Preface.

My sincerest thanks are due to Dr. Randle, Librarian of the India Office Library, for granting me the use of nine manuscripts belonging to the India Office; to the Cambridge University Library, for accepting the custodianship of these manuscripts; to Professor H.W. Bailey, for his generosity in lending me books; and to my wife, for heroically undertaking the major part of the typing.
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# ABBREVIATIONS

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<td>ZDMG</td>
<td>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</td>
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Introduction.

The principle of exogamy, in virtue of which a man must marry outside his own hereditary group or clan, has come to be recognised as a factor of prime importance in the organisation of many widely divergent types of human society, and its operation among primitive tribes has been closely studied by anthropologists. Up to the present, however, the exogamous system of the ancient Brahmanical families has been largely neglected, and in fact there is no detailed and reliable account in English to which the anthropologist can turn for information. The small interest shown by orientalists in this particular aspect of the social organisation of early India is doubtless due partly to the extremely dull and uninteresting nature, from a literary point of view, of the documents from which our knowledge of the system is derived, and partly to the almost unbelievably corrupt state of the textual transmission, which is indeed so bad that it is doubtful whether it will ever be possible to reconstitute the text of the long lists of family names with any certainty. In spite of this, however, the main outlines of the system stand out quite clearly; and the present study has therefore been undertaken in order to make good this neglect, and to give as complete an account as possible of the organisation of the Brahmanical exogamous system, down to the
end of the Sūtra period (approx. 4th century BC). It is hoped that both orientalists and anthropologists will find here material of interest, although naturally the latter will find much that is irrelevant to their purpose in the technicalities of a discussion which has been written primarily from the point of view of an orientalist.

Among the Brahmanas, as also among many other castes in Hindu society, marriage is in general restricted in three ways. First, a man may not marry outside his "caste" (jāti). Second, a man may not marry those who fall within certain degrees of prohibited relationships, generically designated his "sapinḍas", i.e., persons who share with him in the funeral oblation to a common ancestor. This restriction corresponds in type to the European "tables of prohibited degrees", and according to the most usual definition, extends back to the seventh generation on the father's side, and the fifth on the mother's(1). Third, a man must marry outside his own "clan" (gotra). It is with this third restriction that the present work is concerned, and specifically with the early history of the exogamous groups among the Brahmanas, for whom alone we possess detailed accounts of the system, in the so-called "pravara-chapters", which form appendices to the ritual Sūtras.

1) See for example, GautDhs 4.3-5, Manu 5.60, Nārada 12.7.
Exogamous systems may be conveniently classified in two main groups, symmetrical and non-symmetrical. The former is best exemplified in the well-known dual organisation and its modifications into four- and eight-class systems, where a man belonging to one moiety of a tribe must always take a wife from the other moiety. A rather different type of symmetrical system may be seen in a four-class society, where a man of A class marries a woman of B, a man of B marries into C, C marries into D, and D marries into A (1). The Brahmanical gotra-system, on the contrary, is non-symmetrical in structure. Thus, a man belonging to one of the eighteen gotras may in general marry into any one of the remaining seventeen, though there are indeed exceptions, which we shall note as we come to them. It is worth noting at the outset that there is not the slightest trace of evidence that the system has developed out of a more symmetrical type of organisation.

The Brahmanical gotra, then, which persists with little modification to the present day, may be defined as an exogamous patrilineal sibship, whose members trace their descent back to a common ancestor. It is clear that the prohibition of marriage within the gotra overlaps with the sapinda restriction, since many of the sapanças on the father's side are also

1) Hodson, "Primitive Culture of India", p.92 ff.
sagotras. It is possible, therefore, that the two regulations were originally independent, and that the historical situation represents a fusion of two distinct cultural traditions. There is however no direct evidence on this point, and we must be content to observe that within the historical period both restrictions exist together. An approximate statement of the position, when both regulations are applied, would be, that marriage is prohibited within the joint-family up to several (usually five) generations on the mother’s side, up to seven on the father’s side where descent is through a female, and without limit in the direct male line. This is the prescription of the Mānava Dharma Śāstra (1), asapinda ca yā mātur asagotra ca yā pituḥ, ie., a fitting bride is one who is not a sapinda of the mother’s, and in addition is not of the same gotra as the father. The often quoted verse, usually attributed to Śatātapa, mātulasya sutām uḍhvā māṛgotrām tathaiva ca, which prohibits marriage also within the mother’s gotra, would seem to be a later extension due to an over-zealous puritanical spirit; and the lack of parallels in the legal literature would seem to indicate that it never became part of the regularly accepted practice.

The matter is further complicated by a quite different prescription, namely, that a man may not marry a woman

1) 3.5.
Now, it is clear that Karandikar has completely failed to support this view with logical argument. Even if the pravara-recitation in the sacrifice was originally a matter for complete freedom of choice, it is obviously quite illegitimate to argue from this that exogamous groups did not exist at that time; and his suggestion that the Brahmans transformed their ritual colleges into exogamous clans on the model of aboriginal exogamous societies with which they came in contact, would seem to go beyond all bounds of probability. Nevertheless, the view that the Brahmanical gotras were fundamentally ritual corporations rather than purely social groupings receives some support from the common apposition in the texts between ārṣa-gotras and laukika-gotras, these two expressions being taken to mean "spiritual" and "profane" families respectively. As we shall see, such a view is not very probable. Nevertheless, it is clearly desirable that any discussion of the gotra-system which attempts to be comprehensive must include a full treatment of the pravara question.

One of the most interesting and important historical problems connected with the system is the relation of the exogamous gotra to the endogamous caste. Sénart (1) was of the opinion that the castes were directly related to an Indo-European type of social organisation, and to uphold this theory has equated the Indian gotra with

the gene of the Romana and the phratria of the Greeks. This theory has been summarily dismissed by a number of more recent writers, chiefly on the grounds that it is not till the Sūtra period that the prohibition of marriage within the gotra is evidenced in Indian sources (1). In spite of such categorical pronouncements, however, the whole question remains an open one, and a re-examination of the available evidence on the subject of gotra is obviously a desideratum.

In the present work, then, we shall first consider in detail the nature and history of the pravaras in the Vedic period, and thereafter proceed to a description of the gotra-system as seen in the pravara-appendices of the ritual Sūtras; and finally we shall investigate what evidence can be found in the earlier Vedic literature, with a view to establishing something of the earlier history of the system.

1) For example, N.K. Dutt, "Origin and Growth of Caste in India", p.19. S.C. Roy, in "Man in India", 1934, p.85, seems to have missed the point of Sénart's argument.
Chap. I. Pravara.

1. Pravara and Exogamy.

The unit of the Brahmanical exogamous system is the gotra in the wider sense of the term, and there is no reason to doubt that the connection of the pravaras with exogamy is a secondary one. It would therefore be logical to discuss first the gotras themselves, and thereafter turn to consider the question of the pravaras. But in historical times the two questions had become so closely interrelated that such a course would scarcely provide a satisfactory view of the subject, since the system of gotras cannot be adequately expounded without constant reference to the pravara-system. Therefore, for the sake of clearness, we shall first consider the pravaras.

From the time of the Sūtras onwards, the rule is laid down by the religious and legal authors that a man must avoid in marriage both (a) persons of the same gotra; and (b) persons possessing the same pravara as himself. This pravara is a list of names, in most cases three, of (suppositional) ancestors, which is recited at certain points in the sacrificial ritual. The older authorities, however, regularly
give only one of the two prescriptions, and it is in fact clear from the detailed exposition of the pravara-adhyāyas also, that the two rules are identical in their effect. Each gotra is subdivided into several gaṇas, or groups, each gaṇa with its own distinctive pravara. All the gaṇas within one gotra, however, normally have at least one pravara-name in common - that of the eponymous rṣi of the major gotra; and according to the interpretation of Baudhāyana at the beginning of his pravara-chapter, two pravaras are the "same" for exogamous purposes if they possess even one name in common. There is however an exception in the case of the two families of the Bhṛgus and Angirases, among whom a majority of the names in two pravaras must coincide before marriage is prohibited. In effect, therefore, Bhṛgus may marry with certain other Bhṛgus; but under no circumstances can, for example, a Kaśyapa marry with any other Kaśyapa. This peculiar position of the Bhṛgus and Angirases must be treated more fully later; here it is sufficient to remark that it provides a good reason for considering that the regulation as to pravara is subsequent to the gotra-restriction, since otherwise there would be no conceivable reason for the anomaly. It is clear, in fact, that the already existing pravaras have been
applied to the ordering of a marriage system which they could not quite fit without a certain amount of adjustment in the case of the Bhrgus and Angirases. The question therefore is why the rule of pravara in exogamy should have been made at all.

The answer lies in the word gotra itself. In the Baudhāyana pravara chapter, the term is defined as: "saptanām rṣīnām agastyāṣṭamānām yad apatyām tad gotram", i.e., a gotra is the whole group of persons descended from any one of the Seven Ṛsis or Agastya. Leaving aside for the minute the case of the Bhrgus and Angirases, this definition clearly recognises the eight main exogamous groups named after the Ṛsis listed by Baudhāyana in a verse immediately preceding: Jamadagni, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Atri, Viśvāmitra, Kaśyapa, Vasiṣṭha. These in fact remain throughout the units of exogamy. But as is natural in the course of linguistic development, the meaning of the word gotra did not remain fixed in the sense of "exogamous unit", but was frequently applied to subdivisions of these, and even to individual families within them. Thus we find in inscriptions Brahmans described not only as "of the Vasiṣṭha-gotra", etc.,
but even, for example, "of the Bhāguri-gotra" (1). In the latter case, the Bhāguris are not in any sense an exogamous unit, but, as may be seen from the pravara-lists, are a subdivision of a subdivision of the unit. Pāṇini (?) uses the word gotra in a very precise technical sense, which nevertheless cannot be wholly divorced from the everyday usage of his times; and in Pāṇini the word has no reference to the exogamous groups at all, but is applied to the patriarchal "Great-families", each of which can only have constituted a very small fraction of the exogamous clan.

The present work is concerned mainly with the organisation of the Brahmans, and a full consideration of the Buddhist and Jaina sources therefore lies outside its scope. The material indeed is so extensive and so widely scattered among the vast canonical literatures of these two religions that they certainly demand separate treatment (3). It is however worth

(3) Perhaps the chief outstanding problem is the position of men who are certainly Kāśatriyas - the most notable being Gautama the Buddha himself - who nevertheless bear well-authenticated Brahmical gotra names. It is perhaps worthy of note that Gautama is most frequently so called in the Pāli works by orthodox Brahmans (samano Gotamo); and
mentioning the technical use of the word *gotra* by both religions. The theory of Jainism conceives the common Indian *karma*, that is, the sum-total of acts, etc., which causally determine a man's future existences, as something quite substantial which clings to the soul, and requires to be washed away for the attainment of salvation. Among the different

it may be that we have here in the Buddhist literature concrete cases of the Brahmanical prescription that a Kṣatriya should take the gotra of his purohita. Naturally, and especially in a royal household, the position of purohita would tend to be hereditary (as indeed it frequently is at the present day; thus, for example, the ruling family of Mayurbhanj State in Orissa are Vasiṣṭhas, since that is the gotra of their hereditary purohitas.) and the purohita's gotra-name would in such cases be applicable to whole families of Kṣatriyas, forming as it were an alternative family name. On the other hand, it may be that we have here to reckon with a direct copying of the Brahmanical organisation by Kṣatriyas. It is well known that at the present day many castes who have never made any claim to Brahmanhood are nevertheless organised for exogamous purposes in gotras bearing the Brahmanical names. Some of these are known with certainty to have adopted the system wholesale from the Brahmans in quite recent times, for example, the Suraj-bansis, who adopted the Brahmanical gotra-names and gotra-exogamy in 1371 - see Karandikar, "Hindu Exogamy", p. 229; Risley, "Tribes and Castes of Bengal", vol.11, p.285. Which of these alternatives, if either, is true in the present instance can only be decided in the light of a thorough re-examination of the sources.
kinds of karma they name a gotra-karma, which is held to determine a man's caste, social standing, family, and so forth (1). It is clear that this generalised sense of "status in society" is not directly derived from the sense of "exogamous unit", but that the word gotra had at the time of the construction of the Jaina system a not dissimilar range of meanings from the English word "family".

In the Pāli books, the word gotta is not infrequently used in the expected sense, as, for example, Bhagavā Gotamo gottena, Kakusandho Kasapapo gottena, i.e., a Gautama, or a Kaśyapa by gotra. On the other hand, Vipassi Koṇḍañño gottena (2) provides an example of the term applied to a subdivision of the exogamous group (Sk Kaṇḍinya).

In addition to this, the Pāli sources have a term gotra-bhū (which however occurs only in the very latest parts of the Canon.) applied to one who has become converted to Buddhism, although he has not yet "entered upon the stream". The form gotra, as against gotta for the non-technical sense, is

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(1) Cf. Das Gupta, "Hist. of Indian Philosophy", vol. i. p. 191.
(2) Dīgha Nikāya, 11.3.
striking, and because of this Rhys Davids and Stede (1) although translating "become of the lineage", suggest that it is etymologically equivalent to the Sanskrit goptr, 'protector'. Thus, presumably, a gotra-bhū would be one who had come under the protection of the Buddha. Whether or not this is the case (and the explanation is not free from difficulties) there can be no doubt that the word quickly acquired the sense of the Sanskrit gotra, and that, moreover, in the generalised meaning already seen in the Jaina usage. Thus, the gotra-bhū is regularly contrasted with puthujjana, "the common herd". By becoming a member of the Buddhist community, he has, so to speak, acquired a new status. It is with the term gotra-bhū rather than with gotta that the technical use of gotra in Buddhist Sanskrit works is to be connected. In the Mahāyānist schools, however, the word underwent a long and complicated development whose discussion is out of place here. It is enough to note that in some of the texts gotra can be fittingly understood as "spiritual class", gotra-bheda being the distinction between different

(1) P.T.S. Dict. s.v.
types of beings, some of whom are "destined to be Bodhisattvas", some "destined to become Pratyeka-Buddhas", and so forth (1).

In the later Brahmanical works, also, the term gotra is applied to families and sub-families as frequently as to the exogamous clans. In fact, the most usual application of the expression "founder of the gotra" (gotra-kāra) is not to the exogamous groups, but to the eponymous seers of the sub-families within each major "gotra". It may be this usage which has occasioned the desperate attempts of such writers as Puruṣottama to interpret the Baudhāyana definition as applying to these sub-families instead of to the major "gotras" (2).

At all events it is clear from the examples cited that in quite early times the word gotra had become so elastic in its usage - denoting sometimes the exogamous unit, sometimes a family, sometimes social status generally - that to lay down the rule simply of "no marriage within the gotra" was by itself

(2) See below, p.
quite inadequate, if the exogamous structure of the society was to be preserved. Therefore, we may presume, the Brahmans were forced to express the rule more explicitly, and, finding to hand the pravaras already classified according to the seers claimed as eponymous ancestors of the exogamous groups, naturally turned these to account. It is true that the rule "no marriage between persons having the same pravara" required a certain amount of modification and interpretation before it fitted the requirements of the marriage system; but compared with the indefinite range of the term gotra, the pravara-rule offered a clear and precise method of determining a man's position in the exogamous structure. For the present day, Risley has remarked (1) that among the Deśastha Brahmans the function of the pravara is to serve as a guide, for exogamous purposes, in the case of families who are not specifically mentioned in the gotra-lists handed down. There can be no doubt that the pravaras have in fact fulfilled this function since the earliest days; but it would perhaps be rash to suggest that this was the chief reason for the introduction of the

rule of pravara, since it is reasonable to believe that when the gotra-lists were composed their authors included in them all the families with which they were familiar in their own immediate society.

We find, then, the rule stated as, for example, "asamāna-pravarair vivāhaḥ" (1) - marriage is with persons who have different pravaras; "asamāna-ṛṣi-gotra-jātām (udvahet)" (2) - a man must not marry a woman born in the same 'ṛṣi-gotra', that is, gotra as determined by the ṛṣi-names of the pravaras. The Viṣṇu-Smṛti (3) prohibits a woman of the same 'pravara of ṛṣis' (asamānāṛṣa-pravara) as well as one of the same gotra (asagotra). Manu apparently felt that the prohibition of gotra was sufficient by itself; but Yājñavalkya (4) more explicitly says "asamānāṛṣa-gotra-jām" i.e., a woman of a different 'āṛṣa-gotra'. The Mitākṣara interprets this last expression as a Dvandva compound, "of a different 'āṛṣa' i.e., pravara, and of a different gotra". This is doubtful, and is certainly misleading, since it suggests to the reader that two separate prohibitions are intended. It has indeed even in modern

(1) GautDhS 3.2.; VārāhaSS 10.2. (2) Vaikhānasa Sūtra 3.2. (3) 24.9 (4) 1.3.53.
times been stated that Brahmans avoid in marriage both gotra and pravara. The passage noted above from the Viṣṇu-Smṛti is open to the same interpretation, although in this case the term asagotra may have been intended simply to explain asamanārṣa-pravarā. But in Yājñavalkya's phrase it is difficult to see any reason for preferring the Mitākaśāra's rendering. The word ārṣa is primarily an adjective - "concerned with ṛais" - and could only have the substantival meaning of pravara as the result of an ellipsis. It seems preferable to translate it as an adjective here; and this translation is further upheld by the Viṣṇu-Smṛti (which could hardly intend ārṣa-pravara to mean "pravara and pravara"), and by the unmodified form of the Vaikhānasasūtra - ṛai-gotra. Thus, Yajñavalkya here is quite clearly defining the kind of gotra that a man is to avoid: it is not gotra in the every-day sense of "family", that is, not the "laukika-gotra", but the "ārṣa-gotra", that is, the gotra connected with the ṛais. In brief, ārṣa-gotra means, not "pravara and gotra", but "gotra as determined by the ṛai-names in one's pravara". In the use of the pravaras, therefore, we are to see simply a mechanism whereby the exogamous group is defined, and the system preserved from the dissolution which the inexact usages of the word gotra might have brought about.
2. The pravāra in the ritual.

The earliest direct references to the pravāra-ceremony as an element in the Śrauta ritual appear in the Yajur-veda texts. It is not until we come to the Śūtras, however, that our information becomes at all detailed, since most of the Brāhmaṇa passages which deal with the matter would be largely unintelligible without the aid of the Śūtras. In all these texts the pravāra occurs only in connection with the Śrauta ritual, and there is no hint of its employment on any other occasion. But in later times, no doubt as a secondary result of its use in regulating marriage, the pravāra came to have a much wider application, so that for the present day a modern Hindu can write: (1)

"Every Brahman is obliged by law to pronounce the names of his important ancestors who were the founders of his family, whenever he has to perform a sacred act or has to repeat his prayers or invoke the gods, in order to show that, as a descendant of worthy ancestors, he is a fit and proper person to do the act he is performing. Practically, a Brahman repeats their name thrice every day, when he repeats his morning, noon and evening prayers". So too Monier Williams, in describing the morning Sandhyā, says: (2)

"The last act but one is a recitation of the family

1) P. Chentsal Rao, "Gotra and Pravara", p.i.
2) "Brahmanism and Hinduism", (1887), p. 497.
pedigree (gotroccāra); for every high caste man is supposed to be under the religious obligation of preserving the memory of his ancestors, and maintaining the line of his family descent unbroken. Not only therefore does he worship his departed forefathers with offerings and prayers at the Śrāddha services, but the recitation of his own genealogy forms an important part of the daily Sandhyā ceremonial. For example, the worshipper says: 'I belong to a particular Gotra (or tribe of Brahmans); I have three ancestors - Āngirasa, Śainya, and Gārgya (1); I am a student of the Āśvalāyana Sūtra, and follow the Śākala-Śākha of the Rgveda". But such an extensive use of the pravara is certainly not prescribed by the ancient texts - the silence of the Grhya-sutras is probably conclusive for the Sandhyās - and usage has no doubt developed considerably since the time of the Sūtras. But it is clear that before then the pravara was already well established as a frequent and important element in the ritual.

In the ritual texts the description of the pravara regularly occurs in the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices. But since in effect this form of sacrifice underlies all ists (2) the recitation of the pravara forms an integral part of virtually every Śrauta offering. In the regular isti, the pravara is first recited by the Hotr, immediately after

1) The complete loss of the significance of the vrddhied form is certainly surprising. It is worth noting also that the ancient texts give no grounds for confusing the pravara-ṛṣis and the Pitṛs. (2) Cf. SBE xxx, p. 345 ff.
the Sāmidhenīs, or Kindling-verses. While the Adhvaryu pours a libation of butter on the fire, the Hotr proceeds (1):

agnē mahāṃ asi brāhmaṇa bhārata; bhārgava cyāvanāpnavān-
aurva jāmadagnya. "O Agni, thou art great, O thou possessed
of Brāhmaṇa-power, O thou who art kin to Bharata, (2)
kin to Bhṛgu, to Cyavana, to Apnavāna, to Urva, to
Jamadagni". Then follows the series of short formulae
called Nivid, "Kindled by gods, kindled by men, praised by
the rṣis, delighted in by inspired sages" (3). This order of
ritual seems to be invariable in all the texts. The Brāhmaṇas
make it quite clear that Agni is here being invited to
officiate as Hotr, and it seems most probable that it was
from this circumstance that the name pravara arose, only

1) TS 2.5.9; SB 1.4.2; KB 3.2; TB 3.5.3; ĀSS 1.2.27ff;
SSS 1.4.14ff, etc.
2) Hillebrandt, "Neu- und Vollmondsopfer", p.81 (following
Weber, ISt ix.324) translates "der du dem Brahm, dem
Bharata gedient hast." It cannot be denied that something
of the sort is the meaning in Bhārgava, etc; but origi-
ally Agni Bhārata, so frequently mentioned from the RV
onwards, was Agni of the Bhārataś rather than Agni of
Bharata; and the brāhmaṇ was probably not so concretely
personified at so early a date. The sense would seem to be,
"Thou art great, thou hast the magic power brāhmaṇ; more-
over, thou art of our race (cf. expressions such as
Bharatavarṣa, Bharatakhanda, in the later literature); not
only that, but also a member of the sacrificer's clan".
The Brāhmaṇas absurdly connect Bhārata with bhar-,
'to bear' - "thou carrier of the oblations", or (SB 1.4.2.2)
"sustainer of the creatures".
3) deveddho manviddah; rṣistuto viprānumaditah. The
Brāhmaṇas explain manviddha as "kindled by Manu", but the
contrast between gods and men seems too pointed to miss.
These formulae are certainly very old, cf. Scheftelowitz,
"Die Apokryphen des Rgveda", p.136, and the nominatives
where vocatives might have been expected give an indication
that the ceremony was pieced together from older material,
possibly, though by no means certainly, after the final
redaction of the Rgveda.
later coming to be transferred to the list of names recited in the invitatatory formula. The same holds good in the second pravara a little later in the rite. The human Hotr-priest, who, as the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa remarks, was not previously "in very truth" a Hotṛ, is ceremonially invited by the Adhvaryu to act as Hotṛ. The formula is similar to the first pravara, but not identical. After a second libation of butter, the Hotr says, "Announce (āśrāvaya) the sacrifice among the gods, announce me among men, for fame, glory and splendour of brahman-power (brahmavarcasāya)". The Adhvaryu then solemnly addresses the Agnīdhra, "oṃ śrāvaya", and receives his reply, "astu śrauvatṣat". He then continues, agnir devo daivyō hotā devān yakṣad vidvāṃsā cikitvān manusvad bharatavad; jamadagnivad ūrvavad apnavānavad cyavanavad bhṛguvad; brahmaṇvad eha vakṣad brāhmaṇā asya yajñasaya prāvitāraḥ; (asau) mānuṣaḥ. "Agni the god is the divine Hotṛ, may he sacrifice to the gods, the wise and knowing one; as Manu did, as Bharata did, as Jamadagni, Uṛva, Apnavāna, Cyavana and Bhṛgu did, as Brahman(?) did (2), so may he bring them (the gods) hither; the guardians of

1) 1.5.1.13. Cf also 1.3.5.2, and Eggeling's note, SBE xi.95.
2) This again is doubtful. Neither the later god Brahmā nor the Brahman of the Upaniṣads can be intended. The meaning may be "as the magic power (of these seers) did", or else brahmanvat may simply be a not very meaningful echo of brāhmaṇa in the first pravara, on the analogy of Bhārgava, Bhṛguvat, etc.
this sacrifice are Brāhmaṇas (1); NN is the human (Hotṛ)" (2). Here also in form the pravara directly concerns Agni and not the human Hotṛ. But there can be no doubt that by implication the human Hotṛ is meant. It is he who is really asked to offer sacrifice "as Manu did". As the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa sagely remarks, "by first naming Agni he propitiates Agni" (3).

Such, in brief outline, is the context of the pravara in the ritual. Apart from quite insignificant verbal discrepancies (4), there is complete agreement of all the texts which deal with the matter, so that it is certain that already by the Brāhmaṇa period the pravara was firmly established in the ritual. There is only one point which has caused a little trouble, namely, the exact interpretation of the phrase used in the Brāhmaṇas with reference to the pravara- ārṣeyaṁ (pra)vrṇīte - a phrase which is picked up again by the Sūtras, both in the ritual and in their pravara-appendices, often with significant alterations by way of exegesis. In view of the uncertainty it is worth considering the matter in detail.

(1) Eggeling, SBE xii,134, "The Brāhmaṇas (priests) are guardians of this sacrifice". The word brāhmaṇā however is emphatic, the point being that they also possess the magic brāhmaṇa-power which Jamadagni, etc. possessed.

(2) Ts 2.5.11; ŚB 1.5.1; BSS 1.15; ṚSS 1.5.23; ṚpSS 2.16; BhāṛSS 2.15; cf. Hillebrandt, op.cit., p.87ff.

(3) 1.5.1.15. For this "propitiation", see below, p.39.

(4) Such as the omission of the word "dāivyō" in the second pravara.
3. Ārṣeyaṃ (pra)vrṇīte.

There is no doubt at all that by this phrase the Brāhmaṇas no less than the Sūtras intend the recital of the pravara list of names. Karandikar (1) however has elaborated a theory of the origin of the phrase which he uses as an argument to reinforce his theory that the pravara-exogamous groups were of very late origin within the Vedic period. It is therefore desirable to examine the question in rather more detail than would otherwise have been necessary, and to try to arrive at a definite idea of the history and import of the phrase.

Haug (2) held that the word ērṣeya meant literally "the ancestral fire", no doubt in the belief that this is the traditional interpretation of the commentators. But an examination of typical commentaries (3) on the phrase shows clearly that this is carrying their explanation further than they intended. In fact, the commentators are merely concerned to stress the fact that it is the Āhavanīya fire, not the ṛṣis, which is addressed in the pravara, and they do not suggest that ērṣeya is actually synonymous with the fire. Haug however held the view so strongly that he translates ērṣeya as "ancestral fire", not only in a passage where the word clearly refers to

1) "Hindu Exogamy", p.52ff, following Kṛṣṇaśāstrī Ghule, in an article, unfortunately unobtainable, in the Marāthī magazine "Citramaya-jagat", 1923. (2) Alt.Br. vol ii,p.479 3î Eg. Sāyana on TS 2.5.8, SB 1.5.1.9; Bhattachārjārāma on TB 3.5.3; and of Puruṣottama, below, p.161 f.
the pravara, but even in one place where the reference is not to pravara matters at all. (1)

Weber (2) showed clearly that Haug's translation was wrong, and that it could not fit even the passage which Haug himself quoted from Āsvalāyana (3), "yajamānasyaṃārṣeyāṃ pravrñīte...rājarṣīn va rājñāṃ", where ārṣeyāṃ is paralleled by rājarṣīn; nor for example Kātyāyana's phrase (4), "yāvanto vā mantrakṛtaḥ", which must refer to the ārṣeyas, who could thus hardly be the ancestral fires of the sacrificer. Weber therefore, following the commentaries, took the word elliptically in the Sūtras, understanding with the masculine ārṣeyāṃ of Āsvalāyana some such word as ṛṣīn or pūrvajān; and with the neuter ārṣeyāṇī of Śāṅkāyana and Kātyāyana, apatyāṇī or nāmadheyāṇī. The singular form in the Brāhmaṇas, ārṣeyam, he understood as a collective neuter singular, "line of ancestors", (Ahnenreihe).

This however is not entirely satisfactory. The phrase ārṣeyāṃ ṛṣīn would naturally mean "ṛṣis who are also descendants of ṛṣis", and in this sense indeed it occurs frequently enough in the later Vedic hymns, where the authors pride themselves on their hymn-composing ancestry. (5) But in the case of the pravaras it is difficult to see the reason for the double requirement. In fact, normally one

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1) AB 7.25, and 8.3. In the latter passage the word refers to the authorship of a hymn, cf. Keith, HOS xxv, p.321, the use being similar to the ārṣa of the Anukramaṇiś, meaning "authored" by so-and-so. (2) ISt.ix,p.321ff, x,p.69.
3) ASS 1.3.1ff. (4) KSS 3.28.
5) Eg. AV xi.1.26.
rśi in the pravara is not a "descendant of a rśi", but is himself the original rśi (mūlabhūta rśiḥ) who is, so to say, the founder of the family. In the case of ārṣeyān pūrva Jayan, "ancestors who are descendants of rśis", the same objection holds. In the election of the priests prior to a sacrifice, the Sūtra injunction is normally that one should choose a Brahman who is ārṣeya (1); and indeed in this connection the Yajur-veda uses the phrase rśīr ārṣeyaḥ (2). This however is in order to guarantee the priest as a member of one of the authentic Brahman clans, as being the descendant of one of the gotra-rśais. This is clearly a distinct usage from that seen in the pravara-prescription though of course allied to it. For the neuter form ārṣeyānī apatyānī would mean "descendants who are descendants of rśis", and moreover this use of the collective noun apatya is open to question. In any case it is clear that pūrva Jayan and apatyānī cannot both be right at the same time. Ārṣeyānī nāmadheyānī is certainly the least open to objection of the four, and it must be admitted that this is conceivably what was in the minds of the authors of the Sūtras. But it does nothing to explain the phrase. Even if we admit that ārseyānī nāmadheyānī is simply an alternative way of saying rāṇām nāmadheyānī, it still remains to explain why this clumsy expression

1) See for example ŚŚś 5.1.1; ĀpŚś 10.1.1. (2) TS.1.4.43k, 6.6.1.4; VS 7.46; see also SB.4.3.4.19, and below, p. 489; Weber Ist.x.p.70.
should have been used in preference to the more straightforward one. In fairness to Weber, it is worth repeating that all these interpretations are founded on commentatorial authority.

The important point to make with regard to all this is that the Sūtra forms are in every case an echo of the singular of the Brāhmaṇas, giving as it were an exegetical commentary on the Brāhmaṇa phrase. It is therefore impossible to add the connotation of "ancestral" to the word ārṣeya as used in the Sūtras, and from this go on to infer the same connotation for the Brāhmaṇas, as Weber seems to do - since he gives no additional reason why ārṣeyam should mean "line of ancestors".

Eggeling (1), instead of taking the ārṣeyam of the Brāhmaṇas as a neuter noun, believed that originally it was a masculine adjective qualifying a supplied "agnimhotāram. He therefore translates athārṣeyam pravrṇīte as "He now calls on (Agni as) the ancestral (Hotṛ priest)", and adds in his footnote, "Literally, 'he chooses the ancestral' (ṛṣi)...

In this way the formula is explained by Sāyana on ŚB 1.5.1.9 (ṛṣīnāṁ sambandhinam adhvaryur hotāram vṛṇīte)...It is true, however, that, as the formula (he chooses the ancestral) became stereotyped, its exact import became forgotten, and ārṣeyam was generally taken as a neuter, either adjective (viz.

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1) SBE xii, p.115.
"nāmadheyam", 'apatyam') or noun (ancestral lineage)"). This is merely an adaptation of Weber's theory. Like Weber, Eggeling assumes without demonstration that ārṣeya can originally have of itself the meaning "ancestral", whereas such a connotation can only have become attached to the word as the result of an elliptical usage of the type which Eggeling himself thought to be a later development.

Keith (1), in translating ārṣeyam vr̥ṇīte in TS 2.5.8, cautiously writes, "He chooses one of a R̥ṣi's family", and notes that, while in the present passage the word is probably masculine, it is clearly neuter in KB 3.2, "descent" of the sacrificer. It is not quite clear whether Keith meant the "one of a R̥ṣi's family" to be Agni, or one of the pravara names. It seems most likely, as we shall see, that the original passage meant the former, in which case the present translation slightly obscures the matter. It is however refreshing to find the word treated here on its own merits, without allowing the arguments of the commentators to obscure the moot-meaning.

Karandikar (2) starts his discussion of the phrase

1) HOS xviii, p. 196. By an oversight he says "Agni is invoked as the ancestral Hotr, usually with three or four ancestral names," whereas four is excluded by the Sutra rules.  
2) "Hindu Exogamy" p. 52ff. Karandikar's book, though containing a fair collection of material on gotra and pravara, shows such ineptitude in the handling of that material that his theories would hardly be worth refutation, were it not that several highly reputable orientalists are quoted as having a high opinion of the work.
ärṣeyam vrñite from the only occurrence of the word ärṣeya in the Ṛgveda (1),

abhí no ārṣa divyā vāsūny
abhí vīśvā pārthivā pūyāmānah:
abhí yena drāvinām aśnāvāmā-
'bhy ārṣeyāṃ jamadagnivān naḥ.

He translates the third and fourth padas, "Send us down the Ārṣeya like that of Jamadagni by which we shall be able to enjoy (sic) wealth". This shows, he believes, that ärṣeya is a neuter noun, and he takes it tc mean "ṛṣi's glory". He does not explain how he arrives at the gender of the word, but since he translates vasu as a noun, "wealth", he presumably took jamadagnivat as a neuter adjective agreeing with ärṣeya, a proceeding which is quite indefensible grammatically. There is however no difficulty in taking the word in its perfectly normal sense as an adjective, "connected with a ṛṣi". "While thou art purifying, send to us good things of heaven, all good things of earth. In particular, that good thing (vasu) whereby we may obtain wealth, namely, a ṛṣi's one, as in the case of Jamadagni".

In the Atharva-veda, Karandikar thought that ärṣeya, from meaning "ṛṣi's glory", came to mean "one possessed of that glory". He adds no evidence for this meaning, however, and all the Atharva occurrences of the word can

1) ix.97.51.
be quite simply translated "descendant of a rṣi". In x.i.1.26 ṛṣṭaṁ ārṣeṣyaṁ is exactly parallel to the passages noted above for the election of priests, and means "rṣai who are sons of rṣais". Even with Karandikar's own translation, however, it is difficult to see the relevance of these passages to his argument.

In brief, then, Karandikar's view is that the origin of the Brāhmaṇa phrase ārṣeṣyaṁ vṛṇite lay in the choosing by the hymn-composers of an Ārṣeya, a "rṣai's glory", resembling that of some great sage of the past. Thereafter, it would seem (though his exposition is not altogether clear), as a result of the practice of choosing Agni as Hotṛ, using as a comparison the names of ancient rṣais, for which he quotes seven passages from the Rgveda, the latter practice was endowed with the phrase ārṣeṣyaṁ vṛṇite. The sole reason, however, for supposing the existence of a custom of "choosing a rṣai's glory" lies in the Rgveda passage quoted, and, as we have seen, that passage can be more plausibly translated otherwise. It is also worth noting that the word ārṣeṣya does not belong to the ritual itself, but is purely a concise formula of the Brāhmaṇas to denote the recitation of the pravara. In any case, it is difficult to see the relevance of this theory since Karandikar admits that already in the Taittirīya-samhitā the meaning is "He chooses Agni, belonging to the rṣais.,
"Hotṛ". Finally he states, without adducing any further evidence, that as the original meaning was entirely overlooked, Ārṣeya came to mean a rṣi possessed of great powers, Ārṣeya powers, believing that in this way he accounts for the plural forms of the Sūtras.

All this is very confused, and moreover superfluous. Even if Ārṣeya did mean "rṣi's glory" in Ṛgvedic times, nothing is gained thereby towards the elucidation of the pravaras. Karandikar's motive emerges at the end of his discussion: "Just as in old times the poet sought the Ārṣeya of any particular rṣi he liked, so in choosing Agni for Hotṛ, the sacrificer had the fullest liberty to choose whatever ancient rṣis he liked, for his standard of comparison. The very word 'pravara' from 'vr' to select, is suggestive of the free choice left to the sacrificer". In this fashion Karandikar supports his theory that in early Brāhmaṇa times a man was entirely at liberty to decide for himself to which pravara-group he was to belong, and that these groups were in origin groups of formal discipleship and not of kinship. The arguments which he uses to support this theory are none of them conclusive, and the present one, based on his view of the phrase Ārṣeyaṁ vṛṇīte, is, as we have seen, completely wanting in cogency. Certainly the texts which deal directly with the pravaras give no grounds at all for the view that it was ever a matter for complete freedom of choice.

The earliest occurrence in the texts preserved to us
of the phrase अर्षेर्यम् वर्णिते is in the Taittiriya-samhitā (1), and it is worth stressing the point that there it occurs in its context perfectly naturally, and has certainly not the appearance of a stereotyped formula. One is therefore led to suspect that the later texts, where the phrase is unquestionably a formula, are in all probably directly or indirectly dependant on the Taittiriya, or more probably, on a common Yajus tradition (2), for their wording of the matter. The Taittiriya passage in question reads, trayo vā agnayo havyavāhanaḥ devānāṃ kavyavāhanaḥ pitṝnāṃ saharaśā saurānām, ta starhy a sāmsante, mām variaṣyate mām iti; vrṇḍhvam havyavāhanam ity āha; ya eva devānām tam vrṇḍte; अर्षेर्यम् वर्णिते bandhor eva naity atho saṃtatyai; parastād arvāco vrṇḍte, tasmāt parastād arvānco manusyaḥ pitaro 'nu pra pipate. "There are three Agnis, the Oblation-carrier of the gods, the Offering-carrier of the Fathers, the Raksas-companion of the Asuras. These here recite, 'Me will he choose, me'; 'Choose ye the Oblation-carrier', he says (3); he thus chooses the one who is of the gods. He chooses him as being connected with the rṣis. He does not indeed depart from the relationship (with the rṣis), and so it conduce to continuity. He chooses from the remote end the nearer

1) 2.5.8.  
2) There is however nothing parallel in the extant Samhitās of the other Sākhās of the Black Yajus.  
3) I.e., in the last of the Sāmadhemi-verses, which immediately precede the pravara.
ones; therefore the Fathers, from the remote end the
nearer ones, drink in order before men". The formula agne
mahām asī brāhmaṇa Bhārata is explained immediately after
this in the Śamhitā, while the Brāhmaṇa (1) gives the
normal order, inserting the words asāv asau to denote the
proper names of the pravrata.

The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (2) likewise adheres to the
order of the ritual, and after explaining the words
brāhmaṇa bhārata, continues: athārṣeyam pravrñīte,
ṛṣibhyas caivaśai nivedayaty, ayam
mahāvīryo yo yajñam prāpad iti, tasmād ārṣeyam pravrñīte.

parastād arvāk pravrñīte, parastād dhī arvācyāh prajā
prajāyante, jyāyasaspataya u caivaśai nihnuta, idam hi
pītevāgre 'tha putro 'tha pautras, tasmāt parastād arvāk
pravrñīte. The important point which seems to have been
overlooked hitherto, is that the Śatapatha here, as
frequently elsewhere, tacitly criticises and emends the
version of the Black Yajus. In view of the relationship
between the two divisions of the Yajur-veda, there is
usually a prima facie probability that such variations
are significant. The most important here is the use of
pravrñīte for the simple verb of the Taittiriya version.
The clue to this variant would seem to lie in the frequent
stylistic habit of the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras of denoting
the performance of an action by means of a verb cognate

1) TB 3.5.3. (2) 1.4.2.3.
with the name of the action, instead of by a noun plus a verb of performing (1). Thus pravṛṇīte would mean here, "he recites the pravara", ārṣeyam being an adjective qualifying the noun pravara implied by the verb. Thus, the Vājasaneyins would seem to have taken the phrase as a formula, and considering it as inadequate and obscure - as, taken from its context in the Taittirīya, it undoubtedly is - produced an emended version of their own. This interpretation of pravṛṇīte is strengthened by the use of the adverbial arvāk in place of the accusative arvācah of the Taittirīya (2), since in the sense "he recites the pravara" the verb would naturally be intransitive. The whole passage then means, "Next he recites the pravara of rṣi-names; he thus makes him known in this matter to the rṣis and to the gods, with the thought, 'Of great power is he who obtained the sacrifice'. It is for this reason that he recites the pravara of rṣi-names. He recites the pravara from the remote end hitherwards, for from the remote end hitherwards a lineage is propagated. He thus also conceals him from (the wrath of) the Lord of the Elder One (3). For here (among men) the father comes first,

1) Eg., samnayati, "he performs the Sāmnāyya ceremony", adadhāti, "he performs the Agnyadhāna", etc.
2) But the apparent change of object from the fire to the seers is certainly awkward in the Taittirīya version. The commentators are doubtless right in treating it as an ellipsis, "He chooses it, (reciting the names) from the remote end to the nearer ones".
3) This very shadowy figure appears to be mentioned nowhere else in the literature. The sense "propitiate" for nihnute, given by Eggeling, is probably a later development.
then the son, then the grandson. Therefore he recites the pravara from the remote end hitherwards."

We now come to the Sūtra passages. As we have seen above, the method adopted by Weber and Eggeling, of explaining these passages on their own merits, and then referring back from them to the Brāhmaṇas, is clearly to attack the problem from the wrong end. What seems to have happened is that the phrase ārṣeyam pravṛṇīte, from meaning "he recites the pravara of rṣi-names", came to be understood to mean "he recites (or chooses) the ārṣeya", i.e., the word ārṣeya came to be used synonymously with pravara. Such a development is an entirely natural one, and it is of course perfectly legitimate to assume that it was already taking place before the final redaction of the Satapatha, since the later part of the Aitareya (1) and the Kauśītaki (2) already use it in this sense. The Sūtras merely take this process one step further, and apply the word to the members of the pravara themselves. Thus Āśvalāyana, yajamānasya ārṣeyān pravṛṇīte, "he recites the members of the pravara apposite to the sacrificer". (3) Alternately, it is applied to the names, as in Kātyāyana (4) and Śāṅkhāyana (5), yajamānasya trīṇy ārṣeyāny abhivyāhṛtya, "citing three pravara-names of the sacrificer". Āpastamba and Bhāradvāja employ the interesting phrase yathārṣeyo yajamānaḥ, "according as the sacrificer is provided with

1) AB 7.25. (2) KB 3.2. (3) ĀŚS 1.3.1.
4) KŚŚ 3.25. (5) ŚŚŚ 1.4.15.
ærseyas, pravara-seers". (1)

In short, then, the whole history of the phrase can be easily and naturally explained without having recourse to Karandikar's "rål's glory," and with this the chief argument for his view, that originally the sacrificer had the fullest liberty in the choice of pravara, must be considered completely unsatisfactory.

One further point of importance emerges from this discussion. The verb vrñîte originally applies to Agni, not to the pravara-ráis, and the fact that the Sūtras use it with the rål-names as its direct object must not be taken to show that the ráis were the subject of choice. Even in mediaeval times, the author of the Gotra-pravara-mañjarí found it necessary to controvert this view (2). The stock explanation, namely, the ellipsis of some such word as sámkIrtya, fits quite well in the passage from the Taitíriya-samhitā, but seems somewhat dubious in the case of the Sūtras. Rather, what has happened there, is that the verb vrñîte has become, so to speak, entangled in the technical phraseology of the matter, and is used automatically by the authors of the Sūtras, without any insistence on its strict meaning being intended. It is perhaps worth noting that in any case the conception of freedom of choice in such ritual matters is altogether foreign to the spirit of the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras. Such

1) ĀpśŚ 2.16.5, BhårŚŚ 2.15. (2) See below, p.164-5.
frequent phrases as "We choose Agni as our messenger", going back to Ṛgvedic times, should not mislead us. The choice is purely a fictitious one, and the possibility of choosing a different deity on such an occasion does not seem to have presented itself to the priests. The predominating idea of the verb vṛnīte is in fact often better brought out by some such rendering as "take to oneself" rather than "choose". Even in the infrequent cases where the "choice" is underlined, as for example in the Praiṣa at the end of the Sautrāmaṇī rite (1), "(O Agni), ṛṣi, son of a ṛṣi, grandson of ṛṣis (ṛṣa ṛṛṣeya ṛṛṇāṃ napāt), this sacrificer has chosen thee today out of many who came here together (bahubhya ā samgatebhyaḥ)", the qualification is added more with a view to increasing the praise of the deity, and it is clear that the ritual did not admit of an alternative.

1) MS 4.13.9; VS 21.61, 28.23, 28.46; TB 2.6.15, 3.6.15.
Earlier history of the pravaras.

We have already seen that Chentaal Rao considered that the purpose of the pravaras was "to show that, as a descendant of worthy ancestors, he is a fit and proper person to do the act he is performing". Similarly, Max Müller writes, "When therefore a Brahman has his own fire consecrated, he wishes to declare that he is as worthy as his ancestors to offer sacrifices, and he invites Agni to carry his oblations to the gods as he did for his ancestors" (1). This is certainly the tradition of the mediaeval commentators (2), and it is an easy and straightforward rational interpretation of the pravara-ceremony. A comparison of the parallel passages in the earlier Vedic literature, however, would seem to show that this is at best a part of the explanation, and not the most important part. It must never be lost sight of that, whatever religious and moral concepts may be traced in the Vedic sacrifices, the actual mechanism of the sacrificial ceremonial is predominatingly magical rather than religious in character. Results are normally obtained, not so much by winning the favour of the gods through prayer, as by the automatic certainty of acts, which to the performers were causal. When, for example, the wrath of a deity is to be avoided, it is regularly a skilful

use of word-magic which achieves this end. The verb used by the Brāhmaṇas to describe this process is niḥmune, usually translated as "propitiate". The root meaning of the word, however, "conceal", in most cases conveys the meaning of the rite more clearly. Thus, for example, in the passage dealing with the pravaras which we have quoted above from the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, it is stated that by reciting the names from the remote end, he "propitiates" the Lord of the Elder One. In other words, he conceals from this deity the modernity of the sacrificer, by reciting the names of ancient and venerable rṣis, starting from the oldest and most venerable.

Word-magic of this kind is so frequent and regular a feature of the sacrificial ritual that it is reasonable to look for something of the sort in the pravaras. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa indeed supplies us with a clue to the interpretation - "He recites the pravara of rṣi-names, thinking, 'Of great power is he who obtained the sacrifice'". The essential point about the pravara, at all events in its origin, is apparently the magic power of the names recited. The line of reasoning would seem to be, "These famous ancient seers, Bhṛgu, Cyavana, and the rest, were very powerful, they had obtained the sacrifice; therefore their names must be magically powerful towards performing a really effective sacrifice. If then we associate Agni, the sacrificial fire, with them (Bhārgava, Cyāvana, etc), he, Agni,
cannot fail to do his part of the sacrifice effectively. He has in fact no alternative, being compelled to it by the magic potency of the names."

The same considerations are fundamental in the second pravara, that recited by the Adhvaryu. The difference between the two pravaras, the vṛddhied form of the Hotṛ's and the suffix -vat of the Adhvaryu's, is worth noting. The essential thing is really to invite the Hotṛ to function. Now it is important in doing this to avoid the possible jealousy of Agni, who after all was known from of old as Hotṛ of the gods. Therefore, first of all the human Hotṛ priest invites Agni as Hotṛ, to avoid this jealousy. As the Satapatha says, (1) "By first naming Agni he propitiates Agni", i.e., he conceals from Agni the fact that a human being is acting as Hotṛ. Afterwards the real invitation to the human Hotṛ is recited by the Adhvaryu. But even here caution must be observed. The words, in reality addressed to the human Hotṛ, are framed grammatically to apply to Agni, although in strict logic Agni does not act "as Bhṛgu did", but rather was used by Bhṛgu in his sacrifice. Thus he is appositely addressed as "Bhārgava" in the first pravara. In the second pravara, on the contrary, the important thing is not that the human Hotṛ should be "connected with Bhṛgu", but that he should act like him. The act is

1) ŚB. 1.5.1.15.
itself all important. The words emphasise that "this present sacrificial act is precisely the same as Bhṛgu performed". And, of course, in magical thought, to say solemnly that it is identical is in fact to make it identical, and thus equally successful.

This explanation of the significance of the pravaras may perhaps appear laboured and over-elaborated, as compared with the simple and obvious traditional view that they serve merely to establish the worth or fitness of the sacrificer, as a descendant of the rṣis named in the pravara. It is therefore desirable to consider parallel cases in the literature, by way of corroboration.

In the ritual of the piling of the fire-altar (agnicayana), mantra after mantra proclaims with tedious repetition that the acts are being done angirasvat, "in the manner of Angiras"(l). Angiras is indeed a common name or epithet of Agni in the Rgveda - Agni is also addressed as such in the mantras of the cayana - and it is more than probable that it was from this epithet that the important family of the Āngirasas, so closely connected in tradition with the fire-ritual, derived their name. As is natural, however, the conception of an eponymous seer, distinct from Agni, developed early, and it is this Angiras whose name, as that of a famous and successful worshipper of Agni, is here invoked as magical guarantor of the various acts of the rite.

1) TS 4; MS 2; VS 11; etc.
The Atharva-veda, as a repository of magical formulae, contains some excellent examples of this type of usage, albeit on a more popular level of thought. Thus, for example, 2.32.3 (=5.23.10):

\[ \begin{align*}
&\text{atrivád vaḥ krimayo hanmi} \\
&\text{kaṇvaváj jamadagnivát;} \\
&\text{agástyasya bráhmanaḥ} \\
&\text{sám pinaśmy ahám krimin.}
\end{align*} \]

"As Atri did, I kill you, worms, as Kaṇva did, as Jamadagni did; with the magic rite of Agastya, I too grind the worms to powder". Here also it would seem that the venerable names are magically effective towards producing the desired result. Similarly, Agni is asked to burn down the senseless, truth-harming man, as Atharvan did (atharvavát) (1).

The use of rsi-names in this magical fashion is even more clearly seen in the numerous cases where the elliptical form in -vat is not employed. Thus, 6.137.1

\[ \begin{align*}
&\text{yáṁ jamádagnir ákhanad} \\
&\text{duhitré keśavárdhaním;} \\
&\text{tám vítánavya ábharad} \\
&\text{ásitasya grhébhyah. (2)}
\end{align*} \]

"The plant which Jamadagni dug to make his daughter's hair grow, Vītahavya brought from the dwellings of Asita". It is clearly an advantage to use the same

1) AV 8.3.21 = RV 10.87.12. (2) For an interesting parallel compare HirGS 1.11.4.
plant as was used on that occasion, guaranteed as it is by three very notable rāis. Similarly, in AV. 6.52.3, mention is made of a "famous life-giving plant of Kanva." Again, in 4.37.1, a magic herb is addressed:

\[
\begin{align*}
tváyā & \text{ púrvam ātharvāno} \\
jagnhū & \text{ rákṣāmsy osadhe:} \\
tváyā & \text{ jagnhāna kaśyāpas} \\
tváyā & \text{ kāṇvo agāstyaḥ (1).}
\end{align*}
\]

"With thee, O herb, the Ātārvans of old struck down the Rākṣāsas; with thee Kaśyapa struck, with thee Kanva and Agastya."

Still more explicit is AV 1.14.4, where a spell to ensure the spinsterhood of an enemy is performed "with the magic rite of Asita, of Kaśyapa, and of Gaya."

So too, we may cite AV 2.23.7, where a disease is conjured away by means of "Kaśyapa's ejector" (kaśyapasya vībarheṇa); 6.40.1, "May we have freedom from danger by means of the oblation of the Seven Rāis" i.e., an oblation such as these offered (saptā-

where a magic rite, whose nature is not clear from the context, is supported by the claim, "Thus it was done by Manu" (ताथा तान मानुना कृताम). With this last example should no doubt be taken RV 2.10.6 -
tvādūtāso manuvād vadema: "with thee as messenger may we speak as Manu did" (1).

As might be expected from the sacerdotal nature of its hymns, the examples of this type of usage from the Rgveda are more nearly related in form to the ritual pravara. Perhaps the most frequent name to be so employed is that of Angiras (angirasvát), as in the Agnicayana: see for example RV.1.62.1; 1.78.3; 2.17.1; 3.31.19; 6.49.11. Common also is manusvát, 1.44.11; 4.37.3; 5.21.1; 7.2.3; 8.43.27; 10.70.8. The fifth book offers a number of examples of Atrivát, eg., 5.4.9; 5.7.8; 5.22.1; 5.5.1, 8-10.

Jamadagnivát, 9.97.51. Cases where several names are employed may be seen in 1.31.17, manusvát, angirasvát, yayātivát; 1.45.3 priyamedhavát, atrivát, virūpavát, angirasvát; 7.96.3 jamadagnivát, vasīṣṭhavát;

(1) Macdonell, "Ved. Gr. for Students", p.301, translates "we should speak like men (= as men should speak: properly, something that belongs to men)".
3.40.12 mandnātrvād, angirasvāt (and also pitṛvāt — as our fathers did); 3.43.13 bhṛguvāt, manusvāt, angirasvāt. In all these cases, the comparison with the ancients lends dignity and efficacy to the to the present actions.

Two noteworthy points arise out of these examples. First, the names employed in this type of formula are almost invariably names of ṛṣis, and in fact, ṛṣis who appear for the most part in the later pravaras, (Yayāti, Priyamedha being exceptions from the Rgveda examples, Gaya and Atharvan from the Atharva-veda). Secondly, the examples quoted differ essentially from the pravaras in that they group together ṛṣis who in the later system were reckoned as the ancestors of distinct families. The nearest approach to the pravara type of usage is the use of Atrivad in the fifth book by members of the Atri-clan. Interesting is the fact that the majority of the RV instances occur in connection with Agni, and there can be no doubt that these are more nearly related to the pravaras than the Atharva-veda examples.

If then, this type of usage is to be taken as the direct ancestor of the pravaras, the question
obviously arises as to the validity of the tradition which considers the pravara-seers as ancestors of the sacrificer. Karandikar, somewhat illogically, has used examples from the RV to show that at the pravara-ceremony the choice of pravara-rsis was originally an open one. This of course really begs the question of the existence of such a ceremony at the time of the RV. To rephrase the matter from a more historical standpoint, we may say that a number of the RV examples occur in situations which are prototypes of the pravara-ceremony. Now, it is true that the "fitness of the sacrificer as a descendant of worthy ancestors" does not appear to be a primary motive in the pravara, and therefore a priori the pravara-names need not have been ancestors. Nevertheless, the nature of the pravaras themselves, ordered as they are according to family, clearly vindicates the tradition. Whether or not the rṣis named really were ancestors of the various families is of no importance: a large number of them in fact must be considered as purely mythical personages. The important point is that the families in question, at the time of the Sūtras, thought of them as ancestors;
and there is no sufficient evidence that the situation was otherwise in earlier times. Karandikar's lengthy discussion to show that the ṛṣis named in a pravara do not necessarily stand in the relationship of father, son, and grandson, is thus quite beside the point. The use of ancestral names is not to establish the lineage of the sacrificer, but arises from the extremely personal and family nature of the sacrificial fire. In this sense, it is true, the gotras are "ritual corporations", but only in so far as any primitive clan or family regularly tends to form a ritual group. The clearest evidence against Karandikar's theory that at one time any Brahman could obtain entry to any gotra (the pravaras only gradually becoming stereotyped thereafter) is to be seen in the systematic arrangement of the pravaras. On Karandikar's view, it is statistically virtually impossible that such an ordering would have resulted. We should have found, for example, pravaras such as "Vāsiṣṭha, Bhārgava, Āgastya" or "Vaiśvāmitra, Āngirasa, Ātreya"; whereas in fact no pravara contains more than one name from among the eponyms of
the major gotras (1).

It remains to ask at what period the system of pravaras came into existence. The Brāhmaṇas certainly prescribe a pravara, with the phrase "ārṣeyam vṛṇīte"; but had this been our sole evidence, it would have been simply a conjecture that the family arrangement of the pravaras existed at that time. It would have been equally open to us to assume that no more was meant by the phrase than the Rgvedic examples already quoted might imply, viz., that any rṣi-names might be recited. It is therefore of interest that side by side with these examples, there are two passages in the RV which clearly show that the system was already being evolved.

The first is 8.102.4:

aurvabhrguvac chucim
apnavanavad a huve;
agnim samudravasasam.

"I summon the pure Agni, the sea-dweller, as Aurva and Bhṛgu did, as Apnavāna did." These three names

(1) The sole exception is the family of the Laugākais, whose pravara is "Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Vāsiṣṭha." The tradition is that this family belongs to both gotras, as the result of adoption, and there is no evidence to make us doubt the tradition. The case of the Jātukarṇyas is dubious, see below, p. 425.
occur in all the pravaras belonging to the Bṛgus proper in later times; and it is clear that we have here, so to speak, a pravara in embryo. It is noteworthy that in this hymn also occur several passages distinctly parallel with the formulae of the pravara ceremony. These phrases are admittedly commonplace in a large number of Rgvedic hymns to Agni, but their occurrence here can scarcely be accidental. Thus, stanza 2, "sā na ṛṇānayaḥ sahā devāṃ agne duvasyūvā, cikīḍ vibhūnav ā vaha" clearly foreshadows "devān yakṣad vidvān ś cikītvān....ā ca vakṣat". Even closer is stanza 16, "ā devān vakṣa yākṣa ca." Moreover, stanzas 17 and 18 specifically name the Ṣāṃidhrā-vah truck, that is, the later Āhavanīya (1), which is the one in question at the pravara ceremony. Also, the occasion of the hymn is the kindling of the fire (stanza 22); and the pravara comes immediately after the Sāṃidhrā-verses in the ritual. The laying on of the kindling-sticks takes place with stanza 20; the butter-libation which accompanies the pravaras seems to be referred to in stanza 21. It is not, of course, suggested

(1) See for example, TS 2.5.3. 6-7.
that the material of the pravara ceremony is drawn from this hymn or from similar phrases elsewhere in the Rgveda; rather, we are to see in a hymn such as this a prototype of the kindling ceremony of the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra ritual. It is in fact from hymns of this type that the later stereotyped Sāmidhenīs are culled, and we must recognise here an early form of the pravara incorporated within the "Sāmidhenī" hymn itself.

The other example is contained in the Khila of the RV known as the Subheṣaja-hymn, from the name of its traditional seer. The second stanza of this hymn reads:

dhruvāṁ agnir no dūtō rodāśi havyavāḍ
devāṁ ā vakṣad adhvarē
vipro dūtāḥ pāriśkṛto
yākṣaṁ ca yajñīyaḥ kavīṁ
apnavānāvād aurvavād
bhrguvāj jamadagnivāḥ...... (1)

"Truly Agni is our messenger, the roaring one (?), the oblation-bearer; may he bring hither the gods to the sacrifice, he the spirited one, the messenger deck-

(1) RV.Khila IV.9.2., Scheftelowitz, "Die Apokryphen des RV." p.124. The rest of the stanza is most unfortunately lost.
ed around, the wizard, the sacrificial inspired one; as Apnavāna did, as Aurva did, as Bhṛgu did, as Jamadagni did."

Here also it is noteworthy that the context shows the hymn to be used at a ceremony directly connected with the pravara ceremony. Thus we have, in the one stanza, "agnir no düto" (compare agnim dūtam vṛnīmane in the Sāmidhenīs), "havyavād", "devāṁ ā vaksad". Vipra and kavi may be poetical variants of "vidvāṁś cikitvān", and it is not impossible that "yakṣas" is intended as a play on the word "yakṣat".

Scheftelowitz is no doubt right in assigning this hymn to the later of the RV. Knīlas, but it must nevertheless be comparatively old. Its citation by the Brhaddevatā 5.39, the RV Prātiśākhya §947 ff and the Gopatha-brāhmaṇa 5.23 gives us, it is true, no very certain information about its date. More important is the fact that its material is utilised by the Yajus-texts. That the latter were the borrowers is made probable by the reading (1): agnim (VS agner) jyotir nicāyya prthivyā adhy ābharat, which seems to be an attempt at improving

(1) TS.4.1.1; MS 2.7.1; VS 11.11.
the phrase in the first stanza of the present hymn: 
apnir jyotir nicāyyah prthivyām adhy ābhara, since 
the unusual form nicāyyah, (visible), was no longer 
understood. Also, as Scheftelowitz points out (1), 
its position in the RV., coming at the end of an 
anuvāka after RV 10.151 might indicate that it 
belongs to a time after the RV was already redacted 
in its present form (2). Scheftelowitz conjectures 
that the next word after jamadagnivat should be 
cyavanavat, "since these five rṣis are customarily 
named together." It is worth pointing out, however, 
that the only references he gives are to the pravara- 
adhyāyas. It seems in fact that apart from the two 
instances here noted there is no example forthcoming 
of such a grouping of names in earlier works. 

In this hymn, then, we have evidence that, at 
a very early date, presumably when the Rgveda was 
virtually complete, but while the Yajur-veda was 
still largely fluid, there already existed a pravara 
almost identical with one of the later stereotyped 
pravaras of the Sūtras. The difference in the order 

(1) Op.cit.p.4. (2) This is of course not conclusive 
for the date of composition;there is however no reason 
to suppose that it is early, and the elaborate metrical 
structure of the hymn would also indicate a late date 
in the RV collection.
of the names however is probably not without significance. Making all due allowance for the metre, it is difficult to believe that if the pravara-system had already become crystallised, the names would not have been given as in the later order. We should at least have expected the first two names to be "jamadasagnivad aurvavat." It seems most probable that we have here a glimpse of the formative period of the pravara-system.

It is noteworthy that in both these cases, the pravara belongs to the Bṛgus. This, together with the fact that this family is invariably placed first in the pravara-chapters of the Sūtras, would lead us to the view that it was among the Bṛgus that the use of the pravara in the kindling-ritual was first developed. This accords well with the fact that the Bṛgus (and with them the Angirasas, who follow them in the lists) are particularly associated in the tradition with the fire-ritual. (1).

It seems most probable, therefore, in view of this evidence, that the use of pravaras proper -

(1) See for example, RV 1.56.6; 1.143.4; 2.42; 5.11.6; cf. also 4.7.1 - "Agni, whom Apānavaṇa and the Bṛgus caused to shine" - frequently used in the later ritual.
i.e., names directly connected with the sacrificer's own clan, as distinct from the freer usage of the Rgveda, was gradually coming into use during the formative period of the Yajur-veda. There are several indications, however, that the form in which we know the system from the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra texts was not fully developed until some time later, possibly contemporaneous with the earlier Brāhmaṇas. The most striking point is the regular use, among the Angirases, of the pravara form "angiro-vat", while the regular mantra form is angiras-vat. The latter form is still preserved in the Agnicayana, and the mediaeval Pravara-mañjarī remarks that it was also the form used in the Sūtra of Laugākṣi. The other Sūtras, however, unanimously give angirovat, and this would seem to be a conscious archaising on the part of the Laugākṣi school. Similarly, the frequent Vedic form is manuṣvat (though manu-vat also occurs); but in the so-called Mānava-pravara favoured by the Tāndin School (1), the form is invariably manu-vat. It is interesting to note that in the formulae immediately preceding the Adhvaryu's pravara, the word

(1) See below, p. 185 ff., 465 ff.
manuṣ-vat occurs. The wording of the ceremony which forms the framework to the pravara is a composite product, and was in all probability constructed from older material. Thus, for example, the change from the vocative "agni, brahmaṇa, bhārata," to the nominative of the Nivids "devedhau manviddnaḥ", may indicate that these Nivids have been incorporated into the new ritual, and not composed for it. The full development of the pravaras which we see in the Sūtras need not have taken place till consider-
ably after the standardisation of the old fire-kindling ceremony. But to account for the complexity of the system, and the remarkable agreement in essentials between Sūtras which may have been widely separated geographically, a space of several centuries must be assumed between the Sūtras and the completion of the system. It is in fact difficult to believe that such a system could have come into operation at a period when the Indo-Aryans had already spread over most of northern India; and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the pravaras in the form in which we know them, already existed during the Ṛgvedic period proper, although they were not em-
ployed in the higher "Śrauta" ritual of the hymns.
On the other hand, we have the definite tradition that the pravara-names are those of composers of Vedic hymns. It is of course clear enough that this tradition cannot be literally true, since such names as Bṛgu, Angirasi, and possibly the other eponymous rāis, belong to remote legend. Nevertheless, the tradition cannot be altogether dismissed. It is true that the Anukramaniś do not contain all the names of the pravaras; but a fair proportion do occur in both sources, and to this extent the tradition is justified. Moreover, there are several pravara names which in the Rgveda appear as historical personages, contemporary with some of its hymns, for example, Trasadasyu, Purukutsa, Divodāsa. The system, therefore, cannot have been finally settled until, at the earliest, the very end of the Rgvedic period; and as far as we can tell on the available evidence, it may have been some considerable time later. On the whole it seems more likely that the two cases of Rgvedic "pravaras" already cited are to be taken as signs of the beginnings of the system, rather than of the emergence in the literature of a system which was already complete.

It is reasonable, then, to hold that the pravara-
system was evolved not later than the earlier Brāhmaṇa period; and that its beginnings very probably go back to the Rgveda, but if so, only to the time of its latest hymns.

It is obvious that this tells us nothing about the antiquity of the gotra-system, which we shall consider separately below.
Chap. II. Gotra-Exogamy in the Sūtra Period

1. The Sources.

In addition to various incidental references to differences in sacrificial practice among the gotras, the ritual Sūtras have preserved among their appendices classified lists of Brahmanical families, which in fact form our chief source of information about the organisation of the clan-exogamous system. There is however little doubt that these lists were compiled originally for the guidance of the Hotṛ and Adhvaryu priests, to enable them to recite the correct pravara in the course of the ritual, according to the family of the sacrificer. This origin is reflected in the fact that they are constantly referred to, in the manuscript colophons and elsewhere, as "pravara-chapters" (pravarakhanda, pravarādhyāya, pravarapraśna) in contrast to the mediaeval tracts on the subject, which regularly bear titles such as "Gotrapravaranirṇaya" or simply "Gotra-nirṇaya". It is therefore not surprising that there is no trace of such lists among the Sūtras of the Sāma-veda or the Atharva-veda.

Of the two Śrauta-sūtras of the Rgveda, we possess a pravarādhyāya only for that of Āśvalāyana. It is
indeed highly probable, from the complete lack of references in the commentators and legal writers, that the Śāṅkhāyana school never possessed one (1). The Āśvalāyana pravarādhyāya gives only an outline account of the system, naming only the chief subdivisions of the gotras (ganaś), in most cases only the one family to a pravara. It is interesting to note that it proclaims its origin in a school of Hotr priests by giving throughout only the Hotr's pravara, whereas the Sūtras of the Yajur-veda regularly give the forms for both priests, for example, "āngirasa bārhapatyā bharadvājeti hotā bharadvājavad brhaspativad angirovad ity adhvaryuḥ."

Among the texts attached to the Yajurveda, the

(1) Devanātha-dnātha, it is true, in his "Dattaka-candrika", ii.36, quotes a passage with reference to the inheritance of "men of two gotras" (dvāmūsāyāyana), which he ascribes to the Śāṅkhāyana pravarādhyāya; and later, iii.9, quotes from a pravarādhyāya (with no name given) the same passage, with the addition of a few sentences at the beginning. The whole passage however occurs in the closing section of the pravarādhyāyas traditionally ascribed to Kātyāyana and Laugāksi, as well as in the India Office manuscript of the Mānava-pravarādhyāya. It seems very probable therefore that the ascription to Śāṅkhāyana is merely a mistake. In the same connection, the Vyavahāra-mayūkha, iv.5.24, quotes approximately the same passage and ascribes it to Kātyāyana. See below, p.1472.
pravara-adhyāya of the Āpastamba school is very similar in structure to that of the Āśvalāyana. There is however no reason for supposing a specially close connection between the two, as Garbe seems to have thought (1). But there is a most striking agreement between all the texts in the ordering of the major gotras and the gānas within them. Thus, for example, in all the texts (except the Vaiknānasa) the Bhūgus come first, followed by the three divisions of the Angirases,—Gautamas, Bharadvājas and Kevala Angirases. Such variations as occur are not sufficient to support a theory that they are independant accounts, simply agreeing in so far as they reflect the social facts. It seems that the only possible explanation is that they are all descended from the same common original. This original may admittedly be one of the accounts preserved to us, but there is no clear trace of this in the texts, and on the whole it seems unlikely.

The Baudāyana account is much more detailed. For almost every gāna, or subdivision of the major gotras, it gives a long list of sub-families who are all united as reciting the same pravara. Similar in structure is the account which Puruṣottama in the Pravara-mañjarī attributes to Kātyāyana and

Laugäksi. In this account, however, while the major gotras and gañas agree for the most part, the individual sub-families diverge widely from Baudhāyana. Another version of this list appears in the India Office manuscript of the Mānava account, together with the Bodleian White Yajur-Veda pravara-pariśiṣṭa (1). The version preserved in the Pravara-mañjarī is the one which had earlier been utilised by the Matsya Purāṇa.

Finally, mention should be made of the Vaikhānasa list (2). This is beyond all question particularly closely related to the Baudhāyana, and in all probability is directly copied from it. Like Āpastamba and Asvalayana, it does not give the extensive lists of sub-families which appear in Baudhayana; and the order of the major gotras has been re-arranged to agree with the order given in Baudhāyana’s verse:

Viśvāmitra Jamadagnir Bharadvājo’tha Gautamaḥ
Atrir Vasiṣṭhaḥ Kaśyapa ity ete sapta ṛṣayaḥ;
the Kevala Angirasas being given after the Bharadvājas, and the Agastyas at the end. The most obvious sign

(1) For a discussion of the interrelation and attribution of these texts, see below, p. 36 ff.
(2) India Office Mss. Keith 4684, 4685. See also K. Rangachari “Vaikhānasa Dharma Sūtra”. Madras, 1930.
of its relationship with Baudhāyana is in the major gotra of the Gautamas, in which Baudhāyana diverges rather widely in the gana-names from the other lists: in this divergence it is perfectly copied by the Vaikhānasa. The sole point of interest in this otherwise derivative account is a seven-ṛṣi pravara, attributed to the Bhārgava-Jamadagnis - Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Jāmadagnya, Vātsa, Āpnavana, Aurva, Vaidala (the last name being a mistake for Baida?). This is of course directly contrary to the regular Sūtra rule, which prohibits more than five ṛṣi-names, although it is said that seven- and even eleven-ṛṣi pravaras are found in South India at the present day (1).

In all these texts, the most outstanding facts are, firstly, the close agreement of the major gotras and the ganas contained in these; and secondly the wide divergence between the Baudhāyana list on the one hand and the remaining detailed accounts on the other, in the individual sub-families within the ganas. This divergence, it is true, is rather over-emphasised by the corrupt state of the textual transmission. Nevertheless, although a large number of

(1) Rangachari, op.cit.p.xxiv.
the names can be shown to be shared by these lists, there is no correspondence whatever between them in the order in which they occur, and they must be considered to be independent descriptions of a similar social context. What seems to have taken place is that at some early date, conceivably in the Brāhmaṇa period, a list of gotras and pravaras was prepared, more or less of the type of the Āśvalāyana list, that is, a skeleton account merely of the major gotras, the chief gaṇas, and the pravaras of each gaṇa. This list would no doubt be subject to slight modifications as the social structure altered in different ways in different parts of the country. From the slightly greater divergence of the Baudhāyana gaṇa-names, it is natural to suppose that the Baudhāyana school was geographically separated rather widely from the others. If this is so, it would be easily comprehensible that, when the fuller lists came to be composed, the authors simply gave a description of the composition of the gaṇas as seen in the society around them. In such a case, there would necessarily be a considerable number of sub-families shared by the two localities; and the divergences between the Baudhāyana list and that represented by the "Kātyāyana and Laukākṣi" list would simply mirror regional differ-
ences in the development of the families themselves.

2. The application of the pravara-rule.

At the beginning of the Baudhāyana pravara-adhyāya, the rule is enunciated: eka eva riṣir yāvat pravaraśv anuvartate, tāvat samānagotratvam anyatra bhṛgv- āngirasāṁ ganāt - "If even one riṣi recurs in the pravaras, that constitutes sameness of gotra, except in the case of a gaṇa of the Bhṛgus and Angirases."

In the case of these two, as is explained immediately before in the text, a majority of riṣi-names must be identical to prohibit inter-marriage. It is clear that the composition of the gotras is not homogeneous. The traditional view as given by Baudhāyana is that the gotras are to be classified according to the eponymous riṣis—the Seven Riṣis, that is, Jamadagni, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Atri, Visvāmitra, Kaśyapa and Vasiṣṭha, with the additional gotra of Agastya (1). On the other hand, the pravaras

(1) In this connection it is interesting to note that the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa (Galand, § 145) remarks that the descendants of Agastya are outside the Kurupāṇcālas. This passage gives the list (not, it is true, explicitly in connection with the gotras) as: Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvāja, Jamadagni, Gotama, Atri, Visvāmitra, and Agastya—thus omitting Kaśyapa.
are classified under the names of Bhṛgu, Angiras, Atri, Viśvāmitra, Kaśyapa, Vasishtha, and Agastya, the Jamadagnis coming under the Bhṛgus, and both the Gautamas and Bharadvājas under the Angirases. In general, however, the various gaṇas of the Jamadagnis all have three out of the five names of their pravara in common, "Bhārgava, Cyāvana, and Āpnavana"; while the Gautamas, with "Āngirasa, Gautama, etc" and the Bharadvājas, with "Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, etc" in their pravaras, also form exogamous units. Thus, in spite of the pravaras being grouped under Bhṛgu and Angiras, the exogamous groups resulting from the pravara-rule are those of Jamadagni, Gautama, and Bharadvāja. In addition to these, however, the Bhṛgu and Angiras groups include a number of additional gaṇas, who are regularly referred to in the mediaeval works as Kevala Bhṛgus and Kevala Angirases. The meaning of this epithet is not altogether obvious, but it probably means that these are merely Bhṛgus (and not also Jamadagnis) and merely Angirases (and not also Gautamas or Bharadvājas). These do not have the necessary majority of rṣi-names in their pravara, the only common name in the pravaras being Bhārgava and Āngirasa, respectively. Thus, each of these individual gaṇas forms an exogamous unit by
itself. The Kevala Bhrgus are the Yaskas, Šunakas, Mitrayus, and Vainyas; the Kevala Angirases are the Saṁkrtis, Haritas, Kanvas, Rathitaras, Mudgalas and Viṣṇuvṛddhas. The Baudhāyana list reinforces its general pravara-rule by adding at the end of the Jamadagnis, Gautamas, and Bharadvājas and each of the later gotras a specific prohibition of marriage within the gotra. In the case of the Kevala families, however, the mere omission of such a prohibition is the only indication that the gaṇas may intermarry. The other detailed accounts simply add at the end of each gaṇa "these have no intermarriage". It would therefore be logically possible to deduce that these texts did not in fact prohibit marriage between the gaṇas of the same major gotra; but there is absolutely no indication that such a usage ever existed. Counting each of the Kevala gaṇas as exogamous units, there are therefore eighteen such units in all (1).

(1) These eighteen groups are a commonplace of the mediaeval writers, and it is therefore somewhat surprising to find Chentsal Rao ("Gotra and Pravara" p.xviii), claiming credit for the idea. It should be added that the position of the Kapis is doubtful; according to their pravara, they should probably be reckoned with the Kevala Angirases, thus making nineteen exogamous groups in all; but the mediaeval writers all give them as a gaṇa of the Bharadvājas (using the elastic method of assuming that the name "Bharadvāja" is "implicitly" present (sattayānuvṛtti) in their pravara). In this connection it is noteworthy that the Mañava text starts a new chapter with the Kapis; the Bauda Mss. are divided, Be, U giving them among the
3. The System as shown in the Sūtra Accounts.

The accounts of the Sūtras are given in full in the second part of the present work; but it may be useful to give here a tabular view of the major gotras and their subdivisions. In the following tables, the Roman figures denote the exogamous units, the Arabic figures the gaṇas into which these units are divided. The first column gives the names of the gaṇas, the third column the pravaras. The second column indicates which of the Sūtras give the variants, where such occur. Where all the accounts agree, or where the variants are of no significance, the second column is left blank. The abbreviations used are:

B.......Baudhāyanā
Āp.......Āpastamba
Ādv.......Āśvalāyana
K......."Katyāyana and Laugākṣi"
Mān.......Māṇava
W.......Bodleian "White Yajur-veda parisīta"
V.......Vaikhānasa
M.......Matsya Purāṇa(1)

Round brackets denote that the source in question gives the pravara as an alternative. Square brackets are employed where there is good reason to believe that a variant is simply the result of textual corruption.

Bharadvājas, and a second time among the Kevalas; all the others among the Kevalas alone. In the other detailed accounts the family comes between the two groups, and it remains uncertain to which group the authors meant to assign them.

(1) For a fuller account of these, see the introduction to the translation of the Pravara-mañjarī.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Vatsas</th>
<th>Bhpisus. (Jāmadagni)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jāmadagnya-Vatsas</strong></td>
<td>Bhārgava, Cyāvāna, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Jāmadagnya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Āp)</td>
<td>Bhārgava, Aurva, Jāmadagnya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>la. Vatsas who are non-Jāmadagnis Vātsyas</strong></td>
<td>Bhārgava, Cyāvāna, Āpnavāna,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Āsv.</td>
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<td>K.</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhārgava-Jamadagnis</td>
<td>Bhārgava, Cyāvāna, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Baida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(V)</td>
<td>Bhārgava, Cyāvāna, Jamadagni, Vatsa, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Vaidala (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.</td>
<td>Bhārgava, Aurva, Jāmadagnya, (cf. no.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Mān.</td>
<td>Bhārgava, Cyāvāna, Āpnavāna (2).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Probably the Vatsas and Bidas are here conflated.
(2) This pravara, though attached to the Bidas in these sources, presumably belongs to no.1a. (3) The Vaikhānasas, according to Rangachari, op. cit., p. xxxv, has Aindra, Ārṣṭiśena for the last two names here; India Off. ms. Keith 4684 has ārṣṭiśena, and ārṣṭiśena-vat, dravat. It seems likely that they are all corruptions of the normal pravara.
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Vaida-nimathitas</td>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td>Bhārgava, Cyaūvana, Āpnavāna, Vaida, Naimathita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Āvadhyāyana-Mauṁjāyanaś</td>
<td>Mān.</td>
<td>Bhārgava, Cyaūvana, Āvadhya.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kevala Bhūrghus

<p>| II. | Yaskas | Bhārgāva, Vaitahavya, Sāvetasa (Śāvedhasa). |
|      |      | Āp.Āśv.V | Vādhryaśva |
|      |      |      | |
| V.  | Śunakas (Grūtsamadas) | B. V. | Śaunaka |
|      |      | Āp.K Mān. Āśv (B.V) (1) | Gārṭsamada |
|      |      | (K,Mān.)M | Bhārgava, Gārṭsamada |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sunakas (ctd)</th>
<th>(W, Asv)</th>
<th>Bhārgava, Saunahotra, Gaṛtsamada.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) V gives two separate families, Sunakas, with the pravara Saunaka, and Gaṛtsamadas, with the pravara Gaṛtsamada.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>The Baudhāyana account (with the Vaikhānasas) diverges rather widely from the others in its treatment of the Gautamas, and it is convenient to give two separate tables.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**VI. Gautamas (Baudh. and Vaikh.)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ayāsyaas Angirasa-Gautamas</th>
<th>B.</th>
<th>V.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ayāsyaas Angirasa-Gautamas</td>
<td>Angirasa, Ayāsya, Gautama.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāradvatas</td>
<td>Ang. Gautama, Sāradvata.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kaumandās</td>
<td>Ang. Aucathya, Kāksīvata, Gautama, Kaumanda</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dīrghatamases</td>
<td>Ang. Aucathya, Kāksīvata, Gautama, Dīrghatamasa.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Auvananasas</td>
<td>Ang. Gautama, Auvanasa</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Karenupālas</td>
<td>Ang. Gautama, Karenupāla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vāmadevas</td>
<td>Ang. Gautama, Vāmadeva.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VI. Gautamas (remaining Sūtras.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Āyāsyas Gautamas</th>
<th>Āp. K. Mān. W. Āśv.</th>
<th>Āngirasa, Āyāsyas, Gautama</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; &quot; Ausīja</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ausījas</th>
<th>Āp.</th>
<th>Āng. Ausīja, Kākṣīvata.</th>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>&quot; &quot; Brhaduktha, Vāmadeva.</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dairghatamasas</th>
<th>K. Āśv.</th>
<th>Āng. Aucathyas, Dairghatamasas.</th>
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<td>6</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Āyāsyas-Ausīja- Gautamas</th>
<th>K.</th>
<th>Āng. Āyāsyas, Ausīja, Gautama, Kākṣīvata.</th>
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<td>7</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rāhūgapās</th>
<th>Āśv.</th>
<th>Āng. Rāhūgapās, Gautama.</th>
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<td>8</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Somarājakis</th>
<th>Āśv.</th>
<th>Āng. Saumarājya, Gautama.</th>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>10</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(1) K, M, Mān. and W give this family among the Kevala Angirases.
VII. Bharadvājas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Bharadvājas</th>
<th>Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Āp)</td>
<td>Āngirasa, Vāndana, Mātavacasa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Āp. (Āp) Āng. Gargya, Sainya, Bhāradvāja, Gargya, Sainya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Āng. Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Saunga Saisira.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) K, Mān., W., M give the three-rsi alternative to a distinct set of sub-families, whose mediaeval designation was Gargabhṛdāh, i.e., "separate Gargas". (2) The Kapis are included here by the mediaeval writers, but are probably, on the Sūtra evidence, to be reckoned as a gana of the Kevala Āngirases. (3) These, as being dvigotras, avoid in marriage the Visvāmitras, as well as the Bharadvājas.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VIII.</th>
<th>Haritas</th>
<th>(\text{Āp})</th>
<th>(\text{Āngırasa}, \text{Āmbariśa}, \text{Yauvanāsya}, \text{Māṇdhātra}, \text{Āmbariśa}, \text{Yauvanāsya})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kutsas (1)</td>
<td>(\text{Āp})</td>
<td>(\text{Āng. Māṇdhātra, Kautsa})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX.</td>
<td>Kañvas</td>
<td>(\text{Āśv})</td>
<td>(\text{Āng. Ajamidha, Kañva})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X.</td>
<td>Rathītaras (2)</td>
<td>B.M.V. (\text{(B)})</td>
<td>(\text{Āng. Vairūpa, Rathītara})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\text{Āp. Mān})</td>
<td>(\text{Āng. Vairūpa, Pārśadaśva})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\text{Āp})</td>
<td>(\text{Āstadaṇḍāstra, Vairūpa, Pārśadaśva})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI.</td>
<td>Viśnuvrddhas</td>
<td>B.(\text{Āp. Mān}) (\text{Āśv. V})</td>
<td>(\text{Āng. Paurukutsa, Trāsadasya})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII.</td>
<td>Muddgalas</td>
<td>(\text{Āp. Āśv})</td>
<td>(\text{Āng. Bhārmyaśva, Maudgalya})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\text{Āśv. V})</td>
<td>(\text{Tārksya, Bhārmyaśva, Maudgalya})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII.</td>
<td>Saṃkrītis</td>
<td>B.K.(\text{Mān}) (\text{W. M. V})</td>
<td>(\text{Āng. Saṃkrītya, Gaurīvīta})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\text{Āśv})</td>
<td>(\text{Āng. Gaurīvīta, Saṃkrītya})</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\text{Āśv})</td>
<td>(\text{Śāktya, Gaurīvīta, Saṃkrītya})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) All the sources except \(\text{Āśv}\) include the Kutsas among the Haritas.
(2) The prāvaras of the Rathītaras and Viśnuvrddhas have become confused in \(W, K, M\); see below, pp. 36/37, 3/3.
### XIV. Atra

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Atris</th>
<th></th>
<th>Ātreya, Ārcaṇānasa, Sāvāsāva.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Vādbhutakas</td>
<td>B. V.</td>
<td>Ātreya, Ārcaṇānasa, Vādbhutaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ğaviṣṭhiraś</td>
<td>B. Āp.V.</td>
<td>Ātreya, Ārcaṇānasa, Ğaviṣṭhira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>K. Māṇ. M</td>
<td>Ātreya, Ğaviṣṭhira, Paurva- titha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purvātithas</td>
<td>V.</td>
<td>Ātreya, Ārcaṇānasa, Ātitha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atithis</td>
<td>Āp.</td>
<td>Ātreya, Ārcaṇānasa, Ātitha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māṇ.</td>
<td>Ātreya, Ğaviṣṭhira, Pautrika.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### XV. Viśvāmitras

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Viśvāmitras (Kuśākas.)</th>
<th>Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta, Audala.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Śraumata- Kāmakāyanas</td>
<td>Vaiś. Daivaśravasa, Daivatarasa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Pravara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Rauṣṭakas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reṇus (Rainavas) rest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a</td>
<td>(corrupt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Āśmarathyas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Indra-kauśikas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Rauhiṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Śālankāyanas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Hiraṇyaretases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Suvarṇaretases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Kapotaretases</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) These pravaras are however given by Mān., W, to the same set of sub-families as are called Rainavas by K, etc.

(2) In nos.14-17, Mān. contrives to obtain a three-rsi pravara by separating the compound name, eg. (in the Adhvaryu's pravara) retasavad dhiranyavad viṣvāmitravat.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First Column</th>
<th>Second Column</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Śaṭara-Maṭara</td>
<td>Mān. Vais. Śaṭara, Maṭara.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

XVI. Kaśyapas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First Column</th>
<th>Second Column</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Nidhruva-Kaśyapas</td>
<td>Kaśyapa, Āvatsāra, Naidhruva</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


2. Rebhas |   | Kaśyapa, Āvatsāra, Raibha. |

3. Śaṇḍilas | B.V. (B.V.) | Kaśyapa, Āvatsāra, Śaṇḍila. (1) Kaśyapa, Āvatsāra, Daivala. |

   | B.V. | Kaśyapa, Āvatsāra, Āsita. |


   | (V) | Śaṇḍila, Āvatsāra, Kaśyapa. |

(1) V strangely inverts the order of this as well as of the following alternative. Moreover, this source alone (but almost certainly as the result of scribal emendation) gives only the pravara "Kaśyapa, Āvatsāra, Śaṇḍila" to the Śaṇḍilas, attributing all the others to the Devalas.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sandilas, (Ctd.)</th>
<th>Ap.</th>
<th>Daivala, Asita</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Āsv. V)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Āsita.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Śārastamba.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 5. Sānkhamitras (2)         | W. | Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Sānkhamitra. |

**XVII. Vāsiṣṭhas.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Vāsiṣṭhas</th>
<th>Vāsiṣṭha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Kuṇḍinas</td>
<td>Vāsiṣṭha, Maitrāvaruṇa, Kuṇḍinya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) As dvigotras, these avoid marriage with the Vāsiṣṭhas also.

(2) Included with the Rebhas by K, M.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3.</th>
<th>Upamanyus</th>
<th>B.</th>
<th>Vāsīṣṭha, Aindrapramāda, Ābhaṛadvasavya (1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vāsīṣṭha, Aindrapramāda, Aūpamanyava (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. Mān. W.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vāsīṣṭha, Ābhaṛadvasavya, Aindrapramāda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 4. | Parāśaras (3) | Vāsīṣṭha, Śāktya, Pārāśarya. |

(1) Āp. gives this pravara as an alternative to the Vasisthas, and has no mention of the Upamanyus.
(2) Ms. ropamanyapa; but the appearance of the name at all is probably itself a corruption. (3) The Parāśaras present one of the most tantalising problems connected with the pravara-lists. The thirty sub-divisions of the family are divided into six groups of five names, and each group is designated by a colour, eg. Nila-Parāśaras, Krṣṇa-Parāśaras. The surprising fact, however, is that while the names within the groups agree in the various accounts, there is no semblance of agreement in the group designations. Thus, the group called Krṣṇa by Baudhāyana appears as Aruṇa in K&L, as Nīla in Mān., and as Gaura in the Matsya Purāṇa. The commentators pass over this extraordinary situation in silence, and the whole matter remains mysterious. It is worth pointing out that the Parāśaras are the only family for which the Baudhāyana list corresponds really closely with the others, and that the text in this family alone is composed throughout of quasi-slokas (admittedly there are a few traces of a metrical original elsewhere in the lists, eg. the beginning of the Atri list in K&L, etc.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Jātukarṇyaś</th>
<th>K.M.</th>
<th>Vaiśeṣṭha, Ātri (?), Jātukarṇya.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W.</td>
<td>Vaiśeṣṭha, Ārta, Pāṭava.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Lohinyaś</td>
<td>W.</td>
<td>Vaiśeṣṭha, Lohinya, Phālguna.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**XVIII. Agastyas**

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Āp.</td>
<td>Agastya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>[Sāmbhavāhas]</td>
<td>B. V.</td>
<td>Agastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Sāmbhavāha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Somavāhas</td>
<td>B. Āśv(2) V.</td>
<td>Agastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Saumavāha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Yajñavāhas</td>
<td>B. V.</td>
<td>Agastya, Dārḍhacyuta, Yajñavāha.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) See the other Sūtras among the Kevala Angirases.  
(2) Āśv. gives both pravaras 1 and 3 simply as alternatives for the Agastis.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agastis</th>
<th>K.W.M.</th>
<th>Agastya, Māhendra, Mayobhuva</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Paurnamāsas</td>
<td>K.M.</td>
<td>Agastya, Paurnamāsa, Parāṇa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) For these, and several other late families peculiar to Mān and W, see below, pp. 446-9. The text of all these additional families presents a most barbaric aspect, and, if it is not hopelessly corrupt, may be taken to reflect the non-indigenous nature of the Agastya-gotra.
Chap. III. Earlier History of the gotras.

It must be admitted at the outset that there is no source of information prior to the pravara-chapters of the Sūtras which is in any way comparable to these; and for the earlier period we are forced to rely on chance references in literature which has no especial reason to supply explicit data. It has indeed been suggested that the lack of mention in the Rgveda is of itself sufficient reason to believe that the early Vedic Indians did not practise exogamy. The danger of the argumentum ex silentio in the present case may be seen if we consider that there is no mention of exogamous restrictions at all in the purely ritual parts of the Śrauta-Sūtras. If, therefore, our only literary relic of this period had been the Śrauta-Sūtras proper, we should have been completely ignorant of the existence of the exogamous system at that time. There is in fact no direct evidence at all for exogamy before the Sūtras. But it is reasonable to urge that the Hymns and the Brāhmaṇas are not the type of works which one would expect to mention it, especially if the rule was so universally acknowledged that such mention would have seemed unnecessary to the authors.

Nevertheless, there is available a considerable mass
of evidence which points to the existence of a well-defined organisation of the Brahmans in gotras long before the Sūtra period. Whether these gotras were exogamous, we cannot say. But it is difficult to believe that a society should have preserved a clear-cut clan-system (without exogamy), and at a later and more complex stage of its development, have suddenly transformed these clans into exogamous groups. Karandikar's view that the gotras were purely ritual corporations seems not to be founded upon any satisfactory evidence, and his belief that such corporations could, through imitation of more primitive surrounding tribes, suddenly become exogamous, still remains in need of convincing demonstration. As a working-hypothesis, we may safely assume that the exogamous gotras are considerably older than the Sūtra pravara-chapters, where, in spite of the systematic exposition, the irregularities and anomalies are quite sufficient to indicate that the system is not simply the result of Brahmanical love of systematising, but that it has to a large extent developed and expanded naturally, from a less complex organisation.

