SECTION II

1. The Data from the Sutra Texts

2. The Data from the Dharmaśastras or Smṛtis.
1. THE DATA FROM THE SUTRA TEXTS

In this chapter I shall study and examine the data collected from the *sutra* literature. I have studied the following treatises from *sutra* literature:


3) The *Kausītaka Grhyā Sūtra* or the *Śambavya Grhyā Sūtra* (*Kau.GrS*) edited by T. R.

1. Dr V. M. Apte in his *Social and Religious Life in the Grhyā Sūtras*, p. xx mentions the *Śambavya* and *Kausītaka* as two separate *Grhyā Sūtras*. After critically examining the *Catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit MSS*. (Whish Collection No. 78) compiled by Dr M. Winternitz, I have found that *Śambavya GrS* and *Kausītaka GrS* is the name of one and the same Ms. This Ms. is also discussed by Oldenberg in his *Śankhāyana GrS* (p. 9) *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXIX. I have independently scrutinized the text given in the above Catalogue and one of the *Kausītaka GrS*. and found that *Śambavya* and *Kausītaka* denote one and the same *Grhyasūtra*.

Cintāmanī T. R. in his *Edition of the Kausītaka GrS* holds the same view as expressed by Oldenberg. Cintāmanī T. R. also refers to Whish Collection Vol. 78.
Chintamani.

These three belonged to the RV.


5) The Bharadvāja Grhya Sūtra (Bhā GrS) edited by H. J. W. SolomonS.


7) The Kathaka Grhya Sūtra (Kāṭ. GrS) edited by Dr. W. Caland.


These seven from 4-10 belong to the Black RV.


This belongs to the White RV.


These three from 12-14 belong to Sāma Veda.
15) The Kausika Sutra (Kausika S.)

This belongs to the AV.


L. A. Ravivarma.

17) The Sankhalikhita Grhya Sutra (Sankh. GrS)

edited by Dr P. V. Kane.

18) The Apastamba Dharma Sutra (Apa. Dh.S)

19) The Gautama Dharma Sutra (Gau. Dh.S)

20) The Baudhavansa Dharma Sutra (Bau. Dh.S)

21) The Vasistha Dharma Sutra (Vas. Dh.S)

I propose to present the data from the Grhya Sutras in three parts as follows:

I) The preparation and rites preceding the actual marriage ceremony.

II) The marriage ceremony proper.

III) Uttar-vivaha-karmaṇi or the Post Marriage Rites.

IV) The rites and other customs following the marriage ceremony.

I) The preparation and rites preceding the actual marriage ceremony

All the Grhyasutras describe some rites and customs preceding to the actual marriage rite which starts with Hastagrānha. As we shall see the Grhya Sutras discuss the proper time for marriage, the qualities of a good bride and a good groom, the preparations about the material that will be required
during the rite, preparing the bride and the groom for marriage, sending the wooers to approve the bridegroom, the karakas i.e. the instruments of accomplishment in marriage and the forms of marriage, along with madhupark and kanyadana as part of the discussion of the pre-marriage rite. I propose to give analytical details of these in the following pages:

a) **The time for marriage**

All the Grhya Sutras are unanimous about one thing that the marriage should be during the northern course of the sun and on an auspicious day. Only the Śrauta GrS does not discuss this topic.

1) "The Par. GrS says that it should be performed under one of the three nakṣatras of which Uttarā is the first". It further says that it should be performed under Mrugasirsa or Rohini.

2) The Dhāraṇī, the Gob. GrS, Kāraṇa, and the Kau. GrS mentions only an auspicious day during the northern course of the sun but do not make any reference to the nakṣatra.

3) The Āpasa GrS gives more details "All seasons

1. उदयमने आयोजनाये पो - पुष्यादे कुमाराये: पारि गुरुनायकस् ॥१५॥ किशोरा विद्वतादिकः ॥१६॥ स्ताते नुशस्वर रोहिन्येन वानस्या। Par. GrS I.4. 5-7.

2. कब्र ऋषोऽविलाह्य सेतुर राशी मासो परिस्थितः।। - Āpasa GrS I.2.12.
are fit for marriage with the exceptions of two Sisira months and the last of the summer month. The wooers are sent during the Invakā-ṇaksatras. It also says that in the Makhā-ṇaksatras two cows are given to the bride’s father and the bride is brought in Phālguni. This refers to Arsa form of marriage.

4) The Hir. GrŚ specifies the time for marriage as during the day time. It may be performed at the break of the day, during mid-morning, at noon, during afternoon or the evening of an auspicious day. From this it is clear that it was not a practice to perform the main rite during night time as no sutra mentions the night. However, in the modern times the main marriage rite amongst the Punjabis, Gujarathis and Upians takes place at night.

5) The Bha. GrŚ states that some people perform marriage even during the southern course of the sun. It further says that if performed on an inauspicious day the marriage may not be successful.

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1. Ṛpa. GrŚ. I.2.16. also cf. शिन्तव्याक्ष्ठदोऽपि निर्दासाट्टस्वाटि । 11411
   Ṛpa. GrŚ. I.3.4-5
2. Ṛpa. GrŚ. I.3.
3. cf. RV X.85.13. कथयु हन्नन्ते मायया गायोऽद्वैन्योऽऽपि पुष्के प्रते ॥
4. अहुः पञ्जु कालेशु प्रातः संबोधनन्तनिन न्यायायं संवच्च कृष्णोऽश्वाणुगाह त्यं कुलते । Hir. GrŚ. VI.3. p 39.
6) The Kāti Griffith also makes a reference to nakṣatras. "The marriage should be arranged during the nakṣatras preceding Kṛttikā and Śvātī. The rite should take place in Rāhuṇī, Mṛkṣasīras, Śravisthā and Uttara nakṣatras. Further the text says that the daughter should be married according to the recommendation of astrology."

The Bau. Griffith states that the groom sends the messengers during the northern course of the sun, when the moon is increasing and under auspicious star. It states that the marriage can be performed during any month.

From the above data it is clear that all the Grhyasūtras wanted that the marriage rites should take place under auspicious nakṣatra. All except the Bha. Griffith prescribe that it should be performed during the northern course of the sun.

Performing marriage during waxing moon seems to be a universally popular custom. According to Hastings (E. E. R Vol. VIII p. 455) among modern Parsis full-moon-day is chosen for betrothal. The Kacins of Burma fear that their lives will be shortened if the marriage takes place in the waning moon. The

1. Kṛtikāsūtra: avartā | Kāti Griffith (p. 54)
   RōhiniṣṇuŚuddhiṃ: abikatā guṇarājanītā | Ibid. p. 56
Savras of Rajmahal Hills believe that consummation in waning moon results in general bad luck and the barrenness of the bride. (vide Westermarck’s History of Human Marriage, Vol. II p. 568). In Dukkal in Morocco the marriage is said to be held in full moon in order to be safe from robbers (vide p. 572 of History of Human Marriage, Vol. II by Westermarck).

b) The qualities of an acceptable bride

The Drā. Grā. the Pār. Grā and the Kha. Grā do not at all discuss what qualities should a maiden possess in order to be chosen as a bride. On the other hand the Hr. Grā, the Bha. Grā, the Śan. Grā, the Vār. Grā, the Jai. Grā and the Dharmaśtras discuss it right at the outset. The Gob. Grā, the Āpa. Grā and the Āśv. Grā first propound the proper time for marriage and then proceed to deal with the qualities of the bride. The Mān. Grā first discusses the proper time for marriage followed by the discussion of the instruments of accomplishment in marriage (kārakas) and qualities of the bride.

1) The Āśv. Grā gives the first place to the examination of the family of the bride or the bride-groom. The commentator says that even though the


कृष्णम् परभोत्य ये मातुरः पितृद्वैतिकि योवर्तं
पुरस्ताद् ।
bride possessed other good qualities she may not be considered if she does not belong to a good family. Thus her or his family is of the prime importance.

All other Grhya Sutras are, however, silent about this aspect.

2) The San. Grs² and the kau. Grs state that all the limbs of the bride should be proportionate; her hair should be smooth to touch. The bride should also have at her neck two curls turned to the right. It was believed that the girl who was lucky enough to possess these curls would give birth to six heroic sons.

3) The Āpa. Grs³ gives a detailed description about the choice of the bride. The bridegroom should avoid one who has been given to another, or

1. सम्पन्नेन्द्रियम् गुणेनु कुल्लेव क्रिष्णनाधिति प्रमद्वनार्थम्।
2. वद्वस्मि ग्रह्यामधव: वनि त्या त्याति केसान्त:।
3. द्वारा नेतृत्व सङ्करेयं विचीरा विना:।

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1. अनुपनेंद्रियं गुणेनु कुल्लेव क्रिष्णनाधिति प्रमद्वनार्थम्।
2. वद्वस्मि ग्रह्यामधव: वनि त्या त्याति केसान्त:।
3. द्वारा नेतृत्व सङ्करेयं विचीरा विना:।
who is guarded by her relatives. He should avoid the one who looks wicked, and also the one who is exceedingly beautiful, or the one who has withered limbs and so unfit for marriage. He should also not choose one who is a hunch-back, or a girl of monstrous appearance. A bald-headed girl, a girl whose skin is like that of a frog, a girl who has gone over to another family should also be avoided. A girl given to sensuous pleasures, or a herdess or one who has many friends should not be selected. A girl who has a fine looking younger sister or whose age is too near to that of the bride-groom should not be approved.

This list of the non-acceptable characteristics of a marriageable girl is very exhaustive. The last but one quality i.e. having a beautiful younger sister is rather peculiar. Perhaps it was doubted that the groom may want to have sex relations with his fine looking sister-in-law in years to come or he may repent having selected the elder sister. Any way this reflects that an experienced mind with deep thought is responsible for the above words. None other of the Grhya Sutras give such a detailed treatment to this topic.

It must be noted that Man. Gr. S² speaks of one

1. The meaning of Sarabha according to M. William.
2. 'सनानवली'.
quality which is not covered in the above list viz. the
sameness of complexion i.e. a fair groom should have a
fair bride and vice-a-versa. The word varna can be
interpreted to mean 'class' also i.e. a brahmaṇa should
marry only a brahmaṇi or a vaisya should marry only a
vaisyā and so on.

and the Var.Gṛ.S also say that the bride should be younger
than her husband.

4) The Āpa.Gṛ.S further says that the girls bearing
the names of the stars, rivers and trees should be
avoided. Those in whose name the last but one letter is
'ra' should be avoided. The Agn.Gṛ.S also says that she
should not bear the same name as the star, river or tree.
There seems to be some popular belief behind this Taboo.
Perhaps the names of rivers, stars and trees, while used
for the maidens were considered inauspicious. However,
in later ages, Ganga, Jamuna, Rohini, Svati etc., i.e.
names of rivers and stars became popular as names of
female folk.


2. नस्तूद्यात्त्वं विद्यानायुक्ताम् । । - p.34
4. जुमुद्यानाम् । - Mān.Gṛ.S. I.7.8
and the Agn.Gr.\(^1\) expressly state that the bride to be chosen must be a virgin. She must not have enjoyed sexual pleasure before marriage. The Ṛṣe.Gr.\(^2\) also indirectly emphasizes the chastity on the part of the bride in as much as it forbids marriage with a girl guarded by her relatives, a herdess, a girl having too many friends and a girl given to sensuous pleasures. The Agn.Gr.\(^3\) when it says that the maiden should not be very much talked about or the Ṛṣe.Gr.\(^4\) when it says that 'she should be excellent' or the Bha.Gr.\(^5\) when it says 'not one who is given to roaming about' does have this quality of chastity in mind. Thus it was required that a maiden to be eligible for being a bride must be a virgin.

6) Another peculiar word used by the Vai.Gr.\(^6\), the Ṛṣe.Gr.\(^7\), the Hir.Gr.\(^8\), and the Gob.Gr.\(^9\) is 'nagnika'. Literally it means a naked girl. The Jai.Gr.\(^10\) uses the word 'anagnika' which is the opposite of the word 'nagnika'. The commentator on Gob.Gr.\(^11\) views that Nagnika\(^12\) is a girl

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1. भव्यसारियिम्। P.34.

2. भूकताम्।

3. केताम्।

4. न चरतिः।

5. जयो विन्द्यसारियिस्ता समानातिवायम्।etc. Jai.Gr.\(^1\) I.20.p.19.

6. 'नरिन्द्रधान्यागारात्रेताहै' ता तु भैलेत्स्ता लाहुस्व-दतापुग्गोभिविद्धिः। केविद्व व्याकति। - Gobhilasūtravṛtti. III.4.6.
who has not attained puberty. He gives quotations from Manu, Vīṇu, Sambarta, Gotama, Māhātmya etc. to support this view.

He further states that it is preferable for the father of the bride to give a daughter in marriage who can move about without clothes. No complications would perhaps arise if young daughter is given away in marriage. He quotes a verse to support his argument that a man must marry a maiden śṛṣṭhā i.e. beautiful. The views expressed by the commentator of the Manu, Gṛ.Ś. are also the same as above. But in his opinion the word 'nagnikā' is used because the real beauty of a woman can be judged only when she is not wearing anything. The colourful garments and the dazzling ornaments may conceal her physical disability. He quotes Manu to support his argument. Mātṛdatta on Hir.Gṛ.Ś. interprets the word as one fit for enjoying sexual pleasure. (maithumāriḥ).

Aśṭāvakra on Manu Gṛ.Ś. understands nagnikā to denote a girl who has not attained womanhood (apraptasattrībhāva). A commentator on Jai.Gṛ.Ś. I.20 also understands the word to denote a girl who has not attained maturity.

1. 'गोरो' कायवर्गस्त्रां ती वा कृष्णुपाक्षु | ... ... ... ... ... 
दातवयु 'नस्मिनका केशो न नवेऽन स्निकास्य स्वार्ष्य कः प्रसंवल्लः |

नस्मिकाप्राप्तस्त्रीमायायम्यकरस्यामुद्धवोक्ते तथा केशो स्नी-
श्लायेन्तात्वा निष्ठर्वः। नान्यहलास्याये मेयोनत्यं कन्यायो किष्ठे।
अनेकलस्येगम मूनानवत् स्त्रीरत्नम, दुक्कालादिपि ... etc.
Vasistha Dh. S. XVII. 70 states that anagnikā i.e. a maiden who had attained puberty should be given in marriage.

The word anagnikā itself seems to have undergone a change of meaning. During the period of the Grhya Sūtras, it denoted a maiden fit to be enjoyed sexually. Because all the Gr. S., as we shall see later on, describe the rite to be performed on the fourth day from marriage. This is a rite at the end of which the husband cohabits for the first time with his wife. Unless the bride had attained puberty and was fully grown up, this is not possible. Hence the word anagnikā does not denote a very young girl as maintained by later commentators.

7) Most of the Grhya Sūtras express that the maiden should have those characteristics which indicate that she will be a successful wife by making her husband and his household happy. The Bha. Gr. S. says that 'he should enquire about her auspicious marks. The smart one should bring clods of earth'. The groom was very anxious to know if his bride would give birth to good healthy male children and whether she would give birth to learned sons or to warriors or to ascetics. Hence they had devised a mysterious method of finding this out which may be described as 'Method of

1. कृपणकर्म 1
3. 'प्रथमगत्यापल्लिता मूर्त्या नि परिपुष्पेक्ष्युरा शेषठानाहिरेत' 1 — Bha. Gr. S. I. 11., p. 11.
Covered Clods’. A number of clods made of earth from different places like cowpen, cemetery, quadrangles where four roads met etc were brought to the girl. They were of equal size and were brought to the bride nicely covered. It was believed that the future character of her children, would be indicated by her choice of the clods.

The Kat. Gr. S\(^1\) gives the maximum number of the clods. It prescribes that nine clods should be brought: (1) a clod of the earth from the altar (2) a clod of earth from recently ploughed fields (3) a clod of earth from water receptacle (4) a clod of earth from cow-pen (5) a clod of earth from smuggler’s den (6) a clod of earth from cemetery (7) a clod of earth from a square where four roads meet (8) a clod of earth from desert and (9) a clod of earth which is a mixture of all the preceding ones. The Kat. Gr. S\(^2\) further recommends that the groom should marry one who picks up a clod from the first four\(^2\). The last four are not favourable. The clod of earth from the square is not acceptable because her sons may turn out to be wanderers. The Kat. Gr. S.

1. मानयामिनी वा पिण्डे: परिक्रेतु ||4|| केषा: सीतायाः
हुदादानोऽतादादेवनादादनाःकुक्ष्यादिरिवाससमाः नवमम||5||
- Kat. Gr. S. pp. 54-55.

2. पुरुषार्थी कुर्णीमेके गुहजन्तिषुपयुक्तः ||4||
- Kat. Gr. S. p. 56.
says that the groom should take the clods to her reciting a mantra\(^1\) in which her name is inserted in the place of 'asau'. The \(\tilde{\text{A}}\text{sv. Gr. S.}\)\(^2\) also gives a mantra to be recited by the groom while he carries the clods to the girl.

The \(\tilde{\text{M}}\text{an. Gr. S.}\) mentions eight clods of earth. They include 1, 2, 6 and 8 from above. The other four are 3. a lump made of duru grass, 4. a lump made of the cow-dung, 5. a clod of earth from under the tree bearing fruits and 7. a clod of earth mixed with honey. The \(\tilde{\text{Bh}}\text{a. Gr. S.}\) and the \(\tilde{\text{Apa. Gr. S.}\) suggest to carry only five clods of earth. 1) a clod of seeds mixed together, 2) a clod of earth from the vedi, 3) a clod of earth from the field, 4) a clod of cow-dung, 5) a clod of earth from the cemetery. The \(\tilde{\text{V}}\text{ar. Gr. S.}\) mentions only four excluding the first one from the above five.

The \(\tilde{\text{Agu. Gr. S.}}, \text{ the Kau. Gr. S.}, \text{ the Hir. Gr. S.}, \text{ the Vai. Gr. S.}, \text{ the Jai. Gr. S.} \text{ and the S\text{an. Gr. S.} do not explain this system of clods.}

The \(\tilde{\text{K\text{a}}. \text{Gr. S.}}\) mentions that one may take the help from astrology for choosing bride. This is an alternative suggested by the author for the above system

\begin{enumerate}
\item 'रब्ध नियम पुविष्की' शिता सर्वं निदिष्टंमयी शुभसु ' शितिः
\quad -\quad \tilde{\text{K\text{a. Gr. S.}}} \text{ p.}56
\item \text{रब्धमध्ये प्रवर्ये जवं जवे कल्यं प्रतिविद्यमधु}
\text{यद्विं कुमायोमिनता सम्बन्धिक श्रीक्षणवती}
\text{तस्यत्वं तत्तरंते} \text{ ॥}
\quad -\quad \tilde{\text{A\text{sv. Gr. S. I.V.5.}}}
\end{enumerate}
of clods.

A similar practice is found in Norway. The bridegroom keeps three bottles on the table containing water, beer and wine. If she drinks water she will be poor, if she drinks beer then the two will go on well together, and if she drinks wine they will be rich. The contents of all the three bottles are concealed from her.

It is evident that there is no logic behind these conjectures. The curiosity to know about the future of the married life is behind this practice and belief. In modern times it is a fashion to examine the horoscopes of the persons concerned. In this computer age, it is well known that the computers help the marriageable people to find out a right partner who will lead to happy and prosperous married life. Thus was the practice prevailing at the time of the Gṛhya Sūtras for finding out a proper match. Similar type of practice exists among Maharastriyans for finding out the sex of the offspring which an expecting wife is going to deliver. A plate in which five covered bowls are kept is brought to pregnant woman. These bowls contain five different milk-preparations. Some of these preparations are denoted by masculine nouns, others by feminine. If the woman touches the masculine-named preparation she will deliver a

boy but otherwise she will give birth to a girl. Thus it is an attempt to guess about the future.

3) The Grhya Sutras make a clear reference to gotra, asapinda and pravara as related to marriage. The Hir.Gr.S., the Jai.Gr.S., the Agn.Gr.S. and the Vai.Gr.S. state that the bride should not belong to the same gotra as that of the bridegroom. The Jai.Gr.S., the Agn.Gr.S. and the Vai.Gr.S. state that she should not be from the same family as her mother's. The Var.Gr.S. says that the marriage should be arranged with a family which does not have the same pravara, the seven forefathers of the relatives of the groom's father should not be the same as those of the bride's family. Later on while studying the Saurias we shall see that this was the limit of the asapinda, accepted by the Saurikaras also. These references to forbidding marriage between asgotras, asapindyas and saman a-pravaras are very important because these are the first clear usages of these terms as related to marriage. The fact that the marriage with a girl who has the same 'particles of body' (asapinda) as

1. मातृ-सपिंडा ।
2. अस्मान फ़रे: विवाहः कृत्वा सपिंडा सपिंडा निष्कृप्त्वम् यथास्पिंडा ।
3. Cf. also पण्यमि मातृवधुनुमयः सपिंडा निष्कृप्त्वम् ।
   - Vas.Dh.S. 8.2.
those of the mother of the bridegroom was prohibited indicates that the marriage with maternal uncle or cousins was not allowed.

The Gob. Gr. S. and the Hir. Gr. S. require that the bride to be selected should not belong to the same gotra as that of the bridegroom but they are silent about the sameness of pravara. The Man. Gr. S. and the Var. Gr. S. forbid marriage with a girl of the same pravara but they say nothing about the prohibition of the sameness of gotra. It is interesting that the Far. Gr. S. and the Asv. Gr. S. are quiet about both these prohibitions. The Agn. Gr. S. and the Var. Gr. S. state that she should be maturasapinda; but they do not refer to other two prohibitions. These facts indicate that the interrelation of the gotra, pravara and sapinda clearly emerged in the times of the Grhya Sutras. And that different practices were followed in the society.

9) The Man. Gr. S. and the Var. Gr. S. mention that the maiden should have a group of relatives 1. If one understands the word bandhu to mean a brother, it means that she should not be a brotherless maiden. As we have seen earlier, in the Vedic times brotherless maidens found it difficult to get married. Having brothers also indicates that she may give birth to sons.

10) The Asv. Gr. S. states that the girl should be

1. बन्धुक्तीम् 1
free from disease i.e. she should be healthy.

11) Only Jaï. Gr. 3 insists that the bride should be of the same caste as that of the bridegroom. All other Grhya Sutras are silent about this aspect.

12) The Apa. Gr. 3 and the Bha. Gr. 3 at the close of the discussion state "according to some if the girl pleases, the eye of a boy and his heart (mind) is set on her she will bring him prosperity; he need not regard any other girl". The Bha. Gr. 3 also opines in the same way.

This refers to what is described as 'love at first sight' in modern times. This suggests 'Gandharva Vivaha' and the author expresses his belief that such marriages were successful.

Only the Var. Gr. 3. 10. mentions that after selection of the bride he should give gift to the father, a couple of cows or hundred chariots. "The people from both the sides may exchange gifts". After exchanging the gifts they make four balls of cow dung. Each party presents two to the other party. "I am not giving sons or animals but I am giving what belongs to me". The other party says 'I accept' three times. This is done so as to avoid doubt in the minds of the people around. The author further

1. अरोगाम् । - Āśv. I.V.3.

2. क्षयु मनस्क्यो निबितत्स्थामितिदेवतादितीर्थकाः ।
   - Apa. Gr. 3. I.3.21

3. क्षयु क्षो नुस्भे चुरुच्च प्रतिपक्षे ।
   तो विभएलुणामकमकों वेष दानेन करिध्वंति ।।
   - Bha. Gr. 3. I.11.
makes a peculiar statement \(^1\) viz. that the daughter not born properly (meaning illegitimate one) should be given away without any religious rites.

c) The Selection of the Bridegroom

The selection of the bridegroom is also an equally important matter as the selection of the bride but this has not been given the same importance as the selection of the bride by the Grhya Sutras. Only a few of them discuss the topic.

1) The Dra. Gr. S. \(^2\), the Kha. Gr. S. \(^3\), the Hir. Gr. S. \(^4\) and the Jai. Gr. S. \(^5\) clearly mention that the unmarried youth observing celibacy (brahmacarya) should come to his parents after completing his studies. He should take bath to mark the completion of his studentship. He should decide to marry after they allow him to do so. Thus it was essential that he must have completed his studies and must have sought permission from the elders.

\[\begin{align*}
1. & \text{ अर्जुनाक्षेरस्मिन्वेदन्योगप्रमे} & - \text{ Var. Gr. S. I.10} \\
2. & \text{ श्रीस्वरीं प्रेमवृत्तास्यकाठाः सुमतेः सुब्रह्मण्यो मातो दाराकुलवत्} & - \text{ Dra. Gr. S. I.3.I.} \\
3. & \text{ Kha. Gr. S. I.3.1} \\
4. & \text{ Hir. Gr. S. p.39} \\
5. & \text{ Jai. Gr. S. I.20.}
\end{align*}\]
ii) Only \(\text{Apa.Gr.3}^1\) mentions \text{varasampat} i.e. the qualities which the husband should possess. 'Possessing brothers and purity of character, learning and freedom from diseases are the qualities of the bridegroom'. The bridegroom having many brothers was favoured because it indicated that he would be the father of many sons. As we have seen earlier men or women even during Vedic period found it difficult to get married if they were infested with some diseases\(^2\). The bridegroom was expected to be a healthy one.

iii) The \(\text{Man.Gr.3}^3\) speaks about the choice of the bridegroom and gives five instruments of accomplishment in marriage (\text{vivaha karaka}ni). The father of the maiden should first see that the would-be son-in-law possesses all of them. These \text{karakas} include wealth, handsomeness, knowledge, intelligence and relatives. This order is also very important. If the person has to give up one of these he should give up the first one i.e. wealth. This is because wealth is not an inherent quality with which one is born. But it is possible that a man who

\[
\begin{align*}
1. & \text{नन्युक्तिसम्पन्नः पुत्रान्तराणः चिति वरसम्पत्।} \text{Apa.Gr.3.I.3.20} \\
2. & \text{e.g. Ghoṣa in the Vedic Age who was helped by Asvins.} \\
3. & \text{प्रवियवाकारकानि मवशित विर्त मृष्य किधा प्रशा बान्धव चिती। जेकता लामे तिर्द किसनेत् द्वितीयालामे मृष्य कृत्तीयालामे किधा प्रशायी बान्धवक च चिती च।} \text{Man.Gr.3.I.7.6-7}.
\end{align*}
\]
is poor at the time of marriage may become rich later on or vice-versa. If one has to give up two karakas he must give up the first two i.e. wealth and physical beauty. Beauty is given next preference because marriage with a man who is not handsome has all the chances of becoming successful if he possesses the other qualities. Another reason is that as a person passes from his youth to old age his beauty withers away. The other qualities of learning, intelligence and having relatives are of more permanent nature. If he has to give up three he may give up learning. If a man is intelligent but not learned in the lore of the Vedas he can accomplish it later on. The two qualities which are indispensable are intellect and relatives. An intellectually dull person would not be able to face difficult situations in life successfully. It was necessary for the groom to have many relatives because then only the father of the bride could be assured of his daughter giving birth to many children preferably male. In those days the number of relatives increased the man-power of the joint household. More man-power meant more riches.

