Chapter IV - Interpretation of gotra in the post-Vedic ages and Brāhmanisation of the gotra system
Section I - Gotra as a term for the Vedic clan:

Gotra is a term for the Aryan clan. We have discussed its close affinity to gana. The Vedic practice seems to be that any Aryan clan, founded by a Rishi or non-Rishi patriarch, is called a gotra. This wider sense of gotra has been recognised by scholars.

1 Senart observes that gotra is akin to the gens of the Romans or the phratria of the Greeks. John Brough defines it as 'an exogamous patrilineal sibship'. The Anglo-Saxon term 'sib' is considered by R. H. Lowie as suitable for indicating a unilateral kinship group and the gotra as a similar group has striking resemblance to sib. As a synonym of gana, gotra is akin to the Irish 'sept'; L. H. Morgan assimilates Sanskrit 'ganas' to the Irish sept. Similarly, the word 'clan', as used by W. H. R. Rivers to signify an exogamous subdivision of a tribe, is comparable to gotra. The 'kin-group' of M. Ginsberg, based upon the rules of exogamy, corresponds very much to the gotra.

3 - See pp. 105 - 106, ch. VI, Primitive society.
5 - See p. 19, ch. II, Social organisation.
6 - See p. 131, Sociology.
We may thus regard gotra as a gens or sib or clan or kin-group, but have to take notice of the fact that it is so constituted as to contain kinsmen as well as non-kin members. Consanguinity in the sense of 'same descent' is not rigidly observed in a gotra.

Section II - The progressive contraction of gotra:

The traditional number of gotras as recognised by the Sutras is eight.

From the lists of gotras we come to know that a gotra cannot maintain its original size and is constantly divided and subdivided into smaller units. The number of the septae thus goes on increasing and the new-born units show progressive contraction. In spite of this fact the common lineage is not observed.


2 - The lists of gotras differ from one another with regard to the number of gotras.

3 - As regards the tendency of the human family towards progressive contraction, see p. 673, E. Durkheim's viewpoint, sec. on Sociology, The family, Chambers's Encyclopaedia, vol. XII.
forgotten and the 'sagotra' tie binds together a large number of septs which cannot enter into marriage relation with one another, i.e., are strictly exogamous. Even non-kin members, getting affiliation to a gotra, are compelled to abide by the rules of exogamy. The ancestral tie is so binding that its violation is to be expiated by the observation of a vow, prevailing in the Sutra period. It is a definite proof of the earlier gotra unity which is ever kept alive in the memory of the posterior generations.

Section III - The gotra system as represented in the Sutras:

The gotra organisation as represented by the Sutras is patriarchal and patrilineal and exhibits a total neglect of the mother's side. It is named after a male ancestor and not a female ancestress.

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1 - See Baudh I, 2; Āśv. Śr. S., Parisista, p. 467.
2 - See p. 185, Pravara-darpanam, Gpnk., evam dattakaputra - kṛitrīma - svayamdatta - putrikādīnām utpādaka - pālakayoh pitroh gotrābhyām saha avivāhah .. iti Pravara - mañjaryām uktam.
3 - Vide Baudh X. 54 - sagotrām gatvā chāndrāyanam charet.
4 - The gotra, like the clan, exhibits over-emphasis of one side of kinship; in this connection see p. 865, sec. on Clan, Social anthropology, Encyclopaedia Britanica, vol. 20.
The Sūtras classify gotras according to Brāhmaṇa Risi lineage, either real or imaginary. The clans and septs are pictured as Brāhmaṇa families; only one gotra is ascribed to Kṣatriyas and one to Vaiśyas. Thus, the record of gotras contains priestly representation of early traditions regarding Vedic clans obscured and distorted to such extent that real genealogies cannot be unmasked.

Section IV - The lexicographic point of view:

1. Amara considers gotra as a synonym of kula, janana, anvaya, abhijana; Kaśirasvāmin holds that a gotra is a name by which one is capable of pointing out the pedigree. In this definition gotra appears to be a term for family in general, irrespective of any caste reference. The lexicographic point of view is thus different from that of Baudhāyana who regards gotra as a pakṣa or line of one of the eight Rishiṣ, i.e., as a Brāhmaṇical family line.

1 - See Baudh X. 52, 53.
2 - Vide Nāmalingānusāsanam II. 7. 1 - sāmtatih gotra - janana - kulāni abhijanānvaya ; Kaśirasvāmin comments - gāyate janyate kulyate vā anena.
3 - See Baudh I. 1 - saptānām riśiṇām Agastyāstānānām pakṣāh bhavanti ; pakṣa is a synonym of gotra, see p. 24, Main results of modern Vaidik researches, R. Ghosa.
The lexicographic viewpoint is very much significant. In the earlier phase of Vedic clan life the word 'gotra' perhaps indicated any clan-group, named after a founder-patriarch who might have belonged to any of the three castes. The emergence of the priestly class into social importance is followed by a transformation of the gotra outlook as well as the caste outlook. The gotras are interpreted as clans, founded by Brāhmaṇa patriarchs, and the varṇas become more and more stereotyped. The Brāhmaṇisation of the gotra system gives a new meaning to gotra and the pravara rite.

Section V - The Brāhmaṇical interpretation of gotra:

Pāṇini says that the gotra relations are to be counted from the third generation, i.e., from the grandson.

Pāṇini's definition of gotra is applicable to Rīṣi clans as well as non-Rīṣi clans.

Āśvalāyana and Baudhāyana specify gotra as the line of offsprings of one of the eight Rīṣis, i.e., as a Brāhmaṇa clan. This is distinctly Brāhmaṇical representation of the gotra system.

1 - Pāṇī IV. 1. 162 - apatyam pautra-prabhrito gotram;
Pataṇjali comments --- yasya apatya - vivakṣā tasya pautra-prabhūteḥ gotra - saṁjñā bhavati, see Paṭ IV. 1. 4, p. 151, vol. IV; also Kūṭikā -- pautra - prabhūti yat apatyaṁ tat gotra - saṁjñām bhavati.

2 - Āśv. Sr. Sū, Perīṣīṭa, p. 467.

3 - Baudh X. 54.
Section VI - Gotrāpatya and anantarāpatya:

A man of the age of Pāṇini is known by his gotra name as well as his paternal designation, i.e., regarded as the descendant of the founder - patriarch of his clan (gotrāpatya) and as the immediate descendant of his father (anantarāpatya). According to the rule of Pāṇini the gotra appellation is applicable to descendants beginning from the grandson. We meet with exceptions to this rule in certain cases. Even an immediate descendant is sometimes regarded as a gotra in relation to his father. For instance, Rāma is called Jāmadagnya, i.e., the gotra of Jāmadagni; Parāśara is called Sāktya, i.e., the gotra of Sākty. Here the gotra relation between the father and the son has been assumed. Thus, the wider sense of gotra is inclusive of the second generation.

1 - See Pāṇ IV. 1. 105; Kāśikā comments - katham anantarārah Rāmah Jāmadagnyah Vyasah Pārāśaryah iti, gotrarūpādhyāropena bhaviṣyati; Bhat 1107, Vāla - manoramā comments - anantarāpatye gotrattvāropāt.

