CHAPTER II
SOzial ORGANISATION

I. CASTE SYSTEM

Varṇa - caste and Āśrama are the two important features of Indian society right from the age of Rgvedic Aryans. Presently the caste system is an inevitable part of our society. Halāyudha has recorded some information regarding the social organisation prevailed at his time. It is very much interesting to note that the society was still following the four fold classification of Varṇa-s during the time of Halāyudha.

It is stated by Manu that the Brāhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya castes (varṇa) are the twice born ones, but the fourth, the Śūdra, has one birth only; there is no fifth caste.¹

Regarding the origin of caste Nārada says, ‘at first only one varṇa, the Brāhmaṇa was created by Lord Brahmā, but it split itself up into four due to the different pursuits followed. Originally there was no classification of people into Varṇa. For, the whole universe is a form of Brahman, the Supreme Being. But later different varṇa-s arose depending upon the deeds of the people. The twice borns who, giving up their duties, sought pleasure and were characterised by red colour, anger etc., became Kṣatriya-s. These twice borns giving up their duties pursued agriculture and cattle rearing and were characterised by yellow colour became Vaiśya-s; whereas, twice borns, dark in colour, violent and miserly following all pursuits and devoid of cleanliness, became the śūdras². This view is expressed in the Mahābhārata also.³
The allegory regarding the origin of the varṇa is explained as follows: The seat of the speech, the brāhmaṇa-s born from the mouth were to be the teachers; the arms, the symbol of strength were to be the kṣatriya-s, who were to protect the people; the thighs, the lower portion of the body, which consumes food, gave birth to the vaiśya-s to provide food for the people and the śūdra, born from the feet, was to be the foot-man the servant of the other varṇa-s.

Significance of Varṇa:

The word ‘Varṇa’ does not mean caste in most of the passages of the Rgveda. In some verses it stands for colour. It was never associated with the words brāhmaṇa and kṣatriya which are of frequent mention in the Rgveda.

In the age of the later Samhitā-s, the term ‘varṇa’ is used definitely in the sense of ‘caste’ without reference to colour. The caste system developed in various directions. Occupations became more or less hereditary, e.g. chariot makers (rathakāra), smiths (karmāra) and carpenters (tākṣan). Marriage connections were regulated by making it a rule to marry in one’s own caste but not of the same gotra. The male of the higher varṇa could marry a female from any of the three lower varṇa-s (anuloma). But the reverse i.e. marrying a girl of higher varṇa (pratiloma) is prohibited. The status, functions, duties and privileges of the four castes were being minutely differentiated. Varying sizes of funeral mounds are prescribed by the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa for the four castes. Also the degree of politeness in the modes of address for the four castes varied. The śūdra was looked down upon
and was assigned a very low position. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa remarks that the śūdra is at the back and call of others (the three varṇa-s), he can be made to rise at will, he can be beaten at will.  

The position of vaiśya was also deteriorating. They performed sacrifices, reared cattle and engaged themselves in agriculture, industry and trade. They paid tribute to the king and nobles, and were obedient to the brāhmaṇa-s and kṣatriya-s.  

The kṣatriya-s who constituted the King, his relatives, nobles, the chiefs of the states and the King’s retinue, fought for the protection of the kingdom and maintained internal peace for which they received revenue from the people. The brunt of this taxation was borne by the vaiśya-s.  

The brāhmaṇa-s and the kṣatriya-s have precedence over vaiśya-s and śūdra-s in this period. But as to the relative position of the brāhmaṇa-s and the kṣatriya-s nothing definite can be said. According to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, a brāhmaṇa is superior to a king though he takes a lower seat by his side. This common view that the brāhmaṇa is superior to the king is supported by Vājasaneyī Samhitā, Aitareya and Tānḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa-s. The other view that kṣatriya is superior to a brāhmaṇa is held by the Kātyāyana Samhitā. The brāhmaṇa class received preferential treatment and enjoyed privileges denied to other castes which are reflected in the Atharva veda, Taittiriya Samhitā etc. Many of them deserved the highest position they held in society by dint of their characters and intellect.
though there were few kings too, who were seers of hymns and sacrificers and also instructors of brāhmaṇa-s in the Brahanical lore.\textsuperscript{15}

In the Śūtra period, the caste system hardened. It also witnessed the further deterioration of the position of vaiśya-s and śūdra-s in society.

The power of brāhmaṇa, the prestige and the influence of purohita in the state increased. They were exempted from taxes. The Gṛhya śūtra-s differentiated the four castes in matters both spiritual and secular even in such minute details as the girdle, the staff, the skin and the garment to be used by the students, amulepana etc. Brāhmaṇa-s grew into a well organised priest hood. Study and teaching of the Veda-s, sacrificing for themselves and others and receiving of gifts became their privileges. Feeding of learned brāhmaṇa-s became the concluding feature of every sacrament. The rājanya or the kṣatriya class closely followed the brāhmaṇa class in power and prestige. But the cultural and social status of vaiśya-s deteriorated due to the occupations and contact with śūdra-s. A wide gulf separated śūdra-s from the higher classes. The śūdra was robbed off the privilege of performing the sacrificing sacraments excepting marriage which in his case took place without chanting mantras. Still he enjoyed his status as a member of the household having access even to the kitchen.

During the period of Dharmasūtra-s, even the civil and criminal law was regulated by caste distinction. For a crime where a śūdra was given capital punishment the higher caste was let off with a lighter punishment.\textsuperscript{16}
Mixed Caste:

Inter marriage between the three higher caste and with the śūdra-s gave birth to mixed caste. The Dharmasūtra-s give the names of mixed caste; i.e. caṇḍāla - off spring of a śūdra male and a brāhmaṇa female who according to Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra is an out caste. The Jñātaka stories describe how the caṇḍāla-s were treated as despised out castes doomed to live outside the city or village. Their very sight was regarded as impure. The Agni purāṇa assigns to them the execution of criminals. They had to wear the clothes of dead. Strict rules were laid down by the Smṛti-s for preventing pollution of other classes by the touch of caṇḍāla-s. For the first time, the question of impurity caused by caṇḍāla’s shadow is taken up for discussion and purification by bath is prescribed for crossing a caṇḍāla’s shadow.

Sources of Dharma:

Dharma is that which is enjoined by Śruti and Smṛti. The śrauta and smārta are the two divisions of dharma founded by Brahmā. Of these the śrauta is more officious and has the authority of Veda-s. The Brāhmaṇa-s contain the śiṣṭācāra, which is followed in the absence of Śruti and Smṛti. The Purāṇa-s and Dharmasāstra-s contain all the principles propounded by the Veda-s. These are the sources of dharma.

Varṇadharma in ARM:

The ARM abounds in valuable and interesting details regarding the social life, manners and customs of its time. Halāyudha as we see was well
acquainted with India and its culture. His master-mind did not fail to observe critically the characteristics of social and economical life in different regions.

Society in his time was based on *Varnaśramadharma* i.e. on castes and āśrama-s or stages into which life was divided. Halāyudha uses the term *varṇa* and *jāti* to denote a caste. In between these two terms, *jāti* seems to have a more comprehensive sense so as to include both *gotra* and *caraṇa* indicative of natural and cultural lineage.

1) **Brāhmaṇa:**

The *Brāhmaṇa*-s formed the highest caste and they enjoyed a highest status in the society. Right from the ancient time, the order of status of the four castes were stated as *brāhmaṇa*, *ksatriya*, *vaishya* and *śūdra*. Kātyāyana, while commenting upon *Pāññinīyasūtra* (II. 2.34) stated definitely the order in a vārtika - ‘*varṇāṇām ānupūrvyena pūrva nipātaḥ*. Patañjali too reiterates the order clearly.

Interestingly, Amarasimha changes the order. He deals first with *ksatriya* then with *brāhmaṇa*. But Halāyudha does not change it. He begins the topic of caste system with *brāhmaṇa*-s. He refers to ten words to denote a Brahmin. Further he gives a brief account on different kinds of Brahmins. If a *brāhmaṇa* is well acquainted with all the four *Veda*-s, he is called as *anūcāna*, *sarvaveda*, *śrotriya* and *chāndasa* and the son of such a celebrated father is called as *āmugyāna*. The *brahmavarcas* is considered to be the wealth of a Brahmin, which could be attained by good conduct, regular practice of religious ordinance and by mastering the *Veda*-s. A *brāhmaṇa*
possessed with such a brahmavarcas is saluted in a described manner i.e. by means of abhivādana. It is a salutation and self introduction given to respectables.28

Duties of a Brāhmaṇa:

'To brāhmaṇa, he assigned teaching and studying (the Veda), sacrificing for their own benefit and for others, giving and accepting (gifts)' says Manu.29 A brāhmaṇa who departs from the rule of conduct does not reap the fruit of the Veda, but he who only follows it will obtain the full reward.30 The people of first three varṇa-s discharging their prescribed duties should study the Veda-s but among them the brāhmaṇa alone shall teach it not the others two, that is an established rule.31 These are all the must-do-duties of a Brahmin and failing in this he is treated as a samskārhina.32 Manu, however, has declared a severe punishment for a brāhmaṇa who fails in his duties. According to him a brāhmaṇa who has fallen off from his duties becomes an ulkāmukhapreta who feeds on what has been vomited.33 Hence a Brahmin should not lose his title to cast in consequence of the neglect of sacramental rites in his youth, he should not break his vows by inconsistency during his student hood and should also not neglect his household fire, unless he will be considered to be sinful and wicked.34 If a brāhmaṇa exploits the rites and rituals for his purpose he is called as dharmadhvaja - a religious hypocrite.35 The term dharmadhvaja literally refers to a person who hangs out the flag of righteousness for selfish purpose; similarly one who bears all the symbols of sanctity for selfish purpose, one who has not read the Veda-s previous to his investiture, one who neglects his duties like not undergoing a regular course of studies and who earns his bread by the profession of arms are
all religious hypocrites says Halâyudha.\textsuperscript{36} One who does not attend to his observances may be a \textit{brahman} by caste but not in a true sense. He is a \textit{jātimātropajīvi} i.e. \textit{brahman} by mere name.\textsuperscript{37}

\textit{Brahmasūtra}, the sacred thread, is the mark of a Brahmin, though all the people of first three \textit{varṇa-s} wear it. The sacred thread should be worn over the left shoulder and under the right. This is the normal position and is known as \textit{upaviṣa}, but at times it is worn just in opposite position - \textit{prācināvīṣa} and like a garland hanging down the neck - \textit{nivīṣa}.\textsuperscript{38} The \textit{upaviṣa} position is thus changed according to the situation during some religious observances like \textit{tarpana} etc.

A \textit{brahman} is supposed to be clean and pure always. \textit{Ācamana}, \textit{snāna} etc., are some of the means of purifying oneself.\textsuperscript{39} Particularly \textit{ācamana}-sipping of water for three times before and after any religious ceremony, is very important one. Performing \textit{yāga} - sacrifice is an important duty of a \textit{brahman}. The sacrificial fire will be churned out of the \textit{arani} wood and the fire will be concentrated by prayers and other rites. The \textit{agni} thus purified is called as \textit{pranītāgni}. The \textit{yāga} is performed on a \textit{vedi}, a raised piece of ground, purified for ritual purpose. The utensils like \textit{sruk} etc., will be used in \textit{yāga}. \textit{Caru} is a pot wherein oblations concentrated by prayers were offered. The substance offered as an oblation during sacrifices like melted butter etc., are termed as \textit{havis}. \textit{Āmikṣā} is another kind of oblation prepared by mixing curd with boiled milk. Sometimes animals are also offered as an oblation. The immolated animals after previous solemn prayer is called \textit{upākṛta paśu}. The oblations will be burnt in the fire with the exclamation
‘vaṣṭi’ i.e. may he carry it to the gods. A supplementary sacrifice will be made to atone for any defects in a principal and presiding one. This supplementary sacrifice is known as *avabhṛtha*. After this *yajamāna*, the one who institutes the sacrifice will take a bath called *avabhṛta snāna*.

