CHAPTER-IV
MARRIAGE

Child marriage for long had become an accepted norm in our country. So much so that laws have had to be enacted to curb this. Although the practice is illegal it continues to survive to the present in our country and some other parts of the world. Before attempting to associate marriage with young girls, it is important to understand the origins and concept of marriage and its relevance to our study. The institution of marriage though not older than family, must almost be as old as human civilization itself. While there cannot be any doubt about the fact that human beings once lived in premarital stage, the existence of promiscuity among mankind is controversial and highly improbable. The change from the pre-marital to the marital state was almost inevitable. Love, social and economic integration, desire for progeny, above all security in self-continuation must have been the factors that contributed towards the formation of the marriage institution. This supposedly lasting relationship was later recognized by custom and law in societies the world over and the system of marriage evolved.

The term 'marriage' has been often used to denote a social institution complete by itself. But Sumner has drawn our attention to the fact that the word does not truly denote a perfect social institution. Although we speak of marriage as an institution, it is only an imperfect one. It has no structure. The family is the institution, and it was antecedent to marriage. 'Marriage' has always been elastic and variable usage, as it now is. In fact the use of language reflects the vagueness of marriage, for we use the word 'marriage' for wedding, nuptials or matrimony (wedlock). Only the last
can be an institution. As a social institution, marriage is a part of, and should be included in, the family, and even though in a theoretical treatment it precedes considerations about the family, it is actually intended as a preparation for, and, therefore, the supplement of the study of the more inclusive institution called the family.

Marriage became a very important event in the life of a man and woman. Matrimony in course of time is followed by maternity bringing changed relationships, and its recurrence makes the woman periodically helpless and absolutely dependent on her husband for some time. Marriage, therefore, determines the fate of a woman to a much greater extent than it does the destiny of a man. A good marriage is a welcome protection for the woman, a bad one is worse than a painful chain. Marriage and the problems connected with it form an important topic in the history of a female. Marriage is the most important institution in human society for regulating sex relations and also for determining the relation of a child to the family and the community. As it is primarily an affair working at the root of the social life, various laws have been formulated by different communities to reduce it to prescribed patterns so that the harmony of life may not be disturbed. Since it is a social relationship one may take the views of the sociologists to understand and define the term.

The sociologists define marriage as a social institution. According to Friedrichs marriage is 'a union of persons of different sex acknowledged and privileged by the order of law, either towards sex- intercourse and with a view to leading a joint household or towards exclusive sex-intercourse.' Probably one of the most comprehensive study on the origin of the institution of marriage has been made by Edward Westermarck in his epoch-making work, 'The History of Human Marriage'. To him the institution
of marriage sprang from the human instinct of living together. Thus he observes: "It is an instinct that induces the male to remain with the female and to take care of her after the sexual relations have ceased. We may assume that the tendency to feel some attachment to a being which has been the cause of pleasure, in the present case sexual pleasure, is at the bottom of this instinct. Such a feeling may originally have caused the sexes to remain united and the male to protect the female though the sexual desire was gratified; and in procuring advantage to the species in the struggle for existence, conjugal attachment would naturally develop into a specific characteristic. In mankind these instincts give rise not only to habits but to rules of custom or institutions. Social beings endowed with such instincts, as also with a sufficiently developed intellect would feel moral resentment against a man who forsakes the woman with whom he has conjugal intercourse and offspring resulting from it. Thus, the institution of marriage and the family have the same root as the habits. Indeed these institutions and habits are practically identical, except that in the one case there is social sanction or regulation and in the other not. Now as the word family is not merely used to denote a certain institution, we may be allowed to apply the term 'marriage' also in a broader sense than that given to it above. On account of this he defines marriage as "a more or less durable connection between male and female lasting beyond the mere act of propagation till after the birth of offspring". From the above definition of marriage as given by Westermarck, it becomes very clear that marriage is quite different from mere sexual relation and as a social institution emerges as a 'union regulated by custom or law', with ascertain economic leaning 'which may in various ways affect the proprieitary rights of the parties'. 
According to Malinowski, marriage may be defined "either as the act, ceremony or process by which the legal relationship of husband and wife is constituted; or as a physical, legal and moral union between men and women in complete community of life for the establishment of a family."¹⁰

Will Durant in his book 'The Story of Civilization' says that "the first task of those customs that constitute the moral code of a group is to regulate the relations of the sexes, for these are a perennial source of discord, violence and possible degeneration. The basic form of this sexual regulation is marriage which may be defined as the association of mates for the care of offspring."¹¹ He emphasizes the sexual relationship in marriage.

Derrett in his 'Introduction to Modern Hindu Law' says that, "marriage sometimes signifies the ceremony or event by means of which the common intention of a man and a woman to marry is publicly 'contracted', that is to say 'acknowledged and announced' and sometimes the status or 'estate' or state of affairs which prevails when, after undergoing or partaking in the public acknowledgement or an announcement, the parties acquire and continue in the condition of having married each other".¹² Thus he defines marriage as 'status fulfilling a contract', and continues to hold that 'a man and a woman marry each other when both, having formed the irrevocable intention of living together and sharing all the experiences of daily life, signify the solemn determination in a public acknowledgement and announcement in conformity with law. The married state is a legal condition or status, the rights of the married persons are determined by law and the termination of marriage is possible only in accordance with law".¹³
On the basis of the above mentioned opinions it may be that from the sociological point of view, every normal marriage has got the following essential elements: the living together, the gratification of the sexual desire, the relation between husband and wife, economic interdependence and the procreation and care of progeny, though the relative importance attached to those elements may vary from place to place and period to period. Such an understanding of marriage should negate the probability of marriage for young boys and girls. The situation of course differs through marginally in the historical previews in the Indian context. An understanding into the Indian concept of marriage therefore needs to be undertaken. It is no different in Indian civilizations from the beginning.

**Indian Concept of Marriage**

The Rgveda which is decidedly the oldest extant literary record reflecting social system of the Indian literature presupposes marriage as a well developed institution. Kane points out, "the purpose of marriage according to Rgveda, was to enable a man, by becoming a householder to perform sacrifices to the gods and to procreate sons." In the tenth mandala of the Rgveda we come across the famous marriage hymn depicting the marriage of Sūryā and Soma. There are indications of higher values about the ceremonies of marriage which are solemn to all intents and purpose. The hymn speaks of the virtue of mutual co-operation of the husband and wife which they are invoked to develop through the rituals of marriage. In the mantra for the ritual of Pānīgrahaṇa there is a clear reference to the prospect of amity and co-operation between the married spouses for leading the benign life of a householder. The idea of amity and co-operation is also traced in the Atharvaveda: "Happy be thou and prosper with thy children here; be vigilant to rule thy household in this home."
Closely unite the body with this man, thy lord. So shall ye, full of years, address your company". "Be ye (two) just here; be not separated; attain your whole life-time, sporting with sons (and) grandsons, rejoicing, well-homed".\textsuperscript{18} The concept of continuity, stability, amity and procreation become the elements of an ideal marriage. In the text of Brāhmaṇa literature, and particularly in the Tāṇḍyambā Brāhmaṇa, the notion of unity in marriage is emphatic: "heaven and earth were once together but they became separate (then they said) let us bring about a marriage, let there be a co-operation between us".\textsuperscript{19} The idea of unification of the two souls in a binding tie of marriage can also be inferred in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. The wife is regarded here as the half of the husband, the other half being the husband himself, the two being complementary to make up an integral whole.\textsuperscript{20} This concept of 'oneness' of husband and wife has been elaborated in the epics\textsuperscript{21} and wife has been verily praised as the source of the three ends of life. It is Īśavāsya, who in clear terms declares that by Pāṇḍraṇa arises coparcenary right to duties and there is no question of division between husband and wife: "No division takes place between husband and wife", "For, from the time of marriage, they are united in religious ceremonies".\textsuperscript{22}

The vedic ideal of marriage was followed by both, the Dharmashastra and the Arthaśāstra writers, but with one significant difference. With the dharma school generally it was a sacrament, while with the Arthaśāstra it was a contract. Hence while the latter allowed divorce, the former was generally against it. K.P. Jayaswal has observed, "The Dharma schools, it should be remembered, regarded marriage as a sacrament. But the Artha regarded it as a contract whether entered into by parties themselves or vicariously through guardians. The consequences which flowed from the contract view find expression in the Artha laws.
There could be a divorce between the parties. There could be a forced dissolution by the state. There is a great opposition offered on the point in our dharma codes.\textsuperscript{23}

Manu considers it as a social institution for the regulation of proper relations between the sexes "Thus is declared the constantly pure everyday rule of life for man and wife. Learn now the rules concerning offspring, (rules) of which the result is happiness both after death and in this world."\textsuperscript{24}

The Hindu śāstrakāras are especially particular about the marriage of a woman, though it is also enjoined that every male should marry. For, a "wife is the very source (mūlam) of the puruṣārthas, not only of dharma, artha and kāma, but even of mokṣa. Those that have wives can be happy; and those that have wives can lead a full life (śriyānvita)."\textsuperscript{25}

Sex and the offspring are the two primary factors responsible for the evolution of marriage as a social institution as stated above. The Hindus carry the idea of marriage a step further by recognizing it as a sacrament. More than a biological or social necessity, marriage for a Hindu is a religious requirement, for without a wife he cannot discharge his debt to the Devas and the Pitrīs, and cannot secure heaven for himself after death. Thus, for a hindu, happiness in this life and in the life to come primarily depends on marriage. According to Indian traditions a person repays the debt he owes to his father, through his son. A son in the consecrated wedded life is a religious asset. Thus to create a type in the progeny for the perpetuation of Dharma, is the cherished goal of hindu marriage. This importance has been stressed by Gautama and Baudhāyana. On account of this they regard the grhasthya as the best of the four āśramas: "Certain āchāryas hold the order of house-holder (grhastha) to be the best of all,
since its benefits are witnessed, everyday, (in this life).” “Those orders are
but the offspring of that of house-holders; inasmuch as they preclude the
possibility of progeny.” The well known statement of the Rgveda that wife
herself is the house, shows the indispensable importance of wife in the
householder’s wife: “a wife, O. Maghavan, is home and dwelling; so let thy
bay steeds yoked convey thee hither. Whenever we press out for thee the
Soma, let Agni as our Herald speed to call thee. "Similarly we come across
“one’s house is not his home; one’s wife only is his home. A house without
the wife is desolate like a forest.” The śāstrakāras emphasize the spiritual
aspect of marriage more than anything else, though the secular aspect and
several other interests of life including what is biological and social, had not
been lost sight of; by sons, grandsons and great grandsons, is acquired an
unending family (in this world) and the celestial region hereafter; for these
purposes a wife should be served and well maintained and protected.
Thus Āpastamba lays equal stress on both the ‘Dharma’ and the secular
aspects in his precept.

