

CHAPTER 2

Food history as reflected in Sanskrit literature

Sreeja K.N. "Dietetics and culinary art in ancient and medieval India - A study with special reference to bhojanakutíhala"
Thesis. Department of Sanskrit, University of Calicut, 2016.

Chapter II

Food history as reflected in Sanskrit literature

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 *kāvya*-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, Taittirīyaśaṃhitā, Vājasaneyīśaṃhitā, Maitrāyaṇīyaśaṃhitā, Śatapathabrāhmaṇa, Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa, Aitareyabrāhmaṇa, Jaiminīyopaniṣatbrāhmaṇa, Gopathabrāhmaṇa, Taittirīyāraṇyaka, Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣat and Chāndogyopaniṣat.

Sūtra literature (800 -300BCE)

Baudhāyanagr̥hyasūtra, Āśvalāyanagr̥hyasūtra, Pāraskaragr̥hyasūtra, Śāṅkhāyanagr̥hyasūtra, Āpastambadharmasūtra Gautamadharmasūtra and Aṣṭādhyāyī

Grammar and Miscellaneous texts

Nirukta, Mahābhāṣya, Arthaśāstra, Manusmṛti and Kāmasūtra

Epic literature

Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa

Medical works (300-500 CE)

Carakasam̐hitā, Suśrutasam̐hitā, Kāśyapasam̐hitā and Bhelasam̐hitā.

Classical literature (5th Cent.CE)

Raghuvamśa, Kumārasambhava, Mālavikāgnimitra, Abhijñānaśākuntala, Ṛtusamhāra and Mṛcchakaṭika.

Texts of the medieval period

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

Harṣacarita, Uttrararāmacarita, Naiṣadhīyacarita and Mānasollāsa

Medical works (6th Cent.CE)

Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha and Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya

Purāṇic works (3rd - 11th Cent.CE)

Matsyapurāṇa, Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, Agnipurāṇa and Vāyupurāṇa

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-existant 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 *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣat* are *vrihi*,

yava, godhūma, tila, māṣa, aṇu, priyaṅgu, masūra, khalva and *khalakulāśa*⁷.

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

⁷ *daśa grāmyāṇi dhānyāni bhavanti vrīhiyavāstilamāṣā aṇupriyaṅgavo godhūmāśca masūrāśca khalvāśca khalakulāśca tānpiṣṭāṇddhani madhuni ghṛta upasiñcatyājya juhoti/BU.VI.3.13*

Indians and thus it enjoyed the staple food status in this period⁸. 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 heaven⁹. *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* (AS) identifies two varieties of barley which are *anuyava* - the superior one and the *veṇuyava* - the inferior one¹⁰.

Barley Preparations

Dhāna and *karambha*, the Vedic offerings made of barley are referred to in AB¹¹. *Dhāna* is prepared by frying barley with butter¹². The powder of *dhānā* again fried with butter was called *karambha*¹³. Powder of fried barley is known as *saktu*¹⁴. Sometimes it is also used to prepare a sweet sticky dish namely *yavāśir*¹⁵. *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (ŚB) mentions the malted barley known as *tokma*¹⁶. *Apūpa*-s, the cakes made from barley is mentioned in this

⁸ *gobhiryavaṃ na cakṛṣat/ RV. I.23.15,*
vrīhayaśca me yavāśca me...nīvārāśca me/ TS IV.7.4.8,
yasyāmanam vrīhiyavau yasyā imāḥ pañca kṛṣṭayaḥ/
bhūmyai parjanyaapatnyai namo 'stu varṣamedase// AV XII 1.42

⁹ *vrīhiyavaśca bheṣajau divasputrāvamartyau/AV.VIII.7.20*

¹⁰ *guṇair nyūnatarā jñeyā yavādanuyavāvayāḥ/*
uṣṇā sarā veṇuyavāḥ kaṣāyā vātapittalā// AS Sū.VII.19
anuyava(inferior variety of barley) ; *veṇuyava*(bamboo seeds) were also used as food-stuff.

¹¹ *tamaśvinau dhānābhir abhiṣyajyetām/ pūṣā karambheṇa/TB I 5.11.2*

¹² *India of the age of the Brāhmaṇas p.58*

¹³ idem

¹⁴ *gavedhukāsaktubhirjuhoti/ cakṣuṣī...yavasaktavaśca karkan /ŚB IX.1.1.8 ,*

¹⁵ *imam indra gavāśiraṃ yavāśiraṃ ca naḥ piba/ AV 20.24.7*

¹⁶ *India of the age of the Brāhmaṇas p.58*

*Brāhmaṇa*¹⁷. Barley is also used to prepare the popular drink *yavāgū*¹⁸. Pāṇini mentions *yavāgu* in one of his aphorisms *goyavāgvośca*¹⁹. Barley preparations like *yavāgū*²⁰, *dhāna*²¹, *yāvaka*²² and *apūpa*²³ 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 *saṃhita*-s and *brāhmaṇa*-s mentions *kṛṣṇavrīhi* (black rice), *śuklavrīhi* (white rice), *mahāvṛīhi* (long rice), *nīvāra* (wild rice), *hāyana* (red rice growing in a year), *āśu* (swift growing rice) and *māsūsya* (a sort of wild rice) as varieties of rice²⁴. Pāṇini mentions *ṣaṣṭika*, a variety of rice so called because it takes sixty days to ripen²⁵.

According to Suśruta, among the *vrīhi* rice the black variety, which is called *kṛṣṇavrīhi*, was popular²⁶. *Ṣaṣṭika* rice was

¹⁷ *yavamayam apūpaṃ kṛtvā yatrāhavanīyamādhāsyān bhavati tannidadhāti/*
ŚB II.2.3.13

¹⁸ *prjayā paśubhir yavāgū rājanyaśca vratam kṛveva vai yavāgū krūra iva/*
TS 6.2.5.2,

payo brāhmaṇasya vratam yavāgū rājanyasyāmīkṣā vaiśyasyātho
saumye pyadhvara etadvratam brūyād//TĀ 2.8.8

¹⁹ *go-yavāgvośca* Aṣṭ.4. 2.135

Śālva- Alwar-Bikaner Region (Pāṇini(H),p.121)

²⁰ *suśṛtam pāyase brūyād yavāgvām kṛsare tathā/MB. Śānti.193.22*

²¹ *dhānā gauḍyāsavaṃ pītvā gomāṃsam laśunaiḥ saha/*

apūpamāṃsavātīyānāmāśinaḥ śīlavarijītāḥ// MB.Kar.Pa.44.11

²² *kaṇapiṇyākakulmāśaśākayāvakasaktavaḥ/*

tathā mūlaphalaṃ bhaiḥsyam paryāyeṇopayojayet/MB. Śānti.Pa.36.

²³ *rasālāpūpakāś citrān modakān atha khāṇḍavān/MB.Anu.Pa.53.18*

²⁴ *Lifestyle of Vedic people* p.12

²⁵ *ṣaṣṭikāḥ ṣaṣṭirātreṇa pacyante/ Aṣṭ.5.1.90*

²⁶ *kṛṣṇavrīhir varas teṣāṃ kaṣāyānuraso laghuḥ/ SS Sū.46.14*

considered very nourishing and its daily use is also recommended in the text²⁷. Some inferior varieties of rice such as *koradūṣaka*, *śyāmāka*, *nīvāra*, *varaka* and *priyaṅgu* were used by the poor people and ascetics²⁸. *Raghuvamśa* states that *kalama* variety of rice, which was grown in Bengal was transplanted in the banks of Ganges to attain full growth²⁹. 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 *śālī* (*raktaśālī*) rice as the best³⁰.

Rice preparations

Parivāpa and *puroḍāśa* are the Vedic offerings made from rice³¹. *Parivāpa* is prepared from parched rice fried in butter³². *Puroḍāśa* is a rice-cake³³. The term *odana* has been used even from

²⁷ *ṣaṣṭikaḥ pravaras teṣāṃ kaṣāyānuraso laghuḥ/* SS Sū.46.10

²⁸ *sakoradūṣaḥ śyāmākaḥ kaṣāyamadhuro laghuḥ/
vātalaḥ kaphapittaghnaḥ śītaḥ saṅgrāhiśoṣaṇaḥ//
hastīśyāmākanīvāratoyaparṇīgavedhukāḥ/
praśāntikāmbhaḥ śyāmākalauhityāṇupriyaṅgavaḥ//
mukundo bhiṅṭigarmūṭī varukā varakastathā/
śibirotkatajūrṇādvāḥ śyāmākasadrśā guṇaiḥ//* CS Sū.27.16-18

²⁹ *vaṅgānutkhāya tarasā netā nausādhanodyatān/
nicakhāna jayastambhān gaṅgāsrotāntareṣu sa//
āpadapadmapraṇatāḥ kalamā iva te raghum/
phalaiḥ samvardhayāmāsur utkhātapratiropitāḥ//*Raghu. IV.36-37

³⁰ *śūkajeṣu varastatra raktastrṣṇātridoṣahā/
mahāmṣtasyānu kalamas taṃ cāpyanu tataḥ pare//*AS Sū. VIII.7
*raktaśālīr varas teṣāṃ trṣṇāghnas trimalāpahaḥ//*CS Sū.27.11

³¹ *dhānābhir asvināvabhiṣajyatām devī bhāratī parivāpena//*TB I.5.11.2

³² *India of the age of the Brāhmaṇas* p.58

³³ Idem

the Vedic period to signify the boiled rice. AV refers to the milk boiled rice as *kṣīra odana*³⁴.

The *gṛhyasūtra*-s ordain that rice should be ceremoniously administered to child in the *annaprāśana* rite³⁵. Towards the period of *Upaniṣat*-s, different varieties of food items were prepared with rice and are named as *kṣīraudana* (cooked rice mixed with milk), *dadhyodana* (mixed with curds), *tilaudana* (mixed with sesame), *māṃsaudana* (mixed with meat), *ghṛtaudana* (mixed with ghee) and *mudgaudana* (mixed with beans)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 *śaspa*³⁷. *Apūpa*-s, the cakes made from rice is also referred to in this *Brāhmaṇa*³⁸.

