

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1:

Śāṅkara-Smṛti 1,12,4 in Sanskrit

Transliterated from the edition of Paramēśvaran Mūssatū (1905/06, in Malayalam script) with dissolution of the vowel sandhi¹ and composita² by Asko Parpola

1. athāto 'nupravakṣyāmi nṛṇāṃ keraḷa+vāsināṃ
anācārān samāseṇa bhārgaveṇa pradārṣitān
2. anyatra- ācāraṇa+abhāvād anācārān bhṛgu-+udvahaḥ
yān ācaṣṭa catuḥ+ṣaṣṭim ākhyāsyē tatra tān api
3. varjayed danta+kāṣṭhāni nitya+snāne sa+celatāṃ
snāna+vastreṇa- aṅga+mārṣṭim sandhyā+prāñ+<m>ajjanaṃ tathā
4. pacana-+ādīkam a+snātvā ca- eka+rātra-+uṣitaṃ jalam
snāna-+ādau phala+saṃkalpaṃ pātra-+ucchiṣṭa+sthita-+udakam
5. śūdra-+ādi+sparśane snānaṃ kuryuś śuddhim abhīpsavaḥ
antyañānāṃ saṃnikarṣe ca- api majjanaṃ ācaret
6. sparśane ca- antyañāna+spṛṣṭa+kūpa+vāpī+stha+vāriṇaḥ
sammārjita+kṣitau pāda+nyāse ca prokṣaṇād ṛte
7. ūrdhva+puṇḍre tri+puṇḍraṃ ca kuryāc chuddhena bhasmanā
sarveṣāṃ karmaṇāṃ mantraṃ svayam eva- uccared dvijaḥ
8. annaṃ paryuṣitaṃ prāyo vyañjanaṃ ca tathā+vidhaṃ
śīsu-+ucchiṣṭaṃ ca naivedyaṃ śivasya ca vivarjayet
9. hasta+dattaṃ ghr̥taṃ śākaṃ vinā darvyā na bhakṣayet
mahiṣī+ghr̥ta+dugdha-+ādi havye kavye 'pi ca tyajet
10. bhūñjīta kabalī+kṛtya na- ucchiṣṭaṃ ca yathā bhavet
a+śucir na- eva tāmbūla+bhakṣaṇa-+ādīkam ācaret
11. brahmacarya-+āśrame niṣṭhāṃ vratānāṃ karaṇaṃ tathā
dakṣiṇāṃ ca guroḥ kuryād vīthyāṃ adhyayanaṃ tu na
12. kriyāḥ ṣoḍaśa kurvīta yathā+kālam yathā+vidhi
kanyā+vīkrayaṇaṃ na- eva kuryāt kāmya+vratāni ca

¹ A hyphen has been added at the end of the former component when a vowel sandhi has been dissolved and space left between the two components if they belong to different words.

² A +-sign has been inserted between members of compounds.

13. rajasvalāyāḥ sparśe tu striyaḥ snātvā- eva bhojanam tantu+vāyasya rajakasya- api karma vivarjayet
14. kṣatra-ādīnām na kartavyam rudra-akṣa-ādau śiva-+arcanam brāhmaṇo na- eva kurvīta śūdra-śrāddha-+pratigrahaṃ
15. kuryāt pitāmaha-śrāddham śrāddham mātāmahasya ca tat+patyor api darśe ca śrāddham vidhivad ācaret
16. pitros saṃvatsarasya- ante sapiṇḍī+karaṇam tathā tāvad dikṣā ca kartavyā śrāddham ṛkṣa+pramānataḥ
17. anyasya putratām yātaḥ sva+pitroh śrāddham ācaret sva+bhūmau śava+dāhas tu kartavyo na- itaratra tu
18. strī+darśanam na kartavyam saṃnyāsa-+āśrama+vartibhiḥ mṛteṣu teṣu na śrāddham kuryād uddiśya tān kva cit
19. vipra+striyo na draṣṭavyāḥ puṃbhir anyaiḥ patiṃ vinā grhād bahir na gantavyam tābhir dāsīm vinā kva cit
20. vastraṃ śveta-+itaram tasyā nāsa-+āvedhaś ca na- iṣyate surā+pāna-+anya+vipra+strī+saṃgama-+ādyaiḥ pated dvijaḥ
21. deva-+ālayeṣu pretānām pratiṣṭhām na- eva kārayet śūdra-+ādi+sparśanam deva+pratimāsu vivarjayet
22. nivedita-+annam anyasmai devāya na nivedayet a+haviṣyam ca devānām vivāha-+ādi na kārayet
23. āśīr+vādo na kartavyo namaskāraś ca bhū+suraiḥ vārṣikī paśu+himsā tu na kāryā mokṣa+kāmibhiḥ
24. śaiva+vaiṣṇava+tantra-+ukta+matād anyat tu varjayet eka+yajñopavitī syāj jyeṣṭha+bhrātā grhī bhavet
25. kuryuḥ kṣatra-+ādayaḥ śrāddham mātulasya yathā+vidhi dāya-+ādā bhāgineyaḥ syus teṣām na- eva tu sūnavah
26. a+brāhmaṇo na saṃnyāsam kuryāt patau mṛte vadhūḥ na- eva kuryāt saha+mṛtiṃ pātivrātye 'pi niścite
27. etāvanto hy anācārāḥ prādhānya+paricintayā bhārgaveṇa samāmnātā ye ca- anye kiṃ cid unatām
28. bhajantas tena ca- ākhyātāḥ śataṃ ca- eva sahasrikam aurdhavadaiḥika+karmāṇi śāva-+āśaucam ca sūtakam prakīrṇa+saṃgrahaṃ ca- ata ākhyāsyē bhāga uttare.

APPENDIX 2:

The Malayalam prose commentary on Śāṅkara-Smṛti 1,12,4
by Tī. Si. Paramēśvaran Mūssatavarkaḷ

Transcribed (with the addition of the rule numbers in brackets) by Asko Parpola

1. anantaraṃ bhārggavanāḷ varṇṇikkap peṭṭi' irikkunna malayāḷikaḷuṭe anācāraṇṇaḷe curukkattil iviṭe vivarikkunnu.
2. paradēśaṇṇaḷil ācariccu varāttatu koṇṭ' ākunnu avaykkū anācāraṇṇaḷ ennu pēr vannat' enn' āṇṇi bhārggavasṃṛtyil parayunnatū. ava 64 ākunnu.
3. (1) kōḷu koṇṭu pallu tēkk' arutū.
(2) nityasṇāsamayattū uṭutta vastrattōṭe iṇṇaṇṇi muṇṇ' arutū.
(3) kuḷikkavān varum pōḷ uṭutta vanna muṇṭu koṇṭu mēḷ tōrtt' arutū.
(4) sandhyaykku mumpē kuḷikk' arutū.
(‘yadā pūrvadig ābhāti sarvābhyo digbhya āditaḥ / doprabhṛti sā sandhyā yāvad addhodayaṃ raveḥ' enn' āṇṇi sandhyānirṇṇayattinnu pramāṇaṃ)
4. (5) cōṇṇu mutal āya bhakṣaṇasādhanāṇṇaḷ pākamaṃ ceyvān kuḷicc' iṭṭu vēṇaṃ.
(6) talēnnu rātri kōri vecca veḷḷamaṃ piṇṇē divasatte āvaśyattinn' eṭukk' arutū.
(7) snānaṃ japaṃ mutal āyatu ceyyumu pōḷ phalatte icchiccu kūṭā.
(8) śaucācamaṇādyāvaśyaṇṇaḷkku vēṇṭi oru pātrattil veḷḷamaṃ eṭuttāl ā āvaśyaṃ kaḷiṇṇu pātrattil śēṣikkunna veḷḷamaṃ maṇṇār āvaśyattinn' upayōgiccu kūṭā.
5. (9) śuddhiye āgrahikkunna brāhmaṇādjīṭikaḷ tannil tāṇa sūdrādikāḷe toṭṭāl kuḷikkaṇaṃ.
(10) tūṇṭiyāl kuḷiyuḷḷa jāṭikkāre aṭuttālumu kuḷikkaṇaṃ.
6. (11-12) tāṇa jāṭikkār toṭṭa kuḷamaṃ kiṇaṇṇu mutal āyatu toṭṭālumu, cūḷu koṇṭ' aṭicca dikkil taḷikkunnatinnu mump' āyi cavittiyālumu kuḷikkaṇaṃ.
7. (13) neṇṇiyil kuṇi y-iṭṭum pōḷ ādyamaṃ mēḷ paṭṭu mūnnu rēkhayumu pinne vilāṇṇattil mūnnu rēkhayumu āyi kuṇi y-iṭṭamaṃ. itu bhasamaṃ koṇṭ' āṇṇi vēṇṭatū.
(14) brāhmaṇaṇ tān ceyyēṇṭat' āya ētu karmaṇṇaḷkkuṃ mantram tannet tān uccarikkaṇaṃ.
8. (15) talē divasatte cōṇṇu kaṇṇikaḷumu piṇṇē divasattēkk' eṭukk' arutū.
(16) kuṭṭikaḷuṭe eccil bhakṣikk' arutū.
(17) uttamabrāhmaṇarkku śivanirmālyamaṃ bhakṣippān pāṭ' illa.
9. (18) caṭṭukamaṃ kayyal mutal āyatu koṇṭ' allāte kai koṇṭu viḷampiya neyyū ilakkaṇi mutal āyat' onnum bhakṣikk' arutū.
(19-20) havattinnumu kavattinnumu erumayuṭe pāl neyyu mutal āyatū upayōgiccu kūṭā.
10. (21) cōṇṇu uruḷa y-ākki uruṭṭi uṇṇamaṃ.
(22) atu tanne ilayil bākki y-ākki śēṣicc' iṭ' arutū.
(23) aśuddham āya samayaṇṇaḷil veṇṇ' ila muṇṇukku mutal āyatu ceyvān pāṭ' illa.
11. (24-25) brahmacharyāśramattil vidhicc' irikkunna niṣṭhaye anusarikkukayumu vratāṇṇaḷ anuṣṭhikkukayumu vēṇaṃ.
(26) vēdādhyayanaṃ kaḷiṇṇāḷ guruvinnu dakṣiṇa ceyyamaṃ.
(27) teruvil kūṭi vēdaṃ colli naṭakk' arutū.
12. (28) atātinnu vidhicca kālaṇṇaḷil vidhiprakāraṃ ṣoḍaśa kriyakaḷ ceyyamaṃ.
(29-30) kanyaye vilkkukayumu kāmyavratāṇṇaḷ anuṣṭhikkukayumu ceyy' arutū.

