

CHAPTER ELEVENSOCIAL DATA

LITERARY works are written for the display of the poetic skill of the author and hence references to ~~many~~ social customs are scattered and scanty. Besides, in a work like the TM which depicts the life of semi-divine beings in parts, and that too with a specific Jainistic colouring due to the author's attitude as a devout Jain, a clear idea of the actual ordinary social life naturally becomes difficult to obtain, and at times the social picture tends to be but partially reflected. But, at the same time, as has been rightly observed by Dr. K.R.Potdar,¹ the description even of an imaginary society will necessarily be coloured by the description of the contemporary society, though it requires the process of cleaning the grain from the husk in order to catch at the hidden references to certain facts, leaving aside the rhetorical part. It is in this way that, as has been pointed out by Dr. B.J.Sandesara,² literature is

1. JUB, Vol. XI, pt. II, Sept., 1942, p. 113.

2. Sya., Vol. I, No. 3, May, 1964, pp. 255-62.

one of the most important sources for the study of history. Linguistic palaeontology throws a good deal of light on the social and cultural history for which reason also the study of literature is essential.

An attempt is here made to present a fairly faithful picture of the social life on the basis of all the available evidences – even the minutest one being sought to be utilized – from the text of the TM.

I : PEOPLE, THEIR OCCUPATIONS, SOCIAL ENTERTAINMENTS AND PASTIMES :-

(A) RACE AND APPEARANCE :-

Dhanapāla has scarcely referred to the details of physical features of his characters, but his reference to the fire-pit origin of the Paramāra line³ has raised a few doubts about their being of Aryan origin. The same legend has been repeated by Padmagupta⁴ and by the Udaipur Prasasti also.⁵ The Harsola Grant (949 A.D.) proves the close connection between the Paramāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Paramāras were the feudatories

3. TM(N), Intro., vs.39 ab: वासिष्ठैः स्म कृतस्मयो वरशतै-
रस्त्यग्निकुण्डोद्भवो भूपालः परमार इत्यभिधया ख्यातो मही-
मण्डले ।

4. NSC, XI, 64-72.

5. EI, Vol. XIX, pp.236ff., vss. 5-6.

of the Gurjara Pratihāras right upto the time of Śīyaka II. Padmagupta, a contemporary of Munja Vākpatirāja II, writing in his own court calls the patron king a 'Brahma-kṣatra', descending from a Brahmin who had taken to arms.⁶ Jackson, Bhagavanlal, Hoernle, Bhandarkar and Smith hold that the Gurjara Pratihāras were a foreign tribe and that they immigrated to India with the Hūnas in circa 450 A.D. Since they are also said to have originated from the fire-pit, like the Cālukyas, the Cāhamāṇas and the Paramāras, all these four clans must have been of foreign origin. But Dr. C.V.Vaidya, Shri G.H.Ojha and Krishnaswami Iyengar have proved the unsustainability of the theory of immigration.⁷ Shri K.M.Munshi thus concludes that the Pratihāras, the Cāhamāṇas, the Cālukyas and the Paramāras were allied clans which belonged to Hindu society in a stage when Brahmanas, and Kṣatruyas were freely allied with each other in matrimony.⁸ Dhanapāla has mentioned the Gurjaras also.⁹

There are stray references to the golden complexion of Queen Madiravati,¹⁰ shining loveliness of King Meghavāhana,¹¹ pointed nose of Malayasundarī,¹² touch-stone-like

6. GGD, p.19-20.

7. HR, I,151; HMHI, I, p.83ff.; JLD, Uni.of Cal. X,13.

8. GGD, p.19-20.

9. TM(N), p.5(14).

10. *ibid.*, p.22(8): प्रयेष्ठवर्णिका रूपजातरूपस्य ---।

11. *ibid.*, p.14(5): लक्ष्मीमय इव लावण्ये ---।

12. *ibid.*, p.161(3): उन्नतनासा वंशम् ---।

black face of a goldsmith,¹³ dark bodily complexion of Vidyādhara Muni¹⁴ and of Samaraketu.¹⁵

There are references to the people of other regions of India, such as, the Yādavas of Kāncī,¹⁶ and women of various regions known by the names Draviḍa,¹⁷ Kośala, Aṅga, Kulūta, Magadha, Pāncāla, Vaṅga, ~~Sindhya~~ Saurāstra-maṇḍala, Kalinga, Kāncī,¹⁸ Kuntala,¹⁹ Kerala, Sindha and Lata²⁰; the last three being noted for the beauty of their cheeks, teeth and side-glances respectively. The forest tribes of the Prāgjyotiṣa region are noticed for their lack of cultured way of life.²¹ The Vidyādharas of the Vaitādhya mountain have been noted for their bravery and expertise in mystic sciences.²² The Sabara tribes is said to be the progeny of Lord Śiva in his role of Kirāta.²³ There are references to the tribes called Bhilla, Nāhala, Mleccha, Jalamānuṣa²⁴ and the frontier people having single leg, horse-like mouth, camel-like neck and profuse hair.

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13. TM(N), p.2(20) : कशाश्मनेव श्यामेन मुखेन --- कलादः...।
 14. ibid., p.24(6ff.) : असितपक्षे चतुर्दशीमिव --- अञ्जालस्मी दधानम्...।
 15. ibid., p.100(17ff.) : कुवलयदलश्यामेन स्वदेहप्रभासंतनेन तिस्रोहित-
 16. ibid., p.267(1) : --- यदुन्नेन्द्रवश ---। / सर्वाकारम्...।
 17. ibid., p.261(9).
 18. ibid., pp.266-267.
 19. ibid., p.202(20).
 20. ibid., p.203(12ff.).
 21. ibid., p.201(4ff.) : नित्यप्रसदाचारवनचरप्रचारकलुषा --- भूमिः...।
 22. ibid., p.266(12ff.) : सन्वसादृशेकधना --- विविधविधासंपादिताद्भुतसिद्धयः...।
 23. ibid., p.239(21) : क्रीडाकिरातवंशानि शबरवृन्दानि ---।
 24. ibid., pp.199(21); 201(21); 208(16); 210(12ff.).
 25. ibid., p.202(4ff.) : श्रुतिपरिचितेषु च प्राक्तदेशेषु विरूतभाषावशज्जित-
 कौतुकान्, क्वचिदेकचरणान्, क्वचिदभ्रान्तान्, क्वचित्करभकन्धरोदग्राजीवान्,
 क्वचित्लोमिलुप्तसकलावयवदर्शनान् प्रानुषसमूहान् ---।

(B) CLASSES AND CASTES :-

Dr. D.C.Ganguly informs us that the population of Malwa mainly consisted of the Brāhmanas, Kṣatriyas, Kāyasthas, Vaiśyas, Sūdras and Tailikas.²⁶ Dhanapāla clearly refers to the four Varnas and Āśramas.²⁷ There is no specific reference to the superiority of the Brahmins, irrespective of their learning or the lack of it. But they certainly enjoyed a high position from which they expected respect from the royalty and conferred their blessing when they duly got it.²⁸ They lived in a well-defined colony of their own.²⁹ The term 'Dvijāti' signified the first three classes, viz., Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas.³⁰ Many Brahmins lived on alms and this seems to have contributed to lowering their respectable position in the society, especially the Jains,³¹ though the Śaivite royalty seem to have respected the 'Vipra' class to which Dhanapāla belonged and on which the Paramāra kings conferred due honours. The Śrotriyas were always engaged in

26. HPD, p.239.

27. TM(N), p.12(22); 13(21).

28. *ibid.*, p.116(13ff.); अनुपदं च प्रणामपरितुष्टाभिविजयाशिषाभि-
नन्दमानो द्विजातिपरिषद्भिः ---।

29. *ibid.*, p.11(6): सब्रह्मलोका --- द्विजसमाजैः ---।

30. *ibid.*, p.348(19): -- त्रिवर्णशेषिणा द्विजातिशब्देन ---।

31. TM(N), p.44(9): -- साचकद्विज इव कथं प्रतिग्रह-

32. ~~ibid.~~ p. ~~116~~ मञ्जीकरोमि ---।

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muttering of the Mantras and preservation of their respective Vedic tradition by their adherence to sacrificial performances³² and they abstained from drinking and meat-eating.³³ It is significant that though the Vidyādhara Muni was supposed to be a Jain monk, Dhanapāla has mentioned the sacred thread in his case.³⁴ The Vaikhānasas were certainly Brahmins;³⁵ so also were the Tāpasas.³⁶ Dhanapāla definitely speaks as a Jain when he slyly refers to the exceeding cruelty of the Brahmins.³⁷ To this day the office of the religious priest (purodhas) and the temple-priest (devalaka)³⁸ has been held by the Brahmins some of whom gradually took to Jainism. The same situation might have obtained in the days of Dhanapāla also, though he has not specifically mentioned it. But the function of a 'Paurānika' was not necessarily that of the Brahmins, as the same could be performed by Jain nuns³⁹; but then the word 'Purāna' would signify not the

 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

32. *ibid.*, p.15(13): द्विजातिक्रियाणां शास्त्रोद्धरणम् --- ;68(6ff.):

अप्ययनं मुखरोन्मुखं द्विजेषु --- सत्रिणां भवनेषु

33. *ibid.*, p.51(3ff.).

34. *ibid.*, p.24(5ff.): --- प्रकरोपलक्ष्यमाणं ब्रह्मसूत्रं --- अकालक्ष्मीं दधानम्...।

35. *ibid.*, p.358(8ff.): प्राकृष्यन्त पठितुमात्रमोरजनिषण्णौ वृद्धवैश्वानरैः
 प्राभातिकानि गङ्गास्तोत्रगीतकानि ---।

36. *ibid.*, p.202(1ff.).

37. *ibid.*, p. ३: निषादलोकादधिकनिर्दयद्विजातिभिः ---।

38. *ibid.*, p.15(5); 67(5).

39. *ibid.*, p.331(10ff.): यथावसरमभिनवानि पौराणिकारव्याजकानि
 कथयता स्थविरतापसी समूहेन ---।

Brāhmanic Purānas but the Jain ones instead, such as the Mahāpurāna of Jinasena, the Padmapurāna of Raviṣeṇa and others. There is no definite evidence to think that the ministers and the officer in charge of religion (Dharmā-
and
dhyakṣa), the cook (Sūpakāra) were necessarily Brahmins. In the opinion of M.M.Gaurishankar Ojha, the Brahmin class had not broken up into sub-castes till the tenth century, though Al-Beruni has taken note of the commencement of this process.⁴⁰

As has been noted above, the then rulers of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa were a mixed class of Brahma-
kṣatra. But Dhanapāla seems to have avoided any refer-
social
ence to this. They established relations with various ruling dynasties of India by intermarriages. The Kṣatriya class is referred to as 'Rājaloka' in general. M.M. Gaurishankar Ojha⁴¹ observes that the position of this class was also considered high in view of the political power they possessed. Mostly it was from this class that the positions of king, commander-in-chief and soldiers came, though Rudrāditya, the minister of Munja seems to have been a Modh Brahmin and Kulacandra, the commander-in-chief of Bhoja's army seems to have been a Jain Bania.

40. AI, I, pp.100-101.

41. MBS, p.42.

These classes were getting mixed up due to the influence of Jainism and inter-class marriages. Due to the lack of land for cultivation and due to the influence of Jainism which looked to it with disfavour, many Brahmins and Ksatriyas took to other professions.

There is no specific mention of the Vaiśyas as a class, but the caste named 'Vanik' is mentioned. They were generally tradesmen, and naturally rich and cowardly, carrying on their business both by land⁴² and by sea.⁴³ Accidental inter-caste love-marriages were not rare, but they were not considered with approval by the caste-men. Thus, Tāraka was rather ashamed and he did not go to live with his Vanik relatives after his marriage with the daughter of a sailor.⁴⁴ The money-lenders were known by the name 'Thakkura', who were wellknown for their obstinacy in confiscating the belongings of villagers in the process of realizing the loans passed on their manes.⁴⁵

42. TM(N), p.117(13):--पण्यप्रसारक --- ; 67(8):--आपणिक --- ; 130(5): वणिज्जातिस्सहभुवा भीरुत्वेन ---।

43. ibid., p.117(5):--आख्यनैजम --- ; 127(10) सांयात्रिक

44. ibid., p.129(12)सहाजतैर्वणिभिः स्वदेशगप्पनाय पुनःपुनरभ्यर्थ्यमानोऽपि दशिनोत्कण्ठितेन सातिवर्गेण सोपालम्भक्येन संदेशदामैरुन्मनीक्रियमाणोऽपि त्रपया स्थितोऽत्रैव न जतो निजस्थानम् ।

45. ibid., p.117(18ff.) अलब्धवकाशठकुर हडनिराकृतै राश्रयाय प्रतिगृहं गृहीत आण्डै शहिण्डिः... (जामेयकैः).

The Cāranas or Bandins, according to Dr. K.R.Potdar, were a progeny of a Ksatriyam father and a Sūdrā mother.⁴⁶

The Kāyasthas, again a caste of persons born of a Ksatriya father and a Sūdrā mother,⁴⁷ were generally clerks of the courts.⁴⁸

Some of the class-nomenclatures originated from the religious sect to which the people adhered. Among these, Dhanapāla has mentioned, the Vaiṣṇava, Bauddha, Svetambara, and Raudra.⁴⁹

Many other classes got their names from the occupations of the people, such as Ādhorana,⁵⁰ Luṅṭāka,⁵¹ Kirāta,⁵² Kalāda,⁵³ Gaṇikā,⁵⁴ Nāvika,⁵⁵ or Kaivarta or Dhīvara,⁵⁵ Sthāpatya,⁵⁶ Gāthaka,⁵⁷ Nartaka,⁵⁸ Gaṇaka,⁵⁹ Kulāla,⁶⁰ Svāganika,⁶¹ Sūpakāra,⁶² and so on.

Some other class-names came from the place of their residence, such as Grāmeyaka,⁶³ Nāgaraka,⁶⁴ Ballava,⁶⁵ Vanecara,⁶⁶ Ātavikavargga,⁶⁷ and so on.

46. JUB, Vol.XI, Pt.II, Sept.1942,p.115.

47. SED(MW), p.274 a.

48. TM(N), p.246(19): अक्षरपरलमास्थाय कायस्थेन --- 1

49. ibid., p.12(14); 15(13); 4(14); 10(21).

50. ibid., p.116(2-5). 59. ibid.,p.76(22).

51. ibid., p.119(16)./60. ibid.,p.145(21).

52. ibid., p.85(1). 61. ibid.,p.200(17).

53. ibid., p.2(20). 62. ibid.,p.373(12).

54. ibid., p.245(18ff.) 63. ibid.,p.118(9ff.).

55. ibid., p.126(19-20);283/ 64. ibid.,p.283(12).

56. ibid., p.15(1). / (9)./65. ibid.,p.118(6).

57. ibid., p.18(14). 66. ibid.,p.200(18).

58. ibid., p.18(16). 67. ibid.,p.200(19).

(C) OCCUPATIONS :-

Inspite of the general prevalence of the four main classes and stages of life (varṇāśrama), the occupations of the people were varied ones and there do not appear to have been any strict regulations as regards a caste restricting itself to a particular occupation. The growing influence of Jainism, Buddhism, Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, and consequent decline of Brāhmanism, engendered a mixture of classes, castes and occupations, as everybody was encouraged to profess these faiths due to growing rivalry among them. Moreover, a large variety of occupations had come into existence with the progress of culture.

Dhanapāla has mentioned the following among them, viz., Goldsmith,⁶⁸ ~~सूत्रज्ञ~~ Courtezan,⁶⁹ Sailor,⁷⁰ Architect,⁷¹ Public-reciter,⁷² Dancer,⁷³ Actor,⁷⁴ Alchemist and Metallurgist,⁷⁵ palmist,⁷⁶ Magician,⁷⁷ Cook,⁷⁸ Lutanist,⁷⁹ Servant,⁸⁰ Astrologer,⁸¹ Armed-servant,⁸² Foot-soldier,⁸³

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| 68. TM(N), p.85(1): कलाद . | 76. ibid., p.64(12) सामुद्रविद् . |
| 69. ibid., p.245(18ff.) जणिका . | 77. ibid., p.65(3ff.) महानरेन्द्र . |
| 70. ibid., p.126(19) नाविक . | 78. ibid., p.69(11) आराणिक . |
| 71. ibid., p.15(1) स्थापत्य . | 79. ibid., p.70(15) वैपश्चिक . |
| 72. ibid., p.18(14) जाथक . | 80. ibid., p.70(16) सेवकवार . |
| 73. ibid., p.18(16) नर्तकी . | 81. ibid., p.76(22) जणक . |
| 74. ibid., p.22(7) शैलूम . | 82. ibid., p.83(11) वण्ड . |
| 75. ibid., p.22(9ff.) महावातिक --- | 83. ibid., p.84(5) पदाति . |
- धातुवादिक .

Drummer,⁸⁴ Archer,⁸⁵ Clerk,⁸⁶ Labourer,⁸⁷ Potter,⁸⁸ Servant-
-maid,⁸⁹ Horse-keeper,⁹⁰ Elephant-trainer,⁹¹ Artisan,⁹²
Spittoon-bearer,⁹³ Harlot,⁹⁴ Woman-reciter,⁹⁵ and so on.