Lāja and *pṛthuka* are two rice products used for sacrificial purposes. *Lāja* is a puffed rice which looks like white flower³⁹. The flattened rice or beaten rice is called as *pṛthuka*⁴⁰. VR has a

³⁴ *yāṃ te dhenuṃ nipuṇāmi yamu kṣīra odanam/
tenā janasyāso bhartā yo'trāsada jīvanah// AV.XVII.2.30*

³⁵ *athaudanam dadhnā madhunā ghṛtenādbhir iti samudāyutya hiraṇyenuṣadhasya
kumāraṃ prāśayati / Bau.Gṛ.Sū.II.2.5
ṣaṣṭhe māsyannaprāśanam/ ājamannādyakāmaḥ/ taittiraṃ brahmavarcaskāmaḥ/
ghṛtaudanam tejaskāmaḥ/ dadhimadhughṛtamiśram annaṃ prāśayed
annapate'trasya no dehyanamīvasya śuṣmīnaḥ/ Āśva.Gṛ.Sū. I.16.1-5*

³⁶ *Lifestyle of Vedic people p.13*

³⁷ *India of the age of the Brāhmaṇas p.58*

³⁸ *vrīhimayam apūpaṃ kṛtvā yatra gārhapatya mādḥāsya bhavati tan na nidadhāti/
ŚB II.2.3.12*

³⁹ *lājā vrīhiprabhāvāḥ puṣpavat vikasitāḥ / Sāyaṇa on TB II.6.4*

⁴⁰ *pṛthukair juhoti rudrāṇāṃ vā etad rūpaṃ/ yat pṛthukāḥ / yat pṛthukair juhoti/
rudrāneva tat priṇāti/ TB III.8.14.3*

description on *madhulāja* - honey mixed with puffed rice preparation⁴¹. In *Gr̥hyasūtra* rituals, especially in marriage ceremonies pouring the puffed rice into the fire (*lājahoma*) is a significant ritual. Kālidāsa in his *Kumārasaṃbhava* beautifully describes this ritual at the event of the marriage ceremony of Lord Śiva and Pārvati⁴².

VR describes *modaka* a typical sweet ball⁴³. Of the rice preparations *śaṣkuli* is the referred to in MB⁴⁴. Tasty soups were prepared with parched rice, long pepper, dry ginger and the juice of pomegranates⁴⁵. CS describes that the gruels were named according to the proportion of water they contained. They were either drunk or licked⁴⁶.

Among the medieval period texts, *Uttararāmacarita* has a description of deer being fed with rice and boiled vegetables⁴⁷. In

⁴¹ *ikṣūṃś ca madhulājāṃś ca bhojayanti sma vāhanān/*

ikṣvākuravayoddhānāṃ codayanto mahābalāḥ// VR.Ayo.85.52

⁴² *tau dampatī triḥ pariṇīya vahnim anyonya saṃsparśa nimīlitākṣau/*

sa kārayāmāsa vadhūṃ purodhās tasmin samiddhārciṣi lājamokṣaṃ // Kum.VII.80

⁴³ *narā modakahastās ca rāmasya purato yayuḥ// VR Yud. 131.38*

⁴⁴ *saṃyāvaṃ kṛsaraṃ māṃsaṃ śaṣkulī pāyasaṃ tathā/*

ātmārthaṃ na prakartavyaṃ devārthaṃ tu prakalpayet// MB.Anu.Pa.107.65

⁴⁵ *peyā hi siddhā saha dāḍimena takreṇa cukreṇa jalena coṣṇā/*

sasaindhavā cāśu vihanti tṛṣṇāṃ kālopapannā maricārdrakābhyām// Kaś.Saṃ.Sū.53

⁴⁶ *sikthair virahito maṇḍaḥ peyā sikthasamanvitā/*

vilepī bahusikthā syād yavāgūr viraḍadravā// CS Sū.46.345

⁴⁷ *nīvāraudana maṇḍamuṣṇamadhuraṃ sadya prasūtipriyā-*

pītādabhyadhikaṃ tapovanamṛgaḥ paryāptamācāmati /

gandhena sphuratā manāganusato bhaktasya sarpiṣmataḥ

karkandhūphalamiśraśākapačanāmodaḥ paristīryate // UC. IV.1

Naiṣadhīyacarita, the narration of Damayanti's marriage feast is started with the description of the characteristics of *odana* served there⁴⁸. 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 curds⁴⁹.

2.1.1.3 Wheat

Wheat is mentioned in later Vedic *saṃhitā*-s⁵⁰. It can be observed that in *Arthaśāstra*, wheat occupied a more important place among the cereals and it being invariably mentioned with barley⁵¹. Two varieties of wheat *madhūlika* and *nāndimukhi* have been mentioned by Suśruta in the list of inferior food grains⁵². *Mānasollāsa*, the medieval period text refers to different wheat preparations such as *sohala*, *pāhalikā* *polikā*, *maṇḍaka* and *patrikā*⁵³.

⁴⁸ *amī lasad bāṣpam akhaṇḍitākhilam viyuktam anyonyam amuktamārdavam/ rasottaram gauramapīvaram rasād abhuñajatāmodanam odanam janāḥ //*
NC XVI. 68

⁴⁹ *kiyat tyajan odanam ānayan kiyat karasya papraccha gatāgatena yām/ ahaṃ kimeṣyāmi kimeṣyasīti sā vyadhata namraṃ kila lajjayānanaṃ//*
NC XVI.80, See also the commentary of Narayana- *bhojanasamaye bhoktā kiyantam odanam agre vibhajya sthāpayati, kiyantaṃ dadhyādinā saha bhoktuṃ grhṇātīti jātiḥ/*

⁵⁰ *vrīhayaś ca me yavāś ca me priyaṅgavaś ca me ṇavaś ca me śyāmākāś ca me nīvārāś ca me godhūmāś ca me masūrāś ca me yajñena kalpantām/ VS XVIII.12, oṣadhīnām nediṣṭhatamām yad godhūmāḥ/ ŚB V.2.1.16*

⁵¹ *kusumbhamasūrakulatthayavagodhūmakalāyātasīsarsapāḥ paścād vāpāḥ/*
AŚ II.24.18

⁵² *koradūṣaka śyāmāka nīvāra śantanu vakoddālakapriyaṅgumadhūlikā nāndīmukhī kuruvinda gavedhuka sarabaruka toyaparṇī mukundaka vēṇuyava prabhṛtayaḥ kudhānyaviśeṣāḥ/ SS Sū.46.21*

⁵³ *Mānasollāsa* chapter III

2.1.2 Pulses

In Vedic literature, different varieties of pulses like *māṣa* (black-gram), *mudga* (green-gram) and *masūra* (lentils) were referred to⁵⁴. But it is interesting that for some reason *māṣa* is not considered edible as it is despised for sacrificial purposes⁵⁵. In VR, pulses like *māṣa* (black-gram), *mudga* (green-gram), *kulattha* (horse-gram) and *caṇaka* (hemp) are mentioned⁵⁶.

Kāśyapasaṃhitā states that *kulattha* is prescribed for a feeding mother in order to produce pure breast milk⁵⁷. The medical works regard *māṣa* as the worst among all pulses because it is very difficult to digest⁵⁸. According to the authors of *purāṇa* literature the use of *rājamāṣa*, *masūra*, *niṣpāva* and gram are interdicted in the *śrāddha* ritual⁵⁹.

Pulse preparations

Of the pulse preparations, *kulmāṣa* is the most prominent one

⁵⁴ *māṣāśca me tilāśca me mudgāśca me khalvāśca me priyaṅgavaśca me 'ṇavaśca me śyāmākāśca me nīvārāśca me godhūmāśca me masūrāśca me yajñena kalpantām/* VS XVIII.12

⁵⁵ *na māṣāṇām aśnīyād ayajñiyā vai māṣāḥ/* MS I.4.10

⁵⁶ *caṇakānām kulatthānām māṣāṇām lavaṇasya ca/ ato 'nurūpaṃ snehaṃ ca gandhaṃ saṃkṣiptam eva ca//* VR. Utt. 91.20

⁵⁷ *masūrāḥ ṣaṣṭikā mudgāḥ kulatthāḥ śālayo ghṛtaṃ gavyamājaṃ payaḥ kāle lavaṇaṃ cāpyanaudbhidam/ āhāravidhir uddiṣṭaḥ stanyaśodhanakālikāḥ gurvannasnehamāṃsāni divāsvapnaṃ ca varjayet//* Kaś.Saṃ.XIX.14

⁵⁸ *māṣāḥ śamīdhānyānām apathyatamatvena prakṛṣṭatamā bhavanti /*CS Sū.25.39

⁵⁹ *dveṣyāṇi sampravakṣyāmi śrāddhe varjyāni yāni tu/ masūrasāṇaniṣpāvarājamāṣakusumbhikāḥ/ kodravodāracaṇakā kapitthā madhukātasīḥ//* MP15.36-38

among the common people⁶⁰. It is prepared by stewing beans and mixing them with a little *guḍa* and oil. *Aṣṭādhyāyī* says another preparation of pulse called as *sūpa* (soup)⁶¹.

According to CS, pulses such as *mudga* (green gram), *masūra* (lentil), *caṇaka* (hemp) and *kalāya* (pea) were parched and eaten⁶². *Parpaṭa*-s were prepared with flour of pulses⁶³. The soup prepared from *mudga* is described in SS⁶⁴.

Towards the medieval period *mudga* is considered the best among the pulses⁶⁵. *Mānasollāsa* describes many pulse preparations like *vidalapāka*, *iḍarikā*, *ghārikā*, *vaṭikā*, *kaṭakarna*, *pūrikā*, *veṣṭikā* and *dośaka* 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 *Ṛgveda*⁶⁶. But the concept of cow as a holy one seems to be started from the period of *Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa* (TB) as the text

⁶⁰ *kulmāṣāṃścid āhara , ityavakutsite , kulmāṣāḥ kuleṣu sīdanti / Nirukta.I.4, sahebhyaṃ kulmāṣān khādantaṃ bibhikṣe... CU I.10.2*

⁶¹ *palalasūpaśākaṃ miśre/ Aṣṭ.VI.2.128*

⁶² *mudgān masūrāṃś caṇakān kalāyān bhṛṣṭān yutān nāgaramākṣikābhyaṃ/ lihyāt tathaiva triphalaviḍaṅgacūrṇaṃ viḍaṅgaplavayor atho vā// CS.Cikitsā. 20.37*

⁶³ *saṃskārāl laghavaḥ santi bhakṣyā gaudhūmapaiṣṭikāḥ/ dhānāparpaṭapūpādyās tān buddhvā nirdiśet tathā// CS Sū.27.272*

⁶⁴ *jñeyah pathyatamañcaiva mudgayūṣaḥ kṛtākṛtaḥ/ SS Sū.46.367*

⁶⁵ *sūpyānām uttamā mudgā laghīyāṃso 'lpa mārutāḥ/ haritās teṣvapi varāḥ/AS Sū.VII.26*

⁶⁶ *yuvaṃ paya usriyāyāmadhattaṃ pakvamāmāyāmava pūrvyaṃ goḥ/ antaryadvanino vāmṛtapsū hvāro na śucir yajate haviṣmān//RV.I.180.3*

states that a cow should be offered as the best offering (*vara*)⁶⁷. TB also states that cow should not be milked for a period of ten nights after the delivery of its baby calf⁶⁸. The usage of goat's milk can be seen in TS⁶⁹. Milk was mixed with *soma* juice called *gavāsira*⁷⁰. According to Omprakash⁷¹, the references to fresh milk, boiled milk and the cream of boiled milk can be seen very commonly in *Brāhmaṇa* literature⁷².

Kauṭilya mentions an officer called *go'dhyakṣa* assisted by two junior persons in charge of milking cows (*dohaka*) and churning curds (*manthaka*)⁷³. Cows were generally milked twice a day in the rainy, autumn and winter seasons, but only once in the spring and summer seasons⁷⁴. MB instructs that the brahmins are not allowed to drink the milk of sheep, mare, asses, camels, deer, women and a cow which had recently calved⁷⁵.