Among the commentators on legal treaties, Asahāya and Viśvarūpa
do not have any significant contribution on the concept of marriage. It is
Medhatithi who by way of explaining the verse of Manu describes marriage
as a sarīṅskāra for the purpose of taking a maiden as wife through the
prescribed means: “Learn summarily these eight (ways of) marriage with
women for the four castes, (which are) good and bad here and in a future
existence”. It involves all the prescribed formalities characterized by the
rite of pānigrahaṇa and lasting up to the rite of looking at the ursa major.
According to him wifehood is established in a woman consequent to the
completion of the rituals of marriage. Aparārka regards marriage as a
composite effect of the rituals, which establish the status of wifehood. Of
these however, he recognizes the special importance of the rite of Śaptapadi.\(^{32}\)

Several terms like Vivāha, Pariṇāya, Upayama etc. are used in the śāstras to convey the sense of marriage. These terms may be further helpful for understanding the nature of present day Hindu marriage. The word vivāha is derived from the root ‘vah’ (to carry) preceded by the prefix ‘vi’ and followed by the suffix ‘ghaṅ’. So it may mean the act of carrying the maiden for the purpose of marriage.\(^{33}\) The word Pariṇāya is derived from the root ‘nī ’ (to carry or to lead) preceded by the prefix ‘pari’ and followed by the suffix ‘ac’. The word may refer to the ritual of going round the fire by the bride and the bridegroom. The word ‘Upayama’ has been derived from the root ‘yam’ preceded by the prefix ‘upa’ and it has been directed to be used in the Ātmanepada by Pānini in the sense of ‘accepting as one’s own’.\(^{34}\) It therefore means ‘accepting the girl by bringing her near the bridegroom’. The word, ‘Pānigrāhaṇa’ has a reference to the rite of taking of the bride’s hand by the bridegroom as a symbol of accepting the bride as wife with full responsibilities. These terms may help us to understand some of the ceremonies observed during marriage. Some words like Pānigrāhaṇa and others, though refer only to a particular ritual of marriage, were used, in course of time, to indicate marriage in general. Aparāka gives expression to this idea.\(^{35}\) In a sense from the very beginning marriage appears to take on sacrament and partly a socio-religious undertaking more for the sake of progeny as opposed to western thinking of pleasures and legality of sexual intercourse in marriage and almost a contract can be amply evidenced from the references in the literary texts.

It is very difficult to precisely ascertain the date when the institution of marriage came into existence amongst the Indian civilization. From the
information available we may notice that marriage was an established institution during the days of the Rgveda (already stated above).

The biological aspect of marriage has, also not been lost sight of. Vijñāneśvara observes that direct results like gratification of sexual desire can easily be understood from everyday practice. Thus the principal purposes of marriage here are; Dharmasampatti, Praja and Rati; or in other words, acquiring of religious merit, procreation of progeny to be free from falling into hell after death, and sexual pleasures respectively.

The element of spirituality in marriage has also been pointed out. Krishnagopal Goswami in his paper, ‘an enquiry into idealism in Hindu marriage’ opines that the Hindu marriage is primarily based upon spirituality; it being deemed altogether as a creation of the spirit. In its entire significance it represents neither a phenomenon of subjective arbitrariness nor a product of the so called natural law. On the other hand, like other phenomena of order, its origin is traced to some ‘divine essence’ which embodies transcendental perfection of consciousness and therefore competent to account for the supreme idealities that are associated with it. This theory of divine origin bears the implication that marriage as an ideal institution must be the creation of a divine mind of a mind having the gift of divine insight and reason. The spiritual import of marriage is looked up to have been founded on some suprasensuous experience which man, as he is constituted, can hardly discover for himself. And it is from this belief that marriage as religious institution is supposed to have been introduced by the law of a divine being who regulates and conducts the destiny of the world.

Woman was regarded as an incarnation of Śrī or Goddess of Grace. ‘A woman is indeed the incarnation of Śrī, hence they never kill a woman: “They said to Prajapati, let us kill her and take (all) this from her. He said,
surely, that Śrī is a woman, and people do not kill a woman, but rather take (anything) from her (leaving her) alive. The sweet and holy relation between the husband and the wife is finely stated in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 'truth is male; faith is female; mind is husband, speech is wife; wherever the husband is, there is the wife too.' Just as truth and faith go together, just as mind and speech are inseparable, likewise the relation between the married couple is indissoluble; it is not only a temporal bond but a union of hearts, a spiritual bond that exists both here and hereafter. Mind and speech are inseparable because every speech is the external expression of a mental act which is often termed 'thinking aloud'. The Ait. Br. clearly explains the true import of the term 'jāyā'. 'The husband enters into the body of the wife in the shape of embryo to which the wife becomes the mother; thus the husband is again delivered from the womb of the wife in the tenth month putting on a new body in the shape of the son. Hence the wife is called 'jāyā' as the husband is reborn in her.' Regarding the sacred tie and indissoluble nature of the marriage sacrament a striking passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa may be cited where a married girl, Sukanyā by name, says, 'I shall never repudiate my husband to whom my father offered me'.

Marriage was a religious and social necessity for both men and women. A man was not entitled to perform a sacrifice unless he had a wife by his side. The word 'patni' denotes the wife's specific function of participating in the sacrifices, whereas 'jāyā' refers to her conjugal and social position. The earlier texts tell us that girls married late and had a say in the choice of husband. But they also abided by the choice made by their father as is evident from the daughters of Śaryāta and Jānaśruti marrying to please their fathers.
The fulfillment of religious obligation of life constitutes an all important element of the status of householder. Wedding is an induction of wife into the new house of her husband, where both he and she are installed to the state of householder to jointly discharge the obligation which extends from gods to every living creature of the world. Man as a cosmic being is integrally bound up in an indissoluble tie of relation with others, be that relation direct or not.

The brief account of the marriage ceremony makes it clear that the epic marriage was not a contract but a sacrament. It was a union of the human beings (parties) under divine witness represented here by the spiritual element that was Agni. The divine witness was devised to ensure permanence. Human mind changes and therefore the human element alone were not considered as a sufficient basis for the performance of the union. Marriage was a spiritual union undergone for the performance of the religious duties. The husband and wife were colleagues in dharma; hence this formed the basis of permanence of the epic marriage. Thus according to didactic portions, marriage performed with sacred mantra and ‘śapta-padi’, was considered indissoluble and irrevocable. It was supposed that after death, even in heaven, wife or husband waited for each other. As it was an eternal union, the restoration of a wife was considered best of all gifts. It was perhaps for this reason of irrevocability of marriage that Bhishma could not utter anything in the Kuru court upholding the case of Draupadi, for according to him slavery of Yudhishthira could not dissolve his marriage with Draupadi.

Sītā’s case was different. She was forsaken due to public censure but Rāma was ever loyal to her. The marriage vow was never dissolved. The only two exceptional cases when husbands dissolve the marriage
union with their wives are those of Kaikeyi and her mother. The reason for this unusual action is, however, extreme cases of selfishness where wives did not even care for the lives of their husbands. As ‘Pariṇayana’ marriage was the transformation of two souls, and as ‘Niyojana’, the two souls were drawn together under the yoke of dharma, the eternal immutable law, which carried them upwards and therefore marriage was known as Udvāha.52

It was natural for sceptics to doubt the possibility of such a union. After all judging from the worldly point of view marriage, no doubt, is the outcome of desire and therefore Yudhishthira fails to understand how it could be meant for practising the duties together.53 Bhishma citing an old narrative i.e. Ashtāvakra’s trial, proves that it is neither for desire nor for the beauty of flesh nor for the riches that one marries, but for practising dharma in order to pay the debts to the Gods, manes and society and to attain the highest through the aid of these services, for the desire is incapable of being transcended but the abandonment of it leads to proper preparation for marriage i.e. ‘Sahadharma’.54 Nevertheless, the change was coming. Janaka’s words are of great significance here. For these indicate that side by side this ‘Sahadharmini’ conception where the dignity of wife is upheld, another idea, of wife ‘as a shadow,’ which loses its identity and has no personality, was developing.55

Manu clearly declares that “offspring, religious rites, faithful service, highest conjugal happiness and heavenly bliss for the ancestors and oneself, depend on one’s wife alone.” Some, of course, hold that dharma is the only objective of marriage.57 There contention is that just as a tree intended only for fruits, gives automatically shade and other things, so also marriage whose principle objective is dharma, yields kāma etc. at the same
time. Macnaughten\textsuperscript{58} observes that the marriage is not merely a social contract; it is a saṁskāra. It has been observed by K.M. Kapadia\textsuperscript{59} that “marriage is a sacrament. It is considered sacred because it is said to be complete only on the performance of the sacred rites accompanied by the sacred formulae. It is a sacrament also in another sense. A Hindu male goes through the performance of several sacraments during the course of life. These begin with the lying of the foetus and end with the cremation of his body. Their importance in Hindu life can be understood from the fact that while in the early law, cremation was prescribed for a child who had completed two years, in the later law it was enjoined in the case of a child who had undergone the sacrament of tonsure. Similarly marriage said to be essential for women because that is the only sacrament that can be performed for her”.