A man who performs *bhūraspatisava* sacrifice is called as *sthapati* and a man who at the conclusion of *visvajit* sacrifice divides all his properties among the priests is called *sarvavedas*. The *yajamāna* should give *dāna*-gift at the end conclusion of all sacrifices to the priests and *brāhmaṇa*-s. The person who institutes the performance of a sacrifice is called as *yajamāna* or *yaśtā* and the one who has commenced the preparatory rites for a sacrifice is called as *dīkṣita*. *Ijjāśīla* is one who performs sacrifices frequently and *āsūtīvala* is one who causes a sacrifice to be performed on the day of the new or full moon.

ii) Kṣatriya:

*Kṣatriya* comes in the second place of the *cāturvarṇa* system. Halāyudha mentions twelve words for a king. As far as the *āśrama* systems are concerned a king can follow all the first there *āśrama*-s whereas he cannot become a *sanyāsī*. Halāyudha stresses this point as a rule. A king is endowed with a title ‘sāmrāṭ’ provided he successfully performs the *rājasūya* sacrifice. A Universal monarch is called as *cakravartin* and *sārvabhauma*. A *madhyama* or a *maṇḍleśvara* is a king or a Governor of a district or province.
Duties of a Kṣatriya:

To the Kṣatriya-s, he commended to protect the people, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study (the Veda) and to abstain from attaching himself to sexual pleasures.\(^{45}\) Passing from the brāhmaṇa to the kṣatriya, three acts incurred on the former are forbidden, viz., teaching, sacrificing for others and thirdly the acceptance of gifts.\(^{46}\)

To carry arms for throwing and striking is prescribed for kṣatriya-s as a means of subsistence.\(^{47}\) A kṣatriya who has received according to the rule of sacrament prescribed by the Veda must duly protect the whole world.\(^{48}\) The king has been created to be the protector of the caste (vāṇa) and orders.\(^{49}\) ‘Let him cause the annual revenue in his kingdom to be collected by trustees (officials), let him obey the sacred law in his transaction with the people and behave like a father towards all men’\(^{50}\) says Manu. A king duly protects his subject, receives from each and all the sixth part of the spiritual merit. If he does not protect them, the sixth part of the demerit will also fall on him.\(^{51}\) His peculiar duty is conquest and he must not turn back in danger.\(^{52}\)

A king should, after rising early in the morning, worship brāhmaṇa-s who know the Veda-s and are pure.\(^{53}\) A king should offer various (śrauta) sacrifices at which liberal fees are distributed and in order to acquire merit he shall give to brāhmaṇa-s enjoyments and wealth.\(^{54}\) A king shall bestow, as is proper, jewels of all sorts and presents for the sake of sacrifices on brāhmaṇa-s learned in Veda-s.\(^{55}\)
From these versed in the three *Veda*-s let him learn the three fold (sacred science), the primeval science of Government, the science of dialectics, and the knowledge of the Supreme Soul; from the people the theory of the various trades and professions, \(^{56}\) says Manu.

Regarding the appointment of ministers it is stated in the *Mānavadharma śāstra*, let him appoint seven or eight ministers whose ancestors have been royal servants, who are versed in the sciences, heroes skilled in the use of weapons and descended from noble families and who have been tried. Let him daily consider with them the ordinary business referring to peace and war, the four subjects namely *sthāna*, the revenue, the manner of the protecting himself and the kingdom and the sanctification of his gains by pious gifts. \(^{57}\) He must also appoint other officials, men of integrity, who are wise, firm, well able to collect money and well tried. \(^{58}\) Let him also appoint an ambassador who understands hints, expressions of the face and gestures, for, the ambassador alone makes kings' allies and separates allies. \(^{59}\) Let him appoint a domestic priest (*purohita*) and officiating priests (*ṛtvig*); they shall perform his domestic rites and the sacrifices. \(^{60}\)

**Royal Attendants:**

Door keepers are employed for the protection and safety in the royal houses. He is provided with a long stick. There are eight different words to denote a gate-keeper mentioned in *ARM*. \(^{61}\) A spy is an important employee of a government. His duty is to go in disguise and to collect the important messages to the king either from his own kingdom or from the neighbouring country. A counsellor or a minister is one who helps the king in administration by his valuable suggestions. A King also appoints some
domestic priests and their duty is to calculate the auspicious time for the king for his success in expedition, war, sacrifices etc.\(^{62}\)

A king has also many close friends. *Anujīva-s* are his helpers, who will follow him wherever he goes. A Principal officer of the women’s chamber is known as *sauvīda* or *sauvidalla*. An *aṅkṣadṛk* is a judge who is given the responsibility of upholding justice. The *antarvimśaka* is the guard (superintendent) of *antahpura* i.e. harem. Only impotents are appointed as attendants in the harem. Several cooks who are all well versed in the art of cooking are appointed in the royal houses. The *paurogava* is the chief cook among them.\(^{63}\)

Jesters and buffoons are appointed to entertain the king and his circle by means of jokes and playful things. The soldiers appointed for the protection of the king and his family are collectively called as *rakṣivarga* (body-guards). *Vāhinipati* is the commander-in-chief or the leader of the soldiers of war-fare.\(^{64}\)

The income of a State is known as *artha* or *āya*. The main source of income is tax. An offering or present given by a king is called as *prābhṛta*. It is very interesting to note that bribing was known in those days.\(^{65}\) *Laṅca* and *utkoca* are the two words to mean bribing. Among these two terms, *laṅca* is still in the use in Tamil language as *laṅcam*.

A *vaṅtālika*\(^{66}\) is a bard who wakes up the king early in the morning by his song. He will also sing to announce the time by noon, after-
noon, evening etc. He is by birth, an off-spring of kṣatriya and vaiśya. He is an important attendant of king in every royal house.

Hunting is not only a pass time but also an important duty of a king to protect his subjects from the dangers of the wild animals. Halāyudha mentions five different words to denote hunting. 67

Some of the important possession of a king is his royal umbrella etc. The royal umbrella is called as ātapatra or chatra. The fan for a king is designated as cāmara and prakīrtanātā. His royal throne made up of gold is termed as simhāsana and bhadrāsana. 68

Horses are also the chief possessions of a king. Having a good number of well bred horse is a prestigious matter for kings. Usually the horses are named after the country to which they belong. They were used as a main source of travelling besides in army. Apart from palanquins and mules, chariots driven by horses were also used as the important means of travelling. The chariots used in war-fare was quite different from that one used in sports and travelling. The charioteer is called as Śūta in general. A charioteer who stands on the right side of his master is known as daksināstha and the one stands on the left is savyeśṭha. 69

Flags decorated with ucūla and avacūla, armours, shields, iron corselets etc., were used by the warriors at the time of battle. The ucūla and avacūla were the ornaments tied upwards and downwards on the top of a flag or banner. A king defeated in a war is called as ghṛhitadīk and the victorious one is hailed as jītakāśi. 70
iii) Vaiśya:

A vaiśya is allowed to undergo the first three āśrama-s. Trading and business is his main profession. The duties of a vaiśya are to tend cattle, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study the Veda, to trade, to lend money and to cultivate land. To a vaiśya three acts of teaching the Veda-s, sacrificing for others and the acceptance of gifts are forbidden. A vaiśya who has fallen off from his duty becomes a maitrākṣajyotika preta, who feeds on pus. A vaiśya doing business is addressed as panyājīva - a merchant. An userer is called a vrddhājīva. The debt given is known as ṛṣa and the interest upon lent goods is termed vrddhi. In those days the exchange system or the barter system was in practice. The system was known as parivṛtti or vinimaya.

iv) Śūdra:

A śūdra is also called as an antyavarna, vrṣala, padya and pajja. Halāyudha gives no reference about untouchability whereas a śūdra is allowed to become a sanyāsi. He should be a house-holder. But Somadeva has mentioned about the practice of untouchability in his Yaśastilaka, and the children of śūdra-s are considered unfit to take part in some spiritual rites and rituals. One occupation only the Lord prescribed to the śūdra, to serve meekly even these other three castes. He can also follow those mechanical occupation and those various practical arts by following which the twice born are best served, says Manu.
v) Caṇḍāla:

The *Nāradapurāṇa* contains only scanty references about *caṇḍāla*. A *dvija* who takes to the vocation of a śūdra, though in adverse conditions, becomes a *caṇḍāla*. Elsewhere it is said that according to the *purāṇa*, *caṇḍāla*’s birth is by three ways, by being (i) born of kanyā, (ii) born of *sagotra* marriage and (iii) born of *brāhmaṇa* woman from a śūdra. ARM mentions eight words to denote a *caṇḍāla*. From this it can be known that *caṇḍāla* caste has become a fifth caste during his time.

**Untouchability:**

The Indian society is composed not merely of four *varṇa*-s but also of certain untouchable castes which constitutes the component parts of the Indian social organisation. It should not be supposed that this is something confined only to India. Even the nations that have no caste system at all have often carried out complete segregation of certain people dwelling in their midst which is essentially the same as the system of untouchability in India. This phenomenon is denoted by the term ‘*asprśyatā*’ and the term *asprśya* means an untouchable in general. There is hardly any vedic passage which supports the theory of untouchability even though in the vedic literature several of the names of the castes that are spoken of in the *Smṛti*-s as *antyaja*-s occur, e.g. *vaptā* - barber, *taṣṭā, tvāṣṭā* - carpenter or maker of chariot, *carmamṇa* - a tanner of hides, *caṇḍāla* etc., Even in the most ancient *Dharmasūtra*-s, the only caste that is said to be untouchable by birth is that of *caṇḍāla*-s and the word *caṇḍāla* has a technical meaning in these works. But gradually the spirit of exclusiveness and the ideas of ritual purity were carried to extreme and more and more castes become untouchable. Among the earliest occurrences of
the word *asprjya* (as meaning untouchable in general) is that in *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra*.  

Untouchability does not arise by birth alone. It arises in various ways. Emphasis is also laid upon not only in not coming in contact with certain persons, but also with animals and even inanimate objects e.g. on touching a menstruous woman, a horse, a jackal, low caste people (*antyāvasāyin-s*) a man carrying a corpse etc.

These restrictions were not inspired by any hardness of heart or any racial or caste pride as is often said, but they were only due to psychological or religious views and the requirements of hygiene. The ARM does not even give a glimpse of untouchability. It is silent on this topic. It merely mentions about the *autyaja-s* and the *autyajāti-s*. So it is difficult to arrive at any conclusion regarding untouchability from ARM.

Slavery:

Slavery has existed as a constant element in the social and economical life of all nations of antiquity such as Babylone, Egypt, Greece, Rome and also many nations of Europe.

