

### Chapter III

#### Social Conditions

In the utopian stage which prevailed before the times of the Kulakaras and the first saviour Usabha, people lived in the state of bliss. With the gradual indifference to dhamma people suffered from scarcity and untimely death which resulted in chaos in the society. The Kulakaras and Usabha, in order to check the deteriorating conditions, evolved political and social checks in the form of three nītis, and kingship, punishment (damḍanīti), establishment of the four gaṇas and the institution of marriage<sup>1</sup>.

The duty of a king, according to the Vh(P), was to keep up a state of equilibrium between the three ends of human life (tivaggāviraha)<sup>2</sup>, on which the society could stand firmly. The healthy desire of a human being is expressed by the author of Vh(P) through Samba, one of the sons of Kṛṣṇa. He says he had done fairly well as regards the fulfilment of dhamma and attha; he wanted to fulfil kāma in a similar way<sup>3</sup>.

Though on a spiritual level Jainism believed in an equality of all beings, on social level it had to face a graded society divided into four classes, as advocated by

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1. Vh(P), 157-163.

2. Ibid.; 219.

3. Vh(P), 101.

Hinduism. The above order placed the brāhmanas at the top of the social hierarchy and below them were the other varṇas, viz.: the ksatriya, the Vaiśya and the śūdra.

Marriage and Varnas :

This social order was best revealed in the marriage customs of the day. A Brāhmaṇa male could marry in all the four varṇas<sup>1</sup>, while others could marry in their respective varṇas and in varṇas below them, allowing the śūdras to marry in their ~~own~~ varṇa <sup>only</sup> ~~only~~.

That marriage was a fair index to judge the rank of a varṇa in the society becomes clear from the fact that the family of the bride was taken to be lower than that of the bridegroom even though they belonged to the same varṇa. Somappabha and Viçajasa, who were cousins and ~~the~~ very powerful kings in India during their time, make an agreement that they should ~~inter~~ <sup>each other's sons</sup> marry their daughters, and not give their daughters to other kings, as the latter would take themselves superior, to the two, though they might be vassals<sup>2</sup>. Examples of kings refusing proposals made to the princesses by youths of lower class, are not wanting in

1. Ibid:; 132.

2. Vh(P), 108.

the Vh(P)<sup>1</sup>.

Exaples of anuloma type of marriages <sup>in</sup> ~~from~~ the Vh(F) are quite numerous. Jiyasattu asked his officers to be in search of a beautiful khattiya or mahana, <sup>youths</sup> who were well-versed in music and dance, as suitors to his daughters, Samā and Vijayā<sup>2</sup>. Gandhavvadattā, daughter of Cārusāmi, a settu, was to be given in marriage to a person who excelled her in vocal and instrumental music. In this contest, māhana, khattiya and vaissa youths were present<sup>3</sup>. Dharanijadha, a brahmin, had a son from his servant (pessā) Kavaligā<sup>4</sup>, who was probably from the sūdra class. Vasudeva

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1. Jarasaṃdha was not ready to give his daughter to Kaṃsa who was brought up as a son of <sup>a</sup> grocer; Vh(P), 119. So also was the case of princess Pupphadantā; Vh(P), 235. Vasudeva, who was a warrior, did marry Somasirī, a brahmin girl, but in the guise of a brahmin; Vh(F), 189-194. In spite of this, there is the case of Dhammilla, who was a trader by birth, and yet married several princess <sup>es;</sup> ~~es;~~. Vh(P), 27-52. Such examples are known in early epigraphs also. For example, Kadamba princesses, who hailed from a brahmin family, married Guptas and other kings; EI, VIII, 24, quoted in HCIP, Vol. III, p. 556 fn.

2. Vh(P), 121.

3. Ibid.; 126.

4. Ibid.; 320.

himself married many princesses as well as daughters of traders<sup>1</sup>.

However a note of dissent has been voiced in the Vh(P) against this age-old tradition of anuloma marriages. When asked to marry a māyāṅga girl, Vasudeva himself says, "marriage of bride and groom from the same class only is praiseworthy; not that which is otherwise".<sup>2</sup> Still in another instance in the Vh(P)<sup>3</sup> Vasudeva himself is ridiculed by the maid servants of princess Fiyāṅgusūṃdarī. While presenting a dance recital these maid servants sing a song based on a popular story. The story relates how a jackal who had covered his body with the skin of a lion was exposed to others as he mated with a

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1. Ibid.; 153, 197, 219, 264.

2. Sarisavannasambandham pasamsanti paṇḍiyā  
asamaṅgottam na pasamsanti; Vh(P), 156.

3. Pp. 281-82.

female jackal<sup>1</sup>.

Contemporary literary evidence shows both the prevalence of such a custom in the society<sup>2</sup> and upholding of it on the part of the Sāstrakāras.<sup>3</sup>

Caste and Qualities :

Vh(P) shows that there was faith among the people that there is an intrinsic relationship between the caste of a person and his individual, inborn qualities.

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1. Such a use of allegory to show class difference is not an innovation; it is met with even earlier in the Jātakas. There is a reference to a lioness saying to a jackal, when the latter makes a suggestion of their mating, that he was like the cāṇḍāla among the beasts. See Mehta, R.M., Pre-Buddhist India, p. 262.

Karve who refers to the ridicule of Vasudeva given above, and reproduces an ill-translated portion of the

Piyarṅgusundarī lambha in her book Hindu Society - An Interpretation <sup>points out that in the times contemporary</sup> to Vh(P) 'the caste sentiments of to day' had already developed. pp. 70-71.

2. Hieun Tsiang observes that members of the four castes marry within their respective castes, HTW, 1.p. 168.

3. Vātsyāyana upholds the union between the bride and the bridegroom of the same Varna (savarna); Chakladar, Social Life in Ancient India, p.95.

Jarāsaṃdha, aware of the valour displayed by Kāṃsa in the battle with king Sīharaha, suspected that by birth Kāṃsa was a khattiya. After an inquiry with his foster-father who was a trader, it came to be known that Kāṃsa was born of Uggaseṇa<sup>1</sup>.

The Brāhmaṇas :

As has been noted above, according to the Vh(P), the Brāhmaṇas occupied a higher position in the social order and were duly respected. They were supposed to be eligible for every type of respect<sup>2</sup>. This respect was not due to fear but the confidence which the Brāhmaṇas evoked (visāṃya), advantage of which was taken by thieves<sup>3</sup> to cheat people in the guise of a brahmin or by travellers to secure safety<sup>4</sup>.

The Brāhmaṇas were invited at feasts arranged on special occasions<sup>5</sup> such as marriage<sup>6</sup> or celebrations in honour of some god<sup>7</sup>. There is also a reference to the greed

1. Vh(P), 119.

2. Arahanti diyā savvasakkārassa, says a Sārthavāha, Vh(P) 209.

3. Vh(P), 40.

4. Ibid., 209

5. Ibid., 284.

6. Ibid., 7.

7. Ibid., 29.

of a brahmin lad who wanted to vomit milk preparation (pāyasa) served to him, and eat it again as it was very sweet, and also to acquire dakkhinā at some other place<sup>1</sup>.

It also appears that brahmin boys had every right to ask for food in the house of a householder. Pajjuṇṇa, in the form of a brahmin boy, visits the house of Saccabhāma and demands food. Later on, he also visits the house of Ruppini, where she fulfils ungrudgingly strange desire of sucking her breasts<sup>2</sup>.

There is also a reference in the Vh(P) to a brahmin by name Vasubhūi, who, though by profession a teacher and farmer, goes from his village to a city on the occasion of a lunar eclipse with a desire to secure gifts from some pious person, but is disappointed<sup>3</sup>.

#### Duties of a Brāhmaṇa :

All these privileges bestowed on the Brahmin class had their root in the concept of chakkamma<sup>4</sup>, which constituted the six prime duties of a Brāhmaṇa as described

1. Ibid.; 22.

2. Ibid.; 95-96.

3. Vh(F), 30.

4. A brahmin by name Kāsava performed all the six duties of a brahmin (chakkammanirāa) and lived by gleaning corns on field (umchavitti); Vh(P), 284.

also in the Manusmṛti<sup>1</sup>. They are i) leaning the sacred love, ii) performing sacrifices, iii) officiating as a priest in sacrifices, iv) teaching, v) giving gifts and vi) accepting them<sup>2</sup>.

As such, the Brahmins are found to be working in the position of teachers<sup>3</sup> (uvajjhāya, ajjhāvaya) and priests<sup>4</sup>. They also, in course of time, took to other professions like acting<sup>5</sup>, farming<sup>6</sup>, headmanship of village<sup>7</sup>, probably<sup>8</sup> fortune-telling, acting as minister, and jugglery.

1. MDS, I. 88.

2. Of these, the second and fifth were shared in common by the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas which means, that the specific duties of Brahmins according to the Smṛti were the remaining four. Apart from the learning of the Vedas, it is told in the Vh(P) that no one minded if a Brahmana, in the spirit of an amateur, learnt other loves like dancing, music, (p.121), <sup>or</sup> ~~an~~ archery (p.203).

3. Vh(P), 30, 182.

4. Ibid.; 153.

5. Ibid.; 31.

6. Ibid.;

7. Ibid.; 193.

8. From the study of the names of persons following these profession it can be concluded that they were from the Brahmin class. See for details, Jamkhedkar, A.P., "Ethnography from Vasudevahindī", BDCRI, Vol.23, p.53. See for the low professions of Brahmins, Jaina, J.C., Life in Ancient India, etc., pp 143-43.



In this connection it is significant to note that the Brahmins in the Vh(P) are represented also as ignorant<sup>1</sup>, loose in sexual morals<sup>2</sup> and even murderers<sup>3</sup>. However when the lay followers of Jaina religion who practised non-violence are bestowed with the title Māhana<sup>4</sup>. It has to be interpreted in the sense of an ideal brahmin. The only explanation which can be offered is that right from the period of the Jātakas a sort of consciousness had arisen in the masses which condemned the Brahmins accepting the low professions<sup>5</sup>, but upheld the ideal of the Brahmana<sup>6</sup>.

1. Vh(P), 30.

2. Ibid., 14.

3. Two Brahmins trying to kill a Jaina monk; Vh(P), 85, A Brahmin full of vices becoming a thief; Vh(P), 112; Pippalāda, a redactor of Atharvaveda represented as a parricide; Vh(P), 151-53.

4. Ibid., 184-185.

5. Mehta, R.N., op.cit., pp. 246-48.

6. In the Jaina canonical literature also, the Brahmins are referred to as 'dhijātiyas', i.e. of condemnable caste. (See Jain, op.cit., p.140.) At the same time the duties of a true Brahmin were upheld. According to the Uttarādhyayana one becomes a Brahmin (not by birth) but by behaviour like that of a Brahmin. A person does not entitle himself to be a Brahmin by a simple recitation of the syllable 'Om'. He becomes so by observing celibacy (Bambha+cerena bambhano) Uttarā., 25.31-33). And in this sense lord Mahāvira was styled as Mahāmāhana (Jain, op.cit., p.141).

It is also important to note that according to Vh(P), the Brāhmanas were not immune from punishment. King Nalaputta makes his brahmin priest embrace a red hot statue of a woman as a punishment of his lustful advances to a trader's wife<sup>1</sup>.

The Vh(M), however, does not offer information beyond that the brahmins worked as messengers<sup>2</sup> and priests<sup>3</sup> (kulāyariya) officiating in the marriages of other classes, who followed a different set of rituals in the marriage rites<sup>4</sup>.

Another point which is significant from the point of relation between caste and profession may also be noted from the Vh(M). A brahmin studying any other love ~~apart from~~ <sup>besides</sup> the Vedic studies was received with a frown; he was accused of having improper education (viruddhāgama)<sup>5</sup>.

1. Vh(P), 296. See for a similar view, ~~see~~ Mehta, op.cit., p.248. However, according to the Smṛti writers Brahmins were immune from capital punishment. In extreme cases they were to be banished, Kātyayana Smṛti, V.483; HCIP, Vol. III, p.557. See also for similar views, Jain, op.cit., p.142.