**Importance of Marriage**

While the sacrament of marriage has been very significant at all times in human societies of all kinds of people. The continuity of the existence of a society and its development as also the realization of the values of life in human society have all been possible as a result of the institution of marriage. That is why, during the vedic age, the parting advice of a preceptor to his pupil used to be to enter into the household stage and beget children so that the lineage is not disrupted.\textsuperscript{60} This advice was based on the concept prevalent in society that a man’s development of personality remained incomplete till the time he does not enter into matrimony and beget children. The majority of the Grhyasūtras begin with the sacrament of marriage. As a matter of fact, the institution of marriage is the source and nucleus of all Grhyasūtras and sacraments. With the development of
religious and social consciousness in society, it became essential for every young man and woman to be bound in the ties of matrimony.

The principle of four stages in every one's life was well established and a person passed through these four stages from the time his educational ceremony till he breathed his last. The idea at the root of the establishment of this system of four stages was to enable a person to realize the ultimate spiritual truth after acquiring a correct knowledge of the real values of life during the first three stages. During the post-vedic age, great importance was laid on the second namely the household stage. At the conclusion of the first stage was the celibacy stage which was marked by samāvartana or farewell sacrament. Thereafter on performing the sacrament of marriage, the young man and woman used to enter the second namely the household stage. The later exponents of śāstras give credence to the last two stages but they too, lay importance on the second stage namely the household stage. The Vaśiṣṭha and Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra also considers the household stage as the centre and prop of the social structure: "A house-holder alone celebrates sacrifices, a householder alone practices austerities, therefore the order of house-holders is the most distinguished among the four". "As all rivers and rivulets go to the ocean to be united so all orders are to associate with the house-holders". "As all creatures live depending upon their mother so all the mendicants live depending upon the house-holders".  

Mahābhārata has also sung praises of this stage. In Śāntiparva it has been said that just as a mother provides means of to all living creatures so also the household stage provides all the means of to the remaining three stages. According to Manu, a person who desired to enjoy the worldly and sensuous pleasures of the imperishable heaven should take
recourse to the household stage while a person with weak sense organs is unfit to adopt the household stage. In short the Smṛtis consider the household stage as the nucleus of the entire social organization. "As all beings depend on air, so all orders depend on the householder." "Because men of the three orders are daily supported by the householder alone with knowledge and food, therefore the householder (is) of the chief order".

Marriage was considered important due to several reasons. The chief of these reasons was the Āryan occupation of India. The enemies were far greater in number and the land was unknown. The material prayer therefore arose: "May the husband be the eleventh male member of the family, the rest ten being his sons." The zeal to preserve the purity of blood itself was a second reason that favoured the institution of marriage where one woman was to associate and be intimate with one man alone. Thirdly, in the religious belief where the worship of the manes is indispensable the need of a male child plays an important part and becomes imperative. He was needed at the time when his father, the Ārya, worn out by perpetual strife and struggle, terminated his martial existence and lay still. He took from the hand of the dead hero and bow and the quiver with the responsibilities and duties that their acceptance entailed on the new man. The nomadic life being over, there arose the urge of a permanent abode and a settled home. A settled home was the necessary outcome of a well administered household. Here was felt the want of an imperious mistress who could command the household including the bipeds and the quadrupeds and who could be an empress unto her father-in-law and the sisters-in-law. Here a real woman was the need who could throw in her lot unreservedly with her man and not one who would prove only a time-server and a possible deserter. Hence the marriage,
which sought to fuse two hearts together by enjoining upon the couple the importance of perfect self-abnegation and which annihilated altogether the sense of individual aloofness through absolute self-surrender, was a socio-religious necessity.

In the epics marriage as a prelude to life of the greatest importance\textsuperscript{70} i.e. domestic life, gradually became an important and obligatory sacrament. In the case of woman, however, the question of marriage has been inseparably associated with her status. When women by virtue of their intellectual education and religious status had a voice in shaping their future, marriage was not imperative for them. Thus Sulabhā and others could forego marriage and lead a life of asceticism and independence.\textsuperscript{71} According to the belief of that age these women could work for the emancipation of their souls. With the passing of that religious status, however and the disappearance of education their independence was lost. Entire dependence on men-folk, which came to be the rule, naturally led to compulsory marriage.\textsuperscript{72} The success of women's life was considered in giving love (i.e. being wife) and being mother.\textsuperscript{73} These position could only be gained through marriage. It was said that the duties of women began with marriage.\textsuperscript{74} The status of religious partner of the husband was gained by women through the sacrament of marriage. Otherwise a woman had no religious status in a society where such a status was prized. But in later societies she was an ignorant partner of a learned husband. Therefore it was natural that marriage had an educative value for her. Husbands thus assumed the position of preceptors.\textsuperscript{75} Thus it is that all the synonyms of marriage indicate her going near the husband perhaps in the same spirit and state of submissiveness as that of a disciple to the guru.\textsuperscript{76}
It has already been shown that even the attainment of paradise for women depend upon marriage. The religion prescribed for them was the service of the husband. Through these services women could attain heaven. Naturally husband was for a woman a divine incarnation, a god as well, to be gained only through marriage. Thus women’s education, worldly duties as well as emancipation depended upon marriage but in these conditions her status was not that of an equal partner of the husband but of a disciple and devotee.

To crown all, there was the question of imperative chastity for women. To guard it, it was necessary that she must have protectors throughout her life, and not to have one in her youth would have been a calamity. It was through marriage that she got such as protector in her husband, to live without him was considered sin for her. It was natural that when such importance was attached to marriage for girls, fathers would have been anxious to give away their daughters. In such social conditions if sometimes a suitable bridegroom was in view the bride may have been given away a little before she attained youth, or even disparity in age of the couple may have been overlooked.

In the Smṛtis intellectual education for women was neglected and they could not perform the vedic sacrifices. With the passing of this religious status and the disappearance of education, their independence was lost. Their condition became dependent in all walks of life. Manu says, “By a girl, by a young women, or even by an aged one, nothing must be done independently even in her own house”. In the next verse the sage says, “In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, when her husband is dead to her sons a women must never be independent”. These are echoes of the sentiments evidenced early during
the epic period. Other Śruti writers also do not allow the women to enjoy independence: "Dependence in all acts." "Dependence on her father, husband and son (in her childhood, youth and old age)." "A father should protect a maiden; a husband after she is married; and a son, in her old age; in the absence the kinsmen, independence is not for womankind." This dependence of women on men-folk in all walks of life, naturally led to compulsory marriage. The success of women's life was considered in giving love, i.e. being wife and mother: "Offspring, the due performance of religious duty, obedience, and the most profound voluptuous joy are dependent upon the wife; so also the (attainment of) heaven for the (husband's) ancestors and for himself." This position could only be gained through marriage. It is said that duties of women began with marriage: "The gift of a maiden is called the Prājāpatya rite, after reverencing and addressing (the pair) with the words, 'Together do ye both duty'". The religious partner was obtained by women through the sacrament of marriage. According to Manu, to be mother were women created and to be father men; religious rites, therefore, are ordained in the Veda to be performed by husband together with his wife; and the unmarried have no spiritual capacity to do them, nor wife or husband apart from each other: "For women there is no separate sacrifice, nor vow, nor even fast; if a woman obeys her husband, by that she is exalted in heaven." Women were debarred from receiving education, as they could not be initiated. But marriage had an educative value for them. It has been said that it was marriage ritual of girls which corresponded to the upanayana of boys such as marriage of the girls forms their initiation into the study of the Vedas, serving in the husband's home was their studying at an Āśrama and domestic duties were the substitutes for daily rites: "The marriage ceremony is said to be the vedic consecration for women; (also)
attitude to (their) husbands, subjection to the Guru, household affairs, (and) attention to the (household sacred) fire.” “Marriage ceremony is the initiation for women”.

**Forms of Marriage**

India represents culture in which various elements, Ṛṣya or non-Ṛṣya have been coalesced together and assimilation of cultures was obvious in every social undertaking including marriage. The union of a man and woman began to be made through various ways and forms of marriage were recognised by the society. These can be differentiated from the very early days of Sūtra period. The forms of marriage are stated to be regarded as the basis of the modes through which a bride could be procured.

In the Hindu law strictly and properly so called, there are no less than eight different forms of marriage slightly differing from one another and indicating the different stages in the social progress. G.C. Sarkar in his book ‘Hindu Law’ remarks: ‘These eight different forms of marriage are not really eight different forms of marriage as they are loosely called, the form appears to be same in all cases, except perhaps in the Gândharva and the Rākṣasa, namely, the gift and acceptance of the damsel coupled with religious rites which are necessary and more multiplied in the approved forms’.