Along with the Man-Gr.Ś., the Bha-Gr.Ś.¹, and the Var-Gr.Ś.² also mention the Vivahakarakas. The

1. Bha-Gr.Ś. I.11
2. Var-Gr.Ś. p.11
Vai. Gr. S makes an indirect reference to it as qualities of the bridegroom. It says that he gives away his daughter for the attainment of religion, progeny and wealth, for satisfying brähmanas, devarṣīs and pītaras and for the deeds of bravery through progeny'.

Mr. J. W. Salomons in his edition of the Bha. Gr. S. states that this part looks very modern, particularly the statement that the life with a marriage partner without intellect is not possible. But from the examples of Raikva, Satya-kāma, Savaśā, Vajānvalkya, Naciketa and others it is clear that even during Vedic Age quality of intelligence was coveted and honoured by the people of that age. Moreover along with Bha. Gr. S., the Man. Gr. S., Vai. Gr. S. and Var. Gr. S. also give same importance to intelligence. Hence the above statement of Mr. Salomons is not acceptable.

d) The Special Customs followed by Different Tribes in Different Villages

There are some special customs followed by different people. These are not part and parcel of the marriage ritual and vary from place to place. The following Gṛhyaśūtras made a reference to these.

1) The Apa. Gr. S states that the rites performed

2. Vide Introduction p.11.
3. अन्नान्नद सिति: स्वातां! I.11.; p.11.
4. 'म-आरहल: क्; क्रिया: आक्त विति युटे।'
   - Comentary on Apa. Gr. S. I.2.15
without accompaniment of mantras are called *avṛta*. These customs differ from place to place. Old ladies know these rites in detail although they are not mentioned in the *Gṛhya* texts.

ii) *Asv. Gr. S*\(^1\) says that because of these differences in practice it would explain only those that are common to all.

iii) The *Par. Gr. S*\(^2\) also makes a similar reference. It says that the customs of individual towns should be followed during marriage and funeral rites. The *Vai. Gr. S*\(^3\) also mentions their existence.

Even in the modern society one finds that entirely different traditions are followed by different people. And in quite a few cases they are not accompanied by formulae.

e) The Forms of Marriage

(a) The *Asv. Gr. S*\(^4\) discusses the topic in detail and enumerates the eight forms of marriage as follows:

1. **Bṛhma** - A properly bedecked daughter is given away by her father. Her son was

1. \textit{Ab bṛhma varva jñapādāṁ prāṇāṁśv. }
\textit{Kun. viciyādeva prātiyaḥ. I.7.1.}
\textit{Ghū samāṁ abṛhmaśvāsanam. I.7.2. (Asv. Gr. S.)}

2. **Pratikṣā** - A girl is given in marriage; prāṇāṁ pratiyā saha.


believed to purify ten ancestors and ten descendants. The RV x.65 suggests Brahma marriage as it indirectly mentions Kenyadana.

2. Prajapatyā - The gift of a daughter after the father has addressed the couple with the words "may both of you perform your duties together is Prajapatyā marriage.

3. Arga - In this marriage a cow and a bull was presented to the bride's father. The male offspring of this form of marriage purified seven ancestors and seven descendants.

4. Daiva - In this father gave his daughter to an officiating priest while the sacrifice was going on. Her son also purified ten ancestors and ten descendants. This particular form of marriage encouraged the inter-caste marriage of kṣatriya bride and a brāhmaṇa bridegroom because the sacrifices of kṣatriya kings were conducted by brāhmaṇas.

5. Gandharva - In this form the groom married the bride according to religious rites after a mutual agreement was made by the bride
and the groom themselves.

6. Āsurā - In this form of marriage the father of
the bride was gratified with money.
As we have mentioned earlier the beginn-
ing of this type of marriage are found
in the RV.

7. Rākṣasa - In this form, she is carried away after
assaulting her relatives and clearing
their heads while she weeps and they
weep. The beginnings of this form are
suggested by AV XIV 2.59-61 as it refers
to wailings of bride.

8. Pāñjasa - In this form, the bride is deceitfully
raped while she and her relatives are
asleep or intoxicated.

These last two forms are included in the list to
accomodate forcefully abducted young ladies in the society
by treating them as wives of the person who is responsible
for their abduction. Because of this arrangement their
children could also get proper status in the eyes of the
society.

The Vai.Gral also mentions the above forms of
marriages. It further states that "out of these first four

1. vide Foot Note Nos. 2 and 3; p. 133.
2. RV I.109.2.
3. 'सेती ग्राहणे जन्त्वारत्तोगप्रदानपुर्वकातः
सत्य ब्राह्मणया केतेरे जयन्या:
- Vai.Gral.3.1
are recommended for a brahmaṇa, the latter four should be avoided by him. The Bau.Dh.3 says that āsura and paśāca are followed by the vaisyās and suḍras. The Bau.Dh.3 further says¹ that it is so because these two classes are very busy with ploughing etc., and can not keep control over their wives.

f) Sending the Wooers for the Fixation of Marriage

Some of the Grhya Sūtras mention that wooers were sent for finally fixing the marriage. The bridegroom stayed at home while these went to the maiden’s house².

A) The San.Gr.3 I.6: "If the young man is desirous of acquiring a wife he sends wooers reciting 'without thorns' etc³. After reaching there the wooers announce their arrival by repeating three times "Here I am". Then the dwellers of the house sit facing east and the guests facing west". The groom’s people proclaim the names of their clan (gotraśāmaṇī) and ask for the hand of the bride. When both the parties formally agree about the settlement of marriage they touch a pot filled with mixture of flowers, akṣata (anhusked grain) and gold⁴.

1. पञ्चचाच्छेदोऽवेशयुक्तं | अतिविद्वत्काशयं हि वेशयुक्तं
   मूढित | कर्षणशुक्लाधि-कृत्वात् | ।
   - Bau.Dh.3. I.11.14-16

2. In the RV it is mentioned that Asvinau were the wooers sent by Soma to Śūryā’s house.

3. RV I.85.23

4. बुक्तोऽविक्ते पूर्णपारिजिःस्मिति पुपपालहिरण्यमिलायम्
   ।
   - San.Gr.3. I.6
B) The Āpā.Gṛ.S\(^1\) says that the wooers were sent during constellation of Invāka (i.e. Mrṣa Naksātra). It also requires that the wooers must be learned men. The Bhā.Gṛ.S\(^2\) also says the same as the Āpā.Gṛ.S. The Kāt.Gṛ.S\(^3\) and the Vār.Gṛ.S. say that the wooers should be sent under constellation that precedes Kṛttikā and Svātī.


D) The Bau.Gṛ.S. says\(^4\) that a couple of brāhmaṇas should be sent 'as messenger'. It states that two mantras.

i) anṛksara rjavo ...... etc., and

ii) prasūgmanā dhiyāaśānasya

The Bau.Gṛ.S\(^5\) further says that if the bride was given away along with gifts (daksinaḥ bhīḥ saha) then one should not send the wooers. Probably the accompaniments of

1. The Āpā.Gṛ.S. I.2.16
3. कृतिकास्वरूपः वर्षेत् ... - Kā.t.Gṛ.S. p.54
5. 'दक्षिणाभिः दसा क्यांनात्र द्वार-प्रहिलिताः' - Bau.Gṛ.S. I. 16
gifts suggests the final approval of the bride's father.

E) The \( \text{Apa. Gr.S}^1 \) says that if the bridegroom himself sees her he should recite \( \text{Apa. Mantrap. I.I.3.} \) With \( \text{Apa. Mantrap. I.I.4} \) he should behold her. With \( ^2 \) a darbha blade let him wipe the space between her eyebrows with the \( \text{Apa. Mantrap. I.I.5} \) and let him throw it away to the east. Let him murmur the \( \text{Apa. Mantrap. I.I.6} \), if omen occurs as she cries or as her relatives cry. The \( \text{AV}^3 \) also refers to crying of the bride or relatives as a bad omen. Probably the bride cried because she was to leave her parental household. This also refers to \( \text{Paisaca and Rakṣaka} \) forms of marriage.

\[ g) \quad \text{The Preparation of the Materials needed in Marriage} \]

The \( \text{Jai. Gr.S.} \), the \( \text{Vrb. Gr.S.} \), the \( \text{Agn. Gr.S.} \), the \( \text{Man. Gr.S.} \), the \( \text{Gob. Gr.S} \) and \( \text{Hār. Gr.S} \) in the course of their discussion about pre-marriage rites, prescribe that a few people who would have to take part in the marriage ritual should stand ready around the fire with necessary materials in their hands.

\[ a) \quad \text{The Jai. Gr.S.}^4 \] states that a brahmana stands in

\[ \begin{align*}
1. & \quad \text{Apa. Gr.S. I.4.3-6} \\
2. & \quad \text{bhūt-drṣeṣṭhāpya ḥādaḥ-ṛṣya} \text{ dṛṣṭaye} \text{ samānyoṣṭarēṇa} \text{ vajra} \text{ tāṣṭya } । \\
& \quad \text{Apa. Gr.S. I.4.5} \\
3. & \quad \text{AV XIV. 2.59-60} \\
4. & \quad \text{"puṣtrādaṃkṣaṇaṃ} \text{ kāmān} : \text{ pratyag-ṛṣya} \text{ bhūtakāraṃ} \text{ dhāraṇyāstātātādhiśiṣv-}
\text{loka} \text{man:} \text{ śrīkṣaṇa} \text{vaiśnavoḥjātāy} \text{ mārā} \text{ dhāraṇyānādabārāvare} \text{ tātanāri} \\
\text{pratyagṛṣeṣṭhātān} \text{ tātān} \text{ vānaryāṇāgāvādāḥ} \text{ cāvācāḥ} \text{ vādāyānaviśaya} \text{prāsārāme} \\
\text{pravartyāḥ} \text{ vāhun:} \text{ prāpnoṣṭhān} \text{ } \text{ ..."} \quad \text{Jai. Gr.S. I.20 p.20} \end{align*} \]
front of the fire facing east carrying a pot of water and observing silence. To the south of the fire bride's mother should wait holding a winnowing basket full of roasted grain mixed with $\text{samī}$ leaves. If the mother is absent any other woman who could replace her should act in her place. To the west of the fire a mat of eraka reed or a bundle of grass is placed rolled up so that when it is opened it would spread up to the west of the fire.

B) The $\text{Var.Gr.S}^2$ states that the barhia grass was spread for the brāhmaṇa, the husband, the wife, for the one who holds the water ($\text{udakadharu}$), for one who holds the basket of roasted grains and for the one who holds the yoke. Here it is not the mother who holds the basket but someone holds it for her.

The fire is enkindled inside the hall and the ground is covered with $\text{samī}$ leaves as a preparation of $\text{panigrahana}^3$.

C) The $\text{Man.Gr.S}^4$ specifies that the priest enkindles

1. The $\text{Hir.Gr.S.}$ does not make a list of materials like $\text{Jai.Gr.S.}$ although it requires the same material.

2. The $\text{Var.Gr.S.}$ 14 (p.15): द्विझोत्साहः दत्तक्यास्तवः

3. The $\text{Var.Gr.S.}$ 14 (p.15) also speaks about $\text{samīnavī}$

4. प्रापुनं ज्ञाताकुडल्य स्थिरेष्ठ गोर्मेनोपनिष्ठ्य नामस्त ज्ञातवः वा

   अस्त्रिक्य निर्मित्वा निमित्त प्रापुने तत्र ज्ञातवेक्षनम्

   - The $\text{Man.Gr.S.}$ I.10.1
fire after besmearing the ground. The darbha grass\(^1\) is spread on all four sides of the fire. A seat for husband is to the north, for brāhmaṇa to the south, for wife to the west and for ṛṣṇayā and udakadharī to the east. If the ground is spread with śami leaves then the fire should be enkindled inside the hall and not in the open. This shows the wisdom of the Sūtrakāra because the śami leaves may catch fire in the open. The groom marries the wife here only. But he embraces her and accepts her inside the hall.

The arrangement of the people given in the Man. Gr.\(^3\) is different than that in the Jai. Gr.\(^5\).

D) According to the Gob. Gr.\(^2\) a fire is kept ready to the east of the house at the wedding time. Then a person who assists in the ceremony takes a cup of dhruya\(^3\) water and goes round the fire and settles to the south of the fire facing the north. Another person with a whip \(^4\) walks in the same way and settles in the same place.

\[\text{\textbf{==11==}}\]

1. Man. Gr.\(^3\) I. 10.2-5
2. Gob. Gr.\(^2\) I.10-12-15
3. According to Grhya Samgraha II.25.26 the water that has smell, colour and taste, that stays in rivers wells or water-receptacles is firm or dhruya water.
also Cf. Bau. Gr.\(^3\) I.1.24 प्राथमिकता: \(^{1}\)
Roasted grain enough for four handfuls mixed with the sami leaves are kept ready in the winnowing basket. A millstone is also kept ready.

E) The Ṛg. Gr. S. only mentions that he takes with him roasted grains, the stone and a new garment for the bride.

F) The Var. Gr. S.¹ and the Man. Gr. S. prescribe the way how the darbhas should be spread.

It is very wise and prudent of the Sutrakāras to make a list of materials needed in the ceremony since it avoids confusion and saves time.

h) Preparing the Bride for the Marriage Ritual

The Ṛg. Gr. S., the Gob. Gr. S., the Kau. Gr. S., the Man. Gr. S., the Kāt. Gr. S., the Bṛ. Gr. S., and the commentator of the Var. Gr. S. require that either some ritual or at least only special ceremonial bathing should be performed to prepare the maiden for her marriage.

1) The Ṛg. Gr. S.² I.11 describe Indrānikarma³.

1. युद्धक प्राच्य दर्शन उपादि प्राच्य दशिनाः — लोकप्रसादू उपादिनिः दशिनेत्यतरान्नन्दन्तः।

2. तत्त्व राज्वाक्तो निष्काल्ले खोलिकप्रयोगोऽसु: सुरपिणी:।
   सन्स्कृतं कन्यायणं। यह तत्त्व का परिचय है।

3. The AV XIV.2.31 compares the bride waking up from nuptial bed to Indrāṇi.
Indrāṇī was a goddess connected with conjugal love. This is a rite of bathing a bride and takes place on the same night when the bride is to be married, either on that night, or on the one preceding to it or on the third night before the marriage. It further says that this rite is performed when the night is about to end. The maiden is given head-bath. The best herbs and fruits are added to the water. She is given a new unwashed or newly dyed garment. The priest of the bride causes her to sit by the fire and offers ājya offerings with maha vyāhrtis to several gods. Then either four or eight women are not widows are regaled with plenty of vegetables, wine (sūrah) and food. They perform dance four times. Only Vaiśravaṇa and Iśāna are worshipped. After this a feast is given to brāhmaṇas.

Even to-day amongst the Punjabis, ladies sing and dance to the beat of the drum, in the bride's house on the night before the marriage.

2) The Cob.GR. I.10-9-10 says that the bride should be bathed after she has been approved by the groom.

1. अमनवे तोमाय प्रजापत्ये निवेन ये मनवाये-द्राये-द्राधुः।
   मन्वन्तीय मनवाय पुणे त्वस्त्रेण कृपयैं राज्ये प्रत्याचार कालः।

2. नवनय वारसतिवते नवनय वारसवतिवते सुरसाय नवन वा
   तर्पिकवत त्वसु अमनवे कुरु आश्रयि कुर्नु।। – San.GR. I.11.5.

2. I had the opportunity to witness a Punjabi marriage during my stay in Delhi and Madhya Pradesh.
She should be washed with (water mixed with) kāltaka, barley and java. Her friend should besprinkle her with sūtra on her head three times till all her body becomes wet. This is performed with the words 'kāmaveda te nama mađa namaśi' etc. and with 'aśamanyamāma' etc. In the latter one the name of the groom is included. Then he washes her private parts I.10.10 says that this washing should be done by her female relatives (jñatikarma etat).

It is not clear who this suhṛt or the friend of the bride is who helps her in her bath.

3) The Kat. Gr. 3\(^1\) describes this bathing of the daughter after kanyādāna.

The bride is bathed by four married women whose husband is alive, father and mother of the bride and the preceptor. Then athalipaka is offered to several gods.\(^2\) Then instruments like nadī, tunava, mrdanga, and pana are besmeared with scented water. Then the bride plays the instruments with the words 'āubham vada dundubbe ... etc.' Her friends also play the music either for one day or for two days and a night. Then a branch of a tree used in sacrifice is cut with a single stroke and covered with a single thread is given to the bride.\(^3\)

\[==\]

1. Kat. Gr. 8. II.5.2 (p.65).
2. बिन्द्राय स्वाहा बिन्द्रायेय स्वाहा कामाय स्वाहा बनाय स्वाहा दिये स्वाहा बिये स्वाहा दक्ष्ये स्वाहा पुष्ये स्वाहा।
Then the priest recites as the bride holds the branch 'ya te laxmir-matrmayai ... etc'. Then that branch of tree is placed either in a well or in a temple where it would not come in contact with impure things. Here it is not specified what is meant by the word impure things. However even to-day it is believed that water receptacles like rivers, wells etc. and temples are free from impure things. Idols of the gods, flowers offered to gods and other things considered holy and sacred are immersed in water after they have been used in worship of god. The beginnings of this practice can be found here.

Further the Kat.,Gr.,S. says "on the night before the day and night when the marriage is to take place, when the morning is wearing, he (the husband) should bathe her and offer athalipaka.

Kat.,Gr.,S. II.10.1 (p.73) says that a feast was offered to eight avidhavas including mother of the bride and brahma纳斯. Then they sang to a lute or four of them danced.

4) The Var.,Gr.,S. describes this as 'pravadana karma', i.e. the right of announcement of marriage. First the daughter who was properly bathed and properly dressed was brought to a place where musical instruments were.

1. Kat.,Gr.,S. p.66
2. Var.,Gr.,S. 11.
kept ready. Then svistakṛt offering was offered. Then the offerings are offered to twenty five different gods. The priest takes the remaining ājya into his hand and beaumears her face with it. Then he recites two mantras to the instruments 1) priyaṃ karomi pataye ... etc¹ and 2) saubhāgyeṇa tvā samarje ... etc². Then the bride plays the instruments with the words 'śubham vada dundubhe ... etc.

5) According to Āgn. Gr. S.³ like the Kāt. Gr. S. the bride is given bath after kanyādānas. Several verses are recited while she takes bath, three verses starting with 'āpo hi sthā' and four other starting with 'hiranyavarnah ... etc'.

6) According to Kau. Gr. S.⁴ also the bride is given bath after kanyādāna. Then she wears a new or newly dyed garment. After she goes round the fire, ājya offerings are offered to fourteen different gods. Then the dance of eight avidhavās is followed by brāhmaṇa bhojana (feasting the brahmaṇas).

1. 'Here I do something which is liked by your husband'.

2. "Thou shalt procreate with good fortune".


7) The Man. Gr. S\(^1\) explains a rite called varana, i.e. choosing or soliciting. This rite should be performed in a play ground (pramadane). This rite should be performed when a father is desirous of getting his daughter married. First four avidhavas play an instrument called nadj. This is followed by svistakrt offerings to Bhaga, Aryama, Puusan and Tvasata. Then he performs sacrifices to the wives of the gods in a secret place.

This rite is slightly different from those which are described above. This was performed before fixation of marriage. Hence perhaps offerings were offered to the wives of the gods secretly. Playing of the musical instruments is same as in the other rites described above.

8) The Bha. Gr. S\(^2\) only mentions that the bride had to be given bath. But does not give any details.

9) The Bau. Gr. S\(^3\) requires that the bride should be given bath, she should eat food, should wear new garment; she should wear garland and should bear an arrow in her hand. This reference to arrow is very special. Perhaps it indicates a kshatriya bride. Similarly it requires that the groom should carry a

\[
1. \text{Man. Gr. S. I.9.28} \\
2. \text{Bha. Gr. S. I.13. 'स्नायनणानि'} \\
3. \text{Bau. Gr. S. I.1.24.}
\]
whip in his hand.

The repeated reference to the *avidhavas* in the *San. Gr.* s., the *Var. Gr.* s., the *Kau. Gr.* s. and the *Man. Gr.* s. suggests that the widows were regarded as inferior to the ladies whose husbands were alive. The practice of disallowing widows to participate in religious and social functions seems to have found its roots in the times of the *Gr.* s. Even to-day humiliation of the widows marks the Indian society.

1) *Kanyadana*

This is a rite when the father of the bride orally agrees to give the hand of his daughter to the selected bridegroom. Out of the eighteen *Gr.* s. examined, *Gob. Gr.* s., *Āpa. Gr.* s., *Hir. Gr.* s. and the *Ārya. Gr.* s. do not describe the topic in detail, while others describe the rite as follows:

1) The *K̄at. Gr.* ¹. When the marriage is fixed the priest, the groom, the bride and her father sit round the fire. The father who is giving away the bride sits facing the west, the groom who accepts the bride sits facing the east, the daughter sits facing the west, and to the right sits the priest facing the north². Their

2. The *Man. Gr.* s. I.8.2. also prescribes the same positions.
seats are prepared with darbha grass with ends pointed to the north. This ceremony takes place on an auspicious day during the period of waxing moon.

Then darbha grass is spread in the centre. The priest having poured water, vrihia and yavas in the grass starts the rite. Then the father of the bride says 'I give' (dadami) and the bridegroom says 'I accept'. They repeat this three times. The priest says 'etad vah satyam', he further says 'samana vah sam vo manamsi' 'You are the same, let the minds of you two unite' etc., beholding the bride and the groom.

Then the groom who wants to pay the price of the bride\(^1\) to the father should pay it. This refers to the asura form of marriage. The commentator says that the bride was given away accepting the price. Both the parties give gold to each other\(^2\) but the bridegroom gives a lot more gold to the father of the bride. He puts the gold in a bronze pot\(^3\) and all the relatives of the bride touch it.

After this rite follows the Madhuparka or the special welcome to the bridegroom.

\[1. \text{कप्पे कुलकर्देमाया: - } \text{Kāṭ. Gr. 3. 2.4.1 p.61} \]
\[\text{‘कुलकर्देमाया कप्पे में वा दोहि’} \]
\[2. \text{हिरण्य क्षतिगमल: - } \text{Kāṭ. Gr. 3. 2.4.2} \]
\[3. \text{कंसे हिरण्य क्षतिगमल हिरण्यक्षिप्ति क्षतिगमल सम्प्रमुद्दले} \]
\[- \text{Kāṭ. Gr. 3. 2.4.5} \]
2) The Var. Gr.\textsuperscript{3} says that both the parties are seated, the bride's people to the east and the groom's people to the west. The bride sits to the north of her father. Then avidhavas fill a bronze pot with unhusked barley, and water and place it on the darbha grass already spread in the centre. They also place gold in that pot. Making four balls of the cow-dung one party gives two of them to the other party, then the latter one gives two balls to the previous one. They say that they are neither exchanging gold nor people i.e. slaves nor animals. Then the bride's father says 'I am giving the one belonging to me'. The groom says 'I am accepting'. This they repeat three times. This exchange of gomayapindas is done perhaps because the people should not doubt that lot of money or gold was being exchanged at the time of kanyadana. Then the bridegroom gives hand full of gold saying 'This is for wealth'. The one who accepts it says 'for the sons'. Then this gift is returned. Then he accepts the daughter with savitra offering. Reciting 'Prajapataye etc' and 'ka ca idam kasmā adadāt'. The priest sprinkles water to all the sides. He recites the verses upto 'kāmaītattē'. Then he recites the Anuvāka starting with 'samanā va akutani etc' and then

1. Var. Gr.\textsuperscript{5} 13.
he recites the verse starting with 'kherathaaya khe
anasah khe yugaysa .... etc' and sprinkles the water
from the bronze pot on the bride.

3) The Aga.Gr.S (p.35) says that the bride is
sitting to the east and the bridegroom to west. The name
of gotra of both the partners is uttered while giving
away the daughter. He accepts the stridhana also along
with her.

4) The Kau.Gr.S mentions that the groom is given
garments. He accepts them with the words 'Bhraspataye
tva mahyam ... etc'. Then he wears the garments and
accepts the bride by touching her. When he touches
her he utters "Who gave?" "Why (did he) give?" Then
the father or the brother of the bride sprinkles ajya
over her head with a gruya spoon while she sits facing
the east. He recites 'samrajnal' avasura (Be thou ruler
of thy father-in-law) ... etc' as he sprinkles. Then
he offers oblations with maha vyahritis.

According to Kau.Gr.S also madhuparka is
followed by kanyadana which is immediately followed
by panigrhana.

5) The Vai.Gr.S. 13: First the groom sprinkles
her with 'prasugma ... etc'. He recites 'abhratrdnim
... etc', as she beholds him. Then follows kanyadana.

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2. अध्यापक 'कृत्यदात'। कर्माचार्यदात' विभिन्न कन्या।
The preceptor has already prepared and enkindled the fire. Then the people of the bride's side give him their daughter uttering the name of the groom ending with 'sāraś' and along with his gotranāma. They say "May ye participate in the performance of duties". He gives away his daughter for the attainment of religion, progeny and wealth, for satisfying brāhmaṇa, devāirs and forefathers, for performance of the deeds of bravery through progeny (praajā sahaṭva karma).