According to Ayurvedic treatises, milk was considered a complete diet and is recommended as the most nourishing food⁷⁶.

⁶⁷ *varo dakṣiṇā*/ TB III.12.5.7 According to Sāyaṇa- *vara śabdena gaurabhidhīyate/*

⁶⁸ *tasmād vatsaṃ jātaṃ daśarātrīr na duhati*/ TB II.1.1

⁶⁹ *etat payo yad ajakṣīraṃ paramenaivaināṃ payasā' cchṛṇatti*/ TS V.1.7.4

⁷⁰ *śukrādīyasya gavāsira indravāyū niyutvataḥ/ ā yātaṃ pibataṃ narā*/RV.II.41.3

⁷¹ The author of *Economy and Food in Ancient India*

⁷² *Economy and Food in Ancient India* section II, p.67

⁷³ *gopālakapiṇḍārakadohakamanthakalubdhakāḥ . . . AŚ.II.29.02*

⁷⁴ *varṣāśaraddhemantān ubhayataḥ kālaṃ duhyuḥ/ śīśiravasantaḡriṣman ekakālam/ AŚ II.29.29-30*

⁷⁵ *eḍakāśvakharoṣṭriyāṃ sūtikānāṃ gavāṃ api/*

mānuṣiṇāṃ mṛgiṇāṃ ca na pibed brāhmaṇaḥ payaḥ/MB.Śānti.Pa.36.25

⁷⁶ *sarvaṃ dugdhamabhiṣyandi gavyaṃ tebhyo viśiṣyate/*

vājī bhavati dugdhena balaṃ cāpyupajāyate/

sañjīvanāṃ saṃbhavati sarvaṃ kṣīramudāhṛtam//Bhela. Sū.XXVIII.17-18

Caraka mentions the milk of cows, buffaloes, goats, mares, sheep, elephants, camels and women which were commonly used⁷⁷. According to Suśruta, the milk and ghee of a cow were considered the best⁷⁸. He also states that the milk of buffaloes was considered good for certain persons who have a good digestive system⁷⁹. Suśruta says that unboiled milk was considered heavy while freshly milked warm milk was considered wholesome. Over boiled milk was considered difficult to digest⁸⁰.

AS states that fresh warm milk was considered wholesome as nectar itself⁸¹. *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* (AH) states that milk is recommended as a suitable diet for the convalescent, the old, children and ascetics⁸². Milk was used in various forms referred to in *Mānasollāsa*⁸³. *Agnipurāṇa* describes certain sweet preparations such as *ksīraprakāra*, *kṣīravaṭa* and *ksīrayaṣṭikā* wherein milk is the principal ingredient⁸⁴.

*upavāsādhvabhāṣyastrīmārutātāpakarmabhiḥ/
klāntānām anupānārthaṃ payaḥ pathyaṃ yathāmṛtam//CS Sū.27.322*
77 *āvīkṣīram ajākṣīram gokṣīram māhiṣaṃ ca yat/
uṣṭrīṇām atha nāgīnām baḍavāyāḥ striyās tathā//CS Sū. I.106*
78 *gavyaṃ kṣīram ghr̥taṃ śreṣṭham/ SS Sū.6.336*
79 *mahābhiṣyandi madhuraṃ māhiṣaṃ vahnināśanam/SS Sū.45.55*
80 *payobhiṣyandi gurvāmaṃ prāyaśaḥ parikīrtitam/
dhāroṣṇaṃ guṇavat kṣīram viparītam athonyathā/
tadevātiśṛtaṃ śītaṃ guru bṛmhaṇam ucyate/SS Sū.45.61-63*
81 *bhaved garīyotiśṛtaṃ dhāroṣṇam amṛtopamam/ AS Sū.VI.62*
82 *vyādhyauśadhādhvabhāṣyastrīlaṅghanātāpakarmabhiḥ/
kṣīṇe vṛddhe ca bāle ca payaḥ pathyaṃ yathāmṛtam// AH VIII.50*
83 *ardhāvaśiṣṭadaṃ pāne syād tribhāgaṃ lehyakam/
ṣaḍbhāgaṃ piṇḍatāmeti śarkarā syād athāṣṭame// Mānas. 3.1567*
84 *guḍaudanaṃ pāyasaṃ ca haviṣyaṃ ksīrayaṣṭikam/
dahdyodanaṃ haviḥ pūpān māṃsaṃ citrānnaṃ eva ca // AP 164.10*

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 meal⁸⁵. *Pr̥ṣadājya* a curd product is mentioned in TS. According to Sāyaṇa, it is a mixture of curds and minute globules of butter⁸⁶. 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 text⁸⁷. 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* literature⁸⁸.

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 (*kilāṭa*) to the cows with fodder⁸⁹.

VR and MB describe *rasālā*, the fine sweet preparation from curds⁹⁰. Caraka prohibits the use of curds in the autumn, the summer

⁸⁵ *suta pāvane sutā ime śucayo yānti vītaye somāso dadhyāśiraḥ*/RV.I.5.5

⁸⁶ *pr̥ṣadbhir dadhibindubhir miśram ājyaṃ pr̥ṣadājyam*/ Sāyaṇa on TS III.2.6.2

⁸⁷ *acchidrasya dadhanvata supūrṇasya dadhanvataḥ*/RV.VI.48.18

dadhanvata iti dadhno' dhikatvaṃ dyotanārthaḥ/ Sāyaṇa on RV.VI.48.18

⁸⁸ *India of the age of the Brāhmaṇas* p.59

⁸⁹ *kūrcikāṃ senābhaktārtham āhareyuh*/ AŚ II.29.26

kīlāṭo ghāṇapiṇyākakḷedārthaḥ/ AŚ II.29.27

⁹⁰ *yauvanasthasya gaurasya kaptathasya sugandhinaḥ*/

hṛdyah pūrṇā rasālasya dadhnaḥ śvetasya cāpare/VR.Ayo.91.73

rasālā kardamā nadyobabhūvur bhatarṣabha/ MB.Asv.Pa.91.37

and the spring seasons⁹¹. According to Om Prakash⁹², 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 preparations⁹³. Curds churned without water (*ghola*) is referred to in SS⁹⁴. Manu lays down that curds and its preparations alone could be eaten even if they had turned sour⁹⁵.

Naiṣadhīyacarita considers that the curds prepared from the milk of those buffaloes, whose calves were fully grown as very tasty⁹⁶. In the text a special preparation of curds with black mustard is also described⁹⁷. *Mānasollāsa* gives different names to the curds according to the quantity of water mixed into it⁹⁸. Curds churned and mixed with sugar and fumigated with camphor are also referred to in in this text⁹⁹.

⁹¹ *śaradgrīṣmavasanteṣu prāyaśo dadhi garhitam/CS Sū.27.226*

⁹² The author of *Economy and Food in Ancient India*

⁹³ *Economy and Food in Ancient India*.Section II p.230-231

⁹⁴ *yat tu sasnehamajalaṃ mathitaṃ gholam ucyate/ SS Sū.45.85*

⁹⁵ *dadhi bhakṣyaṃ ca śukteṣu sarvaṃ ca dadhisambhavam/Manu.V.10*

⁹⁶ *hayadvīṣadbāṣkayaṇīpayah sutam sudhāhṛdān paṅkam ivodhṛtam dadhi/ NC XVI.93*

⁹⁷ *na rājikārāddham abhoji tatra kair mukhena sītkāraḥṛtā dadhad dadhi/ dhutottamāṅgaiḥ kaṭubhāvapāṭavād akāṇḍakaṇḍūyitamūrdhatālubhiḥ// NC XVI.73*

⁹⁸ *nirjalaṃ mathitaṃ proktam udaśvic ca jalārdhakam/ pādāmbu takram uddiṣṭam dhūpitaṃ hiṅgujīrakaiḥ / ārdrakeṇa samāyukte elāsaindhavacūrṇitam/ Mānas. III.1571-72*

⁹⁹ *mathitaṃ śarkarāyuktamelācūrṇavimiśritam/ karpūradhūpitaṃ nāmna majjiketyabhidhīyate// Mānas.III. 1573*

2.2.2.2 Butter

RV refers to the heating of butter to make ghee¹⁰⁰. It was used for frying and dipping the cakes in it¹⁰¹. *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* mentions that solidified clarified butter was used by grown up men. Here the fresh butter was prescribed for the usage of children¹⁰². Butter was taken out by churning milk as well as curds¹⁰³. Later in the classical literature we can see that fresh butter (*navanīta*), butter prepared from the previous day's milk (*haiyaṅgavīna*) and clarified butter (*ghṛta*) were widely referred to in¹⁰⁴. Clarified butter was considered a germicide in *Matsyapurāṇa*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 cows¹⁰⁶. 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

¹⁰⁰ *śuci ghṛtaṃ na taptamaghnyāyāḥ / RV.IV.1.6*

¹⁰¹ *puroḍāśāvājyenābhyañjanti/ AV.X.9.25*

¹⁰² *ājyaṃ vai devānāṃ surabhi ghṛtaṃ manuṣyāṇāṃ āyutaṃ pitṛṇāṃ navanītaṃ garbhāṇāṃ tad yan navanītenābhyañjanti/ AB I.3*

¹⁰³ *kṣīrotthaṃ punar navanītam utkṛṣṭasnehamādhuryam atīśītaṃ saukumāryakaraṃ cakṣuṣyaṃ saṅgrāhi raktapittanetrarogaharaṃ prasādanaṃ ca/ SS Sū.45.93*

¹⁰⁴ *Economy and Food in Ancient India. Section II p.276-277*

¹⁰⁵ *annādijānāṃ satvānāṃ rajasānāṃ ca sarvaśaḥ/*

phalapuṣpodgatānāṃ ca ghṛtaprāśo viśodhanam//MP 227.39

¹⁰⁶ *ukṣānnāya vasānnāya somaprṣṭhāya vedhase/ stomair vidhemāgnaye// RV 8.43.11*

RV¹⁰⁷. The text describes the killing of barren cows at the time of marriage obviously for food¹⁰⁸. Fish is mentioned in RV¹⁰⁹. But we are not in a position now to conclude that the Ṛgvedic people ate fish.

The description of slaughter house (*śasana*) can also be seen in RV¹¹⁰. The flesh of horses, rams, barren cows, sheep and buffaloes was cooked¹¹¹. The AV regards beef eating as an offence against forefathers (Pitr-s)¹¹². The text also states that Bṛhaspati takes away the progeny of those who consume a cow¹¹³.

In ŚB, killing of a big ox or a big goat to feed a distinguished guest was referred to¹¹⁴. 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 participants¹¹⁵.

Pāṇini also refers to meat eating¹¹⁶. According to Pāṇini a guest for whom a cow can be killed is known as *goghna*¹¹⁷.