The word gotra appears several times in the Rgveda, but not in the sense of a clan or family. In all the occurrences it bears the etymological sense of "cattle-
stall" or some related meaning (1). It remains uncertain whether gotra in the sense of "clan" is derived from this word, through some such meaning as "herd", or whether it is originally a distinct word. At all events, no satisfactory linguistic evidence has been adduced to show the word itself to belong to the Indo-European period (2). The only occurrence of the word in a hymn would seem to be AV 5.21.3, where the war-drum is addressed as visvagotryah, "belonging to all the gotras". Thus it would seem that at least by the end of the Mantra-period, the word gotra was coming to be applied to clans.

By the Brāhmaṇa period, the use of the word gotra had become reasonably frequent in the sense of "clan". Particularly interesting is MS 3.3.9, where, at the setting up of the sacrificial shed (sadas) during the

(1) In the Khila-hymn after RV x.128 the correct reading is gotreṣu, "cowherds", although gotreṣu is accepted by Whitney, AV transl.xix, 62. The parallel passages show clearly that the reference is to Vaiśyas, see AV xix, 62; TS 57.4.6; MS 3.4.8; Scheftelowitz, "Apokryphen des RV", p.118. (2) Professor H.W. Bailey has kindly drawn my attention to a series of Iranian words formally identical with gotra: Pehl. gōhr, Sogd. yōš, meaning "substance, material"; N. Pers. gōhar, "pearl" (= Ar. jaunar), all of which would seem to postulate an original Iranian *gauera. There is however no very clear semantic relationship with the Sanskrit word, and the Iranian form may simply be a homonym of different origin.
Soma ritual, the roof of the shed is laid in place with the words "viśvajanasya chāyāsi" - "thou art the shade (protection) of all men". The explanation is then added - "gotrād-gotrād dhī prasārpanti". This has been taken to mean that the various gotras had different ritual usages (1). There are indeed numerous cases, which we shall note below, where family differences were observed in the ritual; but the inference here seems to be unfounded. The natural interpretation is that the phrase is an explanation of "all men" in the mantra, - "for from every gotra they come forward". The Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa (18.2.12) prescribes a cup of udumbara wood as a sacrificial fee for a man belonging to one's own gotra (sagotra); and the Kauśitaki-brāhmaṇa (25.15) mentions a sagotra as one of the persons with whom a man may dwell after performing the Viśvajit sacrifice.

It is of course impossible to argue that the

(1) See P.V. Kane, "Proc. Oriental Congress at Baroda" (1933), p.317f.; Fick, in Hastings' "Encycl. of Religion and Ethics", s.v. gotra; both scholars have already collected most of the passages from the earlier literature relevant to the present discussion.
Brahmanical families came into being, as such, at the same time as the word gotra was developed to designate them, and it is to quite different matters that one must look for indications of the earlier history of the system. The most important clues for our purpose are supplied by the various differences in ritual and social practice between the various gotras. We know, for example, that in the Sūtra period the major gotras were distinguished by their mode of dressing the hair. In the Pariśiṣṭa to the Gobhila Grhya Sūtra ascribed to Gobhila's son (1) the description occurs:

dakṣiṇa-kapardāṇa vāsiṣṭhā
dātvat vāsiṣṭhā
tīisy ātreyās trikarpardinah
gangirasah pañcagudā
mundā bhṛgavah Śikhino'nye.

"The Vāsiṣṭhas wear a braid on the right side, the Ātreyas a three-fold braid, the Angirases a five-fold top-knot; the Bhṛgus are shaven, the rest wear a crest." It is therefore of the first importance

that in the Rgveda the Vasisthas are described as 
dakṣiṇatās-kapardāṇ" (1). It is of course possible
to argue that the later family of the Vasisthas
adopted their peculiar style of tonsure simply in
order to conform with this passage of the Rgveda;
and if the present case were the only argument
available, we could not hold with certainty that
the Vasisthas of the Sūtra lists are directly descend-
ed from the family to which the tradition attributes
the authorship of the seventh book of the Rgveda.
But in view of the other matters which we shall
now review, the theory of a continuous system of
clans from Rgvedic times onwards seems very much
more probable.

The most important ritual divergence is the
well-known distinction between the gotras who
honoured the deity Tanūnapāt and those who honour-
ed Narāśamsa. The two are, it is true, from the
earliest mention, merely different forms or titles
of Agni, and we have no means of telling whether
they were originally different deities (2).

(1) RV.7.33.1. (2) See Keith, "Rel. and Phil.
of the Veda", p.164ff.
Nevertheless, the two groups of gotras apparently considered the distinction one of importance, and the Sūtras are careful to prescribe which alternative pertained to the various families. At the fore-
offerings at an īṣṭi or an animal sacrifice, the second offering is to Agni, under one of these two names; and accordingly in the hymns which accompany these offerings in the animal sacrifice, the so-
called Āpri- hymns, there occurs in the second verse either Tanūnapāt or Narāśāmsa, or else both occur in two separate verses, clearly intended as alternatives according to the gotra of the sacrificer.

Unfortunately, the Sūtras do not altogether agree in their distribution of the gotras between Tanūnapāt and Narāśāmsa. They agree however in taking Tanūnapāt as the norm, and therefore name only the Narāśāmsa families, adding "Tanūnapāt belongs to the others". In the Narāśāmsa category Baudhāyana (1) places only the Vasiṣṭhas, Āpastamba (2) only the Vasiṣṭhas and Śunakas. Kātyāyana (3) adds

(1) BŚS. 10.11. (2) ĀpŚŚ 24.12.16. (3) KŚŚ 19.6.8,9
that some also give the Atris. To these three Āśvalāyana (1) adds the Vadhryaśvas; and the Kaṇvas and Saṃkṛtis as well as the Vadhryaśvas are added by Śāṅkhāyana (2), and by the Nidāna and Anupada Sūtras (3). In the Baudhāyana pravara-chapter (4), the Vādhūlas and Yaskas are given along with all those already mentioned. The extraordinary inversion of the usual rule in the Lātyāyana-Sūtra (5), where the Atris, Vasisthas, Śunakas, Kaṇvas, Saṃkṛtis and Vadhryaśvas are said to use the Tanūnapāt verse, remains unexplained, though it is possible that the Lātyāyana school deliberately prescribed it when the hymn was used as a Sāman, by way of compensation for the usage in the other parts of the ritual.

Two opposing interpretations of this situation are offered by Weber and Keith. The former (6) held that the range of the Narāśamsa worshippers steadily increased, "since as time passes, the number of families increases Sūtra by Sūtra". This

(1) ASS 1.5.21. (2) ŚŚŚ 1.7.3. (3) See Weber, IST.x.p.89ff. for a fuller collection of the relevant passages. It is unnecessary for the present discussion to cite all of them in detail. (On p.90, line 2 from the end, Kaśyapa is a misprint for Śunaka.). (4) § 54, below, p.457 (5) 6.4.13-16; see Caland, PB. transl.p.414. (6) loc.cit.p.92.
is certainly dubious; the relative chronology of the Sūtras implied by such a theory is far from certain, and moreover, the situation in the Rgveda, to which we shall return below, seems to contradict it. Keith (1), on the other hand, writes, "In the long run the tradition of the Jāmadagni family (i.e., the use of RV 10.110, with Tanūnapāt) prevailed and their invocation of Tanūnapāt was accepted, the Vasiṣṭha family, however, remaining faithful to their invocation of Narāśāmsa". This is presumably derived from such passages as ĀŚŚ.3.2.6-8, where RV.10.110 is prescribed for all families other than the Vasiṣṭhas and Śunakas (2). It is however necessary to add that in a similar context, ŠŚŚ 5.16, 6-9 remarks that those who use the Narāśāmsa verse are in such a case to substitute the second verse of their own Aprī hymn or that of the Vasiṣṭha hymn. It may well be that Āśvalāyana envisaged such a substitution:

The chief point to observe for our purpose is that the Sūtra authors recognised the application

(1) op.cit.p.165. (2) Cf.also AB 4.26.
of the various Āprī hymns in the Rgveda by the
gotras of their own times. Āśvalāyana, for example,
adds to the above prescription "yathārṣi vā", that
is to say "alternatively, the Āprī-hymn of one's
own particular rṣī(family) is used"; and the
commentator Nārāyana quotes the first words of
the ten Rgvedic Āprī hymns, together with the families
to which they belonged. Max Müller (1) drew attention
to the fact that in the Rgveda there are ten Āprī
hymns distributed over eight of the ten books. These,
together with their traditional authors as given in
the Anukramaṇī, are as follows:

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<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>Medhātithi Kāṇva</td>
<td>T and N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.142</td>
<td>Dirghatamaś Aucathya</td>
<td>T and N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.183</td>
<td>Agastya</td>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Grītsamada Saunahotra</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Viśvāmitra Gāthina</td>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Vasuśruta Ātreya</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>Vasiṣṭha Maitrāvaruṇī</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>Asita (or Devala) Kāsyapa</td>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.70</td>
<td>Sumitra Vādhryaśva</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.110</td>
<td>Rāma Jāmadagnya</td>
<td>T</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

When the names of these seers are compared with
the pravara-lists of the Sūtras, and with the Sūtra

prescriptions as to Tanūnapāt and Narāśāmsa, the agreement is striking. It is of course open to doubt the authenticity of the Anukramaṇī's ascriptions, and it may be urged that the pravara-lists, in their earliest form, very probably preceded the composition of the Sarvānukramaṇī. Nevertheless, it is clear that the latter is not directly dependant on the pravara-lists in this instance - the ascription of RV.1.142 to Dīrghatamas Aucathya instead of to a Gautama is noteworthy (1) - and there seems no reason to doubt that the tradition recorded by the Anukramaṇī is genuine, at least with regard to the families who regarded these Apri hymns as their own. Müller drew the conclusion that at the time of the final redaction of the Ṛgveda, the ten families in question considered it a matter of moment that their own special Apri hymns should be included in the collection.

In the occurrence of these Apri hymns in the Ṛgveda, therefore, we may see a very strong argument

(1) Aucathya is of course a Gautama-name; but it would seem that the hymn in question was used by the Angirases in general, except the Kanvas; that is to say, by the Bharadvajas and the Kevala Angirases as well as the Gautamas; see Gārgya Narāyaṇa's commentary on ṚSS 3.2.7.
in favour of a continuous development in the clan-system from Rgvedic times onwards. It has of course long been a commonplace that the so-called "family-books" of the Rgveda are to be attributed not to individual authors, Vasiṣṭha, etc., but, so to speak, to "Vasiṣṭhidae" (1). The use of the English word "family", however, tends to be misleading, if we think of these Vasiṣṭhas as analogous to, say, the family of Bach in German music. Taking into account the status of the Vasiṣṭhas, Atri, and the others, as they appear in the Sūtra lists, it would seem much more likely that these books of the Rgveda are to be considered to belong to clans rather than to families in the narrower sense of a direct descent from father to son. Each of the books 2-8 inclusive would then be in origin the private property of an individual clan. It is recognised that these books form the kernel of the Rgveda collection; and it would seem to be a necessary corollary of this that the clans to whom these books belonged formed the

original kernel of the society in which the collection was first made. The second book is the collection of the Gr̥tsamadas, who correspond to the Śunakas of the Śūtras. The third book belongs to the Viśvāmitras; the fourth to the Vāmadevas, representing the later Gautamas; the fifth to the Atris: the sixth to the Bharadvājas, the seventh to the Vasiṣṭhas; and the eighth to the Kāṇvas (1).

Thus, in the earliest stage known to us in the formation of the R̥gveda, we find represented seven of the eighteen exogamous clans of the Śūtra lists. This fact in itself, coupled with the continuity of ritual usage which we have noted in the case of the Āpri hymns, tells very strongly against the view that the later gotras were derived from ritual associations formed (as Karandikar seems to imply) in post-R̥gvedic times. Here we may note in passing that if, as Max Müller suggested, the various clans of the R̥gveda felt the need for possessing their own Āpri hymns, this need does not seem to have been

(1) The tradition which attributes the ninth book to the Angirases (Weber, Hist.Ind.Lit.p.31) is obviously without value, contradicted as it is on all sides by the Anukramani, as well as by the specialised nature of the contents of that book.
felt in the earliest period of the compilation, since the Áprīs of the Kaṇvas and the Gautamas are placed among the additional collections of these families in the first book, while the important family of the Bharadvājas seems never to have possessed an Áprī hymn at all.

The first book of the Ṛgveda contains groups of hymns, arranged for the most part according to families. These hymns may legitimately be assumed to have been in the main composed after the "family-books" were already settled; and it is of interest that, in addition to groups which are assigned to families already known from the "family-books", the last group in the book is attributed to Agastya. This comparatively late appearance of Agastya in the Ṛgveda accords well with the position of this clan in the pravara-lists, where it is regularly placed last, and is considered to be "the eighth in addition to the Seven Raśis" (1). It is also

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(1) BŚS pr.54, "saptarśīṇām agastyāṣṭamānāṁ yad apatyam tad gotram". Below, p.470
worth noting that, according to a passage in the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa (1), the Agastyas are "outside the Kuru-pañcālas".

Similarly one may see in the group of hymns attributed to Kutsa (1.94-115) a sign of the emergence of the later family of that name, which was grouped under the Kevala Angirases. Possibly the group ascribed to Parucchepa Daivodāsi (1.127-139) may foreshadow the Kevala Bhṛgu gana of the Mitrayus, whose pravara is "Bhūrgava, Vādhryaśva, Daivodāsa." Whether or not this is so, there can be no doubt that this family was already sufficiently important before the close of the Rgveda to have an Āprī hymn of its own, as we have seen above (10.70, attributed to Sumitra Vādhryaśva). The fact, however, that this Āprī occurs in book 10, and that there is only one other hymn attributed to this Vādhryaśva, is sufficient indication of the late inclusion of the family within the Ṛgvedic society.

The Kaśyapas, who in the Sūtras form an important and extensive family, are represented in the main

(1) Caland, "Das Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl", §145
collection of the Rgveda only by five scattered hymns (1.99; 5.44; 8.97; 10.106; 10.163). But in the ninth book the only really well-defined groups of hymns (9.5-24; 9.53-60) belong to the Kaśyapas, who would seem to have been specialists in the composition of hymns to the Soma Pavamāṇa. Their Āpri hymn in fact (9.5) is a remarkable tour de force, contriving as it does to fit the word pavamāṇa into every stanza of the traditional Āpri form (1).

The tenth book, the latest in time, is much more a miscellaneous collection than the first, and its hymns are not arranged in family groups. A considerable number of the traditional authors however can be connected either with the clans already known from the other books of the Rgveda, or with the later pravara-lists. The existence of the Jamadagnis as a family before the end of the Rgvedic

(1) It might perhaps be conjectured that the regular but unexplained practice of later times, whereby the son of an unwitting sagotra-marriage was considered to belong to the Kaśyapa gotra (see below, p. 147, 469) might be the result of this connection of the Kaśyapas, since it would be an easy transference in the popular mind from the purifying Soma to purification in general, and therefore entry into the Kaśyapa gotra might have seemed a good method of ensuring purification from the stain resulting from the fact of having been born from a forbidden marriage.
period is certified by the occurrence of their Āpū hymn at 10.110. For the rest, we may compare the following names of traditional Rgvedic authors with the later pravaras:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rgai</th>
<th>Pravara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.73 Gaurīvītā Śāktya ..... Śāktya, Gaurīvītā, Śaṃkṛtya.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.102 Mūdgaḷa Bhārmyāśva ... Āṅgirasa, Bhārmyāśva, Maudgalya.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.111 Aṣṭrādāṃstra Vairūpa . Aṣṭ(r)ādamātra, Vairūpa, Pārśadaśva.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.113 Uruksaṇa Aṃahīyava.... Āṅgirasa, Aṃahīyava, Auruksaṇa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.134 Māndhāṭṛ Yauvanāśva .. Māndhāṭra, Ambarīga, Yauvanāśva.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.143 Prthu Vainya ......... Bhārgava, Vainya, Pārtha.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To these it is convenient to add here:

4.42 } Trasadasyu Paurukutsa...Āṅgirasa, Paurukutsa, Trasadasya ava.
5.27 |
9.110 }

In these comparisons, we may see the origin of all the remaining groups of Kevala Bhṛgus and Āṅgirases not already mentioned, with the sole exception of the Yaskas. Corresponding to the names in the above table, the later families are: Śaṃkṛtis, Mūdgalaś, Rathītaraś, Kapiś, Kutsaś, Vainyaś, and Viṣṇuvṛddhas.

To summarise the information to be derived from the Rgveda and its Anukramaṇī: for the earliest
period we can be confident of the existence of the clans corresponding to the "family-books"; and to these, before the final redaction of the Rgveda, must have been added the Agastis, Kaśyapas, Jamadagnis, Vadhryaśvas (Mitrayus), and possibly the Kutsas.

With regard to the remaining families who are all either Kevala Brahmans or Kevala Angirases, it is impossible to feel any confidence in their existence as such in the Rgveda. There is every probability that their pravaras are directly formed from the names of the seers of these late hymns, after Rgvedic times. The tradition that these Kevala families were originally Kṣatriyas who became Brahmans seems to have a fair element of truth in it (though it can scarcely be quite accurate in the case of the Grūtsamadas and Kaṇvas); and it may well be that with their acceptance into the Brahmanical company they adopted a suitable ancestry from among the traditional list of ṛṣis. There is after all nothing in the Rgvedic tradition to distinguish the ṛṣis named in the table above from a host of other individual ṛṣis of the tenth book.

The most surprising point in this Rgvedic
evidence is the late appearance and comparative insignificance of the Jamadagnia, who, as being the Bhrgus proper, head all the pravara-lists. Moreover, the Bhrgus and the Angirases, although known to the Rveda, remain for the most part very shadowy figures, and Keith (1) hesitates to decide whether they are real priestly families, or deities fallen in rank. It is certain that they are both often treated as deities in the hymns; and it may be that the grouping of the later families under these two heads is secondary, rather than that these families arose as subdivisions of original Bhrgus and Angirases (2).

The Angirases proper of the Sutra lists, that is, the Gautamas and Bharadvajas, are established as being well within the main Rvedic tradition. The

(1) op.cit.p.223. (2) The Atharvans, so closely connected in tradition with both these families, appear nowhere in the pravara lists. The alternative names of the Atharva-veda "Atharvangiras", and "Bhrvangiras" led Hillebrandt to the theory that the Atharvans are to be considered as the priests of the Bhrgu clan (Ved.Myth.2.173ff). Atharvan is, however, as common a patronymic as Bhargava, and a much more likely view is that the two names are (or came to be) designations of the same family or group of men. In support of this, it is significant that the Khila-hymn quoted above, p. 50, is attributed to Subhesaja Atharvana, while the pravara contained in it is a Bhrgu pravara.
Jamadagni-Bhṛgus on the other hand are obviously latecomers, and this is significantly reflected in what is, next to the Āprī deities, the most noteworthy family divergence in the Vedic ritual. The Jamadagnis (subdivided in the Sūtras into Vatsas Bidas, and Ārṣṭīgēnas) divided the sacrificial cake into five portions, the other gotras into four. It is of considerable interest that the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (1) in dealing with the matter frowns upon the five-fold cutting, as not being approved among the Kuru-paṃcālas, and as a mark of its disapproval omits to mention that the practice pertained to the Jamadagnis, although the author could hardly have been ignorant of this. The same distinction extended to the Grhya ritual (2), and we also find that as a consequence the Jamadagnis sacrificed three portions of fried grain at the marriage ceremony, while the other gotras were content with two (3).

There remains one other important ritual divergence.

(1) 1.7.2.3. (2) Gobhila GS.1.8.4 (which gives the Bhṛgus simply); Khādīra GS 2.1.17 (Jāmadagnya-Bhṛgus, not, as Oldenberg, "Bhṛgus, (or at least) Jāmadagnyas;" 2.1.24 however gives simply Bhṛgūnām); cf. AGS 1.10.20. (3) AGS 1.7.8-9; cf. Weber, Ist.x.p.95.
whose implications however are not altogether clear. This is in the ritual of establishing the householder's fire (āryādhanam), and consists in the use of separate formulae at one point in the ritual, referred to by the Sūtra writers as the "yatharṣyādhanam". One would expect this phrase to mean that the various gotras had their own distinct usages, as in the case of the Āprī hymns, but in fact only the Bharus and Angirases differed from the others. We may perhaps trace a certain development in the accounts given by the various texts. Thus, the Maitrāyaṇī gives only two contrasting formulae (1) "angirasāṁ tvā devānāṁ vratenādadhe"; (2) "agnes tvā devasya vratenādadhe", the second presumably belonging to all Brahmans other than the Angirases. The Kāṭhaka gives for these other families "ādityānāṁ tvā devānāṁ, etc.", which is the form adopted by the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa and Āpastamba (2). In place of the first phrase, however, the Taittirīya gives

(1) MS 1.6.1 etc. (2) KS 7.13; TB 1.1.4.8; Ṛṣīs 5.11.7; BSS 2.17 seems to admit a wider range of alternatives (amīṣāṁ tvā devānāṁ .... yatharṣi yathāgottam.)
"bhṛgūṇāṁ tvāngirasāṁ vratapate vratenañadhāmi";

while Āpastamba has three separate phrases, "bhṛgūṇāṁ tvā devānām, etc.", "angirasāṁ tvā devānām, etc.", "ādityānāṁ tvā devānām, etc." It is impossible, however, to deduce anything from these facts to clarify the earlier history of the gotras. There can be no doubt that the Bhṛgus and Angirases, with their semi-divine ancestry, from very early times must have occupied a somewhat distinct position in the community. But it would be illicit to deduce from the above passages that they were the original gotras (1), and the whole evidence of the Rgveda is against such a view.

To conclude this discussion, two passages from the Atharva-veda may be cited to show that the

(1) Zimmer "Studien zur Geschichte der Gotras", Berlin (dissertation), 1914, is quoted by Karandikar "Hindu Exogamy", p.33 as arguing for only one original gotra, "Bhṛgvangiras". I have however been unable to obtain a copy of Zimmer's dissertation, and therefore do not know by what arguments he reached this surprising conclusion, for which I can see no evidence in the Vedic literature. Equally unconvincing is the attempt of C.V.Vaidya "Hist.of Mediaeval India", ii.p.56f., to argue for four original gotras, Angiras, Kaśyapa, Vasistha, and Bhṛgu, on the strength of an isolated passage in the Mahābhārata (Sānti-parvan, 297.17-18).
system of the gotras was already well advanced in its development at the time of the compilation of that Veda. First, AV.18.3.15-16, in the middle of a funeral hymn, invokes the aid of Kanva, Kāśyānt, Purumīḍha, Agastyā, Śyāvāśva, Sobhari, Arcanānas, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Atri, Kaśyapa, Vāmadeva, Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvāja and Gotama. It is clear that these are called upon as the ancestors and guardians of the tribe, and it can scarcely be accidental that all of these names (except Sobhari and Purumīḍha) are either the eponyms of the later gotras and their subdivisions, or else pravara-names associated with these eponymous rṣis. A more extended list is given at AV 4.29, where stanzas 3-6 call on Mitra and Varuṇa in the formula "Ye who help X, free us from distress". The names are:


stanza 4. Śyāvāśva, Vadhryāśva, (Purumīḍha), Atri, (Vimada, Saptavadhri).


stanza 6. (Medhātithi, Triśoka, Usanas Kāvyā,), Gotama, Mudgala.

Here the names bracketed have no place in the later system, but the very considerable preponderance of
names which do occur in the pravara-lists makes it highly probable, taking into account the Rgvedic evidence already cited, that the enumeration is intended to summarise the whole collection of contemporary clans, by reference to their eponymous ṛṣis.

We may thus with reasonable certainty trace the clan system back to the time of the Rgveda, between which and the Sūtra period, it admittedly developed considerably. As has been said, there is no evidence whatsoever that these early clans had a rule of exogamy. If we assume that they did practise exogamy, it remains no more than a conjecture, but a more probable conjecture nevertheless than the opposing view.
PART II.

The Gotra-pravara-mañjarī
do of Puruṣottama-pāṇḍita.
Introduction to the translation.

Of the numerous extant mediaeval Sanskrit works on the gotra and pravara system, the Gotra-pravara-manjari is undoubtedly the most important. Not only is it the earliest of the nibandha-treatises on the subject, but it is also the most extensive, and gives a much clearer picture of the system than most of the others. Later writers quote it frequently, and its opinions are usually held by them to be authoritative. From our point of view, however, its chief interest lies in the ancient accounts which it quotes, one of which (that of "Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi") is in fact not preserved in any older source.

The present work may be said to serve a twofold purpose. In the first place, the translation of Puruṣottama's own discussion of the gotra-system presents a clear, if somewhat prolix, account of how it appeared to a mediaeval Hindu scholar. The translation follows in the main the text of the edition by P. Chentsal Rao, but a few points have been corrected on the evidence of the two manuscripts of the work belonging to the India Office Library.

The most important part of the work, however, lies in the pravara-lists quoted by Puruṣottama. For these lists it would have been quite profitless
to reproduce the uncritical text of Chentsal Rao's edition, and I have therefore thought it preferable, in view of the uncertainties in the text, to collate such material as was available to me, with a view to restoring the lists as far as possible; and to this end I have added a full apparatus criticus. At the risk of somewhat overloading this with quite useless copyists' errors, I have thought it best to include all variants and blunders which could possibly serve as a guide in tracing the affinities of any other accounts of the lists which might come to hand in the future. The plan here adopted, of giving the lists in their Sanskrit forms, while the rest of the text and the comment is translated, is doubtless a little incongruous; but since the form of the names, singular or plural, is of some importance, it was necessary to give them in the original forms; while, in the present state of Sanskrit studies, the labour spent on preparing an edition of Puruṣottama's own comments would have been quite out of proportion to the results achieved, since the text is already available in Chentsal Rao's edition. The prime object of the present work is, after all, to make available such material as is at present to be obtained for the study of the Brahmanical gotra-system in
early times, and for this purpose, the Pravara-
manjari offers a very suitable framework for the
presentation of that material. Therefore, it seemed
the most profitable course to give the lists here in
the Sanskrit forms, thus giving, as it were, a first
approximation to a restoration of the text, for the
use of critical scholars; while the remainder of the
work will, it is hoped, provide a translation of
some use to non-Sanskritists who may wish to invest-
igate the main facts of the gotra-organisation.

The sources.

The Pravara-manjari quotes in full five different
accounts, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, "Kātyāyana-Laugākṣi",
Āśvalāyana, and the Matsya Purāṇa. Of these, the
first, second and fourth have been preserved in the
manuscripts of their respective Sūtras, and have all
been published in the Bibliotheca Indica. Apart
from points of quite minor importance, the text of
the Āśvalāyana and Āpastamba accounts presents
little that is doubtful, and these lists, which,
compared with the other three, are mere skeletons,
are given here simply for the sake of completeness
and for ease of reference. The other three are
admittedly approximately as well preserved as far
as the main groups and pravaras are concerned, but
giving as they do extensive lists of sub-families, within most of the groups, they have been much more exposed to copyists' errors, and have come down to us in an almost incredible state of corruption. This is the more remarkable when it is remembered that they are ancillary works of Vedic schools, and, from the social point of view, of considerable importance for the regulation of the exogamous restrictions. In view of the peculiar nature of the texts, consisting as they do almost entirely of lists of family names, the task of preparing an edition is one of unusual complexity, and it must be admitted at the outset that the text here presented is still far from being a definitive edition of the lists. It is, rather, a preliminary critical survey of the material - a survey, however, which has made it possible to get rid of a very large number of manuscript errors, and which will, it is hoped, very considerably lighten the task of any future editor of these lists, should fresh material become available. Not the least important result of the present study of the lists is that a comparison of the different accounts has shown a much closer affinity between them than one would have suspected on a casual perusal. Caland, for example, remarked (1)

that the list attributed by Puruṣottama to Kātyāyana and Laugāksi was not the same as that given by Weber among the pariśīṣṭas of the White Yajur-Veda; but that the latter agreed closely with the Manava text. The statement is in fact true, so far as it goes, but Caland does not seem to have noted how closely Puruṣottama's list actually does agree with the other two. Far more important, however, is the fact that the percentage of correspondence between Baudhāyana's list and the others is now seen to be considerably higher than the readings, say, of Chentsal Rao's edition of the Pravara-mañjarī would have indicated. We shall return to these points below.

A great quantity of the material which can be applied towards a critical reconstruction of these lists has been preserved in various mediaeval treatises on the subject of gotra, and it will be convenient to consider these first. Among them, the Gotra-pravara-mañjarī of Puruṣottama-pandita is unique in several respects. It alone undertakes to quote verbatim the pravara-sections of the Sūtra texts, while the later nibandhas merely quote the bare lists of names, often without referring them to their Sūtra origin. Moreover, a comparison with the other nibandha-accounts has shown conclusively that these are all directly or indirectly dependant on Puruṣ-
Purusottama's work. The collation of the others was undertaken in the first place in the hope that they would supply independent traditions which might prove useful in reconstructing the Sūtra texts. But although they have been found to possess no such independent value yet the later works are still of considerable assistance in reconstituting the text which Puruṣottama had before him. The Pravara-mañjarī is therefore extremely valuable as a nodal point, so to speak, in the history of the textual transmission; it is in fact possible, with the aid of the other nibandhas, to reconstruct Puruṣottama's text of the lists with comparative certainty. (1).

About Puruṣottama himself we know nothing. There seem to be no grounds for considering him to be identical with any of the numerous other mediaeval writers of the same name, and the Pravara-mañjarī appears to be his only known work. For his epithet of Pañcita we are dependant on the colophons of his work. His date is quite uncertain; but it is possible to fix a later limit, since the Pravara-mañjarī is quoted in the Nṛsiṁha-prasāda, and must therefore be at least older than 1512 AD (2).

There is little doubt however that it is considerably older. Unlike all the other works on the subject

1) It should be mentioned, however, that in printing the lists below, the aim has been to come as close as possible.

2) P.V. Kane, "Hist. of Dharmaśāstra" vol. I, p. 410.
which I have been able to consult, the Mañjarī does
not quote a single authority from the second
millenium. Apart from Vedic authors, the only works
referred to are Manu, Yājñavalkya, the lost Yama, and
"another smṛti". In addition to these, the explaina-
tion of the Sūtra texts is said to follow the views
of the commentaries by Dhūrtasvāmin, Kapardisvāmin
and Gurudevasvāmin on the Āpastamba Sūtra, that of
Devasvāmin on Āśvalāyana, and a lost commentary on
Baudhāyana called the Amala-bhāṣya. Unfortunately
none of these commentators can be dated with any
certainty. P.V.Kane (1) has shown with fair probabili-
ty that this cannot be later than 1000 AD; but there
is no evidence available that he might not have
lived several centuries earlier (2). Therefore, on
the evidence of quotations alone, it is not possible
to date Puruṣottama to within a thousand years. We
are thus left with only probabilities to guide us
in fixing a date. The argument from silence is
admittedly dangerous; but it seems highly probable
that so loquacious an author would have quoted

1) op.cit.I.p.281.
from the legal digests, as do the other mediaeval pravara-authors, had such digests existed for him to draw upon. It is possible that he knew the Mitākṣara (1), which as a mere commentary on Yājñavalkya he would not necessarily name; and the earliest of the favourite authorities of the other writers, the Śrītyarthasaṅga of Śrīdhara, (composed between 1150 and 1200 A.D.) is apparently unknown to him. Thus the Pravara-mañjarī may be conjecturally assigned to the 12th. century. Such a supposition is, at worst, not directly contradicted by the evidence.

For the text of the Mañjarī itself, there are available:


1) He agrees with it in taking ārṣa as a noun in Yājñavalkya's compound ārṣa-gotra, which means however "gotra as determined by paḻ" not "gotra and pravara." Such an argument is of course in no way conclusive.
P1. India Office Library, Eggeling no. 1777. A well-written Nāgarī manuscript of the Pravara-mañjarī. It is dated sanyat 1866, i.e. AD 1310.

P2. India Office Library, Eggeling no. 1778. Another Ms of the same work. Badly written Nāgarī. It is undated, but would appear to be about a hundred years older than P1.

These three are all very mediocre, even as transmitters of Purusottama's already corrupted version of the lists. Ed, it is true, presents a fairly readable, though not always correct, text of Purusottama's own part of the work, that is to say, the introductory chapters, and the interspersed comment on the lists; but for the lists themselves it is quite clear that a fairly poor manuscript has been printed without any serious attempt at criticism. Pl and P2 agree in a number of lacunae, as well as in many individual readings, and are fairly close relatives, standing somewhat more distantly from Ed.

Next to the Pravara-mañjarī, the most explicit account of the lists is furnished by the Pravara-darpāna of Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa. This is an early work, being prior to the same author's better known Nirṇaya-sindhu. The latter, in dealing with gotra and pravara, gives merely an outline account, naming only the chief gaṇa-divisions with the pravaras; and
it refers the reader to the author's fuller account in the Pravaradārpana. Therefore the latter must be dated before 1612 (1) but probably not more than two or three years earlier.

In this work, Kamalākara gives a refreshingly lucid and concise account of the system. It is clearly the product of a systematic mind, and shows a marked contrast in method as compared with Puruṣottama's diffuse treatment. Unlike the older author, Kamalākara does not claim to quote the Sūtra lists verbatim, but normally quotes for each family and sub-family the names first of the Baudhāyana list, then those names of the "Kātyāyana-Laugākṣi" list which do not occur in Baudhāyana, and thirdly, those from the Matsya Purāṇa which do not occur in either of the two preceding. All the names are given in the singular, and the edition of the work has further dispensed with euphonic combination between them, giving everywhere - añ, - iñ, etc. At the end of the first list quoted from Baudhāyana, Kamalākara adds that, where the reading of the Mañjarī and that of his Ms of the Sūtra differ as giving either more or fewer names, he has followed both sources (2). This however applies only to

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1) Cf. Kane, op.cit., vol. I, p. 437. (2) yady api pravara-
mañjarī-dhīta-baudhāyana-sūtre ākare ca sūtre bhūyān
nyūnādhikabdhāvāḥ tathā 'py ubhayānusāreṇa vadāmaḥ.
Baudhāyana's text, and there is no indication from the readings of any such conflation for the others. The manuscript in question clearly belongs to the group we have designated B (see below), but its readings appear only very occasionally, and Kamalākara has relied for the rest entirely on the Mañjarī.

This conclusion is supported by the order in which the Sūtra authors are given (although in some families the Matsya names are quoted before the "Kātyāyana-Laugāki" lists) as well as by numerous individual readings. The sources for this work are:

D1 The edition of the Pravara-darpaṇa forming pp. 146-183 of Ghentsal Rao's compendium mentioned above.

D2 India Office Library. Eggeling no. 1780.
This manuscript is the twin of Pl, being of the same paper and size. The handwriting, though of very similar style to Pl, is not identical, but there is no reason to doubt that the two have the same date and provenance (c. 1310 therefore).

Raghunātha-bhaṭṭa, who wrote a Ṛṣtra-pravara-nirṇaya, was the cousin of Kamalākara's father. His work was therefore presumably composed some years before the latter's (1), though there is no

1) Kane, op. cit. p. 726, gives 1545-1625 AD as the dates of Raghunātha's activity.
conclusive evidence from the readings of the two texts that Kamalākara used his older relation's work as a source for the Sūtra lists. In style of presentation Raghunātha's work is less attractive. Like Kamalākara, he regularly gives for each sub-family first the list of Baudhāyana, then that of "Kātyāyana and Lauḍāksi", and thirdly that of the Matsya-Purāṇa, omitting from the later lists names which have occurred in the preceding. Unlike the Pravara-darpāpa, however, he does not acknowledge the provenance of the names, giving no indication where the one Sūtra account ends and the next begins, nor even mentioning the fact that he owes his text of the lists to the Pravara-māñjari. As in the case of the Darpana, this indebtedness is amply proved by individual readings as well as by the order of the Sūtra lists. By preference, Raghunātha quotes the names in the plural, occasionally however giving a singular where the Sūtra text also has a singular. For this work, the only source available is

R., India Office Library, Eggeling no. 1781; an indifferently written Nāgarī manuscript of the Gotra-pravara-nirṇaya by Raghunātha, dated saṃvat 1744, i.e. 1688 AD. The colophon gives Raghunātha's father's name, Mādhava-bhāṭṭa, and his grandfather's, Rāmaśvara-bhāṭṭa (the manuscript reading rāmesā-
sūryagṛya must be a pure blunder), the latter of course being also the father of the famous Nūrāyana-bhaṭṭa, and the great-grandfather of Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa.

Exceptionally closely related to Raghunātha's work is the Gotra-pravara-nirṇaya of Jīvadeva (late 17th c.). This is preserved for us embedded in the text of his better-known elder brother's Saṃskāra-kaustubha, and is introduced by Anantadeva with the words: atha gotra-pravara-nirṇayo mad-anuja-jīvadeva-ṛta evāśminn avasāre pradarṣyate. The text of the lists in this work is so closely similar to that of Raghunātha (even to the extent of agreeing at times in the precise wording of the few interspersed comments) that it must be taken to be a direct copy either of Raghunātha's work or of his immediate source. For this work, I have unfortunately been unable to consult either of the printed editions (Nirṇaya-sāgara Press, 1913, and Baroda, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 1914), and have had perforce to rely on the lithographed edition, which is dated 1783 ēka, i.e. 1861 AD. The readings of this edition, denoted in the apparatus criticus by Sk, have the value of a tolerably good manuscript of Jīvadeva's text.
It is convenient to mention here that these three texts, D, R, and Sk, in addition to the lists taken from the Pravara-mañjarī, give at the end of most of the bigger families a supplementary list of names. In these, R and Sk normally agree together more closely than either does with D, but there is no question that the supplementary lists in all three come from one original source. It is interesting to observe that here D agrees more closely with R and Sk than in the lists from the Mañjarī, and it seems a feasible suggestion that Kamalākara had before him the source from which Raghunātha derived them. R and Sk attach these supplementary lists directly to the end of the Matsya list, giving no comment to show that a fresh list is starting. Kamalākara, however, would seem to have subjected them to a certain amount of editorial criticism, for in some places he omits a number of names, and in others groups them rather differently from the other two sources. He regularly introduces these supplements with such words as "kecid āhuḥ", and frequently remarks of them, with commendable caution, that their source is questionable ("atra mūlam mṛgyam"). Their origin is still quite obscure. It is possible that they represent yet another ancient Sūtra account; but the general impression given is that
they are composed largely of variants of names already in the other lists, strung together in haphazard order. It is of interest that occasional names agreeing with the Mānava-text and the Bodleian "White Yajur-veda pariśīṣṭa" occur here. Some source similar to these two must at all events have been available somewhere in the descent of D, R and Sk, since the latter quotes several families (eg. Vedaviśvajyotis among the Bhṛgus) which neither the Mañjari nor the other Sūtra lists know, but which do occur in the Mānava and Bodleian texts.

D also adds at several points brief quotations from the Hiranyakesī-Sūtra, but not sufficient to enable one to determine its relationship to the pravara-lists of the other Sūtras. It is noteworthy however that, contrary to expectation, it does not appear to be very closely related to Āpastamba. In this connection, I much regret that I have been unable to consult the published edition of Hiranyakesī's Śrauta-Sūtra.

All the sources described up to this point contain information about all the lists. We shall mention the remaining sources in dealing with the separate Sūtra accounts.
The Baudhāyana pravara-chapter is the only one of the fuller accounts which is at present available in published form, being included in Caland's edition of the Śrauta-Sūtra in the Bibliotheca Indica series. After some hesitation, I have decided to give the Baudhāyana list here, for three reasons: first, it appears to me that Caland has tended to allow more weight to the group of manuscripts M, G, T, and Bu than is their due; and second, for those of his manuscripts which I have been able to re-collate, I have found on an average two to three errors of reporting per page of his edition—many, no doubt, undetected misprints which, in a text of this nature are hopelessly difficult to avoid. These errors I have normally corrected without comment, drawing attention to them only when they might be of some importance for deciding the reading. Thirdly, the detailed study of the other lists has in a number of cases enabled me to give more probable readings than those printed by Caland. At the same time, it would be ingratitude to omit to record our indebtedness to Caland's work, especially since without his collations of manuscripts at present inaccessible,
the text of the Baudhāyana list would have remained considerably less certain than that of the other lists.

For convenience of reference, I have quoted Caland's manuscripts throughout. These are six in number, denoted by him by the sigla M, G, T, Bu, Be, and U. For a fuller account of these, see Caland, Baudh.Śr.S. vol.III p.ix. Caland also used Pl, R, (called by him Pm and Pn respectively) and Sk, already described above, as well as the Ānandāśrama edition of a work called "Satyāṣādha-hiranyakeśi-smārta-saṃskāra-ratnamāla" by Gopīnātha-dīkṣita, which he calls Rm in his notes. This last I have unfortunately been unable to consult. But it is clear from the readings quoted from it by Caland for Baudhāyana that it agrees even more closely with Sk than the latter does with R, and it is extremely unlikely therefore that it would have offered anything of value for the text of the other lists. I have seldom thought it worth while to quote its readings as reported by Caland.

Caland distinguished the two groups of manuscripts, M, G, T and Bu on the one side, and Be, U and Pm on the other, adding that the other nibandhas appear to draw on Pm. This last conjecture can now be seen to be in fact true (although strictly one must restate the position
more precisely: the other nibandhas are dependant on earlier manuscripts of the work of which Pm (our Pl) is a late and not particularly good representative. These two groups I have denoted by the letters A (= Be, U + the Pravara-mañjarī and its descendants) and B (= M, G, T, Bu). Here it is important to note that G (the edition of 1905), M (from Madras) and Bu are all in the Grantha character, while T, from Tanjore in the extreme south, is also presumably a Grantha manuscript, though this is not explicitly stated by Caland. On the other hand, group A contains only northern sources: Be from Benares, and U from Ujjain; while, although Puruṣottama's home is not known, the other nibandha-writers are definitely from the north, the Bhaṭṭa family being resident in Benares, while Anantadeva is known to have been patronised by a Himalayan chieftan, Bāz Bāhadur Gandra (1). It is surprising, therefore, that Caland did not draw the obvious conclusion, namely, that these two groups of manuscripts represent respectively a northern and southern recension of the text. This conclusion is of the highest importance for the criticism of the text, since it is virtually certain that such a split between the two recensions must be

of considerable antiquity, and their common archetype can safely be considered to be many centuries older than Puruṣottama's text. If, on the other hand, both groups had arisen in the same part of the country, there would have been no external reason why the B-group should not have diverged from the other some time after Puruṣottama's date. It is true that the respective readings of the two groups make such a theory not at all probable, the time available being hardly sufficient to allow for such a marked difference as the two traditions show. It is nevertheless of value to have this additional argument to support the theory of an early divergence. There is another slight confirmation available. In the second edition of Chentsal Rao's book, there appear in the footnotes the readings of another source, designated by the editor as "Śrm", or "Śrm-kośa". The precise meaning of this symbol is not clear to me, but it seems a reasonable conjecture that the source in question is the printed text of the first edition. From the preface of the second, we learn that the first edition, in addition to the text of the Pravaramañjari, had printed separately the Baudhāyana account (a feature retained in the second in the case of Āpastamba and Āśvalāyana), but that the reviser had
decided to dispense with it, since the Mañjarī already contained the whole of Baudhāyana’s text. The second edition also has been revised in the light of manuscripts belonging to the Government Oriental Library at Mysore. Now, the readings of “Śṛṃ” for the Baudhāyana text agree closely with the manuscripts of the B-group, and in particular, with Bu (which, we may note here, is also the closest relative of Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa’s secondary source); whereas in the rest of the text it clearly belongs to the Mañjarī tradition, being most nearly related to P2. It therefore seems likely that the readings of “Śṛṃ”, which I have for convenience designated Z, are those of the first edition, taken from the Mañjarī text for the rest of the work, but for the sake of variety from the separate printing of Baudhāyana’s account. It is natural that the manuscript used for this separate printing, in Mysore, should be representative of the Southern tradition.

The history of Baudhāyana’s pravara-chapter may therefore be represented by the following stemma:
Original Sūtra-text

Archetype

A (northern)  B (southern)

P  D

Be  U  Ed  P1  P2  R  Sk  Rm  D1  D2  Bu  S  M  G  T
The remaining detailed accounts.

The precise position in the Vedic literature of the pravara-chapter attributed by Puruṣottama to Katyāyana and Laugākai is a complex problem, to the discussion of which we shall return below. For the present, we shall consider the text. For this list we have no account preserved which is independant of Puruṣottama's work, and therefore at first sight the position would seem to be considerably worse than for Baudhāyana's list. Nevertheless, the existence of three independant sources which must come ultimately from the same original, namely, the Mānava, the Bodleian manuscript, and the Matsya Pūrāṇa account, make it possible to improve the text quite appreciably.

For Puruṣottama's account, the sources are as already given for Baudhāyana.

The India Office Library possesses a modern Nāgarī copy of a pravara-chapter called the Mānava in the catalogue (Keith no.4599); the final colophon attributes it to the Maitrāyaṇi-śākhā. In view of the uncertainty surrounding the whole question of attribution of these pravara-khaṇḍas, the mere evidence of a colophon must be treated with scepticism; but for convenience the readings of this manuscript have been noted as Mān.

Very closely related to this is the pravara-
adhyāya in the Bodleian manuscript of the Parisiṣṭas of the White Yajur-Veda, of which it forms the eleventh. In the manuscript, the ending of the third pariṣṭa and the beginning of the eleventh are missing, the pravara lists starting in the middle of the Bhṛgus. The Royal Library at Berlin possesses a copy of this manuscript in Roman transcription, and Weber in his Catalogue has printed the whole of the pravara-chapter from this copy "because of the importance of the subject-matter, and in spite of the frightful state of the manuscript." I have perforce depended on Weber's Catalogue for this text; and although it is there available in published form, I have printed it here, together with the Manava, for ease of reference, and also because comparison with the other lists made it possible to restore something even of these appallingly corrupt manuscripts. To avoid begging the question of attribution, I have denoted the readings of the Bodleian text by the letter W.

The Matsya list is preserved by Puruṣottama, and in the texts of the Purāṇa itself. For the latter, I have been able to compare the Calcutta edition of 1876, and the Anandaśrīrama edition of 1907, denoted in the apparatus criticus by M1 and M2 respectively. I also started to collate the read-
ings of the names in the translation published in the "Sacred Books of the Hindus" Series, vol. xvii, by "a Taluqdar of Oudh". This however turns out to be a thoroughly careless piece of work, following the Calcutta edition, or an equally incorrect text, and having no value whatsoever for our purpose. Neither M1 nor M2 is a critical edition, though M2 pretends to be, by giving a list of variants in the form of an apparatus criticus. The agreement between the two is almost complete - so much so as to give the impression that M2 has been copied directly from M1. This is however presumably not the case, since the Calcutta edition is not cited among the sources by M2. But it is surprising how frequently M2 prints the correct reading in a footnote, from one of its manuscripts, but gives in the body of the text the same blunder as M1. At all events, it is certain that the tradition of these two is distinct from that preserved by Puruṣottama.

For the reconstruction of the Matsya's text, one further source is available, namely, the Pravara-dīpikā which, we learn from a colophon, was composed by Kṛṣṇa-śaiva, son of Rāma-śaiva, preserved in an India Office manuscript (Eggeling no. 1779). This is a very old manuscript, undated, but carefully written in archaic Nāgarī, while the paper is
worm-eaten and much yellowed and brittle. It may with safety be conjectured to be at least three hundred years old, possibly more. The date of composition is unknown. Kṛṣṇa quotes in addition to a large number of Smṛtis, not only Puruṣottama's work but also the Smṛtyarthasāra, and the Smṛticandrikā. If by the last we can understand Devaṇa-bhaṭṭa's well-known work, the Pravara-dīpikā must have been composed subsequent to 1200 AD, although how much later remains uncertain. The work commences with the gotra-lists; and, although the source of these is not acknowledged, they have been taken direct from the Matsya Purāṇa, from which also a number of intervening verses are taken (e.g. the usual formulae, parasparam avaivānya ṛṣayaḥ parikīrṭitaḥ etc.) The surprising fact, however, is that the source is not the Purāṇa text itself, but the version of it given in the Pravara-mañjarī. It shows considerable agreement in its readings and lacunae, e.g., the gap of twenty-four names in the Matsya account of the Bharadvājas. Completely conclusive, however, is the case of the Gautamas. These, in Puruṣottama's text, are given separately for the other lists, but for the Matsya account they are given together with the Bharadvājas, thus coming after the Bharadvāja lists of the others. Kṛṣṇa gives for the Gautamas
a short confused list composed for the most part of gaṇa-names masquerading as individual families, and derived from the other Sūtra-lists. Then follow a few Bharadvājas, and, finally, the main Matsya list of the Gautamas, succeeded by the Matsya Bharadvājas. It is clear that Kṛṣṇa, with the Mañjarī text before him, was puzzled by the apparent omission of the Gautamas in the Matsya account, and, to hide the deficiency, simply manufactured a list from the materials of the Sūtra-accounts. When later in the work he came upon the Gautama list proper, he inserted it without comment, probably not realising that it was the list he had previously missed. It remains a problem why Kṛṣṇa should have confined his attention in the main to the Matsya list, when the others were available to him. (Admittedly a few additional points are added from the other lists in several families.) The only solution which suggests itself is simply that he thought the Matsya a more reliable source than the Sūtras - a view quite understandable if he was a Vaishṇavite, as his name might indicate. In the manuscript each name is given separately, uninflected, with a number. This attempt at clarity has revealed a quite surprisingly large number of cases where the word-division has been
wrongly understood, and where epithets and so forth have been taken as distinct proper names. By itself, therefore, the work is of minimal value; but in a number of cases it supplies useful confirmation of Puruṣottama's readings. In the apparatus criticus its readings are denoted by Ḳṛṣ.

The systematic position of the Matsya Purāṇa account of the pravara lists is beyond question: it has clearly been derived from a Sūtra account which, if not identical, was very closely related to the "Kātyāyana and Laugākṣī" list as given by Puruṣottama. That this source was already corrupted is shown by the impossibility in a number of cases of fitting the correct names into the metre — although the possibility that in some cases the Matsya author distorted names to fit his metre must be borne in mind. The order of the names conforms as closely to the Sūtra order as the metre allows; otherwise minor inversions are admitted.

It will not be out of place to remark here that the state of the Matsya text of the pravara-lists is a notable revelation of the utter lack of trustworthiness of the printed editions of the Purāṇa, and even, to judge by the variants noted by M2, of
the Purāṇa manuscripts in general. It is obvious that if we had to depend entirely on the manuscripts of the Matsya for the reconstruction of these chapters the result would be quite hopeless as a detailed account of the gotra-system. In this particular case, the external evidence provided by the Sūtras make it possible to give an approximation to the original text; but the Purāṇa tradition itself could scarcely be worse preserved. The present case is therefore a solemn warning against the use of editions of the Purāṇas - especially since most are, even from the point of view of their own manuscripts, quite uncritical - as sources for historical facts, unless there is also available very weighty confirmatory evidence from altogether independent sources.

The inter-relationship, therefore, of the various texts may be shown by the following stemma:
The descendants of $p$ are the same as in the Baudhāyana stemma, except for the addition of $Krs$ (Matsya only), and the different position of $S$, thus:
"Kātyāyana and Laugāksi," etc.

The problem in brief is that Puruṣottama quotes a single list which he attributes to both Kātyāyana and Laugāksi; whereas the list preserved in the Bodleian manuscript of "White Yajur-veda Parisiṣṭas" (W), which is also ascribed to Kātyāyana in the colophon, differs from Puruṣottama's list in several important respects, most notably in the addition of a number of families among the Bhṛgus, the Viśvāmitras, and the Agastis. Moreover, while W often agrees with K&L in the ordering of individual names within the gaṇas, it often disagrees not only in the order but also in adding or omitting names. To add to the complexity of the problem, the India Office "Mānava pravarādhyaśya" agrees for the most part with W and as against K&L.

Caland (1) accepted W as being the Kātyāyana text, and assumed that the list given by Puruṣottama was that of the Laugāksi school only, that is, the Kāthaka text. In his apparatus criticus, therefore,

(1) Baudh.Śrauta Sūtra, vol.III.p.x.
"Kātyāyana" refers to W, and "Laugākṣi" to the readings of Pl for K&L. The question however is hardly to be dismissed so simply. Puruṣottama, for all his short-comings, is an exceedingly conscientious writer, and it is on the face of it unlikely that he should make such a rash ascription as Caland's view would imply. Moreover, some of Puruṣottama's remarks make it quite clear that he had before him a manuscript which at least called itself the Kātyāyana text. Thus, at the end of the Gautama section, he comments that the Laugākṣi reading is throughout angirasvat, while in the text, according to Kātyāyana, he gives the normal sūtra angirovat. Completely convincing, however, is the concluding sūtra of the paribhāṣā-chapter. Here the order of the names in the pravaras is prescribed, and Puruṣottama's text notes that Kātyāyana alone of all the Sūtra writers gives the same order for the Adhvaryu's pravara as for the Hotṛ's; while the others all state that the Adhvaryu reverses the order of the Hotṛ's pravara, Laugākṣi agreeing with the majority. Now, the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa pointedly gives the prescription for the order of the Adhvaryu's
pravara in precisely the same words as for that of the Hotr; and the Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra equally clearly gives the same rule (1). There can therefore be no doubt that Puruṣottama had before him the authentic Kātyāyana text. Equally, there can be no doubt that W is not the Kātyāyana text, in spite of its colophon, since it gives the Adhvaryu’s pravara in the same order as do the majority of the Sūtras. There is however no means of deciding the real origin of W. We may provisionally accept Mān. as the text of the Mānava school, although the occurrence of families foreign to the other lists (except W) and to the Vedic literature generally (for example, Vatsa-purodhasa, Veda-viśvajyotis, Kapotaretas etc.) make it probable that the text as we know it has been extensively interpolated. It is conceivable that W is a fairly recent plagiarism of the "Mānava" text, although such differences as, for example, the pravara of the Śunga-Śaisīris, where Mān gives the last two names of the pravara as “Śaunga,

(1) ŚB 1.5.1.10; KŚS 3.25; see below, p. 188 f.
This is clearly an instance of the reforming zeal of the Vājasaneyins.
Saíšira" (agreeing with K&L, Matsya), while W gives "Kātya, Ātkīla" (agreeing with Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana), would seem to be true variants. Nevertheless, the agreement between the two is remarkably close, although both have admittedly suffered badly at the hands of copyists. After the Angirases, they both give the remaining gotras in the order Viśvāmitras, Vasishthas, Kaśyapas, Atris, Agastyas; whereas the other Sūtras (and the Matsya) have the order Atris, Viśvāmitras, Kaśyapas, Vasishthas, Agastyas (1).

A number of definite errors is shared by K&L, Mān., and W, as well as by the Matsya, and it is certain that the text was corrupted very early in its history. An interesting example is the family which appears in Baudhāyana, Āśvalāyana, and Āpastamba as Śraumata-Kāmakāyana (among the Viśvāmitras) but is given by Mān., W, K&L, and the Mataya unanimously as Saumuka-K. (which has further been corrupted by W to saumṛga-). In view of such cases, it is highly

(1) The B-group of manuscripts for the Baudhāyana, however, has the order, Atris, Kaśyapas, Vasishthas, Viśvāmitras, Agastyas.
probable that the common ancestor of these four lists must be assigned to a period later than the other Sūtra lists, when the names given in the lists were no longer current. This would imply direct borrowing of the text of one School by another. In fact, we may consider this borrowing to be established in the case of the Kātyāyana and Lauḍāksi schools, since, however surprising such a thing may be between a Black Yajus school and the White Yajus, the alternative would be to assume that the original of the lists, complete with the individual sub-families, was originally composed before the Vājasaneyi schism. Such a theory, though not impossible, is on the whole rather improbable.

**Evidence of Pāṇini and the Gana-pātha.**

Pāṇini, as is well known, gives a detailed and intricate set of rules for the formation of gotra-names, by means of the suffixes -i, -ya, -āyana, -āyani, etc. For the purpose of his grammar, he defines the term gotra as "apatyam pautraprabhrti gotram" (1), that is to say, "a gotra is a man's

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(1) 4.1.162.
descendants from the grandson onwards". But if a member of the first filial generation is still alive, the grandson's generation is technically called yuvan (1), and different rules are prescribed for the derivation of the yuvan-name from that of the grandfather. Two conclusions may be drawn from the examples given by Pāṇini. First, that the gotra in his technical sense is not the major exogamous division, but corresponds to the individual sub-divisions within the gotra-gaṇas; and second, that the process of forming new family-names was still active in his time. This latter conclusion, however, does not warrant the assumption that the pravara-lists as we have them were post-Pāṇinean; and in fact, there are several indications that Pāṇini knew a pravara-list, which may of course not be one of those which have come down to us. Thus, for example, 4.1.102 teaches the forms Sāradvātāyana and Saunakāyana in the sense of a Bhrulu and a Vatsa respectively; in other cases the forms are Sāradvata (cf.the Gautamas), and Saunaka (a separate gaṇa of

(1) 4.1.163.
the Kevala Bhṛgus). Again, 4.1.1033 prescribes the form Vatandya for an Āngirasa, but otherwise Vatanda (cf. the Viśvāmitras).

Even more striking are the correspondences between the pravara-lists and the lists of the Gana-pātha. The most outstanding case occurs in the gana āśvādī, where the forms "Bhāradvājāyana in the sense of an Ātreyā", and "Ātreyāyana in the sense of a Bharadvāja" are prescribed. Both of these forms appear in the pravara lists under the families indicated by the Gana-pātha.

Both the text of Pāṇini and that of the Gana-pātha therefore supply us with very valuable evidence in a number of cases for the reconstruction of the text of the pravara-lists. It can scarcely be supposed that the text of the Gana-pātha as it has come down to us is completely free from error, but it incomparably better preserved than that of the pravara-lists, and constituting as it does a completely independant source, it possesses a very high value in those cases, unfortunately few, where its evidence can be adduced.
In translating Purusottama's own somewhat verbose text, I have tried as far as possible to spare the reader's patience by condensing much of the repetitious material, and by omitting entirely a large number of verses, which, as being merely extravagant laudations of the Śūtra-authors, or else simply repetitions in verse of what has already been stated in prose, add nothing of value to our knowledge of the system of gotra and pravara.
Sigla.

Sources for Puruṣottama's version of all the lists:
P1 ........ Puruṣottama's Gotra-pravara-mañjari, India Office, Eggeling, no.1777
P2 ........ idem, I.O. 1778
Ed ........ idem, edited by P.Chentsal Rao in "Gotra-
pravara-nibandha-kadambam", Mysore, 1900.,
(second edition).
P ........ Pl, P2
p ....... inferred reading of Puruṣottama's original
text.
D1 ........ Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa's Pravara-darpana, edited
by P.Chentsal Rao, Mysore, 1900.
D2 ........ idem, I.O. no.1780
D .......... D1, D2
R ........ Raghunātha's Gotra-pravara-nīrṇaya, I.O.
1781
Sk ........ Jīvadeva's Gotra-pravara-nīrṇaya, contained
in Anantadeva's Samskāra-kaustubha, lith.
ed. of 1661.
S ........ readings noted in Chentsal Rao's footnotes.

Additional sources:
1. Baudhāyana.

M ........ Madras Ms.
G ........ Grantha edition of Baudh.Śrāvaka Sūtra, 1905.
T ........ Tanjore Ms.
Bu ........ Burnell Ms.
Be ........ Benares Ms.
U ........ Ujjain Ms.
A ........ Be, U, P.
B ........ M, G, T, Bu, (S).

2. Āpastamba.

Garbe ........ Bibliotheca Indica edition of Āpast.
Śrāvaka Sūtra.
Ch.Rao ........ Chentsal Rao's separate printing of the

(1) For these I have depended on Caland's collations.
For fuller details, see his edition of the BSS, vol.III.p.ix.
Āpastamba pravara-chapter, in "Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadambam".

3. Āśvalāyana.

Bibliotheca Indica edition of Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra.

Ch. Rao Chentak Rao's separate printing of the Āśvalāyana pravara-chapter.


Berl. The two Berlin Mss of the Āśvalāyana pravara-chapter, printed verbatim by Weber in his catalogue of the Berlin Royal Library. These two agree almost entirely.


M1 Calcutta edition of the Purāṇa, 1876.
M2 Anandaśrama edition of the Purāṇa, 1907.
M Pravara-dīpikā of Kṛṣṇa-Śaiva, I.O.no.1779

Mānava-pravarādhyaś, I.C., no.4599


〈〉 words, etc., to be inserted, not in the Mss (or not given at that place.)

[ ] words, etc., to be excised, (or transferred elsewhere in the text).
Where the hyphen is used for the purpose of abbreviation in the apparatus criticus, the full form is everywhere to be supplied from the form given in the text, and not from contiguous words in the apparatus.

For convenience of comparison merely, the names in the Matsya list, Mān., and W, have been numbered to agree with corresponding names in K&L. This of course does not imply that the order of names in K&L is that of the original text.

References such as, "cf. K&L", "cf. Baudh.", etc., refer to the corresponding gana of the same gotra in the lists of Katyāyana and Laugākṣī, Baudhāyana, etc.

In the Atris and Viśvāmitras, which were typed first, references to the Gana-pātha are given by means of the numbers in Böhtlingk's edition of Paṇini; but afterwards it seemed more convenient to use the traditional titles, e.g., gana gargādi.

In printing the lists of proper names, capital initials have been used where the readings are certain or very probably so, small initials where they are dubious. Where they are almost certainly corrupt, the obelus is employed. In view of the nature of the evidence however these three categories are to some extent provisional and must be treated with a certain degree of caution.
Gotra-pravara-manjarī.

Introduction and Summary of Contents.

He who marries the daughter of a man of his own gotra or pravara is to be subjected to the same punishments and penances, etc., as one who sins with his mother; and he begets on her a son who is a Čandāla by caste. (1).

But if a man in ignorance marries such a girl and has intercourse with her, the wife ought to undergo a Lunar penance, and if she conceives, the offspring is not defiled, and is said by the sages who are expert in gotra matters to belong to the Kaśyapa gotra.

When the man has performed the Čandrāyāna penance, and has expelled his sin, then husband and wife should together serve one another all the days of their life, showing mutual respect, like mother and son.

Those who do not know the gaṇas of their own gotra- and pravara-seers and those of others, must be held to fall into great sin, but those who know this distinction dwell in the world of Brahma.

1) Jāticandāla is hardly a Pānīnea formation. The model is clearly the common jāti Brahmana, a Brahman whose sole qualification as a Brahman is his birth, cf. Sabdāṣṭha-cintāmani:

\[ \text{tapah ārūtām ca yoniḥ ca trayāṃ brāhmaṇyakāraṇām:} \]
\[ \text{tapahārūtābhyaṁ yo hīno jāti brāhmaṇa eva saḥ.} \]

But to give the impression of "a Čandāla by birth alone" is somewhat inept, and no doubt the difficulties of the metre must be blamed. For this stigma, cf. below, p. 159.
And since it is difficult to grasp the gotras, which number three koṭis, I have therefore undertaken this "Cluster of buds" (manjarī) which has as its fruit the understanding of all the gotras and prāvaras of everyone. May this "Cluster", blossoming with gotras and having understanding of the prāvaras as its fruit, be an oblation of flowers among the lotus petals which are the feet of the wise men who know all things and are learned in the Vedas.

In this work, therefore, by the favour of Śiva and of my teacher, I shall explain the prāvaras of the three varṇas to the best of my instruction and knowledge, for the sake of aiding those who are lacking in learning or wisdom. Thus, I shall explain the nature and enumeration of the gotras, the rules concerning sameness of gotra and membership of two gotras, and the prohibition of marriage in that case; the nature and enumeration of the prāvaras, cases where there is doubt as to prāvara, the rules concerning sameness of prāvara, and the prohibition of marriage in that case; citing at every point what can be learned in the prāvara-chapters of such Kalpa Sūtras as Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Satyāṣṭhā, Kuṇḍina, Bhāradvāja, Laugāksi, Kātyāyana, and Āśval āyana; the authors of the Matsya Purāṇa, etc.; of Epics such as the Bhārata, of Smṛtis such as Manu, etc.; according to the
traditional interpretation of the commentators on each of these authors.

In these works, the authors of Kalpa Sūtras, Purāṇas and Smṛtis teach their gotra- and pravara-sections in one and the same order. That order, which we also shall follow in our exposition, we shall first index here, for the assistance and easier understanding of unlearned Brahmans.

Chap. I.

First of all comes the section dealing with general Rules (paribhāsa), containing all the arguments relating to the duties connected with, and instruction in, gotra and pravara; and in this section there are quotations prescribing gotras and pravaras and their enumeration, from the Taittirīyas and other directly revealed śākhās of the Vedas.

Chap. II.

Thereafter is taught the section dealing with the enumeration of the gotras and pravaras of the Bhṛgus; the gotra-gaṇas that are taught are:

Vatsas
Eldas
Ārṣiṭiṣeṇas
Yaśkas
Sunakas
Mitravuvās
Vainyas, etc.

And according to the gaṇas, the pravaras and their enumer-
The three ganas, Vatsa, Ārṣṭisena and Bida, are forbidden to marry with each other and within their own gana. The others, from Yaska to Vainya may not marry within their own gana, but are permitted to intermarry with all the others already mentioned and to be mentioned hereafter.

Chap. III.

Next come the sections dealing with the gotras and pravaras of the Āngirasas, in three divisions, viz., Gautamas, Bharadvājas, and Kevala Āngirasas.

1. The following are taught as the manifold ganas of the Gautamas:

Ayāsya Gautamas
AuCathya Gautamas
Auśija Gautamas
Rāhūgana Gautamas
Somarājakī Gautamas
Vāmadeva Gautamas
Bṛhaduktha Gautamas

And corresponding to the ganas the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

No intermarriage is permitted between the several ganas of the Gautamas.

2. Next, Bharadvājas. And among the ganas of Bharadvājas are the following:

Kevala Bharadvājas
Sunga-Saisiris, who belong to two families.(1)

1) dvyāmuṣyāyāṇa
And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

No intermarriage is permitted between the several gaṇas of the Bharadvājas.

3. Next, the Kevala Āngirasas. The gaṇas are:

Harita
Kutsa
Kaṇva
RāhiTāra
Mudgala
Samkṛti
Viṣṇuvṛddha, etc.

And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

Among these, Haritas and Kutsas do not intermarry one with the other (1). Kaṇvas and the rest are permitted to intermarry.

Chap. IV.

Next come the gotras of the Atris. Among these the gaṇas are:

Kevala Atris
Vādbhutakas
Gaviśthiras
Atithis
Putrikāputras, etc.

And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

No intermarriage is permitted between the several

1) Both are comprehended under the Yauvanāśva gaṇa.
gaṇas of the Atris.

Chap. V.

Next, the gotras of the Viśvāmitras. Among these the gaṇas are:

Devarāta
Rauksakas
Lohakas
Lohitas
Sraumatas
Katas
Dhanamjayas
Aghamarśanas
Pūranas
Indrakauśikas
Ājāyanas
Reṇavas, etc.

And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

No intermarriage is permitted between the several gaṇas of the Viśvāmitras.

Chap. VI.

Next, the gotras of the Kaśyapas. Among these the gaṇas are:

Nidhruvas
Rebhas
Saṇḍilas
Laugākasas, etc.

And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

No intermarriage is permitted between the several gaṇas of the Kaśyapas.

Chap. VII.

Next, the gotras of the Vasisthas. Among these the gaṇas are:
Kevala Vasiṣṭhas
Upamanyus
Parāśaras
Kuṇḍinas
Samkṛtis (1)

And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

No intermarriage is permitted between the several gaṇas of the Vasiṣṭhas.

Chap. VIII.

Next, the gotras of the Agastis. Among these the gotra-gaṇas are:

Idhmavāhas
Sāmbhavāhas
Somavāhas
Yajñavāhas
Māhendras
Paurṇamāsas.

And corresponding to the gaṇas the pravaras and their enumeration are taught.

No intermarriage is permitted between the several gaṇas of the Agastis.

Chap. IX.

Thereafter, the pravara of Kṣatriyas, their own, and (the rule as to) the pravara of their purohita.

The fact of non-intermarriage between Kṣatriyas and the gotras and pravaras of their purohitas is not taught, since the term (gotra) has no validity in their case, and in the absence of that validity there is no occasion for

1) cf. above, p. 151, among the Kevala Āṅgirasas.
the prohibition. (1)

Thereafter, of Vaiśyās, just as in the case of Kṣatriyas - their own pravara, and that of their purohita. (Chap. X.) Puruṣottama omits to index here the topics which follow. These are: cases where the gotra is not known; sacrificial applications of gotra, etc.; marriage within the mother's gotra.)

Chap. XI.

Then come sections on the Mānava-pravara, common to all the (three) varnas. In these sections is given the Mānava-pravara of one Rṣi-name, belonging without distinction to the three varnas.

Chap. XII.

And finally are taught the concluding sections of the work, which demonstrate the fruits attained by the study of the Pravara-chapters by those who know the truth concerning sameness of gotra and pravara - comparable to the study of the Veda by those who know Brahma - viz. the attainment of the world of Brahma. And with this the Pravara-chapters come to an end.

Within the gaṇas which have been classified in this index of chapters, it must be known that the number of gotras, the names and series, which occur in any one gaṇa

1) So P2; Ed omits the words "and in the absence......... prohibition"; while Pl. gives the rule only in a marginal correction and by the unfortunate omission of the words "na" and "prāptyabhāvāt" reverses the sense.
are all classified according to the order of the Sūtra texts. Similarly, the enumeration of the pravaras, with their division into five, three, two and one Rāi-name respectively, must be known according to the order of the Sūtra texts.

Thus all that is to be said in this work has been here indexed, to satisfy curiosity, and to make things easier to grasp.

In this work then I shall first explain the sūtras given in the Great Pravara-chapter of Baudhāyana, citing at every point from the concluding portion of the first chapter; thereafter quoting and explaining the sūtras of Āpastamba, etc.

Chap. I. General Rules

A. Baudhāyana.

1. Now therefore we shall explain the pravaras.

We shall here explain Baudhāyana’s section in accordance with the views of the commentary called the Amala-bhāṣya (1).

(In the Śrāuta Sūtra) the four types of śrāuta-sacrifice have been explained, viz. īṣṭi, soma, animal, and darvinoma sacrifices, beginning with the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices and ending with the Sattras; and

1) In P1, P2 only.
the choosing of the ārṣeya has been prescribed as a part of these rites. Thus, in the Taittiriyas, in the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices: "He chooses the one connected with the rāis (ārṣeyam) (1); he does not indeed depart from the relationship (with the rāis), and so it conduces to continuity. He chooses from the remote end the nearer ones; therefore the Fathers, from the remote end the nearer ones, drink in order before men".

So too the Brāhmaṇa-passage of the Vājasaneyins (2) which prescribes the 'choosing of the rāsi-formula' (ārṣeyavaraṇam) in the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices—"Next he recites the pravara of rāsi-names; he thus makes him known in this matter to the rāsis and to the gods, with the thought, 'Of great power is he who obtained the sacrifice'. It is for this reason that he recites the pravara of rāsi-names. He recites the pravara from the remote end hitherwards, for from the remote end hitherwards a lineage is propagated. He thus also conceals him from (the wrath of) the Lord of the Elder One. For here (among men) the father comes first, then the son, then the grandson. Therefore he recites the pravara from the remote end hitherwards."

1) The whole of this paragraph down to here is found in P2 only; Ed and Pl start with the words "bandhor eva naitī" etc. (2) SB 1.4.2.3-4.
So too one may quote elsewhere, sāṅkā by sāṅkā. Thus certain subordinate sacrificial directions are given in the matter of gotras, as, "In the case of Vāsiṣṭhas and Rājanyas the concluding verse (of the Śāmīdhēnīs) 'Thou, O Varuṇa,' but 'Pour ye the oblation' in the case of the other gotras" (1). So also, "The second fore-offering is to Nārāśāmsa in the case of the Vāsiṣṭhas and Śunakas, to Tanūnapāt in the case of the other gotras" (2). So also, "At the Jyotistoma the Brahmā-priest is a Vāsiṣṭha" (3). So also, the kindling of the fire according to the (ancestral) rṣī (yathārṣyādāhānam) is prescribed for the Bhṛgus with the words "Of the Bhṛgus thee, of the gods (O lord of the vow, I kindle by means of the vow)"; and for the Angirās with the words "Of the Angirās thee, of the gods" (4). So also, "In the case of the Jamadagnis the cake is divided into five portions, but in the case of the other gotras, four" (5). And at the Rājasaṁya, "The Hotṛ-priest is a Bhārgava" (6).

1) Ṛṣī 21.2.4-5; 24.11.15. The mantras are at TB 3.5.2.4.
2) Ṛṣī 21.2.6-7; 24.11.16. Cf ĀSS 1.5.21, BSS pr. 54, SSS 1.7.3, all of which give a bigger list of those who use the Nārāśāmsa; and see Weber, Ist. x. 88, and p. 87 (1) above.
3) Cf TS 3.5.2, BSS 2.3. (4) Ṛṣī 5.11.7. Chentail Rao carelessly refers the passage to TB 1.1.4. See p. 82 above.
4) Ṛṣī 2.13.2; refers the present passage to the Sūtra of Satyāṣadhā. Yājñika Deva's commentary to Kātyāyana quotes from a smṛti which mentions besides the Vatsas, Bidas, and Āraṭiśenas as pāṇcāvatinah. So too Smṛtyarthasāra. These are of course considered as Jamadagnis, according to the most prevalent view. SB 1.7.2.8, mentions the five-fold cutting, without however attributing it to the Jamadagnis, but says that the fourfold is approved among the Kuru-pāṇcālas. Cf. Eggeling, SBE xii.192n, and see also Ṛṣī 8.15.5ff; Hillebrandt, "Ritualliteratur", p. 98.
6) TS 1.3.12; cf. SSS 15.12.2.
a Soma-sacrifice, "He gives gold to the Ātreya first, or second, or third". (1). And so one may quote from one place after another.

Moreover, all the authors of law-books, considering that unmarried males, like those who have not established the sacred fire, or who are fallen (from caste), are not capable of performing religious rites, have ruled that marriage and non-marriage are to depend on gotra and pravara. As Yājñavalkya says (2): "One should marry a woman who is free from disease, who has brothers, and who is not born in the same Ārṣa-gotra". In this verse 'asamānārṣajām' means 'born of a man who does not have the same pravara', and 'asamānagotrajām' means 'born of a man who has a different gotra'. (3). Āpastamba says (4): "A man should not give his daughter to one of his own gotra". Gautama says (5): "Marriage is with persons having different pravaras". Gautama, moreover, considering that to approach sexually a woman of one's own gotra is morally equivalent to violating one's teacher's wife, says (6): "Sexual relations with (the wife of) a friend, a uterine sister, a woman of

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2) Yāj.Śmrti, 1.3.53. The Mitākṣara also takes ārṣa as a noun = pravara. (3) This explanation (taking ārṣa as a noun) is probably wrong. Cf. p. 17 above. (4) ApDnS.2.5.11.15 (5) GautDnS.4.2. Max Müller (Hist. Anc. Sans. Lit. 387) wrongly attributes it to ASS, where, however, the passage is spurious. (6) ibid. 23.12.
one's own gotra, (the wife of a pupil) (1), one's daughter- in-law, or a cow, are all equal to violating one's teacher's wife".

Baudhāyana says: (2) "He who goes to a woman of his own gotra must perform the Cāndrāyāṇa penance".

Yama says: (3)

"The offspring of a celibate ascetic who has intercourse with a woman (4); and he who is begotten by a Śūdra on a Brahman woman; and the son of a woman who has married a man of the same gotra:—these three are held to be Cāndālas."

Similarly, in another Śmṛti:

"The offspring of a celibate ascetic who has intercourse with a woman; and he who is begotten by a Śūdra on a Brahman woman:—know that these two are Cāndālas; and likewise he who is born from the same gotra."

So too:

"He who marries the daughter of his mother's brother; or a woman of his mother's gotra; or a woman of the same pravara, should leave her, and perform the Cāndrāyāṇa penance." (5)

1) Ed omits this phrase.
2) BSS.pr.54, which, however, reads caret for kuryāt. Cf. BDhS 2.1.36. (3) The sources of this and the following quotations do not seem to be extant.
4) So interpreted by Abhinava-Mādhava, Gotra-pravara- nirnaya, 90.
5) Attributed by the medieval nibandhas, Saṃskāra-kaustubha, Nirnaya-sindhu, to Śatātapa.
So too, in dealing with the Šrāddha, Āpastamba says: (1) "One should entertain those who are not related by blood (yoni), gotra, mantras (2), or by the fact of their being pupils". And see too other passages in the smṛtis passim.

(And this study is an important matter,) since the afore-mentioned sacrificial occurrences and ritual acts such as marriage, etc., are dependent on a knowledge of the facts about gotra and pravara; and since in the absence of this knowledge, complete and utter destruction is entailed, because of the loss of Brahmanhood which is resultant on sins such as violating one's teacher's wife, or producing children who are Cāndālas.

And because the number of the gotras is measured at three koṭis - like the number of dust of the earth, or the stars in the sky - Baudhāyana shows the difficulty of knowing the subject by pointing out the number in the following stanza:(3)

"Of the gotras there are thousands, millions, and hundreds of millions; but the pravaras of these are forty-nine, as is shown by the rṣi's seeing them."(4)

Since the three numerals in this stanza, thousands, millions, and hundreds of millions, are all in the plural

1) ĀpGS.21.2. (2) Oldenberg, SBE xxx.292 explains "such as his teacher or his pupils"; but the meaning may be wider, "belonging to his own Vedic śākhā". (3) BSS.pr.54. (4) The clumsy expression rsidarsanat may be a reminiscence of Yāska's definition, rair darsanat, Nir.2.11.
number, there turn out to be three kotis (thirty million) of gotras (1). Therefore immediately after the previously completed Ritual-section, in order to impart the knowledge which might have been expected in that section as to gotra, and non-marriage in the case of identity of gotra and pravara, "Therefore", he says, i.e. because of this, "we shall explain the pravaras", since in the absence of this word, the heading-rule, namely, that what follows deals with ritual, would not be applicable, because these pravaras have not been spoken of in the Ritual-section. This is the explanation of the words "Now therefore" (2)

"We shall explain the pravaras". The pravaras of all Brahmans who have established the sacred fire, and who belong to several thousands, millions and hundreds of millions of gotras, related in branches and secondary branches in the line of their family descent (vamsā) from the Seven Rsis with Agastya as the eighth, as shall be shown in the sequel - these pravaras are the especial supplications (prakarṣaṇa varanāni) (3), i.e. the prayers (prāthanāni) made by each individual to the Āhavanīya fire, called the Oblation-bearer, by reason of its being related to the Seven Rsis and Agastya either as descendant, or as being like them (4)

1) The arithmetic here is quite incomprehensible. Puruṣottama seems set on taking the traditional "Three kotis" as a definite number. (2) The point is that atah is to have its sense of "Therefore", and not, as one might expect, "from this point onward", since this latter sense might be taken to mean that a new and unconnected section was starting. (3) In the usual etymological manner, pra- is explained by prakarṣena. (4) The vrddhi form of the Hotr's pravara, and the suffix -vat of the Adhvaryu's.
And these pravaras are prescribed in two different forms for the Hotṛ and Adhvaryu respectively. In the case of the Vatsas, for example, that of the Hotṛ is a five-rāi pravara, "O Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavaṇa, Aurva, Jāmadagnya." In this pravara, information is given to the Āhavanīya fire by means of the names of five seers of Vedic hymns who are famed among the gods. Thinking, "Thus informed, and not otherwise, will the fire bear the oblation to the gods," the Hotṛ invites (vāṁite) that fire, i.e. supplicates it (prarthayate). So too, with the same five Vedic seers, but in reverse order of descent from the Seven Rṣis and Agastya, by reason of its likeness to them, the Adhvaryu invites, i.e. supplicates, the same Āhavanīya fire, as, "Like Jamadagni, like Úrva, like Apnavāna, like Cyavana, like Bhṛgu". The meaning of this is: "Just as Jamadagni and the rest, because of being known to the gods by reason of their fitness, and the fact that they offered acceptable food at the sacrifice, were therefore fit persons to cast their oblations for the gods into thee, so also this sacrificer, as a Vatsa, and therefore a descendant of theirs, and as standing in the place of a father to thee, since he kindled thee (1), is likewise fit to cast the oblation into thee". And in the prvara of the Adhvaryu this same Āhavanīya fire is invited, i.e. supplicated. And

1) This seemingly artificial explanation is probably very old, cf. VS.35.22, "Thou wert born from this man (at the Agnyādhāna), O Agni,...may he be born again from thee."
that this is in fact the correct explanation of the word pravara is shown by the Sāmīdhena-verses, whose purpose is to bring forth the fire, and by the Brāhmaṇa passages which prescribe the pravara. Thus, in the Sāmīdhena-is, the verses, "We choose Agni as our messenger", "Choose ye the Oblation-carrier", etc. (1) show that the Āhavaniya fire is the object of the pravara, since Agni is given in the accusative case. The Brāhmaṇa-passage of the Taittīrīyas dealing with the pravara in the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices which explains this mantra makes the meaning clear: (2) "Now there are three Agnis, the Oblation-carrier of the gods, the Offering-carrier of the Fathers, the Rakṣas-companion of the Asuras. These here recite, 'Me will he choose, me'; 'Choose ye the Oblation-carrier', he says; he thus chooses the one which is of the gods; he chooses him as being connected with the rṣis; he does not depart from the relationship (with the rṣis); and so it conduces to continuity." Here too, since the words "Oblation-carrier", "the one", "connected with the rṣis", are all shown in the accusative case, we understand that it is Agni, the fire, who is to be chosen. So too the Brāhmaṇa-passage of the Vajasaneyins which deals with pravara clearly exhibits the same meaning: (3) "Next he chooses the one connected

1) TB 3.5.2.
2) TS 2.5.8.
3) SB 1.4.2.3 = 1.5.1.9.
with the rāis(1); and thus he makes him known in this matter to the rāis and to the gods, thinking, 'Of great power is he who obtained the sacrifice'; he therefore chooses the one connected with the rāis." (2) The meaning is: "The fire is connected with the rāis because it is produced by the sacrificer, and the sacrificer is a descendant of the rāis; that fire he chooses". And in case there is doubt as to why he does so, the author adds the reason: "He makes him, i.e. the sacrificer, known to the rāis and to the gods, thinking, 'Of great power is he who obtained the sacrifice'". Since, then, the pravara has this purpose, he therefore chooses "one connected with the rāis". Therefore, as far as the end of the pravara-chapter (one must understand that) the Āhavanīya fire is the object of the supplications by the pravaras of the Hotr and of the Adhvaryu, as being connected with such and such Vedic seers, as descendant, or like them. The especial supplications of the fire, according as they are distinguished by various Vedic seers to the number of one, two, three, or five, are called "one-rāsi pravaras", "two-rāsi pravaras", etc., (ekārṣeyapravara, etc.) respectively. But the explanation that pravara means the choosings

1) But cf. the discussion of this passage above, pp. 24 ff.
2) The phrase which follows here in Puruṣottama's text reads: "This Brāhmaṇa-passage prescribes the Adhvaryu's pravara." This looks like an unfortunate attempt on the part of a later interpolator to take Puruṣottama to task. But in fact the SB uses the same set of words to prescribe both pravaras, as Puruṣottama himself notes, below, p. 188-9.
(pravaraṇāni) of the āsīs who are Vedic seers themselves, is not to be accepted.

But the objection is here raised, that if this explanation of the word pravara is taken, there are many sūtras (which are to be quoted below) which contradict it. For example, all the authors of Sūtras will be quoted as saying, "The Adhvaryu from the near end chooses the more remote ones, the Hotṛ from the further end the nearer ones." Now here, (the objector says) the Vedic seers themselves, the āsīs, one, two, three, or five in number, are taken as the object of the choosing, because they are given in the accusative case, (urdhvān, arvācaḥ), and the Āhavanīya fire is not. So, too, (1) "He chooses the Hotṛ who is seated with knees raised, with the words, 'Agni the god is Hotṛ, may he sacrifice to the gods.'"

Here too it is not the fire but the Hotṛ who is understood to be the object of the choosing. How then is there not a contradiction, so to speak, in this matter?

To this we reply: this is the objection of a man who does not know the context. For all the authors of Sūtras, immediately after saying "The Adhvaryu from the

1) ApSS. 2.16.5. Ěrḍhvam in Ed is misprinted for Ěrḍhvajñum, devānām for devo.
near end chooses the more remote ones, the Hotr from the further end the nearer ones," at once go on to give the pravaras of the Hotr and of the Adhvaryu: "The Hotr chooses, 'O Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavaṇa, Aurva, Jāmadagnya'; the Adhvaryu, 'Like Jamadagni, like Urva, like Apnavāna, like Cyavana, like Bhṛgu.'" Now here there is no question of taking the rāśis as the object of the choosing, since they are designated by a derivative form (taddhita); and in the case of the Adhvaryu's pravara, by use of the suffix -vat, meaning "like NN." Therefore, to show that here too the fire must be pronounced the object of the choosing, we shall explain these sentences, so that there may be no inconsistency between what goes before and what comes after, or between one sūtra and another. "The Adhvaryu chooses from the near end the more remote ones" - from the near end, i.e., from the point of view of the sacrificer, having recited the names (samkṛtya) of the remote rāśis in the form 'like NN., like NN.', he chooses the Āhavanīya fire, because of its likeness to them. Similarly, "The Hotr from the further end the nearer ones" - here too, "having recited the names of these rāśis", the Hotr chooses the Āhavanīya fire, because of its relation to them as a descendant. In both cases the fire is to be understood. "The Hotr who is seated with knees raised"(2) -

1) Here too Ed has ārdhvam.
in this context the Āhavanīya fire itself is designated
the Hotr (1). How is this? - because the rest of the
sentence goes on, "Agni the god is Hotr, may he sacrifice
to the gods". And a Brāhmaṇa-passage also shows the
Āhavanīya fire spoken of by the word Hotr (2): "'Agni
the god is Hotr, he said; he chose him who is of the
gods. Thus the gods were victorious, the Asuras were
defeated." Thus the meaning of the word pravara is as we
have explained it above.

And moreover, these pravaras are either the same or
different, the former where the Vedic seers, the ṛṣis,
are the same in name, number and order; and those who
pronounce them are called 'men of the same pravara'
(samānapravarāḥ) - as for example in the case of the
distinct gotras of the Sāvarṇis, Jīvantis, Jābālis,
Aitiśāyanas, Vairohityas, Avātis, Maṇḍus, Māṇḍavyas,
Prācinayogyas, Mārkanḍeyas, etc., since they all have
the same pravara, viz. "Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna,
Aurva, Jāmadagnya", the men belonging to these gotras
are "men of the same pravara". Similarly with all the
others. But "men of different pravaras" are those whose
pravaras differ in names, number, or order, in any one
of these three ways, in two of them, or in all three. (3).

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1) Puruṣottama overstates his case. There is no doubt that
the human Hotr is chosen as well as the fire. (2) TS.2.5.11.
3) Here again' the case is overstated. "Different" pravaras
on this definition are not always sufficiently different
to allow intermarriage, cf. sūtras 10 and 11 below.
In this first sūtra, then, the required explanation of all the pravāras without exception is promised.

2. The parties are those of the Seven Rais with Agastya as the eighth.

All the Brahmins whose pravāras are here promised are "parties" of the Seven Rais, viz. Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa, with Agastya as the eighth. "Parties" (pakṣa), "Families" (vaṃśa), "Divisions" (varga), and gotras all have the same meaning.

The objection is raised: "Why are the parties of Bhrigu and Angiras not given here? For these also are later to be named alongside the Seven Rais." To this we reply: they are not named here by way of making a distinction, because Bhrigu and Angiras do not belong to the Seven Rais, as indeed is shown by the specification of the Seven Rais, and because the specification of the parties of Bhrigu and Angiras is justified otherwise.

3. Three parties of the Bhrgus, viz. Vatsas, Bidas, and Ārṣīgenesas, have five-ṛṣi pravāras.

4. Likewise four of the Angiras, viz. Kaumandās, Dirghatamas (1), Raukṣāyanas and Gargas.

5. The Gargas have a three-ṛṣi option.

6. In the party of Viśvāmitra, the Pūrāṇas have a two-ṛṣi pravāra; the Sunakas and Vasiṣṭhas a one-ṛṣi pravāra.

1) The Ms. tradition of the Baudhāyana-sūtra points to Dirghatama-as the name here, cf. Saland, pp. 415, 426. There is little doubt, however, that the correct form is Dirghatamas-.
7. The others from here on have three-fold pravaras.

All others except those already enumerated, from Vatsa to Vasishtha, that is, the others from Viṭahavya to Agastya, to the number of three kotis, of whom we shall tell in the sequel, have three-rai pravaras. That this is the meaning is seen from its being expressed otherwise in other sūtras (1). A choosing by means of three is a "three-fold choosing" (tripravaraḥ); those who have this are thus tripravaraḥ, ie., tryārṣeyapravaraḥ, men whose pravara consists of three ṛṣi-names. This is the meaning, as is seen from the mention of these, ie. men whose pravaras have one, two, three, or five-rai-names respectively (ekārṣeya, etc.) in other sūtras. Both these matters we shall tell in the sequel.

3. Among these the Bhrūgs and the Angirases make a "separate marriage" (bhinnavivāha), but not if the majority of the ṛṣi-names should be identical. This is the view of Baudhāyana.

Of this sūtra two explanations are given. The first is as follows: among these gotras which have been enumerated, the Bhrūgs and Angirases, with the exception of the Jamadagnias, Gautamas and Bharadvājas, although not

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1) The difficulty is, of course, the expression "tripravaraḥ" which at first sight might be taken to mean "men who have three pravaras", instead of "three ṛṣis in their pravara." In mediaeval times, it is true, pravara came to be used to denote a single prvara-ṛṣi; thus "The pravaras are A, B, and C", where the Sūtra-usage would be "the pravara is A, B, C."
separate inasmuch as they are Bhrgus and Angirases, nevertheless make separate marriages. In their case marriage is as if it were separate (as to gotra). Strictly, a "separate marriage" is one where the man and his marriage (-choice) are separate (as to gotra). Thus the meaning here is, just as men belonging to the parties of the Seven Rais and Agastya are separate one from the other as regards gotra, and leave their own party aside and contract marriages with other parties, i.e., with separate gotras, so also the Bhrgus and Angirases (with the exception of the Jamadagnis, Gautamas, and Bharadvajas), that is to say, the Vitanavyas, Sunakas, Mitrayuvas, Vainyas, Haritas, Kutsas, Kanvas, Rathitaras, Madgalas, Visnuvrddhas etc., even though not separate (as regards gotra) since they are Bhrgus and Angirases, leave merely their own gaṇa aside, and form marriages even with other gaṇas of the Bhrgus and Angirases.

The alternative explanation is to make the word-division of the sutra "bhṛgavangiraso 'bhinnavivāhaṃ kurvante", i.e., "the Bhṛgus and Angirases make a 'not-separate' marriage." This means that the Bhṛgus, though 'not-separate' inasmuch as they are all Bhṛgus, leave aside only their own gaṇa and contract a 'not-separate' marriage even with members of other Bhṛgu-gaṇas. A 'not-separate' marriage means one between those who are not separate (as regards gotra). Similarly the Angirases.
Here, since Bhṛgu and Angiras are not included among the Seven Rṣis, and do not have the gotras which belong exclusively to the parties of these rṣis, there is no question of "belonging to the same gotra", and consequently marriage between their gaṇas is not blameworthy. For they have neither the same pravaras nor the same gotras. Thus the present sūtra allows for the intermarriage of the Bhṛgus one with another, and of the Angirases, inasmuch as they are not included among the descendants of the Seven Rṣis.

Here he gives a limiting condition: "not if the majority of the rṣi-names should be identical." In the case of men with five rṣis in their pravaras, three constitutes a majority, as for example in the case of the Ārṣṭiṣenaś and the Bidas (1). In the case of men with three rṣis in their pravaras, two constitutes a majority, as for example in the case of the Haritas and Kutsasas (2). Those of the Bhṛgus and Angirases who are in neither of these two cases contract marriage one with another.