6) The Manu Gṛha-S gives a detailed description of the ceremony. It gives the same sitting arrangement as the Kātaka Gṛha-S. Like Vāraṇa Gṛha-S, the Manu Gṛha-S also requires that the bridegroom gives gold to the father of the bride. The bride's father also returns the gift. The further portion about the recitation of the mantras is the same as the Vāraṇa Gṛha-S.

j) Madhuparka

The word literally means a ceremony in which honey is shed or poured. The Mirūkta refers to the usage of offering madhuparka with the word madhuparka repeated thrice.

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1. सहर्षवारिषो मक्तोऽऽ्
3. सहिष्णुमानन्त्योपमाक्षलाय दाता पुरुषस्त्रवेर्षित प्रतिश्रुतीत तस्मे प्रसावति ।
4. Manu Gṛha-S I.6.7
Out of all the Gr.5 only three viz. Par. Gr.5, Var. Gr.5, and Bau. Gr.5 describe madhuparka before the marriage ceremony. In the Āsv. Gr.5 there is no reference to madhuparka during discussion about marriage.

According to the Gr.5 six persons deserve this special reception viz. ṛtvik, ācārya, the bride-groom, the king, the anātaka and a person who is dear. The Bau. Gr.5 adds to the list father-in-law, one belonging to father's family, maternal uncle, and guest. The Āsa. Gr.5 and the Ceb. Gr.5 also give the same list. It is further laid down that if the persons enumerated come to one's place within a year after madhuparka has been once offered then it need not be offered again. But if a marriage or a sacrifice is being performed then it is obligatory to perform madhuparka irrespective of the fact whether the same person was offered madhuparka within within one year's time or not.

When the guest arrives the host pours honey into curds. If no honey is available clarified butter

1. बहुमयः: मन्त्राचार्यं क्रस्तिकवेदाहो राजा प्रयोगमा स्नातक विकितिः। — Par. Gr.5 I.3.1.

2. क्रस्तिकः स्थवरः: विकल्पो नातुः भावामेव राजा या स्नातकः प्रयोगे वा स्नितिकितिः। — Bau. Gr.5 I.2.65

3. Vide Kha. Gr.5 IV.4.26 and
Ceb. Gr.5 4.10.26
is used. Although according to Ṛṣya,Gr.S¹ and Ṛpa,Gr.S two things are mixed, according to the Par,Gr.S² three things viz. curds, honey and butter are mixed. Ṛpa,Gr.S³ mentions the view that those three may be mixed or five including fried yava grain and barley. Hir,Gr.S also gives the option of mixing five things. The Kausika S. gives a list of nine kinds of mixtures.

(1) Brāhma (honey and curds), (2) Aindra (made of payasa), (3) Saumya (curds and ghee), (4) Purana (ghee and mantha), (5) Sarasvata (milk and ghee), (6) Māusala (wine and ghee, this only being used in Sautrāmaṇī and Rājasūya sacrifices), (7) Varuṇa (water and ghee) Śravāṇa (sesame oil and ghee) and (9) Parivrajaśaka (sesame oil and oil cake).

Further a seat (viṣṭaram), water for washing the feet, arghya water (i.e. water mixed with flowers), water for acamana, honey-mixture and a cow is kept ready. The host announces every one of these three times. The person who is to be honoured should sit on the seat offered and should recite 'varṣomasi samanam... etc. 'I am the best of (those who are my) equals'. He may recite the verse while stepping on the seat or

1. Ṛṣya,Gr.S. I.24.5-26
2. Par,Gr.S. I.3.5
3. Ṛpa,Gr.S. V.13.11-12.
after sitting on it. Then he should make the host wash his feet. The right foot is held out first if the host is a brahmana and the left one if he is a śudra. When his feet have been washed he receives the argaṇa water in his joined hands and then he sips the water with the formula 'Thou art the bed of nectar' i.e. 'amṛutopastarasnamasi' ... 1. He should look to the honey mixture when it is being brought to him with the mantra 'I look to thee with the eye of Mitra'. He accepts it in the joined hands with the formula 'devasya tvā savituh save ... etc'. He looks at it with the three verses all of which begin with the word madhu 2. He takes it into his left hand stirs it thrice with the thumb and the finger next to the little finger. He sprinkles it with his fingers to east with the formula 'let the Vasus drink you with gāyatrī metre', to south with the formula 'let Rudrās eat you with triṣṭubh metre', to the north with the words 'let Visvedevas eat you with the anusṭubha metre'. With the formula 'to the bhūtas thee' he three times takes some of the material from the middle and throws it up. He should partake of it for the first time with the formula 'vīrajo doho asi', for the second time with 'vīrajo dohamasiya' and 'mayi dohāh pādasyai vīraj' should

2. Madhumatī verses RV. I.90.6-8.
be recited while partaking it for the third time. Some hold that he should partake of the madhuparka only once after reciting the three mantras at once.

He should give the remaining madhuparka to a brahmana towards the north or he should throw it into the water or he may eat all of it. He then takes uṣṇaka with the water, reciting the mantra 'amrtapidhanom aṣā' 'cover of the nectar' art thou.' Second time he should do it with the formula 'Truth! Fame! Fortune! May fortune resort to me.' When he has sipped water the host announces the cow to him.

According to the Man. Gr. S. I.9.22, the Veda declares that madhuparka must not be without flesh and so it recommends, 'if the cow is let loose, goat's milk or pāvata (i.e. rice cooked in milk) may be offered. The Bau. Gr. S. 3 says that when the cow is set off, the flesh of a goat or ram may be offered, or some forest fish may be served as there can be no madhuparka without ————

1. The three mantras occur in Par. Gr. S. I.3 but at the time of receiving the arghya water. San. Gr. S. III.7.5 and Man. Gr. S. I.9.7 also quote the same formulæ.

2. Even to-day in Bengal and Karnataka this is a favourite sweet-dish and is prepared on auspicious days.

flesh. Further the same Grs suggests that one may cook ground grain.

The Hir Grs says that other meat should be offered.

Thus the Grs require that the bridegroom should be treated with a special reception viz. the madhuparks.
k) The Rites performed before Hastagramha

All the Grs require some ritual to be performed before Hastagramha which is the starting point of the principal marriage rite. Mainly they are performed by the bridegroom himself, but as we shall see later on according to some Grs the bride also joins the groom when he performs the rites.

A) The Par Grs recommends that the bridegroom should perform four pakayaṇas in the place outside the house where sacrificial fire is properly enkindled.

B) San Grs says that having heard the consent of the father of the bride, the bridegroom performs a sacrifice. First a quadrangular place is besmeared with cow-dung

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2. Par Grs I.4.
3. San Grs I.7
4. Also vide Par Grs.

स्थपितं दोमांकमपित्य खिंच स्तोमक्षत खिळपिनं परिपृप्य पर्वेऽक्षित प्रतिस्तोत्यं पम्पादपत्रेककङ्क बनिःस्तुत्स्ताति ॥
Then he draws a line from south to north. Upwards from this, turned upwards to the south one line, in the middle one and to the north one. Then he carries forward the fire with words 'agnim pranayami sivam ... etc'. He may do it without words. Then he goes round the fire and performs samuhana.

Then he strews eastward pointed kusa grass, beginning from east-side, to the west and further to the west. Then the roots of grass are covered with points. Then he establishes a brahma to the south uttering 'bhur-bhuvah svah ... etc'. He adorns him with flowers. Then he carries forward to the north side the praśni waters with the word 'ko vah pranayati' who carries thee forward ... etc. He arranges kusa blades on the ground with the right hand. Bending his right knee he finds two equal kusa blades and severs them from the roots saying 'pavitre stha'. There are two or three of these kusa strainers. Then he puts ājya pot on the fire with the words 'ise tvā'. He picks it from the fire and takes it to the north with the words 'for juice thee'. Then he bends the kusa-strainers with their points to the north. Then he dips them into the ājya offering with the words 'savitur vah prasava

1. प्रदशिशमने: समाताद यागिना सोदकेन श्री: प्रमाणित
tलक्ष्मीनिर्मित्याकाले ॥

- Gr. Samgraha 7.11
... vasah sūryasya raśmibhiḥ. Preparing himself like this he performs ājya offering. The Śruva¹ spoon serves as a vessel. Taking up kusa blades in the left hand and the Śruva spoon with the right hand he performs the offering. He offers the ājya continuously from the northwest to the south of the fire reciting RV I.31.10. Again in the same fashion with the RV X.121.4. The northern ājya portion belongs to Agni, the southern to Soma. In middle other oblations are made with the words 'Agnirjanita sa me īnatimantam karotu svāha' i.e. requesting the Fire to make the groom possess many relatives.

C) The Coha.Gr.S. recommends that in the beginning the groom should give the bride a new garment with Man. Bra. I.1.5-6. The bride clad in the new robe and wearing a sacrificial cord round her shoulder is led to the fire with the verse, 'Somo adadat gandhavaya² etc.'

Then she pushes the rush mat and spreads it to the west of the fire with the words, 'pra.me pati va.nah panthah kalpatam' (Man.Bra.³ I.1.9). If she does not utter these words he may utter them making necessary changes. Both sit on the mat. While she touched his right shoulder he offers ājya oblation with Man.Bra. I.1.10-15 and three maha vyahrtis one by one

2. Vide AV XIV.2.1
3. According to the Jai.Gr.S. p. 20. the same mantra accompanies spreading of the mat.
and a fourth one with all the maha vyahritis recited together.

D) The ritual prescribed by the Āpa, Gr. S.¹ is quite different. With Āpa, Mantrap, I.I.7 he is required to send an even number of persons to fetch water. With Āpa, Mantrap I.I.8 he places a piece of darbha net on her head. On that he places a right yoke hole with Āpa, Mantrap, I.I.9. On this he lays a piece of gold with the next verse². With Āpa, Mantrap I.2.1-5 he bathes her. With Āpa, Mantrap, I.2.6 he causes her to wear a new garment and with Āpa, Mantrap I.2.7 he girds her with a rope. Then she is led to the fire with the next verse and seated on a mat, then the groom sits to the north. The blades of the mat are directed towards the north. Further the Āpa, Gr. S. does not mention ājya offerings in particular. But only says "After the rites have been performed' the rite of paṇigrāhāna or hastagrābha follows.

E) The Āśv. Gr. S. only states that ājya abutia and three maha vyahritis should be offered. It further prescribes that the fourth vyahrti should be offered with RV V.3.2.

F) The Hir, Gr. S. states that he enkindles the fire and does rites up to paridhāna. Then the wife

¹. Cf. Āpa, Gr. S. II.4.7-10
². This can be compared with AV, XIV.1.40-41
accompanies him during śiśva śhutis and maha vyāhrti. The wife is led to him with the verse 'śumangalīriyam vadhuh ... etc'.

After he has offered the vyāhrtis he recites several formulae which invoke Fire to release her progeny from the noose of the Death, Varuṇa to save her from the grief of the death of her grandchildren, householder's fire to protect her progeny, the quarters to protect her hips, Vāyu to protect her thighs, and Asvins her breasts. All other formulae recited are mainly directed towards the protection of her family.

C) The Bhā.Gṛ.Ś²: After the bride is bathed the groom gives her a new garment with the verse 'ya akratannavāya ... etc'. Then he recites formulae over her praying that she should live for hundred years. The mantras recited start with 'paridhātta dhutta vāsasājīnām', 'clad her with a garment' and end with 'guvarca rāvasca poṣanupasamvyāvasva', 'let thy benevolent lustre direct the flow of prosperity (towards us).

Then fire is enkindled. The groom offers śhutis to Agni and Soma³. Then he offers Jāya and

1. Hir.Gṛ.Ś. p.40
   Hir.Gṛ.Ś. same verse accompanies gift of the garment.
3. भानये जनविदे स्वाहा। सोमाय जनविदे स्वाहा।
and Āstrabhṛt oblations preceded by śhutis, accompanied by the formula 'bhūḥ svāhā bhāvah svāhā ... etc'.

After this he recites mantras which are same as the Hir. Gr.Ś. (p.40). Then he offers purṇahuti with the mantra '
 śpraśaśtaṃ neutramṛtyaṃ papaśanamutah' ... etc'. Then uttarahuti is offered invoking Agni and Varuṇa.

H) The Jai. Gr.Ś states that the bridegroom invokes Fire with the formulae, 'May Agni come hither the first of the deities ... etc', while it is being brought.

When the fire is being enkindled he recites 'imśamgini-
 śstraśvaśtaṃ garhapatyaḥ ... etc'. (Let this householder's fire protect ... etc'.)

Like the Hir. Gr.Ś the Jai. Gr.Ś also requires that the bride should accompany during the oblation to be offered before the ceremony of panigrahana. After the bride is seated on the mat spread by her, and the groom takes his seat to the north, as the bride holds on to him he sacrifices with the great (bhūvasvaḥ ... etc.).

He offers seven oblations uttering the formulae loudly. Then he pours the residue on the head of the bride as he recites mantras which are similar to those in the Hir. Gr.Ś. p.40.

1. The Hir. Gr.Ś, the Dra. Gr.Ś, the Agn. Gr.Ś and the Man. Gr.Ś use the same mantra.

I) The Dra. Gr. S. prescribes that the aïya shutis should be offered accompanied by the maha vyahritis. The Dra. Gr. S. I.3.14 says that it should not be offered to Prajapati. This Gr. S. also requires that the bride should accompany him.

J) The Kat. Gr. S.: On the same night when the bride is bathed the bridegroom should sacrifice in the same fashion, to the same gods, and also to kumbha, Vaisravana and Isva. Then a feast is offered to eight avidhavas including the mother of the bride. Then the groom offers an offering to Agni and Prajapati. Then Jaya and other offerings are offered. The sister of the groom carrying a weapon holds on to his dress. Perhaps the weapon is meant for the protection of the bridegroom. Even while the groom is sleeping the weapon is placed by his side so that it comes handy as and when required. The sister of the groom walks towards water, with the words 'puṣā mām ... etc'. Then the groom's party sprinkles water on their heads and walks towards the desired direction.

1. भेता भेत देक्ता: पुषः कुम्भः कैफिलण्ड ग्रिजानं च ग्वेत ||
   - The Kat. Gr. S. 2.9.2 p.72

2. सत्सिनाधीकाय मुखसमाधाय जग्मनुलिनिहृद्या गम्भिर कस्मभी निंच पुष्यानि चतुष्प्रकृति यथा महोत्सव इत्यादि ||

3. This is the only Gr. S. which mentions the sister of the bridegroom particularly. In the modern marriage ceremonies also the sister of the groom occupies an important place as she has to do or assist in some ritual performance.
The heads are sprinkled with water perhaps as a protection against the heat of the sun. After this follows the madhuparka.

K) The Var. Gr. S\(^1\) specifically mentions that the rites are performed by the priest (mantrakara) for the groom.

L) The Agn. Gr. S: After the bride is given bath and a gift of new garment, she sips water and rinses her mouth, he sprinkles scented water on all the four sides of the fire and he holds darbha grass for offering in the fire. He offers the gāmbhīrṇa grass to the east to Prayāpati, to the west to Indra, two āgya-bhāgas to the north to Agni and to the south to Soma. In between he offers oblations accompanied by the vyāhrtis. He offers thirteen offerings accompanied by the formulae starting with 'vā tirasći nipadyase', 'Thee who protects the crooked one'. Then he performs eight sampāddhi homas followed by six Rastrabhrī offerings accompanied by svāhā. Then he offers six main offerings with the words 'Agniiretu pratham ... etc.' Then the two loudly recite 'śanmo devī ... etc', 'let the goddess bring well-being ... etc'.

M) The Kau. Gr. S\(^2\) states that the groom is brought

1. दशिणि: शुद्धः लुलो मन्त्रकार: || - Var. Gr. S 13
2. The kau. Gr. S. I. 8
to the place of marriage by the four avidhāyas. He is supposed not to oppose them. Permitted by them he gives her a garment reciting the mantra starting with 'Raibhyaśiśdanudevī ...' and 'vuvam vastraṁi ... etc'. Then he gives her a bed or a kośa with 'cittirē barhanam ...' with the words 'samanjantu veve devāḥ ...' he gives her a salālī trivṛtā. He further recites a formula expressing the wish that the salālī should protect her as it protected Śacī, Vāvata or Suputra, Salālī was a weapon made of porcupine's thorny hair. Reciting ṛṇam ṛṇyam he gives in her right hand a mirror. In her right hand her relatives tie a threelfold bracelet of red, black or white beads. Then they decorate her with madhūka flowers with the words 'madhumatih' roṣadhitih ... etc'. Thus the bride was given the things which were of daily use to her.

After this follows kanyādāna and madhuparka. Then before paniṣṭriḥana he offers oblations accompanied by maha vyāhṛtis.

N) The Man. Gr. S : After the domestic fire has been properly enkindled the bride and the bridegroom go round

2. This portion from the Kau. Gr. S. can be well compared with the Ṛg. Gr. S. I. 12. Both are similar to each other.
3. The AV XIV. 1. 6 also speaks about the gift of Kośa.
the chariot or a cart, they go past the cart carrying live fire. Probably they were required to go round the cart as it was the main vehicle available for transportation and hence was very important to the people.

Then they place the bride to the south pole\(^1\) of the yoke and a branch of \textit{samā} in which gold was hidden to the north pole.(I.10.7). He recites three \textit{Ṛṣis} starting with \textit{ḥiṃyaṃvarṇah sācayaḥ ... etc'}. Then they play the musical instrument called \textit{Bāna}. Then the groom gives the bride a garment. Then he offers oblation to \textit{Agni} reciting two verses starting with \textit{yā akṛtaṇa yā etc'}. and then to \textit{Nakṣatrādevatas} and \textit{Tithidevatas}. Then he recites three verses viz. :

1. \textit{Somā ādādāt Gandharvāya ... etc};
2. \textit{so sāyāh praśa muncatu mṛtvupāśat ... etc};
   Let him release her progeny from the noose of death and
3. \textit{yathendram stripautram ... etc}.

As the wife and grand children of \textit{Indra}.

These are followed by eight verses starting with \textit{ḥiṃyaṃgarbhaḥ sācayaḥ}, 'of golden hue and auspicious'. Then he offers \textit{Jaya} offering\(^2\). Then follow ten offerings

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1. \textit{Kausīka S.} x.76 also describes the same rite placing the bride to the yoke hole.

2. \textit{महोत्साहित्य कला} \textit{महान} | \textit{Maḥ. Gr.S.} I.10-11
to Ākutī, Bhūtī, Prayujā etc. He offers jaya offering as he desires to attain some particular object.

0) The Vai. Gr.Ś (3.2): This Gr.Ś. only recommends that he should eat along with the priests born of the same family (śaṅgītra) in order to purify himself. Then he goes to the house of the proposed bride along with garment, scent and ornaments.

Although all the śūstras give different type of pre-marriage ritual it appears that the Hir. Gr.Ś., Bha. Gr.Ś. and the Jai. Gr.Ś. share something in common while the Śan. Gr.Ś., the Gob. Gr.Ś. and the Āpa. Gr.Ś. appear to follow the same trend of rituals.

II) The Marriage Ceremony - Proper

After this I shall give the details about the principal marriage ceremony\(^1\) as propounded by the Sutrakāras.

1. Hastagramāhā

Hastagramāhā or Pānigrahana i.e. grasping of the hand of the bride by the bridegroom is the first stage of the main marriage rite. However according to the Pār. Gr.Ś.\(^2\) the offerings of laja or the roasted grain comes first. The Hastagramāhā follows it. According to the Gob. Gr.Ś.\(^3\) this forms the last part of Vivāha Karma.

\(^{--------------------------}\)

1. The principal ceremonies described by Kālidāsa in Raghuvamsā, VII are madhuparka, homa, going round the fire, pānigrahana, laja homa and ardramātagramāhā.

2. Pār. Gr.Ś. I.6.3

3. Gob. Gr.Ś. II.2.15
According to the Vai. Gr. S. ¹ the first rite is 'stepping on the stone', it is followed by the rite of Hastagrābha. According to Kausāika S. ² it follows offerings of lajās.

According to all the sūtras during this rite of Hastagrāhana groom sits facing west. He grasps her right hand with his right hand. The hands of both of them are decorated with flowers or some ornaments (ārikten ariktaṃ). While holding her hand the groom recites 'grhbhāσmī te saubhagatvāya ... etc³. This part of the rite is common to all the sūtras. The several different practices are as follows:


The Prā. Gr. S., the Kat. Gr. S. and the Kau. Gr. S. recommend the mantras which could be compared with the RV X.85.44, 37, 40 and 47. These are 'Soma adadat Gandharvāya', Somah prathamo vivide', 'yasyaṃ bijam

2. Kausāika S. X.76.19
3. RV X.85.36
manusyaḥ vapantī, 'asūhamaṃ sa tvam' and 'tvamindra mādhvā subhagā kuru'.

The ṚṣeGr.Ś, the Āv.Gr.Ś, the Ṣhr.Gr.Ś and the Āgn.Gr.Ś make a specification about the method of grasping the hand. If he wants only male progeny he should grasp the hand on the hair side, if only female progeny he should grasp the hand on the fingers, if he wants both male and female issues the whole hand including the thumb and the fingers should be grasped.

The Āgn.Gr.Ś. says that he should utter her name to which the prefix 'aau' is attached. This prefix stands for the word aubhāgyavati and means the fortunate one.

According to the Man.Gr.Ś. the priest brings the bride to the forefront and asks the groom to behold her. While beholding he recites 'mama vraste te hṛdayam dāda tu ...' etc. 'Give thy heart unto my vows .... etc.'

Thus although there are a few different practices

1. This is similar to AV XIV.2.71.
2. Cf. ṚṣeGr.Ś. II.4.13
3. त्र सेतुवार्तमया नाम गृहरोergus
   - Āgn. Gr.Ś. p.37
5. Cf. Man.Gr.Ś. I.10.13. This rite is fitted as avalokana.
the principal rite of 'holding the hand' is same to all the _sutras_.

2. **Stepping on the Stone**

Stepping on stone (_aśmarohana_) is a rite introduced by the _AV_. As we have seen earlier it is not included in the Marriage hymn of the _RV_.

The stone is placed to the north of the fire. The bride groom makes her step on the stone with the right foot. Then he recites 'step on this stone, and you be firm like a stone. Tread the foes down and turn away the enemies.'

3. **Agni-Parinayana**

This means going round the fire keeping once right side to the fire all the time.

4. **The Offering of Lājas**

The roasted grain mixed with _sāmi_ leaves was kept ready in the winnowing basket, sufficient for four offerings. The brother of the bride pours a handful of grains in the hands of the bride which she offers in the

1. Cf. _Par._ _Gr._ _S._ I.7


3. According to _Man._ _Gr._ _S._ I.11 he offers the offering of _aṅkṣata_ grains and _saktu_. While according to the _Kausikī_ _S._ the bride offers _pulva_ grains in fire.
fire. On the joined hands of the bride first %Sya is sprinkled and then the ³ajãs, mixed with ³emã leaves the offering. The bride offers the greeting without break. Then the offering is offered thrice to the accompaniment of the formulae and last one silently¹.

(a) The Order of the above three Rites in the Sutras

The order in which the above three rites are performed according to different sutras is different.

According to the Goh. Gr. S., the Agn. Gr. S., the Kau. Gr. S., the ³San. Gr. S. and the Bha. Gr. S. asmrãohana, parinsavana and the ³ajãhoma are performed one after the other. Then the whole thing is repeated thrice². The last offering of the roasted grains is offered with the basket itself (asptapäiva).

According to the ³Apa. Gr. S.³, the Pars. Gr. S., the ³Kat. Gr. S., the Bau. Gr. S., the ³Asv. Gr. S. and the Man. Gr. S. asmrãohana is followed by offering of ³ajãs. The same is case with the Kausiãka S⁴. All the three rites are repeated three times.

1. The beginnings of this rite are found in the AV. XIV. 2. 63.


The Par. Gr. S. and the Kat. Gr. S.\(^1\) however, prescribe \(\text{āla} \) offering separately as well as the three rites performed in continuity and repeated thrice.

According to the Kau. Gr. S. and the San. Gr. S. the bride is given another garment after \(\text{agniparinayana}\).

(b) The Formulae accompanying these Three Rites

i) \(\text{āmaśrohaṇa}\)

The Par. Gr. S. prescribes three formulae to be recited while the bride treads on the stone.

\[
\text{āhyāśmaṇam \ atiṣṭha \ ācēva \ tvam} \\
\text{ācē \ bhava \ ... \ etc}^2.
\]

This verse is also used by San. Gr. S. and Kau. Gr. S. The Men. Gr. S., the Cog. Gr. S. and the Var. Gr. S. use a formula which has a similar meaning like the above one. The Par. Gr. S. uses two other formulae also viz.:

a) \(\text{Sarasvati \ āpada \ sūbhage} \)

\(\text{vaśiṇīvati}^3\) and

1. Vide Kat. Gr. S. 3.1.29-34; Par. Gr. S I.6 and I.7
2. 'Come and tread on this stone. You shall be as firm as this stone'.
3. 'O Sarasvati! Protect this one, \(\text{O} \) auspicious one, riding on the horse'.
b) *yasāyaṁ bhūtam saṃavabhavad yasāyaṁ
visāyaṁ idam jagat*.

The *Kāṭ. Gr. S* uses 'esi asamam'. The
*Maṇ. Gr. S* and the *Vār. Gr. S* use a formula
for dismounting from the stone viz.

*yathendrah saha indrenya avaruhad
gandhamadenat ... etc*.

The *Āpa. Gr. S* uses *Maṇ. Br. II.5.2*.

ii) The Agniparīṇāyana

The *Āv. Gr. S* uses the formula 'amoham
sāmi sa tvam'... etc. after agniparīṇāyana.

The *Vār. Gr. S* employs the formula 'tubhyam
agra paryavahat' ... etc.

The *Gob. Gr. S* employs *Maṇ. Br. I.2.5* while the *Āpa. Gr. S*
prescribes *Maṇ. Br. I.5.3-5*. The *Maṇ. Gr. S*
requires that a brahmaṇa should murmur
suspicious sayings. The *Bau. Gr. S* uses the
formula 'visāva uta tvaya'.

1. 'In whom is contained the (whole) past, in whom
   all this world'.