13. (31) rajasvalaye tottāl maṛṇu strīkaḷkku kuḷicc' allāte bhakṣaṇaṃ kaḷippān pāt' illa.
(32-33) brāhmaṇan nūl nūlkkukayum alakukayum arutū.
14. (34) kṣatriyādikalkku rudrākṣaṃ mutal āyatil śivapūja ceyvān pāt' illa.
(35) brāhmaṇannu śūdranre śrāddhaṃ (śrāddhadakṣiṇa) svīkarippān pāt' illa.
15. (36) illattu muttacchanṛēyumu illattu muttaśśiyuṭēyumu ammātu muttacchanṛēyumu ammātu muttaśśiyuṭēyumu śrāddhaṃ ūṭṭaṇaṃ.
(37) amāvāsīdivasaṃ bahūddiṣṭāśrāddhattēyumu vidhi pōle ceyyaṇaṃ.
16. (38-39) acchanumu ammayumu mariccāl oru kollam dikṣiccu dikṣāvasānattil sapiṇḍi ceyyaṇaṃ.
(40) maricca nāl pramāṇicc' iṭṭ' ākunnu śrāddhaṃ ūṭṭēṇṭatū.
17. (41) maṛṇ' oru taṇavāṭṭilēkku datt' eṭuttu pōyālumu svantaṃ acchanammamāruṭe śrāddhaṃ ūṭṭaṇaṃ.
(42) śavaśaṃskāraṃ ceyyunnatu svantaṃ vaḷappil tanne vēṇaṃ. maṛṇ' or' eṭattu pāt' illa.
18. (43) sanyāsāśramaṃ svīkariccavarkku strīkaḷe kāṇmān pāt' illa.
(44) sanyāsīmār mariccāl avare uddēśiccu śrāddhaṃ ūṭṭēṇṭat' illa.
(‘kva cit’ ennu paraññiatu koṇṭu kṣētraṇḍaṃ mutal āyatumu kūṭi vēṇṭ' ennu siddham āyi).
19. (45) brāhmaṇastrīkaḷe bhartāv' oḷiccu maṛṇ' oru puruṣannumu kāṇmān pāt' illa.
(brāhmaṇastrīkaḷkku bhartāv' oḷiccu maṛṇ' oru puruṣane kāṇmān pāt' ill' ennum arthhāt siddham āyi.)
(46) antarjjanāññal puratt' irāññēṇaṃ eṅkil dāsi onniccu vēṇaṃ.
20. (47) avarcku veḷutta vastramē uṭukk' āvu.
(48) mūcku kutt' arutū.
(49-50) madyapānaṃ anyabrāhmaṇapatnīgamaṇaṃ iva koṇṭu brāhmaṇan bhraṣṭan āyip pōckuṃ.
21. (51) ampalaññalil prētapraṭiṣṭha ceyy' arutū.
(52) vighraññal śūdrādikalkku toṭṭu kūṭa.
22. (53) oru dēvannu nivēdicca nivēdyam maṛṇ' oru dēvannu nivēdippān pāt' illa.
(54) vivāhaṃ mutal āya kriyakaḷ ellām hōmapūrvvakam ākunnu.
23. (55-56) brāhmaṇar anyōṇyaṃ āśīrvvādaṃ ceykkayumu namaskarikkayumu ceyy' arutū.
(57) kollam tōṇuṃ paśumēdhaṃ ceyyunnatu mōkṣattinnu taṭastham ākunnu.
24. (58) śaivamō vaiṣṇavamō allāte śāktēyaṃ mutal āya mataññal svīkarippān pāt' illa.
(59) oru pūṇunūlē dharikk' āvu.
(60) jyēṣṭhabhrātāvū grhasthāśramaṃ svīkarikkeṇaṃ.
25. (61) kṣatriyar mutal āyavar ammāmanre śrāddhaṃ vidhiprakāraṃ ūṭṭaṇaṃ.
(62) avaril (marumakkattāyakkārīl) mutal avakāśaṃ marumakkalkk' ākunnu; makkaḷkk' alla.
26. (63) brāhmaṇetarānmarckku sanyāsāśramaṃ svīkarippān pāt' illa.
(64) brāhmaṇastrīkaḷkku pātivrataṃ dṛḍhaṃ āyi vidhikkap peṭṭ' iṭṭ' uṇṭ' eṅkilumu bhartāvū mariccāl uṭantaṭi cāṭunna pativū iviṭe niṣēdhikkap peṭṭ' irikkunnu.
27. bhārggavan pradhānaṃ āyi paraññ' irikkunna anācāraññal iva y-ākunnu. itilum prādhānyam kuraññiat' āyi anēkaṃ anācāraññal bhārggavasmṛtyil paṇyap peṭṭ' iṭṭ' uṇṭ' eṅkilumu ava y-onnum iviṭe eṭuttu vistarikkunn' illa. (anācāraññal ennu paṇayunnattinnu malayāḷattile viśēṣācāraññal ennē artham uḷḷu. parādēśaññalil ācariccu varār' illāttatināl avar āy' irikkaṇaṃ itinnū anācāraññal ennu pēr iṭṭatū. 'kēraḷācāraṃ' ennu pēr āyi iviṭe aṭicc' iṭṭ' uḷḷa pustakattil īvaka ācāraññalūṭe vivaraṇaṃ spaṣṭam āyi paraññ' iṭṭ' uḷḷatu koṇṭū ī ślōkaññalūṭe vyākhyānaṃ curukkiyat' ākunnu.)
28. mariccavarkku vēṇṭi ceyyēṇṭunna śrāddhādikarmmaññal, maricca pula peṇra pula ivayūṭe vivaraṇaṃ, maṛṇu prakīrṇaññal āya ācāraññalūṭe saṃghrahaṃ iva y-ellām uttarakhaṇḍattil vivarikkunnat' ākunnu.