¹⁰⁷ *ajo bhāgastapasā taṃ tapasva taṃ te śocistapatu taṃ te arcih
yāste śivāstanvo jātavedastābhīrvahainaṃ sukṛtāmu lokam /RV 10.16.4*

¹⁰⁸ *aghāsu hanyante gāvah/ RV 10.85.13*

¹⁰⁹ *asṇāpinaddham madhu paryapaśyan matsyam na dīna udani kṣiyantam/
RV 10.68.8*

¹¹⁰ *karhisvitsā ta indra cetyāsadaghasya yadbhi nado rakṣa eṣad
mitrakruvo yac chasane na gāvah pṛthivyā āprigamuyā śayante/ RV 10.89.14*

¹¹¹ *yasminnaśvāsa ṛṣabhāsa ukṣaṇo vaśā meṣā avasṛṣṭāsa āhutāḥ/ RV 10.91.14*

¹¹² *krūrāmasyā āśasanam tṛṣṭam piśitamasyate/
kṣīram yadasyāḥ pīyate tad vai pitṛṣu kilbiṣam//AV.V.19.5*

¹¹³ *yo vehataṃ manyamaino māca pacate vaśām/
apyasya putrān pauṭrāmśca yācayate bṛhaspatiḥ//AV.XII.4.38*

¹¹⁴ *mahokṣam vā mahājam vā pacet/ ŚB III.4.12,*

¹¹⁵ *tad agnihotrocchiṣṭam atha yat sthālyāṃ yathā parīṇaho nirvaped evaṃ tat tasmāt
tad adya eva kaśca pibet ta dvainā brāhmaṇaḥ pibet/ ŚB II.2.1.39*

¹¹⁶ *pakṣimatsyamṛgān hanta/Aṣṭ.IV.4.35,
śrāṇāmāṃsaudanāṭṭiṭhan/Aṣṭ.IV.4.67*

Pāraskaragrhyasūtra prescribes the flesh of various birds even for a child at the time of first feeding¹¹⁸. *Apastambadharmasūtra* mentions that meat preparations were common in a *śrāddha* but if one could not afford meat he was allowed to use vegetables¹¹⁹. In the text, eating the flesh of dog, a man, a domestic cock and a boar is considered a sin¹²⁰.

Kauṭilya mentions that a superintendent should be appointed for slaughter houses¹²¹. According to him, the flesh of those animals which had died naturally should be kept outside the slaughter house to vent out its foul smell¹²².

From the *Mahābhāṣya* we can learn that deer and sheep were killed for food¹²³. Fish were eaten after removing scales and small bones¹²⁴. But the flesh of village or town cocks and boars were generally avoided¹²⁵.

¹¹⁷ *dāśagoghnaḥ sampradāne/Aṣṭ.III.4.73, Kāśikā-āgatāya tasmai dātuṃ gāṃ hanti iti goghnaḥ, arghārho'tithiḥ/*

¹¹⁸ *bhāradvājamāṃsena vākprasārakāmasya/ kapiñjalamāṃsena annādyakāmasya/ matsyair javanakāmasya/ kṛkaṣāyā āyuṣkāmasya/ āṭyā brahmavarcasakāmasya, sarvaiḥ sarvakāmasya/ annaparyāya vā tato brāhmaṇabhojanam //*
Pār. Gr. sū. I. 19.7-13

¹¹⁹ *sarpir māṃsam iti prathamāḥ kalpaḥ/ abhāve tailaṃ śākam iti/*
Āpa. Dh.Sū. VII.16.18-19

¹²⁰ *pratiśiddhānāṃ māṃsabhakṣaṇam/ śuno manuṣyasya ca kukkuṭasūkarāṇāṃ grāmyāṇāṃ kravyādasām//* Āpa. Dh.Sū. VII.21.14-15

¹²¹ *sūnādhyakṣa* AŚ II.26

¹²² *mṛgapaśūnāmasthimāṃsam sadyohataṃ vikrīran/ asthimataḥ pratipātaṃ dadyuḥ/ vatso vṛṣo dhenuś caiṣāmavadhyāḥ/ pariśūnamaśiraḥ pādāsthi vigandhaṃ svayaṃ mṛtam ca na vikrīran/* AŚ II.26.10-14

¹²³ *māṃsaudanāya vyāharati mṛgaḥ/* M.bhāṣya II.3.1.p.450-51

¹²⁴ *śakalakaṇḍakān utsṛjati/* Ibid.I.2.39.p.912.6

¹²⁵ *abhakṣyo grāmyakukkuṭo'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 hunting¹²⁶. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are said to have taken the meat of various kinds of deer in the forest¹²⁷. In the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira, animals were killed to please Brahmins¹²⁸. 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 work¹³⁰. 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 used¹³¹. According to him the flesh of diseased animals, old, poisonous and dried flesh should be avoided¹³²

¹²⁶ *na me tatra manastāpo na manyur haripuṅgava/
vāgurābhīś ca pāsaiś ca kūṭaiś ca vividhair narāḥ//
yānti rājarayaś cātra mṛgayāṃ dharmakovidāḥ//VR.Ayo.18.37,40
kṣatriyāṇāṃ tu yo dṛṣṭo vidhistam api me śṛṇu/
vīryeṇopārjitaṃ māṃsam yathā bhuñjan na duṣyati//MB.Anu.116.15*

¹²⁷ *tau tatra hatvā caturo mahāmṛgān varāhamṛṣyaṃ pṛṣataṃ mahāruham/
ādāya medhyaṃ tvaritaṃ bubhukṣitau vāsāya kāle yayatur vanaspatim//
VR.Ayo.52.102*

¹²⁸ *taṃ taṃ devaṃ samuddīśya pakṣiṇaḥ paśavaśca ye /
ṛṣabhāḥ śāstrapaṭhitās tathā jalacarāś ca ye/
sarvāṃs tān abhyayujāms te tatrāgnicayakarmani//MB.Aśv.34.88*

¹²⁹ *bhakṣayitvā ca māṃsāni mānuṣāṇāṃ prakāmataḥ/
nṛtyāva sahitāvāvāṃ dattatālāvanekaśaḥ//MB.Ādi.Pa.152.15*

¹³⁰ *śarīrabrṃhane nānyat khādyāṃ māṃsād viśiṣyate/ CS Sū.27.86*

¹³¹ *tatra śāliṣaṣṭīkamudgalāvakapiñjala eṇaśaśarabhaśambīrādīnyāhārāṇi
prakṛtilaghūnyapi mātrāpekṣīṇi bhavati/ CS Sū.5.4, 25.38*

¹³² *mṛtaṃ kṛśaṃ cātimedhyaṃ vṛddhaṃ bālaṃ viṣair hatam/
agocarabhṛtaṃ vyālasūditam māṃsam utsṛjet// CS Sū.27.311*

Purāṇa-s refer to the fact that flesh of various animals was served to Brahmins at *śrāddha*-s¹³³. 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 animal¹³⁴. This *purāṇa* states that flesh of five-toed animals, fish with scales, deer, peacocks, partridges, *kapiñjala*, *vārdhīṇasa*, *dvīpi*, fish varieties called *siṃhatuṇḍa*, *pāṭhīna* and *rohita*, goats, hares, gazelle and birds can be eaten¹³⁵. 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 sacrifices¹³⁶.

2.3.2 Meat preparations

Meat preparations referred to in the RV are flesh roasted on spits¹³⁷ and boiled in pots¹³⁸. Upaniṣadic literature values the meat cooked with rice¹³⁹. Roasted meat was described by Pāṇini also¹⁴⁰.

Kauṭilya mentions about the seller of cooked meat¹⁴¹. The ingredients for the preparation of cooked meat as described by him

¹³³ *matsyān saśalkān bhuñjīyān māṃsaṃ rauravam eva ca/
nivedyā devatābhyastu brāhmaṇebhyastu nānyathā//KP 17.36*

¹³⁴ *yo nāśnāti dvijo māṃsaṃ niyuktaḥ pitṛkarmaṇi/
sa pretya paśutāṃ yāti sambhāvan ekaviṃśatim//KP 22.65*

¹³⁵ Ibid.17.35-38

¹³⁶ *āgamena bhagavān yajñam karotu yadihecchasi/
vidhiduṣṭena yajñena dharmamavyayahetunā/
yajñabījaiḥ suraśreṣṭha yeṣu hiṃsā na vidyate//VP 57.100*

¹³⁷ *yat te gātrād agninā pacyamānād abhiśūlaṃ nihatasyāvadhāvati / RV I.162.11*

¹³⁸ *yan nīkṣaṇam māṃspacanyā ukhāyā yā pātrāṇi yūṣṇa āsecanāni/
ūṣmaṇyāpidhānā carūṇāmaṅkāḥ sūnāḥ paribhūṣantyaśvam//RV.I.162.13*

¹³⁹ *māṃsaudanaṃ pācayitvā sarpiśmantam aśnīyātām/ BU VI.4.18*

¹⁴⁰ *śūlokhādyat/Aṣṭ.IV.2.17, Kāśīkā-śūle saṃskṛtaṃ śūlyam māṃsam /*

are twenty *pala*-s of flesh, half a *kuḍuba* of oil, one *pala* of salt, two *dharāṇa*-s of pungent spices and half a *prastha* of curds¹⁴².

Meat cooked with rice is referred to in VR¹⁴³. In *Naḷopākhyana* of MB, Damayantī asks her maid servant to bring the meat prepared by her husband¹⁴⁴. Besides meat roasted on spits, sometimes whole animals were roasted on live charcoals¹⁴⁵. A soup-like preparation known as *niṣṭhāna* made of meat was used both by the people of Ayodhya and Lañka¹⁴⁶. The preparation of meat soup with curds and salt added in it can be seen in the *Sundarakāṇḍa*¹⁴⁷.

We can see that at the time of MB the animal sacrifice was confined only at the event of *yāga*-s¹⁴⁸. 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*¹⁴⁹. Towards *śāntiparvan* of

¹⁴¹ *śauṇḍika pākvamāṃsikaudanikarūpā jīvā pariññātam āvaseyuh/ AŚ II.33.9*

¹⁴² *māṃsapalaviṃśatyā snehārtha kuḍubaḥ paliko lavaṇasyāṃśaḥ kṣārapalayogo dvidharāṇiko kaṭukayogo dadhnaś cārdhaprasthaḥ/ AŚ II.19.32-36*

¹⁴³ *surā ghaṭasahasreṇa māṃsabhūtaudanena ca/ yakṣye tvāṃ priyatāṃ devi purīṃ punar upāgatā//VR.Ayo.52.89*

¹⁴⁴ *punargaccha pramattasya bāhukasyopasaṃskṛtam/ mahānasāc chritāṃ māṃsam ānayasveha bhāvini//MB.Van.Pa.75.20*

¹⁴⁵ *ghṛtapiṇḍopamān sthūlāṃś tān dvijān bhakṣayiṣyatha/ rohitāṃś cakratuṇḍāṃś ca nalamīnāṃś ca rāghavaḥ// VR.Aranya.73.12*

¹⁴⁶ *ājaś cāpi varāhair niṣṭhānavarasañcayaiḥ/ VR.Ayo.91.67*

¹⁴⁷ *varāhāvārdhrāṇasakān dadhisauvarcalāyutān/ śalyān mṛgamayūrāṃś ca hanūmān anvavaikṣata//VR.Sund.11.13*

¹⁴⁸ *vidhinā vedadṛṣṭena tad bhuktveha na duṣyati/ yajñārthe paśavaḥ sṛṣṭā ityapi śrūyate śrutih//MB.Anu.Pa.111.14*

¹⁴⁹ *bījair yajñeṣu yaṣṭavyam iti vaidikī śrutih/ aja saṃñāni bījāni chāgāni no arhatha//MB.Śānti.Pa.337.5*

MB, it is stated that an ideal diet should avoid all types of meat¹⁵⁰. Even some of the *Purāṇa*-s of this period lay down that slaughter of animals is not necessary for sacrifices in the Kali age¹⁵¹.