2 - See p. 89, Śadgurusīsya’s com. upon Sarvānukramanī - anantarasya gotrattvopachārah.
Section VII - Gotra signifying the founder - patriarch as well as the line of descendants:

The word 'gotra' signifies the founder - patriarch of a clan as well as his descendants.

1 P. Chentsal Rao and P. V. Kane are of opinion that the latest ancestor of a clan is called gotra, while G. Banerjee regards gotra as the family line founded by one of the Rishi patriarchs. The Bengali Visvakośa justifies both interpretations.

The commentary of Nārāyaṇa refers to such usage as 'Mudgala - gotraḥ' in the vahuvrīhi compound. It signifies 'one of Mudgala gotraḥ', i.e., points to the ancestor Mudgala as the gotra.

Nārāyaṇa remarks in the same context that the gotra of Jamadagni is Vatsa etc., the gotra of Gautama is Āyāsya etc., the gotra of Bharadvāja is Dakṣa, Gārgya etc. Here the term 'gotra' is used in the sense of progeny.

Hence, in actual usage, gotra indicates the founder - ancestor as well as his descendants.

3 - See pp. 54 - 55, The Hindu law of marriage and stridhana.
4 - See p. 502, notes on 'gotra', Visvakośa, pt. V.
5 - Vide Nārāyaṇa's com. upon Āsv. Sr. S. II. 6. 10 - Agastyaśṭamānām anyesu api gotrasāvdo loke prayujyamānah dṛisyate .. 'Mudgala - gotraḥ aham' ityevamādiṣu sa cha aupachārikah prayogah.
6 - Ibid ; Nārāyaṇa quotes the famous saying of Baudhāyana and comments upon it.
Section VIII - Gotra signifying the principal clans as well as 
the derivative septs:

We may distinguish between the narrower and the wider meanings of gotra.

In the restricted sense, gotra indicates any one of the eight principal clans, named after Visvāmitra etc.

According to Āśvalāyana and Baudhāyana, the sameness of gotra is to be ascertained by the Rishi-name which is common to all the pravaras, attached to the septs of a particular clan-group. The Bṛigus and the Aṅgirasas are set aside from the scope of this rule.

As the name of Atri is included in the pravaras of the sept-groups Muddala, Gaviśṭhira etc., these septs would be treated as 'samāna-gotra', i.e., belonging to the same gotra. Their gotra would be regarded as Atri.

In the same way it may be ascertained that the gotra of the sept-groups Kusika, Lohita etc., is Visvāmitra.

The gotra of the sept-groups Rebha, Saṃdila etc., is Kasyapa.

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1 - See Āśv. Sr. S., Parisīsta, p. 467.
2 - Baudh I. 2 - eka eva riṣīh yāvat pravarasu amuvartate, 
tāvat samāna - gotratvam anyatra Bṛigvaṅgirasām gaṇāt.
3 - Baudh V. 27 - 30.
4 - Ibid VI. 31 - 40.
5 - Ibid VII. 41 - 44.
The gotra of the sept groups Kendina, Upamanyu, Parasara etc., is Vasistha.

The gotra of the sept groups Agasti, Yajnavaha etc., is Agasti.

Thus, the gotra-hood of five of the eight Rishi-clans is established.

The gotra-hood of the remaining three Rishi-clans (Jamadagni, Gotama and Bharadvaja) may be inferred from usage.

Thus, in the narrower sense, the word 'gotra' refers to the eight principal Rishi-clans. In the wider sense, it would be applicable to the septs included in each of these clans. This is indicated by the definition of gotra as the progeny of the eight Risis.

1 - Baudh VIII. 45 - 48.
2 - Baudh IX. 49 - 51.
3 - Vide Baudh X. 54 - tesam saptarsinam Agastyasatamam nam yat apatyam tat gotram iti uchyate; see also Asv. Sr. S., Parisista, p. 467.
Section IX - Gotra and gotravayava:

1. Panini takes cognisance of gotravayavas.

2. Patanjali comments upon the word 'gotra', - 'the number of Risis is eighty thousand; among them, only eight are held to be the founders of clans, celebrated as gotras'. He quotes the view of Bharadvajiyas in his interpretation of gotravayava and says that 'the kulas (families) of popular usage are called gotravayavas'.

Thus, according to Patanjali, (i) a gotra in the usual sense refers to one of the eight Rishi - clans; (ii) a gotravayava is what is indicated by kula, i.e., a family of non-Rishi origin.

Kaiyata takes the word 'avayava' as indicating 'unimportant' (apradhana-vachanah) and says that the negation of importance is due to non-mention in the pravaradhyaya.

1 - Pan IV. 1, 79 - gotravayavat.
2 - Pat IV. 1, 2, p. 94, vol. IV - aśtāsīti-sahasrāni urydhvaretasāṃ riśināṃ vabhnāvah tatra Agastyāśata mahā riśibhīḥ prajanah abhyupagatah tatra bhabvatam yat apatyam tāni gotrāṇī; Nāgasa remarks - gotratvena loke prasiddhāni ityarthah. . . etat eva cha tatra tatra laukika-gotra-padeṇa uchyate.
3 - Ibid, Pat IV. 1.2 - kulākhyāḥ loke gotrāvayavah iti uchyante.
The unimportant gotras are Puṇika, Bhunika, Mukhara etc.

Nāgesā remarks that in the case of these non-prominent clans the secondary sense of gotra is not adopted and Pāṇini's enunciation of gotra is also applicable to them.

Jñānendra Sarasvati speaks of the regional celebrity of the gotrāvayaḥvas, i.e., the so-called gotras; as these are not included in the pravarādhyāya, no prominence can be attached to them.

We are thus informed of gotras, not mentioned in the gotra-list of Baudhāyana. These are called gotrāvayaḥvas by the grammarians.

We may suppose that the gotrāvayaḥvas imply gotras of non-Ṛṣi origin.

This distinction between gotra of Ṛṣi origin and gotrāvayaḥva appears to be an assumed difference between gotra and kula.

1 - Vide Kāśīkā upon Pāṇ IV. 1. 79.
2 - Nāgesā upon Pat IV. 1. 2, op. cit., p. 95, -- apradhanāni gotrāṇi gotrāvayaḥvasvādenva uchyante as patya-santāna-prasiddhi-hetutve na teṣām gaṇuṁ gotratvam. 'apatyaṃ pautra-prabhṛti' iti gotratvam cha ubhaya-sādhāraṇam iti bhāvah.
3 - See Tattvavodhini upon Bhat 1199, Pāṇ IV. 1. 79, -- gotram ityevamabhimatāḥ gotra-vāchitvena deśa-viśeṣe prasiddhāḥ na ta pravarādhyāye paṭhitāḥ. pravarādhyāye apāṭhāt cha aprādhānyam.
Section X - Sāstriya gotra and laukika gotra:

According to the grammarians, some of the rules of Pāṇini refer to sāstriya gotra and some to laukika gotra.

1. A sāstriya gotra is technically regarded as beginning from the grandson in accordance with Pāṇini's definition of gotra. It is not restricted to only Ṛṣi clans.