The word *dāsa* which is of *Rgvedic* antiquity is met with in the ARM. The *Rgvedic* passages make it clear that the *dāsa-s* and *dasyu-s* formed the opposite camp against the Aryans. The vanquished *dāsa-s* who were taken as prisoners, might possibly have been treated as slaves. The *Chāndogyopaniṣad* (5.13.2) the *Brahadāranyakopaniṣad* (6. 2. 7.) and other
vedic passages \(^96\) refer to *dāsī*-s, and on these passages Dr. Kane comments, “these passages show that in the vedic period men and women had become the subjects of gifts and so were in the condition of slaves”.\(^97\) The *Mahābhārata* frequently mentions the gifts of *dāsa*-s and *dāsī*-s.\(^98\)

In the ARM the male and the female slaves are referred to, and the son of a *dāsī* is called *gopya*.\(^99\) These slaves were appointed as servants.

**SOME OTHER CITIZENS:**

i) Husbandman: *Kṣetrajīva* is the word mentioned to denote a farmer.\(^100\) The land for agriculture, plough, plough share, yoke etc., are his main instruments for his profession. The *kṣetrajīva* will smash the clods of earth by plough. Thus he will prepare the bare land for cultivation. At the right time he will sow, irrigate and reap the grains with a *lavitra* - a sickle. Then the grains will be brought to the threshing floor, where a post will be fixed in the centre to which the cattle are attached as they go round to tread-out the corn. Then he will split the grains from the wastages (husks).\(^101\)

ii) Copyist: *Lekhaka* is a copyist or a clerk. His duty is to copy the poetries and some official orders in a palm leaf and like materials. He is called as *lipikāra*, *kāyastha* and *akṣarajīvaka*. He belongs to the *śūdra* caste.\(^102\)

iii) Cow-herd: He is called as *mahāśūdra*, *vallava* and *gopāla*.\(^103\) His duty is to look after the cows.
iv) Carpenter: *Tvasta* is a carpenter. His other names are *kāṣṭatat, takṣa, rathakāra* and *vardhakī*. His duty is to make utensils, furniture etc., out of wood. Particularly he is engaged to make chariots for king and his force.\(^{104}\)

v) Gold-smith: He is popularly known as *nāḍindhama*. His other names are *kalāda, suvarṇakāra, and muṣṭika*. He is mainly employed to do designer jewels besides some utensils.\(^{105}\)

vi) Jeweller: *Vaikapika* is a jeweller who makes the jewels in gold and silver by studding precious gems into them. Hence he is also called as *manikāra*.\(^{106}\)

vii) Black smith: Black smith is known as *lohakāra*, doing utensils, things and particularly weapons by using iron and like metals. His other name is *dhamakāra*.\(^{107}\)

viii) Kṣuramari: He is a barber. His other names are *divākīrti, caṇḍila* and *nāpita*.\(^{108}\)

ix) Mālākāra: He is a flower seller. He makes garland bouquet etc. He is also known as *mālika*.\(^{109}\)

x) Kumbhakāra: The potter is called as *kumbhakāra* and *kulāla*.\(^{110}\)

xi) Tantuvāya: *Tantuvāya* and *kuvindaka* are the two names of a weaver mentioned in the ARM.\(^{111}\)
xii) Samvahaka: He is a massager. Usually royal personalities and rich have their own massagers. His other name is *angamardi*.\(^{112}\)

xiii) Tunnava: A tailor is called as *tunnava*. As his main instrument is needle - *suci*, he is also known as *saucika*.\(^{113}\)

xiv) Lepaka: He is a plasterer. He makes a mortar or plaster, a mixer of earth, lime, cow-dung and water. The plaster will be applied over the body in order to cure some diseases. This act of plastering is known as *fasta karma*. The other name of the plasterer is *palaganda*.\(^{114}\)

gxv) Raangjaiva: A painter is rightly named so, because he earns his bread out of colours-*ranga*. He is also called as *citракṛt*.\(^{115}\)

xvi) Sailali: He is an actor-cum-dancer. His other names are *śailūsa, kuśilava, cāraṇa, krśāsvi, jāyājīva, bharata* and *nāṭa*. Among the names, the term *jāyājīva* is an interesting one. An actor always, in those days, had to rely upon his wife who will invariably a dancer, for his earning. His wife, an actress-cum-dancer is called *nāṭī*.\(^{116}\)

xvii) Silpi: An artisan is called as *silpi, kārava* and *prakṛti*. He will do mainly sculptors and sometimes inscribing works that are entrusted with him.\(^{117}\)

xviii) Rajaka: He is a washer man. He will wash the dirty clothes of the people and will be paid for it. His other name is *nirnejaka*.\(^{118}\)

xix) Kalpapala: A distiller of spirituous liquor is named as *kalpapala* and *saundika*.\(^{119}\)
xx) Dhivara: Dhivara is a fisherman. His other names are kaivarta, dāsa, matsuṣyāhāndhi and jālikā. His instrument net is known as ānāya. He keeps a basket, to store the fishes called kuvenī.\textsuperscript{120}

xxi) Vaitamsika: He is a butcher. He will sell the meat of beasts and birds. He is also called as saunika, kauntika and māmsavikrayī. His slaughter house is known as sūnā, and the scissors to cut the meat is named as kṛpānīlī and kartari.\textsuperscript{121}

xxii) Carmakṛṭ: A shoe maker is named as cārmakṛṭ and pādukākāra. In those days leather was used to make shoes. The leather straps used to make shoes are called naddhri and vaddhri.\textsuperscript{122}

xxiii) Vyadha: He is a huntsman. He will hunt the animals using traps and nets. His only instrument is rope. It is known as śulvā, raju, varāta, vaṭatantri, guṇa and pāṣa. He will make snares using the ropes namely bandhanagranthi, vāgurā and mrgajalikā.\textsuperscript{123}

xxiv) Candaśa: He is treated as an out-caste. He is socially ranked at the fifth category, next to śudra. A candaśa is born from a śudra father and brāhmaṇa mother. Mostly the candaśa-s are appointed at the cemeteries to cremate and bury the corpse. He is also called as antyaja and antyāvasāyī.\textsuperscript{124}

xxv) Niśāda: It is the name of a barbarous tribe, said to be the off-spring of brāhmaṇa and śudri.\textsuperscript{125} These niśāda-s live in forests. There are also some more tribes of this category namely śvapaca or pakvaśa and mātanga or plavaka.\textsuperscript{126}
xxvi) Kirāta: He is a hunter, living in forest. He will hunt the animals by means of bow and arrow. His other names are śabara, niṣṭya, pulinda, nāhala and bhaṭa.127

xxvii) Billa: The tribes belonging to this category are uncivilised. The people of this barbarous tribes are called as māla, mleccha etc., They are treated as people of antyajāti.128

II. ĀŚRAMA SYSTEM

MEANING OF DHARMA:

The word āśrama is derived from Sanskrit root ‘śram’ to exert oneself. Hence it may mean, (i) a place where exertions are performed and (ii) the action of performing such exertions.129 Literally it means a holding or resting place. Thus the āśrama-s are regarded as resting places during one’s journey on the way to final liberation - mokṣa, which is the aim of life. According to Vyāsa, the four stages of life form a flight of four steps by ascending which one reaches the region of ‘Brahman’. Each of the āśrama-s is a stage of life in which the individual trains himself how to order his life and makes preparations that are required to attain final goal.

The word ‘āśrama’ does not occur in the Samhitā-s or Brāhmaṇa-s.130 But it occurs in the above sense in the Sūtra-s.131 This does not mean that the āśrama systems of life were unknown to vedic people; for the word brahmacārin occurs in the Rgveda and Atharvaveda.132

The earliest references to the four āśrama-s, though obscure, occurs in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa - ‘what (use is there) of dirt-malam, what use of antelope skin, what use of(growing) the beard and what is the use of
tapas? Oh! brahmaṇa-s desire a son, he is the world that is to be highly praised. Here it is clear that ‘ajina’ refers to brahmaṇa, śmaśruni to vānaprastha-s (since the vānaprastha-s according to Manu and Gautama had to grow their hair, beard and nails), malam (probably sexual intercourse) to gṛhaustha and tapas to sanyāsīn.

In the Jābālopaniṣad also sanyāsa is referred to. Janaka asks Yājñavalkya to expound samānyāsa and then the four āśrama-s are distinctly set out in sequential form; after finishing the stage of student hood, one should become a house holder; after becoming house holder one should become a forest dweller; after being a forest dweller one should renounce the world. This makes it clear that all four āśrama-s were known in the time of Jābālopaniṣad.

ĀŚRAMA DHARMA:

The word dharma is used in a few passages of the Rgveda in the sense of up-holder or sustainer or supporter. In most other cases it means religious ordinances or rites. In some other places the meaning seems to be ‘fixed principles or rules of conduct’. An important passage in the Chāndogypaniṣad says, “there are three branches of dharma; one is constituted by yajana (sacrifice), adhyayana (study) and dāna (charity) (i.e. the stage of house holder). The second (is considered) by tapas (austerity) (i.e. the stage of being a hermit). The third in the stage of a brahmaṇa-dwelling in the house of his teacher till the last; all these attain to the worlds of meritorious men; one who abides firmly in ‘Brahman’ attains immortality. It becomes clear that in this passage the word ‘dharma’ stands for the duties of
āśrama. Thus ultimately the word dharma has come to mean the privileges, duties and obligations of a man, his standard of conduct as a member of Aryan community, as a member of one of the caste and as a person in a particular stage of life. It is in this sense that the word is used in the Bhagavadgītā, Manusmṛti, Yājñavalkyasmṛti etc. The Tantravārtika also says that all the Dharmasūtra-s are concerned with imparting instructions in the Dharma of varṇa-s and āśrama-s. As we have already seen the dharma of varṇa, now let us consider the dharma of āśrama.

a. Brahmacarya:

The word brahmacārin occurs in the Rgveda. The upanayana ceremony introduces the young boy into the brahmacaryāśrama. The Āpastambha Dharmasūtra says that upanayana is a samāskāra laid down by revelation for him who seeks learning. Between eight to sixteen years after conception or birth for a brāhmaṇa, eleven to twenty two for a kṣatriya and twelve to twenty four for a vaiśya is the right time for upanayana. The mekhalā girdle prescribed for brāhmaṇa is of muñja grass, for a kṣatriya of bow string and for a vaiśya of avi-wool. The skin to be worn by the three respective varṇa-s is that of eṇa-black antelope, raurava - a kind of deer and aja-goat and wood for the danda-stick is of palāśa, udumbara and bilva respectively. It is stated by Manu that a brāhmaṇa shall carry according to śāstra-s a staff of bilva or palāśa. The danda of brāhmaṇa is to reach upto his hair, upto the fore-head for a kṣatriya and upto the nose for a vaiśya. The clothes prescribed are a kāśāya-saffron colour, mañjiṣṭha-dyed with madder and haridrā- yellow colour respectively.
It is ruled by Manu that a twice born is called *upavitin*, when his right arm is raised and the sacrificial thread passed under it and rests on the left shoulder, when his left arm is raised and the string passed under it, rests on the right shoulder he is called *prācināvītin*; and *nivītin* when it hangs down straight from the neck.\(^{144}\)

After *upanayana*, until completion of the study of Veda-s, the boy is to stay with the teacher. After bath, early in the morning, he brings fuel, *kuśa*, fruits etc., for the teacher. If the *yajñopavita*, *ajina* or *danḍa* is lost or destroyed he should take a new one depositing the remnants, if any, in the water. He should live on food collected by begging from śrotriya-s (sacrificers). While begging, *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya* and *vaiśya* should use the word ‘*Bhavat*’ (in *bhavati bhikṣām dehi*) in the beginning middle and the end respectively. *Brahmayajña*, (one of the five daily sacrifices) *tarpana* (oblation of water) and *agnikārya* (tending the fire) should be performed daily followed by the propitiation of Gods and service to the teacher. *Bīksā* is accepted only from good people and should be taken only after offering it to his teacher and with his permission. A student should avoid *madhu* - honey, *stri* - woman, *māmsa* - meat etc., which distract him from studies.