Thus, all types of professions - some intelligent, some artistic, some deceitful and ~~xxx~~ others skillful - seem to have been prevalent in the society of the days.

Many other professions were connected with the service of the royal family and the government. Among them, those noticed by our poet are : Staff-bearer,⁹⁶ Body-guard,⁹⁷ Spy,⁹⁸ Time-keeper,⁹⁹ Water-fetcher,¹⁰⁰ Mess-officer,¹⁰¹ Postman,¹⁰² Peon,¹⁰³ Door-keeper,¹⁰⁴ Harem-maid,¹⁰⁵ and etc..

The peculiar usages like 'Lāsikājana',¹⁰⁶ 'Jnāti',¹⁰⁷ 'Sevaka-vāra',¹⁰⁸ 'Ganaka-nivaha',¹⁰⁹ and 'Mahamatra-vargga',¹¹⁰ might lend to the probable prevalence of well-formed groups or associations of those professionals.

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| 84. TM(N), p.85(9) पारहिक. | 98. ibid., p.15(6) गूढपुरुष. |
| 85. ibid., p.87(5) धानुष्क. | 99. ibid., p.84(1) आध्यात्मिक. |
| 86. ibid., p.246(19) कायस्थ. | 100. ibid., p.69(9) वारिक. |
| 87. ibid., p.124(12) भुजिष्यकर्मकर. | 101. ibid., p.69(12) पौरोहित्य. |
| 88. ibid., p.145(21) कुलाल. | 102. ibid., p.110(16) पत्रकहारिन्. |
| 89. ibid., p.170(4) सैरन्धी. | 103. ibid., p.116(5) किंकरपुरुष. |
| 90. ibid., p.81(1) परिवर्द्धक. | 104. ibid., p.162(15) दूरपाली. |
| 91. ibid., p.184(23) महाभात्रवर्डी. | 105. ibid., p.301(4) अन्तःपुरिका. |
| 92. ibid., p.196(3) काम्प. | 106. ibid., p.61(12). |
| 93. ibid., p.233(15) पतदुग्गाहक. | 107. ibid., p.62(18). |
| 94. ibid., p.29(19) बन्धकी. | 108. ibid., p.70(16). |
| 95. ibid., p.322(9) कथकपुरस्त्रि. | 109. ibid., p.76(22). |
| 96. ibid., p.14(22) प्रतीहार. | 110. ibid., p.184(23). |
| 97. ibid., p.15(2) अस्त्रारक्ष. | |

(D) SOCIAL PASTIMES :-

The chief pastimes of the people consisted of strolling in pleasure gardens , picnics, dancing, music, painting, literature, riding, hunting, swimming, gambling, ball-game, drinking and prostitution.

Strolling leisurely in the pleasure gardens was the common pastime of the members of royal families as well as of people in general. Private gardens were raised in the royal palaces and harems to this end. Many public parks were also built on the outskirts of the cities. Thus we have a reference to the public park named 'Mattakokila' outside Ayodhyā.¹¹¹ The public garden of Kāncī has also been mentioned.¹¹² At times even the Jain temples had a park surrounding them. Thus Priyaṅgusundarī built her Jain temple in a garden named Manorama.¹¹³ The temples of Cupid both at Ayodhyā¹¹⁴ and at Kāncī were situated in the above-mentioned public parks where people used to gather both on common days and on festive occasions.¹¹⁵ prince Harivāhana went to the Mattakokila garden with his friends and attendants to entertain himself.¹¹⁶ At the

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111. TM(N), p.105(15) सरभूतरासङ्गि मत्तकोकिलं नाम बाह्योयानम् ।
 112. ibid., p.322(19ff.) नातिदूरे नरेन्द्रभवनोपवनसंस्तुतं कुसुमाकराभिधानं
 113. ibid., p.408(4-7). काननम्...
 114. ibid., p.108(18).
 115. ibid., p.298(6-8) अद्य मदनत्रयोदशी । प्रवृत्ता मन्मथायत्तने यात्रा ।
 प्रस्थितो विचित्रनेपथ्यधारी समग्रोऽपि नगरनारीजनः कुसुमाकराह्वयं मन्दिरा-
 116. ibid., pp.105-111. रामम् ।

Rathanūpuracakravāla city he passed his time in the harem-garden of Tilakamanjarī.¹¹⁷ Love-making and passing love-letters¹¹⁸ was very convenient in public parks due to the free atmosphere they provided.

Picnic was an akin pastime and it was accompanied by swinging, adornment, flower-picking, and gambling.¹¹⁹

Dancing seems to have been very popular, especially on festive occasions. On the occasion of the birth of Prince Harivāhana at Ayodhyā, the women-folk of the city danced, in the palace premises, along with the inmates of royal harem.¹²⁰ Courtézans and parasites danced in public at the royal palace on the occasion of the birth of Princess Malayasundarī at Kāncī.¹²¹ King Vicitravīrya specially got the princesses kidnapped and gathered them from all parts of India in order to arrange a dancing programme on the occasion of the Holy-Bath Ceremony of Lord Mahāvīra at Mount Ratnakūṭa in the Southern Ocean.¹²² Members of

117. TM(N), p.369(10-11).

118. *ibid.*, pp.108-110.

119. *ibid.*, pp.352(23)-353(9).

120. *ibid.*, p.76(20)-मनते सान्तेपुरे नगरनारीवृन्दम्--1

121. *ibid.*, p.263(16ff.) भुजङ्गोपनेन ननृतुर्नृपाङ्गेषु गणिकाः...।

122. *ibid.*, p.268(11-16) -- कन्यका इमाः खलु निखिला अपि भारतकेन दक्षिणार्ध-प्रदेशप्रखण्डवासिनां प्रणुलादिपत्नीगामात्मजाः ।... विधाधरै-रानीत्वाश्च संपत्ति --- अलंकर्तुमियं यात्रोत्सवम् । अत्र नारस्य भगवते-श्च शनरगुरोः शिषेक प्रक्षालानन्तरमेव प्रवर्तविध्यन्ति संगीतकम् ।

royal families were expected to be adept in the theoretical as well as the practical aspect of dancing and other arts.¹²³ References to professional dancers are also scattered in the TM.¹²⁴ Outstanding dancers were duly honoured officially.¹²⁵ Popular dances called 'Rāsa' are also mentioned and courtezans seem to have had well-organized groups for such performances during the festivals.¹²⁶

Dramatic performances were closely connected with dancing as is evident from the references to the theatre, stage, actor, performance proper and treatise on dramaturgy.¹²⁷

Musical concerts and study groups seem to have been another common pastime. Though the chief patrons of this art were the royal families, the principal participants were generally the cultured citizens both professional as well as amateur. The words 'Gandharva' and 'Gāthaka' refer to professional musicians. Along with practical

123. TM(N), p. 18(16-17) -- नर्तकीनां प्रदुग्णेन शास्त्रवर्त्मना कृतसुन्दरगुण-
दोषोपक्रमः पथ्यल्लास्यविधिम् --।

124. *ibid.*, p. 18(16) -- नर्तकी -- ; 61(12) लासिकाजन --

125. *ibid.*, p. 327(11-12) कारय गन्धर्वपतिरज्ञान्त्याः कामकोटेः
पट्टमन्थम् --।

126. *ibid.*, p. 323(15) -- विरलोकलोचनसुधासु वेश्यासिसप्रणलीषु --।

127. *ibid.*, p. 22(7); 57(12-17); 208(21); 370(19) असम्यक्सात-
दशरूपकैरिव सर्वदादिभीकृतवीदिभिः --।

Performances there used to be theoretical discussions relating to the technical topics like musical notes, etc.¹²⁸ Hot discussions were not uncommon among musicians, dancers and actors,¹²⁹ though ultimately they were expected to result in all-round entertainment of the participants.¹³⁰

Painting was a favourite pastime of young people,¹³¹ who happened to fall in love at the sight of portraits of beautiful girls, as was the case with Prince Harivāhana who spent days together in looking at the portrait of Tilakamanjarī.¹³² Tilakamanjarī's mother Patralekhā resorted to the means of showing the portraits of various princes in order to spot out a suitable predestined match for her daughter.¹³³ Dhanapāla has put a critical appreciation of a painting in the mouth of Prince Harivāhana.

Public discussions of literary pieces and of artistic and scientific treatises was also a common source of intellectual entertainment of the elite. Literary groups gathered for recital of Subhāṣitas,¹³⁴ narration of interesting stories from Purānas and Itihāsa,¹³⁵ cracking of jokes,¹³⁶

128. TM(N), p.41(2) -- गीतगोष्ठी स्वरविचार --- ; p.227(12-13) जाधकजनस्य प्रबल वेणुवीणा विलाप सवलन तारो गीतशास्कारः --- ; p.372(17) -- वेणुवीणा दि- वाद्यविनोद --- ।

129. *ibid.*, p.372(7-8) -- नार्यशाला शैलूषकुलसंगीतकलह --- ।

130. *ibid.*, p.184(4-5) -- विनोदकमला --- गीतगोष्ठी --- ।

131. *ibid.*, p.164(19) -- चित्रकर्मनिर्मा --- ।

132. *ibid.*, pp.166-177. / 133. *ibid.*, p.170.

134. *ibid.*, p.278(21).

135. *ibid.*, p.172(10) -- विचित्राः कथालापाः --- ; 107(20-21) -- विविध-पुराणतिहासकथाः --- ।

136. *ibid.*, p.172(11) -- नर्तनाद --- ।

recitation and appreciation of poetic pieces of various types such as enigmas, riddles, puzzling questions and answers, Satprajna-gathas, verses of missing quarters or syllables or Anusvāras,¹³⁷ and for debates abounding in the exhibition of the power of variegated speech,¹³⁸ and so on.

One of the pastimes of kings, princes and warrior class was riding. After granting the boon, the goddess Śrī sets King Meghavāhana free from the restraints of the penance-vows and asks him to enjoy, at his heart's content, riding a horse, chariot, elephant, etc.,¹³⁹ which were the common animals or vehicals for transport. During the festivals people used to ride mock horses, elephants, etc., fastened to horizontal merry-go-rounds.¹⁴⁰

With it was connected the pastime of hunting. Dhanapāla, being a devout Jain, was not much in favour of hunting, though he himself seems to have accompanied King Bhoja on such expeditions quite a few times prior to his conversion to Jainism. Even then he could not avoid sending

137. TM(N), p.108(4-8) चित्रालङ्कारभूयिष्ठा काव्यगोष्ठी ... प्रहेलिकाजातिषु ...
प्रश्नोत्तरप्रभेदेषु ... षट्प्रश्नकगाथासु ... बिन्दुमात्राक्षरव्युत्कश्लोकेषु ... ।

138. *ibid.*, p.155(7-8) पौढवादिनमिवाति विषमपत्रभङ्गाविस्मापितप्रेक्षकजगत्- ।

139. *ibid.*, p.61(9) अनुभव तुस्तरधसिन्धुसाधिरौहणसुखानि ... ।

140. *ibid.*, p.323(14) कृत्विमत्तुरङ्गादारणक्रीडाप्रधानेषु प्रेरणकेषु ... ।

Harivāhana on a hunting expedition during the latter's stay at his camp at Lauhitya : The princes, accompanying him, are said to have been very much fond of hunting.¹⁴¹ Harivāhana has been made, by Dhanapāla, to spare the wild beasts, though he has allowed them to be teased in various ways, such as, by painting, garlanding, tying 'Cāmaras' to their ears, banners to their horns, bells to their necks, bundles of grass to their tails and thus making them run to and fro out of fear or embarrassment.¹⁴² At times Prince Harivāhana tamed the wild beasts by his power of the music of the lute.¹⁴³

Swimming and water-sport have been mentioned in connection with personal love-sport of King Meghavāhana with his queens.¹⁴⁴ But that does not mean that the pastime was confined to royalty only, since there were so many rivers and lakes and every temple had its own tank at which, even as at present, old and young, rich and poor, all and sundry did enjoy swimming and water-sports, especially on festive occasions.¹⁴⁵

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141. TM(N), p.183(2ff.) -- मृगयाव्यसनिभिः कितिपकृष्टारैः क्षिणाय तेषा-
भुक्षिणं व्यापार्यत ---।
142. *ibid.*, p.183(8-16).
143. *ibid.*, p.183(5-6); pp.185-186.
144. *ibid.*, p.17(17) -- अन्वेषेण पुरं प्रीतिरुपसृत्योपसृत्य
सिच्यमानो जलक्रीडाम करोत् ---।
145. *ibid.*, p.323(16) --- कृतपरस्परसेकयुद्धेषु प्रस्थितेषु भजनवादिभ्यः
कनकमृत्कारपाणिषु भुजम्भापौरैषु ---।

Ball-game has been mentioned just once only with reference to Tilakamanjarī.¹⁴⁶ It seems to have been different from an akin type of dance called 'Kanduka-nṛtya' in which also skillful maneuvering with the ball in the course of dancing is the chief peculiarity, as has been described in detail by Dandin in his Daśakumāracaritam.¹⁴⁷

Gambling was a widely popular pastime. Professional gamblers seem to have used an eight-housed board for the purpose.¹⁴⁸ Use of other type of board consisting of quadruple flaps with dice-houses in threes and fours also seem to have been common.¹⁴⁹ Other accessories such as a couple of dice are also mentioned.¹⁵⁰ Dhanapāla has nothing to say against this pastime, since his heroes have been made to freely play at it. Thus, King Meghavāhana indulged in it and was at times defeated in it at the hands of his queens.¹⁵¹ After finishing his bath and daily worship, Harivāhana passed his time in playing at dice with Mrgāṅkakekhā for some time.¹⁵² Not only that, the people were fond of this game to such an extent that young boys

146. TM(N), p.365(6) -- कन्दुकक्रीडा ---।

147. DKC(GP), pp.207-211*.

148. TM(N), p.87(17) -- कितवा इव लिखिताष्टापदसारफलका ---।

149. ibid., p.167(18) -- चतुरङ्गाधूतमिव सुनिर्दिष्टत्रिकचतुष्करचक्रम् ---।

150. ibid., p.246(23) -- शारङ्गम् ---।

151. ibid., p.18(3) -- कदाचिच्छ्रीडयित्वा तपराजितः पणितमप्रयच्छन् ---।

152. ibid., p.370(2ff.) भृगाश्कलेखयोः साकपदाक्रीडाविनोदेन क्षणमात्रमस्तीति।

carved out the designs of various types of dice-boards for the purpose on the window floors of even the Jain temples! ¹⁵³

Another popular pastime was drinking, perhaps accompanied by prostitution. Regular bars for drinking existed and people used to go there for chatting and drinking their fill from the pails. ¹⁵⁴ Private drinking parties were arranged in the gardens under trees and in creeper-bowers. ¹⁵⁵ King Meghavāhana enjoyed drinking from jewelled pails in the company of his queens. ¹⁵⁶ Old wine was considered the best one and was used in drinking-festivals. ¹⁵⁷ But Brahmins seem to have abstained from drinking and they disliked even the talk of it. ¹⁵⁸ Though there cannot possibly be a specific mention of meat-eating in a work of a devout Jain poet like Dhanapāla, one can easily infer the prevalence of it as an ingredient of this pastime from its invariable concomittance with wine and woman. And Dhanapāla

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153. TM(N), p.219(7ff.)- द्युतरसिक सुरकुमारकोत्कीर्ण विविधफलकाङ्कित तले ---
महा नीलवातायने ---।
154. *ibid.*, p.211(21ff.) आपानगोष्ठीवर्धमिव मधुकरकामोदितभ्रामते -
नानामधुषण्डली मुखरितं च ---। ; 245(19) पानगोष्ठी-
गृहमिवाखिलमधुव्रतक्रातानाम् ---।
155. *ibid.*, p.41(4)- पानकेली निरपेक्ष यथा शून्यी कृतोपवनतरुषण्डलता मण्डपाः ---।
156. *ibid.*, p.18(6ff.) - कदाचित्कापि शायनं स्वयमुत्दिप्यमानोऽप्ययमकः ---
प्रेयसीः सानुनयमपाययत् ---।
157. *ibid.*, p.61(12) -- पुराणचारुणीपानोत्सवः ---।
158. *ibid.*, p.51(3-4) -- किमनेन कर्णोद्देगजनकेन द्विजस्येव मदिराभ्याद-
शौन्दर्यकथनेन ---।

has referred to, though in connection with the forset tribes like Sabaras, cooking of the carcasses of animals.¹⁵⁹ And the Paramāras were no strict vegeterians.

Prostitution seems to have been an organized profession and quite a pastime. There is a clear mention of a class called 'Bhujāṅga', which might indicate the 'keepers of prostitutes'¹⁶⁰; they frequented the temples of Love-god, Śiva and Bhavānī.¹⁶¹ There seem to be minute professional distinctions in the institution of prostitution, some of its members confining their profession to running the bars, singing and dancing only. They had an important place in the royal harems and courts.