2. A laukika gotra refers to only Ṛṣi clans and indicates progeny in general, not specified as beginning from the grandson.

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1 - Vide Bhat 1333, Pāṇ IV. 2. 112 - gotram iha sāstriyam na tu laukikam; Vāla-manoramā comments -- apatyaādhikārāt anyatra yadyapi laukikameva gotram iti siddhāntah tathāpi iha .. sāstriyam eva gotram grihyate.


3 - Kāśikā upon Pāṇ VII. 3. 2 - laukikam hi tatra gotram grihyate. loke ṛṣi-sāvdah gotram iti abhidhiyate.

Patañjali remarks that a laukika gotra may refer to even a yuvan (i.e., a young man of the fourth and the following generations, whose father is living). When an inquiry is made about the gotra of a young man, he would reply that he is a Gārgyāyana or a Vātsyāyana. In popular usage, the forms 'Gārgyāyana' and 'Vātsyāyana' indicate the gotras of Gārgya and Vātsya respectively, but, grammatically considered, they are indicative of the yuvāpatyas of Gārgya and Vātsyā.

1 - Pat IV. 1, 2 in connection with Pāṇ. IV. 1. 90, p. 115, vol. 1;
2 - laukikam param gotra-graham iti. yuvā cha loke gotram iti upacharyate. kimgotrah asi mānavakah ? Gārgyāyanaḥ. kimgotrah asi mānavakah ? Vātsyāyanaḥ.
3 - According to Pāṇ. IV. 1. 105 (Gargadibhyah yaḥ), Bhat 1107, the gotraṇyayanas of Garga and Vatsa are called Gārgya and Vātsyā; the yuvāpatyas of Gārgya and Vātsyā are Gārgyāyana and Vātsyāyana; see also Bhat 1103, Pāṇ. IV. 1. 101, Vāla - manoramā.
From the point of view of the Sūtra of Pañini, gotra is inclusive of the third and the following generations and not the second generation. That is, the grandson, his son etc., are designated as gotra. In popular usage, gotra signifies progeny in general including the second generation.

1 - Vide Pañ IV, 1. 162, Bhat 1089 — apatyatvena vivakṣitaṃ pautrādi gotrasaṃjñāṃ syāt; Vāla-manoramā comments — kosātah gotra-sāvdaṣya santati-vāchakatvāt putrasyaṃ gotratve prāpte pautrādi-grahaṇāt iha sāstre putrasya na gotratvam.

2 - Kāśikā upon Pañ IV, 2. 39 — apatyādhiḥikārāt anyatra laukikaṃ gotram grihyate apatya-mātram na tu pautra-prabhṛiti eva; also Bhat 1246 — laukikam iha gotram tat cha apatya-mātram; Vāla-manoramā comments — laukikam iha gotram iti. na tu pārībhāṣikam ityarthah, atra laukikeṃ gotram kim ityataḥ āha — tat cha apatya-mātram iti, pravarādhyaśe parigaṇitam putra-pautrādi-kṛitsnāpattyam ityarthah.
Nāgęsa speaks of laukika gotra as a Rishi clan which is mentioned in the pravarādhyāya (of Baudhāyana). The origin from a Rishi or non-Rishi ancestor is indicated by sāstriya gotra, as defined by Pāṇini, since in the section on gotras we find mention of Rishi clans.

1 - Pat IV. 1. 2 upon Pāṇ IV. 1. 79, p. 94, vol. IV —
tatrabhavatāṃ yat apatyāṃ tāni gotrāṇi; Kaiyaṭa ---
tatrabhavātām iti Agastyāstamānām ityarthah; Nāgęsa ---
tāni gotrāṇi iti, gotratvena loke prasiddhāni ityarthah,
etat eva cha tatra tatra laukika-gotra-padena ucyate;
also Pat IV. 1. 2, p. 102 --- ubhayatram laukikasya
 gotrasya grahaṇaṃ. na cha idaṃ laukikam gotram; p.103,
 Kaiyaṭa --- rishi-prajanah cha loke gotram iti ucyate;
Nāgęsa --- rishi-prajanah iti, pravarādhyāya-prasiddhah
 ityarthah. tasya eva loke gotratvena vyavahārāt;
Pat IV. 1. 2, p. 110 --- laukikasya tatra gotrasya
 grahaṇam; p. 111, Kaiyaṭa --- laukikasya iti apatyasya
 ityarthah; Nāgęsa --- apatyasya iti pravarādhyāya-
 prasiddhāpattyasya ityarthah.

2 - The gotraḍhikāra consists of the Sūtras IV. 1.98-111 —
the gotra-names Harita, Sūnaka, Vida, Garga etc. occur
in the Sūtras (IV. 1. 100 - 105) and also in
Baudhāyana's list.
The grammarians take into notice the existence of gotras of non-Brāhmaṇa castes. Pāṇini seems to have been cognisant of Kśatriya gotras and perhaps refers to Kuru and Bharata as Kśatriya gotras. Kātyāyana speaks of the gotras of Kśatriyas and non-Brāhmaṇas.

It is thus clear that from the standpoint of the grammarians a gotra as such may indicate a Rishi clan or Brāhmaṇa clan. But, from the popular standpoint, the clans of the eight Rishis and the septs, derived from them, are to be regarded as gotras. These clans and septs are treated as Brāhmaṇa families in the pravarādhyāya of Baudhāyana.

1 - Vide Pāṇ II. 4. 58 -- nyā-kśatriya etc.; the Kāśikā interprets 'kśatriya' as 'kśatriya-gotra'.
2 - Pāṇ IV. 1. 172 -- Kuru-nādibhyah nyah ; the Kāśikā takes 'Kuru' as a 'kśatriya-gotra name'; see also Kāśikā upon Pāṇ II. 4. 58.
3 - Pāṇ II. 4. 66 ; the Kāśikā regards 'Bharata' as a gotra name.
Section XI - The tradition of Brāhmaṇical origin of gotra:

We have seen that at the time of Patañjali the ordinary people regard gotras as Rīṣi clans. The Rīṣi stems as dealt with in full details by Āśvalāyana and Baudhāyana are eight in number; a large number of septs are derived from them. That these stems and the derivative septs are taken to be Brāhmaṇa clans is indicated by the separate mention of gotras of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas. The belief in the Brāhmaṇical origin of gotras is established in minds of the people in the age of the Śrauta Śūtras.

The later writers have been much influenced by the tradition of Brāhmaṇical origin of gotras.

2 Puruṣottama says that the probable paksas are those of the eight Rīṣis; the names occurring in the pravaras are those of Brāhmaṇas.

3 Kamalākarabhaṭṭa is of opinion that the lineage of a Rīṣi is gotra.

1 - Vide Baudh X. 52, 53.

2 - See p. 11, Pravaramaṇjarī, Gpnk, — yeśām iha pravarāḥ vyākhyaśatvena pratijñātāṁ te sarve brāhmaṇāṁ eva .. saptānām rīśināṁ Agastyaśatamānāṁ paksāṁ bhavanti.