2. Vh(M), II. 65ab.

3. Ibid.; II.226.

4. Ibid., 5

5. Vh(M), II.177a.

This shows that there was established a relationship between the subjects studied and one's profession. Vasudeva had to give an explanation that the study of subjects associated with low profession, such as dance and music, becomes censurable for a person of higher class only when he utilises his knowledge for earning a livelihood (atthagamādisu)<sup>1</sup>.

The Kṣatriyas :

Valour was the distinguishing feature of the Kṣatriya class<sup>2</sup> as referred to in the Vh(P). This feature qualified them in the work of protecting the people from any dangers. They are also called Rājanyas and the king was one from amongst them<sup>3</sup>.

The Kṣatriyas were no less competent than the Brahmanas in spiritual matters. All the twenty-four saviours of Jainism who showed the path of liberation to the world, were ~~all~~ born in the families of Kṣatriyas, amongst whom are two illustrious clans: Ikkhāga and Hari. An example from the Vh(P) is very significant, King Haricaṇḍa appoints a scion of a Khattiya family

1. Ibid.

2. Vh(P), 119.

3. Vh(P), 162.

(khattiyakumāra) to advise him in religious matters<sup>1</sup>.

Some scholars attach importance to the revolt against the sacrificial religion of the Brāhmaṇa-period, especially in the form of Jainism and Buddhism headed by two Kshatriya princes, viz., Mahāvira and the Buddha. One sees a reflection of the same Brāhmaṇa-Kṣatriya rivalry in the version of the Parasurama legend as it appears in the Vh(P)<sup>2</sup>. According to the legend, Parasurama, through the hatred <sup>towards</sup> ~~against~~ Kṣatriyas who were responsible for the <sup>55</sup>ass<sup>55</sup>assination of his father, liquidates all of them, with some exceptions, twenty-one times. In revenge of the same act, Cakkavattī Subhoma, posthumous son of king Kattaviriya kills all the brahmins, twenty-one times, except those who did not claim themselves to be Brāhmaṇas.<sup>3</sup>

It is to be noted that the latter part of the above legend describing the exploits of Subhoma is an innovation of the author of Vh(P).

The Vh(M) does not offer any new information about the kṣatriyas.

1. Ibid., 170.

2. Ibid., 238-40.

3. Later on, after their death, both Parasurama and Subhoma are said to have been born in the hell. Does the author of (Vh(P) want to suggest indirectly that killing brahmins <sup>of</sup> Khattiyas in persecution ultimately results in a vile birth?

The Vaiśyas :

Members of this class referred themselves as of vaiśa caste (vaiśajāiō)<sup>1</sup>. They are also referred to as Vānīyas and made their livelihood by shopkeeping<sup>2</sup>. Sometimes for trading, they moved in carvans and are referred to as satthavāhas<sup>3</sup>.

The ibbhas, who were <sup>of a</sup> the respectable castes<sup>4</sup> referred to in canonical literature of the Jainas<sup>4</sup>, are referred to in the Vh(P) as indulging in caravan trade<sup>5</sup> or discharging the duty of Setthīship<sup>6</sup> in the cities. These also belonged to this class<sup>7</sup>.

The gahavatis who earned their livelihood by caravan trade<sup>8</sup> and agriculture<sup>9</sup> also probably belonged to

1. Vh(P), 197.

2. Ibid., 210, 368.

3. Vh(P), 233, 296.

4. Jain, J.C., op.cit, p.139.

5. Vh(P), 145.

6. Ibid., 139, 154.

7. Contestants coming to marry Gamdhavvadattā who was the daughter of an ibbha (ibbakannā), were from the Brāhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya class, Vh(P), 126-27.

8. Ibid., 59.

9. Ibid., 86, 283.

this class<sup>1</sup>.

It seems that the members of this class were sometimes in charge of the administration of villages<sup>2</sup>.

The members of the Vaiśya class were also probably associated with usury, which enabled them to indulge in monetary frauds<sup>3</sup>.

The religious duty of this class was to attend to the Brahmanas<sup>4</sup> and Samanas. The vānīyas of Rāyagiha are described as being engaged in honouring guests (atithi) the māhanas and the samanas<sup>5</sup>.

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1. Sārthavāha Cārudatta is addressed as gahavati by the musicians, Vh(P), 133. Trade and agriculture were the chief means of livelihood for Vaiśyas according to the Smṛti writers, MDS, I.90. Mehta also points out that they were from the Kṣatriyas and Brahmanas, Mehta, Op.cit. P.256.
  2. Jamkhedkar, A.P., Op.cit., P.53.      3. Vh(P), 86.
  4. Arahanti diyā savvasakkārassa, says Vinadatta, Vh(P), 209. So also another sarthavāha by name Vijaya when asked for accommodation by a brahmin, says that he would make arrangements for that and would serve (sussūsa) him according to his mite, Vh(P), 210.
  5. Ibid., 2.

From the study of the Vh(P) it becomes clear that the main bulk of the followers of Jainism was formed by this class<sup>1</sup>, especially by the setthis and the satthavāhas.

It is not possible to make any remark about the condition of this class during the period contemporary to Vh(M), as they are very casually referred to in the Vh(M)<sup>2</sup>.

#### The Śūdras :

In the social system of the Hindus, every varna has a specific duty entrusted by the śāstras. The Śūdra class was to serve the three varnas without any malice<sup>3</sup>. Manu, while describing the system of naming, lays down that the name of the śūdra should signify servitude (praiṣya)<sup>4</sup>. According to the Vh(P) Usabha established four ganas for the smooth running of the government. The nāga gana, one of these four, was appointed as Kajjaniveyagā<sup>5</sup>, i.e. persons

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1. The study of the names of persons from this class yields the same results; Jamkhedkar, Op.cit, P. 38.
  2. Vh(M), I.8a; II.64a, 88a, 175a.
  3. MDS, I.91.
  4. Ibid., II.32.
  5. Vh(P), 162.

who report the work. The name of pesa servants (pesajana<sup>1</sup> or peṣā)<sup>2</sup> are suggestive of the meaning given above.

These servants, also referred to sometimes as cedas<sup>3</sup> and cedīs<sup>4</sup>, worked as attendants helping in toilet, (aṃgapadicāra<sup>5</sup>, paḍikammakāriyā<sup>6</sup>), setting the beds (sejjāpālī)<sup>7</sup>, massaging the body (samvāhigā<sup>8</sup>, aṃgasassūsakāriyā<sup>9</sup>) and performing other small works (āṇākava dāraya<sup>10</sup>), as their names suggest.

The nurse (dhāī) looked after the well-being of the child even after it entered youth<sup>11</sup>, and evoked confidence more than the parents<sup>12</sup>.

Some of the servants were, however, different. They are referred to as dāsas. Boy servants (āṇākaradāraya)

1. Ibid.; 46.

2. Ibid.; 321.

3. Ibid.; 120, 198.

4. Ibid.; 51, 182.

5. Ibid.; paḍicāraga; Vh(P) 154.

6. Ibid.; 132.

7. Vh(P), 141.

8. Ibid.; 222.

9. Ibid.; 41-42.

10. Ibid.; 134.

11. Ibid.; 9.

12. Ibid.; 222.



who were in the service of Cārusāmi and accompanied him to collect flowers for him in the garden, are said to be dāsacedas<sup>1</sup>. Servants of this category were born as slaves and served their master throughout their life, <sup>as</sup> can be known from the case of Lasunya who worked as a companion of Rattavati, daughter of a sārvavāha<sup>2</sup>. They did not leave the master even in times of bankruptcy<sup>3</sup>.

Dāsas were not only born as such but also could be purchased<sup>4</sup>. Cārusāmi's mother states that whatever money was invested for the purchase of dāsīs and dāsas was lost when Setthi Bhanū, Cārusāmi's father, renounced the world<sup>5</sup>, and thus freed them.

Gaṇikās in the employment of the king were also dāsīs. Kāmapadāgā, a daughter of the courtesan Aṅgaseṇā, was under the supervision of a dāsa by name Dummuha. He was appointed by the king to be in charge of

1. Ibid., 134.

2. Ibid., 219.

3. Vh(P), 31.

4. Mehta (op.cit., p. 260) states that 'Dāsas were drawn from all classes under various circumstances'. The self-imposed slavehood is referred to in the Smṛtis also. Nārada, quoted in HCPI, Vol. III, p. 559.

5. Vh(P), 144.

the dāsīs (dāsinam vāvāre).<sup>1</sup> There is also a reference to the freeing of a courtesan by paying ransom (nikkaā) to the king<sup>2</sup>.

In connection with the slaves, there is also an interesting story in the Vh(P)<sup>3</sup>. Two traders in order to ascertain as to who was more respectable ~~amongst~~ <sup>between</sup> them made an agreement. According to this agreement, one who earned less wealth than the other in a period of twelve years and there<sup>by</sup> proved himself to be poor in business skill, was to become a dāsa of the other.

The condition of the dāsabhayagas was very miserable according to the Vh(P). They had no freedom (paravattavvā), were put to hard work and had to be satisfied with whatever bad and insignificant quantity of food they got. They were pitied even by the poor folk<sup>4</sup>.

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1. Ibid., 293.

2. Ibid.; In this connection, it is important to note that as some ganikās were born slaves their purchase by the king was not an impossibility. There was a regular bazaar of courtesans (ganikāhotta) where they could be purchased, Vh(P), 13.

3. Ibid., 116.

4. Ibid., 172.

According to the Vh(M) the servants and slaves occupied a low position in the society<sup>1</sup>.

The Cāṇḍālas and Other Despised Classes :

Apart from these four classes, there were others who formed a part of the city life but lived outside it<sup>2</sup>. These were known as the caṇḍālas<sup>3</sup> pānas<sup>4</sup> and māyāṅgas<sup>5</sup>. The settlement of pānas is referred to the Vh(P) as paññiyavāḍa<sup>6</sup>. Law as they were regarded to be, the pānas and māyāṅgas had no access to the court of the king<sup>7</sup> or to the house of a respectable person<sup>8</sup>; the possibility of their being offered a seat being very remote<sup>9</sup>. They were also not allowed to take water from the city wells<sup>10</sup>, probably due to the fear of pollution<sup>11</sup>.

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1. Vh(M), II. 62b.

2. In the Jātakas, Caṇḍālas and Pukkakas are enumerated separately from the four classes. Mehta, op.cit., p.245. That they lived outside the city and indicated their arrival in the city by striking a piece of wood has been noted by Fa-hien, Giles, 21, in HCPP, Vol.III, p.483, Also MDS, X, 51.

3. Vh(P), 155-56.

4. Ibid.;

5. Vh(P), 100.

6. Ibid.; 39. In the Jātakas it is caṇḍālagāṃaka. See Mehta, op.cit., p.261.

7. Vh(P), 98.

8. Ibid.; 156.

9. ibid.;

10. On next page.

11 . . .

They were completely out of the pale of the four fold class system. Naturally, marriage relations of a person from any class was out of question<sup>1</sup>. Ruppī, king of Bhoyakāḍa, when suggested about the match of Pajiuṇṇa and his daughter, said in anger that in extreme case he would prefer a pāna to Pajiuṇṇa as his son-in-law<sup>2</sup>.

Pānas appear to have been well-versed in music and dance. They entertained the people in Campa at the time of the saramahūsa<sup>3</sup>. Pānas are also described to entertain people with songs by standing near a well (udatthāna)<sup>4</sup>. They moved accompanied by dogs<sup>5</sup>. They earned their livelihood by selling lyres (tamtī)<sup>6</sup>. They were also entrusted with the duty of beheading the criminals<sup>7</sup>.

10. Vh(P), 98. The pānas are described as pleasing people with music, near a well. They entertained people, probably to get water.

11. Manu says that no one should allow them to have any contact with one's food and drinks (avapātra); MDS, X, 51.

1. Vh(P), 156. See also MDS, <sup>x,</sup> 51-56.

2. Vh(P), 99.

3. Ibid.; 155-56. Refer also the story of two camḍālas well-versed in dance and music in the Jātakas; Mehta, op.cit., 262.

4. Vh(P), 99. 5, 6 and 7 on the next page

Vh(P) also refers to the conversion of a māyanga to Jainism<sup>1</sup> and the Jaina monks visiting a settlement of pānas while on a begging tour<sup>2</sup>.

The other classes who lived outside the city were the hunters (soyariya) and the fishers<sup>men</sup> (kevaṭṭa) forming their own settlements (vādaya)<sup>3</sup>.