One of the favourite pastimes of lovers, over and above the normal one of despatching love-letters, consisted of observing each other from the window of the topmost chamber of their adjoining mansions.¹⁶²

Another pastime, mentioned twice, was the one of smoking after the lunch. It was practised both by King

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159. TM(N), p.200(3)---प्रतिमुल्लिप-यमाज शूली कृतानेक श्वापदपि शिताभिः --- ; p.203(18) -- प्रत्युपल शकल पारलेः --- ।
 160. ACH, III, 183 -- भुजङ्गो जणिकापतिः । †
 161. TM(N), p.8(11) -- स्विक्रियं प्रजल्पता पठता गायता च भुजङ्गसमाजैर्न क्षणमप्यदु-यमाज मनोभवभवभवानीभवनैः --- ।
 162. ibid., pp.109-110; 368-369.

by King Meghavāhana¹⁶³ and by Prince Harivāhana.¹⁶⁴ The same practice was prevalent in the days of Bāṇa also.¹⁶⁵ Dr. Vasudev Sharan Agrawal has explored the Carakasamhitā (V,20,25), the Kuṭṭānīmatam and the Nāgarasarvasvam for details of the manufacture of the cigarettes of those times and has shown that they were prepared from many health-giving fragrant spices, such as sandal, camphor, pepper and etc.,¹⁶⁶ and not from tobacco as at present.

Children, especially daughters, used to play with wooden dolls, balls, and entertained themselves with mock marriages of puppets.¹⁶⁷

II : SOCIAL INTERCOURSE, ETIQUETTE ETC. :-

(A) FAMILY LIFE :-

The affectionate relationship between the husband and wife as depicted in the cases of King Meghavāhana and Queen Madirāvati,¹⁶⁸ of King Kusumasekhara and Queen Gandharvadattā,¹⁶⁹ of Harivāhana and Tilakamanjarī,¹⁷⁰ and of Tāraka and Priyadarśanā¹⁷¹ would adduce to the existence of

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163. TM(N),p.69(20-21) -- उपसृश्य च समाघातधूपधूमवर्तिः -- ।
 164. ibid.,p.178(3-4) -- उपसृश्य चाघातधूपधूमवर्तिः-- ।
 165. Kad.,p.35: - परिपीतधूपधूमवर्तिः -- ।
 166. KESA,p.32.
 167. TM(N),p.168(10) -- पाञ्चालिका कन्दुकदुहितृविवाहगोचराभिः शिशुक्रीडाभिः-- ।
 168. ibid.,p.23(5ff.) पर्यां कोटिप्रान्त्या स्वामिभावस्य सर्वदा --- विरपत्या सततमुत्सङ्गेन लालिता पत्या ।
 169. ibid.,p.263(1-2) -- या च --- द्वितीयापि ॐ भर्तुरेकं शरीरमभवत् ।
 170. ibid.,p.428.
 171. ibid.,p.129(6-10).

happy household in the days of Dhanapāla. Though the husband naturally dominated the whole household, a glimpse of tender care and consideration he showed to his wife has been amply afforded. Among the factors which conduced to the happy married life of Tāraka and Priyadarśanā, Dhanapāla has listed a few, such as profuse love, beauty of the wife, wit and sense of humour, good conversational ability, absence of assertiveness as a husband, short-livedness of temper and proneness to reconciliation, un-called for appreciation and reward, resourcefulness in the physical aspect of enjoyments, fidelity to one's wife, and, at times, indifference to domestic routines.¹⁷² Inexhaustible facilities like gardens, tanks, streams, literary and artistic assemblies and gambling coupled with lust for living, enjoying and procreating contributed to a great extent in engendering such a happy relationship, in which both husband and wife were equals.

Husband was not supposed to unilaterally engage in penance entailing cessation of enjoyments, without the

 172. TM(N), p. 129(6-11) -- पाणिग्रहणदिवसादारभ्य निभ्रानुरागस्तथा सर्वाङ्गसुन्दर्या सह विवर्धमानविविधविदग्धपरिहासमश्रान्तचित्रवाटुकममप्रकटितस्वस्वामिभावमल्पक्षणोपजायमानानेककोपप्रसादमस्थानसंपाद्यमानस्पृहणीयनिग्रहानुग्रहमनुदिवसमासेवमानो नवयौवनोपभोगमुपभोगसुरवमपरकामिनीसुरतसंभोगार्ता गृहव्यापारयोगार्ता च प्रायच्छुद्धिकाञ्जलिम् ।

consent of his wife. The apology tendered by the Vidyādhara Muni to Madirāvati on behalf of her husband is an instance in point.¹⁷³ Conversely, during the period when the husband – or even a would-be husband at that – was abroad, the wife forsook all of her ornaments, except pair of a/bracelets as a mark of auspicious memory of her being a married wife.¹⁷⁴ Not only that, she also undertook various difficult and painful vows and penances expected to help her get united with her husband soon.¹⁷⁵ Thus, Malayasundarī led a tough life of an ascetic girl, putting on bark garments, serving the pilgrims with fruits and vegetables, sustaining herself on wild grains, sleeping on a slab of stone and spending her time in muttering holy formula or in worshipping Lord Jina.¹⁷⁶ The husband would also at times put on some ornament dear to, and connected with the sweet memory of, his wife during the period of separation.¹⁷⁷ And on return from abroad, or after long separation, the husband would adorn his wife with his own

173. TM(N), p.31(15-19) मा स्म कुप्यन्वेतसि यदस्माभिरकृत्वा प्रक्ष-
मश्रुत्वा प्रतिवचनमगृहीत्वा नुमतिं महाभागायाः कृपास्य चेतसो
नियन्त्रणा निवारणा च विषयोपभोगसुखानाम् ---।

174. *ibid.*, p.330(20-21) विमुक्तहारनूपुरादिविः शेषभूषणकलापा मङ्गल-
मात्रमेकैकमणिबलयशेषं वेषमुद्धहन्ती ---।

175. *ibid.*, p.296(14-15) प्रोक्षितकर्तृकौषदिष्टनीत्या कष्टरूपाणि प्रियसमा-
गमप्रतापि शश्वत्पालयन्ती ---।

176. *ibid.*, p.345(7-19).

177. *ibid.*, p.43(17) --सया विरहविनोदार्थमारोप्य कण्ठे --- अनीतः ।

(sgid by Jvalanaprabha about the Candratapa necklace of his beloved Priyaṅgusundarī.)

hands, fully compensating her for the pangs she had suffered during the period of separation.¹⁷⁸ The husband generally addressed his wife in the second person singular out of affection; so did the wife her husband; but in the presence of others they addressed each other in the third person as a mark of courtesy.

Naturally such a happy married life could not be deemed complete until it did not culminate in the birth of a child. Thus, in spite of all the happiness of the world, there was still one great cause of unhappiness in the life of King Meghavāhana and Queen Madirāvati, viz., the lack of a child.¹⁷⁹ A male child was invariably yearned for.¹⁸⁰ Relatives of the king would urge the ministers to search for a new princely bride predicted to be unfailingly capable of bearing a son.¹⁸¹ It was not improbable if similar things did happen in the case of ordinary citizens

178. TM(N), p.73(14-15) सविलेपनां सलंकारां सतिलकां सावतंसां
सशेखरां स्वकरेण तां चकार ।

179. *ibid.*, p.28(1-8) - अनयाऽस्माकमविकला त्रिवर्गसंपत्तिः --- स्पृहणीयाः
भोगाः सुफलं यौवर्णं --- श्रमणीयो जीवलोकौ --- । अस्वस्थताकारणं चावयोः
--- प्रायेण गल्पमप्यपरमस्ति मुक्तवैकमनपत्यतादुःखम् ।

180. *ibid.*, p.20-21.

181. *ibid.*, p.64(11-13) अवित्तादेशं शानु प्रविदारव्यात प्रसवलदीपानां
क्षेत्रीपालकव्यक्रान्तुद्राहणं शतः प्रणयीलोकैः प्रवर्त्यमाना मात्यम् -- ।

also. The birth of a daughter was a matter of unhappiness, more so if the couple had no male child at all.¹⁸²

Children were very much cared for. Dhanapāla has given a beautiful picture each of the way in which Prince Harivāhana and Princess Malayasundarī were looked after during their childhood in their respective father's palaces.¹⁸³

(B) EDUCATION OF BOYS AND GIRLS :-

The young prince played with other children of royalty till the age of five years.¹⁸⁴ In the sixth year, he was entrusted, with due ceremony,¹⁸⁵ to the care of carefully selected teachers in a school specially built in the palace premises.¹⁸⁶ Due care was taken to gather best available teachers for the education of the prince. Dhanapāla has suggested the existence of similar schools for the children of common people, as is clear from a reference to naughty or dull students.¹⁸⁷ The qualifications expected from the teachers were: proper study at

182. TM(N), p.262(9-10) -- अहं -- आसन्नवर्तिना अनानामश्नुपात्कारणमेकैवा-
त्मजा जाता ।

183. ibid., p.78(12-21); pp.263-264.

184. ibid., p.78(19-21) -- क्षितिपालदारकैः सह कीडासुखमनेकप्रकारमनुभवतो
निरक्षुशप्रचारस्य पञ्चवर्षणि तस्यान्तःपुरेऽति-यक्रमुः ।

185. ibid., p.79(3ff.).

186. ibid., p.78(23) -- राजकुलाभ्यन्तर एव कारितानवद्यविद्यागृहः --।

187. ibid., p.76(16-18) -- बठर-छात्र -- विद्यासत्रशालान्ते क्वचित् वासि प्रष्टवन्ति --।

Gurukula, knowledge of the essence of all the branches of learning, purity in speech and discussions, birth in respectable cultured family, natural indisposition to vices.¹⁸⁸ The prince used to study there till the age of sixteen and got good grounding in all the branches of various arts and sciences.¹⁸⁹ Teachers were highly respected both by the king and the princely students. Dhanapāla has referred to the etiquette of saluting the teacher before closing the books.¹⁹⁰

Young girls, it seems did not go to schools, but got their instruction in fine arts like music, dancing, painting and etc., along with the training in the domestic tasks, from their mothers. Dr. A.S. Altekar is doubtful whether the average woman was receiving any education after about the sixth or the seventh century.¹⁹¹ Royal families might be employing special teachers for training up their daughters, and even wives, in various arts and sciences deemed necessary to be learned by them in view

188. TM(N), p.79(1-2) - सम्यग्गतेषु तैतु गुरुकुलानां प्रवृत्ताः खिलशरभ्रमर्षिनिर्मलाः -
क्लि युक्तीनां मुतमान्नाय लब्धजन्मना प्रसन्नार्गगति निरुर्ग विद्विषा विद्यागुरुणां ..।

189. ibid., p.79(8-9) - लिपि विशेषद शनिपुरःसर मशेकाण्यपि व्याकरणादीनि
शास्त्राणि तस्मै क्रमेणोपादिक्षत् । ; 79(19-20) अतिक्रान्ते
च जोडले वर्षे राजा -- स्वभवनभाजिनाय ।

190. ibid., p.62(12) -- वन्दितान्चार्य चरणशिष्यगण संक्षिप्तभाण निजनिजपुस्तकास्तु...।

191. EAI, p.223.

of their future prospects and responsibilities as queens. But Dhanapāl⁴¹ has mentioned but once the dance-teacher (Nartakopādhyāya) and that too in connection with the description of the love-sports of King Meghavāhana.¹⁹²

(C) FREEDOM TO YOUNG GIRLS :-

On attaining youth, the girls were allowed to move freely in company of cultured female companions,¹⁹³ and enjoy swimming in ponds, roaming on sea-shores, playing with birds and tame animals in gardens, and singing songs.¹⁹⁴ Falling in love was deemed natural on the part of young girls and, on the contrary, the parents would worry if their girls did not seem to be interested in males on attaining puberty,¹⁹⁵ though it could not have been rare so far as the Jain society was concerned. We do have faint glimpses of young girls taking to asceticism and references probably to old Jain nuns in the TM.¹⁹⁶ Various techniques were employed to attract the attention of a young girl to boys in order to find out a suitable

192. TM(N), p.18(16).

193. *ibid.*, p.168(15-16). अनुमोदिता च स्नेच्छाविहारस्य धृतविरुध-
वेषविधाधरी वृद्धपरिवृता । ; p.264(15-16). अदृशवयसा
अदृशरूपलावण्येन अदृशवरत्रभूषणादिवेषपरिच्छेदेन प्रियवादिना विरुधेन
स्निग्धेन संप्री-रिजनेनामुक्तसंनिधिः ... ।

194. *ibid.*, p.168(18ff.).

195. *ibid.*, p.169(15ff.). नाञ्जलिप्रति पाणिग्रहणमकालम् । इच्छा च तस्या-
स्तथाविधा चित्तच्छेदा मयुष्टप्रतिविधाता परं विधादमुपगता देवी --- । ;
p.258(13-14). किं येष विद्यमानस्यके काधवासे वयसि विधयोपभोग-
विद्वेषः ।

196. *ibid.*, p.258(4). प्रथमयोवना प्रतस्था --- ; p.331(11ff.) ---
स्थविरतापसी समूहः --- ।

match. Among these Dhanapāla has mentioned the roll of the portraits and recitals of biographical ballads by women-reciters.¹⁹⁷ Some girls did fall in love and resorted to various means, such as sending love-letters or passing some token like a garland expressing their love ~~and~~ without waiting for the consent of their parents.¹⁹⁸ A youthful girl was normally expected to respond to the legitimate advances of a proper match.¹⁹⁹ Marriage was generally fixed up with due consent of the parents, who, at times, did not care to ascertain the likes or dislikes of their daughters;²⁰⁰ invariably so in the cases of marriages fixed up under political compulsions, as the king had to answer to the welfare of his subjects at the cost of his daughter's marital happiness.

But in such cases of imposed marriages the girls could express their protest against the helplessness and ~~and~~ parents in various ways, such as, by dismissing with insult the maid-servant who brought the bad news, by

197. TM(N), p.170(7ff.); 322(6-12).

198. *ibid.*, p.109(13-14); 289(1-3).

199. *ibid.*, p.287(21-22). अस्य महामुरुषु मर्मप्रणयभङ्गो महापुरुषस्य प्रथम-
प्रणयभङ्गोऽस्य चात्यन्तमपुत्रस्य राजसूतो विधानना ।

200. *ibid.*, p.299(13-14). न हि कोऽपि कन्यकायाः प्रियस्तवायमप्रियो
वेति प्रदानसमये - समाजमिव बन्धुनामबुधोऽपि पृच्छति ।

exchanging hot words with the father, by setting aside normal womanly propriety and execrating the ministers in the presence of feudatories in open court-hall as they were servants, by approaching relatives for succour, or, ~~and~~ if all these failed, simply by committing suicide.²⁰¹

(D) YOUTHFUL RELATIONSHIP :-

When favourably disposed, the maidens expressed their favour by offering 'Tāmbūla' with their own hands, as a mark of etiquette and response.²⁰² Deliberate physical touch of a limb by a youthful unmarried maiden was also interpreted as an expression of love.²⁰³ But ~~and~~ catching hold, by a young man, of the right hand of an unmarried youthful girl, even accidentally, was interpreted by her as tantamount to marriage, especially when she was well-disposed to him.²⁰⁴ Polygamy was common at least with royalty. Thus King Meghavāhana of Ayodhyā, King Kusumāśekhara of Kāñcī and Prince Hāivāhana were polygamous.²⁰⁵

201. TM(N), p.298(18ff.).

202. *ibid.*, p.362(23ff.) तिलकमञ्जरी तु -- आलोच्य च सतामौचित्य-कारिता -- स्वहस्तेन ताम्बूलमदान् ।

203. *ibid.*, p.253(4-5) -- लब्धतदीयगात्रशुभां वापमञ्जामनञ्जाजनितस्वेद-सलिलेन दोष्मा -- प्रतिक्षणं परिष्वज्यमानस्य -- ।

204. *ibid.*, p.128(11-14) कुमार, त्वया गृहीतपाणिः कथमहं गेहदिते गृहान्तरे गच्छामि । सांप्रतमिदमेव मे त्वदीयं शयनमाश्रयः खंभूतः ।

205. *ibid.*, p.20(12) -- महत्यप्यन्तःपुरे ----- ; 262(11) - सर्वा-न्तःपुरपुरन्धी ----- ; 427(14-15) -- ज्ञेयैरेव निगोचरैश्च नृपतिभिरहं-प्रथमि कौपपाद्यमान स्वकन्यारत्नपाणिगृहो ----- ।

(E) STATUS OF MARRIED WOMAN :-

Since marriage was a sacred thing,²⁰⁶ observing another's married wife with an ulterior motive was not considered good manners,²⁰⁷ and talking too much with an unacquainted married woman was likely to impair the reputation of a gentleman.²⁰⁸ Even then there did exist social black sheep in those times who, being powerful or military men, did at times kidnap young girls, and even married women, out of unabashed sensual infatuation,²⁰⁹ though the king himself did not indulge in such outrages.²¹⁰

(F) OBEDIENT CHILDREN AND AFFECTIONATE PARENTS :-

The relation between the father and the son appears to have been not much different from what normally obtains even today in an average Hindu family. The son was as a rule expected to obey his father even in such matters as choosing of friends, who were carefully selected by his father.²¹¹ This did not in any way curtail the

