CHAPTER 2

Food history as reflected in Sanskrit literature

Chapter II

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The Veda-s, the earliest form of literature in India contain several references to food and drinks of the earlier period, most of them being sacrificial offerings. The epics and the Purāṇa-s also refer to them both as offerings to the deities and the things for human consumption. The kāvyā-s and nāṭaka-s of the classical period contain much detailed accounts of the food and drink habits of the people. Many scholars have attempted to write the food history of ancient and medieval India on the basis of these literary evidences. But a comprehensive output has not yet come which gives a special focus on dietetics and culinary art.

This chapter is an attempt to bring out a brief history of food and drinks on the basis of ancient and medieval Sanskrit sources. This chapter is divided into eight different sections viz.

1. Food grains
2. Dairy products
3. Meat
4. Sweets
5. Salt and spices
6. Oil and oilseeds
7. Vegetables and fruits
8. Intoxicating drinks
The sections given in this chapter entitled are based on the Sanskrit sources of both the ancient and medieval periods. Hence each of them comprises with separate subsections on ancient and medieval sources. The texts of the ancient and medieval period taken for the study in the present chapter are listed below.

**Texts of the ancient period**

**Vedic literature (c.1500 BCE—800 BCE)**

Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Atharvaveda, Taittirīyasaṃhitā, Vājasaneyīsaṃhitā, Maitrāyaṇīyaṃsaṃhitā, Śatapathabrāhmaṇa, Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa, Aitareyabrāhmaṇa, Jaiminīyopaniṣatbrāhmaṇa, Gopathabrāhmaṇa, Taittirīyāraṇyaka, Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣat and Chāndogyopaniṣat.

**Sūtra literature (800-300 BCE)**

Baudhāyāna-grhyasūtra, Āśvalāyanagrhyasūtra, Pāraskaragrhyasūtra, Śāṅkhāyanagrhyasūtra, Āpastambhadharmasūtra Gautamadharmasūtra and Aṣṭādhyāyī

**Grammar and Miscellaneous texts**

Nirukta, Mahābhāṣya, Arthaśāstra, Manusmṛti and Kāmasūtra

**Epic literature**

Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa

**Medical works (300-500 CE)**

Carakasaṃhitā, Suśrutasaṃhitā, Kāśyapaṃsaṃhitā and Bhelasaṃhitā.
Classical literature (5th Cent. CE)

Raghuvaṃśa, Kumārasambhava, Mālavikāgnimitra, Abhijñānaśākuntala, Rītusaṃhāra and Mṛcchakaṭika.

Texts of the medieval period

Classical literature and others (7th - 11th Cent. CE)

Harṣacarita, Uttrarāmacarita, Naiṣadhīyacarita and Mānasollāsa

Medical works (6th Cent. CE)

Aṣṭāṅgaśaṅgagraha and Aṣṭāṅghadāya

Purāṇic works (3rd - 11th Cent. CE)

Matsyapurāṇa, Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, Agnipurāṇa and Vāyuṇapurāṇa

Thus it is clear that the original texts are of different category. Many of these texts were written by the authors of different regions of ancient and medieval India. It may not be necessary that the writers of Sanskrit sources are the original contributors in the food history of India as they may have simply quoted the pre-excistant knowledge of the period of their period. It will also be a herculean task to draw all the discussions on food in the ancient and medieval Sanskrit sources in this chapter. Hence the relevant findings are only included here.

2.1 Food grains

A lot of references to the varieties of food grains can be seen scattered throughout the Sanskrit literature. Some of the domesticated grains according to Brhadāraṇyakopaniṣat are vrīhi,
yava, godhūma, tila, māṇa, aṇu, priyaṅgu, masūra, khalva and khalakulāśā.

2.1.1 Cereals and pulses

In the above said list, the first three are generally considered as cereals. Generally, cereals are the grasses cultivated for their starch-rich grains which provide staple food for humans. They are the largest energy providers also.

Pulses are annual leguminous crops yielding from pods, with one to twelve seeds. They are rich in proteins and amino acids. To propagate their dietetic effects, the year of 2016 has been considered by the Food and Agricultural Organisation, an agency of United Nations as the International year for pulses worldwide.

References to cereals and pulses in ancient and medieval Sanskrit sources are discussed in the following sections.

Cereals

Among cereals, barley and rice are the commonly used staple food grains by ancient Indians. We can see some references to the wheat also in some of the ancient Sanskrit treatises. Thus the cereals of ancient India certainly comprise barley, rice and wheat.

2.1.1.1 Barley

Barley (yava) is the ancient staple food known to Vedic

\[ daśa grāmyaṇi dhāṇyāṇi bhavanti vrīhiyāvāstilamāśā aṇupriaṅgavo godhūmāśca masūrāśca khalvāśca khalakulāśca tānpīṣṭānddhani madhuni ghṛta upasiṅcatyāyija juhoti/ BU.VI.3.13 \]
Indians and thus it enjoyed the staple food status in this period. All other cereals, whether it is rice or wheat, get only a secondary status in this period. It can be seen that the rice gets an equal status of barley only in the period of *Atharvaveda* (AV) which states that barley and rice are the two immortal sons of heaven.

*Aṣṭāṅgasamāgraḥ* (AS) identifies two varieties of barley which are *anuyava* - the superior one and the *veñuyava* - the inferior one.

**Barley Preparations**

*Dhāna* and *karambha*, the Vedic offerings made of barley are referred to in *AB*. *Dhāna* is prepared by frying barley with butter. The powder of *dhānā* again fried with butter was called *karambha*. Powder of fried barley is known as *saktu*. Sometimes it is also used to prepare a sweet sticky dish namely *yavāśīr*. *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (ŚB) mentions the malted barley known as *tokma*. *Apūpa*-s, the cakes made from barley is mentioned in this...
Brāhmaṇa. Barley is also used to prepare the popular drink yavāgū. Pāṇini mentions yavāgu in one of his aphorisms goyavāgvośca. Barley preparations like yavāgū, dhāna, yāvaka and apūpa can be seen referred to in MB.

2.1.1.2 Rice

The discussions on rice can be seen only in post-Ṛgvedic literature. Yajurvedic samhita-s and brāhmaṇa-s mentions kṛṣṇavrīhi (black rice), śuklavrīhi (white rice), mahāvrīhi (long rice), nīvāra (wild rice), hāyana (red rice growing in a year), āśu (swift growing rice) and māśūsyya (a sort of wild rice) as varieties of rice.

According to Suśruta, among the vrīhi rice the black variety, which is called kṛṣṇavrīhi, was popular. Śaṭṭika rice was

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17 yavamayam apūpaṁ kṛtvā yatrāhavanīyamādhāsya bhavati tannidadhāti/ ŚB II.2.3.13
18 prjayā paśubhir yavāgū rājanyaśca vrataṁ krūreva vai yavāgū krūra iva/ TS 6.2.5.2,
   payo brāhmaṇasya vrataṁ yavāgū rājanyasyāmīkṣā vaiśasyātho saumye’pyadhvara etadvrataṁ brūyād/TĀ 2.8.8
19 go-yavāgvośca Aṣṭ.4. 2.135
20 Śālva- Alwar-Bikaner Region (Pāṇini(H),p.121)
21 suṣṛtaṁ pāyase brūyād yavāgvāṁ kṛsare tathā/MB. Śānti.193.22
22 dhānā gauḍyāsavaṁ pītvā gomāṁsaṁ laśunaiḥ saha/ apūpamāṁsavitāyāmāṁśinaḥ Śīlavārjitāḥ// MB.Kar.Pa.44.11
23 kaṇapinyākakulumāśaśākayāvakasaktavah/ tathā mūlapaham haisyaṁ parāyeṃ popayojayet/MB. Śānti.Pa.36.
24 rasālāpūpakkāś citrān modakān atha khāṇḍavān/MB.Anu.Pa.53.18
25 Lifestyle of Vedic people p.12
26 kṛṣṇavrīhir varas teśāṁ kaśāyānuraso laghuḥ/ SS Sū.46.14
considered very nourishing and its daily use is also recommended in the text\textsuperscript{27}. Some inferior varieties of rice such as koradūṣaka, śyāmāka, nīvāra, varaka and priyaṅgu were used by the poor people and ascetics\textsuperscript{28}. \textit{Raghuvaṇīśa} states that kalama variety of rice, which was grown in Bengal was transplanted in the banks of Ganges to attain full growth\textsuperscript{29}. The common thing that can be observed in the medical works of ancient and medieval period is that all of them regard the red variety of śāli (raktaśāli) rice as the best\textsuperscript{30}.

\textbf{Rice preparations}

\textit{Parivāpa} and puroḍāśa are the Vedic offerings made from rice\textsuperscript{31}. \textit{Parivāpa} is prepared from parched rice fried in butter\textsuperscript{32}. \textit{Puroḍāśa} is a rice-cake\textsuperscript{33}. The term \textit{odana} has been used even from

\begin{footnotes}
\item\textsuperscript{27} śaṭṭikaḥ prararas teṣāṁ kaśāyānuraso laghuḥ/ SS Śū.46.10
\item\textsuperscript{28} sakoradūṣaḥ śyāmākāḥ kaśāyamadhuro laghuḥ/
vāṭalaḥ kaphapittaghnaḥ śītaḥ saṅgrāhiśoṣaṇaḥ//
\item\textsuperscript{29} vaṅgāṅunkhāya tarasā netā nausādhānodyatān/
nicakhāna jayastambhān gaṅgāsrotāntaṁsu sa//
\item\textsuperscript{30} śūkaṁsa varastatra raktastṛṇātridoṣahā/
mahāṃpasyānu kalamas taṃ cāpyaṇu tataḥ pare//AS Śū. VIII.7
\item\textsuperscript{31} dhāñābhir asvinaḥbhīṣajyataṁ devī bhaṛati parivāpena/TB I.5.11.2
\item\textsuperscript{32} \textit{India of the age of the Brāhmaṇas} p.58
\item Idem
\end{footnotes}
the Vedic period to signify the boiled rice. AV refers to the milk boiled rice as \textit{kṣīra odana}^{34}.

The \textit{grhyastra}-s ordain that rice should be ceremoniously administered to child in the \textit{annaprāśana} rite\textsuperscript{35}. Towards the period of \textit{Upaniṣat}-s, different varieties of food items were prepared with rice and are named as \textit{kṣīraudana} (cooked rice mixed with milk), \textit{dadhyodana} (mixed with curds), \textit{tilaudana} (mixed with sesame), \textit{māmsaudana} (mixed with meat), \textit{ghṛtaudana} (mixed with ghee) and \textit{mudgaudana} (mixed with beans)\textsuperscript{36}. Thus we can say that the upaniṣadic people have done varieties of experimentations of rice and are aware about the different rice preparations. ŚB mentions the fermented form of rice known as \textit{śaśpa}^{37}. Apūpa-s, the cakes made from rice is also referred to in this \textit{Brāhmaṇa}^{38}.