3 - See p. 150, Pravaradarpanam, Gpnk, — yatra gotrāntare ekasyā rīśeḥ anuvartanaṁ dṛṣṭaye tat gotrāntaram taṣya anuvartamāṇasya gotram apatyam.
Vijnanesvara holds that the Rajanya and the Vis' are not naturally affiliated to gotras which are superimposed upon them.

According to Mitra Hisara, the pravaras are Auruva and other names and the gotras are Vatsa and other names. Thus, only a Rishi clan is a gotra.

Raghunandana defines gotra as a family, founded by a Brähmana ancestor.

It is thus clear that the later authors are persuaded by the belief that gotras are founded by Brähmana Risis and denote Brähmana clans.

1 - Vide Yajñavalkya Smriti with the commentaries entitled Vîramitrodaya and Mitakṣara, p. 115. Mitâ upon Yâjñ I. 53, --- asamânārṣa-gotrajām iti etat triyarnika-visayam, yadyapi rājanya-visām prātisvika-gotrabhāvāt pravarabhāvah tathāpi purohitagotra-pravarah veditavyau.


3 - See p. 572, Udvahatattva, sec. on Udvanahiniṣaya, Aṣṭāvimsāti-tattvāni, --- gotrāni ... vamsā-paramparā-prasiddham ādi-puruṣa-brāhmaṇa-rūpaṃ gotram.
Section XII - Gotra and varṇa:

The broad classification of gotras into sāstriya and laukika clan-groups discloses the popularity gained by the Brāhmaṇical interpretation of gotra as a priestly clan. The natural outcome of this priestly outlook is the prevalence of the custom of superimposing priestly gotra-names upon non-priestly clans. The pravara rite is also remoulded according to Brāhmaṇical demands; the family priest's ancestors are substituted for those of the sacrificer in the modified pravara ceremony.

1 - Vide Baudhā. 54 --- kṣatriya-vaisyānām purohitā-pravarah iti vijnāyate.

The meaning of the newly developed custom of choosing the gotra-ṛṣi and pravara-ṛṣis of the purohita is a ceremonial show of Brāhmaṇical supremacy, which is clearly revealed in a passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. According to this account a Kṣatriya sacrificer is consecrated for a sacrifice, only when he discards his own weapons and adopts those of a Brāhmaṇa and thus is transformed into a Brāhmaṇa through the pravara rite.


2 - AB VII. 4. 7 — nidhiya va eṣa svāni āyudhāni brahmaṇah eva āyudhāih brahmaṇah rūpeṇa brahma bhūtvā yajñam upāvartata tamāt tasya purohitasya ārṣeyena dikṣām āvedayeṇa purnhitasya ārṣeyena prāvaram pravṛṣiṇiran u; also Śāyana's com.; see also Bengali translation of AB VII. 4. 7 (34. 7) by Ramendra Sundar Trivedi.
Section XIII - The gotra of Kṣatriyas:

As regards Kṣatriyas, Baudhāyana enjoins that they may choose the three-Rīsi pravara which contains the name of Manu. According to another aphorism of Baudhāyana, the Kṣatriyas (and the Vaiśyas) have to adopt the pravara of the family priest.  

Āśvalāyana says that Rājans (nobles) have the alternative of choosing the names of Rājarṣis. The negative implication of this rule is that ordinary Kṣatriyas are to be excluded from its scope.  

Āpastamva is more specific on the point and speaks of two classes of Kṣatriyas, viz., (i) those who claim descent from the authors of Vedic hymns and do not adopt the pravara of the family priest, and (ii) those who do not associate their lineage with the authors of Vedic hymns and take up the pravara of the family priest.

1 - Bandh X. 52 — kṣatriyanāṃ tryārṣeyah pravarah bhavati Mānava-Aīḍa-Paurūrvavaseṭī.

2 - Bandh X. 54.

3 - Āśv. Sī. S. I. 1. 3 — paourohiyān rāja-visāṃ; rājarṣiṇ vā rājūm; alṣo II. 6. 15 — purohita-pravarah rājūm; atha yadi sārṣṭam pravriniṛan Mānava-Aīḍa-Paurūrvavaseṭī.

4 - Āp. Sī. S. 24. 10. 11-14, — atha kṣatriyanāṃ; eka eva eṣāṃ pravarah Mānava-Aīḍa-Paurūrvavaseṭī; atha yeṣāṃ u ha mantra-kritah na syuh sa-purohita-pravarah te; atha yeṣāṃ syuh a-purohita-pravarāḥ te.
It is apparent that the members of royal dynasties have the option of choosing the pravara consisting of the names of Rājarṣis and the majority of Kṣatriyas have to adopt the pravara of the family priest.

Though the Kṣatriya nobles link themselves with the gotra of Manu, all clans (belonging to the three castes) have the option of pronouncing the 'Manu-vat' pravara according to Baudhāyana. Áśvalāyana formulates that 'all' may adopt the 'Mānava' pravara in cases of doubt; the word 'all' means three castes according to Nārāyaṇa. Kātyāyana also considers 'Manu-vat' pravara as optional for 'all'; the word 'all' refers to Brāhmaṇas etc., according to Karka.

The Tāndins are of opinion that the 'Mānava' pravara belongs to 'all castes' perhaps including Śūdras (?)

1 - Baudh X. 54 — Manu-vat iti vā sarvesām gotrānām. Mānavyah hi praja iti vijñāyate.

2 — Áśv. Sř. S. I. 1. 3 — sarvesām Mānaveti saṃsāye; Nārāyaṇa comments — trayānāṃ varnānāṃ Mānavetasyaṃ sāvdah pravarah bhavet.

3 — Kāt. Sř. S. III. 2. 12 — Manu-vat iti vā sarvesām; Karka comments — brāhmaṇadīnāṃ Manu-vat iti pravaranaṃ.

Thus, the Manu gotra or pravara is meant for all the three castes and cannot be regarded as strictly Kṣatriya. We are informed of the 'Mānavya' gotra of some Brāhmaṇas by the copper plate inscriptions of a much later age.

It appears that in the case of the vast majority of Kṣatriyas adoption of the family priest's clan-name is the usual custom.

Section XIV - The gotra of Vaiśyas:

2 Baudhāyana ascribes to the Vaiśya caste the pravara consisting of the names of Bhalandana, Vatsapra and Maṅktila.

3 Āpastamva holds that the pravara of the Vaiśyas contains the name of Vatsapra.

Āśvalāyana does not refer to any separate gotra or pravara of the Vaiśya caste.

1 - See p. 90, 3rd. plate, No. XXX, Sanskrit and old Canarese inscriptions, J. F. Fleet, The Indian Antiquary, vol. VI.

2 - Baudh X. 53.

3 - Āp. Sr. S. 24. 10. 16.
This affiliation of the Vaisya caste to the Bhalandana or Vatsapra gotra seems to have no actual basis. The general rule seems to be that the Vaisyas have to take up the pravara of the family priest. An aphorism of Katyāyana makes the recital of the family priest's pravara compulsory for Vaisyas (and ordinary Kṣatriyas).