The Vh(M) says that the caṇḍālas or pānas worked as executioners<sup>4</sup>. They were regarded to be very low in social status and were loose in morals<sup>5</sup>.

#### Marriage and Position of Women

##### Origin and Antiquity of Marriage :

As explained earlier, according to the Vh(P), the origin of the institution of marriage and thus its antiquity go to the times of Usabha, the first saviour of this avasappiṇī. According to this tradition, the first married person was Usabha himself and the founder of this institution<sup>w</sup> as the lord of gods (devarāya)<sup>6</sup>.

5. Ibid. According to Manu, Cāṇḍālas were a wandering tribe and had dogs and donkeys as their only property, (dhanamesāṃ svagardapham), MDS, X, 51.

6. Vh(P), 100. Playing upon lyres according to the Jātakas; Mehta, op.cit., p. 263.

7. Vh(P), 295. Manu says, 'Vadhyāmsca hanyuh'; MDS, X, 56.

1. Vh(P), 295.      2. Ibid., 39.      3. Vh(P), 74-75.

4. Vh(M), II.116-12a, 42a, 178b.      5. Ibid., II.187b.      6. ~~Vh(P), 161-62~~

6. Vh(P), 161-62.

### Marriage and Social Status :

While discussing the fourfold division it was noted that marriage and social status went hand in hand. As such, a Brahmin who was at the top of the social order had the privilege to marry in all the four Varnas<sup>1</sup>. But generally, marriage relations in the same class (savanna)<sup>2</sup>, and with families equal <sup>in</sup> status (sarisakula)<sup>3</sup> were the order of the day.

### The Forms of Marriage :

Because of the diversity of customs and castes, various forms of marriage appear to have been prevalent in the contemporary society, as described in the Vh(P).

Of the traditional eight forms of marriage referred to in the Smrtis<sup>4</sup> only one, viz., the elopement of

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1. Ibid., 132.      2. Ibid., 156.      3. Ibid., 19.  
 4. The eight forms are i) brahma, ii) daiva, iii) arṣa,  
 iv) prajāpatya, v) āsura, vi) gandharva, vii) rākṣasa and  
 viii) paiśāca. MDS, III, 21; Yājñ, III, 58-61. For detailed  
 information of these forms, so also about the number of  
 marriage-forms laid down (dharmya) for a particular varṇa  
 and those approved among them, see Manu (MDS, III, 20-44).

the couple (gāṁdhavva vivāhadhamma)<sup>1</sup> has been referred to in the Vh(P), while some of the marriages can be classified under two other forms, viz., the āstara form and the rākṣasa form. The remaining, which forms the majority of instances of marriages given in the Vh(P), were settled by the parents.

There are also instances wherein the bride herself chose her partner from an assembly of suitors (sayamvara). In some cases, choice of the bridegroom was done by arranging a contest.

We describe all these forms one by one as they appear in both the parts of the Vh.

#### The Gandharva Marriage :

In this form of marriage the bride and the bridegroom falling in love with each other, marry secretly.

The examples of this category given in the Vh(P) are of Dhammilla and Mehamāla<sup>2</sup>, Dhammilla and Vimalasena<sup>3</sup>, and Vasudeva and Piyāṅgusundari<sup>4</sup>. Of these, Dhammilla was a son of a trader (sattavāha) and the rest were from the khattiya class.

1. Vh(P), 73.

2. Vh(P), 73.

3. Ibid., 64-65.

4. Ibid., 307-08.

In this form of marriage no religious rites were performed<sup>1</sup>. The only formality observed by Dhammilla before consummation<sup>m</sup> of the marriage was that he bowed down to the gods and accepted the bride's right hand<sup>2</sup>. The parents of the brides were informed later on<sup>3</sup>, who sometimes performed later on a regular marriage ceremony<sup>4</sup>, probably to ensure social sanction<sup>5</sup>. The Vh(M) also describes the example of a Vidyādhara princess who elopes with Vasudeva against the will of her relatives. Afterwards she had no access to her parents' house<sup>6</sup>. Still another example shows how there was no need of performing any rites before consummation in a gāndharva marriage<sup>6a</sup>.

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1. See Mehta, op.cit., p.282. However, according to Vātsyāyana, the couple goes round thrice the sacred fire brought from the house of a srotriya so that the marriage may ~~be~~ not be annulled by the parents and relatives. Agni was supposed to be the sacred witness. Quoted from the HCIP, Vol.III, p.561.
  2. Vh(P), 64-65.
  3. Ibid., 74. 307-08.
  4. Rāyānurūvam kallāṇam me Kayam naravatina, Vh(P), 308.
  5. Devala says that the higher castes should perform regular marriage ceremonies after the Gandharva, Paisāca and Rākṣasa forms of marriage; Chakladar, Social Life in Ancient India, p.101.
  6. Vh(M), II.235a.
  - 6a. Ibid., II.24a.



The Rākṣasa Marriage :

In this form of marriage the bridegroom abducted the bride with<sup>1</sup> or without the consent of the bride<sup>2</sup>, as in a svayamvara<sup>3</sup> or otherwise<sup>4</sup>. However, in such a situation the abductor exposed himself to the possibility of being punished to death by the relatives of the bride<sup>5</sup>. While abducting the maiden, the suitor openly declared his intention<sup>6</sup>, with a view to spare himself from the blemish<sup>7</sup>.

This custom was, for obvious reasons, prevalent only among the warrior class<sup>8</sup>.

Vasudeva is referred to have abducted princess Mutṭāvalī in <sup>the</sup> midst of battle, in the Vh(M)<sup>9</sup>.

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1. The examples are of Agadadatta and Sāmā, kaṇha and Ruppini; Vh(P) 40, 80-81, and Kaṇha and Paumavati, Vh(P), 78.
  2. Kṛṣṇa kidnapped the following princesses; Lakkhaṇā, Vinayavati and Jambavati, Vh(P), 78-79.
  3. Ibid., 78.
  4. Ibid., 42.
  5. Ibid., 78, 188.
  6. Ibid., 78.
  7. Ibid., 42.
  8. Agadadatta was a charioteer; Vh(P), 42.
  9. Vh(M), II. 218a.

Marriages Settled by Parents :

Both in the Vh(P) and the Vh(M) there is no reference to child marriage; Marriages were performed only when both the bride and the bridegroom had come of age.

According to the Vh(P) the betrothal did sometimes take place in the childhood of the bride and the bridegroom<sup>1</sup>. Many times a brother and a sister both made an agreement to marry their children (jassa mo egayarassa dāriyā hojjā dārago vā, tato vevāhigāim hohāmo-tti)<sup>2</sup>. But such a betrothal in an early age never completely closed the fate of the maiden. She had every right to question it and get married to the <sup>man</sup> husband of her

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1. Tāraga, a Setṭhi, had betrothed his daughter to prince Amsumanta, when both of them were very young (bālabhāve), Vh(P), 212. Similar was the case of Sāmba, son of Kṛṣṇa, and Subhiraṇṇā, who was a daughter of a courtesan, Vh(P), 102. Saṃdillāyana, a foreteller, ~~who~~ was engaged to Candajāśā when she was very young (bālā ceva puvvadattā), Vh(P), 315. Brides engaged to Jambu and Dharmilla are described as niyayamehunayā [Vh(P), 26], <sup>and</sup> Puvvavariyāū [Vh(P), 6].
  2. Prince Nīlakumāra and his sister Nīlamjanā make such an agreement, Vh(P), 181.

choice, later on when she came of age. This has been very well illustrated in the case of a Brahmin boy<sup>1</sup> who was refused by all the three daughters of his maternal uncle.

While selecting the bride or bridegroom proper consideration was given to the purity of the family concerned<sup>2</sup>. So also, before accepting the proposal from the father of the bride, <sup>a</sup>foreteller was asked if the bride <sup>k</sup>would be auspicious to the family<sup>3</sup>.

Reference has already been made<sup>4</sup> to the agreements of cousin kings marrying their daughters and sons to keep up their dignity. Otherwise also, the custom of cross-cousin marriage, especially of marriage between the son of a sister and the daughter of a brother<sup>5</sup> - seems to

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1. Ibid., 119.
2. Sett̥bi Bhāṇu is described to have been born in a family pure both on the side of the mother and the father, (ubhayajonivisuddhe kule jāto); Vh(P), 133.
3. Ibid., 119.
4. In the section on the fourfold division of the society.
5. Brāhmaṇa:- i) Namdiseṇa was promised by his maternal uncle one of his three daughters; Vh(P), 115. Kṣatriya: Baladeva [Vh(P), 78], Silāūha [Vh(P), 298], Amiyagai [Vh(P), 139], and Pajjunna [Vh(P), 98-100] were all married to the daughter of their maternal uncle. Vaiśya Cārasāmi; Vh(P), 141.

have been prevalent in all the classes of the society. Among the many examples of the cross-cousin marriages, there is also a solitary case of a person marrying his paternal aunt's daughter<sup>1</sup>. The reason behind the popularity of a particular type of cross-cousin marriage was probably as follows: The family in ancient India was solely patriarchal in its set-up. As such, the final authority as regards the selection of the bride-groom was the father<sup>2</sup> and not the mother. Naturally, while deciding the marriage of her daughter, the sister could have no say in the matter while she could persuade her brother to give his daughter to her son. This becomes clear from the stories of Nīlajasā<sup>3</sup> and of Cārusamī<sup>4</sup> both of which ~~appear~~<sup>occur</sup> in the Vh(P).

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1. Saṃdillāyaṇa, a foreteller married his aunt's (piückhā) daughter; Vh(P), 315.
  2. Kannā piūvasā ... dinnā kannā bhattuno vasā na pabhavati avaccānam. Mayā uvaraē bhattuno ābhavēja. Vh(P), 181. See also Yājñā, III, 63; Rājyasrī's mother makes remarks similar to those in the Vh(P) in connection with the betrothal<sup>h</sup> of the princess. See Harsacarita, quoted by HCIP, Vol. III, p. 562.
  3. Vh(P), 180-81.
  4. Ibid., 140-41.

In such an arranged marriage, approaches for match-making were made by both the sides to the elders of the respective families. In the case of Vasudeva, on several occasions, the fathers of the brides came forward because of the foretelling of such marriages, by foretellers and ascetics<sup>1</sup>. As in the case of Cārusāṁi, or Sāgaracāṁḍa, proposals were made by their parents<sup>2</sup>.

Vh(M) is also in accord with the evidence of the Vh(P). It also states that the mother had no competence to settle the marriage of her daughter<sup>3</sup>, and that the proposal for marriage was made by both the sides<sup>4</sup>. When approached by a suitor asking for his daughter's hand the father had every liberty to accept it or refuse ~~it~~<sup>5</sup>.

1. Vh(P), 204, 216, 219.

2. Ibid.; 140, 49-50.

3. Vh(M), II.261b.

4. Jarāsamḍha had asked <sup>for</sup> the hand of the princess Muttāvati; Vh(M), II.213b. So also, Vasudeva asked king of Damilā to give his daughter's <sup>in marriage</sup> hand to Vasudeva's brother in-law; Vh(M), II, 78a. King Poda of Vesālī comes forward to give his sister in marriage to Vasudeva; Vh(M), II, 36ab.

5. Ibid.; II. 196b.

The Āsura Marriage or Marriage with Bride-Price :

Sometimes in a settled marriage the relatives of the bride were paid the bride-price (kannāsumka). There are three instances in the Vh(P) where there is a reference to either giving or accepting bride-price.

Jamadagni, a prince born in the family of the Brahmanas, approached his maternal uncle, king Jiyasattu, and asked him to give one of his daughters in marriage to him. The minister of the king, asked for the bride-price (Sumka). He paid it by removing the bodily defect in other princesses who were hunchbacks through his own curse<sup>1</sup>.

In another case, a sārvavāha tried to give brideprice to king Pupphakū, whose daughter he wanted for his son. The king very rudely refused the offer.<sup>2</sup>

Sāgaracanda, an ibbha, while on a business tour in the country of Suratt̥ha selected Dhānasirī, daughter of Sārvavāha Dhana, as his daughter-in-law, after paying the proper price (padirūva sumka),<sup>3</sup> does not refer to any case of bride-price.