2. As Indra dismounted along with Indraṇī the
   mountain Gandhamadana'.

3. Along with the bridal procession, Surya carried
   you at the forefront.

4. समिति संकल्पयोगिति पापिये पापिये ब्रह्मा नर्य जनेति।
   - The *Maṇ. Gr. S*. I.10.19
iii) The Lāja-offering

The Śān. Gr. S., the Kau. Gr. S. and the Vai. Gr. S. use only one formula viz.,
'iyam nāri upabṛute ... etc'.
According to Kāt. Gr. S. first the priest recites 'Aryamanam nu devam' (to the Lord Aryaman etc.) and 'agnirmā janīmanam' (let Agni make me blessed ... etc'), and 'Iyam Nāri ... etc'. It again prescribes three Lāja offerings performed in continuity with 'agniparinayana and asārohana', the bride recites three formulae for three offerings viz.

   (i) 'Gandhāryam pativedanam ... etc'
   (ii) 'Soma ma āhātiman ... etc' and
   (iii) 'Tryambakam yajamahe ... etc'.

The groom recites 'pūṣa ma pasaman ... etc'. The Mān. Gr. S. and the Āśv. Gr. S. use 'Aryamanam nu devam ... etc' only but they invoke Varuṇa and Pūṣan also with the same verse changing the word 'Aryamanam' as necessary. The Vār. Gr. S. also uses the same formula. Along with it, it also prescribes two

1. Kāt. Gr. S. 3.1.29
more viz. 'Tubhyam agre paryvahat surya vahatuna saha ... etc'. and 'Iyam naryupabrute'. The Bhā Gr., S. uses the latter one along with 'Tubhyam ca samvananam tadagnih anusamyatam' ... etc. and 'bhagena tva samrjami vasarena ... etc'. The Jai Gr., S. recommends 'Iyam naryupabrute ... etc'. 'Dirghayurastu me patih ... etc' and 'Aryamanam nu devam'.

From the above it is clear that from the group of four formulae vis;

i) Iyam naryupabrute,

ii) Aryamanam nu devam,

iii) Dirghayurastu me patih, and

iv) Tubhyam agre prayasvahat surya vahatuna saha

the sūtras generally selected mantras for the rite of Śaṅbhoma.

5) Saptapadi or the Seven Steps

The rite of the Seven-steps marks the end of the main marriage rite according to the majority of the sūtras.

The Par., Gr., S. requires that the Prajapatiya offering should be offered at the end of the offering

1. This is actually second half of the preceding formula but is used as a mantra for the second offering. Hir., Gr., S. also uses similarly.
of the roasted-grains. The *Apa,Gr.* \_S \_prescribes Jaya offering. The *Hir,Gr.* \_S \_mentions that some prescribe Jaya, Abhyātana and Rasrabhrut offerings here. The *Var,Gr.* \_S \_requires these three along with santātihoma. The *Man,Gr.* \_S \_prescribes Jaya, Santāyi and Rasrabhrut offerings.

The *Vai,Gr.* \_S \_states that after agniparipāyana he sits down with the formula 'atigaḥemahi dvisam ... etc'. Then he offers offering of roasted grains with 'lājāhomam cidhaiyam ... etc'. Then he performs 'mulahoma'. He goes round the fire and offers oblations with vyahṛtis to Agni, Vayu, Āditya, Gandharva and Candra. Then he performs pravāhana. Then he again spreads darbha grass. He offers svīṣṭakṛt offering and performs saptasmardhi vyahṛtis. Then follows the saptapadī.

The saptapadī is a rite wherein the bride is caused by the bridegroom to take seven steps to the north\(^3\) of the fire. Seven lines are drawn to mark the seven steps. She treads with the right foot which is followed by the left one\(^4\). The formulae employed by

1. *Hir,Gr.* \_S \_p.43
4. दलितेन प्रक्षय सक्षेपामुक्तां मे
    या सक्षेप दलितपरिमृति इवनादु  
all the *sūtras* are similar with slight variations. "The first one for the sap, the second for the juice, the third for prosperity, the fourth for comfort, the fifth for cattle, the sixth for the season, the seventh for the union and devotion." This formula can be traced back to *Tait. Br.* II.7.7.11-12.

This rite takes place at the end of the main marriage rite according to all the *Gr.s* except the *Bau.*, the *Gob.*, and the *Kha. Gr.s*. All the *sūtras* require that water should be sprinkled on the heads of the bride and bridegroom at the end of the *saptapadi*. The *Kat. Gr.s* says that the ācārya brings the two together and then sprinkles water on their heads. The *Gob. Gr.s* and the *Jai. Gr.s* require that the priest recites 'śūngalī ṭvam vadhuh ... etc', thereby requesting the spectators to go home after blessing the bride with auspicious marks. He offers avistakṛt offerings and performs

1. 'केके श्रेष्ठो विपुल्क्ष्मान्नेतु है केके विपुल्क्ष्मान्नेतु च चानि क्रमाय विल्पु ... क्यव्यानि भयोनम्याय विल्पु ... पञ्च पज्ञो विल्पु ... भृियोियय विल्पु ... सप्त ज्ञानेय हेघानेय विपुल्क्ष्मान्नेतु।'
   - *Kha. Gr.s* I.17


2. *Jai. Gr.s*.
saptasamrddhi vyahritis. Then follows saptapadi.

The formula used by all the sutras can be traced back to Tait. Br. II. 7. 7. 11-12. The whole passage according to Sayana is addressed to Somakrayani (i.e. the cow for whom Soma is purchased) in the initiation of the Soma sacrifice. The Yajamana is to follow steps of the cow while the cow is being led. The formula is a prayer for the general well-being of a person. The lord Visnu is requested to lead the sacrificer to sap, to juice, to prosperity, to vows, to cattle, to comfort and lastly to union and devotion. Gob. Gr. 3. I. 3. 24 reads 'Vismustvā nayatu' for 'Visnustvā anvetyu'. Jain. Gr. 5. has adopted the latter phrase from the Tait. Br. For the third, fifth and sixth step it reads 'Trīṇi nayaspasaya, pānca prajabhyaḥ' and sadrtubhyah'. It has altogether dropped formula for the last step but it only states 'the seven steps are for friendship'. Mān. Gr. 3. I. 11. 16 and Vār. Gr. 3. XV are also the same but the order is slightly changed. Thus the formulae recited at the time of saptapadi although verbally slightly different are one and the

1. "Akeśānahe vibhuṣṭvānve ṛc | tṛ̣tii vibhuṣṭvānve ṛc | śākṣi

krty | kāaṇā | māya | kṣāya | pṇ̃̄c | pṇ̃̄c

krty | pṇ̃̄c | macyạ | kṣāya | ṭhānaḥ: \...

kṣāya: kṣapda aṁgm | sākṣi tē macya | kṣāya-te mna- kṣapa | sākṣa-mne mna m-caṇḍa: ṛc"
same in their meaning and significance.

All the Grhya Sutras require that water should be sprinkled on the heads of the bride and the groom at the end of saptapadi. The Kat. Gr. S. says that the acarya brings the heads of the two together and then sprinkles water on their heads. The Gob. Gr. S. and the Jai. Gr. S. require that the priest recites "Sumanāliriyam vadhuḥ ... etc", to request the spectators to go home after beholding and blessing the bride.

The water-carrier follows their steps to the west and sprinkles sthāyā water on their heads. The Hir. Gr. S.², the Bau. Gr. S., the Bha. Gr. S. and the Par. Gr. S require the bridegroom to recite the formula (sakhaya saptapadāvabhūva ... etc'. Man. Br. VI. 9. 21) thereby meaning that the seven steps are for the attainment of friendship between the two. The Hir. Gr. S further states that after reciting the above mantra he sets his right foot on her right, with his right hand touches her right shoulder and her heart, then he touches her navel. This rite is called the Hṛdayasparṣa, touching the bride's heart with a mantra. This appears to signify the complete union of the newly married couple.

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1. Kat. Gr. S. 3.1.42. p.113
The Bhā.Gr.S. states that after saptapadi he recites in her ear 'mama vačam ekamana śrūpya maaivānuvrata bhava ... etc'. All the formulae here indicate that the bride should be completely united with her husband along with her body, speech and mind. They speak of the total union of the two. Here the Bhā.Gr.S. repeats the same verses as the Hir.Gr.S, which include 'madhu he madhyē sakrame ... etc'. 'cakravāk samvananam ...' 'ma caiva pasya sūryam ca nāyeṣu maṇah kṛtha'.

The Par.Gr.S also requires that the verses expressing the union should be recited. The Bhā.Gr.S. further requires that a piece of gold to be tied on her forehead when the water is sprinkled on her head.

The Par.Gr.S. 1.8 prescribes that the groom should show her the sun uttering, 'that is the eye'.

Yoktra-bandhana, anjana and sīmanta are three rites described by a few Gr.S. as a part of the main marriage rite.

6) Yoktra-bandhana

Tying of the cord is a rite described by the

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1. These formulae are explained while dealing with 'caturthī karma'.

2. Even in the modern times this is a favourite ornament of Indian ladies.

3. The source of the mantra is RV VII.66.16 = Vaj. Sam. 36.24.
The Kat. Gr. S., the Var. Gr. S., and the Man. Gr. S. This cord was made of either darbha or munja or cotton threads. According to the Kat. Gr. S., this cord is draped like a girdle but precaution is taken that it does not show itself. According to the Var. Gr. S., with the same formulae the priest ties the cord to the groom and then with the remaining to the bride. This tie is released after saptapadi with the formula 'imam visyumi varunasya pāsā' which refers to the bond of Varuṇa which was tied by Savitā. The cord is again tied to the end of the bride’s garment. The Man. Gr. S. gives the same account.

This yoktra-bandhana continues till the modern times as draping round the wrist of the bride and the bridegroom. It is made of cotton string in which one whole piece of turmeric is tied. This bracelet or (kankana) is released on the next day of marriage. This

4. This is similar to RV x.85.24.

प्र त्वा सुकावः वल्लकरः पाञ्जाद्र
केस त्वा बदनतः बस्थाय युक्तेऽः।
tying and untying of the cord marks the beginning and the end of the principal marriage rite. This is also a relic of the Vedic notion about the noose of Varuna.

7) Anjana or applying collyrium

According to the Var. Gr. and the Man. Gr. the priest anointed the right eye of the groom first with the formula 'vrtrasyaapi kaninika' thereby meaning 'even the pupil of Vrtra'. Then he annoints the left one. With the remaining collyrium he annoints the eyes of the bridegroom. Then he draws the rays of colleyrium to all the quarters with the formula 'vani raksamsi abhito vrajanti ... etc'. which means that the rays of the collyrium are drawn for protecting the bride from the bad spirits moving around the place. This takes place before the offering of lajas. This peculiar use of collyrium to drive away the bad spirits comes under the jurisdiction of sympathetic magic.

According to the Var. Gr. the priest offers with anumatis and vyahrtis after the releasing of the cord. Further he prepares an offering of unhusked saktus (barlie) and curds and offers with the formula 'imam atanam madhumantam ... etc' which invokes the lord Varuna to enter his house beset amongst the seas. This offering is called 'paridhivimoka'. Then he

sacrifices food saying 'Annapate'. Uttering 'Edhisimahi' he should sacrifice second samidh. And then extinguish the sacrificial fire.

8) Simanta

The Var. Gr. 3 prescribes that the rite named simanta should be performed on the outskirts of the place of marriage after the priest has sent away the spectators with the formula 'sumanagaliyam vadhu'. With the quill of a porcupine's hair or darbha grass the husband anoints her hair. He completes it with the wool of a live sheep i.e. he ties the ends of her hair with the wool. Then he recites a mantra which states that she should be auspicious (or good) to her father-in-law, and that she, whose mother-in-law is living should live a long life. Then the couple partakes of the curds mixed with honey, jointly, with the intention of promoting unity.

The Man. Gr. 2 also describes the same rite in the similar fashion. Only the formula employed in it uses two verses although they also express the


2. Cf. Man. Gr. 3. I.12

3. Cf. The second verse is:

(square) केतास्तुन्नुकिलियोरानु नित्य कलाम्यम् का क्षीम: ।

नित्या का अवकाशियमाना नित्या नेव अवकाशियान्यु ॥
desire that the bride should be good to all the people of her husband's household. The Agn. Gr. S also describes this rite in the same fashion. 

9) Daksīṇa or the Gift

All the āttras require that the bridegroom should give gift to the priest who officiates in the marriage.

The Kau. Gr. S. states that the garment of the bride should be given to a brahmanā who knows by heart the Sūrya sūkta\(^1\). If the groom is a brahmanā he should give a cow to his acārya, if he is a kaśtriya he should give a village, if he is a vaisya he should give a horse\(^2\). If the bride's father has no son he is given a hundred chariots as gift\(^3\). The groom offers a horse to the learned people\(^4\). The San. Gr. S.\(^5\) prescribes that after each 'sthālipaka offering some daksīṇa should be given to the brahmanās\(^6\). However the Gob. Gr. S\(^7\) and the


'ब्रह्मान्तः सूर्या विदे कृत्स्वर्ष दयात्'.

- Compares RV X.85.34

2. Kau. Gr. S. I.14


San. Gr. S. I.14 also speaks of all these gifts.

5. ब्रह्मणेष्येन किं विनिद्व दयात् स्थालिपकानाम दियते.

- San. Gr. S. I.14


Bau. Gr. S speak only of a cow as daksīṁa.

III) Uttar Vivāha Karmanī or the Post Marriage
Rites

a) Varagrha-Prasthana

All the Gr. S except the Par. Gr. S, the Hir. Gr. S and the Drā. Gr. S give a detailed description of the journey to be undertaken for the bride's new home. Although this i.e. Varagrhapraṣṭanam is not an essential part of the marriage ritual I propose to give for specimen portion from one of these Sutra as it would give an idea about journeys undertaken in those days. Moreover this travel has a religious background and so it is accompanied by several formulae. The bridal journey described below is from the San. Gr. S.

When the bride departs from the house the groom should recite the mantra starting with "I loosen thee" (refering to the noose of Varuṇa). If she begins to cry as she has to leave her paternal home he should recite the formula starting with 'The living

1. Cf. Dr. Gr. S. I.3.27. जीवितकालं रोहणदुर्गीनामावस्यामि, Word: ।
3. RV X.85.24 "प्र त्वस्तु मुन्यायोगम्"।
4. The Rat. Gr. S. 3.1.47, p.115 gives four formulae to be recited for the departing bride which include 'सारणी स्नेहरे कव' etc. and 'स्वयं त्वस्तु मुन्यायोगम्'।
5. RV X.40.10. 'जोयं सदन्त्विति'।
one they bewail'. The wife then smears the axle of
the chariot with the clarified butter with the verse¹
'they feasted, they got drunk'. And with the two
verses 'pure are thy wheels'² she besmears the two wheels of
the cart the first with the first one and the second
with the second one. This is perhaps like oiling the
cart. Or more likely this is bestowing ritual potency
on the cart, wheels and bulls to ensure safe journey
and protection on the way. After this the bride besmears
the two bulls with the clarified butter. Then she puts
a branch of a fruit bearing tree into each of the holes
used for the pins with the verse³. 'In the box of the
wheel'. If the branch is already fixed she recites the
formula over it. Then they harness the two bulls to
the recitation of the two verses. The right bull with⁴
'hornessed be thy right one'. When they have been
harnessed the bridegroom recites the half verse⁵ over
them viz. 'while the two bulls'.

If any part of chariot should break accidently
on their way he should take the bride to the house of a
person who maintains sacred fire. He should repair the

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1. RV I.82.26 'लक्ष्मीविद्यालयिनि'
2. RV X.85.12 and 16.
   'जुजैं ते तृ चक्र ते तृ चक्र चिनि'
3. RV VIII.80.7 'रत्ने रत्ने'
4. RV I.82.5-6 'स्तव-स्तवे अस्तु दक्षिण बिनि'
5. RV X.85.10 'जुक्रावनझ्लाहं बिनि'
chariot with the verse<sup>1</sup> 'cover thyself with the Khādirās'. He then speaks five verses. He should recite<sup>2</sup> 'adorned with Kimsuka flowers' when she mounts the chariot. On the crossway he should recite<sup>3</sup> 'May no way layers meet us'. He should recite the verse preceding to the above if he has to pass by a cemetery.<sup>4</sup> Near a big tree he murmurs a half verse<sup>5</sup> 'O tree with thy branches'. If he has to sail by a boat he should recite the rik<sup>6</sup> starting with the words 'the good protectoress' when she ascends the ship. When she crosses the river he should recite the formula<sup>7</sup> 'Carrying Stones etc' when the water is deep he should recite<sup>8</sup> 'Up may your waves'. The bride is advised not to look out at such places. He should recite seven verses<sup>9</sup> when she has reached the house.<sup>10</sup>

1. RV III.53.19. 'वत्स व्यस्तं लङ्कितं स्वेति'।
2. RV V.51.11-15. 'सुकिक्षुतम् विलित्'।
3. RV X.85.20. 'ना विपर्य परिपर्य विलित'।
4. RV X.85.32. 'से विलित'।
5. RV III.8.11. 'वनस्पते विलित'।
6. RV X.63.10. 'श्रामाणान' विलित।
7. RV X.53.8. 'वामनकस्तिरि'।
8. RV III.33.13. 'बुद्धी भूषिरिति'।
9. RV X.85.27 onwards
10. The आयुग्रस. I.8.6 gives the same account of the journey.
All the sūtras require that the domestic fire should be carried with the couple during journey. The Aśva.Gr.Ś further prescribes that if the domestic fire extinguishes on the journey it may be brought from the house in which householder performs sacrifices. One of the couple should keep fast till it is enkindled again.

The Kāt.Gr.Ś says that they should reach, their destination in the evening when the rays of the sun are still shining on the tree-tops. The Man.Gr.Ś and the Vaiś.Gr.Ś say that they should enter the village after the sun sets. The Man.Gr.Ś prescribes that he should enter the house under an auspicious constellation like Rohini. The Kāt.Gr.Ś and the Man.Gr.Ś states that the priest spreads ulaparami i.e. carpet of soft grass from the chariot up to the bed-room. The Hir.Gr.Ś prescribe that she should not step on the threshold.

This is perhaps the relic of primitive belief that the threshold was haunted by the bad spirits. According to the Kāt.Gr.Ś on reaching the house the husband should

1. Cf. Aśva.Gr.Ś. I.6.5. किचापीष्ठिनमप्रोक्त स्थान नमति।
3. Kāt.Gr.Ś. 3.3.3.
   अस्त्रियः शर्म प्रविष्टिः।
5. Hir.Gr.Ś. p.45.
recite the verse imploring his bride to watch the household with a kind and friendly eye.¹

The Kausika S.² requires that the bride should be asked to tread on the stone again after entering the house. The formulae recited tell her to be auspicious to everyone in the new household.

b) The Homas Performed on Entering the House

After the couple reaches and enters the house the bridegroom performs a grha-pravesa-nīva-homa i.e. a burnt oblation is offered to celebrate and announce entry in the house.

The San. Gr. S. describes the ritual as follows. Having enkindled the nuptial fire with the fuel sticks he spreads to the west of it a bull's hide with the neck towards the east and with its hair turned outside. While the bride is sitting on it and takes hold of him with the four verses he offers four Maha vyāhrtis. "With god Agni, with the earth-world of the worlds, and the RV of the Vedas, therewith, I appease thee, Svaha³

1. Also the Asv. Gr. S. I.6.9-10; Gob. Gr. S. II.3.3 4
Asa. Gr. S. VI.6-10., The Kau. Gr. S. I.10

2. "अश्वन्न निद्घमः। तत्श्रोपि नवययमकासे वर्षेष्यि कल्याणि द्वीपग्रामः। तमा तित्तेत्त्यात्यथापम्।"
    = Kausika S. I.77

3. "अश्विन्न लैन सुविलोकोलेन शोकानां चन्द्रवेदेन वेदान्ता लैन त्वा समवाम्बो स्वाहा।"


The same verse is repeated while instead of Agni, Prthivi-loka and RV, the words Vayu, Antarikṣa (aerial region) and YV are used in the second verse, Surya, Svar-loka and SV, in the third verse and Candra, Byuloka Brahmaveda in the fourth verse. He recites one more formula starting with 'vā te patidhnyalaxmi' signifying that if any harmful qualities, bringing death to her husband or her brother-in-law rest in her, they should turn harmful towards her paramour. He joins each verse with each of the three Mahā vyāhrtis (first with the first one) and then all the three together are joined with the fourth one. He beautifies her eyes with the ṣajya collyrium reciting 'aghora caksuriti'. Then he touches her hair saying 'kāya nāh citra'. He pours the remainder on her head uttering svāhā at the end of the four formulae starting with, 'and those divine medicines'. Here some place a boy of good birth on both sides on her lap, with the verse 'unto thy womb' (a te voniriti). He may do it silently. Placing fruits in the joined hands of this boy the bridegroom causes the brahmanas to wish an auspicious day. Because of this she becomes the mother of male

1. RV X.85.44.
2. RV IV.31.1-3
3. RV VII.18.8
child. With the rest of the RV 1.85 starting with the forty second verse they make the couple enter the house.

The Gob. Gr. 3 states that she must observe silence while she sits on the hide of the bull. According to the Hir. Gr. 2 both of them, the husband and wife, sit on the hide of the bull. The bride sits behind her husband. He sits with the verse 3 imploring that the men, cows and horse should stay there; the lord Puṣan should also live there. Bhā. Gr. 4 repeats this portion of the Hir. Gr. 3. The Var. Gr. 5 prescribes that she may be seated on the hide of a red bull or on a seat made of Darbha grass. The Man. Gr. 6 states that the preceptor should ask the bride to sit upon the hide of a red bull with the verse. 'Somenādityā balinah somena prthivimahi ... etc' which is the praise of Soma.

c) Dhruvaraundhati-darsana

The next rite that follows is of beholding the two stars viz. the Polar star and the Arundhati.

1. Gob. Gr. 3. II.3.4. तत्स्थिन्ये वार्तालापवेषस्यन्ति ।
2. Hir. Gr. 3. p.45.
3. विष गाजो निरोदन्तु ... etc.
4. Bhā. Gr. 3. I.18. This requires the groom to utter one more formula as they enter the house viz. 'ya vadhvascandram vahatum yaksā yanti janaṇad anu'. Vai. Gr. 3. employs the same verse.
5. Var. Gr. 3. p.20.
According to the Śān.Cr.S. I.17.2 and the Kau.Cr.S. I.17 and the Hīr.Cr.S. I.22.10 p.45. both the bride and the bridegroom should observe silence till night. According to the Iśv.Cr.S. only the bride does so.

The Gob.Cr.S. II.3.8 discusses this rite of watching the polar star before Grha-pravesa-homa. The couple has reached the bridegroom's house late in the evening when the stars have started appearing on the horizon. She is seated on the hide of the red bull and she observes silence till stars appear. According to the Pār.Cr.S. after the spectators are sent away with the verse 'sumāṅgalīriyam vadhūḥ' a strong person picks up the bride and places her on the hide of a red bull in an out of the way house in an eastern or northern direction. With the verse 'iha gavo nisīdantu' meaning that the cows, the horses, the male population, the intelligent ones getting several gifts and Lord Pūsan should reside there along with the bride. The Pār.Cr.S. further says that they should do the ceremonies which the people of the village want them to do. The groom gives various gifts to the brahmaṇas and when the sun sets down he shows her the polar star, saying the formula 'dhruvam asi dhruvam

1. 'विकातिमलाय: पारं प्राणिक्षतादिति वनात्'।
tva pasyami ... etc' thereby expressing that the bride will be firm like the polar star, and live hundred years along with her husband. Then the husband offers oblations to the Apanasa fire. The oblations are of curds, grains and roasted grains. These are accompanied by the formula 'Agnaye svaha' and 'Prajapataye svaha'. The bride who wishes to conceive male offspring should offer with the formula, 'pumanau Indivarunau ... etc' thereby meaning that Indra-varuna, Asvinau, Candra and Surya are all males. Let them again reside in her as a male. The portion following this viz. Par.Gr.S. I.10 discusses about the bridal journey.

The Asv.Gr.S. 2 includes 'the Seven Stars' along with the Polar star. After watching these stars he can speak along with his bride, breaking his silence with the words 'jiva-patni prajam vindeta' i.e. 'let the bride of the (human) being attain progeny'.

The Man.Gr.S. 3 speaks of the same two and adds 'jivanti' 4 and 'Arundhati' to it. According to the Man.Gr.S. I.14 he fills the joined hands with sesame seeds, rice mixed with fruit and then shows her the stars. As she

2. Cf. Asv.Gr.S I.7.22. धृतराशिनिः शस्त्रायुतिः दृढ़वा 
वाच किवृते शाशिक्षनी प्रजा चिन्दे येति ॥
4. The dictionary of M. Williams says that Jivanti means the name of the man and his descendants or that Jivantisaka is a name of a plant.
is beholding the stars he utters a formula\(^1\) heralding the Polar Star, Arundhatī and all the mountains as firm. It further expresses the desire that this lady loyal to her husband would be firm. The BhāGr.Ś. I. 19\(^2\) states that he shows her the Polar Star, the star of Arundhatī and other stars. He recites the anuvāka starting with "nāmo Bhamane Dhruvaya Acyutaya āsava iti" with this he prays and praises the Polar Star. Then he invokes the seven stars with the verses which praise the seven stars as the limit of the Polar star, as the birth place (or origin) of the Polar Star, as being firm by itself. The formula further invokes them to protect him from the enemies. Then in the same fashion the groom invokes the stars, Arundhatī and Kṛttikā. The Hir.Gr.Ś\(^3\) includes the moon also. The Apa.Gr.Ś. I.12 only mentions Dhruva-rundhatī while Par.Gr.Ś. mentions only the Polar star.