\textit{Lāja} and \textit{prthuka} are two rice products used for sacrificial purposes. \textit{Lāja} is a puffed rice which looks like white flower\textsuperscript{39}. The flattened rice or beaten rice is called as \textit{prthuka}^{40}. VR has a

\textsuperscript{34} \textit{yāṛṇ te dhenuṁ nipahāmi yamu kṣīra odanam/}
\textit{tenā janasyāso bhartā yo’trāsadajīvanah// AV.XVII.2.30}
\textsuperscript{35} \textit{athaudanaṁ dadhnā madhunā ghṛtenādbhir iti samudāyutya hiraṇyanauṣadhasya}
\textit{kumāraṁ prāśayati / Bau.Gr.Sū.II.2.5}
\textsuperscript{36} \textit{शाष्ठे मास्यान्प्राशंसानम् अमानन्यायकामः तात्तिराम् ब्राह्मवर्तकामः ग्हर्तादनाम तेजस्कामः}
\textit{दधिमधुग्हर्तामिश्रम अन्नामः प्राशयेद अन्नापते त्रस्या नो देहयनांवास्या शुष्मिनाः/}
\textit{Āṣva.Gr.Sū. I.16.1-5}
\textsuperscript{37} \textit{Lifestyle of Vedic people p.13}
\textsuperscript{38} \textit{India of the age of the Brāhmaṇas p.58}
\textsuperscript{39} \textit{vṛihimayam apūpaṁ kṛtvā yatra gārhapatya mādhasyn bhavati tan na nidadhāti/}
\textit{ŚB II.2.3.12}
\textsuperscript{40} \textit{lājā vṛhiprabhāvāḥ puṣpavat vikasitaḥ / Sāyaṇa on TB II.6.4}
\textit{prthukair juhoti rudrāṃgam vā etad rūpam/ yat prthukāḥ / yat prthukair juhoti/}
\textit{rudrāneva tat prīṇāti/} TB III.8.14.3
description on *madhulāja* - honey mixed with puffed rice preparation\(^{41}\). In *Gṛhyasutra* rituals, especially in marriage ceremonies pouring the puffed rice into the fire (*lājahoma*) is a significant ritual. Kālidāsa in his *Kumārasyaṃbhava* beautifully describes this ritual at the event of the marriage ceremony of Lord Śiva and Pārvatī\(^{42}\).

VR describes *modaka* a typical sweet ball\(^{43}\). Of the rice preparations *śaśkuli* is the referred to in MB\(^{44}\). Tasty soups were prepared with parched rice, long pepper, dry ginger and the juice of pomegranates\(^{45}\). CS describes that the gruels were named according to the proportion of water they contained. They were either drunk or licked\(^{46}\).

Among the medieval period texts, *Uttararāmacarita* has a description of deer being fed with rice and boiled vegetables\(^{47}\). In

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\(^{41}\)  ikṣūṇiś ca madhulājāṁś ca bhojayanti sma vāhanān/ 
  iksvākuravayoddhānām codayanto mahābalāḥ// VR.Ayo.85.52

\(^{42}\)  tau dampaṭṭi ṛṇiṣ pārīṇaṁ yāhīṁ ananyo saṁsparśa nimpitākṣau/ 
  sa kārayāmāsa vadhūḥ purodhāḥ tasmin samiddhārciśī lājamokṣaṁ // Kum.VII.80

\(^{43}\)  naraḥ modakahastāś ca rāmasya purato yāyuḥ// VR Yud. 131.38

\(^{44}\)  saṁyāvaṁ kṛṣaraṁ māṁsaṁ śaśkuli pāyasaṁ tathā/ 
  ātmārthaṁ na prakartavyaṁ devārthaṁ tu prakalpayet// MB.Anu.Pa.107.65

\(^{45}\)  peyā hi siddhā saha dāḍimena takreṇa cukreṇa jaleṇa coṣṇā/ 
  sasaindhavā cāśu vihanti tṛṣṇāṁ kālopapannā maricārdrakābhyāṁ// 
  Kaś.Saṃ.Sū.53

\(^{46}\)  sikthair virahito maṇḍaḥ peyā sikthasamaṇvītā/ 
  vilepī bahusikhāḥ syāḥ yavāgarvāḥ viraṇḍrapā// CS Sū.46.345

\(^{47}\)  nivāraudana maṇḍamuṣṇamadhuraṁ sadya prasūtipriyā- 
  pīṭādhyadhikāṁ tapovanamṛgaḥ paryāptamācāmati/ 
  gandhena sphuratā manāganusato bhaktasya sarpiṣmataḥ 
  karkandhūphalamiśraśākapacanāmodaḥ paristīryate // UC. IV.1
Naiṣadhiyacarita, the narration of Damayanti’s marriage feast is started with the description of the characteristics of *odana* served there\(^{48}\). Here it can also be observed that *odana* while being eaten is divided into two parts; the first part was enjoyed with dishes and the other one with curds\(^{49}\).

### 2.1.1.3 Wheat

Wheat is mentioned in later Vedic *samhitā*-s\(^{50}\). It can be observed that in *Arthaśāstra*, wheat occupied a more important place among the cereals and it being invariably mentioned with barley\(^{51}\). Two varieties of wheat *madhūlika* and *nāndimukhi* have been mentioned by Śrūṣṭi in the list of inferior food grains\(^{52}\). *Mānasollāsa*, the medieval period text refers to different wheat preparations such as *sohala*, *pāhalikā* *pōlikā*, *maṇḍaka* and *patrikā*\(^{53}\).

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\(^{48}\) amī lasad bāspam akhaṇḍitākhilaṁ viyuktam anyonyam amuktamārdavaṁ/ rasottaraṁ gauramapīvaraṁ rasād abhuṇajatāmodanam odanaṁ janāḥ // NC XVI. 68

\(^{49}\) kiyat tyajan odanam ānayan kiyat karasya papraccha gatāgatena yāṁ/ ahaṁ kimeṣyāmi kimeṣyasīti sā vyadhatta namraṁ kila lajjayānanaṁ// NC XVI.80, See also the commentary of Narayana- bhajanasaṁayë bhoktā kiyantan odanam agre vibhajya sthāpayati, kiyantaṁ dadhyādinā saha bhoktuṁ gṛḥāṇātī jāṭaḥ/

\(^{50}\) vrīṇaḥ ca me yavaś ca me priyaṅgavaś ca me’ṇavaś ca me śyāmākāś ca me nīvārāś ca me godhūmāś ca me masūrāś ca me yajṛena kalpantāṁ/ VS XVIII.12, oṣadhānāṁ nediṣṭhataṁāṁ yad godhūmāḥ/ ŚB V.2.1.16

\(^{51}\) kusumbhamasūrakulaṭhayavagodhūmakalāyātasāsarṣapāḥ paścād vāpāḥ/ AŚ II.24.18

\(^{52}\) koradūṣaka śyāmāka nīvāra śantaruvaka vaddaḍlapriyaṅgumadhūlikā nāndimukhī kuruvinda āvedhuku sarabarukā toyatāṇī mukundaka vēṇyava prabhṛtyaḥ kudhānyaviśeṣāḥ/ SS Sū.46.21

\(^{53}\) Mānasollāsa chapter III
2.1.2 Pulses

In Vedic literature, different varieties of pulses like *māśa* (black-gram), *mudga* (green-gram) and *masūra* (lentils) were referred to. But it is interesting that for some reason *māśa* is not considered edible as it is despised for sacrificial purposes. In VR, pulses like *māśa* (black-gram), *mudga* (green-gram), *kulattha* (horse-gram) and *caṇaka* (hemp) are mentioned.

*Kāśyapasarphitā* states that *kulattha* is prescribed for a feeding mother in order to produce pure breast milk. The medical works regard *māśa* as the worst among all pulses because it is very difficult to digest. According to the authors of *purāṇa* literature the use of *rājamāsa*, *masūra*, *nispāva* and gram are interdicted in the *śrāddha* ritual.

**Pulse preparations**

Of the pulse preparations, *kulmāśa* is the most prominent one.
among the common people. It is prepared by stewing beans and mixing them with a little *guda* and oil. *Aṣṭādhyāyi* says another preparation of pulse called as *sūpa* (soup).

According to CS, pulses such as *mudga* (green gram), *masūra* (lentil), *caṇaka* (hemp) and *kalāya* (pea) were parched and eaten. *Parpaṭa*-s were prepared with flour of pulses. The soup prepared from *mudga* is described in SS.

Towards the medieval period *mudga* is considered the best among the pulses. *Mānasollāsa* describes many pulse preparations like *vidalapāka*, *iḍarikā*, *ghārikā*, *vaṭikā*, *kaṭakarna*, *pūrikā*, *veṣṭikā* and *doṣaka* in its third chapter.

### 2.2 Milk and milk products

#### 2.2.1 Milk

Milk was one of the principal ingredients of the food of Vedic Indians. The reference to the boiling of the cow’s milk can be seen in *Rgveda*. But the concept of cow as a holy one seems to be started from the period of *Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa* (TB) as the text

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60. *kulmāṣāṃścīd āhara , ityavakutsīte , kulmāṣāḥ kuleṣu sīḍanti / Nirukta.1.4, sahebhyaṃ kulmāṣān khādantaṃ bibhikṣe...CU I.10.2*

61. *palalasūpāśakaṃ misre/ Aṣṭ.VI.2.128*

62. *mudgān maśūrāṃś caṇakān kalāyān bhṛṣṭān yutān nāgaramāśikābhyaṁ/ lihyāt tathaiva triphalavidāṅgacūrṇaṃ vīḍāṅgaplavayor atho vā// CS.Cikitsā. 20.37*

63. *saṃskārāl laghavaḥ santi bhakṣyā gaudhūmapaiṣṭikāḥ/*
   
   *dhānāparpaṭapūpādayās tān buddhvā nirdiṣet tathā// CS Sū.27.272*

64. *jīneyāḥ pathyatamanācāiva mudgayeṣaḥ kṛtākṛttaḥ/ SS Sū.46.367*

65. *sūpyāṃnāṃ uttāmā mudgā laghīyāṃso’lpa mārūtāḥ/ haritās tesvapi varāḥ/AS Sū.VII.26*

66. *yuvaṃ paya usriyāṃmadhattaṃ pakvamāmāyānava pūrvyam goh/ antaryadvanino vāṃṭapsū hvāro na śucir yajate haviṃśān//RV.I.180.3*
states that a cow should be offered as the best offering (vara)\textsuperscript{67}. TB also states that cow should not be milked for a period of ten nights after the delivery of its baby calf\textsuperscript{68}. The usage of goat’s milk can be seen in TS\textsuperscript{69}. Milk was mixed with soma juice called gavāśira\textsuperscript{70}. According to Omprakash\textsuperscript{71}, the references to fresh milk, boiled milk and the cream of boiled milk can be seen very commonly in Brāhmaṇa literature\textsuperscript{72}.

Kauṭilya mentions an officer called go’dhyaḵaṣa assisted by two junior persons in charge of milking cows (dohaka) and churning curds (manthaka)\textsuperscript{73}. Cows were generally milked twice a day in the rainy, autumn and winter seasons, but only once in the spring and summer seasons\textsuperscript{74}. MB instructs that the brāhmins are not allowed to drink the milk of sheep, mare, asses, camels, deer, women and a cow which had recently calved\textsuperscript{75}.