APPENDIX 3:

An annotated English translation of Śāṅkara-Smṛti 1,12,4

by Asko Parpola

The additions within square brackets are based on T. C. Paramēśvaran Mūssatū's Malayalam commentary. The numbers without brackets refer to the verses of the Sanskrit text; the numbers in parentheses refer to the 64 rules and have been added by the translator.

The translation was discussed in December 1992 with the late Professor E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma, who gave some clarifying comments, recorded in footnotes here. The numbers (in parentheses) of those rules are printed in bold face which E. R. S. Sarma considered to be, without doubt, special to Kerala only.

1. Now I shall summarily proclaim the irregular habits prescribed by (Paraśu-Rāma) the descendant of Bhṛgu for the people who live in Kēraḷa.
2. I shall enumerate all the 64 irregular habits there that the scion of Bhṛgu called so because these conducts are not found elsewhere.
3. (1) One should avoid tooth-picks.
 (2) (One should avoid) having clothes on at the regular bath;
 (3) (one should avoid) wiping the limbs with the cloth worn at (the time when one is coming to take) the bath;³
 (4) likewise (one should avoid) submerging oneself (in a bath) before the twilight.
 [The Malayalam commentary quotes a Sanskrit verse defining the twilight as the period from the first lighting of the eastern horizon until sunrise.]
4. (5) And (one should avoid) cooking (rice and other foodstuffs) etc. without having (first) bathed;
 (6) (one should avoid) water which has stood over one night;
 (7) (one should avoid) the wish (*saṃkalpa*) for any fruit (of the action)⁴ at (the act of) bathing and the like [the Malayalam commentary mentions also the muttering of mantras];
 (8) (one should avoid using) leftover water standing in a vessel [after it has been used for a necessary act like purification (after voiding excrement), rinsing the mouth, etc.]⁵
5. (9) Those [Brahmins etc.] who desire ritual purity should take a bath if they happen to touch a Śūdra and the like;
 (10) and one should perform submersion (in a bath) even if they come to be near to people of the lowest class;
6. (11) and (one should perform submersion in a bath) if one happens to touch water of a well or a tank touched by a person of a low class;

³ The Malayalam commentary glosses Sanskrit *snāna-vastra* 'bathing-dress' with 'the *muṅṭu* that one has put on when coming to take the bath'.

⁴ One could for example wish the sins to be washed away at bathing (E. R. S. Sarma).

⁵ I.e., water left over by one person should not be used by another (E. R. S. Sarma).

- (12) and (one should perform submersion in a bath) if one should happen to tread upon ground that has been well swept [with a broom] (by a low-class person) without a (foregoing) sprinkling (of the ground with consecrative water).
7. (13) One should make two vertical strokes (of the Vaiṣṇava forehead mark) and the (Śaiva) forehead mark of three (horizontal) strokes with pure ash (only);
 (14) the twice-born should himself utter the ritual formula for all the rites.⁶
8. (15) As a general rule, one should avoid (eating) food [i.e. rice] [of the preceding day] that has stayed overnight and curries of that kind;
 (16) and (one should avoid eating) the leftover (food) of a child;
 (17) and [the Brahmins worshipping the highest (Viṣṇu)] (should avoid eating) the food-offering to Śiva.
9. (18) One should not partake of ghee (and) vegetable (curry) given by (plain) hand without a ladle.
 (19) The ghee, milk etc. of the buffalo cow one should abandon at a sacrificial food offered to the gods;
 (20) and (one should abandon them) at a sacrificial food offered to the dead as well.
10. (21) One should eat after having made [i.e. rolled] [the rice] into a morsel-ball;
 (22) and (one should eat) in such a way that there will be no leftovers.
 (23) When polluted one should not do betel-chewing etc.
11. (24-25) In the life-stage of studentship one should see it to completion and perform the vows;
 (26) one should give the (appropriate) gift to the teacher [after completing the study of the Veda];
 (27) but one should not study [the Veda] [while going] on a road.
12. (28) One should perform the 16 (domestic) rituals at the proper time and as prescribed.
 (29) One should not sell one's daughter (into marriage for money);
 (30) nor should one undertake vows for obtaining specific desires.
13. (31) [Women] may eat only after having taken a bath if they have happened to touch a menstruating woman.
 (32) [A Brahmin] should avoid (doing) the work of the weaver;
 (33) [a Brahmin should avoid the work] of the washerman, too.
14. (34) The nobles⁷ etc. should not perform the worship of Śiva on the *rudrākṣa* (rosary)⁸ etc.⁹
 (35) The Brahmin should not accept [a gift (*dakṣiṇā*) for]¹⁰ a *śrāddha* (ceremony performed in memory of a deceased) from a Śūdra.
15. (36) One should perform the (memorial) *śrāddha* (ceremony) for one's paternal grandfather and the *śrāddha* for one's maternal grandfather, as well as (the *śrāddhas*) of their spouses;
 (37) and on (each) new-moon day, one should perform the *śrāddha* (ceremony mentioning many names of ancestors [*bahu-+uddiṣṭa*]) in accordance with the rules.

⁶ I.e., he should not make a priest utter the mantra on his behalf (E. R. S. Sarma).

⁷ In contrast to the Brahmins who may do so (E. R. S. Sarma).

⁸ I.e. making a *rudrākṣa* into an idol of Śiva instead of the *liṅga*, which alone is permitted (E. R. S. Sarma).

⁹ *Bilva* leaf is another example of such forbidden substitutes for Śiva's idol (E. R. S. Sarma).

¹⁰ Rather, an invitation to (E. R. S. Sarma).

16. (38) Likewise (one should perform) the *sapīndī-karaṇa* (ceremony) for one's parents at the end of the year (following their death);¹¹
 (39) fasting (*dīkṣa*) must be done until that time (i.e. during one year following the death of one's parents);
 (40) the *śrāddha* (ceremony is to be performed) in accordance with the asterism (of the day of death).
17. (41) One who has become the (adoptive) son of someone else should perform the *śrāddha* (ceremony) for his own (natural) parents (as well).
 (42) But the burning of one's body is to be done just on one's own ground¹² and nowhere else.
18. (43) Those who live in the life-stage of complete renunciation (of the world and its pleasures) must not look at women.
 (44) After they (i.e. the renouncers) have died, one should not perform a *śrāddha* (ceremony) mentioning them anywhere [i.e. not even in connection with a *kṣetra-piṇḍa* (rice-ball offered to deceased ancestors at a temple or place of pilgrimage), etc.].
19. (45) The Brahmin women must not be seen by other men¹³ excepting the husband [nor should the Brahmin women see other men].
 (46) They (i.e. the Brahmin women) must not go anywhere outside the house without a maid-servant.
20. (47) It is not desirable for her (i.e. the Brahmin woman) to wear anything other than white clothes;
 (48) nor (is it desirable) that her nose be pierced.
 (49) A twice-born man should fall (from his class) on account of drinking liquor;
 (50) intercourse with the wife of another Brahmin is among the other reasons (for expelling a twice-born from his class).
21. (51) One should not erect an idol for the spirits of the deceased in the temples of the gods.
 (52) One should avoid the images of the gods being touched by the Śūdra etc.¹⁴
22. (53) Food presented as an offering (to a deity) should not be presented as an offering to another deity.
 (54) And one should not perform a marriage etc. without [first] offering sacrificial food to the deities.
23. (55) The earthly gods (i.e. Brahmins) must not perform the uttering of blessings [to each other];
 (56) nor (should the Brahmins perform) the bowing down [in front of each other].¹⁵
 (57) But those desiring liberation (from the existence)¹⁶ must not perform the yearly sacrifice of an animal.¹⁷

¹¹ Elsewhere, this is usually done on the 12th day after the death (the twelve days representing twelve months) (E. R. S. Sarma).

¹² More exactly, on the southern side of the compound (E. R. S. Sarma).

¹³ She must be screened by means of an umbrella (*koṭa*) (E. R. S. Sarma).

¹⁴ This means that the Śūdras have no access to Brahmin temples or home shrines (E. R. S. Sarma).

¹⁵ These two rules seem to be directed against the *abhivādana*, which may therefore not have been originally practised at Nampūtiri marriages, as it is nowadays (E. R. S. Sarma).

¹⁶ I.e. *saṃnyāsins* (E. R. S. Sarma).

¹⁷ The *paśubandhayāga* seems to be meant, the implication being that one should not officiate as a sacrificial priest (*ṛtvij*) (E. R. S. Sarma).