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 ginger¹⁵². 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 it¹⁵³.

Animals can be killed for sacrifices, *śrāddha*-s and for worshipping gods according to *Manusmṛti*¹⁵⁴. Their meat can be used to prepare *madhuparka* for honouring guests¹⁵⁵. Students were generally not allowed meat diet¹⁵⁶. The text also states that though meat eating is a natural craving of men its avoidance brings great

¹⁵⁰ *rūpam avyāṅgatāmāmur buddhiḥ satvaṃ balaṃ smṛtim/
prāptakāmair narair hiṃsā varjitā vai mahātmabhiḥ// MB.Śānti.Pa337.8*

¹⁵¹ *na dadyād āmiṣaṃ śrāddhe na cādyād dharmatatvavit/
munyannaiḥ syāt parā prītir yathā na paśuhiṃsayā//BP VII.15.7*
¹⁵² *snehair māṃsaiḥ phalaiḥ kandaiḥ vaidalāmḷaiś ca saṃyutāḥ/
SS Sū.46.349-352*

¹⁵³ *māṃsaṃ nirasthi susvinnaṃ punar dṛṣadi peṣitam/
pippalīśuṅṭhimaricaguḍasarpīḥsamanvitam//
aikadhyaṃ pācayet smayag vesavāra iti smṛtaḥ// SS Sū.46.365-366*

¹⁵⁴ *madhuparke ca yajñe ca piṭṛdaivatakarmaṇi/
atraiva paśavo hiṃsyā nānyatretyabravīn manuḥ//
eṣvartheṣu paśūn hiṃsan vedatatvārthavid dvijaḥ/
ātmānaṃ ca paśuṃ caiva gamatyuttamaṃ gatim// Manu.V.41-42*

¹⁵⁵ Manu.V.41

¹⁵⁶ *brahmacārī tu yo 'śnīyān madhumāṃsaṃ kathañcana/ Manu.XI.158*

merits to them¹⁵⁷. *Kāmasūtra* also states that to desist from eating meat was considered as a meritorious act¹⁵⁸.

A slaughter house and a butcher boy are mentioned in *Mālavikāgnimitra* play¹⁵⁹. In *Mṛcchakaṭika* a piece of meat being roasted on charcoal is described¹⁶⁰. In *Abhijñānaśākuntala* play, Kṣatriya-s are seen to be having the meal consisting of meat roasted on spits¹⁶¹.

Boneless meat ground after boiling and mixed with spices was used as stuffing in AH¹⁶². Though it can be seen that in ancient texts guests are honoured with meat dishes, Bhavabhūti in his *Uttararāmacarita* makes fun of the ancient custom of serving beef to a distinguished guests¹⁶³. But the fragrant and tasteful curries of fish, venison, birds and flesh of goats were described to be served in *Naiṣadhīyacarita*¹⁶⁴. Someśvara describes in detail the method of preparing a number of meat dishes like *śuṅṭhaka*, *cakkālikā*, *kavacandi*, *puryāla*, *bhaḍitraka*, *kṛṣṇapāka*, and *kośali* in the third chapter of his text *Mānasollāsa*.

¹⁵⁷ *na māṃsabhakṣaṇe doṣo na madye na ca maithune/
pravṛttir eṣā bhūtānāṃ nivṛttistu mahāphalā//* Manu.V.56

¹⁵⁸ *pravṛttebhyaś ca māṃsabhakṣaṇādibhyaḥ śāstrādeva nivāraṇaṃ dharma/
Kāma.Sū.p.127*

¹⁵⁹ *bhavān api sūnopari caravihaṅgama iva āmiṣalolupo/* Mālavika.II.p.36

¹⁶⁰ *aṅgārārāśīpatitam iva māṃsakhāṇḍam/* Mṛccha.p.98

¹⁶¹ *aniyatavelaṃ śūlyamāṃsam bhūyiṣṭham āhārō bhujyate/* Abhi.Śā.II

¹⁶² AH Cikitsa.I

¹⁶³ *yenāgateau vasiṣṭhamiśreṣu vatsatarī viśasitā/* UC IV.87

¹⁶⁴ *vyadhustamāṃ te mṛgamāṃsasādhitam rasād aśitvā mṛdu temanaṃ manaḥ /
niśādhavotsaṅgakraṅgajairadaḥ palaiḥ sapīyūṣarasaiḥ 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 RV¹⁶⁵. But we come across the specific names of them only in the later *Samhita* and *Brāhmaṇa* literature. *Badara*, *kuvala*, *karkandhu*, the varieties of jujube, *bilva* and *kharjūra* can be seen referred to in YV¹⁶⁶. According to Omprakash, the first mentioning of mango and that of myrobalan fruit can be traced in *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* and *Jaiminiyopaniṣadbrāhmaṇa* respectively¹⁶⁷.

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*¹⁶⁸. From the epics, we know that the hermits generally lived on fruits, roots and tubers¹⁶⁹. 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)¹⁷⁰. MB prohibits the usage of certain fruits like the fruits of

¹⁶⁵ *yāḥ phalinīḥ yā aphalā apuṣpā yāś ca puṣpiṇīḥ* / RV X.97

¹⁶⁶ *Economy and Food in Ancient India* section II p.78

¹⁶⁷ Idem

¹⁶⁸ *vṛkṣāmlakaramardāmravidalāmalakamātuluṅgakolabadarasauvīraka-parūṣakādilāmlavargaḥ* AŚ II.15.19

¹⁶⁹ *kandamūlaphalair jīvan hitvā munivad āmiṣam*/VR.Ayo.20.29

phalamūlaṃ ca bubhujē rājñā dattaṃ sahānujaḥ/ MB.Aśrama.Pa.26.38

¹⁷⁰ *phalāni ca vicitrāṇi rājabhogyāni bhūriśaḥ*/

badareṅgudakāśmaryabhallātakaphalāni ca// MB.Anu.Pa.53.19

badareṅgudakāśmaryaplakṣāśvatthavibhītakaiḥ/

kaṅgolaiśca palāśaiśca karīraiḥ pīlubhistathā// MB.Śalya.Pa.37.61-62

plakṣa, *aśvattha*, *pippala* and *udumbara* trees for the persons who are desirous of glory¹⁷¹.

According to Suśruta among all the fruits pomegranates, emblic myrobalan, grapes, dates, *parūṣaka*, *rājādana* and *mātuluṅga* (citrus medica)¹⁷² are considered as the best. Some dry fruits such as almonds, walnuts, pistachio were also used¹⁷³. *Paṭola* and *vārtāka* (brinjal) were considered as good fruits¹⁷⁴. Bhela especially recommends the use of *āmalaka* before food, *hārītakī* after the food and *vibhītakī* after the digestion of the food¹⁷⁵.

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*¹⁷⁶. Black mustard was used to make it pungent and sugar candy to sweeten it. Jellies prepared with fruit juices were called *ṣāḍava-s*¹⁷⁷. Caraka states that *rāgaṣāḍava* should be fumigated with oil and dry ginger and some salt and spices are to be added to it before use¹⁷⁸. Later in the medieval period text AS, of

¹⁷¹ *pippalaṃ ca vaṭaṃ caiva śaṇśākāṃ tathaiva ca/
udumbaraṃ na khādec ca bhavārthī puruṣo nṛpa//* MB.Anu.Pa.161.97

¹⁷² *dāḍimāmalakāṃ drākṣā kharjūraṃ saparūṣakam/
rājādanaṃ mātuluṅgaṃ phalavarge praśasyate//* SS Sū.49.335

¹⁷³ *vātāmakṣoḍābhiṣukaniculapicunikocakorumāṇaprabhṛtīni//* SS Sū.46.187

¹⁷⁴ *tikte paṭolavārtākāṃ madhure ghṛtam ucyate/
kṣaudraṃ pūgaphalaṃ śreṣṭhaṃ kaṣāye saparūṣakam//* SS.Sū.46.337

¹⁷⁵ *abhuktvāmalakāṃ khāded bhuktvā cāpi harītakīm/
pariṇāme ca bhuktasya khādec caiva vibhītakīm/* Bhela. p.13

¹⁷⁶ *sītārucakasindhūtthaiḥ savṛkṣāmlaparūṣakaiḥ/
jambūphalarasair yukto rāgo rājikayānvitah//* Kaśyapa. Bhojana. 48

¹⁷⁷ *ṣāḍavastu madhurāmladravyakṛtaḥ/* idem

¹⁷⁸ *kvathitantu guḍopetaṃ sahakāraphalaṃ navam/
tailanāgārasaṃyuktaṃ vijñeyo rāgaṣāḍavam//* CS.Sū.27

all the fruits, grapes were considered the best and *lakuca* the worst¹⁷⁹.

2.4.2 Vegetables

Among vegetables cucumber (*urvāruka*) and lotus stalks (*bisa*) were referred to in RV¹⁸⁰. 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* literature¹⁸². 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 ginger¹⁸⁵. Āpastamaba states that garlic and onions should be avoided by noble persons¹⁸⁶.

Kauṭilya refers to the roots, fruits and tubers¹⁸⁷. The use of

¹⁷⁹ *phalānāmavaraṃ tatra lakucaṃ sarvadoṣakṛt/ AS Sū.VII.168*

¹⁸⁰ *urvārukamiva bandhanān mṛtyor mukṣīya māmṛtāt/ RV.VII.59.12*
iyam śuṣmebhir bisakhā iva/ RV.VI. 61.2

¹⁸¹ *āṇḍīkaṃ kumudaṃ saṃ tanoti bisam śālūkaṃ śaphako mulālī...../ AV.IV.34.5*
alābūni pṛṣṭakānyaśvatthapalāśam/ AV.XX.135.3

¹⁸² *anyān vā pathyān bhakṣānāmūlaphalebhyaḥ/ Asv.Śr.Sū.VI.8.8*

¹⁸³ *jānapada-kuṇḍa-goṇa-sthala-bhāja-nāga-kāla-nīla-kuśa-kāmuka-kabarād-
vṛtṭyamatrā' vapanaḥkṛtrimāśrāṇāsthauilyavarṇānācchādānāyovikāmaithuncchāke
śāveśeṣu/ Aṣṭ.IV.1.42. In Hindi language, the term “ bhāji ” is used as to denote
the “vegetable curry”.*

¹⁸⁴ *śrāṇamāṃsaudanāṭṭidhan/Aṣṭ.IV.4.67*

¹⁸⁵ *upadaṃśastrīyāyām/ Aṣṭ.III.4.47, Kāśikā-
mūlakenopadaṃśam/ārdrakeṇopadaṃśam/*

¹⁸⁶ *karañjapalaṇḍuparārīkāḥ/ Ap.Dh.Sū. I5.17.26*

¹⁸⁷ *kandamūlaphalādir auśadhavargaḥ/ 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 MB¹⁸⁸.