The word Baudhāyana is included in the sūtra to do honour to himself, just as in the Jaiminīya-sūtras: (3)

1) "Bṛgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Ārṣṭiṣena, Anūpa", and "Bṛgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Bālīda."
2) This is not a very happy example, since most of the lists give these two families identical pravaras; and in Āpastamba, where they differ, only one name coincides. 3) Purva-mīmāṃsā 12.1.7.
"The view of Jaimini is, a procedure apposite to one ceremony should be negatived, where its application would bring into operation a rule apposite to another ceremony." - here the word Jaimini is used for a similar reason. The word iti marks the end of the adhyāya.

9. Now, the Adhvaryu chooses from the near end the more remote ones, the Hotr from the far end the nearer ones. This prescription is applicable to both throughout.

Immediately after instruction in the duty of pravara, he gives the order of succession in the words "from the near end the more remote ones", for the reason that only when the order of succession is known is it possible for the Hotṛ and the Adhvaryu to perform the choosing of a number of Vedic seers, i.e., the supplicating of the fire. The meaning is: from the near end, i.e. from the sacrificer, having recited in order the names towards the more remote ones who are not separated from the founder of the family (mūlabhūta ṛṣiḥ) by any interposing hymn-composers, he chooses, i.e. supplicates, the Āhavanīya fire as being related to these seers by likeness, saying "like NN., like NN." - as in the case of the Vatsas, "Like Jamadagni, like Uṛva, like Apnavāna, like Cyavana, like Bhṛgu". "The Hotṛ from the far end the nearer ones": from the far end, i.e. starting from the ṛṣi who is the founder of his family, he recites the names of the
Vedic seers who have come after, in the inverse order to the pravara of the Adhvaryu, and supplicates the same fire, as being related to these as offspring, e.g., "O Bhārgava, Čyāvana, Āpnāvāna, Auvra, Jānadhagnya".

Being thus supplicated by both, the fire comes to know the fitness of the sacrificer, and will give his oblation to the gods. Just as in the case of choosing, i.e. supplicating, the priests who are members of the sacrificial ritual, these priests when supplicated by the sacrificer will perform the members of the sacrifice, so too in the case of the choosing, i.e. supplicating of the fire by the Hotṛ and the Adhvaryu, the fire when supplicated by them carries the oblation to the gods. This difference in the orders of succession in the pravaras of the Hotṛ and the Adhvaryu is to be applied everywhere, as far as the end of the pravara-chapter.

1\text{. In the case of coincidence of two praias, there is no marriage of those who have three rśi-names in their pravaras; in the case of coincidence of three praias, there is no marriage of those who have five rśi-names in their pravaras; marriage is with persons having different pravaras.}(1)

It has already been said above, "The Bhrgus and the Angirasas make a 'separate marriage', but not if

1) The phrase \textit{asammanapavaraṁ vivāhau} looks like a direct quotation of \textit{GautDhās} 4.2, coming as it does somewhat discordantly in the present context. It does not occur in two of Caland's Eds. of the Sūtra, and has all the marks of an early interpolation.
the majority of the ṛṣi-names should be identical." The present sūtra deals with the majority of coinciding ṛṣi-names which is the cause of non-marriage of the Bhṛgus and Angirases. The coincidence of two ṛṣis in the case of the Bhṛgus with three ṛṣi-names in their pravaras is a cause of non-marriage, since the majority of ṛṣis is the same. And similarly for the Angirases such as Haritas and Kutsas, where two out of three coincide. Coincidence means being the same. So too in the case of Bhṛgus with five-ṛṣi pravaras - the coincidence of three is a cause of non-marriage, as in the case of the Ārṣṭisenas, Vatsas and Vidas. That this is so, we shall show in the proper place.

11. If even one ṛṣi recurs in the pravaras, that constitutes sameness of gotra, except in the case of a gaṇa of the Bhṛgus and Angirases.

Later in the work he gives a definition of gotra:
"Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, and Gautama, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa - these are the Seven Ṛṣis; a gotra is said to be the descendants of the Seven Ṛṣis with Agastya as the eighth." But as for Pāṇini's definition of gotra (1), "A gotra is a man's descendants from the grandson (son's son) onwards", and the fact that, since it has only the word "descendants" in common with

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1) Pāṇini, 4.1.162.
Baudhāyana's definition, it must therefore be taken to imply the restriction "of the Seven Rāis and Agastya" - otherwise, by an unwarranted extension of the definition, one might conclude that even a Gaṇḍāla's descendants from the grandson onwards would justifiably be called a gotra: - all this will come in the proper place for the commentary on Baudhāyana's sūtra (1)

In conjunction with that sūtra defining the nature of a gotra, the present sūtra lays down a definition of what is meant by "sameness of gotra." The meaning is: if even one rāi recurs, either as being recited or implicitly, in the pravaras of the Gotras of the Seven Rāis and Agastya, i.e., the gotras which owe their title to the fact that they are made up of the descendants of the Seven Rāis and Agastya, numbering three kotis, which we are to deal with in the sequel, - pravaras of one, two, three or five rāis: - one must know that identity of gotra is predicated of all these "gotras"(2). That is to say, all those who mention in their pravara the name of any one rāi of the Seven Rāis and Agastya, or two or three, or five rāi-names in common, - all these belong to the same gotra. Here he makes this

1) See below, p. 473 ff. (2) It is precisely this ambiguity of the term gotra which seems to have been responsible for the introduction of the exogamous determination by pravara, see above, p. 10 - 17.
limiting restriction: "except in the case of a gāṇa of the Bhṛgus and Angirases." This means, except a gāṇa of the Bhṛgus, excluding the Jamadagnis, or of the Angirases, excluding the Gautamas and Bharadvājas. The word gāṇa in the singular is used collectively, of a class, i.e. excepting the gāṇas, etc. One must know then that among the gāṇas of the descendants of the Seven Rṣis and Agastya, "sameness of gotra" is defined by the recurrence of one rṣi in the pravrātras. But because the Bhṛgus and Angirases, always excepting the Jamadagnis, Gautamas, and Bharadvājas, are not technically gotras, since they are excluded from the descendants of the Seven Rṣis and Agastya, there is therefore, as far as they are concerned, no question of "sameness of gotra"; for such an identity requires that the validity of the expression gotra be established first. With this in mind, he has made the exception - "except in the case of a gāṇa of the Bhṛgus and Angirases."

But, it is objected, when there is no validity (prāpti) in any case, how can it be an 'exception'? For surely an exception requires that in the first place it must be valid.

Granted that this is so, still (it is necessary to make the exception here) otherwise that 'validity' (i.e., the judgment that the Bhṛgus and Angirases are
in fact gotras) might be granted as a result of careless thinking. How so? Seeing the Vatsas, etc., who are descendants of the Seven Rais and Agastya, using the word gotra, and not grasping the distinction wherein lies their claim to that title, the Mitrayuvas, Sunakas, Haritas, Rathitaras, Mugdalas, etc., who are excluded from the Seven Rais, also use the word gotra - as for example, "I belong to the Mitrayuva-gotra". (1) Therefore, with an eye to this sort of 'validity' (of the expression gotra in such cases), which results from careless thinking, he makes the exception - "except in the case of a gana of the Bhrugas and Angirases.

(This is the prima facie view; in reality however) the exception does not require the validity, because of the principal of syntactical unity, as in the injunction "At sacrifices he uses the phrase 'ye yajamahe', at the after-offerings he does not use the phrase 'ye yajamahe'":- here also, because of its being a syntactical unit, it is pronounced an exception, in the sūtra "In reality, because it is a supplementary statement, the second phrase should be taken as an exception to the former; in the case of a prohibition it would result in an option." The

(1) Gārgya Nārāyana, commenting on ASS 12.10.1, calls the use of the term "gotra" by the Mitrayuvas, etc., an 'aupacariko paramarśajah prayogah', a metaphorical usage arising from ratiocination.
position is the same in defining the negation of a rule. (1).

But in the case of the three, Jamadagnis, Gautamas, and Bharadvajas, although they are Bhararas and Angirases, yet since they are also included in the descendants of the Seven Reis and Agastya, the term gotra is justified in their case, and therefore "sameness of gotra" is applicable. For this reason the exception does not apply to them. And Baudhāyana himself shows later on in the work that this is the meaning of the exception, in the three sūtras, "There is no intermarriage between the Vatsas, Bidas, and Ārṣṭiṇeṇas"; "There is no intermarriage between any of the Gautamas"; "There is no intermarriage between any of the Bharadvajas". But with reference to those who are excluded from the descendants of the Seven Reis - viz. Vītabhavyas, Śunakas, Vādhryāvas, Vainyas, Haritas, Kutas, Kanvas, Rathitaras, Mudgalas, Viṣṇuvṛddhas, etc., - the three

1) This trifling argument in true Mīmāṁsā style, complete with pūrva pakṣa and siddhānta, contains a muddled recollection of Pūrva-mīmāṁsā 10.8.1-4. The argument there concerns the status of such negations as "nānuyājeṣu yeyajāmahaṃ karoti". The pūrva pakṣa is that it denotes an option, since the use of the phrase has already been prescribed in the general rule "yajñeṣu yeyajāmahaṃ karoti". The siddhānta, which Purusottama’s text gives here in a mutilated form, is "api tu vākyāsah syad anvayatvād vikalpaṣya vidhvān ekadesaḥ syat". "In reality, it should be taken as a supplementary statement, because of the impropriety of an option; it should be considered as part of the injunctions". It is thus an exception, and not a prohibition, since the latter would permit the illicit deduction that an option was allowed.
sūtras above have been given, "The Bhṛgus and Angirases
make a 'separate marriage', but not if the majority of
the rṣi-names should be identical"; "In the case of
coincidence of two rṣis, there is no marriage of those
who have three rṣi-names in their pravaras"; "In the
case of coincidence of three rṣis, there is no marriage
of those who have five rṣi-names in their pravaras."
The word itī marks the end of the adhyāya.

B. Āpastamba.

We shall explain this section in accordance with
the views of the commentators on the Sūtra of
Āpastamba, etc., Dhūrtasvāmin, Kapardisvāmin,
Gurudevāsvāmin (1), etc.

1. We shall explain the pravaras.

2. "He chooses the one connected with the rṣis;
he does not depart from the connection; and so it
conduces to continuity" — thus it is known.

He chooses the one connected with the rṣis, i.e.
related to himself as a descendant of the rṣis; or,
the one who is connected with the rṣis, i.e. the
Āhavanīya fire which is a descendant of the rṣi, since
it was produced by the sacrificer and the sacrificer
is in the line of descent of the rṣi — that fire he

1) So Pl; Ed. guhadevasvāmi--; P2. grahasvāmi-
devasvāmi-viśvasvāmi-. Long sections of Puruṣottama's
text here are in fact taken unaltered from Kapardisvāmin.
chooses, i.e. supplicates, since he is of his gotra. This being so, he does not depart from the connection, i.e. he does not lapse from the relationship with the rśi of olden times. And moreover, it conduces to continuity, i.e., to continuing the line of his ancestors and himself.

3. Not by gods, not by men does he choose; but by the rśis he chooses the one connected with the rśis - thus is it known.

Moreover, it is known - i.e., this is heard in another sākhā of the Vedas: not by gods, eg. Prajāpati, etc., does he choose the one connected with the rśis, and not by wise men, eg. Devadatta, etc.; but by rśis only, i.e., Vasiṣṭha and the other seers of Vedic hymns.

4. He recites the Ārṣeya in due order; for by means of the rśi the gods learn about the man - thus is it known.

By means of the rśi who was praised by men of old and renowned among the gods, the gods learn about the man who is the descendant of that rśi, thinking, "as his descendant, his sacrificial food may be enjoyed."

5. But if a man chooses by means of the Ārṣeya of another, that rśi takes the offering and the enjoyment - thus is it known.

If a sacrificer is of one gotra, and makes the pravara-invitation by means of the Ārṣeya of another gotra, that rśi seizes the offering, i.e. the
fruit of the sacrifice, and the enjoyment, i.e. the fruit of entertaining Brahmins etc.

6. Three he chooses; authors of hymns he chooses; according to (his own) rṣi does he choose authors of Vedic hymns - thus is it known.

Authors here means seers, since it is not permissible to conclude that these hymns were composed, because, if they had been, the inference would be that they were not eternal. These seers of Vedic hymns he chooses according to whichever rṣi is his (ancestor).

7. Now, the opinion of some is: he chooses one, two, three, not four, and not more than five - thus is it known.

Now, it is heard in the scriptures of the adherents of certain śākhās: he chooses one Āṛṣeya, i.e., having recited the name of one rṣi he chooses the fire which is his descendant. Similarly with two and three. Four he does not choose; and six and over he does not choose. The meaning is: the fact of having been a seer of Vedic hymns is specifically prescribed above as the requisite qualification for being included in the Āṛṣeya-formula. Therefore, since the choosing without restriction of number of one's hymn-seeing ancestors would otherwise be legitimate, they for this reason delineate in the present sūtra the prohibition of choosing four or more than five. Since the sūtra "He chooses one connected with the rṣis" has already prescribed the choosing, the authors of Kalpa Sūtras, seeing that
the three sentences "He chooses one; he chooses two; he chooses three," prescribe in addition the number, have had recourse to this passage of scripture as an authority. The previously quoted passage "Three he chooses, authors of hymns he chooses, etc." gives only the prescription for the choosing of three.

Now, the reverend teacher, learned in sacrificial rules (Jaimini), in defining competency to sacrifice, in his sixth adhyaya, with reference to the present sutra has described this competency in the rule: "The person who does not have three rṣis should be excluded (from the competency)" (1); since he considered that, of the other sentences in this sūtra, one denoted merely the commencement of "he chooses one"), one was a partial declaration ("he chooses two"), and one was a prohibition, ("not four, not more than five"). (2). But because the authors of Kalpa Sūtras are many, and because of the fact that they are composing practical treatises whereas

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1) Pūrva-Śāṅkya, 6.1.43. The phrase in brackets does not appear in the Śāṅkya text.
2) This explanation appears only in the commentaries to the Śāṅkya-sūtras. Savarasmārta takes the choosing of one and two as an analysis of the choosing of three into its component parts, so that the rule of choosing three would thus be stated twice.
Jaimini is a single authority, - and where there is a conflict of opinion between many and one, the opinion of the many is to be followed - for this reason those who seek the practical view have followed the authors of the treatises on Vaidik practice.

3. The Adhvarju chooses from the near end the more remote ones, the Hotr from the far end the nearer ones - thus is it known.

9. A king makes the pravara-invitation (pravruite) by means of the pravara of his purohita - thus is it known.

The purohita of a Ksatriya or Vaisya is so called because he, being in front (purah), leads that anointed Ksatriya or Vaisya. Such a man must be one who offers the Darvi-homa, and must be endowed with high birth, knowledge, good conduct, and other good qualities. By the pravara of this man, then, an anointed king makes the pravara-invitation. And because of the statement here, in the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices, even a Brahman who has attained kingship makes the pravara-invitation by means of his purohita's pravara.

(Colophon: ....end of the Paribhāṣā section... of Āpastamba and Satyāsādha, etc.)

C. Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi

1. Now therefore we shall explain the pravaras.

2. On this matter there is a Brāhmaṇa-passage:
"He chooses the one connected with the rāis; he does not depart from the connection; and so it conduces to continuity."

3. He chooses one, two, three, not four, and not more than five.

The Brāhmaṇa-passage which deals with the choosing of the ārṣeya in the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices has already been quoted and explained above in the comment on Baudhāyana's Great Pravara-section, "Next he recites the pravara of rāj-names, etc." (1). In explaining the meaning of this passage, Kātyāyana (2) has spoken as follows: "The wise and knowing one', he says; he recites the ārṣeyas (ārṣeyāṇi) of the sacrificer, as, 'like Manu, like Bharata, like NN, like NN' - three, from the further end the nearer ones; or else as many as are hymn-composers". The scriptural passage which is the source of the view "Three, from the further end the nearer ones" has been quoted above, viz., "Three he chooses, authors of hymns he chooses, etc." He now quotes here from another sākhā the passage which is the origin of the view "As many as are hymn-composers", viz., "He chooses one, two, three, not four and not more than five". This passage, which we have already discussed in our commentary on Āpastamba, means: he who has only one hymn-composer in his ancestry chooses that one; similarly for two, three, and five.

1). ŚB 1.4.2.3; above, p. 33. (2) KŚŚ 3.25 ff.
But he who has four, or six or more, does not choose these numbers even if he has them. And that those who have such and such a number (one, two, three, or five) should not choose less or more, the authors of Kalpa Sūtras are guarantors, in the absence of other (i.e. Brāhmaṇa) authority. It has already been stated above how the authors of Kalpa Sūtras rely on this passage as an authority.

4. However, the view of some is: in each case he chooses the ārṣeya as "Mānava, like Manu" - an ārṣeya which is common to all the varṇas. Why so? Because the peoples are Mānavans (humans) (1).

The word however puts forward another opinion. The some are the adherents of the Tāndin school of the Chandogas. The Hotra choose a one-ṛṣi pravara, "Mānava", the Adhvaryus choose, "like Manu", - this pravara which exists among all the varṇas he recites. Alternatively, the sentence is to be completed by understanding the words "so they conduct their worship", i.e, "some, the adherents of the Tāndin school, choose thus". He asks the reason for the choice of this one-ṛṣi Mānava-pravara - "why so?" (kasya hetoh), i.e. "from what cause?" (kuto hetoh), - since the genitive is mentioned in the traditional learning in the sense of the ablative, in the sūtra "Genitive in the sense

1) Cf. Ts. 1.5.1.3. tasmān mānavyah prajāḥ; 5.1.5.6
of causal connection". (1). The reason is, "because the peoples are Mānavas," i.e., since Manu is the first origin of all peoples, and another Brāhmaṇa-passage says "He chooses one", therefore the peoples choose him alone. These members of the three higher varṇas, who alone have the right to a pravara, who have birth (jāti), competence to sacrifice, wealth, and who are not excepted by the Śastras - these are to be considered to be literally meant by the word peoples.

To refute this view of the Tāṇḍins, he quotes another Brāhmaṇa-passage:

5. But this is not legitimate; not by gods, not by men does he choose the ārṣeya; by rasa only does he choose the ārṣeya.

This Brāhmaṇa too has been explained in the commentary to Āpastamba. Moreover, by reasoning also do learned men refute the Tāṇḍin view. For on this view there would be no intermarriage between the three higher varṇas, since they would all have the same pravara. The consequence of marriage would be a mixing of the varṇas (varṇasāṃkarya); and since (in the alternate case) there would result a sin equal to violating one's teacher's wife and begetting a Cāṇḍāla, utter destruction would be entailed, by reason of the loss of Brahmāṇhood.

1) Pāṇini. 3.3.36.
6. If a man chooses the ārṣeya of another, the blessing of his sacrifice goes to that other; he indeed is severed from plants, trees, Pitra, Rais and men, who chooses others.

If a man, having a particular ārṣeya, makes the pravara-recitation by means of the ārṣeya of another different from his own, the fruit of that sacrifice goes to that other, i.e., the other alone enjoys it. Moreover, he is severed, i.e., cut off from the fruit of sacrifice which is brought about by gods, rṣis, Pitra and men.

Now, to avoid making the rule of the Tāṇḍins un-authoritative, he makes it applicable to a different case:

7. But this rule is valid for people other than Brahmans and Kṣatriyas.

The Tāṇḍin rule is unexceptionable when applied to people other than Brahmans and Kṣatriyas, i.e. to Vaiśyas. For here the fault of having the same pravara does not arise, since for Vaiśyas there is no necessity for avoiding (particular persons in marriage), this being as it were a partial relaxation of the rule. Because of the identity of the pravara of their varṇa, viz. "Vātsapri" for the Hotr, "like
Vatsapri" for the Adhvaryu, the fault of having the same pravara clearly applies to Brahmans alone. Hence it is with reference to Brahmans alone that the pravaras of the Hotṛ and Adhvaryu, of one, two, three, or five rṣi-names, are to be explained.

He now deals with the difference in order when more than one are to be chosen:

8a. From this point onward (ita evordhvam) it is the Hotṛ who recites the pravara-invitation, and following him (anvag iti) the Adhvaryu.

Thus Kātyāyana.

8b. The Adhvaryu chooses from the near end the more remote ones (ita evordhvān), from the far end the nearer ones the Hotṛ.

This is the only difference in Lauḍākṣi's text; all the rest is the same.

First Kātyāyana. From here, i.e. after having enunciated the duty of pravara, onwards, the Hotṛ makes the pravara-invitation of Bhṛgu and the other seers of hymns, as, "O Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Jāmadagnya". Following him the Adhvaryu. The Adhvaryu makes the recitation following the order of the Hotṛ's pravara. The word iti shows that the order is precisely the same, - as, "Like Bhṛgu, like Cyavana, like Āpnavāna, like Ūrva, like Jamadagni". So too the Brāhmaṇa-passage of the
Vājins which prescribes the Adhvaryu's pravara says (1), "He makes the pravara-recitation from the remote end hitherwards". And Kātyāyana himself says (2), "He recites the ārṣeyas (ārṣeyāṇi) of the sacrificer, three, from the remote end hitherwards."

Now the explanation in the case of Lauḍākāsi's reading (3). "From the far end, the nearer ones the Hotṛ" is the same as Kātyāyana and the others, the distinction lying in the words "From the near end the more remote ones the Adhvaryu." In contrast to the Hotṛ's pravara, the Adhvaryu chooses from the near end the more remote ones, beginning at the end, as far as the rśi who is the founder (of the family), as "Like Jamadagni, like Īrva, like Apnavāna, like Cyavana, like Bhṛgu". Here all the teachers have the same order for the pravara of the Hotṛ; all except Kātyāyana have the same order for the Adhvaryu's pravara, but Kātyāyana gives the same order for the Adhvaryu's pravara as for the Hotṛ's.

(1) SB. 1.5.1.10. (2) KSS. 3.25. (3) All three sources have the most extraordinary confusion in the following passage. The sense must be as above. For "ita evordhvān hotā" of the Māsā, I have read "amutoḥrvāco hotā"; and for "amutoḥrvāco hotā (Pādhwaryur) ity atra viśesaḥ", - "ita evordhvān adhv. pravṛṣite ity atra v." In the following line also, "amutoḥrvāco adhv. pravṛṣite" must be changed to "ita evordhvān adhv. pravṛṣite."
D. Ā́śvalāyana.

The explanation follows the views of the commentator Devasvāmin.

1. "All should be of the same gotra" is the opinion of Gāṇagārī; for how (otherwise) could there be Āpṛī-hymns, how the Fore-offerings? (1).

The Śrauta sacrifices have already been described (in Āśvalāyana's Sūtra), ending with the sattras. In the course of these the pravaras, for each separate gotra of the Brahmans, whose gotras number three koṭis, have been prescribed as a duty - "He chooses the ārseya, he chooses one, ... not more than five." The plurality of sacrificers in the sattras is given by inference by the plural endings of the verbs "sit" and "approach" in such passages as "Desirous of prosperity they sat down at a sattrā", and "Let them approach", and directly by the number in the passage "Twenty-four at most should sit down at a sattrā."

And among a plurality there can be either men of the same gotra or men of different gotras. This being so, the doubt arises with regard to those entitled

(1) Müller ("Hist. of Anc. Sansk. Lit."p. 467) gives the startling explanation that Gāṇagārī "endeavoured to prove from the fact that one and the same Āpṛī hymn may be used by all, that all people belong really and truly to one family".
to take part in a sattra as to whether they should all be of the same gotra or of different gotras.

Here the teacher Gāṇagārī was of the opinion that they should all be of the same gotra. Here one should compare Baudhāyana's definition of gotra, "Of the Seven Rāis and Agastya, if only one rāi is repeated in the pravaras, that constitutes sameness of gotra, except in the case of a gaṇa of the Bhṛgus and Angirases". Considering then in his mind gotra and sameness of gotra, and having stated the case in the words "All should be of the same gotra", he gives the reason - "For how (otherwise) could there be Āpṛī hymns, now the Fore-offerings?"

The meaning is: the Āpṛī hymns are ordered according to gotra - "Kindled is Agni", for the Śunakas, "Rejoice in our fuel-log" for the Vasiṣṭhas, "Kindled today", for all (the others) (1). So also, "The Nārāśaṃsa is the second fore-offering in the case of the Vasiṣṭhas, Śunakas, Atris, Vādhryaśvas, etc." Since these, then, are ordered according to gotra, and are thus prevented from proper performance on the view that the worshippers should be of

(1) This is a literal quotation of Āś 3.2.6. The hymns are respectively RV 2.3; 7.2; 10.110.
different gotras, therefore, they have their correct performance only on the view that they are of the same gotra.

The objection is raised: Why should the fore-offerings and the Ṛtī hymns not be repeated (in the forms severally required) as is in fact the case with the pravāras? No, we reply, since in the case of men of the same gotra, the act can be successfully performed without repetition, and since there is no repetition in the ceremony which serves as a model (prakṛti); and therefore the same should hold good here. We shall have more to say below about the case of the pravāras. Moreover, if there were a repetition according to gotra, the result would be a confusion of the order of the constituent parts of the rite: since the order is fixed, in which they perform the functions of householder, Brahmā, Udgātr, Hotṛ, Adhvaryu., and sacrificer. This (prima facie view) being therefore established, he now gives the correct view (siddhānta).

2. "They should also be of different gotras" is the view of Saunaka, - because of the universality of the ritual acts.

This means, they may be also of different gotras and not necessarily of the same gotra. Why? - because
of the universality of the ritual acts (tantra). By the word tantra is meant the application of the mantras in regard to the principal ceremony with its subsidiary parts. This universality results from the fact that "at a sattraa they should desire the fruits of wealth, prosperity, heaven, etc."; and here the universality refers simply to "men" (and not to "men of the same gotra"). If, by way of illustration, we adopt the hypothesis that the prescription is to be restricted to reference to "men of the same gotra" only, then we should have to assume that the right to perform the principal rite was similarly restricted, without any verbal indication of the fact. And this is not proper. It is however faultless in another connection, which he now proceeds to describe:

3. Those which are different follow (the mode of ritual proper to) the gotra of the householder; the benefit of all follows on his benefit; but the pravaras should be repeated (according to the several gotras), since they have the right to (separate) fires (avapa).

Those which are different, i.e., the ÁprI-hymns, etc. which were cited by Gánagāri to uphold his thesis, are to be performed according to the gotra of the householder, since he is the chief person.
This is seen from expressions such as "With him at their head they sat down at a sattrā", and from Āpastamba's phrase: "All are to perform their first sacrifice; or else that of the householder alone (is to be performed);" and "They are to proceed according to the mode of ritual of the householder, in respect of the Sāmidhenīs, the cutting of the sacrificial cake, and anything else of a similar sort." With these two sūtras he shows that these acts which are different according to gotra follow the gotra of the householder, and therefore there is no obstacle. But, it is objected, if subsidiary parts of the rite are performed according to the householder's gotra, those for whom such parts were wrong would not obtain the fruit of the acts. To remove this doubt, he says, "the benefit of all follows on his benefit", that is, the others obtain the fruit of the acts following after the fruit attained by the householder, since he is the chief person.

But when men of different gotras are sacrificing, the pravaras are to be repeated according to gotra. Why so? - because, since they have the right to the oblations, they have the right to the pravaras. The
word *avāpa* means the *Ahāvanīya* fires, since (oblations) are cast into them; compare the expression "they should offer together into the fire" (1). The meaning is therefore: "because of the right of these *Ahāvanīya* fires in respect of the pravaras." And it is proper that these pravaras should be severally repeated, according to which person happens to occupy the chief position, since those taking part successively hold that position in the various constituent parts of the rite.

But, it is objected, does this not contradict what has been said above, namely, that differences in ritual usage should be resolved by following the usage of the householder's gotra? No fault, however, arises here, since the essence of the pravaras is to inform the *Ahāvanīya* fires by the recital of names related as offspring to the Seven Rsis; and it has already been shown above in the commentary on Baudhāyana, that when informed by the pravaras, the *Ahāvanīyas* bear the oblation to the gods. Now, if in the present instance, only the pravara of the

(1) Puruṣottama gives two alternative etymologies, which, however, are indistinguishable in translation: upyanta ity avāpa āhavanīya "agnim samāvapeyuh" iti vacanāt; atha vā, upyante havimṣy āhavanīyeśv ity avāpa āhavanīya.
householder was used, and not those of the other sacrificers who happened to belong to, say, the Kaśyapa, Viśvāmitra, or Atri gotras, then their Āhavanīya fires would not be informed, and would not carry their oblation to the gods. To accomplish this end, therefore, it is proper to repeat the āhavānas separately, according to the Kaśyapa, Viśvāmitra, or Atri gotra, etc. Moreover, the householder's Āhavanīya is not the Āhavanīya of the others, just as his son is not their son; since the word "Āhavanīya" equally with the word "son" expresses a relationship. For this reason, if a man's own Āhavanīya is extinguished, he does not perform an oblation in the Āhavanīya of another. For this reason also substitution for the Āhavanīya is prohibited in the sixth book (of the Mīmāṃsā Śūtras), (1) in the chapter on substitution:- "(There is no substitution allowed) in the case of the deity, the fire, the word, the action, because (a substitute for any of these would be) related to a different purpose." Thus it is correctly said that in the case of men of different gotras, the pravāras are severally repeated. The question then arises, whether

(1) Pūrva-mīmāṃsā, 6.3.18; cf. Āpast. 24.4.1, svāmino āṃ erotah savātāh karaṇaḥ pratiṣedhāc ca Pratinidhir niyṛttah.
men of the same gotra should also severally repeat their pravaras in such circumstances. Some hold that since no "difference" is in question, the pravaras should be performed according to the normal rule. Others support the repetition, on the grounds that men of different gotras are separated in this matter; and also because the result of a single pravara-recitation, where they each hold the position of sacrificer in turn, would be a defect in the order of the rite. So too Āpastamba (1): "One view is that, because men of different gotras are separated, man of the same gotra should also repeat their several pravara-recitations."

(1) Āp.Śś. 21.3.4. The sutra continues: vyavete "pi tantram evety aparam - "The other view is that in spite of this separation, the rule holds good."
Chap. II. The Bhrugus

A Baudhāyana.

First we shall explain those of the Bhrugus:

1. [Vātsyā]
2. Mārkanḍeya
3. Māndūkeya
4. Māndavyaḥ
5. Kāmsaya
6. Ālekhāna
7. Dārphāyanaḥ
8. Sārkārakṣeya
9. Daivatāyanaḥ
10. Saunakāyanaḥ
11. Mādhukṣeyaḥ
12. Pārṣikāḥ
13. Sāṅkāḥ
14. Prāntāyanaḥ
15. Pailāḥ

1 In Ed only; D jamadagnyā vatsāḥ; the name is out of place here, occurring as it does at the end of the list, and is clearly a heading borrowed from the other lists.
3 So A; M, G, Bu, Caland māṇḍūkā; S mādhakā; T māṃdakā; P2 mā'vyā; Sk om. 5 So G, T, Ed, R; M kāṁsava; Bu kāmsya; Be, U, Dl kāṃseya; P2 kāseya; Pl kāsaya; D2 kāsirā; Sk in place of this and the following, pailāḥ paingalāyanaḥ, cf. 15 and 16; after this name P2 adds kāsāmsaya.
6 Pl larescanā 7 Cf. Pāṇ. 4.1.102; M, Bu darbh-
8 So Pl, Sk, R, S, M, T, Bu, Be, U; cf. gana gargāḍi; Caland,
G, Ed, P2, D -kaś; Caland wrongly reports R as reading -kaś. 9 So Bu, U, R, Sk; Pl daiveta(m)yana; others, devamātāyana, daivamātāyana. 10 Cf. Pāṇ. 4.1.102.
11 So D2; Ed, P2, Dl mādhū; M, G, Sk, S, Caland māṇḍukeyaḥ; Bu māṇḍukeyaḥ; T om. cf. māḍhukṣa in Satapatha-Br.
12 So Ed, M, G, Bu, R, P2; Pl, D2, S vārṣika; Dl pāṛṣṣika; Sk gāṣṭika; T om. 13 So B, Be, U (joined however with the following, sāmkā-); P2, R sāmkāḥ; Pl sāmkāḥ; Ed, S sāṃ- only; Sk sākāṃ. 14 So Bu (Caland reports vrā-, but, noting that Bu is a grantha Mś, it is an easy mistake for prā-); Caland compares gana sāvāḍi (15.59); Ed, P2, D prabhāyanāḥ; Pl prajāyanaḥ; Sk prattāyana; R praktačyanāḥ; S tathāyanaḥ; Be, U ghumātāyana; M, G ghraṁtāyana. 15 P2 pailō.
16. Paingalāyana
17. Dādhreśayo
18. Bānyakayo
19. Vaiśvānarayo
20. Vaihīnarayo
21. Virohiti
22. Bārhā
23. Gaushāyanā
24. Yaṣṭeśayāḥ
25. Kādakṛtsana
26. Vāgbhūtayā
27. Rāabhāgā
28. Aitiśayānā
29. Jānāyanā
30. Pāṇinir

16 Pl paingalāḥ yanāḥ; S pailāyanā. 17 So M, G, T, R. Caland; Bu dādhreśayah; Be dādhreṣakakayo; U, Ed, D1 dādhreśakayo; P2 dādhreṣayā (?) ; R dāpreṣayō; Pl rādhredakayo; D2 rādhreṣṭhikīḥ; Sk dādhreṣakān; S dādhreṣakayo; one might possibly conjecture dāḍhrṣayo, or dādiṣcāyō (from dadhyaṅc, the latter being regularly found with the patronymic ēthaṁrvaṇa, while the form dādiḥcāṇ is given by the Paṅc. Br. as a patronymic to Cyāvana). 18 Bā- and vā- indiscriminately; S om; after this name, Sk adds payaḥ in a correction. 19 P -narayau; Sk vaisvatari. 20 So M, T, R, Pl, Ed, D1; D2 vaihī-; P2 vaihīnatarayo; Sk vaihītari; Be, U vaihītarayo; Bu vaihiṅaraḥ; G vaihīnārnyā; S vaihītakayo. 21 D2 virodīna; Dl vilohitaḥ. 22 So M, Pl (vā-), Dl; G barhā; Bu barbhāḥ; Ed, Sk, Be, U bāhyā; R vāhyā; D2 vahva (?); after this name, SK adds vrddhāḥ, Pl vradhra, D2 bradhra. 23 B, Caland gaṭrāyana; Pl, D2 goṭāyana; Sk, Dl goṭṭhāyana; Ed, R gaubāyaṇā; P2 gaujvāyanā; Be, U kaukāyanā. 24 So B; Caland conjectures aṣṭeśayāḥ; S yaṣṭaisakayo; Be, U, Pl ṣṭ(h)aikyā; Ed, P2, R aṭakayoḥ; Sk tīkāpāḥ; Dl sēṣīḥ; D2 tīkīḥ. 25 Ed, P2 kāṣa-; Pl kārṇāśkṛṣṇā; D2 kārṇṭkṛṣṇa; R saikasakṛṣṇana. 26 So Caland, G, T; M vatbhu-; Bu vārkabhū-; Be, U bāhūtakā; Pl, Dl, S vādbhutakā; Ed, D2 vabhutaka; P2 vahutaka; R vadutaka; Sk vādbhṛtākā. 27 P2, R, Sk, Dl kṛta-; Be, U kṣata-; 28 P1 rohīsāyana; of gana naḥdi. 29 So T, Bu, P, Ed, Dl, R; Be, U, Sk jāt-; M jān-; G jānt-; cf. gana aśvādi. 30 D2 yāṁbhiḥ. Note the singular in this name and the next: they are conceivably interpolations, but early ones, cf. Mān., and K&L.
31. Vālmīki
32. Sthulapindayānaḥ
33. Saṅgāvata
34. Jīhitayāna
35. Sāvarṇir
36. Vākāyana
37. Bālayānīn
38. Saukrtyān
39. Maṇḍavit
40. Sauviṣṭayō
41. Hastyaṅgmayā
42. Sauddhakayo
43. Vaikarıṇa

33 Conj; Caland, M, G saīkha-, T saukha-, Bu saikhamitaḥ; S saikhavādā; Be, U sauṣāvata; Ed, Pl saīṣatavā; Dl saṃśatavā; Dś saṃśatana; Sk saupatava; R saipatava; P2 saīṣāṃtavā; of. Mān. no. 36 saīṣāpatya.
34 So Be, U, R, P, S; Ed ājīḥ-; Sk, T, D jīḥī; G jihva; M jihatīyāḥ; Bu jīḥītayāḥ; after this Pl adds ṇhaṃ(?)-varodayakacogy- 35 Note the singular.
36 So S, A (P2 kāyana only); M bākāyānā; G bārkāyānā; T bākāyanaḥ; Bu sākāyanaḥ; Caland’s comparison of Mān. vākāyani is doubtful. 37 bā- and vā- indiscriminately; Dl væl-; Dś bāl-; S vān-. 38 D sukrthiṇiḥ.
39 So B, P2; P1, S maṇḍavi; R, Sk, Ed maṇḍavāḥ; D maṇḍuḥ.
40 So A (D su-; P2 sauviṣṭapayo); M, G, T sauviṣṭapayo; Bu sauviṣṭakṛpayāḥ; S sauviṣṭayo. 41 So Be, U, Pl; Ed, D, Sk hastāṅgmayā; P2 haḍaṅgaya haṭṭāṅgayaḥ; R haḍāṅgmayāḥ; M gastiṅgmayāḥ; T hastāṅgmayāḥ; Bu ahaḍaṅgmayāḥ; S haḍaṅgmayāḥ. 42 So M, G, T; Pl, Ed sau-; P2 saudvākāyaḥ saudvākayaṃ saudvākayo; Sk saudvākayo saudvākayo; R saudvākayaḥ (saudvākayo); Dl saudhakaiḥ saudvākaiḥ; Dś saudrakaiḥ saudhakaiḥ; Bu saidvākayaḥ; S saudvākayo; Be, U rauddhakayo. 43 So S, Bu, Caland, cf. Pāṇ. 4.1.117 (but see the other lists); Ed, P, Dś, Sk, R-ṇyā; Dś -ṛkyaḥ; Caland’s other Mss, (not specified by him) vaikaranṛṇa, vaikaranṛṇa, vaikaraṇṛṇaḥ. R misplaces 43–56 after no. 69.
44. draupajihvā
45. Auraśayā
46. Kāmbalodarayāh
47. Kāthorakṛd
48. Vaihalayo
49. Virūpakṣā
50. Vṛkṣāvā
51. Uccairmanyavo
52. Daiavamatyā
53. Ārkāyānā
54. Mārkāyānāh
55. Kārvāyana
56. Vāyavāyānānāh
57. Sāṅgaravah
58. kārabavas

So the archetype, with M, T, S; Be, U, Pl, dropa-; Ed, P2, D1 drona-; G, Caland aupa-; Bu maupa-; Sk dronaka-; R droka-; D2 droka jidrih. 45 So BiA -sa- (Ed arasayah); the text of the gana-pāthā also regularly has the variants -sa- and -śa- wherever derivatives of this name occur. 46 So D1, Caland, cf. K&L; Sk kām-; D2 kāmbatvo- darayāh; M, G, T, Ed kāmbatvodayāh; Bu Kāmban-. Be, U kāmbodāyāh; S kāmbodayāh; Pl kāmbodayāh; R Kāverodayāh; P2 om. 47 So M, G, T, S, D2; D1 kāthorakṛd-; Ed kāmborakṛd; P2 kāmborakṛd; Pl kācoraśtad; Bu Kāthakṛd; Sk vākārakṛtau; R Kāmbodakṛto. 48 Singular, except R, Sk; after 48, Sk adds śamka vāhanāḥ kāstambarāh kāravās tāmasān. 49 U vairūpakṣaḥ; Be vairūpakṣya. 50 D1 vravāsā; P2 vrhvoś ca; R vrddhakāśva. 52 So B (G -martyā); Pl deva-; Ed, D1, Be, U, P2, R, Sk dvai-; D2 dvau-. 53 So B, cf. K&L; A āryāyanā (Ed ārya-). 54 Sk yārk-. 55 G kānvā-; T kambā-. 56 So M, G, Bu, Caland; T vāyavāśvadhananāh; Be, U vāyavāśāvānānāḥ; Pl vayakavāvānānāḥ; Ed vāyavā vāyanāna; Sk vāpanayanā vāyanānāḥ; R vāyavānyānānāḥ; D2 vāyavānānāḥ; D1 and P2 agree in inserting three names (by dittography of 52-54), D1 vāyavāh daiavamatyāh ārkāyāṇāh kākāyānāh vāyabhā; P2 vāyavā ārkāyāṇāh kākāyānāh vāyabhā; S vāyavāpanayanās. 57 So D2, S, Rm; Pāñ. 4.1.73; (cf. K&L, and the name of the disciple in the Śakuntala); Pl, Ed, Caland śāmkaravāh; M, G, T śāmkaravāh; Bu sambhāvah; Be, U sambhārasvah; P2 sākarāvas; Sk sādaravah (not śāma- as reported by Caland); R vāš only; D1 om; Note however that Mān. has śāmkarava). 58 Omitted by S, D2, P2, Be, U, Sk, R; probably merely dittography of preceding; Dl kāra-; Pl kāraavah; G kāraeavah; T kāra-bhāḥ; Bu kāravavah; M kāravavah; Ed khaṇḍavas; Caland's comparison of Kālabava (Āpast., among the Viśāvatmās) is improbable.
59. Chandramasā
60. Gāngeyā
61. Anūpeyā
62. Yājñikā
63. Jabālir
63a. Pārimandalir
64. Bāhumitrāyana
65. Āpiśalayo
66. Vaistapureyā
67. Lauhitāyana
68. Uṣṭrākṣa
69. Nādāyana
70. Śāradvatāyana
71. Rajitavāhā
72. Vatsā
73. Vātyāyana iti

These are Vatsas. They have a five-rai pravara,

"Bhārgava, Cāyana, Apnavāna, Aurva, Jamadagnya," etc.

59 So T, Be, U, Sk, P2 (and implied by D); Pl, Ed, S, R, M, G, Bu-masi. 61 Conj; S anupeyā; B anupeyā; Be, U, R, D2 naupeyā; P2, Ed, D1 nopeya; Pl naupeya; Sk laupeya.
62 So B, D; R, Sk, P yājñiya; Ed yājñiya. 63 So Ed, D, Sk; Pl jāv-; P2 yāvanir; R yāvalir; B om. 63a So B; A om.; it seems unlikely that either of these names (63 and 65) could have been substituted in mistake for the other; pārimandalin is inserted by D from its B-source; K&L testifies to the claim of the latter name, Āpast. perh. to that of the former. 64 Sk -āryana. 65 So A; B āpi(vi)āleyo; S āpijMāleyo; D āpiśalīn. 66 Pl -gtha; Sk caisapuravo; D viṣṭapuriḥ. 67 So P2, R; others lōh-; S, Be, U (Caland’s citation of Be, U may possibly be an error for Bu), roh-; 68 D2 udamrksaḥ; 69 So Caland; B naḥ-; A māl-; Pan.4.1.99; again doubtful, since Mān. gives mālāyana against K&L mālāyana, Mātsya nādāyana. 70 So G, T, Bu, S, Be, U, Sk, D; P2, Ed -vant-; M, T sāthadva-; Pl sādhatāyena; R sādṛdravāntyanā. 71 So B, R, S; Ed, D1 rājata-; D2, Sk rajata-; Pl, Be, U rāhajita-; P2 rāhatita-. 72 Ed vāsā; S vānā; Pl vāsā; D1 vāsah vataśaḥ; rest, vatsā. 73 S vātyāh.
These are Bidas. They have a five-ṣāi pravara, "Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavāna, Aurva, Baida," etc.

1. Bidān-Sailā
2. Avatān-Sailān
3. Pracānayogya
4. Abhayajātān
5. Kāndaratnayō
6. Vaidabhrtaṅ
7. Pulastaya
8. [Arkāyana]
9. Markāyana
10. Nastrāyanaṅ
11. Krāumcayana
12. BhuMJāyana
13. Jāmalāyana iti
These are Ārṣiṣēnas. They have a five-ṛṣi pravara, "Bhārgava, Cyāvāna, Āpnavāna, Ārṣiṣēna, Ānūpa," etc.

The Vatsas, Bidas, and Ārṣiṣēnas have no inter-marriage. They have a five-fold cutting of the sacrificial cake (1).

---

1. The last two sentences are omitted by M, G; Be, U have for the second, teṣāṁ pañcāvattina iti.
1. Yaskā
2. Mauno
3. Mūko
4. Vādhulo
5. Varsapuṣpo
6. Bāleyo
7. Rājitatāyino
8. Durdino
9. Bhāskaro
10. Daivantāyano
11. Vārkaleyō
12. Mādhyameyā
13. Vāsayaḥ
14. Kausāmbeyān
15. Kauṭilīyāḥ

Note the unusually large number of singular forms.

2 So A; M,T mūno; D2 mono; G maunā; Bu amunā.
3 Be mūko; G mūka; S mauko. 4 Ed,P,DL,Sk vādhulo.
5 DL,Ed -ṣya; D2 varsamukhyo. 6 So M,T,Bu;G Bālāyo;
S vāleyo; Be,U mātābhāvoyo; Ed,P mātalayo; Sk,D
bhāgaleyō; R nāgaleyō (cf. bhāgalyo in K&L).
7. So B,Ed;Be,U -tāpino; S rāhitatāyana;Pl rātitatāyino;
DL rājitāpiḥ rodadinah bhāgavijñeyah;D2 rājitadraṇo (?)
bhāgavigleyah (with -vig- deleted); P2 rojitaino;
R,Sk bhāgavijñeyo only (cf. K&L). 8 So B,Ed,D,R;
Pl urdino; P2 dadinau; Sk durnido; Be,U durdito;
S udāno. 9 Pl -re; S bāskaro. 10 So M,G,Be,U,DL,R;
P,Ed daivatāyano;D2 daivam- with anusvāra deleted;
S raivantāyano; Sk daivajāyano; T devamātāyana;P2 adds
raivantāyano,DL adds jaivatāyano. 11 So Sk,D2;Cf.
gāṇa 110,7; Ed,P vākalayo;Bu bākalaya;R vārkalaya;
DL vārkarelaya; M bākalaya;S Bālakayo;G,T Bāskalayo;
Be,U,Caland bāskaleyō. 12. DL ma-; Sk mādhreyā;
S vyādhyameyā. 13 So M,Bu; G,T pāsayaḥ; A vāsayaḥ;
S vādāyah. 14 P2 kauṣāseyaḥ. 15 So Be,U,Ed,DL;
Pl,R,Sk,D2 krauviṣyāḥ; P2 krauviṣyāḥ; M kauṭhilyāḥ;
Bu kathilyāṇ; T krauṇṭhilyāḥ;G kaundalyāḥ; S om;
Be,U add saptavayah krauviṣyāḥ (ie. dittography
of 16 and 15); P2 alone of the others adds
satyakeyaḥ krauviṣyāḥ.
16. Satyakaś
17. Citrasena
18. Bhāgantayo
19. Vārkāśvakaya
20. Aukthā
21. ↑aurgacitayo
22. Bhāguritthaya iti

These are Yaskas. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara,
"Bhārgava, Vaitahavya, Sāvetasa (1)," for the Hotr,
"like Savetas, Vītahavya, Bhṛgu" for the Adhvaryu.

16 So Be, U, M, T, R; Pl, Ed, Dl satyakayah (Dl -kiḥ);
P2 satyakarmaś; G samyaki-; Bu sasakah; Sk satyakapayaḥ;
S satyaka-; D2 saptaki-. 17 Sk vi-. 18-21 omitted by Ed, Pl, Sk, R.
18 D2 bhāskah bhāgatiḥ. 19 So S, Caland, cf. K&L, vṛkāśvaki; P2 tṛkāśvakeya;
M, G, T vārkāśvakraya; Be, U vātārkāśvakaya; Dl vākāśvakih;
D2 vākasyakih. 20 So T, Dl, Caland; M autthā; G aukāṃ;
Bu autāyā; D2 austhah (?); P2 auttmā; S aukvā; Be, U om; cf. gana kanyādi. 21 So S; P2 aurgucitatayo;
G aurgacirayo; Be, U augacitayo; T aukthitayāḥ (confused with preceding); M auksataya; Bu aurgāh citayān; D2 aurgacittih; Dl urgevitrah; Caland conj.
augracitayo. 22 So B; Pl bhaguritryā; P2 bhāgurichaya;
Ed, Dl bhāgurir nūpa; D2 bhāgurinūpa (nūpa?); S bhāguririddhayāḥ; Sk bhāgurih ochayān; R nāgurichayo;
a common Ms form of -tha is hardly distinguishable from -cha.

1) Indiscriminately sāvetasa, sāvedasa; savetasasavat,
savedasavat; Be, U have savedovat, others -asavat.
Possibly we should read savedhas, cf. the other lists.
These are Mitrayus. They have a three-rśi pravara, "Śārgava, Vādhryāśva, Daivodāsa," etc.

1. Mitrayūnām
2. Raustṛyāyanānām
3. Sāyandīnām
4. Saurāṃbhīnām
5. Mālāyā
6. Yāvālyā
7. Mahāvālyās
8. Tarkeyāyanā
9. Aurukṣayāyanā
10. Vājāyanā
11. Madaghayaḥ
12. Kaitavāyanā iti
1. Vainyāḥ
2. Pārtha
3. Bāskalāḥ
4. [Śyaitā] iti

These have a three-ṛsi pravara, "Bhārgava, Vainya, Pārtha" for the Hotṛ, "like Prthu, Vena, Bhṛgu" for the Adhvaryu.

1. Śunakā
2. Gārtaśamadā
3. Yajñapayāḥ
4. Saugandhayaḥ
5. Kīṭārdamāyaṇā

---

Dl; P2 aurākṣāyaṇā; S urākṣāyaṇā; M,G urukṣāyaṇā; Bu urukṣāyaṇā; Pl,R,Ed,D2 uksāyaṇā; This last is added by Dl, and (after no. 10) by P2; T,Sk om.
10 So Be,U,P,R; M,G,T,S,Ed,Dl vāṁj-; Bu vāṁj-;
D2 vāṁn-. 11 So M,G,Caland, cf. gapa upakādi;
T mādāpayāḥ; Bu madārpayāḥ; Be,U mājāyanāḥ;
P1 mājāghaya; P2 mājathayaḥ; Ed mājādhyayaḥ;
S māndaśayaḥ; Dl māṁjadhiḥ; D2 mājāpiḥ; Sk,R om.
12 Sk kaitarāyaṇāḥ.

1,2 M om. 3 Pl vālkalāḥ; P2 cāśkalāḥ; Bu pātkalāḥ; T pātkalkā; R (pārthava)  śkalāḥ. 4 Only in R (Śyaitā), Sk (śyetaḥ), Bu (śvetāḥ), D2 (śyainā); Be,U (śākalāḥ).

3 G,Sk yajñapatayāḥ; D yajñāpiḥ; S yapayāḥ; all the others yajñapayāḥ; Caland's comparison with the Laugakṣisūtra (i.e. Pl's reading for K&L) - yajñapayāḥ - is doubtful; see the readings noted there. D inverts 2 and 3. 4 So A; M,T sapayaḥ; G saupayaḥ; Bu saurbhakayaḥ; S saumayaḥ.
5 So all (Dl knādarmāyaṇāḥ) except G, which has kārd-, cf. the other lists.
6. Gāngāyaṇa
7. Matsyagandhāś
8. Cauksah
9. Śrottriyaś
10. Taittirīyaḥ
11. palpūlā iti

These are Śunakas. They have a one-ṛṣi pravara, "Śunaka" etc.; or else "Gārtsamada" for the Hotr, "like Gārtsamada" for the Adhvaryu (1).

6 So B, (but Bu gahā-), S, Dl; D2, Ed ēr̥bhāyaṇāḥ (both with dental); P2 gāgayahāḥ; P1 gābhāyaṇāḥ;
R, Sk ēr̥bhāyaṇāḥ; Dl adds ēr̥bhāyaṇāḥ; P2, Be, U add after no. 7, ēr̥bhāyaṇāḥ. 7 Dl mā-; P1 masya-;
D2 matsa-. 8 Only in B, S, Be, U; with Dl, svaujaḥ; D2 svaijaḥ; cf. the other lists; after
this name, Be, U have caitriyaḥ (dittography
of following). 10 So A (D2, P2 -riyaḥ; R om.);
M, G, T tittirīyaḥ; Bu tittarīyaḥ; S tittirayaḥ.
11 So T, G; M, Dl patpūlā; Bu āpatpūlāḥ;
Be pitpulā; U vippulā; S patyulā; D2 pratpūlā;
A om. (Galand's citation of R and Sk is out of
place, and belongs to the K&L list, as he surmised.)

1) Bu alone reads, interestingly, gārtsamadāṇāṁ
ekārṣeṇāḥ gārtsmadedī hotā, etc, (omitting
va) but there seems to be no reason for assuming
two groups within the gana.
E. Āpastamba.

First we shall explain those of the Bhrgus.

The Jāmādagnya-Vatsas have a five-ṛṣi pravara, "Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnāvāna, Aurva, Jāmadagnya" etc. But some give a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Bhārgava, Aurva, Jāmadagnya" etc. Now this pravara belongs, without alteration, to

1. Sāvarṇī-  
2. Jīvanti-  
3. Jāmālīya-  
4. Aitīsāyana-  
5. Vairohitya-  
6. Avaṭa-  
7. Maṇḍu-  
8. Prācinayogayānāṃ

The Ārṣṭiṣeṇas have a five-ṛṣi pravara, "Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnāvāna, Ārṣṭiṣena, Anūpa", etc. But some give a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Bhārgava, Ārṣṭiṣena, Anūpa", etc.

1. Viṭahavya  
2. Yaskā-  
3. Vadhūla-  
4. Mauna-  
5. Maukāḥ

These have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Bhārgava, Viṭahavya, Sāvedasa", etc.

3. So P2, D1, Ed; Pl Jāmālya; Garbe, Ch. Rao Jābālya; D2 Jāmāpta-. Jābālya might be taken to correspond to Jābāli, Baudh. (Vatsas, no. 63 q.v.), but it is more probable that we have here the same family as in Baudh. Bidas, no. 13. Note how Āpastamba comprises under the one head of Jāmadagnya-Vatsas families which the other lists distribute between the two separate groups of Vatsas and Bidas. D adds here the curious remark Bhrguvad ity ekapravara ity āpastambaḥ, thus showing that its source was defective.
bhṛgūṇ evāgre vyākhyāsyāmo

1. ----
(2. Jāmadagnyā
(3. vātsyā
4. ---- (see below, after no. 44)
5. ---- ( " " " " )

3 Ms vatsyā.
The Gārtsamada-Śunakas (1) have a one-ṛṣi pravara, "Gārtsamada", for the Hotṛ, "like Gārtsamada" for the Adhvaryu. (2).

The Vādhryāśva-Mitrayus (3) have a one-ṛṣi pravara, "Vādhryāśva" for the Hotṛ, "like Vādhryāśva" for the Adhvaryu. (2).

The Vainya-Pārthas have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Bhārgava, Vainya, Pārtha", "like Prthu, Vena, Bhṛgu". Thus these Bhṛgus have been explained (4).

C. Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi.

First we shall explain those of the Bhṛgus:

1. Bhṛgavo
2. Jamadagnayo
3. Vatsā
4. Dārbhir
5. Nādāyanā

(1) In the original, both names are nom.pl., but it seems much more likely that they are to be understood in apposition rather than as denoting two separate branches of the family. In a very high proportion of the families thus denoted by two names, these two names also occur in the pravara, the remaining pravara-ṛṣi being the eponym of the major gotra. (2) The words "iti hotā", "ity adhvaryuḥ" appear in Āpastamba's text only in the case of these one-ṛṣi pravāras. (3) Ed mitrayuvah; P2, Garbe mitrāyuvah. None of the sources give the correct (Pāṇinean) form, mitrayavah; see above, p. 207. (4) Ed omits this sentence.

1-3 of course form a heading for the whole family, the Vatsas being a subdivision of the Jamadagnis (or, as in note (1) above, cognate with them), while the latter are a subdivision of the Bhṛgus. 4 Cf Baudh. dārbhāyana. 5. All the sources here, nāl- (but Matsya, nāḍ-); cf Pān. 4.1.99 (nāḍāyanā), and gana 15.75 (nāḍāyanā).
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<td>†paukāśeralānām</td>
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<td>19. Pārṇīlī-</td>
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<td>†śeralānām</td>
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<td>23. Vaiṣṭapureya-</td>
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<td>24. pālākṣi-</td>
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<td>25. Taulakeśinām</td>
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<td>†asam</td>
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<td>26. Ṛtabhāga-</td>
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<td>27. Arttabhāga-</td>
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Ma readings: 9 pailu. 11 jaimanti. 12 kāṛṇodari. 13 vraihīvrāhimiti. 14 vairohe. 17 vaiśvāmara. 18 vairūpākṣi. 19 pārṇāli. 20 vrkāśvakānām. 21 ucitamanā. 25 tailākakeśinām. 26 ṛtabhāya.
6. Vāgāyana-
7. Anusātaki-
8. Jaihyati-
9. Paila-
10. Saunakāyani-
11. Jīvanti-
12. Kambalodari-
13. Vaihīnari-
14. Vairohitya-
15. rekhāyani-
16. Pārṣati-
17. Viśavānari-
18. Vairūpākśi-
19. Pārṇīli-
20. Vṛkāśavānanām
21. Uccairmanyu-
22. Sātyakarṇi-
23. Viṣṭapureyi-
24. Viśāki-
25. Taulakesinām
26. Rtabhāga-
27. Ārtabhāga-

6 P2 vag-; S vād-. 7 Sk ओजनानेक्यो (sic); P2 anāsātaki. 8 So P1, Ed, Sk, D; P2 jailati; D1 jaihmati; R jainhyya(?)tayaḥ. 9 Ed pala; P2 paula. 10 So P2, cf. Baudh.; P1 -nim; Ed āaunakāryāna. 11 D2 Ṣvānta; R jīvatabyaḥ. 12 So Ed, P, R, Sk (P1 and R -val-). 13 So P1; P2, Ed vaihānari; R, Sk, S vaihāyana. 14 So Ed, P2; P1 -tā; R, Sk, D om. 15 So all, except D2, revāyatih; P2 raikhāyani; S reśāyani; note the dental -n-; cf. possibly ālekhana, Baudh. (the final -a of P1's reading in 14 in that case would belong here). 16 So R, Sk; P1 pārśatai; Ed, Dl pārvati; D2 pārkhati; S sāyati; P2 yāryati. 18 P1 -narāi. 19 So P, R, Sk, S; Ed panili; D1 pārṇinaliḥ; D2 सूचनियो (sic); possibly pāñini in Baudh. belongs here. 21 Restored from Baudh.; Ed, P, R, Sk uccayamāna; D1 ruca-
मāna; D2 rudrayamāna. 22 So Ed, P, R; Sk sāsa-; D1 sāpta-;
D2 sātyakapi; P1 omits 22-33 and adds them in a second hand in margin. 23 P2 valiṣṭapurepi (cf Matsya). 24 D bā-;
R vālkaya-. 25 Ed -keśīnām; P2 -kaiśīnām; D2 -keśoḥ;
Sk -kecinaḥ; R -keśina. 27. P2 ārtabhārgava.
28. Mārkandeya-
29. Māndu-
30. Māndavya-
   viśhāndaka-
31. Māndūkeya-
32. ) + arcanāmām
33. ) + arcanāmām
34. + sphenamadbhūtā-
35. Stholapindī-
36. + salisāpatyā-
37. Sārkarākaśa-
38. Devamatīnām
39. + āyāna-
40. + ārcāyana-
41. Gāṅgāyana-
42. ---- ) (cf. the last two names).
43. ---- )
44. Vaiśāmpāyana-
   Vāyavyāyana-
   +audumbrāyana-
   +saurayī-
   1. Dārbhi-
   2. Malāyana-
45. Sāṁkarava-
46. Kālava-
47. Cāṇūkeya-
48. Vaikarni-
    saunakarni-
    saunḍakarni-
49. Sāṁkṛtya-

Ms. readings: 26 mārkandaye. 35 stholapīndā. 37-1 dālohi. 45 sāmkarava. 46 kālava.
47 cālukāpo. 48 and the two following names appear with the singular ending, -iḥ.
49 sāmīgityā.
28. Mārkanḍeyā-  
29. Manḍu-  
30. Māndavya-  
31. Māndukiya-  
32. Ajīhīna-  
33. Atithinām  
34. Ṭsthauamāṃgori-  
35. Sthaulapindī-  
36. Ṭsaukhabarnī-  
37. Sārkarākṣi-  
38. Devatātinām  
39. Ārāyanīn  
40. Āhvāyanī-  
41. Gāṅgāyanī-  
42. Ṭgṛhyāyanī-  
43. Gosṭhāyanī-  
44. Vaiśāṃpāyanī-  
45. Sārṇīgarava-  
46. Gālava-  
47. Gānukiya-  
48. Vaikarṇī-  
49. Sāmkṛtya-

29 Ed manda. 32, 33 So Sk; Ed ājihātithīnām; P2 ājihītā-
tithīnām; P1 jihitātithīnām; Dl ājihātithī; D2 ājihītā
tithīntī; R agnīhitā atithhayāh. 34 SoPl; S sthauamāgoṭi; 
Ed sthauamāgauri; Sk sthauamāngiri; R sthauamā girayāh; 
Dl sthauamāngāriḥ; D2 māngirīḥ only; P2 sthauamāngiri. 
35 So S; all the others, sthaua (Sk sthola) only; cf. the 
other lists. 36 So Ed; Pl saukhāvahir; R saukhā varhiṣo; 
Sk saukhāḥ barhiṣo; Dl saukhovāhiḥ; D2 saukhāḥ barhiḥ; 
P2 sausābharhi; the -sa- of P2 may be better here, cf. Mān. 
37 So P1; Ed sa-; P2 karkarākṣi. 38 Cf. gaṇa 110.9. 
40 S kāhlāyana; pern. read kāhvāyaṇa, cf. Baudh. no.55. 
41 So P2; Pl, Ed gārbhyāyana (but Ed with dental -na); 
R, Sk gāṅgāyana; D gārbhyāyana; cf. Mān. and Baudh. no.60. 
42 So R, Sk, D; Ed goh-; P2 kātyāyana; Pl om. 43 So Sk, R, Dl; 
D2 -stā-; Ed -sthyā-; P2 -stya-; Pl goṣṭagayana; read 
gauṣṭhayana? cf. Baudh. no.23. 45 So P; Ed sārbharava; 
S sāṁgara; cf. Pān. 4.1.73. 46 So Pl, D, Sk, R; Ed gaulava; 
P2 gālāvarbhāyana-gohāyāna-sarkiṅkāṣi. 47 So Ed, P2; 
D2 vān-; Dl vān-; Pl vānakēya; S vānukaya; Sk (misplaced 
after no.49) vānakayāḥ. 48 So P; Ed raikāṇi; S naikāṇi. 
49 So Ed, P, D; R, Sk (making the word-division wrongly) 
sāmkṛtyāḥ.
Mān.

50. Aitiśāyanānām
51. Yājnēya-
52. Bhrāṣṭreya-
53. kāmāla
       anda
54. ----
55. ----
56. Pārimandalāyana-
       alundhi-
       krausti-
59. saudhakinām
60. Paingalāyana-
61. Sātyakāyana-
62. Kaucahasti-
       kovahūṃḍīm-
       saṃkhyamitra-
       cāndramitra-
63. Gāndramasy-
64. Anulomi-
65. Kauṭilya-
       [Saunakāyani] (displacing 66, 67).
66. Kāṃsya-

Ms. readings: 50 tvāgīśāyanānām. 51 yāgneya.
60 paiga-, 64 anulomī 65. kauṭalī.
50. Aitísāyanañām
51. Yajñeyan-52. Bhrāstreyan-
53a. Bhrāstreyan-
54. Lākṣeyan-
55. Lākuc-
56. Lālāti-
57. Ṛāmrāṇḍalinām
58. Mālāyan-
59. Ṭāvigauvi
60. Saumānikīnām
61. Pāṅgalāyana-
62. Kaucahastin-
63. Cāndramasa-
64. Ānulumīn-
65. Kauṭīlyan-
66. Cauksa-
67. Krauṅcākṣi-
68. Kāmsa-

50 So Ed; D,R altikāyana; P iti kātyāyanañām
Sk aunikāyanaḥ; altikāyana appears alongside aitīsāyana in gana nadādi, and would seem to be the archetypal reading here; but it is virtually certain that the name must correspond to aitīsāyana in the Baudh. list. In both places, it is tempting to read altasāyana (cf. Kauṣ. Br. 30.5; Alī. Br. 6.33.), who is no doubt meant, but the spelling aiti- had clearly become fixed in the pravara-lists at a very early date. 52 So Ed, Sk, R, Dl, P2; D2 -ṣṭe-; P1 bhāṣṭhe only. 52a So Ed, Sk, R, D2, P2; Bl āstreyan; P1 streyā only; this name (if indeed not mere ditto-graphy), is presumably simply an alternative spelling of the preceding. 53 P1 lekṣāyā. 54 So P2, R, Sk, D2; Dl lāpuḥ vi-; Ed ṭaṅkuṣa; P1 leyālālaci. 55 So Ed; P2, Sk, D2; P1 Tālādi; R lālāti. 56 So Ed; P2 pāli-; R pāryomāṇḍ-; P1 -ṇandānām. 57 5 ni. 58 So Pl; P2 umāndi-avīgauvi; Ed atīgauvi; Bl avīh gauviḥ; D2 avīgauviḥ; R āvayo gauvaḥ; Sk āvapa āgāvapa; S āvigozi. 59 P1 sausva/ kāṇām. 60 So Ed, P2; Pl paippalāyana; S pangaḷāyana. 61 After this name, R repeats nos. 52-54 (lastas lakuḥ). 62 So S, Sk; P1 kocahasti; Ed, P2 kauvahasthi; Dl kocihastiḥ; D2 kocadasti; R kauvahastayo. 63 So Ed, P2; P1 -sām. 64 Ed, P2 -laumi; Sk, R anulomin-; P1 nolomi; D anulomīṇ. 65 Conj. cf. Māṇ., Matsya; S kauṭi only; Ed kauṭa; P1 kaucau; P2 kauha (or kauḍ?); D, Sk kruṇca; R kauḍāś. 66 So R; P2 cauksa; Sk caiksa; Ed cakṣu; S sauksi; P1, D om. 67 So Ed, Dl, Sk, S; P1 krauc-; P2 kauc-; D2 kraucasi; R krauṅkṣayaḥ. 68 So P, S; Ed takes half with the preceding, half with the following name -āksikānām sasār-dhvaji-; rest omit.
Ms readings: 69 sāradvāta. 72,73 sākalāstrākgo. 74 vākāyany. 37 kāsyakrātsnau-. 43 goṣṭāyana.
In the adhvaryu's pravara, nimathinavad. maujāyanās. ārṣeyah simply.

(1) D,R have: Vai(or bai-)java-nimathitayoh.....valjava
nimathiteti. Sk valjavamithiteti tayoh....valjavana
mithiteti. D,with the Nirṇaya-sindhu and the late
Dharma-sindhu, give in addition the Sāthara-Mātharas
(pravara, Bhārgava, Sāthara, Māthara), which the
others include among the Viśvāmitras, q.v.
69. Šaradvati-
70. † vadyāpalepayā
71. Naikarśi-
72. Sākalya-
73. Ustrākṣi-
74. Vākāyanī-
75. Anumati-
76. Tjaikajihvi-
77. † Jāihmāmmanya-
78. † āṃnakrama-
79. † nirāni-
80. Īsāi-
81. Madanā-
82. Tayoṣa-
83. Syandani-
84. Kātherani-
85. Lāverani-
86. Tsaugeoli-
87. Kāśakṛtana-
88. Madhyodā īti

69 Restored; D2 āgaradvaniḥ; Ed, P2, R, Dl, S sāradhvajī; Pl māradhvajī; Sk saurabdhajī. 70 So Ed; s vāṭitālepaya; Pl vādhvapalepaya; P2 vāghālepapaya; Dl vāghālepaḥ; D2 vāghālopaḥ; R yāmvālepānā; Sk vāṭhyātkepāḥ. 71 So P, Sk, D2; Ed nāivarṣi; Dl nākarṣiḥ; R nākaśayah; S nekarṣi; Sk misplaces 71-76 between 61 and 62. 72 So P, R, Sk, Dl; D2 śāṭhakalma; Ed sākaklpaḥ; S sākatya; P2 inserts before this name, krahvah(?) kibabhṛā. 73 S āstrakṣī. 74, 75 Doubtfully conjectured from Mān. (and cf. Matsya); Ed, D, R pākānumati; Pl pākānyāji; P2 pākānumuti; S pānumati; Sk yākānumati. 76 So Ed, Sk; S jaikajimhi; Pl yakajidvi; P2 jaikājhīvah; Dl ajaikajihvih; D2 rajaikajihmih (r belongs to previous word, in spite of the visarga); R jaikajihyayo. 77 So P2; Ed vaihyāḥ; Pl jaigataḥ; D1 jaikhmāyaniḥ; Sk jaihyākaniḥ; R jaihmā-smanaya; S jaihyāspaḥ. 78 So P2, Dl, Sk; R -āsḥ; Ed āṃmakramaniḥ; D2 rātramanakramaḥ; Pl yajamaḥ; S kṣema. 79. So P, Ed, D; R nirānaye; Sk nirīnayaḥ; S nirānā. 80 D2 vaksīḥ; Dl joins this with the next name. 81 Conj; Ed, Pl, mādānā; S madanaḥ; P2, R sādānā; Dl sādānaḥ; Sk sādanaḥ; D2 sthādanah. 82 So Ed, P, D, R; Sk syopa; S syāpa. 83 So Ed, Sk, R; D2, P2 spandati; Pl datī only; S syundati; D2 syavājih. 84 Restored; cf. gāpa gahādi; Ed, R, Sk kāṭeḥ; S, Dl kānṭheḥ; D2 kaveḥ; P2 kāṭheḥ; Pl kāthoḥ; 85 cf. gāpa gahādi; Ed, P2, Sk lāveḥ; R bhaveḥ; Pl, Dl gaveḥ; D2, S om. 86 So P, Sk, R, D; Ed saugauli. 87 Ed kāsaḥ. 88 S, R madhyodā; Sk māndhyoda.
Man.

1. atha jamadagninam
2. Pracinayogyah
3. Pulastyah
4. Vaidabhrtah
5. Kraucayanah
6. Abhayajatas
7. tautayana
8. Avathah
   + sakarninah
   bhalvasayo
10. bhargava iti

pravara: Bhargava, Cyavana, Apnavana (1).

Man.

1. braudheyah
2. Margapathah
3. Graumyanir
4. atha naikasI
5. Apastambhir
6. + vibhili karuni
7. Kardamir
8. Artsiena-
9. Gardabha-
   + satapathi iti (sia)

W.

1. ---
2. + ...thah
3. Graumyanir
4. tapyatekesi
5. Apastambhir
6. + bharni
7. Kardamir
8. Artsiena-
9. Gardabhas ca
10. Anupa iti

Mss readings:

Man. 5 kroincayanah-
2 madrapathah. 3 grumyanI. 5 -blI.
7 -mir. 9 garbha.

W. 3 grumanyapya-. 8 astryena.

(1) This pravara really belongs to the Vatsyas, cf. K&L, and a lacuna has evidently occurred in the text. Note that the Matsya text agrees with Man. in this.
These have no intermarriage. They have a five-rsi pravara, "Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavaṇa, Aurva, Jāmadagnya," etc.

1. atha Jamadagnayo 
2. Prācinayogyaḥ 
3. Paulastyaḥ 
4. Vaidabhrtah 
5. Krauucayanā 
6. Abhayajatās 
7. traikāyanā 
8. Avaṭā 
9. Bhrājatyā iti

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-rsi pravara, "Bhārgava, Aurva, Jāmadagnya," etc.

The Vātasyas have a three-rsi pravara, "Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavaṇa," etc.

1. Ṭ bhrgvamdpā 
2. Märgapathā 
3. Grmyayaṇir 
4. Adhvanaikasir 
5. Āpaastambir 
6. Bhālvih 
7. Kārdamāyanā 
8. Ārstiṣena-
9. Gardabhayo 
10. (A)nūpā iti

---

4 Cf. Mān; P2 vaidabhrtah; Dl, Ed, Sk vedabhrtah; Pl vedabhtyātah. 5 P2 krauc-. 6 D2 bhayājatās; S abhajatās. 7 So Pl, Ed, P, D2 -nā (dental); Dl kraumkāyanā; S sraikāyanā (dental). 8 So P, S, Ed, Sk, D bhrāja (all sg.) iti; after this name, Sk bhrādantyiḥ vaikāyanāḥ bhrjāyanyā; Dl bhrajāyantyā stāikāyanah bhaṁjāyanyā; D2 mādasā saikāyanā bhrjāyana.

1 So Pl, R, Dl, Ed bhrgvediyā; P2 gaivedi only; D2 bhrgvmeda; S bhrgvedāyā; D, surprisingly, says that nos. 1 and 2 have the Bida-pravara according to Kātyāyana but are Ārṣīsenas according to the Mātsya. 2 D mārgapathi; Pl, R, -yathā. 3 So S, Ed, -nir (dental); P -dir. 4 So Ed, Pl -pir; P2 -sir; S adhvanekasir; R naikasir only; D2 naikasir only; 5 R ādastavir; Pnyastamvi (first syllable blotted); D2 opastavir. 6 So R, Pl bhālalvi; P2 bhālhi; Ed bhāliḥ; S dhālpiḥ kāmir; D2 bhālpiḥ (?). 7 R kārdamir; D2 kārdambāyaniḥ.
Man.

1. atha jamadagninām
2. Pracinayogyāh
3. Pulastya
4. Vaidabhrtān
5. Krauścāyanā-
6. Abhayajatās
7. taugāyana
8. Avatāh
9. śakarninā
bhālvasayō
10. bhārgavā iti

pravara: Bhārgava, Cīvava, Āpnavāna (1).

Mān.

1. bhraudheyā
2. Mārgapathā
3. Grāmyāyanir
4. atha naikasī
t
5. Āpastambir
6. vibhīllī kārṇī
t
7. Kārdamir
8. Ārṣṭiśena-
9. Gardabha-
10. Anūpā iti

Iti (sīa)

\[\text{Mass readings:}\
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Man.} & 1. --- \\
& 2 \text{ ... thā} \\
& 3. Grāmyāyanir \\
& 4. Ṭapyatekēsī \\
& 5. Āpastambir \\
& 6. bhārṇī \\
& 7. Kārdamir \\
& 8. Ārṣṭiśena-
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Mān.} & 1. --- \\
& 2 \text{ mādrapathā} \\
& 3 \text{ grāmyānī} \\
& 4. bhārṇī \\
& 5. gardabha-
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Mār.} & 1. --- \\
& 2 \text{ mādrapathā} \\
& 3 \text{ grāmanyāpya-} \\
& 4. bhārṇī \\
& 5. gardabha-
\end{array}
\]

(1) This pravara really belongs to the Vātsyās, cf. K&L, and a lacuna has evidently occurred in the text. Note that the Matsya text agrees with Mān. in this.
These have no intermarriage. They have a five-rsi pravara, "Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavaṇa, Aurva, Jāmadagnya," etc.

1. atha Jamadagnayo Bidān
2. Prācinayogyaḥ
3. Paulastyā
4. Vaidabhṛtāḥ
5. Krauṇcāyaṇā
6. Abhayajātās
7. +t raiṅkāyaṇā
8. Avaṭā
9. Bhṛjajatyā iti

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-rsi pravara, "Bhārgava, Aurva, Jāmadagnya," etc.

The Vatsyas have a three-rsi pravara, "Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavaṇa," etc.

1. ↑ bhṛgyavindīpā
2. Mārgapathā
3. Grāmyaṇāṁ
4. Adhvanaikasir
5. Āpaśambir
6. Bhālviḥ
7. Kārdamaṇyaṇā
t
8. Ārṣṭiṣena-
9. Gardabhayo
10. (A)nūpā iti

4 Cf. Mān; P2 vaidabhṛtāḥ; D1, Ed, Sk vedabhṛtāḥ; Pl vedabhṛtyātah. 5 P2 krauc-. 6 D2 bhayajātās; S abhajātās. 7 So Pl, Ed, P2, D2 -nā (dental); D1 kruṅka- yana; S sraikāyana (dental). 8 So P, S; Ed, Sk, D bhṛaja (all sg.) iti; after this name, Sk bhṛdantāyāḥ vaikāyanaḥ bhṛjāyanaḥ; D1 bhṛdajāyayaḥ sāikāyanaḥ bhṛjāyanaḥ; D2 mādasa saikāyano bhṛjāyana.
1 So Pl, R, Dl, Ed bhṛgavediyā; P2 gavedi only; D2 bhṛgvedīśa; S bhṛgavedāyā; D, surprisingly, says that nos. 1 and 2 have the Bida-pravara according to Kātyāyana but are Ārṣṭiṣenas according to the Matsya. 2 D mārgapathī; Pl, R’-yathā. 3 So S; Ed, -nir (dental); P’dir. 4 So Ed, Pl -pir; P2 -āir; S adhvanekasir; R naikasir only; D2 naikasir only; 5 R Rādastavīr; P nyastamvi (first syllable blotted); D2 opastavīr.
6 So R, Pl bhālalvi; P2 bālhi; Ed bhraḷīḥ; S dhālpiḥ kāmih; D2 bhālōniḥ (?). 7 R kārdamir; D2 kārdambāyaniḥ.
Mān.

Āpiśāyanāḥ
Kāpiśāyanā[ḥ]

Śatī

5. Draunāyanāḥ
1. Khalāyanāḥ
avicaksā
3. Maitreyā
Tatha iya
Āmodāyanā
7. Āpiśalā iti

W.

Āpiśāyanāḥ
Kāpiśāyanā

Śatī

5. raudrāyanā-†
1. -śvalāyanā
apikakṣā†
3. Maitreyā
Tanandaṣṭaya
Āmodāyanā
7. Āpiśalā
Vādhryaśva iti

1. Vaitahavya-
2. Yāska-
3. Mādhūna-
4. ---
5. Mauka-

---

Mss. readings:

5. droṇāyanāḥ
1. khalāyanāḥ
7. āpiśalā

7. apīsalā
vādhreyā iti

5. maudga-

2. pāraskara (Weber, incorporating the first syllable of the next, wrongly suggests pāraskara).
5. mautya.
These have no intermarriage. They have a five-ṛṣi ṛavara, "Bhārgava, Ciyavana, Āpnavāna, Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, Ānūpa," etc.

1. Khālāyanaḥ
2. Śākaṭāksā
3. Maitreyā
4. atha Sāmcaryo
5. Drauṇāyana
6. Raukyāyana
7. Āpiṣalā
8. pāṭikāyana
9. HāṃsaJihvā iti

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-ṛṣi ṛavara "Bhārgava, Vādhryaśva, Daivodāsa," etc.

1. Vītahavyā
2. Yaska-
3. Vādhulā
4. Mauna-
5. Mauka-

8. S -ṣeṇir 9 S,P2 gandabhīr. 10 P Ānūpā;R anūpaś ca; D2 anūpa. After no. 2, Pl inserts (from the Baudh. Bidas); kāmala ity ato (read ete) vidhāh teṣām paścarṣeyāḥ pravaro bhavati, bhārgava cyavāna- pnavaṇaurva vaideti.

1 So R,S kāl-; Ed, Dl, P1 āsvalāyanāḥ; P2 svalāyanāḥ. 2 So Dl; Sk śākaṭāksyāḥ; Pl, S, Ed sākitāksā; R sākayakṣā; P2 sākṣitāḥ ksā-. 3 So R, Sk, S, cf. Pān. 6.4.174, with gaṇa grātyādi to 4.1.136; Ed mekrayāḥ; Pl mahajyāḥ; P2 mākriyā; Dl bhaitreyāḥ. 4 So Ed, P1; Dl, R sācaryāḥ; Sk śāmbaryāḥ; D2 sāmcayo; P2 sāmcayau; S yajñaśāntayo.

5. So R; others dron-. 6 So 'R; cf. the variants for no. 2 of Baudh.'s list; S rāgrāyanāḥ; D, Pl gopāyana; P2 gopāyana. 7 Ed ṭiṣā. 8 So Dl; D2 pāṭha-; Pl pāri-; P2 pādi-R ādi-. Ed, S tāthi-. 9 So P; Ed ṭasa-; S dēsa-; Dl ṭasa-; D2, R, Sk ṭasa-; after this, P2 has by ditto- graphy, ṛchikāyānaṁ hāṣajihvā.

3 Pl vādhula; Ed vadhula. 4 So S, Ed, P2 mādhūna; Sk madhulah; R, Pl, Dl madhula; D2 madhutvo.

5 So S, Pl, P2; Ed maudga; R, Sk mausalāḥ.
Both sources give in addition the following three families:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pravara: Bhargava Vaitahavya Savedhasa (but W has savedasavad in the Adhvaryu's).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8. Gärtsamadāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Sunakā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. ūyañavaca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Saukari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Kārdamāyanā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Caukṣāś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Srotriyāḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. pratyāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ity ete sunakā ityeteśam etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

pravara = K&L

W gives also an additional alternative, Bhargava, Saunahotra, Gärtsamada.

Both sources give in addition the following three families:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vatsapurodhasānām pañcārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati bhārgava</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7. auptvaleya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. bhāleya †</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 10. Kaukṣambeya-
| 11. Vṛkṣavaki-
| 12. mādāni |
| 13. --- |
| 14. Gauriksita- |
| 15. Dairghyacita- |
| 16. pāncadhanā |
| 17. Pauṣñāvata iti |

Both sources give in addition the following three families:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vatsapurodhasānām pañcārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati bhārgava</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8. Gärtsamadāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Sunakā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. ūyañavaca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Saukari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Kārdamāyanā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Caukṣāś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Srotriyāḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. pratyāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ity ete sunakā ityeteśam etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

W gives also an additional alternative, Bhargava, Saunahotra, Gärtsamada.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSS readings:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 tvīvatāyano. 8 bhāgalī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 bhāgavite. 10 kauśātipi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 vṛkṣāsaki. 14 kaurikṣi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 daurgavitam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 gārhamadāh, 2 sukarī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 kādā-. 5 (a)vokṣāś.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 srotryā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pūtenuṣakā ity eteśam etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These have no intermarriage. They have a three-rṣi pravara, "Bhārgava, Vaitahavya, Sāvedasa," etc.

1. Yājñāpayah
2. Saukarā
3. Matsyagandhān
4. Kārdamāyanāś
5. Caukṣaṁ
6. Śrottriyaṁ
7. Pratyaṁ
8. Ārutsamadāṁ
9. Śunakaṁ iti

These have no intermarriage. They have a one-rṣi pravara, "Gārtsamadāṁ," etc.; or a two-rṣi pravara, "Bhārgava, Gārtsamadāṁ," etc.
cyāvanāpnavāna (1) vatsa paurodhaseti hotā purodhasavad vatsavad apnavānavac cyavana-
vad bhṛguvad ity adhvaryuh.

vedaviśvajyotisās teṣāṁ tryārṣeyah prava-
ro bhavati bhṛgava veda viśvajyotisāteti
hota viśvajyotisavad vedavad bhṛguvad ity
adhvaryuh (2).

pārthavainyanāṁ tryārṣeyah pravaro bhavati(3)
bhṛgava vainya pārtheti hotā prthuvad
venavad bhṛguvad ity adhvaryuh.

(1) Mān. omits to this point, and also omits
āpnavānavac cyavanaavad from the Adhvaryu's
pravara. The reading of W is supported by Sk,R,
D, and the Nirnaya-sindhu.

(2) So D, Nirnaya-sindhu, Dharma-sindhu; D
however gives them at the very end of the Bhṛgus,
after the usual prohibition of intermarriage, so
that one may suspect that they have been in-
terpolated. D moreover attributes the family to
Kātyāyana.

(3) W pārthavavenānām, and in the pravara,
pārthaveti; Mān pārthasvetanām, and in the
pravara, vainya pārthiveti, vēnuvat.

Mān. places these three families between
the Yaskas and the Grtsamada-Sunakas, W between
the Ārṣṭiśeṇas and the Mitrayu-Vādhryāśvas. They
are given at the end here merely for convenience,
and their correct place remains uncertain.
D. Āśvalāyana.

The Jāmadagnya- Vātsas have a five-rāsi pravara, "Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavaṇā, Aurva, Jāmadagnya."

But those who are not Jāmadagnyas (1) have "Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavaṇā".

Of the Ārṣṭiśeṇas, "Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavaṇā, Ārṣṭiśena, Āṇūpa".

Of the Bīdas, "Bhārgava, Cyāvana, Āpnavaṇā, Aurva, Baida."

1. Yaska-
2. Vādhula-
3. Mauna-
4. Mauka-
5. Sārkaraḳṣi-
6. Sāṛṭi-
7. Sāvarni-
8. Śālankāyana-
9. Jaimini-
10. Jīvantyayanānāṃ

These have "Bhārgava, Vaitahavya, Śāvetasa (2)".

to Baudh.'s saugandhi. 3 Restored, cf. Baudh., Matsya; Skṇasagandhāḥ; D2 māsagandhah; all the others, māṃsa- gandhāḥ. 4 Ed, P kārd-.; D2 kārdāyana. 5 So Ed, P1; P2, D2 śvaukṣā. 6 P1 -tryā. 7 So Ed, P2, R, Sk; P1 prasūṣām; D2 pratyuṣyo. 9 In S only.
1 Ed yāska; P2 yāskaka; P1 yaskr. 2 P1 śyula.
3 P2 maunasa. 5-9 P1 om. 6 P2 sānuṣṭi. 7 P2 om. D confirms 6 and 7 (dvāv adhikāv āśvalāyanoktau). 10 P1 Jīvantyaθalānāṃ; Bibl. Ind., Vidh. Pāṛ. daivantyaayanānāṃ.

(1) So Ed, Ch. Rao, Bibl. Ind. - atha hājām-. Berl, P athāha jām-. in place of this paragraph, Vidh. Pāṛ has vatsa-śrīvatsayōś ca tathaiva. (2) So Bibl. Ind., Vidh. Pāṛ.; Ed śāvedasa; P2 śāvedhasa.
Of the Śyaitas (1), "Bhārgava, Vainya, Pārtha".

Of the Mitrayus, "Vādhryaśva"; or a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Bhārgava, Daivodāsa, Vādhryaśva".

Of the Śunakas, "Grtsamada" (sic); or a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Bhārgava, Saunahotra (2), Grtsamada."

E. Matsya Purāṇa.

(Purusottama, after some laudatory verses, quotes in full the legend from the Purāṇa of the production of the ṛṣis from the sperm of Brahma. This contains nothing of the slightest historical value for the elucidation of the pravaras, and we may safely omit it here. After it, the text continues: - ) (3).

1) I shall tell the gotras and pravaras of Bhṛgu, of brilliant strength:

1. Bhṛguṣ ca
   Cyavanas caiva
   Āpnavaṇas tathaiwa ca
   Aurvāṣ ca

2. Jamadagniṣ ca

3. Vātsyo

4. Dārbhir

5. Nādāyanah

---

(1) So Ed, Bibl.Ind.; possibly a mere scribal error for vainyānāṃ; P1 sautaṇāṃ; P2 vainyānāṃ. (2) So Ed, Bibl.Ind.; P2,Vidh.Pār. saunaka. P1, by haplography, omits all between the two occurrences of the word 'tripravaram'. (3) The Ms. used for the printing of Ed inserts before the laudatory verses a śloka from the legend: polomy ajanayad viprema devānām tu kaniyasaṃ; cyavanaṃ ca mahābhāgam apnavānāṃ tathāpyasaṃ. Chentsāl Rao prints it as it stands.

The first five names are simply the pravara-ṛṣis, given as the first ancestors of the family. 3 So M; Ed,P vatsā; Sk mātsyo. 4 So Ed,P,R; M dandaḥ. 5 So Sk,Dl; D2 narāyaṇo; all the others, nādāyanāḥ, as the metre requires.
6. Vairāyana
7. Vaitihayāh
8. Paścas caiva
9. Anusātakih
10. Śaunakāyani
11. Jīvanāti
12. Kāmbodāh
13. Pārśatis tathā
14. Rauhityāyani eva ca
15. Vaiśvānarir
16. Uccairmanyuh
17. Śāvarṇīs ca
18. Vrkāavakaḥ
19. Vaiṣṭapureyi
20. Vālākis
21. Taulakeśy

6 Cf. K&L.; Ed, P vairāyano (dental); D, Sk vairāyano; M vairāyano; Kṛṣ vairāyava. 8 So D, P1; Ed, M1 vītahavyāḥ; M2 vītihavyāḥ; P2 vālvaivyāś ca; Sk, R vaiṇyo; Kṛṣ vaiṁya. 9 P2 pau-; 7 Cf. K&L; P1 -ānuśātyakah; P2 -ānuśārakin; Ed -ānuśārakin; M -ātra śaunakah; Kṛṣ suriki only. 10 M, Kṛṣ -na.
11 P2 -ti (better?). 12 So Ed; P -vo-; M 'vedah;
Kṛṣ Kāmūda. 16 So Ed, P (P1 with -s altered to -p-),
Kṛṣ; M2 kāpanis; M2 kāsanis. 13 P2 -nir;
Kṛṣ vedāna. 18 P1 viro-; 14 So M, Sk, R, P2, D2;
Ed, P1 rau-; D1 rauhityāyanaḥ; Kṛṣ rauhitya
amatita; cf. K&L vairohitya. 21 Conj.; Ed, R
kapanilur; P1 kapāti; P2 kapāyilur; Sk kṛpanilah;
M tathā nilo; Kṛṣ kapanika. 22 Ed vā śāvarṁ;
P2 ba śāvarṁ; "P1, D visāvarṁ; R sāvakarni;
Sk śāvarṁi. 20 Restored; Ed, P vikaścaruḥ;
D vikaśvārah; R kasvarur; Sk vikaśvarūpah; for 22
and 20 M haś lubdhaḥ śāvarnikaḥ ca saḥ; Kṛṣ ūrva
śāvarni caru. 23 Restored; Ed, P1 visnuḥ pāilo
pi; P2 visnuḥ paulo 'pi; M visnuḥ pau'ro 'pi; Kṛṣ
visnu paulomi; R, Sk, D1 visnu 'only; D2 vičhus.
24 So Ed; M, P2 bā-; P1 ca-; 25 So R; Sk tol-;
P1 taulikeśa-; D1 taulikeśi; D2 taulih keśiḥ;
P2 nailikena; Edaulikonā-; M aïliko.
27. Ṣrṭaṛbṛgūṇaḥ
26. Ṛtābhāgo
25. 'ṭha Mārkaṇḍur
32. Ajihīna
33. Atlitina tathā
29. Māṇḍu-
30. Māṇḍavya-
31. Māṇḍūka-
34. ṣṭaphenapāganibhas tathā
35. Sthaulapindīḥ
36. dīkāpattir
37. Śārkaraṃsīṣa tathaiva ca
39. Ārkāyano
38. Devamatir

27 So Pl; P2 -āntarbhāginaḥ; Ed -āntabhāginaḥ;
M'nantabhāgīnāḥ; Kṛṣṇaṇu kenaṃta bhāgīna. 26
Restored; Pl mṛṭabhaṅgo; P2, Ed aṣṭo bhārgo; M1
burtabharṣya; M2 mṛtabhārgyā; Kṛṣṇaṭāṇya bhārgava.
28 Pl, M -nda-; P2 -ndir; Kṛṣṇaṇu -ṇdeya; after 30, Kṛṣṇa
has vatsyāyana. 32 Conj.; cf. K&L; Ed, Sk jahino; Pl, D
jahino; P2 ṭikito; R jahilo; M javino; Kṛṣṇa urjahi.
33 Conj.;, cf. K&L; Ed, Sk, M1, P2, D1, Kṛṣṇa vītanasa; Pl
vītanasa; M2 nītanas; R vījīnaḥ; D2 votināḥ. 29 M
manda. 30 P2 mandavya. 34 So Ed; Pl, D phenapā-
stalināḥ; P2 sphenapāgatinasa; S -peṭabhīnaḥ; Kṛṣṇaṣa
pāgali; M1 phenapāsa tanitas; M2 phenapāsa stanitas;
Kṛṣṇaṣa tālināḥ; Sk kanayāh nalināḥ. 35 So Ed, Pl;
P2 sthaulipāṇḍi; M sthalapindā. 36 So P2; Pl, Sk
āikhaḥpaṭir; R āikhaḥpatrī; D1 āikhaḥpatriḥ; D2
āikhaḥpatrīḥ; Ed āikhaḥpattis; M āikhaḥvarṇaḥ. 37 All,
śā-. After this name, all the sources have an
additional line, which, however, is clearly a
dislocation from after 56, where indeed P1 and M
give in addition another version. For the readings
here, see below at that point. 39 Restored; Pl, Ed
mārk-; M2 mānkāyano; M1 karmāyano; the initial
m- has arisen from the genitive plural ending
of devamatiṇāṃ, which preceded in the Matsya's
source; P2 omits from this name to ānuṣātakīṃ
inclusive. 38 Restored; Ed, R, D2, Pl divapatir;
M devapatih; D1 divāpītih; Sk divah patiḥ.
The readings of the Matsya editions and of Puruṣottama are quite irreconcilable for the following names, and since only one name (sāmkṛtya) can be traced at this point in Kāl and Mān., there is little hope of mending the text. The variants in the Ms. are:

for M, M2 adds a variant reading for the last, yājñoyadramilāyanaḥ; for p, Ed māndūma, Pl māndūkama, Kṛṣ māndūya; Ed, Pl, Kṛṣ vṛṣabhīh; R, Dl, Sk vṛṣabhā; D2 traraṣabhīh; Sk, R, Dl sutaḥ; D2 sutaḥ; Pl sutaḥ; Ed sa ca; Kṛṣ om.; Kṛṣ, R, Ed lakah; Pl tāvaḥ; D plavaḥ; Sk palavaḥ; Pl anuṣaḥ; Ed anuṣaḥ; Kṛṣ pataki only; Ed, P, R, Sk kopiyaĵo; Dl kopaḥ; D2 vopaḥ; Kṛṣ kṛpaḥ; all, mitrajaṈas; Pl caiva nil.; P2 caivaḥbilāyaniḥ; Ed tatha vā mitralāyanaḥ; Kṛṣ amlāyanaḥ; Sk, D āmlīyana (D2 āmitsāyana?).