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206. TM(N), p.425(14) -- उद्वाहमङ्गल...।
 207. *ibid.*, p.274(2) -- गृहितमस्त्रद्विधानाप्रकाले परकलत्रदर्शनम्।
 208. *ibid.*, p.258(2-3) आत्मनो महिमानमिच्छता पुरुषेण पूर्वे वयस्यपूर्वा सर्वापि परयोषित्प्रयशो न बहुभाषणीयाः...।
 209. *ibid.*, p.235(20) -- अन्नरन्ध्रस्त्रेचरानीतभ्रुगोचरवधूविलापवान्चालैः सैन्यसन्निवेशैः...।
 210. *ibid.*, p.13(16-17) -- स्वजनपराङ्मुखः परभार्यासु -- अवनितापहारी...।
 211. *ibid.*, p.321(18-19) -- सन्त्यक्ताशेषकार्येण कल्याणभागिना स्वसैन्य-परिगतेन गत्वा सत्वरमधिष्ठातव्यम्। ; 80(2-5) तस्य साहायकार्थं... उर्वीपतिकुमारमन्त्रियेष...।; 102(12-13) एष सप्रकेतुः...मया तवैव सद्यः परिकल्पितः...।; 103(2-3) कुमारोऽपि यथापयति तात इत्यादिदधानः...।

general freedom of behaviour of the grown up sons.²¹²
 Children usually respected their parents and transgression of their orders was considered as bad as committing an act of sacrilege.²¹³ But that did not reduce the relation to the level of being formal. Glimpses of filial affection are provided by Dhanapāla in Meghavāhana's willing retirement and handing over the reigns of power to Harivāhana,²¹⁴ in Vicitravīrya's search for his long-lost daughter,²¹⁵ in Kusumaśekhara's loving care for his daughter Malayasundarī after her attempt at suicide,²¹⁶ and in the instance of grown up Malayasundarī eating from the same dish of her mother.²¹⁷

(G) MANNERS AND CUSTOMS :-

With the gradual development of society, the constituents evolve certain norms of good behaviour which are proportionate to the degree of cultural growth. The Indian society of Dhanapāla's days was a highly developed one and had formulated and preserved through a long history of so many centuries. It will be interesting to list

- 212. TM(N), p. 181(7-10) हरिवाहनः --- तिलकमञ्जरीसंततस्मरणजन्मना
 विक्रमकीकृतो गाढमतिदारुणावेगेनोद्वेगेन कथञ्चनाप्यशक्नुवन्नेहेऽवस्थातु-
 मेकदा स्वमण्डलावलोकनविषयमात्मनः कुतूहलमुदीक्ष्य प्रधानमन्त्रीमुखेन
 पितरं व्यजिज्ञापत् --- अनुज्ञातगमनश्च तेन ---।
 213. ~~ibid.~~ p. 300(6-8) यदेव गुरवः किञ्चिदादिशन्ति, यदेव कारयन्ति कृत्य-
 214. ~~ibid.~~ प्रकृत्यं वा तदेव निर्विचारेः कर्तव्यम्। विचारे हि तद्व्यचने-
 च्चनान्तरो महान् ---।
 214. ~~ibid.~~ p. 426(20-23). / 215. ~~ibid.~~ pp. 270-273.
 216. ~~ibid.~~ pp. 328-329.
 217. ~~ibid.~~ p. 301(12) -- वारंवारमाकारिता जनन्या भुक्त्वा तथा स्तार्ध-
 मेकभाजने ---।

here some miscellaneous conventions of social behaviour over and above those noticed in the preceding section.

A stranger was addressed by a lady as 'Brother'.²¹⁸ There were various modes of greeting people in accordance with the status of the greeter and the greeted. The normal mode of greeting between equals, both male and females, was to join the palms and raise them in that condition against the face or above the head.²¹⁹ Elders embraced the young ones and seated them on their lap.²²⁰ Embracing was also common among friendly males, as in the case of Harivāhana and Samaraketu, or the latter and Gandharvaka.²²¹ In all such cases the friend of inferior social or political status would salute with folded hands while the superiorly placed friend would embrace him in reply. It was expected of an inferiorly placed friend to show humility and of the superiorly placed one to show equality. Thus, Samaraketu preferred to bow down again and again to Harivāhana, who, however, responded by embracing him.²²²

218. TM(N), p.163(4) नूनमघैवायमन्यदेशागतोऽन्यथा नैवं यदुच्छ्रया पृच्छ-
तीति चिन्तयन्त्या मया प्राम्मलमेवोदितम्- प्रातः, शृणु-
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219. *ibid.*, p.283(1)--चरितकरसंपुटः ; ... ; 286(11)--मुखनिबद्धकर-
संपुटेन प्रसादिता-; 223(6ff.)--शिरसि रचिताञ्जलिः प्रणाममकरोत् ।

220. *ibid.*, p.101(10-11).

221. *ibid.*, p.230(11-12); 223(6ff.).

222. *ibid.*, p.231(10-12)--उपसृतं च तं क्षितितलचुम्बिना शिरसा
कृतप्रणाममुत्क्षिप्य सरभस्तप्रसारितबाहुयुगलः --- अतललिङ्गा । शिथिलित-
परिच्छिन्नां च भूमिः प्रणम्य भूमावुपविशन्तं --- इति.

Similarly, Gandharvaka insisted upon saluting to, and massaging the feet of, Sammaraketu while the latter embraced him and withdrew his feet again and again.²²³

In special circumstances, in the absence of any other means, the maid servant would greet a dignitary by simply hugging him at his neck.²²⁴ But high-placed women would not prefer even to speak directly even to most respectable Munis, ~~unless~~ unless they had themselves something to ask. Thus, Madirāvati did not reply to the Muni, but simply passed a quick glance to the king and stood speechless looking to the ground; she would communicate only through the king or a friend. Similar was the case ~~with~~ with Tilakamañjarī with regard to even Harivāhana. Such bashfulness was a mark of noble behaviour on the part of such ladies.²²⁵

Brahmins and other respected persons, coming to meet occasionally were greeted with salutation and were offered Tāmbūla,²²⁶ with camphor; this was considered a mark

223. TM(N), p. 223(5) - शिशुः सचिताञ्जलिः सणासमकरोत् । प्रस्तारितोऽय-
भुजापाशकृतदृढास्त्रेण च तं नमस्कृत्य भूमः --- प्रस्तुतां हि संपाह्वय-
निवारितो वारंवारमपस्तुत् --- ।

224. *ibid.*, p. 316(16-20) प्रथमदर्शने न दर्शितः प्रतनु अपि संप्रमः,
न प्रपन्नितो वचनमात्रेणाप्युपचारः, न कृतप्रर्घपाद्यादिकमीषदपि पूजा-
विशेषविधानमित्युदीर्य वेगागमनवल्गुत्वा कुचयुगा भुजयुगं प्रसार्य....
कण्ठे तजतिगाढमास्ति क्षत् ।

225. *ibid.*, p. 32(17-20).

226. *ibid.*, p. 65(15-16); also cf. SED(MW), p. 443a where Monier Williams explains 'Tāmbūla' as the pungent and aromatic betel leaf chewed with the areca-nut and catechu and ~~sometimes~~ sometimes caustic lime and spices as carminative and antacid tonic.

of courtesy on the part of a superiorly placed person and was deemed sufficient by them.²²⁷ Similar courtesy was shown to human Harivāhana by divine Tilakamañjarī.²²⁸

Nobility consisted in concealing one's excellences. And a good friend was supposed to be as inseparable as a sword even at night. He was not to be deserted even if one could not afford in view of bad financial condition. He was to be rewarded in affluence. Though an equal, his qualities were to be brought into prominence more than one's own. One was to be partial to him in matters of disputes. On acquisition, wealth was to be shared with him. His shortcomings were never to be exposed even during the moments of jests in public. In secret parleys he was to be confided to, and was to be reconciled to first in friendly quarrels. During festive occasions he was to be the first to be attended to. Credit was to be given to him when tasks were accomplished,²²⁹

At the arrival of a saintly guest, the royal host would walk a few steps in his directions, serve him with 'Argha', salute him and offer him best possible seat. Thus

227. TM(N), p.65(15-16) ताम्बूलकपूरसतिसर्जन विसर्जितपुरोधः प्रमुखदुरव्य-
द्विजातिः ---।

228. *ibid.*, p.363(6).

229. *ibid.*, p.102(17-23).

King Meghavāhana offered a golden seat to the Vidyādhara Muni and Queen Madiravati swept it with the skirt of her own upper garment.²³⁰ Similarly, on the arrival of Harivāhana at Vaitādhya, Malayasundarī received him in much the same manner.²³¹ It was good manners not to sit on the same seat, or on an equally raised one, with a respected person. That is why King Meghavāhana preferred to sit on the floor in front of the Vidyādhara Muni.²³² Similarly Harivāhana was made to sit on a couch by Mrgānkalekhā, while she herself sat on a stool nearby for a long time, offered him profuse flowers and Tāmbūla.²³³ So also was it a mark of humbleness on the part of ladies to sit still in front of such dignitaries.²³⁴

It was a matter of shame if the host accepted a gift from the guest even though the former might be in financial straits.²³⁵

Special guests were to be honoured with a special banquet. Thus Tilakamañjarī gave a dinner in honour of

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230. TM(N), p. 25(20ff.)- तमुपसृत्य सविनयमवनीपतिः प्रगुणीकृतार्घपात्रो
विधास्य विधिसंपादितया सपर्यया -- प्रणम्य स्वयं समुपनीते शशा मुदुरदर्शिता-
दस्या मदिरावत्या निजोत्तरीयपल्लवेन प्रमृष्टस्जरित हेमविष्टरे न्यवेशयत् ।
231. *ibid.*, p. 256(20ff.)- निर्गत्य -- कमण्डलुजलेन रुक्लाप्रपि ममा-
र्घादिकाप्रतिविभूजा मकरौत् ।
232. *ibid.*, p. 26(2) -- अवनीतलोपविष्टः -- ।
233. *ibid.*, p. 368(2ff.) .
234. *ibid.*, p. 31(12) -- विनयनिश्रुतवपुषं -- मदिरावतीम् -- ।
235. *ibid.*, p. 44(11ff.) -- गृहाभ्यागतेऽन्वामुना दीयमानं पुजतिगृहस्थ
श्व गृह्णन्नपरं लघिमानमासादयिव्यामि ।

Harivāhana who was a special guest of hers at the city of Rathanūpuracakravāla.²³⁶ After entering into the dining-hall (Bhojana-bhavana-maṇḍapa) feet and face were washed and the mouth was rinsed preparatory to eating proper.²³⁷ Water was, then sipped from the palm(upaspr̥ṣya) which was then dried, along with the mouth, with a skirt of the upper garment. For eating one used to sit on a special seat (Āsana) which Dhanapāla has mentioned in the case of King Meghavāhana but has forgotten it in the case of Prince Harivāhana, though it is indirectly suggested.²³⁸ At the end of the meal, one washed the hands and smoked a scented cigar for a long time. The hands were again rinsed with sandal-paste mixed with camphor and finally one took Tambūla. After that one would pass some time in the company of friends and scholars in the literary and intellectual discussions.²³⁹

When a lost person was rediscovered, he was specially received, was fed with extraordinary respect, his body

236. TM(N), p.374(3-15).

237. *ibid.*, p.69(3-5) -- प्रक्षालित-चरणपल्लवश्च ... प्रक्षाल्य मुखेन्दुम् ... ; 374(7ff.) -- प्रधानसङ्घीभिरागत्य निर्व्वर्तितां द्वि कुशलक्षालनादिक कलोचितक्रियः...

238. *ibid.*, p.69(14) -- उपसृष्टम् ... ; 374(16) -- उपसृष्टम् चापर-सुखासनस्थः --- where the ~~the~~ reference to 'अपरसुखासन' implies that there was another सुखासन on which the prince sat and ate.

239. *ibid.*, p.70; 374(16-17).

was annointed with fragrant sandal-paste, his head was adorned with floral wreaths, and silken clothes and jewels were presented to him, as was the case with Gandharvaka who suddenly arose from the lap of Prince Harivāhana.²⁴⁰

Bribery seems to have prevailed in some form as is evident from a remark of Mahodara, who, as an attendant of goddess Śrī, adduced to the fact that the subordinates pleased the attendants of a dignitary in order to have an approach to him so that they can show their devotion to him.²⁴¹ Dhanapāla has also referred to the bribe (lancā) extracted by the Staff-bearers (Lākuṭika) from the villagers.²⁴²

Good news always fetched rewards to the bringer. Thus Samaraketu presented all his ornaments to the messenger named Harṣa who brought the news about Hāivāhana's letter at a moment when he had lost all hopes about his survival and was desperately ready for suicide.²⁴³ It was

240. TM(N), p.377(12-14).

241. *ibid.*, p.49(10-13) ... खेवकाश्च फलप्राप्तिकाणाः प्रदत्तमुपचारेण गृहीत-
वाक्यं परिग्रहलोकमावर्जयन्ति । ततस्तेन कृतपक्षपरिग्रहेण ग्राहितसंबन्धाः
प्रभूणापरेकमात्रशक्तिमुपदर्शयन्ति । एष तावज्जगति दृश्यते व्यवहारः ।

242. *ibid.*, p.119(11-12) ... कैश्चिद्गृहप्राणयवसरक्षणव्यग्रे रथलोभादभिलषित-
लम्ब्यानां लम्ब्यानां लकुटिकाणां क्लेशप्रनुभवान्निः - - - - - । ; also
cf. ACH, III, 401, where Hemacandra explains in his own
Vrtti the word 'lancā' as "लायते प्रच्छन्तं गृह्यते लम्ब्या पुञ्जीलिपः।"

243. TM(N), p.195(20-21)/

customary on the part of servants to extract 'Pūrṇapātra' and snatch away the uppergarment of the masters after giving them happy news.²⁴⁴

It was goodness to treat the servants and labourers with special favours while full work was extracted from them.²⁴⁵ Bards were to be rewarded generously and beggars should not return empty-handed.²⁴⁶

It was considered improper for a physician to accept fee from a patient whom he was not in a position to cure.²⁴⁷

Consoling a grieved person by bringing to his notice the transcient nature of the worldly things was but an act of humanity.²⁴⁸

Women used to beat their heads, breasts and bellys, probably as a custom also, while weeping on sorrowful occasions.²⁴⁹ There is a reference also to the tragic mourning songs by the Cāraṇas.²⁵⁰

A certain proneness to commit suicide in various ways such as immolation, hanging, drowning, falling from a

244. TM(N), p.76(3-7); 231(8-9).

245. *ibid.*, p.140(17-19) -- नायकोपलालनारूढगर्वेषु खर्व्वीभूय युगपद्गृहीत-
बहुजनोत्क्षिप्तभरकेष्वावासभूमिं प्रजत्सु भारभज्यमानभुजसंधिमर्म्मसु
कर्मकरेषु ---।

246. *ibid.*, p.66(19-20) -- मार्गघटितं च सुक्तिवादिनं दरिद्रयाचकसार्धप्रार्थ-
संभारेण भूरिणा कृतार्थीकुर्वतः ---।

247. *ibid.*, p.44(8-9) -- विपत्प्रतीकारसमर्थः क्षीणायुषोऽस्य भिषगिव कथं-
मृत्यमाहुराणि ।

248. *ibid.*, p.41(23ff.)

249. *ibid.*, p.193(4ff.) -- शिरोजठरनिष्ठुराभिघातध्वनिघनेषु ----- अर्बला-
जनस्यां कन्देषु ----- ; 309(12-13) -- करयुगलेन युगपदुत्तमाऽऽ-
भुरस्तर्धं च --- आजघ्ने ।

250. *ibid.*, p.193(5) -- चारुणकरुणं गीतं ---।

precipice of a mountain and taking in poison, is noticeable among young people, during their moments of dejection and consequent desperation.²⁵¹

Normal conduct was differentiated from formal behaviour. But with skillful courtesans formal behaviour became as natural as normal conduct.²⁵²

III : CEREMONIALS AND FESTIVALS :-

With a keen observant eye, Dhanapāla has portrayed beautiful living pictures of various household, social and religious ceremonies and festivals, giving minute details. An account of all such festivals referred to by the poet would afford a highly rich source-material for a sociological study of the times.

(1) YĀTRĀMANGALA or SETTING OUT ON AN EXPEDITION :-

Dhanapāla has described in detail the ceremony that Samaraketu underwent before he set out for the naval expedition against the restive feudatories ruling the islands near the Suvēla mountain.

Before one stepped into the special assembly-hall,

251. TM(N), p.191(19ff.); 306(13-15); 292(2 & 6); 397(13ff.); 398(1-5); 335(1-2).

252. *ibid.*, p.10(4) -- उपचारप्रपञ्चान्तरबुद्ध्या प्रपञ्चयन्तीभिः ...

preparatory to starting for the expedition, auspicious moment was carefully fixed by astrologers who utilized a cone and observed its shadow for the purpose.²⁵³ Adhering to this fixed auspicious moment was most essential and the astrologers tried to dissuade if one neglected this aspect²⁵⁴ which was deemed instrumental in attaining success of the mission, while the failure of considering this aspect might adversely affect the prospects of victory, as in the case of Samaraketu's night-attack.²⁵⁵

On that day the prince took bath in the morning, offered special worship to the favourite deity, honoured the Brahmins by distributing clothes etc., to them and then he stepped into the assembly-hall at the proper auspicious moment. White colour being considered auspicious, the silk garments of the prince were white, and the floral crest of his head was also made of white flowers. The body was annointed all over with sandal-paste. In the neck he wore a single-stringed necklace of big spotless pearls.²⁵⁶

The assembly-hall was also adorned with hanging garlands of sandal leaves. The ground was sprinkled with

253. TM(N), p.114(23ff.)-- प्रतिकलावलोकितशशुच्छयैर्ज्योतिर्गणितविद्धिः
साधिते लब्धे --।

254. *ibid.*, p.95(18-19)... अक्षीक्रियतां यात्रालम्बमिति निवर्त्यमानोऽपि
मौलिकैः --।

255. *ibid.*, p.95(14-21).