A student should pay respect to those superior to him in knowledge, austerity and age. The twice-born should first announce himself before salutation - *abhivādana*.

**Duties of a brahmačārin:**

The rules and observances prescribed for a *brahmačārin* are of two kinds. Some are prescribed for a very short time like abstaining from eating *kṣāra* and *lavana* etc., and those last throughout the period of
studenthood like ācamana, guruśuśrūṣa, vāksanyamana etc. The Sūtra-s and Smṛti-s lay down many rules about these and observances like agniparicaya, bhikṣā, sandhyopāsanā, study of Veda, avoidance of certain food and drinks, the special vrata-s of brahmācārin etc., of which a brief summary is given below:

The first and foremost duty of a student is, he should perform sandhyopāsanā daily in the morning and in the evening twilight. The study of Veda was considered to be the highest tapas for every twice born person. Manu recommends the study of whole Veda together with the Upaniṣad-s for every dvijāti. The Mahābhārata says that by the study of the Veda-s a brāhmaṇa accomplishes his duty. The rules concerning the conduct of a brahmācārin towards his teacher, teacher’s wife and son, concerning the method of salutation, food, drinks and actions allowed or prohibited to him are dealt with by the Dharmasūtra-s of Gautama, Manu, Āpastambha etc.

The brahmācārin-s were of two kinds upakurvāṇa and naiṣṭhika. The naiṣṭhika brahmācārin stays with his teacher till his life lasts serving the guru and repeating the Veda-s. After the death of his teacher he stays with his teacher’s son or teacher’s wife or worships the fire kindled by his deceased guru. The upakurvāṇa is a student who offers some return to his teacher after finishing the vedic study and takes the ceremonial bath on returning home from the teacher’s house. In this context Manu dictates that a student should not present any gift to his teacher before the samavartana, but when with the permission of his teacher, he is about to take the final bath let him procure a present for the venerable man according to his ability.
person who has taken the ceremonial bath is called a *snātaka* (till marriage) and after marriage he comes to be called as a *grhastha*.\(^{152}\)

Āśrama system in ARM:

The society at the time of Halāyudha was still following the rules and regulations laid down by the *Veda*-s and *śāstra*-s, as far as the āśrama system was concerned.\(^{153}\) Though there is no detailed reference to the āśrama system, yet we have enough information about the *Brahmacarya, Grhastha, Vānaprastha* and *Sanyāsa* - a religious order of four kinds according to the different periods of life. According to ARM, the *bālyāvasthā* - childhood is meant to be a period for education, youthhood for earning and the old age for renunciation.

A teacher and the *gurukula* were the two sources for education. The childhood was considered to be the golden time for one to get educated. If one misses this period, then it becomes almost impossible for him to acquire knowledge. The first stage of acquiring knowledge is known as *brahmacaryāśrama*. This is common for the first three *varṇa*-s. Only *Grhasthāśrama* can be undergone by all the four *varṇa*-s. While the *śūdra* is denied the *vānaprastha* and *sanyāsa āśrama*-s, the *kṣatriya*-s and *vaiśya*-s are not allowed to take up *sanyāsa*. Only a *brāhmaṇa* is allowed to undergo all the four āśrama-s. Hence, it seems that by the time of Halāyudha, āśrama system is more or less confined only with the Brahmins. It can be observed from the references he offers.
Brahmacarya in ARM:

The *brahmacarya* is considered to be a *vrata* which is must for a brahmin and it lies in the complete control over the entire sense organs. If one, thus could succeed in controlling all his sense organs, then he is known as *śrāṇta* and *śānta*.\textsuperscript{154} The one who endures with resigning the privations imposed by austerities is called *dānta*.\textsuperscript{155}

A *brāhmaṇa* skilled in sciences is called an *antarvāṇī* and *śāstravit*.\textsuperscript{156} A teacher who teaches the *Veda*-s etc., is known as *upādhyāya*,\textsuperscript{157} and his explanations are called *vivaraṇa*.\textsuperscript{158} His disciples are named as *śiṣya*-s, *antevāsin*, *chātra*, *saikṣa* and *prāthamakalpika*.\textsuperscript{159} There will be innumerable impediments and obstacles in the course of their study and they have to overcome all of them successfully.

A complete perusal of a book from all angle is called *parāyaṇa*.\textsuperscript{160} Oral transmission of sacred books and scriptures were the prevailing traditional method then.\textsuperscript{161} The holy *Veda*-s are thus handed over to a disciple through a preceptor and this process is termed as *gurukrama*.\textsuperscript{162}

At the time of learning, the students should maintain their morality and a strong determination towards the studies is necessary. After he finishes his study he should take the final bath before taking leave of his teacher. After this till he gets married he is called a *snātaka*.

b. Gṛhastha:

The stage of house holder is well known to *Ṛgveda*. Manu states that on the wife depend the procreation of sons, the performances of
religious rites, service, highest pleasure heaven for oneself and for one’s ancestors. Hence, it is the wife that makes one a house holder. Dharma, Artha and Kāma are attained during this stage. One should earn wealth through professions like teaching etc., and should settle down with his wife.

Duties of a house-holder:

The Nārada purāṇa furnishes the duties of a house-holder in full length. After completion of the study of the Veda-s, Dhamaśāstra-s and vedāṅga-s a twice-born shall perform agniparigraha (keep gārhapatya fire) and enter the house after paying the teacher the due fees and with his permission. He should marry a girl who is sugunā (virtuous) etc.

After marriage, the house holder is to wear an uttariya - upper garment, two yajñopavīta-s, ear-rings and a pair of white garments. He should file his nails neatly and should arrange the hair, use ointment, carry a bamboo stick, a kamaṇḍalā-water jar, an umbrella and wear an usnīṣa-turban and foot wear. He should daily perform vedic studies, should not eat other’s food, avoid calumny, should not cross over other’s legs or remnants of food, should not scratch his head with both hands simultaneously, should not circumulate in the anticlockwise direction a temple or a place of worship, cow, aśvatta, caitya vṛkṣa a holy fig tree, fire, mountain, a king etc. Drinking of liquor, gambling etc., are to be prohibited.

The grhaṣṭha is obliged to perform the darśa and paurnamāsa sacrifices and śrāddha-s on appropriate days. Waking up during the brāhma muhūrta, he should think over the ways and means of his livelihood which are not against the four human pursuits. Then he should clean his body. The grhaṣṭha, brahmacārin, vānaprastha and yati should clean once, twice, thrice
and four times respectively. These rules are relaxed during the times of dangers and sickness.

After cleaning, he should perform ācamana - sipping of water and mārjana - sprinkling of water over the body with specified fingers. The stages of a house-holder is held to be the source and support of the three stages of life, for the brahmačārin, parivrājaka etc., are sustained by the alms offered by a house holder. By the performance of the mahāyajña-s namely the libation of water, vedic study, and ensuring the continuity of the family line through the progeny, a householder gratifies the gods, sages, manes and brahma.

The Anuśāsana parva of Mahābhārata holds that ahiṃsā, satyavacana, sarvabhūtānukampa, śama and dāna according to one’s ability to be the higher dharma for a grhaṣṭha.165

Apart from these general duties every house holder has to perform the pañcamahāyajña-s every day. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa enumerates them as bhūtayajña - sacrifice to the beings, manusya yajña - sacrifice to men, pitṛyajña - sacrifice to manes, devayajña - sacrifice to gods and brahmayajña - sacrifice to Brahman i.e. Veda-s.166 Devayajña consists of offerings made into the fire and pitṛyajña consists of tarpana where offering of water is made to his manes. Bhūtayajña consists of offering of food to the beings, manusya yajña is performed by feeding the guests and the brahmayajña consists of the study and teaching of the Veda.167
Gṛhastha in ARM:

A gṛhastha is a house holder who having finished his studies performs the duties of the head of a family. If the man belongs to the first three classes, he is invested with a second sacred thread. His main duty is not to neglect the house hold fire. Failing in his duty he is addressed as tyaktāgni. With the sacred fire kindled at the wedding a house holder shall perform according to the law, the domestic ceremonies and the five great sacrifices and with that he shall daily cook for his food.

c. Vānaprastha:

The house holder enters the next stage of life i.e. vānaprastha after leaving his wife in the care of his sons or taking her along with him to the forest. Vānaprastha seems to be the later variant of Vaikhānasa. Gautama uses the term Vaikhānasa for the āśrama of vānaprastha. A vānaprastha according to the Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra is one who follows the practices laid down in the Vaikhānasa śāstra; according to Manu he is one who follows the views of Vaikhānasa.

The rules concerning the stage of vānaprastha are given in detail by works like Gautama, Vasiṣṭha, Manu and many others. A vānaprastha may or may not be accompanied by his wife. He has to take with him the three vedic fires, the grhya fire and the utensils necessary for performing sacrifices. Manu and Yājñavalkya enjoin upon him the performance of śrauta sacrifices of new moon and full moon, the agrāyaṇa iṣṭi, the cāturmāsyā etc., whereas some other writers are of opinion that he has to sacrifice in a new fire kindled according to the rules of Vaikhānasa after giving up the śrauta and
grhya fires. He should daily perform the pañcamahāyajña-s and should be contempt with food fit for muni-s or with vegetables, roots and fruits growing in forest.

The vānaprastha is to take bath thrice a day, allow his hair and nails to grow, sleep on ground, observe celibacy, perform the five daily sacrifices, eat only fruits and roots and engage himself in vedic studies. He should avoid flowers and fruits of the village and eating at night. He should be kind to all beings, limit the intake of food to eight mouthfuls, avoid oil, exertion, sleep and indolence. Always contemplating Nārāyaṇa, he should also perform austerities like cāndrāyana, bear heat and cold and tend the fire daily. The vānaprastha is to visit the various holy places, perform penance, avoid worldly dresses and practice Yoga.

Vānaprastha in ARM:

The principle of the aged people is to leave the entire family and to take up the life of an ascetic. During this period of life probably people leave their home and resort to forests. Hence this āśrama is called as Vānaprastha. The sole aim of this āśrama is to achieve the fourth puruṣārtha namely mokṣa. Though youngsters taking up the life of a hermit was in practice, yet it was not widely encouraged. Before entering the third āśrama, people, in particular kṣatriya-s, should inform their family members, friends and relatives and get their permission.

The stage of vānaprastha was open to all the higher varṇa-s. A śūdra could not become a vānaprastha.
The *Chāndogyopaniṣad* was aware of at least three āśrama-s, though it does not make a clear demarcation between the āśrama-s vanāprastha and samnyāsa. It has also been shown that the *Jābdaloṣaṇīṣad* was aware of all the four āśrama-s and gave an option to the brahmacārin either to renounce immediately after completing his studies or after the householder’s stage of life.