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1. Vh(P), 237.

2. Vh(P), 285.

3. Ibid., 50.

The Svayamvara Form of Marriage :

The age-old custom<sup>1</sup> of svayamvara marriage has also been described in the Vh(P).

In a svayamvara the maiden, who was bestowed with the privilege, chose the <sup>man</sup> husband of her choice privately,<sup>2</sup>

1. This has been referred to in the epics, Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana, and also in the Jaina canonical literature.

Nāyādhammakahāṭṭhī (XVI), describes the svayamvara of Dovaī (Draupadī); while the Uttarārdhyayana Tīkā describes that of princess Nivvui. Uttarārdhyayana Tīkā, 1,3, p.65a, quoted by Jain, op.cit., pp.158-59. In spite of the references to the svayamvaras in the Jātakas (I.205-06; V 264-65, 426-27), Mehta (op.cit.; pp.281-82) does not think that such a custom prevailed in the contemporary period.

According to him it had already gone out of usage, though the ideal and charm of it remain for ever. However, prevalence of such a custom of svayamvara, even in the later period can be assumed on the basis of literary evidence. See Brhatkalpa Bhāṣya, 2. 3446.

2. Vedabhi exercised her right of svayamvara only after meeting Pajjunna who had taken due permission, in her palace; Vh(P), 98-100.

or publicly from among the suitors invited for the ceremony<sup>1</sup>. The privilege of holding such a sayamvara was bestowed specifically on maidens from the royal families<sup>2</sup>, when they had attained youth<sup>3</sup>. As the marriage of a princess could have political consequences the king always consulted his ministers<sup>4</sup>; and after he had given a full thought to the matter he allowed the princess to choose her husband<sup>5</sup>.

Once the king had given full permission, he could not object to the choice of the princess<sup>6</sup>. Still it

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1. Eg. princess Kavilā;Vh(P),66.

2. Vh(P), 66, 78, 98-100, 116, 185, 264-65, 327-28, 364-65.

In case the father or the relatives of a maiden failed to find a proper suitor, she was allowed to overlook their wish and choose her own husband (svayamvara); Yājñā, III,

64. Such a type of svayamvara differed from the above type and can be said to be virtually a Gāndharva type of marriage.

3. Kavilā was allowed to hold a svayamvara as she could not forbear the torture of youth (mayanā sarasosiyahiyayā);Vh(P),

66.Princess Śmittā was fully grown up, (Vaddhiyā);Vh(P),116.

4. Ibid., 314.

5. The minister of king Jalaṇajāḍi says that if the king has no objection (rayāviroha) the sayamvara should be allowed; Vh(P),311.

6. Vidinnasayamvarāya na pabhavāmi aham;Vh(P),98-100, 265-66.



was a custom (majjāyā) that the princess had to select a khattiya and none else<sup>1</sup>. It was also thought insulting to the assembly if the princess declined to choose any one of those who were present and postponed the choice for want of a favourable suitor<sup>2</sup>. The svayamvara, however, could be postponed in case the princess<sup>3</sup> concerned or a dignified king fell ill suddenly<sup>4</sup>. It was even cancelled because of the <sup>te</sup>dermination of the princess to renounce the world<sup>5</sup>.

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1. Daṃṭavakka, a king invited for the svayamvara of princess Rohiṇī, accuses her father, king Ruhira, of breaking the customs (majjāyāikkama) when Ruhira allowed Rohiṇī to choose a drum-beater (paṇavavajja) as her husband. According to him it would have been proper for her to choose one of the khattiyas invited and none else; Vh(P), 364. Kaṇha in the sayamvara of Paṃṇāvati addresses the invitees as khattiyas. Vh(P), 78. See also Vh(P), 311. In this context, the word ibbhā, Vh(P), 66, occurring in connection of Kavilā's sayamvara should connote not 'a merchant' but a wealthy person.

2. Vh(P), 265-66.

3. Ibid.; 222-23.

4. Ibid.; 188-89.

5. Ibid.; 327-28.

The prevalence of the practice of svayamvara can be known also from the data in the Vh(M) also. Like the ksatriya princesses<sup>1</sup>, a maiden from the setthi family<sup>2</sup> also had the privilege of publicly choosing her husband. Unlike the evidence of the Vh(P), that in the Vh(M) shows that persons who were not from the ruling class were also invited for the ceremony. In the svayamvara of Sukosalā, princess of Kosalā country, along with the kings (mahārāya) and vassals (sāmanta), caravan traders (satthavaha), presidents of corporations (setthi) and ambassadors (dūā) were also present as participants<sup>3</sup> in the svayamvara<sup>2</sup>.

#### The Procedure :

Outside the city were erected structures (āvāsā) where the invitees were accommodated<sup>4</sup> and also a pandal (mamḍava)<sup>5</sup> equipped with couches (mamca)<sup>6</sup> for the participants,

1. Vh(M), II. 36b, 60-61.
2. Before giving his daughter the freedom of choice as regards her husband, the Setthi takes the consent of the king of Banares, Vh(M), 175a. This shows that svayamvara of a vaiśya maiden was an ~~annual~~ <sup>unusual</sup> event.
3. Vh(M), II. 36b.
4. Vh(P), 265.
5. Ibid.; 265, 314.
6. Ibid.;

When all the suitors were seated, the princess reached the pandal in a palanquin (siyā or sibikā) and entered the hall (sayamvara-bhūmī) along with cāmara-bearers, parasol-<sup>bearers</sup> ~~holders~~ and other entourage consisting of kamcukīs, old servants (mahattaraga) and others. The princess moved along the row of seats of the suitors in the company of a maid servant (referred to as lehiyā or livikarī) who showed the suitors to the princess and also informed her of their family (ancestry), character and learning (kulasīlarūvāgame). The princess selected her husband by throwing parched grains (akkhaë) on his head and by garlanding him, (kusumadāma or Pupphadāma)<sup>1</sup>.

More or less the same details about the construction of temporary structures to accommodate princes, and the sayamvaramandapa<sup>2</sup>, about the arrival of the princess in palanquins (sibikā), about her entourage<sup>3</sup>, and the procedure of selection, appear in the Vh(M)<sup>4</sup>.

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1. Vh(P), 314, 364.

2. The structures erected for the svayamvara near the city of Kosalā were to be seen even in the times of the author of the Vh(M). They are referred to as 'Sikatāghala', i.e. 'houses of sand', Vh(M), II.37b.

3. Instead of 'livikarī' of the Vh(P), in the Vh(M) her work was done by the play-nurse (kiddāviyā) of the princess, Vh(M), II, 37a.

4. Ibid.; 37ab, 60-61.

The Basis of Choice :

In such a type of marriage, generally the beauty of the suitor was the factor which governed the choice of the princess.<sup>1</sup> As the mother of a princess Sulasā puts it, it was difficult to predict whom the princess would choose, getting infatuated with beauty (rūvamohiyā).<sup>2</sup> It was also not unlikely that sometimes the princesses were advised in their choice by their mothers, as the case of princess Sulasā shows<sup>3</sup>.

Sometimes the choice of the right suitor was made by declaring a test. Princess Sumittā had declared that she would marry the person who would explain the exact significance of a stanza 'kim nāma hojja, etc.'<sup>4</sup>.

An example in the Vh(M) shows how the suitors for svayamvara sometimes tried to canvass for them to the princess secretly through messengers<sup>5</sup>.

The svayamvara ceremony was a mere selection of the bridegroom. According to the Vh(P)<sup>6</sup> and the Vh(M)<sup>7</sup>, a regular marriage ceremony took place after the selection.

1. Vh(M), 66.

2. Vh(P), 186.

3. ibid.

4. Vh(P), 116.

5. Vh(M), 59b.

6. pp. 66, 314, 365.

7. II. 37ab, 61a.

Marriage by Contest :

Sometimes, to find out the right suitor, contests were arranged wherein the suitor had to excel the maiden, say in music and dancing<sup>1</sup>, or satisfy the learned with his knowledge of some subject, e.g. Vedas<sup>2</sup>, or tame a horse<sup>3</sup>. Choosing a bridegroom with such means has been referred to only in the Vh(P).

Celebrations Preliminary to Marriage :

According to the Vh(P), after the engagement was over a function celebrating the engagement was held wherein the parents of the bridegroom invited their well-wishers (piyapucchayajana) and honoured them with scents and flowers. The latter, in return, congratulated the parents of the bridegroom, shortly after this ceremony the marriage took place<sup>4</sup>.

Marriage Rites :

Both from the evidence of the Vh(P) and the Vh(M) it can be said that every class had developed a type of ritual which differed from that of the others. Before

1. Vh(P), 121, 126.

2. Ibid., 182.

3. Ibid., 199-200.

4. Vh(P), 141.

Kindling the fire, Vasudeva asked<sup>1</sup> about the lineage of Gamdhavvadattā, to verify her lineage. A similar question is asked to Vasudeva as to the custom (Kulāyāva) according to which the fire was to be kindled. He replies that it should be done according to the practice followed by the khattiyas (khattiyadhamma)<sup>2</sup>.

As such, while describing the outline of the marriage rites in the Vasudevahimḍi representative examples from various classes will be described one after another firstly from the Vh(P). In the case of the Vh(M), however, only one description can be given for want of ~~the~~ detailed data of marriage rites of castes<sup>3</sup> other than the ksatriyas.

In the Vh(P) the marriage of Vasudeva and Somasirī, who was born in a Brāhmaṇa family, has been described as follows :-

On an auspicious day, both somasirī and Vasudeva were initiated (dikkhiyā) for marriage. They were brought to

1. Ibid., 132-33.

2. Vh(M), II. 226b.

3. In the description of the marriage of Vasudeva and Mayūrasenā, daughter of setthi Vesamaṇa of Banaras, only pañigāhāna has been described, Vh(M), 175a.

a pandal erected for marriage (cāturāmtaya) where they were bathed (majjanavihi). They Vasudeva was given Somasirī's hand<sup>1</sup>.

In the marriage of Vasudeva and Nīlajasā, a Vidyādhara princess, first of all the royal priest (purohiya) declared that the day was auspicious (udiriō punnāho). Then the princess was brought to the inner drawing hall (abhin̄tarovat̄thāna) where the king and Vasudeva were seated. The astrologer (saṁvacchara) told the king that the circumstances (nina<sup>mi</sup>ittam) were favourable, as also the time was auspicious. At this juncture, married women (avidhavāto) sang songs, bards (suyamagahā) recited panegyrics, and hundreds of trumpets were blown. Elders in the community (nikāyavuddhā) and married women bathed the bride and the bridegroom with <sup>a</sup> hundred jars of fragrant water. Fire was kindled by the priests (mamtapurogehim) and Vasudeva was given the hand of the princess. After the circumambulation <sup>of</sup> ~~around~~ the fire and the throwing of handfuls of parched grains (lāyamjalio), The couple was

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1. Vh(P), 194.

blessed. The couple wore pieces of flax cloth (khomānī); and was led to the hall of entertainment (pechhāghara) where both were helped in toilet (padikamma<sup>1</sup>).

Other instances describing marriage rites of princesses are also more or less the same except that they add details like throwing of parched grains on the couple (akkhaya chūdhā)<sup>2</sup>, walking seven steps together (sattapadī)<sup>3</sup> and the bridegroom showing the north-star to bride<sup>4</sup>.

In the marriage of Vasudeva and Bamdhumatī who was Vaiṣṣa by birth, Vasudeva dressed in the apparel of a bridegroom (padikammam varajoggam) was seated among married ladies who formed a circle around him (kayamaṅgalaparikkhevāo), a garland ~~inter~~strewed with new sprouts of dūrvā grass (duvvaṅkuramīsamālā), a jewel in the hair and white flax cloth brought from Banaras (Kāsiyasiyakhoma) entered the hall along with her maid-servants carrying equipment for bath and toilet (nhānapasāhanaka vivihabhāyana vāvada cedi). Sukuma, the

1. Ibid.; 179-80.

2. Pāumā's marriage; Vh(P), 205.

3. Pabhāvatī's marriage; Vh(P), 352.

4. Ibid.; And kavilā's marriage; Vh(P), 200.



priest officiating on behalf of the setthī, asked Vasudeva to permit him to kindle fire. Vasudeva and Bamdhumatī were asked to ascend the savvatthasiddha stone. Bamdhumatī herself did not ascend; she was placed near Vasudeva by a strong person. Then setthī Kāmadeva gave his daughter's hand to Vasudeva. The priest sprinkled sacred water (siddhatthodaya), over the heads of the couple, after which they were bathed with three types of kalasas (seyapiyagamimmayakalasehim). Dressed in royal manner (vāyalamkiyām), they proceeded to the altar (veya). The priest poured ghee in the fire. Vasudeva along with his wife, went round the fire and threw handfuls of parched grains. The priest blessed them for an eternal union (ajaram samgatam bhavatu). The couple took meals in the dining hall (bhoyaṇagiha). All the day the couple was entertained with songs ensuring happiness (mamgalehim uvagiḷamāno). In the evening, Vasudeva showed the north-star to the bride<sup>1</sup>.

