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada when the moon is in the Māghā asterism, the seasons of *śarad* and *vasanta*. In Visnu Dh. S. (78. 52-53) also a śrāddha on the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada is highly eulogised Manu III. 279 also states that whatever food mixed with honey is offered on the 13th day in the rainy season when the moon is in Māghā procures endless satisfaction. To the same effect are Vas XI 40 (in the rainy season and on Māghā), Yā; I 26 and Varāhapurāna.⁸²⁴ In the

821. The word माघ्यावर्ष (as an attribute of *Karma* or *Śrāddha*) may be derived from मघावर्ष (मघायुक्त वर्षं वर्षेत्.) or वर्षमघा (or वर्षामघा meaning वर्षं मघा or वर्षं मघा). In the latter case the words are transposed on the analogy of राजदन्त (या II 2 31). हरदत्त on आन्व वृ explains 'मघाह वर्षासंयोगाद् माघ्या-वर्षमिति भवति तच्च त्रयोदश्याम्' and then quotes या I 261.

822. In the सूत्रादिसागर of नारायणभट्ट आर्षे it is stated 'अथाष्टकानिष्कृतिभूत माघ्यावर्षश्राद्धं तत्र भाद्रपदापरपक्षे सप्तम्यादिषु त्रिंशद्-ह्र अष्टकानिर्वत् सर्वे कृपादिति कारिका । हरदत्तस्तु भाद्रपदकृष्णपक्षे मघायुक्तत्रयोदश्यां माघ्यावर्षारूपं श्राद्धम् ।' folio 155 b (of the ms in the BBRAS) Vide Cat No 680 p. 215.

823. अनावास्यास्तिस्रोष्टकास्तिस्रोन्वष्टका माघी शौष्ठपचूर्णं कृष्णत्रयोदशी त्रीदिवषयाकी च । विष्णुध सू. 76 1 माघी is to be connected with कृष्णत्रयोदशी.

824. यद्वाति गयाश्च सर्वमानस्यमभ्युते । तथा वर्षात्रयोदश्यां मघाह च विशेषतः ॥ या I. 261, गायन्ति चैतयितरः कदा तु त्रयोदशीयुक्तमथाह भूय । वर्षासितान्ते शुभतीर्थ-तोषैर्यस्याम तृति तनयादिवत्तै. ॥ बराहपुराण 13.47, correct grammar requires वास्याम-रुतिम्

Hir. Gr. II 13, 3-4 (edited by Kirste) the name appears to be Mādhyāvārsa⁸²⁵ and it is provided that meat is obligatory in it, but that if meat cannot be had then vegetables may be offered. In Pār.⁸²⁶ Gr. (III 3) the name (as printed) is madhyāvārsa which is said to be a 4th Astakā in which only vegetables are offered. Aparārka (p. 422) also appears to call the rite 'madhyāvārsa.' In the Bhavisyapurāna⁸²⁷ (Brahma-parva), chap. 183, 4 also this rite is referred to but it is said that therein meat is to be offered. It appears probable that this ancient rite on the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada is a precursor of the Mahālayaśrāddha of later times.

If Āśvalāyana's view, viz. that there are four Astakās in Hemanta and Śūśira, were followed and if the Māghyāvārsa-śrāddha were to be performed on the 8th of the dark half of Bhādrapada as Nārāyana holds, then there would be five Astakās in all. Bhatṭoji in his Caturvīmsatimatasaṅgraha says so.⁸²⁸

Considerations of space forbid the comparison of the above procedure from Āp. Gr. and Āśv. Gr. with the procedure described in the other Grhyasūtras. It should be noted that several of the sūtras often employ the same mantras in the various stages of the rite (as pointed out above in notes 813-814).

It must be said that the Astakā śrāddhas gradually fell into oblivion and are not performed now.

The foregoing discussion establishes that the monthly śrāddha on Amāvāsyā was the model śrāddha (*prakṛti*) of

825. मातृवत्त on हिरण्य. वृ. explains 'माघ्यावर्षः श्रौतपदो मासस्तत्र भवत्' i. e. he derives the name from मध्य and वर्ष (year), the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada being almost the middle of the year (when the year begins with चैत्र).

826. मध्यावर्षे च तुरीया शकादका । पार. वृ. III, 3 (last sūtra) in the Gujarati Press edition.

827. तिथौदकास्तु कर्तव्या मध्यावर्षा (मध्यावर्षा!) चतुर्थिका । शकापायसपूर्वेष्ट मासेन तु चतुर्थिका ॥ भविष्यपु. (I, 183.4).

828. एवं भाद्रपदबहुलाष्टम्यप्यष्टका बोध्या । तथा च पद्मपुराणे—अग्निष्वाकापितृ-कन्याया बहुनाम्ना मित्रा इत्याद्याः पुनरुत्पदीतायाः भाद्रपदापरपक्षाष्टकाकालेनोत्पत्तिर्दृशिता । श्रौतपदाष्टका श्रुतः पितृलोकं भविष्यति । आशुतराग्यदा नित्यं सर्वकामफलमदा ॥ इति । तदेवं पक्षाष्टका हेमाद्र्यादियन्थे स्थिता । तत्रापि श्राद्धं नित्यम् । भट्टोजि on चतु. सं. p. 122. पद्मपुराण (सुष्टिसण्ड) chap. 9, 28-29 are: श्रौतपदाष्टका श्रुतः...स्वर्गकामफलमदा. हेमाद्रि on श्राद्ध p. 185 says 'अथ पूर्वोक्ताष्टकचतुष्टयव्यातिरिकापि भाद्रपदापरपक्षेऽष्टका । तस्याश्वे-तिहासपूर्वकमुत्पत्तिः महासा चोच्यते पद्मपुराणे' and then he quotes eight verses from the पद्म of which श्रौतपदाष्टका is the last.

which the Astakās and other śrāddhas were copies (*vikṛtis*) with suitable modifications, though a few dissident texts reverse the position.

In the Gobhilaḡrhya (IV. 4, 3 ff) another śrāddha called 'Anvāhārya' is prescribed after the Pindapitryajña on the same day. The Śān. Gr. IV. 1, 13 appears also to describe the monthly śrāddha as distinct from the Pindapitryajña. Manu (III, 122-23) states: 'After performing the *Pitryajña* (i. e. pindapitryajña) a brāhmana who keeps sacred fires shall offer every month on the amāvāsyā day the funeral sacrifice Pindānvāhāryaka.⁸²⁹ The wise call the monthly offering to the Manes Anvāhārya and that must be carefully performed with the approved kinds of flesh mentioned below.' From this it appears that one who has consecrated the *śrauta* fires (i. e. an āhitāgni) was to perform the *pindapitryajña* in the *śrauta* fires and also perform the same day another śrāddha after the pindapitryajña, while those who had not consecrated *śrauta* fires were to perform on amāvāsyā a śrāddha in the *grhya* fire, which was called pindānvāhāryaka or simply anvāhārya and also were to offer pindapitryajña in smārta fire (vide Sat. Śrauta II. 7, 64 'grhyāgnau anāhitāgneḥ'). From inquiries made I learn that nowadays most Agnihotṛins (at least in the Deccan) do not perform Pindapitryajña at all or perform it only once a year and that no one performs the Pindānvāhāryaka śrāddha. It is further to be noted that in smārta yajñas no one now sacrifices an animal but employs instead māsa grain and there are *āhitāgnis* who do not offer meat in śrauta sacrifices also, but only *pista-patu* (an effigy of an animal made of flour).

The literature on śrāddha is enormous in extent. From the Vedic Samhitās several thousand years ago up to medieval and modern commentaries and digests the various matters connected with śrāddha have been dealt with in more or less detail. The Purānas contain thousands of verses on śrāddha. An

829. मेधातिथि on मनु III. 122 explains, 'पिण्डानामसु पश्चादाह्नियतेऽसृष्टीयते तद् 'पिण्डान्वाहार्यकं भवति', while सर्वज्ञनारायण explains 'पिण्डेभ्योऽल्पिकं मात्रामन्वाहृत्य 'माह्वणां अत्र आह्ने भोज्यन्ते हेति पिण्डान्वाहार्यकम्'. These derivations are supported respectively by the पद्मपुराण, सूक्ति 9.88-89 'पितृयज्ञं तु निवेत्यं तर्पणारूपं तु योऽग्निमाह' 'पिण्डान्वाहार्यकं कृत्वा आजकाले क्षये तदा' (कुर्यात्पश्चात्पितृयज्ञस्ये तथा?)' and by the मत्स्यपुराणे 16. 43 यस्मादकीञ्चुता मात्रा भक्षयन्ति द्विजतय' । अन्वाहार्यकमित्युक्तं तस्मात्-अग्निर्भक्षये ॥. The पद्मपुराणे (सूक्ति 9. 119) further says 'पतदग्निमतां प्रोक्तमन्वाहार्यं च पार्षणम्'. The कल्पतरु (on आह्ने p 10) explains मनु III. 122 : पितृयज्ञोत्र पिण्ड-पितृयज्ञः । पिण्डान्वाहार्यकं पिण्डानामसु पश्चादाह्नियते क्रियते यद्वर्षाआह्ने तत्तथा॥.

adequate and thorough treatment of all this vast mass would fill a separate volume, but considerations of space forbid such an attempt here. All that can be attempted here at the most (and that too not in all cases) is to present matters chronologically i. e. describe how śrāddha was dealt with in the Saṁhitās and Brāhmana texts, then in the comparatively older Gṛhya and Dharma sūtras, then in such early smṛtis as those of Manu and Yāj., then in some representative Purānas, then in the early commentaries of Medhātithi, Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka, and then in the medievel digests. Even in this way only a skeleton of the ceremonies described in some representative work of each class can be exhibited. Many differences of detail which arose owing to lapse of time, the locality, the *śākhā* and usages of each writer, his individual inclination and his ability, will have to be passed over altogether. In the days of the Purānas the differences in detail in the several śākhās have been adverted to.^{829a} Apart from the smṛtis and passages of the Mahābhārata (such as Anuśāsana chap. 87-92) and commentaries on the Sūtras, on Manu, Yāj. and other smṛtis, the digests on śrāddha are legion. Only the following digests (arranged in chronological order) have been laid under contribution in this volume: Kalpataru on śrāddha; the Hāralatā and Pitrdayitā of Aniruddha; the Smṛtyarthasāra; the Smṛticandrikā; the Caturvargacintāmani (section on śrāddha) of Hemādri (which in the B. I. edition covers 1716 pages); the Śrāddhavigeḥka of Rudradhara; the Madanapārijāta; the Śrāddhasāra (a part of Nṛsimhaprasāda); Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda; the Śrāddhatattva of Raghunandana; the Śrāddhasaukhya (part of Tadarānanda); the Śrāddhakalpalatā of Vinayaka *alias* Nandapandita; the Nirṇayasindhu; the Śrāddhamayūkha of Nilakantha; the Śrāddhaprakāśa (part of Viramitrodaya); the Śrāddhacandrikā of Divākarabhāta; the Smṛtimuktāphala (on śrāddha); the Dharmasindhu; the Bālabhāttī, a commentary on the Mitākṣarā. While presenting this exhaustive and heterogeneous material, some generalisations, when called for, will be made here and there. It will be seen later on how several minor matters such as whether food should be offered to gods before śrāddha, definitions of words like *parivitti*, *vr̥salipati* increased the extent of treatises on śrāddha.

829 a. The स्कन्दपुराण (भागवतखण्ड chap. 215. 24-25) says: हृदयन्ते ब्रह्मो भेदा द्विजानां आद्धकर्मणि। आद्धस्य ब्रह्मो भेदा. शाखाभेदैर्व्यवस्थिताः ॥

We should now turn to the several matters relating to śrāddhas.

First comes the question as to who are entitled to offer śrāddha (*śrāddhādihikārin*) This matter has been already dealt with in the H. of Dh. vol. III p 739 ff., and on page 763 and on pp. 256-261 (notes 581-588) above. It would be noticed that some (like the Visṇudharmasūtra) prescribe that whoever takes the wealth of the deceased should offer *piṇḍas* (i. e. perform śrāddha for him), while others said that whoever was preferable as entitled to offer pindas to the deceased propositus was to take the wealth. A few matters not mentioned there may be added here. In the Śāntiparva 65. 13-21 it is narrated⁸³⁰ that emperor Māndhātṛ was told by Indra how Yavanas, Kirātas and similar non-Aryan peoples (that are styled Dasyus in the Epic) are to be made to conduct themselves and it is stated that all *dasyus* may perform Piṭṛyajñas (in which they should feed men of their own kind and make monetary gifts to them) and offer money to brāhmanas also. The Vāyupurāna (83. 112) also speaks of the Mlecchas as persons that offer oblations to Piṭṛs. The general rule is stated by the Gobhila-smṛti⁸³¹ that the husband should not offer piṇḍa to his wife even if she dies sonless, nor a father to his son nor an elder brother to a younger brother. The moral of the story of Nini who performed śrāddha for his predeceased son and repented for having done so as it was *dharmasaṅkara* is the same. Vide Anuśāsanaparva 91. Aparārka (p. 538) quotes a verse from Śaṭṭriṁśan-mata that a father should not perform the śrāddha of his son nor an elder brother of a younger one. But Brhat-paraśara (p. 153) appears to state that even this general rule may have to be set aside sometimes. Baudhāyana and Vṛddhaśatāta (q by Sm. C. on śrāddha p. 337) allow a śrāddha (except sapṇḍikarāna) to be performed by any one for any

830 यवनाः किराता गान्धाराश्चीना शबरवर्षा । शुकास्तुषाराः कङ्गाश्च पङ्कजाश्चान्ध्र-
मद्रकाः ॥...कथं धनीश्चरित्यन्ति सर्वे विपयवासिनः । महिषैश्च कथं स्थाप्याः सर्वे वै दस्तु-
जीविनः ॥...नात्रापिजोहि शुश्रूषा कर्तव्या सर्वदस्तुभिः ।...पितृपद्मास्तथा कृपाः प्रयाश्च शयनानि
च । दानानि च यथाकालं द्विलेन्यो विद्वलेत्सदा ॥...पाकयज्ञा महाहाश्च दातव्या. सर्वदस्तुभिः ।
शान्तिपर्वे 65. 13-21; on this the सूत्रकण्ठकर (p. 55) remarks 'इति स्लेच्छादीनां
आह्वविधानं तदपि सजातीयभोजनद्रव्यदानादिपरम्' ।

831. न योयाया. पविर्दद्याद्दुष्प्राया अपि क्वचित् । न पुत्रस्य पिता चैव नापुत्रस्य
दयाग्रजः ॥ गोमिदस्तुति III. 70 and also II. 104, but see हृत्वरार V (p. 153)
'आह्वं पत्यापि कार्यं स्वाद्दुष्प्रायास्तु योपित । तस्यापि हि तथा कार्पमेकत्वं हि तयोर्वत ॥ ब्राह्म-
ज्येष्ठस्य कुर्वीत कार्यं ज्येष्ठोऽपुत्रस्य च । देवहीनं तु तत् सुप्रादिनि धर्मविदो विदुः ॥ अपराकं
p. 538 quotes पित्रा आह्वं न कर्तव्यं पुत्राणां च कार्यचन from पर्वविज्ञान्त

relative through affection, particularly at Gayā. It is emphasized⁸³² that he alone deserves to be called *putra*, who, while the father is alive, obeys his words, and gives plenty of food (to brāhmanas) every year (after his father's death) and who offers pindas (to his ancestors) at Gayā. The general rule laid down was that a child, whose *upanayana* has not been performed, is like a śūdra and lacks authority to utter Vedic passages (vide Āp. Dh. S. II, 6, 15, 19, Gaut. II, 4-5, Vas. II, 6, Visnu Dh. S. 28, 40, Manu II, 172).⁸³³ But an exception was recognized by almost all these authorities that a son, though his *upanayana* may not have been performed, can repeat the Vedic *mantras* required in funeral rites. Medhatithi on Manu II, 172 explains that a minor son, even though not initiated into Vedic study by *upanayana*, can offer water to his father, perform the *navasrāddhas* (mentioned above in n. 593) and repeat such *mantras* as 'sundhantām pitarāḥ' required in these rites, but since he has no *śrauta* or *grhya* fire of his own he can not perform such *śrāddhas* as the *pārvana*. The Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 56) provides that boys whose *upanayana* has not been performed, women and śūdras should get *śrāddhas* performed through a priest or they may themselves perform them without *mantras* but only mention the name and *gotra* of the deceased or with the two *mantras* 'devebhyo namaḥ' and 'pitrbhyaḥ svadhā namaḥ'. The above discussion shows that men and women, adults as well as children, those who are *upanīta* as well as those that are *anupanīta* are under an obligation to perform *śrāddha*.

Tai. S. I. 8. 5. 1, Tai. Br. I. 6. 9 (which will be quoted later on) show that *śrāddha* was offered to three immediate ancestors, father, grand-father, great-grand-father. The Baud. Dh. S. (I. 5. 113-115) states that there is a group of seven persons closely knit together that is called *avibhaktadāya sapinḍas* viz. great-grand-father, grand-father, father, the man himself (who

832 जीवतो वाक्यकरणात् प्रत्यब्दं सूरिभोजनात् । गयायां पिण्डदानाच्च त्रिभिः पुत्रस्य पुत्रता ॥ quoted by त्रिस्थलीसिंह p. 319.

833. नाभिव्याहारयेद् ब्रह्म स्वधानिनयनाहते । हृद्रेण हि समस्तावद्यावद्दे न जायते ॥ मनु II. 172 ; on this मेधातिथिः says: स्वधाशब्देन पितृभ्यः कल्पितमन्नमिहोच्यते । अथवा पितृभ्यं कर्म स्वधाशब्देनोच्यते । तन्निनीयते त्यज्यते प्राप्यते येन मन्त्रेण स स्वधानिनयनः शुन्धन्तां पितरः इत्यादिस्तं वर्जयित्वाऽप्यमन्त्रो नोच्चारयितव्यः । अनुपनीतेनोद्दकदाननवश्राद्धादि पितुः कर्तव्यमित्यस्मादेव प्रतीयते । पार्वणश्राद्धादौ त्वश्रिमत्त्वाभावादनधिकारः । पिण्डान्वाहार्यकं तद्व्यति । In the वैखानसश्रौत 9.10 we read 'उदकुम्भमाहाय यजमानः शुन्धन्तां पितरः-इति त्रिः प्रसव्यं वेदिमयः पतिपिञ्चन् पर्येति'.

offers pindas to the preceding three), his full brothers, his son from a wife of the same caste, the grandson and great grandson; that sakulyas are those that are called 'vibhaktadāyadas', that the wealth of the deceased descends to those who are born of the body of the deceased⁸²⁴. Manu IX. 137 (= Vas. 17.5 = Visnu Dh. S. 15. 46) solemnly⁸²⁵ affirms: 'by (the birth of) a son a man wins the worlds (heaven &c.), he secures immortality by a grandson and by the grandson of a son he reaches the abode of the Sun'. This verse shows that all the three descendants of a person confer equally great spiritual benefit on him. Yāj. also (in I. 78) lumps the three together (without making any distinction between them) when he says 'since a man secures perpetuation of lineage and heaven by means of son, grand-son and great-grand-son'. Therefore when Manu (IX. 106) says that by the birth of a son a man discharges his debt to his progenitors the Dāyabhāga (XI. 34) explains that the word *putra* stands for the three descendants up to the great-grandson, since all the three are entitled to perform the *pārvana-śrāddha* and equally benefit the ancestors by the pindas they offer, and that the word *putra* is not to be taken literally but only as illustrative in order to include the great-grandson, since one may with difficulty find a text expressly mentioning the *adhikāra* of the grandson (as a performer of *śrāddha* and taker of wealth) but there is no text expressly mentioning the great-grandson separately (as the taker of wealth and giver of pinda)⁸²⁶. On Yāj. II. 50 which lays down that when the father dies or has gone to a distant country or is overwhelmed by calamities (incurable diseases or the like) his debts should be paid by the sons or grandsons, the Mit. adds that even when a son or grandson receives no ancestral property the father's debts must be paid, the only difference being that the son has to pay the principal as well as the interest, while the grandson

824. अणि च मपितानहः पितानहः पिता स्वयं सोदर्यां भ्रातरः सवर्णायां पुत्र. पौत्र. प्रपौत्र एतानविभक्तदायादान् सपिण्डानाचक्षते । विभक्तदायादान् सकुल्यानाचक्षते । सस्त्रङ्गजेषु सत्रामी क्षर्यो भवति । बौ. घ. सू. I.5.113-115, quoted by द्वायभाग XI.37 and explained in 38 and by द्वायतत्त्व p. 189. The text printed in the आनन्दाश्रम collection of स्मृतिस is slightly different

825. पुत्रेण लोकाञ्जयति पौत्रेणानन्त्यमद्वन्दते । अथ पुत्रस्य पौत्रेण बह्वन्त्यामोति विद्वपम् ॥ मनु IX. 137. बौ. घ. सू. II. 9 7 reads the last pāda as नाकमेवाधिरौदति.

826. अत एव पुत्रपदं प्रपौत्रपर्यन्तपरं तत्पर्यस्तानामेव पार्वणविधिना पिण्डदानोपकार-कत्वस्याविशेषात् । अन्यथा पुत्रपदस्य स्वार्थस्यागानुपपत्तेः पौत्राधिकारज्ञापकं बह्वन्नं कथ-ञ्चिदादि लभ्येतापि प्रपौत्रस्य ह न पृथक्बचनमस्ति । तस्मादुपकारकत्वादेव प्रपौत्रस्यापधिकार इति पुत्रपदद्वयलक्षणम् । द्वायभाग XI. 34-36.

has to return only the principal and has to pay no interest and the Mit. quotes a verse of Brhaspati⁸³⁷ where all the three descendants are mentioned in one breath and the Mit. adds that the great-grandson has not to pay even the principal if he has received no ancestral property. This last remark implies that the Mit. regarded that the great-grandson was also included in the extended sense of 'putra'. Yaj. II, 51 begins by saying that whoever takes the wealth of a deceased person has to pay the latter's debts, so the great-grandson would have to pay the great-grand-father's debts if he received the assets of the grand-father. Therefore the Mit. on II, 50 expressly mentions that a great-grandson need not pay his great-grand-father's debts if he received no assets, because, otherwise being included in the extended meaning of putra, he would have had to pay. There was no necessity to bring in or mention the *praputra* under II, 50 if the Mit. did not include the *praputra* in the word putra. Again on Yaj. II, 51 ('putrahīnasya rikthinaḥ') the Mit. included even *praputra* under the word *putra*. This shows that the Mit. is quite conscious that the three descendants of a man form one group and succeed to his estate and liabilities and putra includes three descendants wherever the context so requires. If the word 'putra' is not to be taken as only illustrative and as including both grandson and great-grandson, serious difficulties will arise even in the interpretation of Yaj. on which the Mit. comments. For example, in Yaj. II, 135-136 it is said that when a sonless man dies his wife, daughters and other heirs (named there) succeed one after another. If 'putra' is taken to mean only 'son' and no one else, then on the death of a man without a son his wife or daughter (whoever is alive) will take the wealth even if a son's son exists. But that would be absurd and is not stated by any one. Therefore the word putra has to be interpreted in a wider sense in a proper context. Many works such as the Vyavahāramayūka, the Viramītrodaya, the Dattakamīmāṃsā interpret the word 'putra' as including three generations. Therefore, though the Mit. in its remarks on inheritance and succession expressly names the son and grand-

837. ऋणमात्मन्यवत्किञ्च देयं पुत्रैर्विभावितम् । पितामहं सप्तं देयमदेवं तत्सुतरस्य तु ॥ इति बृहस्पतिस्मरणपाठः । ; सप्तं यावद् गृहीतं तावदेव देयं न वृद्धिः तत्सुतरस्य प्रपौत्रस्यादेयम-गृहीतधनस्य । मिता. on या. II, 50, पुत्रहीनस्य रिक्थिन इत्येतदपि पुत्रपौत्रहीनस्य प्रपौत्रा-दयो यदि रिक्थ्यं गृह्णन्ति तत्रा ऋणं दाप्या नान्यथेत्येवमर्थम् । पुत्रपौत्रौ च रिक्थग्रहणाभावेपि दाप्यावित्युक्तम् । मिता. on या. II, 51.

son only (lit. it should have mentioned only the son) it must be taken as including the great-grandson also, particularly in view of the fact that it refers to the great-grandson in its comment on Yāj. I. 50 and 51 as taking the rikṭha which the Mit. (on Yāj. II. 114) interprets as apratibandha dāya. Baud. Manu, Yājñavalkya speak of the three descendants and Śankha-likhita, Vas. XI. 39 and Yama employ⁸³⁸ only the word *putra* or *suta* in relation to the three ancestors. Therefore, the remark of Dr. Kapadia in 'Hindu Kinship' on p. 162 'Vijñāneśvara understands by the word *putra* sons and grandsons only' is unjustified. It is impossible to hold with Dr. Kapadia that the Mit. ran counter to the express dicta of renowned Smṛtis such as those of Manu, Śankha-Likhita and Purānas like the Visnu-purāna III. 13.30 (quoted above in note 582) and that in its remarks on succession it forgot its own interpretation of *putra* on Yāj. II. 51. He has also not correctly understood the words of the Mit. introducing Yāj. II. 137: 'sons and grandsons take the wealth; in their absence, the wife and others; thus it is said (by me)'. This is wrong for several reasons. 'Wife and others take the wealth' is said by Yāj. (in II. 135-36). The following words are 'now (the author) declares an exception to both.' This clearly refers to Yāj. (II. 137) and not to Vijñāneśvara and so 'uktam' also must refer to Yāj. and not to Vijñāneśvara. Therefore, according to the Mit. the great-grandson is included in the extended meaning of the word '*putra*', is entitled just like a son or a grandson to offer *śrāddha* (in default of a son or grandson) and to take the wealth and pay the debts of the ancestor. In the matter of payment of debts there is, on account of the difference in the period that elapses, a difference between all the three descendants if no ancestral wealth is left by the ancestor, viz. the son pays the debt with interest, the grandson only the principal lent but without interest and the great-grandson nothing at all. This shows that even between the son and the grandson that are expressly mentioned by Yāj. II. 50 as to the payment of debts there is a difference and that as the great-grandson had to pay nothing when no ancestral property existed he was not mentioned at all in Yāj. II. 50.

838. तथा शङ्कलितयमाः । पिता पितामहश्चैव तथैव अपितामहः । जातं पुत्रं शंसांति पिप्लवं शुकला इव ॥ अपितामहद्रहणात् पुत्रपर्वं प्रपौत्रपर्यन्तपरम् । तदनेन प्रपौत्रपर्यन्तपरम् श्राद्धदानेन अपितामहपर्यन्तोपकारकत्वात् ह्युत्पी दायाधिकारः । दायभाग III. 18 and कल्पतरु p. 20; पिता पितो...उपासते सुतं जातं शङ्कुत्वा इव पिप्लवम् ॥ बसिष्ठ XI. 39, बसिष्ठ XI. 40 is quoted by कल्पतरु p. 20.

Just as the king is an ultimate heir and also the guardian of all minors, so he is like the son of a person (who has no relatives left) for performing śrāddhas

The next question is about the times when śrāddha is to be performed. It has been seen above (vide H. of Dh. vol. II, p. 696 ff) that long before the time of the Śat. Br. five daily observances (called Mahāyajñas) were prescribed for each house-holder, viz the sacrifice to beings, that to men, that to the Fathers, that to the gods and that to Veda. The Śat. Br. and the Tai. Ā. (II, 10) say further that this daily rite in which one offers *śadhā* (food) to the Fathers even up to water was called *pitryajña*. Manu III, 70 defines *pitryajña* as *tarpaṇa* (satiating ancestors with the offerings of water). Manu III, 82 provides that a householder should daily perform a śrāddha with food or with water or with milk, roots and fruits and thus please the Fathers. Śrāddha originally meant a sacrifice performed for the Fathers on Amāvāsya (vide Gaut. 15. 1-2).⁸³⁸ By applying that word to the daily offering of water to the Manes what is intended to be conveyed is that the special characteristics of śrāddha in the strict sense are to be extended to this daily rite so far as possible. Amāvāsya is of two kinds, *Sinivālī* and *Kuhū*. Those who keep śrauta fires should perform śrāddha on the former, while those who have not kept śrauta fires and śūdras should offer śrāddha on the latter.

Śrāddhas are divided into three classes, *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya*. An observance is called *nitya* when it is laid down that it must be performed on a certain or fixed occasion (such as every day, on an amāvāsya, or on Astakā day). What is laid down for being done on an occasion which is uncertain is called *naimittika* (such as the birth of a son). What is ordained to be done in case one desires a certain reward or fruit is called *kāmya* (e. g. the performance of a śrāddha on Kṛtikā or Rohini by one who desires heaven or progeny). The five daily *yajñas* including *pitryajña* are *nitya* i. e. they must be performed without any eye to any reward therefrom and the

838 a. अथ श्राद्धम् । अमावास्यायाः पितृभ्यो दद्यात् । शौ. 15. 1-2. इष्टचन्द्रा सिनीवाली नष्टचन्द्रा कुहस्तथा । तत्र सायिके सिनीवाल्यां श्राद्धं कार्यमितरे कुदात् । तथा च स्वाप्तः । इष्टचन्द्रा सिनीवाली कार्या विप्रेस्तु सायिकेः । नष्टचन्द्रा कुहू कार्या शुद्धे विप्रेरनायिकेः ॥ अपरांत p. 417, सूत्रिच. (आ. p 344) The स्कन्दपुराण (VI 216 83) gives the following etymology of अमावास्या 'अमा नाम रवे रश्मिसहस्रमल्लः स्थितः । तस्मिन्वसति येनन्दुरमावारया तत स्मृता' The वायुपुराण (56. 42) states 'अमा वसन्तायुके ऽथ यदा चन्द्रविशक्तरी । एका पञ्चदशी रात्रिममावारया तत स्मृता ॥' अमा means सद्य or एकत्र.

non-performance thereof will lead to sinfulness. Passages mentioning the rewards that follow from the performance of obligatory (*nitya*) rites are only laudatory, they only convey that such performances make a man pure, but it is not meant that they are not obligatory and may be performed only if a person desires the rewards or results promised (i. e. such performances are not *kāmya*). Āp. Dh. S. (II. 7. 16. 4-7) provides certain times for the performance of śrāddha viz. that it must be performed in the latter half of every month, that the afternoon is preferable for it, that the last days of the latter half of each month are preferable to the first days of the latter half. Gaut. 15. 3 and Vas. XI. 16 say that śrāddha may be performed on any day of the dark half of a month after the 4th day and Gaut. 15. 5 adds that if particularly appropriate materials or particularly holy brāhmanas are available or the performer is near a very sacred place (such as Gayā) a śrāddha may be performed on any day. Kūrma (II. 20. 23) says the same thing. The Agnipurāna 115. 8 says that at Gayā a śrāddha may be performed on any day (na kalādi Gayātirthe dadyat pindāmsca nityasah). Manu (III. 276-278) provides that the days of the dark half of the month beginning with the 10th but excepting the 14th^{838b} are recommended for śrāddha, that one performing a śrāddha on even lunar days (i. e. on the 10th, 12th) and on the even nakṣatras (i. e. on Bharani, Rohini &c.) gains the fulfilment of all his desires, that one who worships the Manes on uneven days (11th, 13th &c) and on uneven constellations (Kṛttikā, Mrgāśiras &c) obtains prosperous offspring and that just as the latter half of a month is

838 b. About the 14th of the dark half वा I 264 says 'यत्पितृभ्यस्त्विका वर्ज-
यित्वा ऋतुर्वशीव। हारेण तु ह्ये वै तेन्यस्तत्र प्रदीयते॥, compare मनु III. 276, and मरीचि
states 'विषशस्त्र-वापदादिविद्यंजाद्भागयतिनाम्। ऋतुर्वशीया कियं कार्या अन्येवा तु विगहिता ॥
५ by स्मृतिव. (आ.) p. 367, आह्वतत्त्व p. 191. भाग्ययतिना here means भाग्य-
कृतयतिरेत्यास्तीति. This only means that śrāddha should not be performed for
anyone on the 14th of the dark half except for those who were killed by
poison or by beasts, snakes, lower animals or brāhmanas or in battle. But a
śrāddha may be performed on any tithi of the dark half for those killed in
battle or by poison &c. It should be noted that Manu prescribes (III. 282)
that an āhitaṅga should not perform a śrāddha except on *darsā*, from which it
follows that only others (who had no śrauta fires) could offer śrāddha on any
day of the dark half. Vide स्कन्दपुराण VI, 204, 24-27 and VI 219 19-21 for the
proposition that śrāddha should be performed on the 14th tithi of the dark
half of Bhādrapada for those who met a violent death by poisoning or fire or
were killed by animals having fangs or horns or who committed suicide.

preferable to the first half so the afternoon is preferable to the forenoon for the performance of a śrāddha. Anuśāsanāparva 87. 18 is the same as Manu III. 276. Yāj. (I. 217-218), the Kūrma (II 20, 2-8), Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 20 ff) and Varāhapurāna 13. 33-35 sum up in one place the times for performing śrāddhas as follows: Amāvāsyā, the Aṣṭakā days, lucky days (such as the birth of a son), dark half of a month, the two *ayanās* (the two days on which the sun appears to start towards the south or north i. e. solstices), possession of sufficient materials (such as rice and pulse or meat), the arrival of a worthy brāhmana, the equinoctial points (visuvat, i. e. the sun's apparent entrance into Aries and Balance), the days on which the sun passes into one *rāśi* from another, the astrological conjunctions called Vyatipāta^{838c}, Gajacchāyā, eclipses of the sun and the moon, when the performer has an intense desire to perform śrāddha—these are times for performing śrāddha. The Mārkan-

838c. अपरार्के p. 426 quotes वृद्धमङ्गु for defining व्यतीपात 'अवगामिभधानिष्ठाद्वा-
नागद्वैवतमस्तके । यद्यन्ना रविशरेण व्यतीपातः स उच्यते ॥'. Vide अग्निपु 209. 13 for
the same verse with slight variations (due probably to not reading the mss
correctly). When Amāvāsyā occurs on a Sunday and the moon is on that day
either in Śravana nakṣatra or in Aśvini, Dhanīṣṭhā, Ārdrā or the first quarter
of Āśleśā, that is a conjunction called व्यतीपात, some explain मस्तक as meaning
मृगशिरोनक्षत्र. Bāna mentions Vyatipāta in his हर्षचरित व्यतीपात is also
defined in another way with reference to Rāśis. पञ्चाननरथौ कुक्षुनिमुञ्चौ मेधे
रवि. स्याद्यदि शुक्लपक्षे । पञ्चाभिधाना कारमेन शुक्ला तिथिर्षतीपात इतीह योग ॥ q. by अर.
क. ल. pp. 18-19. When on the 12th of the bright half the moon is in
Hasta nakṣatra, the sun in Mesa (Aries) and Jupiter and Mars in Lion,
then the conjunction is called व्यतीपात गजच्छाया is a conjunction that occurs
when the moon is in Maghā nakṣatra and the sun is in Hasta and the tithi
is 13th in the rainy season. विश्वरूप on च. II 218 quotes 'यदि स्याच्चन्द्रमाः
पिन्धे कौ श्वेद दिवाकर. । वर्षासु च त्रयोदश्यां सा च्छाया कुक्षररप तु ॥ अपरार्के quotes a
कारकश्रुति 'एतद्दि देवपितृणां चायसं यद्भस्तिच्छाया'. Both the तिता. and अपरार्के
p. 427 have a similar verse The कल्पतरु (आ) p. 9 and कृत्यरत्नाकर p. 319 quote
महापुराण 'योगो मघात्रयोद्दश्यां कुक्षरछायसंश्रित. । भवेन्मघायां संश्लेषे च शाश्वन्त्यर्के करे
स्थिते ॥'. The सौरपुराण (51. 31-32) puts it as 'आह्नपक्षे त्रयोदश्यां मघास्विन्दुः करे रवि.'
The स्कन्दपुराण (VI 220 42-44) explains हस्तिच्छाया in several ways. The
अग्निपु (165 3-4) explains हस्तिच्छाया in two ways Some take गजच्छाया literally
and say that śrāddha should be performed in the shadow of an elephant. The
Vanaparva 200 121 avers that such a śrāddha in which the ears of the
elephant serve as a fan gives gratification for thousands of कल्प. अपरार्के
p. 427 quotes a verse from the महाभारत about आह्न performed in the rainy
season under the shadow of an elephant and fanned by the flapping of its
ears and the meat being that of a goat all red in colour.

deya^{838a} (chap. 28. 22-23), adds that śrāddha should be performed when a man dreams an evil dream and when evil planets affect the nakṣatra of his birth. In an eclipse the appropriate time for śrāddha is what is called *Spaśa Kāla*⁸³⁹ (i. e. when the eclipse begins), as stated in a verse of Vrddha-Vasistha. The Brahmapurāna (220. 51-54) contains all the times specified by Yāj. and a few more. Vide also Skandapurāna VII. 1. 30-32, Visnupurāna III. 14. 4-6, Padma (srsti 9. 128-129). Acc. to Visnu Dh. S. 76. 1-2, Amāvāsyā, the three Astakās and the three Anvatakās, the 13th day of the dark half of Bhādrapada on which the moon is in *Maghā*, *Śarad* and *Vasanta* are obligatory (*nyāya*) times for śrāddha and that if a person does not perform śrāddha on these days he goes to Hell. Visnu Dh. S. (77.1-7) states that the day of the sun's passage from one sign of the zodiac to another, the two equinoctial days, particularly the solstitial days, Vyatipāta, the constellation on which the performer is born, a time of rejoicing (son's birth or the like)—these are *kāmya* times and a śrāddha performed on these occasions give infinite pleasure (to the Manes). The Kūrmapurāna (Uttarārdha 16. 6-8) says that śrāddhas called *kāmya* are commended on eclipses, solstice days, equinoctial days and on Vyatipāta and they give infinite pleasure (to the Manes) and śrāddha performed on-Sankrānti (sun's passage from one sign of the zodiac to another) is inexhaustible and so also on days of birth and on the several nakṣatras śrāddhas should be performed. Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 16. 8-22, Anusāsana 87, Vāyu 89. 10-19, Yāj. I 262-263, Brahmapurāna 220. 15-21, Visnu Dh. S. 78. 36-50, Kūrmapurāna (II 20. 17-22), Brahmānda III. 17. 10-22 state what rewards a man gets if he performs śrāddhas on each of the days from the first to the 15th of the dark half. These lists do not completely agree with each other. That of Āp. being probably the most ancient, is set out here—Śrāddha performed on each of the 15 days of the dark half respectively yields the following results in order, viz. progeny chiefly consisting of females (on 1st tithi

838 d. आद्धार्द्रवृषसंगमौ तथा दुःस्वप्नदर्शने । जन्मक्षयग्रहपीडासु आर्द्रं कुर्वीत श्रेष्ठया ॥ मार्कण्डेय 28,22. A man can perform a śrāddha on any tithi of the dark half of a month, but he should not perform it on a tithi when the moon is in the *nakṣatra* on which he was born or in Pūrva-bhādrapadā or in Uttarābhādrapadā or Kṛtikā, Ārdrā, Āśleṣā or Mūla or in a *nakṣatra*, which is 5th, 14th or 23rd from the *nakṣatra* of his birth.

839. ग्रहणरूपरामः । तत्रापि स्पर्शकालो ग्राह्यः । त्रिदशः स्पर्शसमये तृप्यन्ति पितरस्तथा । मधुपया मधुपकाले तु भोजकाले तु राक्षसाः ॥ इति बृहद्वसिष्ठस्मरणम् ॥ भद्रोजि 02 चतु सं. p. 124, स्मृतित्व. (आ) p. 342 quotes the verse.

of dark half), sons that will be thieves, sons that will be possessed of Vedic learning and the performance of Veda-vratas, son that will own small domestic animals, many sons that will be distinguished (by their learning) and the performer will not die childless, a great traveller and gambler (on the 6th), success in agriculture (on 7th), prosperity (on 8th), one-hoofed animals (on 9th), success in trade (10th day), black iron and tin and lead (on 11th), son possessed of cattle (on 12th), many sons and many friends and handsome children which will die young (13th tithi), success in arms (14th), prosperity (on 15th i. e. Amāvāsyā). Gārgya (q by Par. M. I. 2 p. 324) provides that one should not perform śrāddha on Nandā, on Friday, on 13th of the dark half and on the nakṣatra of birth and the preceding and the following nakṣatras for fear of losing one's sons and wealth. The Nandā tithis are 1st, 6th and 11th. The Anuśāsana-parva (87. 16) provides that he who performs śrāddha on the 13th tithi attains pre-eminence among his agnates, but then the young men in his house die as a consequence.

The śrāddhas performed on the days mentioned in Viṣṇu Dh. S. 77. 1-6 are *namūttika* and those performed on certain tithis and days of the week for securing certain rewards would be *kāmya* śrāddhas. According to Par M. I. 1 p. 63 the performance of obligatory (nitya) actions is samskāra (i. e. effects a purifying change in the mind making it fit for higher things), while in some cases it may also produce the desire to know the Reality behind the appearances (i. e. it is 'vividiśājanaka' as indicated by the Gīta 9. 27). Jaimini (VI 3. 1-7) establishes the proposition that the *nitya* acts (such as Agni-hotra, Darśa-pūrṇamāsa-yāga) must be performed even though the performer is unable to perform a subsidiary part of the rite; while Jai. VI. 3. 8-10 provide that every part of *kāmya* actions must be performed and if the performer thinks that he would be unable to perform all he should not undertake to perform a *kāmya* rite at all.^{83a}

The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (78. 1-7) states that one performing śrāddha on Sunday secures everlasting freedom from disease and those who perform śrāddha on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday (Jaiva), Friday and Saturday respec-

839 a. This position is stated by the परा मा. I part 1 p. 17c: 'यदा कुलभाद्राहुडानशक्तिस्तदेव काम्यमवृत्तेयम्'. The विष्णुपुराण (III. 14.4-8) sets out the times for काम्यश्राद्ध. The two propositions of जैमिनि are often spoken of as पञ्चाशक्तिश्राद्ध and सर्वश्राद्धसंहारश्राद्ध.

tively secure happiness (or admiration by people), victory in battle, all desires, such learning as he desires, wealth and long life. The Kūrma (II. 20, 16-17) also expatiates on the rewards for śrāddhas on the several days of the week.

The Visnu-Dharmasūtra (78. 8-15) mentions what rewards follow from performance of śrāddhas on the 28 nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharanī (including Abhijit which is placed after Uttarāsādhā and before Śravana). Yāj I. 265-268, Vāyu chap. 82, Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna 30. 8-16, Kūrma (II. 20 9-15), Brahmapurāna 220, 33-42, Brahmanda (Upodghātapāda 18.1 ff) also deal with the same topic, but all these works do not present complete agreement. For example, Visnu Dh. S. and Yāj. agree that śrāddha performed on Kṛttikā, Rohinī, Āśvini and Bharanī yield as rewards heaven, offspring, horses and longevity, but they disagree in several others e. g. while Visnu says that prosperity, beauty (or happiness) and all desires are obtained by performing śrāddha on the Pūṣya, Āśleṣā and Maghā nakṣatras respectively, Yāj. provides that a śrāddha on these three yields strength, son and eminence. The Anuśāsanaparva 89 and Vāyupurāna 82 set out the rewards of śrāddhas on the several nakṣatras from Kṛttikā as declared by Yama to Śaśabindu.

It is stated in the Agnipurāna⁸⁴⁰ that śrāddhas performed at a holy place and on days that are called Yugādi and Manvādi yield inexhaustible gratification (to the *pitrs*). The Visnupurāna⁸⁴¹, Matsyapurāna (17. 4-5), Padma V. 9. 130-131, Varāhapurāna and Prajāpati-smṛti verse 22 and Skanda VII. 1. 205 33-34 state that the third tithi of Vaiśākha (bright half), the 9th of the bright half of Kārtika, the 13th of the dark half of Bhādrapada and 15th tithi of the dark half of Māgha are called *Yugādi tithis* (i. e. the first days of the four *Yugas* from *Kṛta*).

840. तीर्थे युगादौ मन्वादौ आर्द्धं दत्तमथाक्षयम्॥ अग्निपुराण 117.61. युगादिषु च कर्तव्यं मन्वन्तरादिकेऽपि च॥ बृहत्पाराशर 5.3 (p. 149).

841. वैशाखमासस्य द्वि या तृतीया नवम्यसौ कार्तिकशुद्धपक्षे । नभस्यमासस्य तमिन्द्रपक्षे त्रयोदशी पञ्चदशी च मासे॥ एता युगाद्याः कथिताः पुराणैरनन्तदुपयास्तियथशतम् । विष्णुपुराण III. 14. 12-13 q by स्मृतिच I, pp. 58-59, कृत्यरत्नकर p. 542, मद् वा p. 538. अपराक्षि (p. 425) quotes the विष्णुपुराण differently. The मत्स्यपुराण (17.4) and एतद् place 15th of माघ before the 13th of भाद्रपद Vide अग्नि 209. 14-15 for some different dates for युगादि The स्मृत्यर्थसार (p. 9) gives a different order. शुद्धतृतीया वैशाखे प्रेतपक्षे त्रयोदशी कार्तिके चतुर्थी शुक्ला माघे दशैश्च पूर्णिमा। एता युगादयः मोक्षा दत्तस्याक्षयकारकाः॥ The वराहपुराण (13 40-41) contains the verse वैशाखमासस्य O. यज्ञायतिस्मृति (22) has a similar verse for युगादि days.

Matsya 17. 6-8, Agnipurāna 117. 61-64 and 209. 16-18, Saurapurāna 51. 33-36, Padmapurāna (Srsti 9. 132-135) mention the first tithis of the 14 Manus (or Manvantaras) as follows - 9th of the bright half of Āśvina, 12th of the bright half of Kārtika, the third of the bright half of Caitra and of Bhādrapada, the amāvāsyā of Fālguna, the 11th of the bright half of Pausa, 10th of bright half of Āśādhā and the 7th of the bright half of Māgha, the 8th of the dark half of Śrāvana, the Full Moon of Āśādhā, Kārtika, Fālguna, Caitra and Jyestha. The Matsyapurāna list is quoted in the Sm. C. I. p. 58, Kṛtyaratnākara p. 543, Par. M. I. 1. p. 156 and I. 2 p. 311, and the Madanaparījata p. 540. The orders in the Skandapurāna VII. 1. 205. 36-39 and the Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 9) are slightly different. In the Skandapurāna (Nāgarakhanda) the first tithis of thirty kalpas from Śveta onwards are specified as fit for śrāddha, but are passed over here.

Āp. Dh. S. II.⁸⁴² 7. 17. 23-25, Manu III. 280, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 77. 8-9, Kūrma (II. 16. 3-4), Brahmandā III. 14. 3, Bhavisiya I. 185. 1 forbid the performance of śrāddha at night or at twilight or when the sun has just risen except in the case of an eclipse of the moon. Āp. adds that when once a śrāddha is begun in the afternoon and owing to some cause there is delay and the sun sets then the performer should perform the remaining rites the next day and he should observe a fast till the placing of the *pinḍas* on the *darbhās*. Viṣṇu Dh. S. declares that śrāddha performed during an eclipse satisfies the Manes as long as the moon and stars exist and brings to the performer all advantages and the satisfaction of all his desires, while the Kūrmapurāna threatens that he who would not perform a śrāddha in an eclipse sinks (incurs sins or becomes ruined) as a cow in mud. The Mit. on Yaj. I. 217 is careful to point out that though there is a prohibition against eating during the progress of an eclipse of the sun or moon, that prohibition would only affect the eater (the brāhmana who eats śrāddha repast in an eclipse) but not the giver who will secure happiness (or good results) thereby.⁸⁴³

842 न च नक्तं श्राद्धं कुर्यात् । आरब्धे चाभोजनना समापनात् । अन्यत्र राहृदर्शनात् । आप ध सू II. 7. 17 23-25 ; नक्तं तु वर्जयेच्छ्राद्धं राहोरन्यत्र दर्शनात् । सर्वेस्वेनापि कर्तव्यं क्षिप्रं वै राहृदर्शने ॥ उपरागे न कुर्याद्यः पङ्के गीतिव सीदति ॥ कूर्मपुराण II. 16. 3-4.

843 यद्यपि 'चन्द्रसूर्यमहे नायात्' इति ग्रहणे भोजननिषेधस्तथापि भोक्तृदोषो बाहुर-
म्युद्यप' । मिता on या I 217-218.

Very learned disquisitions are held in Aparārka p. 465 ff, Hemādri p. 313 ff and other writers and digests as to the meaning of *aparāhna* which is the time for śrāddha prescribed by Manu (III, 278). There are several views. Some hold that the part of the day after noon is 'after-noon.' The word 'pūrvāhna' occurs in Rg. X. 34. 11. Others relying on a śruti⁸⁴⁴ text 'The forenoon is for gods, mid-day for men and afternoon for pitṛs' hold that the third part of the day divided into three parts is 'aparāhna.' A third view is that *aparāhna* is the 4th part of the day divided into five parts and they rely⁸⁴⁵ on Śat. Br. II, 2. 3 9. The five parts are called *prātaḥ*, *saṅgava*, *madhyandina* (or *madhyāhna*), *aparāhna* and *sāyāhna* (or *sāyam* or *astagamana*). The first three are expressly mentioned even in the Rgveda V. 76. 3 Prajāpati-smṛti (verses 156-157) says that each of these five parts extends over three *muhūrtas* (the day being divided into fifteen *muhūrtas*). It further states that *kutapa* is the 8th *muhūrta* from sunrise and that śrāddha should be begun in *kutapa* and should not last beyond *Rauhina* *muhūrta* and that five *muhūrtas* (from 8th to 12th) are the maximum time for śrāddha.⁸⁴⁶ The word *kutapa* has eight meanings as noted by the Sm. C. (śrāddha) p. 433 and Hemādri on śrāddha p. 320. The word is derived from 'ku' meaning 'condemned' (i. e. sin) and 'tapa' means 'what burns.' The eight⁸⁴⁷ meanings of 'kutapa' are 'midday, a vessel of rhinoceros horn, woollen seat or blanket

844. पूर्वाह्ने वै देवाना मध्यन्दिनो मनुष्याणामपराह्णः पितृणाम् । तस्मादपराह्णे व्रजति । शतपथम् II. 4.2.8.

845. आदित्यरत्नेव सर्वं ऋतव । यद्वैद्यैरेत्यथ वसन्तो यद्वा र्शगवोऽथ ग्रीष्मो यद्वा मध्यन्दिनोथ बर्षा यद्वापराह्णोऽथ शरद् यद्वैवास्तमेत्यथ हेमन्तस्तस्माद् मध्यन्दिन एवावधीत षडै होषोऽस्य लोकस्य नेद्विष्टं भवति । शतपथ II. 2.3.9, quoted by स्मृतिच (आ p 363)

846. आरम्भं कुतपे क्षुर्याद्वैदिगं तु न लक्षयेत् । एतत्पञ्चमुहूर्तान्तः श्राद्धकाल उदाहृत ॥ मुहूर्तस्तत्र विज्ञेया वरा पञ्च च सर्वदा । तत्राष्टमो मुहूर्तो य स कालः कुतपः स्मृत ॥ प्रजापति verses 158-159. Compare पञ्च (सुष्टिखण्ड 11.91-92) and स्कन्द VII 1. 205 6 for similar verses. The names of the 15 मुहूर्ता are quoted in दोषरानन्द (on आ. folio 25a) and in बृहद्योगयात्रा of बराह्मिहिर (VI. 2-4) m. in my paper on 'Varāhamihira and Utpala,' JBBRAS vol., 24-25 p. 21.

847 मध्यान्नः खड्गपात्रं च तथा नेपालकम्बल । रूप्यं वर्धाम्बलिा गात्रो दौहित्रश्चाष्टम स्मृत ॥ पापं कुतिसन्निव्याहृत्तस्य सन्तापकारिणि । अष्टावैते यतस्तस्य कुतपा इति शिक्षता ॥ स्कन्दपुराण VII 1. 205. 8-9, पञ्च VI. 131.76-78, q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 433 as स्मृत्यन्तर) and by हेमाद्रि p 320 and p. 1176 (where these are quoted as पैदीनसि's) लघुज्ञातातप (verse 108) speaks of खड्गपात्र as दौहित्र and is quoted by अपरार्क (p 474) लघुज्ञातातप (109) defines कुतप as the 8th part of the day (out of 15) and is quoted by आ. क्रि कौ p 317 अपरार्क p 474 quotes a smṛti giving three senses of दौहित्र 'अपर्यं द्रुषितुश्चैव खड्गपात्रं तथैव च । पूर्वं च क-पिल्याया गोदौहित्रमिति कीर्तितम् ।'

from Nepal, silver, darbhas, sesame, cows and daughter's son.' The general rule is that śrāddhas are performed in the afternoon (but this applies to śrāddha on New moon, Mahālaya, Āstakā and Anvastakā śrāddhas), while Vrddhīśrāddha and śrāddha in which only corn is offered (āmaśrāddha) are performed in the morning. Medhatithi on Manu III. 245 quotes a smṛti text on this ⁸⁴⁸ The Trikādamandana (II. 150, 162) provides that when it is not possible to perform a religious rite at the time prescribed for it as appropriate, it should be performed at some other time thereafter and that, between the proper time of a rite and the means, the former is to be preferred and one should not wait for a time later than the proper one with the desire of being able to collect all the principal materials. ^{848a}

A few words must be said about the proper places for the performance of a śrāddha. Manu (III 206-207) lays down that the performer should make efforts to secure a spot sloping to the south and smear it with cowdung, a spot that is pure and unfrequented (by many persons) and that the Fathers are pleased by śrāddha at naturally clean spots or the banks of rivers and spots that are unfrequented. Yaj. I. 227 very briefly puts the requirements by saying that the place of śrāddha should be covered on all sides, should be pure and sloping to the south. Śankha says: ⁸⁴⁹ 'one should not perform śrāddha on the backs of bulls, elephants and horses, nor on raised earth platforms nor on land owned by others' The Kūrmapurāna states ⁸⁵⁰ 'Forests, sacred mountains, holy places, temples—these have no (definite) owner and they cannot be private property (of any one)'. Yama provides ⁸⁵¹ 'if one offers śrāddha to his *pitrs* in spots

848. पूर्वाह्ने वैविक कार्पमपराह्ने तु पैतृकम् । एकोद्विंशं तु मध्याह्ने प्रातर्द्विनिमित्तकम् ॥
मेघातिथि on मनु III. 245. The द्विपकालिका on या. I. 226 quotes this verse as
from वायुपुराण and reads पूर्वाह्ने मातृक etc.

848 a. मुख्यकाले यदावश्यं कर्म कर्तुं न शक्यते । गौणकालेऽपि कर्तव्यं गौणोपयन्त्रेद्वयो
भवेत् ॥ स्वकालाद्भुक्तरो गौण कालः पूर्वस्य कर्मणः ॥ मुख्यकालस्तुपाश्रित्य गौणमप्यस्तु साधनम् ।
न मुख्यद्वयलोभेन गौणकालप्रतीक्षणम् ॥ त्रिकाण्डमण्डन II 150, 157, 162.

849. गौगजाश्रादिवृष्टेषु कृत्रिमाया तथा धुनि । न कुर्याच्छ्राद्धनेतेषु पारक्यास्तु च
धूमिषु ॥ शङ्ख q. by परा मा I. 2 p 303, आ य. p. 140, स्मृतिच (आ p. 335).

850. अदव्य. पर्वता पुण्यास्तीर्थान्पायतनानि च । सर्वाण्यस्वानिकान्याहुर्मं ह्येतेषु परि-
ग्रहः ॥ कूर्म II. 22 17 अपरार्क p 471, कल्पतरु (आ p. 116), and आ प्र p 148
quote a very similar verse as यम's.

851. यमः । परकीयप्रदेशेषु पित्राणां निर्वपेत्तु यः । तन्मृत्स्वामिपितृभि आहुर्कर्म
विहस्यते ॥ तस्माच्छ्राद्धानि देवानि पुण्येण्यतनेषु च । नदीतीरेषु तथेषु स्वभूमौ
मयस्ततः ॥ उपद्रवनिष्कृतेषु तथा पर्वतसाहस्रेषु ॥ q. by अपरार्क p 471, कल्पतरु (आ p. 115),
compare कूर्म II 22 16

belonging to others, that śrāddha rite is destroyed by the pits of the owner of those spots. Therefore, a man should perform śrāddha on holy spots, on river banks, in sacred places and particularly in land belonging to himself, in bowers near hills and on mountain tops' The Visnudharma-sūtra chap 85 mentions numerous holy places and then adds 'in these and other *tirthas*, big rivers, on all natural sandy banks, near streams, on mountains, in bowers, forests, groves and spots that look charming because of being smeared with cowdung (śrāddha may be performed)' Śankha (14 27-29) states 'whatever is given in holy Gayā, in Prabhāsa, Puskara, Prayāga, in the Naimisa forest (on the Sarasvatī), on the banks of the Ganges, Yamunā, Payosnī, on Amarakantaka, on Narmadā, in Benares, in Kuruksetra, Bhrgutunga, on the Himālaya, on Sapta-Venī, on Rśikūpa—all that becomes inexhaustible.' The Brahmapurāna (220. 5-7) also specifies river banks, lakes, mountain tops, sacred spots like Puskara as the proper places for śrāddha. The Vāyupurāna, chap 77 and Matsya 22 contain long lists of sacred places, countries, mountains in relation to śrāddhas. The Kalpataru (śrāddha p. 40) and Sr. P. p. 147 state that special characteristics of the *tirthas* in the several countries that are declared to be fit places for śrāddha should be understood from the inhabitants of those various countries.

Sacred places will be dealt with in a separate section (on *tirthas*).

The Visnudharmasūtra⁸⁵² (chap 84) prescribes that śrāddha should not be performed in Mleccha country, nor should one go to a Mleccha country and then defines a Mleccha country as one in which the system of the four *varnas* is not established and states that Āryāvarta is beyond that. The Vāyupurāna provides⁸⁵³ that the country of Triśanku which is

852 न म्लेच्छविषये आहुं कुर्यात् । न गच्छेन्म्लेच्छविषयम् । परनिपातेऽप्य पीत्वा ब्रह्माम्यसुपगच्छतीति । चातुर्वर्ण्यव्यवस्थानं यस्मिन्देशे न विद्यते । स म्लेच्छदेशो विज्ञेय आर्यावर्तस्तत परः । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 84 1-4

853. त्रिशङ्कोर्वज्रपदेशं सर्वं द्वादशयोजनम् । उत्तरेण महानद्या वक्षिणेन तु कीवदम् ॥ देशस्यैवाहुवो नाम आहुकर्मणि वर्जितः । कारस्करा कलिङ्गाश्च सिन्धोरुत्तरमेव च । प्रणटा-भ्रमवर्णाश्च देशा वज्र्याः प्रयत्नत । वासुदेवाण 78. 21-23, ब्रह्माण्ड, उपोद्घातपाद 14 31-33, quoted by हेमाद्रि (आ p. 162), and आहुय. p 147 and अपरार्क p. 472 (as from ब्रह्माण्ड). Vide also विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 141. 2-4.

twelve *yojanas* in extent and which is to the north of the river Mahānadi and to the south of Kikata (i. e. Magadha) is not fit for śrāddha, similarly the countries called Kāraskara, Kalinga, the country to the north of the river Sindhu and all countries where the system of *varnas* and *āśramas* is not in existence should be sedulously avoided for śrāddhas. The Brahmapurāna (220. 8-10) makes the somewhat startling remark that the following countries should be avoided for śrāddhas viz. the Kirāṭa country, Kalinga, Konkana, Krimi (Krivī?), Daśārṇa, Kumārya (Cape Comorin), Tangana, Kratha, the northern banks of the Sindhu river and the south bank of Narmadā and the east of the Karatoyā.

The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāna⁸⁵⁴ prescribes that for a śrāddha a place (ground) that is full of insects, that is arid, or is burnt by fire, from which proceed sounds that are painful to the ear, that is terrific in its aspect, that emits fetid smell should be avoided.

It was also provided from very early times that certain persons and animals are to be ejected from the place where śrāddha is to be performed and are not to be allowed to pollute the śrāddha rite by looking at it or by disturbing it in various other ways. Gaut. (15. 25-28) provides that food seen by dogs, cāṇḍālas and those guilty of mahāpātakas becomes unclean (and so unfit); therefore one should offer śrāddha in a covered (or screened) place; or he should strew round about the place sesame or a worthy brāhmana who purifies a row of diners by his presence should perform a śānti for removing the taint caused (by a dog or cāṇḍāla seeing the food &c). Āp. Dh. S. prescribes that the learned condemn the seeing of a śrāddha by dogs and those who (being *patita*) are excommunicated and that a leper, a bald man, one having sexual intercourse with another's wife, the son of a brāhmana who follows the profession of arms, the son of a brāhmana woman from a śūdra man—if these eat śrāddha food they pollute the diners sitting to eat in a row. Manu (III 239-242) states: 'a cāṇḍāla, a village pig or cock, a dog, a woman in her monthly illness, an impotent person—these should not be allowed to see brāhmanas engaged in taking dinner. Whatever is seen by these at a *homa*

854 वर्ज्या जन्तुमती रुक्षा क्षितिः सुखा तथाग्निना । अनिष्टदृष्टशब्दोया दुर्गन्धा आह्व-
कर्मणि ॥ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 29. 19 q. by आह्व p. 139.

(agnihotra), at a gift (of cows and gold), when brāhmanas are being fed, or at a religious rite (like the Darśa-Pūrnamāsa sacrifice) or at a śrāddha becomes fruitless. A pig taints food (offered to gods or Manes) by merely smelling it, a cock by setting in motion the air with its wings, a dog by casting a glance and a man of low caste by touch. If a servant of even the person who offers śrāddha is lame or squint-eyed or has a limb less or more (i. e. having eleven or nine fingers &c.), he should be ejected from the place where śrāddha is to be performed.' It is provided by the Anuśāsanaparva (127.13) that śrāddha food should not be seen by a woman in her monthly illness or by a sonless woman or by one suffering from white leprosy. Visnu-dharmasūtra (82, 3 ff) contains a long list of about 30 persons who are not to be allowed near a śrāddha. The Kūrmapurāna (II. 22. 34-35) states that one devoid of a limb, a *pahta*, a leper, one suffering from an open ulcer, an atheist, a cock, a pig, a dog, should be kept far away from a śrāddha; one should also avoid one that has a disgusting appearance, an impure person, one who is naked, a mad man, a gambler, a woman in her monthly course, those that wear indigo-coloured or yellow-red garments and those who follow heretical views. The Mārkaṇdeya 32 20-24, Vāyu 78. 26-40, Visnupurāna III. 16. 12-14 and Anuśāsanaparva 91 43-44 also contain long lists which are passed over here. The Skandapurāna VI 217. 43 also speaks about a dog, a woman in her monthly illness, a *patita* and a hog not being allowed to see the śrāddha rite.

The classification of Śrāddhas.

Śrāddhas have been variously classified. One classification, viz. into *niya*, *namuttika* and *kāmya* has already been described above (p. 369) Another classification is that into *Ekoddista* and *Pārvana*⁸⁵⁵. The first is offered to one deceased person alone, while the latter is performed on the amāvāsyā of a month or in the dark half of Bhādrapada or on saṅkrānti and in it the three paternal ancestors are principally invoked. Brha-

⁸⁵⁵ Vide H of Dh vol. III p 737, note 1425 for explanation of these two. अमावास्यां यत् क्रियते तत्पार्वणसुद्धितम् । क्रियते वा पर्वणि यत्तत्पार्वणमिति स्थितिः ॥ भविष्यपुराण I. 183 15 q. by कल्पतरु p. 7, आहृततरु p. 192, आ ति. of रुद्रधर, आ. क्रि. कौ. p. 6 (which explains 'पार्वणि अश्वत्थका मायीपौर्णमास्यादि') The परा. मा. I. 2 p 199 says सुवचत्रयसुद्धितम् यत्क्रियते तत्पार्वणम् । एकसुवचोद्देशेन यत्क्रियते तदेकोद्दिष्टम्. Venk. ed. of भविष्य reads वर्षे वा क्रियते यत् ।

pati quoted in the Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara mentions five classes of śrāddhas as declared by Manu viz. nitya, naimittika, kāmya, Vrddhi and Pārvana⁸⁵⁶. The Śrāddhaviveka remarks that the sixteen *pretaśrāddhas* (to be described later on) are included under naimittika and that such śrāddhas as Gosthī-śrāddha enumerated in other smrtis are included in Pārvana. The Kūrmapurāna (II. 20, 26) similarly speaks of the five śrāddhas as enumerated by Manu⁸⁵⁷. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 217 states that there are five śrāddhas, viz. 'ahar-ahar-śrāddha, pārvana, vrddhiśrāddha, ekoddista and sapindikarana. The daily śrāddha is described by Manu III. 83 (= Śankha 13 16 and Matsya 16.4) as one that is performed every day with food (cooked rice, yavas &c.) or with water or with milk, fruits and roots. Two verses of Viśvāmitra⁸⁵⁸ quoted by several works speak of twelve kinds of śrāddhas, viz. nitya, naimittika, kāmya, vrddhi-śrāddha (performed on the birth of a son, marriage or similar incident of good luck), sapindana (sapindikarana), pārvana, gosthīśrāddha, śuddhiśrāddha, karmānga, daivika, yāśrāśrāddha, pustīśrāddha. Explanations of all these are quoted from the Bhavisyapurāna by the same works. Sapindana and Pārvana will be described below. Some of the rest not already defined may be briefly explained as follows: The Gosthī-śrāddha⁸⁵⁹ is one which is performed when a man be-

856. नित्य नैमित्तिकं काम्यं वृद्धिआर्द्धं तथैव च । पार्वणं चेति मनुना आर्द्धं पञ्चानि च स्मृतम् ॥ वृहस्पति q. by आ. वि. of ब्रह्मधर p 1

857. कर्मरन्ध्रेषु सर्वेषु कुर्याद्विष्णुदये पुन । पुत्रजन्मादिषु आर्द्धं पार्वणं पर्यहं स्मृतम् ॥ अहस्पदानि नित्यं स्यात् काम्यं नैमित्तिकं पुन । एकोद्धिद्यादि विज्ञेय द्विधा आर्द्धं तु पार्वणम् । एतत् पञ्चविधं आर्द्धं मनुना परिकीर्तितम् । कूर्म. II. 20, 24-26 आश्वलायन q. by आर्द्धकलिका enumerates them as काम्यं नैमित्तिकं वृद्धिरेकोद्धिद्यं च पार्वणम् । (folio 1)

858. नित्य नैमित्तिकं काम्यं वृद्धिआर्द्धं सपिण्डनम् । पार्वणं चेति विज्ञेयं गोष्ठ्यां वृद्धिश्चर्मण्डनम् ॥ कर्मार्द्धं नवन मोक्त दैविकं दशमं स्मृतम् । यात्रास्वेकादशं मोक्तं पुष्ट्यर्थं द्वादश स्मृतम् ॥ विश्वामित्र q by कल्पतरु p 6, स्मृतिच (आ. p. 334), सह पा p. 475, आ. क. ल p. 6, निर्णयसिन्धु III. p 374 The कूर्मपुराण also (II. 20 26-27) mentions यात्राआर्द्धं, वृद्धिआर्द्धं and दैविकआर्द्धं This enumeration occurs in भविष्यपुराण I. 183.6-7 and स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1, 205. 41-42 The कल्पतरु refers to two verses of the ब्रह्मपुराण for explaining यात्राआर्द्धं which are quoted at length in आ. कि कौ p. 267 and आ. प्र. p. 333.

859. गोष्ठ्या या यत्कियते आर्द्धं गोष्ठीआर्द्धं तदुच्यते । बहूना विदुषा संपत्सुखाय पितृपुत्रये । भविष्यपु q by कल्पतरु p 7, सह पा p 476, आ. क. ल p 7. The कल्पतरु explains गोष्ठी चात्र आर्द्धकर्वुसहृदाय । संपत्सुखाय आर्द्धसामग्रीसम्पदा यस्तुखं तदर्थं बहूनां विदुषा केनचिन्मितेन शुभपच्छादने कर्तव्य उपरिधते पृथक्पाकाद्यसम्पत्तौ सम्भूय आर्द्धसामग्रीसंपादनेन यच्छादने क्रियते तद्गोष्ठीआर्द्धमिति शङ्खधर. 17 (p. 7) The दण्डवृत्ति-आर्द्धमयोग of रघुनाथ gives another explanation 'आर्द्धस्य गोष्ठ्यां वार्तायां क्रियमाणाय तज्जनितोत्साहेन यत् क्रियते आर्द्धम् ।'.

comes enthusiastic owing to a talk about śrāddha or when many learned men gather together at a sacred place and, finding it impossible to have separate cooking arrangements for each, pool their resources for collecting śrāddha materials and perform simultaneously śrāddha for the pleasure it affords to themselves and for the gratification of pitrs. The Śuddhi-śrāddha is one where brāhmanas are fed when a person undergoes *śuddhi* (purification) after being guilty of some sin or transgression (it is a subsidiary act in a *prāyaścitta*). That śrāddha is called 'karmāṅga' which is performed at the time of the *Gaḥbhādāna* rite or at the performance of a soma sacrifice, or at *śimantonnayana*, *pumsavana* (it is like *Vṛddhiśrāddha*). That is called *daivika śrāddha* which is intended to propitiate gods (it is like *nityaśrāddha* and is performed on the 7th or 12th *tithi*, or the like with sacrificial food). When a man going to a distant country on a pilgrimage or the like performs a śrāddha in which clarified butter is served (to brāhmanas) in abundance or when he comes back to his house, that is *yātra-śrāddha*. That is called *puṣṭiśrāddha* which is performed for the health (or fattening) of the body (when taking some medicines for the purpose) or for the increase of one's wealth. Out of these ⁸⁶⁰ twelve the principal ones are *pārvaṇa*, *śloḍḍista*, *vṛddhi* and *sapṛyāna*. There are works called *Ṣaṇ-ṇavati-śrāddha* such as those of Śivabhatta, son of Govinda, and of Raghunātha. The 96 śrāddhas to be performed in a year are briefly enumerated in a verse ⁸⁶¹ quoted in the note. They are 12 śrāddhas on

860. गोष्ठ्या यत्क्रियते आर्द्धं गोष्ठीआर्द्धं तदुच्यते । बहूना बिदुषा सन्पत्सुखार्थं पितृभूतये ॥ क्रियते शुद्धये पशु ब्राह्मणानां तु भोजनम् । शुद्ध्यर्थमिति तस्योक्तं वेनतेप मनीषिणिः ॥ नियेककाले सोमे च सीमन्तोन्नयने तथा । क्षेत्रं पुसवने चैव आर्द्धं कर्माङ्गमेव च ॥ वैशालिद्विषय यच्छार्द्धं तन्तु वैविकसुच्यते । इदियेण विशिष्टेन सप्तम्यादिषु यत्नत ॥ मन्वन्वेदान्तरं पञ्च आर्द्धं कुर्यान्तु सयिषा । यार्थमिति तस्योक्तं प्रथमे च न संज्ञाप ॥ हारीशोपचये आर्द्धमर्थोपचय एव वा । शुद्धयर्थमेतद्विज्ञेयनीयचापिकसुच्यते ॥ भविष्यपु. I. 183 15-19, q. by स्मृतिच (अ.) p. 334, आ. क. ट. p 7, निर्णयसिन्धु p 374. There are some various readings here that are not noted. The printed text (Venk ed) presents different readings, such as गोष्पथ क्रियते आर्द्धं and क्रियते देवसुद्विषय सप्तम्यादिषु यत्नत. These 12 आर्द्धा are defined in स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1. 205 43-50 also. On दैविकआर्द्धं the टोडरानन्द (आर्द्धसौर्य folio 4 b) remarks 'अत्र यद्यपि षड्भूत आर्द्धमसम्भवि देवीद्वैद्यकलेन विधानात् तथापि अर्द्धया कार्य आर्द्धमिति योगसाधन्यात् आर्द्धपदान्निधेयतावचनं बोद्धव्यम् ।'

861. अना शुगमलुकान्तिधृतिपातमहालया । आन्वद्वय च पूर्वेषु षण्णवत्य प्रकीर्तिता । verse 5 of षण्णवतिआर्द्ध of शिवभट्ट (Ms in Bhadrakamkar collection)

(Continued on the next page)

the 12 amāvāsyās in the year, the four śrāddhas on the Yugādi days (note 841 above), the fourteen śrāddhas on the Manvantarādi days (p. 375 above), the śrāddhas on 12 *saṅkrāntis* (i. e. the sun's apparent motion from one sign of the Zodiac to another), the 13 śrāddhas on the Yoga called Dhṛti (i. e. Vaidhṛti) and the 13 śrāddhas on the Vyatipāta yoga, the 16 Mahālaya śrāddhas, the four Anvatakā days (according to Āsv. as noted on pp 359-360), the four Astakā days and the four days (i. e. 7th of dark half of the months of Hemanta and Śiśira) of the day previous (to the Astakā). These classifications and enumerations of śrāddhas will afford an idea how the doctrine of śrāddhas was carried to an exaggerated extent in the course of centuries. It goes without saying that only a few people could have indulged in the luxury of so many śrāddhas a year and most people were content with the performance of only one Mahālayaśrāddha and one or two more. It may be noted that Manu (III. 122) first prescribed that on the amāvāsyā of each month an elaborate śrāddha should be performed, but knowing that this was almost impossible Manu recommends to all (III. 281) that an elaborate śrāddha should be performed on three amāvāsyās in one year⁸⁶² (viz. in Hemanta, Grīśma and Varsā) and one should perform every day the śrāddha which is one of the five daily sacrifices (III. 82-83). Devala went further and recommended that an elaborate śrāddha may be performed only once a year.

The next important question is about the qualifications of the brāhmanas that were invited to dinner on a śrāddha day. Only brāhmanas were and are entitled to be invited for śrāddha

(Continued from the last page)

The महालयस are 16 as stated by ज्ञान्यायनि and देवल q. by परा मा. I. 2 p 319 and by स्मृ ह. (आह्) p 745, नभस्यस्वापरे पक्षे तिथिषोडशकं तु यत् । कन्यास्थार्कान्त्विर्तं चैत् स्यात्त कालः आह्नकर्मणि ॥ (शा) ; अह बोडशकं यत्तु ह्युक्तमतिपदा सह । चन्द्रक्षयविशेषेण सापि दशान्तिका स्मृता ॥ (देवल). Generally there are 13 वैद्युतयोगस and 13 vyatipāta yogas in a year, though sometimes there may be 14 of each. There are in a month 27 yogas beginning from विष्कम्भ. The शतपथजा (VI. 4. 2. 10) speaks of 12 अदकाः द्वादश पूर्णमास्यो द्वादशादका द्वादशान्मासाः ।

862. एतेन विधिना आह्नं कुर्यात्संवत्सरं सकृत् । त्रिंशत्पूर्वा यथाआह्नं मासे मासे दिने दिने । देवल q. by स्मृतिच (आ.) p. 497 which explains: एतेन विधिना पार्वणविधिना प्रतिशंवत्सरेकवारं विशिष्टेऽह्नि प्रतिशंवत्सरं विवारं वा कल्पतत् p. 22 (आह्) quotes the verse.

dinner whoever may be the performer of the śrāddha. In this connection many works contain high eulogies of brāhmanas, but they are passed over here, as the eulogy of brāhmanas has been already dealt with at some length in H. of Dh vol. II, pp. 37-38, 135-138. It may be noted that the grhyasūtras contain a few requirements, but as we proceed the smrtis and purānas go on adding qualifications and enlarging the lists of those that should not be invited. For example, the Āśv. Gr. 862^a IV. 7. 2, Śān.-Gr. IV. 1. 2. Āp. Gr. VIII. 21. 2, Āp. Dh. S. II. 7. 17 4, Hir. Gr. II. 10. 2, Baud. Gr. II. 10. 5-6 and II. 8. 2-3, Gaut. 15. 9 provide that the brāhmanas to be invited should be possessed of Vedic learning, should be of excellent character (free from anger and passion and possessed of control of mind and senses) and of meritorious conduct, pure, not deficient in a limb or not having an excessive limb (e. g. having six fingers). The Āp. Dh. S. states that he who has studied the three Vedic verses in which the word 'madhu' occurs (Rg. I. 90. 6-8, Vāj. S. 13. 27-29, Tai. S. IV. 2. 9 3), he who has studied the Trisuparna, one who is a Trināciketa, one who has studied the mantras required for the four sacrifices (Āśvamedha, Purusamedha, Sarvamedha and Pitrmedha) or who has performed these four sacrifices, one who keeps the five fires, he who knows the Sāman called Jyestha, he who carries out the duty of daily Vedic study, the son of one

862 a ब्राह्मणान् श्रुतशीलवृत्तसपत्नानेकेन वा । आश्व. घृ. IV. 7. 2. ब्राह्मणान्
शुचीन् मन्त्रवत् समङ्गान्पुत्र आनन्वयते । योगिगोत्रासम्बन्धान् । नाशपित्री भोजयेत् ।
द्वि. घृ. II. 10. 2. त्रिमधुस्त्रिपुष्पं त्रिणाचिकेतश्चतुर्धे. पञ्चानिष्पदेषामिकी वेदाभ्यास्य-
न्ब्रह्मण्युज ओत्रिय इत्येते आदे भूजाना. पञ्चिपावना भवन्ति । आप. घृ. II. 7. 17-22.

त्रिपुष्पं is the name applied, according to Haradatta, to the three anuvākas beginning with ब्रह्ममेतद् नाम (S. A. X 48-50) or to the verse चतुः—
शिखण्डा युवति सुपेक्षा in S. A. I. 2. 1. 27 or Rg. X 114. 3-5. त्रिणाचिकेत' is explained in different ways viz (1) one who knows the Nāciketa fire, (2) a person who has thrice kindled the Nāciketa fire, (3) a person who has studied the Anuvāka called Virajas. For the Nāciketa fire, vide Kathopaniśad I. 1. 16-18. The word 'Trināciketaḥ' occurs in Katha Up I. 1. 17 and is explained by शङ्कर as 'त्रि कृत्वा नाचिकेतोऽभिधीयते येन स. त्रिणाचिकेतस्तद्दिशानस्त-
ब्रह्मयनस्तद्दृष्टानवान् वा । Tai. Br. (III. 11. 7-8) describes the नाचिकेत fire and the story of Naciketas. The five fires are Gārbhapatya, Āhavanīya, Dakṣaṅgni, Āvasathya (or aupāsana) and Sabhya. Vide H. of Dh. vol II. p. 679. Vide *ibid.* II. p. 767 note 1838^a for explanations of पञ्चिपावन, उपेष्टसामिक

and the other words explained above. वेवल defines ओत्रिय as 'एका शाखा सकल्पा वा षड्भिरङ्गैरधीत्य वा । पदकर्मनिरतो विम. ओत्रियो नाम धर्मवित् ॥' v. by आ. प्र. p. 59. Pāṇini (V. 2.84) derives ओत्रिय as ओत्रियःष्ठन्द्वाधीति षड्कर्म—refers to यजनयाजनाभ्यायनाभ्यापनप्रतिग्रहदानानि.

who has studied the Veda and is able to teach the whole Veda with its *aṅgas*, a *Śrotriya*—these persons sanctify the company if they eat at a funeral repast. Gaut. 15. 28, Baud. Dh. S. II 8.2, Manu III 185-186, Yāj I. 219, Varāhapurāna 14.2 contain almost the same words about those who sanctify the company of diners (i. e. who are *pañktipātana*). The Anuśāsanaparva (90. 25-31), Kūmapurāna II 21. 1-14, Matsya 16 7-13, Brahmapurāna 220. 101-104, Vāyu 79. 56-59 and 83. 52-55, Skanda VI 217. 21-25 give long lists of *pañktipātana* brāhmaṇas. The Hir. Gr. II, 10.2, Baud. Dh. S. II 2. 7, Kūrma (II 21. 14) and others say that a performer of śrāddha should invite one who is not a relative connected by marriage (such as a maternal uncle) nor one who is of the same gotra, nor one who is connected with the performer by Veda study (i. e. is his teacher or pupil), nor a friend nor one who expects monetary help from the performer. Manu (III. 138-139) provides that one should not invite at a śrāddha dinner a personal friend, that one may gain a friend by making valuable gifts to him (on other occasions), that one should feed at a śrāddha a brāhmaṇa whom he does not deem either his friend or foe and that he who performs śrāddhas and offerings to gods chiefly to gain friends reaps no reward after death by those śrāddhas or offerings. But Manu III 144 (= Kūrma II 21-22) provides that one may invite even a friend but not a foe though the latter may be learned. Manu (III. 135-137 and 145-147) lays down that the main or best rule to be followed is to present śrāddha food to those who are devoted to spiritual knowledge, that between a man who has studied one whole recension of the Veda but whose father was not a śrotriya and one who is himself not a śrotriya but whose father had studied a whole recension of the Veda (i. e. whose father was a śrotriya) the latter is the more worthy of the two, that one should strive to feed at a śrāddha an adherent of the Ṛgveda who has studied one entire recension of that Veda or a follower of the Yajurveda who has studied one Śakhā thereof or a singer of sāmans who has finished one recension of the Sāmaveda and that if one of these preceding three is honoured and dines at a śrāddha, the ancestors of the performer will be gratified up to the seventh generation for a very long time. Hārta (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 392 and Kalpataru on śr. pp. 66-67) describes the qualifications of those who are *pañkteya* brāhmaṇas viz. they must be born in a high family (possessing four characteristics), must be endowed with learning (of six kinds) and *śīla*

(character of 13 kinds) and good conduct (of 16 kinds). Śāṅkha-Likhita⁸⁵³ give a long list of pāṅkteya (fit to be associated with in a *pañkti* i. e. row of diners) brāhmanas, viz he who knows the Veda and the Vedāngas (viz. phonetics, kalpa or śrauta ritual, grammar, Nirukta, metrics and astronomy); one who keeps the five fires; one who has studied the Veda with its *angas*; one who knows Śāṅkhya, Yoga, Upaniṣads and Dharmaśāstra; a śrotriya, a trinācīketa, trimadhu, trisūparṇaka and one that has studied Jyesthasāman; one who has studied Śāṅkhya, Yoga, Upaniṣads and Dharmaśāstra; who is devoted to Veda; who always keeps sacred fires; who is obedient to his parents and devoted to Dharmaśāstra. Similar rules are laid down by Viṣṇu Dh. § 83, Bṛhat-Parāśara p. 150, Vṛddha-Gautama p. 581, Prajāpati verses 70-72, Laghu-Śatātapa verses 99-100, Auśanasasmṛti (Jiv. vol. I, pp. 523-524). As Medhātithi⁸⁵⁴ on Manu III. 147 says the gist of all these passages is that a learned brāhmana who has studied the Veda, whose conduct is good, whose family is famous, who is the son of a śrotriya father and who is not related to the performer must be invited and all the rest is mere arthavāda (by way of eulogy). Manu (III. 128) laid down two propositions viz. all food offered as sacrifice to the gods and manes must be given only to a brāhmana who studies the Veda and that whatever is presented to the most worthy brāhmana (among brāhmanas studying the Veda) brings in the greatest rewards. Then Manu (III. 183) declares that *pañktipāvana* brāhmanas are those that sanctify a row of diners among whom sit some who are tainted by (latent) blemishes that make them unfit to be among the diners. Then Manu (III. 184-186) gives examples of *pañktipāvana* brāhmanas viz. those who are the foremost among students of all the Vedas or their expository works and who are born in a family of unbroken descent of Vedic students, who are Trinācīketa &c. Hemādri (on śr. pp. 391-395) and Kalpataru (śr. pp. 64-65) quote numerous verses from Yama on *pañktipāvana*.

Manu III. 147 asserts that the best course is to invite a brāhmana who fulfils the conditions laid down in Manu III.

853. शङ्खलिकितावपि । अथ पाङ्केयाः । वेदवेदाङ्गवित् पञ्चाग्निरुचान साङ्ख्ययोगोपनिषद्दर्मशास्त्रविद्भोगत्रिय. त्रिणाचिकेत त्रिमधु त्रिहृत्पर्णको ज्येष्ठसामग. । साङ्ख्ययोगोपनिषद्दर्मशास्त्राध्यायी वेदपरः सदात्रिको मातापितृभ्रातृपुत्र्यर्धर्मशास्त्ररति । इति । १ by कल्पः (p. 68), अं. ३. p. 67.

854. श्रोत्रियो विद्वान् सायुचरण. प्रहृयाताभिजन श्रोत्रियापत्यसम्बन्धो भोजनीय. । परिशिष्टं सर्वमर्थवादाद्यर्थः ॥ मेधा ०३ मनु III. 147.

132-146, but adds that if it is not possible to secure such a brāhmana then the next best course⁸⁶⁵ ('anukalpa') may be followed, viz. the performer may invite his own maternal grandfather, his maternal uncle, sister's son, father-in-law, his teacher of the Veda, daughter's son, son-in-law, a *bandhu* (such as mother's sister's son), wife's brother or a *sagotra*, or his family priest, or his pupil. Similar provisions occur in Yāj I. 220, Kūrma (Uttarārdha 21, 20), Varāhapurāna 14, 3, Matsya 16. 10-11, Visnupurāna III. 15. 2-4 (anukalpesvanantarān). But Manu is careful⁸⁶⁶ to point out in a later chapter that one who is able to observe the best course, but observes the second best does not reap other-worldly rewards by his actions. Even Āp. Dh. S.⁸⁶⁷ expressly says that if strangers do not possess the requisite qualifications, then even one's full brother possessed of all the qualifications (as to Vedic learning, good conduct &c.) and pupils may be fed at a śrāddha. Baud. Dh. S. also allows even a sapinda to be fed.⁸⁶⁸ Gaut 15. 20 appears to be of the view that even pupils and *sagotras* may be invited when they are possessed of excellent qualities and strangers with good qualifications are not available. Even in these times very learned brāhmanas are unwilling to be fed at a śrāddha, particularly within a few years (three or five) from the death of the person for whose benefit the śrāddha is to be performed. Smṛtis attach a certain stigma to the fact of being the recipient of a śrāddha dinner and prāyaścittas are prescribed. For example, the Mit. on Yāj. III. 289 quotes several verses of Bhāradvāja, one of which says 'if a brāhmana dines at a pārvana śrāddha he has to perform six prāṇāyāmas (as expiation), if he dines at a śrāddha from the third month after a person's death to one year, he has to undergo a fast; if he dines at a vṛddhiśrāddha, he has to perform three prāṇāyāmas, and a fast for a day and night if he dines at a sapindana śrāddha.' The Mit. further quotes a

865. शुद्ध्याभावे योऽनुदीयते प्रतिनिधिन्त्यायेन सोऽनुकल्प उच्यते । मेघा. on मनु III. 147. The अमरकोश says 'शुद्धय' स्वात्मयमः कल्पोऽनुकल्पस्तु ततोऽयमः'

866. प्रभुः प्रथमकल्पस्य योऽनुकल्पेन वसते । न साम्प्रदायिकं तस्य दुर्मतेर्विद्यते फलम् ॥ मनु XI. 30 (= शान्तिपर्व 165.17) q in तत्रवार्तिक p. 191, where the 2nd half is स नानोक्ति फलं तस्य परत्रेति विचारितम् ॥

867. शुण्ढान्थां तु परेषां ससुदेन सोऽप्येवोपि भोजयितव्यः । एतेनान्तेवासिनो व्याख्याताः । आप. घ. सू. II 7.17.5-6

868. तस्मादेवंविधं सपिण्डमप्याहण्येत् । बौ ध. II. 8 5. The आ. क. ल p. 40 explains एवंविधं as शुण्ढान्तम्.

verse from Dhaumya which prescribes Cāndrāyana for dining at a śrāddha on the birth of a son or at simantonnayana, in a navāśrāddha etc. Vide also Nirnayasinhu III, pp. 467-468 for prāyaścittas on eating śrāddha dinners. The Varāhapurāna (189. 12-13) provides that if a brāhmana dies while the food offered to a *preta* is still in his stomach he dwells for a *kalpa* in a horrible hell, becomes a *rāksasa* and then becomes free from the sin.

According to Gaut. 15. 10 young persons with the requisite qualifications are to be preferred to older ones, while, according to some, young men were to be invited at a śrāddha for one's deceased father and old men for a śrāddha for one's grand-father. On the other hand, Āp. Dh. S. says among brāhmanas possessing the same qualifications, the older ones are to be preferred and among those that are old are to be preferred the poor that are anxious to earn money.^{868a}

Some of the works lay special emphasis on inviting ascetics or *yogins* at a śrāddha dinner. The Visnu Dh. S states that yogins⁸⁶⁹ are particularly *pañkṭipāvana* and quotes a stanza as recited by the pitrs 'May (a descendant) be born in our family who feeds a brāhmana yogin at a śrāddha by which we are ourselves satisfied.' The Varāhapurāna 14. 50 says that a yogin is superior to 100 brāhmanas. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna provides 'a wise man should always feed yogins at a śrāddha since the pitrs rely for support on Yoga; if a yogin is fed by being seated as the first among thousands of brāhmanas he saves the performer and the other diners as a boat saves men in water.' Then it quotes stanzas sung by the pitrs (29. 32-34) to king Aila. The Saurapurāna, after mentioning the qualifications (in 19. 2-3),⁸⁷⁰ winds up by stating that even one may suffice provided he be a single-minded devotee of Śivā (verse 6)

868 a. तुल्यशुणेषु बचोद्भूतः श्रेयान् ब्रह्मकुलस्थेष्वनन् । अपि च ॥ 7 17.10.

869. विशेषेण च योगिनः । अत्र पितृनीला गाथा भवति । अपि स स्वात्कुलेऽस्माकं भोजयेद्यस्तु योगिनम् । विश्वं आद्धे प्रयत्नेन येन तुष्टयामहे वयम् ॥ विष्णुध च. 83 19-20.

870 The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण III 9 70 is यद्दस्थानां सहस्रेण वानमरुधक्षतेन च । ब्रह्मचारिसहस्रेण योग एव विशिष्यते ॥ योगिनश्च सदा आद्धे भोजनीया विपश्चिता । योगाधारा हि पितरस्तस्मात्तच्च पूजयेत्सदा ॥ मार्कण्डेय 29. 29, ब्रह्मणाना सहस्रेभ्यो योगी त्वयासने यदि । यजमानं च भोक्तुंश्च नौरिवान्भस्ति तारयेत् ॥ बाणपुराण 76 28, मार्कण्डेय 29 30. These and other verses occur in ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 112-115. मार्कण्डेय 29.29-30 are ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 110-112 q. by हेमाद्रि p 411 and आ. म. p 72-73. The important पितृगाथाः are 'कदा नः सन्ततावगम्यः कस्यचिद्भविता सुतः ॥ यो योगिश्चकरोपाको भुवि पिण्डप्रवास्त्यति । गयायामथवा पिण्डं सङ्गमांसं तथा हविः । कालशार्कं तिलाज्यं च तुप्तये कुरार च न ॥' ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 113-115 and मार्कण्डेय 29, 33-34.

The Matsyapurāna (16. 11-12) recommends 'He who expounds (the meaning of) texts; he who enters upon the discussion of śrauta sacrifices and he who knows the rules about the accents of sāmans is a purifier of *pañktipāvanas*; one proficient in the Sāmaveda, a Vedic student, one endowed with knowledge of the Veda or of *Brahma*—where these are fed in a śrāddha it yields the highest benefit.'⁸⁷¹ Though in the above passages the greatest emphasis was laid on the possession of Vedic learning by the brāhmanas to be fed, one had also to see whether they were men of good character and observers of the rules of proper conduct, as provided by Āśv. Gr. IV. 7. 2 (note 862), Gaut. 15.9 and Manu II 118 who says 'a brāhmana⁸⁷² knowing only the sacred Gayatri but living a well-regulated life is to be preferred and not one who knows the three Vedas but who is not well-regulated in conduct and who eats anything (even forbidden food) and who is a vendor of everything.' The Skandapurāna VI. 217. 27 recommends that one should make every effort to know the family of the brāhmanas, then their character (śīla), then their age and then the facts about whom they marry or to whom they give their daughters in marriage. The Brahmanḍa (Upodghāta, chap 15) says that there should be no scrutiny of a brāhmana about whom nothing is known because *siddhas* (yogins) roam about on the earth in the form of brāhmanas. But if faults in a brāhmana are easily seen or if one knows his disqualifications on account of one's dwelling near him, he should not be invited (verses 5-6). The same Purāna (Upodghāta 15. 24-26) arranges the orders of preference as follows: first yati (ascetic), then a brāhmana who knows the four Vedas and itihāsa, then one who knows three Vedas, then one who knows two, then one who knows one Veda, then one who is an *upādhyāya*. Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 443) quotes the Agni-purāna⁸⁷³ as follows: 'what is the use of (birth in a) famous

871 यश्च व्याकुरुते वाक्यं यश्च मीमांसतेऽध्वरम् ॥ सानस्वरविधिज्ञश्च पाङ्क्तिपावनपावनः। सामगो ब्रह्मचारी च वेदयुक्तोऽथ ब्रह्मविद् ॥ यत्रैते श्रुते आह्ने तदेव परनार्यवत् । मत्स्य-पुराण 16 11-13.

872. सावित्रीमात्रसरोऽपि वर विमः सुयन्त्रित । नायन्त्रितस्त्रिवेदोऽपि सर्वाशी सर्ववि-करी ॥ मनु II. 118 = बुद्धगौतम p. 517, which reads चतुर्वेदी. हेमाद्रि p 444 quotes मनु as reading नायन्त्रितश्चतुर्वेदी

873. तदुक्तमग्निपुराणे । किं कुलेन विशालेन वृत्तहीनस्य देहिनः । कृमयः किं न जायन्ते कुक्षुमेषु सुगन्धिषु ॥ जातृकर्मणि । अपि विद्याकुलैर्युक्तान् वृत्तहीनान् द्विजाधमान् । अनर्हान् हृष्यकर्मण वाद्याग्नेणापि नाचर्येत् ॥ हेमाद्रि pp 443-444, आ. प्र p 74.

family if the man is himself devoid of good conduct? Are not insects found in fragrant flowers?' Jātūkarnya says 'one should not honour even with a word (much less with food &c.) in rites for gods and Manes bad brāhmanas void of good conduct, even though they be endowed with learning and be born in a good family.' This insistence on worth was due to the conception that pits assuming an aerial form enter brāhmanas at the time of śrāddha. Vide Brahmandapurāna (Upodghātapāda 11. 49).

These requirements of learning, character and good conduct would naturally make it incumbent on the performer of a śrāddha to inquire into the antecedents, qualities and defects of the brāhmanas to be invited. Manu and others lay down several rules about the testing of the brāhmanas to be invited. Manu III. 149, Visnu Dh. 874 S. 82.1-2, provide 'at an offering to the gods let a man not enquire into (the qualities of) a brāhmana (when he wants to invite), but at a śrāddha offering to the Manes close inquiry (into qualities) is declared to be proper and just.' Manu III. 130 says that even if a brāhmana be master of the Veda, one should enquire far (into his ancestry). The Vayupurāna 875 appears to provide that inquiry into (the qualifications of) brāhmanas should not be always undertaken when gifts are to be made, but enquiry is declared (necessary) in the case of rites for gods and Manes. The Anuśāsanaparva provides 876 that in rites meant for gods a ksatriya knowing the rules about gifts should not (closely) inquire into the qualifications of brāhmanas, but in rites for the gods and Manes such inquiry is quite proper. Vrddha-Manu and the Matsya-purāna 877 lay down that a brāhmana's character is to be inquired into at the place where he resides for a long time, his purity by his acts and transactions with other people, his intelligence by discussion with him: with these three one should inquire whether the brāhmana (to be invited) is a worthy person.

874. दैवे कर्मणि ब्राह्मणं न परीक्षेत । प्रयत्नात्पिडये परीक्षेत । विष्णुध. सू. 82. 1-2.

875. न ब्राह्मणान्परीक्षेत सदा दैवे तु मानवः । दैवे कर्मणि पिडये च शूयते वै परीक्षणम् ।
वायु 83. 51 q. by हेमाद्रि p 511 (reads दैवे तु).

876 ब्राह्मणास्तु परीक्षेत क्षत्रियो दानधर्मवित् । दैवे कर्मणि पिडये तु श्वाण्यमाहुः परी-
क्षणम् । अद्वैतसतन 90. 2 q. by हेमाद्रि p 511.

877. परीक्षाकारस्तु बृहमन्मत्स्यपुराणयोर्दक्षितः । शीतं संवत्सनाज्जेयं शौकं संय-
वहारतः । प्रज्ञा संकथनाज्जेया विधिः पात्र परित्यजेत् । हेमाद्रि p. 513, आ. म. p. 102.

The Nrsīṃhapurāna⁸⁷⁸ forbids close inquiry into the character and learning of one who comes by chance as a guest at the time of śrāddha. That inquiry was allowed as to brāhmanas who were invited and not as to those who came by chance uninvited as *atithis*. There are no doubt certain passages particularly in the Purānas where scrutiny into a brāhmana's qualifications is condemned. For example, the Skandapurāna quoted by Aparārka (p. 455) and Kalpataru (on śr. p. 102) states 'The Vedic revelation is that śrāddha is to be offered (to a brāhmana) after inquiry (into his learning and character), but straightforward action is better than scrutiny. When one offers śrāddha straightforwardly without inquiry his pitrs are gratified and also gods'. The Bhavīsyapurāna (q. by Bālabhāṭī) states 'it is my view also that one should not test (the qualifications of) brāhmanas; one should only consider their caste and not their virtues'. Such passages are explained away as referring to a śrāddha at sacred places or as applicable to gifts or to *atithis* (vide Hemādri on śrāddha p. 513, and Bālabhāṭī on ācāra p. 494)^{878a}.

Brāhmanas were declared to be *apāṅkṭeya*⁸⁷⁹ (not fit to sit in the row of brāhmana diners or as defiling a row of diners at śrāddha) on various grounds, such as bodily and mental defects and diseases, pursuit of certain avocations, moral lapses, being guilty of crimes, being followers of unorthodox systems, being inhabitants of certain countries. A distinction has to be made between brāhmanas who should not be invited and brāhmanas that are *apāṅkṭeya* or *paṅkṭīdūṣaka*. For example, one should not ordinarily invite a friend or a sage's brāhmana even

878 न परीक्षेत चारिष्यं न विद्यां न कुलं तथा । न शीलं न च वैशादीनतिथेरागतस्य हि ॥ मन्थेत विष्णुमेवैवं साक्षात्कारायणं हरिम् । अतिथिं समग्रमासं विचिकित्सेन्न कर्हिचित् ॥ चरिष्युरायणं पृ by आ म प 102; अनिज्ञातं द्विजं आर्द्धे न परीक्षेत पण्डितः । सिद्धा हि विमलयेण चरन्ति पृथिवीमिमाम् । तस्माद्वातिथिमायास्तमभिगच्छेच्छ्रुताञ्जलिः ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड, उपोद्घातपाद, 15. 7.

878 a. इत्यादीनि विमपरीक्षानिवेधकानि तानि आर्द्धतरवानपराणि नित्यआर्द्धपराणि वा तीर्थआर्द्धपराणि अतिथिपूजापराणि वा । बालम्भटी on आचार, p. 494

879. मेधातिथि on मद्ग III. 167 explains अपाङ्क्य (derived from पङ्क्ति) as follows: अपाङ्क्याः पङ्क्तिः नार्हन्ति । भवार्ये दृक् कर्तव्यः । अनर्हत्वमेव पङ्क्त्यावभवनमनेन प्रतीयते । अन्यैर्ब्राह्मिणैः सह भोजनं नार्हन्ति । अत एव पङ्क्तिरूपका उच्यन्ते । तैः सहोपनिषदा अन्येषु हि ह्युचिता भवन्ति । पा. IV.1.20 is स्त्रीभ्यो दक्.

though learned, but these are not apāṅkteya. The Ap. ⁸⁰ Dh. 8, states that one suffering from white leprosy, a bald man, the violator of another man's bed, the son of a brāhmana who was a soldier by profession, the son of (brāhmana who had become like) a śūdra from a brāhmana woman—these defile the company if they are invited at a śrāddha repast. Vas. Dh. 8, XI. 19 also gives a brief list viz. 'one should avoid naked (ascetics), those suffering from white leprosy, impotent men, blind men, those who have black teeth, those afflicted with black leprosy and those who have deformed nails.' Very long lists of persons unfit to be invited at a śrāddha are given by Gaut. XV. 16-19, Manu III. 150-166, Yaṅ. I. 222-224, Viṣṇu Dh. 8, 82. 3-29, Atri (verses 345-359 and 385-388), Brhad-Yama III. 34-38, Brhad-Parāśara pp. 149-150, Vrdhha-Gautama pp. 580-581, the Vāyu-purāna 83.61-70, Anuśāsana-parva 90.6-11, Matsyapurāna 16.14-17, Kūrma (II 21. 23-47), Skanda VII. 1.205.58-72, VI. 217.11-20, Varāhapurāna 14.4-6, Brahma-purāna 220. 127-135, Brahmāṇḍapurāna (Upodghāta 15.39-44 and 19.30-41), Mārkaṇḍeya 28.26-30, Viṣṇupurāna (III 15.5-8), Nārada-purāna (pūrvārtha 28.11-18), Saurapurāna (19.7-9) and several other works. The list in the Manusmṛiti is one of the longest and that is set out here. One should not invite a brāhmana that is (1) a thief, (2) an outcaste, (3) an impotent man, (4) an atheist, (5) one who wears his hair in braids (a student yet learning Veda); (6) one who does not study the Veda, (7) one who is afflicted with a skin disease, (8) a gambler, (9) one officiating as a priest for a multitude of men, (10) a physician, (11) temple priest (who worships images for money), (12) vendor of meat, (13) one who makes his livelihood as shopkeeper, (14 and 15) a paid servant of a village or of a

880. श्वित्री क्षिपिविदः परत्पण्यापुत्रधीरदुवः शूद्रोत्पन्नो ब्राह्मण्यामित्येते आद्रे
 सुक्षानाः पडिदुवका भवन्ति। आप. ध. दू. II. 7.17 21 As the son of a śūdra male
 from a brāhmana woman was treated as a cāṇḍāla in many smṛtis and there-
 fore could not possibly have been intended to be invited at a śrāddha. Kapardin explained the words शूद्रो...ह्मण्यात् as meaning 'born of a
 brāhmana male that had become practically a śūdra by first marrying a
 śūdra woman, then a brāhmana woman and procreating a son on that
 śūdra wife and then on the brāhmana wife.' This latter (as the son of a
 शूद्रसम ब्राह्मण) is 'अपाङ्केय'; शूद्रोत्पन्नो ब्राह्मण्यां असमवर्णदारपरिमर्शे ब्राह्मण्यां पुत्र-
 भङ्गत्वात् शूद्रापाङ्कत्वादिवदुव इति कपर्दी; कल्पतरु (आ p. 90), हरदत्त follows
 कपर्दी हेमाद्रि (आ p. 496) omits all reference to marrying a śūdra wife first
 and explains 'नो विशुद्धजातीयायामपि ब्राह्मण्या शूद्रात् शूद्रसमानाद् ब्राह्मणादुत्पन्नः'.

king, (16) one with deformed nails, (17) one whose teeth are black (naturally), (18) one who opposes his *guru*, (19) one who has forsaken his sacred fire (*śrauta* or *smārta*) without a proper cause, (20) a usurer, (21) one suffering from consumption, (22) one who subsists by tending cattle (though not in distress), (23 and 24) a younger brother who marries or kindles sacred fires before his elder brother, (25) one who neglects the five (daily) sacrifices, (26) an enemy of *brāhmanas* or of *Veda*, (27 and 28) an elder brother who marries or kindles sacred fires after his young brother, (29) one who is a member of a guild or corporation, (30) an actor or singer, (31) one who has broken the vow of student-hood by unchastity, (32) one whose (only or first wife) is a *sūdra* female, (33) the son of a remarried woman, (34) a squint-eyed or one-eyed man, (35) one in whose house a paramour of his wife resides, (36) one who teaches for hire, (37) one who is taught by a hired teacher, (38) one whose teacher is a *sūdra*, (39) one who instructs *sūdra* pupils, (40) one whose speech is harsh and untrue, (41) the son of an adulteress, (42) the son of a widow, (43) one who forsakes his mother, father or teacher without (adequate) cause, (44) one who has contracted an alliance with *patitas* either through the *Veda* (i. e. as teacher or pupil) or through marriage, (45) an incendiary, (46) one who undertakes sea-voyages, (47) a bard, (48) an oil-man, (49) a false witness (or forger of documents or counterfeiter of coins), (50) one who has a dispute with his father in a law court, (51) one who induces others to gamble, (52) one who drinks wine, (53) one afflicted with a disease (in punishment for crimes in former lives), (54) one accused of a grave sin, (55) a hypocrite, (56) a vendor of substances used for flavouring food (such as sugar-cane juice or molasses), (57) a manufacturer of bows and arrows, (58) one who is the husband of a woman married before her elder sister, (59) the betrayer of a friend, (60) the keeper of a gambling house, (61) one who learns (the *Veda*) from his own son, (62) an epileptic man, (63) one who has scrofulous swellings of the glands, (64) one afflicted with white leprosy, (65) an informer, (66) a lunatic, (67) a blind man, (68) a caviller of the *Veda*, (69) a trainer of elephants, horses, oxen or camels, (70) one subsisting by the practice of astrology, (71) a bird-fancier, (72) one who gives instructions in the use of weapons, (73) one who diverts watercourses, (74) one engaged in obstructing watercourses, (75) one subsisting by teaching or practising architecture, (76) a messenger, (77) one who plants trees

for money, (78) a breeder of sporting dogs, (79) a falconer, (80) a defiler of a maiden (or who ascribes falsely fault to a maiden), (81) one given to injuring living beings, (82) one who gains his livelihood from sūdras, (83) one who officiates at a sacrifice on behalf of guilds, (84) one who does not follow the ordinary rules of conduct (as welcoming a guest &c), (85) one who has no energy for religious acts, (86) one who constantly begs for gifts, (87) one who subsists by agriculture (carried on personally), (88) one who suffers from elephantiasis, (89) one who is condemned by good men, (90) a shepherd, (91) a keeper of buffaloes, (92) the husband of a remarried woman, (93) a carrier of dead bodies (for money)⁸⁸¹. Manu III, 167 says that a brāhmana who knows the sacred laws should avoid or shun at both (sacrifices to Gods and to Manes) the worst of brāhmanas enumerated above whose conduct is reprehensible and who are unworthy of sitting in a row of brāh-

881. There is some divergence of views among the commentators about the meanings of certain words occurring in Manu III, 150-166. For reasons of space that matter is not discussed here in detail. A few points alone are noted here निराकृतिः is explained in two ways viz (1) one who does not perform the daily five Mahāyajñas, (2) one who after learning the Veda forgets it. The evil diseases are said by Devala to be eight 'दन्नाद्-स्वद्रोपो राजयस्ना श्वातो नद्युनेहो भगन्दरो नहोदरमक्षरीत्वटौ पापयोगाः'; q by अपराकं p. 451, स्तुतिच. (आ) p. 401. द्विपती is explained in various ways by Skandapurāṇa VII 1. 205 77-80 as meaning a sūdra woman, as one who abandoning her husband cohabits with another, as a girl who is not married though she has reached the age of puberty, as a prostitute, as one who is sterile, or one all whose children are dead अग्नेदिधिपतिः :-When a younger sister gets married before her elder sister the former is called अग्नेदिधिर् while the latter is called दिधिर्. देवच says 'केद्रायां यद्यद्वायां कन्यायाहृष्टतेऽहृष्टा । सा चाग्नेदिधिर्-होया पूर्वा च दिधिर्मुता ॥' q. by अपराकं p 451, निता on वा III. 265. अग्नेदिधिर्-पति is taken by मेघतिथि as equal to two words viz. अग्नेदिधिर् and दिधिर्पति. The latter means, according to the Amarakośa, the husband of a remarried woman, while the former means 'one who is the first husband of a remarried woman' शुभर्षादिधिर्हृदा द्वित्तस्या दिधिर् पति । स तु द्विजोग्नेदिधिर् सेव यस्य कुडुन्निनी ॥ अनरकोश q. by हरदत्त on गी 15 15. मनु. III 173 explains दिधिर्पति as one who lasciviously dallies with the widow of his deceased brother, though she be appointed (to bear a son by him) according to the sacred law. The स्तुतिः said that the brother appointed should cohabit as an act of duty and not through passion for the widow. Hemādri p 485 gives another meaning of अग्नेदिधिर् 'जीववस्तावद् आहुर्भाषांयान्मुदुरकोऽग्नेदिधिर्.'. वसिष्ठ I. 18 includes both अग्नेदिधिर् and दिधिर्पति among those who are called एतन्निन. Even the वै जा. III. 2.8. 12 mentions अग्नेदिधिर् as a sinner and आप ध च (II, 5, 12, 22) mentions both.

manas at a śrāddha repast. Manu III. 170-182 indulge in pointing out how feeding such unworthy brāhmanas results in the loss of the gratification of pitrs and state that the food eaten by such unworthy persons becomes or is to be deemed as equal to foul things. The Kūrmapurāna⁸⁸² forbids inviting at śrāddhas Bauddha ascetics, Nirgranthas (devotees who have withdrawn from the world and wander about naked or as beggars), those that follow the Pañcarātra and Pāsupata doctrines, those that are kāpālikas (devotees of Śiva of the left hand order) and other similar heretical people. The Visṇupurāna (III 18. 70 ff) narrates how a king after a bath in a holy place talked with a heretic and had to pass in consequence through the bodies of a dog, a jackal, wolf, vulture, a crow, a crane and peacock and ultimately became freed from the taint by a bath at the avabhṛtha in an Āsvamedha sacrifice. The same Purāna provides (III 18 97) that one should avoid talking with or touching heretics, particularly at the time of a religious rite or when one has consecrated for a solemn sacrifice. The Vāyupurāna⁸⁸³ provides that people who are 'nagna' should not be allowed to see a śrāddha and then defines 'nagna' people as follows: 'the three Vedas are declared to be a protective covering for all beings and therefore those who foolishly abandon the Vedas are called 'nagna'; those who vainly keep matted hair, those who shave their heads for no purpose, those who are nagna (naked) without any cause, those who engage in certain observances and mutter certain words aimlessly are called *nagnādī*'. Just as certain countries were declared unfit for the performance of śrāddhas (vide note 853 above), so certain brāhmanas hailing from certain countries were declared in some

882. बृहद्भावकनिर्यन्थाः पञ्चरात्रविदो जनाः । कापालिकाः पाशुपताः पायण्डा ये च
द्विधा ॥ कूर्म (उत्तरार्ध) 21. 32 q by हेमाद्रि p 476 and 365, बृहद्भावकनिर्यन्थ-
शाकाजीवकापिलाद । ये धर्मान्दुर्वर्तन्ते ते वै नग्नादयो जनाः ॥ ब्रह्माण्डपुराण III 14 38-39
q. by हेमाद्रि p 520. The same verse occurs in a corrupt form in वायु
78.30-31.

883. सर्वेषामेव भूतानां त्रयी संवरणं स्मृतम् । परित्यजति यो मोहात्ते वै नग्नादयो
जनाः ॥...वृथा जटी वृथा मुण्डी वृथा नमश्च यो द्विजः । वृथा व्रती वृथा जापी ते वै नग्नादयो
जनाः ॥ वायुपुराण 78.26 and 31, q. by हेमाद्रि (आ) p 520 (the first verse from
ब्रह्माण्डपुराण). The स्मृतिच (आ.) p. 411 reads वर्णानां for भूतानां and ascribes
that verse to the ब्रह्माण्डपुराण. ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद 14 35-41) has these
verses अथर्ववे. 473 ascribes verse सर्वेषामेव भूतानां to ब्रह्माण्डपुराण, which is
found in उपोद्घातपाद 14.35.

works as not fit to be invited at a śrāddha.⁵⁵¹ For example, the Matsyapurāṇa states that brāhmaṇas that are ungrateful, that are atheists, that stay in *Mleccha* countries or the countries of Trisāṅku, Karavīra, Āndhra, Cina, Dravīda and Koṅkaṇa should be carefully avoided at the time of śrāddha. Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 505) quotes from the Saurapurāṇa the following: 'Brāhmaṇas hailing from the countries of Āṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Saurāṣṭra, (Kāthiawar), Gurjara, Ābhira, Koṅkana, Dravīda, Dakṣiṇapāthā, Avanti and Magadha should be avoided at śrāddhas. It will be noticed that putting the above two passages together, brāhmaṇas from half of modern India would have been ineligible for being invited at śrāddhas if these passages were literally followed. This was probably a counsel of perfection prompted by the false pride and prejudices of the authors of those works. The Śrāddhāvireka of Rudradhara (pp. 39-41) contains one of the longest lists of persons unfit to be invited at a śrāddha.

The following reason is advanced by the Varāhapurāṇa⁵⁵² and others for honouring a guest who comes by chance at the time when a śrāddha rite is in progress: "Yogins wander over the earth assuming different forms that prevent recognition, but doing good to people; therefore a wise man should honour a guest who arrives at the time of the performance of a śrāddha". The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa⁵⁵³ similarly says that an *alīthi* (guest) at a śrāddha is one who comes when least thought of and not one who had arrived before the śrāddha rite started. The Mārkaṇḍeya (26. 30) provides that one should not ask such an *alīthi* about his *gotra* or *carana* or his Vedic study nor should one consider whether he has a fine appearance. Hemādri (on śrāddha pp. 430-433) quotes verses from the Śivadharmottara,

551. कृत्वह्यज्ञान्तिर्कालान्तेच्छादेहानिवाप्तिम् । विज्ञान्त्वर्यद्वावगीवद्विदिकोऽङ्गुणम्
(विज्ञान्त्वर्योऽन्मन्वीनद्विद्वि?) । बर्जयेद्विद्विः सर्वान् आहकाले विज्ञेयतः । मत्स्य 16
16-17 q. by हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 505, कल्पतरु (आ. p. 94).

552. योगिनी विविधै रूपैर्नरागल्लपकारिणः । झनन्ति पृथिवीनेवानविज्ञानस्वरूपिणः ॥
मत्सादम्भयेत् मासं आहकालेऽतिथिं बुधः । आहकालिपावर्तं हन्ति द्विकेन्द्रापुच्छितो रतिः ॥
बराह 14. 18-19, विष्णुपुराण 15 23-24; compare वासुदेवाय 79 7-8 (सिद्धा रि वि-
रूपेण चरन्ति पृथिवीनिनाम् । मत्सादतिथिनायान्तनभिगच्छेत् कृवाञ्जलिः).

553. अचिन्त्योऽप्यागते यत्सात्समादतिथिरुच्यते ॥ अतिथिं वं विजानीपाक पुन पूर्व-
मागतः ॥ अविन्द. I. 184. 9-10 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 427; न पृच्छेद्गोत्रचरणं स्वाध्यायं चापि
पण्डितः । शोभनाशोभनाकारं वं मन्वेत् प्रजापतिम् ॥ अनित्य हि रिपयो यत्सात्समादतिथि-
रुच्यते । मार्कण्डेय 26. 30-31.

Viṣṇudharmottara and Vāyu (71.74-75) Purānas that gods, *śrāddhas* and yogins wander over the earth in the form of brāhmana *atithis* in order to favour people and to see how *śrāddhas* are being performed. About the definition of an *atithi* and the necessity and mode of honouring a guest in general, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 749-756.

Hemādri (Śrāddhakānda, pp. 380-385) holds an interesting discussion as to whether a performer of *śrāddha* belonging to one recension of a Veda must restrict himself to inviting brāhmanas that are students of the same recension of the Veda or whether he can invite any brāhmana that may have studied any of the three Vedas. Some people relying on a maxim ('as in the case of a bride so in the case of an offering') invite only brāhmanas of their own *śākhā* possessed of the qualifications above set forth. Hemādri replies that this is a wrong notion, relies on Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 15. 9 'one should feed⁸⁸⁷ in all (religious) acts brāhmanas that are pure (in their conduct) and that have studied the Veda' and asserts that no *smṛti*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāna*, *Grhyasūtra* nor *Kalpasūtra* contains the restriction of inviting only brāhmanas of the performer's own *śākhā*. He further says that in such texts as 'trināciketastriṃśadhuh' (quoted in note 862a above) the rule laid down is to invite brāhmanas that have studied different *śākhās* and Vedas. He rejects the idea about any restriction as to selecting a bridegroom of the same *śākhā* as the bride's father and remarks that if some people are not prepared to give their daughters in marriage to young men belonging to other *śākhās*, that is due to ignorance about the families and is also due to pride and vanity. He winds up by saying that in Āryāvarta countries it is found on all sides that marriage connections are entered into with persons studying different *śākhās* but living in the same district, (such connections) not being condemned, while persons who study the same *śākhā* of the Veda but do not know each other do not enter into marital connections.⁸⁸⁸ As a contrast to this commonsense view it should be

887. शुचीन् मन्त्रवतः सर्वकृत्येषु भोजयेत् । आप. ध सू II. 6. 15 9, on which हरदत्त explains 'मन्त्रवत अर्थात्वेदान् । सर्वकृत्येषु औतेषु गार्होषु स्मार्तेषु च कर्मसु देवेषु पित्र्येषु मातृषु च भोजयेत् ।'.

888 अत्र कोचिद्यथा कन्या तथा हविरिति कन्यासाधर्म्येण हविषां स्वशास्त्रीयप्रतिपाद्यत्वं (मन्वमाना. स्वशास्त्रीयमेव औत्रियत्वादिगुणविशिष्टं आर्द्धे नियोजयन्ति । तदसत् । स्मृतिविहास-

(Continued on the next page)

noted that the author of the Bāmbhatti recommends that 'Mahārastra brāhmanas should not invite brāhmanas of other castes (of brāhmanas) and particularly the Konkanastha brāhmanas should be avoided and it goes so far as to say that a person belonging to one's own caste not possessed of good qualities and of a blemished character (provided he is not guilty of mahāpātakas or the like) should be preferred to one belonging to another sub-caste even if endowed with good qualities.

The Vas Dh. S. provides ⁸⁸⁹ that the performer should invite ascetics, house-holders, well conducted men, who are not very old &c. The Kūmapurāna states ⁸⁹⁰ 'that man whose offer-

(Continued from the last page)

पुराणग्रन्थकल्पवृक्षेण क्वचिदपि स्वशास्त्रीयनियमाश्रयणात् । मय्युतं स्वस्थादिषु त्रिणाचिकेत-
त्रिमशुक्तिरूपिणां व्येष्टसामग इत्यादिभिर्नानाशास्त्रीयानां नानावेदाध्यापिनामेव विधिदर्शनाच्च
.. किं च कन्यायामेव तावदेकशास्त्राध्यापिनियम कुतोऽवगतो यद्बलेन हविष्यपि साधयेत् । ...
आर्यावर्तेषु च समानदेशवासिनां नानाशास्त्राध्यापिकामध्युपलभ्यन्त एव परस्परजननवर्गीयमानाः
सर्वतो विवाहसम्बन्धाः । अविज्ञातपरस्परानेकशास्त्राध्यापिनामपि नोपलभ्यन्ते ।.. अतो न
कन्यादाने चापि हविर्दाने स्वशास्त्रीयद्विजनिम इति सिद्ध्यत् । हेमाद्रि (आह) pp. 380-381.
The words यथा कन्या तथा हविः occur in a verse of वर्ग 'नैकयोश्चै हविर्देद्याद्यथा
कन्या तथा हविः । अभावे ह्यन्यगोत्राणामेकगोत्रास्तु भोजयेत् ।' q by आ प्र p. 75. हेमाद्रि
p 450 reads it as नैक. दद्यात्समानमवरे तथा । न चाज्ञातकुले दद्याद्यथा कन्या तथा
हविः ॥, आ. क ल p 39 quotes this verse and the half verse अभावे ..न भोजयेत्
also The निर्णयसिन्धु III, p 397 follows हेमाद्रि and relies on मनु III 145-146.
एवमपि महाराष्ट्रविजातीयानां न ब्राह्मणस्तत्रापि कोङ्कणस्थादपि सर्वथा न ब्राह्मण इति आहृदीप-
कालिकादिषु प्रामाणिकानिबन्धेष्विति सर्वशेष्टसमत्तम् ।...वर्ग्याश्च द्विविधा द्योषन्त सजा-
तीयाः गुणवन्तोऽपि विजातीयाः सुतरां द्योषन्त । तत्र सजातीयेषु अनिषिद्धलाभेऽभिहितत्वा-
दिबलवद्द्योषरहितो ब्रह्मोपि ब्राह्म । विजातीयस्तु गुणवानपि तच्चादेव त्याज्य किञ्च द्योषन्त ।...
केवलं चिन्तयेज्जातिं.. । कन्यादानादिसम्बन्धयोग्यां जातिं यथा कन्या तथा हविरित्युक्तत्वेन
तेपि सर्वथा हेया एवेति दिश्य् । बालम्भट्टी on आचार p. 497.

889 पूर्वैशुर्नाह्ननाच्च संनिपात्य यतीच्च शुद्धस्थान्तायूना परिणतवयसोऽविकर्मस्थाञ्च
श्रोत्रियान् शिष्यान्नन्तेवासिनः । बसिष्ठ XI 17, q by हेमाद्रि p 379 who explains
'यतय. मन्त्रजिता. तदसम्भवे शुद्धस्थान्'. The डोहरानन्द (आहृसीरूप folio 37b)
arranges the persons to be invited at a आहृ in the following order: तदर्थं
संक्षेपः । आदी त्रिदण्ड्यतिसदलामे वानमस्थस्तदलामे ब्रह्मचारी तदलामे शुद्धस्थस्तत्रापि
पङ्क्तिपावनादय उच्छृष्टस्तदलामे यो ह्यसम्बद्धः सक्तर्ना च तदलामे तत्सम्बद्धा अपि तदलामे
सदाचारः शिष्योऽपि ।

890. प्रकृतेर्गुणतत्त्वज्ञो यस्याहनाति यतिर्हविः । फलं वेदान्तवित्तस्य (वेदविदा तस्य ?
सहस्रादतिरिच्यते ॥ तस्माच्चत्नेन योगीन्द्रमीश्वरज्ञानतत्परम् । भोजयेद्भयकव्येषु अलाभादि-
तरान्द्रिजाञ् । कूर्म (उत्तरार्ध 21. 17-18) g, by आ. प्र. p. 73. हेमाद्रि p. 413 (2nd
verse) and p. 417 (first verse).

ing (of food) is eaten by a *yati* that knows the truth about *prakṛti* (primordial matter) and the *guṇas* (*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*) reaps the reward (merit) of feeding a thousand (other *brāhmanas*). Therefore one should feed in offerings to gods and manes an excellent *yogin* who is intent on true knowledge of God and others only if such a one is not available.' Similar verses about ascetics and yogins occur in *Varāhapurāna* 14. 50, *Skanda* (VI. 217. 7 ff) and *Vāyupurāna*⁸⁹¹ chap. 71. 65-73, chap. 76. 28 &c. *Brhaspati* provides⁸⁹² a special rule that, if a person cannot afford to feed at a *śrāddha* more than one *brāhmana*, then he should feed one who has studied the *Sāmaveda*, since in him all the three viz. *Rks*, the *Yajus* and *Sāmans* co-exist, that the father is pleased by *Rks* (i. e. by the feeding of a *brāhmana* who has studied the *Rgveda*), the grand-father by *Yajus*, the great-grand-father by a *Sāman* and a *chandoga* (a chanter of the whole of *Sāmaveda*) is superior. A verse of *Sātātapa* is⁸⁹³ quoted to the effect that if a student of the *Atharvaveda* is fed in a rite for the gods or manes, that yields endless and inexhaustible rewards.

Some of the *smṛtis* were very strict in laying down the qualifications of *brāhmanas* to be invited at a *śrāddha*. *Ausa-nasa* (chap. 4) asserts: 'that *brāhmana*⁸⁹⁴ is called *durbrāhmana* and should never be invited at a *śrāddha* in whose family *Veda* study and *Vedi* (i. e. the performance of *Śrauta* sacrifices) have been stopped for three generations'. The same

891. *सुहृत्स्थाना सहस्रेण वानप्रस्थशतेन च । ब्रह्मचारिसहस्रेण योगी श्वेको विज्ञिष्यते ॥ वायुपुराण 71 69 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 413, आ म p. 73, it occurs also in ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद्) 9 70. यतिरह सर्वविद्याणां सर्वेषामग्रमुग्रभवेत् । इतिहासपञ्चमात् वेदान् यः पठेत् द्विजोत्तमः ॥ अनन्तरं यते. सोऽयं नियोक्तव्यो विजानता । त्रिद्वैतानन्तरस्तस्माद् द्विवेदस्तदनन्तरः । एकावेदस्ततः पञ्चाचयाथाभ्याथी ततः परम् । वायुपुराण 79 53-55 q by हेमाद्रि (p. 419). The printed वायु reads सर्वेषामग्र्य उत्तमे; almost the same verses occur in ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्घातपाद् 15 24-26).*

892. यद्येकं भोजयेच्छ्राद्धे छन्दोगं तत्र भोजयेत् । ऋचो यजूंषि सामानि त्रयं तत्र तु विद्यते ॥ ऋचा तु वृष्यति पिता यजुषा तु पितामहः । पितुः पितामहः साम्ना छन्दोगो ह्यभिःस्ततः ॥ बृहस्पति q. by हेमाद्रि p 385, स्मृतिह् p 765, कल्पतरु on आह p 58.

893. भोजयेद्यद्यथर्वाणां द्वैवे पैठये च कर्मणि । अनन्तमक्षयं चैव फलं तस्येति वै श्रुति ॥ शातातप q by हेमाद्रि p. 385, स्मृतिह्. p 765, कल्पतरु (आ) p. 59

894. यस्य वेदश्च वेदी च विच्छिद्येते त्रिपुरवम् । स वै दुष्प्रह्विणो ज्ञेयः आह्लादी न कादाचन ॥ औशनसस्मृति (Jiv I p. 524), जौ य. परिभाषासूत्र I. 10. 6 (which reads नाम यश्चैव वृषलीपतिः), q by अपरार्क p. 286 and p 449 and हेमाद्रि p 357, as यम's Vide त्रिकाण्डमण्डन I 134-135 for similar definitions.

author⁸⁹⁵ further says that six persons are merely *brāhma-bandhus* (i. e. *brāhmanas* by birth or caste alone) viz. one who is hired by a *sūdra* or a king as a servant, who has a *sūdra* woman as his wife, who is a village priest and he who subsists by killing (animals) or by catching them. So early as the *Mahābhāṣya*⁸⁹⁶ it was stated that austerities (leading a life of restraint and strict observances), Vedic learning and birth (from *brāhmana* parents) are the causes of (a man being called) a *brāhmana* and that he who is devoid of the first two is a mere *brāhmana* by caste (but not a real *brāhmana*). It is curious to note that Yama stated that, if *brāhmanas* that do not declare (or point out) the auspicious *nakṣatra* or *tithi* or day or *muhūrta* and other auspicious matters, eat (*śrāddha*) food it becomes inexhaustible.

But the requisite qualifications were so exacting that it must have been found almost impossible to secure for a *śrāddha brāhmanas* altogether free from any of the blemishes set out above from Manu. Gautama (15 15-18) contains long lists⁸⁹⁷ of over 50 kinds of *brāhmanas* that were not to be invited at a *śrāddha* dinner or at a sacrifice for gods, but Gaut. adds that according to some only those beginning with '*durvāla*' (Gaut. in 15. 18) were to be shunned at a *śrāddha* (but could be invited at a sacrifice for the gods). The persons so to be shunned, according to some who flourished before Gautama (i. e. at least before 600 B C) are, a bald man, a man who has deformed nails or has black teeth (naturally), one suffering from white

895. छाद्मेण्यो भूतो राज्ञा वृषली ग्रामपाजकः । वधवन्धोपजीवी च वधेते ब्रह्मवन्धव ॥
 औज्ञानस (Jiv. I.) p. 525, q. by अपरार्क p. 449. ब्रह्मवन्धु is a contemptuous term for one who is a ब्राह्मण in name only (and has not studied the Veda).

896. तपः श्रुतं च योनिश्चेत्येतद् ब्राह्मणकारकम् । तपःश्रुताभ्या यो हीनो जातिनाह्वय एव सः ॥ महाभाष्ये on पाणिनि II. 2 5 (ed by Kielhorn, vol I. p 411) This appears to be a quotation. अलुप्तसासनपर्व 121. 7 is तपः... ब्राह्मण्यकारणम् । त्रिभिर्गुणैः सखदितो ततो भवति वै द्विजः ॥ In the महाभाष्ये on पा IV. 1. 44, vol II. p 220 ब्राह्मणाग्र्यम् is defined as त्रीणि यस्यावदातानि विद्या योनिश्च कर्म च । एतच्छिव विजानीहि ब्राह्मणान्यस्य लक्षणम् ॥ ; 'नक्षत्रतिथिपुण्याहात् सुहृतात्मज्ञलानि च । न निर्दिशन्ति ये विप्रः सौर्धर्कं ह्यक्षयं भवेत् ॥' यम p by हेमाद्रि (आ p 390), कल्पतरु (आ p 62) नियमेन तपःशब्दः । आप घ. छ I. 2 5. 1. हेमाद्रि p 347 quotes a similar verse from बौधायन.

897. कुण्डाशि सोमविकल्पगारदाहि-गरदावकीर्ण-गणमेण्यागम्यागामि-हिंस-परिविस्ति-परिवेत्त पर्याहित पर्याघातु त्यक्त्वात्म-दुर्बाल-कुचलि-इयावदन्त-भित्ति-पौनर्भव-कितवाजप-राज-मेण्य-भातिरूपिका शूद्रापति-निराकृति-किलासि-कुसीदि-वाणिकू-शिल्पोपजीवि-इयावादित्रताल-द्वय-भीतशीलान् ।... दुर्बालादीन् आज्ञ एवैके । अकृताज्ञाश्चे चैवम् । गौ. 15 18, 31-32. Words joined by *sandhi* rules have not been separated by a byphen.

leprosy, the son of a re-married woman, a gambler, one who neglects *japa* (the recitation of Vedic mantras), a servant of the king, one who uses false weights and measures, one whose (only) wife is a śūdra female, one who does not perform the daily five sacrifices, one who suffers from a virulent skin disease, a usurer, one who lives by trade or by handicrafts, one who makes his living by (manufacturing) bows (and arrows) or by playing on musical instruments or by keeping time (when another is singing), or by dancing or singing. Vas. quotes a verse⁸⁹⁸ as follows: If a brāhmana knowing the Vedas is afflicted with physical defects which (ordinarily) exclude a person from a row of diners, Yama declares that he is irreproachable and that he does sanctify the row of diners. But it must be said that even in modern times emphasis is laid on inviting learned and well-conducted brāhmanas for śrāddha. The idea (expressed by Manu III, 189 and the Padmapurāna) persists that the *pitrs* enter into and hover round the invited brāhmanas and that the latter are to be looked upon as representing the *pitrs*.⁸⁹⁹ The Garudapurāna states that Yama allows the departed souls and the *pitrs* to visit the world of men at the time of śrāddha from the nether regions.

The Visnu Dh. S. (79. 19-21) prescribes that the performer should avoid wrath, should not shed tears and should not do things in a hurry. The Varāhapurāna⁹⁰⁰ provides that the performer should not employ twigs for brushing the teeth (but should rinse his mouth twelve times with water), should remain chaste and pure. Āp. Dh. S prescribes⁹⁰¹ that the performer should not eat food from the commencement (from the time he goes out to invite) up to the end of the śrāddha rite. The

898. अथाप्युदाहरन्ति। अथ चेन्नमन्त्रविद्युक्तं शारीरैः पञ्चिद्रूपैः। अदुष्यं तं यमः माह पञ्चिपावन एव सः ॥ वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्रे XI. 20, q. by मेधातिथि on मनु III, 168. The verse is also अत्रि 350-51 and लघुशङ्ख 22

899. निमन्त्रितांश्च पितर उपविष्टन्ति तान् द्विजान्। वायुश्रुता निगच्छन्ति तथासीनाङ्-पासते ॥ पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिस्रण्ड 9. 85-86) Vide note 759 above. आहूतकाले यमः श्रेतान् पितृंश्चापि यमालयात्। विसर्जयति मातृगणे निरयस्थांश्च काश्यप ॥ गरुडपुराण, प्रेतखण्ड chap X, 28-29.

900 बराहपुराणे। दन्तकाष्ठं च विसृजेद् ब्रह्मचारी शुचिर्भवेत्। q by कल्पतरु (आ p. 104), आ. प्र. p. 112.

901 आरव्ये चाभोजनमा समापनात्। आप. ध सू II 7.17 24.

Kūrma (uttarārdha 22. 8) states that if a person first invites a brāhmana and then foolishly invites another (passing over the first) then he becomes a greater sinner (than the brāhmana who after accepting one invitation promises to dine at another śrāddha) and is born as a worm in human faeces. The Bhavisyapurāṇa⁹⁰² provides that honouring gods, pitrs and men and feeding (brāhmanas) should not be done without wearing an upper garment; otherwise the rite will bear no fruit.

About the number of brāhmanas to be invited at a śrāddha there were several options and several views. The Āsv. Gr. S. states⁹⁰³ that at the Pārvana—śrāddha (performed on a *pa van* day i. e. on *Amāvāsya*), the Ābhyudayika śrāddha, the Ekodista or *Kūmya*, the larger the number of brāhmanas the greater is the reward, that in no case should a person invite only one brāhmana at a śrāddha meant for all pitrs or he may optionally invite only one brāhmana except at the first śrāddha, that he may invite one, two or three brāhmanas for each of the three paternal ancestors. The Śan. Gr. (IV. 1.2) and Kausitaki Gr III. 14. 1-2 prescribe that one should⁹⁰⁴ invite an uneven number of brāhmanas, at least three, to sit down as (representing the) fathers. Gaut. requires⁹⁰⁵ 'He shall feed an uneven number

902. पितृदेवमनुष्पाणां पूजनं भोजनं तथा । नोत्तरिणं विना कार्यं कृतं स्वाभिष्कलं यतः ॥ भविष्य I 185 23.

903. ब्राह्मणान् श्रुतशीलवृत्तसम्यग्मानेकेन वा काले ज्ञापितान् स्नातान् कृत्वा पञ्चीचानान् चान्ताञ्च वृक्षान् पितृवदुपवेदयेकैकमेकस्य द्वौ द्वौ श्रींस्त्रीन्वा वृद्धौ कलद्रुपस्य न त्वेवैक सर्वपाद् । काममनाद्ये । आश्व यु सू IV. 7. 2-3. पितृवत् is explained in two ways by नारायण

'पितृवदिति वचनं गर्भेति पितर इति ममसा ध्यायजपवेद्येदित्येवमर्थमित्येके । अन्ये तु पितृवत् पितामहाय वृद्धतरं प्रतितामहाय वृद्धतममित्येवं यथावय उपवेदानार्थमिति । The words नवेदयेकै सर्वपाद् in आश्व. are opposed to मनु III. 125. नारायण gives several meanings of अनाद्ये, viz. आद्य refers to सपिण्डीकरण which is the first of the śrāddhas for a deceased person in which three ancestors are invoked, आद्य may refer to पार्षण which is mentioned first by आश्व. यु सू, or अनाद्य means अभीजन and so refers to आमश्राद्ध or हिरण्यश्राद्ध; or अनाद्ये means दुग्धे । The words एकैकमेकस्य ... श्रींस्त्रीन्वा contradict आश्व. यु II. 5 11-12 'नवावरात्रं भोजयेत् । अशुजो वा.'

904. अथ मासि मासि पितृभ्यो दद्यात् । ब्राह्मणान्वेद्विदुषोऽयुग्मान् इववार्थान् पितृवदुपवेदयाशुमानि तिलपात्राणि तिलैरवकीर्य ब्राह्मणानां पाणिपु नितयेत् । कीपीतिक्रिष्ट. III. 14 1-2.

905. अमावास्यां पितृभ्यो दद्यात् । ...नवावरात्रं भोजयेदशुज । यथोत्साहं वा । ओजियास्नामरूपवय शीलसम्पत्तान् । ..एके पितृवत् । गौ घ. सू 15 2, 7-9, 11. हरदत्त explains 'एके मयन्ते पित्राद्यदुक्तं दानमिति । यथा पित्रे तद्वत् पितामहाय वृद्धा यपितामहाय वृद्धतरा इति । यौतम and others simply echo what is said in शतपथ. भा. II. 4 2.7-8 about offering food to pitrs on *amāvāsya*.

of brāhmanas, at least nine or as many as he is able (to feed) and that they should be learned in the Veda and endowed with polished speech, good appearance, mature age and good character'. If five were invited two would be for gods and three for pitrs; if seven, then four for gods and three for pitrs and so on. Vas. XI. 27 (= Manu III. 125 = Baud. Dh. S. II. 8. 29), Yaj. I. 228, Matsya 17. 13-14, Visṇupurāna III. 15.14 provide that one must feed two brāhmanas at the rite for the gods and three for the manes or one only for each of the two purposes and even a rich man should not go in for a large company. The Padma-purāna (Srsti 9.98 and 141) says the same thing. So the number of brāhmanas to be invited did not depend so much upon the means of the inviter, but upon the point whether the inviter would be able to honour them all properly and with ease. The idea was that at the same time when śrāddha was to be performed two brāhmanas should be fed for gods and three for the pitrs. When only one brāhmana could be invited or was available, Vas. (XI. 30-31) provides that portions of the several foods cooked should be put in a vessel and should be placed at the place where Vaiśvadevika brāhmana would have been seated, then served in a plate and the *utve devāh* be invoked and should be contemplated as present and then the food should be thrown into the fire or offered to a Vedic student (as alms) and then śrāddha rite should be continued. Śankha⁹⁰⁶ 14.10 provides a similar rule. The result is that if a man can afford to invite only one brāhmana or can secure one only, then that brāhmana is meant for the rite in honour of pitrs and the offering for the gods is to be cast into fire. Baud. Dh. S. II. 8.30, Manu III. 126, Vas. XI. 28, Kūrma (uttarārḍha 22 28) contain the same verse which emphatically states 'A large company destroys these five *desiderata*, viz the respectful treatment (of those invited), the securing of a proper place (such as one sloping to the south) and time, purity and (the

906. भोजयेद्यगव्येकं ब्राह्मणं पण्डितं पावनम्। देवे कृत्वा तु नैवेद्यं पश्चाद्ब्रह्मै ह तस्मिन्नेत् ॥ शङ्ख 14.10. The Bra. K. S. p. 40 remarks 'एकब्राह्मणपक्षे विश्वेदेवस्थाने पार्श्वं प्रकल्प्य देवे नैवेद्यं तमेकं विभं पित्रादिषु मातामहादिषु च नियुञ्जीत' हेमाद्रि (Bra. p. 1523) explains Vas. XI.31 as 'अन्नस्य प्रत्येकमेकदेशं समुद्धृत्य देवतायतने वैश्वदेविकद्विजोपवेशनोचिते स्थाने पात्रमासाद्य तत्र परिवेद्य तत्रत्यासने च विश्वान् देवानामाह तान् पुरोवर्तितं हवामुध्याय .. विश्वेभ्यो देवेभ्य इदमन्नं स्वाहा ओं तत्सदिति उक्त्वा' &c The translation in S. B. E. vol. 14 of देवतायतने in Vas. XI.31 (at p. 54) is wrong

choice of) meritorious brāhmanas; therefore one should not desire a large company' 907 The Kūrmapurāna (uttarārḍha 22.32) insists that an *atithi* must be fed at a śrāddha or otherwise the śrāddha is not praiseworthy. Though these ancient works insisted upon the avoidance of large preparations and expenses for śrāddhas in honour of a deceased person, there were other smṛtis that favoured lavish distribution of wealth in śrāddhas. For example, Brhaspati lays down: '(An heir) should lay aside half of the wealth that comes to him (by inheritance) for the benefit of the deceased owner and should expend it in the monthly, six-monthly and yearly śrāddhas'. The Dāyabhāga XI. 12 approves 908 of this and also quotes Āp. Dh. S. II. 6. 13.3 'On the failure of a sapinda the teacher of the Veda takes the wealth of the deceased, on failure of the teacher, the pupil takes it and having inherited it he should employ it in the performance of works of charity for the benefit of the deceased' (or he himself may enjoy it). These passages show to what lengths the cult of benefit to the soul of the deceased was carried in India by certain writers. More practical authors such as Haradatta did not relish these extreme views. In several purānas such as the Vāyu 908a and Viṣṇu there are express directions that when a śrāddha is performed at Gayā, it should be on a profuse scale and no stinginess 909 (lit. cheating in money matters) in spending wealth should be shown there; otherwise the performer would not reap the benefit of the performance of śrāddha at that holy place. The Padmapurāna appears to inculcate profuse

907 सत्क्रियां देशकालौ च षोडश ब्राह्मणसम्पदः । पञ्चैतान् विस्तरो हन्ति तस्मादेवेत विस्तरम् ॥ मनु III. 126.

908. धनार्जनस्य हि भयोजनद्वयं भोगार्थत्वं दानाद्यद्यार्थत्वं च, तत्रार्जनस्य तु मुक्तत्वाद्भवे भोगयत्वाभावेनाद्यद्यार्थत्वेनैव सिद्धम् । अत एव बृहस्पतिः । सद्युत्पन्नाद्दानादर्थे सद्यर्थे स्थापयेत्पुत्रकम् । मासयाम्नासिके आद्ये पापिके च प्रयत्नतः । वायुभाग XI. 13, आपस्तम्ब-धर्मसूत्र II. 6. 13 3 ॥ तदभावे आचार्ये आचार्याभावे अन्तेवासी ह्यत्वा तदर्थेषु धर्मकुर्यात्पुत्रोपयोग्येत् । ; हरदत्त explains 'वाशब्दात् स्वयं नोपयुजीत'.

908 a. विचक्षणत्वं न कुर्वति गयाशब्दे सदा नरः । विचक्षणत्वं तु कुर्वाणो न तीर्थफल-भोगमवेत् ॥ वायु 82.19. This is quoted from another Purāna by the स्मृतिच. (आद्य) p. 388, which adds 'अतो विचक्षणत्वेन ज्ञातीरबलाद्यसारेण च गथाया आर्द्धं कार्यम्'.

909. सविलं नामगोत्रेण दद्याच्छकत्या च दक्षिणात् ॥ गोधृष्टिरेण्यवासोति भग्यानि क्षयनानि च ॥ दद्याद्यविष्टं विप्रागामात्मनः पितुरेव च ॥ विचक्षणत्वेन रहित. पितृभ्यः शीति-माहरत् । पद्मपुराण, सृष्टिसूत्र 9 179-181.

expenditure of wealth in all śrāddhas. The Vāyupurāna ⁹¹⁰ (82, 26-28) further says that the brāhmanas of Gayā are supermen, that when they are gratified (at a śrāddha) the gods together with pitrs become gratified, that no question should be raised about the family, the character, the learning and the austerities (of the Gayā brāhmanas), that by honouring them a man attains liberation, that a man after honouring the brāhmanas should proceed according to his resources and strength to the performance of śrāddha, thereby he secures all heavenly desires and obtains the means of *Moksa*. The Skandapurāna goes so far as to say that Gayā brāhmanas even if they are depraved in their conduct and are backward deserve to be invited at śrāddha and are superior to brāhmanas who have mastered the Veda and Vedāngas. The Nirnayasinḍhu (III, p. 401) notes that, according to the Tristhaliṣetu of his grandfather, this provision holds good only in the case of the śrāddha at the Akṣayya Vata in Gayā and nowhere else. In modern times the brāhmanas at Gayā used to require the performer of śrāddha while he was in the sacred Phalgu river to make a declaration about his wealth and demanded fees accordingly, thereby carrying to the letter the words of the Vāyupurāna. Many people returned from Gayā thoroughly disillusioned and disgusted with the conduct of the brāhmanas at Gayā. In the Varāhapurāna ⁹¹¹ it is said that two verses were sung by the pitrs viz 'Would such a blessed and intelligent man be born in our family who will offer pīndas (i. e. śrāddha) to us without being stingy about wealth and who would bestow on brāhmanas with reference to us (i. e. for our benefit) jewels, clothes, land, costly vehicles and all other kinds of wealth including water, when he has riches enough?' Here lavish expenditure on all śrāddhas (not only at Gayā-śrāddha) appears to be strongly recommended. Devala pr-

910. अमाह्वयतया विभा (अमाह्वयतया गवाविभा?) ब्राह्मणा (ब्राह्मणा?) ये प्रकल्पिता । तेषु
दुष्टेषु सन्नुष्टाः पितृभिः सह देवता ॥ न विचार्य कुलं शीलं विद्यां च तप एव च । पूजितं तैस्तैस्तु
राजेन्द्रं सुक्तिं प्रामोति मानवः ॥ तत्र प्रवर्तयेच्छ्राद्धं यथाशक्तिचलाबलम् । कामान्स लभते दिव्या-
न्मोक्षोपायं च विन्दति ॥ वायु 82, 26-28. The first two verses are quoted from
another (unnamed) पुराण by स्मृतिच (श्री) pp 388-389, 'अथाचारपरिभ्रष्टा आह्वार्या
एव नागरा । बलीवर्द्धसमानोऽपि ज्ञातीयो यदि लभ्यते । किमन्यैर्बहुभिर्विषैर्वेदवेदाङ्गपार्यैः ।'
स्कन्दपुराण VI. 222, 23.

911. अपि धन्यः कुले जायाद्स्माकं मतिमान् नरः । अकुर्वन् विचक्षणं यं पिण्डाहो
निर्वपिष्यति ॥ इत्यस्त्रमहोपायं सर्वं तोयादिकं वसु । विभवे सति विषेभ्यः अस्माद्धिष्य द्वास्त्यति ॥
पराहपुराण 13 50-51, विष्णुपुराण III, 14, 22-23 (reads यानमहाभोगादिकं वसु).

itself. The Matsyapurāna⁹¹³ and Padma (Srsti-khanda 9.85-88) provide that the person intending to perform a śrāddha should in an humble manner invite the brāhmanas on the previous day or (in the morning of) the day of śrāddha, that he should touch the right knee (of the brāhmana to be invited) with the words 'you are given this invitation by me' and repeat in their hearing the following observance 'you should be free from anger, should be intent on purity (of body and mind) and should abstain from sexual intercourse and I, the performer of śrāddha, shall also act in the same way and that the pitrs in an aerial form wait upon the invited brāhmanas.' The Brhan-nārādiya-purāna states that the invitation should be in the words 'O best men! You should do me a favour and accept the invitation for śrāddha.' It is noteworthy that the Prajāpati-smṛti (63) prescribes that one should invite brāhmanas for a śrāddha or sacrifice for gods in the evening of the previous day after uttering the verse 'akrodhanaiḥ &c.'⁹¹⁴ The Skandapurāna VI. 217. 37 says that the performer should address the brāhmana as follows: 'my father (is or will enter) into this your body and so will my grand-father; let him (the grand-father) come with his father and you should strictly observe the *vratā*' (the rules). The invitation to the brāhmanas representing pitrs is to be given with the sacred thread in the *prācināvīta* form and to those for Vaiśvadevika in the *yājñopavīta* form. On the question whether the Vaiśvadevika brāhmanas were to be invited first or the brāhmanas for pitrs were to be invited first

913. पूर्वैरुपरैर्युष्मि विनीतात्मा निमन्त्रयेत् । निमन्त्रितान् हि पितर उपतिष्ठन्ति तान् द्विजान् । वायुभृता ह गच्छन्ति तथासीनास्तथासते ॥ दक्षिणं जाह्नमालभ्य त्वं मया तु निमन्त्रितः । एवं निमन्त्र्य नियमं आवयेत्पितृबान्धवान् ॥ अक्रोधने शौचपरैः सततं ब्रह्मचारिभिः । भवितव्यं भवद्भिश्च मया च आज्ञाचारिणा ॥ मत्स्य 16. 17-20, प by आ क्रि कौ. p. 81, आहृतत् p 194. The verse निमन्त्रितान् occurs in मनु III. 189 (which reads वायुवचाह गच्छन्ति). हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 763) quotes the verse दक्षिणं जानुं (but reads आवयेत् पितृकान् ह्युष्मि) and स्मृतिच (आ) p. 406 quotes both. पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिखण्ड 9. 85-88) has the same verses with some slight variations, Vide हेमाद्रि (on आ) p. 1258.

914. अक्रोधनैः शौचपरैरिति गाथादुदरियन् । सायमामन्त्रयेद्दिमान् आज्ञे देवे च कर्मणि ॥ प्रजापति 63. It is therefore likely that the Prajāpati-smṛti is much later than the Matsyapurāna or it is possible that the verse अक्रोधनै is an ancient one and only repeated by the मत्स्य. Compare मनु III 192 where we have the words 'अक्रोधना शौचपरा. सततं ब्रह्मचारिणः.' नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 28 20) puts the request as 'आज्ञे क्षणस्तु कर्तव्यः प्रसादश्चेति सत्तम'. This supports the Mit on Yāj I 225.

there is a conflict among smrtis and the medieval digests propose an option (vide Hemādri on śrāddha pp. 1154-1157). Manu III. 205 appears to lay down that the daiva brāhmana should be invited first (daivādyantam tad-iheta). Yama quoted by several digests⁹¹⁵ says that the performer should request in the evening of the previous day brāhmanas with the words 'You should all be free from exertions and should avoid passion and anger for the śrāddha in my house which is to be performed tomorrow,' that the brāhmanas should reply 'let it be so if the night passes happily and without any mishap to us.' The digests (e. g. Śrāddhakriyakaumudī p. 81, Śrāddhatattva p. 194 and Nirṇayasindhu III. p. 804) say that the verse 'sarvāyasa &c' may be repeated when the invitation is given on the day previous to the day of śrāddha and the verse 'akrodhanah' when the invitation is given on the morning of the śrāddha day. The words of invitation differ according to different authorities. For example, according to the Mit. on Yāj I. 225 the words are 'śrāddhe kṣanah kriyatām.' Vide Śr. Pr. p. 106 also. Manu III. 187 and 191 show that the words 'nimantrana' and 'āmantrana' are used as synonyms. In the Śrāddhasūtra⁹¹⁶ of Kātyāyana the word 'āmantrana' is used. But Pāṇini⁹¹⁷ (III. 3. 161) apparently makes a difference between the meanings of the two words and the Mahābhāṣya explains that invitation is called 'nimantrana' which if rejected (without proper cause) involves a fault or sin, while that invitation which one is free to reject (without incurring blame) is called 'āmantrana.' Therefore, it must be held that the few writers such as Kātyāyana who employ āmantrana use it in a secondary sense. The invitation should be given by a performer himself or by his son,

915. मार्थयेत् प्रदोषान्ते शुक्लार्कं क्षयितान् द्विजान् ॥ सर्वायासविनिर्मुक्तिः कामक्रोध-
विवर्जिते । भवद्भिर्भवितव्यं न श्वोसुते आद्भकर्मणि ॥ ते त तथेत्यसिद्धेन पाति चेद्भङ्गनी
शुक्लम् । यथाश्रुतं प्रतिक्षेपन् आद्भकालमतन्मित्रता ॥ सम प. by आ क्रि कौ p. 80, आद्भ-
तत्त्व p. 194, मद् या 564 (from अत्रि)

916. अपरपक्षे आद्भं कुर्वीतीर्षं वा चतुर्थ्यां यद्दहः सम्पद्यते तद्दहर्माङ्गणानामन्ध-
पूर्वेद्युर्वा । आद्भस्य I (of कात्यायन).

917. विधिनिमन्त्रणानन्त्रणाधीष्टसमभ्रमार्थनेषु लिङ् । पाणिनि III. 3. 161. The
महाभाष्य explains (Kielhorn, vol. II p. 165) यन्त्रियोगत कर्मण्य तन्निमन्त्रणम् ।
किं युनस्तत् । हव्यं कव्य वा । ब्राह्मणेन सिद्धं शुज्यतानित्युक्तैऽधर्मैः प्रत्याख्यात । आनन्त्रणे
कानचार । The आ क्रि कौ p. 82, बोधरानन्द (आद्भसौत्ये folio 51) and आद्भतत्त्व
p. 192 refer to this distinction between the two words.

brother or a pupil or a brāhmaṇa, but it should not be given through a person of another *varṇa* ⁹¹⁸ or a woman or a child or person belonging to another *gotra* nor from a distance (Prajāpati 64). Pracetas provides that a brāhmaṇa performer of śrāddha when giving an invitation should touch the right knee, a ksatriya inviter the left knee of the invitee, a Vaiśya inviter should hold both feet of the invitee and a śūdra should prostrate himself at the feet of the invitee (vide Śr. Pr. p. 106 and S. K. L. p. 47). The Mārkaṇḍeya (28, 35) states an exception that if, when a śrāddha rite is going on, brāhmaṇas or Vedic students or ascetics come by chance begging for food, the performer should make them pleased by falling at their feet and feed them (i. e. no formal invitation is necessary in these cases). Vide Visṇupurāna III, 15, 12 for feeding uninvited ascetics. It is provided by Bhṛgu quoted by Hemādri that the brāhmaṇas on accepting the invitation should pronounce the finely-worded and comprehensive Vedic benediction quoted below.⁹¹⁹

Uśanas ^{919a} provides that the performer should wash the floor of his house with water, cowdung it and cleanse the vessels on the day previous to the śrāddha and then give an invitation to the brāhmaṇas with the words 'tomorrow I am going to perform śrāddha'. The Varāhapurāna and the Kūrma also provide for this and for the washing of the clothes. Manu III, 206 also requires that the spot where śrāddha is to be performed should be clean, secluded, cowdunged and should slope to the south.

The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana ⁹²⁰ prescribes that a brāh-

918. अभोज्यं ब्राह्मणस्याक्षं क्षत्रियाद्यैर्निमन्त्रितैः। स्कन्द VII. 1. 206. 4.

919. आ ब्रह्मन् ब्राह्मणो ब्रह्मवर्चसी जायतानामस्मिन् रात्रौ राजस्य इषस्यः क्षुरो महारथो जायतां दोग्ध्रीं वेदनांदाऽनदानाद्यः सति. पुराण्येषोषा निष्पृ रषेडाः सभेषो शुवाऽस्य यजमानस्य षीरो जायतां निकामे निकामे नः पर्जन्यो वर्षतु फलिन्यो न ओषधयः पश्यन्तां योगक्षेमो न कल्पताम्। तै. सं. VII. 5. 18, तै. अ. III. 8. 13 (where this is explained), बाज सं. 22 22. Vide हेमाद्रि (on आ p 1159).

919 a सन्नोशाना। गोमयेनोदकैश्च युग्मिर्नार्जनं भाण्डशौचं कृत्वा श्वः कर्तास्तीति ब्राह्मणान् निमन्त्रयेत्। स्युत्तिच (आद्) p. 409, आ. प्र p. 108, हेमाद्रि on आ. p. 51; वसशौचादि कर्तव्यं श्वः कर्तास्तीति जानता। स्थानोपलेपनं चैव कृत्वा विमान् निमन्त्रयेत्। वराहपुराण प by स्युत्तिच. (आ) p. 403, आ कि. वी. p. 76, हेमाद्रि (on आ) p 1150, आद्भव p 192. हेमाद्रि explains 'आदिशब्दश्च प्रकारवचनः। तेन आद्वी-पयोगिसम्भारसंपादनभाण्डनेलनशोधनादि गृह्यते'.

920. अनिन्द्येनामन्त्रितो नापक्रामेदामन्त्रितो वास्यवर्चं न प्रतिगृह्णीयात्। आद्भव of कात्यायन (I) प. by आद्भव p 189 (as गोभिल).

mana who has been invited (to a śrāddha dinner) by a faultless performer should not refuse the invitation nor should he, after being invited (and having accepted the invitation), accept a gift of even (uncooked) food from another person. Manu III 190 and Kūrmapurāna provide that if a brāhmana after receiving an invitation for a sacrifice to gods or manes according to śūtra directions and after having accepted it violates the appointment, he incurs sin and becomes a hog⁹²¹ (in his next birth). This does not apply where he is unable to go on account of illness or other valid reason.

The smrtis laid down some strict and elaborate rules which were to be observed by the brāhmanas invited for śrāddha and by the performer himself. Many of the rules are applicable to both. Gaut prescribes⁹²² that the brāhmana who has partaken of śrāddha dinner should remain chaste (i. e. shun sexual intercourse) that whole day, and if he has intercourse with a wife of the śūdra caste he thereby makes his own *pitrs* stay in the ordure of that wife. Vas XI 37 makes this rule applicable both to the performer and the invited brāhmana and as regards wives of all *varnas*. Manu III. 188 provides that the brāhmana invited to dine at a sacrifice in honour of *pitrs* and the performer of the śrāddha should remain controlled (i. e. chaste and free from anger and passion) and should not study the Veda (except *japa*). Yāj. I. 225 (latter half) briefly puts the matter by saying 'they should be controlled as to their bodies, speech and thoughts'. The Matsyapurāna⁹²³ proscribes that both the performer of śrāddha and the brāhmana invited to dine at it should avoid dining again (after the śrāddha dinner), journey, going in a conveyance, exertions, sexual intercourse, study of the Veda, quarrel and sleeping by day. Similar rules to observe continence are laid down for both on the day of śrāddha if invitation be given on the morning of the day of

921. अमन्त्रितो घातणो वै योऽपामिरं कुरुते क्षणम्। स याति गरुडं पौरं च यत्नं प्रयाति च॥ कर्म, उत्तरार्ध 22 7 g. by आ. म. p 110.

922. अथः आर्द्धी शुद्धात्तत्पुत्रीये नामं नयति विभूम् । नरात्तददधर्मात्पुत्रीये स्थानं ।
 गौ. 15, 23-24; on आर्द्धी हरदत्त explains "आत्तमेनेन शुक्रमिति, एतं इतिर्गौ"।
 This is वा V. 2. 85 'आत्तमेनेन शुक्रमितिर्गौ'. This explains the two forms
 आर्द्धिन् and आर्द्धिन् ।

923. पुनर्भोजनगतानं यानमानसमनुन । आत्तत्तदधर्मात्पुत्रीये मन्त्रेतिर्गौ ।
 स्वाध्यायं कर्तव्यं चैव दिवास्वप्नं च सर्वादा । नरप 16 27-29 g. by आ. म. का. p. 95
 (which reads यत्तन्नायासः) These verses are also पत्र (महिम्नः) 9. 123-124.

śrāddha and also on the previous day if invitation be given on the day previous to the śrāddha day. Vide Visnu Dh. S. 69. 2-4. The Mit. on Yāj. I. 79 appears to strike a dissenting note about sexual intercourse with one's wife during the days from the 5th to the 16th; while most other medieval writers such as Hemādri (śr. pp. 1036-7) and Śr. P. p. 111 are opposed to this view. The Śrāddhasūtra^{92a} of Kātyāyana provides that the performer should, from the time of giving invitation to the time when the brāhmanas sip water (i. e. perform ācamana after śrāddha dinner), remain pure, free from anger, hurry, negligence, should speak the truth and should shun a journey, sexual intercourse, hard work and study of the Veda and control speech (should remain mostly silent) and the brāhmanas invited should observe the same rules. Anusāsa (Jiv. vol I. pp. 526-527) contains verses very similar in import to Kātyāyana. The Brahmapurāna (220. 106-108), Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 31-33) and Anusāsana 125.24 have identical verses^{92b} and Vāyu 79. 60-61 are very similar in import. Laghu-Śankha 29, Laghu-Hārīta 75 and Likhita 60 have the same verse requiring the invited brāhmanas to avoid eight matters, viz. dining again, journey, carrying loads, Vedic study, sexual intercourse, making gifts, accepting gifts, performing homa, while Prajāpati 92 substitutes the brushing of the teeth (with a twig), tāmbūla, bath after applying oil to the body, and fast for the first four of the above eight. The Anusāsana-parva (90. 12-13) and Padma (Pāṭalakhanda 101. 94-95) also contain a list of actions that should be avoided. Briefly put, the following were the observances for both inviter and invitee, viz. avoidance of sexual intercourse, dining again, falsehood, hurry, vedic study, heavy work, gambling, carrying burdens, giving gifts and acceptance of gifts, theft, journey, sleep by day, quarrels; the performer alone was to abstain from eating tāmbūla, shaving, applying oil to the body, brushing the teeth with a twig; while the brāh-

92a. तद्दह. ह्युत्तरक्रोधनोऽत्वरितोऽममत्त. सत्यवादी रथादृक्मैथुनश्रमस्वाध्यायान्व-
र्जयेदात्राहनादि वाग्यत ओपरपर्शनादानन्त्रिताश्चैवच् । आद्रक्ष्ण I of कात्यायन. पुनर्भाजन-
मधानं भाराध्ययनमैथुनम् । दानं मतिग्रहं हीनं आद्रक्ष्णत्वेऽवर्जयेत् ॥ लज्जुशङ्ख 29, q. by
मिता on या I. 249 (without name), compare. कूर्मपुराण (II. 22. 6) and चारदीय
(पूर्वार्ध 28. 4) for very similar verses.

92b. आद्र दत्त्वा च धुक्त्वा च पुत्रपो य स्त्रिय ब्रजेत् । पितरस्तस्य तं मास तस्मिन्नेतादि
हेरते । अन्नशासनपर्व 125 24 Almost the same words occur in मार्कण्डेय 28 32-33
and in अन्नशासन 90 12-13, वसिष्ठ 11. 37. The मिता. on या I 79 says 'एव गच्छन्
ब्रह्मचार्येव भवति । अतो यत्र ब्रह्मचर्यं आद्वादी चोदितं तत्र गच्छतोऽपि न ब्रह्मचर्यस्य लन-
दोषोऽस्ति'.

mana invited was (alone) to observe the following, viz. not absenting oneself after accepting an invitation, making no delay when called for dinner (vide Śrāddhakalika folio 4b and 5a and Pitr-bhakti on śrāddha ⁹²⁶).

Elaborate provisions are made from ancient times about the substances and utensils proper for being used at śrāddha and about those that should not be used therein. Āp. Dh. ⁹²⁷ S. remarks: 'the materials in śrāddha are sesamum, māśas, rice, yavas (barley), water, roots and fruits; but the pitrs are extremely gratified by food that is mixed with clarified butter and for a very long time; so also they are gratified by wealth that is obtained lawfully and is bestowed on worthy persons'. Manu III. 267 (= Vāyu 83. 3) is to the same effect as Āp. Dh. S. Yaj. I. 258 is content to say that food which is fit to be offered in sacrifices (*havisya*) should be served. Manu III. 257 explains that food eaten by hermits in the forest, (cow's) milk, soma juice, meat that is not prepared with spices (or that is free from a bad smell), rock salt are by their very nature *havis* (sacrificial food). According to Gaut. 27. 11 the sacrificial food (*havis*) comprises boiled rice, food obtained by begging, ground barley (after being baked or fried), grain separated from husk, barley gruel, vegetables, milk, curds, clarified butter, roots, fruits and water. ⁹²⁸ Other smrtis and digests very much elaborated these brief indications in the early works. The three kinds of wealth (viz. *śukla*, *śabala* and *kṛṣṇa*) and the several lawful or uncondemned means of acquiring wealth have been described already in H. of Dh. vol. II pp 130 ff. The Mārkaṇḍeya (29. 14-15) condemns the use in śrāddhas of wealth that is obtained by taking bribes or from a *patita* (one guilty of a grave sin), that springs from bride-price or that is declared to be unlawful or is obtained by saying to another 'give me for the sake of a śrāddha to be offered to my father' (q. by Sm. O. on

926. निमन्त्रितः श्राद्धकर्ता च पुनर्भोजनं श्रमं हिंसां स्वर्गं प्रमाद्य भारोद्धहनं दूरगमनं कालं ह्यत्रग्रहणं च वर्जयेत् । शुचिं सत्पवादी क्षमी ब्रह्मचारी च स्यात् । पितृभक्तिं ० अर्द्धत्तः

927. तत्र द्रव्याणि तिलमाया मीहिषवा आयो मूलफलानि । स्नेहवति त्वेषां पितृणां प्रतिद्वैधीयांसं च कालम् । तथा धर्माद्धतेन द्रव्येण तीर्थप्रतिपन्नम् । आप. ध. सू. II. 7. 16. 22-24.

928. ऋषभैक्षसकुम्भणयावकशाकपयोदधिशृतमूलफलोदकानि हवींश्चुचरोत्तरं प्रशस्तानि । गौ 27. 11. On आश्व सू. I. 9. 6 नारायण quotes a verse of similar import 'पयो दधि यवाभूष्य सर्पिरोदनतण्डुलाः । क्षीमो मांसं तथा तैलमापस्तानि वक्षैव दु ॥'.

śrāddha p. 412). The Skandapurāna emphasizes that at a śrāddha purity (*śuddhi*) must be specially secured in seven matters viz. the body (of the performer), the materials, the wife, the place (where śrāddha is to be performed), the mind, the mantras and brāhmanas.⁹²⁹ Manu III 235 (= Vas. 11.35) states: three are the sanctifying things in a śrāddha, viz. a daughter's son, a Nepal blanket and sesamum grains and three are commended in śrāddha viz. cleanliness, freedom from anger and absence of hurry.^{929a} Pracetas mentions several kinds of corn that are commended as food in śrāddha. Manu III, 255 summarises that in śrāddha the riches (i. e. the most important matters) are afternoon, *darbhās*, proper cleansing of the place (or house) for śrāddha, sesame, generous expense (on food &c.), seasoning food, eminent brāhmanas.

The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna says that several kinds of corn-yielding plants (some due to tillage in villages and some growing wild) were produced by Brahmā when he milked the earth for famished people, while Brahmavaivarta (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 537) affirms that when a few particles fell down on the earth while Indra drank Soma, from them arose such corn as *śyāmāka*, wheat, *yava*, *mudga* and red paddy and as they were produced from soma they were like nectar to the pītras and food prepared from these should be offered to pītras. The Mārkaṇḍeya speaks of seven kinds of *grāmya* corn and seven kinds of wild (*āraṇya*) corn. Prajāpati 119 recommends the use of eight kinds of corn, viz. nivāra, māsa, mudga, wheat, paddy, yava, grain and sesamum. The Matsya (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 538) narrates that when the Sun drank nectar some drops fell down from which arose the several kinds of

929. शरीरद्वयदारारुमनोमन्त्रद्विजन्मनाम् । ह्यङ्घ्रिः सप्तह विज्ञेया आङ्घ्रिकाले विशेषतः ॥ स्कन्द VII, 1. 205. 17.

929 a. श्रीणि आङ्घ्रे पवित्राणि दौहित्रः कुतपस्तिलाः । श्रीणि चात्र प्रशंसन्ति शौचम् ऋषमल्वराम् ॥ मद्. III. 235, वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्र XI, 35. This very verse (the first half) is quoted in several Purānas as in विष्णुपुराण III. 15 52, भविष्य I. 185. 20, मार्कण्डेय 28. 64, स्कन्दपुराण (प्रभासखण्ड 205. 13). The पद्मपुराण (सुदिसखण्ड 47. 278-279) has the whole verse but reads आङ्घ्रे श्रीणि.. दौहित्रं and सत्यमऋषमल्वरा. It appears clear from the preceding verse that in Manu at least दौहित्र means daughter's son. But in the स्कन्द (प्रभासखण्ड 205 14 ff.) several meanings of दौहित्र are given such as 'a vessel made of the horn of a nose of the rhinoceros' or 'clarified butter made from the milk of a cow of variegated colour.' The word कुतप also has nine meanings acc. to a Smṛti text quoted by Aparārka p. 474 'ब्राह्मणः कम्बलो गावः सूर्योऽग्निस्तित्थिरेव च । तिला दूर्वाश्च कालश्च चरैते कुतपाः स्युताः ॥'; vide note 847 for कुतप

paddy, *mudga*, sugarcane and that therefore sugar is sacred and may be employed in sacrifices to gods and manes. The *Mārkaṅdeya* ⁹³⁰ mentions several kinds of corn that may be employed for śrāddha food. The *Brahma-purāna* 220. 154-155, *Vāyu* 82. 3, *Viṣṇu-purāna*, III. 16. 5-6, *Viṣṇu*, Dh. S. ⁹³¹ *Brahmānda* II. 7. 143-152 and III 14, contain similar lists of different kinds of corn that may be used in śrāddhas. The *Vāyupurāna* (80. 42-48) mentions various desirable eatables prepared from corn of various kinds, sugar and clarified butter and milk. ⁹³²

Certain kinds of corn and cereals were forbidden. For example, the *Matsya-purāna* and *Padma* (*Sṛstikhanda*, chap. 9 62-66) ⁹³³ declare that masūra, linseed, nisṭhāva, rājamāsa, kusumbhika, kodrava, udāra, gram, kapittha, madhūka and linseed are forbidden. *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 79. 18 provides that the performer should avoid the bean called rājamāsa, masūra, stale food and salt manufactured from seawater. The *Sat-trimśa-nnata* ⁹³⁴ forbids the use in śrāddha of all kinds of cereals covered with dark husk except sesamum, *mudga* and *mūsa*.

930. राजहयसमाकेश्यामाकौ तद्वच्चैव मशासिका। नीषाराः पौष्कराश्चैव वन्धानि
पितृभूतये ॥ यवनीहिसगोधूमसिलिखद्वाः ससर्षपा । मियङ्गवः कोद्रशश्च निष्पावाभ्यातिक्रान्तान् ।
वज्यां नर्कटकाः आर्द्धे राजनापास्तथाणव । विमदिका मधुराश्च आर्द्धकर्मणि गहिताः ॥
मार्कण्डेय 29,9-11 q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. pp 542-43) and explained as मशान्तिकाः
मधुपद्वेको यसिद्धो धान्यविशेषः पौष्कराः पद्मबीजानि निष्पावा. वज्याः The last are called
बाल in modern Marathi.

931. तिलैर्वाहियैर्नोपैरन्निर्मूलफलैः शकै इयामाकैः मियङ्गुभिर्नोवादैर्द्वैर्गोधूमैश्च मांसं
मीयन्ते । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 80 ।

932. ज्वेष्याणि संवक्ष्यामि आर्द्धे वज्यानि यानि सु ॥ मधुराणनिष्पावराजमाष-
कुसुम्भिकाः । . कोद्रशोदारचणका कपित्थ नशुकातसी ॥ मत्स्य 15 36-38 q. by हेमाद्रि
(आ) pp. 548-549 and आ म p. 40. पञ्चपुराण (V. 9.64-67) q by हेमाद्रि p 548 has
almost the same list. हेमाद्रि explains मधुक as ज्येष्ठीमधु and reads कोद्रशोदालवरक
कपित्थम् in मत्स्य. वरक is वरी in Marathi.

933 राजमाषमधुरपुंषितकृतलवणानि च । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 79. 18 ; राजनापामधुराश्च
कोद्रवाव कोरद्वपकात् । लोहितान् हृक्षनिर्षसाव आर्द्धकर्मणि वर्जयेत् ॥ शङ्ख 14 21 q by
हेमाद्रि on आर्द्ध p. 548, who explains कोरद्वपक. वनकोद्रव.

934 पद्विंशन्मते । कृष्णधान्यानि सर्वाणि वर्जयेच्छार्द्धकर्मणि । न वर्जयेत्तिलांश्चैव
सुदान्माषास्तथैव च । q by हेमाद्रि (आर्द्ध) p. 544, आ. म. p. 38. 'हविष्ये आर्द्ध-
एवियोग्यं श्रीहिशालिपयोगोधुसमुद्रमाषसुन्यज्जालशाकमहाशल्कैलाशुण्ठीमरीचहिरुयङ्गसर्करा-
कर्पूरसैन्धवसान्भरणसनालिकेरकदलीपद्वपव्यपयोद्धिद्युतपायसमधुमासमभृति स्मृत्यन्तर-
मसिद्धं वेदितव्यम् । हविष्यन्ति-यनेनैवायोग्यस्य स्मृत्यन्तरप्रतिषिद्धस्य कोद्रवमधुराचणककु-
लित्युलकाकिष्पावराजमाषकृष्णाम्बुजाताकसुटतीक्ष्णयोपदकीवशाङ्कुरपिप्यलीवचाशतशुषोपर-
बिडलवणमाहिषचामरकीरद्विद्युतपायसादीना निवृत्तिः । मित्ता on आ. I, 249

From considerations of space this matter cannot be pursued further. The Mit. on Yaj. I 240 puts together a long list of allowed and of condemned kinds of grains and other articles.

What milk should be ordinarily partaken of and what should be avoided has been dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 782-783. A few words are added here. Manu III 271 and Yaj. I. 258 provide that if cow's milk or rice cooked therein (called *pāyasa*) is offered in śrāddha the pītr̥s are satisfied for one year. Vāyu 78. 17, Brahma⁹³⁵ 220 169, Mārkaṇḍeya 32 17-19, Viṣṇupurāna III.16.11 forbid the use in a śrāddha of the milk of a she-buffalo, of a camarl or female deer, of sheep or ewes, of she camels, of human females and of all animals with one hoof and the use of the curds and clarified butter prepared from such milk. But ghee prepared from buffalo milk was allowed by Sumantu and Devala (q. by Hemādri on śrāddha p. 572).

The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāna⁹³⁶ (29.15-17), Vāyu (78.16) and Viṣṇupurāna (III 16 10) lay down that the water to be employed in śrāddha must not have a bad smell, must not be foamy, or taken from a puddle or a small reservoir which cannot slake the thirst of a cow, must not have been brought overnight, must not be taken from a reservoir not dedicated to all or from a trough or the like meant for beasts.

Several rules are laid down about the fruits, roots and vegetables recommended or condemned for use in śrāddha. For example, the Brahma-purāna (220.156-158) enumerates several kinds of fruits such as mangoes, *bīla*, pomegranate, cocconut, dates, grapes, as fit to be given in śrāddha. Vide Śāṅkha 14 22-23 also. Vāyu (78 11-15) states^{936a} that garlic, leeks and onions, other things that are of bad odour or taste

935 माह्विं आमरं मार्गमाविकैकशपोद्भवम् । खैणमौद्भमाविकं च (०द्भमाजीर्कं !)
दधि क्षीरं घृतं त्यजेत् ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 220.169 q by हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 573.

936. दुर्गन्धि केनिलं चाम्बु तथैवल्पतरुदकम् ॥ न लभेद्यत्र गौरुत्तिलं नक्तं यद्भ्राज्युष्या-
हृतम् । यत्र सर्पार्थसुसुप्तं यच्चामोऽपनिपानजम् ॥ तद्गर्ज्यं सलिलं तात सदेव पितृकर्मणि ॥
मार्कण्डेय 29. 15-17 Vide also ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्धातपाद 14. 26)

936 a. लघुर्न गृह्णन् चैव पलाण्डुं पिण्डमूलकम् । कर्मभाद्यानि चान्यानि ह्रीनानि
रसगन्धत. ॥...अवेदोक्ताश्च नियोसा लवणान्यापराणि च । आह्वकर्मणि वृष्यानि याश्च नाया
एजस्वला ॥ वायु 78 12 and 15 q in हेमाद्रि (आ p. 555) and स्मृतिच. (आ) p 416.
The स्मृतिच (आ p. 415) quotes a verse and a half from Suśruta for ten
varieties of पलाण्डु.

and all exudation from trees not permitted by the Veda and sa gathered from saltish earth, should be avoided in śrāddha. The Visnudharmasūtra⁹³⁷ (79.17) contains a long list of fruits bulbs and vegetables that were not to be employed in śrāddha. The Rāmāyana states⁹³⁸ that Rāma when an exile in the Daṇḍakā forest gratified his pitrs by offering the fruits of *inguda*, *badara*, and *bilva* trees and generalises that deities are offered that food which is partaken of by a person (who is a devotee of that deity). From considerations of space detailed references to the smrtis and purānas are passed over. The Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 52-53, Śrāddhaviveka (pp. 43-47) of Rudradhara and other digests collect in one place the foods, vegetables, fruits and roots that are allowed to be offered in śrāddha and that are condemned in śrāddha. Manufactured salt was forbidden, but natural salt from a lake (called saindhava) was allowed. Salt was not to be served directly (as Visnudharmasūtra 79. 12 says) but when put in while cooking vegetables it was not prohibited. There was a difference of opinion about the employment of asafetida (vide Hemādri on Śrāddha p. 565). The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (79. 5-6) provides that flowers having a strong (or nasty) odour or no odour at all, the blossoms of thorny plants and red flowers should not be given, but one may give white and sweet-smelling flowers even though they are taken from thorny plants and flowers though red in colour may be taken from aquatic plants. Śankha (14. 15-16) is to the same effect (q. by Hemādri p 684). Vāyu (75. 33-35) is to the same effect and adds that the flowers called Japā, Bhaṇḍī, Rūpikā (of arka plant), Kurantaka should be avoided in śrāddha. The Brahmapurāna (220. 162-165) specifies the several kinds of flowers that may be offered in śrāddha such as jāti, campaka, mallikā, mango blossom, tulasi, tagara, ketakī and various kinds of lotuses (white, blue and red &c.). The Smṛtyarthasāra includes *tulasi* among things to be avoided in śrāddha. The Sm. C. notes this and remarks

937. पिप्पली-सुकुम्बक-सुस्तृण-शिबु-सर्षप-सुरसा-सर्जक-सुवर्चल-हृष्माण्ड-अलाङ्ग-
वार्ताकु-पालङ्क-बा-उपोदकी-तण्डुलीयक-कुसुम्भ-पिण्डालक-महिषीसौराणि वर्जयेत् । विष्णु-
धर्मसूत्र. 79. 17.

938. इक्षुदेवदरीभिल्वे रामस्पर्षते पितृन् । यदन्नं पुरुषो मुष्टे तदन्नास्तरय देवताः ॥
रामायण, अयोध्या 103 30, 104.15 q. by हेमाद्रि on भाद्र p 561, मेघालये on मनु V.
7, स्मृतिच. (आ) p 416. स्कन्द (नागरखण्ड) 220. 49 ॥ 'यदन्नं पुरुषोऽस्नाति तदन्ना-
स्तरय देवताः'.

that it is not clear on what this dictum prohibiting tulasī is based⁹³⁸.

Kūṣas are required in śrāddha. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. p. 657 for general remarks on kūṣas. A few words may be added here. The Śat. Br. VII. 2. 3. 2 states that the waters that loathed Vṛtra went out to waterless deserts and became bushes of darbhas⁹³⁹. Similarly, Āśv. Gr. III. 2.2 summarizes a Brāhmaṇa text stating that darbhas are the essence of waters and herbs (apām vā esa osadhīnām raso yad-darbhaḥ). Prajāpati (verse 98)^{939a} provides that darbhas should be gathered from a pure spot in the morning by a brāhmaṇa, should have mantras repeated over them, should be greenish in colour, should be as long as a cow's ear and then they are holy. The Gobhila gr. (I. 5. 16-17) states 'the darbhis consists of kūṣa grass cut off at the points at which the blades diverge from the main stalk and that the blades should be cut off near the roots at the rites meant for the Fathers'. Dakṣa (II. 33 and 35) provides that the second part of the day (divided into eight parts) is the proper time for collecting fuelsticks, flowers and kūṣas. The Gobhīlasmṛti (I. 20-21) says⁹⁴⁰ that the darbhas used in sacrifices are greenish, those to be used in Pākayajñas should be yellowish, those in rites for the pītr̥s must be taken out from the roots and those that are to be used in Vaiśvadeva should be dark-pale, and that

938 a. उपोषकी-तुलसी-कृष्णातसी-शिव्यर्नहासर्षप-पत्रशाक-कृष्णसर्षप-पूतिगन्ध-शाकानि कृष्णाण्डपोलकाद्याश्च (दर्व्यानि)। स्तूप्यर्षसार् p. 33; स्तूप्यर्षसर्ते तु तुलस्यपि वर्येषुक्तं तत्र मूलं चिन्मं मसिद्धस्तुतिसंश्लेषेण तुलसीनिषेधस्यादर्शनात्। स्तुतिच (भा) p. 435. The वेदरानन्द (आजूसौख्य) remarks: ग्रन्थान्तरे तुलसीनिषेधस्तु शाकरिययः मेव आज्जविषयश्च। तत्र तुलसीवर्ष्यं चङ्कुराजादिं यज्ञस्तम्। (folio 47 b.).

939. The शतपथब्राह्मण has the following legend about darbha and derives the word from हुम् 'अपश्च ह्येता ओषधयश्च या वै वृत्राद् बीमरसनाना आपो धरन् इभन्व उवापस्ते दुर्मा अभवन् बहुभन्व उवापस्तस्माद्दुर्माः। हा हेताः ह्युद्धा मेधा आपो वृत्राभिषक्षरिताः पद्मार्स्तेनौषधय उभभ्येनैवैनमेतदक्षेत्रे प्रीणाति। VII. 2.3.2.

939 a. मन्त्रपूता हरिद्वर्णाः मातर्विषसंश्लुताः। शोकर्णमात्रा दुर्माः स्तुः पवित्राः पुष्पभूमिजाः॥ यजापति 98. The उत्पादनमन्त्र is 'विरिञ्जिना सदोत्पन्न परमेष्ठिन् विमर्गजं॥ इदं पापानि क्षमामि भव स्वस्तिकरो मम॥ g. by. स्तुतिच. I. p. 107, अपरार्क p. 458.

940. हरिता यज्ञिया दुर्माः पीतकाः पाकयज्ञिकाः। समूलाः पितृदेवत्या. कल्मषा वैश्वदेविकाः॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 21 g. by स्तुतिच I. p. 109, अपरार्क p. 458, आ. कि. कौ. p. 46 (which last explains: समूला मूलसमीपे लूना द्वयर्थः); हरिता वै सपिच्छूलाः छुद्राः रिंग्वा समाहिताः। रत्निमात्रा. प्रमाणेन पितृतीर्थेन संस्कृताः॥ गोभिलस्मृति I 21 and ब्रह्माण्ड, उपोद्धातपाद् 11. 74-75, quoted as from ब्रह्मसंहारण by अपरार्क p. 458, which explains 'बद्धसृष्टिः करो रत्नि, संस्कृता परामृष्टा.' Vide चाङ्गुलपत्र 75.38-39 for a similar verse

greenish *darbhas* together with ends uncut, that are smooth and well nourished, one *aratni* in length and touched with that part of the hand called *pitrtirtha* are pure. The Padmapurāna (Srstikhanda 11.92) and Skanda VII.1. 205.16 state that kuśas and black sesamum spring from the body of Viṣnu and the Viṣnudharmottara I, 139.12 says that *tilas* and *darbhas* sprang from the perspiration and hair of Viṣnu in the Boar incarnation. The Matsya (22.89) says the same.

The Garuḍa ⁹⁴¹ (Pretakhanda 2.21-22) states that all the three gods dwell in kuśa grass viz. Brahmā at its root, Viṣnu in the middle and Sankara at the end and that brāhmanas, mantras, kuśas, fire, tulasi leaf—these do not become *nirmālyā* (stale and so unfit to be used again) even when the same are employed again and again. But an exception is made by Gobhila ⁹⁴² that those *darbhas* which are spread on the ground for placing pindas on them or that are used in *tarpana* and those that are held in the hand while a man is answering the calls of nature should be given up (and not used again). The Viṣnu Dh. S. 79.2 and Vāyu 75.41 provide that if kuśas are not available, kāśa grass or Dūrvā may be substituted. The Skandapurāna VII (Prabhāsakhanda) part 1.206.17 says that straight *darbhas* are used in giving gifts, at baths, in *japa*, *homa*, dinner and worship of gods, but they are double-folded when used in rites for pitrs. The Skanda VII. 1 205.16 provides that the top of *darbhas* is for divine rites, while *darbha* with the root and tip is meant for *patirka* rites. This is based on the Sat. Br II 4. 2.17 which states that the top of the *darbha* belongs to gods, the middle to men and the root part to the fathers.

Great importance was attached to the use of *tila* (sesamum) in śrāddha. The Jaiminigrhya II.1 states that the whole house should have sesamum grains scattered about in it. Baud Dh. S II 8 8 provides that when the invited brāhmanas come they should be given water mixed with sesame. The Baud. gr. II. 11.64 provides that sesamum grains are holy in śrāddha for making gifts of them or as part of food or for being mixed in

941. विष्णु मन्त्रा कुशा वह्निसद्वलसा च खगेश्वर । नेत्रे निर्माल्यतां यान्ति क्रियमाणान् ।
पुनः पुनः ॥ शर्वद (प्रेतखण्ड 2. 22).

942. पिण्डार्थं ये स्तुता वर्मा स्तरणार्थं (वर्मास्तरणार्थं?) तथैव च । धृतेः कृते च
विष्णुचे स्थानस्तेषां विधीयते ॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 22, q. by अवतारक p 458, हेमाद्रि p 640.
आ. कि. कौ. p 49.

water. The Prajāpatismṛti speaks⁹⁴³ of four kinds of *tilas* viz. white, black, very black and *jantilas* and states that each succeeding one gives greater gratification to the pītras than each preceding one. The Tai. S. V. 4.3.2 refers to *jantilas* and Jai. X. 8.7 holds a discussion thereon. The Nārada-purāna (pūrvārdha 28 36)⁹⁴⁴ provides that the performer of śrāddha should scatter *tilas* in the midst of the brāhmanas invited and at the doors with the mantra 'apahata' (may the asuras and evil spirits that sit on the altar be struck and run away). Yaj. I. 234 also recommends this mantra (which is Vāj. S. II. 29). The Kūrmapurāna (II. 22. 18) states that sesame should be scattered all round and a goat should be tied near the spot, since śrāddha polluted by *asuras* becomes purified by sesame and a goat. The Viṣṇupurāna (III. 16.14) prescribes that by *tilas* scattered on the ground one should ward off evil spirits (Yātudhāna). The Garudapurāna⁹⁴⁵ (Pretakhanda 2. 16) makes Śrīkrṣṇa say 'tilas have sprung from the perspiration on my body and are holy; *asuras*, *dānavas* and *dātyas* run away on account of *tilas*.' The Anuśāsana-parva (90.22) says that *yātudhānas* and goblins snatch away the *havis* when the śrāddha is offered without *tilas*. The Kṛtyaratnākara (p. 540) quotes a verse as follows: 'he who applies as unguent *tilas*, who bathes with water in which *tilas* are mixed, offers *tilas* into fire, makes gifts of *tilas*, eats *tilas* and who grows *tilas*—these six never sink (i. e. are not unlucky nor in trouble).

A great deal is said about the vessels to be used in offering *arghya* (water for honouring the invited brāhmanas and pindas), for cooking śrāddha food, for dining and for serving. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana⁹⁴⁶ provides that the *arghya* water

943. ह्यङ्ग-कृष्ण-कृष्णतरश्वतुर्थो जर्तिलास्ति । उत्तरोत्तरतः आह्वे विभूणा वृत्ति-कारका ॥ प्रजापति 99. जर्तिलास्ति are wild *tilas* The तै सं V. 4.3.2 has this passage 'जर्तिलयवावा वा शुभयाद्द्वीधुकयवाग्वा न ग्राम्याद् पशून् हिनस्ति चारण्यानथो खत्वाहु-नाहुतिर्वै जर्तिलाश्च गवीधुकाश्चेत्यजक्षीरेण शुद्धोति'. ह्यङ्ग appears to quote काठकसंहिता 6 3 also The conclusion arrived at by Jai. X. 8 7 is that the passage about जर्तिलास्ति is an अर्थवाद for praising पयोहोम The स्मृतिच. (आह्व) p. 433 says जर्तिलास्तु तिला प्रोक्ता. कृष्णवर्णा वने भवा इति सत्यवतेनाभिधानात्

944. The मन्त्र is अपहता अहुरा रक्षसि वेदिषद्. वाज सं II 29.

945. श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ मम स्वेदसमुद्भूतास्तिलास्तादर्थं पवित्रका. । अमुरा दानवा वैत्या विद्रवन्ति तिलैस्तथा ॥ गण्ड (प्रेतखण्ड) ३ 16; तिलोद्धर्ती तिलस्नायी तिलहोता तिलभदः । तिलभक्षी तिलावापी पद्मिली नाभसीदिति ॥ q. by कुरपरत्वाकर p 540.

946. याज्ञियवृक्षचमसेषु पवित्रान्तरहितेषु एकैकास्मिन्प आसिञ्चति इज्ञो देवीरिति ।... सौवर्णराजतौह्यरखड्गमणिमयानां पात्राणामन्यतमेषु यानि वा विद्यन्ते पत्रपुटेषु एकैकरथैकेन ददाति सपवित्रेषु हस्तेषु । आह्वद्वज्र (of कार्यायन) II

should be taken in *camasas* (cups) made of sacrificial trees (such as *palāśa*, *āśvattha*, *udumbara*) or in vessels of gold, silver, copper, rhinoceros horn, precious stones whichever may be available, or in a vessel made of leaves. The *Visnu Dh. S.* (79. 14-15) provides that the performer should employ metallic vessels, particularly vessels made of silver. The *Mārkaṇḍeya* (31.65) and *Vāyu* (74.3) state that in a vessel of silver the (ancient) *pitrs* milked *sadhā* and hence a silver vessel is highly desired by *pitrs* and brings delight to them. *Yaj. I.* 237 also specially recommends silver vessels. The *Vāyu* (74. 1-2), *Matsya* (17. 19-22), *Brahmānda* (*Upodghāta* 11. 1-2) and *Padma* (*Śrṣṭikhanda* 9. 147-150) state that vessels of gold, silver or copper are the (proper) ones for *pitrs*; that even the talk about silver or the sight or gift of silver gives inexhaustible results to *pitrs* in heaven, that vessels to be used for *arghya*, for *pinda* and for the food to be offered should be preferably of silver and that in rites for gods a silver vessel is not auspicious. *Atri* (q by *Sm. C. II*, p. 464) says that in rites for the gods and *pitrs*, vessels of gold and silver should be respectively employed and in default of these vessels of other metals (such as copper, bell-metal) should be used (as stated by *Visnu Dh. S.* 79.22 and 24). The *Padma* provides⁹⁷ that the vessels may be of sacrificial wood or of *palāśa* or of silver or made from a sea product (such as conch shell) and that since silver was produced from the eye of *Śiva*, it is a great favourite with *pitrs*. *Prajāpati* (111) provides that the three *pindās* should be cast in a vessel of gold or silver or copper or bell-metal or of rhinoceros horn but not in earthenware or a wooden vessel, that (verse 112) the cooking vessels should be of copper or of any metal, but an earthen vessel baked in fire and immersed in water is the best (for cooking), that food cooked in an iron vessel is like crow's flesh, that (115) the vessels to be used for taking food by the *brāhmanas* should be made of gold, silver or of an alloy of five metals or they may take their food in *patrāvah* (i. e. leaves stitched together); vide also *Matsya*

97. पात्रं वनस्पतिमयं तथा पर्णमयं पुन ॥ राजतं वा मकुषीत तथा सागरसम्भवम् ।
सौवर्णं राजतं पात्रं पिदूणां पात्रमित्यते । ...वर्षापि अद्भया वृत्तमक्षयायोपकल्पते । अर्षापि
पिदूषिण्डेषु पिदूणां राजतं स्मृतम् ।...शिवनेत्रेऽप्ययस्माद्वतस्तत्पितृवह्नभम् । पत्र (सृष्टिसूत्र 9.
147-151), तथाऽर्ष्यपिण्डभोज्यादीं पिदूणां राजतं मतम् । शिवनेत्रो...वह्नभम् । अमङ्गलं तयत्नेन
देवकार्षेयुर्बर्जयेत् ॥ मत्स्य 17. 22-23.

17. 19-20. The use of plantain leaves for bhojana is forbidden^{947a} by some. Brāhmanas should not take *ācamana* from a vessel made of bell-metal, kharpara, śukra, stone, clay, wood, fruit or iron. *Ācamana* should be performed with water from a copper vessel. Atri (153) prescribes that no food should be served from an iron vessel; if so served the food is like ordure to the diner and the server goes to hell. The vessels for cooking śrāddha food are to be made of gold, silver, copper or bell-metal or even of clay provided the last are new ones and strong (well baked) but never of iron. Vide Sr. Pr. p. 155 for details. The Visnu Dh. S. (79. 24) quotes a verse which says that food offered in vessels of gold, silver, copper, rhinoceros horn or of *phalgu* wood becomes inexhaustible.

Visnu Dh. S. 79. 11 provides that for unguents (*anulepana*) to be applied to the bodies of the invited brāhmanas, sandal-wood, saffron, camphor, *aguru*, *padmaka* may be used. The Brahmapurāna (220. 165-166) mentions kustha, jaṭa-māñsi, nutmeg, uśīra, muṣṭā and some others as proper perfumed articles to be used at śrāddhas.

It has already been seen at pp. 413-14 what kinds of food were recommended or condemned for śrāddha. The Matsyapurāna⁹⁴⁸ states that food containing milk and curds and clarified butter from cow's milk mixed with sugar gives satisfaction to all pitṛs for one month and that whatever food, whether cow's milk or ghee or rice cooked in milk, is mixed with honey, yields inexhaustible results. The Brahmapurāna also (220. 182-184) provides that such eatables as are sweet and oily and are slightly sour and pungent should be served in śrāddha and one should shun eatables that are very sour or very saltish or very pungent, since they are *āsuḥa* (fit for *asuras*). Great emphasis was laid on serving preparations of food made from *mūṣa*

947 a यत्वाङ्गिरसोक्तम् 'न जातिकुसुमानि न कदलीपत्रम्' इति कदलीपत्रमत्र भोजनमिति पात्रतया प्राप्तं निषिध्यते । स्मृतिक (आ) p 434. Others said that there is an option as to कदलीपत्र, as certain smṛtis (e. g. लघ्वाश्वलायन 23. 42) allowed plantain leaves. ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्धातपाद् 21. 35-40) mentions that the leaves of पलाश, अश्वत्थ, उट्टुम्बर, विकङ्कत, काशमर्य, खदिर, एस, न्यग्रोध, बिल्व may be used for taking food in and that vessels made of Phalgu wood, of Bilva wood and bamboo are allowed and yield certain good rewards.