When the vānaprastha becomes gradually disinterested in worldly things he should take to samnyāsa. He should study Vedānta-philosophy. He should be śānta - mild, dānta-self controlled devoid of haughtiness and ego. He should not indulge in pleasures or get angry. He should be completely nude or may wear a tattered loin-cloth and should have a clean shaved head.

A person entering samnyāsa had to perform a sacrifice to Prajāpati and give away all his belongings to the priests and poor. According to *Yatidharmasamgraha* he has to perform the prājāpatyeṣṭi to Agni.

He should leave his home, wife, children all possessions should make his stay outside the village and should always be in the move. According to Dakṣa contemplation, purity, begging and staying alone are the five proper actions of an ascetic. He is allowed to beg and should eat only as much is sufficient for his survival. Similarly, he should wear garments only for covering his private parts.
To him there is no distinction from friend and foe or praise and insult. As an eternal wanderer, he should not stay in a village for more than a night and in a town more than three nights. Alms collected from a twice-born of good conduct are his only means of livelihood. He should bathe thrice a day, chant the *pranava* and with all senses controlled he should meditate upon ‘Nārāyaṇa’. The yati then attains *Brahmaloka*. These ideas given by *Nāradapurāṇa* are similar to that of *Mahābhārata*.

According to some, the āśrama of *saṁnyāsa* was allowed only to *brāhmaṇa*-s. Their arguments mainly depend upon the use of the word ‘brāhmaṇa’ (instead of *dvija*) by the *Upaniṣad*-s in connection with this āśrama. In the *Brhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, for example, we come across the words ‘brāhmaṇa*-s seek to know this self by the study of *Veda*-s’. *Manu* also begins his description of the fourth āśrama as ‘a brāhmaṇa should leave his house and go into the world as a wanderer’. Others are of opinion that any twice-born can resort to the āśrama of *saṁnyāsa*; they hold that in the *Upaniṣad*-s the word ‘brāhmaṇa’ is used only as an illustrative and not in an exclusive sense. *Yājñavalkya* while describing the rules of *saṁnyāsa* employs the word ‘*dvija*’ and not ‘brāhmaṇa’. He also holds that *saṁnyāsa* is a means of purification for all the twice born classes. *Aśūra* was not allowed *saṁnyāsa* about which the *Mahābhārata* is quite clear.

**Saṁnyāsa in ARM:**

According to ARM, *saṁnyāsa* is the last and fourth āśrama wherein one enters casting off all worldly shackles and lives as a religious
mendicant. This particular āśrama was permitted only to brāhmana-s and the brāhmaṇa is called as sannyāsī or yati.  

Even after becoming a religious mendicant, a brāhmaṇa has to follow certain rules and regulations. He should be engaged in the observance of any particular religious pledge, should earn his bread through alms, should follow the dharma of fourth order i.e. sanyāsāśrama and should concentrate on meditation and penance. He is also restricted in connection to his dressings and possessing. His upper garment is known as vaikakṣaka and that worn around loins is known as paryastikā. Besides kaupīṇa - a piece of cloth worn to cover the privates, kamandalā - a water pot, āśādha - a stick of palāśa wood carried on the full moon day of āśādha month and vrṣī- a seat are the limited possessions of an ascetic. There are nine words mentioned in ARM to denote an ascetic. Though all the words are synonyms yet they have some significant meaning.

i) Parāśari: Though the word pārāśari generally means an ascetic yet it is particularly applicable for the pupils of Rṣi Parāśara.

ii) Tapasvī: A man wearing kāśāya is not a tapasvī but he whose mind is always shining with knowledge, with good character and senses well controlled, is called as tapasvī.

iii) Karmandī: Pāṇini has mentioned about sage Karmanda. Probably, as the pupil of Parāśara is called pārāśari so the pupil of Karmanda is called karmandī. It is known from Yaśastilaka that karmandī-ś were always contemplating for mokṣa and were unattached towards worldly pleasures.
iv) Yati: An ascetic who is very strict in observing his *niyama* and *anuṣṭhāna* is called *yati*. It is mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra* that he who strives to get rid of the bondage of sin is called *yati*. 201

v) Sarīyata: He is an ascetic known for controlling his passion. He is also called as *sānta*.

vi) Muni: A holy man who has made the vow of silence is called *muni*. A man concentrating in *ātmavidyā* is also known as *muni* - says the *Kalpasūtra*. 202

vii) Vrāti: A man engaged in the observance of any particular, religious pledge is called so. He carries a *danḍa* namely, *āśāḍha* of *palāśa* wood on the day of full moon of the *āśāḍha* month. His seat is called as *vṛṣi*. 203

III. MARRIAGE AND FAMILY SYSTEM

a. MARRIAGE:

Marriage is one of the fundamental institutions of human society. The circumstances and conditions of such unions necessarily react on various facts of the social organisation and hence the study is very important for our understanding and evaluating the spirit of its culture and civilization. According to Hindu view of life matrimony is a holy bond and not a contract.

From the times of *Gṛhyasūtra-s, Dharmasastra-s* and *Smṛti-s* 204 the ancient Indian law has recognised the following eight forms of marriage which differ in ritual and mode:
i) *Brāhma*, where a father gives his daughter, decked with ornaments and jewels, to a learned man of good conduct, invited by him.

ii) *Daiva*, where the father gives his daughter, decked with ornaments, to a priest, who duly officiates at a sacrifice during the course of its performance.

iii) *Ārśa*, where the father gives his daughter, after receiving from the bride-groom a cow or a bull or two pairs.

iv) *Prājāpatya*, where the father gives his daughter after addressing the couple with the text ‘*saha ubhau caratām*’.

v) *Āsura*: where the bride-groom receives a maiden after having given as much wealth as he can afford to the kinsmen and to the bride herself.

vi) *Gāndharva*, or the voluntary union of a maiden and her lover.

vii) *Rākṣasa*, or the forcible abduction of a maiden from her home.

viii) *Paiśāca* where a man by stealth seduces a girl who is sleeping, intoxicated or disordered of intellect.²⁰⁵

The first three, four or six forms of marriages were approved by different law-givers,²⁰⁶ whereas the last one is universally condemned. There is, however, a great divergence of opinion as to which of these are approved ones for the members of the different varṇa-s.²⁰⁷
Marriage in ARM:

Though Halāyudha has not given any direct reference to marriage system, it can be inferred from the words like varyā, patimvarā - a girl who chooses her husband, punarbhūḥ, didhīṣūḥ - a woman marrying second time etc., that several types of marriages took place besides the existing system. Halāyudha altogether mentions five words to denote a marriage.

b. Family system:

A family is the starting point of the social evolution, the most fundamental and basic unit of all human institutions and its study is an absorbing interest from the sociological point of view. There is a vast literature on the family and researches are being conducted still with regard to the different problems connected with it.

In this section, the information of the ARM about the concept of the family, the status and position of the father and the son, the interpersonal relations of some of the members of the family and their behavioural pattern with each other i.e. the interplay of the relations of the husband and wife, father and son, brothers - elder and younger and brother's wife and the modes of relation of the daughters-in-law, parents-in-law and others are examined.

The concept of Family:

The ARM does not state directly the concept of family but it can be reconstructed from the information about the words denoting different relations. Joint family system was prevalent at the time of Halāyudha. A family was consisted of many members. There are numerous terms to mention
each and every relation. It is very difficult to find an equivalent word for certain terms, because such relationships are rarely found, now-a-days.

**Status and Position of the Father:**

The *Rgveda* refers to the father as the type of all that is good and kind. The ARM also considers the father who is the head of the family as the cause of his children’s happiness and joy. Such a father who is diligent in supporting his family is praised as *abhyaśārika* and *kuṭumbavyāpta*. A man who is incapable of supporting his family is severely censured as *gehenardī, geheśūra* and *pinḍīśara* meaning a poltroon or a dunghill-cock. The status of the father is held high in honour and respect by Halāyudha as he deals first with the word denoting a father (I.99). Then he mentions the couple, i.e., husband and wife (I.120). Then onwards he introduces other relations like son, brother etc.

**Status and Position of the son:**

The primary object of marriage in ancient India was the propagation of the family; hence a son who acted as the continuer of family-line was the primary craving of every wedded couple. This is even the feeling now-a-days. The necessity of having a son was also emphasised from the religious point of view. The son was believed to rescue his parents as well as his ancestors from the hell called ‘put’ into which they might otherwise fall without his birth. A son from a well known family is praised as *āmusyāyana* and in turn the family is praised by the conduct of a son as a good race - *varṇa, gotra* etc.
Ideal of Family Relations:

The strength and excellence of the Aryan culture lay in the domestic virtues of its adherents. The ARM contains glimpses of unity and affection prevailing throughout the family circle. Friendly relations among the different members of the family like the children, aged ones, wife and husband and other kinsmen were highly esteemed. Seniority of age and relation were the matters of high respect as is also found in modern times in good and cultured families. Those who are to be saluted respectfully are branded as upasangrāhya-s, and they are properly saluted by the younger ones by means of abhivādana.

The husband and the wife:

The ARM gives glimpses of ideal, devoted and loving relations between the husband and wife. A wife's duty is to accompany her husband in all his endeavours. She has to give a hand in his duties (dharma). Hence she is called sahacarī and sahadharmacārini. As the foremost duty of the wife is to honour and serve the husband, she must always stay with him and she had a right of residence in the house. A wife was entitled to be maintained in the house by the husband. A husband, on the contrary, who earns his livelihood from his wife is criticised as jaya-jīva. Both the husband and wife have to bear each other. Thus the spirit of tolerance was required on the part of both and accommodating nature was considered to be highly essential for the stability of the family life.

Brothers and sisters:

The position of the eldest son is peculiarly important in the Hindu family. He occupies the status equal to his father. Hence he is called agraja,
purvaja and jyeṣṭha. The younger one is called as kaniṣṭha, avaraṇa and anuṣṭa. Words like sodara etc., are used to denote a brother (having the same mother) in general. A brother’s wife is called as praṇāvatī. A brother’s son is known as bhrātriya. There are four words mentioned to denote a daughter-in-law as snuṣā, janī, putravadhū and vadhū. Duḥitā, tanayā and putrī are the three words to mention a daughter. A sister is denoted by three words like bhagini, jāmi and vasa. Her son is indicated as vasa, jāmey and bhagineya. The wife of the elder and younger brothers are called yātara.

Apart from these, there are nine words mentioned by Halāyudha like bhāndhava etc., to mention a relative in general.

The mores of relation of the Daughter-in-law, Parents-in-law and other in-laws:

Early in the history of our civilization brides received affection and respected treatment in their new houses as they were grown up and educated at the time of marriage. The elders of the vedic age treated the wives with very great consideration, regard and affection. They on their part used to observe proper decorum and treat their elders with utmost deference and reverence.

Halāyudha, while introducing the topic of relationship gives first importance to daughter-in-law, then to sister-in-law. Only then he mentions daughter. From this it can be inferred that daughters-in-law are treated more cordially than one’s own daughters. Similarly a son-in-law is mentioned ahead of son.
Thus it is seen from the glimpses of ARM that the honour and respect for the parents, love for the children, affection for the sisters, brother’s wife and son-in-law, mutual love and respect of the married couple, regard for father-in-law’s relations etc., were the common bonds that held the members of the family together.

