INTRODUCTION:

In order to bring to light some cultural aspects and the way of life of a given people over a period of time, it is extremely necessary that one must study the social structure of the people because culture is the part and parcel of man. The culture is "The complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society."\(^1\)

The "structure" of anything consists of the relatively stable interrelationships among its parts. A social system is composed of interrelated acts of people. Its structure, therefore, can be sought in some degree of regularity or recurrence in these acts. Roles and subgroups of various types are considered to be the "parts" of social structure.\(^2\)

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\(^1\)Johnson Harry M., Sociology: Systematic Introduction, p. 82

\(^2\)Vide, Ibid. pp. 48 ff.
In India the knowledge of the social structure can be gathered through the investigation of her caste-system which constitutes her social system. The Indian social system is unique because it alone classifies some groups of people as untouchable and unapproachable. Now, the Government of India, however, views this practice with unfavourable attitude and tries to abolish it by the enactment of laws. Among other sources, Vedic literature, the Epics, the Purānic literature, the Sūtra literature, the drama, the poetry and the vast storehouse of folk-tales can be included as the sources through which the investigation can be made to reconstruct the social system of Indian people.

By caste is implied the form of social inequality in contrast to class as being more rigid form of social gradation and hardly allowing individual mobility. In respect of social stratifications in India, André Béteille observes that "In any traditional society, status is to some extent ascribed by birth. But nowhere has it been so rigidly ascribed and nowhere its gradation as elaborate as in India. In addition to being rigid and elaborate, social inequalities were sanctioned by the ideology of caste."  

3 Vide G.S. Ghurye, Caste and Class in India, (1952) p.41.  
5 Béteille André, Caste : Old and New, (1969) p.16.
Considering that any attempt to define the caste-system fails to cover the whole sphere, G.S. Ghurye, the prominent sociologist of India, describes it as consisting of six features viz. (1) segmental division of society (2) Hierarchy, i.e. the social precedence amongst the castes (3) restrictions on feeding and social intercourse (4) civil and religious disabilities and privileges of the different sections (5) lack of unrestricted choice of occupation and (6) restrictions on marriage.

Some of these features are met with in the DP. and they will be taken up for discussion at their proper places. Under "Social Structure" the following topics viz. varṇa and jāti, theory of the origin of the four varṇas, varṇa system, āśrama system, theory of puruṣārtha etc. will be discussed.

Varṇa and Jāti: The term "varṇa" is used in the Rg. in the sense of "colour" caused by light, especially the blackness of the night and the redness of the dawn. It also means races of people in so far as they distinguish themselves by the colour of their skins, especially the Aryan and the Dāsa races. The term is used in the Rg. to refer to classes of

7 Vide Grassmann Hermann, Wörterbuch Zum Rigvėda, p.1222. See also Rg. I.73.7; II. 3.5; IX. 97.15 etc.
8 Ibid., p.1223; and also Rg. I.176.6; III.34. 9 etc.
people viz. Aryans and Dāsas not to the four-fold social order viz. Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. According to Ghurye, the four social classes are referred to as varṇas only in later literature.

The term "varṇa" is used in the DP. to refer to the social classes. It is said that all the varṇas Brahmins are the best (II.42) and that by mutual cooperation and by carrying out their own responsibilities, all varṇas viz. Brahmins etc. live there (Moherakapura) happily. Here the word "varṇa" is used in plural but the specific number of the social orders is not stated; so it is not known whether it refers to four social orders or more. In preparing for the defence of Moherakapura from Muslim attack it is said that the people of other varṇas (than those who were weak and ignorant of fighting skills) were put at the front lines of defence (LXVIII. 46, 47). Here the specific number of the varṇas is not mentioned; so it is difficult to say definitely that the word "varṇa" is used here to refer to four social orders. Possibly, the word "varṇa" is used in the sense of "caste" or "jāti". The ascription of four colours to the four varṇas as suggested by the MP. and the MKP. is not

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9 Cf. Rg. 10.90; vide Kane P.V., HDS., Vol.II, Part I, p.27.
The term "jāti" is now-a-days used commonly to denote the castes and their subdivisions in different parts of India. The use of the word jāti in the sense of caste can be traced back to the times of the Nirukta.

The term "jāti" in the DP. seems to be used in the sense of "caste". Ala-ud-din is referred to as being born in the caste of the "mleccha" (Muslim) (LXVIII.4). The word "Moḍhajāteḥ" (LXVIII.70) is clearly used in the sense of "Moḍha-caste". The DP. XLIX.88 refers to Čāndāla by using the wording "jāti" which means "caste" or "birth". The word "jāti" is used in the sense of "caste" in referring to the boy who is destined to be the ancestor of the Moḍha Brahmins in future (LXIV.22).

Theory of the origin of the four varnas:

Various theories have been advanced about the origin of the caste-system.

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15 For various theories and their criticism regarding the origin of caste vide Senart Émile, Caste in India, translated by Sir E. Denison Ross, (1930) pp.148 ff.
The origin of the four varṇas is traditionally attributed by the Hindus to the limbs of the "Puruṣa", or the "Primeval man". The earliest reference to this occurs in the famous hymn called Purusasūkta (Rg. 10. 90.12) which is regarded on the grounds of language and subject-matter to be one of the late hymns of the Rg. It says that the Brahmin was his mouth; his two arms were made into the Rājāya; the Vaiśya was his thighs; and the Śūdra emerged from his feet. Ghurye notices the change of the original theory of the divine origin of the four varṇas in the Mahābhārata when he says, "The theory of the divine origin of four castes is of and on repeated with special stress on the origin of the Shudra from the feet of the Creator. In the Mahābhārata once at least a slightly material change is introduced in this theory, where we are told that the first three castes were created first, and the Shudra created afterwards for serving the others."  

The Purāṇakāra seems to ignore the traditional belief that the Brahmin was originated from the mouth and the Vaiśya from the thighs of the Puruṣa when he ascribes the origin of Moṣha Brahmins to the joint creation of Viṣṇu, Brahma and Maheśa and Moṣha Banias to the creation of Kāmadhenu (V.8-9; VII. 26-27). Here the Brahmins were created first and the

16 Vide Macdonell A.A., A Vedic Reader, p.195; A History of Sanskrit Literature, p.133.
Banias created later to serve the former. In the DP, the Vaniks (Banias) are treated as traditional Śūdra and this will be discussed later.

However, the Purāṇakāra does not completely forget the significance of the traditional theory regarding the origin of Brahmins, when he says that Brahmins were assigned to the position of prominence because they were born from the mouth of the Creator (V.56). The epithets like "mukhaja" (VII.39) and "mukhodbhava" (XLV.14) also speak of the origin of the Brahmins from the mouth of the Creator. The origination of castes other than Brahmins and Vaniks is not met with in the DP.

**Varṇa-system:** Traditionally, the Hindu social system is composed of four classes of people viz. Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. All the literary accounts of the important aspects of castes centre round these four classes in society and not the multifarious groups which are the present day castes. The association of the limbs of the Creator with the origin of the four classes and the order in which they are mentioned probably indicate their status in society.

The social precedence is probably suggested by the fact that in the pilgrimage to Dharmāranya conducted by Rāma, the

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Brahmins walked at the head of the pilgrims' procession, then followed the Kṣatriyas, the Viṣes and the Sūdras respectively. (XLIII.4).

Brahmins: They rank first in the social order. The DP. declares that of all the varṇas Brahmins are the best (II.42) and that the Brahmins occupy the highest place in society because they are born from the mouth of the Creator (V.56). The Brahmins are placed on par with gods, which shows that they command respect from the members of other castes. This is suggested by the epithets like bhūṣura (VIII.42;XLVIII.9; LIII.14 etc.), bhūmidevata (XLV.10), bhūmideva (XLV.32), dharāsura (LV.72) etc. They are regarded as gods on earth because they are capable to curse and favour (V.56). This means that the Brahmins acquire the reverence from others by pursuing the stick-and-carrot policy. It is claimed that the righteousness which is the support of the world is preserved by Brahmins with pure conduct and that they are always victorious because they are the store-house of knowledge (Vedas) and the ocean of forbearance (V.56). They are also described as the vital breath and the very form (Swarūpa) of Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Maheśa on account of their being the preservers of the Vedas and their auxiliaries (VII.51).

20 The Buddhist and Jain Literature put the Brahmins in the second order after Kṣatriyas. Vide Dhīgh. p.64 and Jain J.C., Life in Ancient India, (1947) p.140.
The eulogy of Brahmins is as old as the Vedic period. Most exaggerated and hyperbolical descriptions of the greatness of Brahmins are shown broadcast over all the Sārtis and the Purāṇas. The eulogy was docilely accepted by other classes. 21

The superiority of Brahmins over even the Kṣatriyas is revealed by the fact that Rāma prostrated himself on the ground as the sign of respect when he met Brahmins, the former residents of Moherakapura, then he gave them water for washing their feet (XLV. 8). The same superiority is also asserted in the story of the wicked king Vena who perished at the hands of Brahmins (LXV. 19). It is also said that the acquisition of human body is difficult; yet to obtain the Brahminhood is even more difficult (VII. 11). This again bespeaks the superiority of the Brahmins, over other creatures.

Duties and Occupations of Brahmins:

Brahmins and learning had become indissolubly connected even in early Vedic period. 22 Manu IV. 147 says "a Brahmin should always and assiduously study the Vedas alone; that (Veda study) is his highest dharma". The D.P. partly reiterates this, saying that according to Dharma-śastra the Brahmins' duty is to study (the Vedas) and officiate as priests in a

sacrifice, that they should pursue 'śāhchavṛtti' - way of life and that possession of villages will lead them to hell (LII.67). The Brahmins' study of the Vedas and their acquisition of proficiency in them are evinced by the epithets like vedavit (VI.56), vedavijña (VI.45), vedapārāga (VI.27), vedavedāṅgapārāga (VI.31), vedārthatatvajña (VI.59), vedavedāṅgatatvajña (VI.60), vedāśāstrajña (VI.75), vedāhyā-yānāśīla (VI.23), ṛgyajuḥsāmakusāla (VI.7), udgīthakuśala (VI.7), śrotiya (VI.54). Apart from the Vedas, the Brahmins are said to be well-versed in other branches of knowledge too. They are proficient in Sāṅkhya-yoga (VI.8, 28), Dharmāśāstra (VI.11), recitation of the Vedas (VI.15), the procedures of a sacrifice (VI.16, 27), śāstra and darśana (VI.24), fortune telling (daiva) (VI.35), śrauta and-smārta rites (VI.38), Dharmaśāstra (VI.49, 75), Karmakanda (VI.49), ayurveda (medicine) (VI.56), astrology and astronomy (jyotiṣa) (VI.57), mantras (VI.60), kāla (VI.63), oration (VI.66), all āgamas (VI.69), Purāṇas and epics (VI.79), architecture (VI.28) etc.

From the times of the Brāhmaṇa literature and in the times of the Dharmaśāstras the teaching of Vedic literature was almost universally in the hands of Brahmins.² Some Brahmins created by Viṣṇu, Brahma and Maheśa are said to have

²¹Cf. Yaj. I.128; M.S. X. 112.
been engaged in teaching (VII.3) but the subjects taught are not mentioned. Nevertheless, what can be said for certain is that they played the roles of teachers.

It was the privilege of a Brahmin alone to officiate as a priest. The terms like Karmakāndarata (VI.11), Yajñavidyāviśārada (VI.16), Karmakāndavicaksana (VI.49), Yaṅt (VI.7), Yajane Yajane rata (VI.20), Yajñika (VI.24), Yajñakarmarata (VII.7), vedapāthapārākṣana (VI.19), vedapāthaka (VI.24), etc. are the indicators of the Brahmins playing a role of priests in sacrificial ritual and Vedic recitation. The Moḍha Brahmins are said to have officiated as priests in the sacrifice performed by Rāma in Moherakapura (LI. 9-10). However, it is prohibited elsewhere that the Moḍha Brahmins should not perform a sacrifice for the members of a low varṇa (LXII.5).