The Gob.Gr.Ś\(^4\) describes this rite in a detailed fashion. It requires of the bride that she observes silence till she beholds the stars. After

\begin{enumerate}
  \item अय्युर्ती चुः चुःक्षर्नो चुः पश्येम सक्तिः।
  \textit{धुनासं: पर्वता नये चुः रत्री पतिकुन्देआम्}}।
  \textit{Man.Gr.Ś. I.14.10}
  \item धुः/धुःसन्धिमन्यानि च नागाणि शमिवासयति।
  \item \textit{Hir.Gr.Ś.} p.45.
  \item The Gob.Gr.Ś. II.3.4. onwards.
\end{enumerate}

\text{ला लक्ष्यस्त अन्वान्तनदेष्टात्}}
the stars have arisen the groom offers six ājya offerings with Man. Br. I.3.1-6. These formulae are meant to pacify the harmfulness in the movement of the eyelids, the sin in the hair, in the weeping, in the laughter, in the character, in the teeth, in the hands, feet, thighs and in the joints. If there is any sin existing in any part of her body it is appeased with the ājya offerings. The remnants of each oblation he sprinkles on the head of the bride. Then they go out to watch the star. She should pronounce her name along with the formula\(^1\). This praises the immobility of the Polar star. Then he shows her the star of Arundhatī and she recites a formula in praise of Arundhatī. Then he addresses the bride with a formula\(^2\) (Man. Br. I.3.7) which praises the sky, the earth, the whole world around us and the mountains as unchanging. It also praises the bride as a firm, unchanging woman. Then she salutes the teacher uttering her new gotra name. Now she can talk as she wishes\(^3\).

The Hir.Gr.S p.45 states that after the stars

\(\begin{align*}
1. & \text{हूँहूँ हूँहूँ पतिकुर्के ... etc.} \\
2. & \text{मू़वा से मू़वा पृक्षियो ... etc.} \\
3. & \text{सैं S्वयं काविकर्तरुः II - Gob.Gr.S. II.2.14.}
\end{align*}\)
appear he goes out in the easterly or northerly direction with his wife and worships the quarters with Tait. Sam. IV.7.14.2. He worships the stars with the ending part of the above mentioned formula\(^1\) invoking Soma to protect from the enemies and to protect from the state of issueleseness. Then he worships the Seven Stars as the\(^2\) ones who led the star of Arundhati\(^3\) to the quality of immobility of firmness. "Let this eighth one carrying the main position of the six Kṛṣṇikās (help) us to sparkle". Then he praises the Polar Star for its firmness, for as the pillar of the stars, it is a sign of "The brahmana who knows this star to be firm and as having sons and grandsons; in his family the sons and grandsons are firm (or steady)\(^4\). It further expresses the desire that clothing, blankets, copper, gold, long life, fame, food, success, strength and the lustre of brahmanas should all stay with the worshipper\(^5\).

According to the Kau.Gr.S (I.10) the verses employed at the time of beholding the Polar star are different although they also laud firmness and express

\begin{footnotes}
\item 1. ना हस्मीहि प्रक्ष्या ।
    ना रचाम टुक्कले शोम राजूः त।
\item 2. सप्तर्षिय: प्रक्ष्याः कृष्णिकासामन्तंकः
    ये टुक्तो ह निन्युः ।
    पथकृष्णिकासमप्रयोगः कहत्तियमण्डलाकर्मण्डत्वम् ॥
\item 3. The Vai.Gr.S. 3.4.
\end{footnotes}
the desire to attain the quality of firmness. The verses used are:

a) Dhruvaidhi pasyā mavi ... etc.
b) Dhruvam pasyami, and
c) Dhruvam vindeva.

With the mantra 'Dadhikraṇavo akārisat' and with the traid 'pibatam ca tranutam ca' the two should partake of curds and rice.

The *Vai.Gra.-S* makes a remark that according to some the (main) marriage rites end up in Dhruvadārsana implying that usually they end up with the Seven Steps. In one of the later Marāṭhi plays viz., Ārādā, the author made the use of the law that marriage was finalised with the rite of the Seven Steps and not before that.

From the above praise of the Polar Star it is evident that the firmness of it has deeply impressed the mind of the Śutrakāras. This is a new rite, and addition of this period. The Vedic Age did not have this rite in its ceremonial.

d) Āgneya Stḥalipāka

The next rite that follows is the offering of the cooked hotchpotch to Fire. The *Apa.Gra.-S*. III.7 the *Gob.Gra.-S* II.3.19-21, the *Bha.Gra.-S*. I.18., the

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Mir. Grs. I.23.1-6 (pp. 47-48) discuss the Āgneya Stalāṇāka in detail. The Āga. Grs. discusses it as follows. The husband causes her to perform the oblation of cooked sacrificical hotchpotch to fire. The bride herself cleans and prepares the grains for this offering. The grains like vṛēkṣa and yavae are mixed for this hotchpotch. When the hotch-potch is cooked, clarified butter is mixed with it and it is kept ready to the east or west of the fire. Then it is brought near the fire and again ājya is added to it. Then the husband performs all the rites starting from bringing of the fire upto the offerings of ājyas.

All the time the bride is holding onto him. Then he offers the stalāṇāka offerings. The god of the first offering is fire and it is offered with the accompaniment of the word 'svēha'. "Or otherwise let him offer with the darvī grass only once". The god of the second offering is Agni-svīṣṭakṛt. In this offering upastaranae and avadānae are done only once while ājva abhidhānea is done twice. For the first god the offering is taken out from the centre and offered at the centre of the fire. For the second offering the material is taken

1. Upastarana means covering. The Stalāṇāka offering is covered with ājya offering.

2. Avadāna means taking offering needed only for one oblation.

3. The word 'abhidhāna' means either name or conversation. So ājva-abhidhāna means describing or saying something about ājva.
from the northern part of the whole material. This offering is offered in the easterly northern side of the fire. Then, as in the śrauta rites, the bharis grass is offered in the fire after dipping it in the Sthalīpāka and ājya. Then the water should be sprinkled on all the four sides of the fire. Then the remaining cooked offering along with the clarified butter is given to a brahmaṇa.

All the other Gr.Ś describe this offering in the same fashion.

e) Triratna Vrata (A vow kept for three nights)
The Āśv. Gr.Ś. describes this rite and all other Sutrakāras have mentioned it. The Āśv. Gr.Ś.¹ says that from this time onwards the two should not eat salted food containing minerals and salt. The kṣara and lavana² were prohibited because these two are not used in the oblations to god. They should observe

1. अतः कुर्ष्यम्यारखण्यापिनावः स्वपिनो ब्रह्मचारिणो स्वाताम्। निरार्थ दादस्यार्थ संस्कृतं चेकाच मध्यदिनम् बिनिति ||||

- Āśv. Gr.Ś. I.6.11.

2. शारद्यः This has been interpreted differently by different commentators. e.g. according to Narayana on Āśv. Gr.Ś. I.8.10 तार means cereals, मातृदेवते on Hir. Gr.Ś. I.8.1 explains it पुदाल्पि-नितुविकिरतो: | नेचालिचि on Manu. V.72 explains तार as salts in यम्बार and तार as तार.
celibacy and sleep on the ground for three nights or
twelve nights or for a year. The Man. Gr. S. mentions
that it may be observed only for one night. According to
some if they observe celibacy for a year they give birth
17-25 contain the interesting injunction that the newly
married pair should sleep on the ground, on the same bed
for three nights but should interpose between them a
staff of udumbara wood anointed with scents and draped
in a garment or a thread and that on the fourth night,
with RV X. 85. 21-22 it should be thrown in water. This
is a relic of the belief of the Vedic Age that the
gandharva Visvāvasu guarded all the unmarried maidens
and that the groom had to request him to go and find
out some other maiden because he had married the one
chosen by him.

f) Caturthikārma

After the couple had observed the vow taken
by them they meet on the fourth night. This is also
accompanied by a ritual which is tittled as Caturthikārma.

The San. Gr. S. I. 18 and 19 deal with this
topic. The rite is named as Garbhādhana also but


2. तथाः: दम्पतिः: कप्याधन्तरेण कप्यस्य मद्ये दण्डः
शैरिश्चूड़ेलिक्कः: गन्धेन भूरिभिः खिट्ट: ... etc.
from the text it appears that it is only the continuation of the rite to be performed on the fourth night.

On the fourth night the husband makes into fire eight offerings of cooked food to Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Aryaman, Varuṇa, Fūsan, Prajapati (mantra is RV X.121.10) and to Agni-Svātakṛt. Then he pounds the root of adhyānda plant and sprinkles it into the wife’s nostril with two verses (RV X.65.21-22) with svāhā at the end of each. He should touch her when about to cohabit, with the words¹, the mouth of the gandharva Visvavasu art thou’. Then he should mutter² ’into the breath I put the sperm oh (name of the wife) !’ or he repeats the verse ”as the earth has fire inside etc’. (Brh.Up. VI.4.22) or eight other verses in this strain. Then he cohabits with her³.

The Ṛṣabh.Ś. (III.8-10 onwards) prescribes different oblations than above. ’After he removes the staff and puts it away the ceremonies from putting the wood on fire to ajyabhaga offerings are performed. While she accompanies him, he sacrifices the oblations. Then he enters upon the performance of Jaya and other

1. ’मन्त्रबद्धम विद्वाहवोपालकसनि’
2. प्राप्ते ते रोते दम्याम्पाविति
3. The Ṛṣabh.Ś. does not describe this rite in detail.
oblations and performs up to the sprinkling of water round the fire. Then he makes her sit to the west of the fire facing the east and pours some ājya abhutis on her head with the vyahrtis and fourth time with 'Om'. He besmears the region of the heart with the remaining ājya and then he whispers the Man. Br. I.11.4-6 and then he recites the rest of the anuvāka while cohabiting with her. It further says that some other person recites the anuvāka over her before they cohabit.

The Hir. Gr. S. (p.47) resembles the Apa. Gr. S. up to pouring the ājya as an oblation over the bride's head. Then he places a waterpot near the fire and walks round the fire and the water pot. Then he makes his wife sit down near fire facing east or north and touches the private parts with the formula. Here I touch (thee) to beget good progeny with the successful


हृद्याधारे मूढित सत्यिन मुख हो, स्तवं स्तविं होमि स्तवाहि।
कुठो महास्तवीभि मुख होमि स्तवाहि।
मुख निन्य स्तविं निन्य होमि स्तवाहि।
स्तविं स्तविं होमि स्तवाहि।

2. लाल्हेय प्रस्तिका हृद्याधारे मुखामरि
स्तवाहि।

hand to which belongs the strength of the thousands. Then he cohabits with her with the verse which suggests complete union of two. "I tie thee with the string of the Love; not to be released again", Then he embraces her with the verse 'mamanuvrata bhava ... etc' again imploring the bride to be the follower and friend of the husband. Then he kisses her with the words "Oh honey, this honey; 0 my tongue speaks honey (i.e. sweet words), give honey (obtained from) the bees unto my mouth; the concord is attained". Further he recites a verse referring to magical concord of the cakravāka birds. AV XIV.2.64 also makes a reference to the concord of cakravāka birds.

Here the author has become quite poetic over the first union of the bride and the groom.


While touching her hips he utters the word 'karada', her private parts with 'Janani', her body (Jātām) with 'Brhad'.

1. सं नाम: सं हुद्दयानि सं नाम: सं त्वः।
   सं त्वा कामल्यो गोहत्त्रेण मुल्लाम्यचिनोचनाय ॥
   - Hir. Gr. S. p.49.

2. करादिति महादिमिस्तिः जननीयत्वनम् वहृदिति जातमः।
   बेतेन धर्मेण भक्तावः सत्त्वत्वैः ॥
The Vai. Gr. S. 3.8 states that after properly enkindling fire he offers nine 'prayāscitti' offerings. Then offering oblations to Agni, Vāyu, Vāyavagni and Vāyavāditya he sprinkles the remaining ājya offerings on her head. Then he goes round the fire and then follows the consummation of marriage. It is only the Vai. Gr. S. that mentions 'prayāscittis' in this context.

Thus although the Sutrakaras have employed different formulae they unanimously create a mystic, religious atmosphere for the union of the married couple. Secondly they all declare that the marriage must be followed by the first meeting of the couple without allowing considerable time-lag between the two events.

Conclusion

After critically studying the Sutra literature we arrive at the following conclusion:

A) The Marriage Rite

The marriage rite in the Sutra Period can be described as follows:

1) The Time for Marriage

All the Gr. S. require that the marriage should be performed during the northern course of the sun, increasing moon and on an auspicious day. None of the Sutras prescribe that the principal rite of marriage
should be performed at night. The *sūtras* further maintain that the messengers should be sent during the day-time.

2) **Sending the Messengers**

The groom first sends messengers who are learned brahmanaś. These messengers proposed to the father of the bride and the father conveyed his acceptance. A pot of bronze filled with unhusked grains, water and occasionally with gold was placed in the middle. The groom's people sat facing east and the hosts facing west. They uttered the names of their clan. After the final agreement both the parties touched the pot placed in the middle as a token of acceptance. The *Bau.Gra.S.* says that if the girl was given with gifts then the wooers need not be sent. If the groom himself sees the maiden he should recite the prescribed formulae. Further if the maiden cries during the rite a formula should be uttered in order to nullify the effects of the bad omen. This indicates Paisaca and Rākṣasa form of marriage wherein the bride was forcefully abducted.

3) **Rites to be Performed for Preparing the Maiden for Marriage**

All the *sūtras* require that the bride should be given bath, including washing her hair, before marriage. She was bathed either by avidhavas, or by
a friend and relative, or by a priest assisted by her father and brother to the accompaniment of formulae. Then she was required to besmear with ghee and to play on nadi, nandi or dundubhi. The married women whose husbands were living were regaled with food and drink. Four or eight of them danced to the accompaniment of the drum.

Indranī karma (San. Gr. S.), pravadana (Var. Gr. S) and varana (Man. Gr. S. this rite had an element of secrecy about it) were the special rites performed on the would be bride. Only the Kat. Gr. S. required that Stalīpaka should be offered after the bride was bathed.

4) Other Rites to be Performed before Marriage

Chiefly the bridegroom was required to perform these offerings after properly bringing or enkindling the fire. The minimum that he was expected to do was four pākayajñas i.e. offering of cooked food.

The sūtras also recommend Ajya šhutis, Jaya, Abhaya and Rastrabhṛt offerings, some of them recommend Prajapatya offerings also. Herein one observes that the oblations of clarified butter that are offered form the part of the daily routine of the householder who maintains sacrificial fire. Others are occasional offerings e.g. Jaya offerings were offered for attainment of particular object, Abhaya were for victory in wars and Rastrabhṛt are for the prosperity of the kingdom
(or the township). Most of these rites were performed after Madhuparka.

One thing is evident that in the age of these Sūtrakāras the ritual has attained a specific form and all the details are clearly depicted.

5) Kanyādāna

Kanyādāna means giving away the daughter. This is the final but oral acceptance of the father of the bride. Usually some gifts were exchanged at this time, especially the groom gave a gift of gold placed in a bronze pot to the bride’s father. The latter also returns the gifts. All the people concerned are sitting round the fire when this ceremony is performed but no special offerings are recommended.

If the marriage belongs to the āsura form of marriages then the groom pays the bride-price demanded by her father at this time only.

This rite of Kanyādāna is usually followed by Madhuparka.

6) Madhuparka

Madhuparka is the special reception accorded to the bridegroom in which he is honoured by offering a seat (vīṣṭara), by washing his feet and by offering him the honey-mixture. A cow was slaughtered for being cooked for him or he was offered meat of goat or fish or some good vegetarian dishes in case the cow was
released. The Śan. Gr. S. appears to refer to two madhuparkas, one before marriage and the other one after marriage.

7) Hastagraha or Paniagraha

Pani-grahaṇa or holding the hand of the bride was performed only after the Fire was properly established and the required homes were performed. The mysterious belief about the fashion in which the hand was held (i.e. including the thumb or excluding it) and getting male, female or mixed progeny can not be logically explained. The belief only reflects the anxiety about getting male progeny. As we have shown earlier this rite comes right from the RV times and the formula recited is also the same viz. 'Orbhnaṁi te saubhaga-tvaya hastam.

8) Lajahome

Some of the Gr-Śś maintain that the bride-makes three offerings of lajās mixed with Śāmi leaves while the bride-groom recites formulae. The fourth one is offered by her silently. This offering is a development of the rite indicated in AV XIV.2.63 where the bride is described as scattering pulya grains.

9) Aṣmārohana

Aṣmārohana means the bride (or according to some, the couple) was required to step on the stone for attaining stability like the stone. The Grhya Śutras
have taken this rite from AV XIV.1.47.

10) Agniparīṇayāna

The bride-groom took the bride round the Fire. He utters the words ‘Amuhamasmi ... etc’, which indicates that the roles of the bride and the bride-groom should be complementary to each other to attain unity and success in marital life.

Most of the śutras require that Lajahoma, Agniparīṇayāna and Āśārohana are performed in succession, one after another and repeated thrice.

11) Saptapādi

Saptapādi is walking seven steps together. To the north of the Fire the seven steps are marked with rice and the bridegroom makes the bride step on these starting with right foot everytime. The formulae used by all the śutras is similar viz. ‘Ekam iṣe ... etc’. The seven steps indicate seven different aspects of married life ending with friendship.

After Saptapādi water was sprinkled on the heads of the two. Only Par. Gr. S. I.8 recommends the rite about watching the Sun. Par. Gr. S. I.8., Bha. Gr. S. I.17., Bau. Gr. S. I.4.1 recommend hrdayasparśa or touching the heart of the bride. After this the spectators were sent away with the formulae ‘ṣaṃgaṇaḷiṇiyam vāduḥ’ and the groom gave dākṣiṇā or the gifts to the brahmanas and the bride’s father. Some of the śutras
also describe the rites of yoktrabandhana, simanta and yoktravimocana.

Then the bride and the bridegroom undertook the journey to the groom's house. One of the most important aspect about this journey was that they also carried the householder's Fire along with them. This domestic Fire is to accompany the two throughout their married life as they had to perform all the day-to-day offerings in this Fire. This Fire is supposed to accompany the householder throughout his life. Even to-day one observes that in a funeral procession the son of the deceased householder carries this Fire in an earthen pot to perform the last rite of agnisamakara. Hence later on the householder was described with the word sagni i.e. one who maintains Fire and the sanyasin was denoted by the word niragni. Further the dead body of the householder is burnt while the one of a sanyasin is not burnt since he cannot be accompanied by the householder's Fire. Thus this Fire enkindled at the time of marriage played a very important role in the life of the householder. Perhaps the non-existence of sulphur-matches and the resulting compulsion to maintain live fire is the basis of all these.

12) Gṛhapravasaṇīya Homa

This is a homa performed by the groom on entering the house and is described by the Sān. Gr. S.,
Hir. Gr. S., Gob. Gr. S. and the Āpa. Gr. S. The bride is seated on the hide of a red bull with its neck towards east and its hair turned upwards. It is spread to the west of the fire. The burnt oblation is offered. A boy is placed on the bride's lap and fruit is placed in his closed joined hand. This is done in order to get male progeny.

13) Dhruvarundhatidarsana

This is a new rite added by the āstras. The Polar Star is praised for its quality of stability and firmness. Some āstras also prescribe darsana of Arundhatī, Saptarṣi, Jīvanti and other nakṣatras. According to some the marriage rite ends here. (Pani-grahenam dhruvadarśanam nītam) but according to the majority of the ātrakāra it ends with the rite of 'Seven Steps'. In a famous Marathi play titled 'Śarada', Kodaṅda the young hero makes a reference to this to prove the marriage of young Śarada to an old groom as legally non existant.

The bride was ordered to observe silence from the above-mentioned home till she beholds the stars. After this, a dish of cooked food (Sthālipāka) was offered to Agni.

14) Tri-rātra vrata

The bride and the groom were to observe a vow for three nights. Almost all the Ātrakāras include
this rite although this is a new addition of the \textit{\textsuperscript{utra}} period. The married pair must not eat \textit{k\textperiodcenteredara} and \textit{lava\textperiodcentereda} and must not share their bed and have sexual intercourse for three nights. They were also expected to sleep on the ground. The \textit{Bau.\textsuperscript{Gr.-S}} and the \textit{\textsuperscript{Apa.\textsuperscript{Gr.-S}} impose an interesting injunction about a wooden staff to be placed between the two. This is a relic of the idea about Visv\textperiodcenteredavas, the Gandharva from Vedic times.

15) \textit{Caturthi Karma}

This is the rite that marks the end of the marriage ceremony. The fourth night was the night of consummation of marriage. This was surrounded by a mystic halo as it was accompanied by rite and formulae.

B) \textbf{The Gods Invoked}

The gods invoked in this marriage rite are mainly \textit{Agni}, \textit{Agni-janavid} and \textit{Agni-sv\textperiodcenteredak\textperiodcentered\textperiodcenteredrt}. \textit{Pu\textperiodcenteredan} is invoked to give prosperity. \textit{Varu\textperiodcentereda}, \textit{Mitra}, \textit{Som\textperiodcenteredark\textperiodcenteredu} and \textit{As\textperiodcenteredvinau} are invoked for attainment of the male progeny. \textit{Sarasvati} is also invoked as goddess riding on the horse. \textit{Aryama} and \textit{Bhaga} are prayed during the marriage rite. Stars like the Polar Star, the star of \textit{Arundhati} and the star of seven sages are invoked for the attainment of stability during married life. The absence of the praise of \textit{Soma} is conspicuous during this period.

C) \textbf{Social Customs}

Various social customs are reflected in the
prescription of marriage rite by the Sūtrakāras. These
can be enumerated as follows:

1. **Forms of Marriage**

All the eight forms of marriage have attained
considerable prominence in this period as they are
enumerated by the Sūtrakāras. The brahmanas were not
expected to use Āsura, Pāśa or Rākṣasa forms of
marriages. Āsura was perhaps resorted to by the moneyed
grooms who were not considered eligible for marriage
because of some deficiency. The Rākṣasa form of
marriage well suited the kṣatriyas since they captured
and brought many beautiful maidens during wartime. The
Sūtrakāras have recommended these three forms for the
vaiśyas also. The Brahma, Ārṣa, Daiva and Prājapatiya
were resorted to by the brahmanas. The Daiva form of
marriage encouraged inter-class marriage among the
kṣatriya bride and a brahmaṇa groom. The Āsura form
of marriage required the payment of bride price. This
perhaps is a developed version of the Ārṣa form of
marriage in which the groom was required to give a cow
and a bull to the bride’s father. All these forms of
marriage were practised by different people belonging
to the different strata of society.

2. **The Belief in Mysticism**

Certain practices like the use of the clods of
earth mixed with different materials and collected from
different places to find out about the prospective 
progeny of the chosen maiden, or the reference to the 
manner in which the hand of the bride should be grasped, 
the belief that stability in marital life may be attained 
by stepping on a mill-stone and by watching and praying 
the Polar Star, the belief that the girl who has two 
curls on her neck would give birth to six heros, etc. 
lead to the conclusion that people had realised the 
uncertainty belonging to the future. No logic or 
reasoning can support these beliefs about unveiling 
the unknown future.

Particularly the reference to covered earth 
clothes is very interesting. I have not been successful 
in finding out the origin of this custom. It is certain 
that it was not followed during the Vedic Age. The 
Parsis (who worship fire like the Ḫrōys), the Muslims 
or the Europeans - none of these are known to have 
followed any similar practice during ancient or modern 
times. Perhaps it might have its origin among the 
practices followed by the original inhabitants of India.

Man is very curious to know about his future. 
This curiosity is behind all these beliefs and practices.

3. The Age of the Bride and Groom

As the consummation of marriage followed on 
the fourth night from marriage it is clear that the 
maidens had attained puberty and the groom had attained
maturity before marriage. The groom was required to complete his studies before marriage.

4) Pravara, Gotra and Sapindya

The ideas about Pravara, Gotra and Sapindya were developed to have direct connection with the choice of the bride. The bride should not belong to five generations of the mother of the groom and the seven of the father of the groom. Her pravara and gotra should also not be the same as that of the bridegroom. This was recommended to avoid intermarrying which gradually resulted in defective progeny.

Dr. P. V. Kane has dealt with this subject of gotra, pravara and sapindya very ably and thoroughly. Hence instead of entering into a detailed discussion, I shall present his conclusions of the subject as follows:

"The connection of gotra and pravara may be stated thus: gotra is the latest ancestor or one of the latest ancestors of a person by whose name his family has been known for generations; while pravara is connected by the sage or sages who lived in the remotest past, who were most illustrious and who are generally the remotest ancestor alone".

"It has been seen that marriage between parties that are Sagotra are Sapavara is no marriage and the woman does not become the man's wife... Upon the strict
letter of Dharmaśāstra texts such marriages (i.e. those
of Sagotrās or Sapravaras) are completely void”.

"Sagotra relationship is in one direction
wider than Sapinda relationship and narrower than it in
another so far as marriage is concerned. A man cannot
marry the daughter of any sagotra, however distant he
may be. Similarly even an adopted man cannot marry the
daughter of a sagotra of his genitive father . . . .
Sapinda relationship prohibiting marriage only extends
to seven or five generations but prohibitions on the
ground of sagotra relationship extend to any number of
generations. On the other hand Sapindas may be either
of the same Gotra or of a different one. (Vide History

5. The Concept of Wealth

Although there is no reference to coins, gold
was considered as wealth in the period of Sūtras since
the bridegroom offered gold to the bride’s father. The
couple was expected to wear some ornaments, mostly made
of gold at the time of Pānigrahaṇa. The bride was adorned
with a bindi (i.e. an ornament worn on forehead) during
the ceremony of Yojtrabandhana. The gifts of gold were
exchanged at the time of Kanyādāna. All these show that
gold had become a part of wealth, during this period
like cattle, cultivated land, servants, houses and other
possessions. In the Vedic age only the AV makes a
reference to a piece of gold tied to the forehead of the bride, indirectly.

6. **Gifts to a Bride**

   The bride was given a couple of new garments and some other things of daily use like Koṣa i.e. a settle to relax, a Salali i.e. a comb made of porcupine's hair, a mirror etc. She was also given ornaments of gold.

7. **The Ritual**

   The ritual of marriage had attained considerable proportions at this time. Ājya offerings to various gods like Agni, Agni-Sviṣṭakṛt, Soma, Varuṇa, Bhaga, Kāma, Śrī and Ṣrī are recommended. Further some of the Gr.Ś. also recommend Prajāpatya, Savitṛ, Abhyatana, Jaya and Rastrabārt offerings. Sthālīpāka is prescribed before consummation of marriage which is also accompanied by recitation of formulae. This indicates that mystic influence of the formulae and corresponding ritual exercised a very strong hold on the minds of the people, living in the age of the Sutrakāras. This influence overpowers the mind of an average Indian till to-day.