According to Ayurvedic treatises, milk was considered a complete diet and is recommended as the most nourishing food\textsuperscript{76}.

\textsuperscript{67} varo dakṣiṇā/ TB III.12.5.7
\textsuperscript{68} tasmād vatsuṁ jātaṁ daśaṛā́rīr na duhai/ TB II.1.1
\textsuperscript{69} etat payo yad ajakṣīraṁ parameṇāvaināṁ payasā’’cchṛṇati/ TS V.1.7.4
\textsuperscript{70} śukrādyasya gavāśira indrāvyū niyutvataḥ/ ā yātaṁ pibatam narā/RV.II.41.3
\textsuperscript{71} The author of Economy and Food in Ancient India
\textsuperscript{72} Economy and Food in Ancient India section II, p.67
\textsuperscript{73} gopālakapiṇḍārakadohakamanthakalubdhakāḥ…AŚ.II.29.02
\textsuperscript{74} varṣāśaraddhemantān ubhayataḥ kālaṁ duhyuḥ/ śiśiravasantagriśman ekakālam/ AŚ II.29.29-30
\textsuperscript{75} eaḍakāśvaharōṣṭriyāṁ sūtikāṇāṁ gavāṁ api/ mānuṣīṇāṁ mṛgīṇāṁ ca na pibed brāhmaṇāḥ payaḥ/MB.Śānti.Pa.36.25
\textsuperscript{76} sarvaṁ dugdhamabhisyandi gavyaṁ tebhyo viśiṣyate/ vājī bhavati dugdheṇa balaṁ cāpyupajāyate/ sañjīvanam saṁbhavati sarvaṁ kṣīramudāḥṛtam/Bhela. Sū.XXVIII.17-18
Caraka mentions the milk of cows, buffaloes, goats, mares, sheeps, elephants, camels and women which were commonly used. According to Suśruta, the milk and ghee of a cow were considered the best. He also states that the milk of buffaloes was considered good for certain persons who have a good digestive system. Suśruta says that unboiled milk was considered heavy while freshly milked warm milk was considered wholesome. Over boiled milk was considered difficult to digest.

AS states that fresh warm milk was considered wholesome as nectar itself. Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya (AH) states that milk is recommended as a suitable diet for the convalescent, the old, children and ascetics. Milk was used in various forms referred to in Mānasollāsa. Agnipurāṇa describes certain sweet preparations such as ksīraprakāra, kṣīravaṭa and ksīrayaṛṭikā wherein milk is the principal ingredient.
2.2.2 Milk products

2.2.2.1 Curds

Curds was widely used in Vedic period. RV mentions a preparation in which the curds were mixed with Soma juice and barley meal. Prasadājya a curd product is mentioned in TS. According to Śaṅkara, it is a mixture of curds and minute globules of butter. We find the mention of dadhnavat which was probably the cheese preparation. The two varieties of it, one with pores and the other without pores can also be seen referred to in the text. A preparation of curds with boiled milk in which the solid part being known by the name āmikṣā while the liquid part was called vājina is referred to in Brāhmaṇa literature.

Kauṭilya lays down that buttermilk should be given to the dogs and pigs, solid part of inspissated milk (kūrcikā) to the soldiers with the food and the liquid part (kilāta) to the cows with fodder.

VR and MB describe rasālā, the fine sweet preparation from curds. Caraka prohibits the use of curds in the autumn, the summer

\[suta \ pāvane \ sutā \ ime \ śucayo \ yānti \ vītaye \ somāso \ dadhyāśīraḥ/RV.I.5.5\]
\[prṣadbhir \ dadhibindubhir \ miśram \ ājyaṇa \ prṣadājyam/ Śāṅkara on TS III.2.6.2\]
\[acchidrasya \ dadhanvata \ supūrṇasya \ dadhanvataḥ/RV.VI.48.18\]
\[dadhanvata \ iti \ dadhno’dhikatvaṃ \ dyotanārthaḥ/ Śāṅkara on RV.VI.48.18\]
\[India \ of \ the \ age \ of \ the \ Brāhmaṇas \ p.59\]
\[kūrcikāṃ \ senābhaktārtham \ āhareyuḥ/ AŚ II.29.26\]
\[kīlāto \ ghāṇapiṇyākakṣedārthaḥ/ AŚ II.29.27\]
\[yauvanasthaṣya \ gaurasya \ kaptathasya \ sugandhīnaḥ/ hṛdyāḥ \ pūṛṇā \ rasālasya \ dadhnaḥ \ śvetasya \ cāpare/VR.Ayo.91.73\]
\[rasālā \ kardamā \ nadyobabhūvur \ bharatarṣabha/ MB.Asv.Pa.91.37\]
and the spring seasons. According to Om Prakash, the cream of milk (santānikā), the cream of curds (sara), whey (mastu), fresh butter (navanīta), clarified butter (ghṛta) and the butter milk (takra) are all referred to in Ayurvedic preparations. Curds churned without water (ghola) is referred to in SS. Manu lays down that curds and its preparations alone could be eaten even if they had turned sour.

_Naiṣadhiyacarita_ considers that the curds prepared from the milk of those buffaloes, whose calves were fully grown as very tasty. In the text a special preparation of curds with black mustard is also described. _Mānasollāsa_ gives different names to the curds according to the quantity of water mixed into it. Curds churned and mixed with sugar and fumigated with camphor are also referred to in this text.
2.2.2.2 Butter

RV refers to the heating of butter to make ghee\textsuperscript{100}. It was used for frying and dipping the cakes in it\textsuperscript{101}. \textit{Aitareyabrāhmaṇa} mentions that solidified clarified butter was used by grown up men. Here the fresh butter was prescribed for the usage of children\textsuperscript{102}. Butter was taken out by churning milk as well as curds\textsuperscript{103}. Later in the classical literature we can see that fresh butter (\textit{navanīta}), butter prepared from the previous day’s milk (\textit{haiyaṅgavīna}) and clarified butter (\textit{ghṛta}) were widely referred to in\textsuperscript{104}. Clarified butter was considered a germicide in \textit{Matsyapurāṇa}\textsuperscript{105}.

2.3 Meat and meat preparations

2.3.1 Meat

Meat eating in India is as old as Ṛgvedic period. The god of fire is described in it as the eater of ox and barren cows\textsuperscript{106}. The ritual flesh offerings is pure enough to be consumed even by the priests. The sacrifice of goat as an offering to fire god is also described in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{śuci} ghrtaṁ na taptamaghnya-yāḥ / RV.IV.1.6
\item puroḍāśāyājyeṇābhyaṁjanti/ AV.X.9.25
\item ājyaṁ vai devānīṁ surabhī ghrtaṁ manuṣyāḥṇāṁ āyutaṁ pitrṇāṁ navanītam garbhāṇāṁ tad yan navanītenābhyājantī/ AB I.3
\item kṣīrotthāṁ punar navanītām utkṛṣṭasnehamādhuryam atiśītaṁ saukumāryakaraṁ caṣkṣusyaṁ saṅgrāhi raktapittanetragaharaṁ prasādanaṁ ca/ SS Śū.45.93
\item Economy and Food in Ancient India. Section II p.276-277
\item annādijānāṁ satvānāṁ rajasānāṁ ca sarvaśaḥ/
\item phalāpuḍpodgatāṁ ca ghrtrapāṣo viṣodhanam/MP 227.39
\item ukṣāṁnāya vasānāṁya somapṛṣṭḥīya vedhase/ stomair vidhemāgnaye/ RV 8.43.11
\end{itemize}
RV\textsuperscript{107}. The text describes the killing of barren cows at the time of marriage obviously for food\textsuperscript{108}. Fish is mentioned in RV\textsuperscript{109}. But we are not in a position now to conclude that the Rgvedic people ate fish.

The description of slaughter house (śasana) can also be seen in RV\textsuperscript{110}. The flesh of horses, rams, barren cows, sheep and buffaloes was cooked\textsuperscript{111}. The AV regards beef eating as an offence against forefathers (Pitř-s)\textsuperscript{112}. The text also states that Bṛhaspati takes away the progeny of those who consume a cow\textsuperscript{113}.

In ŚB, killing of a big ox or a big goat to feed a distinguished guest was referred to\textsuperscript{114}. The text also states that many animals like cows, sheep, goats and horses continued to be killed at sacrifices and their flesh was eaten by the participants\textsuperscript{115}.

Pāṇini also refers to meat eating\textsuperscript{116}. According to Pāṇini a guest for whom a cow can be killed is known as goghna\textsuperscript{117}.

\begin{verbatim}
107  ajo bhāgastapasā taṃ tapasva taṃ te śocistapatu taṃ te arcīḥ

108  yāste śivāstanvo jātavedastābhirvahaināṇī sukṛtāmu lokam /RV 10.16.4

109  aghāsū hanyante gāvāḥ/ RV 10.85.13

110  aśṇīpinaddham madhu paryapaśyān matsyam na dīṇa udani kṣiyantam/

      RV 10.68.8

111  karhisvītā ta indra cetyāsadagasya yadbhi nado rakṣa esad

      mitrakruvo yac chasane na gāvāḥ prthivyā āprigamuyā śayante/ RV 10.89.14

112  yasminnaśvāsa ṛṣabhāśa ukṣano vaśā meśā avasṛṣṭāśa āhutāḥ/ RV 10.91.14

krūramasyā āśasanāṃ trṣṭāṁ pīśitamasyate/

      kṣīrāṃ yadasyāḥ pīyate tad vai pitṛṣu kilbiṣam//AV.V.19.5

113  yo vēhataṃ manyamaino’māca pacate vaśām/

      apyasya putrāṃ pautrāṃścā yācayate bṛhaspatih//AV.XII.4.38

114  mahokṣaṃ vā mahājaṃ vā pacet/ ŚB III.4.12,

115  tad agnihotrocchiṣtam atha yat sthālyāṃ yathā pariṇaḥ nirvaped evaṃ tat tasmāt

      tad adya eva kaśca pibet ta dvainā brāhmaṇaḥ pibet/ ŚB II.2.1.39

116  pakṣimatsyamṛghā hanta/Aṣṭ.IV.4.35,

      śrāṇāmāṃśaudanāṭṭīthan/Aṣṭ.IV.4.67
\end{verbatim}
Paraskaragṛhyasūtra prescribes the flesh of various birds even for a child at the time of first feeding. Apastambadharmasūtra mentions that meat preparations were common in a śrāddha but if one could not afford meat he was allowed to use vegetables. In the text, eating the flesh of dog, a man, a domestic cock and a boar is considered a sin.

Kauṭilya mentions that a superintendent should be appointed for slaughter houses. According to him, the flesh of those animals which had died naturally should kept outside the slaughter house to vent out its foul smell.

From the Mahābhāṣya we can learn that deer and sheep were killed for food. Fish were eaten after removing scales and small bones. But the flesh of village or town cocks and boars were generally avoided.