Suśruta refers to the vegetable flowers, leaves, fruits, stems and bulbs¹⁸⁹. Of the pot herbs *satīna*, *vāstuka*, *cuñcu*, cilli, green radish, *maṇḍūkaparṇī* and *jivanti* were regarded the best¹⁹⁰. Caraka states that daily use of lotus stalks and roots is not recommended probably because they were difficult to digest¹⁹¹.

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 exempted¹⁹².

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

¹⁸⁸ *saubhañjanaḥ kovidāras tathā grñjanakādayaḥ/
kūsmāṇḍajātyālābuñca kṛṣṇaṃ lavaṇameva ca// MB.Van.Pa.134.28*

¹⁸⁹ *puṣpapatraṃ phalaṃ nālaṃ kandāśca guravaḥ kramāt/ SS.Sū.46.296*

¹⁹⁰ *satīno vāstūkaś cuñcū cillīmūlakapotikā/
maṇḍūkaparṇī jīvantī śākavarge praśasyate// SS.Sū..46.334*

¹⁹¹ *ballūraṃ śuṣkaśākāni śālūkāni bisāni ca/
nābhyased gauravān māṃsaṃ kṛśaṃ naivopayojayet// CS. Sū.V.10*

¹⁹² *himānaloṣṇa durvāta vyāla lālādi dūṣitam/
jantujuṣṭaṃ jale magnaṃ bhūmijamanārtavam//
anyadhānyayutaṃ hīnavīryajīrṇatayāti ca/
dhānyaṃ tyajettathā śākaṃ rūkṣaṃ siddhamakomalam/
asañjātarasantadvacchuṣkaṃ cānyatramūlakāt/
prāyeṇa phalamapyevaṃ tathā'maṃ bilvavarjitam// AH Sū.VI.140-43*

gourd and brinjal were in common use¹⁹³. *Harṣacarita* has references to more vegetables such as *sūraṇa*, *śigru* and *granthiparṇa*¹⁹⁴. According to medical works, *paṭola*, *kūṣmāṇḍa*, *sunīṣaṇṇaka*, *jīvanti*, unripe radish and *vāstuka* are good vegetables¹⁹⁵. In *Mānasollāsa* we can see that fruits, leaves, roots, tubers, flowers and legumes of many plants were used as vegetables¹⁹⁶.

2.5 Sweets and sweet preparations

2.5.1 Honey

Honey was possibly, the earliest sweet thing Indians knew¹⁹⁷. Vedic literature even attests the procurement of it from the combs of two different types of bees which are *āraṅgāra* and *sāragha*¹⁹⁸. It is prescribed as a sweetening ingredient at the time of Vedic period. Brāhmaṇa literature taboos its use for women and students¹⁹⁹.

¹⁹³ *mūlakāluka pālaṅkī damanakāmrātakairvārūka trapusa vārtāka kūśāṇḍālābu sūraṇaśukanāsā svayaṃ guptā tilaparṇikāgnimantha laśuna palāṇaḍuprabhṛtīnām sarvauśadhīnām ca bījagrahaṇam kāle vāpaś ca/ Kāmasūtra. IV.1.29*

¹⁹⁴ *urūbaka vacāvaṅgaka surasa sūraṇa śigru granthiparṇagavedhukā garmud gulma gṛhavāṭikaiḥ/ Harṣa.p.229*

¹⁹⁵ *śīlayec chāligodhūma yavaṣaṣṭika jāṅgalam/ sunīṣaṇṇaka jīvanti bālamūlaka vāstukam// AH Sū.VIII.42-43*

pathyāmalakamṛdvīkā paṭolāḥ mudgaśarkarāḥ/ vallīphalānām pravaram kūṣmāṇḍam vātapittajit// AS Sū.VII.134

¹⁹⁶ *phalaśākaṃ patraśākaṃ kandaśākaṃ ca mūlakam/ puṣpaśākaṃ śimbiśākaṃ pakvāpakvavibhedataḥ// Mānas.III.1548*

¹⁹⁷ *madhvaḥ pibatam madhupebhirāsabhir uta priyam madhune yuñjāthām ratham/ ā vartaniṃ madhunā jinvathaspatho dṛtiṃ vahethe madhumantam aśvinā// RV.IV.45.3*

¹⁹⁸ *āraṅgareva madhverayethe sāragheva gavi nīcīnavāra/ kīnāreva svedamasīṣvivādānā kṣāme vorjā sūyavasāta sacethe// RV X.106.10*

¹⁹⁹ *tasmād uta striyo madu nāśnanti putrāṇām idaṃ vratam carāma iti vadantī/ JB I.55.2*

na brahmacārī sanmadhvaśnīyānat / ŚB XI.5.4.18

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*, *auddalika* 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 digest²⁰². AS, a medieval period text states that among the eight varieties of honey *bhrāmara*, *pauttika*, *kṣaudra* and *mākṣika* are considered good in the increasing order²⁰³.

2.5.2 Sugar cane

Chewing of sugarcane is referred to in AV²⁰⁴. Pāṇini mentions the plantations of sugar cane²⁰⁵. 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

²⁰⁰ *ūṣa-suṣi-muṣka-madho raḥ/ Aṣṭ.5.2.107*

²⁰¹ *pauttikaṃ bhrāmaram kṣaudram mākṣikaṃ cchātrameva ca/ ārgghyam auddālikaṃ dālam ityaṣṭau madhujātayaḥ// SS Sū. 45.133*

²⁰² *mākṣikaṃ bhrāmaram kṣaudram pauttikaṃ madhujātayaḥ/ mākṣikaṃ pravaram teṣāṃ viśeṣād bhrāmaram guruḥ// CS Sū.27.242*

²⁰³ *bhrāmaram pauttikaṃ kṣaudram mākṣikaṃ ca yathottaram/ varam jīrṇam ca teṣvanye dve evāhyupayojayet// AS Sū.VI.98*

²⁰⁴ *pari tvā paritatnutekṣuṇāgānavidviṣe/ AV I.34.5*

²⁰⁵ *pra-nirantaḥ-śarekṣu-plakṣāmra-kārṣya-khadira-pīyūkṣābhyo'samjñāyāmapī/ Aṣṭ.VIII.4.5*

²⁰⁶ *phāṇitagudaṃ matsyaṇḍikā khaṇḍaśarkarāḥ/ AŚ II. 15.15*

preparation of many sweets²⁰⁷. The usage of *guḍa* as the sweetening agent in the preparation of a lot of sweet varieties is also referred to in the text²⁰⁸.

SS identified different varieties of sugarcane²⁰⁹. Caraka and Suśruta are of the opinion that the juice of sugarcane extracted by a machine is not good²¹⁰. Suśruta also states that if the derivatives of sugar cane like *guḍa*, *śarkarā*, *khaṇḍa*, *phāṇita* become more white, they become more cold, sweeter, more pure and more difficult to digest²¹¹.

When we come to the medieval period, according to Vāgbhaṭa, *śarkara* was considered the best and *phāṇita* the worst²¹². *Naisadhīyacarita* describes a sweetest sugar cane variety which was named as *kośakāra*²¹³.

2.5.3 Sweet preparations

Apūpa is perhaps the earliest sweet preparation in the Vedic

²⁰⁷ *nānāsvādurasānāṃ ca khāṇḍavānāṃ tathaiva ca /
bhājanāni supūrṇāni gauḍāni ca sahasraśaḥ // VR.Bal.52.4*

²⁰⁸ *vividhāni ca gauḍāni śāḍavāni tathaiva ca/ VR.Uttara.92.12*

²⁰⁹ *pauṇḍrako bhīrukaś caiva vaṃśakaḥ śvetaporakaḥ/
kāntāras tāpasekṣuś ca kāṇḍekṣuḥ sūcipatrakaḥ/
naipālo dīrghapatraś ca nīlaporo'tha kośakṛt/ SS Sū.45.146-150*

²¹⁰ *yāntrikastu vidahyate/ CS Sū.27.236
gurur vidāhī viṣṭambhī yāntrikastu prakīrtitaḥ/ SS Sū.45.158*

²¹¹ *yathāyathaiṣāṃ vaimalyaṃ madhuratvaṃ tathā tathā/
snehagauravaśaityaṇi saratvaṃ ca tathā tathā/ SS Sū.45.163*

²¹² *śarkareṣu vikārāṇāṃ phāṇitaṃ ca varāvare/ AS Sū.VI.98*

²¹³ *śṛṅgāranuṅgārasudhākareṇa varṇasrajānūpaya karṇakūpau/
tvaccāruvāṇīrasaveṇitīratṛṇānukāraḥ khalu kośakāraḥ// NC XXII.57*

period as RV refers to this dish²¹⁴. AV describes that the honey was used to sweeten these *apūpa-s*²¹⁵. *Pālala*, *saṃyāva* and *apūpa* are the sweet preparations referred to in the aphorisms of Pāṇini²¹⁶. *Khāṇḍava* is a good variety of sweet that is referred to in both the epics²¹⁷.

SS refers to the sweets like *sāmita*²¹⁸, *kṣīrakṛta*²¹⁹, *kūrcikāvikṛta*²²⁰, *gaudika*²²¹, *saṃyāva*²²² and *ghṛtapūra*²²³.

Mānasollāsa mentions sweets such as *kāsāra*, *uduṃbara* and *varṣopalagolaka* prepared with wheat flour and rice flour²²⁴. *Kṣīraprakāra* which is similar to rasgulla according to Om Prakash is referred to in *Mānasollāsa*²²⁵. *Svapnavāsavadatta* describes *modaka*

²¹⁴ *yaste adya kṛṇavad bhadrāsoce'pūpaṃ deva ghṛtavantam agne / RV.X.45.9*

²¹⁵ *apūpavān madhumāṃś carureha sīdatu/ AV XVIII.4.22*

²¹⁶ *palalasūpaśākam miśre/ Aṣṭ.VI.2.128, sami yudruduvaḥ/ Aṣṭ.III.3.23, cūrṇādini Aṣṭ.IV.4.23*

²¹⁷ *nānā svādurasānāṃ ca khāṇḍavānāṃ tathaiva ca/ VR.Bal.53.4*

bhakṣya khāṇḍavarāgāṇāṃ kriyatāṃ bhujyatāṃ tathā/ MB.Asv.41.89

²¹⁸ *sāmita* is a preparation of powdered wheat stuffed with boiled and ground green gram. SS.Sū.46.399

²¹⁹ *kṣīrakṛta-s* are the sweets prepared with milk

bhakṣyā kṣīrakṛtā balyā vṛṣyā hṛdyā/ SS.Sū.46.392

²²⁰ *Kūrcikavikṛta-s* are the sweets prepared with the inspissated milk. SS.Sū..46.403

²²¹ *Gaudika-s* are sweets prepared with tracle with wheat flour. SS.Sū..46.394

²²² *madhuśīṣakasamyāvāḥ pūpāḥ ye te viśeṣataḥ/ SS.Sū.46.392*

²²³ *marditāḥ samitāḥ kṣīranālikerasitādibhiḥ/*

avagāhya ghṛte pakvo ghṛtapūro'yam uttamaḥ// SS.Sū.46.393

²²⁴ *godhūmacūrṇādudhṛtya sūrpeṇābhyāhatān kaṇān/*

dugdhāktān ghṛtapakvāṃś ca sitayā ca vimīśritān/

elāmarīcacūrṇena yuktān kāsārasaṅgīñitān/ Mānas.III.1386-87

²²⁵ *Economy and Food in Ancient India section II .p.333*

as a sweet ball²²⁶. *Naiṣadhīyacarita* refers to the sweet *laḍḍuka* which is a very common sweet even today²²⁷.