As stated above some of these may have been adopted as a result of a fusion between various races and cultures. A study of these forms indicates how a living society accepts the challenge when confronted with unfamiliar customs and finally fits, adopts and assimilates the best in them according to its social and cultural pattern. Many of these unfamiliar forms of marriages were not approved by the society but all of them were
legalized taking into view the weakness of human nature, or of certain people and saving innocent women from life long suffering usually without fault of their own.

Some of these forms were probably practiced earlier during the period of the Rigveda, but were not formalized or named till a later date. In the social development a particular name is given to a custom only when it becomes general, hence the belated recognition of these forms. The marriage of Sūrya with Soma bears similarity with the definition of the Brāhma form as there is ‘kanyādāna’ (gift of the bride). The characteristics of the Prajāpatya form of marriage may also be adjusted here because of the fact that we find there a formulae wherein a condition is laid down that the groom should not dissociate himself from his wife. A verse of the Rigveda refers to the ‘Svayamvara’ of girls which is very often mentioned in the epics and kāvyas. It says: “when a bride is fine looking and well-adorned, she by herself seeks her friend from among men”. As for the instance of the Rākṣasa form of marriage, mention may be made of the forcible abduction of Kamadyu, the daughter of king Purumitra by the brāhmin Vīmada. This abduction was done without her parent’s consent, but probably with her own willingness; because in the epics we see that maidens like Sūbhadrā, Rukmini and Vāsavadatta themselves helped the abductor in the abduction. The Rigvedic hymn which depicts the marriage of king Pūrurava with Urvasī, is an example of contractual marriage or Gāndharva form of marriage. Some scholars hold that marriage by service was also in vogue during the times of Rigveda. We also come across two references to the paying of bride-price by the bridegroom. It appears that when a man could not procure a bride for himself, he generally tried to please the bride’s father by making some kind of gifts.
The list of these forms of marriage in various Śūtras is not always the same. Some of these mention all the eight forms while others do not.\textsuperscript{95} Though no forms of marriage are mentioned by the Pāraskara Grhya Śūtra, yet it may be assumed that he knew the Āsura form of marriage, because he has discussed the presents to be given to the guardian of the girl, separately in respect to three higher castes.\textsuperscript{96} Most of these Śūtras are not widely separated in time. Therefore, the reason for this diversity in the lists may be due to the fact that the Śūtra writers belonged to different schools and localities and were dealing with diverse races and thoughts.

Three lists of these forms of marriages are mentioned in the epic, two of them in the Ādi Parva record the eight forms and the third in the Anuśāsana narrates only five forms.\textsuperscript{97} Eight forms of marriage were known in the days of Manu and before him: "They are Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa, Prājāpatya, Āsura, Gāndharva, Rākṣasa and Paiśācha.\textsuperscript{98} Manu has mentioned all these in detail. And although the last four of them are absolutely condemned by him\textsuperscript{99} yet he has given them all a place in society. However, by the time of Smṛtis all the forms were legalized and so more or less all Smṛtis describe them though the names might vary\textsuperscript{100} According to Tripathi,\textsuperscript{101} Gāndharva, Rākṣasa, Āsura Paiśācha were observed by the four non-Āryan races of the same name. Kauṭiliya\textsuperscript{102} presents the forms in the same order.

The Pāli texts mainly reveal two popular forms – Brāhma and Gāndharva. Gāndharva vivāha naturally considered no caste or creed. Gāndharva marriage seems to have been very popular then. The Mahā Ummagga Jātaka says, "Whosoever the lovers love, be it a caṇḍāli, all are alike, in love there is no unlikeness".\textsuperscript{103} But, in general, this type was mainly the privilege of noblemen and the upper class. The Pāli literature is full of
incidents of such marriages. Ārsha form of marriage, too, was in vogue. Many suitors sent a message to Anopama’s father, saying, “Give us your daughter in marriage; in return we will give you wealth (dhanam) eight times the weight of your daughter”. In the Sūta Nipāta, the lord praises ancient people, who married for love and who did not buy their wives. It is relevant that the distinction between these forms of marriage be also highlighted.

**Brāhma Marriage**
In the Brāhma form of marriage, the father carefully selects the son-in-law, invites him to his house and offers him his daughter according to proper religious rites, along with such presents as he can conveniently give on account of natural affection. The bride properly bedecked and ornamented, is offered to a bridegroom who is specially invited for the purpose. This form consists of the gift (dānam) of a daughter by the father, to a man learned in the Vedas and of a good character.

**Daiva Marriage**
When a daughter was offered in marriage to an officiating priest by the sacrificer, the marriage was designated as a Daiva one. It was given this name, because the marriage was settled while a sacrifice to Devas (gods) was being performed. This form of marriage did not, however receive an unstinted approval of Smṛtis writers; they felt that while a sacrifice to gods was being offered, neither the sacrificer nor any of his priests should think of secular matters like possible matrimonial alliances.

**Ārsha Marriage**
In the Ārsha form, the father gives his daughter in marriage to the bridegroom, after receiving a cow and a bull, or two pairs of these from the bridegroom, in accordance with requirements of dharma and not in any
sense with the intention of selling the daughter. These were given only as a token of gratitude to the man who offers his daughter to the groom to enable him to fulfil his 'grhasthāśrama' obligations.

**Prajāpatya Marriage**

In the Prajāpatya form of marriage, the bride is offered according to due rites, but with an injunction to the couple that they should be always inseparable companions in the discharge of their religious duties.\(^{106}\) In this form, the father makes a gift of the daughter, by addressing the couple with the 'mantra' 'may both of you perform together your dharma'.

**Āsura Marriage**

In the four forms mentioned above, the important point to be noted is that it is the father (or a person in his place) who makes a gift (dāna, or pradāna) of the bride to the bridegroom. But in the Āsura form, the bridegroom used to get a bride by paying a reasonable price for her. The idea probably was that it would be disgraceful for a girl and her family if she was given in marriage for nothing. The origin of the name of this form of marriage is uncertain. Marriage by purchase was the order of the day among ancient Assyrians, and this circumstance may have been responsible for the name Āsura being given to that form of marriage where a bride-price was paid. The price paid by the bridegroom was originally compensation to the bride's family for the loss of her service, but a portion of it soon began to be returned to the bride as a marriage gift. The bride price could be paid in cash or kind.

**Gāndharva Marriage**

This was a love marriage, pure and simple. From the vedic age, the Gāndharvas were well-known for their amorous disposition, and a marriage which was consummated before the due performance of the sacred rituals,
naturally came to be known after them. Religious rituals etc. do not precede the union. In course of times, as the hold of religion increased, Gândharva ceased to be one of the ideal forms of marriage; it was included in the list of unapproved forms. Yet as long as post-puberty marriages were in vogue, Gândharva marriages could not be altogether stopped. It was however, laid down that even in Gândharva marriages the ritual should be performed after the union.\textsuperscript{107}

Rākṣasa Marriage

The Rākṣasa marriage, or as it is more appropriately described by one authority, the Kshātra marriage, takes us back to pre-historic times when women were regarded as prizes of war. In this marriage the victor carried away the bride and married and 'the forcible abduction of a maiden from her home'.

Paiśācha Marriage

The Paiśācha form of marriage, which is the most condemned one, is undoubtedly of the greatest antiquity. In this marriage the bride is either duped, very often by making her over drunk, or physically overpowered by the bridegroom in order to make her yield to his passion. The form is one in which the man seduces, by stealth, a girl who is sleeping, intoxicated, or disordered in intellect. Of all the forms of marriage this form is considered the basest, uncivilized and barbarous. The sexual relations as the result of this form of marriage is considered most sinful and undesirable and disapproved off altogether.

Svayaṃvara

The discussion on the forms of marriage can not be said to be complete unless we make reference to the svayaṃvara form of marriage which
means marriage by self-selection of women. As a separate form, svayaṃvara has developed its distinct characteristics for the fact that herein the girl exercises her own choice in selecting the life-partner often in the absence of reciprocal love from the side of the bridegroom. Though not defined by the Smṛtikāras by name, the svayaṃvara form of marriage, it seems, was approved of by many of them. The word 'Svayaṃvara' has been used as real 'self-choice' twice only in the; once by Kuśānābha's daughters when Vāyu made a proposal and next by Bhīma when he was abducting the three daughters of Kāśirāja: "O foremost of celestials, we are the daughters of Kuśānābha O divine one. And God as you are, we can dislodge you from your place; but we refrain from doing so, lest thereby we lose our ascetic merit."