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117 dāśagoghnau sampradhāne/Aṣṭ.III.4.73, Kāśikā-āgatīya tasmāi dātaṃ gāṇḍiḥ hanti iti goghnāḥ, arghārīho ‘tithith’/
118 bhāradvājamāṃṣena vākpāṣārakāṃsaya/ kapiṣṭajamāṃṣena annādyakāṃsaya/ matsyair javanakāṃsaya/ kṛkaṇāṣā āyuṣkāṃsaya/ āṭyā brahmavarcasakāṃsaya, sarvaivalī sarvakāṃsaya/ annaparyāya vā tato brāhmaṇaḥbhojanam //
119 Pār. Gr.sū. I. 19.7-13
120 sarpir māṃsam iti prathamaḥ kalpaḥ/ abhāve tailaḥ śākm iti/ Āpa. Dh.Sū. VII.16.18-19
121 pratīṣiddhānāṃ māṃsabhākṣaṇaḥ/ śuno manuṣyasya ca kukkuṭasukkarāṇāṃ grāmyāṇāṃ kravvyādasm// Āpa. Dh.Sū. VII.21.14-15
122 sūnādhyakṣa AŚ II.26
123 mṛgapāsūnāmsthimāṃṣam sadyohaatam vikriṣan/ asthimataḥ pratīṣataṃ dadyuḥ/ vatso vrṣo dhenuḥ caīṣāmavadhyaḥ/ pariṣṭunamaśiraḥ pāḍāstiḥ vigandhaḥ svayaṃ mṛtaṃ ca na vikriṣan/ AŚ II.26.10-14
124 māṃsaudanāya vyāharati mṛgaḥ/ M.bhāṣya II.3.1.p.450-51
125 śākalakapādakāṃ utṣṛjati/ Ibid.I.2.39.p.912.6
126 abhakṣyo grāmyakukkuto’bhakṣyo grāmyaśūkaraḥ/ Ibid.I.1.1, V.16
VR and MB are of the opinion that the kṣatriya-s can take the meat of animals which they killed in hunting\(^{126}\). Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are said to have taken the meat of various kinds of deer in the forest\(^{127}\). In the Aśvamedha sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira, animals were killed to please Brahmins\(^{128}\). Hiḍimba is described of having human flesh in MB\(^{129}\).

Caraka prescribes meat as a nutrient supplier for the weak and for those who do excessive physical work\(^{130}\). According to him the meats of goats, *rohita* fish, tortoises, deer, parrots, quails, partridges, hares, peacocks, alligators, sheep, geese, cocks, porcupines, pigeons, cows, jackals, fish and some birds can be used\(^{131}\). According to him the flesh of diseased animals, old, poisonous and dried flesh should be avoided\(^{132}\).

\(^{126}\) *na me tatra manastāpo na manyur haripuṅgava/
   vāgurāḥīś ca pāśāś ca kūṭaś ca vividhair narāḥ/
   yānti rājaśayaś cātra mṛgayāṁ dharmakvidāḥ// VR.Ayo.18.37,40

\(^{127}\) *tatra hatvā catuḥ mahāṁgāṁ varāhamṛṣyaṁ prṣṭaṁ mahāruham/
   ādāya medhyaṁ tvaritaṁ bhubuṣṣitaṁ vāsāya kāle yāyatur vanaspatim//
   VR.Ayo.52.102

\(^{128}\) *taṁ taṁ devaṁ samuddīśya pakṣīṁ paśavaśca ye/
   ṛṣabhāḥ sāstrapāṭhitās tathā jalacarāś ca ye/
   sarvāṁś tān abhyayaṁś te tatāṅgicayakarmaṁ// MB.Aśv.34.88

\(^{129}\) *bhakṣayeṁ ca māṁśāni mānuṣaṁ ṛṇaṁ prakāmataḥ/
   nṛtyāva sahitāṁ vāṁ dattalāvanakaśaṁ// MB.Ādi.Pa.152.15

\(^{130}\) *sārīrabṛṇhane nāyat khaḍyaṁ māṁśād viśiṣyate/ CS Sū.27.86

\(^{131}\) *tatra sāliṣṭakamudgalāvakapīṇāḥ eṇaśaśarbaḥsaṁbhirādīnīḥārāṇī prakṛtilaghāṇyaṁ mātrāpeṣṭiṁ bhavati/ CS Sū.5.4, 25.38

\(^{132}\) *nṛtaṁ kṛṣaṁ cātmedhyaṁ vṛddhaṁ bālaṁ viśaṁ hatam/ agocarahṛtaṁ vyālasūditam māṁsam utsṛjet// CS Sū.27.311
Purāṇa-s refer to the fact that flesh of various animals was served to Brahmins at śrāddha-s\(^\text{133}\). The Kūrmapurāṇa goes to the extent of saying that one who does not take flesh in a śrāddha is born again and again as an animal\(^\text{134}\). This purāṇa states that flesh of five-toed animals, fish with scales, deer, peacocks, partridges, kapiñjala, vārdhiṇasa, dvīpi, fish varieties called sīṃhatuṇḍa, pāṭhīṇa and rohita, goats, hares, gazelle and birds can be eaten\(^\text{135}\). On the contrary the Vāyupurāṇa, a later one declares that slaughter of animals is not proper for sacrifices and one should perform sacrifices with cereals which shows the change in attitude of the people towards the killing of animals in Vedic sacrifices\(^\text{136}\).

### 2.3.2 Meat preparations

Meat preparations referred to in the RV are flesh roasted on spits\(^\text{137}\) and boiled in pots\(^\text{138}\). Upaniṣadic literature values the meat cooked with rice\(^\text{139}\). Roasted meat was described by Pāṇini also\(^\text{140}\).

Kauṭilya mentions about the seller of cooked meat\(^\text{141}\). The ingredients for the preparation of cooked meat as described by him

\(^{133}\) matsyān saśalkān bhuṇḍiyān māṃsaṁ rauravam eva ca/ 
nivedyā devatābhyaṣtu brāhmaṇeḥbhyaṣtu nānyathā//KP 17.36

\(^{134}\) yo nāśnāti dvijo māṃsaṁ niyuktaḥ piṭkarmanī/
sa pretya paśutāṁ yāti sambhāvan ekaviṇśatim//KP 22.65

\(^{135}\) ibid.17.35-38

\(^{136}\) āgamena bhagavān yajñaṁ karotu yadihecchasi/ 
vidhiduṣṭena yajñena dharmamavyayahetunā/ 
yajnabājaiḥ surāśreṣṭha yeṣu hiṃsā na vidyate/VP 57.100

\(^{137}\) yat te gātrāgādyān pacyamāṇaṁ abhīśulaṁ nihataśvāvadhāvati//RV I.162.11

\(^{138}\) yan nikṣaṇaṁ māṃspacanyā ukhāyā yā pātrāṇi yūṣpa āśecanāni/ 
ūśmaṇyāpidhāṇaṁ caruṇāmauṅkāḥ sūnāḥ paribhūṣāntyaśvaṁ//RV.I.162.13

\(^{139}\) māṃsauḍaṇaṁ pācayivā sarpiṣmantanā asīṇyātām//BU VI.4.18

\(^{139}\) śūlokādyat/Aṣṭ.IV.2.17, Kāśikā- śūle saṃskṛtān śūlyāṁ māṃsam /
are twenty pala-s of flesh, half a kuḍuba of oil, one pala of salt, two dharaṇa-s of pungent spices and half a prastha of curds\textsuperscript{142}.

Meat cooked with rice is referred to in VR\textsuperscript{143}. In Naḷopākhyana of MB, Damayantī asks her maid servant to bring the meat prepared by her husband\textsuperscript{144}. Besides meat roasted on spits, sometimes whole animals were roasted on live charcoals\textsuperscript{145}. A soup-like preparation known as niṣṭhāna made of meat was used both by the people of Ayodhya and Laṅka\textsuperscript{146}. The preparation of meat soup with curds and salt added in it can be seen in the Sundarakāṇḍa\textsuperscript{147}.

We can see that at the time of MB the animal sacrifice was confined only at the event of yāga-s\textsuperscript{148}. But later period witnessed the replacing of animal sacrifices by the sacrifice of objective representation of them made by different types of food grains as we have discussed earlier in Vayupurāṇa\textsuperscript{149}.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
    \item \textsuperscript{141} saṃḍika pākavāṁśikaudanikārūpā jīvā pariʒatam āvaseyuḥ/ ĀŚ II.33.9 \small\textsuperscript{10}
    \item \textsuperscript{142} māṃsapalavīṁśatā snehārtha kuḍubalḥ paliko lavaṇasvāṁśaḥ kṣārapalayogo dvidhaṉiko kaṭukayo dadhaṇaś cārdhāprasthaḥ/ ĀŚ II.19.32-36 \small\textsuperscript{10}
    \item \textsuperscript{143} surā ghaṭasahasreṇa māṃsabhūtaudanena ca/ yakṣye tvāṃ priyatāṁ devi purīṁ punar upāgatā/ VR.Ayo.52.89 \small\textsuperscript{10}
    \item \textsuperscript{144} punargaccha pramattasya bāḫukasopasāṁskṛtam/ mahāṇasāc chitaṃ māṃsam ānayasveha bhāvīni/MB.Van.Pa.75.20 \small\textsuperscript{10}
    \item \textsuperscript{145} ghṛtapriṇḍopamāṃ sthūlāṁ tāṁ dvijāṁ bhaktayiṣyatha/ rohitūṃ cakrutaṇḍāṁ ca nalamāṇāṁ ca rāghavaḥ// VR.Aroṇya.73.12 \small\textsuperscript{10}
    \item \textsuperscript{146} ājaś cāpi varāhair niṣṭhānnavarasaṇcayaīḥ/ VR.Ayo.91.67 \small\textsuperscript{10}
    \item \textsuperscript{147} varāḥāvārdhrāṇasakāṇ cādhisauvarcalāyutān/ śalyān mrgamayūrāṇāḥ ca hanūmān anvaveṣṣata/ VR.Sund.11.13 \small\textsuperscript{10}
    \item \textsuperscript{148} vidhinā vedadṛṣṭena tad bhuktveha na duṣyatī/ yajñārthe paśavah śṛṣṭā ityapi śṛṣyate śṛutiḥ/MB.Anu.Pa.111.14 \small\textsuperscript{10}
    \item \textsuperscript{149} bījāir yajīṣu yaṣṭavyam iti vaidikī śṛutiḥ/ aja saṃṇāṇi bījāni chāgāṇi no aratha/MB.Śānti.Pa.337.5 \small\textsuperscript{10}
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
MB, it is stated that an ideal diet should avoid all types of meat\textsuperscript{150}. Even some of the Purāṇa-s of this period lay down that slaughter of animals is not necessary for sacrifices in the Kali age\textsuperscript{151}.

But the saṃhitā-s of Ayurveda do prescribe medicines made of flesh. SS states that the flesh can be cooked with fats, curds and sour gruel mixed with some aromatic spices such as long pepper, black pepper and ginger\textsuperscript{152}. Boneless flesh was boiled and ground on a piece of stone to make a stuffing. Aromatic spices, jaggery and clarified butter are also added to it\textsuperscript{153}.