In all these ceremonies the marriage was generally consummated the same night, though it might not have been a convention.

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1 Vh(P), 280.

Some other customs connected with the marital ceremony may also be referred to in this connection. A person could marry at a time many brides. Jambusāmi went to the houses of his brides and married them<sup>1</sup>. Another instance is of a rich merchant who was being bathed with eight maidens at a time, as a part of the marriage rites<sup>2</sup>. Another custom of playing dice during the 'auspicious days' (kallānadivasā) has also been referred to in the Vh(P). Kuberadatta, a trader's son, after his marriage, played with the bride and her companions<sup>3</sup>.

The outline of the marriage rites coincides in general with that given in the Grhyasūtras<sup>4</sup>. However, in this case, the priest conducted the whole ceremony on behalf of the householder and also performed the kindling of fire and poured ghee into it as an oblation<sup>5</sup>. The other

1. Vh(P), 7.

2. Ibid., 70.

3. ibid., 11.

4. For a full description of the marriage ceremony as given in the Grhya-sūtras; see AGS, I.7.1-21. There the general procedure followed is given as follows: pouring ghee in the fire, pānigrahana, agniparinayana along with asmārohana and lājāñjalikṣepa, kesaṅcaṇa, saptapadī, jalasiñcana, dhruvasapārsidarsana.

5. Vh(P), 280.

rites such as pouring parched grains (lāyamjali) were performed by the bridegroom under directions from the priest<sup>1</sup>.

As a part of the celebrations of marriage, the Vh(P) also tells us that Brahmins, prominent citizens (nāgarā) and dignitaries (īsarā) were invited honoured and served with meals<sup>2</sup>. Some times they were presented with ornaments and garments, in case it was a royal marriage<sup>3</sup>. The invitees participating in the marriage threw fried grains (akkhayās) on the couple<sup>4</sup>.

From the various descriptions of the marriage rites a general outline can be prepared of the procedure of the celebrations of marriage in times contemporary to the Vh(M).

Before they were married both the bride and the groom were draped in marriage dress, which generally consisted of two pieces of flax cloth (khoma)<sup>5</sup>. Servants also pared their nails. Nails of the groom were pared by a barber<sup>6</sup>, who elsewhere is also said to assist in

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1. Mayā vi sapattiēna kaō jalanadevo payakkhinam, chūdhāō lāyamjaliō; Vh(P), 280.

2. ibid.; 7.

3. ibid.; 100.

4. ibid.;

5. Vh(M), II.115b.

6. ibid.; II.136.

draping the groom<sup>1</sup>. A kamkana was tied on the wrist of the groom<sup>2</sup>, after which he was led by the married ladies to the alter (vedi)<sup>3</sup> situated in a pandal (caturantaya). The ladies sang auspicious songs<sup>4</sup>. The groom was seated on a stool (kamcanapitha)<sup>5</sup>. Then the uvajihava, ayariya or purohita, however officiated as the priest, kindled the sacred fire<sup>6</sup> and offered handfuls of parched grains four times<sup>7</sup>. The bride was brought out before offerings were made<sup>8</sup> or even afterwards<sup>9</sup>. Then the father of the bride, or anyone who represented him, gave the hand of the bride in the groom's hand (paniggahana),<sup>10</sup> when auspicious songs were sung and music played<sup>11</sup>. Then the bride, and also probably the groom broke their fast<sup>12</sup>. During the first night, outside the room

1. Ibid.; II. 33b.

2. Ibid.; I. 44a.

3. Ibid.; II.95a, 115b.

4. Ibid.;

5. Ibid.; II.136.

6. Ibid.; II.95a, 226b.

7. Vh(M), II. 61a, 226b. In addition to parched grains, sticks of sacred wood saridha Vh(M), II.95a, and parched grains mixed with honey mahulaya, Vh(M) II.136b were also offered to the fire.

8. Vh(M), II.136b.

9. Ibid.; II.95a, 226b.

10. Ibid.; II.61a, 95a, 136b, 226b. 11. Ibid.; II.226b.

12. Ibid.;

of the couple, ladies sang amorous songs to the tune of lyres (vīnā and vallakī)<sup>1</sup>.

Some observations as regards the performance of the marriage rites may be made. From the description given in the Vh(M), it appears that the priest not only performed the fire sacrifice, but other rites which were to be performed by the groom, such as offering handfuls of parched grains (lāyamjalīkkheva).

So also if the procedure as given in the Grhyasūtras is taken to be the standard one, so many deviations in the order of rites can be found both in the Vh(P) and the Vh(M).

#### Dowry and Strīdhana :

That something like dowry or dakṣiṇā was given in marriage to the bridegroom, appears to be certain from various instances in the Vh(P). In Vasudeva's marriages with Rattavatī, Pabhāvatī, pāumā, Somasirī and Kavilā<sup>2</sup>, he got dowry worth sixteen or thirty-two crores.

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1. Vh(M), II.134a.

2. Vh(P), 198, 352, 205, 224, 200. Instead of thirty-two crore pieces of coins, Jamadaggi was given thirty-two cows as dowry by his royal father-in-law, Vh(P), 237.

Dharmilla was given one third of the kingdom by his father-in-law who was the king of Kusaggapura<sup>1</sup>. Vasudeva, when he performed the feat of killing single-handed a cannibal by name Soyāsa, was presented with maids decked with ornaments, along with dowry (dakkhinā)<sup>2</sup>.

The newly married bride was not only presented with money, servants and vehicles by her father<sup>3</sup>, but also by the relatives of her husband<sup>4</sup>. These belongings of the married woman, especially the ornaments, which are referred to as gharasāra<sup>5</sup>, were given a sanctity in the society.

In the Vh(M) also, the above practices are referred to. The king of the Kosalā country gave half of his kingdom to Vasudeva when he was selected by the princess of Kosalā, in a svayamvara<sup>6</sup>. After she was married to Vasudeva, princess Muttāvalī got presents from her father<sup>7</sup>. She also got twenty-five villages, i.e. their revenue from

1. Ibid.; 72.

2. Ibid.; 196.

3. Paumavati; Vh(P), 78.

4. Ruppini was given vatthābhavanapadicārikajana; Vh(P)8;

5. Vasamtasena did not accept the ornaments of the wife of Dharmilla, as the fee for her daughter who was a courtesan; Vh(P), 31.

6. Vh(M), II.36b.

7. ibid.; II.228b.

king Bhānucamla who was like the father-in-law to her<sup>1</sup>.

Cases of Abnormal Marriages and Marriage Rites :

Cases showing deviation from <sup>the</sup> normaly in marriage relations and rites can be noticed in Vh.

In the Vh(P), samuddadatta, a trader, is said to have absconded from his house for twelve years, just after his marriage was celebrated. When convinced of the chastity of his wife, he returned and remarried her<sup>2</sup>. There is also an example of king Dakkha who married with his own daughter<sup>3</sup>.

Vegavati, a Vidyadhara princess, married Vasudeva after showing herself in the form of his wife Somasiri, who was kidnapped by Vegavati's brother. She got erected the pandal (caturamaya) and placed on it durvā and darbha grass, siddhatthaka stone and other equipment required for marriage. She herself kindled the fire and gave oblations. When the maid<sup>s</sup> servants sdng the auspicious songs she poured the water jars kept in various quarters, on herself and on Vasudeva's body. In the presence of the servants and the sylvan

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1. Ibid., II.231.

2. Vh(P), 52.

3. Ibid., 275-76.

deities along with the four lokapālas (viz. Soma, Jama, Varuna and Vesamaṇa) who were invoked, she declared herself to be the wife of Vasudeva and gave her right hand in the right hand of Vasudeva. At night she worshipped white flowers, which represented some god, with sweets, wine and flowers. At the end of the worship both of them partook of the 'leftovers' of the gods and consummated their marriage<sup>1</sup>.

In the Vh(M) the case of a hermit is referred to in which he gives his daughter in marriage to a prince. The ritual given is very simple. Water from a sprinkler (bhimgāra) is sprinkled around the couple (ujjavidum) <sup>to</sup> ~~in~~ the <sup>sound</sup> noise of trumpets<sup>2</sup>.

A strange marriage ritual followed by the Kirātās residing near the city of Manivaddhana on the western coast, has been referred to in the Vh(M). The engaged couple consummated the marriage in the forest<sup>3</sup>, No other rites were to be undergone by the couple.

1. Vh(P), 225-26.

2. Vh(M), II.9a.

3. Vh(M), II.76ab. This custom was prevalent among the coastal tribes of the south as far back as the times of Silappadikāram. See Dikshitar, V.R.R. Silappadikaram (Trans.) Introduction, p.56.



### Position of Women :

Jainism put no barriers to the entry of woman to the monastic order, which reveals a liberal outlook on the part of Jaina Saviours who believed in spiritual equality. Still, ~~on~~ a close examination of the administrative set-up of the order of nuns reveals that they were looked upon to be on a lower level than that of the monks.

A similar type of mixed attitude towards women is revealed also in the Vh. Two stories related in the Dhammillaḥimḍī of Vh(P) stand good examples of this particular attitude of Jaina monks towards women.

### Attitude Towards Women :

Agadadatta<sup>1</sup>, a charioteer turned into a monk, makes caustic remarks on the character of women, which were expressed as an effect of a very cruel personal tragedy. He says, "It is easy for the wise to measure the height of the Himālayas, the capacity of the sea, ~~may~~, even the

1. The story of Agadadatta is very popular in Jaina literature and has been translated and included in the Hindu Tales by Jacobi, a translation of which in English is done by J.J.Meyer.

~~particulars~~ <sup>particles</sup> of sand on the banks of the Gaṅgā. But it is not so in the case of the heart of woman. Woman is not worth losing one's life for. She not only impedes your life in this world but also in the next".<sup>1</sup> The person making these remarks had got a terrible shock when he came to know through robbers that his wife was ready to kill him to save her own life.

Even after hearing the story of Agadadatta, and inspite of his bad experience about women, Dhammilla is not ready to accept the former's opinions about woman in toto. He explains the behaviour of Agadadatta's wife as an extreme case. With the help of the story of Dhanasiri<sup>2</sup>, who was the wife of a trader, he tried to show the other side of the coin.

Immediately after her marriage, Dhanasiri was deserted by her husband, as he had a grudge against woman in general. The grudge had resulted and had penetrated deep into his heart because of the misbehaviour of his own mother. Dhanasiri not only remained chaste during his long sojourn of twelve years but had gone to the extent of murdering a royal official who wanted to violate her chastity.

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1 Vh(P), 49.

2. Vh(P), 49-52.

Dhammila himself was driven out of her house by a courtesan after every farthing of his was taken away by her<sup>1</sup>.

Overlordship of the Husband :

In her self-arranged marriage rites, Vegavati at ~~she~~<sup>the</sup> ends declared, "...From to day onwards he is my god (devayam) and has right ~~ever~~ even on my life"<sup>2</sup>. <sup>An</sup> Attitude of this type on the part of the wife was supposed to be praise-worthy not only in this but also in the other world<sup>3</sup>.

This belief in the overlordship of the husband is reflected in the statement of Saccabhāma, who declares that the issues of the wife who is loved sincerely by her husband are like the husband, while those of the wife not loved by her husband are not good-looking<sup>4</sup>.