IV. POSITION OF WOMEN

The attitude of a community towards woman has a great social significance in any society. Some of the aspects of their position have already been treated under the discussions on ‘Marriage’ and ‘Family’. Some further aspects are discussed herein the following pages.

Women and Higher Studies:

Women were permitted to the higher studies in the vedic times, but with the lapse of time the situation changed. The cause of women’s education suffered a good deal after about 300 BC when the practice of early marriage came into vogue. Even the upanayana ceremony was now reduced to a mere formality and then was dropped altogether putting an end to her education.\textsuperscript{228} Till the beginning of the Christian era, the upanayana ceremony, which was followed by a period of discipline and education was common for both boys and girls. Lopâmudrā, Viśvavārā, Siktā, Nivāvarī and Ghoṣā are the renowned vedic poetesses.\textsuperscript{229} The names of Maitreyī and Gārgī of the Upaniṣad-s are too well known to need mention. The ancient grammarians were also familiar with women teachers.\textsuperscript{230}

There are no direct references of women’s education in ARM. But it can be inferred from the words like vidagdhā and vāṇinī which means a clever or intriguing women, that education was not prohibited for women-folk.
Moreover the words like śramaṇā and bhikṣukī suggest that even they are allowed to become mendicants and to lead the life of a sanyāsīnī.

The choice of the Mate:

In early times, maidens appear to have had more or less effective voice in the selection of their partners in life. Kṣatriya circle in society even conceded to grown up brides the exclusive right of selecting their own consorts as is proved by the custom of svayāṁvara or self-choice. But Halāyudha did not specify anything about svayaṁvara restricted to a particular varṇa. He generally mentions that a girl who chooses her husband is called as varyā or patimvarā. So, it can be understood that some girls are given the liberty of selecting their life partner, irrespective of their varṇa-s.

Woman as wife:

The ideals of relation between husband and wife are already noted. The wife who is always modest and devoted to her husband’s service, who keeps aloof from associating with disreputable women and eats the food that has been left by the family and the husband, is highly esteemed. This is a common thing in India. Though this matter is not literally mentioned yet Halāyudha suggests these things through the words like pativratā, sucaritā, sādhvi and satī.

Woman as Mother:

Motherhood has been the cherished ideal of every Hindu women and the apotheosis of the mother has reached a greater height in India than anywhere else. The Manusmṛti says that one ācarya excels ten upādhyāya-s
in glory; a father excels a hundred ācarya-s in glory; but a mother excels even a thousand fathers in glory.²³⁴

The tradition is well followed by Halāyudha who first records the synonyms of a mother ahead of father.²³⁵ Further Halāyudha records some interesting details regarding the pregnancy and pregnant women. A pregnant women is known as āpannasattva etc. The longing of that lady during that period is called as dohada etc. The last month of pregnancy is denoted as sūtimāsa. An exclusive house is devoted for assisting the lady during delivery of the baby, like our modern day’s nursing home, and is called arisṭagrha or sūtikābhavana.²³⁶

Halayudha also furnishes the technical terms to denote the womb, the foetus and the embryo. It seems from the information of Halāyudha that pregnant women were taken with total care and hygienic facilities were available for delivery of the baby by providing maternity ward - sūtikābhavana. So motherhood was given the due importance and care.

Widow-Remarriage:

The widow remarriage prevailed in vedic society side by side with niyoga, but it gradually came into disrepute during the period of 300 BC to 200 AD and from about 600 AD the prejudice against the widow remarriage began to become deeper and deeper. Smṛti writers from this period onwards condemned them vehemently and passages in earlier works clearly permitting them began to be explained away as referring to a by gone age.²³⁷ The ARM casually mentions two words for woman who has married a second time as punarbhūḥ and didhiṣūḥ.²³⁸ So the second marriage or remarriage was not
totally prohibited. It must have taken place here and there. But the more important point is that Halāyudha did not disapprove widow remarriage.

Women and Religion:

Women were eligible to participate in sacrifices independently and jointly with the husband up to 300 BC. As the Vedic sacrifices became more complicated and as the Vedic studies declined among women owing to the practice of early marriages coming in vogue and also as the society was not prepared to tolerate the dilettante Vedic studies obviously female Vedic scholars began to become rarer and the unhealthy attitude of the law-givers to women’s role in the participation of the Vedic sacrifices resulted in the prohibition of their part in the Vedic sacrifices. But this did not produce a long standing hardship. This religious disenfranchisement had created a vacuum to be filled by the bhakti-paurāṇika religion. As early as the 400 BC women are seen performing a number of vrata-s.

The ARM shows a favourable attitude towards women, especially the wife as an assistant in religious matters (sahadharmacārīṇī). Without her a householder becomes unfit to perform his daily duties, hence she is called as grhini. The ARM severely criticises a man who abandons or does not take care of his wife (family), and who depends on her for his survival (jāyājiva). A wife is called sahadharmacārīṇī as he helps the husband in satisfying his pitr-s with progeny, the guests with food and the gods with worship. A man should protect his virtuous wife. Only the first (married) wife is considered to be worthy of accompanying her husband in religious matters and she alone is entitled as māhiṣī. A women who follows her husband in all
his actions is called a *pativrata*.\(^{243}\) The *Mahābhārata* and the *purāṇa*-s contain a number of hypothetical descriptions of the power of the *pativrata*.\(^{244}\)

**General attitude towards women:**

Hindu society has a strong feeling that a woman cannot survive on her own. She should be supported either by her husband (*jīvatpati*) or by her son (*jīvatoka*). A woman without her husband and children is a pitiable one called *nirvīra*.\(^{245}\) Our ancient society believed that self reliance is the quality of men; women- *abalaḥ* are always dependent on others\(^{246}\) and ARM is no exception to this.

**Strīdhana:**

The word *strīdhana* is derived from *strī*-woman and *dhana*-property, and literally means women’s property. While declaring the perpetual tutelage of women,\(^{247}\) and their general incapacity to hold property,\(^{248}\) the Hindu law concedes to them the privilege of holding property of certain descriptions with absolute power of disposal. It appears also to have regarded their interests in prescribing the order of succession to women’s property, as may be seen from the very prominent position therein assigned to the daughter, who in many cases inherits her mother’s property the exclusion of male issue. The law of *strīdhana* stands, therefore, in favourable contrast with the general spirit of the Hindu law, which in other respects is, no doubt not very equitable towards women. So, it will not be out of place here to investigate upon the concept of *strīdhana* as depicted in ARM.

The *strīdhana* is constituted of six-fold separate property and according to Manu the six-fold are - that was given before nuptial fire -
adhyāgni, that was given on the bridal procession - adhyāvāhanika, that was given in token of love - pritidatta, and that was received from a brother, a mother and a father are considered as strīdhanā. ARM gives one more word śulka\textsuperscript{249} of the same sense. But technically speaking śulka is very much different from strīdhanā. That which is given to bring the bride to her husband’s house is called śulka according to Vyāsa.\textsuperscript{250} Later in due course strīdhanā was included with śulka apart from its original six fold sources.

V. RELIGION

Religion is the next tide in the steam of Hindu society. Right from the age of Rgveda, it can be observed that religion and philosophy have been part of the Indian culture. Here a humble effort has been made to study the religio-ustic society at the time of ARM under the light of its sources.

a. Vaiṣṇavism:

The Indus Valley finds do not throw any light on anything connected with Vaiṣṇavism. In the vedic age, Viṣṇu, the paramount god, who held an important position in the Brāhmaṇa-s occupied but a subordinate position in the Rgveda. Though generally recognised as an aspect of the Sun in the Rgveda Viṣṇu is found more associated with sacrifices than with devotion and grace in the later vedic texts.\textsuperscript{251}

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa makes him the personification of sacrifice.\textsuperscript{252} The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa places him at the top of the Hindu pantheon. By the end of the Brāhmaṇa period, Nārāyaṇa is considered the Supreme God. He is directly related to Viṣṇu in Taittiriya Āranyaka.\textsuperscript{254}
In the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, the formation of the word ‘Vāsudeva’ shows that Vāsudeva became well known during the period.\(^{255}\) In the epic period Vāsudeva was identified with Nārāyaṇa.

Though the deification of the Viṣṇu was complete before the date of *Mābhāhārata*, the life story of Kṛṣṇa is narrated in the *Harivarṇa*, probably the earliest authority in this matter.\(^{256}\) The same is exhaustively dealt with in the *Viṣṇu* and *Brahmapurāṇa*-ś in similar terms. The *Bhāgavata* and *Brahmavaivarta puṇa*-ś describes this story in detail. The accounts of the story in the different *puṇa*-ś are, however, inconsistent and contradictory.\(^{257}\)

Gradually, during the period of *puṇa*-ś, Viṣṇu occupied a dominant position when the sectarian works were in the offing. Though those works preach sectarian exclusiveness, they also encouraged tolerance for other sects. The conception of ‘Trinity’ is a best example of this. According to this conception the Supreme God manifests himself in three forms, viz., Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, in order to perform the function of creation, preservation and destruction respectively. While worshipping the deity of one’s own choice, one’s right to worship other gods was also respected.

**Vaiṣṇavism in ARM:**

According to ARM, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are only three manifestations of the Supreme God, for Halāyudha applies a single adjective ‘Śambhu’\(^{258}\) to all three gods. He derives the meaning of Śambhu ‘as the one from whom the auspiciousness springs or one who produces auspiciousness’. Known as Janārdana, Hari and so on, he is called Viśvarūpa (whose form is the whole universe), Dharaṇīdhara (supporter of the earth), Jagannātha (Leader of
the universe), Vidhi-creator of the universe sanātana eternal etc. The superior position of Viṣṇu amongst the deities mentioned in ARM is best realised from the number of adjectives given to each Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. There are 20, 56 and 45 synonyms attributed to each god respectively. Moreover, Halāyudha goes on referring to the Kṛṣṇāvatāra and details regarding Vāsudeva, Balarama, Garuḍa, Sudarśana and Śrīvatsa. From this it can be well known that Halāyudha had a special liking towards lord Viṣṇu. He is described as having four arms and having śankha, cakra, gadā, sārṅga and asi as his main weapons, hence his epithets like sārṅgin, cakrin etc. Śrī or Devī (Lakṣmī) is his wife. His abode in the primal waters has been referred by the epithet Jalaśayana. Kṛṣṇa is regarded not as an incarnation but the Viṣṇu himself.

b. Saivism:

One of the seal unearthed from Indus valley is that of a male deity seated in a cross legged posture. This deity is three faced, wearing a horn head-dress and seated in a throne surrounded by an elephant, a tiger, a buffalo and a rhinoceros and a deer under the seat. This seal is accepted as a representation of Śiva in his three aspects viz., Paśupati, Yogīśvara and Trimukha. Śiva appears to be one of the principal deities worshipped by the Indus people.259

In the destructive and dreadful force of external nature like storms, epidemics even the vedic people saw Rudra. He occupies a subordinate position in the Rgveda and is celebrated in only three entire hymns. His name occurs about 75 times in the Rgveda.260 In Yajus, a whole section of hymns are
to be seen in the section called Śatarudrīya which is held as the most sacred text on Rudra. In the Atharva veda, the conception of Rudra undergoes a change and he is elevated to a higher level. In the Brāhmaṇa-s, his power reached its highest and has become one of the two great gods. Most of the epithets are applied to Śiva in the purāṇa-s and the epics are found in the later Samhitā-s and Brāhmaṇa-s. In the Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣad, Śiva alone figures as the Supreme God. The worship of Śiva is referred to by Megasthenes, the Greek envoy (300 BC) and his reference is the earliest historical record.