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 *saṃhita*-s, *Brāhmaṇa*-s and *Upaniṣad*-s refer to salt in the name of *lavaṇa* or *saindhava*²²⁸. Kauṭilya mentions six varieties of salt - *saindhava*, *sāmudra*, *biḍa*, *yavakṣāra*, *sauvarcala* and *udbheda*²²⁹. He also mentions that there should be a superintendent (*lavaṇādhyakṣa*) for salt in a state²³⁰. MB refers the non-usage of *viḍa* (*biḍa*) and black salt in *śrāddha* ceremonies²³¹. According to MB, eating salt in the palms of one's hands and eating salt at night should be avoided²³².

Caraka mentions only five varieties of salts which are *sauvarcala*, *saindhava*, *biḍa*, *audbhida* and *sāmudra*²³³. Suśruta adds

²²⁶ *prakṛtimadhrasukumārāṇi modakakhādyāni khādyante/ Svapnavāsavadatta*
IV.p.31

²²⁷ *ghṛtaplute bhojanabhājanepuraḥ sphuratpuraṅghripratibimbitākṛte/
yuvā nidhāyorasi laḍḍukadvayaṃ nakhairalilekhātha mamarda nirdayamyam//*
NC XVI.103

²²⁸ *lavaṇādvikledvīyasīḥ/ AV.VII.80.1*
sa yathā saindhava khilya udake prāsta/ BU II.4.12

²²⁹ *saindhavasāmudrabīḍayavakṣārasauvarcalodbhedajā lavaṇavargaḥ/
AŚ II.15.16*

²³⁰ AŚ II.12

²³¹ *kṛṣṇājāṇī viḍaś caiva varjayel lavaṇaṃ sarvam/MB.Anu.Pa.91.41*

²³² *na pāṇau lavaṇaṃ vidvān prāśnīyān na ca rātriṣu/ MB.Anu.Pa.161.99*

²³³ *sauvarcalaṃ saindhavaṃ ca biḍam audbhidaṃ eva ca/
sāmudreṇa sahitāni pañca syur lavaṇāni ca// CS.Sū.I.88-89*

some more varieties such as *romaka*, *vālukaila*, *śailamūlākarodbhava*, *ūṣara*, *gauṭikā*, *yavakṣāra*, *svarjikākṣāra*, *pākima* and *tañkaṇakṣāra*²³⁴. Of all these varieties, the rock salt (*saindhava*) was considered the best²³⁵

2.6.2 Spices

Spices referred to in Vedic literature are *haridrā* and *pippalī*²³⁶. *Dharmasūtra* literature mentions other spices such as *marica* and *hiṅgu*²³⁷. *Arthaśāstra* refers to the spices like *śṛṅgibera*, *ajāji*, *kirītatikta*, *gaura*, *sarṣapa*, *kustumaburu*, *coraka*, *damanaka*, *maruvaka*, *śigru*, *harītakī* and *meṣaśṛṅga*²³⁸. VR describes a liquid spicy preparation known as *sūpa*, which was prepared with fruit juices²³⁹.

Ascetics and newly married couples were advised to avoid the saline preparations according to *Vāyupurāṇa* and *Kāmasūtra* respectively²⁴⁰. Suśruta opines that of all, the aromatic spices, long pepper and dry ginger were regarded the best²⁴¹. *Mṛcchakaṭika* refers to many spices used for seasoning which are dry ginger,

²³⁴ SS.Sū.46.315-321 (*lavaṇavarga*)

²³⁵ *saindhavaṃ lavaṇeṣu ca*/ SS Sū.46.336

²³⁶ *pippalībheṣajamāyurvā devatā*/ AV VI. 109.

²³⁷ Gaut.Dh.Sū.XVII.32-33

²³⁸ *pippalīmarīcaśṛṅgiberījājikirītatiktagaurasarsāpakustumaburūcorakadamanaka maruvukaśigrukāṇḍādi kaṭukavargaḥ*/ AŚ II.15.21

²³⁹ *phalanir vyūhasaṃsiddhaiḥ sūpair gandharasānvitaiḥ*/ VR.Ayo.91.67

²⁴⁰ *abhojyāni yatīnāñca pratyakṣalavaṇāni ca*/ VP 18.20

saṅgatayostrirātramadhaḥ śayyā brahmacaryaṃ kṣāralavaṇavarjam āhāras tathā saptāhaṃ satūryamaṅgalasānānaṃ prasādhanam/ *Kāmasūtra*.191.1

²⁴¹ *dhātrī dāḍimam amleṣu pippalī nāgaraṃ kaṭau*/ SS Sū.46.336

cumin, mustard, coriander, myrobalan, long pepper, black pepper, cloves, cardamom, turmeric and asafoetida²⁴².

2.7 Oils and Oil seeds

We cannot find any mention of oil or oil seed in RV. Most of the other *Samhita*-s and *Brāhmaṇa*-s conceive, sesame as a food article²⁴³. ŚB notes that a wild variety of sesame (*jartila*) is used to preparing a porridge²⁴⁴.

AV refers to the oil extracted from sesame oil²⁴⁵. Pāṇini derives two words *tilya* and *tailīna* to signify one who uses sesame in his diet and the sesame store house respectively from the word *tila*²⁴⁶. *Gr̥hyasūtra*-s and *Dharmasūtra*-s assign a noticeable status for sesame seed in death anniversary ceremonies and other rites²⁴⁷. *Āpastambadharmasūtra* notes that the oil extracted from sesame is regarded as a substitute for ghee²⁴⁸. In the *Anuśāsanaparva* of MB,

²⁴² *hiṅgūjjavalā jīrakabhadramustā vacāyā granthiḥ saguḍā ca śuṅṭhī/*
eṣā mayā sevītā gandhayukti katham nāhaṃ madhusvara iti// Mṛccha VIII.13

²⁴³ *māṣatilau hemantaśīśirābhyām// TS VII .2.10.2*

²⁴⁴ *ubhayam vetad annaṃ yajjartilā yac ca grāmyaṃ yac cāraṇyam/*
yadāha tilasteta grāmyaṃ yad akr̥ṣṭe pacyante tenāraṇyam// ŚB. IX.1.1.3

²⁴⁵ *yaḥ kumārī piṅgalikā vasantaṃ pīvarī labhet/*
tailakuṇḍamimā ghuṣṭhaṃ rodantaṃ śudamuddharet// AV XX.136.16

²⁴⁶ *khalayavamāṣatilavr̥ṣabrahmaṇaśca/ Aṣṭ. V.1.7*
vibhāṣā tilamāṣamābhaṅgā'ṇubhyaḥ/ Aṣṭ.V.2.4

²⁴⁷ *uttarato'gner vr̥hiyavamāṣatilānām pṛthak pūrṇaśarāvāṇi nidadhāti/*
Asv.Gr̥.Sū.I.15.3

tilaśśrāddhe pavitraṃ yadi dānāya yadi bhojanāya, yadyapāṃ saṃsarjanāya/
Bau.Gr̥.Sū.II.1.64

²⁴⁸ *sarpir māṃsam iti prathamāḥ kalpaḥ/ abhāve tailaśākamiti/*
Apa.Dh.Sū.II.8.18-19

the importance of sesame offering to forefathers is detailed²⁴⁹.

Mustard is mentioned in the *Chāndogyopanisat*²⁵⁰. Safflower, linseed and mustard are the important oilseeds referred to in *Arthaśāstra*²⁵¹. Caraka mentions, clarified butter, oils, animal fats, *vasā* and *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 best²⁵². Among the oils, sesame oil was regarded the best medium for cooking or frying²⁵³. Suśruta does not recommend excessive use of oils as the food articles cooked in oils are very difficult to digest²⁵⁴.

AS, the medieval period text states that the oil extracted from sesame is considered the best and that from safflower is the worst²⁵⁵. The commonly used animal fats as used in food were *aulukī* type fish, pig, cock and *pākahaṃsa*²⁵⁶.

²⁴⁹ *pitṛñāṃ paramaṃ bhojyaṃ tilāḥ sṛṣṭāḥ svayambhuvā/
tiladānena vai tasmāt pitṛpakṣaḥ pramodate// MB.Anu.Pa.66.7*

²⁵⁰ *eṣa ma ātmā'ntarhrdaye'ñīyān vrīher vā yavād vā sarṣapād vā śyāmākād vā
śyāmākataṇḍulād vālokebhyaḥ/ CU III.14.3*

²⁵¹ *sarpistailavasāmajjānaḥ snehāḥ/ AŚ II.15.14*

²⁵² *sarpis tailaṃ vasāmajjā sarvasnehottamā matāḥ/
eṣu caivottamaṃ sarpiḥ saṃskārasyaṇuvartanāt//
sarpiḥ śaradi pātavyaṃ vasāmajjā ca mādhave/
tailaṃ prāvṛṣi nātyuṣṇāśīte snehaṃ piben naraḥ// CS Sū. XIII.13.18*

²⁵³ *sarveṣāṃ tailajātānāṃ tilatailaṃ viśiṣyate/ CS Sū.13.12*

²⁵⁴ *vidāhinas tailakṛtā guravaḥ kaṭupākinaḥ/
uṣṇā mārutadṛṣṭighnā pittalās tvak pradūṣaṇāḥ// SS Sū.46.406*

²⁵⁵ *tilatailaṃ varam teṣu kausumbham avaram param/ AS Sū.VI.111*

²⁵⁶ *aulukī śaukarī pākahaṃsajā kukuṭodbhavā
vasā śreṣṭhā svavargeṣu kumbhīra mahiṣodbhavā
kāka madguvasā tadvat kāraṇḍothā ca ninditā/
śākhādamedasāṃ chāgaṃ 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 water²⁵⁷. *Soma* drink is prepared by grinding *soma* creeper with a stone which is known as *grāvā*²⁵⁸.

The preparations referred to in Vedas wherein *Soma* was mixed were *karambha*, *dhāna*, *apūpa*, *pakti*, *saktu*, water and honey²⁵⁹. The usage of *soma* can also be seen in the texts of classical Sanskrit literature. Drinking *soma* juice was referred to in *Uttararamacarita*²⁶⁰.