In the Vh(M), it is shown how every care was taken by the wife to show modesty to her husband, even in messages sent to him. Accharā, one of the wives of Vasudeva, sent a message to Vasudeva with one of her maid-servants. The message was worded that Vasudeva was 'called' (saddāveti)

1. Ibid.; 34.

2. Ibid.; 226.

3. Ibid.; 227.

4. Vh(P).97.

to a bower in pamadavana. Vasudeva takes the word 'Saddāvetī' as an insult, since the term 'saddāveti' was employed only in the case of a servant. As a result, he did not go to the garden<sup>1</sup>.

So also, when the husband was to go out on a journey, wives touched his feet and circumambulated ~~around~~ him<sup>2</sup>. On his return they greeted him in a similar way. He in return embraced them<sup>3</sup>.

#### Polygamy and Co-wives :

In the Vh(P), examples of Siva<sup>4</sup>, Samba<sup>5</sup> Kāṇha<sup>6</sup>, Vakkalacīrī<sup>7</sup>, and the two heroes Vasudeva and Dhammilla - all of them princesses - show that in royal families polygamy was prevalent. The examples of Jambu<sup>8</sup> and an ibbhaputta<sup>9</sup> show that the merchants' class was also polygamous. This resulted in the malicious relationship among the co-wives<sup>10</sup>, though some examples of good treatment being given to juniors by the senior wives are not rare.

1. Vh(M), II.121b.

3. Ibid.; I.4a.

5. Ibid.; 109.

7. Ibid.; 19.

9. Ibid.; 70.

2. Ibid.; I.16a.

4. Vh(P), 23.

6. Ibid.; 78-79.

8. Vh(P), 7.

10. Ibid., 66, 83, 97.

The Vh(M), which relates Vasudeva's exploits in acquiring seventy-one wives from various families, offers more ~~pieces of~~ information. Vasudeva had to follow a particular type of code while maintaining judicious treatment to all ~~of~~ his wives. On his return from the journey he greeted them according to their seniority (anuparivādī)<sup>1</sup>.

Co-wives, as is natural, always tried to find fault with each other and managed to bring disfavour to others (kusale vi akusalakāri). Yet they were expected to live together like sisters. In fact, they greeted each other by embracing in the manner of sisters (kamthalaggā)<sup>2</sup>.

The Ideal of a Kulavadhū :

A kulavadhū attended on her husband as if he were a deity throughout her life, irrespective of his appearance, merits or intelligence<sup>3</sup>. A maiden born in a high family remained behind the curtain (javaniyā) while attending a public function<sup>4</sup>. She could, however, reveal her face<sup>5</sup> to others while moving out of the city in a covered cart.

1. Vh(M), II.52b.

2. Ibid.; I.46a.

3. Vh(P), 227. <sup>A</sup> Similar view is expressed in the kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana and the Matsya Purāna. See HCIP, Vol. III, pp. 563, 565.

4. Vh(P), 128.

5. Ibid.; 101.

In the Vh(M), the same ideal is presented in ~~other~~ <sup>different</sup> words. A woman was expected to be devoted to her husband (padibhattā). She was not to think of any other ~~person~~ <sup>man</sup>. Damadantī who is described to have such a devotion towards her husband, is represented as not being attacked by lions or serpents in the forest<sup>1</sup>. The nurse of Bāṁdhumatī, who was one of the wives of Vasudeva, tells her that the husband is superior even to monks, kings or gods<sup>2</sup>. The practice of women from the royal family remaining behind the curtain seems to have continued in the periods<sup>3</sup> of both the Vh(P) and the Vh(M).

The Vh(P) quotes instances of loose behaviour of women from various classes of the society: the royal<sup>4</sup> the Brahmana<sup>5</sup>, and the Vaisya<sup>6</sup>. It was, therefore, essential that there should be certain checks on the freedom of women even in general. This is suggested by the story of Vasudattā, who has to suffer a lot because of her not listening to the advice of elders in the family<sup>7</sup>. That the fidelity

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1. Vh(M), II.63b. Similar passages occur in the Nala-Damayanti ākhyana and the Dasakumara carita, HCIP, Vol. IV, p.565.

2. Vh(M), I.10b.

3. Ibid.; II.203b.

4. Vh(P), 9, 54.

5. Ibid.; 14, 31.

6. Ibid.; 233.

7. Ibid.; 61.

of a wife towards her husband was valued very much is clear from the story of the trader Nāgasena<sup>1</sup> and priest Karālapīṅga<sup>2</sup>. According to both these stories the persons who tried to violate the chastity of married women had to face death.

The wife was supposed to be <sup>faithful</sup> ~~fidal~~ to her husband so much so that she was expected to give herself to flames along/with her husband after his death<sup>3</sup>.

According to the Vh(P), a <sup>loyal</sup> ~~fidal~~ wife prayed that she should get the same husband in the next birth<sup>4</sup>.

Pabhāvati, one of the wives of Vasudeva, is represented as a <sup>faithful</sup> ~~fidal~~ wife, who becomes ready to put an end to her life by jumping over a precipice (bhigupavayana) with the head of Vasudeva<sup>5</sup>.

#### Wife in Separation :

Vh(P) states that during the absence of the husband the wife was not supposed to indulge in any sort of toilet in the form of good dress, ornaments, or flowers. She was to have her hair arranged in a simple

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1. Ibid.; 233.

2. Ibid.; 296; see also a version of the story of Ahalyā in the Vh(P), on p. 292.

3. Ibid.; 140, 150.

4. Vh(M), I.19b.

5. Ibid.; I.36.

braid, and was allowed to put on some small ornament displaying auspiciousness<sup>1</sup>.

As such, according to the Vh(M), princess Somasirī, when kidnapped and separated from Vasudeva, lived in a simple manner. She did not pay any attention to her appearance, nor did she put on any ornaments. She wore soiled clothes and arranged her hair in a simple braid. She lessened her material requirements, slept on kusa grass and ate simple food like āyambila<sup>2</sup>.

GANIKĀ<sup>s</sup> :

Origin and Name :

According to the Jaina tradition as represented in the Vh, the origin of the courtezans (Ganikā) goes back to the times of Bharaha, the first sovereign (cakkavattī) of this osappinī. As the story<sup>3</sup> goes, Bharaha was presented with their daughters by the feudatories (sāmantas). At their arrival, the chief queen, feeling jealous, asked the king not to allow them entry in the palace beyond the hall of audience (bāhīrovatṭhāna), where they served the king along with the cāmara-bearers and parasol-holders. Then they were gradually given away to the ganas.

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1. Vh(P), 35, 75, 232-33.
  2. Vh(M), I. 24ab.
  3. Vh(P), 103.



Because of their association with the gaṇas they were designated as Gaṇikās.

A similar legend about their origin also occurs in the Vh(M)<sup>1</sup>. It relates that the maximum number of sixty-four thousand wives in Bharaha's case was already over. Therefore he could not accept the thirty-two thousand maidens who were presented to him as his wives. As such, they were asked to do certain duties for the king such as holding the fly-whisks, grinding the fragrant paste, holding sprinklers (kakkari), etc., which they did during day time. During the night they were expected to serve the gaṇarāyas at the injunction of the king.

Control by the King :

As has been explained elsewhere in the Vh(P)<sup>2</sup> the Gaṇas were an institution established by Usabha. These Gaṇas were of four types, viz, Rāṇṇā (skt. rājanya),

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1. Vh(M), II. 182a.
  2. Vh(P), 162-63. Scholars generally translate the word gaṇa as 'a corporation' and accept it as one of the constituents of the 'republics' of the time of the Buddha and Lord Mahāvira.

Uggā (skt. ugra) Bhogā, and Nāgā, who helped the king in the administration of the kingdom. In the light of this tradition, one can very well understand the control of the king over the courtezans.

The Duties of a Ganīkā :

The courtezans served in the palace in various capacities, as for instance, as a maidservant or personal servant of the queen<sup>1</sup> or of the princess<sup>2</sup>. They were allowed entry in the inner apartments in this capacity<sup>3</sup>. They also sometimes entertained the king or, when asked by him, the priests performing sacrifices in the forest, with dance recitals<sup>4</sup>. There are several cases which show that they were married by princess<sup>5</sup> and were thus raised to a higher status.

The Vh(M) states that the courtezans had to attend the palace of the king turn by turn (rāūlavāra) for some duties and also to entertained him with music

1. Vh(P), 329.

2. In the story referred to in the Vh(P), it is stated how two prince-brothers quarrelled over a courtezan by name Anantamai who had come as a servant along with Induseṇa's wife who was the princess of Kosambi; Vh(P), 321.

3. Vh(P), 333.

4. Ibid., 101, 293.

5. Ibid., 259, 293. Though married, courtezans were lower in status than the princesses; Vh(P), 109.

(samgītāvāra)<sup>1</sup>. In his advice to the courtezans, Vasudeva says that when requested by the king (savvabhūma) or the feudatories, they should quench their passion, even though they did not pay anything<sup>2</sup> in return.

Both from the Vh(P)<sup>3</sup> and the Vh(M)<sup>4</sup> <sup>it</sup> seems that the work at the palace never came in the way of the private profession of the ganikās.

#### Their Residence :

Though the courtezans served in the palace, their residential quarters were situated in a particular area of the city<sup>5</sup>. They used to present themselves in the court for their work and return home when it was over<sup>6</sup>.

#### Royal Assent for Profession :

The king, <sup>as</sup> has been already pointed out, had his own right over the courtezans. Any courtezan who

1. Vh(M), II. 182a.

2. Ibid.; II.177a.

3. Dummaha asks Kāmapadāgā to live with her. Kāmapadā <sup>gā</sup> herself had shown a desire to woo a trader; Vh(P), 293-94.

4. In fact rāulavāra or samgītavāra was made an excuse by the courtezans to drive away unwanted paramours, Vh(M), II.182a.

5. Vh(P), 98, 109. Kauṭilya says that they should live in the southern part of the city, Arthasāstra, II.4.11.

6. Ibid.; 293.

wanted to start her profession had to give a recital in the presence of the king. This recital was treated as a test, and the king, to judge the skill of the courtesan in the arts of music and dance, appointed a panel of connoisseurs on the recommendation of the gotthi<sup>1</sup>.

Hereditary Profession :

This profession had a high antiquity and the courtezans took pride in the business inasmuch as they could extol their lineage. Courtesan kālimdasenā serving in the court of Kaṇha Vāsudeva, was said to have been born in the line of courtesan Amiyajasa<sup>2</sup>.

The profession could also be accepted by other women. Reference has been made in the Vh(P) to the story of a woman from the gopa family<sup>3</sup>. She was kidnapped by thieves in a raid and was sold in the

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1. Ibid., 29.

2. Vh(P), 103.

3. Ibid., 13.

ganikāhaṭṭa<sup>1</sup> of Campā. The courtesan who purchased her treated her medically and she became a good courtesan, worth a lakh (lakḥabbūyā).

Ganikā and Social Morals :

Inspite of the sanction from the society, dalliance with courtezans was supposed to be one of the serious addition difficult to give up<sup>2</sup>. It was looked down upon from the moral point of view<sup>3</sup>. There was every possibility of a person indulgent to courtezans being disowned by his relatives<sup>4</sup>.

The attitude of a faction of the society has been very well represented by the remarks of Dhammilla on the character of the courtezans<sup>5</sup>. These remarks which are in the form of stanzas must have been taken from their

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1. The word ganikāhaṭṭa probably means simply a brothel house and not an open market where courtezans could be sold or purchased. The custom of selling one's own children and wives in open market was prevalent in the Aṅga country according to the epic, (Mbh, Karna, 30.83) The ganikās could be purchased in the sense that they could be freed from the king by paying redemption (nikkaya) to him; Vh(P), 154.

2. Vh(P), 142.

3. Ibid.; 25.

4. Ibid.;

5. Ibid.; 34.

contemporary popular usage.

Similar remarks are also made by Vasudeva while reproaching the courtezans<sup>1</sup>. He compares them with mad dogs, serpents and beings worthy of reproach. He compare them with a bhattakumda, where in every vile bird and reptile puts <sup>its</sup> ~~his~~ mouth.