948. अन्नं सदाधिकीरं गोघृतं शर्करान्वितम् । मांसं प्रीणाति वै सर्वात् पितृनित्याह केनच न
यत्किञ्चिन्मधुसंमिश्रं गोक्षीरं घृतपायसम् । दक्षमक्षयमित्याहुः पितरः पूषदेवताः ॥ मत्स्य 17.
३०-३६, the first being q by स्मृतिक (आ) p. 431,

beans. The *Aśvinaśāstra*⁹⁴⁹—smṛti pronounces the threat that the brāhmana, who, when dining at śrāddha, does not eat māsa food, becomes a beast for twenty-one births after death. The Śm. C. quotes a smṛti text saying that a śrāddha in which no māsa preparation is offered is as good as not performed.

The greatest divergence has prevailed about the employment of flesh at śrāddhas among writers from the earliest times. The subject of flesh-eating in general has been discussed at great length in the *History of Dharmasāstra*, vol. II pp 772-782. A few remarks about flesh in relation to śrāddha will not be out of place here. The *Āp. Dh. S.* prescribes⁹⁵⁰ that the obligatory śrāddha (to be performed every month) must contain food mixed with fat, the best course (for supplying fat) is to employ clarified butter and flesh; on failure of these two, sesame oil and vegetables may be employed. The same sūtra also provides⁹⁵¹ that the pītras are gratified for a year by the offering of cow's flesh in a śrāddha, that by the flesh of a buffalo the gratification of pītras extends to more than a year, that this rule extends to the flesh of wild animals (like hares) and village (or domesticated) animals (like goats) that are declared to be fit for being sacrificed, that the gratification of pītras extends to endless time if the flesh of a rhinoceros is offered to brāhmanas seated on rhinoceros skin, so also by the flesh of the

949. श्री वादनाति द्विजो माप निशुक्त पितृकर्मणि । स प्रेत्य पशुता याति सप्तवामेक-
विंशतिम् ॥ श्रीशानसस्मृति (V.) p. 531 (Jiv.-I.).

950. नैयतिकं तु आज्ञ स्नेहवेषे वद्याद् । सर्पिर्नासामिति प्रथम. कल्प । अभावे तैल
ज्ञाकमिति । आप ध ख II. 8. 19. 13-15.

951. स्वरासरं गव्येन ग्रीति । शूयासमतो माहिषेण । एतेन ब्राह्म्यारण्याना पशूना मार्तं
मेधय स्वाखयातम् । खड्गोपरतरणे खड्गोस्तेनानन्त्ये कालम् । तथा शतकलेमेत्सपत्य मांसेन वार्ध्री-
णसस्य ख । आप- ध ख II 7.16 25—II 7.17.3. वार्ध्रीणस or वार्ध्रीणस is explained as
a red-coloured goat that is *trypidā* (whose ears are so long that they touch the
water it drinks), that is old and the foremost of the herd त्रिपिबन्निद्रियक्षीणं
पृथस्याखर तथा । रक्तवर्णं तु राजेन्द्र खर्गं वार्ध्रीणसं विदु ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 141. 48 q. 'by
स्मृतिन्व. (आ p. 431) The Mit On यत् I, 260 and मेधातिथि on मनु III. 271 quote
a slightly different verse त्रिपिबन्निद्रियक्षीणं श्वेतं वृद्धमजापतिम् । वार्ध्रीणसं तु तं माहुर्वा-
जिका आहुकर्मणि ॥ and Mit. explains त्रिपिब as 'पिबन्. कर्णौ जिह्वा च यस्य जल स्पृशति
स त्रिभिः पिबतीति त्रिपिब.'. अपराकं p. 552 cites this verse as a नियम. हेमाद्रि (आ.
p. 590) states that the 2nd verse is a various reading of the first अपराकं p. 553
quotes another verse according to which वार्ध्रीणस is a white-feathered bird
with red head, and dark throat 'कृष्णशीरो रक्तशिराः श्वेतपक्षो विदह्नम । स वै
वार्ध्रीणस मोक इत्येषा नैममी श्रुतिः ॥' Several forms are met with in printed
works viz वार्ध्रीणस or वार्ध्रीणस or वार्ध्रीणस The दीपकालिका gives the two
explanations of वार्ध्रीणस (this is the reading of the printed work) as a white
goat and as a bird.

fish called 'śatabali' and the flesh of a *Vārddhinasa*. Vas. XI. 34 contains the following remarkable verse: 'an ascetic, when invited in a rite for the gods or pitrs, who avoids (does not partake of) flesh, dwells in Hell for as many years as the number of hair (on the body of the animal whose flesh he avoids).' Even the *Visnudharmottarapurāna* (I. 140. 49-50) emphatically asserts that he who does not partake of flesh-food in a row of diners at a śrāddha which has been properly employed goes to hell. *Manu* V. 35 and *Kūrma* II. 17.40 contain a similar verse applicable to all those who are invited as brāhmanas at a śrāddha. The *Kūrmapurāna* II. 22.75 provides that the brāhmana who is employed for the performance of a śrāddha and does not eat flesh offered therein becomes a beast for 21 births. *Manu* III. 257 states that the following are said to be proper offerings in a śrāddha by their very nature viz. food (prepared from *nivāra* grain and the like) fit for a forest hermit, milk, soma juice, flesh that does not emit foul smell and unmanufactured salt. An ascetic was ordinarily required not to partake of flesh; but *Vasistha* insisted on his partaking of it when invited at a śrāddha.

Manu III. 267-272, *Yāj.* I. 258-260, *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* 80 1 ff, *Anuśāsanaparva* chap. 88, the *Śrāddhasūtra* of *Kātyāyan* (kandikās. 7-8), *Kūrmapurāna* II. 20. 40-42, 29. 2-8, *Vāyu* 83. 3-9, *Matsya* 17. 31-35, *Viṣṇupurāna* III. 16.1-3, *Padmapurāna* (*Sṛsti* 9. 158-164), *Brahmapurāna* 220 23-29, *Visnudharmottara* I. 141.42-47 state at length the periods of time for which pitrs are gratified by the flesh of certain animals being served at śrāddha. The verses of *Yāj.* being the shortest in all these works are given below. *Yāj.*⁹⁵² states; Pitrs are gratified by the serving of sacrificial food (such as rice, fruits, roots & c) for a month, for a year by (cows's milk or) rice cooked in cow's milk, for 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 months respectively by the flesh of fishes (*pāthina*), of (red coloured) deer, of ram, of a bird (such as a *tūlari*), of a goat, of a spotted deer, of a dark-coloured deer, of a *ruru* deer, of a wild boar, of a hare the offering of rhinoceros flesh, of a fish called *Mahāśalka*, c'

952. हविष्याक्षेन वै मांसं पायसेन तु चत्सरम् । मात्स्यहारिणकौरञ्जशाकुनच्छागपतैः ।
 ऐणरीरववाराहशाशौर्गसैरथाकमम् । मासवृद्ध्याभितृष्यन्ति द्वैरिह पितामहा । खड्गामिदं मह
 शकं मधु शुन्यक्षमेव वा । लौहामिदं महाशाकं मांसं वार्ध्वाणसरय च ॥ यद्दाति गयास्थ
 सर्वमानन्यमश्नुते । या I 258-261. महाशाकं is explained as कालशाकं by the *mita*
 सर, while the *स्युतिच* (आ p. 431) frankly admits that it does not know
 what कालशाक is. 'कालशाक कीदृशमिति न विद्मः ॥'

honey, of food fit for hermits (wild corn such as *nivāra*), the flesh of a red goat, of Mahāśaka (i. e. Kāśaka), and the flesh of Vārdhrīnasa—these secure inexhaustible fruit. There is some divergence of views among the several works. For example, Manu III, 267 and 271, Kātyāyana (in śrāddhasūtra 7) appear to hold that by offering food prepared from village corn (such as rice, māsa & c.) or wild eatables (such as *nivāra* or fruits and roots) the gratification is only for one month and the flesh of Vārdhrīnasa produces gratification for twelve years only (and not for all time). Visnu Dh. S. 80,10 and Manu III, 270 bring in buffalo flesh and tortoise flesh as giving gratification for ten and eleven months respectively. Hemādri (on śrāddha p 590)⁹⁵³ is careful to point out that these words about the duration of time are not to be taken literally but what is really intended is to convey greater and greater gratification of the pītras according to the kind of flesh offered. Pulastya quoted by the Mit and Aparārka p. 555 provides that a brāhmana should generally or mainly offer at a śrāddha hermit's food, a ksatriya or a vaiśya should offer flesh, a śūdra should offer honey and all varnas may offer anything else (except these three) which is not forbidden.⁹⁵⁴ Whoever may be the offerer, the eater at a śrāddha dinner was to be a brāhmana alone and so it follows that brāhmanas invited to a śrāddha by a ksatriya or vaiśya had to eat flesh. Yet it is remarkable that even the Mitākṣarā and the Kalpataru written about 1100-1120 A. D. do not expressly say that in the Kali age flesh-eating at śrāddha is totally prohibited at least for brāhmanas. It has been shown already (H. of Dh. vol III, pp. 775-776) that even when animal sacrifices were the order of the day in the Rgveda and the Brāhmanas there was an undercurrent of thought that the offerings of fuel-sticks or of boiled rice when made with heartfelt devotion to the gods were as good as flesh offerings for

953. इह सर्वत्र प्रत्यतिशयो विवक्षितः। न तु यथाशुत एव कालः। तथा सति द्वादश-वर्षपर्यन्तं पित्राणां वृत्तत्वात् आहुत्कारणे प्राप्ते सति च प्रतिवर्षं यत्नत्वात्पर्यं। इत्येतद्वचनं विवक्ष्यत इति हरिहरादयः। हेमाद्रि (आ p. 590)

954. अत्र यथापि सुन्यक्षमांसमध्वादीनि सर्ववर्णानां सामान्येन आहुते योग्यानि दास्यं-तानि तथापि पुलस्त्योका व्यवस्थादर्णीयाः। सुन्यक्षं ब्राह्मणस्योक्तं मांसं क्षत्रियवैश्ययोः। मधु-प्रदानं शुद्धस्य सर्वेषां चाविरोधि यत्। मिता on या I 260, तथा च आहुत्प्रकरणे बृहदारदीये यथाचारं प्रदेयं तु मधुमांसादिकं तथा—इति। तथा मांसादनं तथा आहुते इति कलिवर्जयनियमा-नभिधाय देशाचाराः परिग्राह्यास्तद्देशीयजैरे। अन्यथा पतितो ज्ञेयः सर्वयममहिष्कृतः—इति सत्रैवाग्यत्राभिहितत्वात्। पृथ्वीचंद्रोदय on आहुते (folio 416) quoting नारदीय-पुराण.

securing their favour. In course of time that conception grew stronger and stronger, so much so that Manu (V. 27-44 and V. 46-47) and Vasistha appear to be in two minds (vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 778-780). Gradually the offering of flesh in Madhuparka and in śrāddhas came to be totally condemned in works of the 12th and 13th centuries and onwards as a matter prohibited in the Kali age (Varātithipitr̥bhyas̥ca paśūpakaranakriyā). (Vide H. of Dh. vol. III pp. 945-946 and p. 964). Now except among the brāhmanas (in Northern India) who have no objection to include fish in diet as permissible to them no brāhmana offers flesh in śrāddha. The usage of Northern India would be in accordance with the view set out in Brhannārādiya purāna that one should offer honey, flesh and other things according to the usage of the country, as explained by the Prthvicandrodaya.

Manu (V.11-18) contains long lists of animals, birds and fishes whose flesh was not to be eaten even by those who were flesh-eaters.

If a person is destitute, some of the Purānas such as the Visnu (III. 4.24-30) and the Varāha (13.53-58) mercifully provide in identical⁹⁵⁵ verses that instead of entertaining brāhmanas with a sumptuous dinner or flesh the poor man may offer only uncooked corn, or some vegetables growing wildly or some slight *dakṣiṇā* if he cannot offer even uncooked food or vegetables, or he may offer a few grains of sesamum (7 or 8) to a brāhmana with water in his folded hands, or grass to a cow enough for one day and if he cannot afford even any one of these, then he may repair to a thicket of trees, raise his arms so that his armpits are exposed and loudly address the guardians of the worlds such as the Sun in the following words: 'I have neither wealth nor money nor anything else fit to be offered by way of śrāddha; I bow to my pitrs; may the pitrs be satisfied by my devotion; I have stretched these arms in space!' (lit. the path of the wind).

955. असमर्थोऽन्नदानस्य धान्यं मांसं स्वशक्तिः ।...सर्वाभावे चर्षं गत्वा कदाभूलमदर्शकः ।
सूर्यादिलोकपालानामिदंशुचैः पठिष्यति ॥ न मेऽस्ति विचं न धनं न धान्यं च्छूराद्धस्य योग्य
स्वपितृभक्तोऽस्मि । तुष्यन्तु भक्त्या पितरो मयैतौ शुजौ वतौ वर्त्मनि माघतस्य ॥ ब्राह्मपुराण 13.
57-58 = विष्णुपुराण III. 14. 29-30, q by मद्. पा pp. 515-16 from विष्णु and by
निर्णयसिन्धु III p. 467 from both This passage explains the origin and the
present meaning of the Marathi phrase खाका वर करणे वृद्धत्तराकार (chap. 5 p 152)
has similar provisions. The पुष्ट्यो (folio 56 b) notes 'धान्यं मांसानिस्वयं चर्षं
शकामिति ब्राह्मपुराणीयः पाठः'; in the printed विष्णुपुराण the reading is not धान्यं
मांसं, but the निर्णयसिन्धु had these words and it appears that the text
was tampered with in modern times.

It is now time to describe the procedure of the Pārvaṇa-śrāddha⁹⁵⁵ which is the pattern or norm (prakṛti) of the other śrāddhas⁹⁵⁶ (even including the *Astakūś*). Here one meets with great divergences of views even from the times of the sūtras up to modern times. Though the main items and stages in the rite of śrāddha are generally the same, there is variation in the mantras, the details and sometimes in the order of the several items. Kātyāyana lays down that every man has to follow his own sūtra as to the use of the word 'svāhā' or the words 'svadhā namaḥ', as to wearing the sacred thread in the yajñopavīta or praçināvīta way and as to the number of *āhūti*s⁹⁵⁷.

It would be very interesting first to find out the vestiges of the sacrifice to the fathers in the most ancient Vedic texts. The *Tai. S.* (I. 8. 5. 1-3) deals⁹⁵⁸ with the Mahāpitṛyajña per-

955 a. Terms already explained such as 'Pārvaṇa' and 'Ekoddiṣṭa' are not explained again. Vide n. 855 above for those two words. Śrāddha on amāvāsya is obligatory (*nityā*) as laid down by Gaut 15.1 g. in note 935 above while the śrāddhas performed on the other tithis of the dark half of a month are *kāmya*.

956. The अनाकुला of हरद्वज on आप. वृ. 21.1 states 'धुनरपि पाकपद्मानन्तरं पुरुषत्रयसंभवादनकं वाहृशानानहकादीनां प्रकृतिद्वयं नासिक्त्तं तं च पित्र्यं कर्मापेक्षितं पतेः'

957. तथा च वात्स्यायनः। स्वाहा स्वधा नमः सव्यनसस्यं तथैव च। आहुतीना तु या संख्या सादस्या स्वध्वजत ॥ q. by नद. या p. 592, स्मृतिच. (आ p 458). देनादि (आ p 356) says 'एते देवादिदिवषो पक्षीयेषु कल्पयन्त्युष्टुनास्ते तदीया एवेति स्वधरथया बोद्धव्याः।'

958. सोमना पितृन्ते सुतोडाशं दृक्पालं निर्बपति पितृभ्यो बर्हिषद्वन्द्वो धानाः पितृभ्योऽग्निन्वासेभ्योऽभिवास्यापै दुग्धे नम्यन्तेतसे तत पे च स्वानन्वेतसे पितानह मपितानह पे च स्वानन्वेच पितरो दधानार्थं नम्यन्ते सुतोडाशं त्वा वपे नमवन्नान्द्विपिमहि। प्रदूतं पूर्णवन्धुः दृष्टो याति षडौ अह। योजा त्विन्द्र ते हरी। अन्नकनीनदन्त ह्यत्र मिया अन्नपद। अस्तोपत स्वभानवो विद्या बधिरया नवी। योजा त्विन्द्र ते हरी। अह्वय पितरोऽग्नीनदन्त पितरोऽग्नीवृषन्त स्वभानवो विद्या बधिरया नवी। परत पितर सोम्या गन्भीरैः पथिभिः पूर्ये। अथा पितृच सुविद्वान् पितरोऽग्नीवृषन्त पितरः। परत पितर सोम्या गन्भीरैः पथिभिः पूर्ये। अथा पितृच सुविद्वान् अपीत यनेन ये सवनादौ नदन्ति ॥ तै. सं I. 8. 5. 1-2. सादया explains 'अभिवास्या वृषवत्ता वेष्टः। क्षीरे परपिष्टं मस्तिन्ध निष्ठीकृतं द्रव्यं नम्ये। सायण quotes तै. ब्रा I. 6. 8 'अभिवास्यापै दुग्धे भवति सा हि पितृदेवस्य दुग्धे' and explains 'सुतः सुवचाः पितरो अभिवास्या च सुतवत्तेति सजातीयत्वाच्च देवां गीतिः'. The milk of an अभिवास्या cow is kept in a vessel in which are put half-ground barley grains, then the milk is stirred once or thrice with a piece of sugarcane to which a string is tied. This preparation is called नम्य. Vide नैत्रायणीसंहिता I 10 17 (यद्देव नम्यस्तेन पितृपक्षोऽभिवास्याया बोद्धव्ये इत्यात्. इष्टुञ्जलाकदोपनम्यति) and आप. औ. 8.14 14. The *Tai. Br.* (I. 6. 8-9) expounds the above *Tai. S.* passage in its own way. The two verses सुनदहं and अन्नकनीनदन्त are वाच. सं III. 52 and 51 and are the same as नै. सं. I. 10 3. तै. ब्रा. II. 6 16 brings together the mantras employed in पिण्डपितृपक्ष as पाचया, सुतोडाव्याया or सामिथेनी verses.

formed in Sākamedha, the third of the four Caturmāsyaś: "He offers to Soma accompanied by the pitrs a cake baked on six potsherds, to the pitrs Barhisadah (sitting on darbha grass or in a yajña) fried grains, for the pitrs called Agnisvāta he milks a drink from a cow which has to be won over (to another calf). This for thee, O father and for those who come after thee (i. e. for thy descendants); this for thee, O grandfather, great-grandfather and for those who come after thee; do, ye Pitrs rejoice in your portions. May we gladden thee, O Indra, that castest thy glance at us, come forth now with full chariot seat; being praised (by us) thou goest to places desired by you. Yoke, O Indra, thy two bay steeds. They (*pitrah*) have eaten, they have rejoiced, the dear ones have dispelled (evil); the radiant sages have been praised with newest hymn, Yoke, O Indra, thy two bay steeds. The pitrs have eaten, the pitrs have rejoiced, the pitrs have been glad, the pitrs have purified themselves. Go away, O Pitrs, that art soma-loving by your majestic ancient paths. Then reach ye the *pitrs* that well know you (or everything) and that revel in the company of Yama."

In the Tai.⁹⁵⁹ Br. I. 2.10 the Pindaṭṭṛyajña is dealt with at some length. In the note below the important passages are set forth leaving out the legends, repetitions and matters not relevant to our purpose: "Therefore the rite (called pindaṭṭṛyajña) is performed the day previous (to the Darśeṣṭi).

959. तस्मात्पितृभ्यः पूर्वेषु क्रियते।...सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नम इत्याह ।...अग्नये कल्पवाहनाय स्वधा नम इत्याह । ए एव पितृणामग्निस्तं मीणाति। तन्न आहुतीर्जुहोति त्रिनिदधाति यदसम्पद्यन्ते। पद्म वा ऋतव । ऋतुनेव मीणाति ।...ऋतवः खलु वै देवाः पितरः ।...सकृदाधिष्ठं बर्हिर्भवति। सकृदिव हि पितरः । त्रिनिदधाति। तृतीये वा इतो लोके पितरः । तानेव मीणाति । पराह्वार्वति । ह्रीका हि पितरः । ओष्मणो व्याहृत उप्यास्ते । उष्मभागा हि पितरः ।...अवमेयमेव तन्नेव माशितं नेवामाशितम् । वीरं वै पितरः प्रयन्तो हरन्ति । वीरं वा इदति । इहां छिनत्ति । हरणभागा हि पितरः । पितृनेव निरवदयति । उत्तर आहुयि लोम छिन्दीत । पितृणामे-तर्हि नैदीयः । नमस्करोति । नमस्कारो हि पितृणाद् । नमो वः पितरो रसाय नमो वः पितरो रसाय नमो वः पितरो रसाय नमो वः । एष वै मनुष्याणां यज्ञः । देवानां वा इतरे यज्ञाः । ते आ I. 3, 10. 1-10. The words नमो वः पितरो रसाय occur in वाज. सं. II. 32 and मै स I, 10. 3 but in a slightly different order and वाज सं. reads शोषाय for श्रुषाय It may be noted that though the तै. ब्रा. speaks of three deities it mentions only two deities; the third is supplied by the सूत्रकार in the words यमायाङ्गिरस्यते पितृभ्ये स्वधा नमः । Vide note 781 above. On देवाः पितरः सायण says 'द्विविधा हि पितरः देवात्मका मनुष्यात्मकाश्च । पितृलोकस्वामिनो देवात्मकाः । मृताः सन्तो भोगाच्छ्लोकं मासा मनुष्यात्मकाः ।' On वीरं...इदति, सायण explains 'वैकल्ये पुत्रं सारयन्ति साकल्ये पुत्रं यथच्छन्ति । अत्र वैकल्यस्य दुष्परिहरत्वेन पुत्रमत्याम्नायत्वेन वस्त्रायनीय-स्वधं छित्वा पिण्डेषु निदध्यात् ।'

He says 'to Soma drunk by the pitrs, *svadhā!* Adoration!' He says 'to Agni, the carrier of *kavya*, *svadhā!* Adoration! (Thereby) he pleases the fire that pertains to the pitrs. He offers (into fire) three oblations; he puts down (on the darbhas spread on the ground) three pindas. (These) thus come to six in number. Six indeed are the seasons. He (thereby) pleases the seasons. The seasons are indeed the shining (or divine) pitrs.....The darbha grass is cut with one stroke; the pitrs have as it were (passed away) once for ever. He puts down thrice (the pindas). The pitrs are indeed in the third world from here. He (thereby) pleases them. He (the performer) turns his face away (to the north from the south), for the Fathers are shy. He remains with his face turned away till the steam (of the boiled rice of the pindas) ceases to rise, for the Fathers have the steam of rice as their share; he should simply smell (the pindas). That as if does not amount to eating or non-eating. The pitrs when departing (from the śrāddha rite) take away or grant a valiant son. He cuts off the fringe (of a garment to place it on the pindas), for the share of Fathers is taking away (what is offered). He (thereby) allots their proper share to the pitrs (and dismisses them). When (the performer) is in the latter part of life (i e. over 50 years of age) he cuts off hair (from his chest instead of presenting a *daśū*) At that time he is nearer to the pitrs (when above 50 years of age). He offers adoration, because adoration (*namaskāra*) is dear to the pitrs. Adoration to you, O Fathers, for vigour; adoration to you, O fathers, for life, adoration to you, O fathers, for *svadhā*, adoration to you, O fathers, for ardour; adoration, O fathers, for the terrible! O fathers! here is adoration to you. This (pindapitryajña) is indeed a sacrifice of men (i e. sacrifice to departed men) and other sacrifices belong to the gods" In the Tai Br. I, 4 10 the Pitryajña performed in *sūkameṣha* is praised (in 2) and further on it is said that *Rtus* (seasons) are pitrs and they offered pitryajña to Prajāpati, their father. This passage supports the provision made in Manu and some of the digests that the *Rtus* are to be identified with pitrs and obeisance is to be made to them.⁹⁶⁰

960 उत्सासाकमेधैर्जमान. इद्वावत्सरीणां स्वस्तिमाशास्त इत्याशासीत। यत्पितृयज्ञेन यजते देवानेव तदन्ववस्यति। 2...अथतैवः पितरः प्रजापतिं पितरं पितृयज्ञेनायजन्तः। तं पुत्रं लोकमजयन् यस्मिन्दृत्तवः। यत्पितृयज्ञेन यजते पुत्रमेव लोकं जयति यस्मिन्दृत्तवः। ऋदुनामेव साङ्ग्यस्यैति। ते ब्रा. I 4 10, 8 The word पितृयज्ञ here and in ते सं III. 2 2 3, मे. सं. I. 10 17 (यद्देयं पितृयज्ञस्तेनैवास्य पितरोऽभीष्टाः प्रीता भवन्ति) means a sacrifice
(Continued on the next page)

The Śat. Br. (II. 4. 2) contains the following somewhat fuller account of the Piṇḍa-pitryajña, omitting legendary or other irrelevant matters —When the moon is not seen either in the east or in the west, then he (the performer of the Darśa sacrifice) presents food to the Fathers in each month He presents it in the afternoon. The forenoon indeed belongs to the gods; the midday to men; and the afternoon to the Fathers; therefore he presents (food to the Fathers) in the afternoon. While seated behind the Gārhapatya fire with his face turned towards the south and the sacred thread on his right shoulder he takes that material (for the offering from the cart). Thereupon he rises from thence and threshes the rice while standing north of the Dakṣiṇa fire and facing the south. Only once does he clean the rice, for it is once for all that the fathers have passed away. He then boils it. While it stands on (the Dakṣiṇa fire) he pours some clarified butter on it. After removing it (from the fire) he offers to the gods two oblations in the fire Here he is engaged in a sacrifice to the Fathers; hence he thereby propitiates the gods and being permitted by the gods, he presents that food to the Fathers. He offers to both Agni and Soma .. He offers with the formula 'To Agni, the carrier of *kavya* (what is offered to the Manes), *svāhā!*', 'To Soma accompanied by the Fathers, *svāhā!*' (Vāj S. II 29). He then puts the *pot-ladle* (*meksana*) on the fire, that being in lieu of the *Svistakṛt*. Thereafter he draws (with the *spṛiṣya*, the wooden sword) one line south of the Dakṣiṇa fire, that being in lieu of the altar. He then lays down a firebrand at the further (south) end of the line. For, were he to present that food to the Fathers without having laid down a firebrand, the *Asuras* and *Raksasas* would certainly tamper with it. ... He lays it down with the text 'whatsoever *Asuras* roam about being attracted by the *svadhā* (offering to Fathers), assuming various shapes, be they large-bodied or small-bodied, may Agni expel them from this world (Vāj S. II 30) ... He then takes the water jar and makes the Fathers wash (their hands) merely saying 'N. N., wash thyself' (naming the sacrificer's father; 'N. N. wash thyself (naming the sacrificer's) grandfather; 'N. N., wash thyself

(Continued from the last page)

offered to the manes, while it is doubtful whether in Ṛg X. 16. 10 the word *पितृपञ्च* means the same thing. But as the verse that immediately follows (Ṛg. X. 16 11) mentions *पितृ* in the plural, it looks as if the meaning of *पितृपञ्च* being well known was used in a secondary sense in Ṛg. X. 16.10.

(naming) the sacrificer's great-grandfather. As one would pour out water (for a guest) when he is about to take food, so in this case. Now those (stalks of sacrificial grass) are severed with one stroke and cut off near the root; the top belongs to the gods, the middle part to men and the root part (of darbhas) to the fathers. Therefore they are cut off near the roots He spreads them along with the line with their tops towards the south. Thereon he presents (to the fathers the three round cakes of rice). He presents thus:— for the gods they offer thus for men they ladle out; and in the case of the fathers they do in this very way; therefore he presents (the cakes to the fathers) thus With 'N. N., this for thee' he presents one cake to the sacrificer's father. Some add 'for those that come after thee', but let him not say this, since he himself is 'one of those to whom it would be offered in common. Let him therefore merely say 'N. N., this for thee' as to the sacrificer's father; 'N. N., this for thee' as to his grandfather; 'N. N., this for thee' as to his great-grandfather. He then mutters 'Here, O fathers, regale yourselves; like bulls come hither each to his own share' (Vāj. S. II. 31). Whereby he says 'Eat each his own share'. He then turns round to the left so as to face the opposite (north) side; for the fathers are far away from men; and thereby he also is far away (from the fathers). 'Let him remain (standing with bated breath) until his breath fail' say some; 'for thus far extends the vital energy'. However, having remained so far a moment—he again turns round (to the right) and mutters 'the Fathers have regaled themselves; like bulls they have come each to his own share' (Vāj. S. II. 31); whereby what he says is 'they have eaten each his own share'. Thereupon he takes the water jar and makes them wash themselves (by pouring water on the pindas), merely saying 'N. N., wash thyself' (naming) the sacrificer's father; 'N. N. wash thyself' (naming) his grandfather; 'N. N., wash thyself' (naming) his paternal great-grandfather. Even as one would pour out (water for a guest). When he has taken his meal, so it is here. He then pulls down the tuck (of the sacrificer's garment) and performs obeisance. The tuck is sacred to the Fathers; therefore he performs obeisance to them after pulling down the tuck. ... Six times he performs obeisance, for there are six seasons and the fathers are the seasons. He mutters 'Give us houses, O fathers', for the fathers are the rulers of houses; and this is the prayer for blessing at this sacrificial performance. After the

pindas have been put back (in a dish) the sacrificer smells at (the rice); this (smelling) being the sacrificer's share. The stalks of darbha cut with one stroke he puts on the fire; and he also throws away the firebrand on to the fire.^{960a}

It will be noticed that many of the fundamental conceptions of a pārvana-śrāddha are very clearly brought out in the Śat. Br. Wearing the sacred thread on the right shoulder, afternoon as the proper time, cleansing the paddy only once, boiling the rice on the Dakṣiṇa fire, offering into the same fire two oblations to the gods first, the two formulas of presentation to Agni Kavyavāhana and to Soma Pitṛmat, drawing a line or

960 a अथैनं (पञ्जापतिं) पितरः प्राचीनावीतिनः सव्यं जान्वाच्योपासीद्विस्तानम्वी-
त्सासि मासि घोशन स्वधा वो मनो जवो वश्वम्ब्रमा वो ज्योतिरिति। इतपथ II. 4. 2 2...
मासि मास्येव पितृभ्यो ददतो यद्वैवै न पुरस्तात् एश्वाद्ब्रह्मोऽथैभ्यो ददाति... (7)। ...स वा
अपराद्ब्रह्मो ददाति पूर्वोक्तो वै देवाना मध्यन्दिनो मध्यपाणामपराद्ब्रह्म पितृणां तस्मादपराद्ब्रह्मो ददाति।
स जयनेन गार्हपत्यं प्राचीनावीती धृत्वा दक्षिणासीन एतं गृह्णाति। स तत एकोपोत्थायोक्तरणा-
श्वार्हार्पणं दक्षिणा तिष्ठन्नहन्ति सकृद् फलीकरोति सकृद्भुज्ये पराश्वं पितरस्तस्मात्सकृत्
फलीकरोति। (9) तं अथयति तस्मिन्नाश्रित आच्यं प्रत्यानयति...। (10) स उद्धारण्यौ द्वे
आहूतिं जुहोति देवेभ्यः। ... अथैतत्पितृभ्यो नैवचारित्... स देवैः मृतोऽथैतत्पितृभ्यो ददाति। ...
(11) स वाग्रथे सोमाय च जुहोति...। (12) स जुहोति। अग्रथे कथ्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय
पितृभ्ये स्वाहेत्यग्नौ नैक्षणमग्न्यादधाति तत्स्विष्टकृद्वाजनमथ दक्षिणेनान्वाहार्पणं सकृद्-
द्विष्यति तद्देविभाजनम्...। (13) अथ परस्ताद्भुक्तं निदधाति। स यदनिधायोत्सुकमथै-
तत्पितृभ्यो दद्यादसुररक्षसानि वैपानेतद्विमथनीरन्...। (14) स निदधाति। ये रूपाणि प्रति-
शुद्धमाना असुराः सन्तः स्वधा चरन्ति। पराश्वरो नियुरो वै भरन्त्याग्निर्दालोकात्स्वदात्पत्सना-
दिति।...। (15) अथोद्पात्रमादायावनेजयति। असाववनेनिद्वैत्येव यजमानस्य पितरमसाव-
वनेनिद्वैति पितामहमसाववनेनिद्वैति प्रपितामहं तद्यथाशिक्षयतेऽभिपिञ्चेद्वै तत्। (16) अथ
सकृदाच्छिन्नामपमूर्लं दिनानि भवन्ति अग्रनिव वै देवाना मध्यमिव मध्यपाणा मूलनिव पितृणां
तस्मादुपमूर्लं दिनानि भवन्ति। (17) तानि दक्षिणोपरदृणाति। तत्र ददाति स वा इति
ददातीतिव वै देवेभ्यो जुह्वत्युत्तरान्ति मध्यभ्योऽथैव पितृणां तस्मादिति ददाति। (18) स
ददाति। असावेतत् इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रे ये च त्वामन्विष्यु वैका आह्वस्तु तथा न ब्रूयात्स्वयं
वै तेषा सह येषा सह। तस्माद्दु ह्यावसावेतत् इत्येव यजमानस्य पित्रेऽसावेतत् इति पितामहा-
धासावेतत् इति प्रपितामहाय...। (19) तत्र जपति। अत्र पितरो मादुध्वं यथाभागमाहुपा-
युध्वामेति यथाभागमश्रीतेत्येवैतदाह। (20) अथ पराश्वं पर्यावर्तते। तिर इव वै पितरो मध्यभ्येभ्य-
स्तिर इवैवज्जयति स वा आतन्तिरासीतेत्याहुरेतावान्हासुरिति स वै शुहृत्मेवासित्वा। (21)
अथोपपद्यते जपति। अमीमदन्त पितरो यथाभागमाहुपायिपतेति यथाभागमाक्षिपुस्तिर्येवै-
तदाह। (22) अथोद्पात्रमादायावनेजयति। असाववनेनिद्वैत्येव यजमानस्य पितरमसाववने-
निद्वैति पितामहमसाववनेनिद्वैति प्रपितामहं तद्यथा जहुषेऽभिपिञ्चेद्वै तत्। (23) अथ नीवि-
सुहृद्वा नमस्करोति। पिष्टुदेव्या वै नीविस्तरमावीतिशुहृद्वा नमस्करोति...पदकृत्वा नमस्करोति
पद्वा ऋतव ऋतवः पितरः...गृह्यजः पितरो दत्तेति गृह्याणां ह पितर ईशते। एषो एतस्यासीः
कर्मणोऽथावजिभ्रति प्रत्यवधाय पिण्डान् स यजमानभागोऽग्नौ सकृदाच्छिन्नामग्न्यादधाति
पुनरुत्सुकमपि सृजति। (24).

furrow to the south of the Daksina fire, laying down a firebrand, making the three paternal ancestors wash (*avanejana*),⁹⁶¹ darbha grass severed from near the root, spreading the darbhas on the line or furrow and offering three pindas to the three ancestors to regale themselves, turning away from the pindas for a moment and then resuming his position and saying that the ancestors have regaled themselves, offering water for washing (*pratayavanejana*), pulling down the tuck and performing obeisance six times (and identifying the Fathers with seasons) and praying to the Fathers to bestow houses, smelling the boiled rice, throwing the darbhas and firebrand into the fire—these are the principal matters even now in the Pārvana-śrāddha performed by students of the Śukla Yajurveda, although several other details (such as the introduction of the mother's paternal ancestors) and some mantras are added. The Kātyāyana Br. IV. 1. closely follows the Śat. Br., but adds certain details viz. he folds his hands and repeats the six mantras (Vāj. S. II. 32 'namo vah pitaro rasāya' &c) throwing three threads on each pinda with the mantra 'stadvah' (Vāj. S. II. 32) or the woollen fringe of a garment or hair from the chest of the sacrificer when he is beyond fifty years of age, sprinkling water on the pindas or on the ground near them with (Vāj. S. II. 34)⁹⁶².

The other *samhitās* also contain identical mantras. For example, the Vāj. S. II. 29-34⁹⁶³ are mantras most of which are

961. On 'wash thyself' the com. on कात्या औ सू IV. 1. 10 says 'अपसर्व्यं यथा स्वात् इस्तस्य सव्यमवेसाहक्षिणमवेसेनोदफनिचयनं यथा स्वात्तथाङ्गुष्ठमवेक्षि-
ष्योरन्तरालेनावनेजयति अवा निक्ताञ्छुष्णीं करोति पिण्डदानाय । असाक्षिं सम्बुद्धचन्त-
गोत्रनामावेक्षपूर्वक, अहुकसगोत्र यजमानस्य पितरहकशर्मकवनेनिश्च' । Some other sūtra-
lāras provide अहुकगोत्र for अहुकसगोत्र

962. About the use of the words 'those that come after thee' vide n. 781 for the Tai. S passage where those words are employed and also notes 1040, 1052, 1053. 'He presents them thus'—When the pinda is to be offered to the Fathers it is done with the *pitrtīrthā* (the part of the hand between the thumb and forefinger) This is indicated by the teacher by means of a gesture 'He then pulls down the tuck—' The sacrificer (or *adhvaryu*) puts on an upper garment when the rite commences, the *dasā* or unwoven edge of which he tucks under the waistband. This he loosens or pulls out at this stage It will have been noticed that the Śat. Br. in dealing with Pindapūtrayajña employs Vāj. S. II. 29 (except 'apahatā asurā raksāmsi vedisadah'), 30, 31.

963. अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृभ्यो स्वाहा । अथ हता अहुरा रक्षंसि वेदिपदः ॥ ये स्वपाणि ॥...प्रष्टुदात्यस्मात् ॥ अत्र पितरो माद्वध्वं...वृषायिषत् ॥ नमो व पितरो रसाय.. नमो वाः पितरो मन्यन्ते नमो व पितरः पितरो नमो वो यदाह पितरो दत्त सतो

(Continued on the next page)

employed in the Pindapitryajña in Śakamedha⁹⁶⁴, Similarly, in the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā⁹⁶⁵ I, 10.3. 10-21 these are mantras for the pitryajña employed in Śakamedha many of which are the same as in Vāj. S. or Tai. Br. M. S. I. 10. 3.11 is the same as Vāj. S. III 52 and M. S. I. 10. 3. 17-20 are the same as Vāj. S. III. 51, 53-55. M. S. I. 10. 3. 13-14 greatly resemble Vāj. S. II. 32 and Tai. Br. I. 3. 10. 8.

Coming to the sūtra literature, it is best to begin with the procedure of *pārvanaśrāddha* as described in the Āśv. gr. IV, 7-8⁹⁶⁶. It is stated by the Anakulā on Āp. gr. 21.1 that the

(Continued from the last page)

वः पितरो देष्मैतद्वः पितरो वास आधत्त ॥ आधत्त.. सत् ॥ ऊर्जं वहन्तीरसृत्तं पृतं पयः कीलालं परिभ्रतम् । स्वधा स्थ तर्पयत मे पितृन् ॥ वाज सं. II 29-34 The verse दे रूपणि and the mantras अन्न . दृषायिषत are quoted above in n. 960a from the इत्तपथजा For नमो व. पितरो, vide n. 959 and for आधत्त ..सत् n 780. Both the commentators, Uvata and Mahīdhara, of Vāj S., hold that rasa, śosa and the other four are to be identified with the six seasons from spring (madhu etc.) and some of the digests provide for the worship of ऋतु in śrāddha in this way. The कात्या. औ छ (V. 9 24-25) states that with this mantra (Vāj. S. II. 32) the performer folds his hands or makes six obeisances Vide Hemādri (Śr pp. 1459-60) who quotes the Vāj S. (II. 32) and Tai. Br and explains them.

964 अक्षकमीमदन्त...ते हरी ॥ सुसम्पन्नं ..ते हरी ॥ मनो न्वाह्वानहे नाराहीसेन स्तोमेन । पितृणां च मन्मथि ॥ आ न एतु मनः पुनः क्रत्वे दक्षाय जीयसे । ज्योक् च सूर्यं हरो ॥ पुनर्नः पितरो मनो दृढाहृ दैव्यो जनः । जीषं ब्रातं सत्चेमहि ॥ वाज सं III. 51-52. वाज. सं. III. 51-52 are the same as Rg I. 82 2-3.

965. मै सं I 10.3 13-14 are as follows. अमीमदन्त पितरो नमो व पितर इषे, नमो व पितर ऊर्जे, नमो व पितरः छुष्माय, नमो वः पितरो रसाय, नमो वः पितरो यजीव तस्मै, नमो व. पितरो यद्भूते तस्मै, स्वधा व. पितरो नमो नमो वः पितरः । एषा शुष्माकं पितर इमा अस्माक जीवा वो जीवन्त इह सन्तः स्याम । Compare also अथर्ववेद 18.4. 81-85.

966. अथात पार्वणे आर्द्धे कान्य आभ्युदयिक एकोदिते वा । ब्राह्मणान् श्रुतशील... सर्वेषाम् । काममनाद्ये । पिण्डैर्यारुष्यातम् । अप. प्रदाय । द्भोव् द्विगुणशुभानासर्गं प्रदाय । अपः प्रदाय । तैजसाश्ममयसृष्णमयेषु त्रिषु पात्रेष्वेकद्रव्येषु वा द्भोवन्तहितेष्वप आसिष्य शन्नो देवीरभिद्य इत्यष्टमन्त्रिताहृ तिलाभाषपति तिलोऽस्ति क्षीमदेवत्यो गोसुवे देवानिमितः । मत्नवद्भिः । प्रतः स्वधया पितृनिर्मल्लोकान् प्रीणयाहि नः स्वधा नम् इति प्रसच्येन । इतर पाण्यद्वुष्टान्तराणापर्वीतिलाद् दक्षिणेन वा सव्योपयुहीतेन पितरिदं ते अर्घ्यं पितामहेदं ते अर्घ्यं प्रपितामहेदं ते अर्घ्यमिति । अथूर्वम् । ताः प्रतिद्यादियिष्यन्तकृत्स्नकृत् स्वधा अर्घ्या इति । मष्टा अष्टमन्त्रयेत या दिव्या आपः पृथिवी सम्भूयूर्या अन्तरिह्या उत पार्थिवीर्या । हिरण्यवर्णा यज्ञिपास्ता न आपः झंस्याना भवन्तिवति । संज्ञवान्समवनीय ताभिरद्भिः युत्रकामो सुखमनक्ति । नोद्धरेत्यधमं पात्रं पितृणामर्घ्यापातितम् । आहुतास्तत्र तिष्ठन्ति पितरः शौनकोऽब्रवीत् ॥ एतस्मिन्काले गन्धमाल्यधूपदीपाच्छादनानां प्रदानम् । उद्धृत्य शृताकमजमशुभ्रापयत्यशौ करिष्ये करवे करवाणीति मत्यम्बुज्जा क्रियतां कुरुष्व कुर्वति । अथाग्नौ जुहोति यथोक्त पुरस्तात् । अभ्युदयायां पाणिष्वेव वा । आग्निशुखा वै देवा. पाणिशुखा. पितर इति हि ब्राह्मणम् । यदि पाणिष्व्वाचान्तेष्वन्यदक्षमनुदिशन्ति अक्षमस्ते । सुष्टं दत्तमृच्छकामिति । तृसाञ्जाला मशुमती श्रावयेदक्षकमीमदन्तेति च । सम्पन्नमिति प्रष्ट्वा यद्यदजशुभ्रकं तत्तत्पालीपाकेन सह पिण्डार्थमुद्धृत्य शौषं निवेदयेत् ।

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monthly śrāddha (māsi-śrāddha) is the prakṛti of Astaka and other śrāddhas in which three ancestors are to be invoked. It is as follows. Now then at a Pārvana-śrāddha, or at a śrāddha celebrated for securing some desired object, or at an Ābhyudayika-śrāddha or at an Ekoddistaśrāddha, the performer causes to sit down brāhmanas who are endowed with learning, moral character and proper conduct or who are endowed with (at least) one (of these three characteristics), who have been invited already in proper time, who have taken a bath, whose feet are washed (by the performer) and who have sipped water (taken ācamana), as representatives of (or equal to) the Fathers, with their faces turned to the north, one for each of the Fathers, or two for each or three for each. The larger the number of brāhmanas invited the greater is the fruit or reward. But in no case (should he invite) only one for all (the Fathers), or he may invite only one brāhmana except at the first śrāddha⁹⁶⁷. By the exposition of the Pindapitryajña the rules for the pārvana-śrāddha have been declared. Having given water (into the hands of the invited brāhmana or brāhmanas after they sit down) and double-folded darbha blades as a seat (on which the darbhas are to be kept), having again given water to them and having poured water into three vessels of metal (silver &c.), of stone and of earthenware or into three vessels made of the same substance (out of these three) which are covered over with darbha blades and having recited (over the water in the vessels) the verse 'śanno &c.' (Rg X, 9, 4)⁹⁶⁸ the performer puts sesamum grains into the water with the mantra "Sesamum art thou, Soma is thy deity, at the Gosava"⁹⁶⁹

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अभिन्नेऽनुमते वा शुक्लवस्त्रनाचान्तेषु पिण्डासिद्ध्यात् । आचान्तेऽथेके । प्रकीर्णोऽनुपवीचो
स्वधोऽप्यसिद्धिं विदुजेत् । अस्तु स्वधेति वा । आम्ब ए सू IV 7-8. For the second and
third sūtras vide n. 903. कृतपच्छोऽचाव-मन्त्र IV. 76 states आर्द्रपादस्तु शुक्लौत, which
is almost the same as अनुज्ञासनपर्व 104 61-62. The first half of the verse वा दिव्या
आपो occurs in तै. ब्रा II. 7. 15. 4. The ब्राह्मणसर्वस्व reads मत्नमग्निं पृक्तं and
शीर्षाहि (follo 78), and explains अग्निः पृक्तं. जलेन मिश्रितः पितृन् लोकाव् पितृपितामहा-
वृत्तं मत्नं चिरकालं स्वधया स्वधोऽच्चारणेन शीर्षाहि प्रीताव् कुष This yields a good sense
Different editions of the आम्ब. सू. number the sūtras differently. Here the
Nira edition of 1894 is relied upon.

967. Vide n 903 above for the several meanings of 'anādye'.

968. The verse १३ इं नो देवीरभिष्टय आपो भवन्तु पीतये । शयोरभि सवन्तु न. ॥ ऋ.
X 9. 4. This मन्त्र is recited only once

969. For the गोसव sacrifice, vide H. of Dh vol II. p 1213 n 2644.
The mantra about sesamum १३ repeated over each of the three vessels.

sacrifice thou hast been created by the gods, thou hast been offered by persons who are like ancient ones; through the *svadhā* mayst thou make the Fathers and these worlds pleased with us! *svadhā!* Adoration!" The different items of the rite are performed from the right to the left⁹⁷⁰. With the part of the other hand (i. e. left) between the thumb⁹⁷¹ (and forefinger) since he wears the sacred thread over the left shoulder, or with the right which he seizes with the left, (he offers the *Arghya* water) to Fathers with the words 'Father, this is the *arghya* for thee; Grand-father, this is the *arghya* for thee; Great-grand-father, this is the *arghya* for thee, after first offering (ordinary) water to the Fathers. When about to induce the brāh-

970. The rules about Pindapitryañja have been set forth in Āśv. Sr. S. II. 6 Nārāyana notes (on Āśv gr. IV 7 2) that Āśvalāyana treats of only the procedure relating to the rite for pits and that he does not at all refer to the dinner given to *daiva* or *Vaiśvadeva* brāhmanas at the time of *śrāddha*. It is therefore possible that feeding *daiva* brāhmanas was added to the ancient ritual, though it must be said that Manu III. 125, Yāj. I. 224-28 and Vas XI. 27 prescribe such feeding. Dr. Caland (in 'Ahnencult' p 161) asserts that he can prove that the detail of feeding *daiva* brāhmanas spread from the *Śrāddhasūtra* of Kātyāyana to the other *sūtras* and he relies on the fact that Kātyāyana (in *Kandikā* 2) prescribes that the *viśve devāḥ* should be invoked with the verse 'Viśva devāsa āgata' and the performer should mutter the verse 'viśve devāḥ śrutemam' which are respectively Vāj. S. VII. 34 and XXXIII 53. But Dr. Caland tries to prove too much. The first verse occurs twice in the Rg. (II 41, 13 and VI 52 7) and the second occurs in Rg. VI. 52 13, Tai S II 4 14 5. They are not found only in the Vāj. S as Dr. Caland seems to have thought. It is possible that other works took over those mantras from the Rgveda or the Tai S. It may also be noted that Yāj. I. 229 mentions only 'Viśve devāsa' and specifies that it is a *rk* (and not a *mantra* or *yajus*). So Yāj. at least does not appear to have borrowed the prescriptions of Kātyāyana. It is not necessary to examine the other arguments.

971. The part of the hand between the thumb and forefinger is called *pitṛtīrth* and water is offered by that part of the hand for the *pitṛs*; vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 316 note 652. नारायण explains इतरपाण्यङ्गुटा in two ways as follows: 'येन पाणिना कर्म करोति दक्षिणेन वा सव्येन वा तस्मिन्कस्ते यज्ञोपवीते स्थिते प्राचीनावीती भवति ततोऽन्वस्मिन्कस्ते स्थिते उपवीती भवति। अत्र ह्युपवीतित्वात्प्राचीनावीतित्वसिद्धत्वे सव्यपाणिपितृतीर्थेन द्वातव्यमित्यर्थः। अथवा सव्यपाणे. शिष्टगदितत्वाद्दक्षिणं पाणिं सव्येन पाणिना गृहीत्वा दक्षिणेनैव पाणिभोपवीत्येवाऽर्थं प्रयच्छेत् ॥. The कल्पतरु. (on आ. p. 148) explains: प्रसव्येन वामेन हस्तेन। तत्रापि न केवलं वामेनैव अपि तु इतर पाण्यङ्गुटान्तरेण इतरस्य दक्षिणस्य पाणेः अङ्गुष्ठान्तरेण पितृतीर्थेन। तेनैतदुक्तं भवति। वामहस्तेन अर्घ्यपात्रं धृत्वा दक्षिणहस्तेन पितृतीर्थं संस्पृश्य यथा ब्राह्मणहस्तेषु जलं पतति तथा देयमिति। अर्घ्यं is respectful offering of water or water with husked rice grains, flowers etc to gods or venerable persons.

mapas to accept the arghya water he should once only (for each brāhmana or group of brāhmanas for each of the Fathers) say to them 'svadhā! these are arghya waters' and then over the waters that are poured out he recites the verse (separately for each brāhmana) 'The heavenly waters which have been produced on the earth, in the aerial regions and the waters that are terrestrial, that are golden-hued, and fit for sacrifice—may these waters bring us welfare and be favourable to us'. Pouring together (in the first vessel) what has been left in the vessels (for holding arghya water) he anoints his face with that water if he (the performer) desires that a son be born to him. 'He should not remove the first vessel into which the arghya water for the Fathers has been poured (till the end of the rite). The Fathers dwell therein concealed; thus did Saunaka say' 972. Just at that time the gifts of sandalwood paste, flowers, incense, lamp, and clothes are to be offered (to the brāhmanas). 973 Having taken some food (from the Sthālipaka prepared for Pīndapitryajña) and smeared it with ghee he asks the brāhmanas' permission in the words 'I shall offer it in the fire' or in the words 'let me offer in the fire'. The permission is given (by the brāhmanas) in the words 'Let it be done' or in the words 'do it'. He then sacrifices in the fire as stated before 974 or (if the brāhmanas give permission) in the hands of the brāhmanas; since the Brāhmana text says 'fire is verily the mouth of the Fathers'. If he offers in the hands of the brāh-

972. 'He should not remove etc.' नारायण gives two explanations of this verse of Saunaka 'सुतीयेन पात्रेण प्रथमपात्रस्यापिधानमिच्छन्ति। अन्ये तु तत्रैव सुतीपार्थे सप्तमी। अर्घ्यपात्रं प्रथमं पात्रं स्यान्निलं कुर्यात् तत्र नोद्धरेद्वा समासेरिति व्याचख्युः।' आश्व. सू. IV. 8. 14.

973. Gifts of गन्ध etc.—नारायण notes on आश्व. सू. IV, 7. 10 that from अर्घ्यदान up to (excluding) the gift of the five articles गन्ध etc. the performer is यज्ञोपवीती (i. e. wears the sacred thread on the left shoulder and under the right arm). When giving these he becomes प्राचीनार्थी (i. e. wears the sacred thread on the right shoulder and under the left arm)

974. यथोक्तं पुरस्तात् The reference is to आश्व. औ. सू. II. 6. 12 which reads: प्राचीनार्थीतमस्यपसनायाय मेक्षणान्दायावदानसम्पदा उहोति। सोमाय पितृमते स्वधा नमः अग्नये कण्ववाहनाय स्वधा नम इति.) The word अय in आश्व. सू. IV. 8. 4 indicates that all the items of the पिण्डपितृयज्ञ up to होम (i. e. excluding it) are performed before this stage is reached. If the performer has no sacred fire and offers into the hands of the brāhmanas the same mantras are employed. The आश्व. औ. सू. II. 6. 13 allows an option viz. the word स्वाहा may be used but then the order of मन्त्रसु will be अग्नये कण्ववाहनाय स्वाहा, सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहा and he will be यज्ञोपवीती.

manas⁹⁷⁵, then he assigns other food to them after they have sipped water and the food (that remains) is mixed with the food that is served to the brāhmanas, since it is said 'what is abandoned and given to (brāhmanas)⁹⁷⁶ brings prosperity'. When he sees that the brāhmanas are satiated (with the food served at the dinner) he (the performer) should recite to the brāhmanas the verses containing the word 'madhu' (Rg. I. 90.⁹⁷⁷ 6-8) and also the verse 'they have eaten, they have enjoyed themselves' (Rg. I. 82.2). Having asked the brāhmanas 'was the dinner perfect?' (they should reply that it was) and then having taken (portions of) the different foods that were enjoyed by the brāhmanas together with the sthālīpāka food in order⁹⁷⁸ to make lumps (pindas) thereof he should present all (the rest of the food) to the brāhmanas. After the brāhmanas have either accepted (the rest of the food) or given him permission (to use it for his family and friends), and after they have finished eating he should, before they have sipped water (performed ācamana after finishing their dinner), put down the lumps⁹⁷⁹ (pindas) for the Fathers. According to some teachers (pindas are put down) after the brāhmanas have sipped water (on getting up from the dinner). Having strewn the food on the ground (near the remnants of food) and wearing the sacred thread on his left shoulder⁹⁸⁰ he should (after turning the first vessel with top upside and after giving *dakṣiṇā* to the brāhmanas) bid adieu to the brāhmanas saying 'utter Om!

975. 'If in the hands.' मनु III. 212 provides that if a man has no Smārta fire, he should offer in the hand of the brāhmana only. छट्ठं is explained by हरदत्त and नारायण as मधुतम्.

976 On IV. 8. 7. नारायण remarks. अर्थद्वयमत्र विधातुमिष्टमिति गम्यते । तत्राशीं कृत्वा भोजनेषु भोजनार्थमन्यदन्नमल्लक्षितं ददात्येकार्थः । यदि पाणिहोमः कृतस्त्वदाचान्तेषु अन्यदर्शं ददातीत्यपरः ।

977. Rgveda I. 90 6-8 (मधुवाता ऋतायते etc.) are called मधुमती verses because each contains the word मधु several times

978 On 'स्थालीपाकेन सह' नारायण observes 'स्थालीपाकेन सहेति नात्रापूर्वः स्थालीपाकश्चोद्यते ।.. तेन यत्र स्थालीपाको विहितस्तत्र तेन मुक्तशेषेण च पिण्डनिर्पणं भवति । यत्र तु स्थालीपाकविधिर्नास्ति तत्र मुक्तशेषेणैव केवलेन निपरणं भवति ।'. In some आश्विन such as कान्यश्राद्ध, आश्विनश्राद्ध, अष्टमीश्राद्ध and एकोदश्या there is no स्थालीपाक.

979. 'He should put down the lumps'. Here आश्वलायन appears to differ from मनु III. 253, 260.

980 The word 'उपवीच' shows that till then the performer was आचीनाचीनी.

Svadhā' or he should say 'Om! Svadhā!' (and they should reply 'Om! Svadhā!').^{980a}

From considerations of space it is impossible to set out all the differences among the several grhyasūtras of the R̥gveda, of the Taittirīya śākhā (viz. Baudhāyana, Āp., Hir., Bharadvāja and Vaikhānasa), of the Vājasaneyya śākhā (such as Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana), of the Sāmaveda (such as Gobhila and Khādīra) and of the Atharvaveda (being Kausika sūtra). A few matters may be set out by way of illustration. The Āp. gr. (21. 3-4)⁹⁸¹ states that (after the brāhmaṇas are invited for śrāddha dinner) from the food prepared for the dinner a portion is taken out in a vessel and therefrom seven *śhutiṣ* are cast into the fire with the seven mantras beginning with 'yan me mātā' (in Āp. M. P. II. 19. 1-7), the first two for the father, the next two for the grand-father, next two for the great-grand-father and the 7th to pitrs in general with svāhā (but without naming any one) and then six oblations of clarified butter are offered with the six formulas beginning with 'svāhā pitre' (Āp. M. P. II. 19. 8-13). Thus the agnaukarana in Āp consists of two parts viz. śhutiṣ of food and of clarified butter, while in Āśv. II it is made only with food. Then the performer should touch all food (cooked food and the remainder of what is employed for offering into fire) with the three mantras 'esa te tata madhumān' (Āp. M. P. II. 19. 14-16), he should make the brāhmaṇas touch the food served to each with the *Yajus* formula 'the earth is thy vessel' (Āp. M. P. 2. 20. 1) quoted in n. 992 below.

Āp. gr. prescribes the mantra, 'putrān pautrān' (Āp. M. P. II. 20. 24) for moistening the pindas, while Baud. gr. and Vaikhānasa gr. (IV. 6) employ the mantra 'ūrjam vahantīr' (Vāj. S. II. 34) for the same purpose. It may be noted that

980 a. It will be noticed that Āśv. omits several details viz. (1) he does not say that the brāhmaṇas for all the gods are to be seated, facing the east, (2) he mentions no mantra such as 'ye agnidadghā &c.' (3) nothing is said about *dakṣiṇā* or about the performer following the brāhmaṇas a few paces and then returning with their permission.

981. The आप. सू. 20. 9 sets down the whole procedure very succinctly after the brāhmaṇas have taken the dinner as follows: शुक्लवतोद्भवस्य मद्दक्षिणीकृत्य द्वैर्धं दक्षिणायाम् दूर्भाञ्च संस्तीर्य तेषुत्तरैरपो वृत्तोत्तरैर्दक्षिणायवर्गाच्च विष्णवाच्च वृत्ता पूर्ववदुत्तरैरपो वृत्तोत्तरैरुपस्थायोत्तरयोद्वापान्नेण त्रिः प्रसव्यं परित्विच्य न्युज्य पात्राण्युत्तरं यजुरनवानं वपवराः पर्यसावर्तयित्वा मोक्ष्य पात्राणि द्वन्द्वमभ्युवाहृत्य सर्वतः समववायोत्तरेण यजुषा शेषस्य प्रासादवाच्यं प्राणीयात् । The mantras referred to here occur in आप. सू. पा. II. 19. 1 to II. 20. 26.

these sūtras which belong to the Taittiriya śakhā employ a verse from another recension viz. the Śukla Yajurveda.

The Hir. Gr. (II. 10-13) is more elaborate than the Āp. Gr. and not only sets out at length many of the mantras in Āp. M. P. II. 19-20, but adds some more. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (1-3) sets out the procedure of the monthly śrāddha almost in the same way as the Yājñavalkyasmṛti (which is set out below). It states that in the monthly śrāddha first come the daiva rites and then the various items occur as in the Pinda-pitryajña 'pindapitryajña-vad-upacāraḥ' (first sūtra of the 2nd kandikā). Some details which it contains (and Yaj. does not expressly mention) may be set out here. It gives in full the mantras 'tilosi', 'yā divya' (both of which occur in Aśv. gr.), 'prthivi to pātram' (which is Āp. M. P. II. 20.1). It prescribes that in addition to the Gāyatri and the Madhumati verses the word 'madhu' should be repeated thrice. The holy texts to be repeated while the brāhmanas are engaged in eating according to Kātyāyana are the Gāyatri (once or thrice), the five Raksoghni verses (Rg. IV. 4. 1-5, Vaj. S. XIII. 9-13, Tai. S. I 2. 14. 1-2), Purusasūkta, the Apratiratha hymn (Rg. X. 103. 1-13 = Vaj. S. 17. 33-34, 46 = Tai. S. IV. 6. 4 1-4) and others. It expressly states that the *svadhūvācana* (Yaj. I 244) relates to both paternal and maternal ancestors. Besides the blessing contained in Yaj. I 246, Kātyāyana provides that the performer is to pray for and the brāhmanas are to pronounce two more viz. 'May the pītr̥s be kind (lit not dreadful) to us' and 'May our family prosper'. Dr Caland in his learned work 'Altindischer Ahnencult' (pp. 150-152) appears inclined to hold that when a sūtrakāra has not actually said anything on certain items in the śrāddha ritual, one has no right to anticipate, on the authority of later authors, that those items existed in the times of that sūtrakāra. I demur to this conclusion. Dr. Caland has attached no weight to the fact that Jaimini (as stated in H. of Dh. vol III p 870) laid down the principle that one may include certain items from another śakhā. Jaimini's sūtras cannot be supposed to have laid down those propositions for the first time. Jaimini's sūtras are at least as old as some of the extant śrauta sūtras such as that of Kātyāyana. Therefore hardly any chronological conclusions can be drawn with certainty from the silence of a sūtrakāra as to a certain item in the śrāddha ritual.

We shall now turn to the metrical smṛtis. Mānu treats of the procedure of śrāddha at some length in III. 208-265. But

as the procedure prescribed by the Yājñavalkyasmṛiti (I. 226-249) is more compact and at the same time more lucid it is set out here. "When the invited brāhmanas come in the afternoon the performer having a *pavitra*⁹⁸² in his hand should seat them on seats and make them sip water. The brāhmanas invited should be even in number (2, 4 &c.) according to the performer's resources at the *dava* rite (i. e. the Vaiśvadevika brāhmanas should be two, four &c.) and uneven (three or five &c.) at a (pārvana) śrāddha for the *pitṛs*; the brāhmanas should be seated in a pure (cowdunged) plot screened on all sides and sloping towards the south. At the *dava* (part of pārvana-śrāddha when Viśve-devāḥ are to be invoked) two brāhmanas facing the east should sit down and three brāhmanas facing the north should be seated in the rite for the *pitṛs* or only one may be seated for each (i. e. in *dava* and in *pitṛya*). The same rule applies to a śrāddha for maternal ancestors. In both (pitṛśrāddha and mātāmahaśrāddha) the worship of Viśve-devas may be performed separately or simultaneously⁹⁸³. Then having poured water on the hands of the brāhmanas (meant for the rite in honour of viśve-devāḥ) and having given kusa blades for a seat⁹⁸⁴ (towards their right side on the seat already

982 For the meaning of *pavitra* see H of Dh vol II p 637 notes 1553-54. It is a ring-like loop of *darbhas* to be worn in the right hand or in both hands on the finger next to the little finger. The Mī, supplies that the invited brāhmanas also should have a *pavitra*. The गोमिलसूक्ति I, 28 defines it and is quoted by अपराकं pp 43 and 480.

983. On Yāj I. 228 'तन्त्रं वा', the मिता remarks यदा तु हावेव ब्राह्मणौ लभ्यौ सदा तु वैश्वदेवे पात्रं प्रकल्प्य उभयत्र एकैकं ब्राह्मणं नियुज्यथात् । यथाह बसिष्ठ । Vide p. 403 above for Vas. 11. 30-31 which the मिता quotes. The विष्णुपुराण III. 15. 16 says. तथा मातामहआर्द्धं वैश्वदेवसमान्वितम् । कुर्वीत भक्तिसम्पन्नं तन्त्रं वा वैश्वदेविकम् । तन्त्रं means उभयोर्द्वेतेन सकृदुल्लानम् or as शार on जे. XI 1 i explains 'यत् सकृत् कृतं बहुनाहुपकरोति तत् तन्त्रं यथा बहुना ब्राह्मणानां नभ्ये कृतं मदीयं । Yāj I 228 contains several options about the number of brāhmanas. तन्त्रं वा-If the three paternal ancestors and the three maternal ancestors are to be invoked in one śrāddha one may separately invite two वैश्वदेवब्राह्मण for पितृत्रय and two वैश्वदेवब्राह्मण for मातामहत्रय . or only two ब्राह्मण may do as वैश्वदेविकब्राह्मण for both पितृत्रय and मातामहत्रय. Or even one may do as वैश्वदेवब्राह्मण for both

984. For विष्टर (in वा I 229), a seat made with 25 darbhas, vide H. of Dh. vol. II p. 543 n. 1259. The मिता says that in addition to the vedic verse, a smṛta verse should be recited for invoking the विश्वेदेवा. ॥८. 'आयच्छन्तु महाभाग विश्वेदेवा महाबला । ये यज्ञं विहितं. आर्द्धे सावधाना भवन्तु ते॥'. This verse is स्कन्दपुराण VII 1. 217. 32-33 and गरुडपुराण I 218.7. On p. 478 अपराकं attributes this स्मृतिमन्त्रं to बृहस्पति and to the ब्रह्मपुराण on p. 481. The

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occupied), he should, with the permission of the invited brāhmanas, invoke the *Viśvedevāḥ* with the verse 'O' all the gods come!' (Rg. II. 41. 13 or VI. 52. 7; Vāj. S. VII. 34) Having scattered on the ground (near the brāhmanas representing *Viśve-devāḥ*) barley grains and then having cast into a vessel (of metal &c) covered with a *pavitra* water with the verse 'śan no devīr' (Rg. X. 9. 4, Vāj. S. 36.12, Tai. Ār. IV. 42.4) and barley grains with the mantra, 'Yavosi' (Vāj. S. V. 26, Tai. S. I. 3. 1. 1) and (also sandalwood paste and flowers) he should place in the hands (of the brāhmanas) the *arghya*⁹⁸⁵ wafer with the verse 'yā divyā' (those heavenly waters &c., Tai. Br. II. 7. 15. 4). Then he should pour water into the hand (of the *Vaiśva-deva* brāhmana or brāhmanas) for washing the hand and give to them perfumes, flowers, incense, lamp⁹⁸⁶ and garment. Then wearing the sacred thread on the right shoulder⁹⁸⁷ and

(Continued from last page)

कल्पतश्च (on आ pp. 142, 151) also attributes it to both. हेमाद्रि (on आ. p. 1226) quotes it from the ब्रह्मपुराण, while the मद् पा p. 574 quotes it as बृहस्पति's. The नित्ता notes that this and the following items up to (including) the gift of perfumes and four other things should be done by the performer being यज्ञोपवीती and having his right side towards the brāhmanas "एतच्च यज्ञोपवीतिना मदक्षिणं च कार्यं 'अपसव्यं ततः कृत्वा पितृणाममदक्षिणम्' इति पित्र्ये विशेषस्मरणत् ।" अपसव्यं ततः कृत्वा—is चा. I. 232 latter half. हेमाद्रि (on आ pp 1237-58) explains 'मदक्षिणादन्वयमदक्षिणम् । मदक्षिणं नामाभिमुख्युत्पन्नानामङ्गोपलक्षितं मदेकं-मति कर्मणो निर्वहणं यथा पूर्वोभिमुखोपविष्टदेविकपङ्क्तिमूर्धन्यद्विजादारभ्य तत् पङ्क्तिचरमद्विजा-पवर्गना :

985. 'Arghya water'—The नित्ता. states 'विश्वेदेवा इदं वो अर्घ्यमित्यर्घ्योदकं विनिक्षिपेत्.' The arghya is to be offered to each ब्राह्मण separately as required by गोभिलस्मृति III 74 'अर्घ्येक्षणयोद्यके चैव पिण्डदानेऽवनेजेने । तन्त्रस्य तु निवृत्तिः स्वात्स्वधावाचन एव च ॥' The printed नित्ता reads the मन्त्र as यजोसि धान्यराजो वा, which is not found in the Vāj. S. or other *samhitās*. Similarly, the नित्ता reads the मन्त्र 'वा दिव्या आप यवसा' for अर्घ्य, which is probably Rg. VII. 49 2 with the order of words changed. अपराक्ष (p 479) states that if there are two वैश्वदेवब्राह्मण then water and yavas should be put in two vessels and the मन्त्र is to be repeated each time when putting water, putting yavas and at each अर्घ्य. हेमाद्रि (on आ p. 1229) defines: 'अर्घ्यो नामाहणीयान. दुरत. संमाननार्थो महास्तद्व्ययप्रक्षेपः'.

986. 'दीपे च विशेषः कञ्चेलोक्तः । घृतेन दीपो दातव्यस्तिलतैलेन वा पुनः । वसानेदो-अर्घं दीपं प्रयत्नेन विषर्जयेत् ॥' नित्ता. on चा. I. 231. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर has the verse घृतेन (I. 141 12),

987. चा. I. 232—अपसव्यं ततः. The Mit quotes बृह्मशाततप that from hence the performer should face the south 'उदङ्मुखस्तु देवानां पितॄणां दक्षिणासुसुः । मद्यद्यात् पार्वणे सर्वं देवपूर्वं विधानतः ॥'. 'Double-folded kuśās'—compare *Asv*,

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under the left arm (i. e. being *prācināvīli*) the performer should offer to the pitrs (i. e. to the three brāhmanas representing them) double-folded kuśas (with water) for a seat on the left (1 e on the seats already occupied kuśas should be placed on the left side for a *vistara*), he should then invoke⁹⁸⁸ the pitrs after taking the permission of the brāhmanas with the rk 'uśantas-tvā' (Rg. X. 16. 12, Vāj. S. 19. 70, Tai. S. II. 6. 12. 1), and should then recite in a low voice the mantra (āyantu nah pitarah) 'may the pitrs come to us' (Vāj. S. 19. 58). The performer, having scattered sesamum seeds all round (the brāhmanas) with the mantra 'Apahata' (Vāj. S. II. 29), should employ sesamum for all purposes where *yavas* were employed (in the daiva part of the ceremony) and should perform all the items such as giving arghya (water for worship) for the pitrs as before (for the daiva rite). After offering arghya water, he should collect the drops of the arghya water fallen from the hands (or fingers) of the brāhmanas in one vessel (the pitr vessel), then turn it upside

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above (p. 434). The स्कन्दपुराण (VII. 1. 206. 17) provides 'दाने स्नाने जपे होमे भोजने देवतार्चने। देवानामुजयो वर्मा. पितृणां हिष्ठणस्तथा ॥' In offering each of the things in daiva or *pitr*ya rite in śrāddha water must be given before and after. The मिता says that here the method called काण्डाहसमय (and not पदार्थाहसमय) has to be followed. These two are dealt with in Jan. V. 2 1-15, Vide H of Dh vol II, pp. 739-740 In this case if there are three brāhmanas, water, kuśas and water are all to be given to one, then the same three to the second and the same three to the third This is काण्डाहसमय If water is given one after another to the three, then kuśas one after another to them, then water one after another to three, that would be पदार्थाहसमय. काण्ड means पदार्थार्ग. हेमाद्रि (on आ pp. 759-766) has an exhaustive and lucid discussion on these two He states that पदार्थाहसमय is the rule but काण्डाहसमय also has to be followed in certain cases 1 or example, on p 764 he says 'चरणमक्षालना-चमनमदानासनोपवेशनानि पदार्थाहसमयेन । आसनक्षणवाहनार्थगन्धसुष्पद्रूपदीपाच्छादानानां पदार्थानां कृत्स्नं काण्डं वैश्वदेविकेऽपि द्विलेख्यवत्पर्यं पितृकर्मभूषणेषु' and relies on या I. 229-234 to show that all items relating to वैश्वदेविकान्नाहणं are first finished and those relating to पितृकर्मनाहणं are then taken up i. e. there is काण्डाहसमय as to वैश्वदेविक and पितृकर्मनाहणं. Vide हेमाद्रि (आ) p. 1215 also.

988. आवाह्य (या. I 233). The मिता. remarks "अथ पितृन् पितामहान् प्रपितामहा-नागहयिष्य इति ब्राह्मणान् वृष्ट्वा आवाहयेति तैरज्ञात उदान्तस्त्वा निधीमहि इत्यनपचां पित्रादीनावाह्य 'आयच्छु नः पितर.' इत्यादिना मन्त्रेणोपतिष्ठत". It may be noted that in all cases where a question is to be put or permission is to be asked the performer addresses the chief among them or all of them as the आह्वय्य of का. days—' सर्वेषु मन्त्रेषु पितृर्धर्म्यं वृच्छति सर्वान्वा (2nd काण्डिक of आह्वय्यत्र).'

down⁹⁸⁹ on the ground (over a bunch of kuśas with ends turned towards the south) with the mantra 'thou art a place for the pits.'⁹⁹⁰ Then, being about to perform 'agnaukarana' (offering in sacrifice), he takes the food mixed with clarified butter and asks the brāhmanas (in the words 'I shall offer into the sacred fire') and when permitted by them with the words 'do so', he offers into the fire (two portions cut off from the food mixed with ghee) with a *makṣana*⁹⁹¹ according to the

989. The *mita* remarks that on the vessel turned upside down the *paṭītras* covering the three vessels should be placed and unguents, flowers, incense, lamp and garment should be offered to the brāhmanas with the words 'पितरयं ते गन्धः' etc.

990 पूर्ववत्—The *mita* very briefly sets forth how the items are to be repeated for पितृवाह्यणः 'राजलादिषु पात्रेषु निष्यद्युग्मकुक्षानिर्मतकृत्वान्तद्विषेषु 'ज्ञो नो देवी.' इति मन्त्रेणाप क्षिप्त्वा 'तिलोसि सोमदेवस्यः' इत्यादिमन्त्रेण तिलाच्च गन्धद्रव्याणि च क्षिप्त्वा स्वधाव्या—इति ब्राह्मणानां पुरतोऽर्घ्यपात्राणि स्थापयित्वा वा दिव्या इति मन्त्रान्ते पितरिदं ते अर्घ्यं पितामहेदं ते अर्घ्यं प्रपितामहेदं ते अर्घ्यमिति ब्राह्मणानां हस्तेष्वर्घ्यं दद्यात्। Vide आश्व यृ in note 966 above for ज्ञो नो देवी, तिलोसि, वा दिव्याः The मन्त्र is 'अपह्ना अक्षरा रक्षासि वेदिपदः' (वाज. सं. II. 29) The बहुचक्षुष्यपरिशिष्ट, अपराक्ष (p 484) and others say that the name and gotra of the ancestors should be mentioned in offering पात्र, अर्घ्य, गन्ध etc. Therefore the अर्घ्यं will be offered in the form 'अक्षुष्यमीत्र पितरस्यकर्मक्षेत्रवेऽर्घ्यम्'. हलायुध (folio 18a on आश्वसूत्र) notes that in the case of वाजसनेयस the last words are एव तेऽर्घ्यः

991 नेक्षण is a rod of *Asvattha* wood one *aratm* long having at one end a square board four *angulas* in length (to be used like a mixing spoon). Two offerings are made with the words अग्रये कश्यवाहन्य स्वधा नमः, सोमाय पितृमते स्वधा नमः (वाज सं II. 29 where the same formula occurs with स्वाहा for स्वधा नमः.) Acc to Baud. Dh S II. 8. 8-11 the offerings are three viz to सोमाय पितृपीताय, यमायाङ्गिरस्यते पितृमते, अग्रये कश्यवाहन्य स्वधदहते Acc. to मद् पा. p. 590 this is peculiar to Baudhāyānīyas The ब्रह्मपुराण q. by मद्. पा. (p 591) speaks of आहुतित्रय and so does Brahmandā (upodghāta, 11.93-94) If the performer is आहितारि and has observed सर्वाधान method he offers into वृक्षिगारि; if he is not आहितारि or has followed अधोधान method he offers into grhya or āvasathya fire and if he has neither the śranta or gryha fire he offers into the hand of the brāhmana. For the procedure of पिण्डपितृयज्ञ (which varies from one śākhā and sūtra to another) vide H. of Dh vol. II pp 1085-1090 and मद् III. 212 for पाणिहोम. The food offered on the hand has to be mixed with the food served in the plate and then eaten. When there are several pūrya brāhmanas invited the पाणिहोम is to be made on the hand of the best of the brāhmanas acc. to the मद्. पा. 585 and स्थुतिच (आ. p. 462). both of which quote गोभिल II 120 'पित्रये वाः पाङ्क्तिर्धूम्यस्तस्य पाणावनग्निमान्। हत्वा मन्त्रवदन्येदां तूर्णो पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत् ॥'. हलायुध holds that, since य. (I. 237 हुतशेषे प्रदद्यात् भोजनेषु समाहित.) employs the word भोजनेषु without any qualification, the remnants of the food for होम should be put in all plates including those for देवत्राह्मणः The सौरपुराण (19.22) says. अग्नेरभावादिमस्य पाणो होमो विधीयते। महादेवस्य पुरतो गोष्ठे वा अद्भयान्वित. ॥

procedure laid down for Pīṇapitryajña. He, being intent (only on performing śrāddha correctly), should serve the food that remains after (making the two offerings mentioned above) in plates (except earthen one) that he may be able to secure, and particularly silver ones (plates are meant for feeding pitrya brāhmanas). After serving the food in the plates, he should invoke over the plates the mantra 'the earth is thy⁹² support', he should take hold of the thumb of the brāhmanas and put it on the food (served in the plates) with the mantra⁹³ 'idam Visnuṛ' ('Visnu strode over this' Rg. I. 22. 17, Vāj. S. V. 15, Tai. S. I. 2. 13. 1). The performer should then mutter the Gāyatrī verse (Rg. III. 62. 10, Vāj. §. III. 35, Tai. S. I. 5. 6. 4) together with 'Om' and the 'Vyāhrtis' and the three verses beginning with 'Madhu vāts' (Rg. I. 90. 6-8, Vāj. S. 13. 27-29, Tai. S. IV. 2. 9. 3), he should say 'partake (of the food) as you please' and the brāhmanas also should eat the food silently. He should serve without anger or bustle food fit for being offered as *havis* (in a śrāddha) and liked by the brāhmanas till they are satiated (so that some food is left in their plates) and should repeat (while the brāhmanas are engaged in eating) sacred texts and the texts for *Japa* (Gāyatrī &c. already referred to in Yāj. I. 239 above). The sacred texts to be repeated according to the *Mit* on Yāj. I. 240 are the Puruṣasūkta (Rg. X. 90. 1-16), the Pāvamaṇī verses (i. e. verses like 'svādisthayaṁ madisthayaṁ' from the 9th mandala of the Rgveda as stated by Medhātithi on Manu III. 86 and Haradatta on Gautama (19. 12). Manu III. 232 mentions other works for recitation such as the dharmaśāstras, *ākhyānas*, *itihāsa* (Mahābhārata), purānas and *khilas* (like Śrīsūkta and Vidyāsūkta). There is great divergence of views about the sacred texts to be recited by the performer in a low voice, while the brāhmanas are engaged in partaking the food

992. पा. I. 238. The मन्त्र meant is. पृथिवी ते पात्रं धौरपिधानं ब्राह्मणत्वा इत्ये लुप्तोमि ब्राह्मणानां त्वा प्राणायानपोर्लुप्तोन्पक्षितमसि मेवा श्रेष्ठ अङ्गुत्राक्षुर्मिहोके। आप. न. पा. II. 20 1. The मन्त्र is addressed to the remainder of the food used for अग्रौकरण. पात्र means support. As stated in n. 783, in आङ् the आङ्गवनीय is the ब्राह्मण invited for dinner. About अङ्गुठ, यम q. by कल्पतरु (आ. p. 183) says: अङ्गुठमात्रो भगवान् विष्णुः पर्यटते महीम् । राक्षसानां वधार्थाय को मेऽथ प्रहरिष्यति ॥ तस्माच्छ्राद्धेषु सर्वेषु त्वङ्गुठग्रहणं रघुतम् । These are quoted also by अपरार्क p. 494, स्मृतिक (आ.) p. 462 and by हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1378.

993. यम q. by अपरार्क p. 494 says 'विष्णो हृदं च कर्णं च त्रयादक्षेति च क्रमात्.' The *मिता* quotes it as मन्त्र's and says that in the पित्र्य rite the performer being प्राचीनावीतिन् should say 'विष्णो कर्णं रक्ष.'

cooked for śrāddha. Vide note 1005 below. It may be that the *japa* of sacred texts is to be done by the performer wearing the sacred thread in the *upavīta* way as stated by Hemādri p. 1070 and the Madana-pārijāta p. 599, but the Śrāddhatattva (p. 231) is opposed to this and relies on Manu III, 279. Certain verses from the Purānas also are to be recited such as the verses from the Varāhapurāna (14. 26-31) and Viṣṇupurāna (III, 15. 31-36, which are identical with the preceding) quoted by the Kalpataru on śrāddha (p. 197), Aparārka (p. 502) and Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 109), the first and last of which are quoted in the note below⁹⁹⁴. The Garuḍapurāna (Ācārakhaṇḍa 218.20 ff.) prescribes that while the brāhmanas are eating one may recite a eulogy of *pīṭrs* such as the 'saptavyādha' verses^{994a}. Then, after holding the food in his hands, the performer should ask the brāhmanas 'are you satisfied' (and after they reply that they are satisfied) he should tell them that there is food still left (and ask them what to do with it) and after taking their per-

994. The first and last verses are: पिता पितामहश्चैव तथैव प्रपितामहः । मन वृत्तिं मयास्तद्य विमदेहेषु संस्थिताः ॥...यज्ञेश्वरो हृष्यसमस्तकर्मभोक्ताऽप्यत्मा हरिरीश्वरोऽत्र । तत्संनिधानाद्यथास्तु सद्यो रक्षास्त्यशेषाण्यसुराश्च सर्वे ॥

994 a. The सप्तव्याध verses from the हरिवंश (I. 24. 20-21) and नन्दपुराण are. सप्तव्याधा वशाणेषु युगाः कालजरे गिरौ । चक्रवाका. शरद्वीपे इंसाः सरसि मानसे ॥ वेभिजाता. कुक्षेत्रे जाह्नवा वेदपारगाः । प्रस्थिता दूरमध्वानं यूयं किमवसीद्य ॥. On these the आहृतत्त्व (p. 231) says 'अपहृतयुगवर्मानसकृतआहृतदृष्ट्यकाशकपितृगाथात्वेन सप्तव्याधा इति च पठयेत्'. These very verses occur in the अग्निपुराण chap. 117. 56-57. The story is very clearly set out in हरिवंश I, chapters 21-24 and the Matsyapurāna chap 20-21. Seven pupils of Garga guarding their guru's cow thought of eating that cow as they were famished. But the youngest said 'let us make use of the cow's flesh in śrāddha, so that we may be saved from sin'. Two of the brothers became daiva brāhmanas, three became pītr-brāhmanas, one became the giver and the 7th became a guest. They told the guru that the cow was eaten by a tiger. They passed through several births first as seven hunters, then deer in Kālañjara hill and so on. Śrāddha ultimately saved them. The same story is narrated in Padma V. 10.49-125, and V. 47.282-304 (in which last the disciples are said to have been those of वसिष्ठ). After becoming hamsas three of them became kings (a king and two ministers, acc. to मत्स्य) and cared not for the other world. The four others knew the path to moksa, sent word to the three with these verses saying that they four had started on the long road to the other world (प्रस्थिता .. ध्यानं) and asking the other three not to be immersed in the mire of wordliness (यूय... द्य). The story also occurs in the शिवपुराण (उनासंहिता chap. 41.24 ff). It is interesting to note that in the Jaina Uttarādhyayana-sūtra (S. B. E vol. 45 p 56) the echoes of this story of the brothers are heard for illustrating the influence of *karman*,

mission⁹⁵ (in the words 'partake of it along with your friends and relations'), he should spread (in front of the brāhmanas for pitra) the remaining food on (*darbhās* with their ends to the south placed over) the ground (with the mantra 'ye agnidagdḥāh', those that were cremated and those that were not cremated &c.) and he should pour water once for each into his hand (for rinsing the mouth). Collecting all the cooked food (i. e. portions from each food) with *sesamum* mixed with it, the performer facing the south should offer the pindas near the remains of the food (eaten by the brāhmanas) according to the procedure of the pindapitṛyajña. For maternal ancestors also the same procedure is to be followed (from invoking the *Viśvedevāh* to offering pindas). Then he should give water to the brāhmanas for sipping. Then (he should say to the brāhmanas 'pronounce benediction'); after making the brāhmanas say 'svastī', he should offer water into their hands for saying 'let it be inexhaustible (after he requests them 'let it be inexhaustible'). Then after giving to the brāhmanas *dakṣiṇā* (fee or presents)⁹⁶ according to the ability of the performer, he should say to the brāhmanas "may I request you to repeat the word 'svadhā'" and when they permit him in the words 'do request us', he should say 'let svadhā be pronounced for the persons concerned' (i. e. the pitra and maternal ancestors). Then the brāhmanas should say 'let there be svadhā'. On the brāhmanas saying so, he should sprinkle water on the ground and say 'let the *Viśvedevāh* be pleased' and when the brāhmanas have responded with 'let the *Viśvo-devāh* be pleased' he should mutter the follow-

995 तद्वत् विकिरिञ्चमी दद्याद्याप. सकृत् सकृत्। वा I. 241 The *mita* comments 'तद्वत् पितृस्थानमाह्वयस्य दुरस्तादुच्छिद्यसक्तिधौ दक्षिणाप्रदर्भाकारितायां घ्नौ तिलोदकप्रक्षेपपूर्वकं 'ये अग्निदग्धाः इत्यनया ऋचा त्तिलोदकं घ्नन्तिलोदकं प्रक्षेपेत्। तदनन्तरं माह्वयस्यैषु गण्डुपार्थं सकृत्सकृदपौ दद्यात्। ये अग्निदग्धा—this is Rg. X, 15 14 translated above (p 196). Sesamum grains and water were to be cast before as well as after placing the food on the ground. The *Mit.* speaks of the verse ये अग्निदग्धा as a *rk*, so it should be taken to be Rg X. 15. 14; but later works like the *Āraḍḍhāra* (pp 231-32) prescribe that the two verses quoted in the beginning of note 1007 below should be recited here. Vide तै. ऋ III 1. 1. 7 for pitra that were अग्निदग्ध and that were not so in another connection.

996. वा. I. 244 दद्यात् दक्षिणां शक्त्या—देवल prescribes that दक्षिणा was to be given to the पित्र्यमाह्वयस्य first and then to the वैश्वदेविकमाह्वयस्य 'दक्षिणां पितृवेनेभ्यो दद्यात्पूर्वं ततो ह्यथो.' q. by *स्मृतिच.* (आ. p 483). मल्ल 17 50-52, वाङ् 75. 14-15 specify the various gifts. Vide n. 1008.

ing: 997 'May donors increase in our family, may the (study or teaching of) Vedas prosper and progeny increase (in our family); may our faith (in rites for pitrs) not vanish and may there be plenty of things for us to make gifts' 998. Having muttered this, having spoken pleasing words to the brāhmanas, 999 having fallen at their feet (after going round them) he being pleased in his heart should dismiss the brāhmanas with the mantra 'Vāje vāje' (Rg. VII. 38.8, Vāj. S. 21.11, Tai. S. I. 78.2), the sending them away being so arranged that the brāhmanas representing the pitrs start first, 1000 (i. e. first goes the representative of the great-grandfather, then the one for the grandfather, then the one for the father and then the one representing the Viśvedevāh). The vessel in which the drops of arghya water from the hands of the brāhmanas had been collected before should be turned face upwards 1001 and then the brāhmanas should be dismissed. After following the departing brāhmanas (up to the boundary) and going round them, he (should return) and should eat the food that (remains in the

997 वाचरो नो—या I 246 This very verse occurs in मनु III. 252, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 73.28, पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिसूत्र 9. 117), मत्स्य 16 49-50, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 140.42.

998 The विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 73.30, मत्स्य 16 50-51, पद्म (सृष्टि 9 118) add another verse to या I 246 viz. अजं च नो बहु भवेदतिथीश्च लभेनहि । याचितारश्च नः सन्तु मा च याचिषम कंचन ॥.

999 इत्युक्त्वोक्त्वा मिया वाच—या I 247. अपराकं p 512 quotes from बृहस्पति two verses stating what should be said 'अद्य मे सफल जन्म भवत्यादाभिवन्दनात् । अद्य मे वराजा. सर्वे गतास्तेह्यहाह दिवम् ॥ अत्र शाकादिपानेन क्लेशिता ये मयेहृशाः । तत्क्लेशजार्तं चित्तेन विस्तृत्य क्षन्तुमर्हथ ॥.'

1000. For पितृपूर्वं विसर्जनम् (या I 247), compare विष्णुपुराण III 15 48 and विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140.15 which say 'वैश्वदेवनिविष्टानां चरमं हस्तधावनम् । विसर्जनं च निर्दिष्टं तेषु रक्षा पत. स्थिता ॥'. The मिता adds, following the मत्स्यपुराण 17 59, that before dismissal he should touch the brāhmanas with the tip of a darbha 'वाजे वाजे इति अपत् कुत्रायेण विसर्जयेत्'.

1001. The Mit. notices that the upturning of the vessel should be done (as the termination ल्वा in कृत्वा indicates) first before the mantra 'vāje vāje' (Yāj. I. 247) is recited and after the brāhmanas recite the benedictory mantras, and then the brāhmanas start. Compare Jai. IV. 3.37 for क्त्वा denoting पूर्वकालता. संस्रव has two meanings, viz. (1) the drops of water fallen from the hands of the brāhmanas when arghya water was offered to them (Mit.), (2) the drops of water that remain in the arghya vessels. श्रीवृत्त in his पितृभक्ति (D C Ms 152 of 1892-95) says 'संस्रवपदं ब्राह्मणहस्तस्रुतजन्यपरमिति निबन्धनम् । कर्मभाष्ये तु अर्घ्यान्वस्थशेषीभूतजलं संस्रवपदमित्युक्तम् । युक्तं चैतत् । शेषे प्रतिपत्तेरपेक्षितत्वात्।' folio 25b.

house after) the brāhmanas representing the pitrs have partaken of it. He and the brāhmanas that partook of the śrāddha dinner should abstain from sexual intercourse on the night of the śrāddha day ¹⁰⁰².

Many of the Purānas contain detailed descriptions of the śrāddha to be performed on every *amāvāsya*; for example, Matsya 17. 12-60 (closely resembling Yāj. 225-259), Visnu-purāna III. 15. 13-49, Mārkaṇḍeya 28 37-60, Kūrma (II 22. 20-62), Padma (śrītikhanda) 9. 140-186, Brahmanḍa (Upod-ghātapāda, chap. 12), Skanda VI. 224 3-51, Visnudharmotāra I. 140. 6-44. The Agnipurāna chap. 163 verses 2-42 are the same (with very slight variations and the omission of 2½ verses) as Yāj. I. 227-270; while Agni chap. 117 contains many verses that closely follow the Āśv. Gr and Yāj. Similarly the Garuḍa-purāna contains numerous verses that are identical with Yājñavalkya's. For example, compare Yāj. I. 229-239 with Garuḍa I. 99. 11-19. The Purānas closely follow the Grhya-sūtras, Manu and Yājñavalkya and often employ the same mantras and formulas, though here and there they introduce some details. As remarked by the Varāhapurāna 1451, the procedure for śrāddha is the same in all Purānas (*iyam sarva-purānesu sāmānyā pātriki kriyā*). For sample, a summary of the procedure in the Padma (śrīti 9. 140-186) is set out here. The performer having honoured the Viśva-devāḥ (i. e. the brāhmana or brāhmanas invited to represent them) with a seat and with yava grains and flowers should fill two vessels with water and should place them on a *pavitra* of *darbhā*. The water should be offered with the verse 'śam no devīr' (Rg. X. 9.4) and the yava grains with 'Yavosi'. They should be invoked with the verse 'Viśve devāsah' (Rg. II. 41.13) and yavas should be scattered about with the two verses 'Viśve devāsah' (Rg. II. 41. 13-14) and he should scatter about *yava* grains with the verse 'thou art yava, the king of grains &c.' (quoted ¹⁰⁰³ below). After decking the brāhmanas with sandalwood paste and flowers

¹⁰⁰² या I. 249. नित्ता. adds that by reason of the word 'tu' in Yā I 249 the performer and the brāhmanas have to shun eight actions enumerated in n. 924 above.

¹⁰⁰³ यवोऽस्ति धान्यराजस्तु वाकेणो मधुनिभित् । निर्वाद सर्वपापानो पवित्रवृषि-
संस्तुतम् ॥ पद्म (खण्डि) 9.144 बी. घ सू III. 65 is almost identical. The नित्ता. on
या. I. 231 refers to the मन्त्र 'यवोऽस्ति धान्यराजो वा' which appears to be the
same. अपर्णाक p 479 speaks of 'यवोऽस्ति' as a *yajus*.

he should honour them with water with the verse¹⁰⁰⁴ 'yā divyā' (vide n. 985). After taking leave of the Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas that have been honoured with *arghya* he should begin the pitṛ yajña. He should prepare seats with darbhas on them, worship three vessels, place *pavitra*s on them and pour water in them with 'śam no devir' (Rg. X. 9 4), should cast sesamum grains in them with 'tilosi' and then put in them sandalwood and flowers. (Then verses 147-152 speak about the vessels to be employed). He then should announce the names and gotra of his ancestors and give darbhas in the hands of the brāhmanas. He should then request brāhmanas with the words 'I shall invite the pitṛs' and when they reply 'let it be so' he should invoke the pitṛs with the two verses 'uśantas tvā' (Rg. X. 16.12) and 'a yantu' (Vaj. S. 19.58). Then, having offered *arghya* to the brāhmanas (representing the pitṛs) with 'yā divyā' (vide n. 985), having given them sandalwood paste and the other things including garment as the last, he should collect the remainder of the water (in the *arghya* vessels) into the vessel meant for the father and should keep aside the latter to the north with its top turned downwards with the words 'thou art a seat of the pitṛs'. Then he should begin to serve various kinds of food after bringing the utensils in which the food was cooked and holding them with both hands. (Verses 157-165 speak of the various foods to be offered and the periods of gratification caused thereby to the pitṛs). While the brāhmanas are engaged in eating he should recite the Vedic hymns¹⁰⁰⁵ referring to

1004. मित्ता. on या I. 231 refers to the मन्त्र 'या दिव्या आपः पयसा'. The mantra in आश्व. नृ. IV. 7.13 'या दिव्या आपः पृथिवी' has been translated above, as also the mantra 'tilosi' from Āśv. gr. IV. 7.8. How the offering of *tila* water in the midst of mango trees serves two purposes is finely stated in the following verse एको ह्यनिस्ताम्रकराग्रहस्तो ह्याग्नेषु मध्ये सलिलं ददाति। आत्राश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च तुसा एका क्रिया द्वयर्थेभरी मसिन्द्वा। पद्म (सुदिल्लण्ड 11 77). वासु 111. 37, अग्नि 115. 40, compare महाभाष्य 'आत्राश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च प्रीणिताः।' vol. I p 14.

1005 The verses of the पद्म (सुदिल्ल 9. 165-169) about what is to be recited are quoted by अपराक्ष p 502, the first verse स्वाध्यायं etc. being मनु III. 232. Compare नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्धे 28 65-68) which among others mentions राक्षोघ्न, वैष्णव and पैतृक (Rg X. 15 1-13) मन्त्रस, पुष्यसूक्त, त्रिमधु, त्रिसुपर्ण. The Śāntika chapter, acc. to हेमाद्रि (श्र.) p. 1075, is वाज सं. 36.10 ff which begins इं नो वात. पवताम्. The मधुब्राह्मण is what is called मधुविद्या contained in the बृह. उ II 5 (beginning with इयं पृथिवी सर्वेषां भूताना मधु) and छान्दोग्य III 1 (beginning with असौ वा आदित्यो देवमधु). The मण्डलब्राह्मण is an उपनिषद् (vide Indische Studien III, p. 325). हेमाद्रि (on श्र.) p. 1075 says 'यदेतन्मण्डलं तपतीत्यादि मण्डलब्राह्मणम्.'

(Continued on the next page)

the Fathers, all the Purānas, various eulogies of Brahmā, Visnu, the Sun, Rudra and the Vedic hymns addressed to Indra, Rudra and Soma and the Pavamāni verses, the Sāmans called Brhat, Rathantara and Jyestha Sāman, the chapter on Śānti rites (propitiatory rites for removing evil events or prognostications), the Madhubrahmana, the Mandala Brāhmana and whatever else gives pleasure to the brāhmanas and the performer, and the Mahābhārata also should be recited, as it is very dear to the pitrs. After the brāhmanas have finished their dinner the performer should collect together in a lump portions from all kinds of food, put water over them and spread ¹⁰⁰⁶ it (on the ground over darbhas) in front of the plates of the dining brāhmanas and should say ¹⁰⁰⁷ 'May those persons in our

(Continued from the last page)

These verses of the पद्मपुराण about what it is to be repeated occur in मत्स्यपुराण also (17.37-39). The ऋषीवृत्तमन्त्रः are five verses (Rg IV. 4 1-5-Vā). S. XIII. 9-13 = Tai S. V. I. 2.14). हेमाद्रि (श्र) pp. 1069-1073 first sets out the texts mentioned by मद्भ, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र and the पुराण, then gives the vedic texts to be repeated by the respective followers of the four Vedas (pp 1073-1074), then deals with the Saptārcis mantra (vide note 1020). Ultimately Hemādri and Śr. P. say that if a man does not know much he should engage in गायत्रीजप.

1006. The verse सार्वभौगिकमन्त्राय . विकिरस्तुवि १३ पद्म (सूक्ति १ 170) is the same as Mann III. 244, मत्स्य 17.41 and विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81.21

1007 अग्निद्वग्धाश्च ये जीवा येऽप्यद्वग्धा कुले नमः । इमौ द्वचेन हृष्यन्तु पुत्रा पाण्डु परां गतिम् ॥ वेदा न माता न पिता न धर्म्युर्न स्वाभ्यामेव न तथाकमस्ति । तच्छपथेऽन्न भुवि द्वचनेतस्माच्छु योगाय यतो यतस्तत् ॥ असंस्कृतप्रमीतानां स्वाग्निना कुलयोषिताम् । वच्छिद्यभागवेद्यानां वर्धेद्यु विकिरासनम् ॥ पद्म. (सूक्ति १ 171-173) These verses occur in मत्स्य 17. 42-44 which presents some various and better readings (viz अथाण्डु लोकेषु छुष्याय तद्वत् and त्यक्तानां कुलयोषिताम्), कौ शु सू II 10.42 (येऽग्निद्वग्धा जाता जीवा ये ये त्वद्वग्धा . गतिम्) is almost the same as the first verse. The verse असंस्कृतम् १३ मद्भ III 245, विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81 22, and Skandapurāna VI. 218 10-11. कात्यायन as quoted by अपसरक p 505 reads 'ये अग्निद्वग्धा ये अग्निद्वग्धा जीवा जाता कुले नमः । इमौ . गतिम् ।' Halāyudha in his com on Kātyāyana's Srāddhasūtra holds that अद्वग्धा is the proper reading and अग्निद्वग्धा is a bad reading and relies on a verse of the Brahmapurāna (folio 26b) स्वाग्निना कुलयोषिता १३ मद्भ III 245 and elsewhere is explained in different ways. The words may mean 'of persons who abandoned wives descended from good families' or 'of women who forsook their families' or 'of those who committed suicide and of childless women' One can appreciate the kindly and noble sentiments underlying the above verses. In honouring the pūndas, Manu III. 217 (which speaks of salutation to the six seasons) is deemed to provide for salutation of the six seasons as identified with six ancestors mentioned in the words रस-दोषजीवस्वधाचौरास्युः named in वाज स. II. 32 'नमो व. पितरो रसाय . पितरो मन्वे । Vide आद्भतत्तल pp. 241-242.

family that were cremated or not cremated be gratified by the food offered on the ground and being gratified may they attain the highest world (or bliss)! May this food offered on the ground for the gratification of those that have neither father nor mother nor relative nor any other friend and have no food (offered by any one else in śrāddha) proceed for union with them wherever it may have to go! The remainder of the food cooked for śrāddha and food spread on the ground are the lot (or share) of those that died without the samskāras (*caula*, *upanayana* and the like) being performed on them, that abandoned their *gurus* and of (unmarried) women of the family. Finding that the brāhmanas are satisfied (by the dinner) he should give water once in the hand of each brāhmana, should place on the ground smeared with cow's dung and urine darbhas with their ends turned to the south and place on them pindas made from all kinds of foods (cooked for the śrāddha dinner) following the method employed in *Pinḍapitryajña* after washing them with water. He should then utter the names and gotra (of the ancestors to whom the pindas are to be offered) and should offer flowers and the rest and should again wash them (pindas). He should perambulate the pindas thrice holding darbhas in his hand and he should light lamps and offer flowers for the pindas. When the brāhmanas sip water after eating the dinner, he should himself sip water and give water once to each of the brāhmanas and flowers and *akṣatās* and then *akṣayyodaka* with sesamum grains. He should then make according to his means presents (to the brāhmanas) of cows,¹⁰⁰⁸ land, gold, clothes, splendid beds and whatever else was liked by the brāhmanas or by the performer himself or his father. He should not be stingy in his presents. Then he should request the brāhmanas to say

1008. पञ्च (सुष्टि 9 180) 15. शोषाद्विप्यवासासि भग्यानि ज्ञयनानि च। दद्याद्यद्विष्ट
 विप्राणामात्मनः पितुरेव च॥ There is epigraphic and other recorded evidence for
 gifts of land in śrāddhas. An inscription of Karnadeva, son of Gāṅgeyadeva of
 the Cedi year 793 (1042 A. D.) records the grant of a village (called Susi) to a
 brāhmana on the occasion of the Sāmvatsarika śrāddha of Gāṅgeyadeva
 at Prayāga, Vide I A vol. 16 pp. 204-207 for the grant of a village by the
 Chandella king Devavarmadeva in *samvat* 1107 (1050-51 A. D.) on the anni-
 versary of his mother's death and a grant in 1790 A. D. by Fattesing Bhosle,
 prince of Akalkot, to a learned brāhmana of thirty *bighas* of land on the
 10th day of his father's death (Bhārata-itihāsa-samsōdbhana-mandala, vol.
 29, parts 1 and 2, 1948 p. 41). In the Āśramavāśikaparva 14 3-4 सुचिद्धि
 is said to have made gifts of gold and jewels, slaves, blankets, villages and
 fields, elephants and horses with their trappings and of girls to ब्राह्मण in
 आद्रस for मोक्ष, द्रौण, दुर्षोदन and others.

'svadhā' and they should do so. Then he should request the brāhmapas to pronounce the following benedictions and should receive them from them while he faces the east. They are 'May the pitrs be kind (not dreadful) to us'; the brāhmanas should say 'let it be so'; 'May our family increase'; they should say 'so be it'; 'May donors in my family prosper and also (the study of) the Vedas and progeny and may these benedictions come out true.'; they should respond 'let it be so'. He should then remove the pindas and request the brāhmanas to utter the word 'svasti' and they should do so. The remains of the food eaten by the brāhmanas remain (unremoved or unwiped) till the brāhmanas are dismissed; then he should perform the (usual) daily rites *Vaiśvadeva*, *balihoma*¹⁰⁰⁹ &c. The remnants of food that lie on the ground are the share of the group of slaves that were straight-forward and not roguish (dishonest or shirkers). The performer holding a vessel full of water and muttering the verse 'vaje vaje' (Rg. VII. 38. 8, Vāj. S. IX. 18, Tai. S. I. 7. 8. 2) should touch the brāhmapas with the tip of kusas and dismiss them. He should follow them out of his house for eight paces, should circumambulate them, should then return with his relatives, sons and wife, should then perform the daily *Vaiśvadeva* and *balihoma*. Then after *Vaiśvadeva* he should together with his relatives, sons, guests and servants partake of the food that remains in the cooking pots after what was eaten by the brāhmanas.

It should be noticed how closely the Padmapurāna follows the procedure (including the mantras) contained in Yājñavalkya. What procedure the author of a Purāna follows depends upon his learning and the sūtra that he studied. For example, the Visnudharmottara I.140 appears to rely on the Āp. gr. and the Āp. M. P. (II. 19-20), since I. 140. 12 refers to Āp. M. P. II. 19. 1, I. 140. 29-30 to Āp. M. P. II. 19. 14-16, I. 140. 35 to Āp. M. P. II. 20. 1. Similarly, Skanda (VI. 224. 3-51) closely follows Āśv. gr. and Yāj.

Owing to the difference in details of śrāddha in the several grhyasūtras, the smrtis and the purānas, an important question arises whether a person should perform a śrāddha rite only in accordance with the grhyasūtra of his own Veda or Śākhā or whether he may perform it after the inclusion (*upasañhāra*) of

^{1009.} दस, बुद्धिलङ्ग 9. 185-186 are the same as ऋतु III. 265. 245 and Matsya 17. 56-57.

the several items found in other sūtras and smrtis though not included in the kalpa or grhya sūtra of his own Śākha. This topic is discussed at great length by Hemādri (on śrāddha) pp. 748-759 and briefly by Medhātithi on Manu II. 29 and XI. 216, by the Mit on Yāj. III. 325, Aparārka p. 1053 and others. Those who are for strictly following the details in one's own sūtra alone argue as follows: If one were at liberty to include details other than those contained in one's own sūtra, the order of the details (*krāma*) given in one's sūtra and the time specified for each detail would be interfered with. Besides, if the addition of details were permissible, one would be liable to the charge of giving up the usages of one's own family handed down for generations. These objectors rely upon such passages as that of the Visnudharmottara which states 'He who violating (the dictates of) his own sūtra acts according to a sūtra meant for others, treats thereby his own sage (the author of his sūtra) as unauthoritative and incurs (the blame of) doing what is improper.'¹⁰¹⁰ The smrtis that contain additional details may be meant for those men who have no kalpa or grhya sūtra of their own or they may be useful for śūdras.

Those who espouse the view that as far as possible all details found in several grhyasūtras and smrtis on one rite should be included by every one rely mainly on Jaimini II. 4. 8-33 which is called 'śākhantarādhikarananyāya' or 'sarvaśākhāpratyayanāya'. The principal sūtra is Jai. II. 4. 9.¹⁰¹¹ It is established in this sūtra that the *prayōjana* (purpose) or *phala* (reward to be secured) of the rite is the same in different sūtras and smrtis. For example, the rewards of śrāddha are stated to be the same in all sūtras and smrtis (vide notes 787-790 above); then the *dravya* (materials) and the deity are the same (in *Pāruvāna* śrāddha the deities are the paternal ancestors and the materials,

1010. यः स्वसूत्रमतिक्रम्य परसूत्रेण वर्तते । अप्रमाणमुपि कृत्वा सौम्यधर्मेण शुज्यते ॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 127, 148-149.

1011. एकं वा संयोग-रूप-चोदनाख्यातविशेषात् । जै II. 4. 9 (separate as चोदना + आख्या + आविशेषात्), on this शबर explains 'तदेव प्रयोजनमुद्दिश्य तदेव विधीयमानं मत्संनिजानीमः । रूपमप्यस्य तदेव द्रव्यदेवतम् । उपपद्यतेनस्तादृशं एव चोद्यते । नामधेयं चाविशिष्टम् । तेन तदेव कर्म सर्वशाखास्त्विति मत्स्यः ।' The तन्त्रवार्तिक explains 'संयोग इति माधान्यात् फलसंयोगग्रहणम् ।... चोदनेति सर्वशाखाभावनाविधयो विधिः ।' Vide H. of Dh., vol. III, p. 870 for a brief explanation of this सर्वशाखाप्रत्ययन्याय. मेधा. on मनु XI. 216 puts the maxim very briefly as 'आप्यायस्व सं ते पयंसि-इति शुच्यन्तरोक्तो विधिरपेक्षितव्यः । एकशास्त्रत्वात्सर्वरघुतीनामसति विरोधे समग्रं योज्यं विरोधे तु विकल्पः ।'.

viz. *kuśas*, tilas, water, vessels, foods &c. are the same in all works). The effort that is enjoined (the *vidhā*) is the same and the name (*Pūṇaśrūddha*, *Ekoddista śrūddha* &c.) is the same. Therefore, on account of those various signs one easily recognizes that the same rite is being dealt with by all sūtras, even if many of them differ in details. It cannot be said that smrtis will be useful for those who have no sūtras of their own. Each man of the first three varnas is attached to some sūtra or other by the tradition of his family or caste. Similarly, the smrtis cannot be held to be meant for śūdras alone, since the smrtis mainly deal with *upanayana*, the study of the Vedas, *agnihotra* and other matters with which a śūdra has no concern. Similarly, the objection that if details were allowed to be inserted from other sūtras and smrtis the *krama* and *lāla* prescribed in one's sūtra might have to be set aside, the reply is contained in Jai. I. 3. 5-7 (explained at great length in H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 841-848).¹⁰¹² The *śruti* says 'after getting ready a bundle of kuśa grass he prepares the *vedi* (altar)'. Here a certain order of acts is laid down. If after a bundle of kuśas is got ready, the man has a sneeze, he has to sip water (perform *ūcamana*) immediately as laid down by Manu V. 145 and Vas. III. 38 before he prepares the *vedi*. So the objector says the *krama* will be interfered with. The reply is that the sequence (*krama*) is only a characteristic of the items in the *śruti* passage, that all that is meant is that the making of the altar follows the getting ready of a kuśa bundle, but that it is not meant that the making of the *vedi* should follow immediately after the bundle is got ready. Therefore, the conclusion is that whatever detail is not in conflict with one's own śākhā or sūtra may be included in the rite one is about to perform, but if there is a direct conflict, then one should stick to one's own sūtra. As observed by Kātyāyana 'whatever is declared, whether in great detail or in brief, in one's own gṛhyasūtra about a rite, if he performs that much, it may be taken that he has done all that is required of him; but what is not handed down in one's śākhā (or sūtra) but is contained in another śākhā and is not in conflict with one's own śākhā, should be performed by the learned, as in the case of

1012. अपि वा कारणाग्रहणे प्रयुक्तानि प्रतिवेरन्। जै. I. 3. 7 On this शबर observes: आचान्तेन कर्तव्यं यज्ञोपवीतानां कर्तव्यं ... इत्येवंलक्षणप्रयुक्ताहरणानि। किनेतानि श्रुतिपरिच्छानि न कर्तव्यानि उतापरिच्छानि कार्यानि चेत्प्रयति तैरप्यनुष्ठीयमानैर्बदिके किंचिन्न कुप्यति तस्मादपरिच्छानि। नैतदेवम्। शास्त्रपरिच्छिन्नं हि क्रमेण बाधेरन्। कथम्। वेदं कृत्वा वेदे कुर्वीतैतां श्रुतिसुपरुष्यावन्तरा वेदं वेदे चाख्येयमानमाचमनादि। This *pūrvapakṣa* is refuted later on.

śrūtihoṭra and the like'.¹⁰¹³ The first verse of Kātyāyana may be explained as applying where one's śākhā or sūtra deals with a matter without requiring any addition or as the next best course where one is not able to supplement one's sūtra owing to some unseen cause or owing to human difficulties. The Sangraha says that where different items of the śrāddha rite are declared to be performed at different times and there is no agreement among the sages, one should follow one's grhya-sūtra, but where one's grhyasūtra is silent as to a certain item or, as to the stage when it is to be performed, there is an option and one may follow the opinion of some sage as to that item.¹⁰¹⁴ It appears that even the ancient grhya sūtras exhibit tendencies that led to the sarvaśākhā-pratyaya-nyaya e. g. Āśv. gr. (q. in n 966) employs several passages (such as 'Tilosi', 'Yā divyā,' which do not occur in the Ṛgveda.)

It is owing to this maxim of 'sarvaśākhā-pratyayanyaya' that medieval digests go on heaping up details from all smṛtis and purānas in their descriptions of the several śrāddhas, the procedures of which were not originally very extensive.

The Kūrmapurāna¹⁰¹⁵ provides that the performer should before noon time is past bring to his house the invited brāhmanas

1013. अविक्रान्तिं तु परशास्त्रान्नातानि सर्वाण्यप्यङ्गान्पुसंहस्य कर्माणुष्ठेयम् । तदुक्तं भविष्यपुराणे । यस्मान्नातं स्वशाखायां पारक्यमविवोधि यत् । विद्वद्भिस्तदनुष्ठेयमग्निहोत्रादिकं यथा ॥ इति । हेमाद्रि (on आ) p 759 This verse is गोभिलस्मृति I. 35 (reads यदोक्तमविवोधि and ° होत्रादिकमवत्), अपराकं p 8 and स्मृतिच. I p 5 quote this verse as कात्यायन's and also another of his 'बह्वर्षं वा स्वयुष्टोक्तं यस्य कर्म प्रकीर्तितम् । तस्य तावति ज्ञानार्थं कृते सर्वं कृतो भवेत् ॥'. हेमाद्रि (on आ) p 756 quotes this last verse as वैजपायन's Both verses (बह्वर्षं° and यस्मान्नातं°) are quoted as from the परिशिष्ट by हलायुध in his com. on the आङ्गसूत्र of कात्यायन (folio 30 a). The स्मृतिच (I p 5) adds another half verse of कात्यायन viz. आत्मतन्त्रे तु यस्मात्कं तत्कुर्यात्पारतन्त्रिकम् । In आत्मतन्त्र, तन्त्र means सिद्धात् (i. e. one's सूत्र) आग्निहोत्रादिकं यथा—This is explained by आङ्गसौख्य (दोडरानन्द folio 64a) as follows. 'यथा छन्दोगानामनुक्तोपि यजुर्वेदविहितोऽग्निहोत्रादिकं क्रियते'

1014 यान्त्रिक कालभेदेन कर्माणि हुनयो जगुः । स्वयुष्टोक्तानुसारेण विकल्पस्तेषु इष्यते ॥ न युष्टादिसूत्रियेषा आङ्गदाडुपलभ्यते । कर्तुमर्हन्ति ते कृत्वा यस्य कस्य हुनेर्मतम् ॥ संग्रह प by हेमाद्रि (आ. p 1484) The आ क्रि. कौ p. 125 briefly puts the position as follows 'आकाक्षितं परशास्त्रोक्तमपि कर्तव्यमनाकाक्षितं तु न कर्तव्यमेव । पुराणोक्तं तु आकाक्षितमनाकाक्षितं वा सामान्यधर्मत्वात्सर्वैराणुष्ठेयम् । तत्रापि स्वशास्त्रोक्ता-विरोधिना कार्यमिति ।' The following verse quoted from Gobhila by the com. on Sān Sr, S IV 4, 10-15 takes a very strict view 'ऊनो वाप्यधिको वापि यः स्वशास्त्रोन्वितो विधि । तेन सन्तुष्टयाद्यज्ञं न कुर्यात्पारतन्त्रिकम् ॥'

1015 ततो निवृत्ते मन्वाद्धे लुप्तरोमनखान् द्विजान् । अवगम्य (अभिवगम्य?) यथामार्गं प्रपच्छेदन्तपावनम् । आसध्वमिति सञ्जल्पकासीरंस्ते पृथक् पृथक् । तैलमग्न्यञ्जनं स्नानं स्नानीयं च पृथग्विधम् । कूर्म (उत्तरार्ध 22 20-21) In B I edition the order of verses is different. The first is quoted by हेमाद्रि (on आ) p 1167 from देवल and by कल्पतरु (आ p. 117) from देवल.

who have shaved themselves and pared their nails, should offer them materials for brushing the teeth and request them to sit down on separate seats, then give them oil and water for bathing. It will be seen that here the purāna has added several details that were not provided for by the Āsv. gr. (n. 966), Manu (III. 208), Yāj. (I. 226) and even by some of the purānas such as the Varāha 14, 8, which begin the procedure with seating the brāhmanas in the afternoon on seats after welcoming them. Many more examples could be given, but that attempt is not made owing to considerations of space.

Before proceeding to give some idea as to how the pārvana-śrāddha was dealt with in medieval and modern times, observations must be made on several relevant matters, on which there is a difference of views or which are important in a general way.

When the invited brāhmanas come after noon, it is provided in some of the purānas that two *maṇḍalas* should be made in front of the performer's residence for receiving the brāhmanas. For example, the Nārada-purāna states¹⁰¹⁶ 'the mandala for a brāhmana performer should be square (four cornered) in size, for a kṣatriya triangular, circular for a vaiśya and for a śūdra mere sprinkling of the ground with water is enough.' The *maṇḍalas* should be made on ground smeared with cowdung and with water mixed with cow's urine. Of the two mandalas one should be on the northern side sloping towards the north and the other on the southern side sloping towards the south. On the northern mandala kuśas with points towards the east should be placed along with aksata (unbroken or whole) grains and on southern one double-folded kuśas should be placed along with sesamum grains. The northern mandala should generally be two cubits on each side while the southern one should be four cubits on each side. The brāhmana or brāhmanas that represent the *Viśvedevāh* should be honoured in the northern mandala first by the performer himself with water for washing their feet after bending his right knee and the brāhmanas representing the pitrs should be then honoured in the southern mandala with water for washing the feet (hence called *pādya*) after bending his left knee. The mantra at the time of offering *pādya* is 'śan

1016 आङ्गार्थं समनुज्ञात-कारयेन्मण्डलद्वयम् । चतुरस्रं ब्राह्मणस्य त्रिकोणं क्षत्रियस्य च । वैश्यस्य वर्तुलं ज्ञेयं शूद्रस्याशुक्षणं भवेत् ॥ नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्धे 28 32-33) ; सौरपुराण (19. 13-14) has almost the same verse as 'चतुरस्रं' etc. Vide अयराके p 475 for मण्डलः.

no devir' Rg. X. 9. 4).¹⁰¹⁷ After the mantra is recited he should give the water to the Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas and to the pitrya brāhmanas as noted below (in n.1017). After the pādyā water is offered the brāhmanas should come in front of the maṇḍalas and sip water (take *ūcamāna*).

The ancient sūtras and smṛtis like those of Manu and Yāj. (I. 229) say generally that the Viśvedevāḥ are to be invoked, but some of the later smṛtis (such as Prajāpati, verses 179-190) and purānas contain verses enumerating ten names of Viśvedevās and assign two each (out of the ten) to five classes of śrāddhas. They say:¹⁰¹⁸ "in śrāddha performed in an *ṛṣi* the *Viśvedevas* are Kratu and Dakṣa, in a Nāndimukha śrāddha they are Vasu and Satya, in Kāmyaśrāddha Dhuri and Looana, in naimittika śrāddha Kala and Kāma and in Pārvana-śrāddha Purūravas and Ādrava'. According to the Sm. C. and Hemādri a seat (*ūcamāna*) is to be given to the Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas and invocations are to be made in the several śrāddhas after taking the names enumerated above. The Mit on Yāj I. 229, Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 1225) and other digests state that the mantras

1017. इं नो देवीरिति मन्त्रं पठित्वा पुरुषगर्जसज्ञाना विश्वेदेग इदं वः पाद्यमिति दद्यात् । एवं विप्रर्थं ब्राह्मणपाद्योरपि शनौ देवीति मन्त्रान्तो पितरसुकणोत्राद्युक्तार्जनं पशुरुप इदं ते पाद्यमिति दद्यात् । मद्. पा. p. 567.

1018. ऋतुर्दशो बहु सत्यः काल कामस्तथैव च । धुरिश्चोत्तमश्चैव तथा चैव पुरु-
रगः । आर्द्रश्च दशैते तु विश्वे देवाः प्रकीर्तिता । बृहस्पति q. by अपराके p. 478, कल्पतरु
(आ. p. 142), द्युतिच (आ. pp 442-443); the words विश्वे देवाः are to
be kept separate and not compounded. इष्टिआद्धे ऋतुर्दश सत्यो वाग्दीप्तये
बहु । नैमित्तिके काठकामौ काम्ये च धुरिलोचनौ ॥ पुरुषगर्जसज्ञानौ सहस्राक्षनौ ।
बृह. q. by अपराके p. 478, आ. म. p. 23, मद्. पा. (p. 573-574) which explains
'इष्टिआद्धे माधानादीं क्रियमाण... । नैमित्तिके सपिण्डीकरणे । कामनपाद्युत्तेयगामहालययादि
आद्धे काम्यम् । इष्टिआद्धे is the कर्माङ्गआद्धे, 9th among the 12 आद्धे quoted
above from विश्वामित्र (in n. 858) The आ. म. p. 23 notes the different
readings of some of the names such as पुरुषगर्ज and आर्द्र, some saying the
first is पुरुषगर्ज and the second is माद्र. The printed आद्धेतर p. 199 has माद्र
and so has बौद्धगान्ध (आद्धेसौद्व. folio 57 a) आद्धेतर explains इष्टिआद्धे
as इच्छाआद्धे and नैमित्तिके as एकोद्विष्ट. The आ. क्रि. कौ. (p. 56) reads पुरोत्तर
and माद्र. कल्पतरु (आ. p. 142) reads माद्र.श्च दशैते तु The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (III.
3. 30-31) enumerates the ten विश्वेदेग somewhat differently. It reads 'पुरुषो
माद्र.सो सौचमानश्च' The ब्रह्माण्ड (III. 12. 3 ff.) states that ten sons were born
to विश्व, one of the daughters of दक्ष. When they performed severe *tapas* on
a Himālava peak Brahmā gave them the boon they wanted (आद्धेस्मान्
भवेदशो ष्टेच न काशितो वः) and the pitrs agreed. The pitrs said (verse 13)
'अये दद्या तु दुष्करमस्मान् दारयते तत । विसर्जनमथारमानं पूर्वं पश्चात्तु देवतम्.' This
legend is obviously an attempt to explain the usage about vaiśvadeva
brāhmanas at a आद्धे.

for invoking the Viśvedevas in Pārvana-śrāddha are two viz. 'Viśvedevāsa āgata' (Rg. II. 41. 13) and 'āgacchantu mahābhāga' (q. above in note 984), while the Sm. C. (p. 444) prescribes an additional mantra 'viśve devāḥ śrunuta' (Rg. VI. 52. 13).

The general rule is that the Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas are to be seated facing the east and the *pitṛya* brāhmanas facing the north (Yāj I. 228, Varāha 14. 11), but there were at least five differing views about the directions which the brāhmanas were to face as Hemādri (on śrāddha p. 1200) points out. It is further pointed out by Hemādri and others (like Yāj I. 247) that in all items in the procedure of śrāddha the Vaiśvadevika brāhmanas have precedence except in the matter of washing the hand smeared with the remains of food and the final dismissal of the brāhmanas at the end of the śrāddha.¹⁰¹⁹ It may be noted that in southern and western India brāhmanas invited at śrāddha are worshipped, while in Bengal it is the effigy made with darbhas (darbhabatu) that is worshipped as shown by the late M. M. Haraprasad Shastri (Catalogue of Mss. vol. III p. 406). The Śrāddha-tattva (folio 2b) of Raghunandana provides for the same: 'pūrāravā-mādravaso viśvesām devānām pūrva-śrāddham leśamāyabrāhmane karṣye itī prochet.'

In the Vāyupurāṇa¹⁰²⁰ it is stated that the following mantra should be repeated thrice at the beginning and end of a śrāddha and at the time of offering pīndas; on repeating it the *pitṛs* come quickly to the śrāddha and rākṣasas run away and that the mantra saves the *pitṛs* in all the three worlds. The mantra is 'Perpetual adoration to the gods, to *pitṛs* and to the great *Yogins*, to *svadhā*, to *svāhā*'. The Sm C (on śrāddha

1019. उच्छिद्धवदितहस्तशालनं विसर्जनं च वर्जयित्वा सर्वेषां आर्क्षीयपदार्थानां वैश्वदेविकपुर्वकत्वात् । हेमाद्रि (आ) p 1196 This is supported by विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 15 'वैश्वदेवनिविष्टानां चरमं हस्तधावनम् । विसर्जनं च निर्दिष्टं तेषु रक्षा यत् स्थिता ॥'

1020. मन्त्रं बहयान्यहं तस्मादद्युतं ब्रह्मनिर्मितम् । देवताभ्यः पितृभ्यश्च महायोगिभ्य एव च । नत स्वधायै स्वाहायै नित्यमेव भवन्त्युत । आद्यावसाने आर्क्ष्य चिरादहं जयेत्सदा । पिण्डनिर्वापणे चैव अपेदेतत्समाहितः । पितरः क्षिप्रमायान्ति राक्षसाः प्रद्वबन्ति च । पितृत्तात्रियेषु लोकेषु मन्त्रोऽयं तारयत्युत ॥ वायुपुराण 74 15-18. These verses are स्कन्द VII. 1. 206. 114-116, ब्रह्माण्ड III. 11. 17-18, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 140. 68-72 (with slight variations). The मन्त्र occurs in बृहद्पुराण (आचारखण्ड) 218 6. कल्प-तरु (आ) p. 144 quotes these. In most other purāṇas the मन्त्र ends 'नित्यमेव नमो नमः' हेमाद्रि (on आर्क्ष pp 1079 and 1208) calls it सप्तचिह्न and notes that it occurs in seven purāṇas. It is stated in some works that the reading भवन्त्युत is for followers of सामवेद अत्र सम्बन्धनात्मनोत्रशब्दानां नानाक्रमदर्शनादिकल्पः । स ऐच्छिकः शास्त्रनिर्देश वा व्यवस्थितः । आ म. p. 29.

p. 441) states that the mantra should be repeated after the brāhmaṇas come and sit down and before kuśas are placed on the seats of the brāhmaṇas. This mantra occurs also in Brahmapurāna 220. 143, Brahmānda (Upodghātapāda 11. 22), Viṣṇudharmottara I. 140 68-70 and is styled 'saptārcis' by the last two and is said to be equal to Aśvamedha.

A certain order of words about referring to the ancestors in offering a seat, offering kuśas on seat, and *arghya* is laid down by Bṛhaspati,¹⁰²¹ some of the purāṇas and the digests. As almost in every case there are different views here also. Bṛhaspati says: 'when giving a seat, when offering *arghya*, or pindas, in offering ablutions of water on pindas, the performer has to declare his relation to each of the ancestors, the names and *gotras* of the ancestors and also the form in which each of the ancestors is to be contemplated (viz as Vasu, Rudra, Āditya respectively). It is further laid down that the genitive is to be employed for the ancestor's name in offering a seat (to the *pitṛya* brāhmaṇa) and *akṣayyodaka*, the objective in invoking the pits, the dative in offering food, the vocative in other cases.

It is laid down that the performer has to take *ācamana* (sip water) in śrāddha rite six times viz., at the commencement of śrāddha, when washing the feet of invited brāhmaṇas, in worshipping them, in making the *vikra*, in offering pindas and at the end of the śrāddha.¹⁰²²

1021 आसने चार्घ्यदाने च पिण्डदानेऽनेजने । सम्बन्धनामगोत्राणि यथार्हसद्व-
कीर्तयेत् ॥ बृहस्पति ५. by हेमाद्रि (on आ p 1257). The word आसन is only illustra-
tive and is meant to include आवाहन and other विध्य items. अक्षय्यासनयोः
पृथी द्वितीयावाहने तथा । अन्नदाने चतुर्थी स्याच्छेषाः समुद्रजयः स्मृताः ॥ सम्बन्धं प्रथमं
ब्रूयात् नामगोत्रं तथैव च । पश्चाद्भूपं विजानीयात् क्रम एव सनातनः ॥ आङ्कालिका folios
6b and 7a, आङ्कसंग्रह ५ by स्मृतिच (आ.) p. 442 and p. 449. The verse
अक्षय्यासनः is found in नारदपुराण (पूर्वार्ध 28, 38) also. The स्मृत्यर्थसार (p 50)
quotes it as from श्लोकसंग्रहकारस्मृति. The formula may be 'ओ अशुकगोत्राणाम-
शुकशर्मणामस्मृत्यदूणां सपत्नीकानां बहुरूपाणामिदनासनम्'; then in place of पितृणां
पितामहानां and प्रपितामहानां and in place of बहुरूपाणां, रुद्ररूपाणां and आदित्य-
रूपाणां will have to be respectively employed. The words may also be
employed in the singular as the स्मृतिच. (आ p 449) says 'एतासु च षट्शक्ति-
विभक्तिषु सर्वत्रैकवचनबहुवचनयोर्विकल्प एव स्मृतिपुराणश्रद्धादिषु पितृपितामहादिशब्दानां
कचित्शेषैकवचनान्त्या कचित्बहुवचनान्त्या च प्रयोगदर्शनात् ॥

1022. स्मृत्यन्तरे । आङ्कारम्भेऽसने च पादशीवे द्विजाचने । विकिरे पिण्डदाने च
पृष्ठे चाचमन चरेत् ॥ ५ by पृथ्वीचन्द्र (on आ) folio 62a.

An important question which exercised the minds of many medieval writers was 'who was the real recipient (*sampradāna*)¹⁰²³ of the offerings made in śrāddha, whether the brāhmanas or the pītras'. Relying on the words of the Āśv. gr. IV. 8.1 (quoted above in n. 966 'etasmin kāle ... dānam) and passages of the purānas such as the Varāha (13. 51) 'vibhave sati viprebhyo asmān uddīśya dāsyati', the Mahārnavaprakāśa, Harihara and some others held that brāhmanas were the recipients, while others like Śrīdatta, relying on indications furnished by *śruti* passages like Vāj. S. 19. 36 (*akṣan pītarah amīmadanta pītarah*) and such formulas as 'pītar-etai te arghyam' or 'etadīah pītaro vāsah,' hold that the real recipients intended were the pītras, but, as the pītras had gone to another world and could not be bodily present to receive the gifts of such things as sandalwood paste, flowers and clothes, the latter were only handed over or assigned to the brāhmanas who were for the moment contemplated as not different from the pītras.^{1023a} Vide Sm. C. (śrāddha pp. 447-449), Śr. Pr. pp. 30-31 for a discussion of these two viewpoints. It should, however, be noted that the water given to the brāhmanas and the *dakṣiṇā* given to them were only meant for the brāhmanas, the former for purification and the latter for the inexhaustible merit that *dakṣiṇā* to brāhmanas conferred.

It is to be noted that in the invocation (*āvāhana*) of the pītras there is a divergence of views as to the mantras to be employed and also as to the stage when it is to be made. Hemādri (śrāddha, pp. 1254-56) states that there were five different views on the latter point, the three most important of which were that *āvāhana* should come before giving darbhas as *āsana* on the left side of the seats of the *pītrya* brāhmanas or after giving such darbhas or after *agnaukarāṇa*. As regards the former (*viz.* the mantras), Yāj. (I. 232-233), the Brahmandapurāna and several others say that the invocation mantra is 'uśantas-tvā' (Rg. X. 16. 13, Vāj. S. 19. 70, Tai S. II. 6. 12. 1) and after the *āvāhana* the performer should perform *japa* of the verse 'ā yantu nah' (Vāj. S. 19. 58). The Viṣṇudharma-sūtra¹⁰²⁴ (73. 10-12) states 'The performer after having received

1023. For the meaning of संप्रदानं, vide पा. I. 4. 32 'कर्माणा यमभिप्रेति स संप्रदानम्'.

1023 a. Vide n. 911 for the विष्णुपुराण passage (III. 14. 22-23) which means 'that will give jewels &c to brāhmanas for our benefit'.

1024. यतो ब्राह्मणोऽह्नातः पितृनावाहयेत् । अपयन्त्वद्युतं इति हार्यां तिलैर्वातुधानानां विसर्जनं कृत्वा । एत पितरः सर्वास्तानेभ्य आ मे यन्त्वैतद्देः पितर इत्यावाहनं कृत्वा ... । विष्णु.

(Continued on the next page)

permission from the brāhmanas should invite the Manes. Having driven away the *Yātudhānas* (demons) by strewing grains of sesamum and by reciting the two mantras (the first of which begins with 'may the Asuras go away') he should invite the Manes with the four mantras 'come near, ye Manes', 'conduct them here, O Agni!', 'May my (ancestors) come near', 'this is your (share), O Manes'. Hemādri (*śrāddha* pp. 1260-1267) points out how the mantras differ according to different writers.

There is a great deal of discussion about *agnauktarāna* mentioned in *Yaj. I. 236-237*. The Mit points out that if a man has kept śrauta fires by the *sarvādhāna* method then in the pārvana-śrāddha that he offers after pindapitryajña he offers homa in the Dakṣiṇāgni, as he has no *aupāsana* (i. e. grhya) fire and supports this by quoting a passage which occurs in the *Viśvudharmottara-purāna*.¹⁰²⁵ But if a man consecrates the śrauta fires by the *ardhādhāna*¹⁰²⁶ method, then he has to offer pārvana homa in the *aupāsana* fire and one who is without śrauta fires and has kept up only *aupāsana* fire has to offer homa in that fire. One who has neither the śrauta fires nor the grhya fire offers it in the brāhmana's hand only. The Mit. relies on *Manu III. 212* and on two verses from a grhya and comes to the conclusion that one who has consecrated śrauta fires performs homa in dakṣiṇa fire in the case of *Anvastakya śrāddha*, the śrāddha on the day previous to *Astakā*, the śrāddha

(Continued from the last page)

धर्मसूत्र 73. 10-12. The commentator notes that here it is the काठकीय-आह्व-प्रयोग that is set out. Compare काठकपृष्ठ 63. 2-4, 10 for all these mantras except one 'पितृनावाहविष्णुमोक्त्युक्त्वा । अपयन्त्वसुरा इति ह्यग्न्यां तिलैः सर्वतोऽवकीर्य । एत पितर आगच्छत पितर आ मे यन्त्वन्तर्दधे पर्वतेरिति आपित्वा । ये नामका. पितर एतद्वाः पितरोऽयं यज्ञ इति लिट्भिः कल्पिताः कर्मभिश्चुशति ।.' Dr. Caland (the editor) notes that these are not found in the printed काठकसंहिता. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (I. 140. 9-10) corresponds with the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र completely as to the mantras. अन्तर्दधे पर्वते.—is आप. न पा II 19. 4.

1025 यथाह मार्कण्डेयः । आहिताग्निस्तु जुहुयादक्षिणाग्नीं समाहितः । अनाहिताग्निस्तथैवसदे अग्न्यभावे द्विजेप्सु वा ॥ मित्ता on या. I. 236. This is विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 18, as हेमाद्रि says 'सदेतद्वाह विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे मार्कण्डेयः.' (आ p 1330).

1026 For सर्वाधान and अर्धाधान, vide above n. 991. यतः आह्वाङ्गमग्नौकरणक्षीनो लौकिकाग्नी न युक्तः किंतु दक्षिणाग्नावेव स न्य दर्श एव भवति । अतो दर्शेन विना नाग्नि-होमिणः आह्वयः । टीटपाजन्द (on आह्व folio 24a). न दर्शेन विना आह्वमाहिताग्नि-द्विजन्मनेः ॥ मनु III. 282, which छत्रुक explains as 'आहिताग्नेर्द्विजेत्य नामावास्याप्यति-रेकेण कृष्णपक्षे दक्षिण्यादौ आह्वं विधीयते.'

performed in the dark half of each month on some day from the 5th and in the case of pārvana-śrāddha, but he performs, in the case of kūmya, ābhyudayika, Ekoddista and Astakā śrāddhas, *homa* only on the pitrya brāhmana's hand; while for one who has kept no sacred fire the *homa* is to be made only in the pitrya brāhmana's hand. Vide Hemādri (śrāddha pp. 1328-1344), Bālabhāṭṭi (on ācāra p. 518). The Todarānanda (śrāddha-saukhyā) following Manu III 282 states that one who is an Agnihotrin cannot perform a pārvana-śrāddha on any day except on *darśa* (i. e. on amāvāsya).

Another important question on which there is great divergence concerns the number of āhutis to be offered in *agnaukarana*, the deities to whom the *homa* was to be offered, the order in which the deities were to be named and the form of words to be used. On these matters there appears to have been divergent views from very ancient times. According to the Śat. Br. II 4. 2. 12-13 the āhutis were only ¹⁰²⁷ two, they were offered to Agni and Soma in that order and the word *svāhā* was used at the end. According to the Tai. Br I 3. 10. 2-3 ¹⁰²⁸ the āhutis were three, they were to be offered to Soma, Agni and to Yama in that order and the formula ended with 'svadhā namaḥ' (and not with 'svāhā'). It is therefore that a verse of Kātyāyana ¹⁰²⁹ says "whether to employ the word 'svāhā' or the words 'svadhā namaḥ', whether and when to wear the sacred chord in the yajñopavīta form or prācināvīta form and what was to be the number of āhutis—all these have to be understood from one's own sūtra." The difference of views which is noticed as far back as the Brāhmanas persists in the sūtras, smṛtis, purānas and is briefly indicated here. The Āp. Gr S. (quoted above in n. 981) speaks of thirteen āhutis, seven with food and

1027. स जुहोति । अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहेत्यप्यग्नौ भिक्षा-
मभ्यावधाति तत्त्विकृद्भ्राजन्म् । शतपथभा. II. 4. 2. 13 The words अग्नये... पितृमते
स्वाहा are वाज. सं. II, 29.

1028. सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नम इत्याह । ... अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम
इत्याह य एव पितृणामग्निं प्रति शीणाति । तिस्र आहुती जुहोति । तै. ब्रा. I 3 10. 2-3, on
which सायण explains 'शाखान्तरगतेन यमापाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते स्वधा नम इति मन्त्रेणैका-
नाहुतिमभियेत्य त्रित्वं विधधाति' । Vide अथर्व. 18 4. 71-74 also. आप श्रौ. (I 8, 3-4
and 6) says 'सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वधा नम इति दक्षिणाग्नौ जुहोति । यमापाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते
स्वधा नम इति द्वितीयाह । अग्नये कव्यवाहनाय स्वधा नम इति तृतीयाह । न यमाय
जुहोतीत्येके ।'

1029. 'स्वाहा स्वधानमः संन्यमयसंन्यं तथैव च । आहुतीनां तु यो संख्या सोमगंधा
स्वद्वैतः ॥ कात्यायन व. by स्मृतिच. (भा. p. 458).

six with clarified butter. Two āhutis only are mentioned by Āsv. Śrauta II. 6. 12 (quoted in note 974), Āsv. gr. IV. 7. 20, Śankha-Likhita,¹⁰³⁰ Kathaka-grhya, Nārada-purāna (pūrvārtha 28. 48) and Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna. Three āhutis are mentioned by most of the smṛtis and purānas, such as Baud. Dh. S. II. 14. 7,¹⁰³¹ Śan. Śrauta IV. 3 and grhya IV. 1. 13, Viṣṇu Dh. S. 73. 12, Manu III. 211, Varāhapurāna¹⁰³² (14. 21-22), Brahmānda-purāna (Upodghātapāda 11. 93-94), Viṣṇudharmottara I. 140. 19. It is here that various combinations of the order of the deities and of the words 'svāhā' and 'svadhā' occur. The texts of a few works are cited below for illustration. Some give the order as 'Soma accompanied by the pitṛs, Agni the carrier of *kavya*, Yama Aṅgiras;' while others give it as 'Agni the carrier of *kavya*, Soma accompanied by the pitṛs, Yama Vaivasvata &c.' It is further provided that the āhuti to Agni is made to the southern side of the fire, to Soma on the northern part of it and in the middle of the two sides to Vaivasvata (Yama).¹⁰³³

Various rules of etiquette about serving food, about the way brāhmanas are to eat and related matters have been laid down from ancient times and are observed even now. The Sm. O (p. 465-470), Hemādri (śrāddha pp. 1367-1384), the Śr. Pr. pp. 116-123 and other digests contain elaborate rules on these matters. Yāj. I. 237 prescribes that what remains after offering homa should be served in the plates meant for the brāhmanas representing the Fathers and the plates should preferably be

1030 धूपगन्धनाह्वैरलङ्कृत्य ब्राह्मणान्तपूतमन्मद्यज्ञात्प्य दूर्भेर्दक्षिणाञ्चैरग्निं परिस्तीर्य
 अहुवाद्यग्नये कल्पवाहनाय स्वाहा सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहेति । ङाहुल्लिखितौ q. by हेमाद्रि (आ.
 p. 1354), नद् पा p 589; अग्नौ करवाणीत्युक्त्वा । अग्निं परिस्तीर्य सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहा
 नमोऽग्नये कल्पवाहनाय स्वाहा नम इत्यग्नौ हुत्वा । काठकश्रृङ्गा 63. 89, उपात्तनाग्निमाधाय
 स्वयम्भोक्त्रिधानतः । सोमाय च पितृमते स्वाहा नम इतीरपेत् ॥ अग्नये कल्पवाहनाय स्वाहा नम
 इतीह वा । स्वाहान्तेनापि वा माज्ञौ अहुयात्पितृयज्ञवत् ॥ नारद (पूर्वार्ध 28. 48-49),

1031. अन्नरथैव तिन्न आहुतीर्जुहोति । सोमाय पितृपीताय स्वाहा नमः स्वाहा । यनाया-
 ङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते स्वाहा नमः स्वाहा । अग्नये कल्पवाहनाय तिष्ठकृते स्वाहा नमः स्वाहेति ।
 तच्छेदेणाक्षमनिधायार्थं अरथेता एव तिन्नो अहुयात् । बौ. ध. सू. II. 8. 8-12 It should be
 noted that बौ employs both स्वाहा नमः and स्वाहा. अग्नये कल्पवाहनाय स्वाहा
 सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहा यनायाङ्गिरस्वते पितृमते स्वाहेति । ङाङ्गायनश्रौत IV. 4 I.

1032. अग्नये कल्पवाहनाय स्वाहेति प्रथमाहुतिः । सोमाय वै पितृमते दातव्या तदन्तरम् ॥
 वैवस्वताय चैवान्मा तृतीया दीयते हुतिः ॥ ब्राह्मण. 14 21-22, सोमायादौ पितृमते कल्पवाहनाय
 चाग्नये । यनाय चैवाङ्गिरस्वते हुत्वा प्रयतमानतः । विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 140. 19-20; मार्कण्डेय
 (28.47-48) prescribes the आहुतिः as अग्नये कल्पवाहनाय स्वाहा, सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहा,
 यनाय प्रेतपतये स्वाहा ।

1033. दक्षिणतोऽग्नये नित्यं सोमालेचरतस्तथा । इतपोरन्तरे नित्यं अहुवाद्दे विवस्वते ॥
 q. by कल्पवच (आ. p. 169),

of silver. Kātyāyana says that the performer who has no fire (either śrauta or smārta) should offer the homa on the hand of the most eminent among the pitrya brāhmanas to the accompaniment of a mantra and should offer the remainder in the plates of the other pitrya brāhmanas.¹⁰³¹ The Sm. C. notes that Yama and the Vāyupurāna say that the homa should be in the hand of the *daiva* brāhmana and that on account of this conflict there is an option. It is further provided that a portion of the food from which agnaukarana was effected should be kept aside for making pindas (Mārkaṇḍeya and Garuda). The food should be served by the performer himself wearing the sacred thread in the *yajñopavīta* form or by his wife of the same caste or by some attendant who is purified. Manu (III. 224-229, 231-233, 236-238) contains several rules^{1032a} 'Himself holding the vessels full of food with both hands the performer should slowly place them near the brāhmanas seated for dinner while thinking of his ancestors. That food, which is brought near the brāhmanas without (the containing vessel being held in) both hands, is snatched away by wicked *asuras*. The performer being himself pure and concentrating his mind (only on the serving of food) should place the vessels containing the

1034. विभवे यः पाणि-सूक्ष्मस्तस्य पाणावनग्निसान् । हुत्वा मन्त्रवदभ्येषा कूर्ष्णां पात्रेषु निक्षिपेत् । शोभिल II. 120 q by स्मृतिच. II p. 462.

1034 a. मनु III, 225 is almost the same as Baud. Dh. S II. 8. 22 and Vas XI. 25. मनु III 224 is पाणि-या रूपसंगुह्य स्वयमकरय वधितम् । विमान्तके पितृ-श्रयायम् शनकैरुपनिक्षिपेत्॥ अकरय is to be taken as अक्षेन and पिडर is to be understood after वधितम्. The आङ्गत्त्व (p. 229) explains: 'पाकर्याहया आकुर्य मधमं भोजनपात्रे न देयं किन्तु श्यालयादिकं पाणिभ्या पात्रसमीपे धूमौ संस्थाप्य पश्चाद्भुभ्या पाणिभ्या पात्रान्तरितान्यां आद्यैः परिविहायत्' and relies on मत्स्य 17. 28 'उमान्यासपि हस्ताभ्या-नाहृत्य परिविहायेत्', ब्रह्मोद्यम्—मनु III, 231. ब्रह्मोद्यम् are such riddles, questions and answers as are found in Tal. S. VII. 4 18, वाज स 23. 9-12 (क. त्रिवेकाकी चरति etc.) and 23. 45-62; Ait Br. (अथ ब्रह्मोद्यं चदन्पत्रिर्हृषपतिरिति एक आहु. ॥) Or ब्रह्मोद्य may mean, as explained by मेधा० (ब्रह्मणि वेदे या उद्यन्ते कथ्यन्ते ता ब्रह्मोद्याः), the legends of the wars of gods and asuras, the slaughter of Vṛtra, the story of Saramā &c. Or ब्रह्मोद्या कथा' may mean 'talks relating to the exposition of Brahma' (the cause of the world), as Kullūka explains. विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81. 19 is हविर्होताश्च ब्राह्मणा ह्युदीना पृष्टा. This is like Manu III 236. मनु III. 237 is the same as वसिष्ठ XI 32, Visnu Dh. S. 81. 20, Aṅgiras verse 133, Brhad-Yama III. 27, Laghu-Sātātapa 103, Viṣṇudharmottara I. 140 46. About the sacred texts and other verses to be recited by the performer (being upavīta) while the brāhmanas are dining, vide above p 445 and notes 994 and 994a. जमदग्नि says 'अपस्वयेन कर्तव्यं सर्वं आद्यं यथाविधि । सूक्तस्तोत्रजप सुकला विष्णो च विसर्जनम्' ॥ q. by आद्यम् of पृथ्वीच folio 101a,

side dishes viz. broths, vegetables, milk, curds, ghee and honey on the ground (and not on a wooden stool or the like). The vessels placed on the ground should contain various kinds of food (such as sweetmeats, *pāyasa*), fruits and roots, delicious flesh, spiced or perfumed drinks. Having brought near the brāhmanas all the vessels containing food, he should serve it in the plates declaring the characteristic of each kind of food (saying 'this is sweet, this is sour' &c.). The performer while serving should not shed tears (remembering his ancestors), he should not become angry, should not utter falsehood, he should not touch the (vessel containing) food with his foot and should not serve food with a violent jerk. Whatever is liked by the brāhmanas should be served to them without any grumbling and he should talk about Brahma (or about Vedic riddles), because that is agreeable to the pitrs. The performer himself, being pleased, should (by his sweet speech) gladden the brāhmanas, should make them partake of food without hurry, and should urge them on frequently (to take more food) by declaring the good points of the various items of food. All food should be steaming hot and the brāhmanas should partake of it silently and should not themselves speak of the good points of the food even when questioned by the performer. When the food is hot, when the brāhmanas eat in silence and when the good qualities of the food are not declared by the brāhmanas, the Fathers partake of it. When a brāhmana (at a śrāddha dinner) partakes of food, having his head covered with a garment (a turban &c) or facing the south or having his sandals on, evil spirits partake of the food (and not the Fathers). As early as Gaut., it is provided that the food for the brāhmanas should be of the highest sort and should be enriched by condiments and flavoured.

Some of the other rules are: The Prajāpati-smṛti (verses 57-62) states who should cook the food for the śrāddha dinner. The wife, any fortunate (or handsome) woman of the performer's gotra whose husband is living and who has a son or brother and is devoted to waiting upon her elders, the performer's teacher's wife, his maternal uncle's wife, paternal or maternal aunt, his sister, his daughter or daughter-in-law, all of them having their husbands alive, should engage in the cooking of the food for śrāddha. Women of good family, who have a large progeny, whose husbands are alive and who are about 50 years old or these women if they have become widows, and the wife of one's paternal uncle or brother, one's mothers (natural or

step-mothers) and the mothers of one's father may cook the śrāddha food and also a woman of the same gotra who is mild by temper. In the Anuśāsana parva (92.15) it is stated that a woman belonging to a gotra other than that of the deceased should not be employed for cooking śrāddha food. One's brother, paternal uncle, brother's son, sister's son, one's son, pupil, one's daughter's son or daughter's husband may also engage in cooking the śrāddha food, but not a woman who wears a white and wet garment, who has let her hair loose, who does not wear a bodico, who is ill or who has bathed her head. Before the brāhmanas begin to eat, the food should be first served in the plates for the Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas and then in those of the pitrya brāhmanas (Visnu Dh S. 73 13-14), but once the brāhmanas have begun to eat there is no such precedence, whatever each brāhmana may be noted as requiring should be served to him (as indicated by Manu III. 231). The performer of the śrāddha when serving food to the brāhmanas (including pitrya) wears his sacred thread in the upavīta form. Though it is said that the food should be hot, that does not apply to such eatables as curds, fruits and roots and flavoured¹⁰³⁵ drinks (as Śankha XIV.13 and Skandapurāna say) As Hemādri (śrāddha p. 1371) points out, the serving of food in a śrāddha rite should be done with the right hand supported by the left; besides, nothing should be served with the bare hand or with a single hand, but with a wooden ladle or other utensil (but not an iron one). All cooked food, all side dishes and ghee should be served with a ladle (and not with the bare hand) but not water or eatables like *ladḍus*. No salt was to be directly served (Visnu Dh S. 79. 12). In Kātyāyana's Śrāddha-sūtra it is provided¹⁰³⁶ "The food that remains after *agnaukarana* should be served in the plates of the pitrya brāhmanas and the performer should touch

1035. उष्णमन्नं द्विजातिभ्यः श्रद्धया विनिवेदायेत् ॥ अन्यत्र फलपुष्पेभ्यः. पानकेभ्यश्च परिहृत. ॥ हस्ते दत्त्वा तु वै स्नेहल्लिखणव्यञ्जनानि च । आयसेन च पात्रेण तत्रै रक्षति ह्यजते ॥ स्कन्दपुराण VII 206 37-39; शङ्ख (14 12-13) has the first verse but with slight variations and also सूत्रं II. 22. 64, शक्तितः प्रकथेद् उष्णसस्कारविधिरक्षस्य । गौ. 15. 6.

1036. पिण्डपितृयज्ञवद्भुत्वा हुतशेषं दत्त्वा पात्रमालभ्य जयति पृथिवीं ते पात्रं द्यौरपिधानं ब्राह्मणस्य मुखे अमृतं अमृतं छहोमि स्वादेति वैष्णव्यर्चा यजुषा वासुदेमन्तेऽवगाह्यापहता इति तिलान् प्रकीर्ष्येणं स्विष्टमर्कं दद्याच्छर्करया वा । कार्याः श्रद्धयश्च 3 quoted and explained by Hemādri on Śrāddh p. 1374. The वैष्णवी rk is 'इव विष्णुर्विचक्रमे' (सं I. 22.17) and वैष्णवी yajus is 'विष्णो हव्यं रक्षस्व' (सं. I. 1. 3. 1. वज्र सं. I. 4.) अपहताः—1s वज्र. सं. II, 29.

each plate for those brāhmanas after repeating the mantra 'the earth is thy vessel, the sky is the cover, I offer nectar in the brāhmana's nectar-like mouth; svāhā'. Then the performer plunges the (-right) thumb of the *pitrya* brāhmana in the food (the remains of the homa in fire) with the rk or yajus addressed to Visnu; and after scattering sesamum grains all round the place where the dinner is to go on with the mantra 'the asuras and rāksasas) are struck and driven away' he (the performer) should serve hot food very much liked (by the departed or by the brāhmanas)". Yāj. I. 238 briefly refers (as translated above) to the mantras and the item of plunging the thumb of the brāhmanas in the food; and so does the Baud. Dh. S. also (II. 8. 15-16). The Kālika-purāna prescribes¹⁰³⁷ that the thumb of the brāhmana should be moved about in the food covered with ghee and honey with the mantra 'the earth is thy vessel &c.' because Visnu in the form of the thumb protects food meant for sacrifices to gods and manes. The Baud. Pīrmedhasūtra provides that while plunging the thumb of the brāhmana in the food served it should be so arranged that the nail of the thumb is not smeared with food,¹⁰³⁸ Vasistha provides that the brāhmanas eating śrāddha food should always hold the plate from which they are eating with (the left) hand till the end of the dinner. Śankha-Likhita provide¹⁰³⁹ that brāhmanas (eating śrāddha food) should not declare the good or bad points of the food served, should not say what is untrue, should not praise each other, nor should they say 'there is plenty of food and drink (and so do not serve more food),

1037. धृत्वाङ्गुष्ठं द्विजानां तु आवर्त्याज्यमधुप्लुते । पृथिवी त इति मन्त्रेण हृष्यकव्ये च रक्षयेत् ॥ विष्णुर्दङ्गुष्ठरूपेण तस्य चाक्षस्य रक्षिता । कालिकापुराण ५ by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1378) अथैतानि ब्राह्मणेभ्य उपनिक्षिप्य ब्राह्मणस्याङ्गुष्ठेनानखेनाद्विजति-अहृण्णा उप-विष्ट-इति । श्री पितृनेधसूत्र II. 9 19 (Mysore ed)

1038 तस्माद्दृश्य (न्य?) हस्तेन कुर्यादङ्गुष्ठपागतम् । भोजनं (भाजनं?) वा समालम्ब्य विष्टेतोच्छेपणे शुभे (तोच्छेपणाद् द्विज ?) ॥ वसिष्ठ II 26 explained by हेमाद्रि (आ.) p 1024 as 'तस्माद्यदेवाङ्गुष्ठागत भवति तत प्रभृत्योच्छेपणात् शुक्ताशिताक्षस्य भाजनाद्द्वि-कारणपर्यन्त वामहस्तेन भाजनं विधृत्य विष्टेत् । कण्डूयनाद्यर्थं वामहस्तव्यापारसमये तु दक्षिण-हस्तेन भाजनं समालम्ब्य वर्तेतेति तात्पर्यार्थं । आ. p. 119 reproduces this explanation verbatim.

1039 शङ्खलिखितैः । ब्राह्मणा अलक्षणं द्रौपं नाभिवदेयुर्नाट्टं ह्युरन्योन्यं न प्रशंसे-
-उरक्षपानं न प्रभृतमिति ह्युरन्यत्र हस्तसङ्गाया । ५ by हेमाद्रि (आ.) p 1019, आ. p 118, which says पात्रे प्रभृतमक्षमस्ति अन्यत्र परिवेष्यमिति भोक्तृभिनं वक्तव्यं क्तिं हस्तसङ्घेतेन सूचनीयमित्यर्थः ।

except by signs made with the hand.' Whatever is offered in a brāhmana's hand (by way of agnaukarana) and whatever food is placed in the plates should be mixed up and eaten. Hemādri quotes passages from the Maitrāyaṇīya-sūtra and from the Skandapurāna setting out the mantras wherewith certain articles were to be served; e. g. the Skandapurāna says that *pāyasa* should be served with the verse 'namo vah pitaro' (Vāj. S. II. 32, Tai. S. III. 2. 5. 5), clarified butter with the mantra 'Tojosi śukram', curds with the mantra 'dadhikrāvno' (Rg. IV. 39. 6, Vāj. S. 23. 32, Tai. S. 1. 5. 11. 4). Ap Dh. S. (II. 8. 18. 11) provides that the leavings of a śrāddha dinner should not be given to one who is inferior to the invited brāhmanas in qualities and Manu III. 249 states that the man who after eating śrāddha dinner gives the leavings to a śūdra falls in the Kālasūtra Hell.

The Matsyapurāna and some other works provide that the brāhmanas should pronounce blessings on the performer (who faces the east) after they have sipped water and have been given water, flowers and *akṣata* grains. The performer prays 'May our Fathers be not terrible (i. e. be kind) to us.' The brāhmanas reply 'lot it be so'. The performer prays 'May our family grow', 'May donors increase in our family and also food', 'May these blessings turn out to be true'. To all these the brāhmanas reply after each one of the prayers¹⁰⁴⁰ 'May it be so'. There are rules about the time when the leavings or particles of food in the plates of the brāhmanas that ate the dinner should be removed or swept away Vas. (XI 21-22) and the Kūrmapurāna provide that the leavings of food should not be removed till the Sun sets, since streams of nectar flow from them, which are drunk by the (spirits of) those departed persons for whom no water was offered. Manu III. 265 (which is the same as Matsya 17 56 and Padma, Srstikhanda 9.185) provides another rule that the leavings of the food in the plates may remain where they are till the brāhmanas are dismissed and depart.

1040. तत स्वधावाचनिक विश्वेदेवेषु चोदकम् ॥ दत्वाही प्रतिशुद्धीयाद् द्विजेभ्यः प्रादुषो ब्रुवः । अथोरा. पितरः सन्तु सन्तिल्लुक्त. पुनर्द्विजे ॥ गोत्र तथा वर्धता नस्तथेल्लुक्तश्च तेः पुनः । दातारो जोऽभिवर्धन्तामिति चैवहृदीरयेत् ॥ एता सत्याक्षिणः सन्तिल्लुक्तश्च ते पुनः । एतस्तिवाचनिक कुर्यात्पिण्डाल्लुक्तं भक्तिम् ॥ मत्स्य 17 52-55 q by हेमाद्रि (आ. P 1482), स्मृतिच (आ) P 482, कल्पतरु (आ. P. 220). Compare आण औ. I. 10. 4 शृदात् पितरो दत्त सद्दो वा पितरो देवम् । Yāj. I 246 (दातारो नो etc.) is the same as भविष्य I. 185 28

Hemādri (śrāddha, p. 1512)¹⁰⁴¹ therefore provides that if the performer has another house the leavings may not be removed till sunset, but if he has only one house, they may be removed after the brāhmanas have gone away (vide Yāj I. 257, Matsya 17.56). It is further provided by Brhaspati¹⁰⁴² that the plates should not be removed before the brāhmanas pronounce the word 'svasti', and Jātūkarnya¹⁰⁴³ and the Skandapurāna say that the plates and the leavings should be removed by the performer himself or by his pupil or son, but not by women nor by a child nor by one who is not of the same caste. Manu III 258 provides that, after the brāhmanas have left, the performer should look at the south and pray to the pītr̥s for certain blessings contained in Manu III 259 which are the same as Yāj I 246 translated above (vide p. 447), Visnu Dh. S 73. 28, Matsya 16. 49-50. The Āp. gr. 209 (q. in note 981), Āp Dh. S II 7. 17. 16, Manu III. 264, Yāj. I. 249 provide that the performer should partake of the remainder of the food cooked for the śrāddha along with his wife, paternal and maternal relatives after reciting (according to Haradatta) the Yājusa mantra (Āp. M. P. II. 20.26) which means 'entering the life breath I offer nectar; my soul is centred in Brahman for the sake of immortality.' The Āp. gr and Āp. Dh. S. provide¹⁰⁴⁴ that the performer must eat at least a morsel of the food left after serving to the brāhmanas. Vyāsa and Devala prescribe that on the day of śrāddha the performer must not observe a fast (even if he usually does so as on Ekādaśī or Śivarātra). A way out was provided by the Brahmavaiivarta-purāna by recommending that the performer should merely smell the remnants of the śrāddha food. Vide

1041. आद्धे नोद्वासनीयानि उच्छिद्यन्त्या दिनक्षयात् । श्वपोतन्ते हि सुधाधारस्ताः पिबन्त्यकुतोदका ॥ वसिष्ठ XI 21, नोद्वासयेत्तुच्छिद्यं पावत्रास्तमितो रविः । कूर्मपुराण II 22 85 कल्पतत्र (आ p 227) remarks 'नोद्वासनीयान्युच्छिद्यदानीति भूमिदोच्छिद्य-द्विपयम् । उच्छिद्यं न प्रमुञ्चयात्-इति भूमिगतोच्छिद्यपात्रविपयम् ।'

1042. भाजनेषु च विदुस्तु स्वस्ति कुर्वन्ति वे द्विजाः । तदक्षमसुरैर्भुक्तं निरासौः पितृभिर्गते ॥ बृहस्पति q. by स्मृतिच. (आ p. 482), हेमाद्रि (आ p. 1485)

1043. पात्राणि चालयेच्छ्राद्धे स्वयं द्विष्योऽथवा सुत. । न स्त्रीभिर्न च बालेन नासजात्या कथञ्चन ॥ जातुकर्ण्य q. by स्मृतिच. (आ p 482), हेमाद्रि (आ) p. 1486, न स्त्रीभिर्न च बालेन नान्येनैव च केनचित् । आद्धे पिण्डं च पात्रं च स्वयमेव प्रचालयेत् ॥ स्कन्द (नागर खण्ड) q. by हेमाद्रि (आद्ध) p 1486.

1044 सर्वेषु वृत्तेषु सर्वतः समवदाय शेषस्य आसावराहर्षं प्राश्नीयाद्यथोक्तम् । आप घ सू II 7 17.16. यथोक्त refers to आप घ 20 9 The यजुस् referred to in the latter is प्राणे निविद्योऽमुत्तं जुहोमि ब्रह्मणि मे आत्मा मृतत्वाय । आप म पा. II 20. 26. This मन्त्र occurs also in तै. आ X 33.

Homātri (śrāddha, pp. 1519-1521) for the discussion. Homātri (p. 1485) refers to the practice (observed even now) that after the performer receives the blessings referred to above, his son, grandson and the like should offer adoration to the *devatās* in the form of pindas. The brāhmanas should praise the good characteristics of the food served at the end of the śrāddha ceremony.¹⁰¹⁵ The brāhmanas should not get up from the dinner, carelessly leaving remnants of food in their plates, but they may leave in the plates a little food except milk, curds, honey or barley flour.¹⁰¹⁶

There were several views as to the exact stage at which the offerings of pindas were to be made. According to Śān. Gr. IV. 1.9., Āśv. gr. IV. 8. 12,¹⁰¹⁷ Śankha 14.11, Manu III. 260-261, Yāj. I 242 and several other works, the performer offers the lumps of boiled rice after the brāhmanas have finished eating their dinner. The pindas are made with boiled rice mixed with sesame and are placed on darbhas on a clean spot and at a distance of about one aratni from¹⁰¹⁸ the plates in which the brāhmanas ate and the performer faces the south. Here again there are two opinions, one being that pindas were to be offered before the brāhmanas sip water (perform *ūcamana*) after dinner (e. g. Āśv. gr. IV. 8. 12-13, Śrāddha-sūtra of Kātyāyana, kandika 3), while others hold that they were to be offered after the brāhmanas have rinsed their mouth and taken *ūcamana*. Another view referred to as the view of some by Śān. gr. IV. 1. 10 and Manu III. 261 was that pindas were to be offered to the ancestors first after honouring the invited brāhmanas or after *agnaukarana* and then the brāhmanas were to partake of the dinner. The

1015. आह्वयसाने कर्तव्या द्विजैरज्यणस्तुति । इद्धवसिष्ठ q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1019).

1016. तदाहोदाना. । भोजनं तु न निःशेषं कुर्यात्प्राज्ञ ऊर्ध्वचन । अन्यत्र वृत्रः क्षीराहा क्षौद्रान्तस्कुम्भ एव च ॥ q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1026) Acc to मनु III 243-46, विष्णु 81. 22-23, मत्स्य 17. 56-57, the leavings of food in the plates of ब्राह्मण्य and the विकिर were the lot of persons of the family dying young, while the leavings of food that fell or were left on the ground were the share of deceased slaves. 'पात्रगतसुच्छिद्यमसरकृतप्रमीताना भूमिगतं दासवर्गस्य' इत्यादि on कात्यायनः आह्वयसूत्र (folio 30a) Vide n 1007 above for मनु III 245.

1017. अभिमतेष्टमते वा शुकवत्त्वनाचान्तेषु पिण्डास्त्रिदश्यात् । आचान्तेष्वेके । आश्व गृ. IV. 8. 12-13.

1018. सान्तिनेन ततोच्चेन पिण्डान् सर्वेषु युञ्जक । पिण्डत्रिदशिय वर्धेषु दद्यादुच्छिद्यसन्निधौ मार्कण्डेयपुराण 28 55 अस्ति is the hand from the wrist to the small finger.

Brahmāndapurāna¹⁰⁴⁹ emphatically asserts that this is the correct position as stated by Brhaspati. The Visnu Dh. S. (73 15-24) provides that the pindas are to be offered to the ancestors while the brāhmanas are actually eating. A fourth view is that of the Āp. gr. 24.9, Hir gr. (II. 12.2-3) which state that the performer¹⁰⁵⁰ should, after the brāhmanas have eaten and gone away and he has followed and circumambulated them, offer pindas. Owing to this conflict of views Hemādri (quoting smṛti) and the Madanapārijāta (p 600) say that each one should follow the procedure laid down in his own śākha¹⁰⁵¹. Hemādri adds that those in whose gṛhyasūtra no special time is mentioned for pindadāna should follow the view that pindas are to be offered after the brāhmanas have partaken of the dinner and sipped water. The Śr. P. (p. 247) endorses this view.¹⁰⁵² The pindas were to be deposited on bunches of (25) darbhas for each pinda. Aparārka on Yāj. I. 24 states that in all cases without exception pindas were to be offered near the plates from which the brāhmanas took their meals, while Hemādri who relies on Kātyāyana's word 'ucchistasannidhau' says that where the performer is an *āhutāgṇi* the pindas were to be offered near his sacred fire, but when a performer had not kept the sacred fires pindas were to be offered near the plates from which brāhmanas ate the śrāddha food. The Śrāddhasāra (p 163) quotes Atri to the effect that pindas should be offered at a distance of three *aratnas* from where the brāhmanas ate the śrāddha dinner and that in such śrāddhas as Navaśrāddhas Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before pindadāna and that it is to be performed after

1049 पूजनं चैव विप्राणां पूर्वनिवेहं नित्यदा ॥ तद्धि धर्मार्थकुशलं नेत्युवाच बृहस्पतिः ।
पूर्वं निवेद्येत् पिण्डान् पश्चाद्विप्राश्च भोजयेत् ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड, उपोद्घात 12 24-26. These
verses are quoted from ब्रह्मपुराण by कल्पतरु (आ p. 221). The सौरपुराण
19. 23 says 'पिण्डनिर्वपणं कृत्वा ब्राह्मणांश्चैव भोजयेत् । केचिदप्येवमिच्छन्ति नैव भानोर्नतं
हिजा. ॥'

1050. शुक्तवतोऽशुभप्रज्य शेषमनुज्ञाप्योदकुम्भं धर्मद्वष्टिं चावाप दक्षिणपूर्वेनवान्तर-
देशं गत्वा दक्षिणाग्रान्दर्भान् संरतीर्य तेषवाचीनपाणिर्दक्षिणापवर्गाञ्जिह्वाकाञ्जलिं निनयति
मार्जयन्तो पितरः सोम्यासः मार्जयन्ता पितामहाः सोम्यासः मार्जयन्तो मपितामहाः सोम्यास
इति । असावनेनिश्वासावनेनिद्वयेति वा । तेषवाचीनपाणिर्दक्षिणापवर्गान् पिण्डान्वदाति । हिरण्य.
सू. II. 12. 2-3. For आप. सू. vide n 981.

1051. तथा च स्मृतिः । हुनिभिर्भिक्षकालेषु पिण्डदानं तु यत्स्मृतम् । तत् स्वज्ञास्वाम्तं
यत्र तत्र कुर्याद्विचक्षणः ॥ हेमाद्रिः (आ p. 1408), who adds 'उपलक्षणं चैतत् स्व-
शुद्धाद्यनुमतेः ।'

1052 येनां तु शुद्धादौ पिण्डदानकालो नोक्तस्तेषां सौकर्यादौ चाश्लेषित्वेन पक्षो
प्राद्य इति षड्वदः । आ. म p. 247.

pindadāna in Sāmvasarika śrāddha, Mahālaya and the like (p. 164).

There is another conflict of views as regards the ancestors to whom pindas are to be offered at the śrāddha on amāvāsya. Most of the ancient Vedic works refer only to the three paternal ancestors as the *devatās* of the Pārvana-śrāddha and not to any other relatives. The three paternal ancestors are separately the *devatās* of śrāddha and not cumulatively, as indicated by the Āśv. Śrauta II. 6. 15 and Visnu Dh S. 73 13-14. The important questions are whether the wives of the paternal ancestors, viz. the mother, the grandmother and the paternal great-grandmother were associated with their husbands in ancient times and secondly, whether the three paternal ancestors of one's mother viz. the maternal grandfather, the maternal great-grandfather and the maternal great-great-grandfather were invoked together with their wives in the Pārvana. The answer to both these questions so far as the Vedas and Brāhmanas are concerned is in the negative. Vide Tai. S. I. 8. 5.1, Tai. Br. I. 3. 10, II. 6. 16, Vāj. Ś. 19 36-37, Śat. Br. II. 4. 2. 16, in all of which the only persons expressly named are the pitrs and three paternal ancestors. It may be noted, however, that in Vāj. S. 9. 19 (which is cited by Kātyāyana at the end of Śrāddhasūtra 3 as the mantra to be recited when following the brāhmanas that are dismissed) there is a clear reference to paternal ancestors and also to mothers. Almost all sūtras also are silent as regards the invocation of the maternal ancestors in Pārvana-śrāddha along with paternal ones. Vide 1053 Āśv. Śr.; Sudarśana on Āp. gr. VIII. 21. 2 states that the Sūtrakāra and Bhāṣyakāra did not speak of Mātamahāśrāddha as it is not obligatory for a daughter's son to offer it. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana 1054 speaks of three pindas being made for the paternal ancestors and three for the mother's paternal

1053. तस्या पिण्डान् निष्पृणीयात्पराचीनपाणिः पित्रे पितामहाय प्रपितामहायैतत्तेऽसौ ये च त्वामवाप्सिति । आश्व. श्रौ. II 6, 15 on which गार्ग्यनारायण explains 'नितरणं पित्र्येणैव तीर्थेन । पाणेरुत्सानत्वमजहदेव पित्र्येण तीर्थेन यदा क्षुर्पात् तदा पराचीनपाणिर्भवति । असावित्यस्य स्थाने सम्बुद्धचन्तानि पित्रादीनां नामानि यद्दीयात्', तस्या refers to देहादायाने-

1054. सर्वमङ्गनेकतोद्धृत्योच्छिद्यसमीपे क्षर्भेण श्रींशान् पिण्डानवनेज्य इद्यादायाने-
नित्येके । ... वाच्यतामित्यद्विज्ञातः पितुभ्यः पितामहेभ्यः प्रपितामहेभ्यः मातामहेभ्यः प्रमाता-
महेभ्यो बुद्धप्रमातामहेभ्यश्च स्वधोच्यताम् । ... वाजे वाजेऽवतेति निसृज्य आ मा वाजरत्येजुन्नज्य
श्रद्धक्षिणीकृत्योपविशेत् । कात्यायनः अद्भिस्त्र III The मन्त्र reads 'आ मा वाजरत्ये
भंसवो जगन्पादेने द्यानाशुधिवी निम्बस्वरे । आ मा गन्तां पितरा मातरा च्वा मा सोमो अशुत्वने
गन्मात् । वाज. सं 9. 19.

ancestors. The Gobhilāsmṛti provides¹⁰⁵⁵ that six pindas should be offered except in the Anvatakāśrāddha, the first śrāddha (on the 11th day), the sixteen śrāddhas and the yearly śrāddha for a deceased person. Dhaumya¹⁰⁵⁶ prescribes that where the paternal ancestors are honoured (or fed) the maternal ancestors also should be certainly honoured without making any difference (between the two classes); if he makes a distinction the performer will go to Hell. The Visṇupurāna,¹⁰⁵⁷ the Brahmāṇḍapurāna and the Varāhapurāna say that some hold that a śrāddha for maternal ancestors is to be performed separately while other sages hold that one śrāddha is to be offered at the same time to the paternal and maternal ancestors. Brhaspati (q. by Kalpataru on śrāddha p. 204) prescribes¹⁰⁵⁸ that one should offer pindas made from all food cooked for the śrāddha and mixed with honey and sesamum grains for both paternal and maternal ancestors according to the rules of one's grhyasūtra. The Varāhapurāna (14 40-41) says that *pitrya* brāhmanas should be dismissed first and then the *daiva* brāhmanas together with those for the mother's ancestors and that separate pindas were to be offered to the mother's paternal ancestors (1437). Some held the view that the offering of pindas to maternal ancestors was obligatory for the *putrikā-putra*¹⁰⁵⁹ (son of the appointed daughter) or for a daughter's son that inherited the wealth of his maternal grandfather. Bṛhat-Parāśara (chap. V. p. 153) mentions several views on this point. It seems probable that when the appointment of a

1055. कर्तुमन्वितं शुक्त्वा तथाश्चाद्भयोदशम् । मत्याविकं हृ शेषेषु पिण्डाः स्युः षडिति स्थिति ॥ गोभिलस्मृति III. 73. कर्तुमन्वितं is explained by निर्णयसिन्धु (III p 395) and हेमाद्रि as सपिण्डीकरण and by आ. क्रि. कौ. p 93 as अष्टकाभाद्

1056. पितरो यत्र दृश्यन्ते तत्र मातामहा ध्रुवम् । अविशेषेण कर्तव्य विशेषाक्षरकं ब्रजेत् ॥ धौम्ये q by आ. म p 14. स्मृतिच. (आ p 337) quotes it as स्मृत्यन्तर, the स्मृत्यन्तर p. 56 merely quotes it (without name) and आ. क्रि. कौ. p 93 quotes it from योगियाज्ञवल्क्य.

1057. पृथक्तयो. केचिदाहु आद्भस्य कारणं नृप । एकत्रैकेन पाकेन वदन्त्यग्रे महर्षय ॥ विष्णुपुराण III 15 17, पृथङ्मातामहानां हृ केचिदिच्छन्ति मानवाः । त्रीन् पिण्डानानुपूर्व्येण साङ्गुष्ठान् शुद्धिवर्धनान् ॥ अद्भ्याम् (उपोद्घातपाद) 11. 61. The verso पृथक्तयो. is also बराहपुराण 14 12.

1058. सर्वरमायकृताद्भात् पिण्डान् मधुविलान्वितान् । पितृमातामहादीनां दद्याद्भुक्ष-विधानत. ॥ बृहस्पति q by स्मृतिच. (आ p. 479), हेमाद्रि (आ) p. 1428. It may be noted that या (I. 242) does not mention honey.

1059. Vide मनु IX. 132 and H. of Dh. vol. III. pp.- 647 and 657 (for श्रविकाश्रव).

daughter as a son became rare or went out of vogue the maternal ancestors came to be associated with the paternal ancestors in pārvana-śrāddha.

The question when the wives of ancestors became associated with the male ancestors cannot be solved satisfactorily. The *pitāmāhī* is not mentioned in the extant Vedic Literature. But it is certain that the wives of male ancestors had come to be associated with their husbands in the sūtra period. For example, the Hir. Gr. II 10 associates the mother, the paternal grandmother and the paternal great-grandmother with their respective husbands in the monthly śrāddha performed in the dark half. Similarly, the Baud. gr. II 11.34 not only associates in the Astakā śrāddha the male maternal ancestors with the male paternal ancestors, but also their respective wives. The Āp. M. P.¹⁰⁶⁰ has mantras referring to the three male paternal ancestors as well as their wives. The Śān. gr. (IV. 1.11) provides that behind the lumps for the paternal ancestors the performer places the lumps for their wives, putting something between the two sets of pindas and the commentator explains that darbhas are placed between the two sets. The Kauśika sūtra (88 12) also provides for the offering of pindas to the wives of male ancestors to the south of the pindas for male ancestors. The Āśv. gr. (II 5. 4-5), while speaking of the Anvastakya rite, refers to pindas to be offered to the wives of ancestors with the addition of rum and the scum of boiled rice. The Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra IV. 7 (after describing the Pinda-pitryajña in IV. 5-6) notes that the difference between it and the ordinary monthly śrāddha is that in the latter pindas are offered to the wives of the pitrs¹⁰⁶¹. Dr. Caland (in 'Ahnencult' p. 164) thinks that this inclusion of the women ancestors among those to whom pindas were to be offered was made by taking over from Anvastakya ceremonial described above. This conjecture does not look very probable. The Astakā rites existed from remote antiquity as shown above. If the offering of pindas to women ancestors were borrowed from the Anvastakya

1060. मार्जयन्तां नम पितरो मार्जयन्तां नम पितामहा मार्जयन्ता नम प्रपितामहा ॥
मार्जयन्तां नम मातरौ मार्जयन्ता नम पितामह्यौ मार्जयन्तां नम प्रपितामह्य । आप. म पा.
II. 19. 2-7.

1061. अथ आर्द्धं मासि मास्यपरपक्षेऽन्यतमेदहन्यजन्मर्षे ब्राह्मणनिमन्त्रणादि सर्वसं-
काषत् । तथाज्यचरुं हुत्वास्त्रं पिण्डार्थं पात्रे समुदाय ब्राह्मणान्भोजयित्वा नमो वः पितरो
इत्यपेति पिण्डं प्रथमं पितृभ्यो नमो वः पितरः सोम्यास इति द्वितीयवृत्तीयौ पितामहप्रपितामहा-
भ्याम् । पितृभ्यस्तत्पत्नीभ्यः पिण्डानर्पयतीति विशेषः । वैश्वानसश्रुत्य IV. 7.

this item would have figured in all sūtras just as Aṣṭakā śrāddha does. It is rather more probable that the extension to women was a natural growth in course of time. Some of the smṛtis emphasize the participation of the wives of paternal ancestors in the *pārvaṇaśrāddha* offerings. Śātatapa states¹⁰⁶²: 'In what is offered to the pītṛs after Sapinḍikaraṇa, the mother is a participant everywhere. A śrāddha may be separately offered to the mother in the Anvaṣṭakā rites, in Vṛddhi-śrāddha, at Gayā and on the anniversary of the day of her death; but in other cases it is performed along with the husband'. It is stated by Bṛhaspati that the mother partakes of the śrāddha food along with her husband (i. e. the father of the performer); that the same rule applies to the paternal grandmother and the paternal great-grandmother¹⁰⁶³. The Kalpataru¹⁰⁶⁴ and others held that the wives of the paternal ancestors were not *devatās* in the *pārvaṇa-śrāddha*, but they only enjoyed the ethereal food which came to the pītṛs, while Hemādri and other southern writers held that the mother and other female ancestors were among the *devatās* of *pārvaṇa-śrāddha*, but not the step-mother. There was a divergence of views whether the words 'mother', 'paternal grandmother' and 'paternal great-grandmother' included the co-wives (*sapatnīs*) of these. Hemādri (on śrāddha pp. 97-104) has a long disquisition on this question. According to one view the step-mother, the co-wife of the *pitr-māhī* and the co-wife of the *propitiāmāhī* would be included in

1062. नृपिण्डीकरणदूर्ध्वं यत्पितृभ्यः प्रदीयते। सर्वजांशहरा माता इति चर्त्तुं निश्चयः ॥ अन्यटकाद् ब्रह्मैव गयार्थं च कथ्येद्वानि। मातुः आर्द्धं पृथक् कुर्याद्वयत्र पतिना सह ॥ शातातप ५ by आ म. प. ९, स्मृतिच (आ) p. 369 as स्तुत्यन्तर.

1063. स्वेन भर्त्रा सह आर्द्धं माता दुक्ते स्वयामयत्। पितान्ही च स्वेनैव तथैव प्रपिता-
मही ॥ बृहस्पति ५. by स्मृतिच (आ.), p. 369, हेलाञ्जि (आ) p. 99, आ-म प. 9.

1064. न सपत्नीकानां देवतात्वमिति कल्पतत्त्वचतुस्रः। हेमाद्रिनचतुस्री दृक्षिपात्यास्तु... एकत्वानेव आर्द्धव्यस्तौ पितृन् तद्योषितश्च देवतात्वेनोद्दिशेदिति विधीयते। आ-म pp. 9-10. The argument of those who hold the former view is 'सपत्नीकान्पितृककान्नि-
स्त्रेले पितृदेव देवतात्वं भवेत्तु द्विद्वेषणीतृतायाः पत्न्याः—इति ॥ सोढरानन्द (आर्द्धसौम्य)
folio 3a. The आर्द्धतत्त्व p. 190 similarly says 'उक्तस्तुत्यादिषु पित्रादीनां प्रत्येक-
निर्देशात्, अत्र पितरो देवता इत्यापरन्वञ्जे देवता इति बहुवचनानिर्देशात्, न योषिद्वय-
इत्यादेवचनाच्च पित्रादीनां प्रत्येकेन पत्नीनिरपेक्षेण च देवतात्वरः'. Vide n. 723 for the
आप. च सू. passage. न योषिद्वय— is apparently गौभिलस्मृति II. 102 'न योषिद्वय-
पृथग्दद्याद्द्वसानदिनाहते। स्वमर्तृपिण्डनाञ्च द्विपत्तां चतः स्मृता ॥'. The कल्पतत्त्व
(आर्द्धकाण्ड p. 4) says: नापि पित्रादेः सपत्नीकस्य देवतात्वं तथात्वे प्रनाशाभावात्। अस्तु
न योषिद्वयः पृथग्दद्याद्द्वसानदिनाहते। स्वमर्तृपिण्डनाञ्चान्यास्तुतिरासौ यतः स्मृता ॥ इति
शातातपवचने मर्तृसम्बन्धि पिण्डभागस्त्वैव पत्नीतृतिहेतुत्वेनाभिधानाच्च त्रिपरीतमेव प्रत्यापन्नस्ति।
कल्पतत्त्व, आ-प. 260.

the presentation formula (as quoted below), while according to Hemādri only the real mother, the real paternal grand-mother and the real paternal great-grandmother would ordinarily be included except on rare occasions such as a Mahālayāsraद्धा or a śraद्धa at Gayā. 1065

As regards the mantra to be recited when offering each of the pindas there is some divergence of views, which reaches far into antiquity. The pinda¹⁰⁶⁶ is offered to each ancestor after stating his gotra, his relationship to the performer and name (all in the vocative). According to several writers the form of the presentation of the pinda is 'this is for thee, O Father! N. N. (by name) and so and so by gotra.' In the Tai. S. I. 8.5 1, in the Āp. M. P. II. 20.13 and in some sūtras, the following is added 'and for those who follow thee' (ye ca tvān-ānu)¹⁰⁶⁷ In the Gobhila-grhya IV. 36 and Khādiragrhya the formula is still longer 'This pinda, is thine, O father! and of those who follow thee and of those whom thou followest.¹⁰⁶⁸ To thee, Svadhā!'. The Bhāradvaja¹⁰⁶⁹ gr. II. 12 introduces slight changes. It has been already noted above (n. 781) how the Śat. Br. disapproves of

1065. त्वयेमेतन्निष्कृतं यद्दत्तपत्नीकपित्रादिवैवस्यामावस्यादिसाधारणकालिकभावं प्रयुगे अस्मत्पितृर्जन्मवत्तर्जन्मं पासिष्ठगोत्राद्युक्तानामिकाभिर्पासिष्ठगोत्रानि. पत्नीभिः स्वपितृभ्यमभिमित्यादिभिः स्त्रीयुक्तोद्देशोपलक्षितैर्वाप्यैरुद्धानं फलं प्रयति। This is the पूर्ववत् view. ऐमादि replies 'अथ सिद्धान्तोऽभिधीयते। तत्र तावन्मुख्ये पार्यगे जननी-व्यतिरिक्तानां पितृपत्नीनां च सद्योद्देशः कार्यः। नापि पितृजननीव्यतिरिक्तानां पितामह्यपत्नीनां नापि पितामहजननीव्यतिरिक्तानां प्रयितानह्यपत्नीनाम्। ऐमादि (आ. j p 100 ऐमादि adda (p 102) 'यदा ह नापापितृसुप्तिकामया विशिष्टे महालयार्थिकालपक्षे गयादि-तीर्थेतिहोदे वा आश्वं कुर्यात्तदा पुत्रवतीनामशुजाणां वा मातृसपत्नीनामपि आश्वं कुर्यात्।'

1066. अर्धदानेऽथ सङ्कल्पे पिण्डदाने तथा क्षये। मोक्षतन्मन्थमामानि यथापत्यपाद-येत् ॥ पारस्कर q. by अपराकं p. 506, ऐमादि (आ. p. 1434), आ. म. p. 258 which explains 'सङ्कल्पे अक्षर्याने'। The form of the address will be 'अह्युक्तगोत्रात्-पितरह्युक्तानाम् एतत्तेऽह्यं (or एष ते पिण्डः) इवथा नम इवमह्युक्तगोत्रावस्मत्पित्रे अह्युक्तानामे च ममेति' ऐमादि (आ. p. 1436). It should be noted that this formula is to be employed only by the Vājasaneyins.

1067. एतत्ते तत्तासौ ये च स्वामह्य, एतत्ते पितामह्यसौ ये च स्वामह्य, एतत्ते प्रपितामह्ये च स्वामह्य। आय. म. पा. II. 20. 13.—Vide note 781 for तै. सं. passages and n. 1053 for आश्व. ओ passage.

1068. असाववनेतिह्य ये चान्न स्वामह्य याश्च स्वमह्य तस्मै ते स्वपेति। गोभिलगृह III. 3. 6 and खादिरगृह III. 5. 17. The नोटदानन्द (आश्वसौख्य folio 77a) gives the formulas for followers of यजुर्वेद and सामवेद as follows: अह्युक्तगोत्रपितरह्युक्तानामे-तत्तेऽह्यं स्वपेति यजुर्वेदिनाह्युक्तानामेवामह्यम्। अह्युक्तगोत्र पितरह्युक्तवैवर्जानामेतत्ते चान्न स्वामह्य याश्च स्वमह्य तस्मै ते स्वपेति छन्दोगानाम्!; compare आश्वतर p. 237 and आ. ति. फा. p. 70 for similar formulas

1069. याश्च स्वमह्यवति ये च स्वामह्य। भास्वजगृह II, 12,

the usage of the Tai. S. in this matter, the reason being¹⁰⁷⁰ that when the son offers a pinḍa to his father and employs the formula 'this is thine and of those that follow thee', he would be included among those that follow the father and be thus offering a pinḍa to himself, which is inauspicious. It is provided by Gobhila-grhya¹⁰⁷¹ that if he does not know the names of his ancestors he should put down the first pinḍa with the Formula 'svadhā to the Fathers dwelling on the earth', (he should put down) the 2nd pinḍa with the formula 'svadhā to the fathers dwelling in the air', the third with the formula 'svadhā to the Fathers dwelling in heaven' and should recite in a low voice the words 'Here, O Fathers, gladden yourselves, show your vigour each according to his own part,' Yama quoted by Kalpataru (on Śr. p 203), following Gobhila provides generally (whether the ancestors be known or not) that the first pinḍa should be offered to the father with the expression 'prthivī', the second to the grandfather in the aerial regions and the third to the paternal great-grandfather with the mantra 'dyaur darvī'. The Viṣṇu Dh. S (73 17-19) has similar provisions, the mantras respectively being 'prthivī darviraksitā', 'antariksam darviraksitā', 'dyaur-darviraksitā'. Medhātithi on Manu III, 194 says (following Āśv. Śr and others) that if the names of the ancestors are not known he should simply say 'O Father, Grandfather' &c. If the gotra be not known then he should employ the gotra name Kāśyapa.¹⁰⁷²

Certain matters pertaining to pinḍas must be stated in one place once for all. There is a good deal of discussion about the

1070. तदेतद्वमङ्गल्यमभिधानं भवति । यतोऽयं पिण्डदानं कुर्याणः पुत्रादिः ये च स्वामनु इति मन्त्रेण येषां ममीताना सहेत्याह तेषा पश्चाद्भूतः स्वयमेव सह भवति । अतश्चासौ स्वस्मा एव पिण्डदान करोतीति प्रतिभाति । हेमाद्रि (आ) p. 1437.

1071. यदि नामानि न विन्ध्यात् स्वधा पितृभ्यः पृथिवीपद्भ्य इति प्रथमं पिण्डं निदध्यात् । स्वधा पितृभ्योऽन्तरिक्षपद्भ्य इति द्वितीयं स्वधा पितृभ्यो दिविपद्भ्य इति तृतीयं निषाय जपति अत्र पितरो मातृपद्भं यथाभागमावृषायध्वमिति । गोभिलशुक्ल IV. 3. 10-11 q. by हेमाद्रि p. 1443 and आ म 260. Compare तै. सं I. 8. 5. 1 एतत्ते तत्... प्रपितामहं ये च स्वामन्त्र पितरो यथाभागं मन्दध्वम्' and वाज सं II. 31 'अत्र पितरो मातृपद्भं यथाभागमावृषायध्वम्'. The आश्व औ. सू II. 6. 24 says 'नामान्यविद्वांस्ततपितामहप्रपितामहेति'.

1072. गोत्रज्ञानेप्याह व्यासपाद.—गोत्रनाशे तु कश्यपः—इति । गोत्रज्ञाने कश्यप-गोत्रमहर्षेण कर्तव्यम् । कश्यपसगोत्रस्य सर्वसाधारणत्वात् । तथा च स्मृतिः । तस्मादाहुः सर्वाः प्रजाः कश्यप्य इति । स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 481), vide आ म p. 260 for a similar provision. The शुद्धकमलाकर p 49 says. यद्यपि तस्मादाहुः सर्वाः प्रजाः कश्यप्य इति शतपथश्रुतेः... कश्यपं गोत्रमस्ति तथापि आहु एव तत् । 'सर्वाः प्रजाः कश्यप्य. —These words occur in शतपथब्राह्मण VII 5. 1. 5.

size of the pindas. Marici (quoted by Aparārka p. 507) provides that in pārvana-śrāddha the pinḍa should be of the size of undried *āmalaka* fruit, of the size of a *bilva* fruit in Ekoddista, in navaśrāddhas the pinda should be bigger than in any one of the preceding when offered every day during the days of impurity on death. The Skandapurāna says that pindas should be of such a size as would enable a calf two years old to put it easily into its mouth.¹⁰⁷³ Angiras (q. by Sm. C p. 475 and Hemādri, śrāddha p. 1429) prescribes that the pindas may be of the size of *kapittha* or *bilva* fruit or of the size of a hen's egg or of an *āmalaka* or *badara* fruit. In the Maitrāyaniya-sūtra¹⁰⁷⁴ it is said that the pinda for the paternal grandfather should be bigger than that for the father and should be in the middle (of the three pindas), that the pinda for the great-grandfather should be the largest of all. The next point is from what materials the pindas were to be made. If pindas were offered before *agnaukarana* they were to be made from the boiled rice (*caru*) prepared for *agnaukarana*. If made after *agnaukarana*, the pindas were to be made from the cooked food (remaining after *agnaukarana*) mixed with sesamum (vide Yāj I 242). If pindas were to be offered after the brāhmanas took their dinner, the pindas were to be made from the remainder of the food cooked for the brāhmanas which was to be mixed with the boiled rice for *agnaukarana* as stated in Kātyāyana's Śrāddha-sūtra.¹⁰⁷⁵ The pindas were to be placed according to the Matsya¹⁰⁷⁶ on darbhas spread on the ground cleaned with water mixed with cow's dung and urine. There were others such as Devala, the Brahmapurāna and Bhavisyapurāna that prescribed that an altar, either circular or square, of sand was to be raised on ground 4 fingers in height and one cubit in extent near the plates from which brāhmanas were to eat and thereon *darbhas*

1073. द्विदायनस्य ब्रह्मस्य विशन्तयार्षं यथास्तुत्वम् । तथा कुर्यात्प्रमाणीन पिण्डान् स्यात्तेन भावितम् ॥ स्कन्द VII. 1. 206. 41 q. by स्मृतिच (आ. p. 475) and हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1429 as स्यात्स'.

1074. इत्यौद्धरयोद्धतेषु पिण्डाभिदधाति पितृनाम्नाऽस्तावेते ते ये चात्र राज्ञ तामे तेपथ स्वधेति प्रथमं, पितामहस्य नाम्ना स्वधीर्वांस मधुमं, प्रपितामहनाम्ना स्थानं दक्षिणं द्वयोः परयोर्नामनी शुक्लं मूलदेशे लेपं निर्मादिति । मैत्रायणीयस्य q. by हेमाद्रि (आ.) p. 1430, आ. प्र. p. 257.

1075. तुसां स्म इत्यनुज्ञातः शेषमन्नमनुज्ञात्प सध्वमन्नमन्नोद्धरयोद्धितसमीपे वर्धनुं श्रीश्रीनिपिण्डानवनेज्य दद्यात् । आश्वसूत्र of कात्या III.