Accepting gifts from worthy persons is allowed as a means of livelihood for a Brahmin. The DP. enjoys that the Moḍha Brahmins should not accept gifts from the persons of a low varṇa viz. washermen, workers in hides, dancers, workers in bamboos, fishermen, medas and bhills. The Brahmin who accepts gifts from them is regarded as bringing his house down to a low position. He should be disassociated by other Brahmins. (LXII. 5-8). It is also suggested that the gifts received at the time of an eclipse is regarded as bad. (XI.29).

Gaut. (VII.6) allows a Brahmin to follow Kṣatriya's profession in case of distress and adds (in VII.25) that even a Brahmin while still following the peculiar avocation of a Brahmin may wield weapons when his life is in danger. The Baud. Dh. S. (II.2.80) quotes a verse: "for saving cows and Brahmins, for preventing the mixture of varṇas, the Brahmans and Vaisāyas may take to arms from their concern for dharma". The Vas. Dh. S. (III.24) allows a Brahmin to wield a weapon for protecting himself and for preventing confusion or mingling of varṇas. Manu (VIII. 348-349) allows all dvijātis to resort to weapons where the observance of dharma (or of the duties of varṇas and āśrama) is obstructed (by violent men), when there is a disturbance (due to invasion etc.) involving the twice-born classes, in evil times for protecting one's self, when there is an attack for carrying away cows or other wealth (given as fees) and 'in order to protect women and Brahmins and he incurs no sin if he kills (for these purposes). The DP. furnishes instances of Brahmans and Vaisāyas (Vaṇiks) wielding weapons to protect themselves and their interests. Once cows were taken away by demons (dānavas) and in order to protect the cows, Brahmins, Vaṇiks and cowherds fought with the demons till their eventual victory (XXVI. 1-16). In defending the city of Moheraka from Muslim attack, Vitthala, a Brahmin, is said to have organized a force consisting of Brahmans and Vaṇiks for the purpose (LXVIII. 45-51).
The following description of the Brahmins residing in Moherakapura gives us some glimpses of their activities, perhaps connected with their occupations:

"Some Brahmins are engaged in practising penance; some are devoted to sacrifices and to the study of the Vedas and Yoga; some who are learned are busy with discussion on Sāṅkhya; some are devoted to teaching; some are busy with the rites prescribed in the Śrutis and the Śrītis, some are the devotees of Viṣṇu, some are engaged in worshipping Rudra; some are the knowers, karmavāda philosophy; some are busy with cāturahotra sacrifice; and others carry out the study of logical philosophy." (VII.7-10).

Kṣatriyas: They form the next order of society. The terms used in the DP. to denote this order are kṣatra (XXXII.54), kṣatriya (XLIII.4), rājanya (LXIX.31) and rājan (LII.68).

Etymologically, the term "kṣatra" means, according to the DP., "protecting good people from danger." (XXXI.18). "The term 'kṣatriya' of which 'rājanya' is an earlier varjant occurs seldom in Rigveda."26 In some places in the Rg.27 the term kṣatriya is used as an epithet of gods, while in some other places28 it stands for a king or a noble man.

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26 Majumdar R.C. and Pusalkar A.D. (eds.), The Vedic Age, p.386.
27 Rg.VII. 64.2; Rg.VIII. 25.8.
28 Rg. IV. 42.1; vide also Kane P.V., HDS., Vol.II,Part I, p.30.
The word "ksatra" occurs in the Rg. I. 157.2; it possibly means "valour". 29

"The occupation of the class..... must have consisted in administrative and military duties, though the rank and file of the army might have been formed even by the commoners. 30

The DP. says that the duty of the king is to protect the people (LII.68).

Vaiśyas: The DP. does not give much information about the Vaiśyas who constitute the third order of society. The terms used in the DP. to denote this class of people is vis (XLIII.4) and vaiśya (LII.68). They are of vedic antiquity. 31

The occupation prescribed for the Vaiśyas by the Dharmaśāstra is agriculture (LII.68). 32

The emergence of a caste called "Vaniks" appears in the DP. and judging from the pursuits followed by them viz. sowing seeds in the field, protecting cattle from thieves, tending bulls, collecting grains and doing domestic work (VIII.37-38), they fall under the category of the Vaiśyas, setting aside the accounts of their origin from Kāmadhenu. 33

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29 Kane P.V., Ibid., p.30.
31 Vide Kantawala S.G., CHMP., p.33.
32 Cf. Gaut. 10.1-3,7,50.
instead of from the thighs of the Puruṣa as traditionally believed. The problem of the Vaniks will be dealt with later. It is interesting to note that in the DP. the Vaniks are sometimes referred to as 'Śūdras. This may suggest that the caste-system had reached, on the path of its development, the stage in which there is no distinction between the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras. The similar phenomenon appears also in the MKP. In this respect K.M. Banerjee may be quoted, is "It is remarkable that the Śūdra is here classed with the Vaiśya and Kṣatriya, and the Brahmin distinguished by a broad line from all three. In the primitive age of Brahmanism, the priests, warriors and merchants were classed together as the three regenerate classes, and the Śūdras were far distanced from them all as serfs. It is comparatively in recent times that the Śūdras rose to consequence and importance and began to be classed with Vaiśyas and Kṣatriyas, while the Brahmins were further distanced from the two intermediate orders by reason of the latter not caring for privileges which once had excited the ambition of Viśvāmitra and Janaka." 33

The approximation of the Vaiśyas to the Śūdras, as noticed by G.S. Ghurye, began in the post-vedic period

(600 B.C. - C. 3rd cent. A.D.) and it was carried further in the period of the Dharmaśāstras (3rd cent. A.D. - 10th or 11th cent. A.D.). Finally, in the modern period (10th or 11th cent. A.D. - 19th cent. A.D.), the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras were treated as almost indistinguishable. 34

Śūdras: They form the fourth order of society. The DP. contains meagre information about the Śūdras. It has already been mentioned above that the Vaniks are sometimes referred to in the DP. as Śūdras, which shows that the status of the Śūdras had been raised to that of the Vaniks.

The word "Śūdra" occurs only once in the Rgveda, i.e. Rg. X.90.12. "It seems that the class represented domestic servants, approximating very nearly to the position of slaves." 35

In the DP. the duty assigned to the Śūdras is to serve presumably the Brahmins (LII.68). In the procession of the pilgrims on their way to Dharmarāṇya, the Śūdras walked at the rear behind other three castes viz. Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vīśes. They joined the company in order to serve the Brahmins (XLIII.42). This probably indicates the lowest position assigned to the Śūdras in the four varṇas and their duty as the servants of the Brahmins.

The Vaniks are said to have been created for serving Brahmins (VII.40). This fact brings the Vaniks to the proximity of the Śūdras and this may account for the former being referred to as Śūdras. The treatment of the Śūdras as equal also to the Vaniks can be interpreted as the outcome of the Hinduization of some tribesmen whom the Brahmins regarded as Śūdras and in order to win whose favour they were raised to the position of the Vaniks. "Most of the Vania of Gujarat do not perform the thread ceremony which compulsory for in respect of the first three divisions. Possibly the caste in its present form (like the Patidar with the agricultural communities) evolved from members of many castes engaged in trade, who later when they rose in social position on account of their wealth claimed the Vaiśya name, as a national designation for the commercial community as a whole."36

It is said in one place in the DP. that a Moḍha Brahmin, marrying a girl of a low caste or a girl of his relative is treated as a Śūdra (LXII.26-28). This means that one is a Śūdra not only from his birth but from other causes also.

Social Mobility: The phenomenon of social mobility is an interesting subject to a student of sociology. "Although there is a cultural presumption of fixity of social position

within the caste system, some movement is not only possible but also inevitable. Movement may be by the individual or by the caste as a whole, and vertically or laterally within the system. The instances of individuals rising into higher castes are by no means unknown. "In the Vedic age Kshatriyas sometimes discharged the priestly functions and preached the higher philosophy. Vishvāmitra is one of those Kshatriyas who, according to later tradition, officiated as a priest." Vanarāja, the first ruler of Anhilwada Patan, whose father, according to the DP., was an outcasted (kṣatṛ) and who himself, in the first stage of his life, was a robber, worked his way up into an higher caste, i.e. ruling class, the equivalence of the Kṣatriya caste. (Vide LXVI. 37 ff.) The Indian scale of values emphasizes the observance of certain taboos and moral rules. A person who relaxes the observance of these rules loses his status. A Brahmin, who takes to the occupation inconsistent with his own caste and lives the irreligious life is degraded to the status of a cāṇḍāla (XLIX. 92-98). The factors that cause a person, especially a Moḍha Brahmin to fall from his own caste are numerated below under "rules governing caste Moḍha Brahmins". More factors and instances are discussed here.

The caste as a whole may degenerate because it adopts an occupation of lesser purity or some practice generally believed to be degrading.39

Once there was a breach between Brahmins and Vaniks, because of which some Vaniks left Moheraka and settled down somewhere else. Some took to the profession of an oil-presser, and therefore lost their original status. They were shunned by other Vaniks (LXI.48).

Some Moḍha Brahmins took the profession of a wrestler, some committed adultery with other's wife, and others officiated as sacrificial priests for the dealers in liquor; they all became "Patitas (outcasted)". (LIX.23-24)

The prejudicial belief that certain practices are purer than the other also causes social mobility. Some Brahmins regarded accepting gifts as an impure practice. This caused a break-up among the Moḍha Brahmins resulting into two groups, i.e. one group calling itself as Taśvidyas who had accepted gifts from Rāma and another group calling itself as Cāturvidyas who had not accepted the gifts from Rāma. This is an example of a lateral movement. For further remarks see under "Modha Brahmins."

Untouchable: The idea of untouchability finds its expression definitely in the post-Vedic period. To quote G.S. Ghurye, "The idea that an impure person imparts pollution by his touch and even by his near approach to a member of the first three castes finds definite expression in the law-texts of this period, generally with reference to the persons are outcasted and even specially in relation to a class of the people called Chandālas."

In contrast to this idea of untouchability with reference to the Chandālas, the DīP. views these people from a different angle. It expounds that a Chandāla by birth is not regarded as wicked if he performs the duty meant for him. He, who is indulgent in bad deeds, is alone regarded as a Chandāla. It is the action that determines the Chandālahood of a person (XLIX.88-90). Further, it hints that a Brahmin who takes to cultivation thus involving the tormenting of bulls, neglecting the performance of the sandhyā-rite and taking bath, and wearing unclean clothes, degenerates himself to the status of a Chandāla (XLIX.92-93). From this it can be concluded that untouchability does not arise from birth alone but the occupations and actions, inconsistent with one's own caste are the determinants of one becoming a Chandāla. "The only caste that

is said by the most ancient Dharmasūtras to be untouchable by birth is that of cāndālas.\textsuperscript{42}

The DP. mentions seven different classes of people known collectively by the name of "anyayā" which "is applied to all lowest castes like the cāndala in Manu IV.67; Viṣṇu Dh. S.36.7, Yāj. I.273, Brhadāya (quoted in Mit. on Yāj. III.260).\textsuperscript{43}

They are rajaka (washer, carmakāra (worker in hides), naṭa (dancer), buruḍa (worker in bamboos), kaivarta (fisherman), meda and bhilla (LXII.6).\textsuperscript{44} The Brahmin who accepts gifts from the anyayās shall be outcasted (LXII.7-8).

Āśrama-system: "The word Āśrama is originally derived from the Sanskrit root 'āram' 'to exert oneself'; therefore, it may mean, by derivation (1) a place where exertions were performed, and (i) the action of performing such actions. Literally, an Āśrama is a 'halting or resting place.'