8. **Status of the Bride**

   It appears that the bride is more or less a silent and passive person during the marriage ritual. She was expected to utter a couple of formulae during Lājahoma otherwise she is to follow the groom.
Whether she would or she would not give birth to male progeny seems to be the main worry. Quite a good number of formulae are prescribed to invoke various gods to give male progeny.

D) Contributions of the Grhya Sutrakāras

The Grhyas have given marriage sacraments fully developed form by developing suggestions from the Vedic Age and also by making its own additions.

a) Selection of the Bride and the Bridegroom

The Sutrakāras give a detailed list of the qualities of the bride e.g. they say that she must be coming from a good family, she must be younger to the groom, without any deceases, she should not be too talkative, her limbs should be proportionate etc. About the exogamous and endogamous restrictions the Grhya - Sutrakāras say that she should not belong to the same gotra as her husbands. She should not be related to her husband's seven generations on his fathers side and five on his mother's side. The system of taking cloths of earth to the bride is a special addition of the Grhya Sutras. Similarly the concept of Vivaha Karakas or the instruments of accomplishments in marriage also specially belongs to the Gr. S. About the groom most of the Sutras recommend the same qualities as are recommended for the bride.
b) **The Ritual**

About the ritual one can say that the Sūtras fully developed the following rituals whose beginnings are found in the Vedic Age.

1. Sending the messengers formally to ask for the hand of the Maiden in Marriage.
2. Bathing of the Bride.
3. Yoktra Bandhana.
4. Giving garment and other gifts to the bride.
5. Hastagrahana.
7. Āsmaṇghana.
8. Offerings of Lājas.
10. Caturthīkarma.

The following are the additions of the Sūtrakāras:

1. Kanyādana
2. Homa and Ājya offerings before Marriage
3. Saptapadi
4. Dhruvārundhatī-darsana
5. Triratravrata
6. Āgneya Sthālipāka.
Thus it can be observed that the Sacrament of Marriage was developed to a good size. As we shall see later on the Smrtikaras accepted the rite prescribed by the Sutrakaras.
2. **THE DATA FROM THE DHARMAŚĀTRAS OR SMĀRTIS**

In this chapter I propose to present the data collected from the works of the Dharmaśāstrakāras or Smārtikāras. For collection of the data I have mainly relied upon the work *Smṛti-sandarbhah*, published in six volumes as ninth flower of Gurumāndala Granthamālā of Calcutta. The publication is comprehensive and covers a number of Smārti works including those of Gautama, Vasiṣṭha, Manu, Kaṇva, Saṃdilya and others. For presenting an unbiased view, the Smārtis have been critically read and help from different commentators and translators is taken wherever necessary. While presenting the data under different heads an attempt has been made to give it in chronological order as it helps to trace the development of different concepts. As in the case of other Sanskrit works no exact historical order of the Smārtikāras is available. Broadly speaking there will be three groups:

a) earlier Smārtikāras,

b) Manu and his contemporaries and

c) later Smārtikāras (i.e. later than Manu).

In this regard I have decided to follow the historical order given by MM. Dr P. V. Kane in his *Dharmaśāstra* and by Shankutala Rao Shaastri in her *Women in the Sacred Laws*. 
The data shall be examined under the following different heads:

I) The sacrament of marriage
II) Age of bride and bridegroom
III) Qualities of bride and bridegroom
IV) How the marriages were settled?
V) Forms of marriage
VI) Intercaste marriage
VII) Niyoga
VIII) Widow remarriage
IX) Divorce and abandonment of the spouse
X) Polygamy.

I) The Sacrament of Marriage

The sacrament or the ritual of marriage has been referred to by the Smārtikāras as follows:

(A) The References to Kanyādāna

1) Vāsa Smr. XVII.64 states if after the betrothal and before the performance of marriage rite the husband dies then the bride should be treated as a maiden only, and she belongs to her father.

2) Manu Smr. an oft-quoted verse mentions that a daughter is given away only once. Manu, thereby,

1. किंद्रियाचा च दलाग्या द्रेणेलाओ धरो यदि।
   न च मनोपधिला स्यास्तकमारी द्रुषे रासा॥
2. 'कृतस्तवन्या प्रदोष्टे॥' १०.४७
suggests that a daughter is given away in marriage only once by meritorious people. *Manu* IX.70 also emphasizes the same point. "After giving daughter to someone once, the wise one should not give her again. If one gives her away again he gets sin". *Manu* V.72 says that right from the time of betrothal the maiden is in charge of her husband.

3) *Nār. Manu Smr.* XII.21 states that (if father was absent) maternal grand father, maternal uncle, or any relative from the same family could give away daughter.

4) *Nār. Manu Smr.* XII.21 states that if mother is absent or cannot attend kanyādaṇa, let people of the same caste give away the daughter.

5) *Nār. Manu Smr.* states that if there is no one to perform kanyādaṇa, then the daughter may go to the king; with his consent she may approach the groom and may herself ask for his hand.

6) *Ved. Vās. Smr.* II.6 and *Vasistha* (2) IV.34 state that father, grandfather, paternal uncle, relatives of the father and mother are authorised to perform kanyādaṇa. If the previous one is absent, the right goes to the following one.

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1. यदा तु नेव काम्ब्रिक्यास्तु राजानमाध्येहूः।
   अनुश्या वर्ष तद्व फ्रोत्तृम वायेत् रक्षयम्।
   - XII.22.
7) Jain. Smr.\(^1\) also mentions the same order of people authorized to perform kanyādāna.

8) Kan. Smr.\(^2\) eulogises the meritoriousness of kanyādāna. It says that merit obtained through giving away daughter to a competent husband is hundred times more than that obtained by performing son's marriage.

9) Mark. Smr.\(^3\) also highly praises the merits of kanyādāna as best of all dānas. It says that kanyādāna shines with the glory of all the Vedas and sciences. It is the cause of all auspicious things and that due to it one gets offsprings. The father of the girls would get the same merit which he would get by giving away money equal in weight to his own person. Laug. Smr.\(^4\) praises kanyādāna in the same way. Similarly Samb. Smr. 62-63 also praises kanyādāna as the highest meritorious act.

10) Laug. Smr.\(^5\) refers to the controversy whether

\[\text{\textbf{References}}\]

1. \textit{किता किताण्हे श्राता कुर्मयेचा तन्त्रात्।}
   \textit{कन्यधोष: पुर्णाती प्रक्षतम्। पर: पर: ॥ I.63.}

2. \textit{अक्षेराच: पुर्णव: वेदिकेना बाइ-निरुपं भै।}
   \textit{पुर्णविश्लेषण पुनर्वर्तिता विद्या पाणेका प्रदोप्ते ॥}
   \textit{Kan. Smr. 697.}

4. \textit{Sarti-sandarbhah., Vol., VI., p.250}
5. \textit{Sarti-sandarbhah., Vol. VI., p.251}
Madhuparka should be performed before or after kanyādana. He opines that madhuparka comes first. Vas. Smṛ.(2) and Laghv. Smṛ. have the same order.

11) Laug. Smṛ. (p.251) further says that kanyādana should be performed in the morning. The mother of the bride must be present at the time of kanyādana.

Before kanyādana, Laug. Smṛ. requires that the bride should perform kanyavrata. In this, the maiden is required to worship Gaurī, Śacī and other goddesses uttering their names. In this worship she should make use of sixteen materials like pāḍya, arghya, acamaniya etc. She should also recite stotras (prayers) in their praise. Then she should meditate observing silence.

12) Vas. Smṛ. IV wants the father of the bride to emphasize that his daughter should not be side-tracked by her husband in respect of religious rites and duties, wealth and love. The bride-groom abides by his request saying 'I would not transgress'. Laug. Smṛ. and

1. Ibid, p.251.

2. Acamaniya is water for sipping, pāḍya is water for washing feet and arghya is a valuable thing offered to god.

Laghv. Sur. XV.27 also mention this vow of remaining loyal to the wife with respect to religious rite and duties, wealth and love.

This is the first mention of the vow to be taken by the bridegroom viz. 'dharme karthe ca kame ca naticarami', which has come down to the modern days.

13) Laghv. Sur. XV.20 says that the maiden stands facing east and the groom stands facing west. In between the two of them is held a cloth. When the correct time (muhurta) approaches the cloth is removed. First the bride puts akṣata grains on the head of the groom and then the groom on hers. Then the two exchange places with the 'anṛksarē ... etc'. then again she puts akṣatas on his head. The father recites 'Śriyo me kanyakā' while the groom says 'praśāya svat'. The verse 'Lakṣmīrūpaṁ imam kanyāṁ' is also recited. Then the name of the gotra of the groom is uttered. And he is requested not to abandon her with respect to dharma, artha and kāma. Then again akṣata grains are placed on their heads and preceptors recite the formulae. This is the beginning of similar rite which is performed in to-day's marriages by holding a cloth between the couple to be married. The rite is known as vastrāntararākaranayā.

1. यामें बारें ज हागे छ नालिकांभेदति च कुलः ।
   भुः नालि चारामौलि चो हन्माहलास्वयम् ।। अर्षिष्ठ अ.०.२१
Socially this rite is considered important.

14) Laghv. Smr. XV.57 after explaining Arundhatī-darāśana speaks about the maintenance of domestic fire and then it clearly says whether kanyādana takes place during day or night, homa must be performed so that the marriage-rite should go through properly.

(B) Reference to Madhuparka

1) Manu. Smr. V.41 and Vas. Smr. IV.6 and 8 prescribe killing of an animal only at the time of Madhuparka. The author says that usually killing an animal would not lead to heavens. But during sacrifice the slaughter is as good as non-slaughter. Nevertheless, while welcoming a guest, kṣatriya or a brāhmaṇa an ox or a goat may be cooked. Bhavabhūti in the Vīśkambhaka of the IV act of Uttarārāma-caritam refers to this custom.

2) Laghv. Smr. 251 says that madhuparka in which a cow is slaughtered has been condemned by the scholars of religious treatises.

3) Laghv. Smr. 4 gives alternatives for curds and

1. राजाकृति वा दानं कन्यायाः स्वोऽऽकलं यताः।
   तदानीश्रेयः स्याहूत्तांतः च सिद्धयेत्।

2. अध्यापी भ्रात्रमयं वा राजन्यायं वा स्वमयं वा।
   महाक्ति वा महानं वा पवेत्तरक्षणं सिद्धविध्यं कुर्वन्।
   मनु. Smr. IV.8
   मुफ्तिनं च यस्य च रितिदेक्तलक्षणं।
   मनु. Smr. V.41.
   मैथि पात्रो धिला नान्यकेत्यग्राहीन्मुः।

3. लाभसद्गो मुफ्तिनानांमु निन्दत: भास्त्रेदिमेऽः।
   Laghv. Smr. 251.

4. द्वारकामे पत्रो भास्त्रं महायामे वेगुऽः।
   Laghv. Smr. XV.5.
honey to be offered in the Madhuparka. If curds are not available one may take milk and if honey is not available one may take jauggery.

The fact that the Śastraśikāras do not describe in detail the rite of kanyādāna and madhuparka leads one to the conclusion that they presuppose and accept the rite prescribed by the Grhya Sūtras.

(C) Description of the Proceedings and Ritual of the Marriage Ceremony

Of all the Śrautānikāras only Laghv. Smr. XV and Vas.(2) describe the proceedings of marriage ceremony at length. All others accept the rite prescribed by the Grhyaśutānikāras.

1) Laghv. Smr. XV is a chapter devoted to the description of the sacrament of marriage.

At the beginning the author says that the daughter should be given to a student of good conduct, to one who is born in good family, to a person who is well-versed in the Vedas or to one who is equal of the bride in qualities. Then wise brāhmaṇas should ask for the hand of the proposed bride. The name of the bride along with the father's grand-father's and great-grand-father's name is announced to the groom. Then follows kanyādāna¹. This is followed by the rite called Sutrabandhana.

1. This has been dealt with under I. 'A' in the preceding pages of the same Chapter.
Around each of them the thread is wound five times, four times with the formulae 'parītva ... etc', starting from the South-West direction\(^1\). Then bracelets (made of grass) are tied on the right hands of each of them\(^2\). In the hand of male as a mark signifying extraction of Soma, and in the hand of the daughter as (sign of) oblation of Soma. Then the groom gives clothing to the bride with the words 'yuvam ... etc' and they drape her with the words 'nīlalohitam ... etc'. Then an auspicious thread in which beads are strung is placed round the neck of the bride accompanied by a formula known as 'māngalyatantvadānamantra\(^3\). Because of the recitation of this formula she always remains faithful\(^4\). This is first clear reference to the custom of wearing beads (mostly black ones) strung in a thread as an auspicious mark of a married woman. Then formulae conferring health and prosperity and wishing good day are recited. Then the bride pays her homage by bowing down to Gaurī who is always auspicious and bestows good luck, saubhāgya, on

\(^1\) श्रीशास्त्रकेतकः सूत्रे के मेलके पल्लवा लगे।
परीतवेः दित्तिनिरम्यः कुर्चीतस्तुकुण्डम्।
- Laghy, Smr. XV.30

\(^2\) स्वर्ण स्त्रिये हर्से अन्नोस्तप्तः काः लगे।
दिश्येति साकार्या (तेनेति) पुजा कथायात्स्तवस्तुः।
- XV.31

\(^3\) i.e. the formula recited solemnly while giving the gift of auspicious thread.

\(^4\) Cf. Laghy, Smr. XV.33
the bride. The occurrence of the word 'saubhāgya' relating
to the bride is very significant as in later times it
attained special meaning i.e. 'good luck obtained by the
female folk because of their marriage'. The word 'suhāga'
in Hindi is derived from this word 'saubhāgya' and has
the same special meaning. 'Suhāga-rāta' means the wedding
night on which the couple shares bed for the first time.
Then the añhitis are to be offered as prescribed by the
sūtras. Then following añjñāñ hitis, the rights of panigrahana,
lajahoma, agniparānayana and asmārohana are performed as
led down by the Grhyasūtras. If the two have long hair,
they should be tied reciting a ṛkṣa for each one. The
beginnings of the particular ṛkṣa is not mentioned. Later
on those of the groom are untied silently. After this
follows saptapadi as prescribed by the sūtras. At the end
of saptapadi water is sprinkled on the heads of the two
remembering Dakšayāni, the goddess; mother of good luck.
Then the remaining homas are performed.

The couple should observe vow of silence till
the rite of beholding Arundhatī is performed. Then the
text dilates about the sacred domestic fire which is lit
during this rite. The two may stay at the marriage place
for four days. Afterwards go to the groom's house. There
they have to perform grha-pravesāniya homa, offer añjñāñ hitis

1. Laghv. Smr. XV.44.
and perform Nandisraddha. During these homas the bride sits to the right of her husband. He smears her person with curds or ghee and brings her in the house reciting \textit{'vamam, vamam te'}. 

These post-marriage rites do not mention hide of a red bull as seat for the bride and groom as in the \textit{sutras}. Further there is no reference to \textit{saturthikarma} i.e., a rite signifying consummation of marriage. On the other hand \textit{Laghv. Smr. III} describes the rite called \textit{garbhadhana} which takes place after the fourth day of the first menstruation of the wife. This rite is similar to the \textit{saturthikarma} of the \textit{sutras} as it prescribes Nandisraddha, Prajapatya and ajya offerings and \textit{sthālipaka}. \textit{Sankha. Smr. I.1} also refers to \textit{garbhadhana} in the same way.

2) \textit{Vas. Smr. (2) IV.16} onwards describe the sacrament of marriage in detail. The \textit{Smrtikara} says that learned friends of the groom go to ask for the hand of the bride. They carry flowers and \textit{akṣata} (unhusked grains) in their hands. First they recite the hymn \textit{ato deva} and \textit{Pragmatah ca}. As the father of the maiden agrees to give his daughter in marriage the groom goes to their house accompanied by married ladies with children, auspicious \textit{brahmānas} and with melody of songs and musical

\begin{enumerate}
  \item \textit{Ganapathy Dīkṣā: kūrṇāṇāto prasthitastu त् hि।}
  \textit{kūrṇāntikālayudhē पुनः गर्भाशये दिवसे सने I II III.}
  \item Vide III. \textit{F} of the preceeding chapter.
\end{enumerate}
instruments. Reaching there he washes his feet and remembers the blessing about good health and good day. Along with his bride he worships lord of all the gods with holy lotus flowers. Then he offers milk to which sugar, ghee and plenty of fruit is added. Further 'tambula' is offered made of the leaves of sapūganāga. It is pleasantly cool because camphor is added to it.

Then he lights the holy lamp (nīrājāna) and offers flowers of sāranga. He invokes Keśava and Jagannātha that he would be accompanied by the proposed bride throughout his life.

The description of pūja or worship given herein remains unchanged to the modern times as it prescribes offering of tambula, milk to which sugar and fruit are added, flowers and nīrājāna.

After this worship follow Madhuparka and kanyādāna. He beholds the maiden at an auspicious moment accompanied by the formula 'aghoracaksu'. Then he takes the vow about non-transgression. Then the groom

2. 'The leaf of piper-betal is used together with areca-nut, catechu, chunam and fragrant spices. It is chewed after meals'. From Sanskrit English Dictionary of Dr V. S. Apte.
3. Sāranga or Sāranga means a spotted deer of something of variagated colours. So Sārangināma may mean flowers of different colours.
stands facing west and the bride facing east. The friends reciting formulae hold a pot of water in their hands and sprinkle the water on the couple with kusa blades. The specific formulae recited by friends are not mentioned. After draping them with ornaments and clothes a thread is tied round them. Then the two sprinkle auspicious, unhusked grains on each other's heads.

A cord of wool is tied round their wrists and the two are comfortably seated in front of the fire. The Śūtrakāra says that before the main rite and ajyāhutis start, they should keep ready a pot of water and the seven steps should be marked with rice.

Then follows the main rite of marriage i.e. Agniparipāyanā, Asmarohāna, Lājāhoma and Saptapādi followed by Dhruvadārśana. The homa is completed with svistakṛt offerings. While describing this main rite the Śrūtikāra presupposes Gṛhya Śūtras and follows them.

It is prescribed that he should keep the vow of not eating salty and astringent food for three nights, ten nights or one year. He should satisfy the brāhmaṇas with gift of flower and fruit and good meals. Then he proceeds to his home along with the new bride. The description of the journey given is similar to the one in

1. Vas. Smr. (2) IV. 43–44.
the Grhyasutras⁴. A homa is prescribed on their entering
the house. Aja offerings with mahayahrtis and a
svistakrt offering is prescribed. Vas.Smr.(2) recommends
the gift of the bride's dress to a brahma.

The Sartikaras gives a practical suggestion².
He says that if the domestic fire extinguishes in the
forest while it is being carried then a gift of cow should
be given to a brahma and the fire should be brought
again.

Apa.Gr.S II.3.13 says that it may be brought from
the house where sacrifices are performed and that one of
them should observe silence till it is kindled again.

Verses 107-110 describe Garbhadhana. The first
sharing of bed takes place after the first menstruation
appears³. Further the author recommends that the first
meeting should take place when the moon and stars are
most favourably disposed towards the husband. This leads
to the birth of a son. The word used viz. candra-
balanyute is very important since in twentieth century
also the mantrapuspa i.e. formula says 'tarabalam, candra-
balam tadeva' i.e. prowess of stars and moon.

2. Vas.Smr.(2) IV.96
3. दूरे दूर प्रथमे प्राप्ते गर्भधान वमावरेलू।

-Vas.Smr.(2) IV.107.
(D) Decision about Mourning to be observed during the Marriage Ceremony

If death of a relative or sapinda of the bride or bridegroom occurs after ceremony has begun is the marriage party concerned to observe mourning or sūtaka. \( \text{Ad. Smr. X.15 and Dal. Smr. 134 say that they} \)
should treat themselves as purified immediately. This purification is attained by taking bath. Then they should proceed with the rite that they already wanted to perform. \( \text{Laghv. Smr. XIX.2 says that during marriage or sacrifice} \)
no unholy rites rites e.g. looking at a dead body, offerings of svadhisthāna, cutting of hair and beard and crossing the borders are to be performed.

(2) Description of the Sacrament of Marriage by Medhatithi, Manu’s Commentator

Medhatithi, while commenting on Manu III.20 says "This again is Marriage. This is a rite of maiden, obtained through proper channel, performed to change her into a wife. It is marked with the rite called 'grasping of hand' and it ends with the rite of beholding seven stars".

II) Age of Bride and Bridegroom

a) Age of the bride has been referred to in the Sūtrīta as follows:

\[ \begin{align*}
1. & \text{विनयास्वयऽक्षयोधु सन्तरा मृत्यूः केन} \\
& \text{वना श्रृऽ बत्र निजायस्यद्य पूर्व} \\
& \text{सह-कबिष्ठ सरेत} \\
\end{align*} \]
1) Gaut. Dh. S. XVIII. 20v23 says that the father that the father of a girl had to give his daughter in marriage as soon as she attained puberty. Any negligence on the part of the father was considered a sin. The daughter should wait for three months after she starts menstruating. Then she should find her own partner giving away ornaments given to her by her father. Perhaps because ornaments formed part of the dowry given to her by father. In this particular case father has given up his role of the giver (data). Manu IX. 93 says that because of holding a daughter after puberty he loses his ownership of her.

The father should arrange for her marriage before she becomes mature. It is not clear why the Smrtikararas do not allow such a female to carry her ornaments. Baud. Dh. S. IV. 1.12 says 'therefore he should give away his daughter while she can move about without any clothes, (Nagnikam), to a competent bachelor, or even to a person not possessing good qualities; he should not keep a daughter (unmarried) who has attained puberty". The author hereby certainly proclaims that no grown up daughter should remain unmarried irrespective of the fact whether she gets a properly

1. सौन्दर्यो विज्ञेयं ज्ञेयं युनेता निविद्दोन्तेपरवनं पितायानं कारानं ।
   प्रदानं भ्रमितं । अनुभवनं दोषों ॥

2. दशालुम्बनं कथ्यं नविनतं नवमन्तरं ॥ श्रीका गुरुहोत्सवं सौपत्तं द्वादशवद्यां ॥
qualified husband or not. *Manu* IX. 90-93 express the same thoughts in detail. *Nar. Manu. Smr.* XII. 24, also contains the same thoughts. He says in XII. 25 that after a girl attains puberty, she should not dishonour it, or neglect it. She should declare it to her relatives who would arrange for her marriage. Otherwise the parents may attain sin due to bhrunahatvā (killing an embryo) every month. *Vas. Smr.* XVII. 62., *Vas. Smr.* (2) 36-37, and *Vājī. Smr.* I. 64 also mention about this sin of killing an embryo. The belief was like this. At every appearance of the menstruation the girl has lost a chance of becoming a mother or of conceiving a baby. This according to Smṛtikāras is equal to killing an embryo (bhrunā). *Vas. Smr.* XVII. 61 says that a daughter given away late in marriage is like paying late gift to the teachers. She kills the giver¹. *Viṣṇu. Smr.* XXIV goes a long way and says that if a maiden stays in her paternal house after having her first menstruation, she is like Vṛṣāli² and no sin is obtained if one carries her away forcefully.

¹. सा हत्नि दातारं बुद्धिवशाना
कालविनियतं गुंदकिलेब ॥

². सा कन्या मृत्की हेया
हरस्तान्न विन्क्वति ॥

*Vṛṣāli* is same as Śudrā or woman belonging to outcastes. The word also came to mean an unmarried daughter who has attained puberty.
Manu IX.94\(^1\) says that a man of thirty years should marry a maiden of twelve years and one of twenty four years should marry a maiden of eight years. This is the only verse specifically mentioning age of the bride and bridegroom. The difference in the ages of the husband and wife is remarkably wide (18 years in the first case 16 in the second) which explain the dominating role of male in the families.

As I have shown earlier\(^2\) the post-marriage rite of caturthikarma had lost significance as a rite of consummation of marriage. This was due to child-marriages and a rite called garbhadhana\(^3\) which signified deflowering of the maiden, was performed after she saw her first menstruation. Bāhravya as quoted by Kāmasūtra III.2.4-5 pleads that during the vow of three nights the couple should be allowed to approach and converse with each other. Only they should be given to understand that they would not consummate marriage. While later works like Samakāra Prakāsa by Vīramitrodaya totally exclude this rite.

\[-----------------------\]
1. विन्दुरेतहस्तक्त्याय हुर्षा दादस्वार्घ्यकोम्।
अछ्छ्यविश्वस्त्रविध वा धीमि सीदिति स्तवः।
2. Vide I.C of this chapter.
3. कुलों तु प्रथमे प्राप्ते गर्भाधार्तम समाचरेऽः।

Vas.Smr.(2) IV.107.
From all this evidence it is clear that during the time of earlier Śrautaśāstra like Gautama and Baudhāyana girls were married immediately after they attained puberty to avoid sin of bhrūnhātyā. But later on they were married while they were still young kids of eight or nine, safely before they attained puberty.

b) **Age of the Bridegroom**

1) **Gaut. Dh. 3. IV. I** says that a householder should get a wife who is similar in qualities to him. The use of the word householder or grhaastha suggests that the groom is quite mature and has finished his studentship.

2) **Manu. Smr. III. 4** states that a twice born allowed by the elders, after taking ceremonious bath which marks end of studentship should marry a bride who belongs to the same caste and who possesses signs of good qualities.

Like the above two, many other Śrautaśāstras insist that the groom must have completed his studies.

3) As mentioned earlier according to Manu for a youth twenty four and thirty was considered proper age for getting married.

All these lead to a conclusion that although the marriageable age of girls changed from maturity to

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1. e.g. **Samb. Smr. 35.**, **Yajñ. Smr. I.51.52.**
2. Vide Foot note No. 1., F. No. 242.
childhood the age of the groom remained the same as in the period of the Grhya Sutras. As Dr. P. V. Kane has remarked the fact that there are no rules regarding who should arrange the marriage of groom, it is evident that minor males did not marry.

The reference to bhrunahatya and to the rule that a daughter may be given to an undeserving person in marriage signifies that the marriage had become obligatory for female folk in the times of Smrtikaras while it was not compulsory for men.