The Rgvedic verse refers to the self-selection of spouse by women. Sāyana has explained the Rgvedic verse to show that Vimada secured his wife in the svayaṃvara: "How many a maid is pleasing to the suitor who fain would marry for her splendid riches. If the girl be both good and fair of feature, she finds, herself, a friend among the people." "Trim like grass my song for the Nāsatyas, and send their lauds forth as the wind drives rain clouds. Who in a chariot rapid as an arrow, brought to the youthful Vimada, a consort." Ait. Br. narrates the story of the marriage of Prajāpati's daughter. Prajāpati wanted to give away his daughter Sūryā in marriage to the king Soma; all the gods seeking her hand came to the royal court as suitors. This svayaṃvara system proves that it was practically impossible for an immature girl who had not attained the stage of puberty to choose her own husband. Girls were given away in marriage after they had attained puberty and maturity in the later vedic age.
For the maidens, the epic-svayāṃvara custom gave the right of preference and not that of self-choice. In this kind of svayāṃvara it was either love at first sight that made the girl choose her mate\(^{113}\) or she had heard about the hero and was already in love with him.\(^{114}\) When the maiden was already in love it was natural for her to dislike svayāṃvara.\(^{115}\)

Another kind of svayāṃvara in tune with the epic traditions was the one in which the girl was Vīraśulka, i.e. her price was to be paid in the form of valour. Thus Janaka and Drupada arranged tough tests for selecting sons-in-law.\(^{116}\) This was not real self choice for the girls used to be pawns. Draupadi's refusal to marry Sūta Karṇa however, indicates that a limited choice was given to the girl.\(^{117}\) Such choice may not be pronounced if the maiden did not like a kṣatriya for in any case if he wanted he could lift her. Draupadi's refusal and its approval by the assembly was due to other reasons including the hatred for mixed classes.\(^{118}\) The writers of law books did not mention it for it was followed only by the kṣatriya kings and not even by a particular class.\(^{119}\) Hopkins forwards another reason for this omission. He thinks that as epic svayāṃvara was a later development of original Prajāpatya form, therefore there was no need to mention it.\(^{120}\) But svayāṃvara was practiced even after the epics and even then it finds no place in later Smṛtis, where praṇīpatya is still recognized as a prevalent form. The real reason for this omission is that it was only a form of selection, the real marriage was performed according to Brāhma form after it. It is possible too that the parents resorted to this method in order to avoid unpleasantness of Rākshasa form, but in this attempt, however, they were not always successful.\(^{121}\) Pāṇini\(^{122}\) uses the term 'patimvara' in one of his sūtras, and this shows that the practice of a maiden selecting her husband was known to Pāṇini.
Manu has however, given the right to the girls that if after the attainment of puberty, they do not get married for three years, then they can select their own husband: "A girl having reached the age of puberty should wait three years (for a husband); but at the end of that time she should (herself) choose a husband of like (caste)." "If she should herself take a husband when she has not been given (in marriage), she is guilty of no crime, nor (is he guilty) whom she takes (as husband)." This was the easiest form of svayamvara, Bāudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtras have also prescribed the period of three years: "A maiden, who has attained puberty, shall wait for three years. After three years she may take a husband of the same caste." In Gautama and Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra, it is said that the girl can select her own husband after waiting for either three months or three years: "An unmarried woman, who passed three monthly courses, may choose a husband on the expiry of her third menstrual period." "After her three successive menstrual periods, an unmarried girl, happened to be not given away in marriage by her father or paternal kinsmen, shall renounce the ornaments given her by her parents, and shall be competent thereafter to marry a commendable bridegroom in express defiance of her father, or father's friends." According to Yājñavalkya a girl without a father or a guardian can herself select a suitable husband: "(A qualified person) not giving away (in marriage, a maiden) will be visited by the sin of the destruction of foetus at every time of her menses. In the absence of a giver, the maiden should herself give her away." This simple type of svayamvara were practiced in all castes. Sā́vitrī had done the same. Only in royal families, the ceremony used to be performed on an elaborate scale. The description of these are available in the great epic poems.
Marriageable Age

After having ascertained the origin, purpose and forms of marriage as prevalent in ancient India we need to examine the age of the bride and bridegroom which was considered suitable for marriage. From the historical evidences we find that there is no similarity of views on these points at different times and in the different sections of the society. This was because the social environments decided the marriageable age for men and women. Hence it kept on changing with the time and place and other social necessities.

Girls were married at a fairly advanced age in the vedic period. A uniform age is not stated in the vedic literature, but from the Avesta we learn that maidens were usually wedded at the age of 15 or 16 in ancient Persia. The same may certainly have been the case in the vedic period. The very term for marriage, vivāha, 'carrying away (of the bride)' presupposes a post-puberty marriage, for it shows that immediately after her marriage, the bride went to her husband's house to live as his wife. A perusal of the marriage hymn shows that the bride was fully mature and quite grown up at the time of the marriage; she is expressly described as blooming with youth and pining for a husband. A hope is expressed that the bride would forthwith take over the reins of the household from her parents-in-law; "Soma was he who wooed the maid: the groomsmen were both Aśvins, when the sun-god Savitar bestowed his willing Sūryā on her lord." This would have been possible only in the case of grown up brides, at least 16 to 18 years in age who would physically and mentally be capable of shouldering such responsibilities. It is evident from the marriage hymns in the Rgveda and the Atharvaveda, the parties to marriage were grown up persons competent to woo and be wooed, qualified to give
consent and make choice. The bridegroom was supposed to have a house where his wife could be the mistress, even the when his parents, brothers and sisters, happened to live with him, giving her position of a supremacy in the household: “Be thou supreme among father-in-law, supreme also among brothers-in-law; be thou supreme over sister-in-law, supreme also over mother-in-law.” This could not have been possible in the case of a child-wife. The vedic rituals pre-suppose that the married pair were grown up enough to be lovers, man and wife, and parents of children. Almost at every step, formula are repeated showing their immediate fitness for procreation; and hand grasping and consummation are the essential parts of the vedic marriage.

Ghosā, the lady Rśi, married when she had nearly passed her youth. The virile young man (marya) is normally a lover, constantly in the company of youthful maidens (yuvati), embracing (kanyā), and flattering (yosā): “Yea, we will listen to thy words, O Singer. With wain and car from far away thou comest. Low, like a nursing mother, will I bend me, and yield me as a maiden to her lover.” On the other hand the young maiden is also engaged in the midst of a number of suitors trying her best to please and attract them. In the Rgveda men were advised to marry a girl with a fully developed body: “The never sullen waters, youthful maidens, carefully decked, wait on him the youthful. He with bright rays shines forth in splendid beauty, unfed with wood, in waters, oil-enveloped”. Her breasts should also be fully developed. At this time the bride used to so full grown in age that she could select a husband from among a group of men: “How many a maid is pleasing to the suitor who fain would marry for her splendid riches. If the girl be both good and fair of feature, she finds, herself, a friend among the people.” One hymn in the Rgveda tells us that only she should be married who is not a female child. In the Atharvaveda it is said
that bride and groom eligible for marriage must be adults. It is from the semen in her that the bride obtains her glory and power of motherhood. In another verse, a Kumāripūtra (Kanīna, according to Mahīdhara) is mentioned, which indicates that a girl could bear children before marriage. These evidences hardly leave any doubt about the fact that the bride and the bridegroom both were grown-up before marriage.

There are only a few references of doubtful character to the existence of child-marriage in the vedic times. “One might adduce in the favour of the existence of child-marriage the Itihāsa (story) related on the obscene verse. Here Bhāvavya invited to the enjoyment of love, laughs at his spouse Romāśā believing that she is still immature. On this Romāśā invites him to convince himself of the contrary adding that she knew that the intercourse before puberty was forbidden by the law. But apart from the fact that these passages favour the general prevalence of marriage with mature girl the story conveys too much the impression of being a late invention occasioned by an etymological play on the name Romāśā”. We learn from the hymns of the Rgveda that some girls were married in childhood. At one place it is mentioned that Indra gave to an old man Kāshivan a wife named Vrichayā who was a child. Yet these are instance far found few and therefore according to Indra, no definite proof is available regarding the marriage of girl before puberty in the Rgvedic age.

Another possible reference to an early marriage is in the Chhāndogya Upaniṣad where a poor brāhmin teacher adopts the life of a beggar with his wife Āṭikī. The mediaeval commentators give Āṭikī a fanciful sense of Ajātapayodharā etc. which evidently reflects their own dislike of the idea that a Brahmin teacher’s youthful wife should go about freely.
should be noted that Āṭikī is not a proper name, and it has to be taken as an adjective. It's only rational interpretation would be 'fit for or used to wandering life', i.e. hardy and patient.¹⁴³

From a study of the vedic marital rituals also, it appears that the marriage had to be consummated at the earliest, on the fourth night after the ceremony and this would not have been possible if the bride was not a youthful lady. Infant marriage was therefore, uncommon though probably not entirely unknown in the vedic times. In this connection, the following remarks of Macdonell and Keith, will be found opposite.¹⁴⁴ “Marriage in the early vedic texts appears essentially as a union of two persons of full development. This is shown by the numerous references to unmarried girls who grew old in the house of their fathers. It is in the succeeding ages, represented by the Sūtra literature that we find the marriage of infant girls to have come into vogue. Mention of child-wives occurs regularly in the Sūtra period, though it is still uncertain, to what extent the rule of marriage before puberty then obtained. The marriage rituals at least do not indicate that the marriage was merely nominal and not real. Their essential features, i.e. the taking of the bride to her husband's house and ensuing cohabitation which could be performed when the bride had reached full puberty, lead us to believe that the child marriages were uncommon even in the Sūtra ages”.

The overwhelming nature of direct evidence in the Sūtra literature, however, does not leave us in uncertainty. From the body of references quoted below we cannot but conclude that the practice of pre-puberty marriages had gained firm footing in the society of the ages, following the vedic period. There is a discussion in some Sūtras as to the proper marriageable age of girls. Gobhila is of the opinion that infant girls only
should be married. Gobhila's son also justifies his father's preference for a Nagnika or infant girl. Gautama in his Dharmasūtra is also of the same opinion. In very clear terms he declares that a girl should be given in marriage before she attains the age of puberty. He goes even further and explicitly says, that a girl ought to be married before she wears clothes. On other hand, Baudhāyana contemplates the possibility of the bride being in her monthly course at the time of the marriage. There is a provision of fourth day ceremony by which cohabitation was possible only after four days of the marriage. From this it is clear that girls were married only after they gained adulthood. While some still hold the performance of adulthood as the a pre-requisite for marriage others are strongly in favour of early marriage.