(P2 omits from ārkāyana to ānumatākāṇa).

41 Restored, cf. the other lists; M1 gārgyāyana; Pl gārgyāyana; Ed mārgyāyana; Kṛṣ gārgyāyano (all with dental n); P2, M3 gārgyāyano. '40 So Kṛṣ; Ed, P hvāyanasca only; M gāyanaca ca. 42 So P2; Pl nodāyanis; Kṛṣ gōṣāyana; Ed gōṣāyanas; M1 gārhāyanas; M2 gārhāyanas. 43 So M; Ed, P2, Kṛṣ -ṣṭhyā; Pl -ṣṭyā-. 47 Conj., but doubtful; Ed, P, D hāyanisca; R, Sk hāyatiḥ; Kṛṣ uhāyani; M1 vātāyano; M2 vāhāyano, with variant reading māhabhāgo.
44. Vaśampāyana-
46. Galavau
48. Vaikarṇayāḥ
49. Sārṅgaravo
51. Yājñeyir
(50,52). Ṭhuṣrāṭrakāyaniḥ
55. Lālātiḥ
54. Lākucīś caiva
53. Lākṣeṇaḥ
56. Pārīmāṇḍalaḥ
59. saucakīniḥ
60. tathānayḥ Paṅgalāyaniḥ
61. sālāyāyanir
65. Kauṭīlyāḥ

46 So P, Ed, Kṛṣṇa; M has no name, but fills the verse with eva ca. 48 Restored; Ed, M vaikarṇīniḥ; M2 gives v.1. -ṇeyāḥ; P, D2, R vaikarṇāpi; Sk vaikarṇīniḥ; D1 kailavarnadhiḥ; Kṛṣṇa vaikarṇāyaṇa. 45 So Ed, Pl, M2; Kṛṣṇa sārṅgarava; M1 sāṅkaravo; P2 sārḥharaṇavo. 51 So M; Ed yājñeyir; Pl yājñapir; P2 yājapir. 50, 52 So M1, with dental n; M2 -ṇiḥ; Ed bhārāṣṭrakāyaniḥ (dental); Kṛṣṇa bhārṇakāyani; P2 bhārṇavāyaniḥ; Pl, D1 bhālākāyaniḥ; Sk, R bhālalākāyatiḥ; D2 māstukāyaniḥ; the original
Māstyā source seems to have confounded the two names bhāṣṭreya and aitikāyana (for aitīṣāyana). 55 So M; P -dir; Ed lālavir; D1 lālāmaḥ; D2 lutmamaḥ; Kṛṣṇa lālāvila. 54. So Pl; Ed lālāhrītiḥ; M nākuliśḥ; P2 bilabhrācaiva; Kṛṣṇa bhūrtiḥ. 53 Restored; M lāuksaṇyo; M2 has v.1. laugākṣi; P2 lākṣananyah; Pl, Kṛṣṇa lālānyah; Ed laliyānah; R lakṣānyah; Sk lākmaṇaḥ. 56 M -lau. 58-60 So M; Pl lālukih s. koṇās... paigalāyaniḥ; M2 gives v.1. for the first name, jalāḥbhit. None of the other sources have this line here, but all (including M, Pl) give a different version of it between nos. 37 and 39. The readings there are: Ed, jalupi-ahvajakṛtsanyau
tathānayḥ paugalāyaniḥ; 5 jaladhis saidhvajih krochāḥ
...paing-; M Jaladhih saudhnākiḥ (M2 saudhikāh)
kṣubhyaḥ kutsanyo (M2 kutsa'n'yo) maudgalāyanaḥ; Pl jaladhīḥ saillajit snas tathānayḥ paing-; P2 Jaladhī
saudhvajih kṛtanaḥ tatho'nyah paing-; Kṛṣṇa Jaladhi
saidhvajih kroṣṇa pingalāyaniḥ; D, R Jaladhīḥ; Sk jalaniṭhit; D saiyajit; R saṇajit; Sk saṇajit; R laṭānaḥ; D, Sk krtana(h); Sk paingalāyaniḥ; R pog-; D paigalāyaniḥ; with all these, cf. Māmā, ālundaṭi-krausti-saudhākīmām. 61 So M2, Ed, P, R, D1, Kṛṣṇa; M1 sātyayanir; D2 śālṣāyaniḥ; Sk śālayapatih. 57 So Ed, M1; M2 mālayaniḥ; Pl, D mālapatiḥ; P2, R mālayaniḥ; Sk mālayapatih; Kṛṣṇa nirmaṇāyani.
62. Kaucahastikaḥ
(66?) † sauhasokti
67. sa-Krauṇḍacakṣi-
68. Kṣaṇa
69. Gāndramāsa tathā
70. † naikajihvo
71. jihmaśunyāḥ
72. kehmaleṭir
73. hikaścāriḥ †
74. Sāradvatiḥ
75. sa-Naikarṣir
76. Ustrākāśi ca
77. Gaveraṇiḥ
78. vāgāyaniś
79. ca Anumati
82? † paurna-
86. saugandhi †

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65 Restored; Ed, Pl, Dl, M, Sk kauṭilīḥ; R kauṭhaliḥ; P2 kautale; D2 kotaṭalih; Kṛṣṇa kāṭhi. 62 So M; Ed, Pl koca-; P2 sova-; Kṛṣṇa lauki hastika. 66-68 (67, 68 restored from the other lists) M sauhasoktiḥ (M2 sauhāḥ soktiḥ) sa-kauvākṣiḥ (M2 gives v.l. kaugākṣi) kausiḥ; p diverges widely - sauktiḥ (Pl, D2 sauktiḥ) sa-kotāraḥ (Sk -ṭh-; P2 sa-vyorara) sākṣiḥ (P, D, -iḥ); Kṛṣṇa sauktiḥ saśārava sākṣiḥ. 63 So M; p Gāndramāsiḥ; Kṛṣṇa Gāndramāṇi. 76 So Ed, D, M, Sk; Pl jekajihvir; P2 jekajihmir; Kṛṣṇa jeka. 77 So Ed, Dl; Pl jehmaśunyāḥ; R, P2 jekasunyāḥ; Sk jihvāsuniḥḥ; D2 hihmaśunyāḥ; M1 jihmāca ca; M2 jihvaka ca (with variants, jihmakas ca and nadākiṣ ca); Kṛṣṇa jirjehma. 78 So R, P, D2; Sk kelaleḍhiḥ; Dl kejihaleṭi; Ed kesaleḍhir; Kṛṣṇa kehya; M1 vyadhāyo; M2 vyadhājyo. 79 So Ed, Pl, Kṛṣṇa; D2, R hikasvārīḥ; Sk dhikaścāriḥ; Dl hikaśmāriḥ; M1 lohavairināḥ; M2 lauhavairināḥ. 69 So M (without visarga); Ed, P, Dl, Kṛṣṇa sauradvatis; D2 sauradatiḥ; R, Sk sāradhvajīḥ. 71 Restored, doubtfully from Kṣaṇa; Ed, Pl, R, Sk (sa-)naimiṣyo; D1 naimisyāḥ; D2 naimirakhyo; P2 naimiṣupro; Kṛṣṇa sanaimi; M -ka-netiṣyau. 73 Restored; Ed, Pl, D2, R, Kṛṣṇa lostākṣiḥ (ca); P2, Dl losthaksi; Sk losthakṣanah; M lokakṣasah. 85 So Dl; D2 -viḥ; Sk garevaniḥ; Ed, P, Kṛṣṇa bhaveraniḥ; R viraniḥ only; M calakundalāḥ. 74 M2 vāng- 75 So M, Pl; Ed, P2 svānumatiḥ; Kṛṣṇa sānumatiḥ. 82, 86 So p; Kṛṣṇa paurnamasi gādhika; M purṇimāgaṭikō.
These are said to have a five-rai pravara, Bhṛgu, and Apnavana, and Gyavana, and Aurva, and Jamadagni—these five are said to be the pravaras.

Now listen while I tell you of other descendants of Bhṛgu:

1. Jamadagni
2. Bidaś caiva
3. Paulastyo
4. Vaidabhṛt tathā
5. raś ca Abhayajātaś ca
6. kāyaniḥ sākaṭāyanaḥ
7. mārutas ś caiva
8. aurveṣa
9. mārutas ś caiva

All these are said to have splendid pravaras, Bhṛgu.

87. kāsaṭya
88. sa-Mādhyaodas

87 For kāṣakaṭsna; the ending has doubtless disappeared into the sa- (=with) of the following name; Ed kāṣakṛt; Sk kāṣekṛt; Pl kāṣikṛt; P2 kāsiṣkṛt; R kāṣakṛt; D1 kāntakṛt; D2 kāntimad iti; Kṛṣ tikṛta; M 'sakṛt. 88 Restored; Ed sāmānyatas; Pl samvāmāhyamātas; P2 samadhyagas (P2 adds —but out of place, immediately before the pravara—sāmbondhamta ity api pāṭaḥ); Sk saumadāyanaḥ; M sāmānyena (and yāṭhateṣām for tathaitesām).

Pl and Kṛṣ omit the whole of this family; P2, in place of the preceding pravara and the present family has only: bhṛguś caś caiva (sic) py anyaḥ paulasayo bhagu(read bhṛgu)vamśajah, caturtho bhavajato 'yam āpānavāno hi pāmcamāḥ (sic); parasparam avaivāhya etc. 4 Restored; Ed, M1 vaija-; M2 vaija-. 6 Ed ca bhavajātaś; M cobhayajātaś. 7-9 Ed and M agree in all these; D kaṭāyaniḥ arṣeṣaḥ (D2 artheyo) maruṭaḥ.
and Cyavana, and Apnavāna .... (1). These ṛsiś are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

1. † bhrgvamaïpo
2. Mārgapatho
3. Grāmyayanī-
4. † kaṭāyanī
5. Āpastaṁbis
6. tathā Bhālvir
4. † naikaśin
1. kapir èva ca
8. Arṣṭiśena
9. Gārdabhis ca
7. Kārdaṁayanir èva ca
† āśvāyanis
10. tathā Anūpah

These are said to have a five-ṛsi pravara, Bhṛgu, and Cyavana, and Apnavāna, and Arṣṭiśena, and Anūpa - these

(1) D says of the pravara here, kāṭāyanena vātsānām (read vatsānām) trayah bhārgava cyāvanāpnavāneta yuktam; bidānām apy esta iti mātṣye. But it is clear from a comparison of K&L that a lacuna has occurred in the Matsya text, or, of course, in the source from which the Matsya author derived his information.

1 So P, D; Ed -diyo; M bhrgudāso; Kṛṣ bhṛgu vaidīrya.
2 P2 -ratho; D2 bhārgapatha. 3 So M2 alone; all the others with dental -n-. Ed, M kaṭāyanī; Pl, D caṭāyanini; P2 ṣatāyanī; Kṛṣ vaṭāyanī; R dāyanīḥ; Sk caṭṭāyanīḥ.
6 So P; Ed bhalvir; M bilvir; M2 gives variant bhallir; Kṛṣ balvina. 4 So M, Pl; Ed -siḥ; P2 naisākīḥ; Kṛṣ aikasi.
M kapir; P, D, R kavir; Ed kasir; Sk kakiḥ; Kṛṣ kambiTra. 9 Ed gārdibhiś ca.
D2, M āśvāyanis; Dl -tiḥ; Pl āśvāyatir; P2 āścāmir; Kṛṣ āśvabhī; Ed āśvābir; Sk, R āśvabhā. 10 So Pl (atha-); M tathārūpiṁ (so also in the pravara); P2 athā tāpiś ca; Ed adhitāyīś ca; S atatāyīś ca; Kṛṣ tāyī; R rathatāpīr. In the pravara, Ed has -ānūpiṁ, P -ānūpåḥ.
are said to be the five pravaras. These rāis are said
to have no intermarriage one with another.

2. Yāskas
1. tathā Vībhavavyo
3. mādhūlaś
† caṇḍamo
damañ†
6. Jīvantya-anir
4? Maunaś ca
† pilis caiva
khalis tathā†
5. Bhāgalīr
9. Bhāgavijñeyah
10. Kausāmbeyi-
11. Vṛkṣāsvaki-
Bāleyah
12. sa-†madāgeyi
15. Dairghyacitas tathāvya ca

1,2 Kṛṣ, Pl yāṣkā; the word tathā is doubtful; For it,
Ed, P have vāca; Kṛṣ dhava; M yasko vā vībhavavyo (sic)
vā - a clumsy emendation, presumably meant to indicate
that the names are alternative designations of the
family; M2 gives a variant, yāṣkā varo. 3 Conj.; Ed
mādhavaś; P2 mādhavaś; Pl māṁvas; Kṛṣ mākama; M
canītās. The next two names perhaps correspond to
mauna and mauka of the other lists, but see no. 4
below; Ed, P2 caṇḍamo damañ; Pl, D, R caṇḍamo damañ;
Kṛṣ (as one name) caṇḍamadoya; Sk pandumo dano; M1
āṣ tu tathā damañ; M2 ca tathā damañ. 6 So Ed, P;
M jaivant-; D1 jaivat-; D3 jīvāt- 4 Conj.; M maunjas
cā; Ed, Pl mauliś cā; P2 mausalyo; D mausaliḥ; Kṛṣ
sausālī. Ed, D, Pl, M, Sk pilis (caiva); P2 picalis
caiva; Kṛṣ śvīpili. P, D, Ed, R, Sk khalis (tathā);
M calis tathā; Kṛṣ vali. 3 So P, D1, Kṛṣ; D2
bhāgilīḥ; M bhāgilīḥ; Ed bhārgelīr. 9 RESTORED; P2, D1
bhāgarvitaś (ca); Ed bhāgarvatis cā; Pl bhāgarvatis ca;
D2 bhāgarvitaś; Kṛṣ bhāgarvitiśa. 10 So Ed, P, Kṛṣ;
M kausāpīs ta atmā. 11 RESTORED; Ed, P, M, Kṛṣ, R, Sk
(-ś ca) kāśyapīḥ; Pl kaśyapīḥ; D2 kāśvapi. For bāleyah,
cf. Baudh.; Ed, P2 bāleyis; M bālapiḥ; Pl vāpi; D1 vāleyah;
D2 vāle-1; Kṛṣ vāleya. 12 So Ed, M āra-mādāgepiḥ; Pl
samadāgepiḥ; P2, D1 samadāgepiḥ; D2 srayāge-1 (with r,
blotted out); Kṛṣ samadrāgepiḥ. 15 Conj.; Ed saujvaris
ca; M saurastithis; Pl saurijvaris; P2 jvāriḥ sauris; Sk
saurī tvāriḥ; R saurī tvāriḥ; D1 saurī jvāriḥ; D2
saurijvāra; Kṛṣ sauri jvārita.
These are said to have a three-rṣi (1) pravara, Bhṛgu, and Vītahavya, and Savedhasa (2). These rṣis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

1. Khālāyaniḥ
2. Sākaṭākṣo
3. Maitreyān
4. Śāncaryas tathā
5. Draukāyano
6. Raukyāyānā-
7. Apiśālī ča

P2 and Kṛṣ omit the rest of this family; P1 dislocates the last four names and the pravara to after the pravara of the next family (the Mitrayus). 14, 16 Conj.; P1 gaurjigaś ca sa-paścālas; Ed, M ṣāvṛgaḥ tv atha jābalis. 17 P1 t. pausnavato munih; Ed, M t. pausṇyāyano hy rṣih. 16 Conj.; Ed, M1 grāmadāś ca; P1 vāsodaś ca; D1, after a number of additional names, ends with gaurjīgaḥ vāsodāḥ (D2 gaurjīgo vāstedā).

P2 and Kṛṣ omit this family entirely.
1 Conj.; P1 khānayaniḥ; Ed, M, D1 sālāyaniḥ; D2 vānāyaniḥ. 2 So Ed, M; P1 sākacakoḥ. 4 Conj. (but against the metre); Ed, M khāndavas tathā; P1, D śānvyās tathā. 5 P1 drop-. 6 P1, D2 raukṣyāyanaḥ (dental); D1 raukṣyāyanah; Ed raukṣyāyanaḥ; M1 raukṣyāyanaḥ; M3 raukṣyāyanir. 7 So M1, and a variant given by M2 (although the sandhi crosses the caesura); M2 ṣāpīś ca-. Ed pisali; P1 ṣāpīś ca-. 8 So Ed, P1, M; D - na. 9 So Ed, M1; P1 haṃsaṇiruḥhas.

1) Here, and in several other instances, Ed, M1, M2 all print ārṣeyyaḥ for uṣyārṣeyyaḥ - an obvious enough scribal error. (2) So P1 - tathā caiva savedhasah; Ed and both Matsya editions actually print without comment the unbelievable corruption tathā raivasa-vaiwasau. This is all the more remarkable in the case of Ed, since, as P1 shows, Puruṣottama's text was free of it, and Chentsal Rao would seem to have taken the trouble of incorporating it from some other Mataya text.
9. Hamsajihvas

These are said to have a three-rsi pravara,
Bhrgu, and Vadnyasa, and Divodasa. These rsis are
said to have no intermarriage one with another.

†saktyayano
1. Vajnapayah
3. Matsyagandhis tathaiva ca
7. Pratyusha ca
6. Srotiya ca
5. Cauksia ca
4. Kardamayanih
3. tatha Grtsamado raja
9. Sanaka ca mahan rsih

The pravaras (1) of those mentioned here are
said to have two rsis, Bhrgu and Grtsamada - these
two are said to be the prvara-rsis (Arsha). These
rsis are said to have no intermarriage one with
another.

The founders of gotras, of great power, in the
family of Bhrgu have been told to you, O king, by
the recital of whose names a man leaves all sin behind.

P, D1, R, Sk saktyayano; D2 vakyayana; Ed, M ekayano; M2 gives
variant, saktyayano; Krs asapyayana. 1 Cf. K&L; Ed, M1 yajnapatir; Pl yalarmatir; F1 pejhepatir; 3 So Ed, P2; Pl matsyam-
gandhis; M, Krs ndhas. 7 Cf. K&L; Ed, Pl, M1, Krs pratyusasa ca.
6 Conj.; Ed, P, D, Krs, R, Sk tatha sronyas; M tath sauri.
5 So Pl, Ed, P2 caksur vah; M caksur vai; Krs vaksha;
R cauksah; Sk coksah. 4 Krs kada-. 9 Restored; Ed sanaya ca;
M, D sanaka ca; Pl sanaka ca; P2 sanapa ca; Krs sanapa.

1) P2 reads only: pravaranamavaivahy rahayah parikirti-
tah; Krs (not realising the lacuna, and grouping the
present family with the Yaksas): ete saptavimati
bhargava cyavana jamadagnya; pravaranam avivahy rahayah
parikirtitah.
Puruṣottama's comment:

Now we shall explain these sections. Among the gotra-gaṇas here cited, if any single Sūtra-author gives any particular not given by the other Sūtra-authors - for example, any gotra, or gotra-gaṇa, or other names within the gaṇa, or a different number of gotras, or a different order of the rāis in a pravara, (1) or alternative pravaras, together with the question of marriage and non-marriage in such a case, or any other difference - it must all be held to have been said by all the Sūtra-authors, since there is no difference between them in the matter of authority, and since there is no obstacle to establishing the validity of a rule from a single pronouncement: exactly as in the legal books, in their chapters on penances, inheritance and procedure. Moreover, if the forms of the rāsi-names listed in the gotra-gaṇas should be in doubt, either in the matter of vowel-length, or number, or order, or such like, they are to be decided to the best of one's intelligence by properly applying the resources of the Veda, the Nirukta, Grammar, the Mantras, the Explanatory Works, Tales, Purāṇas, and worldly logic. Moreover, whenever

(1) Read pravara, i.e. for pravare, not as Ed. pravaraḥ.
a name is read twice or thrice, in the same gana, or in different ganas, it must be considered that distinct rasis are meant, in spite of the identity of the name, since otherwise there would be no point in the repetition, and since, moreover, there is a difference in pravara between one gana and another. And it is not proper that one person should have different pravaras without a special ruling to that effect. Also, in the world, the same name, Devadatta for instance, belongs to many persons. Again, where a single name in one and the same gana is read by such and such a Sutra-author in a form which differs (from the other Sutras) in number length and order of syllables; or in any one or two of these ways, a single person must be considered to be meant, since in spite of the partial difference, it is still the same name - according to the maxim "That which is altered in a part does not become something else". We shall therefore explain the gotra-sections already given and those to be given in the sequel on the assumption that they are all the same, that is to say, a name which occurs in one account is the same, because of same-ness of pravara, as one which occurs in another
account (if the difference lies only in) the addition, alteration, transposition or interposition of sounds.

"First we shall explain those of the Bhṛgus": - because of the pre-eminence of Bhṛgu. This pre-eminence is seen from the passage, "Of great ṛais, I am Bhṛgu" (1), and from the mention of Bhṛgu in the Mokṣa-dharma (in the twelfth book of the Mahābhārata) as a part of Vasudeva. Thus, "We shall explain the Bhṛgus, who are first;" or else the phrase is intended to show that they did not become Bhṛgus afterwards only, by reason of adoption (dvāmuṣyāyāṇatvena), since the dvāmuṣyāyāṇas are given later. Since the gānas and prāvaras are here self-explanatory, they need not be further explained.

"The Jamadagnya-Vatsas:" - the Vatsas are here qualified as Jamadagnis so that they shall have the five-fold cutting of the sacrificial cake, since Āpastamba says, "The Jamadagnis have a five-fold cutting". "The Vatsas, Bīdas, and Ārṣṭiṣṭenas have no intermarriage; they have a five-fold cutting:" -

(1) Bhagavadgītā, 10.25.
this shows that the prohibition of marriage already given is to be inferred also in the sūtra (of Āpastamba) which prescribes the five-fold cutting. Here, these three gaṇas have no intermarriage, because three of the five rājas in their pravaras coincide. And those of the Vatsas and Ārātiṣeṇas who have an alternative three-rāja pravara have no intermarriage, since two rājas coincide. This rule has already been given above.

The other gaṇas, Yaskas, etc., avoid their own gaṇa in marriage, because of identity of pravara, and intermarry with all those already mentioned and to be mentioned hereafter, since there is neither identity of gotra nor of pravara. Thus, marriage and non-marriage of the Bhūgus has been explained.

The Sūtra-authors give four pravaras for the Śunakas, viz: “Śaunaka”, “Gārtaṣamada”, “Bhārgava, Gārtaṣamada”, and “Bhārgava, Śaunahotra (1), Gārtaṣamada”. Scholars debate the question whether these are alternative pravaras. Some think that it is a

(1) Ed throughout this discussion, Śaunakahotra, Śunakahotra.
question of free choice (1). Others think that it is a "fixed option", that is to say, that the alternatives are to be allocated according to the arrangement of families. Now what is this arrangement of families? They say: there are four kinds of Sunakas, differing one from another. Some are descended from Sunaka alone; some from Grtsamada alone; others, from Grtsamada, the son of Sunanotra, the son of Bhrugu. Thus, they are united only in the matter of the name "Sunakas", but are really distinct families; and these four pravaras belong to the separate families.

But why, it is asked, can the matter not be ordered thus: Bhrugu's son was Sunaka, his son was Sunanotra, his son was Grtsamada, and his son was Sunaka, thus making a single family? This is not proper. Why? - because it is forbidden by Satyāśāgna, who says, "The Adhvaryu chooses three, one after the other (anantarān), from the near and the more remote ones, etc." The commentator Mātrdatta explains the word anantarān as "with no other hymn-composers interposing between them".

(1) Literally "like the case of rice and barley" - where either is equally good.
In the present case, if there were only one family, there would be hymn-composers interposing. Therefore, as we have said, it is a "fixed option". In this way also the alternative pravaras of the Gargas, Haritas, Kāṇvas, Rathītāras, and Śaṇḍilas, etc., are to be explained by difference of families.

"The Bhṛgus have been explained" - this explicit repetition is used (by Āpastamba) to confer the status of Bhṛgus on the Sunakas and Mitrayus, in whose pravaras the name Bhṛgu does not occur, thus justifying their inclusion in such cases as the Bhṛgus' establishing of the five according to the rṣi (yatharsyādhanam), or "A Bhārgava is Hotṛ."

Now, it is asked, why do Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi repeat for each separate gāna the phrase "these have no intermarriage", instead of saying it once for all: it would have been fitting, and in accord with the principle of verbal economy, to say, as Gautama does, "Marriage is with persons having different pravaras". Those who are learned in the history of the descent of the pravara-chapters give the following refutation: seeing that in the Matsya Purāṇa the Blessed Viṣṇu in the form of the Fish says after every gāna "These have no
intermarriage", Katyayana and Laugaksi, who received their text from that source (!), say the same thing. Others say: Baudhāyana and the others say that there is no marriage with members of the same gotra, but do not prohibit those who have the same pravara; and it is to emphasize the latter prohibition that they repeat it after each gana. Still others say: by dint of much repetition, (the reader) must come to know it. Others again say: it is simply the practice of these two Sūtra-authors; for surely different people have different practices. So, for example, Baudhāyana, although he says in his first chapter "From the near end the more remote ones the Adhvaryu, from the far end the nearer ones the Hotṛ: this prescription applies throughout," nevertheless with no fear of prolixity, says after every gana "for the Hotṛ", "for the Adhvaryu". Similarly, Āpastamba, etc., in the case of the one-ṛṣi pravaras of the Vasiṣṭhas and Śunakas, etc., says - "for the Hotṛ", "for the Adhvaryu". So also, Āśvalāyana gives the bare pravara throughout, and nothing else. Thus, this is merely the practice of Katyayana and Laugaksi. Still others say: just as a person of
the same gotra is nearer akin than one of a different gotra, so one of the same gana (1) is still nearer than one merely of the same gotra, since, being descended from the same pāṇi, he is equal to a brother; and just as marriage in the wider gotra is prohibited as being sinful, so also, in order to show that it is still more sinful within the gana, they give the prohibition after every gana. Still others, wise in their own conceit, perversely explain the meaning to be that these (mentioned) may not marry within the gana in question, but others may. This would be to impugn the learning of the two Sūtra-authors, since if this were so, there would be nothing to prohibit members of another gana, even within the same gotra, from marrying into that gana. And such a prohibition is in fact given. Therefore the meaning is as stated (in the immediately preceding alternative explanation).

(1) Ed: saগot্রাদ api samānagotraḥ; but gana is obviously meant.
We shall explain the Angirases:

1. Āyāsyāh
2. Sroṇīvednāh
3. Kācākṣayo
4. Mūḍharathāh
5. Satyakayas
6. Tāudeya
7. Kaumāravatyā
8. Tāudhīr
9. Dārbhīr
10. Devakīh
11. Sātyamugrih
12. Kaubāhīyā
13. Baudhīyā
14. Naikarih
15. Svastalāśakih

2 So G; Sk sroṇī-; Be, U, P, D1 sroṇiceyāh; R sroṇiveyāh; D1 sronīcesakah; cf. Census Report; Caland, after gana subhrādi, anīveyāh; M, T aniceyāh; Bu aniceyāh. 3 So Ed, M, G, T, Be, U; Bu kauc-; D1 vakṣih; D2 kācābhiḥ; rest om. 4 So Ed, D, R, Sk; Pl mitharathāh; P2 mitharathāh; Be, U mūḍhasararathāh; B, Caland mūḍhāh only. 5 So B, R; A sātya-; Sk satyakāya; P2 satyakāsah; D2 saptakah; S sātykrayāh. 6 Conj., cf. the other lists among the Aucathyas (Mān. reads tāudeyāh - with dental- which Caland conjectures in his footnote, and which Monier Williams' Dict. sv. quotes from this point); M, G taildehāh; T tādeyāh; Be, U khedehāh; P, Sk, R, D1 saidehāh; D2 saidehāh; Ed saiddānāh; S staidehāh. 7 D2 -vyatyaḥ; S G, So Be, U; M, T taudikīhiḥ; G, Bu taudikīhiḥ; S taudinir; Pl tāudir darbher; Ed tāudir darbhir; P2 tāudir darbhir; D1 taudin darbhiḥ; D2 taudidambhiḥ; Sk taudamdarbhiḥ; R tauda darbhiḥ. 10 P2, Sk daiv-; P2 places this after no. 11. 11 Sk sātyamuni; Ed sātya only; S, Ed, D1 include with this the first syllable of the following -kaḥ (-ko); Bu -mugrikh as well as ko- in the next. 12 So A; B ko-; both vary between -vāhyā and -bāhyā; S vabhyā only. 13 So B, cf. Pān. 4.1.107; A baubhyā (vaubhyā); Sk vaimyāḥ; D2 bābhuyo. 14, 15 Bu kari-only; Sk tatkariḥ; R, D2 nakariḥ; Ed nakka-ṛṣi-; D1 naikaristih; rest, nakari- with no visarga; Be, U, Sk, Caland svastalāśakih; R stastalāśakih; P2 svastalāśakih; Ed, Pl stalsikhī only; D1 staisakih; D2
These are Ayāsya-Gautamas. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Angirasa, Ayāsya, Gautama," etc.

1. Śāradvatā
2. Abhijītā
3. Rauhiṇyāḥ
4. Kāṣīrakarambhāḥ
5. Saumucayāḥ
6. Sauyamanā
7. Aupabindavo
8. Rāhugaṇā
9. Rāṇayo
10. Māraṇyā iti

These are Sāradvata-Gautamas. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Gautama, Sāradvata," etc.

1. Kaumanḍā
2. Māmanthhareśaṇā
3. Māsurākṣāh
4. Kāṣṭhareśaya
5. Urjāyana
6. Vanajayana
7. Vāsaya iti

These are Kaumaṇḍa-Gautamas. They have a five-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Aucathya, Kākṣīvata, Gautama, Kaumanḍa," etc.

The Dīrghatamases (1) have a five-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Aucathya (2), Kākṣīvata, Gautama, Dīrghatama et al." etc.

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9 So B (Bu rāṇeyāh), cf. gana pailadi; Be, U, P, Sk, Dī ganaṇyo; Dī kha(?) niś: R gaṇamāṇayō; S rāṇayo.  
10 So M, G, T māraṇyā: Bu māsanāh; Be, U, P, Dī, R, Ed māsanā: P2 marāmā; Dī bhārṣāṅyā; Sk bhāṣānī: S māsanāh.  
2 So B, Sk, Dī, Be, U, S; Pī māmanta īsaṇā: P2 mānipareṇāh: Dī māmandaḥreṣaṇah; Ed māndaḥreṣaṇā: but cf. Schol. to Pāñc. 2.4.66: or does Dīrghatamas Māmatayō belong here?) 3 So B, Ed, Pī, Dī: Sk māmsu-: Be, U māsaḥreṣaṇāh māsurākṣāh; P2 māpurāṣṭāh: S māsurākṣāḥ.  
5 So M, G, Caland (although Caland's comparison of Apast. is not convincing, since the latter gives Urjāyana among the Bharadvājas): T urjaya: Bu aujaṇā: S ojaṇā: Be, U Pī, Sk auij-: Ed auij=: Dī auij=: Dī ajayato: P2 auijanāya:  

1) B dīrghatamāṇāṃ: Be, U dīrghatamASYA. (2) A, regularly, autathya, wherever this name occurs, though Ed sporadically emends to auc-. The spelling with t has also found its way into the Mahābhārata.
These are Auśanasa-Gautamas. They have a three-rāi pravara, "Āngirasa, Gautama, Auśanasa," etc.

1. Kārenupālayo
2. Vāstavyāṅ
3. Svetiyan
4. Pauñjisthaya
5. Audañjāyanā
6. Madhukṣāra
7. Ājagandhaya īti

These are Kārenupāli-Gautamas. They have a three-rāi pravara, "Āngirasa, Gautama, Kārenupāla," etc.

2 So A (but Pl dityāśya; D2 auśanasaoddityāya); M, Bu, S
distyā; T distayah. 3 D2 prāsat staunch. 4 Dl surūpakteh; D2 surūpakao. 6 So Ed, P, Sk, Be, U; Dl vikamhantaḥ; D2 vīkamantaḥ; M, G, T, Caland vigadvakāh; Bu pīngarakāh; S yadandhāna nītamḥatah. 7 So Ed, D2, P2 (-vu-); Sk (?), S subuddhyā; P1 suvudhdhā; Bu, U subuddhā; M subuddhanyā; G subuddhinyā; T subuddhinyā; Bu subuddhayaḥ. 8 So B, Sk; A, S -hata. 9 Ed, P, Be, U om. (but Sk gives it).

2 D2 vāstanya; after this, Be, U, P2 add vāmadvayāḥ. 3 D2 ācetiyāḥ diyāḥ; S śvediyāḥ; P2 ācetāyamḥ. 4 So T; S paujisthaya; M, G pauunjistiya; Bu pajistāḥ; Ed pauunjisthā; Be, U pauunjisthāyā; P1, Dl paujistā; P2, Sk pauunjisthā; D2 pauunjisthā. 5 So Caland, cf. gaṇa tikādi (nl-); Ed, P2, D2 audajāyanā; Dl audajāyanā; P1 yaundajāyanā; Sk audajāyanā; M, G audajīyāyanā; T, S audajīyāyanā; Bu audujīyāyanā; Be, U audururujāyanā. 6 So Pl, D2; Be, U madhu-; Sk śadhu-; Ed, P2 māndhu-; Dl mādhvāraḥ; B quite differently - M, G, T bāndhukyā; Bu vandhānyā; S aulukyā; D2 adds bāndhavayān. 7 So Caland; B, S, D2 rāja-; P1, Be, U Dl ājagandhaya(ṇ); P2, Ed, Sk anājagandhā.
The Vāmadevas have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Gautama, Vāmadeva," etc. (1).

There is no intermarriage among any of the Gautamas.

B. Āpastamba.

Next, of the Angirases (2):

The Ayāsyā-Gautamas have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Ayāsyā, Gautama," etc.

The Aucathyā-Gautamas have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Aucathyā, Gautama," etc.

The Auśija-Gautamas have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Auśija, Kāśīvata," etc.

[The Brhaduktha-Gautamas have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Brhaduktha, Gautama," etc.] (3).

The Vāmadeva-Gautamas have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Vāmadeva, Brhaduktha," etc.

C. Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi.

We shall explain the Angirases:

1. Aucathyā-Gautamās

(1) This family is omitted here by Ed,P. (2) Ed,P2 angirasa(h): Garbe, etc. angirasām. (3) This family is given by Ed in a footnote only, with the comment that, although it appears in the text of the Sūtra, it is not found in the manuscript of the Pravaramañjarī. But in fact there is no trace of it in any of the other sources whatever.

1. S,Ed aucathyā: all the others, autathyā: Sk includes these under the general heading of Sāradvatas, but in
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aucathya-Gautamäś</td>
<td>1. Aucathya-Gautamäś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tauđeyä</td>
<td>2. Tauđeyä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Abhijita-†voghaña-naikaka-†</td>
<td>3. Abhijita-†vauddhaña-nikākṣi-†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Rahüganyä&lt;h&gt;</td>
<td>6. Rahüganyä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kaairakatā†aikastamarāṇām</td>
<td>7. †khetika-†saunarīṇām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kairāti-sāralopānām</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>karoti-kāsāpārīṇām†</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Pauśpinda-</td>
<td>13. Pauśpinda-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Bhāgalā-vađaudavānāṃm</td>
<td>14. Bhāgalā-valauḍraṇāṃ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mess readings:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>om tathyā g.</td>
<td>1. autathyā g.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>tauđeyä</td>
<td>2. tauđeyä-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>rahükanyä</td>
<td>6. rahukanyä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>pauśpinda-</td>
<td>13. pauśpinda-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>bhāgata-</td>
<td>14. bhāgata-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
fact this one family corresponds to the first three families in Baudh. (in spite of the Ayāyas being given a separate pravara below). 2 So P2,D;Pl taulepā;Ed täleyā;S sthauleyā;Sk kṣaulema;Read possibly tauleyā (= tauḍeya, Baudh., Ayāyas, no. 6) 4 So R,Sk;Ed,Pl,Di naiśaki;D2 naiśiki;P2 naiki. 5 So Ed,P,D2;Di laukākṣi (this is the better reading, if indeed the name belongs here). 6 Restored;D1 karagonyah;Ed karasogiṇyah; P,D2,R,Sk,S karabhoginyah. 7 So Ed,S; the word *iti* is strange, and is in fact omitted by Pl,P2 kṣiravatā iti; Pl,D2 kṣirakarata;Di kṣirakarantah. 8 So P,Di,D2 kāṇḍukaraḥ; R vāḍukaraḥ; Ed kāṭukara; S kāṇḍukaraṁ. 9 So D,Sk;Ed,P saidhava;R saibhravā;S sodha.
10 So Ed,R,Sk,Di,S;Pl satavagatava;D2 ganava;P2 om. 11 Sk sāmgaṇa; D2 sākaraḥ. 12 So Ed,Pl maumīnīnām; P2 maumīnīnā; D1 somaniḥ; D2 saumini; R saumitayaḥ; Sk saumivayaḥ; S kaumelīnām. 13 So Sk; D1 pausyaṇḍī; D2 pausyaṃdir; Pl paupiyi; P2 paupiṇḍi; R yauspiṇḍayo; Ed yaupiṇḍi; S paipindi. 14 D2 mārgalāḥ.
15 D2 tudah. 16 So Ed,Pl,Sk; P2 kuḍāvanā; D1 kuṇḍebā; D2 kuḍūvah; R tru(?)mdaṭvāḥ. 17 So Ed,D,Sk; P2,R -tha; Pl -da; S kathora; this last is probably the better reading, corresponding to Baudh. Ayāyas, no. 13 (Kāṭhori); note however that the Matsya account has karoṭa.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man.</th>
<th>W.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19. Upabindur</td>
<td>19. Aupabinda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Māntharaśaṇāṁ</td>
<td>20. Māntharaśā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Ṛauhiṇīya'yānā</td>
<td>21. Ṛauhiṇīyaṇā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. ṭamalaka&lt;k&gt;&lt;k&gt;</td>
<td>22. Āṅgārakāḥ &lt;k&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krolleyimāḥ</td>
<td>krolleyanāḥ &lt;k&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kraucāḥ&lt;sup&gt;†&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;k&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Kroṣṭā</td>
<td>23. Kroṣṭā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Āruṇayaḥ</td>
<td>24. Āruṇayaḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Pārthivā</td>
<td>25. Pārthivāḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. &lt;k&gt;</td>
<td>26. saudāmini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. &lt;k&gt;</td>
<td>29. kauraĭya&lt;sup&gt;†&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akṣa-&lt;sup&gt;†&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>akṣa-&lt;sup&gt;†&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<tr>
<td>apādāpakṣa-&lt;sup&gt;†&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>apādāpakṣa-&lt;sup&gt;†&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Vāsamūli-&lt;sup&gt;†&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>32. Vāsamūli-&lt;sup&gt;†&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vamśamulmiṁ-&lt;sup&gt;†&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>vamśamulmiṁ-&lt;sup&gt;†&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sapitr-&lt;sup&gt;†&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>sapitr-&lt;sup&gt;†&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Vāsapuşpīṇḥ</td>
<td>33. Vāsapuşpīṇḥ</td>
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<tr>
<td>&lt;k&gt;</td>
<td>&lt;k&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sausya-&lt;sup&gt;†&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>sausya-&lt;sup&gt;†&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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</tbody>
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**Mess readings:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man.</th>
<th>W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19. mupavidu</td>
<td>19. aupamanya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. māṇḍharaśaṇāṁ</td>
<td>20. pāṭhāreṣu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. yanā (only)</td>
<td>21. yanā (only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. āruṇayaḥ</td>
<td>24. āruṇayaḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. pāthicā</td>
<td>25. pāthicā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. kāvākṣa</td>
<td>36. kāvākṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. vamśamūli</td>
<td>32. vamśamūli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. saṃsūpaśpīṇḥ</td>
<td>33. saṃsūpaśpīṇḥ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
18. كارافايرنام
19. ياباندير
20. مانثاريماان
21. راوهيرنا
22. آنراركاه
23. كروشة
24. أرناياء
25. پرثيا
26. ماداهايياء
27. سكما
28. ساراوا
29. كالييا
30. ناريييييا
31. نشيايو
32. واساميلائو
33. واساپېپلايي
34. واساشتيايي
35. واسادهپايا
36. كأكشاي
37. نشياپا

Man.

† saukṣmāyaṇa-
kaudalyā†

ity eteṣām avivāhas teṣām try-
ārṣeyah pravaro bhavati;
āṅgirasautathya gautama
[ausīja kākṣiteti] etc. (1).

...bhavati:
āṅgirasautathya gautameti
hotā, etc.

(both omit the Dairghatamases).

both: Aṣṭyaṇāṁ tryārṣeyah pravaro bhavati;
āṅgirasāyāsyā gautameti hotā, etc.

uṣijā ..(lacuna) ..†dviti
hotā kākṣīvatavād uṣija-
vād gautamavād autathya-
vād angirovād ity adhvaryuḥ.

(lacuna)

(for the Vāmadevas, see below among the
Kevala Angirases, among whom they are mis-
placed by all three Sūtra versions, as well
as by the Matsya.)

(1) The last two names are clearly derived from
the missing Ausījas, cf. W.
These have no intermarriage. They have a three-rṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Aucathyya, Gautama," etc.

The Dairghatamasas have a three-rṣi pravara,(1) "Āngirasa, Aucathyya, Dairghatama\textsuperscript{sa}\textsuperscript{,} etc.

The Āyāsyā-Gautamas have no intermarriage. They have a three-rṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Āyāsyā, Gautama," etc.(2)

The Āyāsyā-Ausīja-Gautamas (3) have a five-rṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Āyāsyā, Ausīja, Gautama, Kākṣīvata\textsuperscript{,} etc.

(Puruṣottama adds the comment: In this section L̄augasāki\textsuperscript{\textprime}s reading in the Adhvaryu\textsuperscript{\textprime}s pravara is everywhere 'angiras\textasciitilde{v}at\textasciitilde{'}\textsuperscript{).} (4)

D. Āśvalāyana.

Of the Gautamas, "Āngirasa, Āyāsyā, Gautama".

Of the Ucathyas, "Āngirasa, Aucathyya, Gautama".

Of the Rāhūga\textadn{\textacute{g}}\textacute{nas}, "Āngirasa, Rāhūga\textacute{g}nya, Gautama".

(1) So Ed (dairghatamasānām); Pl dairghatamānām (perh. better, of Baudh., paribhāṣā, above, p. 162); P2 dīrghatamasām. (2) Pl omits this family. (3) D equates these with the Kaumāndās of Baudh., and the Ausījās of Āpast. (4) Pl omits the comment. All the other Sūtras regularly have 'angirovat'. Cf above, p. 137.
Of the Somarājakas (1), "Āngirasa, Saumarājya, Gautama".

Of the Vāmadevas, "Āngirasa, Vāmadevya, Gautama".

Of the Brhadukthas, "Āngirasa, Bārhaduktha, Gautama".

Of the Prṣadaśvas, "Āngirasa, Pāṛṣadaśva, Vairūpa".

But some say Aṣṭādaṃstra in place of Āngirasa, "Aṣṭādaṃstra, Pāṛṣadaśva, Vairūpa". (2).

Of the Rksas, "Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Vāndana, Mātavacasa".

Of the Kaksīvants, "Āngirasa, Aucathya, Gautama, Auśija, Kāksīvata".

Of the Dīrghatamases, "Āngirasa, Aucathya, Dairghatamasa".

E. Matsya Purāṇa (3)

Matsya said: O king, the famous daughter of Marīci, Surūpā by name, was the wife of Angiras. She had ten divine sons, Ātmā, Āyus, Manas (4), Dakṣa, Dama (5), Prāṇa, Haviṃmant, Gaviṭha, Rta (6), and Satya, these ten, Angirases by name, are divine Soma-drinkers (7).

---

(1) Ed alone saumarājakaInām. (2) Ed, Pl omit the alternative; the other sources have Aṣṭādaṃstra in the pravara. This family and the following do not of course belong to the Gautamas, and in spite of the unanimity of the sources, we may suspect a dislocation in the text; cf the other lists among the Kevala Angiras. (3) Purusottama cites the Matsya list below, with the Bharadvājas; we give it here for convenience of reference. (4) M damano. (5) M sadaḥ. (6) So M; p kratuḥ. (7) So M, with Pl (somapāyinaḥ); Ed, P2 Sāman-singers (sāmāgāyinaḥ).
Surūpā bore these ṛṣis, lords of all; and Brahaspati, and Gautama, and Saṃvarta the great ṛśi, and Āyāsyā, and Vāmadeva, and Ucathyya, and Usija. All these ṛṣis are said to be founders of gotras; learn from me the founders of gotras who are sprung from their gotras:

1. Ucathyya
   Gautamaś caiva
2. Taileyo
3. (A)bhijitas tathā
   †sārdhanemiḥ
4. sa-laugakṣiḥ
5. †kaśīrāh
   kauṭṭikir eva ca†
6. Rāhūgaṇyāḥ
7. †saupuris ca
   Kairāṭih
8. Sāmalomakih

(1) M utathyaṃ vāmadevam ca ajasyam ṛṣijam tathā. M2 prints the corruption, in spite of the fact that one of its sources, quoted in a footnote, has almost the correct reading, Āyāsyam uṣijam.

1 So Ed,P2; M agrees with the rest in reading ut-.
2 So M; Ed,P2 naileyo: Pl taileyo. - sārdhanemiḥ, so M: Ed,P2,DL baudhir nagaḥ: Sk baudhayaḥ(n) nagaḥ: R vopayo nagaḥ: Pl vodi namgāḥ: D2 bodhigāḥ nai-. 5 So M: Ed saugamākṣiḥ: Pl sugōmākṣiḥ: P2,D,R sugomākṣiḥ: Sk sugomāpakṣa. 7 So M (presumably corresponds in some way with kṣirakaṭa of the other lists); Ed kṣīrāyo rikers eva ca: Pl tōṭikirova ca; P2 kṣīrato tīkīr eva ca: D kṣīratāḥ tīkīḥ (DL tēkīḥ): Sk kṣīrāyaśtīkayo: R kṣiraṭā-ṣṭīkayo. 6 Restored: the original Matsya reading was presumably rāhukarniḥ (so M,Sk): R rāhukarnayāḥ; P2 rāhukarṇiś ca: DL bāhukarṇiḥ; Ed rāhoḥ karṇiḥ: Pl rāhoḥ karṇika: D2 rāhuḥ karṇiḥ. 12 So DI,M; D2 pauriḥ: R,P2 saputriḥ: Sk saumutrayāḥ: Ed saupatriś ca: Pl sapauriś ca. All the sources agree in the two following names, with which compare Mān. and W.
13. Pauspindir
14. Bhāgalaś caiva
   †ṛṣiś caṇḍantakas tathā
17. Karotah
18. Karavarī ca
19. Upabinduḥ
20. Ṣuraiśīṇah
21. Rauhiṇāyani—
   †corāṇih
23. Kṛoṭaś caiva
24. Arunāyaniḥ
26. Maudahāyani—
   †kāsoru-
29. Kauṭilyāh
25. Pārtihivās tathā
30? rauhineyā-
nirodhānma
32. mūlayo
vasur eva ca
36. Kācākṣi-
33. puṣpayaḥ caiva
kṣāra-kāraṇḍir eva ca
37. Kaṣāpa
visvantireviś ca
pācikārevir eva ca

These have a three-ṛṣi pravara: hear their pravaras:

Angiras, and Ucathyya, and Uṣijja the great ĥṛṣi (1).

These are said to have no intermarriage one with
another.

29 Conj.: M,Sk kauśalya:R kauśośalyā; Ed,Pl kaiśilya:
P2,D2 kauśilyo: Dl kauśilyāyanaḥ. 30 M rauhiṇyaya-
nirevānīl:Pl,Ed,R rauhiṇeyā:Pl rauhiṇyo:Sk rohiṇyo:
Ed nirodhānma-;Pl,D2 nirodhas ca Dl rodho- (taken
as one name with the next);P2 nicādhānna-:R kārodhanayo;
Sk kārādhanamayaḥ. 32 Apparently an error of the original
Matsya author (i.e., for the one name vāsamūli); M
mūlapah;P2 ohūlayo; rest mūlayo (D mūliḥ); M pāṇḍur
eva ca; Rest vāsu (but D2 yāsu). 36 Restored; Ed kāpāksi;
Pl kāvāpāksi;P2 kāryākṣal; M omits this and the two
following. 33 Conj.; but in any case it is an error of
the Matsya for Vāsapuspī; Ed puspavaś caiva; Pl puspavaś;
P,D2 puṣpavāms; R, Sk puṣpavantah. - Pl kṣāra-kāraṇḍir
37 So M,Ed kṣāyo; Pl kṣēpā; P2 kṣāya. - visvantireviś ca; Ed,P2,Pl -eviṣra; D visvantih visvah; M visvakaro
'riś ca; P2 pācikārevir eva ca; Ed p.evat (sic); Pl
yācikārevir eva ca; D2 pāvikārevir (sic); Dl pātvikāreviḥ;
M pārikārārīr eva ca; R pāvikā revayah; Sk vāvikah revayah.

(1) So according to D (āngirasautathauṣijeti vēti mātsye); P,
Ed angiras ca vacotiḥ ca; M angirā suvacotathyah; read
angiras ca tathocathyah. The pravara is none the less
peculiar, and it is very probable that the Matsya or its
source is again defective. (Of perhaps the lacuna in the
Mānava account.)
Puruśottama's comment.

We shall now explain these Gautama-sections. The points we have already mentioned above in the explanation of the Bhṛgu-gotra-sections, from the words "In the gotra-sections here quoted", down to "We shall explain (those of the Bhṛgus)", are all to be repeated here at the beginning of the explanation of the Gautama-gotra-sections, since they apply equally.

The Pṛṣādāśvas and the Rksas, who are mentioned here among the Gautama gotra-gaṇas by Āśvalāyana, have their chief mention in the sequel, as is seen by the fact that Gautama does not appear in their pravaras, and by the identity of pravara with the Rathītaras and Bharadvājas as given below; and they must be considered to have no intermarriage with them also. The same conclusion results from their mention below by the other Sūtra-authors. The question arises as to what justification could have occurred to the mind of Āśvalāyana for their inclusion among the Gautama-gaṇas; but their mention in the sequel has a perfectly clear justification.
Since the gaṇas and the pravaras here are already explained by the fact of their mere mention, there is no further need of explanation. And wherever there is a conflict of opinion as to the number, one, two, or three, or the order, of the pravara-ṛṣis in any one gaṇa, the question is to be decided by customary usage, since the Sūtra-authors depended on customary usage from one source or another (for their information about) the pravaras.

Leaving aside, then, the Rkṣa and Prśadaśva gaṇas, all the gaṇas of the Gautamas are to be deemed to avoid their own gaṇa in marriage and to have no intermarriage one with another, since they belong to the same gotra. They belong to the same gotra because they are descended from Gautama who is one of the Seven Rais. And a fortiori there is no marriage within their own gaṇas, because of identity of pravara. Moreover, Baudhāyana expressly states, "There is no intermarriage between any of the Gautamas."
2. The Bharadvājas

1. Bharadvājah
2. Kaśāmyāyanā
3. Māgāndā
4. Devāśva
5. Udvahavyāḥ
6. Prāgvyāṃśayo
7. Vāhalayo
8. Bādhyogā
9. Vasiṇāyanās
10. Taidehā
11. Āśā
de
12. Aukṣaṇā
de
13. Bhūrayaḥ
14. Pārīṇadhayeṇāḥ
15. Saikheṇāḥ
de
16. Sauddhakaya

1 A. Baudhāyana.
2 Bharadvājah
3 Kaśāmyāyaṇā
4 Māgāndā
5 Devāśva
6 Udvahavyāḥ
7 Prāgvyāṃśayo
8 Vāhalayo
9 Bādhyogā
10 Vasiṇāyanās
11 Taidehā
12 Aukṣaṇā
13 Bhūrayaḥ
14 Pārīṇadhayeṇāḥ
15 Saikheṇāḥ
16 Sauddhakaya

2 Dī kāyām-. Dī kāmyāyaṇa; P2 kṣābhyā-. 3 So S: M, G, Bu, Caland māmaṇḍā-T māmaṃthā; Be māmātā; U, P, D māmātā; Ed māgaṇḍā; Sk bhegaṇāḥ (Caland reports bhegaṇāḥ); P2 adds urudhāḥ after this. 4 P1 -āvān.
5 S uddāлагāḥ; Dī ūrddhahāvyāḥ; Sk dvamdvahavyāḥ.
6 Ed -vāsāyo; P2 -vāsāyo; P1 pragayosayo. 7 Conj;
Caland vāhalayo; M, G, T -gā; Ed -vā; Bu vālakāḥ; Pl
cāhalabhā; Dī vāhalabho; Dī vāhalabhā; Sk vāhalakṣāḥ;
P2 devala; B, U devahela; S vāsāla. 8 Conj., cf. gana
māritādī (also in Satapatha Brs); B, U, P, Sk, Caland
dā(व)nyogā; Dī vāhṇyogā; Dī vāhṇyogā; M
vandyogā; G, T vandhyogā; Bu vandyagā; Ed dvyaugā.
9 So Ed, Caland, cf. Pān. 6.4.174 (where however
-āyani); M, T vāsī--; G bāśi--; Bu vaśī--; B, U vāsa--; P2
vasa--; P1 vaśī--; Sk vaśī--; Dī govāsināḥ; Dī vaśinas.
10 So B, Caland, Dī, P, Sk; Dī stādehā; P2 saudehā;
Ed stādehā; S -stedeḥā. 11 So B, U, Sk, Dī; P1 attāślā;
Dī aśvāḥ; P2 āśatrā; Ed ātrā; S āṣṇā; B ājḥā. 12 Conj,
cf. Pān. 6.4.173; A, Bu auksa; M autha; G aukthya; T audha;
S auvāḥ; Dī ākṣā; cf. Mān. 13 So B, S; B, U, Sk, Dī;
Pārīṇadhayeṇāḥ; Sk pārīṇadhayeṇāḥ. 14 So
Caland (after Rm); G pārī-. B, U, M, P2 pari-. P1, Dī
pārīṇadhayeṇāḥ; Sk pārīṇadhayeṇāḥ; S
pārīṇadhayeṇāḥ. Bu vārīṇekeyāḥ; Ed pārīṇadhadeṇāḥ.
15 So B, S: A keśakahyeṇāḥ; Ed keśasveyeṇāḥ; Dī keśāravayaḥ.
16 So M, G, T sauddhikaya; B, U, Sk
sauhāya; Ed sauddhaya; P2, D sauddhaya; P1 saiddhaya.
17. Urudhāh
18. Khārigrīvaya
19. Aupāsāyō
20. Vayokṣibheda
21. Āgnivesyā
22. Vedhāh
23. Sāthā
24. Gaurivāyanāś
g
25. Cēlakāh
26. Stanakamnā
27. Uruksā
28. Māṇabhindavyāh
29. + kahvodankās
30. Taulvalayo

17 So G, T, Be, U; M īru-.; Bu aurū-.; Ed, Sk, Dl īru-.; P2 uru-.; D2 īru only; Pl īruga.; S ṅūdhāh. 18 So B, D, Pl, Ed; Be, U kha-.; P2 svār-.; S gāri-. 19 So B, S; P2 -sayo; Pl śopasayō; Ed ausayō; Sk aupavasayāh; Dl aupasāvin; D2 aupatiḥ (corr. from -siḥ). 20 Pl vayōśibheyā. 21 So B; Ed āgnivesā; Sk āgnivesyā; S, Dl, P āgnivesyā. 22 So B; Ed āsyāś; S vyavāyā; Be, U veśāḥ; rest om. 23 So M, Bu, Ed, Pl, D; P2 śaṭhā; Be, U sāga; T śvalā; G śām; Sk śayāḥ. 24 G, Bu, Ed, P2 D -nāś; Pl gori-.; Sk -vāvanāḥ; M bhauri-.; Be, U gaśvālārekhāyanāḥ (but all with dental n-)
25 So Be, U, T, Caland (but without visarga); M, G āvelakāḥ; S, Sk khelakāḥ; Pl velahāḥ; Ed ēvelakāḥ; P2 lekhakāḥ: Bu caurukāh. 26 S -stanu-. 27 So M, G; Bu aur-. T ur-.; Ed, P, D, Sk rkāsā; S parokṣa; Be, U rukṣa. 28 So M, T, S; G -bhindaghrāḥ; Bu -bhandavyāḥ; Ed, Dl -bhidyaḥ; Pl māṇavindyaḥ; P2, D2, Sk māṇibhindyāḥ; Be, U māṇabhindyāḥ. 29 So M, G; T kəṇvo; S kāmbodakāḥ; Bu kābodakāḥ; Be, U kadvodakāḥ kāmjovakāḥ; Sk kadvādakāḥ; P2 kahvodako; Ed kāsthodakāḥ; Pl kāddevakāh; Dl kadovamekah; D2 kadvamekah. 30 Conj.: Cf. Paṇ. 2.4.61 and the other lists; the archetype however had taujvalayo - so M, T, Bu, S; Be, U, Pl, Dl svojva-; P2 svaujva-; D2 spojva-; Sk sauja-. Ed jvalayo only.
31. Vailāh
32. Khāranādayaḥ
33. Bhārundeyā
34. Mādrapāṭhayāḥ
35. 1saurobhangah
36. Sungā
37. Dalvamataya
38. Iṣumata
39. Aūdameghayāḥ
40. Pravāhaneyāḥ
41. Kalmāsā
42. Rajastambhiḥ

31 So Bu, Ed, P2, Sk; Pl, D velāh; M, G, T, S venah.
32 So emended by Caland, after gana bāhvādi (where however Böhtlingk prints dental -n-); M, G khāru-; T dvayo; S karunādayo; Bu khārunāh deyāḥ; Be, U khāruḍādeyeyā; Pl khāruḍādayo; P2 khā/rūḍā
dvayo; D1 khāruḍāh devih; D2 khārujedeyih; Sk khauradā dvayo; cf. Man. khārīnādi.
33 So B, S; Ed bhar-; Pl starūdemāyaḥ; P2 bharūndeyā; Sk bharunādayo; D1 bharudeyana; D2 bharudeyo.
34 So M, G, T, S; Bu mātra-; Be, U bhadrarathāḥ;
Pl bhadrāthayāḥ; P2 bhadrāpatvā; Ed bhadrādhayāḥ;
D, bhadrādhi; Sk bhadrādayaḥ. 35 ? So M, G, T,
Caland; Bu saurabhnagāḥ; S śrutohagāḥ; A saurabhnarāḥ
(P2 saurbhārāḥ, D1 saurabhaḥ). 36 So S, Bu, P (but
D1 ərṇgaḥ); Be, U ərṇgā; M, G əsubhāngaḥ; T subhangā.
37 So M, G, T, cf. gana taulvalyādi; rest, deva-.
38 S -matayo; Sk -mātrā; Pl -vata; Caland
suggests āṣumata, for which cf. Man, W. 75
39 So Be, U, P2, D1, cf. gana pailādi and the other
lists; M, G baudome-; T vaiddāme; Bu dodaḥ me-;
S vodame-; Ed vaudodame-; Pl mauvaudame-;
Sk audyameyayaḥ; D2 audamedhiḥ; P2 adds also
baudomta. 40 Cf. gana subhrādi; P2 prevāhanoyāḥ.
41 Ed kalmāśva; Pl kalyanamsā. 42 So B, P2, Ed,
Dl; Pl -stambvi; D2 -sumbhiḥ; Sk -stavayaḥ;
Be, U -stambḥāḥ; but rajastambhā also occurs
below, no. 60, and it is doubtful whether the
name really belongs here.
43. Sudhúpakṛtṛ
d 44. Vārāhāyō
d 45. Valabhiṣikāyō
d 46. Rūdrānagapathaṅ
d 47. Śālānālayō
d 48. Devavelā
d 49. Mahāvelā
d 50. Nīvīncyāyaṇā
d 51. Duṇyāyanāḥ
d 52. Śālālayāν
d 53. Śārdūlayāν
d 54. † Kātkalā
d 55. † vatkalāh
d 56. † saihyakelāh
d 57. Krauṇḍāyanāḥ

43 ? So B; Be, U sādhyupakṛtṛyō; Sk samdhopakṛtṛyāḥ;
Pl sanyodhopakṛtṛ; Ed sadyopakṛta; D2 sadyopakṛtṛḥ;
Dl sāgheṣakṛtṛḥ; P2 sadhopakṛtṛ; S sindūpakṛd. 44 So
M, G, T, S, cf. the other lists; Bu parāhāyā; Be, U rāhāyō
only; D, Sk parāharayō. 45 So M, G, T, Caland; Ed, P
-bhi; Dl karabhīkhiḥ; D2 balamekhiḥ; Sk balabhokṛyō;
Be, U valabhayō; Bu upalambhiṣikāyāḥ; S valabhīgāyō.
46 So Ed, Pl, Dl, D2 -prthūḥ; P2 rūḍrāgā-; Be, U, Sk
-yathāḥ; M, G, T, Caland; ugrāṃgatā; Bu indrohotāḥ.
47 So B, Ed, Pl, D2; S sālāhilinō; P2 sālādhīyō;
Dl sālānāriḥ. 48 So B; A veda- (Pl vedavelāyanaḥ);
Sk velāḥ only). 49 Only in B, D (S mahō-). 50 So
M, G; T nipiṃcā; Bu rājaḥ; S rūja-; Ed, Pl, Dl, Sk, Be, U
nṛtyāḥ; P2 bhṛttyāḥ-; D2 nātyāḥ; Sk adds also nṛtyāḥ.
51 So Dl only; D2, B dhānāyāyanaḥ; A, S om; cf. gana
āśvādi. 52 Sk śaḷā-; Ed śaḷā-; Dl śaḷāniḥ; D2
śaṭvaliḥ; S śalāyāḥ. 54 So G, Bu; T kāṝkāḷaḥ (with
this Caland compares Pāṇ. 4.2.145 - kāṝkana - but
this is most improbable); M kāṝkakāḷaḥ; S tātkalāḥ;
Be, U kāḷaṅkāḷaḥ; Pl, Ed kāṅkāḷāḥ; Sk
kāṅkalayō; D kāṅkalo. 55 So Bu, S; M, G vākkalāḥ;
T phātkalāḥ; A bāskalāḥ (vā-). 56 So G; M -kalāḥ;
Bu saihyāḥ kaindāḥ; T saihyakelāḥ; S sahyakasindhānā;
Be, U sātyakelāḥ; Ed sēhyakēdāḥāḥ; P2 saihvakēdāḥāḥ;
Pl saihyakēdāḥāḥ; Sk saihyakeyāḥ; Dl saimhakeyāḥ; D2
saihakeyāḥ. 57 So Caland, cf. Pāṇ. 4.1.80 (krauḍi):
M, G, Bu kroḍ-; T krauṭh-; P1 krauṇḍ-;
(Pl corr. from krauṇḍ-; for krauṇḍāyāna, cf. gana
pakṣādi); P2 kauḍ-; Caland's comparison of Kāṭyāyana
(1e, W) - krolāyana - is wrong; the latter name
occurs there among the Gautamas, q.v.; But Mān. cites
a krauṇḍāyana (W kōḍāyana) among the Garga-
Bharadvājas.
53. Kaundinyā
59. Brahmastambhā
60. Rājastambhā
61. Agnistambhā
62. Vāyustambhāḥ
63. Sūryastambhāḥ
64. Somastambhā
65. Yamastambhā
66. Indrastambhā
67. Vīṣṇustambhā
68. Yajñastambhā
69. Āpastambhā
70. ye cāṇye stambha -śabdāḥ
71. Śviṣṭā
72. Aruṇāsindhuḥ
73. Kauumudagandhiḥ
74. Saktih
75. Kauśivāyanā
76. Ātreyāyānāḥ
77. Bhāmānyā
dūmagandhāḥ
78. Dūmagandhāḥ
79. Ŧukkāḥ
80. Kaukākṣayo

58 So P2, D (as an emendation, however?), cf. gāna gargaḍāḥ;
Sk kraūdinya; Ed, P1 kaundilya (Pl corr. from kraundilya);
M, G kraūdilya; T kraudhilya; Bu kāndilya; Be, U kaudilya.
67 Ed, P1, D2, Sk place this before 65; P2, D1 om. 68 B only
(s also omits 67-69) 69 Sk -mbāḥ. 70 Ie. whose names
end in -stambha; possibly we should read stambha-
stambha-śabdāḥ - so D1, Be, U; P1 stambhāva-śāvā; Ed
stambha-stambhā (with -ba in brackets) -śabdāḥ; P2
stambah/stambha-śabdāḥ; D2 āyastambah śāvāntāḥ; Sk, in
spite of reading āpastamba, stambha-śabdāḥ only.
71 So B; S śiṣṭā; A om. 72 So B, Ed; S arunī-; Be, U
abha (or ama)ṇasindhava; P2 ārāṇa-; P1 arāṇyaki-; Sk
ārūṇyāḥ sindhavah; D arunīḥ (D2 -ah) sindhuḥ. 73 So
B; A plural; D1 kumuda-. 74, 75 So B; S saktih
śākivāyanāḥ; for both, Be, U, P, Ed, Sk śikhāyanāḥ; D1
śikṣāyanāḥ; D2 tribhavoyanāḥ. 76 So A, S; Sk mātre-;
M, G, T ātreyānāḥ; Bu āmrāṇāḥ. 77? So Be, U; Ed, P2, Sk
bhāmānyā; D māmānyā (dental); M, G, T māmānyā; S māmām
ā-; Bu yatamāsata. 78 A om; D, from its B-source,
dūmagandhinā. 79 So M, G, T; Bu kokāḥ; A kuskāḥ; cf.
possibly Āpast. kukva, where however the reading is
also in doubt. 80 So B, D, Sk; Ed, P1 kaukākṣayo; P2
taurkakṣayo; S kāpyāyanā.
These are Bharadvājas. They have a three-rsi pravara,

"Āngirasa, Bārnaspatya, Bharadvāja", etc.

1. Rauksāyanāh
2. Kapilāh
3. Sabalan
4. (Saipilā)
5. Vibhīṇdayāh
6. Kauthumo
7. (Agnijihvī ca

So B,D2;Ed, P naitutayo; Dl naisutiḥ; Sk jaitundapā; S mrāntayo. 82 Ed ḍābhayaḥ; Dl ḍabhīḥ; S dhārtayo; rest, ḍābhayaḥ. 84 So Be, U, P, Dl; M, G, T -kāyāḥ; Bu -kradhāḥ; S -kradhāḥ; Sk -krpaḥ; D2 -kramyaḥ; Ed matskāyāḥ. 85 So T (Caland compares Apast. kukva); M, G, kekau-; Bu kāksyā-; S kaukāyānāḥ; A kāruṇyānāḥ (confused with the following name). 86 P2 kārūthayāḥ. 87 So Be, U, G, S; D -ru-; rest, -ṛy-. 88 So Be, U, P2; Ġ, T, Bu kābālayāḥ; M kābālayāḥ; Pl, Ed, Dl Sk kāvalyāḥ; D2 kāvalāḥ; S Kālmā.

The nine names in this family occur in Be, U, (which however Caland does not quote in full), Ed, S, K, R, D. The last however attributes them to the Matsya. B gives only the unbracketed portion, while Pl, P2 omit the family entirely. S quotes five of the names. The list is probably, as Caland suggests, taken from one of the other Sūtras, though his suggestion that it was Katyāyana (i.e. our W) has no especial claim to acceptance. See the others among the Kevāla Āngirases.

3 So Sk; D, R śāvalāḥ; Ed śipilāḥ; S śiphilāḥ. 4 So Ed; R, Sk, D2 śiphi-; S śalphi-; Dl śipilāḥ śipilasviḥ. This seems to be simply dittography of no. 3. 5 So Sk; R -śvibhīnd-; D2 -ścibhīnd-; Dl tribhīndin; Ed vaipindin; S valphidāḥ. 6 Cf. gana kāntakaujāpādi; D kauthamah; R, Sk kausumah; Ed kautumo; S kauthumo. 7 So Ed, cf. W; D, R, Sk -jihvāḥ.
These are the Raukṣāyaṇas. They have a five-ṛṣi pravara, "Angirasa, Bārhapasatyā, Bhāradvāja, Vāndana, Mātavacasa", etc.

1. Gargāh
2. Sāmbharāyaṇāḥ
3. Sakhīnayo
4. Gandharāyaṇa
5. Bāhulakayo
6. Bhrāṭrakrd
7. Bhrāṭrabindavo
8. Krauṣṭukayān
9. Sauyāmunir
10. Bhrājīnākṣayo
11. Hotrāpacayān
12. Satyāpacayān

So R, Sk, D; Ed kaṇvī ca. 9 Cf. W; Ed sūtīṣ ca; D, R, Sk sūtān.

1 R gārgaṇ. 3 So Pl, R, Dl, Be, U, G; Sk -tayo; D2 sakhīṇah; P2 sakhī/ṇamāyo; Ed sakhīnā (cf. next); M, T sāmkhīnayo; Bu sāmkhīnān yo-; S sāmkhyāyana; Be, U add 'tha sāmkhyāyana. 4 So D; B, P gāndh-. Ed yauγandh-. Sk mādhārāyanaḥ; R bharagāndharāyana. 5 So M, G, Be, U, Pl (va-), Ed, D; P2 -kaya; T banu-; Bu bāhulakā; Sk bāhulayo; S vādhulakayo. 6 So R, Sk, cf. K & L, W, Matsya; B, P, D bhrastakā (for which cf. Mān. and gana upakādi); Ed bhrastayo; Be, U bhrāstrakā. 7 So G (?), R, Sk, D2, cf. the other lists; M, T bhrāṣṭa-; Bu bhrāṣṭa-; S, P2 bhrāṣṭa-; Ed bhrāṣṭu- bhandayah; Dl bhrāṣṭuvāṇāṇ; Pl bhrāṣṭhāvidvāḥ. 8 So S, ġaland, (and cf. Nirukta 3, 2); Be, U krauṣṭa-; Ed, P2, D, R kroṣṭa-; Sk kroṣṭa-; M kauṣṭa-; G, T kauṣṭu-; Bu kauṣṭakān; Pl kroṣṭakasaḥ. 9 R, Sk -nāḥ; G, T saudāḥ; Bu sauja-; 10 So R, Sk; Pl bhaṅgīnā-; P2 bhaṛgīta-; Ed bhaṛjīta-; Dl bhaṛjītaksin; D2 bhaṛjanāmkaśi; Bu bhaṛjānān kṣādaḥ; Be, U bhaṅgīnāksyo; M, G bhaṛjanāksatreyā; T bhaṛjīnāksatreyā. 11 So B, P, D2; Ed notra-; Sk, R -pavayah; S nautra; Dl nāṭrayaviḥ. 12 So B, S, D2; Ed satya-; R -pavayah; Sk -pavayāḥ; Pl satyāpacayā iti; P2 satyāparaya iti; Dl satyāyanih; P, R and Sk omit from here to the end of the K & L account of the sub-family (to the words ity ete gārgaḥ.)
These are Gargas. They have a five-ṛsi pravara, "Angirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Śainya (1), Gārgya," etc; or a three-ṛsi pravara, "Angirasa, Śainya, Gārgya," etc.

There is no intermarriage of any of the Bharadvājas.

1) A regularly śainya, sinivat. (Ed has either form indiscriminately.)
B. Āpastamba.

The Bharadvājas have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja", etc.

This is unaltered in the case of

1. Kukva-
2. Agnivesya-
3. Urjayanānām

and all those whose names end in -stambha and -stamba. (1).

Of the dvāmuṣṭyāṇa-families, such as the Śūnga-Śaisirīs - the Śūngas being Bharadvājas and the Śaisirīs being Kātas - there is a five-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Kātya, Ātkīla", etc.

The Rkṣas have a five-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Vāndana, Mātavacasa", etc. But some give a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Vāndana, Mātavacasa", etc.

The Kapis have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Āmahīyava, Aurukṣaya", etc. (2).

The Gargas have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Gārgya, Śainya", etc. But some give Bhāradvāja in place of Āngirasa, "Bhāradvāja, Gārgya, Śainya", etc. (3).

(1) So Garbe, Ch. Rao; Ed kukra; P2 kutsa; P1 kusa.
(2) P udgāyanānām.

(1) So Ed; Garbe stamba-stamba-śabdānām; P1 stamva-stamva-. (2) The Kapis probably really belong to the Kevala-Āngiras (cf the other Sūtras there). They are one of the few families whose pravara itself is doubtful. Garbe here has āmahīya, his other Mss giving āmahāya, āmahaya; Ed, P āmahayau-rukṣaya; see the other Sūtras. (3) P omits the alternative.
| 1.  | Athrayāṇī-          |
| 2.  | mādhukarni-        |
| 3.  | Vārkali-           |
| 4.  | Saupīṣṭya-         |
| 5.  | Āgnivesyānām       |
| 6.  | Śālāthala-         |
| 7.  | Varaha-            |
| 8.  | Saunga-            |
| 9.  | Kṛpanaparṇa-       |
| 10. | Pravāhaneyānām     |
| 11. | Pravāhaneyānām     |
| 12. | Pravāhaneyānām     |
| 13. | Pravāhaneyānām     |
| 14. | Pravāhaneyānām     |
| 15. | Pravāhaneyānām     |
| 16. | Pravāhaneyānām     |
| 17. | Pravāhaneyānām     |
| 18. | Pravāhaneyānām     |

**Mss readings:**

1. athātreyāṇī     
7. śālāla     
9. śaugam     
14. grīvīnāṁ only.
15. aśūmati (Weber wrongly conj. paśupati).
18. naitundī
C. Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi

1. Ātreyāyaṇa-
2. Mārkaṇḍi-
3. Vaiśāyani-
4. Saupiṣṭa-
5. Saugeya-
6. Āgnivesyānām
7. Sālāthala-
8. Vārāhi-
9. Saunji-
10. Trākaṇa-
11. Pravāhaṇeyānām
12. Āśvalāyani-
13. Vāvāsraugiradhī-
14. Khaṇīgrīvīṇām
15. Alisumati-
16. Sāyaṃkī-
17. Kaṇćakikāyanaṇām
18. Naitundī-
19. Dhauvākīnām

1. Pl, Ed with dental -n; P2 Ātreyāya only. 2 So Ed, D; Pl mārkeṇi; P2 mārkaṇḍi; but cf. Baudh. no. 3. 3 So D2, P1, cf. Matsya; D1 yiniḥ; P2, S vāsināyani; Ed vāsināyani. 4 Cf. the other lists; D sauvistah; Pl saupiṣṭha; Ed, P2 caupiṣṭa. 6 So Pl, Ed, P2 yājāmaveyānām; D om. 7 Cf. gana śubhrādi; Ed, D, Pl saravari; P2 saravasī sāravati. 8 Cf. Mān, Matsya; Ed, P, D vāhi. 9 Restored; S saungi; others with dental s-; Ed, D2 saungi; D1 sangi; P saungi. 10 Ed, Matsya; D1 tūrṇa-; Pl, D2 tūna-; P2 tuṇḍinūpākaṇi; S tuṣakarna; cf. Perk. Baudh. no. 26 (stanakarna). 11 So Ed, Pl; S pravāhaṇeyānām. 12 So all. 13 So Ed, Pl vā saungi adhi; P2 vācaśvaugia adhi; D2 vātāngiradhī; D1 vātāngirathih; S vāśraumi... radhi. 14 Restored, cf. Baudh. no. 13; Ed karaṇīvīṇām; Pl karāvīgrīvīṇām; P2 kāraṇīvīṇām; S kārīṇīvīṇām; D1 kārāvīvīṇī; D2 kārāvīvī. 15 Conj./ Ed maithumati; P maithunamatī; D maithunamatī. 16 So Ed, P1, D2 savaṃkī; D1 savaṃkakaḥ; S sājamiḥ; P2 sāṣṭaṃkī; P2 also adds sājyaṃkī after nos. 17. 17 So Ed; P2 kaṁbikīkā-; Pl Kakīkā-; D1 kācakīk kyanahā; D2 kāyanah only; S Kārārūkākāya. 18 Cf. Baudh. no. 31, and W; Pl, D1 trautūndī; D2 strautūndī; P2, Ed trautūti; S tuṭi. 19 Conj., cf. gana vāṇvādi, (unādi 3.32); Ed šauritaucaκīnām; Pl dhauritauvākinām; P2 dhauridhaustoṣcaκīnām; D1 dhautāmbakīḥ D2 ghautāmvyāki; S yotritaucaκkrānām.
Mān.

20. Somastambi-
21. Taulvali-
22. †pauṣuyāvaddiśīnām
23. śāla-
24. vālaunha-†
25. ---
26. Devamata-
28. Harikarna-
29. Drāmgava-
30? †cauceya-
31. Kaumudagandhi-
    Khārinādi-
    Rājastambi-
    Sāmastambi-
    Somastambi-
    ---
    --- (see below)
27. Audamegni-
    †gāmdaki-
    śālaunhitaki-
    ---
    kāṇḍaka-
    dhāna-
    kulaka-†
35. Sātyamugri-

W.

20. ---
21. Taulvali-
22. †pauṣpadvijīnā
23. sālaunhi-
24. vālaunhi-†
25. Saupatānām
26. Devamata-
28. Harikarna-
29. Drāmgava-
30? †aupeya-
34. Kaumudagandhi-
    Khārinādi-
    Rājastambi-
    Sāmastambi-
    saupatānām
    Brahmatambi-
35. Sātyumugri-
27. Audamegniśīnām
    †gāmdaki-
    śālaunhitaki-
    ---
    kāṇḍaka-
    dhāna-
    kulaka-†
    --- (see above)

Mas readings:

20. saubastamvi
21. tolvali

rajanastāṭī
drāngavadha
gomṛgagandhi
vārinādi (corr. from vārikeyācayādi)
rajanumugri
yaudameghīno
10. Somastambi-
11. Taivali-

p 12. वालुहि-
13. सालुहि-
14. वालुहि-
15. saubuddhika-
16. Bhāradvāja-
17. Audameghi-
18. Devamatī-
19. Devagāri-
20. Devasthāni-
21. Harikarpi-
22. Dhrāṅgavi-
23. द्राङ्गावि-
24. सांवेदनाम-
25. सांवेदनाम-
26. भारद्वाज-
27. Audameghi-
28. Devamati-
29. Devagāri-
30. Devasthāni-
31. Harikarpi-
32. Dhrāṅgavi-
33. द्राङ्गावि-
34. Kaumudagancīhi-
35. Sātyamurī-
36. Mātsyakrātha-
37. मात्स्यक्राठः-
38. Mālonara-
39. Gāngodaki-
40. Kaurukṣetri-

20. So Pl (vi); Ed, P2 saāma-; D1 sāmastaviḥ; D2 māyamstaṁvo; starting from the last syll. of this name, Pl repeats from here to the end of Aṣṭaivalyaṇa's account of the Kevala-Angirases; readings in the repeat are noted as Pla, where they differ from Pl. 21. So Ed, P2; Pl taudhvāstī; D2 staudhmātir. 22. So p ?; Pl -gā-; Pla -gaḍeṣeṇām; P2 vailugā-; Ed vailugō-; S vayugādveṣānām; D1 vāsūṇ godeṣī; D2 vepur gaudveṣī; the other lists would indicate pausū-. 23. So Pl; D2 sālūhi; D1 sālahi; Ed, P2 sāluti. 24. So Pl, D; Ed vāluti; P2 vālū only. 25. So Ed, Pl, Dl; P2 -vudvī-; D2 -vudri-; S saubudhiṣṭaṭaraḥ; Ed, P end in -ā - read -ānām? 26, 27. The two names probably denote one family, i.e. the Audameghis who are Bharadvājas, as opposed to those who are Kaśyapas; and cf. the mention of Bharadvājaudamegḥīnāṃ in the final chapter, as dyāmuṣyāyanas, below, p.

P audamedhi- (Pla -T醍meṣi). 28. Conj., cf. Mānī, W, Baudh.; Pl pāṭesamati; D2 pāṭesamati; Dl paresamati; P2 mapadesvamati; Ed pārasamiti; S pateṣumati. 29. So Pl, Dl; P2 devāgārīdhi; Ed devāgāridhir; S devāvānti. 30. So Ed, Pl, P2, S, Dl; Pla devaṣyaṇī; D2 dāvaṣyaṇī. 31. So Ed, Pl, D; P2 hariṇakarni; S haritakarni. 32. So P2, D2; Pl, Dl dhrāṅgavi; Pla dhrāṅgavi; Ed dhrāṅgamvi; S dhrāṅgavi. 33. Ed, Pl, Dl dhrāṅgaya; D2 dhrāṅgaya; P2 dhaudāya; S dhaugeyā. 35. Pla sānya-; D2 sīyanuyor. 36. Conj., cf. Baudh. no. 84; S -kvātha; Ed, Dl -kaṣa; Pla -kaikā; P2 matyakṣta; D2 mātyagarukṣaṇo. 37. Pla mālo only; S salāhara. 38. So Dl, Pl; Ed hālohāra; D2 hālokalāro; P2 halopāra; S lohāra only. 39. So Pla, P2, D; Pl gāṅ-gāṅ; Ed gāṅgovedaki. 40. So Ed, Pl, Dl; P2, D2 kauru-; Pla kairu-.
| 1. | Kānāyanāḥ | 1. | Kānāyanāḥ |
| 2. | Kaivalayo | 2. | Kaivalayo |
| 3. | atho Vatsatarāyanāḥ | 3. | atho Vatsatarāyanāḥ |
| 5. | Vārdhanayo | 5. | Vārdhanayo |
| 6. | (dental) | 6. | (dental) |
| 7. | Vāmśayanāś ca ye | 7. | Vāmśayanāś ca ye |
| 8. | Bhrāstrakrd | 8. | Bhrāstrakrd |
| 10. | Aindrāli- | 10. | Aindrāli- |
| 11. | Sāyakāyanāḥ | 11. | Sāyakāyanāḥ |
| 12. | †koli ca | 12. | †koli ca |
| 13. | krika | 13. | krika |
| 14. | nīsām tva | 14. | nīsām tva |
| 15. | nīsām tva | 15. | nīsām tva |

**Mss readings:**

2. kävalayo 'tha

2. kävalayo 'tha

4. bhūṣṭukā

4. bhūṣṭukā

5. kapravrdī ca

5. kapravrdī ca

6. indrādhiḥ

6. indrādhiḥ

15. Üpamarkaṭi

15. Üpamarkaṭi
These have no intermarriage. They have a three-rṣi pravara, "Angrasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja", etc.

1. Kālāyanaḥ
2. Kaivalayo
3. atno Vātsatarāyana

-------
4. Bṛastraṇkrd
5. Bṛastraṇdindavō
6. Aindrāli-
7. Sāyakāyanaḥ
8. Ṭkaulāstra-
9. kriyāsvā-
10. krīva-†
11. Kālakrn-
12. Mātulā-
13. Yāvakra-
14. Bhāllavir
15. Aupamarkatāḥ

2 For this (restored from Mān., W and cf. Baudh.no.22) and the word atno of the next, Ed keśamartno; Pl keśamatno P2 keśamatnā; Pla keśamatatho; Dl keśarmi; D2 keśābhami.
3 So Dl, read vātσa-?; Ed vacya-; P2 vacya-; Pl vāsārāyana
D2 vatsāyanaḥ. For the lacuna, cf. Mān., W. 4 So Ed; Pl bṛastraṇkrd (Pla om.); P2 bhrāṣaktvam. 5 Restored; Ed bṛastraṇmiti; Pla bhrāṣātvam; Pl bhrāṣātvindī; P2 bṛastraṇbhnī. 6 Pla yānāli. 7 All, gālankāyanap; cf. Matsyā, Mān, and gana naddā (also in Satapatha-Br.)
8 Dl kaulāstrayah. 9 Pla -svā. 10 So D, P2; Ed, Pl krīva.
12 D mātuleyān. 13 Dl -krih; D2 -ktir. 14 So Dl; D2 mālāvir; Pl bhalavir; Pla bhālevi; P2 mātulapīr. Ed mālapar-. 15 So Pl, P2; D -tīn; Pla laupamarkaga; Ed auparkamayaḥ; S auparka.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mān.</th>
<th>W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16. Protsangīṇa</td>
<td>16. pretsagī-.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Syāmāyana</td>
<td>19. Syāmāyana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Ṣyālikayana</td>
<td>17. Ṣyālikayana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. sambharābhampat†.</td>
<td>21. sambharabhāramata-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(lacuna)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...senya gārgyeti hotā, etc.

pravara as in K&L.

| 1. tetirati-         | 1. taitirih       |
| 2. kavir bhūmo       | 2. kavibhūme      |
| 3. Gargā iti          | 3. Gargā iti      |

pravara as in K&L.

---

**Ms. readings:**


3. Gargā iti
These have no intermarriage. They have a five-rṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Sainya, Gārgya," etc.

1. Tittirih
2. Kapibhūmiḥ
3. ῦ khanditāḥ
4. ῦ khanditito
5. Gargā iti

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-rṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Sainya, Gārgya," etc.

D. Āśvalāyana.

Of the Bharadvāja-Agnivesyas, "Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja."

< Of the Gargas, "Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja.

16. Protsangih
17. Paingalāyanāḥ
18. Śyāmāḥ
19. Śyāmâyana
20. Gargyāḥ
21. ῦ sāmparivāra iti

These have no intermarriage. They have a five-rṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Sainya, Gārgya," etc.

1. Tittirih
2. Kapibhūmiḥ
3. ῦ khanditāḥ
4. ῦ khanditito
5. Gargā iti

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-rṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Sainya, Gārgya," etc.

D. Āśvalāyana.

Of the Bharadvāja-Agnivesyas, "Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja."

Of the Gargas, "Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja.

16 ? So Mān; Pl, D prasyaṅga; Ed, P2 prasyaṃgāḥ; Pla presyantaḥ; S naṅaśāṣṭhyagāḥ. 17 So D2; Ed, D1 paiga-; P2 painja-; Pl gaṅgalāyana; Pla paṅgalāyena. 18 In Ed, P2 only. 19 Ed sām-; S ayam-. 20 So P2, Pla, D, S; Pla gargaṇ; Ed gargas. 21 So Ed, P; Pla, D1 sāpāri-. D2 sāṃ-; perh. taken as "Gārgyās and their followers", but probably corrupt, cf. the other lists.

P2 omits this family, ascribing its three-rṣi pravara to the preceding. 1 Pl titirih. 2 So Ed, Pl; Sk kavi bhūmayaḥ; R kapitumayaḥ; D gives two names, kapibhūmiḥ. 3, 4 These are missing in the other lists; Pl svāṃditi khadinto (Pla svāṃditi pamdito); D1 svānditāḥ khanditāḥ; D2 svānditi khanditāḥ; S svāngiro dādīmāḥ; Ed khandino only; R, Sk khanditā only. D calls this family Garga-bhedas.
Gargya, Sainya”, or else “Angirasa, Sainya, Gargya”\footnote{1}

E. Matsya Purāṇa

1. Ātrēyāyani-  
4. Saupiṣṭav 
6. Agnivesān 
7. Salāthalah 
3. Valīśāyaniś 
5? °cikipir 
8. Vārāhīr 
- Vārkalis tathā 
9. Śaunghiś ca 
10. Trnakarniś ca 
11. Prāvahīś ca 
12. Āśvalāyaniḥ

\footnote{1} The Gargas occur in the middle of the Kevala Angirases in all the Āśvalāyana sources: the other Sūtras make it probable that they should be transferred to here.