The Mahābhārata also makes mention of the Pāśupata system wherein Umāpatī, Śrīkaṁṭha (Śiva) himself is said to have revealed the jñāna known as Pāśupata. The Mahābhārata also mentions Pāśupata as one of the five religious schools which is stated to have been revealed by Śrīkaṁṭha the consort of Umā which tradition occurs in several works, viz., Tantrāloka, Śivadṛṣṭi, Pingalamālā etc. To Laukaliśa is attributed the work Pāśupata sūtra also known as Pañcādhyāyī which forms the basis of this school. The Tantrāloka mentions Śrīkaṁṭha and Laukaliśa as the two authorities on Śivaśāsana. Thus it seems probable that Laukaliśa Pāśupata is only a branch of the Pāśupata school founded by Śrīkaṁṭha and the branch started by Laukaliśa is named after him.

In the Vāyu purāṇa, Śiva is characterised as the Supreme God and as the creator, supporter and destroyer of the world. The purāṇa-s like Kūrma, Līṅga and Śiva are dedicated to Lord Śiva. Authors like Kālidāsa,
Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti invoke Śiva's blessing in their works. The many temples of Śiva constructed by the early Chālukyas and Raṣṭrakuta-s, the Kailāśa and other cave temples excavated by the latter, contain no indication of their being intended for a specific Śaiva sect, and therefore they may be regarded as pointing to the diffusion of the general worship of Śiva in Mahābhārata from 700 to 1000 AD. Thus, it is evident that the worship of Śiva was widely prevalent, though not necessarily as a specific sect.

Śaivism in ARM:

In the ARM Śiva is referred to as Parameśvara the Supreme God and is treated on par with Viṣṇu, though he is attributed with a less number of synonyms, but Halayudha is very keen in recording the important and significant epithets of Lord Śiva like Virūpākṣa (diverse-eyed), Nīlagrīva (blue-necked), Paśupati (Lord of beings) Mahādeva (great deity) etc. He is characterised as the holder of Pināka - a bow, śūla - a trident and Kṛttivāsa dressed with the skin of elephant etc. At the same time it might be interesting to note that Halayudha did not mention about Linga worship. Among the members of Śiva's family Pārvatī is ascribed with 21 synonyms, Gaṅeśa with nine and Kārtikeya with twenty.

c. Śāktism:

The cult of Śakti or Mother can be traced back to the worship of Mother goddess or Nature goddess of the pre-vedic age. In India every village
is considered to be guarded by a *Grāmadevata* called by names like Mātā, Ambā etc.²⁷³

In the *Ṛgveda*, Pṛthvi is the guardian deity with whom the other cult is associated.²⁷⁴ Sarasvati, an important and sacred river in the *Ṛgvedic* age has been praised as the best among the mothers, rivers and goddess and she had an even share in the oblation offered in sacrifices.²⁷⁵ The *Śrīsūkta* describes the origin of Śrī.²⁷⁶ The *Devi sūkta* and the *Rātrisūkta* may be taken as the origin of mother cult of India. The *Mahābhārata* describes the female deities such as the dreadful Kali, goddess Katyāyanī, Durgā etc. In the *Mahābhārata* we also come across new names that are given to her like Mahiśāsuramardini, Karāli, Mahākāli, Cāṇḍī etc., and the forest tribes like *kirāta*-s, barbarous and *pulinda*-s are described as her devotees.²⁷⁷ Thus Śāktism seems to be an off-shoot of the Mother cult. It gained importance next only to the cults of Viṣṇu and Śiva.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, she is Umā, daughter of Himavān and sister of Gaṅgā. In the *Harivamsa* we get a description of Aparnā, the daughter of Himavān, gained the name of Umā from her mother Menā because of her austerities performed desiring Mahādeva as her husband. Though in the *Mahābhārata* Durgā is referred alternatively as the wife of Viṣṇu (*Virāṭaparva*) and of Śiva (*Bhīṣma parva*), later she is increasingly associated with Śiva.²⁷⁸ She is also said to have her own female followers designated as ‘Mothers’ still occupy the position of village goddesses and are found worshipped as such in many of the villages of South India.²⁷⁹
When we reach the age of purāṇa-s, we find a general tendency to regard all the mother goddesses associated with Śakti.  

Śāktism in ARM:

In ARM the mother cult plays a very little role. Among the mother goddesses Rudrāṇi or Śakti figures as the most prominent deity with 21 synonyms and a reference to four incarnations of Durgā, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī are the other prominent female deities mentioned by Halāyudha.  

Durgā:

Durgā is referred to in the khila of the Rgveda. The Taittirīya Āranyaka mentions her as the consort of Śiva. The Rāmāyaṇa reflects the same idea. The Mahābhārata contains two important hymns addressed to Durgā. In the Kumārasambhava she is known as Umā, Parvatī and Aparṇā. Directions for carving nine different manifestations of Durgā are given in the Agnipurāṇa.  

The reference to Durgā worship in some of her many forms are made in the Vāsavadatta, Kādambarī, Harṣacarita, Gaudavaho and Mālatimādhava. This shows that at least between the first and the sixth century AD, Durgā worship became popular.

The Nāradapurāṇa mentions that Chinnamasta, Rāma, Tripurabhaivī, Mātaṅgi and Dhūmavatī are the the four incarnation of Durgā. Though Halāyudha gives the details about Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī, yet it becomes clear from him that Śakti or Durgā occupied the most of the portion in the mother cult prevailed in his time.
d. The Cult of Sun-God:

Adoration of the Sun god was a common practice with the Vedic Aryans; and we find in the Brāhmaṇa-s that offerings were made to the Sun for the removal of sins. The Chāndogyopaniṣad, however, refers to Devakīputra Krṣṇa was a disciple of Ghora Aṅgirasa, a priest of the Sun. But we have, however, no evidence from the vedic literature on a special sect of Sun god.

The earliest reference to a sect worshipping the Sun God is found in the account of the classical writers who refer to the Indians as worshipping Soroadeios or Sūrya deva. The tradition of the divine nature of the Sun was continued with some modifications and figures of a human bust of the Sun appears on a Barhut medallion of 300 BC. The popularity of the Sun worship can be gauged from the supreme position held by the Gāyatrī mantra among the vedic prayers and also from the morning and evening worships (sandhyopāsanā) of the twice born.

This popularity of the god was greatly enhanced by the infiltration of the Persian Solar cult into North India by the first century AD. Thus the Bhavisya, Sāmba and Varāha purāṇa-s contain stories about the introduction of this cult into India by the Maga-s of Sākadvīpa (Eastern Iran). Bhavisya purāṇa also gives an account of the Solar festivals. This shows that during the period of purāṇa-s the Saura sect extended its sway and gained considerable importance. Numerous Sun temples sprouted up and many kings became devotees of Sūrya (e.g. ancestors of King Harṣa who are specified as Paramādityabhakta-s in Harṣa’s inscriptions). In the Traipuruṣadeva temples, Sūrya displaces Brahmā and forms the prominent
member of the Trinity. But in South India, Brahmā still holds his place against Sūrya. But Sūrya is also found combined with the three prominent deities namely Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, in the walls or porch of the Pallava temples at Tiruttani. New associates like the Āditya-s, the planets, the seven Ṛṣi-s and the seven matr̥kā-s also are assigned to him.291

Kautṣilya refers to the temples of other deities but not that of Sun god. The prevalence of Sun worship is found from the inscriptions of the Gupta period.292 Varahamihira tells us that the installation and the consecration of the images and temples of the Sun should be caused to be made by the ‘Maga-s’ and it appears that in his days the ‘Maga-s’ were the special priests of the Sun.293 Thus it has been considered that the cult of the Sun god was introduced into India from Persia and the construction of the temple of the god was also due to foreign influence.294

Sun worship in ARM:

It is not very clear from Halayudha whether Sun cult prevailed at his time. He, however, enlists 47 epithets, a bulky number next to Viṣṇu, of Sun.295 So, it can be inferred that Sun god was given adequate prominence during his time.

e. Minor deities:

i) Brahmā:

Brahmā, the creator of the world, is the Prajāpati of the Veda-s. But there he is not a popular god. His origin is based on theosophical speculation. During the period of the Brāhmaṇa-s he is identified with
'Brahman', the creative principle, the cause of all existence and is called Svayambhu.\textsuperscript{296} Sometimes he is considered to be different from 'Brahman', being subordinate to him.\textsuperscript{297} This is evident in the various creation legends found in the Brāhmaṇa-s. A majority of them speak of Prajāpati who undertook austerities as a preparation for the task of creation, as the starting point of creation. According to others Svayambhu rose from the primeval darkness and deposited a seed which became a golden egg in which he himself was born as Brahmā or Hiranyagarbha. Thus Brahmā himself is looked upon as created by Svayambhu.\textsuperscript{298} Still it was during this period that he occupied the highest position being looked upon as the creator of all mankind, demons and even gods.\textsuperscript{299}

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa he is described to have assumed the form of a tortoise and created offspring. In the Taīttrīya Brāhmaṇa he is credited with the feat of raising the earth from the depths of the ocean in the form of a boar.\textsuperscript{300} In the period of the Upaniṣad-s he is identified with the individual Ātman expressed in the words 'tat tvam asi' and the world (Prakṛti) is described as an illusion (māyā) produced by Brahman (Maheśvara) as Māyin.\textsuperscript{301} In the post-Brahmanical period the worship of Prajāpati declined. Still continued to be worshipped as the personal Brahmā who is found much ridiculed by the Buddhist Nikāya-s.\textsuperscript{302} In the Brahmanical religion he is relegated to an inferior position. He is made sub-ordinate to Viṣṇu and Śiva who occupied the highest position. The exploits with which he was credited in the Brāhmaṇa-s are shifted to Viṣṇu.\textsuperscript{303} Thus the tortoise and the boar incarnations are ascribed to Viṣṇu. A deliberate attempt at lowering his rank is found in the origin of the legend which conceives him to have sprung out of
the lotus of Viṣṇu's navel. Still in the period of epics and *purāṇa*-s he had a small following which is revealed in the *Bṛhatasrāṅhīta*, *Padma* and *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*-s. Thus he figured as one of the three members which make the trinity. But as a sectarian deity it was the origin of the *Pañcayatana* form of worship that he lost his position.  

**Brahmā in ARM:**

As one of the deity forming the trinity, Brahmā occupied the position of creation. Halāyudha gives the due importance to Brahmā by dealing with him ahead of Viṣṇu and Śiva. But, however, he is dominated by the two.