During the age of the epics the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, the girls used to be grown up at the time of the marriage. The description of many svayaṃvaras (the ceremony of selecting husband) and Gāndharva marriages clearly indicate that the marriages used to take place when the boys and girls were grown up. In the Rāmāyaṇa it is described that the brides came to Ayodhyā and after paying due respects to the elders lived merrily with their husbands in seclusion which pre-supposes post-puberty marriages. In one context Sītā says to Anusūyā that her father having seen her of marriageable age became very anxious and was pulled down like a man who has lost all his wealth.

However in the Āraṇyakāṇḍa, Sītā is supposed to have told Rāvaṇa that when she was kidnapped by him, she was eighteen and her husband twenty five and that they had spent twelve years at Ayodhyā. From this the age of Sītā is brought down to six years at the time of her marriage. But this is not true. It must be remembered that the Rāmāyaṇa was recast
many times and the verses in question are from the later editions, quite in consistent with the overwhelming evidences of post-puberty marriages. In the 'Uttararāmcharita' Bhavabhūti has also depicted Sītā as a child-bride on the basis of above context.\textsuperscript{152} He describes Sītā as a child playing before her mother-in-law. But this depicts the picture of Bhavabhūtis age and not that of the Rāmāyaṇa.

In the Mahābhārata also as in the Rāmāyaṇa, girls used to be married at a grown up age. It has been described that a girl who bathes after her menses is called pure.\textsuperscript{153} She should be given away in marriage by her father, mother, maternal or paternal uncle.\textsuperscript{154} It is also held that a girl after attaining puberty should wait for three years and then find a husband for herself.\textsuperscript{155} This is a clear reference that the girls used to be married by about 16 or 17 years of age. Besides, a mention of sons born of unmarried girls, it can be inferred that such children were born in the house of the girl’s father and even pregnant girls used to be given in marriage.\textsuperscript{156} On the Gāndharva marriage of Shakuntalā, Kanva expressed his sentiments by saying that ‘her many menses went in vain. Now you have become fruitful. You have committed no sin’.\textsuperscript{157} Among the matrimonial rules narrated by Bhishma for the benefit of Yudhishṭhira, is one which runs as follows: “When a girl has attained maturity, O wise king, she should be given away in marriage”.\textsuperscript{158} This injunction in the Mahābhārata may commend itself to all right thinking minds in modern times. Yet in another place in the Mahābhārata it is stated, “A person of thirty years of age should marry a girl of ten years of age, or a person of one and twenty years of age should marry a girl of seven years of age”.\textsuperscript{159} This attests otherwise and pre-supposes a girl child marriage during that period. However taken in totality, it can be concluded that girl child marriages were not the rule, and whenever they occur they may have been exceptions or interpolated.
In the later period after the sixth century, the marriageable age of girls went lower and lower. There were many reasons for the same and due to this the status of women also started declining. The complexity of religion, intricacy of rituals and profusion of yajñas (sacrifices) gave a serious blow to the status of women. The girls were debarred from vedic studies and upanayana ceremonies. They began to be kept aloof from the recitation of vedic hymns and religious rituals in yajñas. Due to this social degradation in their status, their marriageable age also went down. The following can be some of the reasons responsible for the lowering of the marriageable age:

(i) Denial of upanayana and restricted the years of study.
(ii) Denial of vedic education.
(iii) Their non-participation of yajñas due to the intricacies of religious rituals and too much stress on purity of these rituals.
(iv) Yet another factor can be attributed to the changing political milieu.

The time of beginning of menstruation among girls was an important factor in determining the marriageable age of girls and in most cases the girls used to be married after they started having their monthly periods. Certain political factors upsets this criterion. From the fourth and third century B.C., the foreign invasions of India began. In the culture of these people the position of women was very low and they were regarded as an article of enjoyment. These onslaughts completely disrupted the social life of the indians and created a crisis in the cultural life of the indians and they did not want their girls to remain unmarried for long. Consequently the tendency to reduce the marriageable age grew up and increased, so that the virginity of the unmarried girls was safeguarded. The ideal of purity of race may also have contributed to this change.
Different stages in the evolution of the custom of child marriage can be traced in the Śrīṣṭi literature. We find passages which see no offence in marriage between adults, while others recommend child marriage especially in the case of a girl. It can be accounted for only when we suppose a gradual transition from the vedic custom of late marriage to an increasing extent of child-marriage. Even in Manu Śrīṣṭi we find contradictory views about the marriageable age. At one place it is said that “A girl after her first menses, should wait for three years for marriage. After that she should seek a husband for herself in the same caste”\(^1\). On the other hand he permits a father to give his daughter in marriage to a high-born, handsome and the same caste groom even if she has not attained the marriageable age. What age is not specified. At another place Manu lays down that “A man of thirty years can marry a girl of twelve, and a man of twenty four, a girl of eight years and even quicker if there is any danger”\(^2\). From this it is clear that marriage of a girl even before her womanhood was matured. At the same time Manu has laid particular stress on the “appropriateness of the groom, in whose absence the girl could live life long at her father’s place”\(^3\). In other words age was no bar if a suitable groom was available or vice-versa if no suitable groom was available she could remain a spinster. If taken in totality Manu’s ideas would generally support a pre-puberty marriage immediately thereafter which would be a girl child marriage.

A daughter must be married at the proper time, is the emphatic behest of all other ancient law-givers as well. The proper time according to Yajñāvalkya is the age of appearance of menses. The more a father delays in giving his daughter after the appearance of these, the greater is his crime of ‘bhruṇa hatyā’, i.e. causing the death of a child in the womb.\(^4\) We find regulations which unconditionally enjoin child-marriages. In the
Baudhāyana it is stated that "To a virtuous, pure husband the girl should be given while she is still immature; even from an unworthy man she should not be withheld if she has attained womanhood." The strict rules regarding marriage before the commencement of puberty gained additional force from the fact that disregard of it was represented as accompanied by evil consequences to the guardians of the girl. While Manu is content to characterize the father as blameworthy who does not give his daughter in marriage at the proper time, it is stated in Vaṣṭha: "For fear of commencement of puberty let the father give his daughter in marriage while she is still going about naked. For if she remains at home after the marriageable age sin falls upon the father."

Kauṭilya too reflects the condition of a society which at least morally, was much more degenerate. Women had certainly lost the place of honour, to which they were entitled in the early vedic organization. The author of the Arthaśāstra goes a step forward in punishing those parents who do not marry their daughters at the proper time. Also in Arthaśāstra, both husband and wife had their conjugal rights guaranteed after marriage, and no party could refuse marital rights to the other except under special circumstances. A girl obtained puberty at the age of twelve and a boy at the age of sixteen. Girls were to be married not much later than twelve. If after this there is a failure to carry out marital duties; there shall be a fine of twelve panas for the woman, twice that for the man. This would refer to the general trend and acceptance of advocacy of early marriages for girls.

The evidence from the Buddhist literature shows that down to about 400 B.C. brides in cultured families used to be about sixteen at the time of their marriage. They are often described as eagerly pining for being united with husbands. In the light of the monastic ruling that a minor could not
be initiated in the Order and the fact that many nuns came in the order before they had married, it can reasonably be held that marriages were held at quite a mature age, and not before the age of sixteen or seventeen. Nuns like Viṣākhā and Kundalakesā, who had entered the nunnery before their marriage, are represented as being either of the age of sixteen or of the age of discretion when their marriages were being contemplated. Brides in the Jātakas are also usually seen to be grown up. We often come across love affairs in these texts; in one place we find a maiden named Patacharā eloping with her lover, because her parents would not sanction her contemplated marriage. Such actions and reactions are unlikely to come from very young girl who would not be aware of such sensualities and emotions.

As against it, there are records of early marriages also in these literary sources. A passage in the Aṅguttara Nikāya speaks of a woman who was brought to her husband's home when she was a mere child. The example occurring in the Milindapañha of a mere girl being chosen in marriage leads one to the same conclusion. This corroborates the conclusions arrived at above. However, women in Jainism enjoyed a greater deal of freedom and possibility lesser instances of girl marriages. They appeared in public without any restrictions. Pre-puberty marriage was not in vogue and mention is made of Svayamvara and Gândharva form of marriages which obviously could be contracted only if they were grown up enough to be able to make decision.

Yet a change may be evidenced gradually. The institution of nunnery in Jainism and Buddhism and the instances of several grown up maidens taking holy orders against their parents' desire and some of them later falling from their high spiritual ideal must also have strengthened the view
of those who favoured marriages at about the time of puberty. If a girl is married before her personality is fully developed, there was no danger of her joining a nunnery. We may therefore conclude that during the period 400 B.C. to A.D.100 the marriageable age was being gradually lowered, and the tendency on the whole was to marry girls at about the time of puberty. There was, however, no uniformity in practice current in society throughout the period of our study.

After the consideration of the marriageable age of boys and girls, the next point to be undertaken is the difference in age of a bride and her groom. Since in the vedic age marriages used to take place amongst the grown up boys and girls the difference in their ages may not have been so large. The bride used to live in her husband’s house as his wife and was to be the lady of the house. The married couple would be adults since they could live as lovers, as husband and wife capable of procreating children and looking after them. After the vedic Age, Grhyastra and Dharmastra reveals that a girl used to be married after attaining her womanhood. It is further said that the husband and the wife could have intercourse only after the performance of the ‘Chaturthi’ ritual. Pashkar Grhyastra says that there should be no intercourse for three nights after marriage.