Section XV - The superimposition of Brāhmaṇa gotras upon non-Brāhmaṇa castes:

The custom of adopting the clan-name of the family priest seems to have obtained vogue in the case of Kṣatriyas and Vaisyas, but not in the case of Śūdras. The elimination of Śūdras from gotra affiliation may be due to the fact that they could not have family priests to officiate at their religious ceremonies.

1 - Kāt. Śr. S. III. 2. 11 --- kṣatriya-vaisyayoh cha nityam; Karka --- anayoh nityam purohitāreyoḥchāraṇam, rājūṣṭu vikalpah.

2 - See p. 55, The Hindu law of marriage and stridhana.
The priestly tradition connects the gotra system with Brāhmaṇa families. But the names of Kṣatriyas found in the lists of gotras clearly indicate that the original meaning of gotra is a clan consisting of members belonging to all the three castes (Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaisya). That is the state of affairs pointing to a period when men of different occupations live in the same clan and can change their caste and have entry into another, as the caste is not still determined by birth, but by the occupation of its members. Hence, the probable inference would be that the stereotyped caste-system is a later institution than gotra.

1 - See p. 447, Studies in Indian social polity; Bhupendranath Datta remarks, 'It is a priestly fiction of modern time that none but the Brāhmaṇas have got gotras'.

2 - See p. 56, ch. V, pt. II, Caste in India, 2 nd. ed.; J. H. Hutton observes that in a few cases the existence of identical gotras in different castes may go back to a time when the constitution of society was less rigid and individuals of different varṇas were enabled sometimes to change their varṇa.

Section XVI - The theory of Ksatriyan origin of gotras reviewed:

The Ksatriyan origin of gotras has been conjectured in a recent view of D. D. Kosambi. He says that the gotra system has been adopted by small groups of pre-Ksatriya and pre-Aryan people from the Aryan invaders. These priestly clans of non-Aryan origin take up the gotra names of Ksatriya Aryas for whom they officiate and consequently have to make themselves known by the Ksatriya gotras. This state of affairs is reversed in the later custom of super imposition of Brähmana gotra upon non-Brähmana castes. The author of this view regards the Bhrigus and the Vasiṣṭhas as non-Aryan clans and the Visvāmitras as a pure Aryan stock. He tries to establish the Ksatriyan origin of gotras by repudiating the hypothesis of Brähmanical origin of gotras.


2 - See p. 43, op. cit.; in this connection we may refer to the view of Banerji Sastri who identifies the Bhrigus with Phrygians, see pp. 172 - 174, Vedic India, pt. I, V. Rangacharyya.

3, 4 - See pp. 35 - 37, op. cit.
The infiltration of non-Aryans in early Aryan society is generally admitted by scholars. The natural result of it must have been the intermingling of Aryans and non-Aryans and the Aryan clan life must have been affected by it. But it cannot be rightly argued that the original Aryan gotras are of Kṣatriya origin. The more legitimate conjecture would be that these gotras are neither strictly Kṣatriya, nor strictly Brāhmaṇa, since a change of caste is allowed within the same gotra. Under such circumstances the gotras cannot belong to this or that caste, if the earlier phase of clan life be taken into consideration.

Section XVII - The earlier phase of the caste system as developing within the gotra:

The Purānic stories of persons changing their caste give us a picture of less rigid social conditions and also enlighten us about the nature of clan life in early Indo-Aryan society.

We get varied accounts of the gotra of Mānu. The Viṣṇupurāṇa states that among his sons and grandsons Priyadharma turns a Śūdra by killing his guru, the Kāruṣas become Kṣatriyas, Nābhāga enters the Vaiśya caste. Bhālandana,

1 - Vide Viṣṇu IV. 1. 13.
2 - Ibid. IV. 1. 14 - Karuṣat Kāruṣāh mahāvalāh kṣatriyāh vabhūvuh.
3 - Ibid. IV. 1. 15.
the son of Nabhaga, is known to be the founder of the gotra of Vaisyas, and Marutta, a descendant of Nabhaga, regains Kṣatriya-hood. According to the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, the Dhāṛṣṭas, born of Dhṛṣṭa (one of the sons of Manu), come to be regarded as Kṣatriyas and afterwards as Brāhmaṇas. The Harivamśa relates that two sons of Nabhagāriṣṭa enter at first the Vaisya caste and afterwards obtain Brāhmaṇa-hood; the same story is referred to by the Agnipurāṇa about two sons of Nabhaga.

1 - Vide Baadh X. 53; Bhalandana and his son Vatsapra (Vatsapri) are regarded as pravara-Risis whose names are included in the pravara of the Vaisyas; but, Śrīdharasvāmī, commenting upon Viṣṇu IV. 1. 16, remarks —— tasya (i.e., of Nabhaga) cha putrotpatteh uttara-kālam eva vaisyātva-prāpyā tat-putrasya Bhalandanasya kṣatriyatvam aviruddham; thus, Śrīdharasvāmī contradicts the gotra tradition.

2 - Viṣṇu IV. 1. 16.

3 - Bhg IX. 2. 17 —— Dhṛṣṭāt Dhāṛṣṭam abhūt kṣatram brahma-bhūyam gatam kṣatru.

4 - Hari 11. 9 —— Nabhāgāriṣṭa-putrāv dvau vaisyau brāhmaṇatām gatau.

5 - Agni 273. 17 —— Nabhāgasya cha putrāv dvau vaisyau brāhmaṇatām gatau.
We are informed that the sons of Saunaka of the line of Ayus enter four castes. According to the Visnupurana, Saunaka is the founder of four castes and the same is true of Bhargabhumi of the line of Ayus and Divodasa.

We thus find that the gotras of Mama and Saunaka contain members belonging to all the four castes. This shows that persons of all castes may belong to the same gotra and be known by the same gotra designation in early Aryan society.

These conditions are altered in a later period which renders gotra a Brahmansistic interpretation quite in keeping with the new claims of the rising priesthood.

1 - Vayu 92. 2 - 5 --- putro Gritsamadasyapi Sunakah yasya Saunakah: brähmaṇāḥ ksatriyāḥ chaiva vaisyāḥ südrāḥ tathaiva cha, etasya vamṣe sambhūtāḥ.

2 - Visnu IV. 8. 1 --- Gritsamadasya Saunakah chāturvarṇya-pravartayitā abhūt.

3 - Ibid IV. 8. 9 --- Bhārgasya Bhārgabhūmih atah chāturvarṇya-pravṛttiḥ.
Section XVIII - Kṣatriya-Brāhmaṇa gotras:

The lists of gotras and pravaras contain names of Kṣatriya Rishis, converted into Brāhmaṇas. The Purānic designation of these Kṣatriyas is 'Ksatropeta dvijāti' and Pargiter calls them Kṣatriyan Brāhmaṇas.

P. Chentsal Rao regards ten gotras as Brāhmaṇised Kṣatriya families. Of these Kṣatriya clans four are called 'kevala-Bhargava' and six are known as 'kevala-Aṅgirasa'. A kevala-Bhārgava gotra is one which is not included in the Jamadagni group of Bhārgavas and a kevala-Aṅgirasa gotra is one which is excluded from the Gotama and Bharadvāja groups of the Aṅgirasas. These families are not genuinely Bhārgava or Aṅgirasa, but are admitted into the gana of Bhrigu or Aṅgiras after relinquishing their Kṣatriya-hood. We mention below the names of these gotras:

1 - See p. 243, AIHT.