256. *ibid.*, p.114(22ff.).

scented water in order to avoid dust. Beautifully dressed courtesans moved in and out. And an alert door-keeper kept the ill-mannered out-door servants out.²⁵⁷

On entering the assembly-hall, the prince was made to sit, with his face to the east, on a priceless golden seat, placed on a duly purified raised jewel-studded platform. The courtesans approached him with golden dishes containing curds, flowers, Durvā-sprouts and uncooked rice and performed the opportune rite called 'Yātrāmaṅgala', After saluting the water-filled silver pitcher, which was closed at the mouth with the green leaves of *Alstonia Scholaris* (*Saptacchada*) and placed in front of him, the prince went on foot upto the outermost gate of the outermost apartment followed by the family priest and a group of leading Brahmins who loudly recited verses of auspicious blessings. Thence he rode a specially adorned elephant. In his left hand was a bow variegated in the middle by designs inlaid with gold, and on both of his shoulders were tied fast two quivers full of arrows. 'Cāmaras' were being fanned to him. Bards loudly repeated the word 'Jaya' (victory). At the flourish of 'Vijayamaṅgala' trumpets and

257. TM(N), p.115(5-8).

drums, the elephants and the infantry started marching out of the precincts of the royal palace. The progress of the procession could be inferred from that of the white royal parasol with its golden pole, variegated designs and suspending pearl-strings. It was surrounded by the emblems of other kings bearing the designs of elephant, boar, Śarabha, lion, crocodile, fish and so on.²⁵⁸

Groups of Brahmins, pleased with the salutations by the prince, showered on him the blessings of success in the expedition. Citizens saluted him with folded hands. Old women threw rice grains wishing him the successful accomplishment of his undertaking. Young city women looked at him with affectionate eyes. Thus did he pass through the city.²⁵⁹

In the case of naval expedition, when the prince proceeded further outside the city limits, crossed the villages and reached the sea-shore, the camp was pitched there, and he halted there for a couple of days during which the fleet of war-ships was being fully provided with provisions. When everything was ready, one day, in the evening, he invited all the Brahmins of his assembly.

258. TM(N), pp.115-116.

259. *ibid.*, p.116(13-16).

With the trumpets blowing, and the courtesans singing the songs in praise of the greatness of the ocean, and the family priest sipping water from his palm and holding auspicious golden pitcher in which curds, Durvā sprouts and rice grains were put, the prince performed elaborate worship of the ocean with the offerings of food, oblations, unguents, floral wreaths, silk garments and pearl ornaments with utmost devotion. Late at night ^{at} the signal of marching notes of trumpets and drums, he went out of the royal apartment in his camp, rode a female elephant and reached the shore with his retinue of soldiers at the auspicious moment and bade the citizens and elders to return after showing them proper respect. When the royal vessel was brought to the jetty, he stopped on to the landing-pier and, supported by the sailor-chief at hand, he boarded it. Then all the accompanying princes and soldiers boarded their respective ships. At the signal of the Marching-conch (Prayāna-maṅgala-saṅkha), all sorts of musical instruments of the military band were played, bards uttered 'Victory-blessings' and Brahmins recited verses of good omens scattering flowers and rice grains. And the fleet started sailing.²⁶⁰

In emergency when it was impossible to perform all the ceremonies mentioned above, as was the case with Prince Samaraketu who wanted to slip away alone and unnoticed by his soldiers in search of Prince Harivāhana, one would just make up one's mind, get up early in the morning, fix up the auspicious moment oneself, put on clean silk garments and crest of fresh flowers, offer special worship to the image of one's family deity, apply to the forehead the sandal paste left after worshipping the deity, honour the sword by scattering Durvā-sprouts, and just set out. A coincidental throbbing of the right hand or blowing of the night-conch or neighing of horses would suffice to fortify the person as to the success of his mission.²⁶¹

(2) AVATĀRANAKA-MĀNGALA :-

The ceremony called 'Avatāranaka-māngala' was performed, by the courtezans, to King Meghavāhana, when he returned to his palace after successfully completing his propitiation of the goddess Śrī.²⁶² It was again performed²⁶³ to him by the courtezans in the harem of Queen Madirāvati. The same ceremony was performed to Prince Hari~~vā~~vāhana

261. TM(N), p.198(9-21). #.....

262. *ibid.*, p.65(14-15) --- सकललोकाचारकुशलाञ्जिरवनिताभिः प्रयुक्त-
भवतारणकमङ्गलमन्त्रभक्त+ कृतावतरणकमङ्गलः ---।

263. *ibid.*, p.72(17) --- सकललौकिकाचारकुशलाञ्जिरवनिताभिः प्रयुक्त-
भवतारणकमङ्गलमन्त्रभक्त ।

when, as the Vidyādhara Emperor of the northern range of the Vaitādhya mountain, he entered the capital city of Gaganavallabha. There it was performed by the wives of prominent Vidyādhara citizens.²⁶⁴ Dhanapāla has given a few details about the material used and the procedure followed at this ceremony. Thus, the material seems to have consisted of flowers, garland, Durvā-sprouts, rice grains, curds and an auspicious flame burning in a tiny receptacle made of cooked flour placed in a golden dish.²⁶⁵ One was made to sit at that time of the ceremony and the procedure called 'Ārātrika', i.e. waving of the lamp around one's face, was a part thereof.²⁶⁶

From the very nature of it, the ceremony seems to be calculated to serve as an antidote to the bad effect of evil eye which might affect the welfare of a person whose extraordinary attractiveness on ceremonious occasions thoroughly exposes him to such an eventuality. According to Tantric ritualism, it is the four 'Wicked-mothers' (Dusta-
mātrikās)

264. TM(N), p.237(1).

265. *ibid.*, p.72(7-8) -- सन्निधापित कुसुमदानं दूर्वाक्षतं रश्मिलवाग्निं प्रलक्ष्मण-
स्थालनिहितोच्छिखञ्चलत्पिष्टमयं प्रक्षालप्रदीपाग्निः ---- ।

266. *ibid.*, p.72(16) -- उपविष्टश्च ---- ; 161(7) -- गगनप्रकृत-
स्थालनिहितदिनकरप्रदीपेण प्रस्तुताशत्रिकेण कृतोपस्थानात् ---- ।

or a type of Yoginīs, named Carakī, Vidārī, Pūtanā, and Pāparākṣasī, whose powerfully fatal evil eye one has to guard against. They are pacified by the offerings of a lamp, oblations of food and a jar full of water.²⁶⁷ Even today, the material used for the purpose consists of Pancāmṛta, Durvā grass, Kuṅkuma, Samidh and Akṣatas, all of them packed in two earthen bowls and tied by a red string. This 'Samputa' is then waved five times clockwise and anti-clockwise over the head of the person to whom the ceremony is to be performed, keeping the skirt of the upper garment between the pack and the head of the person. The pack is then put on the ground. The person then steps over it and breaks it with his left foot and then enters the house. Dhanapāla has not given all these details. But this ceremony still prevails and can be witnessed even today as a part of the Hindu marriage ceremony in Gujarat, Rajasthan and Madhyapradesh.

(3) FESTIVITIES ON THE RECEPTION OF KING AFTER

SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF A TASK :-

After his successful completion of the propitiation

 267. This ceremony is also included in the 'Rājopacāra-pūjā' of the goddess Śrī. Vide BBNKS, p.217 : ताम्रपात्रे
 अधिकवणसर्षपदूर्वाक्षतान् निक्षिप्य देव्या दृष्टिमुत्तारयेत् ।

of the goddess Śrī, when King Meghavāhana returned to the palace, a big festival was spontaneously celebrated by the inmates of the palace as well as by the citizens of Ayodhyā. The ceremony at the palace consisted of several elaborate procedures.

The procedures at the palace were as follows:

(i) saints were honoured and elders were treated with special respect; (ii) special worship-service of the family deity was ordered; (iii) the treasure-deities, like Cintāmani and others, were propitiated; (iv) propitiatory oblations of food were offered to the deities; (v) alms were distributed to the poor and destitute; (vi) family priests sprinkled, from golden jars, peace-water (Śāntyudaka) with green Kuśa blades all over the place; (vii) the ceremony of 'Pancamī-śrāddha' was performed; (viii) duly honoured learned Brāhmins gathered in groups in the courtyard of the palace and loudly recited the holy formulae and showered blessings of a progeny on the king; and (ix) milch cows accompanied by calves were distributed to the learned Brahmins.²⁶⁸

The revelry all around was such that even the parrots in the cages began muttering auspicious verses in the

manner of the panegyrics and uttered blessings; even the children interfered in the quarrels of petty maid-servants and pacified them; well-dressed and clean servants were seen conspicuously moving everywhere; and the atmosphere was permeated with enthusiasm, activity, faith, humility and religious ceremonies.²⁶⁹

One of the ceremonies on this occasion was a royal trip to the temples of the city in the morning. The king rode a female-elephant and went in procession. Behind the king on the back of the elephant was the betel-box-bearer who waved the 'Cāmaras'. The order in the procession was as follows.²⁷⁰ In the front ran the staff-bearer with his golden staff raised in his hand, and directed the procession by the scheduled path; then followed the marching columns of infantry; behind them came dancing servants, some of them bearing golden pitchers full of scented water, milk, ghee and curds, some holding baskets containing various types of floral wreaths wrapped in moist cloth, others carrying jewelled utensils full of sandal, saffron, black fragrant Aloe (Kṛṣṇāguru) and camphor, and still others

269. TM(N), p.65(7-12).

270. *ibid.*, p.65(21ff.).

carrying on their shoulders the bales of many types of clothes; behind the king followed armed bodyguards and the onlookers.

In the course of this trip round the city, the king went also to the residences of respected saints to see them, talked to the elderly citizens who saluted him with folded hands, listened to the Brahmins who presented their demands with the offerings of garlands of white flowers, ordained repairs of the dilapidated and damaged temples after duly honouring the sculptors, inspected the charitable inns and issued orders to the officers to provide food, water, beds and medicine to paupers and beggars, directed the gardeners to look after the banyan, fig and other trees planted on the banks of the tanks built by him, and dispensed profuse charity to the groups of panegyrics and penniless people.²⁷¹

The citizens celebrated the occasion with spontaneity. Every house was decorated with flags of various colours, scented water was sprinkled in the courtyards and flowers were strewn everywhere. Thousands of people were fed in

 271. TM(N), p.66(8-10) -- अकाल एव प्रकरितोत्सवैः पौरलोकैः प्रतिभवन-
 मुत्तम्भितानेक शगवस्त्र ध्वजप्रभा विस्तारितापूर्व शंभ्या मयोध्यां पुरी... ।
 -----> ; 236(16ff.) -- प्रतिसदन मुत्तम्भित-
 विविध वस्त्र ध्वजेन --- गण्डजलसिक्त विजनिज प्रतोलिना सर्वतो विप्रकीर्ण-
 पुष्प प्रकरेण --- पौरनरनारीजनेन ---- ।

golden dishes in the courtyard of the royal palace.²⁷²

In the evening, city women adorned themselves with beautiful clothes and costly ornaments and gathered in the royal courtyard where the ministers and prominent citizens entertained themselves with literary discussions and musical concerts.²⁷³

The following were some of the interesting aspects of such festivals: (i) special tax-relief was declared;²⁷⁴ (ii) dull students were given holiday and, out of joy, they gathered at public places and loudly recited the introductory verses of various treatises²⁷⁵ !; and (iii) the head priest screened the Brahmins from the top of the main gate as they entered the royal courtyard for lunch.²⁷⁶

(4) CAITROTSAVA OR THE FESTIVAL OF CUPID :-

The festival of the Love-god is variously called 'Yātrotsava'²⁷⁷, 'Caitrotsava',²⁷⁸ and 'Caitriyatā'²⁷⁹.

272. TM(N), p.69(10-11).

273. *ibid.*, p.70(12-18).

274. *ibid.*, p.67(1) --- क्षितिपालशिविलितकरग्रहः....।

275. *ibid.*, p.67(11-12) -- प्रहृष्टवठरच्छत्रसत्त्वरोच्चार्यमाणग्रन्थादिप्रदित-
देवतास्तुतिश्लोकास्तु....।

276. *ibid.*, p.68(6) -- प्रतोलीशिखरारुढपुरोहितपरीक्ष्यभाषाध्ययन-
मुखरोमुखद्विजेषु....।

277. *ibid.*, p.108(14ff.).

278. *ibid.*, p.302(4).

279. *ibid.*, p.322(22).

It was widely prevalent both in the south as well as the north India, as it is said to have been celebrated both at Ayodhyā as well as at Kāñcī. The day on which this festival was held has been given as the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra.²⁸⁰

Both at Ayodhyā and Kāñcī, it seems to have been chiefly sponsored by the parasites and prostitutes,²⁸¹ though it was not strictly confined to them only, as all the women of the city put on their best dresses and ornaments and gathered at the temple of Cupid in a public park of the city to offer their worship to the deity, and to witness the festivities.²⁸² Ladies of the royal family also joined them with their attendant maids.²⁸³ Young men also went there to enjoy the sight, as in the case of Mañjīraka and Samaraketu.²⁸⁴ The god was worshipped for warding off obstacles and fulfilment of one's wish (of course, in the path of love or marriage).²⁸⁵ ~~the~~

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280. TM(N), p.108(14ff.) -- मधुमाखरस्य शुद्धत्रयोदश्यां --- यात्रोत्सवं
भगवतो मकरध्वजस्य --- । ; p.298(6-7) अथ मदनत्रयोदशी ।
प्रवृत्ता मन्मथायतने यात्रा ।
281. *ibid.*, p.108(15ff.) -- नगरीनिवासिना भुजङ्गालोकेन भक्त्या
प्रवर्तितः यात्रोत्सवम् --- ।
282. *ibid.*, p.298(7-8) -- प्रस्थितो विचित्रनेपथ्यधारी समग्रोऽपि नगर-
नारीजनः कुसुमाकराख्यं मन्दिसाराप्रम् ।
283. *ibid.*, p.301(2-4).
284. *ibid.*, p.108(14-18); pp.322-323.
285. *ibid.*, p.298(9-10) -- अत्रोपविद्यते पशुमाय --- वाञ्छितार्थसिद्धेः --- ।

The temple was surrounded by trees like Tilaka, Campaka, Aśoka, Punnāga, Nāgakesara, and others. A red banner marked with the figures of crocodile embroidered on it fluttered on its top. In the adytum of the temple oil lamps all around illumined the image of the Love-god, flanked on both sides with those of Rati and Prīti. It was annointed with sandal paste all over from top to toe. Moist wreaths covered all the limbs of the image. The sanctum was adorned with arches of suger-cane stalks and pending garlands of flowers and leaves of Aśoka tree. Filaments of Ketaka flowers were fashioned into Cāmaras for the god. Offerings of flowers, of various vegetables like pumpkin, Tuṇḍīraka, cucumber, Vārtāka, of fruits like orange, wood-apple, citron, of sweets like Fenikā, Aśokavarti, Khaṇḍamodaka etc., were lying in front of the image.²⁸⁶

There is a reference²⁸⁷ also to a private image of god Pradyumna, i.e. Cupid, in the harem-garden of King Kusumasekhara of Kāñcī. It was stationed on the platform under the Raktāśoka tree, and was duly bathed and adorned with ornaments and bright red upper garment. It was to this image that Malayasundarī offered her

286. TM(N), pp.303-305.

287. ibid., pp.300-301.

obeisance by means of flowers, incense, aromatic powder and wine.

It was customary on such occasions to distribute gold in charity to learned Brahmins. Servants were bestowed costly clothes, ornaments, flowers, Tāmbūla and unguents. Friends were also presented with befitting clothes, etc.,²⁸⁸

Among the popular entertainments at the festival, Dhanapālā~~has~~ has mentioned²⁸⁹ : (i) merry-go-rounds with mock horses, elephants, etc., on which people had pleasure-ride; (ii) Rāsa-māṇḍali, i.e., public-dance by troupes of court-ezans; and (iii) water-sports by parasites and harlots in the tank of the temple.

(5) SANGAMOTSAVA OR BETROTHAL :-

Dhanapāla has briefly referred to the ceremony of the Sangamotsava of Tilakamañjarī to Harivāhana by her father, the Vidyādhara King Cakrasena.²⁹⁰ This seems to be the betrothal ceremony since the marriage proper came several days after that.²⁹¹

288. TM(N), p.301(5-8).

289. *ibid.*, p.323(14-17).

290. *ibid.*, p.424(18-22).

291. *ibid.*, p.425.

For this ceremony the royal father of the bride, the ministers, other princes and wealthy citizens deputed on their behalf witty delegates to perform the anointing and bathing ceremony of the would-be-son-in-law. Harivāhana was thus honoured by them with presents of silk garments, aromatic unguents, flowers and Tāmbūla.