**ii) Skanda:**

The earliest reference to Skanda is found in the *Chāndogyopāniṣad* where he is identified with Sanat kumāra. Patañjali mentions the images of Śiva, Skanda and Viṣākha as being worshipped in his time, and the existence of the worship of this god seems to have developed further in the days of Guptas. The names of the Gupta emperors such as Kumāra Gupta and Skanda Gupta are adduced as evidence indicating the flourishing state of Saivite sect in which Skanda had entered as a pet deity. It should be noted that even the seven māṭṛkā-ś the female attendants of Skanda have become objects of worship in these days. It may also be noted that the name Brahmanya of the god is mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions. In North India, he is popularly known as Kumāra and considered as a *Brahmacārin* whereas in South India he is too popular with his two consorts.
The mention of Skanda after Ganeśa by Halāyudha shows that he was accepted as the younger brother of Lord Ganeśa, however, his popularity was greater than his elder brother.

iii) Ganeśa:

In the Veda-s we find Rudra with his hosts called gana-s whose leader was Gañapati. The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa mentions a god ‘Dantin’ along with Kārtikeya and the Nandin and it is possible that this Dantin was the same as the later elephant faced god. Ganeśa is mentioned only at a few places in the Mahābhārata and here he is not the god Ganeśa, for Viṣṇu himself is mentioned as Ganeśvara.

There is no definite evidence of Ganeśa cult in India before 500 AD. There is a sculptural evidence of his popularity from the 500 A.D. onwards, although no inscription has been found referring either to Ganeśa or to Gañapati as a god until after the Gupta period. R.G.Bhandarkar says that the god Gañapati-vināyaka was introduced about the 600 A.D. The popular story about Ganeśa acting as the scribe of Vyāsa found in the Mahābhārata is proved to be an interpretation. But this god began to come into prominence at the end of the Gupta period.

The ARM, wherein he appears as full fledged god with all mythological details, mentions him as the son of Śiva and Pārvatī and elder brother of Skanda. But during the time of ARM, Ganeśa seems to be less popular to Skanda.
Halāyudha does not show much interest in recording the details of religions other than Hinduism. His casual mention about Buddha in a verse and a passing reference to Jaina religion reveal the truth that Halāyudha does not care too much for this religion.  

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NOTES


3. Mahābhārata (Mbh), XII.181-1-29; Critical edn. BORI, Poona.


5. RV, II. 12.4


7. AV. III. 5.6; Taittirīya Samhitā, IV. 5.4.2.

8. Vedic Age, p.400.


10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.


14. AV, V. 17.8.9; Tait. Sam, II.5.11.9.

15. Vedic Age, pp.451,52.


17. Vasiṣṭha Dhar. Su., 18.,

18. Age of Imperial Unity, p.544.

19. Agni purāṇa, 151.16-77.

20. Śatātapa, Uśanas, Sumantu and Kaśyapa quoted by Aparārka on Yājñavalkya, III. 292.


23. ARM, II. 251, V.70.

24. Patañjali, Mahābhāṣya, I.436; Agarwal, V.S., India as known to Panini, p.75.

25. ARM, 2. 236, 37.

26. Ibid. 2.240

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid. 2. 248.

29. Manu, I.88; X.75


31. Ibid. 8.1.

32. ARM, 2.249

33. Manu, XII . 71.

34. ARM, 2. 249.

35. Ibid. 2.250

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid, 2.251.

38. Ibid, 2.252.

39. Ibid, 2.253

40. Pradhāna yāgo dīkṣā, tasyāntas samāpako yo’paro yajña nyūnatvādi doṣa nirasāya pradhāna yāgasya pūraṇāya pratiṣṭhārtham kriyate so’vabhṛthah - Rāyamukta on Amara.

41. ARM, 254-269.
42. Ibid, 263-265.
43.  *Kṣatriyo na yatir bhavet* - ARM. 2.238.
44.  ARM, 2.267.
45.  Manu, I.89.
46.  Ibid, X.77.
47.  Ibid, X.79.
49.  Ibid, VII.35.
50.  Ibid, VII.80.
51.  Ibid, VIII.304.
52.  Ibid, X.119.
53.  Ibid, VII. 37-38.
54.  Ibid, VII.79.
55.  Ibid, XI. 4.
56.  Ibid, VII, 43.
57.  Ibid, VII. 54-58.
58.  Ibid, VII.60.
60.  Ibid, VII.78.
61.  ARM, 2.269.
62.  Ibid, 2.270-73.
63.  Ibid, 2.274-76.
64.  Ibid, 2.273-78.
65.  Ibid, 2.278-79.
66. Ibid, 2.280.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid, 2.268.
69. Ibid, 2.293-94.
70. Ibid, 2.324.
71. Manu, I.90.
72. Ibid, X.78.
73. ARM, 2.416.
74. Ibid, 2.417.
75. Ibid, 2.418.
76. Ibid, 2.431.
77. Ibid, 2.431.
78. Śūdra grhastra eva syāt / Ibid, 2.238.
80. Manu, II.91; VIII 410.
81. Ibid, X.100.
82. Nāradapur., I.24-32.
83. ARM, 2.443.
84. RV, X.142-4.
86. Ibid, VIII. 5.38.
87. Vājasaneyi Sam., 30.17.
88. For the technical meaning of caṇḍāla, vide Kane, P.V., History of Dharma śāstra, Vol.II, p.81.


93. For the mention of various passages and discussions, vide Kane, P.V., Vol.II, p.25 ff; p.33.

94. In the ARM the word dasyu occurs in the sense of a robber, 2.183.


96. Ibid.

97. Ibid, p.182.

98. Mbh., Crical Edn., 2.48.29.

99. ARM, 2.346.

100. Ibid, 2.419.


102. Ibid, 2.431.

103. Ibid, 2.432.

104. Ibid, 2.432.

105. Ibid, 2.433.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid.

108. Ibid, 2.434.

109. Ibid.

110. Ibid, 2.435.

111. Ibid, 2.435.

112. Ibid.

113. Ibid.
114. Ibid, 2.436.

115. Ibid.

116. Ibid, 2.437.

117. Ibid, 2.438.

118. Ibid.

119. Ibid.

120. Ibid, 2.439.

121. Ibid, 2.440.

122. Ibid, 2.441.

123. Ibid, 2.441-42.

124. Ibid, 2.443.

125. Manu, V.8.

126. ARM, 2.443.

127. Ibid, 2.444.

128. Ibid.


132. RV, X.109.5; AV, V.17.5, XI.7.

133. Ai. Brā, 33.11.

134. Manu, VI.6; Gautama, III.33.


136. Ibid, p.422.

137. RV, X.92.2; I.187.1.
138. Ibid, I.27.18; V.26.6; VIII 18.24 etc.


141. RV, X.109,.5.


143. Manu, II.45.

144. Manu, II.63.


146. Manu, II.165.

147. Mbh., Śānti., 230.13

148. Gaut, 3. 4. 8; Āp. Dhar, Sū., I. 1.1.27; Vaśiṣṭha., 7.4.6; Manu., II., 243- 44, 47-49, Yāj., I.49-50.

149. Dakṣa., I.6-7.

150. Āśva. Gr., III. 9.4.

151. Manu, II.245.


154. Ibid, 2.244.

155. Ibid.

156. Ibid.

158. ARM, 2.245.
159. Ibid.
160. Ibid, 2.246.
161. Ibid, 2.247.
162. Ibid.
166. Śat. Brā, I. 1.5.6, 1-3.
168. ARM, 2.249.
169. Manu, III.67.
171. Gautama, III.2.
173. Manu., VI,3; Yāj., III. 44.
174. Ibid, VI.4, 9-10; Ibid, III.44.
175. Ibid, VI.5,7; Ibid, III.45.
177. Manu, VI 1-32.
178. Cf. Daśaratha’s asking for permission in Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa of Śrīmad Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa.
181. Narada pur., I.27, 91-104
182. Manu, VI.38; Yāj, III.55; Dakṣa, VII.1.
184. Manu, VI.41, 3.44; Vasiṣṭha, 10.12-15; Laghu Viṣṇu Smṛti, Iv.5.
185. Dakṣa, VII.38.
186. Manu, VI. 57 59.
189. Mbh., XII, 181-185, BORI.
193. Yāj., II. 60.32.
194. Mbh., Śānti., 18.32.
195. ARM, 2.238, 39.
196. Ibid, 2.255, 256.
197. Ibid, 2.254.
198. Kalpasūtra, 44.31.877.
199. Pāṇini, IV. 3.11.
200. Yaśas., p.408.
201. Kalpasūtra, 44. 81.862.
202. Ibid, 44. 91.861.
203. ARM, 2.256.
205. Majumdar, R.C., Pusalkar, A.B., The Age of Imperial Unity,
pp.559-60.


208. ARM, 2.328.


211. RV, IV. 17.17; VIII. 86.4 etc.,

212. ARM, II 202.

213. Ibid, II.212.


215. Ibid, Ayodhya, 107.12; Mbh, Cr. Edn., 1.147.5.

216. ARM, 2.240.


218. Ibid, 2.243.

219. Ibid.

220. Ibid, 2.339.

221. Ibid, 2.437.

222. Ibid, 2.351.

223. Ibid, 2.349, 50.

224. Ibid, 2.352.

225. Ibid, 2.353.

226. Ibid, 2.354.


228. Ibid, pp.18-19.
229. Ibid, pp.11-12.
232. ARM, 2.328.
234. Manu, II.145.
235. ARM, 2.349.
236. Ibid, 2.343, 44.
238. ARM, 2.230.
240. Ibid, p.239 ff.
241. ARM, 2.339.
242. Ibid, 2.325.
245. ARM, 2.331.
246. cf. na bhajet strī svatantratām / Manu, V.148.
247. Ibid, IX.3.
248. Ibid, VIII.416.
249. ARM, 5.42.


258. ARM, 1.7; 1.25; 1.11.

259. Majumdar and Pusalkar, Vedic Age, pp.186-87.


261. Krṣṇayajur Veda, IV.5.

262. AV, IV. 28; VII.87 etc.,


265. Ibid, p.165.

266. Mbh., Śānti, 337-62.

267. Tantrāloka, ed. Pandit Madhusūdan Kaul Śāstri, N.S. Press, Bombay; pp. 27, 22,23 vide History of Śaiva culta in Northern India,
Pathak, V.S., p.5.

268. Tantrāloka, XII, p.396.


272. ARM, 1.11-13.
274. Hastings, James, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, IV, p. 706.
276. RV, V; Swami Madhavananda and Majumdar, R.C., Great Women of India, p. 58.
277. Majumdar, R.C., and Pusalkar, A.D., Age of Imperial Kanauj, p. 467.
278. Majumdar, R.C., and Pusalkar, A.D., Classical Age, p. 440.
279. Ibid.
281. ARM, 1. 15-17.
283. Nāradapur., I.87, 1.8; 41-62, 100-130, 156-160.
285. Ch. upa., III. 17.16.
289. Ibid.
290. Majumdar and Pusalkar, Classical Age, p. 437.
291. Majumdar and Pusalkar, Age of Imperial Kanauj, p. 333 ff., p. 335.
295. ARM, 1.35-39.
299. Majumdar and Pusalkar, Age of Imperial Unity, p.464.
301. Śvet. Up., IV. 10; Majumdar and Pusalkar, Vedic Age, p.494-495.
302. Majumdar and Pusalkar, Age of Imperial Unity, p.464.
305. ARM, 1.6-7.
309. Ibid.
310. Ibid.
311. ARM, 1.19, 20.
316. cf. The Prolegomena to the Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata,
     BORI. edn., p.IXXV.
317. ARM, 1.18.
318. Ibid, 1.85-86.