2 - See p. iii, Introduction, Gpnk.

3 - See pp. 149 - 150, Pravadarpanam, Gpnk; Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa calls the Kṣatriya-Brāhmaṇa families 'kevala-Bhārgava' or 'kevala-Aṅgirasa'; the same families are called 'sūddha-Bhrigu' or 'sūddha-Aṅgirasa' by Abhinava-Mādhavāchāryya, see pp. 325 - 326, Gotra-pravara-nirṇaya, Gpnk.
(i) Yitahayya: A story of the Mahābhārata reports that Vitahayya becomes a Brāhmaṇa by the assistance of Bhṛigu; after this, he enters the Bhṛigu family. According to the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, Vitahayya belongs to the Ikṣvāku-Nimi-Janaka line.

(ii) Mitrayu: The Mitrayus are described by Ápastamva as Vadhryasvaśas, i.e., the descendants of Vadhryasva. They are spoken of as Kṣatriyapeta Bhargavas in the Vāyupurāṇa. Though descended from the Ajamidha-Mudgala-Vṛiddhhasva (Vadhryasva) line, they enter the gana of Bhṛigus.

(iii) Sunaka: Ápastamva regards the Sūnakas as descendants of Gṛtsamada (Gārtsamadāh). The Purānic genealogy traces them to Gṛtsamada of the lunar race. The Vāyupurāṇa

1 - Ápastamva mentions Vitahayya as a separate gotra, see Āp. Sr. S. 24.6.1.
2 - Mbh XIII. 30. 57 - 58.
3 - Bṛg IX. 13. 26; also Viṣṇu IV. 5. 13.
4 - Baudh I. 7.
5 - Āp. Sr. S. 24. 6. 5.
6 - Vāyu 99. 203 - 211; also Matsya 50. 11 - 14.
7 - Viṣṇu IV. 19. 16 - 18.
8 - Āp. Sr. S. 24. 6. 3.
9 - The Sūnakas are regarded as an offshoot of the Purūravas-Āyuś line in the Purāṇas; see Bṛg IX. 17. 2 - 3; Viṣṇu IV. 8.1; Vāyu 92. 2 - 5.
regards them as 'Kṣatropeta dvijātis'. They form a sept of the Bhrigu gana.

(iv) Pārtha: The Prithus are placed in the Vena family by Āpastamva and Baudhāyana. Āśvalāyana mentions Śyaitas instead of Prithus. The Purānic tradition locates Prithu, the son of Vena (or Vena) in the line of Chākṣuṣa Manu and not in the more illustrious solar or lunar dynasty. Prithi Vainya is known to the authors of the Rigveda and the Atharvaveda. Though Kṣatriyas by origin, the Prithus enter the Bhrigu gana.

(v) Rathitara: Āpastamva describes the Rathitaras as Virūpas and includes the name of Priśadasāva in their pravara. Āśvalāyana speaks of Priśadasāvas instead of Rathitaras. The

1 - Vāyu 92. 6 — Saunakāsaka Ārṣṭiṣeṇāsaka kṣatropeta dvijātayah.
3 - Baudh I. 8.
4 - Āsv. Sr. S. II. 6.10 — Śyaitanām Bhārgava-Vainya-Pārtheti.
5 - Vāyu 62. 93 = 94 ; also Viṣṇu I. 13. 3, 8 = 9.
6 - RV VIII. 9. 10.
7 - AV VIII. 5. 5. 11.
8 - See p. vii, Introduction, Gynk.
9 - Baudh IV. 24.
BMgavatapararsa reports that Aṅgiras generated sons in the queen of Rathitarasya aprajasya bhāryāyāṃ tantave arthitah. Aṅgirā janayāmāsa brahma-varchasvinah sutān.

(vi) Mudgala: The name of Trīkṣu is included in one of the pravaras of the Mudgala gotra. This indicates that they have descended from Trīkṣu. The Vāyupurāṇa traces them to the Vitatha-Ajamidha line. The Mudgalas form a sept of the Aṅgiras gana and are known as Kṣatropeṭa dvijātis, i.e., a Brāhmaṇa gotra (brahma-nirvṛttam gotram).

(vii) Kaṇva: According to Āpastamva, the Kaṇvas have their origin from Ajamidha. Āśvalāyana is of opinion that the name of Ajamilha in their pravara may be replaced by the name of Ghora. The Brāhaddevatā also mentions Kaṇva as the son of Ghora.

1 - Bgt IX. 6. 2 - 3 —— Rathitarasya aprajasya bhāryāyāṃ tantave arthitah. Aṅgirā janayāmāsa brahma-varchasvinah sutān.
2 - Vaiṣṇu IV. 2. 2 —— ēte kṣetra-prasūtāḥ ... kṣatropetāḥ (?) dvijātayah; also Vaiṣṇu IV. 2. 2 —— ēte kṣetra-prasūtāḥ vai panaścāṅgirasah amṛtāh. Rathitarāṇāṃ pravarāḥ kṣatropetāḥ dvijātayah.
3 - Vaiṣṇu 99. 194 - 201.
4 - See Āśv. Sr. S. II. 6. 12; Āp. Sr. S. 24. 8. 7 - 8; in this connection see also p. 11, Chronology of ancient India.
5 - See Bgt IX. 21. 33.
6 - Āp. Sr. S. 24. 8. 2.
7 - Āśv. Sr. S. II. 6. 13.
The Puranic tradition places the Kāṇvāyana dvijas in the Pūru-Vitatha-Ajāmīḍha line. They are treated as Kṣatriyas, converted into Brāhmaṇas, and included in the gana of Aṅgirasas.

(viii) Sāmkriti: One of the two pravaras of the Sāmkriti gotra contains the name of Aṅgiras and the other the name of Sakti. This indicates that the Sāmkritis are affiliated to the clans of Aṅgiras and Sakti. In the Purāṇas they are spoken of as the descendants of Vitatha. In spite of their Kṣatriyan origin they are regarded as a Brāhmaṇa clan.

1 - The Viṣṇupurāṇa mentions Kāṇvāyana dvijas of the Pūru-Rantināra line and Kāṇvāyana dvijas of the Vitatha-Ajāmīḍha line, see Viṣṇu IV. 19. 2, 10.
2 - Vide Hari 32. 68 —— ets hi Aṅgirasah paksam samsritah Kanva-Maudgalāḥ.
3 - Āpastamva mentions Sāmkriti as a sept of the Vasiṣṭha gotra, see Āp. Sr. S. 24. 10. 8 ; Baudhāyana regards Sāmkriti as a sept of the Aṅgiras clan, see Baudh IV. 23.
4 - See Āśv. Sr.S. II. 6. 12 ; Gārgya-Nārāyana connects Sāmkritis with both the Aṅgiras gana and the Vasiṣṭha gotra; vide his com. upon Āśv. Sr. S. II. 6. 12 —— tatah Samkrtiyādīnāṃ Vasiṣṭhathavābhāve pramanābhāvāt Vasiṣṭhānīh esām avivāhah.
5 - Viṣṇu IV. 19. 9 ; Vāyu 99. 160 ; Bgt IX. 21. 1.
(ix) Visnuvriddha: The prarara of the Visnuvriddha gotra consists of the names of Purukutsa and Trasadasyu. These names refer to Rigvedic kings who are regarded in the Puranas as the ancestors of the Visnuvriddhas. The transference of this Kṣatriya family of the Ikṣvāku stock to the Aṅgiras clan exalts it to the status of Kṣatriyadviṣṭi.