Animals can be killed for sacrifices, śrāddha-s and for worshipping gods according to Manusmṛti\textsuperscript{154}. Their meat can be used to prepare madhuparka for honouring guests\textsuperscript{155}. Students were generally not allowed meat diet\textsuperscript{156}. The text also states that though meat eating is a natural craving of men its avoidance brings great

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{150} rūpam avyaṅgatāmāmur buddhiḥ satvaṇī balaṇī smṛtim/
prāptakāmaīr naraī hiṁsā varjītā vai mahātmabhiḥ// MB.Śānti.Pa337.8
\textsuperscript{151} na dadyād āmiṣaṁ śrāddhe na cādyād dharmaṭatvatvāt/
munyannaiḥ syāt parā prītīr yathā na pāṣuhiṁsaya//BP VII.15.7
\textsuperscript{152} snehair māṁsaḥī phalaiḥ kandaiḥ vaidalāṁlaiś ca saṁyutāḥ/
SS Sū.46.349-352
\textsuperscript{153} māṁsaṁ nirasthi susvinnaṁ punar dṛṣaṁi peṣitam/
pippalīśuṇṭhimaricagudasarpiḥsamanvitam//
aiṅadhyaṁ pācayet smayag vesavāra iti smṛṭaḥ// SS Sū.46.365-366
\textsuperscript{154} madhuparke ca yajñe ca pitṛdaivatakarmaṇī/
atraiva paśavo hiṁsyā nānyatretyabravin manuḥ//
esvartheṣu paśūn hiṁsan vedatātvārthavid dvijaḥ/
ātmanāṁ ca paśuṁ caiva gamayatyuttamaṁ gatim// Manu.V.41-42
\textsuperscript{155} Manu.V.41
\textsuperscript{156} brahmacārī tu yo’śnīyān madhumāṁsaṁ kathaṅcana// Manu.XI.158
\end{flushleft}
merits to them\textsuperscript{157}. \textit{Kāmasūtra} also states that to desist from eating meat was considered as a meritorious act\textsuperscript{158}.

A slaughter house and a butcher boy are mentioned in \textit{Mālavikāgnimitra} play\textsuperscript{159}. In \textit{Mṛcchakaṭika} a piece of meat being roasted on charcoal is described\textsuperscript{160}. In \textit{Abhijñānaśākuntala} play, Kṣatriya-s are seen to be having the meal consisting of meat roasted on spits\textsuperscript{161}.

Boneless meat ground after boiling and mixed with spices was used as stuffing in AH\textsuperscript{162}. Though it can be seen that in ancient texts guests are honoured with meat dishes, Bhavabhūti in his \textit{Uttararāmacarita} makes fun of the ancient custom of serving beef to a distinguished guests\textsuperscript{163}. But the fragrant and tasteful curries of fish, venison, birds and flesh of goats were described to be served in \textit{Naiṣadhīyacarita}\textsuperscript{164}. Someśvara describes in detail the method of preparing a number of meat dishes like \textit{suṇṭhaka}, \textit{cakkālikā}, \textit{kavacandi}, \textit{puryāla}, \textit{bhaḍitraka}, \textit{kṛṣṇapāka}, and \textit{kośali} in the third chapter of his text \textit{Mānasollāsa}.

\textsuperscript{157} na māṁsabhakṣaṇe doṣo na madye na ca maithune/
\textit{pravṛttir esā bhūtānāṁ nivṛttistu mahāphalaḥ//} Manu.V.56
\textsuperscript{158} pravṛttibhyāś ca māṁsabhakṣanādibhyāḥ śastraśeva nivṛataḥ dharma/
Kāma.Sū.p.127
\textsuperscript{159} bhavān api sūnopari caravihaṅgama iva āmīṣalolypo/ Mālavika.II.p.36
\textsuperscript{160} añgārāśipatitam iva māṁsakhaṇḍam/ Mṛccha.p.98
\textsuperscript{161} aniyatavatam śūlyamāṇasaṁ bhūyiṣṭham āhārō bhujyate/ Abhi.Śī.II
\textsuperscript{162} AH Cikitsa.I
\textsuperscript{163} yenāgateu vasiṣṭhamiśreṣu vatsatarī viśasitaḥ/ UC IV.87
\textsuperscript{164} vyadhumantāṁ te mṛgamāṁsāśādhitam raśād aśītvā mṛdu temanaṁ manah /
niśādhavotsaṅgakuraṅgajairadāḥ palaiḥ saṃyūṣarasaiḥ kim aśrapi// NC.XVI.76
2.4 Fruits and vegetables

2.4.1 Fruits

We can see the description of flowering and fruit bearing plants in RV. But we come across the specific names of them only in the later Saṁhita and Brāhmaṇa literature. Badara, kuvala, karkandhu, the varieties of jujube, bilva and kharjūra can be seen referred to in YV. According to Omprakash, the first mentioning of mango and that of myrobalan fruit can be traced in Śatapathabrāhmaṇa and Jaiminīyopaniṣadbrāhmaṇa respectively.

Karamarda, parūṣaka, cūta (a variety of mango), emblic myrobalan(āmalaka), citrus medica, jujube, rose apple (jambu), cucumber (urvāruka), palm fruit (tālaphala), rājādana, pomegranate and jack fruit are referred to in Arthaśāstra. From the epics, we know that the hermits generally lived on fruits, roots and tubers. In MB the commonly used fruits are kāsmarya, iṅguda, śṛṅgāṭaka, bhallātaka (marking nut), the fruits of plakṣa (fig tree), aśvattha (pipal tree), vibhītaka (fruit of terminallia) and pīlu (salvadora persica). MB prohibits the usage of certain fruits like the fruits of...
plakṣa, aśvattha, pippala and uduṁbara trees for the persons who are desirous of glory\textsuperscript{171}.

According to Suśruta among all the fruits pomegranates, emblic myrobalan, grapes, dates, parūṣaka, rājādana and mātuluṅga (citrus medica)\textsuperscript{172} are considered as the best. Some dry fruits such as almonds, walnuts, pistachio were also used\textsuperscript{173}. Paṭola and vārtāka (brinjal) were considered as good fruits\textsuperscript{174}. Bhela especially recommends the use of āmalaka before food, hārītakī\textsuperscript{7} after the food and vibhītakī\textsuperscript{7} after the digestion of the food\textsuperscript{175}.

Kaśyapa refers to a sweet liquid preparation from the juice of sour fruits such as tamarind, rose apple, parūṣakā and citrus medica which is known as rāga\textsuperscript{176}. Black mustard was used to make it pungent and sugar candy to sweeten it. Jellies prepared with fruit juices were called śāḍava-s\textsuperscript{177}. Caraka states that rāgaśāḍava should be fumigated with oil and dry ginger and some salt and spices are to be added to it before use\textsuperscript{178}. Later in the medieval period text AS, of

\begin{longtable}{}  
\hline  
171 & pippalām ca vaṭaṇm caiva śaṇaśākaṁ tathaiva ca/  
172 & udumbaraṁ na khādec ca bhavārthī puruṣo nṛpa// MB.Anu.Pa.161.97  
173 & dāḍimāmalakāṁ drākṣā kharjūraṁ saparūṣakām/  
174 & rājādanaṁ mātuluṅgaṁ phalavarge praśasyate// SS Sū.49.335  
175 & vātāmakṣoḍābhīṣukaniculapicunikocakorumāṇaprabhṛtīni/SS Sū.46.187  
176 & tikte paṭolavārtākaṁ madhure ghṛtam ucyate/  
177 & kṣaudraṁ pūgaphalaṁ śreṣṭhaṁ kaśāye saparūṣakām// SS.Sū.46.337  
178 & abhuktvāmalakāṁ khāded bhuktvā cāpi hārītakīṁ/  
179 & pariṇāme ca bhuktasya khādec caiva vibhītakīṁ/Bhela. p.13  
180 & sitārucakasindhūthaitiḥ savṛksśāmlaparūṣakāḥ/  
181 & jambūphalarasair yukto rāgo rājikayānvitaḥ// Kaśyapa. Bhojana. 48  
182 & śāḍavastu madhurāmladravyakṛtah/ idem  
183 & kvatihantu godopetaṁ sahakāraphalanṁ navam/  
184 & tailanāgārasaṃyuktaṁ vijnayo rāgaśāḍavam// CS.Sū.27  
\hline
\end{longtable}
all the fruits, grapes were considered the best and *lakuca* the worst\(^{179}\).

### 2.4.2 Vegetables

Among vegetables cucumber (*urvāruka*) and lotus stalks (*bisa*) were referred to in RV\(^{180}\). AV refers to the usage of lotus roots (*śāluka*), bottle gourd (*alabu*) and trapabispinosa (*śaphaka*)\(^{181}\) in food articles.

The roots (*mūla*) and fruits (*phala*) seems to be a common food in *śrautasūtra* literature\(^{182}\). Pāṇini uses the terms *bhāji*\(^{183}\) and *śrāṇa*\(^{184}\) as the synonyms for cooked vegetables. He mentions the term *upadaṃśa* which stands for a dish which is prepared by edible roots such as radish and ginger\(^{185}\). Āpastamaba states that garlic and onions should be avoided by noble persons\(^{186}\).

Kauṭilya refers to the roots, fruits and tubers\(^{187}\). The use of

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179 phalānāmavaraṃ tatra lakucaṃ sarvadosaśakṛt/ AS Sū.VII.168
180 urvārukamiva bandhanān mṛtyor mukṣīya māṃśtāt/ RV.VII.59.12
181 iyāṃ śuṣmebhīr bisakhī iva/ RV.VI. 61.2
182 ṛṣṭikaṃ kumudaṃ saṃ tanoti baisaṃ śālūkaṃ śaphako mulālī......./ AV.IV.34.5
183 alābūni pṛṣṭakānyaśvathapalāśām/ AV.XX.135.3
182 anyān vā pathyān bhakṣānāṃulaphalebhyaḥ/ Asv.Śr.Sū.VI.8.8
183 jānapada-kuṇḍa-goṇa-sthala-bhāja-nāga-kāla-nīla-kuśa-kāmuka-kabarād-
vṛttyamatrā vapanākṛttrimāśrāṇāsthaulyavarṇānācchādaṇāyovikāmaithunecchāke śāveśeṣu/ Aṣṭ.IV.1.42. In Hindi language, the term “*bāji*” is used as to denote the “vegetable curry”.
184 śrāṇamāṃsaudanāṇṭidhan/Āṣṭ.IV.4.67
185 upadaṃśastṛtiyāyām/ Aṣṭ.III.4.47, Kāśikā-
mūlakenopadāṃśām/āḍrakopadāṃśam/
186 karaṇjapālaṇḍuparārikāḥ/ Ap.Dh.Sū. I5.17.26
187 kandamūlaphalaśādīr ausadhavargaḥ/ AŚ II.17.11
śuṣkamatsyamāṃsakandamūlaphalāśākādi ca śākavargaḥ/ AŚ II.15.22
long bottle gourd, *kālaśāka, śleṣmātaka, sudarśana*, leaves of bamboo or *karīra* is interdicted in a śrāddha ceremony according to MB\(^{188}\).