The word therefore signifies a halt, a stoppage, or a stage in the journey of life just for the sake of rest, in a sense, in order to prepare oneself for further journey on the way to final liberation which is the final aim of life."\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{42}Kane P.V., HDS., Vol.II, Part I, p.171.
\textsuperscript{43}Ibid., Vol.II., Part I, p.70.
\textsuperscript{44}This verse in the DP. is identical with Atri 199; vide also Kane P.V., Ibid., Vol.II, Part I, p.70. fn.170.
The āśramas are four in number (1) The Brahmacārīya - that of a student (2) the Gṛhastha - that of a married man, the householder (3) the Vānaprastha - that of retired life in the forest, after abandoning the home, preparatory to complete renunciation of worldly relations and (4) the Saṁnyāsa - the life of complete renunciation of worldly relations and attachments.\(^\text{46}\)

P.M. Modi is of the opinion that in the beginning there were only three āśramas, in which Vānaprastha and Saṁnyāsa āśramas merged into one āśrama, and that the four āśramas were the result of the later development.\(^\text{47}\)

The DP does not deal directly with the āśramas. It merely makes stray references to the subject, which implicitly shows that the system had not gone out of vogue in the times of the DP. Of all the āśramas, the DP. claims, the āśrama of a Yati, i.e. Saṁnyāsa is the most exalted (II,42). Contrary to this, the Rāmāyana regards Gṛhasthāśrama as the best of all. Viśvāvasu is said to have created damsels then betrothed


them to the Vaniks so that they could lead a perfect life of a householder, thereby fulfilling the need of Grhaṣṭha-śrama (VII.43.44). Brahma is also said to have given Ahalyā to Gautama for the same purpose (XXV.26). This shows that wife is the indispensable partner to go through the stage of life as a householder (Cf. XXXIII.23). "In certain places", and says the Purāṇa, "boys wearing girdles, carrying sticks, learn the procedures regarding śauca (purity) and ablation (snāna), and the duty pertaining to the āśramas; in some places there is a discussion on the āśramas." (VIII.10-11). This indicates that the āśramas are the subject of deep interest for the people and that the stage of a Brahmacārin was still having a firm grip on society.

The upanayana (initiation) ceremony introduces the young boy into the Brahmacārya-śrama.¹⁹ The initiation generally takes place at the age of eight in the case of a Brahmin; a Kṣatriya is initiated at the age of ten, and a Vaiśya at twelve. Rāma is said to have taken the initiation at the age of eleven. (XXX.47). The initiation of the Vaniks is not mentioned in the DP. Thus, it is doubtful as to what varṇa they belonged. Apart from the studying the Vedas, the art of warfare such as archery had to be studied too in the case of a Kṣatriya. This is revealed in the DP.XXX.51.

The DP. does not have the instances of Vānaprasthāśrama; yet it seems that it was the cherished desire of aged persons to transfer the domestic responsibilities to their children and then go to forest. The king Daśaratha repented over the restlessness of his mind owing to his attachment to the sensual objects and the influence of God's illusion, unlike his forefathers who had obtained peace of mind in the old age. He therefore decided to abdicate the throne in favour of Rāma, and thenceforth he would go to forest (XXXIII.32-35). Mūlarāja of Anhilawāda Patan is said to have abdicated the throne in favour of his son, Cāmunḍa, and then renounced the world. This confirms the prevalence of the institution of āśramas even in the 10th century A.D. The DP. does not give any direct illustration of the stage of a Samnyāsa. Yet the statement that the sages (muni) who were the Vaikhāṇasa devoted themselves to practising austerities (VIII.31) implies the existence of the practice of this āśrama at that time, as the term "vaikhānas" denotes "Vānaprastha".50

The āśrama theory differs from the varṇa theory in that the former, addressing itself to the individual, tells him what his spiritual goal is, how he is to order his life and

what preparations are required to attain that goal, whereas the latter, addressing itself to man in the mass, deals with man as a member of the Hindu society and lays down what his rights, functions, privileges, responsibilities, were as a member of that society.  

Theory of Purusārthas: "In order to understand the psycho-moral basis of the āśramas proper, it is advisable that we should look into the theory of the Purusārthas which concern themselves with the understanding, justification, management and conduct of the affairs of the individual's life in relation to the group in and through the āśramas." The purusārthas or aims of life are four in number viz. dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa.

The DPXXIX.60 says collectively about the subject that the fulfilment of dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa can be had at the temple of the goddess Ksemiśabha on the bank of the Gambhīra-sarovara. Though the stanza purports to sing the praise of the goddess, it underlines the significance of the purusārthas. Elsewhere the subject figures in the dialogue

53 Similar ideas are expressed in II.49;XIII.7 ff. etc.
between Rāma and Sītā. (XXXIII.10-25) Rāma, Laksamana, Bharata and Satrughna are spoken of analogically as dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa, as they were the source of happiness to the king Daśaratha (XXX.37).

The subject, now, will be dealt with under the following headings:-

Kāma: Kāma, "as the satisfaction of instinctive life, is recognized as one of the aims of marriage along with dharma and procreation."[54] "Kāma refers to all the desires in man for enjoyment and satisfaction of the life of the senses, including the sex drive to which the word kāma more prominently refers...... The term is also often used in a broader sense to include socially acquired motivation too."[55] The knowledge of kāmaśāstra (science of love) seems to be necessary for a Hindu who wants to live a happy marriage life. Rāma is said to be the knower of the secret of the kāmaśāstra and to have lived the happy mundane life, following the principles of dharma, artha and kāma (XXXIII.3-4). Of all the three orders of precedence (XXXIII.19). It should be enjoyed at the proper time so as not to interrupt the progress of dharma and

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Artha: the DP. warns that over-indulgence in sexual pleasure brings about unhappiness (XXXIII.21).

Artha: "Artha refers to the problem and activities connected with the finding, making, gathering, conserving and organizing of the material necessities of life and all that accompanies the same."\(^56\) "It is the satisfaction of the acquisitive instinct in men."\(^57\) The DP. lays down that wealth should be safeguarded (XXXIII.19) and it should be accumulated as it is the basis of kāma and dharma (XXXIII.20). Moreover, "the Hindu sages indicated that man unfolded his spirituality only when his life was not economically starved or emotionally strained."\(^58\) Artha ranks second in the order of precedence (XXXIII.19). One should maintain righteousness first and then he should seek wealth and enjoy sexual pleasure.(XXXIII.24-25).

Dharma: Dharma\(^59\) is superior to artha and kāma. Artha occupies the intermediate position whereas kāma occupies the lowest one.\(^60\) Of all the three, the DP. seems to award the highest position to dharma when it says that when dharma perishes

\(^{56}\)Prabhu P.H., Op.cit. p.82.
\(^{59}\)Vide Jolly's article on dharma in E RE, Vol.IV, p.702.
\(^{60}\)Mbh. Cr. ed. 12.161.8.
the other two (i.e. artha and kāma) also perish (XXXIII.20). It lays down that a man should constantly observe dharma (XXXIII.19). The observance of dharma is the obligation of the Aryans (XXXIII.22). It is very interesting to note that the observance of dharma cannot be perfected without a wife (XXXIII.23). The observance of dharma, therefore, presupposes marriage and the activities as a householder. A married person who ignores dharma causes devastation to artha and kāma (XXXIII.23). Brahma is said to have allotted the following duties (dharma) to the Vaṇiks to carry out. They must serve Brahmins in their (Brahmins') activities such as their daily bath, their performance of sacrifice and sacraments. They should do the household work for them. They should carry out their own business with clean mind, being free from greed, jealousy, desire to injure and anger. They should speak the truth and avoid crookedness, and cheating the Brahmins who were their gurus (precepters). The Brahmins, it is said, were the vital breath and the very form of Viṣṇu, Brahma and Rudra because they were the perpetuaters of literary tradition of the Vedas and their auxiliaries. Injuring the Brahmins, therefore, amounts to injuring the three gods. (VII.45-51). It is apparent from this that the obligations enjoined for the Vaṇiks are the design to make the Vaṇiks remain subservient to the Brahmins and thus the interests of Brahmins are easily safeguarded.
The following are the duties (dharma) performed by Rama in keeping with the principles of the puruṣārthas. After getting up, he took bath; then he sang the praise of the sun before its rise; then he gave offering to the five fires; then he performed the Brahma-sacrifice; and finally he entered the assembly to pay obeisance to the feet of his father, his mother, elderly people and his guru. Thenceforth, he worshipped gods and other people who deserved his reverence and then he would sit in the assembly for a while (XXXIII. 5-9). It is seen from this that to carry out the duties which are different from caste to caste is regarded as performing dharma. And "the practice of dharma cannot be possibly conceived as existing apart from the relation between the individual and the group, - except when the dharma directed is entirely in the interest of the mokṣa of the individual, as in the case of the samnyāsin (the recluse), in whose case artha and kāma become transformed and get merged into mokṣa. Thus, on the whole, the puruṣārthas are concerned both with the individual as well as the group."  

Mokṣa : "Mokṣa literally means release, release from the bondage to the sensuous and the individual, the narrow and the finite. It is the result of self-enlargement and freedom.

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To live in perfect goodness is to realize one's life in all. This ideal for which the moral nature of man cries can be attained only if the finite self transcends its narrow individuality and identifies itself with the whole.\(^{62}\)

The subject of mokṣa does not come up in the dialogue between Sītā and Rāma (XXXIII.10-25); so it is not possible to say precisely of the view of the Purāṇakāra on this theme in relation with dharma, artha and kāma. It says elsewhere that Udāsīnā Tīrthayātrā gives salvation (mukti) to the performer (II.15); and Dharmarānya is claimed to have the efficacy of bestowing mokṣa to the pilgrim (XLI.63). The three immediate objectives of life viz. dharma, artha and kāma are the means for the attainment of mokṣa.\(^{63}\) Mokṣa represents the summum bonum of life, the spiritual freedom and the realization of the Absolute. The proud privilege of spiritual progress and the attainment of the Absolute were not confined only to sages and recluses but were also within the reach of the commoners.\(^{64}\) The salvation can also be obtained without effort through the grace of the Lord. This is illustrated by the story of a parrot and its folks, by whose devotion to Lord Śiva, obtained his company to Kailāsa and remained there with him.(XLII. 4-65).

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Modha Brahmins

Problem of the word "modha":

The DP. derives the word "modha" from "mūdha" meaning "mute" used in reference to the boy who would be ancestor of the Modha Brahmins in past and who could not speak a word when he first met Brahmā.(LXIV.21). The DM. derives it from "modha" meaning "fearful perplexity" used in reference to the Brahmins of Dharmārāṇya when they were scared of the demon named Lohāsura.65

Late MM. Ramakrishna Harji Shastri derives it from "Mā + Ůdha" meaning "The people who are the devotees of the goddess Laksī."66

These three derivations appear to have been based on etymology rather than on the consideration of historical facts. Most of the modern writers agree that the Modha Brahmins and Modha Banias derived their name from the place of their origin. There are many castes in Gujarat which

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65 SKP. Brh. II.XXIII.48.
receive their names from the places of their origin, as for example, Nāgara Brahmins from Vadnagar, 67 Śrīmālī Brahmins from Śrīmāla (Modern Bhinmal) Anāvala Brahmin from Anaval village, etc. which lends support to this view. According to Jain legends the Moḍha Brahmins derived their name from the town named Moḍherpoor, or Modhbunk Puttun which is identified with Modhera. 68 Generally most of the modern writers follow the same opinion. John Wilson, however, says that the Moḍha Brahmins receive their name from the village of Moḍhānā, near Siddhapur. 69 “There is a small village Moḍhānā, 3 miles E.N.E. of Siddhapur, but Moḍhera was probably meant by Dr. Wilson.” 70

Legendary Origin of Moḍha Brahmins:

It is narrated in the DP. chs. IV & V that Brahmā, after having created the world, looked for a dry place and then sat mediating on Viṣṇu for one hundred divine years. Viṣṇu was pleased and appeared before Brahmā, then he conferred a boon on him, for which Brahmā appealed to Viṣṇu that a city

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67. Vadnagar is referred to in the Purāṇas as "Nagara"; see also DP.LXIII.31.
should be built there and Brahmins should be established in it. Visnu granted the boon and then he called Śiva to come to his aid. Subsequently, the three gods began their work. They caused 18,000 Brahmins to manifest by contemplating on the three Vedas and exercising guṇas and kālas to their advantage. The Brahmins were then known as Traīvidya Brahmins. Following Visṇu's order, Viśvakarman built a city called Moheraka for them.