1076. उपलिप्ते महीपृष्ठे शोशकृन्मूत्रधारिणा । निधाय वर्धनं विधियदक्षिणामान्यपत्ततः । सर्ववर्णेन चाक्षेपे पिण्डोस्तु पितृयज्ञवत् । मत्स्यपुराण 16. 45-46.

were to be placed and then pindas. The Vāyupurāna provides that a line should be drawn on the altar or the ground with the root of a *darbha* to the accompaniment of the following mantras viz. ¹⁰⁷⁷ 'I destroy whatever is impure; I have killed all *asuras*, *dānavas*, *rāksasas*, *yaksas*, *piśācas* (goblins), *guhnyakas* and *yātudhānas*' and the mantra 'struck down (are the asuras and *rāksasas* sitting on the Vēdi)'. In Āp. Śr. I 10.2, Manu III 217, Visnu Dh. S. 73.17-19, Yama (q. by Hemādri p. 1440), the Kalpataru (on Śr. p. 203), Mahānavaprakāśa (q. by Hemādri), Hemādri (Śr. pp. 1440-42) and Śr. P pp. 266-267 reference is made to adoration of the six seasons and the obeisance (*namaskāra*) to the pitrs in the words 'namo vaḥ pitaro' (Vāj S II 32) ¹⁰⁷⁸ and the repetition of three mantras when each of the three pindas is offered, some holding that the seasons were to be deemed as identified with 'rasa', 'śoṣa' and four other words (in Vāj. S II 32), while others held that the adoration of the seasons is quite distinct from the *namaskāras* to the pitrs. In the Śaunakātharvanaśrāddha-kalpa, the piṇḍas are offered in the reverse order i. e. first to the great-grandfather, then to the grandfather and then to the father (Hemādri on śrāddha p. 1442). Āp. Śr. I. 9. 4 refers to this method in 'pitāmahaprabhrtīn va'.

1077. निहन्मि सर्वं यदुमेध्यवद्भवेद्भुतास्व सर्वेऽसुरदानवा मया । रक्षानि यक्षाश्च पिशाच-
सङ्घा हता मया यादुधानाश्च सर्वे ॥ अनेन मन्त्रेण हुसंयतात्मा वेदी च सर्वा सङ्क्रुद्धिलेख ॥
ब्रह्मपुराण q. by कल्पतरु (आ) p. 214, 216, आ म p. 251. This is cited as
from ब्रह्माण्डपुराण by अपराकै p. 478 (which reads 'हुसंयतात्मा तिलान् क्षिपेत्क्षिप्तु
तथा विद्विष्ट'). The verses are वायुपुराण 75 45-46 and are mentioned as from
वायुपुराण in आह्वतत्त्व p. 235 Both अपराकै and आ. म. add the vedic mantra
'अपहताः' (वाज सं. II. 29) here.

1078. पूर्वपिण्डं प्रयच्छेत् पितृभ्यं च पृथिवीति च । पितामहाय त्वपरमन्तरिक्षे च वाप-
येत् ॥ प्रपितामहाय च ततस्तृतीयं तु निवेद्येत् ॥ धीर्द्विरिति मन्त्रेण श्रुतिरेवा समातनी ॥
यम q. by कल्पतरु (आ p 203), हेमाद्रि (आ p 1440). उच्छिष्टसन्निधौ दक्षिणाग्रेषु
वर्षेण पृथिवीं दर्विरक्षिता इत्येकं पिण्डं पित्रे निवृष्यात् । अन्तरिक्षं दर्विरक्षिता इति द्वितीयं
पितामहाय । धीर्द्विरक्षिता इति तृतीयं प्रपितामहाय । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 73. 17-19 आचम्यो-
द्भृत् पराहृत्य त्रिरायम्य शनैरसूत्र । पृथुंश्च नमस्तुर्यात् पितृभ्ये च मन्त्रवित् ॥ मनु III, 217.
The मन्त्र is पृथिवी दर्विरक्षिता वृत्ति. स्वधानुपदस्ता ता पृथिवी दर्विमक्षिता वृत्ति स्वधामनु-
पदस्तामक्षिरिव पृथिवीसुपजीवासी ये चात्र त्नामन्वेपा ते स्वधा. In the other two
mantras in honour of पितामह and प्रपितामह substitute अन्तरिक्षं and धीः for
पृथिवी, वायुः and सूर्यः for अग्निः wherever necessary. The meaning is 'the
earth is a ladle giving inexhaustible gratification' &c. The काठकगृह्य
(63 14) provides 'पृथिवी दर्विरिति निपरणं कुर्यात्' and the कौशिकसूत्र (88. 8-10)
also mentions the three mantras uttered at the time of offering the three
pindas (viz पृथिवी दर्विरक्षिता, अन्तरिक्षं दर्विरक्षिता, धी दर्विरक्षिता). Compare
काठकसंहिता IX. 23,

About the final disposal (*pratipatti*) of the pindas several views were entertained. We have already seen (note 780) that the Vāj. S. and several sūtras provided that the middle one of the three pindas for paternal ancestors was to be eaten by the wife of the performer of the śrāddha if she was desirous of a son. Manu (III. 262-263) provides that the *dharmapatnī* (i. e. a wife of the same varṇa and married before any other wife) should eat the middle pinda with the mantra 'ādhatta pitaro garbham' (q. in n. 780) and then she gives birth to a son who lives long, secures fame, is intelligent and obtains wealth and progeny and who is of a good and righteous turn of mind. The same rule is provided for by the Laghu-Āśvalāyana 23.83, the Kūrma II. 2. 71, 76, Matsya 16.52, Vāyu 76.31, Viṣṇudharmottara I. 171 8, 220. 149, Padma (srstikhanda 9.121) and other purānas. As regards pindas in general, the Āśv. Śr. (II. 7. 14-17) says that the other two pindas (except the middle one) should be cast into water or in fire or they may be eaten by a brāhmana who has suddenly developed a distaste for food or they may be partaken by one who has been suffering from a serious disease (such as tuberculosis or leprosy) and that in the latter case the man either recovers or dies. The Gobhila-gr. (IV. 3. 31-34) provides that the pindas should be thrown into water or in fire or should be given to a brāhmana or a cow to eat. Manu (III. 260-261) says the same and adds that they may be given to a goat for eating and that some allow them to be devoured by birds Yāj. I. 257, Matsya 16.52-53, and Padma¹⁰⁷⁹ mention the same five ways of disposal but the last adds one more viz. placing them near a mound of earth. The Varāha-purāna¹⁰⁸⁰ (190.121) says that the performer may eat the first pinda himself, he should give the middle to his wife and the third he should cast into water. The Anuśāsanaparva (125.25.26) provides that the first and the third should be thrown into water or fire and the middle pinda should be eaten by the wife. It is provided by Bṛhaspati that if the wife is suffering from a disease or is already pregnant or is staying in some other

1079 पिण्डांश्च गोजविभ्रयो दद्याद्वनौ जलेपि वा । व्रजान्ते वाथ विकिरेवापोभिरथ वाहयेत् ॥ पञ्च (ऋषि 9 120), अपरार्क p. 550 and हेमाद्रि read विमान्ते and वयोभिरथ वाहयेत् । (p. 1504) That birds should be allowed to eat the pindas is natural since it was believed as stated above (p. 339) that the pitra wander about in the form of birds Vide कूर्म II. 22.83 for a similar verse.

1080 भक्षयेत् प्रथमं पिण्डं पत्न्यै देवं तु मध्यमम् । तृतीयमुदके दद्याद्वाङ्गे एवं विधिः स्मृतः ॥ बराहपुराण 190.121.

place, then an old bull or a goat may eat the middle pinda (quoted by Sm. C. on Śr. p. 486, Kalpataru on Śr p 224). The Visnudharmottara (I 141. 8) prescribes that when a śrāddha is performed at a *tīrtha*, the pindas should be cast into the sacred water. The Anusāsana-parva 125. 38-40 and some of the purānas such as Vāyu (76 32-34) and Brahma (220 150-152) provide that certain consequences follow from the disposal of pindas in one way or another viz. the best worlds by giving pindas to cows, intellect and fame from casting into water, long life from offering them to birds &c. Vide also Brahmānda (upodghāta, chap. 12. 31-35) which provides that if given to cows the result is best complexion, if to cocks then delicacy, long life if given crows. In this connection it should be noted that pindas of rice or of flour were not to be offered in all śrāddhas. The Śrāddha-kalpalatā (pp. 86-89) has a long discussion about the śrāddhas in which the offering of pindas of food is forbidden. For example, it quotes Pulastya to the effect that in śrāddhas performed on the two *ayana* days, on the two equinoctial days, on any *sankrāntī*, no pindas are to be offered, so also in śrāddhas on Ekādaśī, Trayodaśī, on Maghā and Kṛttikā nakṣatras, if a man desires to have sons and wealth.

On the question as to what is the principal item in the śrāddha there are three views. Some, like Govindarāja,¹⁰⁸¹ hold that feeding of brāhmanas is the principal thing and they rely on Manu III 129 which says 'One may feed even a single learned brāhmana in a rite for gods and manes and not many who do not know vedic mantras; by doing so he reaps abundant reward'. Here the reward or fruit is associated with feeding a learned brāhmana. There is a maxim¹⁰⁸² of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā that 'whatever is mentioned in proximity with an action that has a reward or fruit but has no special reward of its own, is subsidiary (*aṅga*) to what is declared to have a reward.' Besides, there is no pinda-dāna in certain śrāddhas such as āmaśrāddha, śrāddha on the Yuga-dī days.¹⁰⁸³

1081. शुक्लं फलमामोतीत्यभिधानात् ब्राह्मणस्य भोजनमत्र प्रधानं पिण्डदानादि स्वङ्गमित्यवसीयते । गोविन्दराज on मनु III. 129 (Mandlik's ed.). कुल्लूक on the same verse refers to this opinion.

1082. The न्याय is फलवत्संनिधावफलं तदङ्गम् mentioned by शबर on जै. IV. 4. 19 and by शङ्कर on वेदान्तसूत्र II, 1. 14. Vide जै. IV. 4. 29-38.

1083. तथा च पुलस्त्यः । अयनद्वितये आर्द्धं विपुवद्वितये तथा । युगादियु च सर्वसु पिण्डनिर्घेषणाहते ॥ इति । कर्तव्यमिति शेष । स्मृतिच (आ.) p 369, vide हेमाद्रि (आ) pp 334-336.

Others like Karka hold the view that pindadāna is the principal item in śrāddha. They rely upon the fact that in the śrāddha at Gayā it is the offering of pindas that is the most important matter and upon the fact that in the Visnudharmasūtra (78, 52-53, and 85, 65-66) and in several Purānas such as the Varāha (13.50), Visnu (III, 14.22-23), Brahma (220.31-32), Visnudharmottara (I 145.3-4) the pitrs are stated to have expressed a deep yearning for a son who would offer them pindas at Gayā and water on sacred rivers &c (vide note 911). Further support is sought for this view in the fact that in the śrāddha on the birth of a son and in śrāddha offered even by a good sūdra the feeding of brāhmanas is forbidden. A third view is that both the feeding of brāhmanas and the offering of pindas are the principal matters in a śrāddha. The Gobhila-smṛti, after stating¹⁰⁸¹ the other two views and some of the reasons therefor, tells us that the author of it is himself in favour of this third view. In cases where the word śrāddha is employed and there is neither brāhmana feeding nor pindadāna as in Darva śrāddha, the word śrāddha is applied in a secondary sense (*gauna*). Vide Hemādri (śrāddha) pp. 157-160. In the Dharmapradīpa it is said that among the followers of the Yajurveda (i e. Vājasaneyins) the offering of pindas is principal, among the followers of the Ṛgveda the feeding of brāhmanas is principal, while among the followers of the Sāmaveda both are principal. In this way śrāddha partakes of two characters viz it is a *yāga* (sacrifice) and also¹⁰⁸⁵ a gift (*dāna*) Haradatta, Hemādri, Kapardī and others appear to hold that all three (bhojana pindadāna and agnaukarana) are principal. Vide Samskāra-ratnamālā p. 1003.

The Matsyapurāna says in a famous passage 'ancestors from the fourth (i e. the father, grand-father and great-grand-father of the great-grandfather of performer) are entitled only to the wipings of the articles of food (sticking to

1084 प्राधान्यं पिण्डदानस्य केचिदाहुर्मनीषिणः । यथाहौ पिण्डदानं तु वीर्यमान-
निदर्शनात् ॥ भोजनस्य प्रधानत्व वदन्त्यन्ये महर्षयः । ब्राह्मणानां परीक्षायां सहायज्ञे भवर्शनात् ॥
आमभ्रातृविधानस्य विना पिण्डैः क्रियाविधिः । तदाह्वयत्प्यनध्यायविधानभ्रमपादापि ॥
विद्वन्मतसुपादाय समाप्तेतद्बुद्धि स्थितम् । प्राधान्यसुभयोर्यस्मात्समावेप ससुख्यः ॥ गोभिल-
स्मृति III, 160-163.

1085. धर्ममदीरिति । यजुषां पिण्डदानं तु बहुदानां द्विजाचर्चनम् । ब्राह्मणान्वाभिधेयं
स्वाहुभयं सामयेदिनात् ॥ तत्र पिण्डन्यजेत पितृभ्यो दद्यादित्युभयभोगदर्शनात्प्राधान्यनोभया-
त्मकम् । निर्णयसिन्धु III, उत्तरार्धे p. 372.

the hand of the performer of śrāddha); the father, (the grand-father and great-grandfather) are entitled to the pinda; the offerer of the pinda is the 7th; thus *sapinda* relationship extends to seven generations¹⁰⁸⁶. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna states that three ancestors beginning from the paternal grandfather of the paternal grandfather enjoy the wipings (of the hand of the performer when he offers pindas).¹⁰⁸⁷ The Brahma-purāna (220, 84-86) has similar verses. Manu provided¹⁰⁸⁸ that the performer should place three pindas on *darbhās* and then wipe off from his hand the particles of food and water sticking to it with the roots of the darbhās (on which the pindas were placed) and that such wipings are meant for those who are called 'lepabhāgin' (the three paternal ancestors after the paternal great-grand-father). Similar provisions are made by the Visnu Dh. S. 73.22, Varāhapurāna 14.36, Garudapurāna (Ācarakāṇḍa 218 24), Kūrma II 22.52. Medhātithi on Manu III, 216 says that even if no food or water sticks to the hand still the performer rubs the hand against the roots of the darbhās on which the first pinda was placed. A special rule was provided by Devala quoted in Śrāddhakalpatalā (p. 14) that if the father or mother became a *mlecchā* (by forcible or voluntary conversion &c.) one should not observe any impurity for him or her and no śrāddha should be offered and when offering the three pindas in place of the father the name of Visnu should be uttered.

One question that exercised the minds of well-known writers was whether the daily *Varāhvadeva* should be performed before starting the śrāddha ceremonies or after the latter were finished. We have to remember first that several works state that rites for pītras deserve pre-eminence over those for the

1086. लेपभाजश्चतुर्थाद्याः पित्राद्याः पिण्डभागिनः। पिण्डद्वः सप्तमस्तेषां सापिण्डेषु साप्तपौरुषम्॥ मत्स्य 18 29. These very verses occur in पद्मपुराण (सृष्टिखण्ड 10, 34-35), which reads सापिण्डाः सप्त पूरुषाः They are quoted from मत्स्यपुराण by अपरार्क p 507. मत्स्य 16 38 is तेषु दर्भेषु तं हस्तं निमृज्याह्लेपभागिनाम्।

1087 लेपसम्बन्धिनश्चान्ये पितामहापितामहात्। प्रभृत्युक्तास्त्रयस्तेषां यजमानश्च सप्तमः। इत्येवं शुनिभिः प्रोक्तः सम्बन्धः साप्तपौरुषः। मार्कण्डेय 28, 4-5 q by द्वायभाग XI 41 (which connects these verses with the rules of impurity on death) The printed द्वायभाग reads पिण्डलेपशुजश्चान्ये

1088. न्युप्य पिण्डांस्ततरतास्तु प्रयतो विधिपूर्वकम्। तेषु दर्भेषु तं हस्तं निमृज्याह्लेपभागिनाम्॥ मनु III, 216. The latter half occurs in मत्स्य 16.38.

gods¹⁰⁸⁹. Mañu (III 265) states¹⁰⁹⁰ that after the brāhmanas have been dismissed the performer of śrāddha shall offer the (daily) domestic *bali* offering and that this is the settled rule of dharma. Medhātithi explains that the word 'bali' is merely illustrative. The Matsyapurāna¹⁰⁹¹ 17 61, the Varāha-purāna (14.43), Skanda VII. 1. 266, 101-102, Devala, Kārsnājini and others provide that after the rites for the fathers are finished Vaiśvadeva should be performed. When Vaiśvadeva is performed after the completion of śrāddha rites, it is to be offered from the food that remains after being utilized for the śrāddha dinner. But Hemādri (pp. 1058-1065) holds a long discussion and arrives at the following conclusions. In the case of an *ūhīṭāgṇi* (p. 1064), Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before śrāddha except in the case of the śrāddha on the 11th day after death. In the case of one who has not kept the sacred fires there are three optional times for Vaiśvadeva, viz. after *agnaukarana* or after the *vikīra* (scattering of food on darbhas for those dying without the *samskāras* being performed for them), or after the brāhmanas are dismissed on the completion of the śrāddha (p. 1064). If Vaiśvadeva is to be performed before śrāddha or in the midst of it, then the cooking of food must be done separately for Vaiśvadeva and for śrāddha. In the case of all, whether *sāgnika* or *anagnika*, Vaiśvadeva must be performed with the remainder of the food left after use in śrāddha, if the former is performed after the latter. There were sages like Paithinasi¹⁰⁹² that held that Vaiśvadeva should not be performed with the food cooked for śrāddha without first offering the food to the brāhmanas invited for śrāddha dinner i. e. Vaiśvadeva must be performed after śrāddha if the same food is to be used

1089. देवकार्याद् द्विजातीना पितृकार्यं विशिष्यते । मनु III. 203, ब्रह्माण्ड (उपो-
द्घातपाद 10, 104), मत्स्यपुराण 15 40, वायु 73. 55.

1090 ततो गृह्यार्थं कुर्यादिति धर्मो व्यवस्थितः ॥ मनु III 265. मेधातिथि remarks
'ततो गृह्यार्थं निष्पन्ने आहुकर्मण्यसन्तरे वैश्वदेवो नाम्नादिनातिष्ठयादिभोजन कर्तव्यम् ।
पालिशब्दस्य भद्रार्थनायत्वात् ।'.

1091. निवृत्य प्रणिपत्याथ पर्युत्पानि समन्त्रवत् । वैश्वदेवं प्रकुर्वीत नैत्यकं बलिमेव च ॥
मत्स्य 17. 61, निवर्तमान्यज्ञान आहारान्तमशुभजेत् । ततस्तु वैश्वदेवारुषा कुर्यात्क्रियाक्रिया
तत ॥ वराह 14. 43, पितृपाकात् सशुद्धस्य वैश्वदेव उ होमयेत् । देवल p by हलायुध in
his com. on कार्त्तवयन's आहुसूत्र (folio 31a). The verse निवृत्य प्रणिपत्याथ
occurs in पद्मपुराण (संक्षिप्त 9. 190) also.

1092. पितृणामनिवेश्य तस्माद्वाद्द्वैश्वदेवादिकमपि न कार्यम् । तथा च पैठीनसि ।
पितृपाकात्सशुद्धस्य वैश्वदेव करोति यः । आसुर तद्भवेच्छ्राद्धं पितृणा नोपतिष्ठते ॥ स्मृतिच.
(आ) p. 410, दोहरानन्द (folio 75b).

for the former. The Nirṇayasindhu (III p. 459) states that as most smṛtis place the performance of Vaiśvadeva after śrāddha and as many writers of commentaries and digests such as Medhātithi and Sūratiratnāvali do the same all should perform Vaiśvadeva after finishing śrāddha.

It is now necessary to illustrate how *pārvana* śrāddha is performed in modern times. Here the greatest variety prevails. The details of the rite vary in the different parts of India. They vary also according as the performer belongs to a particular Veda or a particular recension of the Veda, they vary according to the particular eminent writer that is followed and further additions are made according as the performer is a Vaiṣṇava or a Śaiva. Such differences have to be passed over here, particularly because they are not material. We saw above that the Pārvana-śrāddha was very simple in the days of the Brāhmanas and most of the sūtras. There was then no express mention of the worship of Viśvedevāḥ in Pārvana-śrāddha, or of the maternal ancestors or of the wives of any ancestors. Gradually these came to be added and by the time of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti there was special invocation of the Viśvedevāḥ. But these latter were probably not expressly divided into groups at the time of that work. During the smṛti period groups of Viśvedevāḥ came to be assigned to different kinds of śrāddhas (vide p 457 note 1018). The Purānas prescribed several Paurāṇic mantras for being recited during the śrāddha rite, such as the verse 'agacchantu' (note 984) and the verse 'devatābhyah pitrbhyaśca' (p. 458 note 1020). Then there arose the principle of the Pūrvamimāṃsā that all rites described in the different śākhās and sūtras constitute but one rite, and that one may take over from another śākhā or sūtra details described therein, which are not opposed to one's own śākhā or sūtra (vide pp 453-55 notes 1011-1013). This principle tended to make the śrāddha rites all inclusive and the whole procedure became swollen to an enormous extent. How even the slightest variation causes difference in the details may be illustrated by an example. In Mithilā villages even among poor men eleven brāhmanas are invited for pārvana-śrāddha, but it is often difficult to secure a very learned man (who is called *pātra* or *mahāpātra*) to officiate. In such a case where a *mahāpātra* or a *pātra* brāhmana is not available the śrāddha is called *apātraka-pārvanaśrāddha* (for which really there is no *śāstric* authority) and is distinguished from the *sapātraka* pārvana-śrāddha in several matters, two of which in the case of the

Vājasaneyins may be stated here. Though the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana, which is of special authority among Vājasaneyins, declares (at the end of kandika III) that the brāhmanas are to be dismissed at the end of the śrāddha with the verse 'Vāje vāje' (Vāj. S. 9. 18) and the performer should circumambulate the brāhmanas with the mantra 'a mā vājasya' (Vāj. S. 9. 19), it is not the practice among the śīstas in Mithilā according to the editor of the Śrāddharatna to observe these directions in what is called 'apātraka-pārvana-śrāddha' in these days. In Rudradhara's Śrāddhaviveka (pp. 138-146) the 'apātraka-pārvana-śrāddha-prayoga' is set out at length.

In mediæval and modern times in the different provinces of India different manuals are followed by the followers of the several Vedas. For example, in Bengal the Sāmavedins, Yajurvedins and Ṛgvedins follow the procedure of pārvana-śrāddha laid down in the manuals (or *paddhatis*) of Bhavadeva, Paśupati and Kālesi respectively and there are many persons who follow the rules laid down by Raghunandana in his Śrāddhatattva and Yajurvediśrāddha-tattva. In Mithilā, Śrīdatta wrote his Pitrbhakti for Yajurvedins and the Śrāddha-kalpa for Sāmavedins and the Śrāddha-ratna of Mahāmahopādhyāya Lakṣmīpati (between 1500 to 1640 A. D.) which is printed at Darbhanga and claims to be the traditional manual for Mithilās (Mithilā-sāmpradāyika-śrāddhapaddhati) in several places says that it follows the Sugatisopāna of Pratihastaka for Chandogas and also for Vājasaneyins. In the Madras State Vaiṣṇava brāhmanas follow special treatises on *Pūrva* and *Apāra kṛtyās* of Vaidika-Sārvabhauma or Hārīta Venkatācārya or Tolappār and Smārta brāhmanas follow the Smṛtimuktāphala of Vaidyanātha, which does not much differ in major matters from the works of Vaidikasārvabhauma. Often the only differences are in the sankalpa and at the end. It is impossible to exhibit in this work the contents of all these manuals and to compare and contrast them. Therefore I shall set out here a model pārvanaśrāddha rite as performed by Ṛgvedins in Western India and then a Śukla Yajurveda rite. The Pratisāmvaṣṭarika śrāddha¹⁰⁹³ rite for Ṛgvedins in

1093 The darśaśrāddha differs only very slightly from the above. The summary here is taken from the 'Ṛgvedibrahmakarma-samuccaya' published by the Nirṇayasāgara Press in Bombay in Poṭhi size, folios 98-108 (ed. of 1936, śaka 1858).

Western India may be set out as follows :—(From the references added in the text and notes it will be clear that this modern rite is all inclusive i. e. it follows the Āśv. Śr. often taking passages verbatim from it, the smrtis and purānas). The performer wears white garments (lower and upper) and sits on a seat of *kuśas* or of wool or deer skin and then sips water twice and wears a *pauṭha* on the finger next to the small finger with Rg. IX. 83 1. He ties his top knot on the head and sacred thread with *kuśas*, and ties three *kuśa* blades with *tilas* on the left of the *dhota* worn by him. Then he performs *prānāyāma* and declares the resolve (*saṅkalpa*)¹⁰⁹⁴ to perform (the *Sāmvaṭsarika*) *śrāddha* after referring to the time and place and together with *agnaukarana*, *pindadāna* &c The invited *brāhmanas* reply 'do so'. Then the performer puts into a copper vessel water with the mantra 'imam me Gange' (Rg X. 75. 5), sandalwood paste with the mantra 'Gandhadvārām,' yava grains with the mantra 'thou art yava, king of cereals, Varuna is thy patron, thou art endowed with sweetness, thou art the remover of all sins and art known by all sages as holy', betelnut (with Rg X. 97,15), gold (or some coin) with the mantra 'Hiranya-rūpah' (Rg. II. 35.10), flowers and basil leaves. (Then he becomes *prācīnāvīti*)¹⁰⁹⁵ and puts *sesamum* grains in the water

1094 The *सङ्कल्प* will be श्रीमद्भगवतो महापुरुषस्य विष्णोराज्ञया प्रवर्तमानस्य ब्रह्मणो द्वितीये परार्धे..अरतवर्षे दक्षिणापथे दण्डकारण्ये देशे शालिवाहनक्षत्रे अशुकनाम संवत्सरे गोदावर्या दक्षिणे तीरे (उत्तरे तीरे वा) ... अशुकतियो अशुकवासरे . पुस्तकवाग्म्यसंज्ञकानां विश्वेवा देवानां अस्मत्पितृपितामहप्रपितामहानामशुककर्मणा अशुकसगोत्राणां बहुवृत्तादित्यस्वरूपाणां एतेषां श्रेयोर्थं मोक्षार्थं मम पितृणां प्रतिज्ञावत्सारिकश्राद्धं सदेव सपिण्डं साशौकरण पार्ष्णिनेन विधिना अक्षेण हविषा सद्यः करिष्ये. The performer becomes *प्राचीनावीति* when repeating the words *अस्मत्पितृ* ..स्वरूपाणां and reverts to *उपवीत* form when saying *एतेवा* etc. Among the *Mādhyas* the *सङ्कल्प* contains the words 'पित्रन्तर्यामिणो विश्वेदेवान्तर्यामिणोऽनिरुद्ध-प्रद्युम्न-सङ्कर्षण वाद्यदेव-चतुर्भृत्यात्मक-श्राद्धस्थानि-श्रीमध्वजनादैरन्य समाराधनं करिष्ये ।. ।

1095. The terms *प्राचीनावीतिन्*, *यज्ञोपवीतिन्* or *उपवीतिन्*, *सद्यं* and *अपसद्यं* occur almost at every step in the *श्राद्धप्रयोग*. They will be explained once for all here and instead of repeating lengthy translations the original Sanskrit words will be kept in the *pruyoga* set out hereafter. Gobbila gr. I. 2 2-3, Khādīragr I. 1. 4-6 and Manu II. 63 define *yajñopavitin* or *upavitin* as one who suspends the sacrificial chord round his neck and raises the right arm so as to wear the chord on his left shoulder and *prācīnāvītin* as one who raises the left arm and wears the chord on his right shoulder *Savya* means left. Acc to *लघुश्रुतयाम* I 91 when the sacred chord hangs down from the left shoulder (and under the right arm) that is said to be 'savyam' and when the chord hangs down from the right shoulder (and under the left arm) that is *अपसद्यम्*

(in another vessel) with the mantra 'Tilosi' (quoted in note 966), Bhrngarāja leaf with the mantra 'mā kākam' (Rg. VI. 48. 17), betelnut, gold (or coin). Then he repeats the Purusa-sūkta¹⁰⁹⁶ (Rg. X. 90), Rg. X. 128 1-9, IX. 58 1-4, Rg. X. 126. 1-8, Rg. IV. 40 5, Rg. VII. 89 5, the sacred Gāyatri with *om* and the three Vyāhrtis, Rg. VII. 56. 12, Rg. VIII. 44. 21, 17, Rg. VIII. 95. 7-9. Then after repeating the well-known verse 'apavitraḥ pavitra vā'¹⁰⁹⁷ (whoever, whether pure or impure or being in any state whatever, remembers the name of Viṣṇu becomes pure externally as well as internally), he requests 'May everything such as the place and the materials be rendered pure'. The brāhmanas reply 'let it be so.' Then placing some coin on the ground, the performer having in his hand sesamum grains, water and kūśas goes round (pradaksinā) the brāhmanas thrice, and repeats three verses (in classical Sanskrit) in praise of the dust of the feet of brāhmanas and a Vedic passage from Tai. Ā. II. 15¹⁰⁹⁸ 'All the devatās reside in a brāhmana who knows the Veda; therefore every day one should perform obeisance to brāhmanas knowing the Veda. He should not utter anything derogatory or evil (either true or false) about them. (By doing so) he pleases all these devatās.' After making obeisance (to the brāhmanas) twice he should be prācīnāvīti, repeat the verse 'akrodhanaiḥ' (note 913 p. 407 above) and request the brāhmanas 'may you be pleased to say that I have complete *adhukāra* to perform the sāmvasarikaśrāddha of my pitrs this day.' The brāhmanas should reply 'let there be this *adhukāra* for the performance of śrāddha.' Then being *upavītan* the performer requests 'may you declare that this time is the proper time and that the food cooked is fit for being offered' The brāhmanas reply 'let it be so.' Then he asks the permission to give invitation to the brāhmanas. They give it. Then he touches the right knee of one brāhmana and says 'you should find time to accept the invitation to act as representing the Viśve-devas named Purūrava and Ārdrava in this pratisāmvasarika śrāddha of my pitrs'. The brāhmana replies 'yes, be it so.' Then the performer addresses the second Vaiśvadevika brāhmana in the

1096. Hardly any sūtra or any single digest prescribes the recital of so many mantras as is done here.

1097. This occurs in the Garuḍapurāna (Ācāra-lānda) chap. 216 1-2

1098. यावतीर्व देवतास्ताः सर्वा वेदविदि ब्राह्मणे वसन्ति तस्माद् ब्राह्मणोऽपि वेदविद्गमो दिवे दिवे नमस्कृष्येत् । नाम्नील कीर्तयेत्त एष देवताः प्रियाति । तै. अ. II. 15 (at end),

same way (if two brāhmanas have been invited for the purpose) and then wearing the sacred thread in the *prācīnāvita* way should touch the left knee of the brāhmana (*pitrya*) and say to him 'you should accept the invitation to represent my father, grandfather and great-grandfather in this *pratisāmvatsarika śrāddha*.' The brāhmana should reply 'so be it.' He should request 'you should repair to my house.' The brāhmana replies 'I shall do so' Then he should make mandalas¹⁰⁹⁹ for the *daiva* and *pitrya* brāhmanas. Then *savyam*. The performer should offer seat, sandalwood paste, flowers and say 'may all the items (*upacāras*) of showing honour be complete by means of *yava* grains.' Then *apasavyam*. He offers *āsana* (seat), sandalwood paste and flowers and declares 'may all the *upacāras* be completed by means of sesamum grains.' Then *savyam*. He offers welcome to the *dava* brāhmanas, to which they respond by saying 'susvāgatam' (it is a good welcome). Then he should say 'here is *pādya* for you, O Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ārdrava! Bhūr-bhuvah-svah to the (*daiva*) brāhmana'; the response is 'supādyaṃ'. He should wash the feet of (the *dava*) brāhmana or brāhmanas with the mantra 'śan no devir' (Rg X. 94, vide n. 968). Then he wears the thread in the *apasavya* way and offers welcome to the *pitrya* brāhmana or brāhmanas representing the three male ancestors¹¹⁰⁰ and offers to give *pādya* to them and they respond with the words 'susvāgatam' and 'supādyaṃ'. He also employs the verse 'śan no devir' as in the case of *dava* brāhmanas.

Then the performer casts away the *pavitra* worn so far, washes his hands and feet, performs *ācamana* and wears two *pavītras*. Then *savyam*. He says 'welcome to all.' They respond with 'susvāgatam'. Then holding the right hand (except the thumb) of the *daiva* brāhmanas he says 'Ye gods, occupy seats'; they respond by saying 'susamāmahe' (we have well occupied them). Then *apasavyam*. He addresses similar words to *pitrya* brāhmanas who respond in a similar way. Then *savyam*. He seeks permission in the words 'I

1099. For mandalas vide above pp 456-457.

1100. The *paçy* would be offered in the words 'पित, असुकरामेन असुकगोत्र वसु रूप ब्रह्मणे सुसुव. स्व, इदं ते पाचम्'. In the case of the *पितामह* and *प्रपितामह* the words *वसु रूप* and *आदित्य रूप* would respectively be substituted for *वसु रूप*. We have to construe as *ब्रह्मणे ते पाचम् (अस्तु)* and *सुसुव. स्व.* as the mantra accompanying the *पाच*.

shall perform the Pratisāmvatsarika śrāddha of my pits that has been begun'. The brāhmanas say 'do so'. Then the verse 'śam no devīr' (Rg. X. 9. 4) is repeated and also the words 'thou art yava, separate from us those who hate us and who are our enemies'. Then *apasavyam*. The following texts are repeated viz. Rg. X. 9.4, Rg. X. 15.1 and with the mantra 'The asuras, rākshasas, the piśācas, that dwell along the earth are struck down; may they go from this place elsewhere wherever their mind may be fixed', he scatters sesamum grains everywhere and repeats the mantra, Rg. X. 87.1. There are eight Vasus, eleven Rudras and twelve Ādityas. Let there be protection given by Visṇu at the door where śrāddha is being performed and may this spot be Gayā. The brāhmanas reply 'Let it be a good spot.' Then *savyam*. He sprinkles drops of water with darbhas over the food that is cooked for the śrāddha dinner with the mantras viz. Rg. IX. 58, 1, IX. 67. 26-28 and with the three Vyāhrtis and the Gāyatri. Then he requests 'May there be purity of the cooking' and 'may the sprinkling of the cooked food be according to the rules prescribed,' to which the response is 'so be it.' Then the verse 'āgacchantu mahābhāgaḥ' (vide note 984) is recited and the brāhmanas reply 'we are careful (or attentive).' Then *apasavyam*. He announces 'contemplating upon this spot where śrāddha is being performed as Gayā and concentrating the mind on Gadādhara (Viṣṇu) and the pits in the form of Vasus and the like, the śrāddha (rite) proceeds'. The brāhmanas say 'do proceed.' Then *savyam*. He gives water on the hand of the *daiva* brāhmanas, places on the right side of the seat occupied by them two darbhas together with yavas with his upturned right hand held by the left hand and says with the Vyāhrtis (Bhūr, bhuvah, svah) 'this is the seat for the brāhmana representing the Viśva devas called Purūrava and Ārdrava'. The brāhmana replies 'svāsanam'. This is done also for the second *daiva* brāhmana. He then says 'Please sit down here, though art Dharma' and seizing the brāhmana's hand (except the thumb) he says 'accept the invitation for being *daiva* brāhmana in the Pratisāmvatsarika śrāddha.' The response is 'so be it.' Then reaching the *arghya* water, he sprinkles the ground in front of the (*daiva*) brāhmanas with water, spreads two darbhas (in front of each *daiva* brāhmana) with their tips towards the east, places down two vessels with their tops turned downwards, sprinkles water over them with the Gāyatri mantra, raises the vessels up (i. e. turns their tops upwards), again sprinkles water over them and places over them (the two

vessels) two kūrca¹¹⁰¹ with the tips turned to the east, pours into them water and invokes the water once with the mantra, 'śan no devīr' (Rg. X. 9. 4). Then he puts yava grains into the two arghya vessels for daiva brāhmanas with the mantra 'Yavosi dhānyarājō vā' (note 985) and also sandalwood paste, flowers, basil leaf and performs obeisance. He says 'May all the upācāras be completed by means of yavas; the two arghya vessels for daiva brāhmanas are fully ready'. The response is 'susampanna'. He says 'svāhā, these are arghya waters'. The response is 'let there be arghya waters'. Placing his left hand in which he holds kuśas and yava grains on the right knee of the daiva brāhmana and holding in his (right) hand yava grains he says 'I shall invoke the Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ārdrava to be present in you'. They respond 'do invoke'. He invokes the Viśve-devas with the mantra 'viśve devāsa' (Rg II. 47. 13) separately repeated as regards each daiva brāhmana. He says, 'I invoke the Viśve devas with the mantra 'viśve devāḥ śrutemām' (Rg. VI. 52. 13). Having invoked Viśve devas he casts the remaining yava grains on the ground near the feet of the daiva brāhmanas. Then he gives water to them (daiva brāhmanas) and he puts in their hands the darbhas placed over the arghya vessels; he says 'O Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ārdrava! this is arghya water for you; svāhā, adoration'. They respond 'let there be arghya'. Repeating the mantra 'yā divyā apaḥ' (vide Āśv. Gr. IV. 7. 13 above in n. 966) he says 'this arghya has been offered, it is no longer mine.' They respond 'let it be so offered'. The same process is followed as to the second daiva brāhmana. Then he offers fragrant¹¹⁰² substances (sandalwood paste etc.), flowers, basil leaves, incense, lamp, and cash according to his ability as substitute for garment, *gopīcandana* for unguent, sacred chord and two kuśa blades for pavitra with the words 'O Viśve devāḥ, called Purūrava and Ārdrava! these are fragrant substances for you according

1101. कूर्च is a bundle of fifteen darbhas one cubit long having tops of four angulas in length and having a knot two aṅgulas from the bottom part. पञ्चदशदर्भैर्मण्डितं चतुर्ङ्गुलाम् द्वचङ्गुलयन्धि हस्तमात्रं मोक्षणकूर्चम् । वैश्वानसस्मार्त-सूत्र 1. 8.

1102. Each of the things is offered with the same formula and as to each there is a response from the brāhmanas with 'su' prefixed to each article offered. It would be like this 'युरूवार्द्रवसंज्ञका विश्वेदेवाः यथा भागशः अमी वो गन्था स्वाहा नमः । सुगन्थाः । युरू .. विश्वेदेवा यथा भागश एव वो वीपः स्वाहा नमः सुवीपः । and so on.

to your portions; svāhā, adoration'. When offering a garment or cash therefor he recites 'yuvā suvāsah' (Rg. III. 8.4). Then he says 'these items viz. *gandha*, leaves, flowers, incense, lamp ending with covering (garment) be all of them complete. Let there be good worship in the rite of worship; May that which is wanting or is excessive be according to prescribed rules'. The brāhmanas respond 'astu vidhivat' and the performer recites the verse 'I do obeisance to Acyutā by remembering whom or by uttering whose name whatever is wanting in *tapas* (observances) or sacrifices becomes at once perfect'.

Then he says to the pitrya brāhmanas 'with your permission I shall offer worship to the pitrs'. They reply 'do offer.' Then *apasavyam*. After bending his right knee, the performer says 'Bhūr bhuvah svah to Brahman, this is the seat for my father, grandfather and great-grandfather, named N. N., whose gotra is so and so and who are identical with Vasu, Rudra and Āditya'. So saying he offers double-folded darbhas with sesamum grains to the pitrya brāhmanas who reply 'svāsanam'. Then follows the same procedure as regards pitrya brāhmanas which has been already set out as to daiva brāhmanas. The only difference is that instead of two darbhas three darbhas are spread on the ground with their tips towards the south, three vessels are placed towards south-east with faces downwards and three double-folded darbhas are placed on each of the three vessels, instead of 'yavosi' the mantra is 'tīlosi somadevatyah' (vide note 966) and instead of 'svāhā namah' the words 'svadhā namah' are employed, and instead of *tulasi* leaf *bhrngarāja* leaf is employed. In *āvāhana* the performer places his left hand holding kusas and sesame on the left knee of the pitrya brāhmana and the verse repeated is 'usantas tvā' (Rg. X. 16. 12) as to each pitrya brāhmana and he should honour the pitrs by repeating one mantra 'a yantu nah' (Vāj. S. 19. 58). He offers *arghya*¹¹⁰³ water with the right hand supported by the left to the father and the other two paternal ancestors. He brings together the *samsravas*¹¹⁰⁴ in the first pitrya vessel and anoints his face with that water, if he desires a son. The brāhmanas respond 'may you have a son'.

1103. The form will be: अयो दत्त्वा पात्रोपरिच्यदर्भान् विमहस्ते दत्त्वा अस्मत्पितरिभ्ये ते अर्घ्यम् । अस्त्वर्घ्यम् । अपसव्यम् । या दिव्या आपः हृदियी० । पित्रे हृदमर्घ्यं दत्तं न मम । अस्तु दत्तम् । सव्यम् । पितामहेद्व तेऽर्घ्यम् । अस्त्वर्घ्यम् । अपसव्यम् । या दिव्या० । पितमिहाये-
द्वमर्घ्यं दत्तं न मम । and so on for प्रपितामहः.

1104. For संस्रव, vide note 1001.

He places the vessel containing *samsravas* with the top upside down on darbhas to the north of the daiva vessel, with the mantra 'thou art a place for the pitrs.' Then *gandha*, flowers with *tulasī* and *bhrngarāja* leaves, incense, lamp, garment or cash therefor, *gopīcandana*, sacred chord, betelnut, kuśas for pavitra are offered to the pitrs and he repeats the verse 'idam pitrbhyaḥ' (Rg. X. 15. 2). After repeating the verse 'yat smrtiā' (vide above) there is 'savyam'. The performer says 'with your permission I shall prepare maṇḍalas and place the plates'. The response is 'do so'. On the spot where the plates for daiva brāhmanas are to be placed a four-cornered maṇḍala beginning from the south-west to north-east and made with the right hand towards it and on the spot for the plates for pitrya brāhmanas the maṇḍala is circular beginning from north-east to south-west made with the left hand towards it. Then the plates for the diners are to be placed inside those maṇḍalas. Then taking holy ashes (*apasavyam*) he draws a line round the plates for pitrya brāhmanas with the mantra 'pīśanga-bhriṣṭim' (Rg. I. 133. 5). Then *savyam*. Then round the plates of the daiva brāhmanas he draws lines with the mantras 'raksā no' (Rg. IV. 3. 14) and 'brahma ca' (Rg. X. 4. 7) and two more verses (probably Paurānic) which pray that the mark made with ashes may guard all, just as Visnu protects the worlds. Just as Visnu renders ineffective the eyes of all men of evil sight, so one should make a maṇḍala with ashes and when this is done there is no blemish in sitting in the same row for dining. Then the purification of the hand (right) of the brāhmanas is done, beginning with the pitrya brāhmana first. Then the performer requests 'let me perform *agnaukarāṇa* with your permission in the hand¹¹⁰⁵ of the (pitrya) brāhmana.' The reply is 'do so'. Then *apasavyam*. Taking some cooked food and anointing it with clarified butter and dividing it into parts, having touched the two parts placed towards the south he says 'this for Soma accompanied by the Pitrs, this for Agni, the carrier of *kavya*' and having spread the left hand underneath the right hand, having cut off portions from the middle and the part to the east according to the rules for *avadānas* ¹¹⁰⁶

1105 If there are three brāhmanas to represent the three paternal ancestors, then he should say 'in the *hands* of the brāhmanas'. The *Nirṇayasindhu* (III, Uttarārdha p. 440) says that a widower performs *agnaukarāṇa* in the hand of the daiva brāhmana.

1106 As laid down in *Āśv*, gr I. 7. 10-12 the अवदानधर्मः are उपस्तरणं द्विलिख्यवदानं हविरवदानयोश्च मत्पमिधारणम्.

and having poured clarified butter on the food in the vessel and on the food cut off for oblations, he should offer the oblations with the words 'To Soma accompanied by pitrs, *svadhā* and adoration; this for Soma with the pitrs and it is not (now) mine' and 'to Agni the bearer of *Kavya*, *svadhā* and adoration; this is for Agni *Kavyavāhana* and not mine.' This is the mode everywhere. He touches water with the left hand and repeats the following (which is called 'samsthā-japa' and occurs in *Āśv. Śr. I 11.15*) 'Om ca me.. te namah'. Obeisance to Agni. *Suast.* Then he prays 'O *Kavyavāhana*! bestow on me faith, memory, glory, intelligence, learning, intellect, wealth, strength, long life, brilliance, health.' He says 'offering has been made on the hand'. The response is 'suhutam'. Then he pours ghee on the vessel containing the food and repeats 'mūrdhānam divah' (*Rg VI 7. 1*) Then the brāhmanas should cast the food on their hands in the vessel over which ghee has been poured and then mutter *Trisuparna*,¹¹⁰⁷ the hymns to *anna* (*Rg. I. 187, 1-11* and several others) and other hymns. Then certain pauranic verses should be repeated, viz 'Devatā-bhyah' (note 1020), the verse 'one should always recite at a śrāddha these holy places viz *Kuruksētra*, *Gayā*, *Gangā*, *Prabhāsa* and *Puskara*', the two verses¹¹⁰⁸ 'saptavyādha' (note 994a) and three more verses, one speaking of adoration to pitrs and the other two praying to *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* for favours. Then *savyam*. Then he sprinkles water (*proksana*) on the food with the *Gāyatrī* mantra. Then bending his right knee he silently spills water. Then holding the plate with the right hand above and the left hand below he utters the mantra 'the earth is thy vessel^{1108a}, the heaven is the lid I sacrifice thee in the brāhmana's mouth. I sacrifice thee in the *Prāna* (breath) and *Apāna* (breath) of learned brāhmanas. Thou art imperishable. Do not perish for these (Fathers) here and in the next world.' Then he repeats 'sto devā' (*Rg. I 22. 16*) and 'O *Viṣṇu*, guard the sacrificial food'. With the hand

1107. For *Trisuparna*, vide p. 364 note 862a. The *śruṭas* are *Rg I. 487.1-11, IV. 31.1-3* and several others which the brāhmanas are in the habit of reciting in these days.

1108. The meaning of the two verses (in note 994a) viz. सप्तव्याधा has been stated above on p. 445.

1108 a. For 'Pṛthivī te pātram' vide note 992

turned downwards he thrusts in the food (served in the plate) the root of the thumb of the brāhmana turned downwards and should revolve it (in the food) from right to left. Then touching the plate with his left hand the performer should say 'The Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ārdrava are the deity, this food is the sacrificial offering, this brāhmana serves as *āhavanīya* fire, this place is Gayā, this brāhmana diner is Gadādhara, this food is Brahma, the golden vessel is the shade of the Aksayyavata (at Gayā). This food together with the flavouring dishes which is already served (in the plate) and which may be served therein (later), is the sacrificial food offered to the Viśve devas called Purūrava and Ārdrava till this brāhmana is satisfied. Adoration. It is not mine. *Om Tat Sat*. May the food offered at the fourteen spots such as Visnupada at Gayā be inexhaustible!'. So saying he should cast on the ground towards the left side of the plate water mixed with darbhas and yavas. He says 'May Gadādhara (Visnu) of Gayā be pleased'. The brāhmaṇas respond 'May he be pleased'. Then he repeats 'Ye devāso' (Rg. I. 139.11). Then he says 'with the permission of the daiva brāhmanas I shall present food to the Father and others'. They reply 'do so'. Then *apasavyam*. Then silently sprinkling water round the plate, and touching the plate (of the pītrya brāhmana) with the left hand above and the right hand below it, he repeats the formula 'prthivi te pātram ..loke' (vide p 444 note 992) and the verse 'idam Visnur' (Rg. I. 22. 17) and say 'O Visnu! guard the *kavya* food,' he should thrust the root of the thumb of the (*pītrya*) brāhmana in the food (served in the plate) and revolve it from right to left. Then touching the plate (of the *pītrya* brāhmana) with the left hand he should say 'the father, grand-father and great-grand-father are *devatā*, this food is of the nature of *kavya*, the brāhmana is in place of the *āhavanīya* fire, this place is Gayā, this dining brāhmana is Gadādhara, this food is Brahma, this silver plate is the shade of the Aksayyavaṭa (at Gayā), svadhā to my father, grandfather and great-grandfather named so and so, of gotra so and so, that are Vasu, Rudra and Āditya respectively, this food with the side dishes that is already served in the plate and that may be served (later) is *kavya* up till this brāhmana is satiated. Adoration! It is not mine. *Tat sat*. May the food given at the 14 spots such as Rudrapada at Gayā be inexhaustible May Gadādhara of Gayā be pleased.' The brāhmana replies 'May he be pleased.' He then repeats the verse 'ye ceha pitaro' (Rg. X. 15. 13) and says 'May the food

intended for the pitrs please them'. Then *sayyam*.¹¹⁰⁹ Then *naitredya* is offered with the verse 'brahmārpanam' (Gītā 4. 24) and with three more verses in which Hari is said to be giver and the enjoyer and the food as having both nabires viz. those of *pitrs* and *devas* and ultimately he winds up by saying 'tat sat brahmārpanamastu'. Then *apasavyam*. Then two verses are repeated in which adoration is offered to the feet of Śiva, Visnu, Brahmā and other gods, in which even remembrance of Gayā-ksetra is highly eulogised. Adoration to Kaśī Viśvośvara! adoration to Visnu and Gadādhara at Gayā! Then *sayyam*. Then he says 'I shall repeat in your hearing the *madhumati* verses beginning with 'madhu vāta' (Rg. I. 90. 6-8). Then he repeats the word 'madhu' thrice. The brāhmanas respond 'aumadhu, all food is sweet.' Then *apasavyam*. Then a verse in praise of Visnu (*eko Visnur &c.*) 'there is one great Being viz. Visnu &c.' is recited and the performer says 'May Janārdana Visnu who has assumed the form of my father, grandfather and great-grandfather be pleased by this feeding of brāhmanas at the *pratisāmvarsarika śrāddha* of my pitrs'. The response is 'may he be so pleased'. *Tat sat brahmārpanam-astu*. Then having given water to the brāhmanas for *apōśana*^{1109a} (then *sayyam*) he says 'partake of (the food) at your pleasure' and 'though art the first layer of nectar'. Then he repeats the mantra¹¹¹⁰ 'fixing myself in faith and in Prāna I offer nectar; being beneficent enter me without burning me. Svāhā to Prāna'. This is repeated as to Apāna, Vyāna, Udāna, Samāna with the substitution of each of these four remaining life-breaths. Then he winds up 'my soul is in Brahma for the sake of immortality' and then 'svāhā to Brahma'. Then the hands are purified (by washing them with water). After muttering the Gayatri verse ten times or three times, he repeats the hymn to Śrāddhā (Rg.

1109. The printed text is पितृभ्यः सङ्कल्पितः शीपसाय्. This makes hardly any sense. I take that what is intended is पितृन् सङ्कल्पितमन्नं शीपयतु or पितरः सङ्कल्पितेन (अङ्गेन) शीपयन्ताम्.

1109a. 'Apośana' literally means 'taking or drinking water'. It is a technical term applied to the sipping of water before beginning a meal with the words 'amrtopastaranamas' and after the eating is finished with the words 'amrtāpidhānamas'. Vide Tai. Ā. X. 32, Āp. M. P. II.10.3-4, Āśv. gr. I.24.12, Yāj. I.31 and 106.

1110 The mantras are अद्वाप्यं प्राणे निविष्टोऽमृतं जुहोमि सिधो माविषामदाहाय। प्राणाय स्वाहा। अद्वापामपाने निविष्टोऽ and so on प्राणे निविष्टोऽमृतं जुहोमि ब्रह्मणि म आत्मासूतत्वाय—is आप म पा II. 20.26. The whole passage from प्राणे निविष्टो to असूतत्वाय occurs in तै. आ. X. 34.

X. 151. 1-5). Then the performer requests 'you should ask for what is wanted; seating yourself you should with minds at ease eat at your pleasure. You should take from the foods and vegetables that are cooked and are ready whatever pleases you and should discard what you do not like. You should eat at ease'. They respond 'we partake (of the food)'. He says 'I shall recite the hymns called Rāksoghna ¹¹¹¹ as far as I can.' They respond 'repeat'. Then towards the end of the dinner a little boiled rice with curds (should be served) and nectar-like Ganges water. He says 'everything is perfect. Ask for whatever you like out of the sacrificial food that is cooked'. They respond 'we have had enough'. He says 'I shall recite the Madhumati verses (Rg. I. 90 6-8) in your hearing'. They respond 'recite them'. Then *apasavyam*. He recites Rg. I. 82.2 ¹¹¹² and should say 'The śrāddha called so and so is completed'. They should respond '*susampannam*'. Then *savyam*. He asks 'Ye Viśvedevāḥ! are you satisfied?' They reply 'we are satisfied'. Then *apasavyam*. He asks 'Ye (brāhmanas) representing my father, grandfather and great-grandfather! are you satisfied?'. They reply 'We are satisfied'. He asks 'what is to be done with the food that remains?'. They reply 'it may be eaten in the company of your friends (and relatives)'. Then *savyam*.

Then the performer declares that he would perform in the Prati-sāmvatsarika-śrāddha *pañcāpādāna* (the offering of lumps of rice) together with water and sesamum grains. They reply 'do so'. 'Let food be given to those who take as their share what remains outside the plates of the brāhmana diners'. The performer says ¹¹¹² 'May all the (deceased) men and women slaves that were born in the performer's household obtain satisfaction by the food given by me on the ground'. (Then he offers water to the brāhmanas with the words) 'thou art the nectarial lid' (or covering). He says 'May the water given to those who hanker for it, who dwell in Padma and Arbuda and

1111. The hymn beginning with कृष्णव पाजः (Rg. IV. 4. 1-15) is called राक्षोघ्न. The first five verses of it are वाज सं. 13. 9-13. All fifteen verses occur in तै सं. I. 2. 14. 1-6. So also are Rg. X. 87 (beginning with राक्षोघ्नं पाजिनमाजिधर्मि), Rg. VII. 104 (beginning with इन्द्रासोमा तपत् रक्ष उज्जत्), Rg. X. 118, Rg. X. 162.

1111 a अक्षमीमदन्त द्यव मिया अधूयत... हरी ॥ This is क्र. I. 82.2, वाज. सं. III. 51, तै. सं. I. 8. 5. 2.

1112 Compare मनु III. 246, which is the same as विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 81.23, मत्स्य 17.57, परशुराम (सृष्टिसंह 9 186).

Raurava (hells) full of pus reach them inexhaustibly'. Then *apasavyam*. He repeats the mantra ¹¹¹³ 'The asuras and rākṣasas that sit on the altar are struck and driven away' (Vāj. S. II. 29). Sprinkling the ground with water and strewing thereon darbhas cut with one stroke that have their tips turned towards the south-east he says ¹¹¹⁴ 'May the Fathers wash themselves, may the grandfathers wash themselves, may the great-grandfathers wash themselves'. In the same way he should sprinkle on the kuśa grass water mixed with sesamum grains for the mothers and the rest. Then he says 'This (food) is for thee, my father named so and so, of such and such gotra, who is (to be contemplated) as Vasu and for those who come here after thee; this is the pinda for thee ¹¹¹⁵, svāhā! This pinda occupying the position of a pinda offered at Gaya is presented to my father named so and so and of such and such gotra and who is in the place of Vasu, it is (now) not mine'. Similar formulas are repeated for the pinda offered to the grandfather (who is styled 'Rudrarūpa' instead of 'Vasurūpa') and to the great-grandfather (who is styled 'Ādityarūpa'). Then he utters 'Tat sat.' 'May whatever is offered in Gaya at the fourteen spots such as Viṣṇupada be inexhaustible'. Then he wipes off on the roots of ¹¹¹⁶ the darbhas on which the pindas are placed the particles (of rice, ghee and water) sticking to his hand for the gratification of those that are entitled to the wipings. Having uttered ¹¹¹⁷ once over the pindas the mantra 'O fathers; regale yourselves here, come as bulls each to his share', he should turn towards the north with the left side of his body,

1113. He draws with the roots of darbhas as many lines (as the number of pindas offered, 3 or 6) repeating this mantra at each line (Vāj. S. II 29).

1114. This is taken from आश्व औ. सू II 6 14-15 'प्रेक्षणेनामुपहरय माचीनाभीती लेखं विदुकेनोपनयेत् शुभ्यन्ता पितरः . प्रपितामहा इति । तत्पुं पिण्डान् निष्पृथीयात् पराचीनपाणिं । पित्रे पितामहाय प्रपितामहायैतत्सोऽसौ ये च स्वामन्नाग्निः ।' Compare आप. न पा II 20. 4-7 माजैयन्तां नम पितरो etc g. in note 1060 above; vide n 1053 for पराचीनपाणिं.

1115. With the food that remains after अन्नोक्षण mixed with honey, sesamum grains and ghee pindas are made by the performer or are got made by his wife and are offered by the पितृतीर्थ. Vide note 962.

1116. For लेपभाज. vide n. 1086 above.

1117. Vide n. 960a for अन्न पितरो जादुषध्वं .. यद्यम् and अमीमदन्त पितरो... यीपत The words in the text are taken from आश्व औ सू II 6 16-21 on पिण्ड-पितृयज्ञ 'निष्पृथान्नुमन्त्रयेतात्र पितरो माद यधामिति । सन्धाष्टुदुदत्तस्य यथाशक्यमाण-क्षासित्वाभिपयान्शुत्यामीम...यीपतेति । चरो प्राणभक्षं भक्षयेत् ।'

and having held his breath according to his ability he should return to the original position and utter the words 'the Fathers regaled themselves and came like bulls, each to his share' and having smelt the remains of the boiled rice from which pindas are made from the left side (to the right) he should cast the pindas (on the darbhas) and should partake of the boiled rice by taking in as much steam and flavour out of it as he can by smelling it. He should say 'my father! N. N. by name, so and so by gotra, apply unctuous substance'; with these words he should anoint the pindas by means of darbhas with ghee or sesamum oil. And he should apply collyrium to the pindas with the words 'O father! N. N. by name and so and so by gotra apply collyrium'. He should put on the pindas unctuous substance, collyrium and garment,¹¹¹⁸ the last being the fringe of a garment or a tuft of wool with the words 'O fathers! this is the garment for you, do not take up any other (garment) than this'. Then *savyam*. He then says 'I shall offer worship to the pindas for the prosperity of my family'. He then offers to the pitrs present in the pindas *pādya*, *arghya*, water for *ācamana*, bath, *gandha*, flowers, *bhrngarāja* leaf, incense, lamp and *navedya* of *apūpa* (cakes) and *pāyasa* (rice cooked in milk), *tāmbūla* and *daksinā*, using the word 'svadhā' after each of them. Then he should worship¹¹¹⁹ them with the mantra 'Fathers! obeisance to you for the sake of food, for strength, for *śusma*, for the non-terrible (*aghora*), for *jīva*, for *rasa*; svadhā to you, O pitrs, obeisance to you; these are yours, O pitrs! these are ours; we are your living (descendants), may we be alive here!' He then recites the verses¹¹²⁰ Rg. X. 57. 3-5. Having thus worshipped them he then (*apasavyam*) with the palm of the hand turned upwards moves the pindas with the mantra¹¹²¹ 'paretana' which means 'O fathers who love soma

1118 Vide आश्व औ सू II 7 6 'वासो दद्याद् दशमूर्णास्तुकां वा पञ्चाहाहर्षताया ऊर्ध्वं स्वं लोम एतद्गः पितरो वासो ना नोतोन्यत् पितरो सुख्यमिति' The text translated is based on this, when the performer is over 50 years of age he may place on the pinda the hair from his chest.

1119. नमो वः पितर इपे नमो वः पितर ऊर्जे ... सन्त. स्वाम—This passage is taken *verbatim* from आश्व औ सू II, 7. 7.

1120 मनो न्वा हुवामह इति तिसृभिः । आश्व औ सू II 7. 8. आप औ सू I. 10. 5 calls them *मनस्वती* verses, as the word *मन*. occurs in each of the three.

1121. परेतन—compare तै सं. I. 8. 5. 2 'परेत पितर सोम्या गम्भीरैः पथिभिः पूर्वे ।' The 2nd half is different. The आश्व औ सू II. 7 8 says that he should pour a stream of water with this mantra on the pindas which represent the Fathers for the time being.

drink! Go away by the sombre ancient paths, after bestowing on us wealth and endow us here with auspicious prosperity and all valiant sons'. He should repeat thrice the prayer 'O fathers! bestow on us a valiant son' ¹¹²².

Then *savyam*. On the ground near the plates of the Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas he scatters food together with yavas and water with the verse 'I shall offer food scattered (*vikīra*) near the Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas to those gods to whom no soma drink is offered and who are bereft of a share in sacrifices; this scattered food is offered to Viśvedevas who do not partake of the soma drink; it is not (now) mine'. Then *apasavyam* He says 'I shall offer food scattered near *pitṛya* brāhmanas on the ground covered with darbhas to those who died without the *samskāras* being performed for them and to those women of my family who left the family (for bad deeds); this scattered food is presented to those boys and girls that came out of the womb; it is not mine'. So saying he strews food with water and sesamum seeds and then says after reciting Rg. X. 15.14 'this pinda made from the remainder of the food and occupying the position that a pinda given at Gayā occupies, has been offered to those persons who were born in my family and died and who were cremated or were not cremated; this is not mine'. So saying he offers near the *pitṛya* brāhmanas a ball of rice and water mixed with sesamum grains.

Then he washes his hands and feet, sips water twice and puts on his finger a *pavitra* with the mantra 'pavitravantah' (Rg IX. 73. 3). He then requests that the water in the hands of the *daiṣva* brāhmanas be auspicious (or beneficial). The brāhmanas reply 'may the waters be auspicious.' In the same way there are requests for goodwill, for protection due to yavas, for long life, welfare, peace, prosperity, contentment and responses by the *daiṣva* brāhmanas giving blessings as to these. Then *apasavyam*. Then the same request for auspiciousness of waters, goodwill, protection by sesamum grains &c. and blessings about them by *pitṛya* brāhmanas. Then the performer requests 'may my family increase (or prosper) and may the procedure of worshipping the pindas be good,' to which the *pitṛya* brāhmanas respond 'may

1122. वीरे मे वृत्त पितरः.—If the wife desires a son then with this mantra the middle pinda is given over to her and she eats it with the mantra आधत्त पितरो गर्भम्. Vide note 780 for that mantra. The अथर्व ऋ. II 7. 12-13 says 'वीरे मे वृत्त पितर इति पिण्डानां मध्यमम् । पत्नी प्राज्ञयेदाधत्त . . सदैवति ॥'

it be so.' Then raising the *pranītā* ^{1122a} vessel the performer requests 'May you say that the water and food and the like offered in the Pratisāmvatsarikaśrāddha to pitr, pitāmaha and pra-pitāmaha, so and so by name and gotra, be inexhaustible.' The *pitrya* brāhmanas reply 'so be it.' Then *savyam*. The same request is made to the *daiva* brāhmanas and the reply is the same. Then gold is given to the *daiva* brāhmanas and silver to *pitrya* brāhmanas and the performer says 'may the *daksinās* (fees) given to the brāhmanas that ate the śrāddha dinner protect (me).' They reply 'may they do so.' Then he says 'I shall request you to utter the word *svadhā*!' They reply 'do so.' Then *apasavyam*. Then he says 'May (the brāhmanas representing) father, grandfather and great-grandfather utter the word *svadhā*.' They reply 'let there be *svadhā*.' Then he should place over the *pindas* sesamum grains and water. Then he says 'May you declare that *svadhā* be accomplished.' They reply 'may *svadhā* be accomplished.' Then *savyam*. Then he says 'may you say that the gods led by Agni be pleased.' They reply 'may the *Viśvedevāḥ* be pleased.' Then *apasavyam*. Then he requests 'May you declare that the *pitr*s led by the *Vasus* be pleased'. They reply 'may the *pitr*s be pleased.' *Savyam*. He says 'May you declare that there is accomplishment of the *sankalpa*' (made at the beginning of the rite). They reply 'May there be accomplishment of the *sankalpa*'. He asks 'were the vegetables and cooked food liked by the *pitr*s'. They reply 'they were most excellent'. Then the performer decks himself by applying sandal paste to his forehead. After doing obeisance to the *pindas* he requests for blessings for his family (which are the same as those set out above from the *Padma-purāna* on p 452 above) and one more blessing 'May persons beg of us but may we not beg of any one' (vide n. 998). The brāhmanas reply in the same words only employing the words 'you' or 'your' for 'us' or 'our'.

He says 'I shall remove the *pindas*'. They reply 'do remove'. Then he repeats the verses 'Tad *Viśnoḥ*' (Rg. I. 22.20), 'Tad *viprāso*' (Rg. I. 22.21) and two more verses and then a *Paurānic* verse enumerating the seven holy cities of *Ayodhyā*, *Mathurā*, *Māyā*, *Kāśi*, *Kāñci*, *Avantika* and *Dvārakā*. He says 'May there be peace, prosperity and contentment on the spot where the *pindas* are'. They reply 'these (peace &c) dwell in their own places'. He says 'I shall

1122 a. For ऋषीतपत्र vide H. of Dh. vol II. pp. 208, 1022-23.

remove the plates in which the brāhmanas had their dinner.' Then he lays aside the *kūrca*. He then recites the verse 'Vāje vāje' (Rg. VII. 38. 8). Then *śavyam*. Then he says 'O pitrs, get up together with the devas' and repeats the verses 'ā mā vājasya' (Vāj. S. 9. 19), 'svādusamsadah' (Rg. VI. 75. 9), 'brāhmaṇāsah. pitarah' (Rg. VI. 75. 10), 'ihaiva stam' (Rg. X. 85. 42). Then he recites 'may the grand-fathers being pleased grant to men (their descendants) long life, progeny, wealth, learning, heaven, *mokṣa*, happiness and kingdom' (Yāj. I. 270, but reads 'prayacchantu' for 'prayacchanti'). Then he prays 'May these blessings turn out to be true, may my family prosper, may this Pratiśānvatsarika-śrāddha have the same fruits as that of a śrāddha performed at Gaya! May the pitrs secure inexhaustible gratification.' Then he proceeds 'Today my birth has had its reward by bowing to your feet &c.' (vide n. 999 for the two verses repeated here). The brāhmanas reply 'we forget the trouble and excuse you.' Then he says 'Today this *tithi* is like a day sacred to the sun, the brāhmanas invited are like Vyāsa, Vasistha and Vāmadeva; may you declare that whatever is lacking as regards seats, dinner, mantras, procedure, materials and fees in this pratiśānvatsarika śrāddha of my pitrs performed by me today become all perfect at the words of brāhmanas'. They reply 'May all be perfect'. Then he recites the two verses 'Vasisthāsah pitrvad' and 'devān vasistho' (Rg. X. 66. 14-15) and then at the end he repeats the verse containing a salutation (the word 'namah') viz 'īdam pitrbhyo namo astvadya' (Rg. X. 15. 2). Therefore at the end (of a śrāddha rite) one does obeisance to the pitrs (in the words 'namo vah pitaro &c'). Therefore they say "should one repeat the pitryā verses with āhāva mantra specially recited with each verse or without repeating the āhāva mantra separately with each verse, for it is better not to finish Pitryajña quickly. He who separately recites the āhāva with each verse makes the *pitryajña* that is imperfect, complete and therefore one must recite specially employing the āhāva with each verse."¹¹²³ The conclusion is

1123. The words in the *śrōṭya* (p 108a) are 'इदं पितृभ्यो नमो अस्त्वद्योति नमस्कारं वीमन्तत इति तस्मादन्तत. पितृभ्यो नमस्त्वियते। तदाहुर्ग्याहावं पित्र्या. इति संसत् अग्याहावं ३ इति। ग्याहावमेव इति संसत्स्थितं वै पितृयज्ञस्य सात्त्विकस्थितं वा एव पितृयज्ञं सत्प्रापयति यो ग्याहावं इति तस्माद् ग्याहावमेव इति संसत्।' The passage इदं पितृभ्यो नमो... up to इति संसत् is taken verbatim from the ऐतरेयब्राह्मण 13th chapter 13th khanda (end). The khanda (13) starts with the question whether the

(Continued on the next page)

one should repeat each verse with āhava separately uttered. The performer should follow the brāhmanas up to the boundary (of the village). He says 'whatever blemish there may be in *japa*, *tapas* or *śrāddha* rite—may all that become free from blemish by the favour of brāhmanas. I do adoration to that Acyuta (Visnu) by remembering whom &c. O best of brāhmanas! may this *śrāddha*, even if devoid of mantras, or of some rite or of faith, become perfect by your favour'. Then he concludes 'May Janārdana Vāsudeva who assumes the forms of father, grand-father and great-grand-father be pleased by this sacrifice, viz. the *pratisāmvatsarika-śrāddha* of the *pitrs*. This is a sacrifice to the manes. *Tat sat*. May it be dedicated to Brahma.' Then he repeats the verse 'Vasat te' (Rg. VII. 99 7) and then says 'adoration to Visnu (Visnave namaḥ) thrice and sips water twice. The fruit of offering *pindas* is stated by Brhaspati and Vrddha-Parāśara as follows: If the *pitrs* are in the world of gods they are gratified by the food offered in fire, if they are in the world of *pitrs* they are gratified by the dinner to brāhmanas and if in hell they are gratified by the balls offered on the ground.^{1123a}

Comparing the above rather elaborate and exhaustive procedure with the procedure of *pratisāmvatsarika-śrāddha* as

(Continued from the last page)

verse 'devānām patnīr' (Rg V. 46 6) or the rk verse referring to Rākā should be recited first in the अग्निमासतश्च in वृत्तीयसवन. The conclusion reached is that the verse referring to देवपत्नीस should be recited first by the ह्यु. In the same context a question is raised whether the Yāmī verse (Rg X 14 4 'Imam yama prastaram') or the Pitryā verses (Rg. X 15 1-3) should be recited first. The conclusion is that the यामी verse should be first recited, then the Kāvya verse (Rg X. 14. 3 'Mātali kavayair') and then the pitryā verses, out of which Rg X. 15. 2 (इदं पितृभ्यो नमो अस्तुवद्) is recited last in which the word नम. occurs, आहाव means the mantra शौरिसावोरेभू. The figure 3 is a sign of the हुत accent. The sign of हुत shows deliberation आहु —we have to understand जह्मवादिन as the subject. Then comes the question whether the आहाव should be recited at the beginning of each of the three pitryā verses or not. The conclusion is that the आहाव should be recited at the beginning of each of the three pitryā verses. Apparently it is rather difficult to say why this passage of the ऐतरेयब्राह्मण should occur in this प्रयोग. The only reason appears to be that the ऐ न्र. passage has something to say about पितृ and hence as this is a प्रयोग for पितृs it is introduced here.

1123 a. पिण्डदानफलमाह बृहस्पति । अग्नौ हुतेन देवस्था. पितृस्था द्विजतर्पणे. । नरक-
स्थाश्च वृष्यन्ति पिण्डैर्देवैस्त्रिभिर्भुवि ॥ वृद्धपराशरोपि ॥ ये देवलोकं पितृलोकमासु भासास्तथैवं
नरकं नरा ये । अग्नौ हुतेन द्विजभोजनेन वृष्यन्तु पिण्डैर्भुवि ते मद्दत्तै. ॥ q in पृथ्वीचन्द्र
folio 110 b.

practised in Madras in these days only a few points of differences in detail emerge. In the Madras procedure the numerous mantras as set out above (p. 448) do not occur nor does the Tai. Ā. passage occur therein, but the verses in praise of the dust of brāhmana's feet do occur. Most of the mantras both Vedic and Paurānic are the same. The blessings (āśr-vādas) in the Madras manual are more elaborate and include even the performer's cattle in the blessing of health and long life. In the Madras manual several mantras are set out as 'annasūkta' mantras in the procedure itself. The Madras paddhati adds at the end the well known verse 'kāyena vācā manasendriyairvā'.

The procedure for Yajurvedins of the Mādhyandina Śākha in Bengal as set out by Raghunandana in his Yajurvedi-śrāddhatattva is entirely based on the 2nd and 3rd kandikās of the Śrāddha-sūtra of Kātyāyana. The Pārvanaśrāddha-prayoga in Halāyudha's Brāhmanasārvasva closely follows Kātyāyana and I am assured by a careful student of Dharmasāstra that the procedure of pārvanaśrāddha followed by Mādhyandinas at Bhatpara in Western Bengal is in strict conformity with the procedure laid down by Raghunandana. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana is translated here with some explanations and additions made by Halāyudha and Raghunandana and the whole text, being not very extensive, is given in the note below ¹¹²⁴.

1124. देवपूर्वं आह्वं पिण्डपितृयज्ञवहुपचार. विन्धे। द्विष्ट्यास्तु दर्भोः पवित्रपणिवैद्या-
दासीनः सर्वत्र। अग्नेषु पट्टिदूर्ध्वं घृच्छति सर्वात्वा। आसनेषु दर्भानास्तीर्य विश्वाय देवाना-
वाहयिष्य इति घृच्छत्यावाहयेत्यहज्ञातो विन्धे देवास आगत्येत्पनयावाह्यकीर्यं विन्धेदेवा-
ह्युत्तममिति जपित्वा पितृनावाहयिष्य इति घृच्छत्यावाहयेत्यनुज्ञात उज्ञानत्वेत्पनयावाह्य-
कीर्यं आयन्तु न इति जपित्वा यज्ञियवृक्षचमसेषु पवित्रान्तादित्येकैकस्मिन्पत्र आसिञ्चति कं नो
देवीरिति। एकैकस्मिन्पत्रे तिलानावपति तिलोस्ति सोमदेवत्यां योस्ये देवनिमित्तः। मलमन्दिः
पुक्त. स्वधया पिहृहोकात् मीणादि न. स्वादिति। सौवर्णराजतौडुम्बरसहस्रमाणिसपाना पात्राणात्-
न्यतनेषु यानि वा विद्यन्ते पत्रेषुषु वैकैकस्मैकैकेन ददाति सपवित्रेषु हस्तेषु वा दिव्या आप
पयसा सम्बधुदुर्धा अन्तरिक्षा उत पार्थिवीयाः। द्विरप्यवर्णा यज्ञियास्ता न आप शिवा.
कं स्थानाः सुहवा भवन्त्विति। असावेप तेऽर्ष इति। प्रथमे पात्रे संवत्समवनीय पितृभ्यः
स्थानमसीति म्युन्नं पात्रं निदधति। अत्र गन्धगुण्यदीपवाससां च प्रदानम्। उद्धृत्य पूताक-
मर्त्तं घृच्छत्यग्नी करिष्य इति। कुरुन्वेत्यहज्ञातः पिण्डपितृयज्ञवहुत्वा हुनोषे दत्त्वा पात्रनालम्प
जपति पृथिवी ते पात्रं यौरपिधानं ब्राह्मणस्य मुञ्जे असुते अमृतं ज्योतिर्म स्वाते। वैष्णव्यर्चा
यत्तुषा धाङ्गुष्ठमन्त्रेऽवगाह्यापदता इति तिलान्मकीर्यं उष्णं स्निग्धमर्त्तं दद्याच्छकवत्या वा। अदन्त
जपेद् व्याहृतिपूर्वां वायवीं समणवां सकृद्विवां राक्षोघ्नी. पित्र्यमन्त्रान् पुरवसुकन्यतरिधन्यानि
च पवित्राणि। वृत्ताञ्जलात्वाऽर्त्तं प्रकीर्य सकृत्सकृदपो दत्त्वा पूर्ववद्वायवीं जपित्वा मधुमतीर्ण्यु
मध्विति च। वृत्ताः स्थेति घृच्छति। वृत्ता. स्तेत्यनुज्ञात शेषनक्षत्रज्ञाप्य सर्वनक्षत्रकौटुम्ब-
(Continued on the next page)

“The pārvana-śrāddha is preceded by the rite for Viśvedevas. The procedure follows that of Pindapitryajña^{1124a}. In the rites for the pitrs double-folded darbhas are to be used (while in Vaiśvadevika rite straight darbhas are used). Whenever any thing is to be gifted, the performer (in all daiva as well as pitrya rites) wears a *pavtra* and makes the gift sitting. (When questions are to be asked) the performer puts the question to the most eminent in the row of diners (to the best daiva brāhmana in daiva rites and to the best pitrya brāhmana in pitrya rites) or he may put the question to all (and the reply is given by one or by all) Spreading darbhas on the seats (he makes the brāhmanas occupy them), he puts the question ‘shall I invoke the Viśvedevas (to the daiva brāhmana)’. Being permitted (by the daiva brāhmanas) in the words ‘do invoke’, he invokes the Viśvedevas with the mantra¹¹²⁵ ‘Viśve devāsa āgata’ (Vāj. S. 7. 34 ‘Ye All Gods, come, listen to this my call and sit down on this darbha grass’). Then he scatters yavas (in front of the brāhmanas), mutters a mantra ‘Viśvedevāḥ srūntemam’ (Vāj. S. 33. 53, ‘Ye All Gods, hear this call of mine’). After this *yapa* he asks (the pitrya brāhmanas) ‘I shall invoke the pitrs’. When permitted (by the pitrya brāhmanas) in the words ‘do invoke’, he invokes them with the mantra ‘usantas tvā’ (Vāj. S. 19. 70, ‘O Āgni! we longing for our fathers place you down’ &c.). Then he scatters (sesamum

(Continued from the last page)

विष्टसमीपे वर्धेत्तु व्रीचीन्पिण्डानवनेज्य दद्याद्वाचास्तेष्विदयेके । आचान्तेषुदकं पुण्याण्यक्षता-
क्षयोदकं च दद्यात् । अथोरा पितरः सन्त्विस्तुके गोचं नो वर्धता वर्धतामित्युक्ते-दातारो
नोभिवर्धता वेदाः सन्ततिरेव च । अद्वा च नो मा वयमद्भु देयं च नोस्विरपाशिवः प्रतिगृह्य
स्वधावाचनीयास्तपवित्रं कुशानास्तीर्यं स्वधा वाचयिष्ये इति पृच्छति । वाच्यतानित्यनुज्ञातः
पितृभ्यः पितामहेभ्यः प्रपितामहेभ्यो मातानहेभ्यः प्रमातानहेभ्यो वृद्धप्रमातानहेभ्यश्च स्वधोच्यता-
मिति । अस्तु स्वधोच्यमाने स्वधावाचनीयेष्वपि निदिश्रत्यूर्जमिति । उत्तानं पात्रं कृत्वा यथाः
शक्तिं दक्षिणा दद्याद् ब्राह्मणेभ्यो विश्वे देवाः प्रीयन्तमिति दैवे वाचायित्वा वाजे वाजेऽवतेति
विष्टया मा वाजस्येत्पनुत्रजय मदक्षिणीकृत्योपविशेत् ।

1124 a. पिण्डवि ... चार —so the result is: अपराहः कालः, आङ्कर्तुः माचीना-
धीतिता, दक्षिणाभिमुखता, वामजाह्ननिपातः, पितृतीर्थं, अप्रादक्षिण्य, दक्षिणापवर्गता, वर्धनां
दक्षिणाग्रता चेत्यादयः पैतृकाः धर्माः From this it follows that in वैश्वदेविकजाह्नणी-
पचार there are यज्ञोपवीतिता, कर्तृरुद्धमुखता, दक्षिणाजाह्ननिपातः, दैवतीर्थं, प्रादक्षिण्य,
उदगपवर्गता, प्रागग्रता चेत्यादयो दैविकधर्माः . There are of course a few exceptions
to the first part, such as दक्षिणादान, स्तोत्रजय and विप्रविसर्जन.

1125. It may be noted that almost all mantras quoted by Kātyāyana are very apt and appropriate for the purposes for which they are to be repeated. For reasons of space the full texts and translation of the mantras could not be given here.

grains in front of the pitrya brāhmanas) and mutters the mantra 'ā yantu naḥ pitarah' (Vāj. S. 19. 58, 'May the soma-loving pitrs come to us' &c.). Then he pours water in each of the cups made of a sacrificial tree (such as palāśa, udumbara &c.), in which a pavitra is dipped with the mantra 'śan no devir' (Vāj. S. 36. 12, 'May the divine waters be for our happiness' &c.). (He puts yavas in the vessel for daiva rite). He puts in each of the cups sesamum grains with the mantra 'Thou art Tila ¹¹²⁶ &c.'. He offers on the hands of each of the brāhmanas (first daiva and then pitrya) that wear a pavitra water in a vessel made of gold, silver, copper, rhinoceros horn or precious stone or in whatever vessels may be available or in vessels made of bunches of leaves with the mantra 'yā divyā ¹¹²⁷ āpah &c.'. The water is offered in the words 'O father' N. N. by name, this is *arghya* for you' (and then to other ancestors). Having mixed together in the first vessel (meant for the father) the drops of water remaining in the other vessels ¹¹²⁸ for other ancestors, he puts down on the ground the first vessel face downwards with the words 'thou art a place for the pitrs'. Then (at this stage) *gandha* ¹¹²⁹ (sandalwood paste), flowers, incense, lamp and garment are offered (to the brāhmanas representing the ancestors).

Having taken out in another vessel some food from out of the food already cooked for śrāddha and having anointed it with ghee he (the performer) asks 'I shall perform *agnau-karana*'. Being permitted by the brāhmanas in the words 'do so', he offers into (grhya) fire oblations ¹¹³⁰ as in Pinda-

1126. तिलोसि This mantra occurs in आश्व य. सू. quoted in note 966 above. हलायुध and रघुनन्दन state that यव are to be scattered with the mantra 'यवोऽसि यवयास्मद् द्वेषो यवयारासीः' (वाज. सू. 5.26) and sesamum grains are to be scattered with the mantra अपहता अक्षरा रक्षसि वेदियदः (वाज. सू. 2.29). Vide य. I. 230.

1127. For the मन्त्र 'या दिव्या etc.' vide note 966 above.

1128. There are six ancestors, three paternal and three maternal and therefore six vessels, drops of water from five vessels are poured into the first vessel रघुनन्दन adds that the first vessel is covered with the vessel for great-grandfather and is then put down with top downwards. The ब्राह्मणसर्वरूप explains 'तत्र च पितरस्तिष्ठन्तीति बृहस्पतिः । आहुतास्त्र त्तिष्ठन्ति पितरः आह्वयेवताः'.

1129. रघुनन्दन adds 'गन्धादीनां द्वन्द्वनिर्वैशान्मिलितानामेव तन्त्रेण पित्रादिक-सुद्विष्य उत्सर्गः'.

1130. Both हलायुध and रघुनन्दन state that the two मन्त्रसः in अग्नीकरणे are 'ओं अग्नये कथ्यवाहनाय स्वाहा, ओं सोमाय पितृमते स्वाहा'.

pitrayājña, having served (into all the plates for all the brāhmanas invited) the food that remains after being offered in fire, he touches with his hands (above and below each plate) and repeats the mantra 'The earth is thy vessel &c.' (notes 992, 1108a). (He keeps some food aside for making pindas later on). Then (having served the food in the plates) he plunges the thumb of the brāhmanas in the food with a rk (Rg. I. 22. 17, 'idam Viṣṇur vicakrame') addressed to Viṣṇu or with a Yajus so addressed ('Viṣṇo kavyamidam raksasva'). Then he scatters about (yavas before dāiva brāhmanas silently and) sesamum grains with the mantra 'apahatā asurā raksansi vedisadah' (Vāj. S. 2. 29). Then he should serve hot food very much liked (by diners or by the departed) or he may serve such food as he can afford. While the brāhmanas are engaged in eating (the dinner) he should perform *japa* of the following¹¹³¹, viz. the sacred Gāyatrī once or thrice preceded by *om* and the vyāhrtis, the verses called Raksoghñī (note 1111), mantras addressed to the pitrs (Rg. X. 15. 1-13 beginning with 'udiratām-avara ut parāśah'), Purusasūkta (Rg. X. 90. 1-16), Apratirātha hymn (Rg. X. 103. 1-13) beginning with 'āsuh śiśānah' and other holy texts. Then finding that the brāhmanas are satiated with food, he should scatter some food in front of the dining brāhmanas, he should give to each brāhmana water once (for *apośana* at the end of dinner). Then he should mutter as before the Gāyatrī, the (three) Madhumatī verses (Rg. I. 90 6-8) and the word 'madhu' (thrice). Then he asks 'are you satiated'. Being permitted by them in the words 'we are satiated', he makes them give their consent as to the rest of the food, collects together all food in one vessel (in order to make pindas from it); he offers (two sets of three pindas, three for paternal ancestors and three for maternal ancestors) on darbhas near the spot where¹¹³² the brāhmanas dined and left uneaten food in plates and pours water over the pindas for ablution¹¹³³. Some authors say that pindas are to

1131. It may be noted that in Bengal the numerous verses that are prescribed here for *japa* are apparently not muttered in modern times.

1132. उच्छिष्टसमीपे-गवाधर notes 'ब्राह्मणानामग्रतोऽक्षं प्रकिरेदिति कर्काचार्याः । पण्डि पूर्वन्वयस्योत्तरदिग्भागे अरत्निमात्रे विकिरं दद्यादिति हेमाद्रिः'.

1133. एकतोऽङ्गत्वं is grammatically irregular; it should be एकत उद्भूय. The पिण्डs are offered to paternal ancestors with their wives (सप्तर्त्निक) and to maternal ancestors with their wives. The formula would be, अमुकगोत्र

be offered after the brāhmanas perform *ūcamana* at the end of the dinner. After they perform *ūcamana* he gives to the brāhmanas water, flowers, *akṣatas* and *akṣayyodaka* ¹¹³⁴. Then he prays for the following blessings. He prays 'may the pitrs be not terrible (i. e. be kind) to us'. The brāhmanas reply 'may they be so'. He prays 'May our family prosper'. They reply 'may it be so'. He prays 'May donors increase in our family'. They reply 'let it be so'. He prays 'May Vedas and our progeny prosper'. The reply is 'May they do so'. He says 'May faith not depart from me'; they say 'May it not depart'. He says 'May we possess many things that we can donate'. They reply 'so be it'. After receiving these blessings he spreads *kuṣas* called *svadhāvācaniya* ^{1134a} together with *pavitra*s (on the ground near the *pindas* or, on the *pindas* themselves according to *Devayājñika* and others); he asks (all the brāhmanas or the most eminent one) 'shall I request you to utter the word *svadhā*'. Being permitted by them in the words 'May *svadhā* be recited' he prays 'May there be *svadhā* to the pitrs, to the grandfathers, to the great-grand-fathers, to the maternal grandfather, maternal great-grandfather and maternal great-grandfather'. When the brāhmanas reply 'May there be *svadhā*' he sprinkles water over the *svadhāvācaniya darbhās* with the mantra 'ūrjam vahantīr' (Vāj. S. II. 34). Then he turns the vessel top upwards (which had been placed with top downwards) and he should give to the brāhmanas *dakṣiṇā* according to his ability. He should make the *daiya* brāhmanas repeat 'May all the gods be pleased'. He should then dismiss the brāhmanas with the mantra 'Vāje vāje' (Vāj. S. 9. 18), he should follow the brāhmanas (up to the village boundary) with the mantra 'ā mā vājasya' (Vāj. S. 9. 19), circumambulate them and then enter his own house.

(Continued from the last page)

असम्यक्तरक्षकशर्मन् सपत्नीक वसुरुप एतच्छेऽर्कं स्वधा । इदमशुक्रगोत्रायाम्तिष्ठेऽशुक्रशर्मणे
सपत्नीकाय वसुरुपाय न मनः The same formula with appropriate changes is to be
employed for पितृमह, अपितृमह, मातामह etc. Some writers proposed that nine
pindas may be offered, three to पितृवर्ग, three to मातृवर्ग and three to मातामह-
वर्ग हेमाद्रि (आ p. 1445 and 1447) provides that a line for मातृवर्ग should be
drawn to the west of the one for पितृवर्ग and another line to the west of the
one for मातृवर्ग for मातामहवर्ग and पिण्डः should be offered in that order.

1134. On अक्षय्योदक, गदाधर explains 'अक्षय्योदकशब्देन दत्ताक्षयानादितानन्व-
प्रार्थनसम्बन्धि जलमभिधीयते।' सच्च पितृमाह्वणस्य एवेति कर्कः। सर्वेषां दद्यादिति
रक्षय्यर्थात्तरि ।

1134-a. सपत्न्यान् कुशानास्तीर्य-कर्कं and गदाधर explains 'सपत्न्यान्सपत्नी-
वर्था ।

It is to be noted that in the Bengal Manual of Pārvanaśrāddha based on the Brāhmanasarvasva of Halāyudha and also on Raghunandana's Yajurvediśrāddhatattva the following details are added after the pindas are placed on the darbhas and before the dismissal of the brāhmanas. He turns towards the north and says 'O pitrs, regale yourselves here and come like bulls each to his portion.' Then he turns round to his former position and says 'the pitrs regaled themselves and came like bulls each to his own share.' Then he loosens ¹¹³⁵ the side of his *dhoti* which has been tucked up and then folds up his hands (i. e. offers six namaskāras) with the mantra ¹¹³⁶ 'Namo vah pitaro rasāya' (Vāj. S. II, 32). He smells ¹¹³⁷ the pindas and gives the middle one to his wife, if she desires a son, with the mantra 'ādhatta' (Vāj. S II 33).

From considerations of space the procedure of pārvanaśrāddha among Hiranyakeśins in modern times is passed over here. Moreover, it closely resembles the procedure in Āsv. Gr. set out above, the principal difference being that some of the mantras are different. The Samskāraratnamāla of Gopinātha deals with this from p. 985 onwards. But one noticeable feature of this last work is that of making hair-splitting distinctions. On p. 985 it refers to two śrāddhas (other than pinda-pitrayajña) to be performed on amāvāsya, viz. *māsiśrāddha* and *māsikaśrāddha*, the first being described by the Dharmasūtra of Hiranyakeśin and the second by the Grhyasūtra. Gopinātha further says that *māsikaśrāddha* is the model of the other śrāddhas described in the Grhyasūtra and *māsiśrāddha* is the model of śrāddhas described in the Dharmasāstras, such as Mahālayaśrāddha or Sāmvatsarikaśrāddha, that Darśaśrāddha itself is *māsiśrāddha* (p. 988) and that *māsikaśrāddha* may be performed on each *darśa* or on any one *darśa* day in a year and that *māsiśrāddha* follows immediately after Pindapitrayajña as

1135. About नीवीविभ्रसन, vide ज्ञानपथ ५ in n, 960a. बृहदारण्यकस्य says 'इक्षिये कविवरे इ तिलैः सह कुशत्रयम्.'

1136 नमो वः पितरो रसाय—vide note 963 above. रघुनन्दन (यजुर्वेदिशास्त्रतत्त्व) remarks that in नमो वः पितरो रसाय...मन्यवे he offers obeisance to the pitrs identifying them with the six seasons, that in 'namo vah pitarah' (Vāj. S. 2 32) he offers namaskāra to the pitrs as identified with Agni Kavyavāhana and then prays to the pitrs to bestow on them a house in the words 'namo vo grhān nah pitaro datta' Vāj. S. 2. 32).

1137. Vide Manu III. 218 अवजिघ्रेच्च तत् पिण्डान् and note 960 towards the end

laid down by Manu (III. 122) and *māsikaśrāddha* may be performed after *māsiśrāddha*. In modern times no one performs *māsiśrāddha* or *māsikaśrāddha* strictly in accordance with the ancient rules. *Śrāddha* is supposed to be performed by feeding a *brāhmana* and giving him a *dakṣiṇā* of a few *annas*. The *Śrāddhatattva* (Jiv., part 1 p. 254) provides, after quoting *Matsya* and *Bhavisya*, that, if a person is unable to perform a *pārvaṇaśrāddha* every month, he should perform one at least thrice a year when the sun is in the zodiacal signs of *Kanyā*, *Kumbha* and *Vrsabha* and that if he is unable to perform even thrice then he should perform at least once when the sun is in the sign of *Kanyā*.

The two meanings of *sapinda* given by the *Mit.* and the *Dayabhāga* have already been explained at great length in H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 452-458 and pp. 472-477. The *Dayabhāga* propounded the theory that whoever conferred greater spiritual benefit on the deceased by the performance of *śrāddhas* and the offering of *pindas* was entitled to be preferred as an heir to the deceased's wealth. The *Mit.* said that heirship depended on blood relationship and the nearest in blood to the deceased was the preferential heir. But even under the *Mit.* whoever took the wealth of the deceased was bound to pay his debts (Yā. II. 51) and to offer *śrāddha* and *pinda* to him. This subject and the several propositions deduced from the texts have been dealt with in H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 734-745.

One thing to be remembered is that in determining the preferential right regard is to be had to the capacity of a person and the efficacy of the *pindas* when offered. After a person takes the wealth of the deceased, there is no legal machinery to enforce his duty to offer *pindas*¹¹³⁸. It was argued in *Nalinaksha v. Rajan Kanto* 35 O. W. N. 726 that, if an heir does not offer *pindas* or refuses to offer them to his ancestor, he was not entitled under Hindu Law to succeed to him. This argument was repelled by the judges with the remark that there was no authority for such a proposition and that the right to inheritance is based under the *Dayabhāga* not on offering *pinda* but on the capacity to offer it (p. 729). Vide *Gooroo Gobinda Saha v. Anand Lal* 5 Beng. L. R. 15 (F. B.) and *Digamber v. Motilal* 9 Cal. 563 (F. B.) for the statement that the principle of spiritual benefit is the sole foundation of the theory of in-

1138. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, p. 740 and note 1431.

heritance propounded in the Dāyabhāga. But in certain later cases such as *Akshayachandra v. Hari Das* 35 Cal. 721 it was rightly pointed out that spiritual benefit is not always the guiding principle under the Bengal school of law, that the principle of spiritual efficacy as the guiding principle fails in all classes of female relations such as the wife, the daughter and the mother whose rights are really based on special texts and that the reason for inheritance by a re-united coparcener was not spiritual benefit but was based on a *quasi* contract and affection.

The question about how śrāddha was to be performed if one or more of the three paternal ancestors were alive engaged the thoughts of writers from very ancient times. The Āśv.¹¹³⁹ Śr. 5 (II 6, 16-23) first sets out the views of Gānagāri, Taulvali and Gautama and then refutes them. Gānagāri held that out of the three paternal ancestors pindas should be offered to those that were dead and those that were alive should be honoured in person, since the śrāddha rite is meant for pleasing the ancestors; Taulvali opined that pindas should be offered to all the three ancestors, whether living or dead, since in the rite of śrāddha they are only a secondary matter (a detail). Gautama thought that pindas should be offered to dead ancestors, upto three from the father if the latter was living, from the grand-father if he was alive and from the great-grandfather if all the three be living. Āśv. replies; one cannot offer pindas to three ancestors¹¹⁴⁰ beyond the father, grand-father or great-grandfather, since one has no *adhikāra* to do so; one cannot offer pindas to an ancestor after whom there is an ancestor (within three degrees) living. One may offer *homa* into fire to those that are alive. (If all three ancestors are alive) all the three pindas must be cast into fire or he may not begin the rite at all. The Kātyāyana śr.¹¹⁴¹ sūtra provides

1139. तस्मै तस्मै च एषां प्रेता. स्थिरिति गाणगारि. प्रत्यक्षपितरानर्चयेत् तदर्थत्वात् । सर्वेष्व एव निष्णीयादिति शौत्वलिः क्रियासुप्तत्वात् । अपि जीवान्त एव आ त्रिभ्यः प्रेतेभ्य एव निष्णीयादिति गौतमः क्रिया ह्यर्थकारिता । उपायविशेषो जीवद्युतानाम् । न परेषोऽनधिकारात् । न प्रत्यक्षम् । न जीवेभ्यो निष्णीयात् । न जीवान्तहितेभ्यः । छद्दुयाज्जीवेभ्यः । सर्वदुतं सर्वजीविन ॥ आम्ब. औ. II. 6. 16-23.

1140 One can offer pindas only to three ancestors beginning with the father according to Vedic passages quoted in notes 958, 960a above and Manu IX 186. So there is no ancient authority to offer pinda to 4th or 5th or 6th ascendant.

1141. प्रेतेभ्यो ददाति । जीवत्पितृकोपि । जीवान्तहितेपि । जीवपितृकस्य होमान्तमनारम्भो वा । न व्यवेते जातृकण्यो न जीवन्तमतिददातीति । कार्या औ. सू. IV. 1. 23-27. Vide also शाङ्खायन औ. सू. IV. 4. 12-15 for similar rules.

that pindas are offered only to deceased ancestors; therefore if a person's father be alive or if there is a deceased ancestor between whom and the performer there is an ancestor that is alive, then one whose father is alive can only perform *homa* (into fire, but no pindādāna) or he should not undertake at all (the rite of pinda-pitryajña or pārvanaśrāddha); that Jātukarṇya prescribes that no pindādāna is possible when a living ancestor (father) intervenes between the performer and a deceased ancestor, since a śruti text says 'one does not offer pindas to ancestors that are beyond a living ancestor.' Manu (III, 220-222) deals with this question as follows: If the performer's father be alive he should offer pindas to three ancestors beginning from the paternal grand-father or he may request the father to dinner as he would do to a stranger brāhmana and offer pindas to the deceased grand-father and great-grand-father. If the father be dead and the grandfather be alive, he may offer a pinda only to the father and the great-grandfather (i. e. only two pindas) or the grand-father who is alive may be invited to dinner as if he were the stranger brāhmana invited to represent a deceased grand-father or if permitted by the grandfather who is alive he may offer pindas to father, great-grandfather and great-grand-father. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (chap. 75) has several rules of a similar character. Some of the Purānas such as Skanda VI 225, 24-25, Agni 117, 58-59 deal with this matter. Gobhilasūrti (II, 93 ff) has a long passage on this question, one verse of which is quoted below.¹¹⁴² Many of the commentaries and digests hold divergent views on this subject, viz. the Mit. on Yaj. I 254, Kalpataru (śr. pp 240 ff), Śr. K. K. pp. 552-556 and Nirpayasindhu (III, pp. 499-503). It is impossible to reconcile all the views. The Kalpataru (on śr. p. 240) states that there are three alternative courses for him whose father is alive, (1) he should pass over the father that is alive and offer pindas to those three ancestors to whom his father offers pindas; (Manu, III, 220, Viṣṇu Dh. B 75, 1); (2) he should simply offer *homa* into fire as stated in Āśv. Śr. S. quoted above, (3) he should not engage in the rite of pindapitryajña or pārvanaśrāddha at all (Gobhila-sūrti II 93). The Nirpayasindhu says that there are numerous alternatives mentioned by different writers, that they are forbidden in the Kali age and

1142. सपितृ-पितृकल्पेषु अधिकारो न विद्यते। न जीवन्तमतिक्रम्य किंचिद् दद्यादिति कृतिः। गोभिलसूति II, 93, प. by आ. कि. को p 552. Compare काल्या औ ९ प. in note 1141.

that one view is that a man whose father is alive cannot engage in a pārvanaśrāddha and that the real conclusion is that śrāddha may be offered to those to whom the father (of the performer) who is living offers pīndas. It is clear that one whose father is living should have nothing to do with pīndadāna for deceased ancestors. Manu (in latter half of III. 220) allowed an alternative viz. one should feed one's father at a dinner (and honour him with the details of worship such as *gandha*, *dhūpa*, *dīpa*) and offer pīndas to the deceased grandfather and great-grandfather. When any one or two out of the three paternal ancestors are alive and śrāddha is permitted to a descendant several alternatives become possible by permutation and combination, which are passed over here from considerations of space and utility. But the various views held by different writers as described above show clearly what a firm grip the theory of the supreme benefits to be derived from śrāddhas had on the minds not only of common people but of learned men, who, in spite of the fact that the father was alive and was there to offer pīndas to his three ancestors, allowed even the son (whose father was living) to offer pīndas to the same three ancestors. The Visnu Dh. 8. extends the procedure about 'jīvatpīrka' to one's mother's paternal ancestors (changing the mantra where necessary).^{1142a} Similar rules apply where the performer's mother is alive (Agnipurāna 117.60 'evam matrādīkasyāpi tathā mātāmahādike').

It is provided by Gobhīlasmṛti (III. 157) that a śruti injunction should be made effective by means of *anukalpa* (of some substituted procedure) if the primary procedure cannot be carried out.¹¹⁴³ If a person cannot secure several brāhmanas but can secure only one, he should perform Pārvana-śrāddha in which six pīndas are to be offered with a single brāhmana, provided he is *pankti-pāvana*¹¹⁴⁴ (sanotifier of a row of diners) and in such a case, *nanedyā* should be offered in place of the dinner

1142 a मातामहानामन्वेवं आहुः कुर्याद्विचक्षणः । मन्त्रोद्देहणं यथान्यायं शेषाणां मन्त्रवर्जितम् ॥ विच्छधमंस्त्व 75.8. मन्त्रोद्देहणं—This is to be understood as follows: "सुन्धन्ता पितरः" इत्यादौ सुन्धन्तां मातामहा इत्यादिपदक्षेपेण । शेषाणां पितृव्यमातुलादीनां मन्त्रवर्जित आवाहनादिमन्त्रवर्जित कुर्यादित्यर्थः ॥ पृथ्वीच folio 222 a.

1143. चरितार्थां क्षुतिः कार्या परमाद्वयकल्पतः । अन्ने देवं यथाशक्ति आहुकाले समागते ॥ कात्यायन 9 by हेमाद्रि (आ p. 1522). The first half occurs in गोभिल-स्मृति III. 157, but the 2nd half is different

1144. भोजयेद्यथाप्येकं ब्राह्मणं पक्षिपावतम् । देवे कृत्वा तु नैवेद्यं पश्चाद्ब्रह्मो तु तक्षिपेत् ॥ ऋद्ध 14 10; हेमाद्रि (आ p. 1524) reads पश्चात्तस्य तु निर्वेपेत्.

to the *daiya* brāhmanas and the food should be thrown into fire; so says Śankha 14.10. If even a single brāhmana cannot be had for a pārvanaśrāddha, then one should prepare with kuśas the effigy of brāhmana students (*batu*) and the performer should himself ask the questions and give the answers required in pārvanaśrāddha.¹¹⁴⁵

When one cannot secure a brāhmana nor materials, or when one is on a journey, or on the birth of a son, or when one's wife is in her monthly illness, one may perform āmaśrāddha (śrāddha with uncooked grains).¹¹⁴⁶ This is stated by the Skandapurāna VII. 1. 206. 52. Kātyāyana and Saurapurāna 19.32 have similar verses 'a twice-born person should perform āmaśrāddha when he is on a journey or is in distress, or if he has no fire for cooking and those who are weak may always perform it.' The Madanaparījata (p. 483) states that one who has the *adhikāra* for pārvanaśrāddha can alone offer āmaśrāddha. Harita says that when there is an obstacle in performing a śrāddha, āmaśrāddha is prescribed except in the case of māsika and sāmvaśarika śrāddhas.¹¹⁴⁷ Āmaśrāddha is always prescribed for sūdras. It was further provided that the grains offered in śrāddha should be utilized by the brāhmanas for eating the cooked food for themselves and were to be applied for no other purpose (Hemādri, Śr. p. 1527). Vyāsa provides¹¹⁴⁸ that the quantity of grains should be at least two or three or four times as much as the grains required for offering cooked food. Some words employed in the various items such as *āvāhana*¹¹⁴⁹

1145. निघाय वा दुर्भबद्भनासनेषु समाहितः । प्रैवालमैपसंशुक्तं विधानं प्रतिपादयेत् ॥
देवलं च by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1526), आ. क्रि. कौ. p. 82 (ascribes to सत्यव्रत and reads निघापाय दुर्भचयश्च)

1146. द्रव्याभावे द्विजाभावे प्रवासे पुत्रजन्मनि । आमश्राद्धं प्रकुर्वीत पश्य भार्गव रज-
स्वला ॥ स्कन्द VII. 1. 206 52, quoted as व्यास's in स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 492), आपद्य-
नश्री तीर्थे च प्रवासे पुत्रजन्मनि । आमश्राद्धं प्रकुर्वीत भाषोरजसि सकमे ॥ कात्या. q. by
निर्णयसिन्धु III p. 462, मद् पा p. 480, कल्पतरु p. 234 explains 'अनग्निश्चात्र पाक-
समर्थाग्निरहितः । न हुनरनग्निरनाहितः ॥'

1147. आश्रयिष्वे द्विजालीनाममश्राद्धं प्रकीर्तितम् । अमावास्यादि नियतं मास-
सवत्सराहते ॥ हारीत q. by अपरार्क p. 468, स्मृतिच (आ. p. 492), आ. क्रि. कौ. p. 26
(लघुहारीत)

1148. आमं ददद्भिः कौन्तेय तद्दानं द्विगुणं भवेत् । त्रिगुणं चतुर्गुणं चापि न त्वेकगुणम-
पयेत् ॥ व्यास q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1528).

1149. आवाहने स्वधाकारे मन्त्रा जप्या विसर्जने । अन्यकर्मण्यनूयाः स्वरामश्राद्धे
विधिं स्मृतं ॥ q. by हेमाद्रि (आ. p. 1529), स्मृतिच (आ. p. 492) ascribes to मरीचि
and explains "स्वधाकारे 'नमो धः पितर इवे' इत्यादिमन्त्रे ह्य इतिपदस्थाने आम-
द्रव्यायेत्युक्तः ॥"

svadhākāra and dismissal of the brāhmanas had to be changed e. g. in avāhana the verse employed is 'uśantastvā' (Vāj. S. 1970) which ends with the words 'havise attave' (which means 'in order to eat the *havis*') the words 'havise svikartave' would have to be substituted.

Āmaśrāddha is to be performed in the first part of the day, ekoddīsta in the noon, the pārvanaśrāddha in the afternoon and vṛddhiśrāddha in the first part of the day (divided into five).^{1149a}

If even uncooked food grains cannot be offered the performer should perform *hemaśrāddha* (śrāddha with money) When the sun passes from one sign of the zodiac into another, in default of food and brāhmanas, on a journey, on the birth of a son, in an eclipse, in the case of women and śūdras *hemaśrāddha* is allowed or when one's wife is in her monthly illness. In āmaśrāddha twice the quantity of grains required in offering cooked food and in hemaśrāddha four times (the price of the grains required for cooked food) has to be offered. If no money can be had the digests prescribe several modes which have already been set out above (vide p. 425, n. 955).

1149 a आमश्राद्धं तु पूर्वाह्ने एकोद्विष्टं तु मध्यतः । पार्वणं चापरह्ने तु प्रातर्विष्टि-
गमितकम् ॥ हारीत and शातातप q. in अपराके p. 468, पृ. 41च. folio 124a.

CHAPTER X

EKODDIṢṬA AND OTHER ŚRĀDDHAS

Having dealt at great length with Pārvaṇaśrāddha which is the model of all śrāddhas it is now time to speak of Ekoddista śrāddha that is a modification of Pārvaṇaśrāddha¹¹⁵⁰ The word Ekoddista means 'that in which only one deceased person¹¹⁵¹ is intended (to be invoked or benefited)'. The Pārvaṇaśrāddha is intended for three paternal ancestors and is thus distinguished from Ekoddista. In Śān gr. IV. 2, Baud. gr. III. 12.6, the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (kandika 4), and Yāj. I. 251-252, the points of difference between the two are clearly set out.¹¹⁵² In this śrāddha only one *arghya* is offered, there is only one *pañtra* and only one *pinda* is offered, there is no *āvāhana* (as there is in Pārvaṇa), no *agnau-kovana*, there are no brāhmanas invited to represent the Viśve-devas; the question about being satiated by the dinner is to be asked in the word 'svaditam' (did it taste well) and the brāhmanas reply with 'susvaditam' (it had excellent taste); instead of saying 'may it be inexhaustible,' the formula here used is 'May it approach' (or wait upon the deceased person), when the brāhmanas are sent away at the end of the dinner the word used is 'be satisfied (or delighted)' and they reply 'we are delighted.' The Viṣṇu-purāna (III 13. 23-26) and Mārkaṇdeya (28 8-11) closely follow the Śrāddhasūtra and Yāj. According to Śān gr. (IV. 2, 7),¹¹⁵³

1150. अथेत्यनेनैकोद्विदस्य पार्वणानन्तर्यामिधरं तयोः प्रकृतिविकृतिर्न सूचयति ।
आह्वतस्य p. 244.

1151. एक उद्विदो यस्मिन् आह्वे तदेकोद्विदमिति कर्मनामधेयम् । मित्ता on पा I 251, elsewhere it says 'तत्र त्रिपुरवद्विदो न यत् क्रियते तत्पार्वणम्, एकपुरवद्विदो न क्रियमाणेनैकोद्विदम्' ; मित्ता. on पा I. 217. इलायुध (folio 32 b) on आह्वतस्य says 'एकोत्र संभदान्तेनोद्विद इति ।'.

1152. अथैकोद्विदेषु नाग्नौकरणं नाभिआवाणं न पूर्वं निमग्न्यं न दीवं न भूपं न दीपं न स्वधां न नमस्कारो नात्रापूपम् । बो. द. सू. III. 12. 6.†

1153. अथैकोद्विदम् । एकोऽर्घं एकं पवित्रमेक. पिण्डो नावाहनं नाग्नौकरणं नात्र विश्वे-
देवाः स्वदितमिति तृमिषश्चः सुस्वदितमितीतरे ब्रह्मकपतिष्ठतमित्यक्षरस्थानेऽभिरम्पतामिति
निसर्गोऽभिरताः सम इतीतरे । आह्वतस्य 4 (कात्यायनीय) Almost the same words
occur in कौषीतकिगृह्य 4. 2 (Benares S. Series). The यजुर्वेदविभाष्यतस्य (Jv. II, p. 495) explains 'एक एकदलरूपं पवित्रम्'.

Manu III, 257, Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 11), Yāj. I, 256 and others, for one year after the death of a twice-born person till the sapindikarana śrāddha is performed this is the way in which śrāddha is to be performed for the *preta* every month. The Visnudharmasūtra 21. 2 provides that suitable changes (ūha) should be made in the mantras employed (e. g. instead of 'atra pitaro mādayadhvam' the mantra should be 'atra pitarmādayasva' (O father! ¹¹⁵⁴ regale thyself here). In Ekoddista such a formula as 'ye ca tvām-anu' (those that come after thee) cannot be employed and the word 'pitr' is not to be employed (till sapindikarana is performed), but the word 'preta' (Aparārka p. 525 quoting Śaunaka-grhyaparīśista).¹¹⁵⁵

As seen above (p 262, note 591a) Ekoddista śrāddhas are of three kinds, nava, navamiśra and purāna Navaśrāddhas are those that are performed till the 10th or 11th day after death, navamiśras (or miśras) are those that are performed after the 11th day till one year (or six months, according to some) after death. Aparārka quotes a verse from Vyāghra ¹¹⁵⁶ that Ekoddista-śrāddha is performed on the 11th day, on the 4th day, at the end of each month for a year after death and every year on the day of death and a verse of Kātyāyana that (ekoddista) śrāddha should be performed for one who had kept sacred fires on the 11th day after the day of cremation and that the Dhruva śrāddhas should always be performed on the day of death. Aparārka explains 'Dhruvāni' as meaning those that are performed after three fortnights from death. About the navaśrāddha there is again a divergence of views. One meaning has already been given above on p 262 note 593. The Skandapurāna VI (Nāgarakhanda) 205. 1-4 and Garudapurāna (pretakhanda 5. 67-69) state that navaśrāddhas are nine viz. the three performed where a man died, where the funeral procession rested on the way and where the burnt bones were collected and six more performed on the 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th days after death.

1154. एकवन्मन्त्राद्देतेकोद्दिष्टे । विष्णुषु सू 21. 2 On this the दीपकलिका explains "अत्र पितरो मादयध्वमिति बहुवचनान्तेषु अत्र पितर्मादयस्व इति एकवचनेनोद्दिष्टं कार्यं ".

1155. ये च स्वामस्तु इत्यादि मन्त्रो न युज्यते । पितृशब्द न कुर्वीत नमो वः पितर इत्यादि मन्त्रं न पठेत् । कल्पतरु (आ) p 246.

1156. तत्र व्याघ्रः । एकादशे चतुर्थे च मासि मासि च वत्सरम् । प्रतिसंवत्सरं चैव-
नेकोद्दिष्टं मृताहानि ॥ कात्यायन. । आह्वमशिमत्. कार्यं दाहादेकादशेऽहनि । ध्रुवाणि तु प्रकुर्वीत
प्रतीताहनि सर्वदा ॥ अपरार्क p. 521 This last is गोभिलस्मृति III. 66 which reads
प्रत्यादिदक प्रकुर्वीत .

Numerous works lay down that there are sixteen śrāddhas which must be performed for a deceased person and that if these are not performed then his spirit is not freed from the condition of being a *preta* and a *piśāca*.¹¹⁵⁷ There is a great deal of divergence of views about what these sixteen śrāddhas are, some works including *sapindikarava* among the 16, others excluding it therefrom. *Gobhīlasmṛti* III, 67 enumerates¹¹⁵⁸ the 16 as follows: The twelve monthly śrāddhas (performed every month on the *tithi* of death), the first (i. e. the śrāddha on the 11th day), two śrāddhas on (a day prior to the expiry of) every six months from the *tithi* of death and *sapindikarava* are the sixteen śrāddhas. The *Garudapurāna*¹¹⁵⁹ refers to three groups of sixteen, one of which enumerates the 16 śrāddhas as those performed on the 12th day (after death), after three fortnights, after six months, after every month and at the end of the year, while the *Padmapurāna*¹¹⁶⁰ enumerates them as follows: the sixteen śrāddhas are those performed on the 4th day after death, at the end of three fortnights, after six months, after a year and twelve śrāddhas performed each month (on the *tithi* of death) The *Kalpataru* p. 25 and *Brahmapurāna* q. by *Aparārka* (p. 523) state that the 16 śrāddhas are those performed on 4th, 5th, 9th and 11th days after death and the twelve monthly śrāddhas (on the *tithi* of death¹¹⁶¹). *Laugākṣi* and

1157. यस्यैतानि न क्षीयन्ते मेवमाह्वानि षोडश। पिनां चर्त्तुं भुवं तस्य दत्तैः आह्व-
जावैरपि ॥ यम ५ by आ. क्रि. कौ. p. 362 The same verse occurs in *शुद्धपुराण*
(*शिवखण्ड* 5. 50-51), *ललितस्मृति* 16 (reads यस्यैतानि न कुर्वति एकोद्विष्टानि), *शुद्धशुद्ध*
13 (with variations), पद्म (चुष्टिखण्ड 47. 272 reads न सन्तीह यथाशक्त्या च अह्वया)
The verse is quoted by the *मिता* on चार्. I. 254 (reading न दत्तानि and मृतत्वं
हृत्स्थिरं तस्य) *मेतल्लोके तु वसतिर्भूणा* वर्षं प्रकीर्तयत्। शुद्धेणै प्रत्यहं तत्र भवेत्त भयुनन्दन ॥
नारकण्डेयः ५ by *मिता*. on चार्. I. 253

1158. द्वादश प्रतिनार्यानि आद्यपाण्मासिके तथा। सपिण्डीकरणं चैव एतद् आह्व-
षोडशम् गोभिलस्मृति III 67. The word आह्व has been explained by चार्. I 256
as श्रुतेदानी प्रकृतम् प्रतिमासं तु वत्तरम्। प्रतिवत्तरं चैवमाद्यमेकादशोऽह्वानि ॥ on which
the *मिता* says 'आद्यं सर्वकोद्विष्टप्रकृतिभूतनेकोद्विष्टमेकादशोऽह्वानि'। शुद्ध (वि. 5 51) says;
एकादशे द्वादशे वा दिने आद्यं प्रकीर्तयत्। But *अपरार्क* p. 543 explains आह्व differently
एकादशे द्वादशे वा दिने आद्यं प्रकीर्तयत्। पाण्मासिके is explained by *गोभिलस्मृति* III 68 as
'आद्यश्राद्धेन नवमाह्वान्युच्यन्ते'। पाण्मासिके is explained by *गोभिलस्मृति* III 68 as
एकादशेन तु यण्मासा चत्वारि स्युरपि वा त्रिणि । न्यूनाः संवत्सराच्चैव द्वातां पाण्मासिके तथा ॥ ५
by *अपरार्क* p. 522, आ. क्रि. कौ. p. 338 and explained as 'एकेनाह्वा त्रिभिर्वा अहोभिर्यदा
यण्मासा न्यूनाः स्यु संवत्सराश्च तावत्संख्यया न्यूनास्ति तदा पाण्मासिके आह्वे कार्ये इत्यर्थः'।

1159. द्वादशाहे त्रिपक्षे च यण्मासे मासिकेऽह्विके। वृत्तीषां षोडशीनेता वदन्ति मतभेदवत्
शुद्ध (शिवखण्ड 5.49-50); the other two groups are at chap 35, 33-36 and in 37,

1160. चतुर्थाहे त्रिपक्षे च यण्मासे चाह्विके तथा। द्वादश प्रतिनार्यानि आह्वान्ये
वानि षोडश। पद्म, चुष्टिखण्ड 5. 271.

1161. ब्रह्मपुराणे। भूणा तु त्यक्तदेवानां आह्वः षोडश सर्वदा। चतुर्थे पञ्चमे चैव नवमे-
कादशे तथा। ततो द्वादशभिर्नासैः आह्वानि द्वादशसंख्यया। ५. by *अपरार्क* p. 523.

others say that after performing the 16 śrāddhas according to the procedure for Ekoddista śrāddhas sapindana should be performed.¹¹⁶² The Madanapārijāta (p. 615), the Nirnaya-sindhu (III. p. 599) and others say that in this conflict of views one should follow the usage of one's country, Vedic Śākha or family. There were two views about the śrāddha on the 11th day. It should be remembered that Yāj. III. 22 laid down impurity on death for 10, 12, 15 and 30 days respectively for the four varnas. One view espoused by Śankha and Paithinasi was that in spite of the days of impurity not being over śrāddha must be performed on the 11th day (and for the moment the performer becomes pure for that purpose). The other view was that of the Matsyapurāna and Visnudharmasūtra 21.1 that the first śrāddha (ekoddista) was to be performed on the expiry of āsauca.

In the case of ascetics dying it is provided by Uśanas¹¹⁶³ that by the fact of their taking to the order of *sannyāsa* (of the ekadandi kind in the Kaliyuga) they have not to undergo the condition of being *preta*, no Ekoddista nor Sapindikarana should be performed for them by their son or other relative but only pārvanaśrāddha on the 11th day and every year thereafter. Śātātapa provides¹¹⁶⁴ that no Ekoddista, no water, no pinda and no cremation rites should be offered to an ascetic nor mourning should be observed, but pārvana-śrāddha should be performed. Praetas quoted by Mit. on Yāj. I. 256 states that no ekoddista is to be performed for an ascetic nor sapindikarana, but only pārvana on the day of death every year in Bhādrapada dark half. The Śivapurāna (Kailāsa-saṃhitā) chapters 32 and 23 deal with the rites to be performed on an ascetic's death on the 11th and 12th days.

In the Navaśrāddhas no incense, no lamps are employed. All mantras having the words 'pitr' and 'svadhā namah' are

1162. आङ्गानि षोडशापाद्य विदधीत सपिण्डनम् । लौगाक्षि १ by मिता on या. I. 255, निर्णयसिन्धु p. 599, महोजि on चतुर्विंशतिमतसंग्रह p. 168, ascribed to वायुपुराण by अपराकं p. 532, सपिण्डीकरणादर्वाक् कुर्याद्वाङ्गानि षोडश । एकोद्दिष्टविधानिन कुर्यात्सर्वाणि तानि तु ॥ १. by अपराकं p. 522.

1163. एकोद्दिष्ट न कुर्वीत यतीनां चैव सर्वदा । अहन्येकादशे मासे पार्वणे तु विधीयते ॥ सपिण्डीकरणेनैवा न कर्तव्यं सुतादिभिः । त्रिदण्डग्रहणादेव प्रेतत्वं नैव जायते ॥ उशनस् १ by मिता on या. I. 255, परा मा I. 2 p. 458, आ क्रि कौ pp. 444-445.

1164. एकोद्दिष्टं जलं पिण्डमाशौचं प्रेतसत्क्रियाम् । न कुर्याद्वापिकादन्यद् ब्रह्मभूता हि ते स्मृताः ॥ ज्ञातात्प १. by मद पा p. 627, आ क्रि कौ. p. 445, अपराकं p. 538 (reads पार्वणादन्यद् ब्रह्मभूताय भिक्षवे).

omitted and so is the word 'anu' omitted and there is no *yajñ* and no recital of mantras in the hearing of the brāhmanas. As stated in the Brahmapurāna, the śrāddhas performed in the house at the end of impurity on the 12th day, at the end of a month etc. are called ekoddista. It follows that the rites called navaśrāddhas offered during the days of impurity are performed at the place of death or in the cemetery or at a place where water and pinda are offered (and not in the house), vide Sm. C. (āsauca p. 176). In the *navamiśra śrāddha* mantras are employed according to some. In former times and now also all the 16 śrāddhas are performed on the 11th day. Hardly any one waits for one year to perform Sapindikarana. In former times it was laid down (e. g. by the Mit) that in times of difficulty, Sapindikarana should be performed even before a year elapses after performing the sixteen śrāddhas. But now this exception has become the rule.

Sapindikarana or Sapindana is the reception of a deceased person into the community of pītras to whom pindas are offered. Several times were prescribed by ancient works for this. Acc to the Kausitaki gr. IV. 2 this śrāddha could be performed after the death of the deceased at the end of a year or at the end of three fortnights or on the happening of a lucky event (like the birth of a son or a marriage). The Bhāradvāja¹¹⁶⁵ gr (III 17) allowed it at the end of a year (after death) or in the 11th or 6th or 4th month or on the 12th day. The Baud. Pitrmedhasūtra II. 12.1 mentions five times for sapindikarana viz one year, 11th, 6th or 4th month or 12th day. The Garudapurāna (Pretakhanda 6 53-54) states the time of Sapindikarana to be one year, six months, three fortnights, the 12th day or on a lucky occasion. The Viṣṇupurāna (III. 13. 26ff) makes similar provisions about sapindikarana (which is an ekoddista śrāddha). Aparārka (p. 540) after a long discussion holds that there are three times for a performer who is an *āntāgni* viz 12th day, some day between the end of āsauca and the first amāvāsya (after death) or the first amāvāsya after āsauca ends and prescribes four times for one who has not kept sacred fires, viz a year, six months, three fortnights or when a lucky event occurs. The Madanapārijāta quotes a verse of Vyāsa that the 12th day is

1165. संवत्सरे सपिण्डीकरणमेकादशे मासि षष्ठे चतुर्थे द्वादशैकानि । भारद्वाजस्य III 17.1; आनन्त्याकुलधर्मिणां पुंसां चैवासुप क्षयात् । अस्थिरत्वाच्छरीरस्य द्वादशाहो यज्ञस्यते ॥ अथान्त १. by मद् या p. 631, आ कि. कौ p. 350 (ascribes to व्यास), पृथ्वीच folio 237 a (ascribes to व्यास), भट्टोजि p. 176 of चतुर्विंशति, आद्वत्सव p. 301.

commended (for the sapindana śrāddha) because family usages are innumerable, because man's life is short and because the body is evanescent. The Visnu Dh. S. (21.20) provides that for śūdras 12th day after death is the only day for Sapindikarāṇa (but without Vedic mantras). Gobhila laid down that after Sapindikarāṇa was performed, there was to be no performance of śrāddhas every month, but Gautama (or Śaunaka, according to Aparārka p. 543) held the view that they may be performed according to the procedure of ekoddista śrāddhas. Bhattoji says¹¹⁶⁶ that when sapindikarāṇa is performed before the end of the year, then all the sixteen śrāddhas must be performed before Sapindikarāṇa, yet the monthly śrāddhas should again be performed at their proper times for one year. Yāj. I. 255 and Visnu Dh. S. 21. 23 prescribe that even if Sapindikarāṇa is performed for a deceased person within less than a year from death still for one year food and a jar of water should be given to a brāhmana for the whole year (for the benefit of the deceased). Uśanas provides that even if the heirs of a deceased person are divided in wealth, still the *navāśrāddhas*, the sixteen śrāddhas, and sapindikarāṇa must be performed by one alone¹¹⁶⁷ (e. g. the eldest son), but Pracetas provides that when a year has (elapsed) śrāddha may be performed separately by each heir¹¹⁶⁸.

The procedure of Sapindana or Sapindikarāṇa is described in numerous works such as the Śān. gr. V. 9, Kausitaki gr. IV. 2, Baud Pitrmedhasūtra III. 12.12, Śrāddha-sūtra of Kātyāyana (kādikā 5), Yāj. I. 253-254, Visvupurāna III. 13.27 ff, Visnu Dh. S. 21. 12-33, Padma (Śrīstikhanda 10. 22-33), Mārkaṇdeya-purāna 28. 12-18, Garuda-purāna I. 220, Visnudharmottara II. 77, Smṛtyarthasāra pp. 57-58, Nirṇayasindhu (III. p. 614). It is briefly set out here.¹¹⁶⁹ As said by Baud.

1166. यदा संवत्सरपूर्ते प्रागेव सपिण्डीकरणं कियते तदा यद्यपि षोडश आञ्जानि सतः प्रागेव कृतानि आञ्जानि षोडशादच्चा न कुर्यात्तु सपिण्ढनम्—इति बृहवसिषोक्तः, तथापि स्व-स्वकाले पुनरपि मासिकादीन्प्रावर्तनीयानि। भट्टोजि *op. cit.* चतुर्विंशतिमतसंग्रह p. 171

1167. नवआञ्जं सपिण्ढलं आञ्जान्यपि च षोडश। एकैनेव हि कार्याणि संनिभक्त-धनेवपि॥ उद्दानम् p. by अपरार्क p. 524, निता. *op. cit.* Yāj. I. 255 (without name). This verse is गण्डधुराण, प्रेत 34. 128-129.

1168. अर्वाक् संवत्सरत्सर्वे कुर्यं आञ्ज समेत्य वै। संवत्सरे च्यतीते तु कुर्यं आञ्जं पृथक् पृथक्॥ प्रवृत्तम् p. by अपरार्क p. 524.

1169 The सङ्कल्प in सपिण्ढन will be somewhat as follows. अमुकगोत्रस्या-मुकशर्मणं प्रेतस्य प्रेतत्वनिवृत्त्या पितृलोकमाप्स्यर्थममुकगोत्रे. अमुकशर्मणं निवृत्तुं दद्यादित्य-स्वरूपे. प्रेतपितृपितामहमपितामहे. सह सपिण्डीकरणं श्रुतायाद् द्वादशोद्वेगं पापेभ्योऽपि विधिना कारित्वे ॥

Pitṛmedhasūtra III. 12.12, in this śrāddha there is invitation to the brāhmanas the previous day, there is agnaukarana, there is the recital of Vedic texts when the brāhmanas are engaged in eating, Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas are honoured, the Viśvedevas are Kāma and Kāla (vide n. 1018), there is the presentation of incense and lamp, there is *svadhā* and also *namaskāra*. Four vessels for *arghya* should be got ready and filled with sandal-wood paste, water and sesamum grains, one being for the deceased (the *preta*) and three for his paternal ancestors, two *daiva* brāhmanas should be invited, one to represent the *preta* and three to represent the three paternal ancestors of the *preta*; if a man is unable to invite so many brāhmanas, he should invite three, one for Viśvedevas, one for the *preta* and one for the three paternal ancestors. He should request 'I shall unite the vessel for the *preta* with the vessels for his three paternal ancestors' When permitted in the words 'do unite', he should cast the kuśas in the vessel for the *preta* into the vessels for his three paternal ancestors, should keep a little water mixed with kuśas in the vessel for the *preta* and distribute the rest of the water from the *preta* vessel into the three vessels for his ancestors with the two mantras^{1169a} 'ye samānā' (Vāj. S. 19. 45-46) Arghya is offered to the brāhmana representing the *preta* with the water that remains in the *preta* vessel, arghya is offered to the three *pitṛya* brāhmanas from the three *pitṛya* vessels. Four *pindas* should be prepared, one for the *preta* and three for his ancestors and then the performer requests 'I shall unite the *pretapinda* with the *pindas* for the three ancestors of his'; when permitted in the words 'do unite', the performer divides the *pretapinda* into three parts and puts each third into each of the three *pindas* with the same two mantras (Vāj. S. 19. 45-46). The Garudapurāna (I. 220.6) strikes a discordant note in that it states that the *pretapinda* is to be divided in two parts, each of which is to be placed inside the *pindas* for *pitāmaha* and *prapitāmaha* only.

1169 a. The two mantras are. ये समाना समनस्य पितरो यमराज्ये । तेषां लोकं
 स्वधा नमो यज्ञो देवेषु कल्पताम् ॥ ये समानाः समनसो जीवा जीरेषु मामका । तेषां श्रीमपि
 कल्पतामस्मिँल्लोके शतं समा ॥ वाज. स. 19. 45-46, काठकसंहिता 38 23-24 भारद्वाज-
 शुक्ल III 17 sets out the following formula for तिलप्रदान 'ये समाना ये सजाता इति
 द्वाप्यामसौ पितृभिः पितामहेभिः प्रपितामहेभिः सहैतच्चे तिलोदकं तस्मै ते स्वधा नम इति तिलो
 बुकमदानम् ।' In place of असौ one has to use the vocative 'अस्मत्पितरद्वकमोत्रा-
 शुक्रासन्द मेतः पितामहेभिः and प्रपितामहेभिः are Vedic Instrumentals (plural).

Sapindikarana partakes of the character of both ekoddista and pārvana, the first applying to the *preta* and the 2nd to the three ancestors of the *preta*, so that in it two kinds of śrāddhas are combined. When the sapindikarana rite is completed by the giving of daksinā to the brāhmanas, then the *preta* ceases to be so and himself becomes a pitr. The status of being a *preta* involves the experiencing of great torments due to hunger and thirst and becoming a pitr means being brought in contact with the śrāddha *devatās* called Vasu, Rudra and Āditya.¹¹⁷⁰ The word *preta* has two meanings, (1) a person who is dead and (2) one who being dead has not the sapindikarana performed for him. The result of sapindana is that the¹¹⁷¹ great-grandfather of the deceased whose sapindana is performed drops out from the list of pitrs entitled to pinda and becomes one called 'lepabhāk' (entitled to only wipings of the hand) and the former *preta* becomes one of the pitrs and entitled to participate in the pindas offered at a pārvanaśrāddha thereafter. As stated in the Garudapurāna I. 220. 2 the sapindikarana-śrāddha is to be performed like the pārvana in the afternoon.

It may be noted that in some works the mantras recited at the time of pouring the water from the *preta* vessel into the pitr vessels are different. For example, the Visnu Dh. S. 21. 14 says¹¹⁷² the mantras are 'Samsrjatu tvā prthivi' (May the earth unite thee) and 'samāni va ākūṭiḥ' (Rg. X. 191. 4), while the

1170. म्रेतृत्वं च क्षुत्तृष्णोपजनितात्यन्तदुःखालभवावस्था । यथाह मार्कण्डेय । म्रेतलोकं तु वसतिर्दृष्ट्वां वर्षं मकीर्तिना । क्षुत्तृष्णे मर्यदं तत्र भवेत्तं मृगुनन्दन ॥ इति । पितृरामातिश्च पत्न्यादिआह देवतासम्बन्धः । मितः on या I. 254. या I. 255-256 presuppose this idea

1171. सपिण्डीकरणार्थं पितृभिः प्रपितामह । सुतलेपसुजो याति म्रुतपितृपिण्डकः ॥ मार्कण्डेय 29. 1 ; ततः मृत्ति वै म्रेत. पितृसामान्यमाप्नुयात् । विन्दते पितृलोकं च ततः आह्वं भवते ॥ हारीत q. by कल्पतरु (आ) p. 256, हेमाद्रि (आ p. 1640), आ क्रि शौ p. 262 which last explains 'पितृसामान्यं पितृभि सह पार्षणआह्वं भोक्तृत्वमित्यर्थः । तेन पञ्चदश-आह्वाना म्रेतत्वपरीहार. फलं सपिण्डनस्य तु म्रेतत्वपरीहार पितृलोकप्राप्तिः पितृभिः सह पार्षणभोक्तृत्वं च फलत्रयमिति ।' Vide also स्मृतिच on आसौच (Mysore University ed.) p. 158 quoting म्रेतत्त्वं and विष्णु.

1172. सूत्रसरान्ते म्रेताय तत्पित्रे तत्पितामहाय तत्पितामहाय च ब्राह्मणाय देवपूर्वात् भोजयेत् । अत्राग्नीकरणमावाहनं पार्यं च कुर्यात् । संजुहत्वा पृथिवीं समानी व इति म्रेतपाद्यपात्रं पितृपाद्यपात्रत्रये योजयेत् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 21. 12-14. q. by हेमाद्रि (आ p. 1640). The mantra is संजुहत्वा पृथिवीं वायुरग्निं प्रजापतिः । संजुहत्वां पूर्वोमि. पितृभिः सह ॥ The काठकश्रुत्य 66 7 prescribes that when parts of पितृपिण्डा are mixed up with पितृपिण्डः, this mantra and two more viz. 'samānā va ākūṭāni' and 'sam vo manāmsi' (काठकसंहिता 10. 38-39) are recited,

Grhya-pariśista¹¹⁷³ of Āśv. employs the three Madhumatī verses (Rg. I. 90.6-8) and the three fine verses at the end of the R̥gveda beginning with 'sangacchadhvam' (Rg. X. 191. 2-4, 'May you unite' &c.).

Yāj. (I. 254) and Mārkaṇḍeya (28. 17-18) provide that Ekoddista and Sapindikarana śrāddhas are performed for women also (but, not pārvana nor ābhyudayika). About the Sapindikarana of the mother there are somewhat conflicting dicta. If a woman dies sonless and her husband is alive, her sapindana is effected with her mother-in-law (Gobhilasṃti II. 102). If a woman dies leaving no son and the husband also is dead, then no sapindana can be performed for her. If she died either on the funeral pyre of her husband¹¹⁷⁴ or afterwards (as a *Sati*) then her son should perform her sapindana with her husband (i. e. the son's father) and there is no separate sapindana for her. If she was married in the *Zsura* form or she was made a *putrikā*, then the son should perform his mother's sapindana with his maternal grandfather; while a son born of a woman married in the *Brūhma* and three other proper forms may perform her sapindana with her husband or the paternal grandmother or the maternal grandfather. In the case of these three alternatives if there is a certain family usage that should be followed; otherwise there is an option. If a woman has a step-son, the latter should perform her sapindana with his father, as Manu IX. 183 (= Vas. 17. 11) indicates. Vide the Mit on Yāj I. 253-254 and Sm. C. (on śāuca p 169) for discussion of these points and for various alternatives¹¹⁷⁵

The Nirṇayasindhu (III. p. 388) says that there is no sapindana for one whose upanayana was not performed when

1173. त्रेतापिण्डं त्रिधा विभज्य पितृपिण्डेषु त्रिणादधाति मनु धाता इति तिद्यन्तिः सङ्गच्छन्मिति ह्याग्यामनुमन्य शेषं पार्षणवत्कुर्यात् । आश्व. सू. परि 3.11.

1174. सपिण्डीकरणं तासां पुत्राभावे न विद्यते । प्रतिसंवत्सरं कार्यमेकीदृष्टं नरैः स्त्रियाः ॥ मार्कण्डेय 28.18 on which सद्गर्धर (आश्वविश्वेक p 113) says: अब पुत्राभाव इत्युपलक्षणं पतिपुत्राभाव इति ऋट्स्थम् ।

1175. स्वेन भर्तुः समं श्राद्धं माता भुञ्जे ह्यधमयम् । पितामही च स्वेनैव स्वेनैव प्रपितामही ॥ बृहस्पति उ by सृष्टिच. (आ.) p. 449, कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 259 (reads स्वधामय and तथैव प्रपितामही) and आ. कि. कौ. p. 428, मातुः सपिण्डीकरणं पितामह्या सहोदिवत् । गोभिलस्मृति II. 102 आ. कि. कौ. p. 428, पितुः पितामहे यद्दत् पूर्णं संवत्सरे सुते । मातुर्नातामहे तद्दत्त्वा कार्या सपिण्डता ॥ उद्दानसू उ by मित्त. on या. I. 253-254 The गदह (श्रेत 34.121) says 'पितामह्या समं मातुः पितुः सह पितामहैः । सपिण्डीकरणं कार्यमिति तार्क्ष्यं मतं मम ॥' Therefore the मित्त. says 'मातुः सपिण्डीकरणेपि विरुद्धानि वाक्यानि दृश्यन्ते ।'.

he died, but if he was more than five years old then the 16 śrāddhas are performed for him (though not sapindana) and pinda is offered on bare ground. It may be noted that no auspicious rite like marriage in which ābhyudayika śrāddha is necessary can be performed until the sapindana of a deceased person of the family has been effected (except in the case of such absolutely necessary ceremonies as simantonnayana).

Manu (V. 89-90) prescribes that no water and other rites like sapindikarāṇa are offered and performed for those who had left off their faith, who were born of condemned mixed marriages, who entered ascetic orders, who had committed suicide (by hanging, poison &c.), who had embraced heretical doctrines, for women that wilfully seek illicit connection with men, that did harm to their foetus or husband (were guilty of abortion and murder of husband) and that were addicted to drinking *surā*. Yāj. III. 6 contains similar provisions. It has to be noted that every kind of suicide is not condemned by the ancient smrtis. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III, pp. 939, 958-9 for cases where suicide was not condemned. Except in those cases Yama (q by the Mit. on Yāj. III. 6) provides that in the case of the persons mentioned in Manu and Yāj. there is to be no āsauca observed, no water offered, no tears shed, no cremation and no last rites. The Mit. (on Yāj. III. 6) quotes Vṛddha Yājñavalkya and Chāgaleya that in the case of those who are guilty of condemned suicide the procedure of Nārāyanabali should be resorted to after a year and then śrāddha may be offered to them. Then the Mit. describes at length the procedure of Nārāyanabali. Vide note 838 b p. 370 above for the Skandapurāna, Nāgarakhanda 219. 19-21 on the view that śrāddha may be performed on the 14th of the dark half for persons who committed suicide or who met a violent death.

The *Abhyudayika-śrāddha* is to be now described. Āśv. gr. IV. 7 mentions in one place only four śrāddhas viz. Pārvana, Kāmya, Ābhyudayika and Ekoddista (note 966 above). Many of the sūtras such as Āśv. gr. II. 5. 13-15, Śān. gr. IV. 4, Gobhīḷa gr. IV. 3. 35-37, Kausītaki gr. IV. 4, Baud. gr. III. 12. 2-5, the Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana (kandikā 6) briefly describe this śrāddha. According to most of these sūtras this śrāddha is performed when there is a lucky event such as the birth of a son, or his *caula*, *upanayana* or marriage or there is the commencement of a charitable (*pūrta*) act (such as the dedication of a well or a tank or a park to the public). Āśv.

gr. and Gobhila gr. are very brief. They say that in this śrāddha performed on auspicious occasions or on the undertaking of meritorious acts an even number of brāhmanas is to be fed, that the rite is to be performed from left to right and that *yavas* (barley) are to be used instead of sesamum grains. As this śrāddha is only a modification (vikṛti) of *pārvana* (as said by Aparārka p. 514) all rules of the latter will be applicable to the former except where special directions are given. The Āśv. gr. parīśista II. 19, Smṛtyarthasāra (p. 56), Pitrdayita pp. 62-71 give a compact but tolerably full description of this śrāddha.

In this śrāddha which is to be performed in the morning (except on the birth of a son when it is to be done at once) the *Viśve-devas* are called *Satya* and *Vasu*, it is performed in the forenoon, the brāhmanas to be invited must be even in number, the darbhas are to be straight (and not doublefolded) and are not to be with their roots; the performer wears his sacred thread in the usual form (and not in the *prācīnāvīta* form), all actions are to be done from left to right (*pradaksinam* and not *prasavyam*); the word *svadhā* is not to be used; *yava* grains are to be employed instead of sesamum grains, he invites them with the words 'find time to attend *Nāndīśrāddha*'. The brāhmanas say 'be it so'. He says 'May you two come (to my house)'; they reply 'we two shall come'. The performer faces the east or north (but never the south); the mantra about *yavas* is '*yavosi*' (vide note 966)¹¹⁷⁶ he requests 'I shall invoke the *pitrs* called *Nāndīśrāddha*'.¹¹⁷⁷ When permitted by the brāhmanas in the words 'do invoke' he says 'may the *Nāndīśrāddha* *pitrs* be pleased'; he offers *arghya* only once with the words 'O *Nāndīśrāddha* *pitrs*! this is the *arghya* for you'. Sandalwood paste, incense, lamp are to be given twice; the *homa* is made on the hand of the brāhmana, the two mantras being 'to *Agni*, the bearer of *kavya*! *svāhā*' and 'to *Soma* accompanied by the *pitrs*! *svāhā*'. While the

1176. The मन्त्र here repeated is 'यवोसि . यवः पुष्ट्वा (in place of स्वधया नान्दीश्रद्धात् पितृन् ..नः स्वाहा नमः (instead of स्वधा नमः)'

1177 The सङ्कल्प will be somewhat as follows. ओषध्, अद्याहुकगोत्राणां मातृपितामहीमपितामहीनामसुकासुकासुकवेदीनां नान्दीश्रद्धीनां तथासुकगोत्राणां पितृपितामहपितामहानामसुकासुकासुकशर्मणां नान्दीश्रद्धीनां तथासुकगोत्राणां मातामहमातामहपितृप्रमातामहानामसुकासुकासुकशर्मणां नान्दीश्रद्धीनामसुकगोत्रस्य कर्तव्यासुकशर्मणिसिक्तकामसुदयिकश्राद्धार्थं करिष्ये । आह्नविवेक of सङ्कथर p. 149 For वेदीनां it is usual to put दानां.

brāhmanas are eating the dinner, the Rāksoghna mantras and mantras addressed to Indra and propitiatory mantras may be recited but not the mantras addressed to pitrs (viz. Rg. X. 15. 1-13); when he sees that the brāhmanas are satiated, he recites the five verses (Rg. IX. 11. 1-5) beginning with 'upāsmai gāyatā naraḥ' (O men! sing for this soma) instead of the Madhumatī verses (viz. Rg. I. 90. 6-8) and at the end he makes the brāhmanas hear the mantra 'the pitrs have partaken (of the food), they have regaled themselves'. The performer should ask 'I shall request the nāndimukha pitrs to utter benedictions' at the stage where (in Pārvaṇa) 'aksayyodaka' is asked for, to which the brāhmanas respond with the words 'do request.' The performer employs the word 'sampannam' (was it perfect) in asking about the gratification of the brāhmanas, who reply with the word 'susampannam' (it was quite perfect). On the brāhmanas sipping water after their dinner, he cowdungs the places where the dinner was taken, strews darbha grass thereon with their tips turned towards the east and offers thereon two pindas for (each of the ancestors) made with the food that remains after the brāhmanas have eaten mixed with curds, jujube fruit and *prasadājya*¹¹⁷⁸ (mixture of curds and clarified butter). The pindas are offered to the mātṛs, to the three paternal ancestors and the three maternal ancestors (viz. mother's father, mother's paternal grandfather and her paternal great-grandfather). Some do not offer pindas in this śrāddha (as stated by Āśv. gr. parisista II. 19). The Pitṛdayitā and Śrāddha-tattva (Jiv. p. 297) say that no mātṛśrāddha is to be performed in Abhyudayikaśrāddha by the followers of the Sāmaveda. It is possible that the śrāddha for the mother, paternal grandmother and paternal great-grandmother was inspired by the Anvastakya śrāddha, as the sūtras from Āśv. gr. quoted below will indicate.^{1178a}

The words Nāndīśrāddha and Vrddhīśrāddha are synonymous. When Yaj I. 250 says¹¹⁷⁹ that the Nāndimukha pitrs should be worshipped with pindas when there is *vrddhi* (a lucky or auspicious event), he indicates that Nāndīśrāddha and Vrddhī-

1178 पृषदाज्य is defined in आश्व. गृ. IV. 1. 17 as 'दधन्यन्न सर्षितानयन्त्येत-
त्पिन्ध पृषदाज्यम्'.

1178 a अपरेसुरन्वटक्यम्...पिण्डपितृयज्ञे कल्पेन। हुत्वा मधुमन्धवर्जं पिष्टम्यो
वचात्। क्षीम्यश्च सुरा चान्नामन्त्यधिकम्। आश्व. गृ. II. 5 1, 3-5.

1179. एवं प्रदक्षिणावृत्तो वृद्धौ नान्दीसुखात् पितृन्। यजेत दधिकर्कन्धूमिभ्यान्
पिण्डान्पदैः क्रिया.॥ या. I. 250.

śrāddha mean the same thing. As noted by the Mit. on Yaj. I. 250 quoting Śatātapa this śrāddha is made of three parts, viz. *mātr-śrāddha*, *pitṛśrāddha* and *mātāmahaśrāddha*.¹¹⁸⁰ On the other hand the Bhavisiya-purāna I. 185. 15 states that there are two śrāddhas in this viz *Mātr-śrāddha* and *Nāndimukha-pitṛ-śrāddha*. *Ābhyudayika-śrāddha* and *Vṛddhiśrāddha* are treated as synonyms in some works such as the Padmapurāna,¹¹⁸¹ though it may be said that *Ābhyudayika śrāddha* is wider in import than *Vṛddhiśrāddha*, since it is also applicable to śrāddha performed on the commencement of a *pūrta* act.

The Visnupurāna III. 13. 2-7, Mārkaṇḍeya 28. 4-7, Padmapurāna (sr̥ṣṭi 9. 194-199), Bhavisiyapurāna I. 185. 5-13, the Visnūdharmottara I. 142. 13-18 describe briefly the procedure of *Nāndiśrāddha* and also the occasions on which it is to be performed. The occasions specified are¹¹⁸²: on the marriages of sons and daughters, on entering a new house, on naming a child, at the time of *Ādākarma*, at *Simantonnayana*, on the birth of a son, a householder should honour the group of *pitṛs* called *Nāndimukha*. The Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna 28. 6 notes that some desire that this śrāddha should not have *Vaiśvadeva brāhmanas*, but the Padmapurāna (sr̥ṣṭikhandā 9.195) says that in this *Vṛddhi-śrāddha* the mothers are to be first honoured, then the fathers, then the *mātāmahas* and then the *Vīśve-devas* *Hemādri* (sr̥. p. 107) quotes two verses from the *Brahmapurāna* to the effect that the father, paternal grandfather and paternal great-grandfather are called *ātrumukha* *pitṛs*, while the three paternal ancestors beyond the great-grandfather are called *Nāndimukha* *pitṛs*.¹¹⁸³ The *Kalpataru* (on śrāddha p. 270) explains these verses as meaning no more than this that in case the three paternal ancestors of a man are living and there is a lucky event, then the *devatās* for *Nāndiśrāddha* in his case would be the three

1180. यद्यपि पितृव्यजेतेति सामान्येनोक्तं तथापि आर्द्धत्रयं क्रमवत् सृष्ट्यन्तरादेव-
गन्तव्यः । यथाह शातातपः । मातु आर्द्धं तु पूर्वं स्वात्पितृणां तदचन्द्रवत् । ततो मातामहाना
य च वृद्धौ आर्द्धत्रयं सृष्टवत् ॥ मिता on पा. I. 250, कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 271

1181. तृतीयमाग्युदायिकं वृद्धिआर्द्धं तदुच्यते । पद्म (सृष्टिकण्ड 9. 194).

1182. कन्यापुत्रविवाहेषु प्रवेगे नववेष्मनि । नामकर्माणे बालाना च्छुद्धकर्मादिके तथा ।
सौमन्तोष्यमे चैव पुत्रादिसुखदशने । नान्दीसुखं पितृणाम् पूजयेत् नयतो यदी । पितृपूजा-
विधि. श्रीको वृद्धाविष समासतः । विल्लुपुराण III. 13. 5-7, quoted by अपराके p. 515
(except the last half)

1183. पिता पितामहश्चैव तथैव प्रापितामहः । त्रयो वाशुसुखा क्षेते पितर समकीर्तितौ ॥
तेषुः पूर्वं त्रयो ये तु ते तु नान्दीसुखा इति ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण q. by हेमाद्रि (आ p. 107),
कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 270, मद पा p. 633. नान्दी means सद्युद्धि acc. to ब्रह्मपुराण q. by
कल्पतरु (आ.) p. 268.

paternal ancestors beyond the great-grandfather. The Bhavisya-purāṇa notes that according to family usage some did not offer pindas in Vṛddhiśrāddha ^{1183a}.

The word 'mātarah' has two meanings. Gobhilasmṛti ¹¹⁸⁴ prescribes that at the beginning of all rites the Mātrs together with Gaṇeśa have to be worshipped and it names fourteen mātrs such as Gaurī, Padmā, Śacī (I. 11-12). ¹¹⁸⁵ In the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa (88, 11-20 and 38) they are said to be seven viz Brahmānī and others. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 217-218 for the Mātrs and their worship. ¹¹⁸⁶ Aparārka (p. 517) quotes verses to the effect that in Vṛddhiśrāddha one must offer worship to the seven mātrs (Brahmānī and others), then to one's mother, paternal grandmother, and paternal great-grandmother, then to the Nādimukha pitrs and then to the mātāmahas together with their wives. The Śrāddhaprakāśa (of Viramitrodaya) quotes Vṛddha-Vasistha to the effect that in the Mātrśrāddha (as part of Vṛddhi-śrāddha) if a sufficient number of brāhmanas be not available then for the groups of mātrs and of mātāmahis four women (for each group) whose husbands are living and who have a son or sons should be invited to dinner ^{1186a} and honoured.

The *Pratisāmuatsarika* or *Pratyābdika* śrāddha has already been described above at great length. It is to be performed every year on the day of death (Gobhilasmṛti III, 66). It is

1183a पिण्डनिर्घर्षणं कुर्यान्न वा कुर्याद्विचक्षण । वृद्धिभाद्रे महाबाहो कुलधर्मा-
नवेश्य ह ॥ भविष्यपुराण; on this the पृथ्वीच० folio 167a remarks 'अतश्चाशौ-
करणादीनामपि निवेद्य । तथा । अशौकरणमर्थं चावाहनं चावनेजनम् । पिण्डभाद्रे प्रकुर्यात्
पिण्डहोमे निवर्तते ॥'.

1184. कर्मादिषु ह सर्वेषु मातरः सगणाधिपाः । पूजनीयाः प्रयत्नेन पूजिताः पूजयन्ति
ता ॥ गोभिलस्मृति I. 13, प by कल्पतरु (आ. p 272).

1185. ब्रह्मण्याद्यास्तया सप्त दुर्गाक्षेत्रगणाधिपान् । वृद्ध्यादीं पूजयित्वा तु पश्चात्तान्दी-
श्वरान् पितॄन् ॥ मातृपूर्वान् पितॄन्पूज्य ततो मातामहानपि । मातामहीस्ततः कैचिद्युग्मा भोज्या
द्विजातय ॥ प by अपरार्क p 517.

1186 The worship of the mother Goddess or of mother Goddesses is one of the oldest and most widespread forms of religion. The mother Goddess appears in the civilizations of Mesopotamia and Syria, in prehistoric Europe and west Africa. Rude female figures, which represent idols of the mother Goddesses; have been discovered in the earliest deposits of prehistoric cultures. Vide 'Mother Goddesses' by Mr. S K Dikshit (Poona).

1186 a. मातृवर्गे मातामहीवर्गे वा ब्राह्मणालाभे पतिषुत्रान्विताश्चतस्रश्चतस्र सुवासिष्यो
भोजनीया इत्युक्तं वृद्धवसिष्ठेन । मातृभाद्रे ह विभागालाभे पूजयेदपि । पतिषुत्रान्विता
भग्या योपितोऽष्टौ श्रद्धान्विताः ॥ आर्यभट्टाश्च p. 298.

laid down that in the case of one's parents this śrāddha partakes of the character of *pūrvāna*.¹¹⁸⁶ The Bhavisiya-purāna and Skanda state that the Sāmvatsarika śrāddha is the most eminent among śrāddhas and that if a son does not perform the yearly śrāddha of his parents on the day of death he goes to the horrible Hell called Tamisra and then is born as a pig in a town.¹¹⁸⁷ In connection with this, if the tithi or month of death or both are not known then Brhaspati, the Skandapurāna, Padma and Bhavisiyapurāna lay down certain rules, viz.¹¹⁸⁸ (1) if the tithi is known but the month is not known, then the śrāddha should be performed on that tithi in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa or Māgha; (2) if the month is known but the tithi is not known, then the śrāddha should be performed on the amāvāsya of the month; (3) if both the tithi and the month are not known, then one should take the tithi and the month when the deceased started from home; (4) if even the day and month of starting be not known, then the tithi and month in which a person hears of the death of a relative should be taken. It is to be noted that the month in pitṛya rites is Junar and the words 'dina, aḥa, vāsara' in connection with pitṛya rites mean 'tithi' (Aparārka p. 545). There is no *pratyābhāka* śrāddha in an intercalary month (Skanda VII. 1. 206. 59).

A few words may now be said about some other śrāddhas.

A well-known śrāddha is the Mahalayaśrāddha. Some of the Purānas deal with this. The Padmapurāna (Śrīti-khanda) says 'In the fifth fortnight (*pañca*) beginning from the Full Moon day of Āśāḍha, one should perform a śrāddha, whether the Sun is by that time in the zodiacal sign of Kanyā (Virgo) or not. The sixteen days when the Sun is in Kanyā are equal to the solemn sacrifices which are completed with the gift of the

1186 b. एतच्च श्रुताहपार्षणं मातापित्रोरेव । दद्याच्च हेमाद्रिभूतकात्यायनवचन
'सपिण्डीकरणादूर्ध्वं पित्रोरेव हि पार्षणम् । पितृव्यस्रातृमातृणामेकोदिष्टं सदेव तु ॥ मातृपूर्वं
सपत्नीमातृपरम् ।' आङ्गत्तत्त्व p. 304.

1187. सर्वेषामेव आङ्गानां श्रेष्ठं सावत्सरं स्मृतम् । कियते पत्तगश्रेष्ठं पुत्रेऽपि नुपैः
सह । स याति नरकं घोरं तानिर्धनं नाम नामत । सतो भवति दुष्टात्मा नगरे दुक्कर खग ॥ भविष्य.
I. 183. 20 and 25. The first occurs also in स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1. 205. 43.

1188. श्रुताहस्य यदा मासो न ज्ञायेत कर्मचन । मार्गशीर्षिऽथवा मासे आङ्गं तद्विने
स्मृतम् ॥ यदा तु वासराज्ञानं भासज्ञानमथैव च । अमायामेव तन्मासं आङ्गं सावत्सरं भवेत् ॥
एव (पातालखण्ड 101. 73-74). Vide भविष्यपुराण I. 183, 28-29, स्कन्द VII. 1. 205
52 for similar rules बृहस्पति p. by अपराकं p. 545 has similar verses and adds
'विनमासौ न विज्ञातौ मरणस्य यदा हुन । मर्यादादिनमासौ तु ग्राह्यौ पूर्वोक्तया विज्ञा ॥'

best of daksinās. If it is not possible to perform the śrāddha in the dark half (when the Sun is in Kanyā), one may perform it when the Sun is in Tulā (Balance). When the Sun enters the sign of Scorpion (without a śrāddha being performed), the Fathers go away losing all hope and after pronouncing a terrible curse (on their descendants) they return to their abode.'¹¹⁸⁹ The fifth fortnight from the Full Moon day of Āśāḍha is the dark half of Bhādrapada. The dark half is the preserve of pitrs. In Bhādrapada the Sun is in the middle of its apparent motion in daksināyana. Therefore the dark half of Bhādrapada is specially chosen as the best period for śrāddha to the pitrs i. e. for the Mahālaya. The śrāddha performed in Bhādrapada dark half is called Mahālaya-śrāddha, since that fortnight is the abode (ālaya) as it were of the maha (i. e. festival day) for pitrs. The real idea is that the dark half of Bhādrapada is specially to be welcomed for a śrāddha when the Sun is in Kanyā during that fortnight and that even if the Sun is not in Kanyā the dark half of Bhādrapada is still a good time for a śrāddha to the pitrs. The Skandapurāna¹¹⁹⁰ also says 'In the fifth fortnight from the Full Moon of Āśāḍha, when the Sun occupies the sign of Kanyā, the pitrs of him who offers a śrāddha on the tithi of the death (of one's father) certainly derive gratification for one year thereafter.' The Kalpataru quotes the Bhavisya-purāna to the effect that if a man has not performed śrāddha in

1189. आपाहीनवर्धि कृत्वा यस्तु पक्षस्तु पञ्चमः । तत्र आर्द्धं प्रकुर्वीत कन्यां गच्छतु वा न वा ॥ कन्यागते सवितरि धान्यहानि तु पीडकं । कर्तुमिच्छानि तुल्यानि समाप्तवरदक्षिणैः ॥ ...अभावात् कृष्णपक्षाद्दौ तुलायां कर्तुमर्हति ॥ अतो वृश्चिकमायाते निराशाः पितरो गताः । पुनः स्वभवनं पान्ति शार्पं दत्त्वा सुदारुणम् ॥ पक्ष (सुदक्षिण 47. 225-228). The first verse आपाही- occurs in अग्निपुराण 175.33 and is ascribed to जातुकर्ण by आ. क्रि कौ p. 283 and अपराकं p. 423, which reads the third पाद as आर्द्धकालः स विज्ञेयः The verse कन्यागते- is ascribed to the ब्रह्मपुराण by आ. क्रि कौ p. 285 (which reads तुल्यानि देवो नारायणोऽनवीत्) and to ब्रह्मण्डपुराण by अपराकं p. 424 (which reads last पाद as तत्र दत्तं महाफलम्) and to श्लोकगोतम by आ. क. ल. प. 99. धान्यहानि तु पीडकं—These words are explained in two ways. 'कदाचित् पक्ष-विद्वद्भ्यो पीडशादिनात्मकोऽपि नभस्परस्यापर पक्ष आर्द्धकर्मणि कालो न तु पञ्चदशदिनात्मको वेति दर्शयितुस्तुक्तम् । यद्वा अनावारयाया अनुत्तरभूताया प्रतिपत्तिरथा अपि संग्रहणार्थं तिथि-पीडशकः' इत्युक्तम् । प्रतिपदापि क्षीणचन्द्रत्वे सापरपक्षतुल्यत्वात् । स्मृतिच (आ. प. 365). There is also a third way viz including the preceding full moon day along with the 15 days of the dark half. प्रजापतिस्मृति verse 161 is very similar to the verse कन्यागते- and कल्पतरु (आ. प. 16) quotes it from ब्रह्माण्ड

1190 आपात्वा पञ्चमे पक्षे कन्यासंस्थे दिवाकरे । मृताहनि पुनर्यो वै आर्द्धं दास्यति मानवः ॥ तस्य संवत्सर यावच्छताः स्युः पितरो भुवम् । स्कन्द. VI. 216. 96-97, q. by आर्द्ध-कल्पलता p. 98.

Mahālaya (i. e. in the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada when the Sun is in the sign of Kanyā) he should offer it on the 15th day (of the dark half of Āsvina) on which, it is well-known, lamps are lighted.¹¹⁹¹ The Śrāddha-sāra (p. 113) and the Smṛtikūṭa-phala (on śrāddha p. 745) quote Vṛddha-manu to the effect that the latter half of Bhādrapada when the Sun is in Kanyā is called Mahālaya and also Gajacchāyā. Various views are held on the question of the exact day on which the Mahālayaśrāddha is to be performed, viz. it may be performed on any day from the first *tithi* of the dark half of Bhādrapada to the amāvāsya or from the fifth of the dark half to the amāvāsya of Bhādrapada or from the 8th or 10th of the dark half to amāvāsya or from the 5th of the dark half of Bhādrapada to the 5th of the next fortnight or on any day on which the Sun is in Kanyā or on any day till the Sun enters Scorpio.¹¹⁹² Prajāpati states that there are numerous śrāddhas described by the Purānas, all of them yield rewards but the Mahālaya (śrāddha) is the most eminent among them.¹¹⁹³

The Mahālayaśrāddha is to be performed, as stated by the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāna, in accordance with the procedure of Pārvaṇaśrāddha.¹¹⁹⁴ The Smṛtyarthasāra states that if it is not possible to perform all śrāddhas (except sapindikarana) according to the detailed procedure of Pārvaṇaśrāddha they should be performed by the procedure called 'Sankalpavidhi', which consists in performing the details laid down for Pārvaṇa as far as possible except the details of *āvāhana*, *arghya*, *homa* and *pindadāna*.¹¹⁹⁵ The Madanapārijāta (pp 609-610) also states that when a man has to perform a 'sankalpa-śrāddha' he need not go through the details of *arghyadāna*, *vikāra* and there is no *āvāhana*, no *agnaukarana* and no pindadāna even, but he has simply to feed a brāhmana or brāhmanas

1191. येयं दीपान्विता राजन् कृपाता पञ्चदशी शुचिः। तस्या दद्यात् चैवत्तं पित्रुणा ह महालये ॥ भविष्यपुराण q. by कल्पतरु (on आ p 17) and आ क्रि की p 291, स्मृतिह (आ p 747 ascribes to सुमन्तु)

1192. तदेवं कृत्स्नः पञ्चमः पक्षः पञ्चम्यादिदर्शान्तमहस्यादिदर्शान्त-दशम्यादिदर्शान्त-पञ्चमीदर्शयोः मध्ये अनिपिद्धमेकं वा दिनं महालयश्चाहकालः। स्मृतिह (आ p 747)

1193 आह्वान्यनेकराः सन्ति पुराणोक्तानि वै रुचे। फलप्रदाने सर्वाणि तेषामग्न्यो महालयः ॥ प्रजापति verse 37.

1194. कन्यागते सवितरि दिनानि दश पञ्च च । पार्वण्येव विधिना तत्र आह्वं विधीयते ॥ मार्कण्डेयसू. q. by स्मृतिह (आ p. 745).

1195 संपिण्डीकरणवर्जं सर्वआह्वेषु विस्तृतपार्वणविधिनासम्भवे सङ्कल्पविधिनैव कार्यम्। सङ्कल्पविधानं नामावाहनाद्यर्थहोमपिण्डवर्जं पार्वणोक्तं यथासम्भवं भवति। सूत्रपर्यन्तार p 60.

In the Mahālayaśrāddha the Viśvedevas are Dhuri and Locana. This śrāddha is performed for the benefit not only of the paternal and maternal ancestors with their wives, but also for other relatives and persons that are dead (together with their wives, sons and husbands if these be dead) viz one's step-mother, one's wife, son, daughter, paternal uncle, maternal uncle, brother, paternal aunt and maternal aunt, sister, paternal uncle's son, son-in-law, sister's son, father-in-law, mother-in-law, ācārya, upādhyāya, *guru*, friend, pupil and any other relative.¹¹⁹⁶ Some perform only for the paternal ancestors with their wives and the maternal ancestors with their wives. The day on which the moon is in Bharani nakṣatra in the dark half of Bhādrapada is called Mahābhārani and śrāddha performed on that day is said to be equal to Gayāśrāddha (Matsyapurāna q. by Śr. K. L p 99) The Mahālaya-śrāddha is to be performed on the 12th tithi of Bhādrapada dark half in the case of a saṅnyāsīn and on no other tithi and his yearly śrāddha is to be performed by his son according to pārvapa method as in the case of householders. The dvādaśī is sacred to Viṣṇu and *yatis* always repeat the words 'namo Nārāyaṇāya' and therefore the 12th is the special tithi for the mahālaya-śrāddha of *yatis*. The Mahālayaśrāddha is not to be performed in an intercalary month (*mālamāsa*).

Two more śrāddhas that are performed even to this day may be mentioned here. One is called 'Mātāmahaśrāddha' or 'Dauhitra-pratipad-śrāddha'. A daughter's son whose parents are alive can alone perform a śrāddha for his maternal grand-father (together with the maternal grand-mother if she also be dead) on the first tithi of the bright half of Āsvina¹¹⁹⁷. A daughter's son can perform it even if his maternal grand-father has a son or sons living. It may be performed with or without pinḍadāna (generally without it) and it may be performed even if the daughter's son has not been invested with the sacred thread. The Śrāddhasāra notes that the mātāmahaśrāddha is based only on the usage of śiṣtas (p. 24).

Another is the 'Avidhavānavamiśrāddha', which is performed for one's mother or other women of the family who died while the husbands were alive. It is performed on the 9th of

1196. Vide धर्मसिन्धु II, p. 79 for the सङ्कल्प in महालयश्राद्ध

1197 गर्भस्थोऽपि च द्वादित्रो अश्वयुक्तपतिपदिने । कुर्यान्मातामहश्राद्धं पितरौ यदि जीवतः ॥ प्रजापतिसृष्टि verse 170.

the dark half of Bhādrapada. It ceases to be performed when the husband dies after the woman's death. The Nirṇayasindhu notices several views about this and says that one should follow the usage of one's country¹¹⁹⁸. According to the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāna in this śrāddha not only a brāhmana but also a woman whose husband is alive is to be fed and presents of a girdle, a garland and bangles are to be made to her.

It will have been seen from the translation of Āśv. gr., Yaj and the Padmapurāna that daksinā, according to one's ability, has to be given in each śrāddha towards the end of the rite. The Skandapurāna (VI 218. 12-14) provides that whatever is wanting in mantras or the proper time or in procedure becomes perfect by daksinā. Śrāddha without daksinā is like rain on an arid place or like dancing in the dark or like singing before a deaf person, that he who desires the permanent gratification of himself and his Manes should not offer a śrāddha without daksinā. The Rāmāyana shows how on the 12th day after the death of king Daśaratha gifts of jewels, of hundreds of cows, wealth, food in abundance and vehicles, of male and female slaves, of spacious houses were made to the brāhmanas.¹¹⁹⁹ The Āśramavāsikaparva (14 3-4) recounts the valuable gifts to brāhmanas in honour of Bhisma, Droṇa, Duryodhana and other fallen warriors, adding that persons of all varnas were treated to profuse food and drink. The Vāyupurāna (chapter 80) propounds in great detail the rewards of various kinds of gifts made in śrāddhas. From considerations of space those descriptions are passed over here and only a brief eulogy of the gift of cooked food is given in the note below.¹²⁰⁰ The Śāntiparva (chap 42. 7)

1198. अत्र भर्तृमरणोत्तरं पूर्वसुतश्राद्धं न कार्यमिति केचिवाहुः पठन्ति च श्राद्धं नवम्या कुर्याच्चन्दते भर्तरे ह्युपयते इति तदेतस्मिन्लब्धस्मृत्यन्तरमात्रम् । श्राद्धदीपकलिकाया आश्लेष-पितृमातृकुलोत्पन्ना याः कार्त्स्न्यवृत्ताः त्रिय । आश्राद्धं मातरे ज्ञेया श्राद्धं तत्र प्रदीयते ॥ इति । अत्र देशाचाराद् व्यवस्था । निर्णयसिन्धु II p 154

1199. ताते दशाहेऽसिते कृतशौचो ह्यपारमज । ह्यदशेऽहनि सपते श्राद्धकर्माण्य कारयत् ॥ ब्राह्मणेभ्यो ददौ रत्नं धनमर्द्धं च शुक्लम् । चास्तिकं बहुशुक्लं च गाश्रापि झतशस्तदा । दासदिास च यानं च वेदमानि ह्यमहान्ति च । ब्राह्मणेभ्यो ददौ पुत्रो राजस्वरीध्वंदिहिकम् । रामायण, अयोध्याकाण्ड 77. 1-3 (M. L. J edition, 1933). ततोऽनन्तरमेवात्र सर्ववर्णा-न्महत्सते । अक्षपानरसौषेण ह्यवयामास पार्थिव ॥ आश्रमवासिकपर्व 14. 12

1200. अक्षदी लभते तिस्रः कन्याकोटीस्तथैव च । अक्षदानात्परं दानं विद्यते नेह किंचन । अक्षद् भूतानि जायन्ते जीवन्ति च न संशयः ॥ जीवदानात्परं दानं न किंचिदिव विद्यते । अक्षैर्जीवति वैलोचपमक्षर्यैव हि तत्फलम् । अक्षे लोकाः प्रतिष्ठन्ति लोकदानस्य तत्फलम् । अन्नं प्रजापतिः साक्षात्तेन सर्वनिदं ततम् ॥ वायुपुराण 80. 54-57.

states that while Yudhisthira performed the after-death ceremonies of the fallen heroes he erected *sabhās*, *prapās*, water reservoirs and the like intending them for each separately. Devala states. 'when the brāhmanas have sipped water after dinner, daksinā is to be given' and Bṛhaspati prescribes 'Daksinā should be given to all the brāhmanas according to the learning of them by means of (gifts of) cows, land, gold, clothes. He should do this in such a way that they feel satisfied, one who is well-off should do this specially.'¹²⁰¹ The Āśvamedhika-parva (62. 2-5) states that Vāsudeva offered śrāddha to his sister's son Abhimanyu and donated to sixty thousand brāhmanas, gold, cows, bed-steeds, clothes and fed them. A special rule was provided by Bṛhaspati that the clothes, ornaments, bed-stead and the like, the horse and the like that were used by the father during his lifetime should be presented to the brāhmana invited for śrāddha after honouring him with sandalwood paste and flowers.^{1201a} The Amśāsana-parva (chapt. 96) states the origin of the practice of giving an umbrella and sandals on the completion of a śrāddha.

Something must be said about the gift of the bed-stead (*śayyā*) used by the deceased on the 11th or 12th day after death. The Garudapurāna (Pretakhanda 34. 69-89), Padma (srstīkhanda 10. 12), the Matsyapurāna highly eulogise the gift of śayyā to a brāhmana and his wife. The Matsyapurāna states that on the 2nd day after the end of impurity on death the performer (of śrāddha) should donate a bed-stead possessing special characteristics; on it the golden image of the deceased should be placed and also fruits and clothes. After honouring a brāhmana couple with many ornaments this should be done; then a bull should be let loose (for the benefit of the deceased) and the gift of a dark brown cow should also be made.¹²⁰² The Garudapurāna (Pretakhanda 34. 73-82) gives a more elaborate description which appears to be almost identical with the

1201. बृहस्पतिरपि । मद्याहाक्षिणां तेषां सर्वेषामनुसृतम् । शोभद्विरण्यवासीभिः
स्तुष्टिर्भुक्तवतां यथा । तथा भवति कर्तव्यं समर्थेन विशेषतः ।' q. by पृथ्वीच folio 112b; यद्य-
द्विदतमं लोके यच्चास्य दयितं गृहे । तत्तद्गुणवते देये तदेवाक्षयमिच्छता ॥ मार्कण्डेय 32.91,
घामनपुराण 14 106.

1201 a बच्चालङ्कारशय्यादि पितृयज्ञाहनादिकम् । गन्धमाल्यैः समभ्यर्च्य आङ्गभोक्त्रे
तदपयेत् ॥ बृहस्पति q. by व्य म p 129, आ. क ल. p 213.

1202. स्रुतकान्वाद् द्वितीयेऽङ्घ्रि शय्यां दद्याद्विलक्षणां । काञ्चनं पुर्यं तद्वत्फलवज्र-
समान्विताम् । सम्पूज्य द्विजदाम्पत्यं नानाभरणभूषणैः । वृषोत्सर्गं च कुर्वीत देया च कपिला
शुभा ॥ मत्स्यपुराण 18. 12-14 q. by आ क. ल. p 213, आङ्गरेलन p. 199.

verses of the Bhavisya quoted by Hemādri. The Bhavisya-purāna quoted by Hemādri (and from Hemādri by the Nirṇaya-sindhu p. 596) states the mantra to be recited viz ' just as the bed-stead of Kṛṣṇa is never devoid of Lakṣmī, the daughter of the ocean, similarly my bed may not be empty in each birth that I may have to undergo.'¹²⁰³ Acceptance of the gift of a śayyā was looked down upon in former times and even now it is only the poor brāhmanas (that are not generally learned) that accept this gift. The Padmapurāna condemns the acceptance of the gift of śayyā in no measured terms. It says ' when a brāhmana accepts the gift of a bed-stead, he should have to undergo the ceremony of upanayana again. In the Veda as well as in the Purāna (the gift of) a bed-stead is everywhere condemned and all those who accept the gift go to hell.'¹²⁰⁴

Certain other matters connected with śrāddhas may be briefly touched upon. In very ancient times twelve kinds of sons were recognized out of whom the kṣetrāja,¹²⁰⁵ the putrikā-putra and dattaka were most important. All these were the sons of two fathers. The question mooted was : to whom were they to offer pindas ? The Madanaparīṣāta (pp 607-608) quotes a passage from the Hārīta-dharmasūtra¹²⁰⁶ and explains it. Hārīta says. ' seed does not grow without a field. Since it is seen that both are necessary the child born is the child of both. Out of the two (fathers) the procreator is to be first invoked

1203 मन्त्रस्तु—यथा न कुण्डलायनं क्षुण्णं सागरजातया । शय्या ममत्यशुण्यास्तु तथा जन्मनि जन्मनि ॥ यस्मादक्षुण्णं शयनं केसवदय शिवदय च । शय्या जन्मनि ॥ नि सि III p. 597. The गुरुद्वाराण (प्रितसखण्ड 34 81) has the verse यथा न etc

1204. गृहीताया ह शय्यायां पुनः संस्कारमर्हति । वेदे चैव पुराणे च शय्या सर्वत्र गृहिता ॥ गृहीतारस्तु जायन्ते सर्वे नरकगामिनः ॥ पद्म (अदिसखण्ड 10 17-18)

1205. The kṣetrāja son was procreated on the wife or widow of a sonless man by a *sagotra* (a brother or other aguate) or even an *asagotra* according to the rules of *nyoga*, the procreator being called *bhṛju* and the husband on whose wife or widow the son was begotten was called *ksetrin*. The *putrikāputra* is of two kinds, (1) a sonless man gives his daughter in marriage to another with the stipulation that the son born of the marriage will be the son of the girl's father (Vas. 17. 17, Manu IX 127), (2) A daughter herself may be made a son (Vas 17. 16). A *dattaka* is a son whom his father or mother gives to another as a son confirming the gift with water (Manu IX, 168). Vide H. of Dh vol. III. pp. 647-650 for detailed explanations about these and other secondary sons.

1206. तत्र हारित । नाक्षेत्रं बीजं रोहति । उभयदर्शनाद्गृहयोरपत्यमिति । तेषामुत्पाद-
यितुः प्रथमं प्रवरो भवति । द्वौ द्वौ पिण्डौ निर्वपेत् । अथवैकपिण्डे द्वावप्युकीतयेत् । द्वितीये पुत्र-
स्तृतीये पौत्रौ लेपिनश्च त्रीनन्वाचक्षण आ सप्तमादित्येके । मद् पा pp 607-608 and
कल्पतरु (on आ pp. 241-242).

(and then the ksetrin). He (the son) may offer two pindas to each grade of the ancestors or he may offer a single pinda (to the father and) may repeat the names of both (fathers) as to that single pinda. The son (of the son of two fathers) may repeat two names as to the 2nd pinda (i. e. the pinda for paternal grand-father); the grand-son (of the son of two fathers) may do the same as to the third pinda (viz. the pinda for paternal great-grandfather).’ Manu IV. 140 and Gobhila-smṛti II. 105 say about the putrikāputra¹²⁰⁷ that he presents the first pinda to his mother (as she was appointed as a son), the 2nd to her father and the third to his father’s father. This appears to be one order in which pindas are to be offered by the putrikāputra, while Manu IX. 132 sets out another method since it says that a putrikāputra inherits the entire wealth of his own father if he is sonless and he gives two pindas (i. e. performs two śrāddhas) for his own father and for his maternal grandfather. The Śān. Śr. S. provides¹²⁰⁸ that if there be two fathers, the son should recite the names of both (*bījin* and *ksetrin*) with reference to the same pinda. Even Yāj. says ‘The son procreated according to the rules of *nyūga* by a sonless man on the wife of another inherits the wealth of both and offers pinda to both.’¹²⁰⁹ The Mit. adds that if a person appointed to procreate a son on another’s wife has a son, then the son so begotten becomes the son of the ksetrin alone and not of the bījin. As the ksetraja and putrikāputra have become obsolete for several centuries the subject has only an academic interest now. But the *dattaka* is still in vogue and a few words must be said here about the persons to whom the *dattaka* offers pindas. The Kalpataru quotes from the Pravarādhyāya a passage on this point which is as

1207. मातुः प्रथमतः पिण्डं निर्वपेत् पुत्रिकापुत्रः। द्वितीयं तु पितृस्तस्यास्तृतीयं तु पितुः पितुः ॥ शोभिलस्त्विति II 105. कुल्लूक appears to be wrong in explaining पितुः पितुः in मनु IX. 140 as ‘तृतीयं मातुः पितामहाय दद्यात् ॥’. मनु IX. 132 is ‘दौहित्रो ह्यखिलं रिग्धमपुत्रस्य पितृदहेत्। स एव दद्याद् द्वौ पिण्डौ पित्रे मातामहाय च ॥’. Here दौहित्र means पुत्रिकापुत्र.

1208 असावेतत्ते ये च स्वामन्त्रान्विते पिण्डाश्च यथावनेजितं निधायोभावेकस्मिन् पिण्डे पितृभेदे । शाङ्खायनश्रौ ४ IV. 3 10-11 q by कल्पतरु p 241 (on आ.). The आप. श्रौ I 9. 7 says ‘यदि द्विपिता स्यादेकैकस्मिन् पिण्डे द्वौ द्वावुपलक्षयेत् ॥’.

1209. अपुत्रेण परक्षेत्रे नियोगोत्पादितः सुतः। उभयोरप्यसौ रिक्थी पिण्डदाता च धर्मतः ॥ या II. 127; यदा तु नियुक्तः पुत्रवाचं केवलं क्षेत्रिणः पुत्रार्थं प्रयतते तदा तदुत्पन्नः क्षेत्रिण एव पुत्रो भवतीति न बीजिनः। स च न नियमेन बीजिनो रिक्थ्यहारी पिण्डदो वेति। मित्त.

follows: 120 'If these (i. e. those who are *bijin*) have no issue born of their own wives, (the sons begotten by *nyoga* or given in adoption) should inherit their wealth and offer *pindas* to them up to three ancestors; if both (the *bijin* and *ksetrin* or the giver and taker in adoption) have no other son, then they (sons begotten or adopted) should offer *pinda* to both, in one and the same *śrāddha* they should repeat (the names of) the two ancestors respectively (of the acceptor and that of the begetter) after having separately intended the same *pinda* for both up to the third ancestor.' The *Baud. Dh.* S. 121 quotes a verse as follows 'The son of two fathers shall give the *pinda* (to his two fathers and pronounce) two names with each *pinda*; three *pindas* will thus serve for six persons (ancestors).' It would be seen from the passage quoted above from *Hārīta* that some authorities allowed two separate *pindas* for each degree of ancestors when there were two in the same degree. *Manu IX.* 142 lays down 'the son given should not take the *gotra* and wealth of his natural father, the *pinda* follows the *gotra* and wealth; the *śrāddha* (obsequies) of him who gives (his son in adoption) cease or fail (so far as that son is concerned).' This verse has been so interpreted by some decisions of the High Courts and of the Privy Council as to mean that the son adopted becomes totally severed from the family of his birth. This subject has been discussed at great length in *H. of Dh.* vol III pp 690-697 and it is established there that the severance of the son given in adoption is only partial, that the *gotra* of the natural family persists even after adoption into another family for purposes of marriage and *āsauca* and that the *Nirṇayasindhu*, 1212 the *Dharma-sindhu* and the *Dattaka-candrikā* declare that the son given away in adoption into another family can perform the *śrāddha* of his natural father,

1210. अथ यद्येषा स्वभार्यात्पत्यं न स्याद्विक्रयं हरेत्, पिण्डं चैन्यस्त्रिपुर्यं दद्यात्
यद्यभयोरं स्यादुभया द्यरेकस्मिन्प्राज्ञे पुष्यद्विरेकेपिण्डे द्वावहकीरित्यिदं मतिर्यहीतार
स्येत्यादयितारं चा तुनीयात्पुरुषात् । १ by कल्पतरु (आ. p. 241) with variations The
same passage is cited as from कात्यायन by the स्व. न p. 115 (my edition), and
from कात्यायन and लौगाक्षि (quoted in प्रवरमञ्जरी) by नि. सि. III p. 389.

1211. अथाप्युदाहरन्ति । द्विपितुः पिण्डदानं स्यात् पिण्डे पिण्डे च नामनी । त्रयश्च
पिण्डाः षण्णां स्तुरेवं कुर्वन्नुह्यति । इति । शौ घ सू II 2. 22-23.

1212. दत्तकस्तु जनकस्य पुत्राद्यभावे दद्यात् तत्सत्त्वे । गोत्रविक्रये जनयितुर्न भजेद्
दत्तमः सुतः । गोत्रविक्रयाद्यु. पिण्डो ष्यपैति ददत्. स्वधा । इति मन्त्रे । इदं जनकस्य पुत्र-
सम्भविषयम् । नि. सि. III p. 389, दत्तकस्तु जनकपितुः पुत्राद्यभावे जनकपितुः आह
कुर्वद् धनं च यहीयात् । धर्मसिन्धु III. (उत्तरार्ध) p 371.

if the latter has no son at the time of his death and can also take his wealth.

Vrsotsarga (the letting loose of a bull). This topic has been dealt with by several sūtra works such as the Śān. gr. III. 11, the Kausitaki gr. III 11 (in Benaras S. S. and III 6 in Madras University Series), Kāthaka gr. 59, 1 ff., Pāraskara gr. III. 9, Visnu-dharmasūtra, chap. 86. 1-20. In numerous works some verses called *gāthās* sung by the pitrs are set out one of which expresses the yearning of the pitrs as follows: ¹²¹³ 'one should desire to have many sons; since if even one (of the sons) goes to Gayā (and offers śrāddha after his father's death) or if he performs a solemn horse sacrifice or lets loose a dark-coloured bull (the man having such a son will secure final release)'. The description in the Visnudharmasūtra being tolerably full is set out here; ¹²¹⁴ "(This ceremony) takes place on the full moon day in Kārtika or Āśvina. In this rite he must first examine the bull. The bull must be the offspring of a milch cow having young ones living, he must have all auspicious

1213. पृथ्व्या बहवः पुत्रा पथेकोपि गयां व्रजेत् । व्रजेत् वार्षभेधेन नीलं वा ब्रह्म-
स्वजेत् ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85. 67, बृहस्पतिस्मृति verse 21, लघुब्राह्मण 10, मत्स्यपुराण 22 6,
ब्रह्मपुराण 220. 32-33, वायुपुराण 83 11-12, पद्म (सुविखण्ड 11.68), ब्रह्माण्ड (उपोद्धात-
पाद् 19 11), विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 146.58 and I. 144 3. The meaning is 'बहूनां पुत्राणां
मध्ये एकनापि गयाश्राद्धकरणे पितृसुकृतिर्भवति,' as stated in स्कन्दपुराण, नागरखण्ड,
chap. 216 114-117. The first half occurs in अश्वत्थामनपूर्व 88 14 and the whole
verse in मत्स्य 207. 40 (which says it is an ancient gāthā and reads the third
pāda as 'गौरीं वाप्यह्वहेकन्याः'). Compare कूर्म II. 20. 30-31.

1214 अथ वृषोत्सर्गः । कार्तिकेयामाश्वयुज्या वा । तत्राद्वावेव वृषमं परीक्षेत । जीवद्ब्रह्मायाः
पथस्विन्या वृत्रम् । सर्वलक्षणोपेतम् । नीलम् । लोहितं वा । सुखशुष्कपादशृङ्गशुक्लम् । सूषण्या-
च्छादकम् । ततो गवा मध्ये सुसनिद्धमग्निं परित्सीय पीर्णं चरुं पयसा अपयित्वा पूषा गा
अन्वेत न इह रतिरिति च हुत्वा वृषमयस्कारस्वङ्कयेत् । एकास्मिन् पार्श्वे चक्रोगापरास्मिन् पार्श्वे
शूलैः । अङ्कितं च हिरण्यवर्णा इति चतसृभिः । शं नो देवीरिति च स्नापयेत् । स्नातमलङ्घ्यं
पुनातालङ्घ्यं ताभिश्चतसृभिर्वत्सतरीभिः । सार्धमानीय वृत्रम् वृषवृत्तं क्रुमाण्डीश्व जयेत् । पिता
वत्सनामिति वृषमभय दक्षिणे कर्णे पठेत् । इमं च । वृषो हि भगवान्धर्मश्चतुष्पादः प्रकीर्तितः ।
वृषोमि तमहं भक्त्या स मे रक्षतु सर्वतः ॥ एतं युवानं पतिं वो वदामि तेन क्रीडन्तीश्वरत भियेण ।
मा हास्महि प्रजया मा तनुमिर्मा रघाम द्विपते सोम राजन् । वृषं वत्सतपयुक्तमैशान्यां कारये-
द्विहि । होतृवर्चयुगं दद्यात्सुवर्णं काश्यपेव च ॥ अपस्कारस्य दातव्यं वेतनं मनसोप्सितम् ।
भोजनं बहुसार्पिकं ब्राह्मणांश्चात्र भोजयेत् ॥ उत्सृष्टो वृषमो यस्मिन् पित्रस्य जलाशये । जला-
शयं तत्सकलं पितृसत्योपतिष्ठति ॥ शृङ्गेणोद्धि खेत धूमि यत्र कचन द्रुपितः । पितृनामक्षयां
तत्प्रभूतसुपतिष्ठति ॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 86. 1-20. The काठकयज्ञ (59.3) reads 'इह रतिरिति
हुत्वा'. The commentator gives ten mantras here of which इह रतिरिति is the
2nd. The first half of एतं युवानं occurs in ते स III. 3.9.1 (reads परि वो वदामि).
The whole verse occurs in a corrupt form in विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 147 12 and the
verse वृषो हि is विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I 147. 10.

marks (i. e. must not be deficient in any limb), must be dark-coloured¹²¹⁵ or red but having a white mouth, white tail, white feet and white horns, he must be one that can protect the herd (or that throws into the background by his height all the herd). Then after having kindled a blazing fire among the cows (in the cowpen) and having strewn kuśa grass around it let him boil with milk a dish sacred to Pūsan and offer (two oblations) with the mantra 'May Pūsan follow our cows' (Ṛg. VI. 54.5) and the mantra 'here is pleasure' (Vāj. S. 8.51); a blacksmith should then mark the bull, on one flank with a discus and on the other flank¹²¹⁶ with a trident. Let him wash the bull after he is marked with four mantras beginning with 'the golden-coloured' (Tai. S. V. 6.1. 1-2) and with the (five) mantras beginning with 'May the divine (waters) bring us happiness' (Ṛg. X. 9. 4-8). Having washed and decked the bull he should bring him together with four young cows which also should have been washed and decked and utter the Rudras (Tai. S. IV. 5. 1-11), the Purusasūkta (Ṛg. 10. 90. 1-16) and the Kūsmāṇḍis (Vāj. S. XX. 14-16, Tai. A. X. 3-5). Then let him recite in the right ear of the bull the mantra¹²¹⁷ 'father of calves' and the following mantras 'The holy dharma¹²¹⁸ is a bull and is declared to have four feet; I choose him with devotion (as the object of worship); may he protect me on all sides. This young bull I give you as husband (O young cows!), roam

1215. A नीलवृष is variously defined. The मत्स्य 207 38 and विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I, 146 56 define 'अरणानि हृषं वृषं यस्य श्वेतानि गोपतेः। लासारससवर्णश्च वं नीलमिति निर्दिशेत्'। In विष्णुधर्मोत्तर I. 146 42-55 and मत्स्य 207 the characteristics of auspicious and inauspicious bulls are given. The अत्र क. ल. p. 214 quotes कौलक as 'लोहितो यस्तु वर्णेन सुखे वृषो च पाण्डुर'। श्वेत. छत्रविद्याशास्त्रात् स नीलो वृष उच्यते'। This is ascribed to ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराण (विवाहखण्ड) by आ. म. and ह्यु. म. p. 226.

1216. The विष्णुधर्मोत्तर says शूलैर्न वक्षिणे पार्श्वे धामे चक्रेण निर्दिशेत्। I. 147.6; while the भविष्योत्तर p. by ह्यु. म. p. 227 says 'ततो धामे विशूलं च वक्षिणे चक्रामल्लिखेत्'.

1217. The आश्वविदेक of बद्धधर (p. 75) sets out the whole verse as 'पिता वत्सानां पतिरन्वयानामथो पिता महता गर्भराणाम्। वत्सो जरायुः पतिशुक्रः पीयूष आमिक्षा पृथक् वृद्धस्य रेतः'। It is a corrupt reading of तै. स. III. 3. 9. 2 (which reads पतिरतिः पानां and आमिक्षा मस्तु पृथमस्य रेतः).

1218. The holy dharma ... four feet—This refers to the idea that Dharma, when in pristine glory in the कृतयुग, has four feet, but in each succeeding युग one foot is lost; vide मनु I. 81 (= शान्तिपर्व 232 37). Dr. Jolly is not right when he refers (in SBE vol. 7 p. 262) the words to मातृ I. 11 (SBE vol. 30 p. 7) where व्यवहार is said to have four feet of which धर्म is one. Vide H. of Dh, vol. III. pp. 259-262 for explanation.

about sportingly with him as your lover. May we not lack progeny, O king Soma, nor physical fitness and may we not succumb to our enemy'. He must drive away the bull together with the young cows in the north-eastern direction and give a pair of garments, gold and a vessel of bell metal to the hotr (officiating priest). The blacksmith should be given wages as desired by him and food seasoned with a good deal of clarified butter should be served to (three) brāhmanas (at least). That¹²¹⁹ pool at which a bull let loose (in honour of a deceased person by his son or the like) drinks water serves (reaches) the manes. Wherever a bull (let loose) exulting in his strength scratches (or digs up) the earth, that earth becoming abundant food and water waits upon the manes."¹²²⁰ In the Anuśāsanaparva the pitrs are represented as saying that by letting loose a dark-coloured bull, by offering water mixed with sesame and by lighting lamps in the rains a man becomes free from the debt he owes to the pitrs (chap. 125. 73-74).

In the Garudapurāna it is stated that the deceased person for whom a bull is not let loose on the 11th day after death permanently remains a *meta*, even if hundreds of śrāddhas are offered for him. The same Purāna further provides that if a bull be not available on the 11th day, then the effigy of a bull made of darbhas and flour or clay should be symbolically let loose.¹²²¹ In the Bhavisyapurāna the 12th day after death is prescribed for the letting loose of a bull (N. S. III. p. 505). The Nirnayasinḍhu says that the making of an effigy of a bull with clay, darbhas and flour is without authority. Even at present people let loose a bull but owing to the rise in the prices of bulls this is becoming less frequent. Several medieval digests such as the Pitṛdayitā (pp. 84, 94), Śrāddhaviveka of Rudradhara (pp. 69-77), Nirnayasinḍhu (III pp. 595-596), Śuddhiprakāśa

1219. 'That pool' etc The वायुपुराण (83. 45-48) contains verses of similar import, only two of which are quoted here 'वृषोत्सृष्टा पुनात्येव वृषाली-
तान्दशावराञ्च ... शृङ्गे' सुरैर्वा पद् भूमिस्तुल्लिखत्यानिशं वृषः । मधुकल्प्याः पिनुस्तस्य अक्षयास्तता
भवन्ति वै ॥' 45, 48.

1220. The वृषोत्सर्गविधि in विष्णुधर्मोत्तर (I 147. 1-19) closely follows the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र

1221. एकादशाहे प्रेतस्य यस्म्योत्सृज्येत नो वृषः । प्रेतस्यं सुस्थिरं तस्य वृषैः आद्भुतैरपि ॥
...एकादशेति संभासे वृषालाभो भवेद्यदि । वृषैः पिष्टैस्तु संपाद्य त वृषं मोचयेद्बुध ॥ गरुडपुराण
II. 5.40, 44-45. वृषस्पति q. by आ. क. ल. p. 214 and वृषविज्ञानमत q. by सु प
p 225 have a verse very similar to the first and the 2nd is ascribed to संग्रह
by the आ. क. ल

pp. 225-230, Antyestipādhati of Nārāyanabhatta present a far more elaborate description, but from considerations of space they are passed over here. It is provided in these and other digests that such a bull should not be seized by anyone nor made to draw a vehicle and the cow or cows let loose along with him should not be milked nor confined in a cow-pen. A bull is not let loose for a deceased woman, but a cow may be donated together with its calf without being branded and after being decked with sandal-wood paste.^{1221a}

What is the idea underlying the letting loose of a bull after the death of a person? If a conjecture may be hazarded, it appears to have been thought that if a bull were freed from toil (that is the lot of most bulls) and placed in the midst of pleasant surroundings, that act of the relatives of the deceased may in a vicarious manner conduce to the happiness of the departed spirit in the other world.

One remarkable matter about śrāddhas is yet to be mentioned. The Baud. grhyaśesasūtra III, 19, the Lingapurāna (II 45. 8-90, some of which are quoted by Śr. Pr. pp 363-364), the Kalpataru (on śrāddha pp. 277-279), Hemādri (Śr. pp. 1704-1717), the Śrāddhaprakāśa (pp. 361-371) and a few other digests describe the procedure of *Jivat-śrāddha* or *Jiva-śrāddha*, which a man was allowed to perform for the benefit of his own soul, while he was himself alive. Baudhāyana's being probably the most ancient extant description it is briefly set out here "A man who desires his own highest happiness should fast on the 13th tithi of the dark half and bring together materials on the same day, which are required in the funeral rites of deceased persons, viz six garments, a golden needle, a goad, a noose made of (cotton) threads, a ragged garment, a stalk of palāśa leaves, a chair of udumbara wood, jars and other materials also. On the next day he bathes; after standing in the midst of water he comes out and makes (the brāhmanas) pronounce 'this is an auspicious day, may there be happiness and prosperity (for you)'; he makes a gift of garments, a ring and dakṣiṇā and facing the south eats rice boiled in milk and mixed with ghee.