III) Qualities of Bride and Bridegroom

The qualities of a bride as described by the Smrtikaras are quite similar to those expected by the Grhyasutrakaras. The bride is required to be free from diseases, having brothers, of good family, not belonging to the same gotra and pravara possessing signs of good future (lakṣāṇāg). But the Smrtikaras require that the bride should not have reached her age of puberty before

marriage. Further Baud. Dh. 3. I. 19-26 refers to a marriage with daughter of maternal uncle and paternal aunt, as a practice followed in south. Then Baudhāyana proceeds to state that those who follow the practice in countries other than those where the practice prevails incur sin. As Baudhāyana is the earliest law-giver from the south, this custom refers to the contemporary society in south India. But Āpā. Dh. S. I. 7. 21. 8, Nar. Manu. Smr. XII. 73-75, Para. Smr. X. 12 include maternal uncles daughter and paternal aunt’s daughter in the list of non-approachable women.

Regarding the qualities of the bride-groom the Śrāntikāras make one valuable addition to the Grhya Sūtras, viz. the examination of the manhood of a proposed groom. Nar. Manu. Smr. 3: "Examing the male about his manhood with the help of the marks (lakṣānas) belonging to his own person, when it established without doubt that he is a man; only then he is eligible to obtain a bride".

XII. 9 and XII. 10 describe an eligible male. "The joints of his shoulder, his knees and his bones are

1. This point has been dealt with under the topic 'Age of the Bride' in the immediately preceding pages.

2. 'तमि दशिकासि व्यास्यासि प्रथम:।

   मात्रान्तिकं शुक्लाण्यं निजेवाधिकलं ।'

3. परोक्ष पुरुषते पुरुष्ये नित्येवाधिकलः।

   पुनोष्वेदिकमिनां श्रेयो च तथ्युक्ति ॥ - XII-118॥
well-built. His neck and his shoulders are well-shaped. His neck (ghata) and the skin on his body is thick. His deportment and his voice is unbroken. His exereta does not float on the water, and his urine is full of bubbles and noisy (ravi). These are external signs of manhood and they do not have much significance in deciding manhood in the eyes of modern medical science. Yet the approach of the Śāptikāras is remarkable.

IV) How the Marriages were Arranged

Laghu Smr XV and Vas Smr(2) IV.17 say that learned brahmaṇas who are friends of the groom go to the house of the proposed maiden and request her father for her hand for the groom. This is the same as the practice of sending messengers (varakas) right from the Vedic times.

There were other established and socially accepted methods of obtaining bride by paying bride price, by forceful abduction of a maiden, by raping her while she is intoxicated or asleep. Some marriages were settled by mutual acceptance of the male and female. A majority of marriages were performed by inviting the the groom and offering him a properly bedecked wife.

1. Dr A. K. Mobile from Poona consulted in the matter.

2. RV X.85.9 Asvinau were messengers of Soma sent to Sūrya’s father.
In several other cases a daughter was offered to an officiating priest. Sometimes a youth gave a cow and a bull to father of a maiden and married her. But all these will be discussed in detail below, under No. V 'Forms of Marriages'.

V) Forms of Marriage

The Grhyasūtras¹ give concise information about the forms of marriage. But the Sārtikāras elucidate it; hence a detailed discussion about this topic will be given in this chapter after presenting the relevant data.

1) Gautama the oldest of the Sārtikāras accepts all the eight forms of marriages viz. Brahma, Daiva, Prajāpatya, Ārśa, Gandharva, Āsura, Rākṣasa and Paisāca. Gaut.Dh.Ś. IV.14 says that the first four are acceptable from religious point of view. According to some first six including Gandharva and Āsura are acceptable. The last one is the worst². Three persons are benefitted because of the son born of Ārśa marriage, ten because of the son born of Daiva marriage and Prajāpatya marriage, the son born of Brahma marriage purifies³ ten ancestors and ten descendants

1. Cf. I.ū. of the previous chapter.
2. अत्यः पापित्: ||
   - Gaut.Dh.Ś. IV.28.
3. न्त्युत्तमाभिः || दत् देवाद् || दतैव प्राप्तपत्यात् ||
   दस्त्रुच्यों-दस्त्रुच्योऽपि भावपौणि III
   - Gaut.Dh.Ś. IV.30-33.
Brāhma, according to Gautama is the highest form of marriage.

2) *Baud., Dh., S. I.11* describes the forms of marriages. He also mentions eight forms of marriage like Gaut. He says that out of these first four are, for the brāhmaṇas. In them also, the earlier, the better. In the remaining the latter one is always worse than the former one. Further the sixth and the eighth i.e. Āsura and Paisāca belong to vaisyās and ūdras because they have no control over their wives, as they are over worked with agricultural and other services. Some people praise Gandharva form of marriage also, because it is the result of love and friendship. It is wellknown that as the form of marriage so is the progeny i.e. the better forms of marriage are responsible for better progeny.

Further *Baud., Dh., S. I.11* specially criticises purchase of maidens for the purpose of marrying them. "The woman purchased by money is not a lawfully wedded wife. She is not to accompany her husband either in sacrifice to the gods or in the rites performed for the forefathers. Selling one's own daughter is a great sin.

1. यज्ञमाणादनो ब्रैश्यश्वराणाम्।। वेश्याचिन्नतां हि
   वेश्यामाणां कवित्ता।। कर्पश्वराणां किकस्याव।।। I.11.

2. क्रोतोता द्रूयय या नारी
   क्या न फली जिलोगे।
   क्या न देखि लाना न पिठि गरे।
   दासी कि कारयो ज्ञोत्त।।
and leads to terrible hell. It destroys seven families. As we shall see in the following pages, like Baudhāyana, many Smṛtikāoras condemn sale and purchase of daughters.

a) Prajapatiya form of Marriage

Āpa. mentions only six forms of marriages⁠¹ although his predecessor Baud. accepts eight. He excludes Prajapatiya and Paisāca forms of marriage. Later on Vas. Smṛ. I.29 follows him in excluding these two forms.

Why he has excluded Prajapatiya form of marriage is difficult to guess. Paisāca form, perhaps he has not mentioned as a practice belonging to hoary past or perhaps because he did not approve of the guilt and deceit that go with deflowering a maiden while she is asleep or intoxicated. Dr A. S. Altekar remarks² "Brāhma and Prajapatiya are synonyms and it is possible that Brāhma marriage was originally identical with Prajapatiya one. This conclusion is supported by the fact that Vasiṣṭha and Āpastamba do not mention it at all. They refer only to three approved forms". While Ludwig Sternbach in his article³ "Forms of Marriage in Ancient India" discards it as "an unfounded conclusion". Before dealing with these arguments I shall first present the data about this form of marriage which would itself clarify the matter.

1. Cf. Āpa. Dh. S. II.12
2. Cf. 'Position of Women in Hindu Civilization' by A. S. Altekar, p.46.
1) Gaut.Dh.S. IV states 'in Prajapatyā (maiden) is given away saying, "may both of you perform your duties together". In other forms of marriage married couples perform their duties together. But in this form they are specially enjoined to do so. The husband cannot take vow of renunciation abandoning his wife nor can he marry any other woman. In this form of marriage, the girl is gifted to the groom who solicits her hand for the whole of life. In Brahma Vivaha bride is offered to him but he does not solicit for her hand. It is the father of the maiden who takes the initiative. Other Smṛtikāras also give the same definition. Haradatta on Gaut.Dh.S IV.5., i.e. the definition of Prajapatyā, says "what distinguishes Prajapatyā form of marriage from the Brahma and other forms of marriage is that there is in the former stipulation that the husband is not to enter in another order of life (āśram) nor is to marry another woman. Nṛśimha and Harita also make same comments on these words of Gautama. This leads one to the conclusion that Prajapatyā specially

1. 'सहधर्मस्वताभिन्नता प्राजापत्यः'


3. 'नाश्रयातन्त्र यथेकेव नापि स्त्र्यस्तमुयवम्यस्मिति मन्देष समयः छिंते केव ब्राह्माते: प्राजापत्याः प्रवचेतः ।'
encouraged monogastic marriage. This form of marriage is still in vogue as monogamy has become the order of the day. Hence Dr. Altekar's view regarding Prajapatiya marriage cannot be accepted.

According to S. Banerjee 'Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhana' this form of marriage is inferior to Brahma marriage since the girl is given as a gift to the groom who solicits her hand. The Smrtikaras and Gṛhya-Sutrakaras have given it the fourth place in eight forms of marriage.

b) Āśura Form of Marriage

Āśura form of marriage by purchase is also discussed at length by Smrtikaras who do not approve of the sale of daughters.

1) Gautama, the oldest of the Smrtikaras does not make any recommendatory or condemning comment about it. Gaut. Dh. S. XXVIII. 26 says¹ that brothers of a sister whose father and mother are dead should get the price for their sister. This indicates that marriage by purchase was practised in his days.

2) Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Manu say that this form of marriage should not be contracted. Baud. says that the maiden who has been sold does not become according to religion a lawfully wedded wife. She cannot participate in the sacrifice to the gods or ancestors. She is like

¹. "मन्निलीकक्ष शेषवीजायुक्लि मानुः."
a slave. Those who sell daughters with a view to obtain wealth, fall in terrible hell. Āpastamba condemn this form of marriage in the same way. Āpastamba II.6.13.10 says that acceptance of a gift and the rite to sell a girl are not allowed. Manu Smr. III.52 says the same. Atri Smr. 384 also says that such a girl will stay in the house of her father and her sons will not be allowed to offer oblations to the ancestors of her husband. Vas. Smr. I.36 gives quite a different view as he says 'one who has been bought by her husband commits a sin as afterwards she unites herself with a stranger'. Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha say that the word sale is metaphorical and that the union is effected through law. They quote a Vedic sentence to support their view. Āpastamba says "In reference to these marriage rites the word sale which occurs in some Smrtis is only used as a metaphorical expression, for the union of the husband and wife is effected through law. Therefore he should give hundred cows besides a chariot. That gift he should make non-obligatory by returning it to the giver". Āpastamba, herein mentions that the price of the bride was hundred

1. दानं भगवानं वाप्वंस्यम न किसती II

2. दिवाहे दुहितृपि दानं काम्यं गर्नवीं खूबस्ते तल्लाद
   दुहितृपि स्वतर्थ कर्तं स्वेद तन्मिश्रणानुसन्धानिति पश्या
   क्रायस्वन्द्रस्वत्सदिमा विन धर्मीचिद्र सम्बन्ध: II

Āpa Dh. S. II.6.13.11
cows along with a chariot.

 contiene Dh. S. (II.5.12.1) says that suitor has to pay according to his ability. Manu. Smr. (III.31) says that suitor has to pay as much as he can offer. Kautilya As. III.2 also gives same price. Yajn. Smr. I.64 says that in this form of marriage large amount was paid to the father of the bride. From all these it is clear that the price of a maiden was quite high and that it varied from person to person.

Further Vas. Smr. XXIX.21 states "if a gift of one thousand oxen fit to draw a carriage (has been bestowed) according to the rule on a perfectly worthy man, that is equal to giving a maiden". But Vas. Smr. I.36 says that a hundred cows and a chariot should be given. Elsewhere i.e. Vas. Smr. I.35 it is stated2 that the suitor makes the bargain with the father.

Manu. Smr. VIII.205 describes a maiden as if she were a merchandise. The rule appears while Manu is discussing rules about articles for sale. "If a person gives his daughter without declaring beforehand about her madness, leprosy or loss of virginity he deserves to be fined"3. Manu. Smr. VIII.204 states "If one girl has been shown and another be given to the bridegroom,=

1. शाक्तियो द्रविष्य हत्वा कन्यायें भें चंकित तः \n   कन्याप्रदानः स्वाच्छूःदायाःते धर्मः कुस्ते \n   - Manu. Smr. III.31

2. Also Cf. Baud. Dh. S. II.1.2.27

he may marry them both for the same price". Manu, Smṛ. IX.97 says¹ that "If byuer of a maiden whose price has been paid, dies she should be given to her younger brother-in-law, if she agrees". Manu, Smṛ. IX.98 says that even a śūdra should not take money when he is giving his daughter in marriage. But the next verse says that neither in the past wise people committed the wrong of giving daughter to another person after accepting money from one, nor in the present. But in the following verse Manu says that he has never heard of any sale of daughter. But this is only arthavāda or exaggeration for condemning sale of daughters.

Ludwig Sternbach² says "This rule found only in Manu (Manu, Smṛ. VIII.205) is very strange on account of the standpoint represented. But Dharmasāstra in other places does not allow the practice of marriage by purchase. Therefore it must be admitted that this rule, like other rules in Manu concerning Āsura Vivāha, is archaic". But I agree to disagree with Dr L. Sternbach for the following reasons based on the above data.

(1) The exuberance with which Smṛtikāras like Baud., Mānu., Vasiṣṭha condemn the practice, is remarkable. No one would condemn something out-of-date so vehemently.

(2) The specific mention of the bride-price as hundred

1. कन्यायां दत्तकुस्तानो व्रतेषु गदि भुक्त: |
   देवराज्य प्रदातव्या गदि कन्यानुमुनते ||
cows along with a chariot, or thousand oxen fit to draw a chariot, or as varying according to the buyer's capacity, clearly suggests that the Smṛtikāra has a first hand knowledge of at least some cases of Āsura Vivāha.

(3) The fact that Kautilya makes a note of the practice certifies that it was in vogue during his times. Kautilya like Vatsayayana is a contemporary of Smṛtikāras.

(4) Mention of all the eight kinds of marriages and the children born of them leads one to conclude that they were valid according to law.

(5) It is Ārṣa form of marriage which embodies sham purchase of daughter and not the Āsura form of marriage. Moreover the gift of a cow and a bull is moderate and can be understood as a token of love but not so a gift of hundred or thousand cows.

(6) Smṛtikāras do not mention any pravācita or ritual punishment for Āsura marriage. Nor do they prescribe any fine for sale of daughters. This indicates that the practice was socially accepted.

From all the above points one comes to the conclusion that this form of marriage was in vogue at the time of Smṛtikāras.
This form of marriage is similar to Roman \textsuperscript{1} Coemptio especiall cótio uxoris. In both the forms of marriage a girl has no say in the selection of her marriage partner. The pecuniary position of the husband and the price he is ready to pay counts.

Dr A. S. Altekar\textsuperscript{2} says that marriage by purchase was the order of the day among the Assyrians, and this circumstance may have been responsible for the name āsura. "This form of marriage improved the position of the wife as she was a costly affair and could not get substituted easily".

c) The Āṛṣa Form of Marriage

The Āṛṣa marriage was performed by giving a cow and a bull to the father of the bride\textsuperscript{3}. The son born of this form of marriage purifies three ancestors and three descendants according to \textit{Manu,Smr}. According to \textit{Narada} on \textit{Manu III,51–54} the formula used at the time of giving gift is uttered at this time. According to the commentator on \textit{Baud}, this gift is to be given after the first offering of parched grains in the Lājahoma\textsuperscript{4}.


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2. "\textit{Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation}\n
p. 39.


According to Śāṅkha-likhita besides the cow-bull gift, or of suit of clothes, ornaments and dowry may be given. Perhaps the same gift was returned back to the groom, along with bride who was given dowry consisting of ornaments and other gifts. The gift of cow-bull was neither given nor accepted as a price for bride. *Manu. Smr. III.53* says that some people call it price paid for the bride but that is not true. *Manu. Smr. III.54* says that when the groom gives gift through love and affection he is actually honouring the maiden. The maidens should be honoured by their father, brothers and relatives in order to raise them in their own estimation. "We are so good that we are receiving so many gifts while being married" they would think.

L. Sternbach⁴ titles this form as 'Marriage by Sham purchase'. According to him this form of marriage comes next to the Āṣura marriage which depends upon real sale of daughter. As Āṣura marriage fell into disuse this form came up and replaced it preserving its characteristic of sale in a sham, decorative fashion. The word ārāṇa can be derived from the word rāṇi. As the gift given consists of cow and a bull, perhaps the original word was ārāṇabhā derived from rāṇabhā the bull². It was a marriage in which gift of bull and cow was given.


2. अराणभावम् पश्चमस्य अराणभावम्.
Later on the 'bha' was dropped and the word was coined as 'Arṣa' for the sake of convenience.

d) The Daiva Form of Marriage

In the Daiva form of marriage a daughter of the sacrificer (yajamāna) was given to the priest (ṛtvik) himself, during the course of the sacrifice itself. Whether the girl was given as part of sacrificial fees is not clear. In this form of marriage the presence of priest, would not possibly be necessary. The act of the delivery of girl to the sacrificial priest himself made rites of kanyādāna, madhuparka etc. unnecessary. But the important marriage rites amparināyanaṁ, aśamarohana, lājāhoma and aṣaptapadi were probably performed.

This form of marriage must have encouraged the inter-caste marriage of daughter of kṣatriyā sacrificer (yajamāna) and brahmāṇa ṛtvik. But this form must have fallen into disuse as people ceased to perform lengthy and costly sacrifices.

e) Brahma Form of Marriage

All the Smṛtikāras give the first rank to this form of marriage and eulogise it by saying that son born of this marriage purifies himself, ten ascendants and ten descendants.


2. Gaut. Dh. S IV.6; Baud. Dh. S I.11.20.2; Āpa. Dh. S II.5.11.17; Manu. Śmr. III.27; Nār. Manu. Śmr. XII.40; Yājñ. Śmr. I.58.
The father of a maiden should choose a person who possesses good qualities like good family, good character, scholarship in Vedas, and should invite him to accept the hand of maiden in marriage. In Prajāpatya form of marriage the groom solicits for her hand but in this form of marriage father invites the groom.

It is prescribed that father gives dowry to his daughter by properly bedecking her.

This form of marriage is still in vogue. It must be noted that in Daiva, Āṛṣa, Prajāpatya and Brahma forms of marriage it was compulsory to give dowry to the daughter. Further in these forms of marriages the girl had no say in choosing her partner as in the Āsura form of marriage.

f) Rākṣasa Form of Marriage

The Rākṣasa Vivāha was capture or abduction of a girl by force. The maiden forcefully abducted became the wife of the abductor after necessary marriage-rites were performed. In this form of marriage the maiden is carried away as she weeps and her relatives are assaulted and slain. The marriage was celebrated in the absence of father or guardian of the bride and hence no question of payment of dowry or bride-price arises.

Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha do not recognize this form

of marriage. But Vasiṣṭha\(^1\) in other context says that if a maiden has been abducted and not wedded according to sacred rites then she might be lawfully given to another man. Further Vas. Smr. XXVIII 2 and 3 says that a maiden either caught by thieves or forcefully raped is purified during her menstruation. Vaiṣ. Smr. I.65\(^2\) says that one who robs her away gets the same fine like a thief.

Derāla Smr. 47 onwards refers to abduction of women by Muslims. He says that if such a woman eats forbidden food at a Muslim’s place she can be purified by vows of Kṛṣṇa or Santapana. But if she conceives in his abode then she cannot be purified till she delivers the baby and hands it over to some one else.

From the above data it appears that the cases of this form of marriage were rare in the days of the Sāṃtikāras. But some instances must be there especially during war time when kṣatriyas tried to show their strength and power. A Sāṃtikār like Vasiṣṭha is quite generous in giving such a woman status of a maiden (kanyā) if her abductor did not marry her as required by law. Devala follows in his foot steps while discussing the fate of women abducted by Muslims. But later ages do not show

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1. काश्चेत्यप्रहृता कन्या मनुमेतिः न संस्कृत ।
  सन्यस्ते विधित्वेत्या यथा कन्या लक्ष्य सा ॥
  - Vas. Smr.XVIII.65.

2. सृज्ञप्रदीप्ते कन्या हरस्तो चारदण्डनाक ।
such generosity to the unfortunate woman.

In this form also the maiden had no choice. Performance of matrimonial rites was compulsory. But this form of marriage gives a practical solution to the problem of women forcefully raped and their children who are otherwise denied their legal rites and social status. The fact that Smritikāras were prepared to accept such women in their society as kanyā or maidens indicates a generous and broad-minded outlook.

g) The Paśāca Form of Marriage

The Smritikāras do not have anything special to add to what has been already stated by the Grhyasutrapāras while discussing this form of marriage. Manu describes it as the worst form of marriage following Āsv. Gr. 3. 1.6.

This shows that the Smritikāras did not approve of this form of marriage and that this form had become out-of-date by their time.

h) Gandharva Form of Marriage

Gandharva form of marriage, i.e. marriage settled through mutual understanding is given fifth place. This form is popularly known as love-marriage. Āsv. Gr. 3. 1.6.5, as mentioned earlier says that this form of marriage takes

\[ \text{Manu Smr. III.78} \]
place after a mutual agreement has been made. Āpastamba and Śankha say that this form of marriage takes place through love. Vas.Smr. I.33 says that the lover has to take a bride of the same caste. Śankha¹ says that it takes place through mutual agreement.

Manu.Smr. VIII. 226 ordains that the rites like 'grasping of hands' (pañigrāhāṇa) are to be performed only in the case of maidens. But they are not to be performed in the case of women who had lost their virginity before marriage. This dictum suggests that marriage-rites were not to be performed in the case of Gandharva, Rākṣasa and Paisāca marriage².

Actually, as I have shown while discussing 'Age of Bride', in the period of Śrīmāntikāras child marriages were in vogue. Further it was considered compulsory for fathers to marry their daughters before they attained puberty. These circumstances suggest that there could have been very few cases of Gandharva Vivāha in the times of Śrīmāntikāras.

1) Svayamvara

Although none of the Śrīmāntikāras recommend or even mention Svayamvara as a form of marriage the following

1. गान्धर्वः सम्यक्कियः ।

   - Śankha Smr. IV.5.

2. पाणिण्दिका मन्त्रः कन्यास्वेत प्रतिपूर्तिः ।
   नाकन्यापुरुषो वृक्षविन्यासा छुप्त्यथर्मित्रः हि ता: ।

   - Manu.Smr. VIII.226.
data suggests that some sort of svayamvara (i.e. choice
of the partner by bride herself existed.)

Sūrīkārās prescribe that if father or relatives
of maiden fail to find a male for her after she sees her
first menstruation, she should find her own husband. She
is required to wait for three months\(^1\). Only in this
peculiar circumstance the girl was allowed to choose her
own mate. Thus svayamvara\(^2\) was allowed only if father or
guardian failed to arrange for his daughter's marriage.

VI) Inter-caste Marriage

As we have seen earlier, in the Vedic period,
the marriage between two different castes were common\(^3\).
But a young man could marry a lady of equal caste or one
of lower caste. But a lady marrying a man belonging to
a lower caste than her own was exceptional. The
sūtrakārās have to say the following about these marriages:

Gautama IV.16\(^4\) mentions children born of

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2. The word Svayam-vara means the form of marriage
in which the bride herself chooses her marriage
partner.
3. For instance Raikva and Kāśivat marrying a king's
daughters, Yaśāti marrying Devayāni etc.
4. Also Cf. Baud. Dh.S. II.23.14-30. Also
\[ Manu. Smṛ. IX.151-155.
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inter-caste marriage of anuloma and pratiloma type as originators of other castes - Amṛṭha, Ugraniṣṭa, Duṣyanta and Pāraśava are names of sons born of anuloma marriage. Gautama IV.17 says that Magadha Sūta, Āyogava, Kṣattrī, Vaideha and Candra are children born of inter-caste marriage of pratiloma type i.e. man of lower caste marrying a bride of higher caste. But Gaut. IV.25 says that children born of pratiloma marriages are without any religion, children born of a śudra man from a lady belonging to higher caste are like outcastes. Gaut.Dh.3. xlviii. 36-41 discusses the inheritance of sons born of intercaste marriage. Those born of anuloma marriages got inheritance according to the rank of the caste of their mother. i.e. rājanya-putra, got more than vaisā-putra. If son of a rājanya was possessing good qualities he would get them same share as a son of brahmaṇa from wife of the same

1. Gautama explains the concepts of anuloma and Pratiloma as अनुलोम: अक्सरकाईत्यद्वेष्टितासु तता: ... प्रतिलोम: सूतमाधायोग्यक्क्लेकस्क बाणार्य: ।। - ।।IV.27।।
3. अनामान्येऽथ शुद्धार्प्पतिलक्ष: ।।- Gaut.Dh.S. IV.27.
4. परितत्त्वदर्शनपरिश्रध्यादेदो जन्मीयाः ।। - Commentator.
4. खामक्षेत्र राजमुन्येऽन्यको

* Translation of the end of the text: *

- Commentator.

**Notes:**

1. Anuloma and Pratiloma are concepts in Hinduism referring to marriage where the social status of the bride is higher than the groom.
2. Gautama IV.25 discusses the social implications of inter-caste marriages.
3. Anuloma and Pratiloma marriages are discussed in detail in Gautama's commentary.
4. The text suggests that a son of a rājanya who possesses good qualities should receive the same share as a son of a brahmaṇa from his wife.
caste. The sons of śūdra prepared for service or for working in the field got the share according to their work. The children born of pratiloma marriages should be treated like sons of śūdra only.  \(^1\) 

Baud. Dh. S. II.2.3.10 \(^2\) also shares above views. "If there are sons born of different wives of the different castes, they would make the positions of the ancestral property and take four, three, two and one portions according to the order of the caste.

Āpa. Dh. S. I.7.33 prescribes enunciation for all the castes except śūdras and forbids intercourse, eating and intermarrying with them. Yājñ. Smr. I.57 also excludes śūdras from marrying persons of other castes. Viṣṇu. Smr. also shares the same view. Manu. Smr. III.14 says that brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya and vaiśya should never marry a maiden of śūdra caste under any circumstance, or even in times of difficulty. \(^3\) Manu Smr. III.44 prescribes different marriage rite for women of different castes. A woman of the warrior class should take an arrow, the vaiśya should take a whip, and śūdra should catch the end of her

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1. पुत्रः प्रतिलोकाय 

2. Also cf. Viṣṇu. Smr. XVIII.

3. Also Sankha. Smr. IV.7 onwards, Yājñ. Smr. I.56.

dress in her hands while marrying a person of a higher caste than theirs. Manu. Smr. IX. 22 further says that like river in the sea, the lady attains qualities of her husband with whom she is joined in marriage. He gives example of Akṣamāla and Vasiṣṭha, and Ṣarangi and Mandapāla. Manu. Smr. IX. 86 says that wives belonging to other castes than his own should not do his personal work. Only the one who is of his own caste is the chosen one who can do that.