A disparity in age of bride and groom is generally not found in the Rama (overlooking later recessions), “Then the highly effulgent Rama, my husband was twenty-five years old, and myself was eighteen years old counting from my birth”. So also in the narrative part of the Mahabharata there are rare instances of young maidens, not immature girls, given to old men in marriage. Gautama was prepared to give his daughter to Uttanka who was very old. However such sacrifice of maiden’s interest was not liked by the society in Uttanka’s case and a miracle is introduced by the
composer and he is transformed into a youth.\textsuperscript{179} Elsewhere a simile describes that a young maiden would not like a husband of sixty.\textsuperscript{180} Yet at another incident Virāta is ready to bestow his young daughter upon Arjuna who was definitely sixty-five years old if not much more.\textsuperscript{181} Such rare cases occur in every society. It must however, be borne in mind that in the above mentioned cases it was due to the accomplishments of the proposed bridegrooms that the fathers of maidens were tempted to marry off their daughters to elderly suitors. It may have been difficult to get a suitable brides.\textsuperscript{182} At one place it has been said that a thirty years old man can wed a ten year old girl as his wife even though she may not have attained puberty. Or a twenty one years old man can wed a seven years old girl.\textsuperscript{183} At another place we find that a child marriage is preferred because for participation in religious ceremonies, the purity of the girl may not be doubtful.\textsuperscript{184} As against this there are many examples of marriages of grooms at advanced ages. Although there is no strict rule laid down with regard to any specific ratio.

After the fourth century B.C. many social reasons led to the practice of the lowering of the marriageable age of girls, but this did not always lower the age of the boy as well. In the Śṛtis several definite statements are found recommending the early marriage of girls as established above. Gautama,\textsuperscript{185} Yājñavalkya\textsuperscript{186} and Nārada\textsuperscript{187} have also recommended this. It appears that the desire for progeny was so strong among ancient Āryans that they thought the time of a youthful girl, as lost, if she did not utilize it for bringing forth offspring which she could. Except in the vedic literature, there are very rare references which go to prove that women were thought to be capable of spending their time up to maturity, in pursuit of higher and nobler attainments. It is only in a non-religious treatise, a book on medicine, that we for the first time, meet with a clear, cogent statement, that "a girl
ought not to be married before she has attained the age of sixteen. If ever a
girl below that age bears any child; it dies in the very womb. If anon it is
born, it does not live long, if anon it lives long, it does so with maimed and
crippled limbs."^{188}

Thus, we find that the difference in the age of the bride and the
groom was never constant. It can be concluded that when the girls were
married after attaining womanhood, the difference used to be less than the
time when early marriage of girls came into vogue.

**Qualities of a Bride and Groom**

The chief purpose of marriage in ancient India was augmenting religious
functioning and fulfilling carnal appetite. Therefore selection of bride and
groom was essential before entering the household stage. The increase in
the family and the birth of superior progeny depended on the success of
this selection. Hence the guardians used to be very careful in selecting a fit
life companion for their children. It was necessary that the bride and the
groom should be equal in all respects so that they may lead a good life with
love for each other, free exchange of opinion, co-operation for the future
and without mutual disagreements. It therefore necessary to consider the
qualifications of the bride and the groom.

**Qualifications of the Bride**

With the consideration of the age of the bride, were there any other
personal qualifications which were taken into account. We have no
particular references to this question in the pre-Sūtra literature. However, in
the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa we get a description in which an altar is being
compared to a woman from which we can form an idea about the standard
of a beautiful and perfect woman to be looked for in a wife: "It (the
altar) should be broader on the west side, contracted in the middle, and broad again on the east side; for thus shaped they praise a woman; 'broad about the hips, somewhat narrower between the shoulders, and contracted in the middle (or, about the waist)'. Thereby he makes it (the altar) pleasing to the Gods".¹⁸⁹ This is probably the earliest reference with regard to the physical beauty to be sought for in a bride. Later in the Grhya_sutras, we come across greater details regarding the desirable qualifications of a bride. The A śvalāyana Gṛhya_sutra mentions "a bride as good, who is beautiful, intelligent, of good character and has good features".¹⁹⁰ According to Śāṅkhayana Gṛhya_sutra a bride should have good feature. This writer considers good features to be those which are external pertaining to the body and internal pertaining to the mind and the character.¹⁹¹ The Bhāradvāja Gṛhya_sutra lays stress on four points which are to be considered before marriage namely, wealth, beauty, intellect and family.¹⁹² There is a difference of opinion among the Sutrakāras regarding the importance of these four qualities. Some give more importance to intellect and family as compared to wealth and beauty. Some lay the greatest importance on intellect while others consider the family to be of the greatest importance. Mānava Gṛhya_sutra considers learning to be a very important factor in the qualifications of a bride.¹⁹³ According to the Mahābhārata, a chaste, virtuous, beautiful and a kulīna coming from a good family) girl were approved and liked by the grooms. Along with virtuous character, other good signs in a bride were enumerated.¹⁹⁴ Out of these the buttocks, the thighs, forehead and the nose should be well developed. Besides this, the five fingers, hair, pores of the body and skin should be soft. The voice should be sweet and mind simple. Palms, soles and nails should be red.¹⁹⁵ The physical traits enumerated here signify a mature physique of the maiden to be wed.
Some other qualifications were also considered while selecting a bride. A brotherless girl was not desired on religious basis, as her eldest son would be adopted by her father and therefore the fathers of her husband would starve for want of ancestral worship. This prohibition, later on, was not strictly observed, because religious considerations gave way to economic gain. (At present people do not attach any importance to this question). Virginity was required to secure a chaste and unwidowed woman. This rule was more and more strictly followed later on, as the remarriage of a widow was altogether tabooed among the upper caste Indians. The qualification of nagnika has got different and interesting interpretations. The commentator on the Mānava Gṛhyaśūtra, however, while repeating the same interpretation, says "or (one should marry) a nagnika who is the best". He further elucidates his remark: "One should marry a woman who proves to be the best even when she is stripped of her clothes, because even ugly women with ornaments and clothes appear charming; therefore, being naked, not all look beautiful". The emphasis was gradually shifting to physical beauty alone and intellect was loosing ground. Of course beauty is the power of woman and it has been prized every where. Therefore the bride to be married was to be handsome: "A wife who is pleasing to his mind and his eyes, will bring happiness to him; let him pay no attention to the other things; such is the opinion of some".

Regarding other external signs of a bride, Āpastamba Gṛhyaśūtra provide us with important and significant information. According to him, "a girl should not have a name after the moon, stars or rivers. She should not have a barbaric name after a mountain, bird, snake, slave etc." He further lays down that the name of girl should not end in ‘r’ or ‘i’. All these specifications named were laid down perhaps due to the reason that since a girl is a symbol of simplicity and compassion, her name should evoke
tender feelings: "And all girls in whose names the last letter but one is 'r' or 'i', one should avoid in wooing". The internal qualifications of a bride were believed to be difficult to comprehend, so people resorted to queer superstitious means of knowing them. The Āsvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra says, "(internal) sings (of a girl) are very difficult to know. Therefore having brought eight clods of earth from different places, one should address them with the verse, Rta, the moral order was born first in the very beginning. The truth is established in the moral order, let that come to her to which the girl is born. Let that be seen what is true." After the clods were addressed thus, the girl was asked to touch a particular clod she liked. Different clods told different fortunes, according to which the poor girl was either accepted or rejected. The logic or what could really be known from it has not been explained in the text. The Dharmasūtras and the Smṛtis however do not refer to it such tests.

According to the composer of the Anuśāsana Parva the maiden to be wedded must belong to a high family. A woman of inferior order or what is fallen away from the order of her birth should never be taken by one who is desirous of prosperity. ‘Mahākulas’ i.e. great families as defined by Vidura are to be judged by conduct, learning and pure marriages. There are innumerable standards and references to such yardsticks to measure the 'Mahākulas'. These include intellectual and moral qualifications. By leaving the prescribed the conduct mahākulas could be degraded. Out of the wives of Rāvana none was from a bad family, ugly, without virtues, without ornaments and not liked by her husband: "There was none who, being his wife, was not of high extraction; none who was defective in grace; none who was not an object of desire of her lover". It is stated that even for expiation of sins one should marry in mahākulas, high families: "Teachers of scriptures have held that for the expiation of sins one should
study the three Vedas, serve and adore the Brāhmaṇas, please all men by looks, words and acts, shake off all meanness, marry in high families. Now these injunctions were prescribing a code of morality from the material of Dharmaśāstras. Nevertheless, these propounders of law gave concession to human nature and weakness. They had consideration for the daughters of the fallen families for these must be married and were not to suffer for the faults of their parents. Therefore, it was ordained that even a low born woman who is an ornament of her sex, may be taken as wife, and women like water and jewels can never be impure. The respect of blue blood, although always a consideration, could not have been enforced when society was free. In case of love at first sight as of Śāntanu for Satyāwatī and Gangā, nothing about family was known and so it was natural that in such marriages 'kula' considerations were relaxed.