1221 a. वाचस्पतिमिश्र wrote a work called चन्द्रमधेन्द्रान in which he quotes two verses of देवल from the रत्नाकर as follows जीवञ्जरी ह्य वा नारी विपते शुचिणी यदि । सवत्सामङ्गिवा धेनुमाच्चार्याय प्रदापयेत् ॥ पतिदुःखवती नारी विपते चाग्रतस्तपो । इषं नैवोत्सृजेत्पुत्र पितृ वाचञ्ज जीवति ॥ Vide Descriptive Cat. of Sanskrit Mss. under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by M. M. Haraprasad Shastri, vol. III (smṛiti Mss) pp 405-406 No 2310.

He kindles the fire according to the general¹²²² procedure laid down for *homa*, spreads round it *darbhās*, cooks food on the fire and offers from the cooked food four oblations of food into the fire; the first is made after first reciting the Puroṇuvākya^{1222a} (invitatory prayer) 'catvāriśrngā' ('Agni has four horns,' Rg. IV. 58. 3, Tai. Ā. X. 10. 2) and offers the oblation with the Yājya (offering prayer) 'tridhā hitam' (placed in three plates, Rg. IV. 58. 4) The Puroṇuvākya and Yājya of the 2nd oblation of rice are 'tatsavitur varenyam' (Rg. III. 62. 10, Tai. S. I. 5 6 4) and 'yojayitrī sūrtānām'. Of the third oblation the Puroṇuvākya and Yājya are respectively 'ye catvārah' (Tai. S. V. 7. 2. 3) and 'Dve sruti' (Rg. X. 88. 15, Tai. Br. I. 4. 2. 3); the Puroṇuvākya and Yājya of the 4th oblation are respectively 'agne naya' (Rg. I. 189. 1, Tai. S. I. 114. 3) and 'yā tiraści' (Br. Up. VI. 3. 1).¹²²³ Then he offers oblations of clarified butter with the Purusaśukta of 18 verses (Vaj. S. 31. 1-18, Tai. Ā. III. 12) and 1008, 108 or 28 oblations of clarified butter with the *Gāyatrī* verse. Then he goes to a spot where four roads meet, makes a gift of the needle, goad, ragged garment, the rope to a short-statured brāhmana who has a dark skin and having made him repeat the words 'May the servants of Yama be gratified' he places the jars on grains of rice. Having wound round the jars that are full of water threads he prepares an effigy of a human being, three threads for the head, three for the mouth, 21 for the neck, 4 for the body, two on each arm, one for the male organ, five for each of the feet with the words 'May the revered Yama be pleased.' Then making ready the chair, washing it with *pañcagavya*, he makes the effigy of a human being on black antelope skin with palāśa stalks, he establishes the prānas in the effigy made on the jar and placing his body on the body made with stalks he should sleep. When he rises,

1222. For the general procedure of *homa*, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp 207-211.

1222 a The पुरोहवाक्या (or simply अहवाक्या) is so called because it is recited to make the deity favourable before the sacrifice is offered (पुर पूर्व पागाद्देवतामसृजुलपिह या ऋयुच्यते इति व्युत्पत्त्या). Yājya is the offering prayer. It is preceded by ये यजामहे and followed by vasat (pronounced as वी३ वद्). Both these are uttered by the hotṛ in a high tone. Vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 1058-1060. The yājya is recited while standing, but the Puroṇuvākya is recited sitting. The verse योजयित्री सृजताना appears to be an adaptation of चोदयित्री सृजताना (Rg. I. 3.11).

1223. The verse is. या तिरश्ची निपद्यते (से?) अहं विधरणी इति । ता त्वा घृतस्य धारया यजे संराधनीमहम् ॥ बृह. उ. VI. 3.1,

he should himself bathe his body with (the water in) the jars with verses of Purusasūkta and with pañcagavya and pure water and eat in the evening food mixed with sesamum grains together with clarified butter. He should give dinner to brāhmanas for the gratification of the servants of Yama. On the 4th day he burns (the effigy) with mantras. He should offer water, and pinda with the words 'pinda to me of such and such a gotra for benefit in the next world, *svadhā namah.*' With these words he should bring to a close the rite. He should observe impurity for ten days for himself, but his agnates have not to observe impurity for him. On the 11th day he performs ekoddista. They also cite the following verse 'one who is in distress, a woman and a śūdra having burnt one's body (i. e. effigy) with mantras should perform all rites on that very day. This is the revelation.' In the case of women the rite is performed silently or with (?) Vedic mantras. In this way he should perform his own śrāddha every month for a year and at the end of each year up to twelve years. And then he should stop. When he is not able to do all these (himself) his son and the like may perform them. They also recite the following verse; 'Although heirs may be alive one may perform one's śrāddha while alive, having quickly set about doing everything according to the rules, except Sapindana. One should not make delay as to the time specified above, since life is evanescent'."

It may be noted that the *Baud. grhyaśesasūtra* III, 22 contains a very brief procedure of the same rite, but therein two verses of Kanva and one of Visnu are quoted. It appears that this is a later addition. The text of *Baud. grhyaśesasūtra* III, 19 is quoted by Śr. Pr. pp. 361-363. But the *Śrāddha-prakāśa* also quotes a long passage from the *Lingapurāna* and explains it (pp. 363-368). The procedure in the *Lingapurāna*, however, materially differs from that of *Baudhāyana*. It is passed over here from considerations of space. The *Śrāddhamayūkha* also gives an elaborate description. Some of its provisions are stated here. In *Jivat-śrāddha* the word *preta* should nowhere be used. An effigy of the person is made with fifty kuśas and is to be burnt by another with the mantra 'kravyādam-agnim' (Rg. X. 16. 9). The person has to kindle fire on the banks of a river with his face to the south with his grhya fire or ordinary fire and has to dig up a pit and make a prayer to the earth as in the case of an actual death.

In the Bombay University Library there is a Ms. of *Jivat-śrāddha* ascribed to Śaunaka in the Bhadkamkar Collection.

It contains a far more elaborate procedure than that of Baudhāyana and is in prose. It contains many of the provisions of Baudhāyana. Further details are passed over here.

The provision of a śrāddha for a living person offered by himself is a perversion of the ancient idea of śrāddha. The basic and fundamental conception of a śrāddha was to gratify the spirits of deceased ancestors. People had gone crazy with the idea of śrāddhas and invented this new mode to satisfy that craze. I have known persons that performed Jivat-śrāddha, though they had sons, younger brothers and nephews who would have certainly performed śrāddhas for them on their death.

It is customary to make a gift of a cow with a calf to a brāhmana, preferably a kapila cow, on the 2nd day after the period of āsauca. Often times this is the only cow given, and the cow called Vaitarani referred to above (p. 183, note 427) is rarely donated in the midst of the sorrow and turmoil immediately on the death of a dear and near relative. A declaration is first made that a gift of a cow will be made and then water is poured on the hand of a brāhmana. Then holding kuśas in his hand the donor makes a gift of the cow with a formula noted below¹²²⁴. The donee replies with the words 'om svasti' (Yes, may it be well!). Then daksina (in gold or silver coins) is given and the brāhmana says 'om svasti', holds the tail of the cow and repeats a Kāmastuti (eulogy of Kāma)¹²²⁵ according to the recension of the Veda he has studied. The Anuśāsana-parva (57. 28-29) eulogises the gift of a kapila cow with the calf, given with a milking pail of bell-metal, whose horn tips are decked with gold, by stating that such a gift not only saves the donor in the other world but also his sons, grandsons and family for seven generations. The Anuśāsana-parva (77.10 ff) sets out a legend why the kapila cow is the best of all cows.

The Purānas and digests devote a good deal of space to śrāddhas at tirthas and at Gayā. Vide Atri 55-58, Vāyupurāna 83. 16-42, Hemādri (on Śr.) pp. 1568 ff and 1575 ff. This subject will be briefly dealt with in the section on tirthas.

1224. ओम् अथाशौचान्ते द्वितीयेद्वि अशुक्रगोत्रस्य पितुरशुक्रमेतस्य स्वर्गप्राप्तिकामः इमां कपिला मां देमदृष्टीं रौप्यसुरां वल्लुगच्छका कार्शेयदोहां सुक्तालङ्गुलभृषिर्वा सवस्तां रुद्रदेवस्य(मशुक्रगोत्रापासकसाम्नि ब्राह्मणाय हुम्यमहं संमदवे। आशुक्रविके 01 रुद्रधर p. 77.

1225. For कामस्तुति, vide p. 184, n 430 above.

Much is said on the question whether śrāddhas should be performed in the intercalary month. The intercalary month is called by various names, viz. Malimlūca (Kāthaka Sam. 38. 14),¹²²⁶ Samsarpa or Amhasapati (Vāj S. 7.30 and 22.31), Mala-māsa, Adhīmāsa. An intercalary month is known even to the Rg-veda (Rg. I. 25.8). The vendor of soma and the thirteenth month are condemned as *pāpa* (sinful) in the Aitareya Brāhmana¹²²⁷. The Pīrānas tried to bolster up the intercalary month by calling it Purusottama-māsa (i. e. the month of Visnu) but the original stigma attaching to the 13th month seems to have persisted. The general rule about an intercalary month is stated by the Grhyaparīśiṣṭa.¹²²⁸ 'the month called Malimlūca is polluted and springs from sin; it is condemned for all acts; it should be discarded in all rites in honour of gods and pitrs.' But exceptions to this sweeping prohibition have been recognized. Hārīta provides¹²²⁹ that all śrāddhas that come after Sapindana are not to be performed in an intercalary month. Vyāsa laid down¹²³⁰ that such ceremonies as jatakarma, annaprāsana, the navaśrāddhas, śrāddha on Magha and the thirteenth *tithi*, the sixteen śrāddhas, bath, gifts, japa and śrāddha at the time of the eclipse of the sun or moon—these should be performed even in an intercalary month. The Smṛtimuktāphala concludes (p. 728) that there is no blemish in performing a śrāddha in an intercalary month provided it is to be performed before the end of one year from death. It is provided by Bhṛgu¹²³¹ that the sāmvaṣṭarika śrāddha of those who die in an intercalary month

1226. महिम्लुचो नामास्ति त्रयोदशो मास इन्द्ररप क्षमास्ति । काठकस्त. 38. 10 (161-162) ; संसर्पोर्यंश्च स्वत्यायवे स्वत्यायवस्ति त्रयोदश मास इत्याहुस्तमेव तत् प्रीणाति । तै. सं. VI, 5 3.4.

1227. तं (सौमं) त्रयोदशान्मासात्तद्वर्गिणस्तस्मात्त्रयोदशो मासो नाश्रुयिष्यते न चै सोम-विक्रयप्रदायिष्यते पापो हि सोमविक्रयी । ऐ. ब्रा III, 1 (com त्रयोदशमासो नाश्रुयिष्यते शुभ-कर्मादिभूतो वारित).

1228. महिम्लुचं चरु मासो वै महिमा पापसम्भव । शर्हितः पितृदेवेषु । सर्वकर्मसु तं त्यजेत् । शुभपरिक्रिष्ट q. by आ. क्रि. को p 33

1229. सपिण्डीकरणादूर्ध्वं यत्किञ्चिच्छ्राद्धिकं भवेत् । तद्वं वाच्यधरा पूर्तं तत्र शुभान्मति-स्तुजे ॥ शरीरत. q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 374), आ. क्रि. को. p 323, आह्वतरप. p. 252 (as सप्तदशरीत).

1230. जातकर्मान्यकर्माणि नवश्राद्धं तथैव च । नवात्रयोदशीश्राद्धं आह्वानपरि च शौदश । चन्द्रसूर्यग्रहे स्नानं श्राद्धं वान तथा जपः । कार्याणि मलमासेऽपि निरतं नैमित्तिकं तथा ॥ श्रुतसु q. by आह्वतरप. p. 283, स्मृतिच. (आ. p 373 ascribes to यम).

1231. मलमासे श्रुतानां तु श्राद्धं यत्प्रतिवत्सरम् । मलमासेऽपि तत्कार्यं नान्येषां तु कर्तव्यं ॥ श्रुतसु q. by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 375). The नि. सि III. p 474 says 'मलमास-श्रुतानां तु यदा स एवाधिक' स्यात्तदा तत्रैव कार्यमन्यथा श्रुद्धं दत्त'.

may be performed in the intercalary month, but if there be none such then in the ordinary month of the same name. When the *tithi* for performing a śrāddha comes and there is then an intercalary month, Vṛddha-Vasistha says that śrāddha should be performed in both months.¹²³²

Further discussion about what may be done in *Malamāsa* and what is prohibited therein will be taken up in the section on *Kāla*. The question as to the day on which a śrāddha is to be performed if the *tithi* is spread over two days or if there is a *lāṣa* of the *tithi* will also be discussed in that section.

Some of the works on śrāddha such as the Pṛthvi-candro-daya deal with what is called 'saṅghāta-śrāddha.'^{1232a} When on the same day several persons die, but not at the same time, then the śrāddhas for them should be performed, as said by Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, in the order in which they died. But if five or six persons die at the same time on the same day (as when a vessel sinks in the sea or a market is burnt down all at once), then the order in which śrāddhas are to be performed is determined by the nearness of relationship to the performer of śrāddha in the case of each. For example, if a person's wife, son, brother and paternal uncle meet death at the same time, then the order should be this that the śrāddha of the wife is performed first, then of the son, then of the brother and then of the uncle. If the parents die at the same time by accident, then the father's cremation or other rites should be first performed and then of the mother.

Provision is made if the performance of a śrāddha is rendered impossible by some obstacle. Ṛṣyaśṛṅga provides ¹²³³

1232. आद्धीयाहनि संभाते अधिमासो भवेद्यदि । मासद्वयेऽपि कुर्वीत आद्धमेवं न
श्रुतिः ॥ इन्द्रवसिष्ठे q by स्मृतिच. (आ. p. 375), नि. ति. p. 13.

1232 a. तत्रैकस्मिन्नहनि क्रमेण मृतान्। मरणक्रमेणैकेन कर्त्रा आद्धं कर्तव्यम् । तदाह
ऋष्यशृङ्गः । कृत्वा पूर्वमृतस्यादौ द्वितीयस्य ततः पुनः । तृतीयस्य ततः कुर्यात्संनिपाते स्वयं
क्रमः ।... भवेद्यदि सपिण्डानां युगपन्मरणं तदा । सम्बन्धासत्तिमालोच्य तत्कमाच्छ्राद्धमाचरेत् ॥
पृथ्वीच folio 265 a; जाबालि. । पित्रोस्तु मरणं चैत्रस्यादेकदैव यदा तदा । पितृर्दाहादिकं
कृत्वा पश्चान्मातुः समाचरेत् ॥ *bid* folio 266 a.

1233. देये पितृणां आद्धे तु आशौचं जायते यदि । आशौचे तु व्यतिक्रान्ते तेभ्यः
आद्धं मदीयते ॥ एकोद्विष्टे तु संभाते यदि विघ्न. प्रजायते । मासेऽन्यस्मिन्निति तस्यां आद्धं
कुर्वात्मयत्नत ॥ ऋष्यशृङ्ग q. by अपराके p. 561, आ नि. कौ. p 480, मद. मा. 618.
स्कन्दपुराण VII. 1. 206. 70 is a very similar verse and the verse एकोद्विष्टे तु is
गण्डवराण (प्रेतसङ्घ 45, 9),

'if impurity (on death) intervenes when a śrāddha is to be offered to the pīṭṭ, śrāddha should be offered at the end of the period of impurity. If an obstacle arises at the time when an ekoddiṣṭa is to be performed, the śrāddha should be performed in another month on the same tithi'. This last refers to a monthly śrāddha. If any of the sixteen śrāddhas fails owing to an obstacle it should be performed on the amāvāsya or better still on the 11th day of the dark half. If there is an obstacle owing to impurity on death in the performance of a monthly śrāddha or yearly śrāddha it should be performed at the end of the impurity or on amāvāsya.¹²³⁴ The Padmapurāna (Pāṭālakhaṇḍa 101. 68-70) provides similar rules. If the obstacle is the performer's illness or his inability to collect materials or his wife being in her monthly illness, he may offer amaśrāddha described above.

It may be noted that while great emphasis was laid on inviting a very learned brāhmana at a śrāddha, that object was often frustrated in practice by the provisions made in certain smṛtis that one¹²³⁵ should not partake of śrāddha food for three years after sapindana (which is often one year after death) and that by dining at a śrāddha in the first year one eats the bones and marrow of the deceased, in the second year his flesh, in the third year his blood and śrāddha in the 4th year is (somewhat) pure. Vide Par. M. vol. II part 1 p 423, where smṛti passages prescribing prayascittas for partaking of food at various śrāddhas including sāmvaṭsarika are set out. Hārīta says: one partaking of food at Navāśrāddha should undergo Cāndrāyana, the Prājāpatya for dining at a monthly śrāddha and fast for one day for dining at a pratyūḍhika śrāddha. This is on the same lines as acceptance of gifts. A donor collected merit by making gifts, but it was for the acceptor to decide whether he should accept gifts. The ideal

1234. नास्तिकाद्ये तु मन्वाते खलरा मृतवृत्ते। वदन्ति ह्युद्धी तन्नापि ह्येते वापि निच-
हणाः॥ यद्द्विद्विज्ञानेन च by अपराक p. 561; नास्तिकास्तु ह्युद्धमानि आह्वानि प्रतेवेतु च। मन्वि-
सर्वस्वरे आर्द्धे दानकानन्तरं विदुः। एकादश्यां कृत्वापते कर्मणं शुभमिच्छताः। तत्र यन्निहते
हेहादनायां क्रियते तु तद् ॥ पत्र० (पातालखण्ड 101. 68 and 71)

1235. अथ ह्युद्धआर्द्धे द्विगोदासीये। तपिष्ठीकरणादूर्ध्वं पावद्वयमप्यं भवत्। तापदेव
न भोक्तव्यं तपेऽहनि कदाचन॥ मघनेरघनि मज्जा च द्वितीये नामभक्षणम्। कृत्वाये शयिरे
प्रोक्तं आर्द्धे ह्युद्धे चतुर्थकनिति आर्द्धकारिकेः। नि ति III p 475, चाप्रायण म-
आर्द्धे नाशायत्ये तु निभजे। एकारं तु उपगन्तु आपत्तिवत् विधीयते॥ एतत्त व 12 परा मा II
1. p 423; see आर्द्धविके of रुद्रधर p 113, आ. क्रि. को. p. 345 for similar rules
from other सूत्रिस; पत्र V. 10. 19 says 'नवआर्द्धे न भोजनं सुखा वात्प्रायणं चरेत्'.

placed before brāhmanas was that one, though entitled to accept gifts on account of his vedic learning and *tapas*, should not accept gifts, if he desires to secure the highest world (Yāj. I. 213), while Manu IV. 186 affirms¹²³⁶ that though entitled to accept gifts a brāhmana should not again and again resort to that method, since the spiritual power that he acquires by Vedic study is lost by accepting gifts. Manu IV. 85-86 (= Padma V. 19. 236-237) say that acceptance of a gift from the king is terrible (in its consequences) and Padma warns that gift appears sweet like honey but is like poison (i e. deadly in its effects). This reasoning applied with greater force to officiating and dining at a śrāddha, where not only gifts are to be received, but also sumptuous food that will please the palate is served in abundance.

It has been seen above how the most ancient literary monument, viz the Ṛgveda, shows that the funeral rites performed immediately after death were prompted by affectionate concern for the departed spirit mingled with some element of fear, that the object of those rites was to provide sustenance to the departed spirit and to endow it with an intermediate body before it became one of the pitrs. It has also been found that in the most ancient times of which we have literary evidence, there were rites for the worship of ancestors, being the Pinda-pitryajña performed every month on *anāvāsyā*, the Mahāpitryajña performed in the Śākamedha and the Astakā śrāddhas. Gradually the rites for deceased ancestors became more and more frequent, all-inclusive and elaborate, so that ultimately an exaggerated importance came to be attached to the cult of śrāddhas over which there was an enormous expenditure of time, effort and wealth. The question now arises what Indians of the 20th century should do about śrāddhas. One finds that in these days when many brāhmanas even do not engage in any of the five daily obligatory yajñas (the pañca-yajñas), they are solicitous to offer śrāddha at least once a year to their ancestors. The following may be therefore suggested as a *via mediā* for all kinds of people. Those who have faith in the duty of performing śrāddhas and their efficacy for the benefit of

1236. प्रतिग्रहसमर्थोऽपि प्रसङ्गं तत्र वर्जयेत् । प्रतिग्रहेण ह्यस्यास्तु ब्राह्मं तेजः प्रशाम्यति ॥ मनु IV 186, vide पद्म IV. 19. 268 for a similar verse राजन् प्रतिग्रहो घोरो मत्वास्वादो विषोपम । तद् ज्ञायमान कस्मात्तु कुरुपेऽस्मत्पलोभनम् ॥ दशसूनासमश्वक्री... तेन तुल्यस्ततो राजा घोस्तस्त्व प्रतिग्रहः ॥ पद्म V 19 235.

the dead may perform them on a small scale, bearing in mind the emphatic admonition of Manu (III, 125-126), the Kūrmapurāna II, 22, 27, Padmapurāna V, 9, 98¹²³⁷ that one should desist from extravagance in the matter of śrāddhas, particularly in the number of brāhmanas to be invited. Those whose faith is shaken or shattered by the onrush of modern ideas and English education or firm belief in the doctrines of *karma* and *punarjanna* should also remember one thing. The main underlying conception of śrāddha is certainly admirable, viz, a tender and affectionate regard for one's near and dear relatives. It is a good practice to set apart at least one day in a year for the remembrance of one's near and dear relatives that are no more, to invite relatives, friends, and learned people to a dinner in memory of the dead and to bestow monetary gifts on poor but learned persons of character and devoted to the practice of plain living and high thinking. This will be in keeping with our past traditions and will also give a new orientation to and infuse new life into practices and usages that have become lifeless and meaningless to many people. From very ancient times one of the fundamental conceptions of our faith has been the idea of three debts owed to sages, gods and *pītras*. The debt owed to the ancestors is paid off by the procreation of a son who would offer *pindas* to his (and therefore also to his father's) ancestors. This is a grand conception. Nothing can be more sublime than the formula which one has to repeat at the time of offering *pindas* and water (with sesame) at Gayā 'may those of my ancestors that are in the form of *pretas* be all satiated by means of the (balls made) of barley flour mixed with sesame and may everything, whether moving or immoveable from Brahmā up to blades of grass derive satisfaction from the water offered by me.' If the implication of this formula be thoroughly understood and

1237. द्वौ द्वौ पितृकृत्ये त्रिनैकैकमुभयत्र वा । भोजयेद्दाम्भरोपीह न कुर्षादिहस्तर इयः ॥
 पत्र V. 9, 98 जायमानो ह वै ब्राह्मणान्निर्दिश्यन्वा जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण ऋषिभ्यो यज्ञेन देवेभ्यः
 ब्रजया पितृभ्य एव वा अरुणो व. पुत्री यजता ब्रह्मचारिवासी । ते सं VI. 3 10 5 ; ऋणन-
 स्मिन् संनयत्यश्नुतत्व च गच्छति । पिता पुत्रस्य जातस्य पश्यञ्जेजीवतो मुष्यत् ॥ ऐ. ब्रा. 33.1
 This subject has been dealt with already in H of Dh. vol III, pp. 414-416
 and may be further dilated upon under Gayāśrāddha ये केचित्पितरूपेण वर्तन्ते
 पितरो मन । ते सर्वे वृषिमायान्तु सज्जामिस्तिलमिश्रिते ॥ आनहस्तस्यपर्यन्त यत्किञ्चित्सचराचरम् ।
 मया इत्थेन तमेन वृषिमायान्तु सर्वदाः ॥ वायुपुराण 110, 63-64 Compare also a similar
 invocation in बाहु. 110 21-22 and the Mettasutta in the Suttanipāta.

implemented by actual practice, it will make the whole world kin. Therefore, while discarding the heavy accretions accumulated through ages, we Hindus of these days must see to it that we do not throw overboard the gold that lies buried under the crust of ritual and ill-understood ceremonies.*

* In passing I may mention that my friend Mr. N. G. Chapekar, B. A., LL. B., retired First Class Subordinate Judge residing at Badlapur in the Thana District, has been celebrating the yearly śrāddha of his mother in the manner indicated above for about twenty-five years.

SECTION IV

CHAPTER XI

TĪRTHAYĀTRĀ (pilgrimages to holy places)

All religions have laid great emphasis on the sacredness of certain localities and have either enjoined or recommended with great insistence pilgrimages to them. Among the five incumbent practical religious duties¹²³⁷ of a Moslem, pilgrimage at least once in his life to Mecca and Medina, the birth place and burial place of the prophet Mohammad, is one. The four places of pilgrimage for Buddhists have been the place of the birth of Buddha (Lumbini or Rummindsi), the place where he attained perfect enlightenment (Bodh Gayā), the place where he set in motion the wheel of *dharma* by delivering his first sermon (at Sārṇāth near Benares) and the place where he passed away into the state of *nirvāna* (Kusinārā). Vide Mahāparinibbānasutta (S B, E vol. XI p 90). For Christians Jerusalem has been the holiest place and no religious community except the Christians undertook in historic times several great military pilgrimages. The crusades were launched to free the Holy Land of Christians from the domination of Moslems. In spite of what Gibbon says¹²³⁸ somewhat cynically about those who joined the crusades, it must be admitted that there were thousands among the crusaders who risked their lives and fortunes in the pursuit of an ideal. In India holy places have played a very important part. Large rivers, mountains and forests have always been venerated as sacred¹²³⁹

1237. Vide S B E vol. VI, Introduction LXXI, for the five duties. The pilgrimage is called *Hāj* and the Moslem who performs it is entitled to be called *Hāj*.

1238. Gibbon remarks 'At the voice of their pastor, the robber, the incendiary, the homicide arose by thousands to redeem their souls by repeating on the infidels the same deeds which they had exercised against their christian brethren and the terms of atonement were eagerly embraced by offenders of every rank and denomination' Decline and Fall of the Rōman Empire, vol. VII (ed of 1862) p 188.

1239. Tagore in his 'Sādhanā' (p 9) remarks 'India chose her places of pilgrimage wherever there was in nature some special grandeur or

(Continued on the next page)

and as the abodes of gods. In ancient and medieval India pilgrimages brought many advantages to the community as well as to the pilgrims themselves. Though India was divided into many kingdoms and the people of India followed several cults and sub-cults, pilgrimages tended to foster the idea of the essential and fundamental unity of Indian culture and of India also. Benares and Rāmesvara were held sacred by all Hindus, whether they hailed from the north of India or from the peninsula. Though the Hindu community was broken up into numerous castes and suffered from caste exclusiveness, pilgrimages tended to level up all men by bringing them together to the same holy rivers or shrines. The traditions associated with holy places, the discipline through which the pilgrims passed, association with holy and philosophic men and the whole atmosphere and environment at *tirthas* made it easy for pilgrims to remain at a high spiritual level and inculcated in them a mood of reverence that lasted long even after they returned from the pilgrimage. Pilgrimages supplied the much needed stimulus to draw ordinary men away from selfish pursuits and to make them think of the higher and more enduring moral and spiritual values. These obvious benefits and the belief that a holy place was the abode of some divinity led ancient dharmaśāstra writers to lay emphasis on visits to tirthas. The Visnu Dh. S. provides ¹²⁴⁰ that the *dharma* common to all men comprises the following: forbearance, truthfulness, restraint of the mind, cleanliness, charity, control of the senses, *ahimsā*, obedience to elders, *visiting holy places*, compassion, straightforwardness,

(Continued from the last page)

beauty so that her mind could come out of its world of narrow necessities and realize its place in the Infinite. This was the reason why in India a whole people who once were meat-eaters gave up taking animal food to cultivate the sentiment of universal sympathy for life, an event unique in the history of mankind. There is a fundamental difference in the outlook of modern Westerners and that of ancient and medieval Indians (which persists to a large extent even now). If there is a beauty spot anywhere most men in the West would think of building a hotel there for tourists, while ancient and medieval Indians would have thought of erecting a shrine there

1240. क्षमा सत्यं दमः शौचं दानानिन्द्रियसंयम । अहिंसा युष्मत्सुखा तीर्थोत्सरणं
 दया । अर्जवं लोभद्वन्द्वत्वं देवनाह्वयपूजनम् । अनन्यसूया च तथा धर्मः सामान्य उच्यते ॥
 विष्णुधर्मसूत्र II 16-17 Vide विष्णुधर्मोत्तर II. 80 1-4 for a list of सामान्यधर्मस
 such as अहिंसा, सत्यवचन, तीर्थोत्सरण and H. of Dh vol II p 11 notes 28-30
 for quotations about सामान्यधर्मस from शान्तिपर्व, वामनपुराण, ब्रह्मपुराण and other
 sources

freedom from avarice, honouring gods and brāhmanas and freedom from jealousy. Modern men whose faith in some of the aspects of the religious beliefs of our forefathers has been weakened or altogether sapped by the sight of the professional ministrants at the tirthas and their rapacity and ignorance should not judge the ancient attitude towards tirthas harshly.

The word tirtha occurs frequently in the Rgveda and other Vedic samhitās. In several passages of the Rgveda tirtha appears to mean a road or a way (e. g. in Rg. I. 169. 6 'tirtha nāryah paumsyāni tastuh', Rg. I. 173. 11 'tirtha nācehā tātsānam-oko', Rg. IV. 29. 3 'karan-na Indrah sutirthābhayam ca.' In some places tirtha may be taken to mean a ford in a river, as in Rg. VIII. 47. 11 'sutirtham-arvato yathānu no nesathā sugam &c.', Rg. I. 46. 8 'aritrām vām divas-prthu tirtha sindhūnām rathah'. In Rg. X. 31. 3 'tirtha na dasmam-upa yantūmāh', tirtha probably means 'a holy place'. On Rg. VIII. 19. 37 'Suvāstva adhi tugvan' the Nirukta IV. 15 explains that Suvāstu is a river and tugvan means 'tirtha' (either a ford or a holy spot). In the Tai. S. VI. 1. 1. 1-2¹²⁴¹ it is said that the sacrificer is to bathe at a tirtha (probably a holy river). The Rudras are said to prow about tirthas (ye tirthāni pracaranto arkāvanto nisanginah) in Tai. S. IV. 5. 11. 1-2 and Vāj. S. 16. 61 (reads 'arkāhastā'). In the Śāṅkhayana Br.¹²⁴² it is said that Day and Night are the sea that absorbs everything and the twilights are the unfathomable tirthas (of the sea). Tirtha also means the way between the 'utkara' and 'cātvala' pit for going to or coming from the sacrificial ground (the *vikāra*).^{1242a} vide H of Dh vol II. p. 984.

It is said that, just as some parts of the human body (e. g. the right hand or ear) are held to be purer (than others), so some localities on the earth are held to be very holy. Tirthas are held to be holy (on three grounds, viz.) on account of some wonderful natural characteristic of the locality or on account of the peculiar strikingness (or grandeur) of some watery place or on account of the fact that some (holy) sages resorted to

1241. अथु स्नाति साक्षुदेव दीक्षातपती अथरुये तीर्थे स्नाति। त्रै. सृ. VI. 1. 1. 1-2
Vide जैमिनि III. 4. 14-16 for a discussion on the purpose of this passage

1242. सधुत्रो वा एष सर्वेदो यददोरात्रे तस्य द्वेते अगये तीर्थे परसुनये तस्यधा
अगाधार्थं तीर्थार्थं सधुद्रमतीयात्तादृक् सत्। श्रौ. भा. II. 9.

1242 a. ते अन्तरेण चात्वालोक्या उपनिष्क्रामन्ति तस्यै यद्गवय तीर्थमामानं नाम ।
श्रौ. भा. 18. 9

them (for bathing, austerities &c.). Tīrtha, therefore, means a locality or spot or expanse of water which gives rise to the accumulation of righteousness (merit) owing to its own peculiar nature without any adventitious circumstance (such as the presence of Śālagrāma near it).¹²⁴³ Or it is better to say that those localities that have been technically spoken of by wise and great sages as tīrthas are tīrthas, just as Pāṇini employs such technical terms as Nadi and Vṛddhi in his grammar. The Skandapurāna¹²⁴⁴ says that a spot of the earth resorted to by ancient good men for the collection of merit is called tīrtha and that the main thing is to go to (i. e. associate with holy) men and pilgrimage is only a secondary object.

In the R̥gveda waters, rivers in general and certain named rivers¹²⁴⁵ are referred to with great reverence as holy and are deified. In R̥g VII. 49 the refrain of all four verses is 'may the divine waters protect me' (tā āpo devīr-īha mānavantu). In R̥g. VII. 49. 1 waters are spoken of as purifying (punanāh). R̥g. VII. 47, X. 9, X. 30¹²⁴⁶ are hymns addressed to waters as divinities. They are said to purify a man not only physically but are also invoked to rid a man of all sins and lapses from the right path. The Tai S. II. 6. 8. 3 asserts that all deities are centred in waters (āpo vai sarvā devatāh). In the Atharvaveda¹²⁴⁷ (I 33.1) waters are described as holy and purifying and are invoked to confer happiness. About twenty rivers in all

1243. यथा शरीरस्योद्देशां केचिन्मेध्यतनां स्युता । तथा पृथिव्या उद्देशां केचित् पुण्यतमा स्युता ॥ प्रभावाद्भृताभूमे सलिलस्य च तेजसा । परिग्रहान्मुनीनां च तीर्थानां पुण्यता स्युता ॥ पद्मपुराण (उत्तरखण्ड) 237 25-27. स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 6 43-44, नारदीय-पुराण II 62. 46-47 These verses are quoted by कल्पतरु on तीर्थे pp 7-8 (ascribes the १ to महाभारत) and by तीर्थे p 10 Similar verses occur in अष्ट-शास्त्रनर्ष 108 16-18 'शरीरस्य यथोद्देशां शुचयः परिकीर्तिता । तथा पृथिव्या भागाश्च पुण्यानि सलिलानि च । ...परिग्रहाच्च साधूनां पृथिव्याश्चैव तेजसा । अतीव पुण्यभागारते सलिलस्य च तेजसा ॥'.

1244. शुच्या पुरुषयान्ना हि तीर्थयान्नानुपङ्गत । सद्भिः समाश्रितो भूप भूमिभागस्तथो-च्यते ॥ स्कन्द I 2. 13 10, यद्भिः पूर्वतमैः सद्भिः सेवितं धर्मसिद्धये । तद्भिः पुण्यतमं लोकं सन्तस्तीर्थं प्रचक्षते ॥ स्कन्दपुराण 4. by पृथ्वीच० folio 135 b

1245 Vide H of Dh vol II, p. 12 for the rivers mentioned in the R̥g

1246 इदमाप. प्रवहत यत्किं च दुरितं मायि । यद्वाहनभिद्रुद्रोह यद्वा शेष उताच्यतम् ॥ अ X 9.8.

1247. हिरण्यवर्णां शुचयः पावका यासु जातः सविता यास्वसिः । या अग्निं गर्भं दधिरे सुवर्णास्ता न आपः शं स्योना भवन्तु ॥ अथर्व० I. 33. 1.

flood of the Sarasvatī impinging by its powerful waves against the tops of hills is referred to in Rg. VI. 61. 2 and 8¹²⁵⁰. In VII. 96. 1, Sarasvatī is spoken of as *asuryā* (of divine origin) among rivers. Sacrifices are said to have been performed on the Drsadvatī, the Āpayā and Sarasvatī (Rg. III. 23. 4). In Rg. II. 41. 16 Sarasvatī is called the best of rivers and goddesses (ambitame naditame devitame Sarasvatī). Rg. I. 3. 11-12 praise¹²⁵¹ Sarasvatī as a river and a deity, as a purifier (*pāvaka*), as the impeller of sweet but truthful words and the inspirer of good thoughts and as bringing to notice its great flood of waters. From Rg. VII. 95. 2, VII. 49. 2 and I. 71. 7 it is obvious that the R̥gvedic sages knew that the seven rivers fell into the sea. It would be proper to hold that the seven rivers are Sindhu (Indus), the five rivers of the Panjab and the Sarasvatī. Though from the R̥gveda passages cited above it appears that in the times of the hymns of the R̥gveda Sarasvatī was a big river with abundant waters, that it flowed between the Yamunā and Śūtudri (X. 75. 5), in the times of the Brahmanas it disappeared in the sands. It is now generally identified with the modern Sarsuti which is lost in the desert at Bhatnair. The Vāj. S. 34. 11 says that five rivers together with their tributary streams fall into Sarasvatī,¹²⁵² There were three *satras* called Śārasvata, viz the first in honour of Mitra and Varuna, the 2nd for Indra and Agni and the third for Aryaman. The *dīksā* (consecration ceremony) was to be performed on the south bank of the dry bed of the Sarasvatī where it disappeared underground¹²⁵³. Vide Tāndya Br.

1250. इयं ह्यग्नेभिर्विसखा इवावजस्ताल गिरीणा तविदिभिरुमिभिः। ऋ. VI. 61.2; यस्या अनन्तो अद्भुतस्त्रेपश्चरिण्युर्गवः। अनश्चरति रोचवत् ॥ ऋ. VI. 61.8 The निचक II. 23 remarks तत्र सरस्वती इत्येतस्य नदीवत् देवतावच्च निगमा भवन्ति and explains Rg. VI. 61.2 as a verse where सरस्वती is described as a river.

1251. सोदायित्री सृष्टताना चेतन्ती सुमतीनाम्। यज्ञं दधे सरस्वती ॥ महो अर्णः सरस्वती प्र चेतयति केतुना। ऋ. I. 3. 11-12. For this last, vide निचक XI. 27.

1252. पञ्च नद्य सरस्वतीमपि यन्ति सज्जोतसः। सरस्वती तु पञ्चधा सो देशेऽभवत्सन्ति ॥ बाल सं. 34. 11.

1253. सरस्वत्या विनशने दीक्षन्ते। ..इषहत्या अप्ययेऽपोवर्षीय चर्चं निरूप्याथाति-यन्ति। चतुश्चत्वारिंशद्देशान्दीनानि सरस्वत्या विनशनात् उक्तं. प्राञ्चवणः तावद्वितः स्वर्गो लोकः सरस्वतीसंमितेनाध्वना स्वर्गलोक यन्ति। ... यदा उक्तं प्राञ्चवणमागच्छन्त्यथोत्थानम्। . कार-पञ्चवं प्रति यद्गुणानवभृथमग्नययन्ति। ताण्ड्य 25 10 1, 15, 16, 21, 23. मनु II 17 defines तद्गुणानवभृथमग्नययन्ति as the country between the divine rivers सरस्वती and इषहती and (II 21) नद्यदेश as the country between the Himālaya and Vindhya mount-

(Continued on the next page)

25. 10 for the first Sārasvata-sattra, 25. 11 for the 2nd and 25.12 for the third. The land between Vinasāna and Plaksa Prāsra-
vana (which was the source of the Sarasvati) was the proper
locality for Sārasvata sattra. At the confluence of Sarasvati
and Drsadvati an *istī* to Apām Napāt was performed wherein
boiled rice (*caru*) was the offering. From the place where the
Sarasvati disappeared up to Plaksa-Prāsavana the distance
was a journey on horse-back for forty days and nights. When
the sacrificers (in the sattra) reach Plaksa Prāsavana they
should stop the performance of the items of the sattra and
undergo the Avabhṛtha bath near the river Yamunā (modern
Jumna) which flows through the country called Kārapacava
(and not in the Sarasvati even if it had water). For details,
vide Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra (10. 15-19) which mentions (in
10. 19. 1) a spot called Parīnah in Kuruksetra where the Vedic
fires were to be kindled, the Āsv. Ś. S 12 6 1-28 which
adds that at the distance of each throw of the Śamyā from
the Vinasāna one day is to be spent by the sacrificers,
the Kātyāyana Śrauta-sūtra (24. 5-6) which states that the
istī at the confluence of the Drsadvati and Sarasvati is to
be offered to Agni Kāma, Āp. Ś. S 23. 12-13 (which gives
more details than any one of the other three sūtras). In
the Ait. Br. a story is narrated that the sages performed a
sattra on the Sarasvati and Kavaśa who was sitting amongst
them was driven out by them as not a brāhmana but the son of
a female slave and left in a sandy desert with the idea that he
would die of thirst, but he praised the waters or *Apām napāt*
with the hymn, Rg. X. 30 ('pra devatrā brahmane') called
'Aponapṛīya' and Sarasvati came rushing towards the place
where Kavaśa stood and surrounded it, which (spot) thence-

(Continued from the last page)

ains, which is to the east of विनक्षन and west of Prayāga. For the mention
of विनक्षन in the Baud. Dh. S., Vanaparva and Salyaparva, vide H of Dh
vol. II p. 14 note 35. Dr. D. R. Patil in his thesis 'Cultural History of
Vāyupurāna' (p. 334) remarks that the institution of pilgrimage was first
started by Buddhists and Jains and that later on it became common to all
faiths in India. This is quite wrong. The Brāhmana and Śrautasūtra pass-
ages clearly show that there were holy places in the comparati-ely small part
of India up to the Yamunā where the Sārasvata sattras had to be carried on.
The importance of holy places, visiting them and performing religious rites
there were known in the Brāhmana period at least a thousand years before
Buddhism and Jainism began to spread.

forward came to be called ¹²⁵⁴ 'Parisaraka'. This shows that in the times of the Ait. Br. and long before it the bed of the Sarasvati was dry. Devala ¹²⁵⁵ mentions several places as Sārasvata tirthas. The R̥gveda ¹²⁵⁶ VIII. 6.28 appears to hold that the valleys of mountains and the confluences of rivers are sacred. Mountains have been held by most ancient peoples to be the abodes of gods. Mount Parnassus north of Delphi was one of the most holy mountains in classical Greece and Olympus was supposed to be the home of the gods. In the R̥gveda Parvata is a dual deity with Indra 'O, Indra and Parvata! may you two sharpen (or purify) us (our intellects)' R̥g I 122 3 ¹²⁵⁷; O, Indra and Parvata! May you two, being in the forefront of battle, kill with the thunderbolt every one who desires to attack us with an army' R̥g. I. 132. 6. In R̥g. VI. 49. 14 a prayer is addressed to Parvata separately 'May the god Ahibudhnyas, may Parvata and may Savitr bestow on us food together with the waters on account of our prayers'. In R̥g III. 33 1 the two great rivers Vipás (modern Beas) and Śutudri are described as issuing from the lap of mountains. Here the word 'Parvata' is used in its ordinary sense. The Atharvaveda ¹²⁵⁸ speaks of a salve (āñjana) from Traikakuda peaks of the Himalaya mountain 'May that salve which comes off the Himalaya from Traikakuda (peaks) destroy all wizards and all witches'. The Hir. Gr. I. 3 11.5 (S. B. E. vol. 30 p. 168) also

1254. ऋषयो वै सरस्वत्या सत्रमासत। ऐ वा 8 1. माध्यमाः सरस्वत्यां सत्रमासत सद्वापि कावयो मध्ये निवसात्। तं हेम उपोद्बुद्ध्या वै त्वं पुत्रोऽसि न वयं त्वया सह भद्राविष्णाम इति। स ह क्रुद्धः मद्रवत्सरस्वतीनेतेन सूकेन हुष्टाव तं हेयमान्वियाय। शां. भा. XII. 3. It may be noted that the Vanaparva chap 83 when enumerating the numerous tirthas on the Sarasvati and in कुक्षेत्र mentions a famous tirtha called Saraka which is said to contain in it the sanctity of three *crores* of tirthas (verses 75-76) This सरक appears to be the same as the परिसरक tirtha of सरस्वती.

1255. इक्ष्मभङ्गवर्णं बृह्मकन्याकं सारस्वतमादित्यतीर्थं कौबेरं वैजयन्तं पृथुदकं नैमिदां विनज्ञानं वसोऽद्भेदं प्रभासमिति सारस्वतानि। देवल ५ by तीर्थकल्पतरु p. 250.

1256 उपहरे गिरीणां सङ्गये च नदीनाम्। धिया विनो अजायत॥ ऋ. VIII. 6. 28 = वाज सं 26. 15 (which reads सङ्गमे)

1257 शिशीतमिन्द्रापूर्वता युवं नस्तन्नो बिम्बे वरिवत्यन्तु देवाः॥ ऋ. I. 122. 3 (सायण explains पूर्वतः पूर्ववात् इष्ट्यादिपूरणवात् पर्जन्यः); युवं तमिन्द्रापूर्वता पुरोयुधा! यो नः इत्य्याद्यप तंतमिन्द्रतं वज्रेण तंतमिन्द्रतम्। ऋ. I. 132 6 (सायण explains पूर्वतः पूर्ववान्ये। तद्विमानी देव.). तन्नोऽदिर्बुध्नयो अद्भिर्कस्तत्पर्वतस्तत्तविता चनो घात्। ऋ VI. 49. 14.

1258. वदाञ्जनं वैककुद्दं जातं दिनवत्स्परि। यार्द्वं सर्वाञ्जम्भयत्सर्वाश्च यातुधान्य॥ अथर्व IV. 9.9. vide also Sat. Br. in SBE vol. 26 p. 15.

refers to this salve. Gaut., Baud Dh S. and Vas. Dh. S. have the same sūtra ¹²⁵⁹ stating that the 'deśas (localities) that are holy and hence destroyers of sin are all mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwellings of sages (rsis), cowpens and temples of the gods' The Vāyupurāna ¹²⁶⁰ and Kūrma state that all parts of the Himālaya are holy, the Ganges is holy everywhere, all rivers falling into the sea and all seas are holy. The Padmapurāna (Bhūmikhanda 39. 46-47) says that all rivers, whether flowing through a village or a forest, are holy and that where no name of a tirtha on rivers is known it should be called Visrutirtha. Kālidāsa speaks of the Himālaya as *devatātmā* (as vivified by the presence of gods) in the Kumārasambhava (I 1). The Bhāgavata V. 19.16 names 27 holy mountains while the Brahmānda (II. 16. 20-23) names thirty. The grandeur and sublimity of snow-capped mountains, of large life-sustaining rivers and of great forests easily impress the minds of almost all people and induce them to think that there is something divine about them, that the Supreme

1259 सर्वे शिलोच्चयाः सर्वाः सवन्त्यः पुण्या इवास्तीर्थान्युपनिवासा गोष्ठपरिष्कन्दा इति देवाः। गौ 19, 14 = बसिष्ठ 22 12 = श्री ध सू III. 10 12 (which reads ऋषि-निकेतनानि गोष्ठक्षेत्रपरिष्कन्दा इति०)

1260. सर्वे पुण्या दिनवतो गङ्गा पुण्या च सर्वतः । सद्युग्रा. सद्युग्राश्च सर्वे पुण्या. सम-
न्तत ॥ वायुपुराण 77. 117, सर्वत्र दिनवात् पुण्यो गङ्गा - न्ततः । नद्यः सद्युग्राः पुण्याः
सद्युग्राश्च विशेषतः ॥ कूर्म II 37 49-50, 'राजा समस्ततीर्थानां सागर सरिता पतिः' ।
नारदीय (उच्चर) chap 58 19; सर्वे प्रसवणा पुण्या सर्वे पुण्या शिलोच्चया । नद्यः पुण्या
सदा सर्वा जाह्नवी तु विशेषतः ॥ शङ्ख 8 14 (reads सरासि च शिलोच्चया) q by तीर्थ-
प्रकाश p 14, सर्वाः सद्युग्रा पुण्या सर्वे पुण्या, नगोत्तमा । सर्वमापतनं पुण्य सर्वं पुण्या
बनाश्रमा ॥ श्लोक q by तीर्थकल्प० p 250, पद्म IV. 93 46 has almost the same
words (reads बराश्रमा) The great mountains (called कुलपर्वत) generally
enumerated are. महेश्वो मलय सद्यः क्षुत्तिमाक्षुत्तपर्वत । विश्वेश्व परिप्राञ्च सद्यः
कुलपर्वता ॥ कूर्म I. 47 23-24, वामन 13. 14-15, वायु I 85, मत्स्य 113 10-12. ब्रह्म
18 16 enumerate them somewhat differently. The बार्हस्पत्यसूत्र III. 81 says
'तत्रापि वैतकादिभ्यःपसहाकुमारमलयश्रीपर्वतपरिप्राञ्चा सद्यः कुलाचला ।' The गौ-
मत्तपुराण 37 reads 'महेश्वो. .क्षुत्तवानपि । विश्वेश्व परिप्राञ्च न विनश्यन्ति पर्वताः ।'
The ब्रह्माण्डपुराण (II 16 39) and वायु (45 108) observe about rivers falling
into the sea तास्तु नद्यः सरस्वत्यः सर्वा गङ्गा सद्युग्रा । विश्वस्य मातरः सर्वा जगत्पारदरा-
स्थिता ॥ In some Purānas certain great rivers are said to be specially holy
at certain times For example, देवीपुराण quoted by कल्प० (on तीर्थ) p 242 states
'कार्तिके ग्रहणं श्रेष्ठं गङ्गायस्त्रयसङ्गमे । मार्गे तु ग्रहणं पुण्यं देविकाया महायुगे ॥ पौषे तु
नर्मदा पुण्या माघे सनिहिता शुभा । फाल्गुने वरणा रुपाया चैत्रे पुण्या सरस्वती ॥ वैशाखे तु
महापुण्या चन्द्रभागा सरिद्धरा । ज्येष्ठे तु कौशिकी पुण्या आवाढे तापिका नदी । श्रावणे सिन्धु-
वामा च भाद्रमासे च गण्डकी । आश्विने सरयूश्चैव ध्रुव पुण्या तु नर्मदा ॥ गोदावरी महापुण्या
चन्द्रे राहसमान्तिते ॥ एवमादिभ्यश्चान्येषु तीर्थेषु सरिद्धरास्य सर्वेषामपि स्वभावेपु शुल्लिनेपु प्रसवणेपु
पर्वतेषु तिकुक्षेपु धनेष्पवनेषु गोमयलिपेषु मनोज्ञेषु । विश्वधर्मसूत्र 85.

Being is partially revealed in such surroundings. In Protestant Europe and the U. S. A. hardly anyone performs a pilgrimage to a holy place in these days. Instead, they tour different countries for rest, health and in search of natural beauty and a respite from humdrum existence. But pilgrimage to a place supposed to be holy for the curing of disease is not rare even now. When one reads a work like that of Louis Carell, a great surgeon and a winner of the Nobel prize, on the miracles worked at Lourdes in France (in 'a Journey to Lourdes') one sees that pilgrimage has taken on a new motive in the West. Similarly, pilgrimage to the tombs of unknown warriors has become common owing to the two world wars.

In Rg X. 146 a large forest ¹²⁶¹ (Aranyāni) is invoked as a deity. The Vamanapurāna mentions ¹²⁶² seven forests in Kuruksetra as holy and as removers of sin, viz. Kāmyaka, Aditivana, Vyāsavana, Phalakivana, Sūryavana, Madhuvana and Punyaśitavana.

In the Sūtras and ancient smritis like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya tirthas do not occupy a very prominent position. But in the Mahābhārata and the Purānas they are highly lauded and placed even above sacrifices. In the Vanaparva ¹²⁶³ a comparison is made between sacrifices to gods and pilgrimages. Sacrifices require numerous implements, collection of materials, the co-operation of priests and the presence of a wife and so

1261. अरण्यारण्यारण्यसौ या मेव नदयसि। कथा ग्रामं न पृच्छसि न त्वां भीरिव
विन्दुतीरैः॥ ऋ. X 146 1. The निरुक्त 9. 30 explains this verse and says अरण्यानी
means अरण्यस्य पत्नी, while the वार्तिक 'द्विमारण्योर्महत्त्वे' on पा IV. 1. 49 holds
that अरण्यानी is formed from अरण्य in the sense of महत्त्व

1262. शृणु सप्त वनानीह कुचक्षेत्रस्य मध्यत। येषां नामानि पुण्यानि सर्वपापहराणि
च॥ काम्यक च वनं पुण्यं॥ वात्मनपुराण 34. 3-5.

1263. ऋषिभिः क्रतव मोक्षा देवेष्विव यथाक्रमम्। फलं चैव यथातथ्यं प्रेत्य खेह च
सर्वश॥ न ते शक्या दरिद्रेण यज्ञा मातु महीपते। बहुपकरणा यज्ञा मानासम्भारविस्तरा॥
मात्यन्ते पार्थिवैरै ससृद्धैर्वा नरैः कश्चित्। नार्थन्यूनैर्नावगणैरेकात्मभिरसाधनैः॥ यो दरिद्रै-
रपि त्रिधि शक्यः मातु नरेभ्यः। तुल्यो यज्ञफले पुण्यैर्न निबोधे युषां वर॥ ऋषीणां परमं शुद्ध-
मिदं भरतसत्तम। तीर्थाभिगमन पुण्यं यज्ञैरपि विदिष्यते॥ महाभारत, वनपर्व 82. 13-17,
9 by तीर्थकल्पतत्त्व p 37, तीर्थम् p 12 (which explains अवगणैः। तक्षादिसहायराहितैः,
यज्ञस्य कुण्डमण्डपादिसाध्यत्वात्, एकात्मभिः, पत्नीरहितैः, असंहतैः ऋत्विगादिसङ्घातरहितैः।
The अनुशासनपर्व (107 2-4) has almost the same verses as न ते शक्या ..शक्यः
मातु सदा भवेत्; मत्स्यपुराण (chap 112. 12-15) has these verses (except the half
verse नार्थन्यूनैः साधनैः and पद्मपुराण, आदिखण्ड 11. 14-17, 49. 12-15, vide
विश्वधर्मोत्तर III. 273. 4-5 for the same ideas in almost the same words.

they can be performed only by princes or rich men. They cannot be performed by poor men, who are devoid of wealth, who are without a wife and without friends, who are helpless. The reward that a man gets by visiting holy places cannot be secured by performing such sacrifices as Agnistoma in which large fees are paid (to priests); therefore visiting holy places is superior to sacrifices. But the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva 82, 9-12 and Anuśāsana 108, 3-4) lays the greatest emphasis on the cultivation of high moral and spiritual qualities if the full reward of pilgrimages is to be reaped. It says ¹²⁶⁴ 'He whose hands, feet and mind are well controlled and who possesses knowledge, austerities and a good reputation derives the (full) reward of pilgrimages. He who turns his face away from receiving gifts and is content with what little he gets and is free from vanity obtains the rewards of pilgrimages. He, who is free from hypocrisy (or deceit), is not engaged in various undertakings (for earning money), is not a heavy eater, has subdued his senses and is (therefore) free from all sins; so also he who does not fly into a rage, who always speaks the truth, who is firm in his observances, and acts towards all beings by treating them like himself, obtains the full reward of pilgrimages'. The idea seems to be that pilgrimages may help to remove the sins of men who are not possessed of the above characteristics, while those who possess these acquire a great store of merit in addition. The Skanda (Kāśikhaṇḍa 6.3) asserts 'snāna cannot be predicated of a man whose body alone is flooded with water; that man who is plunged in restraint of senses, who is pure, relieved of all taint and is stainless, is alone to be called snāta.' (as having had a bath). The Anuśāsana has almost the same

1264. यस्य हस्ती च पादौ च मनश्चैनं सुसंयतम् । विद्या तपश्च कीर्तिश्च स तीर्थफलमश्नुते ॥ अतिग्रहाद्रुपाहृतं सन्मुखो येन केनचित् । अहङ्कारनिवृत्तश्च स तीर्थफलमश्नुते ॥ अकल्मषो निरारम्भो लज्जाहारी जितेन्द्रियः । विमुक्तः सर्वपापेभ्यः स तीर्थफलमश्नुते ॥ अक्रोधधन्व राजेन्द्र सत्यशीलो ब्रह्मव्रतः । आत्मोपमश्च धृतेषु स तीर्थफलमश्नुते ॥ वनपर्व 82 9-12 व. by the तीर्थकल्पवच pp. 4-5, तीर्थम p. 13 (only 9 and 12) 'हस्तयोः संयमः परशीला-चौर्यादिनिवृत्त्या, पादयोः सयमः अग्न्यदेकशयनपरताहनादिनिवृत्त्या । मनसः सयमः कुत्सितसङ्कल्पविनिवृत्त्या । विद्या अत्र तत्सतीर्थमुपाज्ञानम्, तपः तीर्थार्थैकसागदि, कीर्तिः सञ्चारित्वेन प्रसिद्धिः । तीर्थम. p. 13. 'अकल्मषः दम्भरहितः, निरारम्भोऽत्रार्थार्जनादिष्यापार-रहितः । तीर्थकल्पवच p. 5. Vide also वनपर्व 92.11, 93. 20-23. The above verses of the वनपर्व occur in पद्म, आदिखण्ड 11. 9-12 and the first two in पद्म, उत्तरखण्ड 237, 30-32; all occur in स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 6. 48-51, वायु 110. 4-5 are the same as the first two, the verse यस्य हस्ती च is शङ्करस्मृति 8.15, ब्रह्म 25 2, अग्नि 109 1-2, the स्कन्द (I 2.2 5-6) says that Angiras sang the वृत्तं च यस्य... सयतम् । विविकारा क्रियाः सर्वा स . प्लुते

words (108.9).^{1261a} The Vāyupurāna states¹²⁶⁵ 'A steadfast (or wise) man visiting tirthas with faith and controlling his senses would be purified even if he has been guilty of sins; what need is there to say about him whose actions have been pure? One who has no faith, who is full of sins, whose mind is not free from doubts (about the rewards of pilgrimages and the rites there), who is an atheist and who is bent on bad reasoning—these five do not reap the rewards of pilgrimages'. The Skandapurāna (I. 1. 31, 37) remarks that all holy places, sacrifices and various gifts are meant for cleansing the mind (of its sins and sinful proclivities, *manaḥ-suddhi*). The Padmapurāna (IV. 80, 9) remarks 'sacrifices, *vratas*, *tapas* and *dāna* cannot be carried out fully in the Kali age; but bathing in the Ganges and taking the name of Hari are free from all defects. The Viṣṇudharmottarapurāna¹²⁶⁶ puts the matter very clearly when it says 'When resort is made to a tirtha, it removes the sins of the sinful and tends to the increase of merit in the case of the good and that a holy place yields fruit to men of all varnas and āśramas.' Some of the Purānas (such as Skandapurāna, Kāśikhanda 6, Padma, Uttarakhanda, 237) say that in addition to the holy places on land (*bhauṃa*) there are certain virtues that may be called mental tirthas (in a figurative sense). According to them 'truthfulness, forbearance, restraint of the senses, compassion for all beings, straight-forwardness, charity, self-control, contentment, celibacy (*brahmācārya*), sweet speech, knowledge, patience, austerity, are tirthas and the highest tirtha is purity of mind.' They further state that a man who is avaricious, wicked, cruel, hypocritical and immersed in pleasures of senses is still sinful and impure even if he bathes in all tirthas and that fish are born and die in holy waters but they do not go to heaven because their minds are not purified and that even charity, sacrifices, austerity,

1264 a नौदकक्रिञ्जयात्रस्तु स्नात इत्यभिधीयते । स स्नातो यो दमस्नातः सबाह्याभ्यन्तरः शुचिः ॥ अश्वशासन 108 9.

1265. तीर्थान्यहसरत् धीर. अह्रधानो जितेन्द्रियः । कृतपापो विशुष्येत किं पुनः शुभकर्मकृत् ॥ अह्रधानाः पाप्मानो नास्तिका स्थितसंशयाः । हेतुदृष्टा च पश्येत् न तीर्थफलभानिन ॥ वायु 77. 125 and 127 q by तीर्थकल्पः pp. 5-6, ती. चि. p 4 (which explains पापात्मा बहुपापयस्तस्त्वय पापशमन तीर्थं भवति न तु यथोक्तफलम्) These verses occur also in स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 56 52-53.

1266 पापानां पापशमनं धर्मवृद्धिस्तथा सताम् । विज्ञेयं सेवितं तीर्थं तस्मात्तीर्थपरो भवेत् ॥ सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां सर्वोभ्रमनिवासिनाम् । तीर्थं फलमदं ज्ञेयं नात्र कार्या विचारणा ॥ विशुष्यमोत्तर III. 273, 7 and 9.

cleanliness, frequenting sacred places, learning—all these are not tīrthas, if the mind is not pure ¹²⁶⁷ The Brahmapurāna (25.4-6) states 'a heart that is wicked is not purified by baths at holy places, just as a vessel in which *surū* (liquor) was carried remains impure even after being washed with water hundreds of times, that tīrthas, gifts, *vratas*, or (residence in) hermitages do not purify a man whose heart is wicked, who resorts to hypocrisy and whose senses run away (are uncontrolled). Wherever a man who has his senses under control may dwell, there are present Kuruksetra, Prayāga and Puskara'. The Vāmanapurāna has a fine ^{1267a} *Rūpaka* about the soul being a river full of the water of control, flowing with truth and having character as the bank and the waves of compassion (for all beings) and states that the soul cannot be purified by water. The Padmapurāna (II. 39. 56-61) extends the meaning and scope of tīrthas by remarking that places where Agnihotra and śrāddha are performed, a temple, a house where Veda is being studied, a cowpen, the place where a soma drinker dwells, parks, a place where the *Āśvattha* exists, a place where Purāna is being recited or where one's teacher stands or where a chaste housewife dwells, or where a father and a worthy son dwell are all holy.

Numberless tīrthas and holy shrines have been mentioned from ancient times. The Matsyapurāna states ¹²⁶⁸ that Vayu declared that there are 35 millions of tīrthas in the sky, in the aerial regions and on the earth and all of them are centred in the Ganges; while the Vāmanapurāna 46. 53 states that there are 35 millions of Lingas. The Brahmapurāna says that the number of tīrthas and shrines is so large that they cannot be

1267. सर्वं तीर्थं क्षमा तीर्थं .. तीर्थानामुत्तमं तीर्थं विशुद्धिर्ममत् पुन १. जायन्ते च श्रियन्ते च जलोपेव जलोक्तम् । न च गच्छन्ति ते स्वर्गमविशुद्धमनोमलाः ॥ वानमिन्वा तप शौचं तीर्थसेवा श्रुतं तथा । सर्वान्येतान्यतीर्थानि यदि भावो न निर्मल ॥ स्वप्न, काशी ०. 28-45, पद्म, उत्तरखण्ड 237. 11-28, compare मत्स्य 22 80 (सर्वं तीर्थं दया तीर्थं) .

1267 a आत्मा नदी संप्रलयपूर्णा सत्पावहा शीलतटा दयोरि । तत्राभिषेकं कुर्वन् श्रेष्ठपुत्रं न वारिणा श्रेष्ठयति चान्तरात्मा ॥ वामनपुराण 43. 25

1268. तिस्रः कोट्योऽर्धकोटिश्च तीर्थानां वायुरजवीत् । दिवि शुष्यन्तस्त्रिंशो च तत्सर्वं जाह्नवी स्मृता ॥ मत्स्यपुराण 110 7, नारदीय (उत्तर) 63. 53-54, and पद्म IV. 89. 16-17 and V. 20 150 (last पाद is तानि ते सन्ति जाह्नवी) ; बराह 159 6-7 पाटिकोटिसदवाणि पाटिकोटिसतानि च । तीर्थान्येतानि देवाश्च तारकाश्च नभस्तले । गणितानि समस्तानि वायुना जगद्वायुषा ॥ तिस्रः कोट्योर्धकोटी च तीर्थानि श्रेष्ठत्रये । तानि स्नातुं समापान्ति गङ्गायां सिद्धये श्रुते ॥ ब्रह्मपुर. 175 83; तस्माच्छ्रेष्ठं वक्ष्यामि तीर्थान्यापतनानि च । विस्तरेण न शक्यन्ते वक्तुं वक्ष्ये शिवरात्रि ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 25 7-8.

enumerated in detail even in hundreds of years. The Vanaparva ¹²⁶⁹ remarks that Naimisa is the (best) tirtha on the earth and Puskara in the aerial region, while Kuruksetra is the most distinguished in all the three worlds and that all the ten thousand crores of tirthas are present in Pus̄kara (chap 82,21) New tirthas were added from time to time and the monetary benefits derived by the permanent residents and particularly by the tirtha priests led them to prepare numerous mahātmyas of an apocryphal character and father them on Vyāsa, the reputed author of the Mahābhārata and the Purānas. Most of the writers of digests on tirthas follow a process of selection. The Tirthakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara, one of the earliest digests (about 1110-1120 AD), devotes more than half the work to Vārānasi and Prayāga alone, assigns only two or three pages to such famous tirthas as Puskara, Pṛthūdaka, Kokāmukha, Badarikāśrama, Kedāra. The Nṛsimhaprasāda (Tirthasāra) mostly deals with tirthas in the Deccan and southern India such as Setubandha, Puṇḍarika (modern Pandharpur), Godāvari, Kṛsnā-venyā, Narmadā. The Triśthalīsetu of Nārāyanabhata devotes two-thirds of it to Benares and its sub-tirthas and the rest to Prayāga and Gayā. This unequal treatment arose from various causes, such as the localities where the authors lived, their familiarity with the holy places and their predilections. There was also another tendency among the authors of Purānas, Mahātmyas and digests viz. that of great exaggeration and over-statement which is often repellent. If a man reads the description of one tirtha and does not discount much as sheer hollow laudation, he is likely to feel that a pilgrimage to a certain tirtha will yield all the desires in this life as well in the next and that after visiting a holy tirtha like Kāśī or Prayāga he need not go to any other tirtha, nor need he perform any *vajña* or act of charity and the like. A few striking passages may be cited here. The Vanaparva remarks that ¹²⁷⁰ even gods and sages secured

1269. पृथिव्यां नैमिषं तीर्थमन्तरिक्षे च पुष्करम् । त्रयाणामपि लोकानां कुरुक्षेत्रं विद्धि-
त्यते ॥ वनपर्व 83 202, q. by तीर्थेण p 19 and तीर्थकल्पतरु p 178 ; नीलकण्ठ explains:
नैमिषारण्ये कृतं पुण्यं पृथिव्यामेव सन्ततिसप्तचिसार्धैर्गौमादिपदप्रतिहेतुरित्यर्थ, अन्तरिक्षे
सूर्यचन्द्रादिमार्गे नक्षत्रादिचक्रेषु पुष्कर मापयतीत्यर्थ । The same verse occurs in
मत्स्य 109.3, पद्म (आदित्यखण्ड 27.87) and the first half in वामन 7. 37.

1270 पुष्करेषु महामाग देवाः सर्पिगणा सुरा । सिद्धिं समभिसंभावा उप्येन महता-
न्वितः ॥ तत्राभिषेकं यः कुर्यात्पितृदेवाचने रतः । अश्वमेधादशरणं फलं प्राहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ वनपर्व
82. 26-27 ; नास्मात्परतर तीर्थं लोकैस्मिन्परिपठ्यते । पद्म (5th खण्ड, 27 78).

perfection at Puskara and that whoever takes a bath there and devoutly worships gods and his pitrs secures rewards ten times of what the performance of Āsvamedha might give. About this very tirtha viz. Puskara, the Padmapurāna says that there is no holier tirtha in this world. The Vanaparva (83, 145) in its eulogy of Prthūdaka asserts that Kuruksetra is holy, that Sarasvati is holier than Kuruksetra and that Prthūdaka is holier than all other tirthas. The Matsyapurāna puts the¹²⁷¹ comparative holiness of several tirthas thus 'the waters of the Sarasvati purify after (one bathes for) three days, those of Yamunā in seven days, those of the Ganges at once, while the water of the Narmadā purifies a man at sight of it.' In its eulogy of Vārānasi the Kūrma-purāna states 'there is no place higher than Vārānasi nor will there be one' (I 31. 64). The inveterate habit of exaggeration goes so far that it is said that by merely residing in Kāśī till one's death not only does a man become free from the great sin of brāhmana murder but from the never-ending cycle of births and deaths and is not born again.¹²⁷² The Lingapurāna says the same thing. The Vāmana-purāna remarks¹²⁷³ that *mukti* (release from *samsāra*) can be secured in four ways, viz. by knowledge of *Brahman*, by śrāddha at Gayā, by loss of life in repelling the carrying away of cows and by residence in Kuruksetra and that those who die in Kuruksetra never come down (to the earth). Mere residence in Kāśī was so much lauded that the Matsya (181 23), the Agni (112. 3) and other Purānas say that after repairing to Kāśī one should smash one's feet with a stone (in order that

1271. त्रिभिः सरस्वत तोयं ससाहेन ह वाहुनम्। सद्यं पुनाति गाङ्गेयं दर्शनविवे नार्तदम्॥ पद्म, आदिखण्ड 13, 7, मत्स्य० 186.11. The अभिलषितार्थचिन्तानि (Mysore ed.) I. 1.130 has a very similar verse 'सरस्वती त्रिभिः स्नाने पञ्चभिर्विमुक्तयच्छतम्। जाङ्गवी स्नानमात्रेण दर्शनमेव नर्तदाः॥

1272. आ देहपतनाद्यावत्सत्क्षेत्रं यो न भुञ्जति। न केवलं ब्रह्महत्या प्राकृतं च निवर्तते। प्राप्य विश्वेश्वरं देवं न स भूयोऽभिजायते। मत्स्य 182 16-17, q. by तीर्थकल्प० p. 17 (which reads प्राकृतश्च that is explained as संसारबन्ध) and तीर्थचि p. 345 which quotes the passage from लिङ्गपुराण, but those verses are not found in chap 92 of the लिङ्गपुराण (Venk. ed.) which deals with वाराणसीमाहात्म्य लिङ्गपुराण I. 92 63 is विषयासक्तचित्तोपि त्यक्तधर्मरतिर्नरः। इह क्षेत्रेऽसुतः सोपि संसारे न पुनर्भवेत्। कामं ह्यत्र मृतो देवि जन्तुमोक्षाय कल्पते। लिङ्ग० I. 92 94. The verse आ देहपतनात् occurs in स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 25. 67.

1273 ब्रह्मज्ञान गयाम्नाद्ध गोमूत्रे सरणं ध्रुवम्। वास, क्षता कुरुक्षेत्रे सुकिकरा चतुर्विधा॥ ग्रहनक्षत्रताराणां कालेन पतनञ्जयम्। कुरुक्षेत्रसूताना च पतनं नैव विद्यते॥ वास. पुराण 33.8 and 16; the first occurs in वाडु० 105 16, आग्ने 115. 5-6.

one may not be induced to visit another tirtha)¹²⁷⁴ and stay in Kāśī forever.

The Brahmapurāna classifies tirthas into four divisions¹²⁷⁵ viz. daiva (created by gods), āsura (those associated with such asuras as Gaya), ārsa (those established by sages) such as Prabhāsa, Naranārāyana and mānusa (created by kings like Ambarīsa, Manu, Kuru) and provides that each preceding one is superior to each succeeding one. It enumerates six rivers to the south of the Vindhya and six rivers having their sources in the Hīmalāyas as most holy and as devatīrthas, viz. Godāvari, Bhīmarathī, Tungabhadrā, Venikā, Tāpī, Payosnī, Bhāgrathī, Narmadā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Visokā, and Vitastā. Similarly, Kāśī, Puskara and Prabhāsa are devatīrthas (Tirthapr. p 18). The Brahmapurāna (175. 31-32) assigns daiva, āsura, ārsa and mānusa tirthas respectively to the Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali yugas.

There is a good deal of discussion in the Purānas and digests about those who are entitled or have the eligibility or capacity (*adhikāra*) for tirthayātrā. The Vanaparva¹²⁷⁶ provides that brāhmanas, ksatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras, when they have bathed in holy places, are not born again. The same work further states that whatever sin a man or a woman may have committed from birth, the moment a person takes a bath in the holy Puskara all that sin vanishes¹²⁷⁷. Therefore not only men but women also had the right to undertake tirthayātrā. The Matsyapurāna¹²⁷⁸ goes further and asserts that 'Avimukta

1274. अहमना चरणौ हत्वा वसेत्काशी न हि त्यजेत् । अग्नि 112.3; अविमुक्त यदा गच्छेत् कदाचित्कालपर्ययात् । अहमना चरणौ भिक्षा हन्नेव निधनं ब्रजेत् ॥ मत्स्य 181.23, which last is quoted in तीर्थकल्पः p. 16. अहमना चरणौ हत्वा वाराणस्या वसेत्परः । कूर्म I 31 35 q by तीर्थम p 140.

1275. चतुर्विधानि तीर्थानि स्वर्गं मर्त्ये रसातले । देवानि मुनिशार्ङ्गल आसुराण्यारुणानि च । मातृवाणि त्रिलोकेषु विख्यातानि सुरादिभिः । ..ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवैर्वैर्नमित्तं देवमुच्यते । ब्रह्मसुराण 70 16-19 q by तीर्थमकाङ्ग p. 18, which also quotes the verses from ब्रह्मसुराण 70 33-35 about the twelve rivers (देवतीर्थस) आरुच stands for आर्य. Vide ब्रह्म 70 33-40 for examples of the four kinds of तीर्थस

1276. ब्राह्मणा क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्रा वा राजसत्तन । न वै धोनौ प्रजायन्ते स्नातास्तीर्थे महात्मन । वनपर्व 82 30-31 q by तीर्थम p 19 (which reads न वियोनौ ब्रजन्त्येते, meaning 'are not born in a condemned or low body')

1277. जन्मममृति यत्पापं क्षिया वा सुरुपेण वा । पुण्ये स्नातमात्रेण सर्वमेव प्रणश्यति ॥ वनपर्व 82 33-34 q. by तीर्थम p 23.

1278. नानावर्णा विवर्णाश्च चण्डाला ये त्रुत्यप्सिताः । किल्बिषैः पूर्णविहास्य प्रकृष्टैः पातकेरुतथा । भेषज परम तेषामविमुक्तं विदुर्बुधाः । मत्स्यसुराण 184. 66-67, कूर्मसु. I. 31. 42-43 q. by तीर्थकल्पतरु p 26, तीर्थम. (on p. 140), तीर्थचि p. 140.

(Vārānasi) is the highest cure for men of numerous castes, for men not (recognized as) belonging to any particular *varṇa*, for cāṇḍālas who are abhorred (by people) and for persons whose bodies are full of diseases and of aggravated sins' It is stated in the Vāmanapurāna: ¹²⁷⁹ persons of all the four *āśramas* (i. e. brahmacārins, householders, forest hermits and *sannyāsins*) by bathing in the tirtha (mentioned by it) save seven generations in their families and that persons belonging to the four varnas and women, when they bathe in tirthas with devotion, see the highest goal. It was provided by the Brahmapurāna that a brahmacārin can undertake a pilgrimage only if ordered or directed by his guru, and that a householder whose wife is alive and is chaste must go on a pilgrimage with her; otherwise he would not reap the fruit of pilgrimage. The Padmapurāna (Bhūmikhaṇḍa chap. 59-60) narrates the story of a vaiśya called Kṛkala who went on a pilgrimage without his virtuous wife and did not reap the fruits of a long pilgrimage (bhāryām viṇā yo dharmā sa eva viphalo bhavet, 59, 33). The Tirthacintāmani and Tirthaprakāśa quote a passage (from the Kūrmapurāna) which glorifies Vārānasi (called Avimukta there) as follows ¹²⁸⁰ 'brāhmanas, ksatriyas, vaiśyas, sūdras, persons of mixed castes (varnasankara), women, mlecchas and others who are born in evil forms and are of mixed blood, worms, ants, birds and beasts when they die in Avimukta are born as human beings in Benares and no one guilty of sins dying in Avimukta goes to Hell' As regards ¹²⁸¹ women and sūdras, a smṛti verse provided 'Japa, tapas, pilgrimage to holy places, becoming an ascetic (sannyāsin), efforts to attain mastery over mantras and worshipping deities (as a priest)—these six lead to sinfulness in the case of women and

¹²⁷⁹. ब्रह्मचारी गृहस्थश्च वानप्रस्थो यतिस्तथा । कुलानि तारयेत्ततः सप्त सप्त च सप्त च ॥ ब्राह्मणा, क्षत्रिया, वैश्याः शूद्राश्च तत्परा । तीर्थस्नानात् भक्तिपुत्रा पश्यन्ति परमपदम् ॥ वामनपुराण 36 78-79.

¹²⁸⁰. ब्राह्मणा क्षत्रिया वैश्या शूद्रा ये वर्णसङ्कराः । विषो म्लेच्छाश्च ये चान्ये सङ्कीर्णाः पापयोनयः ॥ कीटा विपीलिकाश्चैव ये चान्ये सुगणसिन्धुः । कालेन निघनं माता अविष्टके वरानने... शिवे मम पुरे देवि जायन्ते तत्र मानवा । नाविष्टके मृत कश्चिन्नरकं याति किल्बिषी । कुर्म I 31, 32-34, मत्स्यपुराण 181, 19-21 q. by तीर्थचिं p. 346, तीर्थम p. 139 (which quotes from कुर्मपुराण and adds नाविष्टके मृत कश्चिन्नरकं याति किल्बिषी), ईश्वरसुहृदीता हि सर्वे याति परा गतिम् । नाविष्टके मृत कश्चिन्नरकं याति किल्बिषी । कुर्म I, 31 31-34 q by तीर्थचिं p. 346, तीर्थम p. 139 The same verses occur in पद्म I 33, 18-21

¹²⁸¹. जपस्तपस्तीर्थयात्रा मन्त्रज्या मन्त्रसाधनम् । देवताराधनं चोति स्त्रीशुद्धयना- नि षट् ॥ q. by तीर्थम p. 21, ascribed to मनु by भट्टोजि in त्रिपुराहीनेतुसारसंग्रह p. 2,

śūdras.' This was explained away by stating that this text refers to undertaking pilgrimage without the husband's permission (in the case of a woman) and as to a śūdra in such a way as to be opposed to the primary duty of a śūdra to wait upon learned brāhmanas (as laid down in Manu X. 123). Kātyāyana¹²⁸² as quoted in the Vyavahāramayūkha provides 'whatever a woman does that relates to (benefit in) a future state (i. e. state after death) without the permission of her (husband's) father, husband or son, would become fruitless' It is clear therefore that it was recognized early that *tirthayātrā* was a popular way for redemption of sins in the case of all classes of men and women. Though a Hindu woman succeeding as heir to her husband's estate has only a limited and qualified ownership over it, judicial decisions have recognized that she can alienate a small portion of her husband's estate for the expenses of a pilgrimage to Gayā for performing her husband's śrāddha for the latter's spiritual benefit or of a pilgrimage to Pandharpur. Vide *Muteeram v. Gopal* 11 Beng. L. R. 416; *Darbari Lal v. Gobind* 46 All. 822; *Ganpat v. Tulsiaram* 36 Bom. 88 (pilgrimage to Pandharpur).¹²⁸³ It was also provided that there was no question of untouchability¹²⁸⁴ when bathing in holy waters.

1282 नारी खल्वननुज्ञाता पित्रा भर्त्रा सुतेन वा । विफलं तद्धवेत्सया यत्करोत्यौर्ध्व-
देहिकम् ॥ कात्याय. p. by sv. n ; p. 113, this verse is quoted by चतुर्वर्ग- on ब्रत I.
p. 327 as from आदित्यपुराण and और्ध्वदेहिकं is explained as व्रतानि.

1283. Strangely enough, the Calcutta High court has held that a widow cannot validly alienate a part of her husband's property inherited by her as heir for a pilgrimage to Benares; vide *Hari v. Bayrand* 13 C. W. N. 544 at p. 547. But a gift to the temple of Jagannātha at Puri for *bhog* (offerings of cooked food) to the deity and for the maintenance of the priests there for the salvation of the husband and the members of his family and for the widow's own salvation was upheld by the Privy Council in *Sardar Singh v. Kunj Behari* 49 I. A. 383. As seen in note 1294 below, a person on returning from a pilgrimage had to honour and feed brāhmanas. In *Dinanath v. Hrishikesh* 18 C. W. N. 1303, 1306, where a widow on returning from a pilgrimage to Gayā for the benefit of her husband's soul incurred a debt for feeding brāhmanas and her husband's relatives and alienated a portion of her husband's property, it was held that the debt was one for a spiritual purpose and was binding on the reversioners after the death of the widow.

1284. तीर्थे विवाहे यात्रायाम् संग्रामे देशविल्लवे । नगरग्रामवाहे च स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न द्रुष्यति ॥
वृह. p. by कल्पतरु on शुद्धि. p. 169, स्पृष्टिच. I p. 122 This is variously explained.
The तीर्थेय. p. 41 says 'तीर्थे विवाहे इत्यनेनानिवार्य-तीर्थाद्याधिकरणकारस्पृष्टयस्पर्शो न
दोषायैत्यभिधानात् । स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न द्रुष्यतीति वचनं पक्कानशुद्धौ कल्पतरुश्रुता लिखितं तीर्थे
पक्कानस्पर्शं न दोष इति । अत एव पुरुषोत्तमकोशादौ तथैव निष्ठाचार इति ।' Vide above
note 750 for the same quotation. The शुद्धि. p. 130 explains तीर्थादी अस्पृश्य-
स्पर्शानि नाचमनस्नानादि

There is a verse of Bṛhaspati: 'At holy places, in marriages, in a religious festival (or procession), in a battle, when there is an invasion of the country and when a town or village is on fire, no blame attaches on the ground of incurring contact with untouchable persons or things.'

In order to guard against the facile assumption that without a change of heart or change in one's sinful mode of life a mere physical act of pilgrimage and bath in holy waters would be enough, some of the texts in the Mahābhārata and Purānas adopted two propositions: viz the one noted above that it is the pure mind that is a real tīrtha and further emphasized that it is better to stay at home and perform all the duties of a householder including the performance of vedic sacrifices than to go on a pilgrimage. The Śānti-parva¹²⁸⁵ in the dialogue between Tuladhāra and Jājalī (a brāhmana proud of his *tapas*) asserts that puroḍāśa is the holiest of offerings, that all rivers are (holy like) Sarasvatī and all hillocks (and not merely Hīmalaya and the like) are holy, that one's soul is a tīrtha and advises Jājalī not to be a guest (i. e. to be wandering in quest of tīrthas) to several countries. The Tīrthacintāmañī and Tīrthaprakāśa quote passages from the Brahma-purāna that a brāhmana should wander about tīrthas after his capacity to perform sacrifices has come to an end, that it is better for a man to stay at home and perform the duties of an householder when he has the capacity and authority to perform *śuklas* and *yajñas*, and that all the tīrthas do not come up (in their rewards) to the performance of *agnihotra*.¹²⁸⁶ The Kūrmapurāna¹²⁸⁷ has the following remarkable verses on this point. 'That person who abandoning his proper duties¹²⁸⁷ resorts to tīrthas does not reap the fruits of

1285. युरोडासो हि सर्वेषां पशूनां नैव्य उच्यते। सर्वा नद्यः सरस्वत्यः सर्वे उपयाः
क्रिष्टोद्भवाः। जाजले तीर्थमात्मैव मा स्म देशातिथिर्मयं। एतानीदृशकान् धर्मान्नाचरन्निदं जाजले।
कारणैर्धर्ममन्विच्छन् स लोकानाच्छ्रितं ह्युमात्। ज्ञान्तिषुर्व 263. 40-42. नीलकण्ठ explains
'यत्रैवात्मसमाधानं तत्रैव सर्वाणि तीर्थानि सन्तीत्यर्थं 11.

1286. यज्ञाधिकारेण्यथवा निवृत्ते विभक्तु तीर्थानि परिभ्रमेत् (... यत्पद्विप्रेनापिजाति-
तस्मिन् वरं यद्वै यद्दधर्माश्च सर्वे। एवं यद्दधर्माश्चमत्सिधत्तस्य तीर्थे गतिः। पूर्वतरीर्निपेय्या। सर्वाणि
तीर्थान्यपि चाग्निहोत्रहृत्पानि नैवेति वयं वदाम। ब्रह्मपुराण १ by तीर्थसत्यतप P 9,
तीर्थसिं pp. 5-6 and तीर्थस्य p. 19. Vide नारद्वीय (अचर) 52 22 for the first verse.

1287. य. स्वधर्मात् परित्यज्य तीर्थसेवा करोति हि। न तस्य फलते तीर्थस्मिन् लोके
परत्र च॥ प्रायश्चित्ती च विपुरस्तथा यायावरो यद्वी। मकुर्वात्तीर्थसेवा यथापरादयो
जनः॥ सहाशिकां सपत्नीकी गच्छेत्तीर्थानि पन्तः। सर्वापविनिर्मुक्तो यथोक्तं गतिमाप्नुयात्॥
कथानि श्रीगणेशपुराणकुर्वन्वा तीर्थसेवनम्। विषय वृत्तिं पुत्राणां भार्यां तेषु निषाय च॥
कुर्म II, 44, 20-23.

pilgrimage in this world as well as in the next. A person who has to undergo an expiation (for a sin), or who is a widower or who is a householder of the *yāyāvara*¹²⁸⁸ type or similar persons may resort to pilgrimages. One may go to holy places with his vedic fires or with his wife; he becomes free from all sins and secures the best goal as stated above. One who wants to go on pilgrimages should pay off the three debts, should provide means of maintenance for his sons and should consign his wife to their care.'

Ancient writers on Dharmasāstra favoured pilgrimages by prescribing, as stated in the *Viṣṇu Dh. S.*, that¹²⁸⁹ no money was to be demanded from a Vedic student, a forest hermit, an ascetic, a pregnant woman and a pilgrim by a ferryman or by a toll officer and that if he took money from such persons he was to be made to return it. But this prescription was not invariably followed even by Hindu Kings. The *Rājatarāngini* (VI 254-255 and VII, 1008) notices that a tax was levied on Kashmirians performing śrāddhas at Gaya.¹²⁹⁰ It appears that Siddharāja king of Anahilavād (1095-1143 A. D.) levied a tax on pilgrims going to Somanātha at the frontier town Bahuloda, that he remitted the tax at the intercession of his mother and that the tax thus remitted amounted to 72 lakhs of rupees every year (this last may be an exaggeration to glorify Siddharāja).^{1290a} Moslem kings levied this tax. It appears that a great writer called Kavindrācārya took up the cause of Hindu pilgrims visiting Prayāga and Kāśī and so eloquently pleaded it before Emperor Shah Jehan that the latter remitted the tax altogether

1288. A householder is said to be of two sorts, *śālīna* and *yāyāvara*. The latter is one who subsists by picking up grains that fall down when the corn that is reaped is taken from the fields to the house or threshing floor or who does not accumulate wealth or who does not earn his livelihood by officiating as a priest or by teaching or by accepting gifts. Vide H. of Dh. vol II. pp. 641-642 and notes 1501-1504. For the three debts to Gods, Manes and sages, vide, H of Dh. vol II. pp. 270 and 425

1289. ब्रह्मचारिवानप्रथाभिस्तुर्विणीतीर्थयात्रिसारिणीं नाविकः शौत्तिकः शुल्कमाद-दानम् । तत्र तेषां दद्यात् । विष्णुधर्मसूत्र V. 132-133.

1290. काश्मीरिकाणां यः आज्ञशुल्कोच्छेत्ता भवान्ते । सोऽप्येवमन्तकः सूरः परिहासपुराभ्रयः ॥ बह्वु नहाशिलां कण्ठे वितस्ताम्बासि पातितः । राजत VI. 254-55. The valiant दरमन्तक of परिहासपुर who had relieved Kashmir residents from the tax at Gayā was drowned in Vitastā (by queen Diddā) with a big stone tied round his neck.

1290 a. Vide Bom G. vol. I part 1 p. 172 and Prabandha-cintāmani (tr. by Tawney p 84)

and conferred upon the great scholar ¹²⁹¹ the title of 'Sarva-vidyā-nidhāna'. People throughout India felt such relief at the remission of the tax that congratulatory letters and addresses (several of them couched in very poetic language) poured upon Kavindrācārya. These have been published in a work styled 'Kavindra-candrodaya' by Dr. Har Dutta Sharma and Mr. M. M. Patkar (in the Poona Oriental series), a characteristic verse from which is quoted below.¹²⁹² In a remarkable copper-plate inscription in Sanskrit ¹²⁹³ and Kannada issued by the Hoysala king Narasimha III in Māgha śaka 1200 (1279 A. D.) it is said that the king granted the revenues (amounting to 645 *mskas* a year) of a village called Hebbāle to the pilgrims of Kāśī and to god Śrīviśveśvara for the purpose of enabling the pilgrims to Benares (including those from the whole of Karnāṭaka, from the countries of Telingaḍa, Tulu, Tirhut, Gauda and others) to pay off the tax levied by the Turuskas (Moslem kings).¹²⁹³

The digests quote certain verses of the Brahmapurāna about the rites to be performed when a person decides to start on a pilgrimage. The Brahmapurāna provides that the intending pilgrim should restrain his senses the previous day, should observe a fast and on the next day he should offer worship to Ganeśa, the gods, the pitrs and honour good brāhmanas according to his ability and when he returns from the pilgrimage he should offer similar worship and honour.¹²⁹⁴ The digests

1291. Vide I A vol 41 (1912) p 7 at p 11 for an account by the late M. M. Haraprasad Shastrī of the abolition of the pilgrim tax by Shah Jeha n.

1292. येन श्रीसाहिजाहौ नरपतितिलकाः स्वल्पं वक्ष्यं कृतोऽधुकिं चावश्यं मयः पुनरपि विहितः साहिदाराहाकोटः । काशीतीर्थमयागमतिजनितकरग्रहमोक्षकहेतुः सोऽथ श्रीमान्-वीर्यो जयति कविशुक्तीर्थराजाधिराजः ॥ कवीन्मन्त्रोद्घोष प. 23 No. 169. There is possibly a veiled allusion to गजेन्द्रमोक्ष in the words 'ग्राहमोक्ष'.

1293. Vide Epigraphia Carnatica, vol 15 No 298 pp. 71-73 (continuing transliterated text) and p 12 of the dynastic list; the important words in Kannada are 'Ellā-ksetravāsi-galu Tirahkarige ... Kula karnātigaru Telugaru .Tulū-Maleylaru .Tirabhukti-garu...Gavudigaru' &c. This inscription indicates that the expression 'Turushadanda' occurring in certain Gāhadvāla Inscriptions such as those in E I IX at p 305, E I XIII p 295, E. I. XIV p. 195 meant a levy imposed by Moslem raiders and rulers

1294. यो यः कश्चित्तीर्थयात्रा तु गच्छेत्सप्ततः स च पूर्वं यदे स्वे । कृतोपवासः शुचिर-यमत् संपूजयेद्भक्तिमयी गणेशम् ॥ देवान् पितॄन् ब्राह्मणाश्चैव साधून् धीमान् पितॄन् ब्राह्मणान् पूजयेच्च । प्रत्यागतश्चापि पुनस्तथैव देवान् पितॄन् ब्राह्मणान् पूजयेच्च । ब्रह्मपुराण १. by तीर्थ-कल्प p. 9, तीर्थचिं p 6 (explains सप्तत इति पूर्वदिने कृतेऽपवासादिनियमः), तीर्थचिं.

(Continued on next page)

explain that on return there is no fast and no worship of Ganeśa. He should perform śrāddha in which there is plenty of ghee, honour three brāhmanas (at least) with the offer of sandalwood paste &c. and then make a resolve (*saṅkalpa*) to go on pilgrimage. The Vāyupurāna ¹²⁹⁵ and the digests lay down that (after the worship of Ganeśa, the planets and the deities) he should put on the dress of a *kārpātī* viz. wear a copper-ring, a copper bracelet and reddish garments. Bhattoji (p 5) states that according to some the apparel of *kārpātika* is to be put on by a pilgrim going to Gayā. The Padma (IV. 19. 22) prescribes the pilgrim's dress for other tīrthas also. The Tir. C. adds that this dress is to be worn only on the journey to a tīrtha, when the pilgrim is in a tīrtha, but not at the time of performing his daily duties such as taking meals (p. 9).

There is a difference of opinion among the digests as to whether tonsure of the head is obligatory when starting on a pilgrimage. The Padmapurāna ¹²⁹⁶ and Skandapurāna appear to make it obligatory. The Tīrtha-Kalpataru does not ¹²⁹⁷ refer to tonsure at all, while a fast at a tīrtha is declared by it to be optional. The tendency of later digest-writers is generally to make every religious act more elaborate and harder. The tonsure of the head and beard was prescribed for a sacrificer

(Continued from the last page)

p. 23 (which states 'सुसयतः पूर्वदिने कृतैकमकादिनियम इति केचित्, ब्रह्मचर्यादि-शुक्त इति तु युक्तम् ॥'). In *Dumanath v Hrishikesh* 18 C. W. N. 1303 this passage of the Brahmapurāna is quoted and relied upon. These verses occur in नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 24-25). The स्कन्दपुर (काशीखण्ड 6. 56-57) and पद्म have similar verses तीर्थयात्रा चिकीर्षु माग्निधापोषणं युद्दे । गणेशं च पितृन् विभान् साधून् शक्या प्रपूज्य च । कृतपारणको हृदो गच्छेन्नियमधुक् युव । आगत्यान्वय्य च पितृन् यथोक्त-फलभागभवत् ॥ पद्म, उत्तरखण्ड 237. 36-38 ब्रह्म 76. 18-19 provide नान्दीहस्तश्राद्ध, वेहस्तुद्धि, ब्राह्मणभोजन, remaining celibate and not talking with *patita* people, when one is on a pilgrimage to गोदावरी.

1295. उद्यतश्रेष्ठया गन्तुं श्राद्धं कृत्वा विधानतः । विधाय कार्पटीविषं कृत्वा श्रानं प्रदक्षिणम् । ततो ग्रामान्तरं गत्वा श्राद्धोपस्य भोजनम् । बाह्यसु 110 2-3, g. by तीर्थचि प 7, तीर्थम p. 29 (which explains 'कार्पटीविषः ताम्रसुद्राताम्रकङ्कणकापायवर्षधारणम्') The तीर्थचि remarks that although these requirements are mentioned in connection with Gayā, these hold good as to pilgrimages to all holy places. Besides, this *kārpātika* apparel is to be worn only when actually travelling and not when the pilgrim performs his daily duties or takes his meals or offers śrāddha

1296. तीर्थोपवास कर्तव्य शिरसो मुण्डनं तथा । शिरोगतानि पापानि यान्ति मुण्ड-नतो यत । पद्म (उत्तरखण्ड 237. 45), स्कन्द (काशीखण्ड 6. 65).

1297. तीर्थोपवासश्च फलविकीर्षार्थ । तीर्थमभिमन्य ब्रतोपवासनियमशुक्लरूपदमव-गाहमानखिरात्रहृषित्वा सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते स्वस्तिमांश्च भवतीति देवलवचनात् । तीर्थकल्प० p 11.

when undertaking such solemn Vedic sacrifices as Cāturmāsya and Agnistoma.¹²⁹⁸ The termination of the stage of Vedic studenthood (*samūvartana*) was also marked by tonsure.¹²⁹⁹ Further, tonsure was prescribed when undergoing *prāyaścitta* for sins (vide p. 122 above). The Tīr. C. and Tīr. Pr. both quote a verse of Viṣṇu¹³⁰⁰ from the *Smṛtisamuccaya*, viz. 'at Prayāga, on a pilgrimage, on the death of one's father or mother one should cut one's hair; but one should not cut one's hair without cause.' The *Mit. on Yāj. III. 17* quotes a verse as follows: 'On the Ganges, in Bhāskaraketra, on the death of one's father, mother and *guru*, at the time of consecrating Vedic fires and at a *soma* sacrifice—tonsure is prescribed in these seven cases. Some read 'satsu' and therefore they take the first two words as meaning 'on the Ganges only at Prayāga.' Both Tīr. C. and Tīr. Pr. quote a verse¹³⁰¹ which says that tonsure and fast are acts that must be done at all tirthas except at Kuruksetra, Viśālā (Ujjayinī or Badarikā), Virajā (river in Orissa) and Gayā.' In the case of a *snātaka*, all the hair except the top-knot is cut and

1298. Vide Sat. Br II 6. 3 14 ff. (S. B. E. vol. 12 pp 448).

1299. Pārashara gr. II 6. 17, Khādīra gr. III. 1. 2. 23, Sāh. gr. III. 1. 1-2 (S. B. E. vol. 29. p 314, p. 408, p. 91 respectively). The Khādīra gr. is 'prāśya vāpayet śikhāvarjam keśāmaśruḥomanakhānī'

1300. मनुष्याणां तु पापानि तीर्थानि मतिगच्छताम् । केशमाश्रित्य तिष्ठन्ति तस्मात्तद्वपनं चरेत् ॥ पद्म, पातालखण्ड 19. 21: उपवासदिने हुण्डनमपि । प्रयागे तीर्थयात्राया पितृमातृविधायकः । कचाना वपनं कुपाद्भूथा न विकचो भवेत् ॥ इति स्मृतिसहस्रपरशु-विष्णुलिखितवचनम् । तीर्थञ्चि p. 7, तीर्थम् p. 28. This verse is नारदीय (उत्तर) 62 28. The *mita*. on पा III. 17 quotes the following verse गङ्गाया भास्करक्षेत्रे मातापित्रोर्धरोद्धृती आधानकाले सोमे च वपनं सप्तसु स्युतम् ॥ भास्करक्षेत्रे is प्रयाग acc. to some and कोणार्क acc. to others It is not correct to translate 'ādāna' as 'in the Garbhādhāna ceremony' (as Dr. Chaudhuri does on p 55 of his English Intro. to गङ्गावाक्याः) आधान by itself in धर्मशास्त्र works generally means अग्न्याधान गर्भाधान is referred to by the word निषेक or गर्भाधान itself भास्करक्षेत्रे is really कोणार्क and not प्रयाग, which latter is called प्रजापतिक्षेत्रे in मत्स्य 104 5 and 111. 14.

1301. हुण्डनं चोपवासश्च सर्वतीर्थेषु च विधिः । वर्जयित्वा कुरुक्षेत्रं विशालां विरजां ययाम् ॥ वासु. 105. 25 q by तीर्थञ्चि p 14 (ascribes to स्कन्दपुराण), तीर्थम् p 50 (ascribes to देवल and स्कन्द). The तीर्थम्. (p 50) refers to the view of तीर्थकल्पः 'यद्यपि कल्पतरुकारेण तीर्थे हुण्डनं नोक्तं न वा तत्र प्रमाणं दृशितं तथापि हुण्डनं चोपवासश्चेत्यादिवाक्यस्य सकलशिष्टपरिच्छेदित्वात्कर्तव्यमेव'. The तीर्थञ्चि. हुण्डनं चोपवासश्चेत्यादिवाक्यस्य सकलशिष्टपरिच्छेदित्वात्कर्तव्यमेव. The तीर्थञ्चि. p. 32 also does the same. In the गङ्गावाक्याः second half is read as वर्जयित्वा गया गङ्गा विशालां विरजां तथा ॥ and ॥ said to be from स्कन्दपुराण. The बालम्बद्धौ on पा III. 17 explains विरजां as दक्षिणदेशस्य लोणारक्षेत्रमपि विरजमित्यादित्यद्वयम् । The first half is अग्नि 115 7 and the whole verse is ascribed to अग्निपुराण by the पृथ्वीचन्द्रोद्घ. folio 141a and occurs also in नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 45.

in the case of women whose husbands are living only two finger-breadths of hair are cut. *Vṛddha-Hārīta* (IX. 386-387) lays down that in the case of women whose husbands are living tonsure of the head should not be carried out, but that holding up all their hair only three finger-breadths should be cut off. Other *smṛtis* like *Āpastamba* in verse (I. 33-34), *Angiras* verse 163, *Yama* 54-55, *Parāśara* q. by the *Mitākṣarā* on *Yaj. III.* 263-264 lay down that tonsure is limited to the cutting of two finger-breadths of hair in the case of woman (*nārī*). *Par. M.* ¹³⁰² II. 1. p. 291 reads 'evam nārikumārīnām' and holds that *nārī* means here 'a woman whose husband is alive'. Although the *smṛti* passages occur in the section on *prāyaścitta* still by analogy they are to be applied to the tonsure in holy places. As regards widows, ascetics ¹³⁰³ and *sūdras* all hair are to be cut. The *Tirthapraśāsa* finds fault with *Vācaspatimīśra* for saying that there is no tonsure on the Ganges. When there is such a conflict of views, the final decision rests with the usage of each country or the individual's choice. The *Tir. K.* (p 10) appears to hold that honouring the *pitṛs* at the time of starting on a pilgrimage is specially obligatory on a man with means. The texts make a difference between *ksaura* and *mundāna*. The latter means 'shaving the hair on the head as well as the moustache and beard,' while *ksaura* means only shaving the head. Therefore the *Nāradya* says that all sages did not prohibit *ksaura* even at *Gayā* but only *mundāna* is forbidden there ^{1303a} and there is no *mundāna* on the Ganges anywhere except at *Prayāga*. The *Tirthendusekhara* (p 7) gives it as its opinion that tonsure and fast are not obligatory but are only *kāmya* (i. e. to be done if certain rewards are desired) and points out that *śīstas* do not resort to these two at many *tirthas*.

1302. स्त्रीणां पराशरेण विशेषोऽभिहितः। वपनं नैव नारीणां... सर्वान्केशान्सकुञ्चयत्युदयेदङ्गुलिद्वयम्। सर्वत्रैवं हि नारीणां शिरसो मुण्डनं स्मृतम्॥ मिता on p. III. 263-264; सर्वान् केशान्... मुण्डनं भवेत् ॥ इत्यस्य भाष्यस्वित्तप्रकरणे श्रुतरथाकाङ्क्षातौल्येनात्राप्यन्वपात्। प्रयागादावपि तासां ह्यङ्गुलकेशाग्रकर्तनमात्रं वपनम्। तीर्थम् pp 50-51.

1303. यति ह्यश्व विषया सशिल्वं वपनं चरेत्। इति दाक्षिणात्याः। वाचस्पति-मिश्रास्त-वर्जापिला गया गङ्गा विशाला विरजा तथा द्विति पटिला गङ्गाया न मुण्डनमिति मलपन्ति। तत्र सार्धयः। अस्य पाठस्य शिष्टैरपरिग्रहात्। तीर्थम् p. 51.

1303 a गयादावपि देवेशि इमश्रुणां वपनं विना। न क्षौरं मुनिभिः सर्वैर्नपिज्ञं चेति कीर्तितम्॥ सदनश्रुकेशवपनं मुण्डनं तद्विदुर्बुधाः। न क्षौरं मुण्डनं मुञ्च कीर्तितं वेदवेदिभिः॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 54-55, प्रयागव्यतिरेके तु गङ्गायां मुण्डनं नहि। *ibid* chap. 62, 52.

The Purānas and digests devote some attention to the mode of travel. The Matsya (106. 4-6) states that ¹³⁰⁴ if a pilgrim goes to Prayāga in a conveyance drawn by bulls he falls into hell and his pītras do not accept the water offered by him at the holy place and if a pilgrim because of riches or avarice or foolishness goes in a conveyance (not drawn by bulls) all his effort (as a pilgrim) becomes fruitless and therefore a pilgrim should avoid journey in a conveyance. According to the Kalpataru (on Tīrtha p. 11) using a conveyance is forbidden only in the case of pilgrimage to Prayāga (and not in the case of other tīrthas), while the Tir. C. (p. 8) and Tir. Pr. (p. 45) quote a verse ¹³⁰⁵ which provides that if a pilgrim uses a cart drawn by bulls he is guilty of *govadha* (killing a cow), if he travels on horse-back (or in a horse-drawn carriage) his pilgrimage yields no fruit, if he is carried by men (in a palanquin or the like) he secures only half the merit but if he travels bare-footed then he wins the full merit. The Padma-purāna (IV. 19. 27) has a similar verse. The Tir. Pr. p. 34 quotes a verse from the Kūrmapurāna that those who are unable to perform a pilgrimage otherwise do not incur blame (or loss) by making use of a conveyance drawn by men or a chariot which is drawn by mules or horses. Similarly, a verse of the Viṣṇupurāna ¹³⁰⁶ quoted by both Tir C and Tir. Pr. (pp. 34-35) provides that one should always go on a journey wearing shoes and holding an umbrella in the rains or in summer and armed with a staff at night or in a forest. The Viṣṇudharmottāra takes a more practical view when it says that to make a pil-

1304. प्रयागतीर्थयात्रार्थी च प्रयाति नरः क्वचित्। बलीवर्द्धसमारुहः कृष्ण इत्यादि यत्कलम्॥ नरके वसति घोरे यथा क्रोधो हि वारुणः। सलिलं न च शक्यं पितरस्तस्य देहिन्॥ एश्वर्षलाभमोहाद्वा गच्छेद्यानेन यो नरः। निष्कल तस्य तसर्वे तस्माद्यान विवर्जयेत्॥ मत्स्य. 106. 4-5 and 7. These verses are quoted by तीर्थचिं p 8 (its reading ऐश्वर्षलाभ-माहात्म्यात् is better) and तीर्थचिं pp. 33-34 The verse ऐश्वर्षलाभमाहात्म्यात् 13 q. by माय तत्त्व p 492. The कूर्म (I. 37 4-5) has the verse ऐश्वर्षलाभमोहाद्वा। .. वर्जयेत् The गङ्गावाक्यां p 13 reads ऐश्वर्षमदमोहेन and remarks 'मत्स्यपुराणीय-वचनस्य प्रयागयात्राकरणस्थत्वात् ऐश्वर्षमदमोहेनैव प्रयागयमनेपि बोधामात्र'।

1305. गोयाने गोवधं प्रोक्तो ह्ययाने ह्य निष्कलम्। नर्याने तदर्थं स्यात् पदस्या तत्र चतुर्धनम्॥ q. by गङ्गाभक्ति p. 13, तीर्थचिं. and तीर्थचिं, 'उपानद्व्या चतुर्धनं गोयाने गोवधादिकम्' पद्म० IV. 19.27.

1306. वर्षातपादिके छत्री दण्डी राज्यद्वीषु च। झरीरत्राणकामो वै सोपानकः सदा ब्रजेत्॥ इति विष्णुपुराणीयवचनेन निष्पतिपक्षसदाशब्दस्वरसात् तीर्थयात्रायामपि उपान परिधानमावश्यकमिति। तीर्थचिं. pp. 8-9. This verse is विष्णुपुरा III 12. 38, नारदीय (उत्तर) 62, 35 is almost the same, तीर्थचिंसरणं पदस्यां तपः परमिदोच्यते। तदेव कृत्वा यानेन स्नानमात्रफलं लभेत्॥ विष्णुधर्मोत्तर III, 273. 11-12.

grimage on foot is the highest *tapas* (austerity) and that if a pilgrimage be made in a conveyance the pilgrim will reap only the reward of the bath. The Tir. Pr. (p. 35) allows the use of a vessel to reach holy places like Gangāsāgara which cannot be reached otherwise.

The Tristhali-setu (pp. 1-3) has a long discussion about the *saṅkalpa*¹³⁰⁷ (declaration) to be made at the time of starting on a pilgrimage. The conclusions reached are that the declaration should not include the names of all the holy places intended to be visited, but should expressly state the last one up to which one desires to go, that persons from southern or western India should make a *saṅkalpa* about Gayā (and pilgrimage to Prayāga and Kāśī will be implied) and that a person from East India should make a *saṅkalpa* about Prayāga (and pilgrimage to Gayā and Kāśī will be included as a matter of course) and that (as an alternative method) a man from south or west India should at first make a *saṅkalpa* about pilgrimage to Prayāga, then while in Prayāga he should make a *saṅkalpa* about visiting Kāśī and then in Kāśī he should make a *saṅkalpa* about visiting Gayā. A pilgrim from Eastern India should first make a *saṅkalpa* about Gayā, then, while in Gayā, he should make one about Kāśī and so on. The Tirthaprakāśa (p. 326) appears to criticize the first method proposed by the Tristhali-setu and states its own view to be that those who intend to visit many sacred places should make a *saṅkalpa* in the form 'I shall perform pilgrimage' (Tirtha-yātrāmaham karisyē). The Tirthaprakāśa, however, approves of the second method proposed as an alternative.

That the merit of a pilgrimage could be collected in a vicarious manner is laid down by the Smṛtis and Purānas. Atri (50-51) provides¹³⁰⁸ 'He for whom an effigy made with kuśa grass intending it as a representative is dipped in the waters of a holy place secures one-eighth part of the merit (that he would have secured by himself bathing in the waters). If a man takes a bath (in a holy place) having in view (the benefit

1307. The *saṅkalpa* may take the form ओं अद्य प्रतिपदमश्वमेधयज्ञजन्यफलसम्पत्प्रप्तिकामोऽमुकतीर्थयात्रामहं करिष्ये ।

1308. प्रतिष्ठति कुशनीं तीर्थवारिषु नज्जयेत् । यमुद्दिश्य निमज्जेत अष्टभागं लभेत् स ॥ नातरं पितरं वापि भ्रातरं बृहदं शुक्रम् । यमुद्दिश्य निमज्जेत द्वादशाशफलं लभेत् । अत्रि 50-51. The first verse is quoted as पैठानसि's by तीर्थकल्पः p. 11 and by तीर्थचि pp 13-14 and occurs in स्कन्द (काशी= 6. 64), the 2nd is q. by प्राय तत्त्व. 492, as from अत्रि The महावाक्यावली (p 59) reads लभेत् स. and attributes it to गरुडपुराण

of his mother, father, brother, friend or guru, these latter receive one-twelfth of the fruit (of the pilgrimage). Another verse of Paithinasi says that he who visits a holy place for money (wages) from another gets only a 16th part of the merit, but he who goes to a tirtha while bent on another purpose or errand (such as study, business, waiting on a guru)¹³⁰⁹ reaps only half the merit. The Visnudharmottara has a similar verse. It was owing to this idea of collecting merit and God's Grace that wealthy men built *Dharmasālās*, *tanks*, and *annasatras* and wells for the conveniences of pilgrims and the planting of trees by the sides of roads had in view the comfort of pilgrims as well as of the general public. The Prabhāsa khanda remarks 'A wealthy man who enables another to perform pilgrimage by providing his own money or conveyances gets one-fourth of the merit of the pilgrimage.'¹³¹⁰

The Prāyascittatattva of Raghunandana quotes from the Brahmāndapurāna some verses which enumerate fourteen acts that a pilgrim has to give up after reaching the Ganges viz. *śauca* (punctilious performance of bodily purification), *ācamana* (sipping water on various occasions in the day), hair (dressing), wearing *nirmālyā* (flowers taken away after being offered in worship), repeating the Aghamarsana hymn (Rg. 190. 1-3), shampooing the body, sports, acceptance of gifts, sexual dalliance, devotion to another tirtha, praising another tirtha, the gift to others of clothes (worn by oneself), striking any one and swimming across the water of the tirtha.

One noticeable rule is that, though Manu III. 149 requires strict examination of the ancestry and learning of *brāhmanas* to be invited at a śrāddha, some of the Purānas provide¹³¹¹ that

1309. पैठीनसिः। योब्रह्माक्ष स लभते य. परार्थेन गच्छति। अर्थं तीर्थफलं तस्य यः प्रसङ्गेन गच्छति। तीर्थकल्प. p. 11, भाष. तन्त्र. p. 492 (explains परार्थेन वेत्तादिना प्रसङ्गेन सहेत्यान्तरप्रसङ्गेन), तीर्थम. p. 36 (प्रसङ्गोत्र ह्युत्सेवाभ्यपनवागिच्छयादिवैव विहितविहितस्य) This is found in इन्द्रवद् (काशी) chap. 6.63). The first half is पशु VI. 237 43

1310. पश्चान्थं कारयेत् शकत्या तीर्थयात्रां तथेश्वरः। स्वकीयद्रव्ययानान्या तस्य शुभं चतुर्थेणम्। प्रभासखण्ड q. by तीर्थम. p. 36; तीर्थं प्राप्त्वाहपक्षेण स्नानं तीर्थं समाचरेत्। स्नानजं फलमाप्नोति तीर्थयात्राफलं न तु॥ शङ्ख 8 12 q. by स्तुतिच I. p. 132 and कल्प-त्रय (तीर्थं) p. 11. Almost the same verse occurs in पद्मसु. VI. 237, 41-42, vide विष्णुभर्गोत्तर III 273.10 for a similar verse.

1311. तीर्थेषु ब्राह्मणं नैव परीक्षेत कथंचन। अन्नार्थेनमनुभास भोजय तं यद्वरजवीत्॥ पद्म V 29.212 and देवीपुराण q. by तीर्थकल्प. p 10; ब्राह्मणाक परीक्षेत आर्द्धे क्षेत्रनि-वास्तिनः। ह्यमहान्परिवादीऽस्य ब्राह्मणाना परीक्षणे॥ स्कन्द. (प्रभासखण्ड) quoted by पृथ्वीचन्द्रोद्देश folio 130 b; न परीक्षयो द्विजस्तीर्थेऽस्मार्थां भोजय एव च। सकुम्भिः विष्णुदानं च चक्षणा पापसेन वा। स्कन्द. (काशी) 6, 56-57).

one should not enter upon an examination of the worth of brāhmanas at holy places and this view is endorsed by several digests such as the Kalpataru on tirtha (p. 10), the Tir. C. (p. 10) and the Tir. Pr. (p. 73). The last work remarks that brāhmanas who are known for certain to possess defects deserving condemnation should be avoided. The Varāhapurāna goes¹³¹² so far as to say that at Mathurā a pilgrim should prefer to honour a brāhmana born and bred up in Mathurā rather than a brāhmana who has studied the four Vedas (but is a stranger to Mathurā). Similar passages from the Vāyu and Skandapurāna have been quoted above in note 910 and there is another similar passage in Skanda. It is provided by the Vāyupurāna¹³¹³ that when a son goes to Gayā, he should invite only those brāhmanas that have been settled in Gayā by Brahmā and that such brāhmanas are above ordinary mortals, that when they are gratified the gods together with one's *pitrs* become pleased, that one should not enter upon a consideration of their family, their character, their learning or their austerities and that when the Gayā brāhmanas are honoured the man doing so secures release (from samsāra). In Vāyu 106 73-84 and Agni 114. 33-39 and Garuda it is narrated that, after Gayasura fell down and asked for boons which were granted by Viṣṇu, Brahmā bestowed upon the Gayā brāhmanas 55 villages and Gayātirtha extending over five *krośas*, gave them well-appointed houses, desire-yielding cows and trees, but he enjoined on them not to beg or accept a gift from others. The brāhmanas, however, greedy as they were, officiated at a sacrifice performed by Dharma (Yama) and begged him for fees and accepted them. Then Brahmā cursed them that they would always be in debt and took away the Kāmadhenu and Kalpavṛkṣa and other gifts. The Agnipurāna¹³¹⁴ (114. 37) adds that Brahmā cursed them to be bereft of all learning and to be full of greed. The brāhmanas then begged Brahmā to favour them with some means of livelihood (as they had been deprived by the curse of Brahmā of all that had been bestowed on them). Brahmā pitied them and told them that they would maintain themselves at Gayā-tirtha

1312. अतुर्वेदे परित्यज्य माधुरं पूजयेत्सदा । मधुराया ये वसन्ति विष्णुरूपा हि ते नरा ।
ज्ञानिनस्तान् हि पश्यन्ति अज्ञाः पश्यन्ति ताक हि । बराह 165. 57-58.

1313. यदि पुत्रो गयां गच्छेत्कदाचित्कालपर्ययात् । तानेव भोजयेद्दिमान् ब्रह्मणा ये
प्रकल्पिताः । अमात्यवतया विभ्रा ब्राह्मणा (ब्रह्मणा) ये प्रकल्पिताः । चातु 82 25-27.

1314. स्थिता यदि गयायां ते हासस्ते ब्रह्मणा तदा । विद्याविवर्जिता यूयं वृष्णाद्युक्ता
भविष्यथ ॥ अग्नि 114. 36-37.

till the end of the world and that those who would perform śrāddha at Gayā and worship them (by engaging them as officiating priests and pay them) would secure the merit of having worshipped Brahmā. From this it is clear that the Gayā brāhmanas at the time of the composition of the section on Gayā at the end of the Vāyupurāna possessed the same characteristics as the modern Gayā brāhmanas (Gayāls or Gayāwāls as they are called) and made the Gayā pilgrimage their business even then (as now). One of the early historic references to Gayā brāhmanas occurs in the Śaktipur copper-plate of king Lakṣmanasena of Bengal in his 6th year (i. e. about 1183 A. D.)¹³¹⁵.

The result of this teaching of the Purānas was that the brāhmanas at Gayā became a guild or a close corporation and the Gayāwāls resent the intrusion of an outsider. Disputes between Gayāwāls and outside priests and cases of Gayāwāls have come before the courts and have gone up even to the Privy Council in England. It has been a usage for orthodox Hindu pilgrims going to Gayā to shave themselves at the river called Punpun,^{1315a} then on arrival at Gayā to worship the feet of one of the Gayāwāl brāhmanas. The Gayāwāl himself or his agent takes the pilgrim to the sacred spots (Vedis) in and around Gayā. The priest is paid a fat fee near the Aksaya-vata and the Gayāwāl puts a garland of flowers on the folded hands of the pilgrim and pronounces the word 'suphala' and utters a blessing that the pilgrim's ancestors would go to heaven on account of the pilgrim's visit to Gayā. In order to keep this business in their own families the Gayāwāls have adopted loose and peculiar customs. If a Gayāwāl is sonless he makes a gift of his office (called *gūdi* or *gaddi*) to another Gayāwāl, who describes himself as the adopted son of the Gayāwāl making the gift. There is no real adoption in the strict sense. Therefore, the so called adopted son retains his rights in the family of birth, he is not severed from his natural family and it is not rare to find that one Gayāwāl claims to have succeeded to four *gūdis* (i. e. claims to be the son adopted by several persons simultaneously). The Gayāwāls have got books in which they enter the names and addresses of

1315. Vide E. I. vol. XXI, p. 211 at p. 219 'श्रीबल्लालसेनदेवमन्त्र गणाल-
ब्राह्मणहरिदासेन मतिशुद्धितपश्चक्रातोत्पत्तिकेसत्रपाटकाभिधानशासनविनिर्माणेन ;

1315 a. The *मन्त्रपुराण* says: काराणस्या कृतब्राह्मणीयं शोणनदे तथा । पुन इवा
महानद्यां आर्द्धं स्वर्गं पितृकथयेत् ॥ प. 12 पृष्ठीच. folio 141 a.

their clients, who sign such entries and enjoin upon their descendants to make members of that particular Gayāwal family their *gurus* whenever they might visit Gayā. Thus large incomes and properties come to the hands of the Gayāwals. They send their agents throughout India, who bring as many pilgrims as possible. In *Lachman Lal v. Kanhaya Lal* the Privy ¹³¹⁶ Council had to deal with the case of a Gayāwal who claimed to be an adopted son without loss of his interest in the property of the natural family on the ground of these peculiar practices of the Gayāwals and that claim was upheld. In *Lachman Lal v. Baldeo Lal* ¹³¹⁷ the Patna High Court gives a brief summary of the origin, history and customs of the Gayāwals, remarks that though in former times there were several hundred families of Gayāwals their number is now reduced to about 150, that the Gayāwals so-called *gaddi* is not a hereditary office, but only a business to which a goodwill is attached. The Calcutta High Court decided in *Dwarkanath Misser* ¹³¹⁸ v. *Rampertab Misser* that persons who require religious ceremonies to be performed for their benefit are at liberty to choose the priest by whom they shall be performed, that plaintiffs are not entitled to a declaration that they along with defendants are exclusively entitled to officiate as priests when pilgrims, on their way to the holy city of Gayā, perform the *śrāddha* ceremony of their ancestors on the bank of the sacred river Punpun, and that the plaintiffs could be given a declaration that they are entitled to officiate as priests for such pilgrims as may choose to employ them for the purpose of religious ceremonies and that the defendants are not entitled to prevent the plaintiffs from the exercise of their calling. In *Narayan Lal* ¹³¹⁹ v. *Chulhan Lal* the Calcutta High Court decided how the books containing the names and addresses of pilgrims kept by a joint family of Gayāwals were to be divided at the time of the partition of all the properties of the family.

The literature on tirthas is probably far more extensive than on any other single topic of Dharmaśāstra. Not to mention the Vedic Literature, the Mahābhārata and the Purānas

1316. 22 Cal 609 at pp. 615-618 (P. C.) = 22 I. A. 51.

1317. 2 Patna Law Journal 705.

1318. 13 C. L. J. p. 449.

1319. 15 C. L. J. p. 376.

contain on a very modest calculation at least 40000 verses on tirthas, sub-tirthas and legends connected with them. In the Vanaparva (chap. 82-156) and Śalyaparva (chap. 35-54) alone there are about 3900 verses on *tīrthayātrā*. To mention only a few of the Purānas, the Brahmapurāna devotes about 6700 verses (i. e. nearly half of its total extent of 13783 verses) to tirthas, the Padma about 4000 verses out of the 31000 verses of the first five khandas, the Varāhapurāna devotes about 3182 verses to tirthas (out of which about 1400 refer to Mathura) out of about 9614 verses, the Matsya about 1200 verses out of 14002. Besides these, the following well-known digests and works on tirthas deserve mention. The Tirthavivecana-kānda of the Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara (G. O. S. series); the Osturvarga-¹³²⁰ cintāmaṇi of Hemādri (1260-1270 A. D.) contained a section on tirthas (no Ms. has yet been discovered), the Tirthacintāmaṇi of Vācaspati (1450-1480 A. D.) published in B. I. series, the Tirthasāra, part of Nrsimhaprasāda about 1500 A. D. (published in the Sarasvatī-bhavana series); the Tristhalīsetu of Nārāyanabhatta (about 1550-1580 A. D.) printed by the Ānandāsrama Press, Poona; Tirthasaukhya, a part of Todarānanda (1565-1589 A. D.), Tirthatattva or Tīrthayātrāvidhitattva of Raghunandana whose literary activity lies between 1520-1570 A. D. (printed in Bengali characters and over and above the 28 *tattvas* of his Smṛtitattva), Tīrthaprakāśa by Mitrāmīśra about 1610-1640 (published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series), the Tristhalīsetusāra-saṅgraha of Bhattoji (about 1625); Tristhalīsetusāra-saṅgraha of Nāgeśa, the Tīrthendusekhara of Nāgeśa or Nāgoji (published in the Sarasvatībhavana series, Benares, 1936). There are several works on tirthas (not yet printed) mentioned in H. of Dh. vol 1, p. 554, of which the Tīrtharatnākara of Anantabhatta composed at the order of Anūpasimha is probably the largest work on tirthas (ms no. 1822 in the Anup Library at Bikaner). Besides these there are special works on indivi-

1320. Vide H of Dh. vol 1 p 354 n. 838 which shows that Hemādri had completed his section on tīrtha when he commenced the Parīśesa-khanda. It may be noted that the त्रिस्थलीसेतु and the तीर्थप्रकाश had the work of Hemādri on tīrtha before them. For examples, the त्रिस्थलीसेतु p 53 'तथा च हेमाद्र्यादिभिरादिपुराणवाक्यानि भाङ्गणस्यापि मरणविधायकानि, p. 55 'विशेषस्तु हेमाद्रौ यशरीरोत्सर्गविधेरवगन्तव्यः'; the तीर्थप्रकाश pp. 122, 123, 136, 377 refer to हेमाद्रि's quotations from the स्कन्दपुराण, भविष्यपुराण, जाबालोपनिषद् and कूर्मपुराण respectively, which unmistakably refer to tīrthas and p 478 speaks of तीर्थहेमाद्रि.

dual tīrthas such as the Gāṅgā-vākyāvalī¹³²¹ (on the Ganges) of Vidyāpati (1400-1450 A. D.) published by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri; Kāśmīrtimokṣa-vicāra of Sureśvarācārya (published in the Sarasvatībhavana Texts series, Benares 1936); the Gayāśrāddha-paddhati of Raghunandana, the Puruṣottama-kṣetratattva of Raghunandana (published by Jivananda). Only printed works have been drawn upon in this work (except where expressly stated otherwise).

The preliminaries before starting on a pilgrimage to any tīrtha prescribed by the purānas and digests may be brought together. On a certain day (when a person has decided on tīrtha-yātrā) he should take only one meal, then the next day he should shave himself (according to most digests) and observe a fast; then on the day after the fast he should perform his daily duties, should make a *sankalpa* (declaration of intention) in the form 'I shall perform a pilgrimage to such and such a place and I shall worship Gaṇeśa and my favourite deities for the accomplishment of the pilgrimage without obstacles'; offer worship to Gaṇeśa, to the planets (nine) and his favourite deities with five or sixteen upacāras,¹³²² then perform a pārvana-śrāddha with plenty of ghee according to his own gṛhyasūtra, honour three brāhmanas at least and donate some money to them. Then he should put on a pilgrim's dress as described above (p. 573), go round the village in which his house is located (or at least round his own house), reach another village not more distant than one *krosa* (two or two and half miles) and break his fast by eating the remainder of the food cooked and ghee used for the śrāddha (this applies to pilgrimage to Gayā). He may break his fast

1321. The last verse of the Gāṅgāvākyāvalī is विद्यापतिस्त्रिणा । गङ्गावाक्यावली देव्याः प्रमाणविमलीकृता ॥. This verse shows that the famous Maithili scholar Vidyāpati at least provides the authorities on which the work is based. Some scholars hold that it is really Vidyāpati who wrote the work for commemorating the queen who had honoured and patronized him. The 2nd Introductory verse claims the work as Viśvāsa-devī's own. In the दानवाक्यावली of धीरमति the last verse is नियन्धात् सम्यगालोक्य...स्त्रिणा । दानवाक्यावली देव्या...कृता ॥ (D. C ms. No 216 of 1881-82).

1322. For the sixteen and five upacāras, vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 729-730. The ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराण (Ānandāśrama ed.), ब्रह्मखण्ड, chap. 26 90-92 mention 16, 12 or five upacāras as follows: आसनं वसनं पाद्यमर्घ्यमाचमनीयकम् । पुष्प चन्दनधूपं च दीपं नैवेद्यमुत्तमम् ॥ गन्धं माल्यं च शक्यं च ललितां सुविलसिताम् । जलमक्षं च ताम्बूलं साधारं देयमेव च । गन्धान्ततल्पताम्बूलं विना इत्याणि द्वादश । पाद्यार्घ्यजल-नैवेद्यपुष्पाप्येतानि पञ्च च ॥.

in his own house (in the case of other tirthas) and then start. Then the next day he should bathe with pure clothes on and then put on his pilgrim dress and start on his pilgrimage in the forenoon with his face to the east, preferably bare-footed. There are two views here. Some say that on the day on which a man reaches a tirtha he should observe a fast, while the other view is that the pilgrim should fast on the day previous to his reaching the *tirtha*. In the first case he will have to perform a śrāddha on the day of the fast and in that case he cannot actually taste the remnants of śrāddha food but should only smell the cooked food. The Kalpataru (on tirtha p 11) and the Tirtha-cintāmani (p 14) quote Davaia for the proposition that a fast on reaching a tirtha is not obligatory, but if observed yields special merit.

CHAPTER XII

THE GANGES

Since the Ganges is the holiest of rivers and since such highly esteemed tīrthas as Kanakhala, Haridvāra, Prayāga and Kāśī are situated on it, it would be most proper to begin the treatment of individual tīrthas with the Ganges.

It has been already seen (p. 556) how the Ganges is the first among the many rivers invoked in the famous *Nadistuti* hymn (Rg X. 75 5-6). In Rg ¹³²³ VI 45 31 we have the word 'Gāngyah' which most probably means 'growing on the Ganges'. In the Śatapatha Brāhmana XIII. 5 4 11 and 13 and Ait Br. 39. 9 the victories and sacrifices of Bharata Daussanti on the Gangā and Yamunā are mentioned. In Śat. Br XIII. 5 4 11 and 13 an ancient *gāthā* is quoted 'At Nādapit the Apsaras Śakuntalā conceived Bharata who after conquering the whole earth brought to Indra more than 1000 horses meet for sacrifice.' The Mahābhārata (Ānūsāsana 26, 26-103) and the Purānas (such as Nāradiya, Uttarārḍha, chap 38-45 and 51. 1-48, Padma V. 60. 1-127, Agni chap 110, Matsya chap. 180-185, Padma, Ādikhanda, chap 33-37) contain hundreds of verses eulogising the greatness and the sanctifying activity of the Ganges. The Skandapurāna, Kāśikhanda, chap 29 (verses 17-168) contains one thousand names of the Ganges. It is not possible to reproduce here even a small fraction of what is said in these works about the Ganges. To most men in India great rivers like the Ganges, great mountains like the Himālaya present a double aspect, viz the physical aspect and the spiritual aspect. A great river apart from its volume of water is deemed to have a spiritual or divine life which animates it. Tylor (in 'Primitive Culture', 2nd ed. p 477) observes 'What we call inanimate objects—rivers, stones, trees, weapons and so forth—are treated as living intelligent beings, talked to, propitiated, punished for the harm they do.' There are separate treatises devoted to the glorification of the Ganges and the pilgrimage to it such as the

1323 अथि वृद्ध. पणीना वपिष्ठे सुर्धन्नरथात्। उच. कक्षो न गाङ्ग्य. ॥ ऋ. VI. 45 31
The last pāda means 'like a broad patch of grass or bush growing on the banks of the Ganges'.

Gaṅgāpattalaka of Gaṅeśvara (1350 A. D.), Gaṅgāvākyāvalī of Viśvasadevi, queen of king Padmasimha of Mithilā, the Gaṅgābhakti-taraṅgini of Gaṅapati, the Gaṅgākṛtyavivēka of Vardhamāna. Vide H. of Dh. vol. I. p. 538 for the dates of some of these works.

The Vanaparva, chap 85, has a grand eulogy of Gaṅgā in verses 88-97, some of which may be translated here ¹³²⁴. "The Ganges is equal to Kurukṣetra wherever one may take a bath in it, but there is a speciality about Kanakhala and in Prayāga there is the greatest and highest (holiness). If a person, after committing a hundred bad deeds, sprinkles himself with Ganges (water), the waters of the Ganges burn all of them as fire burns fuel. In the Kṛta age all (places) were holy, in Trētā age Puṣkara was (the holiest place), in Dvāpara Kurukṣetra and in the Kali age the Ganges. The Ganges, when its name is uttered, purifies a sinner, when seen it yields good fortune, when a bath is taken in it or its water is drunk, it sanctifies the family up to the seventh ancestor. As long as (a particle of) the bones of a man touches Ganges water (i. e. lies inside it), so long does the man remain happy (or honoured) in heaven. There is no holy place equal to the Ganges, there is no god higher than Keśava. That country and that penance-grove where the Ganges flows should be known as the sacred spot of success (or perfection) since it attaches itself to the Ganges." The Anuśāsana (26.26, 30-31) asserts "those districts and countries, those hermitages and mountains, in the midst of which the Ganges flows are pre-eminent in *punya* (religious merit). Even those men who, after committing sinful acts in the first part of their lives, resort afterwards to the Ganges reach the highest world (or goal). That increase (in merit) which comes to men that bathe in the holy waters of the Ganges and that then become pure in spirit, cannot be secured

1324. कुरुक्षेत्रना गङ्गा यत्र तत्रावगाहिता । विशेषो वै कसत्रले प्रयागे परमं महत् ॥
 पयकार्यगतं कृत्वा कृतं गङ्गावसेचनम् । सर्वं तत्तत्र गङ्गापौ दृष्ट्वाभिरिन्धेचनम् ॥ 88, सर्वं
 कृतस्यै इत्यं त्रेतायां पुष्करं स्मृतम् । द्वापरसि कुरुक्षेत्रं गङ्गा कलिद्युगे स्मृता ॥ . युगानि कौतिका
 पापं दृष्टा भद्रं प्रच्छति । अवगाहा च पीत्वा च पुनात्यासतनं कुलम् ॥ यावदस्ति ननुत्परय
 गङ्गायाः स्मृते जलम् । तावत् न पुनो राजन् स्वर्गलोके नहीयते ॥ 94. . न गङ्गासहस्रं तीर्थं न
 देवः केचनान्यत्... यत्र गङ्गा महाराज स देशस्तत्रापोवनम् । सिद्धिसेत्रं च तत्रैव गङ्गातीरं
 सनाभितम् ॥ वनपर्व 85 88-97 = पद्म I 39.81-90. नारदीय. (उच्चर) 39. 46 is कुरुक्षेत्रं .
 गाहिता । इन्द्रिारे प्रयागे च सिन्धुसङ्गे फलायिका ॥ The नारदीयु (उच्चर) 38. 20 is कृते
 तु सर्वतीर्थानि त्रेतायां . कलौ गङ्गा विशिष्यते ॥ The कूर्म I 27 37 has कृते तु त्रैनिर्णयं तीर्थं,
 The same verse is quoted from मत्स्य by तीर्थचि. p. 191.

even by the performance of hundreds of solemn Vedic sacrifices.'¹³²⁵

In the Bhagavadgītā (X. 31) Lord Kṛṣṇa says that among streams he is the Ganges (srotasāmasmi Jāhnavī). The Manusmṛti setting out an exordium to a witness to tell the truth indicates that the Ganges and Kurukṣetra were the most sacred spots in the age of the Manusmṛti.¹³²⁶ Some of the Purānas describe the Ganges as flowing in Heaven (as Mandakīnī), on the earth (as Gangā) and in the nether regions or Pātāla (as Bhogavati). Vide Padma VI. 267. 47. The Viṣṇupurāna¹³²⁷ and other Purānas state that the Ganges springs from the toe-nail of the left foot of Viṣṇu. In some Purānas it is said that Śiva let off from his matted hair the Ganges in seven streams, three flowing towards the east (Nalini, Hlādinī, Pāvani), three to the west (Sita, Caksus and Sindhu) and Bhāgrathi (vide Matsya 121. 38-41, Brahmaṇḍa II. 18. 39-41, Padma I. 3. 65-66). The Kūrmapurāna (I. 46.30-31) and Varāha (chap. 82 in prose) state that the Ganges flows first in four different streams, Sita, Alakanandā, Sucaksu and Bhadrā and that the Alakanandā flows towards the south, comes to Bhāratavarsa and falls into the sea with seven mouths.¹³²⁸ In the Brahmaṇḍa (73. 68-69) the Ganges is described as sprung from the foot of Viṣṇu and as established in the matted hair of Mahēśvara (Śiva).

The Viṣṇupurāna eulogises¹³²⁹ the Ganges as follows: The Ganges purifies all beings from day to day when its name is

1325 स्नातानां ह्युच्चिभिस्त्वोदैः गाङ्गैर्वैः प्रयत्नमात्मा । स्नादिर्भवति या दुःसां न सा कद्व-
शतैरपि ॥ अष्टसासन 26. 31, नारद (उत्तर) 39. 30-31 and also 40. 64.

1326. यमो वैवस्वतो देवो यस्तवैव हृदि स्थितः । तेन च्चेद्विवाहस्ते मा गङ्गां मा कुकुर-
न्यान् ॥ मनु 8. 92.

1327. वानपाद्माम्बुजाङ्गुष्ठनखस्रोतोविनिर्गताम् । विष्णोर्विभक्तिं या भक्त्या शिरसाहर्नि-
हो ध्रुव ॥ विष्णु II. 8. 109, v. by कल्पसक (तीर्थ) p. 161 (reads शिव.), नदी सा
विष्णवी प्रोक्ता विष्णुपादसज्जवा । पद्म V. 25. 188.

1328. तथैवालकमन्दा च दक्षिणादेव्य भारतम् । प्रयाति सागरं भित्वा सप्तभेदा
हिजोत्समा ॥ कूर्म I. 46.31.

1329. श्रुताभिलषिता ह्यष्ट स्पृष्टा पीतावगाहिता । या पावयति धृतानि कीर्तिता च
दिने दिने ॥ गङ्गा गङ्गैति यैनां योजनानां शतैश्चपि । स्थितैरुच्चारित हन्ति पापं जन्मत्रया-
जितम् ॥ विष्णु II. 8. 120-121 v. by गङ्गावा p. 110, तीर्थचिं p. 202, गङ्गाभक्तिं
p. 9. The 2nd verse is variously read in पद्म VI. 21.8 and 23. 12, ब्रह्म 175. 82
as गङ्गा ..यो म्याद्योजनानां शतैरपि । सुच्यते सर्वपापेभ्यो विष्णुलोकं स गच्छति; while पद्म
I. 31.77 reads =शतैरपि । नरो न नरकं याति किं तथा सदृशं भवेत्.

heard, when one desires to see (it), when it is seen or touched or when its waters are drunk or when one plunges into it or when one takes (or sings) its name; when people utter the name 'Ganges' even though living at a distance of hundreds of yojanas, their sins accumulated in three births are destroyed' The Bhavisyapurāna¹³³⁰ has a similar verse 'one becomes free from sins at once by seeing the Ganges or touching it or drinking its water and by uttering the name Gangā and also by remembering it.'¹³³¹ The Matsya, Kūrma, Garuda and Padma remark that the Ganges is easy of access everywhere but is difficult to reach at three places viz at Gangādvāra (Haridvāra), at Prayāga and where it joins the sea and that those who bathe therein reach heaven and that those who die there are not born again The Nāradyapurāna, on the other hand, says that the Ganges is difficult of access everywhere, but much more so at three places The man, whether desiring it or not, who draws near the Ganges and dies (near it) secures heaven and does not see hell (Matsya 107.4).¹³³² The Kūrmapurāna represents that the Ganges¹³³³ is equal to all the 35 millions of holy places declared by Vāyu in the heaven, in mid region and on the earth and that all of them are represented by the Ganges The Padmapurāna asks 'what is the use of sacrifices rich in large wealth, what is the use of very difficult austerities when there is the Ganges honoured easily and gracefully that yields Heaven and moksa'? A similar verse occurs in the Nāradya-purāna 'what is the use of Yoga with its eight *angas*, of austerities, of solemn (Vedic) sacrifices? Residence

1330. दर्शनान्स्पर्शनात्पानात् तथा गङ्गेति कीर्तनात् । स्मरणान्नेन गङ्गाया सद्यः पर्यं मस्तुपद्यते ॥ भविष्यद् १ by तीर्थच्छि p. 198, गङ्गावा p. 12, गङ्गाभा p. 9. The first half is अनुशासन 26.64, अश्विनु. 110 6, गच्छस्तिष्ठन् जपन्स्वायन् शुभ्रं जामत् स्वयं पद्यन् । य स्मरेत् सततं गङ्गां सोऽपि मुच्येत बन्धनात् ॥ इन्द्रं (ऋषीरण्य) पुरार्थं 27 37, नारद (उत्तर) 39. 16-17.

1331. सर्वत्र ह्यलभा गङ्गा त्रिषु स्थानेषु दुर्लभा । गङ्गाहारे मयागे च गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे ॥ तत्र स्नात्वा दिवः यान्ति ये मृतास्तेऽपुनर्भवा ॥ मत्स्य 106 54, कूर्म I 37 34, गरुड (पुरां) 81. 1-2, पद्म V 60 120. The नारदीय (उत्तर 40, 26-27) reads सर्वत्र दुर्लभा गङ्गा त्रिषु स्थानेषु चाधिका । गङ्गाहारे .सङ्गमे ॥ एषु स्नाता दिवः...र्भवाः ॥

1332. अकामो वा सकामो वा गङ्गाया योऽभिपद्यते । मृतस्तु लभते रम्यं नरकं च न पश्यति ॥ मत्स्य 107 4, q. by कल्पतरु (08 तीर्थं) p 145 (reads यो विपद्यते). कूर्म I. 37.39 has the same verse with slight variations, compare पद्म I. 44.4.

1333 तिस्रः कोट्योर्धकोटी च तीर्थानां गायुरमयीत् । द्विभिः श्रुत्यन्तरिक्षे च तस्मै जाह्नवि स्मृता ॥ कूर्म I. 39 8, पद्म I. 47.7, V. 60 59, मत्स्य. 102. 5 (reads नानि ते मां जाह्नवि).

on the Ganges alone is superior to all these'¹³³⁴. Two verses of the Matsya-purāna¹³³⁵ deserve mention here 'even a man of sinful deeds, on remembering the Ganges even at a distance of thousands of yojanas, attains the highest goal. A person is delivered from sin by uttering the name (of the Ganges), on seeing it a person sees happiness; by bathing in the Ganges and drinking its water he purifies his family up to the seventh ancestor'. It is stated in the Kāsikhanda that on the banks of the glorious Ganges all times are auspicious as well as all countries, and all men are fit for receiving gifts

In the Varāhapurāna (ohap. 82) the name 'Gāṅgā' is derived as 'gām gātā' (that has gone to the earth). The Padma-purāna (Śrstikhanda 60. 64-65) specifies the *mūlamantṛa* about the Ganges as follows. 'Om namo Gāṅgāyai, viśvarūpinyai nārāyaṇyai namo namaḥ'.

The Padmapurāna (śrsti 60 35) holds that Viṣṇu represents all the gods and the Ganges represents Viṣṇu. It eulogises the Ganges as follows: Sons abandon their fathers, wives their husbands, friends and relatives abandon a friend or a relative if any one of these is adulterous, or *patita*, or wicked or becomes a *cāndāla* or kills his *guru*, or is full of all kinds of sins and hatreds, but the Ganges does not forsake such persons¹³³⁶.

The extent of the holy region of the Ganges is laid down in some purānas. The Nāradiya¹³³⁷ states. the region

1334. कि यज्ञैर्बहुविधाहये कि तपोभि सुदुष्करै । स्वर्गमोक्षमवा गङ्गा सुखसौभाग्य-
पूजिता ॥ पद्म V 60 39; किमद्याङ्गेन योगेन कि तपोभि किमध्वरै । वास एव हि गङ्गाया
सर्वतोपि विशिष्यते ॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 38 38, q in तीर्थचि p 194 (reads गङ्गायां
ब्रह्मज्ञानस्य कारणम्) and प्राय तत्र p 498. The first verse कि यज्ञै is quoted as
from ब्रह्माण्ड by तीर्थचि p 195 (last pāda is सुखसेव्या यतः स्थिता)

1335. योजनाना सहस्रेषु गङ्गाया. स्मरणाक्षर । अपि दुष्कृतकर्मा हु लभते परमां
गतियम् । कीर्तनान्मुच्यते पापाद् हृष्टा भद्राणि पश्यति । अवगाह्य च पीत्वा हु पुनात्यासप्तमं
कुलम् ॥ मत्स्य 104 14-15 q. by कल्पतरु (तीर्थे) p 160, vide also मत्स्य. 108 25-26
Compare वनपर्व 87 93 (युनाति कीर्तिता) quoted in n 1324, सर्व एव शुभ कालः
सर्वो देवस्तथा शुभ । सर्वो जनो दानपात्रं श्रीमतीजाह्नवातटे ॥ काशीखण्ड 27. 69.

1336. जारजं पतितं दुष्टमन्त्यजं शुरुयातिनम् । सर्वद्रोहेण संयुक्तं सर्वपातकसंयुतम् ॥
त्यजन्ति पितरं पुत्रा पियं पत्यु सुदृष्ट्वा । अन्ये च बान्धवा सर्वे गङ्गा तात्र परित्यजेत् ॥ पद्म
(सृष्टिखण्ड 60 25-26).

1337. तीपाद्रूप्यतिमात्रं हु परित क्षेत्रमुच्यते । तीर त्यक्त्वा वसेत्क्षेत्रे तीरे वासो न
चेप्यते ॥ एकयोजनविस्तीर्णा क्षेत्रसीमा तदहयात् । नारदीय (उत्तर) 43. 119-120 The
first is quoted from स्कन्द by तीर्थचि p. 266, which remarks 'उभयतटे प्रत्येकं
क्रोडह्रदं क्षेत्रम्' The half verse एकं is quoted from भविष्य by तीर्थचि. p. 267,

(Continued on the next page)

within one *gavyūti* from the banks of the Ganges is called *kṣetra*; one should reside within the *kṣetra* limits, but not on the bank itself; residence on the bank (of the Ganges) is not desired. The limits of the *kṣetra* are of the extent of one *yojana* between both the banks' i. e. the *kṣetra* extends for two *kośas* from each bank. The general rule is stated by Yama that forests, mountains, holy rivers and *tirthas* are without an owner, these cannot be possessed (by a person as owner). The *Brahmapurāna*¹³³⁸ says that measuring from the flowing waters for a distance of four *hastas*, God *Nārāyaṇa* is the Lord (or owner) and no one should accept a gift in that strip even if he be on the point of death. A difference is made between the *garbha* (the inner circle) of the *Gangākṣetra*, the *tīra* and the *kṣetra*. '*Garbha*' extends up to that portion of the river stream which is reached on the 14th of the dark half of *Bhādrapada*; beyond that is the *tīra* (bank), which extends upto 150 *hastas* from *garbha* and *kṣetra* extends up to two *kośas* from each bank.

Let us suppose that the pilgrim has come to the Ganges. Then the question is, how is he to proceed about a bath in the Ganges. Many of the *digests* contain several alternate forms of the *sankalpa* to be made at the time of *Gangā-snana*. For example, the *Prāyaścittatattva* (pp. 497-498) contains a very elaborate *sankalpa*. A simple one is quoted below from the *Gangāvākyāvalī*.¹³³⁹ The mode of bathing prescribed in the

(Continued from the last page)

गङ्गाया. p. 136. गव्यूति is a measure of length or distance generally taken as equal to two *kośas*. There was some difference about the measures of length. According to the *Amarakośa* a *gavyūti* is equal to two *kośas* 'गव्यूति. स्त्री क्रोशयुगम्'. According to the वाचु B 105-107 and 101. 122-126 and ब्रह्माण्ड II 7 96-101 the measures are 24 अङ्गुल = one हस्त, 96 अङ्गुल = धनुः (which is same as दण्ड, युग and नाली), 2000 धनुः = गव्यूति and 8000 धनुः = योजन, acc. to the मार्कण्डेय 46. 37-40, 4 हस्त = धनुः or दण्ड, or युग or नालिका), 2000 धनुः = क्रोश, 4 क्रोश = गव्यूति which is the same as योजन. Vide H. of Dh. vol. III. p. 145 n. 185.

1338 प्रवाहमवधिं कृत्वा यावद्दत्तचतुष्टयम् । अत्र नारायण स्वामी नान्यः स्वामी कदाचन ॥ न तत्र भतिशुद्धीयात्प्राणै कण्ठगतैरपि ॥ भाद्रशुक्लचतुर्दश्यां यावदाक्रमते जलम् । तावदुर्ध्वं विजावीयात्तद्दूर तीरसुच्यते । नारद (उत्तर) 43 116-118 q. by तीर्थचि. p. 266 and प्राय. तत्र p. 499 (from ब्रह्मपुराण and the verse भाद्र from द्वाणधर्म) and by गंगाया p. 136 (the first verse from ब्रह्माण्ड). नारद (उत्तर) 43. 118 (last half) is सार्धहस्तज्ञातं यावद्दूर्ध्वस्तीरं तत्र परम् ॥. The *digests* read भाद्रकृष्ण for भाद्रशुक्ल.

1339. अद्याहुकं मसि अमुकपक्षे अमुकतियौ सद्य. पापमणाकार्पूर्वक सर्वदुष्कर्मामिकामो गङ्गाया स्नानमह करिष्ये । गङ्गाया. p 141. Vide तीर्थचि. pp. 206-207 for several alternative सङ्कल्प before गङ्गास्नान.

Matsyapurāna 102 is common to people of all varnas and students of all the different recensions of the Veda. The Matsyapurāna, chap. 102, which contains one of the earliest procedure of a religious bath, and which has been taken over by several digests such as the Gangāvākyāvalī (pp. 148-152) is summarised here. Cleanliness (of the body) and clean thoughts do not exist without a bath; therefore bathing is first prescribed for making the mind pure. One may bathe with water drawn (in a vessel from a well or stream) or with water not so drawn. A wise man should fix upon a holy spot after repeating the fundamental mantra 'namo Nārāyaṇāya' (reverent bow to Nārāyaṇa). A man holding darbha grass in his hand and being clean and pure should perform *ācamana* (ceremonial sipping of water). He should select a spot four *hastas* square on all sides and invoke the Ganges (to come or be present there) with the following mantras 'you are sprung from the foot of Viṣṇu, you are a devotee of Viṣṇu, you worship Viṣṇu; therefore save us from sins committed from birth to death. Vāyu declared that there are three and a half crores (35 millions) of holy places in heaven, on the earth and in mid air; all these, O Ganges (daughter of Jahnu), belong to you. Your name among the gods is Nandini (the joy-giving) and also Nalini and there are other names of yours viz. Dakṣā, Prthivī, Vihagā, Viśvakāyā, Amṛtā, Śivā, Vidyādhari, Suprasāntā, Viśva-prasādinī, Kṣemā, Jāhnavī, Śāntā, Śāntipradāyinī.^{1339a} One should utter these holy names at the time of bathing; then the Ganges flowing in the three worlds would be near (even if a man bathed at home). He should, after folding his hands, cast on his head thrice, four times, five times or seven times water on which he has muttered the mantras seven times. After having invoked the clay (in the river bed) with the mantras 'O earth! Oh clay! you are crossed over by horses and chariots, by Viṣṇu, remove my sin which I may have committed by my evil deeds; you were brought up (from the depths of the sea) by the Boar incarnation of Kṛṣṇa with his hundred hands. O clay! you are given (to the world) by Brahmā and you had mantras repeated over you by Kāśyapa. Occupying my limbs may you drive away all my sin! Oh clay! Give us

1339 a. Verses 1-8 of मत्स्य० chap 102 are q. by the स्मृतिच. I. p. 182. The स्मृतिच I p 183 also gives the twelve names of गङ्गा differently. पद्म (IV. 89. 17-19) has the same holy names of the Ganges that the Matsya (102. 6-8) mentions. For the thousand names of the Ganges, vide above p. 585.

prosperity; everything is centered in you; a bow to you, that are virtuous and the source of all worlds'. Having thus bathed and having sipped water (*ūcamana*) according to the procedure prescribed, he should get out of the Ganges and should put on two white and pure garments. Then he should perform *tarpana*¹³⁴⁰ for the satisfaction of the three worlds. (He should say) 'This water is being offered by me for satiating gods, yakṣas, nāgas, gandharvas, apsaras, asuras, cruel snakes, eagles, trees, jackals, birds, creatures that sustain themselves on air and water or that move in the sky, all beings that are without support and those that are devoted to the dictates of *dharma*'. The person (performing *tarpana*) should wear the sacred thread in the *upavīta* form (when satiating gods) and then wear it in the

1340 *Tarpana* (satiating with the offering of water) is of two kinds viz principal (*pradhāna*) and subsidiary (*anga*). The first has to be performed every day by a twice-born person (who has finished his studies) for the gods, sages and pītr in that order. The 2nd is performed as an *anga* of snāna. नित्य वैभित्तिके काम्ब त्रिविध स्नानसुच्यते। तर्पणं तु भवेत्तरयाङ्गत्वेन प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ ब्रह्मसूत्राणं q. by गंगाभक्तिः p 162 तर्पणं is an *anga* of bath as well as of *brahma yajña*. *Tarpana* has been described at great length in H. of Dh. vol II. pp. 668-669 and pp 689-695. Therefore it is not necessary to make any lengthy remarks on *tarpana* here. A few matters that deserve attention are mentioned. One rule is that one has to perform *tarpana* according to the provisions of his own recension of the Veda. The persons to whom water is to be offered and the manner in which it is to be offered are set out on p 692 of vol II of H. of Dh. Another rule is that *tarpana* has to be done (even if the day is not auspicious) at a tirtha, in Gayā, in pītrpāśa (i.e. the dark half of Bhādrapada) with water mixed with sesame 'सर्वे त्रियम्बके (त्रियम्बके) च गणाया मेतपन्नके। नित्यं द्वेपि दिने कुर्यात्तर्पणं तिलमिश्रितम् ॥'. A widow also has to perform *tarpana* for her husband and his relatives at a sacred place. An ascetic (*sannyāsin*) has not to do it. A person whose father is living has not to perform *tarpana*, but acc. to Viṣṇupurāna he offers three handfuls to gods, three to the sages and one to Prajāpati (in the form 'devās-trpyantām') Another rule is the one makes an offering in śrāddha or into fire with one hand only (the right hand) but in *tarpana* water is poured into the stream in which one is bathing or on land with both hands. 'आद्धे हवनशाले च पाणिनेकेन दीयते। तर्पणे सुभय कुर्यादेव एव विधिः स्मृतः ॥' नारदीयसूत्राणं (उत्तर) 57.62-63. If a man is not able to perform the elaborate *tarpana* described in vol II. he should repeat the mantras from चासुसूत्राणं 110 21-22 set out here and offer three aṅgulas of water mixed with sesame and kuśās, आब्रह्मस्तम्भपर्यन्तं देवर्षिपितृमानवाः, वृष्यन्तु पितरं, सर्वे मातृमातामहादयः ॥ अतीतकुलकोटीना सप्तहोपनिवासिनाम् ॥ आ ब्रह्म-शुबनाहोकादिदमस्तु तिलोदकम् ॥.

nivāta ¹³⁴¹ form (when satiating men). He should devotedly satiate men, the sages who were sons of Brahṁā; he should say "May Sanaka, Sananda and Sanātana, Kapila, Āsuri, Vodhu, Pañcaśikha—may all these reach satiety by the water offered by me." Then he should satiate with water and *akṣata* grains (the sages) Marici, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Pracetas, Vasistha, Bhrgu, Nārada; he should satiate all these *devarṣis*, and *brahmarsis*, ¹³⁴² and *rṣis* with water and *akṣatas*. Then wearing the sacred thread in the *apasavya* mode, bending his left knee on the ground, he satiates with water mixed with sesame and sandal-wood paste *pitrs* called Agniṣvāta ¹³⁴³, Saumya, Havismat, Ūsmapa, Sukalin, Barhisad and others called Ājyapa. He should make a bow to Yama, Dharmarāja, Mrtyu, Antaka, Varvasvata, Kāla, destroyer of all beings, Audumbara, Dadhna, Nīla, Paramesthin, Vrkodara, Citra and Citragupta. With darbhas in his hand a wise man should satiate his *pitrs*. He should satiate with devotion his father and the rest by uttering their names and gotra and his maternal grandfather and others in the same way and should recite the following *mantra* 'May those who are my bandhus or not my bandhus or were my bandhus in some previous life reach satisfaction and also whoever desires satisfaction from me.' Then he should sip water (perform *ūcamana*) in the prescribed way and draw the figure of a lotus in front of himself and offer thereon to the Sun *arghya* (respectful offering of water) with water mixed with red sandal-wood paste, flowers and *akṣatas* (grains of rice) and repeat the names of Sūrya (the Sun) 'Bow to thee that are Visnu in another form, that art the face of Visnu, that hast thousand rays and that art all refulgence. Bow to thee that art beneficent, the lord of the world, Bow to thee that art adorned with divine sandalwood, that art seated on a lotus, adorned with ear-rings and armlets, the lord of people; that awakenest (or enlightenest) the whole world, that goest everywhere and markest the good and evil

1341 निवील महत्व्याणां प्राचीनावीतं पितृणां ह्यपदीतं देवानाम् । तै सं. II. 5. 11. 1. For explanation of these three modes of wearing the sacred thread, vide H. of Dh. vol II pp 287-288 and *apasavya* has been explained in this volume in note 1095.

1342. Vide Vāyu 61 86-90 for definitions and enumeration of ब्रह्मर्षि, देवर्षि, राजर्षि and also Baud. Gr I. 7 and Devala q by उपराकं pp. 442-443 for कृषि and other terms

1343. For Agniṣvāta and other names of classes of *pitrs*, vide above pp. 343-344 and Brahṁānda III. 10. 53, 75, 93, 96.

deeds; a bow to thee who art a god to all. O Bhāskara (Sun), I be well disposed to me A bow to thee, Divākara (maker of day). A bow to thee, Prabhākara (source of refuge), Having thus bowed to the Sun and having circumambulated thrice (the lotus drawn for representing the sun) and touching a brāhmana, gold and a cow, the person (bather) should go to a temple of Visnu (or to his own house, according to another reading).¹³⁴⁴

It may be noted that the verses of the Matsyapurāna (102, 2-31) summarised above occur (with slight variations of a word here and there) in Padma (Pātāla-khanda 89, 12-42) and Srsti-khanda, chap. 20, 145-176.

The Sm. O. and Raghunandana in his Prāyaścittatattva (p. 502) lay down two mantras to be recited at the time of taking a bath in the Ganges¹³⁴⁵ 'O Ganges, daughter of Jahnu! That flowest in three worlds, that art sprung from the lotus-like feet of Visnu, that art far-famed as devoted to (the spread of) dharma, remove my sin; O divine mother, O Bhāgīrathī! purify with your immortal waters me who am full of faith and devotion'. The mantra to be repeated at the time of the bath at the place where the Ganges falls into the ocean according to the same two works is "O god that art the lord of rivers! O goddess that art the best among rivers! Having bathed at the confluence of both I shall cast off my sins"

On pp. 243-244 above it has been stated that the Visnu Dh. S. and other works recommend the casting of the ash or charred bones of a cremated body in the Ganges at Prayāga, Kāśī or other holy place and the rites accompanying the casting of ashes have been there set out. A few words are added here. The same verse¹³⁴⁶ (with slight variations) about casting

1344. धर्मराजो जिनः are the names of यम and for चित्रगुप्त vide p 160 above and ब्राह्मपुराण chap. 203-205.

1345. विष्णुपादाब्जसम्भूते मङ्गे त्रिपथगामिनि । धर्मव्रतेति विख्याते पापं मे हर जाह्नवि ॥ भद्रया भक्तिसम्पन्ने (श !) श्रीमातर्देवि जाह्नवि । अमृतैनाम्बुना देवि भागीराथे पुनीदि माम् ॥ सृष्टितन्त्रे. I. 131, प्राय तत्त्व p. 502, त्व देव सरिता नाथ त्वं देवि सरिता वरे । उभयो सङ्गे स्नात्वा सुखानि भुरितानि वै ॥ *ibid.* पञ्च, सृष्टिसङ्घ 60, 60 is the same as the first verse and 60. 62 offers some variant readings for the second.

1346. यावदस्थि मल्लस्यस्य गङ्गायाः सृष्टते जलम् । तावत्तं पुरुषो राजन् स्वर्गलोकेः महीयते ॥ वनपर्व. 85.94 = पद्म J. 39 87, अलुहासन 26 32 15 यावदस्थिनि गङ्गाया तिष्ठन्ति हि शरीरिणः । तावद्द्वैसहस्राणि.. महीयते ॥ = मत्स्य 106.52, कूर्म I 37.32 (reads पुरुषस्य तु !), नारद (उत्तर) 43.109 यावत्स्थिनि गङ्गायां तिष्ठन्ति पुरुषस्य वै । तावद्द्वै महीयते । and मद् (जम्बू) 62.51 15 यावन्ति नखलोमानि गङ्गातीये पतन्ति वै ॥ तावद्द्वैसहस्राणि रवर्गलोकं महीयते ॥ नारदीय (पूर्वार्ध) 15 163 'केशास्थिनपदवृत्ताश्च भस्मापि द्युपसत्तम । नयन्ति विष्णुसद्वनं सृष्टा गाह्वेन शरिणा ॥'.

ashes in the Ganges occurs in several works. The Agnipurāṇa observes 'the deceased man benefits if his bones are thrown into the Ganges; a man stays in heaven as long as (even a particle of) his bone remains in the waters of the Ganges. No rites for the dead are performed for those who commit suicide or who are *patita*; but even in their case the fall of their bones in Ganges water is beneficial to them.' The Tir. C and Tir. Pr. quote two verses and a half from the Brahmapurāṇa¹³⁴⁷ which set out a briefer rite of throwing ashes than the one in the Nirayasindhu. The verses mean: "The man carrying the ashes should take a bath, sprinkle *pañcagavya* over the ashes, should place on them a piece of gold, honey, ghee and sesame; then he should deposit them in an earthen vessel; he should then look in the southern direction, say 'salutation to Dharma,' enter the waters (of the Ganges), utter, 'may he (Dharma or Visnu?) be pleased with me' and then cast the ashes in the water; then he should bathe in the river, come out of it, cast a look at the Sun and then give a present (*dakṣiṇā*) to a brāhmana; if he does so, then the state of the deceased person will be like Indra.' Vide Skanda, Kāśī-khaṇḍa 30. 42-46 where a little more elaborate procedure is prescribed. The importance of casting ashes in the Ganges probably owes its origin to the story of king Sagara's sons who were reduced to ashes by the wrath of the sage Kapila and who were saved by the ashes being washed in the waters of the Ganges brought down from heaven by Bhagiratha. Vide Vanaparva chap. 107-109, Viṣṇupurāṇa II, 8-10 for the story. The Nāradya makes not only the throwing of calcined bones a source of benefit to the departed but even his nails and hair when cast in the Ganges confer the same benefit. It is stated in the Kāśīkhanda that those who, while standing on the banks of the Ganges, praise another tīrtha or do not think very highly of the Ganges go to hell.^{1347a} The Kāśīkhanda further provides that there is special and

1347. स्नात्वा ततः पञ्चगवेन सिक्त्वा हिरण्यमध्वाज्यतिलेन चोज्यम् । ततस्तु
शुक्तिण्डुले निधाय पश्यन् दिशं प्रेतगणोपगृह्णाम् ॥ नमोऽस्तु धर्माय वदन् प्रविश्य जलं स मे प्रीत
इति क्षिपेच्च । स्नात्वा तथोत्तीर्य च भास्करं च दृष्ट्वा भेदद्यादथ दक्षिणां तु ॥ एवं कृते प्रेतपुर-
स्थितस्य स्वर्गे गतिः स्यात्तु महैन्द्रतुल्या । ब्रह्मपुराण q. by तीर्थचि. pp. 265-266 and तीर्थ-
म. p. 374. The गङ्गावा p. 272 quotes these as from ब्रह्माण्ड (with slight
variations, one of which is यस्तु सर्वहितो विष्णु स मे प्रीत इति क्षिपेत् ।). These
verses are नारद (उत्तर chap. 43. 113-115) with slight variations.

1347 a. तीर्थमन्यत्वशंसन्ति गङ्गातीरे स्थिताश्च ये । गङ्गां न बद्ध-मन्यन्ते ते
दुर्गुनीरयगामिनः ॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 27. 80.

excessive merit in Gaṅgāsnaṇa on special days e. g. the merit of bath on New Moon has one hundred times as much merit as on an ordinary day, a thousand times on a saṅkrānti, one hundred thousand on the eclipse of the sun or moon and unlimited times when a bath is taken on moon eclipse on a Monday and on sun eclipse on Sunday.¹³⁴⁸

TRISTHALĪ

The three great tirthas of Prayāga, Kāśī and Gayā are referred to as Tristhali and the great scholar, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (born in 1513 A. D.), wrote (about 1580 A. D.) in Benares a famous work called Tristhalisetu (a bridge to the Tristhali) wherein he gives a thorough and exhaustive treatment of the pilgrimage to these three holy places^{1348a} alone. Prayāga is assigned pp. 1-72, Kāśī pp. 72-316 and Gayā pp. 316-379 (of the Ānandāśrama edition). Following with all humility the footsteps of such an illustrious and venerable scholar I shall deal with the three tirthas in the same order.

PRAYĀGA

One of the most ancient reference to the greatness of the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā occurs in a khila¹³⁴⁹ verse which is usually placed in Rg. X. 75 and may be rendered as follows: "Those who take a bath at the place where the

1348 दूर्गे हस्त्यर्णं दुष्यं संक्रान्ती च सहस्रकम् । चन्द्रद्वर्षमेहे लक्षं श्यतीपाते
स्वन्मन्दकम् । .. सोमग्रहः सोमदिने रविचारे रवेर्ग्रहः । तच्छूडानगिपर्वोत्सवं तत्र स्नानम-
संख्यकम् ॥ स्कन्द, काशी 27. 129-131.

1348 a. त्रयाणां स्थलानां समाहारः त्रिस्थली ।

1349. सिवासिधे सरिते यत्र सङ्गते तत्राहुवासी दिव्यदुत्पन्नान्ति । ये वै उन्नं दिदृजन्ति
धीरास्ते जनानो अमृतत्वं भजन्ते ॥ The त्रिस्थली° p 3 says it is a supplementary śrūti
text of the Āśvalāyana school, while the Tir. C p 47 quotes it as a verse of the
R̥gveda. It is quite possible to hold that the verse does not encourage
religious suicide but only makes this distinction that by a bath only once
a man goes to heaven and that if he dies at Prayāga he attains mokṣa even
without correct metaphysical knowledge Vide रघुवंश 13 58 'तस्वावयोधेन विनापि
शूयस्तद्वृत्पजां नास्ति शरीरवन्धः' q. by तीर्थम् p 313. The स्कन्द says 'शुक्तिभिः परि-
पठ्येते सिवासिधे सरिद्धरे । तत्राहुवाङ्गा ह्यसुतं भवन्तीति विनिश्चितम् । काशी. 7. 54 q by
त्रिस्थली° p 11. Vide also काशीखण्ड 7,46 for a similar verse The verse no
doubt has a vedic ring about it The त्रिस्थली° p 4 notices another reading
The waters of the Ganges are whitish while those of the Jumunā are dark
Classical Sanskrit poets very often harp on these colours of the waters of the
two rivers. Vide रघुवंश 13 54-57.

two rivers, white and dark, meet together, rise up (fly up) to heaven; those determined men who abandon their body there (i. e. commit suicide by drowning themselves) secure immortality (or *mokṣa*)". This must have been a comparatively early verse. The Skandapurāna refers to it as śruti. The greatness of Prayāga is dwelt upon in the Mahābhārata (Vana-parva 85. 69-97, 87. 18-20, Anuśāsana 25. 36-38)¹³⁵⁰ and in many purānas such as the Matsya (chapters 103-112, in all 260 verses), Kūrma I. 36-39 (verses 121), Padma (I. chap. 40-49), Skanda, Kāśī-Khaṇḍa, chap. 7. 45-65). Only a few out of the hundreds of verses on Prayāga can be cited here by way of sample. One remarkable fact is that the Rāmāyana does not say much about Prayāga. The confluence of the two rivers is no doubt referred to (Rām. II. 54.6) but from the description it appears that there was a forest at what is now Prayāga. Prayāga is called Tirtharāja (the prince among tirthas) in the Matsya 109. 15, Skanda (Kāśī 7. 45), Padma VI. 23. 27-35 (where the refrain at the end of each verse is 'sa tirtharājo jayati prayāgah) and elsewhere. The legend runs that Prajāpati or Pitāmaha (Brahmā) performed a sacrifice here and Prayāga is the middle one of the vedis of Brahmā, the others being Kuruksetra in the north (uttaravedi) and Gayā in the east. It is believed that three rivers meet at Prayāga viz. Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī (underground between the two). It is said in the Matsya¹³⁵¹, Kūrma and other Purānas that at the very sight of Prayāga, even by taking its name or by applying its clay to one's body a man becomes free from sin. The Kūrmapurāna¹³⁵² proclaims "it is the sacred spot of Prajāpati; those who bathe here go to heaven and those who die here are not born again." That sacred spot is known as tirtharāja; it is dear to Keśava. The same is known as Trivenī.

1350. इक्षतीर्यसदृश्राणि तिस्रः कोट्यस्तथापराः । समागच्छन्ति मादृयां तु प्रयागे भरतर्षभ ॥ मायमासं प्रयागे तु नियतं संशितव्रतः । स्नात्वा तु भरतश्रेष्ठ निर्मलः स्वर्गमाप्नुयात् ॥ अनुशासन 25. 36-38.

1351. दर्शनात्तस्य तीर्थस्य नामसंकीर्तिनादपि । सृष्टिकालम्भनाद्वापि नरः पापात् मयुच्यते ॥ मत्स्य. 104. 12, कूर्म I. 36. 27. The अग्नि (111. 6-7) reads स्तवनादस्य तीर्थस्य; वनपर्व 85.80 reads 'गमनात्तस्य...दपि । सृष्टिकालभयाच्चापि नरः ..च्यते'.

1352 एतत् प्रजापतेः क्षेत्रं त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतम् । अत्र स्नात्वा दिवं यान्ति ये सृतास्तेऽपुनर्भवाः ॥ कूर्म I. 36 20 मत्स्य (104 5 and 111. 14) and नारद (उत्तर 63.127-128) also calls it प्रजापतिक्षेत्रं.

The word Prayāga is employed in the neuter when connected with such words as tīrtha or ksetra, as in Matsya (111-14 prajāpater-īdam ksetram prayāgam-īti viśrutam), but when employed along with words (in the masculine gender) such as tīrtharāja, it takes the masculine gender.

The word Prayāga is derived in various ways. The Vana-parva¹³⁵³ appears to suggest that the word Prayāga is derived from the root 'ya' when it says 'Brahmā who is the soul of all beings performed formerly a sacrifice here; therefore it became known as Prayāga'. In the Skanda¹³⁵⁴ purāna also it appears to be explained by taking the two parts *pra* and *yāga* separately. "It is mentioned as Prayāga because it is superior to all sacrifices; Prayāga was the name given to it by the gods Hari, Hara and others seeing that it is superior to all sacrifices though the latter be enriched with fees and the like." The Matsyapurāna¹³⁵⁵ appears to lay emphasis on the part 'pra' when it says 'on account of its efficacy (or power) as compared with all other tīrthas it prevails (or is useful) far more'. The Brahmapurāna¹³⁵⁶ affirms "It is called prayāga on account of its eminence and it has the word 'rāja' (in Tīrtharāja) applied to it on account of its being the chief".

We must distinguish between Prayāga-maṇḍala, Prayāga and Venī or Trivenī, each subsequent one being smaller and holier than each preceding one. The Matsya¹³⁵⁷ states that the sphere of Prayāga is five *yojanas* in circumference and that the moment a man enters inside this strip of land, there is an *Asvamedha* at every step. This has been explained by the Tristhali-setu (p. 15) as follows. Regarding Brahmayūpa (the sacrificial post of Brahmā) as the spike or peg, if one measures with a rope one and one half *yojana* long all round, that would be the

1353. शङ्खायह्वनयोर्धीर सङ्गमं लोकाविश्रुतम् ॥ यज्ञायजत धृतात्मा पूर्वमेव पितामाह : प्रयागमिति विदुयात् तस्माद्भरतसत्तम ॥ बलपूर्व 87. 18-19, तथा सर्वेषु लोकेषु प्रयागं पूज-येद् ब्रुवाः । पूज्यते तर्धिराजस्तु सत्यमेव शुधिष्ठिर ॥ मत्स्य 109 15

1354. प्रकृष्टं सर्वयोगेभ्य प्रयागमिति गीयते । इष्टा प्रकृष्टयोगेभ्य हृष्टेभ्यो दक्षिणा-दिभिः । प्रयागमिति तज्जाम कृत हरिहरादिभिः ॥ ५ in त्रिस्थली p 13. The first half : स्कन्द, काशी 7 49, so प्रयाग means प्रकृष्टो योगो यज्ञ

1355. प्रभावात्सर्वतीर्थेभ्य प्रभवत्याधिक विभोः । मत्स्य 110 11

1356. प्रकृष्टत्वात्प्रयोगोसौ प्राधान्याद्वाजशब्दान् । ब्रह्मपुराण ५ in त्रिस्थली p. 1

1357. यज्ञयोजनविस्तीर्णं प्रयागत्य तु मण्डलम् । अविष्टमात्रे तद्भूमवन्भूमैश्च पदे पदे मत्स्य. 108 9-10, 111. 8, पञ्च I 45 8 The कूर्मपुराण has यज्ञयोजनविस्तीर्णं ब्राह्मण परमेष्ठिनः । प्रयागं प्रथितं तीर्थं यत्स महात्मनोऽस्ति ॥ II 35.4.

Prayāgamandala of five *yojanas* in circumference. The boundaries of Prayāga itself are defined by Vanaparva,¹³⁵⁸ the Matsya-purāna (104. 5 and 106. 30) and others. 'Prayāga extends from Pratisthāna up to the pool of Vāsuki and upto the two *nāgas* Kambala and Āsvatara and the *nāga* Bahumūlaka; this is known in the three worlds as the sacred spot of Prajāpati' (Matsya 104. 5), while Matsya 106. 30 provides that to the east of the Ganges is the Sāmudrakūpa, which is the same as Pratisthāna. This is explained by the Tristhalīsetu as follows. the eastern boundary is the kūpa called Pratisthāna¹³⁵⁹; the northern one is the Vāsuki pool, the western limit is formed by Kambala and Āsvatara, the southern boundary is Bahumūlaka. This would be a four-cornered space which is included within Prayāga-mandala. According to the Matsyapurāna as quoted by the Kalpataru on tirtha p. 143 the two Nāgas are on the south bank of Yamunā while the printed text has 'vipule Yamunātate' (106 27)¹³⁵⁰ The printed text of Padma I. 43. 27 supports the Kalpataru reading ('Yamunā-daksine tate) Veni-ksetra is within the limits of Prayāga itself and is twenty bow lengths in extent, as stated in the Padma. There are three *kūpas* viz. Prayāga, Pratisthāna and Alarkapura. The Matsya and Agni say 'there are three fire kundas and the Ganges flows in their midst' It should be noted that except where special reference is made in the Purānas to the sub-tirthas, the reference to a bath at Prayāga in general means bath in the Veni i. e. the confluence of the two rivers, as e. g. in Vanaparva 85 81 and 85 and Matsya 104 16-17.¹³⁶¹

1358 अत्र प्रयागं सतिष्ठानाद्यखुरा वासुकेर्हवात्। कम्बलाश्वतरौ नागौ नागश्च बहु-
मूलकः ॥ एतत् प्रजापतेः क्षेत्रं त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतम्। नत्स्य 104 5, पद्म I. 39. 69-70, 41
4-5 are similar वनपर्व 85 76-77 are. प्रयागं सतिष्ठानं कम्बलाश्वतराद्वभौ। तीर्थं भोग-
वती चैव वेदिरया प्रजापतेः। तत्र वेदाश्च यज्ञाश्च मूर्तिमन्तो सुषिष्टिर। अग्नि 111 5 has the
verse प्रयागं...प्रजापते. (reads वेदी मोक्षा)

1359 पूर्वपार्श्वे तु गङ्गायास्त्रिषु लोकेषु भारतः। कूर्प चैव तु साष्टद्वं सतिष्ठानं च विश्रुतम्॥
नत्स्य. 106. 3.

1360. माघ सित्वासिते विप्र राजसूये' समो भवेत्। ध्वजर्विशतेविस्तीर्णो सितनीलाम्बु-
सङ्गमे ॥ इति पाद्मभोगे'। त्रिस्थलीः p. 75. सित्वासित (white and dark) means Veni.
Vide n. 1337 above for चतु being equal to four hastas and 96 angulas

1361. तत्र त्रीण्यग्निकुण्डानि येषां मध्येन जाह्नवी। वनपर्व 85 73, त्रीणि चाप्यग्नि-
कुण्डानि येषां मध्ये तु जाह्नवी। नत्स्य 110 4 and अग्नि 111.12, पद्म I. 39. 67, I 49. 4;
while नत्स्य, 104 13, कूर्मे (I. 36 28-29) read एतद् कुण्डानि

The Vanaparva¹³⁶² and some of the Purānas represent that the country between the Ganges and the Yamunā is (like) the hips and loins of the earth (i e. it is the most prosperous and plentiful part of the earth) and that Prayāga is like the inmost part of the hips.

The Narasimha-purāna says that Viṣṇu is in the form of Yogamūrti in Prayāga (65 17). It is said in the Matsya-purāna¹³⁶³ (111. 4-10) that when Rudra dissolves the world at the end of the Kalpa, the holy place of Prayāga is not destroyed, that Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara (Śiva) stay in Prayāga, that to the north of Pratisthāna Brahmā stays in it under guise, that Viṣṇu stays there as Veni-Mādhava, that Śiva stays there as the Vata (banyan tree) and that therefore the gods with the Gandharvas, the Siddhas and great sages always protect the sphere (maṇḍala) of Prayāga by guarding it against evil actions. The Matsyapurāna, therefore, recommends that a pilgrim should go to Prayāga which is protected by all the gods, stay there for a month, avoid sexual intercourse, worship gods and pits and thereby secure his desired objects (104. 18). The same Purāna highly eulogises the gift at Prayāga of a *kapitā* cow properly decked (105. 16-22) with clothes, ornaments and jewels. The Padmapurāna (Ādi 42 17-24) has the same verses as the Matsya on this subject. Similarly, the marriage of a daughter in the *āra* form at Prayāga is highly spoken of in Matsya (106. 8-9). The Matsya (105. 13-14 and 106. 10) says generally that if a man makes a gift of a cow, of gold, of precious stones, of pearls and of other things that he owns his pilgrimage becomes fruitful (*saphala*) and he collects religious merit (*puṇya*) and that when a man makes gifts according to his ability and wealth, the fruit of his pilgrimage increases and he remains in heaven till the end of the world. The Brahmānda¹³⁶⁴ assures pilgrims that whatever gifts are made according to one's ability at

1362. गङ्गायमुत्तमयोर्मध्यं पृथिव्या जघनं स्मृतम् । प्रयागं जघनस्थानमुपरधमुपयो विद्मः ॥ वनपर्व 85. 75 = पद्म I 39. 69 and I. 43 19, अग्नि 111 4, कूर्म I. 37. 12, मत्स्य 106. 19 The idea appears to be that holy places are like the children of the earth.

1363. प्रयागे निवसन्त्येते ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेश्वराः ।... उत्तरेण प्रतिष्ठानाच्छमना ब्रह्म तिष्ठति । वेणीमाधवरूपी तु भगवास्तत्र तिष्ठति ॥ माहेश्वरो वटो धूम्रः तिष्ठते परमेश्वरः । ततो देवाः सगन्धर्वाः सिद्धाश्च परमर्षयः । रक्षन्ति मण्डलं नित्यं पापकर्मनिवारणार्थम् । मत्स्य. 111. 4-10. Vide कूर्म I. 36 23-26, पद्म, आदित्य 41. 6-10 for similar verses.

1364. कुशक्षेत्रे प्रयागे च गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे । गङ्गायां पुत्रो सेतो गङ्गाद्वारे च नमिषे । यद्दानं दीयते शक्या तदानन्त्याप कल्पते ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड 4. in विरचली- p 24.

Kuruksetra, Prayāga, at the mouth of the Ganges where it falls into the sea, on the Ganges, at Puskara, at Setubandha, at Gangādvāra and in Naimisa tends to confer inexhaustible rewards. In the Vanaparva¹³⁶⁵ it is stated that this sacrificial ground (of Brahmā) is honoured even by the gods, that even a small thing donated here assumes greatness (i. e. produces the rewards of large gifts).

The confluence of the three rivers came to be associated with *omkāra*,¹³⁶⁶ the mystic syllable that stands for *Brahma*. It is said in a purāna passage (probably Brahmapurāna) that the three parts of *om* (a u m) respectively are Sarasvatī, Yamunā and Gangā and that the waters of three rivers represent Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Sankarsana Hari.

It may be noted that, in spite of the fact that the Matsya, Kūrma (I. 36-39), Padma (Ādi chapters 41-49), Agni 111 and other Purānas contain several hundred verses on Prayāga, the Kalpataru (on tirtha), the earliest extant digest on tirthas, quotes only the Matsya (104. 1-13 and 16-20, 105. 1-22, 106. 1-48, 107. 2-21, 108. 3-5, 8-17 and 23-34, 109. 10-12, 110. 1-11, 111. 8-11, in all about 151 verses) and Vanaparva chap. 85. 79-87 and 97 and does not add a single word of explanation or discussion. But the other digests profusely quoting mostly from Purānas discuss at some length several topics and a few words must be devoted to some of those topics.

One such topic is tonsure at Prayāga. It is stated by the Gangāvākyaśālī (p. 298) and the Tir Pr. (p. 335) that, though the author of the Kalpataru says nothing about tonsure at Prayāga, yet as śistas (respectable and learned people) and the writers of digests accept it as necessary, certain authorities would be set out. The two verses quoted by most^{1366a} writers are 'one should tonsure the head at Prayāga, offer pindas at Gayā, make gifts in Kuruksetra and should commit

1365. एषा यजनभूमिर्हि देवानामपि सत्कृता । तत्र दत्तं स्वल्पमपि महद्भवति भारत ॥ वनपर्व 85 82 = 83 77 of the cr. ed which reads तत्र दत्तं सूक्ष्ममपि

1366 ओमित्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म परब्रह्माभिधायकम् । तदेव वेणी विज्ञेया सर्वसौख्यमदायिनी ॥ अकार शारदा भोक्ता मद्युन्नस्तत्र जायते । उकारो यमुना भोक्तामिरुद्धरत्नजलात्मक । मकारो जाह्नवी गङ्गा तत्र सङ्कर्षणो हरिः । एवं त्रिवेणी विख्याता वेदवीजप्रकीर्तिता ॥ q. by त्रिस्थली p. 8.

1366a. प्रयागे वपनं कुर्याद्दयायां पिण्डपातनम् । दानं दद्यात् कुरुक्षेत्रे वाराणस्यां तद्वत्स्यजेत् ॥ किं गयापिण्डदानेन काश्यां वा मरणेन किम् । किं कुरुक्षेत्रदानेन प्रयागे वपने यदि ॥ q. by गङ्गावा p. 298, तीर्थचि. p. 32, त्रिस्थली p. 17, तीर्थम p. 335. These two verses occur in नारदीय (उत्तर) 63. 103-104

(religious) suicide at Benares. What is the use (or necessity) of pinda offerings at Gayā or death in Kāśī, or gifts at Kuruksetra, if one has tonsured one's head at Prayāga? ". Elaborate discussions are held by all these works about the exact intention of the verses, about the application of the maxim of *rātrisattra*¹³⁶⁷ to them and about the results derived from tonsure. They have to be passed over here from considerations of space. The Tristhali-setu (p. 17) holds that the verse only praises the rite of tonsure at Prayāga and the fruit thereof is simply the removal of sin. The Tri. S. refutes (p. 17) the application of *rātrisattra-nyāya* to these verses, while Tr. O (p. 32) applies it. Some of the conclusions drawn by the Tri S. are that in one and the same yātrā at Prayāga (even if a man stays there for some days) ceremonial tonsure takes place only once, that widows have to tonsure their heads, that in the case of women whose husbands are living only two or three finger-breadths of tresses are to be cut and offered at the *Triveni*, that even^{1367a} boys whose *upanayana* has not been performed have to undergo tonsure provided the *cūḍā* rite has already been performed. The Tristhalisetu (p. 22) notes that certain traditionalists,¹³⁶⁸

1367. *रात्रिसत्रन्याय* occurs in जै. IV. 3 17-19. There is a passage in the पञ्चविंशतब्राह्मण 23. 2. 4 'मत्तिलिच्छन्ति च एता रात्रीरुपयन्ति' Here in the पञ्चविंशतब्राह्मण is enjoined but no fruit thereof is expressly promised. The question arises whether in the absence of an express reward, heaven should be understood as the reward (because as explained in Jai IV 3. 15-16 *svarga* is the reward of all sacrifices for which no express reward is mentioned) or whether प्रतिष्ठा (stable position) which occurs in the above *arbhavāda* passage should be held to be the reward of *रात्रिसत्र*. The reply is that here the reward is प्रतिष्ठा and not स्वर्ग i. e. though there is no express mention of the reward in the passage about *rātrisattra*, the *arbhavāda* passage should be construed as laying down the reward. In the two verses, there is a *vidhi* in the words प्रयागे वपनं कुर्यात् and the second verse is an अर्थवाद. The question is what reward is promised in it. If *रात्रिसत्रन्याय* applies, then *सुण्डन* secures all the fruits of *गयापिण्डदान*, *कुरुक्षेत्रदान* and *काशीतदुत्सव*. If it does not apply then the only fruit is पापाभाव.

1367a. अष्टपनीतानामपि प्रयागे वपनं कार्यम् । यस्तु पुत्रास्तथा बालान्नापयेत्स्यात्पुत्रेस्तथा । यथात्मना तथा सर्वं दानं विभेदु द्वापयेत् ॥ इति मत्स्यपुराणवचने तृतीयपादस्य । सुण्डनादिविधायकत्वात् । त्रिस्थली० pp 23-24. यस्तु पुत्रास्तथा० is मत्स्य 106.6.

1368. सांभद्राधिकारं...तस्मात्समूलमेव केशवपनमिह स्वीणामिति । अत्रापि नोन्मुक्त-केशवपनं किंतु वेणीं कृत्वा कुङ्कुमादिसङ्कुलद्रव्यालङ्कृता भर्तारं नमस्कृत्य तदहङ्गाता वापयेत् । ता च वेणीमञ्जली निधाय यथाशक्तिकृतां स्वर्णमयीं रूप्यमयीं वा वेणीं सुकतापगलादि च निधाय-वेण्यां वेणीमदानेन सर्वं यापं प्रणश्येत् । जन्मान्तरेणैव सदा सौभाग्यं नम वर्धताम् । इति पठित्वा वेण्यां क्षिपेत् ॥ त्रिस्थली० p 22, प्रयागे स्वीणामपि सुण्डनं न तु वक्ष्यमाण-वचनायां केशानां द्रव्यकुलच्छेदमात्रम् ॥ भायश्चित्तत्त्वं p. 493.

relying on passages that aver that all sins cling to the roots of a person's hair, say that cutting two or three tresses would be merely *kartana* and not *rapana* (tonsure), that even women whose husbands are alive must shave themselves at Prayāga, that such women should make a braid of all their hair, should deck the braid with saffron and other auspicious materials, bow to their husbands and with the husband's permission have the head tonsured, that then they should place the cut hair in their joined hands, place thereon a golden or silver *veni* and pearls and coral and should cast all these into the confluence (*Veni*) of the Ganges and Jumna after repeating the mantra 'May all my sins be destroyed by this offering of my braided hair into the *Veni*' may my blessedness (the auspicious state of wifehood) always increase in the lives to come' The Tri. S. states that women do not tonsure their head at any tirtha except at Prayāga and the only reason for this is that it is the practice of *śīstas*. Vide above pp 122-124 for tonsure as expiation for sins. The Nāradya (Uttara) 63. 106 provides the same rule as Parāśara (in note 278 above) for women. The Prāyascittatattva of Raghunandana prescribes the complete tonsure of the head for women at Prayāga.

It appears probable that the provision for the casting of *veni* (braided hair) on the part of women whose husbands were alive was suggested by the word *Veni* applied to the confluence of the two rivers, where the river Ganges appears to make a bend or curve for some distance.¹³⁶⁹

One important question that very much exercised the minds of ancient and medieval Indian writers was whether and when suicide, particularly at sacred spots like the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna or at the foot of the Aksaya Vata at Prayāga, would involve no sin.¹³⁷⁰ This matter has already been

1369. ओमित्येकादशं ब्रह्म परब्रह्माभिधायकम् । तदेव वेणी विज्ञेया सर्वसौख्य-
मदायिनी ॥ स एव तीर्थराजोऽयं त्रिवेण्या यत्र सङ्गमः । त्रिवेण्यली ॥ p. 8.

1370. प्रयाग .. त्रिवेणी ॥ अथवात्तस्य .. प्रसूच्यते ॥ तत्राभिषेके यं कुर्यात्सङ्गमे संज्ञित-
ञ्जत ॥ सुष्यं सकलमाप्नोति राजसूयाश्वमेधयो ॥ एषा यजन .. महद्भवति भारत ॥ न वेद...
मयागनरणं प्रति ॥ दशतीर्थसहस्राणि पट्टिकोदयत्तथापराः । येषां सार्धमध्यमत्रैव कीर्तितं कुरु-
नन्दन ॥ चाहुर्वेदे च यस्तुष्यं सत्यवादिषु जैव यत् । स्नात एव तदामोति गङ्गायज्ञनसङ्गमे ॥ वनपर्व
85 79-85. After quoting the last verse and several other verses the त्रिवेण्यली-
सेतु observes (p 30) 'एतेषु सर्वेषु वचनेषु यद्यपि प्रयागशब्दस्याविशेषत उपादानं तथापि
तदन्तर्गततत्तत्तीर्थस्नानफलस्य वाक्यान्तरेऽकृत्वात् स्थलमात्रे च जलाभावेन स्नानानाम्भवाद्दे-
ष्टुपलक्षकः प्रयागशब्दः'. The same verses occur in पद्म (आदि 39 72-78) स्कन्द
(काशी) chap 7, 63 and 65) says 'तद्विष्णोः परमं पदं सदा पश्यन्ति सूरयः । एतद्यत्पठ्यते
वेदे तत्प्रयागं पुनः पुनः ॥ इयं वेणी त्रि नि श्रेणी ब्रह्मणो वल्गं यावपतः ॥'. तद्विष्णोः.....
सूरयः ।—15 क I 22.20.

dealt with at length in H. of Dh. vol. II, pp 924-928 and vol. III, pp. 939, 948-949. Only a brief treatment by way of a summary of the pages and a few notes will be added here. The general sentiment of Dharmasāstra works is to condemn suicide or an attempt to commit suicide as a great sin (vide H of Dh vol II page 924 for texts). The Āp. Dh. S. (I 10 28 15-17) mentions the view of Hārīta which condemns suicide even as *prāyaścitta* for committing a *mahāpātaka* (like incest) and puts killing another or killing oneself on the same footing Manu V. 89 and Yāj. III. 154 condemn suicide by denying after-death rites to those who commit it, but Manu allowed suicide in various ways as *prāyaścitta* for *mahāpātakas* (vide Manu XI 73, 90-91, 103-104). But exceptions to the condemnation of suicide are found in the *smṛtis*, epics and *purānas*. They may be grouped under several heads. (1) Suicide as an exception in various ways by those guilty of *mahāpātakas* (viz. *brāhmana* murder, drinking of *surā*, theft of *brāhmana*'s gold and incest), vide H. of Dh. vol. II, pp. 924-925 for *smṛti* and other texts. (2) Starting on the Great Journey (*mahāprasthāna-gamana* or *mahāpathayātrā*) by a forest hermit (Manu VI 31, Yāj. III 55) suffering from incurable diseases and unable to perform the duties of his order. (3) An old man or one who cannot observe the rules of bodily purification or who is so ill as to be beyond medical skill may kill himself by throwing himself from a precipice or by fire or by drowning or fasting or start on the Great Journey into the *Himālaya* or by jumping from the branches of the *Vata* tree at *Prayāga* (*Aparārka* p 877 quoting *Ādi-purāna* and *Atri-smṛti* verses 218-219 q. by *Medhātithi* on Manu V. 88 and *Mit.* on Yāj III. 6) (4) Even a householder, otherwise all right, may resort to suicide by the means stated (in No. 3) if his life's work is done, if he has no desire for the pleasures of the world and does not desire to live, or if he is a *Vedāntin*¹³⁷¹ and convinced of the ephemeral nature of life and may kill himself by fast in *Himālaya*. (5) Religious suicide was allowed at the confluence of the two great rivers *Gangā* and *Yamunā*, at the *Vata* there and at some other *tīrthas* (6) A wife dying by *sahagamana* or *anumarana*. As to *Sati*, the *Nāradya* (*pūrvārtha* 7. 52-53) provides that a woman should not burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband if she has a

1371. शरीरस्युत्थजेत्तत्र विधिपूर्वमनाशोके। अमुत्र जीवितं ज्ञात्वा यो वै वेदान्तगो द्विजः ॥
अन्यत्त्वं देवतास्तत्र नमस्कृत्य सुनीस्तथा। तत्र सिद्धो द्विजं गच्छेद् ब्रह्मलोकं सनातनम् ॥ अह-
शासन 25. 63-64. तत्र refers to हिमालय as the context shows

young child or young children, if she is pregnant or if she has not attained puberty, or if she is in her monthly illness, at the time. Not only did common men believe in the promise of the Purānas that those who killed themselves at Prayāga (at the *saṅgama* or near Vata) secured mokṣa (freedom from the everlasting cycle of births and deaths) which was the highest of the four *puruṣārthas* (goals of human existence), but even great poets like Kālidāsa held the view that, though *mokṣa* or *kaivalya* or *apavarga* requires correct knowledge and realisation of the Supreme Spirit according to the Vedānta, Sāṅkhya and Nyāya systems, death at the sacred *saṅgama* led to mokṣa even without 'tattvājñāna.' In H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 925-927, historical examples of kings such as Yaśah-karnadeva, Candella Dhangadev and Cālukya Someśvara committing suicide at Prayāga or the Tuṅgabhadra have been given. The king Kumāragupta of Magadha is said to have entered the fire of dry cow-dung cakes. This is in accordance with the prescriptions in the Matsya-purāna 107. 9-10 (=Padma, Ādi-khaṇḍa 44 3) which states¹³⁷² 'the man who, suffering from no diseases, having no deficiency as to his limbs and being in full possession of his five senses, encompasses (his death) in cowdung fire remains honoured in heaven for as many years as there are pores on the whole of his body.'¹³⁷³ The Rājataranginī VI. 14 refers to officers entrusted with the duty of supervising suicide by fast (*prāyopaveśa*).

1372 गङ्गायह्नुनयोर्मध्ये कर्पासिं यस्तु साधयेत् । अहीनाङ्गो ह्यारोगश्च पञ्चोद्दिष्ट-
समन्वितः । यावन्ति रोमकृपाणि तस्य गात्रेषु देहिन् ॥ तावद्दर्पसहस्राणि स्वर्गलोकं महीयते ॥
मत्स्य 107 9, कुर्म I 38. 3-4, नारदीय, उत्तर, 63.154 (reads करीपासिं तु धारयेत्), पद्म
I 44. 9 (reads पञ्चासिं यस्तु) कर्पासि is short for करीपासि for metrical reasons
कुर्म I, 38.3 reads 'करीपासि च साधयेत्' Vide Gupta Inscriptions No. 42 p. 200,
the Ahsaid Stone Inscription of आदित्यसेन of मगध, which states that his
fifth ancestor Kumāragupta plunged himself in the slow-burning fire of
dried cowdung cakes as if in water at Prayāga. शौर्यस्तवन्नतधरो यः प्रयागगतो
धने । अन्मसीव करीपासौ मग्न स सुखपूजितः ॥ p 203 (of the text). धने means धने
सत्यधि. The learned editor was probably unaware of the provisions about
suicide at Prayāga by being burnt with dry cowdung cakes in the Matsya
and other purānas.