24. (58) But one should avoid religious beliefs [such as those of Śāktism] other than those proclaimed by the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava systems.
 (59) One should wear only one single sacred thread.¹⁸
 (60) (Only) the eldest among the brothers should become a householder.
25. (61) The nobles etc. should perform the *śrāddha* (ceremony) of the maternal uncle in accordance with the prescriptions.
 (62) Their sister's sons should be the receivers of the inheritance, but not their (own) sons.
26. (63) One who is not a Brahmin should not lead the life of a world-renouncing ascetic;¹⁹
 (64) after her husband has died, the wife should not perform the (ritual of) dying (and becoming cremated) together (with her husband), even if she is resolute in her devotedness to her husband.
27. For these, chiefly, are the irregular customs handed down by the descendant of Bhṛgu (i.e. Paraśu-Rāma). And the other (irregular customs) somewhat deficient (from being among the principal ones)
28. and mentioned by him, (number) a thousand and one hundred.
 The rituals relating to the deceased, and the pollution caused by the dead body and by the birth, and a collection of miscellaneous rules – these I shall tell in the second part (of the Śāṅkara-Smṛti).

¹⁸ This single sacred thread consists of only three cords before the marriage; the three further cords added to the sacred thread after the marriage are supposed to be for the wife (who is not wearing a sacred thread); after marriage three more cords for the ancestors can be worn, even when one's father is still alive (E. R. S. Sarma).

¹⁹ I.e. the initiation ceremony which makes one into a *saṃnyāsīn* may be performed for a Brahmin only (E. R. S. Sarma).

APPENDIX 4:**Śaṅkara's 64 rules quoted by Logan (1951: 156-157) with Fawcett's (1900: 54-56) minor changes and comments²⁰**

- * (1) You must not clean your teeth with sticks.
- * (2) You must not bathe with clothes (Logan) / cloths (Fawcett) worn on your person.
- * (3) You must not rub your body with the clothes (Logan) / cloths (Fawcett) worn on your person.
- (4) You must not bathe before sun-rise (Logan) / sunrise (Fawcett).
- * (5) You must not cook your food before you bathe.
- (6) Avoid the water kept aside during the night.
- * (7) You must not have one particular object in view while you bathe.
- (8) The remainder of water taken for one purpose must not be made use of for another ceremony.
- * (9) You must bathe if you touch another, i.e., a Súdra.
- * (10) You must bathe if you happen to be near another, i.e., a Chandâla.
- * (11) You must bathe if you touch polluted wells or tanks.
- * (12) You must not tread over a place that has been cleaned with a broom, unless it is washed (Logan) / sprinkled with water (Fawcett).
- * (13) A particular mode of marking the forehead with ashes (otherwise described: put three horizontal lines on the forehead with pure burnt cow dung).
- * (14) You must repeat charms yourself (must not allow some one else to do it).
- * (15) You must avoid cold-rice (Logan) / cold rice (Fawcett), etc. (food cooked the previous day).
- * (16) You must avoid leavings of meals by children (or do not eat food which has been left by children).
- * (17) You must not taste anything (Logan) / eat any thing (Fawcett) that has been offered to Siva (Logan) / Shaiva [sic] (Fawcett).
- (18) You must not serve out food with hands (Logan) / your hands (Fawcett) (must not touch the food with the hand when serving it).
- * (19) You must not make use of the ghee of buffalo-cows for burnt offerings, etc. (etc. only in Logan.)
- * (20) You must not make use of the ghee of buffalo-cows for anniversary, etc. (Logan) / use buffalo milk or ghee for funeral offerings (Fawcett).

²⁰ An asterisk marks those interpretations which I consider reliable in Logan's/Fawcett's translations and Venkitasubramonia Iyer's work (see Appendix 5, where a concordance to the different translations is given).

- * (21) A particular mode of taking meals (Logan) / food (not to put too much in the mouth, because none must be taken back).
- * (22) You must not chew betel while you are polluted.
- (23) You must observe the conclusion of Bramhachari (an unmarried man) (Logan) / the Brahmachári period (Fawcett).
- * (24) You must give presents to your guru (preceptor) (Logan) / or preceptor (Fawcett). (The Brahmachári must.)
- * (25) You must not repeat Vedas at the road (Logan) / the Vêdas on the road (Fawcett).
- * (26) You must not sell women (receive money for girls given in marriage).
- * (27) You must avoid any vow which you observe in anticipation of getting your desires fulfilled (Logan) / not fast in order to obtain fulfilment of your desires.
- (28) Bathing is all that a woman should observe if she touches another in her monthly course (Logan) / menses. (A woman touching another who is in this state should, it is said, purify herself by bathing. A man should change his thread and undergo sacred ablution).
- * (29) Brahmans (Logan) / Brâhmans (Fawcett) should not spin cotton.
- * (30) Brahmans (Logan) / Brâhmans (Fawcett) should not wash clothes (Logan) / cloths (Fawcett) for themselves (should not wash their own cloths).
- (31) Kshatriyas should avoid worshipping in Siva Lingam (Logan) / the Lingam (Fawcett).
- * (32) Brahmans (Logan) / Brâhmans (Fawcett) should not accept the anniversary of Sudras (Logan) / funeral gifts from Súdras (Fawcett) (anniversary gifts too).
- * (33) Perform the anniversaries of your fathers, etc. (Logan) / anniversary ceremony of your father (Fawcett) (father's father, mother's father, and both grandmothers).
- * (34) Anniversaries (Logan) / Anniversary ceremonies (Fawcett) should be performed on the day of the new moon (for the gratification of the spirits of the deceased).
- * (35) The funeral ceremony should be performed at the end of the year from (Logan) / counting from (Fawcett) the day of death.
- * (36) The ceremony to be performed till the end of the year from the day of death (Logan) / after death (Fawcett) (The dîksha: letting the hair grow, apparently).
- * (37) Sraddha (Logan) / Sráddhas (Fawcett) should be performed with regard to the stars.
- (38) The funeral ceremony should be performed after the pollution caused by a child-birth at that time (Logan) / not be performed until after the pollution caused by childbirth (Fawcett) has been removed.
- * (39) A particular mode of performing Sraddha (Logan) / sráddha (Fawcett) by an adopted son (who should do the ceremony for his adopted parents as well as for his natural parents).
- * (40) The corpse of a man should be burnt in his own compound (on his own jenmam land).
- * (41) Sanyasis (devotees) (Logan) / Sanyásis (Fawcett) should not look at (Logan) look at (see) (Fawcett) females.
- (42) You must always be seeking for the next world (Logan) / Sanyásis should renounce all worldly pleasures (Fawcett).
- * (43) Sraddha should not be performed in honour of dead Sanyasis (Logan) / for deceased sanyásis (Fawcett).

- * (44) Brahman females (Logan) / Brāhman women (Fawcett) must not look at any other persons besides their own husbands (should not be seen by men out of the family).
- * (45) Brahman females must not go out unaccompanied by female (Logan) / Brāhman women must not go out unless accompanied by women (Fawcett) servants.
- * (46) Should wear only white clothes (Logan) / clothing (Fawcett).
- * (47) Noses should not be pierced. (Amongst South Indian Brāhmins outside Malabar, the noses of women are always bored).
- * (48) Brahmins ought to (Logan) / Brāhmins should (Fawcett) be put out of their caste if they drink any liquor.
- * (49) They ought to be put out of (Logan) / Brāhmins should forfeit (Fawcett) their caste if they have intercourse with other Brahman (Logan) / Brāhman (Fawcett) women besides their wives.
- * (50) The consecration of evil spirits in temples should be avoided (Logan) / The consecration of evil spirits should be avoided (Fawcett). (Otherwise said to be that worship to ancestors should not be done in temples.)
- * (51) Sudras, etc., are prevented from touching an image (Logan) / Súdras and others are not to touch an idol (Fawcett).
- * (52) Anything offered to one god should not be offered to another.
- * (53) Marriages, etc., should not be done without a burnt-offering (*hōmam*).
- * (54) Brahmins should not pour blessings upon (Logan) / Brāhmins should not give blessings to (Fawcett) each other.
- * (55) They should not bow down to another person (Logan) / They should not bow down to another (Fawcett) (should not salute each other).
- (56) Sacrifice with a cow should be avoided (Logan) / Cows should not be killed in sacrifice (Fawcett).
- (57) Do not cause distraction, some by observing the religious rite (Logan) / rites (Fawcett) of Siva and others those of Vishnu.
- * (58) Brahmins (Logan) / Brāhmins (Fawcett) should wear only one sacred thread.
- * (59) Eldest son only is entitled to legal marriage (Logan) / The eldest son only is entitled to marriage (Fawcett).
- (60) Ceremony in honour of the dead ancestors (Logan) / a deceased ancestor (Fawcett) should be performed with boiled rice.
- * (61) Ceremony to be performed in honour of an uncle (Logan) / Kshatriyas and those of other castes should perform funeral ceremonies to their uncles (deceased) (Fawcett).
- * (62) The right of inheritance among Kshatriyas, etc., goes towards nephews.
- (63) Widows should lead the lives of Sanyasis (Logan) / *sanyāsis* (Fawcett).
- * (64) Sati should be avoided.