### Proficiency in Arts :

Inspite of such an attitude on the part of a certain faction of the society towards the courtezans the general public and the royalty seem to have patronised the courtezans on a large scale. One of the main reasons was probably the skill of the courtezans in many arts. A courtezan entertained her connoisseurs with music, dance and skill in amorous love<sup>2</sup>. In fact the mother of Cārusāmi sent him to the house of the courtezan Vasamtatilyā with a view to make him acquainted with the art of love<sup>3</sup>.

The other considerations which made people frequent the houses of courtezans can be gathered from the study of the list of persons who are said to be permissible

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1. Vh(M), II. 182a.
2. Vh(P), 13, 29.
3. ibid.; 141.

(ganīma) from the point of view of the courtesan<sup>1</sup>. Rich young men having no responsibilities were naturally attracted to the luxurious life of a courtesan. There were others, not good-looking and old who got a sort of satisfaction of their ego when they were served by the good-looking and young courtesan. There were others who were pleased with the mere association of their name with a courtesan. Some others had the reason of being dissatisfied with the simple lady of the house who knew no coquetry.

There is a very long abstract<sup>2</sup> in the Vh(M) on the mode of behaviour of a courtesan towards her lover. This abstract, though forming a part of the lecture of Vasudeva, can very well be taken to be a fair reflection of the behaviour and motives of courtezans in general.

A courtesan, it is stated, should dress up herself exquisitely, and approach her lover with sweet words, offer a seat, give him betel leaves and essences to purify <sup>the</sup> mouth, and scents. She should sit only when he asks her to do so.

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1. Vh(M), II. 177a-178a.

2. Vh(M), II. 178a-181a.

Then she should pick up conversation with him and should be ready for intercourse only when he is mentally ready, and should behave according to his desires and whims. When the conversation is going on she should show him her picture gallery and try to judge from his reaction towards it his family background and character<sup>1</sup>. Before going to sleep, she should ask him what side of the bed he would prefer. In this context a warning is mentioned and that is that the courtesan should never sleep prior to her lover. In case she wants to go to bed earlier, she should do so only after clasping him in her arms and thighs. This precaution is to be taken with a view not to give any chance to the lover to detect any cause of disgust, so also to know if the lover gets up in the middle of sleep. The courtesan, if wanting to leave him, when he is asleep, should do so only after taking his permission. While getting up she should shower him with loveful caresses and kisses.

If there be any defect in her, which may create disgust in his mind, she should avoid his noticing it, in a tactful way.

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1. Jain, Life in Ancient India, etc. pp 164, 65, fn.87

refers to the employment of (a) such practice by a courtesan as given in the Brhatkalpa Bhāṣya.



When he is tired with intercourse, but is to be around <sup>so</sup> again, she should employ all her tricks in a careful way. It is stated that at the time of ejection the male by nature experiences a sort of disgust (veṅga) for intercourse. The courtesan should, therefore, employ very sweet words, caress him softly, attract his attention to the exciting limbs of her body and their sportful movement.

If the lover stands stiff in the bed through anger, a courtesan should bring into use the famous four exigencies, viz., Sāma, dāna, bheda and damḍa. Firstly she should speak sweet pleasing words (caṭukamma); then extend a cup of wine and bestow on him kisses; thirdly she should condemn those women who are said to be famous in the art of love-making (ratikamma) or accuse him of having love affairs with low women; and lastly, punish him by pulling his hair and lower lip, and hitting him with breasts and hips.

In spite of all these tricks, if he is not affected then all sorts of false but effective actions such as rolling on floor, hitting ~~en~~<sup>her</sup> head against the wall etc., should be resorted to. Threatening to die and rushing out of the house on that pretext could also be done, but, in that case ~~the next~~ ~~add~~ care should be taken not to cross the gate of the house.

Even after such acts, <sup>if</sup> the lover is not pleased then a courtesan should undertake a long-term project to display her love for him and bring him back. She should start reading sacred books and worshipping gods for his come-back in such a way that these are reported to him.

The above abstract reveals a very keen observation of human psychology and shows how skillfully a courtesan tried to satiate the desires of her lover.

Greed <sup>for</sup> of Money :

All her art and skill were directed to the sole objective of squeezing money from the lovers. Barring a few instances of courtesans like Vasanta<sup>1</sup>tilaya<sup>1</sup>, who were attracted towards the virtues of their lovers in spite of their pitiable economic conditions and who very sincerely wanted to lead a happy married life, the main objective of most of the courtesans was to make money. Naturally, once a person had squandered away all his wealth - which was not abnormal if the fees charged are taken into consideration<sup>2</sup>

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1. Vh(P), 33-35, 154. -  
 2. Courtesans Raṣeṇiyā and Vasantaśeṇā used to charge five hundred dīnāras a day, Vh(P), 31, 289. Cārusāmi's mother used to send every day one thousand and eight pieces (sahasam atṭhahiyam) and on the occasion of festivities a hundred and eight thousand pieces (sayāsahasam

the temporary lord of her heart was deserted by her very mercilessly<sup>1</sup>. The logic of a courtesan was very practical. Vasamtasena, mother of courtesan Vasamtatilaya, gives a very good analogy to illustrate the point. She says, "As a fruitless tree is deserted by birds; and the rivers and ponds, when dry by geese and ruddy geese (cakkavaka) so also a person, when bankrupt, is worthy to be left by the courtezans"<sup>2</sup>.

This sort of greedy extraction of money no doubt made the courtezans very wealthy<sup>3</sup>. Cases are mentioned

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atthasahasahiyam); Vh(P), 144. The rate of <sup>a</sup> thousand pieces a day charged by courtezans seems to be proverbial. See Jain, op.cit.,<sup>P</sup> 164; Mehta, R.N.op.cit., pp.294-96; Dikshitar V.R.R., Silappadikaram (trans.), introduction. However, this should not lead us to the conclusion that all the courtezans charged this much fee. The examples quoted above are of the best of the courtezans whose houses were frequented by the affluent, the king, the ministers and the rich merchants', sons (ibbhaputta); Vh(P), 4.

1. Ibid.; 31.

2. Ibid.;

3. Courtezans Ramgapadaga and Raiseniya put a wager of a hundred thousand pieces of coins over a cock fight; Vh(P), 289.

of courtezans who resorted to abortion or desertion of children as these would be a hurdle in the enjoyments, (paribhogavāghāya)<sup>1</sup>.

In the Vh(M), Vasudeva, during his discourse to the courtezans, gives a list of persons who are worthy of entertainments (gammā) and who are not (nogammā). From a cursory glance <sup>at</sup> of these two lists it is clear that the main consideration of a courtezan was money-making.

Vasudeva in his reproach of the courtezans, says that first the courtezan caresses her lover and then the band (kuttinī) takes him to task for the sake of money.

In case, a lover did not pay the money, various methods were used to extract money from him by the courtezans. Some instances are given below. Sometimes a courtezan ~~fig~~igned to be ailing. When the doctor was called <sup>in</sup> in the present of the lover, the courtezan pretended not have any money. Her companions came forward with the contribution of their ornaments, and blamed the courtezan

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1. This, however, did not mean that they had no morals.

Vasamtasēnā, who advises her daughter to desert Dhammilla, her bankrupt lover, does not accept personal ornaments of the wife of Dhammilla, sent by her as her fees, Vh(P), 31.

for selecting such a lover. Ashamed at this, the lover paid her money. Another trick was more dangerous. The courtesan hides her precious belongings in some safe place other than her house and then herself puts her house on fire. After this incident, she moves in the society without any ornaments, as a result of which, all her previous lovers have to make a compulsory contribution (damda) to help her. In the third case, when the lover is not ready to pay she asks for presents in the form of clothes, ornaments etc. which are required by her when invited to attend a marriage ceremony.

#### Courtesan and Society :

With all her drawbacks the courtesan was respected in the society as she had certain good qualities. One of her remarkable qualities was that a courtesan was always faithful to her lover. When Kuberadattā and other nuns ask for residence, courtesan Kuberseṇā very readily provides them with quarters and says that the nuns should not hesitate to live ~~to~~ in her residence as she was a chaste courtesan (ganiyā kulavahūcītṭhiyā)<sup>1</sup>.

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1. Vh(P), 11.

In the Vh(M), while stating about the person who should be and should not be entertained (gamma and nogamma), a courtesan is advised to entertain pāsamdīs who were hypocrites and hence could be asked to pay any amount of money, which they are sure pay to save themselves from censure<sup>1</sup>; while any monk (lingī) was to be refused by her, as he may prove to be dangerous<sup>2</sup>.

There is also a reference to the courtezans being invited to attend marriages. As the custom in later times shows, they were asked to head the marriage procession with a view to dispel the evils. The belief behind this was that similar to the devadāsīs, the courtezans were believed never to suffer from widowhood<sup>3</sup>.

#### Family :

It has been pointed out in the section on marriage how the set-up of the contemporary society was essentially patriarchal. In the Vh(P) Jambusāmī, while giving his reflections on the worldly life, points out that according to the popular religion (logadhamma), after begetting a son a person gets rid of his debts - obviously ancestral, and

1. ~~Vh(M)~~, II. 178.

2. Ibid.

3. See Penzer, The Ocean of Stories, Vol. I, p. 267.

ascends<sup>u</sup> heaven<sup>1</sup>. He gets a sort of fulfilment (tittī) of the aims of life. According to the same belief, as the son had the right to give offerings to the manes, he fed the ancestors as well as the father after their death<sup>2</sup>.

Birth of a Son Valued :

Such a belief attaching comparatively more importance to the son than to a female child, also expressed itself in the custom prevalent in the contemporary society. In a story from the Vh(P)<sup>3</sup>, it is stated that Tāraga setṭhī, who was appointed as a judge in <sup>a</sup>the matter of dispute as regards the distribution of property, gave a verdict that a son even though he is in the womb of his mother becomes a legal heir to the property of his father, (gabbattho vi putto peīkam dhanam sarakkhaī), while a posthumous daughter can claim only that much wealth of her father, which was sufficient for her marriage.

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1. Vh(P), 14. The idea behind these debts is that <sup>every</sup> ~~any~~ human being is accompanied by three debts ~~right~~ since his birth, viz, i) of gods ii) of ancestors and iii) of the sages. He settles them by performing sacrifices, begetting sons, and expanding knowledge respectively.

2. Vh(P), 14.

3. Ibid., 216-17.

Aware of such a state of affairs, king Pūṁḍā of Malaya country, who had no issue was very much worried over the problem of the heir to the throne. When he got a daughter, his mother concealed the sex of the princess with the help of some herbs, The princess succeeded her father as Pūṁḍā (the second)<sup>1</sup>.

Members of a family :

The Vh(P) also gives some information regarding the various members of a family and their mode of behaviour in <sup>the</sup> family.

In the story of Kuberadatta and kuberadattā<sup>2</sup>, and elsewhere<sup>3</sup> also, many relations in a family have been referred to : brother (bhāyā), husband's brother (devara), grand-son (nattuya, pautta) step-son (savittiputta), nephew (bhattijja), uncle (pittijja), husband (bhattā), father (piyā) grand-father (piyamaha), father-in-law (sasura), mother (māyā), mother-in-law (sāsū), co-wife (savittī), brother's wife (bhāūjjāyā), grand-mother (ajjiyā piyamahī), and daughter-in-law (vadhū).

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1. Vh(P), 216-217.

2. Ibid.; 11.

3. Ibid.; 110.



Relatives After Marriage :

The mother-in-law was addressed as aunt (piüccā, skt. pitṛṣvasā)<sup>1</sup>, the younger brother's wife as daughter-in-law (Vadhū)<sup>2</sup>, while the elder sister-in-law treated her brother-in-law like a son<sup>3</sup>. The sisters-in-law appear to have been proverbially adverse to each other<sup>4</sup>. The husband was addressed as bhattidaraga<sup>5</sup> or ajjaputta<sup>6</sup> and was paid reverence even during his absence<sup>7</sup>. The

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1. This was a corrobory of the custom of marrying maternal uncle's (māmaa) daughter, Vh(P), 141.
2. ibid.; 81.                      3. ibid.; 198.
4. Savvaṭṭha says to his sister that though she was not having good relations with his wife (bhāüjjāyāe saha na te samāhi) he would definitely give his daughter in marriage to her son, Vh(P), 140. Similarly, when Savvaṭṭha's wife comes to know about the eccentricities of Cārudatta, she says to the latter's mother that she has taken revenge (veranijjāyana) by not telling the faults of her son, before marriage; Vh(P), 141.
5. ibid.; 66.                      6. ibid.; 198.
7. ibid.; 66.

newly-married daughter-in-law, <sup>was embraced by her mother-in-law</sup> and was received into the house with auspicious songs<sup>1</sup>.