1373. The Ain-i-Albari (tr. by Gladwin and published in 1800) speaks of the following as the meritorious kinds of suicide (vol I. p. 531 and p. 802 of the Popular edition, edited by J. Mukhopadhyaya). These are five in number viz. (1) starving; (2) covering himself with cowdung and setting it on fire and consuming himself therein, (3) burying himself in snow; (4) to plunge into water at the *Gangāsāgara-saṅgama*, enumerate one's sins and pray till alligators come and devour the man, (5) cut his throat at Allahabad at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna.

The important verse on which reliance is placed for sanctioning religious suicide at Prayāga may be translated¹³⁷⁴ as follows. 'You should not set aside (pass over) your wish about dying at Prayāga on account of the words of the Veda or the words of the people.' The words of the Veda¹³⁷⁵ are Vāj. S. 40 3 (= Īśāvāsyopaniṣad 3) which literally translated means 'there are worlds of Asuras enveloped in blinding darkness, those who have killed themselves repair after death to those worlds' This verse does not in the context appear to refer to a person committing suicide, but rather to a person who kills his soul by remaining in ignorance of the true Self. But even learned writers and poets took it to refer to suicide (vide Uṭtara-rāmācārīta, Act IV after verse 3). Another passage of the Veda on which reliance may be placed is the one in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa X. 2. 6. 7 'one ought not to yield to his own desire and pass away before the full extent of life, for it (such shortening of full life) does not make for the (heavenly) world' By 'the words of the people' are meant smṛti passages condemning suicide such as Gaut. 14, 12, Vas^{1375a} 23, 14-15, Manu V. 88 (which says that no water is to be offered to those who kill themselves), Viṣṇu Dh S 22, 56 (ātmatyāgināḥ patitāś-ca naśaucodakabhājan)

1374. न वेदवचनात्तत न लोकवचनादपि । मतिरुत्कमणीया ते प्रयागमरणं प्रति ॥
वनपर्व 83.83, नारदीय (उत्तर) 63 129, पद्म (आदि 39.76 reads न वेदो), अग्नि 111 8
(reads मतिरुत्कमणीयान्ते प्रयागे मरणं प्रति) मत्स्य. 106.22 reads न वेदवचना ..
प्रयागमरणं प्रति) and पद्म, आदि 43.22 reads प्रयागमरणं प्रति. The कूर्मपुराण I. 37.14
is न मातृवचनात्तत न...दपि । मति प्रयागमरणं प्रति ॥, पद्म, आदिखण्ड 33.64 reads न
लोकवचनात् पित्रोर्न चैव कुतश्चत । मतिर्न क्रमणीया स्वादिबिदुक्कति प्रति ॥. This
entirely changes the meaning and avers that ॥ one has a desire to go to
Kāśī, one should not heed the words of one's parents or elders or of the
people (dissuading him from going).

1375. अदुर्यो नाम ते लोका अन्धेन तमसादृता । तास्ते मेत्याभिगच्छन्ति ये के चामहन्नो
जनाः ॥ वाज सं 40.3, The ईशावास्योप reads अदुर्यो (sunless). Vide for
अत्महन् the sūtra of वसिष्ठ quoted below. यो वा इत वर्पाणि जीवति स ह्यैतद-
श्नुतमामोति...तस्माद् ह न दुराशुय स्वकामी मेयादलोवच ह्यै उ वा लोकाः । इतरथम,
X 2 6. 7 व by मेवातिथि on मनु V 88 (आत्मनस्त्यागिना चैव निवर्ततोदकाक्रिया)
and VI. 32. The printed text of मेवातिथि and कुतुक reads स्वकामी (desiring
heaven).

1375 a. य आत्मत्याग्यभिशास्तो भवति सपिण्डानां प्रेतकर्मच्छेदः । काण्डजललोद-
प्रापाणशक्नविवरञ्जुभिर्न आत्मानमवसादयति स आत्मदा भवति ॥ वसिष्ठ 23, 14-15

There is no doubt that some of the *sūrtis*, the *Mahābhārata*¹³⁷⁶ itself and some *purānas* do recommend (or at least do not condemn) suicide in certain circumstances. A few *purāna* passages may be quoted here. Two verses of the *Kūrma* state 'That goal (or state), which a wise man that is devoted to Yoga and that has become an ascetic (or has forsaken all actions) reaches, is secured by him who gives up life at the confluence of the *Gangā* and *Yamunā*. Whoever dies in the *Gangā* whether wilfully or unintentionally is born after death in heaven and does not see hell'.¹³⁷⁷ The *Kūrma* is quite clear 'Moksa may be secured or not after a thousand births elsewhere but in *Benares moksa* can be secured in a single birth' (I. 32, 22) The *Padma*¹³⁷⁸ is quite emphatic 'a man who, knowingly or unknowingly, wilfully or unintentionally, dies in the *Ganges* secures on death heaven and 'moksa'. A verse of the *Skanda* asserts 'He who abandons his life in this sacred place in some way or other does not incur the sin of suicide but secures his desired objects.' The *Kūrma* (I. 38 3-12) refers to four modes of suicide and promises residence in heaven and various other rewards for thousands of years, viz. by (1) burning oneself in the slow fire of dry cowdung cakes, (2) by entering the water at the confluence of *Gangā* and *Yamunā*, (3) by hanging with head down in the stream and feet up and drinking

1376. Vide the references given under No. 2 and 3 of the five classes of excusable or permitted suicides on p. 604 above. The *Mahābhārata* has a *parva* called *Mahāprāsthānika* in which it is narrated (chap 1, 24) that *Yudhiṣṭhira* with his four brothers, queen *Draupadī* and a faithful dog started on the Great Journey towards the *Himālaya* and that they fell down dead one after another, *Draupadī* being the first and *Bhīma* the last.

1377. या गतिर्योग्योक्तस्य संन्यस्तस्य मनीषिणः । सा गतिस्त्वज्जतः प्राणात्
गङ्गायमुत्सङ्गने ॥ अकामो वा सकामो वा गङ्गायां यो विपद्यते । स सुतो जायते स्वर्गे नरके च
न पश्यति ॥ कुर्म. I. 37 16, 39. The first verse is read in पद्म, सुद्विखण्ड 60, 56 as
या गतिः संन्यस्तस्य मनीषिणः । सा गङ्गायां तु क्षतीरिणः ॥ नारद (उत्तर) 43 97 is
the same as पद्म.

1378. ज्ञानतोऽज्ञानतो वापि कामतोऽकामतोऽपि वा । गङ्गाया च सूतो मर्त्यः स्वर्गे मोक्षं
च विन्दति ॥ पद्म, सुद्वि 60 65 v by त्रिस्थली० p. 47. यथा कथञ्चित्तीर्थोऽस्मिन् प्राणत्यागं
करोति यः । तस्यैवमथातदोपो न प्रामुयादीप्तिस्तानपि ॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 22, 76. The *कल्पतरु* on
तीर्थ p. 258 quotes from चायुपुराण 'यो वाहिताग्निप्रवरो वीराध्वानं (०ध्वानं?) गतोपि वा ।
समाधाय मनः पूर्वं मन्त्रमुच्चारयेच्छनैः ॥ त्वमग्रे रुद्रस्त्वं सुधामहोद्दधिरत्वं सर्वं मारुतः
क्षिप्रमीश्वरे । त्व वातैवाप्तिसगरी यस्त्वं प्रस्थिमायीरूप पातयन् माम् ॥' The mantra as
printed makes no sense. The editor should have separated the words
properly even if the mss were unsatisfactory. It appears to be *R̥g.* II, 1, 6
(= *Tai. S.* I 3. 14. 1) त्वमग्रे रुद्रो अहुरो महो दिवस्त्वं शार्थो मारुतं पुक्ष ईक्षिपे । त्वं
वातैरुष्णैरपि शंगयस्त्वं पूषा विधत् पाप्ति तु त्वना ॥

the waters of the Ganges, (4) by cutting off his own flesh and giving it as food to birds. The famous Chinese traveller Hiouen Tsiang (about 629-645 A. D.) clearly refers to this practice of religious suicide (vide Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the Western world,' vol. I. pp. 232-234). The Kalpataru on Tirtha (composed about 1110-1120 A. D.) devotes a special section to Mahāpathayātrā (pp. 258-265). Gradually, the idea of securing heaven and *mokṣa* by committing suicide at Prayāga or Benares appears to have spread to other tirthas. Vanaparva¹³⁷⁹ speaks of suicide at Prthūdaka (Pehova in the Karnal district of Punjab, 14 miles from Thanesar) The Brahmapurāna¹³⁸⁰ calls upon *dvijas* who are intent on securing *mokṣa* to commit suicide at Puruṣottama-kāsetra. The Lingapurāna¹³⁸¹ says 'if a brāhmaṇa kills himself on Śrīśaila he destroys his sins and attains *mokṣa* as at Avimukta (Benares); there is no doubt about this'. The Padma promises¹³⁸² a similar reward for suicide by fire or by fast at the confluence of Narmadā and Kaveri (a small river, not the great South Indian river).

Gradually there was a revulsion of feeling against suicide at Prayāga or Kāśī or starting on the Great Journey. Among the actions forbidden in the Kali age are included 'starting on the Great Journey' and 'suicide of old people jumping from a precipice or by fire' (vide H. of Dh. vol. III. pp. 939, 958-59). Some of the later medieval writers try very hard to combat the view that religious suicide is permitted¹³⁸³. Nīlakantha, the commentator of the Mahābhārata, holds that Vanaparva 85. 83 (na vedavacanāt &c) refers to natural death at Prayāga and not to wilful death and that the Khila verse ('Sītāsīte' quoted above on p. 596) has the same meaning. Then he propounds two alternative interpretations of Vanaparva 85.

1379. उत्तमं सर्वतीर्थानां परस्वजेदात्मनस्तच्छुद् । वृधुद्धके जल्पयरो वैव श्वो मरणं
तपेत् ॥ गीते स्तनकुमारिण व्यसैन च महात्मना ॥ वनपर्व 83 146, 147 q. by सर्विकल्प
p. 180 (reads श्रुतं मे सर्वं) .

1380. तस्मात्सर्वमयत्नेन तस्मिन् क्षेत्रे द्विजोत्तमा । देहत्यागो नरे कार्य-
सम्बन्धोहाभिकाङ्क्षिभिः ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 177. 25, vide also ब्रह्मपुराण 68. 75 and
177 16-17.

1381. श्रीशैले सन्त्यजेद् देहं ब्राह्मणो वृधकिलिन्द । सुच्यते नात्र सन्वेहो ह्यविशुके
यथा क्षुमम् ॥ लिङ्ग (पूर्वार्ध 92 168-169).

1382. आग्नेयवेदं यः कुर्याद्यश्च कुर्यादनाज्ञानम् । अनिवर्तिका गतिस्तरय यथा
ने शङ्करोऽबवीत् ॥ पद्म., आवि. 16 14-15

1383. Vide a learned paper on 'suicide at Prayāga' by Prof K. C. Chattopadhyaya in Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, vol. X, pp. 65 ff.

83, viz. that this passage allows those who are suffering from an incurable disease to commit suicide at Prayāga instead of dying by falling from a precipice and the like or that this verse does not apply to brāhmanas but only to the other three varnas.¹³⁸⁴

Both the Gangāvākyaṅgī (pp. 304-310) and the Tir. C (pp. 47-52) hold that all varnas have the authority to resort to suicide at Prayāga. The Tir. Pr holds a long, learned and highly polemic discussion on the subject of religious suicide at Prayāga (pp. 346-355). Its own view appears to be that a brāhmana should not commit this suicide at Prayāga on account of the prohibition contained in Kalivarjya verses and that members of the other varnas may do so. The Tristhallastu also enters upon a long discussion (pp. 47-55) and its conclusions are that in suicide at Prayāga for the attainment of *mokṣa* or other rewards (such as heaven) there is no sin, that thus suicide at Prayāga is not forbidden^{1384a} to brāhmanas as some think (since Agni 111 8 reads 'na vedavacanād *vipra*'), that persons whether seriously ill or in good health¹³⁸⁵ may resort to suicide at Prayāga, that no one has authority to commit suicide at Prayāga after abandoning to their fate one's old parents, young wife and children that require support, nor should a woman who is pregnant or who has young children or who has no permission from her husband, commit suicide at Prayāga.¹³⁸⁶ It is refreshing to find Nārāyanabhaṭṭa, perhaps

1384. शूद्राश्च क्षत्रिया वैद्या अन्यजाश्च तथाधमाः । एते त्यजेयुः प्राणान्ते वर्जयित्वा हिंजं सुप । पतित्वा ब्राह्मणस्तत्र ब्रह्महा वात्महा भवेत् । q. by त्रिस्थली- p. 52, which remarks that these verses are not found in any authoritative source and they involve a contradiction, in as much as क्षत्रियः and वैद्यः are allowed to kill themselves though they are *divyas*. This is q. also by भट्टोजि in त्रि से. सा. स p 33

1384 a. तथा च हेमाद्र्यादिष्यादिसुराणवाक्यानि ब्राह्मणस्यापि मरणविधायकानि । इन्द्रः शौचरुतेल्लेख-इत्याद्युपक्रम्य गच्छेन्महापथं वापि ह्यवारगिरिनादरात् । प्रयागवदशाखायां देहत्यागं करोति वा ॥ स्वयं देहविनाशस्य काले प्राप्ते महामतिः । उक्तानामप्रामुख्योक्तान्मल-धाती भवेत्काचित् ॥ एतेषामधिकारस्तु सर्वेषां सर्वजन्तुषु । नराणामथ नाराणां सर्ववर्णेषु सर्वदा ॥ त्रिस्थली- p 53

1385 तस्मादाहुरादेरनाहुरादेश्च सर्वस्याधिकार । किं तु इन्द्रौ पितरौ तरुणी भार्या पोष्यमपत्य च विहाय नधिकारः । एव स्त्रिया अपि गर्भिण्या बालापत्याया भवान्नुज्जाताया वा नाधिकार इत्यादि ज्ञेयम् । त्रिस्थली- p. 55

1386 काश्यादिमरणाण्युक्तिरित्यत्र प्रयोजकत्वे पञ्चमी । तज्जन्यादात्मज्ञानादेव मोक्षोत्पत्ते । ज्ञानेन विना मिथ्याज्ञानमिष्टुत्तरसम्भवात् । 'अत्र टि जन्तो. ...रुद्रस्तारकं ब्रह्म ध्याचक्षे' इति श्रुतेश्च । यत्तु काश्यां देहावसाने रुद्रोपदेशश्चुतेरस्तु ज्ञानापेक्ष न तु सर्वत्र । प्रयागमरणादीनि वैवात्मसाक्षात्कारमप्यगोदयात् । .. तदस्तु विना ज्ञानं मिथ्याज्ञानमिष्टुत्तरसम्भवात् । तीर्थम्.

(Continued on the next page)

the most learned and renowned Pandit of his age steeped in all the lore of ancient India, make, in spite of the overwhelming weight of śāstric authority in favour of suicide at Prayāga, exceptions that surely appeal to reason, sentiment and common sense.¹³⁸⁷ Nārāyanabhadda probably followed traditions several hundred years older than his times. Alberuni in his work on India composed about 1030 A. D. says about religious suicide that 'it was resorted to by those who are tired of life, who are distressed over some incurable disease, some irremovable bodily defect or old age or infirmity. This however no man of distinction does, but only vaiśyas and śūdras. Burning oneself is forbidden to brāhmanas and ksatriyas by a special law. Therefore these if they want to kill themselves do so at the time of an eclipse in some other manner or they hire somebody to drown them in the Ganges.' (tr. by Sachau, vol. II, p. 170). The Tri. S. S. provides that a man desirous of committing religious suicide at Prayāga should first perform a prāyaścitta,

(Continued from the last page)

p. 313; the passage of the जाबालोपनिषद् is: अविभक्तं वै कुक्षेत्रं देवानां देवयजनं सर्वेषां भूतानां ब्रह्मसदनम्। तस्माद्यत्र क्वचन गच्छति तदेव मन्येत तदविभक्तमेव। इदं वै कुक्षेत्रं देवानां...सदनम्। अत्र हि जन्तोः प्राणेष्वत्मनोः रजस्तारकं ब्रह्म स्याच्छेदे येना सावधुतीभूत्वा मोक्षीभवति।। In the Bhau Daji collection of mss at the Bombay Asiatic Society there is a ms. called अविभक्तनिष्कसितार (cat. No. 1047) which contains 15 verses and comments thereon intended to explain the purport of the Jābālopaniṣad passage quoted and also some other passages from the same. In this work कुक्षेत्रं occurring in जाबालोपनिषद् is explained as 'कुत्सितं शवयतीति कुक्ष पार्यं तस्य क्षेत्रमात् इति कुक्षेत्रं पापनाशनमित्यर्थः' and देवयजनं as ब्रह्मोपास्तिसदनम्

1387. काश्यप्यत्र मरणम्। अत्र तु सर्ववर्णानामधिकारः। गङ्गावा. p. 305 and तीर्थचि. p. 47. It is a most remarkable thing that the treatment of मयागमण in both these works is word for word the same, except that the तीर्थचि. quotes the verses न वेदवचनाः from the पद्मपुराण while the गङ्गावा. quotes them from the मत्स्य. It appears probable that the तीर्थचि. borrows from the गङ्गावा. since वाचस्पति appears to have been a younger contemporary of Vidyapati who helped विश्वासदेवी in composing गङ्गावा. Both were closely connected with the several kings and queens of the कामेश्वर dynasty of Mithilā and it is difficult to assert with confidence who borrows from whom. In New I A. vol. VII. at p. 53 Prof. G. C. Basu while describing a newly found ms. of a work called ग्याद्विभक्तिवर्द्धिणी ascribed in the colophon to विद्यापति states that that work mentions the द्वैतनिर्णय of वाचस्पति. So it is not unlikely that विद्यापति helped विश्वासदेवी by taking a part from the तीर्थचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति. Vide H. of Dh. vol. I pp. 739-740, Journal of Dept. of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. XVI, New I. A. vol. VII pp. 49 ff., I. H. Q. vol. XX (1944) pp. 211 ff for the date and works of विद्यापति and H. of Dh. vol. I. pp. 404-405 for the date of वाचस्पति

should perform his own śrāddha upto the offering of pinda if he has no relative entitled to perform it, should fast that day, should make a sankalpa next day preceded by a writing (to inform people of his desire to die in that way) and enter the holy waters contemplating on Visnu. On his death, his relatives have to observe āsauca only for three days (and not for ten) and on the 4th day the śrāddhas of the 11th day are to be performed for him.¹³⁸⁸

The psychological background behind the religious suicide at Prayāga and other places is not difficult to realise. Centuries of philosophical thought had made a very deep impression on the minds of all people that the soul has to submit to a never-ending cycle of births and deaths. Ancient scriptures had offered a release in two ways viz. by *tattvaṅāna* and by suicide at a tīrtha. Death had no great terror for the pilgrim who submitted to various inconveniences and privations ungrudgingly. If one is determined to put an end to *samsāra* by taking one's life, what nobler environment could have been imagined or indicated than at Prayāga, where two mighty rivers flowing from the sacred Himalaya unite and carry on unceasingly their work of fertilizing the land and bringing prosperity and solace to millions of needy and anxious people?

While on this topic of religious suicide, it would not be out of place to briefly refer to the discussion in the digests about the meaning of the statement in the purānas that those who die at Prayāga are not born again (e. g. Matsya 180. 71 and 74). The answer is foreshadowed in the Matsyapurāna itself (182. 22-25) which 1389 says: At the time of death, when the vital

1388 इहः शौचस्त्वैर्लुप्तं मत्पापपातनिपक्रुत्क्रियाः। आत्मानं चातयेद्यस्तु शुभ्रगन्धन-
ज्ञानादिभिः। तस्य निरात्मनाशौचं द्वितीयं त्वस्थितञ्चयम्। वृत्तये रूढकं कृत्वा चतुर्थे आहूमा-
श्वरेत् ॥ अत्रि 216-219 q by मेधा० on मनु V. 89 कल्प० (on आशौच p. 87) quotes
these slightly differently and remarks वेधे तु देहत्यागे इहः.. माशौचं कर्तव्या चोदक-
क्रिया इति वचनाद्भवत्येवोदकादिक्रिया.

1389 The स्कन्दपुराण, काशी० has the following verses which repeat what the Matsya (182 22-25) says viz Śiva whispers into the right ear of a man dying at Kāśī the knowledge of *brahma* that will save his soul ब्रह्मज्ञानेन मुच्यन्ते नान्यथा जन्तवः कश्चित्। ब्रह्मज्ञानमये क्षेत्रे प्रयागे वा तदुत्पद्यजः॥ ब्रह्मज्ञानं तदेवाहं काशीसंस्थितिभागिनाम्। दिशामि तारकं शान्ते मुच्यन्ते ते तु तदक्षणात् ॥ chap. 32, verses 115-116. साक्षान्मोक्षो न चतस्रं क्षुरीपु भियभाषिणि। स्कन्द, काशी० 83 (अमृत्य tells लोपासुद्धा). The मत्स्य० verses are अन्तकाले मत्प्रयाणा द्वियमानेषु नर्मदु। वायुना प्रेर्यमाणानां स्मृतिर्निवोपजायते। अविमुक्ते ह्यन्तकाले भक्तानामीश्वरः स्वयम्। कर्मभिः प्रेर्य-
माणानां कर्णजापं प्रयच्छति। मणिकर्ण्यं त्यजन्देहं गतिनिष्ठां ब्रजेन्द्र.। ईश्वरप्रेरितो याति द्रुष्माणमकृतात्मनि. ॥ 182 22-25 The words अन्तकाले .. जायते refer to the general rule The verses अविमुक्ते state the special case of death in Avimukta The त्रिस्थलौ० p. 297 quotes these verses and reads अविमुक्ते त्वन्तकाले

parts of the human body are being shattered, memory must fail a human being that is about to be pushed on (to another body) by the vital breath (when it leaves the mortal coil). But at the time of death in Avimukta (Vārānasi) Lord (Śiva) himself whispers (higher knowledge) in the ears of his devotees that are about to be pushed (into new bodies) by (accumulations of their actions). A man dying near Mauikarnikā pool reaches the desired goal; he being guided by the Lord reaches the goal which is difficult of attainment by those whose minds are not pure.' In the Kāśikhanda it is expressly stated that mokṣa does not directly result in these cities (viz. Kāśi &c). But in spite of these warnings the popular belief fostered by the literal meaning of hundreds of Purāna passages is that mokṣa results from dying at Prayāga or in Kāśiksetra.

The practice of religious suicide has a very respectable antiquity. In the 4th century B. C. Kalanos, the Indian Gymnosophist from Taxila who had accompanied Alexander from India, burnt himself alive on a funeral pyre at Sousa, when being over 70 years old, he was afflicted with a malady that made life more and more burdensome. Vide J W McCrindle's 'Invasion of India by Alexander the Great' (New Edition 1896) pp. 46, 301, 386-392. Strabo informs us of a gymnosophist from India named Zarmanochegas of Broach who accompanied an embassy to Augustus Caesar at Athens and consigned himself to flames (vide 'Invasion of India by Alexander' p. 389). Hiouen Tshang (Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the Western World' vol. I. pp. 232-234) refers to suicide at Prayāga. The Jains, while on the one hand they laid the greatest emphasis on 'ahiṃsā' (non-injury), encouraged religious suicide (called 'Sallekhanā') in certain cases¹³⁹⁰.

Some of the works, viz. the Kāśimṛti-mokṣa-vicāra of Sureśvara (pp. 2-9), the Tristhalīsetu (pp. 50-55) and the Tirthaparakāśa (pp. 313-318) discuss at some length how mere death (either involuntary or voluntary) in Vārānasi or Prayāga would lead to mokṣa. Considerations of space prevent a complete statement of their views. Their arguments are briefly as follows:—Karma is of three kinds, viz. *sañcita* (collected in former births), *prārabhita* (that has begun to

¹³⁹⁰. Vide I A. vol II. p 322 'Jain Inscriptions at Sravaca Belgola', where some verses are quoted from the Ratnalaranda of which the following one may be noted. उपसर्गं दुर्मिक्षे जलानि रुजाया च निम्पतीकरी । धर्माय तन्निभो चनमाह सहेलनामार्था ॥

operate by giving the soul the present body) and *kṛiyamāna* (to be done in this body and in future). The Upaniṣads and the Gīṭā¹³⁹¹ declare that, just as waters do not stick to a lotus leaf, so evil deeds do not cling to a man who knows this (knowledge of *brahma*), that the fire of knowledge reduces to ashes all *karma* and that *moksa* results from the realization of the Supreme Spirit (Vedānta-sūtra IV. 1. 13). From this it follows that a man who has realized the Highest Reality will not be affected by the acts done by him after realization and his accumulated actions (*sañcita*) will be destroyed by that realization. The present body in which the soul realizes *brahma* was due to that part of his *karma* which had begun to operate. When the present body perishes in the case of a man who has realized *brahma* he attains final release, since no actions remain for producing effects. To the man who dies a natural death in Benares is given at the time of death the Tāraka (saving) mantra. The Matsyapurāna says:¹³⁹² those who enter fire according to the rules in Avimukta (i. e. Benares) enter the mouth of Śiva and so also those determined devotees of Śiva who die by fast in Benares do not return (to this world) even after millions of *kalpas*. Therefore all those who die in any way at¹³⁹³ Benares receive Grace from Śiva after their death. That leads to *tattvajñāna* (correct spiritual knowledge) which leads to *moksa*. In rare passages it is expressly stated that *mokṣa* cannot¹³⁹⁴ be immediately secured

1391 यथा सुकल्पलता आपो न श्लिष्यन्त एवमेवविदि पापं कर्म न श्लिष्यत इति । छा उप IV, 14 3, भिक्षते हृदयग्रन्थिश्छिद्यन्ते सर्वसंज्ञा । क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि तस्मिन् दृष्टे परावरे ॥ सुण्डकोपनिषद् II 2 8, यथैधासि समिज्जोग्निर्भस्मसात्कुचतेऽर्जुन । ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात्कुचते तथा ॥ भगवद्गीता ॥ IV 37

1392 अग्निमेतद् वे कुर्षुरविसुके विद्यातत । मविशन्ति सुखं ते मे नि सान्निध्य वरानने । कुर्ष्वन्यनशनं वे तु मद्भक्ता कृतनिश्चया । न तेषां पुनरावृत्तिः कल्पकोटिशतैरपि ॥ मत्स्य 183 77-78 q by कल्पसूत्र on तीर्थ p 21

1393. 'ज्ञानादेव तु कैवल्यम्' इत्यादि श्रुतिसृष्टिस्यो ज्ञानाभावे मोक्षाभावादिश्वेश्वरखण्डपुराणदिदत्तारकादेवात्रात्मज्ञानोत्पत्ति । सद्रूपं काशीखण्डे । ब्रह्मज्ञानेन सुच्यन्ते मान्यथा जन्तवः कश्चित् । ब्रह्मज्ञानं सर्वदाहं काशीसंस्थितिभागिनाम् । दिशामि तारक मान्ते सुच्यन्ते ते तु तत्समाप्त । त्रिस्थलीय p 292 which quotes काशीखण्ड 32 115-116 Similar statements occur in काशीखण्ड 21. 98 विपक्षानां च जन्तुसां यत्र त्रिश्वेश्वर स्वयम् । कर्णे जाप मकुचते कर्मनिर्मूलनक्षमम् ॥ and काशीखण्ड 61 117-118, 64 98. The गरुडपुराण (मेनखण्ड, 6 60-61) says 'तीर्थराजस्ततः काशी महादेवो दद्यान्निधिः । मृतानां यत्र जन्तुता कर्णे जपति तारकम् ॥'.

1394. साङ्गान्मोक्षो न चेताह पुरीषु मियभ्रायणि । स्कन्द, काशी 8 2 (अगस्त्यो नोपासुदा) तारकं प्रणव तारयतीति तार स्वार्थं कल्पयय । संसारमागराडुतारकं तारकं च तद् ब्रह्म इति तारकं ब्रह्म उच्यते । काशीसृष्टिनोक्षविचार p 3

(by dying) in these cities. The Tāraka-mantra is variously explained. According to Sureśvara, Tāraka-mantra is the mystic syllable *om* which is a symbol of *brahma* as stated in the Tai. Up. (I. 1.8 *Om-iti brahma*) and the Gītā (8. 13 *Om-ityekāksaram brahma*). The Tri. S. gives another explanation besides this. According to Rāmatāpanīya Upanisad and¹³⁹⁵ the Padmapurāna the mantra is 'śri-Rāma-Rāma-Rāmeti.'

There are several sub-tirthas that fall under Prayāga. The most important of them is the famous Vata (banyan tree) called *Aksaya-Vata* (the imperishable Vata). The Agni (111. 13) states 'if a man dies at the foot of the Vata and in the Sangama he goes to the city of Viṣṇu'. Special reference is made to abandoning one's life at the foot of the Vata. The Kūrma¹³⁹⁶ says 'He, who abandons life at the foot of the Vata, passes beyond heavenly worlds and goes to the world of Rudra'. The following are the sub-tirthas of Prayāga and only references are given to the works in which they are described: (1) the two Nāgas called Kambala and Aśvatara which according to some are on the spacious (vipula) bank of the Jumnā and according to others on the southern bank of the Jumnā (Vanaparva 85. 77, Matsya 106. 27, Padma, Ādi 39. 69, Agni 111. 5, Kūrma I. 37. 19), (2) Pratisthāna on the eastern side of the Ganges, being the same as the Sāmudra-kūpa (Vanaparva 85. 77, Matsya 106. 30, Kūrma I. 37. 22, Padma, Ādi. 43. 30; Vanaparva 85. 114 appears to suggest that Pratisthāna is another name of Prayāga; (3) Sandhyāvata (Matsya 106. 43, Kūrma I. 37. 28, Agni 111. 13); (4) Hamsaprapatana to the north of Pratisthāna and to the east of the Ganges (Matsya 106. 32, Kūrma I. 37. 24, Agni 111. 10, Padma, Ādi 39. 80 and 43. 32, (5) Kotitirtha (Matsya 106. 44, Kūrma I. 37. 29, Agni 111. 14, Padma, Ādi 43. 44; (6) Bhogavati, the Vedit of Prajāpati to the north of Vāsuki (Vanaparva 85. 77, Matsya 106. 46, Agni 111. 5, Padma, Ādi 39. 79 and 43. 46; (7) Daśāśvamedhaka (Matsya 106. 46, Padma, Ādi 39. 80); (8) Urvaśīpulina, suicide at which

1395. रामतापनीये तु श्रीराममन्त्र एव तारकशब्दार्थ उक्त । सुमूर्खोर्दक्षिणे कर्णे यस्व कस्यापि वा स्वयम् । उपदेशयति मन्मन्त्रं स सुको भविता शिव ॥ एके तु श्रीशब्दपूर्वकस्त्रिराष्टौ रामशब्द एव तारकतयोक्त । सुमूर्खोर्मणिकर्ण्यन्तरघोदकनिवासिनः । अहं दिशति ते मन्त्रं तारकं ब्रह्मवाचकम् । श्रीरामरामरामेति एतत्तारकमुच्यते ॥ त्रिरथली० p. 291.

1396. वदमूर्खं समाश्रित्य यस्तु माणान् परित्यजेत् । स्वर्गलोकातिक्रम्य रुद्रलोके स मच्छति ॥ कूर्म. I. 37. 8-9 v. by तीर्थचि० p. 48. The same is पद्म, आदिखण्ड 43. 11 (reads सर्वलोकात्).

led to ¹³⁹⁷ various rewards quoted below (Matsya 106. 34-42, ¹³⁹⁸ Padma, Ādi 43. 34-43, Agni 111. 13, Kūrma I. 37. 26-27); (9) Rnapramocana, on the northern bank of Yamunā and to the south of Prayāga (Kūrma I. 38. 14, Padma, Ādi 44. 20); (10) Mānasa on the north bank of the Ganges (Matsya 107. 9, Padma, Ādi 44. 2, Agni 111 14); (11) Agnitīrtha on the southern bank of the Jumnā (Matsya 108 27, Kūrma I. 39.4, Padma, Ādi 45. 27); (12) Viraja on the north bank of Yamunā (Padma, Ādi 45. 29); (13) Anaraka ¹³⁹⁹ to the west of Dharmarāja (Kūrma I. 39. 5).

The Purānas lay down that if a man starts on a pilgrimage, but dies on the way to Prayāga he reaps great benefits even without reaching it, provided he dies remembering Prayāga. The Matsyapurāna (105. 8-12) asserts: ¹⁴⁰⁰ A man whether in his own country or house or after leaving his country dies in a forest, while remembering Prayāga, he still secures the world of Brahma; he reaches a world where the

1397 उर्वशीसुलिने पुण्ये विदुले हंसपाण्डुरे। परित्यजति यः प्राणाञ्च हृष्य तत्प्रापि पल्लवम्॥ पटिवर्षसहस्राणि पटिवर्षशतानि च। सेव्यते पितृभिः सार्धं स्वर्गलोके नराधिप ॥ उर्वशीं तु सदा पश्येत्स्वर्गलोके नरोत्तमः। पूज्यते सततं पुत्र क्रयिगन्धर्वकिनरे ॥ तत स्वर्गात् परिभ्रष्ट-क्षीणकर्मा दिवश्च्युतः। उर्वशीसहस्रानां तु कल्पानां लभते ज्ञातम्॥ मध्ये नारीसहस्राणां बहूनां च पतिर्भवेत्। दशग्रामसहस्राणां भोक्ता भवति भूमिपः ॥ काञ्चिद्विपुरहाव्येन सुतोसौ प्रतिवृषते। शुक्या तु विदुलाभोगास्तत्तीर्थं लभते पुनः॥ झञ्जान्वरधरो नित्यं निचत-संयत-न्द्रिय। एकं कालं तु झञ्जानो नासं भूमिपतिर्भवेत्॥ हवर्णालङ्कृतानां तु नारीणां लभते ज्ञातम्।

पुथिग्यानासहस्राणां महाभूमिपतिर्भवेत्॥ धनधान्यसमायुक्तो द्वाता भवति नित्यज्ञः। शुक्या तु विदुलाभोगास्तत्तीर्थं लभते पुन ॥ मत्स्य. 106 34-42 = पद्म, आदिखण्ड 43. 34-42 with some variations The first two verses are कूर्म I. 37, 26-27 and all occur नारदीय (उ) 63, 140-149.

1398. It may be noted that the rewards promised for suicide at Urvāṣipulina are sex pleasures and secular benefits like becoming a king or governor. Even suicide at the Saṅgama is promised similar pleasures of the flesh and of lingly power and riches in Matsya 105. 1-12.

1399 In मत्स्य. 108 29 we read तीर्थं निरञ्जनं नाम यत्र देवाः सवासवाः which appears to be a misreading पश्चिमे धर्मराजस्य तीर्थं त्वनरकं स्मृतम्। कूर्म I. 395.; the अग्नि 111 14 mentions a तीर्थं called वानरक (or वासरक acc. to some mss.) but that seems to be a misreading of त्वनरकं (तु + अनरकं). मत्स्य. 108. 27 तीर्थं तु नरकं स्मृतम् seems to be a misreading for त्वनरकं. Several tīrthas called अनरक are known. Vide पद्म, आदि 27.56 and list.

1400. देशस्थो यदि वारण्ये विदेशस्थोऽथवा गृहे। प्रयागं स्मरमाणोऽपि यस्तु प्राणाञ्च परित्यजेत्॥ ब्रह्मलोकमवाप्नोति वदन्ति कपियुक्त्वा। सर्वकामफला वृक्षा मही यत्र हिरण्ययो। भद्रयो मुनय सिद्धास्तत्र लोने स गच्छति। स्त्रीसहस्रावृते रम्ये मन्दाकिन्प्रास्तते श्रुते। मोदते कथिभिः सार्धं सुकृतेनेह कर्मणा। तत स्वर्गात्परिभ्रष्टो जम्बूद्वीपपतिर्भवेत्। मत्स्य. 105. 8-11 p. 67 गङ्गावा p. 310; verses from स्त्रीसहस्रा are quoted from कूर्म by त्रिस्यली p. 25.

trees yield all desires, where the earth is full of gold and where there are sages and *munis* and *siddhas*; he dwells on the bank of the Ganges full of thousands of women and enjoys the company of sages, when he comes down from heaven he becomes the lord of Jambūdvīpa.

At most famous tirthas the pilgrim has to perform śrāddha. The Visnu Dh. S. (chap 85) mentions about fifty-five sacred places which are fittest for śrāddha. The Kalpataru (on tirtha), the Gangāvākyāvali, Tir. C. and other digests quote several verses from the Devipurāna, the gist of which is as follows. Śrāddha should be performed at tirthas, but there is no offering of *aghya* and no *āvāhana* (since pits are deemed to be always present at tirthas, as the Kāsikhanda says) nor is the entering of the thumb of the invited brāhmana into the food served done, nor is there the question about the brāhmanas being satiated, nor *vikra*.¹⁴⁰¹ If one is unable to follow the complete procedure of śrāddha one should merely offer pindas made from barley meal or may offer *sahyāla* (cake of wheat flour fried with ghee and milk), rice boiled in milk, the cake of sesame (after the oil is extracted) or jaggery.¹⁴⁰² It should not be allowed to be seen by dogs, crows and vultures, it may be offered at any time after the pilgrim reaches the holy place. A śrāddha performed at a holy place gives great satisfaction to pītras. Some of the works such as the Tristhalisetusārasangraha of Bhattoji provide that after performing a pārvanaśrāddha at a tirtha and after making offerings of pindas to one's ancestors one should offer a single pinda to one's other relatives with the following mantra 'Here I offer pinda to deceased persons of my father's family, and of my mother's family and to the deceased relatives of my guru and of my father-in-law, to those men of my family

1401 अर्घ्यमावाहनं चैव द्विजाङ्गुलिनिवेशनम्। वृत्तिपन्नं च विकिरं तीर्थं आहुते विवर्जयेत्॥ १ by त्रिं से सा स p 18, देवाश्च पितरो यस्माद्गृह्णायां सर्वदा स्थिताः। आवाहनं विसर्गं (०-गीश्व?) तेषां तत्र ततो न हि॥ काशीखण्ड 28.9, तीर्थं आहुते प्रकुर्वन्त पकाग्निं विशेषतः। आत्माग्नेन हिरण्येन कन्दमूलफलैरपि॥ सुमन्तु १ 10 त्रिं से सा स p. 20

1402 सकृन्मि पिण्डदानं तु सयाने। पायसेन तु। कर्तव्यमपि मिष्टं पिण्याकेन ख्येन च। आहुते तत्र तु कर्तव्यमर्घ्यावाहनवर्जितम्। श्वधासशुभकात्मानां नैव ह्यहितं च यत्। आहुते तत्तीर्थं प्रोक्तं पितृणां भोक्तृकारकम्। कालेवाप्यथवाऽकाले तीर्थं आहुते तथा नै। मातैरेव सदा कार्यं कर्तव्यं पितृवर्षणम्। पिण्डदानं च तच्छसतं पितृणाम्निवृद्धम्। विलम्बो नैव कर्तव्यो न च विलम्बे समाचरेत्। पञ्चपुराण V 29 212-218, १ by पृथ्वीचन्द्रोद्भव folio 135b and 136a. The same verses are quoted from देवीपुराण by कल्पः on तीर्थं p. 10, तीर्थं च, pp 10-11, गङ्गावा. p 129. Vide स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड 6 58-60 for some of the verses and नारदीय (उत्तर) 62. 41-42 for last two verses

who were devoid of sons or wives and so who would lose the benefit of the pinda (to be offered by the son or wife) and in the case of whom all rites after death have ceased, those who were blind from birth or were cripples, those who were malformed or died in the womb; to all these, whether known or unknown to me, may this (pinda) reach inexhaustively' (Vāyu 110. 51-52). After this he should offer another pinda for his servants, slaves, friends, dependents, pupils, persons who conferred obligations on him, cattle, trees and those with whom he came in contact in other lives (Vāyu 110. 54-55). If a person is ill or has not the time to go through this elaborate procedure, then he should make a sankalpa that he would perform śrāddha and should offer a single pinda with the mantra (in Vāyu 110 23-24) 'I offer this pinda to my father, grand-father, great-grand-father, to my mother, father's mother, grandfather's mother, to my maternal grandfather and to the latter's father and grandfather. May it reach them inexhaustively'!

The Anuśāsana-parva, the Kūrmapurāna, Nārādiya (uttara) 63. 19-20 and 36-38 and others highly praise bathing at the *sangama* in the month of Māgha¹⁴⁰³. Men of all castes, women and those born of mixed unions can take this bath; śūdras, women and men of mixed castes should not repeat any mantra but should bathe silently or with the word 'namah' (Tri. S. p 39). Similarly, the Padma, Kūrma, Agni and other Purānas wax eloquent over a bath for three days in Māgha saying that it is equal to the gift of three crores of cows.¹⁴⁰⁴ There is great divergence as to exactly what three days are meant, as pointed out by the Tri. S. p 33. The various views are the three days are the passage of the sun into Capricornus, Rathasaptami and the full moon day of Māgha; the three consecutive days including the 10th of the bright half of Māgha, the first three days of Māgha, the three consecutive days from the 13th day of the bright half of Māgha; any three days in Māgha.

1403. दशतीर्थसहस्राणि पटिकोदयस्तथापरा । समागच्छन्ति मास्या तु प्रयागे भरतर्षभा
अनुवासन 25 36-37, पटिस्तीर्थसहस्राणि पटिस्तीर्थज्ञानानि च । माघमासे गमिष्यन्ति गङ्गा-
पयुनसङ्गमे ॥ कूर्म I 38 1; मत्स्य 107.7 is very nearly the same

1404 यथा कोटिमद्दानाद्यत् इयद् स्नानस्य तत्कलम् । प्रयागे माघमासे तु एवमाहुर्मनी-
विण् ॥ अग्नि 111 10-11, यथा शतसहस्रस्य सन्पयद्स्य यत्कलम् । प्रयागे माघमासे तु इयद्
स्नानस्य तत्कलम् ॥ पद्म, आदि 44. 8, कूर्म I. 38 2

CHAPTER XIII

KĀŚĪ

There is hardly any city in the world that can claim greater antiquity, greater continuity and greater popular veneration than Banaras. Banaras has been a holy city for at least thirty centuries. No city in India arouses the religious emotions of Hindus as much as Kāśī does. To the Hindu mind it represents great and unbroken traditions of religious sanctity and learning. It is a miniature of Hindu life through the ages in all its great complexities and contradictions. Not only Hinduism with its numerous sects has flourished here for numberless centuries, but the principles of Buddhism, one of the great religions of the world, were first proclaimed here by Śākyamuni after he received Enlightenment at Bodh-Gayā under the Bodhi tree. Thousands of verses are found in the epics and purānas about Banaras. Several volumes have been written about Banaras during the last hundred years.¹⁴⁰⁵ It would be impossible to do justice here to this vast mass of literature on Banaras. I shall briefly deal with the important topics relating to Banaras. In olden times the name was spelt as Benares, but recently as Banaras, which will be retained here (except in quotations).

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to dwell, however briefly, on the ancient history of Banaras. The Śatapatha Br. quotes ¹⁴⁰⁶ a Gāthā which states that Satānika, son of Satrajit, carried away the sacred sacrificial horse of the Kāśīs, as Bharata did in the case of the Satvats. In Śat. Br. XIV. 3. 1. 22 king Dhrtarastra Vicitravīrya is called Kāśya. In the Gopātha Br. we have ¹⁴⁰⁷ the combination Kāśī-Kośalāh. The

1405. Among modern works in English dealing with Banaras the following may be mentioned 'Benares, a handbook for the visitors' by J. Ewee (Calcutta, 1886), 'The sacred city of the Hindus' by M. A. Sbering with a learned Introduction by Dr. F. E. Hall (London, 1886) and 110 photographs, 'Benares, the sacred city' by E. B. Havell (1905) with many fine illustrations, 'History of Benares' by Prof. A. S. Altekar (1937) with a few diagrams and photographs

1406. तदेतद्वाथयाभिगीतम् । शतानीकं समन्ताद्भु मेघ्य सात्राजितो ह्ययम् । आदत्त यज्ञं काशीना भरत सत्त्वतान्वितेति । शतपथब्रा XIII 5 4 21.

1407. विचारी ह वै काशान्वि. कश्चन्यस्याथर्वणस्य पुत्रो मेधावी भीमासकोऽद्वैतान् आस । स ह स्वेनातिमानेन साङ्ग्य वित्तं नेयाय । तं मत्तोवाच । त एवैतद्वज्रमवीचत् इममेतु कुरुपञ्चाले. ऋद्धमगधेयु काशीकौसल्येयु ..उदीच्येव्वज्रमदन्ति । गोपथ, पूर्वभाग 2 9.

Cambridge History of India (vol. I p. 117) remarks that in the Brāhmana period Kāśī, the capital of the Kāśis, was situated on the Varanāvati. In the Br. Up. (II. 1. 1) and the Kausītaki¹⁴⁰⁸ Up. (IV. 1) there is the story of the proud Balāki Gārgya going to Ajātasātru, king of Kāśī, with the assurance that the former would expound *brahma* to the latter. In Pānini IV. 2. 116 Kāśī heads a *gana* (Kāśyādibhyas-than-ithau). Under Pānini IV. 2. 113 we get the form 'Kāśiyah.' It is remarkable that in the Sarvānukrama the rsi of Rg. X. 179. 2 is stated to be Prataradana Kāśirāja. In *tarpana*, the Hir. Gr. (II 8. 19. 6) mentions Kāśī-svara along with Visnu and Rudraskanda (S. B. E. vol 30 p. 244). Divodāsa figures frequently in the Rgveda. In Rg I. 130 7 Indra is said to have conquered ninety cities for Divodāsa, while in Rg. IV. 30. 20 it is stated that Indra gave 100 cities of stone to Divodāsa. From these Vedic references it may be surmised that in later works like the Epics and the Purānas Divodāsa was naturally credited with the founding of the most sacred city in India. In the Mahābhāṣya on Vārtika 4 on Pān. IV. 1. 54 (vol II, p 223) we find the illustration 'Kāśī-Kosalīyāh.' The Mahābhāṣya (vol. II p 413) furnishes the interesting information that there is a difference in the price of cloth manufactured at Kāśī and that manufactured at Mathurā, though the length and breadth of the piece of cloth be the same. This shows that even so early as the 2nd century B. C. Kāśī was famous for the fine qualities of its cloth, as now.¹⁴⁰⁹ From the above passages it is clear that Kāśī was the name of a country long before the Śatapatha Br. was composed and it remained so till the 2nd century B. C. (the date of Patañjali). We have a parallel example. Avanti is the name of a country as shown by Pān IV. 1. 176 (striyam-avanti-kunti-kurubhyas-ca) and by the Meghadūta (Prāpyāvanti-udayana—), but Avanti or Avantikā is also the name of Ujjayini (as in the well-known verse 'Ayodhya...Avantika'). Fa Hien (399 to 413 A. D.) is said to have arrived at the city of Vārānasi in the kingdom of Kāśī (Legge's tr. p 94). This shows that about 400 A. D. Kāśī was still the name of the district and Vārānasi was its capital. But from the reference in the Mahābhāṣya it appears that Kāśī had then become the name of the city (and was also

1408. दृष्टवालाकिर्हान्त्वानो गार्ग्य आस सहोवाचाजातज्ञं काश्यं ब्रह्म ते ब्रवाणति ।
धृ. उप. II 1.1.

1409. इह समाने आयाने विस्तारे पटस्यान्यार्थो भवति काशीकस्वार्थो माधुरस्य । महा
भाष्य, vol II, p. 413 (on Pān, V, 3,35).

the name of the country) In the Anusāsana-parva (chap 30) it is said that Haryaśva, the grand-father of Divodāsa, was king of the Kāśis ^{1409a} and was harassed and killed by the Vīṭahavyas in the *Doab* between the Ganges and Jumna. Haryaśva's son was Sudeva who was crowned king of Kāśi (verse 13, Kāśirājas bhyasicyata) and he also met the same fate as his father did. Then Divodāsa, son of Sudeva, became king of the Kāśis and founded Vārānasi thickly populated with men of all varnas on the northern bank of the Gomati. This legend shows that Kāśi was the ancient name of a kingdom and the ancient belief was that Vārānasi was founded as the capital of the Kāśis by Divodāsa. In the Udyogaparva also Divodāsa is said to be the ruler of Kāśis.¹⁴¹⁰

The Harivamśa (I. chap. 29) has a long but rather confused story about Divodāsa and Vārānasi¹⁴¹¹ It deals with the dynasty of Āyus, one of the sons of Aija. One of the descendants of Āyus was Śunahotra who had three sons, Kāśa, Śala and Grtsamada. From Kāśa arose a branch called Kāsayah. Dhanvantari, a descendant of Kāśa, was king of the Kāśis (verse 22). Divodāsa was great-grandson of Dhanvantari. He killed 100 sons of Bhadrāsrenya, who first was Lord of Vārānasi. Then Śiva sent his *gana* Nikumbha to destroy Vārānasi which had been occupied by Divodāsa. Nikumbha cursed it to be devastated for a thousand years. When it became devastated it came to be called Avimukta and Śiva resided there. It was again re-established (verse 68) by Durdama, a son of Bhadrāsrenya, whom, because he was a child, Divodāsa had not killed. Then Pratardana, son of Divodāsa, took it from Durdama. Alarka, grandson of Divodāsa and king of Kāśis, again established Vārānasi. This legend may contain some germs of truth, viz. that Vārānasi had become devastated several times and had often changed hands. The Vāyupurāna (chap. 92) and the Brahmapurāna (chap. 11) also contain the same legends of Dhanvantari, Divodāsa, and Alarka and the vicissitudes of Vārānasi.

1409 a. काशिष्वपि द्रुपो राजन् दिवोदासपितामहः । ह्यश्व इति त्रिवृत्पातो बभूव जयता वरः ॥ अष्टशासन 30 10.

1410. महावीर्यं महापालं. काशीनाम्नीश्वरं. प्रभुः । दिवोदास इति ख्यातो भैमसेविर्न-
राधिपः ॥ उद्योग 117.1.

1411. सौदेवस्त्वथ काशीसो दिवोदासेभ्यविच्यत ।.. वाराणसी महातेजा निर्ममे शक-
शासनात् ॥ त्रिमहात्रियसम्बाधा वैश्यशूद्रसमाकुलात् । नैकद्रव्योच्चयवर्ती समृद्धविपयापणम् ।
सङ्गीया उत्तरे कूले वसन्ते राजसत्तम । गोमत्या दक्षिणे कूले शकस्वेषामरावतीम् । अष्टशासन
३०. 15-18.

In the Mahābhāṣya Patañjali states (vol. I. p. 380,) that Vārānasi is alongside of Gangā and on Pān. IV. 3. 84 (vol. II. p. 313) he informs us that traders call Vārānasi Jitvari.

Ancient Buddhist works show that Banaras was, in the times of Buddha (5th Century B. C. at the latest), a great and famous city like Campā, Rājagṛha, Śrāvastī, Sāketa and Kauśāmbī (vide Mahāparinibbānasutta, S. B. E. vol. XI p. 99 and Mahāsudassanasutta, *ibid.* p. 247). The very fact that Buddha attained Enlightenment at Gayā (which was an out of the way place and on the borders, if at all, of Āryāvarta), thought it necessary to travel hundreds of miles from Gayā and preach his doctrines at Banaras in the Deer-park and set rolling the wheel of the kingdom of Dharma at that place, clearly indicates that Banaras had then become a very holy place and was in the centre of all Aryan activities and culture (vide S. B. E. vol. XI. p. 153 and vol. XIII p. 90, Mahāvagga, S. B. E. vol. 17 p. 21). King Brahmādatta of Banaras figures in many *jātaka* stories. Hardly any part of the *jātaka* tales can be placed earlier than the 3rd century B. C. But it may be admitted that Banaras was well-known as the capital of Brahmādatta kings several centuries before Christ. The Matsyapurāna 273, while enumerating hundreds of kings bearing the same surnames, states that there were 100 Brahmādattas and 100 Kāśis and Kuśas¹⁴¹². But the very fact that Brahmādattas are separately mentioned from the Kāśis largely reduces the value of this piece of information. The ancient Jain works also speak of Banaras and Kāśī. In the Kalpasūtra it is said that Arhat Pārśva was born in Banaras in the month of Caitra on the 4th day of the dark fortnight (S. B. E. vol. XXII p. 271) and that when Mahāvira died the 18 confederate kings of Kāśī and Kosala along with other kings of the Licchavis and Mallakis instituted an illumination on the day of the New Moon (*ibid.* p. 266). Śvaghosa appears to identify Vārānasi with Kāśī when he says in his Buddhacarita 'Having entered Vārānasi, the Jina (Buddha) illumining the city with his light filled the minds of all the inhabitants of Kāśī with excessive interest.'¹⁴¹³ The Buddhacarita further speaks of Buddha as having gone under the shadow of a tree near Vanārā (S. B. E. vol. 49 part 1 p.

1412. शतमेक धार्तराजा स्वशीतिर्जनमेजयाः। शतं वै ब्रह्मदत्तानां वीराणां कुरवः शतम्। ततः शतं च पञ्चालाः शतं काशिकुशादयः॥ मत्स्य. 273. 72-73.

1413. वाराणसीं प्रविश्यथ भासा सम्भासयञ्जितः। चकार काशीदेशीयान् कीर्तुकां क्रीत्तचतसः॥ बुद्धचरित 15 101.

169), which is probably the Varanā. It is thus clear that Varānasi and Kāśī had become synonyms at least sometime about the first century A. D. In the Vāyupurāna 45.110 *Kāśī-kośalāh* figure among the countries of Madhyadeśa.

In the Visnupurāna we have the story of Paundraka Vāsudeva who challenged Kṛṣṇa and asked the latter to surrender his *Caltra* and other symbols. He was helped by the king of Kāśī. The combined armies of Paundraka and Kāśīrāja attacked Kṛṣṇa who killed Paundraka and cut off Kāśīrāja's head (with his discus) which fell in the city of Kāśī. His son performed austerities, propitiated Śankara and secured from him a Kṛtyā (ogress) which entered Varānasi. Kṛṣṇa's discus in pursuit of her burnt the whole of Varānasi together with its king, his servants and citizens. In this account from the Visnupurāna (V 34) the names Kāśī, Varānasi and Avimukta are employed as synonyms (verses 14, 21, 25, 30, 39). The same legend occurs in the same words in Brahmapurāna, chap 207 and is briefly referred to in Sabhāparva, chap. 14 18-20 and chap. 34. 11.

From the above-mentioned accounts in the Epic and Purānas about Kāśī and Mahādeva, various conclusions¹⁴¹⁴ have been drawn by writers, viz. that Mahādeva was a god of the non-Aryans, that Banaras was a centre of non-Aryan worship for a long time after the advent of the Aryans and that the people of Banaras, though they ultimately turned to the Aryan religion, were more interested in the philosophic speculations of the Upanisadic age. I dissent from most of these conclusions. We are on most unsafe ground as regards these conclusions. None of the extant Purānas can claim to be older than the 3rd or 4th century A. D. Most people in India lived and even now live a humdrum, placid and unattractive life in which there is nothing to satisfy the ordinary man's appetite for the mysterious, the unusual and the horrible. The purānas contain stories that may be divided into several classes and that satisfied the above-mentioned cravings of the common man. Many of the

1414. Vide, for example, Prof. A S Altekar's 'History of Benares,' pp 2-7. The Nāradiya (uttara, chap. 29)¹ states that Banaras was at first the city of Mādhava, but later on became a Saiva-ksetra, is there any real historical basis here? If any historical conclusion is to be drawn from this statement of the Nāradiyapurāna it would be exactly the opposite of what Prof. Altekar has drawn, viz. that the non-Aryans scored a cultural victory over the Aryans at Banaras.

legends contained in the purānas were meant for the entertainment of common people, just as even in these days millions in Western countries read with relish detective stories and crime club fiction. Some *paurānic* legends had a serious purpose in view viz emphasizing religious or philosophical dogma or moral values and standards and were clothed in a supernatural garb to make them striking and effective. Only a few legends have some historical basis, but the latter is evidently smothered in a mass of exaggerations and prejudices for or against a hero, or a caste, class, tribe or family. It is hardly fair to draw far-reaching historical conclusions from heterogeneous materials in the purānas about the conditions of things that prevailed several hundreds or thousands of years before they were compiled. The purānas often speak of the quarrels and bickerings among high gods and sages. For example, the *Visnupurāna* V. 30. 65 speaks of a fight between Indra and Kṛṣṇa. Was Kṛṣṇa a non-Aryan god originally? Ganeśa's left tooth was shattered by the missile of Paraśurāma who comes to fight with Rāma, both being supposed to be *avatāras* of Visnu. The sage Bhṛgu curses Visnu, Gautama curses Indra, Māṇḍavya curses Dharma (vide for all these, *Brahmaṇḍa* II. 27. 21-25).

In several purānas Kāśī or Vārānasi has been lauded and described at great length. Vide *Matsya* 180-185 (411 verses), *Kūrma* 1.31-35 (verses 226), *Lingapurāna* (*pūrvabhāga*, chap. 92, verses 190), *Padma* (*Ādikhanda* 33-37, verses 170), *Agni* 112, *Skanda*, *Kāśikhanda*, chap 5 ff, *Nāradiya* (*uttara*, chap. 48-51). The *Kāśikhanda* alone has about 15000 verses¹⁴¹⁵ on Banaras and its sub-tīrthas. In the *Padmapurāna* the sages are said to have asked Bhṛgu five questions, viz what is the greatness of Kāśī, how it is to be understood, who should resort to it, what is its extent (or boundaries) and by what means it (Kāśī) can be secured. In the *Skandapurāna*,

1415. Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall (Introduction to Sherrig's work p. XXXII n. 3) criticizes Dr Wilson for holding that the greater part of the *Kāśīkhanda* is anterior to the first attack on Banaras by Mahmud of Gazni and holds that it is later than the Gaznvide invader. Dr. Hall advances hardly any convincing reasons. The work of Alberuni is definite that Sultan Mahmud of Gazni had not spread his depredations as far as Banaras (vide Sachau, vol. 1 p. 22) 'This is the reason why Hindu Sciences ..have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares and other places.' The *Kalpataṛu* on Tīrtha quotes about one hundred verses on Vārānasi

(Continued on the next page)

Kāśikhanda ¹⁴¹⁶ (chap. 26, 2-5) the following questions are asked, viz. from what time this holy place Avimukta became highly famous, how it received the name Avimukta, how it became the way to *mokṣa*, how the pool of Manikarnikā became an object of worship to the three worlds, what was there formerly (when) the Ganges was not there, how it came to be called Vārānasi, Kāśī, Rudrāvāsa, how it came to be Ānandakānana (the forest of bliss) and then Avimukta and Mahāśmaśāna (the great cemetery).

Banaras has been known for centuries under five different names viz. Vārānasi, Kāśī, Avimukta, Ānandakānana and Śmaśāna or Mahāśmaśāna. The Kāśikhanda states that Śankara first called it Ānandakānana and then Avimukta, ¹⁴¹⁷

(Continued from the last page)

from the Skandapurāna and holds the latter work to be as authoritative as the Matsyapurāna, Lingapurāna and other Purānas. The Kalpataru of Lalakṣmīdhara was composed about 1110 A. D. (vide Prof. Aiyangar's Introduction to Tīrthakānda pp. XVIII-XIX). Therefore a century or two at least before 1100 A. D. there existed a Skandapurāna, part of which contained an eulogium of Banaras. Unfortunately the present printed Kāśīkhanda of the Skanda does not agree with the quotations from the Skanda given by the Kalpataru. A curious state of things is divulged as regards the quotations from Skanda in the Kalpataru. For example, on pp. 36-37 of the Kalpataru on Tīrtha, about 19 verses are quoted from Skanda which occur verbatim in the Lingapurāna, chap. 92. 120-142 (with the addition of some half verses). Similarly, on p. 44 of the Kalpataru three verses are quoted from Skanda, which are the same as Līnga. 92. 87-89. On p. 42 Kalpataru quotes one verse about Gopreśvara from Skanda which is quoted from the Lingapurāna by Tri. S. p. 171. Some of the Purānas say that the Skanda has 81101 verses (Matsya 53. 42-43). But the Skanda printed at the Venkatesvara press contains several thousand verses more. It appears that there were different recensions of the Skanda. The Tri. S. quotes verses from specific chapters of the Kāśīkhanda which are generally found in the printed work. Vide p. 193 (for chap. 30), 190 (for chap. 32), p. 144 (for chap. 34), p. 160 for chap. 45, p. 154 for chap. 49, pp. 157 and 200 for chap. 61 etc.

1416. किं माहात्म्यं कथं वेद्यं सेव्या कैश्च हिजोत्तम। परिमाणं च तस्या. किं केनोपायेन लभ्यते॥ पद्म, पातालखण्डं च. by त्रिस्थली० p. 72, अविमुक्तमिदं क्षेत्रं कदास्य युवस्तले। परा मथितेनायं मोक्षार्थं चाभवत्कथम्॥ कथमेवा त्रिलोकेश्वरा गीयते मणि-कूपिका। तत्रासीत्किं सुरा स्वामिन् यदा नामरनिम्नया॥ वारणसीति कदासीति रुद्रायास्त इति प्रश्नो। अत्राप नामधेयानि कथमेतानि सा सुरा। आनन्दकाननं रम्यमविसु कमनन्तरम्। महादमज्ञानमिति च कथं ख्यातं त्रिस्थिध्वज॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 26 2-5.

1417. अस्यानन्दवनं नाम सुराकारि पिनाकिना। क्षेत्रस्यानन्ददेहत्वाद्द्विसु कमनन्तरम् स्कन्द, काशी० 26 34 q by त्रिस्थली० p. 89 (reads निरन्तरम्)

A few words must be said about the derivation and significance of these words as gathered from the Purānas and other works. And first comes Kāśī. It is derived from the root *kāś* 'to shine.' The Skandapurāna¹⁴¹⁸ says that the city of Kāśī became famous by that name because it sheds light on (the way to) nirvāna (final release) or because that indescribable refulgence, viz. God Śiva shines forth there. The name Vārānasī is derived in several Purānas from the names of two streams Varanā¹⁴¹⁹ (modern Bārnā) and Asi, which are respectively the northern and southern boundaries of the modern city. From the passages quoted below from the Skandapurāna (Kāśī-khanda) it appears that Asi is the correct form of the name of the river. The names most frequently used in the Purānas are Vārānasī and Avimukta. In the Jābālopanisad¹⁴²⁰ the words Avimukta, Varanā and Nāsī are brought together in an esoteric sense. "Atri asked Yājñavalkya: how is one to know the unmanifested Self? Yājñavalkya explained that he was to be worshipped in Avimukta, since the self is centered in Avimukta. Then a question was asked: in what is Avimukta centered or established? The reply is that Avimukta is established in the midst of Varanā and Nāsī. Varanā is so called because it

1418. काशीतेऽत्र यतो ज्योतिस्तद्नाश्रुपेयमीश्वर । अतो नामापरं चास्तु काशीति प्रथितं विभो ॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 26 67 q by त्रिस्थली० p 88, मायामास तां गङ्गां वैलीपिः पुरतश्चरन् । निर्वाणकाशानाद्यत्र काशीति प्रथिता इति । स्कन्द, काशी० 30 5, काशी ब्रह्मेति विरुधातं तद्विभक्तौ जगद्भ्रम । अविमुक्त तदेवाहुः काशीति ब्रह्मवादिन ॥ q. by त्रिस्थली० p. 58.

1419 वरणायास्तथा चास्या मध्ये वाराणसी इति । पद्म, आदि 33 49, कूर्म I 31 63 (reads हस्या), वरणासी नदी यावत्तावच्छुक्लनदी (शुष्कनदी?) इव वै । मत्स्य 183 62; अश्वत्थ वरणा यत्र क्षेत्ररक्षाकृते कृते । वाराणसीति विरुधाता तद्वारण्य महामते । अश्वत्थ वरणायाश्च सङ्गम माप्य काशिका । स्कन्द, काशी० 30 69-70, वरणा च नदी नासी मध्ये वाराणसी तयो । अग्नि. 112 6 नासी appears to be a misreading for चासी in काशीखण्ड 30 18 there is a pun on the word अस्ति (a sword, the river) 'अस्ति महासिरूपा च माप्य सन्मतिखण्डनीम्' ; दक्षिणोत्तरदिग्भागे कृत्वासिं वरणा इराः । क्षेत्रस्य मोक्ष-निक्षेपरक्षानिर्घृतिमायुः ॥ क्षेत्रस्य पश्चादिग्भागे तं देहलिविनायकम् । काशीखण्ड 30 20-21, वरणा (वरणा?) च असी चापि हे नद्यौ सुरवृद्धभे । अन्तरालं तयो. क्षेत्रं मध्ये (वध्या?) च विज्ञाते क्वचित् । पद्म V 14 191 वध्या means हत्या. The वामनपुराण, after stating that काशीक्षेत्र is between वरणा and आसी (3 28 ff) contains a poetic description of वाराणसी with श्लोक्स quite in the style of Bāna 'तारागणे कुलीनत्व मेधे वृत्तच्छ्रुतिविभो' (v 38).

1420 अथ हैनमत्रि. पत्रच्छ याज्ञवल्क्यम् । य एषोऽनन्तोऽप्येक आत्मा तं कथमहं विजानीयामिति । सहेवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः । सोऽविमुक्त उपारय । य एषोऽनन्तोऽप्येक आत्मा सोऽविमुक्तं प्रतिष्ठित इति । सोऽविमुक्त कास्मिन् प्रतिष्ठित इति । वरणाया वास्या च मध्ये प्रतिष्ठित इति । का वै वरणा का च नासीति । सर्वानिन्द्रियकृतान्दोषान्धारयतीति वरणा भवति । सर्वानिन्द्रियकृतान्पापाकाशयतीति तेन नासी भवतीति । कथमच्चारय स्थान भवतीति । भुवो-ध्राणस्य च यः सन्धि स एव द्यौर्लोकस्य परस्य च सन्धिर्भवतीति । जाबालोप० 2nd para.

wards off all faults due to the senses and Nāsi destroys all sins due to the senses. Then a question is asked. what is its location (sthāna)? The reply is that it is the conjunction of the eyebrows and the nose i. e. the upāsana (contemplation) of Avimukta is to be made as located in the span between the eyebrows and the root of the nose." Here it will be seen that Varanā and Nāsi are the names (and not Varana and Asi). The Vāmanapurāna employs the form Asi (15,50-53). The same is the case with the Padma.

The name Avimukta has generally been explained as derived from the negative particle 'na' (for which 'a' is substituted) and vimukta (forsaken). Many Purānas say that the holy place is so called because it was never forsaken by Śiva (sometimes both Śiva and his consort) ¹⁴²¹ In the Lingapurāna another derivation is suggested ¹⁴²² "avi means 'sin'; that holy place is devoid of sin". The Kāśikhanda (39,74) states that originally the *ksetra* was called Anandakānana and then Avimukta because though Śiva went to stay on Mandara mountain he did not leave it entirely but left his *liṅga* there

Vārānasi is very dear to Śiva, it gives him joy and therefore it is called Anandavana or Anandakānana. ¹⁴²³ It is also styled Śmaśāna or Mahāśmaśāna for various reasons. As a belief was entertained by all people that death in Banaras freed a man from *samsāra*, and as the thoughts and aspirations of pious Hindus ran in the direction of dying on the sacred soil of Banaras, the old and decrepit crowded therein and persons seriously ill got themselves removed or were removed to the banks of the Ganges when about to die and were cremated there. Cremation of corpses is always seen on the Manikarnika *ghāt* near the Ganges. A śmaśāna (cemetery) is considered impure but Banaras with the sacred Ganges was purest in spite of being always the cremation ground for thousands in a year.

1421. मुने मलयकालेपि न तस्कोत्र कदाचन । त्रिमुक्तं हि विनाम्ना यदाभिमुक्तं ततो विदुः ॥ स्कन्द, काशी 26,27 q by त्रिस्थली p. 89; लिङ्गपुराण (पूर्वार्ध) 92. 45-46 विदुक्तं न नया यस्मान्मोक्षयते वा कदाचन ! मम क्षेत्रमिदं तस्मादपिमुक्तमिति रघुतमः, also the same verse is नारदीय (उत्तर) 48 24 vide मत्स्य. 180 54 and 181,15, अष्टि. 112.2 and लिङ्ग I 92. 104

1422. अविशन्वेन वापरस्तु वेदोक्तं ऋषयते द्विजे. तेन सुक्तं मया श्रुतमभिमुक्तमतोरप्यनं लिङ्ग (पूर्वार्ध) 92 143

1423. यथा मियतमा देवि मम त्वं सर्वगुह्यदि । तथा मियतरं सन्तमे मदानन्दाननम् ॥ काशीखण्ड 32.111; अविदुक्तं पर क्षेत्रं जन्तूना मुक्तिदं तदा । नैवेन मततं पीमा विदेषा न्नरणात्तिके ॥ लिङ्ग I. 91 76.

The Skanda says. ¹⁴²⁴ 'sma' means a corpse and 'śāna' means 'lying down'; when the end of the world comes, the great elements lie here as corpses and therefore this place is called Mahāśmaśāna." The Padmapurāna ¹⁴²⁵ makes Śiva say. 'Avimukta is a famous cemetery becoming the Destroyer (or the Time Spirit) I being here destroy the world'. Matsya very frequently speaks of Vārānasi as Śmaśāna. The Kāśikhanda states: if a man after reaching the great cemetery dies there by fate he has never again to lie in the cemetery (i. e. he is not born again).

Although generally Kāśī, Vārānasi and Avimukta are used as synonyms in the Purānas, in some passages a distinction is made between these as to extent. The passages quoted above (in note 1419) show that Vārānasi is bounded by the Varanā and Asi on the north and south, ¹⁴²⁶ the Ganges on the east and the shrine of Viṅāyaka in the west. Ain. A. (vol II p. 158) remarks that Benares is a large city situated between the rivers Barnā and Asi and that it is built in the form of a bow of which the Ganges forms the string. The Matsyapurāna ¹⁴²⁷ states: 'that ksetra is two *yojanas* and a half east and west and half a *yojana* broad north and south; out of this Vārānasi extends up to the dry river (viz. Asi)'. The first part appears to deal with the entire Kāśīksetra which according to the Padmapurāna ¹⁴²⁸ comprised the tract covered by a circle the radius of which was the line joining Madhyameśvara-linga

1424. इमहाभदेन शिव भोक्त. ज्ञानं ज्ञायनसुचयते। निर्वचान्ति इमज्ञानार्थं सुने ज्ञाचार्थ-
कोविदा। महान्पपि च भूतानि मलये ससुपस्थिते। ईरतेच शवा भूत्वा इमज्ञानं तु ततो महत्।
स्कन्द, काशी 30 103-4; वाराणसीति काशीति रुद्रावात् इति द्विज। महाइमज्ञानमित्येवं
भोक्तमानन्दकाननम्। *ibid* 30 111.

1425. इमज्ञाननेतद्विख्यातमविमुक्तमिति श्रुतम्। कालो भूत्वा अगादिदं संहराम्यत्र
सुन्दरि॥ पद्म. I. 33 14, परं ग्रह्य सनाख्यातं इमज्ञानमिति संज्ञितम्। मत्स्य. 184 5, इमज्ञान-
मिति विख्यातमविमुक्तं शिवालयम्। मत्स्य. 184.19, क्षेत्राणामुत्तमं चैव इमज्ञानाना तथैव च।
मत्स्य 184.26, vide also मत्स्य 182 5, महाइमज्ञानमासाद्य यदि देवादिपद्यते। पुनः
इमज्ञानज्ञायनं न कापि लभते पुमान्। काशीखण्ड 31.130.

1426 दक्षिणोत्तरयोर्नद्यो वरणासिश्च पूर्वतः। जाह्नवी पश्चिमे चापि पाज्ञापार्णिर्गेश्वरः॥
पद्म, पातालखण्ड प. by त्रिचली p. 100, तीर्थम p. 175.

1427. द्विपोजनमथार्थं च तत्क्षेत्रं पूर्वपश्चिमम्। अर्धपोजनविस्तीर्णं दक्षिणोत्तरतः
रसुतम्। वाराणसी तदीया च यावच्छुक्लनदी (शुष्कनदी?) तु वै। एष क्षेत्ररप विस्तारः भोक्तो
क्षेत्रं धीनता॥ मत्स्य 184 50-52

1428. मध्यनेश्वरमारभ्य यावद्देहलिबिधनयम्। सूत्रं संस्थाप्य तद्विद्धु आमयेभ्यन्डलकृति।
तत्र या जायते रेखा तन्मध्ये क्षेत्रसुत्तमम्। काशीति पद्विदुर्वेदास्तत्र मुक्तिः भतिष्ठिता॥ काशीयां तु
परम क्षेत्रं त्रिनेत्रफलसाधनम्। वाराणसीति विख्यातं तन्मानं निगदामि ध.॥ पद्म, पातालखण्ड प.
by त्रिचली p. 100, तीर्थम p. 175

with the shrine of Dehali-Ganeśa. The Matsyapurāna (in chap. 183.61-62) makes it two yojanas in extent Agn 112 6 also does the same But that is only approximate The actual distance covered by a yojana varied Vide H. of Dh vol III pp. 145-146 n. 185 Rhys Davids in 'Numismata Orientalia' (London, 1877) after examining 30 passages from Pāli texts comes to the conclusion that a yojana was equal to about 7 or 8 miles Avimukta is said to be that part of the holy place which is represented by a radius of 200 *dhanus* (1 s. 800 *hastas* or about 1200 feet) in all four directions from the shrine of Visveśvara.¹⁴²⁹ There was no unanimity on the extent of Avimukta. In Kāśikhanda Avimukta^{1429a} is said to be five *lohas* in extent But there Avimukta appears to stand for Kāśī. The innermost¹⁴³⁰ circle in the holy Kāśīksetra is defined as that between Gokarnesvara to the west, the mid stream of the Ganges to the east, Bhārabhūta to the north and Brahmesvara to the south. A few more passages on the extent of the sacred place of Banaras may be cited here in one place. The Lingapurāna¹⁴³¹ says 'this ksetra is declared to be four *lohas* (in extent) in the four directions and also one yojana'. The Nāradyapurāna¹⁴³² puts the extent thus '(The ksetra) extends over two yojanas and a half from east to west and is half a yojana wide from north to south, god Sambhu declared the extent of the ksetra between the rivers Varuṇā and Asī (which latter is) a dried-up stream' In the Padmapurāna¹⁴³³

1429. विश्वेश्वरान्नतुर्दिक्षु धनुःशतयुगोन्मितम् । अविकृताभिर्धं क्षेत्रं एकैस्त्वत्र न संशयः । पश्च, पातालखण्डे प by विश्वली० p. 101, तीर्थप p 175. A धनुः is equal to four हस्तः Vide note 1337 above

1429 a अविकृतं महाक्षेत्रं पश्चक्रोक्षपरिमितम् । उगोर्वालिङ्गं तद्वेकं हि क्षेत्रं विश्वेश्वराभिधम् ॥ काशीखण्ड 26. 31

1430 गोकर्णोक्षे पश्चिमे पूर्वतश्च गङ्गामध्यस्तरे भारभूतः । ब्रह्मेशानो दक्षिणे संपदिदस्त-
तु प्रोक्तं भवनं विश्वभर्तुः । पश्च, पातालखण्डे प by विश्वली० p 101, काशीखण्ड (74 45-46) is similar 'पूर्वतो मणिकर्णिको ब्रह्मेशो दक्षिणे स्थितः । पश्चिमे चैव गोकर्णं भारभूतस्त्वथोत्तरे' इत्येतदुत्तमं क्षेत्रमविकृतं महाफलम् ।

1431 चतुःक्रोशो चतुर्दिक्षु क्षेत्रमेतत्प्रकीर्तितम् । योजनं तिद्धिं चार्धं हि हस्तकालेऽद्युत-
प्रदम् । लिङ्गपुराणे, पूर्वार्धे, 92 99-100 तीर्थचि. p 340 and विश्वली० p 103 quote this verse as from स्कन्द

1432 द्वियोजनमथार्धं च पूर्वपश्चिमतः स्थितम् । अर्धयोजनविस्तीर्णं दक्षिणोत्तरतः
स्थितम् ॥ वरुणासी नदी यावदतिः क्षुण्कनदी छुमे । एष क्षेत्रत्रय विस्तारं प्रोक्तो देवेन शम्भुना ॥
गारदीप (उत्तर chap 48 18-19).

1433. पश्चक्रोक्षमभागेन क्षेत्रं दत्तं मया तव । क्षेत्रमध्याधया गङ्गा गमिष्यति सरिदरा ।
तेन सा महती युष्या युती रुद्र भविष्यति । युष्या चोदङ्गुली गङ्गा यत्र याची सररवती । उव-
ङ्गुली योजने द्वे गच्छन्ती जान्वी नदी ॥ पश्च (सुखिखण्ड 14. 194-196.

Brahmā is supposed to have said to Rudra 'I have given you a ksetra of the extent of five krośas; when the best of rivers, Gangā, will flow through this ksetra, the city will be great and holy, the Ganges, as it flows northwards (in Banaras) for two yojanas, will be holy'. If in any texts there be any differences between the extents of Avimukta, it must be supposed that there is an option, ¹⁴³⁴ (or, as the Tir. C. suggests, the differences refer to different *kalpas* i. e. ages). It is clear that Vārānasi was that strip of land, the four boundaries of which were the Ganges to the east, Asi to the south, the shrine of Dehali-Vinayaka to the west and the river Varanā to the north. In the 7th century Hiouen Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim, notes that Banaras was 18 *lis* (about 3½ miles) in length and about 5 or 6 *lis* (a little more than a mile) in breadth. This makes it clear that the city was then bounded as now by the Varanā and Asi. Vide Beal's B. R. W. W (vol II p. 44).

Verses laudatory of the greatness and uniqueness of Vārānasi literally run into thousands. All that can be done here is to set out a few characteristic verses. The Vanaparva observes, ¹⁴³⁵ a person coming to Avimukta and resorting to the sacred place becomes free from the sin of brāhmana-murder by merely seeing the (image of the) Lord of gods (i. e. Viśveśvara) and if he dies there he secures *moksa*. The Matsyapurāna ¹⁴³⁶ contains many striking passages about the unique greatness of Banaras "Vārānasi is always my most secret place; it is always the cause of moksa for all beings. Moksa may be effected in Prayāga or in this city because I have taken it under my protection, this place is greater than even Prayāga, the foremost among tīrthas. All the sins ¹⁴³⁷ that a man may have

1434. अत्र लैङ्गस्कान्दालोचनया कृत्स्निवात्मभ्यनेश्वरयोश्चतुर्विधु योजनमितन-
विमुक्तम् । पासे तु विश्वेश्वरत्सर्वतो घटुःशतहयमितम् । तथा चात्र परिमाणविकल्पः ।
त्रिस्थली० p. 103.

1435. अविमुक्त समासाद्य तीर्थसिन्धु कुरुद्वह । दर्शनाद्देवदेवस्य मुच्यते ब्रह्महरयथा ॥
प्राणसृष्ट्यस्य तत्रैव मोक्ष प्राप्नोति मानवः ॥ वनपर्व 84 79-80.

1436. इह श्रेष्ठतम क्षेत्र सदा चाराणसी मन । सर्वेषामिव भूताना हेतुर्नोक्षस्य सर्वदा ॥
मत्स्य 180. 47 q. by तीर्थकल्प० p 12 (reads जन्तूना for भूतानाम्) This is the
same as लिङ्ग, पूर्वार्ध 92. 38, प्रयागे च भवेन्मोक्ष इह वा मरुत्प्रियहात् । प्रयागादपि तीर्था-
न्यादिदेवैव महत् स्मृतम् ॥ मत्स्य 180. 56-57 quoted by तीर्थकल्प p. 13 with some
additions. It explains 'इदमेव महत्स्मृतमित्यलपापासेनैवात्र मोक्षप्राप्तेः'. This is also
लिङ्गपुराण, पूर्वार्ध 92. 48.

1437. जन्मान्तरसहस्रेण यत्पार्ष पूर्वसाञ्चितम् । अविमुक्त भविष्यस्य तत्सर्वं व्रजति क्षयम् ।
... ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्या. शूद्रा वै वर्णसङ्करा । कुमिल्लेच्छाश्च ये चान्ये सङ्कीर्णाः पापयोनयः ।
पालेन निधन प्राप्ता अविमुक्ते कष्टं भिये । चन्द्रार्धमौलिनः सर्वे ललाटाक्षा वृषध्वजाः । शिबे
मम हुरे देवि मोदन्ते तत्र मानवाः ॥ मत्स्य 181 17-21 = पद्म I 33 17-20, q. by तीर्थकल्प०
p. 15. The verse ब्राह्मणाः occurs in नारदीय (उत्तर 48 51-52).

accumulated in thousands of past lives are destroyed the moment he enters Avimukta, brāhmanas, ksatriyas, vaiśyas, śūdras, persons born of mixed marriages, worms, *mlecchas* and others born of low mixed unions, insects, ants, birds and beasts, when they succumb to death in course of time all find happiness in my auspicious city, all being endowed with a crescent of the moon on their heads, with a (third) eye on their forehead and have a bull as their conveyance." A person,¹⁴³⁸ even though his mind may be addicted to pleasures of sense and though he may have given up devotion to *dharma*, if he dies in this place (Banaras) he does not again enter upon the path of *samsāra* (the cycle of births and deaths); a man concentrating his mind for thousands of past lives may secure Yoga; but by dying (in Banaras) he secures the highest moksa in this very life. Even if a man be a sinner¹⁴³⁹ or a rogue or irreligious he becomes free from all sins if he goes to Avimukta. Other women,¹⁴⁴⁰ that act as they like and are intently devoted to enjoyments, when they die here by lapse of time secure the highest worlds. In this world moksa¹⁴⁴¹ cannot be secured by men without the (practice of) Yoga; but in the case of those who reside in Avimukta Yoga and moksa are both secured. For planets,¹⁴⁴² lunar mansions and stars there is the danger of falling (from the sky) in course of time but there is no fall for those who die in Avimukta. Whatever¹⁴⁴³ evil actions may have been committed by an evil-minded man or woman, knowingly or unknow-

1438 विषयासक्तचित्तोऽपि त्यक्तधर्मरतिर्नरः। इह क्षेत्रे मृत सोऽपि सत्तारं न दुन-
विक्षेत् ॥ जन्मान्तरसहस्रेषु युञ्जन् योगमवाप्नुयात् । तस्मिन्नेव परं मोक्षं मरणादधिगच्छति ॥
मत्स्य. 180, 71 and 74. इह क्षेत्रे—refer to Banaras and इह means अस्मिन् जन्मनि
These two verses occur in लिङ्गपुराण, पूर्वार्धे 92, 63 and 65 and काशीखण्ड 86, 122
is similar to the first verse.

1439. यदि पापो यदि ऋढो यदि वाऽधार्मिको नरः । सुच्यते सर्वपापेभ्यो ऽविमुक्तं
ब्रजेद्यदि ॥ मत्स्य 183. 11, q. by तीर्थकल्प p 18 पर (I. 33, 38) has the first half
and reads the second half as वाराणसीं समस्ताद्य युनाति सकलं कुलम् ।

1440. अस्या याः कामचारिण्यः स्त्रियो भोगपरवणाः । कालेन विघ्नं प्राप्ता गच्छन्ति
परमां गतिम् ॥ मत्स्य 184, 36.

1441. न हि योगादन्ते मोक्षः प्राप्यते श्रुतिभानवैः । अविमुक्ते निवसता योगो मोक्षश्च
स्तिःशक्तिः ॥ मत्स्य 185, 15-16 q by तीर्थकल्प p. 17.

1442. ब्रह्मक्षत्रताराणां कालेन यतनाद्भयम् । अविमुक्ते मृतानां तु पतनं नैव विद्यते ॥
मत्स्य 185, 61 = काशीखण्ड 64, 96 (reads कालेन यतनं भ्रुवम्).

1443. अज्ञानाज्ज्ञानतो वापि स्त्रिया वा दुचयेण वा । यस्मिन्निदृशं कर्म कृतं चैव
कुञ्चिन्ना ॥ अविमुक्तं प्रविष्टस्य तत्सर्वं भस्मसाद्भवेत् ॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 48, 33-34; परं
काशीपुरीवासी म्लेच्छोऽपि हि शुभायतिः । नाम्यत्रयो दीक्षितोपि स हि मुक्तेरभाजन् ॥ काशी-
85, 15.

ingly—all those are reduced to ashes when he enters Avimukta. Even a *mleccha* resident in Kāśī is better, since his future will be blissful, but not one residing elsewhere, though he may be a *dikṣita*, because he will not be a recipient of *mukti*."

In some passages a mystic flavour is imparted to Vārānaśi and the rivers. For example, the Kāśīkhaṇḍa says that Asi is the Idā nādi, Varanā is the Pingalā nādi, Avimukta is susumnā and Vārānaśi is all the three.¹⁴⁴⁴ The Lingapurāna, however, puts the matter somewhat differently. It holds that Asi (the dried-up river), Varanā and Matsyodarī (i. e. Ganges) are respectively the Pingalā, Idā and Susumnā.

It is time now to turn to the individual sacred spots in Banaras. It is stated in some of the Purānas¹⁴⁴⁵ that at every step in the Kāśīksetra there is a holy place and that there is not even as much space as a sesamum seed in Kāśī which has not a *liṅga* (emblem of Śiva). As a matter of fact the Kāśīkhaṇḍa names 64 *liṅgas* in chap. 10 alone. But one must look to the *tīrthas* that are specifically named. Hiouen Thsang says that there were one hundred temples at Banaras in his day and he speaks of a temple where the copper image of Deva Maheśvara was a little less than 100 feet high (vide Beal's B R. W. W. vol. II. pp. 44-45). Unfortunately, the fanatical zeal and ruthlessness of Moslem rulers demolished almost all Hindu temples at different times from 1194 to about 1670 A. D. Mosques and mausoleums were erected on their sites, and the materials of the temples thus razed were used in constructing mosques and for serving as breakwaters &c. Kutubdin Aibak destroyed about 1000 temples in 1194 A. D (vide Elliot and Dowson's 'History of India', vol. II p. 222) Alauddin Khilzi boasted that he had destroyed one thousand temples in Banaras alone (vide Sherring p. 31, Havell p. 76). About 1585 A. D. Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa re-established the temple of Viśvanātha with the help

1444 सद्देवाचेति जावालिराकण्डसिरिडा नता। वरणा पिङ्गला नाडी तदन्तरव-
चिद्रक्तकम् ॥ सा सुपुण्या परा नाडी जयं वाराणसी स्वसौ ॥ स्कन्द, काशी- 5 25, compare
नारदीय (उत्तर) 47 22-23; पिङ्गला नाम या नाडी आग्नेयी सा प्रकीर्तिता। शुक्ला सरिञ्च
सा ज्ञेया लोलाकौ यत्र तिष्ठति ॥ इडानान्नी च या नाडी सा सौम्या संपकीर्तिता। वरणा नाम
सा ज्ञेया केशवो यत्र संस्थित ॥ आभ्यां मध्ये तु या नाडी सुपुण्या सा प्रकीर्तिता ॥ मत्स्योदरी
च सा ज्ञेया विदुव तत्प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ लिङ्गपुराण p. by तीर्थचि p. 341, त्रिस्थली० pp.
78-79.

1445. तीर्थानि सन्ति भूषांसि काश्यामत्र पदे पदे। न पञ्चनदतीर्थस्य कोट्यंकेन सना-
न्यपि ॥ स्कन्द, काशी- 59 118, तिलान्तरापि नो काश्यां भूमिलिङ्गं विना कश्चित्। काशी-
खण्ड 10. 103

of Rājā Todarmal¹⁴⁴⁶. Even this temple was desecrated. The following passage from the Ma-A'sir-i-A'lamgiri quoted by Elliot and Dowson ('History of India,' vol. VII, p. 184) is instructive: "It reached the ears of his Majesty, the protector of the faith, that in the provinces of Thatta, Multan and Benares, but especially in the latter foolish brāhmanas were in the habit of expounding frivolous books in their schools and that students and learners, Musalmans as well as Hindus, went there even from long distances, led by a desire to become acquainted with the wicked sciences they taught. 'The Director of the Faith' consequently issued orders to all the governors of provinces to destroy with a willing hand the schools and temples of the infidels, and they were strictly enjoined to put an entire stop to the teaching and practising of idolatrous forms of worship. On the 15th Rabiū-lākhir (i. e. December 1669) it was reported to his religious Majesty, leader of the Unitarians, that in obedience to order, the Government officers had destroyed the temple of Bishnath at Benares."

A mosque, which still exists, was built on the site of the Viśveśvara temple by Aurangzeb, who even changed the name of Banaras to Muhammadabad. The result is that, as stated by Sherring (p. 32), it would be difficult to find twenty temples in the whole of Banaras of the age of Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A. D.). Many of the temples were built by the Maratha Chiefs and *Sardars* and during the British occupation many more were built. Prinsep calculated in about 1828 that there were in the Banaras city proper 1000 Hindu temples and 333 mosques; a more recent estimate puts the figures at 1454 temples and 272 mosques (Sherring¹⁴⁴⁷ pp. 41-42).

Viśveśvara or Viśvanātha is the tutelary deity of Banaras and the principal and most holy temple in it (vide n. 1429 a). It is prescribed that every resident of Kāśī must every day bathe in the Ganges and visit the temple of Viśveśvara (vide Tri S. p. 214). After Aurangzeb pulled down the temple of Viśvanātha, there was no shrine of Viśvanātha in Benares for over a hundred years. The *linga* was probably removed from place

1446. Vide Altakar pp. 47-48 and Introduction to my edition of the Vyavahāramayūkha p. VIII (Poona, 1926), where I cite a verse from the Dānabhāvali-prakāśa of Divākarabhāta, a daughter's son of Nīlakantha, who was the grandson of Nārāyanabhāta

1447. Havell (p. 76) remarks that there are 1500 temples and that smaller shrines or images in niches of walls or the like are countless.

to place as the vicissitudes of the times required and the pilgrims performed parts of the worship (such as *namaskāra* and circumambulation) at the site of the image, but they could not perform other portions of the worship such as bathing the image with Ganges water¹⁴⁴⁸. The present temple of Viśvanātha was built in the last quarter of the 18th century by *Devī Akalyābāi* Holkar (Aitkar, p. 57). The Tri. S. p. 183, while on the question of the appearance (*prādurbhāva*) of Viśveśvara, observes that there is no blemish in the case of the Viśveśvara-linga due to the touch of the untouchable, that every day Viśveśvara removes it by a bath in Manikarnikā at dawn and the worship offered by Himself and quotes a verse of the Sanat-kumāra-samhitā in support¹⁴⁴⁹. What the Tri. S. means is: Generally great care is taken about *śūngas*. All and sundry are not allowed to touch them but in the case of the Viśveśvara-linga any one, even a great sinner, may worship it and pour Ganges water over it. Whether Nārāyanabhatta meant that even the so-called untouchables might touch it is not clear.

It appears that Vācaspati^{1449a} holds that Avimukteśvara linga is the same as Viśvanātha, but both the Tristhali-setu (p. 296) and Tir. Pr. (p. 187) reject this idea. The Skandapurāna (Kāśī, 10, 93) mentions Viśveśvara and Avimukteśvara as separate *śūngas*. Besides worshipping Viśvanātha, every pilgrim to Benares has to visit the five tīrthas¹⁴⁵⁰ (Pañcatīrthi). According to the Matsyapurāna the five essential tīrthas in the Ānandakānana of Viśveśvara are Daśāśvamedha, Lolārka,^{1450a}

1448. अत्र यद्यपि विश्वेश्वरलिङ्गं किञ्चिदपनीपतेऽन्यदानीयते च कालवशात्पुरुषै-
रतथापि तत्स्थानस्थिते यस्मिन्कस्मिंश्चिरूजादि कार्यम् । .. यद्यपि स्लेष्ठादिदुष्टराजवशा-
त्कस्मिन्स्थाने किञ्चिदपि लिङ्गं कदाचिन्न स्यात् तदापि प्रदक्षिणानमस्काराद्याः स्थानधर्म-
भङ्गनयेद । तावदेव च नित्ययात्रासिद्धि । स्नापनाद्यस्तु साधिष्ठाना न भवन्तीति निर्णय ।
त्रिरथली० p. 208, vide also तीर्थयत्नात् p. 219 (which states that there is no
Śāstric authority for this, but only usage of śīstas).

1449. विश्वेश्वरलिङ्गेऽस्युद्यस्पर्शनिबन्धनो दोषो नास्ति यस्यहं तेनैव पूजया तस्मिन्-
करणात् । तदुक्तं तत्रैव (सनत्कुमारसहितायै) । ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते मणिकर्णिकायां स्नाना समाराधयति
स्वनेन । अस्युद्यस्पर्शविशोदनाय कलौ नराणां कृपया हिताय ॥

1449 a आविष्टकम्भशानोभयसंज्ञके क्षेत्रे शिवस्थापितमविसुक्तेश्वरं लिङ्गं विश्वनाथ-
नाम्ना लोकप्रसिद्धम् । तीर्थेति p. 360

1450 The Pañcatīrthi has received the highest judicial notice in
Maharans Hemanta Kumari v. Gauṛi Shankar 68 I A 53 at p. 57.

1450 a Lolārka is only one of the shrines of the Sun in Kāśī, vide
Kāśīkhaṇḍa 10 83 (Lolārka-mukhya-sūryāṃśca pranamya ca punah punah)
and 46 45-46, where the shrines of the twelve *Arkas* in Kāśī are enumerated
as Lolārka, उत्तरार्क, साम्बादित्य &c.

Keśava, Bindumādhava and Manikarnikā.¹⁴⁵¹ In modern times the five essential tirthas called Pañcatirthā are the confluence of the Asi with the Ganges, the Daśāśvamedha *ghāt*, Manikarnikā, the Pañcagangā *ghāt* and the confluence of the river Varanā (called Bārnā by the common people) with the Ganges. This is based on the Kāśikhanda.¹⁴⁵² The shrine of Lolārka is situated at the confluence of the Asi (the southern boundary of Banaras) with the Ganges. The Kāśikhanda¹⁴⁵³ furnishes a popular etymology for the name Lolārka, viz. that the mind of the Sun on seeing Kāśī became agitated. The Asi is a tolerably wide stream (about 40 feet) in the rainy season, but is dry at other times. The several gigantic ghats with their flights of stone steps are a grand sight at Banaras. The Ganges while passing by Banaras takes a great sweep so that its mighty current flows in a northerly direction (that is towards the Himalaya) and is therefore held to be peculiarly holy here. The Daśāśvamedha-ghāt has been famed for centuries. Jayaswal's interpretation of the epithets applied to the Bhāraśivas in Vākātaka grants should be accepted viz. the Bhāraśivas were an imperial dynasty, were crowned with the holy waters of the Ganges and took their ceremonial baths on the Ganges at the end of ten *śvamedha* sacrifices, on account of which the Daśāśvamedha-ghāt¹⁴⁵⁴ at Banaras was so named (Jayaswal's 'History of India' 150 A. D.-350 A. D p. 5). In order to realize the grandeur of Banaras on the side of the river one must be at

1451. तीर्थानां पञ्चकं सारं विश्वेशानन्दकानने। दशश्वमेध लोलार्कः केशवो विष्णु-
माधवः। पञ्चमी तु महाश्रेष्ठा मोक्षयते मणिकार्णिका। एभिस्तु तीर्थैर्वैश्व वयंते ह्यविमुक्तकम् ॥
मन्व्य० 185. 68-69.

1452. प्रथमं चासिसम्भेद तीर्थानां प्रवरं परम् । ततो दशश्वमेधाय सर्वतीर्थनिधे-
वितम् । ततः पादोदकं तीर्थमादिकेशवसनिधौ । ततः पञ्चनदं शुष्य स्नानमात्रादप्यौपत्यम् ।
एतेषां पञ्चतीर्थानां ऋतुर्णामपि सत्तमः । पञ्चन मणिकर्णार्ण्यं मनोवपवद्भृद्भिः । पञ्चतीर्थी
नरः स्नात्वा न देहं पाञ्चभौतिकम् । गृह्णाति जातृवित्वाद्या पञ्चारयो वाभिजायते । कार्णो
106 110 and 114 q. by चिरपत्नी० p 261, which explains 'यदि देवप्रदणं ददा
पञ्चारयोः शिव एव भवति कर्मनिबन्धनो देहो नास्तीति भावः ।

1453 वर्यार्कस्य मनो लोलं यदासीत्काशिदुर्गम् । अतो लोलार्कं हृत्पारुषा कादयं
जाता विवस्वतः ॥ लोलार्कस्यसिसम्भेदे दक्षिणस्या दिशि स्थित ॥ स्कन्द, काशी० 46. 18-19.
The shrine of Lolārka is referred to in E. I. vol. V, p. 117 of Vikrama era
1208 (1151 A. D.), a grant of गोविन्दचन्द्र of Kanauj.

1454. 'असभारसंनिवेशितशिवलिङ्गोद्भवशिवसुपरिदुष्टसङ्ख्यादितराजंशानां परऋना-
धिगतभागीरथयमलजलसूधीमयिकानां दशश्वमेधवभूषणानानां भारसिमानां मदारजश्रीमय
नागदीर्घिन्नर्य...। E. I. vol. III, p. 258 (Dudia plates of प्रवरसेन II) and Fleet's
Gupta Inscriptions (Chammak plate of प्रवरसेन II) p. 236 and p. 245
(Siwan plate of the same king).

the Daśāśvamedhaghāt at dawn. For the eulogy of Daśāśvamedha, vide Kāśikhanda 52. 83 ff and Tri. S. p. 159. The Kāśikhanda says that formerly the tīrtha was called Rudrasaras, but as Brahmā performed ten Aśvamedhas there it came to be called Daśāśvamedha (chap 52. 66-68). The Manikarnikā (also called Mukti-ksetra) pool is the very centre of the religious life of Banaras and ¹⁴⁵⁵ is the most holy among all the Banaras tīrthas. The Kāśikhanda gives a phantastic story of its origin (in chapter 26 verses 51-63 quoted in Tri. S. pp. 145-146): Visnu dug with his discus a puskarini, filled it with the perspiration from his own body and performed severe austerities on its bank for 1050 (or 50000) years. Śiva came there and being pleased shook his head and an ear-ornament studded with jewels fell into the pool, which thenceforward came to be called Manikarnikā. The word is ¹⁴⁵⁶ derived in two ways in the Kāśikhanda. Śiva who is like the wish-yielding jewel whispers in the ear (karnikā) of good men the Tāraka mantra at the time of death. The extent of Manikarnikā north to south is said to be 105 *hastas* i. e. about 160 feet (Kāśikhanda 99. 54). In modern times the waters of the Manikarnikā pool become foul and fetid because it is shallow (two or three feet deep), because hundreds of pilgrims cast into it flowers and money by way of worship and because the priests stir the waters with their hands and feet to find the coins dropped by pilgrims. Our methods of worship must be changed. The flowers and gifts should be placed on the banks of the pool and then taken away by the priests. The Tri S. p. 147 mentions several mantras (two of which are set out below) to be recited when contemplating on Manikarnikā ¹⁴⁵⁷. Near the Manikarnikā pool is the temple of Tārakesvara so named from the belief that Śiva will whisper the mantra called *tāraka* in the ear of

1455. तत्र तावत्कलतीर्थवरिद्राया श्रीमन्मणिकर्णिकाया महिमा। त्रिस्थली० p. 142; तथापि सर्वतीर्थानामुत्तमा मणिकर्णिका। नारदीय (उत्तर) 48. 66.

1456. सुक्ताकुण्डलपतेन तवाद्रितनयामिष। तीर्थाना परमे तीर्थे सुकिक्षेत्रमिहास्त वै॥ काशी० 26. 66, q in त्रिस्थली० p 146; ससारिचिन्तामणिरत्र यस्मात् तारकं सज्जन-कर्णिकायाम्। शिवोभिषत्ते सहस्रान्तकाले तद्द्वीयतेसौ मणिकर्णिकेति॥ सुकिलस्मीमहापीठ-मणिसत्त्वरणाञ्जयोः। कर्णिकेयं तत प्राहुर्या जना मणिकर्णिकाम्॥ काशीखण्ड 7. 79-80 q. by त्रिस्थली० p 148. In the 2nd verse मणि means श्रेष्ठ and the compound is dissolved as मणिश्चासौ कर्णिका च, the meaning being that मणिकर्णिका is the jewel among सुकिक्षेत्रसु and it is as it were the कर्णिका of the lotus-like feet of मोक्षरत्नी

1457. तथा चैवं मन्त्र। ओं ऐं ह्रीं श्रीं क्लीं ओं मं मणिकर्णिके नमः। शोम्। इति; तथा चैवं मन्त्र। ओं मं मणिकर्णिके प्रणवात्मिके नमः। इति। त्रिस्थली p. 147. The second मन्त्र is based on काशीखण्ड 61, 97

the dying man brought to the sacred pool^{1457a} (vide Kāśikhanda 7.78, 25. 72-73 and 32. 115-116). The Pañcagangā *ghāt* is so called because it is supposed that five rivers, viz the Kiranā,¹⁴⁵⁸ Dhūtapāpā, Gangā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī, meet here (though four of them are invisible) This is very highly eulogised and it is said in the Nāradiyapurāna and the Kāśikhanda (59. 118-133) that when a man takes a bath in the Pañcanada he is not born again in a body made up of the five elements. It is said that this confluence of five rivers had different names viz, Dharmanada, Dhūtapātaka, Bindutīrtha and Pañcanada in Kṛta and the following Yugas respectively The Kāśikhanda in chap. 59 deals with the confluence of five rivers and gives phantastic legends as to why the rivers were called Kiranā (59. 108-113) and Dhūtapāpā (59 101-106). The river Varanā is the northern boundary of Vārānaśi and the end of the *ghāts* on the northern side is reached at the confluence of the Varanā with the Ganges. That the *ghāts* have been there for at least a thousand years can be proved from copperplates and inscriptions. The Gāhadvāla rulers of Kanoy (of whose times at least 55 copperplates and 3 inscriptions on stone were issued during the period 1097 to 1187 A. D.), being devotees of Viṣṇu, several times made grants at the Ādi-Keśava *ghāt*. Vide J. R. A. S. for 1896 p. 787 (king Madanapāla's grant on the occasion of a Sun-eclipse after Mahārājūi Prthivīrikā took a bath), I. A. vol. 19 p. 249 (grant of Govindacandra in *samvat* 1188 i. e. 1131 A. D.), II I 14 p. 197 (Candrādityadeva, who having bathed at Adikeśava-ghatta¹⁴⁵⁹ at the confluence of the rivers Gangā

1457 a. ब्रह्मज्ञानेन सुष्यन्ते नान्यथा जन्तवः क्वचित्। ब्रह्मज्ञानमये क्षेत्रे प्रयागे वा सञ्चरन्तः ॥ ब्रह्मज्ञानं तदेवाह काशीसंस्थितिभागिनानाम्। विशामि तारक ग्रन्थे सुष्यन्ते ते तु तत्कथात् ॥ काशीखण्ड 32 115-116, vide also काशीखण्ड 86 48 and नारदीय (उत्तर) 47. 56, 59-62

1458 किरणा धूतपाया च सुष्यतोया सरस्वती। गङ्गा च यमुना चैव पञ्च नद्यः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ अतः पञ्चनदं नाम तीर्थं त्रैलोक्यविश्रुतम्। तत्रापुतो न पुह्रीयादेहिता पाञ्चभीतिनीम् ॥ अस्मिन्ध्वजदीनां तु सङ्गमेऽधोभेदने। स्नानमात्राकरो याति भिक्षा ब्रह्माण्डमण्डपम् ॥ कृते धर्ममव नाम त्रेतायां धूतपापकम्। ह्यपरे विन्दुतीर्थे च कलौ पञ्चनदं स्मृतम् ॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 51. 15-18 and 35-36 and काशीखण्ड 59, 115-117 (reads देह ना पाञ्च-भीतिकम्) and 136.

1459 देवश्रीमदादिकेशवक्षिणमूर्ति ... अद्यास्ततृतीयायां युगाद्विपूर्वाणि .. आदिकेशवधे स्नात्वा... वासुदेवस्य पूजां विधाय . पितृपिण्डव्रजं निर्वर्य उपरि लिखितयान्... कोकणकुक्षीभूतकरतलोदकपूर्व-प्रदत्ताः। E I 14 p. 197 at p. 198 For अक्षयतृतीया as one of the four युगादेतिथेः vide n. 841 above. That there were several images of Keśava is expressly stated by the काशीखण्ड 10 82 (आदिकेशवस्य रूपं च केशव-धरितोऽथ च) Prof. Altekar observes (p. 28) that the Adikesava-ghāt, once a royal favourite, is now in a dilapidated condition and is rarely visited by pilgrims.

and Varanā bestowed on 500 brāhmanas 30 villages on the Aksayya-tṛtiyā of *saṃvat* 1156). Those rulers made grants at other ghāts and sacred spots also. For example, E. I. vol. IV. pp. 97 ff (21 copperplates of Gāhadvālas, of which H in *saṃvat* 1178 speaks of the grant of a village after a bath at the Kapāla-mocana-ghatta at Banaras where the Ganges flows towards the north, grant L p 114 of *saṃvat* 1197 made on a queen taking a bath at the ghatta of god Vedeśvara in Avimuktaksetra; grant S. mentions god Kṛtīvāsa; grant U. is made to the temple of Lolārka by Jayacandra in *saṃvat* 1233), E. I. vol. VIII p. 149 (five copperplate grants of Govindacandra in *saṃvat* 1207 i. e. 1156 A. D. after a bath at Kotitīrtha on Uttarāyana-sankrānti). The Kāśī-khanda promises Varuna-loka to those charitable people that build stone ghāts on the sacred rivers¹⁴⁶⁰.

One of the most meritorious of all pilgrimages is the Pañcakrośī by road. Lakṣmīdhara in his section on Tīrthas in the Kṛtyakalpataru apparently takes no notice of it. The length of the Pañcakrośī road is about 50 miles and there are hundreds of shrines on the road. Taking Manikarnikā as the centre the whole road describes an irregular semicircle round the city of Banaras with a radius of five krośas (about ten miles) and hence it is called pañcakrośī. The word 'pañcakrośī' occurs very often in the Kāśīkhanda (as in chap 26, verses 80 and 114, chap 55 44). This pilgrimage may be very briefly described as follows.—The pilgrim starts from the Manikarnikā-ghat and going along the bank of the Ganges arrives at the confluence of the river Asī with the Ganges and halts for the day at a village called Khāndava about six miles from Manikarnikā. The 2nd day's march (for eight or ten miles) ends at the village called Dhūpacandī where he offers worship to the goddess of that name. On the 3rd day the pilgrim walks 14 miles to the village Rāmeśvara. On the 4th day he walks eight miles and reaches the village Śīvapura. On the 5th day he walks 6 miles and reaches the village Kapīlādhārā, where the pilgrim offers oblations to his pitrs. On the 6th day he walks from Kapīlādhārā to Varanāsangama and thence to Manikarnikā, a distance of six miles. It is the practice for pilgrims to scatter grains of barley from Kapīlādhārā to Manikarnikā. The pilgrim bathes, pays *dakṣiṇā* to the priest and then goes to the temple of Sākṣī-Vināyaka who is supposed to bear witness to the pilgrim's having performed the Pañcakrośī-yātrā.

1460. घट्टान्पुण्यतटिन्प्रादेश्चपन्ति शिलादिभिः । तौयार्थिस्तुलसिद्धयर्थं ये नरास्तेत्र भोगिनः॥ स्कन्द, काशी. 12. 59.

There are numerous other sub-tirthas in Banaras, some of which may be briefly noticed here. The Jñānavāpi may be mentioned first. The story of its origin is narrated in the Kāśikhanda, chap. 33. The Tri. S (pp. 148-150) refers to it. It is said that when Śiva (Īśāna) saw the Viśveśvara-linga a desire arose in him to bathe with its cool water. He dug a *kunda* with his trident to the south of the temple of Viśveśvara and with the water therefrom he bathed Viśveśvara-linga and Viśveśvara granted the boon that the tirtha would be superior to all tirthas and that, as Śiva is knowledge (verse 32), the tirtha would be called Jñānoda or Jñānavāpi. One of the most popular and the most frequented temple is that of Durgā. In chap. 72 (verses 37-65) of the Kāśikhanda there is a Durgāstotra called Vajra-pañjara which is referred to in Tri. S. p. 161. There is a temple of Bhairavanātha about a mile to the north of the temple of Viśveśvara. He is the *Kotwal* or police Magistrate of Kāśī and wields a stone cudgel (of enormous thickness). His *vāhana* is a dog. Vide Kāśikhanda, chap. 30, for Bhairava. There are many temples of Ganeśa. The Tri. S. (pp. 198-199) names 56 Ganeśas and indicates their locations, following Kāśikhanda, chap. 57 59-115 (*sat-pañcāśad-Gajamukhān-etān-yaḥ samsmarisyati*). In Kāśikhanda (57.33) the name Dhundhi applied to Ganeśa is derived from the root 'dhudhi' in the sense of 'searching' (anvesane dhudhir-ayam prathitostī dhātuh). Compare the Marathī verb dhundane.

The Tri. S. discusses at some length (pp. 98-100) the question whether sins committed in all past lives are destroyed by entering Kāśī or whether it is only the sins committed during the present life that are destroyed. Some hold the view that sins committed in this life only are destroyed by visiting Kāśī and by bath in the various sacred spots the sins of previous lives are destroyed. Others hold that by entering Kāśī the sins of all past lives are destroyed, but bath at various sacred spots brings about only the cessation of the tendency to sin in different lives. Nārāyanabhatta puts forward several other views and says that wise men should hold the view that appears proper.

Many of the purānas lay down rules about how one dwelling in Kāśī should act. The injunction is that in Kāśī one should not commit the slightest sin, since the punishment is far more heavy. The Matsya (chap. 185. 17-45) and Kāśikhanda, chap. 96, narrate the story of Vyāsa, who while wandering about for alms in Kāśī, did not secure alms and

being hungry and angry was on the point of cursing Kāśī in the words quoted below ¹⁴⁶¹ when Śiva coming to know his mind assumed the form of a householder, gave him the best of food and ordered Vyāsa not to enter Kāśīkaetra as he was an irritable man, but allowed him to do so on the 8th and 14th *tithis* only. The Kāśīkhanda 96. 12-80 and 119-180 speak at great length about how one residing in Kāśī should conduct himself.

Some miscellaneous matters in connection with Banaras may be set out here. Vārānasi being a great tirtha, śrāddha for the benefit of ancestors should be performed there and if it is not possible to perform a śrāddha with all details, at least offerings of pindas should be made.¹⁴⁶² The construction of *mathas* for those who practise penance there and endowing them with means for their maintenance are highly eulogized.¹⁴⁶³

In the 12th century A. D. there was a Kapālamocanaghāt¹⁴⁶⁴ situated on the Ganges. In a grant published in E. I. vol. IV p. 110 dated *samvat* 1178 (1122 A. D.) the Emperor Govindacandra bestowed a village on a brāhmana named Vyāsa after bathing at the Kapāla-mocanaghāta in Banaras where the Ganges flows to the north. The story of Kapālamocana-tirtha is narrated in the Matsya-purāna, chap. 183. 84-103 and a reference is made to it in Kāśīkhanda 33. 116.

It may be noted that in the Lingapurāna, pūrvārdha, chap. 92 verses 67-100, in Padma,^{1464a} Ādikhanda, chap. 34-37,

1461 तीर्थं चालीर्थता यादु नगरं ज्ञापयाम्यहम् ॥ मा भूत्त्रिपौरुषी विद्या मा भूत्त्रि-
पौरुष धनम् । मा भूत्त्रिपौरुषं सख्यं प्पासो वाराणसीं ज्ञापन् ॥ अविदुक्ते निवसतां जनानां
पुण्यकर्मणाम् । विभ्रं ह्यजानि सर्वेषां येन सिद्धिर्न विद्यते ॥ मत्स्य 185. 21-23, q. by कल्प०
on तीर्थ (p 28) The verse मा भूत्० is काशीसङ्घ 96 125.

1462. महत्पुत्रैः पिण्डदानादि कार्यमन्नागतैः सदा । पिण्डदानं च तत्रैव ह्युच्यते
कार्यमादरात् । ह्युच्यतेऽस्तेऽपि पुत्राणां तु भवन्ति ह्यखदायकाः । q. by त्रिस्थली p 129.

1463. मठानपि तपस्त्रिभ्यः कारयित्वात्र योऽर्पयेत् । जीवनोपायसंयुक्तान् सोऽपि
सर्वफलाश्रयः ॥ q. by त्रिस्थली. p. 133.

1464. Dr Altskar (pp 28-29) notes that at present a *ghāt* and a tank near the Rajaghat station is known by the name Kapālamocanaghāt, that there exists a temple near this tank dedicated to Kapālamocanesvara and that the god must have been removed from the original place to the present habitation at some time during the last 700 years.

1464 a. Kūrma I. 32 3-29 about Omkāra and other Lingas are the same as Padma I 34 1-25 (with some half verses omitted) and Kūrma I. 33 is taken over bodily in Padma I. 35 and Kūrma I 34. 2-16 are the same as Padma I 37. 1-19 (with a few additions)

Kūrma I. 32. 1-12 and I. 35. 1-15 (tirthas) and in the Kāśīkhanda, chap. 10. 86-97, chap. 33, chap. 53. 27 ff., chapters 55, 58 and 61 numerous lingas and tirthas of Banaras are named. The Kāśīkhanda, chap. 73. 32-36 (quoted by Tri. S. pp. 264-265) mentions 14 of these as Mahālingas, viz. Omkāra, Trilocana, Mahādeva, Kṛtīvāsas, Ratneśa, Candreśvara, Kedāra, Dharmeśa, Vireśvara, Kameśa, Viśvakarmeśvara, Manikarnīśa, Avimukta, Viśveśvara. It is provided in Kāśīkhanda 73. 39 that *yātrās* of these main lingas should be celebrated every month from the 1st tithi onwards. In Kāśīkhanda 73. 45-48 there is another series of fourteen great lingas different from those in chap. 73. 32-36. Fourteen āyatanas are named in Kāśīkhanda 73. 60-62.^{1464b} Twelve out of these are specified as lingas in Lingapurāna I. 92.67-107. In Kāśīkhanda chapters 83 and 84 are enumerated about 125 tirthas of Banaras. In chap. 94. 36 of the Kāśīkhanda 36 principal lingas are referred to (14 Omkāraśī, 8 Dakṣeśvaraśī and 14 Śaileśādi). From considerations of space the other lingas and tirthas are not mentioned here. But out of all these Viśveśvara is said to give quick results.

It is laid down that every one residing in Kāśī must repair every day to the Ganges, take a bath in the Manikarnikā and visit Viśveśvara.¹⁴⁶⁵

What happens if a person commits sins outside Kāśī, comes to Kāśī and then dies, or if a resident of Kāśī commits sins in Kāśī but dies either at Kāśī or outside it? The Tri. S. after quoting several verses from the Kāśīkhanda, Padmapurāna and Brahmavaivarta states the following conclusions (p. 268). Sins committed elsewhere are destroyed by coming to Kāśī.¹⁴⁶⁶ He who residing in Kāśī is always addicted to sins becomes a *piśūca* (goblin) for thirty thousand years, again dwells in Kāśī, secures highest knowledge and then obtains

1464 b शैलेषु सद्यमेकाश्च स्वर्तीनि मध्यमेश्वर । हिरण्यगर्भ ईशानो गोमिशो पुष्यभ्रजः । उपशान्ताशिनो ज्येष्ठो निवासेश्वर एव च । ह्युक्तेषु व्यामलिङ्ग च जन्मुक्तेषु चतुर्दशम् ।
मुने चतुर्दशैतानि महान्त्थायतनानि वै ॥ काशी० 73. 60-63 q by त्रिस्थली० p. 263.

1465. यात्राद्वयं प्रयत्नेन कर्तव्य प्रतिवासरम् । एका स्वर्गतरङ्गिण्यास्ततो विश्वेसित् ।
परा ॥ काश्या लिङ्गान्यनेकानि काश्या तीर्थान्यनेकशः । तथापि सेष्ठा विश्वेश. स्नातव्या
मणिकार्णिका ॥ काशीखण्ड 100 101 q in त्रिस्थली० p. 266

1466 अन्वजं विहितं पाप नश्येत्काशीनिरीक्षणत् । काश्या कृतानां पापानां दारुणेयं
तु यातना ॥ काशीखण्ड 33.115, Vide also काशी० 75.22 'काश्या तु पर्यटन पाप
नश्येत्तत्रापदमदम् ।'.

moksa. Those who being residents of Kāśī commit sins have not to undergo the tortures of Yama whether they die in Kāśī or elsewhere. Those who after committing sins in Kāśī die there will be punished by Kālabhairava. Those who die elsewhere (after committing sins in Kāśī) first undergo torments inflicted by the *ganas* of Śiva called Yāma, then undergo torments inflicted by Kālabhairava for thirty thousand years, are then born as mortal men, then die in Kāśī and secure release (from *samsāra*) at the end.

It is remarkable that the *Kāśīkhanda*¹⁴⁶⁷ states that a little to the north of Kāśī, Viṣṇu assigned a place for his residence called Dharmakṣetra and that there Viṣṇu assumed the form of Buddha. This is a clear reference to Śārnath about five miles by road to the north of Banaras, where Buddha delivered his first sermon. The general rule for ascetics is that for eight months they must move from place to place and may spend the four months of the rainy season or two months in one place; but this rule is abrogated where ascetics enter Banaras and it is laid down that they should not leave Kāśī at all.^{1467a}

The *Kāśīkhanda* remarks 'For devotees of Śiva who are full of faith there is, even in great calamities, no other remedy except the water of the feet of the image of God. Incurable diseases even, whether affecting the body outside or inside, are got rid of by the touch with faith of the water of (washing the image of) the deity.' This reminds one of the miraculous cures believed to have been effected by the water of a pool at Lourdes in the first years of this century.^{1467b}

It would be far beyond the scope of this section to dilate upon the great traditions of learning associated with the name of Banaras. It is sufficient to refer to Alberuni (vol. I. p. 173) who observed that Banaras and Kashmir were the

1467. किञ्चित्काश्मीरदीर्घा च गत्वा देवेन चक्रिणा । स्वस्थिर्यै कल्पितं स्थानं धर्मक्षेत्रमितीरितम् ॥ तत्रस्तु सौगतं रूपं शिआय श्रीपतिः स्वयम् ॥ ch. 58 71-72.

1467 a. अद्यै मासा विहारस्य यतीना संयतात्मनाम् । एकत्र चतुरो मासात् मासौ वा निवसेत्पुनः । अविमुक्ते प्रविष्टानां विहारस्तु न विद्यते । मोक्षो ह्यसंशयस्तत्र पञ्चत्वं तु गतस्य चै ॥ मत्स्य 184. 32-34 q. by कल्पतरु on तीर्थे p 24. The same verses (with slight variations) are स्कन्द, काशी. 86. 112-113. The general rule for an ascetic is stated in विष्णुपुराण III. 9. 28 'एकरात्रस्थित्यामि पञ्चरात्रस्थितिः शुदे'.

1467 b अद्भुतवर्ता स्वभक्तानामुपसर्गं महत्यापि । नोपायात्तरमस्त्येव विनेशचरणो-
त्सकम् ॥ ये स्पाद्योऽपि दुःसास्या बहिरन्तः शरीरगाः । अद्भुतेशोदकस्यशक्तिं नश्यन्त्येव
नान्यथा ॥ काशीखण्ड 67. 82-83,

'high schools of Hindu Sciences,' to *Ain. A.* vol. II, p. 158 'from time immemorial it has been the chief seat of learning in Hindustan' and to *Kāśikhanda*, chap. 96. 121 that states that Kāśī is the home of learning (*vidyānām sadanam Kāśī*). Vide Prof. Altekar's 'History of Benares' pp. 23-24 and *I. A.* vol. 41 pp. 7-13 and 245-253 for some learned families of Banaras

CHAPTER XIV

GAYĀ

Gayā occupies a unique place in the hearts of all pious Hindus even in these days. Hundreds of pages have been written about the history, the antiquities, the architectural remains of Gayā, the sacred places in and round about Gayā, the śrāddha rites performed in Gayā and about *Gayāvāls* (the priests of Gayā). It is not possible to deal with this vast mass in this work. But it is impossible not to say a few words about the many conflicting views on certain important matters put forward by scholars for about three quarters of a century. Those who are deeply interested in the history and antiquities of Gayā should carefully read the following books and papers; Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra's 'Buddha-Gayā' with 51 plates (1878); General Cunningham's 'Mahābodhi' with 31 plates at the end (1892); L. S. S. O'Malley's District Gazetteer of Gayā, vol. XII and J. A. S. B for 1903 LXXII, No. 3, pp 1-11 on 'Gayāśrāddha and Gayāvāls'; Indian Antiquary, vol X pp. 339-340 for a Chinese Inscription at Buddha Gayā dated in a Chinese date corresponding to 1033 A. D. and pp. 341-347 for Inscriptions at Gayā, one of which is engraved in a temple of the Sun near a tank 'Dakṣiṇamānasa' near the Viṣṇupada, dated 1813 years after Buddha's Parinirvāṇa; Indian Antiquary, vol 16 pp 63 ff Inscription of Yaksapāla, son of Viśvāditya, which records the building of a temple for certain images in the 15th regnal year of the Pāla king Nayapāladeva who died in 1045 A. D., edited by Kielhorn; Dr. Benimādhav Barua's 'Gayā and Buddha-Gayā' in two volumes (1934) with plates; Journal of Bihar and Orissa R. Society, vol. 24 (for 1938) pp. 89-111 where Dr. J. C. Ghose deals with 'the antiquity of Gayā.' Some of the remarks of Dr Ghose are most unwarranted and cannot be accepted, such as holding 'maganda' in 'Pramagandasya' in Rg. III. 53. 14 as identical with Magadha and the explanation of 'udantyaḥ' in the Ait. Br. as 'people of sunrise' Among medieval digests Gayā is dealt with in Kalpataru on Tirthas pp 163-174, Tirthacintāmani of Vācaspati pp. 268-328, Tristhalisetu of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa pp. 316-379, Tirthaparakāsa pp. 384-452, Tirthenduśekhara pp. 54-59, Tristhalisetu-sāra-sangraha of Bhaṭṭoji pp. 56-58.

The most important work on Gayā relied upon in such works as the *Trishali-setu* and in modern times is the *Gayā-māhātmya* that occurs at the end of the *Vāyupurāna* (chapters 105-112 of the *Ānandāśrama* ed.). Scholars differ about the antiquity of these chapters. *Rājendralal Mitra* assigned the *Gayā-māhātmya* to the 3rd or 4th century A. D. *O'Malley* was inclined to hold that the legend of *Gayāsura* was invented in the 14th or 15th century, principally on the ground that the *Gayāwals* profess the *Vaisnava* faith established by *Madhvācārya*¹⁴⁶⁸ and acknowledge as their spiritual head the *mahant* of *Hari Narasimhapura*; vide *J. A. S. B.* vol. LXXII (1903) p. 4. To my mind there is hardly anything in this. The *Gayāwals* are notorious for their indolence, dissoluteness and ignorance and they are a dying race. *O'Malley* himself notes in the paper mentioned above (at p. 8) that originally the families of *Gayāwals* were 1484, that in *Buchanan Hamilton's* time they numbered about 1000, that in 1893 a *Gayāwal* counted 128 families, that in the census of 1901 there existed only 168 males (as pure *Gayāwals*) and 153 females. *Gayā* is a place sacred to *Viṣṇu* and if the *Gayāwals* had to turn in medieval times for support to some great *ācārya* they would naturally choose to align themselves with the *Vaisnava ācārya* *Madhva* rather than with *Śankara*. *Dr. Barua*, after an elaborate examination of the several items of evidence, holds 'that the *Gayā-māhātmya* is not earlier than the 13th or 14th century A. D. (vol. I, p. 64 of '*Gayā and Buddha Gayā*'). From considerations of the space at my disposal I cannot examine in detail his arguments. His conclusion is vitiated mainly for two reasons. He relies too much on the dubious and unconvincing argument from silence. He examines the account of *Gayā* that appears in the *Vanaparva* and compares it with the fuller account in the *Gayā-māhātmya* and arrives at the rather startling conclusion 'The *Gayā* proper as known to the Epic (the *Mahābhārata*) is essentially a place sacred to *Yama*, *Dharmarāja*, *Brahmā* and *Śivaśūlin*, and *Viṣṇu* and *Vaisnavism* has no place in it either as a name or as an idea. Except

1468 There is conflict about the dates of *Madhvācārya's* birth and death. The *Uttarādi-maṭha* records give śaka 1040 (1118 A. D.) and śaka 1120 (1198 A. D.) as the dates of his birth and death respectively. This is said to conflict with the date given in *Madhva's* महाभारतानुसंधानेन viz. that he was born in वनकादि 4300. In a paper published in the *Journal of the Annamalai University*, vol III for 1934 pp. 245 ff. the correct dates are said to be 1238 A. D.-1317 A. D.

Brahmayūpa, Śivalīṅga and Vṛsabha there is no reference to any structural erection nor any iconic suggestion'. In order to show how this conclusion is not at all justified the references to Gayā in the Epic and other Sanskrit works will have to be set out and compared with each other and with the Gayāmāhātmya. The second reason that vitiates Dr. Barua's conclusion is the wrong interpretation that he puts on verse 12 of the Inscription edited by Kielhorn in I. A. vol 16.

I shall now turn to the name Gayā and references to it or similar names from the R̥gveda downwards. A Gaya, son of Plati, is the reputed author of two hymns of the R̥gveda (X. 63 and X. 64). In R̥g X. 63. 17 and X. 64. 17 we have the words 'astāvi jano divyo Gayena' (the divine host was praised by Gaya). So Gaya was a proper name applied to a composer of R̥gvedic hymns. In the R̥g, the word Gaya has several other senses, which are not material here. In the Atharvaveda (I. 14.4) Gaya appears to be a wonder-worker or a sorcerer along with Asita and Kasyapa. Even in the Vedic Samhitās Asuras, Dāsas and Rākṣasas are credited with tricks and magic. Vide R̥g VII 99.4, VII. 104.24-25 and Atharva IV. 23. 5. It is not difficult to imagine how a sorcerer Gaya could have been transformed into Gayāsura later on. Proceeding further, the Nirukta¹⁴⁶⁹ while explaining 'idam Viṣṇur-vi cakrame tredhē nidadhe padam' (R̥g. I. 22. 17) gives two very interesting interpretations, one explaining the verse as a natural phenomenon and the other explaining it from geographical or legendary points of view 'He (Viṣṇu) puts down his foot in three ways. According to Śakapūni, Viṣṇu plants his foot on the earth, in mid air (sky) and heaven; according to Aurnavābha, on Samārohana, on Viṣṇu-pada and on Gayāsiras.' Whatever the Vedic verse may mean, it is clear that two interpretations had arisen several centuries before Christ and if the usual dates about Buddha's *nirvāna* are accepted Aurnavābha and Yāska both flourished before Buddha. Vide S. B. E. vol. XIII pp. XXII-XXIII for Buddha's *nirvāna* being placed at 483 B. C. according to Ceylonese chronicle, while some western scholars would place it between 429-400 B. C.¹⁴⁷⁰ Gayāsiras is named in the Vanaparva (87.

1469 त्रेधा निधत्ते पदम् । पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिव्येति शाकपुणिः । समारोहणे विष्णुपदे गयसिरसि-इति और्णवाभः । निरुक्त 12 19.

1470. The Nirukta is placed not later than at least 500 B. C. by most Sanskrit scholars. Aurnavābha is earlier than the Nirukta. Vide History of

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11, 95, 9), in the Visnudharma-sūtra 85,4 (in the form Gayā-sīrsa), Vāmanapurāna (22,20 as the eastern *vedi* of Brahmā), Skanda I, 2, 13,21 and even in the Buddhist books such as the Mahāvagga (I 21, 1, S. B. E. vol. XIII p. 134) in which last it is said that after having dwelt at Uruvelā, Buddha accompanied by a thousand *bhikkhus* went to Gayāsīsa (which is the Pali equivalent of Gayāsīrsa). Traditions of Gaya as a king of the territories round about Gayā are mentioned in Jaina and Buddhist works. The Uttarādhyayanasūtra (S B E. vol. 45 p. 86 and note 3 there) states that he was son of king Samudravijaya of Rājagṛha and became the 11th Cakravartin. The Buddhacarita of Śvaghosa states that Buddha visited the hermitage called a city of the royal sage Gaya, that the saint (future Buddha) fixed his dwelling on the pure bank of the Nairāṅjanā river (S. B. E. vol. 49 part 1 p. 132, Canto XII, 87-88) and p. 193 (chap XVII, 8 of the same work) and that Buddha went to the hermitage of Kāśyapa at Gayā called Uruvilvā. The same work (S. B. E. vol. 49 part 1 p. 192) speaks of Dharmatāvī where dwelt 700 ascetics whom Buddha helped to enter *nirvāna*. Visnupada occurs in the Visnudharmasūtra 85,40 as a holy place very fit for śrāddha. In my opinion at least Aurnavābha held that in a particular region there were three places on which according to the legends current in his day the foot-prints of Viṣṇu's foot could be seen¹⁴⁷. Two of

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Sanskrit literature by Winternitz, vol I p. 69 (English tr). Scholars are not agreed about the exact location and extent of Gayāsīras. Rajendralal in 'Buddha-gayā' p 19 says 'Gayāsīras is not the Brahmayoni hill but a low spur of it to the north-east about a mile in area forming the site of the old town of Gayā. This Gayāsīras is the most sacred spot in Gayā.' Dr. Barna (vol. I p. 246) 'Gayā proper is still sandwiched between the Phalgu and a small set of hills containing some 25 hill-tops with Gayaśira or Gayāśira (Brahmayoni) in the south-west &c'. Both are, however, agreed that Gayāsīras is part of the ancient Gayā region. Vide S. B. E. vol. XIII p. 134 n. 1 about Cunningham's view that गयसीस is the ब्रह्मयोनि hill near Gayā.

1471. I am not unmindful of the fact that in the Iron Pillar Inscription of a King called Candra at Meherauli (nine miles south of Delhi) the last verse reads गेवापं प्रणिवाय धूमिपतिना . . . गच्छविष्णुपदे गिरि भगवती विष्णोर्वज-स्थापितः (Gupta Inscriptions, No 32 at p. 141). This shows that near Delhi there was a hill called विष्णुपद. But there is nothing to show that there was a place called गयसिरस् near it. Hence विष्णुपद and गयसिरस् being taken together point out to Gayā. The Inscription is undated but looking to the characters it would not be far wrong to assign it to a period near Samudra-

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these, Visnupada and Gayāśiras are well-known; hence it would not be unreasonable to hold that 'Samārohana' is a place and has to be located somewhere near the other two. Samārohana means 'mounting up' or 'ascending'. This word probably refers to the ascent of the hill that rises up from the river Phalgu. It is also possible that it is the same as the Udyanta hill echoing with the warbling (of birds) ¹⁴⁷² I therefore hold that at least 600 years before Christ (and hence 'even before Buddha) there was a tradition about Visnu's footprints in at least two well-known places viz. Visnupada and Gayāśiras (both in Gayā). Even if some other work does not mention any one of these it does not follow from mere non-mention that that spot was not so named or did not exist.

Let us now turn to the Vanaparva. Dr. Barua mainly relies on Vanaparva 84. 82-103 and 95. 9-29. But some preliminary remarks must be made before the two passages are examined.

The Nārādiya-purāna (uttara, 46. 16) states that Gayāśiras extends from Krauñcapada to Phalgutīrtha.

Vanaparva chapter 82 sets out Pulastya's replies to Bṛiṣma's question about tīrthas. First comes Puskara (verses 20-40), then Jambumārga, Tandulikaśrama, Agastyaśarah, Mahākāla, Kotitīrtha, Bhadravata (Sthānutīrtha), Narmadā, Prabhāsa and several other tīrthas (not in any particular order but selected at random). In chap. 83 Kuruksetra is described at some length.

Before discussing the most important passage of the Vanaparva (viz. 84. 82-103) we must see what precedes the description of Gayā. Dr. Barua and many of those that have written on this passage have not carefully considered the implications of verses 1-81 of chapter 84 and also of the following chapters. In Vanaparva 84. 1-81 the author makes Dhaumya name

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gupta. Therefore Visnu's footprint existed on a hill near Delhi in the 4th century A. D. There is no sound reason advanced why it could not have existed at Gayā about the same time or even earlier. Besides in the Rām. 11. 68. 19 a विष्णुपद south of the river विपाशा is mentioned.

1472. Dr. Barua regards गीतनादित in Vanaparva 84. 93 as the name of a peak (vol I p. 246). But this appears to be wrong. It is an adjective of उद्यन्त (पर्वत) that immediately precedes. I have not come across any peak called गीतनादित in any other work and Dr. Barua does not cite any other text in support of his view. उद्यन्त would mean 'the hill of sunrise,' not necessarily for the whole of Āryāvarta but in the place where both विष्णुपद and गयानदित were situated.

about 57 holy places (including such famous ones as Naimisa, Sakambhari, Gangādvāra, Kanakhala, the confluence of Gangā and Yamunā, Kubjāmraka) and then comes to speak of the sacred spots in Gayā¹⁴⁷³ It is therefore clear that the intention of the author is not to speak exhaustively about any tirtha. For this reason some tirthas are described twice in the Vanaparva. For example Naimisa is very highly praised in chap. 84, 59-64 and again in chap. 87, 6-7. The same happens with regard to Gayā in 85.82-103 and 87.8-12. We cannot at all presume

1473 The verses relating to गया in वनपर्व 84 are set out in full here. ततो गयां समासाद्य ब्रह्मचारी समाहितः। अश्वमेधमवाप्नोति कुलं चैव सद्गृह्यते॥ तत्राक्षयपदो नाम त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतः। तत्र दत्तं पितृभ्यस्तु भवत्पक्षयस्तु चये॥ महानद्यास्तु चये तर्पयेत् पितृदेवताः। अक्षयाम्नायात् लोकाच्च कुलं चैव सद्गृह्यते॥ ततो ब्रह्मसरो गत्वा धर्मार्णवयोसो- भितम्। ब्रह्मलोकमवाप्नोति प्रभातमेव शर्वरीम्॥ ब्रह्मणा तत्र सरासे यूपश्रेष्ठः सद्गृह्यते। यूपं प्रदक्षिणीकृत्वा वाजयेयफलं लभेत्॥ ततो गच्छेत् राजेन्द्रं धेनुकं लोकविश्रुतम्। एकराशो- वितो राजन् प्रपच्छेत् तिलधेनुकाच्च॥ सर्वपापविद्भ्यान्नात्मा सोमलोकं ब्रजेद् धेनुम्। तत्र चिद्वं महद्वाजस्यैवापि सुमहद् भुवम्। कपिलायाः सवत्सायाश्चरन्त्याः पर्वते कृतम्। सवत्सायाः पदानि स्म हृदयन्तेष्वपि भारतः। तेषुपस्तु च राजेन्द्रं पदेषु हृदयत्तमः। यत्किञ्चिद्ब्रह्मं कर्म तत्प्रयत्नयति भारतः। ततो युध्नवदं गच्छेत्स्थानं देवेषु धीमतः। ज्ञायीत अस्मना तत्र अभिगम्य हृदयभवजम्। ब्राह्मणेन भवेच्छीर्षिं व्रतं द्वादशवार्यिकाच्च॥ इतरेषां तु वर्णाणां सर्वेषां प्रणयति॥ उच्यते च ततो गच्छेत् पर्वतं शीतनादितम्। सावित्र्यास्तु पदं तत्र हृदयते भरतर्षभ॥ तत्र सन्ध्याहोषासीत् ब्राह्मणः सक्षिप्तव्रतः। तेन ह्यपास्ता भवति सन्ध्या द्वादशवार्यिकी॥ योनि- द्वारं च तत्रैव विश्रुतं भरतर्षभ॥ तत्राभिगम्य हृदयेत् हुणवो योनिस्तद्गवात्॥ कृष्णगुह्याद्गुह्यो पक्षी गवायां यो बलेज्जः। हुनात्यासत्तमं राजन् कुलं नास्त्यत्र संहाय॥ एष्टया... हृदयत्तजेत्॥ ततः फल्गुं ब्रजेद्वाजन् वीर्यसेवी नराधिपः। अश्वमेधमवाप्नोति सिद्धिं च महतीं ब्रजेत्॥ ततो गच्छेत् राजेन्द्रं धर्मप्रसन्नं समाहितः। तत्र धर्मो महाराज नित्यमास्ते शुधिष्ठिरः॥ तत्र कूपोदकं कृत्वा तेन स्नातः शुचिस्तथा। पितृदेवास्तु सन्तर्प्यं शुक्रपापो द्विवं ब्रजेत्॥ पतङ्गस्याश्रमस्तत्र महर्षेर्भावितारमनः। तं प्रविश्याश्रमं श्रीसच्छ्रमशोकविनाशनम्। गवामयनयज्ञस्य फलं माप्नोति मानवः। धर्मं तत्राभिसंस्तुय वाजिनेधनवाम्नायात्॥ ततो गच्छेत् राजेन्द्रं ब्रह्मस्थानमनुत्तमम्। तत्राभिगम्य राजेन्द्रं ब्रह्मणं हृदयर्षभ॥ राजस्यश्वमेधेनाया फलं विन्दति मानवः। ततो राजपुत्रं गच्छेत् वीर्यसेवी नराधिपः॥ वनपर्व 84, 82-104. These verses are q. in the वीर्यचिन्दि. Pp. 275-277 (except three), त्रिरथलीसिंह pp 321-323. It may be noted that the Padmapurāna, Ādikhanda, chap 38 (verses 2-19) contains verbatim and in the same order the verses about Gayā in the Vanaparva 84, 82-99 except that a word is changed here and there. There is hardly any doubt that one borrows from the other Good grounds have been advanced by Mr. M. V. Vaidya in his paper 'Tīrthayātrā in the Āranyakaparvan and the Padmapurāna' in the Kane Festschrift pp 530-537. Dr. S. K. Belkalkar in the volume of Indian and Eastern studies presented to Prof. F. W. Thomas pp. 19-28 in his paper on 'Cosmographical episode in the Mahābhārata and the Padmapurāna' has shown that chapters 80-83 of the Vanaparva are taken over by the author of the Padmapurāna in chapters 10, 5 to chapter 39, 120.

from the manner in which tirthas in Gayā are named and described that the writer of Vanaparva (chap. 84. 82-103) meant to be exhaustive as regards the holy spots in Gayā or the legends about Gayā. This conclusion is very much strengthened by the fact that in the Anuśāsanaparva three sacred spots in Gayā are mentioned which do not occur in Vanaparva 84. 82-103 viz. 'In Gayā a man becomes purified in Āsmaprstha (the same as Pretasīla), on the hill Niravinda and of even a third brāhmana murder in Krauñcapadi'.¹⁴⁷⁴ These three, Āsmaprstha, Niravinda and Krauñcapadi, are in addition to those sacred spots that are mentioned in Vanaparva 84. In Vāyu 109. 15 a hill Aravindaka is said to be a peak of the Śilāparvata and Nārādiya (uttara 47. 83), Vāyu 108. 75 and Nārādiya (uttara 46. 16) mention the hill Krauñcapada (Munda-prstha was so called) Therefore it is clear that three important sites in the Gayāmāhātmya are mentioned by the Anuśāsanaparva.

It was unfortunate that Dr. Barua confined his attention on the question of the antiquity of Gayā to merely three works viz. the Vanaparva chapters 84 and 95, the Agnipurāna chap. 114-116 and the Vāyupurāna chapters 105-112. He did not care to investigate all the other Purānas nor did it strike him that the explanation of three *padas* of Visnu furnished by Aurnavābha probably referred to spots around Gayā alone. Other Purānas such as Padma (Ādikhaṇḍa 38. 2-21), Garuda I chapters 82-86, and the Nārādiya (uttara chap. 44-47) contain much that concerns Gayā and all of them have many verses in common. The critical edition of the Mahābhārata (published by the B. O. R. I., Poona) reads 'sāvitrām padam' (chap. 82.81) for 'sāvitrīyastu padam' of the Bombay edition. The reading of the critical edition is supported by numerous and ancient Mss. Further, the printed Padmapurāna (in Ādikhaṇḍa 38. 13) reads 'Savitram padam' and thus lends support to the reading adopted in the critical edition. The words 'sāvitrām padam' may be taken to mean the foot-print of Visnu (Savitṛ). Dr. Barua goes very much further than the facts warrant when he says that there is no reference in the Vanaparva to any structural erection or iconic suggestion. It is clear that there must have been an image of Dharma, since the Vanaparva speaks of

1474 अश्मपृष्ठे गयाया च निरविन्दे च पर्वते । तृतीयां क्रौञ्चपद्यां च ब्रह्महत्यां विष्णुधृष्यते ॥ अद्भुतासन 25. 42. नीलकण्ठ explains 'अश्मपृष्ठे प्रेतशिलाया एकां ब्रह्महत्यां पयोष्य निरविन्दे सुखगन्धहीने द्वितीयां ब्रह्महत्या निरस्य क्रौञ्चपदीति सर्वेषां विष्णुपदा-दीनाशुपलक्षणं तेषु तृतीयां ब्रह्महत्या सकृद्गया गत एव विष्णुधृष्यते पुतो भवति',

the pilgrim to Gayā having to touch Dharma (Dharmam tatrā-bhi-samsprśya). Besides, there is a reference to the footprints of a cow with a calf and to 'Sāvitra pada'. All these would surely be things that have an 'iconic suggestion'. Moreover, Dr. Barua forgets for the moment that, according to the Chinese traveller Fa Hien who visited India between 399-413 A. D., the Gayā of the Hindu faith was 'all emptiness and desolation' (vide Legge's translation p. 87). It is possible that Gayā might have suffered from earthquakes before 400 A. D. (as it is a region that is liable to severe earthquakes even in modern times) and therefore no structural erection of the ancient city of Gayā (to which ancient Pāli works and the Lalitavistara p 311 refer) might have been left in Fa Hien's day. Gayā appears to have passed through several vicissitudes. Some centuries before the Christian era it was in existence and was a flourishing town. By 400 A. D. it had been reduced to desolation. But in the 7th century the Chinese traveller Hiouen Tshang notes that the Hindu Gayā was a town with 1000 brāhmana families (vide Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. II p. 113). Later on when Buddhism waned and vanished, Gayā came to comprehend even Buddhist remnants, since the Vāyupurāṇa speaks of Gayā as extending from Pretasīlā to Mahābodhi tree (a distance of about 13 miles, according to Mitra p 19).

Dr. Barua has also misunderstood verse 12 of the inscription at Gayā edited by Dr. Kielhorn in I. A. vol 16 p. 63 ff. The verse¹⁴⁷⁵ set out below may be translated as follows. That wise (prince Yaksapāla) caused to be constructed a temple for the images of Maunāditya and the other gods (mentioned in it), he dug up the famous Uttaramūnasa lake and established a sattrā (charity house for food) near the Akāya (vaṭa). This inscription of the reign of Nayapāla was

1475. मौनादित्यसहस्रलिङ्गकमहाधर्मिणिसाधनगहिनीशेखरकस्तुनाधिराजपतिपाद-
यानं कृती । स मासादनचीनरद् दिव्यदा केदारदेव्य च स्यात्परमेश्वरस्य
खनन सत्रं तथा चाक्षये ॥ verse 12 of the inscription of prince (Nayapāla)
यक्षपाल son of विश्वादित्य edited in I. A. 16 at p 65. Kielhorn translates it as
wise (prince) caused to be built a temple of the inhabitants of heaven
called Maunaditya ..He likewise had the famous Uttaramūnasa tank dug and
established a sattrā (hall of charity) to last forever'. Dr. Kielhorn is
wrong in his translation 'to last forever.' Dr. Barua reads मनसात् as cat
word and connects that one word with दिव्यदा (vol I p 62-). One fails
to understand how दिव्यदा (genitive plural) is to be connected with सत्रं
which according to Dr. Barua's construction is only part of a compound
word.

engraved about 1040 A.D. Dr. Barua thought that Uttaramānsa was dug up at that time and therefore Uttaramānsa tank is taken to be not older than 1040 A. D. and that it and many of the sacred spots must have been later and the Gayāmāhātmya which speaks of Uttaramānsa must be much later than the 11th century A. D. But Dr Barua is entirely mistaken in this. If a tank was dug up for the first time at the time of the inscription, it is impossible that it should have been called 'khyāta' (famous). The tank can become famous some centuries after it was dug. Uttaramānsa tank is mentioned as a sacred spot in Vāyupurāna 77. 108 (which verse is quoted about 1110 A. D. in the Kalpataru on tirtha at p. 168), Vāyu 82. 21, Agni 115. 10. Therefore Uttaramānsa tank was well known at least in the 8th or 9th century A. D. What the inscription means is either that the famous tank had silted up and so it was dug up or that it was made longer, broader and deeper in about 1040. That is all.

In my opinion the Gayāmāhātmya (Vāyu, chap. 105-112), though possibly later than the main text of the Vāyupurāna, cannot be placed so late as the 13th or 14th century A. D. It is really a patch-work from many sources of earlier times such as the Vanaparva, Anusāsanaparva, Padma I 38, the Nāradya (uttara) chap. 44-47. Several verses and half verses of it are repetitions (such as the half verse 'Gayāyām aksayam śrāddham japahomatapāmsi ca' Vāyu 108 35 and Vāyu 82.43 quoted as from Vāyu in Kalpataru on tirtha p. 167, and Vāyu 110. 29-30 are the same as Vāyu 105.37-38. So also Vāyu 82. 31-33 are the same as Vāyu 110. 51-53. Dr. Barua does not notice that in chap. 82 of the Vāyu (20-24) several sub-tirthas of Gayā are expressly mentioned viz. Brahmakunḍa, Prabhāsa, Pretapārvata, Uttaramānsa, Udici, Kanakhala, Dakṣiṇamānsa, Dharmāranya, Gadādhara, Matanga; so also chap 77. 97-108 mention Grdhra-kūta, hermitage of Bharata, Matangapada, Munda-prstha and Uttaramānsa. Many of the verses occurring in the Gayāmāhātmya are found quoted in the Smṛticandrikā 1476

1476 Vide H. of Dh vol. 1. p. 346 for the date of the Smṛticandrikā.

The verses ब्रह्मज्ञान .. चतुर्विधा (vide note 1484) and ब्रह्महत्या... द्विनश्यति (चतु. 105.13) are नारदीय (उत्तर) chap. 44. 20 and 22; Vāyu 110 63-64 are equal to नारदीय, उत्तर, 45 64-66, Vāyu 110. 63-64 are the same as Nāradya (uttara) 45.64-66, Vāyu 108.13-16 are the same as नारदीय (उत्तर) 45. 2-4. Vāyu 110 4-5 are the same as Vanaparva 82.9-10.. पचदशराज (I

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(about 1150-1225 A. D.) on Śrāddha and Āsauca (without name) as briefly exemplified below. I think that the Gayāmāhātmya is to be assigned to some date between the 7th and 10th centuries A. D.

Having disposed of the question of the date of the Gayāmāhātmya and the references to the sacred spots in Gayā in Vanaparva chap. 84, it is necessary to see how Gayā is spoken of in the other parts of the Mahābhārata and the smṛtis. In the Vanaparva itself references to Gayā occur in chap. 87 and chap. 95. Vanaparva, chap. 87, starts by saying that going towards the east (from Kāmyaka-vana where the Pāndavas dwelt for some time) the pilgrim would come to the Naimiṣa forest and the Gomati river. Thus it is said that in the east there is a holy hill called after Gayā and a holy pool called Brahmaśaras; then comes a famous verse¹⁴⁷⁷ 'one should desire to have many sons if even

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85, 2-22) contains most of the verses of Vāyu 110, 34-60. The notes below in this Gayā section will show that the Nārādīya and the Gayāmāhātmya contain scores of verses in common

The स्मृतिचन्द्रिका (University of Mysore edition) on आशीच has towards the end a section on गणेशाद्विधि, several verses of which occur in वायु A few verses are cited by way of illustration. The first two verses (स्मृतिच. p 194) though ascribed to आदित्यपुराण are almost the same as वायु 110 2-3; the verses गोमन्वार .. मधुव (in स्मृतिच. on आशीच p. 199) are almost the same as वायु 111. 35 and 37, स्मृतिच. p 197 the verse मन्त्रे वर्तमाने तु is the same as वायु 105.48 and स्मृतिच. p 199 the verse वा सा वैतरणी नाम is वायु 105 44

The Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspati quotes many verses from the Gayāmāhātmya of the Vāyupurāṇa. Vācaspati's literary activity lies between 1450 to 1480 (or 1500 AD at the latest) He treats the Gayāmāhātmya as on the same level as the other purāṇas. This position could not have been attained by the Gayāmāhātmya in a century or two Therefore it must be much earlier than 1300 AD. A few examples of the citations of the Gayāmāhātmya by Vācaspati may be indicated here On pp. 285-286 the स्मृतिच. expressly quotes from the वायव्य verses 18, 19, 26 of वायु. 105, वायु 110, 2-3 are quoted as from वायु in स्मृतिच. p. 7, on pp. 280-283 numerous verses are quoted from वायुपुराण which are (with slight variations) the same as वायुपुराण 108, 13-23, 28-30; on pp 284-285 from वायुपुराण are cited वायु 110 9-15 and 19-20, 56-59, स्मृतिच. pp. 288-293 quote from the वायुपुराण 110, 17, 21-24, 30-32, 34-55, स्मृतिच. pp. 298-301 quote वायु. 111, 1-22 (with additions and variant readings); similarly the सूत्रनिबन्धनादयः on भाद्र and त्रिस्थलीसिद्धि quote about 300 verses from गणनाहारण्य and the त्रिस्थली (pp. 356-359 &c) several times refers to the explanations of verses from गणनाहारण्य given by his predecessors But space does not allow me to go into this subject at greater length

1477. एतस्या पदम्. पुत्रा पश्येन्नैव गणो जनेत् । एतेन वाच्योपेन शीतं वा
पुण्ड्रवृत्तेत् । महानदी च तत्रैव तथा गणजितो ह्यु । यत्रासौ कीर्तितं त्रिंशत्सहस्रकर्मो वा ॥

(Continued on the next page)

one (of whom) goes to Gayā, or performs the Āsvamedha sacrifice or lets loose a *nīla* bull' (the pītr̥s may be gratified). Then Vanaparva chap. 87 goes on to refer to the holy river (mahā-nadī) Phalgu, the hill Gayaśiras, the Aksayya Vata, where food offered to pītr̥s becomes inexhaustible. In Vanaparva 95 mention is made of Brahmasaras (where Agastya went to Dharmarāja i. e. Yama, verse 12), of Aksayavata (v. 14) which is an imperishable place of worship and where the fruit (of offerings made) is inexhaustible; it further states that king Gaya, son of Amūrtarayas,^{1477a} performed a sacrifice in which food and fees in plenty were distributed (verses 18-19). Vas. (XI 42) states: when a man goes to Gayā and offers food his ancestors become delighted like agriculturists that rejoice when there is good rain and pītr̥s become (really) *putr̥m* (having a son) on account of such a son. The Visnudharmasūtra, chapter 85,¹⁴⁷⁸ mentions by name about 55 holy places that are most proper for śrāddha among which those connected with Gayā are Gayaśirsa, Aksayavata, Phalgu, Uttaramānasa, Matangavāpi, Viṣṇupada, and winds up by quoting three verses as *gāthās* sung by pītr̥s. Yāj. I. 261 states that whatever a man gives while in Gayā leads to inexhaustible rewards. Atri-smṛti (55-58) refers to a son's going to Gayā for the benefit of the pītr̥s, to a bath in Phalgu and *tarpana* of pītr̥s in the river, to seeing Gadādhara (Viṣṇu) at Gayā and to Gayaśirsa. Śāṅkha (14 27-28) refers¹⁴⁷⁹ to several tīrthas (one being Gayā) the offerings made at which

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यत्र दत्तं पितृभ्योऽन्नमक्षयं भवति मभो! सा च पुण्यजला तत्र कल्पना महानदी॥ वनपर्व 87. 10-12; राजपिया पुण्यकृता गयेनास्तुपमद्युते। नगो ययसिरो यत्र पुण्या चैव महानदी॥ .. क्षयियज्ञेन महता यत्राक्षयवदो महान्। अक्षये देवयजने अक्षयं यत्र वै फलम् ॥ वनपर्व 95. 9-14. The verse एष्टव्या° occurs in numerous works such as the विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85 (last verse), the मत्स्य. 22, 6, वायु. 105, 10, कूर्म II. 35, 12, पद्म. I. 38, 17 and V 11. 68, नारदीय (उत्तर 44. 5-6).

1477 a. It is to be noted that the Rāmāyana I. 327 states that Dharmarāya was founded by Asūrtarayas (probably a variant of Amūrtarayas), a son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā.

1478 कुलेऽस्माकं स जन्तुः स्वाद् यो न दद्याज्जलाञ्जलीन्। नदीषु बहुतोवाप्तुं शीतलासु विशेषतः॥ अपि जायेत सोऽस्माक कुले कश्चिन्नरोत्तम। गयाशीर्षे वटे आर्द्धं यो नः कुर्यात् समाहितः॥ एष्टव्या ..च्छजेत्॥ विष्णुधर्मसूत्र 85. 65-67. The verse अपि जायेत° is quoted in कल्पतरु on तीर्थे p. 173.

1479 It is somewhat strange that Dr. Barua (in 'Gayā and Bhūddh' gayā' vol. I p 66) read तीर्थे वानरकण्ठके in Śāṅkha and thought that Vāmarakantala was a holy place (instead separating as वा अमरकण्ठके).

become inexhaustible. The Likhita-Smṛti speaks¹⁴⁸⁰ of the importance of Gayā as follows: In whosoever name a pinda is offered at Gayāśiras, whether for oneself or for another, that person, if in hell, goes to heaven and if in heaven that man secures release (from *samsāra*). The Kūmapurāna remarks that one should desire to have many sons so that if one out of them goes to Gayā on some other business and offers śrāddha, he thereby saves his pitrs and himself reaches the highest goal. The Matsyapurāna (22. 4-6) quoted by the Kalpataru (on tīrtha p. 163) speaks of Gayā as pitrtīrtha and as the best among tīrthas where Brahmā himself dwells and also has the verse 'estavyā bahavah putrah'.

In the Gayāmāhātmya (Vāyupurāna, chapters 105-112) there are about 560 verses. An attempt will be made here to give a brief summary of it and some of the important verses will be quoted. Chapter 105 is general and briefly indicates some of the main topics dealt with in the following chapters. It states that in Śvetavārāhakalpa Gaya performed a sacrifice and Gayā was named after him¹⁴⁸¹, that *pitrs* hanker after sons because the son that goes to Gayā saves the *pitrs* from hell¹⁴⁸². At Gayā a man should offer *pinda*s to his father and others and even to himself but without sesame; all the five mortal sins like brāhmana-murder are removed by the performance of śrāddha at Gayā. A pinda offered after uttering the name and gotra of the recipient by the son or any other person in Gayā leads that person to the imperishable *brahma*¹⁴⁸³. Moksa is fourfold (i. e. results in four ways) viz. by knowledge of *brahma*, śrāddha at Gayā, death in (a fight for preventing) the seizure of cows and residence in Kuruksetra and śrāddha at

1480. गयाशिरे दु यस्मिञ्चिन्नासा पिण्डं दु निर्वपेत् । नरकरथा दिव यान्ति स्वर्गस्था
मोक्षमाप्नुयुः ॥ आत्मनो वा परस्यापि गयाकूपे यतस्तत् । यस्मान्ना पातयेत्पिण्डं त जयेद्
ब्रह्म शाश्वतम् ॥ लिखितस्मृति verses 12-13, compare अग्नि 115. 46-47 इमीपत्र-
प्रमाणेन पिण्डं दत्त्वा गयाशिरे । नरकरथाः... माप्नुयुः ॥

1481. वायु 105 7-8, अग्नि 114. 41 'गयेति चाकरोयारां बहल बहुदक्षिणम् ।
गयापुरी तेन नाम्ना' . Both are quoted by त्रिस्थली० pp. 340-341.

1482. Here occurs the well-known verse एष्टव्या बहवः पुत्रा' (वायु 105.10)
q in n. 1477. A verse is quoted by the त्रिस्थली० p. 319 which defines what
makes a son worthy of being so called: 'जीवतो वाक्यकरणत् ... त्रिभिः पुत्रस्य
पुत्रता ॥' (quoted above in note 832).

1483. आत्मजोऽप्यजो वापि गयाभूमौ यदा यदा । यस्मान्ना पातयेत्पिण्डं तन्नयेद् ब्रह्म
शाश्वतम् । नामगोत्रे सद्युच्चार्ये पिण्डपातननिवृत्ते । वायु. 105.14-15; the half verse यस्मान्ना
...शाश्वतम् ॥ अग्नि 116.29.

Gayā renders the others unnecessary¹⁴⁶⁴. Śrāddha may be performed at Gayā at all times, even in an intercalary month, on the anniversary of one's birthday, or even when Jupiter and Venus are invisible or when Jupiter is in Leo. One should honour the brāhmanas (of Gayā) that were established there by Brahmā; when they are gratified all deities together with the pitrs are gratified. Tonsure¹⁴⁶⁵ and fast are to be observed at all tirthas except in Kuruksetra, Viśālā, Virajā and Gayā. An ascetic¹⁴⁶⁶ (sannyāsin) should not offer pindas (at Gayā) but should merely exhibit (hold up) his staff and should put it down on Viśnupada. The (whole) Gayāksetra is five krośas in extent and Gayāśiras is one krośa and all the tirthas of the three worlds are centered in these two¹⁴⁶⁷. At Gayā one may offer (to pitrs) pindas by means of *pāyasa* (rice cooked in milk), boiled rice, barley flour, fruits and roots, the cake of sesame (after oil is extracted), sweetmeats or jaggery with ghee or with curds alone or with invigorating honey. In a śrāddha at Gayā, the procedure consists in preparing¹⁴⁶⁸ a seat for the pindas, the offering of pindas, the sprinkling of water again (on the kuśa grass), giving fees and declaration of dinner (to brāhmanas); but there is no invocation of pitrs, no curtains for privacy and no blemish due to śrāddha being seen (by undesirable persons or animals) Those who desire to reap the full fruit of śrāddha performed at a tirtha (like Gayā) must give up passionate longings, anger and

1464 ब्रह्मज्ञानं गयाश्राद्धं गोत्रहे नरणं तथा । वासः पुसां कुरुक्षेत्रे सुकिरेया चतुर्विधा ॥
ब्रह्मज्ञानेन किं कार्यं .. यदि पुत्रो गयां ब्रजेत् ॥ गयायां सर्वकालेषु पिण्ड दद्याद्विचक्षणः ।
वायु 105. 16-18, compare न कालादि गयातीर्थे दद्यात्पिण्डाश्च नित्यहा । अग्नि. 115. 8.
ब्रह्मज्ञानं . चतुर्विधा ॥— is also नारदीय (उत्तर) 44. 20 Both occur in अग्नि. 115. 3-4
and 5-6 (in reverse order) and the verse ब्रह्मज्ञानं occurs in वामनपुराण 33. 8.

1465. हण्डन चोपवासश्च .. विरजा गयाम् ॥ वायु 105 25, q in n 1301 above
where various readings also are noted.

1466 दण्डं मदर्शयेद्भिर्भुर्गया गत्वा न पिण्डदः । दण्डं न्यस्य विण्णपदे पितृभिः सह
हृष्यते ॥ वायु 105. 26 and नारदीय II. 45. 31 q. by सी. p 390.

1467. पञ्चकोशं गयाक्षेत्रं क्रोशमेकं गयाक्षरः । तन्मध्ये सर्वतीर्थानि त्रैलोक्ये यानि
सन्ति वै । 105. 29-30 and 106. 65 q by त्रिस्थली० p 335, ती प p 391; अग्नि 115.
42 has the half verse पञ्चकोशं and also नारदीय (उत्तर) 44. 16. It had become
the fashion to speak of famous tirthas as five krośas in extent.

1468. पिण्डासन पिण्डदानं घृतः मत्पचनेजनम् । दक्षिणा चाञ्जसङ्कल्पस्तीर्थश्राद्धेष्वयं
विधिः ॥ नावाहनं न दिव्यन्धो न दोषो दृष्टिसम्भवः ।.. अन्यत्रावाहिता. काले पितरो यान्पयुं
मति । तीर्थे सदा वसन्त्येते तस्मादावाहनं न हि ॥ 105. 37-39. The verses नावाहनं ...
दृष्टिसम्भवः, पिण्डासनं...विधिः are repeated in वायु 110. 28-29.

avarice, observe celibacy, eat only one meal a day, should sleep on the ground (and not on a cot), should speak the truth, should be pure and intent on the good of all beings. The famous river Vaitarani has come down to Gayā; one taking a bath in it and donating a cow saves 21 generations in his family. One should go to the Aksayavata and gratify the (Gayā) brāhmanas. There is no spot in Gayā which is not a sacred place.¹⁴⁸⁹

Chap. 106 narrates the story of Gayāsura. Gayāsura, a very powerful *asura* 125 *yojanas* in height and 60 *yojanas* in girth, performed severe austerities for thousands of years on the mountain called Kolāhala. The gods, anxious and tormented by his austerities, went to Brahmā for protection. Brahmā took them to Śiva who proposed to go to Visnu. Brahmā, Śiva and the gods praised Visnu, who appeared to them and said that they should, riding their respective conveyances, go to Gayāsura. Visnu asked him why he practised severe austerities and said that the boon he would ask would be granted. He asked the boon that he should be purer than all the gods, sages, mantras, ascetics &c. The gods said 'let it be so' and left for heaven. All people who saw or touched Gayāsura's holy body went to heaven. The capital of Yama became deserted and so he went to Brahmā who took him to Visnu who asked Brahmā to request Gayāsura to give his pure body for the purpose of a sacrifice. Gayāsura agreed and fell down on the earth towards the southwest with his head on the north on Kolāhala mountain and feet to the south. Brahmā collected materials and mind-born *ritviks* (about 40 are named) and performed a sacrifice on the body of Gayāsura. That body, however, was not stable but moved and hence Brahmā asked Yama to place on Gayāsura's head a *śilā* (stone slab) that was in Yama's house. Yama did so; yet Gayāsura's body together with the *śilā* still moved. Brahmā asked Śiva and other gods to stand immovable on the *śilā*. They did so and yet the body moved. Hence Brahmā went to Visnu and requested him to make the body and *śilā* stable. Visnu gave his own *mūrti* and though it was placed on the *śilā* it still moved. Then Visnu sat on the *śilā* in three forms viz Janārdana, Pundarika and Ādi-Gaḍādhara, Brahmā in five forms (Prapitāmaha, Pītāmaha, Phalgvīṣa, Kedāra and Kanakesvara), Vināyaka in the form of an elephant, the Sun in three forms, the Goddesses Lakṣmī (as Sītā), Gaurī (as Mangalā), Gāyatrī

1489. गणार्थं न हि तत्स्थानं यत्र सीर्यं न विद्यते । वायु. 105. 46 = अग्नि. 116. 28,

and Sarasvatī. As Gayāsura was made stable by the first Gadā (mace) wielded by Hari, therefore Hari was called Ādigadādhara.¹⁴⁹⁰ Gayāsura complained 'why am I deceived? I have given my pure body to Brahmā for the latter's sacrifice. Would I not have become stable at the mere word of Visnu (why torment me with the mace?).' Then the gods asked him to choose a boon. He chose 'As long as the earth, mountains, the Sun, Moon and stars last, may Brahmā, Visnu and Śiva and the other gods remain on the śilā' Let this sacred spot be known by my name. Let all tīrthas be centered in the midst of Gayā which is five krośas in extent and in Gayāsiras which is one krośa and do good to people. May all the gods remain here in manifest forms (images &c) and unmanifest forms (such as footprints &c)! Those to whom śrāddha with pindas is offered may go to the world of Brahmā and all grave sins like brāhmana-murder be destroyed at once.' The gods said 'Let it be so.' Then Brahmā gave to the brāhmanas Gayā (with its extent of five krośas), 55 villages, well-furnished houses, desire-yielding cow and trees, a river flowing with milk, golden wells, heaps of food, but enjoined on them not to beg from any one else. But the brāhmanas, greedy as they were, performed a sacrifice for Dharma in Dharmāranya and begged him for fees. Then Brahmā came, cursed them and took away everything from them. When the brāhmanas bewailed that they had been deprived of everything and their livelihood should be provided for, Brahmā said that they would live on the charity of pilgrims to Gayā and those who would honour them would be honouring Brahmā.

Chap. 107 deals with the story of the śilā¹⁴⁹¹ that was placed on the head of Gayāsura for making it stable. Dharma had a daughter called Dharmavratā. Dharma could not find a bridegroom worthy of her virtues and accomplishments and asked her to perform *tapas* for the purpose. She performed severe austerities (subsisting only on air) for ten thousand years. Marici, one of the mind-born sons of Brahmā, once saw her and asked her to become his wife. Dharmavratā asked him to request her father Dharma. Marici approached Dharma who

1490. ऋगु 105 60 mentions why Viṣṇu is called आदिगदाधर 'आद्यया गदया भीतो यस्माद्धैत्यं स्थिरीकृतः । स्थित इत्येव दृष्टिणा तस्मादादिगदाधरः ॥' q. by त्रिष्वली. p. 338 In ऋगु 109. 13 also a similar derivation is given.

1491. The story of the Śilā is briefly narrated in the Agnipurāṇa also (chap 114. 8-22), often using the very words that occur in the Vāyupurāṇa.

gave her in marriage to Marici, who took her to his hermitage and had one hundred sons from her. Once Marici being tired lay down for sleep and asked Dharmavratā to shampoo his feet. While she shampooed his feet Brahmā (her father-in-law) came there. She left off shampooing her husband's feet and got up to receive with honour her husband's father. In the meanwhile Marici awoke and not seeing his wife cursed her to be a śilā (stone slab) as she disobeyed his order by giving up the shampooing of his feet. She being innocent of any fault got angry and was about to curse Marici but said 'Mahadeva will curse you'. She, standing in the midst of Gārhapatya fire, performed *tapas* and Marici also did the same. The gods led by Indra got anxious as usual and went to Visnu who asked her to choose a boon. She prayed that the curse pronounced by her husband be annulled. The gods said that Marici being a great sage the curse could not be annulled and asked her to choose some other boon. She said that she should be a śilā more holy than all rivers, sages and gods and that all tirthas should stand in the slab of stone, that those who would bathe in the tirthas on the śilā and offer pindas and śraddha should be able to go to *brahmaloka*, that all holy rivers like the Ganges should always remain in her. The gods conceded what she prayed for and said that when she would become stable on the head of Gayāsura, they would all stand on the śilā.

Chap. 108 presents numerous divergences in the *Mss*. In the Ānandāśrama edition its contents briefly are: The śilā was placed on the head of Gayāsura and therefore there was union of two very holy objects, on which Brahmā performed *Aśvamedha* and when the gods came to receive their share of the sacrificial offerings the śilā said to Visnu and others 'promise that you would remain on the śilā and would bring about the release of pitrs'. The gods agreed and they stayed on the śilā in the form of images and foot-prints. As the śilā was placed on the back of the head of the asura the hill was called *Mundaprsthā* (lit. the back of the head) which gave *Brahmaloka* to pitrs. Then the chapter speaks of a hill called *Prabhāsa*, of *Rāmātirtha* near the place where the great river (*Phaigu*) and *Prabhāsa* hill meet, the hermitage of *Bharata*, of *Matangapada*, of the *bak* to be offered to *Yamarāja* and *Dharmarāja* and to the dogs of *Yama*, viz. *Śyāma* and *Śabala*, of the *Udyantaka* hill near the left of *Śilā*, of *Agastya-kunda*, and numerous other holy places such as *Grhtrakūta* hill, the her-

mitage of Cyavana, the river Punahpunā, Krauñca-pada, Janārdana on Bhasmakūta.

The story of Gayāsura has puzzled Mitra and subsequent writers. Mitra holds that nothing appears more absurd or stupid than the story of Gayāsura who, he emphasizes, is not a demon or a vicious monster, but a devout Vaisnava ('Bodh-Gaya' pp. 15-16). The story of Gayāsura is not unique. The Purānas abound in stories that appear to modern minds absurd and puerile. Besides, there were several asuras like Prahlāda, Bāna (devotee of Śiva) and Bali (who was an exemplary and pious king and a worshipper of Visnu) that were not monsters but good and devout persons, and yet fought with gods. For example, Kūrmapurāna (L 16. 59-60 and 91-92) narrates that Prahlāda fought with Nrsimha; the Padma (Bhūmikhaṇḍa 1.8) calls him a Mahābhāgavata but states that he first fought with Visnu and entered Vaisnavitanu; while Vāmanapurāna (chap. 7-8) speaks of his fight with Naranārāyana. In Pali works (e. g. Anguttara-nikāya, part IV pp. 197-204) he is called Pahārāda and *asurinda* (asurendra). Vide Anguttara-nikāya (text) vol. IV p. 197. For Bali who was grandson of Prahlāda, a good king and a devotee of Visnu, vide Brahmapurāna, chap. 73, Kūrma I, 17, Vāmana (chapters 77 and 92). For Bāna, son of Bali and the fight of Bāna helped by Śiva with Kṛṣṇa, vide Brahma chap. 205-206 and Visnupurāna V. 33. 37-38.

According to Dr. Rajendralal Mitra (in 'Bodh-Gaya' pp. 14-18) the story of Gayāsura is an allegory of the vanquishing of Buddhism by Brahmanism. O' Malley thought (J. A. S. B. vol. LXXII part 3 p. 7 for 1904) that the Gayāsura legend represents an amalgamation or compromise of Brahmanism with the popular demonolatry which preceded Brahmanism. Dr. Barua criticizes both theories and appears to hold (vol. I. pp. 40-41) that the idea underlying the legend is to impress on people's minds the high sanctity of the Gayā range of hills along the western bank of the river Phalgu, that Gayā figures nowhere in Buddhism, that Gayā¹⁴⁹² or Namuci or Vrtra is represented as a demon of darkness and as an enemy of Indra and that the Vedic word Trivikṛana and the interpretation of Aurnavābha are the nucleus of the legend of Gayāsura. From considerations of space it is not possible to discuss these

¹⁴⁹² It is not clear whence Dr Barua derived his information that in the Veda Gayā is represented as a demon like Vrtra. In the Rg. at least Gayā is not a demon like Vrtra.

theories here. To my mind it appears that Gayā had become a famous *pīṭhīrtha* centuries before Christ and that the legend of Gayāsura is a *post facto* attempt to account for the sanctity of the place and the numerous shrines and holy places that had sprung up round Gayā.

Chap. 109 deals with the questions how Ādi-Gadādhara abided in manifest and unmanifest forms, how his *gadā* (mace) was produced and how the tīrtha called Gadāloka became a destroyer of all sins: There was a powerful Asura called Gada, who, when Brahmā requested, gave up his bones to Brahmā. Viśvakarmā, at the desire of Brahmā, fashioned a wonderful mace out of the bones. In the times of Svāyambhuva Manu an Asura named Heti, son of Brahmā, performed severe austerities for thousands of divine years. He secured from Brahmā and other gods the boon that he could not be killed by gods, *dātyas*, men or with such weapons as the discus of Kṛṣṇa and others. Heti conquered the gods and became Indra. The gods went to Hari and requested him to kill Heti. He asked for a powerful weapon and the gods gave him the mace manufactured from the bones of Gada and Viṣṇu killed Heti with the Gadā. This story about demon Heti is mentioned in Agni 114 26-27 and Nāradya (uttara) 47, 9-11. Hari is called Ādi-Gadādhara because^{1492a} he was the first to wield that mace and stood on the *śilā* on the head of Gayāsura, supported by the Gadā, in order to make (the head of Gayāsura) stable. He shows himself in the form of hills viz. the Muṇḍaprstha hill, the Prabhāsa and other hills. These and Aksayavata, Phalgu and other rivers are the non-manifest forms of Ādigadādhara. The Viṣṇupada, Rudrapada, Brahmupada and other padas are the non-manifest and manifest forms of Gadādhara.^{1492b} The image of Gadādhara is purely a mani-

1492a Vide note 1490

1492b. The principal rivers, hills, padas are enumerated here in one place. Unless otherwise expressly mentioned the chapters and verses in this note refer to the वायुपुराण. The holy rivers are: कस्तुरी often called महानदी (अग्नि. 115, 25), वृषकुण्डपा, मधुकुण्डपा (these two, वायु 109, 17), मधुव्रवा (106, 75), अग्निघारा (from उद्यन्त hill, 108, 59), कापिला (108, 55), वैतरणी (105, 44 and 109, 17), देविका (112, 30), आस्ताहागद्वी (अग्नि. 116 5). Some of these are mere streams. The sacred hills and peaks are: रयागिरि (109, 36, अग्नि. 115 26 and 44), सुन्दरपुट (108, 12, 109, 14), ममास (108, 13 and 16, 109, 14), उद्यन्त (वनपर्व 84, 93, वायु 108, 59, 109, 15), मत्स्यकूट (109, 15), अरतिशुक (109, 15), नागकूट (111 22, अग्नि 115, 25), सुप्रकूट (109, 15), देवकूट (109, 15),

(Continued on the next page)

fest form. Asura Heti was killed by Visnu and went to Visnuloka. When the body of Gayāsura was made stable Brahmā sang a hymn of praise to Visnu who asked Brahmā to choose a boon Brahmā said 'we (gods) shall not abide in the silā without you, but shall remain therein together with you if you have a manifest form.'¹¹⁹⁴ Visnu said 'be it so' and Visnu stood on Gayāśiras in the Adigadādhara form and as Janārdana and Pundarikākṣa. Śiva also praised Visnu (Vāyu 109. 43-50). The Vāyu speaks at several places of 'vyaktāvyaakta' symbols of the deity (chap. 109. 20 and 43-45) What is meant is Visnu is non-manifest in Phalgu, vyaktāvyaakta in Visnupada and manifest in images and statues (vide Tristhalisetu p. 365, pratimāsvarūpi vyaktah).

Chap. 110 deals with Gayāyātrā. To the east of Gayā is a great river (Phalgu). (If it is dry) one should dig a pit for water and take a bath, should perform *tarpana* and *śrāddha* according to one's own recension of the Veda, but without *arghya* (water for showing respect) and *āvāhana* (invoking) In the after-

(Continued from the last page)

भादिपाल (109 15), कौशपाद (109 16), रामशिला. प्रेतशिला (110 15, 108 67), नग (108 28), ब्रह्मयोनि (नारदीय II 47 54) The principal bathing places are. फल्गुतीर्थ (111. 13, अग्नि 115 25-26 and 44), रामतीर्थ (108 16-18), शिलातीर्थ (108 2), गदालोल (111 75-76, अग्नि 115. 69), चैतरणी (105 44), ब्रह्मसरः (वनपर्व 84 85, वायु 111. 30), ब्रह्मकुण्ड, (110 8), उत्तरमानस (111 2 and 22), दक्षिणमानस (111 6 and 8), रुक्मिणीकुण्ड, प्रेतकुण्ड, नि शारा (नि, शीरा) उपकरिणी (108.84), मतङ्गवापी (111. 24). The sacred sites are पञ्चलोक, सप्तलोक, वैकुण्ड, लोहदण्डक (all four, in 109 16), गोप्रचार (111. 35-37 where there were mango trees established by ब्रह्मा), धर्मारण्य (111. 23), ब्रह्मयूप (अग्नि 115. 39 and वनपर्व 84. 86). The sacred trees are, अक्षयवट (वनपर्व 84. 83, 95. 14, वायु 105 45, 111 79-81, अग्नि 115. 70-73), आम्र near गोप्रचार (111 35-37), युधकूटवट (108. 63), महायोधितरु (111 26-27, अग्नि 115 37). The verse about the mango tree is famous 'एको सुनि. कुम्भकुशाग्रहस्त आम्रस्य मूले सलिलं ददानः। आम्रश्च सिक. पितरश्च वृषा एका क्रिया द्वयार्थकरी मसिद्धा ॥' वायु. 111 37, अग्नि. 115 40, नारदीय (उत्तर) 46. 7, पञ्च, सुदिल्लवट 11 77 There are several other तीर्थस, such as फल्गुतीर्थ, फल्गुचण्डी, अङ्गारकेश्वर (all in अग्नि 116. 29) which are not mentioned here.

The पद (stone slabs with foot prints thereon) are. वायु. 111. 46-58 mention 16 by name and refer to others generally अग्नि. 115. 48-53 mentions at least 13. The पद mentioned by वायु. are विष्णु, रुद्र, ब्रह्म, कश्यप, दक्षिणाग्नि, गार्हपत्य, आहवनीय, सम्भ, आचस्य, शक्र, अगस्त्य, कौश, मातङ्ग, सूर्य, कार्तिकेय and गणेश. वायु. 111. 56 states that four out of these are most eminent viz. of कश्यप, विष्णु, रुद्र and ब्रह्मा नारदीय (उत्तर) 46. 27 states that विष्णुपद and रुद्रपद are superior, but ब्रह्मपद is superior to all.

1494. Verses 2-3 and 4-5 of Vāyu 110 are quoted above in notes 1295 and 1261 respectively.

noon the pilgrim should go to the Pretasīlā, take a bath in the Brahmakunda, offer tarpana to the gods and perform śrāddha of his sapindas on the Pretasīlā with the mantras set out in Vāyu (110. 10-12) and offer pindas to his ancestors. In Astakās, in Vrddhisrāddha, at Gayā and on the anniversary of death, one may offer a śrāddha separately to one's mother but on all other occasions with her husband.¹⁴⁹⁵ To the sapindas other than one's paternal ancestors he should offer śrāddha to the south (of the place where he offers to his father &c.) viz. should spread kuśas and once offer water mixed with sesame and should offer them a pinda made of barley flour and repeat the mantras (Vāyu 110. 21-22). The pindas to be offered at Gayāsīras may be in size as¹⁴⁹⁶ big as one's closed hand, or an undried āmalaka (myrobalan) fruit or of the size of śamī leaves. By means of these he saves seven gotras viz. that of his father, of his mother, of his wife, sister, daughter, paternal aunt and maternal aunt. Water mixed with sesame and pindas are offered to all persons on the maternal grandfather's side, to all bandhus, to all infants, to persons cremated or not cremated, to persons that were killed by lightning or robbers or that committed suicide in various ways and, to those who may be undergoing torments of Hells of various kinds and those who have become beasts or birds or insects or trees owing to evil deeds (Vāyu 110, verses 30-55). The verses of most comprehensive character about offering water have been cited in n. 1237 p. 550 and on pp. 616-617 above.

Chap. 111 deals with the order in which the several tīrthas are to be visited. The full pilgrimage lasts for seven days. In chap. 110 it has been stated as shown above that on entering Gayā, a pilgrim takes a bath in the Phalgu water, performs tarpana and śrāddha, then on the same day he goes to the Pretasīlā (which is a part of the Śīlā as stated in Vāyu 108 15) and performs a śrāddha there and offers pindas with boiled rice and ghee (Vāyu 110.15). On doing

1495. अष्टकासु च द्विती च गवाया च श्वेतेहनि । मातुः श्राद्धं पृथक् कुर्वान्पञ्च पतिना सह ॥ वायु. ॥ 110. 17 व 18. तीर्थेण. p 389 (reads अन्नदकासु), तीर्थेण, p. 298.

1496. सुष्टिमात्रप्रमाणं च आर्द्रमलकमात्रकम् । क्षीपत्रप्रमाणं वा पिण्ड इत्या-
 व्याहिरि ॥ उद्धरेत्सप्त गोत्राणि कुलानि शतसुद्धरेत् ॥ पितृनासुः स्वभार्याया भगिन्या बुद्धिस्तथा ।
 पितृवृक्षुर्मातृवृक्षुः सप्त गोत्राः प्रकीर्तिता ॥ वायु 110 25-26. The त्रिस्थली p 327
 explains 'अत्र मातृगोत्रं मातानहगोत्रम् । भार्यागोत्रं स्वसुरगोत्रम् । भगिनीबुद्धिपितृवृक्ष-
 मातृवृक्षसूना गोत्राणि पशुकुले सा दत्तास्वदीपानि । एतेषामेव गोत्राणामिकोत्तरं शतं कुल
 लक्षणया तत्प्रायः पुरुषाः ॥'

this the persons for whom this is done become free from the position of *pretu*. It is stated (in Vāyu 108. 17-22) that one should bathe in the Rāmatīrtha which is near the place where Phalgu meets the Prabhāsa hill. By bath in Rāmatīrtha and offering of śrāddha and pinda there the persons for whom this is done become *pitrs* (being already free from *pretatva* by the śrāddha on *pretasīlā*). On a hill on the south of *Pretasīlā* one should offer a *bali* (food offered with kuśa, sesame and water) to Yamarāja and Dharmarāja and to the two dogs Śyāma and Śābala. On the next day after entering Gayā (i. e. the 2nd day), the pilgrim should proceed to the Pretaparvata¹⁴⁹⁷ (Vāyu 110.8) and take a bath in the Brahmakunda and perform tarpana, śrāddha and giving of pindas mixed with sesame, ghee, curds and honey to his ancestors (father, grandfather &c.) with the mantras 'pitā pitāmahaścalva' (Vāyu 110. 23-24). Then the pilgrim should offer on kuśas, water, sesame and pindas to persons related in various ways with the mantras 'asmāt-kule mrtā ye ca &c., (Vāyu 110. 34-55). He should then invoke the gods to be witnesses to the fact of his having come to Gayā and become free from the debt to the ancestors (Vāyu 110. 59-60). It is stated in Vāyu 110.61 that at all sacred spots in Gayā the offering of pindas should be done in the same way as at Pretaparvata.¹⁴⁹⁸

On the third day of entering Gaya one has to perform Pañcatīrthī rites¹⁴⁹⁹ (Vāyu 111. 1 ff.). The pilgrim first bathes in Uttaramānasa, offers tarpana to gods, gives water and śrāddha and pindas to his ancestors with the mantras (Vāyu 110. 21-24). The fruit of this rite is the inexhaustible gratification of the *pitrs*. Then the pilgrim goes to the three tīrthas which constitute Dakṣinamānasa, viz. Udīotīrtha (on the north), Kanakhala (in the middle) and Dakṣinamānasa

1497. On श्रेतपर्वत and ब्रह्मकुण्ड, the विस्थली० p. 355 remarks 'श्रेतपर्वतं गयावायव्यादिशि गयातो गन्धर्व्याधिकङ्कस्थः। ब्रह्मकुण्डे श्रेतपर्वतमूल ईशानभागे।'.

1498. सर्वस्थानेषु चैवं स्थापिण्डदानं तु नारदः। श्रेतपर्वतमारभ्य कुर्यात्तीर्थेषु च क्रमात् ॥ वायु. 110 61.

1499. The five तीर्थ are उत्तरमानस, उदीचीतीर्थ, कनखल, दक्षिणमानस and जल्य. The विस्थली० says (p. 360) that one has not to take a bath in each of these i. e. there are not five baths on this day. Phalgotīrtha is the same as Gayāśiras and is defined in वायु 111. 22 'नागकूटादुत्तमकूटाद्युपादुत्तरमानसात्।' एतद्रथाशिरः शोकं फल्यतीर्थं तदुच्यते ॥ The अग्निपु. (115. 25-26) differs 'नागाजनादुत्तमकूटादुत्तरमानसात्।' एत ... च्यते ॥ गरुड. I. 83 4 is 'नागाजना० ... तदुच्यते ॥ The विस्थली० p. 359 reads मुण्डपुटाक्षगायस्ताफल्यतीर्थमनुत्तमम्।

(on the south). At each of these three there is a śrāddha. Then the pilgrim goes to the Phalgutīrtha, which is the best of all (Gayā) tīrthas. The pilgrim performs tarpana and śrāddha with pinḍas on Phalgu. This śrāddha at Phalgu results in *mukta* for the performer and also for those for whose benefit it is performed (*muktir-bhavati kartṛnām pītrnām śrāddhataḥ sada, Vāyu 11.0. 13*). It is stated that Phalgu is Ādi-Gadādhara himself in a fluid form.¹⁵⁰⁰ By bath in Phalgu and seeing Gadādhara a man saves himself, ten ancestors and ten descendants. Then he worships Gadādhara by a bath with *pañcāmṛta* after bowing^{1500a} to Vāsudeva, Sankarsana, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Viṣṇu, Śrīdhara. On the 2nd day of the Pañca-tīrthī rites (i. e. 4th day from entering Gayā) the pilgrim should repair to Dharmāranya which is so-called because Dharma performed a sacrifice there. Then the pilgrim should bathe in the Matangavāpi (which is situated in Dharmāranya), then he should perform *tarpana*, śrāddha and *pinḍadāna* at the well called Brahmatīrtha and also in the space between Brahma-tīrtha and Brahmayūpa; then bow to Brahmā and Dharm-eśvara¹⁵⁰¹ He should bow to the Mahābodhi tree (i. e. the sacred *pippala*) and perform śrāddha also underneath it. Agni 115. 34-37 and Nāradya (uttara) 45. 104 refer to these tīrthas. On the third day of the Pañcatīrthī rites (i. e. on 5th day from entering Gayā) the pilgrim should bathe in Brahmasaras and perform śrāddha with pinḍas between the Brahmakūpa and the Yūpa (sacrificial post) raised by Brahmā when he performed a sacrifice. By this śrāddha the pilgrim saves his pītra.¹⁵⁰² He should go round the Brahma-yūpa and bow

1500. गङ्गापादोदकं विष्णोः कल्पवृक्षोद्दिग्दाधरः। स्वयं हि ब्रह्मरूपेण तस्माद्गङ्गाधिक
विदुः ॥ वायु. 111. 16.

1500 a Pañcāmṛta consists of milk, curds, clarified butter, honey and sugar. With these the image of Gadādhara is to be bathed. Vide नारद
(उत्तर) 43 53 'पञ्चामृतेन च स्नानमर्चयति तु विशिष्यते'

1501. Dr. Barua (in 'Gayā and Buddha-Gayā' vol I p 22 note) holds that Dharma and Dharmesvara refer to Buddha, while O'Malley (in J. A. S. B. vol. LXXII for 1904 part 3, p. 5) takes Dharma to mean Yama. I am inclined to agree with O'Malley. Padma, Sṛstihanda 11. 73, states that there are three aranyas for pinḍadāna viz Puskārānya, Namisāranya and Dharmāranya.

1502. It may be noted that the three verses (Vāyu 111. 27-29) addressed to महाबोधिवृक्ष do not occur in त्रिशुली° p 361, which gives two other verses instead viz चन्द्रदलाय वृक्षाय सर्वदा चन्द्रविष्णवे। बोधितत्त्वाय यज्ञाय अश्वत्थाय नमो नमः ॥ एकादशोत्ति रुद्राणां बसुनामष्टमस्तथा। नारायणोत्ति देवता वृक्षराजोत्ति विष्णवे। The त्रिशुली° remarks that in some mss. even these two are not to be found.

to Brahmā. There are mango trees near Gopracāra established by Brahmā. By watering a mango with water from the Brahmasaras the pitrs attain *moksa*. Here follows the verse ('eko munih' &c.) quoted above (n 1493). Then a *bali* should be offered to Yama and Dharmarāja, then to the two dogs of Yama, then he should offer a *bali* to crows and then bathe (in Brahmasaras). This is briefly a summary of Vāyu 111 30-40. Some of these details are mentioned by Agni 115. 34-40 and Nāradiya (uttara) 46. Then on the 4th day of the Pañcatīrthī rites (i. e. 6th day from entrance into Gayā) the pilgrim should take an ordinary bath in the Phalgu and should then perform śrāddhas at the several *padas* on Gayāsīras which is near Phalgotīrtha. Gayāsīras extends from Krauñcapāda up to Phalgotīrtha. Śrāddha offered here (on Gayāsīras) becomes inexhaustible.¹⁵⁰³ Here Ādi-Gadādhara abides in the form of Visnupada. By performing a śrāddha with *pinḍas* on Visnupada (which is a footprint on a slab deemed to be of Viṣṇu) the pilgrim saves one thousand families and takes them and himself to the blissful, inexhaustible and never-ending world of Viṣṇu. Then Vāyu 111. 47-56 deal with the rewards of śrāddhas performed at Rudrapada, Brahmāpada and 14 other *padas* expressly named by it.¹⁵⁰⁴ 'For whomsoever by name a pilgrim offers a *pinḍa* on Gayāsīras, that man, if in hell, goes to heaven and if in heaven he secures *moksa*.'

On the 5th day of the Pañcatīrthī rites (i. e. the 7th day from entering Gayā), the pilgrim should bathe in the sacred place called Gadāloa.¹⁵⁰⁵ By performing śrāddha with *pinḍas* at Gadāloa he takes his pitrs and himself to the world of Brahmā. Then at the Aksayavata he should perform a śrāddha

1503. कौञ्जपादात्कल्मषतीर्थं यावत्साक्षाद्गयाशिरः। वायु. 111. 44 कौञ्जपाद is the hill कृष्णपृष्ठ as stated in वायु. 108. 75 'कौञ्जरूपेण हि मुनिर्मुण्डशृङ्गे तपोऽकरोत्। तस्य पादाङ्कितो यस्मात्कौञ्जपादस्ततः स्मृतः ॥'

1504. The त्रिरथली p 366 remarks that there is no separate śrāddha on Gayāsīras apart from the śrāddhas on Visnupada and the other *padas* गयाशिरसि यः पिण्डान्येषां नाम्ना तु निर्वपेत्। नरकस्था दिवं यान्ति स्वर्गस्था मोक्षसाम्भु ॥ वायु 111 73. Agni. 115. 47 has the latter half Gayāsīras is the centre of Gayā and the most holy spot in it

1505. This tīrtha was so called because Ādi-Gadādhara washed his mace in the water there after smashing the head of demon Heti with it देव्यस्तस्य यच्छीर्षं गदया बद्ध्वा हिधा कुतम्। ततः प्रक्षालित्वा यस्मात्तीर्थं तच्च विद्महे। गदालोलमिति ख्यातं सर्वेषामुत्तमोत्तमम्। वायु 111, 75 गदालोल is in the stream of the river Phalgu.

and honour the (Gayā) brāhmanas established by Brahmā with offerings and food. When they are gratified gods together with pitrs become gratified.¹⁵⁰⁶ Then the pilgrim should bow to the Aksayavata and worship it with a mantra and also bow to worship Prapitamaha. Agni 115. 69-73 and Nāradiya (uttara) chap. 47 also refer to these.

The Tristhalīsetu (p 368) remarks that the above are the fixed rites for seven days in Gayā, that other tirthas may be visited according to one's convenience if one stays in Gayā for half a month or a month; that the śrāddha at the Pretasīla is to be the first and that at the Aksayavata is to be performed at the end,¹⁵⁰⁷ and that although there is variation between the order in which tirthas are to be visited on the several days according to the Vāyupurāna, the Agnipurāna and other purānas, yet as the Vāyupurāna is most detailed as regards Gayā rites, the order therein should be followed and that one not knowing the order may visit the tirthas in any order¹⁵⁰⁸ except Pretasīla and Aksayavata. Gayāyātrā, chapter 112 of the Vāyupurāna, refers to king Gaya who performed a *yajña* and who got two boons, one about the restoration of the Gayā brāhmanas to favour and the other that Gayāpurī be named after him and who then went to Visnuloka. Then it narrates the story of king Viśāla (verses 7-15) who being sonless performed pindadāna on Gayāśīrsa and thereby saved his three ancestors, got a son and also himself went to heaven. Then another story is told (verses 16-20) of a deceased person, who was in the condition of a *preta*, offering one-sixth of his property to a trader and asking him to perform Gayāśrāddha with the rest of his wealth and who on account of śrāddha at Gayā became free from the condition of *preta*.¹⁵⁰⁹ Then verses 20-60 mention several other tirthas of Gayā such as Gayātrīthīrtha, Prāci-sarasvatīthīrtha, Viśālā, Lelihāna, the

1506. Compare 'ये शुभान्पूजयिष्यन्ति गययामगता नराः। हृष्यन्त्यैर्धने आर्क्षे-
स्तेषां कुलशतं ब्रजेत्। नरकात्स्वर्गलोकाप स्वर्गलोकान्तरा गतिश्च।' अग्नि. 114, 39-40.

1507. संसारदृक्षसालायाशेषपायक्षयाय च। अक्षयवतादात्रे च ननोक्षयवताय वै॥
कलौ माहेश्वरा लोका येन तस्माद्गदाधराः। तिङ्करूपोऽभवत् च वन्दे श्रीप्रपितामहम्॥ याजु 111.
83-84; आर्क्षे वदते कुर्याद् ब्राह्मणानां च भोजनम्। एकस्मिन् भोजिते विभ्रे कोटिभंगति
भोजिताः किं पुनर्बहुभिर्भुङ्क्तेः पितृणां दत्तमक्षयम्।... वदं वदेश्वरं नत्वा पूजयेत् श्रित्यामहम्।
अग्नि. 115. 71-73.

1508. क्रमतोऽक्रमतो चापि गययात्रा महाफला। अग्नि. 115 74 q by त्रिसयतीः
p. 368.

1509. Both the stories occur in अग्निपुराण 115. 54-63. नारदीय (उत्तर) 44,
26-50, गरुड I 84, 34-43, and the first about King विशाल in वाराहपुराण 7.12ff.

hermitage of Bharata, Mundaprstha, Ākāśagangā, Vaitarani and other rivers and sacred places. It winds up by saying that six Gayās confer *mukti* (by worship and pindādāna at them), viz. Gayāgaja, Gayāditya, Gayatrī (tirtha), Gadādhara, Gayā and Gayāsīras.^{1509a}

The Agnipurāna (chap 116. 1-34) has a long list of tirthas at Gayā that is quoted by the Tristhalīsetu pp. 376-378, which are passed over here.