(6) MARRIAGE :-

As has been mentioned in a preceding section, marriage was usually arranged by the parents. In cases where there was the slightest difference of status between the bride and the bridegroom, the relatives seem to have opposed it,²⁹² as was the case probably due to the inequality of status between human Samaraketu and Semi-divine Malayasundarī. Hence, the festivities were chiefly the concern of the relatives.

Dhanapāla has not given minute details about the marriage ceremony proper, though a few strange customs are referred to in passing. Thus, there does not seem to have been any astrological objection to fixing two marriages at the same auspicious moment,²⁹³ though the resolve is not actually carried out.

292. cf. TM(N), p.422(14) -- अत्यबुद्धि बन्धुजनबाधितो मत्संकल्पः --।

293. ibid., p.423(14-15) -- एकलग्न एव तस्यास्तिलकमञ्जर्याश्च कुम्भ
मुद्राद्वयै रश्मि निरूपयामि - पाणिग्रहणप्रकालम् --।

After betrothal, the bridegroom kept in touch with the bride's father by enquiring about the latter's health etc., In due course, the bride's father sent a word expressing his eagerness to see the betrothed, who would then start from his place for the bride's one.²⁹⁴ The procession of the princely bridegroom consisted of a few trusted soldiers only.²⁹⁵ The bride's father came forward, received him and took him to his own palace where the bridegroom bathed and took his lunch. In the evening when the bridegroom would express his wish to take leave, the bride's father would request him to prolong his stay for a few days. Thus, Harivāhana, at such a moment, accepted the request out of his love for Tilakamañjarī!²⁹⁶ On an auspicious day the horoscopes of the bride and the bridegroom were compared and in consultation with the whole community, messengers were sent to invite the friendly kings. The city pavilion was profusely decorated; relatives, friends and servants were treated with sumptuous dinner; and, with full sacred ceremony of marriage, the bride was given away to the bridegroom.²⁹⁷

294. TM(N), p.425(1-2).

295. *ibid.*, ~~294~~ -- आप्तपरिमितपदातिवलेपरिवृतः --।

296. *ibid.*, p.425(8-9).

297. *ibid.*, p.425(10-14).

In another place the poet has casually alluded to the 'Vedibandha' in the 'Vivāha-maṇḍapa',²⁹⁸ to the decoration of the courtyard of the marriage-hall,²⁹⁹ as also to the ceremony of holding the right hand of the bride by the bridegroom.³⁰⁰

After the marriage the royal son-in-law stayed at the place of his father-in-law for a few days during which he enjoyed the hospitality extended by the bride's relatives in a variety of ways, and in turn gave bounties to all and sundry without making any distinction between related and unrelated, desirous and undesirous, qualified and unqualified, unmindful of the quantity or amount expended in the process.³⁰¹

A few details of the procession of the bridegroom returning with his bride are also given.³⁰² The bride was lavishly adorned and was seated in the forefront on the elephant. The body of the bridegroom was annointed with sandal-paste mixed with camphor. The head of the elephant was painted red with red chalk (gairika) mixed with oil. A white parasol was held over the heads of the couple.

298. TM(N), p.175(16).

299. *ibid.*, p.371(23) -- विवाहप्रसंगे दृश्यमानाग्निव शालाजिर संस्कारम् --।

300. *ibid.*, p.175(16-17) -- केस्य लम्बित्ति -- तदीय क्रमत्वे लम्बित्ति --।

301. *ibid.*, p.425(15-19).

302. *ibid.*, pp.425-426. [-- दक्षिणपाणिः --।

Cāmaras were waved on their either sides. Groups of Cāranas sang meaningful marriage songs. And, in front of the rotal elephant, the soldiers marched.

In rare cases, when the parents of a girl refused to give their consent to her to marry to her chosen beloved young man, she would pass a secret message and fix up a secret marriage. In such circumstances, the presence of a couple of friends and fire would suffice,³⁰³ though even that was not needed in the case of a Gandharva type of marriage, for which the internal psycho-physical fire of passion of the couple was deemed quite adequate for the ceremony,³⁰⁴ as in the case of Tāraka's marriage with Priyadarśanā. But normally, honourable young men, like Samaraketu, were sufficiently patient to wait till the proper consent of the parents was obtained and due sacred ceremony was performed,³⁰⁵ though young girls like Malaya-sundarī would, in absence of any other means at hand, just throw a garland into the neck of the youth and take herself thenceforward to be as good as his married wife.³⁰⁶

303. TM(N), pp. 109-110.

304. *ibid.*, p. 129(3-6) -- तत्रैव क्षणे ज्वलन्तमन्तर्मदानालं साक्षीकृत्य
भूयो गृहीतपाणिस्तां --- अत्यन्तमनुरागान्धाम् --- प्रपयिनी प्रकृत ।

305. *ibid.*, pp. 325-326.

306. *ibid.*, p. 289(1-3).

(7) CO^NSUMATION of MARRIAGE (RTUSANGAMANA AND GARBHĀDHĀNA) :*

As Dr. P.N.Prabhu puts it, the 'garbhādhāna' or the 'foetus-laying ceremony' is performed at the consummation of marriage and the mating of husband and wife as identified with the foetus-laying ceremony suggests that mating is conceived as a part of the obligations of the married couple towards the family and the community.³⁰⁷ This spirit is fully reflected by Dhanapāla, though it cannot be strictly said that he has described this very ceremony, as the union between Meghavāhana and Madirāvati, as referred to by the poet, was not the very first one after their marriage. However, it was definitely as good as that due to the intervening period of long separation during which they lived thoroughly to themselves and observed the vows and penances, while the king on his part propitiated the goddess Śrī. This ceremony may be called 'Rtusaṅgamana' which is regarded by some as distinct from the one called 'Garbhādhāna' proper.³⁰⁸

The details of this ceremony, as described with utmost decorum by the poet,³⁰⁹ consisted of adorning of the

307. HSO, pp.223-224.

308. Hist. Dh. Vol.II, pt.I, p.195.

309. TM(N), p.73(1-18).

wife by the husband with his own hand and sleeping with her. The conception proper seems to have taken place a few days later.³¹⁰ But, in Dhanapala's days, these ceremonies seem to have survived in their natural procedure divested of almost all the rituals woven around them, or it may be that Dhanapāla's Jainistic outlook precluded the possibility of describing the Brahmanical ritual, if at all it then prevailed.

(8) PUMSAVANA OR CEREMONIES CALCULATED TO HELP A WOMAN CONCEIVE A MALE CHILD :

This ceremony known as the 'Pūmsavana Saṃskāra' or the 'Male-making Rite' is performed during the third month of the wife's pregnancy. It is intended to propitiate the deities which are supposed to govern the sex of the foetus, so that thereby a male issue be born.³¹¹

But Dhanapāla has not adopted this rite in its original form and in consonance with with the scriptural prescriptions. He has, however, presented it in its popular natural form and in keeping with the psychology of the queens and the relatives of the king consequent to his lack of a male issue. While giving a picture of the

310. TM(N), p.74(19-20) --- अनतिबहुषु च व्यतीतेष्वहःस्वनन्तरे ऋते स्नाता --- नभरः गर्भपुदरेण ।

311. ~~अनतिबहुषु च व्यतीतेष्वहःस्वनन्तरे ऋते~~ HOS, p.223.

activities at the royal palace of King Meghavāhana, Dhanapāla has drawn quite a vivid and realistic picture of the ways and means adopted by the relatives of the king and by his queens and other inmates of the royal harem in their anxiety to explore the expedients for securing a male issue for the king.

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Here is a brief account of them all:

(i) Urged by the relatives of the king, some astrologers calculated the horoscope;

(ii) Others put forth the questions, the answers to which involved counting of fingers beginning with the thumb (aṅguṣṭhakādi-prasna);

(iii) Still other astrologers resorted to the mystic procedure regarding the 'Karna-piśācikā', a goblin supposed to whisper in the ear of her devotee the answer to his query;

(iv) And some predicted about the princesses fully guaranteed to bear a male child.

(v) The courtiers and other people directed the Brahmins to worship, on behalf of them, particular deities famed in the Purānic stories to have granted the boon of a male child to childless kings in the past.

(vi) The ladies of the harem took to medicines guaranteed by trustworthy persons;

(vii) avoided wearing ornaments studded with even spotless diamonds;

(viii) dispatched, with deep faith, auspicious fruits, free from faults like crooked shape and etc., to Brahmins;

(ix) showed to knowledgeable friends the portion of the side of the left palm just below the root of the thumb;

(x) asked innocent children to choose between the two spread out fingers each of which represented a male and a female issue respectively;

(xi) tied (to the left hand) charmed amulets prepared by mystic magicians utilizing various herbs acquired through a long tradition; and

(xii) engaged in auspicious bathing ceremony calculated to help easy conception as instructed by the nuns who certified about the effectiveness of such ceremonies.

((9) BIRTH OF A CHILD :-

Though the birth of a male-child was a matter of great joy, while that of a female-child was one of sorrow, the festival of child birth was celebrated in both the cases and there does not seem to have been much difference between the two in this respect.

313. TM(N), p.76.

314. *ibid.*, p.262(9-11).

When a male-child was born to a king, the harem-maids rushed to him to give good tidings and claim gifts of the occasion. The overjoyed citizens loudly out the auspicious 'Jaya-jaya' exclamations and every house celebrated the occasion with music, dance and ~~drawing~~ drawing of auspicious designs in front of the doors. Schools declared holiday and deputed, to the palace, dull students with big pitchers in their hands to confer public blessings. Women of the city went to the royal harem and joined the dancing inmates there.³¹⁵

With their eyes fixed on the hollow-stalk (Nādikā) duly put in a ~~wooden~~ caldron full of water to note down the exact time of child-birth, the astrologers sat quite ready and alert and immediately, after the birth, prepared the horoscope, counted the aspects of various planetary positions, discussed their implications and predicted the prospects of the child's future career.

After dispersal of the people and servants who came to congratulate him, the king took bath and, at an auspicious moment, went to the lying-in chamber of the queen.³¹⁶

A brief picture of the lying-in chamber, as drawn

315. TM(N), p.76(3-20).

316. *ibid.*, pp.76-77.

by Dhanapāla in this context,³¹⁷ gives many details of the occasion. The chamber was guarded on all sides by armed soldiers. A pair of auspicious pitchers (maṅgala-kalāṣa-yugala), with their mouths sealed with leaves of auspicious trees, was placed on either sides of the door. Profuse bdellium (Guggula) was burnt for incense in order to ward off the presence and the effect of evil-eyed goblins. Before entering the chamber, the king washed his feet. The elderly ladies of the family conferred blessings by showering on him flowers and rice grainā, and sang auspicious songs. Servants detailed for the outer apartments were not allowed to enter it. Holy designs of 'Svastika' were drawn on the floor with pearl-powder. Pendants of Mango leaves were hung on the doors. Flowers were scattered in the chamber, and peace-water (Śāntyudaka) was sprinkled all over. The goddess Ṣaṣṭhī was propitiated. The mystic design of 'Jāta-mātrkā' was drawn. Elderly women were honoured. Charmed ashes were streaked around the bed of the lying-in lady for protection from evil spirits. Drinks and medicines were being cooled with incessantly moving fans. Holy lamps illuminated the chamber,

Public rejoicing at such occasions consisted of

tying silken flags to all shops, houses, quadrangles and temples of the city, singing of auspicious songs by city women in general, public recitation by Cāraṇas accompanied by blowing of trumpets, and public dancing by parasites and harlots in front of the royal palace.³²⁰

(10) ṢAṢṬHĪ JĀGARANA :- २

A special ceremony has been mentioned with regard to the sixth day from the birth of a child. It is called 'Ṣaṣṭhī-jāgarana',³²¹ as the people auspicious waking during the night. Dhanapāla has not given any more details about the ~~rites~~ rites performed at that time. But it is popularly believed that the goddess, entrusted with the task of laying out the future of the just-borns, comes during that night and writes the future of the child on its forehead. A special pen and ink are placed in the lying-in chamber near the mystic design and a sesame-oil lamp is put on the stool near by.

(11) NĀMAKARANA :-

In keeping with the Brahmanical tradition, this ceremony was performed on the tenth day from the birth of a male child.³²² All the deities in all the temples of the

320. TM(N), p.263(12-17).

321. ibid., p.78(1).

322. ibid., ~~पृ. ७८~~ ... सप्तमते च दशमेऽह्नि...।

city were offered special worship, relatives and friends were honoured, elders were propitiated, thousands of cows with calves were bestowed to unsolixitous, though learned, Brhamins and the child was named in keeping with the family tradition or with reference to the relavant memorable events like the dreams at the time of conception. Thus the name 'Harivāhana' was coined partly in remembrance of the dream of Madirāvati, who saw therein the elephant (vāhana) of Indra (Hari), and partly with reference to a part, viz., 'vāhana', of the name of the prince's father King Meghavāhana.³²³ Similarly, the name 'Samaraketu' was also in resemblance to that of his father Camdraketu.

In the case of a female-child the ceremony seems to have been performed after the tenth day,³²⁴ possibly on the twelfth day.³²⁵

(12) ANNA-PRĀSANA AND OTHER RITES :-

Dhanapāla has not mentioned the intervening rite called 'Niṣkramaṇa', and has specifically named the 'Anna-prāśana' rite, the subsequent one called 'Cūḍākarma', i.e. first tonsure of hair, being implied. They were performed

323. TM(N), p.78(4-6) -- स्वप्ने शतमन्युवाहनो वारणपतिर्दृष्ट इति संप्रधाय तस्यैव स्वप्नस्य सदृशभातमीय नाम्नश्चैकदेशेन समुदायवाच्येन चार्थेन समर्थितानुहारं हरिवाहन इति शिशोर्नाम यक्ते ।

324. *ibid.*, p.263(20ff.)... अतिक्रान्ते च दशमेऽहनि...

325. HSO, p.223.

by the family-priest. It is interesting to note that Dhana-pāla has clearly referred to the Brahmanical aspect of these rites.³²⁶

(13) AVATĀRAṆAKA-KRIYĀ :-

Another ceremony called 'Avatāraṇaka-kriyā', akin to the 'Avatāraṇaka-maṅgala' discussed above, was meant to ward off the evil effect of the evil-eyed goblins or persons likely to affect children. This ceremony was being by the ladies of the harem thrice a day to Prince Harivāhana during his early childhood.³²⁷ It is performed in a variety of ways even to this day in Indian towns and villages. One of them is to wave a jug of water and four lumps of salt round the head of the child keeping the skirt of the upper garment between its head and the jug, and then to throw the four lumps in four directions respectively and pour the water on cross-roads. Another procedure is to do the same process of rotating over the head with Sinapis Ramosa (Rājikā) and a lump of salt and then throw it in the burning coal-fire.³²⁸

(14) UPANAYANA :-

With the usual 'Upanayana' ceremony the boy is initiated into the study of the Vedas and is really

326. TM(N), p.78(10-12) -- अखिलवेदोक्त विधिनिर्दिष्टे वापरेण स्वयं पुरोधसा निर्वर्तितान्तप्राशनादि सकलसंस्कारस्य ---।

327. *ibid.*, p.78(12ff.).

328. I am indebted to my friend Prof. Hiralal Pandya of Visnagar for this information.

oblations to the Sun and performance of 'Japa' of the holy syllables, or quarters, of Gāyatrī in connection with the ascetic life of Malayasundarī,³³¹ who seems to have represented as following a faith not in conformity with Jainism.

(16) SAMĀVARTANA :-

Though there is no mention of this rite by this name, it is implied in the fact that Prince Harivāhana lived with his teachers in the school till the age of sixteen, at the end of which³³² the king ceremoniously brought him back to his palace.³³³ This is in effect the Samāvartana ceremony which celebrates the return of the student to his ancestral home after completion of his studies at the hermitage of his guru, and marks the completion of his education and his fitness to enter into and accept the responsibility of family life.³³⁴

(17) YAUVARĀJYĀBHIṢEKA :-

King Meghavāhana thought of appoint Prince Harivāhana as his heir-apparent after the completion of the latter's education. But before doing this he deemed it necessary to search for a fit companion who was expected to be an equal of the prince in points of prowess, handsomeness, humility, speech, activeness, and other princely

331. TM(N), p.257(11) -- कृतस्नाना दत्तदिनकरार्घ्याञ्जलिर्जपन्ती पवित्राणि
सायत्रीपदानि ----।

332. *ibid.*, p.79(19) -- अतिक्रान्ते च दोऽशे वर्षे ----- / 333. *ibid.*

334. HSO, p.225.

qualities like generosity, bravery and composure.³³⁵ It was only after the king could find such a one in Samaraketu that he performed the ceremony of Yauvarājyābhīṣeka to Prince Harivāhana. This ceremony is mentioned again with reference to Prince Samaraketu of Kāñcī whom his father deputed to command the naval expedition almost immediately after performing this ceremony.³³⁶

(18) WORSHIP OF THE FAMILY DEITY :-

As an erstwhile devout Brahmin and subsequent, an equally devout Jain, Dhanapāla had full faith in the worship of the family-deity.³³⁷ This aspect of his life has been responsible for the depiction of the procedure of the worship of the family deity in a couple of instances. Thus, King Meghavāhana is advised by the Vidyādhara Muni to give up the idea of retiring to a forest to worship some other deity for progeny, and, instead, worship his very family deity, viz., the Goddess-of-Prosperity,³³⁸ and further imparts in his ear the mystic Aparājitā Vidyā after mentally enveloping his own body as well as that of the king with the mystic Kavaca of the Rakṣā-mantra. Such an

335. TM(N), p.80(1-5).

336. *ibid.*, p.114(17-21).