The origin as mentioned above is mythological in nature and may have social element buried under it. The social history may be something like this. This mythological legend may imply that the Brahmin community which used to wield the undisputed authority over other sections of the society in the past was progressively losing its influence at that time. The internal pieces of evidence also show the deteriorating position of the Brahmins. The DP. tells that the King Āma and the king Kumārapāla were not in good terms with the Brahmins; and being converted to Jainism, they showed no respect for the Brahmins. The history supports that both were converted to Jainism. What is more is that some sections of the docile Vaṇīk community broke away from the Brahmins to embrace Jainism. This situation certainly caused much concern to the Brahmins because their economic support which was mainly received from the Vaṇīk community was phasing out.
In order to retain or regain their original supremacy and to demand the respect from other sections of society the Brahmins might have had the story of their divine origin fabricated. The traditional belief that the Brahmin was created from the mouth of the Creator has been possibly set aside with intention because it was found obsolete and to no purpose. The etymology of Brahmins emphasized in many places (See under "Brahmins"), goes without saying what the real motives of the Brahmins were.

Classification of Modha Brahmins:

The Brahmins created by Visnu, Brahma and Mahesa fall under three categories (V.32.33) viz.

1. Sattvika Brahmins: They were the Brahmins who were created by Visnu. Their number was 6,000.

2. Rajasa Brahmins: They were the Brahmins who were created by Brahma. Their number was 6,000.

3. Tamasa Brahmins: They were the Brahmins who were created by Siva. Their number was also 6,000.

Here we find that the names given to different classes of the Brahmins are based on the dominant quality inherent in the god who created them. Elsewhere, it is said that the sattva guna is predominant in Visnu; the rajoguna in Brahma;
and the tamoguna in Śiva (III.57). The guṇa theory as expressed in this connection indicates the influence of the Sāṅkhya philosophy.

The Brahmins are also classified, taking into account the gods they worshipped, as uttama (highest), madhyama (middle) and adhama (lowest). The Brahmins belonging to the first category were the worshippers of Śiva; those of the second category were the worshippers of Viṣṇu; and those of the third, the worshippers of Brahmā. This classification reveals to us the elements of sectarianism and the internal prejudice of the Brahmins. It gives out clearly the positions of the gods Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā in descending order. Śiva occupied the topmost position; Viṣṇu, the middle; and Brahmā, the lowest. It is also permissible to infer from this at that time the Brahmins of Modha-caste were the worshippers of the three gods, viz. Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā. Incidentally, it may be added that there are old temples of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva in and around Modhera.

Taking into account the ideal livelihood adopted by the Brahmins, they can be further classified thus:

(1) Those who sustained their life with the food obtained by collecting the ears of corn fallen in the field after the harvest. They were specifically called "Śiloṣchā-vṛttijiva." They did not accept gifts but enjoyed complacency (XLV.17.18).
(2) Those who lived on the food-grains kept in store enough for six-day consumption. They also enjoyed complacency and therefore did not accept anything more. They were styled "Kumbhtahânya". (XLV.19)

(3) Those who lived from hand to mouth, i.e. they preserved food which was enough for one day. They did not find it necessary to collect more, as life, to them, was uncertain. They were called "Ekâhika". (XLV.20)

(4) Those who lived on dry leaves that fell from the tree of their own accord. They did not find it necessary to receive gifts. (XLV.21)

Modh Brahmins and Râma?

The Fall of Moherakapura:

Once the Brahmins staying at Moherakapura were harassed by demons to the extent that they began to dispute amongst themselves and as a result they left the village and lived elsewhere (XLV.57). Since then Moheraka has been deserted and fell into ruins. The description of Moheraka in ruin, as given by Srîmâtâ, the used-to-be chief goddess of the village, is as follows:

71 The same story with insignificant differences occurs in the SKP. Brh. II. chs. XXXII-XXXV.
"The place, where young lads with sticks in hands used to stalk, is now infested with herds of swines." (XLIV.50).

"In the water, where Brahmins used to perform the obsequial rite in the afternoon, are now sporting the fearful looking buffalos." (XLIV.51).

"The sacrificial grounds, where Brahmins used to perform sacrifice with resounding Veda-recitation, are now stalked by wild oxen and are contaminated by their dung." (XLIV.52).

"The sky once filled with clouds of sacrificial smoke, is now covered with dust." (XLIV.53).

This mythological description of the falling into ruins of the village of Moheraka or Modhera may disguise some historical events.

Gujarat is believed to be originally inhabited by the rude castes which still exist and are known under the names of Kohli and Bhill. 72 Of all the plunderers who infest Gujarat, the most bloody and untameable are the Coolies (=Kohlis), who, however, present different characters in different districts, the most barbarous being in the vicinity of the Runn, or in the neighbourhood of the Mahy (Mahi) river."

The Kohlis, the Bhills and the Mehs are the people of non-

73 Ibid., p.609.
Aryan tribes who are settled in great number in Northern Gujarat. They are occasionally called Räksases on account of their cruelty and want of civilization. It might be possible that the ruin of Moheraka was caused by the people belonging to one of these tribes, whose inhabitants, according to the above-mentioned accounts, were not far-distanted from Modhera.

Mahmud of Ghazni is said to have attacked and captured Modhera on his march towards Somanātha Patan. This might be another possible cause of Modhera falling into ruins.

The Advent of Rāma (XLIV-LI):

After having conquered Lanka, and having slain Rāvana, Rāma returned to Ayodhyā and ascended the throne which had been kept vacant for him by his brother, Bharata. Then Rāma paid his visit to Dharmāranya. He met Śrīmātā there who told him about the past glory of Moherakapura. He was appealed by her to re-inhabit the Brahmins there. Then Rāma brought back the Brahmins who were originally created by Brahma, Viṣṇu and Maheśa and settled them at Moheraka which he had restored.

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Rāma asked the Brahmins to perform sacrifice for him and accept his gifts. They were reluctant at first but when, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva who came there to Rāma’s aid gave their consent, they accepted Rāma’s proposal and began the sacrifice. At the conclusion of the sacrifice Rāma conferred on them rich gifts including land grants. Then Rāma went further on his pilgrimage to pay homage to Govatseśvara and perform his religious duties at Gaṅgākūpa, then to take a bath in the river Gomati, then to Lohayaṣṭi and then to pay homage to Viṣṇu in the form of a Boar on the bank of the river Sarasvatī. After completing his pilgrimage, Rāma returned once again to Moheraka and had a sacrifice performed by the Modha Brahmins whom he had previously re-inhabited in the city. At the conclusion of the sacrifice he built a town named Sītāpura on Sītā request and gave it to Cāturavidya Modha Brahmins who branched out from the original group, i.e. Trāividya Brahmins on account of the differences of the practice of receiving and not receiving the gifts from Rāma. The Cāturavidya Brahmins were the non-receipients of gifts. Rāma, however, gave in all 56 villages including Moheraka to all the Brahmins participants in the sacrifice and to acknowledge their right of the properties, he gave them the copper-plates inscribed with his edict. Before he returned to Ayodhya he ordered Hanumat, to protect the city of Moheraka.
It is an anachronism to bring Rāma the hero of the great epic into association with the restoration of Moherakapura, the city of considerably late period. The city is known in history as far back as the time of the king Āma of Kanauj as discussed above. However, the story might have been formed from the actual occurrences in the history of some king in the period not long before the composition of the Purāṇa. Some of the exploits of the king Bhīmadeva I of Anhilwad seems to fit in with the description in the Purāṇa. The sun temple at Modhera was built in his reign. Probably he himself built it. According to the DP. (XLVI.38) Rāma is said to have re-established the sun god (at Moheraka). The king made a land-grant to a Moḍha Brahmin named Janaka. It may be conjectured that he made other land-grants for the maintenance of the Sun temple after its completion, as this was usual practice of a king. The maintenance of the temple involves the participation of Brahmins and these Brahmins might be Moḍha Brahmins. Rāma also is said to have made grants of land consisting 56 villages to the Moḍha Brahmins (LI.44).

Rāma's coming to Dharmāranya indicates the growing importance of the Rāma-cult and suggests that its influence

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76 Vide Sankalia H.D., The Archaeology of Gujarat, p.84.
had spread to the region at the time of the DP. The influence was so strong that the Suryakunda in front of the Sun temple was once given the name of "Rāmakunda" and its Sabhāmandapa, the "Śītā's Chāvadi". It is noteworthy to mention that there is the temple of Rāma at Modhera even now.

It was Rāmānanda (1400-1470), who established the tradition of Rāma worship. He was the holy man from South India who journeyed north and settled at Banaras. His apostolate of about twelve included a Rajput. Hence, it is not illogical to postulate that the Rāma-cult was spread by the Rajput to Gujarat where there is a large population of Rajput. Incidentally, it should be noted that the Modha Banias who have the surnames - Rathod, Solanki, Chavada and Dharaiya regard Rāma as their "istadevata".

55 Villages given by Rāma:

The villages identified below are said to have been given by Rāma as daksīṇā to Modha Brahmins at the completion of the sacrifice at Moherakapura. (LI.44.ff.)

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78. ASWI, IX, p.74. Berry Thomas, Religions of India, p.55.  
79. The date of Rāmānanda is put at thirteenth century by S. Radhakrishnan (Vide Indian Philosophy Vol.II,p.709).  
81. I thank Mr. Kesavalal S. Dave, the priest of Modhesvarī temple at Modhera, for the information.
Umashankar Joshi could not identify all the 55 villages and he felt a need for a supplementary essay to identify them. He admits that the names of the villages have been sanskritized. Dr. Hariprasad G. Shastri has suggested Jethalal N. Trivedi to identify the villages and he did it in his article "Dharmāranyana Pañcāvan Gāmo".

In the following table, J. refers to Umashankar Joshi in "Purānomāṃ Gujarat", T. refers to Jethalal N. Trivedi in his article "Dharmāranyana Pañcāvan Gāmo", and P. refers to P.J. Pathak in his Gujarati translation of "Śrī Dharmāranya".