Though the number of tirthas at Gayā is very large, the majority of pilgrims do not visit them all. Visits to three places are absolutely necessary for every pilgrim to Gayā, viz. Phalgu river, Visnupada and Aksayavata, at all of which worship has to be done with milk, water, flowers, sandalwood paste, *tāmbūla*, lighted lamp and pindas to ancestors have to be offered. The Visnupada temple is built over the footprint of Visnu on the rock to the west of the river Phalgu. The old town of Gayā was built round Visnupada and it is the largest and most important temple in Gayā. The footprint (about 16 inches in length) deemed to be God Visnu's is inside an octagonal basin plated with silver. Pilgrims of all castes (except untouchables) surround the basin and cast their offerings inside the basin, though for a substantial payment the priests clear out all people, shut the door for a minute or two and allow a very orthodox or a rich person to make his offerings without being disturbed by anyone else. There are 45 *vedīs* (or sacred places) at which the leisured pilgrim may offer pindas in the Gayāksetra which extends from about five miles to the north-west of Old Gayā town to about 7 miles south of it. Though the ancient Buddhist works and Fa Hien and Hiouen Tshang make a distinction between Gayā and Uruvilvā or Uruvelā where Buddha attained Enlightenment after six years of severe *tapas*, the Bodhi tree (Mahābodhitaru) was recognized by the Gayāmāhātmya as one of the sacred places which Hindu pilgrims should visit and is so regarded even now. When the Hindus appropriated Buddhist sacred places to themselves it is difficult to say. The Bodhi tree is the oldest historical tree in the world. A branch of it is said to have been transplanted to Ceylon in the times of the great Emperor Aśoka (about 250 B.C.)

1509 a गयामञ्जरी गथादित्यो गायत्री च नदीधर । गया गयामिन्द्रश्चैव षड् गया मुक्ति-
दायिका ॥ वाङ् 112. 60 q. by तीर्थचिं p 328 (reads षड्गयं मुक्तिदायकं), त्रिस्थली
p 372 This occurs in नारदीय (उत्तर) 47. 39-40 गयामल—probably refers to
the pillar with the figure of an elephant near the Gadādhara temple at Gayā.

and at Kandy in Ceylon a *pippala* tree is even now shown as that transplanted tree or the successor of that branch. The *Gayāśīra*¹⁵¹⁰ is a set of rocky hills such as *Gayāśīra*, *Munda-prsthā*, *Prabhāsa*, *Grdhrakūṭa*, *Nāgakūṭa*, ranging over one *kośa* (about two miles).

It has been already stated above (p 666) that the rites at the *Aksayavata* are the last in the pilgrimage to *Gayā*. The *Gayā*-*wal* priest binds the thumbs or hands of the pilgrim with a garland of flowers and receives his fees. He gives sweetmeats to the pilgrim as *prasāda*, applies *tilaka* to the pilgrim's forehead, touches the pilgrim on his back, pronounces the word '*suphala*' (the pilgrimage has been fruitful) or successful, declares that the pilgrim's ancestors have gone to heaven and blesses the pilgrim. It must be noted that there is a special class of priests called *Dhāmin* who alone (and not the ordinary *Gayāwals*) have the right of officiating at five *vedis* viz. at *Pretasīla*, *Rāmasīla*, *Rāmakunda*, *Brahmakunda* and *Kakabali*, that are situated on or about the two hills *Rāmasīla* and *Pretasīla* (vide *Bengal District Gazetteers*, vol 12 for *Gayā* p. 66) They are regarded as inferior in status to the regular *Gayāwals*.

One important question on which there is great divergence of views among the medieval digests is about the ancestors to whom *śrāddha* is to be offered at *Gayā*. In the *Vāyu* and other *Purānas* it is frequently said that he who performs *śrāddha* at *Gayā* becomes free from the debt due to the *pītr*¹⁵¹¹ or that what is offered to the *pītr* at *Gayā*, *Dharmaprsthā*, *Brahmasaras*, or on the *Gayāśīra* and under the imperishable *Vata* tree becomes inexhaustible. In most of these passages the plural of the word '*pītr*' is used. Therefore it follows that *śrāddha* is to be offered in *Gayā* to three paternal ancestors. And on account of a verse attributed to *Gautama*,¹⁵¹² the three male maternal ancestors also are to be offered *śrāddha*. The difference arises with

1510. *Gayāśīras* and *Gayā* were according to Buddhist works well-known places in Buddha's days. Vide the *Mahāvagga* I. 21. 1 (S. B. E. vol 13 p. 134) cited above (on p. 646) and *Anguttara Nikāya* (text) vol IV, p. 302 'एक समर्थ भगवा यथायं विहरति गयासीसे'.

1511. आल्लुक्थो गयाक्षेत्रे विपुणामनुष्णो हि तः। वायु 105. 30; vide also वायु 108. 60 and 90, 109. 41; 'गयायां धर्मपुष्टे च सरसि ब्रह्मणस्तथा। गयाक्षेत्रे वटे चैव विदुर्णां उत्तमशयश्च॥' वारदीय (उत्तर) 44. 54, गृह्य I. 63 42-43. This last is ascribed to *हृद्गस्तति* by *कल्पतरु* (on तीर्थ) p. 167.

1512. वित्तो यत्र पूज्यन्ते तत्र मातामहा अपि। अविशेषेण कर्तव्यं विशेषात्तरुं चजेत्॥ इति गौतमीके। त्रिशतीं p. 349, quoted also in *स्मृत्यर्थसार* p. 56.

reference to the wives of these six male paternal and maternal ancestors. The Agnipurāna proposes an option (115 10) that the *devatās* in Gayāśrāddha are nine or twelve. When they are to be nine, the śrāddha is for three paternal ancestors, three male ancestors of the mother and the wives of the latter three male ancestors, while there is a separate śrāddha for the mother, paternal grand-mother and paternal great-grandmother. If there are to be twelve *devatās* in Gayāśrāddha, then all the wives of the paternal ancestors and of maternal ancestors would be included in one śrāddha. Aparārka allowed an option (as in Agni) in Gayā-śrāddha.¹⁵¹³ According to the Smṛtyarthasāra¹⁵¹⁴ and Hemādri the Anvataka-śrāddha and Gayāśrāddha for the paternal ancestors and that for the wives of these (i. e. mother, paternal grandmother &c.) must always be separate, but the śrāddha for the mother's paternal ancestors and their wives should be one (and therefore the *devatās* will be nine). Yama (verse 80) appears to hold that the mother, paternal grandmother and paternal great-grandmother are always to be associated with their respective husbands in śrāddha. Some held that the *devatās* of Gayāśrāddha were only six viz the three male paternal ancestors and three male maternal ancestors.¹⁵¹⁵ The Tri. S ultimately remarks that the usage of the country should be the deciding principle. The Prajapati-smṛti (183-184) has some rather contradictory views as to when there would be 12 or 9 or 6 *devatās* in a śrāddha. When there are twelve *devatās*, the *saṅkalpa* at the Pretasīla-śrāddha which is the model of all the śrāddhas at the other sacred spots in Gayā (with suitable modifications) will be as noted below.¹⁵¹⁶

It should be noted that there are certain special characteristics of Gayāśrāddha. There is no tonsure (Vāyu 83, 18

1513 ततश्चाव्यष्टकादित्रये क्रीणा आहुं पृथगेव । गयामहालयदौ तु पृथक् सह वा भर्तृभिरिति सिद्धम् । अपरार्क p 432, गरुड I 84, 24 18 'आहुं तु नवदेवत्वं कुर्याद् द्वादश-देवतम् । अव्यष्टकाहुं पृथ्वा च गयया सूतवासरे ॥.'

1514. तत्र मातृआहुं पृथक् प्रकृतम् । मातामहानां सपत्नीकमेव । स्मृत्यर्थसार pp 59-60, vide त्रिस्थली p. 349 for the view of हेमाद्रि.

1515 अत्र केचित्पितृवर्गमातामहवर्गेरूपतया षड्देवत्पमेवेत्याहुः ।... अत्र सर्वत्र मूल-वचनानि देशान्तरस्थ व्यवस्थेति सामान्यविधिवैकीकम् । त्रिस्थली p 349. रघुनन्दन in his तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व notes that this is the गौड view.

1516 ओम् । अद्याहुकगोत्राणां पितृपितामहमपितामहानामसुकासुकदेवशर्मणाम्, असुकगोत्राणां मातृ-पितामही-प्रपितामहीनामसुकासुकदेवीनाम्, असुकगोत्राणां मातामह-प्रमातामह-बुद्धप्रमातामहानामसुकासुकदेवशर्मणाम्, असुकगोत्राणां मातामही-प्रमातामही-बुद्ध-प्रमातामहीनासुकासुकदेवीनां मेतत्त्वविमुक्तिकामः मेतशिलाया आहुमहं करिष्ये । तीर्थस्थि. p. 287 These twelve are specified in गरुडपुराण I. 84 45-47.

and note 1485 above). One must honour the Gayāwals alone, and not other brāhmanas, however learned they may be; one should not consider the family or character or learning of Gayā brāhmanas (vide p. 579 above and note 1313). But it has to be remembered that Nārāyanabhatta¹⁵¹⁷ did not accept this for all śrāddhas † Gayā, but only as to the śrāddha under the Aksaya-vata, since the Vāyu (111. 79-80) again refers under Aksaya-vata to the worship of Gayā brāhmanas and since following the maxim of 'caturdhākarana' laid down in Jai. III. 1 26-27 the later specific provision narrows down the wide words used in the earlier passage. At Gayā one could offer pinda to oneself but without sesame.¹⁵¹⁸ The Tri S. (p. 350) observes (relying on Vāyu) that when a man offers a pinda to himself, it should be in the hands of the image of Janārdana on Bhasmakūta¹⁵¹⁹ and that the pilgrim to Gayā can offer a pinda to himself only when it is certain that he has no son or other *adhikārin* for offering śrāddha. Further, any one related or unrelated, could offer a pinda¹⁵²⁰ to anybody, as laid down in Vāyu 'Whether it is one's own son or the son of another (who offers), in whosoever name a pinda is let fall at Gayā, that man attains everlasting *Brahma*. It is desired that anyone may offer a pinda to anybody after uttering that person's name and gotra and the latter reaches the highest goal'

There are several works, printed and in mss., that deal with the procedure of Gayāśrāddha. There is the Gayāśrāddha-paddhati of Vācaspati printed at the Chandraprabha press, Benares city, the Tīrtha-yātrā-tattva of Raghunandana (which contains a Gayā-

1517. गवायां तु निर्गुणा अपि तत्रत्या एव द्विजा भोग्या इति तु हेमाद्रिः। वयं तु ब्रह्म-प्रकल्पितान् विनाम्भोजयेत्सूत्रयेद्य इत्यक्षयवदकरणे पुनः अथवा ब्रह्मशोकणीयसहारण्याये-नाक्षयवदभ्राह्मणिवनो न गवाभ्राह्मणावे। एवं च क्षिप्वाचारोप्यनुष्ठाय इति। त्रिस्थली० p. 352.

1518. आत्मनस्तु महासुखे गवायां तु तिलैर्विना। पिण्डनिर्घर्षणं कुर्वीतथा चाप्यथ गौत्रजाः ॥ वायु, 83, 34 q by त्रिस्थली० p 350 from स्मृतिरत्नावली. Vide also वायु. 105. 12 and अग्नि 115 68 'पिण्डो देयस्तु सर्वेषु कुलतारकैः। आत्मनस्तु तथा देवो ह्यक्षयं लोकमिच्छता ॥'

1519. जनार्दनो भस्मकूटे तरय हस्ते तु पिण्डतः। आत्मनोऽप्यथवायेवा सन्वेनापि तिलैर्विना ॥ जीवतां दधिर्समिधं सर्वं ते विष्णुलोकगाः ॥ वायु, 108, 85; vide शतशुक्लाय 'जनार्दनस्य हस्ते तु पिण्डं दद्यात्स्वक नरः। एष पिण्डो मया दत्तो तव हस्ते जनार्दन। परलोकंरवतो महानक्षत्र्यसुपतिष्ठताम् ॥', compare नारद (उत्तर) 47. 62-65 for very similar verses.

1520. आत्मजोऽप्यन्यजो वापि गवाशूरी यद्वा तदा। यस्मान्ना पातयेत्पिण्डं ते नयेद् ब्रह्म शान्त्वत् ॥ नामगोत्रे समुच्चार्य पिण्डपातनाभिधते। येन केनापि कर्मचिद्वत् याति परमां शान्तिम् ॥ वायु 105. 14-15. Vide also वायु, 83, 36.

paddhati) published in Bengali characters. Then I consulted two mss. viz the Gayā-śrāddha-paddhati of Raghunātha son of Mādhaba (D. C. ms. No. 93 of 1891-95) and the Gayāśrāddha-vidhi of Vācaspati (D. C. No 245 of 1887-91). The procedure in the Tirthayātrā-tattva of Raghunandana is set out here briefly without actually citing in full the Vāyupurāna passages which it quotes profusely. Raghunandana appears to follow the Tirtha-cintāmani closely as some of the notes will show. After the pilgrim enters Gayā he should first make an appropriate saṅkalpa¹⁵²¹ for a bath in Phalgu, take the clay from the river, apply it to his body and bathe. Then he should perform *tarpana*¹⁵²² to the twelve male and female ancestors (specified in note 1516 above). Then he should declare a saṅkalpa that he would perform Gayāśrāddha with the words 'Om! adyetyādi Gayātirtha-prāpti-nimitaka-śrāddhamaham karisyē'. Then he should perform a *pūrvana-śrāddha* (described above pp. 485-505) excepting the *āvāhana* and *arghya* rites. If the pilgrim be unable to perform all the details of śrāddha, he may offer only pindas. Then on the same day he should go to the Pretaśilā which adjoins the west bank of the river Phalgu and is to the north of Gayā and perform śrāddha there as follows: he should perform the purification of the ground, sit down on it, perform *ācamana*, face the south, wear the sacred thread in the *apasavya* form, recite the verses (Vāyu 110 10-12 'Kavyavālo...śrāddhenānena śāsvatīm), contemplate on his pīṭra, perform *prānāyāma*, sprinkle water on the materials for śrāddha after remembering Pundarikakṣa (Viṣṇu), make the saṅkalpa (set out in note 1516). He should go through the whole procedure of śrāddha up to the payment of *dakṣiṇā* to brāhmanas. After this he should sit to the south of the altar (where he performed the śrāddha), should wear the sacred thread in the *apasavya* form, face the south, place on the ground three kuśas and after reciting the *mantra* (Vāyu 110. 10-12) should make an invocation once in the form of offering an *aṅgali* of water mixed with sesame, then honour the father with *pādyā* (water for washing the feet), recite the two verses

1521 ओम् । अद्येत्यादि अश्वमेधसहस्रजन्यफलविलक्षणफलपाप्तिकाम फल्युतीर्थे रत्नानमहं करिष्ये । This is the सङ्कल्प in तीर्थचि p 286 and तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व p 2

1522 रघुनन्दन sets out the formulas of *tarpana* for Sāmavedins and Yajurvedins 'तत्रामुकगोत्रोऽस्मत्पिता अनुकदेवशर्मा तुष्यतामिदं तीर्थोदकं तस्मै स्वधा पितरं मीनयामीति सामग. । यजुर्वेदोक्तम् । ओं अमुकगोत्रपितरमुकदेवशर्मस्तुष्यस्वैतत्ते तीर्थोदकं स्वधा पितरं मीनयामि । तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व p 3. The first is set out by तीर्थचि. p. 286 also.

(Vāyu 110. 20-21 'a brahma.. tilodakam' with *om* prefixed), perform invocation as before of the father and others with water in folded hands and should offer a pinda to his father of *pūyasa* or other material mixed with sesame, water and honey with the words 'Om, adya amuka-gotra pitar-amukadevaśarman, esa te pindah svadhā'. In this way he should offer pinda to the remaining eleven devatās, viz. paternal grandfather and others (or eight or five according to usage). He should donate a fee according to his means. Then he should sit to the south of the place he so far occupied, spread on the ground kuśas having roots but with tips turned to the south, should repeat the mantras (Vāyu 110 10-12), perform on those kuśas once an invocation in the form of an *añjali* of water mixed with sesame, repeat the two verses (Vāyu 110. 22-23 'Pitā pitāmaha...mupatisthatām' with *om* prefixed^{1522a}) and should offer one pinda made of one handful of barley flour mixed with sesame, kuśas, ghee, curds, water and honey to all the twelve devatās (ancestors) together. Then follows what is called *Ṣoḍaśīkarma*, which is as follows. Nineteen spots for pindas should be made (each to the south of the preceding) and should be smeared with *pañcagavya* one after another; then he should spread over each kuśas with their tips to the south, should invoke on the kuśas the persons intended with the mantras (Vāyu 110. 30-32 'asmat-kule mṛta... tilodakāḥ'), should worship them by offering sandalwood paste and the rest, (and if he is performing the rite of *sodaśī* on a spot sacred to a specific deity then worship that deity also with an appropriate mantra), should then offer once as before an *añjali* of water mixed with sesame and offer pindas beginning from the first spot, each pinda being offered after reciting each of the 19 mantras (Vāyu 110. 34-55, omitting 110.44 'asipatra o', 110. 46 'anekayātanā-samsthāḥ ye nītā o', and treating 52-53 as one mantra and 54-55 as one mantra)^{1522b}. He should offer 19 pindas

1522 a It should be noted that *om* is to be recited before each verse intended as mantra here and below.

1522 b. The Tir C. (pp 290-292) slightly differs. It does include Vāyu 110. 46 and treats the three verses (Vāyu 110 51-53) as one mantra. It is difficult to understand why the writers of digests did not say that the *śrāddhasodaśī* should be performed with only 18 mantras from out of the 21 or 22 verses with option to the reciter. Where the mantras exceed the number required, Jaṃini X. 5 14 states 'अपूर्वास्तु तु सख्यास्तु विकल्पे स्वल्पवसिष्ठमर्षव्यात्.' Raghunandana reads the five verses (51-55) somewhat differently from the printed Vāyupurāna, though the sense is not much affected.

of the size already stated and made of the material already mentioned with the sacred thread in the *apasavya* form. Raghuṇandana explains that although there are nineteen pindas still this is called *śrāddhasodaśī* as a technical term.¹⁵²³ It would be noticed that all the mantras refer to males in the words 'ye', 'te', 'tebhyaḥ'. So this is 'Pum-sodaśī.' There is a 'strī-sodaśī' also which only involves changing the words of the mantras in the masculine to words in the feminine gender as indicated in the *Vāyupurāna* itself.¹⁵²⁴ Otherwise there is no difference between the two (pumsodaśī and strīsodaśī). The note below states the mode in which both males and females are to be invoked and gratified.

Water should be sprinkled over all pindas three times with a vessel full of water mixed with sesame. The mantras repeated at the time are quoted below in the note.¹⁵²⁵ Then he prostrates himself on the ground and should dismiss (send away) them (the persons invoked) with the words 'O father and others! forgive me.' Then wearing the sacred thread in the *savya* form, he should sip water (perform *ūcamana*) and recite with his face to the east the two mantras (*Vāyu* 110. 59-60 'saksinaḥ santu,' and 'āgatosmī Gayām'). If a pilgrim is unable to carry out all this lengthy procedure, he should at least offer pindas on *Pretasīlā*, by making a *saṅkalpa* (like the one in note 1516 saying 'pindadānam' for *śrāddham*). He should wear the sacred thread in the *apasavya* mode and repeat the verses in *Vāyu* (110. 10-12 and 110. 59-60) and should perform according to his *sūtra* the various items such as drawing lines on the altar meant for placing pindas, spreading kuśas, sprinkling down water on the pindas, the offering of pindas, re-sprinkling

1523. ऊनविंशती षोडशसं पारिभाषिकं पञ्चात्रवत् । तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व p. 8. When a person inquires of another how many mango trees or fruit the latter has got the latter may reply they are five, even if actually they may be six or seven.

1524. एतैश्च सर्वमन्त्रैस्तु स्त्रीलिङ्गानां सहस्रं च । पिण्डान् दद्याद्यथापूर्वं स्त्रीणां नात्रा-
दिकाक्रमात् । वायु. 110 56 q. in *त्रिस्थली* p. 356 स्त्रीषोडश्या तु—अस्मत्कुले मृता ये
चेत्यावाहनमन्त्रादारभ्य विजाणि सस्य इति पर्यन्तं सम्भवत्स्त्रीलिङ्गभूतनीयम्, अन्यस्तु शोषो-
शीवत् सर्वम् । तिथिचि p. 292. So instead of the मन्त्र 'अस्मत्कुले मृता ये च गतिर्षेषां
न विद्यते' (वायु. 110. 34), in the स्त्रीषोडशी the मन्त्र will be अस्मत्कुले मृता याश्च गति-
र्षासा न विद्यते । तासास्तुञ्जर्यार्याय इम पिण्डं ददाम्यहम् ॥ *त्रिस्थली* p. 357 refers to
this स्त्रीषोडशी

1525. ओम् । ये च वो येचास्मास्नासन् याश्च वो याश्चास्मास्नासन् ते चावाह्यन्तां तांश्वा-
वाह्यन्ताम् । तृप्यन्तु भवन्तस्तृप्यन्तु भवत्यस्तृप्यन्तु गोत्रान् पुत्रानभितर्पयन्तीरापो मधुमतीरिमाः ।
स्वधा पितृभ्योऽमुषं दुहान्ना आपो देवीरभयास्तृप्यन्तु । तृप्यन्तु तृप्यन्तु तृप्यन्तु । तीर्थचि. p. 293,
तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व pp. 10-11.

water, holding one's breath, loosening the knot of one's garment, offering a thread and sandalwood paste.

Then the pilgrim should descend from the hill (Pretaśilā) to the ground below and should bathe in the deep pool well-known as Rāmatirtha¹⁵²⁶ (which is in the form of Prabhāsa-hrada) at the meeting place of the great river (Phalgu) with the Prabhāsa hill after making a sankalpa (as given in the footnote) and after repeating the mantra 'janmāntarasatam' (Vāyu 108 18). He should then perform *tarpana* and perform śrāddha or (if unable to offer śrāddha) offer only pindas according to the procedure of his own gṛhyasūtra. He should offer as done in the Pretaśilā śrāddha twelve pindas to the father and the others, the single inexhaustible pinda and the sodasi-pindas. If he cannot go through all these, he may perform any one of them. Then he should make a sankalpa and should offer obeisance to Rāma with the mantra 'Rāma Rāma' (Vāyu 108, 20). When a pilgrim performs this bath, śrāddha and pindadāna his pitrs become free from the condition of being *preta* (Vāyu 108, 21). Then he should perform obeisance to the refulgent Prabhāseśa (Śiva). He should offer obeisance to both Rāma and Prabhāseśa with the mantra 'āpastvamasi' (Vāyu 108, 22). Then he should offer a *bali* of boiled rice to Yama with the words 'this is a bali, om! bow to Yama.' Then on a hill called Naga situated to the south of Prabhāsa hill and on the middle of Pretaśilā he should recite the verse 'dvau śvānau' (Vāyu 108, 30) and offer a bali made up of some kind of cooked food with the words 'this is a bali to Yamarāja and Bhramarāja (Dharmarāja?); salutation'. This offering of bali is obligatory (on every pilgrim); the rest may be done according to one's ability. This finishes the rites on the first day (i. e. the day of entering Gayā).

On the 2nd day of entering Gayā the pilgrim should bathe in Phalgu, perform his daily duty of tarpana and worship of gods and then in the afternoon bathe in Brahmakunda¹⁵²⁷ situated in the north-east corner which touches the root of Pretapārvata, that is at the distance of a gavyūti from Gayā and that (Brahmakunda) is situated to the north-west of Gayā.

1526 ओम् । अद्येत्यादि सायजन्मान्तरकालकृतदुष्कृतविलयत्तमोऽस्मिन्नामनीर्थं ग्गान् महं करिष्ये । तीर्थान्च p. 294, तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व pp 11-12 The मन्त्र 'जन्मान्तरः' (वायु, 108. 18) is quoted by both.

1527 The संकल्प at ब्रह्मकुण्डज्ञान 18 ओं अद्येत्यादि पित्रादीनां पुनरायुचित्वात् ब्रह्मलोकप्रसिद्धिं प्रेतपतंति आहुमहं करिष्ये । तीर्थयात्रातत्त्व p. 13.

The śrāddha performed here is believed to be performed on the altar of Brahmā (i. e. where Brahmā performed his Asvamedha). Then he should with the face to the south throw on Pretaparvata barley grains mixed with sesame with the mantra 'ye kecit' (Vāyu 110 63 q both by Tir. C. p. 297 and by Raghunandana) and offer an añjali of water mixed with sesame with the mantra 'ā-brahma' (Vāyu 110.64).¹⁵²⁸

On the third day after entering Gayā come the rites of Pañcatīrthī described above (pp. 663-666). The pilgrim bathes¹⁵²⁹ in the Uttaramānasa with the mantra 'uttare mānase snānam' (Vāyu 111. 2-3). He should offer one añjali with the verses (Vāyu 110. 20-21) and perform śrāddha. After this śrāddha he sits to the south of Uttara-mānasa, spreads *kusas* with tips towards the south, offers water with sesame and offers to all together one pinda of one handful of barley flour mixed with sesame, kuśas, honey, curds and water. Then he bows to and worships the Sun's image on Uttaramānasa with the mantra 'namostu bhānave' (Vāyu 111 5). Then he repairs to Dakṣinamānasa in silence and there takes a bath in Udīoṭ tīrtha, in Kanakhala and then in Dakṣinamānasa with the mantra (Vāyu 111 9-10) and then performs salutation and worship to Dakṣinārka, then makes a bow to Maunārka, then goes to Phalgu tīrtha situated to the east of Gadādhara and takes a bath and performs tarpana and śrāddha there; then he worships Pitāmaha (with Vāyu 111. 19), visits Gadādhara and worships (with Vāyu 111.21), then again goes to the five tīrthas, at each of which he bathes and performs tarpana. Then he bathes the image of Gadādhara with pañcāmṛta. Raghunandana notes that the bathing of Gadādhara with pañcāmṛta is obligatory, while the rest may be done according to one's ability. This finishes the rites of pañcatīrthī.

The various tīrthas to be visited after Pañcatīrthī have been mentioned above. It is not necessary to repeat them here. The special mantras from the Vāyupurāna cited by Raghun-

1528 It may be stated once for all that there is a sañkalpa appropriate to each bath, that a bath in a sacred place is followed by tarpana, that śrāddha is performed as on *Prtaśilā* with all details beginning from invocation and ending with making the gods bear witness. Therefore these items will not be repeated hereafter and only the special provisions in each case will be pointed out.

1529 The सकृत्प is ओं अद्येत्यादि पापक्षयपूर्वकसूर्यलोकविभक्तिपितृभुक्तिनाम उत्तरमन्त्रे स्नानमहं करिष्ये

nandana will alone be specified here. After bath and śrāddha at Matangavāpi, the pilgrim should go to Matangesa to the north of Matangavāpi and recite Vāyu 111. 25 (pramānam devatāh santū &c). When pouring water at the root of the mango tree established by Brahmā the pilgrim repeats Vāyu 111. 36 (ānram brahma-sarodbhūtam &c.). When bowing to Brahmā, the mantra is Vāyu 111. 34 (namo brahmane &c.). The ball to Yama is offered with Vāyu 111. 38 (Yamarājadharmarājau &c.). The ball to the two dogs is to be given with the mantra (Vāyu 111. 39) and that to the crows with Vāyu 111. 40 (Aindra-vāruna-vāyavya &c). As regards the *padas* the pilgrim should begin with Rudrapada and perform śrāddha there and then proceed to Visnupada and worship Viṣṇu with five upacāras¹⁵³⁰ with the mantra 'Idam Viṣṇur-vi cakrame' (Rg. I. 22. 17). To the south of the vedi of Visnupada he should perform the śrāddhasodaśī (described above pp 672-673) up to Vāyu 110. 60 (anrnosham-rnatrayāt). About an ascetic, vide above p. 655.

Then Raghunandana briefly touches upon the śrāddhas to be performed at the several *padas* and remarks that the last śrāddha at the *padas* is that at Kāśyapapada. He prescribes Vāyu 111. 76 as the mantra for bath in Gadaloḷa-tīrtha. Then he states that the śrāddha at the Aksayavata is to be performed on the north side of the Vata near its bottom. He prescribes Vāyu 111. 82-83 (skārnave &c) as the mantras for bowing to the Aksayavata. Further, he speaks of śrāddhas to be performed at several sub-tīrthas, such as Gāyatri, Sarasvatī, Viśālā, the hermitage of Bharata, Mundaprstha. Then he prescribes that the pilgrim should cross the Vaitarani (situated to the east of the Devanadi which is near Bhasmakūta) with the mantra (Vāyu 105. 44, yāsu Vaitarani nāma &c). After referring to several other tīrthas such as Gopracāra, Ghrtakulyā, Madhukulyā, Raghunandana recommends that the pilgrim should visit Pāndusīlā (which is in Campakavana near Pitāmaha) and perform śrāddha there. He notes that the four rivers and streams called Ghrtakulyā, Madhukulyā, Devikā and Mahānadi¹⁵³¹ (Phalgu) are called Madhusravā when they meet the Śīlā (Vāyu

1530. For the five upacāras, vide H. of Dh. vol. II. pp. 729-730.

1531. In the वायुपुराण when speaking of गया the word महानदी occurs frequently (as in 112. 30, 110 6), but it refers to फल्गु. On वायु 110. 6 (ततो गयाप्रवेशे च पूर्वतोऽस्ति महानदी। तत्र तोयं समुत्पाद्य स्नातव्यं निर्मले जले॥) the त्रिस्थली° p. 352 observes 'महानदीति फल्गवा एव नामधेयम्। तोयं समुत्पाद्येति छुम्नदीत्याहाहालुकाखननेन तोयमुत्पाद्य ॥'.

112.30) and a bath, tarpana and śrāddha thereon yield immense results. Then are mentioned several other tīrthas such as Daśāsvamedha, Matangapada, Makha-kunda (near Udyanta parvata), Gayākūta. Raghunandana winds up by providing that on Bhasmakūta the pilgrim should place with his right hand in the hand of Janārdana a pinda mixed with curds (but without sesame) and on doing so recite five verses (Vāyu 108. 86-90, ¹⁵³² 'eṣa pindo mayā' &c.). Then Raghunandana quotes sixteen verses about Mātr̥sodaśī (which do not occur in Vāyupurāna and are passed over here).

We have to distinguish between Gayāksetra, Gayā and Gayāśīras or Gayāśīrsa. The Vāyu, Agni and Nāradya all assert that Gayāksetra is five krośas ¹⁵³³ (in extent) and Gayāśīras is one krośa. It had become the fashion to speak of famous tīrthas like Kāśī and Prayāga as pañcakrośa. But so far as the Vāyupurāna is concerned the Gayāksetra is about 13 miles in length from Pretaśīla to Mahābodhi tree as shown above Gayā is said to be two krośas and a half in extent in all directions from Mundapr̥stha ¹⁵³⁴. Gayāśīras is smaller than Gayā and is identified with Phalgutīrtha (vide note 1499). Gayā and Gayasīsa (Pāli for Gayāśīrsa) are well known to ancient Buddhist texts (Mahāvagga I. 21. 1 in S. B. E. XIII p. 136, Anguttaranikāya, text vol IV. p. 302). Vide n. 1510

Four of the most important and holy tīrthas have been dealt with at some length so far. It is not possible in the space allotted to the section on tīrthas to pursue the same procedure as regards other famous tīrthas. It is proposed to devote a few pages to each of half a dozen or more tīrthas and then to give a somewhat comprehensive list of tīrthas with a few references in the case of each. But before proceeding further reference must be made to certain popular groupings of tīrthas. There is a group of seven cities that are deemed to be very holy and

1532. Raghunandana reads the five verses somewhat differently from the printed Vāyupurāna, though the sense is not much affected.

1533. पञ्चक्रोशं गयाक्षेत्रं क्रोशमेकं गयाक्षिरः। वायु. 106. 65, अग्नि. 115. 42, भारद्वाज (उत्तर) 44. 16

1534. सुण्डपृष्ठाच्च पूर्वस्मिन् दक्षिणे पश्चिमोत्तरे। सार्धं क्रोशद्वयं माने गयेति परिकीर्तितम्॥ वायुपुराण ० by विश्वली- p 342 The printed वायु (105. 28-29 'सुण्ड कुपाञ्च पूर्वस्मिन्') appears to have a corrupt reading

the bestowers of *mokṣa*.¹⁵³⁵ They are Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā (i. e. Haridvāra), Kāśī, Kāñcī, Avantikā (i. e. Ujjayini), Dvārakā. In some works it is Kāntī and not Kāñcī that is mentioned. Badarinātha, Jagannātha Purī, Rāmesvara and Dvārakā—these four are styled Dhāma. There are said to be twelve Jyotirlingas of Śiva, according to the Śivapurāna viz. Somanātha¹⁵³⁶ in Saurāstra, Mallikārjuna on Sriśaila hill (in Karnul District and about 50 miles from the Krishna station on the G. I. P. Railway), Mahākāla (in Ujjayini), Parameśvara in Omkāra-ksetra (an island in the Narmadā), Kedāra in the Himālayas, Bhimāśankara (north-west of Poona at the source of the Bhimā river) in Dākini, Viśveśvara in Banaras, Tryambakesvara on the banks of the Gautami i. e. Godāvari (near Nasik), Vaidyanātha in Citābhūmi, Nāgesa in Dārūkāvana, Rāmesvara in Setubandha and Ghr̥sneśa in¹⁵³⁷ Śivālaya (i. e. the modern shrine at the village of Elura,

1535. अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काञ्ची श्यवन्तिका। एताः पुण्यतमाः प्रोक्ताः।
पुरीणाद्युत्तमोत्तमाः ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड IV. 40 91; काशी काञ्ची च मायाख्या स्वयोध्या द्वारवत्यपि।
मथुरावन्तिका चैता सप्त पुष्योत्र मोक्षदाः ॥ स्कन्द, काशीखण्ड, 6: 68; काञ्चन्यवन्ती द्वारवती
काश्ययोध्या च पञ्चमी। मायापुरी च मथुरा पुष्ये। सप्त विश्वकिदाः ॥ काशीखण्ड 23. 7.
अयोध्या वान्तिका। पुरी द्वारवती ज्ञेया सप्तैता मोक्षदायिका ॥ गरुडपुराण (प्रेतखण्ड) 38
5-6. In the स्कन्द, नागरखण्ड 47. 4 काञ्ची occurs as capital of Rudrasena and in
Brahmānda III 13. 94-97 Kāntipurī is described as possessing a place for
Vyāsa's contemplation, a Kumārādhārā and Puskarinī. If the reading काञ्ची
is to be accepted there are divergent views about its location, some holding
it to be the ancient name of Khatmandu the capital of Nepal, while A. G.
identifies it with Kotival 20 miles north of Gwalior

1536 पृथिन्या यानि लिङ्गानि तेषां संख्या न विद्यते। सौराष्ट्रे सोमनाथं च श्रीशैले
महिकार्जुनम्। उज्जयिन्या महाकालमोङ्गारे परमेश्वरम् ॥ केदार हिमवत्पुष्टे डाकिन्यां
भीमशङ्करम्। वाराणस्या च विश्वेशं श्यम्बकं नौतमीतटे ॥ वैद्यनाथं चितामूर्तौ नागेशं
द्वारकावने। सेतुग्रन्थे च रामेशं सुमेरुं (पुष्पेशं ?) च शिवालये। द्वादशैतानि नामानि
मातरुत्थाय य. पठेत्। सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तं सर्वसिद्धिफलं लभेत्। शिवपुराण IV 1. 18,
21-24. There is divergence of views about the identification of some of
these, viz. about ओङ्कार (Dey p 5), वैद्यनाथ (Dey p. 50 showing it is either
Deoghar in the Santal Pargana or in Paraligrāma near Satara), द्वारकावन
(Dey, pp. 53-54). Each ज्योतिर्लिङ्ग has an उपलिङ्ग (vide शिवपुराण IV I.
34 42). The बृहन्नारादीयपुराण (पूर्वार्ध) I 6 51 has 'काशीविश्वेश्वरं लिङ्गं
ज्योतिर्लिङ्गं तदुच्यते। तद् दृष्ट्वा परमं ज्योतिरामोति मद्भजोत्तम ॥' Vide 'the Cave Temples
of India' by Fergusson and Burgess p. 367 n. 1. In JBBRAS, vol. X,
pp. 4-6 the verses about the twelve Jyotirlingas and their locations are set
out from morning Stotra.

1537 For Ghr̥sneśvara or Gristāneśvara at the village Elura, vide
A. S. W. I. vol III pp. 32-83. The famous Kailāsa temple at Ellora is not
the Ghr̥sneśvara hoga.

7 miles from Devagiri or Daulatabad). The Śivapurāna (Kotidrudra-samhitā) chap. 1 names the twelve Jyotirlingas and chapters 14-33 narrate the legends connected with the twelve lingas. The Skandapurāna I (Kedārahanda) chap. 7 verses 30-35 enumerate several lingas including most of the twelve Jyotirlingas. The Bārhaspatyasūtra (edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas) mentions eight great tirthas each of Visnu, Śiva and Śakti, that yield all *siddhis* ^{1537a}.

1537 a. अष्ट वैष्णवक्षेत्राः । घदरिका-सालग्राम-पुष्पोत्तम-द्वारका-बिल्वाचल-अनन्त-सिंह-श्रीरङ्गाः । अष्टौ शैवाः । अविभक्त-गङ्गाद्वार-शिवक्षेत्र-रामेयमुखा (?)-शिवसरस्वती-मन्थ-शाङ्ख गजक्षेत्राः । शाक्ता अष्टौ च ओम्बोण-जाल-पूर्ण-काम-कोल-श्रीशैल-काञ्ची-महेन्द्राः । एते महाक्षेत्राः सर्वसिद्धिकराश्च । बार्हस्पत्यसूत्र III 119-126.

CHAPTER XV

KURUKṢETRA AND SOME OTHER FAMOUS TĪRTHAS

KURUKṢETRA (25 miles east of Ambala) is a very sacred tract, the history of which is lost in the mists of antiquity. In the *Rgveda* X. 33. 4 there is a reference to a king Kurusravana, son of Trasadasyu.¹⁵³⁸ The *Atharva-veda* mentions a Kauravya husband (probably a king) who had a talk with his wife.¹⁵³⁹ In the times of the Brāhmanas Kurukṣetra had become a very holy land. The *Śat. Br.* (IV. 1. 5. 13) narrates the legend that the gods performed a sacrifice in Kurukṣetra and at first excluded the two *Aśvins* from any share in it (S. B. E. vol. 26 p. 275). The *Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā* (II. 1. 4., *devā vai sattramāsata Kurukṣetre*) and the *Tai. Br.* (V. 1. 1., *devā vai sattram-āsata tesām Kurukṣetram vedir-āsīt*) also say that the Gods performed a *sattra* in Kurukṣetra. The idea underlying these passages appears to be this. The Vedic people of the Brāhmana period held *yajñas* to be the *dharma par excellence*, as stated in *Rg. X. 90. 16* (*yajñena yajñam-ayajanta devāstāni dharmāni prathamānyāsan*). Kurukṣetra was the centre of Vedic culture in the Brāhmana period and sacrifices must have been performed there on a large scale. Hence it was called *dharmakṣetra* and as gods were supposed to have attained their position by what men believed to be *dharma* (*yajña, tapas* &c.) it is stated that gods performed *sattras* in Kurukṣetra. The same Brāhmana mentions a Kauravya king Bahlika Prātipīya (XII. 9. 3. 3, S. B. E. vol. 44 p. 269). The *Tai. Br.* (I. 8. 4. 1) informs us that the Kuru-Pāñcālas went towards the east in winter (*śiśra*) and to the west in summer which was the worst season. The references in the *Ait. Br.* are far more instructive. The legend about Kavasa in which Sarasvatī helps the sage has already been referred to above (p. 559 n. 1254). The *Ait. Br.* (8. 1 or II 19) calls that place, where Sarasvatī came rushing, 'Parisaraka'. In another place the *Ait. Br.* tells us that in its time Nyagrodha (*Ficus India*) was called Nyubja in Kuru-

1538 कुरुश्रवणमावृणि राजान त्रसदस्यस्य । मंहिदं वाचतावृवि ॥ ऋ X. 33. 4.
कुरुश्रवण may mean literally 'heard or famous in the land of Kuru'.

1539, कुलायन् कृषवन् कौरव्यपतिर्वदति जायया । अथर्ववेद 20. 127. 8.

ksetra.¹⁵⁴⁰ Elsewhere the Ait. Br. speaks of the countries of the Kurus and Pañcālas together with the Vaśa-Uśīnaras (38. 3=VIII. 14). The Tai Ā. narrates¹⁵⁴¹ that the gods performed a *sattra* and Kurukṣetra was their altar (for the *sattra*). The southern side of that Vēdi (i. e. Kurukṣetra) was Khāṇḍava, the northern side was Tūrgḥna, the hinder part was Parīnah, and the country of Maru (desert) was the rubbish pit. This shows that Khāṇḍava, Tūrgḥna and Parīnah were border parts of Kurukṣetra and the Maru district was somewhat away from Kurukṣetra. The Śrautasūtras of Āśv. XII 6, Lātyāyana X. 15 ff and Katyāyana¹⁵⁴² 24 6 5 ff closely follow Tāndya and other Brāhmanas and mention several holy places at which parts of the Śārasvata *sattras* were performed such as Plaksa Prasravana where Sarasvati starts, the Vaitandhava-hrada of Sarasvati, the tract called Parīnah in Kurukṣetra, Yamunā flowing through the country of Kārapacava and the country of Triplakṣāvaharana.

In the Chāndogya Upanisad (I. 10. 1 ff) occurs the story of Usasti Cakrāyana who, when the Kuru country was struck by hailstorms, lived with his very young wife in Ibhya-grāma and went begging for food.

The Nirukta (II. 10) explains that¹⁵⁴³ Devāpi and Śantanu mentioned in Rgveda X. 98. 5 and 7 were historical persons and were brothers, sons of R̥tisena, a king of Kuru. Panini (IV. 1. 151 and IV. 1. 172) explains the formation of the word Kauravya from 'Kuru', the first in the sense of 'apatya', the second in the sense of 'king.'¹⁵⁴⁴

1540. तत्रैताश्चमसान्पुञ्जंरते न्यग्रोधा अभवन् न्युञ्जा इति ह्यप्येनानेतर्ह्याचक्षते कुरुक्षेत्रे ते ह प्रथमजा न्यग्रोधाना तेभ्यो हान्येऽधिजाता । ऐ. भा. 35.4 = VII 30.

1541. देवा वै सज्जमासत । तेषां कुरुक्षेत्रे वेदिरासीत् । तस्यै खाण्डवो दक्षिणार्थ आसीत् । दूधनेहसुसार्ध । परीणज्जर्धनार्ध । मरु उक्कर । ते. आ. V. 1. 1. Is तुर्ह an older form of दूधन? दूधन, modern Sugh on the old Jumna, is about 40 miles from Thanesar and 20 miles to north-west of Saharanpur.

1542. Vide क्रात्या औ. 'ज्ञप्तामासे ज्ञप्तामासे वसन्तो यजमानाश्च यन्ति दक्षिणेन तीरेण । ह्यहृत्यप्ययेऽपोनप्त्रियश्चरु । अग्रये कामायेति हस्ते मास्रवणे । अवभृथमभ्यवयन्ति यजुनां कारपचर्च मति । अपरु व्यणे नैतन्वयेऽग्निमिन्धीत । कुरुक्षेत्रे परिणहि स्थलंऽग्नाधेय-मन्वारमणीयान्तं भवति । एत्य च ह्यहृतीतीरेण । अवभृथमभ्यवयन्ति यजुनां त्रिहृक्षावहरणं मति । 24.6 5-7, 10.33-34, 38-39. Similar sūtras occur in लाट्यायनश्रौत X 15.1, X 17. 12, X. 18.13, X 19.1, 4-5, 8-9 क्रात्यायनश्रौत XXIV. 6 33 refers to the 2nd year and XXIV 6 34 to the third year of the सारस्वतसत्र.

1543. तत्रैतिहासनाचक्षते । देवापिश्वार्दिपेणः ज्ञान्तुश्च कौरुभ्यो भ्रातरौ बभूवतः । निरुक्त II 10.

1544. कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः । कुरुनादिभ्यो ण्यः । पा. IV, 1. 151 and 172.

The Mahābhārata frequently speaks of the high sanctifying virtues of Kuruksetra. It appears that the territory to the south of Sarasvatī and to the north of Drsadvatī was included in Kuruksetra and ¹⁵⁴⁵ that those who resided therein were as if residents of paradise. Kuruksetra appears to be called Brahmāvarta in Vanaparva 86.6. According to the Vāmanapurāna, Kurujāngala is ¹⁵⁴⁶ the country between the Sarasvatī and Drsadvatī, while Manu (II, 17, 18) defines Brahmāvarta as the country created by God between the two divine rivers Sarasvatī and Drsadvatī, states that Brahmarsidēsa which is slightly less (in holiness) than Brahmāvarta comprises Kuruksetra, the countries of Matsya, Pañcala and Sūrasena. From these passages it is clear that Brahmāvarta is the holiest country in Āryāvarta and that Kuruksetra was almost like it; we have seen that in the times of the Brāhmanas the most sacred Sarasvatī flowed through Kuruksetra and that the place where Sarasvatī disappeared in the desert was called Vinaśana and was itself a very holy place. Originally the land called Kuruksetra is said to have been the *Vedi* (sacrificial altar) ¹⁵⁴⁷ of Brahmā, then it came to be called Samantapañcaka (or syamanta—in some passages) when Parāsurāma made five pools of the blood of ksatriyas in revenge for his father's murder, which were subsequently turned into holy pools of water by the blessings of his pitrs and lastly it came to be called Kuruksetra when king Kuru, son of Samvarana ¹⁵⁴⁸, ploughed the land with a golden plough for seven *krotas* all round. Kuruksetra is so called after king Kuru. Kuru is said

1545. दक्षिणेन सरस्वत्या द्रवहृत्युत्तरेण च। ये वसन्ति कुकशेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिविधेऽं वनपर्व 83 3. The same verse is वनपर्व 83 204-205.

1546 सरस्वतीद्विपद्योरन्तरं कुरुजाङ्गलम्। वामन 22.47. सरस्वतीद्विपद्योरन्तरेण नद्योर्ध्वद्वन्द्वम्। तं देवनिर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्तं प्रचक्षते॥ कुकशेत्रं च मत्स्याश्च पञ्चालाः सूरसेनकाः॥ एष ब्रह्मविदेशो वै ब्रह्मावर्ताद्वन्द्वरः॥ मनु II. 17 and 19. The extent of countries varied from age to age. पञ्चगल was divided into North and South. At the time of Buddha the capital of Pañcala was Kancō. Sūrasena is the country of which Mathurā was the capital. अनन्तर may mean 'slightly less than' or 'not inferior to or not different from.' The verse सरस्वतीद्विपद्योरन्तरेण वनपर्व 83 3. occurs in नारदीय (उत्तर) chap. 64 6.

1547. आद्यैषा ब्रह्मणो वेद्विस्ततो रामहृदः स्तुत्वा। कुकणा च यतः कुरु कुकशेत्रं ततः स्तुतम्॥ वामन 22 59-60. According to वामन 22. 18-20 there are five *vedis* of Brahmā viz. समन्तपञ्चक (उत्तरा), प्रयाग (मध्यमा), सप्तशिखर (पूर्वा), त्रिज्जा (दक्षिणा), पुष्कर (पश्चिमी). Vide वामन 22.20 and वन IV. 17,7 for the form समन्तपञ्चक

1548. According to the विष्णुपुराण the genealogy is अजमीन-अन-तंवरण-कुरु, about whom it says 'य इदं धर्मक्षेत्रं कुकशेत्रं चकार' (IV 19 74-77).

to have asked of Indra the boon that the territory he ploughed might be 'Dharmaksetra' (domain of righteousness) and that those who may bathe or die there may reap a rich harvest of merit¹⁵⁴⁹. The war between Kurus and Pāṇdavas was fought there. It is spoken of as 'Dharmaksetra' in the opening verse of the Bhagavad-gītā. Kurujāngala is said to be a very fit country for śrāddha in Vāyu (77. 93) and Kūrma II 20. 33 and 37. 36-37. In the 7th century the Chinese traveller Hiouen Tshang speaks of the country, the capital of which was Sthānvisvara (modern Thanesar which is the heart of Kuruksetra) as the 'land of religious merit' (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. I p. 184).

The extent of Kuruksetra is said to be five *yojanas* in radius (in Vanaparva and the Vāmana Purāna)¹⁵⁵⁰. A somewhat corrupt verse occurs in the Mahābhārata and some purānas¹⁵⁵¹ about the limits of Kuruksetra viz. the territory between Tarantu and Kārantuka and between Macakruka (image of a *yakṣa*) and the Rāma-hradas (pools made by Parāśurāma)—this is Kuruksetra, Samantapañcaka and the northern vedi of Brahmā. The result is that Kuruksetra is referred to under various names viz. Brahmāsaras, Rāmahrada, Samantapañcaka, Vinaśana, Sannihati (vide T. Pr. p. 463). For the boundaries of Kuruksetra, vide Cunningham's A. S. R. of India, vol. XIV pp 86-106 where he notes that Kuruksetra was 30 miles to the south of Ambala and 40 miles to the north of Panipat. In the remote past Kuruksetra was the centre of

1549. पावदेतन्मया कृते धर्मक्षेत्रं तद्वस्तु च । स्नातानां च घृतानां च महादुग्धफलं
लिह । वामनपुराण 22. 33-34. Compare Salyaparva 53. 13-14.

1550. वेदी भजापतेरेषा समन्तात्पञ्चयोजना । कुरोर्वे यज्ञशीलस्य क्षेत्रमेतन्महात्मनः ॥
वनपर्व 129. 22, समाजगाम च दुर्गमहाणो वेदितुत्तरात् । समस्तपञ्चके नाम धर्मस्थान-
मद्वयम् ॥ आत्ममन्ताद्योजनानि पञ्च पञ्च च सर्वतः ॥ वामनपु 22 15-16. The नारदीय
(उत्तर chap. 64 20) states 'पञ्चयोजनविस्तारं दद्यात्सत्यक्षनोद्गमम् । स्यमन्तपञ्चके
तावत्कुरुक्षेत्रं सुदाहृतम् ॥'

1551. तरन्तुकारन्तुकयोर्वेदन्तरं रामहृदानां च मच्चक्रकस्य । एतत्कुरुक्षेत्रसमन्त-
पञ्चके पितृमहर्षयोत्तरवेदिरुच्यते ॥ वनपर्व 83. 208, शल्यपर्व 53. 24 पञ्च. I, 27 92
(reads तरण्टकारण्डकयोः), q. by कल्पतरु (on तीर्थ) p. 179 (from the महाभारत).
वनपर्व 83 9-15 and 200 show that मच्चक्रक was a यक्ष appointed as one of the
द्वारपाल of कुरुक्षेत्र by God Viṣṇu Should we not separate the first word as
तरन्तुक and अरन्तुक? In the नारदीय (उत्तर chap 65. 24) we have रन्तुक as a sub-
firtha under कुरुक्षेत्र. Vide तीर्थमकाङ्क्षे pp 464-465 for explanation of this verse,
A G p 334 quotes this verse. In Archaeological Survey Reports for India
vol. II p. 215 Cunningham quotes the verse as तदन्तुकारन्तुकयोर्वेदन्तरं and
remarks that Ratnuka is the Ratan *Jakṣa* (यक्ष) at the north-east corner of
the circuit of Kuruksetra, four miles to the east of Thanesar

all the activities and the culture of the Vedic people. Gradually the Vedic people spread towards the east and south and the country between the Ganges and Jumnā and later on Videha (or Mithilā) became the centres of Indian culture.

For reasons of space it is not possible to dwell at length on the greatness and sanctity of Kuruksetra as described in the Mahābhārata and the Purānas. Vanaparva 83 starts by saying that all beings that are in Kuruksetra are freed from all sins and that he also who always says 'I shall go to Kuruksetra, and I shall reside in Kuruksetra' is freed from sins¹⁵⁵². 'In this world there is no place holier than this. Even the particles of dust driven from Kuruksetra by the wind take a great sinner to the highest goal'¹⁵⁵³. Even the Ganges is compared to Kuruksetra (vide note 1324 'Kurukṣetrasamā Gangā'). The Nāradiya avers¹⁵⁵⁴ that planets, constellations and stars are subject to the danger of falling down (from the sky) in course of time, but in the case of those that die in Kuruksetra there is no falling on the earth again (i. e. they would not be born again).

It is a remarkable fact that though the Vanaparva in chap. 83 enumerates several tīrthas on the Sarasvatī and in Kuruksetra, they do not at all tally with the tīrthas mentioned in the Brāhmanas and the Śrautasūtras (except Vinasana which is mentioned in Vanaparva 83.11 and probably Saraka which may be identified with Parisaraka of the Ait. Br.). This means that the Vanaparva account of Sarasvatī and Kuruksetra is later by some centuries than that in the Śrautasūtras. The Nāradiya (uttara, chap. 65) names about one hundred tīrthas in Kuruksetra. It is not possible to set out all of them. But a few words may be said about some of them. First comes the lake called Brahmasaras or Pavana-hrada (Vanaparva 83, 85, Vāmana 49, 38-41, Nāradiya, uttara 65 95) on

1552. ततो गच्छेत राजेन्द्र कुरुक्षेत्रमभिदुतम् । पापिन्यो विमलुच्यन्ते तद्वताः सर्वजन्तवः ॥ कुरुक्षेत्रं शनिण्यानि कुरुक्षेत्रे वसाम्यहम् । प एवं सततं द्रुवात् सर्वपापि प्रमुच्यते ॥ वनपर्व 83, 1-2 The commentator नीलकण्ठ furnishes a fanciful derivation of कुरुक्षेत्र (on वनपर्व 83 6) 'कृत्स्निं घृत्सिति कुरु पापं तस्य क्षेपणात् त्रायते इति कुरुक्षेत्रं पापनिवर्तकं ब्रह्मोपलविधिरथानत्वात् ब्रह्मसदनम्'. 'सम्पृक्तं अन्तो देदु क्षत्रियाणां ते समन्ता रामकृतकथिरोद्भवाः, तेषां पञ्चकं समस्तपञ्चकम्. Vide ती ५ p 463.

1553. नातःपरतरं दुष्णं धूनेः स्थानं भविष्यति । ... पाप्तवोपि कुरुक्षेत्रे वायुना संसृदीरिताः । अपि दुष्कृतकर्माणं न चान्ति परमां गतिम् ॥ शाल्य 53, 17, 22 q. In कल्प (on तीर्थ) p 178. The verse पाप्तवोपि also occurs in वनपर्व 83, 3.

1554. ग्रहनक्षत्रताराणां कालेन पतनाद्भवत् । कुरुक्षेत्रघृत्सानां तु न भूयः पतनं भवेत् ॥ नारदीय II 64 23-24, वामन 33, 16 (last pāda is प्रतनं नैव विद्यते)

which Kuru stayed as an ascetic. A. G. (pp. 334-335) remarks that the lake is 3546 feet long east to west and 1900 feet wide north to south. The Vāmanapurāna (22. 50-55) describes it at some length and says that it was half a *yojana* in extent. Cakratīrtha (mentioned by Vāmanapurāna 42. 5, 57. 89 and 81. 3) is popularly supposed to be the place where Kṛṣṇa took up the discus for attacking Bhīṣma. Vyāsasthali¹⁵⁵⁵ (named in Vanaparva 84. 96, Nāradya, uttarārdha 65. 83 and Padma I. 26. 90-91) is the same as modern Basthali, 17 miles to the south-west of Thanesar where Vyāsa resolved to die on the loss of his son. Asthīpura (Padma, Ādi 27. 62) is on the west of Thanesar and south of Aujaśghāṭ where the bodies of the warriors killed in the Great Bhārata war were cremated. Cunningham in Archaeological Survey Reports of India vol. II p. 219 states that Cakratīrtha is the same as Asthīpura and that in Alberuni's time it was the most famous shrine in Kurukṣetra. Prthūdaka on the Sarasvatī is very highly spoken of in Vanaparva 83. 142-149. 'They say¹⁵⁵⁶ that Kurukṣetra is holy, that Sarasvatī is holier than Kurukṣetra, that the sacred spots (on Sarasvatī) are holier than the river Sarasvatī and that Prthūdaka is holier than all the other tīrthas on Sarasvatī. There is no tīrtha that is better than Prthūdaka'. The Śalyaparva¹⁵⁵⁷ remarks that whoever, while intently engaged in repeating holy texts, abandons his life at Prthūdaka on the northern bank of the Sarasvatī would not be troubled by death next day (i. e. he would be free from birth and death) The Vāmanapurāna (39. 20 and 23) calls it Brahma-yontīrtha. Pithūdaka is modern Pehova in the Karnal District in Panjab, 14 miles to the west of Thanesar. Vide E. I. vol. I p. 184 for the Pehova inscription from the temple of Garibnath dated in *samvat* 276 (of the Harsa Era) i. e. 882-883 A. D., which records the agreement of certain pious horse-dealers to impose on themselves and their customers certain

1555. सरस्वत्या विनशर्नं कृष्णस्रवणं शुभम् । ष्यासतीर्यमिति ख्यातं मैमाकश्च नगोत्तमः ॥ कूर्मे II 37. 29, vide ब्रह्माण्ड III 13 69 for a similar verse.

1556. पुण्यमाहुः कुरुक्षेत्रं कुरुक्षेत्रात्सरस्वती । सरस्वत्याश्च तीर्थानि तीर्थेभ्यश्च प्रथुदकेनच ॥ प्रथुदकातीर्थेन चान्यतीर्थे कुरुक्षेत्रे ॥ वनपर्व 83 147, शान्तिपर्व 152 11 (first verse), पद्म (आदि. 27. 33, 34, 36) q. by कल्प (on तीर्थे) pp 180-181. The वामनपुराण 22 44 says 'तस्मैव मध्ये बहुपुण्ययुक्तं प्रथुदकं पापहरं शिवं च । पुण्या नदी प्राह सुखतां प्रयाता जलीधयुक्तस्य सुता जलादद्यात् ॥ '

1557. सरस्वत्युत्तरे तीरे यस्त्यजेदात्मनस्तत्प्रभु ॥ प्रथुदके जप्यपरो नैनं श्वो मरणं तपेत् ॥ शाल्यपर्व 39 33-34, वामनपुराण 39. 19 has the same verse (last pāda is read as नैतस्य मरणं भवेत्).

taxes and tithes for the benefit of some priests and temples, one of which was the temple of Visnu in his Yajñavarāha avatāra built at Prthūdaka.

The Vāmanapurāna (34. 3 ff) and Nāradiya (uttarārḍha 65. 4-7) enumerate seven forests existing in Kurukṣetra as very holy and as destroyers of all sins, viz. Kāmyaka, Adivana, Vyāsavana, Phalakivana, Sūryavana, Madhuvana and Sitavana. Vide A. S. R. for India, vol. 14 pp. 90-91 for the *vanas*. In the Śalyaparva (chap. 38) it is said that the world is encompassed by seven Sarasvatīs, then they are enumerated and their locations are specified viz. Suprabhā (in Puskara, where Brahmā engaged in a great sacrifice remembered her, verse 13), Kāñcanakṣi (in the Naimisa forest, v. 19), Viśālā (invoked by Gaya in the Gayā country, verses 20-21), Manoramā (in Auddālaka's yajña in Uitarakosala, verses 22-25), Surenu (in Rśabhadvīpa in Kuru's yajña, verses 26-27), Oghavati (called by Vasistha in Kurukṣetra, verses 27-28), Vimalodā (when Brahmā again performed a yajña in the Himalaya). In the Vāmanapurāna 34. 6-8 seven rivers in connection with Sarasvatī are said to be very holy (but nine are actually enumerated) viz. Sarasvatī, Vaitarani, Āpagā, Gangā-Mandakini, Madhusravā, Ambunadī, Kauṣiki, Drsadvati and Hiranvati.

Kurukṣetra was also called Sannihati or Sannihatya. Vide those words in the list of tirthas. The Vāmanapurāna (32. 3-4) says that Sarasvatī springs from a plaksa tree, that after piercing many hills it enters Dvaitavana. Vāmana (32. 6-22) contains a eulogy of Sarasvatī by Mārkaṇḍeya. Alberuni (Sachau, vol. I p. 261) states that the river Sarasvatī falls into the sea at the distance of a bowshot east of Somnāth. There is a small but holy stream called Sarasvatī, that rises in the Mahikantha hills and after crossing the south-east corner of Palanpur Agency passes by Siddhapura and Patan, flows underground for some miles and then enters the Runn of Cutch (Bom. G. vol. V. p., 283).^{1557a}

MATHURA

Till now it has not been possible to trace an express Vedic reference to Mathurā, the chief city of the country of Śūrasena. But its existence from at least the 5th century B. C. appears

^{1557a}. Vide A. S. R. of India, vol. 14 pp. 97-106 for an exhaustive list of tirthas in Kurukṣetra.

to rest on firm ground. It is stated in the Anguttaranikāya (I 167, ekam samayam āyasmā Mahākaccāno Madhurāyam viharati Gundāvane) and Majjhima (II 84 same words) that Mahākaccāyana, a famous disciple of Buddha, assiduously preached in Mathurā the principles of his Master. Megasthenes appears to have known Mathurā and its connection with Heracles¹⁵⁵⁸ (Hari-Kṛṣṇa?). The word 'Māthura' (meaning a resident of Mathurā, or born in or coming from Mathurā) occurs in Jaimini's Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra.¹⁵⁵⁹ Though Pāṇini's sūtras do not expressly mention Mathurā, the latter is included in the Varanādi-gana (Pān. IV. 2. 82). Pāṇini is, however, aware of Vāsudeva and Arjuna (IV. 3. 98), the Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi clans of Yādava to which Kṛṣṇa belonged (IV. 1. 114) and probably knew the name Govinda (III 1. 138 and vārtika 'gavi ca vindeh sañjñāyam'). Mathurā is several times mentioned by the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali who¹⁵⁶⁰ in a famous passage refers to dramatic representations, paintings and stories which depict the destruction of Kamsa by Vāsudeva. He also cites a quarter of a verse about the killing of Kamsa by Vāsudeva as a well-known past event. Whether the town Śaurya mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya on Vārtika 2 on Pāṇini II. 4. 7 (Śauryam ca Ketavatā ca Śaurya-Ketavate) is the same as Mathurā is doubtful, even though the Uttarādhyayanāsūtra speaks of Mathurā as Śaurya-pura (S. B. E. vol. 45 p. 112). The Ādiparva (221. 46) indicates that Mathurā was famed for excellent cows

1558. Vide McCrindle's 'Megasthenes and Arrian' p. 201 where it is said that Heracles was held in special honour by the Sauraseni tribe (Sūrasena) which possessed two large cities, Mathurā and Kleisobora (Kṛṣṇapura?), while Ptolemy calls it 'Modoura of the gods' (vide McCrindle's 'Ancient India as described by Ptolemy', ed. of 1927, p. 124).

1559. द्याद्योगाख्या हि माथुरवत् । जै I. 3 21 on which ज्ञावर says यतो दृश्यते मथुरामभिप्रस्थितो माथुर इति मथुरायाम् बसन् मथुरायाम् निर्गतश्च The तन्ववातिकं (p. 251) finds fault with the words underlined.

1560. न होको देवदत्तो युगपत्सुग्रे च भवति मथुरायाम् च । महाभाष्य vol I, pp. 18, 19 and 244, सप्तम्यर्थेऽपि वै वतिर्भवति तद्यथा । मथुरायामिव मथुरावत् । पाटलिपुत्रं ह्ये पाटलिपुत्रवत् । महाभाष्य vol I, p. 192 (on पा I. 2. 1) and vol. III p. 299 (on पा VII. 2 62, वार्तिक 3). Vide note 1409 above where माथुर cloth is said to be inferior to काञ्चिक cloth and my paper on 'Ancient cities and towns mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya' JBBRAS vol 27 pp. 39-42 (1951) for other references. ये तावदेते शोभनिका नामैते प्रत्यक्षं कंसं घातयन्ति प्रत्यक्षं च वल्लिं घन्ययन्तीति । .. केचित्कसभका भवन्ति केचिद्वासुदेवभक्ताः । महाभाष्य vol II, p. 36 on पा. III 1. 26 and वार्तिक 15, प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये इति किमर्थम् । जघान कंसं किल वासुदेव । महाभाष्य (vol, II, p. 119 on पा. III. 2. 111),

in those days. When Harṅsa and Dimbhaka, brave commanders of Jarāsandha, drowned themselves in the Jumnā and when Jarāsandha sorrowfully went to Magadha Kṛṣṇa says 'we shall again joyfully reside in Mathurā' (Sabhāparva 14. 41-45). Ultimately Kṛṣṇa is said to have left Mathurā owing to the constant attacks of Jarāsandha and established the Yādavas in Dvārakā¹⁵⁶¹ (Sabhāparva, 14. 49-50 and 67). The Brahmapurāna, on the other hand, states that the Yṛṣnis and Andhakas on the advice of Kṛṣṇa left Mathurā through the fear of Kālayavana. Vide also Vi. V. 23. 8-15. The Vāyu (88. 185) states that Śatrughna, the brother of Rāma, killed the demon Lavaṇa, son of Madhu and established Mathurā in Madhuvana while the Rāmāyana (Uttara-kānda 70. 6-9) informs us that Śatrughna took twelve years to make Mathurā a fine and prosperous city. In the Ghata-jātaka (Fausböll, vol. IV, pp. 79-89 No. 454) Mathurā is called Uttara Madhurā (to distinguish it from Madhurā of the Pāndyas in the south) and the story of Kamsa and Vāsudeva is narrated, which differs in some material points from the Mahābhārata and the Purānas. In the Raghuvamśa XV.28 it is mentioned as Madhurā and as founded by Śatrughna. Hiouen Tshang states that in Mathurā there existed in his day three *stūpas* built by Aśoka-rāja, that there were in Mathurā five Deva temples, 30 *sanghārāmas* (Buddhist convents) with 2000 Buddhist priests (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. I p 179). James Allan (in 'Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India' 1936, p. OXVI) states that the coins of the Hindu kings of Mathurā cover the period from the beginning of the 2nd century B. C to the middle of the first century B. C. For some ancient coins from Mathurā, the Cambridge History of India, vol. I, p. 538 and plate V (No. 5-10) may be referred to. An interesting and informative work is 'Mathurā' by F. S. Growse (2nd ed. 1880). Inscriptions contribute important evidence about the history and antiquity of Mathurā.¹⁵⁶² The famous inscription of Khāravela (E. I. vol. XX. at p. 79) includes among the exploits of that king of Kalinga the retreat of the Yavana king Dimita to Madhurā (i. e. Mathurā). Several

1561. वयं चैव महाराज जरासन्धभयात्तदा । मथुरां सन्परित्यज्य यता द्वारवतीं पुरीम् ॥
संभा 14. 67; ततो वृष्णसन्धकाः क्रुष्णां पुरस्कृत्य महामतिम् । समेता सन्त्रयामाहृत्यैव नरप
भयात्तदा । कृत्वा विनिश्चयं सर्वे पलायनमरोचयन् । विहाय मथुरां रत्यां सानयन्त ।
पिनाकिनम् । कुशस्थलीं द्वारवतीं निवेशयितुमीप्सव ॥ ब्रह्म 14. 54-56.

1562. Vide Dr. B. C. Law's learned paper on 'Mathurā in Ancient India' in J. A. S. of Bengal, vol. XIII (for 1947) pp. 21-30.

Inscriptions of such Kuṣāna rulers as Kaniska, Huviska and others relating to Mathurā have been published of which the following may be mentioned: Inscription on a Nāga image at Mathurā of 'Mahārāja-rajātirāja Kanikkha' in *samvat* 8 (E. I. vol. 17. p. 10)¹⁵⁶³; the Mathurā pedestal Inscription of Kaniska in the 14th year (E. I. vol. 19 p. 96); inscription on the pedestal of the image of a seated Bodhisattva at Mathurā in the reign of Huviska in *samvat* 33 (E. I. vol. 8 pp. 181-182); Inscription of a king Vāsu (rest of the name lost) of the year 74 (E. I. vol. 9 p. 241) and of the time of Śondasa (E. I. vol. 9 p. 246); seven Brahmi inscriptions from Mathurā and its vicinity (E. I. vol. 24 pp. 194-210) There is further an interesting inscription recording the dedication of a stone slab in the temple of Nāgendra Dadhikarna by Nandibala and other sons of some actor (Śailalaka) brothers of Mathurā (E. I. vol. I. at p. 390). From the Visnu-purāna VI. 8. 31 it follows that an image of Hari had been installed in Mathurā before that purāna was composed. The Vāyupurāna¹⁵⁶⁴ informs us in a prophetic vein that seven Nāga kings will rule over Mathurā, Prayaga, Saketa and Magadha before the Guptas. Alberuni's India (vol. II. p. 147) states that Mathurā (Mathurā) is crowded with brāhmanas.

From the above brief historical sketch it would appear that Mathurā was, five or six centuries before Christ, a flourishing city where the epic Hinduism prevailed, that later on Buddhism and Jainism dominated it, that there must have been a revival of Hinduism under the Nāga and Gupta emperors, that in the 7th century A. D., when Hiouen Thsang wrote, Hinduism and Buddhism were equally prominent and that in the 11th century A. D. it was completely dominated by the Brahmanic faith.

The Agnipurāna furnishes the strange information that Bharata at the command of Rāma killed three crores of the sons of Śailūsa in the city of Mathurā¹⁵⁶⁵. Mathurā has been

¹⁵⁶³ The generally accepted date for Kaniska is 78 A. D. Vide Journal of the Bihar and Orissa R. Society, vol 23 (1937) pp. 113-117 (by Dr. A Banerji-Sastri).

¹⁵⁶⁴ नव नाकास्तु (नागास्तु!) भोक्षन्ति पुरी चम्पावती दुष्याः। मथुरां च पुरीं रम्यां नागा भोक्षन्ति सप्त वै। अहङ्ग प्रयागं च सकैतं मगधांस्तथा। एताम् जनपदान्सर्वान् भोक्षन्ते शुसवंशजाः ॥ वायु 99. 382-83, Br. III, 74 194 Vide Jayaswal, 'History of India' (150-350 A. D.) pp 3-15 for the Nāga dynasty.

¹⁵⁶⁵ अहर्षुर्नथुरा काचिद्रामोक्तो भरतोवधीद्। कोटिवयं च कैलूपपुत्राणां निशितैः शरैः ॥ कैलूपं हृत्सगन्धर्वं सिन्धुतीरनिवासिनम्। अग्नि 11. 8-9 कैलूप also means an

(Continued on the next page)

the centre of Kṛṣṇa worship and of Bhāgavatism for over two thousand years. The Varāha-purāna devotes about one thousand verses to the greatness of Mathurā and its sub-tirthas (chap. 152-178). The Brhan-nārādiya, chapters 79-80, Bhāgavata X and Viṣṇu-purāna V-VI devote much space to Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, Mathurā, Vrndaavana, Govardhana and Kṛṣṇa's exploits there.

For want of space only a few verses about Mathurā will be set out here. The Padma (Ādikhanda 29. 46-47) says 'Yamunā gives mokṣa when united with Mathurā; Yamunā gives rise to great merit in Mathurā and when united to Mathurā it bestows devotion to Viṣṇu'. In the Varāhapurāna (152, 8, 11) Viṣṇu says 'There is no place either in the nether regions or on the earth or in mid air as dear to me as Mathurā. Mathurā is a famous ksetra of mine that confers *mukti*; no place is to me higher than it. It is my birth-place and it is lovely, commendable and dear to me'. The Padma says 'Mathuraka is a name extremely dear to Viṣṇu'. The Harivamśa contains a fine description of Mathurā, one verse from which may be quoted here 'Mathurā is the hump (i. e. the most eminent spot) of Madhyadeśa, it is simply the abode of the goddess of wealth, it is the horn (i. e. the most prominent part) of the earth, there is nothing like it and it is endowed with abundant wealth and agricultural produce'.¹⁵⁶⁶

The tract round about Mathurā is said to be 30 yojanas in extent and the city of Mathurā was in its midst¹⁵⁶⁷. The Varāhapurāna and the Nārādiya (uttarārdha) chapters 79-80 mention numerous tirthas in and about Mathurā. It is not possible to enumerate them here. A few important ones will be noticed briefly. Both Varāha (chap. 153 and 161 6-10) and Nārādiya (uttarārdha 79, 10-18) mention twelve forests near Mathurā viz. Madhu, Tala, Kumuda, Kāmya, Bahula, Bhadra,

(Continued from the last page)

actor Has this anything to do with a dispute between the followers of Bharata, the reputed author of the Nāṭyaśāstra, and other actors? The Nāṭyaśāstra chap. 17, 47 (G.O.S) prefers the dialect of Sūrasena for dramas. Vide my 'History of of Sanskrit Poetics' p 40 (1951).

1566. तस्मान्माधुरकं नाम विष्णोरेकान्तवह्नमम् । पद्म. IV. 69. 12, मधुवृक्षस्य कञ्जुदं धाम लक्ष्म्याश्च केवलम् । शृङ्गं पृथिव्याः स्वालक्ष्यं मधुतघनधान्यवत् ॥ हरिवंश, विष्णु-पर्व 57. 2-3.

1567. विंशतियोजनैर्माना इ माधुरं परिमण्डलम् । तन्मध्ये मधुरा जाम इती सर्वो-
त्तमोत्तमा ॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 79. 20-21.

Khādira, Mahāvana, Lohajangha, Bilva, Bhāndira and Vr̄ndāvana. There are also 24 upavanas enumerated by Growse on 'Mathurā' (p. 76) which are not mentioned by the Purānas but only by later works. Vr̄ndāvana¹⁵⁶⁸ was to the north-west of Mathurā on the Yamunā and was five yojanas in extent (Visnupurāna V. 6. 28-40, Nāradiya, uttarārdha 80. 6, 8 and 77). It was the scene of Kṛṣṇa's adventures and love-making. The Padma IV. 69 9 speaks of it as a portion of Vaikuntha on the earth. The Matsya (13. 38) identifies Rādhā in Vr̄ndāvana as Devī Dākṣāyanī.¹⁵⁶⁹ In Kālidāsa's day it had great fame. In Raghuvamśa VI, while describing Susena of the Nipa family, king of Śūrasena, Vr̄ndāvana is said to be no less charming than Caitraratha, the park of Kubera (verse 50). Then there is the Govardhana¹⁵⁷⁰ hill, which Kṛṣṇa lifted up on his little finger to afford shelter for seven days to the cowherds and their cattle against the heavy rains sent down by Indra (Visnupurāna V. 11. 15-25). It is stated in the Varāhapurāna (164 1) that Govardhana is about two yojanas from Mathurā to its west. This appears to be tolerably correct as at present it is 18 miles from Vr̄ndāvana. The Kūrma (I. 14 18) says that the very ancient king Pr̄thu performed austerities here. The details given in the Hari-vamśa and the Purānas are sometimes confused and misleading. For example, in the Hari-vamśa (Visnuparva 13. 3) it is stated that Tālavana is to the north of Govardhana on the Yamunā, while it is south-east of Govardhana. Kālidāsa refers to the caverns of Govardhana (Raghuvamśa 6. 51). Gokula is the same as Vraja or Mahāvana, where

1568 The पद्म (पाताल 75 8-14) puts an esoteric interpretation on कृष्ण, गोपीस and कालिन्दी. The गोपपत्न्य. are योगिनीस, कालिन्दी is सुपुत्रा, कृष्ण is सर्व-स्वायम् and so on

1569. Dey (p. 42) regards the identity of the modern Vr̄ndāvana which is only 6 miles from Mathurā (in the opposite direction to Gokula) with the ancient Vr̄ndāvana described in the Purānas as extremely doubtful on several grounds, the most cogent being that ancient Vr̄ndāvana and Mathurā appear to have been situated on opposite sides of the Yamunā, while modern Vr̄ndāvana and Mathurā are on the same side of the river. But the references he gives for this last statement viz Visnupurāna 5 18 33 and Bhāgavatapurāna X. 39. 34 do not in my opinion bear out what he says. The Nāradiya (II. 80 6-7) appears to say that Vr̄ndāvana is near Govardhana and along the Yamunā and Nandigrāma

1570. यमी पुण्या नदी यत्र पुण्यो गोवर्धनी गिरिः । तस्मिन् वृन्दावनात्पुण्यसम्पत्तं भुवि विद्यते ॥ कालिकल्पप्रभितानां विद्यासक्तचेतसाम् । मान्यद् वृन्दावनात्सेव्यमस्ति लोकैस्त्वपि त्रिषु ॥ नारदीय (उत्तर) 80. 104-105,

Kṛṣṇa was brought up in his early childhood by Nand-gopa who removed his habitation from Gokula to Vṛndāvana out of fear of what Kamsa might do. The great Vaiṣṇavite saint Caitanya visited Vṛndāvana (Caitanya-caritāmṛta canto 19 and 9th Act of the drama Caitanyaśāndrodaya, both by Kavikarna-pūra or Paramānandadāsa). In the 16th century Vṛndāvana became a centre of Caitanya's *bhakti* movement owing to the strenuous efforts and learned writings of the *Gosvāmīs* of Vṛndāvana, particularly Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva. Vide Prof. S. K. De's 'Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal' (1942) pp. 83-122. Vallabhācārya, who was a contemporary of Caitanya founded new Gokula, one mile to the south of Mahāvana in imitation of the ancient Gokula. Caitanya and Vallabhācārya met at Vṛndāvana (vide Manilal C. Parekh's work on Vallabhācārya p.161). The old temples of Mathurā met the same fate at the orders of Aurangzeb as the temples of Banaras.¹⁵⁷¹

The *Sabhāparva* (319, 23-25) narrates that Jarāsandha threw his mace from Girivraja (Rājgir in Bihar, the ancient capital of Magadha) and it fell in Mathurā at the distance of 99 *yojanas* before Kṛṣṇa and the place where it fell was thence called *Gadāvasāna*. I have not come across this name anywhere else.

Growse describes in chap. IX pp. 222 ff. the temples of Vṛndāvana and in chap. XI Govardhana, Barsān, the birth-place of Rādhā, and Nandgaon. Vide also 'Picturesque India' by W. S. Caine pp. 253 ff. for Mathurā and neighbouring holy places.

PURUṢOTTAMATĪRTHA (JAGANNĀTHA)

Much has been written about Puruṣottamatīrtha or Jagannātha, both in Sanskrit and in English. The following works in English may be consulted by those who desire to make a thorough study of the sacred place; W. W. Hunter's 'Orissa'

1571. Vide Elliott and Dowson's 'History of India as told by its own historians' vol. VII p. 184, where a passage from the 'Ma-Aṣṛ-i-Ālamgir' is translated to the effect that "Aurangzeb commanded the destruction of the Hindu temple at Mathurā known by the name of 'Dehra Kesu Rai' (which according to that work had been built at a cost of 23 lakhs of rupees) and soon that stronghold of falsehood was levelled with the ground and on the same spot was laid the foundation of a vast mosque."

vol. I pp. 81-167, Rajendralal Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa' vol II pp. 99-144, R. D Banerji's 'History of Orissa' (in two volumes, 1930), Gazetteer on Puri, vol. XX pp. 409-412.

There are four most important tīrthas in Orissa, viz. Bhuvaneśvara (or Cakratīrtha), Jagannātha (or Śankha-ksetra), Konārka (or Padma-ksetra), Yajpura or Jajpur (Gadāksetra). The first two are still held in high esteem, while the last two are altogether neglected.

Among the Purānas, Purushottama-tīrtha is extensively dealt with in the Brahma (chap. 41-70, about 1600 verses), in the Brhannāradya (uttarārdha chap. 52-61, 825 verses). Among digests, the Tīrtha-cintāmani of Vācaspati that devotes nearly one-third of the work to Purusottama-tīrtha (pp. 53-175) and that quotes about 800 verses from the Brahmapurāṇa on Purusottama, Raghunandana's Purusottama-tattva (which is brief and mostly based on the Brahmapurāṇa) and the Tīrthaprakāśa (pp. 561-594) may be mentioned. It is worthy of note that the Kalpataru (composed about 1110-1120 A. D.) does not describe Purusottama-tīrtha in its Tīrthakānda, though it speaks of a few little known tīrthas like Lohārgala, Sūtasvāmin and Kokāmukha.

Raghunandana in his Purusottama-tattva quotes a verse¹⁵⁷² (which as printed is corrupt) from the Rgveda that from the context appears to be addressed to some evil spirit (*alaksmi*) and means 'O evil spirit with a wicked looking chin (or that art difficult to be killed)! Have recourse to that far-off wood in the sea, that has no connection with human beings and go to distant lands with it'. Then he states that the Atharvaveda has a similar verse. Probably following Sāyana's inter-

1572. तथा 'आदौ पद्दारु ह्रस्वे सिन्धोः परे अपूरुषम् । तदालमस्व दुर्हृणो तेन थाहि परं स्थलम् ।' अस्व ध्याख्या साक्षपाचनभाष्ये । आदौ विप्रकृष्टदेशे वर्तमानं . अपूरुषं निर्मातृ-रहितत्वेन तदालमस्व दुर्हृणी हे होत . अथर्ववेदेपि । आदौ सिन्धोर्मध्ये अपूरुषम् । तदा ... स्थलम् । अत्रापि तथैवार्थः । मध्ये तीरे । दुर्योत्तमतच्च (Jiv vol, II p 563). The first verse is really Rg. X 155 3 अदौ . अपूरुषम् । तदा रभस्व दुर्हृणो तेन गच्छ पर-स्तरम् ॥ सायण takes this vedic verse as referring to दुर्योत्तम in the words पद्दारुं दारुमय दुर्योत्तमाख्यं देवताशरीरं . हे दुर्हृणो तु खल हननीय केनापि हन्तुमशक्य हे रतौतः आरभस्व अवलम्बस्व उपास्तेत्यर्थः . सायण mentions a predecessor's interpretation of this verse viz. that it is addressed to an evil spirit (*alaksmi*) and asks it to resort to a boat or a log of wood (as a scapegoat) and to go to a far-off region where there are no human beings. This interpretation is natural and suits the context very well I could not trace the verse in the Atharvaveda

pretation, Raghunandana connects this R̥gveda verse with Purusottama, the image of which is made of wood.

It would be proper to set out as briefly as possible the story of Jagannātha contained in the Brahmapurāna. In Bharatavarsa there is a country called Ondra situated on the shores of the southern ocean, which extends northwards from the sea up to Viraja-mandala¹⁵⁷³ (chap. 28. 1-2). In that country there is a holy place, destroyer of sins and bestower of *mukti*, surrounded on all sides by sand and ten yojanas in extent (chap. 42. 13-14). There is the famous shrine of Purusottama in the country of Utkala the whole of which is very holy owing to the favour of the all-pervading Jagannātha (chap. 42. 35-37). Men who reside in Utkala are blessed like gods since Purusottama resides there. Chapters 43 and 44 narrate the story of Indradyumna who ruled at Avantī (Ujjayinī) in Mālava (modern Mālwa). He was a very pious, learned and good king who after reading all Vedas, śāstras, epics, purānas and Dharmasūtras came to the conclusion that Vāsudeva was the highest Deity, started from his capital Ujjayinī with a vast army, servants, priests and artisans and came to the shores of the southern sea, saw the keetra of Vāsudeva, ten yojanas in breadth and five yojanas in length and encamped there. Formerly there was a Vata tree on the shores of the southern sea near which there was an image of Purusottama or¹⁵⁷⁴ Jagannātha made of sapphire, which became embedded in sand and was concealed by creepers and plants. King Indradyumna performed *Āsvamedha* there, erected a great temple (*prāsāda*) and was anxious to establish a suitable image of Vāsudeva in the temple. In a dream the king saw Vāsudeva who told him to go alone to the shore in the morning and cut the Vata tree growing just on the water line with an axe. The king did so in the morning and then two brahmanas (who were really Viṣṇu and Viśvakarmā) appeared. Viṣṇu told the king that his associate (Viśvakarmā) will manufacture the image. Three images of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā were made and given to the king and Viṣṇu further conferred the boon that the pool called

1573. Virajākeetra extends a little beyond Jāipur on the river Vaitarani in Orissa. On 'Kalūga, Odra and Utkala' vide R. D. Banerji's 'History of Orissa' vol. I, pp. 42-58.

1574 उत्तमः पुरुषो यस्मात्तस्मात्स पुरुषोत्तमः ॥ ब्रह्म 45.52; अस्मिन्कायतेने पुण्ये विद्यमाने पुरुषोत्तमे । इन्द्रनीलमयीं श्रेष्ठां प्रतिमां सार्वकामिकीं ॥ 45.71 । इन्द्रनीलमयो विष्णुर्धाराते वाटिकाद्वितः । अन्तर्धानगतं नत्वा ततो विष्णुपुरं प्रजेत् ॥ ब्रह्म 58.8.

Indradymna (where the king bathed at the end of his *Āsvamedha*) will be known by the king's name, that whoever took a bath once in it would go to *Indraloka*, and that whoever offered *pinḍas* on the bank of the pool would save 21 ancestors of his family. Then the king established the three images in the temple built by him.¹⁵⁷⁵ The *Skandapurāna* contains a *Purusottamamahātmya* in a sub-section called *Utkala-khaṇḍa* in its section *Vaiṣṇava-khaṇḍa*, where the story of *Indradymna* is given with some variations.

Stripping this story of the supernatural, it appears probable that the holy place *Purusottama* was called *Nilācala* in very ancient times, that *Kṛṣṇa* worship was introduced from Northern India at that place, and that three images of wood were established in comparatively early times. It may be stated here that in the *Maītrāyaṇī Upaniṣad*¹⁵⁷⁶ an *Indradymna* is named among a host of *cakravartins*. The *Kūrmapurāna* (II, 35, 27) makes a brief and colourless reference to *Purusottama* (*tīrtham Nārāyaṇasyānyat-nāmnā tu Purusottamam*). *Rajendralal Mitra* ('*Antiquities of Orissa*') surmises that there were three periods in the history of the *Purusottama-kṣetra*, viz. early Hindu period, the Buddhist period and the *Vaiṣṇava* period (after the 5th century A. D. when Buddhism began to wane). He notices that from about the 7th century A. D. considerable temple records on palm leaves exist, but that the temple records for the Buddhist period are untrustworthy (p. 104) and that there are indications that *Purī* was probably a place of Buddhist sanctuary (p. 107). The indications of the existence

1575. Vide Hunter's *Orissa* vol. I, pp. 89-94 for a somewhat different account based on *Kapilasambitā*, the most important points of which are that *Viṣṇu* shows to *Indradymna* as His image a log of wood thrown up by the ocean, that the images were being fashioned by the divine carpenter, that it was ordered that no one was to see them till they were ready and that in spite of this, the queen insisted on seeing them when they had been chiselled only up to the waist and when only stems stood in the place of the arms for the images of *Kṛṣṇa* and *Balarāma*, while the image of *Subhadrā* had no arms at all. The present images are to this day in the same condition. The images are described by *Rajendralal Mitra* in '*Antiquities of Orissa*' II, pp. 122-123. The story of इन्द्रद्युम्न occurs in *भारतीयपुराण*, उत्तरार्धे 52 41-93, 53-57, 58. 1-21, 60-61. *भारतीय* agrees very closely with the *Brahmapurāna* and seems to have borrowed its text from the latter.

1576. परेऽये महापृथ्वीराश्वक्रवर्तिनः केचित् सुद्युम्नसुरियुग्मेन्द्रद्युम्नकुवलयाम्ब-
पौवनाश्वप्रवम्बाश्वपतिशिशिविन्दुहारिश्चन्द्राम्बरीपिननकुसुर्पातियपात्यनरुणोक्षसेनादयः । नै-
त्रायण्यु. I. 4.

of Buddhism in Orissa are the existence of Aśoka's rock edicts on the Dhauli Hill (C. I. I. vol. I. pp. 84-100), the existence of many caves of the Buddhist period on the Khandagiri range about five miles to the west of Bhuvaneśvara, the procession of the car of Jagannātha which resembles the procession of Buddha's Tooth relic as described by Fa Hien (Hunter's Orissa, vol. I. p. 131-132) and the three crude wooden images of Kṛṣṇa, Subhadrā and Balarāma which are hardly found anywhere else and which correspond to the three peculiarities of Buddhism viz. Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. Vide Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa,' vol. II, pp. 122-126 (where he gives wood-cuts showing the figures of the images and comparing them with Buddhist symbols and Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography of India' pp. 510-511 (the remarks in which appear to me far-fetched). In J. R. A. S. vol. 18 at p. 402 (new series) Sewell thinks that the celebrated image of Jagannātha was originally one of the Trisūlas or developed Taurus symbols.

At present the sacred enclosure of Jagannātha is a square surrounded by a massive stone wall 20 feet high, 652 feet long and 630 feet broad with 120 temples containing various forms of God, 13 being temples of Śiva, some more of Pārvatī and a temple of the Sun. This clearly shows the catholicity of Jagannātha. Almost every form of Hindu faith is represented here. Even the Brahmapurāna gives expression to this tolerant view when it says that the holy Puruṣottama-kṣetra forbids all the wranglings between Śaivas and the devotees of Viṣṇu.¹⁵⁷⁶ The great Pagoda of Jagannātha has four chambers, the first being the Hall of Offerings (bhoga-mandira), the 2nd the pillared hall for music and dance (the nata mandira), the third the audience hall where pilgrims assemble (the Jaganmohana mandira) and the 4th the inner sanctuary. The great Pagoda of Jagannātha has a conical tower 192 feet high surmounted by a *cakra*¹⁵⁷⁷ and a flag. The

1576 a. जैवभागवतानां च वाहार्यमितिविधकम् । अस्मिन्क्षेत्रे इष्ये निर्मले सुषोचने ॥
शिवस्वायतनं देव करोमि परमं महत् । भक्तिं च तथा तत्र तत्र स्थाने च शङ्करम् ॥ ततो ज्ञान्यन्ति
लोकैस्त्रिमल्लोकसूतीं इरीश्वरो । प्रद्युम्नं जगन्नाथं स पुनस्तं महाशुभम् ॥... नावगौरान्तं
किञ्चिद्वेकभावा द्विधा कृतौ ॥ यो बद्रः स स्वयं विष्णुर्यो विष्णुः स महेश्वरः । ब्रह्मपुराण 56.
64-66 and 69-70.

1577. The *cakra* surmounting the temple is mentioned in the Brahma-purāna itself 'यात्रा करोति कृष्णस्य श्रद्धया यः समाहितः । सर्वपापानिर्मुक्तो विष्णुलोके
ब्रजेभारः ॥ चक्रं दद्याद्दत्तं तदासाद्योपरि सरिथतम् । सहसा कुर्यते पापान्तरो मक्याय मयम्
सत् ॥ chap. 51 70-71 = नारदीय {उ } 55. 10-11.

temple is situated at the distance of about seven furlongs from the sea shore and stands on a mound about 20 feet above the level of the surrounding ground, the mound being dignified by being called Nilagiri (the blue hill). There is a large gate-way on each side of the enclosure, that on the east being the most magnificent. On each side of the entrance there is a colossal crouching lion and hence the door-way is called *simha-dvāra* (lion gate).

There are certain peculiar features of the great shrine of Jagannātha. In the first place, in the court of Jagannātha and outside the Lion Gate no distinction of caste¹⁵⁷⁸ is observed. Jagannātha is the god of all people. The second special feature is that the holy rice cooked as offering to Jagannātha is regarded as so sanctified that all barriers of caste are transcended, so much so that a Puri priest will receive the holy food even from a low caste Hindu. The feeling is that cooked rice when once placed before Jagannātha never ceases to be pure. Hence the *Mahāprasāda* is dried, is taken to all parts of India and at the periodical *śrāddhas* among Vaiṣnavas a grain of this holy rice is invariably put on the cake as the most sacred article that can be offered to the Manes (vide Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa', vol. II p 199). The third special feature of Jagannātha is the car festival (*rathayātrā*) which is the most important of the 24 high^{1578a} festivals at Puri. The festival is described at length by Hunter in his 'Orissa', vol I pp. 131-134. The car festival starts on the 2nd day of the bright half of Āśāḍha. The car of Jagannātha is about 45 feet in height, 35 feet square and is supported on 16 wheels of 7 feet diameter with 16 spokes and has Garuda as a crest; the 2nd car is that of Subhadrā, which is a little smaller than Jagannātha's car, resting on 12 wheels with 12 spokes in each and having a *padma* (lotus) as a crest, the 3rd car is that of Balarāma resting on 14 wheels with 14 spokes in each wheel and has Hanūmān for crest. The cars are drawn by pilgrims and hired labourers from the temple to

1578 Hunter in 'Orissa' (vol. I. pp 135-136) notes that only 21 classes and castes (including Christians and Mahomedans) are excluded, they being mostly flesh-eating and animal-life destroying castes. Even the washerman and the potter whom Hunter includes in the list are allowed to enter the outer court.

1578a विद्यानिवास (in the middle of 15th century A.D. in Bengal) wrote a work called द्वादशयानायोपमाण on 12 festivals in 12 months connected with जगन्नाथ (vide No. 2429 in MM Haraprasad Sastri's Cat. of mss. vol. III.)

the country-house of Jagannātha (which is about two miles away) amidst the shouts and emotional songs of thousands of pilgrims. Owing to the references in English literature to the car of Jagannātha it is supposed by many that pilgrims used to throw themselves before the car in a religious frenzy and were killed. But there is hardly any truth in these suppositions. There might have been a few accidental deaths. Hunter in 'Orissa' (vol. I, pp. 133-34) scouts this idea of suicide under the car and Rajendralal observes (in 'Antiquities of Orissa', vol. II, p. 99) 'No Indian divinity has a more unenviable notoriety in English Literature than Jagannātha. It is certain, nevertheless, that human conception has never realized a more innocent and gentle divinity than Jagannātha and the tenets of his votaries are the very reverse of sanguinary or revolting. Never was opprobrium more unjustly cast on an inoffensive object than in this instance and none merited it less'. On the 10th day of the bright half begins the return of the car from the country house.

According to Rajendralal Mitra the oldest temple in Puri is that of Alābukeśvara built by Lalāstendu Kesari (623-677 A. D.), the builder of the tower of Bhuvaneśvara; the next oldest is Mārkandeśvara and next comes the great temple of Jagannātha (vol. II, p. 113). Manmohan Chakravarti in his paper on the 'date of Jagannātha temple in Puri' (J. A. S. B., vol. 57 for 1898, part 1 pp. 328-331) quotes two verses from the Gangavamsa copper plates of Orissa which state that Gangeśvara alias Codaganga built the great temple of Purusottama¹⁵⁷⁹. As Codaganga's coronation took place in śaka 999 (i. e. 1078 A. D.) according to M. M. Chakravarti, he put forward the view that the *pūsāda* of Jagannātha was built about 1085-1090 A. D. Dr. D. C. Sirkar (in 'God Purusottama at Puri' J. O. R., Madras vol. 17 pp. 209-215) points out that the celebrated Oriya Chronicle *Mādālū-pāñjī* attributes the construction of Purusottama Jagannātha not to Codaganga but to his great-grandson Ananga-bhīma III, who also installed an image of Purusottama in a temple at Vārānasi-Kataka (modern Outtack)

1579. आसाद पुंश्वरोत्तमस्य वृषति को नाम कर्तुं क्षमस्तस्येत्याद्यद्वैल्लेखितमयं चक्रेषु गङ्गेश्वर ॥ These verses establish that the shrine of Purusottama existed long before the date of the inscription and that the kings who preceded Codaganga did not care to build a befitting temple. It appears that Codaganga built only the minor sanctum and the Jaganmohana i. e. the first maṇḍapa (vide R. D. Banerji's 'History of Orissa' vol. I, p. 251).

which was desecrated by Sultan Firuz Shah (vide Elliot and Dowson's 'History of India', vol III, pp 312-315). These Ganga kings built magnificent temples at Bhuvaneśvara (ancient Ekamra), Konārka and Puri, which are the finest surviving specimens of North Indian Hindu Architecture. Mitra ('Antiquities of Orissa' vol. II, pp. 109-110) and Hunter ('Orissa' vol. I pp. 100-102) note that Ananga-bhīma wanted to eclipse the grand tower of Bhuvaneśvara and renovated the temple of Jagannātha in *śaka* 1119 (i. e. 1198 A. D).¹⁵⁸⁰

The temple of Jagannātha has an army of attendants. They are divided into 36 orders and 97 classes. At the head was the Raja of Khurdha who called himself the 'sweeper of Jagannātha' (vide Hunter's 'Orissa', vol I p 128).

As in Banaras, so here also there are five important tirthas,¹⁵⁸¹ viz. the pool of Mārkaṇḍeya, the Vata tree (identified with Kṛṣṇa), Balarāma, the sea and Indradyumna pool. A few words may be said here about each. The story of Mārkaṇḍeya is narrated in Brahmapurāna, chapters 52-56 and in Nṛsimha-purāna 10.21 ff (briefly). In chap. 56, 72-73 Viṣṇu asks Mārkaṇḍeya to build a temple of Śiva to the north of Jagannātha and to construct a sacred pool which thenceforward was to become known as 'Mārkaṇḍeya's pool'. The Brahmapurāna provides that the pilgrim should bathe in Mārkaṇḍeya's pool, dip his head thrice, utter a mantra (chap. 57. 3-4), then he should perform *tarpana*, go to the temple of Śiva (called Mārkaṇḍeśvara) and worship him with the Mūlamāntṛa¹⁵⁸² viz. 'Om namaḥ Śivāya', then with another mantra called Aghora and a Paurāṇic mantra. The pilgrim should, after a bath in Mārkaṇḍeya's pool and visit to the temple of Śiva, repair to the sacred Vata, circum-ambulate it

1580 'शकाब्दे रत्नशुभ्राशुभ्ररूपनक्षत्रनायके । मासादं कारयामासानङ्गमीनेन धीमता ॥
Vide Mitra's work vol. II p 110 and 'History of Orissa' by R. D. Banerji vol I, p. 248 for the date of Codaganga's accession taken from his own inscription of *śaka* 1003 (1081 A. D)

1581 मार्कण्डेयं वदं कृष्ण रौहिण्यं महोदधिम् । इन्द्रद्युम्नसरश्चैव पञ्चतीर्थीविधिः
स्मृत. ॥ ब्रह्म 60. 11.

1582 मूलमन्त्रेण संपूज्य मार्कण्डेयस्य चेश्वरम् । अघोरेण च भो विद्या प्रणिपत्य
प्रसादयेत् ॥ त्रिलोचन नमस्तेस्तु नमस्ते शशिभूषण ! त्रहि मा त्वं विरूपाक्ष महादेव नमोऽस्तु
ते ॥ ब्रह्म 57. 7-8 = नारदीय (उ) 55 18-19. The ती त्वि p 88 states, that the
अघोरमन्त्र 15 'ओ अघोरेभ्यो घोरेभ्यो घोरतरभ्यः, सर्वेभ्यः सर्वसर्वेभ्यो नमस्तेस्तु रुद्ररूपेभ्यः'.

thrice, worship it with the mantra ¹⁵⁸³ noted below. It may be noted that the Brahmapurāna 157 17 expressly states that the Vata is Visnu Himself in that form (nygrodhākritikam Visnum pranipatyā). The Vata is also styled Kalpavṛkṣa (Brahma 57. 12, 60. 18). The pilgrim should bow to Garuḍa standing in front of Kṛṣṇa and then worship Kṛṣṇa, Sankarsana and Subhadrā with mantras. The mantras for Sankarsana are verses 22-23 of Brahmapurāna chap. 57 and that for Subhadrā is chap. 57. 58 ¹⁵⁸⁴. The mantra to be used in the worship of Kṛṣṇa is either of 12 syllables (om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya) or of eight syllables (om namo Nārāyanāya). Brahmapurāna chap. 57 verses 42-51 specify the various rewards of seeing Kṛṣṇa with devotion and wind up by promising mokṣa ¹⁵⁸⁵. A bath in the sea at Puri is always commendable, but particularly on the Full Moon day (Brahma 60. 10). Brahma chap. 62 deals at length with the bath in the sea (the whole of it except one verse being quoted by Tir. C, pp. 126-128). The Indradyumna pool has been mentioned above (pp. 694-95). The pilgrim has to bathe in the Indradyumna pool, perform *tarpana* for gods, sages and *pitrs* and offer *pindas* to his ancestors (chap 63. 2-5).

In the Govindapur stone Inscription of the post Gangādhara (E. I. vol. II. p. 330) of *śaka* 1059 i. e. (1137-38 A. D.) there is a clear reference to Puruṣottama ¹⁵⁸⁶

The Brahmapurāna chap 66 speaks of the Gundicāyātrā for seven days on the bank of the Indradyumna pool in a *mandapa* where reside (temporarily) Kṛṣṇa, Sankarsana and Subhadrā. The Tir. C. which quotes the whole of that chapter (pp. 157-159), calls it Gundikā, while in the drama Caitanya-

1583. ओं नमोऽप्यक्षरूपाय महामलयकारिणे । महद्रस्तोपविष्टाय स्वश्रीपाय नमोस्तु ते ॥ अमरस्त्वं सदा कल्पे हरेश्चायतनं वद । स्वश्रीध हर ने पाय कल्पवृक्ष नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ब्रह्म. 57 13-14 = नारदीय (उ.) 55. 24-25 (with slight variations).

1584. नमस्ते सर्वगे देवि नमस्ते शुभसौख्यदे । ज्ञादि मां पद्मपद्माक्षि कात्यायनि नमोस्तु ते ॥ ब्रह्म. 57. 58 = नारदीय (उ.) 55. 64.

1585. किं कार्यं बहुभिर्नन्दैर्नानाविभ्रमकारकैः । ओं नमो नारायणायेति मन्त्रं सर्वार्थसाधकं ॥ ब्रह्म 60 24 = नारदीय (उ.) 56. 35. किं चात्र बहुनांकेन माहात्म्ये तस्य भो द्विजाः ! दृष्ट्वा कुण्ठां नरो भक्त्या मोक्षं प्राप्नोति दुर्लभम् ॥ ब्रह्म 57. 51 = नारदीय (उ.) 55. 57.

1586. गत्वा श्रीधरपूजेत्तमं (भग)वयो ह्यद्य प्रतिष्ठाप्य पारमारुते पटीयसि लसञ्जम्ब्रु ब्रह्मनेहसि । सर्वस्वं विततार तपिसपिनुस्तोमः करोह्यासितैस्तोयेयं पितृत्स्य पर्वणि विभोः साहाय्यमाप क्षणम् ॥ verse 12 of E. I II at p. 334.

candrodaya¹⁵⁸⁷ it is styled Gundicā at the very beginning. It appears that Gundicā is the summer house of Jagannātha about two miles from the great Temple. The word is probably derived from *gundī*, which means a thick log of wood in Bengali and Uriya (vide Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa', vol. II, pp. 138-139) and has reference to the legend of a log of wood that Indradyumna found floating in the sea.

It may be noted that religious suicide at Purusottama is referred to in Brahmapurāna¹⁵⁸⁸ 'those who give up their body (life) in Purusottama-ksetra after mounting up the Vata tree or do so between the Vata and the ocean reach without doubt moksa. A man abandoning life, either intentionally or unintentionally, either on his way to Purusottama or in the cemetery or in the country house (of Jagannātha) or in the streets (of Jagannātha) or even anywhere else there secures moksa. Therefore men desiring moksa should by all means give up life at that holy place'.

The Brahmapurāna winds up by saying 'it is thrice¹⁵⁸⁹ true that that ksetra (Purusottama) is the greatest and highest

1587. सूत्रधारः । भगवतः श्रीगुरुपुत्रमस्य शुण्डिचायात्राया ... गजपतिना प्रताप-
रुद्रेणादिदोस्मि । ... सोयं नीलगिरीश्वर. सविभवो यात्रा च सा शुण्डिचा । चैतन्यचन्द्रोदय I.
(B I. series) The metre requires that the first two syllables in the name of
the Yātrā should be शुण्डि and चा and वा may have been easily confused by
the copyists of mss The नारदीय (च.) chap 61 40 ff quotes the whole of
ब्रह्म chap. 66 but reads शुण्डिचा The ब्रह्मपुराण reads 'ससाहं सरसस्तीरे तव राजन्
भविष्यति । शुण्डिना (शुण्डिचा?) नाम यात्रा मे सर्वकामफलमदा ॥ ये नां तत्रार्चयिष्यन्ति
अज्ञया मण्डपे स्थितम् । सङ्कर्षणं ह्यभद्रा च विधिवत्सुसमाहिता ॥ ... न तेषां दुर्लभं किञ्चित्
फलं यस्य यदीप्सितम् 166, 8-9 and 12 Some writers such as Nilāmbharādāsa in
his 'Deul-tola' state that Gundicā was the name of Indradyumna's queen
(Mahtab's 'History of Orissa' p 161). I owe this last reference to the kind-
ness of Dr Raghavan of Madras University.

1588. देहं त्यजन्ति पुरुषास्तत्र ये पुरुषोत्तमे । कल्पवृक्षं समासाद्य शुक्तास्ते नात्र
संशयः ॥ चटसागरयोर्मध्ये ये त्यजन्ति कलेवरम् । ते दुर्लभं परं मोक्षं प्राप्नुवन्ति न संशयः ॥ पश्चि
श्मज्ञाने शृङ्गमण्डपे वा रथयात्रदेशेऽपि यत्र कुत्र । इच्छन्निच्छन्पि तत्र देहं सत्यज्य मोक्षं
लभते मनुष्यः ॥ तस्मात्सर्वप्रयत्नेन तस्मिन् क्षेत्रे द्विजोत्तमाः । देहत्यागो नरैः कार्या सम्यक्प्रोक्षा-
भिकाङ्क्षिभिः ॥ ब्रह्म 177, 16, 17, 24, 25 The first three are quoted by ती. चि
p 175.

1589 सत्यं सत्यं पुनः सत्यं क्षेत्रं तत्परमं महत् । पुरुषाख्यं सकृद् दृष्ट्वा सागराम्भ-
समाहृतम् । ब्रह्मविद्यां सकृज्ज्ञात्वा गर्भवासी न विद्यते । ब्रह्म 70. 3-4 (= नारद, उत्तरार्ध 52.
25-26) quoted in ती. चि p. 56 which reads सागराम्भ.सकृन्मृतम् and remarks
'एतत्क्षेत्रदर्शनस्य, सागराम्भसि मरणस्य, तथा ब्रह्मविद्याबोधस्य च प्रत्येकं गर्भवासाभावः
फलमित्यर्थः ।'

tirtha. A person has not to lie again in the womb after once visiting Purusottama which is laved by the waters of the sea or by once attaining the knowledge of *brahma*.

The great Vaisnava saint, Caitanya, settled permanently at Puri in 1515 A. D. at the age of thirty and spent eighteen years there till 1533 (when he died). He appears to have made a great impression on the Gajapati king Pratāparudra-deva, ruler of Orissa (1497-1549 A. D.). In the drama Caitanya-candrodaya of Kavikarnapūra the king is shown to be so anxious for meeting the saint that he declares that he would die if the gracious glance of the saint did not fall on him.¹⁵⁹⁰ This should be attributed to the inveterate habit of gross exaggeration rampant in most Sanskrit writers, particularly amongst devotees and followers of great saints. Caitanya came to be worshipped along with Visnu as a deity in Puri and Orissa (vide Hunter's 'Orissa' vol. I. p. 109). Kavikarnapūra in his drama (8th Act) makes Sarvabhauma say that there is no distinction between God Jagannātha and Caitanya, the only difference being that Jagannātha is 'darubrahma' (Godhead manifested in a wooden image) and Caitanya is 'narabrahma' (Godhead in human form).¹⁵⁹¹ The Caitanyacaritāmṛta (a poem) of Kavikarnapūra in cantos 14-18 deals with the devotional and ecstatic life of Caitanya at Puri and presents a vivid picture of Ratha and other festivals of Jagannātha in which Caitanya took a prominent part. I agree with Dr. S. K. De that there is no satisfactory evidence to show that Pratāparudra was actually converted into the new faith ('Vaisnava faith and movement in Bengal' p. 67).

One regrettable feature of the great temple of Jagannātha is the existence of some obscene and lascivious sculptures that disfigure the walls of the temple and the presence of dancing girls with rolling eyes, to which pointed reference is made by all writers, particularly European ones (vide, for example, Indian Antiquary vol. I. p. 322, Hunter's 'Orissa', vol. I pp. 111, 135). The presence of dancing girls is a legacy from the past. The Brahmapurāna (chap. 65) in describing the special *snāna* (bath) festival of Jagannātha on the full moon day of

1590. अतः परं चेतस न वीक्षते मां न धारयित्वा पत जीवन् च । चैतन्यचन्द्रोदय 8th Act p. 187.

1591. 'भगवन्, जगन्नाथस्य भवतश्च कृष्णचैतन्यत्वमविशिष्टमेव तथाप्यतित् कश्चिद्देव । असौ दासब्रह्म भवान् नरब्रह्म ।' सार्वभौम in चैतन्यचन्द्रोदय 8th Act p. 167.

Jyestha mentions, along with the beating of drums and the music of the flute and the lute and the chanting of holy Vedic mantras, handsome veśyas as *chowrie*-bearers in front of the images of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa. ¹⁵⁹²

NARMADĀ

Next to the Ganges the most sacred rivers of India are the Narmadā and the Godāvarī. A few words about each of these may be said here.

An express reference to the Narmadā has not so far been traced in the Vedic Literature. The Śatapatha Br. (XII 9 3. 1) refers to one Revottaras who was a Pātava Cakra and śihapati (a chief) and whom the Srñjayas expelled (SBE vol. 44 p. 269) ¹⁵⁹³. Revā is another name for Narmadā ¹⁵⁹⁴ and it is possible to say that Revottaras was named after Revā. A *vārtika* on Pān. IV. 2. 87 derives the word Māhismat (as the name of a country) from 'Māhisa'. This is generally identified with Māhismatī (on the Narmadā). So the name Narmadā was probably known to the author of the Vārtikas (about the middle of the 4th century B. C.) The Raghuvamśa VI. 43 speaks of Māhismatī as the capital of Anūpa on the bank of the Revā (i. e. Narmadā).

The Narmadā is frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata and some of the Purāṇas. The Matsya (chapters 186-194, 554 verses), Kūrma (Uttarārdha, chapters 40-42 verses 189), Padma Ādikhaṇḍa (chap 13-23, 739 verses, most of which are the same as in the Matsya) deal with greatness of Narmadā and the tīrthas thereon ¹⁵⁹⁵. The Matsya (194. 45) and Padma (Ādikhaṇḍa 21. 44) state that from the place where the Narmadā falls into the sea up to the Amara-kantāka mountain (where it rises) there are ten crores of sacred places, while the Agni-purāna (113. 2) and Kūrma II. 40. 13 raise the number to 60 crores and 60 thousand. The Nāradya (uttarārdha chap 77)

1592 सुनीनां वेदशब्देन मन्त्रशब्दैस्तथापरैः । जानास्तोत्ररवैः पुण्यैः सामशब्दोपबृंहितैः ।
इयामैवेद्ययजनीश्वैव कुचभारावनामिभिः । पीतरक्ताम्बराभिश्च मलयदागवनामिभिः ... चामरैः
रत्नदण्डैश्च वीज्येते रामकेशवौ ॥ ब्रह्मपुराण 65 15, 17, 18.

1593. रेवोत्तरसु ह पाटवं चाक स्थपतिं सृजया अपरुक्नुः । शतपथना XII. 9. 3 1.

1594. रेवा तु नर्मदा सोमोद्भवा मेकलकन्यका । अमरकोश.

1594 a It may be noted that the earliest extant digest, viz Kalpataru on tīrthas (pp. 198-205) quotes verses only from the Matsyapurāna, chapter 186-189 (in all about 70 verses on Narmadā) and from no other source.

says (verse 1) that there are 400 principal tirthas on both banks of the Narmadā, but from Amara-kantaka three crores and a half (verses 4 and 27-28).¹⁵⁹⁵ The Vanaparva (in chap. 188 103 and chap. 222, 24) mentions the Narmadā along with the Godavari and other rivers of the south. In the same parva (chap. 89. 1-3) it is stated that the holy Narmadā is in the Ānarta country¹⁵⁹⁶, that it is endowed with *priyāngu* creepers and mango groves, that it has strings of Vānira fruit, that it flows to the west and that all the holy places in the three worlds come for a bath to the Narmadā. The Matsya and Padma declare¹⁵⁹⁷ that the Ganges is holy in Kanakhala, the Sarasvatī in Kuruksetra, but the Narmadā is holy everywhere whether in a village or in a forest and that the Narmadā purifies the sinner by its very sight while the waters of the Sarasvatī do so by three baths (on three days), of the Yamunā (by baths) in seven days and of the Ganges by a single bath. The Visnudharmasūtra (85.8) in enumerating a list of tirthas that are eminently fit for śrāddha includes the banks of the Narmadā throughout the whole length among them. The Narmadā is said¹⁵⁹⁸ to have started from the body of Rudra which is a poetic way of saying that it rises from Amarakantaka that is said to be the abode of God Maheshvara and his spouse (Matsya 188 91). The Vāyupurāna declares that the holy Narmadā, the best of rivers, is the daughter of the pitrs and the śrāddhas offered on it become inexhaustible¹⁵⁹⁹. The Matsya and Kūrma both say

1595. Though रेवा and नर्मदा are generally used as synonyms it is found that the भागवतपुराण in V 19 18 enumerates them separately (तापो रेवा सुरसा नर्मदा) and the वासनपुराण (13. 25 and 29-30) states that the Revā springs from विन्ध्य and नर्मदा from ऋक्षपाद सार्धत्रिकोटितीर्थानि गदितानीए वासुना । दिवि क्षुण्णस्तरिषे च रेवाया तानि सन्ति च । नारदीय (उ) 77, 27-28. Vide note 1268 above for similar eulogy of the Ganges.

1596. Ānarta appears to be the ancient name of Gujarat and Kathiawar together. In the Udyogaparva Dvārakā is called Ānarta-nagari (7. 6) As Narmadā is said to flow through Ānarta it must be supposed that in the times of the Great Epic Ānarta included both southern Gujarat and Kathiawar.

1597. पुण्या कनखले गङ्गा कुण्डेने सरस्वती । ग्रामे वा यदि वारुण्ये पुण्या सर्वत्र नर्मदा ॥ त्रिभिः सारस्वतं तोयं समाहृतं तु वासुनम् । ग्रामे वा यदि वारुण्ये पुण्या सर्वत्र नर्मदा ॥ मत्स्य 186 10-11 = पद्म, आदिखण्ड 13.6-7 = कूर्म II. 40 7-8 Vide note 1271 above and compare नारदीय (उत्तरार्धे 77. 30-31) for the 2nd verse.

1598. नर्मदा सरिता श्रेष्ठा रुद्रदेहाद्भिनि सृता । तारयेत्सर्वसृतानि रथावरणि चराणि च ॥ मत्स्य 190. 17 = कूर्म II. 40. 5 = पद्म (आदि. 17. 13).

1599. पितृणां दुहिता पुण्या नर्मदा सरिता वरा । तत्र श्राद्धानि दत्तानि अक्षयानि भवन्त्युत ॥ वासु 77 32.

that the river Narmadā has a course of complete 100 yojanas and its breadth is two yojanas¹⁶⁰⁰. Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar seizes upon the length of 100 yojanas and says (on p. 199 note 4 of his edition of Kalpataru on Tirtha in G. O. S.) that the Matsya is very accurate, since the length of the Narmadā is now found to be about 800 miles. But he forgets that the breadth is said to be two yojanas (i. e. 16 miles on the scale for a yojana adopted by him). It is not shown how and where (except at the mouth if at all) the Narmadā is 16 miles in breadth in its long course. Both Matsya and Kūrma state that the Narmadā is (rises) from Amarakantaka which is to the western side of the country of Kalinga.¹⁶⁰¹

The Visnupurāna provides that if a man repeats day and night and whenever he has to go inside a dark place the mantra 'Salutation to Narmadā in the morning | salutation to Narmadā at night | O Narmadā! salutation to you; save me from poisonous serpents'¹⁶⁰² he has no danger from serpents.

It is stated in the Kūrma and the Matsya that a man who commits suicide by entering fire or water or by fasting (on some of the tirthas on the Narmadā or on Amarakantaka) does not return (to this samsāra).¹⁶⁰³

The Narmadā is mentioned as Namados by Ptolemy (p. 102). One of the earliest inscriptional references to it occurs in the Eran stone pillar Inscription of Budhagupta in 165 of Gupta era i. e. 484-85 A. D. Vide C. I. I. vol. III, at p. 89.

Several rivers are mentioned as falling into the Narmadā such as Kapilā (on the south bank, Matsya 186. 40, Padma I. 13. 35), Viśalyā (Matsya 186. 46 = Padma II. 13. 35-39), Erandī (Matsya 191. 42-43, Padma I. 18. 44), Iksu-nādī (Matsya 191. 49, Padma I. 18. 47), Kāveri (Matsya 189. 12-13,¹⁶⁰⁴ Padma I. 16. 6).

1600. योजनानां शतं सार्यं श्रूयते सरिद्रुक्षमा । विस्तारेण तु राजेन्द्र योजनद्वयमापता ॥
कूर्म II 40. 12 = मत्स्य 186. 24-25 The अग्नि also (113, 2) gives the same measurements.

1601. कालिङ्गदेशपश्चार्धे पर्वतेऽमरकण्टके । पुण्या च त्रिषु लोकेषु रमणीया मनोरमा ॥
कूर्म II. 40. 9, मत्स्य. 186 12.

1602. नर्मदायै नमः शतं नर्मदायै नमो निशि । नमोस्तु नर्मदे हुम्बं जाह्नवे मां
विपसर्पतः ॥ विष्णुपुराण IV. 3 12-13.

1603. अनाशकं तु यं कुर्यात्सिन्धुतीर्थे नराधिप । गर्भवासे तु राजेन्द्र न पुनर्जायते
पुमान् ॥ मत्स्य. 194. 29-30, परित्यजति यः प्राणान् पर्वतेऽमरकण्टके । वर्षकोदिशतं सार्यं
रुद्रलोके महीयते ॥ मत्स्य. 186. 53-54.

1604. The northern branch of the Narmadā where the island Omkāra is situated is called Kāveri (Bom G vol. 9 p. 295). Vide in the list under Omkāra

Many sub-tirthas are enumerated, out of which two or three may be mentioned here. One is Mahēśvara-tirtha (i. e. Omkāra) from where Rudra is said to have burnt down with an arrow the three cities of Bānāsura (Matsya 188. 2 ff, Padma I, 15 2 ff), Śukla-tirtha (highly praised in Matsya 192. 3 ff about which it is said that the *rājarsī* Cānakya ¹⁶⁰⁵ attained perfection there), Bhrgutirtha (at the very ¹⁶⁰⁶ sight of which a man becomes free from sin, a bath in which leads to heaven and death at which ensures non-return to *samsāra*), the Jāmadagnya-tirtha (where the Narmadā ¹⁶⁰⁷ falls into the sea and where Lord Janārdana secured perfection). The mountain Amarakantaka is a tirtha that dispels all sins including brāhmana-murder and it is one yojana all round in extent (Matsya 189. 89, 98). The most important place on the Narmadā is, however, Māhismatī, about the exact location of which scholars have differed. The general consensus of opinion is that Māhismatī is to be identified with Omkāra Māndhatā, an island in the Narmadā about 40 miles south of Indore. It has a long history. Moggaliputta Tissa is said in Buddhist works to have sent missionaries to several countries in the reign of Aśoka (about 247 B. C.), one of which was sent to Mahisamandala. Dr. Fleet in his paper 'Mahisamandala and Māhismatī' (in J. R. A. S. for 1910 pp. 425-447) assigns cogent reasons for identifying Mahisamandala and Māhismatī. Māhismatī was well-known to the Mahābhāṣya, ¹⁶⁰⁸ from a passage in which it follows that by a forced march a person starting from Ujjayinī could reach Māhismatī the next morning. Kalidāsa describes it as surrounded by Revā (Raghuvamśa VI 48). Māhismatī is mentioned as being on

1605. शुक्लतीर्थे महापुण्यं नर्मदायां व्यवस्थितम् । चाणक्यो नाम राजर्षिः सिद्धिं तत्र समागतः ॥ मत्स्य 192. 14 = पञ्च. I 19. 13-14 (reads चाणिक्यो) । शुक्लतीर्थे is about 10 miles to the east of Broach. राजर्षिः probably means here राज्ञः ऋषिः and not राजा चांसौ ऋषिश्च.

1606 उपासते भृगोस्तीर्थे वृद्धो यत्र महेश्वरः । दर्शनात्सत्य तीर्थस्य सद्यः पापल-
ह्यन्ते ।.. तत्र स्नात्वा दिवं यान्ति ये श्रुतास्तेऽनुनर्भवाः ॥ मत्स्य 193 49-50, 52.

1607 ततो गच्छेच्च राजेन्द्र नर्मदादधिसङ्गमम् ॥ जामदग्न्यनिती ख्यात सिद्धौ यत्र जनार्दनः ॥ मत्स्य 194. 34-35.

1608. चित्रीकरणे मात्सर्यं कृदन्ताणिञ्च वक्तव्यः ।... उज्जयिन्या प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां सुषोडशमनं सम्भावयते घृयंशुद्धमयतीति । महाभाष्ये on वार्तिके 10 (चित्रीकरणे प्राप्ति) on पा. III. 1 26. चित्रीकरणे means when surprise or wonder is to be conveyed. It is surprising if a man were to say that starting from Ujjayinī on foot he would reach Māhismatī the next day at sunrise. The distance between the two would be more than 60 miles

the Narmadā or Revā in Udyogaparva 19. 23-24, 166. 4, Anuśāsana 166. 4, Bhāgavata X. 79. 21, Padma II. 92. 32.

Another ancient city is Bharukaccha or Bhṛgukaccha (modern Broach) for which the entry in the list may be consulted.

GODĀVARĪ

No mention of Godāvari has so far been found in the Vedic Literature. In Buddhist works there are traditions about Bavari, who was a purohita of Mahākosala and then of Pasenadi, who resided in Assaka's territory in the vicinity of Alaka on the Godāvari and who is said to have sent several disciples to Buddha at Śrāvastī (vide Suttanipāta, S. B. E. vol. X part 2 pp. 184 and 187). The *Vārtika* 'Sankhyāyā nadi-godāvāri-bhyām ca' on Pān. V. 4.75, expressly mentions Godāvari and has in view 'Saptagodāvāra'. The two Epics and Purānas contain numerous references to it. The *Vanaparva*¹⁶⁰⁹ mentions it as a holy river in the south, abounding in gardens and full of water and resorted to by hermits performing austerities. The *Aranyakānda* of the Rāmāyana (13.13 and 21) speaks of the country well-known as 'Pāñcavati' frequented by herds of deer which is near the Godāvari and about two yojanas from Agastya's hermitage. It is in the *Brahmapurāna* that the Godāvari and the subsidiary tirthas on it have been lauded at great length in chapters 70-175. The *Tirthasāra* (a part of *Nrsimhaprasāda*) quotes about 60 verses from chapters 89, 91, 106, 107, 116-118, 121, 122, 128, 131, 144, 154, 159, 172 of the *Brahmapurāna*, which fact shows that the chapters on *Gautamī* in the present *Brahmapurāna* were part of the *Brahmapurāna* at least some centuries before 1500 A. D. Vide my paper in *J. B. B. R. A. S.* for 1917 p 27-28. The *Brahmapurāna* generally refers to the Godāvari as *Gautamī*.¹⁶¹⁰ It is stated by the *Brahmapurāna* that the Ganges to the south of the Vindhya mountain is called *Gautamī* and to its north *Bhāgirathī*. The Godāvari is said to be 200 yojanas long and there are three crores and a half of

1609. यस्यामास्यायते पुण्या दिशि गोदावरी नदी । चदारामा बहुजला तापसाचरिता शिवा ॥ वनपर्व 88 2. इतो द्वियोजने तात बहुमूलफलोद्भक्तः । देवो बहुसुग. श्रीमत् पञ्चवत्य-भिरिच्छत । ... गोदावरी. समीपे च मैथिली तत्र रंस्यते ॥ रामायण III 13. 13 and 21.

1610. विन्ध्यस्य दक्षिणे गङ्गा गौतमी सा निगद्यते । उत्तरे सापि विन्ध्यस्य भागीरथ्य-भिधीयते । ब्रह्म 78. 77 q. in तीर्थसार p. 45

tīrthas on it.¹⁶¹¹ Dandakāranya is said to be the seed (source or cause) of dharma and *mūlā* and the country embraced by the Gautamī is specially the holiest.¹⁶¹² A verse occurring in several purānas states 'These countries (of Madhyadeśa) are immediately next to the mountain Sahya: thereon is Godāvari and that country is the most charming in the whole world. There is Govardhana there which is (like) Mandara and Gandhamādana'.¹⁶¹³ Brahma-purāna (chapters 74-76) narrates how Gautama brought the Ganges from the matted hair of Śiva to Brahmagiri where he had his hermitage and how Gaṇeśa helped in the task by means of a ruse. The Nārada-purāna (uttarārḍha 72) narrates that no rain fell for 12 years while Gautama practised *tapas*, that owing to famine all sages came to Gautama's hermitage, that he brought Gaṅgā to his hermitage, that he sowed śālī grains in the morning and reaped the crop by midday, that this went on till there was plenty of rain and crops, that Śiva appeared to him, that Gautama prayed that Śiva should stay near his hermitage and that hence the hill on which Gautama had his hermitage came to be called Tryambaka (verse 24). Varāha (71. 37-44) also says that Gautama brought Jāhnavī to Dandaka and the river became Godāvari. The Kūrma (II. 20. 29-35) mentions a long list of rivers and other sacred places and winds up by saying that the Godāvari is pre-eminently a place for performing śrāddha. It is stated in the Brahma-purāna that for the removal of all kinds of distress two alone are declared (as the means) viz. the holy river Gautamī or Śiva who is full of compassion.¹⁶¹⁴ The Brahma-purāna describes about a hundred tīrthas on the Godāvari, such as Tryambaka (79. 6), Kuśāvarta (80, 1-3), Janasthāna (88. 1), Govardhana (chap. 91), Pravarāsangama

1611. तिग्ना कोट्योर्धकोटी च योजनाना शतद्वये। तीर्थानि हुनिशार्दूल सम्भविष्यन्ति गौतम। ब्रह्म० 77. 8-9.

1612. धर्मबीजं सुक्तिबीजं दण्डकारण्यमुच्यते। विज्ञेयाद्गतमीक्षिण्यो देवः पुण्य-तनोऽभवत्॥ ब्रह्म० 161.73.

1613. सहायानन्तरे चैते तत्र गोदावरी नदी। पृथिव्यामपि कुल्लया स मदेवो मनोरमः॥ यत्र गोवर्धनो नाम मन्दरो गन्धमादनः। मत्स्य 114. 37-38 = वासु 45. 112-113 (reads सहाय्य चोत्तरार्थे तु and नाम सुरराजेन निर्मितः) = भाष्ये 54. 34-35 = ब्रह्माण्ड II. 16. 43 (सहाय्य चोत्तरान्तेषु and तत्र गोवर्धनं नाम पुरं रामेण निर्मितम्)। ब्रह्म 27 43-44 read सहाय्य चोत्तरे यस्तु and गोवर्धनपुरं रम्यं आर्गवस्य महात्मनः।

1614. सर्वदुःखापनोदाय ह्यमेव प्रकीर्तितम्। गौतमी वा पुण्यनदी शिवो वा करुणा-करः॥ ब्रह्म. 124. 93.

(106) and Nivāsapura¹⁶¹⁵ (106. 55), Vañjarāsaṅgama (159) but they have to be passed over from considerations of space. A few words must, however, be said about Nasik, Govardhana, Pañcavatī and Janasthāna. Nasik must have existed at least 200 years before Christ. An Inscription on one pillar of the railing at Bharhut *stūpa* (about 200 B. C.) records the gift of Goraksitā of Nasik, the wife of Vasuka.¹⁶¹⁶ This is the earliest certain historical reference to Nasik discovered so far. The Mahābhāṣya¹⁶¹⁷ speaks of Nāsikya as a city. The Vāyupurāna (45,130) mentions Nāsikya as a country. The Nasik Inscriptions in the Paṇḍulēnā caves (Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 pp. 544-639 and E. I. vol. VIII pp. 59-96 edited by Senart) establish that Nasik was a prosperous place in the centuries before and after Christ. Ptolemy (about 150 A. D.) mentions Nasika (Ptolemy p. 156). It is not possible for reasons of space to go into the detailed history of Nasik, its bathing places and pools, its temples, pilgrimages and rites of worship. For these one may consult the Bombay Gazetteer, vol. 16 (for Nasik District). That volume states that there are about 60 temples in Nasik (pp. 503-512) and 16 in Pañcavatī and one the left bank of the Godāvari (pp. 512 ff). But hardly any really old temple has survived. In 1680 A. D. twenty-five temples at Nasik were destroyed by the Deccan Viceroy of Aurangzeb. Almost all the large temples that adorn Nasik were built during the times of the Peshwas of Poona (1750-1818). Three temples are specially worthy of mention, viz. the the Ramji temple in Pañcavatī and Nāro Shankar's temple (or Bell temple) on the left bank of the Godāvari near the first crossing and that of Sundara-nārāyana in Āditwar Peth at Nasik (p. 503). The Sitā-gumphā (Sitā cave) in Pañcavatī close to some very old and tall Banyan trees that are believed to have sprung from the five trees that gave the name to the

1615. शिवशायस्थोर्ध्वतस्तस्मिन्निवासोऽभूत्सनातन । अतो वदन्ति कुनयो निवासपुर-
मित्यद् । प्रवराया सुरा देवाः सुमीतास्ते वराव द्दुः ॥ ब्रह्म. 106 53-54. निवासपुर is
Newasa on the Pravara which falls into the Godāvari at the sacred place
called Toka. The great Marathi poet and saint Jñāneśvara wrote his commen-
tary on the Gītā at Newasa.

1616. Vide Bharhut *stūpa* (by Cunningham) p. 138 'नासिक-गोरखितय
धर्मो दानं बहुकस्त भारिपाय' (No 87).

1617. नासिकं नगरमिति सङ्घानादिषु पाठः करिष्यते । महाभाष्य vol III p. 42
on पा VI 1. 63. सङ्घाना occurs as one among many ganas in पा IV. 2. 80.
नासिक्य is derived from नासिका (nose) and was probably so named because
the nose of Sūrpanakhā was cut off by Lakṣmaṇa there.

place is a much frequented place. Not far from the Sitā-gumpha is the temple of Kālā Rāma, one of the finest modern temples in Western India. There are numerous bathing places and sacred pools (*kunḍas*) between Govardhana (6 miles to the west of Nasik) and Tapovana (1½ miles to south-east of Nasik). Vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 pp. 522-526 The holiest spot in Nasik is the Rāmakunda near the left bank of the Godāvāri where it takes its first bend to the south. For the Kālārāma daily services and the rites pilgrims have to perform at Nasik, vide Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 pp. 517-518 and 529-531 respectively. Rāmanavami is one of the great religious festivals at Nasik.

Govardhana town occurs several times in the long and famous Nasik Inscription of Usavādāta (No. 10 in Bombay Gazetteer vol. 16 p. 569-70).¹⁶¹⁸ As regards Pañcavati the place still goes by the same name. It is to be noted that in the Rāmāyaṇa III. 13. 13 Pañcavati is styled a *deśa* (country). Janasthāna was in Dandakāranya according to the Śalyaparva 39. 9-10, Rām. III. 21. 19-20, Nāradya-purāna II. 75. 30 and Agni 7. 2-3¹⁶¹⁹ and Pañcavati was part of Janasthāna. Janasthāna is said to be four yojanas in extent, and it is further stated that it was so called because kings of the Janaka line secured *mukta* there through the favour of the Godāvāri.¹⁶²⁰

A bath in the Godāvāri when Jupiter enters the sign of Leo has been regarded even up to the present day as very

1618. Nasik Cave Inscription No 20 in नासिककनं धंभिकगमनं दां (gift of Dhambhika village by the inhabitants of Nasik). Vide Bom. G. vol. XVI p. 590, E. I. vol. VIII at p. 72. Inscription No 22 in तद्वदगतमुलं कन्दे राजानि नासिककेन समणेन महामतेण लेण कारितं 'this cave was caused to be constructed by the great minister who is (now) a śramana, an inhabitant of Nasik, in the reign of King Kṛṣṇa of the Sātavāhana family.' Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 592. These two are the oldest inscriptions in the Pāñhāli-caves dating from at least 100 B. C. राज्ञः क्षत्रात्स्य क्षत्रपर्य नष्टानस्य जामात्रा दीनीकपुत्रेण उपवदातेन ... अरुकाच्छे दशहरे गोवर्धने शोर्धने च चतुःशालावमयतिश्रम-प्रदेन...दीण्डीतकावडे गोवर्धने सुवर्णहृदे शोर्धने च चतुःशालावमयतिश्रम-सहस्रप्रदेन गोवर्धने त्रिरादिमपु पर्वतेषु धर्मात्मना इदं लेणं कारितम् (Ins. No 10 in Bom. G. vol. 16 pp. 569-70 and E. I. vol. VIII at p. 78. गोवर्धन is at present a village near Nasik. Vide Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 636 for a note on गोवर्धन.

1619. (राम.) धनुः सप्तम्यं च समाप्तं दण्डकारण्यनागन. ॥ जनस्थाने पञ्चम्यं दिग्भ्यो गोदावरीतटे । अग्नि 7. 2-3.

1620 तथा जनकराजानो यद्वस्तव्यं कर्मणा ॥ सुक्तिं मायुर्महाभागं गौतमदाशु ममादृतं । ततः प्रयति वृत्तीर्षं जनस्थानेति विश्वतम् ॥ जनकानां यज्ञमदो जनस्थानं प्रतीत्यम् चतुर्षोऽजनिस्तीर्षं स्मरणात् सर्वपापयत् ॥ ब्रह्म. 89. 22-24.

meritorious.¹⁶²¹ The Brahmapurāna says that three crores and a half of tirthas that exist in the three worlds come for a bath in the Gangā when Jupiter is in Leo and that bathing in the Bhāgirathi (every day) for sixty thousand years (is equal) to bathing only once in the Godāvāri when Jupiter is in the Zodiacal sign Leo.¹⁶²² It is stated in the Varāhapurāna that when a man repairs to the sacred Godāvāri in *simhastha* year, takes a bath and offers *tarpana* (and *śrāddha*) to his pits the latter go to heaven if they are in hell and they attain final release if they are already denizens of heaven. Jupiter is in Leo for one year once in twelve years. Crowds of pilgrims throng at Nasik in their thousands from all parts of India in the *simhastha* year.

KĀŅCĪ (modern Conjeeveram).

Kāñcī is one of the seven holy cities of India (vide p. 678 n. 1535 above) and one of the most ancient towns in southern India. If we rely on the tradition recorded by Hiouen Tshang who stayed in Kāñcī about 640 A. D. it would follow that Buddha frequented the region around Kāñcīpura and that Kāñcī had a *stūpa* about 100 feet high built by Aśokarāja (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. II, p. 230). Hiouen Tshang informs us that Kāñcī was 30 *li* (or about 5½ miles) in circuit, that in his day there were eighty Deva temples and that there were many heretics called Nirgranthas (Beal's B. R. W. W. vol. II, pp. 228-229). The next important datum is the mention of Kāñcī-puraka (resident of Kāñcīpura) in the Mahābhāṣya on Vārtika 26 to Pan. IV. 2 104 (Kielhorn, vol II, p. 298). Several early records relating to the ancient history of the Pallavas of Kāñcī (of about 250 to 350 A. D.) have been published, such as the Mayidavolu plates of Yuvamahārāja Śīva-skandavarman (E. I. vol. VI p. 84), the Hirahadagalli Inscription of the 8th year (E. I. vol. I, p. 2), and the Talgunda Pillar Inscription of Kadamba Kākusthavarman (E. I. vol. VIII p. 24). The

1621 अत्र सिंहस्थे शुभे गोदावरीस्नानं कन्यागते कृष्णास्नानं महापुण्यम् । गोदावरीं पात्रिकाणां सुष्ठुनोपवासावावश्यकी न तु तत्तीरवासिनाम् ॥ धर्मसिन्धु p 7.

1622 तिस्र. कोट्योर्धकोटी च तीर्थानि भुवनत्रये । तानि स्नातुं समायान्ति गङ्गाया सिंहस्थे शुभे ॥ पाटिर्षसहस्राणि भागीरथ्यवगादनम् । सकृद्गोदावरीस्नानं सिंहस्थके बृहस्पते ॥ ब्रह्म= 175 83-84, vide also ब्रह्म. 152. 38-39; सिंहस्थे च शुभे तत्र यो गच्छति समाहित । स्नात्वा च विधिना तत्र पितृस्तर्पयते तथा ॥ स्वर्गं गच्छन्ति पितरो निरये पतित यदि । स्वर्गस्था. पितरस्सत्य मुक्तिभाजो न संशय ॥ बराह 71 45-46,

Allahabad Prasasti of Samudragupta (Gupta Inscriptions ed. by Fleet p. 7) states that Samudragupta vanquished Visnugopa, king of Kāñci (Kāñceyaka), in the first half of the 4th century A. D. In the 'Manimekhalai' there is an elaborate description of the town of Kāñci where Manimekhalai ultimately attained to enlightenment (vide S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's 'Manimekhalai in its historical setting' p. 20). It is not necessary for the present purpose to refer to the numerous inscriptions about the Pallavas and Kāñci and the large number of papers contributed to learned Journals. Reference may, however, be made to the careful and scholarly work 'History of the Pallavas of Kāñci' by R. Gopalan (1928), which brings together all relevant data published up to the date of its composition.

Let us now turn to some passages from the Purānas about Kāñci. The Brahmandā asserts.¹⁶²³ 'The two cities of Kāñci and Kāñci are the two eyes of Lord Śiva; Kāñci is a famous Vaisnava ksetra but it also brings about the presence of Śiva'. It is stated in the Bārhaspatya-sūtra (III 124) that Kāñci is a Sakta-ksetra and in the Devībhāgavata (VII 38, 8) it is said to be a Devīsthāna called Annapūrnā. The Vāmana-purāna¹⁶²⁴ observes: the Jāti is the best among flowers, Kāñci the best among towns, Rambhā among women, the householder among persons of (the four) āśramas, Kuśasthāji is the best among cities and Madhyadeśa among all countries.

Kāñci is full of temples and shrines. The most famous are the Vaikuntha Perumal temple of Viṣṇu and the Śaiva temple of Kailāsanātha built by Pallava Rājasimha. This latter has a large hall supposed to contain 1000 columns.¹⁶²⁵ There is an old Jaina temple also.

PANDHARPUR

This is one of the most popular places of pilgrimage in the Bombay State. Hundreds of thousands of pilgrims visit it

1623 नेत्रद्वयं महेशस्य काशी-काञ्चीपुरद्वयम् । विख्यातं वैष्णवक्षेत्रं शिवसर्गनिष्ठ-कारकम् ॥ ब्रह्माण्ड IV. 19. 15.

1624. इत्येषु जाती नगरेषु काञ्ची नारीषु रम्भाश्रमिणां श्रेष्ठयः । कुशस्थली श्रेष्ठतमा इत्येषु वैशेषु सर्वेषु च मध्यदेशः ॥ वामन. 12. 50. Vide 'South Indian Inscriptions' vol. I. pp. 8-24 for Inscriptions in Pallava characters of the 6th century A. D. in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñci

1625 W. S. Caine in his 'Picturesque India' p. 491 remarks that the pillars are only 540 when counted

every year. The Bombay Gazetteer vol. 20 (for Sholapur District) devotes pp. 415-482 to Pandharpur. This sacred place cannot claim very great antiquity. On the materials so far available it is difficult to decide when the shrine of Vithobā was established, but there is sufficient evidence to enable one to say that it was certainly in existence in the middle of the thirteenth century A. D.¹⁶²⁶ The Padmapurāna (Uttara-khanda 176. 56-58) mentions the image of Vitthala Viṣṇu on the bank of the Bhimarathi which has only two arms and is called Bindu-mādhava. The difficulty is about the date of this part of the Padmapurāna. In my opinion it is a late addition and cannot be placed earlier than about 1000 A. D. The modern town of Pandharpur lies along the right bank of the Bhīmā river. The chief temple in Pandharpur is that of Vithobā in the centre of that part of the town which is considered holy. The Bombay Gazetteer vol. 20 describes at some length (pp. 417-424) the main temple of Vithobā and its adjoining parts. Behind the temple of Vithobā is the temple of Rakhumāl, the consort of Vithobā. There is a large staff of priests and attendants in the temple of Vithobā, the chief of whom are those called Badves (who are the most numerous body of the staff and who once claimed to be owners of the temple, but who are now held to be the trustees and guardians of the temple property and of the god's jewels under a scheme of management framed by the High Court of Bombay).¹⁶²⁷ Except the Badves all

1626 Vide Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's 'Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism' pp. 87-89.

1627. In *Gangaram Babaji Badve v. Bajr Shankar and others*, Printed Judgments of the Bombay High Court for 1891 p. 182 at p. 186 the High Court declared that the Badves are not owners of the temple, idol and property and that they are the chief priests, managers, overseers and guardians of the idol, the temple and the property belonging thereto and that they are bound to keep order and to bid the *Sevādhāris* perform the duties which belong hereditarily to those priests. In *Sakharām Bhīmāji Benare and others versus Gangaram Babaji Badve and others*, Printed Judgments of the Bombay High Court for 1896 p. 644, the position set out above was accepted by both sides and a scheme of management was framed by the High Court (pp. 649-651) which provided for the creation of a Vithobā Fund, for the appointment of a committee of management consisting of five Badves to be elected every year, for the keeping of accounts by the Badves, and for the auditing of these accounts by a Devasthan committee and declared that any cash offering exceeding Rs. 500 was not to be appropriated by the Badves for their own use, but was to be expended for ornaments for the image and to be added to the Vithobā fund, if not so required.

other attendants are called *sevādhāris* and they are of various grades, viz. the *pujāris* (who take the principal part in the worship of the God), *Benaris*¹⁶²⁸ (who repeat mantras and hymns at different services), *paricāraikas* (who bring in a large silver dish the water with which the *pujāri* washes the image of the God and brings the lamp for waving it before the image at the evening and night services), *haridās* (who sings generally five verses in honour of the god at the morning, evening and night services), the *dingres* (who hold a mirror before the God at the early morning service after the god has been dressed and before the lights are waved), the *divtes* (the torch-bearers) who hold a lighted torch when the last night ceremonies are over and carry the slippers of the god in torch-light processions three times a year on the Full Moon days of Āsāḍha and Kārtika and on the *Dasarā* night), the *dange* (who stands with a silver or gold-plated mace outside the ante-chamber at the morning, evening and night services). The goddess *Rakhamāi* has only one set of priests known as *Utpāts*, of whom there are over a hundred families.

The Bombay Gazetteer describes at length (pp. 427-430) the ordinary and special services in the temple of *Vithobā* which are passed over here. Their essence is that the god is treated as if he were some high human person requiring bath, dress, songs, sleep against fatigue and so on. One thing, however, may be noticed that no women singers or dancers are connected with this temple of *Vithobā* in contradistinction to many temples in the Deccan and South India.

The image of *Vitthal* or *Vithobā* in the temple is about three feet and nine inches high and together with its base seems to be cut out of one block of trap. Its rough appearance is probably due to the effect of time. The image is standing with its arms *akambo* and hands resting on the hips; the left hand holds a conch and the right a *caltra* (discus). On the image are carved but so slightly as to be hardly noticeable except on close examination a waist cloth and round the waist a waist-band the end of which hangs on the right thigh. The ornaments consist of a necklace and in the long ears are ear-rings which touch the shoulders. On the head is a long round-topped cap. Mr.

1628. In *Gangaram Babaji and others v Narayan Annaji*, Printed Judgments of the Bombay High Court for 1891 p. 148 the High Court laid down with minuteness the rights, privileges and duties of the *Benaris* (the hymnists).

Kantak, the writer of the note on Pandharpur in the Bombay Gazetteer vol. 20, remarks (p. 424): "The dress and ornament of the image belong to a (time) little later than the Guptas, probably not later than the 5th or 6th century after Christ. As far as is known no other existing Vaisnava temple in India has an image of Visnu like the Pandharpur image, but there are two similar images of the third century after Christ in the Udayagiri brahmanical caves near Bhilsā Like the Pandharpur image these are both standing figures with arms *akimbo* and hands resting on the hips and a conch and discus in the hands". Formerly pilgrims used to embrace the image and also touched the feet of the image. But since about 1873 the feet alone are allowed to be touched.

The Bombay Gazetteer (vol. 20 p. 431, note 2) states that the image of Vithobā was removed to various places at different times to save it from sacrilege by fanatic Moslem invaders and rulers. About 500 yards east of Vithobā's temple in the bed of the Bhīmā river is the temple of Pundlik, one of the most favourite places of worship in Pandharpur. This last temple is not that of a god. It only marks the spot where Pundlik, a great devotee of Vitthal, spent his last days and died. Pundlik was probably a brāhmana from Pandharpur, originally an undutiful son who ill-treated his parents, but who later repented on seeing the dutiful cobbler Rohidās, changed his ways and became a very dutiful son, so much so that tradition says that god Vithobā came to visit him. Vithobā and Pundlik have become so much coupled together that all pilgrims before beginning to dine and on other occasions shout the cry 'Pundalika varade Hari Vitthal'¹⁶²⁹. The Bom. G. vol 20 (pp. 432-434) describes the temple of Pundlik and narrates the traditional story about him

1629. The writer in Bom G. vol 20 translates the words पुण्डलीकवरदे हरि विठ्ठल as 'O' Pundalika, grant us a boon, Hari Vitthal!'. This translation does not appear to me to be correct. The cry is also in the form 'पुण्डलीकवरदा हरि विठ्ठल' (which is the correct one) In my opinion हरि विठ्ठल is only a vocative and the correct form is पुण्डलीकवरदा (for 'वरद') and the whole cry means 'O Hari Vitthal' that didst grant a boon to Pundalika'. Mr A. K. Priyolkar kindly pointed out to me an *abhangā* from श्री ज्ञानेश्वरनहाराजांची गथा (ed by Sri Vināyakbuvā Sākhare, 1927) which runs as follows 'रघुनादेवीवद तो; पुण्डलीकवरद तो ने वार्द' (p 48) and another of Kānhopātrā (from 'Sri-santa-gāthā' edited by Sri Nānāmahārāja Sākhare, śake 1831) 'अगा पुण्डलीकवरदा; अगा विष्णु वूं गोविंदा' (p. 142)

Pages 434-468 of Bom. G. vol. 20 describe the several temples and shrines at Pandharpur such as those of Visnupada, Trimbakesvara, Candrabhāgā, Janabai's cell, which are all passed over here. The river Bhīmā is styled Candrabhāgā within Pandharpur limits and its water is believed to possess sin-purifying power.

Several important and controversial questions arise in relation to Vithobā's temple at Pandharpur; viz. the date when the image of Vithobā was installed in the temple at Pandharpur, whether the present image is an old one or a substitute, what the ancient name of Pandharpur was, the derivation of the word 'Viṭthal'. As regards the first question it may be stated that there is not enough evidence to establish with certainty the time when the image was established¹⁶³⁰. But some of the items of evidence may be briefly set out here. In I A. vol. 14 pp. 68-75 Prof. K. B. Pathak published an inscription on a copper-plate found at Bendigere (about eleven miles south-east from Belgaum), the inscription being dated in *śaka* 1171 (1249 A. D.), in which Pandharpur is called Paundarikakṣetra on the Bhānarāthī (at p. 74) and Vithobā is called Visnu and which records the grant of a village in Venugrāma district (Belgaum) to a number of brāhmanas by a minister of Yādava king Krana (or Kanhara in the inscription) in the presence of god Visnu (p. 74) i. e. before the image of Visnu or Viṭthala. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in 'Vaisnavism, Śaivism &c', (p. 88) and in 'History of the Deccan' (2nd ed. p. 115-6) refers to an inscription on stone dated *śaka* 1192 (1270 A. D.) in Pandharpur itself, in which Bhānu, son of Keśava, is represented as having performed the Aptoryāma sacrifice in Pāṇḍurangapura 'on account of which crowds and Viṭthala were greatly pleased'. There is another earlier inscription in the temple of Vithobā on three sides of a stone beam in a *śopā* beyond the *mandapa* (porch) of 16 pillars, the script being Devanāgarī and the language being partly Sanskrit and partly Canarese. It was issued in *śaka* 1159 (1237 A. D.) by Hoysala king Someśvara and records the grant of an agrahāra to God Viṭthaladeva who resides in a great village called Pandarage situated on the Bhīmarāthī river and who

¹⁶³⁰. Besides the Sholapur Gazetteer (Bom. G. vol. 20) the following may be consulted. I. H. Q. vol. 11 pp. 771-778 (paper by Prof. B. A. Saitore on 'the Antiquity of Pandharpur'), Mr. G. H. Khare's monograph in Marāṭhī on 'श्रीविठ्ठल मंदिर पंढरपुर', and Dr. Krishna's Archaeological Survey Reports of Mysore for 1929 pp. 197-210

made the heart of sage (*munī*) Pundarika expand (with devotion). Vide Bom. G. vol. 20 pp. 419-420 and pp. 4-6 of Mr Khare's monograph (on mediæval references). The Mysore Archaeological Survey Report for 1929 (pp. 197-210) publishes a copper-plate inscription issued by the Rāstrakūta king Avidheya which records a grant of Pāṇḍaranga-palli and four other villages situated to the east of Mahādeva hill to a brāhmana named Jayad-viṭṭha. This grant was confirmed about 820 A. D. by Rāstrakūta king Śarvarasa (i. e. Amoghavarsa I). The editor Dr. Krishna is of opinion that the date of the inscription must be 516 A. D. (*ibid.* p 203). Therefore the important conclusion follows that Pandharpur was known to Canarese people as Pandarage and was also called Pāṇḍarāṅgapalli. This inscription does not expressly refer to god Viṭṭhala, but the donee's name Jayad-viṭṭha contains the part Viṭṭha which is most probably an early form of Viṭṭhala.

In a work called 'Viṭṭhalabhūṣana'¹⁶³¹ by one Gopālācārya about eleven verses are quoted from Hemādri on Tīrtha which are quoted below¹⁶³². Briefly they state an excellent tīrtha ex-

1631. This was printed in *śaka* 1808 (1886-87 A. D.) at the Bombay City Press. For Pundlik's story, vide Bom. G vol. 20 p. 433.

1632 तीर्थहेमाद्री—भैरवाश्रैव तटे देवि दक्षिणे तीर्थमुत्तमम् । अस्ति क्षेत्रं देवतं च सर्वोत्कृष्टं सुदुर्लभम् । पौण्डरीकमिति रूपात् तृतीर्थं क्षेत्रपूजितः । पाण्डुरङ्गश्च तत्रास्ते मूर्तिनाम् देवतोत्तमः । पुष्करात्त्रिगुणं पुष्पं केदारान् पङ्कजं भवेत् । वाराणस्या वृक्षाद्युपमनन्तं श्रीगिरैरपि । पश्चिमपश्चिमदिशि दिव्यदैवतदर्शनात् । तत्फलं लभते मर्त्यं सङ्कदेव हि तत्फलम् । अष्टाविंशतिते कल्पे द्वापरान्ते च पण्डुसुखे । पुण्डरीकं इति ख्यातस्तपस्तेषु सुदारुणम् । भक्त्या पित्रोश्च ब्रह्मर्षीणां कुर्वन्सुनिवारं सदा । तस्यैव कुर्वत पूजा पित्रोरहरहः विधे । परितुष्टोऽभवद्देवो गोपीजनमन-मियः । गोवर्धनगिरौ रम्ये चारयन् गोगणं विशु । गोपतिं धारयन्त्यान्ध्रजोष्वलितकङ्कणम् । नानास्नानभोग्गासि-शिक्षणमौलिविराजितः । अतीव सुन्दरं सौम्यो रत्नाङ्कितमहासुखः । दिग्वासाश्वातिसौम्येन सुखसूत्रेण वेदितः । त्रिहृतेनाद्यकालेन कटिबन्धेन (कटिबन्धेन?) राजितः । कटिमालम्ब्य तिष्ठन्ने त्रिहृदल्या च संयुतः । तत्रैव कर्मसुराणे । पुण्डरीके महातीर्थं ब्राह्मणैश्च-सेवितम् । तत्राभिगम्य सुकाल्मा पुण्डरीकफलं लभेत् ॥

I am highly obliged to Pandit Balacharya Khuperkar of Kolhapur for sending to me these verses from the copy in his possession. In the T S p 7 the verse पुण्डरीकं महातीर्थं is quoted from the Kūrmapurāna, on p 9 of T S. verses भैरवाश्रैव ..तत्फलम् are quoted from the Skandapurāna, as also verses अष्टाविंशतिते ...संयुत occur on pp 12-13 of the Tīrthasāra with a few variant readings such as वेदोद्दिष्टकङ्कण (which is a very good variant, for छत्रो-कङ्कणम् and शक्तिमौलिविराजित for शिक्षणं and दिव्यसन्धीति सौम्येन for दिग्वासाश्वातिसौम्येन. In a ms. of पौण्डरीकमाहात्म्य kindly lent to me by Pandit Lakshmanasāstri of Wai 'अन्तःसूत्रेण वेदितः' कटिबन्धेन राजितः) and ब्रह्मकाशिवपनद्राप्यामूर्त्या चाव-शोभितः are the readings. In a ms of पाण्डुरङ्गमाहात्म्य in the possession of Pandit Khuperkar, the same verses occur with a few additions. That ms

(Continued on the next page)

ists on the southern bank of the river Bhāimī and there is also a rare but fine image there; it is called Paundarika-ksetra and the greatest of gods viz. Pānduranga worshipped by the whole ksetra resides there. It is three times holier than Puskara, six and ten times holier than Kedāra and Vārānasi respectively. Pundarika practised severe austerities at the end of Dvāparayuga in the 28th Kalpa and always devotedly attended upon his parents. God Kṛṣṇa who was making a herd of cows graze on Govardhana hill became pleased with him for his devotion to his parents, Kṛṣṇa who wields a stick for driving cows, who has bracelets rendered bright by (the colour) of the umbrella ¹⁶³³ (shade), who is adorned with a head-gear (*mukuta*) and a *śikya* (a loop) scintillating with the lustre of many jewels, who was very charming and had armlets studded with jewels, who does not (appear to) wear any *dhoti*, but has his loins covered with nickers, who is set off by a girdle of three strings tied on his waist and who stands with arms akimbo and appears possessed of three lines on his belly. Though a ms. of the Tīrtha portion of Hemādri's work has not yet been recovered, there is no reason to doubt that the verses were taken by Gopālācārya from Hemādri's work, particularly when almost all those verses are quoted by the T. S. (about 1500 A. D.) from the Skandapurāna and Kūrmapurāna. As Hemādri composed his work about 1260 to 1270 A. D. and as the verses quoted by him are cited from the Skandapurāna, it follows that several centuries before 1260 A. D. Pandharpur was known as a tīrtha, that the devotee and saint Pundarika (Marāthi 'Puṇḍlik') also was so known then and that the image of Vīṭhobā was essentially the same in appearance as it is now. That Pandharpur had risen in sanctity and importance in the 15th century follows from the fact that both the great Vaisnava saints, Caitanya and Vallabha, visited it. Vide Prof. S. K. De's 'Vaisnava faith and movement in Bengal' p. 71 for

(Continued from the last page)

reads अन्तःसूत्रेण for शुद्धसूत्रेण, विद्वद्भङ्गीकृतेनेः कटिवन्धेन रजितः and शुद्धकामिवय-
नद्धाम्वासूत्रम्या च्चातिशोभितः. विद्वतेनाङ्कालेन—makes no sense. It has to be noted
that शुद्धसूत्रेण or अन्तःसूत्रेण is mentioned separately from कटिवन्धेन and there-
fore शुद्धसूत्र or अन्तःसूत्र was something different from कटिवन्ध (waist-band).
Probably the original reading was दिग्वासाश्चातिवृद्धेण शुद्धसूत्रेण for दिग्वासा-
श्चातिशोभनेन, where सौम्य conveys very little sense.

1633. This probably is a reference to the silk or shade under which the
image of Vīṭhobā stood (Bom. G vol. 20 p 423).

Caitanya's visit and 'Śrī Vallabhācārya' by Manilal C. Parekh (pp. 56-59) for Vallabhācārya's visit.

It has been already shown from the Bombay Gazetteer that there is a tradition about the image having been removed several times and brought back. On pp. 16-25 of his work Mr. Khare cites various passages from medieval writers in Sanskrit, Marathi and Canarese and comes to the conclusion that the present image is not only not the ancient one but that it was not there in the 17th century, since the characteristics of the present image do not tally with the description contained in the poems of saint Tukārām. I do not agree with his conclusions. He has overlooked several weighty considerations. He has relied upon inferences drawn from the presence of Afzul Khan and the bigoted emperor Aurangzeb in the Deccan. I have cited above (pp. 632, 692) references to the demolition of North Indian temples and images on the orders of Aurangzeb, but Mr. Khare has been unable to show any direct reference to the demolition of the temple or the image of Vithobā on the orders of any Moslem king or officer.¹⁶³⁴ We cannot rely on mere inferences or not properly authenticated letters or verses. Besides, the present image is so much worn that unless one very carefully

1634. It may, however, be stated that there is some evidence that efforts were made to demolish the temple of Vithobā by some Moslem king of Bidar and that the Badves (the guardians of the Pandhari temple) fearing destruction of the image removed it and concealed it somewhere else. In a Marāṭhi work called 'महाराष्ट्रमहोदयाचा पूर्ववङ्क' by Mr. Narayan Krishna Gadre (1905) p 168 verses are cited from a life (completed in śake 1667 i e 1745 A D) of one Chāngā Mudhesā (who died in śake 1427 i e 1505 A.D.) written by his descendant Shamji Gosāvi Vāṅjarkhede (who was 11th in descent from Chāngā Mudhesā) The Marāṭhi verses are: येद्रीचा राजा बालगी पातशाह। जाह्नगासी बहु छळियेले ॥ हिंदुधर्म जितके तितके बर्जियेले ॥ राऊळ विध्वंसिले पदरीचे ॥ केलीसे मशीद महारार मोहन। सातमास पूर्ण झाले यासी ॥ मूर्ती सिंहासनाहानि आच्छादिली। छत हो ठेविली बध्प्यावी ॥ verses 52-55 of the 7th chapter of the life. This was written two hundred and forty years after the alleged vandalism. Besides the same work mentions in verse 94 (chap 7) that Chāngādeva thought that the mosque should be demolished and a new temple (a complete replica of the old one) should be built Similarly, in शिवचरित्रसामुह्य part I p 68 (published by the Bhārata-tithāsa-samsōdhalamāṅḍala of Poona) there is a letter dated in 1581 śake (i e 1659-60 A D.) in Marāṭhi which states that Shivaji killed Afjalakhan who had removed the image of Vithbal at Pandharpur and that at Tuljāpur. The letter is not properly authenticated and is not a reliable piece of evidence. I am obliged to Mr G H Khare of Poona for drawing my attention to these two pieces of evidence.

scrutinizes, it would be difficult to pronounce what articles it holds or what dress it wears. Therefore, there is great scope for differences of opinion on the characteristic features of the present image. Conceding for argument that the tradition about the removal of the idol is true, that does not establish that the present image is different from the one that existed in the 13th century or before. The present image has an elongated head dress which some may construe as a simple *mukūṭa* (crown) with a rim: but the *pūjaris* and common people regard it as a *Śivaliṅga* and the rim as the rope of the *śiṅga* that is carried on the back (by cowherds). The present image has ear-rings (as Mr. Khare admits) but they are so long that they rest on the shoulders. The present image has *aṅgūḍas* (armlets) on the upper arms (and that is the description in the *Skanda-purāṇa* quoted by Hemādri). The present image has ornaments on the wrists (which the passage from the *Skandapurāṇa* also mentions). There is a girdle with three strings on the waist of the present image (in *Sk.* also we have 'trivṛtenānuksālena kaṅṅbaddhena or kaṅṅbandhena rajitāḥ'). The present image ¹⁶³³ does not clearly show that a *dhoṭi* was worn (and therefore one reading of the *Skanda* says that it is 'digvāsāḥ') but the *Skanda* adds that the image has arms akimbo. In my opinion the description in the *Skanda-purāṇa* (which must be held to be at least not later than about 1000 A. D.) tallies in essential particulars with the present image; therefore it follows that sufficient evidence has not been adduced to show that it is comparatively a new image and the proposition of Mr. Khare that it is a different one from the original should be held *not proved*. In the descriptions given by *Tukārām* and others (p. 22 of Mr. Khare's book) actual, legendary and ideal elements are mixed up. For example, *Tukārām* states that the god has 16000 wives (Mr. Khare's book

1633. Persons not familiar with ancient images or statues in stone might think that an image or statue is naked (*digvāsāḥ*) when as a matter of fact the sculpture itself shows that the image wears a *dhoṭi* and waist band and yet its private parts are shown as visible, probably because it was the intention of the sculptor to indicate that the garment was made of the finest texture and was transparent. For example, in 'History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon' by Vincent Smith, there is a figure of a *Bodhisattva* (on p. 143 No. 94) which is clearly draped in a *dhoṭi* and waistband and the private parts of which are yet visible. The *Vijaya* image from Maiburā (Plate VI) in a paper on Gupta Art in Journal of U. P. Historical Society, vol. 18 pp. 101-134 shows similar characteristics.

p. 22 'Bailā solā hajāra' &c.). But Tukārām, does mention the facts that the arms are akimbo, that there is no dhoti (*digambara*), and mentions the existence of a *śikya*, a stick, also a girdle and ornaments. Lastly, Mr. Khare does not attach sufficient importance to two facts, one being that about 1873 two Gosavis damaged the image which was later re-installed and pilgrims were forbidden from embracing it. It is quite possible that some of the features already indistinct were lost in these happenings (vide Bom. G. vol. 20 p. 430). Besides, for hundreds of years the image has been washed with pañcāmṛta (milk, curds, ghee, honey and sugar) and water at least once every day and sometimes several times a day. It is not difficult to imagine that the characteristic marks became blurred by these continual baths.

Some other matters require to be dealt with. The image is variously called viz. Pāṇḍuranga, Paṇḍhari, Vitthal, Vitthalanātha and Viṭhobā.

Viṣṇu assumes in Prakrit the forms Vinhu, Vinnu, Venhu, Vetha and others. In Canarese Viṣṇu becomes Bitti, Bittiga, Vitta &c. The changes in names do not necessarily follow the rules laid down in Prakrit or Canarese grammars, which rules themselves are often based on meagre data and Mr. A. K. Priyolkar in his learned paper on 'Bhagat Namdeo of the Sikhs' in the Journal of the University of Bombay vol. VII part 2 (1938) points out (p. 24) that in the Ādi Granth of the Sikhs, in the hymns of Namdeo, God is addressed as 'Bithal' or 'Bithalu' (p. 24), that, in the Gujarati poems of Narsinh Mehta and Mirabai, God is addressed as Vitthala (p. 35) and Viṭhala is employed by these saints meaning only Viṣṇu and not the deity at Pandharpur. The learned Kāśinātha Upādhyāya, author of *Vitthala-rn-mantrasāra-bhāṣya*, derives the word Vitthala as (*Vi + tha + la*)¹⁶³⁶.

As regards the name of the ksetra it appears that originally it was called in Canarese Pandarage, of which Panduranga is a sanskritized form. When Pundlik, the devotee of Vitthal, became famous the sacred place came to be called Pundarikapura (as in Kūrma) and Pāundarikapura (as in Skanda). Vide note 1632 above

1636 'विद् वेदनं ज्ञानं तेन ताः श्रुत्याः वाचं लाति स्वीकरोति'. Vide *विठ्ठलकृत-साराध्याय*, D. C. ms. No 100 of 1869-70 dated śake 1731 (1809 A. D.) quoted in H. of Dh. vol. I p. 464 n. 1161.

The pilgrims to Pandharpur may be divided into two classes, regular visitors and occasional visitors. The first class comprise those called *Vārkaris* (lit those who keep the fixed times). The *Vārkaris* are of two sorts viz those who attend every month and those who attend twice a year (on the 11th of Āśāḍha-sukla and Kārtika-sukla). This cult of *vārkaris* has been a great leveller. In theory and to a large extent in practice it ignores caste exclusiveness. A brāhmana *vārkarī* falls at the feet of a śūdra *vārkarī*. There are certain observances binding on all *vārkaris* (for which, vide Bom. G. vol. 20 p. 471). The *vārkarī* carries a rosary of Tulasi (basil) beads, foregoes flesh-eating, observes a fast on *ekādaśī*, carries an ochre-coloured *pataka* (swallow-tailed banner) and is to speak the truth (and not to cheat) when engaged in his daily occupations.

Some people think that the image of Vithobā is really Buddhist or Jain. There is hardly any evidence for this. When such Marāṭhi poets and saints as Ekanātha, and Tukarām speak of Vithobā as Baudhāvātāra they have Viṣṇu in mind,¹⁶³⁷ whose 9th avātāra was Buddha according to the Purānas and medieval writers.

The question of the attitude that modern Hindus should adopt towards holy places and pilgrimages will be briefly dealt with at the end of the next chapter on the list of *īrthas*.

1637. One of एकनाथ's अभंग is 'मवधा वैसे स्थिररूप । तथा नाम चौखरूप ॥ सन्त तथा धारी । तिष्ठताति निरन्तरी । पुण्डलीकासार्डी उभा । घन्य घन्य विठलकोभा ॥' in एकनाथमहाराजांच्या अभंगाची गाथा (published by Rajaram Tukaram, Bombay, 1903) p. 344 No 1048, 'बौद्धावतार माझिया अहदा । सौम्यमुखें निडा धरियेली ॥' No. 4160 of the तुकाराममहासाईंच्या अभंगाची गाथा p. 522 (published by Bombay Govt., 1950). Vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp 720-723 for discussion about the time when Buddha came to be looked upon as an avātāra of Viṣṇu.

CHAPTER XVI

LIST OF TĪRTHAS

This is merely a list of tīrthas from the point of view of Dharmaśāstra and *not* a treatise on the Ancient Geography of India. The result is that many countries and towns that have no importance or claims as tīrthas have been altogether omitted. Bauddha and Jain works on tīrthas have only rarely been referred to. Many of the Purānas enumerate the mountains and rivers of *dīpas* and *varsas* other than those of Jambudvīpa and Bhārata-varsa such as Harivarsa, Rāmyakavarṣa, Krauñcadvīpa, Śālmalīdvīpa, but they have been excluded from this list. The Brahma-purāna (chap. 26 verses 8-83) contains a string of over 520 tīrthas without hardly any certain indication of their location and the Bhīsmaparva in chap. 9 mentions about 160 rivers with practically no indication about their location in most cases. Similarly, the Garuda (I. 81. 1-31) enumerates about 200 and Padma (VI. 129) contains 108 tīrtha names. In Banaras alone I have listed about 350 sub-tīrthas. But there are about 1500 shrines and temples in Banaras alone. These have not been included. Each great tīrtha has numerous sub-tīrthas as in the Varāha-purāna under Mathurā, in Brahma-purāna under Gautami, in Vāyu-purāna under Gayā. Through sheer weariness or inadvertence some of these must have been left out by me and some were left out purposely on account of the absence of any importance. Besides, several tīrthas that are regarded as sacred by modern people are not so treated in the Epics or purānas and are not even mentioned in them; many of these have been omitted in this list. Our authorities are often very vague about the location or extent of tīrthas. Moreover, a number of tīrthas scattered in different parts of India bear the same name (e. g. vidē under Agnitīrtha, Kotitīrtha, Cakratīrtha, Varāhatīrtha, Somatīrtha). I am under great obligations to Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography of India' (ed. of 1872) and to Nundo Lal Dey's 'The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India' (1927). I have had occasions to differ from both, particularly from the latter. But, the space at my disposal being very limited, I could not enter into even brief discussions

in support of my views. It would look ungrateful to find fault with the work of Dey; but it must be said that he relies too much on rather old and antiquated authorities and has not cast his net over a wide area. Often times he mentions no original authorities (vide, for example, Cakratirtha on p. 43). He is very vague in his references. He hardly ever cites the number of the verse on which he relies and often omits to specify even the part or section of the work relied upon. For example, at p. 13 as regards Avanti he mentions Pāṇini IV. 176, which should be IV. 1. 176. Further, he has omitted several well-known tirthas (e. g. Daśāśvamedhika). He is sometimes wrong in what he says. On p. 54 he states that Kiskindhā-kānda 43 refers to Devadāruvana as a proper name, but there the context ('*lodhrapadmaka-sandesu devadāruvanesu ca*' in verse 15) shows that what is meant is 'forests of Deodar trees'. On p. 73 he says Bharatavarsa was 'first' called Haimavata-varsa, but the passage of the Liṅgapurāna (I. 49. 7) on which he relies (*idam haimavatam varsam Bharatam nama viśrutam*) does not bear that out. There is no reference to a prior account here and all that is meant is that Bhāratavarsa is connected with Himavat, as a previous passage (I. 47. 23 *Himādredaksinam varsam Bharatasya nyavedayat*) expressly states that Bhāratavarsa is to the south of Himalaya. In Śalya 44. 53 Sarasvatī is called Haimavati, but that does not mean that Haimavati was the name of Sarasvatī in far-off ages. It simply means that it 'rises in Himavat range.' Only a comparison of the list prepared by me with Dey's work will show the difference in details between the two. I should not undertake that task and leave it to scholarly readers.

I have carefully read the two Epics and most of the Purānas. But I do not cite exhaustive references to all the texts where a particular tirtha is mentioned. I feel satisfied with mentioning two or three. Owing to the several restrictions imposed upon myself this list cannot claim to be thoroughly exhaustive. But I hope that it is comprehensive enough and far larger and more informative than any list of tirthas presented by any scholar so far. There is ample scope for industrious scholars to improve upon and to add to this list. I have included important tirthas from Kashmir and given copious references to the Nilamata-purāna, the Rāja-tarangini and the Hara-carita-cintāmaṇi. I am highly obliged to the Kashmir Report of Dr. Buhler (published as a special number for 1877

by the B B R A S), to Stein's notes in his translation of the *Raja-taranginī* and his memoir on the Ancient Geography of Kashmir published separately (and also embodied in the 2nd volume of the translation of Kalhana's work). All the names of tirthas are transliterated into the English alphabet and arranged according to the English mode of spelling. For the Mahābhārata references are given to the oblong Bombay edition and by citing names of *parvāns*, but in the case of the Rāmāyana Roman figures I to VII are employed for the Bāla, Ayodhyā, Aranya, Kiskindhā, Sundara, Yuddha and Uttara kāndas respectively. For the Rāmāyana I have used the edition brought out by the Madras Law Journal Press in 1933. Among Purānas the Ānandāśrama editions of the Agni, Brahma, Brahmavaivarta, Matsya, Vāyu and Padma have been relied upon and as to the rest of the Mahāpurānas the Venkateśvara Press editions have been used (except in the case of the Nrasimhapurāna of which the edition of Messrs. Gopal Narayan & Co. and the Bhāgavatapurāna, of which the Nirnayāsāgara edition of the bare text have been referred to). The Skandapurāna has been a source of great trouble and labour. Owing to the limited time at my disposal I have not been able to digest thoroughly the ninety thousand and odd verses of that purāna, though I have very carefully gone into the Kāśikhanda and some other khandas. Besides, there are two separate recensions of the Skanda and large portions of it appear to be apocryphal and later additions. The seven big sections of the Skanda viz Mahēśvarakhanda, Vaiṣṇava, Brāhma, Kāśi, Āvantya, Nāgara, Prabhāsa are indicated by Roman figures from I to VII and the sub-sections by Arabic figures. Some of these sub-sections have further sub-divisions into Pūrvārdha and Uttarārdha.

I have made endeavours to locate the tirthas as far as possible. Inscriptions have been drawn upon in several cases for locating the tirthas and for their antiquities and history. The principal Sanskrit authorities (except Kalhana) are often very vague as compared with even foreign writers like Hiouen Tshang, Alberuni and Abul Fazal. Where I was not myself sure I have given references to the texts alone, and in some cases to the views of Cunningham, Dey, Pargiter and others. If the same name happens to be given to different tirthas located at different places, I have indicated the several different places bearing the same name by employing the capital letters

A, B, C and so on; I may state that I have hardly ever remained content by borrowing references to Sanskrit authorities given by my predecessors, but have seen personally each reference to Sanskrit works except where I expressly state from whom I borrow a particular reference. Sorensen's Index of the Mahābhārata and the Vedic Index of Macdonell and Keith have been used in several places. I have also derived material help from the volumes of the Imperial Gazetteer and from the several volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer. The same may be said about Wilson's translation of Visṇupurāna (ed. by Hall, 1864-1877), Pargiter's notes to his translation of the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāna, Dr. B. G. Law's paper on the 'mountains and rivers of India' in the Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. 28 and Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri's 'Studies in Indian Antiquities' (1932), and the paper on 'Ancient towns and cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad' in I.A. vol. 54. I have consulted only a few Mahātmyas of tirthas. Recently, Prof. V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar of Madras has published a useful work 'The Purāna Index' (volumes I and II covering over 1400 pages) which collects material from five Purānas only viz. the Bhāgavata, Brahmānda, Matsya, Vāyu and Visṇu. The two volumes reach up to the Sanskrit letter 'ma' only. I, for my part, do not agree with much that he says about the age of the Purānas in general and of the five Purānas (which he has digested) in particular, but this is not the place to go into that question. Besides, his work has to be used with some caution. In several places the work is misleading. To take only a few examples. On p. 547 he lists 'Godhūma', makes the remark 'fit for śrāddha' and cites four references from the Visṇupurāna alone. One may *prima facie* think that Godhūma is here some place fit for śrāddha. As a matter of fact in all the references from the Visṇupurāna 'Godhūma' means 'wheat' and nothing more, which no doubt is fit food for śrāddha. But other fit things such as 'iksu' (declared to be fit for śrāddha by Vāyu 78. 7-8) are not included at all. On p. 123 Aśokavana is not a proper name, but only a forest of Asoka trees, as the preceding word 'drāksāvana' (in Vāyu 38. 68) indicates. So also Kamalāprabhava (not 'prabhava' as printed on p. 316 of vol. I) is not a river (in Matsya 163. 62, Ānandaśrama ed) but is only an adjective of the word Śona that follows. On p. 316 of vol. II he states that the river Parā rises from Rsyavān, but the Matsya 114. 24 on which he relies says it springs from Paryātra. On the same page he gives the entry 'Pāravāratata sacred to

Matā'. This makes no sense. Pārāvāratata would mean 'the shore of the sea'. What is really meant is that Devī is styled or worshipped as Pārā on the bank of the Pārā river (Pārā Pārātate matā). He does not compare the readings of the several printed editions of the five purānas. Besides, the information furnished is very meagre. If the whole had been printed in a compact form far more information could have been given in the same number of pages.

In some places I have indicated the rewards promised for bathing in the tīrthas; but I have not done so in every case. The purānas promise one or more of the following rewards viz. the same merit as the performance of Aśvamedha or Vajapeya or other solemn Vedic sacrifices or reaching the highest worlds such as those of Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Śiva, the destruction of the gravest sins such as brāhmana murder, the same merit as arises from gifts of a thousand cows &c.

Many of the doubts and difficulties about the identification of several tīrthas can, if at all, be solved only by means of actual journeys to various places and investigations on the spot. That is a task which would require for its proper accomplishment a team of workers. A single individual can hardly attempt such a task with his own resources.

This list will, it is hoped, be of some use in elucidating several problems such as the questions about the relative antiquity of the purānas, the dates of several Sanskrit works which mention the tīrthas and the questions about borrowing on the part of purānas among themselves and from the Mahābhārata.

Abbreviations employed in this list alone

- AC.—Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi of Hemacandra (ed. by Böhtlingk, 1847).
 Ad.—Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata
 Ag.—Agnipurāna.
 A. G.—Ancient Geography of India, by Cunningham (1871).
 A. I.—Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian (Mc Crindle).
 Ain, A.—Ain-i-Akbari by Abul Fazal, translated by Blochmann and Jarrett in three volumes (1873-1894).
 Al.—Alberuni's 'India' translated by Dr. E. C. Sachau, 2 volumes, 1886 (London).
 Anu.—Anuśāsana-parva of the Mahābhārata.
 A. S. R.—Archaeological Survey of India Reports.
 B.—Brahmapurāna.
 Bār. S.—Bārhaspatya-sūtra edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas.
 Bh.—Bhāgavatapurāna.
 Bhav.—Bhāviṣyapurāna.
 Bhī.—Bhīṣmaparva of the Mahābhārata.
 Bom G.—Bombay Gazetteer volumes.
 Br.—Brahmāṇḍapurāna.
 Br. S.—Bṛhatsambhitā with Utpala's com., edited by Sudhākara Dvivedi.
 BV.—Brahmavaivarta-purāna.
 C. I. I.—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum; vol. I. Inscriptions of Aśoka, vol. III. Gupta Inscriptions.
 Dey.—Nundolal Dey's 'Geographical Dictionary of India' (1927).
 G.—Garudapurāna.
 Go.—Godāvarī river
 h.—hill
 HC.—Haracarita-cintāmaṇi of Jayadratha (Kāvyamālā ed.)
 I. G. I.—Imperial Gazetteer of India volumes.
 J. U. P. H. S.—Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.
 K.—Kūrmapurāna.
 Kal.—Kāhāpurāna.
 K. R.—Bühler's Kashmir Report (extra number of BERAS Journal for 1877)
 l.—lake
 L.—Liṅgapurāna
 m.—Mountain
 M.—Matsyapurāna
 Mb.—Mahābhārata
 Mbh.—Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (ed. by Kielhorn in 3 volumes).
 Mār.—Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna
 N.—Bṛhan-nāradya or Nāradya-purāna.
 NM.—Nīlāmata-purāna ed. by Prof. Bhagavad-datta.
 Nr.—Nṛsimha or Narasimha-purāna.
 P.—Padma-purāna.
 Pargiter.—Translation of Mārkaṇḍeya-purāna with notes.
 Ptolemy.—Mc Crindle's 'Ancient India' as described by Ptolemy with notes by Majumdar Sastri (Calcutta, 1927)
 r.—River.
 R.—Rājatarāṅgī (edited and translated by Dr. Stein).
 Rām.—Rāmāyana.
 S.—Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata.
 Sal.—Salyaparva of the Mahābhārata.
 Śān.—Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata.
 SK.—Skandapurāna
 SM.—Stein's Memoir on maps illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kashmir.
 T. K.—Kalpataru on tirthas (G. O. S.)
 T. P.—Tīrthaprakāśa of Mitrāmīśra, part of Viramitrodaya
 T. S.—Tīrthasāra, part of Nṛsimha-prasāda (Sarasvatībhaṅga series, Benares).
 U.—Udyogaparva of the Mahābhārata
 V.—Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata.

Va —Vāyṅpurāna	V ₁ —Visṅpurāna
Vām.—Vāmanapurāna.	Vik —Vikramāṅka-deva-carita of
Var —Varāhapurāna.	Bilhaṅa (ed. by Bühler)
VD —Viṣṅudharmottara-purāna	V. S.—Vārānaśī.
V. Dh. S.—Viṣṅudharma-sūtra (ed. by Jolly).	Wilson—Translation of Visṅpurāna, edited by Dr. Hall (1864–1877)

LIST OF TĪRTHAS

A

- Abjala—(under Go.) B 129 137 (it is the heart of Godāvārī)
- Acalā—(r. in Kāśmīra) HC 10 256 (near Anantabrada and Kārkotabrada)
- Acalesvara—L I, 92. 165
- Acchodā—(r. rising from Acchodala lake) M 121. 7, Vā 47 6, Br II 18. 6 and III. 13. 80
- Acchodaka—(a l. at the foot of mount Candraprabha) Vā 47. 5-6 and 77. 76, M 14 3 and 121. 7, Br III 13. 77
- Aciravati—(r falling into Sarayū) one of the ten great rivers mentioned in 'Questions of Milinda' (SBE vol. 35 p. 171) It is Raptī in Oudh on which Srāvastī was situated Var. 214. 47
- Acyutasthala—Vām 34. 47, Vide under Yugandhara.
- Ādarśa—held to be same as Vinaśana by many scholars Vide under 'Vinaśana' The Kāśīlā on Pān. IV. 2 124 (Janapadatadavadhyośca) appears to hold Ādarśa as a Janapada and Br S 14. 25 does the same
- Ādīpāla—(a h. under Gayā). Vā 108. 65 (Ganeśa is there in the form of an elephant across Mundaprabha), 109 15
- Āditīrtha—(under Gangā) N II, 40. 90
- Ādityasya āśrama—V 83 184, P I. 27 70
- Ādityātīrtha—A (on Sarasvatī) Sal 49 17, Devala q by T K p 250, B (on r Sābhramatī) P VI 167 1 (near confluence with sea)
- Ādityāyatana—(under Narmadā) M 191 77, K II 41 37-38, P. I 13 5 and 72.
- Ādityeśa—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 5
- Agastyapada—(under Gayā)—Ag 110 3, Vā 111 53
- Agastyasaras—V 82 44 It may be noted that Agastya is the reputed author of the Tamil language and the teacher of the author of the Tolkāppiyam, the oldest grammatical work extant (on Tamil). Vide JRAS vol 19 pp 558-559 (New series)
- Agastyāśrama—Vide Dey p 2 (eight places so called (but he does not state authorities for all) A (on r Durjayā) V 96 1 (where demon Vātāpi was killed by Agastya), B V. Dh S 85. 22, P I 12 4, V 19. 198 (near Puskara); C (near Prayāga) V 87. 20, D (near Gokarna) V 88. 18, E (near Janasthān and Pañcavati about five yojanas from Sutiśanāśrama) Rām. III. 11 38-42, Raghu XIII 36 There is an ancient shrine of Agastya about one mile from Akola village in Nagar District beyond the Pravara river, F (near the sea in Pāndya country) Ādi 216. 3, 88 13, 118 4, 130 6—one of the five Nārītīrthas), Rām. IV, 41. 16 (on Malaya) and Bh 79. 167
- Agastyātīrtha—(in Pāndya country) V 88 13
- Agastyavata—Ādi 215 2
- Agastyeśvara—A (under Narmadā) 1. 191 5, B (haga in VS) I q by T K p 116
- Agshoreśvara—(under Vā) L q by T. K. p 60
- Agnidhārā—(under Gvā) V 84 146, Ag 116 31.
- Agnikundā—(on Sarasvatī) Vām. 31 22, Var. q by T. K p 215.
- Agniprabha—(under Gvā) Vā 145 52-55 (its water is hot in winter and cold in summer.)

- Agoipura**—Anu 25 43 Dey p 2 says it is Māhismatī. Vide Raghuvamśa VI. 42
- Agnisaras**—A (under Kolāmukha) Var 140 34-36, B (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 52
- Agnisatypada**—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 7
- Agnisaras**—(along the Yamunā) V. 90. 5-7
- Agnisvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K pp 66, 71
- Agnitīrtha**—A (on the southern bank of Yamunā) M 108 27, P. I 45 27; B (under VS) K I. 35 7, P. I 37 7; C (under Go) B 98 1; D (on Sarasvatī) Śal 47. 13-14, P. I. 27 27, E (on north bank of Sābhramatī) PVI. 134. 1; F (under Kubjāmraka) Var 126 63
- Ahah**—V. 83. 100
- Ahalyāhrada**—(near Gautama's āśrama) V 84 109, P I 38 26
- Ahalyātīrtha**—A (under Godāvarī), B 87 1, B (under Narmadā) P I 18 84, M 191 90-92, K II 41. 43
- Ailāpatra**—A dikpāla-nāga (guardian of western quarter) in Kāśmīra. NM1118 (modern Ailapatur)
- Airāvati**—(The Hydraotes of Arrian, A I p 190, Rāvi in the Punjab?) A r. on the border of Madradeśa rising in the Himālays. M 115 18-19, 116 1 and 6 and Devala q by T. K p 249 Dey p 73 is wrong in taking (in M 116 1) Hafmavati as a proper name, since in M 116 6 the same river is called 'the eminent daughter of Himavat'
- Ajabila**—(under m Sripavata) L. I. 92 153
- Ajatuṅga**—Vā 77. 48 (śrāddha here is highly efficacious and here the shadow of gods is seen on *parvan* days)
- Ajeśvara**—(a liṅga in VS) L. I 92 136
- Ajravati**—a r. referred to in Pān VI 3. 119. Probably the same as Aciravati above
- Ālāśa**—(under VS) K I 35 3, P I 37 3
- Ālāśaganṅā**—A (under Gayā) Vā 112. 25, Ag 116 5; B (on m Sahya) Nr 66 35 (sub-tīrtha of Āmalaka)
- Ākāsalinga**—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 51
- Akrūra**—(under Mathurā) Var 155 4-5 (name of a hamlet between Mathurā and Vrndāvana)
- Aksavāla**—(modern Achabal, a large village at west foot of a ridge which lines the Kutabar Pargana in Kāśmīra) R I 338, SM p. 180 (it has five springs) NM has the name Aksipāla
- Aksayyakarana Vata**—(in Prayāga). Vide p 614 above and AG p. 389 for Hiouen Tshang's reference to it. V 87 11, P VI. 25 7-8 (Viṣṇu is supposed to lie on its leaf at the end of the *kalpa*)
- Aksayyavata**—A (in Gayā, about half a mile from Viṣṇupada) V. 84 83, 95. 14, Vā 105 45, 109 16, 111. 79-82 (Viṣṇu in the form of a child lies on its end when the whole world is one mass of water), Ag. 115 70, P I 38 2, B (under Go to the north of Vindhya) B. 161 66-67, C (on Narmadā) BV, III chap 33, 30-32 (where Pulastya performed *tapas*).
- Alābutīrtha**—(under Virāja) B. 42. 6.
- Alakanandā**—Ādī 170 22 (Gangā is so called among gods) Acc to Vā 41 18, K I. 46 31, V₁ II. 2 36 and II. 8. 114 it is one of the four streams of the Ganges and reaches the sea with seven mouths. Ādī 170 19 speaks of the seven mouths. N. (II. 66. 4 ff) states that the Ganges is called Alakanandā after it reaches the earth and begins to follow Bhāgīratha's chariot Bh. IV 6 24 and V 17 5. The Bhāgīrathī is joined by Alakanandā at Deva-prayāga and the combined stream is then called Gangā N. II. 67. 72-73 say that Bhāgīrathī and Alakanandā meet near Badarikā.

- śrama. According to I. G. I vol XV p. 60 there are five sacred confluences of the Alakanandā with other rivers viz. with Bhāgirathī (Devaprayāga), Nandaprayāga, Karnaprayāga (confluence with Pindar river), Rudraprayāga (confluence with Mandākinī), Visuprayāga Vide U. P. Gazetteer for Garhwal, vol. 36 pp 2 and 140.
- Aleśvara—see Brahmēśvara
- Altīrtha—(under Narmadā) K II. 42. 37.
- Āmalaka—A (under Stutasvāmī in U. P.) Var 148. 67 ff, B (between Brahmagirī and Vedagirī peaks of the Sahya m) TS p. 78.
- Āmalakagrāma—(on m Sahya) Nr. chap. 66. 7 ff q. by T. K. p. 254. Dey p 4 suggests that it is on the north bank of the Tāmaparnī
- Amarakshra—(under VS) L. q by T. K. P. 53.
- Amarakantake—(m. in the Bilaspur District of Central Provinces) Vide p. 705-6 above Vā (77. 10-11 and 15-16), V, Dh S 85.6 highly eulogise śrāddha on this m. M 188 79, P. I. 15. 68 69 state that the 2nd of the three śuras of Bāna burnt by Śiva fell on this m K II 40 36 (high merit of visiting it when there is an eclipse of the sun or moon)
- Amarakēśvara—Linga (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 53
- Āmardaka—Vide T. S. pp. 21-30 quoting SK. It is a Śivaksetra, one of the twelve jyotirlingas and is so called because sins are crushed here (āmardeyāni pāpāni tasmād-āmarakam matam). On p 22 of TS there is quotation from SK that in the four yugas it was respectively called Jyotirmaya, Mukti, Sparsa and Nāgeśvara. It is said to be a līnga on p. 22. Vide Victor Cousins' 'Medieval temples of the Dakhan' pp. 77-78 for a description of the temple of Nāga-
- nātha and plates CXIII-CXV for the front of the great temple and portions of the wall and pillars of the porch and of the Hall) This is probably the same as Āvandhyā Nāga-nātha (Aundha in Survey of India maps) about 25 miles north-east of Parabhānī in the Hyderabad State.
- Āmarēśa—A (on Narmadā) M. 186 2, B (linga in VS) L. I 92 37
- Āmarēśvara—A (on m. Nisadha) Vām. q. by T. K. p 236; B (under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92 151; C NM 1535, Rāj. I. 267 (yātrā to famous cave of Āmaranātha where Śiva is worshipped in linga-shaped ice-block. This pilgrimage is now most popular in Kāśmīra An A. vol. II p 360 describes it and states that from New Moon the image increases in size for 15 days and decreases with waning moon)
- Ambājanma (to east of Sarala) V. 83. 81 (it is Nārada-tīrtha)
- Ambarīśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K p 118
- Ambikātīrtha—L. I. 92. 166
- Ambilāvana—(on r Sarasatī) Dh A. 34 1-2
- Amliu—(a very holy r in Kurukṣetra) Vām. 34. 7
- Amohaka—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 105, P I 18 96-99 (Tapēśvara was so called and there were boulders as big as elephants)
- Āmrātakēśvara—(under VS) M. 22 51, 181 28, Ag. 112 3
- Amśumati—(r). Rg V III. 96 13-15 (on which stayed an asura called Kṛsna) According to Brhad-devatā (VI 110) it was in the Kuru country, Rām. II 55 6 (near Yamunā)
- Ānanda—Vide under Nandītata.
- Ānandapura—(under VS) K I 35 15, P. I. 37. 18
- Ananta—a Vaiṣṇava-ksetra acc. to Bārhaspatyasūtra III 120, Br. III. 13. 58.
- Anantabhavana or Anantahrada—II C X. 253, 256 (now called Anantānāga, about one krośa from Malvā)

- vartanāga in the middle of the Vitastā river in Kāśmīra
- Anantanāga—(not far from Panyodā). NM 1401-2 It is called Islamabad now and is at the foot of the western extremity of the Mārtānda plateau in Kāśmīra SM p 178
- Anantasāyana—(Padmanābha in Travancore) P. VI. 110 8, VI, 280 19
- Anantatīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var 155. 1
- Anaraka—A (under Kuruksetra) Vām. 41 22-24, B (under Narmadā) M. 193 1-3, K. II. 41. 91-92; C (to the west of Yamunā) also called Dharma-rājatīrtha—K I. 39 5, P I 27 56
- Anarakeśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K p 113
- Anāsāla—Var 215 89
- Anasūyā-linga—(north of Goprekṣa, under VS) L q by T K p 42
- Andha—(a *nada*) Bh V 19 18, Devī Bhāgavata VIII 11 16 (andhaśonau mahānadau), Dey (pp 7 and 47) says it is the river Chāndan or 'Andhelā' which falls into the Gangā in Bhagalpur
- Andhalakṣa—(under VS) L q. by T K. p 65
- Anthona—(under Narmadā). P I. 18, 110-113
- Angabhūta—(a tīrtha sacred to pitrs) M. 22 51
- Angāraḥlunda (under VS) L q by T K p 56
- Angāravāhika—M. 22 35
- Angarakeśvara—A (under VS) L q. by T. K pp 55 and 98, B (under Narmadā) M 190 9, P I. 17 6
- Angāraleśvara—A (under Gayā) Ag 116 29, B (under Narmadā) K II 41 6
- Angārcśa (under Narmadā) M. 191.59 (probably the same as above)
- Āngirasatīrtha (under Narmadā) K. II. 41. 31-33, P. I 18 50
- Āngiraseśa (under VS) L q. by T. K. p 117
- Anitabhā (r) Rg V 53 9
- Añjalukāśrama—Anu 25 52
- Añjana (a m near Brahmagiri, under Go) B 84 2 Vide under Paścatīrtha, Br S 14 5 says Añjana is m in the east
- Añjasī—(r) Rg I 104 4
- Ankola (under Narmadā) highly praised in M 191 118-122 Probably modern town of Anklesvar in Broach District A G p 322 identifies Akreśvara with Anklesar on left bank of the Narmadā. Vide I A. 54 pp 11-12
- Ankuseśvara (under Narmadā) M. 194 1
- Annakūta (under Mathurā) Var. 164. 10 and 22-23 (Govardhana was called Annakūta)
- Antakeśvara (under VS) L q by T K. p 75
- Antarvedi (holy land between Gangā and Yamunā) SK. I. 1 17. 274-275 (where brahmabatyā due to the killing of Vṛtra fell)
- Antasīlā (r rising in Vindhya) Vā. 45 103
- Antikeśvara (under VS) N II 49 6-9
- Anūpā (r rising from Rkṣavat m) Br. II 16.28
- Anyatah-plakṣa—name of a lotus lake in Kuruksetra (Śat Br. in SBE, vol 44 p 70)
- Āpagā—one of the seven (or nine) very holy rivers under Kuruksetra—V. 83. 68, Vām 34 7, P. I. 36 1-6 and Vām. 36. 1-4 (one krośa to the east of Mānusa), NM 158 Is it the same as Āpayā? Vide A G. p 185 where it is identified with the Ayak Nadi, a small stream rising in Jammu hills to the north-east of Sialkot Cunningham (ASR of India, vol XIV pp 88-89) says that Āpagā or Oghavāī is a branch of the Chitang.
- Āpām-prapatana—Anu 25 28
- Aparanandā—(near Hemakūta) Ādi. 215 7, 110 1, Anu 166 28 Dey (p 9) says it is the same as Alakanandā
- Āpastambatīrtha (under Go.) B 130.1

- 1 payā—(a r. probably a tributary of the Sarasvatī between it and Drsadvatī) Rg. III. 23 4. Thomas suggests that it is the same as Augbavatī (JRAS vol. 15 p. 362 n. 5)
- Apsaras-kunda—(under Mathurā and Govardhana) Var. 164 19
- Apsareśā—(under Narmadā) M. 194 16, P. I 21 16, h II 42 24
- Apsaroyugasāngama—(under Go) B. 147 1
- Arantula—n dvārāpāla. V. 83. 52 (vide p. 683 note 1551).
- Aravinda—(a h. under Gayā) Vā. 109, 15, N II. 47 83 (reads Aravindavara)
- Arbuda—(m. Abu in the Aravali range in the Sirohi State) V 82 55-56 (there was Vasistha's āśrama), V. 22 38, P I 24 4, N II. 60 27, Ag. 109. 10. It is one of the five sacred hills of the Jāinas, the other four being Satruñjaya, Samet, Śikhara, Girnar and Candragiri. It is identified with Ptolemy's Apokopa (p 76). There was a fire-pit thereon from which arose a warrior Paramāra, founder of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa (vide E I vol IX p 10 (of Vikrama 1099) and E. I vol 19 Appendix p. 22 No 133 of *sāhitya* 1116)
- Arbudaśarasvatī—(r. sacred to pits) M. 22 38
- Ārcikaparvata—V 125 16 (where Cyavana and Sukanyā dwell)
- Ardbacandra—(under Mathurā) Var. 169. 3.
- Ardhakila—founded by Darbhā near Sarasvatī-aruṇā-sāngama V. 83. 153-157
- Arghyātīrtha—G. I. 81 7
- Aristakunda—(under Mathurā) Var 164. 30 (where Arista was slain)
- Ārjūkiyā—(r) Rg. X 75 5 Ntr IX. 26 (since that the river was called Vipās (modern Beas) and Vipās was originally Uruñjirā)
- Arjuna—(a tīrtha sacred to pits) M. 22. 43.
- Arjunīyā (r.) Devala q. by T. K. p 249, Prof. K. V. R. Ayyangar (T. K. p. 283) following Dey p. 11 holds it identical with Bābudā, but the passage from Devala (on T. K. p 249) shows that Arjunīyā and Bābudā are separately enumerated
- Arkaksetra—same as Konārka
- Arkasthala-kunda (under Mathurā) Var. 157 11, 160 20
- Ārsabha—see under Rsabha
- Ārśisenāśrama—Ann 25. 55
- Arunā-sarasvatīsāngama—three miles to the north-east of Prthūdaka-P. I. 27. 39, Śal. 43.30-31 and 42, Vām. 40.43
- Arunā—(m. on the other or west side of Kailāsa where Bhava dwells) Vā. 47 17-18, Br II 18 18
- Arunā—A. (r. between Sarasvatī and Drsadvatī near Prthūdaka) Śal 43 30-35. Sarasvatī joined itself to Arunā to cleanse the rāksasas of sins and Indra of brāhmana murder, B, (a branch of the Kauśiki) V 84 156, vide Journal of A S of Bengal, vol 17 pp 646-649 on the seven Kosas in Nepal of which the Arunā is the most important, C (under Go) B 89 1, P VI 176 59. Vide Bom G vol XVI p. 463 for Arunā stream.
- Arunā-varunā-sāngama—(under Gautamī) B 89 1 and P VI 176 59
- Arundhati-vata—V 84 41, P I 32 6
- Arunīśa—(under VS) L q by T K p 60
- Āryāvarta—The Amarakośa speaks of it as the holy land (punyabhūmi) between the Himavat and Vinḍhya mountains Vide H of Dh vol II. pp 11-16 for detailed discussion of the extent of Āryāvarta according to different works and at different times
- Āśādha—linga (under VS) L q by T K p 93
- Āśādhātīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194 30
- Āśālinga—(under Śrīparvata) L I 92 148
- Ast—(r. under Banaras) also called Suskanadī. Vide pp. 627, 637 above.