Suśruta refers to the vegetable flowers, leaves, fruits, stems and bulbs\(^{189}\). Of the pot herbs *satīna, vāstuka, cuñcu, cilli, green radish, maṇḍūkaparṇī* and *jivantī* were regarded the best\(^{190}\). Caraka states that daily use of lotus stalks and roots is not recommended probably because they were difficult to digest\(^{191}\).

AH states that all the vegetables, which were spoiled by frost, fire, bad breeze, animals, eaten by insects or growing under water or not growing in a proper season, very old or dry should be avoided. But dry radish and unripe *bilva* fruit were exempted\(^{192}\).

From the *Kāmasūtra*, it appears that *kūṣmāṇḍa* (pumpkin gourd), *āluka* (an esculent root), *palaṃki* (a pot herb), *damanaka, āmrātaka, ervāruka* (a kind of cucumber), *trapusa* (cucumber), bottle

\(^{188}\) *sauhañjanaḥ kovidāras tathā grījanakādayaḥ/ kūṣmāṇḍajātyālābuñca kṛṣṇaṁ lavanaṁeva ca// MB.Van.Pa.134.28*

\(^{189}\) *puṣpatarapnaḥ phalam naḷam kandāśca guravaḥ kramāt/ SS.Sū.46.296*

\(^{190}\) *satīno vāstukaś cuñcū cillīmālakapotikā/ maṇḍūkaparṇī jīvantī śākavarge praśayate// SS.Sū..46.334*

\(^{191}\) *ballūraṃ śuṣkaśākāni śālūkāni bisāni ca/ nabhaved gauravān maṁsaṁ kṛṣṇaṁ naivopayojayet// CS. Sū.V.10*

\(^{192}\) *himānaloṣṇaḥ durvāta vyāla lālādi dūṣitam/ jantujasṭaṃ jale magnaṃ bhūmijamanārtavam// anyadhānayutaṃ hīnavīryajīnatayāti ca/ dhānayaṃ tyajettathā śākaṃ rūkṣaṃ siddhamakomalam/ asaṁjātārasانتadvacchuṣaṃ cāyatramūlakāt/ prāyeṣa phalamapyevaṃ tathā’maṇḍi bilvavarjitaḥ// AH Sū.VI.140-43*
gourd and brinjal were in common use\textsuperscript{193}. \textit{Harṣacarita} has references to more vegetables such as \textit{sūraṇa, śīgru} and \textit{granthiparṇa}\textsuperscript{194}. According to medical works, \textit{paṭōla, kūśmāṇḍa, sunīṣaṇṇaka, jīvanti}, unripe radish and \textit{vāṣtuka} are good vegetables\textsuperscript{195}. In \textit{Mānasollāsa} we can see that fruits, leaves, roots, tubers, flowers and legumes of many plants were used as vegetables\textsuperscript{196}.

\section*{2.5 Sweets and sweet preparations}

\subsection*{2.5.1 Honey}

Honey was possibly, the earliest sweet thing Indians knew\textsuperscript{197}. Vedic literature even attests the procurement of it from the combs of two different types of bees which are \textit{āraṅgāra} and \textit{sāragha}\textsuperscript{198}. It is prescribed as a sweetening ingredient at the time of Vedic period. Brāhmaṇa literature taboos its use for women and students\textsuperscript{199}.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{193} mūlakāluka pālaṅkī damanakāmṛatakairvārūka trapusa vārtāka kūśāṇḍālābu sūraṇaśukanāsā svayaṃ guptā tilaparṇikāgnimantha laśuna palīṇaṭuprabhṛṭīnāṇ sa rvaṃsadhināṇ ca bijagrahaṇaṃ kāle vāpaś ca/ Kāmasūtra. IV.1.29 \textsuperscript{194} urūbaka vacāvaṅgaka surasa sūraṇa śīgru granthiparṇagavedhukā garmud gulma gṛhavāṭikaiḥ/ Harṣa.p.229 \textsuperscript{195} śīlayec chālīgodhūma yavaṣāṭīka jāṅgalam/ sunīṣaṇṇaka jīvanti bālamūlaka vāṣtukam/ AH Sū.VIII.42-43 pathyāmalakamṛdvīkā paṭolāḥ mudgaśarkarāḥ/ vallīphalāṇāṃ pravaranā kūṣmāṇḍaṃ vātapittajit/ AS Sū.VII.134 phalaṅkaṭam patraṅkaṭam kandaṅkaṭaṃ ca mūlakam/ pūṣpaṅkaṭaṃ sīmīśakaṭaṃ pakvāpakvavibhedataḥ/ Mānas.III.1548 \textsuperscript{196} madhvaḥ pibataṃ madhupebhirāsabhīh uta priyaṃ madhune yuṣāṭhaṇ ratham/ ā vartanīḥ madhunā jinvaṭhaspatho dṛtiṃ vahethe madhumantam aśvinā/ RV.IV.45.3 \textsuperscript{197} āraṅgareva madhverayetha sāragheva gavi nīcīṇavāra/ kīnreva svedamasīṣvivādāṃ kṣāme vortā sūyasavāta saceth/ RV X.106.10 \textsuperscript{198} tasmād uta striyo madu nāśantaṃ putrāṇaṃ idaṃ vrataṃ carāma iti vadtā/ JB I.55.2 \textsuperscript{199} na brahmaṅcārī sanmadhvaśnīyānata/ ŚB XI.5.4.18
\end{flushright}
Pāṇini even mentions that the term *madhura*, the Sanskrit word for sweetness is derived from the term *honey* (*madhu*)\(^{200}\).

According to Suśruta the eight varieties of honey are *mākṣika*, *bhrāmara*, *kṣaudra*, *pauttika*, *cchātra*, *ārghya*, *uddalika* and *dāla* each of these being obtained from different types of bees.\(^{201}\). Caraka states that of all these varieties, the *mākṣika* type (the honey collected by small bees) was considered the best and *bhrāmara* type (the honey collected by big black bees) was considered heavy to digest\(^{202}\). AS, a medieval period text states that among the eight varieties of honey *bhrāmara*, *pauttika*, *kṣaudra* and *mākṣika* are considered good in the increasing order\(^{203}\).

### 2.5.2 Sugar cane

Chewing of sugarcane is referred to in AV\(^{204}\). Pāṇini mentions the plantations of sugar cane\(^{205}\). Kauṭilya mentions of some products of sugarcane such as *phāṇita* (inspissated juice of sugarcane), *guḍa* (jaggery), *khaṇḍa* (raw sugar), *matsyaṇḍikā* (sugar candy) and *śarkarā* (sugar)\(^{206}\). VR states the *guḍa* is used frequently in the

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\(^{200}\) उषा-सुषि-मुष्क-मधो राहः/ अश्ति.5.2.107

\(^{201}\) pauttikaṃ bhrāmaraṃ kṣaudraṃ mākṣikaṃ cchātrameva ca/ ārghyam uddalikaṃ dālam ityaṣṭau madhujātayaḥ/ SS Śu. 45.133

\(^{202}\) mākṣikaṃ bhrāmaraṃ kṣaudraṃ pauttikaṃ madhujātayaḥ/ mākṣikaṃ pravaraṃ teṣāṃ viśeśād bhrāmaraṃ guruḥ/ CS Śu.27.242

\(^{203}\) bhrāmaraṃ pauttikaṃ kṣaudraṃ mākṣikaṃ ca yathottaram/ varāṇi jīṛṇaṃ ca teṣvanye dve evāhyupayojayet/ AS Śu.VI.98

\(^{204}\) pari tvī paritatutekṣuṇāgāmavidviṣe/ AV I.34.5

\(^{205}\) pra-nirantaḥ-ṣareku-plaṅṣamra-kārṣya-khadira-pīyūkṣābhyo ’samjñāyāmapi/ अश्ति.VI.4.5

\(^{206}\) phāṇitagudamatsyaṇḍikākhaṇḍaśarkaraḥ/ ĀŚ II. 15.15
preparation of many sweets. The usage of guḍa as the sweetening agent in the preparation of a lot of sweet varieties is also referred to in the text.

SS identified different varieties of sugarcane. Caraka and Suśruta are of the opinion that the juice of sugarcane extracted by a machine is not good. Suśruta also states that if the derivatives of sugar cane like guḍa, śarkara, khaṇḍa, phañita become more white, they become more cold, sweeter, more pure and more difficult to digest.

When we come to the medieval period, according to Vāgbhaṭa, śarkara was considered the best and phañita the worst. Naisadhiyacarita describes a sweetest sugar cane variety which was named as kośakāra.

2.5.3 Sweet preparations

Apūpa is perhaps the earliest sweet preparation in the Vedic
period as RV refers to this dish. AV describes that the honey was used to sweeten these apūpa-ś. Pālala, saṃyāva and apūpa are the sweet preparations referred to in the aphorisms of Pāṇini. Khāṇḍava is a good variety of sweet that is referred to in both the epics.

SS refers to the sweets like sāmita, kṣīrakṛta, kūreikāvikṛta, gauḍika, saṃyāva and ghṛtapūra.

Mānasollāsa mentions sweets such as kāsāra, uduṃbara and varṣopalagolaka prepared with wheat flour and rice flour. Kṣīraprakāra which is similar to rasgulla according to Om Prakash is referred to in Mānasollāsa. Svapnavāsadatta describes modaka

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214 yaste adya kṛṇavad bhadrāsce 'pūpaṇ deva ghṛtavantam agne / RV.X.45.9
215 apūpavān madhumāṇīs carureha śīdatu/ AV XVIII.4.22
216 palalaśūpāśākaṇ mīśre/ Aṣṭ.I.2.128, sami yudruduvah/ Aṣṭ.III.3.23, cūṛādīni Aṣṭ.IV.4.23
217 nānā svādurasāṇāṁ ca khāṇḍavānāṁ tathaiva ca/ VR.Bal.53.4
218 bhakṣya khāṇḍavartāgāṇāṁ kriyataṁ bhujyataṁ tathā/ MB.Asv.41.89
219 sāmita is a preparation of powdered wheat stuffed with boiled and groud green gram. SS.Sū.46.399
219 kṣīrakṛta-s are the sweets prepared with milk
220 bhakṣya kṣīrakṛtā balyā vrṣyaḥ hṛdyā/ SS.Sū.46.392
220 Kūreikāvikṛta-s are the sweets prepared with the inspissated milk. SS.Sū..46.403
221 Gauḍika-s are sweets prepared with tracle with wheat flour. SS.Sū..46.394
222 madhuśīrakasamityāvāḥ pūpāḥ ye te viśeṣataḥ/ SS.Sū.46.392
223 marditāḥ samitāḥ kṣīrālikarāṣīdāhibhiḥ/
224 avagāhyā ghṛte pakvo ghṛtapūro 'yam uttamaḥ// SS.Sū.46.393
224 godhūmacūrṇādudhṛtya śūrpeṇābhyaḥhatān kaṇān/
dugdhāktān ghṛtapakvāmś ca sitayā ca vimśiritān/
elāmaricācārpane yuktān kāsāranaṁjñitān/ Mānas.III.1386-87
225 Economy and Food in Ancient India section II p.333
as a sweet ball\textsuperscript{226}. \textit{Naiṣadhiyacarita} refers to the sweet \textit{laḍḍuka} which is a very common sweet even today\textsuperscript{227}.