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<tr>
<th>Serial No.</th>
<th>Names of the Villages according to DM</th>
<th>Names of the Villages according to DP</th>
<th>The identifications of the villages</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sīrāpur</td>
<td>Sīrāpur</td>
<td>Sīrāpur near Viramgam (T.p.13)</td>
<td>The Goddesses Sāntā and Sumaṅgāla are worshipped at Sīrāpur. (LI.18) The goddess Sāntā is to the southwest of Moheraka (XIX.44).</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Śrīkṣetra</td>
<td>Śrīkṣetra</td>
<td>Sarkhej (T.p.13; P. p.529)</td>
<td>It is on Ahmedabad-Dholka railway line.</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Magoḍī</td>
<td>Mūdgaḷī, Magoḍī</td>
<td>Magoḍī village of Dahegam taluka (T. p.13)</td>
<td>Mūdgaḷī is noted as that of J. (T. p.13)</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>Śrīyaḥsthana, Śreyasthāna, Śrīyaḥsthala</td>
<td>Śrīyaḥsthana, Śreyasthāna, Śrīyaḥsthala</td>
<td>Śrīyaḥsthala Śreyasthāna Śrīyaḥsthala Serathā village in Kalol taluka (T. p.14; P. p.529)</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Rāyapura</td>
<td>Rajāhpura</td>
<td>Rajpur in Mehsana and Kadi talukas; Rajpur near Balasinor in Kheḍa dist.; Rayapur on the Kharı river near Noroda. T. cannot identify exactly. (T. p. 23; P. p.529).</td>
<td>J. and SKP. Brh. II. ch. 39 do not include in the list; but J. notes the passage (SKP. Brh. II. ch.35) which mentions Rajahpura (J. p.111, fn. 52).</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Kṛṣṇavāda</td>
<td>Kṛṣṇavāta</td>
<td>Kathavāda in Dahegam taluka (T. p.14; P. p.529)</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Deśala</td>
<td>Deha(-Loha)</td>
<td>Dalod village near Mandal (T. p.15); Dehalodūm (P. p.529)</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Cayanasthala</td>
<td>Canasthana</td>
<td>Cekhala near Sanand (T. p.15); Cāṇasad (P. p.529).</td>
<td>T. does not accept Cāṇasad.</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Kuhaka, Kuhuka</td>
<td>Kokeca</td>
<td>Kuhā, also known as Kuhā-Bhavadā near Bhuvalaḍī (T. p.15; P. p.529)</td>
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<td>Candkhedā on the Sabramati-Kalol railway line (T. p.15; P. p.529)</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Sthala</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>Hastināpura</td>
<td>Hāthījaṇ in Dahegam taluka (T. p. 16; P. p. 529)</td>
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<td>17.</td>
<td>Karpaṭa</td>
<td>Kaparvanj in Kheḍa district (T. p. 16; P. p. 529)</td>
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<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Jāyana</td>
<td>Jānum near Bhulaḍī in Daskroi? (T. p. 16; Jānum (P. p. 529)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Vanoḍa, Vanodi</td>
<td>Vanod near Mandal (T. p. 16; P. p. 529)</td>
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<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Phenakāvali</td>
<td>Phīnāv (Phenāv) near Vīrasad, Kheḍa dist. (T. p. 16; P. p. 529)</td>
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<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Govinda</td>
<td>Galudan in Dahegam taluka (T. p. 17); Govindaḍum (P. p. 529)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Mohābha</td>
<td>Possibly Mobha in Padra taluka (T. p. 17); Mobhum (P. p. 529)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Golaka</td>
<td>Golā village 3 miles from Talod station (T. p. 24; P. p. 529)</td>
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<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Garaṇasiddha</td>
<td>Varaṇā in Kalol taluka (T. p. 17); Cekhala (P. p. 529)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Sthalatejaka</td>
<td>Thalataj village in Daskroi area (T. p. 17; P. p. 529)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Bhālaja, Bhālaja</td>
<td>Bhalej in Kheḍa district (T. p. 17); Bhālaj (P. p. 529)</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Sotyatra</td>
<td>Sodgītrā</td>
<td>Sojītrā in Baroda district</td>
<td>(T. p.24; P. p.529)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Vatsumālikā</td>
<td>Vatamālikā, Vathasuhali</td>
<td>Vatva near Ahmedabad?</td>
<td>(T. p.18); Vatśasuhali (P. p.529)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Gaudhara, Godhara, Godhara</td>
<td>Godhara</td>
<td>Godhara</td>
<td>(T. p.18; P. p.529)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Mānaja</td>
<td>Māraṇaja, Mānaja</td>
<td>Manaj in Kheda district.</td>
<td>(T. p.18; P. p.529)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Ānanda</td>
<td>Ānandīya</td>
<td>Ānand in Kheda district.</td>
<td>(T. p.18; P. p.529)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Paṭadāvalī, Paṭaḷī</td>
<td>Paṭaḷī</td>
<td>Paṭaḷī founded by Harapāla Makwana</td>
<td>during the reign of Vaghelas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Sāṇoda</td>
<td>Sāṇadiya</td>
<td>Sāṇand near Ahmedabad</td>
<td>(T. p.18; P. p.529)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Dhīkalapura</td>
<td>Tikoliya</td>
<td>Dhīkalā near Bhilwada in Rajasthan?</td>
<td>(T. p.19) or Nikolā near Ahmedabad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>Mātramedhya</td>
<td>Mātramadhya</td>
<td>Matrotā in Sami taluka possibly</td>
<td>(T. p.19); Mātramōḍum (P. p.529)</td>
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<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Balol</td>
<td>Badova</td>
<td>Balol (T. p.19); Badola (P. p.529)</td>
<td>T. has no specific point for identification.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Gandhavati</td>
<td>Gandhavati</td>
<td>Ghamija in Dahegam taluka (P. p.529)</td>
<td>T. has no information about its whereabouts. According to Vahivancha notes it is Khamadhala (T. p.24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Khamododya</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Khamadada (P. p.529)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Daratrija</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Darantaja (P. p.529)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Rupavali</td>
<td>Rupavali, Rupal</td>
<td>It is identified with Rupal village but there are four villages of the same name; One in the Kalol taluka; second in Sabarkantha area; third in Banaskantha; and fourth near Dholka. Out of the four T. accepts Rupal in the Kalol taluka for Rupavali (T. p.20; P. p.529)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Bodhanai</td>
<td>Bodhanai</td>
<td>Bandhanai village near Karamsad-Kheja district. (T. p.20; P. p.529)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Chatrjha</td>
<td>Chatrotha, Chatrtha</td>
<td>Chatral in the Kalol taluka (T. p.20; P. p.529) Still more investigation is necessary (T. p.20).</td>
<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Vaṁśaja</td>
<td>Possibly Vaṁśajadā in the Kalol taluka (a little doubtful) (T. p.21); Vaṁśajadum (P. p.529)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>Karpura</td>
<td>There is a village called Kapurā near Vyāra in Surat district; but this does not seem the village of the Purāna (T. p.21).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>Gotikā</td>
<td>P. identifies it with Gota village of Daskroi taluka. T. refers to the village Govatsa of the Sarasvatī Purāna and also refers to Adiyā; then he puts the question whether Govatsa and Adiyā are related to Gota. (T. p.21; P. p.529).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>Dugdhālī</td>
<td>Dudhai in Kadi taluka (This requires more investigation) (T. p.21); Dudhaiya (P. p.529).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>Citralekhaka</td>
<td>Citral in Padra taluka (T. p.21; P. p.529)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>Haṁsālī</td>
<td>Haṁsāvalī, Halola village near Sabramati station area (T. p.22; P. p.529)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>Balavatī</td>
<td>Bahiyal in Dahegam taluka (T. p.22; P. p.529)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contd...
| 51. | Dehali | Dehola | Dalod near Mandal possibly (T. p.24); Dehol (P. p.529). |
| 52. | Nalikaval | Nalavali, Nalada | Nārola near Ahmedabad (T. p.22); Nālol (P. p.529) |
| 53. | Āśāvat | Āśāvali | Asarava near Ahmedabad (T. p.22; P p.529). T. does not accept Asalalī in Daskrośī area. (T. p.22) |
| 54. | Rudravati | - | Rīdarol in Bijapur, Mesana district. This requires more investigation. (T. p.24). |
| 55. | Suhāsa, Suhāsīya, Suhālī | Sauhāsa | According to P., it is the village Suṃja but T. says that there is no information about Suṃja. In Mahemadavād taluka there is a village Simhuja which could have corrupted to Suṃja. There is a village called Sa-Ija in Kalol taluka and it is the centre of Modha Brahmins. T. further adds that this requires further investigation. (T. p.23). |
Additional villages noted by T.:

(1) Govyandalī: T. is inclined to relate it with Govandaka. (T. p. 14).


(3) Ā - ɪyā - maliyā: Possibly Ⱥmlā near Padra (T. p. 17).

(4) Rajyaja: Two possibilities - (1) Rāmtej in Kalol taluka and another in Chanasma taluka; (2) Sāmtaj in Kalol taluka.

In addition T. refers Detroj as another possibility too. (T. p. 20).

(5) Alū: Possibly Aluvā but this requires further investigation (T. p. 20).

(6) Jāyasamraṇa: May be Jākhāsana near Balol in Mehsana taluka. Another village suggested is Jāsapura near Kalol of the Daskrōṣī area. (T. p. 21).

(7) Suhālī: It is difficult to identify but investigation should be made with reference to Suhāla or Suhālī (T. p. 23).
Modha Brahmins and Āmarāja:

The DP. records the opposition between Modha Brahmins and two rulers viz. the king Āma and the king Kumārapāla. Their belligerent relation with the king Kumārapāla is discussed in chapter VIII. Here their hostile relation with the king Āma will be taken up for discussion.

It is narrated in the DP. (chs. LII-LVIII) that Āmarāja, the king of Kanyakubja, and his daughter named Ratnagaṅgā, embraced Buddhism. The king gave his daughter in marriage to the king of Brahmāvarta and to whom Moheraka was given as a wedding gift. Being a heretic Jain sources claim that Āma professed Jainism and he regarded Rappahhaṭta (a Jain monk) as his spiritual guru. (Vide Tripathi R.S., History of Kanauj, p.211). It seems that the Purāṇakāra sees no distinction between Buddhism and Jainism. The indistinguishability of Buddhism from Jainism appears also in the history of the king Kumārapāla. James Tod remarks, "There is no necessity to say more on Komārapāla being the great supporter of the religion of Buddha, a fact attested by the Charita, and corroborated by El-Edrisi, whose valuable information proves that of which there never should have been a doubt, that Jainism and Buddhism are the same, the one being but a modification of the other." (Tod James, Travels in Western India, p.190).

84 Jain sources claim that Āma professed Jainism and he regarded Rappahhaṭta (a Jain monk) as his spiritual guru. (Vide Tripathi R.S., History of Kanauj, p.211).

85 The M.S.II. 17 defines Brahmāvarta as the country between the holy rivers Sarasvati and Drsadvati.
Ratnagaṅgā had no regards for the Moḍha Brahmins. She did not recognize the authority over Moheraka of the Brahmins, as provided in the edict issued by Rāma to them. She forced them to pay tax and embrace her religion. The grievous Brahmins went to the king Āma's court to plead for justice. They showed him the copper-plate on which was inscribed the edict of Rāma asserting their authority over Moheraka and demanded that the king should return Moheraka to them so as not to violate the Rāma's edict. After a long argument and counter-argument between the king and the Brahmins, the former conceded to meet the demands of the latter on condition that they had to prove the existence of Rāma. Afterwards, the Brahmins went to Ramesvaram and obtained from Hanumat two packets of his hair. Then they went again to the king and when he treated them with disrespect they gave him, out of the two packets of hair, all-destroying packet. When the king opened it, everything in his palace including his army was burnt to ashes. Being terrified, he prostrated at the feet of the Brahmins and asked for pardon. This time they gave him another packet of hair which had the power of restoring everything. When the king opened it, everything returned to normalcy. Because of this incident the king left Buddhism and turned to embrace Vedadharma. He also returned Moheraka
to the Brahmins and expelled heretic mendicants from his country. In addition to the above acts he promulgated laws prohibiting the embracing of the heretic religion.