- Asiknī—(a r. now called Chenab) Rg VIII. 20 25, X 75 5 Nirukta IX 26 observes that it was so called because its water was dark-coloured, later it was called Candrabhāgā This was the Acekines of the Greeks. Vide Bh V 19. 18
- Asikunda—(under Mathurā) Var. 163 13, Var chap 166 deals with the efficacy of Asikunda
- Asita—(a m in the west) V 89. 11-12 (on this m Cyavana and Kalsasena had their āśramas).
- Asitā—(r where yogācārya Asita dwelt). A place fit for śrāddha, Vā 77 39, Br III 13 39
- Asitagiri—(where yogācārya Asita dwelt) Br III 13 39
- Āsmanvatī—(r) Rg. X 53 8 The āśv gr (I. 8 2-3) provides that the first half of the verse is to be employed as a mantra when a newly married girl boards a boat and the latter half when she crosses the river and gets down Dey p 13 says that it is the river Oxus He assigns no reasons and I do not accept his view
- Āsmapratha—(a holy stone slab in Gayā, even now called Prastāñā) . Anu 25 42
- Āśokātīrtha—(near Sūrpāraka) V. 88 13
- Āstamana—(under Mathurā) Var q by T. K p 191
- Āstavakra—(four mules from Haridvāra) Anu 25 41 Vide Dey p 12
- Āsthīpura—(under Kuruksetra) P. I. 27 62 It is to the west of Thāneśvara and south of Aujasa-ghāt Here the bodies of the warriors slain in the Bhārata war were collected and cremated Vide A. S. R. vol. 14 pp 36-106 and A G p. 336 where it is mentioned that Hiouen Tshang was shown bones of very large size
- Āsurīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T K. p 67
- Āśvamedha—(under Prayāga) Ag. 111. 14
- Āśvaśiras—(in the story of Nala) V 79. 21
- Āśvatīrtha—A (not far from Kānyakubja) V 95 3 Anu 4 17, V I IV 7 15 (where sage Rōka gave 1000 horses as bride-price to Gādhi for the latter's daughter Satyavati), Kālkā 85 51-57; B (under Narmadā) M 194 3, P. I 21 3, C (on Go) B '89: 43 (where the two Āśvins were born)
- Āśvatthātīrtha—K. II. 35 38—where Nārāyana resides in the form of Hayaśiras (location is not clear)
- Āśvinī—Anu 25 21 (on the Devikā river)
- Āśvinoś-tīrtha—(under Kuruksetra) V. 83 17, P I 26 15 (same words as in V)
- Āśviśvara—(under VS) L q by T K. p 52
- Ātavītīrtha—(under Narmadā) P. I 21. 30
- Ātibala—(Mahābalesvara in Satara District) P VI 113.29
- Ātmatīrtha—(under Go) B 117 1
- Ātreyatīrtha—(on north bank of Go) B 140 1
- Ātri's āśrama—(after Citra' ūta) Rām II. 117.5
- Ātrīśvara—(under VS) L q. by T. K p 43
- Āttahāsa—A (m. in Himālayas) Vā 23 191, B (a tīrtha sacred to pitrs) M. 22.68, C (a linga in VS) L q by T. K p 47
- Auddālakatīrtha—V 84 161
- Audyānalatīrtha—P. I. 38 68
- Aujasa—(under Kuruksetra) V. Dh S. 85 52, Vām 22 51 and 57 51
- Āupamanayava—(under VS) L q. by T K p 97
- Ausaja—A—V Dh S. 85 52 (Sūrpāraka, acc to com Vaijayanti) Jolly (SBE, vol 7 p. 259 gives a different reading Aujasa, and queries whether it may not be Ausija; B (a boundary of Samantapañcaka) Vām. 22. 51 (Rantukād Aujasam cāpi)

Aśanasa—(an eminent tīrtha on Sarasvatī) same as Kapālamocana. V. 83 135, M 22 31, Śal 39 4 and 16-22, P. I 27. 24-26, Vām, 39 1 and 14 (where Uśanas got siddhi and became planet Venus), 42 24

Ausīraparvata—Vā 77.29

Avadhūta—(under VS) L. q by T. K. p. 93

Avakīrṇa—(under Kurukṣetra and Sarasvatī) Vām 39 24-35 (story of Bala Dālbhya who begged of Dhrtarāstra and when condemned by the latter made the whole of Dhrtarāstra's country an *ānūtī* in Prthūdaka), Śal. 41 1, P. I 27 41-45 (where it is Darbhya who is mentioned as bringing the four seas)

Avantī—A (country of which Ujjayinī was capital) Pān IV. 1.176 ('striyām—*avanūtī*—kuntī-kurubhyas-ca'), Raghuvamśa VI. 32; S 31. 10 (Vindānuvindhāvāntyaū), Udyoga 166 6 (same words as in S), B Avantī (river starting from m Pāriyātra) Vā 45 98, M 114.24, Br II 16 29, C (the capital of Mālava, Ujjayinī) B 43 24, Ag 109. 24 (Avantī paramam tīrtham), N. II 78 35-36 (several names such as Viśālā, Amarāvati, Kusasthālī, Kanakāngā, Padmāvati, Kumudvatī, Ujjayinī) Vide also L I 92. 7-8 and B 194.19 (Sāndīpani, teacher of Kṛṣṇa, dwelt in Avantīpura) The Meghadūta (I 30) speaks of Ujjayinī as Viśālā, Kāśīhanda 7 92 'pāpād-avantī sāvīśvam-avantīti nigadyate i yuge yugeśnyanāmnī kalāvujjayanīti ca). Vide under Mahākalā

Avatodā—(r) Bh. V. 19 18

Avighnatīrtha—(on north bank of Go.) B 114.25

Avimukta—(same as Kāśī) V 84. 79-80, Vi. V 34.30 and 43. Vide pp. 618-642 above

Avimuktesvara—(lunga in VS) L. I. 92 6 and 105, N. II 49. 53-55 (where cocks are honoured)

Ayodhyā—(in Fyzabad District in U P) on the Ghāgrā One of the seven holy cities (vide p 678n above) It is also a place of pilgrimage for Jains, as some of their saints were born there Atharvaveda X 2. 31 and Tai, A. 1 27 2 (astācakrā navadvārā devānām pūr-Ayodhyā i tasyām hiranyayah kośah svargo loko Jyotiśāvrtah ||), V 60. 24-25 and 70 2 (capital of King Rūpama and of Rāma), Br IV 40. 91, Ag 109. 24 (Ayodhyā pāpanāśanī) According to Rām. I. 5. 5-7 the country of Kosala had Sarayū flowing through it, Ayodhyā, 12 yojanas long and three broad, was Kosala capital founded by Manu Kosala was one of the 16 *mahājanapadas* of India in ancient times (vide Ahguttara Nikāya, vol. IV p 252). Later on, Kosala was divided into two, viz. Uttara Kosala and Dakṣiṇa Kosala divided by the Sarjū or Ghāgrā river. The Raghuvamśa holds Ayodhyā to be capital of Uttarakosala (VI 71 and IX 1) Vide also Vā 88. 20 ff. for a long line of kings of Ayodhyā from Ikṣvāku and P VI. 208. 46-47 (for Dakṣiṇa Kosalā and Uttara Kosalā). Sāketa is generally identified with Ayodhyā Vide T P p 496 (gives its boundaries from SK) and under Sāketa Dr B C Law contributes a well-documented and learned paper on 'Ayodhyā' to J. of the Ganganath Jha R. Society, vol I pp 423-443

Ayogasiddhi—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 98

Ayonisangama—(under Narmadā) P I 18. 58

B

Babhrutīrtha—(where the Mahī river falls into the sea) SK I 2. 13, 107

Badarī—(a holy place on Gandhamādāna where there was the hermitage of Nara and Nārāyaṇa) V 90 25-32, 141 23, 177 8, Śānti 127 2-3, Bh. IX. 3. 36 and XI. 29 41 (Nārāyaṇā-

- śrama), M 22. 73 (very fit for śrāddha), P. VI. 2 1-7 (there is no *pryā* in Dakṣiṇyana as the mountain is covered with snow). Also called Viśālā. Vide I G I. vol. VI pp 179-180 for description The temple of Badrināth is on the right bank of the Alakanandā.
- Badarikā—A Vām. 2 42-43; B. (near Mahendra m), P I 39 13, V 85. 13; C. (somewhere in southern Gujarat) Vide E I. vol. 25 Ellora plates of Dantidurga (pp 25, 29)
- Badarikāśrama—A. (Badrināth in Garhwal, U P) Var. 141 (7 verses from it are quoted in T K pp 215-216); Parāśarasmitā I. 5 states that Parāśara, father of Vyāsa, resided in this āśrama, M. 201. 24 says Mitra and Varuna practised *tapas* here, V₁. V. 37. 34 (this āśrama was on Gandhamādāna and was the abode of Nara-Nārāyaṇa), Br. III 25 67 (same as in V₁), N II. 67 (describes it at length and specifies the sub-tirthas), N. II. 67. 26 (says it is on Viśālā river), Bh. VII 11.6, B (at a short distance from Madhuvana on Yamunā) P VI. 212 1 and 43
- Badarivana—P. I 27. 66
- Badarīpācana-tirtha—V. 83. 179, Sal. 47. 33 and 48. 1 and 51 (Vasistha had his āśrama here).
- Bagalā—(a Devisthāna). Vide under Vaidyanātha.
- Bāhūdā—(a river near Sarasvatī). Anu. 165, 27, P. I 32 31, N. II. 60 30, B. 27 26, M 114 22 and Vā 45 95 (say it rises in Himavat) V. 84. 67 and 87, 27. Vide Dey. p. 16 for differing views on identification and Fargiter (pp. 291-292 note), Vā 88. 66 states that Yuvanāśva cursed his wife Gaurī who became Bāhūdā Amarakośa gives Saitavāhinī as a synonym of Bāhūdā and Kṣīrasvāmin comments that it was brought down by Kārtavīrya (who was called Bahuda, one who donated much).
- Bahulavana—(under Mathura) Var. 157 8
- Bahunetra—(a tirtha on the Narmadā to be visited on trayodaśī) M 191 14
- Bāhya—(r rising from Sahya) Br. II. 16. 35.
- Bakulāśhngama—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 133. 27
- Bakulavana (or Bahulao)—(5th vana out of 12 under Mathurā) Var. 153. 36 Vide p 690 above
- Balabhadraliṅga—(under VS) L q by T. K p 46.
- Balālā—Anu 25 19 (kanyākūpa upaspr̥śya Balākāyām krtodakah)
- Bālakesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T K. p. 43
- Balākesvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191 19
- Bālapa or Bālāpendra—(on bank of Sābhramatī) P. VI. 145 1, 24 and 37 (a Raviksetra)
- Balesvara—(under Srīparvata) L. I. 92 148
- Balkunda—(under VS) L. q by T K. p 76
- Bānagaṅgā—(under Sālagrāma) Var. 144 63 (Rāvana exposed it by shooting an arrow to the south of Someśvara)
- Bānatīrtha—A (under Go) B. 123. 214, B (under Narmadā) K II 41. 9-10
- Bāṇeśvara-liṅga (under VS) SK, Kāśīkhanda 33. 139, L. q. by T K p 48
- Bāñjulā—(probably same as Vāñjulā, which see) Br. II. 16. 31 (Bāñjulā from Rīsa), Br. II 16. 34 (B. from Sahya), Br. II. 16. 37 (B from Mahendra)
- Bārhaspatya-tīrtha—(under Go) B. 122. 101
- Bhadrā—A (one of the four branches of the heavenly Ganges) V₁ II 2. 34, Bh. V. 17. 5, Vām 51.52, B (the river on which Haribara is situated) Nr. 65. 18
- Bhadradoha—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 52

- Bhadrakāleśvara—(śrāddha here leads to highest goal) M. 22, 74
- Bhadralālī—Acc. to Bār. S. III. 128 she dwells on Vindhya
- Bhadrakālīhrada—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 87
- Bhadrakarnahrada—Ag 109, 17
- Bhadrakarṇeśvara—(a fit place for śrāddha) V. 84, 39, II II. 20, 35, SK VII. 1 Arbuda-khanda—chap. 8, 1-2 (huga on a pool of that name on Arbuda m)
- Bhadratīrtha—A (under Narmadā) P. I 18, 54; B (under Go.) B. 165 1, M 22, 50
- Bhadrauhga—V. 82, 80
- Bhadravana—(6th out of 12 vanas of Mathurā) Var. 153 37, 161 7
- Bhadravata—V. 82 50, P I. 12 10, Var. 51 2 (on the north side of the Himalaya) and 98 6
- Bhadraṅgavati—(one of the four original streams of the Ganges, the other three being Sitā, Alakanandā and Sucaksh) Br. III. 56, 52
- Bhadreśvara—A (on north bank of Narmadā) M 22 25, K II. 41, 4, B (under VS) L. I. 92 136, L q. by T. K. pp 52, 68
- Bhagvat-padi—The Ganges Bh V. 17 1-9
- Bhāgīrathī—M 121 41 (which is one of the seven streams that started from Bindusaras and which following Bhāgīrathī's chariot reached the sea)
- Bhairava—(a tīrtha) M 22 31
- Bhairaveśvara—(under VS) L. I. 92, 137
- Bhāndahrada (under Mathurā)—Var. 157, 10
- Bhāndūra—(under Mathurā) Var. 153, 43 (the 11th out of 12 vanas), 156, 3- vide p 691 above
- Bhāndīraka Vata—(near Vrndāvana) Bh X. 18 22, X. 19 13
- Bhaṅgatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 191, 52
- Bhānūtīrtha—(under Go.) B. 138 1, 168, 1
- Bhārabhūteśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 93
- Bhārabhūti—(under Narmadā) M. 194, 18, K. II. 42, 25, P I 21, 18
- Bharadvājāsrama-Rām II 54, 9-10, VI 127, 1 and 17, V 102 5-6, Vide Citrakūtagiri. For a discussion of the real site of this śrama, vide Journal, Ganganath Jha R. Institute, vol. III pp. 189-204 and 433-474 (Shri R. M Shastri)
- Bharadvājatīrtha—(see Agastyatīrtha) Ādi 216, 4
- Bharatasya-āsrama—A (under Gayā) Br III. 19, 105, M. 13 46 (Devī is here called Laksmī-Anganā), Vā 77, 98, 108, 35, and 112 24, B (under Kanakā) K. II 37, 38, P I, 38 48
- Bharateśa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 66
- Bhūrgaveśa—(under Narmadā) M 192, 1, P. I, 19, 1
- Bhartīsthāna—V 85, 60, P. I. 39, 56 (where god Mahāseṇa is 'nityasannihita')'. Same words in both V and P
- Bhāruṇḍavana—(in the country of Matsya) Rām. II. 71, 5
- Bharuṇlaccha—(modern Broach) S 51 10 (the inhabitants of Bharu-laccha brought as presents to the Pāṇḍavas horses from Gāndhāra i. e. the country about Peshawar). Ptolemy and the Perplus call it Bāry-gaza. It was called Bhrgupura and Bhrgu-laccha also (the latter in SK, Kāśīkhanda 6.25). A Valabhi copperplate of Dharasena IV in Valabhi samvat 330 (648-9 A. D) was issued from a camp at Bharu-laccha. There is a Suppāraka jā-taka, No 463 where Bharuṇlaccha is mentioned as a seaport (ed. by Cowell)
- Bharmagātraka—L. I 92, 177

- Bhasmakūtādrī—(under Gayā) Vā 109. 15
- Bhāskarakesetra—(Konārka) Mīt on Yāj. III 17 quotes a verse 'Gaṅgāyām Bhāskarakesetre &c' (q. on p. 574 above), T. C. p 16 and Prāyaścittatattva (p 493) say that Prayāga is Bhāskarakesetra, while T.S. p 20 says it is Konāditya or Konārka. This is the correct view M 111. 13 and K I 36. 20 say 'Prayāga is Prajāpatikesetra' Vide p. 574 above. Dey p 32 simply follows Prāyaścittatattva
- Bhāvātīrtha—(under Go.) B. 153 1
- Bhedādevī—(near Gaṅgodbheda)—the modern Budabror, west of Śrīnagara, in Kāśmīra, NM 1522
- Bhedagiri—(sanctified by the Gaṅgodbheda spring) R. I. 35, SM. pp. 186-187
- Bhūlatīrtha—(on south bank of Go.) B 169 1
- Bhīmā—(r)—same as Bhīmarathī, rising from Sahya m and tributary of Kṛsnā) Devala q by T K p 250. Its source is adorned by the temple of Bhīmāśankara, one of the twelve Jyotīr-lingas and it falls into the Kṛsnā river 16 miles north of Raichur
- Bhīmādevī—(modern village Brān in Phāh Pargana on east shore of Dal lake in Kāśmīra) R. II 135, HC. 4. 47
- Bhīmarathī—same as Bhīmā. M. 22 45, 114.29, B 27 35, P. I. 24.32, Bhī 9. 20, V. 87. 3, Vām. 13. 30. The Vakkaleri plate of Kīrtivarma II in śaka 679 (757 A. D.) mentions Bhīmarathī (E. I. vol. V. p 200 at p. 204)
- Bhīmasvāmīn—Rock in Kāśmīra worshipped as embodiment of Gaṇeśa, SM. p. 148
- Bhīmatīrtha—Ag. 109.12
- Bhīmājāh sībānam—V. 82. 84, Dey p. 33 identifies it with Takta-i-Bahar, 28 miles to the north-east of Peshtar
- Bhīmesvara—(tīrtha sacred to Pitr under Narmadā) M. 22, 46 and 75, 191. 5, K II 41 20 and II 44 15, P I 18 5
- Bhīsmacandika—(under VS) M 183. 62
- Bhīmesvara—(under VS) L q by T. K p 66
- Bhogavatī or Vāsukītīrtha—A (under Prayāga) It is called the altar of Prajāpati, V 85 77 (tīrtham Bhogavatī caiva vedīr-ṣṣā Prajāpateh), M 106.46 and 110 8, Ag. 111 5, N II. 53 95, B capital of Kakustha of the Ikāvāku race, Kal. 50 4
- Bhrgu—āśrama (on the north bank of Narmadā) SK I 2.3. 2-6
- Bhrgukaccha—(on the north bank of Narmadā), vide under Bharukaccha. Here Bali performed Aśvamedha, Bh VIII. 18 2
- Bhrgukunda—(under Stutasvāmīn) Var. 148.48
- Bhrgutīrtha—(under Narmadā) M 193. 23-60, K II 42. 1-6, P I 20 23-57. Dey p. 34 says it is Bheraghat containing temple of 64 Yoginīs, 12 miles to the west of Jabalpur, V 99 34-35 (at this place Paraśurāma regained his energy taken away by Rāma)
- Bhrgutunga—(an āśrama on a mountain where Bhrgu practised penance) A—Vā 23 148 and 77 82, V 84 50, 90. 23, 130. 191, B V.Dh.S. 85 16, K. II. 20.33, M. 22 31 (a place very fit for śrāddha), which is near Amarakanataka acc to Nanda Pandita and acc. to others in the Himālaya; C (on the eastern bank of the Gandak) Var 146 45-46, D (in Gurjaradeśa) SK, Kāśīkhanda 6 25, E (near Vitastā and Himavat) Vām 81 33
- Bhraspatīkunda—(under Lohārgals) Var. 151 55
- Bhrāgīśvara-linga—(under VS) SK. Kāśīkhanda 33. 129 and L. q by T, K p 84
- Bhūmicandesvara—(under VS) Ag. 112.4
- Bhūmītīrtha—Ag. 109 12

- Bhūtālayatīrtha**—(under Sābhramatī) P VI. 158. 1 (where r Candanā becomes pṛāci) Vām 34. 47 mentions it, but its location is uncertain
- Bhūteśvara**—A (in Kashmir, now called Buthiser) NM 1309, 1324, 1327, R. I. 107. II. 148, HC 4.85 This is included in Nandiksetra Bhūtesa Sīva's residence is on a mountain spur which stretches south-east from Haramukha peaks An. A. vol II, p. 364 refers to it, B (under VS) K I. 35. 10, P I. 37 13, C (under Mathurā) Var. 169. 19
- Bhuvaneśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T K. p. 56
- Bilapatha**—(from where the Vitastā or Zhelum starts) HC 12. 15-17. Vide under Nīlakunda
- Bilvācala**—A Vāsnava-ksetra acc. to Bār. S III. 120
- Bilvaka**—(a very fit place for śrāddha) V. Dh S. 85. 32, M. 22 70, K. II 20. 33, Anu 25 13, N II 40. 79
- Bilvapatraka**—P. VI. 129. 11 (one of the 12 tīrthas of Sīva)
- Bilvāvana**—(10th out of the 12 *vanas* of Mathurā) Var 153. 42
- Binduka**—V Dh S. 83 12 (some editions read Bilvaka)
- Bindumādhava**—(in VS) M. 185 68, SK IV. 83. 148, N. II 29 61, P VI. 131. 48
- Bindusaras**—A (on Maināla m. near Badarī) V. 145 44, Bhī. 6 43-46, Br. II. 18. 31, M. 121 26 and 31-32 (where Bhagiratha, Indra and Nara-Nārāyana practised *tapas*), Bh III. 21-33 and 39-44 (description), B (under VS) Siva bathed in it and the *kapāta* of Brahmā that had stuck to his hand dropped from it and it became Kapālamocana-tīrtha) N. II 29. 59-60, C (under Ekāmraka) B 41. 52-54 (it is so called because Rudra collected drops of water from all holy places and filled it therewith), D (in Kāśmīra) it is a *śikpāta* in the east of the country, according to NM 1116-1117.
- Bindutīrtha**—same as Paścauāda, which see
- Bodhitaru**—(the Bo tree at Buddha Gayā) P VI. 117 30 Vide under Mahābodhitaru At the Bharhut stūpa (about 200 B C) there is a bas-relief showing the Vajrāsana throne of Buddha with the view of the Bodhi tree and an inscription 'bhagavato Sakamunino Bodhi'; vide 'Mahābodhi' by Cunningham, p. 3 The Bodhi tree is said to have been cut down by king Śaśāṅka of Bengal in 600 A D, but restored about 620 A.D. by king Pūṇavarman Vide A. G pp. 453-459 for Bodhi Gayā and p 459 for Bodhitaru.
- Brahmagrī**—A (m. from which Godāvatī rises on which Gautama had his hermitage) B. 74. 25-26, 84. 2, P. VI. 176 38, B (the highest peak of Sahya and as a tīrtha under Kṛṣṇaveyā) T S p 78
- Brahmahrada**—Bh. X. 28. 16-17 (probably used in a secondary sense), Br III. 13. 32
- Brahmaksetra**—(Kuruksetra) V 83 4 6, Vā 59. 106 and 107 and 97. 5
- Brahmakunda**—A (under Badarī) Var 141 4-6; B (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 71 (where four Vedadhārās fall from Himālaya), C (under Gayā) Vā 110. 8
- Brahmakūpa**—(under Gayā) Vā 111 25 and 31, Ag. 115. 37
- Brahmanadī**—(Sarasvatī is so called) Bh. IX. 16. 23
- Brahmanakundikā**—(a tīrtha in Kāśmīra) NM. 1499, 1501
- Brahmanas-tīrtha**—V. 83. 113, P. I. 27. 2 (Brahmanas sthānam), P. I. 38. 20
- Brahmanī**—(probably the Bāmani, that falls into the Chambal) V 84. 58
- Brahmanikā**—(near Nalmisa forest) P. I. 32. 22
- Brahmānusvata**—(under Kuruksetra) P I. 26 67

- Brahmapada—(under Goniskramana) Var. 147 36
- Brahmaputra—same as Laubhitya, which see
- Brahmāranya—(under Gayā) P. I 38 5
- Brahmasaras—A (near Thanesar) Vā. 77 51, M. 22. 12, Vām. 22 55-60 and 49, 38-39. This lake is known by various names, viz. Brahmasaras, Rāmahrada or Pavanasaras &c ; B (under Gayā) V. 84 85 (dharmānyopasobhita) and 95 11, Anu 25, 58, Ag 115. 38, Vā. 111. 30, C (under Kolāmukha) Var. 140 37-39, D (under Sānandūra) Var. 150 20
- Brahmasaras—(under Gayā) K II. 37. 38, N II. 44. 66 (there is Brahmayūpa there)
- Brahmsthāna—V 83. 71, 85. 35, P I. 27. 2
- Brahmsthūnā—P. I 39 33
- Brahmatāresvara—(under VS) L q. by T. K. p 88
- Brahmatīrtha—A (under VS) K I. 35. 9, II. 37. 28, P. I 37. 9-12 (Vishnu established it in the name of Brahmā), B (under Gayā) P. I 38. 69, N II 45. 102, Ag. 115. 36, C (under Go) B. 113. 1 and 23, Br. III 13 56, D (on Sarasvatī) Bh. X. 78 19
- Brahmatunga—Ag 109 12, P. I 24 28
- Brahmatundahrada or Brahmātungahrada—Br. III. 13. 73, Vā. 77. 71-73 (śrāddha, japa, homa yield inexhaustible results here)
- Brahmavallī-tīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 137.1
- Brahmavāluḥ—V. 82. 106, P. I 25 13
- Brahmāvarta—A (holy land between Sarasvatī and Drsadvatī) Manu II 17, Kal. 49 71 The Meghadūta I. 48 (Nir ed.) shows that Kuruksetra was part of Brahmāvarta. It is a holy tīrtha, V 83 53-54, 84 43, M 22. 69, Ag. 109 17; B (under Narmadā) M. 190. 7, 191. 70, P. I 17. 5
- Brahmayoni—A (on Sarasvatī)—same as Prthūdaka, Vam 39 20 and 23, B (under Gayā) V. 83. 140 and 84 95, P. I 27 29, N. II. 47. 54, Vā. 108. 83 (brahmayoni pravīśyātha nirgacched yastu mānavah | param brahma sa yātītha vimukto yonisaakatāt). Vide AG p 458 which states that a small temple now occupies the site of Aśoka's stūpa and p. 646 note 1470 above.
- Brahmayūpa—(under Gayā) Vā. 111. 31-33, Ag 115. 39
- Brahmesvaralīnga—A (under Srīparvata) K. II. 41 18, L I 92 159-160 (also called Alesvara); B (under VS) L. q by T. K p. 115
- Brahmodara—Vām 36. 7-8
- Brahmodaya—(to the south of Vāgmatī) Var 215 102
- Brahmodbheda—Var. 215 91
- Brahmodumbara—V. 83. 71
- Brahadvana—(near Golula where Nandagopa kept his cattle) Bh. X 5. 26, X 7. 33
- Budbudā—(r rising in the Himālaya) Br II. 16 25-26
- Budhesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K pp. 55, 97
- C
- Caitraḥa—M 110 2
- Castraratha—(a *vana*) Vā. 47. 6 (on the banks of the Acchodā river), Br II. 16. 7. Here Devī is called Madotkatā, M. 13 28
- Cakra—(near Sarasvatī) Bh X 78. 19
- Cakradhara—(Vishnusthāna in Kāśmīra, now known in a corrupt form as Takdar or Chāldhar) R I 38. It is a tīrtha of great sanctity, about a mile to the west of Bījbror (ancient Vijayeshvara). Vide K. R. p. 18 and SM. p. 171 (Cakradhara and Vijayesh-Siva are two images located close to each other). HC calls it Cakratīrtha (7 61) and also Cakradhara (7 64)
- Cakrasthita—(under Mathurā) Var. 169. 3

- Cakrasvāmīn**—(under *Sālagrāma*) Var. 145, 38 (cakrañkutaślās-tatra drśyante)
- Cakratīrtha**—A (under *Saukaratīrtha*) Var. 137, 19, B (under *Āmalakagrāma*) Nr. 66, 22, C (under *Setu*) SK. III *Brahmakhandā*, chap 3-5; D (in *Kāśmīra*) also called *Cakra-dhara* (which see), E (on *Go.*) B, 86 I, 109, I, 134, I (6 miles from *Tryambaka*)—though thrice mentioned, it appears to be one tīrtha; F (under *Mathurā*) Var. 162, 43, G (under *Sarasvatī*) Vām, 42 3, 57, 89, 81, 3; vide A, G, p. 336 and under *Asthīpura*; H (under *Dvārakā*) TP, pp. 536-537, Var. 159 58
- Cakravāla**—(a tīrtha sacred to *pitṛs*) M. 22 42
- Cakrāvartī**—(under *Mandāra*) Var. 143, 36-38 (a deep lake)
- Cakreśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 52
- Caksus**—(r. from *Himālaya*, a branch of *Gaṅgā*) M. 121, 23, Vā. 47 21 and 39, Br. II. 16, 20, Bh. V 17, 5. *Dey* p. 43 holds that *Caksus* is the river *Oxus* or *Amu Daria* and relies on *Matsya* 120-121 (of *Ānandākrama* edition), which however does not help at all. It is strange that *Dey* on p. 13 also holds that *Aśmanvatī* is the river *Oxus*
- Caksus**—tīrtha (on south bank of *Go.*) B. 170, 1
- Camasa** or **Camasodbheda**—A (where *Sarasvatī* appears again after disappearing in the desert) V. 82 112, 130, 5 (esa vat *Camasodbhedo yatra drśya Sarasvatī*), P. I. 25 18; B (under *Prabhāsa*) Sal. 35, 87, V 88, 20
- Camatkārapura**—(same as *Ānandapura* in modern *Ahmedabad District*) SK. VI. chap 1-13
- Campā**—A (city on the *Bhāgirathī* four miles to west of *Bhagalpur* and one of the six great cities of the times of the *Buddha*) V. 84, 163, 85, 14, 308, 26, P. I. 38, 70; M. 48, 91 (originally it was called *Mālinī* but later was called *Campā* after king *Campa*) According to the *Mahāpatanibbāna-sūta* the six great cities are *Campā*, *Rājagraha*, *Śrāvastī*, *Sāketa*, *Kauśāmbī*, *Benares* (SBE vol. XI, p. 99 and p. 247), *Vām*, 84, 12 mentions *Cāmpēya brāhmanas Campā* is in the *Varanāśi-gana* (Pān. IV. 2, 82), B (river sacred to *pitṛs*) M. 22, 41, P. V. 11, 35 (between *Anga* and *Magadha*, acc. to *Dey* p. 43) It was the capital of *Lompāda* and of *Karna*
- Campakāranya**—(modern *Champanan* in *Bihar*) V. 84, 133, P. I. 38, 49 *Vālmiki's* hermitage was near *Sangram-pur* in the *Champanan District*
- Campakatīrtha**—(where *Gaṅgā* flows to the north) N. II. 40, 86
- Campaśavana**—(under *Gayā*) Vā. 37, 16-22
- Cañcalā**—(r. rising from *m. Rāvayati*) M. 114, 26
- Candavegā**—(r. sacred to *pitṛs*) M. 22 28
- Candavegēsambheda**—M. 22, 28, K. II. 44, 16, P. VI 131, 67
- Candesa**—(under *Sābhramati*) P. VI. 162 1
- Candikeśvara**—L. I. 92, 166, Vām. 51, 50
- Candrabbhāgā**—(A) the river rises in the *Himālayas* in two streams, one is called *Candrā* (which issues from a large snow-bed on the south-east side of *Bāra Lācha* at a height of over 16000 feet), the other called *Bhāgā* rises on the north-west slopes of the pass. The two join at *Tandi* and the united stream is known as *Candrabbhāgā* or *Chenab*. The five rivers of the *Panjab* are: *Vitastā* (*Jhelum*, the *Hydaspes* of the *Greeks*), *Vipāsā* (*Beas*, *Hypasus* of *Greeks*), *Satadru* (*Sutla*), *Candrabbhāgā* and *Irāvati*. In 'Questions of *Milinda*' (SBE vol 35 p 171) *Candrabbhāgā* is one of the ten great rivers

- of India V. Dh S 85. 49, S. 9. 19, M. 13. 49, Anu. 25. 7, N. II. 60 30, NM. 159 and 162, HC. 12. 44. Vide Asiknī, B (under Narmadā) M. 191 64, K. II. 41, 35, P. I. 18. 61. C (joins Tāpī) P. VI. 70. 44; D (r. that joins Sābhramatī) P. VI. 148. 12, 149. 1; E (same as Bhīmā, a tributary of the Kṛmā)
- Candramas-tirtha—(on Ārcīkaparvata) V. 125 17
- Candrapāda—(under Gayā) Br. III. 47. 18-19
- Candrapura—(a city in Kāśmīra) NM, 1138 and 1156-7 (Mahāpadma Nāga flooded that city and there came into existence a lake, one yojana in length and breadth)
- Candratirtha—A (at source of Kāverī) K. II. 37. 23; B (under VS) P. I. 37. 14, K. I. 35. 11; C (under Narmadā) M. 193. 75, K. II. 42 15, Br. III 13. 25
- Candravaśā—(r.) Bh V. 19. 18
- Candratatī—(r. in Kāśmīra) NM 310 (Diti became this river, as Yamunā became Vitastā)
- Candresvara—A (on Candrabhāgā river and to the east of Dugdhesvara, on Sābhramatī) P. VI 149 1, B (under VS) L q. by T. K p 49
- Candrikā—(r. Candrabhāgā, modern Chenab) M 22 63
- Carmākhyā—(under VS) K I 35. 4
- Carmanvatī—(r. modern Chambal that rises about 9 miles south-west of Mhow and falls into the Yamunā 25 miles south-west of, Etawah town) Ādi 138 74 (Drupada ruled over southern Pañcāla up to Carmanvatī), V. 82. 54, Droṇaparva 67 5 (the name is due to the heaps of the hides of animals killed in Rantideva's *yajñas*), P. I 24 3, Meghadūta I. 45 (refers to Rantideva), the word Carmanvatī occurs in Pān. VIII. 2 12
- Carmakota—M 22 42
- Catuhśamudra—(a *kūpa* under VS) L q. by T. K p 89
- Catuhśamudrika—(a *kūpa* under Ma-
 (rā) Var. 155. 41
- Catuhśrota—(under Badarī) Var 141. 17
- Caturmukha—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 42 28
- Caturtheśvara—(under VS) N II 49 65
- Caturvedesvara—(under VS) SK, Kāśī-
 khanda 33 130
- Chāgalānda—(a very fit place for śrā-
 ddha) M. 13 43 (where Devī is called
 Pracandā), 22 72
- Chāgaleśvara—(under VS) L q by T.
 K p 119
- Chāyāsetra—(sacred to Lalitā) Br
 IV. 44 100 (town park of Mahā-
 lakṣmīpura is so called)
- Chinnapāpaksetra—(on Go) P VI.
 174 15
- Ciccikatirtha—(under Go) B 164 1
- Cidambara—(see under Minākṣī) Devī-
 bhāgavata VII 38. 11. It is famous
 for its great Śiva temple and con-
 tains the 'air *linga*' i e no *linga* is
 actually visible but a curtain is hung
 before a wall and when visitors
 enter the curtain is withdrawn and
 the wall is exhibited The temple
 has a hall of more than 1000 mono-
 lithic pillars
- Cintāgadesvara—(under VS) P I. 37.
 14
- Cīramocanātirtha—(in Kāśmīra) R. I.
 149-150 (mentions the Kanaka-
 vāhinī, Nandīśā and this tirtha to-
 gether) It is the confluence of the
 Kanakavāhinī and the river Sind,
 NM 1538-1545 (so called because the
 seven sages left their bark garments
 here and then went to heaven),
 SM p. 211
- Citābhūmī—(Vaidyanātha or Deoghar
 in Sonthal *pargana* containing the
 temple of Vaidyanātha, one of the
 twelve *Jyotrlīngas*) Śīvapūrāṇa
 I 58, 55, Vide Dey p. 50
- Citraṅgptesvara—(under VS) L q by
 T. K. p. 102

- Citrakūta—(hill, 65 miles south-west of Prayāga in Banda District of Bundelkhand and a railway station on Jhansu-Manikpur branch) V. 85. 58, Rām. II. 54. 28-29 and 93 8 (tea krośas from Bhāradvājāsrama) Rām. II. 55.9 (it is pitrīrtha), II. 56. 10-12, M. 22. 65 and Anu I. 25. 29, N. II. 60. 23 and 75. 26, Ag. 6. 35-36 (near Mandākinī r.) and 109. 23, P. I. 39. 54, Raghuvamśa XIII 47; Meghadūta calls it Rāmāgiri.
- Citrakūtā—(r. rising from Rīksaparvata) Vā. 45. 99, M. 114. 25 (where Mandākinī and this r. are both mentioned as rising from Rīksavat)
- Citrāṅgadātīrtha—(under VS) K. I. 35.11, Vām 46 39 (Citrāṅgadesvara-lhga)
- Citrāṅgavadana—(under the Sābhramatī) P. VI. 141. 1
- Citresvara—(under VS) L. q. by K. T p. 97
- Citropalā (r.) B. 46 4-5 (rising from Vindhya and called Mahāmadī)
- Citropalā—(probably same as the preceding) Bhī. 9, 34, M. 114. 25 (rising from Rīksavat), B. 27. 31-32 (rising from Rīksapāda)
- Cyavanaśyāsrama—A (under Gayā) N. II. 47. 75, Vā. 108. 73 In Rg I. 116.10 Cyavana is said to have been rejuvenated by Aśvins, Sat. Br. 1. 5.1-16 (SBE vol. 26 pp 272-276 he married Sulanyā, king Saryāta's daughter and became young by a bath in a pool), B (under Narmadā) V 89. 12, 121. 19-22; V. chapters 122-124 contain the story of Cyavana, Sulanyā and the Aśvins V. 102, 4 narrates that the Kāleyas devoured one hundred *muns* here. Dey p. 51 gives four different places as Cyavana's hermitage. Cyavana was son of Bhrgu and the Bhrgus are often associated with the region about the mouth of the Narmadā
- Cyavanesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T K p. 66
- D
- Dadhīcatīrtha—V 83. 186, P. I. 27. 73-74 (where Śārasvata stayed and became prince of perfect men, Suddhrāt)
- Dadhīcesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43
- Dadhīkarnesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T K p. 94
- Dākinī—(Bhūmāśanlara) see note 1536
- Dakṣaprayāga—N II 40 96-97
- Dakṣatīrtha—(under Kuruksetra) Vām 46 2 (to the south of Sthūnavata), Vām 34 20 (Dakṣāsrama and Dakṣesvara)
- Dakṣesvara (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 75
- Dakṣa-gaṅgā—A (Godāvari in B. 77 9-10, 78 77, B Kāverī in Nr 66 7), C Narmadā in SK, Revākhanda 4, 24; D Tuṅgabhadrā (in Vik. 4.62)
- Dakṣa-Gokarna—Var. 216. 22-23
- Dakṣa-Mūṣasa—(a tank under Gayā) N II. 45 74, Ag. 115. 17
- Dakṣa-Mathurā—(Madurā in the Madras State) Bh. X 79 15
- Dakṣa-pañcanada—V Dh. S 85 51 (the com. Vajrayanti says that the five rivers are Kṛṣṇā, Venā, Tungā, Bhadrā and Konā)
- Dakṣinaprayāga (known as Mohasveni in Saptagrāma in Bengal) 'tat-Dakṣinaprayāgam tu Gaṅgāto Yamunāṅggatā | snānāt tatrāśyam pnyam Prayāga' iva labhyate' quoted by Gaṅgāvākyaśaṅka p 296, which is itself quoted by T P. p. 355. Dey p 52 says that it is Trivenī on the north of Hughly in Bengal.
- Dakṣa-mudhu—(a tributary of the Chambal) V 82 53, P I 24. 2, Meghadūta I 30
- Dālhyāsrama (hermitage of Baka Dālhyā, half a yojana from where Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were in the company of Sugrīva and his hosts P VI 46. 14-15
- Dāmu (masculine noun) V 82. 71-75
- Dāmodaranāga—a spring in Kāśmra, which is the upper hamlet of village

- Khunamoh (Khonamusa), the birth-place of poet Bilhana. Vide SM p. 166.
- Damstrānkura (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 68-70.
- Danda—V 85. 15.
- Dandaka (name of a territory, location being vague and probably it means no more than Dandakāranya) Rām. II. 9 12 (dīśām-āsthāya Kaikeyī dakṣiṇām Dandakān prati).
- Dandakāranya or Dandakavana—V. 85 41, 147. 32, Var 71. 10 (where Gautamā performed *tapas*), B 88. 18, 110. 96 (Gautamī is in Dandaka), 123. 117-120 (Gautamī was five yojanas from the beginning of D), 129. 55 (quintessence of the world), 161. 73 (D. is the seed of dharma and of mukti), Śal 39. 9-10 (Janasthāna is in D.), Rām. II. 18. 33 and 37, III. 1. 1, Vām. 84 12 (refers to Dandakāranya brāhmanas) and 43, P V 34. 58-59 (origin of name). Vide my paper on the 'Ancient Geography of Mahārāstra' in JBRAS for 1917 at pp. 14-15 and the note and Pargiter in JRAS for 1894 on 'the Geography of Rāma's exile' p 242. Dandakāranya probably comprised all forests from Bundelkhand or Bhopal in Central India right down to Godāvari or to Kṛsnā Br. S. XI. 56 says that a malignant comet in Hasta nakshatra kills the chief of Dandakāranya
- Dandakhāta (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 90
- Dandīśvara (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 90.
- Dardura or Durdura (Nilgiri Hills) V. 282. 43, Mār. 54. 12, Var 214. 52, Raghuvamśa IV. 51 (near river Tāmtaparnā), Br. S. 14. 11.
- Dāruvana—K. II. 39. 66, same as Devadāruvana, which see
- Darvisāṅkramana—V 84 45, P. I 32. 9.
- Daśakanyātīrtha—(under Narmadā) P. 1. 21. 14.
- Daśārnā—(r. rising in m. R̥kṣa, on which śrāddha, japa, dāna most efficacious) M. 22. 34, K II 37. 35-36, Vā. 45 99, 77, 93. Wilson (vol. II. p. 155) says that it is now called Dasān, which rises in Bhopal and falls into the Betwa. Mbh. cites Vārtikas 7 and 8 on Pān VI. 1. 89 which explain the formation (vol. III p. 69). Daśārnā is a word meaning a country having ten forts or 'a river (Daśārnā) having ten waters' The Vārtikas are 'pra-vat-satara-kambalavasaṅgām carne' and 'rnadaśābhyām ca'. Meghadūta I. 23-24 show that 'the capital of the Daśārnā country was Vidīśā (modern Bhilsā) and the Vetravati (Betwa river) was near it It is the Dosaron of Ptolemy (p. 71) Br. S. 10. 15 says that Saturn in Uttarāśādhā destroys Daśārnas.
- Daśāśvamedhika or-medhaka or-medha—A (a tīrtha on the Gaṅgā) V 83. 14, 85 87, Vā 77. 45, Br. III. 13. 45, K II 37 26, M. 185 68 (in VS); B (under Prayāga) M 106 46; C (under Gayā) Ag. 115. 45, N, II. 47, 30, D (under Narmadā) M. 193. 21, K II 41, 104, P. I. 20 20, vide Bom G. vol II. p. 348 for its sanctity, E (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 23, F (under Kurukṣetra) P. I. 26 12; G (under Go) B. 83. 1; H (under VS) L q by T. K. p 116.
- Dattātreyā-jūga—(under VS) L. q by T. K. p. 113.
- Daurvāsika—(under VS) K I 35. 11
- Devadāruvana—A (in the Himālayas near Badrināth) Anu 25 27, K. II. 37 53-60, II. 39. 18 and 66, M. 13. 47 (Devī is called Pustī here); B (Aundha in the Nizām's dominions) P. VI 129 27, C (near Vijayēśvara in Kāśmīra) HC. 10 3
- Devāgama—(under Go) B. 160 1
- Devagiri—(a hill under Mathurā) Var 164. 27, Bh V 19 16

Devahrada—A (under Gandakī) Var. 143, 71, Anu 25, 44, B (under Kṛṣṇa-Venā) V. 85, 37

Devahrada—(r. in Kāśmīra) NM 146

Devakūta—(sacred m.) V. 84, 141, P. I 38, 57.

Devalesvara—(under VS) L q by T K p. 92

Devaparvata—(probably Aravali hills) Devala q by T K p. 250

Devapatha—V. 85, 45, P. I 39, 42

Devaprabha—(under Gandakī) Var. 145, 59

Devaprayāga—In Tehri State. Vide Alakanandā above (it is confluence of Bhāgirathī and Alakanandā), vide U. P. Gazetteer for Garhwal, vol. 36 p. 214

Devāranya—(a forest on r. Lauhtya) Vā. 147, 11 (devāranyam visokam na tasya tīre)

Devasīla—(Visnu is worshipped under name of Trivikrama here) Nr 65, 15 q. by T. K. p. 252

Devatītī—A (on north bank of Go) B, 127, 1; B (under Narmadā) M 191, 24, 193, 81, K. II 42, 16, P. I. 18, 24; C (under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 161, 1

Devasa—(under VS) P. I. 37, 9

Devesvara—(under VS) L q by T K p. 65

Devikā—A (r. rising in Himālaya and being after Sindhu and Pañcanada and before Sarasvatī) V. 82, 102-107, 222, 22 (4 yojanas in length and one-half yojana in breadth), B 27, 27, Vā. 45, 95; Anu 166, 19, Vām. 21, 5; The VI. IV 24, 69 says that

Vṛātyas, Mlecchas and śūdras will rule over the banks of the Sindhu, Dāvikorvi, Caudrabhāgā and Kāśmīra. Here 'Dāvikorvi' means

Śrīdhara says, the country on the Devikā, B (r. that joins Gandakī) Var. 144, 83, 112-13 (Devikā nāma devānām prabhāvāca tapasyatām I nuy amārthā samu-

qbhūtā Gāndalyā mihūā śubbā), Var. 214, 48; C (under Gayā)

Vā 112, 30, 77, 41 (Vīra-kūpa for śrāddha on), Br III.

13, 41. Anu 25, 21 and 165, 19, K II 37, 25, P I 25, 9-14, N. II 47,

27, VI II 15, 6, Vām. 78, 37—all these extol Devikā, but it is not

clear what river is meant. NM 152-153 say that it is holy like Īṣvatī, is

identified with Umā and located in Madra, i. e. between Rāvī and Chenab.

Pān (VII.3 1) expressly mentions the river Devikā and the Mbh thereon

gives the illustration, 'Dāvīkākūlāh śālayah' (paddy grown on the banks

of the Devikā is so called). Pānī probably mentions some river in the

Punjab. Dey p. 55 says that the southern portion of Sarayū is called

Devikā or Devā. Vām 84, 12 refers to Devikā-tīrtha brāhmanas, SK VII

Prabhāsa-māhātmya, chap. 278, 66-67 speak of Mūlāsthāna (modern

Multan) as situated on the Devikā, P I, 25, 9-14 (5 yojanas long and

3 yojana wide). In VI. II 15, 6 the city called Vīranagara is said to

be situated on the bank of the Devikā and as founded by Palastya

Devikā is not Sarayū, as in the Anu 165, 19 and 21 they two are separat-

ely named. Br. S. 11, 35 says that a certain malignant Kṛtū would

strike down even Devikā in the north. Fargiter (tr of Mā, p. 492)

identified it with the river Deeg or Degh in the Punjab, Dr. V. S.

Agrawala with the Vular lake in Kashmir (J. U. P. H. S. vol. 16 pp

21-22) and Mr. Jagannātha (in J. U. P. H. S. vol 17 part 2 p. 78 supports

Fargiter. With respect I agree with Mr. Jagannātha

Devikātata—(Devī is called Nandini here) M 13, 38

Devipūthas—eight are enumerated in Kālikāpurānā 64, 89-91

- Devikūta**—Kal. 18 41, where the feet of Sati's corpse fell
- Devīsthāna**—Devī-Bhāgavata VII 35 5-30 (enumerate numerous Devīsthānas such as Kolāpura, Tulajāpura, Saptasrīga). The Matsya (13.26-54) enumerates 108 Devīsthānas
- Dhanaśeṣvara**—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 70
- Dhanuhpāta**—(under Āmalakagrāma) Nr. 66, 33.
- Dhanvatīrūpā**—(r. rising in Pāriyātra m) M 114 24.
- Dhānyātīrtha**—(under Gomatī) B 120 I
- Dhārā**—(r.) P I 28. 26, M. 22. 38
- Dhāranīrtha**—(śrāddha most efficacious here) M 22, 70.
- Dhārāpatānaka-tīrtha** (under Mathurā) Var. 154 8
- Dhārātīrtha**—(on north bank of Narmadā) M. 190. 6
- Dharmahrada**—(under VS) N. II 51 14
- Dharmanada**—same as Pañcanada, which see.
- Dharmaprastha**—(under Gayā) V. 84 99
- Dharmaprstha**—(4 miles from Bodh-Gayā) P V 11. 74, N. II. 44. 54-55 and 78, K II 37, 38
- Dharmarājatīrtha**—(on the western bank of Jumnā near Prayāga) M 108 27, P I 45 27
- Dharmāranya**—(under Gayā) V. 82 46, Anu 166 28-29, Vā 111 23, Vām. 54 12 (brāhmanas of Dharmāranya), Ag 115 34, N. II 45 100, vide Dr Barua on 'Gayā and Buddhagayā' vol. I, pp. 16-17 for the view that it is part at least of the precincts of the Bodhgayā temple representing the jungle of Uruvelā or Uruvilvā of Buddhist Literature Rām I 32. 7 states that Dharmāranya was founded by Asūrtarajas, a son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā; vide p 661 about Gayā, B (near Mahākāla) P I 12. 6-8, B. S. 14 2 mentions it, but location is uncertain
- Dharmasāstresvara**—(under VS) SK IV 33. 133
- Dharmasīlā**—(under Gayā) Vā. chap 107 and Ag 114. 8-28 Vide above pp 657-58 for the story
- Dharmatīrtha**—(under VS) P. I 37; 4, Ag 109 16, K I 35 10, P VI 135 17
- Dharmāvati**—(river that falls into Sābhramatī) P VI. 135. 16
- Dharmesvara**—A (under VS) L. q by T. K p 53; B (under Gayā) N. II 45 103, Vā 111. 26
- Dharmodbhava**—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 44-46
- Dhautapāpa**—vide Pāpapranāsana
- Dhautapāpā**—(r. rising in Hīmalaya) M 114. 22
- Dhautapāpesvara**—linga (under VS) SK IV. 33. 156
- Dhavalesvara**—(on north bank of Sābhramatī) P. VI. 144 7 ff (supposed to be established by Indra)
- Dhenuka**—(under Gayā) V. 84. 87-89, P. I. 38. 7-10, N. II. 44. 68
- Dhenukāranya**—(under Gayā) Vā. 112. 56, Ag. 116. 32
- Dhenuvaṣa**—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 40-43
- Dhruva-tapovāna**—P. I, 38 31
- Dhūmāvati**—V 84. 22, P. I. 28 23 (Dhūmavanti)
- Dhundhi-Vināyaka**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 126 and SK. IV. chap. 57. 33 (give the etymology of Dhundhi); for 56 Gaṇeśas, vide p. 638 above
- Dhūntapāpa or Dhautapāpa or Dhautapūra**—A (on Narmadā) M. 22. 39, 193. 62, K. II. 42. 9-10; B (at Gokarna) Br. III. 13 20 (Rudra practised *tapas* here); C (under Gayā) Ag 116. 12, N. II. 47. 35 D (under Stutasvāmin) Var. 148 58 (less than five krosas from Stutasvāmin), T. K. p. 223. A. G. p 401 says that Dhūntapāpa is on the right bank of the Gomatī (popularly

- (Gurati)—18 miles to the south-east of Sultanpur; E (near Saṅgameśvara in the Ratnagiri District) vide I.G. I. vol. XXII. p. 50
- Dhūtāpā—A (r. in VS); vide p. 636 above; B (r. rising in Himālaya) Vām. 57. 30, Br. II. 16. 26
- Dhūtāvāhini—(r. rising in Rśyavanta m) M. 114. 26
- Diṅḍipūnyakara—(śit for śrāddha, probably in Deccan) M. 22. 77
- Dīpeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 38, K. II. 41. 25-27 (it is Vyāsātīrtha-tapovana)
- Dīptoda—(probably the same as Bhrgutīrtha) V. 99. 69 (where Bhrgu, great-grand-father, and the father of Paraśurāma performed most severe penance)
- Dīrghasattra—V. 82. 108-110, P. I. 25. 15-16
- Dīrgha-Viṣṇu (under Mathurā) Var. 163. 63
- Divākara—līṅga (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 65
- Divaukaḥ—pūskarīṇī V. 84. 118, P. I. 38. 35
- Drona—(m. in Bhāratavara) M. 121. 13, Bh. V. 19. 16, P. VI. 8. 45-46
- Droṇaśarmaspaḍa—Ann. 25. 28 q. by T. K. p. 256. (reads Dronadharmā)
- Droṇeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 66.
- Droṇī—(r) M. 22. 37 (krāddha on it inexhaustible).
- Drumakpetra—L. I. 92. 129 (probably near Kurukṣetra)
- Dhruva-tapovana—P. I. 38. 31
- Dhruvatīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 152. 58 and 180. 1
- Drsadvatī (r.). Vide p. 682 above In Rg. III. 23. 4 it is mentioned along with Āpayā and Sarasvatī as a holy river for the worship of Agni. V. 90. 11, Manu II. 17 (calls it devanadī), N. II. 60. 30, Bh. V. 19. 18. It is identified by some with the Gḡggar and by others with the Chittāng (Cambridge. History of India, vol. I. p. 80). No trace of the river appears in any modern name Cunningham's identification of it with Rāksbi river 17 miles to the south of Thāṅesar has much to recommend it (A. S. of India, vol. XIV. p. 88).
- Drumacandēśvara—(a lunga in VS) L. I. 92. 136
- Dugdheśvara—(under Sābhrmatī) P. VI. 148. 1 (to the south of Khadgadhara). Vide Bom. G. vol. IV. p. 6
- Durdharaśvara—(on Sābhrmatī) P. VI. 146. 1 ff.
- Durgā—(acc. to Bār S. III. 128 Durgā dwells on Vindhya).
- Durgā—sābhrmatīśāngama—P. VI. 169. 1.
- Durgā—(r. rising from Vindhya) Vā. 45. 103, Br. II. 16. 33.
- Durgātīrtha—A (under Sarasvatī) Vām. 42. 14-15, B (under Go) B. 132. 8.
- Dvādaśāditya-Loṅga (under Badarī) Var. 141. 24
- Dvādaśa-vaṇa—Sat. Br. XIII. 5. 4. 9 (Dvāta lake named after King Dvātavana of the Matsyas), V. 11. 68, 24. 10 (commentary gives a fantastic etymology), 237. 13 (it had a lake), Śal. 37. 27 (visited by Balarāma on Sarasvatī), Vām. 22. 12, 47. 56 (it was near Sānnihatyā pool)
- Dvārakā—A—the name of this holy city does not occur in the Vedic Literature but the references to it in the Mahābhārata and the Purānas are plentiful. It is one of the seven holy cities Vide ¶ 678 It appears that there were two Dvārakās, one more ancient than the other. The ancient Dvārakā was situated near Kodīnar. A little mound which rises on the sea-shore between the mouths of the rivers Somat and Singāvra

three miles from Kodinar is surrounded by the ruins of a temple which popular Hindu belief declares to be the original Dvārakā, where Kṛṣṇa resided and whence transferred himself to Dvārakā in Okhamandala. Vide Bombay Gazetteer, vol. VIII. (on Kathiawar) pp. 518-520 for Kodinar and p 552 for Mūla Dvārakā. It was founded by Kṛṣṇa (with Rai-vataka as a park and Gomanta as a hill) owing to constant invasions and harassment by Jarāśandha; it was two yojanas long and one yojana broad. Vide Sabbhāparva 14. 49-55. The Var. (149. 7-8) makes it 10 yojanas long and 5 broad Vide p 688 above under Mathurā. B (14. 54-56) says that the Vraṇis and Andhakas left Mathurā through fear of Kālayavana, took counsel with Kṛṣṇa, ran to Kuśasthalī and built up Dvārakā: Vi V. 23. 13-15. B 196 13-15 say that Kṛṣṇa begged of the ocean a strip of twelve yojanas, built Dvārakā with large parks, mansions and strong walls and established the people of Mathurā there. When Kṛṣṇa passed away, the city was flooded by the sea and swept away, as stated in a prophetic vein by Mausala-parva 6.23-24 and 7. 41-42, B 210. 55 and 212. 9. Vide also Vi. V. 38 9 (the whole of Dvārakā except Kṛṣṇa's palace was swept by the sea) and BV IV. 129. 44 (except Rukmi-nī's palace). It is called the capital of Anarta (Udyoga 7. 6) and was first called Kuśasthalī (Sabhā 14. 50) Vide M 69. 9 = P. V. 23. 10, B, 7.29-32 and Ag 273. 12 (Kuśasthalī being the earlier name of the capital). The present Dvārakā is near Okhā in Kathiawar. The Harivamśa II (Viṣṇu-parva) chapters 58 and 98 deal with the founding of Dvārakā. Some ancient Jain works like the Uttarādhy-ayanasūtra (SBE. vol. 45 p.115) mention Dvārakā and Rai-vataka park

(Girnar). The Jātakas also refer to Dvārakā. Vide Dr. B. C. Law's work on 'India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism' pp. 102,239. The Prabhāsakhaṇḍa of the SK has a sub-section on Dvārakā in 44 chapters and over 2000 verses for the glorification of Dvārakā. It says 'the reward that is secured by (pilgrimage to) Vārāṇasī, Kuruksetra and Narmadā can be secured at Dvārakā in half a twinkle (4. 52)'; "Pilgrimage to Dvārakā is the 4th means of *muktī*. Man secures *muktī* by acquiring correct knowledge about Brahman or by dying at Prayāga or by mere bath in Gomatī near Kṛṣṇa" (SK. VII. 4. 4. 97-98). The BV. (Kṛṣṇajanma-khaṇḍa, Uttarārḍha chap. 103) has a hyperbolic description of the creation of Dvārakā, which is said to have been one hundred yojanas in extent. There is a work called Dvārakā-pattalaka compiled by Binābhāyī (the only Ms. of which is the one at B. O. R. I. in Poona) which has been published by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri (1940). The Ms is dated *sahvāt* 1574 (1518 A. D.). It summarises the Dvārakā-māhātmya in SK. A pilgrim on reaching Dvārakā first worships Gaṇeśa, then Balarāma and then Kṛṣṇa; he visits Rukmiṇī's temple on the 8th, 9th or 14th *tithī*, then visits Calra-tīrtha, then Dvārakā Gaṅgā, then Sakhoddhāra, then Kāthes in the Gomatī. The temple of Dvārakā-nātha is on the north bank of the Gomatī creek. The main temple has five stories, is about 100 feet high from the ground and is surmounted by a conical spire rising to about 150 feet. Vide Dr. A. D. Pusalkar's paper in the Dr. B. C. Law presentation volume I pp. 218 ff. for further information on Dvārakā;

B (there is Dvārakā in Indraprastha)
P. VI. 202 4 and 62

Dvārakā—Kṛṣṇatīrtha—M. 22 39

Dvāravatī—Same as Dvārakā It contained the temple of Nāgeśa, one of the twelve Jyotirlingas The Kāśhikāṇḍa (7. 104-105) states: 'since in this city there are entrance gates for all the four varṇas it was named Dvāravatī by the learned Where even the bones of beings are marked with the sign of the wheel (discus), what wonder is there if the hands (of men) are marked with the figures of a conch or wheel?' In a Dvārakā-māhātmya stated to be taken from the Śāṇḍilya-purāna (D. C. Ms. No. 49- of 82-83, copied in *sanvat* 1529 i. e. 1472-73 A. D.) it is stated that Mathurā, Kāśī and Avantī are easy of access (sulabha), but Ayodhyā, Māyā and Dvārakā are difficult of approach in the Kali age and in Ms. D. C. No. 63 of 1875-76 it is said at the end that the city is called Dvāravatī because it is the way to mokṣa. It is identified by Yule and others with Barak of the *Periplus* (Ptolemy pp. 187-188.)

Dvīpavakula—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 158

Dvīpa—(probably the island at the mouth of the Ganges) Nr. 65 7 q. by T. K. p. 251 (where Viṣṇu is worshipped as Ananta Kapila)

Dvīpeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 193 80, P. I 18 38 and 23. 76

E

Ekādhāra—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI 136. 12

Ekāhamsa—V 53. 20

Ekāmra—(in Utkala, Orissa, about 20 miles from Cuttack) This is Rudra-tīrtha Ekāmra is the ancient name, the modern one being Bhuvaneśvara. It was also called

Kṛttivāsa B (chap. 41. 10-93) describes and glorifies this tīrtha, all those verses being quoted in T. C. pp. 176-180 It is said to be the destroyer of sin, equal to Benares, and as having eight sub-tīrthas and it was so called because in former ages there was one mango tree (B. 34 6 and 41 10-93) Vide Hunter's 'Orissa' vol. I p. 231-241 and Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa' vol. II pp. 56-98 for history, description, daily services and festivals &c. The chief temple is 160 feet high from the base to the top of the *kalāśa*. In the Bhuvaneśvara Inscription (edited by Dr L. D. Barnett) in E. I. XII p. 150 it is stated that Candrikā, daughter of the Gaṅga king Anāṅga-Bhīma and widow of Haihaya prince Paramardīn, built a temple of Viṣṇu at Ekāmra In that inscription among other matters there is a laudation of Utkalā, of the sanctuary of Ekāmra and of the lake Bindusaras (mentioned in B. 41. 53-54). The date of the inscription is doubtful. But it is between 1101-1200. There is a vast number of temples and shrines here, Vide Archaeological survey of India Report for 1902-3 pp. 43-44, Parusottamatattva (Jiv. I. p. 573) where Raghunandana quotes several verses of B. chap. 41. There is Ekāmrapurāna in five aṅgas (parts) and 70 chapters (vide Mitra's Notices vol. IV pp. 138-140 No. 1561 for detailed analysis of contents and Ekāmra Candrikā which is a guide to pilgrims visiting Bhuvaneśvara and contains extensive quotations from Kapilasamhitā, Ekāmrapurāna, Śivapurāna and other works (vide Mitra's Notices, vol. IV. pp. 136-137 No. 1560 for analysis of contents

Ekavirā—(under Go) B. 161. 3

Elāpura—(probably modern Ellora) M. 22.50 (a place very fit for śrāddha). A G. p 319 identifies Elāpura with modern Verāval in Kathiawar. Talegaon copperplates of Rāstrakūta Kṛṣṇarāja I dated śake 690 (768-769 A.D.) indicate that the king built the famous Kailāsanātha temple in imitation of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcī [E. I. XIII p. 275], vide also E. I. vol. XXV p. 25 (Ellora plates of Dantidurga of śake 663 i.e. 741-42 A.D.)

Erandīnarmadāsāngama—M. 194. 32, K.II. 41, 85 and II. 42.31, P.I. 18 41

Erandītīrtha—(r. tributary of Narmadā in the Baroda territory, called Uri or Or) M. 191. 42, 193 65, P. I. 18 41.

G

Gabhasīā—(under VS) SK. VI 33. 154

Gabhīraka—(a l. under Māndāra to the south) Var. 143. 42

Gadākunda—(under Sālagrāma) Var. 145, 49

Gadālola—(a pool at Gayā on east side of Brahmayoni) Vā. 109, 11-13, 111 75-76, Ag. 115 69, see above p. 665

Gājābhvaya—(same as Hastināpura) Svargā-rohanaparva 5 34

Gajakarṇa—(one of many pitrītīrthas) M. 22. 38

Gājaksetra—a Sivaksetra acc. to Bār S. III 122

Gajaśaila—(m. south of Mānasa lake) Vā 36 24

Gajasābhvaya or Nāgasābhvaya—(same as Hastināpura) Vi. V 35 8, 19, 30-32, Vām 78. 8, Bh I. 4 6 (com. explains 'gajena sahita ābhvayo nāma yasya), Bṛ S 14. 4 calls it 'Gājābhvaya.'

Gajeśvara—(under Śrīśaila) L. I 92 156

Gālava—Vide Pāpaprāṇāśana

Gālavēśvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p. 98

Galkū—(r. same as Gaṇḍakī) P. VI. 76 2 (where the Sālagrāma stones are found), VI 129 14

Gambhīrā—A (a r. that joins Vitastā below Vijayēśvara) HC X. 192, SM. p 170. Stein in note on R VIII 1063 says that it is the name of the lowest portion of the Viśokā river before it falls into Vitastā, B (r. in Central India) Meghadūta I 40, Br. S 16.15 mentions Gāmbhīrīkā r It falls into the Sīprā

Gāpatyatīrtha—(near Sābhramatī on a hill called Viṣṇu) P VI. 129. 26, VI 163.1.

Ganātīrtha—A (one of many tīrthas where śrāddha leads to highest goal) M. 22. 73; B (under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 133, 24

Gaṇḍakī—(rises in Himālaya and falls into Gauges at Sonepur in Bihar). It is the Kondochates of Arrian (A. I. p. 188) Ādi 170 20-21 (one of the seven great rivers that destroy sin), S 20. 27, V. 84. 13, V 222. 22 (Gāṇḍasābhvayā is probably the same as Gaṇḍakī), P. I. 38, 30, IV. 20, 12 (it has pebbles marked with cakrā). The river is said to have sprung from the perspiration on Viṣṇu's cheek in Var 144-106, Br II. 16. 26. Viṣṇu gave a boon to it that he would always remain inside her in the form of Sālagrāma stone (Var. 144. 35-58) Gandakī, Devīkā and a r. from Pulastyaśrama make Trivenī (Var 144. 84) It is known in Nepāla as Sālagrāmī and in U P. as Nārāyanī.

Gandhavatī—A (sacred r. near Ekām-raka, rising in the Udayagiri hills, though the Śivapurāna says it rises in the Vindhya). See 'Antiquities of Orissa' by Mitra, vol. II. p 98; B (a small tributary of Sīprā) Meghadūta I. 33

Gāṅgā—Vide pp. 588-596 above

Gāṅḍāvāra—(the same as Handvāra) V. 81. 14, 90.21, 142 9-10, Anu 25 13, K I 15, 41 and 47 (here Dakṣa's sacrifice was destroyed by Virābhadrā), II. 20 33 (as one of the

- best places for śrāddha), V. Dh S. 85. 28, Ag. 4. 7 (Vāmana approached Bali here), P. V. 5. 3 and V. 26 103.
- It is a Śaivaksetra acc to Bār. S III 129. M. 22. 10 (mentions Gaṅgādvāra and Māyāpuri separately in the same verse)
- Gandhakālī—(r.) Vā. 77. 74, Br III. 13. 76
- Gandhamādāna—(m. on which Badrīnāth is situated) Nr. 65 10 q by T. K. p. 252; Vi. II. 2. 18 (to the south of Meru), Mār. 51. 19, V. 140. 22, 158. 38, Vi. V 24. 5 (location of Nara-Nārāyaṇāśrama), M. 13 26
- Gandharvakuṇḍa—(under Mathurā) Var 163. 13
- Gandharvanagara—q. by T. K p. 247
- Gandharvatīrtha—(under VS) P. I. 37. 13, Śal. 37. 10 (near Gargasrotah on Sarasvatī)
- Gaṅgā-Gaṇḍakī-saṅgama—T. P p. 337
- Gaṅgā-Gomati-saṅgama—T. P. p. 358
- Gaṅgāhrada—P. I. 27. 63 (under Kurukṣetra), V. 83 201, Anu 25. 34
- Gaṅgā-Kauśīki-saṅgama—T. P. pp. 357-358
- Gaṅgā-Mānuṣa-saṅgama—(near Kāśmīra) NM. 1457
- Gaṅgāvat—(under Narmadā) P. I 20. 16 (near Gangeśvara)
- Gaṅgāsāgara-saṅgama—V Dh S 85.28, M. 22 11 (it is 'sarvatīrthamaya'), P. I 39. 4, T. P. pp. 355-356 (for Māhātmya)
- Gaṅgā-Sarasvatī-saṅgama—V. 84. 58, P. I. 32. 3
- Gaṅgā-Sarayū-saṅgama—Raghuvamśa VIII. 95, T. P. p. 357
- Gaṅgā-vadana-saṅgama—(under Narmadā) M. 193. 20
- Gaṅgāvarana-saṅgama—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 45
- Gaṅgā-Yamunā-saṅgama—(i. e. Prayāga, which see) V. 84. 35
- Gaṅgeśvara—A (under VS) N. II. 49. 46; B (under Narmadā) M. 193. 14
- Gaṅgodbheda—V. 84. 65, M. 22. 25, P. I 32 29, Ag 109. 18
- Gargasrotas—(on Sarasvatī) Śal. 37.14
- Gargeśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 82
- Gārhapatyapada—(under Gayā) Vā. 111. 50
- Garteśvara—(under Mathurā) Var. 169. 19, 176 6
- Gāruda—(under Go) B 90 1
- Garudakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 67
- Gaurī—(r.) Bhī 9. 25. It is probably the Gouraio of the Greek writers. Vide Ptolemy p. 111
- Gaurīśa—(sacred to Laitā) Br. IV. 44. 98
- Gaurīśikhara—A—V. 84 151, M 22.76 (fit place for śrāddha), B (a tīrtha near Kāśmīra) NM 1448-1449 (where Umā who was in complexion like a blue lotus became fair by practising tapas)
- Gaurītīrtha—(under VS) M. 22 31, K I 35. 3, P I. 37. 3
- Gautama—(on Mandara m) P. VI 129 6
- Gautamanāga—(in Kāśmīra, to the north of Anantanāga and on the way to Bavan) S M p 178
- Gautamāśrama—(near Tryambakeśvara) P VI. 176 58-59
- Gautama-vana—V. 84. 108-110
- Gautameśvara—A (under Narmadā) M 22 68, 193. 60, K II. 42. 6-8, P. I 20. 58, B (under VS) L q by T. K p 115
- Gautamī—(= Godāvarī). Vide pp. 707-711
- Gavām-bhavana—P I. 26 46
- Gayā—A—see pp 643-679; B (one of the five dhārās at Badarikāśrama) N. II. 67. 57-58
- Gayākedāraka (under Gayā) Ag 115 53
- Gayāśikramana—Nr q by T. K. p. 252 (Viṣṇu's guhya name is Hari there).
- Gayāśūras—(hill named after rājarsi Gaya) V. 95 9, 87 11, Vā 105 29 (it is one krośa in extent), Vā 22 20

- (it is the eastern *ved.* of Brahmā), Ag. 115, 25-26 (it is called Phalgu-tirtha). Acc. to Barua in 'Gayā and Buddhagayā' vol I p 7 it is the modern Brahmayoni hill. Vide p 646 note 1470 above.
- Gayāśirsa—(a set of rocky hills near Gayā town) V.Dh. S 85.4, Buddha went to Gayāsira near Gayā with 1000 bhikṣus, vide Mahāvagga I. 21. 1 (S B E. vol XIII p 134) Vide pp 646 and 668 above
- Gayātirtha—(under VS) P I. 37 5
- Gāyatrīsthāna—V, 85, 28
- Gāyatrīśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p 70.
- Gāyatrītirtha—(under Gayā) Va. 112, 21.
- Ghantābharanaka—(under Mathurā) Var 15+ 15
- Ghantākarnabhrada—(to west of Vyāseśa under VS) N II 49. 28-29, L. q. by T. K. p 86
- Ghanteśvara—M. 22, 70
- Gharghara or-rā (modern Gogra or Ghagra, a holy river that rises in Kumaon and is the great river of Oudh) P II 39 43, M 22. 35 and P V 11 29 (both the latter have the same words 'nadan tau Sona-Ghargharau') Vide TP p 502 for Sarayū-Gharghara-saṅgama The combined waters of Gogra and other rivers including the Sarayū are called Gogrā or Sarjū from Bahrampur. Vide I. G I vol 12 pp 302-303.
- Ghateśvara—(under Sābhramati) P. VI. 159 3
- Ghatokaca—(under VS) K I 35 8, P. I. 37, 8.
- Ghṛtakulyā—(a r. under Gayā) V 105 74, 112 30
- Girnakrikā—M 22 39 (Dey p 65 identifies it with Sabarmati).
- Girikuñja—P. I. 24. 34 (where Brahmā resides)
- Girukūpa—(under Gayā) N. II. 47, 75.
- Girinagara—(modern Junāgad in Kathiawar). The hill near it was called Ujjayanta or Ūrjayanta in former times, but now it is called Girnar. Dey has a long note (pp 65-66) on it. The *pādūkās* (stone with footprints) of Dattātreyā are shown on a spur of the hill. As there are Aśoka's edicts engraved here it follows that it was a well-known place in the third century B. C. The Junāgad Inscription of Rudradāman (150 A D) mentions it in the very first line (E. I. vol VIII, p. 36 at p 42) Vide under Vastrāpatha
- Girivraja—Capital of the kings of Magadha from Jarāsandha and his son Sahadeva, called Rājagṛha in Buddhist times It is about 62 miles from Patna Dey has a very long note on it (pp 66-69), S. 21. 2-3 (it was surrounded and guarded by five hills called Vahāra, Vipula, Varāha, Vṛṣabha, Rṣugiri) Vide under Rājagṛha Rām. I 32 7 states that it was founded by Vasu, a son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā.
- Cobhuleśvara—(under VS) L q by T K p 94
- Gocarnesvara—(under Sripatvata) L. I 92 152
- Godāvari—Vide pp 707-711
- Godhana—(m) Br II 16 22
- Gograha—(under Viraja in Orissa) B. 42 6
- Gohāmuka—(m) Bh V 19. 16.
- Golarna—A (a place sacred to Siva on the western coast about 30 miles south of Goa in the Kumtā Talukā of North Kanara District) V. 85. 24, 88, 15, 277. 55, Ādi., 217. 34-35 (ādyam paśupateh sthānam darśanādeva multidam), Vā 77 19, M. 22. 38, K. II 35. 29-32, Br. III 56. 7-21 (described as 1½ yojanas in extent in verse 7), Vām. 46. 13 (hūga set up by Rāvana), Br III. 57-58 and N. II, 74 (narrate story of its

- being flooded by the sea and of people going to Parasurāma for succour). Vide Epi. C. vol. VII Shikarpur No 99 (of 1113 A. D.) where Cālukya Tribhuvanamalla's tributary is styled 'lord of Gokarnapura' The Lingapurāna speaks of two Gokarnas (I. 92. 134-135), Kūrma II. 35 31 mentions Uttara-Gokarna and the Varāhapurāna (213. 7) mentions a southern and a northern Gokarna, B (on Sarasvatī) Var. 170.11, C (under Mathurā) Var. 171-173; D (under VS) L. q, by T. K p 113, M. 13 30 says that Devi is styled Bhadrakarnikā at Gokarna
- Gokarnahrnda—V. 88. 15-16
- Gokarnesvara (on a peak of the Himālaya) Var 215 118
- Gokula—(a mahāranya) Vide Vraja P IV. 69 18, Bh II 7 31
- Gomāndalesvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I 92. 162 (established by Nanda and others)
- Gomanta—(a hill) A—M. 13 28 (Sati is called Gomati on Gomanta), B (a hill in the Sahya range near Karavīrapura, Krauñcapura and near river Venā) Harivamsā (Viṣṇuparva 39. 11 and 19-20), C (hill near Dvārakā where Kṛṣṇa and the Vṛṣṇis migrated from Mathurā through fear of Jarāśandha's attacks) S 14 54, V 88 15-17, N II 60 27. Pargiter's identifications (p 289 note) are unsatisfactory
- Gomati—(r) A. In Rg. VIII 24 30 and X. 75 6, it is invoked between Kubhā and Kramu (in X. 75 6), hence it is probably modern Gomal a western tributary of the Indus, B (a river near Sarasvatī) V 87. 7, P I. 32 37, Vām. 63. 61 and 83. 2, C (near Dvārakā), SK, VII. 4 4 97-98 and 5. 32, P. IV. 17. 69-70 and VI 176. 35-36, D (the Gumti in Oudh, rising in Himālaya and falling into the Ganges below Benares) M. 114. 22, Br II. 16. 25, Rām. II 49. 11
- Gomati-gangā-sangama—P I. 32. 42, Bh V 19, 18, Ag 109. 19.
- Gopādrī—(m. in Kashmir, in the immediate vicinity of Śrīnagara near its southernmost corner, now known as Takht-i-Sulaiman) SM p. 157, R I 341 (mentions Gopādrī which is modern Gopāl on the Dal lake), vide K, R 17
- Goniskramana—(also Gosthaleka) Var. 147 3-4 and 52
- Gopīśvara—(under Mathurā) Var 157. 18 (where Kṛṣṇa sported with gopīs)
- Gopracāra—(a site under Gayā) Vā. 111 35-37 (where there is a grove of mango trees), Ag 116 0
- Gopratāra—(Guptar in Fyzabad in Oudh) V 84 70-71 (where Rāma gave up his physical body along with his army and servants), Vām 83.8, N II 75 71, Raghuvamsā XV 101
- Gopreksa—(under VS) L q by T. K, p 42, P. I 37. 16, N. II. 50 43 (Gopreksaka)
- Gopreksaka—(hūga under VS) L. I, 92. 67-68
- Gopreksesvara—(under VS) Sk q. by T. K p 131
- Goraksaka—Var 215 93
- Gorabagiri—(in Magadhaksetra) S. 20, 30
- Govārthana—A (in Naimisa forest) V 95.3; B (under Prayāga) M 110.1, C (under VS) K I 35 13, D (under Narmadā) M 193 3 P I 20 3, E (under Sābhramatī) P VI. 156 1
- Govardhana—A (a hill near Mathurā) M 22 52, K I. 14 18 (where Pṛithu practised austerities), P IV. 69. 39, Var 163 18, 164 1 and 22-23, Vi V. 11 16 Vide p 691 above, B (a town under Gautamī established by Rāma) B. 91.1, Br II 16 44 Inscription of Usavadāta near Nasik mentions Govardhana several times (Bom. G vol 16 p.5C9). Vide p. 710 above.

Govindatīrtha—(under Go) B 122, 100, P. I 38 50 (appears to be near Campalāranya)

Grdhrakūta—A (a hill under Gayā) Vā 77 97, 108. 61, 111 22, Ag 116 12, N II 45 95 and 47. 78, B (on the confluence of Sarasvatī and Śuddhā, where Parasurāma's hand stained with blood became clear) NM 1394-5

Grdhra-vana—K II 37. 38

Grdhra-vata—A (on the Grdhrakūta hill of Gayā) V 84 91, Ag 116 12, P. I 38, 11 (bhasmanā snāna there), N. II 44. 72, Vā. 108 63; the tree does not now exist, B (under Sūkaraśetra where a Grdhra became a man) Var 137 56

Grdhreśvara-linga—(under Gayā on Grdhrakūta) Ag 116. 11, N, II 47 78

Guheśvara—(under VS) L q. by T. K. p 102

Gurukulyatīrtha—(on Narmadā) SK. I. 1. 18 153 (where Bali performed Aśvamedhas)

H

Hamsadvāra—(near Kashmir) NM 1464
Hamsakūnda—(under Dvārakā) Var, 149 46

Hamsapada—(near Viśākhayūpa) Vām. 81 10

Hamsaprapatana—(under Prayāga) V. 85 87, M 106 32 (to the east of Gangā and north of Pratisthāna), K I, 37 24, P I 39 80, Ag 111 10

Hamsatīrtha—A (under Gayā) Ag 116. 30, N II 47 30, B (under Narmadā) M 193. 72, C (under Śālagrāma to its east) Var 144. 152-155 (explain why so called). Vide Yalsatīrtha

Hanūmat-tīrtha—(under Go. on north bank) B 129. 1

Hārakūnda—(near Hārapura) L I 92. 164

Haramukuta—(Harmukh in popular language in Kāśmīra) NM 1320, 1322, 1231, peak of the Himālaya

on the east of which is lake Kālodaka and which is itself near Uttaramānasa Vide H C IV. 87-88 and Vik. 18 55 Al (vol 1 p 207) says that the Jailam rises in the mountain Haramakot, where also the Ganges rises Vide Stein's note on R. III 448.

Haramunda—(a tīrtha near Kāśmīra) NM 1455

Haridvāra—(same as Gangādvāra and Māyāpurī) It is in the modern Sabaranpur District in U. P. and on the right bank of the Ganges. It is one of the seven holy cities (vide pp 501 and 678) P. IV 17 66, VI 21.1, VI 22 18, VI 135.37 (Māndavya practised penance here) See Beal's BRWV vol I p. 197, where Hiouen Tshang states that men of the five Indies call it the Gate of Gaṅgā and that hundreds and thousands of people gather to bathe and wash. I do not agree with Cunningham (A G. p. 353) that Haridvāra is a comparatively modern name, since Alberuni mentions only Gangādvāra Both SK IV and P IV mention Haridvāra and it cannot be said that they both are later than Alberuni (i. e 1030 A D.). Probably Gaṅgādvāra was a more popular name in the 11th century than Haridvāra. Al (vol. I p 199) tells us that the source of the Ganges is called Gangādvāra

Haribara-śetra—A (on Tungabhadra) Nr 65 18 (q. by T. K p 253), P VI 176. 46 and VI. 183 3, Var. 144 145 (also called Devāṅga). It is on the boundary between Mysore State and Bombay State, B (the junction of the Gandakī with the Ganges at Sonapur, where Gajendramoṣa took place) Var 144. 116-133 Vām. 85. 4-76 places the story of Gajendramoṣa on mountain Trikūta

Harikeśhvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 113

- Hankeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 84 (probably the same as above)
- Harīścandra—A (tīrtha under VS) M 22.52 (very fit place for śrāddha) 181 28, Ag. 112.3, B (on south bank of Go.) B 104 86 and 88
- Harīścandra—(a m) Devala q. by T. K. 250
- Harīścandresvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 117
- Harīparvata—(hill in Srinagara)—same as Sārikāparvata or Pradyumnapātha K. R p 17, Vik 18. 15
- Hārīta-tīrtha—(eminent place for śrāddha) M 22. 68 (beyond Vasīsthatīrtha)
- Harītakivana—Vide Vaidyanātha p. 678, and a. 1536 above
- Haritesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 120.
- Harīyūpiyā—(a. r.) Rg. VI. 27. 5. Probably in Kuruksetra.
- Harodbheda—(fit place for śrāddha) M 22. 25
- Harapathā—(Śaci at Kāśyapa's prayer became H. in Kāśmīra) N M 309
- Hastatīrtha—(v. 1. Hamsatīrtha) K. II. 42. 13 (on Narmadā)
- Hāstinapura or Hastināpura—(capital of Kurus, named after king Hastus, great-grandson of Bharata Daugyanti,). It is to the north-east of Delhi Ādi 95. 34, Rām II. 68. 13 (Hāstinapura), Vi IV. 21 8, Bh IX 22. 40. After it was swept away by Ganges, Nisaknu, grandson of Janamejaya, made Kauśāmbī his capital Pān. VI 2. 101 (na Hāstinapbalaka-mārdeyāḥ) appears to know it as Hāstinapura The Mbh (vol. I p 380 on Pān. II. 1. 16) offers the illustration 'anu-Gangam Hāstinapuram'.
- Hastipādesvara—(a Sivaliṅga to the east of Sthānnavata) Vām 46 29
- Hastipālesvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. 76
- Hātala—(removes sins of crores of murders) P. IV. 17, 67
- Hātaleśvara—Vām. 63.78 (on Saptagodāvāra)
- Hayamukt—(under Mathurā) Var. 160,23
- Hayaśiras—(fit place for śrāddha) Br. III 13.46, Vā. 77.46
- Hayatīrtha—M. 22 69
- Hemakūta—(another name of Kailāsa, which see) Bhī. 6, 4, Br II 14.48 and 15 15 (Himavat and Hemakūta distinguished)
- Hetukesvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. 92
- Himālaya—see Himavat
- Himavat—In Rg. X. 121 4 and A V. IV. 2. 5 the plural is used (Viśve himavantah) But in A. V V, 4 2 and 8, VI. 24.1 the singular is employed. In Kenopanisad III. 25 Umā Haimavati is mentioned. In V. 158.19, Udyoga 11.12 and Pān. IV. 4 112 Himavat is mentioned and in K. II, 37 46-49 its length is given as 1080 yojanas. It is the Varsaparvata of Bharatavarsa and the other seven chief mountains mentioned in note 1260 are 'Kulaparvatas'. M 117-118 contain fine descriptions of trees, flowers, birds and beasts on it Himālaya occurs in non-vedic works, e. g. Gītā X. 25 Himavat meant the whole mountain range stretching from Assam in the east to the mountains west of Panjab. Mār 51.24 states that Kailāsa and Himavat stretch from east to west and are situated between two seas and that Himavat is to the north of Bharatavarsa (which has seas on south, west, and east) like the string of a bow (Mār 54.59)
- Himavat—aranya-Devīpurāna q by T. K. 244
- Hiranvatī—(carried a girl to Kosala) Vām. 34 8 (one of seven or nine very holy rivers), 64 11 and 19.90,32, Anu 166 25, Udyoga 152. 7 (in Kuru

- lsetra, where Pāndavas pitched their camp), 160.1, Bhī 9.25
- Hiranyabāhu—(The Erannoboas of Greek writers, river Śona). Vide A.I. p. 68. It falls into the Ganges near Bankipore Arrian (A. I. p 186) regards Erannaboas and Sonos as distinct. It was called 'golden armed' probably owing to the colour of the sand in its bed or because particles of gold were found in it
- Hiranyabindu—(on m Kālāñjara) V. 87 21, Anu. 25.10
- Hiranyadvīpa—(under Narmadā) M. 193 68, P. I 20 66
- Hiranyagarbha—(a hūga under VS) K. I 35.13, L I 92 76, P. I. 37. 16, L q, by T. K. p 48
- Hiranyakasiṃhī—(under VS) L. q by T. K. p 43
- Hiranyākṣa—M 22 52 (most efficacious about *dāmas* here)
- Hiranyākṣeśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K 47
- Hiranyāśangama—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI 135.1
- Hiranyavāha—same as Sona and as Arrian's Erannoboas, which was the third great river, the other two being Indus and Ganges (vide A. G p 452)
- Hiranyavātī—(r. on which stood the Sāla grove of the Mallas and the Upavattana of Kusinārā) SBE, vol. XI. p. 85. It is the same as the Gandakī. Vide A. G p 453
- Hlādīnī—(r) Rām II 71 2 (Bharata coming from Kekaya country crossed it first and then Śatadrū)
- Homatīrtha—(under VS) K. I 35 11
- Hṛṣīkeśa—(on the Ganges about 24 miles north of Haridvāra) Var 146 63-64 (Viṣṇu is deemed to stay there)
- I
- Iksu—A (r from Himavat) Vā 45. 96 Dey, p 77 identifies it with Oxus. He equates Aśmanvatī (p. 13) and Caksus (p 43) with Oxus Hence such identifications of his cannot be taken seriously; B (r. falling into Narmadā) M 191. 49
- Ikṣumatī—A (r. flowing through Kumaon and Kanoj). From Pān IV. 2. 85-86 (nadyām matup, madhvādibhyaś-ca) it follows that Pānini was aware of this river, as 'Ikṣu' is included in the madhvādi-gana) Rām II 68. 17 (going from Ayodhyā one first meets Mālinī, then Gaṅgā at Hāstīnapura, then Kuruksetra and then Ikṣumatī), M 22 17 (favourite of the pitrs and falls into the Ganges), P. V. 11 13; B (r. of the Sindhu-Sauvīra country) V: II. 13, 53-54 (there was Kapila's āśrama on it where the king of Sauvīra came and asked what is most beneficial in this *samsāra* which abounds in pain and sorrow), Bh V. 10. 1
- Ikṣu—Narmadāśāngama—M 191. 49, K. II 41.28, P. I. 18. 47
- Ikṣudā—(r rising in m. Mahendra) M 114 31, Vā 45. 106 (reads Iksulā)
- Ilāspada—P I 26 73
- Ilātīrtha—(under Go) B 108. 1
- Iivalapura—(same as Manimatīpurī) V. 96 4
- Indirā—(r) Vā 108 79
- Indradhvaja—(under Mathurā) Var. 164 36
- Indradyumnasaras—A (under Puruṣottama, vide pp 694-95, 700 above) B 51 29-30, B V 199 9-11, Ādi 119 50 (beyond even Gandhamādāna, where Pāndu practised *tāpas*)
- Indradyumneśvara—hūga of Mahākāla, SK I 2. 13. 209
- Indragāmatīrtha—(on north bank of Sābhramatī) P VI 144 1
- Indrakūla—(m. beyond Gandhamādāna) V 37. 41-42, M 22 53 (sacred to pitrs), NM 1443, Bh, V 19. 16
- Indraloka—(under Badarī) Var 141. 10-13
- Indramārga—Anu 25. 9 and 16, P. I. 27 68
- Indranadī—(r.) Vā 43. 26

- Indrānīrītha—N. II. 40 93
- Indraprastha—(the modern village of Indarpat in Delhi District on the Yamunā, Old Delhi) Ādi 217. 27, Mausala 7. 72, Vi, V 38.34 (Yādava Vajra was crowned king here by Arjuna after Kṛṣṇa passed away), P VI 196. 5, 60, 75-76 (it extended up to four yojanas to the south of Yamunā), 200. 5 (it was in Khāṇḍavavāna), Bh X 58 1, XI 30 48, XI 31 25 Indraprastha is only one of five prasthas, the others being Sonapat, Pānīpat, Pīlpat and Bāghpat
- Indratīrtha—(under Go) B 96 1
- Indratoyā—(r. on Gandhamādāns) Anu 25 11
- Indreśvara—A (under Śrīparvata) L I. 92.152; B (under VS) L q. by T. K 71
- Irāvati—(modern Rāvi river in Panjab called Hydroates by Greek writers) Nir IX. 26 notes that the river Parusni invoked in Rg X 75. 5, was also called Irāvati, V Dh. S 85. 49, M 22 19 (fit for śrāddha), Vā. 45. 95 (rises in Himālaya), Vām. 79 7, 81.1, NM 149 (Irāvati tābhā punyā sarva-kalmasanāśini) The city of Lahore stands on it. The Mbh. (vol I p 382 on Pān. II. 1. 20 cites as examples 'dvīrāvati ko deśah, trīrāvati ko deśah'. Vide under Candra-bhāgā.
- Irāvati—nadvalā-sangama—Vām 79 51
- Īśānādhyuṣita—V 84 8
- Īśāna-linga—(under VS) L I. 92. 106 and 137 q. by T. K. p. 105
- Īśāna-śikhara—(under Kedāra) Devī-purāna q by T, K p. 230
- Īśatīrtha—(under Narmadā) P. I 20. 69
- J
- Jagannātha—see under Purusottama
- Jāhnavī—(name of Gaṅgā) Vā. 91. 54-58 (story of sage Jahnu), N II 41. 35-36 (Jahnu drank it and let it off through his right ear), Br III. 56. 48 (Jahnu let it off from his belly), III, 66. 28.
- Jahnurāda—N. II. 40. 90
- Jaigīśavyaguhā—(under VS) L. I. 92. 53
- Jaigīśavyeśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K 91
- Jāla—a Śāltaksetra, acc. to Bār. S. III. 124
- Jalabindu—(under Kolāmukha) Var. 140 16
- Jālandhara—A (hill) M 13 46 (Devī was called Viśvamukhī on it), 22 64 (hill sacred to pits), according to Kal chap 18 51 Devī is called Candī on Jālandhara hill, whereon her breasts fell when Śiva carried her corpse, B (a town on the Sutlej in the Panjab) Vā 104. 80 (Jālandhara pītha seen on the chest of Veda-purusa personified), one of the pīthas of Lohitā is probably Jālandhara. P VI 4 19-20, Br. IV, 44. 95 (Jālandhra) Vide A. G. pp 136-139
- Jāleśvara—A (a Śivatīrtha, one of the eight sthānas) M 181. 28 and 30, K II 40 35, B (under Narmadā) M 186 15 and 38 (a hrada named Jaleśvara), K II. 40 22, P. I 14. 3. Its utpatti in M 187. C (Jaleśvara near Śālagrāma) Var 144. 139-140
- Jalpīśa—T P pp 602-603 quoting Kōṭīkūpurāna
- Jāmadagnya-tīrtha—A (where the Narmadā falls into the sea) M 194 34-35, P I 21 34-35 (calls it Jamadagnitīrtha), B M 22 57-58 (on Godāvari, very efficacious for śrāddha).
- Jambīra—campaka (under Mathurā) Var. q by T. K p 190
- Jambukeśvara—(under VS) K I 35 4, P I. 37. 4, L I. 92.107, N. II. 50.67 (where demon Jambuka was killed by Śiva)
- Jambulā—(r rising from Rkṣapāda) Vā 45 100
- Jambūmārga—A (an āyatana) Devāla q. by T. K. 250, V: II. 13 33 (on the Ganges), Devāla q by T. K. p. 250

- separately mentions Jambūmārga and Kālañjara as āyatanas, B (near Kuruksetra) V 82 41-42, 89. 13 (on Asita m), Anu 25 51, 166 24, M. 22 21, Br. III 13 38, C (near Puṣkara) P. I, 12 1-2, Ag 109.9, Vā 77 38.
- Jambūnadi—(rising from Candraprabha lake on slopes of Meru-Mandara peak) Br II. 18 68-69, Bh. V. 16 19
- Janakakūpa—(under Gayā) P I 38 28, V 84 111
- Janakēśvara—(under VS) L. q by T K. 119
- Janasthāna—Vide p 710 above V 147 33, V. 277 42, Sal 39 9 (in Dandakāranya), Vā 82 194, B 88 1 (four yojanas in extent), Rām VI 126 37-39, III 21 20, III 30 5-6
- Janeśvara—(under Narmadā) P I 13. 11 (sacred to pitrs)
- Janmeśvara—M 22 42
- Japyēśvara—(or Jāpyēśvara) K. II 43 17-42 (near the sea Nandi performed recitation of three erases of Rudra), Ag 112 4 (under VS)
- Jarāsandheśvara—(under VS) L q by T K p 115
- Jatākunda—(under Sānandūra) Var. 150 47 (to the south of Malaya mountain and north of the sea)
- Jāṭismarabrada—A (near Kṛṣṇa-Venā) V 85 38, B (uncertain location) V 84. 128, P I 38 45
- Jayanta—M 22. 73, Vām 51 51
- Jayantikā—Br IV 44. 97 (one of the 50 pīthas sacred to Lalitā)
- Jayapura—(in Kāśmīra, capital of King Jayāpīda, surrounded by water, also called Dvāravatī in imitation of Śrīkṛṣṇa's Dvāravatī) R IV 501-511, K R pp. 13-16, SM pp 197-198 (marked by the present village Andarkot)
- Jayātīrtha—M 22 49
- Jayavana—(modern Zevan in Kāśmīra) R. I 220, Vik 18 70 (1½ gavyūti from Pravaraपुरा) Zevan is mentioned in Am A (vol II p. 358)
- as possessing a spring and reservoir considered sacred Taksakanāga is worshipped to this day in the large hmpid pool situated close to the village Zevan. Vide A G. pp 101-102 for the situation of Jayavana, under Taksakanāga which is near Zevan
- Jayinī—P I 26. 16 (where there is Somatīrtha)
- Jesthila—(near Campakāranya) V 84. 134
- Jñānatīrtha—(under VS) K I 35.6, P. I 37 6
- Jñānavāpī—SK. IV. 33 (describes the origin and greatness of it), see p. 638 above
- Jvālmukhī—(a Devīsthāna) Devī-Bh. VII. 38 6
- Jvālāsaras—(on Amarakantaka m) Br. III 13 12
- Jvāleśvara—(near Amarakantaka) M 188 80 and 94-95, P I, 15 69, 77. 78 (one of the Tripuras burnt by Śiva fell here) It appears that the reference is to jets of natural gas, which burn when ignited
- Jyestheśvara—(modern Jyethir on the Dal lake near Śrīnagara in Kāśmīra) R. I 113, NM 1323-24. This was a form of Śiva in a temple which was built by King Gopāditya of Kāśmīra Stein in note on R I 113 states that there are three places in Kāśmīra called Jyestheśvara R I 124 says that Jalaula, son of Aśoka, built a shrine of Jyestheśvara, which would be the oldest temple in Kāśmīra
- Jyesthapuskara—(on Sarasvatī) V. 200. 66, P V 19. 12, 18, 20 (it is said to be 2½ yojanas long and a half yojana in width)
- Jyesthasthāna—(near Kotitīrtha) V 85 62
- Jyotīrathā or—rathyā—(tributary of Śona) V 85. 8, P. I 39 8
- Jyotismatī—(a tributary of Sarasvatī rising from a lake on Hemakūta) Vā. 47. 63, M 121 65, Br II 18. 66

- Jyotsnā—(r. from Mānasa lake) Br. II. 18. 71
- K
- Kacalūga—(under VS) L. q by T. K. p 112.
- Kadalinadi—(where dāna is most efficacious) M. 22. 52
- Kadamba—(under Dvārakā) Var 149, 52 (where Vṛṇis became purified)
- Kadambakhanda—(a kunda under Mathurā) Var 164. 26
- Kadambesvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I 92. 161 (a lūga established by Skanda)
- Kādravati—(a holy place for śrāddha, japa, homa etc.) Vā 77 82
- Kailāpura—(one of the 50 pīthas of Lahtā) Br. IV 44.97
- Kailāsaśikhara—(a peak of the Himālaya 22000 feet above sea level, 25 miles to north of Mānasa lake) V 139. 41 (6 yojanas high), 153 1, 158. 15-18, M. 121. 2-3; Br IV. 44 95 (one of the 50 pīthas of Lahtādevī), vide Swami Pranavānanda's paper in J.U.P. H.S. vol. 19 pp. 168-180 and his book on 'Kailāsa Mānasa-rovara' and Sven Hedin's 'Trans Himālaya' (1909). Vide Dey pp 82-83 Whether Kailāsa or the lake Mānasa is the source of four great rivers viz Satlej, Indus, Brahmaputrā and Karnālī is a moot point
- Kākahrada (eminently fit for śrāddha) Br III 13 85
- Kākaśilā—(under Gayā) Vā 108. 76, Ag. 116. 4
- Kakubha—(a m.) Bh V 19. 16
- Kakudmai—(r. rising in Sahya) P. VI 113. 25 (Koyanā in Satara District) Vide under Kṛmā and TS p 79. The Koyanā falls into Kṛsnā near Karad in Satara
- Kālabbhairava—(under VS) L. I 92. 132
- Kālavana—western boundary of Āryāvarta acc. to Mbh. vol. I, p. 475 (on Pān. II 4. 10) and vol III p 174 (on Pān VI. 3. 109). Dr. Agrawala in J. U. P. H. S., vol. 14 part 1, p 15 says that it was part of Śāketa
- Kālakeśava—(under VS) K. I 35. 7
- Kālakoti—(in Naumisa forest) V, 95 3, Br S 14. 4
- Kālājara or Kālūjara—A (hill and fort in Bundelkhand) V 85. 56, 87, 21, Vā 77. 93, Vām. 84 (temple of Nīlakantha on it), Kālājara was the capital of the Chandellas, vide E I vol I p 217, E I vol. IV p 153. For Kālājaramandala, vide E I. vol. 19 p 18 (plate dated saṃvat 893) Am A. vol II, p 159 speaks of it as 'a stone fortress situated on a heaven-reaching hill It contains many temples and an idol is there called Kāla Bhairava, 18 cubits high, of which marvellous tales are related. Springs rise within the fort and there are many tanks' Vide I. G. I. vol VI p. 349; B (as an āyatana) Devala q. by T K p 250, C (under VS) K II. 36 11-38 (story of rājara: Śveta who constantly muttered Śatarudriya), P. I. 37. 15, D (shrine of Śiva under Go) B 146, I and 43 (also called Yāyāta), E (said to be source of Narmadā called Kālūjarī and a Śiva shrine) SK, Kālūka-khanda q. by T. S p 98, F (under Mathurā) Var. 176 18 (printed as Kālūjara); G R VII, 1256 (some hilly district in Kāśmīra is meant)
- Kālājaravana—M 181 27 (Kālūjara, a Śiva-tirtha) q. by T. K. p 241
- Kalāpagrāma—(probably near Badarikā) Vā. 91 7, 99. 437 (Devāpi stays there and will be Kṛtayuga-pravartaka when Kāhyuga will end), Bh X 87. 7.
- Kalāpaka—(about 100 yojanas from Kedāra) SK, I. 2 6. 33-34
- Kalāpavana—P I 28.3

- Kalāsākhya-tirtha—(where Agastya sprang from a jar) N II. 40, 87
- Kālasarpis—(a mahātirtha of Kāśyapa) K. II 37 34, Vā 77. 87 (very fit for śrāddha), Br III. 13, 98
- Kalāsésvara (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 99, P I, 37. 7
- Kālatirtha—A (in Kosālā) V, 85 11-12, P. I. 39 11 (both have same words), B (under VS) K. I 35 2
- Kalavinka—Anu 25 43
- Kālavimāla—(one of five tirthas in Kāśmīra) HC 4 83
- Kāleśa—(under Gayā) Ag 116 23
- Kāleśvara—A (under VS) L. I 92, 136, L. q. by T. K pp 45, 72, B (under Narmadā) M 191. 85 In Br. IV 44. 97 it is one of the 50 pithas of Lalitā.
- Kālhrada—(under Śālagrāma) Vār 145 45
- Kālī—A (r flows through Saharanpur District in U P) M. 22 20, Vām 57. 79, this river divides Nepal from Saharanpur, vide I G I vol. XXII p 102; B r. called Kālī Sind which falls into the Chambal
- Kālīkā—(r sacred to pīṭhs) M. 22.36
- Kālīkā-sangama—V. 84 156, P I 38 63 (same words in both), Ag 109 20
- Kālīkāśākhara—Devipurāna q. by T. K. p. 244
- Kālīkāsrama—Anu 25 24 (on Vipāśā) NM 148
- Kālīhadī—(see under Yamunā) P I. 29 I
- Kālīyabrada—(under Mathurā) Var. q by T. K p. 192, T. P p 515
- Kalolakesvara—(under Narmadā) K. II 41. 88
- Kalmāṣī—(Yamunā) S 78. 16
- Kālodaka (lake)—A VDh S. 85 35 (acc. to Vaijayantī com.), Anu 25.60, B (lake situated on eastern half of mountain Haramukuta at 13000 feet above sea level) NM 1231-1233
- Kālodakā—(r. in Kāśmīrā) Anu 25. 60, NM 1545
- Kalpagrāma—(under Mathurā) Var. 166 12 (shrine of Varāha in U. P there), probably modern Kālpī
- Kāma—a Śāltakṣetra, acc to the Bār. S III. 124.
- Kāmadhenupada—(under Gayā) Vā 112 56
- Kāmagiri—(m.) Br IV 39. 105, Bh. V, 19 16, Devī-Bh VIII 11 11.
- Kāmākhyā—A (a Rudratirtha on Devikā river) V 82, 105, P. I 25.12 (same words in both); B (a Devīsthāna or temple of Tripurabharavi on the beautiful Nīlācala hill overhanging the Brahmaputrā river) Devī-Bhāgavata VII. 38. 15, Kal. 64 2 (explains the name and the whole chap is māhātmya) This last is about two miles from Gauhati and was famed even in ancient times; vide TP pp 599-601. Vide Shri B. Kakati's paper on the Mother Goddess Kāmākhyā in 'Siddhabhārati' part II pp. 44 ff In Kal 18 42 and 50 it is said that on Kāmagiri in Kāmarūpa, the private parts of Satī fell when her corpse was carried by Śiva and Devī is known as Kāmākhyā there
- Kāmakosthaka (Kāmakoti)—Pitha of Tripurasundarī—Kāmāksī; Br IV. 5 6-10, IV. 40 16 (in Kāñcī), IV. 44.94 (one of the 50 pithas of Lalitā), Bh X 79. 14 (Kāmalosīm purim Kāñcim)
- Kāmāksī—(in Ahicchatra) a Devīsthāna established by Sumada, P. IV 12 54-60
- Kāmāksī—(in the east) N II 69 (for māhātmya)
- Kāmalākṣa—(here Devī is called Mahotpalā) M 13 34
- Kāmalālaya—M 13 32 (here Devī is called Kāmalā)
- Kāmatirtha—(under south bank of Narmadā) K II. 41 55, G. I 81. 9.

- Kambalāśvataraṅ Nāgāu—A (under Prayāga) M 106 27, 110, 8, K. I. 37. 19 (on south bank of Yamunā), Ag. 111. 5; B two Nāgas (1 e. springs or pools) in Kāśmīra, NM 1052
- Kambalāśvataraṅka—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 102
- Kamboṭikeśvara—(under Narmadā) P, I, 18, 60
- Kambatīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P, VI, 136, 1
- Kāmeśvara-linga—(under VS) Sk IV 33, 122
- kāmeśvarīpītha—(Kal. 84 describes the yātrā)
- kāmīla—(where Gandakī river joins Devikā) Var. 144. 84-85
- kāmodāpura—(on the Ganges) N. II, 68 (contains kāmodāmāhātmya). Four maidens arose at the churning of the ocean viz Ramā, Vāruṇī, kāmodā and Varā, of whom Viṣṇu accepted three and Vāruṇī was taken away by the asuras, chap 68 18, It is 10 yojanas above Gangādāvāra
- kampanā (r.)—V. 84 115-116, Bhī 9, 25
- Kāmyaka—śrama (of the Pāṇḍavas) V. 146. 6
- kāmyaka-sarna—S 52, 20
- kāmyakavanṛ—A (on the banks of the Sarasvatī) V 36 41 (where Pāṇḍavas went from Dvaitavana), Vām 41. 30-31; B (under Mathurā) 4th out of the 12 vanas
- Kanādeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 92
- Kanakā—(r. under Gayā) Vā 108 80
- Kanaka—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T. K. 189
- kanakanandā—(a river to the north of Munda-prsthā at Gayā) N II. 44 62, Vā 77 105 (Kanakanandī), N II. 37 41-43 (reads Brahmaprsthā)
- Kanakavāhinī (r. in Kāśmīra now called Kankana flowing past Buthser i. e. Bhūteśvara) NM 1445, R. I. 149-150 (flows into river Sind). See SM. P 211 NM (1539-42) says that the confluence of Sindhu and Kanakavāhinī is equal to VS
- Kanakeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 104
- Kanakhala—A (on the Ganges about two miles from Haridvāra) V 84 30, Anu 25.13, V Dh S 85 14, K II 37 10-11, SK I 1 2 11 (where Rudra destroyed Dakṣayajña), Vā 83 21, Vām. 4.57, vide T. P. p. 377, B (under Gayā between Uttara and Dakṣina Mānasa) Vā 111 7, Ag. 115 23, N. II 46 46, C (under Narmadā) M 183 69, P. I. 20 67 (where Garuda practised tapas), D (under Mathurā) Var 152 40-49 (where a barber Kāmpīya in Pāñcāla country bathed in Yamunā and was born as a brāhmana)
- Kāñcanaśīlī—(r. near Naimisa forest) Vām 83 2
- Kāñci or Kāñcīpuri—vide pp 711-712 above A—one of the seven holy cities, capital of the Colas and a Devisthāna called Annapūrnā P VI.110.5, Devī-Bh. VII 38 8, Br IV, 5 6-10 and IV, 39 15, Bh X 79 14, Vā 104 76, P IV 17.67, Bār S III 124 (a Śaktaksetra). In a new Inscription of Jayavarman I from Cambodia a king of Kāñci appears to be referred to (vide 'Inscriptions du Cambodge' edited by G Coedès, vol I p. 8 'adhārmikajana—dhvāntam navod-tavivasvatā | ākāñcīpura-urpa (rest lost); B (under Narmadā), P. I 17.8
- Kāñcīpuri—vide p 678 note 1535 above. It may be noted that the text of the Aṅg A had Kāñcī. Vide Aṅg A vol. III p 305 n 4, SK IV. 7. 100-102, Māheśvarī Khanda, sub section Kādāra, 27 33 (the luga Aññānātha therein) Kāñcīpuri is the Mirzapur District was the capital of the Bhāraṇīyas. Jayswal in 'History of India' (150-350 A. D.) p 123 quotes as from Vi. the passage

- 'Navanāgāh Padmāvatyām Kāntipurīyam Mathurāyām . bhoksyanti'. The Venk ed. of V₁ omits the words 'Kāntipurīyam Mathurāyām' and Dr Hall in Wilson's translation, vol IV p 217 notes that one of his best mss does the same Kāntipurī occurs in Br. III. 13 94-95.
- Kanvāśrama—A (on the river Mālinī in the Saharanpur District) V 82 45, 88. 11, V Dh S 85 30, Ag 109 10 In the Śākuntala Act I Kanvāśrama is said to be along the bank of the Mālinī, in Śat. Br 13 5 4 13 we read 'Śakuntalā Nādapityapsarā Bharatam dadhe,' on which the commentator Harisvāmin states that Nādapit is the name of Kanva's āśrama, B on Carmanvatī, four miles south-east of Kotā in Rajputana Vide Dey p. 89
- Kanyā (on the southern sea, same as Kumārī, Cape Comorin) Bh X 79. 17 (Kanyābhīyam Durgādevīm dadarśa sah), see under Kumārī
- Kanyāhrada—Anu 25, 53
- Kānyakubja—(one of the 50 pīthas of Lahtā) Br IV 44. 94, V 87 17 (where Viśvāmītra drank soma with Indra), M 13 29 (Devī is called Gaurī in Kānyakubja i e Kanoj), Anu 4.17, P V 35 (Rāma established image of Vāmana here on the southern bank of river Kālinadī which ultimately falls into the Ganges), P. VI 129 9 The Mbh (vol II p 233 on Pān IV 1.79) mentions Kānyakubjī Rām I. 32 6 says Mahodaya was founded by Kusānābha, son of Kusā, son of Brahmā The A C p 182 states that Kānyakubja, Mahodaya, Kanyākubja, Gādhīpura are synonyms (verses 973-74). Vide under Mahodaya and A G pp 376-382; Ptolemy mentions it (p 134) as Kanagora and Kanogza.
- Kanyākūpa—Anu 25 19
- Kanyā—samvedya—V. 84 136, P. I. 38. 52
- Kanyāśrama—V. 83 189, P. I. 12 5, 27 75, 39 35.
- Kanyātīrtha—A (near the sea) V. 83.112, 85 23, K II. 44 9, P. I. 39 21, B (under Narmadā) M 193 76, K II 42 21, C (in Naimisya forest) V 95. 3, P. I 27 1
- Kapālamocanātīrtha—A (in VS) V. 83 137, SK IV. 33 116, N II 29. 38-60 (Śiva cut off one of Brahmā's head, which stuck to his hand from which he became free at this tīrtha), Śal 39, 8, M. 183 84-103, Vām 3. 48-51, Var. 97 24-26, P V 14. 185-189, K I 35 15 (same story in these five purānas); B (on Sarasvatī, otherwise called Ausānasa) Vām. 39.5-14 (where sage Rahodara got rid of the head of a rākṣasa sticking to his neck and killed by Rāma), Śal 39 9-22 (same story of Rahodara), vide ASR of India vol. XIV pp 75-76 for the situation of this (10 miles to the south-east of Sadhora), legend of Śiva being freed from sin of cutting Brahmā's head and description, C (under Avantī) N II 78.6, D (in Kāsmīra, modern Degām in Śūpiyan *pargana*) R VII 266 (and Stein's n), HC X 249, XIV 111, E (in Māyāpura i. e Haridvāra) P VI 129 28
- Kapāleśvara (under VS) L. q. by T K. 58
- Kapardiśvara (one of the gubya lingas in VS) K I, 32.12, I 33 4-11 and 28-49, P I. 35 1
- Kapatesvara (on the southern side of the Kāsmīra valley close to modern Kothera) R I 32, HC XIV 34 and 135, NM 1178, 1202, 1329-1357 (legend how Śiva shows himself in the disguise of a piece of wood); SM pp. 178-179, Ain A vol II p 358 says 'in the valley of Kothar

- is a deep spring...when its water decreases an image of Mahādeva in sandalwood appears'
- Kāpila** (under VS) K I, 35 9
- Kāpilā**—A (a stream under Gayā) Vā 108.57-58, Ag 116 5; B (river on the south side of Narmadā) M 186. 40, 190.10, K. II 40 24, P I. 13 35 (same verse in last two). It joins Narmadā at Barwani in Central India
- Kapiladhārā**—Vām, 84 24 Dey p 4 (under Amarakantaka) says that the first fall of the Narmadā from Amarakantaka is called Kapiladhārā in Skandapurāna
- Kāpiladvīpa**—(A nanta is Vismu'sgnhya name there) Nr 65 7 q. by TK p. 251 (which reads 'Anantam Kapilam dvīpa')
- Kapilabhada** (under VS) V 84 78, N II. 50 46, P I 32 41, L I. 92 69-70, N. II. 66 35 mentions under Handvāra a tīrtha of that name
- Kapilānāgarāja**—V 84 32, P. I 28.32 (same verse in both)
- Kāpilāsāngama**—A (with Narmadā) M. 186 40, P. II 18 1, VI 242, 42, B (under Go.) B 141 1 and 28-29
- Kāpilatīrtha**—A (under Viraja in Orissa) B 42 6, B (on north bank of Narmadā) M 193. 4, K II 41. 93-100, P I 17 7, V 83. 47, T. S P. 100, C (on the south bank of Go) B 155 1-2 (also called Āngurasa, Āditya and Saimbikēya).
- Kāpilatīrtha**—(under Kapatesvara in Kāśmīra) HC 14. 113
- Kāpilāvata**—(near Nāgatīrtha and Kanakhala) V 84 31, P. I. 28. 31
- Kāpilesāhnga**—(under VS) SK IV 33. 158
- Kapotesvara-linga**—A (under VS) L. q. by T. K pp 57, 107; B (under Narmadā) P II, 85 26
- Kāpisi**—(r. in Utkala n. Orissa) Raghu. IV. 38. May be identified with Kasai flowing through Midnapur.
- Kāpisi**—(r.) Pān. IV. 2.99 mentions it; it is the Kapisene of Greek writers.
- Kāpota**—(under Go) B 80. 5 and 92
- Kāpotalatīrtha**—(under Sābhramatī) P VI 155. 1 (here the r. turns to the east).
- Kapotesvara**—(under Śrīparvata) L. I 92 156
- Karahātala**—(modern Karad in the Satara District on the confluence of the Krmā and the Koyanā) S 31. 70, Vik 8 2 It is mentioned in inscriptions from about 200 B. C. Vide Cunningham's 'Bharhut stūpa' p 131 for a donation of the guild of Karahātala, pp 135 and 136 for gift of pillars by certain inhabitants of Karahākata Coins of the *Ksatrapas* ruling up to 300 A. D. were found at Karad Vide Bom G. vol I part 1 p 58; and Talegaon copperplates of Rāstrakūta Kṛnarāja I dated *śaka* 690 (768 A.D.) in E. I. vol XIII p. 275
- Kārandhama** (on the south sea) Ādi 216 3
- Karāñjatīrtha** (under Narmadā) M. 190 11
- Kārantuka** (under Kuruksetra) Vām 22 60, Vide p. 683 above
- Kārapacava** (on the Yamunā) Pañcavimsā Br. 25 10, 23, Āśv Sr XII 6, Kātyāyana Śr S. 24.6 10
- Karapāda** (shrine of Śiva) Yam q by TK p. 235
- Kārapavana** (near source of Sarasvatī) Śal. 54 12 and 13
- Karatoyā** (r flowing through the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Bogra in Bengal and being the western boundary of Kāmarūpa) V 85 3, S. 9 22, Anu. 25 12 The Amarakośa says that Karatoyā and Sadānīrā are synonyms Acc to Mār 54 25 it rises in the Vindhya, while Vā 45 100 says it rises in Kāsapāda In Sm. C I. p. 132 the

- mantra* in invoking the river begins 'Karatoye Sadānīre' (thus identifying the two)
- Kāravatī (a place fit for śrāddha) Br. III 13 92
- Karavīra—A (modern Kolhapur) M. 13.41 (*Karavīre Mahālakṣmī*) = P. V. 17 205, M 22 76, Anu 25 44, P VI 108 3, L I vol III p 207, 210, a grant of Śilāditya Vyayāditya of śake 1065 mentions Kṣullakapura which appears to be meant for Kolhapura. It occurs as Kollāpura in Miraj plates of Jayasimba II (a Cālukya) in 1024 A D (E I vol XII p 303, 306) Vide I A vol 29 p. 280 for the spelling of the name, B (capital of Brahmāvarta on Drśadvatī) Kāhāpurāna 49.71, NM 147, C (city in Sahya near Gomanta hill) Harivamśa (Viṣṇuparva) 39 50-64
- Karavīraka-tīrtha—A (under VS) L. q by T K p 70, B (under Kubjāmraha) Var. 126 48-51
- Kardamāla—A (under Gayā) M 22 77, Ag 116 13, N II 60 24, B (under Sābhramatī) P VI 165 7 and 10
- Kardamāśrama—(near Bindusaras) Bh III. 21. 35-37
- kardamila—V 135 1 (where Bharata was crowned).
- Karlandha—Vām 51 52
- karhotakśvara—(under Narmadā) M 191 36
- Karmāvarohana—(under Maṭburā) Var q by TK p 190
- Karmesvara—(under Śrīparvata) L I. 92 152
- Karmahrađa—(near Gaṅgāsarasvatī-sangama) P I 32 4
- Karnaprayāga—Vide under Alakānandā and U. P Gazetteer, vol. 36 (for Garhwal) p 172
- kartīkeya—A (Devī is called Yaśaskarī here) M 13 45, B (under Go) B 81, 1, G I 81. 9
- kārtīkeya-kunda—(under Lohārgala) Var. 151 61
- Kārtīkeyapada—(in Gayā) Vā 109. 19, 111. 54
- Kāśī—Vide pp. 618-642 above It is probably the Kassida of Ptolemy (p. 228). AC (p 182) notes that Kāśī Varānasī, Vārānasī and Śīvapurī are synonyms (verse 974)
- Kāśmīra-mandala—The ancient name seems to have been Kāśmīra. The Mbh (vol II p. 119) on Pān III. 2 114 employs this form (ābhijānāsī Devadatta Kāśmīrān gamīsyāmah) Kāśmīra as the name of a country occurs in the Sindhvādigaṇa (Pān. IV. 3. 93). In NM the country is called Kāśmīra in many verses such as 5, 11, 43, 50, but sometimes Kāśmīra also Later works also like H. C 14 45 employ the form Kāśmīra, the Vik (18 1 and 18) uses the form Kāśmīra. NM (292-93) derives the name from *ka* meaning water (*lam vārī* Haritā yasmād-deśād-asmād-apāhītam | Kāśmīrākyam tato hyasya nāma loke bhāṣīyati ||) Ptolemy speaks of it as Kasperia and states that the country was situated below the sources of Bidaspes (Vitasī), Sandabal (Candrabhāgā) and Adris (Irāvātī) Vide Ptolemy pp 108-109 and NM 43. The Vanaparva speaks of the whole country of Kāśmīra as holy (130 10) An. A. (vol II p. 354 notes that the whole of Kāśmīra is regarded as holy ground Vide also V 82. 90, S 27 17, Anu 25. 8 According to a treaty in 1846 with the Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu the territories of the Maharaja are 'situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Rāvī' I G I vol. XV p 72. The Kashmir valley is approximately 84 miles in length and 20 to 25 miles in breadth (I. G I vol XV p 74) Stein (SM p 63) says that its extent is confined to the great valley drained

by the head waters of the Vitastā and to the minor slopes of mountains that surround it. Hiouen Tshang (Beal's B R W vol. 1. p 148) states that 'Kāśmīra kingdom is about 7000 *li* (one *li* being equal to about 5½ miles), that as the country is protected by a dragon it has always assumed superiority among neighbouring people, that they love learning and are well instructed and that (p. 149) the country was once a dragon lake and that afterwards it became dry'. The words of Hiouen Tshang refer to an ancient legend according to which Kashmīr was originally a lake (called Satīśaras) 6 yojanas long and 3 yojanas wide and later became Satīdeśa (NM 64-66), that Umā herself is the country of Kāśmīra (NM 31), that the divine Vitastā rising in the Himālayas is like the *sīmāntā* (line parting the hair) of this holy land (NM 45). The legend runs that Viṣṇu conferred a boon on Vāsuki-nāga who prayed to Viṣṇu when Garuda began to devour all nāgas that he should stay in the Satīdeśa along with the other nāgas, that no enemy would kill any nāga (NM 105-107) and that Nīla was made king of nāgas in the Satīdeśa (NM 110). The residence of Nīla is the famous fountain near the village of Vārnāg in the Shahabād *pargana*. A certain demon called Jalodbhava grew in the Satī lake and killed men (NM 111-123 and Vām. 81 30-33). Nīla approached the sage Kāśyapa the father of all Nāgas, at whose intercession Viṣṇu asked Anantanāga to pierce the hills and make the lake dry and then killed the demon Jalodbhava (R I 25). Then Viṣṇu asked the Nāgas to live in peace and harmony with men. Satī became the river Vitastā. Vide Kūrma II. 43 4. Nāga in Kashmīr means the tutelary

deity presiding over the several holy springs, pools and lakes in which Kāśmīra abounds. Both NM (1130-31) and R (I 38) state that there is not a spot in Kāśmīra even as small as a grain of sesamum which is not a tirtha and has not a nāga as its presiding deity. In An A (vol II p 354) Abul Fazl notes that there were in his day 45 shrines of Mahādeva, 64 of Viṣṇu, 3 of Brahmā and 22 of Durgā and that in 700 places there were graven images of snakes which were worshipped and about which wonderful stories were told. R (I 72) and NM (313-314) say that the country of Kāśmīra is Pārvatī, that the king thereof should be deemed to be a part of Śiva and that none who desires prosperity should disobey (or disrespect) the king. R (I. 42) summarises in one verse the peculiar features of Kāśmīra viz 'learning, lofty dwellings, saffron, water containing ice and grapes, these are common here, although rare in the three worlds'.

Kāśyapapada—(under Gayā) VĀ 109, 18, 111 49 and 58

Kāśyapatīrtha—A (called Kālasarpīh) VĀ 77 87, Br. III 13 98, B (under Sābbhrawatī) P VI. 157 1

Kāśyapeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 75

Kathēśvara—(near Candrabhāgā) M. 191. 63-64

Kātyāyaneśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 120

Kaubera—one of the Sārasvatīrthas, Devala q. by T. K. p 250

Kauberatīrtha—Śal 47 25 (v. here Kubera secured the lordship of wealth)

Kaumāratīrtha—(a lake) Br. III. 13. 86

Kaunata—Vām 51 53

- Kaundinyasaras—(Kramasāra is so K called in Kāsmīra) NM 1481-1483
- Kausāmbi—(modern Kosam, about 30 miles to the west of Allahabad on the Jumūā), Rām I 32, 6 states that it was founded by Kuśāmba, son of Kuśa, son of Brahmā, T K p. 246 The Mbh. mentions it several times (vide vol III pp 50, 134 on Pān, VI, 1 31 and VI 2 130) Vide AG pp 391-398 and under Hastinā-pura A, C (p. 182) says it is the capital of the Vatsa country Vide 'Early History of Kausāmbi' by Nagendranath Ghosh The Kausāmbi Pillar edict of Aśoka (C. I I vol 1 p 159) mentions the mahā-mātras of this city In JRAS for 1898 pp 503-519 Vincent Smith disputes the identification of modern Kosam with Kausāmbi. Vide E. I vol XI p 141 on different views about the location of Kausāmbi
- Kausāhbrada—(on r Kausāki) V 84 142-143, P I 38 58 (where Viśvāmitra obtained the highest *siddhi*)
- Kausāki—A (r from Himālaya, modern Kusi) Ādi 215 7, V 84 132, M 22 63, 114 22, Rām I. 34, 7-9, Bh IX 15. 5-12 (Satyavatī, daughter of Gādhi, became r Kausāki), Vām 54 22-24 (so called because it was the dark *kośa* of Kālī cast off by her when she became fair), 78 5, 90 2, Vā 45 94, 91 85-88. This river was called Pārā by Viśvāmitra (Ādi 71 30-32), B (under Gayā) V. 87. 13, Vā 108 81 (Kausāki brahmadā jyesthā) Here brahmadā is apparently an adjective of Kausāki and not the name of another river as Prof Diksitar (Purāna Index, vol. II, p 507) thinks
- Kausāki—Kokā-saṅgama—Var 140 75-78
- ausāki-mahā-brada—Vā 77. 101, Br. III. 13. 109
- Kausāki—saṅgama (with Drsadvatī) P. I. 26 89, Vām 34. 18 This seems to be another Kausāki apart from the two mentioned above
- Kausāki-tirtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194 40
- Kausāki-yāruṅā—saṅgama—V. 84 156, P I 58 63
- Kaustubheśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K 60
- Kāveri—A (r in south India rising in Sahya m.) V 85 22, Anu 166 20, Vā 45 104, 77. 28, M. 22 64, K, II 37 16-19, P. I. 39 20, P. VI. 224. 3, 4 and 19 (is called Marudvrdhā), Nr 66. 7 (says that Kāveri is Dalsna-Gaṅgā), there is a fine description of it in the Tamil epic Śilappadikāram (X 102 ff, pp 160 ff of Prof Diksitar's translation), B (a r rising in the Rajpipla hills and falling into Narmadā on its northern bank opposite Śūlla-tirtha) M 189 12-14, K. II 40. 40, P. I. 16 6-11 (Kūbera got *yakṣādhipatyā* here), Ag. 113 3
- Kāverisaṅgama—(with Narmadā) Ag. 113 3 and vide under B above.
- Kāyasodhana—V 88 42-43
- Kāyāvarohaṇa—A (modern Kārvān, 15 miles south of Baroda and in the Dabhoi Taluka) Vā 23 221-222 (here Nakulī or Lakulī, the founder of Pāśupata doctrines, flourished), M 22.30, K. II 44 7-8 (state that this was a shrine of Mahādeva and the doctrines of Mahēśvara were promulgated here). E. I. vol XXI pp. 1-7 (Mathurā Inscription of Candragupta II dated in Gupta year 61 i. e. 380 A D shows that Lakulī, the founder of the Pāśupata sect, flourished in the 2nd century A D. B (a Śivatirtha in Benares) M. 181 26. In M 13 48 Devī is said to be styled Mātā in Kāyāvarohaṇa)

- Kedāra**—A (one of the eight Śiva-tīrthas in Benares) V. 87. 25, M 181 29, K I. 35. 12 and II 20. 34 (a very fit place for śrāddha), Ag. 112 5, L. I. 92. 7 and 134, B (in Tehri; Gadhwal and called Kedāra-nātha) VDb § 85. 17; it is 11750 ft. above sea level, there are five Kedāras, viz. Kedāranātha, Tungānātha, Rudranātha, Madhyameśvara and Kāpeśvara Vide U. P Gazetteer, vol 36 p 173 (for Garhwal), C (in Kāśmīra) HC 8. 69 (one krośa below Vijayēśvara), D (under Gayā) N. II 46. 46, E (of Kapīsthala) P I, 26 69.
- Keśava**—A (in Benares) M. 185 68, B (under Mathurā) Var 163. 63
- Keśinī-tīrtha**—(under Narmadā) P. I 21 40
- Keśitīrtha**—(under Ganges) TP p 315
- Ketakīvana**—Vide under Vaidyanātha.
- Ketumālā**—(r. in the west) V. 89 15
- Khadgadhārī-tīrtha** or **Khadgadhāreśvara**—P VI 147, 1 and 67. Vide Bom G vol. IV p, 6 for description
- Khadgapucchanāga**—(in Kāśmīra) HC, X. 251 (about 1½ krośa above Vijayēśvaraksetra, now called Khanbal in Anantanāg *parāgana*)
- Khadgatīrtha**—A (under Sābhramatī) P VI 140 1, B (under Go.) B 139 1 (on the northern bank)
- Khadiravana**—(under Mathurā) Var. 153. 39 (7th *vana* out of 12)
- Khāndatīrtha**—(under Sābhramatī) P VI 137 12 (also called Vrsatīrtha)
- Khāndava (vana)**—boundary of Kuruksetra in Tas Ā V 1. 1. Vide above p. 681. The name occurs in Tāndya Brāhmana 25. 3 6, Ādi 223-225. Bh I 15 8, X 58 25-27, X 71. 45-46, P. VI. 200 5
- Khāndavaprastha**—(a city) Ādi 61 35, 221. 15, Bh X 73. 32 (where Kṛṣṇa, Bhīma and Arjuna returned after destroying Jarāśandha)
- Khatvāṅgeśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T K 56
- Khonamusa**—(in Kāśmīra) Birth place of poet Bilhana and famous for saffron cultivation Vb I 72, XVIII. 71 (reads Khonamukha), SM p 166 (modern Khunamoh, which has two hamlets).
- Kikūleśa**—(under Gayā) Ag. 116 31.
- Kīmdatta**—kūpa—V 83 98
- Kimśukavana**—Vā 38 27-32 (between Vasudhāra and Ratnadhāra)
- Kimśuluka**—name of a m acc to Pān. VI. 3 117 (vanagurjoh sañjñānam kotara-kimśulukāññām) The Kāśikā mentions five forests (including Kotaravana) and six gurs (including Kimśuluka), which cannot be identified with certainty.
- Kimyañā**—P. I 26 74.
- Kindāna**—P I, 26 74, V 83. 79
- Kinkinikāśrama**—Anu 25 23
- Kiranā**—(r.) Vām. 84. 5 Vide p 636
- Kiraneśvara-līnga**—(under VS) SK IV 33. 155
- Kisindhā**—(about two miles from lake Pampā to the north-east) V 280 16, Rām IV 9 5, IV. 14 1 & Mbh. (vol III. p 96) on Pān VI 1 157 mentions 'Kisindhā-guhā' The word occurs in the Śindhvādī gana (Pān IV. 3. 93) It is identified with modern Vijayanagar and Anequndī Vide I G I vol. XIII p 235 Br S 14 10 calls Kisindhā a country in south-east.
- Kisindhaguhā**—Vā 54, 116 (probably the same as Kisindhā)
- Kisindhaparvata**—M 13 46 (Devī is called Tārā on that m.)
- Kokā**—(r.) Var 214 45, B 219 20
- Kokāmukha**—(or Varābhaksetra, on the Trivenī above Nāthapura in Parnica District) V 84 158, Anu. 25 52. Var. 122 (is Kokāmukha-māhātmya), 123 2, 140 10-13 (q by T. K pp 213-214), B 219 8-10 (gods asked a damsel 'Kūśa bhadre prabhūḥ ko vā bhavatyāḥ'), K. I. 31 47, II. 35 36

- (it is a Visnutīrtha), P. I. 38.65; Var. (140.60-84) says that the kṣetra is fiveyojanasin extent and that there is an image of Viṣṇu in the Boar incarnation Vide E I vol. 15 pp. 138-139 for an Inscription of Budhagupta recording the installation of Kolāmukhasvāmīn, and Dr B. C. Law Presentation Volume I pp 189-191, I H. Q. vol. XXI p. 56
- Kokila—(under VS) P. I. 37 16, P V 11, 10
- Kolāhala—(a m.) Vā. 45 90, 106. 45, Br. II 16 21, Mār. 54 12, Vi. III 18. 73; same as Brahmaṇḍī hill according to Dr. Mitra. Vide pp. 646. 656 above. According to the Ādi. 63. 35 it is in Cedi country and barred the flow of river Śuktimatī
- Kolāpura—(modern Kolhāpur, one of the Devīsthānas) Devī-Bh. VII 38. 5, P. VI. 176. 42 (where there is a shrine of Lakṣmī), 182. 1 (astī Kolhāpuram nāma nagaram Dakṣiṇāpathe) and 11. Acc. to Br. IV. 44. 97, it is sacred to Lalitā. In a grant of Śīlāhāra Vijayāditya of śaka 1065 (1143 A.D.) occurs the word Kullakāpura, which is another name of Kolhapur; E. I. vol. III. p. 207 at pp. 209-210. The grantor is described as 'one who has obtained the favour of a boon from goddess Mahālakṣmī'. In the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsa I of śaka 793 (871 A. D.) it is stated that the king, in order to ward off some public calamity, cut off his left finger and dedicated it to goddess Mahālakṣmī (E I vol. 18. p. 235 at p. 241). This Mahālakṣmī appears to be the same as that of Kolhāpur. Vide I. A. vol. 29 p. 280 for Kollāpura.
- Kolla—a Sāktakṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III. 124
- Kollaguri—Ag. 110 21, Bh. V. 19. 16
- Konārka or Konāditya—(in Oḍra i. e. Orissa, about 24 miles north-west of Jagannātha Purī). It means 'the sun of Kona'. Konālonā appears to have been the ancient name. It is a most exquisite memorial of sun-worship. It contains magnificent ruins of a temple of the Sun, which was built by the Gaṅga king Narasimhadeva (1238-1264 A.D.). It is a glorious and most beautiful example of north Indian Hindu architecture ever erected. It had a tower over 180 feet in height and a porch (*mandapa*) in front of 140 feet high. See Mitra's 'Antiquities of Orissa' vol II pp. 145-156 and Hunter's 'Orissa' vol I p. 288 and 'Sungod of Konārka unearthed' (with illustrations) in *Modern Review* for 1945 pp 67-72 The Sun temple shows some of the finest animal sculptures executed in India. Vide B. 28, verses 2, 9, 11, 47, 63 and 29.1 and T. C. pp. 180 ff. It is probably the Kannagara of Ptolemy (vide Ptolemy p 70)
- Kosalā—(r. near Ayodhyā) P. I. 39. 11, VI 205 13, 207. 35-36, 208. 27. In a grant of Vākātaka king Narendrasena he is praised as honoured by the kings of Kosalā (Kosala), Mekala and Mālava. Vide E. I vol. IX p. 271.
- Kotarā-tīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 152.2 and 13 (associated with Anuruddha for whom Kṛṣṇa fought with Bānāsura)
- Kotarā-vana—named by Pān, VI. 3 117 and VIII 4 4 Vide under Kumsuluka and Pān VIII, 4. 4 for the names of five *vanas*.
- Kotikēśvara—(under Narmadā) P I. 18.36
- Koṭīśvara—A (under VS) L q. by T.K. 54, B (under Śrīparvata) L I 92. 157, C (under Pañcanada) Vām 34.29, is it the Koṭīśvara, which is a famous place of pilgrimage on the western shore of Kachh, Close to the Indus and the ocean? A. G. pp 303-4 and Bom. G. vol. V. pp. 229-231

- Koutīrtha.—A (near Prthūdaka) Vām. 51 53, 84. 11-15 (where Śiva assumed one crore of forms for crores of sages eager to see Śiva); B (near Bhartīsthāna) V. 55. 61; C (under Prayāga) M 106 44, D (under Mathurā) Var 152. 62, 154. 29, E (under Narmadā) M. 191 7, K II 41. 34, P I 13 33 and 18 8 (a crore of asuras were killed there); F (on south bank of Go) B 148. 1, G (near Gaṅgādāvāra) V. 83 49, V. 84. 77, N II 66 29, H (under Gayā) Ag 116 6, I (in Pañcanada) P I 26. 14, Vām 34. 28 (so called because Hara collected there the waters of crores of tirthas) J (in Kāśmīra near Bāramūla, modern Kotisar) K R. p. 12
- Kotivata—(under Kōlāmūha) Var. 140. 47-50, 147 40
- Kramasāra—(a lake in Kāśmīra, called Viṣṇupaḍa also) NM 1481-82
- Kratutīrtha—(under Narmadā) P I. 21 9
- Krauñcapāda—(under Gayā) Vā 108 75-77 (a sage in the form of Krauñca bird practised *tapas* on it), N II 46 52, Ag 116 7
- Krauñcapadī—Anu. 25. 42
- Krauñcaparvata—(part of Kailāsa on which Mānasa lake is situated) Tai. Ā. I. 51. 2 mentions this m. (Sudarsane ca Krauñce ca Maināge ca mahāgirau), Rām IV 43. 26-31, Bhī. 111. 47 (pierced by the missile of Skanda), Śal 17 51, and 46 83-84.
- Krauñcāranya—(three krośas from Janasthāna) Rām III 69. 5-8
- Kriyā (r. rising from R̥savatī) Br. II. 16. 29
- Kṛbalāsātīrtha—(also called Nrgatīrtha) T. P. p. 543. Anu. 6. 38 and chap. 70, Rām (VII. 53) narrates how King Nrga became a chameleon.
- Kṛmicandēśvara—(one of the eight Śivasthānas in Banaras) M. 181. 29
- Kṛśodaka—Var. 215. 87-88
- Kṛpā—(r. rising in m. Suktimat) M. 114. 32, Br. II. 16. 38
- Kṛpānītīrtha—(on hill Mundapīstha in Kāśmīra) NM. 1253, 1460
- Kṛsnā—A (r. rising in Sahya at Mahābalesvara) B 77 5, P. VI. 113 25, Vām. 13 30, B Vām 78. 7, 90, 2 (Viṣṇu as Hayaśīrsa on the river); compared to its length and modern importance the river Kṛsnā is rarely mentioned as Kṛsnā, but generally as Kṛṣṇa-Venyā or-Venā It is the third largest river of the Deccan and southern India, the other two being the Godāvāri and the Kāverī In the Mahābalesvara *mahātmya* (JBRAS vol. X. at p. 16 five rivers called Gaṅgā are said to rise from the top of Sahya near Mahābalesvara viz. Kranā, Venā, Kakudmatī (Koyṇā), Sāvitrī (that falls into the Arabian sea near Bānkot) and Gāyatrī (supposed to combine with Sāvitrī).
- Kṛṣṇa gaṅgā—(under Mathurā) Var. 175. 3
- Kṛṣṇagāgodbhavatīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 176 43 (the whole chap. deals with its *mahātmya*).
- Kṛṣṇagiri—(m.) Vā 45 91, Br II. 16. 22
- Kṛṣṇatīrtha—(near Kuruksetra) Vām. 81. 9
- Kṛṣṇa-Venā—Bhī. 9. 16, M 22, 45, Ag. 118. 7, B 27. 35, Vā 45. 104, occurs in Emperor Khāravela's inscription in E. I. vol XX at p. 77 as Kanhabendā The Anu 166. 22 mentions Venyā and Kṛṣṇa-Venā separately. In the Alas plate of Rāstrakūta Govind II dated *śaka* 692 (769 A. D.) the confluence of Kṛṣṇavēnā and Musī is referred to (E I vol. VI. 205).
- Kṛṣṇā-Venyā—(as one river and same as above) P. VI. 108. 27 (confluence of Kṛsnā and Venyā), VI. 113 3 and 25 (Kṛsnā is the body of Kṛṣṇa), Sm. C I p 132 gives a mantra for the bath in Kṛsnā-Venyā Vide. TS pp. 67-83, of which p. 70 states that all

- rivers rising from Sahya destroy sins the moment they are remembered and that Kṛṣṇa-Venā is the best of all such rivers. Māhuk about four miles from Satara is at the confluence of Kṛṣṇā and Venā (which stands for Venā).
- Kṛṣṇa-Venī—(same as above two) M. 114. 29, Rām V 41. 9 In T. S. pp. 67-83 there is a *māhātmya* of Kṛṣṇavenī from SK.
- Kṛtamāla—(r. rising in Malaya) Vā 45 105, B 27 36, M 114 30, Br. III. 35 17, Bh VIII 24 12, X 79. 16, XI 5. 39, Vi II 3. 13. Dey p. 104 says that it is the river Vaga on which Madurā is situated. See under Payasvinī. The Bhāgavata says Manu practised penance on this river and helped the fish (avatāra) to grow
- Kṛtāsaucā—M. 13. 45, 179. 87, Vām. 90. 5 (has an image of Nṛsamba), P VI. 280 18
- Kṛtikāṅgarāla—Anu. 25. 22
- Kṛtikāśrama—Anu 25. 25
- Kṛtikāṭīrtha—(under Go.) B 82 1
- Kṛtīvāsa—(under VS) L q. by T. K p. 40
- Kṛtīvāsaśvarālūga—(in VS) K I. 32. 12 (verses 16-18 explain why it is so called), P. I 34 10, N. II 49. 6-9 (different names in different yugas, this being the one in Tretā yuga)
- Kṛmu—(r.) Rg. V 53 9 and X. 75 6. It is generally held to be modern Kurram that falls into the Indus on its western side near Isakhel. Vide Dey p 105 for other views
- Kṛmā—(r. rising from Rṣayavat) M. 114. 25
- Kṛṣṇiesvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K 117
- Kṣiprā—(r. rising in Vindhya m.) M. 114 27, Vām, 83 18-19 Some printed works write it as Śiprā (Vāyu 45. 98) or Śiprā The printed Matsya says that Kṣiprā rises from Vindhya, while in 114. 24 it mentions Śiprā as rising from Pāriyātra m. The printed Brahma (chap. 27) mentions Śiprā twice, one rising from Pāriyātra (verse 29) and the other rising from Vindhya (verse 33). It is doubtful whether there were two rivers of the same name The Brahmānda II 16 29 and 32 (Kṣiprā in both places) is just like the Brahma
- Kṣiravatī—(r.) V 84 68 (reached after Sarasvatī and Bāhūdā)
- Kṣīrikā—(where there is Nīlakantha) Vām q by T, K p. 438
- Kṣudhātīrtha—(under Go) B 85 1
- Kuberatunga—(a fit place for śrāddha) Vā 77 78, K II. 37. 31, Br III 13 80
- Kubhā—(probably modern Kabul river) Rg. V. 53. 9 and X. 75. 6. It is the Kophes of Ptolemy and Kophen of Arrian (A I. p 179) The Kabul river joins the Indus at Obind, a few miles north of Attock. Pāṇ. V 1. 77 (Uttarapāthenā-ḥṛtam ca) mentions Uttarapāṭha (the road in the north that crossed the Sindhu near Attock)
- Kubjaka—N. II. 60 25, G, I 81. 10 (Kubjake Śrīdharo Harṣh)
- Kubjāmraḷa—(it had a hermitage of Raibhya near Gangādvāra) V 84. 40, M. 22. 66, P I, 32 5. VDh. S 85. 15, K. II. 20 33, G. I. 81. 10 hold it a very eminent place for śrāddha Var 125, 101 and 132 and 126. 33 appear to identify it with Māyātīrtha (i. e. Harīdvāra) Var. 126 contains a *māhātmya* of this place and 23 verses of it are quoted in T. K pp. 206-208 without a single word by way of comment Chap. 126. 10-12 explain why it is so called (a mango tree was seen by sage Raibhya as informed by God and he became bent in reverence). There is doubt about its exact

- location. Var. 179. 26-31 aver that Mathurā is superior to Saukara-tīrtha, which again is superior to Kubjāmraka. Var 140.60-64 explain how the holy place Hrsikeśa came to be so called. On the whole it is better to take Kubjāmraka as a sacred spot in Haridvāra itself or very near it.
- Kubjāsāhgama—(with Narmadā) P. II. 92 32
- Kubjāsrama—(a Vṛṣṇasthāna with an extent of one yojana) K. II. 35. 33-35.
- Kubjāvāna—P I. 39. 34
- Kubjikāpītha—(where Satī's private parts fell while her corpse was being carried by Śiva). Kāhikā 64. 53-54 and 71-72
- Kudmalā—(a r.) M 22. 46 (drāddha performed here is very efficacious)
- Kuhū—(r. sprung from Himālaya) M. 114. 21, Vā 45.95, Br II. 16. 25, Vām 57. 80, B 27. 26; In M 12L 46 the word 'Kuhūn occurs as the name of a people or a country after Gāndhāras and Aurāsas. It cannot be definitely identified with any modern river,
- Kukkutesvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K 98
- Kulampuzā—V 83. 104, P I 26 97
- Kulesvara—(under Mathurā) Var. 177, 55
- Kulīśī—(r) Rg. I. 104. 4
- Kulyā—(r.) Anu. 25. 56 q. by T.K P. 247
- Kumāra—P I. 38 61
- Kumāra—dhātā—V. Dh. S. 85. 25, Vā. 77. 85, V. 84. 149 (which springs from Pitāmaha's lake), Vām. 84. 23, K. II. 37. 20 (near Svāmītīrtha), Br. III. 13. 94-95 (near Vyāsa's seat for dhyāna and Kāntipurī)
- umāra—kośalā—tīrtha—Vā. 77 37
- Kumārakotī—V. 82. 117, P I. 25. 23, Ag. 109. 13
- Kumārātīrtha—Nr. 65. 17 q. by T.K p. 252
- Kumāresvaralīnga—SK. I. 2. 14. 6 ff, Vām. 46. 23
- Kumārī—(Cape Comorin, where there is a temple of Kumārī Devī in which there is a fine image of the goddess as a maiden). Ptolemy mentions it as Koumaria while the Periplus refers to it as Komar or Komarei, V. 88 14 (in the plural as 'Kumāryah' in the Pāṇḍya country), Vā. 77. 28, Br. III 13. 28. Br. II 16 11 and M 114. 10 state that the 9th dvīpa of Bhāratavarsa extends from Kumārī to the source of the Ganges. Śabara on Jaimini, X. 1. 53 asserts that the word 'Caru' is used in the sense of *sthālī* from the Himālaya to the Kumārī country.
- Kumārīla—(on the Vitastā in Kāśmīra) Vām 81 11
- Kumbha—(a place fit for śrāddha) Vā. 77 47
- Kumbhakarnāsrama—V. 84. 157, P I. 38 64 (same verse in both)
- Kumbhakona — (modern Kumbhakonam) in Tanjore District) SK. III, Brahmakhanda 52. 101
- Kumbhīśvara — (under VS on the eastern bank of Varanā) L. q. by T.K p. 45
- Kumudākara — (under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126, 25-26
- Kumudvatī—(r. rising in Vindhya) Vā. 45. 102, B 27. 33
- Kundalesvara—A (under Narmadā) M. 190. 12, B (near southern gate of Śrīparvata) L I 92. 149
- Kundavāna—(third out of the twelve *vanas* of Mathurā) Var. 153. 32
- Kundeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K p. 68
- Kundana—Nr. 65. 19, Vām. q. by T K p. 239; also called Vidarbhā (acc to A. C. p. 182 verse 979)
- Kundiprabha—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92. 148
- Kundoda—(a hill near Kāśī) V. 87. 25-26

- Kuñjātīrtha**—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 9
- Kuraṅga**—Ann. 25, 12
- Kuruṅgala**—(Sirhind in Punjab, fit place for śrāddha) M. 21. 9 and 28, Vā. 77, 93, Vām. 22, 47 (it is between Sarasvatī and Dṛśadvatī), 84. 3 and 17, K. II. 37, 36, Bh. III. 1.24, X. 86 20. Vide p. 688 above
- Kuruṅgalāranya**—Devipurāna q by T.K. p 244
- Kuruksetra**—Vide pp 681-686 above. The Kuruksetra-māhātmya mentions 180 holy places in it, though popular belief is that there are 360. Vide A. G. p 332
- Kuśāplavana**—V, 85, 36
- Kuśāstamba**—Ann. 25, 28 q. by T.K. p. 246
- Kuśāsthala**—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 16
- Kuśāsthālī**—A (same as Dvārakā and capital of Ānarta) Vi. IV. 1. 64 and 91, M 12. 22, 69.9, Vā 86. 24 and 88 1, Bh. VII. 14.31, IX. 3. 28 (Revata, son of Ānarta, founded this city inside the sea and ruled over Ānarta), XII. 12.36 (Kṛṣṇa founded this city), Br. III 61 20 (in Ānarta). Vide p. 746 above, B (capital of Kosala, where Kuśā son of Rāma began to rule) Rām VII 107. 17, Vā 88 199; C (same as Kuśāvati former name of Kusinārā where occurred Buddha's Nirvāna) SBE vol XI. p 248 note
- Kuśātarpana**—(under Go) B 161. 1 (also called Pranītasāṅgama)
- Kuśātīrtha**—(under Narmadā) K. II 41 33
- Kuśāvarta**—A (near Nasik Tryambakeśvara) V Dh S. 85.11, B. 80 2 M 22. 69. Vide Bom. G. vol 16 p. 651, B (near Haridvāra) Ann. 25 13, N II 40 79, Bh. III. 20. 4
- Kuśāvati**—(capital of Kosala on the Vindhya slopes where Kuśā ruled) Vā 88.199, Rām. VII. 107. 7. In the Mahāśudassana śutta (SBE XI. p 248) it is stated that Kusinārā was the city of king Mahāśudassana under the name Kuśāvati
- Kuśeśaya**—(v. l. Kuśeśvara) M. 22 76
- Kuśikasyāśrama**—(on r. Kauśikī) V. 84. 131-132
- Kuśiṣaṭṭa**—Nr. q. by T.K. p. 252
- Kūsmāndeśvara**—(under VS) L q. by T.K. p 103
- Kuśumeśvara**—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 112-117 and 125
- Kūtala**—(m) Bh. V. 6.7 (Kutala), V. 19 16 (Kūtaka)
- Kūtasāla**—(m.) Vā 45. 92, Br. II. 16 23 (probably the same as Kūtaka above)

L

- Lakṣmanācala**—N. II. 75, 74
- Lakṣmanatīrtha**—A (under Go.) B 123. 215; B (under Setu) SK III. Brahma-khanda 52. 106-7 (tonsure of the head only at this tīrtha). The tīrtha is on a river rising in Brahmagiri on the southern frontier of Coorg and falling into the Kāverī IGI vol 16. p. 131
- Lakṣaneśvara**—(under VS) N. II. 49.64
- Lakṣmitīrtha**—(under Go.) B 137.1
- Lalitā**—(in VS) N. II. 49 41, L. q. by TK. p. 96, M. 22. 11 mentions it, but it seems that it was on the Ganges somewhere.
- Lalitāla**—(tīrtha of Santanu) V 84 34, F I. 28 34, N II. 66.37
- Lāṅgala-tīrtha**—(under Narmadā) F I. 18 51
- Lāṅgala-linga**—(under VS) L q by TK p 105
- Lāṅgalīnī**—(r.) S. 9.22, Mār. 54. 29 (Lāṅgulīnī from Mahendra), Vām. 83. 14 q. by TK. p. 235 The town of Chicacole in Ganjam District of Madras State stands on the left bank of the Lāṅgulya, 4 miles from its mouth. I.G.I. vol. X. p. 217
- Lapenkā**—(r) V. 85. 15

- Lauhitya—(r. Brahmaputrā) V. 85, 2, Vā 47. 11, 77. 95, M 121. 11-12 (a *nada* which springs from a lake called Lohita at the foot of Hemaśrnga mountain), Anu 25.46, P. I. 39 2 (same verse as in V 85.2) and V 52 54, Kāhikāpurāna 86. 26-34. From Raghuvamśa IV. 81 it appears that Lauhitya was the western boundary of Prāgyyotśa Vide TP. pp. 601-602 for *māhātmya* The form Lauhitya occurs in Yasodharman's inscription (about 532-33, A. D.), vide 'Gupta Inscriptions' p 142 at p. 146
- Laukika—(under VS) K. I. 35. 13
- Lavanā—r. flowing close by the city of Padmāvati situated on confluence of Pārā and Sindhu Vide Mālatī-mādhava, Act IX. verse 2
- Lavarnakatīrtha—(on Sarasvatī) P I, 26 48
- Lāvīdhukā—(near Campā) P L. 38 71
- Līngasāra—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 51
- Līngi-Janārdana—(under Narmadā) K II, 41. 61.
- Lohadanda—M. 22 65, Vām 90 29 (Vṛṣṇu as Hṛṣīkeśa here) Śrāddha is most efficacious here.
- Lohajānghavana—(9th out of twelve *vanas* of Mathurā) Var. 153. 41
- Lohakūta—N, II. 60. 24
- Lohārgala—(a Vṛṣṇuhāna in Himālaya) Var. 140. 5 (that Mleccha kings support or resort to it), 144 10, 151. 1-33 (verses 7-8 say that thirty *yojanas* from Siddhavāta in the midst of mlecchas is Lohārgala). Var. 151 verses 13-14 explain why it is so called, 151. 79 says it is twenty-five *yojanas* in extent. The T. K. (pp. 228-229) quotes twelve verses on it from Var. 151. Dey p. 115 surmises that it is probably 'Lohāghāt in Kumāon
- Lohita—(same as Śona) Anu. 166. 21; in Br. II. 16-27 Lohita seems to be meant for Brahmaputrā.
- Lohita-Gaṅgaka—(same as Lauhitya) Kal. 86. 32-34
- Lokapāla—(under Badarī) Var 141. 28-31
- Lokapālesvara—(under VS) L. q. by TK. p 105
- Lokoddhāra—V. 83. 45, P. I. 26 41 (same verse in both)
- Lolārka—(under VS) M. 185 '68 (one of the five principal tīrthas in Banaras), K. I 35, 14, P. I 37. 17 (reads Lokārka), Vām. 15 58-59, Vide p. 634 above
- Loṅārakuṇḍa—(in Viṣṇu-Gayā) P. VI, 176. 41. Loṅār is a salt lake in the Buldana District of Berar, the fabled den of the giant Loṅāsura whom Viṣṇu vanquished It is a place of great antiquity and held in great veneration, Anu A. vol. II. describes it (pp 230-231) and states that brāhmanas call it Bishan Gayā. One of the best remaining examples in Berar of the medieval temples is that at Loṅār known as 'the temple of Daitya-sūdana. It is a Vaiṣṇava shrine, Vide Victor Cousins' 'Medieval temples of the Dakhan' (1931) pp. 68-72 for description of the great temple and of several temples around the margin of a lake in an extinct volcanic crater and plates CIII-CV.

M

- Madāvārtanāga—(on the Vitasā in Kāśmīra) H.C. X. 252.
- Mādhavatīrtha—(on Śrīkāla) P. VI. 129 12
- Mādhavavana M. 15. 37 (Devi is called Sugandhā here)
- Madhūdakā—(r) Vām. 57. 80
- Madhukatābha-līnga—(in VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 43
- Madhūkavana—(between Agastyāśrama and Pañcavati) Rām, III. 13. 23
- Madhukulā—(r. under Gayā) Vā 106 75, 112. 30.

- Madhumati**—A (r. in Kāśmīra) NM 144 (falls into Vitastā), 1444 (shrine of Durgā established on it by Sāndilya), Vik 18. 5; B (river that flows through Nadia and Backergunge Districts of Bengal and falls into the bay of Bengal; C (r. that joins the river Sindhu in Central India), vide Mālatīmādhava, 9th Act prose passage after verse 3.
- Madhunandini**—(r.) Vām. 81. 16
- Madhupura**—(under Pṛthūdaka) P. I. 27, 38
- Madhupurī**—same as Mathurā; Bh VII. 14 31, Vī I 12. 2-4
- Madhurā**—A (the same as Mathurā, capital of Śūrasena country) Br. III. 49.6, Vī I. 12. 4 Vide pp 687-690 above and Rām. VII 70.5, B (modern Madurā, the ancient capital of the Pāndyas, called Dakṣiṇa-Madhurā), Vide 'Manimekhalai in its historic setting' (p. 20) by Dr S. Krishna-swamy Aiyangar Madhurā is only the Tamil way of pronouncing Mathurā. Vide Journal, Mythic Society, for 1942, vol. 32 pp. 270-275 for Madurā and Tamil literary tradition and Prof Dikshitar's translation of the Śilappadikāram pp. 201-208 for a fine description of it and p 255 for the conflagration in Madurā due to the curse of Kannak.
- Madhurātīrtha**—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 135. 18
- Madhusravā**—(r.)—A (under Gayā) Vā 106. 75, 112 307 34. N. II. 47. 27; B (under Sarasvatī) Vām. 34. 7, 39. 36-38, V B. 150 (both read Madhusrava)
- Madhuvana**—A (under Mathurā) V. I. 12, 31 so called because demon Madhu occupied it), K II 36'9, Var. 153. 30, Vām 83.31, 90 14, Bh IV. 8. 42 (on the banks of Yamunā) IX 11. 14 (Śatrughna founded Mathurā in Madhuvana) Crowe in 'Mathura' identifies it with Mabolī five miles to the south-west of present Mathurā (pp. 32, 54); B (one of seven *vanas* in Kuruksetra) Vām 34. 5
- Madhuvatī**—(a Devisthāna) P. I. 26 88
- Madhvatīrtha**—G Uttarakhanda, Brahmakānda 25 46-47. This is rather suspicious
- Madhuvilā**—(r.) same as Samaṅgā. V. 135.1
- Madhyama-Puskara**—(see Puskara), P V. 19. 38, Vām. 22 19.
- Madhyameśvara-līnga**—A (under VS) K. I. 32. 12, K. I. 34. 1-2, L. I 92, 91, 135, P I 34 10 (one of the five main līngas in Banaras), B (under Śriparvata) L. I. 92. 151
- Madhyandīniyaka-tīrtha**—(under Mathurā) Var. 177 46 (to the west of Vaiṣṇuntha tīrtha)
- Madotkata**—P VI. 129 F (9th among 108 tīrthas of Jambudvīpa)
- Madrā**—(r. rising in Vindhya) Vā 45. 102
- Madravā**—(a hill) Br III 13, 52 and 57. This probably is the same as Maṅḍavā below
- Māgadharanya**—K. II 37. 9, Vām. 11 7, 84 35
- Mahābala**—A (Mahāleshwar in Satara District) P VI 113 29 Vide JBBRAS. vol X. pp 1-18, for Mahābaleśvara-māhātmya, B Mahābaleśvara of Gokarna Vide Gokarna plates of Kadamba king Kūmadeva in *śals* 1177 (1236 A. D.) in E I vol. 27 p 157
- Mahābhairava**—(one of eight Śiva-tīrthas) M. 181 29, K II. 44 3 Devala q. by T. K. p. 250
- Mahābodhitaru**—(the pipplā tree at Gayā under which Buddha obtained Enlightenment) Ag. 115. 37, M. 22. 33, N. II 45. 103, Vā 111. 26, verses 27-29 of Vā 111 are addressed to the tree. P VI 117. 26-30 explain how Bodhitaru became touchable on Saturday and untouchable on other days. Vide Dr. Barua in 'Gaya

- and Buddha-Gayā' vol. I, p. 234 as to the invocation in Vā 111, 27-29 being to the Bo-tree and vol. II, pp. 2-9 for the vicissitudes of this tree and Cunningham's 'Mahābodhi' p. 3 for the mention of Mahābodhi in Dharmapāla's Inscription dated 850 A. D.
- Mahā-Gaṅgā—Anu. 25, 22 q. by T. K. p. 246, V Dh S 85, 23 (com. says it is Ajakanandā).
- Mahāgaūrī—(r. from Vinḍhya) M 114, 28, Vā 45, 103
- Mahākrada—(near Badrināth) K II, 37, 39, Anu 25, 18 q. by T. K. pp. 245-246
- Mahākālā—A (Śiva in Ujjayinī, one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas) V. 82, 49, M 13, 41, 22, 24, 179, 5 (fight of Śiva with Andhakāsura took place in Mahākālavana in the country of Avantī), B 43, 66, SK IV, 1, 91, B (a liṅga in VS) L, I 92, 137
- Mahākālavana—(in Avantī territory) M. 179, 5
- Mahākāśī—Vām. q. by T. K. p. 239
- Mahākūta—(a hill fit for śrāddha) Vā. 77, 57, Br. III, 13, 58. It is doubtful whether it is the same as the collection of temples on the hills to the east of Badāmī known even now by the name of Mahākūta. The local tradition connects this spot with the destruction of the demon brothers Vātūpi and Ivala. Vide L. A. vol. X, pp. 102-103 for an inscription of about 696-724 A. D. here
- Mahākāśmesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 69
- Mahālaya—V. 85, 91 (dānam dadyāt Mahālaye), V Dh. S. 85, 18, M. 181, 25, K II, 20, 33 (very fit for śrāddha), II, 37, 1-4 (where Pāśupati's worship Mahādeva), P. V. 11, 17, Br. III, 13, 82-84, Vām. 90, 22, P. I, 37, 16
- Mahālayakūpa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 63
- Mahālaya-linga—(under VS) I. 92, 134
- Mahāliṅga—(sacred to piṅg) M. 13, 33, 22, 34 (Devī is called Kapilā here and śrāddha here is most efficacious)
- Mahāmūḍā—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 56
- Mahāmundeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 56
- Mahānāda—M. 22, 33 (dāna is most efficacious here)
- Mahānadī—A (r. starting from Vinḍhya, flowing in Orissa near Cuttack and falling into the Bay of Bengal) Br. 46, 4-5, K. II, 33, 25, Br. II, 16, 28 says it rises in Pānyāta; B (r. under Gayā, probably Phalgu) P. I 38, 4, Vā 108, 16-17, 110, 6, Ag 115, 25, V 84, C (in Dravida) Bh XI 5, 40
- Mahāṅga—a liṅga established by Mṛtyu (under Go.) B 116, 1
- Mahānandā—(r. in north and east Bengal rising in Himālaya near Darjeeling and joining the Ganges in Māldā District), Vide I G. I. vol. XX pp. 413-414 (under Purua)
- Mahāpadmanāga—(a lake in Kāśmīra) NM 1120-1122, 1157 (one yojana in length and width) it is same as Ullola and modern Vollar lake. Vide R. IV, 591 for one story, NM 1123-1159 for the story of the wicked Śadaḅgulanāga and K. R. pp. 9-10 for both
- Mahāpāśupatiśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 105
- Mahāpura—(a tīrtha) Anu 25, 26
- Mahārūdra—M. 22, 34
- Mahāśāla—M 22, 34, P V 11, 27
- Mahāśālanadī—M 22, 42
- Mahāśaras—Mahābhārata q. by T. K. p. 246
- Mahāsthala—(under Mathurā) Var. 160, 22, one of five sthalas, the other four

- being Ariasthala, Vīrasthala, Kuśāsthala and Punyasthala.
- Mahāsrama—V 84 53, P I 32 17
- Mahāśona—same as Śona—S. 20 27
- Mahatākunda—(under VS) L by T.K. p 70
- Mahatī (r from Pāriyātra) M 114 23, V 45 97
- Mahāvana—(the 8th *vana* out of 12 at Mathurā)—same as Vraja Var 153 40, 161 8 Modern Mahaban town is near the left bank of the Yamunā. Kṛṣṇa spent his childhood here
- Mahātīrtha—K.II 37.12 (tatrābhyarcya Hṛṣīkeśam śvetadvīpam sa gacchati)
- Mahāvenā—P V. 11. 27
- Mahendra—(a m range extending from the mouths of the Ganges or Orissa to Madurā) Bhī 9 11, Ud;oga 11. 12, M 22 44, P. I. 39. 14 (inhabited by Paraśurāma), V. 85 16, Bh V. 19 16, Vām. 13 14-15, 83 10-11, K. I. 47 23-24. A Śālitaksetra according to Bār S. III 124 In the Ganjam District there is a peak called Mahendragiri about 5000 feet high. Rām. IV, 67.37 shows that Hanūmān used it as a springing board when he jumped off towards Lankā. Raghuvamśa (IV. 39-40) shows that Kalinga country had some portion of Mahendra in it Pargiter (p 284 n) holds that it is the portion of the Eastern Ghats between Godāvārī and Mahānādī and hills in Berar I do not agree. Rām, IV 41. 19-21 speak of Mahendra after Paṇḍyakavāta and as entering the ocean, while Bh. X 79.11-12 speak of it after Gayā and before Saptagodāvārī, Venā, Pampā. Allahabad stone pillar Ins of Samudragupta mentions it (C. I. I vol III at p 7)
- Mahēśvarapura—(where Vrsadhvaja : e. Śiva was to be worshipped) V 84. 129-130.
- Māhēśvara—(modern town in the Indore State on the north or right bank of the Narmadā) M 188. 2, P. I. 15. 2. I G I. Vol 17 p 9 asserts that it is the ancient Māhismatī
- Mahēśvara-dhārā—V. 84. 117, P. I. 38. 34
- Mahēśvarakunda—(under Lohārgala) Var 151. 67
- Mahēśvarapada—P I. 38 36, V 84. 119
- Mahī—One of the ten great rivers that flow from the Himālaya, mentioned in 'Questions of Milinda' SBE vol 35 p. 171; Mahī occurs in the Nadyādī-gana (Pān IV. 2 97); B (a r rising in Gwallor state and falling into the sea southwards near Cambay) SK I 23 23, I 2 13.43-45 and 125-127, V. 222. 23, Mār. 54 19 (rising from Pāriyātrā). It is the Mophis of Ptolemy (p 103) and Mais of Periplus
- Mahīśāgarasangama—SK. I 2 3. 26
- Māhītīrtha—Vām. 84 36
- Māhismatī—(on Narmadā). Pargiter identifies with Omkāra Māndhātā (an island) while Mr. Haldar and others hold that it is Mahēśvara Māndhātā island is attached to Nemat District of Central Provinces. Udyogaparva 19 23-24, 166. 4, Anu 2, 6, P. II. 92 32, VI 115 4, Bh. IX 15. 22 (Sahasrārjuna imprisoned Rāvana); the Mbh (vol II, p. 35, Ujjayinyāh prasthīto Māhismatyām sūryodgamānam sambhāvayate) on Vārtika 10 to Pān III, 1 26, in the Suttanipāta (SBE vol X part 2 p 188) the disciples of Bāvarī going to the north to meet Buddha first go to Patutthāpa of Ataka and then to Māhissatī, vide 'Māhismamandala and Māhismatī' by Dr Fleet in JRS for 1910 pp 425-447 and Barwani plate of ling Subandhu in E. I. vol. XIX. p. 261 of the year 167 issued from Māhismatī (It belongs to the end of the 5th century).
- Mahodaya—(generally identified with Kanoj) Vām. 83 25, 90. 13 (Haya-

- grīva here). Vide Daulatpur plate of Bhojadeva I in Harsa *sauvat* 100 (corresponding to about 706 A.D.) in E. I. vol. V p 208 at p. 211 It was also called Kūśasthala; vide E. I. vol. VII. pp. 28, 30 where Rāstrakūta Indra III is said to have devastated Mahodaya, but in Bara copperplate of the Gurjar Pratihāra Bhojadeva dated *sauvat* 893 (836-7 A.D.) Mahodaya is said to be a skandhāvāra (encampment) and Kānyakubja is separately mentioned in the same record, thereby showing that the two were not quite identical (E. I. vol. 19 at p 17)
- Mamūka—(m near Badārī) A. V 139. 17, V 145. 44, Anu 25 59, Br. III. 13. 70, Bh. V. 19. 16, B (m. in west near Gujarat) V. 89. 11; E (m near Sarasvatī) K. II. 37. 29. Both Dey p. 121 and Prof. Aiyangar p 29 (of T K) hold that it is the Sewah range Vide Pargiter pp 287-288 note, which makes out three mountains named Mamūka, that are slightly different from those stated here.
- Mastreyāṅga (under VS) L. g. by T K p. 47
- Makruṇā (r rising from Rīksa) Vā 15.101.
- Māṅā (a river) B 20 28
- Malada—(in Kāśmīra) P I. 25 4
- Malandarā—(r.) M. 22 41 (śrāddha on it inexhaustible)
- Malaprabhārī or Malāpabārī—(r. rising from Sabya about 22 miles south-west of Belgaum) moderna Malaprabhā, SK g by T S. pp 80 and 101. Vide Bom G vol. XXI. on Belgaum District p 12 for legend The famous village of Ayyāole or Aiyall or Aihole is on this river, 16 miles to the east of Badām Vide I A vol. VIII. p. 243 for Aihole Inscription of 634 A D Parāśurāma is said to have washed his blood stained axe in the Malaprabhā here Vide Bom G. vol. 23 p. 545
- Malāpabā—(r. in the south). There is a town called Muniparnā on its bank where there is 'Pratibha Mahāvara'.
- Mārka—(shrine of the Sun under Sūbhramat') P. VI 141 1 and 142 1
- Malaya—(one of the 7 principal mountains of India) V 252 43, 313 22, Bhī 9 11, K I -7 23 (the sea could be seen from its top), Vā 45 88, B 27 19. Raghu (IV 45 51) shows that Malaya was on the Kāśe where it falls in the sea and that cardamom and sandalwood grew thereon, and also on Tāmraparā It is the mountain of the Pāṅḍya country (Raghuvarṇā IV 47-51) Agastya had his hermitage on it
- Malayaja—P. VI. 129 12 (one of the numerous tirthas where Viṣṇu and Śiva resided)
- Malayārjunala—tirtha (under Mathurā beyond Yamunā) Var. 157 1.
- Māṅā—(r. on which was situated Kancāśrama) Ādi. 70. 21 and 72 16 According to Hluyen Tsang's P was on this river that the Jivistic of Madākar in west Rohilkhand was situated Vide V G pp. 311-352
- Mallāka—(on western bank of Ganga) P. V 5 74 (where Sati's funeral took place)
- Mallikārkhye—(tirtha) P I 17 6
- Mallikārjunāka—(under the purnā) I 92. 155
- Mallikēśara—(under Narmadā) P. I 18 6
- Mālyavat—(The Anegundi P' of Tungabhadra) Kām. III 71, IV. 27. 1-4 (on north of it in a deep well on Prastavara Ratā 2-4 it fer four months in the rainy season). V 250 26, 252 1 (see for its aśvadhūṅā)
- Mālyavati—(r. near Citrakūṭa) P. II 56 38
- Mānasa—A (lake in Himālaya) P. I. 161 but see Kāśmīra on the river and Gurū Mānasa on the mountain V. 150 12 P. II 13 15 and 14, 151

- 16-17 (from which the Sarayū rises), Vām 78.3, 90 1 (where Visnu appeared in the Matsya form), vide under Kailāsa Sven Hedin in vol. III of his Trans-Himalaya (1913) p 198 says 'there is no finer ring on earth than that which bears the names of Manasarowar, Kailas and Gurla Māndhātā, it is turquoise set between diamonds' The Mānasa lake is at a height of 14950 feet above sea level, B (under Kubjāmraka) Var 126 29, C (to the west of Mathurā) Var 154. 25, D (near Prayāga on the north bank of the Ganges) M 107.2, E (in Kāśmīra, modern Mānasa) Vā 18 55, K R. p 9, F (under Narmadā) M 194 8, P I 21 8; G (under Gayā, there are two pools, Uttaramānasa and Dakṣiṇa-mānasa) Vā 111 2, 6, 8, 22
- Mandagā**—(r rising from Śuktimat) M 114. 32, Vā 45, 107
- Mandākinī**—A (near mountain Citrakūṭa and rising from Riksat) V. 85 58, Anu 25 29, Rām. II 93. 8 and III 5 37, Vā. 45. 99, Ag 109 23, Br. II 16 30, M 114 25, B (a sub-tirtha under VS.) L q by T.K p 86, C (r springing from a lake Mandodaka at the foot of Kailāsa) M 121 4, Br II. 18 1 D (near Kiskindhā) Rām IV 1. 95
- Mandalesvara**—(under VS) L q by T.K p 66
- Mandara**—(m.) V I II 2 18 (it is to east of Meru) and Mār 51 19, V 139 5, 142 2, 163 4 (extended up to the sea in the east), and 31-33, Udyoga 11 12, L I 92 187 and 188. 6-12 (gods afraid of Andhaka took refuge on Mandara), N II 60 22, Vām 51 74 (from Prithūdaka Śiva came to Mandara), and practised tapas), M 184 18 13. 28 (Devī is styled Kāmacārini on m. Mandara), Bh VII 3 2 and VII, 7 2 (Hiranyakaśipu here)
- Mandāra**—Var. 143 1-51 (Mandāra-māhātmya) Var. 143. 2 says it is a sacred place on the south bank of the Ganges and situated on Vindhya and dear to all Bhāgavatas It puts forth flowers only on dvādaśī and caturdasi (verse 13) T.K (pp 217-218) quotes ten verses from Var 143 without any comment, A. G p 508 conjectures it to be south of Bhagalpur in Bihar.
- Mandavā**—Vā 77. 56 (a hill very fit for śrāddha)
- Mandavāhinī**—(r. from Suktimat m.) M 114. 32, Vā 45, 107.
- Māndavya**—(a tirtha where Devī is styled Māndavyā) M 13. 42
- Māndavyeśa**—(under VS) L q by T.K. p 119
- Mandodarītirtha**—M 22 41 (removes sins at sight and śrāddha most efficacious)
- Mangalā**—(a Devīsthāna in Gayā) Devī-bhāgavata VII. 38 24
- Māngala-prastha**—(hill) Bh. V. 19 16
- Māngalā-saṅgama**—(under Go) B 122 94 and 100 (otherwise called Govindā)
- Mangalesvara**—(under Narmadā) P II 92. 33
- Manikarnī** or **Manikarnikā**—(under VS) M 182 24, 185 69, N II 40 87 and 49 44, P VI 23 44, vide p 633 above
- Manikarnīśvara**—(under VS) N II 49 45, L q by T.K p 103
- Manikunda**—(under Stutasvāmin) Var 148 52
- Māntkyesvara**—(in Kāśmīra) P VI 176 80-82
- Manimat** or **Manimanta**—(near r Devīkā) V 82 101, P I 25 8 (same words in both), Vām 81 14
- Manimati**—(r) M. 22.39 (vary efficacious for śrāddha), Br S 14. 20 says Manimat is a m
- Manimatihrada**—Vām 90 7 (Śiva was called Śambhu here)
- Manimatipurī**—(the same as Vāṭāpi.

- puri and Durjayā) V 96. 1 and 99 30-31.
- Manināga—V. 84. 106, P. I 38 24 (same verse in both)
- Manipūragiri—(under Stutasvāmin) Var. 148. 63 ff.
- Mañjulā—(a r.) Bhī 9 34
- Māhkumkā—(near Malaya) Vām 83 16
- Mañkutī—(r. from Rksavat) Br. II. 16. 31
- Manohara—(under Narmadā) N. 194 7, K. II. 42. 20, P. I. 21 7 (the same verse in all three)
- Manojava—P. I. 26. 87, V 83. 93 (same verse in both)
- Mantresvara—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 137
- Manujesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p 104
- Manuhga—(under VS) L. q by T.K. p 114
- Mānusa—(under Kuruksetra) P I 26. 60-63, Vām. 35. 50-56
- Manyutīrtha—(under Go) B. 162. 1, Bh. X. 79. 21 (puts it somewhere between Māhismatī and Prabhāsa)
- Mārīcesvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K. p. 71
- Mārjāra—(under Go) B. 84 19
- Mārkandeya-hrada—A (under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 67, B (near Purusottamatīrtha) B. 56. 73, 57 2, 60. 9 (bath in it on Caturdaśī specially destroys all sins), N. II 55. 20-22
- Mārkandeyatīrtha—A (on the Gomati-Gangāsangama) V. 84 81, P. I. 32 41-42. Prof. Aiyangar's note on p. 291 of T.K. that it is at the junction of the Sarayū and Gangā is not correct, B (under Go) B 145.1
- Mārkandeyesvara—A (under VS) SK. IV. 33. 154-155, B (under Gayā) Ag. 116 11, C (under Purusottama) N. II. 55. 18-19
- Markatīrtha—(in Tripurī i. e. modern Tevar on the Narmadā, 7 miles to the west of Jabalpur) mentioned by T. S. p 101
- Mārtānda (temple of the Sun in Kāśmīra) Modern Martan or Matan, 5 miles to north-east of Islamabad, its popular name is 'Bavan' (Bhavana) It overlooks the finest view in Kāśmīra. The temple originally built by king Lahtāditya in the 1st half of 8th century is now in ruins There are two magnificent springs traditionally called Vimala and Kumala about a mile from the temple. Vide R IV.192, NM 1073 (for Vimalanāga), Stein's translation of R vol. I p. 141 and II, pp 465-466 An A (vol. II pp 358-359) describes Matan. The tīrtha has remained to this day one of the most celebrated places of pilgrimage in Kāśmīra
- Mārtandapādāmūla (under Gayā) Brahmapurāna q by T.K p 166
- Marudgana—Anu 25. 36
- Marud-rdhā—A (r) Rg X. 75 5 The Nir. IX. 26 takes it as an attribute of all rivers named in Rg X 75 5, meaning 'that are swollen or lashed up by the wind or Maruts'. It appears that it is a river in Kashmir called Maruwardwan, a tributary of the Chenab, as Stein says (vide JRAS for 1917 pp 93-96), Bh. V. 19. 18; B hāveri is called Marud-rdhā in P VI. 224. 1 and 19
- Marusthala (under Purusottama) N. II 60. 22
- Mārutālaya (under Narmadā) N. 191, 86, K. II 41. 41 (to the west of Mātrīrtha), P I. 18.81 (same verse)
- Māsesāra—(under Narmadā) P. I 18 77
- Mātalīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T K p 76
- Nātāngaksetra—(under lokāmukha) Var. 140 58-59 (a stream that falls into Kauśikī)
- Matāngapada—(under Gayā) N. II. 44. 57, Vā 108 25
- Matāhgasya śrāma—A (under Gayā) V 84. 101, Ag 115 34, B (in VS) V. 87.25

- Matāṅgasya Kedāra—V 88 17, P I 39 15 (same verse in both)
- Matāṅga-vāpī—A (under Gayā) Vā. 111 23-24, Ag 115 34, N II, 45 100, VDb S 85 38, B (in Kosālā) Vā 77 36, C (on Kailāsa) Br III 13. 36
- Matāṅgeśa—(under Gayā) Ag 115. 35
- Matāṅgeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T K p 87
- Mātharavana—(near Payoṅī) V 88.10, Vā 77 33, Br III 13 33
- Mathurā—Vide pp 682-692 above and A G pp 373-375 for Mathurā and Vṛndāvana
- Mātr—Śal. chap 46 enumerates numerous Mātrs
- Mātrgrha—(where śrāddha yields *ānantiya*) M 22 76
- Mātrtīrtha—A (under Kuruksetra) V 83. 58, P. I 26 54, B (under Narmadā) K II 41 40, C (under Go) B 112 1
- Matsyaadi—(holy r.) M 22 49
- Matsyaśilā—(under Kolāmukha) Var. 140 79-83
- Matsyodapāna—Nr q by T K p. 251
- Matsyodari—(near Omlāreśvara and to the south of Kapileśvara in VS) L. q by T K pp. 58-59, SK. IV 33 120 and IV 73 155. The Trī S, p 140 remarks 'matsyākāram Kāśī-ksetram udare yasyā itī vyutpattyā Gaṅgaiva Matsyodārī-śāñña'
- Māyāpurī—(same as Gaṅgādvāra and Haridvāra) M. 13 34 (Devī is called Kumārī here), 22. 10, Vā 104 75, G I 81 7, SK IV 7 114 (lecid-ūcur-Haridvāram molsadvāram tatah pare ! Gaṅgādvāram ca kepyāhuh lecin-Māyāpuram punah ||) Māyā occurs in the Nadyādīgana (Pān. IV, 2 97) It is one of the seven holy cities of India Vide p 678 above and p 762 under Kanakāla. Hiouen Tshang mentions it as Moynlo (Māyura). Māyāpura is now a ruined site at the head of the Ganges canal. Vide A G. pp. 351-354
- Māyātīrtha—(under Kubjāmraka and on the Ganges) Var. 125, 101, 126. 33
- Medhātithi—(a holy river) V 222 23
- Medhāvāna—P I 39 52 (place for śrāddha)
- Medhāvika—V. 85 55
- Meghakara—M. 22 40, P V 11 34
- Meghanāda—(under Narmadā) P II, 92 31
- Meghankara—(a town on r Prānītā) P VI. 181. 5
- Megharāva—(under Narmadā) P, I, 17. 4
- Mehatnu—(r.) Rg X 75 6 (a tributary of the Krumu, which see)
- Mekala—(a range of hills in C. P) Narmadā is called Mekalākanyakā (daughter of Mekala)
- Mekalā—P V 11 34 (is it a river?)
- Mekalā—is a country or people in Rām IV. 41.9, Bṛ. S. 14. 7 and 16.2
- Mekhalā—(a tīrtha in Meghankara town) P VI 181 16, M 22. 40-41 (from this it appears that Mekhalā here means probably the middle part of the town Meghankara)
- Merukūta—Nr 65 q by T K, p. 253
- Meruvara—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 32-35
- Mīnāksī—(temple of, is situated in Madurā) Devī—Bh. VII. 38 11
- Mīrkhāvāna—(near Mekala regions) Br. III 70. 32
- Mīsraka—(under Kuruksetra) P. I, 26, 85-86 (Vyāsa moved all tīrthas here), V. 83. 91-92 It is possible that the Mīsrakāvāna occurring in the Kotarādī-gana (Pān VI, 3 117) refers to this
- Mitrapada (a tīrtha on the Ganges) M 22. 11
- Mitravāna (Konārka or Sāmbapura in Orissa) SK Prabhāsakhanda I, 100. 3 (there are three Ādityasthānas, Mitravāna, Mundīra and Sāmbāditya)
- Mitrāvaruṇa (under VS) L q. by T.K. p. 47

- Mitāvarunayor—śrama (on r Ya munā near Kārapavana) Śal. 54 14-15
- Modāgiri (m) S. 30. 21
- Mokśaśvara (under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 112.
- Mokśarāja—(under Mathurā) Var 164 35
- Mokśatīrtha—(under Mathurā) Var. 152 61 (to the south of Rśtīrtha). T. S. p. 101 quotes three verses from Revākhanda about it
- Mokśeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 48
- Mrgadhūma—(there is Rudrapada) P I 26 94, V 83. 101 (it is on the Ganges)
- Mrgakāmā—(r. from Mānasa lake) Br. II 18 71
- Mrgaśrngodaka—(on r Vāgmatī) Var 215 64
- Mrtyuñjaya—(under Viraja) B 42 6
- Mucukunda—(under Mathurā) Var. 158. 28
- Mucukundeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. 114
- Mukti-ksetra—(under Śālagrāma) Var. 145 105
- Muktimat—(a m) Br. III 70 32 Is it a misreading for Śuktimat?
- Muktasthānas—26 sthānas such as Prayāga, Naimiśa, Kuruksetra, Gāṅgādāvāra, Kāntī, Tryambaka, Saptagodāvāra are named in SK, Kṣākhanda 6 21-25
- Mukutā—(r. from Rśyavanta) M 114. 26, M. 13. 50 (Devī is worshipped here as Satyavādīnī)
- Mūlsthāna—(modern Multan)—ancient capital of the Mallas A. G. pp. 220-224 and 230-236. It was known under various names such as Kāśyapapura, Śāmbapura, Prahādapura, Ādyasthāna (Al. Sachau I 298)
- Mūlatāpī—(river Tāpī is so called, from its source at Multāi, which is a corruption of Mūlatāpī) M 22 33 (Mūlatāpī Payośni ca). Multai is a village in Betul District, C. P. and contains a sacred tank which is popularly deemed to be the source of the Tāpī. In the printed Padma V 11 25 the words 'Sūlatāpī Payośni' are a misreading of 'Mūlatāpī Payośni'. Vide I. G. I. vol. 18 p. 21 for Multai
- Mūli—(r. rising from Nakendrā) M. 114. 31
- Mundaprstha—A (a hill situated on the western bank of the Phalgu river at Gayā) K II 37 39-10, N. II 45. 96, Ag 115 22 and 43-44, Vā 77 102-103, 109. 12 and 111 15, Br. III. 13 110-111 (Mahādeva practised severe tapas here). It is no other than the hill on which there is Viśnupada, the very centre of Gayāyātrā. On this hill, according to the legend of Gayāśura, the back of the giant's herd rested Vide pp 656, 665 above; B (a hill in Kāśmīra) NMI 1247-1254
- Mundeśa—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 116
- Mūjavat—A (a m) In Rg. X. 34. 1 soma plant is called Mūjavat and the Nir. IX. 11 explains that Mūjavat is a mountain on which soma grows In A. V. the form Mujavat occurs and *talman* (evil spirit of disease) is asked to go to Mūjavat and to Bāhukas beyond it. In A. V. 22 5 the form is Mūjavatī It appears to be some m. far to the north-west of India
- Mūjjavat—(m. in Himālayan range) Śāśamedhika parva 8. 1 (where Śiva practises penance), Br. II. 18 20-21 (where Śiva resides and leopards which rise Śālodā lake and Śāśvādā river), Var. 213 13 (to the north of Mandara)
- Mūjjavata—(on the Ganges which is a Śāsthāna) S. F5 67, P. I. 32 63 (same verse in Loth)

Murmurā—(one of the several rivers that are the mothers of fires) V. 222 25

N

Nābhī—(under Gayā) N II 47 82

Nādantīā—V Dh S 85. 19 (very fit place for śrāddha)

Nādesvara—A (under VS) L q. by T K p 127, B (probably same as Bindusaras) R I 16 46 (on Himavat, where Bhagīratha practised *tapas*)

Nādīsvara—(under VS) L. q by T K p 103

Naga—(a hill under Gayā) Vā. 108 28

Nāgadhanvan—(not far to the south of Sarasvatī) Śal. 37 30 (Vāsuki's image is established there)

Nāgalūta—(included under Gayāsīras) Vā, 111 22, N. II. 45 95

Nāgapura—Hastināpura, V. 183 36

Nāgasāhvaya—Hastināpura, on the right bank of the Ganges, 22 miles to north-east of Meerut. Vā. 77 271, M 50 78, Nr 65 11 q by T K p. 252 (Govinda is *guhya* name of Visnu here). The printed text (Govindam nāma sāyake) is corrupt. It should be 'nāgasāhvaye.' Vide under Hastināpura.