1 So M2; the others with dental -ni (Pl -yatiś ca).  
4 P,Kṛṣa sauvi-; Ed saviṣtyau; Pl -ṣṭo; P2 -ṣṭāv;  
M sauvēṣṭyāv. 6 So Ed,Pl; P2, M -śya. 7 Cf.W, and  
gana āubhrādi; P śīlā-; Dl śilātalīh; D2 śilāyali;  
Ed,M śilāsthalīh. 3 So Ed,P; Kṛṣa vala-; M bā-.  
- Cikipī - so Ed; M caikepī; D2, Pl cikirśir;  
Dl cikirśih; P2 cikipir (after no.8); Kṛṣa śviki.  
- vārkalis,cf.Mān.,gana bāhvādi; Ed,M,D bāṣkalīs;  
P2 vāṣk-; Pl vāṣkatis; Kṛṣa nakali. 9 Restored;  
Ed,M,P2 sauṭīś ca; D sauḍhīh; Pl sauṭhīmś ca;  
Kṛṣa sauṭita; S sauhiś ca. 10 So P2,M2,S,Kṛṣ;  
Pl -kanīś; M1 triṇā-; Ed nrnavarṇiś ca. 11 So Ed,  
P,D,Kṛṣ; M prāvahīś ca; S prabhāhīś ca. 12 So M;  
Ed,Pl,D (ca) labhāyani; P2 labhāyiniḥ; Kṛṣa lārāyini  
(dental); S labhāryaniḥ (dental).
13. Tānīgacchir
13a. dasādikīḥ
14. Kārakīś ca
tathā ca udupatīḥ-prabhuḥ
17? kaucakīr
dhūmitas caiva
22? puspānvesis tathaiva ca
20. Somāstambir
Brahmastambir
23. sālaḍir
daladis tathā
29. Devāgari
30. Devasthānir
31. Hārikarṇīḥ
32? saridhūvih
33? prāvepiḥ
35. Satyamugriś ca
tatha Kaumudagandhikāḥ
34. tatha Kaumudagandhikāḥ
36. Mātyakrāthāḥ
37. Mālaharāḥ
38. Hālonaras tathaiva ca
39. Gāngodākīḥ
kaurupatiḥ
40. Kauruksetris tathaiva ca

13, 13a So P2; Ed -cchaś ca distākiḥ; P1 vāchampagachir
dasādikīḥ; Dl vānyagacchīḥ dasādikiḥ; D2 ānyagacchir
dasānhikīḥ; Krs vānyagaccha vasiṣṭhaḥ; 'M quite other-
wise - vārhīr barhisādī ca. 14 Restored; Ed, P2
svāra-; D sāragrīvir (Dl -vi); P1 svāragrīvirś; 'M śikhāgrīvis;
Krs dvisvabhāva grāvi. - Kārakīś ca
all the names from here to no. 40 inclusive appear
to have been missing in Purusottama's copy, and
we are therefore dependant for them on M1, M2
only, whose readings are given in the text, except
where noted. 20 M somatanvir brahmatanviḥ.
29 M devarārīra. 35 M sādyasagrīvis.
34 M gomedagandhikāḥ. 36 M mātyačchādāyo.
37 M mūlaharaḥ. 38 M phalāhāras. 39 M gāngodākīḥ.
These are all held to have a three-ṛṣi pravara (1)
first Angiras, second Brhaspati, third Bharadvāja.
These are said to have no intermarriage one with
another

1. Kāṇāyanān
2. Kaivalayās
3. tatha Vatsatarāyanāna

1) Ed tryārṣeyah pravaraś caiva sarvesā(m) pravaro
maṭh - read parikṛttataḥ? M corrupt: dvākhyayo
mārutas caīsām sārvesām (Ml tryārṣeyah) pravaro nṛpa.
4. Bhrāstrakṛd
5. Bhrāstrabinduṣ ca
6. Aindrālih
7. Sāyakāyanīḥ
8. kraudīś
9. cākṛī ca
10. vāśniś ca
11. Kālakṛn
12. Mātulas tathā
13. Yāvakṛd
14. Bhallaviś ca
15. Aupamaraktaḥ
16. Protsangīś ca
17. Paingalāyanaḥ
18. tathā svaṁāh
19. Gārgyaḥ

4 So M, Dl; Ed, P2 bhrā-; Kṛṣ bhraṣṭakṛ; D2 bhrāṣṭakṛd. 5 Restored; Ed bhrastra-viṣamī ca; P2 bhraviṣamī ca; M rāṣṭrapindī ca; D2 rāṣṭravinduḥ; Dl viduḥ only; Kṛṣ bhraṣṭavāṇī; S bhraṣṭavīṣmā. 6 Restored; Ed, P2 laityāliḥ; Kṛṣ laihyāli; D nairākṣih; M laindrāniḥ. 7 So M; Ed, P2 sākalāyaniḥ; Kṛṣ sākaṭāyani. 8 So Ed, P2; Kṛṣ krodiḥ; S kṛauḍīś. 9 So Ed, S; P2 cāsni ca; Kṛṣ kakraṭī. 10 So Ed, P2 vāṣmi ca; S vārṣmiś ca; Kṛṣ vāṣmiḥ; in place of 8-10, M has kroṣṭākṣi dāhuvitī ca. 11 Restored; D kālavīṭ; Ed lātakṛn; M tālakṛn; P2 tātakṛn; Kṛṣ lātakṛ. 12 Conj.; Ed, P2 M madhurāvahah; Kṛṣ mathurāvahaḥ. 13 Restored; Ed lāyakṛd; P2 lopakṛd; Kṛṣ lāpakṛ; M lāvakṛd. 14 Conj.; P2, Ed bhālavi-; M gālavid; Kṛṣ bhālaviḥa. 15 Conj., (but over-running the caesura); Ed -droṣau markataḥ; P2 - drāso markataḥ; M gāthi mārkaṭaḥ; Kṛṣ raṣa sakataḥ. 17 Cf. K&L; Ed, Kṛṣ pailikāyanaḥ; P2 pailikāḥ; M pailikāyaniḥ. 16 Cf. K&L; Ed, Kṛṣ mṛtsaṅga; P2 matsyagmga; M skandasaas ca. 18 Conj., cf. K&L; Ed, P2, Kṛṣ (tathā) dāmiḥ; M tathā cakṛī. 20 So M; P2 gambhī; Ed bhāgīś; Kṛṣ gambhīrya.
19. Syāmāyanisa tatha
   - Bālākīn
   - Śāmbharaś caiva

These are said to have a five-ṛṣi pravara, Angiras of great brilliance, Brhaspati the divine teacher, Bharadvāja, Garga, and the blessed ṛṣi Śainya. These ṛṣis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

<1. Tittirīḥ (1)
   2. Kapibhūmaś ca
   3. Gārgyaś caiva mahān ṛṣih

All these are said to have a splendid three-ṛṣi pravara, Angiras and Tittirī and Kapibhūma the great ṛṣi (2). These ṛṣis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.>

---

19 So all. - Bālākīn, so M1, P2, Ed, Kṛṣṇa, cf. W; M2 bā-. - Śāmbharaś, conj., cf. W, Māṇ; M sāhāris caiva; P2, Ed sāhāris caiva; Kṛṣṇa sāyanī. In the pravara, M2 sāitya.
   1 So M, Ed, P2, Kṛṣṇa; Pl tittirīḥ. 2 So M1; Ed, P, M2 kapibhūs caiva; Kṛṣṇa kapi only. In the pravara, M1 kapibhūma; Ed, P2, M2 kapibhūs ca; Pl kayibhūs ca; Kṛṣṇa here also simply kapi.

(1) This family really belongs here, cf. K&L, Māṇ, W; but all the sources combine to give it among the Kevala Angirases in the Matsya account - viz., after the Kanvas. The corruption of the pravara naturally conceals the dislocation. (2) We should probably read, eg., "angirāś ca tathā gargaḥ śainyaś caiva mahān ṛṣiḥ" - if so, the true reading has been ousted by dittography of the list above.
3. **Kevala Angirases (1)**

A. **Baudhāyana** (2)

1. Haritāh
2. Kautsāh
3. Sānkhyā
4. Dārbhāyā
5. Saibhango
6. Bhaimagavo

---

2. So Bu; S kātsās; T kotsā; M,G kautsāyān; Be,U kutsa-
haimyān; Ed,P,D,R,Sk om. 3. So Pl,DL; B,Ed sāmkhyo;
Sk sāṃkha; R sāṃkha; D2 sāmkhyo; Be,U sākheyā;
P2 sāmkhyeyā. 4. So Be,U,S; M,G,T darohya;
Bu,D darbhaṇā; Sk,R darbhayan; Ed dabhyaṇ; P2
dhātmabhāṇā; Pl danyan. 5. So M,G; T sāivabhango;
Bu haimgavaṇ; Be,U sāubhaga; Ed,P,D,R saubhāgā;
Sk saubhāgyaṇ; S bhaimj. 6. So A (but Pl loma
rava, Sk neyyagavaṇ) cf.Āsv.; B haimagava, for
which cf. Kāk.

---

1) Puruṣottama allots a separate chapter to the
Kevala Angirases only in the case of the Baudh.
and Āpast. accounts; for the others, he gives
them continuously with the Bharadvājas. They
have been separated here for convenience, but
some doubt remains as to the correct position of
two families: the Rksas are certainly Bharadvājas,
as can be seen from their pravara; but they occur
among the Kevalas, except in Baudh. and Āpast.;
while the Kapis are almost certainly Kevalas,
but they are usually treated by the mediaeval
authors as Bharadvājas.

3) The order of the ganas is different in the A
and B traditions. The order of A is given here,
as being Puruṣottama's (Be,U, however, give
the Kapis both before the Haritas and again after
the Samkrtis, adding after the first occurrence,
the prohibition of intermarriage among the
Bharadvājas). In B, the succession is,
Viṣṇuvṛddhas, Kanvas, Haritas, Samkrtis, Rathītāras
Nudgalas, Kapirs. The Vaikhānasa Śūtra, as might
be expected in a Southern school, follows the
order of B.
These are Haritas. They have a three-rsi pravara,

"Angirasa, Āmbariṣa, Yauvanāśva", etc.

7. Manāyur
8. Lāmbodarā
9. Manodarā
10. Namisrayo
11. Māsrodanāh
12. Kautapāh
13. Kālaśayah
14. Kaulayah
15. Paulayāh
16. paundalō
17. Māndhūpo
18. Māndhātur
19. Mādrakārāya iti
These are Kanvas. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara,
"Āṅgirasa, Ājāmīda, Kānva," etc.

1. Rathītarā
2. Hastidāsa
3. Kānvāyana
4. Naitirakṣayān

2 So G, Sk, D2; D1 -niḥ; Be, U aupamārkaṇḍāyanā; Pl yaupa-
markatāyanā; P2 saumarkatāyanā; Ed aupamarkatāyakāṇā;
S markathāyanāḥ; R aupakarmayayanā; 3 So P2, R, Sk;
D1 bhāsk-; D2 vāsk-; Pl vāsk-; M vātka-; Bu vātka-;
T vātka-; S vātka-; Ed kalāṇḥ only. 4? So M;
T -harito; G -halayo; Bu halanāḥ only; Ed paula-; R paulā-;
Pl paulahālino; P2 paulahano; Sk paulahastino; Be, U
pauladālino; D paulāhalih; cf. perh. sailālin, Pāṇ. 4.3.110?
5,6 So M; G mauṇjir mauṇjyayo; T maurjī maujyayo;
Bu mājayoḥ only; S mauṇjir maujlyyo; A as one name -
Be, U, Ed, P2 māṇjimājayo; Pl māṇjimāḥjayo; R maujimājayo;
Sk maujimājayaḥ; D2 maujihj only; Dl mājih only.
7 So Ed, R, Sk, G; Bu, M, P2 mauji-; Pl maudhi-; Dl -gavah;
D2 maujakachah; Be, U, T māṇji-. 8, 9 So M, G; Bu -ih-;
rest as one name - T, S vājivājayo; Pl, R vijivājayā;
P2 vijivājayā-; Ed vijavājayā; Sk vijayājayah;
D vājayo only; Be, U vijayā only. 10 P, Ed -sa iti;
S vājīravasah; R vāśravaso; Sk -saḥ.
2 P, Ed, M, G, Be, U, R hasti-; T -dāsi; Bu hastidāh;
Sk hastidāḥ si-; Dl hastī dāsa-; D2 hastī dāsi-.
3 So Ed, R; Pl -yenā; Sk -hva-; P2 kālana; Be, U
kāmbhāyanā kāṁvanā; S kāmadheyamanāḥ; B, Caland kānvaṇāna;
D -kan dyāyanah; D2 -kan hāyano. 4 So Be, U, Ed, Pl, R, Sk;
P2 neti-; Dl naitadākṣaḥ; D2 nairākṣaḥ; M, T -ṛkṣayaḥ;
G -ṛksayaḥ; Bu nairtikṣayaḥ.
These are RathItaras. They have a three-рsi pravara, "Angirasa, Vairupa, RathItara", etc.; or "Angirasa, Vairupa, Parsadaśva," etc.

1. Vaisnuruddhañ
2. Sathanarasagna
3. Bhadranañ
4. Madrañña
5. Samburayaña
6. Badarayaña
7. Vatsaprayañañ
8. Satyakiñ

5 So A, cf.Pañ.4.3.110 (sallalay); M,G,T aisaleyo; Bu vaisaleyan; S kaśalap; Sk om. 6 ? Conj; Be, U bhali-; R, Sk bhaílayañ; D bhiliñ; Pl bhile; P2 bhila; Ed bhilal; M,G,T le- only; Bu lo- only; S lalai. 7 So Be, U, Ed Pl, R, D2, P2, Sk bhilo-; D bhili-; M,G bhiliyayanañ; T bhirlivayanañ; Sk halvavayanañ; S bhirlébhayanañ; read perh. bhauliikayani, ganä tikadi, and cf. Pan.4.2.54? 8 So A (but D1 sáhavan, D2 tyávanavo); M sámváhañña; T saváhavanáha; Bu sváhavanañ. 9 Be, U, P2 bhakśavahañ; Sk bhe-; D2 -náha; Pl -kaya-; Ed bhairuvahañ. 'Lu So B (but S bhairumagavañ); A he-; D2 mehagayo; P1 hemanavda.

2 So B, Ed; D2 sathañ maranañ; D2 sañto maraño; Sk sathañ maraññ; R sárä maraññ; Be, U, P éta maraññ. 3, 4 So Éd, Sk, Caland, cf.Apast.; M, T, R -ri- in both, cf.K&L, W, etc.; Bu -ri-, -rì- P2 -rë- in both; G bhadrinañ mantrinañ; P1 bhadranam ma-; D2 bha- twice; D1 ma- only; R and Sk invert, and add bhadrayañ. 5 So M, G; T sàmbañ; Bu, D2 sámbo; S, D1 sábo; Be, U salülayañ vatsarayaña (Caland’s edition mistakenly attributes the last name to Sk also); Ed, P, R, Sk om. 6 D1 om; D2, Pl -va-; 7 Be, U mátasya-; P2 mátasaprä-; Pl gatsa-; Ed matsa-; D2 -ayañañ; S before no.6. 8 Pl nā-; D2 saptakiñ.
These are Vīṣṇuvrddhānas. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Paurukutsa, Trāsadasayava", etc.

1. Mudgalā
2. Hiranyākṣa
3. Rṣabhā
4. Mitākṣa
5. Dvāra
6. Rāyāyanā
7. Dīrghajanghān

9 D2 sā-; Ed satyanka-. 10 P1 -tūnda; Ed naitudyā; D2 niturdthā; R nenundyā; rest naitundyā - none with viśagara. 11 So T; A; P2 stusā; G, Bu, S stundyā; M stuntyā. 12 So Bu, Be, U, R, Sk, D2; P2 bhārū-; Ed bharaṇyā; P1 bhāṅgṛāṇyā; D1 ārunyāḥ; S vārunyā; M hārunyā; G hārunyā; T hā--nya. 13 So T, D, R, Sk, P1; M, G -dā; Be, U -trī; P2 -hyā; S vai podā; Ed vaimāda. 14 So M, G, cf. gana pālādi; T -stā-; Bu taisthā-; S, Be, U, Pl, R deva-; Dl daivasthānaḥ; D2 devasthālir; P2 devasthāta; Ed devasthātaya; Sk devasthāyanāḥ.

The Mudgalas occur here in Be, U, R, Sk (although the two latter give no account for Baudh.) In Ed they are given before the Vīṣṇuvṛddhānas, which is indeed in accord with the order given in Purūṣottama's introductory verse. P1 and P2 both omit the family. The readings of Ed as against Be, U, make it most probable that it has here depended on S, of which there is no mention in Ed's footnotes (cf. especially no. 8); and we may safely conjecture that the copy of Purūṣottama's work which is the common ancestor of Ed, P, D, R, Sk, was defective here. D also seems to rely on its B-source here, attributing however four additional names to Baudh., at the beginning of the list, sunīh (D2 sunī) chaṭrāhayāḥ tāraṇāḥ (cf. no. 9) kāryabhāsitaḥ. 3 So B, Ed, D; Be rūpākṣa; U rūpbākṣa. 4 So B, D; Ed mitā only; Be, U minā only. 5 So B; Dl vṛpataḥ; D2 nṛtyaḥ; Be, U āyasyā; Ed gayo. 6 So B, Dl; D2 nṛṣāgranaḥ; Be, U tūpāyaṇā; Ed viśvāyāṇā.
8. Pralambajanghas
9. Tarūṇā
10. Bhindavā iti

These are Mudgalas. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Bhārmyāśva, Maudgalya" etc.

1. Saṃkṛptayo
2. Lamakāh
3. Pautyas
4. Tāṇḍīḥ
5. Sambuḥ
6. Śalagavāḥ
7. Parihnavas
8. Tārakādyā
9. Hārigrīvā
10. Vaitaleyāḥ

8 So Be, U; B, Ed, D janghās only; D gives this before no. 7.
9 So Be, U; Ed taraṇā-; M, G, T tāraṇā; Bu tāruṇā; D hiranyagarbhuḥ. 10 So M, G; Ed, T bindava; Be, U bhandakāḥ; D2 bhidir; D1 om.

D, R, Sk give the Saṃkṛptis with the two other "dvigotra"-families (Laugākṣis and Śunga-Ṣalāḷīris) separately, after the Agastis. Only D however gives the Baudhāyana list, although the other two have a few scattered names from it in their supplementary lists. These, of course, may not be derived directly from Baudh., and must be used with caution.

8 So S, Caland, cf. ganaḥ upakādi, tikakitavādi, nadvādi; M, G -gāḥ; T -vāḥ; Bu īlamamakāḥ; Be, U, Ed, P, D (R, Sk) malakah. 3 ? So M, G, T; Bu pautyakaḥ; A paulas; (R vailā); S paustyas. 5 So A, cf. Āśv., W; S, B -bhuh (Bu -bhuh), for which cf. Mān. 6 So Be, U, (not Pn), P2, D; Pl, B, S ēśabhavaḥ; Ed ēśabhavayaḥ; cf. Āśv. 7 Be, U, B -vās; Ed paribhāvās.

8 Be, U, Bu tārakā only. 9 So A (P2 hārī-, D1 hārā-); M, G, T, S hāridrā; Bu hārindraḥ; (Sk hārinivaḥ; R hārigrīvāḥ). 10 ? So B, D (S caitatiyās); Be, U śālaśānaḥ; Ed paināyāḥ; Pl śeshayāḥ (also added by 'D'); P2 ēṇāyāḥ.
11. Srautāyanāē
12. Čārāyāṇā
13. Āgrāyāṇā
14. Ārṣabhaṣyaś
15. Cāṇḍrāyāṇā
16. Agnaṇapāyanā
17. Pūtimāṣa īti

These are Śaṅkrtis. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara,

"Āṅgirasa, Śaṅkṛtya, Gaurivīta," etc.

1. Kapayo
2. Vaitālanāṃ
3. Alāsāyanāṇāṃ
4. Pataṅjalaṇāṃ
5. Tarasvīnāṃ
6. Tāṇḍināṃ
7. Bhojasināṃ
8. Sārīgaravānanāṃ
9. †Karasiṃkhandānāṃ

11 M,G,D áro-; P1 au-; Bu śrotā-. 12 So B,S; Ed,P,D om.
13 So B,U,P2, Ed; S Šantiyānaṇā; M,G,Bu ārā-; P1 rāyaṃgrāyaṇā.
14 So Bu,S,D; M,G,T, Caland ārṣayāś; Be,U, Ed,Rom; (R,Sk ārṣayāś); Caland’s citation of ārṣā from Mān. is more than questionable. 15 So B,D,S (Sk); (R vā-); Be,U,Ed,P om.
16 ? So Ed,P; Dl agrāpīr; G, Caland āpāgra-; M āpāgra-; T āpagra-; Bu avagra; S avagra-; Be,U agrā-; (Sk vyānapaḥ; R āgrāya īti). 17 So A; B -māṣya; S -bhāṣyaḥ; D gives this before no. 2.

Be,U give the Kapis both here and at the end of the Bharadvājas, before the phrase "bharadvājāṇāṃ sarveṣāṃ avivāna īti." D,R and Sk all give the Kapis before the rubric "iti bharadvājāḥ." Ed prints for S an account both here and after the Rauksāyana-Bharadvājas. Readings in the second occurrence, where they differ, are given here in brackets. Bu, Be, U all give the names in the nom. pl. instead of the genitive. R and Sk commence with the KāL list. 2 S vaisālabāṇāṃ (vaisālabāṇāṃ); P2 vaisālabāyanāṃ. 4 P2 -līnāṃ. 5 P1 -svīnāṃ.
7 Dl -a; D2 -aḥ; P2 bhājanāṃ; S bhojasīnāṃ. 8 ? So S, cf. Paṇ. 4.1.73; G T śaṃkara-; M śaṃkaravāṇāṇāṃ; Bu śaṃkaraḥ; Be,U śarangavāṇāḥ (kāsakharāṇa); Ed kāsavrāṇāṃ. Pl kāsaravāṇāṃ; P2 kāsaravarpanāṃ; D kāsakhaḥ. 9 So M,g,T; Bu kāśikhandāḥ; Ed,P karasi-;
D2 karasi-; Dl kārasikhandāḥ; Be,U sarasikhandāṇā, sarasikhandinā (rasikhandā); S kharasastandānāṃ (tarasikhandinā). Read however kalaśikantaḥ, cf. gaṇa upakādi and the other lists.
These are Kapish. They have a three-rsi pravara, "Angirasa, Āmahīyava, Aurukṣaya (1)," etc.

B. Āpāstamba

Next, of the Haritas, a three-rsi pravara, "Āngirasa, Āmbarīsa, Yauvanāśva", etc. But some give Māndhātra in the place of Āngirasa, "Māndhātra, Āmbarīsa, Yauvanāśva", etc.

Of the Kutsas, a three-rsi pravara, "Āngirasa, Māndhātra, Kautsa," etc.

Next the Ajamīdha-Kāṇvas. They have a three-rsi pravara, "Āngirasa, Ājamīdha, Kāṇva", etc.

Next the Virūpa-Rathitaras. They have a three-rsi pravara, "Angirasa, Ārugrasa (2)," etc.

---

10. Mausītakī
d. Chūgalayāh
12. [Maṣaṣarāvah] 13. Pauṣpaya iti

1) This seems the most probable reading; B Āmahāyava-. Ed, P Āmahāyaya-. Caland suggests Āmahīya.
pravara, "Āngirasa, Vairūpa, Pāṛṣadaśva", etc. But some say Āstādamśtra in the place of Āngirasa, "Āstādamśtra, Vairūpa, Pāṛṣadaśva", etc.

Of the Mudgalas, a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Bhārmyaśva, Maudgalya", etc. But some have Trksa in the place of Āngirasa, "Trksya, Bhārmyaśva, Maudgalya", etc.

Of the Viśnuvṛddhas there is a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Paurukutsa, Trāsadayava", etc. This is unchanged in the case of the

1. Sathamaraśaṇa-
2. Bhadraṇa-
3. Madraṇa-
4. Bādarāyaṇa-
5. Aupamitya-
6. Aupagavi-
7. Sātyaki-
8. Sātyakāyana-
9. Āruṇī-
10. Nitundādīnām. (1)

1 So Garbe, S; Ed -mandrana; P1 stamarāṇa; P2 sātamarāṇa.
2 S bharana. 3 So Garbe, P2; Ed mandrana; P1 bharana again. 4 So Garbe's Mss (ex."S" - miñyo, which he follows: in his footnote he conjectures aupamanyava); Ed -apamitya; P aupamatiya. 7 Pl satyaki; P2 sātviki- satyaki. 8 Cf. Baudh.; Pl -kāyani; Ed -kāmya; all Garbe's Mss sātyamkāmya; P2 adhmātmi. 9 So Ed, Garbe; P1 rṇi; P2 om. 10 So Ed (nitunda, etc.); P2 nitundānām; Garbe nitundānām; P1 nutundānām; two of Garbe's Mss give the dentals, cf. Baudh.

(1) For the Kapis, see among the Bharadvājas.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mān.</th>
<th>W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Kapistaraḥ</td>
<td>1. Kapistaraḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Svastiṭaro</td>
<td>2. Svastiṭaro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Dandin</td>
<td>4. Dandin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Śaktiḥ</td>
<td>5. Śaktiḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Patañjalir</td>
<td>6. Patañjalir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. † bhojava</td>
<td>7. Bhojasī ca</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>† jalumdhvasi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>citreśāli</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kukṣitaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. ardham†</td>
<td>10. ārdham†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cauccuti</td>
<td>cocuṭiḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāmsāpi</td>
<td>sāṃśipīḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Vānyāyanā</td>
<td>14. † vāha...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. vāmadhmayanāḥ</td>
<td>(lacuna)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mss readings:**

| 4. dadī | 1. kapisvara |
| 5. śakti | 3. vindur |
| 6. patajamliḥ | 4. dvadgī |
| 11. pādakesī | 5. (om. visarga) |
| 12. kalasīkaṭaṃ | 6. pataṃcalo |
| | 7. moṣjaṣi ca |
| | 11. cācakesī |


c. Kātyāyana and Lauvākṣai.

1. Kapistarih
2. Svastitaro
3. Bindur
4. Danḍiḥ
5. Saktiḥ
6. Patañjalir
7. Bhajasi ca
8. taivarandhiṣ
9. caitakir
10. Urdhvāsto
11. Rājakesāl
12. KalaśiKanṭhāḥ
13. Karirayo
14. Vānyāyanāḥ
15. Amāvāsyayanāḥ

1 So Pl, cf. Mān.; Ed, P2 kapis; Pla vāsastari; D2 kapistatiḥ
Dl kapiḥ tarih; Sk, R kapayo. 2 Cf. Mān, W; Sk svastitarayo;
R svamstitarayo; Ed tittiriḥ; Pl svastiri; P2 tiśiri; Dl
svastarih; D2 sastāriḥ; perh. for 1 and 2 we should read
kapis tarasiḥ, cf. Baudh. 1 and 5. 3 Cf. Mān, W; Ed, P2
vidir; Pl viditam; Dl viduh; D2 biduh; R cf. no. 4; Sk vidaco.
4 So Ed, P, D; Sk danḍīno; R vindaḍīno; this doubtless
corresponds to tāndiḥ in the Baudh. list; the sources
there are unanimous for t-, while Mān., W, and Matsya
corroborate d- here. 5 So Ed, P, D; R, Sk dikṣaṇa-śaktayāḥ;
cf. Matsya. 6 Sk patañjayo. 7 Conj.; Ed, P, Dl bhūyasi;
D2 bhūyasiḥ; Sk bhūyasīnaḥ; R bhūyasī; S bhūyasā
8 So Pl, R, Dl; Pla -diś; P2 tivār-; Ed tivaradhīṣ;
D2 naivaradhīḥ; Sk tairandhayaḥ; S tirathīṣ. 9 So Ed,
Pl, R, D, S; Sk -kapah; P2 caitakir. 10 ? So Sk; R ū-;
Ed, P, Dl adhvaṣu; D2 aśvaṣu; cf. Mataya. 11 Pla -si;
D2 -śi. 12 Restored, cf. Mān., W, Matsya, gana upakādi;
Dl kalasī kanṭhā(riḥ); D2 kalasikanṭhāḥ; Ed kālanikatam;
P kalasikatam; S kalāṣikatam; R, Sk kalasinah kanyāḥ.
13 So Pl; Ed, P2 ko-; Pla, D2 kāri-; R sārī-; Sk karītayāḥ
S kāolāro. 14 So P2, Ed, R; P1 -yānāḥ; S, D2 vātyā-;
Sk -yavāḥ; Dl om. 15 So Sk; R -syānāḥ; D amā-;
Pla -vasyayenāḥ; Pl āmāvasya only; Ed, P2 om.
pravara: ang.āmahi vorukṣayāseti...s tēṣāṁ tryārṣeyāṁ
pravaro bhavati āṅgirasā-
mahiyava...(lacuna)...d
āngirovad ity adhvaryuḥ.

1. Saṃkṛti-
2. Pūtimāsa-
3. Taṇḍi-
4. Šambhūḥ
dvāpaya
5. śevapāyanānām
6. Jānaki-
7. ātētailvakādvyalatavya
8. Ārṣabhi-
śucaṃ
dānRirovad
9. Čārāyānī
(lacuna)
āṇaṣāyānuca
..iti

(both have the form Gaurīvita in the pravara.)

1. ---
2. Harita[h]-
3. Kautsa-

Mss readings:
2. pautipauttimākhi

4. Šamvu
betw. 5 and 6, adds:
pautimāṣayāṇānām

6. Jānuki
8. Ārṣabhi
9. Purītaki

2. Harima
16. Kāpyāyana iti

These have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Āmahiyava (1), Aurukṣaya," etc.

1. Samkṛti-
2. Pūtimāsa-
3. Taṇḍi-
4. Sambu-
5. Sāvagava-
6. Jānaki-
7. tāirāghāratavya-
8. Arṣabhi-
9. Carāyaṇi-
10. sahigāngi-
11. laugāksi-
12. talānagahi ́ ́ iti

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Sāmkṛtya, Gaurivīta", etc.

1. lomāyana-
2. Harita-
3. Kautsa-

---

1) Meś āmahayya.
Män.

6. Śankha-
5. Darbha-
4. Painga-
7. Bhaimagava-
10. Mädrakäri-
8. Hästdäsi-
11. Läverani-

kālasīte iti

(pravara as in K&L).

1. atha Vaiṣṇuvṛddhiḥ
2. Saṭhamārgaṇa-
3. chattrṇa-
4. potṛṇa-
5. gotṛṇa-
6. Bädarāyaṇā iti

dr.: ängirasa paurakutsa trāsadayava.

rathitārānāṁ tryārṣeyah
pravaro bhavati ängirasa
vairūpa pārṣadaśva, etc.

[kutsa] - rathitārānāṁ tryārṣeyah
pravaro bhavati ängirasa
paurukutsa trāsadayava, etc.

Miss readings:

4. paingaṃ
10. mādrakāri
gānakāri (dental)
8. hädāyi

1. atha vaiteṣu
2. saṭamadvrna
6. vadottrṇa
These have no intermarriage. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Angirasa, Ambarīsa, Yauvanāśva", etc.; or "Mādhātra, Ambarīsa, Yauvanāśva", etc.

1. atha Viṣṇuvṛddhāṇ 
2. saṭhamarṇaṇa 
3. jatrinī 
4. katriṇī 
5. putrinī 
6. Bādarāyaṇā iti

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Angirasa, Paurukutsa, Trāsadasyaṇa", etc. (1)

The Rathītāras have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Angirasa, Vairūpa, Rathītara", etc.; or "Angirasa, Pārṣadasva, Rathītara", etc.*

From the Haritas to the Brhadukthas inclusive is omitted by all the sources except Ed, whose text however can be improved in most places by a comparison with the other lists.  5 Ed dālβhya.  7 Ed haimagava; cf. the reading of B in Baudh.no.6.  8 ? Ed hāstyadāsi.  10 Conj.; cf. Baudh Edmādrikābhi-.; a Madraγāri is mentioned in the Vanśa-Brahmaṇa of the Śama-Veda, the two forms being doubtless related as in the case of laugkāṣi, laukkāṣi.  11 Conj.; cf. W, Mān, gaṇa gahādi; Ed lavenā iti

* Ed śatapatrinī.  3-5 Read bhadrāṇa, madrāṇa, with Baudh., Apast. ?

(1) The passage enclosed by the asterisks is conjecturally restored, but a comparison of the other lists makes it virtually certain. Ed reads: "āngirasa pārṣadasva rathītareti angirovat p.r.; rathītaranāṁ tryarṣeyāḥ pravaro bhavati āngirasa vairūpa rathītareti angirovad
Man.

†rasābhagānāṃ†tryārṣeyah
pravaro bhavati āngirasa
vāmadevya gautameti, etc.

1. hiranyagarbha-
2. chatrakayo
3. Mudgalā iti

(pravara as in K&L)

Mss readings:
(both place the Kanvas before the Viṣṇuvṛddhas).

3. trtāyāḥ śāyanaś
6. markado
7. rāmaṇāḥ
8. Śunā (dental -n-).
The Brhaduktha-Vāmadevas have no inter-marriage. They have a three-rsi pravara, "Angirasa, Bārhaduktha, Vāmadeva," etc. (1)

1. Hiranyastambi-
2. Śātyamugri-
3. Maudgalā iti

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-rsi pravara, "Angirasa, Bhārmyasva, Maudgalya."

1. Urundāca
2. Bharundaca
3. Ṭṛṭiyāḥ Sākaṭāyanaḥ
4. tataḥ Prāgāda-
5. Saunārī
ta Markaṭo
7. Ramanāḥ
8. Śaṇāḥ

v. r.; purukutsāñām tryārṣeyāḥ pravaro bhavati āngirasa paurukutsa trāsadasayaveti angirovat p. t. What has happened is that one of the alternative pravaras of the Rathītaras has been misplaced, thus ousting the proper pravara of the Viṣṇuvṛddhas; thereafter, some scribe, finding the latter without a family, has invented the Paurukutsas from the pravara itself. It is probable that the second alternative pravara of the Rathītaras should be further emended to "Angirasa, Vairūpa, Pārsadasvā", cf. Matsaya, Mān., W.

1) These are presumably dislocated from the Gautamas; Mān., W, and Matsya agree in giving them here immediately before the Mudgalas.

1, 2 So Ed, P, D. 3 Pl maudgalāyanā; P2 mudgalāyanā.

1 Conj., cf. W, and AV. 8.6.15, where the name denotes a class of demons. (In this connection it is pertinent to note that AV 2.25 is a spell directed against demons named Kanvas). Ed bharandāś; P1, D1 bharunḍa, D2 bharūnda; P2 bharundāś; P2 bharunḍā; Sk bharūḍaḥ; R bharunda. 2 Conj., cf. W, and possibly murunda (see Monier Williams' Dict. s. v.); if this is correct, nos. 1 and 2 have become transposed in Purusottama's text; for no. 2, Ed hiranda; Pla kharanda (Pl om.); P2 bhrurunda; D1 kharunda; D2 kharunda;
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man.</th>
<th>W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10. Märkaṭayo</td>
<td>10. Märkaṭayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Rāmadeyāḥ</td>
<td>11. Rāmadeyāḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Śāṇāyana iti</td>
<td>12. Śāṇāyana iti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

pravara as in K&L

atha yāny etāni dvāmuśyāyāṇāni kulāṇi bhavanti
yathaitac chaunga-śāśirayo (1) bharadvājāḥ saunghāḥ (2)
katāḥ śāśiraya (2) ity etesām avivāhas teṣām pañcārṣeyah
pravaro bhavati -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>āngirasa bārhaspatya</th>
<th>āngirasa bārhaspatya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bharadvaja saunga</td>
<td>bharadvaja kātya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śāśira iti, etc.</td>
<td>ātkīla iti, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Mss readings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>9. kānvā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>mārkaṭāyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>rāmadeyāḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>śāmāyana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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(1) W -śāśirayor; Man śāśirīyo.
(2) W omits saunghāḥ and śāśiraya (and also the words 'ity etesām avivāhas').
9. Kānva
10. Marksātayo
11. Ramaneyāh
12. Sānāyāna iti

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Ājamīdha, Kānva," etc.

Now, the following are the dvāmuṣyāyāṇa- families (1) - Bhāradvāja-Śungas and Kata-Sāisīris (2)
They have no intermarriage. They have a five-ṛṣi pravara, "Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Saunga, Sāisīra," etc.

Sk bhārudā again. 3 Ed (as in 1 and 2 also) has the plural. 4 ? Ed prāgada; P pramāda;
D prasāda; R prākārāḥ; Sk prākāsarāḥ. 5 So Ed, P, D1; D2 -rāri. 6 R markārā. 7 P2 ramarunām.
8 So Ed; rest saṃāḥ (Pla saīrāḥ), with dental g.
10-12 give the patronymics of simplex forms already given in the verse above (1-8); it is possible that the verse is itself older, and has been incorporated verbatim by the Śutra author.
8 So P2; Pl mārkataya iti; D1 markatih; D2 markar iti; Ed mākataya. 9 Restored, cf. Mān.; Ed, P2 ramanāḥ; rest om. 10 Ed sānāyānaḥ (sic lingualo); rest om.

1) athemāni dvāmuṣyāyānakaḷāṇi bhavanti.
2) So Pl. - bhāradvājāḥ śungāḥ katāḥ sāisīlayāḥ; Ed bhāradvājāḥ grāthās saungaḥ sāisīrā; P2 bhāradvājågrā saungaḥ sāisīrā; These of course are not Kevala- Āngirases, and would no doubt have been more fittingly given among the Bharadvājas.
ruksa-bharadvājānām

pañcārṣeyah pravaro
bhavati,

(pravara as in K&L) (2)

Mss readings:

1. kapilāśva
2. savalāśva
3. vaibhadi
5. agnijihvīva
6. karnāsva
8. (ca)ksu-bharadvājā

(1) Mān gives this family before the dvyāmuṣyāyanaḥ.
(2) Except that Winstead of vāndana, reads dhana, dhanadāvad. Also, Mān mātrvacasa, W mātrivacasa, both mātrvacovad.
[1. Kapilāś ca
2. Sabarāś ca
3. Vibhīnda-
4. Kauthumā-
5. Agnijihvi ca
6. Karnāś ca
7. Sūtaś ca
8. Rkṣa-Bhairadvāja iti

(63) These have no intermarriage. They have a five-rāj pravara, "Āngirasa, Barhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Vāndana, Matavacasa", etc.] (1).

D. Āśvalāyana.

Of the Mudgalas, "Āngirasa, Bhārmivasva, Maudgalya".

But some pass over the name Āngirasa, and say Tārkṣya, viz. "Tārkṣya, Bhārmivasva, Maudgalya" (2).

Of the Viśnuyuddhas, "Āngirasa, Paurukutsa, Trāsadasayava," etc.

1) P1 and P2 both omit this family (P1 also omits the pravara of the preceding Śunga-Saiśiris), and we are thus dependant on Ed alone - unless the readings of D,R and Sk for this family are derived hence: see the notes to Baudh., Rauksāyanas. The text of Ed is given above, except in the case of no.8, where the form given seems a necessary correction (cf. Mān, Matsya) for Ed, ātyad-bharadvāja. This family also is out of place among the Kevala-Āngirases, and really belongs to the Bharadvājas, as the pravara shows. Mān,W,Matsya also give it among the Kevalas.

2) P om. the alternative.
(The Gargas which come next in the Sūtra text really belong to the Bharadvājas, q.v.)

1. Harita-
2. Kutsa
3. Pinga-
4. Sankha-
5. Darbha-
6. Bhaimagavānām (1)

These have "Āngirasa, Ambarīṣa, Yauvanāśva." But some pass over Āngirasa, and say Mandhātr, viz. "Māndhāttra, Ambarīṣa, Yauvanāśva."

1. Samkrti-
2. Pūtimāsṛ-
3. Tandī-
4. Sambu- (2)
5. Śalvagavānām

These have "Āngirasa, Gaurivīta, Sāmkṛtya." Or else Śakti is the founder of the family (3), viz. "Śāktya, Gaurivīta, Sāmkṛtya."

Of the Kanvas, "Āngirasa, Ājamīḍha, Kānva."

But some replace Ājamīḍha by Ghora, viz. "Āngirasa, Ghaura, Kānva."

Of the Kapis, "Āngirasa, Āmahīyava (4), Aurukṣayasa (5)."

(5) Bibl.Ind. - -uruksayasa; the suffix -sa- is surprising, and appears in none of the other accounts.
For those who are designated by two names, eg. Śaunga-Saśīrīś, the Śungas being Bharadvājas, the Saśīrīś Katas, he recites pravara-names from both sides, - one from one side and two from the other, or two from one and three from the other (for a pravara cannot consist of four names or of more than five) - viz. "Āṅgirasa, Bārṇaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Katya, Ātkīla."

E. Matsya Purāṇa.

1. Kapistara-
2. Svastitararo
   ।dikṣva-
5. Śaktiḥ
6. Patañjaliḥ
7. Snojasī
8. ।jalasimbiḥ ca
3. Bindur
4. Dāṇḍiḥ

P1 omits this family. 1 Conj. from K & L; M kapītara; Ed,D kapaitara; S kapistapa; P2 kadhautarau (P2 gives the first five names in the order 5,3,4,2,1.); Sk kapetaraḥ.R kapaśarāḥ;Kṛṣa kapitarasya. 2 So M; Ed,P2 svadataraḥ;D2,R svadaitara;D svaidatarah; Sk svadataraḥ;Kṛṣa taittarodi. - S,Kṛṣa dikṣaṇa; P2 dIksya (cf.R,Śk in the K&L list);Ed dikṣa;
M daksin. 6 Kṛṣa pā-. 7 Conj.,cf. the other lists; m bhūyasī (M -sir,S -sā). 8 So Ed,P2,S; Kṛṣa -simbi; M -sindhiḥ; D1 -sindhakih; D2 -simaiḥ; Sk -sīncayah; R jalāvathāḥ. 3 So Ed,P2,M2; M1 vindu;Kṛṣa bimthā; S bhindur. 4 Restored;Ed dādaḥ; P2 dāda;Kṛṣa drāda;M mādiḥ;S dāsaḥ;D gādiḥ.
These have a three-rsi pravara, O best of kings:

Angiras and Amahīya (1), and Urukṣaya (2). These rṣis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

9 D kusīdakīh; Ed -āī-; S kusīdanih; P2 kusīdarih; Sk kusīdaraya; R kusīdarāyaya; Dl kusīdāh (given after no. 10); D2 kasodakoḥ; Kṛṣ śrūṣīdari. 10 So S (-ı); Ed, P2, Kṛṣ urdhvāsta (P2 -sto); Dl urkasauḥ; D2 ūrkaśū; M urvas tu. 11 Kṛṣ -keśiya. - saujatih, so P2, D2; Dl -riḥ; Sk svauj-īr-ṭḥ-; S -javis; Kṛṣ raujati; Ed rojati; M vausādiḥ. - sāmsapis, so M; Ed, P2, R, Sk, D, Kṛṣ sāsavis; D2 sāmsāviḥ; S sasavi. - sāli ca, so M; Ed salli; P2 tсли; S, Kṛṣ sāli; D salli; Sk sallamaḥ. 12 So M; Ed, P2 kalasī kāṇvā; Kṛṣ kālalī kānya; S kalalah. 13 Kṛṣ kābhaya. 16 Con.; M kātyo; Ed kāvajō; P2 kāvajyo; S kāvadhyā; R, D2 kānya; Sk kṣarāpāḥ; Dl kṣapeyaḥ; Kṛṣ jvalaya; (the nibandha readings may however be derived from -kaṇṭha of no. 12). Dl, D2 add kāyaḥ. 14 So Ed, P2; Kṛṣ vyānīya-; D, M2 dhanīya-; M1 ghānīya-; 15 Con.; Ed, P2, Dl svāsavyāyanir eva ca; S svāsavyayani; D2 svāsvasthāyanir; M bhāsvāsavyāyanir eva ca; R sāsvasthāyaṇitaś; Sk sāsvasthāyanāyaḥ; Kṛṣ vāsāsvayani. After 15 M adds: bhāradvajīḥ (M2 bha-) saubudhiṣ ca laghvi devamatis tathā.

(1) Kṛṣ āmahīya; Ed -āmahayyaḥ ca; M1 damābhāyaḥ ca; M2 damābhāyaḥ ca; P2 -āmahaiyyau dvau; (P2 also gives a variant, amahayyoṃgīrā mukhyaḥ).

(2) So M, caivāpy urukṣayaḥ; Ed caivāvyuрукṣaṇayah; Kṛṣ rūkṣaḥ; P2 aurukṣavyas (v.l. urukṣayyas) trīyakah.
1. Samkṛtīḥ
2. Pūtimāśaś ca
4. tamanuḥ
t sipaddhir eva ca
3. Tāndīś ca
6. Janākiś caiva
7. tailakā
- dakṣa eva ca
9. Carāyaniś ca
8. Arṣabhīś ca
11. flauksir
10. gāravyaharis tathā
12. gālavaś ca

These all have a three-ṛṣi pravara, Angiras, and
Samkṛtī, and Gaurivītā. These ṛṣis are said to have
no intermarriage one with another.

The Samkṛtīs are completely missing in Ed, Pl, P2;
M1 is also defective, starting parasparānyaparaṇī
calauksir gāravyaharis tathā, etc. R, Sk and D also
give some of the Matsya names. 1, 2 M2 samkṛtiś ca
trimārṣtiś ca; D1 bhillatīḥ vibhātakīḥ (?); Sk
bhillatayo bhīhitakāḥ; R bhillatayo vibhātakayas.
4 So M2; D1 manusambandhiḥ; presumably the name
Sambu is concealed here. 6 M2 cenātakis. 7 So M2;
D1 tailah; Sk, R tailayah. 9 M2 nā-. 8 M2 caṅśiniś
cia. 10 So M; D1 kādravyah hāriḥ. 12 So M2; M1
galaviś caiva; D1 galāgaliḥ; M2 gives variant,
lāgaliḥ ca. D, R, Sk add two names, which may
represent another line lost from the Purāṇa-
vaivyāgrapādaḥ (R - padyāḥ) ....ālayanah. In
place of caiva tryarṣeyah (so M1), M2 has ca
anehaś ca.
1. Jñātvāyano
2. Haritas ca
3. Kautsaḥ
4. Pingas tathaiva ca
5. Hastidāso
6. Mātraśalir
7. Madragārīr
8. Laveraniḥ
9. Bhīmagavah
10. Sankaḥ-
11. Darbhi

All these are said to have a three-raśī pravarṣa.

Angiras, and Ambarīṣa, and Yuvanāśva (1). These raśis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

Brhaduktha and Vāmadeva are said to have a three-raśī pravara, Angiras and Brhaduktha, and Vāmadeva. (2)

These are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

The Haritas are omitted by M1, P1, Krṣ. 1 So Ed; P2 -pato; M2 kātyāyano; (D, Sk khāṇḍāyana?)
2 Restored; M2 haritakah; Ed harir vaṣyaḥ; P2 hariḥ karvo; S harita-. 3,4 So M2; S -kautsaḥ paingalaś ca tathaiva ca; Ed paulagaś ca tathaiva ca; P matsya-paulaga eva ca. 8 So S; Ed, P2, D -vāso; M2 kāṇḍidāso. 9 So P2, D2; Sk mā-; Ed vāṣya-; Dl -bhāliḥ; S vatsamālir.
10 Restored; Ed, P2 maṇḍimalir; Sk maṇḍamālayah; S gaṇḍimaliḥ; D maṇḍiḥ (D1 umāṇḍiḥ) mauliḥ; M2 maḍrīr mauliḥ; later in the list, D1 madragāriḥ; D2 maḍragāriḥ; Sk madrāgarayaḥ. 11 Restored, cf. K&L; Ed, P2, Sk, D ga-; M2 kuberaṇiḥ. 7 Restored; M2 -vegaḥ; Ed kaṁvegaḥ; P2 mīmavegaḥ; S kṣimavegaḥ. 6,5 Ed, P2 sākharāvah (P2 before no.7); M2 sāsvadarbhīr; S sāsadarbhīr.

1) So Ed, P2; M2 angirā brhadasvaś ca jīvanāśvas tathaiva ca - more surprising as M2 gives yuva- from one M8 in a footnote. (2) Cf. K&L, etc.
another (1).

Also, those who are born in the Kutsa-gotra (2) are said to have a three-ṛṣi pravara, Angiras, and Trasadasayu, and Purukutsa. Kutsas have no inter-marriage with Kutsas - thus say those who have ancient knowledge (3).

The pravara of the Rathītaras is said to have a three-ṛṣi pravara, Angiras, and Virūpa, and Rathītara. Rathītaras never marry with Rathītaras.

1. Viṣṇuvṛddhaḥ
2. Saṭhamarṣir
3. Jatṛnāḥ
4. Kātṛṇaḥ tathā

(1) Pl omits this family; M1 omits from the prohibition of intermarriage to the words purukutsas tathaiva ca. (2) So M2; Ed, Pl kumbha-gotra; P2 ūbha-gotra. (3) So Ed, (purāvidaḥ); M purātanāḥ. The claim is somewhat ironical in view of the incorrectness of the information to which it is attached. The pravara given really belongs to the Viṣṇuvṛddhas, cf. the note on the parallel passage in K&L. The Matsya's source already had the corruption, and since an emended text has already been given in the K&L list, it seems best to leave the dislocations as they stand in the Purāṇa text. The Kutsas here originate from the Purukutsas, derived from the pravara; the Kutsas proper are members of the Harita-gotra.

1 So S; rest -ih; M2 can corrupt even this well-known name into viṣṇusiddhiḥ. 2 ? Cf. the other lists; Ed, P2 satomadhir; Pl śhomarirdhir; M śivamātir; Kṛṣ śāthya satha maṭha maṇaṇa; S śatho(-madhir?). 3 So M, Ed, P2; Pl jantriṇa. 4 So M, Ed, P2 (M -ttr-); Pl kātṛṇaṁs.
5. $\text{putravāś ca mahātejās}$
6. $\text{tathā ca Bādarāyanaḥ}$

59) These are said to have a splendid three-ṛṣi pravara, $\text{†Angiras (1) and Virūpa, and Parśadasva (2).} \text{† These } ṛṣis \text{ are said to have no intermarriage one with another.}$

2. Sātyamugrīr mahātejā
1. Hiraṇyastambhi-
3. Mudgalau

These are all said to have a three-ṛṣi pravara, O king, Angiras, and Bhārmyāśva (3) and Mudgala of great austerity. These ṛṣis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

(1. hamsajihvo
2. devajihvo
3. agnijihvo
4. vidādayah)

1) M1 omits from here to the pravara of the next family. (2) M2 vrṣaparva! (3) M1,M2 matsyadagdhasaś ca

5 So M;Ed atrivaś ca;P2 atrivāco;Pl atrīja;S atrīpa;
Kṛṣ for 3-5 has only bhṛaṇa. bhadrana (cf. Baudh.)
6 So Kṛṣ only;P caivāparāyanaḥ;Ed caivoparāyanaḥ;
M vairaparāyanaḥ;Kṛṣ adds several more names, also from Apast., and gives the correct pravara - "ṅg, paruvukṣa, ṭrāsadasavya" - followed by sātāmadri jatṛṣa katṛṣa atriva aparāyanaa.

2 So M2,P2,D,Sk; Ed sā-. 1 Pl -stevi. Kṛṣ omits the whole family.

This list of additional Mudgalas is attested in all the sources for the Matsya; but as it has no counterpart in any of the Sūtra accounts, the names remain quite uncertain. In the pravara, in place of Bhārmyāśva (so S), Ed, P read tāvīś ca, Kṛṣ avīś ca; M tāṇḍīṣ ca.
1 D1 hasa-.Pl hasa-. 2 D2 -jīkaḥ. 3 So M;Ed,P,DL,Kṛṣ alavāla;Sk alabālaḥ;D2 alaṣṭāyaḥ. 4 So Ed,P;D viḍāḍih (bi-); Sk viḍāḍayaḥ; M viṇāḍapaḥ; Kṛṣ viḍa only (= viḍa, etc? Cf. no.7)
5. apāgneyo
6. mugrayās ca
7. paurāṇyantāni-
8. maudgala

These are said to have a splendid three-rṣi pravara, Angiras and Bhārmyāśva, and the great Maudgala. These rṣis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

1. tārsādayās
2. caturayāḥ
3. tṛṭīyāḥ Śākaṭāyanaḥ
4. tataḥ Prāgāda-
5. Saunārī
def
6. Markāṭo
def
7. Ramanāḥ
def
8. Saṇāḥ
def
9. Kaṇva

5 So M; P2 āpāgnyayaḥ; P1 apāgrayaḥ; Ed āyāgreyāś; D āpāgneyo; Sk āgnādayaḥ; R āpāgrayaḥ; Kṛṣ āṃneya only. 6 So P1,D; Ed su-; P2 āṣunayaś ca; M tvāsvayus ca; Kṛṣ āṣugneyaḥ; R sranayaśāla; Sk sajayāḥ. 7 So P2; Ed par-; P1 -atāṇi; Dī paurāḥ; D2 paurāṇir; M paraṇyastāvi; Kṛṣ paurnīya; (R,Sk tāraṇāḥ ?). 8 Kṛṣ mad-; P2 maūphalāḥ.

1 So Ed,Pl,Dl; P2 thādaś only; D2 arthādiḥ; R āryādayaṭ-; Sk āryādayaś; M apāṇḍuṣ ca; Kṛṣ āṣāhiya. 2 So P,D; Ed -āyaḥ; Kṛṣ akubhayaḥ; M guruṣ caiva; R,Sk caturāḥ; for 1-2, see K&W, which, although doubtful, is certainly nearer the truth than the forms attested here. 3 Ed ṣā-. 4 So Ed,P2; Pl prakijtasaḍāḥ; Kṛṣ prāgayanaḥ; M prāgātha. 5 So Ed,Pl; P2 -bhāriti; M mānāri (M2 has v.1. sonāri); Kṛṣ asenārī. 6 So Ed,P2; D2 -ṭih; M mārkaṇḍo; Pl markaṇ ṭo; Kṛṣ karmātha. 7 Dī āmaranā (dental); D2 amaghanaḥ; M māraṇāḥ. 8 Restored;Ed,P,Kṛṣ saṇāḥ; M śivah;D śanāḥ (dental -n-). 9 So Ed,P2,Kṛṣ; Pl kavo; M kaṭu.
10. Markaṭayaś caiva
d11. Pāmaneyas tathā hy rṣīh
d12. Saṅāyanas

These are said to have a three-rṣi pravara, Angiras, and Ajāmīdha, and Kaṇva (1) of great austerity.

These rṣis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

(For the three-rṣi Gargas, who come next in the Purāṇa text, see the Bharadvājas, where they correctly belong.)

1. atha Rksa-Bharadvājau

(1) M katya!

10 Restored, cf.K&L; Ed mārkāṭayaś; Pl māṛṣarkayaś; P2 karmāṭayaś; M mārkāṭapaś; Kṛṣ mākaṃṭaka. 11 Conj., cf.K&L; Ed, P tathā gāḍyano (Pl go-) rathih; M tathā nāḍyano hy rṣīh; D1 godāyanaḥ rathih; D2 godāvato rayih; Kṛṣ gāḥyaṇa rathiḥ. 12 Restored; Ed, D śyāmāyaniś; Pl śyāmāyoni; P2 uyaḥmānis; M, Kṛṣ śyāmāyaṇa. After this name, D adds: gardabhaḥ prāgāvasuḥ nāḍyanaḥ (D2 -manah) śyāmāyanaḥ (D2 rām-) saiverih (D2 sauvarih) nārī iti (D2 mārodra iti) - a clear indication that D had at hand a text of the Purāṇa as well as Puruṣottama’s work. This Purāṇa Ms is however not often used.

1 So M (the Matsya text here, as often elsewhere, takes the two names as a dvandva instead of as a Karmadharaya compound: the earlier sense would seem to have been: "those of the Bharadvājas who are Rksas." The plural would therefore be more apt); Ed aṣvārāka-; P atvaris’ ca bh.; Kṛṣ atvarika bh.; D atvariḥ bharadvājaḥ.
2. rṣiḥ ca Vandanaḥ tathā
3. rṣir Matavacās caiva

These are said to have a five-ṛṣi pravara, Angiras, and Bharadvāja, and Brhaspati, and the rṣi Matavacas, and the rṣi Vandana. These rṣis are said to have no intermarriage one with another. (1).

1. Bharadvājaḥ
2. Kātaḥ
3. Saungha
4. Sāśiśreyas tathaiva ca

All these are said to be born in dvāmaṣṭīṣāyaṇa-gotras. They are said to have a five-ṛṣi pravara, Angiras, and

———

2 Conj. restored; M rṣivān mānavas tathā; M2, v.l. rṣir vēmo naras tathā; Pl rṣiś cātmabhavas tathā; P2 krathis cātmabhavas t.; Ed krathisvān mānavas t.; Kṛṣ krathika ātmānavasu; D ātmabhavah. 3 Conj. restored; Ed, Pl rṣir mantravaraś caiva; M, Kṛṣ maitravaraś; P2 maitrāvarus; D mantravara. Similarly in the pravara - Ed maitravara; P2 maitravaras tūnyo; Pl maitravara; M mitravara; Ed, Pl ātmabhavas; P2 munir ātmābhavistimo; M rṣivān mānavas; for the last two pravara names, Kṛṣ has saīnya gārgya.

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(1) These of course also belong to the Bharadvājas; but the Matsya agrees with K&L, Mān. and W. in giving them among the Kevālas.
(2) The dvāmaṣṭīṣāyaṇas are given only in Ed and M. Ed agrees with M in the error Kutaḥ for Kātaḥ, and may be here directly dependant on a text of the Purāṇa. The order of the names shows quite clearly that the Matsya author did not understand the Sūtra text, whose purport is that the Šungas are Bharadvājas and the Sāśiśiris are Katas.
Bharadvāja, and Brhaspati, and Saunga (1) and Śaṅkīra. These ṛṣis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

O king, these Angirases of great power, in three divisions, founders of gotras, have been told to you, by the recital of whose names a man leaves all sin behind.

(After his "Bharadvāja-section", in which he quotes also the Kevala Angirases for all the lists except Baudhāyana and Āpastamba, Puruṣottama comments):

In this pravara-section of the Angirases in three divisions as given in the Matsya Purāṇa, among the gotras enumerated, those in whose pravaras the name of Gautama, one of the Seven ṛṣis, occurs, either as recited in the pravara or implicitly, have no intermarriage one with another, since they belong to the same gotra, and since Baudhāyana says "There is no intermarriage of any of the Gautamas". So too, those

(1) Restored (śaungaś ca); Ed, M maudgalyaś. Ed remarks in a note that the last sloka is found in the Calcutta edition of the Purāṇa, but not in the manuscript of the Pravara-mañjarī.
gotra-gaṇas in whose pravaras the name of Bharadvāja 
one of the Seven Rāis, occurs, either as recited in 
the pravara or implicitly, have no intermarriage one 
with another, since they belong to the same gotra, and 
since Baudhāyana says "There is no intermarriage 
of any of the Bharadvājas". The others, the Kevala 
Angirases, who are outside the Seven Rāis, Haritas, 
Kutsas, Kanvas, Rathītaras, Prśadaśvas, Mudgalas, 
Viṣṇuvṛddhas, etc., do have intermarriage one with 
another, since there is no question of their belong-
ing to the same gotra, but they have no marriage with-
in their own gaṇa. This in brief is the meaning.

We shall now explain these sections in detail. 
All that has already been said at the beginning 
of the explanation of the Bhṛgu-gotra-section, from 
the words "In the gotra-gaṇas here cited," down to 
"We shall explain (those of the Bhṛgas)", is to be 
recalled here.

In the sūtra-sections here quoted there is 
considerable variation between the order of their 
readings, particularly in the case of the Āśvalāyana 
Sūtra. Thus, the Śunga-śaśiśirs are read at the
end by Baudhāyana (?), Kātyāyana, and Āśvalāyana, but by Āpastamba, etc., they are read in the middle of the Bharadvāja-gaṇa. Again, the Rkṣas, read by Āśvalāyana in the middle of the Gautama-section, have their proper mention here. The Kapis are given immediately after the Rkṣa-Angiras by Āpastamba, etc.; but all the others give them further on. Also, Baudhāyana and the rest give the Samkṛtis in the present chapter, while Āpastamba gives them among the Vasiṣṭha-gaṇas. Moreover, there is considerable variation in the order of the Haritas, Mudgalas, etc. This being so, we shall give our explanation according to the order of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Kātyāyana, who are in the majority.

The Bharadvājas proper (kevala) who come first in the lists, and the dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa families, the Śunga-Śaśisiris, (the Śungas being Bharadvājas, the Śaśisiris Katas) (1), have no intermarriage, because of identity of gotra, resulting from the occurrence of the name Bharadvāja in all their prāvaras. The

(1) Ed śunga-śaśiśirināṁ bharadvāja grāthādīnāṁ dvyāmuṣyāyaṇādīnāṁ; cf. the readings in K&L, above, p.
Gargas are established to be Bharadvajas by the occurrence of the name Bharadvaja in their pravara. The three-ṛsi Gargas also are barred from inter-marriage, since Gargya says "The three-ṛsi Gargas have no intermarriage with the Bharadvajas or the Ṛkṣas."

If it should be argued that the Kapis are not Bharadvajas, since the name Bharadvaja does not occur in their pravara, we reply that this is a mistaken view, since Āpastamba gives them among the Bharadvaja-gaṇas, between two families who are acknowledged to be Bharadvajas, namely, the Gargas and the Ṛkṣas. Moreover, in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 4.19.10, in the passage beginning "The universal monarch Bharata was the son of Duṣyanta," the names and descent of the pravara-ṛṣis of the Kapis are given by Parāśara, precisely as they appear in the text here. And in that passage, the list reads, Angiras, Brhaspati, Bharadvaja, Āmahayya (sic), Uruksaya, Kapi. And since a number of hymn-composers occur (in their ancestry, the Kapis) name only three in their pravara, just as do the Rathītaras,
according to the prescription of the Sūtras, and there is therefore no fault here.

"The dvāmyusāyāyana Śunga-Śaśīrīś"—this ancient dvigotra family is cited by way of example, to show that dvigotra families of the present day are also to avoid both gotras in marriage. "The Śungas are Bharadvājas", because they appear in the list of Bharadvājas, with the pravara, "Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja. "The Śaśīrīś are Katas", and thus Viśvāmitras, since they appear among the Viśvāmitras, with the pravara, "Vaiśvāmitra, Kātya, Ātkīla". Yājñavalkya says (1): "The son who is born to a son-less man by niyoga, in the "field" of another, inherits from both and offers the funeral pinda to both, according to the law." Now, since the dvāmyusāyāyanas must therefore recite pravaras from both families, and since the Sūtras prohibit a pravara of four or six names, they must recite only three or five names in their pravara. Since Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi say below (2) "... the

(1) 2.127. (2) p. 470.
first pravara is that of the begetter, the second that of the adopter," the Śunga-Śaśīris have arisen from the seed of a Śunga Bhāradvāja in the "field" of a Kata Vaiśvāmitra. The descendants therefore have a five-rāi pravara, "Āngirasa, Bārhaspatya, Bhāradvāja, Katya, Ātkīla." Āpastamba gives a three-rāi pravara, "Āngirasa, Katya, Ātkīla" (1). This example is to be followed whenever several names are to be recited in a pravara from among a larger number of hymn-composers. Similarly, putrikā-putras, sons given in adoption, or purchased, avoid both gotras in marriage, and form their pravara from both gotras after the example of the Śunga-Śaśīris. Gautama's rule (2), barring marriage with "relatives on the father's side up to the seventh generation, and also (in the family) of the begetter", must be taken to refer to cases other than dvāyamūṣyāyaṇas, who avoid altogether both paternal gotras.

Since the Saṃkṛtis are given by Āpastamba at the

(1) This seems to be a mistake. (2) GautDḥS 4,3-4.
end of the Vasiṣṭhas, and since in the pravara here among the Angirases, the name of Śakti, a Vasiṣṭha, occurs, the question arises as to whether they are Angirases or Vasiṣṭhas. And since there is no conclusive reason why they should be one rather than the other, one must conclude that they are dvāmaṣṭyayaṇas. This is confirmed by the fact that Kātyāyana mentions them below (1) among the dvāmaṣṭyayaṇa gaṇas, together with undoubted dvāmaṣṭyayaṇas, the Śunga-Sāśīritis. Therefore the Saṃkṛtis avoid in marriage not only their own gaṇa, but also all the gaṇas of the Vasiṣṭhas.

The five gaṇas, Bharadvājas proper, Rksas, Kapis, Gargas, and dvigotras, have no intermarriage, because of identity of gotra, and because of Baudhāyana's statement to this effect.

(1) ? where ?
(After the Baudhāyaṇa and Āpastamba accounts of the Kevala Angirases, Puruṣottama comments:)

All that has been said above at the beginning of the explanation of the Bhṛgu-gotra section, from the words, "Among the gotra-gaṇas here cited", down to "We shall explain those of the Bhṛgus", is to be re-called here, because of the importance of its application.

Among those quoted here, apart from the Haritas, Kutsas, Kaṇvas, Rāthitaras, Mudgalas, and Viśnuvṛddhas, the dvīamusesyāyaṇas and Kapis (1) have no intermarriage with the Bharadvajas, since they are included in the Bharadvaja gaṇas.

Some consider that the Prsadasvas are Rāthitaras. Others think that since in the Matsya Purāṇa the gaṇas of the Prsadasvas and the Rāthitaras are taught separately, with distinct pravaras, they form distinct families (2). Even on this view, however, there is no intermarriage between the Rāthitaras and Prsadasvas, since two out of the three rṣis in the pravaras coincide.

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(1) Read -kapyādinām; Ed -kaņvādinām (1); Pl kavyādinām; S -jalnānām.  
(2) So Pl; Ed makes nonsense of the passage by giving Brhaduktha twice in place of Prsadasva, and by reading ēkapravara instead of prthakpravara. The argument is of course in any case unsound, since as we have seen the Matsya text is corrupt in this place.
The Samkṛtis, since they are dvyāmusyāyaṇas, are said to have no intermarriage either with those mentioned in the Vasistha gāṇa or with those mentioned in their own gāṇa.

Now we shall tell of the marriage of the Haritas. The Haritas and the Kutsas have no intermarriage one with another, since two out of the three pravara-ṛsis are the same, and because in the text of [Āpastamba and] Āśvalāyana identity of pravara is taught, in the list "Harita, Kutsa, Pinja, Śankha, etc." The others, Kṛṇa, Rathitaras, Mudgalas, Viśnurvṛddhas, do have marriage one with another, as well as with the families already mentioned, and with the Atris and the rest (1) which are to be mentioned in the sequel.

(1) For atrīdībhīḥ, Ed has atrīābhiḥ.
A. Baudhāyana.

We shall explain the Atris:

1. Atrayo
2. Bhūrayaś
3. Chāndiś
4. Chāndogih
5. Paustikā
6. Mangalayah
7. Saivāś
8. Chagalāś
9. Chāgalās
10. Trnavbindur
11. Bhāgantayo
12. Mālaruco
13. Vyālayah
14. Sāmbavyayanāh
15. Kārmaryayanayo
16. Dāksī

2. So A, except for Dl, D2, which have bhūmih; M bhūyayac; G. bhūyas; T bhūpayah; Bu bhūyahac; Pl om. 2 and 3.
3. So M, G, D1; Be, U, D2 chandih; P2, Bu chādiḥ; Sk chāndayāḥ; Ed sthāndi; T, R, Pl om. 4. So Be, U, T, P2, D2; Dl chandogih; Pl chāndādi; Sk, R chandogyāḥ; M, G, Bu, chāndobhiḥ; Ed sthāndogi. 5. So Bu, Pl, Ed, D; G, R paustikā; Sk paupikā; P2 prautikā; Be, U pausthikā; T, M pausyakā. 6. So B; Be, U maudgā¬; Pl, Dl, māhu¬; P2 mauhu¬; Sk mauha¬; R mauma¬; D2 mautaliḥ. Cf perh. the Sumangalas of Ap. 7. So B, cf Pān. 4.1.112; Be, U šepā; Ed, Pl saipā; P2 šepā; D sopā; Sk sauvā; R sausā. 3, 9 M, G, T chagala¬only; Bu chagavan only; for G, P2, D, R charālah; Pl charālāḥ; Sk lāgalāḥ; Be, U charāgāḥ; Ed sthapralās; for 9, A chāgalāḥ; Be, U chagalāḥ; cf Pān. 4.1.117. 10 Be, U plural (so Caland); Pl om. 10-19. 11. Read bhāgalayo? cf Mān; B, Dl bhāgantayo; Ed bhāgampatho; P2 bhārgatayo; R bhārgavatayo; Sk bhārgatapah. 12. So A (Dl gāla¬, D2 malurcaḥ); M, G, T, Caland mālakuo; Bu mālaṃkūjān. 13. So A (Ed vyālayah); B vyālalāḥ (?), Caland vyādalaḥ. 14. So T; M -yanayaḥ; G -vyānayaḥ; Bu sāmbaryayanāḥ; Sk sāmcavy¬; Ed sāmcovyānayo; Dl sāncavyāniḥ; D2 sāmpjanyāniḥ; P2 sāvacyāno; Be, U sāvacyān. 15 of the other lists; Pān. 4.1.155 implies kārmā¬ (so Mahābh.); Dl kāraṇāyanik; others various, but implying kārmāryāṇi; all except T, Bu with dental n. 16. Sk dāksīyās.
17. Taideriä
18. Gânapataya
19. Auddâlakir
20. Droñabhâvâ
21. Gauragrîayo
22. Gâvîsthirâh
23. Sîsupâlah
24. Krênatreyâ
25. Gaurâtreyâ
26. Arunâtreyâ
27. Nilâtreyâ
28. Svetâtreyâ
29. Syâmâtreyâ
30. Mahâtreyâ
31. Dattâtreyâ
32. Hâleyâ
33. Vâleyâh
34. Saubhreyâ
35. Vâmârathînîno
36. Vaitabhâvâyâh
37. Saudreyâh
38. Kaudreyâ
39. Gopavânäh
40. Kâlápacaÿa
41. Anilâyânâ
42. Àînângîr
43. Mânângîr

17. Sk Taidahá; Dl Vaidehá; R Taîdadá; P2 Sraídânhá.
18. So G; Be, U, P2 gana-; M, T gânis-; D gâdhî-; R gâthi-
pattaya-; Bu gânîh svatâyâh; Sk mâyitathâh. 20 So M, G, Bu, 
Ed, Pl, R, Sk; P2 drônî-; Dl drônanâbhañ; D2 drônahâvostî-.
21 So Dl only; D2 ragauâgrîvîññ; B and the others, gauri-; 
for gaura-, of gana 199.4, Pân. 4.3.131. 22 So B, P, Ed; Dl 
kâvîstirâh; Sk Mâvirînahî R mâyîchirîññ. 26 So B, D, Pl; Ed 
raktâtreyâññ; P2 trâkâtreyâ; Sk, R rksâtreyâññ. 31 So D 
only (from conflatîon); rest of A om; B âtreyâ only. 
32-35, 38, 39 of Kâs 10.2.21./So B (T halâtreyâññ); Sk, Pl, D, 
gâl-; Dl gol-; P2 kâl-; Ed gâtreyâ; of the other lists 
among the Pûtîkâputras. 33 So G, Bu, D, Sk, R; T tileyâññ; 
Be, U, Pl vauleyay (bau-); P2, Ed vaileyay. 34 So B (Bu 
âutreyâññ); D saugeyay; P2 sautreyay; Pl tyaugeyay; R 
saubhîyeyay; of Pân. 4.1.123 (with anuvrtti of Atri from 
4.1.117). 35 So Be, U; Pl-thînññ; G, Ed-thînññ; M, T-thînññ; 
Bu vâmây rathîtara; D, Sk, R vâmârathîyay; the last is the 
form of the other lists, and is supported by gana 58.12. 
Pân. 4.1.151. 36 So M, G, Bu, D; T, Be, U, Ed -bhâvâ; Sk sveta-
bhâvâññ; R svaitabhâvâññ. 38 Ed kaundeyay. 39 of Pân. 2.4.67; 
D -vanyay. 40 B kâlâvâyay, Bu kâlâsâyay; A Kâlâpacaÿa, 
D kâlâyayish, others-yavaya etc. 41 So A (Ed, P anîl-); D, R 
nîl-; B ânîsâyaynâññ. 42 Dl, P2 ângî only; Bu, G märangî. 
43 P2 manamîngî.
These are Atria; they have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Śyāvāśva" for the Hotṛ, "like Śyāvāśva, Ārcanānasa (1), Atri" for the Adhvaryu.

The Vādbhutakas (2) have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Vādbhutaka" for the Hotṛ, etc.

44. Daurangiḥ
45. Saurangiḥ
46. Saupuspayāḥ
47. Sānkheyāḥ
48. Sāketāyānā
49. Bhāradvājāyanā
50. Indrānīthīr

1) The form arcanānasavat, where one would expect arcanānovat, may indicate that the reading -ṣa of P, D2 etc., is a very old one; although -ṣa is the original, cf AV 13.3.15, RV 5.64.7.

2) Ed vāgbhū-; P1 cāhu-; P2 vātadbhu-; R  ṣāḍū-, vāddhū-; etc.
The Gāvisthiras have a three-rsi pravara, "Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Gāvisthira", etc.

1. Mudgalā
2. Vyālisandhayaḥ ca
3. Aurnavāpaya
4. Baudhākṣā
5. Gāvisthira
6. Baijavāpah
7. Śīrṣayān
8. Śālīmato
9. Vṛṣṭhīmato
10. Gaurivītīr
11. Gaurikayō
12. Vājavātā
13. Vāyupūtā

These are Mudgalas. They have a three-rsi pravara, "Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Paurvātitha", etc.

There is no intermarriage among any of the Atris.
1. कांर्मर्यायणि- 1. कांर्मर्यायणि-
2. सांमकिलयामि 2. साक्हयास् तित् च ये
3. चायो साखरारथयास् चा ये 3. साक्खरारयोऽस् चा ये
4. अघ्रायणि
5. वामराथ्या
6. गोपावनास
7. तार्काविनदवाह
8. आद्यलाखि
9. सौनाकर्ण्यि-
10. अथ वालुतपायस् चा ये.

6. मस गोयावनास।
8. मस आद्यवालाकि
1. मस कांमर्यायणि
2. मस सास्वयास्त्या ये
B. Apastamba

Of the Atris, a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Atreya, Ārcanānasa, Śyāvāśva", etc.

Of the Gaviśṭhiras, a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Atreya, Ārcanānasa, Gaviśṭhira", etc.

Of the Atithis, a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Atreya, Ārcanānasa, Ātitha", etc.

This pravara belongs without alteration to the Vāmarathyas, Sumangalas, and Bajiavāpas.

C. Kātyāyana and Lauḍākṣi

1. Kārmāryāyaṇi-
2. Sāṅkhṛaya
3. atho Sākharathās ca ye
4. Āryāyaṇā
5. Vāmarathyā
6. Gopavanās
7. Tāṁabindavaḥ
8. Auddālakīh
9. Saunakārnīr
p 10. atho Sauśrutayaś ca ye

2 and 3, conjectured, but completely doubtful. Sākhalayaś cārṣasaharayaśca ye;-Ed; P1 samaṭaḥ sāvarayaḥ ścārṣesahāraya- rye; P2 śāṅkharayaścārṣesrāharyeśva ye; D sāmkhariḥ aumāsaḥ (D2 arṣaso) haryaśvāḥ (D2 -āvīḥ); Sk śāṅkharayaḥ only; R sāmkharatha only; p therefore probably read śāṅkharayaś cārṣa sāharayaś ca ye; cādyo of Man, correspond- ing to cārṣa here, may conceal a third name. 4 conj; p ahāyana (R ādā-). 5 So P, Ed; rest om. 6 So P1, D, other lists; Ed payanāś; P2 paćanā; R yavāṇa; Sk pavana. 7 restored from other lists; p śākir vidikir (P1-vidīkī, D1-vidarkīḥ, D2-vidāphi; Sk sāṅhkīsidivayāḥ; R sāhki-; Ed -divikir). 8 So P2; P1 -likī; Ed maudgalākīḥ; rest om. 9 Sk saunaka- karmayaḥ; P2 saunakanīḥ sailaskārnīr. 10 So Ed, Sk; P1 sausutarāś; P2 sauśrutayaśva ye; D1 saubhṛtīḥ; R sau- śrotayo.
Man.

11. Gauragrīviḥ
12. Kairandīśa ca
13. atho Caitrāyanaś ca ye
14. + nākarsyaṃṭi
15. paurīṃḍy
16. atho vatsāṭṭhapāś ca ye
17. gali†
18. Chāgali
19. Bhāgalī
dantuāya
21. + vāhu
22. dantyendreya
23. dautthāyatreyah
24. sauddhūtakī
25. varṣānaki
26. kṛṣṇa†
27. Chandogī

1. Plāksir
la. Dāksi
2. Vyāliḥ
3. pauravār
5. Aurnāvāpi-
6. śilāmvīna
9. Mauñjakeśī
e
4. Bhalandano
7. Bālavāpi
8. Śīrīsaś ca

W. W.

11. Gauragrīviḥ
12. Kairandīśa ca
13. atho Caitrāyanaś ca ye
14. + nākarsyaṃṭi
15. yaurakyaṃḍyo
16. cākṣoṭhayāsa ca ye
17. sāgali†
18. Chāgali
19. Bhāgalī
dantuāya
21. + thānuvī
22. dantindrāya
23. dautthāyard
24. sauddhotakī
25. Vaikūnāsai
26. kṛṣṇa†
27. Chandogī

Ms readings:

11. goragrīvi
12. kaurindaśyo
(with 21 and 22 of vibhūtantra of p.

1a. dārdī
9. mauj-
8. śīrīsaśaśa

11. maursrīvi
12. kairandiy
1a. damkśi
5. (-vi) sārṇacāpili
9. moj-
8. śīrśaś ca
4. kalamdano
These have no intermarriage. They have a three-rāj-pravara, "Ātreya, Arcanānasa, Śyāvāsa", etc.

1. Dāksir
2. Vyaśīh
3. Pārnaviś ca
4. Bhālandana
5. Aurnavāpi
6. Śilamdhuro
7. Baijavāpih
8. Šrivāsa ca

11 P, Ed kau r̥; Sk sāura-; Pl kaurśinī. 12 So P, Ed; P2 kau-; D1, R kairaji. 13 Sk Mai-; rest Jai-; instead of -nās ca ye, Ed has -nā ye ca; this, with the vi-of 14, may be the origin of the additional name inserted here by the nibandhas, (not Ed), P1 śvetavi, P2 śvatata, R śvetakayo, D1 svetakiḥ, Sk cekayah. 14 So Ed; P1, Sk, D1 Bāhu-; P2 vidvāhutam; R vādgiyatam. 15 So D1; Pl, Sk, R vaha-; Ed vāhā mitraśvā; P2 vivānmitraś ca. 16 So P, D1, R; Ed jānaki; Sk jānukayāh. 17 These are possibly the Putrikā-purats, and should perhaps therefore be written Hāleya, Vāleya, of Baudh., etc; but the mss. indicate Taileya, Vaileya, (and cf. Matsya): Ed tau- vau-; Pl the- vau-; P2 rau- vau-; D1 tau- vai-; D2 tae- e-; R and Sk om. 20 Read perh. patanjala?; P1, Sk, Ed as above; P2 nājananā; R panamaṇā; D1 paṇcājanah; D2 paṇaṃjanaḥ; 21 Cf perh. Bhāradvājaya in Baudh.; all here Bhāga-; P1 -māmā; P2 -mādayana; D2, Sk -madanāḥ; D1 -mānah; Ed = P2; R -manāde. 22, 23 Ed, P only.

1 Ed dakesa-; P, D2 daksi; D1 läksih. 2 So P, Ed, D2; D1 vyāniḥ. 3 Hopelessly corrupt in the whole group, and supplied here, very dubiously, from the other lists, q.v.; P kharāṁakrd; Ed khadāṁakrd; D2 avarocinakrd; D1 avarodhakrd. 4 So D2, and cf Mān. and Matsya; D1 nāl-; R bhai-; P Bhālamvanā (Pl -vana); Ed bhālavanā. 5 Cf Mān, W; D, R aurna añabhi; Pl aurnanāi; P2 ārnanābhi; Ed arnanābhi.

6 Corrupt in the whole group of Mān, W, Matsya; Ed, Pl, D1
10. ---
11. maityanyo
12. dütih
13. Saupuśpiḥ
14. Sāmapuśpiḥ
14a. somapuśpiḥ
15. ---
16. ---
17. Hiranyapuspiś
g
cadrikardraki
19. Kākaśirśi
20. kākalāśitī eteṣām...

1. Häleyā
g
dauhreya
g
gaubhreyā
g
gaubhreyā
g
Vāmarathyā-
g
Gaupavana-
g
viśṭira (=gaviṣṭhira?)
g
putrikāputrā
g
(pravara as K&L)

(pravara: ātr. gaviṣṭhira pautriketi)

Ms readings:

1. hāloṣṭi
g
2. væleya
9. MauṆjakeśī
10. Gaviśṭhīra

These ten are Gaviśṭhiras. They have no intermarriage.

They have a three-ṛsi pravara, "Ātreya, Gaviśṭhīra, Paurvātitha", etc.

We shall explain the Putrikāputras (sons of a daughter designated by the father as a son for purposes of descent):

1. Hāleya-
2. Vāleya-
3. Kaudreya-
4. Vāmarathya-
5. Putrikā

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-ṛsi pravara, "Ātreya, Vāmarathya, Pauṭrika", etc.

D. Āśvalāyana.

Of the Atris, "Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Śyāvāśva".

Of the Gaviśṭhiras, "Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Gaviśṭhīra".

Of the Pūrvātithis, "Ātreya, Ārcanānasa, Paurvātitha".(1)

vaiveya; D2 caiveya; P2 vamvea; R candratre-. 7 So Ed, P, D2 (vaij-); D1 baijavāpanaḥ; R yājavāpayo. 8 Restored from the other lists; Ed śrimi; P1, D srpiḥ; P2 āṛgniś ca. D inverts the order of 8 and 9. 2 Ed, P -keśo; D1 -kāśih; D2 maujakeśih; P1 mauja-; P2 moja-; R maukeśah.

1 So P, D, R; Sk dāl-; Ed ādā-; 2 So P2, D, R; Ed vāveya; P1 vavāleya. 3 So P1, Sk; D2 kaudrayo; D1 kereya; Ed Kaṇeṇya; R kaureṃah; P2 kauleya. R and Sk add Saubhreyo and Gopavama to the Putrikāputras.

1) So P for Āśvalāyana. Ed has: atrīnām ātreyaārcanānasa gaviśṭhireti; pūrvātithīnām ātreyaārcanānasa paurvātitheti; The Bibl. Indica edition and Chentsal Rao in his separate printing of Āśvalāyana have: atrīnām ātreyaārcanānasa śyāvāśveti; gaviśṭhirānām ātreya gaviśṭhīra paurvātitheti. Narāyaṇa’s commentary also recognises only two divisions: atra dvividhā atraya uktāh; anyatrānye ca santi. The Berlin MSs agree with the Bibl. Ind. edition.
Matsya said: learn from me the founders of gotras who have sprung from the family of Atri:

1. Kārmaryāyani-
2. Sānkheyās
3. tathā Sārāyaṇās ca ye
4. Auddālakih
5. Saunakargir

m 10. atho Sauktavarās' ca ye
11. Gauragrīviś ca
12. Kairanjir

13. atho Cailrāyaṇās ca ye
4. Arghapanthā
5. Vāmarathyō
6. Gopavanās
7. Trnabindavaḥ

( Kānajīhva,

14. udgaragrīvir
15. baidalīh
16. sākalāyānīh

1. So p, with minor variants; (also with dental n); M kard-
2 p Sāmkhyeyās (D₂ Sāmkheyāñ); M Sākheyās. 3 So M; p
sā- (D₁ sārāpahā, R sāragranāh). 8 So P; Ed uddālakaḥ,
M uddālakih. 9 M₁ sona-; M₂ sauna-. 10 So F, R, D₁;
Dl sautka-; Ed sauta-; Sk sauktacarāḥ; M athau (sic) sau-
kratavaḥ ca ye. 11 M -grīvā. 12 M gaurajinas. 13 So M;
p jai-.. 4 Probably the reading of M; Ed ārghapathā;
P₁,D āryapatha; P₂ athapanthā; Sk āryamathāḥ; R ārghayamthā;
M₁ arddhapanyā; M₂ arghapanyā. 6. This is almost certainly
to be read in spite of the metre (the original from which
the Matsya Purāṇa took the lists was also in metre, and
certainly had Gopavanās); Ed, P gauryanā; R, Sk gaupanyā;
D₁ gaurvanyā; D₂=Sk; M gopanās; Kṛṣṇā = Ed. 7 So p; M taki-;
14-16 The four names here, corresponding to the equally
corrupt 14-16 in the K&L list, remain quite hopeless. The
above is probably the reading of M. p Kānajīhva; Sk kala-;
M₁ kana-; M₂ karna; P₂,D₁, R, Sk -Avō(')udgaragrīvi; D₂ udara-
grīvaḥ; P₁ nūragrīviḥ; Ed by urugrīvir; M harapṛtrīr;
Kṛṣṇa kuraugrīva; p vaidāli; P₁ vaidāki; M₁ naidrāniḥ;
M₂ laidrāniḥ; M Sākalāyāniḥ; D₂,R, Sk Sākalāyanaḥ; P₁ Sā-
kālāyanaḥ; P₂ Sālakāyaniḥ; D₁ Sākaṭāyanaḥ; Ed Sākalāyaniḥ.
These are said to have a three-rāsi pravara, Śyāvāśva, and Atri, and Āravanānasa. These rāsis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

1. Dākṣīr
2. Vyālih
3. Parnāvis ca
5. Āurnāvāpih
6. Silārdanih
7. Baijāvāpih
9. Mauñjakesī
10. Gaviṣṭhiraḥ
4. Bhālandanas

These are said to have a three-rāsi pravara, Atri, and Gaviṣṭhira, and Pūrvātithi. These rāsis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

Next learn from me the Putrikā-putras of Atri:

17 So P2; Pl tailayasaca; Ed,M, tailapas ca; Krs tailama.
18 So M,Ed; Pl caia---P2 tai.-- 20 conj. of Baudh; m gonīpatis (Ed -patus; Rp1 gonīyatha; Dl gaunīpathah; Sk gaunī-pathān; M gonīpatis). 21 So M, D2,P2,R; Dl Jalendar; Sk baladān; Ed pralagāh. 22 So M,D2,P2,R;also Ed; Dl bhāgaliḥ; Pl bhagavapada; Sk bhāgpadān. 23 So M,P; Ed saupuṣṭis ca. 24 So P; Ed,M chānd-.

P omits the Gaviṣṭhiras here, and the nibandhas do not give a separate account for the Matsya Purana (except that D attributes to the Matsya a quite different list from the one given here).

2. Restored from the other lists; Ed,M balīh. 3 Ed parṇaviś ca; M parṇaviś ca. 5 m 'ūrnanābhi; cf the other lists. 7 Bījavāpi, Ed,M. 9 m mauñjakeso.
1. Hāleyaś ca
2. sa-Vāleyo
3. Vāmarathyas tathaiva ca
4. Saubhreyas caiva
5. Saudreyas

These have a three-ṛṣi pravara, Atri, and Vāmarathyas and Pautrika. These ṛṣis are said to have no inter-marriage one with another.

The founders of gotras of the family of Atri, of great might, have been told to you, O king, by the recital of whose names a man leaves all sin behind.

1 M,P,Ed kāleya. M gives all these in the plural, p in the singular. 3 Ed vāmaraśva. 4 and 5 restored from the other lists; Ed saitreyas caiva saudheyas; Pl saugeyas cau sautreyah; P2 sautreyas caiva saubhroya; M dhätreyas caiva maitreyās.

In the pravara, P alone reads pautrikaś ca mahān ṛṣih; M and Ed agree in the improbable form pautriś caiva.
(Puruṣottama comments:)

There is no intermarriage of these Atri-gotra-ganaśas, because of the identity of gotra resulting from the fact that the name of Atri, who is one of the Seven Ṛṣīs, occurs in all the pravaras, and also because two of the three Ṛṣis in the pravaras coincide. The Putrikā-putras avoid both gotras in marriage, and a fortiori their own gana, because of identity of pravara.
We shall explain the Viśvāmitras:

1. Kuśikāh
2. Pārṇajānghāḥ
3. Vārakāya
4. Audalir
5. Mānir
6. Brhadagnir
7. Alakir
8. Āghaṭṭir
9. Apadyapā
10. (Antakā) Kūik-ah
11. Parnajāna,hAh
12. Vērakya
13. Audalir
14. 'an i
15. Brhadagr,ir
16. glakir
3. Āgr.hattir
10. (Antakā). ApadyB,pa
11. Y.amantak
12. Bāskalayaá
13. Cikitā
14. Lāmakāyaanāh
15. Śālankāyaanāh
16. Śānkāyaanā

1 After this, D2 adds kuṭēkāyaṇa. 2 D2.jangha only; Sk pārṇatajāghāḥ; S pārṇajāngha. 3 So A, except Ed: Bu, Ed pārakyāḥ; M, G, T pāralukyā; S valukyā; cf. Āpast. vāraki. 4 So A, cf. udāla in the pravara; Caland, following B, audari: he compares 'odari' of Kāty., but the name there is actually paryodari.
6 So A, Bu; M, G, T -arcī; P2 -avir; R -agrāya;
7 Conj., cf. Āpast.; the Mss readings, however, suggest Ālarvi for A, ānarci - for B: Ed, Pl Ālari; P2, D, Sk, Be, U Ālavi; R Āluvaya; Ā ānarci; S ānarci; Bu ālparaṇāḥ; M, T om. 8 Completely doubtful: P, R āghahi; Dl rāghahiḥ; Ed ādhyahir; S āghaṭṭhir; G, T āghaṭṭiḥ;
Bu ghaṭṭatiḥ; M āghatati; Be, U ādyaḥi. 9 Also doubtful: so M, G; T āpaddaya; Bu āpadyavah; Be, U āpadyavāya; Dl āpaghavya; D2 āştudhrvya; Ed āpadyaiyya; R, Sk, P2 -pya. 10 M, G, T only, ditto gr. from following (so Caland). 11 So A, Bu; M, G, T kāmantayo. 12 Conj.; M, G, Bu Dāspakayaś; T pāspaya; A baddhakatha; the Harivamśa names the Bāskalas, with the Śālankāyanas (cf. 15) and the Sauḍravas (cf. 28) as Kauśikas.(Har. 1.1771) 13 Dl cintitah. 14 So Be, U, Dl; cf. gana 125, 9; Ed lābh-; Sk, D2 Kām-; M, G lamahāyanāḥ; P2 lamālakāyañāḥ; T lamagāyañāḥ; etc. 15 So Ed, P, R, Sk, Dl, S; cf. gana 125, 10; Bu sā-; Be, U sālankāyañā; M, G, T om.
16 So Be, U; Ed sānk-; Pl sāmkāyañā; P2 syāmkāyaña; M, G, T sāmk(ke)tyañā; Bu sāhāyanāḥ; Sk kātyāyaña.
17. Laukā
18. Gaurāḥ
19. Saugantayo
20. Yanadūtā
21. Anabhimlānās
22. Tārakāyāṇaś
23. Cauḍakā
23a. †cauṭumbalā
t24. Jābālayo
25. Yaśñāvalkā
25a. †padajalā (vāda-)
25b. †jahacalokān
25c. thālēyo yaśñāvalkya
26. Vataṃṇa
27. Bauvananayā
28. Sauṛūtaya
29. Aupagahanaya
30. Audumbarir
31. Bhraṣṭrakaya
32. Śyāmeyāś
33. Caitreyāṇ
34. Sālāvata

19 So Ed, Caland; D2, R, Sk -vya; Pl -dya; D1 saugatayah; P2 sauganadhyaḥ; M, G, Bu sāgantayo; T sāṃgatayo; S sāṃgatāyana (misplaced before 15); Be, U saugantāyana. 21 cf. gaṇa 228, 10 (where Kāś. has -glāna); Be, U, Caland -mlāṭa; M anabhimrātā; S ān atrimlāṭa; G anabhimṛṭa abhinirmrutā; T abhināmrmatā; Bu ayanidratān ānabhidritāḥ; Ed, Sk, Dl, P2 ānabhinna; Pl atrabhinnā; R ānabhitrās. 22 So A, G; M tārāyānā. 23 conj; Ed, P, Sk, Caland cauvāla; Be, U caulkā; S śvaubala; Dl śvavalaḥ; D2, R śvauvala; M, G, T caulkā; Bu caulkakāyanāḥ; D2 adds caulkāyana, Dl vālakāyana; Caland wrongly reports that the nibandhas read caulkā. 23a So M, G, T; Bu vemabalāḥ; rest om; probably originally ditto. 24. So A, cf. the other lists; M, G, Bu jālālayo; T layo. 25 So B; A yaśñāvalkya. 25 a-c appear in M, G, T only. 26 restored from other lists; Be, U, P2, Caland vidanā; Pl vidanā; Sk, R, D2 vitanda; S vītaṇḍya; Ed vīdaṇḍa; M, G abandanā; T ambakṛmdā. 27 So M, T; S bhuvanayāḥ; G bhavānāḥ; Dl bhovaniḥ; D2 bhauvaviḥ; Sk, R nulavayaḥ; Pl trvalaya; P2 tuvalaya. 28 So Be, U, Dl, cf. the other lists; Sk -yāḥ; R saubhṛtayāḥ; Pl sausatayaḥ; P2 sauvrtyaya; D2 sausunīḥ; M, G, Caland saubabhṛvaya; T saubarbhravya; S saubhrayaya. 29 cf. the other lists; Caland (and B?) D, Ed aupadāhanaya; Sk oṣyagotativayaḥ; R aupaganana; Pl sau aupadahanye. 30 So B, D2, cf. Pāṇ. 4.1.173; A (ex. D) udampari; Dl urdariḥ. 31 Conj.; Be, U bhṛṣṭayogyāḥ; Pl, Sk, R bhṛṣṭagyāḥ; Pl bhṛṣṭyagāḥ; Dl bhāṣṭakīḥ; Bu bhṛṣṭayāḥ; S bhṛṣṭreyaḥ; M, G, T, Caland bhūristikāya. 34 So B, cf. Apast.; Ed tālāvataḥ; Be, U tālavanto; R, Pl tālovataḥ; P2 tālovantāṃ; Sk tāloccatarāḥ; S sārāvatā.
35. Māyūrāṇa
36. Saumatyās
37. Citratañtavya
38. Svetatantavo
39. Manutantavo
40. Māntavo
41. ye cānāye 'ntuśabdā
42. Bābhravyaḥ
43. Kāpileya
44. 'tunmaraśrkaya iti

36 Ed saumitya; Pl. saumatyās; D2 saumṛtyaḥ; S sāmṛtyaṁ. 37 Caland's conj.; the archetype's reading was citram-
tavyaḥ; Ed śvivantavyaḥ; P3, Sk, Be, U citratavyaḥ; D citra-
tavah; M, G citrantayo; T śvitrantayo; Bu citatamcayaḥ; S citrāmtāyanāḥ. 38 Conj.; archetype, svetamtyāyanāḥ ṯ;
Ed svetanntāyanāḥ; Pl. svatamtyāyanāḥ; P2 satamtyāyanāḥ; Sk
syatamtyāyanaḥ; D1 śvetyantāyanāḥ; D2 svetantāyanāḥ; Be, U satamtāyanāḥ; G śvētantayo; M, T, Bu, Caland om. 39 Caland's conj. certainly correct, cf. the other lists; B manuzeptap(o-ya), S -jayo; Be, U abhūtattam-
tavo; Pl tryanūtatakaya; P2 bhuyabhūtamanvavo; Ed anūtata-
tavo; D1 anūtakah; D2 manantantiḥ; Sk mānavah tatavah;
R maṇavas tantavo. 40 So Be, U, Sk, Dl, R, Pl; P2 mānta-
tavo; D2 māmbataḥ; Ed om.; M, G, T māntapo. 41 i.e., whose names end in -antu; Caland's conj. -antu is awkward
with the name Mānto interpolating, and does not satisfy the Mss. readings so well; M -nduśabdā; G -ntasābdā,
S -antaśabdā; T ya cānāye ṭuśabdā; Bu -indraśabdāḥ; Be, U,
Sk yakṣānyatvāsabdāḥ; Pl yakṣānyatvāsāvadāḥ; D1 ye cānāye
manuśabdāṃtaḥ; D2 ye cānāye nughadvītaḥ; Ed ye cānāye
vaśabdā. 42 Cf. Pān. 4.1.106 (Bābhravya is the
patronymic from Babhru where a Kauśika is meant,
Bābhravā otherwise; Ait. Braḥ. 7.17 however has Bābhravā
for a Vīśvāmitra, but in a dvandva.)
43. Conj. from Ait. Brāh. loc. cit. - kāpileyaśābhravāḥ
as the descendants of Devarāta Vaiśvāmitra; A
dāyaḥ; M, G kālāvā; T khalāvā; Bu kālāhva.
44 So G; M -srtya; T -āramaya; Bu gumarayah;
S (-vān)murayah; A utsaraya (P2 utsara).

and Mānmutantavya, Ait. Brāh. 5.30; the published
text of the Gana-pāṭha (gana gargādi) wrongly
gives two names, manu, tantu.
These are Kusikas. They have a three-rsi pravara, "Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta, Audala", etc.