Who is Āma? R.S. Tripathi writes, on the basis of Jain sources of whose authenticity he is doubtful, that Āma was the son of Yaśovarman the king of Kanauj, (c. 725-752 A.D.). He was born of Yośodevi during her temporary exile due to the machinations of a co-wife. He succeeded his father and held his court at Gopagiri (Gwalior) as well as at Kanauj. It seems that Jainism occupied the supreme position in his heart and he regarded Bappabhatta as his spiritual guru. 86

B.N. Puri bases his arguments on Jain sources and inscriptive evidences and identifies Āma with Nāgabhaṭṭa who, according to him, ascended the throne of Kanauj near about 808 A.D., whose father was Vatsarāja and mother Sundarīdevī. He was the worshipper of Bhagavatī. 87

K.M. Munshi identifies Nāgabhaṭṭa, the son of Vatsarāja, who became the ruler of Gurjaradesa in about 792 A.D., with Āma, whose mother, Sundarīdevī, was the princess

86 Tripathi R.S., History of Kanauj, pp.211-212.
of the family of Yosowarman. Modhera was included in Gurjaradeśa, lying to the south-west of it. Having consolidated his position, Nāgarbhatṭa fell upon Dharmapāla and his protégé, Cakrayudha, the shadow emperor of Kanauj and obtained swift victory over them.88

H.G. Shastri is of the opinion that the king of Kanauj who held sway over Gujarat should be Gurjara Pratihāra king named Nāgarbhatṭa II., who was also known as Āma. He ruled from about 792-834 A.D.89 A.D. Pusalkar identifies Watsarāja, the king of Kanauj with Āma. He is said to have built Jain temples at Kanauj, Mathura, Anahilwada, Modhera90 etc. His son Nāgarbhatṭa II. is said to have been converted to Jainism.91

From the foregoing discussions, it appears with high degrees of probability that the king Āma is a real historical figure ruling at Kanauj. It does not stand out clearly

89. Vide Shastri H.G., Gujarātno Pracīn Itiḥāsa (Guj.), pp. 133-134.
90. Now there is an old Jain temple of Śvetambara sect at Modhera. It was renovated in Samvat 1902 (A.D. 1846). (Vide Patel Shivabhai, Modhera Darśan (Guj.), p. 68).
from these sources whether the king really embraced Buddhism (or Jainism) and neglected Hinduism, as evidenced by the DP. and the Jain sources. It might be possible that while favouring Buddhism or Jainism he never lost sight of his duty as a king to support other religions as was the case with the king Harṣa Vardhana. That may be the reason why he was sometimes referred to as the worshipper of Hindu gods.

Looking into the date of the king Āma and the date of the DP. it is difficult to say with some certainty that the story of the king Āma having conflict with the Moḍha Brahmins carries some historical truth, though it contains an historical figure. What stands out clearly from the story is that the Brahmin community had a very strained relation with the Jain community in the times of the DP. It might be possible that the Purāṇakāra, in order to assert the supremacy of the Brahmins over the Jains utilizes to their (Brahmins') advantage the king Āma who was powerful as he could extend his dominion as far as Gujarat. First he presents the king as embracing Jainism and then shows him as being subdued by the Brahmins to show that a person, however powerful he was, who challenged the

92 Vide Majumdar Asoke Kumar, Chaulukyas of Gujarat, p.124.
authority of the Brahmins would meet with severe consequences. It is evinced clearly what the motives of the Brahmins were, when one uses his critical mind to consider the following instructions given to the king Āma by the Brahmins after he had turned back to Vedadharmā:

The king was advised not to associate with the Pākhandas (LVIII.70). He was informed of various imposters of Kali Yuga who were of sāttvic, rājasic and tāmasic nature (LVIII.71); among the same cheated people by composing religious books; and others who know the āgamas and the pramanās of aforesaid group became the cheaters of the cheaters. (LVIII.72) He was warned of the Carvākists, the Buddhists and the Jains, as they were the apparent enemies of the Vedas. (LVIII.70-74). He was told to avoid the Pāśupatas, the Śāktas and the worshippers of Viṣṇu by merely uttering his name but discarding the vedic rituals (LVIII.75-78).

Gotras, Pravaras and Family-Goddesses of the Mōḍha Brahmins:

"The Brahmanical gotra, which persists with little modification to the present day, may be defined as an exogamous patrilineal sibship, whose members trace their decent back to a common ancestor." However, this

family goddesses.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Gotras</th>
<th>Pravaras</th>
<th>Family-goddesses</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Cyavaṇa</td>
<td>3. Apnavaṇa</td>
<td>4. Urva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Jamadagni</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Looking into the pravaras, it is clear that this gotra belongs to the exogamous until called Bṛgus and to gotra-gangā called Vatsa. However, the name of the gotra, as given here is not found in the list given in Gotra - Pravara - Manjarī of Puruṣottama - Panḍita. Gāṅgāyana, which bears phonetic resemblance and which is found in the list may be one and the same gotra as this.

This gotra is not found in the list of the Bṛgus given in the Matsya Purāṇa either. There is found the name Gārgyāyana. It may be the variant of Gāṅgāyana on the ground of phonetic similarity of the two words.

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100 Vide Agarwala V.S., Matsya Purāṇa - A Study, pp.391 ff.
As for the pravaras, the MP. gives Bhṛgu, Aurva and Jamadagnya as the variants of Bhārgava, Urva and Jamadagni respectively in the DP.; but in the case of Gotra - Pravara - Manjari, Cyāvana, Aurva and Jamadagnya are given as the variants of Cyāvana, Urva and Jamadagni in the DP. In the DP. the euphonic combination mistake of the words Apnavana and Urva is clearly seen.

2. Sāṅkhya-yāana
   1. Viśvamitra Sukhadā
   2. Jamadagni
   3. Katyāyana

One expects to find this gotra among the Viśvamitras but it is, however, found among the Vasistha in the MP. and the GPM; and Vasistha, Abharadvasava and Aindrapramada are given in the GPM, BhigĪvasu, Vasistha and Indrapramada in the MP. as their pravaras.

3. Krśnātāyana
   1. Ātreyya Bhattachārya Yogini
   2. Ārcanānasa
   3. Syābāva

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101 Agrawala V.S., Ibid. p.392.
From the pravaras, it is clear that this gotra belongs to the exogamous unit called Atris and to gotra-gana called Atris. The names of the gotra and of the pravaras here tally with those in the GPM and MP.

1. Māndavya
2. Bhārgava
3. Cīvavana
4. Annavāna
5. Aurva
6. Jamadagni
7. Mandavya
8. Bhārgava
9. Dhārā Bhattārikā
10. Cyavana
11. Arnavāna
12. Aurva
13. Jamadagni

From the pravaras it is clear that this gotra belongs to the Bhṛgus and to the gotra-gana called Vatsa. The names of the gotra and the pravaras here tally with those in the GPM and the MP.

1. Vaiśampāyana
2. Ambarīṣa
3. Yauvanāśva
4. Vaisampāyana
5. Āṅgirasa
6. Chatrā

According to MP these are the pravaras of the gotra-gana called Haritas in which Vaiśampāyana is not included. The Haritas belongs to the exogamous unit called Āṅgirasas. Vaiśampāyana, according to MP,

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belongs to the exogamous called Bhrgus.

6. Vatsas  
1. Bhārgava  
2. Cyavana  
3. Apnavāna  
4. Aurva  
5. Jamadagnika

This gotra is under exogamous unit called Bhrgus and under gotra-gana called Vatsa. This gotra is not found under the Bhrgus in the Matsyapurāṇa. In the GMP, Cyāvana and Jāmadagnya are given as the variants of Cyavana and Jamadagnika as given in the DP.

7. Kaśyapa  
1. Kaśyapa  
2. Yajva  
3. Naidhruva

This gotra probably belongs to gotra-gana called Naidhruva-kaśyapa which is included in the exogamous unit called Kaśyapa. Except for Yajva being the substitute for Avatsāra, the rṣis' names given as the pravaras here tally with those given in GPM and MP.

8. Dhāranas  
1. Agasti  
2. Drdhacyuta  
3. Aidhmavānaka

One can base his conjecture on the pravaras that this gotra belong to the exogamous unit called Agastis and to gotra-gana called Idhmavaha but Dharaṇas is not found in it. It may be identified with Dhāvānir or Dhāranī found in the GPM. and the MF. on the ground of phonetic and derivative affinity. In the GPM. and MP. Agastya, Dārdhacyuta and Aidhmavāha are given as the variants of Agasti, Dṛdhacyuta and Aidhmavāhaka as given in the DP.

9. Laṅkākṣī
   1. Kaśyapa
   2. Śaradvāta
   3. Śārastamba

This gotra belongs to the exogamous unit called Kaśyapa and to the gotra-gana called Laṅkākṣī. In the GPM and the MF. Āvatsāra and Vaśiṣṭha, the substitutes of Saradvāta and Śārastamba. Elsewhere in the GPM. Asita is given as the substitute of Vaśiṣṭha. Śārastamba given

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119 Brough John, Op. cit. p.188.
in the DP. is talljvith the name given in Badleian
'White Yajur-veda parisista'.

10. Kauśika
   1. Viśvāmitra
   2. Aghamarśaṇa
   3. Madhucchandās

Looking into the pravaras this seems to belongs to
the exogamous unit called Viśvāmitra and to the gotra-gaṇa
called Aghamarśaṇa - Kauśika. In the GPM. Kauśika and
Viśvāmitra are the substitutes for Madhucchandās and
Viśvāmitra in the DP. In the MP. Kauśika gotra is put
under Kauśikavamsa; and as for the pravaras, the rṣis' names
are Viśvāmitra, Aghamarśaṇa and Kauśika.

11. Upamanya
   1. Vasīṣṭha
   2. Indrapramada
   3. Bharadvāja

Upamanyu gotra belongs to exogamous unit called Vasistha and to gotra-gana called Upamanyu. The pravaras given in the GPM. and the MP. vary a little from the DP. They are Vasistha, Aindrapramada and Abharadvasavya in the GPM. and Vasistha Indrapramada and Abharadvasavya in the MP.

12. Vātsyāyana
1. Bhārgava
2. Cīvavana
3. Āmnavāna
4. Aurva
5. Jāmadagni

This gotra is under the exogamous unit called Bhrigu and is grouped within the gotra-gana called Vatsa. Of the pravaras Jāmadagnya in the GPM. is the variant of Jāmadagni in the DP.

13. Kutsa
1. Āṅgirasa
2. Ām바rīsa
3. Yauvanāśva

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Kutsa seems to be identified with Kautsa gotra which belongs to the exogamous unit called Kevala Āṅgīrās and to gotra-gaṇa called Harita. The name of the gotra and pravaras as given here tally with those given in the MP.

14. Bhāradvāja
   1. Āṅgīrāsa
   2. Bṛhaspatya
   3. Bhāradvāja

Bhāradvāja seems to be identified with Bharadvāja gotra which is under exogamous unit and gotra-gaṇa called Bharadvāja. The pravaras given here tally with those given in the GPM. and the MP.

15. Gāṅgeya
   1. Gāṅgeya
   2. Gaṅgiya
   3. Śāṅkhani

According to the GPM. and the MP. Gāṅgeya gotra are under the exogamous unit Bhṛgu and under gotra-gaṇa Vatsa.

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but the pravaras given in the GPM and the MP. are entirely different. They are Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva and Jāmadagnya (Jāmadagni in the MP. 137).

16. Śaunaka
   1. Bhārdvāja
   2. Gārgya
   3. Śaunaka

In the GPM. 138 Śaunaka gotra, which seems to be identified with Śaunaka here, is placed under the exogamous unit Bhṛgu and gotra-gana Śaunaka. In the GPM. Śaunaka is given as one-ṛsi pravara of the Śunaka. Looking into the pravaras as given in the DP. one expects to find the Śaunakas under the Bharadvājas but they are not found there. In the MP. 139 Śaunaka gotra is placed under the Bhṛgus and its pravaras are Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Aurva and Jāmadagni.

17. Kuśika
   1. Viśvāmitra
   2. Devarāja
   3. Uddālaka

In the GPM. 140 Kuśika gotra is placed under the exogamous unit Viśvāmitra and under gotra-gana Kuśika.

Its pravaras given in the GPM. slightly differ from those in the DP. They are Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta and Audala. In the MP.¹⁺ the Kuśikas are placed under the Kuśikavāṃśa and their pravaras are Devaśravasa, Devarāta and Viśvāmitra.

18. Bhārgava
   1. Bhārgava
   2. Cyavana
   3. Jaimini
   4. Āpnavāna
   5. Manthi

In the GPM.¹⁺² the Bṛguṇas which seem to be identified with Bhārgava in the DP., are placed under the exogamous unit Bṛguṇa. In the GPM.¹⁺³ Cyavana, Āpnavana, Āpnavāna and Jāmadagnya are given as the substitutes for Cyavana, Jaimini, Āpnavāna and Manthi, the pravaras of the Bṛguṇas, in the DP. In the MP.¹⁺⁴ the Bṛguṇas are placed under the Bṛguṇavāṃśa and their pravaras are Bhārgava, Cyavana, Aurvā and Jamadagnī.