APPENDIX 5:**Examination of Śāṅkara's 64 rules as translated and grouped
by S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer (1977: 42-58)**

I will first list (with a few comments) Iyer's translation of those rules which are common to all three translations (AP, Logan/Fawcett and Iyer), although the text may be in a slightly different form in each translation. The headings are Iyer's. To ease comparison, I have added, after each rule in parenthesis, the number which AP has given to the same rule (see Appendix 3); after this 'AP number' follows the number found in Fawcett's work (see Appendix 4).

Rules relating to cleanliness

- * One should not tread on the floor on which water has not been sprinkled after it is swept. (AP 12, 12.)
- * Twigs should not be used for brushing the teeth. (AP 1, 1.)
- * There should not be any particular samkalpa in bathing. (AP 7, 7.)
- * Bathing should not be done with the clothes on. (AP 2, 2.)
- * The body should not be cleaned with the bathing cloth. (AP 3, 3.)

Food and eating

- * Cooking should not be done before bathing. (AP 5, 5.)
- * Stale food should not be taken, so too similar other preparations [counted as two rules in this source]
- * and the remains of food left even by a child. (AP 15 and 16, 15 and 16.)
- * Each morsel of food should be so taken as not to leave a portion in the hand. (AP 21-22, 21.)
- * Tambula and things like that should not be taken when one is not clean. (AP 23, 22.)

Rules of social conduct

- * An adopted son should perform the sraddha of his natural parents also. (AP 41, 39.)
- * A girl should never be sold in marriage. (AP 29, 26.)
- * A Brahmin degrades himself by sexual contact with a Brahmin woman other than his wife. (AP 50, 49.)
- * Brahmins should not utter blessings, nor should they perform namaskara. (AP 55, 54 and 56, 55.)

- * One should bathe for purity if Sudras and the like are touched. (AP 9, 9.)
- * With regard to the people of the lowest castes even proximity necessitates a bath. (AP 10, 10.)
- * The touch of the water in a well or tank also necessitates a bath if an antyaja [a person of the lowest class] had touched that water. (AP 11, 11.)
- * The Brahmin should not receive gifts at a sraddha performed by a Sudra. (AP 35, 32.)
- * [The Brahmin should not do the work of] the washerman. (AP 33, 30.)

Religious rules

- * In all religious ceremonies of Brahmins the performer should himself utter the mantras. (AP 14, 14.)
- * A single yajnopavita alone need be worn. (AP 59, 58.)
- * Vratas aimed at material gains should not be performed. (AP 30, 27.)
- * When putting on the vertical cast mark (urdhvapundra) on the forehead the horizontal streaks (tripundra) with holy ashes should also be put. (AP 13, 13.)

Fawcett gives the meaning of this rule very unclearly, and even the explanation is insufficient. 'A particular mode of marking the forehead with ashes' is not contradictory to the other two, however, as wearing both the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava marks together is particular indeed, and I have chosen to include this rule as common to all three sources.

- * Ceremonies like marriage should not be performed without making offerings to gods in fire. (AP 54, 53.)
- * The ghee, milk etc., of the buffalo should be avoided in homas for gods. (AP 19, 19.)
- * The food (naivedya) already offered to one deity should not be offered to another. (AP 53, 52.)
- * The naivedya made to Siva should not be eaten. (AP 17, 17.)
- * The spirits of dead persons should not be consecrated in temples. (AP 51, 50.)
- * Cremation should be done in one's own premises and not anywhere else. (AP 42, 40.)
- * The sapindikarana ceremony for a dead parent should be conducted at the end of one year. (AP 38, 35.)
- * Strict continence and other rules should be observed during this period of one year. (AP 39, 36.)
- * Sraddha day is to be reckoned on the basis of nakshatra. (AP 40, 37.)
- * The sraddha for the paternal grandfather should be performed; also for the maternal grandfather; for the paternal and maternal grandmothers too. [Counted as three rules.] (AP 36, 33.)
- * Sraddha should be duly performed on newmoon days. (AP 37, 34.)
- * Ghee, milk etc., of the buffalo should be avoided in sraddha also. (AP 20, 20.)

Rules relating to the *āśramas* in life

- * [The brahmacharin] should give dakshina to his guru. (AP 26, 24.)
- * The Vedas should not be learnt in the streets. (AP 27, 25.)
- * The samnyasin should not see women. (AP 43, 41.)
- * A sraddha should never be performed for a samnyāsin. (AP 44, 43.)

Women's rules.

- * A Brahmin woman should not be looked at by any man other than her husband. (AP 45, 44.)
- * They should not go out without being accompanied by their maid servants. (AP 46, 45.)
- * Only white clothes should be worn by them. (AP 47, 46.)
- * Piercing the nose (with a view to putting on) ornament is not a desirable thing for them. (AP 48, 47.)
- * When the husband is dead, the wife should never immolate herself, however irreproachably chaste she be. (AP 64, 64.)

Rules relating to non-Brahmins.

- * Kshatriyas (and also Vaisyas and Sudras) should perform the sraddha of their maternal uncle. (AP 61, 61.)
- * For them (Kshatriyas etc.) the heirs are the sons of their sisters and never their own sons. (AP 62, 62.)
- * Sudras should not touch the idols of deities. (AP 52, 51.)

To me it seems, then, that 48 rules out of the 64 are common to all three sources, i.e. they mention the rules with a more or less similar content. There are three rules altogether missing in Fawcett's set but found in the other two translations based on the original Sanskrit text. The missing rules have the following form in Iyer:

- * The sixteen principal ceremonies ordained for a man should be duly performed each at the appropriate time (cf. AP 28.)
- * he [the brahmacharin] should duly perform the vratas (cf. AP 25.)
- * A non-Brahmin shall not become a samnyasin (cf. AP 63.)

Fawcett has four extra rules not found at all in the original. The latter are Fawcett's numbers 38, 42, 60 and 63. (Actually 42 is included in the definition of a *saṃnyāsin* in AP's translation (AP 43.) This does not have to mean that those rules were not followed by the Nampūtiris, only that they were not originally included in the 64 *anācāras*.

One rule is, oddly enough, missing in S. V. Iyer's interpretation, but included in Fawcett's, namely the one forbidding drinking of liquor. (AP 49, 48).

Now I will proceed to discuss the rules which all three sources have, but with some difference of meaning. S. V. Iyer has the rule:

Bathing should not be done before sunrise.

Fawcett (rule 4) also talks about 'sunrise', whereas AP has the translation 'twilight', the Malayalam commentary quoting a Sanskrit verse defining twilight as the period from the first lighting of the eastern horizon until sunrise (AP 4). I will keep this interpretation as the most plausible.

S. V. Iyer has placed the rules

- * Water kept overnight should be avoided:
- * so too water left in a vessel after use

under the subtitle Food and drink. That at least in the latter rule perhaps not only drinking water is meant is seen from the commentary (AP 8) mentioning water that has been used for a necessary act like purification after voiding excrement, rinsing the mouth etc. (Corresponding rules are AP 6 & 8; 6 & 8.) The rules themselves can be included without changing their form.

Under the same title there is one more rule:

- * Ghee and vegetable preparations served with the hand without spoon should not be eaten.

AP also mentions particularly only ghee and vegetable curry (AP 18), so that I will omit Fawcett's rule (18), mentioning only food in general, as too vague.