1. Lohitān
2. Daṇḍakaya
3. Cākravarmāyanā
4. Jnarjāyana
5. Vājāyana
6. Madāgahayana
7. Kaitavāyanayo
8. Vāsayaítī

These are Lohitas. They have a three-rsi pravara, "Vaiśvāmitra, Aṣṭaka, Lauhita," etc.

1. Vaiśvāmitra-
2. Devaśravasa-
3. Devatarasah
4. Śraumata-Kāmakāyanān
5. Kāmakāyaninas

1. D rohitah. 2. So Caland; M, Be, U, R, P2 daṇḍakaya; Pl daṇḍayaś; D daṇḍaṁś; Sk krṣdarkayaḥ; M kṛḍakaṁyaḥ; Bu taṇḍakayaḥ; T daṇḍākāyaḥ; Ed, S randakayaś. 3. So M, S; G, Sk -varṇā; Pl -varṇā; P2 cākrapaṇāyaṇāḥ; R cākravarmāyanāḥ; Dl śvātra-varṇāyaṇāḥ; D2 (ś)āvākravarmāyaṇāḥ; T cākravarmāyaṇāḥ; Be, U cākrāyaṇāḥ; Ed cātravarmāyaṇā. 4. So M, and perhaps Bu; G jnarjāntardāyaṇāḥ; T radnaradhāyaṇā; Dl karjūrāyaṇā (with dental n); D2 karjaraṇyano; rest om. 5. So Be, U; P, Dl, Ed vaṁj-. Bu vaj-. S vāv-. Sk tāṁ-. R tāṁj-. M, G, T hajj-. 6. So M, G; T mādāyavyāḥ; rest om. 7. So restored by Caland, cf gana tikādi; M kaitavāyaṇo; G kaitavāyaṇo; T ketavāyaṇo; rest om. 8. So M, G, T; Bu vaṁsayaḥ; A vāsayaḥ (R vaśavo); R and D add aṣṭaka.

1-5 This group is placed after the Rauksakas by p. 1. Sc p, D2; Dl, B viśv-. 2. One would expect devaśravato, and in the Adhvaryu's pravara devaśravovat. 3. Pl daivatrasa-. 4. D2 devatāsaḥ. Possibly 1-3 should be taken as the name of a single family. 4 So T, Dl, R, and cf. the other lists; Sk āromanāḥ; Ed matijyoti; P omit (sic); rest, āraumati; T, M, Dl, Sk Kāmakāyanāḥ; Bu kāmakāyaḥ; Be, U jāmakāyaṇaḥ; Ed, P, R jyāmakāyaṇaḥ; Sk jyā-. 5. So B; Ed, Pl Kāla-. Sk, D, P2, R kāmakāyaṇaḥ.
These have a three-rsi pravara, "Vaiśvāmitra, Daivaśravasa, Daivatarasa," for the Hotr, "like Devatarasa, Devaśravasa, Viśvāmitra" for the Adhvaryu.

1. Raukṣakaś
2. †caudūhalā
3. Rainaṇavaś ca

These have a three-rsi pravara, "Vaiśvāmitra, Rauksaka, Rainava," for the Hotr, "like Reṇu, Rauksaka (1), Viśvāmitra" for the Adhvaryu.

1. Katāh
2. Sairindhahān
3. Karabhā
4. Vājāyanāṅah
5. Sāṃhiteyāh
6. Kaukrtyāh
7. Sāśireyā
8. Audumbarāyanāṅah
9. Piṇḍagrīva

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1) So G, Ed, Pl, R, Sk; D1 rauksah; D2 rauksakṣakah; Be, U Mk, T rokthakā; Bu rauteśh kā; S tusaksas. 2 So possibly the archetype; G caudūhalā; M caudohalā; S caudruhalā; Be, U svaḍvahakā; Ed sohahalā; Pl svaḍvahālā; Dl sauddhahalāḥ; D2 svaḍvahanaḥ; R svaḍvahala; Sk svaḍvahalāḥ; comparison with the other lists suggests -hayaḥ, and possibly we might conjecture ca-vaḍvahayaḥ cf. the name Audavāhi in Aśv.Gr.5. 3.4.4, Sānkh. Gr. S. 4.10.3. 3 Mess indiscriminately rainava, rainavā. Also, in the Adhvaryu's pravara, Be, U only have repuvat, the others, raiṇavavat, revanavat; etc.

The Katas and Dhanamjayas are omitted by Be, U, and P; Sk and R have no trace of Baudhāyana's account. It is very probable, therefore, that p also had a lacuna here, and that Ed, whose text here agrees rather suspiciously closely with B, may have incorporated them from S. D also seems to have conflated them from its B-source, since it gives them in transposed order after the Indrakausikas. 2 So B; D sairandhahān; Ed sairidhrān. 3 So B, Ed, D2; D1 karambhahā; Bu kārabhā. 4 So B, D1; D2 vanj-; Ed yaj-. 5 D2 san-; Ed om. 6 So B, Ed; D1 kaukukyaḥ; D2 kaukutyaḥ; Ed transposes 6 and 7. 7 Ed śiśiṁrāḥ; D om. 8 Ed and D om.

1) Em. Caland; Mess rauksakavat, raukthakavat, ukthivat.
10. Nārāyana
11. Nārātya iti

These are Kaṭas. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara,
"Valśāmitra, Kātya, Ātkīla," etc.

1. DhanamJayāḥ
2. Kārīsaya
3. Āsvāvatāyanāḥ
4. Ṭulabhyaḥ
5. Saindhavāyana
6. Uṣṭrākṣa
7. Mahākṣaḥ iti

These are DhanamJayas. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara,
"Valśāmitra, Mādhucchandasa, Dhanamjaya,"
for the Hotr, "like Dhanamjaya, Mādhucchandas, Viśāmitra," for the Adhyavṛyu.

The Ajas (1) have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Valśāmitra,
Mādhucchandasa, Āja," etc.

The Aghamarṣapa-Kuśikas have a three-ṛṣi pravara,
"Valśāmitra, Aghamarṣapa, Kuṣika," etc.

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1) So B, U (ajānām); G, T ajānajānām; M ajānajānām;
Bu ajāyānāḥ; Ed ajāyananām; P2 ajānānām; Pl ajā
Mādhucchandaḥsa ity eteṣāḥ(ṃ).
The Pūrāṇa-Vārīdhāpayantas (1) have a two-rṣi pravara, "Vaiśvāmitra, Paurāṇa," etc.

The Indrakauśikas have a three-rṣi pravara, "Vaiśvāmitra, Aindra, Kausika," for the Hotṛ, "like Kusika, Indra, Viśvāmitra," for the Adhvaryu." (2)

There is no intermarriage among any of the Viśvāmitras (3).

B. Āpastamba.

Next, of the Viśvāmitras:

1. Devarāta-
2. Cikita-
3. Manutanvantv-
4. Aulaki-
5. Vāraki-
6. Yajñavalka-

1) B places these after the Indrakauśikas. Ed, paurāṇāḥ; P paurāṇāḥ; Sk, R, D vārīdhāpayantāḥ; Be, U pārīdhāpayantyāḥ; Pl vārīdhāpayatās; P2 khyārīdhārīdhāpayantās; G pārīdhāpayantāvā; M pārīdhāvanta; T parīdhāvanta.

2) One would expect a two-rṣi pravara, "like Indrakauśika, Viśvāmitra." The Nirṇaya-sindhu gives "vaiśvāmitraindrakauśiketi dvau." (3) In T only (which unfortunately omits the negative - sarveṣām vivānah).

3 Pl manutammatv; D1 manuḥ tantuḥ; D2 mabhustanuḥ.
4 So Pl, Garbe; D aulokiḥ; Ed, and Garbe's Ms "P", alaki; P2 vailaki; Pl, R aulaki; Sk elakapa. 5 Cf. Baudh., no. 3. The exact reading is not certain, and possibly Vāluki should be read in both places; Ed, P rāraki; D1 cārakiḥ; D2 sarakiḥ; D adds also vālakhilya; Garbe, Vāluki; Chentsal Rao, vāralakaya (so also in Kapardi-svāmin's commentary); Garbe's Ms, bākila, vālaki, vālakhilya. 6 So Garbe, Chentsal Rao; and cf. Baudh.; others, yajñavalkyā.
7. Ulūka-
8. Erhadagni-
9. Babhru-
10. (Gālavi-)
11. Sālavata-
12. Sālankāyana-
13. Kālabavāḥ

These have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta, Audala," etc.

The Śraumata-Kāmakāyanas have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Vaiśvāmitra, Daivāśravasa, Daivatarasa", "like Devatarasa, Devāśravasa-, Viśvāmitra". (1)

The Ājyas (2) have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandasa, Ājya", etc.

The Mādhucchandasas proper (eva) are Dhanaṃjayas: they have a three-ṛṣi pravara, Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandasa, Dhanaṃjaya", etc.

The Āṣṭaka-Lohitas have a two-ṛṣi pravara, "Vaiśvāmitra, Āṣṭaka", etc.

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7. Ed auluka; Dl ulūta-; D2 uluvedā. 9 Dl bamrūḥ; Pl vabhuḥ; Sk bābravāyāḥ. 10 So Garbe, corrected from the other lists: his Mss give śālavi, śālali; Ch. Rao, śālinī; others omit. It remains doubtful, however, and may well have arisen from the corruptions of the following names, q.v. 11 So Garbe, Ed, Ch. Rao; Pl śānāvisaḷāḥ; P2 śālapisaḷā; R śālisāḷāḥ; Sk, Dl śālāḥ viśāḷāḥ; D2 śāloviśāḷāḥ; according to D, the Hiranyakasūtra also gives śālāvata. 12 P2 sā-; R, Sk, D om. 13 So R, Garbe, cf. Āsv.; Ed kālabhava; Sk kālavacāḥ; Pl kālāvāḥ; P2 kālavayavāḥ; Dl kāvepavaṇ; D2 kālayava; Ch. Rao, kālabalāḥ.

1) Ed calls these śrotas-Kāmakāyana. (2) p is defective here, giving the Katas next.
1-13 are identical except for the following wrong readings:

Mān.
3. caigita
5. vāratatamvā
6. kusikāṃ
7. hvataḍaś ca
8. śalakuvačo
9. āśvātāyanāḥ
10. śāmāyaṇā
12. jābālya-

Mān.
3. caikata
5. vantava-cārataṃtataḥ
7a (adds) pauvaleyā
8. śālamkuva ācha
9. āśvāvātāyanaḥ
10. śāmeyā
11. (omitted here, but added below.)
13. (omitted here, but added below).
The Pūrāṇa-Vārīdhāpayantasa (1) have a two-rsi pravāra, "Vaiśvāmitra, Paurāṇa", etc.

The Katas (2) have a three-rsi pravāra, "Vaiśvāmitra, Kātya, Ātkila (3)", etc.

The Aghamarṣaṇa-Kusikas have a three-rsi pravāra, "Vaiśvāmitra, Aghamarṣaṇa, Kauśika", etc.

C. Kātyāyana and Lauṃāksi.

We shall explain the Visvāmitras:

1. Visvāmitra-
2. Devarātās
3. Caikita-
4. Gālava-
5. Vāratantavāh
6. Kuśikā
7. Vātandaś ca
8. Salankā
9. atha Aśvāvatāyanāh
10. Śyāmāyanā
t 11. Yājñavalkyaā
12. Jābalāh
13. Saindhavāyanā

1) So Garbe, after one of his Ma's; the others read pāridhāpayantyaḥ. (2) Ed kātyāyananām; Pl kātyāayanā. 
3) Ma's indiscriminately āktiā, ātkila; so regularly with this name. Pl, instead of the correct Adhvaryu's pravāra here, gives "aṣṭakavad visvāmitravād"; P2, after the Katas, inserts "aṭhāṣṭakā lohitās tēsām tryārṣeyah pravaro bhavati (note that Apastamba does not normally use this phrase) vaisvāmitra tkohitaṣṭaketi, etc."

P, followed by R and Sk, omits 1-10. For these we are therefore dependant on Ed alone. 5 Ed tāntakaiḥ; of the other lists; for vāratantaya see Pān. 4.3 102. 7. Ed vātandaś ca; cf Pān. 4.1.108 (the patronymic is vātandya when an Āgrīrāsa is meant, otherwise vātanda). 8 and 9 Conjecturally restored; Ed Šalankuvādho āśvātāyanās. 13. So P; Ed sendhu--; Sk samdha--; R saidha--.
14-end given in full:

Mān.

14. vābhravya
15. yaśca vārsīya-
16. sāsityā
17. apy asyai śrutā

\[\text{audheprāḥ} \]
\[\text{saurathāyaḥ} \]
\[\text{kājālyājaya} \]
\[\text{Ārjunākṣi-} \]

20. pāryādari-
\[\text{Śumantū-} \]
\[\text{Jaimini-} \]

\[\text{† khakhākhali iti} \]

W.

14. vālvevyā
15. yaś ca ....
16. sāsityā
17. arākanusṛtta
atho va-

?15. puś ca kāṛśi-
13. sindhuyāyanāḥ
?16. sāmkrālyā

Audheyāḥ (cf Caranavyūha)
saurapayaḥ
kāṃjālipāṃjāya,
Ārjunākṣi-

20. Pāryodari-

18. ulokā
† khakhādvā
timghati †
11. Yājñavalkya–
19. upagahanayā iti

1. Devasravasa
2. devatayarasa
3. saumuka-kāmukakāmukāyanā
   iti

1. Devasravasa
2. devatara-
3. saumṛga-kāyanā iti

(in the pravara, deva-
ratheti, devarathavad.)
These have no intermarriage. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta, Audala," etc.

1. Devaśravasa-
2. Devataraśah
3. Sraumata-Kāmakayanāḥ

These are Kuśikas. They have no intermarriage. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Vaiśvāmitra, Daivaśravasa, Daivatarasa," "like Viśvāmitra, Devaśravasa-, Devatarasa- (sic)."

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15 Ed pyayaśra; S vyayaśca; Pl paśca; P2 yayaśca; kārīṣi, so
Sk, Matsya, and (among the Dhanamjayas) Baudh.; Ed, P kārṣi;
S kārṇi; R kārīṣayā. 16 Cf. W; S saṃ-; Sk, P samartyā;
R saṃṣṭatyā. 17 So Ed, Pl; P2 sausṛtāḥ; R saurathayāḥ;
Sk sauradhayāḥ. (Sk and R give this before 15)
18 Conj.; Ed ālopya; Pl aśloṣya; P2 āleghyya; R aulopsāḥ;
Sk ailopyāḥ; S olopyā. 19 So Pl; S ope-; Ed āpāgahanayaḥ;
P2 āpagahatayāḥ. 20 So Sk, S; Ed papadirayāḥ;
Pl vyarthodarayāḥ; P2 pārhodarayāḥ; R vāryodarayāḥ.
21 So P2; Ed pāṛṣaryāḥ; Pl pāṛṣayāḥ; S pāṁyāḥ; cf.
possibly Pāṁrajāngha of Baudh. 22 and 23 So Pl;
Ed ksarapapādolitī; P2 kṣarāyā yāmdolitī; Sk ksarayāḥ
padalayo; R kṣarayāḥ pā'layo; S bhāḥ pājālā.

P omits this family, so that again we have only Ed. Before 1 Ed adds devarāta-, which is clearly a blunder. 3 So certainly restored from the other lists; Ed saumuka-kaumuhayana; cf. Mān. and W.
Mān.

1. Ajā 1. Ajā
2. Mādhucchandāsa 2. Mādhucchandāsa
3. Mārgamitrā 3. Mārgamitrā iti

1. atha Kamandaka 1. atha Kamandaka-
2. Dhanāmjaya- 2. Dhanāmjaya-
3. Ṛpilakaṭa- 3. Ṛpataṇjallikuṭi
4. Pārthivā- 4. Pārthivā-
   bandhala- vandhula-
5. Pānīnānām iti 6. Kauṣikāś
   caitreya- aghamarṣāṇā iti

pravara: Vaiś. mādhucchandāsa, aghamarṣāṇa
   (so both)

or (W only) vaiś. kauṣikā,
   aghamarṣāṇa (1)

1. Āśmarathyān 1. Āśmarathyān
2. kamalāyanino 2. kamalāyana
   [venul-] vandhula-
3. Bandhula- 4. Kauṣikā-
4. Kauṣikā iti, āngulayo
   ghoṭakamukhāṅ kasrkāyana iti

pravara: vaiś. āśmarathyā
t+vandhula-kauṣikā
t

Both omit the Aghamarṣāṇa-Kauṣikas.

Mss readings:

1. āja 1. vījāma (in margin)
   (and in the pravara, ājiteti notā (in the pravara, jaimanteti
   ajivat etc.) notā, jayavan, etc.

4. parthirthava 4. parthirthava

5. pānīta

(1) Both pravaras seem to be wrong, comparison with the
other sources suggesting a lacuna; if this is so, the pravaras
here should belong to the Aghamarṣāṇa-Kauṣikas which both
omit here.
These have no intermarriage. They have a three-rṣi pravara, "Vaiśvāmitra, Madhucchandasā, Ājya," etc.

1. Kamandaka-
2. Dhanamjaya-
3. Parikūṭa-
4. Pārthivaya-
5. Panini-
6. (Kauśikā) iti

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-rṣi pravara, "Vaiśvāmitra, Madhucchandasā, Dhanamjaya," etc.

1. Āśmarathyān
2. Kāmukāyanino
3. Bandhulaṁ
4. (Kuśikā) iti

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-rṣi pravara, "Vaiśvāmitra, Āśmarathyā, Bāndhula," etc.

The Aghamarsaṇa-Kauśikas have a three-rṣi pravara, "Vaiśvāmitra, Aghamarsaṇa, Kauśika," etc.

3 So D2 (-triṁ); Ed, P2 mārgamityayāḥ; Pl mārgamitrayaḥ; Sk mārgamitrāḥ. 4 The name Kuśika, here and in the Dhanamjayas and Āśmarathyas, is probably to be understood with all the preceding names - i.e., those, although Kuśikas, have a separate pravara from the main body of the Kuśikas. So too, regularly, the Aghamarsaṇa-Kuśikas (-Kauśikas).

P (with the nibandhas) omits from the pravara of the Ajas to before that of the Āśmarathyas, thus omitting both the Dhanamjayas and Āśmarathyas. 1 Ed kamadaka. (For this name, cf. gana upakādi). 4 Cf. Harivāṃśa, 1771. 5 Ed pāṇinī. (Hariv. 1777p pāṇino).

2 For Kāmukāyanino, cf. gana nāḍā. 3 So Ed. If, as is likely, this is the same name as in the pravara, P has vādhula. (Ed in pravara, vādhula), which may be the better reading.

P omits the Aghamarsaṇa-Kauśikas.
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Man.

paurniḥ paridnāvayantā, etc. as in Ka. (but paurna).

(am) pūrīnāḥ (lacuna)...pūrīṇiḥ hotā pūrīṇavat pūrīṇavad viśvāmitravat ity adhvaryūḥ

(immed. after the āśmarathyas) aṣṭākā lohitānāṃ dvīyāreyah pravaro bhavati vaiśvāmitrāṣṭaketi hotā, etc.

1. athodumbarāyaniḥ 1. athaudumbarāyani-
2. Sāśira- 2. Sāśirāyani-
3. Taikāyani- 3. Taikāyani-
5. Tarukṣyāyani- 5. Tarukṣyāyani-
velāyana- velāyani-
maudāyana- modāyani-
caudāyana- codāyani-
gangāyana- gāngāyani-
6. Kātyāyana- 6. Kātyāyani-
kātyākśaila-
7. kārī 7. kārī
cūlacaki iti 8. rājāyakī iti

(in the pravara, kātyākśaila; tākṣilavat kātyāvat) (in the pravara, kātyā kaila; kilavat kalakavad)

(1) Ms. dvātryārṣeyah, with the syllable tryā marked for deletion.
The Pūrāṇa-Vāriddhāpāyantas (1) have no intermarriage. 

They have a two-rāṣṭ pravara, "Vaiśvāmitra, Paurana" etc.

The Lohita-Aṣṭakas have no intermarriage. They have a three-rāṣṭ pravara, "Vaiśvāmitra, Lohita, Āṣṭaka" etc (2).

1. Āudumbari-
2. Sālāri-
3. Taikāyani-
4. Tārkṣyāyani-
5. Tāurukṣyāyani-
6. Kātyāyani-
7. Kārīlādi
8. Lāvakāṁ
9. Sālankāyana-
10. Mauḻjāyanaṅ
11. Katāṅ

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-rāṣṭ pravara, "Vaiśvāmitra, Kātya, Ātkīla," etc.

1) So Pl, D; P2 vāridhāvantah(ḥ); Ed pāridhāvantah(ḥ).
(2) Pl omits Lauhita in the Hotṛ's pravara (but not in the Adhvaryu's).

1 Sk aud.; Dl induvāriṇ; D2 udabariṇ. 2 So Pl, R, Sk, D; P2 ṣaḷiṣilī-. Ed ṣaḷiṣilī-. 3 Cf. Pān. 4.1.154. After this name another may be concealed, but ditto-ography is the most probable explanation of the Ms readings: Ed dhākāyani-taiyani-stākāyani; Pl taikāyani-stākāyani-; P2 ṭaikāyani-taiyani-stākāyani-; R, Sk taikāyanāṅ (R -ni) stākāyanāṅ; Dl naikāyanāṅi traikāyaniṁ; D2 tekāyaniṁ (D2 omits from here to 7). 4 So all, except Dl, which has -nah (dental); cf. gaṇa gaṅgādi; 5 Cf. ibid; Ed tārusyāyani; Pl tārṣyāyani; P2 tāryāyani; Dl tāryāyani (P1 and Dl with dental); R, Sk om. 6 Pl kātyāṅi. 7 So P2; Ed kāri-. Pl kārīlādi; Dl karīrāmbhīṇ; R karīrābhaya; Sk karīrābhaya. 8 So Ed; Dl Lāvakāṁ; P2 vālakāṁ; Pl vyavākāṁ; Sk bālakāṁ; R bhāṃvakāyaḥ; Dl om. 9 Dl -niḥ; D2 om.
10 Cf. gaṇa naṅgādi; D -niḥ; P2 maṇjāhāyana; Pl, R, Sk maujāhāyana. 11 i.e. these are all Katas.
The following additional families are given:

gāthino renavās teṣām, etc.
pravara: vais. gathina
rainava, etc.

nirāṇya retasānaṁ tryārṣeyah (!)
etc. vais. hiranyaretaseti hota
retasavat hiranyavat visv.i.a.

suvarnaretasanām tryārṣeyah
etc. vais. suvarnaretaseti
hota retasavat suvarṇavat
visv. i.a.

kapota retasānaṁ tryārṣeyah
(as in preceding).

ghṛtakausikānāṁ tryārṣeyah
(as in preceding).

suvarnaretasanām dvya-
ṛṣeyah etc. vais.
sauvarnaretaseti hota
suvarṇaretovad visv.i.a.

hiranyaretasanām dvya-
ṛṣeyah etc. vais
hiranyaretaseti hota
hiranyaretovad visv.i.a.

kapotaretasanām dvya-
ṛṣeyah (as in preceding).

ghṛtakausikānāṁ dvya-
ṛṣeyah (as in preceding)

gāthīna renuvaś (sic)
teṣām etc. vais.
gā(ṭhi)na renuveti (sic)
etc.
There are three families of the Rainavas:

1. Krathakā-
2. ścaitarāyanās
3. codvahayaś ceti

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Vaiśvāmitra, Gāthina (1), Rainava" etc.

D. Āśvalāyana.

1. Cikita-
2. Gālava-
3. Kālabava-
4. Manutantu-
5. Kuśikāṇāṃ

These have "Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta, Audala".

(92) Of the Śraumata-Kāmakāyanas, "Vaiśvāmitra, Daivaśravasa, Daivatarasā".

Of the Dhanamjayas, "Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandasa, Dhānamjaya".

Of the Ajas, "Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandasa, Ājya".

Of the Rohiṇas(2)"Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandasa, Rauhiṇa".

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Mess. rainava, raivana, etc. 1 Conj. from the other lists; Ed,P1,P2 atha kā-. 2 So probably p (ie. -āś ca.); Ed svaitaratyana-; P1 vaitarāyanās; P2 pevetarapanāḥ. 3. So P1; P2,Ed khodvahayaś cety (for -ā ca,ud-?).

(1) Ed gadhina.

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4 So P2, Berl, Bibl.Ind.ed, Ch.Rao; Ed mavataru; P1 mantatu.

(2) Ed,P1 rauhiṇānāṃ; P2 rauhitakānāṃ.
The order of the gaṇas differs from K&L. Mān. has after the Devaśravas: ṛauka†, Dhanāmjayas, Ajas, Aśmarathyas, Purāṇa-Varidhāpayantas; W has ṝaisva†, Dhanāmjayas, Ajas, Purāṇa-Varidhāpayantas, Aṣṭaka-Lohitas; the Aśmarathyas come after the Sāhula-Mahulas in W; while both have the Katas as the final family.
Of the Aṣṭakas, "Vaiśvāmitra, Mādhucchandasa, Āṣṭaka".

Of the Pūrana-Vāridhāpayantas (1), "Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta (2), Puraṇa".

Of the Katas, "Vaiśvāmitra, Kātya, Āktīla".

Of the Aghanarṣaṇas, "Vaiśvāmitra, Āghanarṣaṇa, Kauśika". (3).

Of the Reṇus, "Vaiśvāmitra, Gāthina, Raṅava.

(Of the Venu, "Vaiśvāmitra, Gāthina, Vaiṅava".)(4)

1. Śālankāyana-
2. Śālākṣa-
3. Lohitākṣa-
4. Lohita-
5. Jahnūnām

These have: "Vaiśvāmitra, Śālankāyana, Kauśika".

E. Matsya Purāṇa.

Matsya said: O king, I shall tell you of Atri's other family (5). The famous Soma was the son of Atri, and in his family was born the king Viśvāmitra, who attained Brahmānhood by his austerity (6). His family I shall recount to you; listen while I speak:

1) Ed pāri-. (2) P omits Daivarāta from the pravara.
3) P omits from the Aghanarṣaṇas to the end of the Viśvāmitras. (4) This family, omitted by Ed, is given unanimously by the other sources; but it is virtually certain that it has arisen simply from a variant reading of the Reṇus. (5) The Pravara-darpaṇa is careful to remark that, in spite of this genealogy, it must not be deduced that the Atris and Viśvāmitras should not intermarry, a common ancestor being of itself no bar to marriage, provided the rai-gotras are different. (6) Reading "tu tapasā", with M; Ed sutapasā.
1. Viśvāmitra
2. Devarātas
3. tatha Caikita-
4. Gālavau
5. Vatandaś ca
6. Salankaś ca
7. ato Āsvavatāyanaḥ
8. Syāmāyanā
9. Yājñavalkyā
10. Jābālaḥ
11. Saindhavāyanāḥ
12. Bāhravyāḥ
13. yaś ca Kārīṣāḥ
14. Sāmkṛtya
15. atha Sauśruta
16. Aulūkyā
17. Aupagahaniḥ
18. Pāryodorayaḥ (metre!)
19. Pārṣayaḥ
20. Ṛksarapatā
21. Ṛṣabhhalibhavāḥ
22. Isadhitāvās tu
23. Kauśikāḥ

3 m unanimously, vaikṛti-. 4 So P; rest -vaḥ.
8 So Ed, M; P, D, Kṛṣṇa, vālaśankuḥ (ie, with transposed syllable, ca Salankuḥ; for -ku, cf. Mānu, W. 9 Ed āsvā
tāyanaḥ; Pl āsvavatāyanaḥ; P2 āsvavatāyanaḥ tatha; Dl āsavatāpanaḥ; D2 āsvalāyanaḥ; M hy abhayaś
cayatāyanaḥ. 15 M (Bāhravyaḥ) ca karīṣāḥ ca; Pl
ekariṣā; P2 karīṣā hi; Ed karīṣā; Kṛṣṇa, Dl Kārīṣāḥ;
D2 kārīṣāḥ. 16 Restored; M saṃsrutāyāḥ; P, Dl saṃsrṛtya;
D2 -arjāḥ; Kṛṣṇa saṃbhrātyāna. 17 Restored; M saṃsrutāḥ;
Ed, P1, D saṃsṛtāḥ; P2 saṃsṛjāḥ; Kṛṣṇa saṃsṛtyāna.
18 Restored; Ed, Dl aulopyaḥ; Pl aulovyaḥ; D2, Kṛṣṇa aulopya;
M ulūpā. 19 Restored; Ed -gavayaḥ; Pl -gahanāḥ; P2
maupagahanah; Kṛṣṇa upagahanaḥ; M1 aupagahayaḥ; M2
aupāhavās ca. 20 P, Ed, to salve the metre, -aya-;
P pārsodarayaḥ; Dl prāsoddariḥ; D2 pārasodariḥ;
Kṛṣṇa pāryodayaḥ; M payodajana-. 21 So Ed, D;
Pl pārṣeyāḥ; P2 pāṣayaḥ; M pādaphāḥ. 22 So Ed;
Pl jhakṣarapāḥ; P2 raksapāḥ; D1 kṣarayāḥ; D2 kṣarpaḥ;
Kṛṣṇa kālirapaḥ; M kharavāco 23 So P2; Ed pādhvalibhavās;
P1 praddhalibhavāḥ; Dl pāḍalih; D2 pāḍanih; Kṛṣṇa
pāḍvala, bhavaḥ; M halayamānāḥ. 24, 25 So Ed, M; P
yamadūtā (Pl yamahatā) mayotrakāḥ.
These are all said to have a three-rsi pravara, Viśvāmitra, and Devarāta, and Udala (1) of great austerity. These rsis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

1. devāravāḥ sujāteyāḥ
m 3. saumukāḥ kāmukāyanaḥ
2. tathā devatarā ye ca
[kuśikaḥ ca]

These are all said to have a splendid three-rsi pravara, Devaśravas, Devatara (2), and Viśvāmitra. These rsis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

3. Mārgamitrās
1. tathā Ajāś ca
2. Mādhucchandasa eva ca

These rsis are said to have a three-rsi pravara, (3) Viśvāmitra, and Ājya, and Madhucchandas. These rsis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

2. Dhanamjayaḥ
1. Kamandakaḥ

The Devaśravases are omitted entirely by Ed and P.
3 The correct reading is āramatāḥ kāmakāyanaḥ; M1 sau-
sukāḥ; M2 saumukāḥ; both, kārukāyanaḥ; M2 reports a v.1.
kāmukāyanaḥ. 2 Restored, M vaidehārātā ye.
3 M viśvāmitras (from the pravara). 1 M -ādyāś ca.
1 So restored; Ed, D, Kṛṣ karmadhayaḥ (-dhiḥ); P kāma-
dhayaḥ; M kapaṛdeyāḥ.

(1) So Pl; Ed, M2 uddāla; M1 uddāla. (2) Restored; M devarāto. (3) Ed omits this family down to this point. M has only the passage which Ed omits, and inserts it out of place after the Dhanamjayas.
3. Parikūṭas ca
4. Pārthivah
5. Paṇinīś caiva

All these are said to have a three-rśi pravara, .... (1) Viśvāmitra, and Madhucchandas, and Aghamarṣana. These rśis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

2. Kāmukāyaninaś caiva
1. Āśmarathyas tathaiva ca
3. Bandhulaḥ
4. Kauśikas

These are said to have a three-rśi pravara, Viśvāmitra, and Āśmarathyas, and Bandhula (2) of great austerity. These rśis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

(The Vāridhāpayantas and Pūranas) - Viśvāmitra and Pūraṇa are said to be their two pravara(-rśis). (3)

The Pūraṇas and the Vāridhāpayantas have no intermarriage. (4)

The Lohitas and Aṣṭakas - these are said to have a three-rśi pravara, Viśvāmitra, and Lohita, and Aṣṭaka

3 DL parihvah. 4 Ed (parikūṭas) sa-pārthivah; M vocative, parthiva.
2 P2 kāmukāyanayaś; Pl kālāyaninaś; Ed kāmalāyaninaś; Kṛṣ kāmayani; Makāmalāyanijāś. 3 So Kṛṣ; Ed, P Madhulaḥ; M vaṅculis (Ml caṅc-) cāpi tryāṛṣeyah, etc., thus omitting Kauśika.

(1) For the lacuna, which presumably already existed in the original Matsya text, see Mān. and W. (2) So Kṛṣ, Pl; P2 vādhuli; Ed Bandhuli; M vaṅculi. (3) P omits this whole sentence; the passage in brackets (eg. vāridhāpayantaś caiva pūraṇāś ca tathaiva ca) is supplied conjecturally in place of the hopelessly muddled reading of M and Ed, "viśvāmitro lohitaś ca aṣṭakah pūraṇas tatha". (4) So after P2 - avaiyarvah pūraṇaś ca vāridhāpayata mithaḥ; Pl vāridhāpayanto na vaiyarvah pūraṇaś ca parasparam; Ed, M parasparam avaiyarvah ṛṣayaḥ parikirtitāḥ.
of great austerity. The Āstakas never have inter-
marrige with the Lohitas.

1. atha Renuh
2. Krathakaś ca
3. ṛṣis tācāvahis tathā

All these are said to have a splendid three-ṛṣi pravara,
Rāṇava (1) and Gāthinā (2) and Viśvāmitra. These ṛṣis
are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

1. Udumbariḥ
2. Śāśiriś ca
4. ṛṣis Tārkaśāyāṇis tathā
5. Kātyāyāṇiḥ
7. karTrāmiḥ
9. Sālankāyāṇi-
10. Maunuṭāyāniś ca bhagavān

These are said to have a three-ṛṣi pravara, Kātya, and
Ātkila (3) and Viśvāmitra. These ṛṣis are said to have
no intermarriage one with another.

O King, these Kuśikas have been told to you, ever
lords of the twice-born; by the recital of whose names
a man leaves all sin behind.

1) Ed, M2 ṁnavan; Pl ṃnāvān; P2 ṃnavaṃ. (2) So Pl only;
Ed grathina; P2 grathita; M2 gatina. (3) So restored
(eg, Kātyāsa caiva tathātkIlo); all the sources corrupt:
Purugottama comments:

There is no intermarriage at all between the gaṇas of Viśvāmitra listed here, Devarāta, etc., and a fortiori there is no marriage within a man's own gaṇa, because of sameness of pravara.

Ed satīs tatā suvidvārir; P1 śvayatis tatā suvidvāri; P2 svasamimniś ca suvidvārir; M khiliknilis tatā vidyo; M2 gives a var. lect. khiliḥ kṣitimukhā viddho.
Chap. VI. The Kaśyapas

(95) A. Baudhāyana.

We shall explain the Kaśyapas:

1. Kaśyapa
2. Chagalayo
3. Mathārā
4. Aitīśayana
5. Abhūtya
6. Vaiśiprā
7. Dhūmā
8. Dhūmrāyaṇā
9. Dhaumyā
10. Dhaumyāyaṇā

2 ? So S, cf. Pān. 4.1.117; Be, U (pā) aṣṭāṃgirayo; Ed (-pā) cangirayo; P -ā aṣṭāṃgirayo; D chāṅgariṇ; Sk, R aṣṭāṅgirayo. 3 S vathara; Pī bha-; P2 manḍāra; R samdāra. 4 P2 etiśa-; D2 vetiśa-. 5 So Ed, Pī, R; Dī'-; P2 abhū-; Sk āśūnya; D2 abhūso; M, G, T, S āhūtyā; Bu aṣṛtyāh. 6 P2 vaiśistā. 7 So A; M, G, Bu, S dhumā; T dhuda. 9 So S, Caland (who quotes Hiranyekesi' a pravara-ahyāya) - cf. also gaṇa gargaḍi; the Mahābhārata names a Dhaumya as a younger brother of Devala; the latter, though also among the Kaśyapas in the pravara-chapters, is in the Śaṅḍiḷa gaṇa; A saumyā (Dī so-); M, Bu dhaumā; T dhaumajyā; G yausyāyauṃ. 10 ? Supported by the fairly frequent cases in this text where the patronymic in -āyana follows the simplex; on the other hand, all the sources have a lingual -na (except T, -sa); Caland therefore restores it as dhārmyāyaṇā, and compares gaṇa aevādī (dhaumyāyaṇa however also occurs in the same gaṇa). Pī, Dī, R dhārmyā-; Sk dhāmyā-; P2 dharmā-; Ed armā-; D2 dharmā-; Be ghārmyā-; U dhāryā; M dhaumyā-; G yaumyā-; S dārmyā-; T dhaumyāyasā; Bu dhaumyāyaṇā.
11. Audavrajir
12. Agrāyanā
13. Baimbakayan
14. Prāvaryā
15. Hrdroghā
16. Kāśayayāna
17. Pāncayānikān
18. Maushākān
19. | sāgasayo

Il corr. By Caland, who compares gana pailādi, Mān., and W., (see also Matsya); M, G, T adnaprajur; Bu audnaprakaran; S audhajir; Be, U, P2 audavrksā; Pl, D autavrksā; Ed, R srauvavrksā; Sk srauvavrksā. 12 So B, S; Be, U arāgra-; Dl, Sk, R rāgra-; Pl egrā-; P2 amrā-; Ed rāmrā-; D2 rāgrāyasah; cf. the other lists. 13 Corr. Caland, cf. schol. to Pān. 4.1.97; R vaivakayah (cf. Kāl); M, G, T, S palamba-; Bu vaivakayah; Be, U paidhaka; Ed paindhu-; Pl paidha-; P2 paikakayah; Dl palyakih; D2 palkākāh; Sk caivakakapaya. 14 So Ed, Dl (cf. Kath.); prāvaryā; Pl prācaryā; R vṛācaryā; P2 pravaryā; Be, U prācaryā; S pravārtyā; G pravāhā; Bu pravāhayāh; M, T, Caland, pravāhāryā; Sk om. 14-22. 15 So A; G, Bu, S hrdromaya; M hrdromaya; T hrdromayāh. 16 Con. cf. gana nadādi; Caland, kāśayātapā, ie. kāśi-ātapaḥ; M, G kāśyātayā; T kāśyātayā; Bu kāśyātayāh. S kārinīyātāh; A ātapaḥ (but Ed śrāmbhayāh; P2 śrātayā), 17 So Ed, R; Pl -āyatika; Dl pācayanikān; D2 pāceyānāko; P2 pācamiṇī kā-; M, G, Caland apambānīkā; T apābanīka; Bu apāmāni kā-; Spāmāniki; Be yacani kā-; U yācamani kā-; 18 So M, G, Caland; S mo-; T om.; B thamaunśiḥ; Be, U, P2 meyānākiḥ; Ed, R meṣāntākiḥ; Dl meṣātākiḥ; D2 mepānākiḥ; Pl nētātākiḥ. 19 So originally A?; Ed sāma-; Pl sāma-; P2 saga-; Dl sāmavin; D2 sāsasiq; T chāgachāga-; Bu chāna-; S sāmāyā; M chāgachāgassayo; G chāgandnayo; Be, U sāghnayo māghnaso.
20. Māṣaṣārāvāyāḥ
21. Saudhavayāḥ
22. Sāyasāya
23. Āsurāyāṇaḥ
24. Chāmavayaḥ
25. Saunadyā
d2. Staulakeśayo
27. Vārdhakaya
28. Aupavya
29. Lākṣānyayaḥ

20 So M,G,T,S, cf. gana bāhvaḍi (which gives it as two names, māṣa, sarāvi); Bu māṣaṣārāvāyāḥ;
Be,U,R māghasaraḥ; P2 māghasārāḥ; Pl māsabayaḥ;
Ed māghasaraḥ payas; D1 mā only; D2 mādhasavides.
21 So Be,U,P2,Ed; P1 sauvacayaḥ; R saidhavayaḥ;
G saubabhravayaḥ; S saupas sautavayaḥ; D2 sauvaniḥ;
D1 pauvaviḥ. 22 So A (R yā-),M,G; T sādhasayaḥ;
Bu sayasaḥ; S sāmanthyaḥ; D2 sācarayaḥ.
23 Sk su-; R ḍṣa-; D2 Āsurāṇaḥ. 24 So A (Ed chā-),
S; M,T,Bu sthā-; G stha-; (sth through misreading
of a Nāgari archetype?); D2 -nyaḥ. 25 So M,G,T,
R,D2; Ed -dyāś; Bu -bhayaḥ; Pl sonayaḥ; P2 somadya;
D1 saunaghanaḥ; Sk saunayaḥ; Be,U somapāḥ; S saunavyā.
26 Pl stheṣa-; P2 -kerāyo. 27 So Bu,Ed,P2;
D vādhrakīḥ; Be,U,Sk vāṛṣakayo (read by Caland,
who surprisingly comments that the reading vārdhakayaḥ
points to it); Pl vāṛṣayo; R vāṛṣakāyaḥ; M,G,T
buddhakayaḥ; S bādhakayaḥ; we should probably read
vārdhakayaḥ, cf. gana piddādi. 28 Be,U auṣ-
D2 -jyaḥ; T-turāḥ; Bu auṣvaparyāḥ; rest, aupavyā.
29 So B, cf. Pan.4.1.152; S lākṣānyah; A lākṣāyāṇaḥ
(Ed,Pl lākṣaṇaṇaḥ; D2 lī-); Caland, comparing Man.,
W, lākṣāmanayaḥ.
30. Krauṣṭa
31. Jīvanayānā
32. Kuḍārayānā
33. Rohitāyanā
34. Mitakumbhāh
35. Pingakṣaya
36. Audalayo
37. Marāyanā
38. Pañca ca
39. Vaikarneyaḥ
40. Kauśītakayaḥ
41. Dhūmalakṣaṇayānā
42. Sūrā
43. Gaurīvayaṇā
44. Vimatsaya
45. Agniśarmaṇayānā
46. Aukthiṣayaṇaḥ
47. Kambardarayoyo
48. Devayātā
49. Vaidya
50. (A)mābā
51. Velayā
52. Manācakreyāh
53. Pālīhinasāh
54. Pānasyā
55. Vṛṣagana
56. Dāksapaṇayo
57. Bhalandaṇāḥ
58. Sānkhamitreyā
59. Harityā
60. Pāncala
61. Jārāmāṇyo
62. Vārṣagāṇīḥ
63. Sauviśravaso
64. Vaiśampāyaṇāḥ
65. Svaīrakīṇḥ

51 So M,G; Bu bāh lelāḥ; Dī callah; D2 kēlā; S velā. 
53 So B,S; Ed, Be, U,P2 -ṣyāḥ; Sk, Pī paithinasyā; 
R paithanasyāḥ; D2 paithanasyāḥ; Dī vainasyāḥ. 54 So Ed, 
Be, U, P1, R, D2; P2 pī-; Dī pāla-; M, G pānaddhā; Bu pātasāḥ; 
S pānaddhyānā. 55 So S; Pī nīsa-; all the others, and 
Galad, viśā-. 56 So Pī, Dī; Ed, R, B, S dāksamāṇayo; 
S dīksamāṇayo; P2 damāksaṇayo; Sk, D2, Galand dāksāyaṇaṃyo; 
Be, U dāksāyaṇaṃyo. 57 Ed -tā; S -nayaḥ. 58 So Be, U, P1, 
R; P2, D2 ṛākha-; Sk, Dī ṛākha-; Ed ṛāvai-; S ṛākha-; 
B ṛākhyā- (Bu as two names). 59 So A; M, T, Bu -ṭrāḥ; 
G -nyāḥ; S -myāḥ. 60 So B, S, D; A om. 61 Caland's 
conj., cf. gana gargaṇā; Be, U, P, R, Ed -matsyō; D -matsyāḥ; 
Sk jāh mātseyāḥ; M Jāmaranyō; T Jārāmāṇyo; Bu rājamaṇyo; 
gana kanvādi, and no. 55 above (also as patronymic of 
Asita in SB); Be, U, P, Ed ramaṇī; R ramaṇayāḥ; 
Dī rambhāniḥ varṣakaniḥ; D2 varṣakāniḥ only; 
S varṣagvāṇi; Bu bārakānāḥ (given by Galand among 
the notes to the preceding name). 63 So M, G, T; 
Bu saurī-; S, A savī- (Dī as two names; D2, P2 -sau). 
65 Ed svairakīṇ-; S stairakīṇ-; Sk svarakīṇaṃ.
66. Kāsalayā
67. Auktrāyanir
68. ṕārjyanā
69. Kāmsayānā
70. Daivo
71. Hotā
72. Sucayaya
73. Kharebhā
74. Ayāhatunā
75. Bhāgurayānā
76. Pāthikārya
77. Gaumāyanā
78. Hiranyavāpa
79. Agnidevis
80. tathā Asuryā
81. Musalā
82. Avīsrenyā

66. So Ed,P2,Sk,D; R -lasa;Pl kāsa-; S kāmsa-; Be,U kāsalaya; M,G,T,Caland Kālasāya; Bu jalaśāyah. 67 So M,G; Bu aukra-; rest with dental -n-, Ed ucchra-; Pl ukta-; P2 ukā-; S aukvā-; Sk,D ulkā-; R ulka-; Be,U utkā-; T auktā-. 68 So B,S; Be,U,Di mārjāla-; D2,R Pl, Ed mārjāla-; P2 mālayānā. 69 So M,G, T,S; Be,U,Ed,D,P kāmsalā-; R kāsalā-; Sk kāsakā-; (D2,R both have ditto of this name.) 70 Be,U, R, Sk, Di, Ed,S de-; P2 davo. 71 So P, Di; R, Sk hotarāḥ; Ed hotā; D2 hanah; B hotuḥ; S hauda. 72 Sk sucakrayah; Dl kaviḥ. 73 Dl surebhaḥ; D2 rebhaḥ only. 74 Restored, cf.gana śivādi, B āyasthunā; Dl āpaḥ sthunāḥ; D2 apasyuṇah; R ayaḥstunāḥ; Ed,P compound this name with no.73. (Ed kharebhāyasthunāḥ, Pl rebhāyasthanāḥ, P2 karebhāyah sthānāḥ). 75 So M,G,T,S, cf.gana kurvādi; Be,U, Sk,R pāthikayo (kayo); D pathikahā; P2 pātikaya; Pl pāthikaya; Ed pāthikaya. 77 So Caland, cf.gana śvādi; P, Di, R goma-; Sk goma-; Ed gomāyāvā; D2 gomavano; M gomayata; G gomayālā; T gomayā; S gomayatā; Bu homayatāḥ. 78 Con. M,G,Bu,S, Caland -pāpā; Ed,P1, Sk -vayā; D2 -payaḥ; Dl -vayanaḥ; R,P2 -vā. 79 So conj.by Caland- it is read however, albeit compounded with the preceding name, by Ed,P1; P2 -agnir deviś; B,S agni-; R,Sk agnyayo devayah; D agnih deviḥ. 80 So Conj., cf.no. 23; B,S, āsuryā; Be,U, -āsauryā; P2, Ed -āsauryā; Pl -āsauryā; Dl supraḥ suryah; D2 sūryah sūyaḥ; R, Sk sauryāḥ. 81 So B,S, Dl, Sk, cf. gana gargaḥdi; D2 mu-; Ed,P2 susalā; Pl susalā; R sumalā. 82 P2, D2 -sro-.
These are Nidhruva-Kāśyapas. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Naidhruva," etc.

The Reoas have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Raibha", etc.

1. Śāndilāḥ
2. Kauhalāḥ
3. Pāvakāḥ
4. Pāryaka
5. Audameghāḥ
6. Saudānavāḥ

83. Uttaratogandamanā
84. Mantritā
85. Vaikarṇayāḥ
86. Stūlabindava iti

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83. So M,G; S -khandamanā; Bu -garbhamanāḥ; Be, U -gandheśudala; Ed -gandemadala; P2 -gandesudala; P1 -gandesuśūtadalā; R -gandesava udāga; Sk only; D1 uttarah gandesun udalāḥ; D2 uttaran gadesu udalo. 84. So A (Be, U āmantritā); M,G mantravatāḥ; Bu mantravantaḥ; S mantravatāḥ; cf. gana kanyādi. 85. So A; B vaikarneyāḥ (but S vraṇeyāḥ); cf. no. 39 above. 86. So A; B sūla-; S sūlabindavaḥ.

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2. So Be, U, Ed, P2; M -lāḥ; R, Sk, D kohalāḥ; (G, T, Bu kohalāḥ?); Caland -dāṇ. 3. So M, G, T, Sk; Be, U, Ed, P2, R, D2 pāya-; P1, D2 pāca-. 4. So M, T, Bu; S pārthaka; Bu parya-; Ed, P2, Be, U pāyī-; P1 vāyī-; R, Sk, D1 vāpi-; D2 rāpikadau. 5. P1 -medhyā. 6. Caland, P1 -vaḥ; D -dānuḥ; Ed -danavāḥ; P2 -danavāḥ; S saudālava.
7. Šavacasah
8. Kāreyaḥ
9. Kaukanthayaḥ
10. mānakayo
11. Mahodakayaḥ
12. Kauśrayo
13. [Kāmaśayō]
14. Mauṇjayānā
15. Jānavatsah
16. Khārdamayānā
17. Gāngayānā
18. Vātsabhālayo
19. Gobhilā
20. Vaidyānā

7 Sk sāvana-; D1 sāvava-; S tyāvayasah. 8 So A, Ed, Sk -yah; M, G, T -yuh; S Kaleyāḥ; Bu om. 9 ? So Ed, P2, R; Be, U, Sk -kantayaḥ; D -kantakiḥ; Pl -kantakayas; G, T, Bu kaukundeyaḥ; M kauṇḍeyaḥ; S kauṇḍeyaḥ. 10 So T; S stāisa-; Bu daisī-; M, G aisi-; Ed stākṣi; Sk, Pl taikṣi; D2 naikṣi; D1 tāukaṣa; P2 taithi. 11 So P, R, D; Ed mahākayo; Sk māhavayaḥ; M, G, Bu, T mahokayo (or mahakayo); S mahākāyo; (ditto gr. of following?).
12 So M, A (Pl vah-); D1 bahūdakih; D2 vānadakih; S mahaujakayah; G mahodakāḥ; Bu mahodyahāḥ. 13 So M, T, Caland; Bu -sra-; P kauṣayaḥ; P2, R, Sk koṣayah; D kausih; Ed koṣayah; G kaureyo; S koṣrāyaniḥ. 14 So M, G, T, S; A, Bu om; the fact that no. 13 appears with -yo instead of -yah in M, G, T is confirmation that this is an interpolation; S gives this after no. 15.
15 D after no. 16 (kāmaśīḥ). 15 Be, U, Pl, D2 mauj-; P2 monj-; Sk māj-; S mārjyanāḥ. 16 So M, G, T; Bu rāna-; S dānā-; Be, U -vamṣāḥ; Sk bhāgavamṣāḥ; R bhānavāsa; D1 maṇavamṣāḥ kāmaśīḥ āyavatsah; D2 bhānavāsah kāmaśīḥ āpavatsah. 17 ? So M, G, T; S -nāḥ; Bu khāda-; Caland kharvamayānā (why dental -n-?). Ed, P2, D1 kharvamānayā; R kharvabhānayaḥ; Pl kharvayanayaḥ; D2 kharvamayāno; Sk svāvatmāyānāḥ; Be, U kharvamānayaḥ. 18 Pl gavabhā; Ed gāngayanā. 19 So Ed, P2, R, Sk, D2; P1 vāsa-; D1 bhaliḥ; Be, U -tālayo; M, G vatsalabhālayo; T vatsalabhāleyo; Bu vatsagālayo; S māsabālayāḥ. 20 So A; B govidā, gobida; S govilāḥ. 21 ? So Caland; A ved-; M, G, Bu vel-; T vail-.
22. Vātsyāyanā
23. Bahūdarayo
24. Bhaguriḥ
25. Gārdabhiṃukhaḥ
26. Hiranyabāhus
27. Taidehā
28. Gomūtrā
29. Ṛvākṣaṣṭha
30. Janaṇḍharir
31. Jalaṇḍharir
32. Dhanvantarir iti

These are Śaṇḍilas. They have a three-ṛsi pravara, "Kaśyapa, Āvatsāra, Śaṇḍila," etc.; or "Kaśyapa, Āvatsāra, Daivala," etc.; or "Kaśyapa, Āvatsāra, Āsita," etc.; or "Śaṇḍila, Āsita, Daivala," etc.

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22 So A (Ed vāṣya-); Ś -yanayo; M, T vāhīyanayo; Bu vācā-; G vācyāyana bāhyāyanayo; on this evidence, Caland reads two names in his text - vātayāyana vāhyāyanayo; but G (an edition, after all) is the only source which has both. 23 So S, A (Pl cahū- D2 maho-); B mahodakayo, cf. no. 12 above. 24 Be, U plu.; rest of A, and B sing. 25 So corr. by Caland, cf. the other lists; M, T khārdabhi-; G khārdamabhi-; Bu khādBhi-; S gārdabhiṃ makhā; Be, U khādanto-; Ed, Sk khārdatī-; Pl, D, R khādantī-; P2 khārdatī-.
26 Sk -yāvah. 27 So B, D2; A te-; Sk ne-; Pl aṅnidehā. 28 Pl goputrā; R yosūtra. 29 So A (but Pl vākyastā; Sk vāktha-; R -sāvā); M, G, T -śaṇḍa; Bu vācyasandaḥ; S vākyasunṭhaḥ; Galand hesitatingly emends to vārkhaṇkhaṇḍa, cf. Gobhīs 3.1u.8, and K&L vrkakhaṇḍa (where, however, M, N, W, and Matsya have vrṣa-).
30 So A (but Be, U jālam-); M, G, T jānantarir; Bu jātari. 31 So A (R -dhvarayo); B jālantari. 
32 So A; Caland (by a pure misprint) dhanvantar iti.
22. Vatsyāyanā
23. Bahūdarayo
24. Bhagurīp
25. Gārdabhīmukhāh
26. Hiranyabāhus
27. Taidehā
28. Gomūtrā
29. Tāvākṣaṣthā
30. Janaṃdhānīnī
31. Jalāṃdharīnī
32. Dhanvantarīnī iti

These are Śaṇḍilas. They have a three-rṣi pravara,
"Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Śaṇḍila," etc.; or "Kāśyapa,
Āvatsāra, Daivala," etc.; or "Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra,
Āsita," etc.; or "Śaṇḍila, Āsita, Daivala," etc.

22 So A (Ed vāṣya-); S -yanayo; M, T vāḥyayanayo;
Bu vācā-, G vācyāyana bāḥyāyanayo; on this evidence,
Caland reads two names in his text - vatsyāyanā
vāḥyāyanayo; but G (an edition, after all) is the
only source which has both. 23 So S, A (Pl cahū-,
D2 maho-); B mahodakayo, cf. no. 12 above. 24 Be, U
plu.; rest of A, and B sing. 25 So corr. by Caland,
cf. the other lists; M, T khardabhi-; G khardamabhī-;
Bu khaḍābhi-; S gārdabhīnā makhā; Be, U khādanto-;
Ed, Sk khardati-; Pl, D, R khādantī-; P2 khardati-.
26 Sk -yavāḥ. 27 So B, D2; A te-; Sk ne-; D1 agnidehaḥ.
28 Pl goputra; R yosūтра. 29 So A (but Pl vākyāṣta-;
Sk vāktha-; R -śava); M, G, T -śaṅḍa; Bu vācyāṣaṅḍaḥ;
S vākyāṣaṅṭḥaḥ; Caland hesitatingly emends to
vārkhakhanda, cf. Gobhā 3.1u.8, and KāL vrkakhanda
(where, however, M, W, and Matsya have vṛṣa-).
30 So A (but Be, U jālantī-); M, G, T jānantarīnī;
Bu jātari. 31 So A (R -dvāravayo); B jālantarī.
32 So A; Caland (by a pure misprint) dhanvantar iti.
1. Laukāksayo
2. Darbhāyana
3. Maitravādir
4. Valdeha
5. Kālayāḥ
6. Kāputis tathā
7. Kālayāḥ ca
8. Kāmphatrayaḥ ca
9. Bhālakāyanir
10. [[samastā]]
11. [virodakīṁ]
12. Kaunāmih
13. Sautāyah
14. Saitakīṁ
15. Sāmbharir
16. Aṃsiṭi-

(98)
17. štaisikih
18. sausukis
19. cairandis
20. paśubhiś
21. cauṣyaṇa
22. yodhakālakir
23. Lokākṣayo
24. Yauthapala-
25. Ajapala iti

These are Laukākṣis. By day they are Vasiṣṭhas, by night Kāśyapas. They have a three-rṣi pravara, "Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Vasiṣṭha," etc.; or "Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Asita," etc. (1)

The following names are beyond recovery. 17 So M,T, Ed,P2,R; Pl štaiviki; Be,U štaşaki; Sk aśikayah; D raśikih; G štairvikih; S (with preceding) āriṣta-
sagi; Caland emends to āniṣṭir aśikih. 18 So P2; Ed so-; S sāsunis; Be,U mausukis; Pl saumukinaś; M sausari; G,T saubhari; S saususikayah; R sausukakah; Dl saurasukhiḥ; D2 saurasukhiḥ; cf. possibly sāsuci in Kāl. 19 So Be,U; Pl, S -ṇdi; M cairidraḥ; G cairitraḥ; T cairidyah; Ed cairandri; P2 cairandri; Sk cairandhrayan; R cairadhryayan; Dl cairandhrī; 20 So M,G,T; S śubriś; A om. 21 So Be,U,P2; Ed copyaṇa; S colbana; Pl cauppanā; Dl copyaṇaḥ (dental n); D2 vaismaṇaḥ; Sk causanaḥ; R cesmaṇaḥ; G colapalāḥ; M colarpalāyā; T copalāśca. 22 So D,R; Ed -kalakikalo; Pl yaudhakālakalekalo; P2 moghakālakapilo; Be,U yovyakālakapilau; S yojākālakika; G yuthakālakik; M,T yuthakālakikos; Sk yokālakayo. 23 So B,S; Be,U lauk-; rest laug-. 24, 25 So M,G,T yaudhapāyā; Bu vajapalayaḥ; Be,U,P1; Ed vacyajayaḥ; P2 vacyajavā; Dl kalaḥ vacyayah afjayaḥ; D2 kālavacamah ajapalir.

(1) So B; Ed, Sk, etc. for the alternative give "Vasiṣṭha, Āvatsāra, Kāśyapa," perh. rightly. Caland's note attributes to Be,U only the reading Kāśyapa in place of Asita, which is of course an impossible pravara (Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Kāśyapa). Since however Caland suggests they may be right, possibly they read as Ed here.
B. Āpastamba.

Next, of the Kaśyapas, a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Kaśyapa, Āvatsāra, Naidhruva", etc.

Of the Rebhas, a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Kaśyapa, Āvatsāra, Raibha", etc.

Of the Śaṅdilas, a two-ṛṣi pravara, "Daivala, Āsita", etc. But some give a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Kaśyapa, Daivala, Āsita", etc. Thus regularly those who have a two-ṛṣi pravara.

(Puruṣottama adds a comment:
Some explain this last phrase to mean that all the Śaṅdilas ought to have a two-ṛṣi pravara, not a three-ṛṣi pravara (i.e. taking it to mean, "They regularly have a two-ṛṣi pravara"). This is not valid, because of the prohibition in Jaimini's rule, "A man who does not have a three-ṛṣi pravara should be excluded from the competency to sacrifice."
Therefore the meaning is, those who have two ṛṣis should regularly get three ṛṣis in their pravaras by this method, not simply the Śaṅdilas. Thus the Aṣṭaka-Lohitas, who have two ṛṣis, are to be considered to have a three-ṛṣi pravara.)
Man.

1. Agrāyāna
   śvāgrāyāna
   graivayāna
2. Vṛsagana
   (53 ?)
   somabhūta
   sonavya
3. Mauşākira
4. Itikāyana
5. Audavrajir
6. Maṭharaś ca
7. kaijāli
8. atha Lākṣmanayo
(lacuna)

W.

1. Agrāyanaṁ
cankrayāna
   gravayāna
2. Vṛsaganaṁ
   sautanya
   sauva
3. Mauşākira
4. Itikāyanaṁ
5. Audavrajir
6. Maṭharaś ca
7. kaijāli
8. atha Lākṣmanayoḥ
9. Sālāthaleyah
11. kaidikya
    śalēścayāh

Mas readings.

1. agrāgāna
3. mausiki-
4. yetikāyana
5. om davajri
6. maṭharaś ca
8. atha Lākṣmanīyo

3. mausiki-
4. tīkāna
5. odaṃvraji
6. maṣakaś ca
8. apya lākṣmanayaḥ
9. sālālāthakeyāh
C. Katyayana and Lauugakṣi.

We shall explain the Katyayas.

1. Āgrāyaṇā
2. Vṛṣagana
3. Mauṣakīr
4. Itikāyana
5. Audavrajir
6. Mātharaś ca
7. tgojavir
8. atha Lākṣmaṇiḥ
9. Śālathaleyaḥ
10. Kairāṇjaś
11. Caikitya
12. Asurāyana

1 So S, Sk, R, D; Ed, P ātrā-. 2 So S; Ed viṣa-. P2 viṣakaraṇa; Pl niraṇaṇa. 3 ? Cf. prh. Baudh. no. 18, maugItaki; P2 mauga only; S mapaki; rest, maugaka; for -r, see next. 4 Conj., cf. Baudh. no. 4, aitiṣayana, and gaṇa nādādi, where both names occur; Ed, P2, Dl rati-; Sk nati-; R rīti-; D2, Pl rītikāyana; S kāyanā only. 5 Restored, cf. the other lists; Ed, P, D auṣapratii; R, Sk auapratii; S oṣapratii. 6 Restored, cf. Mān., Matsya, Baudh. no. 3; Ed, P, S māsara(ś ca); R māsa only; Sk -mān only; D maṅ sarā. 7 So Ed, P; R gojavār-; D gojān vir-; S gojāriṇivir; Sk om. 8 Conj., cf. the other lists; Ed adhāravṛṣi; S, P adhvarāvṝyaṇi; R adhvarāyaṇayaḥ; Dl adhvaran pnaṅī; D2 adhvaro yanīḥ; Sk om. 9 Restored, cf. W, and gaṇa ūbhrādi; S śālāvaneyaḥ; rest sārāhareyaḥ. 10 S kār-. Dl kairajah; Pl kairāṃnas. 11 Conj., cf. gaṇa āravādi; P, Dl caiketā; D2 vaikettah; R, Sk (ś)vaiketa; S ceketā.
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<td>subahuḥ ca</td>
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13. mātrtya
14. valvakaya
15. traiKayo
16. BhuvaNā
17. PātihInāśa
18. SaIndhavā
19. SīghraSa
20. ĀhvaGāKā
21. Devayātān
22. SomayaGa
23. atno+"pasrayāvayaSa"+ca ye
24. duda
25. Gāvyāyaṇa
26. Sātrunaya
27. HṛdṛGāh
28. Kācayāna
29. Cakradharma
30. Mahācakradharma

13 So Ed, P, D2, R, Sk; Dl mātrptah; S mādravyā. 14 So Ed, P2; Sk, P1 rai-; S vaidhulakayaḥ; rest om. 15 So all, exc. Ed prai-; S sval-; Sk om. 16 Pl -mā. 18 ? So S, cf. perh. Baudh.no.21, saudhavi; P2 saindhavavāś; Ed sadhavas; Pl saidhabhāra. 19 Conj.; Dl sīghrakāh; D2 sōdhragaḥ; R, Sk caitragaḥ; P2 caipraga; Pl saigrahamaś (with the syll. mā noted for deletion); Ed caipraga; S svaiddrakā. 20 So R, S, S; Pl āhra-; P2 āhma-; Ed dāhva-; Dl āhu-; D2 ṛṇugāyaṇaḥ. 21 So S, Sk, Dl; Ed, P, D2 -patāḥ; R devatāḥ; Pl -pālāh, corr. to -pātāḥ. 22 So all (exc. S -yātaḥ); but cf. the other lists. 23 So Pl (with ca for ca ye); Ed atopāsvāyāṣye; P2 atopāsvāyāṣye ca; S saścāyavānaḥ ce; R upasvāyāvayaṭye; Dl upatpāyavīn ce; D2 upatsvāyāvīn ve; Sk om. 24 So Ed, P, R; D2 dudram; Dl duḥ; S da. 25 P2 gā-; rest, gā-.
26 So Ed, D2, R; Sk -aryan; Dl śatrenih; P1 śatr-; P2 satrharitāyana-mātangayo. 27 So P2; Ed hṛdyoga; Pl drghoGa. 28 S Kācakāyaṇaḥ.
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<tr>
<td>saūmiśri</td>
<td>(see below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāṇḍādā</td>
<td>kauṇḍa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vāyāni</td>
<td>vayutir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>varūṇi-</td>
<td>aruṇi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>valvari</td>
<td>vauvari-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śalvarayo</td>
<td>śalvayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jignana-</td>
<td>jñāna-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Miss readings:

| 33. paksapāṇayah                                                   | 33. daksayayapayah                                                 |
| -.. maśasasara                                                    | 55. maśicayō                                                       |
| 44. āgniśarmāyanaś ca ye                                          | -.. maśasāra only                                                 |
| 34. hastidāyi                                                     | 44. -ās' ca ye                                                     |
| 42. kauṣītakī                                                     | 34. hastidāyi                                                     |
31. śrāiyayaṇā
32. hārkarayō†
33. Dākṣapāṇayo
34. Hāstidāsi-
35. Vatsyapāṇi-
36. Hāstalāyana-
37. Anyakṛta-
38. āvaumūla-

(100)
39. Dhūmārayaṇa
40. śvavāṃrṣṭha†
41. atno Āśavāṭāyanaḥ
42. Kauṣītalakāh
43. knagāda

31 So Ed, P2; Pl śraupa-; Sk, R traipa-; S traśā-;
Dl traipāṇayān; D2 śreyayān. 32 So P, Sk, D; R hārke-;
Ed hārkāratno; S hākirayō. 33 So Ed, P2, R, S;
Sk -yānyo; Pl dākṣāyanapa. 34 So Ed, D2;
Dl hāstih only; Pl hāstidāti; P2 anāstidāsi; R, Sk
hastayo dāgayo. 35 So Ed, R, Sk; P2 vātsyā-;
Pl vādūpayāni; D2 vātsyāṇ pāniḥ. 36 So Ed, R (cf.
gana nādādi, nāstināyana?); Sk -nāḥ; Pl, D hāsa-;
P2 hāskha-. 37 So Ed, Pl, D; P2 -krayo; R nyakṛtacah.
38 So Ed; Pl -bhūla; P2 mula only; Dl baubhūla;
D2 dhautulah. 40 So Pl; R -bhṛṣṭā; Dl -ohrṣṭah;
D2 -bhāṣṭah; Ed, P2 svababravac; S svataśca.
41 So P2 (asyo for atno), D, R; Sk aśvarāṭāyanaḥ;
Ed -tāpāṇaḥ; P1 aśvatayanaḥ; S aśvalāyanaḥ.
42 So S; Dl kauṣīdalakah; Ed, Pl, D, R kauṣīdalakah
(dental); P2 kauṣādalakah; Sk kauṣīrakāḥ. 43 So Ed, P, Sk, S; R sva-;
Dl knagadah; D2 knāgadah.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man.</th>
<th>W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49. Hastikāśyapa-</td>
<td>49. hasti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Paithinasa-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Kaikaseya-   pratiseya-</td>
<td>46. Kaikaseya- pratipeya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sausyavasamoya</td>
<td>pratiscavasaśāmo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saryāgnā</td>
<td>sahyāgnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vasamopa</td>
<td>vasava-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see above)</td>
<td>saumiśri- yovadami-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>darbhañ</td>
<td>paliśayana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palaśayināp</td>
<td>harlari-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>māhaki-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>parasaki-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kāśyapi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaduka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhaikṣi iti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(in the pravara, naidhrva)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

raiḥnyaṇām (sic) tryārṣeyah, etc., as in K&L

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sānkhamitrāḥ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śākāyā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rephaya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuṭalā iti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pravara: kāś. avatsāra, sānkhamitreti, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. śambhuja</td>
<td>1. śambhuja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. jalibhaśvobhau</td>
<td>2. jalibhuś cādhvo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mss readings:**

17. paithinasa

46. kaikasepa
44. *atho āgniśārmāyapaḥ ca ye*
45. *t mahuṣyāḥ*
46. *Kaikaseyāḥ*
47. *Kaśvahāyano*
48. *Dvihāyano*
49. *Hastyakaśyapa-*
50. *Sānuśruta-*
51. *Hariṭayana-*
52. *Mātanga-*
53. *Somabhuvā iti*

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Naidhriva," etc.

The Śāṅkhāmitri-Rebhās have no intermarriage. (1)

They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra, Raihna," etc.

1. *śaṃpava
calubhiś cobhe*

44 So Ed,R; rest āgni-; S āevo vāgni-; for -ś ca ye, Pl śraye; Dl śrayah; D2 śrayah; the particles atho, and ca ye should not occur together, and their occurrence here probably indicates a lacuna or dislocation; see Mān. and W. 45 So Ed,R; P2, Dl mahe-; Pl mahra-; S maṇḍavyāḥ. 46 So R, cf. the other lists and gana śārṅgaravādi; Ed,P -śayāḥ; Sk -śayāḥ; D (sa) kaikasiḥ; S kaikayāsah. 47 So Ed,D; Pl kaśvayanā; P2, Sk kaśca- (Sk also -nā); R kaśva-; S kaśthakāyaṇo.

48 So P, Dl; D2, Sk vihā-; Ed dviva-; R dviṅāyātā; S jahiynano, with which cf. Mātaya. 49 So Ed,P (a Hastikāśyapa occurs in the Maṅabhārata); R, Sk, D hastyāḥ only. 50 So Ed,D,R; P1 -śvata; P2 -śrta; Sk -ścutā-. 51 Sk hāti-. 52 So R, P2 (P2 gives nos. 51 and 52 misplaced between 26 and 27 as well as here - there, mātangayo); Ed māṇga; Pl māṇaga; Dl māṇagah; D2 om; Sk mārghaṇā. 53 So D2, R; S saugabhuvā; Pl somamulvo; P2 -bhūya; Ed -bhūva; Dl, Sk -bhruvāḥ.

After the Baudhān list, R, Sk give most of the following names, but in haphazard order. 1 So Ed,P2; Pl saṃvapa; D sa(m)pacah. 2 Pl cabhe; read cobhau?

(1) So P2 - śāṅkhāmitrayo rebhāḥ; Ed śāsvamitrayo
**Man.**

3. bhumapurodha-
4. Jalamdhara-
5. mujo
6. mayurah
7. parya-
8. gosto
9. Gardabhimukho
10. Hiranyabahur
11. Adityavarnah
12. *saudamilubho*
13. sausila-
14. Gobhilo
15. Kuhalo
16. Vrakhandas ca
24. ity ete gukuramvyah

**W.**

3. dhomapurodho
4. Jalamdharo
5. muja-
6. mapura
7. parya-
8. mosno
9. Gardabhimukho
10. Hiranyabahur
11. Adityavarnah
12. saudhasy ubhau
13. gosila-
14. Gobhilo
15. Kuhalo
16. Vrakhandas ca
24. ity ete gokuandaya-

**Mss readings:**

4. jalamdharo

9. gardhabhimukha
15. kusalo
16. vraskanadas ca

24. ity ete gokuandayo-
3. upalodha
4. Jalamdhara
5. bahumidho
6. haiipurah
7. paryā
8. maujimo
9. Gardabhimukho
10. Hiranyaabahu
11. --
12. cairala (<v> ubhau
13. keśila
14. Gobhilau
15. Kunalo
16. Vrakhandas ca

(17). ity ete Devajātayān

3 Pl -ladhe; D2 -locan. 4 Restored; Pl, R, Sk, D -dhava; Ed, P2, S jatamba. 5 So Ed, P2; Pl valamido; D1 bahumindnāh; D2 -miñjah; R, Sk vanupindaḥ; S bahamidyō. 6 So P, D; Ed haiyurah; S haiḥ puruḥ; Sk haiputāḥ; R haiyurāḥ. 7 So Ed, P, D2; Dl parva; S saṣo; R, Sk paryasvāḥ; cf. perh. Baudh. no. 4 pāryaka. 8 So Ed; P moḥ; D maujimah; S mācamammo; cf. perh. Baudh. no. 15, mauṁjāyana. 9 So Dl; D2 -bhīḥ; Ed -dī; S -bhā-. 11 For the lacuna, cf. Mān., W. 12 Pl cairala ubhau; P2 -ni ubhau; Ed cairanābhah; D, R, Sk ceralā; S cairabhā-nun. 13 So Ed, P, D2; Dl -bhau; Pl kośila; R, Sk keśilāḥ; S jākela. 14 Restored, cf. the other lists; Ed, P, Dl, R, Sk, S kokilau; D2 kaukilah; R, Sk have also, a few names later, gośilāḥ. 15 So Ed, P, D2, cf. Baudh. no. 2; Dl kuhavah; S kahanā. 16 So Ed, P, D2, S, cf. GobhGS 3.10.3, vārkakhandi; Dl ārkasandah; Sk ekaḥ; R yaka-. 17 Presumably, all the preceding families are Devajātis; but the divergence of the other lists makes the correct position of the phrase doubtful; so P; Ed -jātapāḥ; S -rātayāḥ; D, as an ordinary name in the list, devajātīḥ.

rebhāḥ; Pl sāṃbhava maitrayo rebhāḥ; Dl sāṃbhavaḥ maitreyoḥ rebhāḥ; D2 sābhavā maitrayoḥ reṣabhāḥ. Possibly the two names do not belong together; cf. W.
Man.

22. uttaran
23. śāntiketuś ca
17. ity ete Devajātayaḥ
26. vedāyana
   jangharayāṇaḥ-
   satruhāyanaḥ-
18. Audameghas
19. trānavasta
25. Saṇḍilo
   mahaka
   bhallakaś ca
   vāyukis
   tārkalis
   tettr
   cōdvudi
   sauśmineyā iti

W.

22. nutaran
23. cātiketuś ca
17. ity ete Devajātaya
26. vedāyana
   janghalāyanaḥ-
   satruhāyanaḥ-
18. Udameghas
19. tilamasti
25. Saṇḍilo
   magala
   bhagalaś ca
   vāsukis
   tattalis
   taitilir
   vādbuda-
   sauśmanośyā iti

pravara and alternative as
in K&L

1. Ānāṣṭayo
2. bhāgrarayāḥ

Mass readings:

13. audamevīyas
25. cämḍilīyo

18. dadanēccyas
18. Udamegha-
19. Trnabindu-
20. Sudānu-
21. Kauvalayaś ca
22. uttaraś ca
23. Suketuś ca
(24) ity ete kaurandājāḥ
25. Saṃḍila
26. Vaidānava-
27. Saudānava-
28. Paippalādir
29. ṛparivarī ity

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Kāśyapa, Āsita, Daivala," etc.; or "Saṃḍila, Āsita, Daivala", etc.

101)  
1. Ānaṣṭāyayo
2. Bhāgurayāḥ

---

19 Pl taśā-. 20 Pl sudāna. 21 ? So Ed,P2,R,Sk,D (-liḥ); Pl maukauvannayaś ca (with hiatus); S kaubalaś cau-;
22 This, although taken as a name by the nindaṇhas is presumably to be taken adjectivally with the next-
and further, Suketu". 23 P2 sukonuś. 24 Cf. note to no.17; so D2; Dś,R kaurundaja; Ed,Pl kaurandajāḥ;
P2 kauravudajā; Sk kaurandarajāḥ; S kauradvājāḥ;
Dś,R,Sk as an ordinary name in the list. 25 Restored;
Ed sākīla; P, Dś sāmkhila; Dś sākhilaḥ; S sambilā.
26 Conj.,cf.Matsya; P2, Dś paippalāḥ; Pl paiyyali;
Ed paivalayū; S paipyulayū; R, Sk pippalāḥ and
paippalādayo. 29 So S; Ed -ūpari-; P pūparī-; P2 pūparī-; D pūparīḥ varīḥ; after this, D2 adds mahārgayas.

Here again R, Sk are in haphazard order, and it
is not always clear whether a reading belongs here or
to the Matsya list. 1 So S, Dś,R; Ed ānaṣṭāyayo;
Sk anaṣṭāyayo; Pl ānuṣṭhayo; P2 anamṛkā. 27 Conj.,cf.
the other lists; P2, S phakulayāḥ; Ed pyakulayas;
Pl phājavalayāḥ; Dś phājalīḥ; D2 kājavalīḥ; R Dhākurayo;
Sk sigurayo.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man.</th>
<th>W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. śyenapo</td>
<td>3. sātayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. thajapalayah</td>
<td>4. sthajapalayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. śairī</td>
<td>5. śairī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. siraudavāhī ca</td>
<td>6. kudavāhī ca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. śairamghri aupasāvīyāḥ</td>
<td>7. saundri kupajivaya so 'stami kayusavika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saumyaplakoyuṣī kalasi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Lokākṣa-</td>
<td>12. Laugākṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. sva idamdhā ity etesām avivāhas tesām, etc, as in K&amp;L.</td>
<td>13. sarastamba ity etesām tryārṣeyah pravaro bhavati, kaśyapavatsāra sarastambeti hotā, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both Man. and W give the Laugākṣis immediately after the Nidhruvas.
These are Vasiṣṭhas by day (prātar) and Kaśyapas by night. They have no intermarriage. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Kaśyapa, Āvatsāra, Vasiṣṭha." etc.

D. Āśvalāyana.

Of the Kaśyapas, "Kaśyapa, Āvatsāra, Āsita".  
Of the Naidhruvas, "Kaśyapa, Āvatsāra, Naidhruva".  
Of the Rebhas, "Kaśyapa, Āvatsāra, Raibha."  
Of the Śaṅdilas, "Śaṅdila, Āsita, Daivala", or Kaśyapa, Āsita, Daivala".

3 So Ed,P,Sk; S śāktayo;D1 śākabaliḥ;D2 śākavalih.  
4 So Ed; Sk,P,S -phā-;D1 rāvalih;D2 rājavartti.  
5 So Ed,P,D2; D1 saukih;Sk saikayah. 6 So all,exc.  
S -aā ca. 7 So S; Ed,Sk sau-; P1 sauramvidhi;  
P2 saurandhi. 8 So Pl; Ed -saivaki;P2 -sevikiś ca;  
D1 -saikih;R rājasevasakayaḥ;Sk sajasakavayaḥ;  
S rājastambaki. 9 So Ed,P,D2; D1 sāmucih;(Sk sāyudhayah)  
10 So P2,D1; Pl,D2 kāpāti;Ed kāpata. 11 So Ed,D;  
P1 pingākhi; P2 lingākṣi. 13 ? Pl,D2 sāradvata iti;  
D1 saradvantaḥ; P2 sārata iti;Ed sāratava iti;  
S sarabhava iti.
E. Matsya Purāṇa.

Matsya said: Kaśyapa was the son of Marīci; I shall tell the rāis who were founders of gotras in the Great-family (mahākula) of Kaśyapa. Hear their names from me:

1. Agrāyana
2. Vṛṣagana
3. Ṭmeṣakir
4. Itikāyanaḥ
5. Udvrajā
6. Mātharaś ca
7. Ṭbhujāvi-
8. naya† Lakṣaṇaḥ
9. Śālāthaleyā
10. Kairajjān
11. kanyakāś ca
12. Āsurāyanaḥ
13. Ṭmandākinyām
14. vaibhrgayāḥ
15. ārutayo
16. Bhauvanāyanaḥ

1 So Ed,Kṛṣ,S; Pl agrā-; P2 āgra-; M āerāyani(r).
2 Kṛṣ,S; Ed,P2 viṣa-; M ṛṣigaṇo; Pl viṣagakā.
3 So S; M -kīr; P2 meṣaḥ kar-;Ed meṣāvir; with next, Pl meṣakittikā-; Kṛṣ meṣa kirātikā-. 4 P2 ita-; rest, iti-. Nos.5-25 are missing in all the sources except M1,M2; for the restorations, cf.K&L, etc.
5 M udagrajā. 9 M śālāhaleyāḥ. 10 M kauriṣṭāḥ.
14 So M1; M2 -mr̥gayāḥ. 15 So M1, and v.l. in M2; M2 ārotana. 16 ? M1 bhojayāpanaḥ; M2 bhautapāyanāḥ; v.l. in M2, bhūmapā.
21. Devayātāh
22. Somayāgā
23. † hy adhāschāyā
   bhayasah † ca ye
28. Kacāyānāh
26. Śatrunayo
27. Hṛdrogās ca
25. Gavyāyanāh
29. Cakradnarmī
30. Mahācakri
33. Dakṣapāṇaya eva ca
31. † goṣṭayano
32. hy akirayo
34. Hastidāsis tathaiva ca
35. Vatsyapāṇīr
37. Anyakṛtaḥ
36. Hastalāyāninas tathā

21 M -nāh. 22 M gomayānā. 28 M kātyāyānāḥ.
26 M 1 sakrayānāḥ; M2 sakrayānāḥ. 27 M1 barniyoga-;
M2 barhīr yoga-. 25 (?) against the metre) M gadāyānāḥ.
29 ? Cf. K&l; Ed bhavanandī; Pl, M, D1 bhavanandī(ṛ);
D2 bhavanandīḥ; P2 bhavatandi; Kṛṣ bhavana, dvi-.
30 So Ed; P, M1 -kṛi; M2 -kṛir; Kṛṣ -maha, cakri. 33 Ed,
M2 -pāyanaḥ; S -māṇayaḥ; M1 -pāyanaḥ; P1 -pānapa;
P2 dakaṇṭayānāḥ; Kṛṣ dakaṇṭiṇyānī. 31 So D2; P1 -yeno;
P2 kroṣṭejanāḥ; S śrēṣṭheyaṇaḥ; Ed grāṣṭejanāḥ; M yodhāyānāḥ;
Sk gaśthāḥ; R masta-. 32 So Ed, S, P2; Pl hy aki rāya;
Kṛṣ hyakirapa; D kīrīh; M kārtivayo. 34 So S; Ed, P2
dās tu; P1 hastudātāḥ; M hastidānāḥ; D hastidāḥ;
Kṛṣ hastida. 35 Restored; Ed, P2, M, Sk, R vātṣyāṇāḥ;
S vātṣatalma; Kṛṣ tata vātṣyaḥ; D vātṣyāyānīḥ. 37 ? Cf.
K&l; Ed, M nikṛtajāḥ; P2 lyanikṛtoḥ; P1 lyanikṛ only;
S likṛdvatsaḥ; Kṛṣ mālyā bālākya tida. 36 Read -yanayas ?
P2 -yanīmas; Pl -yanītas; D -yanīḥ; Kṛṣ hastalāyanaḥ;
Ed, M hy āśvalāyaninas; S śvalāyaninas.
39. Dhūmṛāyana
40. पैलामलिर
41. Aśvavatāyanaś tathā
42. Kauśītkāh
43. स्वावताकाः
44. अग्निसारयानाः ca ye
45. मेसापahaḥ
46. Kaikaseyasa ca
47. tathā caiva Subabhrravaḥ
48. paulayo
49. jñānaradhās ca
50. अग्नेयाः sarva eva tu

39 Restored; Ed prāgrāyanaḥ; Kṛṣ prāgrāyaniḥ; M, P1 prāgrāyanaḥ; P2 prāyāyanāḥ. 40 So Ed, P2, R, Sk; M2 -maulir; M1 paulamaulir; Kṛṣ pailamallī; P1, D1 pailalebhiḥ; D2 paulalobhiḥ; P2 adds a second -meli.
41 So Ed, M; P2 -nis; Kṛṣ aśvä-; S aśvabāṇāyanaś.
42 So Ed, R, Sk; D1, P2 kauśī-; D2 kauśī-; Kṛṣ kaupī-;
M2 kauverakaś ca; M1 kauverakaś ca; S kauṣāntaka;
P1 om. nos. 42-51. 43 So Ed; Kṛṣ svātāgni;
P2 svapaśantaḥ; D svāpahaḥ; M śyākāra. 44 All, agni-;
Ed -niś; Kṛṣ kārmāyana only. 45 So Ed, M;
Kṛṣ māigarā; D1 māigarīḥ; D2 mauyariḥ; P2 maunakharah; S mauyariḥ.
46 ? P2 -ayās; Ed, M kaikarasapās; Kṛṣ kaikasāyana; S kaikipayā.
47 From here to the end of the family there is
little to correspond in K&L, which presumably is
defective, and the names here are accordingly
numbered independently. As always, the Mātasya
names must be looked on with suspicion when not
confirmed by the other lists. Subabhrravaḥ, conj.;
P2 -yaḥ; Ed sucaubhrrayaḥ; S sucibhrrayaḥ; D1 vasuḥ babnruḥ; D2 vasuḥ yadbhuḥ; M tu babhrravaḥ;
Kṛṣ vasubhraḥ. 48 So P2, D, S; Ed yau-; M prāceyo;
Kṛṣ, with next, paulayajñāḥ. 49 So Ed, P2, D;
M jñānasamjñeyā; Kṛṣ nana rādhas. 50 So P2 (but
-yaḥ); Ed ajñāvas; S agnāvas; M āgnā prācevo eva
ta; D2 aagnāv sarvaḥ; D2 āprāva sarvaḥ; Kṛṣ āprāvasarva.
51. śyāmodara
52. vaivasapās
53. tathā caivodbalāyaṇāḥ
54. kaṭṭāyaṇaḥ ca†
55. Māricā
56. Ājīñāyana-
57. nāstikāḥ
58. Vaikarneṇyāḥ
59. Kaśyapās ca
60. †sāsīṣā
d.31.4.1
61. Ṣārītyāyanaḥ
62. Mātanga-
63. Somadvivaṃ ca

51,52 So Ed,M; P2 śyāmo nāgaśiraḥ yakṣas; D1 śyāmaḥ nāsiraḥ kṣapah; D2 śyāmaḥ nāsorīḥ paksah; Kṛṣ śyāma nāsīṣayaḥ; S śyāmātāsīṣayaḥ caiva; Pl (after lacuna) sirāyaḥ; cf.R,Sk nāgaśirasaḥ. 53 So M; Ed tathā vallatvalāyaṇaḥ; Pl tathā padgodala-; P2 tathā padgodalā-; D pangodala-; Kṛṣ lāla palāyaṇa; R padrodalā-. 54 So D2; D1,Kṛṣ -sth-; S,Ed,Pl kaṣṭā-; P2 kaṣapanaṣ; M kāṣṭhāhāriṇa. 55 So Pl, Ed,M; D1 -vah; D2 madīcāḥ; Kṛṣ māricāḥ; P2 mācīcā. 56 So all, except D2 ājīñvā-; Pl -yenayā. 57 Kṛṣ hasti only; cf.perh.K&L no.49, in which case no. 59 belongs here also. 58 P2 vikarṇayāḥ; Pl,Kṛṣ vikarṇaya. 59 Ed kā-; M kāṣyapeyāḥ. 60 S śā. 61=K&L no.51. 62 Conj., cf.K&L no.52; Ed,P2,Kṛṣ sātamaḥ; S gatamsa; Pl,DL manasa; D2 manusakṣaḥ; M2 maṭanginaḥ ca; M1 māntaginaḥ ca. 63 Conj., cf.K&L no.53; Ed,Kṛṣ sāvabhṛgavas; P2 sāvavṛgavas; Pl sācabhṛgavas; M bhṛgavas only; D bhṛguḥ.
These are said to have a three-ṛṣi pravara, Vatsāra (1), and Kaśyapa, and Nidhruva of great austerity. These rṣis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

The Rebhūnas (2) and Śaṅkhyamitrās are said to have a three-ṛṣi pravara, Vatsāra, and Kaśyapa, and Raibha (3) of great austerity. These rṣis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

Now I shall further tell those who are born in dvāmaṇusya-yayana-gotras:

1. Ānastayao
2. Dhāṣurayaḥ
3. tānayo
4. rājavanmayah
5. sairusi
6. rodabārhiṣ ca

1 Cf. K&L; S ānu-; P2 anu-; Pl anuṣṭhayo; Ed anuṣṭheyā; M ānu-; M2 anasūyo; Kṛṣ anāṣṭaya. 2 So K&L; M nākūrayah; P,D2 bhākūrayah; Dl bhākutih; Ed bhikūrayah. 3 So Ed,P,D; S tātako; M śnātapo.
4 So Ed,Pl; P2 rā-; S pāja-; M -vartapāḥ; Dl -baliḥ; D2 -batriḥ; Kṛṣ -vahmaya. 5 So Ed; Dl,Pl sairīṣi; P2 sairīṅkhi; D2 sairāṣih; M saīśi; S saupatri.
6 So Ed; Pl rodavīṣ ca; P2 rovanādos ca; M rodavāhīś caiva; S rodavāhīś ca; D audavāhīḥ.