(x) Harita: According to Āśvalāyana, the name of Aṅgiras in the prarara of the Harita gotra is replaceable by that of Mandhāta and the option is a clear indication of the fact that the Haritas obtained a place in the Aṅgiras clan after having renounced their claim to Kṣatriya-hood. The Visnu Purana locates Haritas in the Amvariṣa-Yuvanāśva line.


2 - See Rv VII. 19. 3 -- Paurukutsim Trasadasyum.
Trasadasyu is spoken of as the son of Purukutsa.

3 - Vīdā Vāyu 88. 76 - 82; Mūrma I. 20. 23 - 28.

4 - See p. xii, Introduction, Gpnk.

5 - ĀŚv. Sr. S. II. 6. 12 -- Mandhātāram haiks vrucate
 atitya Aṅgirasam ...

6 - Visnu IV. 3. 5 -- Amvariṣa-sya Māndhātah tanayasya
Yuvanāsvah putrah abhūt. tasmāt Haritah yatah Aṅgirasah
Hāritāh.
Besides these gotras, we find other instances of Kṣatriya-Brāhmaṇa clans. These are mentioned below:

(i) Kutsa: Āpastamba treats Kutsa as a separate gotra. It appears to be a Brāhmaṇised Kṣatriya gotra, as the name of Māndhātā is included in the pravara, assigned to it. Baudhāyana includes Kautsas among the Haritas and Āśvalāyana mentions Kutsa along with Harita and other gotras.

(ii) Ārṣṭiṣena: The pravara of the Ārṣṭiṣena gotra contains the names of Riṣṭiṣena and Amūpa. The Brāhaddevatā describes Ārṣṭiṣenas as Kurus and the Vāyupurāṇa regards them as Kṣatropeta dvijātis of the line of Nabuṣa.

Āṅgirasa-Māndhātra-Kautseti.
2 - Baudh. IV. 22.
3 - Āśv. Sr. S. II. 6. 12.
4 - See Āśv. Sr. S. II. 6. 10 — Ārṣṭiṣenānāṁ Bhārgava-
Chyāvana-Āryavāna-Ārṣṭiṣena-Āmūpeti.
5 - Bṛdh. pt. I, VII. 155 — Ārṣṭiṣenāstu Devāpiḥ
Kauravyaschaiva Sāṃtanuh, bhrātarau Kurusu tvetau rājaputrau
vabhuuvatuh.
6 - Vāyu 92. 2-6 — Sāunakāḥ cha Ārṣṭiṣenāḥ cha kṣatropeta
dvijātayah ; also 91. 111 - 118.
(iii) Rikṣa: The Riksas are considered as a Bharadvāja group. Baudhāyana calls them Raukṣayānas. The Purāṇas locate them in the line of Ajamīdha. Though Kṣatriyas by origin, they form a Brāhmaṇa gotra.

(iv) Garga: The Gargas form a sept of the Bharadvāja clan. They are placed by the Purāṇas in the line of Vītatha (i.e., Bharadvāja) and regarded as Kṣatrōpeta dvijātis.

(v) Kapi: The name of Uruksaya occurs in the pravara of the Kapi gotra. The Matsyapurāṇa gives the account of Uruksavas (Uruksayas) as transformed into Brāhmaṇas. As descendants of Uruksaya, the Kapis appear to be a Kṣatriya-Brāhmaṇa clan.

1 - See Āśv. Śr. S. II. 6. 11; Āp. Śr. S. 24. 7. 6.

2 - Baudh III. 18.

3 - Viṣṇu IV. 19. 18; Vāyu 99. 213 - 215; Bṛhat Pūrāṇa IX. 22. 4.

4 - Āśv. Śr. S. II. 6. 12; Baudh III. 19.

5 - Vide Viṣṇu IV. 19. 9 — Gargat Śīniḥ, tatah Gārgyāḥ Sainyāḥ kṣatrōpētā dvijātāyāḥ vabhūvuh; also Vāyu 99. 160-161.

6 - See Āśv. Śr. S. II. 6. 13; Baudh IV. 26.

7 - Matsya 49. 39 - 40 — Uruksavāḥ (Uruksayāḥ?) smṛtāḥ hyete sarve brāhmaṇatāṁ gatāh.
The above-mentioned gotras are instances of Brahmanised Kšatriya clans.

Among the eight principal gotras Visvāmitra and Bhāradvāja are found to be instances of transformation of caste.

The Visvāmitra gotra may be considered as a Kšatriya-Brahmana clan. A Rigvedic verse describes the Visvāmitras as the sons of Bharata who is traced to the Aila-Puru line by the Purāṇas. The epics contain stories pertaining to the popular belief which represents Visvāmitra as a Brahmanised Kšatriya. Pargiter and Chanda do not doubt the actuality of the tradition of conversion of Visvāmitra to the priestly caste. Bloomfield holds that the Vasiṣṭhas in their conflict with the Visvāmitras vilified the latter as Kšatriyas by origin. We find reference to this conflict in the Sasarparī verses of a Rigvedic hymn.

1 - Vide Rv III. 53. 24.
2 - Visnu IV. 19. 2 - 4 ; Vāyu 99. 133 - 135 ; Matsya 49. 11 ; Bgt IX. 20. 16 - 26.
3 - Vide Rām I. 65. 18 - 28 ; the Rāmāyaṇa states that Vasistha's assent is required for the attainment of Brāhmaṇa-hood by Visvāmitra ; also Mbh I. 175. 45 - 48 ; the Mahābhārata refers to Visvāmitra's obtaining Brāhmaṇa-hood.
4 - See p. 245, AIHT.
5 - See pp. 18 - 23, Indo-Aryan races, pt. I.
6 - See p. 647, Rigveda repetitions, pt. II.
7 - Rv III. 53. 15 - 16 ; Sāyaṇa regards these two Rigvedic verses as the Sasarparī incantations.
as explained by the Brihaddevata. As the Viṣṇapurāṇa and the Rāmāyana assert that the Visvāmitra line is traceable to king Kusā and the Skandapurāṇa mentions the Kusā gotra, we have definite reasons to conclude that the Visvāmitras were originally Kṣatriyas, but afterwards elevated to the position of a Brāhmaṇa gotra. Our conclusion is also justified by the Mahābhāṣya and a passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa in which Sūnadhēpa addresses Visvāmitra as 'Rājaputra'.

1 - Bṛd, pt. II, IV. 112 - 118 ; the Rigvedic verses (III. 53. 21 - 24) are traditionally held to be hostile to the Vasiṣṭhas ; see p. 158, ibid.