I am inclined to omit the rule

If a woman during menstruation is touched, food can be taken only after a bath (rules of social conduct)

and accept instead the meaning given in the two other sources (AP 31; 28). Their content is that a woman who has happened to touch a menstruating woman should bathe in order to become pure again. This rule does not, I believe, have the meaning that it is enough for a man just to bathe; in fact Fawcett (28) says that a man should in this case change his thread and undergo sacred ablution. Both S. V. Iyer and AP specify that eating is possible only after taking a bath. As AP's translation includes both aspects (that the rule concerns women and that food can be taken only after a bath), I will follow that, but include what Fawcett says about men being required to do in order to become pure again.

The rule

- * The eldest son shall marry and become a householder (rules of social conduct)

is interpreted in different ways. Either he is the only one of the brothers who is allowed to marry from his own caste, or he has to marry whether he wants to or not. Fawcett (59) interprets the rule in the former way. I will include all three sources as it is not possible to conclude which of them is the most correct one and both aspects may have been present in actual life.

To the rule

* One should not do the work of the weaver (rules of social conduct)

S. V. Iyer gives the explanation that the prohibition is not with regard to weaving which no Brahmin does anyway, but with regard to spinning which the priest in the Tamil country does for making *yajñopavīta* (the sacred thread). If this is so, all rules (AP 32; 29), even Fawcett's, which expressly says that Brahmins should not spin cotton, must be accepted.

In the commentary for the rule

* Persons desirous of moksha should not perform yaga every year

S. V. Iyer says that this is not a total prohibition of the performance of sacrifices but only of the performance every year and by those who desire liberation and not *svarga* (heaven). The author says that this partial prohibition of animal sacrifice, an essential part of the Brahminic religion, shows the great humaneness of the Nampūtiri. AP has the same aspects in the rule (AP 57). Fawcett's rule (56)

Cows should not be killed in sacrifice

is omitted as it lacks the two mitigations.

* The deities worshipped and the mode of their worship should be in accordance with the Śaiva tantras and Vaiṣṇava tantras and not others.

In the comment S. V. Iyer says that apparently the prohibition is against Śākta Tantra, but that Devī worship is quite common among the Nampūtiris. He thinks that the injunction should be taken to be against the *tāmasa* mode of worship involving questionable rites adopted by the Vāmācārin. According to AP's translation one should avoid religious beliefs [such as those of Śāktism] other than those proclaimed by the Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava systems (AP 58). Fawcett has a very different interpretation, as in this version the rule forbids causing distraction, some by observing religious rites of Śiva and others of Viṣṇu (57). Śiva and Viṣṇu worship coexist happily among the Nampūtiris. I will include the first two interpretations.

Among the rules relating to the *āśrama* in life S. V. Iyer has the rule

The brahmacharin should observe the rules of conduct laid down for him

whereas Fawcett says that

- tions, break a ripe coconut on his skull and eat it, then bury him in the templecourt and raise a monument (*tara*).
13. No Br[ahmin] may perform – as elsewhere – ceremonies for their disciples the Sudras. One tribe of Brahmins has been lowered for this purpose, and is now called the Younger (*īlayatu*).
 14. <(19.)> Whereas elsewhere Br[ahmin]s lose their dignity by prayer and worship of evil Gods (*durdevata*), they are allowed in Mal[abar] to use *durmantram* (evil incantations).
 15. To remove various pollutions (*aśuddhi*) other nations let the Br[ahmin]s perform purification (*punyāham*). But in K[erala] if the Br[ahmin] even be polluted (*pula* through corpse, women's childbirth etc.) a Maran (*mārān*, high Sudra) has to purify him.
 16. Br[ahmin]s elsewhere are not allowed to use arms. In Ker[ala] they have fought Parasu Rama's battles and may go to war as well as Sudras.
 17. A Br[ahmin] must not eat fish nor meat. Such may however in sacrificing (*yāgam*) eat some fat bit of the sheep in Ghee boiled (*havirbhāgam*). – He must not drink what intoxicates: but those who serve Parvati in her nightfeasts may do it without fear.
 18. To do *yāgam*, is not allowed, without leave from a Nampadi (*nampati* <Nayer>) of the Veññanāta (Travancore) who then is seated on the honorary tortoise seat (*kūrmāsanaṃ*). In other countries Sudras also may perform divine services, in Kerala they only may use the invocations Rama, Narayana, Siva, without farther rights to perform *pūja* and *mantram*. The latter is performed for them by the Veda-less Br[ahmin]s (§ 13. *īlayata*), as distinguished from the Veda-Br[ahmin] (*vedamuḷla bra.*). If (what occurs only rarely) a Namputiri (with* Purva Sikha forelock) should give his daughter to a Patta (*paṭṭa*) Brahmin (with Paschima Sikha), the son is lower than Namp[ūtiri] and gets the name Nattu-patta (*nāṭṭuppaṭṭan*) or Country-Padda Brahmin.
 19. Foreign Br[ahmin]s eat rice cooked the day before. In K[erala] old rice (*palañcoru*) is rejected as unclean. So also they do not buy and eat ghee etc. on the bazar. On the other hand the Ker[ala] Br[ahmin]s may eat bread and cakes, also Pappadam (*appam*, *ata*, *vaṭa*) from the shops and pickles in the Nair houses what foreigners cannot do. (Is however rare).
 20. Also in the cohabitation with women the Ker[ala] custom differs from other countries. The woman has to take the man's place, for the greater comfort of the Br[ahmin]s.
 21. Of the washermen, the higher (Velutteden *veluttedan*) have *toṭṭukkuli* (who touches them must bathe) the lower (Mannan) *tiṅṅikkuli* (pollute by coming near within a certain number of steps). A cloth washed by the Velutteden may be used by Brahm[in]s and idols, without first wetting and drying it, as foreign Br[ahmin]s do.
 22. Wells (*kiṅaru*) and tanks are elsewhere common to all casts, except the Parayen: In K[erala] each caste has their own.
 23. Burying the dead is not performed as elsewhere in a common cemetery (*śmaśānasthalaṃ*), but in the several compounds of every inhabitant (in the Southern corner called *cuṭala* or *kaḷaṃ*) for which cause the Ker[ala] Br[ahmin]s are termed *śmaśānasthalavāsikaḥ* (cemetery dwellers, i.e. goblins).
 24. To perform the rites for the dead (*śeṣakriya*) Br[ahmin]s want the Darbha grass and Tulasi other castes only Caruka (*karuka* grass) and Cheru-pula (*cerupula*): The Br[ahmin]s pass it off with speaking Mantrams (*mantrapūrvvaṃ*) the others with ceremonies (*tantrapūrvvaṃ*).
 25. In other countries the inhabitants live in houses built street by street (*teru* –): In K[erala] the compounds (*vaḷappu*) are divided by hedges (*veli*) and steps (*paṭi*) and entrances (*paṭippura*), so that the houses do not touch.
 26. The same Brahmins who judged it under their dignity to give their daughters for money, sell them, when convinced of sin by a Brahmin meeting (*yogaṃ*), after having stripped her of