19. Pailasmi
   1. Atri
   2. Arci
   3. Kanva

One expects to find this gotra amongst the Atri but it is not found there in the GPM & MP.

¹⁺¹ Vide Agrawala V.S., Op. cit. p. 496
The Āṅgīrasas are divided into three divisions viz. Gautamas, Bharadvājas and Kevala Āṅgīrasas. These Āṅgīrasas seem to belong to the Aucathya Gautama division whose prvaras are Āṅgīrāsa, Aucathya and Gautama. Aucathya may be identified with Autathya here on the ground of phonetic affinity. In the MP. the divisions of the Āṅgīrasas are not distinctly divided Āṅgīrāsa, Āyāsa and Gautama are only the rṣi-names given as the prvaras which are nearest to those in the DP.

21. Atri
   1. Ātreyā
   2. Ārcanānasa
   3. Śyābasva

Here the name of the gotra and the prvaras tally with those of the GPM. As for the prvaras Atri in the MP. is the substitute for the Ātreyā in the DP.

22. Aghamarsana 1. Bharadvaja Durga
2. Gautama
3. Aghamarsana

According to the GPM, the Aghamarsana, which is a gotra-gana, is placed under the exogamous unit. Viśvāmitra, but its pravaras differ from what given here. They are Viśvāmitra, Aghamarsana and Kauśika. In the MP, the Aghamarsanas are placed under the Kusikavamsa and their pravaras are the same as in the GPM.

23. Jaimini 1. Viśvāmitra Visālākṣī
2. Sevarāja
3. Uddālaka

Jaiminis are placed under the Viśvāmitras and their pravaras as given in the GPM are Viśvāmitra, Daivavrata and Audala which can be taken as having phonetic affinity to those of the DP. Jaiminis are not found within the Kusikavamsa as one should expect in the MP, but they are placed under the Bhrgus.

The Jaiminis are also found amongst the Bhrgus in the GPM. and their pravaras are Bhargava, Vaitahavya and Savetasa.

24. Gārgya

1. Bhārgava
2. Cāmunda
3. Āpnavana

The GPM and the MP. place the Gārgya under the Āṅgirasas, and their pravaras are Āṅgiras, Tittiri and Apibhu or Āṅgiras, Brhaspati and Bharadvāja in the MP. and Āṅgiras, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Śainya and Garya. If we base our conjecture on the pravaras given in the DP. this gotra should belong to the exogamous unit Bhṛgu but it is not found both in the GPM and the MP. It should be identified with Gārgiya found in the MP. on the ground of phonetic and derivative affinity.

Avataṅkas of the Modha Brahmins:

The following Avataṅkas of the Modha Brahmins are said to have been told to Rāma by Śrīmātā (XLIV. 62-69):

32. Moghātra 33. Anubhūtātra 34. Padavādtra
35. Haupheyātra 36. Sesatriya 37. Vathāreta
41. Vusāñiṭṭātra.

The word "avataṅka" appears to have Prakrit origin.
The word "avataṅka" and its variant "aṭaka" are used in Gujarati in the sense of "surname"; the latter is more

161 The DP. mentions 42 Avataṅkas but it enumerates only 41 Avataṅkas. To account for this discrepancy, P.J. Pathak has to include 2 Avataṅkas in Nimbātra (10) Translation p.149).
162 Osā S.S., The Student's Little Dictionary, p.18; Muktivijayaji, Panyasaji, Sahasra-Gujarati Sabdaratna Mahodadhi, p. 171.
amongst the Gujarati speaking people. The equivalents of the Prakrit word "avadāṅka" or "avātaṅka" in Sanskrit and Hindi are "prasiddhi" and "khyāti" respectively which mean "fame, renown". Otto Böhtlingk and Monier Williams take it to be a proper name of a Prakrit poet.

Divisions of Modha Brahmins:

The DP. mentions 6 divisions of Modha Brahmins viz. Traividya, Cāturvidya, Ekāśana, Dhinoja, Malla, Tandulīya. The original group from which these groups branched off was the Traividyas who were jointly created by Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva. (V.9). In the first stage of development, the Brahmins of the original group divided themselves into two groups viz. Traividya and Cāturvidya which might be equivalent to Trivedi and Chaturvedi of the present day. The following incidents are mentioned as the causes of the schism:

(1) The difference of practice regarding gifts: One group received them but another did not. The former retained the original name of Traividya while the latter assumed the name of Cāturvidya (XLVI.42-44).

The difference of opinion in the meeting held to decide what to do to protect their interests at the time of conflict between the Modha Brahmins and the king Āma. Of the total 18,000 Modha Brahmins, 15,000 were of the opinion that they should not attempt to prove the existence of Rāma and Hanumat as demanded by the king, because their attempt would not produce any fruitful result in the vicious Kali age and they gave scholastic as well as shrewd arguments to support their view. On account of their shrewdness (cātura) they were called Cāturvidya by other 3,000 Brahmins who, on the contrary, held that they should make an attempt to prove the existence of Rāma and Hanumat by going to Rāmesvaram which, they believed, was Hanumat's abode. This group called themselves Traividya. They also gave their own appealing arguments which could win to their side the majority of votes. It was therefore decided that a delegation would be sent to Rāmesvaram and that each gotra and avatanka or a group of them should depute a delegate. The groups which would not depute a delegate would be excommunicated. Subsequently, a delegation was formed of 20 half-hearted delegates of the Cāturvidya group and 11 delegates of the Traividya group. The delegates of the Cāturvidyas returned halfway from the expedition to Rāmesvaram, while the other 11
delegates of the Traividya accomplished their mission, bringing back with them two packets of hair given by Hanumat. With the help of the two packets of hair, the Traividya Brahmins could subdue the king Ama. On account of that the Cāturvidyas were afraid that they might be troubled by the Traividyas; they therefore requested the king to provide a new place of residence for them. The king built for them the city of Sukhavāsaka.¹⁶⁵(LIII.1 ff.).

Tandulīya: During the conflict with the king Ama 350 Cāturvidya Brahmins decided not to send delegates to join the expedition to Rāmesvaram. They were, therefore, excommunicated and given the name of Tandulīya. They were so-called because, the DP. says, they had sown the "tandula" or "the thrashed rice-grain". Their family goddess was Paramaranda. (LIII. 79-80; LIX.67-69).

Ekāśana: They are sometimes known as "Ekāśasata" who refused to have a share in the villages given by Rāma at the completion of his sacrifice at Moherakapura. This group of Brahmins consequently had to separate themselves from other groups, becoming an exogamous group. Their family goddess was Chatrā who had four arms and was seated

¹⁶⁵The DP. LIX.71-72 seems to suggest that the Sukhavāsaka was situated on the bank of the Sābhrāmatī not far from Śrīkṣetra.
on a tiger. She was to the south-west of Moherakapura. (LIX. 22, 63-66). This division of Modha Brahmins seems to be identical with the Agiarasana division of the modern time.

Modha Mallas: The quarrel among Modha Brahmins, which resulted in a combat amongst them, had given rise to a class of Modha Brahmins who took to wrestling (LIX.22-23). Their number is 550 (LIX.62). Their family-goddess is called Limbājā. She has four hands in which is held a conch-shell, a discuss, a club and a lotus. She wears black dress and rides on a lion (LIX.25-27). They have their own caste-purāṇa entitled "Mallapurāṇa" which contains the story of their origin, their training, their life-style, etc. The work is edited by B.J. Sandesara and R.N. Mehta (GOS. 144).

Worship of the goddess Limbājā:

The festive worship of the goddess should be done on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra. In the worship, Brahmins should be fed; the offerings to the goddess should consist of animal, flowers, perfume, scent, lamp, sugar, māśānna, pūpaka, pāyasa, and intoxicating drinks (LIX.29-32).

166 The description points out that she is a form of the goddess Vaishnī (Vide, Rao T.A.G., Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, Part II, pp.384-385.)
The present image of the goddess Limbajā, enshrined in the temple at Delmal, is made of Black stone and in three of its four hands are trident in the upper right hand, a bell in the upper left hand and a wine pitcher in the lower left hand; the lower right hand is in the "abhaya mudra". The statue is in the standing posture. From the description, it is not the one described in the DP. This might have been the image made anew to replace the original one which might have been mutilated and hence unfit for worshipping. (Photo. No. 1)

The goddess Limbajā Śakti is said to have been situated seven Krosas to the west of Moheraka (XXVIII.30). There is Limbajā Mātā at the village of Delmal which lies about ten miles west of Modhera. The DP. probably refers to the same goddess. (Photos Nos. 2.3)

Story of the origin of the goddess Limbajā (LIX. 35 ff.)

Lohāsura was so powerful that he could defeat gods including Viṣṇu. The gods therefore meditated on Prakṛti

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167 Such description is not given in relation to the Devis by Rao. (Vide Rao T.A.G., Ibid. pp. 397 ff.)
and on account of it a goddess appeared under a nearby neem tree. The gods requested her to delude the demon so that Viṣṇu could slay him. She did accordingly and the demon was slain easily by Viṣṇu. As she appeared under the Nimba (neem) tree, the gods gave her the name Nimbajā or Limbajā. Accidentally, it is interesting to note that the Modha Mallas or Jethi Mallas as they are now called, have special regards for neem tree. They will never cut them down nor burn them. This indicates the influence of animism in their faith.

At present the Jethi Mallas do not carry on the wrestling profession but agriculture is their main occupation. In Delmal, there are about 60 houses of the Jethi Mallas. The wrestling was practiced by them down to the times of Maharaja Sayajirao III Gaekwar of Baroda, who was their great patron. In and around Delmal there are many old temples which speak of its antiquity. The phonemical change from /n/ to /l/ is an interesting phenomenon from the philological point of view. I acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Visnu B. Jethi of Delmal for taking me and my companion, Mr. Harish D. Vyas, to see various old temples in and around Delmal and for the information about the Mallas; for the detailed study of the ancient monuments in Delmal, see Gazetteer of Baroda, Vol. II, pp.612 ff.
Dhenuja Modha Brahmins:

The circumstance under which the Dhenuja Modha Brahmins were originated from the original group (i.e.Traividya Brahmins) is narrated in the DP. (Ch.LX) as follows:

The Brahmin lads who were not intelligent were assigned to tend the Brahmins' cattle which were in abundance. They grazed the cattle near Gambhira-Sarovara and there they had an affair with maidens and widows who brought them daily food. Their affair went on without interruption till the women got pregnant and this became known to their parents who then called a meeting of Brahmins to decide what to do about the matter. In an effort to preserve the purity of the caste, the meeting decided to excommunicate them after getting them married. They were given the name of Dhenuja and sent to the city called Dhenuja to live there. They left Modhera, taking away the offerings which were given to gods and on account of that they became professional robbers. They numbered one hundred and their family goddess was "Bhadrikā" who held in her hands an arrow and a bow and had a buffalo as her mount.
They are probably identified with the Modern Dhinoja Modha Brahmins of Dhinoj, Mesana district. According to The census of India and the gazetteer of the Baroda state "The Dhinojas were, till the end of the last century, professional thieves and murderers." 171

Mr. Deviprasad B. Patel, the Sarpanch of Dhinoj, who is a Modha Brahmin told me that there are about 200 Modha Brahmins at Dhinoj now, and generally they have matrimonial relations with the Dhinoj Brahmins of Vadnagar. He also confirmed that the Dhinoj Brahmins were originally robbers.