Manu. Smr. I–61 discusses the topic of varṇas and varṇasamkara-chaotic condition among castes. According to him the pratiloma type of marriage and its offsprings would lead to chaos which would lead to the destruction of the race itself. Manu. Smr. I. 61 states that where such destroyers of varṇas are born because of the destruction (chaotic intermixture of castes), that kingdom along with its nationals meets decay in no time. Nar. Manu. Smr. XII. 118 places this responsibility on the shoulders of the king himself. Vas. Smr. I. 24 allows anuloma like Manu, but Vas. Smr. I. 26 disapproves of the custom.

1. Also Yājñ. Smr. II. 287., Vas. Smr. XVIII. 5., Vas. Smr. (2) IV. 9 condemn pratiloma marriage.
2. नन्त्र स्वयं परिध्वंसात् नागस्ते वर्ज्वकात्: ||
   राजान्वन्धे सह वद्यायं तिप्रेष्येत विनाशिति ॥
3. Vide Foot Note No. 2 of F. 264 for similar thoughts.
Manu, Smr. III.12-13 and III.43 strongly recommend marriage within one's own caste: "For the twice-born people first, the wife of their own caste is commendable". Sudra is wife of Sudra; in similar way Vaisya is wife of a Vaisya ... and so on. Yajñ. Smr. I.55, Veda Vyās. Smr. II. 12 also prescribe marriage with a maiden of one's own caste.

VII) Niyoga or Levirate

Niyoga was a custom by which a sonless widow could get a son because of the sexual relation with her brother-in-law or any other man who belonged to her husband's gotra, or who is of the same caste. This custom has its origin right in the Vedic times, as in the RV, the brother-in-law is giving a hand to the wife of a deceased person, sharing his funeral pyre. Gaut. Smr. XVIII.4-14 deals with this topic. "From younger brother-in-law, a widow without any issue (may get a son) one who has many children should not approach (a man) after her menstruation. Through the relations of pinda, gotra and rṣi (of her husband). Or only from one belonging to the same caste, "From a person who is not brother-in-law but who belongs to the same caste," say some people. The


2. अपतिव्यवहितस्म: देवरात् पुत्रशास्त्रा मार्गृहिणाग्नि ।

पिण्डोत्सविस्ववन्य: । ॥६॥ के निशागाता ॥

ना देवराविचलिते । ॥४॥ नातिदृढत्तीयं जन्मद्विचरणम् ॥४॥
begetter should not give birth to more than two children".  
Further Gautama says that if more than two children are  
born, and there is no particular condition, then the  
children belong to both i.e. the husband and the begetter.  
They belong to the one who brings them up. Sons born of  
Niyoga were legal heirs to property. This custom has  
its origin in the fear of extinction of race. If no  
sons are born continuity of family will not be maintained.  

Baudh. Dh. S. II.2.40 says that¹ the son goes to  
the layer of the seed himself so men should protect their  
women from having sex relations with other person than  
their own husband. Although Baudh. Dh. S. 2.20 speaks  
about Niyoga following Gautama he suggests dislike for the  
practice. Āpastamba discards all other sons like kṣetraja  
and recognizes children born of a marriage of a lawfully  
wedded couple of one and the same caste. Āpak. Dh. S. II.  
6.13.4-5 says, "If a man approaches a woman who has been  
made before, or is not legally married to him, or  
belongs to a different caste, they both commit a sin.  
Through their sin their son also becomes sinful". Further  
Āpak. Dh. S. II.10.27.7 says, "It's better to face the  
punishment or reward of the next world than obtaining a  

¹. तत्त्वाद अपेक्षा परेऽ सत्यमः  
तत्त्वाद अपेक्षा केत्राजः रक्षिन्ति विश्वस्तः परेऽक्षा ।  

- Baudh. Dh. S. II.2.40
son through Niyoga". According to Shakuntala Rao Sastri this is perhaps an interpolation.

Manu Smr. IX.65-67 says that there is no reference of this Niyoga in the Vedas during description of marriage rite. In the same manner no Vedas prescribe widow-remarriage. Even the learned brahmansas condemn this niyoga as dharma of the beasts. But this was prescribed for men during the reign of the king Vena. Siddheshavara Shastri Chitragupta informs that king Vena ruled Anga-desa. He was famous for his cruelty and unscrupulousness. According to Bhagavata he was grandson of Death. He encouraged anarchy and religious chaos. But Manu Smr. IX.69-70 says that if a husband of a maiden dies after kanyadana, her younger brother-in-law should marry her. He should unite with her once during every month till she gets a son. She should wear a white dress. Manu Smr. IX.67 refers to the son born of niyoga as ksetraja and recognizes him as one of the kinds of sons, besides one born out of the legal marriage.

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1. नेघऽक्षेपः मनःशु नियोगि कोरंस्येति कविः
2. मनोयासंपि प्राचेभ केने राज्ये प्राप्तिः
From the above data it is clear that Manu does not at all approve of the custom of niyoga although it was a practice in his times. So he enjoins strict rules about it. *Manu, Smr.* IX.58 states (also *Nar, Manu, Smr.* XII.80-89 and *Vaisn, Smr.* XXV) "If the elder brother, even if he takes permission of the elders, if there is no calamity like childlessness, both the brothers go to hell". *Manu, Smr.* IX.59 says that sonless widow may get a son from a properly appointed brother-in-law or from a sapinda of her own husband. *Manu, Smr.* IX.60 says that the appointed person should go to the widow at night besmearing himself with ghee, and observing vow of not speaking. He should beget only one son and not more. Thus Manu seems to recognize niyoga under some compulsion of current social behaviour although personally he would like to get rid of it.

_Nar, Manu, Smr._ XII.80-89, _Vaisn, Smr._ XXV., _Yajñ, Smr._ I.68 follow the above views of Manu. _Vas, Smr._ XVII.49 onwards deals with the same topic. He recommends six months of austerity for the widow. Further he says that niyoga should not be practised through greediness or for obtaining wealth¹. Later Smrtikaras like Vasishtha and Devala do not mention this custom at all which clearly suggests that after Manu it fell into disuse gradually.

1. लोकानामासिक नियोज़ित
   - _Vas, Smr._ XVII.57
As will be shown in the course of discussion, the later Smārtikāras enjoined very strict injunctions on widows and denied them the right to niyoga or remarriage.

VIII) Widow Remarriage

The views of the Smārtikāras on widow-remarriage are as follows:

Gaut. Dh. S. XXIX.8 and Baud. II.2.3.15 refer to paunarpbhava while they are giving list of sons. Baud\(^1\) quotes the view of Aupajanghani which declares that only the first one i.e. aurasa son is legal. Āpa. Dh. S. II. 10.27.2-7 also declares only aurasa or son born of a legal marriage as true son. This means that Āpastamba is not in favour of remarriage. He elsewhere expresses the view that liberal conditions are not applicable to people of kaliyuga. Kautilya, at the end of Chapter III of his Arthasastra states that remarrying widow was supposed to return the balance of sulkā and ornaments received by her father-in-law after she decided to marry again. In this chapter Kautilya gives elaborate rules about widow-remarriage in III.2. But he mainly concentrates on the mercenary side of the problem. Yet the existence of such rules itself suggests the widow remarriage was practised in his time. Vātasyāyana Kāmasūtra I.5.3 says "Union with a woman of lower caste and a twice married

\(^1\) लेखा प्रश्न भेल्याडेहुँवत्ति: ।

= Baud. II.2.38
woman is neither desirable nor forbidden". Manu IX.71 states "Let no prudent man, after giving his daughter to one (man), give her again to another, for he who gives (his daughter) whom he had given before incurs (the guilt of) speaking falsely". Manu IX.175 defines paunarbhava son as one borne by a remarried woman; a who marries again because she is abandoned by her husband, or whose husband is dead, or who remarries because of her own wish to do so, Manu. Smr. IX.176 explains that a lady who once abandoning her husband goes to another, and again comes back to the first one deserves to married again with the same husband. Manu is a staunch supporter of the view that women should be married only once as he says 'saktr pradīyate kanya'. Manu. Smr. III.181 says that money given to the son of a remarried woman is like offering that is burnt to ashes i.e. without any use. Thus Manu forcefully condemns the practice of widow-remarrying which was in vogue in his times. Vasiṣṭha admits of widow remarriage but does neither condemn nor praise it. Nar. Manu. Smr. also (XII.48) shares the views of Vasiṣṭha and Manu as he says that a widow who is given in absence of her younger brother-in-law, to a person belonging to her own caste and not of the same pinda as

1. Vasiṣṭha XVII.21 also gives similar definition

Cf. 'अन्ये पति विन्दुः कर्ते वा सा पुनर्निवृत्ति।'
hers is a remarried woman. *Nār. Manu. Smr.* further says\(^1\) (XII.99) that during five calamities, one of which is death of their husband, another husband is prescribed for women by the law-givers. The same verse occurs in *Pār. Smr.* IV.30. *Nār. Manu. Smr.* XII.104 states that this creation of Prajapati i.e. women is for beings whose nature is to procreate. Therefore there is no fault if women approach another man. Thus Nārādiya Manu recommends remarriage of widows.

*Tājā. Smr.* I.65 shares the view of Manu that daughter is given in marriage only once. Further I.67 says that a woman who comes back to her husband whether she is sexually enjoyed or not is again married according to religious requirements\(^2\).

*Nārāyana Smr.* VII.7\(^3\) states that during Kali Age because of the abundance of sins, the widow remarriage and travel in a ship must be given up. Āngirasa has a group of verses devoted to "The Punishment for Remarrying women. He says that she causes suffering for her dead

1. पलोऽे प्रभाविते नाहेको स्थ परिते नृते।
   पञ्चव्यापट्टु नारोधा पतिर्नेहि निवर्तिते।
2. अन्तता वा अन्तता केव पुनः संस्कृतता पुनः।
   स्वपेदिका या परि हित्वा सम्पूर्ण कामा। अहेतु। । III.67।
3. कलोऽु प्रार्थ्वहृदात्वक्स्तिन नान्वेयः।
   किवमपुनस्त्रहो नैद्याग्या तु समुन्तः। ।

\(^{1}\) *Nār. Manu. Smr.* XII.99
\(^{2}\) *Pār. Smr.* IV.30
\(^{3}\) *Nārāyana Smr.* VII.7
husband; she attains a hell called mahaśaurava, the givers (dāta) of the widow-in-marriage get a bed of live coals; the villains under the guise of father or brothers go to dreadful hell etc. Veda Vyasa Smr. II.53 says that a widow should either enter the fire with the dead body of her husband or wear herself by asceticism with their hair shorn". Visnu Smr. XI.11 also expresses the same view. However Bana in his Kadambari, V.147 condemns sati, or burning in the fire with the dead body of one's own husband as an act of suicide.

Thus from the above data it is clear that widow remarriage was a practice in vogue till the times of Manu, Vasiṣṭha, Kautilya etc although the Śrāvakas were not approving it. In the later times the practice fell into disuse and widows either ended their lives with their husband's death or lived ascetic life. The practice of tonsure of widows observed until twentieth century can be traced to opinion that widow should wear herself with asceticism, as asceticism requires that she should give up every thing which would make her beautiful and enjoyable in the eyes of people.

IX) **Divorce and Abandonment of Spouse**

When the two marriage partners do not pull on well with each other either one of them abandons the other, they seek divorce, that is, legal breaking of marriage. The Śrāvakas have also something to say on
this subject as this problem is universal.

Caut. Dh. S. XVIII. 15-16 "If a husband had disappeared the wife had to wait for him for six years before she could marry again. If the husband returned at the end of six years she had to go back to him. In the case of a brahmana who is gone for studies she should wait for twelve years.

Baud. Dh. S. II. 2. 27 "He is called the paunarbhava (born of a remarried mother) who is born of a mother who has remarried giving up her impotent or outcaste husband". Baud. Dh. S. II. 4. 6 further says that a man could abandon his wife in the tenth year if she had no issue, in the twelfth year if she had only female offspring, and in fifteenth year if her children were still-born. But the woman who speaks unpalatable words should be abandoned forthwith.

Apa. Dh. S. II. 5. 11. 12 states that no one should obtain another wife if the first one is righteous, dutiful and has offspring. Apa. Dh. S. II. 6. 13. 16-17 says that

1. नष्ठे मति गद्वा धिको शरणः पुणमाणे सिन्धुमन्द ।

2. ब्रह्मणी हिष्टते तु निस्सिद्धिः प्रणात: ।

3. गद्वा धिकाः च तस्य शरणागात्रनः ब्रह्मणी ।

1. जायायस्य विमाणे विकले । पाणिग्रहणादि सहस्रं कर्नेः । तथा पुण्यार्केऽदुः प्रणायश्चिङ्गेहुः ॥

2. जायायस्य विमाणे विकले । पाणिग्रहणादि सहस्रं कर्नेः । तथा पुण्यार्केऽदुः प्रणायश्चिङ्गेहुः ॥

3. जायायस्य विमाणे विकले । पाणिग्रहणादि सहस्रं कर्नेः । तथा पुण्यार्केऽदुः प्रणायश्चिङ्गेहुः ॥
separation of husband and wife is not known. From the marriage ceremony they have to accompany each other in rites and duties, in (attainment of) fruit of merit and obtaining wealth.

Manu. Smr. IX.72 states that even after due rituals have been performed if a girl is found to be notorious (vīgarhitām) or affected with disease, or cruel, then one should beseed her. Manu. Smr. IX.73 calls a father a scoundrel who gives his daughter without declaring her shortcomings. Manu. Smr. IX.74 says that a husband going on a journey should make proper arrangements for the living expenses of a wife and family. Such a wife should observe the vow of prosīta-bhāṛṭkā. If husband is gone for some religious work the wife should wait for him for eight years; if he is gone for studies then for six, if he is gone to attain success or for attainment of love (kāma) then his wife should wait for three years. A man should wait for a wife who speaks harsh words for one year. Afterwards, taking away ornaments given to her, he should abandon her. If a wife does not serve her defaulting or intoxicated husband, or one who is affected by disease she should be abandoned for three

1. Prosīta-bhāṛṭkā is one whose husband has gone away. She is to wear a white dress and tie her hair in one plaid. Kālidāsa in his Šakuntalam, VII. describes Šakuntalā as wearing white dress and single plaid.
months\(^1\). One who is addicted to drinks, afflicted with
diseases, of trecherous behaviours, who relishes opposing
her husband, one who is cruel and spendthrift, such a wife
should be given up. A barren wife should be given up in
eighth year\(^2\), one whose children die, in the tenth year;
one who gives birth to female progeny only in the eleventh
year; but one who speaks unpalatable words should be given
up immediately. One who is a sickling but who looks well
after her husband and has good character; with her
permission her husband should marry another maiden; the
first wife should never be insulted. If she goes away
due to anger after the arrival of her co-wife she should
be stopped from doing so or she should be left in her
father’s house. (Manu. Smr. IX.82-83)

From this data Manu. Smr. does not approve of
abandonment of spouse unless some unavoidable circumstance
like disease or barrenness etc. demands it.

Nar. Manu. Smr. XII.11-13 gives six types of
impotent men (sandha) and advises that such a man should
be given up by his wife. Because\(^3\) (XII.19) he says that
the field (maiden) is to be given to a person who has
seeds (i.e. potent man); one who is impotent does not
deserve any wife. Nar. Manu. Smr. XII.31 and 92 say that

\(\begin{align*}
1. \text{Manu. Smr. IX.78.} \\
2. \text{Cf. also Yajn. Smr. I.73.} \\
3. \text{कभी कभी देव्य नागीनी लेगर्म्फति।} \\
\text{XII.19.}
\end{align*}\)
if a spouse is really faulty then no sin is committed in the abandonment of the same\(^1\). The views expressed by Nar. Smr. XII.93-95 are the same as expressed by Manu.

The Smrtikara in XII.98 says that if a woman leaves her husband for a flimsy reason her relatives should resettle in her husband’s house. XII.99 prescribes abandonment of the husband who disappears, who is impotent; who takes vow of renunciation, who is an out-caste or who is dead. Nar. Manu. Smr. XII.100-104 prescribe different waiting periods for wives of different castes and for those who have and don’t have children if their husband disappears.

**Kauthilya As** III.iii.155, "A woman or a man hating his or her marriage partner could not dissolve his or her marriage against the partner. But from mutual enmity divorce may be obtained. If a man apprehending danger from his wife desires divorce from her, he may pay her whatever is obtained from her (as dowry). In case of a woman vis-à-vis her husband she must forfeit her claim to her property. Marriages contracted according to first four forms could not be dissolved. A divorced woman could claim maintenance from her husband.

**Vas. Smr.** XVII.67-68 prescribe waiting time for a woman whose husband has disappeared. Vas. Smr. XXVIII.2-3

\(^1\) दोषे सु कलार्यानि स्मार्यायनं स्मार्यायनंः
expresses a very liberal view about women since it says, 'na atrī dusyati jāreṇa.'

Yāsū Smr. I.74 says that even if a person remarries after giving up the first wife, he must look after her maintenance otherwise he accumulates sin.

Veda Vyāsa Smr. II.9 says that 1 person who blames a wife who is not blameworthy and abandons her must be fined.

Thus from the above data it is clear that a few marriages were broken if one or both of the partners were truly guilty i.e. either they had serious disease, or they were not capable of producing children, or they could not pull on well with each other.

(X) Polygamy

Polygamy or plurality of wives was not allowed in the case of men who obtained their wives through Prajāpatya form of marriage which specially enjoins two to performance of duties. But in other forms of marriages polygamy was allowed. Āśa. Dh. S. II.5.11.12 prescribes that if the first wife is dutiful and righteous no one should obtain a second one.

The mention of Rajanya-putra, vaisi-putra and sudrā-putra presupposes at least three to four wives of

1. स्वयम्भुवसुवासुदुर्गुड़म् स्मादृ दुर्गुड़म्यायापुराणम् ॥
   - Vedavyasa. II.9.

2. Cf. Foot Notes: 1) 4., p.264; 11) 1., p.265 and iii) 2., p.265.
one and the same person. Manu Smṛ. IX.86 refers to the wives belonging to the other caste than one's own. Manu Smṛ. IX.163¹ states, "If one wife of a man having many wives delivers a son then due to him all of them become putravati. Viṣṇu Smṛ. XXVI also makes a reference to polygamy². A person who has many wives should be accompanied by the eldest one in performance of religious duties. Lohita (verses 9 onwards) discusses the same topic. He also maintains that the first wife is the main wife.

All these go to prove that polygamy was practised in the age of Śāraṅgāditya.

Conclusion

From the above data one arrives at the following conclusions:

A) Marriage Rite as Depicted by the Dharmasastrakāras

As I have shown earlier only Laghu Smṛ. and Vas. Smṛ. (2) have described the marriage ceremonial in detail. Even they maintain that the main marriage rite must be performed as prescribed by the Gṛhysūtrakāras. In a nutshell the rite prescribed by the Gṛhysūtrakāras

1. स्वीकृत्यते पतनीगते केन पुरुषे चरणोऽसि।
   स्वीकृत्यतेन पुरुषे प्रायः पुस्तीर्थतु॥

2. सवर्णां वहनयागिनः किञ्चनागिनः
   नकेंद्रग वह धर्मकार्यं कृतात।

   - Viṣṇu Smṛ. XXVI
is accepted in toto by the Śastrakāras. Yet the following points must be noted:

1) The Śastrakāras opine that Maduparka must be performed before Kanyadāna.

2) During Kanyadāna the bridegroom has to take the vow of loyalty and honesty to his bride in the matters of Wealth, Religion and Love. The bridegroom is required to take such a vow even to-day.

3) The Śastrakāras regard Kanyadāna as one of the highest meritorious acts.

4) Laukākṣī requires that the bride should worship Gaurī, Śacī and other goddesses before Kanyadāna. After the worship she is to meditate observing silence. This type of worship by the bride is still in vogue among Maharasṭriyans and is known as Puja of Gaurī and Hara.

5) There is a reference to holding a cloth between the bride and the bridegroom and reciting the formulae during Kanyadāna. Later on this rite itself popularly come to be known as main marriage rite although according to Dharmasastra this is not so.

6) There is also a reference to throwing of ṛāṭas i.e. unhusked rice on the heads of bride and bridegroom. The bride puts them on groom’s head and then the groom

1. Lohita Ārya Śmr. verse 9.
2. Āṣv. Gr. 8. Parīśiṣṭha I.23 also describes similarly.
follows her. But in later times all the people attending marriage performed this act. As one witnesses in modern marriages husked rice coloured with turmeric and red powder (kumkumā) is used for akṣata.

7) Śastrakaras like Manu opine that the marriage rite should be performed only in the case of maidens and not in the case of women who have enjoyed sexual pleasure before marriage. But Vasiṣṭha while discussing about maidens forcefully carried, maintains that they should be legally married or they may be treated as maidens only.

8) The Śastrakaras later than Manu use the word Saubhāgya with its special meaning as good fortune attained by ladies through marriage.

9) The mention of musicians and singers accompanying bride-groom, of tāmbula to which camphor is added and mānagalyatantu is quite significant as all these have a special place even in the present day marriage ceremony.

10) As the parents were required to give away their daughters in marriage before they attained puberty the rite of Caturthīkarma i.e. consummation of marriage ceased to be performed. Another rite called Garbhādhāna came in vogue. It was performed after the girl saw her first menstruation.

11) The groom was required to worship gods Keśava, Jagannātha and Dākṣāyaṇī Devi before before he presented himself for participating in the marriage rite.
The marriage rite described by the Śastraṅkāras differs from the one described by the Grhyaśūtrakāras in the above mentioned points.

B) The Gods Invoked

As Śastraṅkāras include the worship of Gaurī, Kesāva, Jagannātha and Dākṣāyaṇī Devi in the marriage ceremony. As the Śastraṅkāras follow the rite in the Grhyaśūtras; they also require that Asvinau Prajāpati, Brhaspati, Agni, Puṣan, Sarasvati etc. are invoked during the marriage rite.

C) The Social Customs as reflected in the Smrtīs:

The Smṛti texts discuss social marriage customs and usages at length. They do not describe the marriage ceremonial in detail.

1) Age of the Bride and Bride-groom

In the times of the earlier Smṛtikāras like Gautama and Baudhayana the maidens were given in marriage immediately after they attained puberty. As the times advanced people started believing that they attained sin of killing an embryo if they did not arrange to give their daughters in marriage after the girl attained puberty. To err on the safer side the Smṛtikāras prescribe that daughters should be given in marriage before they attained puberty i.e. before they were eleven or twelve years old. Unfortunately the authors gave a verdict that in case of difficulty the maiden may be given even
to an undeserving person. The maiden should wait for three months after she sees her first menstruation and then she may find her own marriage partner. All these precepts go to prove that marriageable age for maidens was around ten. It is obvious that child marriage in case of girls started with the Sāstra period.

As shown earlier the boys got married only after they completed their Vedic studies. As Manu says the proper age for young boys to get married was around twenty-four. Both the prescriptions taken together point to disparity in ages - viśama viśāna. This disparity in age and also the practice of child-marriage for girls has come down to modern times. After the influence of the western culture society realized their unwanted effects and gradually a change came upon Indian Society. Yet some unfortunate cases still occur of child-marriage particularly in rural India.

2) How the Marriages were settled

The father or the guardian of a maiden usually arranged for her marriage. But in the case of young men they themselves found their partners because Śartikāras do not mention that parents or guardians had to arrange for their marriage.

The different forms of marriages are different ways of obtaining wives. In the Brahma form of marriage father of the maiden invites the young man to accept the
hand of his daughter. In Prajapatya form of marriage the two are specially enjoined to perform their duties together for life time. This form of marriage implies monogamy and does not allow renunciation. Herein the groom solicits for the hand of the bride. In Daiva form of marriage a daughter was given to a sacrificial priest during the course of the sacrifice. This form of marriage fell into disuse as the sacrifices themselves were performed rarely during later times.

Ārśa form of marriage was performed after giving a gift of cow or bull to the father of the bride. In the age of Smritikāras this gift was returned to the groom along with the bride who received dowry. Gandharva Vivāha, as it required the bride also to be mature, gradually fell into disuse during the times of Smritikāras. Āsura form of marriage was settled by the payment of bride price. This form of marriage was followed by rich people who could afford to pay bride price, although the Smritikāras did not approve of it. Rākṣasa form of marriage and Āsura form was resorted to by Kṣatriyas who enjoyed displaying their wealth and strength. Lastly the Paisāca form of marriage was very rarely followed during the age of Smritikāras.

L. Sternbach, in his article in Bharatiya Vidyā, Vol. XII has tried to trace an evolution in these forms of marriages. His order is Paisāca, Rākṣasa, Āsura, Ārśa,
Gāndharva, Daiva, Prājāpatya and Brahma. As described above only the Paisāca form of marriage belonged to the hoary past while all others were in practice in the times of Smṛtikāras.

3) Other Customs

The practices of Niyoga, Widow Remarriage, gradually fell into disuse in the later Smṛti period. It was a practice to abandon spouse if any faults or disparities existed.

Manuśmṛti is one of the most interesting texts because the Smṛtikāra apparently makes contradictory statements. At one place he says that Kanyādāna is performed only once but later on he accepts paumrbhava son. He gives detailed rules about niyoga but he himself says that the Vedas do not prescribe niyoga. Similarly about remarriage of widows also he makes contradictory statements. While discussing about merchandise in general he includes rules about maidens given in marriage by accepting bride price. These contradictions are not because of the later interpolations but due to the ideals prescribed by the law giver and actual conditions in the society. Manu does not approve niyoga, widow-remarriage etc. but at the same time as a Dharmaśastrakāra he was required to frame and prescribe rules to govern the contemporary social conditions. The Law-givers were working under a peculiar strain. The things that were
happening in the day to day life of classes and masses were not approved by them. They had to accept these as facts and realities. On the other hand they did not recommend niyoga, widow-remarriage, inter-caste marriage and marriage-by-force (Rakṣasa vivaha). This is how the contradictions occur. They give rules about niyoga but at the same time they say that sonless widow who lives ascetic life would be rewarded after death; it's not necessary for her to resort to niyoga. The rules about inter-caste marriage are given but in the same breath the marriage itself is condemned. The Sāstrakāra states that a widow can remarry under certain condition and immediately he says that either she should burn herself in the funeral pyre with her husband or wear herself with asceticism. The tide of social customs, practices and thinking is changing. And this transitional period is reflected in the texts of Smritis like that of Manu. The apparent contradictions can be better explained like this than believing them as interpolations.