Yet another consideration was to look for 'auspicious marks' on the body of the girls. In the epics though the composers do not give similar accounts of the marks yet they had devised certain marks as indicative of future marital happiness. It was a superstitious belief that women with auspicious marks had not to suffer widowhood, were crowned with their husbands and were to have, 'chakravarti' sons. There are descriptions of external signs and traits of good character necessary in a good bride. In the Rāmāyaṇa, the lamentations of Vaidehi on the erroneous news of Rāma's death give us a picture of the signs that a good bride possesses. Vaidehi says that the scholars of Śāmudric Śāstra (the science relating to the marks on the body which are supposed to indicate good or bad fortune) had declared me to be a woman whose husband will live long and will have sons.
Such women get married to princes and acquired royal title. There are auspicious signs on my feet. As opposed to this, the signs which lead unfortunate women to widowhood are not present in me. My hair are thin, even and black, my eyebrows are not joined, my thighs are round and without hair and my teeth are well set. The parts around my eyes, hands, feet, elbows and thighs are well proportioned and developed. My nails are well formed, smooth and my fingers are as they should be. My breasts are well developed and the nipples are well fixed. My naval is deep and hips are protruded. All the ten toes and the sole of my feet are even with the ground. My hands and feet are red etc.\textsuperscript{209}

Maidens with certain biological defects were not to be married. One was to avoid a maiden who was deficient in limbs. A wise man was never to wed a woman who was either old or ascetic or 'true to her lord' and 'whose organs of generation were not well formed'. A woman of yellow complexion was not to be wedded, for usually such persons are anemic. One affected by leprosy or born in the family where there was epilepsy or consumption was not to be married.\textsuperscript{210} During this time, great importance was laid on virginity and celibacy.

Most of the biological objections are found in the Smṛtis as well. The considerations of wealth and health are important factors in the selection of bride and bridegroom. It is quite likely that a maiden from a diseased family may be a victim of disease and even if she is healthy she may yet be a carrier of diseases: "That by which rite are neglected, which has no males, which possesses not the Vedas, which are hairy, or have piles; also families with consumption, dyspepsia, epilepsy; albinism, and leprosy". "Let him not marry a tawny maiden, nor one with superfluous members, nor a sickly (maiden) nor one without hair, or with excessive hair, nor a
chatterbox, nor one red (eyed)”. “Nor one called after a star, a tree, a river, nor one called after barbarians or a mountain; nor one called after a bird, snake, or slave; nor one with a terrifying name.”

Regarding the external good signs of a bride, the Smṛtis provide us with important and significant information. According to Manu and Yājñavalkya the bride should possess all the auspicious characteristics:

“Let a twice-born man dismissed by (his) Guru, having bathed according to rule, having returned home, marry a wife of the same caste endowed with (good) marks.”

“(A twice-born one), whose celibacy has not been disturbed, should marry a maiden endowed with auspicious marks, beautiful, younger in age, freed from diseases, having brother, born in a different gotra, distanced from his mother’s family by five degrees and that of his father by seven.”

Mitākṣhara, commenting on Yājñavalkya Smṛti, states that the auspicious marks are signs of potential motherhood. Manu and Viṣṇu have held that a bride who has grey hair, extra or maimed limbs, is too talkative and has yellow eyes should be avoided. “Nor one suffering from any incurable disease, nor one who has got an excess limb or bodily appendage, nor one who has a lesser number of limbs, nor one whose complexion is extremely brown, nor one who is foul-mouthed and extremely garrulous.”

They say that the bride should have faultless limbs and should have the gait of a swan or a crocodile. She should have short hair on the head and the body, small teeth and her body should be soft. As in the Grhyasutra, Manu also holds that one should not marry a girl who has no brother: “But she who has not a brother,(or whose)father is not known, let not a wise man marry her, through fear of the law about a daughter’s son.”
Further, the bride should be younger than the bridegroom and she should be a virgin. The last but possibly the most important qualification of a bride was that she should be a potential mother. Vijnänesvara on Yājñavalkya explains the word 'stri' as one who was examined in her womanhood in order to remove the doubt of barreness so that procreation of children would keep the family tree going. The main purpose of marriage in those days was the procreation of children and a woman was compared to a field where seeds could be sown. Therefore for the purpose of obtaining intelligent, vigorous, virtuous and clever progeny, it was necessary to select the bride with great care. More stress used to be laid on the examination of the qualifications of the bride than the bridegroom. In addition to these there was the prescription that the family of the girl should be examined in detail.

Such were the ideal qualifications of a bride which as evidenced continued to change with the passage of time and social change. But, if strictly expected, they would have excluded more than fifty percent of girls from matrimony. When child-marriage became very common, the bridegroom, who must have been very inquisitive about his mate, lost his voice in the matter and automatically the examination of the bride came to be neglected. Such rules are still alive only in the Deccan and the South India to some extent where cursory formal test of the bride still takes place in certain families.

Qualifications of the Bridegroom
Not only the qualities in a bride but the qualifications required in a bridegroom were as important as those required in a bride. According to Rgveda, the qualifications of an ideal bridegroom was strict adherence to celibacy and devotion to the efforts to obtain knowledge.
Atharvaveda, we find a long list showing incompetent bridegrooms. The mothers have been advised that they should consider the following types of men unfit for marriage with their daughters: "One who is violent by nature, one who is a thief with a sinful nature, one who is old and has gray hair, one who is suffering from infectious disease, one who is an evil doer and without character." All the above type of persons should be kept away from the contact of girls.

The sūtra literature has also described the qualities of a good bridegroom. Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra states that a girl should be given in marriage to a wise and learned groom. Āpastamba Gṛhyaśutra holds that a good bridegroom is he who belongs to a good family, is of a good character, has knowledge and good traits and possess good health. Āśvalāyana also gives first importance to the family. The most important qualification required in a bridegroom was his manliness and potency. This was an indispensable requirement since the most important purpose of marriage was to get progeny. Just as womanliness was required in a bride so also manliness in a groom in the same proportion. In Pāraskara Gṛhyaśutra it has been said 'woman are created for offsprings; a woman is a field and a man is the possessor of the seed; the field should be given to that who possesses the seed; a man without seed does not deserve a wife'. Gautama Dharmaśutra says that a girl should be wedded to a learned man with good character and gentle manners.

In the Rāmāyaṇa it is said that a bridegroom should be a full grown youth and a virtuous one. The likeness between the bride and groom requires that like the bride the groom should also be a firm celibate. Religious austerity, strength, prowess, wealth, glory, oblation etc. were
considered as the necessary qualifications in a bridegroom. The parents used to look out for a good groom for their daughters during this period.

All this description is significant in the study of what constitutes beauty and handsomeness according to Indian standards. In the Bālakānda, while describing the ksatriya form of Rāma it has been said that, "his shoulders are broad and well developed, arms long, neck like conch shell, and chin double. His chest is broad, his arms long, his collar bone covered with flesh, beautiful forehead, big eyes, bright complexion and the body comprising of all auspicious signs." This seems to imply the physical attributes of Rāma, which would be an added quality for marriage. According to Mahābhārata a daughter should be given in marriage to a groom after verifying his good and virtuous character. Special and equal stress has been laid on equal wealth and learning.

Arthasastra also mentions certain qualities of a bridegroom. He further clarifies that in case of a bridegroom’s defects which had not been disclosed before marriage coming to light after marriage he would be punished. Any go-between who arranged such a marriage was punished with a fine of 192 panas and the sulka and stridhana were also forfeited.

In early times when girls were married in advanced age and freedom of choice was allowed to them, these qualifications of a bridegroom were more real and valued than in subsequent times when early marriage became the rule and post-puberty marriage came to be stigmatized. The strict sāstric injunction was enforced that ‘a nagnika girl should be given to a meritorious and celebate man, or even to one without merits, but one should not delay the marriage of a marriageable girl.’ Almost all the Smṛtis have said that unbroken and complete celibacy was the first important
qualification required in a bridegroom. Manu also gives importance to the family of bridegroom. He has forbidden matrimonial alliance with the following ten kinds of families. They include one in which no sacraments are held; in which no sons are born; in which Vedas are not studied; in which the members have too much hair on their bodies; in which the members suffer from piles, in which members suffer from indigestion; in which there is hysteria; in which there is weeping leprosy; and in which there is dry leprosy. According to Yājñavalkya, a bridegroom must have all those qualifications which are required for a bride. The parents, no doubt, still cherish the pious desire of selecting the most suitable husband, but they were now no longer in a position to pay full attention to purely religious considerations and the rules of racial disparities. The greatest determining factors in marriage, at present, are wealth and social status of the bridegroom.

It is therefore clear that almost equal importance was laid on the desired qualities in the bride and bridegroom although by the end of the period of our study greater emphasis was laid on the qualification of the girl rather than these of a boy.
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189. Śat. Br., 1.2.5.16.
190. Ās. Gr. Sū., 1.5.3.
195. Mbh. 5.114.2-4.
196. MGS, 1.7.8.
198. Ibid., 1.3.12.
199. Ibid., 1.3.13.
200. Ās. Gr. Su., 1.5.4-5.
202. Mbh., 5.36.23-31; 59, Baudh. 1.5.10.29, 26.
203. Ram., 5.9.71.
205. Ibid., 165.32; Manu, 2.38-240; Vas. 13.51-53.
206. Ibid., 1.110.6; Ram., 5.9.72; 5.16.5.
207. Ibid., 1.97.27; 100.47.
208. Rām., 6.48.7; Mbh. 5.11.20-21.
211. Manu, 3.7-9; Yāj. 1.53-54; Vi. Dh.Su., 24.9-13.
212. Manu, 3.4.
213. Yāj., 1.52-53.
214. Ibid.
216. Manu, 3.11.
217. Yaj., 1.52.
218. R.V., 10.183.1.
219. A.V., 8.6.2-6.
220. As. Gr. Sū., 1.5.2.
221. Āp. Gr. Sū., 1.3.19.
222. Āś. Gr. Sū., 1.5.1.
225. Rām., 5.35.15-20.
226. Rām., 1.1.9-11.
227. Mbh. 13.79.3.
228. Ibid., 5.33.117.
230. Manu, 4.224; 3.6-7.
231. Yaj., 1.52.