- armring (*kaivaḷayaṃ*) and the hiding umbrella (*maṛakkūṭa*), for striking their hands (*kai koṭṭi*) and hissing (*āttu*) they cast her out, and with the money got for her (from Mopla) they order a meal of purification. This they do not think to be flesh-sale (*māṃsavikrayadoṣaṃ*).
27. There is a place of refuge for thieves (*kaḷḷan*) and adulteresses (*pulayāṭi*) in Cunicheri (*Kuniś-śeri*) Vellappa-nadu (*Vellappanāṭu*), where no king nor law can touch them except they leave it.
 28. The lowcasts which pollute by approaching, become high casts (*abhijātyaṃ* –) by turning Muselmen (*yonakamataṃ* – Yavan religion) and wearing a topi, their pollution (*tīṅṅal*) is gone. Brahm[ins], Cshetr[ias], Vaishy[as], Sudr[as] only lose their casts (*jātibhraṣṭa*) by change of religion.
 29. In cases of great sickness, such as leprosy (*kuṣṭhaṃ*) and smallpox (*vasūri* –) the relatives must build a separate dwelling for the diseased and must not approach them – chiefly those with smallpox.
 30. Levitical uncleanness (*pula*) after cases of birth and death lasts with Brahm[ins] 10 days the same in cow birth. – The Sud(ras) 15 days. The Temple servants (*ampalavāsi*) Cshatr[ias] etc. 12 days. Puleiar and Parayer are unclean for the day of funeral (if they have the money for it in hand) if not, they may bind up the uncleanness in a vessel, shutting its mouth, and perform the purification when they have money (*pulakkūḷi*). No lamentation is required. The mourners only may cry. – In case of princes dying some think also a funeral with purification to be required for the temple (*ampalaṃ*).
 31. All Keral[a] Women have white clothes (*dhavaḷavastraṃ*) – no coloured (*niraṃ māriya*).
 32. Brahm[in] Women must neither see other men than their husband nor be seen by them. Therefore they can never go out without a hiding-umbrella (*maṛakkūṭa*) and a Sudra woman (*vṛṣāli*) for help (*tūṇa*).
 33. Samanter (as the Royal family of Cheral, Travanc[ore], Calicut) cannot wear the Brahm[in] string (*pūṇi nūl*) except they make a golden cow (*hiraṇyagarbhaṃ* <gold-womb>), creep through its mouth and womb, and then divide it to Brahmins.
 34. The Br[ahmin] string is not given to Tattan (*taṭṭān* Goldsmith) *āśāri* (carpenter) and other workmen (*karmṃālar*) nor to the potter (*kuśavan*) as elsewhere.
 35. When a family is threatened with extinction they may, by giving milk to drink, and other ceremonies, adopt a child (*datta*): if it spits out the milk, the adoption has failed.
 36. In Ker[ala] Brahm[in] women may learn letters and Shastrams (*akṣara-śāstrābhyaśaṃ*).
 37. In other countries Brahm[in] women, when widows (*vidhava*) cut off their hair (*talamuṭi*). Not so in Kerala.
 38. Although the Brahm[ins] of the 64 villages (*grāmaṃ*) are all instituted by Parasu Rama: those of the 32 villages North of the Kilur (*Kilūr* river) do not intermarry with the 34 to the South.
 39. In other countries people who eat together neither use the same plate (*kinṇaṃ*) nor after it is cleaned do they allow it to touch the cooking utensils (*kalaṃ, caṭṭi*). The Ker[alites] do not mind this.
 40. In some parts of Ker[ala] as also in other parts of India it is thought a great indecency (*nāṇak-keṭa*) in women to cry aloud in child birth. But in most parts of Kerala they may cry with open mouth (*urakkapāviṭṭa alarunnu*).
 41. The Brahm[in]s are to live in 4 states (*āśramaṃ*) celibacy (*brahmacharya*) anchorites (*vāna-prastha*) conjugal life (*gṛhastha*) pilgrims (*sannyāsi*). But Sankara Acharya has not kept the first order, because he allows all to run after women; in spite of the third he permits 4, 5 wives to Br[ahmin]s, the second is hardly in use; the fourth is rendered void by such

you must observe the conclusion of the brahmachari period (23)

and mentions in his comment that the *samāvartana* ceremony is meant by that. In AP's translation

In the life-stage of studentship one should see it to completion, AP 24

either of the two or both can be meant at the same time. All three could, then, be accepted with the comment that Fawcett may interpret the rule too narrowly and S. V. Iyer too broadly. As it is not possible to know exactly what is meant, I will choose the translation which can be interpreted either way.

The last rule which needs a comment reads:

- * Kshatriyas and others (Vaisyas and Sudras) should not perform Sivapuja in materials like rudraksha. (Rules relating to non-Brahmins.)

The comment by S. V. Iyer says that this prohibition of worship of emblems by the non-Brahmins perhaps implies sanction for worship in other forms. Fawcett mentions another emblem, the *liṅga* (31), but as, according to AP, the Rudrākṣa is particularly mentioned in the Sanskrit text, I will omit Fawcett's translation, although the *liṅga* can very well be one of the emblems meant in the rule.

APPENDIX 6:

Keral'-achara-sancshepam

Kerala customs according to Gundert (1983: 120-126, with the words in Malayalam script transcribed by Asko Parpola)²¹

1. In other parts (of India) men clothe themselves in the 'somen' (*sōman*), women have a breast cloth. In Keralam men want only the Mundu (*muṇṭu*) of 5 yards, women the Tuni of 10 (now also 14, 16). – It is a saying: 'women without breast covering (*marā*), the Nayer without sword's scabbard (*ura*).'
2. A Brahmin who professes to be Sanyasi, has only the Kauvinam, which Sancar'Acharyen has ordered for Panen and Pareier.
3. If a Br[ahmin] has 5 or 6 sons, one only marries (*vel' kka*). If he has no seed, the next in age marries etc. for if all should marry, family property (*taravāṭṭu mutal*) would become divided, and the tribe sink into poverty.
4. The remaining brothers must not marry, but may enjoy women from the Cshattria tribe down to the Sudra for these women have not to live as housewives (*kulastrīmārggaṃ*), but may follow their inclinations (*parastrīmārggaṃ*).
5. With the Cula-Stri-Margam sons inherit (*makkattāyaṃ*) with the Para-Stri-Margam nephews (*marumakkattāyaṃ*). In Ker[ala] Br[ahmin]s have mostly the first order of inheritance, some (in the North) follow the latter.
6. In other countries parents ask money for giving their daughters into marriage. As this looks like selling the Kerala Br[ahmin]s have to give their virgins freely (*kanyakādānaṃ*).
7. If a Br[ahmin] virgin dies unmarried (for want of money, or of a wo<er), the Br[ahmin]s have to give money to one, that he may bind the marriage string round the neck of the dead and regard her as his wife, else she will not be happy in the other world.
8. In other places the Br[ahmin]s put many marks on the forehead (*gopināmakkuṛi*) and seals on the arms and face. In Ke[ra]la] they put only the holy dust (*nilaccānta*).
9. Br[ahmin] boys from the day of their initiation (*upanayaṃ*) till the 16 year being counted for Pariar have instead of their Br[ahmin] string (*pūninūl*) a leather badge (of the *kṛṣṇamṛgaṃ*).
10. In Ker[ala] Br[ahmin]s have no mustachios* (*mīśa*): if they like to let their hair grow behind (*talaniṭṭu*) or their nails to grow long, it matters not.
11. If they become Sanyasis, their caste is lost, Cuduma and Puni nul are prohibited: women likewise. Staff (*daṇḍa*) waterpot (*kamaṇḍalam*) red coloured cloth (*kāṣāyavastra*) these 3 only are allowed to the Sanyasi. He lives from alms collected on pilgrimage. So in other countries. – But in Ker[ala] Sany[asis] live like kings and may be rich. – When elsewhere Br[ahmin]s have 6 occupations (*ṣalkarmmaṃ*) Vedam-reading and teaching, giving and taking charity, sacrificing and causing to sacrifice (*yāgaṃ*). In Ker[ala] they have 5 only, for they are not allowed to take alms, being landed proprietors.
12. Dies one, his body pollutes (*tīṇṭal*). Not so the Sanyasi's body, Br[ahmin]s who touch it may eat* after it. They even bring the body before Vishnu's image into the temple, perform obla-

²¹ The asterisks in this appendix have been added by the editor of Gundert's text, Albrecht Frenz, and denote uncertainty in reading Gundert's handwriting ('unsichere Lesart').