337. *ibid.*, p.282(15) --- गोत्रदेवता सर्वकालमेवोपासनीया ---।

338. *ibid.*, p.30(6ff.) -- मुख्यारण्यगमनस्पृहाम् । -- इमात्रेव प्रकृति सौम्यां सततसंनिहितमुपास्व सकलक्षितिपतिकुलदेवतां राजलक्ष्मीम् ।

oral imparting of the Vidyā is considered to be the first and foremost prerequisite in the matter of mystic worship, since a Mantra is, to a Sādhaka, a very mass of radiant Tejas or energy.³³⁹

The daily routine of King Meghavahana's worship is described in detail.³⁴⁰ Thus, the king got up early in the morning and went to the garden, rinsed his mouth and finished his bath and daily Japa, put on silk garments, covered his mouth and bathed the image of the goddess with water poured from golden pitchers. Then he annointed the image with sandal paste mixed with camphor, adorned it with garments, pearl ornaments, and crest garland as well as ear-ornaments of flowers. After offering aromatic incense and powder of black-Aguru, the king sat at a distance and sang prayers for a long time and performed the Japa of the Aparājitā Vidyā. Finally, he saluted the elders. This procedure was repeated in the evening also. It was elaborated further on auspicious days.³⁴¹

In times of emergency, when all this was not possible, the ceremony was abridged. Even then it did consist of bathing the image, and offering garments, unguents and

339. SFSR, pp.29-33.

340. TM(N), pp.34-35.

341. *ibid.*, p.35(14) -- पर्वदिवसे विशेषेण निर्वर्त्य देव्याः श्रियः सायं-
तनीमायतनपूजाम् ---।

flowers. This is how Samaraketu performed the worship of his favourite deity before he set out in search of Hari-vahana from his royal camp at Lauhitya mountain.³⁴²

(19) KAUMUDĪ-MAHOTSAVA OR THE HOLY-BATH CEREMONY OF LORD MAHĀVĪRA :-

This Jain festival was held on the full-moon day of the month of Kārttika at midnight.³⁴³ It was being celebrated not only at Mount Ratnakūṭa on the Suvela mountain, but also in Kāñcī where it was known as 'Kaumudī-mahotsava' as is clear from a casual reference to it by Malayasundarī in regard to the same night.³⁴⁴ The festival seems to have lasted for a full fortnight and was also called 'Abhiṣeka-maṅgala'.³⁴⁵ Its origin has been traced back to the day on which Lord Mahāvīra attained his emancipation.³⁴⁶

On the occasion of this festival garlands of green leaves of Sandal tree were suspended to the arches of the gates, silken flags were tied to the tops of golden merry-go-rounds.³⁴⁷

The ceremony of the Holy-Bath consisted of pouring from golden pitchers holy water on the image of Lord Mahāvīra. For this purpose water was brought from all the holy

342. TM(N), p.198(9-17).

343. *ibid.*, p.344(4-5) --- कार्तिकपौर्णमासीनिशीथे ---।

344. *ibid.*, p.271(12-13) --- कौमुदीग्रहोत्सवमवलोकयन्ती --- संप्रत्येव मुक्ता मया ---।

345. *ibid.*, p.344(4) --- मञ्जलस्नात्रा --- पक्षवधि...यात्राम् ---।

346. *ibid.*, p.344(3-4) --- भगवतो महावीरजिनवरस्य जिव्वाणदिवस्तात्प्रभृति विधापन्तैशरत्नमञ्जलस्नात्रा --- यात्रा ---।

347. *ibid.*, p.157(17-19) --- द्वारतोरणेषु सान्द्ररुचयश्चन्दनप्रवाल- (P.T.O.)

places of the world,³⁴⁸ and was stored in golden pitchers, which were to be touched with duly washed hands thus purified. As the time of beginning the ceremony approached the lutanists and other musicians got their instruments ready. The heavenly courtezans, some of them carrying baskets of flowers, others holding vessels containing various unguents and still others with vases full of scented water, approached the image. As the water from the first pitcher poured over the image, the musicians spontaneously started playing upon their instruments loudly along with the blowing of the trumpets. It was followed by the elaborate procedure of the worship,³⁴⁹ at the end of which the public reciters sang devotional songs to the accompaniment of Mr̥ḍaṅga and finally came the dance items of the princesses till very late hours of the night.³⁵⁰

(20) MISCELLANEOUS REFERENCES :*

Besides the above festivals and ceremonies, Dhana-pāla has also referred in passing to the rites performed by a 'Preta-sādhaka' who would seat on a Kuśa seat in a cemetery,³⁵¹ and ~~manā~~ to the human victims being searched

348. TM(N), p.344(8) -- पानीयेन सकलतीर्थहितेन ---।

349. *ibid.*, p.269(19) -- सविस्तरं पूजाकर्म्म ---।

350. *ibid.*; -- प्रवर्तिते गायकगणेन मधुरमृदङ्गध्वनिमिश्रे विश्राणितश्रावक-
श्रोत्रमुदि मङ्गलगीतध्वनौ प्रनृत्तासु पर्यायेण ---क्षितिपालकन्यासु क्षीण-
भूयिष्ठ्यायां क्षपायाद् ---।

351. *ibid.*, p.201(20) -- प्रेतसाधकस्येव नक्तं च राध्यासितासु भूमिषु
कुशसंस्तरणा ननु चिता न लं कुर्वाणस्य ---।

for by the Śabarās in order to offer them to the goddess Candikā in the tribal villages situated in the forests of the Vidhya mountain.³⁵²

IV ; LIFE IN CITY, MILITARY CAMPS, VILLAGE,
HERMITAGE AND FOREST :-

(A) CITY LIFE :-

While describing the cities like Ayodhyā and Kāncī and others, Dhanapāla draws a vivid picture of the city life probably based on his own experience of living in cities like Ujjayinī, Dhārā and the like. These cities were in those days important centres of cultural and political activities and Dhanapala's descriptions give us a cross-section of the highly rich, luxurious and pompous way of living there obtained there consequent to the concentration of all wealth of the state there.

Thus the city of Ayodhyā³⁵³ was surrounded on all sides by a castle-wall with a huge mote on its outer side. White flags fluttered on four big gates of the castle. The tops of the temples on the cross-roads were decorated with golden crest-pitchers. In the gardens the trees were watered by means of water-wheels. Wide streets and main

352. TM(N), p.200(6ff.) --- प्रतिदिवसमन्विष्यमाण-चण्डिकोपहारपुरुषाभिः
शबरपल्लीभिः ---[

353. *ibid.*, pp.7-8.

roads were lined on both sides with 'śātakumbha' type of buildings. The 'Saudha' type of multi-storeyed houses were marked by compound-walls, high gates, crocodile-arches and swings. Every house had its own tank and swimming pool. In the brief description of Kāñcī³⁵⁴ also the poet has mentioned many of these general details.

Among the minute, though stray, details mentioned by Dhanapāla, the following are noteworthy. The garlands of green leaves were tied to the high portals decorated with engraved crocodile-arches.³⁵⁵ People made profuse use of incessantly burning incense of black and white Aguru.³⁵⁶ Shops containing heaps of emeralds, sapphires, diamonds and cat's-eye gems were conspicuous in the wide and extensive market place.³⁵⁷ The shops had wooden doors and they were fastened with steel locks.³⁵⁸ Numerous houses in the cities had more than one storey.³⁵⁹ Drains for the flow of pink water of the swimming pools were built along the

354. TM(N)pp.259-260.

355. *ibid.*, p.8(18). -- उच्छुद्धा मकरतोरेणावलङ्घ्य हरितवन्दनमालैः ---।

356. *ibid.*, p.8(19). -- अश्रान्तकालगुरुधूप --- ; 9(1). -- असितागुरुधूप ---।

357. *ibid.*, p.8(16). -- मरकतेन्द्रनीलवज्रवैडूर्यशशिभिः पृथुलायतैर्विषणिपथैः
प्रसादितैः ---।

358. *ibid.*, p.67(8ff.). -- कपाटदारुपाशकनिर्दयास्फालनवाचालानि
प्रत्यापणमघटन्त कालोयसतालकानि -। --- ; 260(10)

-- सुसंयुक्तितालकाः प्रधानापणाः ---।

359. *ibid.*, p.133(15ff.). -- प्रतिनगरमुपलक्ष्यमाणानेकभूमिकप्रभूतप्रसादानि ---।

base of the walls and were lined with emerald.³⁶⁰ The shower-baths were situated along the banks of the river in the city gardens which abounded in sport-bowers and sport-hillocks.³⁶¹ Public tanks were built by the kings.³⁶² The ground of the palace gardens was levelled and paved with pearl-powder, and many types of trees were grown therein.³⁶³ Lighting arrangements consisted of hand-born torches and glowing rubies also served as lamps, though without flame.³⁶⁴ The bed was covered with clean white bed-sheet and a white pitcher with water trickling from its pores was placed at the head of the bed, near the pillow which was stuffed with soft filaments of the feathers of swans.³⁶⁵ Among the alcoholic drinks, Dhanapāla has mentioned 'Kāpiśāyana' and 'Phalarasāsava'.³⁶⁶ For painting and colouring, the liquids of Kusumbha, Yāvaka and Nīli are noticed.³⁶⁷ Fans

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360. TM(N), p.158(4ff.) --- क्षरन्ति --- कुङ्कुमारुणं केलिपुष्करिणीनां वारि
प्रकारमूलप्रकतप्रणालानि ---।
361. *ibid.*, p.180(11ff.) --- साकेतपुरपरिसरे रम्यतलकुट्टिभेषु लीलालता-
प्रणयेषु --- कृत्रिमा-बलशिखरेषु --- नगरनिम्नगाकूलेषु --- यन्त्रधातुशृङ्खलप्रवेशेषु ---।
362. *ibid.*, p.66(17) --- स्वस्वानितेषु सरःसु ---- ; 181(22) -- देवेन
स्वानितं सरः ----।
363. *ibid.*, p.212(10) -- भौक्तिकचूर्णवालुकाप्रकरणे समसुकुमारभूतान्मति-
बहुलस्निग्धपादवाभिरामप्रामम् ----।
364. *ibid.*, p.159(5ff.) --- हस्तदीपिका ----- ; 174(12) -- अकज्जले-
-वर्लद्विर्भाणिकयदीपैः ----।
365. *ibid.*, p.174(17ff.) -- आयतविशालं हंस-~~सु~~ हंसविशदप्र-छदपदा-छा-
दितम-छजलस्त्राविणा सुधाधवलेन -- अनितशांनिध्यं निद्राकलशेन शयनम् -- ;
ibid., p.270(10ff.) -- शृङ्खलहंसतूलोपधानम् ---।
366. *ibid.*, p.18(7); 169(5).
367. *ibid.*, p.157(21); 214(16); 227(21).

were prepared from hair,³⁶⁸ and there were mechanical devices in the form of golden stone images for weilding the fans.³⁶⁹ People chewed Tāmbūla incessantly.³⁷⁰ The fruits of the Kataka tree were known for their property of ridding mud off the water.³⁷¹ Houses were washed with water and mirror house was cleansed with the ashes of Sandal wood.³⁷² The ruby-studded floor of the Hall of Audiance was scavanged everyday and fresh lotuses were laid there.³⁷³ In the airy Paṭṭa-śālā, the cages of male and female parrots were hung.³⁷⁴ The utnsils were mostly made of silver, bronze, copper and other metals.³⁷⁵ There is a reference to fishing by means of a hook.³⁷⁶ Wealth was stored in jars.³⁷⁷

In the central part of the city was situated the royal palace premises. The courtesans lived near about the temples.³⁷⁸ The elephant drivers used to live on the

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368. TM(N), p.116(2) --- बालव्यजन ---।
 369. *ibid.*, p.374(11) --- उपनीतसितचारुचामराभिर्भ्रूणिचतुष्क्रिकास्तम्भतलवर्तिनीभिश्चितसृष्टिध्यामीकरशिलायन्त्रपुत्रिकाभिः स्वैरश्वैरमुपवीज्यमानः ---।
 370. *ibid.*, p.125(3) --- अनयश्चानंताम्बूलोपयोगः ---।
 371. *ibid.*, p.261(12).
 372. *ibid.*, p.352(9ff.) --- अञ्छसलिलक्षालनापास्तरजसि मण्डपिकाजिरे ---।
 373(6) --- भार्जयसितेन रसवतीसुल्लिचन्द्रनभस्मना समस्तमादर्शभवनम् ---।
 373. *ibid.*, p.387(22) --- प्रमृष्टमणिकुट्टिमोत्सृष्टनवनीरजोपहारमास्थानमण्डपाशरम् ---।
 374. *ibid.*, p.68(3ff.) --- प्रवातपट्टशालोवलम्बितपञ्जरे --- शुकसारिकाकलापे ---।
 375. *ibid.*, p.68(5) --- कांस्यरजतादिभ्राजनेषु ---। ;67(21) कसर्पिते-
 न्मृष्टतारताम्रभ्राजनासु --- शृङ्गासु ---।
 376. *ibid.*, p.15(11) --- तिमिर्नां गलशहः ---।
 377. *ibid.*, p.342(22) --- कोशकलश ---।
 378. *ibid.*, p.67(4ff.) --- पर्याकुलितपर्यन्तगृहनिवासिगणिकाजनाः --- सुर-
 गृहाङ्गणेषु ---।

outskirts of the city, as the city-guards would not allow them inside the city limits.³⁷⁹ Rich merchants kept their herds of live-stock outside the city.³⁸⁰

The citizens of Ayodhyā are said³⁸¹ to be generous in charity in expectation of enjoyments; they obeyed due to the fear of the state, observed etiquette purposefully, earned without satisfaction, and honoured old people just as an exercise in learning courtesy.

Dhanapāla has drawn a fine picture of the peculiarities of the life in South Indian cities in his description of Kāñcī. The rich citizens of Kāñcī are said to be very much absorbed in physical pleasures. The city-dwellers in general were learned and Brahmins in particular felt their lives fruitful. The courtizans and parasites were an important section of the city population and their sole interest in life centred around sensual enjoyments.³⁸² The students begged their alms and roamed everywhere reciting their lessons aloud.³⁸³ The general food of the cultured citizens of Kāñcī consisted of fruits like orange, bread-fruit, and banana, and the drink consisted chiefly of

379. TM(N), p.116(22ff.) -- अप्रमत्तरक्षणपदाति वार्यभ्रान्ताः --- पर्यन्तरन्वित-
वृणकुटीरकेण --- आधोरणगणेन ---।

380. *ibid.*, p.117(2ff.).

381. *ibid.*, p.12(16ff.).

382. *ibid.*, p.260(16ff.).

383. *ibid.*, p.68(1-2).

coconut milk; their ornaments were chiefly made of pearls; their religion mostly consisted of clemency; their good acts consisted of generosity; their good conduct consisted of truth and cleanliness; and their entertainment consisted of scholastic discussions.³⁸⁴

The womenfolk of the Vidyādhara city of Rathanūpura-cakravāla are said to be adept in all arts and sciences, knew the languages of all the regions, and were well-read and skilled in relating the stories from all the Purānas.³⁸⁵

A part of the daily routine of the citizens of Ayodhyā is also described in passing.³⁸⁶ At noon, with the blowing of the conch-shells, as the royal elephants were freed for bathing in the city tanks, businessmen closed their shops with steel-locks. As the villagers began to return to their villages, the hullabullo of the citizens subsided. Schools concluded their lessons and students closed their books. Learned Brahmins, with leaf-bowls carrying sesame, tufts of Darbha grass and leaves in hands,

384. TM(N), p.260(11ff.) अत्र वारञ्जपनसकदलप्रायप्रशनं, नालिकेरीफल-
रसप्रायं पानं, मुक्ताफलप्रायभाभरणं, कृपाप्रायं धर्मानुष्ठानं, दानप्रायं कर्म,
सत्यशौचप्रायभाचरणं, शास्त्रविचारप्रायो विनोदो, निवासिलोकस्य ---।

385. *ibid.*, p.169(6ff.) --- सर्वकलाशास्त्रकुशलेन सर्वदेशभाषाविदा
सर्वपौराणिकाख्यानकप्रवीणेन स्त्रीजनेन ---।

386. *ibid.*, pp.67-68.

started to the river for mid-day bath. Attendants accompanied them with oil, Embatic Myrobalan fruits and combs. Women started taking bath at their domestic wells. Brahmin girls poured water into the cisterns for birds. Old women went to the temples. Beggars roamed from house to house for food. Government also ran some inns where the destitutes were provided with food, drink, bed and medicines.³⁸⁷

The citizens enjoyed themselves in public parks. Royal palace had, adjoining to it, an extensive garden having trees like Lavaṅga, Punnāga, Candana and Aguru, and members of the royal family entertained themselves therein.³⁸⁸

The usual means of transport for royal personages was elephant, particularly the female one, which was duly decorated and faced to the east before starting.³⁸⁹ White Cāmaras were waved on their either sides and a white parasol was held over their heads. The body-guards of the royal personages rode the horses.³⁹⁰ Royal processions were common, and they generally comprised soldiers, bards and royal attendants. The procession moved to the accompaniment of

387. TM(N), p.66(15ff.).
 388. *ibid.*, p.303(2ff.); 315(10).
 389. *ibid.*, p.330(11ff.).
 390. *ibid.*, p.419(3ff.).

musical instruments like cymbals, drums and conches. Horses, elephants and Vimānas were also a part of the procession. Courtezans annointed their boddies with camphor and musk. Such processions were a sort of an entertainment for the citizens.³⁹¹

(B) LIFE IN MILITARY CAMP :-

Dhanapāla has given few details about the life in military camp during his description of Vajrayudha's seige of Kāñcī,³⁹² and in the description of the royal camp of the naval forces on the sea-shore near Kāñcī,³⁹³ and on an island after the subjugation of the feudatories of the islands in the Southern Ocean.³⁹⁴

The camp party consisted of the royal personage in charge of the camp, the ministers, the accompanying Brahmins, scholars, ladies of the harem with their paraphernalia, courtezans and soldiers, and labourers. It seems the army provisions were transported in carts drawn by bullocks to which Dhanapāla has made a reference.³⁹⁵ The layout of the camp resembled that of a miniature city spread around the central royal tents. The tents were pitched by tying them to the nails on all sides.³⁹⁶ The ministers were housed in

391. TM(N), p.360(13ff.).

392. ibid., pp.83-84.