2 - Viṣṇu IV. 7. 3 - 6 ; IV. 7. 16 ; Visvāmitra is located in the Kusā line of the Aila stock.

3 - Rām I. 32. 1 - 3 ; 34. 5 - 6 ; also Tilaka upon I. 34. 6.

4 - Skanda, Brahmakanda, Dharmāranyakaṇḍa, 39. 90 - 91.

5 - Pat IV. 1. 4, p. 136, vol. IV, --- Visvāmitrah tapah tepe na anṛṣih syām iti. tatrabhāvan riṣih sampannah.

6 - AB VII. 3. 5 ; also Sāyaṇa's com.
The Bharadvāja gotra appears to be an instance of a Brahma-Kṣatria clan. According to the Purānic episode, Bharadvāja is the adopted son of Bharata and renamed Vitatha and his descendants have been known as Brāhmaṇas or Kṣatriyas. It may be surmised that Bharadvāja renounced his Brāhmaṇa pedigree while he was admitted into the Kṣatriya caste. It is quite probable that the Sūtras take into account the Brāhmaṇised section of the Bharadvajas in treating them as a Brāhmaṇa gotra.

1 - The designation 'Brahma-Kṣatria' as used by the Vāyupurāṇa is applicable to Bharadvāja who relinquished his Brāhmaṇahood and entered the Kṣatriya caste; see Vāyu 65. 94 --- brahmakṣatramayaṃ Rāmam; the Bhārgava Rāma is here described as 'Brahma-Kṣatra'.

2 - Vide Bgt IX. 20. 35 - 39; Śrīdharaśvāmi comments upon Bgt IX. 21. 1 - 2 --- Bharatasya anvayaḥ vitathe sati dattatvāt Vitatha-samjño Bharadvājaḥ sa cha brāhmaṇāḥ api Bharatasya datta-putrah jētah; the Hariyamsa regards Titatha as a son of Bharadvāja, see Hari 32. 17 --- tataḥ atha Vitathah nāma Bharadvāja-sutah abhavat.

3 - See Matsya 49. 33 --- tasmāt api Bharadvājāt brāhmaṇāh kṣatriyāḥ bhuvi dvāyāmasyāyaṇa-ksulināḥ smṛitāste dvividhena cha.

4 - See Vāyu 99. 156 - 157 --- tataḥ sa Vitathah nāma Bharadvājah tathā abhavat. tasmāt divyāḥ Bharadvājah brāhmaṇyāt kṣatriyāḥ abhavat.
We have so far found that among the gotra-Risës some belong to the Kšatriya caste and have obtained Brähmana-hood. Thus, the belief in the Brähmanical origin of all gotras is a myth, created by the priestly caste.

The founder of the Bharadväja gotra is a Brähmana, converted into a Kšatriya. The members of this gotra are traditionally believed to have formed a Brähmana clan. Thus, a priestly clan may have its origin from a Kšatriya.

The entry of non-Brähmanas into priestly clans and the origin of some Brähmana gotras from non-Brähmana patriarchs are not considered as irregularities in early Indo-Aryan society.
Section XIX - Names of Kṣatriyas in the list of pravaras:

Among the pravara-Riṣis the names of some Kṣatriya kings have been enlisted. Some of them belong to the Aila stock, namely:

(i) Vadhryasva, Divodāsa, related to the Mitrayu gotra;
(ii) Sunaka, Gṛtsamada, related to the Sunaka gotra;
(iii) Garga, Sini, related to the Garga gotra;

1 - Vadhryasva (Vṛddhasva) is reported to be the father of Divodāsa and grandfather of Mitrayu; see Viṣṇu IV. 19. 16 - 18; Vayu 99. 194 - 211; Matsya 50. 6 - 14; the Pañchavimsa Brāhmaṇa (13. 3. 17) speaks of one 'Vadhryasva Āmūpa'; it is to be noted that Baudhāyana places Vadhryasva in the pravara of the Mitrayu gotra and Āmūpa in the pravara of Ārṣīṣena gotra; see Baudh I. 5, 7.

2 - Sunaka is a son of Gṛtsamada of the line of Āyus; see Vayu 92. 2 - 5; Viṣṇu IV. 8. 1; the Chhāndogya Upanisat (IV. 3. 5) mentions one 'Śaunaka Kāpeya', but the Pravaraprasha does not report any connection between the Sunaka and the Kapi clans.

3 - Sini, the son of Garga, belongs to the line of Vitatha; see Viṣṇu IV. 19. 9; Bṛg IX. 21. 19.
(iv) Ajamidha, Kanva, connected with the Kanva gotra;
(v) Mudgala, Bhrimyasva, associated with the Mudgala gotra;
(vi) Riştisena, related to the Arştisena gotra;
(vii) Kusika, associated with the Indra-Kausika gotra.

Some of the pravara-Risis belong to the Kṣatriyas, namely, ---

(1) Vitahavya, associated with the Yaska gotra;

(ii) Purukutsa, Trasadasyu, related to the Viśuvṛiddha gotra;

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1 - Ajamīdha, the father of Kanva, is traced to the Bharata-Vitatha line; see Viśnu IV. 19. 10; Matsya 49. 46 - 47.
2 - Bhrimyasva (Bharmyasva) is known to be the father of Mudgala; see Bgt IX. 21. 31; also p. 116, AIHT.
3 - Riştisena belongs to the line of Kuru; vide Erd, pt. I, VII. 155.
4 - Kusika is the son of Kusá and grandfather of Viśvāmitra; vide Hari 27. 11 - 16, 42 - 43.
5 - Vide Baudh VI. 39.
6 - Vide Viśnu IV. 5. 13.
7 - Purukutsa, the father of Trasadasyu, belongs to the Ikṣevāku line; vide Viśnu IV. 3. 12 - 13; Vāyu 88. 71 - 74; Bgt IX. 7. 4.
(iii) Amvarisâ, Yuvarasva, Mandhata, connected with the Harita gotra;
(iv) Virupa, Rathitara, related to the Rathitara gotra.

We thus find that the pravaras contain a number of names of Ksatriya Rishis. The presence of names of Ksatriya kings in the list of gotra-Rishis and pravara-Rishis exhibits the nature of the early gotra organisation and brings us back to a time when the membership of a clan is not determined by caste.

We may now conclude that (i) the institution of gotra is earlier than the caste system; (ii) castes have their origin within the gotra; (iii) the period of the rise of Brahmânaism witnesses the growth of the tradition of Brahmânical origin of gotras; (iv) the viewpoint of this age is represented by the authors of the Sûtras.

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1 - Amvarisâ is the son of Mandhata and grandson of Yuvarasva; vide Viṣṇu IV. 2. 16 - 19; Vāyu 88. 66 - 72.

2 - Rathitara is the illustrious son of Prisadasva and grandson of Virupa of the line of Nabhaga; vide Viṣṇu IV. 2. 2; Vāyu 88. 6 - 8; the name of Prisadasva is included in the alternative pravara of the Rathitaras; see Bandh IV. 24.