### 2.6 Salt and Spices

#### 2.6.1 Salt

We cannot see any reference to the salt in RV. But most of the non-Ṛgvedic \textit{saṃhit-a-s}, \textit{Brāhmaṇa-s} and \textit{Upaniṣad-s} refer to salt in the name of \textit{lavaṇa} or \textit{saindhava}\textsuperscript{228}. Kauṭilya mentions six varieties of salt - \textit{saindhava}, \textit{sāmudra}, \textit{biḍa}, \textit{yavakṣāra}, \textit{sauvarcala} and \textit{udbhedaja}\textsuperscript{229}. He also mentions that there should be a superintendent (\textit{lavaṇādhyaśa) for salt in a state}\textsuperscript{230}. MB refers the non-usage of \textit{viḍa} (\textit{biḍa}) and black salt in \textit{śrāddha} ceremonies\textsuperscript{231}. According to MB, eating salt in the palms of one’s hands and eating salt at night should be avoided\textsuperscript{232}.

Caraka mentions only five varieties of salts which are \textit{sauvarcala}, \textit{saindhava}, \textit{biḍa}, \textit{audbhida} and \textit{sāmudra}\textsuperscript{233}. Suśruta adds

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item prakṛtimadhurasukumārāṇī modakakhādyāṇi khādyante/ Svapnāvasavadatta IV.p.31
\item ghṛtāplute bhojanabhājane purāḥ sphuratpuraṅghripratibimbākṛte/
yuvā nidhāyorasi laḍḍukadvayaṁ nakhairalilekhātha mamardar nirdayamyāṁ//
NC XVI.103
\item lavaṇādvikledviyasiḥ/ AV.VII.80.1
\item sa yathā saindhava khilya udake prāṣta/ BU II.4.12
\item saindhavāsāmudrabidāyavakṣārasauvarcalodbhedajā lavaṇavargaḥ/
AŚ II.15.16
\item AŚ II.12
\item kṛṣṇājājī viḍaś caiva varjayel lavaṇāṇaḥ sarvam/MB.Anu.Pa.91.41
\item na pāṇau lavaṇāṇaḥ vidvān prāśnīyān na ca rātriṣu/ MB.Anu.Pa.161.99
\item sauvarcalaṁ saindhavaṁ ca biḍam audbhidam eva ca/
sāmudeṇa sahātīṇi paṇca syur lavaṇāṇi ca// CS.Sū.1.88-89
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
some more varieties such as romaka, vālukaila, śailamūlākarodbhava, uṣara, gauṭīkā, yavakṣāra, svarjikākṣāra, pākima and taṅkaṇaṅkṣāra\textsuperscript{234}. Of all these varieties, the rock salt (saindhava) was considered the best\textsuperscript{235}

2.6.2 Spices

Spices referred to in Vedic literature are haridrā and pippalī\textsuperscript{236}. Dharmasūtra literature mentions other spices such as marica and hiṅgu\textsuperscript{237}. Arthashastra refers to the spices like śṛṅgibera, ajājī, kirītatikta, gaura, sarṣapa, kustumburu, coraka, damanaka, maruvaka, śigru, harītakī and meṣaśṛṅga\textsuperscript{238}. VR describes a liquid spicy preparation known as sūpa, which was prepared with fruit juices\textsuperscript{239}.

Ascetics and newly married couples were advised to avoid the saline preparations according to Vāyupurāṇa and Kāmasūtra respectively\textsuperscript{240}. Suśruta opines that of all, the aromatic spices, long pepper and dry ginger were regarded the best\textsuperscript{241}. Mṛcchakāṭika refers to many spices used for seasoning which are dry ginger,
cumin, mustard, coriander, myrobalan, long pepper, black pepper, cloves, cardamom, turmeric and asafoetida\textsuperscript{242}.

### 2.7 Oils and Oil seeds

We cannot find any mention of oil or oil seed in RV. Most of the other \textit{San\=hita}-s and \textit{Br\=hma\=na}-s conceive sesame as a food article\textsuperscript{243}. \textit{ŚB} notes that a wild variety of sesame (\textit{jartila}) is used to preparing a porridge\textsuperscript{244}.

AV refers to the oil extracted from sesame oil\textsuperscript{245}. Pāñini derives two words \textit{tilya} and \textit{tail\=ina} to signify one who uses sesame in his diet and the sesame store house respectively from the word \textit{tila}\textsuperscript{246}. \textit{Gṛhyasūtra}-s and \textit{Dharmasūtra}-s assign a noticeable status for sesame seed in death anniversary ceremonies and other rites\textsuperscript{247}. \textit{Āpastambadharmaśūtra} notes that the oil extracted from sesame is regarded as a substitute for ghee\textsuperscript{248}. In the \textit{Anuśāsanaparva} of MB,

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{242} hiṅgūjja\va la jīrakabhadr\=amustā vacāyā granthīḥ sa\=guḍā ca śuṣṭīḥ/
esā mayā sevītā gandhayuktī kathaṃ nāhaṃ madhusvara iti// Mṛccha VIII.13
\textsuperscript{243} māṣatīlau hemantaśīrāḥbhīyāṁ// TS VII .2.10.2
\textsuperscript{244} ubhayam vetad annaṃ yaj\=artilā yac ca grāmyaṃ yac cāraṇyaṃ/
yadāha tilasteta grāmyaṃ yad akṛṣṭe pacyante tenāraṇyaṃ// ŚB. IX.1.1.3
\textsuperscript{245} yāḥ kumārī piṅgalikā vasantaṃ pīvāry labhet/
tailakṇḍamimā ghuṣṭhaṃ rodantaṃ śudamuddharet// AV XX.136.16
\textsuperscript{246} khalayavamāṣatilavṛṣabhaṁśaśca/ Aṣṭ. V.1.7
vibhāśā tilamāṣaṁbhaṅgīṁ ṭubhyāḥ/ Aṣṭ.V.2.4
\textsuperscript{247} uttaro'gger vrīhiyavamāṣatīlāṁṣaḥ pṛthak pūrṇaśaravāpi nidadhāti/
Asv.Gr.Sū.1.15.3
tilaśrāddhe pavitaṁ yadi dānāya yadi bhōjanāya, yadyapāṁ saṁsārjanāya/
Bau.Gr.Sū.II.1.64
\textsuperscript{248} sarpir māṁsam iti prathamāḥ kalpaḥ/ abhāve tailaśākamiti/
Apa.Dh.Sū.II.8.18-19
the importance of sesame offering to forefathers is detailed\textsuperscript{249}. Mustard is mentioned in the \textit{Chāndogyopanisat}\textsuperscript{250}. Safflower, linseed and mustard are the important oilseeds referred to in \textit{Arthaśāstra}\textsuperscript{251}. Caraka mentions, clarified butter, oils, animal fats, \textit{vasā} and \textit{majjā}. He recommends the use of clarified butter in autumn, animal fats in spring and oil in the rainy season. Of all the fats, clarified butter was considered the best\textsuperscript{252}. Among the oils, sesame oil was regarded the best medium for cooking or frying\textsuperscript{253}. Suśruta does not recommend excessive use of oils as the food articles cooked in oils are very difficult to digest\textsuperscript{254}. AS, the medieval period text states that the oil extracted from sesame is considered the best and that from safflower is the worst\textsuperscript{255}. The commonly used animal fats as used in food were \textit{aulukī} type fish, pig, cock and \textit{pākahaṃsa}\textsuperscript{256}. 

\textsuperscript{249} pitṛṇāṃ paramaṃ bhoyoṣm tīlāḥ śṛṣṭāḥ svayambhuvā/ tiladānena vai tasmat pītpakṣaḥ pramodate// MB.Anu.Pa.66.7
\textsuperscript{250} eṣa ma ātmāṁ ntarhādayeṁ niyāṁ vrīher vā yavād vā sarṣapād vā śyāmākād vā śyāmākataṇḍulād vā……lokebhyaḥ/ CU III.14.3
\textsuperscript{251} sarpaśtailavāmaiśājānaḥ snehāḥ/ AS II.15.14
\textsuperscript{252} sarpaś tailaṃ vasāmajjā sarvasnehottamā matāḥ/ eṣu caiottamaṃ sarpaḥ saṃskārasayānuvartanāt// sarpaḥ śaradi pātavyaṃ vasāmajjā ca mādhaya/ tailaṃ prāvṛṣi nātyuṣnāśīte snehaṃ pibena naraḥ// CS Sū. XIII.13.18
\textsuperscript{253} sarveśaḥ tailajātānaṃ tilatailam viśisyate/ CS Sū.13.12
\textsuperscript{254} vidāhinas tailakṛtyā guravah kaṭuṭpākināh/ uṣṇā mārutasūkṣtagnā pittalās tvak pradūṣaṇāḥ// SS Sū.46.406
\textsuperscript{255} tilatailam varaṃ teṣu kausambham avaraṃ param/ AS Sū.VI.111
\textsuperscript{256} aulukī śaukarī pākahaṃsaśajā kukuṭodbhavā vasā śreṣṭāḥ svavargeṣu kumbhīra mahiṣodbhavā kāka madguvaśī tadvat kāraṇḍotthā ca ninditaḥ/ śākhādamedasāṃ chaḍāṃ hāstinaṃ ca varāvare/ AS Sū.VI.113-114
2.8 Intoxicating drinks

2.8.1 Soma

Somarasa was a very common beverage in vedic period which is made of Soma plant (sarcostemma viminalis). It is one of the most acclimed offerings in śrauta rituals. Even the making of soma drink (somābhiṣava) is a ritual in these sacrifices. Before crushing it, the plant was washed in water. Soma drink is prepared by grinding soma creeper with a stone which is known as grāvā.

The preparations referred to in Vedas wherein Soma was mixed were karāṇbha, dhāna, apūpa, pakti, saktu, water and honey. The usage of soma can also be seen in the texts of classical Sanskrit literature. Drinking soma juice was referred to in Uttararamacarita.