- institutions as matams (*maṭham*, *maṛappāṭavaka*) in which the pilgrims live like kings (cf. 11.).
42. The inferior (*ceṛiyavan*) when meeting a superior must immediately rise, make his reverence (by taking off the headcover), and speak only with mouth and nose shut.
43. In Kerala the women do not cover the breasts, nor bore the upper ear (*mēlkkātu*) the men have not mustachios (*mīśa*) nor the circumcision (*cēlākkarmmaṃ*, *mārggkalyāṇam*). But the Sudras in Cannetti, Pudupattam etc. have all these (chiefly in the Nanji district *Nañcināṭu* s.e. from Tiru-v-ananta-puram f.i. in Neyattincara, Bala Ramapuram etc.). – Also women boring their noses is not uncommon in many places.
44. In Tarawadu's with Maru Macka Tayam the eldest (*mūttavan*) is always head (*adhikāri*) still he cannot for himself (*tān āyi*) spend any of the Tarawattu property (*mutal*): whenever a handwriting (*ādhāram*) is given, it runs thus: 'N. N. and his younger brothers bought' (*innavanuṃ tampimāruṃ koṇṭār*). Proprietors (*uṭayavar*) are the sisters (*peṇṭunmār*) defenders and preservers of the property are those born from them. If they can agree to divide (*pakuti*) it, the rules of joint-property (*mutal saṃbandham*) are rendered void: and when the writing of partition (*muṛikkutti pīrika*) is done (mostly accompanied with the ceremony of dividing a betel leaf to the parties) the connexion of Levitical uncleanness (*pulasāṃbandham* – in cases of birth and death) ceases. Whoever performs the funeral ceremonies (*śeṣakriya*) to the head (*kāraṇavan* – uncle) is the head.
45. In Ker[ala] it is custom that the daughters of casts with Para Stri Margam are married before the first menstruation (*tiraja*). Brahm<in> girls after it (foreign Br<ahmin>s always before). In Ker[ala] some Sudras also follow the Br[ahmin] custom.
46. In houses of Maru Macka Taya Carer there is no giving nor taking in marriage in the way of regular matrimony (*keṭṭippularcca* literally 'living bound together with every new morning'). But the custom of the bridegroom living with his father-in-law, exists (called *pekkeṭṭi-kalyāṇam* – chiefly rich Moplas). – Generally the parents fix a day, buy the articles (*koppukaḷ*) necessary for a marriage entertainment, call one of the same or a higher caste to find out the proper star (*nāl*) and other necessary harmonies (*poruttam* comparing the nativity), and let him bind the Tali to the woman's neck. Then he and the girl live for 4 nights in one room, but on the 5th morning the Lord of the girl (*uṭayavan* father or uncle) gives to the Talibinder a feast-cloth (*ōṇappuṭava*) and a present in money (*sammānam* – f.i. 4 Fanam) and sends him off. Herewith their connexion ceases. Only in some places, in case of Talibinder be of the same caste, the girl will take off the Tali the moment she hears of his death, and only binds it again after the mourning is washed off (*pulakuli*). – When Half-Brahmins (such as *neṭṭiñṇāṭi*, *tirumulpāṭa*, *āryyappaṭṭar*) are used for the ceremony, their connexion ceases the moment they have bound the Tali.
47. About the cohabitation of Para-Stri-Marga-Car the following may be said: from Nileshwaram till the Turascheri river it is called (*puṭamurikalyāṇam*) cloth-cutti*-marriage. From Turascheri till Travancore 'minded-place' (*ninacc' eṭam vaikkunnu*) and 'connexion' (*bāndhavam*) also 'accepting' (*parigraham*) or 'being about a house' or 'beginning the good-evil' (*guṇadoṣam tuṭaṇṇunnu*). In Travancore 'cloth-giving' (*muṇṭu koṭukkunnu*). The husband is called the goodevilman (*guṇadoṣakkāran*), the connexion (*bāndhavakkāran*) the cover-giver (*uṭuppān koṭukkunnavan*). – From Nileshwaram southwards a man may have many wives (as a Teen in Mahe has 14 wives on his 14 fields) but the wife only one husband. Some keep their wives till death, others throw them off (*upekṣikka*): but no wife can separate from the husband without leave. – From Turascheri southwards one woman has many husbands, one husband many wives. The one as well as the other may drop the connexion (*tyajikka*).- If the wife lives in the husband's house she is sent away the moment he dies. – If a woman of the artificers (*karmmaḷu*) have 5, 6 sons and these like to marry (*keṭṭa* all the same wife they may: each may leave each other when they like. But this custom obtains not South of Collam or Quilon).

48. In K[erala] religious performance (*karmmādikāḷ*) are defective (*vaikalyaṃ*) without assistance of Sudras (they complete them *tikavu*).
49. If a Br[ahmin] touches leather, he must wash. But to put on leather when a child, or to bring it in contact with musical instruments, pollutes not.
50. Foreign Br[ahmin]s clean their teeth daily, those in K[erala] only on good days (*nalla ālci-dantadhāvanam*).
51. In cases of endangered life (*prāṇasakkaṭattikkaḷ*) it is no sin to eat another's rice, drink his Canji, take his water. If therefore a Br[ahmin]'s wife in K[erala] should suddenly be taken by birth-pains (*prasavavedana*) and suffers by hunger and thirst, a Sudra woman may come near her till her purification is over (*pula pokunnu*), touch her and bring her rice and water.
52. In K[erala] (but not elsewhere) Br[ahmin]s may get themselves shaved (*kṣauram ceyka*) after noon is passed (*ucca tiriññatinre śeṣam*).
53. The Brahmins of Panniyur (South) in the temple of Vishnu, under the form of the boar (*varāhamūrtti*) were a different party from those which worship Siva in Chowur, at variance as in the custom of Sheiver and Veishtnawer, until at some occasion of anger the Panniyur Brahmins took a red hot cauldron (*kiṭāram*) and placed it on the head of the Boar idol. Since then these Br[ahmin]s are altogether fallen from their casts.
54. The Vedams say, a Brahm[in] widow may marry. This is in Ker[ala] as little the case as elsewhere.
55. If a Nambutiri commit adultery with a Nambutiri's wife, they are when detected degraded. He becomes a Chokyar (*cākyār*, corruptive of *ślāghyār* 'songster') she a Nangyar (*naṅgyār*, properly *nagna* 'naked' in vulg. language termed *pāṭṭamma* 'singmother'). The work of this caste consists in amusing the Br[ahmin]s by theatrical representations (*kūttāta*).
56. In other countries it is not the custom of Brahmins to be half-shaved (*arddhakṣauram* meaning 'head and chest only' oppos. to *sarvvāṅgakṣauram* shaving the whole body), nor for women to have their faces polished (*mukham minnukkuka* by shaving – a practice of Para Stris only). In Kerala this is the case.
57. The barber-wives (*kṣurastrī*) must monthly give their shaving feat (*kṣaurakalyāṇam*) to every woman.
58. In other countries Kings have regular matrimony (*keṭṭippularcca*), in K[erala] the wives of Csh[a]t[ria], Veish[ya], Sudr[a] are accessible to Brahmins and their houses Brahmin brothels for which cause there must be a small backdoor and a brazen drinkvessel in each Sudra house without Brahmin seed (*bījam*). Ker[ala] cannot be governed by those of the ruler castes.
59. The feasts of Ker[ala] differ much from those of foreigners. Chief days are the year-end (*āṅṅaruti* in the end of Leo Month) the Vishu Cani (*viṣu* the day when the sun leaves the constellation Pisces. *kaṇi* 'first sight in the morning', alluding to the ceremony of presenting that morning early some pleasant offer to the housefather's eyes) *ōṇam* (in Leo Month) and Ucharen (*uccāran*, when the Sun passes from Makaran to Cumbha). – The Ekadasi ('undecima' 11th day of a Newmoon) and other fastdays (*nompu*) are alike to Br[ahmin]s and Sudr[a]s: though in some places, as with foreigners, the Sudr[as] have first to serve the Br[ahmin]s and keep their fast the following day.
60. In Ker[ala] the disputes of Vishnu- and Siva-worshippers are not to be introduced.
61. Clean is: every thing unknown, all Bazar articles, the carpenter's hand, woman's face, branch, stick, leather, fruit touched by birds, alms, running waters and standing rain water, honey, lastly every coloured cloth and vessel in times of journeying, warfare, conflagrations, and holy feasts.

62. To restore purity, both in Tottu culi and Tindu culi, full immersion (*munnikkuḷi*) is wanted a woman's uncleanness (*pula*) is removed by the washerman (*maṇṇātti* giving change of raiment). Houses, wells and tanks are purified from pollution by the formul[sic] (*mantram*) and sprinkling (*puṇyāham*) of a Brahmin (cfr. 15.).
63. Touching or in certain cases approaching the low caste pollutes, a Sudr[a] must stand at 5' distance from a Br[ahmin] (on holy occasions, else 3), a Buddhist 12 (commonly 6), a menstruating woman 12, Cammaler, Tier, Muckwer 24, one lately delivered 18, a washerman, Vettuven, Canisen etc. 36, Pullayen, Parayen 64, Nay-adi 74 (*tīṇṭal*), Europeans etc. pollute only by touch.
64. In Mal[abar] the cow only, not the buffalo is to be milked (*eruma karukkaruta*).



Fig. 55. Districts of Kerala