393. ibid., p.123(1ff.).

394. ibid., pp.140-142.

395. ibid., p.124(2ff.).

396. ibid., p.140(23ff.) ---पर्यन्तरोपित शङ्कुसंयम्यमानतनिकेषु ----।

special tents of different colours.³⁹⁷ The tents for the inmates of the royal harem were pitched by the harem-attendants and a continuous fence of thorny branches surrounded the area for proper protection.³⁹⁸ There is a reference to crocodile-arches, officers' tents and tents for feudatories and body-guards.³⁹⁹ The group of royal tents was well protected by a high fence made of poles tied to a row of stone pillars dug into the earth.⁴⁰⁰ The courtezans seem to be putting on thick clothes.⁴⁰¹ For camp-fire sandal wood was utilized.⁴⁰²

With the change of every watch of three hours, the trumpets flourished and the guarding elephants changed duty, the horse-keepers rushed to the royal tents with saddled horses. The feudatories moved on the elephants at the end of their duties during which they stood stiff in the same position. A series of patrol posts were established for guarding and, during the night, the guarding soldiers loudly passed words from post to post. Lighted torches were utilized for illuminating the camp premises during

397. TM(N), p.123(2ff.); 141(1ff.).

398. *ibid.*, p.141(2ff.) -- दूरविक्षिप्तकण्ठकदुग्धविट्पवलयितावासे ज्वावास-
यन्सु सत्वरान्तर्वक्षिक निवेश्यमाने शुभ्रान्तववितानि शान्तेषु ---।

399. *ibid.*, p.123(4ff.).

400. *ibid.*, p.123(7ff.).

401. *ibid.*, p.140(4) -- स्थूलवसनाच्छादितवपुषि --- विलासिनीजने ---।

402. *ibid.*, p.141(5) -- पुष्कलशुक्लबन्धनकाष्ठसंदीपितानलेषु ---।

the night, and the camp folk celebrated the festivals and entertained themselves as they did on normal occasions in civil life.⁴⁰³

(C) LIFE IN VILLAGE AND PORT :-

In the course of the description of the march of Samaraketu's forces to the sea-shore, Dhanapāla has seized the opportunity to give a lively picture of rural life.

The villages, like the cities and hermitages, were generally situated along sea-shore, lake, river or a mountain. Along the river banks the village merchants established small hotels where the river-farers could get cooked rice, ghee, curds, sweet-balls and etc.,⁴⁰⁴ Public wells for drinking water were situated at regular distances along the roads. The village consisted of a group of abodes, which were built of branches of trees, creepers, leaves and etc., all cemented together by clay and plastered with dung.⁴⁰⁵ The poor labourers lived in grass huts.⁴⁰⁶ The village house generally consisted of the living rooms which could be closed by fastening the doors, and the compounds at the back where the dung was stored and vegetables like

403. TM(N), pp. 83-84.

404. *ibid.*, p. 117(12ff.) -- आसन्नं ग्रामवासिना वणिग्जनेन तत इतः प्रकटितौ-
दनाज्यं दधि-आण्डश्चण्डमोदकप्रायपण्यप्रसारिकाभिः ---।

405. *ibid.*, p. 117(16ff.) -- ईषदुपजात शोष करीष सुखसन्धार विशिखैः सपण्ण-
तरुलता निवेश जलवैशमपरलैः ---।

406. *ibid.*, p. 123(22) -- तृण कुटीरको दसादति कष्टमुक्त संस्तरेषु कर्मकरेषु --।

cucumber, gourd, Trapusa (Coloquintida), Karkkāru (Bevin-kasa Cerifera), Kāravella (gourd Memordica Charantia) and others were cultivated. The compound was secured by a fence of thorny plants.

The household of the villagers consisted of bronze vessels, blankets, ropes and etc.,⁴⁰⁷ They domesticated wild dogs for guarding their houses and fed them with curds.⁴⁰⁸

Dhanapāla has given a vivid picture of villagers⁴⁰⁹ with turbans on their heads, with daggers tied to their waists by means of worn out cloth belts, with staffs in their hands and carrying their children on their shoulders. They were familiar with buffaloes⁴¹⁰ and expert in evaluating the worth of bullocks, but were curious about elephants and camels. Due to their ignorance about city-life they easily mistook a good-looking harlots riding an elephant, a queen or princesses, a Cāraṇa for a prince, and a well-dressed merchant for a king's favourite. They were very of talking to city-dwellers. Out of curiosity they stood waiting for hours together hungry and thirsty to see the royal procession.

407. TM(N), p.119(23ff.).

408. *ibid.*, p.117(17ff.) --- जोरसपरिपुष्ट महाकाय दुष्ट को लेयकै: ----।

409. *ibid.*, pp.118-120.

410. *ibid.*, p.182(9ff.).

During the battles, the villagers gathered and witnessed the fights with shouts accordingly as they were frightened, astonished, angered, amused, tickled or bored.⁴¹¹

The chief agricultural produce seems to have been rice of both 'Kalama' and 'Kedāra' varieties in South India.⁴¹² There is a reference to the fields where sugercane was cultivated.⁴¹³ Vegetables were grown in the compounds of their houses.⁴¹⁴

The villagers seem to be exposed to harassment from various quarters. Thus, hordes of robbers plundered their households, agricultural produce and vegetables.⁴¹⁵ The revenue officers and village rogues also robbed the villagers of their grass and grains from the threshing-floors in the fields.⁴¹⁶ Village sentinels forcibly extracted bribe from them.⁴¹⁷ Money-lenders of the vilage confiscated their houses and set them at large compelling them to pack off their belongings and roam from house to house for residence.⁴¹⁸

411. TM(N), p.83(15ff.).

412. *ibid.*, p.116(17ff.) --- उदारकलमकेदारपरिमलामोदित ----।

413. *ibid.*, p.182(14ff.) --- पुण्ड्रेक्षुवाटपरम्परा ---।

414. *ibid.*, p.119(15) --- शाकवारक --- ; 120(1) --- पश्चाद्दारक ---।

415. *ibid.*, p.119(17) --- लुण्टितेक्षुपाटदुखदुर्बलकृषीवल्लोकम् ---।

416. *ibid.*, p.119(10ff.) --- लब्धमहानिधानैरिव श्वलधानतः साधनिकलोकेन निखिलमपि नीयमानं सुखं ---। ; 119(14ff.) --- कैश्चिदनिवृद्ध-लोकलुण्ठमानशाकवारकैः ---।

417. *ibid.*, p.119(11) --- अर्थलोभादभिलषितलभ्यानां लभ्यया लाकुरिकानां क्लेशमनुभवद्भिः ---।

418. *ibid.*, p.119(18ff.).

A glimpse is also provided of life on islands and ports.⁴¹⁹ The plants in the gardens had to be protected from sea-birds. There was no restriction on entry of seafarers in such villages. Even the poor people possessed jewels normally fit for royal families. Gold was here regarded as cheap as dust. The chief preoccupations of the people was to store materials like combustible oil and such other things for preparing collyrium useful for diving operations; to raise the masts for boats and ships; to manufacture sails, to carry the anchors; and to repair wooden drums for storing drinking water. They used palm leaf for engraving, in Karnāṭaka and other scripts, poems in local languages abounding in Sanskrit vocabulary. Civilized people were but few among them; conduct in accordance with Varna and Āśrama was rare; heresy was at its height; women dressed gaudily; and the languages were generally unintelligible. The chief element in population was aboriginal sailors with frightening looks, variegated dress and external appendages, fond of kidnapping other's wives, steel-black in appearance, trimming variously ~~shaved~~ shaved beards and mustaches, wearing tufts of palm-leaf in numerous holes pierced through their ears, carrying daggers, wearing iron bracelets in their hands, and picking up quarrels at the slightest provocation.

419. TM(N), pp.133-134.

(D) : LIFE IN HERMITAGE :-

From the stray references to various details regarding the hermit life of Malayasundarī both at the hermitage of Kulapati Śāntātapa at the foot of the Malaya mountain and at the nunnery adjoining to the Jain temple on Mount Ekasṛṅga on the Vaitāḍya range, we can compile a picture of life in hermitage as it might have obtained in those days.

The inmates of the Prasānta-vaira-āśrama consisted of hermits, old nuns and hermit girls.⁴²⁰ They lived in thatched cottages⁴²¹. Brahmāns and others from the cities often visited it,⁴²² and brought the news about current affairs.

Early in the morning the old hermits sang hymns to the holy river Gaṅgā, the forgotten verses whereof were reminded to them by the parrots resting in their nests on the nearby trees.⁴²³ Travellers used to lodge there for sometime and recite verses revealing the message of the morn.⁴²⁴ Shallow cups prepared from Palāśa leaves served as containers of food which consisted chiefly of ~~hermitage~~

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420. TM(N), p.331(1) --- तापसजनेन -- मुनिकुमारिकाचन्द्र ---; 331(11ff.) --- स्थविरतपसीसमूहेन --- ; 358(9) --- वृद्धवैश्यानसैः ---।
 421. ibid., p.331(14) --- पर्णशाला ---। ; 358(9) --- आशमोदज ---।
 422. ibid., p.331(15) --- काञ्चिन्मविषयादागतेन द्विजातिना ---।
 423. ibid., p.358(6ff.) --- निकटद्रुमकुलायशायिना शुककुलेन वारंवार-
 424. ibid., p.358(10ff.) --- प्राभातिकजक्षास्तोत्रगीतकानि ---।

bulbous roots and fruits.⁴²⁵ Indulging in luxury of ornaments etc., was out of place here.⁴²⁶ The Kulapati seems to have been a lovable personality who took ~~much~~ extreme care of the inmates.

The work in the hermitage comprised looking after the comfort of guests, gathering flowers for worship of the deity, watering the plants with leaf-bowls, plastering the verandah with cow-dung, drawing Svasika with artistic designs, feeding orphan young ones of deers, cooking vegetables, gathering ripe fruits, sewing beds of soft bark ~~and~~ and pieces, ^{and} narrating Purānic stories befitting the occasions.⁴²⁷ The hermits slept at night on the beds prepared from Kuśa grass.⁴²⁸

The nunnery near the temple of Lord Ṛṣabha at Mount Ekaśṛṅga was a three-storeyed building⁴²⁹ with many apartments which served as sleeping rooms⁴³⁰ for the nuns. The rooms were provided with wooden seats.⁴³¹ There were pegs to hang bark sheets.⁴³² The belongings of the nuns seem to have consisted of a couple of pairs of bark garments, a gourd

- 425. TM(N), p.257(1ff.) --- कन्दफलमूलपूर्णमभिनव पलाशपत्रपुष्कम् ---।
 426. ibid., p.330(19) --- विमुक्तहारनूपुरादिनिःशेषभूषणकलापा ---।
 427. ibid., p.331(2-12).
 428. ibid., p.413(13) --- कुर्यास्तरण ---।
 429. ibid., p.256(17) --- निष्पुमिकं मठम् ---। शयनशाला ---।
 430. ibid., p.256(19) --- उपनीतपद्मसूनया ---।
 431. ibid., p.256(21) --- नागदन्तावलम्बितजिबिः वल्कलास्तरणाय ---।
 432. ibid., p.256(18) --- अलमलौ --- कम्पडकुल ---।

for carrying water and a rosary of beads.⁴³³ The hermits subsisted on fruits and roots. Their daily routine mainly included the offerings of 'Argha' to the Sun thrice a day, Japa of holy Gāyatrī and worship of the deity.⁴³⁴

(E) FOREST LIFE :-

In the course of his descriptions of the Vindhya forest,⁴³⁵ and of the jungle lying between the Vaitādhyā mountain and Mount Ekaśṛṅga,⁴³⁶ Dhanapāla has taken opportunity to give a picture of forest life.

The Vindhya forest was rich in trees like pine, Vetica Robusta, Terminalia Arjuna, Pongamia Glabra, teak, Bignonia Indica and others, and the undergrowth was so thick that one would hardly be able to see whether or not the Sun rises or sets.⁴³⁷ Samaraketu remembered his path on the strength of such things as a pit, a trunk, grass, bush, ant-hill, residue of forest fire and etc..⁴³⁸ The reverberation of the large drums of the Nāhala tribes residing in the forest abounding in reeds and bamboos was matched by the loud noise of girgling streams as their water splashed on the rocks. The beating of drums conveyed to the tribesmen

433. TM(N), p.256(20) --- अदीमाला -- कमण्डलु -- ।

434. ibid., p.257(11ff.).

435. ibid., p.199-200.

436. ibid., p.233-236.

437. ibid., p.199(17ff.) --- संरल सज्जर्जुन करञ्ज शल्लकी प्रायैः पादपै-

रपास्तदिनकरो दया स्त मय दर्शनया --- ।

438. ibid., p.195(16ff.) --- अवरस्थाणु गुल्म वल्मीकदावोत्पुकेन पूर्वावलोकितेन वर्त्मना विलङ्घ्याऽवीमविघ्नेन --- ।

the news about the passing travellers to be looted. The old tribal women were more rash than even normal youthful citizens. The public bars of tribal villages of the Śabarāras were always crowded and noisy. In every house carcases of hunted animals were being cooked on ovens. Every bower was resounding with the cries of imprisoned travellers. Looted wealth was being divided in every lane. Children were being taught musical trickeries to entice deers. Everywhere fishermen were seen sitting with their hooks ready to catch fish from the ponds. Human beings to be offered as victims to Caṇḍikā were being sought for everyday. Travellers hid their gold and other precious belongings in their hair-do or head-dress, and hastily passed by the tribal villages with great fear and muttered in their hearts Caṇḍikā-daṇḍaka-stotraṃ while casting their frightened glances everywhere. The ambushes were laid everywhere to catch the travellers, who were pursued and looted and even killed.

Tribal women busied themselves with stringing necklaces of pearls interspersed with beads. The tribals roamed in forests to dig out eatable roots and to fall fruits. The tip of the bow was utilized by the tribals for digging the roots out of the soil.⁴³⁹ Sometimes monkeys

439. TM(N), p.210(6) --- निषादधनुः कोरिकृष्कन्द....।

wrested food from the hands of the travellers. Hunters pursued wounded tigers to get their skin. Even the tribal women carried shining spears and arrows.

In the forest lying between the Vaitāḍhya mountain and Mount Ekaśṛṅga,⁴⁴⁰ the tribal women put on bead girdles.⁴⁴¹ The tribals hunted for frogs. The soil was rich in silver, copper, brass, tin, lead and iron. Siddhas wandered in search of medicinal plants which might be useful in attracting rains; in preventing the bad effect of evil eye; in solidifying mercury; in dumbfounding, immobilizing and dispersing people or causing quarrels among them; in counteracting the effect of deadly poison; in attracting or hypnotizing people by applying its powder on the forehead; in warding off the fear of old age and death. Travellers cooked their rice in hot-water streams. Poisonous ponds were enclosed with thorny fences by the tribals in order to prevent people, birds and beasts from death on drinking the water therefrom. The region was dotted with the temples in which the idols of the Siddhas were established. Super-human beings toured the forests for pleasure. Alchemists tried to transform other metals into gold with the help

440. TM(N), pp.233-236.

441. *ibid.*, p.234(8) -- सुजायल काशी ---।

of various medicinal herbs. Temples of Cāmunda and Śiva were built on hill-tops. People used to commit suicide from wish-fulfilling precipices in order to get rid of miserable life in the hope of better prospects in future births. Left-outs of abandoned camps of the ~~maharajah's~~ army of emperors were to be seen here and there.

The ascetics lived in the forests, on the river banks and in the caves of mountains. Some of them subsisted on fruits and roots while others totally abstained from food. Some sat with five fires around them. Some kept themselves submerged upto the neck under water. Some hung themselves upside-down and inhaled smoke. Some set their eyes on to the Sun. Some kept on muttering mystic formula, while others took to keeping mum. Some refrained from killing inspite of the weapons kept at hand, while others obtained from indulging in sexual pleasures inspite of the constant company of their beloved wives in their vicinity. Thus all of them were busy with some or other type of penance.

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