2.8.2 Other intoxicating drinks

Other common intoxicating drinks mentioned in Vedic literature are parisruta, kīlāla and māsara. RV describes another

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257 yadadbhiḥ pariśicyase mrjyamāno gabhastyoḥ/ RV IX.65.6
258 grāvā yatra vadati kārurukthyasasyedindro abhipitveṣu raṇyati/ RV.I.83.6
259 imaṃ jambhasutaṃ pīṣa dhānāvantaraṃ karambhiṇamapūpavantamukthinam/ RV.VIII.91.2
260 niravighnāḥ somapāthiḥ āvutto me bhagavān ṛṣyaśṛṅga……../ UC I p.11
261 sa vā eṣa parisruto yajñastāyate/ SB XII.9.11
girāvaragātesu hiranye goṣu yadyaśāḥ/ surīyāṃ sicyamānāyāṃ kīḷāle madhu tanmayī// AV.VI.69.1
vṛhiṣiyāṁ kaudanācīcāmayoḥ śaṣpa tokma lāja nagnahu cūṃṇaiḥ saṃsargo māsaram/ Mahādhara on VS XIX.14.82
drink also which is known as *sura*\(^{262}\). This was prepared by fermenting barley or wild paddy after distilling it. In AV, it is mentioned as a reward for the performers of sacrifices\(^{263}\). Drinking of *sura* is not considered as meritorious as *soma*.

Pāṇini mentions the words *āsavya, śauṇḍika, asūti, maireya* and *kapiśyāni*\(^{264}\) to denote liquors. Śāṅkhāyanagrhyasūtra states that *sura* was served to women when a bride arrived at the bridegroom’s place\(^{265}\). Āśvalāyanagrhyasūtra states that it was served to the wives of forefathers in the ānvaṣṭakya rite\(^{266}\).

According to Āpastamba cosuming these drinks is a heinous crime, and he forbids the use of liquors particularly for Brahmins and students\(^{267}\). According to Kauṭilya, there should be a superintendent of liquors, in a state\(^{268}\). Patañjali warns that Brahmin women who take to drinking would be deprived of husband’s company in the next world\(^{269}\).

\(^{262}\) **ḥṛṣṭu pṛtiśo yuddhyante durmadāso na surāyām/ūdharna nagnā jarante/ RV. VIII.2.12**

\(^{263}\) **ghṛṭahradā madhukūlāḥ surodakāḥ kṣīreṇa pūrṇā udakena dadhnā,... upatvā tīṣṭhantu puṣkaraṇī samantāḥ/ AV.IV.34.6**

\(^{264}\) **śuṇḍikādibhyo ’n/ Āṣṭ.4.3.76**<br>**rajaḥ-krṣyāsutī-pariṣado valac/ Āṣṭ.5.2.112**<br>**aṅgāni maireye/ Āṣṭ.6.2.70**<br>**kāpiśyāḥ sphak/ Āṣṭ.4.2.99**

\(^{265}\) **śākapīṇḍībhīḥ surayāṁnena ca carpayīvā……/ Śāṅ. Гр. Sū. I.11.5**

\(^{266}\) **strībhyaśca surāmācāmamityadhitam/ Asv. Гр. Sū. 2.5.5**

\(^{267}\) **sarvaṁ madyam aveyam/ Apa.Дh. Sū.V.17.21**

\(^{268}\) **madyam nityam brāhmaṇaḥ/ Gaut.Дh. Sū.II.25**

\(^{269}\) **AŚ I.II.25.1 surādhyakṣa**

\(^{269}\) **yā brāhmaṇī surāpī bhavati naināṁ devāḥ patilo ke nayanti / M. bhaṣya 3.2.8**
VR mentions two varieties of *sura*-s i.e. *surā* and *kṛtasurā* (ordinary one and the fermented one), four varieties of *āsava*-s (spirituos liquor) such as *puṣpāsava*, *phalāsava*, *madhvāsava* and *śarkarāsava* and two more varieties such as *divya* and *prasanna*270. *Vāruṇi*, the strongest spiritous liquor was also described in VR271. The highways of the *Kīśkindha* were described as always redolent with the smell of liquor272. Sīta herself enjoyed *maireyaka* variety of wine273 and promised to worship the river goddess with a thousand pitchers of wine274.

The *Aśvamedha* sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira has been compared to a sea of liquor in MB275. *Maireya* seems to be used as a drink which was served to guests at wedding276. In the last chapters of MB, dealing of liquor is considered improper for Brāhmaṇa-s277.

According to Ayurvedic *saṃhitā* treatises, intoxicating drinks can be prepared with rice (*surā*), sugar (*śārkara*), and un-boiled juice
of sugarcane (śīdhu)\textsuperscript{278}. According to Suśruta, in the preparation of these drinks, when surā is used instead of water it was called surāsava\textsuperscript{279}. Liquors were also prepared with madhūka flowers\textsuperscript{280} and honey.

Different types of wines are described in the works of Kālidāsa. Madya and madira are described in Ṛtusamhāra\textsuperscript{281}, āsava, madhu and śīdhu in Raghuvaṃśa\textsuperscript{282}, vāruṇī in Kumārasaṃbhava\textsuperscript{283} and kādambarī in Abhijñānaśākuntala\textsuperscript{284}. Kumārasambhava describes the wine extracted from flowers (puśpāsava or madhūka)\textsuperscript{285} and also deals with the after effects of drinking wine\textsuperscript{286}. Sugar was also used as an antidote for the

\begin{align*}
\text{surā samaṇḍā rūkṣoṣṭaṃ yavāṃṣṭaṃ vātapittalā/ CS Sū.27.190} \\
mukhapriyāḥ sukhamadāḥ sugandhirstiraganut/  \\
\text{jaraṇīyaḥ pariṇato hṛdyo varṇyaśca śārakaraḥ/ CS Sū.27.183} \\
\text{kaśāyo madhurāḥ śīdhr gauḍaḥ pācanadīpanaḥ/ SS Sū.45.182} \\
\text{jāmabavo baddhanisyandastuvaro vātakopanaḥ/}  \\
\text{tikṣṣaḥ surīśavo hṛdyo mātralaḥ kaphavātanut/ SS. Sū. 45.187} \\
\text{śīdhr madhūkapuspottho vidāhyagnibalapradaḥ/}  \\
\text{rūkṣaḥ kaśāyaḥ kaphahṛd vātapitaprapoṣaḥ/ SS Sū.45.191} \\
\text{madya-pibanti madyaṃ madanīyam uttamaṃ/ Ṛtu. V.10} \\
\text{madira- netreṣu lolo madirālaseṣu/Ṛtu. VI.12} \\
\text{āsava- nārikelsavaṃ yoddhā śātravaṃ ca papur yaśaḥ / Raghu. IV.42} \\
\text{madhu- madirākṣi madanārptaṇ madhu pīrvā rasavatkathāṃ nu me/} \\
\text{Raghu. VIII.68} \\
\text{śīdhu- manojāgandhaṇaṃ sahakāravyaṅgaṇi purāṇaśīdhūṃ navapāṭalaṃ ca/}  \\
\text{Raghu. XVI 52} \\
\text{asati tvaiy vāruṇīmadaḥ pramadānāṃ adhunā vidambanā / Kum. IV.12} \\
\text{kādambarīṣahkhyam asmākan prathamasuḥrādmi iṣyaṭe/ Abhi. Śāk. IV.p.146} \\
\text{puśpāsavāghūrṇṣa netrāṣobhi priyāmukhaṇḍ kiṃ puruṣaś cuṃcbeḥ / Kum. III.38} \\
\text{nayanāyvarṇāṇi ghūṛpayan vacanāni skhalayan pade pade/}  \\
\text{asati tvaiy vāruṇīmadaḥ pramadānāṃ adhunā vidambanā// Kum. IV.12}
\end{align*}
intoxication caused by wine\textsuperscript{287}. Flowers of mango and red \textit{paṭala} were also used to perfume various wines\textsuperscript{288}.

When we come to the medieval period, AS is of the opinion that intoxicating drinks were generally prepared from grapes, sugarcane, honey and rice\textsuperscript{289}. The VP mentions another intoxicating liquor called as \textit{kaśya}\textsuperscript{290}. Perhaps this has been a variety of liquor made in the region of \textit{Kāśi}.

We can see that Caraka regards drinking as pleasing, digestive, nourishing and providing intelligence, if it is indulged in a proper manner\textsuperscript{291}. Excessive use of intoxicating liquors is also interdicted by Bhela, particularly in the summer and rainy seasons\textsuperscript{292}. Thus we can see that all the medical works of ancient and medieval period prescribe a limited use of wines and consider this habit good for health and cautions against exceeding this limit\textsuperscript{293}.

To sum up, among cereals barley got a prime position in ancient India and it is followed by rice and wheat. The vedic offerings are confined only to barley and rice grains. A lot varieties

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{287} \textit{iyāṃ} khalu śīdhupānŏdvejitasya matsbyāṇḍikā upanaṭā
\textit{ (matsbyāṇḍikā nāma śarkarāviśeṣāḥ)}/ Mālavika. III.p.44
\textsuperscript{288} sahaṅkārmāsavaṃ raktaṃtalamāgamaṃ papau/ Rāghu. XIX.46
\textsuperscript{289} drāṅkṣekṣursākṣikaṃ sālir uttamāvṛīhi paṅcamā/ AS Sū.VI.
\textsuperscript{290} kaśyam maḍyaṃ srīṛmaṃ vipraiḥ/ VP 65.116
\textsuperscript{291} srotasāṃ sodhanaṃ ṇīrṇaṃ dīpanāṃ laghu rocanaṃ/
harṣanāṃ prīṇanaṃ maḍyaṃ bhayaśokaśramāpaḥam/
prāgbhṛya vīrya pratībhā tuṣṭi puṣṭi balapradam//
sātvikār vidhīvad vaktyē pṛīṇaṃ syād amṛtaṃ yathā/ CS Sū.27.191-193
\textsuperscript{292} pramāṇena pibem maḍyaṃ nāti seveta paṇḍitaḥ/
yuktyē tu seyamānāṃ tat pānam cāṃṛtaṃ ucyate// Bhela.cikitsā.28.13
\textsuperscript{293} bṛhmanaṃ nederṣaṃ kiṇcic yathāmasahītā surā/
tāṃ tu rūkṣaṁ viśeṣaṇa nātimātraṃ samācaret// Bhela.Sū.XIX.6
\end{flushleft}
of rice dishes such as *kṣīrodana, dadhyodana* can be seen referred to in Vedic literature. Different varieties of rice and wheat also came to be used. Later in the medieval period wheat became very common. *Māṣa, mudga* and *masūra* were the important pulses in the ancient period and they were followed by *rājamāṣa, niṣapāva* in the medieval.

The inclusion of meat in diet was very common in ancient India. Gradually the use of meat became confined only for sacrificial purposes. Later the Purāṇic writers were of the opinion that the slaughter of animals were not necessary for sacrifices. Still the Ayurvedic treatises support meat eating as a mode of treatment. The case of intoxicating drinks was also similar to that of meat eating. Drinks like *Soma* were initially used in sacrifices and in medicines. Later the smṛti texts taboo the usage of strong liquors like *surā*, while *Soma* still continued to be the indispensable factor of sacrifices.

Thus from the foregoing discussions we got a clear picture about the food history and food culture of ancient India upto medieval period as reflected in its Sanskrit literature. But there are also some texts in Sanskrit, dealing exclusively with the subject of dietetics or culinary art, which we have not taken into consideration in the above discussions. In the next chapter we shall discuss these Sanskrit treatises which deal exclusively with the topics culinary art or dietetics among which the *Bhojanakutūhala* of Raghunātha deserves a prime position.