2.8.2 Other intoxicating drinks

Other common intoxicating drinks mentioned in Vedic literature are *parisruta*, *kīlāla* and *māsara*²⁶¹. RV describes another

²⁵⁷ *yadadbhiḥ pariṣicyase mṛjyamāno gabhastyoḥ/ RV IX .65.6*

²⁵⁸ *grāvā yatra vadati kārurukthystasyedindro abhipitveṣu raṇyati/ RV.I.83.6*

²⁵⁹ *imaṃ jambhasutaṃ piba dhānāvantaṃ karambhiṇāmapūpavantamukthinam/ RV.VIII.91.2*

²⁶⁰ *niravighnaḥ somapīthī āvutto me bhagavān ṛṣyaśṛṅga / UC I p.11*

²⁶¹ *sa vā eṣa parisruto yajñastāyate/ ŚB XII.9.11*

girāvaragarāṭeṣu hiraṇye goṣu yadyaśaḥ/

surāyāṃ sicyamānāyāṃ kīlāle madhu tanmayi// AV.VI.69.1

vrīhiśyāmākaudanācāmayoḥ śaṣpa tokma lāja nagnahu cūrṇaiḥ saṃsargo māśaram/ Mahīdhara on VS XIX.14.82

drink also which is known as *surā*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 sacrifices²⁶³. Drinking of *sura* is not considered as meritorious as *soma*.

Pāṇini mentions the words *āsavya*, *śauṇḍika*, *asūti*, *maireya* and *kāpiśyāni*²⁶⁴ to denote liquors. *Śāṅkhāyanagr̥hyasūtra* states that *surā* was served to women when a bride arrived at the bridegroom's place²⁶⁵. *Āśvalāyanagr̥hyasūtra* states that it was served to the wives of forefathers in the *ānvaṣṭakya* rite²⁶⁶.

According to Āpastamba consuming these drinks is a heinous crime, and he forbids the use of liquors particularly for Brahmins and students²⁶⁷. According to Kauṭilya, there should be a superintendent of liquors, in a state²⁶⁸. Patañjali warns that Brahmin women who take to drinking would be deprived of husband's company in the next world²⁶⁹.

²⁶² *hṛtsu pītāso yuddhyante durmadāso na surāyām/ūdharna nagnā jarante/*
RV. VIII.2.12

²⁶³ *ghṛtahrādā madhukūlāḥ surodakāḥ kṣīreṇa pūrṇā udakena dadhnā...upatvā*
tīṣṭhantu puṣkariṇī samantāḥ/ AV.IV.34.6

²⁶⁴ *śuṇḍikādibhyo 'n/* Aṣṭ.4.3.76
rajaḥ-kṛṣyāsuti-pariṣado valac/ Aṣṭ.5.2.112
aṅgāni maireye/ Aṣṭ.6.2.70
kāpiśyāḥ ṣphak/ Aṣṭ.4.2.99

²⁶⁵ *śākapiṇḍībhīḥ surayānnena ca carpayitvā.../* Śāṅ.Gṛ.Sū .1.11.5

²⁶⁶ *strībhyaśca surāmācāmamityadhikam/* Asv. Gṛ. Sū. 2.5.5

²⁶⁷ *sarvaṃ madyam apeyam/* Apa.Dh.Sū.V.17.21

madyaṃ nityaṃ brāhmaṇaḥ/ Gaut.Dh.Sū.II.25

²⁶⁸ *AŚ II.25.1 śurādhyakṣa*

²⁶⁹ *yā brāhmaṇī surāpī bhavati naināṃ devāḥ patiloke nayanti /* M.bhaṣya 3.2.8

VR mentions two varieties of *sura*-s ie. *surā* and *kṛtasurā* (ordinary one and the fermented one), four varieties of *āsava*-s (spirituous liquor) such as *puṣpāsava*, *phalāsava*, *madhvāsava* and *śarkarāsava* and two more varieties such as *divya* and *prasanna*²⁷⁰. *Vāruṇi*, the strongest spirituous liquor was also described in VR²⁷¹. The highways of the *Kiṣkindha* 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 *saṃhita* treatises, intoxicating drinks can be prepared with rice (*surā*), sugar (*śārkara*), and un-boiled juice

-
- ²⁷⁰ *divvyāḥ prasannā vividhāḥ surāḥ kṛtasurā api/
śarkarāsavamādhvīkāḥ puṣpāsavaphalāsavāḥ// VR.Sun.11.22*
- ²⁷¹ *vāruṇīmadagandhaś ca mālyagandhaś ca mūrccitaḥ/
candanāgurugandhaś ca na pravāti samantataḥ // VR. Ayo.114.20*
- ²⁷² *candanāgurupadmānāṃ gandhaiḥ surabhigandhitāṃ/
maireyāṇāṃ madhūnāṃ ca sammoditamahāpathāṃ // VR. Kiṣ.33.7*
- ²⁷³ *sītāmādāya hastena madhu maireyakaṃ śuci// VR.Uttara.42.18*
- ²⁷⁴ *surāghaṭasahasreṇa māṃsabhūtaudanena ca/
yaksye tvāṃ priyatāṃ devi purīṃ punarupāgatā// VR.Ayo.52.89*
- ²⁷⁵ *evam babhūva yajñāḥ sa dharmarājasya dhīmataḥ/
bahvannaratnaughāḥ surāmaireyasāgaraḥ// MB. Aśva. Parva. 89.39*
- ²⁷⁶ *maireyamatsyamāṃsāni pānakāni madhūni ca/
citrān bhakṣyavikārāṃś ca cakrus tasya yathā purā// MB.Āśrama.Pa.I.21*
- ²⁷⁷ *surālavanam ityeṣa tilān kesariṇaḥ paśūn/
eteṣāṃ vikrayāttāta brāhmaṇo narakaṃ vrajet// MB.Śānti.Pa.78.4-5*

of sugarcane (*śīdhu*)²⁷⁸. According to Suśruta, in the preparation of these drinks, when *surā* is used instead of water it was called *surāsavā*²⁷⁹. Liquors were also prepared with *madhūka* flowers²⁸⁰ and honey.

Different types of wines are described in the works of Kālidāsa. *Madya* and *madira* are described in *Ṛtusamhāra*²⁸¹, *āsava*, *madhu* and *śīdhu* in *Raghuvamśa*²⁸², *vāruṇī* in *Kumārasambhava*²⁸³ and *kādambarī* in *Abhijñānaśākuntala*²⁸⁴. *Kumārasambhava* describes the wine extracted from flowers (*puṣpāsava* or *madhūka*)²⁸⁵ and also deals with the after effects of drinking wine²⁸⁶. Sugar was also used as an antidote for the

²⁷⁸ *surā samaṇḍā rūkṣoṣṇā yavānāṃ vātapittalā/* CS Sū.27.190
mukhapriyaḥ sukhamadaḥ sugandhirstiroganut/
jaraṇīyaḥ pariṇato hṛdyo varṇyaśca śārakaraḥ// CS Sū.27.183
kaṣāyo madhuraḥ śīdhur gauḍaḥ pācanadīpanaḥ/ SS Sū.45.182

²⁷⁹ *jāmabavo baddhanisyandastuvaro vātakopanaḥ/*
tīkṣṇaḥ surāsavo hṛdyo mūtralaḥ kaphavātanut// SS. Sū. 45.187

²⁸⁰ *śīdhur madhūkapuṣpottho vidāhyagnibalapadaḥ/*
rūkṣaḥ kaṣāyaḥ kaphahṛd vātapittaprakopanaḥ// SS Sū.45.191

²⁸¹ *madya-pibanti madyaṃ madanīyam uttamaṃ/* Ṛtu. V.10
madira- netreṣu lolo madirālaseṣu/ Ṛtu. VI.12

²⁸² *āsava- nārikelāsavaṃ yoddhā śātravaṃ ca papur yaśaḥ /* Raghu. IV.42
madhu- madirākṣi madanārpitaṃ madhu pītvā rasavatkathaṃ nu me/
Raghu. VIII.68

śīdhu- manojñagandhaṃ sahakārabhaṅgaṃ purāṇaśīdhuṃ navapāṭalaṃ ca/
Raghu. XVI 52

²⁸³ *asati tvayi vāruṇīmadaḥ pramadānām adhunā viḍambanā /* Kum. IV.12

²⁸⁴ *kādambarīsakhyam asmākaṃ prathamasaūhṛdam iṣyate/* Abhi. Śāk. IV.p.146

²⁸⁵ *puṣpāsavāghūrṇita netraśobhi priyāmukhaṃ kiṃ puruṣaś cucumbeḥ /* Kum. III.38

²⁸⁶ *nayanānyaruṇāni ghūrṇayan vacanāni skhalayan pade pade/*
asati tvayi vāruṇīmadaḥ pramadānām adhunā viḍambanā// Kum. IV.12

intoxication caused by wine²⁸⁷. Flowers of mango and red *paṭala* were also used to perfume various wines²⁸⁸.

When we come to the medieval period, AS is of the opinion that intoxicating drinks were generally prepared from grapes, sugarcane, honey and rice²⁸⁹. The VP mentions another intoxicating liquor called as *kaśya*²⁹⁰. Perhaps this has been a variety of liquor made in the region of *Kāśī*.

We can see that Caraka regards drinking as pleasing, digestive, nourishing and providing intelligence, if it is indulged in a proper manner²⁹¹. Excessive use of intoxicating liquors is also interdicted by Bhela, particularly in the summer and rainy seasons²⁹². 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 limit²⁹³.

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

²⁸⁷ *iyam khalu śīdhupānodvejitasya matsyaṇḍikā upanatā*
(*matsyaṇḍikā nāma śarkarāviśeṣaḥ*)/ Mālavika. III.p.44

²⁸⁸ *sahakāramāsavaṃ raktapāṭalamāgamaṃ papau*/ Raghū. XIX.46

²⁸⁹ *drāśkṣekṣursākṣikaṃ śālir uttamāvīhi pañcamā*/ AS Sū.VI.

²⁹⁰ *kaśyaṃ madyaṃ smṛtaṃ vipraiḥ*/ VP 65.116

²⁹¹ *srotasāṃ śodhanaṃ jīrṇaṃ dīpanaṃ laghu rocanaṃ*
harṣanaṃ prīṇanaṃ madyaṃ bhayaśokaśramāpahaṃ

prāgalbhya vīrya pratibhā tuṣṭi puṣṭi balapradam//
sātvikair vidhivad yuktyā pītaṃ syād amṛtaṃ yathā// CS Sū.27.191-193

²⁹² *pramāṇena piben madyaṃ nāti seveta paṇḍitaḥ*
yuktyā tu sevyamānaṃ tat pānaṃ cāmṛtaṃ ucyate// Bhela.cikitsā.28.13

²⁹³ *br̥mhaṇaṃ nedṛśaṃ kiñcid yathānnaśahitā surā*
tāṃ tu rūkṣāṃ viśeṣeṇa nātimātraṃ samācāret// Bhela.Sū.XIX.6

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 become 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 forgoing 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.