Nāgatīrtha—A (under VS) M 22 33, K I 35 7, P I 28 33, B (under Go.) B 111. 1; C (under Tripustara) P V. 26. 51, D (under Mathurā) Var. 154. 14, E (location uncertain) V 84, 33

Nāgesvara—(a *tapovana* on Narmadā) M 191 83

Nāgodbheda—(where Sarasvatī is seen, though lost in the desert elsewhere) V 82 112, Ag 109. 13

Nahṣesvara—(under VS) L. q by T K p 115

Naimisya or Naimisā—(a forest) A country round Nimsār on the Gomati, 45 miles from Lucknow In *Āthaka Sambitā* X. 6 we have

'Naimisya vai sattram-āsata'; while in Pañcavimsā Br 25. 6, 4 occurs Naimisya and Kausitaki Br 26 5 has Naimisyanām' and 28 4 also In the great Epic and Purānas it is mentioned very often, vide V 84 59-64 (all tīrthas on the earth are centred in Naimisa), V 87. 5-7 (on Gomati in east), M 109 3 (most holy on the earth), K. II 20 34, K II. 43 1-16 (very dear to Mahādeva), Vā 2 8, Br. I 2 8 (bo'h derive it as 'bhramato dharmacakrasya yatra nemur-asīryata' from 'nemi' rim of a wheel and śr 'to be shattered'), B 1. 3-10 (fine description), Vāyṇ (I 14-15) makes it clear that the great sattra of the sages of Naimisānya was in Kuruksetra on the Drsadvatī But Vā 2,9 and Br I. 2 9 say that it was on the Gomati. It is possible that Gomati is only an adjective. It was here that enmity between Vasistha and Viśvāmītra flourished, Kalmāsapāda was cursed by Śakti and Parāśara was born. VI. III. 14 18 states that by a bath in Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Naimisā-gomati and other rivers and by honouring pits one destroys all sins B—Bṛ S XI. 60 says that a malignant Ketu in Uttarā-Bhādrapadā destroys king of Naimisa,

Naimisā—Kūñja (on Sarasvatī) V. 83 109, P I 26 102

Nairṭesvara—(under VS) L q. by T.K. p 117

Nakulagana—(under Kuruksetra) Vā. 46 2. This probably refers to the followers of Lakulīsa (often written as Nakulīsa) Vide E I vol XXI pp 1 ff (Mathurā inscription of Candragupta II dated Gupta-samvat 61 i e 380 A. D) which shows that Lakulī founder of Pāsupata sect flourished in 1st quarter of second century A D; compare Vāyṇu 23 22-25 for Nakulī and Kāyārohana as his siddhiksetra

- Nākulatīrtha**—(Lakulīṣatīrtha?) M 22 77, Vām 7. 26 (Nākulēśvara on Narmadā where Cyavana bathed).
- Nakulī**—(r. rising from lake Viṣnu-pada) Br II. 18. 68
- Nakulīśa**—(under VS) L. q. by T K p. 107
- Nakulīśvara**—K II 44. 12
- Nalakūbareśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 103
- Nahni**—A—one of the three streams of Gaṅgā proceeding east, Vā. 47. 38 and 56, M. 121. 40, Rām I. 43. 13, B (a r. in Kāśmīra) HC 14. 101
- Nandā**—V 87 27, Vā. 77 79. Ād. 215. 7, V 110 1 (near Hemakūta), Anu. 166. 28, Bh VII 14. 32, Var. 214. 47 Even all these passages do not convey the exact position. Bh IV. 6.24 (in the context) indicates that it was near Kaiśā and Saugandhī-lavana Bh. (IV 6 23-24) places Nandā and Alakanandā near Saugandhika-vana
- Nandanā**—(r. rising in Rāsavat m.) M. 144 25, Vā 45. 97, B 27. 28 (both last read *candanā*, which seems to be a misreading)
- Nandanavana**—(under Mathurā) Var. q by T K p 187
- Nandāsarasvatī**—the r Sarasvatī came to be so called Vide P, V 18 456
- Nandāvari**—(r) Devala q. by T K p. 249 mentions after Kauśīkī. Prof Aiyangar (TK p 289) takes it to be the Mahānandā in U P east of the Kosi river
- Nandigrāma**—(where Bharata as representative of Rāma during latter's exile guarded the kingdom) V 277. 39, 291. 62, Rām. II 115 22, VII 62 13, Bh IX 10 36 It is Nundgaon in Oudh about 8 miles to the south of Fyzabad.
- Nandigubā**—(under Mathurā) Var. q. by T.K. p 193
- Nandiksetra**—(in Kāśmīra) R I 36, NM 1204-1328 (story of Nandinī being born as son of Sīlāda). It is the high valley at the east glaciers of Haramakha peaks which contain the sacred Kālodaka lake
- Nandikesā**—(under Narmadā) M 191 6
- Nandikunda**—A (in Kāśmīra) Anu 25. 60, NM. 1459, Ag. 219. 64; B (from which Sābhramatī rises) P. VI. 132. 1 and 13
- Nandikūta**—(v 1 Nandikunda) Anu. 23. 60 q. by T K p 248
- Nandinī**—(r)—V 84 155, P I 88 62
- Nandinī-saogama**—(under Go.) B 128.1 and 73-74
- Nandiparvata**—(in Kāśmīra) HC. 4 30 and 32 (near Haramakuta-Gaṅgā)
- Nandiśā**—(Śiva worshipped in Nundkol in Kāśmīra, but in its extended sense applied to the whole sacred territory from the lakes on Haramakuta down to Bhūtesvara) R I 124
- Nandiśeśvara**—(under VS) L q. by T K, p 57
- Nandītata**—(under Go) B 152.1 and 40 (also called Ananda)
- Nanditīrtha**—(under Narmadā) M. 191 37, K. II 41 90, P I. 18, 37 (same verse in latter two)
- Nārakakunda**—(under Lobārgala) Var. 151 37
- Nārada-tīrtha**—(under Narmadā) K II 41. 16-17, P I 18. 23 (same verse in both)
- Nāradeśvara**—A (under Narmadā) M. 191. 5, B (under VS) L. q by T K p. 53
- Naraka**—V 83. 168 (some mss. read Anaraka and some 'Naraka')
- Naraka**—(under Narmadā) P I 18 36, 20 1-2
- Nārasimba**—(under Gayā) N II 46 46
- Narasimbāśrama**—(in Kāśmīra) NM 1520
- Nārasimhatīrtha**—A (on the north bank of Go.) B 149. 1, B (destroys sin at very sight) M. 22. 43

- Nārāyanasaras—(at the mouth of the eastern branch of Indus called Kori) Bh VI 5. 3 and 25, Śivapurāna II 2 13, 13. It is Sindhu-samudra-sāgama. It is 81 miles north-west from Bhuj, capital of Cutch and between Koteswar and the sea. There was a great lake in ancient times and a temple of Ādi Nārāyana. Vide Bom. G vol V pp. 245-248
- Nārāyanāśrama—(near Badarī) V 145. 26-34, 156. 14 (Naranārāyaṇa-sthānam Badarītyabdhivīrutam), Bh. VII 14 32, IX 3.36 (Badarīyākhyam gato rājā Nara-nārāyanāśramam), X. 87 4-7
- Nārāyanasthāna—V. 84 122, P I. 38. 39
- Nārāyanatīrtha—A (under VS) P. I. 37.5, B—B 167 1 and 33 (also called Vipratīrtha under Go)
- Nārīrthāni—(in the Dravida country on the sea) V 118. 4, Ādi. 217 17 (daksine sāgarānūpe pañca tirthāni santī vai) Vide Pañcāśaras
- Narmadā—Vide pp 703-707 above
- Narmadā—Erandī-sāgama T P. p 383
- Narmadāprabhava—TP p. 383, P. I 399; V 85. 9 reads 'Sonasya Narmadāyāśca prabhede'
- Narmadāsa—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 73, P. I. 18, 69
- Narmadēvara—(under Narmadā) M. 194 2
- Nāsiya—(modern Nashik) Vide pp. 709-710 above and Vā 46. 130
- Naubandhana—(mountain peak to the west of Kāśmīra) NM 62-63
- Naubandhanasaras—(on the border of Kāśmīra and Panjab) NM 64-66, 165-166 (also called Visnupada and Kramasāra), HC 4. 27
- Nepāla—(modern Nepal) Var 215 38, Vā 104 79, Devī—Bh. VII 38 11 (Gubyaśālī is a mahāsthāna in). Vide A.G. pp 450-452; Br IV 44 93 (one of the fifty pīthas), Br. S. 4 22 The country is named
- in Allababad Ins of Samudragupta (C. I I III p 14)
- Nigamodbhodhaka—(one gavyūti to the west of Prayāga) P VI 196 73-74, 200. 6 (in Indraprastha) Dey p 140 says that it is Nigambodh Ghat in old Delhi on the Yamunā
- Nihkīrā—(a lotus pool on Krauñcāpada in Gayā) Vā 108 84, N II. 44. 64, 47 35, Ag 116 8 (reads Nisīrā)
- Nihkīrā sāgama—N II. 47. 35
- Nīlācala—A (a small hill or mound at Purī in Orissa on which the temple of Jagannātha is deemed to be situated) Vide Nīlaparvata. B (hill near Gauhati on which temple of Sati stands)
- Nīlagangā—(under Go. and rising in Nīlaparvata) B 80 4
- Nīlakantbalūga—(under VS) L. q by T K p 118
- Nīlakanthatīrtha—(under Sābhrāmati) P VI 168 1
- Nīlakunda—A (a pītīrtha) M 23 22, B Nīlakunda, Vitastā and Śūlaghāta are three names of the same tīrtha or spring in Kāśmīra NM 1500, HC 12 17
- Nīlanāga—(king of Nāgas and protector of Kāśmīra) NM 295-301, R I 28, HC. 12 17, SM p 182. It is to the south of Bring in Shahabad *paigana*, popularly known as Vērāg, the traditional source of Vitastā. An A vol II. p. 361 describes Vērāg as the source of Bīhat (Vitastā) and remarks (p 363) 'Nīlanāg, the basin of which measures 40 bighas Its water is exquisitely clear and is considered a sacred spot and many voluntarily perish by fire about its border'
- Nīlaparvata—A (near Haridvāra) Anu 25 13 'Gāngādvāre Kuśūvarte Bīvake Nīlaparvate tathā Kanakhale snātā dhūtapāpmā divam vājet' L. q by T K p.245, V DhS 85 13

- M. 22. 70, Bh. V. 19. 16, K. II 20 33, Devī-Bh. VII 38 (Devisthāna Nilāmbā), B (mound on which Puruṣottama shrine stands) P IV 17. 23 and 35, IV. 18. 2, SK. q, by T. P. p 562
- Nilatīrtha—Vām q. by T K p. 238
- Nilavana—Rām II 55.8 (one krośa from Cetrakūta)
- Nilōpalā—(r. rising from Rksa m) Vā. 45 100
- Nimbārlatīrtha—(on Sābhramatī) P VI. 151 1 and 14 (near Pippalādatīrtha)
- Nimnabheda—(on north bank of Go.) B 151. 1
- Nirajēsvara—(under Narmadā) P I. 18. 6
- Nirāñjana—(An Ādityatīrtha on the north bank of Yamunā near Prayāga) M. 108. 29, T.K. p. 149 (reads Nīrūjaka)
- Nirāñjanā—a river which has Mohanā as tributary and after confluence it flows past Gayā, it is famed in Buddhist works They are Magon and Erchenyāsis of Arrian (Ptolemy p. 97)
- Niravindaparvata—Ann. 25. 42
- Nirajēsvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p. 103
- Nirvindhya—(river rising in Vindhya and falling into Chambal) B 27 33, M. 114 27, Mār. 113. 33, Br. II. 16. 32, Meghadūta I. 28 Acc to Bh. IV. 1. 17-19, VI. II. 3 11, the river starts from m. Rksa and sage Atri had his hermitage on it, Mār chap. 113 narrates the story of Vidūratha whose capital was near Nirvindhya and Vatsapri, son of Bhalandana
- Nirvirā—(r.) V 84 138-139 (it had Vasisthāśrama on its bank)
- Nisadha—(m) V.188. 112, Al. (vol. II p. 142) says that near the mountain Nisadha is the lake Visnupada whence comes the river Sarasvatī Therefore Nisadha seems to be a part of the great Himālayan range. Vide also Vāyu 47. 64
- Nisadhbā—(r. rising in Vindhya) Br. II. 16. 32 Vā 45. 102
- Nisākaratīnga—(under VS) L q by T.K p 65
- Niscirā—appears to be a variant reading for Nirvirā, M 114. 22 reads 'niscaiz'
- Nispalesā—K II 41 8
- Nisthāśogama—(where there was Vasisthāśrama) P I 38 56
- Nisthāvāsa—P, I. 38. 54
- Nisthivī—(r. rising in Himavat) Br. II. 16.26
- Nivāsahga—(under VS) L q by T K p. 89
- Nūpā—(r. rising from Pāryātra m) Br II 16. 28, Mār 54. 23 (reads 'Nūpi')
- Oghavatī—(r. in Punjab) Bhī. 9. 22, M 22. 71 (śrāddha and dāna very efficacious here), Vām, 46 50, 57 83, 58. 115, Prthūdaka (modern Pehoa) was situated on it From Śal 38. 4 and 27 it appears that it was a name of Sarasvatī. Vide Dey p. 142 for different views about identification
- Ojasa—(under Kuruksetra, probably same as 'Aujasa' above) Vām, 41 6, 90 17
- Omlāra—A (one of five guhyaḥ lugaḥ in VS) K I 34 1-11, L. I 92 137, P I 34.1-4, B (Omlāra Māndhātā, one of the twelve Jyotirlingas on an island in Narmadā about 32 miles north-west of Khandwa) M 22. 27, 186 2, P. II. 92. 32, VI 131. 67, SK. I 1. 17. 209 In the Halāyudha-stotra engraved in the Amareśvara temple at Māndhātā on the left bank of the Narmadā dated in samvat 1120 (1063 A.D.) in E. I. vol. 25 p. 173 it is said that Omlāra dwells in Māndhātrpura on the confluence of Narmadā and

- Kāveri. Vide above under Māhis-mati
- Omākāreśvara—(under VS) SK IV 33
118
- P
- Padmāvati—Śal. 46, 9 (one of the Mātṛs), the city is called Narwar. Vide A G p. 250 and the Khajurāho Inscription of *śamvat* 1058 (1001-2 A. D.) for a description of the town which was the scene of Bhavabhūti's Mālatī-Mādhava (E.I vol. I. p 147 at p 151). Narwar is supposed to be the home of Nala, King of Nīṣadha
- Paisācatīrtha—(On the south bank of Go.) B 84 1-2 and 18 (also called Ājjana). B.150 I speaks of a Paisācatīrtha on the north bank of Go. It is doubtful whether these two are entirely different tirthas.
- Paitūmahatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194. 4-5, K. II. 42 18
- Pālamañjara—(near Sūrpāraka) Br. III 13 37
- Pālapañjara (m.) Vā 77. 37 (śrūddha here most efficacious), Br III. 13. 37 (reads Pālamañjara)
- Palāsaka—(where Jamadagni performed sacrifices) V. 90 16 (Palāsakesu punyegu)
- Palāśinī—(r.) A (near Girnar in Kathiwar) Vide under Raiyatāka and Rudradāman's Junagadh Inscription (E I, vol. VIII p 36 at p. 43) and Skandagupta's Ins of 457 A D. (C I I III. at p. 64); B (r Paddair which falls into the sea near Kalūgapatam in Ganjam) Mār. 54. 30 (rising from Suktimat), Vā. 45. 107
- Pāleśvara—(under Sābbramatī) P VI. 134. 2 (where image of Candī is established)
- Pampā—(r. tributary of Tuṅgabhadrā) Bh. X. 79. 12, Vām 90. 16
- Pampā—(v. I. Japā or Jayā) P. I 26. 20-21 (said to be the door of Kuruksetra)
- Pampāsaras—(Lake Pampā near Rśyamūka in the District of Bellary) V. 279. 44, 280. 1, Rām. III 72, 12, 73. 11 and 32, VI. 126 35, Vanaparva 280. 1, Bh VII. 14. 31, X 79 12 (saptagodāvarim Venām Pampām Bhūmarathīm tatah)
- Pampātīrtha—M 22 50, Bh VII 14 31
- Pañcabrahma—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p. 62
- Pañcagangā—The five rivers called Gangā are Bhāgīrathī, Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇā, Pīnākīnī (Pennar) and Kāveri. But in Drona 54 23 (Pañcagangāsū sā punyā) only northern rivers seem to be meant
- Pañcakaśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K p 65
- Pañcālakesvara—(under VS) L. q. by T K p 65
- Pañcakundā—A (under Dvārakā) Var. q. by T. K p 226, B (under Lohārgala) Var 151. 43 (where five āhārās from *humakūta* fall)
- Pañcanada—(the five rivers in Punjab) V 82. 83, Mausala 7 45, Vā 77. 56, K II 44. 1-2, L I. 43. 47-48 (near Japyeśvara), Vām 34. 26, P I. 24 31 The Mbh. (vol. II, p 239 on Pān. IV. 1 88) derives Pāñcanadab (Pañcanade bhavaḥ) from Pañcanadam The five rivers in Vedic times were Sutudrī, Vipāsī, Parusnī, Asīnī and Vītaṣṭā and in modern times they are called Sutlej, Bias, Rāvī, Chenab and Jhelum The union of these five rivers is called Panjnad in modern times and then the combined stream unites with the Indus a few miles above Mithankot Br S. XI 60 states that a malignant Ketu in Dhanīṣṭhā kills the king of Pañcanada and Br. S 14. 21 states it is a country in the west Vanaparva 222. 22 mentions the Sindhu (Indus) and Pañcanada separately (Sindhunadam Pañcanadam Devikātha

- Var. 141) For Pañcanada as a country, vide Śubh' Śpansa 32 11
- Pañcanadā-tīrtha—(under the Ganges) Pr. III 13 57, N II. 51. 16-36 Vide p 626 and note 1458 above
- Pañcanadī—(near Kolhapur) P VI 176 43 (the image of Mahālakṣmī near it).
- Pañcanadī-vara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 96.
- Pañcapīṅga—(under D'vārakē) Var 149 36-40 (where a man of good deeds uses lotuses of silver and gold, but not an evil-doer) T. K p 326 reads Pañcalunda.
- Pañcaprayāga—Dey p 146 mentions (1) Devaprayāga (confluence of 16 Āpīrithī and Akāśanandā), (2) Kāmaprayāga (Akāśanandā and Pindara), (3) Rudraprayāga (Akāśanandā and Mandā in 7) 18 miles from Kāmaprayāga, capital of Terri, (4) Nandaprayāga (Akāśanandā and Nandā), (5) Visvaprayāga near Joshimatha (Akāśanandā and Visrugāgā).
- Pañcāsparas-tīrtha—(on the southern sea) Pr. A 79 18 (Śrīdhara-sāmī, com. of Bh. sa. s that this tīrtha is in the Nīlghoṭṭa which is Anantapura in the Madras State Vā. (216 1-4) names them as Agastyatīrtha, Svabhadrā, Pauloma, Kāraudbama and Bhāradvāja. They were shunned by all, but Arjuna plunged into them and relieved the Asparas who had been reduced to pools by a curse. SK, Māhesvara-khanda, Kaumārīkā section, chap 1 is Pañcāsparas samuddharaga (by Arjuna)
- Pañcārṇnaksatra—(to north of Stuta-sāmīn) Var 148 45
- Pañcasaras—A (a pool under Lohārgala) Var 151 31, B (a pool under D'vārakē) Var 149 23
- Pañcasikha—(under Badarī) Var 141. 14-16
- Pañcaśikṣīvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p. 67
- Pañcasira—(under Badarī) Var. 141 39-44
- Pañcāśvamedhika—Vā 77. 45, Br. III. 13. 45
- Pañcatapa (a Sivātīrtha where pūndā-dūva gives inexhaustible results) K II 44 5-6
- Pañcatīrtha—(in Kañci) Br. IV. 40 59-61.
- Pañcatribhāunda—(under Mathurā) Var. 164 37.
- Pañcavana—(under Gayā) Vā 77. 99
- Pañcavaṣṭa—(under Kuruketra) Vām. 41 11, P I 27 50 (probably same as Pañcavati in V. 83 162)
- Pañcavati—A (in the north) V. 83 162, B (on the Go) Rām III 13 13 (calls it 'deśa'), III 13. 19 (two voyages from Agastya-āśrama), N II 75. 30, Ag. 7. 3. Vide pp 709-710 above
- Pañcayāsā—(location uncertain) V 84. 10
- Pañcayātana—(five tīrthas on the Narmadā) M. 191 5-6
- Pandāralavana—(very fit for śrāddha) Vā 77 37
- Pāndavēśvaraka—(under Narmadā) P I. 18 58, M. 191 61-62
- Pāndukūpa—Br. III 13 37 (near the sea) very fit for śrāddha
- Pāndupura—Vide Paundarikapura
- Pāncura—Vā. 45 91 (a minor m.)
- Pāndusahya—(one of the guhya-kṣetras of Visnu) Nr. 65 9 q. by T. K. p. 251
- Pānduśilātīrtha—(under Gayā) Vā. 77. 99, Vā. 112 44-48 (read Pānduśilā), T. K p 168 quoting Vā. reads Pānduśilāyā
- Pānikhyāna—P I 26. 84, V. 83 89 (Lbāta)
- Pānakavana—(under Gayā) N II 44 58, Vā. 112 43 (Pānduśilā was in this vana)
- Pāpamoksa—(under Gayā) Ag. 116 8, N. II. 47. 79
- Pāpapramocana—(under Kōlāmukha) Var 140, 51-54

- Pāpaprāṣāna**—A (on Yamunā) PI 31 15; B (under Go.) B 92 1 and 48-49, also called 'Dhautapāpa' and 'Gālava')
- Pāpasūdanatīrtha**—(a spring in Kāśmīra) R I 32, H. C. 14 36 Kapateśvara; Saṅkarsana Nāga and Pāpasūdana are the same Śiva is worshipped as Kapateśvara at the sacred spring
- Pārā**—A (Viśvāmītra gave that name to Kauśikī) Ādi 71. 30-32; B (r rising in Pāriyātra and falling into Sindhu in Malwa) Vā 45 98, M 13 44 and 114 24, Mār 54. 20 Printed Vāyu reads Parā, though some MSS read Pārā In M 13 44 it is said that Devī is styled Pārā on the bank of Pārā Vide Mālati-Mādhava 4th Act at end, and 9th Act, first verse and Br. S 14 10
- Parbhāsupura**—(modern Pāraspor in Kashmir) built by the great King Lalitāditya R IV 194-195 refer to silver and gold images of Visnu
- Pārśāryeśvaralinga**—(under VS) L q by T K p 59
- Pārplava**—(under Sarasvatī) V. 83 12, F I 26 10 (same verse as in V), Vām 34. 17
- Pāriyātra**—(or Pāripātra, one of the seven main mountain ranges). It must be deemed to be the western part of Vindhya, as the rivers Chambal, Betwa and Śīprā are said to rise from it Vide K. I 47 24, Bh V 19.16, Vā 45 88 and 98, B 27 29. It is mentioned in the Nasik Inscription No 2 of Gotamīputa Śāta-karni in the words rendered into Sanskrit (from Prākṛit) as विन्ध्यकक्षवत्परियाजसहाकण्डगिरि—मत्सिरिनमलय-महेन्द्र . पर्वतपते , Bom G vol. 16 p. 550 and as Pāricāta in Nāsik Ins No 10 (Bom G. vol 16 p 569) and in Mahābhāṣya as the southern boundary of Āryāvarta (vol. I p 475 on Pān II 4.10) and also in Baud Dh S I I 27
- Parjanyaśvara**—(under VS) L q. by T K p. 115
- Parnāsū** (or Varnāsā)—A (r Banās in Rajputana which rising in Udaipur State falls into the Chambal) S. 65. 6 (yatkincid anu Parnāsām prāk Sindhorapī Saubala I etan mama dhanam &c) Parnāsā would mean 'the hope of foliage) Vā. 45. 97, Var 214 48, M. 114, 23, S. 9 21, B a river of Western India that falls into the Runn of Cutch The first is mentioned as Bārnāsā in Usavadāta's Nasik Inscription No 10 (Bom G Vol 16 p 569 and p 633), in Ins No 14, at Nasik it is spelt as Bānāsā (Bom G Vol 16 p 577) and also in Karle cave Inscription No 13 in E. I vol VII at p 57. Vide for this river Bom. G vol. V p 283
- Parusnī**—A (modern Rāvi in Punjab) Rg V 52 9, VII. 88 8-9 (Sudās met his enemies Kutsa and the latter's allies on this river), VIII 74 15, X 75 5 Nir IX. 26 states that Irāvati was called Parusnī, B (a tributary of the Go) B 144 1 and 23
- Parusnī-saṅgama**—(under Go) B 144 1
- Parvatāhya**—(under VS) K I. 35 8, P I 37 8 (same verse in both)
- Parvateśvara**—(under VS) M 183 62
- Pārvatīkār**—(śrāddha on this river most efficacious) M 22 56 It is a river rising in Vindhya and falling into Chambal
- Pārā**—(r rising from Pāriyātra in) Br II 16 28 Is it a misreading for Pārā?
- Pāsānatīrthā**—(r) Devala q by T.K. p 249
- Pāśunī**—(r. rising from Śuktimanta) M 114 32
- Pāśupatatīrthā**—M 22. 56 (śrāddha at this very efficacious)
- Paśupateśvara**—(under VS) L I 92 135

- Paśupatiśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K p 93
- Pātālā—(very sacred to pitrs) M 22, 33
- Pātandhama—(m) Vā, 45, 91
- Patatritīrtha—(under Go.) B 166, 1
- Pathīśvara—(in Kāśmīra' beyond Bharatagiri and Vitastā) NM 1245 (temple of), 1398
- Patresvara—(on north bank of Narmadā) P I. 17, 1
- Paulastyatīrtha—(under Go.) B 97, 1
- Pauloma—(vide Pañcāpsarasatīrtha) Xdī, 216, 3
- Paundarīka—(a Vīṣṇuksetra, seems to be Paundharpur from context) P VI 280, 18-19 (Kṛtasauce haret pāpam Paundarīke ca Dandake; Māthure Venkatādrau ca)
- Paundra—(Devadāruvane Paundram) P VI 129, 27
- Paundravardhana—Vā 104, 79 (sacred pītha), Br. IV, 44, 93
- Pausaka—(in Kāśmīra-mandala) P VI, 129, 27
- Pavanaśya—hrada V, 83, 105
- Pāvanī—(r.) The Ghaggar is Kuruksetra (Ambala District) Rām. I, 43, 13. Vide Dey p. 155
- Payasvinī—(r.) Bh. V, 19, 18, XI, 5, 39 (persons who dwell on this and other rivers of the south are great devotees of Vasudeva).
- Payodā—(r.) Br. II 18, 70, Vā 47, 67 (rising from lake Payoda).
- Payosnī—(r. rising from Rkṣa or from Vindhya) Wilson says that it is (vol. II, p 144 n 37) the Pain-Gangā that joins the Waradā or Wardhā river in Central Provinces, V, 85, 40, V. 88 4, 7-9 (it is superior to all rivers including Gaṅgā and is the river of king Nrga), 121, 16, VI, II, 3, 11. Tāpī and Payosnī are separately mentioned in most Purānas e. g. VI, II 3, 11, M 114, 27, B 27, 33, Vā 45, 102, Vām. 13, 28, N II 60, 29, Bh. X 79, 20, P, IV, 14, 12 and IV, 16, 3 (sage Cyavana had his āśrama on it) Vide under Mūlatāpī V 121, 16 shows that after Payosnī the Pāndavas came to Vaidūrya-parvata and Narmadā Hunter in I G I, vol XX p 412 holds that Payosnī is the modern Purnā river in Berar rising in the Gavilgadh hills and falling into the Tāpī. The Nalacampū VI, 29 says (Parvatābhedi pavitram ..Harimiva...vabati payah paśyata Payosnī) Payosnīsangama—(śrāddha yields inexhaustible results) M, 22, 33
- Phalākīvana—(under Kuruksetra, probably modern Pharal, 17 miles to south-east of Thanesar) V, 83, 86
- Phalgu—(r.) flows towards the north past the town of Gayā and ultimately joins a branch of the Pūnpū Vīde District Gazetteer of Gayā p, 8, Ag 115, 27 derives it from *phala* and *go* (yasmīn phalati śrīr-gaur-vā Kāmadhenur-jalam mahī Dstiramyādīkam yasmāt Phalgotīrtham sa phalguvat). Vā 111, 16 says it is superior to Gangā since the latter is only water from the foot of Vīṣṇu while the former is Adī-Gadādhara himself Vide pp. 648 n, 653, 660 n, 661-62, 664 n
- Phālguna—Bh. VII, 14, 31, X, 79, 18 (Śrīdhara says it is Anantapura)
- Phālgunaka—(to the south of Mathurā) Var 157, 32
- Phālgunesvara—(under VS) L q by T K p. 105
- Phenā—(r. falls into Go) B 129, 7
- Phenā-sangama—(with Go) B, 129, 1, 7-8
- Pīndaraka—(in Khambhelia Mahāl of Kathiawar) V, 82, 65-67 (where coins were found marked with lotus), 88, 21, M, 13, 48, 22, 69, Anu 25, 57, VI, V, 37, 6, Bh. XI, 1, 11 (Kṛṣṇa's son Sāmba dressed as a pregnant woman was cursed here by sages), Var 144, 10 (as Vīsausthāna), P I, 24, 14-15 Dey

- p. 157 says it is 16 miles to the east of modern Dvārakā Vide Bom G. vol VIII (Kathiawar) p. 613 for legend connected with Pindar
- Piṅgāyāh-āśrama—Anu. 25 55
- Piṅgātīrtha—V 82. 57 (Piṅgātīrtha), P. I. 24 6 (same verse in both)
- Piṅgaleśvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 32, K II. 41 21, P I 18 32 (same verse in last two)
- Pippalā—(r. rising from Rksavat) Br. II. 16 30
- Pippalādātīrtha—(on Sābhramatī near Dugdheśvara) P VI 150. 1
- Pippalatīrtha—(under Go. near Caṅra-tīrtha) B 110 1 and 226 (Pippaleśvara in this verse)
- Pippaleśa—(under Narmadā) M. 190 13, P. I 17, 10
- Pippalī—(r. rising from Rsyavat) M. 114. 25; probably same as Pippalā
- Piśācēśvara—(under VS) L q by T K. p. 114
- Piśācamocana-kunda—(under VS) K I 33 2 and 13-14, P. I. 35 2 ff (almost same verses in both)
- Piśācamocana-tīrtha—(in Prayāga) P VI, 250 62-63
- Piśācīkā—(r. rising in Rksavat) Br. II 13. 30
- Pitāmahasaras—same as Puskara—A V. 89 16, B Śal. 42 30 (the source of Sarasvatī), V 84 149
- Pitāmahatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 194 4, P I 21 4
- Piṅhas—fifty are enumerated in Br IV 44. 93-100 such as Nepāla, Ekavīrā, Eḷāmrā
- Plaksā—(r) Vām q by T K. p 239 (from that river pilgrim goes to Kundīna and then to Sūrpāraka)
- Plaksāprasravana or praśra—(the source of Sarasvatī) Śal 54 11, K II 37 29, Br III 13 69, Vā 77 67 (very efficacious for śrāddha)
- Plaksātīrtha—(sacred tank probably in Kuruksetra where Purūravas found Urvaśī) Vā 91 32
- Plaksāvataraṇa—V. 90. 4 (where sacrificers performed Sārasvata-sattras); V. 129. 13-14 (Yamunātīrtha where those who performed Sārasvata sacrifices came for the final ceremonial bath called avabhṛtha), K II. 37. 8 (a Viṣṇutīrtha), Mār 21. 29-30 (in Himavat)
- Prabhāsa—A (in Saurāṣṭra near the sea, had a famous temple of Somanātha, one of the twelve Jyotirlingas, broken by Mahmud of Ghazni) also called Somanāthapaṭṭana, SK. VII 1. 2. 44-53 (several origins of the name suggested), V. 82 58, 130. 7, V. 88, 20, 118. 15, 119. 3, Ādi 218. 2-8, Śal. 35 42 (the moon was cured of consumption here), K II. 35. 15-17, N. II. 70. 1-95 (māhātmya), G. I 4 81, Vām. 84 29 (Sarasvatī falls into the sea near it) It is mentioned as a holy place in Usavadāta's Inscription at Nānak (Bom. G. vol. 16 p. 669 and in Cūtra prasasti of Sāraṅgadeva dated samvat 1343 (1287 A. D.). Prabhāsa is styled Devapattana and it is said that it is on the confluence of the Sarasvatī and the sea [E I. vol. I. p. 271 at p. 283 and Śrīdhara's prasasti of samvat 1273 (1216 A. D.)]; B (on the Sarasvatī) Śal. 35 78, SK. VII 1 11-14; C (a hill near Gayā) Vā 108. 16, 109. 14, Ag 116. 15; D (under VS) K. I. 35 16, P I. 37. 15, E (under Dvārakā) Mausala 8. 9, Var. 149. 29-33 (there are alligators there but they do no harm), SK. VII. 1 chap. 35-36 (māhātmya of Sarasvatī and Prabhāsa), Bh. XI. 30. 6 (there is pratyak-Sarasvatī there i. e. S. flowing westwards, while in Kuruksetra it is pṛācī). Usavadāta's Inscription states that the prince bore the expenditure of the marriages and secured brides for eight brāhmanas at Prabhāsa (Prabhase Punyatīrthe). It was here that Lord Kṛṣṇa left his mortal coil Vide 'The life and

times of Sultan Mahmūd of Gazni' by Dr. M. Nazim pp 202-214 for origin, legends and sanctity of Somanātha and for date of invasion by Mahmūd (about 1025 A. D.), pp. 219-224 for stories connected with the expedition, and pp. 117-119 for attack on the fort of Somanātha, for the death of 50000 devotees in defence, for the destruction of the līnga with pickaxes and fire and for the immense booty of 20 millions of dīnārs of those days (i.e. about £10,500,000 in present money); F (in Kāśmīra) HC. 14, 111, G (one of the five *dhārās* near Badarikāśrama) N. II 67. 57-58

Prāci-Sarasvatī—(same as Sarasvatī) A-Bh. VI. 8. 40, Vām. 42 20-23;

B (under Gayā) Vā. 112 23

Pradyumna-giri or -pīṭha (same as Hari-parvata in Śrīnagara) R. III. 460, VII. 1616, Vā. 18 15, SM. p. 148 and K. R. p. 17

Pradyumnatūrtha—N. II. 40, 96 Dey p. 158 says that it is Paṇḍū in the District of Hughly in Bengal

Prahasīteśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 39

Prahādeśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 48

Prajānukha—(Vasū to be worshipped as Vasudeva here) Vām. 90 25

Prajāpatikṣetra—M. 104. 5 (limits defined). It is Prayāga: vide p. 599 note 1358

Prajāpatya—(under VS) K. I. 354, PI. 37. 4 (same verse in both)

Pranītā—(i. falling into Godāvarī) B. 161. 1, P. VI. 181. 5 (on the bank of Go there was a town called Meghaṅkara); same as Pranabītā

Frāntakapāniya—(near Pañcanaḍa) Var. 215 100

Pṛāpaṇa—(to the north of Mandāra) Var. 143 17

Prāśravaṇa-gūri—A (in Janasthāna) Rām. III. 49 31; B (on the Taṅga-bhadra) Rām. IV. 27. 1-4 (in a cave

of which Dāma resided for some months)

Prācī—(a great r.) Ea. XI. 5 40 (persons dwelling on this are devotees of Vasudeva)

Prācībhāna—A (near Prayāga) Vā. 75, 114, 1, Vā. 91. 18 (capital of Purūravas), 91. 50 (on the north bank of Yamunā), K. 12 18, 122. 23

(on the eastern side of the Ganges), Vā. 108 18 (given to Śīla Purūravas at Vasuṅga's request) Vā. IV. 1. 15, B. 227. 151, Bh. IX. 1. 42 B (modern Patthan on the left bank of the Go)

B. 112. 23, Var. 165. 1, P. VI. 172. 20, VI. 178. 2 and 5 (refers to sporting Mahārāja women at) The Pāṇi-khōra Buddhist pillar Inscription records the gift of a pillar by the family of a performer Mīndara of Pañchāna; A. S. W. I. IV. 50

Vide A. G. pp. 553-554 for Pañchāna being the capital of Mahārāja in Hionen Thsang's times Hiouen Thsang mentions it as Bāhāna and the Periplus as 'Pūthāna' In the 30th edict of Aśoka at Shahabgarhi and elsewhere we have 'Bac'ra-Pūthāna', which last word probably stands for Prācībhāna (C. L. I. vol. I. p. 67)

Pravarā—(r. that joins the Godāvarī) B. 105 45-54 (on which is situated Kivānapura, modern Neriāso-Neriā). It joins Godāvarī at Toka in Ahmednagar District, Bom. G. vol. 17 p. 6

Pravarāpura—see under Śrīnagara, III. 335-349

Pravarā-sāgama—(with Go) B. 105 1 Vide Bom. G. vol. XVII. p. 743 Toka and Pravarā-sāgama, two holy towns on the left and right banks of the Pravarā at its meeting with the Godāvarī, 7 miles north-east of Neriāso

Prayāga—A (modern Allahabad) Vā. pp. 595-617; also see A. G. pp. 388-391 quoting Hiouen Thsang. B (the confluence of the Indus

- and Vitastā i. e. Zhelum) NM 394-395 (Sindhu is deemed Gangā and Vitastā Yamunā)
- Prayāgeśvara—(under \S) L q by T K p 45
- Pretākunda—(under Gayā) Vā 10S 68-69, Ag 116 15 It is now known as Brahmayoni at the foot of the Pretaśilā hill
- Pretākūṭa—(a hill under Gayā) Vā. 109 15
- Pretaparvata—(under Gayā) Vā 83 20
- Pretāśilā—(under Gayā) Vā 110 15, 10S 15 It is a peak 580 feet in height situated 5 miles north-west of Gayā. Vide Gayā District Gazetteer p 235.
- Pratikēśvara—(under \S) L q by T K p, 111
- Priyamelaka—(pre eminent for śrāddha) M. 22 53
- Priyavateśvara-lunga—(in \S) SK. IV 33 159
- Pṛthivī-tīrtha—P I 26 11 (near Pānplava)
- Pṛthūdaka—(on south bank of Sarasvati, modern Pehoa) Vide p 685 above It was called Brahmayoni in Vām 39. 16-17 and 23 Vide A G pp 336-337
- Pṛthutūṅga—N II 60 25
- Pulahāśrama—Bh VII 14. 30, X 79 10 (near Gomati and Gandakī and same as Śālagrāma)
- Pulastya-pulahāśrama—(near source of Gandakī river) Var 144. 113, Bh. V. 8 30 (near Śālagrāma)
- Pulastyeśvara—(under \S) L by T K, p. 116
- Punahpunā—(r under Gayā, modern Pūn-Pūn) Vā. 10S 73, N. II. 47 75
- Punarāvartanandā—(r) Anu. 25 45
- Pundarīka—A (under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126 57, P I 26 78, B (near Kuruksetra) Vām. 81. 7-8
- Pundarīkā—(r rising from a lake called Pavoda) Br II, 1S 69-70
- Pundarīkaśetra—(modern Pandharpur) T S pp 7-21
- Pundarikamahātīrtha—(śrāddha most efficacious here) Br III 13. 56, Vā. 77. 55
- Pundarikapura—M. 22 77, N II 73 45
- Punyasthala—(under Mathurā, one of the five sthalas) Var 160 21
- Purāneśvara—(in \S) SK IV 33 132
- Pūrṇa—A (r in Berar), it falls into the Tāpī on its left bank Vide Anu A vol II p 224, Changdev is a village near this confluence and a great tīrtha called Chikar-tīrtha (muddy), B Pūrṇā in Surat District falls into the sea (Bom. G vol II, p 26), C Pūrṇā which falls into the Godāvari in Parbhani District Vide I. G I vol. XII. p 297. Is it the same as the Pūrṇātīrtha in B 105 22?
- Pūrṇamūka—(under Kubjāmraka) Var. 126. 40-41
- Pūrṇātīrtha—(on north bank of Go.) B 122 1
- Puru—(m) V 90. 22 (where Purūravas went)
- Purūravasatīrtha—(under Go) B. 101. 1 and 19-20 (also called Sarasvatī-saṅgama and Brahma-tīrtha)
- Purusottama—(Jagannātha or Purī in Orissa) B chapters 42, 48, 68, 177, 178; M 13. 35, K II. 35. 27, N. II. chapters 52-61 (māhātmya). Vide pp. 692-703 above
- Pūrṇamūka—(a variant reading for Pūrṇamūka in Var 126 40)
- Puškara—(town, lake and place of pilgrimage, six miles from Ajmer). One of the few temples of god Brahmā exists here. There are three kundas called Jyestha, Madhyama and Kanistha (N. II, 71 12, P V. 2S 53), Usavadāta's Nasik Ins No. 10 mentions gifts made by him at three pools (Puskaresu). Vide Bom G vol. 16 p 570. Vā. 77. 40, K II 20 31 and VDHS 85 1-3 state that śrāddha at Pus-

kara yields inexhaustible results This is one (western) of the five Vedīs of Brahmā (P V. 15 150), Vām. 22. 19. Br. III 34. 11 and Vām 65. 31 mention Madhyama Puskara and Br III, 35. 39 says that Kanistha Puskara was 1½ yojanas from Madhyama Puskara, and Jyestha Puskara was one krośa to the west of Madhyama Puskara It is said that the sacred Sarasvatī flowed to the ocean from here (P. V 19, 37) P V. 15. 63 and 82 explain how this place was called Puskara from the lotus (puskara) that Brahmā cast here. Br (III. 34. 7 ff) states that the hero Parasurāma practised *tapas* here along with his disciple Akṣayana for 100 years The T. K. pp 182-185 quote verses 20-39 of Vanaparva chap 82 and twelve verses from P V. 27 relating to Puskara A1. (vol. II p 147) states: 'Outside the town in three places they have constructed ponds which stand in high veneration and are places of worship' The principal temples are five, but all of them are modern, the earlier ones having been destroyed by Aurangzeb There are several sub-tirthas under it (V. 82) Puskara is in the Varanādigana (Pān. IV. 2. 82), B (Puskara, on Sarasvatī, called Suprabha, m) Ādi. 221 15, Śai. 38. 13-15; C HC 14. 111 (in Kāśmīra among the group of tirthas at Kapatesvara), D (one of the five *dhārās*. at Badarikāśrama) N II 67. 57-58

Puskarāranya—P V 18-217, S 32 8 (Prācī Sarasvatī flowed through it), Br S. XI. 35

Puskarāvati—a r probably known to Pān (IV. 2. 85, on which the Kāśkā mentions it and also several others)

Puskarnī—A (under Narmadā) M 190. 16, K. II. 41. 10-11, F. I 17 12, B (under Gayā) Ag 116. 13

Puspabbadrā—(r on the northern slopes of Himālaya) Var. 51. 2, 98, 5, Bh. XII 8 17, XII. 9. 10, Nr. q by T K p. 253

Puspabbadrā (r) Bh. XII 9. 10

Puspagir—(one of the lesser mountains in Bharatavarṇa) Vā 45 92, Br. II. 16 22. Vide I. G. I vol. 23 pp. 114-115 for this

Puspajā—(r rising from Malaya) M 114. 30, Vā 45 105 (reads Puspajāti, which means the same thing)

Puspadautesvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p. 117

Puspasthala—(under Mathurā) Var. 157 17 (a Śivaksetra)

Puspavahā—(r.) Bh XII. 9 30 (near Himālaya)

Puspavati—(r) V 85 12, P I 39 12 (same verse in both)

Putratīrtha—(under Go) B 124 1 and 137

R

Rādhākunda—(under Mathurā) Var 164. 34

Rāghavesvara—M. 22 60 (śāddha renders inexhaustible results).

Ravataka—(hill at Junagadh opposite to Girnar) Ādi 218 8 (near Prabhāsa) and chap. 219 (festivities on it by Vṛṣṇyandhaka), S 14 50, Var 149 56 (q by T. K. p 227), SK VII 2 1 68 (western part of Udayanta hill near Somanātha in Vastrāpatha), M 22 74 Ravataka is the present Girnar is very sacred to the Jains (vide Ūtarādhyayaśāstra, SBE, vol 45 p 115) But the present Dvārakā is about 110 miles from it The original Dvārakā, which was swept away by the sea, was much nearer Pargiter (p 289) was not aware of two Dvārakās and hence proposes to identify Ravataka hills with Baradā hills in Hālār, the western corner of Kathiawad In the Junagadh Inscription of Sāndagupta of 136-138 Gupta era

- c 455-458 A D the river Palāśinī is said to spring from Ūrjayat which (C I I vol III at p 64) is opposite to vatala
- Rājagṛha—A (Rājgir, the ancient capital of Magadh) V 84 104, Vā 108 73 (punyam Rājagṛham vanam), Ag 109 20, N, II 47 74, P I 38 22, vide A G pp 467-468 and I G I vol. XXI p 72 for the five hills surrounding it, it was also known as Girivraja and was the capital of Jarāsandha under this name, B (in the Punjab) P I 28 13 (it is a Devīsthāna)
- Rājahadga—(on Sābhramatī) P VI 131, 116 and 134
- Rājāvāsa—(Viṣṇu shrine established by Paraśurāma in Kāśmīra) NM 1384, 1447
- Rajeshvara—(under Srīparvata) L I. 92 156
- Rāmādhipāsa—(śrāddha and dāna most efficacious here) M 22. 53
- Rāmagīryāśrama—G I 81. 8, Meghadūta 1 and 12 (Rāmagīrya is Rāmtek, 28 miles north-east of Nāgpur in C P and two miles from Vākātaka capital Nandivardhana)
- Rāmagrha—(under Sānandūra) Var 150 10
- Rāmahrada—(five lakes on the north of Thaneshwar) V. 83. 26-40, Anu 25 47, Bh X, 84 53, P. I. 26. 23-37 (where Paraśurāma filled five lakes with the blood of ksatriyas killed by him and his piṭṛs transformed them into tīrthas at his request), NM. 1387-99 (it is Brahmāsaras where Bhārgava Rāma practised tapas after washing his bloodstained hands), Bh X. 84 53 Also called Cakra-tīrtha (vide p 742 above)
- Rāmajaṇma—(to the east of Sarala) P I 26 76
- Rāmalinga—(under VS) L q by T K p 113
- Rāmasaras—(under Sānandūra) Var 150 14-18 (one krośa in extent)
- Rāmatīrtha—A (under Gayā) Vā 108 16-18, M 22 70 (anantam śrāddhadānayoḥ), Ag 116 13, B (in Śūrparāla) V 85. 43, Śal 49 7 (where Bhārgava Rāma gave the earth as dakṣinā to Kaśyapa in Vājapeya and Aśvamedha sacrifices) Vide Usavādāta's Nasik inscription recounting the gifts he made at Rāmatīrtha in Śorparāga in Bom G vol 16 p 570, C (under the Ganges) N II 40.85, D (on Gomatī) V 84. 73-74, P I 32 37, E (under Go) B 123 1, F (under Mahendra) P I 39 14
- Rambhālinga—(under VS) L q. by T K p 105
- Rambheshvara-linga—(under Sarasvatī) Vām 46 39
- Rāmesvara—A (one of the twelve Jyotirlingas, said to have been established by Rāma himself) M. 22. 50, K II. 30. 23 (bath at R saves from sin of brahmahatyā), G I 81. 9. Vide T Sp 47 which quotes passages from V, K, and Ag. It is situated on the island of Pāmban It is one of the most venerated shrines in the whole of India Vide I G. I vol XXI pp 173-175 for a brief description of the great temple; B (under Srīparvata) L. I 92 149 (established by Viṣṇu himself).
- Ratnesvara-linga—(under VS) SK IV, 33 165
- Rautuka—(one boundary of Kuruksetra) Vām 22. 31 and 33. 2 Vide p 683 n 1551 above
- Rautukāśrama—(on Sarasvatī) Vām 42. 5
- Rasū—(a river) Rg. V. 53 9, X 75 6. It is difficult to identify it It appears to have fallen into the Indus But from Rg X 108 1 (katham Rasāyā ataraḥ payāmsi) in which the Panis ask Saramā how she crossed the waters of Rasū, it

- appears to be a mythical river. It is identified with Panjkora by E. Thomas in JRAS vol 15 p 361 (n s.)
- Rathacitraka—(a tīrtha) P VI 129 9
- Rathaspā—(r.) It was included in the Pāraskarādīgana (Pān VI I 157)
- The Mbh, (vol III p 96) mentions 'Rāthaspā nadi' In Mb (Vanaparva 170 20) a river Rathasthā is mentioned between Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī on the one hand and before Sarayū and Gomati on the other
- Rathākyā r is mentioned in Br. S 16 15 Vide Ādi 170. 20.
- Rāvanasvatīrīrtha—A (under Narmadā) M. 191 25, B (under VS) L. q by T. K p 98
- Ravistava—(under Narmadā) P I 18 19
- Renukāsthāna—(one of the Devīsthānas) Devī-Bh VII 38 5 (probably at Parasurāma, in the Ratnagiri District)
- Rēnukāstaka—(under Sarasvatī) Vām. 41. 5
- Renukāstīrtha—V 82.82, P. I. 24.30 and 27.47.. Dey (p 168) says it is about 16 miles north of Nahan in the Panjab Nahan is the capital of Sirmur State,
- Retodaka—(under Kedāra) Dvīpurāna q by T.K p 230
- Revā—(Narmadā) Vide pp. 703-707 above
- Revantēsvara—(under VS) L q by T K p 96
- Revatī-sāngama—(under Go) B 121 1 and 22
- Rkṣa or Rksavat—('abounding in bears', one of the seven main mountain ranges of Bharatavarsa) Vā 45 99-101 and 95 31, M 114 17, B. 27. 32; Var. 85 (prose) Rivers like Sona, Narmadā, Mahānadi are said to rise from it Hence it is the eastern part of Vindhya from Bengal to the sources of Narmadā and Sona. Rksavat is mentioned in the Nasik cave Inscription No. 2 (Bom. G. vol 16 p 550 as *रिक्खवत* i. e. *रिक्ख-वतवत्* It is the Oxention of Ptolemy (p 76). Wilson (vol II. p 128) holds that Rkṣa is the mountain of Gondawana There is great difficulty in identification, since the same rivers that are said to rise in Rkṣa in M and V are said to rise from Vindhya in Mār 54 24-25.
- Rnamocana or Rnapramocana—A (under Kurukṣetra) Vām. 41 6. Vide A S R. of India, vol XIV p 76 (which says that it is situated to the south of Kapālamocanaastīrtha on the Sarasvatī), B (near Prayāga) M. 22. 67 (śrāddhagives inexhaustible results), 107 20, C (under Go.) B 99. 1; D (a sub-tīrtha under Āmalākagrāma) Nr 66 28 q. by T. K p 255, E (under VS) SK. IV. 33. 117
- Rnamoksa—(under Gayā) N II. 47. 79, Ag 116 8
- Rnāntakūpa P I 26 93
- Rnatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 191, 27, K II. 41. 19 and 29
- Rodhasvatī—(r) Bh. V 19 18
- Robhita (m) Ś 32. 4
- Rrabha—(m in Pāndya country) V. 55. 21, Bh V 19 16, X. 79 15, M. 121. 72 and 163. 78. Dey p 119 suggests that it is the Palni hills in Madurā
- Rsbhā—(r rising in Vindhya) M. 114. 27
- Rsbhadvīpa—V 84. 160, P I. 36 67
- Rsbhatīrtha—A (under VS) K. I. 35 3, P. I. 37. 3, B (in Kosalā : i. e. Dakṣiṇa-Kosalā), vide the Guṣṭi Rock Inscription of Kumāravaradatta read by M M Prof Mirashi in E I vol. 27. p 48 where it is recorded that at Rsbhatīrtha of the Bhagavat (probably meaning Śiva) an *amūṭya* of the king made a grant of two thousand cows to brāhmanās Prof. Mirashi points out that Guṣṭi is a small village, 14 miles north-west of Sakṭi

- in the Chhatisgarh Division of C P, that at the foot of a hill near that village there is a kunda (pool) called Daman Dahrā, that the record is engraved on a rock on one side on this pool, that not many miles from Guñji inscriptions of centuries before and after the Christian era have been found and that the Guñji Inscription is to be assigned to the 1st century A. D. Vanaparva 85. 10 states that the pilgrim who fasts for three days at Rśabhatirtha secures the rewards of Vājapeyaya;ñā Vide V 85, 10, P I 39. 10
- Rśabhañjanakatirtha or Usātirtha—(under Mathurā) Var q by T. K p 191
- Rśikā—(r. from m Śuktimat) Vā 45 107
- Rśkanyā—(under Narmadā) M. 194.14
- Rśkulyā—(r.) V 84 49, P I. 32. 12, M 114 31, B. 27. 37, N. II. 60 30 (rising from Mahendra m) Vā 45. 106 reads 'Rtukulyā It is the river of Ganjam, acc to A G p 516. The famous Jāugada fort in the midst of which on a huge granite mass thirteen edicts of Aśoka are inscribed is on this river
- Rśsañghesvara—(under VS) L q by T K. p 54
- Rśsattira—(under Go) B 173 1
- Rśyamūka or Rśyamūke—(m) Rām III 72 12, III 75 7 and 25 (on the borders of lake Pampā), Bh V. 19 16, V. 280 9, V 147 30 (on which Sugrīva resided), 279 44 (near Pampā lake) Vide Pargiter (p. 289 note) for identification which is rather vague
- Rśtirtha—A (under Narmadā) M 191 22 and 193 13 (sage Trnabindu became free from curse here), K. II 41 15, P. I 18. 22, B (under Mathurā) Var 152 60
- Rśyaśrngesvara—(under VS) L q. by T.K. p 115
- Rśyavanta or Rśya—(m) M. 114 26, Vā 45 101, B 27 32
- Rucikeśvaraka—L I 92 167
- Rudragayā—(near Kolhapur) P VI. 176 41
- Rudralanyā—(under Narmadā) P I 20 76
- Rudrakara—(under Kuruksetra) Vām 46 11
- Rudralarna—(under VS) M. 181 25
- Rudrakarnahrada—(under VS) P I 37 15
- Rudrakoti—A (under Kuruksetra and Sarasvatī) V. 82 111-124, Vām. 46. 51, P I. 25 25-30, K II 36 1-8 (where Hara assumed a crore of Rudra forms for the competing sages), B (under VS) M 181. 25, C (under Narmadā) P I 13 12, V. 17 103, M 186 16-17
- Rudramahālaya—(under VS) L q by T K. p 63, Devala q by T K p 250
- Rudramahālayatirtha—(under Sābhramatī) P. VI. 139 1
- Rudrapada—A (under Gayā) Vā 111. 64-67, Ag 113 48, B (under Kuruksetra) P I 26 94
- Rudraprayāga—on confluence of the Mandākinī and Alakanandā in Garhwal district (I G. I vol XXI p. 338)
- Rudrāvarta—(after Sugandhā) V 84.37
- Rudravāsa—(under VS) L q by T.K. p 62
- Rukminīkūnda or Rukmīkūnda—(under Gayā) Vā 108 57, Ag. 116 5
- Rūpadhārā—(Viṣṇu's form on Itāvati) Vām 90 5
- Rurukhanda—(under Śālagrāma) Var 145 105, chap 146 explains why it is so called.

S

- Śabarītirtha—(on Go) P. VI. 269. 277-78
- Śābhramatī—(modern Sābarmatī river that rises in the Mewar hills and falls into the gulf of Cambay) The original of Sābarmatī is given as Śvābhavatī in I. G. I. vol. XXI p 344.

Vide P. VI 131. Up to chap. 170 of P. various sub-tirthas of the river are described at great length. Verses 2-6 of chap. 133 speak of seven streams of it, viz Sābhramatī, Setikā (Svetakā), Bakulā, Hiranmayī, Hastimatī (modern Hathimati) Vetravatī (modern Vātrak) and Bhadrakūhī Sābhramatī-sāgara-saṅgama—P. VI. 166. 1

Sācīvara-lūga—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 105

Sadāngula—(Sthāna of a nūga in Kāśmīra) NM 1133-1140

Sadānirā—(r.) Śat. Br I. 4. 1. 17 states 'even now this river is a boundary of Kosalas (Oudh) and Videhas. This river came rushing from the northern mountain and though all other rivers were burnt up, this was not burnt'. Sāyana explains Sadānirā as Karatoyā. Bhī (9. 24 and 35) keeps the two distinct S. 20. 27 indicates that it was between the Gandakī and Sarayū, while B (27. 28-29) states that it rises from Pūriyātra in Vā. 45. 100 states that Karatoyā comes from Rkṣa range. Fargier (Mār chap. 57 p. 294) says that it is the Raptī. The Amarakośa regards Sadānirā and Karatoyā as synonyms

Sagareśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 51

Sāhasrakatirtha—V. 83. 158, P. I. 27. 46 (same words in both)

Sahasrākṣa—M. 22. 52 (dāna most efficacious here)

Sahasrakūnda—(under Go.) B. 154. 1, q. by T. S. p. 59

Sahya or Sahyādri—(one of the seven main mountains of Bharatavarṣa) B. 161. 2, M. 13. 40, Br. III. 56. 22, Ag. 109. 21

Sāhyāmalaka—Vide Āmalaka

Sāhyāranya—Devīpūṭāna q. by T. K. p. 244

Saileśvara—(under VS) L. I. 92. 86, Var. 216. 23, N. II. 50. 57, SK IV. 33. 135

Saileśvaraśrama—Var. 215. 57 and 83-84

Sailoda—(lake at the foot of m. Aruna) Vā. 47. 20, Br. II. 18. 21-23

Sailodā—(r. which springs from Sailoda lake) Vā. 47. 21, Br. II. 18. 22.

Vide Doy p. 172 for identification

Saundhavāraṅga—(where Cyavana resided with Sukanyā) V. 125. 13, Vām. q. by T. K. p. 239. V. 89. 15

speaks of S. as being in the west

Sākambharī—A (Sāmbhara salt lake in Western Rajputana on the borders of the Jaipur and Jodhpur States) V. Dh. S. 85. 21, in an inscription of Cāhamāna Vīgraharāja dated Vīgrama era 1030 (973-74 A. D.) Sākambharī is mentioned (E. I. vol. II, p. 116 at p. 124). Vide I. G. I. XXII pp. 19-20 for legends about it. Near the south-eastern extremity of the lake there is Sāmbhar town which is an ancient one and was once the capital of Chauhān Rājputs; B (in Kumaon on the road from Haridvāra to Kedāra) V. 84. 13, P. I. 28. 14-16 (a Devīsthāna, where Devī subsisted on vegetables alone for 1000 years)

Sāketā—(same as Ayodhyā) It is the Sāgeda of Ptolemy. Vide Br. III. 54. 54. The Mbh (vol. I, p. 281 on Pān. I. 3. 25) has 'this road leads to Sāketā' and vol. II, p. 119 (on Pān. III. 2. 111) 'arunad-Yavanaḥ Sāketam' (the Yavana besieged Sāketā). The Yavana referred to is deemed to be Menander. The Suttanipāta (SBE, vol. X part 2 p. 188) mentions it as existing in the time of Buddha. Fa Hien (about 400 A. D.) refers to it as 'Sha-chi' and Hsuen Tshang as Visākha. Vide Ā. G. pp. 401-407. The Raghuvamśa (XIII. 79, XIV. 132, XV. 38) treats Sāketā and Ayodhyā

- as synonyms) The *Kāśikā* on Pān V 1 116 cites 'Pātaliputrat Sākete parikhā' This shows that in the 7th century Sāketa was a flourishing town with a wide ditch. A. C. (p 182) notes that Sāketa, Kosalā and Ayodhyā are synonyms (verse 975)
- Śakrarudra—(three *krośas* from Kokā-mukha) Var 140 65
- Śakrasaras—(under Sānandūra) Var 150 33
- Śakratīrtha—A (on the south bank of Narmadā) M 22 73, K II. 41 11-12, P I 24 29, B (under Kubjā-mraka) Var 126 81
- Śakrāvarta—V 84 29, P I 28 29
- Śakreśvara—(under VS) L q by T.K p 75
- Śālagrāma—(a sacred place near the source of the Gandakī river) V. 84 123-128, Vi II 1 24, II 13 4 (king Bharata, a yogin, and a devotee of Vāsudeva resided there), M. 13. 33 (Umā was called Mahā-devī in Śālagrāma), 22 62, P I, 38 41, Var 144 3 and 14 (all stones there are to be worshipped, particularly those marked with *cakras*); verse 29 says 'the Śālagrāma hill is Viṣṇu'; v 145 says it is also called 'Devūta', that it is twelve *yojanas* in extent (v 159) The sacred stones called Śālagrāma and worshipped as Viṣṇu are found in the bed of the Gandakī towards its source It was also called Pulahīrāma (Vi II 1 29) T K (pp. 219-221) quotes verses of Var, and V 84 123-128
- Śālagrāma—(same as above) K II. 35 37, Nr 64 22-26 (Puṇḍarīka came to this Mahākṣetra)
- Śālagrāmāgiri—Var 144. 13 and 29
- Śālakatankateśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K p 48
- Śālsūrya—V 83 107, P I 26 100 (a tīrtha probably established by Śākhotra)
- Śālūkinī—(under Kurukṣetra) V. 83.13. The Mbh (vol I p 474 on Vārtika 2 to Pān II. 4 7) speaks of Śālūkinī as a village)
- Śālvikīnī—(probably the same as above) P. I 26 11
- Sāmalanātha—(same as Śyāmalanātha) M. 22 42, P. V. 11. 35 Dey p 200 identifies with Sāmaly in Mahī lānthā Agency.
- Samaṅgā—(a r. also called Madhuvilā) V. 134. 39-40, V. 135 2 (where Indra was freed from the sin of Vṛtravadha). Samaṅgā is so called because it makes all limbs as they should be, Aṣṭāvakra's limbs became straight after a bath in it
- Samantapañcaka—(same as Kurukṣetra) Ādi. 2. 1-5 (five pools of ksatriya blood that were transformed into holy pools of water), Śal. 37. 45, 44 52, 53. 1-2 (the northern Vēdī of Brahmā), P. IV. 7. 74 (written as Syamanta—), Br. III 47 11 and 14. Vide pp. 682-83 above Vām. 22 20 (printed as Syamanta—), 51-55 (lake is called Sannihita and it is half a *yojana* all round, but Vām 22 16 says it is five *yojanas*)
- Samasrotah—(under Mandāra) Var 143 24-26
- Sāmbapura—A (under Mathurā) Var. 177. 55 (also called Kuleśvara), B (on the banks of Candrabhāgā) Bhav, Brahma 140 3 It is modern Multan
- Sāmbhalagrāma—B 213 164 (Kalkin Viṣṇuśaśas will be born here to destroy mlecchas), P. VI. 269 10-12 (speaks of Śāmbhalagrāma), G I. 81 6, Bh XII 2 18 Vā 98 104-109, M 144 51, Br II 31 76, Vi IV. 24 98 speak of the future exploits of Kalkin or Pramati (but all don't mention Śāmbhalagrāma). The I. G I vol XXII p 18 identifies it with the town Sambhal in the Moradabad District, U P. many

- ancient mounds, temples and sacred spots exist in the neighbourhood.
- Sammūrtika**—(a tīrtha in VS) P I 37 6
- Sampībhaka**—(under Mathurā) Var. 157. 37
- Samsāramocana**—(śrāddha here yields inexhaustible results) M 22 67
- Sāmudraka**—(near Brāhmāvarta) V 84. 41
- Samudrakūpa**—(under Prayāga) M 106 30
- Sāmudratīrtha**—(under Go.) B. 172 1-20, about ten verses of which are q by T.S pp. 63-64 (though with variant readings)
- Samudreśvara**—(under VS) L. q by T.K. p 105
- Samvartaka**—(under VS) K I 35 6
- Samvartavāpi**—V. 85 31, P I 39 29 (same verse in both)
- Samvarteśvara**—(under VS) L q by T.K. p 99
- Samvidyātīrtha**—V 85 1, P I. 39 1
- Samyamana**—(under Mathurā) Var 153 3
- Sanaścaresvara**—(under VS) L q. by T K. p 67
- Sanaka**—Yama q by T K p 248
- Sanakesvara**—(under VS) L q by T K. p 67
- Sanaudesvara**—(under VS) L q by T K p 67
- Sānandūra**—Var 150 5 ḡ Its exact location cannot be stated It is between the southern sea and Malaya. An image of Viṣṇu was established there, some saying that it was made of iron, others saying of copper, lead or stone and so on Dey does not notice it
- Sapatkumāresvara**—(under VS) L q. by T. K. p 67
- Sandhyā**—A (r in Kāśmīra) NM. 1471, R I 33 and Stein's note Vide Trisandhyā, B (river Sindh in Malwa, which falls into the Yamunā) S 9, 23, P. I. 39. 1. C (another r., location uncertain) V. 84 52, P. I 32 16
- Sandhyāvata**—(under Prayāga) M 106 43
- Sāndilī**—(r in Kāśmīra) NM 1445
- Sāndilī**—Madhumatī—sangama—NM 1446
- Sāndulyeśvara**—(under VS) L q by T K p 68
- Sangamana**—(under Dvārakā) Var 149 41
- Sangamaṅgara**—(under Dvārakā) Var q by T K p 226
- Sangamesvara**—A (under VS) N 11. 50 63-64, B (at confluence of Sābhramatī and Hastimatī) P VI 138, I, C (on the south bank of Narmadā) M 191 74, K. II 41. 36, P I 18 53; D (at confluence of Gangā and Varuṇā) L I 92 88
- Sankha-hrada**—(under Go.) B 156 1
- Sankha-likhiteśvara**—(under VS) L q by T.K p 93
- Sāṅkhaṅgrāma**—(under Śālagrāma) Var 145. 48
- Sāṅkhatīrtha**—A (on Sarasvatī) Śal. 35 87, B (under Narmadā) K. II. 42, 17 (Sāṅkha-), C (under Āmlakagrāma) Nr 66 23
- Sāṅkhanūtīrtha**—(under Kurukṣetra) V. 83 51
- Sāṅkhoddhāra**—(an island situated at south-western extremity of the gulf of Cutch) Bh. XI 30 6 (Kṛṣṇa directed that women, children and old men should go to this, when terrible portents were seen in Dvārakā) M 13. 48, 22 69 (śrāddha is *ananta* here) It is a very sacred place, particularly for Vaiṣṇavas Vide I G I vol 3 p. 18
- Sāṅkukarna**—(under VS) M. 181 27, K. I 31. 48, P I 24. 18
- Sāṅkukarṇeśvara**—(a linga on the southern boundary of VS) K I 33 48, L I 92. 135, N. II 48 19-20
- Sāṅkuntikā**—Vām q. by T K p 236

Sannihitā—(a tract more extensive than Kuruksetra, but including it) Br III 13. 68 (pumsām Sannihitāyām tu Kuruksetre viśesatah | arcayitvā pitṛmś-tatra sa putrast-varno bhavet) TP. p 466 reads 'Sannihata', states it is a lake eight krośas in extent and that there are four lakes called Sannihata, Sannihatyā, Sānnihatyā and Sannihatā

Sannihati—(another name of Kuruksetra, according to several works) V 83. 190-195 (Nīlakantha explains that Sannihati is another name of Kuruksetra) Verse 195 derives as 'tīrtha-sannihanād-eva Sannihatyeti vīrutā' i.e. all tīrthas gather together here every month on Amāvāsyā, P. I 27. 77-78 (same verses as in V), Vām 41 9 and 45 29, Ag 109 15 (employs the word Sannihati 'Sarasvatyām Sannihitām snānārd-brahmalokabhāk')

Sannihatyā-saras—(in Kuruksetra) Vām 47. 56, 48 23, 49 6 (on the north bank of Sarasvatī and near Dvaitavana)

Sanniti—(in Kuruksetra) NM 168-169 (seems to be the same as Sannihati above)

Sāntesvara—(under VS) L q by T K p. 66

Saptacarutīrtha—see 'Vadavā'

Saptadhāra—(under Sābhramati) P VI. 136 16 (same as Saptasārasvata)

Saptaganga—V 84 29, Anu 25 16, P I, 28-29 (same verse as in V) The seven Gangās are Gangā, Godāvarī, Kāverī, Tāmaparnī, Sindhu, Sarayū and Narmadā Acc tō NM, 720 the seven Gangās are Bhāgīrathī, Pāvanī, Hrādīnī, Hīlādīnī, Sītā, Sindhu, Vañku.

Saptagodāvara—V 85. 44, Vā 77. 19, M 22 78, Bh X 79. 12, P I 39, 41, IV 108. 39, Br III 13 19, SK. IV. 6 23 See Kbarha plate of king Yaśāhkarna in Kalacuri year 823

(i.e. 1071-2 A D) in E. I vol. XII p. 205 ff where in verse 23 the seven streams are named, in the Godāvarī District Gazetteer p 6 the seven mouths of the Godāvarī are said to be sacred to seven sages viz Kāśyapa, Atri, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Viśvāmtra, Jamadagni, Vasistha R VIII 3449 speaks of Godāvarī as falling into the sea with seven mouths.

Saptanada—Br III 13 58 (deyam Saptanade śrāddham Mānase vā viśesatah)

Saptakośīvara—T P p 557 quoting SK. VII

Saptapuskarinī—(seven springs at Thid in Kāśmīra) SM. p 160. It is also called 'Stanakunda' in HC IV 45. An A (vol II p. 361) refers to it 'In the village of Thid is a delightful spot where seven springs unite'

Saptārsa—V. Dh S 85. 39 (śrāddha very efficacious at it) Dr Jolly identifies it with Sātarā.

Saptarsakunda (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 46 (where seven dhārās fall from Himavat).

Saptasāgara-linga—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 136.

Saptasāmudraka—(under Kubjāmraha) Var 126 91

Saptasāmudraka-Lūpa (under Mathurā) Var. 157 12

Saptasārasvata—(in Kuruksetra) where sage Mankanaka pierced his hand with the tips of kuśa grass when vegetable fluid began to flow from it and he danced with joy. V 83. 115, Śal. 38 4-31 (where seven names, for which p 686 above may be referred to, are mentioned). K II 35 44-76 (story of Māñkanaka), P I 27. 4 ff (follows V 83), Vām 38 22-23 (story of Mankanaka), N II. 65 101-102 (seven rivers are named)

- Saptavati—(r) Bh V 19 18
- Sarabhaṅgakūṇḍa (under Lohārgala)
Var. 151. 49
- Sarabhaṅgāśrama—V 85 42 and 90 9,
Rām. III 5.3, P. I 39. 39, Raghuvamśa XIII 145 (near Sntīksnāśrama)
- Sarabindu—(under Āmalakagrāma)
Nr. 66. 34
- Sāradātīrtha—(in Kāśmīra) M 22 74,
R. I. 37 Foremost among tīrthas of Kāśmīra is modern Sardi on the right bank of river Kisangāṅgā. In front of the temple sacred Madhumatī falls into Kisangāṅgā Vide SM. p. 206 Ain A. (vol II. pp 365-66) says that the temple of Sāradā dedicated to Durgā is on the bank of the Padmatī river which comes from Dardu country and that on every 8th day of the bright half of a month it begins to shake
- Sarala—(under Kuruksetra) V. 83 75-76, P I 26 76, N II 65 62-63 Vide p 684 above
- Sarastamba—(near Devadāruvana),
Anu 25, 28
- Sārasvata—A (śrāddha very efficacious here) M 22 63, B (under VS) K I 35 12, P I 37, 15
- Sārasvata—lūga (under VS) SK IV. 33 134
- Sārasvatatīrtha—Śal 50 (story of Asita Devala and Jaigīshavya), 51 (birth of Sārasvata from Sarasvatī, who taught the Vedas to sages in a drought for twelve years)
- Sarasvatī—(modern Sarasutī) A—The river starts from Brahmasaras, acc to Śalya 51 19, from Badarikāśrama acc. to Vām. 2 42-43 and from Plaksa tree acc. to Vām 32 3-4, P. V 18 159-160 (say that Sarasvatī was asked to cast the Vādava fire into the sea in the west) This is probably an allusion to volcanic action whereby Sarasvatī disappeared Vām. 3 8 says that as Śankara guilty of
- Brahmahatyā plunged into it, it disappeared, while elsewhere (e g in V. 130 3-4) it is said that it disappeared through fear of the touch of śūdras, Nisādas and Ābhīras and Anu. (155 25-27) states that Sarasvatī went to Marudeśa owing to curse by Utathya and became dry and unholy. After disappearing it becomes visible at Camasodbheda, Śivodbheda and Nāgodbheda The Sarasvatī in Kuruksetra was called pṛācī Sarasvatī (P V 18. 181-182), See Dey pp. 180-181 for several Sarasvatīs V 130 1-2 state that those who die on the Sarasvatī go to heaven and this was the blessing conferred by Dakṣa when he performed a sacrifice there Vide 'Oldham's paper in JRAS for 1893 pp 49-76, B—There is another holy river of the same name rising in the south-west end of Araval hills and flowing south-west through the districts of Palanpur, Mahikantha and Baroda and past the ancient cities of Anhilvād and Siddhapur and falling into the lesser Rann of Cutch Vide under Prabhāsa
- Sarasvatī-Arunā-sangama—V 83 151,
K II. 30, 22, Śal. 43 31 and chap. 44
- Sarasvatīpatana—(under Mathurā) Var. 154 20.
- Sarasvatī-sāgara sangama—V 82. 60,
P I 24 9, Vām 24, 29
- Śarāvati—(Probably Rāptī in Oudh) Bhī 9 20, Pān VI 3 120 (Śarādīnām ca) knew the river Śarāvati, Karaśvāmī (in com. on Amara 'Śarāvati-tyāstu yośvadhek') quotes a verse 'prāgudañicau vibhajate hamsaḥ kśīrodake yathā | vidusām śabdasiddhyartham sā nah pātu Śarāvatiḥ.' Dr. Agravala in (J.L.P.H.R.S. vol. 16 p 15 surmises that it is the Chagghar flowing through Ambala District I have grave doubts about

- this. It is possible that when the Sarasvatī became dried and only a marshy bed was left it was called Śarāvati, but that in the times of the Amarakośa, Śarāvati is probably the river Śarāvati which falls into the sea near Honavar (North Kanara District) on which are the famous Gersappa falls. In the Raghuvamśa (XV. 97) Śarāvati is said to have been the capital of Lava, son of Rāma
- Sarayū—(r) Rg IV. 30 18, V. 33. 9, X 64 9 (Sarasvatī, Sarayu and Sindhu are mentioned together), In all these places the word is Sarayu, while in classical Sanskrit it is Śarayū or Sarayū (M 22. 19, Vā 45 94, N II. 75. 71, Raghuvamśa 15 95 and 100). M. 121 16-17 and Br II. 18 70 show that Sarayū springs from the Mānasa lake situated at the foot of the Vaidyutagiri Ayodhyā was situated on the Sarayū (Rām II. 49. 15) Sarayū rises from Himālaya (Vā 45 94, M 114. 21) According to Pān VI, 4 174 (Dāndī-nāyana—) the water of Sarayū was called Sāraṇa (Kāśīlā says 'Sarayvām bhavam sāravam udākam') In the Cullavagga (SBE vol XX p 302) it is one of the five great rivers of India and in 'Questions of Milinda' (SBE vol 35 p 171) it is one of ten great rivers, but in both places it is written as Sarabhū. Vide T P pp 500, 501 where it is stated that it rises from the left toe of Viṣṇu and is joined by Ghargara It is the Sarabos of Ptolemy (p 99). It is also called the Ghogra or Gharghara
- Sārūla—a Śarvaksetra, according to Bar S III 122.
- Sargabindu—(under Narmadā) K. II 42 23.
- Sarkarā artā—(r) Bh. V 19. 18
- Sarvahrada—V § 39 (uncertain location)
- Sarvatīrtha—P. II 92 4 and 7 (Prayāga, Puskara, Sarvatīrtha and Vārānasi) are the four tīrthas that remove all sins including *brahmahatyā*.
- Sarvatīrtheśvara—(under VS) SK IV 33. 134.
- Sarvātmaḷa—(under Kubjāmraka) Var 126. 37
- Sarvāyudha—(under Śālagrāma) Var. 145. 56
- Śaśākeśvara—(under VS) L q by T.K p. 97
- Śaśayāna—(under Sarasvatī) V 82 114-116, P I 25 20-23 (same verses in both) Some mss read 'Śaśapāna'.
- Śaṣṭīhrada—Anu 25 36
- Śatadru—(Sutley) same as Śutudrī which see, Ādi 177 8-9 (derivation given), M 22 12, Bh V. 19.18 The Amarakośa gives Śutudrī and Śatadru as synonyms.
- Śatakumbhā—(under Sarasvatī) V. 84. 10. P I 28 11 (same verse in both)
- Śatarudrā—M. 22 35 (śrāddha here is inexhaustible)
- Śatasahasraka—(under Sarasvatī) P. I. 27, 45, Vām 41. 3, V 83. 157 and 84, 74 (Śatasāhasraka)
- Śatasrṅga—(m) Devala q. by T.K p. 250.
- Śātāpaveśvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 92
- Śatukātīrtha—(under Sarasvatī) Vām 41 3
- Satyavatī—(became river Kauśikī) Vā 91 88
- Saubhadra—Ādi. 216, 3 (one of the five Nārītīrthas on the southern sea)
- Sauharava—(as printed in Var 137 7 of the Veṅkateśvara press edition) is a misreading for Saukaraka. Vide under, Sūlaratīrtha
- Saurpāraka—Br. III. 13. 37. Vide Sūrpāraka

- Saugandhikagiri—M. 121. 5 (to north-east of Kālāsa)
- Saugandhikavana—V. 84. 4, P. I. 28. 5-6 (same varca in both)
- Saunmūtrasāhagama—(very fit for śrāddha) M. 22. 53
- Saunakēśvara-kunda—(under VS) L. q by T. K. p 122
- Savarnīvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 60
- Sāvitrāpāda—(under Gayā) V. 84. 93. Vide p. 619 above
- Sāvitrī—(r boundary between modern Ratnagiri and Kolaba Districts). P. VI 113 28
- Sāvitrīvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K. p 70
- Savitrīrītha—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 6, K. II 12. 19, P. I. 21 6
- Savatirītha—(under Go.) B. 115. 1
- Setu—the supposed bridge (called Adam's Bridge) between Rāmeśvara and Ceylon said to have been built by Itāma with the assistance of Sugriva and his monkey hosts, Bh. VII. 14. 31, X. 79. 15 (Sāmudraseta), G. I. 51. 8, N. II 76 (contains setu-māhātmya). Adam's Peak in Ceylon has a famous foot-print which is venerated by Hindus, Buddhists, Christians and Moslems alike Vide T. P. pp. 557-560 for māhātmya
- Setubandha—same as above Vide T. S. pp. 1-4 and Tīrthaprakāśa pp. 557-560, Rām. VI 22. 45-53, VI 126. 15 (atst-tu drīyate tīrtham sīgarasya mahā(manah) Setubandha it khyātam &c), P. V. 35. 62 (says that Setu was built in three days), SK III Brahmakhanda, chapters 1-52 on Setu-māhātmya, its subsidiary tīrthas and Setuyātrākramā. Vide p. 94 above for visit to Setubandha as an expiation.
- Siddhakeshvara—(one of the eight tīrthas under Virajātīrtha) B. 42, 6
- Siddhāpāda—(a ksetra on Sarasvatī) Bh. III. 33. 31
- Siddhapura—(64 miles to north of Ahmedabad) M. 13. 46 (Devi is called Mātā here), what Gayā is for Pitrs, Siddhapura is for the mother. It is on the Sarasvatī river
- Siddhatīrtha—(under Go.) B. 143. 1
- Siddhavana—M. 22. 53 (śrāddha here most efficacious)
- Siddhavata—A (under Lohārgala) Var. 151. 7, B (under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92, 153
- Siddhesvara—(tunga on south bank of Narmadā) Vām. 46 34, P. II. 20 34.
- Siddhesvara—A (under VS.) M. 32, 43 and 181. 25 q. by T.K. pp. 88, 117 and p. 241, B (under Narmadā) P. I. 18 100, C (on the south bank of Go) B. 128 1
- Siddhikūta—(under VS) L. q by T.K. p. 88
- Sikhirītha—(under Narmadā) M. 193. 82, P. I. 20. 78
- Silātīrtha—(under Gayā) Vā. 108. 2
- Silākesvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K. p. 46
- Simba—a Varanava-lesira acc. to Bār S III 120. Probably the same as Simbāchalam temple of Nrsimbhāvātāra of Vīṣṇu about 6 miles north-west of Vizagapattam Vide I. G. I. vol. XXII p 375
- Sindhu—A (the modern Indus, Greek Sinthos) Rg. II 15. 6 (he made the Sindhu flow northwards), V. 53. 9, VIII 20 25 (the medicine that is in Sindhu, in Asikni and the seas), X 75 6 The seven Sindhus (i. e. Indus, five Panjab rivers and Sarasvatī) are mentioned in Rg. II. 12, 12, IV. 28. 1, VIII. 24. 27, A. V. VI. 3 1, Drona 101 28 (Sindhvasasthā samudragāh), R. I 57 (Stein's note), NM. 394 (Sindhu is Gaṅgā and Vitastā is Yamunā). Vide for description I. G. I. vol. I pp. 29-31. It rises in Tibet north of Kālāsa. Sindhu is also the name of the country through which the river flows,

- vide Pān IV 3. 93. On Pān IV 3. 83 (prabhavati) the Kāśikā gives the example 'Dārādī Sindhuḥ' (the river Sindhu rises in Darat) Some mss. of Kāśikā include 'Darat' in Sindhvādīgana Sindhu country is mentioned in Rudradāman's Junāgadh Ins., B (a r. rising from Pāriyātra and falling into Yamunā) Vā 45. 98, M. 114. 23, B. 27 28 It is the same as Kālī-sindhu between the Chambal and Betwa Mālatī-mādhava refers to its confluence with Pārā (Act IV end) and with Madhumatī (Act IX prose passage after verse 3) Padmāvati, the scene of the drama, was situated on the confluence of Pārā and Sindhu
- Sindhuprabhava—(source of Sindhu) V. 84. 46, P I 32 10 (same verse in both)
- Sindhusāgara—Nr 65. 13 q by T K p 252
- Sindhusāgarasangama—V. 82 68, Vā 77. 56, P I. 24. 16 (same verse as in V)
- Sindhūtama—(a lake) V. 82. 79
- Śiphā—(r) Rg I 104 3 (in which the two wives of Kuyava met death)
- Śiprā—(r from Pāriyātra, flowing past Ujjayinī) M. 22, 24, 114 24, Vā 45. 98 Every mile of the river is marked by sacred spots, the reputed haunts of rsis or the scenes of miraculous incidents, the river is said to have sprung from the blood of Viṣṇu and is believed to flow with milk at certain periods Vide Ain A vol II p 196 for this
- Śitā—(a branch of Gaṅgā) Vā 47. 21 and 39, Bh. V. 17. 5
- Śitatīrtha—(under Matburā) Var 179. 28
- Śitavana—(under Kuruksetra?) P I. 26 55
- Śivadhāra—M 22 49
- Śivahrada—Br III. 13. 52
- Śivakāñci—(at Conjeeveram in South India) P VI. 204 30
- Sivanadī—Nr 65 23 q. by T.K. p 253
- Sivasarasvatī—a Saivaksetra acc to Bār S III. 122
- Śivodbheda—(where Sarasvatī reappears after disappearing) V 82 112, P I. 25 19
- Slandatīrtha—(under Narmadā) P I. 18. 49, M 191. 50
- Slandeśvara—(in VS) SK IV. 33 125, L q by T.K. p 68
- Slesmātalavana—(on Himavat) Var. 214 24–26, 215. 12–13 and 115 Dey p. 188 says that it is Uttara Goharna two miles to north-east of Paśupati-nātha in Nepāl. For two Goharnas, north and south, vide p. 754 above
- Smaśāna—Avimukta, which see, M 184 19
- Smaśānastambha—(under VS) L. q by T K p 54.
- Snānakunda—(under Mandāra) Var. 143. 18–20
- Sodaranāga—(in Kāśmīra) NM 13–14 It is modern village Sudarbal situated on a deep inlet of the Dal lake. Vide R I 123–26 and II, 169 and SM p 164 Stein notes that Sodara is an ancient name of the spring now called Nārān Nāg situated close to temple ruins at Bhūtesvara NM mentions it in connection with Bhūtesā and Kauakavābini and the distance from Bhūtesvara to Śrīnagara is about 32 miles
- Somakunda—(under Gayā) Ag 116.4
- Somanātha—A (in Saurāstra near Verawal) Ag 109 10 (Somanātham Prabhāsakam), P. VI, 176. 37, vide A G p 319 and under Prabhāsa; B (under Gayā) Ag. 116 23 A popular verse is 'Sarasvatī samudraśca Somah somagrahas-tathā | darśanam Somanāthasya sakārāḥ pañca durlabhāḥ |
- Somapada—V 84. 119.

- Somapāna—M 22 62
 Somāśrama—V 84 157
- Somatīrtha—A (on the banks of Sarasvatī) Vām. 41.4, V 83 114, M 109 2, B (under Narmadā) M. 191, 30, P I. 18. 30 and 27. 3, K II. 41 47, C (under VS) K. I. 35 7, P I. 37 7 (same verse in both), D (under Go) B 105 1, 119 1, E (under Mathurā) Var. 154 18, F (under Kokāmukha) Var 140, 26-28, G (under Virāja) B 42, 6, H (under Sūkara) Var 137 43 (where Soma secured highest *siddhi*), I (under Sābhramatī) P VI 154 1
- Somesā—(under VS) K I 35, 9
- Somostāra—A (removes all diseases) M 22 29, K, II 35. 20, B (under Śālagrāma) Var. 144. 16-29
- Sona—(a *nada*, also called Hiranyavāha, rising in m. Rksa in Gondwana according to the Purānas and falling into the Ganges some miles from Bankipore) M. 22 35 (a *nada*), 114. 25, B 27. 30, Vā. 45 99, Br II 16 29 It is the Sea of Ptolemy (p 99) and Sonas of Arrian It rises near where the Narmadā rises in the Amarakantaka hill Vide AG pp 453-454 for its confluence with the Ganges
- Sona-jyotīrathā-sangama—V 85 8, P. I 39 8, V. Dh 5 85 33 (reads Sona-jyotīsangama, while the com. Vajrayantī notes the v. i. Sona-jyotīrathā)
- Sonaprabheda—(prabhava?) V 85 9, P. I 39 9
- Śonitapura—(capital of Bānāsura, where Anuruddha was kept in confinement for his intrigue with Usā) B 206. 1, Harivamsā, Visṇuparva 121. 92-93 Dey p 189 says that it exists under the same name in Kumaon and that several other places claim to be the Śonitapura of Bānāsura In the Harivamsā it is said that Śonitapura was, 11000 yojanas from Dvārakā. BV (Kṛṣṇa-janmakhaṇḍa, Uttarārḍha, II 4 847) mentions Śonitapura as capital of Bānāsura. A C. [p. 182] states it was also called Kotīvarsa (v 977)
- Śrāvastī—(Sāhet-māhet on the Rāpti in Oudh) said to be the capital of Lava in Uttara Kosala It is 58 miles north of Ayodhyā, Rām VII 107 4-7, Vā 88 200 and A G. p 409, but some mss of Raghuvamsā (XV. 97) state that Śrāvastī was the capital of Lava Vide Marshall's article in JRAS for 1909 pp 1066-1068 for the reasons for identifying Śrāvastī with Sāhet-Māhet and the Sāhet Māhet plate of Govindacandra in E. I. vol. XI p. 20. In JRAS for 1898 pp 520-531 Vincent Smith disputed the identification of Sāhet-Māhet with Śrāvastī and holds that Śrāvastī was near Nepalgunj in Nepalese territory. B 7 53 says that it was called after Śrāvastī of Iśvākū race.
- Śrīkṣetra—Jagannātha Purī
- Śrīkūṇḍa—V 82 86 (now called Lalakmī-kūṇḍa, in VS) L. q by T K p 62
- Śrīkūṇḍa—(under Sarasvatī) P I. 26. 19, V. 83 108
- Śrīmādāla—(the guardian nāga in the south of Kāśmīra) NM 1117
- Śrīmukhi—(guhā) L. q by T K. p. 60 (under VS).
- Śrīnagara—A (capital of Kāśmīra). It has a long history. R I 104 states that Aśoka built Śrīnagarī with 96 lakhs of houses Stein in note on this says that Cunningham (A. G p 93) located Śrīnagarī of Aśoka at the site of the present village Pandrethan (Kalhana's Purānādhishthāna) on the right bank of Vitastā, three miles above modern Śrīnagar. Pandrethan is at the foot of the hill Takhta-i-Sulaiman Pravaraṣena I erected the shrine of Pravaraśvara

and Pravarasena II built the new capital in the beginning of the 6th century Hiouen T'sang speaks of the new city (Pravarapura) Vide Beal's B R W W vol, I pp 96, 148 and 158 and A G. pp. 95-96 An A (vol. II p 355) states that Koh-r-Sulaiman is to the east of Śrīnagara Al (vol I p. 207) notes that Addisthan (adhsthāna the capital of Kāśmīra) is built on both banks of the Zhelum For the Dal lake close to Śrīnagara and one of the most beautiful spots in the world, vide. I. G I. vol XI, pp 124-125, B—a town in Garhwal District on the left bank of the Alakanandā (U. P. Gazetteer vol. 36 p. 200).

Śrīngātaleśvara—(under Śrīparvata) L. I. 92 155

Śrīngatīrtha—(under Narmadā) P I 21, 31.

Śrīgaverapura—(or Śrīgavera) V. 85 65, P. I 39, 61 (same verse in V and F), Rām II 113 22, VI 126 49, Ag. 109, 23 Here Rāma crossed the Ganges when going from Ayodhyā into exile It is modern Srīngaur or Singor on the left bank of the Ganges about 22 miles north-west of Prayāga.

Śrīpā—(r nīśag from Vindhya) Br II. 16 32.

Śrīparnī—(dāna most efficacious here) M 22 49

Śrīparvata or Śrīśāla—A (hill situated in Karnal District on the south side of the Kṛsnā river 50 miles from Kṛsnā station). There are numerous lingas here including the famous Malhākṛjuna (in L I 92 155), one of the twelve Jyotirlingas, many are named in L I, 92 147-166 Vide V 85. 18-20 (Mahādeva with Umā is there), Vā 77 28, M 13 31 (Devī is called Mādhavī here), 181 28 (one of the eight main Śivasthānas), 186.

79 (one tripura of Bānāsura burnt by Rudra fell here), P I. 15 68-69 (same story as in M 188), Agn 113 4 (Gauri, assuming the form of Lalāmī practised penance here). Pargiter (p 290 n) does not correctly interpret Ag. K II 20 35 (Śrāddha most efficacious here), II. 37 13-14 (religious suicide allowed here), P. I 39 17, VI 20, 15 (a great place for yogins and those practising penance) It is a Śāktakṣetra acc. to Bār. S. III 124. The Mālatī-mādhava mentions it several times Vide E I XX p 9, E I IV p. 193 (Chikkulla plate of Viṣṇukundin Vikramendrarman). In the Nāgāvjunikoḍa Inscription F of about 3rd century A, D edited by Dr Vogel, Śrīparvata is mentioned (E I, vol XX p 1 at p 23), B (a linga in VS) Ag 112 4, C (under Narmadā) Ag 113. 3

Śrīpatitīrtha—(śrāddha here leads to highest goal) M 22, 74.

Śrīranga—(modern Śrīrangam, an island between Kāverī about 2 miles north of Trichinopoly and Coleroon) M. 22 44 (śrāddha here yields inexhaustible results), Bh X 79 14, P VI, 280. 19, Bār S III 120 (a Vaisnava-kṣetra) It is mentioned in the Śilappadikāram chap X (tr by Prof Dikshitar p 163) Rāmānuja, the founder of the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy died here. Vide I G I vol XXIII pp 107-108 for a brief description of the temple of Viṣṇu (called Ranganāthasvāmin here).

Śrītīrtha—(under VS) V 83 46, K I 35 8, P I. 37, 8

Stambhatīrtha—(modern Khambayat situated on the gulf of Cambay) K II 41 51, P I 18. 93 (both speak of it under Narmadā) A Stambhatīrtha is mentioned in T S p 101 Vide I, A vol 54 p. 47

- Stambhākhyatīrtha**—(near Mahīsāgara-sangama) SK. I. 2. 3. 27. Probably same as above.
- Stambhēśvara**—SK. I. 2. 3. 40
- Stanakunda**—V. 84, 152, Var 215. 97 (Stanakunde Umāyās-tu)
- Sthalesvara**—(a Śivatīrtha) M. 181. 27
- Sthāneśvara**—(a lūga in VS) L. I. 92. 136
- Sthāneśvara**—(modern Thanoswar 25 miles south of Ambala) M. 13. 3 (Devi is called Bhavānī here). Vide A G pp. 329-332 It was sacked by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1014 A. D. In Harsacarita Bāṇa mentions Sthānviśvara country.
- Sthānutīrtha**—(under Sarasvatī where Vasistha had his āśrama) Śal 42. 4 (Vasistha had his āśrama to the east of this tīrtha and Viśvāmitra had his on the west), Vām. 40. 3 (on the north bank of the Sarasvatī), 42. 30 (it has one thousand lūgas), 49. 6-7 (it is on the lake called Śrāṇihatyā). Vām chapters 47-49 deal with the mātīrthyas of this tīrtha. Dey p. 194 says it is the same as Sthāneśvara.
- Strūtīrtha**—(under Narmadā) M 194. 31.
- Stutasvāmīn**—(a Viśvauksetra on Mani-pūragiri) Var. 148, 8-81. T h pp 222-224 quote about twenty verses from Var 148 without a word of comment Verses 75-76 explain the name (as the god was *stuta* by other gods and the sages Nārada, Asta and Devala) Dey does not notice it and Prof. Aiyangar does not identify it.
- Subhadra-sindhu-sangama** P VI. 129. 25.
- Subhūmika**—(a tīrtha on Sarasvatī) Śal 37. 23 (visited by Balarāma)
- Sucakra**—(under Sarasvatī) Vām 37. 89
- Suddhēśvara**—(under VS) L. II by T. h. p 122
- Sudina**—V. 83. 100
- Sugandha**—(under Sarasvatī) I. I. 32. 1.
- Sugandhā**—V. 84. 10, V. Dh. S. 211c (according to com it is a river near Saugandhika m.). P. I. 25. I (under Sarasvatī). P and V have same verse
- Sugrīhēśvara**—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 51
- Sūkaratīrtha**—(Soron on the west bank of the Ganges between Bareilly and Mathurā (according to A. G., pp. 364-365) Vide I G I. vol 23 pp. 88-89. Var. chapters 137-139; T h pp 209-212 quote 37 verses from Var 137 for this tīrtha and from no other source. N. II. 40. 31 and 60. 22 (Vyāta in the form of Varāha appeared here), P. VI. 121. 6-7 (the extent is four *yojanas*) Some texts read Śūkaratīrtha
- Śukasya-āśrama** V. 85. 42, P. I. 33. 39 (same verse in both)
- Śukeśvara**—(on north (opkarna) Var 173. 9
- Śuklatīrtha**—(on the north bank of Narmadā about ten miles north east of Broach) K. II. 41. 67-82, M 192. 14, SK I. 2. 3. 5 Vide p. 706 note for Cāṅkya's association with it also I. G. I. vol. 23 p. 123 and Bom G. vol. XI. pp. 568-569 for legend of Cāṅkya's connection. P. I. 19. 2-35 (about Cāṅkya rajarī having obtained *vidyā* here)
- Śukratīrtha**—(on north bank of the B. 95. 1, M. 22. 29
- Śukreśvara**—(under VS) K. I. 35. 15, L. I. 92. 93, N. II. 50. 65
- Sūktimat**—(one of the seven great mountains of India, being a part of the Vindhya) K. I. 47. 39, 44. 45. 88 and 107, 3. II. 60. 27. II. V. 19. 16 Vide Dr. P. G. Law's 'Mountains and Rivers of India' in Department of Letters (of the University), vol. 28 pp. 20-21 for the most recent identification. It is the same as

- known of the seven principal mountains, and the rivers that flow from it are few and their names are mutilated in the texts Vide Dr Ray Chaudhari's 'Studies' etc pp 113-120 for discussion and Dr. B. C. Law on 'Mountains and Rivers of India' in Journal of Department of Letters, Calcutta University, vol. 28 pp 20-21 for different identifications
- Suktmatī**—(r obstructed by m Kolāhala in Cedi) Bhī 9 35. Vide Dey p 196 for different identifications. B 27 32 and M. 114. 101 say that it rises in Rksa mountain, while Mār. 57. 23 says it flows from Vindhya
- Sukumāri**—(r rising from Suktmat m) Vā 45 107
- Śūlabheda**—(under Narmadā) M 191 3, K II. 41 12-14, P I. 18 3
- Śūlaghāta**—(in Kāsmīra) Vide under Nīlakunda
- Śūlesvara**—(under VS) L q by T K p 52
- Sumantu-linga**—(under VS) L. q. by T K. p 97
- Sunandā**—(r.) Bh VIII 1 8
- Sundarikā**—(r.) P I 32. 21 It is one of the seven holy rivers quoted in a *Pāṭi* complet (SBE, vol X, part 2, p. 74)
- Sundarikābrada**—Anu. 25 21
- Sundarikātīrtha**—V 84 57, Anu 25 21 (after Devikā), Var 215 104
- Sundilā**—(tīrtha in Kāsmīra) NM 1459
- Sunīla**—(under VS) P. I 37. 3
- Suparnā**—(a tributary of Go.) B. 100.1
- Supārśva**—P. VI 129. 16
- Suprayogā**—(one of the rivers that are mothers of fires) V. 222. 253, Mār 54. 26, Vā 45 104. It cannot be identified, though it is said that it rises in Sahya (Br II 16 35) Some identify it with the Pennar Vide E I vol. 27 p. 273
- Surabhiavana**—(in the Himālaya on river Śīlodā) Br II 18 23
- Surabhikēśvara**—(under Narmadā) P I 18 36
- Surasā**—(r) V I II 3 11 (rises from Vindhya), Br II. 16 29 (rising from Rksavat), Bh. V 19 18
- Sureśvari-ksetra**—(present village of Isābar in Kāsmīra, two miles north of Dal lake shore) R. V 37, NM. 1532, S M p 161 The chief attraction here is a sacred spring known as Gupta-Gangā
- Śūrpārakatīrtha**—(modern Sopara near Bassein) V 85 43 (resorted to by Parāsurāma), 88 12 (in it was the Vēdi of Jamadagni), 118 8-10, Śānti 49 67 (reclaimed from the sea by Jamadagni's son Parāsurāma), Anu 25 50, Harivamsā, Viṃcuparva 39 29-31 (in Aparānta Śūrpāraka city was five hundred *dhanus* long and 500 *śus* broad and was established by discharging an arrow by Parāsurāma), Br III 58 17-18 and 32-33 (the strip taken by Parāsurāma from the sea is 400 *yojanas* from north to south), Bh X 79 20, B 27. 58 (Śūrpāraka is mentioned as the first of the Aparānta countries) It is mentioned as 'Śūrpāraga' in Nasik Inscription No 10 q- in Bom G vol 16 on p 569 The Nānāghāt Ins No 9 (A S W I vol V. p 64) mentions a Govindadāsa Sopārayala There is a Suppārakajātaka (No 463, vol IV p 86 ed by Cowell), where we are told of the seaport called Bharukaccha and a kingdom named Bharu It is probable that the Ophir of the Old Testament is Śūrpāraka, though some scholars dispute this A G (pp 497-499 and 561-562) argues that Ophir or Sophir (in the Septuagint translation of the Bible) is the country of Sauvira and not Śūrpāraka as many scholars hold. Ptolemy mentions it as

- Soupara. Some eminent scholars hold that Ophir is Aburia (i.e. Abhiras) of Ptolemy (p. 140). Vide JRAS for 1898 pp. 253 ff for discussion and JEBRAS vol. 15 p. 273 for a long note on Sūrpāraka.
- Sūryatīrtha—A (under VS) V. 83 48, K. I 35 7, P. I. 37 7, B (under Mathurā) Var. 152.50, 156. 12 (where Bah, son of Virocana, propitiated the Sun)
- Susartu—(r., tributary of the Indus on the west of it) Rg. X. 75 6. Keith does not know which tributary of the Indus it was.
- Suskanadī—(under VS)—same as Asi, M 183 62, L q by T. K p 118
- Suskeśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p 118.
- Susomā—(r) Rg. VIII 64 11. In Rg. X. 75 5 also it is probably the name of some river, though the Nir. IX 26 takes it to be Sindhu, Bh. V 19, 18, Stein in Dr R. G. Bhanderkar Commemoration volume pp. 21-28 ('River names in Rgveda') says (on p. 26) that Susomā is Sohan (Suwan) flowing through the Rawalpindī District and reaching the Indus to the north of the Salt Range
- Susumnā—A (r under Gayā) N II 47 36, B (under VS) L q by T. K p. 35 (same as Matsyodari)
- Sutikānāśrama—Rām III 7, Raghuvamśa XIII 41 (at some distance from Agastyaśrama)
- Sutīrthaka—V 83 56
- Sutudrī—(same as Sutil, in the Punjab, the Śatadru of classical Sanskrit works) Rg. III. 33. 1, X 75 5. It is the Greek Hupaus or Huphasis (A. I p. 65), which formed the limit of Alexander's march in India. It rises on the southern slopes of Kailāsa and once issued from the Mānasa lake Pargiter (p. 291 n) says that in ancient times this river did not probably join the Beas as it does now but pursued an independent course and that it formerly flowed along the dry bed now called Hakra or Ghaggar at a distance of 30 to 50 miles south of its present course
- Suvarna—V 84 18, Ag. 109. 16, P. I. 28 19 (where Visnu sought for the favour of Rudra)
- Suvarnāśa—(under VS) M 181 25, K. II 35 19
- Suvarṇarekhā (holy river near Ravatala) SK VII 2 1 1-3 (probably same as the next) There is a river of same name in Bengal Vide I G I vol XXIII p 114
- Suvarnasīlatā—(in Jungadh Inscription of Rudradāman to be assigned to 150 A. D., E. I. VIII p 36 at p 42) now called Sonrehā in Kathiawad
- Suvarnatilaka—(under Narmadā) P I 18, 46
- Suvāstu—(r., modern Swāt that falls into Kabul river) Rg. VIII 19 37 (Suvāstivā adhi tugvan) The Nir. IV 15 explains that Suvāstu is a river and 'tugvan' means 'tributary'. It is the Soastos of Arrian (A. I p 191) Pān IV 2, 77 (Suvāstīdibhyosin) knew Suvāstu and makes it the first word of 'Suvāstīvādī-gana'. Inscriptions in Sanskrit containing famous Buddhist gāthās have been found near Swāt Vide E. I vol II p 133 for three Buddhist inscriptions in Swāt
- Suvratasya—āśrama (on Drasvati) V 90. 12-13
- Svacchoda—(lake) Vide Acchoda
- Svacchodā—(r) Br II 13 6 (rising from lake Svacchoda on m. Candraprabha)
- Svāmītīrtha—M. 22 63, K II 37 19-21 (Skanda is always present there). Dey p. 107 identifies it with the temple of Kumārasvāmī situated about a mile from Truttan on the M and S. M Railway on a hill called Krauñca-parvata

- Svargabindu—(under Narmadā) P. I 21. 15
- Svargadvāra—A (under Kuruksetra) P. I. 27. 55; B (under VS) K. I 35 4, P I 37 4, C (under Gayā) Ag 116 4 (the word here is 'Svargadvāri'), D (under Purusottama) N II 56 31
- Svargamārgahrada—Anu q. by T. K. p 248
- Svarga-mārga-pada—V. DH. S 85. 41
- Svargatirtha—Anu 25. 35
- Svargēvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 48
- Svarlineśvara—(under VS) L. I 92.78, SK IY 33 123 (explains why it is so called)
- Svarnabindu—(under Narmadā) Anu. 25 9, M 194 15
- Svarnalomāpanayana—P I 26 58
- Svarnarekhā—(r in Vastrāpathaksetra i e, modern Girnar and surrounding territory) SK VII 2. 3. 2 and VII. 2 10. 209
- Svarnavedi (r)—Vā 77 95, K. II 37.37
- Svastipura—(near Gangāhrada and Gangāhūpa) V 83 174
- Svatantresvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 6
- Svayambhūrtirtha—(modern Suyam in Kāśmīra in the Machipur *pargana*) R. I. 34, HC 14 80 Volcanic phenomena are observed here and sometimes vapours rise from fissures in the ground sufficiently hot to boil *śrāddha* offerings placed by pilgrims.
- Śvāvillomāpaha—V 63 61
- Svetā—(r that joins Sābhramatī) P. VI 133. 19-20
- Śvetādri—(m) P I 280 19, M. 113. 38 (eastern part of Meru is so called)
- Śvetadvīpa—G I 81 7, K I. 1 49, I. 49 40-47, Vām 25 16 and 60 56, Śānti 336 8 ff, 337 27 ff In most of these texts it is a mythical country to the north of Kśīrodadhī
- Śvetamādhava—N II 55 3
- Śvetatirtha—(under Go) B 94. 1
- Ś.etajāvari—(r) Rg VIII 26 18
- Śveteśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 99
- Śvetī—(r, tributary of Indus on the west) Rg X 75 6 Lit. it would mean the white one It is difficult to identify it with Suvāstu
- Śvetodbhava—(under Sābhramatī) P VI 133 15
- Syandika—(r Sar, seven miles south of Jaunpur, mentioned after Gomatī) Rām. II. 49 12
- Śyāmāyāh-āśrama—Anu. 25 30
- Syenī—(r rising in Rīksaparvata) M. 114. 25 Dey p 200 identifies it with Ken in Bundelkhand

T

- Tarjasa—(to the west of Kuruksetra where Skanda was crowned commander of the gods) P I. 27 : 52-53.
- Taksasilā—(modern Taxilā) Svargā-rohana-parva 5 34, Vā 88 189-90, Br III 63. 190-91 (established by Taksa son of Dāśarathi Bharata as his capital in Gaudhāra), in the Jātakas Taksasilā is mentioned as a seat of learning (as in Bhīmasena-Jātaka, Fausboll's ed vol I. p 356). Vide Ptolemy p. 118-121 for its history from Alexander's time onwards Ptolemy calls it Taxila It is mentioned in the Dhauī first separate Rock Edict of Aśoka (C I I vol. I p 93) and the word occurs in Pfn. IV 3 93 Vide for description of its ruins A. G. pp 104-113, Marshall's 'Guide to Taxilā' and other works
- Taksaka-nāga (sacred spring in Kāśmīra near Jayavana, modern Zevan). V. 82. 90. R I 220, P I. 25 2 (says Vitastā is the home of Taksaka-nāga). It is worshipped to this day in the large pool close to the village Zevan. Vide S. M. p 166, K R p 5
- Tālakarnēśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p. 72.
- Tālatirtha—(under VS) P I. 37 2
- Tālavana—(to the west of Mathurā) Var 157. 35

- Tamasā—A(r, modern Tonse, flowing 12 miles west of the Sarayū and falling into the Ganges) Rām I 2. 3, II 45 32, Raghuvamśa IX 20, XIV. 76 (on which stood Vālmiki's āśrama) Vide C I I. vol III. p 128 where a village Āśramaka on Tamasā is granted in A.D 512-13; B (r rising from Rksa), M 114. 25, Vā 45. 100; C (r falling into Yamunā) Devī Bh. VI. 18.12
- Tāmraparṇī—(r in Pāndya country rising from mountain Malaya and falling into the sea) B 27.36, M 114 30, Vā 45 105 and 77. 24-27, V. 88. 14, Rām IV. 41. 17-18, K II 37. 21-22, Br III 13 24, Bh X 79 16 and XI 5 39 The Taprobane of Megasthenes (A. I, p. 62) and Tamhaparnī of Asōla's Girnar Inscription II, it is said to be Ceylon but that may refer to the river as well, E I XX at p 23 (Nāgārjunikonda Ins.), Br III 13. 24 and 25, Raghuvamśa IV 49-50 show that pearls were found there
- Tāmrprabha—(under Mathurā) Var. q by T. K. p. 191
- Tāmrārūna—V 85 154
- Tāmravati—(one of the rivers that are mothers of fires) V. 222. 23
- Tandulikāśrama—(near Puskara and Jambūmārga) V 82 43, Ag. 109. 9, P.I. 12 3
- Tāpaseśvara—(under Narmadā) K II. 41 66, P I. 18 96
- Tapastīrtha—(under Go) B 126 1 and 37 (it is also called Sattratīrtha)
- Tapatī—(r) M 22.32-33 (Tapatī seems to be Tāpī here as distinguished from Mūlatāpī) In Ādiparva chapters 171-173 Tapatī is a daughter of the Sun whom king Samvarana married and had a son Kuru from her, Mār. 105 26 (younger daughter of the Sun became river)
- Tāpeshvara—(under Narmadā) M. 191.
- Tāpī—(r. rising from Vinḍhya and falling into the Arabian sea at Surat, also called Tapatī) M 114 27, B 27. 33, Vā. 45 102, Ag. 109 22 Tāpī is mentioned in Usavadāta's Nasik Inscription No 10 (Bom G vol. 16 p 569). Vide under Payoanī above and TP pp 544-547 (for māhātmya and sub-tīrthas)
- Tāpikā—same as Tāpī Devipurāna q. by T. K p, 242
- Tāpī-samudra—saṅgama—TP p 547
- Tapovana—A (on south bank of Go.) B 128 1, B (in Vaṅga country) V 84. 115, P I 38. 31. 'Tato vaham' is a misreading in Vanaparva
- Tārakeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T.K. p 104 Tārakeśvara is also a village in Hooghly District of Bengal famous for its shrine of Śiva, Vide I.G.I. vol. 23 p 249
- Taranda or Tarantula—(a dvārapāla of Kurukṣetra) V 83. 15, P I. 27. 92 (reads 'Taranda', Vām 22.60. Vide p 683 note 1551 above.
- Timi—(to the right of Saṅkubharneshara) P I. 24. 20-23
- Tīrthakoti—V 84 121, P.I. 36 38 (same verse in both)
- Tosalaka—(the gṛhya name of Visnu is Garudadhvaja here) Nr q by T.K. p 252. Is it the same as Ptolemy's Tosalei (p 230) and the Tosali in Asōla's Dhault Inscriptions (C I I. pp 92 and 97) and the Nāgārjunikonda Inscription (L I. vol XX. at p 23)? Tosali (modern Dhault in the Puri District) was the chief city of northern Kalinga in the days of the Mauryas
- Toyā—(r rising in Vinḍhya) M. 114 27. Vā 45 103
- Trayambaka tīrtha—A (under Go and sacred to Pitr) M 22 47. K II 35 18, B (under Narmadā) P. I 18 112
- Trastāvātāra—(an ūyatana) Devāla q. by T K p 250

- Tribhāgā**—(r rising from Mahendra' M 114 31, Vā 45 104
- Tridāsajyoti**—(under Narmadā) M 194 11
- Tridivā**—A (r rising from Himavat) Br II 16 26; B (r rising from Mahendra) M 114. 31, Vā 45, 106, B 27 37, C (r. rising from Rksavat) Br II 16 31
- Tridivābalā**—(r from Mahendra m) Br II. 16. 37. Probably Tridiva and Balā
- Triganga**—V 84, 29, Anu 25 16, P. I. 28 29
- Trigartēśvara**—(under Mathurā) Var. 176. 16.
- Trihalikāgrāma**—(where śrāddha is very efficacious) V. Dh. S 85 24 (com Vaijayaṅtī says it is Śālagrāma)
- Trijalesvara-līnga**—(where Gandakī and Devikā join) Var 144 83
- Trikalud**—(m part of Himavat) A V IV 9, 8 and 9 (for a salve therefrom), Mairāyani Samhitā III 6 3, Śat Br III 1. 3 12 (all these mention Traikaluda or Traikalubha ānjana), Pān. V 4 147 (trikalut-parvate) teaches that Trikalud is the name of a mountain and the name is a Bahuvrīhi compound (trini kakudāni kakudākārāni śrngāni asya) Vide Br. III. 13 58 where it is Trikaludagiri (very eminent place for śrāddha), Vā 77. 57-63,
- Trikotī**—(a r in Kāśmīra) NM 308, 386-87 At Kaśyapa's request Aditi became Trikotī. It joins Vitastā
- Trikūta**—(m) Vām 85. 4, (son of Sumeru), Nr. 65, 21, P VI 129 16. In Bh. VIII 2. 1 Trikūta m. appears to be mythical From Raghuvamśa IV 58-59 it follows that Trikūta was in Aparānta Dey p 205 specifies three hills as Trikūta. Kālidāsa's Trikūta appears to be the Tirahnu or Tirvaśmi hill at Nasik Vide Bom. G vol 16 p 633 and E I vol 25 p. 225 at p 232 (copper-plate Ins discovered at Anjaneri near Nasik of about 709 A D mentions 'Pūrva-Trikūtavaiśaya') The Khanapur plates of Mādhava arman (about 510-560 A D,) speak of him as the 'lord of Trikūta and Malaya' (E I vol. 27 p 312 at p 315)
- Trihoga**—country which has three famous līngas viz Kālahastin, Śrīśaila, Drākṣārāma
- Trilocana-līnga**—(in VS) SK IV. 33, 120, K I 35 14-15, P. I 37. 17
- Tripadi (Tirupati)**—in the District of north Arcot at a short distance from Renigunta Station It is the same as Venkatagiri on the top of which is the celebrated temple of Venkatesvara or Bālaji
- Triplaksa**—(śrāddha most efficacious here) Br III, 13 69
- Tripura**—A (a very fit place for śrāddha) M 22, 43, B (capital of Bānāsura) P. I chapters 14-15, Karnaparva 33 17 ff and 34 113-114, M. chapters 129-140 (give the story of Tripuradāha at great length). Vide also Anu. 160 25-31 and an interesting paper on 'The Tripura episode in Sanskrit literature' in Journal, Ganganath Jha R I vol VIII pp 371-395 by Miss Bhakti Sudhā Mukhopādhyāya.
- Tripurāntaka**—(near eastern gate of Śrīparvata) L I 92 150.
- Tripureśvara** (modern village Tripbar in Kāśmīra, three miles from Dal lake) R V 46, HC 13 200. Some identify it with Jyestheśvara
- Tripurī**—(on the Narmadā) T S. p. 100 quotes three verses about it It is modern Tewar, six miles west of Jabalpur It was the capital of the Kalacuris or Cedis Vide Jabalpur plate of Yaśahkarnadeva in 1122 A.D., E I vol II p 1 at p 3 and E. I XIX p 75 (for extent of Mahākosala) M. 114. 53, Sabhāparva 21 60 and Br S. 14 9 mention Traipura country as situated

- on the back of Vindhya Tripurī is known from very ancient copper coins of early 2nd century B. C. Tripurī-visaya occurs in Betul plates of Sanksobha as situated in Dabhālā country Vide R. D. Banerji's 'Haihayas of Tripurī' p. 137
- Tripuskara**—Vide Puskarā
- Trisāmā**—(r. rising from Mahendra) Vā 45 106, V₁ II 3. 13, Bh V. 19 18 (does not mention source)
- Trisandhyā** or **Trisandhyam** A-M 22. 46 (sacred to pitrs). B (spring of goddess Sandhyā) one of the holiest Kāsmīra tīrthas It is modern Sundabrār in Brīngpārgana, NM 1471, R I 33, SM p 181
- Tristhāna**—(probably same as Vārānasi) Anu 25. 16
- Trisākhara**—(m) Vā. 42 28, M. 183 2.
- Trisūlagangā**—(under Śālagrāma) Var. 145 84 (confluence of Gandakī and Kṛsnā)
- Trisūlakhātā**—V. 84, 11. It is probably the same as the Kāsmīra tīrtha Śūlaghātā
- Trisūlapāta**—(under Sarasvatī) P I 28 12. Probably the same as above
- Tritakūpa**—a tīrtha visited by Balarāma, Bh. X 78 19 (after Prthūdaka and Bindusaras). Rg. I. 105 17 speaks of Trita who had been thrown into a well and was helped by Brhaspati. Vide Nir IV. 6
- Trivenī**—A (at Prayāga) Var. 144 86-87, vide p 602 above, B (confluence of three rivers, viz Gandakī, Devikā and another r. called Brahmaputrā) Var. 144 83 and 112-115 It was here that Gaṇendra was drawn into water by the grāha (crocodile). Var 144. 116-134
- Trivistapa**—P. I 26 79 (where there is Vaitarani river)
- Trinabindusaras**—(in Kāmyakavana) V 258. 13.
- Trinabinduvana**—Nr. q by T. K. p. 252.
- Tryambakośvara**—(near Nasik, at the source of the Godāvari) N. II. 73. 1-152 (is the mātṛmya), SK. IV 6 23, P. VI. 176. 58-59, B. 79. 6.
- Tulajāpura**—(a Devisthāna) Devi-Bh. VII 38. 6
- Tuṅgā**—(r. that falls into the Kṛsnā) Nr 66 7 (reading differs) q. by T. K. p. 254 (Tuṅgā ca dalsine Gangā Kāveri ca viśesatah)
- Tungabhadrā**—(The two rivers Tuṅgā and Bhadrā rise in the Mysore state and join to form the Tuṅgabhadrā near Kudli in Mysore State The river falls into the Kṛsnā near Alampur in the Raichūr District) M 32 45, Nr. 66 6 q by T. K. p 254, Bh V. 19. 18, M 114 29, B 27 35, Vā 45 104 (last three say that it rises in Sahya) From E I vol. XII at p 294 and Vik. IV 44-68 it is clear that Cālukya king Someśvara I, being attacked by a malignant fever, perished by entering Tungabhadrā in 1068 A. D.
- Tungakūta**—(under Kolāmukha) Var. 140 29-30.
- Tuṅgāranya**—V 85 46-54, P. I 39 43 (where Śārasvata instructed sages)
- Tungavenā**—(one of the rivers that are the sources of fire) V 222 25
- Tungeśvara**—(in VS) L I 92. 7
- Turāsanga**—(a tīrtha under Narmadā) M 191 29
- Tvāstreśvara**—(under VS) L. q by T. K. p 96

U

- Udabhānda**—was the residence of Sāhu kings and identified by Stein with capital of Gandhāra, vide R.V. 152-155, VI 175. It is the Wayband of Alberuni and Ohind or Und of modern times (on the right bank of the Indus 15 miles above Attock)
- Udāpāna**—V. 84 110, P I 38. 27
- Udayanta**—(m near Somanātha in Kathiawar) SK VI 2 11 11

- Uddālaśvara—(under VS) L. q by T K p 59
- Uddyāna—Kāl 18 42 (where the two thighs of Satī's corpse fell)
- Udicitīrtha—(under Gayā) Vā 111 6 Vide p 663 above
- Udyantaparvata—(the Brahmayoni hill in Gayā to the left of the Sīā) V 84 93, Vā 108 43-44 N II 47 51, P. I 38 13. Vide p 647 note 1472 above
- Ugra—(under VS) P. I 37. 15, also called Kedāra
- Ugrēvara—(under VS) L. q by T K p. 70
- Ujjānaka—(where Śkanda and Vasistha secured peace of mind) V. 130 17, Anu 25 55 It is probably a corrupt form of Udyantaka or Udyānaka
- Ujjayanta (Girnār in Saurāstra and near Dvārakā) V 88. 21-24, Vā. 45, 92 and 77. 52, Vām 13 18, SK. VII 2 11. 11 and 15 (southern boundary of Vastrāpathaksetra) Vide A. G. p. 325.
- Ujjayinī—(modern Ujjain in Central India) B. 43 24 (called Avantī), 44 16 (capital of Mālava) Vide under Avantī and Māhismatī above Ujēni is mentioned in the Dhauki first separate Rock edict (C I. I vol. I p. 93) of Aśoka The Mbh (vol II p 35 on Vārtika 10 on Pān. III 1. 26 mentions it. It is famous for the shrine of Mahākālā, one of the twelve Jyōtir-lingas and is situated on the Śiprā river Kālidāsa immortalizes it in the Meghadūta and Raghuśamśā VI 32-35 A G. (pp 489-90) gives the boundaries of the Kingdom of Ujjayinī in the 7th century A C (p 182) gives Viśālā, Avantī and Puspakarandīni as synonyms of Ujjayinī 'Puspakarandakajmodyāna' is mentioned in the Mrcchakatika. The Periplus and Ptolemy speak of it as Ozene Vide Ptolemy pp 154-155 Vide J. A
- O S vol. 66 for 1946 p 295 for Jaina sources on Udayana and Vāsavadattā and I A vol III p 153 for inscription of Śravana Belgola about migration of Jainas under Bhadrabāhu from Ujjayinī and S B E vol X part 2 p 188 (Suttanipāta)
- Umābaka—(under Narmadā) K II 41 57
- Umākunda—(under Lohārgala) Var 151. 64
- Umātunga—K II 37 32-33, Vā. 77 81-82 (best place for śrāddha, japa, homa)
- Umāvana—(where Śaṅkara assumed the Ardhanārīśvara form) Vā 41. 36 Dey p. 211 says that it is Kotalgad in Kumaon A C p 182 says it is also called Devikota
- Upajālā—(r. near Yamunā) V. 130 21
- Upamanyulinga—(under VS) L. q. by T K 97
- Upasāntasiva—(under VS) P I 37 17, L. I. 92 107
- Upavenā—(one of the rivers that are mothers of fires) V 222 24
- Uryanta—(in Aparānta) Br III 13. 53 (here are Yogeśvarālaya and Vasisthāśrama)
- Ūrjayat—m in Rudradāman's Junā-gadh Inscription (in E I VIII p 36 at p 42) and in Gupta Inscriptions at p. 45
- Urvaśikunda—(under Badarī) Var. 141. 51-64, N II. 67 65
- Urvaśilinga—(under VS) L. q by T K p. 66
- Urvaśīpulina—(under Prayāga) M. 22 66 and 106 34-35, Anu 25 46 Vide p 615 note 1399 above
- Urvaśīśvara—(under VS) L. q by T K p 72
- Urvaśītīrtha—A (under Prayāga) V. 84, 157, M 106. 34, P I 38. 64, B (under Go) B 171 1
- Usnatīrtha—M 13 42 (Devī is called Abhayā in tīrthas of hot water)

- Usnīgāṅga (a tīrtha for bathing) V. 135 7
- Utkocaka-tīrtha—V 183 2
- Utpalāvāna—V 87 15 (in Pāñcāla country), Anu. 25, 34 Dey p 213 says that it is Bithur, 14 miles from Kānpur in U P
- Utpalāvartaka—(a forest) N. II 60, 25, Vanaparva q. by T. K p 244
- Utpalāvati—(r rising from m Malaya) Vā 45 103, M. 114 30
- Utpalini—(r. in Naimisa forest) Ādī. 215 6
- Utpātala—Anu 25. 41
- Uttamesvara—(under VS) L q. by T K p 102
- Uttara—(under VS) K. I 35 14, P I. 37 17
- Uttara-Ganga—(Gangabal in Lar pāigana of Kāśmīra) HC IV 54. It is also called Haramukuta-gangā and Mānasottaragangā
- Uttaragokarna—Var. 216 22, K II 35. 31
- Uttarajāhnavī—H C XII 49 When the Vitastā takes a turn towards the north it is so called.
- Uttaramānasa—A (in Kāśmīra) Anu 25 60, NM 1118 (the guardian nāga of the north of Kāśmīra). The Gangabal lake is popularly so called See Stein's note on R, III 448 and H. C IV. 87, B (near Gayā) Vā 77, 108, 111. 2, V Dh S 85 36, Śānti 152 13, M 121, 69, K II. 37, 44, R 115. 10 Vide pp 650-651 above
- V
- Vadavā—(also called Saptacarū) V.82. 92-99, 222 24, V. Dh S85 37. The com. Vaijayanī says that it is some tīrtha in the southern part of India, but Vanaparva points to north-west Dey p. 220 identifies with Bālu on the west coast of the Caspian sea
- Vadhūsarū—(r. on bathing in which Paraśurāma recovered his tejas taken away by Rāma) V 99 68
- Vāgīśvari—(under Go.) B 135. 26
- Vāgmatī—(r. Bāgmatī of Nepal which rises in Himālaya) Var 215, 49 (says that it is 100 times holier than Bhāgīrathī)
- Vāgmatī—Manuvati sangama—Var 215, 106 and 110
- Vāhā—Vām 57. 78
- Vāhini—Bhī. 9 34
- Vaidarbhā—M. 22 64, Nalacampū V. I. 66 (Daksinasaravati sā vahati Vidarbhā nadi yatra). Probably the same as Varadā
- Vaidūrya—(a hill in Ānarta) V. 89 6, 121. 16 and 19 (to which Pāndavas came after crossing Payosnī). Pān IV 3 84 teaches the derivation of Vaidūrya precious stone (Beryl) from Vidūra in the sense 'tasmāt prabhavati' Mbh. (vol II p 313) quotes a verse on this which says that grammarians denominate the mountain Vālavāya as Vidūra. Probably it is the Sātpudā range which has Beryl mines Vide Pargiter pp 287 (a), 365 (a). It may be the Oroudian mountain of Ptolemy (pp. 80-81)
- Vaidyanātha—A-M 13 41, 22 24, P V 17 205 (same words as in M 13 41), B (under VS) L q by T K pp 84, 114, C (under Sābhramatī) P. VI 160 1, D (Devī is called Bagalā here) Devī-Bh VII 38 14, E—temple of Vaidyanātha, probably one of the 12 Jyotirlingas, at Deogarh in Santal Pargana Vide I. G. I. vol XI p 244 for the great temple of Vaidyanātha, which is the oldest of the 22 Śiva temples at Deogarh
- Vahāra—(one of the five hills that surrounded and guarded Guruvraja) S 21 2
- Vahāyasi—(r) Bh V 10 18
- Vaijayanta—(a Sārasvata-tīrtha) Devāla q. by T K p 250
- Vaikuntha-lāraṇa—(under Mandāra) Var. 143 21-23

- Vaikunthatirtha—A (under Gayā) M 22. 75, N II 47. 75, B (under Mathurā) Var. 163 1-4 and 10-12
- Vaimānika—Anu 25 23.
- Vaināyakatirtha—M. 22 32, G I. 81 8.
- Vairā—(r) M. 22 64
- Vairocanaśvara—(under VS) SK. IV. 33. 140
- Viśākhā—(under Śrīparvata) L I. 92. 156 (established by Viśākhā the Skanda)
- Vaiśānavaśvara—(under Śrīparvata) L I 92. 148
- Vaiśānara-kundā—(under Lohārgala) Var 151. 58
- Vaitaranī—A (r in Orissa rising in Vindhya) V 85 6, 114 4, Vā 77 95, K II. 37 37, P I 39 6, Ag 116 7, M 114. 27, B 27 33, Jājpur (i. e. Yayātipura) stands on this river, which is the boundary between Balasore and Cuttack (I G I vol VI p 223) Sometimes Utlala and Kalunga are held to be separate as in B 47 7 and Raghuvamśa IV 38 Utlala is said to be derived from Utlakūṅga (what is outside Kalūṅga), B (in Gayā) Vā 105. 45, 109, 17, Ag 116. 7, C (in Phalakivana) Vām 36. 43-44, P. I 26. 79, D (a well in VS) L q by T. K p 63.
- Vaivasvatatirtha—(under Sūkara) Var. 137 240 (where the sun practised *tapas* for a son), Anu 25 39
- Vaivasvateśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K p 104.
- Vajrabhava—(under Kokāmukha) Var 140 61 (the water falls into Kauśikī)
- Vajreśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K p 104
- Vālakulyeśvara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p. 66
- Vāliśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K p 51.
- Vālmikeśvara—(under VS) L. q, by T. K. p 66
- Vālmiki—āśrama (on the Ganges) Rām VII 47 15-77 Vide under Sthānutirtha and Tamaśā.
- Vāmana or Vāmanaka—(under Kurukṣetra) V 84 130, V 83. 103, Ag 109 20, P. I 26 96 (Vāmanaka), I 38 47, B (under Gayā) N, II, 46 46, C (under Sābhramatī) P, VI 153 2 (where seven rivers flow). Vide I A vol 54 (at end) p 41 where it is said that Vantbali about 8 miles south-west of Junāgad is the Vāmanatirtha of the Mahābhārata
- Vāmaneśvara—(under Narmadā) P I 18 26
- Vamśadhara—(r rising from Mahendra) Vā 45 106, Mār 54. 29 (reads Vamśakarā) and Var 85 (prose) reads Vamśavarā Pargiter (p 305n) says that it is the modern Bamsdharā on which Kalūṅgapatam stands, 17 miles from Chicacole Vide Santa-Bommali plates of Indrarvarman (E I vol XXV p 194) issued from Kalunganagara
- Vamśagulma—(on confluence of Narmadā and Sonā) V 85 9
- Vamśamūlaka—P I. 26 38
- Vamśodbheda—M 24. 25
- Vānaraka—(under Gayā) Ag. 116 6. It may be a misreading of 'cānarake'.
- Vandanā—(r) Bhī 9 18
- Vānī-sangama—(under Go.) B 135 1 and 23
- Vaṅjarā—(r. on south bank of Go) B 159 45 It is probably the modern Manjarā river that falls into Godāvari in Nander District
- Vaṅjarā-sangama—(under Go) B 159 1
- Vaṅjulā—A (r. rising from Sahya and falling into Go) M. 114. 29, Vā 45 103, Vām 57 76, B (r. rising in Mahendra) B. 27 37
- Vanku—(modern Oxus) Sabhā 51, 20 (*rāsabhas* were brought as presents)
- Varadā—(the Vardhā river in C. P) Rām IV 41 9, Ag 109 22, Nalacampū VI. 66 (Vīrapurusam tad-

- etad Varadātatanāmaḥam Mahārāstram) See under Varadāsāngama
 Varadāna—V. 82 63-64, P I 24 12 (both contain story about Durvāsas conferring a boon on Viṣnu)
 Varadā-sāngama—V. 85. 35, P. I 39 32
 Varāhamūlaksetra or Varāhaksetra—(modern Bāramūla in Kāśmīra) It is on the right bank of the Vitastā at the head of the western entrance to the Kashmir valley and is sacred to the Kashmir deity and is sacred to Ādivarāha, R VI. 186, H C XII. 43, K R pp. 11-12 and SM pp 201-202
 Varābharpavata—(probably Bāramūla in Kāśmīra) V Dh S 85 7
 Varāha-sibhānas—(places sacred to the Great Boar incarnation of Viṣnu are Kolāmukha, Badarī and Lohārgala) Var. 140 4-5
 Varāhatīrtha—A (under Kuruksetra) Vām 34 32, P I 26 15. B (under VS) P I. 37 6, K I 35.5. C (under Mathurā) Var 166 23 (there were four golden images of Varāha, Nārāyaṇa, Vāmana, Rāghava). D (on Vitastā in Kāśmīra) NM 1559. E (a sub-tīrtha of Sahyāmalaka) Nr. 66 34, F (under Sābhramatī) P VI 165. 10, G (on Narmadā) M. 193 74, K II. 42 14, P. I 20 71, H (on Payosnī) V 88. 7 and 9 (King Nrga performed yajña here and the tīrtha is holiest of all rivers). K II. 20 32, Vām. 90 4. I (under Go) B 79 6.
 Varāheśvara—(under VS) L q by T K. p 98.
 Varanā—(r. northern boundary of Banaras) M 22 31, 183 62. Vide pp. 625-626 above, L I 92 87 calls it Varunā.
 Varānasī—Vide pp. 618-642 Though Kāśī and Varānasī are treated as synonyms almost everywhere (pp 624-626) still it seems to me that Kāśī was on the eastern side of the Ganges and Varānasī on the western.
 Varanāvati—(r) Atharvaveda IV. 7.1.
 Vāraneśvara—(under Narmadā) P. I. 18 29
 Vardhanadruma—(in Kāśmīra, an āyatana of Vināyaka Gāngeya) NM 1161
 Vārdhāra—(m) Bh V. 19. 16
 Varnāsā—(r Banas in Rajputana rising from Pāriyātra and falling into Chambal) Br II 16. 28, see under Patnāsā
 Varnu—(r.) Pān IV 2 103 (varnau vol) Kāśīkā explains that the country on Varnu was also called Varnu. This appears to be modern Banou Varnu occurs in Suvāstvādī-gana. (IV. 2. 77)
 Vārtraghnī—(r rising in Pāriyātra and falling into the sea) P VI. 131 36, 68, VI 164, 1 and 71. Mār 57 19, Vā 45. 97 reads Vrttraghnī and B. 27 28 Vātagnī.
 Varunasrotasa—(m) V 88 10
 Varunā—(r tributary of the Go) P. VI 176 59
 Vārunatīrtha—V. 83 164, 88. 13 (in Pāndya country), Bār Sūtra III. 88 (on the shores of the eastern sea).
 Varuneśa—A (under VS) L q by T K p 66, B (under Narmadā) M 191 6
 Vāruneśvara—A (under VS) L. q by T K p. 103, B (under Narmadā) P. I. 18 6
 Vāsistha-lunda—(under Lohārgala) Vār 151 40 There is a Vāsistha-lunda on the Alakanandā at Deva-prayāga. Vide I G I vol XI. p 274.
 Vāsisthāpavāha—(on Sarasvatī) Śal 42 41
 Vāsisthāśrama—A (near Jyestheśvara in Kāśmīra) R I 107 (and Stein's note thereon in vol. I pp 23-21), NM 1323, B (on mount Arbuda (which see) V 102 3; C (on Badarīpācana, which see) V. 102 3 (narrates that in Vāsisthāśrama Kāleyas devoured 188 brāhmaṇas)

- and 9 *tāpasas* The location is uncertain.
- Vasisthatirtha—M 22. 68 (śrāddha and dāna most efficacious here).
- Vasisthesā—(under VS) L q by T K p 47
- Vāsisthī—V 84 48, P I 32 12 (same verse in both, but P reads Vāsistham)
- Vasordhārā—V 82. 76, P I 24 24 (same verse in both, P reading Vasudhārā)
- Vastrāpathaksetra—(territory round about Girnar in Kathiawad) SK VII 2 2 1-3 (it is quintessence of Prabhāsa, Raivata-ksetra is so called), VII 2 11 16 (it is four yojanas in extent) The holy river therein is Suvarnarekhā (which see)
- Vāsuka—(under Viraja in Orissa) B. 42 6
- Vāsukīśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K p. 48
- Vāsukīrti—A (under VS) P. I 39 79, L q. by T K. p. 48, B (under Prayāga) V 85 86 (also called Bhogavatī)
- Vāsuprada—M 22 72 (śrāddha here makes a man reach highest goal)
- Vasutuṅga—(Jagatpati is the *gulya* appellation of Visnu here) Nr. q by T, K p 251
- Vata—A (in Prayāga) M 104 10, 111, 10, B (in Gayā) V. Dh. S 85 5
- Vātanadī—M 22, 37 (śrāddha here yields inexhaustible fruit).
- Vāteśvara—A (under Narmadā) M 191. 27, K II 41 19, P I 18 27 (same verse in K and P), Ag 109 20, B (under Gayā) Ag 115 73, P. I, 38 46, N II 47 59, C (under Prayāga) M 22 9, D (under Puruṣottama) N II, 56 28
- Vāteśvara—(under VS) L q by T K. pp. 66
- Vāteśvarapura P I. 38.46
- Vātuka—(in Rāśmīra) NM 1459
- Vātodakā (r. in Pāndya country) Bh IV 28. 35
- Vatsakriḍānala—(under Mathurā) Var 156 1
- Vāyavjatirtha—(under Kubjāmraka) Var 126 75
- Vāyutirtha—A (under VS) K. I 35. 5, P I 37 5 (same verse in both); B (under Mathurā) Var 152. 65; C (under Gayā) Ag 116 5
- Vedadhāra—(under Badarī) Var 141 20
- Vedagiri (hill in Sahya range to the south of Brahmagiri and a sub-tirtha under Kṛṣṇa-Venyā) TS p 78
- Vedaśiras—(most efficacious for śrāddha) M 22 71
- Vedasmṛti—(r. rising from Pāriyātra) Anu 165 25, M. 114, 23, Vā 45 97, Br II 16 27. Dey p 223 opines that it is the river Bosuli in Malwa and a tributary of the Sindh, Bṛ S 16.32 mentions it
- Vedaśrutī—(r. after Kosala towards the south) Rām. II 49. 10
- Vedavatī—(r. rising from Pāriyātra) M 114 23, Br II. 16 27, B 27. 29, Anu 165 25; this and the above two rivers cannot really be identified There is a river called Vedāvati or Hagarī which rises in Mysore and ultimately falls into the Tungabhadrā Vide I G I vol XIII p. 5.
- Vedaśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p 44.
- Vedūtirtha—(v l. Devūtirtha) P I, 26 92.
- Vegavatī—(r. modern Vaiga or Baiga on which Madurā in south India is situated) Var 215. 58, Vām. 84. 6, P VI 237. 9. Vide E I vol. XIII p. 194 where there is a gift of Ambikāpura on north bank of Vegavatī to the Śāṅkarācārya of Kāmakotī pīṭha The form Vaigai appears in the Sulappadikāram (Prof Dāshitar's tr p 270)
- Venā—A (r rising from Vindhya) B. 27. 33, M 114 27. This is the Wain-Gangā in C P. and falls into Godāvarī, B-r, rising from Sahya m.

- near Mahabaleshwar The Pengāṅgā falls into Wardha, acc. to I. G. I. vol. V p 22, vol XIII. p 229, vol XX. p 102 and the united stream of the Waṅgaṅgā and Wardhā is known as Prāṅghātī which ultimately falls into the Godāvarī Vide I G I vol. 24 p 349, Bhī 9 20, 28, V. 85 32, 88 3, 222. 24, Anu. 165. 20, Bh. X 79 12, Venā is often mentioned as Kṛṣṇavenā or—Venā or—Venī as in M 114. 29 Rājasekhara in Kāvya-mīmāṃsā p. 94 mentions 'Venā' and 'Kṛṣṇavenā' separately in the first quarter of the 10th century. Vide Fargater p 303n for the various forms of this name.
- Venāsāṅgama—V 85 34, P I 39 32
- Veni—A (confluence of Gangā and Yamunā) Vide above p 603 n 1369. Vide Banaras Ins. of Karnadeva in Kalacuri year 795 (i.e. 1042 A D) in E I vol. II p 297 at p 310 (Venyaṁ snātṛā Trilocanam sambayarcya), Kāmauli plate of Jayacandra in E I IV. at p 123 (dated samvat 1230 i e, 1173 AD); B (r. rising in Sabya from the root of an āmalaka tree and falling into Kṛṣṇā) TS p 78
- Venkata—(m in Dravida country, Arcot District, near Tirupati) G. Brahmakhaṇḍa chap. 26 deals with Venkatagiri-māhātmya, Bh. V. 19 16, X. 79. 13 (in Dravida), R. VI 250 19, SK III Brahmakhaṇḍa, 52 102; SK. I Vaisnavakhaṇḍa is Venkatācalamāhātmya The shrine was once considered so holy that till 1870 no Christian or Moslem was allowed to ascend the hill of Tirumala
- Venumatī—(śrāddha thereon most efficacious) M 22 20
- Venyā—(r rising from m. Sabya and falling into the Kṛṣṇā) Vām. 13 30, Anu. 165 22 (Godāvarī ca Venyā ca Kṛṣṇavenā tathāpi ca), Bh V. 19 18, P. VI. 113 25 (Mahādeva became Venyā)
- Vetasikā—(r) V. 84. 56, P. I. 32 20, P. VI. 29. 20 (speaks of Vetasikā-Vetravati-sāṅgama)
- Vetravati—A (modern Betwa river, which rises in the Bhopal State and falls into the Yamunā) M. 23 20, 114. 23 (rises from Pāriyātra), Br. II. 16. 28 (rises from Rksavat), K II. 20 35, Meghadūta (L 24) says that Vidisā (modern Bhisā), the capital of Gasāra, was situated on Vetravati; B (a tributary of the Sābhramatī) P. VI 130 and 133 4-5 In 'Questions of Milinda' (S B E. vol 35 p 171) among ten great rivers flowing from the Himālaya Vetravati is one This must be different from the above two
- Vibhāṅdesvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p 115
- Vidarbhā-sāṅgama—(under Go) B. 121 1 and 23, acc to AC p 182 Vidarbhā is the name of Kuṅḍinapura (v. 979)
- Vidhisvara—(under VS) L q by T. K. p 116
- Vidisā—A (r rising from Pāriyātra m) B 27 29, Br II 16 28, Mār. 54. 20 Vide Vetravati above, B—A city mentioned in Raghuvarṇa 15 36 (Rāma gave to the two sons of Satrugha, Satrughātīn and Subāhu, the cities of Madhurā and Vidisā), Meghadūta I. 24 states that Vidisā was the capital of the Daśārṇa country In the Mālavikāgnimitra (V 1) Agnimitra is shown as enjoying himself on the banks of the Vidisā river and later on Puṣyamitra refers to his son Agnimitra as Vaidisastha (i e Vaidisā would mean a city on the Vidisā). Vide Vaṅsena plates of Kālacchuri-Buddharāja in 360 of the Kalachuri era (i e about 609 A D) issued from 'Vaidisā-vāsakat vijaya

- skandhāvārāt' (E. I vol XII at p 30
 Vidyādhara—(under Gandakī and Sāla-
 grāma) Var. 145 62
 Vidyādhāreśvara—(under VS) K I 35
 11, P I. 37 14
 Vidvara—(m) Devala q by T K p
 250 Is it Vidyāra?
 Vidyātīrtha—(same as Sandhyā) V 84.
 52, P I 32 16
 Vidyeśvara—(under VS) L q. by T K
 p 49
 Vihangesvara—(under Narmadā) P I
 21, 1'
 Vihāratīrtha—(of Madana, under
 Sarasvatī) Vām 42 10
 Vijayēśvara—(modern Vijabror in
 pargana Vuler in Kāśmīra) HC X.
 191-195 (HC calls it mahālestra).
 An A. vol. II, p 356 refers to this.
 Vitastā is to its east and north,
 Gambhīrā to the west and Viśvavati
 to the south
 Vijaya—(a luga) M 22 73, K. II 35, 21
 Vijaya-līṅga—(under VS) L q by T.K
 p. 112
 Vijayēśa—(in Kāśmīra) NM 1210, R.
 I, 38, SM p 173, one of the
 most famous tīrthas in Kāśmīra. It
 is less than two miles above Calra-
 dhara
 Vijayēśvara—A (in Kāśmīra) R I 105
 and 113, B (under VS) L q by T.K
 p 76
 Vijvareśvara—(under VS) L q by
 T.K p 43
 Vikīrtatīrtha—(under Sābhramatī) P
 VI 133. 7
 Vimala—V 82. 87 (where silver and
 golden-coloured fish were found),
 P. I 24 35 (same verse in both)
 Vimalā—(a city) P. IV 17 67 (destroys
 sins of numerous murders, just as
 Avanti and Kārcī do)
 Vimala—(a famous spring near Mār-
 tānda temple in Kāśmīra), Vide
 Mārtānda p 780 above
 Vimalāśoka—V. 84 69-70, P I. 32 33
 (almost same verse in both)
 Vimalēśa—(under VS) L. q. by T.K.
 p. 56
 Vimalēśvara—A (under Narmadā) M
 190 14, 194 38-39, 22 8, K. II.
 41 5 and II. 42 36, P I. 17, 11,
 B (under Sarasvatī) Vām 34. 15,
 P. VI 131 50
 Vimocana—V 83 161, P. I 27 49
 Vinasāna—(where Sarasvatī disappears
 in the great desert in Ambala and
 Sirhind in Punjab) It was known
 from Brāhmana period, vide
 pp 682 and 684 above and V
 82 111, 130. 3-4 Śal. 37, 1
 (śūdrābhīrān prati dvesāt yatra
 nastī Sarasvatī), K II 37 29, Br
 III 13. 69 Manu II. 21 mentions it
 as the eastern boundry of Mādhyā-
 deśa Devala q by T.K. p 250 speaks
 of it as one of the Sārasvatatīrthas
 Mbh (vol. I p. 475 on Pān II 4 10
 and vol III p. 174 on Pān VI 3
 109) speaks of it as 'ādarśa' and as
 eastern boundary of Āryāvarta The
 Kāśhā on Pān IV. 2 124 speaks of
 ādarśa as a Janapada (country). As
 Oldham says (in JRAS for 1893 at
 p 52) the exact position of Vinasāna
 is unknown, but Oldham surmises that
 it was not far from Sirsa.
 Vināyakakunda—(under VS) L q by
 T K. p 53
 Vināyakesvara—(under VS) SK. IV 33.
 126
 Vindhya—one of the seven great moun-
 tain ranges of Bharatavarsa) V 313.
 2, Bhī 9 11, Vā 77 34, M. 13 39,
 Bh V. 19. 16 It is the Oundion
 of Ptolemy (p 77)
 Vindhyaśinī—(a Devīsthāna) M 13
 39, Devī—Bh VII 38. 8
 Vipās—(modern Beas river in Punjab
 and Hyphasis or Hypasis of Greek
 writers) Rg III 33. 113, IV 30 11
 The Nir IX. 26 explaining Rg X
 75 5 states that Vipās was originally
 called Uruñjurā, and then Ārykījyā
 and that when Vasīṣṭha threw him-

- self into it bound by ropes through grief he rose up from the river with the ropes rent asunder Pān. (IV. 2 74 'udak ca Vipāsah') mentions Vipās in connection with hills to the north of it; Ādi, 177. 1-5 refer to Vasiṣṭha's attempt to commit suicide, V. 130, 8-9 (Viṣṭāś here), Ann. 3. 12-13 refer to the same story. Vide Rām. II. 68 19, Yām 79.6, N II 60. 30
- Vipratīrtha—(under Go) B 167. 1 and 33 (also called Nārāyana)
- Virabhadraśara—(under VS) L. q by T. K p 87.
- Viraja—A (country round Jāipur in Orissa) V 85 6; B (acc to Tīrth-enduśekhara p. 6) it is Lonāradeśa and lake i. e. in Buldana District in Berar; C (on Sahya m. near Godāvari and Bhīmā) B 161. 3,
- Virajā—(r. in Orissa) K II 35. 25-26, Yām. q by T. K. p 235
- Virajamaṇḍala—(northern boundary of Oḍradeśa) B 28. 1-2
- Virajatīrtha—(on Vaitarani river in Orissa) V. 85. 6, P. I. 39. 6, I. 45 28-29, (it is an Ādityatīrtha), B 42 1 (Viraje Virajā mānā brahmāṇī sampratīṣṭhā), Yām. 22 19 (the southern *vedi* of Brahṁā), Br III. 13 37. Vide T. P. pp 598-599 for Viraja-kṣetra, which is the popular name of Jāipur in Orissa
- Virajādrī—(under Gayā) Vā 106. 85 (Gayāsura's navel rested on it)
- Virapatnī—(r) Rg. I. 104.4
- Virapramokṣa—V. 84. 51, P. I. 32. 14 (same verse in both); probably near Bhṛṅgolinga
- Virāśrama—V. 84 145 (where Kārtīleya resides)
- Virasthala—(under Mathurā) Var 157. 14, 160 20
- Virūpākṣa—A (Hampī) P V. 17. 103. SK., Brahmakhanda 52. 102; B (under VS) L q by T. K p 102
- Viśākhayāpa—(near Kurnksetra) V 90. 15, 177. 16, Yām. 81 9, Nr. 65 14
- (Viṣṇu's *guhya* name is Viśveśa here)
- Viśālā—A—same as Ujjayinī; Meghadūta I 30, vide under Avanti and Ujjayinī. A C says 'Ujjayinī syād—Viśālāvanti Puspakarandīnī'; B (*āśrama* near Badari) V 90.25, 139. 11, Ann 25 44, Bb. V 4.5, XI. 29. 47, C (under Gayā) Yām. 81 26-32 (a river), Ag 115 54, P. I 38 33
- Viśālābhavāna—Mār. 105 57 (on a mountain in Kāmarūpa)
- Viśālākṣ—(under VS) L. q by T. K. p 115
- Viśalyā—A (r) V. 84 14, B (under Narmadā) M. 186 43 and 46-48 (also called Viśalyakarani), K II 40 27, P. I 13 39, Br III 13 12
- Viśaprasṭha—(hill) V 95 3 (near Gomati probably)
- Viśnucaṅkramaṇa—(under Dvāntā) Var 149. 80 q. by T. K. p 227
- Viśvudhārā—(under Kokāmukha) Var. 140 17
- Viṣṇu-Gayā—P VI 176 41 (where there is Lonārakuṇḍa)
- Viṣṇukāñci—P VI 204 30
- Viṣṇupada—A (under Kuruksetra) V. 83. 103. 130 8, NM 1238, B (lake on Niśadha mountains) Br. II. 18 67, Vā 47 64, C (under Gayā) vide pp 645, 646, 653 and note 1471 also e and R D Banerji's 'Pālas of Bengal' (Memoirs of A. S. B. vol. V pp 60-61 for Viṣṇupāda temple inscription of the 7th year of Nārāyanapāla's reign; D (under Śālagrāma) Var. 145 42
- Viṣṇupadī—(name of Gangā, as it is said to rise from the left toe of Viṣṇu) Bh. V. 17 I Amarakoś mentions it as a synonym of Garā (Gāṅgā Viṣṇupadī; Jahnu-tanayā)
- Viśvasaras—A (under Kokāmukha) Var. 140. 24; B (under Gorikṣramaṇa) Var. 147 43
- Viśvutīrtha—A (under Kokāmukha) Var 140 71-74; B (under Narmadā)

- M 191. 99, K. II. 41 52 (it is Yodhīpuram Visnusthānam), P I 18. 94 (known as Yodhanīpura), C (under Go) B 136 1 and 41 (also called Mandgalya)
- Visnūtīrthas—(108 enumerated) P. VI 129 5-36
- Viśokā—(r in Kāśmīra) modern Veśan NM. 307, 373, 381, 1493, HC XII 35 NM. 307 says that Laksmī at the request of sage Kaśyapa became Viśokā, NM 381 says that it formed Vitastā below Vijabror, NM. 1491-1493 speak of the confluence of Kaundinī rising from lake Kramasāra with Viśokā
- Viśrāntīrtha—A (the most sacred spot in Mathurā) Var. 163. 162, 167 1 ff, P VI 209 5 (on the bank of Yamunā where Kamsa was killed by Kṛṣṇa), B (a different Isētra from the above in Madhuvana, where Viṣṇu assumed the form of Varāha) P. VI. 209. 1-3 and 5
- Viśvā—(r) Bh V. 19. 18
- Viśvalakṣmī—(under VS) L q. by T.K p 55
- Viśvakāya—P. VI. 129, 8
- Viśvāmītranadī—V. 89 9, Bhī. 9 26 (has Viśvāmītrā as a river)
- Viśvāmītra—mabānada (in Punjab) NM 151
- Viśvāmītrāsrama—Rām. I 26. 34
- Viśvāmītratīrtha—A V 83. 139, B (under Go) B 93 4 and 27 (where Rāma honoured Viśvāmītra), P I 27. 28
- Viśvamukha—(tīrtha on jālandhara) Vide under jālandhara p 758 and P. VI 129 26
- Viśvapada—(a pīrīrtha) M 22 35
- Viśvarūpa—(under VS) P. I 37 2
- Viśvarūpaka—P. VI. 129 14 (in Māyāpurī, it appears)
- Viśvati—same as Viśokā HC. X 192 (it is southern boundary of Vijayēśvara)
- Viśvedeśvara—(under VS) L q. by T. K. p. 87.
- Viśveśvara—(one of five lingas in VS) K I 32 12 and II. 41.59, P. I. 34. 10, N II 51 4, vide pp 632-33 above, B (in Girikarna) P.VI. 129 10.
- Viśvasveśvara—(under VS) L q by T. K p. 116
- Vitamsā—one of the ten great rivers that flow from the Himālaya, mentioned in 'Questions of Milinda' (S B E vol 35 p 171) Dey p 40 identifies it with the Vitastā without assigning any reason
- Vitañkā—saṅgama (with Narmadā) P II 92 33
- Vitastā—(r in Kāśmīra, now known as Zhelum) Rg X 75 5. Vide under Kāśmīra and Takṣakanāga, V. 82 88-90 (Vitastā is the home of Takṣakanāga), 130, 20, K II 44 4, Vām 90 7, NM 45, 305-06 (Umā became Vitastā), 336-341 (Śaṅkara struck with his trident and made a hole as big as *vitasti* i e 12 angulas and Satī came bubbling forth as a river which is called Vitastā from the word Vitasti). R V 97-100 inform us that the great and self-taught engineer Suyya in the days of King Avantivarman of Kāśmīra (9th century) changed the course of the Vitastā and the spot of its confluence with the Sindhu Vide Stein's note I in translation of R. vol II pp 329-336 and the note of Mr J C Chatterji; challenging the correctness of Dr. Stein's remarks (in 'confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu', 1906)
- Vitastā-Gambhīrā-saṅgama—SM, pp 101, 110
- Vitastā-madhumatī-saṅgama—NM 1442
- Vitastā-sindhu-saṅgama—(exceptional sanctity) R IV. 391, V 82 97-100, NM 394-95. The place where these two rivers meet enjoys among Kāśmīra people the same sanctity as the confluence at Prayāga

- Yamunāsangama—Var. 174 deals with its power.
- Yamunātīrtha—Śal. 49. 11-16 (where Varuna performed Rājasūya), M. 108 23-24 (as the daughter of the sun), P. I. 29. 6
- Yamunēśvara—A (under VS) L. q. by T.K. p. 66 ; B (under Mathurā) Var 154 12
- Yantresvarā—(on north bank of Narmadā) M. 190 1.
- Yastī—(under Gayā) N. II. 47 82. Dey p. 215 says it is 'Jethian' about two miles north of Tapovana in Gayā
- Yavatīrtha—(under Narmadā) M. 191. 88
- Yāyātīrtha—A (under Sarasvatī) Vām 39. 36, B (under VS) Śal. 41 32, P I 37.9
- Yayātpatana—V 82 48, P I. 12. 3 (same words in both)
- Yayātipura—(modern Jāipur) on the Vastarānī river in Orissa, A G. p. 512.
- In E. I. vol XI p 189 there is a Yayātinagara. It is doubtful whether it is the same as Jāipur.
- Yayātīśvara—(under VS) L. q. by T. K. p 115.
- Yogitīrtha—(under Sūkara) Var q. by T. K. p. 210
- Yonidvāra—(on the Brahmayonī hill in Gayā) V. 84. 94-95, P. I 38. 15 (same words in both), N. II. 44 76-77
- Yugandhara—A—a country or people acc. to Pān IV. 2. 130 and the Kāśikā mentions it as one of Śālvāvayavas, B (a m) acc to Kāśikā on Pān III 2 46, Vām 34 47 'Yugandhare dadhī prāsya us̄tvā cācyutasthale | tadvad-Bhūtālaye snātīvā saputrā vastum-icchasi' Br S. 32 19 appears to mention Yaugandhara as the name of a people or country.

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON TĪRTHAS

At the end of this long list of tirthas a few words, as promised on p. 722 above, must be said about the attitude that we Indians of the 20th century should adopt towards the mountains, rivers and other holy places in Bhārata. Modern secular education and the prevailing economic conditions, stresses and trends leave hardly any room for moral and spiritual uplift. We are surrounded on all sides by anxiety, want, misery, hardness of heart and crime. Therefore, the endeavour of all those who have the good of our country at heart must be to cherish all such institutions as tend to lift the mind out of narrowness and to make it concentrate for some time at least on noble thoughts and aspirations and on detachment from the all-engrossing pursuit of money. Pilgrimage is one of such institutions. Those who have faith in pilgrimages as enabling a pilgrim to attain heaven, to collect merit and reach release from samsāra should give pilgrimages a new orientation, should see that their charity is not wasted on indolent, ignorant and vicious priests, should improve the methods of worship at holy places in such a way as will satisfy all hygienic requirements. The priestly class at holy places should remember that in the coming generations they are likely to find their occupation gone, unless they improve themselves, unless they try to be less ignorant and indolent than they are at present and really serve as honest business agents or Travelers' Guides. The number of people visiting holy places in the belief of accumulating merit is sure to become less and less, as modern secular education spreads. But it would be a calamity for the moral and spiritual greatness of India if pilgrimages to holy mountains and rivers came to be stopped altogether. I would very strongly recommend to all men, however highly educated, the undertaking of pilgrimages to certain hallowed spots. Our country has recently secured independence and it now rests entirely with us to make or mar the character of the teeming millions of this our land. All things that tend to create in Indians the deep feeling that amidst diversities of physical features, food, dress and habits, all of them are one people, that there is no part or district of this vast land which cannot claim to have made some substantial contribution in religious and philosophical thought, in abiding literature, in works of art and in holy places, that the destinies of the Indians

of one part of Bhārata are bound up with the destinies of all others. Frequent visits to distant places in Bhārata, mixing up among people of other parts and understanding their peculiar good points, needs and failings is absolutely necessary if we are to keep our freedom. India is thrice blest in the mountain ranges of the Himalaya, which contains the highest peaks in the world and is full of large and life-giving rivers and of numerous shrines associated with the names of the greatest sages and heroes of antiquity. Every Indian who is proud of the great religious and spiritual heritage of our country must make it a point to devote some part of his time to frequenting holy mountains, rivers and other places of pilgrimage. When we see even from a distance the purity, the whiteness and the serenity of the snow-capped peaks of the Himalaya, the play of delicate and exquisite hues and tints of blue, mauve, and pink when the sun begins to shine on them, a sense of wonder, joy and elevation comes upon us. The glorious view of a peak like Kinohinjunga, which is an unforgettable experience, lifts up the whole life of the onlooker to a higher plane for long. Similarly, the sight of the holy Ganges at night or at sunrise in Haridvāra or on the majestic Ghats in Banaras surely empties our minds of meanness and for the moment at least fills our hearts with a sense of nature's beauty and with purity, and brings us in tune with the Infinite. I may state here that the talk of the conquest of Everest in which some members of European expeditions indulge jars on my ears. This great peak has so far vanquished (physically) all those who attempted the conquest § But in a figurative sense Everest and other high peaks have been for ages conquering the hearts of men. Even the members of these expeditions will admit that Everest and its brethren have drawn men to themselves from all parts of the world, made them give up their usual uneventful and placid activities, have evoked in those who attempt the climbing of these giants unbelievable courage, endurance, resourcefulness and self-abnegation and have been instrumental in exhibiting to the world what unknown powers the human spirit possesses. Therefore, these silent but awe-inspiring peaks should be looked upon as teachers of mankind and not as material things to be conquered and dealt with by human beings as they please

§ While these pages were passing through the Press, news was broadcast on the very morning of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II that Sherpa Tensing Norkay and Mr Edmund Hillary, two members of Col. Hunt's British Expedition, had successfully climbed to the top of Mount Everest.

APPENDIX—of long Sanskrit Passages

Page 118 Note 267. On pp. 117-118 above reference has been made to the re-admission into the Hindu fold of those that had been converted to Christianity or Islam by force or fraud or even voluntarily. Not only was there re-admission of those that were converted, but non-Hindus, such as Yavanas, Kirātas, Śakas, were absorbed into the Hindu fold and were induced to adopt the practices of Hindus (such as śrāddhas and gifts to brāhmanas) Vide Śāntiparva chap. 65. 13-21 quoted above in note 830 (p. 364). A Greek ambassador of king Antalkida (Antialkidas) named Heliadora, son of Diya (Dion), was accredited to the court of king Bhāgabhadra, called himself Bhāgavata and raised a column in honour of Vāsudeva in the 3rd century B. C. (JRAS 1909, pp. 1053 and 1087 and JBERRAS vol. 23 p 104). Usavadāta, son of Dinika and son-in-law of Ksatrapa Nahapāna, is described in one of the Nasik inscriptions (No. 14a in E. I vol. VIII at p. 85) as a śaka, but made very extensive donations to brāhmanas at Broach, Prabhāsa and other places. Part of one of his inscriptions is cited on p. 710 note 1618 above. Though the name Usavadāta (Rsabhadatta) is a Sanskritized one the two names Dinika and Nahapāna of the Ksaharāta race appear to be non-Indian. Abhiras, Hūnas and Gurjaras became absorbed into the Hindu community. People, after being made Moslems, returned to their original communities and gods. Moslem writers make this clear. Vide Elliot and Dowsons' 'History of India' vol. I. p. 126 ('the people of India had returned to idolatry, excepting those of Kasa') and Alberuni's India (tr. by Sachau) vol. II, pp. 162-163 where he refers to the return of Hindu slaves in Moslem countries to their country and religion. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in 'Some aspects of Ancient Indian Culture' (1940) pp. 59-65 presents a very lucid and informing summary of the evidence on this point of the re-admission of those that were converted and of the absorption of non-Hindus. But it is not known what procedure was followed for this purpose. Therefore, a model rite for the return of a convert is set out here.

परावर्तिष्णुः (एकः अनेके वा पुरुषा स्त्रियो वा) स्नात्वा धौतं ह्यभ्रं वास परिधाय
(स्त्रियस्तु यथायोग्यं यथाचारं वा परिधाय) चन्दनादिभिस्तिलकं कृत्वा (स्त्रियस्तु कुङ्कुमादि-
द्रव्येण तिलकं कृत्वा) शिष्टसमा प्रार्थयेत् । सर्वे धर्मविधेकारो ज्ञानवीलसमन्वितः । विधिनाह
परावर्त्य समाह्वः स्यां मनीषिभिः । इति । अथ शिष्टाः परावर्तिष्णोः (परावर्तिष्णुना वा)

देशकाल-कामाकामशक्त्यादि विचार्य अत्यल्प-अल्प-गुरुणामेन्यतेम प्रायश्चित्तं निश्चित्य 'ओं तथा । असुकमायश्चित्तं कृत्वा परावर्तनाविधिना भवान् संगृहीतो भविष्यति' इति ब्रूयुः । परावर्तिष्यन्ने नूतनं वासश्च दद्युः । स च तत्पारिदद्यात् । तत परावर्तिष्युरासने पूर्वाभिमुख उपविश्य आचम्य प्राणानायम्य 'इह पृथिव्यां जम्बूद्वीपे भरतवर्षे दक्षिणपथे ('आर्यावर्ते' इति नर्मदाया उत्तरत) असुकग्रामे अद्य असुकनामसंवत्सरे असुकनासे असुकपक्षे अहकतिथौ असुकनासरे असुकनक्षत्रे हिन्दुधर्मे परावर्तिष्युरहं शिष्टैरुपादिदं प्रायश्चित्तं करिष्ये' इति सङ्कल्प्य प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यात् । सङ्कल्पोत्तरमाचार्य आसने प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य स्वदक्षिणतः परा-

वर्तिष्युमुपवेश्य आचमनं कारयित्वा स्वयं द्विराचम्य पवित्रपाणिं प्राणानायम्य गणपतिं ध्यायेत् । 'ओं गणाना त्वा गणपतिं हवामहे कविं कवीनास्तुभमश्रवस्तमम् । ज्येष्ठराजं ब्रह्मणा ब्रह्मणस्पत आ न इष्टुवज्जतिभि स्तीद सादनम् ॥' इति प्रार्थयेत् । 'ओं महागणपतये नमो नम । निर्विकलं कुब' इति नमेत् । ततो देशकालौ सकीर्त्य 'इह पृथिव्या ... नक्षत्रे अस्य परावर्तनेच्छो. परावर्तनाविधिं करिष्ये' इति सङ्कल्प्य पुण्याहवाचनं कुर्यात् । 'अस्य परावर्तनेच्छो परावर्तनाख्यस्य कर्मणः पुण्याह भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु' इति प्रार्थयेत् । शिष्टाः 'ओं पुण्याहम्' इति ब्रूयुः । आचार्यः 'अस्य परावर्तिष्णो. करिष्यमाणपरावर्तनाख्याय कर्मणे स्वस्ति भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु' इति ब्रूयात् । शिष्टास्तु 'ओं स्वस्ति' इति प्रतिब्रूयुः । आचार्य 'अस्य परावर्तिष्णो. करिष्यमाणपरावर्तनाख्यस्य कर्मणे ऋद्धि भवन्तो ब्रुवन्तु' इति ब्रूयात् । शिष्टाः 'ओं कर्म ऋध्वतात्' इति प्रतिब्रूयुः । ततः शिष्टान्सत्कृत्य प्रणम्य च विसर्जयेत् । तत आचार्यो गोमयालिने छुब्धे स्थले छुब्धस्तुदा चतुर्विंशत्यङ्गुलमात्रं समचतुरस्र चतुरङ्गुलोन्नतं स्थाण्डिलं कृत्वा अस्युक्ष्य तत्र, ओं धूर्ध्वं स्व' प्रवेशकनामानमग्निं प्रतिष्ठापयामीत्युक्त्वामिं प्रतिष्ठापयेत् । प्रोक्षितेन्यनानि निक्षिप्य धनस्यादिना प्रज्वाल्य 'अग्ने वैश्वानर ज्ञापिष्ठस्यमोत्र मेपत्सज मम ससृजो वरदो भव' इति प्रार्थयेत् । अग्निं परिससृज्य परित्तीर्य पर्युक्ष्य प्रादेशामात्रं पञ्च-दशानिधम प्रादेशामात्रं बहिश्च संनह्याग्नेरुत्तरतो निदध्यात् । तत आत्मनोऽग्रतो भूमिं प्रोक्ष्य तत्र बहिरास्तीर्य तत्राज्यस्थालीमाज्यस्य पूर्णां निदधाति । दक्षिणेन हस्तेन दर्वानिमौ निदप्य वामहस्तेन गृहीत्वा दक्षिणेन हस्तेन दर्वानिमौ निदधाति संमाष्टिं दर्वमूलैश्च दर्वमूलम् । पुनर्निदप्य प्रोक्ष्य आज्यस्थाल्या उत्तरतो बहिषि निदधाति । समार्गद्वर्मानग्नौ प्रहरतः । इक्षमन्धनरग्लुं भूमौ निधाय तत्रेधेन संस्थाप्य दर्वानिधेन मूलमध्याग्नेष्वभिधाय दक्षिणेन हस्तेन गृहीत्वा 'ओं, अस्य त इक्षम आत्मा जातवेदस्तेनेधयस्व वर्धस्व च्वेन्धि वर्धय चास्मान्प्रजया पशुभिर्नैह्यवर्च-सेनाजायेन समेधय स्वाहा' इति मन्त्रेणाग्नाव्याधाय 'जातवेदसेऽग्नय इदं न मम' इति त्यजेत् । दर्व्याज्यमादाय स्थाण्डिलस्य धायक्यकोणमारग्याग्नेयकोणपर्यन्तमखण्डधारयाऽग्नीं प्रुहोति । पुनर्दर्व्याज्यमादाय नैर्ऋतकोणमारग्य ऐशानकोणपर्यन्तं तथैव प्रुहोति । तृष्णीमितावाचारहीनौ । पुनर्दर्व्याज्येन 'ओं अग्नये स्वाहा' इत्यग्नात्पुत्ररामागे प्रुहोति । अग्नय इदं न ममेति त्याग । पुनर्दर्व्याज्येन 'ओं सोमाय स्वाहा' इत्यग्नीं दक्षिणामागे प्रुहोति । 'सोमायैव न मम' इति त्याग । अस्मिन्काले परावर्तिष्युराचार्यस्य दक्षिणतः पद्मं कृताञ्जलि-स्तिष्ठन् आचार्यं प्रार्थयते । 'हिन्दुत्वमागाम् । हिन्दुरसानि' इति । आचार्य 'ओं तथास्तु' इति ब्रूयात् । तत आचार्यः अग्न्याग्निं कृताञ्जलौ तिष्ठति प्रविशिक्षी (अथवा कृताञ्जलियु प्रविशिक्षु) दर्व्यां आज्येन चतुर्भिर्मन्त्रैश्चतस्रं प्रधानाहुतीर्छुहोति । 'ओं ध्रु. स्वाहा । अग्नय इदं न मम । ओं भुव' स्वाहा । वायव इदं न मम । ओं स्व स्वाहा । सूर्यायैदं न मम । ओं प्रजापतये स्वाहा । प्रजापतय इदं न मम । अथासीन प्रविशिक्षु अग्नीं सनिधमाधाय प्रदीताया तस्या दर्व्यां आज्येन पञ्च प्रधानाहुतीर्छुहोति । ओं उद्द्वं तमसस्पति पश्यन्तो ज्योतिरुत्तरम् । देवं देवत्रा सूर्यमग्नम् ज्योतिरुत्तरं स्वाहा । सूर्याय ज्योतिष इदं न मम । ओं उद्यजथ मित्रमह आरोहन्तुतरा दिवम् । हृद्गेगं मम सूर्यं हरिमाण च नाग्नय स्वाहा । सूर्यायैदं न मम । ओं अस्तौ मा सद्गमय स्वाहा । परमात्मन इदं न मम । ओं तनसो ना ज्योतिर्गमय स्वाहा । परमात्मन इदं न मम । ओं मृत्योर्माऽमृतं गमय स्वाहा । परमात्मन इदं न मम इति ।

अथाचार्यः प्रविशिक्षु स्वदक्षिणत उपवेश्य होमशेषं समापयेत् । ओं यदस्य कर्मणोऽत्यरीरिचं यदा न्यूनमिहाकस्म् । अग्निं च स्विष्टकृद्धिद्वान् सर्वं स्विष्टं सुहृतं करोतु मे ॥ अग्नये स्विष्टकृते सुतुहंते सर्वहृत आहुतीना कामाना समर्पयिषे स्वाहा इति स्विष्टकृतं प्रुहोति । 'अग्नये

विषकृत इदं न मम' इति त्यागः । इधमबन्धनरज्जुमग्नावभ्याधाय सत्ताव जुहोति । 'ओं विश्वेभ्यो देवेभ्यः स्वाहा' इति । 'विश्वेभ्यो देवेभ्य इदं न मम' इति त्यागः ।

तत आचार्यः प्रविबिक्षुणा (अथवा प्रविबिक्षुभिः) सह कृताञ्जलिस्तदक्षपति । 'ओं च मे स्वरश्च मे यज्ञोप च ते नमश्च । यत्ते न्यून तस्मै त उपयत्तेऽतिरिक्त तस्मै ते नम । अर्द्धां मेधां यशः भङ्गां विद्यां बुद्धिं श्रिय बलम् । आशुष्यं तेज आरोग्यं देहि मे हृद्यवाहन ।' इति ।

ततो होमावशिष्टं गोघृतं पात्रान्तरेण प्रविबिक्षवे (अथवा प्रविबिक्षुभ्यः प्रत्येकं) दद्यात् । प्रविबिक्षुश्च 'ओं मित्राय स्वाहा' इति मन्त्रेण प्राश्रीयत् । ततः स्थण्डिलस्य विभ्रुतिमाचार्यः प्रविबिक्षुश्च ललाटे धारयेताम् ।

तत आचार्यस्तित्थं चूर्णां तीर्थोदकं गृहीत्वा 'ओम्' इत्यभिमन्त्र्य तेन आसीनप्रवि-
बिक्षुशिरसि 'ओं आप उन्वन्द्य जीवसे दीर्घायुत्वाय बर्चसे ।' ओम्' इति मन्त्राभ्यां सकृत् प्रोक्षेत् ।

तत, शिष्टैः प्रविबिक्षोर्ध्यावहारिके किञ्चिन्नाम कार्पम् । तत प्रविबिक्षुहस्ते भगवद्गीता-
पुस्तकं च्वा साधारणधर्मः, द्वैवाहुरस्मृतिः, अथवात्म चोपदेदव्यतानि । तत प्रविबिक्षुः
कृताञ्जलिस्तदक्ष वदेत् । 'भवद्भिरहृद्यहीतोऽहं धर्मे मनो निधाय प्रवर्तित्वे । ओं ओं ओं ।'
ततो भगवन्तं सूर्यं दण्ड्या नमस्कृत्य आर्घयेत् । 'ओं सा मा सत्योक्ति, परिपातु विश्वतो धावा च
यत्र ततनज्ञाहानि च । विश्वमन्यपक्षिकृते पदेजति विश्वाहापो विश्वाहादेति सूर्यः ॥' इति ।

तत आचार्योऽग्नेः पश्चात् प्रविबिक्षुणा (प्रविबिक्षुभि वा) सहोपाविश्य 'अनेन विभिना
सर्वोद्धारकः श्रीसूर्यनारायणः प्रीयताम्' इति कर्मसमार्तिं सोढकं जूयात् । 'ओं तस्त्' इत्युक्त्वा हिराचामेत् । तत, सर्वेभ्य' मसादं द्रवा सभा विसर्जयेत् ।

This procedure is based on the हिन्दूकरणविधि prepared by the Dharm-
mirayamandala, Lonavla The late Lala Lajpat Rai in his work on the
Aryasamaj gives (on pp, 221-222) a much briefer rite adopted by that body.

N. B.—These hymns are translated and annotated above
at pp 191-201.

Note 441. ऋ १० १४. परेयिवासं प्रवतो महीरहृ बहृम्य. यन्धामनुपस्पशानम् वैवस्वतं
सङ्गमनं जनाना यम राजानं हविषा हुवस्य ॥ १ यमो नो गातु प्रथमो विवेद नैषा गन्धुतिरप-
भर्नवा उ । यथा नः पूर्वै पितरः परेसुरेना जज्ञानाः पठया ३ अहृ स्वा ॥ २ मातली काच्येयो
अङ्गिरोभिर्बृहस्पतिर्भक्तभिर्वाहृघान । याश्च देवा वाहृधुर्ये च देवान्साहान्ये रथयान्ये
मदान्ति ॥ ४ इम यम मस्तरमा हि सीदाङ्गिरोभिः पितृभिः संविदान । आ त्वा मन्त्रा
काविक्षस्ता वहन्त्वेना राजन् हविषा मादयस्व ॥ ४ अङ्गिरोभिरा गहि यज्ञियेभिर्यम वैरुपेरिह
मादयस्व । विवस्वन्तं हुवे य पिता तेऽस्मिन्पञ्चे बहिष्ण्या निपद्य ॥ ५ अङ्गिरसो न पितरो
नवगा अथर्वानो भृगव संस्प्रासः । तेपा वयं हृमती यज्ञिषानामपि भदे सोमनसे स्याम ॥ ६
मेहि मेहि पथिभिः पूर्वोभिर्यत्रा नः पूर्वै पितरः परेसुः । उभा राजाना स्वधया मद्गन्ता यम
पदयासि वरुण च देवम् ॥ ७ सं गच्छस्व पितृभि स्र यमेनेष्टापतेन परमे श्वोमम् । हिलायावद्य
पुनरस्तमेहि सं गच्छस्व तन्वा सुवर्चाः ॥ ८ अपेत वीत वि च सयतातोऽस्मा एतं पितरो
लोकमक्रन् । अहोभिरङ्गिरक्तुभिर्यक्त यमो ददात्यवसानमस्मै ॥ ९ अति द्रव सारमेयो श्वानो
चतुरक्षी क्षत्रलो साधुना पथा । अथा पितृन्सुविदत्रो उपेहि यमेन ये सधमाद मदन्ति ॥ १०
यी ते श्वानो यम रक्षितारो चतुरक्षी पथिरक्षी वृचक्षसौ । ताभ्यामेनं परि देहि राजन्स्तरिति
चार्त्समा अनमीन च धेहि ॥ ११ उरुणसावसुतृपा उदुम्बली यमस्य हृतो चरतो जनो भ्रातृ ।
तावस्मन्यं ददाये सूर्याय पुनर्दातामसुमद्योह भद्रम् ॥ १२ यमाय सोम सुदत यमाय जुहता हवि
यमं ह यज्ञो गच्छत्यग्निहृतो अरंछतः ॥ १३ यमाय धृतवद्भविर्होतुं प्र च तिष्ठत । सो नो देवेभ्य
यमहदीपेमासु प्रजीवसे ॥ १४ यमाय सधुनत्तम राज्ञे हृद्यं जुहोतन । इदं नम क्रपिग्य
पूर्वजैभ्य पूर्वैभ्य. पथिक्तृञ्च ॥ १५ त्रिकञ्जुकेभिः पतति पल्लुवीरकामिदुएत् । विण्डुन्मायत्री
हृन्दासि सर्वा ता यम आहिता ॥ १६

क्रवेद १०. १५. उद्गीरतामवर उत्परास उन्मध्यमाः पितरः सोम्यासः । अह्य य ईश्वरुका
 क्रतज्ञास्ते नोऽवन्तु पितरो हवेषु ॥ १ इद पितृभ्यो नमो अस्वद्य ये पूर्वासो य उपरास ईशु ।
 ये पाथिवे रजस्या निपता ये वा नून सुहृजनास्तु विश्व ॥ २ अह पितृन्सुविदत्रो अवित्ति नपातं
 च विक्रमणं च विष्णोः । बर्हिषदो ये स्वधया सुतस्य भजन्त पितृस्त इहागमिडा ॥ ३ बर्हिषद
 पितर ऊत्य भूर्वागिमा वो हव्या चक्रूमा जुषध्वम् । त आ गतावसा शतमेनाथा न सं योररपो
 दधात ॥ ४ उपहृताः पितरः सोम्यासो बर्हिषेपु निधिषु मियेषु । त आ गमन्तु त इह श्रुवन्त्वाधि
 वृन्तु तेऽवन्त्वस्मान् ॥ ५ आच्या जाड दक्षिणतो निपद्येम यज्ञमभिद्युपीत विश्वे । मा हिंसिद
 पितर केनचित्तो यह आगं पुरुषता कराम ॥ ६ आसीनासो अरुणीनामुपस्थे रथि घत्त दाशुपे
 मर्याय । सुत्रेभ्यः पितरस्तस्य स्ववः प्र यच्छत त इहोर्जं दधात ॥ ७ ये नः पूर्वं पितर सोम्यासोऽ-
 न्हिरे सोमपीथं वसिडा । तेभिर्भ्यमः संरराणो हवीण्युसाकुशान्निः प्रतिकाममन् ॥ ८ ये तातुषुर्दे-
 वना नेहमाना होत्राविदः स्तोमतघासो अर्के । आग्ने याहि सुविदत्रेभिरवाद् सत्यैः क्रवै
 पितृभिर्भर्मसज्जिः ॥ ९ ये सत्यासो हविरेदो हविष्या इन्द्रेण देवैः सरथं दधाना । आग्ने याहि
 सहस्र देववन्द्यैः परैः पूर्वैः पितृभिर्भर्मसज्जिः ॥ १० अग्निगवात्ता पितर एह गच्छत सद् सद् सद्दत
 सुप्रणीतयः । अन्ता हवींनि प्रयतानि बर्हिषपथा रथि सर्व वीर दधातन ॥ ११ त्वमग्रा ईळितो
 जातवेदोऽशाङ्कूपानि सुरभीणि कृत्वा । प्रादाः पितृभ्य स्वधया तेऽक्षयान्नि त्वं देव प्रयता
 हवींनि ॥ १२ ये चेह पितरो ये च नेह याश्च विश्व थां उ च न प्रविश्र । त्वं वेथ यति ते
 जातवेदः स्वधाभिर्यज्ञं सुकृतं जुषस्व ॥ १३ ये अग्निदग्धा ये अनग्निदग्धा मध्ये द्विव स्वधया
 मादयन्ते । तेभिः स्वराळुजनीतिमेता यथावज्ञं तन्वं कल्पयस्व ॥ १४

क्र. १० १५. नैनमग्ने वि द्दो माभि शोचो मास्य त्वचं चिक्षिपो ना शरीरम् । यदा श्रुतं
 कृणोने जातवेदोऽथेमेनं प्रहिष्यतात्पितृभ्य ॥ १ श्रुतं यदा करासि जातवेदोऽथेमेनं परि दत्तात्पितृभ्यम् ।
 यदा गच्छत्युजनीतिमेतानां देवाना वक्रासीर्भवाति ॥ २ सूर्यं चक्षुर्गच्छतु वातमात्सा धां च गच्छ
 पृथिवीं च धर्मणा । अपो वा गच्छ यद्वि तत्र ते हितमोषधीषु प्रति तिडा करारैः ॥ ३ अजो भागस्त-
 पता त सपस्व तं ते शोचिस्तपुत तं ते अर्चिः । यास्ते शिवास्तन्वो जातवेदस्ताभिर्हिनं सुकृताड
 लोकम् ॥ ४ अव सृज युनमग्ने पितृभ्यो यस्त आहुतश्चरति स्वधाभि । आयुर्वसान उप वेतु ज्ञेयः
 स गच्छतां तन्वा जातवेद ॥ ५ यत्ते कृण्व ककुन आहुतोद पिपीलः सर्प उत वा स्वापदः ।
 अग्निदहिश्वावाद् कृणोतु सोमश्च यो ब्राह्मणो आविवेका ॥ ६ अग्नेर्वमं परि गोभिर्वयस्व सं मोर्षुण्व
 पीवसा मेदसा च । नेत्वा धृण्यूर्हरसा जर्हृषाणो दधुग्विधदयन् पर्यङ्कृषाते ॥ ७ हृतमग्ने चमसं मा
 वि जिह्वः । मियो देवानासुत सोम्यानाम् । एय यश्चमसो देवपानस्तस्मिन्देवा अमुता मादयन्ते ॥ ८
 क्रव्यादमग्निं म हिणोमि दूरं यमराक्षो गच्छतु रिमबाह । इहैवायमितरो जातवेदा देवेभ्यो हव्यं
 बहद प्रजानन् ॥ ९ यो आग्ने क्रव्यात्प्रविवेका वो गृहनिर्मं पश्यकितर जातवेदस्य । तं हरामि
 पितृयज्ञाय देवं अ धर्मीमन्वात्परमे सधरथे ॥ १० यो आग्नेः क्रव्यावाहनः पितृन्यक्षदताहृधः ।
 मेतु हव्यानि वोचति देवेभ्यश्च पितृभ्य आ ॥ ११ उजान्तस्त्वा नि धीमस्तुजान्तः सन्निधीमहि ।
 उवाङ्कृशत आ बह पितृन्सुहविषे अचवे ॥ १२ य त्वमग्ने समदहस्तसु निर्वारपया पुनः । कियाम्बव
 रोहदु पाकृद्वा ब्यरुकाज्ञा ॥ १३ शीतिके शीतिकावति ह्लादिके ह्लादिकावति । मण्डूक्या ३
 सु सं गम इम स्वर्गनि हव्यं १४

क्र. १०. १५ एवडा दृष्टिने बहदु कृणोतीतीदं विश्वं सुवर्नं समेति । यमस्य माता पर्युदा-
 माना नदोः जात्या विवस्वतां ननाज्ञा ॥ १ अपायर्हृजमृतां मरत्येभ्य कृत्वी सवर्णामिदुर्विवस्वते ।
 उताभिवनावभरथत्तदासीदजहाडु हा मिथुना सरण्युः ॥ २ पूषा स्वेतभ्यावयतु प्र विद्माननट-
 पशुर्ध्वनरय गोपाः । स त्वैतम् । परि ददत्पितृभ्योऽग्निर्देवेभ्यः सुविदत्रियेभ्यः ॥ ३ आयुर्विश्वायुः
 परि पासति त्वा पूषा त्वा पादु प्रपथे पुरस्तात् । यज्ञासते सुकृतो यत्र ते ययुस्तत्र त्वा देवः सविता
 दधातु ॥ ४ पूषेमा आशा अह्य वेद सर्वाः सो अस्मां अभयतमेन नेपत् । स्वस्तिदा आघृणि सर्व-
 वीरोऽप्रयच्छुत्पु एतु प्रजानन् ॥ ५ प्रपथे पथामजनिद पूषा प्रपथे दिवः प्रपथे पृथिव्याः । उमे अभि
 मियतमे सधरथे आ च परा च चरति प्रजानन् ॥ ६ सरस्वती देवयन्तो हवन्ते सरस्वतीमधरे
 तायमाने । सरस्वती सुकृतो अह्ययन्त सरस्वती दाशुपे वार्यं दात् ॥ ७ सरस्वति या सरथं यथाथ
 स्वधाभिर्देवि पितृभिर्भदन्ती । आसयारिमन् बर्हिषि मादयस्वानमीवा इय अ धेत्स्यते ॥ ८
 सरस्वती यां पितरो हवन्ते दक्षिणा यज्ञमभिनक्षमाणाः । सहस्राधर्मिको अत्र भागं रायस्वोर्ध

यजमानेषु येहि ॥ १ आपो अत्मान्मातरः शुन्धयन्तु वृतेन नो वृत्तव्यः पुनस्तु । त्रिष्वं हि रिषं प्रवहन्ति देवीषद्विद्यायः शुचिरा पूत एनि ॥ १० द्रुप्तश्चरत्कन्द मघनो अह्युनिने च योनिस्तु यश्च पूर्व । समानं योनिमह्यु संचरन्तं द्रुप्तं शुद्धोन्पु सत होवाः ॥ ११ यस्ते द्रुप्त स्तुन्दसि यस्ते अंशुर्वाहुच्युतो धियणाया उपरयात् । अश्वयोर्वी परि वा यः पवित्रात्वं ते शुद्धोनि मनसा वपदकृतम् ॥ १२ यस्ते द्रुप्तः स्तुको यस्ते अंशुवश्व य परः सुचा । अयं देवो हृदयति तं वं सिञ्चतु राधसे ॥ १३ पयस्वतीरोपधयः पयस्वनामकं वचः । अपां पयस्वद्विपयस्तेन ना सह शुन्धत ॥ १४

अ. १०. १० परं भूत्यो अह्यु परेहि पश्यां यस्ते च इतरो देवयानात् । चक्षुष्मते शृण्वते ते जवीनि ना नः प्रजां रीरियो नोत वीरात् ॥ ११ सृत्योः पदं योपयन्तो यदेत द्वाधीय आहु प्रतर दधानाः । आत्पायनानाः प्रजया धनेन शुद्धा पूता भवत यज्ञिभासः ॥ १२ इमे जीवा वि भूतेरा पृथक्प्रभुद्वद्वा देवहितोर्नो अद्य । प्राञ्चो अगम सृते ये ह्यताय द्वाधीय आहु प्रतरं दधाना ॥ ३ इमं जीवेभ्यः परिधिं दधानि नैयां तु गावपरो अर्थमेतत् । इतं जीवन्तु क्रुदं दुल्लुकीरन्वहृत्सु वधतां पर्वतेन ॥ ४ यथाहापुष्टपूर्वं भवन्ति यथ ऋतवः सद्गमिर्गन्ति साहु । यथा न पूर्वमपरो जहात्येवा घातराद्युपि कल्पयेयात् ॥ ५ आ रोहतासुर्जसं वृणाना अह्युर्दे यतमाना पाति इ । इह त्वदा शुजनिमा संजोपा दीर्घिनायुः कराति जीवसे वः ॥ ६ इमा नारीपविधवा ह्युपनीराजनेन सर्पिया सं विद्वन्तु । अनश्रवोऽननीवाः सुरत्ना आ रोहन्तु जनयो योनिने ॥ ७ उदीर्घं नारीभि जीवलोकं गतासुनेतसुप जेप एहि । हस्त्याभरप द्विधियोत्तवेदे पत्युर्जीनिस्वमभि सं वसुध ॥ ८ यद्धर्स्ताद्वाददानो सुतरपारमे क्षत्राय वचसे नहाय । अत्रैव त्वनिह वय सुर्वीर विश्वाः सुधो अभिमातीर्जयेम ॥ ९ उप सर्प नातरं भूतिनेताहुरयचसं पूथिर्वा सुनेवाद् । ऊर्ण-प्रदा सुवतिर्द्विज्ञिणावत एया त्वा पातु निर्कतेकपरयात् ॥ १० उच्छुञ्चस्त पूथिभि मा नि बाधयाः

सूपायनास्ते भव ह्यपञ्चना । नामा पुत्रं यथा तित्वाभ्येनं भूम ऊर्णहि ॥ ११ उच्छुञ्चना पूथिबी हु तित्तु सहस्रं नित उप हि अयन्तात् । ते गृहासो वृवश्चतो भवन्तु विश्वाहास्ते क्षाणाः सन्वत्र ॥ १२ उते स्तन्मानि पूथिर्वा तत्परीनं लोपं निदधन्मो अर्ह रिषद् । एता सुधुणां पितरौ भारयन्तु तेऽजा यम सादना ते निनोह ॥ १३ प्रतीचीने नामहनीत्वाः पर्णनिवा द्युः । प्रतीचीं क्रमभा वाचमश्वं रक्षानया यथा ॥ १४

Note 693a आशौचदशका of विज्ञानेश्वर

नातुर्गर्भविपत्त्वर्षं त्रिदिवसं नासन्नयेऽतो यथा मासाहं त्रिषु च्चविकाविधिरत स्नान पितु सर्वदा । ज्ञातीना पतनादि जातमरणे पित्रोर्दशाहं सदा नाम्नः भाक्षु तदपेति सूतकवनाद् भ्रातुर्दशाहं परम् ॥ १

ज्ञातीनां वक्षानात्सुराद् व्रतविधेः प्रागास्योऽशुल्क्यहं चोटाद् भाग्दहनान्शये परमहर्नाम्नो ह्यन्तात् उपहम् । त्यागे चैवमद्य व्रताद्दशादिनं जन्मन्यपीत्यं नदा मासं पुंस्यसते तु मातरपरत्रैतद्दशाहाधिकम् ॥ २

कन्यात्वापुत्रितासुराद्यद्य दिने दाने उपहं चोभयो— जात्युक्तसृष्टसम्भवे पितृकुलस्पोडाह्य महर्भवेत् । सूतास्वाह्य सृमाह्य वा पितृगृहे तरप त्रिप्रात्रं दिनं तत्पस्य पराश्रयास्वपि तथा भर्त्रोश्च तत्पस्योः ॥ ३

दाहाद्याह्येवद्विकेपु मरणाद्येषु तेषां पुनः— संस्कारे उपहमाहिलान्निविषये तस्मिन्दशाहं त्वधम् । शिष्टाहं विदितेन्नरा दशादिनेषुते उपहं त्वापयोऽ त्यन्दे द्यादृत्कालार्जं न जनने नैवाह्यपेतात्यये ॥ ४

ह्यद्धिः पूर्वसमाप्तिः सप्तशयोर्योगिनंदं स्रुतिकां
हिल्वैवं मृतनन्मनोर्मुतवशाद्बुर्वल्पयोर्दीर्घतः ।
अल्पात्यद्भदिनाधिकाद्दशदिनीं गच्छेत्तदशाहागमः
पूर्वस्याल्पदिने यदि द्विदिवसाच्छुभ्येत्प्रभाते त्रयहात् ॥ ५

उत्पन्ने त्रिदिने मृतेऽप्युपनयाद्दूर्ध्वं समानोदके
शुभे चैवमनौरसेऽन्यपितृजे भेते तथा सोदरे ।
मातृभ्रातृपितृस्वसृश्वशुरतत्पत्न्यास्विगात्रार्तद्—
भायोतत्सुतयाज्यशिश्यशृहसपासेषु वा ज्ञातिसु ॥ ६

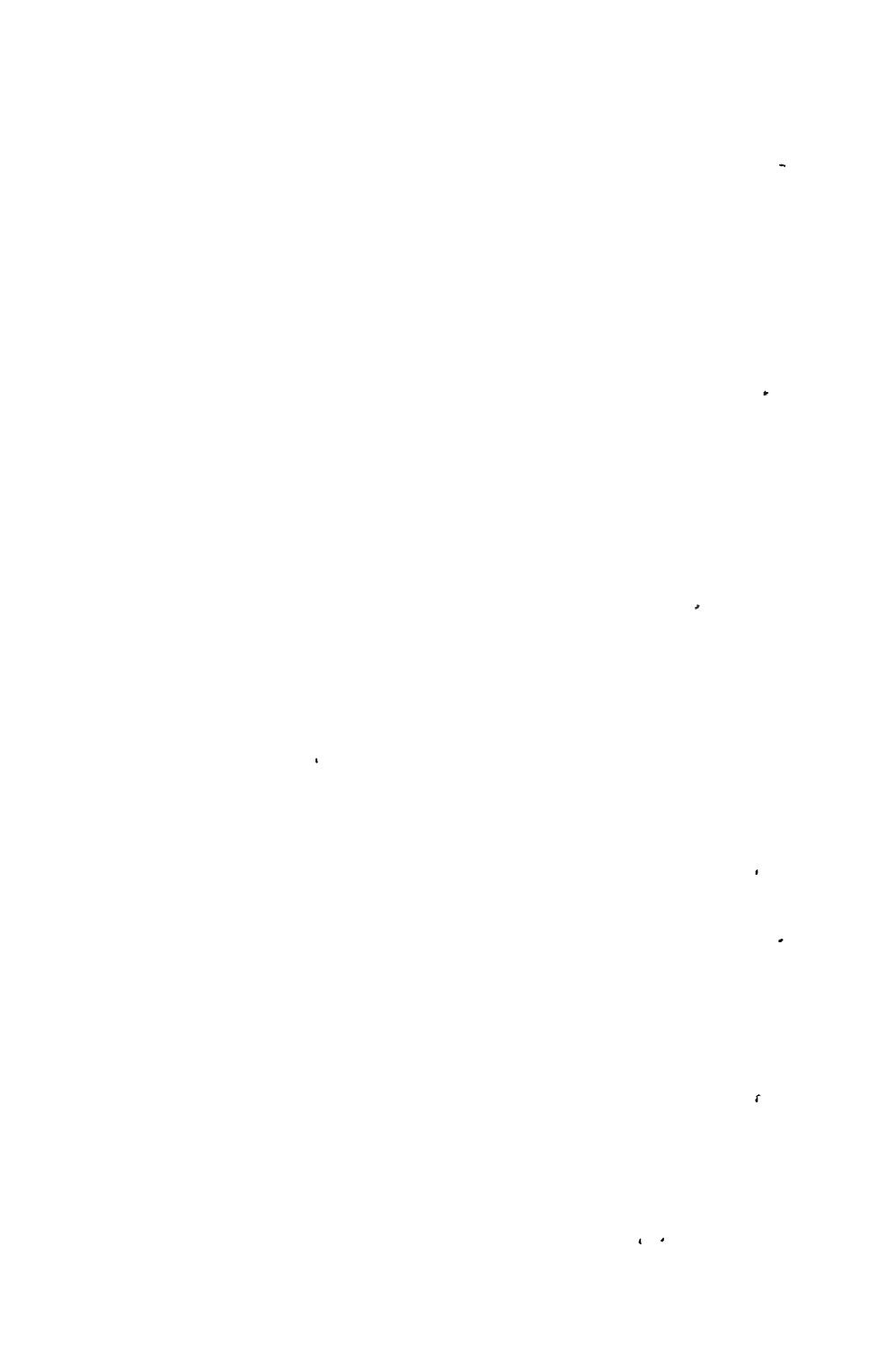
पित्रोस्तत्सदृजेषु तत्सुतपतिष्वन्योन्यतः पक्षिणी
स्यादेकाध्ययनेपि सा शुरुसुहृद्भूपस्वसुर्पेणवः ।
सृष्ट्वास्तिष्ठन् त्रिदिने दिने ह्यु विरसेऽशुभ्या ऋवाचामकौ
शिष्ट भोक्तृषेत्तच्छुद्धयधिक मोहाद्द्विदिने चापदि ॥ ७

सद्यः स्यात्कृपकाचदासभियजां कृत्येण्वमात्यस्य वा
कटापस्तु च पूर्वसंभृतमखोद्वाहोत्सवादिष्वपि ।
कृच्छ्रादिष्वयुहाश्रमेषु वसतां भेते यतौ निवृत्ते
गोमायादिभिरिच्छता च मरणे तत्रापि वैधे त्रयहम् ॥ ८

निर्हारे मृतवस्तुताञ्जराहिते जीष्यज्यवासे दिन
सज्योतिस्तु बहिर्भूतौ द्विसृणितं धर्मे सचैलाह्वयः ।
रोदे स्नानमनस्थि वाचमनका ह्रीनेषु राज्याह्वयौ
शुद्धे ह्यु त्रिदिने निशापयज्यतां बहून्यादियुक्तं च तत् ॥ ९

क्षत्रे द्वादश विंशतिर्विंशि निशा. त्रिंशच्च शुद्धे क्रमाद्—
विमाद्द्विचतुसृणा वयसि सच्छुद्धे ह्यु पञ्चाशुरे ।
मत्तखीसुतशिश्यदासभृतका भ्रातृवद् भान्धवे
ह्रीने स्वं लज्ज वा तदीयमधिके शुद्धे. समा. सङ्कराः ॥ १०

The text of the आशौचदशक here printed is based on three mss. from the Deccan College collection (now at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona), viz. No. 216 of 1879-80 copied in *samvat* 1539 (1482 A. D.), No. 196 of 1884-1887 copied in *samvat* 1578 (1521 A. D.) and No 85 of 1895-1902 copied in *samvat* 1780. All these mss. contain the *bhāṣya* of Harhara, which ascribes the work to विज्ञानेश्वर In the first ms the commentary on the first three verses is wanting. I intended at first to give explanations in Sanskrit of these verses (as p 308 will indicate) but owing to considerations of space I omitted the Sanskrit explanations.



GENERAL INDEX

OF

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