The Puranakara gives confusing accounts regarding the emergence of some divisions of the Modha Brahmins. Here are the instances: He seems to forget that a number of Brahmins, presumably the Caturvidyas were given outside Moheraka 55 villages to reside by Rama (Cf. LI. 11 ff.); hence, he presents them as residing in Moherapura at the time of their conflict with the king Ama and after the conflict was over the Caturvidyas are presented as requesting the king to provide them with a new place of residence, presumably outside Moherakapura. The king is said to have built the city of Sukhavasaka for them

to live separately from the Traividyas who remained in Moherakapura. (Cf. LIX. 6-10, 15). At the time of the conflict 350 out of 15,000 Cāturvidya Brahmins are presented as being excommunicated by the other Cāturvidya as they failed to depute delegates to Rāmesvaram; still they seem to be included amongst the Cāturvidyas who were given the city of Sukhavāsaka by the king Āma as a new place of residence (Cf. LIII. 79-80; LIX. 13-14). The divisions of Br-ahmins seem to have taken place at the completion of Rāma's sacrifice at Moheraka; still a new version of division of Moḍha Brahmins into Traividya and Cāturvidya group is presented again at the time of conflict with the king Āma (Cf. LI. 11-14; LIII. 6-46). These confusing accounts tend to suggest that the Purāṇakāra is trying to give a far-fetching explanation of the divisions of Brahmins which might have taken place long before the composition of the DP.

The modern day - Moḍha Brahmins are divided into five classes according to the census of India and the gazetteer of Baroda state. Their names seem to be the variants of the old versions. They are:

(1) The Chaturvedi who are proficient in the four Vedas;
(2) The Trivedi who know three Vedas;
(3) The Jethi who are wrestlers;
(4) The Dhinoja who live at Dhinoj in Chanasma
   taluka; and
(5) Agiarasana who are found in Baroda and Amreli
district.172

John Wilson mentions the following subcastes of the
Moḍha Brahmins, which neither eat nor inter-marry with
one another.

(1) The Trivedi Moḍhas receive their designation
   from their professing the third, or Sama-veda, or from
   their professing three of the Vedas;
(2) The Chaturvedi Moḍhas who are proficient in the
   fourth or Atharvaveda, or any of the four Vedas;
(3) The Agihana, or Agiasana, or Aggarakṣana Moḍhas;
(4) The Tripāla Moḍhas;
(5) The Khījadīya Saṁvānā Moḍhas;
(6) Ekādaśadhra Moḍhas;
(7) The Tāndulotha Moḍha;
(8) The Utanjaliya Moḍhas;

172 Census of India, 1931, Vol. XIX, Baroda, p. 434;
Rules governing Caste Modha Brahmins:

After some Modha Vaniks had been converted to Jainism, the Modha Brahmins who acted as their gurus as well as masters felt that they were losing hold on the Vanik community. Consequently, in the interest of Vedadharma, they laid down the following rules:-

(1) One should not perform a ritual for a member of a low caste. (LXII.5)

(2) One should not accept gifts from a member of a low caste. These people are known as antyajas viz., a washerman, a worker in hides, a dancer, a worker in bamboo, a fisherman, a Meda and a Bhilla. Whosoever receives gifts from them bring down his house to a low position. He should be excommunicated. (LXII. 6-8)

(3) He who abandons Vedadharma and embraces heretic religion should be excommunicated. (LXII.10)

(4) He who neglects the performance of srāddha rite on every new moon day should be excommunicated. (LXII.11)

(5) He who eats his food without doing Vaisvadeva should be excommunicated (LXII.12).

(6) He who dines in the house of an outcaste Brahmin should be punished (LXII.13).

(7) Caste-dinner at the weddings should be stopped (LXII. 14-15).

(8) Even in great distress one should not eat with the person who had committed five great sins. (LXII.16)

(9) One should eat only with his own relatives (LXII.17).

(10) One should not follow the law promulgated by Manu etc. that provides for the acceptance of a bride from any of the four varṇas in the case of a Brahmin. (LXII.18)

(11) One should not give his daughter in marriage in exchange of money. If he does, he shall be excommunicated. (LXII.20)

(12) He who does not worship the goddess Mātaṅgī in the rituals like marriage etc. should be excommunicated. (LXII.21)

(13) Expiatory vow lasting 12 years should be taken if one kills a Brahmin, a woman, a boy and a cow. (LXII.22-23)

(14) One should not associate with the person who drinks liquor or violates his guru's bed. (LXII.24-25)
(15) One should not take to wife a girl belonging to a low varna. If he does he shall be excommunicated and treated as a Śūdra. (LXII.26)

(16) He, who marries outside his own caste, shall not be accepted within the caste, i.e. he shall be excommunicated. (LXII.27)

(17) He, who marries his own relative, shall be excommunicated and treated as a Śūdra. (LXII.28)

(18) He, who becomes an adherent of Buddhism or Jainism, shall be punished according to the rules provided in the dharmaśāstras. [LXXI.29-30]

Moḍha Banias

Carrying on trade and commerce is the occupational nature of the Vaṇiks or Banias. They derived their name from a Sanskrit word meaning a trader.\(^{174}\)

Origin of the Moḍha Banias. (VII. 19. ff)

After Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva had created 18,000 Brahmins and settled them in Moherakapura the Brahmins

found it difficult to carry out both domestic affairs and religious ones simultaneously. They, therefore, asked the three gods to solve the problem for them. Brahma asked Kāmadhenu, who came at the thought of three gods, to create servants for the Brahmins. Kāmadhenu then scratched the earth with the tip of her front hoof and as a result of it 36,000 Vaniks (Banias) emerged out of the ground. Being thus created they were called Ajonija Gobhuja. Then Brahma asked Visvāvasu, the lord of the Gandharvas to create damsels from his mind so that they might be given to the Vaniks in marriage. Visvāvasu did accordingly and the damsels were given to the Vaniks in marriage. Then they were assigned by the gods to serve the Brahmins.

The story is mythological in nature, yet it might bury under it some social significance. It might be a device invented by Brahmins to convert a certain group of people to Hindu fold, or it might be the effort of the Brahmins to supply the mythological origin to a certain group of people from which they derived their economic support. As regards the transformation from one caste to another, Herbert Resley says,

"All over India at the present moment tribes are gradually being transformed into castes. The stages of this operation are in themselves difficult to trade. The main agency at work is fiction,
which in this instance takes the form of the pretence that whatever usage prevails to-day did not come into existence yesterday, but has been so from the beginning of time.\textsuperscript{175}

The process of conversion, put forward by Herbert Risley is summed up as follows:

(1) The leading men of an aboriginal tribe, having somehow on account of their fortune or other manage to enrol themselves in one of the more distinguished castes. The Brahmin then invents for them a mythical ancestor, supplies them with a family miracle connected with the locality where the tribe is settled, etc.

(2) A number of aborigines embraces the tenets of a Hindu religious sect, losing thereby their tribal names and becoming Vaisnavas, Lingayatas, Rāmaits, or the like.

(3) A whole tribe of aborigines, or a large section of a tribe enrol themselves in the ranks of Hinduism under the style of a new caste, which, though claiming an origin of a remote antiquity, is readily distinguishable by its name from any of the standard or recognized castes.

(4) A whole tribe of aborigines, or a section of a tribe, became gradually converted to Hinduism without abandoning their tribal designation. 176

There are some indications that the Modha Vaniks do not belong to the traditional twice-born group. As for example, they do not perform sacred thread ceremony which is compulsory for the twice-born. 177 The DP. refers to the Vaniks in many places as Sudras (VII.53; XLV.59; LIX.34 etc.); their origin is said to have been associated with the foot of Kāmadhenu; 178 their residences are said to have been built for them outside the city wall of Moherakapura 179 (V.29). This suggests the low origin of the Vaniks. It has already been suggested above that the Vaniks might be originally the tribemen who infested northern Gujarat.

Some groups of the Modha Vaniks might have originated from the Rajputs, as a sword and chowries are used in their wedding. 180

176. For details vide Risley Herbert, Ibid., pp.72 ff.
178. Cf. RG X.90.12.
179. The Cāndālas have to live outside the towns or villages in the hamlets of their own (vide Ghurye G.S., Caste and Class; p. 20).
180. See under "marriage rite of the Vaniks" Chapter III; see also Census of India, 1931, Baroda, Part I, p.469; Gazetteer of Baroda, Vol.I, p. 192.
Divisions of Modha Banias:

"Modha Vanlas are divided into six different subcastes each of which keep itself aloof from the rest and illustrates how castes are subdivided in Gujarat. The main divisions are Adalaj from Adalaj near Ahmedabad; Goghva from Gogha and Mandaliya from Mandal, formerly a place of consequence about 48 miles north-west of Ahmedabad. All the divisions are subdivided into Visa and Disa."

The DP. mentions the following classes of the Modha Banias:

(1) Gobhuja Vaniks: They were originally created by Kāmadhenu to serve the Moḍha Brahmins (VII. 26-27).

(2) Mandalika Vaniks: They originally lived in Mandalīpura (XLIII.76) and followed Rāma to Moherakapura. They were given to the Brahmins who were reinhabited by Rāma at Moheraka. Their number was 125,000 (Sapādalakṣa). The word "sapādalakṣa" is also the name of the region.

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known in the modern days as Sambhar in Jaipur. It was ruled in the early years of the seventh century by the Chahamanas (Chauhans). If the latter meaning is intended by the Purānakāra punningly, it suggests that the Mandalika Vaniks formerly belonged to Sapādalakṣa country and they might be originally Rajputs, as suggested by other indications (see above).

(3) Addalaja Vaniks: They were the Gobhūja Vaniks who embraced Jainism and then migrated to Addalaja as they could not live in Moheraka in the spirit of peaceful co-existence with the Brahmins their former masters. (LXI.41-43). The census of India reports that the Moḍha Banias migrated to Adalaj when Ala-ud-din's army invaded Gujarat in 1298 A.D. 182

Tailin Vaniks:

(4) They were expert in producing oil from sesamum seed and because of this occupation they were treated as excommunicated by other Vaniks (LXI.48). "The large class of oil-men, known in Gujarat as Moḍha Ghanči, were originally Moḍh Vanias who by taking to making and selling oil were considered as degraded and now formed a separate caste." 183

184. Ibid. p. 471.
Modha Banias and Jainism:

"Modha Vanias have small Jain sections but they are predominantly Hindu". The Modha Banias are the best known for spreading Jainism. Hemachandra, the well-known teacher of the Jain faith also belonged to Modha Bania community. The DP. narrates the following story to account for the conversion of some Vaṇiks to Jainism:

Once a Gobhuja Vaṇik went to the Sūryakunda (at Modhera) and he met a Jain monk there who gave him a discourse. On account of that he was attracted towards the faith and eventually he became the follower of Jainism. He provided the monk with a quarter where he could pass four months in self-confinement during the rainy season in accordance with the Jain disciplines for monks. During this period the monk converted many Vaṇiks and attacked Brahmins and the Vedas. His activities became known to the Brahmins who came, beat him,

185 Census of India, 1931, Vol. XIX, Baroda, p.469.
dragged him away from Moherakapura and threatened him that if he came back again they would kill him. This act of the Brahmins caused a strong resentment among the Jain Vaṇiks. Consequently, they decided to leave Moheraka and settled down elsewhere - some in Addalaja, some in Śrīkṣetra; some in the coastal region and other in Dvīpapura.

The credibility of the story is doubtful but it reveals the attitude of the Brahmins towards Jainism. The Brahmins looked upon the Jain monk with hatred and contempt. He was beaten badly and the contemptible terms like pāpa (LX.34), pāpistha (LX.49), khalottama (LX.57), pāpātman (LX.74), manda and khala (LXI.11) were used in referring to him. It also tells us that the master-servant relations between the Brahmins and the Vaṇiks were severed beyond mending because of the latter's acceptance of Jainism of which the former were not tolerant. The acceptance of Jainism by the Vaṇiks seems possibly to be a revolt against the claim of superiority by the Brahmins. Jainism had taken its deep root in the length and breadth of Gujarat before the time when the DP. was composed, i.e. in the times of the King Kumāraṇāla. 188

The Jain population might have grown to a considerable extent among the Modha Banias, attested by Hemacandra who was a great Jain teacher and who belonged to Modha Bania community. It therefore appears that the story is a fabricated one to explain how the social conditions current at the time of the BP. came into being.