(1) So regularly (and vatsāra) the Matsya sources (although S here has avatsāraḥ kaśyapāś ca).
(2) Restored; Ed,P naihāṣyā-; read raibhāś ca.
M omits this family. (3) Restored; Ed,P nidhruvaś ca; read raibhāś caiva.
These one must know to be Vasisthas by day, and Kaśyapas by night (1). They are said to have a three-rsi pravara, Kaśyapa, and Vatsāra, and Vasistha of great austerity. These rṣis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

1. †sampātis ca
2. baliś cobhau
3. pippalo tha†

§ So M1; M2 raupa-; S rodhasāvakiḥ; Ed rūpavatsakiḥ; P ropavatsakiḥ; D2 aupavatsakiḥ; Di aupakatsakiḥ; Kṛṣa śāvaki. 9 So Ed, D1; Pl, D2 sāmnakiḥ; P2 sābhrāksiḥ; Krśa sāmaki; S āmrāksiś; M yaṁuniḥ. 10 So Ed, S, D2; Di sādyah; P2 sāda; M kādru; Pl sāpada; Kṛṣa sāda- (joined with next). 11 Pl pisyāgāpiśyā. 12 So Ed, M2; M1 -vis; P2 tyajātabhis; Pl styajātabhis; D2 khajātapiḥ sautaṇa iti; Di sajātapiḥ sauṣataḥ iti; Kṛṣa sajātavi.

1 M samyātis; all the others -pātis; the ca presumably belongs to no. 2, cf. the other lists.
2 So Ed, P2, Kṛṣ; Pl, D1 valiḥ; D2 baliḥ; S baliś cātha; M nabhāṭ cobhau. 3 So Ed, P2; M -lyo ṭha; Pl pippālo tha; Kṛṣa pippala.

(1) divā vasiṣṭhā ity ete naktam jñeyāś ca kaśyapāḥ; in spite of noting the reading divā vasiṣṭhā in a footnote, M2 follows M1 in the absurd reading: divā vaṣṭāsva ity ete bhaktyā, etc.
4. Jalamdhara
5,6. +sujātapūraḥ
7. parvāś ca
8. kardamo
9. Gardabhīmukhaḥ
10. Hiranyabāhu-
12. +kairatāy
13. ubhau kāyapa- +
14. Gobhilau
15. Kuhalo
16. Vrkakhandaḥ ca
18. Udameghnas
19. Trpabindur
21. †mahakairalayaḥ ca ye
25. Sanḍila
26. Vaidanava-
27. Saudānavo

4 So Ed,P2,M; Pl jalodhakah; Kṛṣ dhavala dhara.
5,6 So P; Dl sujāti--; D2 sujātaḥ pūrhaḥ; M bhu-;
Kṛṣ sujota para; Ed sumjotamāna; S sujogapūrvah.
7 So Ed,P; M pūrvaḥ ca; S pūrvaḥ ca; Kṛṣ pūrva;
D paryaśa. 8 So all, except P2 gardabho, S gardabhir.
9 S -bhā-; Kṛṣ gārdabhimūṣa. 13 So M; rest, kā-.
14 So M, Pl; P2 sōbhinau; Ed sōbhanau. 15 So Pl;
S kulijo; rest kulano. 16 Restored, cf. K&L;
Ed vrṣa-; M vrṣakandaḥ; Pl vrṣaadandaḥ; P2 vrṣadandaḥ;
Kṛṣ vrṣakundaḥ; S vrṣagandaḥ. 23 So D; S,P2 mṛgetuś ca;
P1 bhrgetuś ca; Ed,M mṛgaketus; Kṛṣ mṛgetu.
18,19 Conj., the second name however being less
certain, cf. Mān., W; M nidāghomaśnau bha(r)tcya;
for 18, Ed tadapāsa; P tadaposah; D tadapāmsah;
S tadapoś ca; Kṛṣ tadapa; for 19, Ed svavasavo;
P2 svvatsoya; S svvatsoma; Pl svavasvoga;
Kṛṣ sasrvatasya; D svavasuh. 21 So Ed,P2; Dl -ko-;
D2'-kau-; S mahaḥ koranayāḥ; M mahāntāḥ kevalāḥ ca
ye. 25 So p; M,Kṛṣ -līṣa. 26 So Ed,P; M dānavaḥ
cava; Kṛṣ valdayana. 27 Ed so-; P2 tya-;
Pl saurānavo; Kṛṣ saudanava samahākara lala; M has
only the particles, tathā vai (admittedly the reading
in the text offends against the caesura.)
All these are said to have a splendid three-ṛṣi pravara, Āśita, and Devala, and Kaśyapa of great austerity. These ṛṣis are said to have no inter-marriage one with another.

The whole entire world was the offspring of the pre-eminent ṛṣi Kaśyapa by the daughters of Dakṣa, O lion among men. What further shall I now tell you, O king?

---

17 So M; Ed vedapātayāḥ; Pl,Kṛṣṇa, vedayātavaḥ; P2 dapātavah; D1 vedayātih; D2 vedapattih.
28 So P,M2,Kṛṣṇa; M1 -dit; Ed pipp-; 29 So Ed; Pl tovaripā; P2 toyavāhīya; Kṛṣṇa, stauvarī; M sapravarā. For ṛṣayo parikṛtītāh (so M,P2) which is in any case dubious, Ed,Pl have ṛṣir vā parikṛtītāh.
Purusottama's comment.

The various gaṇas of the Kaśyapas have no intermarriage, because of sameness of gotra. This results from the fact that the name Kaśyapa occurs, either actually or implicitly, in all the pravaraṇas, and from the fact that of three rṣis two coincide. Since the Laugākṣas belong to two gotras, they have no intermarriage with either the Kaśyapas or the Vasiṣṭhas.

Baudhāyana gives four alternative pravaraṇas for the Śaṇḍilas, viz., "Kaśyapa, Āvatsāra, Śaṇḍila," "K. Ā. Daivala," "K. Ā. Āsita," and "Śaṇḍila, Āsita, Daivala". Āpastamba gives two alternatives, "Daivala, Āsīta", and "Kaśyapa, Daivala, Āsīta". Now, in these six pravaraṇas, five rṣi-names in all appear. Therefore, (one might think), the Śaṇḍilas should have a five-rṣi pravara, "K. Ā. Śaṇḍila, Daivala, Āsīta," in accordance with the scriptural precepts, "He chooses hymn-composers, according to his family (yatharṣi)," and "He chooses as many as are hymn-composers." Also, Kātyāyana says, "He recites the ārṣeyas of the sacrificer, three, from the remote end hitherwards; or else as many as are
hymn-composers." Nevertheless, a five-ṛṣi pravara is given here by none of the Sūtra-authors. Therefore the alternatives are to be considered as applying to separate families who are united only in their name of Śāndila. For if these were only the one family, the five-ṛṣi pravara would be proper.
Chap. VII. The Vāsiṣṭhas

A. Baudhāyana.

We shall explain the one-ṛṣi Vāsiṣṭhas:

1. Vaikalir
2. Vārātakīn
3. Sākhalā
4. Gaurisravasa
5. Āśvalayānāḥ
6. Kapīṣṭhalān
7. Saucivrksa
8. Vyāghrapāda
9. Vānayakāyānir
10. Vātavyā
lu. [gāyani]
lu. [nayaptā]
11. Jātukarnyā
12. Audulomīṇ

1. So M,T,Bu,S; cf. K&L, vaiyal?; Be,U vaitaraki; Ed,P vaitalaki; D vaitālakih; R,Sk (& G?) vaitalakavayaḥ
2. So M,T,Caland,cf. gāna gahādi; Bu vātālaki; Be,U vātārakih; Pl vāharaki; P2 vāṭaraki; Ed vāthisaraki; S vāsarakih; D2 vāhakih; Dl harakih; G,R rakayaḥ; Sk karakavayaḥ. 3. So Be,U,P,R,D2; Dl sāvakhāḥ; Ed sāsvalāḥ; Sk sakhalyāḥ; cf. perch. K&L no.5, sātvalayāna. 4. Sk -sā. 6 So S,Sk,Dl; R -ṣṇulāḥ; Ed vapisvān; D2 -ṣṭināḥ; P2 kapīśvan; P1,B kapīṣṭ(h)āḥ; cf. the other lists. 7. D sauci; -Ed,P,R,Sk sauvi-. 8. So Ed,D,R,Sk; P2 -pādi; Pl vyaṅ grapaḥ; B vyāghrapādayo; Caland emends to vaivalyāgrapadya (for which also cf. Māṇ. and W), but this is not really necessary; cf. Vyāghrapad-Vāsiṣṭha, the rāj of RV.9.9.16-18. 9 cf. gāna tikādi; Mss. indiscriminately vā-, bā-; S bāhākāyaniḥ; Dl kāmyakāyani. 10. So B,D2; Dl vāṭakyaḥ; S nāṭavyāḥ; instead of this A gives luo and lób, the first of which is clearly a dittography of 9, while the second is a variant of 10 itself. luo So Ed,R,Sk,D; P1 -ner; P2 gāpaner; lób So Ed,Di,P2,R nayavyā; P1 napatpa; Sk navāvyāḥ; D2 napātyaḥ; for these, Be,U have aupavāna aupagavāḥ, which are certainly surprising here; cf. K&L, etc. 11 B jātukarnā. 12 So Dl,Caland, who compares the Schol. to Vārt.8, Pāñ. 4.1.85; G,T,Bu -māḥ; M aulomīṇ
13. Kaubhojīn
14. Kaulāyanāḥ
15. Sundarararitān
16. Kāntthevidddhiḥ
17. Saumanasāyanā
18. Alambhāyanā
19. Laumāyanā
20. Svastyā
21. Kārṣitān
22. Pārṇālakāyanāś
23. Caudakāyanāḥ
24. Pārṇāvalko
25. Devanā

S autululomiḥ; P2 audhnomi; Ed audhrome; Pl audhnomi; D2 auda-; R odhroyayaḥ; Sk raudhmāmayah. 13 So B, P2, D, R, Sk; Pl kṣau-; Ed ko-. 14 Ed ko-; S pau-. 15 So Be, U, Caland, but very dubious; possibly we should read two names, sundā narītaḥ, as does R (the other lists have a Harita); Ed, Pl sundaharitān; P2, D1 sudahar-; Sk suvānār-; D2 saṃdahar-; S mūndu-; B mūda-. 16 So corrected by Caland (and cf. Pan. 4.1.61); Ed, R, P, Be, U kāṇḍevṛddhiḥ; S, D kāṇḍavṛddhiḥ; M, G, T kāṇḍevṛddhiḥ; Sk kāṇḍavṛddnadvayaḥ. 17 Conj., cf. the other lists; G, Caland sauvavāsā; T sauabhavasā-; S sādhusā-; Pl, D1 saupavasā-; D2 sauvyavasāyināḥ; Ed, P2 sopavatsāyaja; Sk saupavatsā-; R soyavatsā-; Be, U upavatsā-. 18 Sk ālābh-; S jā-. 19 So emended by Caland, cf. āpānā

kuṇḍālī, and the other lists; Be, U, Ed, P, S lomanyā; R, Sk lomayatāyāḥ; D1 lomāyanāḥ; D2 lomapatayaḥ; B lomahanyāḥ; (strictly, however, the termination -ayanya should become -ayanāḥ in the plural, cf. Pan. 4.1.98; 5.3.113; 2.4.62). 20 Dl svatyaḥ. 21 ? A kārṣītān; Dl kārīṣitān; D2 kārīṣityaḥ; M kāriṣṭayakṣitātāḥ; G pārīrakṣitān; T kārīṣayākṣitān; Bu kārūṣatayaḥ; S kārūrakṣitāṇ. 22 So B; S yola-; A om. 24 So A (D2, Be, U pā-); M, G, Bu pārīṇavatko; T pārīṇavatko. 25 So S, A (exc. Be, U devara-); Bu devata-; M, G, T daivā; R has here devanā, and before no. 22, deyanma.

22 Be, U, Pl pārṇa-; Sk pārṣi-. 
26. Gauravyitā
27. Śrāvisthāyanā
28. Vānakathaya
29. Aviksitaq
30. 'svayājayaṁ
31. Pūtimāṇah
32. Saptavāilā
33. Vasiṣṭha iti

These are Vasiṣṭhas. They have a one-rāṣṭi pravara, "Vasiṣṭha", etc.

1. Kundinā
2. Lohāyanā
3. Guggulir
4. Aupaevastīhā

26 So A; M, G kodivyā; T kodīpyāh; Bu kātavyāh;
S konuyā. 27 So B; Caland's comparison of Kayt.
(W) is very dubious, since there the name occurs
among the Pañāsaras; it is however noteworthy that
in that place Baudh. alone diverges widely from
the other accounts; Be, U asvavivāyanā; Ed, Pl
(-s ca) visvavanā; P2, R, Sk, D visvayanā.

28 So A; S vahapayaṁ; G vāhakāya; M, T, Bu om.
29 So M, G, T, D; Bu adhi; S aṅgipayo; A 'āvakitayo.
30 ? So Caland; Be, U svayājayaṁ; M, G, T svapādāh;
Bu asvapādāh; S vasyaṭapayo; Ed, Pl vasvapājayaṁ;
P2 vasvamājayaṁ; R, Sk vasvayājayaṁ; D svapajīh.
31 R haṃtimāsāh. 32 So M, G, T; Ed, Pl, Dī -velā;
P2 saptave only; Dī artyavelah; R saptavalo;
Sk samaveśah; Bu -velakāh.

1 Sk kundijāh. 2 Sk, (and G ?) lohitāyanah.
3 So Ed, Dī, T; R, Sk, Be, U plural; Dī guguliḥ;
S gulma; Bu -luh; G -la; Pl yuggāli; P2 jagjuli.
4 Conj., cf. the other lists; Ed, P2, Dī aṣvattha;
Pl aṣvaththa; M, G aupasvathi; T aupasvadhī;
Be, U -ṣvattha; R (?)-ṣvattha (not śvaptyā); S tāpā-
catnyau; Caland, aupavastīr ("after Man.", which,
however, has aupasvastīh).
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5 So Ed, R, Be, U, S; P2 ve-; Pl -ayā; Dl tai-; cf. Schol. to Pañ. 4.1.124; if I understand Caland's note aright, the B-group of Mss read in this place: M, G, Bu bhindava(ḥ); T hradabhindava.  
6 So (or with -khā) Be, U, P; Ed āvīśa; S āvīla; M, G, T ābal(ā)ā; Bu bīlva; Dl tinduh; R aupasyamathā (cf. no. 4).  
7 So B, S, Ed; Pl ladaše; P2 varo; Be, U daya; Dl aciravalaḥ.  
8 So Be, U; Ed, Dl -thyah; P2 -tho; Pl, B -tha-.  
9 Indiscriminately ba-, va-; Be, U bānavaḥyaḥ.  
10 So Ed, P2, Sk (and p); Pl kaukrokyā; R kraumkrolyah; Dl kaukrolyah; M, G kaukrokāḥ; T kaukyokāḥ; Bu kautroṣhā; Be, U, Caland krauḥcokyaḥ.  
11 So B; Dl samangaliḥ; Be, U salingānaḥ; Pl, Ed sāngalinah; P2 sāgitenah; R, Sk sāmgatinaḥ.  
12 M, A (but P, Sk with -ṭḥ-); G, T kāpatavanah; Bu pāṭaḥaḥ.  
13 So Be, U, G, cf. gana śivādi; P2, R, Sk peṭha-; Pl, D peṭa-; M paitthayā; T pataño; Bu pāṭathāḥ.  
14 M, G, T -gṛṇyāḥ; R -ṭrāmāḥ.  
15 So A (but exc. Ed mārṇyākayāḥ); S, T -akṣāḥ; Bu ākṣāḥ; M, G -ākṣiḥ.  
16 So B; S bhāṅh kakṣi; cf. perh. K&L, etc., akṣatayaḥ; Be, U, Pl bhājyakṣi; Ed bhājyakir; P2 bhānyakṣi; D, R and Sk seem to add another name - Dl saugin akṣitaḥ; D2 śauṇḍih akṣitaḥ; R saugāyokṣita; Sk saugamyokṣita.  
18 M, G, T -niḥ; Be, U, P -na.
These are Kundinas. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Vāsiṣṭha, Maitrāvaruna, Kaundinya", etc.

1. Upamanyava
2. Aupagava
3. Māndalekhayaḥ
4. Kapinjalā
5. Jālāgataś
6. Topolokās
7. Traivarnaś caiva
8. Parnagārīṁ
9. Surāksarāṁ
10. Sāilalayo
11. Mahākarnāyanaṁ

---

19 P syā-; D (after no. 20) svātiḥ. 20 So Be, U, Dl; Pl sopakṣir; D2 saupa only; P2 somapakṣir; R saumayakṣayaḥ; Sk somayakṣayaḥ; M, G, T, Caland saupatithir; B saupaiyaḥ; S saubadarir.

M omits the Upamanyus. 2 Sk, R, G audalayāḥ.

3 Ed, P māṇḍ-; P2 -leśayāḥ; T -rekhayāḥ; Bu -nekhayāḥ.
4 Cf. gana śivādi; Be, U, Ed, P2 kāp-. 5 So A (exc. D2 jālāgataḥ, Pl gata only, R gataś only - haplography with preceding); S jālāgava; G -graḥā; T graḥā;
Bu jālājāṁ. 6 So Be, U, R, Sk, D2, P2; Ed, Pl, Dl jayo-;
G jalankaś; T talahakā; Bu grhapatih lākāḥ; S haya lokas. 8 So Caland, cf. the other lists; T parnā-;
Bu pānya-; G pārṇagāni; Be, U yāstāgirayaḥ; Ed, P2 pāstāgiri; Pl āśāstāgirīṁ; Sk pārṇagirayaḥ;
R pāryāgirayaḥ; Dl pāsāgirīṁ; D2 pārsāgirīṁ; S (-ś
cānā) vahlyangārāṁ. 9 So B; S svarā-; Be, U, P, R sārā-; Sk sādā-; Dl surāksaṁ sārāsaḥḥ; D2 surāksaṁ
sarah. 10 So Bu, cf. the other lists; S āilāhailino;
G, T jālā-; Be, U, R, P2 maulā-; Pl molā-; Ed molāyo;
Sk saulā-; Dl lāhaviḥ; D2 khārāhaliṁ. 11 R, Sk -kavā-.
12. Bālaśikha
13. Audgāhamanayo
14. Bālāyanā
15. Bhāgavittāyanāh
16. Kundodarāyanā
17. Lāksmanēyāh
18. kāvadhayo
19. Vārkāsvakaya
20. Anrksarabhā
21. Ālambāyanah
22. Kapikesā iti

These are Upamanyus. They have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Vāsiṣṭha, Aindrāpramada, Ābharadvasavaya" (1)

12 ba- and va- indiscriminately; S dābakāh. 13 So T, cf. gāna pailādī and the other lists; Ed, P2 audā-;
G, Bu, S, D2 audā- (audā-); Sk audgahanāyanāh;
Dl audgāhayānīḥ; Pl audāhamānayo; R aumahayāh;
after this, R repeats nos. 3-6, ending (cf. no. 7) with traidgahamanaś. 14 So B; A val-, bal-,
(P2 cal-). 15 So S, Dl, R, Sk, cf. the other lists;
D2 bhāgavilāyanah; Ed, P bhāguristhāyanāh; G, T
bhāgurithyāyanāh; Be, U bhāgurikthāyanāh; Caland
bhāguritthāyanā; the other lists without question
support the reading in the text, but the preponderant
authority here for bhāguri- is surprising, and we
may suspect a telescoping of two names, bhāgurāyana
and bhāgavittāyana (the former also occurring
in the other lists); after no. 17, S has vitthāyanāh.
16 Be, U kundino--; P2 kundinodādayānā; Pl kudoraya;
D2 kundovanaya. 17 Cf. gāna subhrādī. 18 So P, Dl;
D2 kābdhiḥ; Ed kāvandhayo; S kāsavayo; Be, U kacadhaya;
G kācāntayo; T kācārudho; B kācāntakayah; Sk vāhyakeyo;
R vāhyakayo. 19 So G; T vaka-; Bu vakrah cakrayah;
S varkaśvakiyah; Be, U, Ed varkaśvaya; Pl vadhāṃkamsvaya;
P2 varkaśavaya; Dl vakashvih; D2 vakvisvih. 20 Conj.;
Be, U, Caland anṛksarāyanā; G anṛksara; T anṛchābhā;

(1) Bu, Caland ābharadvasaveti.
Parāśarāh

1. Kaṇḍūśaya
2. vajayo
3. vājantayo
4. Vaimatāyanah
5. Copalir esam paścama

ete Kṛṣṇah Parāśarāh

6. Prārohayo
7. Vaikalayah
8. Plaksayah
9. Kaumudādayaḥ
10. Haryāśir esam paścama

ete Gaurah Parāśarāh

Bu anrksarabhañ; S anrksaravā; P2 ākersarabhya; Pl čanukṣarabhya (Pl omits from here to before adharađvāsuvatr (sic) in the Adhvaryu's pravara);
Dl anuksariḥ. D2 abhūbharīḥ; Ed asakṣarayaya. 21 Cf. the other lists; D2 ālāmayaḥ; Dl ṣlāvah; R, P2, Be, U ṣlāvah;
Ed alavayaḥ; S āravahah; Caland ālāvah; G āravahāḥ; T ārabacāḥ; Bu ārāsvabhāḥ. 22 T Kāpi-

1. So G, R; Be, U (not Pn) kaṇḍu-; M kadvaśayo;
T, S kadvaśayo; Bu kāthvavamśayah; Pl kaḍuv-; P2 kuhu-;
Ed kuhumśayo; Sk kaṇḍā-; Dl kaṇḍūn āi-; D2 kandūśiḥ. 2 So A (exc. R vājīyo); there is an error in the numbering of Caland's notes here, and the readings for this name have been omitted; S vājīyo; D vājih.
3 So B; S vājījiyo; Be, U, Ed, P2, R, Sk vājimantayo;
P1 vāmitayo; D vājimatiḥ. 4 So Ed, Pl, of gana
arīhanādi; B -nir; G vaimantayanir; S maimatayanir;
P2 vaivatyaḥ; R matayanaḥ only; Sk, Dl bhaima-;
D2 bhaimatāpanah. 5 So B; A govā (exc. Ed, grāvāvir;
D2 govalir); S gopāyanir. 6 So R, Dl; R, Sk prāge-;
D2 parohi; Be, U, P prarohayo; Ed parokartho. 7 So R, Sk, P2, Dl; P2 -yoh; Be, U -yāh; Ed vaikarayaḥ;
B va_tAleyah; D2 vākāliḥ. 8 So P2, D, R, B; P1 -yāh;
Be, U, Sk plaksayah; Ed khādāyah. 9 So B, P2, Be, U
kaumudāḥ; P1 kaumudāyō; Sk kuukucādayio; R kaujaśdayo;
Dl kaumudīh; D2 kaumadīh; Ed prāmdāṭaya;
lu So P1, Dl, R, Sk; Be, U -sci-; B -arī-; D2 kā-;
P2 nāyasir; Ed haryāśva.
11. Khālvāyanayo
12. ⊕ gopayānayo
13. kālkayānayo
14. syatayātayānayo
15. varunir eṣam pañcama
ete (A)rūnāḥ Pāraśārah
16. bhalukyā
17. Bādariṣ caiva
18. +kāhvāyanayo
19. kaukuśālayānayo
20. ksaumatir eṣam pañcama
ete Nilānḥ Pāraśārah

11 So M, G, T, D; Bu kalyāyanah; Be, U kalpañ; Pl, R kalyānayo;
Sk kātyah panayo; P2 kalyān panayo; Ed tulyoyanayo.
12 So T, R, D, Ed; Sk gopayānayo; P2, Be, U gopanayānayo;
Pl goprāyanay; S gopāyanayānayo; M, G, Bu gopayānayo. 13 All
of A om.; Bu kālkay; M kalkapah; G kalkadhan;
T kāklayah; S om.; D kākli; D2 vahlih. It is
probable that this and the following name are mis-
placed here, cf. the other lists among the group
beginning with Kṛṣṇājinān (nos. 21, 24). 14 So M,
Bu; G syāmaya-; T syātayā-; Be, U sātayā; Ed, P, R
syātayā; Sk sthanayo; S syātaya ātaya; Dl syātin;
D2 ūnīni. 15 So all (exc. R -navo, D2 -sin);
but cf. the other lists. 16 So all, (exc. Sk bhālarvāh).
17 So B, D; A vājarīṣ caiva (P2 vajalis). 18 So M,
G, S, Be, U, Dl; Ed kraṅva-; P2 kraṅvā-; R kraṅva-
Pl kāhnā-; T kānva-; Bu kānvāyān; D2 krātayānīh.
19 So G, Bu -sā-; T kekaukuśā-; M kekaukuśā-
Be, U kraunkulayān; Dl kraunkuśāri; D2 kraunkuśālih;
Ed, R kraunkulayān; P1 kraukulayān; Pl kraukuleyān; P2 kraukalayān;
S kanuśātayānayo. 20 So S; Bu -miti; M, G kṣaimitir;
Ed, R krau-; P2 kau-; Dl, Sk krait-; Pl kraitār;
D2 krauyanih; T saimiti; Be, U kaumiti.
21. Krṣṇājināḥ
22. +kapiṣukhān
23. āyamāyanayaḥ
24. svetayūpayayaḥ
25. Pauśkarasādīr eṣaṁ pañcama
ete Svetaḥ Parāsarāḥ

26. vāśyāyanayo
27. Varṣneyaḥ

21 Dl -janin. 22 So R; Sk kā-; Ed, Pl, D -mukhāḥ; Be, U papimukhāḥ; P2 -surapāḥ; M, G kapiṣubhrāḥ; T kapiṣāruḥ; Bu karpāḥ subhrāḥ. 23 So Bu, S, D; Be, U, Ed, Pl svasyāpanayaḥ; R, P2 svasyāyanayaḥ; Sk svāpyāyanayaḥ; M śyāmanataya; T sāmātaya; G śyāmaḥ only; nos. 23 and 24 should be interchanged with nos. 13 and 14, cf. the other lists.
24 Although all the sources here have śveta-, comparison with the other lists suggests we should read bailva-; Ed, R, Sk, Dl, B -yūpayah; Be, U -pūrayah; Pl -mūpayah; P2 -dārayah; D2 svetamayūpih; S -rūpayah. 25 M, T pauśkala-. 26 So Galand; but probably we should read avisthāyana, with the other lists, although none of the sources here give much indication of such a reading: M, G vāśyāyano; T pāśyāyanayo; S vāṭyāyanayo; Be, U ma (or bha)ṛgāyanayaḥ; Ed, D gārgyāyanayaḥ; Pl gārgyāyanavō; Sk gārgyādayaḥ; R gārgya jyanas; P2 gārgyāniyo (all these with dental -n-).
27 So B, S, Dl; Ed vārṇyayaḥ; Be, U, P vārṇayaḥ; Sk nārṇeyah; R tārṇeyah; D2 dhoroṣṭupaḥ.
28. Śyāmeyāḥ
29. īśaunuhī saha
30. cauliṛi eṣaṁ pañcama
ete Śyāmāḥ Parāśaraḥ

The Kṛṣṇa, Gaura, Arūna, Nīla, Śveta, and Śyāma Parāśaras have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Vāsiṣṭha, Sāktya, Parāśarya", etc.

There is no intermarriage among any of the Vāsiṣṭhas (1).

B. Āpastamba.

Except for the Parāśaras, the Vāsiṣṭhas have a one-ṛṣi pravara, "Vāsiṣṭha", etc. But some give

"Vāsiṣṭha, Aindrapramada, Ṭabharadvasavya" (2), etc.

The Parāśaras have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Vāsiṣṭha,

(1) This last sentence appears in Ed and Pl only.
(2) Garbe, Ṭabharadvasayo iti.
Mān. and W.

vasiṣṭhān vyākhyāsyāmo:

vasiṣṭhānāṁ ekārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati ye 'nya
upamanyu-parāśarebhyāṁ kuṇḍinebhyāṁ ca.

1. Vaiyāghrapadyā
2. ---

l. Mān. vaighāghrapadyā.
Śaktya, Parāśarya, " etc.

The Kuṇḍinas have a three-rṣi pravara, "Vāsiṣṭha, Maitrāvaruṇa, Kuṇḍinya", etc.

The Saṁkṛti-Pūtimāsas (1) have a three-rṣi pravara, Śaktya, Saṁkṛtya, Gaurivita", etc.

C. Kātyāyana and Lauvāksī.

We shall explain the Vāsiṣṭhas.

The Vāsiṣṭhas have a one-rṣi pravara, except for the Upamanyus, Parāśaras, Kuṇḍinas, and Jātukarnyas.

1. Vyāghrapada
2. Aupavanā

D2 in addition to the Pravara-darpana text, gives a literal account of the Sūtra-text; the readings in the latter are referred to as D2a. 1 Pl vyāpra-; P2 -pāda. 2 R auparata; D1 -vataḥ.

(1) Cf. the other lists among the Kevala Angirases.
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<td>3. Aupagavaha</td>
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<td>4. vaigrayah</td>
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<td>5. sasamalayana</td>
<td>5. kulayana</td>
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<td>7. Auduloma-</td>
<td>7. Audulomam</td>
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<td>8. Aśvalayana-</td>
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<td>10. gogeyana</td>
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<td>11. Baudhayanasaś</td>
<td>11. bodhakas</td>
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<td>12. cuḍakavyayana</td>
<td>12. caḍakathotha</td>
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<td>13. atha vanyakī</td>
<td>13. bākyaki</td>
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<td>15. Haritayo</td>
<td>16. Haritayo</td>
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Mas readings:

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<td>opa-</td>
<td>kapisṭala</td>
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<td>6. kapistala</td>
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<td>7. omṭaloma-</td>
<td>7. udaloma-</td>
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<td>8. aśvayana</td>
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<td>11. vau-</td>
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<td>15. haritayo</td>
<td>15. haritayo</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
3. Aupagava
4. Vaigalāṁ
5. Satvalāyanāṁ
6. Kapiśthalāṁ
7. Auḍulomā
8. Aśvalāyanāṁ
9. Vaṭīkarā
10. Gopayanaṁ
11. Baudhayaś ca
12. vakavya
13. atha Vānyakṛt
14. kṛllīvyayaṁ
15. Palaśayo
16. Haritayo

4 So P2; Ed veg-; Pl,D,S naig-; D2a kaimdhaigalaṁ.
5 So Ed,Dl,R,D2a; P satva-; D2 svatva-; Sk satvā-.
6 D2a,P2 -śālā. 7 So Dl,R, cf. Baudh. no. 12;
D2,Sk auḍa-; Ed,D2a auḍa-; P2 anu-; S auḍulomā;
P1 yadulauma. 8 P1 singular. 9 So Ed,P1,D;
S,P2 vathi-; D2a -karā. 10 D2 -niḥ; S maupa-;
P2 gopāyalāyanāṁ. 11 So S; D2 baudhayiḥ;
D1 dhauvapiḥ; Ed,P1 vauvayaś; P2 vauvayaś;
D2 a vauvayaśva; R,Sk dvauvaśo. 12 So Ed,P2,D2a;
D2,P1 nākavya; S sakatavyājava. 13 ? Cf. Baudh.
o.9; Ed atha satvabāhyakṛt; P1 satvādvyakṛtīt;
P2 satvāvahyakṛt; D2 a athā atha satvāmāhyakṛt;
S satyavāhyakṛt; D satvāḥ vānyakṛt (D2 bāhyā-);
R vānyakṛtaḥ. 14 So Ed,P2; D2 kīlinariḥ;
D1 kalonaviḥ; D2 a kralithayaḥ; P1 kiliyama;
S karavayava. 15 So Ed,P1,D; P2 pala-; D2 päliyāndo;
S pāraśayo; R,Sk pālisaya. 16 So Ed,P; D2 a hā-;
S haritakayo.
Man.

17. _tho yāmkarayāḥ svaye (sic) 17. _thāyāgapayaś ca
18. Ayāhsthūnāḥ 18. Ayāhsthūnāḥ
20. Laumāyanyā- 20. Laumāyanyā-
brahmavādi- brahmavādi-
brahmakṛdeya- brahmakṛdeya-
brahmavideya- brahmavideya-
brahmavileyah brahmavileyah
22. Svastikarāḥ 22. Svastikarāḥ
23. Kānṭheviddhi 23. Kānṭheviddhi-
24. mānti 24. maṇṭi
25. cauli- 25. vauli
26. cauli- 26. mauli
27. kālonalī 27. kālonalī-
28. Saumanasāyānair 28. Saumanasāyānair
āvāni 30. 31. Gaurisṛavasa-
30. 31. Gaurisṛavasa-
31. cāuli Arjunāksa iti
31. cāuli Arjunāksa iti

W.

17. thāyāgapayaś ca 17. thāyāgapayaś ca
18. Ayāhsthūnāḥ 18. Ayāhsthūnāḥ
20. Laumāyanyā- 20. Laumāyanyā-
brahmavādi- brahmavādi-
brahmakṛdeya- brahmakṛdeya-
brahmavideya- brahmavideya-
brahmavileyah brahmavileyah
22. Svastikarāḥ 22. Svastikarāḥ
23. Kānṭheviddhi 23. Kānṭheviddhi-
24. maṇṭi 24. mānti
25. vauli 25. cauli
26. mauli 26. cauli
27. kālonalī 27. kālonalī-
28. Saumanasāyānair 28. Saumanasāyānair
āvāni 30. 31. Gaurisṛavasa-
30. 31. Gaurisṛavasa-
31. Gaurisṛavasa-
Arjunāksa iti Arjunāksa iti

Mas readings:

18. ayāsthūnāḥ 18. pyāysthūnāḥ
19. suciñ vrkṣo 20. lo-
22. svastimkaraḥ 22. svastimkaraḥ
23. kāṇṭeviddvir 23. kāṇṭeviddvir
28. -nir (cerebral) 28. māmanasāyati
31. kaurasṛavasa- 31. kaurasṛavasa-
These have no intermarriage. They have a one-ṛṣi pravara, "Vāsiśṭha", etc.
upamanyun vyakhyaayama

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<td>1. Sailalayo</td>
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<td>4. athatraiparna(h)</td>
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<td>14. atho lavaya ca ye</td>
<td>yortha attha</td>
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<td>22. Alavyayana</td>
<td>22. Alambayanahan</td>
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</table>

Mss readings:

7. bhagavityayena ca ye
8. Kaumarayana

2. mahakanya
1. Sāilālayo
2. Mahākārṇi
3. Kauravyās
4. Traivarnāh
5. Kapilājā
6. Ṭāvālasevi
7. Bhāgavittāyanāś ca ye
8. Kaumarayaṇā
10. Kaurakṛd
11. Bhagurāyaṇa
12. Sarkaryāṅ
13. Ṭākāvēyā
14. atho Aulapayaś ca ye
15. Samkhyāyanāś
16. Ṭādudītār
17. atho Maṣaṣārāvayo

1 D2 sai-; Pl śālāyō. 3 Final -s in S only.
4 Cf. Baudh. no.7; Ed vatraivaṇṇah; S traṇavaṇṇah.
P1 natraivaṇṇah; P2 traikavarnāḥ; D2a catraivavaṇṇah.
6 So Ed; P1 -siri; P2 đāṃvālasīrivir; S -sīrhī;
D đāvālaṃ siri(h); D2a đāvātasīrivir; cf. perh. Baudh.
no.12, bālaśikha. 7 Pl -vita-; for ca ye, Ed, Pl,
D2a ca; P2 cau. 8 Cf. Mān., W.; Ed, P2, D2a ko-;
P1 ke-; D sārāyaṇah. 9? So D; D2a lāng-a-;
P2, Ed lāga-; P1 bhāghahayeh; S gālagrahayaḥ.
10 P1 kaurekrī; S gaurā-. 12 So Ed; D2 -kaśāh;
D2a -kayo; Dī śāvāyaḥ; P śāmkaryaḥ. 13 So P2;
D2a kaśāveyaṇ; P1 kaśāpeveya; S kaśāmeyaḥ;
Ed saveṣaḥ. 14 Cf. gaṇa dāmanyādī, and Kaśikā on
Pāṇ. 4.3.104; Pl audalapayaḥ; ca ye, restored;
Ed cātha; P1 āyo; P2 śvāyaḥ; Dī āpaḥ. 16 So Ed;
P1 taduṁtāt; P2 taduditār; D2a tadudītār;
S svadūntāt; Dī dūntāḥ. 17 So S, cf. gaṇa
bāhavādī; D2a, P1 maṣaṣaś-; Ed mapasa-; P2 makhāṣa-
raṇapā; Dī maṣaṣāraṇīḥ.
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Mess readings:

28. auṃvamāṇi

28. auṃvamāṇi
21. kaundodarī
These have no intermarriage. They have a three-rṣi pravara, "Vāsiṣṭha, Abharadvasavya (1),
Aindrapramada.

18 So P, D2a, D1; Ed dāna-; S śāsa- (cf. Mān.); D2 kaśānayā. 19 So Ed; P2 -vakayo; P2 also, by ditto-
ography, vāhavyāvāvaddho); Pl vāhyōvākyo; D2a vrāmacāvyo; S vyahyakayana vakyo; Dl vahyavākyāh.
20 So, Ed -thāś; Dl go-; D2a mo-. 21 Restored, cf.
Baudh.no.16, Mān., W; Ed caṇḍavaraya; S cāndrodaya;
Pl chaṇḍodoraya; P2 chīḍīdūraya; D2a kṣauṇḍādarayaḥ;
D1 sauṇḍodariḥ. 22 Restored; D2 alāmbā-; Ed, P2, S
ālāvā-; P1 ālayavānāḥ. 23 So Dl; Ed, P2 pralavā-;
S pālavā-; P1 pralavāyānī; D2 āpāyanāḥ; D2a om.
25 ? So D2 (or sāghā?); D2a āyano; Ed nadyā-;
P2 savyāsanyo; Pl sadyayavayobhō; Dl sāhyāpatyaḥ. 26 Panyo
26 So Dl, cf. gana tikakitāvādi; D2a dās-; Ed, P das-;
D2 vaś-. 27 S pālavā-; D2 pālakā- (cf. however
Matsya). 28 Cf. Baudh.no.13, gana pailādi; P2 -manaya;
P1 audrahamanayaḥ; Ed audgrāhamataya; D2a trepaṭhah-
mānapa; S auṭhamanayaḥ. 30 So Ed, Pl, D2; D2a vrā-;
P2 vramanayan only; Dl brahmavaliḥ; S brahmabalayaḥ.
31 So Ed, Dl; Pl pāne-; P2 -gādir; D2 -gār iti; D2a
paṇir iti; S paṇigāliḥ.

(1) Msś -dvasv ai(n)dra- (Ed indra-).
1. aupasvastih
2. svastayas ca
3. alohayanas ca ye
4. Madhyamdhinah
5. Aksitayah
6. Paippaladi-
7. divamkarshi
8. Kundino
9. Mitrayavarunata iti

\[1. \text{rauyasvasti-} \]
\[2. \text{svastayas ca} \]
\[3. \text{ye aloha} \]
\[4. \text{lobhayana} \]
\[5. \text{Madhyamdhinah} \]
\[6. \text{ksitayah} \]
\[7. \text{Paippaladi} \]
\[8. \text{jahnus} \]
\[9. \text{Kaundinyah} \]
\[10. \text{Malayavarunata} \]
\[11. \text{gaugalulayata iti} \]

\[\text{lohinyanam phalgunyas tesam tryargaya pravaro bhavati, vas. lohinya phalgunyeti hota etc.} \]

\[2. \text{adya rtabodha-} \]
\[1. \text{Jatukarnyaya-} \]

\[\text{Mess readings:} \]
7. yippaladi
12. Kundino
These have no intermarriage. They have a three-rsi pravara, "Vasiṣṭha, Maitrāvariṣṇa, Kaundinya", etc.

1. Jātukarṇyā
2. Baudhayāṇa

1 P1 opana-; S ausvasāh. 2 So Ed, P1 (-ḥ); P2 svasthayayaḥ; R svasthayaḥ; Sk sausthayo; D1 svasulih; D2 svasthaliḥ; S svastayaḥ ca; only S has the word ca, for the others see next.
3 So S; Ed svalokāḥ; P1, D1 svalokyaḥ; P2 khalolīka; D2 svalākyā; R ākohā. 4 Ed om. ye. 5 Ed om.
6 So S; rest here, aksatayah (P2 -ś ca). 7 P2 pāṣayādi. 8 ? So Ed, Sk, R; P2 vidhakaṣṭhaḥ; P1, D2 viśvakasah; D1 viśvamkasah; S vacakaṣṭha.
9 D bhrīṅgaḥ. 10 Conj., cf. Baudh.no.3; Ed maudgalalulāyaḥ; P1 maudgalululayaḥ; P2 maudgaluluyāḥ; D maudgalah lul(l)ayaḥ; S āvīṇāmadgamaudgula.
11 R, Sk mai-; S inverts nos. 11 and 12.
2 So P, D; Ed bodhāyanaḥ; R arthavoghāṇa; cf. W.
6. plahâhapo
7. vaidyukayah
8. Plâksayah
9. Kaumudâdayah
10. haścir eṣām pañcama

ete Raktâh Parâśarah

1. kaṇḍuśayo
2. vāhatapam
3. jaṃjayo
4. maimanâyanâ
5. Gopâlir eṣām pañcama

ete Nîlân (Ms nā-) Parâśarah

3. pâtavâ ily eteṣām avivâhas
tesām tryârseyâh pravaro
bhavati, vâś. ārtavodha
pâtaveti hotâ, pâtavad
ruvodhavad (sic) vâs. i.a.

6. palonhaya
7. vaikayah
8. plâksakayah
9. kaukavâdayo
10. 'rhayośrir eṣām pañcama

ete āuksanâh parâśarah
3. pātalaya iti

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-rṣi pravara, "Vāsiṣṭha, Ātri (1), Jātukarnya", etc.

1. Kāndūsayo
2. Vāhanayo
3. Jaimayo
4. Bhaimatāyanā
5. Gopālir eṣāṁ pañcama

ete (A)runāḥ Paraśarāh

26. Āviṣṭhāyanā
27. Vāraṇeyān

3 So Ed, D1; P1 pātha-; P2 pāṭhala iti; D2 pāṭilir.
1 So Ed; P1 kāṇḍu-; P2 kāḍūsayo; S-sayo.
2 So P, D; Ed vāharamo; S vāhayo. 3 So Pl, D; P2, Ed S je-. 4 So P; Ed bhaimayana; S bhaimakāyanā.
5 Pl govalir; Ed gopānir; P3 gaupānir; S rogāyanir.

For ease of reference, the numbering of the Baudh. list is here used in all the others.
26 Pl, D1 -ṣṭā-; D2 -ṣṭya-. 27 Restored; Ed vārsi; P1, S vāreṇi; P2 vāṛnikarni.

(1) We would expect Ātreya, which however appears in none of the sources. It is not very probable, in view of the agreement of the Matsya Purāṇa, that the text is at fault, and we may legitimately hold that the unusual form betrays that the family separated from the main Vāsiṣṭha clan at a comparatively late date. At all events, the first two names at least have already occurred among the Vāsiṣṭhas proper: for Jātukarnya, compare Baudhāyana no.11, Man., W no.14; for Baudhī, compare Kāl, Man., W., no.11; and it is possible that we should compare pātalaya (W pāṭava) with Baudh.no.10, Vāṭavya.
11. khākhāllāyanā
12. varṣāyaṇī
d. pūrṇayo
14. Vilvayūpayāḥ
d. nāṃmīr eṣāṁ pañcama
ete Suklāh Parāśarāh
ete trimśāt paraśarāh, etc., as in K&L.

(1) Comparison with the other lists makes it probable that we ought to interchange no. 26 and 16 (and perhaps also the names Dhūmra and Gaura.)
28. Śyāmeśāh
29. śokayāś ca ye
30. Īśikanahāsta eteśām pāncama
ete Kṛṣṇah Parāśaraḥ

6. Prārohayo
7. Vaikalayah
8. Plākṣayah
9. Kaumudādayaḥ
10. हाँयास्विर eṣāṃ pāncama
ete Nīlāḥ Parāśaraḥ

28 Pl śyātreyaḥ. 29 So Ed (without ye); P2 ślokaryāś ca; Pl,D ślokamayaś ca; S śokayāś ca. 30 P2 iṣāṃkṣavānas teṣām (and, by dittography, Iṣāṃvānas teṣām). 7 Restored, cf.Baudh.; Ed,Pl,Dl vāhayaḥ; P2 vahayaḥ; D2 bāniḥ. 8 Restored; S pākṣayah; Ed prāyāḥ; P2 prācheyan (and prāchāyaḥ, dittogr.); Pl prāyāḥ; D prāliḥ. 9 Cf.Baudh.; S kaumudayaḥ; Ed korkacādayaḥ; Pl kokacādayaḥ; P2 kārkavādayaḥ; Dl kaukasādīḥ; D2 kaumkacādīḥ. 10 This name appears in all the sources in place of no.25, which has been transferred to here. Comparison with the other lists leaves no doubt that such an interchange must be admitted, but it remains uncertain whether the sub-family names (Nīla, Gaura) have also been dislocated. The other lists give us no help in this matter, and I have assumed that the line as a whole has been misplaced, Nīla remaining with Hāryaśvi and Gaura with Pauṣkaraśādi. For Hāryaśvi, Pl harya-; Ed hayaśrīr; P2 hayaśivir.
16. Pāṭhikā
17. Bādaris caiva
18. Skambhînyāh
19. kaukavâdayāh
20. kṣaumir eṣām paṅcama
ete Svetān Parāśārah

21. Krṣnâjinānā
dkapiyartha
22. kartiscaīrothā
23. arkayāh
24. sānasahayān
25. Pauṣkarasādir eṣām paṅcama
ete Gaurān Parāśārah

11. Kalyâyanir
12. vairineyā
trairnayo
13. Bailvayūpayas
15. taranir eṣām paṅcama
ete Dhümrān Parāśārah

These thirty Parāśāras have no intermarriage.

(112) They have a three-ṛsi pravara, "Vāsiṣṭha, Śāktya,
Parāśarya", etc.

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16 So Ed; Pl mathikā;P2 māṇṭhikā;D māṇḍikāh.
17 Ed -aś caiva. 18 So P (but gaṇa kunjādi,
skambháraya);Ed skaumbinyaḥ;D skambhinnah. 19 So
Ed,P2; Pl -câdaya. 20 So Ed,P,D. 22 So Ed; Pl
-gorthā;P2 pariṣgrothā;D1 kapisrotaḥ;D2 kapiṁ yothah;
S kāpiṅrīvāḥ. 23 So P2,Ed; Pl arkaya;S ārkaryāh.
D1 akampa-;D2 akapa-. 24 So P2; S sāla-;Ed sātapatāḥ,
Pl nyatapā (in these two, haplography of the syllables
haya, since in the Mss, the following name is given
as ha(r)yasvir, etc., see next.); D nyah tapah.
25 See note to no.4, for pauṣkarasādir (Ed): P2
pauṣaka-; D pauka-; Pl -syādir;P2 (dittogr.) also
poskaraḥ svādir.

11 ? So S (-iḥ); Ed,D vyāpya-;P2 vyākhyā-;
P1 vyāpyāyanir. 12 So Ed,D; Pl -yo; P2 -ṇoyo.
13 So S; all the others here omit. 14 P2 bailvo-;
D2 -yupiṇ. 15 D2 tariṇir.
D. Áśvalāyana.

Of the Vasiṣṭhas, "Vasiṣṭha", except for the Upamanyus, Parāśaras, and Kuṇḍinas.

Of the Upamanyus, "Vasiṣṭha, Ābharadvasavya (l), Aindrāpramada".

Of the Parāśaras, "Vasiṣṭha, Śāktya, Parāśaryā".

Of the Kuṇḍinas, "Vasiṣṭha, Maitrāvaruṇa, Kaunḍinya".

E. Matsya Purāṇa.

Learn from me the Brahmans who are born in the family (vāṃśa) of Vasiṣṭha. The Vasiṣṭhas are said to have a one-rāṣṭi pravara. The Vasiṣṭhas and the Vasiṣṭhas have no intermarriage with the descendants of Vasiṣṭha (vasiṣṭhaja).

1. Vyāghrapāda
   3. Aupagavā

1 Pl -padā. 3 Pl -yava.

(1) Mss, Billing, Ind., Vidn. Par., -dvasv indra- (P2 -dvasv yaindra-).
4. Vaigala
5. Satvalayana
6. Kapiśthala
7. Auduloma
8. Aśvalaś ca
9. Vālikara
10. Gopayana
11. Baudhayaś ca
12. dākavya
13. atha Vānyakrt
14. †vālisayāḥ
15. pālisayāḥ
17. tato vāgrathayaś ca ye
18. Ayaḥsthamāḥ
19. Sucivrksas
21. tatha Brahmapiureyakāḥ
20. Lomayanāḥ

4 ? Cf. K&L; Ed,P2,Kṛṣ vaīñavāḥ; Pl, D1 vaīñavyāḥ; M vaiklavāḥ; D2 vaītavyaḥ; S vaivanyāḥ. 5 Cf. K&L; Pl satvaḥ; Ed,P2 śatuḥ; Kṛṣ sanuḥ; M śādvaḥ; S sāluḥ.
7 Cf. K&L; all, aupalomaḥ (exc. S, aulalāmā). 8 Cf. K&L; p aṇvalāva (D1 aṇvalaḥ); M alabdhāḥ ca; S adhvarāva. 9 Restored; Ed nataḥ karāḥ; P sadākarāḥ; S latikarāḥ; M satāḥ kathāḥ; D1 sudārakāḥ; D2 (va)sudākaraḥ. 10 M gaup-. 11 Restored; M oṇḍapās ca; S dnavayaḥ ca; P dhovayaḥ ca; Ed thovayaḥ ca; Kṛṣ dḥokapa. 12 So M; p dāsa-; Kṛṣ dāmaḥ; S dāsahyaḥ. 13 So p; M ny atha vānyakāḥ.
14 So Ml; M2 bāliḥ; P2 vālīsayāḥ; Pl tālīsayāḥ; D1 tālīsayāḥ; D2 tālīsaḥ; Ed tālīnayaḥ; Kṛṣ tālaśriya. 15 So M; P -sayāḥ; Ed -nayaḥ; D2 -samaḥ; D1 om.; Kṛṣ -śāyana. 17 So P2; S; Kṛṣ vāgrathayaḥ; D1 vāgradhiḥ; D2 vāgnadhiḥ; M vāgranthayaḥ; Ed vayathayaḥ. 18 All without medial visarga; Ed,P2,Kṛṣ ayaśṭhūṇā; M ṛp-. Pl āy-. 19 Restored, cf. K&L; Ed,P sitiḥ; Kṛṣ setivṛṣṭikṣa; M śītavṛttas. 21 M braḥ-. 20 So M,P2; Ed, Pl -naḥ.
These great rṣis have a one-rṣi pravara, “Vāsiṣṭha,
They have no intermarriage one with another.

1. Sālālayo
2. Mahākarnāḥ
3. Kauravyaḥ
4. krodhinas tathā
5. Kapiṁjalo
6. Valāśikho
8. Kaumarāyana-
9. Bhagahih
10. Kaurakrā
11. Bhāgurāyana
12. śākāhayah
13. śākadhiyāḥ
14. atho Aulapayaṣ ca ye
15. Saṃkhyāyanās
16. tuhākāṣ ca
17. atho Māsaśaravayaḥ
18. dakyaṇā
19a. bālavayo
19b. bākayo
20. Gaurathās tathā
22. Alambāyanāḥ

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8. So Pl; Ed tuhāgahāṣ ca; D suhākāṣ ca; S katuḥyakāṣ ca; Kṛṣṇa udha hākayana. 17 Mss atha: M -vayāḥ; Kṛṣṇa as two names, māsa saravayaḥ. 19 So Ed, M2; Pl vā-; D1 vālāvayo; D2 vālāvih; Kṛṣṇa vālavaya. 19a So Ed; M, Pl, D1 vā-; D2 takih; Kṛṣṇa vākayoga. 20 M go-; Kṛṣṇa rāpya. 22 So Pl, Kṛṣṇa; M, Ed lamb-. 
All these are said to have a splendid three-rśi pravara, Ābharadvasu (1) and Vasistha, and Indra-pramada (2). These rśis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

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- śāyamavayo, M, Ed; Kṛṣṇa śākhavaya; Pl śāyamayo; D śāyamī. 21 Restored; Ed, M krodo-; Pl kraydo-; Kṛṣṇa cakroda darāyana. 23 So M, Kṛṣṇa Pl (the latter also takes rṣaya as a proper name); Ed pralambanaśa; P2 lāmvāyanaśa. 24 Pl upa-. 25 So all; and cf. no. 15 above; the readings for K&L make it unlikely however that the name is correct here. 26 Ed, Pl ye ca; P2 pānca; M vai ve; P, M daērakāh; Ed das-. Kṛṣṇa dvas-. 27 Cf. K&L; M2 var. lect. pādapāyana; P, M pālankayana; Ed, Kṛṣṇa pālakayana. 28 Dl udraḥḥaḥ; D2 udvāhāḥ; Kṛṣṇa udgohā; see māneya below. 29 Restored; Ed, P, Dl ba(va)lekhalaḥ; M baleksahāḥ; Kṛṣṇa balaisvara; D2 valokhalaḥ. - māneya So P, Dl; Ed, M māteya; D2 māyenah; this is the other half of no. 28, see K&L, audgāhamānī. 30 So Pl; P2 brahmacayaś ca; Kṛṣṇa -valṣya; Ed -balayāḥ; M1 -balinaḥ; M2 -malinaḥ. 31 So P; Ed, M parṇā-; Kṛṣṇa parṇāgara; M2 pānagārīs (for this last, see Schol. to Paṇṭ. 2.4.66 - it is presumably the "Eastern" (prācya) form of the same name.).

(1) So P2,3; Pl ābharadvaksa; Ed bharadvasu; M bhagīvasu; Kṛṣṇa gives both ābharadvasu and bharadvasu. (2) M, Pl -pramadir.
All these are said to have a splendid three-regi-
pravati, Vasištha, and Mitavara, and Kundina of

1. Aupaśvasthā
2. pada-Kṛṣṇā, ap-
3. svāstālayo
4. ye
5. Lohay
6. a
7. ye
8. Mādhyama
9. m
10. vicaksita
11. Traiñ
12. rñY
13. laugv,ulih
14. Fbitrs
15. varuna-
16. Kundināh

All the names are said to have a splendid three-regi-
pravati, Vasištha, and Mitavara, and Kundina of
great austerity (1). These rṣis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

1. Jātukarnyva
2. Ṥvasiṣṭhas ca
3. pādapaś ca tathaiva ca

All these are said to have a splendid three-rṣi pravara, Jātukarnya, and Vasiṣṭha, and Atri, O king. These rṣis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

These pre-eminent rṣis, O king, founders of gotras (2) in the family of Vasiṣṭha have been named by me, by the recital of whose names a man leaves all sin behind.

(Purusottama next quotes in full the legend of Vasiṣṭha and king Nimi, which follows in the Purāṇa text, including the story of the

1 Mss jātū; M śivakarno. 2 So p, exc.P2 vasiṣṭha pi; M vayaś caiva; possibly we should read baudhayaś ca, with K&L. 3 So M; Ed jādayaś ca; Pl vajrapādas ca; D1 vajrapādah atyah; D2 vajrapādam i-amtaśrṣ ajādayaś ca; P2 dayaluh sauktikanh khaṅgaḥ (D gives these names - but D1 saumikah, D2 sauhikah - with the notice, iti kaścit).

(1) M2 here inserts: dānakāyā mahāvīryā nāgeyāḥ paramas tathaḥ; ālambā vayaṇaś cāmpest(sic) ye cakrodādayo narah. (2) Instead of nrpa gotra-kāraṇaḥ, M has satataṁ dvijendrāḥ.
birth of Vasistha from the sperm of both Mitra
and Varuna. The account of the Parāśaras follows:

Parāśara was the son of Sakti. Learn his line
from me........

1. Kannūsayo
2. Vahanayo
3. Jaimayo
4. Bhaimatāyanah
5. Gopālir ēśām pañcama
ete Gaurāṇa Parāśaranah.

6. Prārōhayo
7. Bāhyatāyanah
8. Plāksayah
9. Kautujatayah
10. Hāryāsvir ēśām pañcama
Nilā jñeyah Parāśaranah

21. Krṣṇājinah

1 Cf. the other lists; M2 var. lect. kāndūsayo; M2
kāndāsayo; M1 kāndāsāpo; P2 -āsāyo; Ed -ārāsāpo; Pl,
Krṣ kāsayo. 2 So P2; Ed, M -po; Pl, Krṣ om. 3 So P2;
Pl jaimamau; Ed jaihyapo; M jaihmapo; Krṣ jaima only.
4 So P2; Pl bhaumanāyakah; Ed, M bhaumatāpanah;
Krṣ mogantāyana. In the sub-heading, M2 notes that
two Mss read Krṣnāṇa instead of Gaurāṇa. 6 Cf. the
other lists; M2 var. lect. prāroraya; M prapohayā;
Ed, P2, Krṣ prāgehayā; Pl apohayā. 7 So Ed; Krṣ -tapā;
P2 va-; M, Pl vahyamayāḥ. 8 Restored; Ed pāryeyāḥ;
P2 pārtteyāḥ; Pl dhyāyoyā; M khyateyah; Krṣ pāryaya.
9 So Ed, Pl, M; Krṣ -jantava; P2 kauujāyanā. 10 M hā-;
Pl harayasvir; Ed haryāśva; P2 dvairayāvir;
Krṣ haliyamāvati. 21 Restored; Ed, P2, Krṣ, M karṇāyanānḥ;
Pl kāṣṇayanānḥ.
22. kapiśreṣṭhāḥ
23. karkeya-
24. ṣṭhājapātayaḥ
25. pañcamah Pauskarasādir

Kṛṣṇa Jñeyāḥ Parāśaraḥ

26. Avisthāyana-
27. Varāneyaḥ
28. Śyāmeyāś
29. ṣcokayaḥ ca ye
30. Isikahasta pañcama

ete Svetāḥ Parāśaraḥ

16. Pāṭhiṅā
17. Bādariś caiva
18. stambhanyāḥ
19. krodhanayānāh
20. Kṣaum(at)ir esām pañcama

ete Śyāmāḥ Parāśaraḥ

11. Khalyāyana

22 So Ed; Pl,M1 -sukhāḥ; M2 -mukhāḥ, var,v,lect.
-āravāḥ; P2 kāśvisevāḥ; Kṛṣṇa kāściseva. 23 So Ed,P2;
M kākeya; Pl kāpeya; Kṛṣṇa kāyasthānā. 24 So M,Pl;
Ed syanayātayaḥ; P2 syanatayaḥ; Kṛṣṇa yānuyāna.
25. Restored; Mss puskaraḥ pañcamaḥ caismāṃ.
26 So Ed,Pl; M1 -stā--; P2 āpistāyanāḥ; M2 śrāviṣṭhāyana;
Kṛṣṇa omits nos. 26-30. 27 Restored; Ed,M1 valleyāḥ;
M2 vāleyāḥ; Pl vālseyāḥ; P2 vālseyāḥ. 28 Restored; Pl,
M svayaṃstāḥ; P2 svayaṭhās; Ed svayaśvaś. 29 So P2;
Pl,M cōpayās (M -āṣ) ca ye; Ed cauṣayaṣ. 30 Pl isi-;
P2 isai--; 16 Ed pāth--; M1 pātiko; M2 vātiko; Kṛṣṇa
patikā. 17 Kṛṣṇa vahari. 18 So P2; Pl, Ed -tyāḥ; M stamba
vai; Kṛṣṇa ekastamba. 19 So M; M2 krauṇḍacakātayaḥ;
Kṛṣṇa Ed krauṇḍacakābakaḥ; Pl ktaumacakīcakāḥ; Kṛṣṇa kalvakandhaka.
20 Ed,M kṣaumir; P2 kṣaumar; Pl vadhās ca kṣaumir;
Kṛṣṇa vattākṣa. Kṛṣṇa omits nos. 11-15. 11 So M;
P2 ni; Pl Khālīyānī; Ed khalvāyana.
All the Parāśaras are said to have a three-rṣi pravara, Parāśara, and Sakti, and Vasiṣṭha of great austerity. None of the Parāśaras have any intermarriage one with another (1).

The Parāśaras, of might like the sun, leaders of families, have been told to you, O king, by the recital of whose names a man leaves all sin behind.

Purugottama's comment:

The five gaṇas here given have no intermarriage because of sameness of gotra. This results from the fact that the name Vasiṣṭha occurs, either in actual fact or implicitly in all the pravaras. The Saṃkṛtis, etc., avoid all the Vasiṣṭhas in marriage, as well as those mentioned in their own gaṇa, as has already

12 So M, Ed; P2 vāṇṇayanair; Pl vāṇṇispāmi. 13 So M, Ed; Pl tauvācau; P2 nāpāḥ. 14 Restored; Ed khalu yūdhapāḥ; M khalu yūṭhapāḥ; Pl khalu yūpayaḥ; P2 khalu pūpayaḥ. 15 M tantir; Pl tāṇṇir; Ed duņṇir; P2 eteṣaṃ paṇḍastmas tāsir.

(1) ML omits this paragraph.
been stated in the Ångiraså-chapter.

The name Maitrāvaruṇa in the pravara of the Kūndinas must be understood to denote two rāis, and not the well-known deities, because of the text "Not by gods, not by men, but by rāis only does he choose the ārṣeya". Moreover, Mitra and Varuṇa are rāis only when together, not severally, because of the text, "He does not choose four". Also, the Matsya Purāṇa says (1) that while Mitra and Varuṇa were practising austerities in the Badarī hermitage, Urvāśi came there, and when they saw her, their sperm was spilt, and happened to be caught in a pitcher full of water. From this Vasiṣṭha was born; and from Vasiṣṭha, Kūndina. Thus, Mitra and Varuṇa have a united rāi-hood and a united fatherhood.

(1) In the legend above, before the Parāśaras. Agastya is there also said to have been born at the same time and in the same manner.
Chap. VIII. The Agastis.

A. Baudhâyana.

We shall explain the Agastis:

1. Agastayô
2. visâladyâ
3. skâlâyâna
4. Aupidâhanâyânâ
5. Kalmaâsadandir
6. dhâvâmir
7. Lâvâmir
8. tâlavârbudô
9. Vairinayo
10. budbudodari

1 P2 agastyayô; B (a)gastya. 2 So A (Pl -sâlva-); M, G, T bodhîh sâlâtîyânâ; Bu adhisalân tâm. 3 So Ed, Pl, Be, U; R skhala-; Sk phâla-; P2 skâtayalayanâ; M, G kalâ-; T kâla-; Bu kila-; Caland suggests skandâyana (for which cf. gana kuñjâdi). 4 Ed aupadâhanâyânâ; Pl audahâyânâ; Bu aupadanâyânâ; T aupanâyânâ; rest, aupadâhanâyânâ. 5 So B, Pl; Ed, R kul-; P2 kultmâpastañdî; Dl kulmasâg dandîh; D2 kusesâg dandîh; R kulmasâg dandayô; Sk kalmasâg dandayô. 6 In B onlîy (5 dhâvânîh); possibly dittogr. of the following name. 7 So M, G, T; Ed lâvârnâyâ; Pl lâparnâ; S, D, R, Sk lavânîh (-ânayo); P2 lâvîni. 8 So G; M syat budo; T sát prado; Bu lâsyân aumbedhâ; S lâsyâbudho; Be, U lâsyâdavadhayô; Ed lâpyân bavâdayô; Pl tmâvâvamdayô; P2 lâpyâdhavâdayô; R lâvyân varâdayô; Sk lâvyân varandîh; D lâvyân varandiñh; the other lists give Ârbuda as a separate name; and vairandeya occurs in W. 9 G bairi-; rest vaira- (exc. Dl vairandîñh); cf. K&L. 10 So M, G; T budbudoradarayañh; Bu budbodarayañh; Pl vudhodayô; P2 vudhodarâyô; D budhodarih; Sk mudo-; R vudo-; Ed budhodayâñh.
These are Agastis. They have a three-раи pravara, "Agastya, Dārđhacyuta, Aidhmavāna", etc.

The Sambhavāhas have a three-раи pravara, "Agastya, Dārđhacyuta, Sāmbhavāna" etc. (1)

The Somavāhas have a three-раи pravara, "Agastya,

(1) Caland is doubtless right in considering the Sambhavāhas to have arisen merely from dittoography of the Somavāhas, since their inclusion brings the total of pravaras to fifty instead of the forty-nine mentioned in Baudhāyana's verse, below, p. 470. They appear in B, Ed, R, Sk, and D, and therefore the interpolation would seem to be an old one. R also adds after the Yajñavāhas, dārbhavāhānām etc.

11. Śaivapathayāh
12. Sālyātapā
13. Mauñjakayāh
14. pāṇḍuhrdā
15. Ĥarigrīvayo
16. Raunhiyā
17. Mausalaya iti
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man.</th>
<th>W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. kukūla</td>
<td>1. okūlaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. upakā-</td>
<td>2. upakūlaka</td>
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<tr>
<td>valaka-</td>
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<tr>
<td>lāmvakāyana</td>
<td>Lāmakāyani</td>
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<tr>
<td>śālaṃkāyana-</td>
<td>Śālaṃkāyani-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Dhārīṇī-</td>
<td>4. Dhārīṇī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. dhaurāṇī-</td>
<td>6. Vairīṇī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saudanvā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saukṛtya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mss readings:

4. dhāraṇī                     4. dhāraṇī
Dārdhacyuta, Saumavāha", etc.

The Yajñavāhas have a three-ṛṣi pravara, Āgastya, Dārdhacyuta, Yajñavāha", etc.

B. Āpastamba.

The Agastis have a one-ṛṣi pravara, "Āgastya" for the Hotṛ, "like Agasti" for the Adhvaryu. But some give a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Āgastya, Dārdhacyuta, Aidhmavāha", etc.

C. Kātyāyana and Lauḍākṣai.

Next we shall explain the Agastyas:

1. atha Upakula-
2. Sukalapa-
3. Karinī-
4. Dhārini-
5. Mauñjaki-
6. Vairinī-

L. So Ed,P1,Dl; P2 (a)tha kala;D2 upakalaḥ; S upamkula. 2 D2 sukalpaḥ;S sukalopa. 3 So Ed, P2,S; P1 kārinā;Dl kāri;D2 kurpūri. 4 So Ed,P; D vāriniḥ. 5’? Cf.Baudh.no.13? S mauñjiki; Ed mokṣati;P1,D2 kṣaumati;Dl kṣaumitiḥ;P2 saumiti. 6 So Ed,S,P; Dl nirvairināḥ;D2 naipairinīḥ.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man.</th>
<th>W.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 7. Kalmāśadāṇḍir ṭapaitarā‐
   +nurāyānānam saubhyāmyinā | 7. Kalmāśadāṇḍir ṭapaitarāvanānam |
| 10. Govyadhila śiladya‐ | 9? . (so(la)pyāmana |
| 11. Śaivapatha‐ | 10. Govyadhila‐
   śilāhy‐
   menula‐
   mānya‐
   mṛāndā‐
   batānām |
| 12. Arbudānām evayāyaduta agastya dārādh[y]acyut‐
   aidhmavāhēti hotā, etc. | 11. Śaivapatha‐
  12. Arbudānām Agastya vaikarṇāyaatānām
   sārageravāḥ
   śirṣāyaanānam
   vāthaḥhyeraṇḍeyea‐Vairāṇḍeeya‐
   vahyaiki‐
   nahyāyanī‐
   saphakṣi‐
   kudryākṣi‐
   rāmyākṣi‐
   prāduraṇkṣi‐
   dāmosnīm
   vasubharāḥ
   saubhārāyaña‐
   bhargayānāh‐śailavā iti |
   pravara as in K&L. |

**Mess readings:**

7. kalyāsaṭumḍar 7. kalmāṣaṭantur
12. arburdānām 11. śailayatha‐
7. Kalmásadandi
8. nivairinānām
9. Sauriṅhāga-
10. Govyādhir-
11. Śalvapatha-
12. Arbudānām
13. + medinīpañca-pā
14. dāvatānām
15. agadādya- +
16. Harigrīvīnāṁ
17. + sairīṣyā-
18. vittamayo
19. ravattānām + iti

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-reśi pravara, "Āgastya, Dārdhacyuta, Aidhmavāha", etc.

7 Cf. Baudh.no.5; Ed -dāru; Pl kalpāsa-; P2 kalmāgī-
tāmāli tidāmāli. 8 So P2; Pl navai-; Ed tāpāyanās; perhaps we should read vairandānām, cf. W, and Dl under Baudh.no.9.
9 So Ed, P, D2; D1 saura-.
10 So Dl; cf. Mān., W; Ed, P govyāva; D2 goyādiḥ.
11 Cf. Baudh.no.11, Mān.; Ed haimabhavahā-;
Pl haimabhavahā-; P2, Dl haimavahā; D1 haimavahā.
12 P2 mudānā(m). 13 So Ed; P2 medini-macyaphām;
Pl edinipāncaka; Dl medini-paṅcaka; D2 medini-paṅcakaḥ;
S mehinyani-paṅcaka. 14 So P2, Ed; Pl dādatānām;
D devataḥ; S rāndāvatānām. 15 So P (Pl -dyā);
Ed agadādya; D2 agadān; D1 agadān; S agadādhyā.
16 So P1 (but without anusvāra); P2, Ed -ānām; D1 -aṁ.
17 So P2; Ed sau-; D2 saisirah; Pl sairīṣyā; Dl sairīṣaḥ;
S saurīṣyā. 18 So P1; Ed vattamayo; P2 vattamo;
S vattayo; Dl vittapah; D2 vittapah. 19 So Ed, P2, S;
Pl ravattānām; Dl avattānaḥ; D2 ayaṁtāna.
The following additional families have nothing corresponding in the other Sūtras, and for the most part the text is beyond repair.

- namdi-
- vimali-
- dhimali-
- pināyaksi-
- sāyaki līt eteśām, etc.

- agastya pināyaksi sāyaketi hota etc (2)

- prāciniapravanaḥ (3)
- kāpeyāḥ
- ākra-
- śukra-
- sudoku-
- cāsa-

- prāciniapravara
- vakāpeyā
- ākra-
- śakra-
- śuka-
- hamsa-
- vasa-

(1) Ms. -dhava (and similarly in the pravara). (2) Given in the Ms. before the Idhmavāhas. They are repeated below.
(3) Except for the family beginning Akra- cakra-, all the remainder of the Man. account of the Agastis is misplaced in the middle of the concluding section, between the phrases dvyāmugyāyana bhavantī and yathaitac chaunga-sāisirīṇām.
1. Agastayah
2. Karambhayah
3. Kurumadyah
4. Kauśalyah
5. Sumedhasō
6. Mayobhuvō
7. Gandharayanāh
8. Paulastayah
9. Pulahah
10. Kratur iti

These have no intermarriage. They have a three-rsi pravara, "Agastya, Mahendra, Mayobhūva", etc.

The Paurnamāsa-Paṇās (1) have no intermarriage. They have a three-rsi pravara, "Agastya, Paurnamāsa, Paṇā", etc.

D. Aśvalāyana.

Of the Agastis, "Agastya, Dārdhacyuta, Aidhmavāha"; or else the last name is Somavāha, "Agastya, Dārdhacyuta, Saumavāha".

1 Sk agastyahā. 2 P2-bhan. 3 So Pl, D1; D2 -nādayah; Ed, P2 kunādaḥ; S kunādhān. 4 So P, R, Sk; D1 kausalyah; D2 kauśilyah; Ed kauśalyah. 5 ? So Sk; Pl, D khagevaso; Ed khavevaso; S śvamedhaso; P2 ścavevaso. 6 Sk somayo. 7 So Ed, P2; rest, gandhā-. 8 So Ed, Sk; P pulastyayah; R pulastyamāyah; D1 pulastih; D2 punahastī.

(1) Ed paurāṇa; and in the pravara, paurāṇa, pūraṇavat; Pl parnā; P2 pārāyaṇā; but both Pl, P2 have pāraṇa in the prāvara.
bhaṣa-
Haimavarci (1)
Himodakāḥ ity eteṣām etc.
āgastya haima<vra>rci himodaka<keti
āgastya haimavarca himodaka<keti hota etc.

akri-
cakri-
arci-
carci-
himodaki-
yarīna<ka ity eteṣām etc.,
āgastya pināyaka pārīnaketi
hotā pārīnakavat etc.

nandi-
vimili-
licili-
mīmitaki-
pināyaki

(1) Ms. haubhavarca
sayaketi hotā sayakavat etc. (sic lacuna).

akra-
śakra-
śukra-
jātye

haimandakīty (sic)
etēsam etc. āgastya mān-
endra mayobhuveti hotā
etc (1)

madhrama-pūranās tesām
treyarṣeyān etc.
āgastya madhrama pūrīneti
hotā etc.

W.

sayaka ity etēsam etc.
āgastya painaka sayaketi
hotā, etc.

akra-
śakra-
śakramha-
cāṣa-
bhāṣa-
haimacarci-
homodaka (sic) ity
etēsam etc., āgastya
madhaya paurīneti hotā
puraṇāvan madhymayad ag.ī.a.

(1) Given in Mān. immediately after the Idhmavāhas.
The pravara here belongs to the missing Āgastis.
Matsya said: Next I shall tell the Brahmans born in the family of Agastya.

1. Agastayāḥ
2. Karambhayaḥ
3. Kauśalyaḥ
4. karaṭas tathā
5. Sumedhāso
6. Mayobhuvas
7. tathā Gāndhārakāyaṇāḥ
8. Paulastyāḥ
9. Paulahās caiva

All these are said to have a splendid three-ṛṣi pravara, Agastya, and Mahendra, and Mayobhuva the rśi. These rśis are said to have no intermarriage one with another.

The Paurnamāsas and Pāraṇas (1) are said to have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Agastya, and Paurnamāśa, and Pāraṇa (1) of great austerity. The Paurnamāsas and Pāraṇas are not intermarriageable.

Thus the line of descent of the rśis has been

---

1 M agastyaś ca. 2 M karambhaś ca. 4 So M; P2 -āh; Ed -gālyāḥ; Kṛṣ kośalya; P1 kauśalyātho. 3 So P2, M1; Ed -tās; M2 sākatās; S karayas; P1, Kṛṣ om. 3, 5, 6. 7 So Ed, M; P1 gāndhā- P2 gāndhārakāraṇāḥ; Kṛṣ gāṇḍharāyaṇa. 9 P2 paunāḥās. 10 So Ed, M; E2 kratur vamśāstavas t.; P1 krartum vamśāstavas t.; Kṛṣ catu (?) viśasta.

(1) Ed paurāṇa.
told to you, down to the last man.

I shall now answer any questions your Honour may care to put.

Manu said: Tell me how Pulaha, Pulastya, and great-souled Kratu belong to the family of Agastya.

Matsya said: That best of rṣis Kratu, being without offspring in this Manu-period, took Idhmavahā to be his son, the virtue-knowing son of Agastya. Hence the Kratus are Agastyas. Pulaha had three sons, whose birth I shall duly relate to you later on.

Pulaha, when he saw his children, was displeased, and chose to be his son Drdhacyuta (1) the son of Agastya. Thus the Paulahas are said to be Agastyas. The wise Pulastya, seeing that his sons had been born Raksases, chose to be his son the son of Agastya. Thus the Paulastyas are said to be Agastyas (2).

O king, these pravaras of Brahmans have been told to you, of great power, founders of families, by the recital of whose names a man leaves all sin behind.

_____________________

(1) M drdhāsayam tu (!). (2) M2 inserts: sagotratvād ime sarve parasparam ananvayāḥ.
None of the gotra-gaṇas of the Agastis here cited have intermarriage one with another, because of the identity of gotra which results from the fact that Agastya is the eighth who is added to the Seven Raśis, and also because two out of three Raśis in the pravaraś coincides.

After having given the rule of no intermarriage within the eight groups of the descendants of the founders of gotras, Jamadagni, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra, Atri, Kaśyapa, Vaśiṣṭha, and Agasti, because of identity of gotra, Kapardisvāmin, the commentator on Āpastamba's Sūtra, goes on to say, "Here the Bhṛgus and Angirases make a "separate" marriage, but not if the majority of Raśi-names should be identical," but instead of attributing this to Baudhāyana, he says "this is the view of all the Sūtra writers. Garga, however, permits the Vaśiṣṭhas, Kaśyapas and Viśvāmitras also to follow the Bhṛgus and Angirases in this matter of "separate" marriage (1). Similarly also in the

(1) i.e., marriage between the various gaṇas of the major gotra. See above, p. 169 ff.
pravara-chapter of the Kaṭhas (1). But the rest disapprove of this”. Therefore, there is no marriage within the major gotra (pakṣa) in the case of these three, since where the view of two authorities is opposed to many, the opinion of the majority is to be followed. This may be seen from the maxim “Where conflicting duties meet together (in the same extended sacrifice), the duty proper to the majority (of days in the rite) is to be applicable to all” (2). But even on the view of those who allow this “separate” marriage for all five major gotras, marriage within the Vasiṣṭha-gotra must still be with persons of different pravara; and within the Kaśyapa gotra there is still no inter-marriage on the one hand between the Nidhruvas, [Asitas], Rebhās, and Laugākṣīs (3) who are Vasiṣṭhas by day and Kaśyapas by night, nor on the other hand between the Devalas, Asitas, and Śaṇḍilas. Nor do the Ajas have any marriage within the Viśvāmitra-gotra. All this is a matter for investigation by scholars.

(1) viz., the Laugākṣī? There is however nothing of this in that text as quoted by Puruṣottama.
(2) Pūrva-mīmāṃsa, 12.2.22. (3) Ed lakṣaṇa.
Chap. IX. Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas

I shall now tell in order the rules of pravara and non-marriage in the case of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, and their dependance on the pravara of their purohitas, since they stand (as it were) in the relationship of children to their purohitas.

A. Baudhāyana.

Kṣatriyas have a three-ṛṣi (pravara), "Mānava, Aīḍa (1), Paurūravasa" for the Hotṛ, "like Purūravas, Iḍā, Manu", for the Adhvaryu. Vaiśyas have a three-ṛṣi pravara, "Bhālandana (2), Vātsapra, Māṅkila (3)" for the Hotṛ, "like Māṅkila, Vatsapri (4), Bhālandana for the Adhvaryu.

B. Āpastamba.

Next, of Kṣatriyas. If they recite their own, they have the one pravara, "Mānava, Aīḍa, Paurūravasa", etc. Those who do not have hymn-composers should make the recitation with their purohita's pravara; those who have hymn-composers should do without their purohita's pravara. (But the correct view is that these also) should use their purohita's pravara, because of the

1) B aīḍa, iliāvat; A aīḍa, iliāvat (Ed iliāvat).
2) B phail-. 3) Ed māṅkīla, maṅkīlāvat.
4) So Ed: Be, U, Caland vatsaprava; B vatsapramadavata (and vātsapramada).
logical argument. Vaiśyas have a one-ṛṣi pravara, "Vatsapra" for the Hotṛ, "like Vatsapri" for the Adhvaryu.

C. Kātyāyana and Lauḍākṣai

Kings have their purohita's pravara; with this too the pravara of Vaiśyas is explained. If he should recite with ṛṣi-names he should say "Mānava, Aiśa, Paurūravasa" (5).

D. Āśvalāyana.

Kings have their purohita's pravara; if they should make the pravara-recitation with ṛṣis, "Mānava, Aiśa, Paurūravasa".

(Puruṣottama comments:)

"With ṛṣis" (sarṣam) (6) means "with ṛṣi-names" (saharṣeyam).

(Here follows Puruṣottama's comment on the Āpastamba rule:)

Here, there are two kinds of Kṣatriyas: some have hymn-composers, and some do not. Those who have should recite their own (pravara), those who do not, the

5) This paragraph is cited here out of place (and somewhat inaccurately) by Puruṣottama, simply for convenience of reference. Its correct place in the Sūtra text is after the discussion of the dvāmusya-yañasa, etc., see below, p. 493. Mān. and W. also give it only in the latter place. The words sa ṛṣīn in Ed here are an error for sārṣātīm.
6) So Ed; the better reading is sārṣam.
pravara of their purohita; having laid down these two prima facie views, he gives as the correct view (siddhānta) that all Kṣatriyas should recite only the pravara of their purohitas - "because of the logical argument". Now what logical argument is meant? Firstly, all Kṣatriyas have purohitas, and without them they have no admittance to sacrificial rites, as is seen from the etymology of purohita, "being placed in front of him, he leads him in all matters (?): and on the view that all Kṣatriyas should recite their own pravara, the result would be that there could be no intermarriage among them, since they would all have the same pravara.

This reasoning is applicable in the case of Vaiśyas also, since they too have a purohita, who is their judge (3) and must be a performer of the Darvihoma; and since the view that they should recite their own pravara would result in there being no intermarriage among them, since they would all be of the same pravara. Since the word "king" denotes specifically an anointed king, some think that even Brahmanas who have attained kingship should make the pravara-recitation with the pravara of their purohita.

7) Ed: pura enam hitam eva sarvaṁ nayati; read hita eva.
since they also invariably have a purohita. On this view, there is in addition no intermarriage with those who are of the same gotra as the purohita.

Chap. X

1. Ignorance as to pravara.

I shall now tell how those Brahmans who are ignorant of their own gotra and pravara are to take the pravara and marriage restrictions of their own teacher, (since they stand as sons to their teacher.) As there is doubt on this point, the all-wise Āpastamba and the rest resolve the doubt by saying:

"Now a man whose family connections are not known should proclaim himself the descendant of his teacher (1), and he recites his teacher's pravara".

Here, "family connections" means gotra or pravara: the man who does not know this accurately (2) is "one whose family connections are not known, eg. Satyakāma, etc. Thus, Satykāma Jābāla, having requested the teacher Gautama for admission as a pupil, and having been received into Gautama's protection, was asked by the latter "Of what gotra are you,

1) ācāryāmūsyāyaṇam anuprābravīta. (2) saṃ- is ex-
plained by samyak.
friend?" And he replied "Sir, I do not know to what gotra I belong" (1). A man, therefore, who in this fashion is ignorant of his family connections should proclaim himself the descendant of his teacher, i.e., he should proclaim his teacher's gotra, or his pravara, in due order (2). "He recites his teacher's pravara" - this means the same thing.

But it is objected, "Is this not prohibited by scriptural passages such as 'If a man recites the ārseya of another, that ṛaṇi takes the sacrifice and the enjoyment (3)'?" No: since the son-ship of a pupil is best, surpassing even a son of one's own body. As Āpastamba says (4): "Thus the teacher piles up precepts of virtue for him, he never harms him; for from knowledge he begets him. That is the best birth; father and mother beget merely the body."

And Baudhāyana says (5) "Those whom he begets, those whom he initiates, those whom he teaches, those for whom he sacrifices - all those become his sons."

And since this is so, pupils do not marry within the gotras of their teachers, because of having the same gotra and pravara.

1) Chānd. Up. 4. 4. 3-4
2) anu- is explained by ānupūrvyāt. (3) Āpast., above p. 180.
2. **Sacrificial matters.**

Baudhāyana says:

"We shall explain the Nārāśaṁsa(-rule): Ātreyas, Vādhryāśvas, Vādhūlas, Vasiṣṭhas, Kaṇvas, Śunakas, Saṁkṛtis (1), Yaskas, and Rājanyas and Vaiśyas all are said to be Nārāśaṁsas. Tanūnapāt belongs to the other gotras. Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas have their purohita's pravara - thus it is known."

Āpastamba and the rest say (2):

"The Nārāśaṁsa is the second fore-offering in the case of the Vasiṣṭhas and the Śunakas; the Tanūnapāt in the case of the other gotras."

So also, "A Vasiṣṭha is Brahma-priest at the Jyotiṣṭoma, [or anyone else]" (3). So also, "He gives gold to the Ātreyas first, or second or third". So also, "He should not give a sacrificial

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1) Ed omits this name, and in a footnote gives: kaṇva-saṁkṛti-yaska-śunakarajanyā; in place of saṁkṛti-yaska-, Be, U read śunḍaska.

(2) This does not occur at this point in the **pravara**-chapter, but is Ap.ŚŚ.21.2.4-5 and 24.1.15.

(3) The bracketed words seem to be an unintelligent scholium (yo vā kaścit). This and most of the following quotations have already been given above, pp.157-9; see there for references.
fee in fear to Kanvas and Kaśyapas". So also, "When a man is performing the thirty-six years' rite of the Śāktyas, the (preparation of) the sacrificial cake and the office of Adhvaryu at the ceremony may be performed by him, but the position of householder (i.e. master of the rite) may be held by an Agastya alone" (1).

3. References in the Law-books.

Āpastamba says "One should not give one's daughter to a man of the same gotra". Gautama says "Marriage is with persons of different pravaras". Also, "Intercourse with (the wife of) a friend, a uterine sister, a woman of the same gotra, a daughter-in-law, or a cow, are all equal to violating one's teacher's wife". Baudhāyana says "He who goes to a woman of the same gotra must perform the Čāndrāyana-penance."

Yama says: "The offspring of a celibate ascetic who has intercourse with a woman, he who is begotten by a Śūdra on a Brahman woman, and the son of a man who has married a woman of the same gotra - these three are held to be Caṇḍālas." Yājñavalkya says: "One should marry a woman who is free from disease, who has brothers, and who is not born in the same Ārṣa.

1) I have been unable to trace this or the preceding quotation. For this sattrā, cf. ŚSS 13.28.6, and ĀSS 12.5.16. Ed here reads śākyā, P2 śākyā, for which śākyānām is a necessary emendation. Ed also gives -ādhyāvyavā for -ādhyāvyavam.
And since there could be no end of quoting the pronouncements of the ritual and legal literature on the subjects of gotra and pravara, we shall content ourselves with having quoted just so much as a sample merely, for fear of producing too heavy a book. This much however will make it clear that the meaning of the Teachers is that the obtaining of the fruit and the avoidance of untoward consequences from the performance of all sacrificial acts can be successful only in as much as they are based on knowledge of the facts of gotra and pravara.

4. Marriage within the mother's gotra.

The question arises: is it the mother's gotra, or the father's, or both, that one must avoid in marriage? On this point, Manu has made a statement - Manu the all-wise, whose words have authority equal to scripture (for the scriptures themselves (1) have said that the word of Manu is medicine). Manu says (2):

"The wife who is praised of the twice-born, in the matter of wifely duties and intercourse, is one who is not a sapinda of the mother's, and (neither a sapinda nor) a sagotra of the father's."

1) TS.2.2.10.2
2) Mānava Dharma Śāstra 3.5.
Here, since on the mother's side marriage is pro-
hibited with sapindas only, we may understand that marriage is permitted within the mother's gotra. Moreover, if marriage within the mother's gotra were not permitted, he would have said "asagotrā" in both places in the line. This he does not say, and therefore marriage can take place within the mother's gotra. This is the one view.

Other authors of law-books have put forward the other view:

"He who marries his mother's brother's daughter, or a woman of his mother's gotra, or one of the same pravara as himself, should leave her, and perform the Cāndrāyāṇa penance".

This verse from another Law-book (1) is quoted and explained by the commentators on the Law-books. Some explain it as referring to the sons of a daughter appointed by her father as a son for descent purposes (putrikāputra): in such a case, there can be no marriage on either side of the family, since the son belongs to both gotras. This however is not an intelligent interpretation, since in the

1) It is noteworthy that Puruṣottama apparently does not know the provenance of the quotation. The usual attribution to Śatātapa by the writers of later legal digests would seem to be highly speculative.
case of a putrikāputra marriage is already sufficiently limited by the rule "not a sagotra of the father's", and therefore to prescribe specifically "both paternal gotras" would be superfluous (1). The objection is raised, that in the verse quoted, the prohibition of marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is equally superfluous, since marriage is already barred in that case by the simple prohibition of marriage within the mother's gotra. The answer is: the specific mention of the mother's brother is intended to show that such a marriage is more serious a sin than marriage within the mother's gotra generally, because of the excessive closeness of the relationship, and therefore the fault of redundancy does not arise. Moreover, as we shall see below, "a gotra is the descendants of the Seven Rāis and Amastya". These descendants must be reckoned both on the mother's and the father's sides, since both equally stand in the parental relationship. Hence the mother's gotra must also be included in the connotation of "one's own gotra", and thus the correct

1) The argument is that in the case of a putrikāputra the mother stands in the legal position of the father, for purposes of descent, funeral oblations etc.; and therefore the simple regulation barring marriage within the father's gotra is by itself wide enough to cover both the gotra of the actual father, and that of the mother as being the legal father.
view is that marriage is prohibited on both sides of the family. It is then objected, that if a son really belongs to both gotras, should he not then take the names of his pravara from both sides, in the same way as he does the prohibition of marriage, and as in fact the dvyāmuṣyāyāna families do? To this we reply: all the pravara-teachers cite in this connection, among all the gotras, only the gotras of the Śunga-Śaiśīra, etc., as dvyāmuṣyāyāna, and prescribe for them alone pravara-names from both gotras, not for the others. For the others they give simply the pravara of the father's gotra. Hence, we are to understand that although a man belongs to two gotras, in the sense that he shares his mother's gotra as well, the pravaras have reference to the father's gotra only. Further, if the question of marriage within the mother's gotra is regarded as unsettled, since the Manu-smṛti and the other smṛti have equal authority, one should nevertheless avoid it, since (if the other smṛti should actually be correct) the sin and the expiation are heavy. And scholars of legal precepts (nyāya) say that one should avoid even a sin whose sinfulness depends only on the view of one party in an argument (1).

1) Thus, even if the "other smṛti" is wrong, the "safety first" attitude is to obey the stricter rule.
They say:

"Even if other people should be doubtful, men ought to forsake that which is not right."

But it is objected, do not certain learned men act in this fashion? It is true, they do act thus; they even contract marriage with the daughter of their mother's brother, according to their own reading and interpretation of the two smrtis. But after all, if we read the precept of the all-wise Manu, which indicates that marriage within the mother's gotra may be permissible, and also see such a marriage directly prohibited in another smrti, and (in face of such evidence) are still in doubt because of mere customary usage, - since this is the origin of delusion - how shall we ever dispel our doubt? Therefore in marriage the mother's gotra should be avoided equally with the father's.

Chap. XI. The Mānava-Pravara.

A. Baudhāyana.

Or "Like Manu" for all the gotras. "For the people are human (mānavyo hi prajāḥ)" - thus it is known.

B. Āpastamba.

Now, the Tāṇḍins conduct their worship with a one-
ṛṣi pravara, common to all the varṇas, "Mānava" for
the Hotṛ, "like Manu" for the Adhvaryu. "For the people
are human" - so says a Brāhmaṇa, so says a Brāhmaṇa.

(Puruṣottama comments) Since a Brāhmaṇa passage of the
Taittirīyas explicitly reads: "for the people are
human." By the word "people" is meant those of the
three higher varṇas who have birth, fitness (to
sacrifice), wealth, and who are not excluded by the
law-books. The repetition is in order to show the end
of the adhyāya, or else as an auspicious mark.

C. Kātyāyana and Lauḍākṣī.

But some say: In every case he chooses a one-ṛṣi
pravara, "Mānava", "like Manu", for all the varṇas.
For what reason? Because the people are human. But
this is not legitimate: not by gods, not by men does
he choose the Ārṣeya, but by ṛṣis only. But this
rule is applicable to people other than Brahmans and
Kṣatriyas. (1).

(Puruṣottama's comments)

This sūtra has already been explained in the first
chapter, dealing with general rules. So too, in his
chapter on the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices, after
giving the different pravaras according to varṇa,

1) This is transferred from the Paribhāṣā chapter,
and does not of course belong to this part of the
Sūtra text.
and faults as to pravara, Āpastamba says: "Or else he does not choose an ārṣeya; (in which case) he should say simply "like Manu". (1).

Now here, in the section dealing with the Māṇava-pravara, the meaning of the Sūtra-authors appears difficult to understand, because of internal contradictions as well as inconsistency with each other. How so? - Baudhāyana gives this pravara as being common to all the varṇas, and does not prohibit as belonging to Vaisyas only; while Kātyāyana, etc., condemn its use by all the varṇas in common, and give it as applying to Vaisyas only. Āpastamba, again, after prescribing the separate pravaras in dealing with the New- and Full-Moon Sacrifices, gives it at the end as common to all the varṇas, and does not prohibit its use. Because of this inconsistency, learned men are confused, and hence it is difficult the intention of the Sūtra-authors. Moreover, if the use of a pravara common to all the varṇas were conceded, the result would be utter destruction, entailed by the mixing of the varṇas which the possession of one common pravara (and hence the prohibition of intermarriage) would bring about (2).

1) Āp ŚŚ 2.16.12. Rudradatta's commentary makes this sūtra apply to Rājanyas only. (2) "All" the varṇas, characteristically, means throughout the three higher varṇas, Brahmans, Kṣatriyas, and Vaisyas. If there is no
This argument is refuted by those who know the meaning of the Sūtra authors thus: Āpastamba's dictum (1) is not intended to prohibit the pravaras of the several varṇas. What then is its intention? - To praise the pravara common to all the varṇas, which he is about to mention. How? - The pravaras according to varṇa are hard to know, and can only be acquired by much effort, and therefore they are not to be used; but this that he is about to mention can be learnt more easily, and is therefore to be employed - thus it is praised. If it is further asked how it is understood that this is the meaning, we reply that otherwise the result would be that the composition of the pravara-chapter would not have been undertaken; and it has been undertaken.

Again, the chief significance of Kātyāyana's prohibition of the one-ṛṣi pravara ("Mānava") does not lie in the prohibition itself. Where then does it lie? - In prescribing this pravara "common to all the varṇas" for Vaiśyas, by excluding the two higher varṇas, as is seen by the rest of the sentence, "but this rule is applicable to people other than Brahmans and Kṣatriyas". Moreover, as has been said, in the possibility of intermarriage anywhere among these three the only resource is marriage with Śūdras, etc., and hence a "mixing of the varṇas" (varṇa-saṃkara).

1) i.e. "he does not choose an ārṣeya".
case of this common pravara, the question of marriage
and so forth is not relevant, since there is no same-
ness of gotra involved (1). On this point we would
say further that the prohibition of marriage with
people of the same pravara is to be explained in the
case of this Vaiśya-pravara as a partial relaxation
of the rule, since the Vaiśyas do not need to avoid
this common pravara in marriage.

This one-ṛṣi pravara "Mānava", then, is pre-
scribed for Vaiśyas only.

Chap. XII. Conclusion.

Baudhāyana says:

He who goes to a woman of his own gotra should
perform the Cāndrāyana; and when he has fulfilled
the vow, he should not forsake (her if she is) a
Brahman woman, (but should live with her) as if she
were a mother or a sister; the offspring is not de-
filed, and is a Kaśyapa - thus it is known.

Now, in the case of coincidence (of a pravara-
ṛṣi), a man should avoid marriage with those
(families) mentioned in the same section (of the
pravara-list as his own) (2). The authority of

1) Read: -pākṣe 'samānagotratvād. (2) Reading with Ed
atha sannipāte vīvaham tad-adhyāyair varjayer.
Caland - a.s. vīvahas tadadhyāyam varjayered.
Baudhāyana is to be followed: for the people are human (1) - thus is it known.

Of the gotras, there are thousands, millions, and tens of millions; but their pravaras are forty-nine, as the rṣi-names in them show.

Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja and Gautama, Atri, Vasistha, Kaśyapa - these are the Seven Rṣis:

A gotra is made up of the descendants of the Seven Rṣis, with Agastya as the eighth.

He who knows his own pravara and those of others does not lose the right to perform sacrifices.

The Veda is the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇas, it is said. Therefore (2) the twice-born should make a great effort to know the pravaras.

Funeral rites, marriage, priests, hymns of praise, and the origin of gotras all stand firmly grounded in the "Great-Pravara (-chapter)."

He who constantly repeats the pravara-chapter every fortnight is magnified in the world of Brahma, is magnified in the world of Brahma.

(Puruṣottama's comment:)

"A woman of his own gotra": one of his own pravara

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1) The point of this is not at all clear. (2) The logic of the word "therefore" is not apparent.
also is to be understood, since both are equally prohibited. The Cāndrāyāṇa penance is meant, because of its virtue as a means of purification (1). "He should not forsake a Brahman woman" - this prohibits the desertion which would (otherwise) be fitting as the result of being defiled by such a sin. "Like a mother or a sister" - this is meant to show that the sin of sleeping together and of intercourse, and the consequent penances, are the same as in the case of approaching sexually a mother or a sister. "The offspring is not defiled" - i.e., in the case where the child was conceived in ignorance (of the identity of gotra), since we have the smṛti-rule which designates as a Cāndāla a child born from such a union knowingly entered into: "The offspring of a celibate ascetic.... etc., and the son of a sagotra-marriage are said to be Cāndālas." "And is a Kaśyapa - thus it is known" - This means: the child which is born from a sagotra-marriage, even though of another gotra, becomes a Kaśyapa by gotra; thus it is heard in another sākhā of the Vedas.

On this scriptural authority, we are to understand that the offspring of a man belonging to one gotra becomes (in this case) a member of another gotra.

1) The word "puṣkala" in this sense is otherwise reported only from the lexicographers.
"In the case of coincidence ....Thus it is known"—since the bare fact that marriage is prevented by identity of pravara equally with identity of gotra has already been given, and the same thing need not be said again, the meaning he intends to convey by this sūtra is: since the gotra-gañas and pravara-s are given section by section in the forty-nine sūtra-sections, beginning with the Vatsas and ending with the Yajñavāhas, a man who is distinguished as belonging to any one of the gotras of all the gotra-gañas of which there is coincidence (1), i.e. being read together, in one and the same section, must avoid marriage with those in the same section—i.e., whose names are read in the same section; because of identity of pravara. "The view of Baudhāyana"—here he refers back to what he has said earlier (2): "The Bhṛgus and Angirases make a separate marriage, but not if the majority of pravara-names should be the same—this is the view of Baudhāyana". The prohibition of marriage in the case of the Kevala Bhṛgus and Angirases, being as they are outside the descendants of the Seven Rṣis, rests upon identity of pravara, since in their case the prohibition as to

1) Puruṣottama's explanation differs in detail from the translation given above, but the resultant meaning is the same. (2) Above, p. 169.
gotra merely would be pointless. The word "Baudhāyana" is the purpose of the sentence: the view of Baudhāyana is to be taken as authoritative by all human beings. Why should this be? - because Baudhāyana is equal to Manu, and Manu's view must be accepted by all human beings (mānavīdhiḥ prajābhiḥ). Why? - he adds the reason: "for the people are human (mānavyaḥ) - thus is it known." That is, it is heard in the Taittīrīya scriptures, in the Fire-pūling Chapter (1): "'Be propitious for offspring' he says: he thus soothes him for offspring.'For human (offspring)' he says: for the people (or offspring) are human. 'Do not dry up sky and earth, nor the middle air, nor trees', he says: he thus soothes him for these worlds."

"Of the gotras, there are thousands, etc.:" - here he gives the number of the gotras, in order to show the difficulty of knowing them, being as they are like the stars, or the dust of the earth. Of what sort then is this number? - thousands. Because of the plural, we understand three or more thousands; more than this we do not know. Similarly with millions (prayuta) and tens of millions (arbuda) we understand three or more. Ten thousands make an

1) TS 5.1.5.6.
ayuta, ten ayutas a nivuta, ten nivutas a prayuta, ten prayutas an arbuda. There being then (at least) three thousands, prayutas and arbudas of gotras (since the plural is employed), there turn out to be three kotis (thirty million) of gotras, if the three plurals employed amount to three of each. If more than three, then we do not know how many kotis of gotras there are. The meaning is: when there are so many gotras, how is it possible to distinguish between them? (The answer, given by Puruṣottama in three and a half verses, is that there are only forty-nine pravaras; - Katyāyana, etc., it is true, give more; but the Teacher's word is equal in authority to the Vedas).

We should mention here that all the pravara-teachers, after giving in order the names within each gana, add the word "iti" - eg. "ity ete vatsāḥ, ity ete ārṣīsenaḥ, ity eteśām avivāhāḥ" - "These are Vatsas; these are Ārṣīsenaḥ; these have no intermarriage". In these cases, since the word iti is a synonym of ittham, "thus", and is an additional word, the meaning must be taken to be "These, and so forth are Vatsas; these, and so forth, are Ārṣīsenaḥ; these, and so forth, have no intermarriage." - otherwise the word iti would be superfluous. Baudhāyana,
in the Bharadvāja-gaṇa, after listing several separate gotras, fills out the number mentioned in his own verse by saying "and the others whose names end in -stamba and -stambha". Similarly, Āpastamba, in the same Bharadvāja-gaṇa, after listing several gotras, and giving their pravara, fills out the number by adding "This pravara belongs to all whose names end in -stamba." Similarly, Kātyāyana shows that some gotras have not been specifically mentioned, by saying "and the others whose names end in that word". Therefore the Teacher, seeing that among the gotra-gaṇas already given, there are gotras to the number of three kotis as given in his verse here, has shown the number of the gotras in the words "Of the gotras, there are thousands, etc.," with the intention of showing the difficulty of knowing them.

"Forty-nine (pravaras) only" - this is to be explained with reference to his own text. "As the rāsi-names show" - this gives the reason in both cases. In the first case, it means the rāsis not previously mentioned, to such and such a number, seen in hymns explanations, legends, Purāṇas, etc. In the second case, it means the pravaras are so many, as the Teacher has already shown. Thus it is well said, "Of the gotras there are thousands, etc."
"Visvāmitra, Jamadagni, etc.," - with this he defines what is meant by gotra, since identity of gotra cannot be established if the nature of gotra is not known. "The descendants of the Seven Rsis" - here the word "descendants" means descendants in general. Thus: whoever is a descendant, i.e., in the direct line of descent, in branches and subsidiary branches of the family, from any one of the Seven Rsis and Agastya, and who also is himself a rsi, is a gotra of that rsi. For example, the gotras of Visvāmitra are his descendants, Devarāta, etc., down to Kata. The gotras of Jamadagni are his descendants Mārkandeya, etc. Similarly, Kaśmyāyana, etc., are the descendants of Bharadvāja. Others understand the definition of gotra in an inverted sense, as: Visvāmitra is the gotra of Devarāta, etc.; the gotras of Mārkandeya, etc., are Jamadagni, etc. Thus, these eight rāis (Agastya and the Seven Rsis) are the gotras of all the others. This latter interpretation is favoured by the usage of people in general, who say, for example, "We belong to the Visvāmitra-gotra, to the Atri-gotra, to the Bharadvāja-gotra". On the former interpretation, the usage would be "We are gotras of Visvāmitra, we are gotras of Vasistha. There is also an argument from scripture: Gautama asked Satyakāma Ṣābāla
"Of what gotra are you, my friend (or of whose gotra)?"
And the answer: "I do not know sir, of whose gotra I
am". But on the former interpretation, the question
would have been "Of whom are you the gotra?" And
the answer, "I do not know, sir, of whom I am the
gotra". Therefore this definition is the correct one.
So too, there is the popular application: "The sun
is the gotra of brilliances, just as the river is of
all seas".

Here we say: this is the argument of a man who
does not know the view of Baudhāyana. How so? -
He has already said in the verse given above, "Of
the gotras there are thousands, etc.", thus making
the number of the gotras to be three koṭis; and
turning to consider what these gotras are, if he
said "Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, etc., that is, the
eight, from Jamadagni to Agastya, are the gotras",
there would be a contradiction, and a consequent
inconsistency. But on our view, no such difficulty
arises. Neither popular usage nor the argument
from scripture is really an obstacle, since the word
gotra has both genders, having (in the masculine)
approximately the same meaning as putra, "son".
Thus, we can say equally, "Kuṇḍina is the son of
Vasiṣṭha", or "Kuṇḍina is the gotra (masculine) of
of Vasiṣṭha." (1).

Pāṇini's definition of gotra (2), "A gotra is a man's descendants from the grandson onwards," must be taken to refer to the Seven Rāṣis and Agastya. That this is so may be seen from a comparison of the points in which it agrees with, and differs from, Baudhāyana's definition - in accordance with the maxim of the cow and the ox (3) it is proper to comprehend them (so to speak) under the same family. Otherwise, by the fault of illicit extension of the range of the definition's application, the descendants of a Cāndāla, etc., would turn out to be a gotra. But if the two definitions are taken together, no fault arises. Therefore, Baudhāyana's definition is to be accepted. Here the question is raised: does Pāṇini's definition mean any descendant of the Seven Rāṣis and Agastya? Or does it apply to rāṣis only, i.e., a descendant of the Seven Rāṣis and Agastya, who is himself a rṣi, is a gotra?

1) This is most improbable. The word gotra is regularly neuter, and Puruṣottama has probably conceived the idea of a masculine word from its use in adjectival compounds. Thus, he seems to derive the phrase here, "vasiṣṭhasya gotraḥ" from "vasiṣṭha-gotraḥ". The latter however is not a Tatpuruṣa, but a Banuvṛtti compound (as Puruṣottama indeed recognises below), meaning "having Vasiṣṭha as one's gotra."
2) Pāṇ.4.1.162. (3) The two differ, it is true, but the similarities in essentials are such as to make it certain that they both belong to the same species.
On the former supposition, the verse giving the number of the gotras, "Of the gotras there are thousands, etc.," would run counter to it, since the number of all their descendants, past, present and future, rasis and non-rasis, is past all counting (1). Everyday usage also contradicts it: for men do not speak of the descendants of Devadatta or Yajñadatta as the gotras of these two respectively. Nor do they consider that Yajñadatta's son or daughter is simply on that account of a different gotra from themselves, and contract marriage with them. But on the supposition that any descendant is meant in the definition, they would so speak, and contract marriages. Therefore, among all the throngs of descendants of the Seven Rais and Agastya, only those who are rasis themselves, whether seers of hymns or not (2), are to be understood as being "gotras" by the definition, since in this way, there is neither insufficient nor too great extension of the definition. This is also in accordance with popular usage, e.g., "We are of the Märkandeya-gotra, of the Yajñavalkya-gotra, of the

(1) The verse, though clearly indicating merely a large number, is still taken here to imply that Baudhāyana knew the actual figure. (2) See below, p. 483.
Salankāyana-gotra, of the Āpastamba-gotra, of the Āśvalāyana-gotra, etc." The fact that it is a Bahuvrīhi, and the masculine gender (1), show that the compound "yājñavalkya-gotraḥ" is to be analysed as "those of whom Yājñavalkya is the gotra" - i.e., the founder of the family. Moreover (on the other view) phrases like "All should be of the same gotra" is the view of Gāṇagāri, etc." (2) would have no application. Thus it is well said "A gotra is the descendants of the Seven Rāis and Agastya".

On this point they say: to whom does this title of "ṛṣi" belong, what is the nature of a ṛṣi? To this we reply: a ṛṣi is one (among the descendants of the Seven Rāis and Agastya, who have received the forty sacraments, from the Garbhādhāna onwards, and are adorned with the eight good qualities of the

(1) Read puṇḍingena nirdesāca ca. Puruṣottama here accepts the Bahuvrīhi compound in the case of gotras in the narrower sense, while above, where the Seven Rāis and their descendants the "gotra-kāras" are in question, it is necessary for his argument to take it as a Tatpurṣa, since, because of the definition of Baudhāyana, he cannot see that the expressions "Vasistha-gotraḥ" and "Devarāta-gotraḥ" are precisely parallel, the only difference being that in the former case the word gotra is applied to the super-family.

(2) ASS.12.10.1.
spirit) who is famed among men by his continued perseverance in austerities. So, for example, the scripture of the Vājins in the "Secret Fire-lore:"(1) "In the beginning all this (world) was not-Being. As to this they say, 'What was this not-Being?' The rṣis were that not-Being (2). As to this they say, 'Who are these rṣis?' The rṣis are the Breaths: because, before this universe was (3), they, desiring it, moved (rṣ) (4) with labour and penance, they are therefore rṣis." Here the meaning is, they are rṣis because they achieved world-renown. Among rṣis thus defined, those who are famed in the world for their greatness are called "maharṣis", great rṣis, as is seen from the expression "Of the great rṣis, I am Bhṛgu" (5). Among rṣis thus defined, those who in one birth after another have sanctified their minds by the repetition and consequent knowledge and understanding of the meaning of the Vedas, and

(1) SB.6.1.1.1. From Purusottama's reference (agnirahasye) one would have expected bk.10 to have been meant.  
(2) Read: te'gre'sad āsIIt.  
(3) Reading yat purāsmāt sarvasmād with Bibl.Ind.edition; Ed yadāsmā sarvasmād; S yat pūrvasmā gagaham icchantah.  
(4) Eggeling, "exhausted themselves".  
(5) Used by Kṛṣṇa in the Bhagavadgītā,10.25, to indicate his supremacy.
to whose minds therefore the hymns and the Brāhmaṇas, repeated in a former existence, appear (of their own accord) in the direct line of the tradition - as it were a man awakened from sleep - these are called seers of hymns'. So too the passage in the Svādhyāya-Brāhmaṇa of the Taittirīyas which explains the Brahma-sacrifice (1): "Brahma the Self-existent streamed towards (abhyānasat, √ṛṣ.) the Speckled Goats (or Unborn Ones?) while they were performing austerities. They became ṛṣis. That is why ṛṣis have their name." "Brahma the Self-existent streamed towards them" means "the eternal Veda was revealed to them." We have already described above how their descendants recite their names in their pravaras, to the number of one, two, three, or five. Among seers of hymns thus defined, those who have knowledge of all things past, present and future, are known as Sages (muni) - compare the scriptural text "If a man were to become disgusted with folly and wisdom (equally), he would become a sage;" and the etymology "mananān munin" - "muni from man, to think;" and also cases like "Vālmīki, bull among sages"; "Of the sages

(1) Taitt.Āraṇyaka 2.9.
I am Vyāsa (1). Therefore, any descendant, from the son and grandson onwards, of one of the Seven Rṣis and Agastya, who is himself a rṣi, whether he is a seer of the Vedic hymns or not (2), is held to be a gotra of that person, as, for example, Mārkaṇḍeya is of Jamadagni, or Devarāta of Viśvāmitra. Thus any descendant whatsoever of these eight rṣis, from the son and grandson onwards, provided he himself is a rṣi, must be considered as a gotra of that rṣi. The descendants of a gotra-rṣi, if they are rṣis also, are also gotras of that rṣi. Thus we say: the rṣis who are descendants of the Seven Rṣis and Agastya are held to be gotras from both points of view, since, like the word "son", the word "gotra" expresses a relationship; so that the same term gotra is used both with reference to the rṣis who are the fathers, etc., and with reference to the rṣis who are the sons, etc. This being so, expressions like "We are of the Mārkaṇḍeya-gotra, etc.," "All should be of the same gotra, etc.," "Of whose gotra are you, friend?" are fittingly employed, having

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(1) Bhag. Gītā, loc. cit. (2) The usual mediaeval definition of rṣi in connection with gotra is "a seer of Vedic hymns". Puruṣottama, by giving a different connotation to the word rṣi presumably intends to escape from the undoubted fact that numerous gotra-rṣis are not named in the Vedic Anukramanīs.
reference to the sons, etc. On the other hand, the definitions of Pāṇini and Baudhāyana have their proper application with reference to the fathers, etc. It is established, then, that the descendants of the Seven Rāis and Agastya who are themselves called rāis are the gotras both of their fathers, etc., and of their sons, etc. (1).

(1) The whole of this extremely muddled discussion results from the fact that Puruṣottama is arguing with a term (gotra) insufficiently rigid in its connotation. It is therefore constantly being used in slightly different senses, and Puruṣottama seems to be only half aware of the fact. The chief difficulty results from the use of the word gotra to denote the founder of a family, where the fuller gotra-kāra would have made matters clearer. A further confusion is caused by the indiscriminate use of a name like Mārkandeyya to denote both an individual of that name, and also the family named after him. This too Puruṣottama is quite unable to straighten out. An analogous situation would be, if we were to say, e.g., "The gens of the early Roman emperors is 'Julia'" and were then to proceed with our discussion without the slightest regard as to whether this meant "They belong to the gens 'Julia'" or "A particular person, Julia, is their gens" - in fact, using now the one meaning, now the other. In the Latin example such an absurd confusion is manifestly impossible; but the wider range of the connotation of the word gotra has led Puruṣottama into just such a situation. This type of thing is of course the commonest of all causes of confusion in argument. Moreover, Puruṣottama is determined to stick to the letter of Baudhāyana's definition, and therefore can allow the title gotra only to descendants of the Seven Rāis and Agastya - gotras of the second order, so to speak, such as Mārkandeyya, etc. - and not to the eight rāis themselves, who constitute the first order. In the case of gotras of the first order, he is thus forced to say, for example, that "Mārkandeyyo Jamadagni-gotraḥ" means "M is a gotra of J," and is precluded from seeing the obvious meaning,
"He does not lose the right to perform sacrifices;"
by means of this he shows that the knowledge of
gotra and pravara destroys all sin. How so? - The
sin of sacrificing for an unfit person is understood
from what Gautama says to be even more serious a sin
than the great sins which cause loss of caste (mahāpātaka).

"The (subsidiary gotra of) M belongs to the (super-)
gotra of J." Puruṣottama's argument is, in brief:
Mārkaṇḍeya is a descendant of Jamadagni; therefore,
because of Baudhāyana's definition, he is a gotra of
Jamadagni. Also, since M's descendants say "We belong
to the Mārkaṇḍeya-gotra", Mārkaṇḍeya is the gotra
of these men. Therefore, Mārkaṇḍeya is the gotra both
of his ancestor, and of his descendants. Much trouble
would have been avoided if he could have analysed the
application of his terms more precisely. All that he
need have said is: "There is a rṣi M, eponymous
founder of a gotra M. The rṣi M is a descendant of
a rṣi J. Thus, the gotra M is one of the gotras
included under the super-gotra J. Also, the descend-
ants of the rṣi M are said to belong to the gotra M.
Hence arise the elliptical usages (a) M is a gotra
of J; (b) We are of the M-gotra.". But such a discus-
sion, which is admittedly somewhat pointless, would
no doubt have seemed over platitudinous to Puruṣottama.
I have discussed the matter here in detail simply
because it provides one of the best examples I have
met of futile argumentation arising from an undue
respect for the sanctity of words.

Panini's definition does not properly belong
to this argument at all, see the discussion above,
P. 140.

Puruṣottama next goes on to repeat the same
discussion in verses, which, as they add nothing
fresh, I have omitted here.
Gautama, in giving the reasons for undertaking penances, says: (1) "Sacrificing for an unfit person, speaking falsely, neglecting to do what is prescribed, and doing what is forbidden". Now here, although the sacrificing for an unfit person would come under the heads of 'neglecting what is prescribed' and 'doing what is forbidden', yet Gautama, perceiving the seriousness of the sin, has not merely allotted it a separate place, but has given it first in the list. Baudhāyana's meaning here is that those who know the prāvaras avoid this sin.

"The Veda is the Mantras and the Brāhmānas": - that is to say, since the prāvaras are included among the Mantras and Brāhmānas (2), one should devote one's attention to the Pravara-books.

"Funeral rites, marriage, etc. stand firmly grounded in the Great-Pravara-(Chapter):" - this praises the Great-Pravara-Chapter. So too, the verse:

"Since it is to be mastered by great effort, and since it is concerned with the great (ṛṣis); and since it offers great rewards (to the student), it is therefore called the Great-Pravara-Chapter".

"Regularly, every fortnight:" - with this he

(1) Gaut. DhS. 19.2. (2) Presumably, since the Pravara-ceremony is dealt with in the Brāhmānas; but in spite of the comment, Baudhāyana's meaning remains obscure.
shows that the fruit accruing to the man who reads the pravara-chapters in uninterrupted study through all the phases of the moon (parvan), is the attainment of the world of Brahma. But, it is objected, there is no means of attaining the world of Brahma, apart from knowledge of Brahma, as is seen from the scriptural passage, "There is no other path to be found". Say not so: there is, for example, the "Knowledge of the five fires"; and the method of "Works alone". As Gautama says: "He who has the forty sacraments and the eight good qualities of the spirit, attains union with Brahma." (1). Or else, since the pravaras are a constituent part of the regular (nitya) sacrifices, and since the regular sacrifices are a cause of salvation, therefore, by means of the pravaras is salvation achieved. There is no flaw in this explanation. Or else, through knowing how to recite (the names) of Vasiṣṭha, etc., who knew Brahma, and who resemble Brahma, and by this means building up a store of merit, which has as its fruit the knowledge of Brahma, a man may attain the world of Brahma. No fault can be found

(1) Gaut. Dhs. 8.24-25. Gautama's text, however, says that the eight good qualities without the sacraments may bring a man to union with Brahma, but not the sacraments without the qualities. This would be more apposite here.
in any of these explanations.

(Finally, Puruṣottama quotes the concluding portion of "Kātyāyana and Lauḍākṣi". The text of this also is in a bad condition, and the version given by Ed. is completely incomprehensible in places. Mān. and W both give the same passage; and because of the importance of the subject-matter, I have thought it worth while to give an emended text of the Sanskrit. Unfortunately, the elliptical style gives rise to several ambiguities, and it is to be regretted that there is no commentary available to assist in the interpretation.)
The pravaras have been explained. We shall now explain the modifications (arising in cases of adoption). Now, the origins of the Brahmans are twofold: (they are) either of a united family, or of two families. We shall explain how they originate, and to what (families) they revert. Those whose progeniture is unbroken in the male line of descent are "men of connected family". Those (among such) who, for more than seven generations back, or (at least) five, are (descended from ancestors who were) endowed with good birth, knowledge, virtue and good conduct, and are learned, are known as men who have notable fathers and grandfathers, rṣis and sons of rṣis; they are fit to be priests.

For vaikṛtāṁ, Ed, P samutpattīṁ pratipattīś ca. —

Mān. W, P2; P1 dvitīyo; Ed trividhā. —

samhataḥ dvyaḥ ca, Man. W om; Ed gives in addition utpattikulīnaḥ, thus justifying trividhā; P1 sannahatākulināḥ. P2 sannahatun k; — teṣām s.p. ca vyāḥ, so W.; Man. om pratipattim; Ed, P om. entirely (having misplaced the phrase above). — W puruṣatāḥ — W vicchinā. — samhitaḥ, so Mān., cf. Apās.15.6.13 with Rudradatta's commentary; W saṃgataḥ; P śṛtyantāḥ; Ed utpattiḥ; — for yoni, W yāni; Mān. potni. — For śrutavantah, P śrutimantas; Mān. atavatāṁ ṛṭavantaś; after this word Ed, P1 om. te. — for pitṛmanṭaḥ pitṛmatyāḥ, Ed has pitṛmātrasantyāḥ. — rṣaya, Mān. om. — before ārtvijānāḥ, Ed, P1 insert saṃhatakulināḥ. P2 om. arṣeyaś te. — W bhavanty ārtvijānām; Mān. bh. ārtijīnām.
Now, these who, whether as given in adoption, bought, or adopted by the will of the adopter, or sons of a daughter designated to take the (legal) place of a son, and who, through their adoption by another, are entitled to name pravara-ṛṣis in different families, are "men of two families" - as for example in the case of the Sauniga-Saiśiris, the Bharadvāja-Audameghas, the Laugākṣis; and any other families which have arisen in like manner should make their pravara-recitation similarly: where the two pravaras are used together, the first pravara should be that of the begetter, the second that of the adopter. Or else, (some say), three

atha dattaka-krītaka-krtrima-putrikāputrāḥ
paraparigraheṇa nānārṣeyā jātāṣ te dvyaṃuṣyayanaḥ
bhavanti, yathaitac chaunga-śaiśirinām bharadvājaudame
meghānām laugākṣinām, yāni cānyāny evam samutpattim
kulāṇi bhavanti; tēṣām tathaiva pravarāḥ syuḥ:
dvipravarasāmni pāte pūrṇāḥ pravara utpādayitur uttaraḥ
parigrahītūḥ, api va trayo'nye trayo'nye. tan na

W -putriṁ (om.-putra) - nānārṣeyā, Mān. (which adds ye); P2 -grane nānā-; Ed -grahenānārṣeyā; Pl graha nānā-
W -graheṇa nānārṣeyenā; - after bhavanti, W adds:
dvyāṃuṣyayanāḥ kākakokilās tasmād (dv)vipitara(ḥ) smṛtās
tasmād vibhāva-bharadvāja brāhmaṇa-kaśatriya-visās tatha
etc. (the last word for yathā). In this place in Mān. occur the dislocated lists from the Agastis. - Mān. odvamedhināṁ. - Mān. alone preserves the old form
laugākṣināṁ. - W. yāni cānyathālayaḥ - W samutpannāni;
Mān. samutpattimā - kulāṇi, Ed om. - api vā, so W, Ed;
Pl api ca vā; P2 api ca; Mān. api ca. - tanaḥ: Mān.,
nanna; Ed, missing the sense entirely, tatra.
names should be recited from each. This he should not do, (because of the text) "He does not choose more than five". Therefore he should recite only three or five (names).

Those who are born of a male relative on the father’s side who has the same pravara (as the legal father) are "men of united family" and belong to the adopter (1) alone. If in such cases they (i.e. the

tathā kuryāt: na pañcātipravṛṇīta iti; tasmāt trīn eva pañca va pravṛṇīyat.
atha yadi pitṛvyena jñātinaikārṣeyena jātās te samhatakuṁbāh, parigrahītur eva bhavanti. atha yan yadi tesaṁ svāsu bhāryāsv apatyam na syād rikthām

na pañcā-. iti. Mān,W om. - tasmāt,Mān.W; Ed,Pl
hy āna; P2 svāha. - (pra)vrṇīyat, Ed,P. (P gives the verb with both numerals); Mān,W, (pra)vrṇīte;W adds dvayar eva trīn nāti vrṇīte. W adds throm yadi sārṣṭim prabrūyād; there is not, as Weber suggests, a lacuna, but merely a displacement. - jñātina-, W kṣātina
naikārṣeyena; Mān. jñātina vārṣeyana ye-- te samhata-,
Ed; Pl te sahānta-; P2 te sānta-;/- apatyam na syād,
P,Mān,W; Ed syat na syāl: the meaning of these brackets is nowhere explained by Ed, and we are left to guess which is the Ms reading and which the "emendation". - For rikthām, Mān. ritchūm (?).

(1) The case in question is that of niyoga, or the levirate (though niyoga can take place before the death of the husband). The real father being the relative called upon to take the husband’s place, the mother’s husband is considered, legally, as the adoptive father.
adopter and the physical father) have no offspring by their own wives, they (the adopted sons) are to take the inheritance, and offer the funeral cake for them up to the third generation. If they do have offspring, the ruling of the Teacher is that they shall still make the funeral offering for both families (although they do not inherit). Such a person should either make two śrāddha-offerings, or else, at the one śrāddha, should designate them separately, and for the one cake should name two ancestors (in the line of) both the adopter and the physical father, up to the third generation.

hareyūḥ pīṇḍam caibhyas tripurūṣam dadyuḥ. yady api syād ubhāḥbhyaṁ eva dadyur ity acāryavacanam. dve kuryād ekasmin śrāddhe vā pṛthag uddīṣyaikapiṇḍe dvāv anukīrtayet, parigrāhitāram cotpādayītāram cāṭṛṭīyāt puruṣāt.

pīṇḍam caibhyas, Mān., caisām; W piṅcacebyhas.
- yady api syād, so W; Mān. yadi syād; P yadiḥ na syād; Ed yadi na syat [ubnayor na syat]. - After dve, W inserts śrāddhe. - ekasmin śrāddhe, so P; Mān., W ekaśrāddhe; Ed dve dve. - uddīṣya, so P; W anudīṣya; Mān. anudvīṣya; Ed pṛthag anu [gu]ddīṣya.
- Ed parigrāhitāram. - Mān. vāṭṛṭīyāt; W cāṭṛṭīyāt.
Where the pravara is not known, he (i.e. the priest) recites the first of the pravaras given here (that is, the pravara of the Vatsas); or, in case of dispute, he should recite whichever pravara he may think appropriate in any particular instance.

A Rājanya uses either the pravara of his purohita, or that of his teacher. The pravara of a Vaiśya is explained similarly. If (a Rājanya) names ṛṣis in his pravara, the Hotṛ should say "Mānava, Aīḍa, Paurūravasa," the Adhvaryu, "like Purūravas, Iḍā..."
Manu”. If they share in a funeral repast for a common ancestor, they should not intermarry. It is known from a scriptural text "Rajanyas and Vaiáyas have their purohita's pravara".

He who reads the Family(-names) rejoices in heaven for a thousand celestial years. The man in whose house a reader of the Family(-names) eats, becomes a guest of each of the rśis for a thousand celestial years.

yadi pitryam aśnīyur na viväheyuh. purohitapravarāv eva rājanyavaśayau syātām iti ha vijnāyate.

divyam varśasahasram svarge modate vamśādhyāyī yasyaivaśnātī vamśādhyāyī grhe divyam varśasahasram ekaikasyarṣer aṭitihir bhavati.

- pitryam, P, W; Ed pitriyam. - viväheyuh, Ed, P; W vivāhayeyuh; in place of this sentence and the next, Ṛaṇ. has sārṣyam pravrṇīyā pravarād eva rājanyavaśayau syātām; dhanam yaśasyam āyuṣyam rśīnām kirtanām śubham. - Ṛaṇ. omits the words divyam....grne; for divyam, W divi; svarge, W om.; both times, W vamsyādhyāyī; for yasyaivaśnāti, W yasya caśnāṣi; in place of grne, W sa.
- Ṛaṇ. ekaikasya aṣer (sic) ātithyam kṛtam bhavati, yaḥ pravarādhyāyam adhitē maithuna-gotrālābhe ruṣyantarāṇāmm (sic) avirodhir ity esamahi (sic) śakunih samāptan: vedānaṁ mūlaṁ dharmasya cāsram rudraṁ samadhikam vrddham vrddhair nāputrāya nāsīyāya nāsamvatsarōṣitāya dadyāt.
He should not recite them to a stranger (?), nor to one who has no son, nor to one who has no pupil, nor to one who has not dwelt in the neighbourhood for at least a year. He who reads the pravara-chapter rises above all those whose presence sanctifies a society.

नन्यस्मात् वराणम् दाद्यान् नापुत्राया नासिष्याया नासाम्वत्सरोङ्गिताया। सर्वेष्म पांक्तिपावनानांम् उपारिष्टाद भवति याहं प्रवराद्यायाम् अधिते याहं प्रवराद्यायाम् अधिते

- नन्यस्मात् वराणम्, so W, but the sense remains uncertain; Ed nannyavarane; P1 nannyavarno; P2 nannyavarano. - पांक्तिपावनानाम्, Ed,P; W pāntiṇyaṇānām; Mān. pāntipavanam. - Instead of simply repeating the last three words, P1 only has: याहं प्रवराद्यायाम् अधिते; sa ciraṃjīvī भवति पुन्यावान् भवति याहं प्रवराद्यायाम् अधिते.
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THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE GOTRAS.

John Brough.

There are few aspects of Vedic civilisation and history which have been more neglected by modern scholars than the organisation of ancient Brahmanical society in exogamous clans. It is of course recognised that from the time of the Sūtras to the present day the rule has always been that, as well as marrying within his caste, a Brahman must marry outside his own gotra; but further than this few have cared to inquire. The reason for this neglect is no doubt in part the extraordinary state of textual corruption in which our chief sources, the Pravara-adhyāyas of the Śrauta Sūtras, have come down to us (1), as well as the suspicion, not altogether justified, that the material contained in them is not truly "historical", or at least has suffered a considerable amount of "künstliche Behandlung"(2).

Nevertheless, the main facts of the system, as seen in the Sūtra texts, are quite certain; and taken in conjunction with the evidence which can be collected from the earlier literature, they provide a most interesting picture of the growth of Brahmanical society. From the point of view of Indian studies, the most important result of the present

(1) I have collected all the material available for the textual study of these lists, and hope to be able to publish a full account in the not too distant future.
investigation is the light thrown on the nature of the so-called "hymn-families" of the Rgveda. Of more general interest is the fact that Senart used the exogamous nature of the gotras, which he considered to be subdivisions of the endogamous "caste", as an argument for the Indo-European origin of the caste-system, comparing for this purpose the clans of the ancient Greeks and Romans. This argument has met with much opposition, chiefly on the ground that it is not until Sūtra times that the prohibition of inter-gotra marriage appears in the Indian sources. But it is clear that neither the argument nor a categorical statement to the contrary can hope to have conclusive value without a preliminary review of the history of the gotras.

The most detailed study of the subject which has appeared up to the present is Zimmer's dissertation, "Studien zur Geschichte der Gotras" (Berlin 1914). In this he has argued that the Bhṛgus and Angiras, or rather, the Bhṛgvangirases, were the oldest, and in fact the original gotra. His argument falls into two main parts. First, he takes a representative selection of the Vedic literature, from the Yajus Saṃhitās to the Prātiśākhyaas, Yāska and Pāṇini. From these he has collected the names of persons mentioned, and, with the aid of the Sūtra pravara-chapters, has tried to attribute as many as possible of these names to their respective gotras. The result, in spite of a number of indeterminable cases, is a decided preponderance of Bhṛgvangiras names. Thus, for the
Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, his figures are, Bhṛguvangaṇas, 183; total of other gotras (Atris, Viśvāmitras, Kaśyapas, Vasīśthas, Agastis), 101; undetermined, 117. So, too, of the determinable names in the Nirukta, two-thirds are Bhṛguvangaṇas; and for the Sāman-titles (named after persons) from the Pañcavimśa Brāhmaṇa, the figures are: undetermined, 24; Bhṛgu and Angirases, 61; other gotras, 8. The vāmās from the Brhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad, Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, and the Vāmā Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma Veda are treated separately, consisting as they do of three parts, the first mythical; the second largely made up of names mentioned in the body of the texts, and thus doubtless representing the formative period of the doctrines; and the third consisting of the names of teachers who have handed on the works in their completed form. The second part is thus homogeneous with the collections already made from the other texts; but the third may be taken to represent a later period. For this third period Zimmer (while admitting that the division between the second and the third period is not always easy to determine exactly) gives the figures: Bhṛgu and Angirases, 41; Atris, 7; Viśvāmitras, 21; Kaśyapas, 15; Vasīśthas, 29; Agastis, 0. From this it is concluded that in this later period the Bhṛgu and Angirases receded somewhat into the
background in comparison with the Viśvāmitras and Vasīṣṭhas.

In the second part of his discussion Zimmer notes that the Sūtra lists bear out the conclusions of the first part, by their distribution of the subdivisions among the major families. Thus, for example, the Āśvalāyana pravara chapter includes 46 sub-families under the headings of Bhṛgus and Angirases, as against only 33 sub-divisions for the remaining five gotras. In the Āpastamba list the proportion is 44 to 32. The assumption is that the older a gotra is, the more time it will have had to sub-divide. Finally, the Bhṛgus and Angirases have a separate and distinctive formula in the so-called yathārṣay ādhanam, they alone of the gotras are traditionally connected with the discovery of fire, and with the legend of the sacrificial contest against the gods; and are in fact gods themselves in many Vedic hymns; all these facts go to show that they were the oldest among the gotras, and that they were at one time the sole priests of the community.

Now, Zimmer's work on the subject is of great interest, and his collections of names are of considerable value. There are, however, a number of comments to be made on the above arguments. In the first place, it is not made clear what is meant by a gotra in the discussion, and it is far from being obvious what the social implications
might be of a proposition such as "The Bhrgusas and Angirasas are the oldest of the gotras." Also, Zimmer seems to have overlooked completely the nature of these two groups in the Sūtra accounts. If we consider these accounts by themselves, without reference to earlier history, we find that the society which they describe was made up of eighteen exogamous groups. We may for convenience of discussion call these groups gotras, but it must be clearly noted that this terminology is not that of the texts themselves, and that the commentators are at pains to maintain that the application of the term gotra to, say, the exogamous group of the Viṣṇuvṛddhas, is a mere convention, an "aupacārikaḥ parāmarśajñah prayogah" (1). From the traditional point of view, therefore, only eight of the exogamous units are gotras properly so-called. These are, the Jamadagnis, Gautamas, Bharadvājās, Atris, Viśvāmitras, Kaśyapas, Vasiṣṭhas, and Agastyas. The remaining ten groups who make up the so-called "Kevala Āṅgirasas", and "Kevala Bhārgavas", are properly called ganaḥ, a name which is also given to the primary subdivisions of the gotras proper. Although it is not explicitly stated in the texts, it is clear that the distinctive mark of a gana in this sense is the possession of a common pravara, while a gotra is a collection

(1) Gārgya Nārāyaṇa, on Āśv.ŚŚ.12.10.1.
of *ganas* whose pravaras (normally) have at least one name in common. Now, the Sūtra accounts are classified by pravara, and are not primarily concerned with the question of exogamy. Therefore the 'Kevala' *ganas* are included under the headings of Bhṛgus and Angirases, and their status as independent exogamous units is therefore masked. The following table illustrates the structure of Brahmanical society as envisaged by the Sūtra pravara-adhyāyas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gotras</th>
<th>Ganas</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jamadagnīs</td>
<td>Vatsas</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bidass</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arātiṣenās</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Yāskas</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Śunakas</td>
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<td>Mitrāyas</td>
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<td>Vainyās</td>
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<td>Āyāṣyās</td>
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<td>Aucathyās</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Āuṭājas</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rāńuganās, etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bharadvājas</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gargas</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rksas, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharadvājas</td>
<td>Haritās</td>
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<tr>
<td>Angirases</td>
<td>Kapētas</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rathiṭaras</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mudgalas</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saṃkṛtis</td>
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</table>
In this table, the exogamous units are given in italics. It is clear that the so-called Kevala gaṇas, the Yaskas, Śunakas, Haritas, Kaṇvas, etc., are thus on an equal footing, from the point of view of exogamy, with the gotras of the Atris, Viśvāmitras and the rest. But from the point of view of the Sūtra classification by pravara, they are comparable rather with the sub-divisions of these gotras. The pravara, which is well-known as an element in the Śrauta ritual from the time of the Brāhmaṇa portions of the Yajus Samhitās, consists essentially of a number of (suppositional) ancestral names, one, two, three or five. These are recited as an address to the Āhavanīya fire by the Hotṛ, and later by the Adhvaryu, during the

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Gotra</th>
<th>Atris</th>
<th>Viśvāmitras</th>
<th>Kaśyapas</th>
<th>Vasīṣṭhas</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Atris Vādbhutakas</td>
<td>Kuśikas</td>
<td>Nidhrivas</td>
<td>Vasiṣṭhas</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Gaviṣṭhiras, etc.</td>
<td>Katas</td>
<td>Rebhas</td>
<td>Kuṇḍinas</td>
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<td>Dhanamjayas, etc.</td>
<td>Sandilas</td>
<td>Upamanyus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Gotras</td>
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<td>Laugākāṣis</td>
<td>Parasāras</td>
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<td>Agastyas</td>
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<td>Idhmavāhas</td>
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<td>Somavāhas</td>
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<td>Agastis, etc.</td>
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ceremony of kindling the fire at the beginning of āstis and animal sacrifices. For example, in the case of the Atris proper, the Hotṛ addresses Agni as "Ātreyā, Arcanānasa, Śyāvāśva", i.e., "O Agni, who belong to Atri, etc."; while the Adhvaryu says "Śyāvāśvavād Arcanānovād Atrivat".

The pravara-adhyāyas, which form appendices to the Śrauta Sūtras, have as their chief purpose to act as guides to the Hotṛ and Adhvaryu priests, to enable them to recite the correct pravara according to the gotra of the sacrificer. It may be remarked in passing that this is probably why only the Sūtras of the Rk and Yajus seem to have been provided with these lists. The pravara groupings however do not exactly coincide with the exogamous units. The families are arranged in the lists under the headings of the chief names in the pravaras. Almost every pravara contains one of the names Bhṛgu, Angiras, Atri, Viśvāmitra, Kaśyapa, Vasiṣṭha, or Agastya; and accordingly these seven groups form the basis of the Sūtra classification. But by the time that the lists were compiled, the pravara had come to be used as a guide to the rule of exogamy. With the passage of time the families had repeatedly subdivided, but the unit of exogamy remained the larger group. Moreover, the word gotra came to be used to denote not only the exogamous group, but also was loosely applied to individual families within the
group. Therefore, to say "A man must not marry within his own gotra" was no longer adequate. Here, most conveniently, the pravara-system was at hand to provide a definition of which "gotra" was intended. It was not the "laukika-gotra", the family in everyday parlance, but the "ārṣa-gotra", family as determined by the rṣi-names (in the pravara). Hence we find the rule asamānapravarair vivāhāḥ (1), asamāna-rṣi-gotra-jātām (udvahet) (2), asamāna-ārṣagotrajām (3), asamāna-ārṣa-pravara, asagotra (4).

Baudhāyana further defines the position: eka eva rṣir yāvat pravara-yauvanarthate, tāvat saṃānagotratvam anyatra bhrigyavirāgaḥ ganāt (5), that is, except in the case of the Bhrigus and Angirases, the identity of one rṣi-name in the pravaras is sufficient to prevent intermarriage. In the case of the five "other gotras", the exogamous group coincides exactly with the pravara-group, so that, for example, all the members of the Vasiṣṭha exogamous unit have the one pravara-name "Vasiṣṭha" in common, although the other names vary according to the gana. In the case of the Bhrigus and Angirases, however, the pravara-groups each contained a number of exogamous units, and the rule was ingeniously adapted to their needs by requiring in their case a majority of identical rṣi-names in the pravaras before

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intermarriage was prohibited. The result of applying these rules is the classification given in the table above.

From this it is clear that it is impossible to consider the Bhṛgus and Angirases as single gotras, comparable to the gotras of the Vasisthas, Visvāmitras, etc., unless indeed we define the word in the special sense of pravara-group. It is of course of no importance which sense we choose to give to the word in a modern discussion; but unless it is clearly stated which sense is intended, only confusion can result. Zimmer's argument throughout is vitiated by his failure to distinguish clearly the nature of the groups which form the subject of his discussion. Thus, in his lists, he labels a name as "Bhṛgu" or "Angiras" or "Atri" or "Vasiṣṭha", as if all the cases were precisely parallel, and he speaks of the Bhṛgus and Angirases as "gotras". But in commenting upon the figures he has obtained from the prose texts (p. 18), he says, "The Angirases contain the two gotras of the Bharadvājas and Gautamas, but the figures show that this cannot be the cause of their superiority in numbers, since if for the sake of comparison the figure for the Visvāmitras is doubled (forming as it does approximately the average of those for the Kaśyapas and Vasiṣṭhas) it would still be only half as large as that
of the Angirases. The gotra of the Bhrngus, which includes the Jamadagnyas (my italics) comes next after the Angirases in size, and plays somewhat the same role as would the next largest, that of the Kaśyapas, with the addition of the scantily represented Ātreyas. Bhrngus and Angirases in many cases cannot be distinguished; if one adds together their three columns (i.e., the columns labelled by Zimmer Bhrngu, Angiras, and - where the ascription is not clearly established by the Śutra lists - Bhrngu-Angiras) in which three Mūla-gotras are contained, they are about twice as numerous as the other five Mūla-gotras together.

It is astonishing that Zimmer should have omitted here all consideration of the Kevala gānas, especially since a very large number of the names labelled by him "Bhrngu" or "Angiras" must be attributed to these gānas. The fact is that the Bhrngus, in addition to the Jamadagnis, contain four independent exogamous units, and the Angirases include among their numbers not only the gotras of the Gautamas and Bharadvājas, but also six Kevala gānas equal in status with them. Zimmer is of course right in saying that the two groups contain only three "Mūla-gotras", inasmuch as the texts do not allow the name gotra to the Kevala gānas. But if only these three are taken into account, it is quite indefensible to have included in the reckoning, as Zimmer has done, a
multitude of names which have no connection with these whatever, but are Kevala Bhārgavas and Kevala Āngirasas.

If, instead of the pravara-groups, we take as the basis of comparison the eighteen exogamous units of the Sūtra accounts, the statistics collected by Zimmer appear in a very different light. It must of course be admitted that the comparison of the exogamous units in this way cannot be more than a rough guide, since it is certain that these units varied considerably in size; in fact, to judge by the length of the lists in the Sūtras, the proportion of the combined Bhṛgu and Angiras families to the others is approximately 1:1 instead of 13:5. To take simply a sample from Zimmer's lists, of seven names from the Kāthaka Samhitā given by him as Angirases, three are Gautamas (all Āruṇīs), one Bharadvājas, two Haritas, and one Kanva. The situation in the other works is similar, and his totals of 186 for the 13 Bhṛgu and Angiras groups as against 101 for the remaining 5 gotras may be taken as reasonably representative of the historical facts.

We may therefore reverse Zimmer's argument, and instead of saying that the Sūtra lists bear out the figures collected from the literature, say that the distribution of the gotras in the earlier literature substantially corroborates the trustworthiness of the Sūtra accounts.
At the same time it must be confessed that Zimmer's statistics leave much to be desired. The large number of names in his lists which do not occur in the Sūtras, and are therefore for the most part not attributable to any specific gotra, is a serious drawback. Still, the probability is that they will be distributed among the families in much the same manner as the determined names. Zimmer has to some small extent improved the position by supplementing the information of the Sūtras by the notices of the Anukramaṇī of the Ṛgveda, and occasionally also by arguments, not always convincing, drawn from the texta themselves. Thus, a considerable number of names are labelled by him "Bhrūgu-Angiras" solely because they begin with the word sātya-. As he points out, twenty or so names with this prefix occur in the Sūtra lists, all of them among the Bhrūgas and Angirases. Statistically, it is highly improbable that this is purely the result of chance. But it is hardly legitimate to jump to the conclusion, as Zimmer does, that none of the other gotras had names of this type. If, for example, the actual historical situation had been that for twenty "Bhrūgu-Angiras" named "Satya-" there was one "other gotra" with this type of name, the situation in the Sūtra lists would not be unexpected.
Zimmer, however, is so certain that his theory is correct that, when faced with the name Vāsiṣṭha Sātyahavya, he is forced to attribute it to the Angirases rather than to the Vasiṣṭhas. This, although improbable at first sight, may be so; and it is possible to conjecture that a name of this sort might have arisen through adoption, so that the person in question would be a dvigotra, or dvyāmusyāyāna, as the texts say. But at the very least such cases must stand as a warning against undue certainty in such attributions.

More serious is the fact that the same name occurs occasionally in the Sūtra lists in more than one gotra. In a number of such cases, it is true, this is the result of textual corruption, and there is always a tendency for well-known names to displace more unusual ones. Still, it is undeniable that the family names were not necessarily peculiar to any one gotra. Thus, Āyahāthūṇa occurs not only among the Kaśyapas, but also among the Vasiṣṭhas; Pippalāda (not attributed by Zimmer) not only among the Vasiṣṭhas, but probably also among the Kaśyapas. Uddālaka Āruni is known as a Gautama, but the name Auddālaki occurs also among the Atrias. In cases of this sort, which are sufficiently frequent to deserve attention, Zimmer usually gives only the one attribution, and passes over the other in silence. The name Tārksya is noted by him as a Vaiśvāmitra on the authority of the Laugāksi
Sūtra and the Matsya Purāṇa, and as a Bhārgava (actually among the Mitrayus) on the authority of the Baudhāyana Sūtra. The forms actually occurring in the Sūtras are Tārkṣyāyaṇī and Tārkṣyāyaṇa respectively. But the name Tārkṣya also occurs in the pravara of the Kevala Āngirasa family of the Maudgalas, and it is possible that this is the correct attribution in the present case.

Another possible source of error, though of less weight, is the uncertainty of the text of the lists in many places. A few of Zimmer's attributions must be classed as suspect on this score. For example, he gives Upakosala Kāmalāyana as a Vaiśvāmitra on the authority of the Matsya Purāṇa (kāmalāyaninah); but a comparison of the other texts makes it probable that the name in the Purāṇa is an error for Kāmukāyaninah. It is unfortunate that Zimmer had not undertaken a textual study of the Sūtra lists. He would then have realised that the list given in the Matsya Purāṇa is not an independent authority, but is founded on the same original as the "Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi" list, and, in the published editions of the Purāṇa, presents a text so hopelessly corrupted as to be completely useless by itself. Moreover, a greater familiarity with the Sūtra texts would have enabled him not only to avoid such gross errors as the statement that the account given by the Saṃskāra-kaustubha is especially
closely related to that of the "White Yajur-Veda Pariśista" printed by Weber in his catalogue of the Berlin manuscripts (1), but also to attribute to gotras quite a considerable number of the names which he has left undetermined. To take a few examples at random: Śucívrkṣa, Sālālī, Āśvalāyana occur among the Vasiṣṭhas; Kātyāyana and Ānabhimālāta among the Viśvāmitras; Āgrāyana among the Kaśyapas; and so forth. More surprisingly, such well-known names as Vātsyya, Maudgalya, and Hārīta are left without attribution.

These criticisms are made with no intention of disparageing the statistical method as such. In historical and linguistic studies the method promises to be as useful a tool for the interpretation of data as it has already proved itself in the biological sciences. It is however essential that the data should be collected with the greatest possible care. It is not sufficient to collect figures; the first requisite is to know what the figures represent. Zimmer, by overlooking the distinction between pravara-groups and exogamous gotras, lays himself open to a serious misinterpretation of his results. The blemishes in his material itself - uncertain attributions, and so forth - do not of course mean that the results are to be dismissed out of hand, since allowance can be

(1) Still more extraordinary is his failure to distinguish between the genuine pravarādhyāya in this Ms. and the mediaeval pravarā-nirmaya which has been appended to it.
made for such factors in assessing the trustworthiness of the figures. But it is clear that Zimmer’s figures, apart from providing a general confirmation of the Sūtra pravara-adhyāyas, can really teach us very little new. They are certainly altogether inadequate to prove Zimmer’s chief contention, that the Bhṛgus and Angirases were "the oldest of the gotras". It is in fact to quite different matters that one must look for indications of the earlier history of the system. Before turning to these, however, it is desirable to consider another important body of evidence, namely, that presented by the grammar of Pāṇini and the Gaṇapātha.

Pāṇini, as is well known, gives a detailed account of the methods of forming patronymics(1), in the course of which he defines the word gotra for the purposes of his grammar: apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti gotram, "a gotra is a man’s descendants from the grandson onwards". This is at first sight far removed from the major exogamous "gotras", and the situation is further complicated by the introduction of a new term, yuvan, which is applied to the name of a "descendant from the grandson onward" if there should be still living a direct male ancestor (vamsya), an elder brother, or (in this last case optionally) an elder relative within the sapinda degree

(1) In particular, 4.1.76ff. The definitions come at 4.1.162ff.
of relationship. Thus, for example, the gotra-name derived from Garga will be Gārgya, while the yuvan-name will be Gārgyāyana. On the other hand, the son of Garga will be Gārgi. The explanation has therefore been given (1) that the grandson of Garga will be called Gārgya, but if Gārgi is still alive, Gārgyāyana. This however is too narrow an interpretation. It suggests moreover that these derivations may be formed from any personal name. This was certainly not Pāṇini's intention, and the commentators expressly rule out such formations as Devadattāyana. Nor does it provide an explanation of why Pāṇini should have used the expression gotra. An answer to this question is attempted by Puruṣottama-panḍita (2), who maintained that Pāṇini's definition was to be taken together with that of the Baudhāyana pravara-adhyāya:

viśvāmitro jamadagnir bharadvājo 'tha gautamah atrir vasisthah kaśyana ity ete sapta ṛṣayah; saptānām raṁnām agastyāstamanām yad apatyam tad gotram ity ucyate. For, says Puruṣottama, without some such restriction, even a Cāndāla might on Pāṇini's definition claim the distinction of gotra. It is in fact quite probable that Pāṇini was influenced in framing his rule by the memory of some such definition as Baudhāyana's.

(1) Vasu, Siddhānta-kaumudi, i.p. 623. (2) Gotrapravara- mañjarī, ed. P. Chentsal Rao, Mysore, 1900, p. 141 ff. So too Gārgya Nārāyana, Ct. to Āśv. Śr. Śūtra, 12.10.1: vyākaraṇa- smṛtis cāpy aṣyā (scil. baudhāyanasya smṛteḥ) na bādhikā
But it must be observed that the two definitions apply essentially to different things. Baudhāyana is defining the word *gotra* in its application to the major exogamous groups: the descendants of any one of the Seven Rāis and Agastya constitute the gotra designated by the name of the eponymous rāi. Purusottama, it is true, rejects this quite obvious explanation with a fatuous display of commentatorial ingenuity, chiefly because the Sūtra text says, immediately before the definition that there are "thousands and millions of gotras"; and an orthodox commentator could not believe that an inspired Sūtra-author might use the same word with different connotations, or, as is more likely, that the passage in question is a patchwork of older aphorisms. In Pāṇini, on the other hand, the word *gotra* has a much wider range of meaning. From the examples both in the text and in the commentaries, it is clear that as well as designating the major divisions, it also applies to the smaller social groups, viz., the ganaś mentioned above, and, even more frequently, the individual names which the more detailed Sūtra accounts list as subdivisions of these ganaś. Now it is certain that the word was popularly applied to all these types of groupings, but that Pāṇini should use a seemingly inexact technical term calls for explanation. The clue to the whole situation seems to lie in the introduction
of the term yuvan. There is in fact a unit of social organisation where precisely this differentiation might be imagined to hold, namely, the patriarchal Great-family, or kula (literally, 'household'). Within the community each of these kulas would, one may reasonably suppose, designate itself by its gotra-name, that is, in the first place the name of its exogamous gotra. But it is obvious that for practical purposes a name like Vāsiṣṭha, etc., is too inexact: it is very probable that there will be several kulas belonging to that group living in the same neighbourhood. It is therefore to be expected that these families will differentiate themselves by the use of the names of the subordinate groups, especially in the case of junior branches of families. This view in fact agrees well with the evidence of the Sūtra lists, where, for example, the name Bhāradvāja appears not only as the name of an exogamous unit, but also as a gana, and is again repeated as an individual family among the subdivisions of that gana. If then we take Pāṇini's rule as applying to the Great-families, the situation is at once clarified. The "head of the family", the patriarch, will normally be addressed by the gotra-name, but the younger male members of the family by the yuvan-name. Thus, the normal situation will be, not that Gārgya will be called
Gārgya as long as Gārgi is alive, but that any male member of the Gārgya-kula will be called Gārgyāyana, except the head of the household, who is called Gārgya simply. This interpretation is in accord with the Vārttikas which teach the use of the yuvan-name as an alternative to the gotra-name if respect is intended, and the reverse if disrespect is to be shown. This rather quaint usage seems at first sight to be the opposite of what might have been expected, but if its implications are considered it is clear enough. For if a junior Gārgyāyana is addressed as Gārgya, it is implied that his father, and indeed all his elder male relatives, are already as good as dead; while to call the head of the household by his yuvan-name is indirectly to pay respect to the memory of his dead father. It would seem that the reason for the restriction "from the grandson onwards" is simply to exclude the direct patronymic, and there is in fact every reason to believe that, at all events in the majority of cases in Pāṇini's time, the founders of the gotras, Garga, etc., already belonged to the past. The important point is that Pāṇini is giving rules for the grammatical formation of gotra-names, and it is not legitimate to conclude that the gotras themselves were still in process of formation.

It must of course be borne in mind that Pāṇini's account does not explicitly describe the social situation. As in the rest of the grammar it is taken for granted that the context is familiar to students of the work. The numerous exceptions and irregularities also tend to confuse the picture, and even with the aid of the commentators the details are not always certain. But the main outline of the system of nomenclature described by Pāṇini seems to be as follows: the gotra-name is normally
formed from the praepositus by vṛddhi and the suffix -ya or -a (thus Baidya, Gārgya, etc.), and the yuvan-name by the suffix -āyana. This may be taken theoretically to be the basic situation, though it is of course doubtful whether the actual usage ever corresponded to it exactly. At all events, by Pāṇini's time the usage had become much more complex, so that some families used the gotra form of the name to the exclusion of the yuvan, while in others the reverse had taken place. Thus, by 2.4.59 (pailādibhyāṣ ca), the names in the gāna pailādi refrain from forming the yuvan-derivative(1); while by 4.1.98,99 (gotre kuṇjādibhyāṣ ophañ; naḍādibhyāṣ phak) the forms Kaunjāyanya, Naḍāyana, etc., serve for gotra-names. And in fact Naḍāyana duly appears in the pravara-lists among the Vatsa-Bhṛgus.

The correspondences between the pravara-adhyāyas and Pāṇini, together with the Gāṇa-pāṭha, are too numerous to list here in full, but a few cases of particular interest may be noted. For example the names Saradvat, Sunaka, and Dārbha take the suffix -āyana for gotra-names when they are used in the sense of a Bhṛgu, a Vatsa, and an Āgrāyāna respectively (Pāṇ.4.1.102). Corresponding to this, the pravara-lists give the family-names Saradvatāyana among the Vatsa-Bhṛgus, but Saradvata as a gāṇa of the Gautama-Angirases; Saunakāyana among the Vatsa-Bhṛgus, but Saunaka as a Kevala-Bhṛgu gāṇa. The correspondence in the third case is not so good; but the Āgrāyāṇas are Nidhrūva-Kasyapas, and the Baudhāyana list gives a Dārbhāyana among the Laugākṣi-Kasyapas, while Dārbhya occurs among the Haritas.

(1) Böhtlingk's interpretation, "Paila heisst sowohl der Vater als auch der Sohn", is too narrow. (2) Cf. gāṇa kurvādi, 4.1.151.
Dārbhi among the Vatsas (so "Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi", while Baudhāyana has here Dārbhāyāṇa), and among the Bharadvājas (Baudhāyana).

Similarly Kāpi and Bodha have the suffix -ya in the sense of an Āngirasa (4.1.107); and the pravara-lists accordingly have Kāpya and Baudhya, the latter among the Āyāśya-Gautamas (Baudhāyana), but Baudhi among the Vasiṣṭhas. So too, Vaikarnēya and Kauśītakeya are taught by Pāṇini in the sense of Kaśyapas (4.1.124); and the two names duly appear together in the Baudhāyana list; but Vaikarnēya among the Vatsas, precisely as is taught in Pāṇini (4.1.117) - though "Kātyāyana and Laugākṣi" with the Mānava list have Vaikarni at this place. From the Gana-pāṭha we may note Bāleya, Ḍāleya, and Kaudreya, from the gana grṣṭyādi, the same names recurring together among the Atreya Putrīkā-putras in the pravara lists. Most interesting is the occurrence in the gana aśvādi of the two entries Ātreyā bharadvāje, bharadvāja ātreyē, i.e., the gotra-name is Bhāradvājāyaṇa when an Ātreyā is meant; conversely, Ātreyāyaṇa when a Bharadvāja is meant. This is duly confirmed by the pravara lists, the family of the Bhāradvājāyanas being included under the Atris, and the Ātreyāyaṇas among the Bharadvājas.

It would be possible to cite many more cases of correspondence; so frequent in fact is the occurrence of gotra-names in the Gana-pāṭha that the latter is by far the most useful external source for the textual criticism of the Sūtra lists. But for our present purpose sufficient has been quoted to show that the system as known to Pāṇini did not differ fundamentally from that described by the
Sūtra pravara-adhyāyas. It is in fact highly probable that Pāṇini was acquainted with a pravara-adhyāya, though it is of course not certain that this was any one of the texts which have come down to us. (1).

It must be admitted that there is no source of information prior to the Sūtras which is in any way comparable to these; and for the history of the system in the pre-Sūtra period we are forced to rely on chance references in literature which has no especial reason to supply explicit data. It has indeed been suggested that the lack of mention in the Rgveda is of itself sufficient reason for believing that the Vedic Indians did not practise clan-exogamy. The danger of the argumentum ex silentio in the present case may be seen if we consider that there is no mention of exogamous restrictions at all in the purely ritual parts of the Śrauta-Sūtras. If, therefore, our only literary relic of this period had been the Śrauta-Sūtras proper, we should have been completely ignorant of the existence of the exogamous system at that time. There is in fact no direct evidence at all for exogamy before the Sūtras. But it is reasonable to urge that the Hymns and Brāhmaṇas are not the type of works which one would expect to mention it, especially if the rule was so universally acknowledged that such mention would have seemed unnecessary to the authors.

(1) For a classified account of the patronymics evidenced by Pāṇini, see Theophil Gubler’s dissertation "Die Patronymica im Alt-Indischen", Göttingen, 1905. Gubler however has not understood the significance of the terms gotra and yuvan in Pāṇini, and seems to have been unaware of the application of the word gotra except as a term of grammar. He therefore tries to explain the use of gotra-names as a means of distinguishing, by means of the grandfather’s name, or that of a famous ancestor, men whose fathers’ names were the same (pp. 36-38).
In the first place, although the pravara-adhyāyas of the Sūtras are the first classified account, there is none the less a fair body of evidence which enables us to follow to some extent the growth of the system of pravaras. There are in the Rgveda numerous cases in which the names of famous Rsis are used in precisely the same manner and form, and with the same intent, as the later pravaras. But for the most part, these instances differ from the pravaras proper in that they group together Rsis from different gotras, eg., jamadagnivat, vasisthavat(1), priyamedhavat, atriavat, virūpavat, angirasvavat (2). Nevertheless, the frequent occurrence of the single name Atriavat in the fifth book, and cases like Jamadagnivat alone (3), can hardly fail to be connected historically with the pravaras in the form spoken by the Adhvaryu in the later ritual. In addition to such cases, however, there are two instances in the Rgveda which clearly show that the classified system of pravaras was already being evolved. The first is 8.102.4: aurvabhṛguvac chūcim apnavānavad ā hive agnī samudravāsaasam. These three names occur in all the pravaras of the Bhṛgus proper in later times, and are here clearly a pravara in embryo. Even clearer is the other case, from the so-called Subheṣaja khila, where are found the names apnavānavad aurvavābhṛguvaś jamadagnivaś(4). This latter hymn is certainly late among the Rgveda collection, as its elaborate metre and the fact of its coming at the end of an anuvāka show. But its material is utilised by the Yajus texts, and the variant readings make it highly probable that they

(1) 7.96.3. (2) 1.45.3. (3) 9.97.51. (4) RV.khila 4.9.2, Scheffelowitz, "Die Apokryphen des RV." p. 124. The remainder of the stanza is unfortunately lost.
are the borrowers. We may therefore assume that in the later period of the Rgveda, or at all events before the final redaction of the Yajus texts, the system of family pravaras was gradually taking shape. It seems unlikely that it had already crystallised to the extent to which we find it in the Sūtras. The difference in the order of the names in the Subheṣaja-hymn and in the Sūtras may of course be explained as poetic licence; but in view of the invariable order of the Sutra-lists, it is more probable that it is a sign that the system was still fluid. Moreover, it is noteworthy that both the Rgvedic examples are of pravaras which in later times belonged to the Bhṛgus, who are invariably placed first in the Sutra-lists. It is therefore probable that it was among the Bhṛgus that the use of the stereotyped pravara was first developed. This would accord well with the fact that the Bhṛgus, as is well known (and with them the Angirases, who follow them in the Sūtra lists) are particularly associated in tradition with the fire-ritual.

It is of course impossible to argue that the gotras themselves came into existence at the same time as the pravaras were developed. The existence of the pravaras at any given time implies the existence of the gotras, but the converse is obviously not true. It would hardly be necessary to labour this point, but for the fact that at least one writer, Karandikar in his book "Hindu Exogamy", 
has suggested that the Rigvedic invocations of Agni in pravara-style, but unsystematic, go to show that the gotra-system had not yet come into being. Karandikar in fact believed that the exogamous organisation was of comparatively late origin, and that it developed out of ritual corporations rather than kinship groups, and that originally a man was at perfect liberty to choose for himself the gotra to which he was to belong. His arguments, however, are far from being conclusive, and his contention that the Brahmans borrowed the idea of exogamy at a late period from the aboriginal inhabitants, and proceeded to apply it to these ritual groups, still remains in need of convincing demonstration. The theory is further contradicted by the evidence to which we shall now turn.

The most important clues for the pre-Sūtra history of the system are supplied by the various differences in ritual and social practices which the later gotras preserved. We know, for example, that in the Sūtra period the major gotras were distinguished by the mode of dressing the hair. In the Pariśiṣṭa to the Gobhila Gṛhya-Sūtra, ascribed to Gobhila's son, the description occurs:

dakṣinā-kapardā vāsisthā ātreyāīa trikapardinaṁ
angirasah pana acuda mundaya bhrgavah ṣikhino 'anye. (1).

"The Vāsiṣṭhas wear a braid on the right side, the Ātreyas a three-fold braid, the Angirases a five-fold top-knot; the Bhrgus are shaven, the rest wear a crest." It is therefore of the first importance that in the Ṛgveda the Vāsiṣṭhas are described as 'dakṣinatas-kapardāṁ' (2).

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(2) RV. 7.33.1.
More important is the well-known ritual divergence between the families who honoured Tanūnapāt, and those who preferred Narāśāṃsa. At the fore-offerings at an īṣṭi or an animal sacrifice, the second offering is to Agni under one or other of these two names; and accordingly in the hymns which accompany these offerings at the animal sacrifice, the so-called Āpri-hymns, there occurs in the second stanza an invocation either to Tanūnapāt or to Narāśāṃsa, or else both occur in separate stanzas, clearly intended as alternatives according to the gotra of the sacrificer. In the Sūtras, again, the prescription is laid down that certain gotras worship the one deity, and the rest the other. Unfortunately, the various Sūtras do not entirely agree among themselves in the distribution of the gotras between Tanūnapāt and Narāśāṃsa. Thus, in the Narāśāṃsa category Baudhāyana (1) places only the Vasiṣṭhas, Āpastamba only the Vasiṣṭhas and Śuṇakas (2). Kātyāyana adds that some also give the Atris (3). In addition to these three Āśvalāyana gives also the Vādhryasvas(4); and the Kanvas and Saṃkṛtis as well as the Vādhryasvas are added by Śaṅkhāyana (5), and by the Nidāna and Aṃpada Sūtras(6). In the Baudhāyana pravara-adhyāya (§54) the Vādhūlas and Yaskas are given along with all those already mentioned. The extraordinary inversion of the usual rule in the Latyāyana-Sūtra, where the Atris, Vasiṣṭhas, Śuṇakas, Kanvas, Saṃkṛtis, and Vādhryasvas are said to use the Tanūnapāt

verse, remains unexplained. It can hardly be that the author was ignorant of the usual custom, and in a case of this sort, textual corruption seems most improbable. It is possible that the singers of the Sāma-veda deliberately prescribed the contrary usage when the hymn was used as a Sāman, by way of compensation for the normal usage in other parts of the ritual. The fact that the Ādāna and Anupada Sūtras agree with the majority, however, rather than with the Lātyāyana, makes such an explanation doubtful.

Two opposing interpretations of the situation have been offered. Weber (2) held that the range of Narāśāmsa worshippers steadily increased, "since as time passes, the number of families increases Sūtra by Sūtra". This is certainly dubious. There is no positive evidence at all to bear it out, and the relative chronology of the Sūtras implied by such a theory is far from certain. Moreover, the evidence of the Rgveda seems to contradict it. Schwab, on the other hand, followed by Hillebrandt and Keith (3), held that in the end the tradition of the Jamadagni family prevailed, and their invocation of Tanūnapat was accepted by all the families, except that the Vasiṣṭhas remained faithful to Narāśāmsa. This is presumably derived from such passages as Āśvalāyana, Śrauta-sūtra 3.2.6-8, where RV.x.110 is prescribed for all families other than the Vasiṣṭhas and Śunakas (4). It is necessary to remark, however,

(1) Lātyāyana, 6.4.13-16; see also Caland, Pañcavīma-s-brāhmaṇa, trs., p. 414. (2) loc.cit. p. 92. (3) Schwab, "Altindisches Tieropfer" p.91; Hillebrandt, Ved.Myth. ii.102; Keith, Rel. and Phil. of the Veda, p.165.
that even when the Jamadagni hymn was used by other families, those who normally invoked Narāśāmśa were expected to substitute a Narāśāmśa verse for the second verse of the hymn, normally, according to Sāṅkhāyana, the second verse of the Vasistha hymn. It seems therefore that there is not sufficient evidence for the conclusion that the invocation to Narāśāmśa did in fact tend to die out. Rather, the variations between the Sūtra prescriptions would seem to point to differences, possibly local, in the degree of stringency with which the family customs were observed; and it is certainly possible that a reformist tendency was at work in the later days of the Sūtra period. Thus, the Baudhāyana-sūtra, which is certainly early, gives the smallest number of Narāśāmśa worshippers, while the pravara-appendix to the same Sūtra, which in the form we possess it is probably considerably later than the main body of the work, gives the largest number. To this extent, then, Weber's theory of an increase of Narāśāmśa worshippers rather than a decline seems to be nearer to the facts of the case than the opposing view.

The chief point, however, which tells against Weber's theory as it stands is the situation in the Rgveda. For the history of the gotras, it is important to note that the Sūtra authors recognised the application of the various Āpṛī hymns of the Rgveda by the gotras of their own time. Āśvālayana, for example, adds to the prescription given above, "yatharśi vā", that is to say, "alternatively, the Āpṛī hymn of one's own particular rśī (-family) is used", and the commentator

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(1) ŚŚŚ. 5.16.
Nārāyaṇa quotes in illustration the first words of the ten Āpri hymns from the Rgveda, ascribing each to one of the gotras. Max Müller drew attention to the fact that there are in the Rgveda ten Āpri hymns (1), attributed to authors of various families, and scattered more or less evenly throughout the ten books. These, together with their traditional authors, as given in the Anukramaṇī, are:

1.13 Medhātithi Kāṇva
1.142 Dīrghatamas Aucathya
1.188 Agastya
2.3. Gṛtsamada Saunahotra
3.4. Viśvāmitra Gāthina.
5.5. Vasusūrta Ātreyya
7.2. Vasiṣṭha Maitrāvaruṇi
9.5. Asita (or Devala) Kāśyapa.
10.70 Sumitra Vādhryaśva
10.110 Rāma Jámadagnya.

Of these hymns, the first two contain verses addressed both to Tanūnapāt and to Naraśāmsa; those of Gṛtsamada, Ātreyya, Vasiṣṭha, and Vādhryaśva have Naraśāmsa only; and the others have Tanūnapāt only. The agreement therefore with the Sūtra prescriptions as to the families which honoured these deities is remarkably close. It is of course always open to doubt the authenticity of the ascriptions of the Anukramaṇī, and it is not necessary to believe that the individuals mentioned above were in fact the real authors of the hymns. But whether they were or not, it is certain that the hymns in question were the especial property of the families to which these seers belonged, that is, the Kāṇyas, Gautamās, Agastyas, Śunakas, Vaiśvāmitras, Ātreyas, Vasiṣṭhas, Kāśyapas, Mitrayus, and Jámadagnyas.

Müller drew the conclusion that at the time of the final redaction of the \( \text{Rgveda} \), the ten families in question considered it a matter of moment that their own \( \text{Apri} \)-hymns should be included. It is possible however to go further, and to see in the occurrence of the \( \text{Apri} \)-hymns strong evidence for a theory that the clan-descent was continuous from \( \text{Rgvedic} \) times, and that the gotra of the \( \text{Vasiṣṭhas} \), for example, as we know it from the Śūtra accounts, is in fact the lineal descendant of the \( \text{Vasiṣṭhas} \) of the seventh book of the \( \text{Rgveda} \). It has of course long been a commonplace that the so-called "family-books" of the \( \text{Rgveda} \) are to be attributed not to individual authors, \( \text{Vasiṣṭha} \), etc., but rather to "\( \text{Vasiṣṭhidae} \)"(1). But writers have continued to talk of family-books and hymn-families, and the picture conjured up by such a terminology is altogether misleading. Whatever scholars may have intended, there can be no doubt that the reader has tended to consider the family of the \( \text{Vasiṣṭhas} \) and the others / the \( \text{Vasiṣṭhas} \) as in some way analogous to, say, the family of the \( \text{Bachs} \) in German music, that is, as small families of bards within the community, in which the profession of poet was hereditary. But if we take into account the status of the gotras of the Śūtra lists, it seems very much more likely that these books are to be considered the property of clans rather than of families in the narrower sense. In other words, we must understand the \( \text{Vasiṣṭhas} \) and the others to form the whole of

the Ṛgvedic society - at least in so far as the Brahmans are concerned - and not simply small individual families.

The position of the other ranks of society is unfortunately not at all certain. As is well-known, the Ṛgveda shows clear traces of the emergence of the Rājanyas and common people as distinct classes, which however were probably less rigid than the later varṇas. In the later period, the authors are unanimous in claiming membership of gotras for Brahmans only. It is certain, however, that at the present day, castes of every rank in society may have exogamous gotras, often named after those of the Brahmans, and doubtless imitated from these. It is quite natural that the Brahmans would lay claim to any possible exclusive distinction, and the assertion of Brahmanical writings that Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas had no gotra cannot be taken as proof that these classes did not in fact earlier belong to the same gotras as the Brahmans. It would certainly be quite in accord with the picture of society which we can see in the Ṛgveda if we assume that the hard and fast differentiation into varṇas had not yet set in its later mould, so that in a real sense Kṣatriyas and commoners could be considered as members of the same clans as the Brahmans. One may in fact see in the hymns themselves - the ability to compose them, to transmit them, and to use them in the difficult sacrificial ritual - a powerful incentive towards the formation of a distinct priestly caste within the separate
clans; while at the same time the hymn-collections could still quite validly be considered the property of the clans as a whole. In the Sūtra-period, the normal rule at the pravara-ceremony is that a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya should name the pravara-ancestors of his purohita. It has always been a matter for argument whether for this reason these classes should follow the same rule of exogamy as did the Brahmans. It is on the face of it absurd that marriage should be ruled, not by one's own family connections, but by those of the family priest. It is true that some writers held that the marriage prohibition did not apply in the case of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas (1), but in general the rule seems to have been followed, and at the present day we find cases of Kṣatriyas of a particular purohita's pravara refusing intermarriage with others of the same pravara. It is of course to be surmised that in any case the profession of purohita in a royal household would tend to be hereditary, and that therefore the royal family would come to possess the gotra-name of the purohita almost as an alternative family name. In such a fashion can the name of Gautama borne by the Buddha be explained. But it is equally probable that Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas continued to possess these gotras, and to regulate their marriages by them, because originally they formed one and the same clan with the Brahmans. If this latter explanation be correct, it is easy to understand that a member of these lower classes would naturally choose a purohita

\textit{Aṣṭī}-hymns, tells very strongly against the view that the later gotras were formed from ritual associations which, as Karandikar believed, only came into being in post-Ṛgvedic times.

It is perhaps worth noting that, if we take into account the Sūtra distinction which has been discussed above, between the Bhṛgu and Angiras groups of gotras on the one hand, and the remaining gotras on the other, then the arrangement of the early family books in the Ṛgveda shows a rather striking symmetry of arrangement. The Gr̄̄tsamadas of book II are the sole representatives of the Bhṛgus; but books IV, VI, and VIII represent the three well-known subdivisions of the Angirases, namely, the Gautamas, Bhāradvājas, and the Kevala Angirases. On the other hand, the odd numbers are all non-Bhṛgu-Angiras gotras. It seems therefore highly probable that this alternating arrangement of the books was intentional, and that the distinction between Bhṛgu-Angiras Brahmans and others was important from very early times. The distinction continued in force for a very long time, and there are numerous traces of it in the later ritual literature.

Thus, for example, at the ceremony of establishing the householder's fire (agnyādāhāna), there is a part of the ritual called by the Sūtras the \textit{yathārṣyādāhānam}. One would expect this to mean that the various gotras had their distinct usages, as in the case of the \textit{Aṣṭī}-hymns; but in fact the distinction was between
The Bhṛgus and Angirases as against all the others. The Maitrāyani Samhitā gives only two contrasting formulae, "angirasāṁ tvā devānāṁ vretenādadhē; (a)gnes tvā devasya vretenādadhē" (1), the second presumably belonging to all Brahmans other than Angirases. The Kaṭhaka gives for the other families "ādityānāṁ tvā devānāṁ, etc."., which is the form adopted by the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa and Āpastamba (2). In place of the first phrase, however, the Taittiriya gives "bhṛgūnāṁ tvāngirasāṁ vratapate vretenādadhāmi"; while Āpastamba has three separate phrases, "bhṛgūnāṁ tvā devānāṁ, etc.", "angirasāṁ tvā devānāṁ, etc.", "ādityānāṁ tvā devānāṁ, etc.". A similar discrimination between the two groups of Brahmans may be traced in the mantras prescribed for the adoration of the sacrificial fires at the Agnyapasthāna, where, if the mantras are allocated to gotras according to the ascriptions of the Anukramaṇī (the verses in question are all Rgvedic), they are seen to fall into groups alternating between Angirasa families and non-Bhṛgu-Angiras gotras (3). This can hardly be a chance distribution, and it seems probable that originally the Yajur-veda, in prescribing the two sets, expected them to be used as alternatives according to the gotra of the sacrificer.

(1) MS 1.6.1, etc. (2) KS 7.13; TB 1,1,4,8; ĀpSS5.11.17; Baudh.ŚŚ 2.17 seems to admit a wider range of alternatives (anīśaṁ tvā devaṁ ... yathārṣaṁ yathāgotraṁ). (3) Taitt.Śaṁ 1.5.5, a-m, and 1.5.6, f-i,m-p. If we denote the Angirasa verses by a, and the others by x, the arrangement is: a,x; a,a,a; x,x,x,x; a,a,a. x,x,x,x;x; a,a,a.
It is perhaps worth noting in passing that at the time of the earliest compilation, not all the clans possessed Āpṛī-hymns, since the Āprīs of the Gautamas and the Kaṭyas are placed among the additional collections of these families in the later first book, while the important family of the Bharadvājas seem never to have had an Āpṛī at all. It may be, as Nārāyaṇa remarks (commentary on Āsvā. 3.2.8), that for this purpose they shared the Āpṛī of the Gautamas, as being fellow Angirases.

The first book of the Ṛgveda contains groups of hymns arranged for the most part according to family. These are certainly a later collection than the "family" books, and for the most part seem to have been composed also later than them. It is of interest, therefore, that in addition to a number of names already known from the "family" books, the last group in the book is ascribed to Agastya. This comparatively late appearance of Agastya in the Ṛgveda accords well with the position of this clan in the pravara-lists, where it is regularly placed last, and is considered to be "the eighth in addition to the seven ṛṣis. It is also worth noting that, according to a passage in the Jaiminiya-brāhmaṇa, the Agastyas are "outside the Kuru-pañcaalas" (1).

Similarly, one may see in the group of hymns attributed to

(1) Caland, "Das Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl" §145.
Kutsa (I.94-115) a sign of the emergence of the later gotra-gana of that name, which was grouped under the Kevala Angirases. Possibly the group ascribed to Paruochepa Daivodāsi (I.127-139) may foreshadow the Kevala Bhṛgu gana of the Mitrayus, whose pravara is "Bhārgava, Vādhryaśva, Daivodāsa". Whether or not this is so, there can be no doubt that this family was already sufficiently important before the close of the Rgveda to have an Āprī-hymn of its own, as we have seen above (X.70, attributed to Sumitra Vādhryaśva). The fact, however, that this Āprī occurs only in book X, and that there is only one other hymn attributed to this Vādhryaśva, is sufficient indication of the late inclusion of this family within the Rgvedic society.

The Kaśyapas, who in the Sūtras form an important and extensive family, are represented in the main collection of the Rgveda only by five scattered hymns (I.99, V.44, VIII.97, X.106, X.163). But in the ninth book, the only really well-defined groups of hymns belong to them (IX.5-24, 53-60). It would seem that the Kaśyapas were specialists in the composition of hymns to the Soma Pavamāna, and their Āprī-hymn (IX.5) is a remarkable tour de force, contriving as it does to fit the word pavamāna into every stanza of the traditional Āprī form.

The hymns of the tenth book, the latest in time, are not arranged in family groups; but a considerable number of the traditional authors of its hymns can be connected either with the clans already known from the earlier books of the Rgveda,
or with the later pravara-lists. The existence of the Jamadagnis as a separate gotra before the end of the Rgvedic period is certified by the occurrence of their Āprī-hymn at X.110.

We can thus be confident of the existence in the earlier period of the formation of the Rgveda of the clans corresponding to the "family" books; and to these, before the final redaction of the Rgveda, must have been added the Agastis, Kutsas, Vādhryaśvas, (i.e. Mitrayus), Kaśyapas, and Jamadagnis. With regard to the remaining families of the Śūtra accounts, who are all either Kevala Bhṛgus or Kevala Angirases, there is no reason to suppose that they existed as such in the Rgvedic period. Nevertheless, all of them, with the solitary exception of the Yaskas, can trace a Rgvedic connection, inasmuch as their pravaras each contain the names of seers to whom are attributed various hymns of the tenth book (except for Trasadasyu Paurukutsa, representing the Viṣṇuvṛddhas, whose hymns are IV.42, V.27, and IX.110). Thus, the Samkṛtis, with the pravara Sāktya, Gaurivīta, Sāmkṛtya, have the seer of X73, Gaurivīta Sāktya; and similarly with the others X.102, Mudgala Bhārmyasva (Maudgalyas); X.111, Aṣṭādamśtra Vairūpa (Rathītaras); X.118, Uruksya Amahīyava (Kapis); Māndhatṛ Yauvanāsva (Kutsas); X.148, Prthu Vainya (Vainyas).
It is difficult to believe that these later families were actually in existence during the Rgvedic period. The tradition is that the Kevala ganas are descended from seers who were originally Kṣatriyas, but had afterwards attained the status of Brahmins, and it is not impossible that this may contain a fair element of truth. It cannot of course apply to the Gr̄tsamadas or the Kāṇyas, who although later reckoned as Kevala ganas of the Bhṛgus and Angirases respectively, were in the Rgveda established as important clans from a very early date. The others, however, may well be newcomers in post-Vedic times, although we cannot say whether their claim to these late Vedic Rāis is genuine, or whether it was merely adopted for the sake of upholding a fictitious claim to ancient and respectable lineage. There is after all in the Rgveda nothing to distinguish the Rāis in question from a host of others in the tenth book who are not claimed by any of the later gotras.

There is no evidence as to where these clans came from. It is conceivable that they arose simply within the framework of the original society, as the result of an increase in dignity and importance. But it is also a possibility that they came in from outside, that is, from other Aryan communities living on the fringes of the society to which the Rgveda belonged. The latter is very probably the case with regard to the
Jāmadagnyas. Indeed, one of the most surprising facts in the Rgvedic picture is the very late appearance and comparatively insignificant position of this family; whereas in the Sūtra lists they have assumed a position of very great importance. Not only are they numerically one of the largest of the gotras (if one may judge roughly from the number of sub-families comprised by them), but they invariably come first in the pravara-lists. From the Sūtra point of view, in fact, they are the Bhṛgus par excellence, and they have apparently quite superseded the ancient Ēṛtsamadas. Now, it is significant that the Jāmadagnis (in the Sūtras subdivided into Vatsas, Bidas, and Ārṣṭiṣeṇas) cut the sacrificial cake into five portions, while the other gotras were content with four. The same distinction was also observed in the Gṛhya ritual, and at the marriage ceremony the Jāmadagnyas sacrificed three portions of fried grain, but the others only two (1). That such a distinction in usage should have been so carefully observed into the later period is in itself of considerable significance; and it is noteworthy that the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa in dealing with the matter mentions that although some prescribe a five-fold cutting, this is not approved among the Kuru-pancālas (2).

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(1) Gobhila G.S. 1.8.4; Khādira G.S.2.1.17 (Jāmadagnya-bhṛgus); Āsv.G.S. 1.10.20, 1.7.8-9; cf. Weber, Ind.St. x. p.95.
(2) Ś.B. 1.7.2.8.
unthinkable that the author should not have known that it was the Jāmadagnyas to whom this usage belonged, and the fact that the name is not mentioned may be taken simply as a sign of disapproval. The pointed reference to the Kuru-paṅcālas reminds one of the similar remark made by the Jaiminiya-brāhmaṇa (quoted above) about the Agastis, and it is probably an indication that at the time of the composition of the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa, the entry of the Jāmadagnyas into the Brahmanical fold was still comparatively recent.

The Rgveda, it is true, knows of Bhṛgus and Angirases, but for the most part these remain very shadowy figures in the hymns, and seem to be thought of as semi-divine personages rather than as human priestly clans. On the other hand, it is precisely to these that the hymns of the Atharva-veda are ascribed, and it is well-known that the older name for this Veda was Atharvāngirasaḥ, or Bhṛgvaṅgiraśaḥ, that is, the hymns of the Atharvans and the Angirases (1). It seems therefore a

(1) The Atharvans, so closely connected in tradition with the other two families, appear nowhere in the pravara lists. The alternative names of the Atharva-veda led Hillebrandt to the theory that the Bhṛgus are to be considered as the clan, and the Atharvans as their priests (Ved. Myth. ii.177). Atharvana, however, is as common a patronymic in the older period as is Bhārgava, and it seems probable that the two names came to be synonymous. Thus, for example, the Khila-hymn quoted above (p. 25) is ascribed to Subheṣaṇa Atharvana, but the pravara contained in it is a Bhārgava pravara.
possible conjecture that in origin this Veda represents the
tribal collection of an Aryan community distinct from that in
which the Rgveda grew up. If the Jamadagni-Bhrigu may be taken
as in some way representing this tribe, their growth in power
and position in post-Rgvedic society can easily be understood,
since their knowledge of charms and spells would be very highly
thought of. One may tentatively advance another argument in
support of this view. It is well-known that in later Brahmanical
literature, the word vrātya denotes a person outside the
orthodox fold, whose initiation has not been performed; and
in Vedic times we find ceremonies called Vrātya-stomas, the
purpose of which was to introduce into Brahmanical society a
person from one of the "roving bands" of non-Vedic Aryans. The
original sense of the word vrātya has always been a matter for
controversy, and we need not enter into a discussion of that
here; but one of the chief problems has been that in book XV of
the Atharva-veda we find a long and detailed semi-mystical
panegyric of the Vrātya. This of course is hardly in keeping
with the despised position assigned to him in later times. If
however the conjecture above as to the origin of the Jámadagnyas
is true, then some light may be thrown on this problem also.
For if the Atharva-veda was at the start a collection belonging to
a community originally distinct from that of the Rgveda, and living
a nomadic life on the outskirts of the latter. it is understandable
that the word vrātya, "wanderer", should have a good or bad significance according to the point of view adopted. The theory therefore, that the Jamadagnyas represent the Vṛatyā tribe to whom the Atharva-veda belonged, is perfectly in accord with the evidence, though admittedly it cannot be regarded as finally proven.

To summarise our results: the gotra system in the Śūtra-period is organically connected with the "hymn-families" of the Rgveda, as is shown by the continuity of ritual usages. In the earliest stage which we can observe, however, the number of clans is considerably smaller than in the Śūtra accounts. The original "hymn-families" all survive and have their representatives in the Śūtra-period. But in the interval a number of new groups join them, some of whom, at least, such as the Agastyas and the Jamadagnis, came from outside tribes; while others, being for the most part included among the Kevala gaṇas of the Bṛgus and Angirases, may be in origin Kṣatriya families, as the tradition has it, who, as the cleavage between the classes (varṇas) became more sharply defined, were no longer felt as integral parts of the gotras of the Brahmins, and were thus able to form independent units of their own.