Head of the family :

In the Vh(M), also, the father is represented as the head of the family<sup>2</sup>. After the death of the ~~father~~ his relations got their respective shares in the property. In this the shares were not equal, some got more, while the others less. The legal share in property in this connection has been referred to as dāīyabhāga<sup>3</sup>.

Respect to the Elders :

The junior members of the family showed respect to the elders by touching their feet and speaking with folded hands<sup>4</sup>. Princess Alambusā was the teacher of Accharā in the art of dancing and music. As such, Alambusā treated Vasudeva, who was Accharā's husband, as a junior (gabbhattana)<sup>5</sup>. So also, Vasudeva, while receiving a message from sage Bharaddāya, his father-in-law, folds his hands in the direction of Bharaddāya's residence, to show respect to him<sup>6</sup>.

1. Ibid.; 46.

3. Ibid.; II.178a.

5. Ibid.; II. 157b.

2. Vh(M), II. 160b.

4. Ibid.; I.2.

6. Ibid.; 198a.

Maidens who were of equal age addressed each other as 'friend' (vayasini) or called by the name prefixed with halā<sup>1</sup>. As in the Vh(P), the Vh(M) also refers to the fact that the husband was addressed as ajjaputta<sup>2</sup>.

Sacraments :

References to sacraments such as jātakamma, upanayana, vivāha, mayakicca or rites reminding of sacraments famous in the Grhyasūtra literature such as nāmakarana and annaprāsana have been made in the Vh. The first three have been referred to in connection with Usabha, thus ascribing their origin to him<sup>3</sup>.

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1. Vh(M), I. 18b.
  2. Pabhāvatī always addressed Vasudeva as 'kumāra'. After her rescuing him from the vidyādharas she starts calling him 'ajjaputta'. Vasudeva notes the change and marries her; Vh(M), I.31b. Princess Accharā attending to Vasudeva as a dignified guest addresses him as 'deva' (lord), but after marriage as 'ajjautta'; Vh(M), II.93a.
  3. These sacraments, varying in number from sixteen to twenty-five, are described in detail in the Grhyasūtras of the Brahmanical literature. Reference to various sacraments are also to be met with in the Jaina canonical literature; see Jain, op.cit., pp. 150-51, 241-42.

Much of the information on this section can be had mostly from the Vh(P), the Vh(M) being silent on the sacraments.

So also, the rites of marriage have not been described in this section as they have been dealt with in details in the section on ' Marriage and the Position of Women'.

Jāyakamma :

This rite was performed immediately after the birth of the child<sup>1</sup>, whether male or female<sup>2</sup>. The details of this rite are furnished by the description of the rite performed at the birth of Usabha by the Disākumārīs<sup>3</sup>.

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1. Vh(P), 3, 83.

2. Ibid.; 11.

3. The details of the jātakarma rite performed by the Disākumārīs differ completely from that given in the Grhyasūtras. According to the AGS, the father, before any one else touched the newly born child, gives gold ground in honey to the child; performs medhājanana and touches the child with the recitation of Vedic chants. In the case of the female child all the above rites were performed, without, however, the recitation of mantras (I.15.1-3; also comm. on p. 53).

Disākumārīs first of all cut the umbilical cord, keeping a margin of four angulas from the navel. In that marginal portion of the cord they put jewels with a crest of dūrvā grass over it. Then they bathed the mother and the child to celebrate the birth festival<sup>1</sup>.

Nāmakaraṇa :

This rite was performed after the jātakarma<sup>2</sup> and after the lapse of ten nights<sup>3</sup>, during which, according to the canonical literature, various small rites were performed<sup>4</sup>.

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1. Vh(P), 160. In the jātakarma, cutting the umbilical cord and burying it, was an important act. See Jain, op.cit., p.150.
  2. Vh(P), 3, 83. See also AGS, I.15.4.
  3. Before deserting her children, courtesan Kuberasenā requests her mother to complete the rites of ten nights. "Dasarāyam tāva puriṅṅau. Tao nāe duve muddāo kariyāo nāmamkiyāo." ; Vh(P), 11.
  4. On the first three days, jātakarma, <sup>the</sup> vigīl and <sup>the</sup> showing of the child to the sun and the moon were performed <sup>respectively</sup>. On the following seven days celebrations were held. On the eleventh day the impurity was over, and then nāmakaraṇa was performed. Jain, op.cit., pp150-51.

The child was christened, and a ring (muddā) inscribed with the name of child<sup>1</sup> as also sometimes that of ~~its~~<sup>his</sup> father<sup>2</sup> was put on the child's finger.

Personal Names :

From the study of the personal names occurring in the Vh<sup>3</sup> some facts about naming the child become clear. They are as follows :-

1) Generally the name for a newly born child was formulated in a particular way. It was also selected from a group of names of the ancestors, both on the side of the mother or that of the father<sup>4</sup>.

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1. Vh(P), 11.
  2. On the rings of Pajjunna and Kamsa names of Vāsudeva and Uggasena respectively were inscribed, Vh(P), 83,119.
  3. A detailed study of the personal names occurring in the Vh(P) has been done by the author, the results of which has been published as in the BDCRI. See "Cultural Ethnography from Vasudevahindī", BDCRI, Vol.23, pp.36-54.
  4. See Jamkhedkar, op.cit., pp. 38-40, 51; also the cases from the Vh(M) of Ānādaddhī, 'mādiyakuli(la)purisaparmparāgayam' (II. 134b), princess Mamdaravati, (II.173a) and the family of the Vidyadhara king Vāsava (II.157a).

2) Other factors which influenced a personal name were<sup>1</sup> the deity worshipped, the constellation on which the child was born, the pregnancy desire or dream of the mother or some incident associated with the birth of the child, which could explain the name.

3) Some class-characteristics were also observed in the formulation of the name. The ending pada in a name - generally a name comprised two padas - , which is termed as 'suffix', many times could give clue in inferring the class to which the person belonged<sup>2</sup>.

Jemāmana<sup>3</sup> or annaprāsana :

There <sup>is</sup> no reference to ~~the name of~~ this sacrament <sup>by name</sup> in the Vh(P). In the story of Usabha the Vh(P) refers to an incident according to which Usabha was nourished on the

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1. See Jamkhedkar, op.cit., p.37. in the Vh(M) names from dohala and an incident associated with the birth, are met with; Vh(M) II, 50a, I. 18a II. 39a.
2. See Jamkhedkar. op.cit., pp. 42-44.
3. The rite has been referred to as jemāmana in the canonical literature. See Jain, op.cit., p.151. In the Grhyasūtras, it has been referred to as annaprāsana, and was to be performed when the child attained the age of six months. The food which the child was <sup>first</sup> administered ~~first~~ was both vegetarian and non-vegetarian. AGS I.16.1-5.

juice of fruits from the gardens in the kuru country. When Usabha was one year old, god Sahassamayana presented himself before him in the form of a dwarf (vāmana) and gave him sugarcanes to eat<sup>1</sup>. This was probably to perform the rite of jemāyana.

Upanayana :

Upanayana as a rite has not been referred to in the Vh<sup>2</sup>. When Vasudeva presented himself as a candidate in the contest of Vedic knowledge he is described to be wearing the sacred thread (jannoīya) over his shoulder<sup>3</sup>. It is not clear whether Vasudeva had really undergone the performance of this ceremony.

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1. Vh(P), 161.
2. When Vasudeva was eight years old he was taken to a teacher of <sup>the</sup> arts (kalāyariya). Here the word 'upanīto' has been used. But the word does not mean the performance of upanayana ceremony which was celebrated at the time of the commencement of education. This becomes clear from the occurrence of the same word in the next line, 'Rasavāniyagena ya me dārago uvanīto', Vh(P), 118.
3. ibid.; 194.



Death Rites :

Death rites performed in the case of Usabha and the siddhas have been described in the Vh(P). According to the description, the dead bodies of the monks who had attained salvation (siddhasarirāni) were placed in palanquins (sibigā) and were taken in procession with the blowing of trumpets and showers of flowers. The bodies were placed on pyres (citi) of sandal-wood, which were circumambulated by gods and gamdhavvas. After sprinkling the bodies of siddhas with ghee and honey, the pyres were set on fire magically created by the Aggikumāra gods. The fire was quenched by the Uyahikumāra gods with water brought from the khīroda ocean. The bones of Usabha (jināsakahāo) were taken by the gods and those of the siddhas were shared by the kings. The common people (jana) and the māhanas took <sup>the</sup> fire to their houses. Māhanas and others tended the fire and worshipped it. Bharaha constructed stūpas (thūbhā) at the place where Usabha died (jināparinivvānabhūmi). Prince Āiccajasa and others distributed golden necklaces among the māhanas.<sup>1</sup>

Samuddavijaya, elder brother of Vasudeva, performed similar rites while cremating the dead body of

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1. Vh(P), 185.

Vasudeva. He sprinkled the pyre (citā) of sandal-wood, <sup>the</sup> wood of Agura tree and that of the Devadaru tree, with ghee and honey. He also performed other death rites (peyakajja)<sup>1</sup>.

Gamgarakkhiya is said to have performed death rites as in vogue (lokayapasiddhāim mayakiccāim) after the death of his father<sup>2</sup>. A thief, when wounded fatally by Agadadatta, asks him to honour him with cremation (aggisakkāra)<sup>3</sup>.

#### Sati System :

Instances of both the husband<sup>4</sup> and the wife<sup>5</sup> showing desire to get cremated along with the dead partner are to be noted in the Vh(F). It was thought that after such a death their souls <sup>were</sup> get united in the next birth<sup>6</sup>.

#### Pacificatory Rites after Death :

Reference has been made in the Vh(P) to samtijjaghara resided in by the sister of a thief, and

1. Ibid.; 120-21.

2. Ibid.; 289.

3. Ibid.; 44.

4. Vh(p), 316.

5. Ibid.; 159.

6. Ibid.; See also Saletore, Life in the Gupta Age, p. 274; Brhaspati is in favour of this practice. See HCIP, Vol. III, p. 566.

situated near a cemetery<sup>1</sup>. As the name suggests, rites to pacify the dead were, probably, performed in this house.

Śrāddha :

Mahesaradatta, a caravan trader, performed the Śrāddha ceremony (piukicca) in memory of the death of his father. He immolated a buffalo and fed his son with its flesh<sup>2</sup>.

From the point of view of Jambusami it was not only useless but sometimes harmful to perform such ceremonies. The purpose of feeding the ancestors in the next birth is sometimes defeated by the performance of such ceremonies, as in the case of Mahesaradatta<sup>3</sup>.

Memorial Worship :

The Vh(P) refers to the sons of a Bāhmana who after the latter's death continued the worship of a deity installed by him, in his memory. In this ceremony they planned to immolate a goat, but were prevented from doing so by the Jaina monks<sup>4</sup>.

1. Ibid.; 41.

2. Ibid.; 14.

3. Ibid.;

4. Vh(P), 28-29.

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The Mode of Behaviour and Vices :

As the data from Vh(P) shows, a definite code of behaviour was observed by the people while moving in the society. It is reflected very well in the formal questions asked at the meeting of two <sup>acquaintances</sup> acquainted persons. King Pasannacanda was asked about his health by his father who had become a monk<sup>1</sup>. Such a question, as the tradition tells us, was asked only to a ksatriya<sup>2</sup>. Vasudeva, while in the guise of a Brāhmana tells his personal name along with his gotta<sup>3</sup>, Jambu addresses his charioteer as somma<sup>4</sup>. Before talking to the queen a foreteller wishes her prosperity (vaddhavanam kāūna)<sup>5</sup>. Kamalaseṇā, a nurse of princess Vimalā, wishes victory and happy return to Dhammilla when he leaves her<sup>6</sup>.

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1. Putta nirāmayosi; Vh(P), 19.
  2. Brāhmanam Kusalam prechet ksatrabandhūmanāmayaṃ, MDS, II, 127.
  3. When Vasudeva, while bowing down, told his name in the above manner he was taken to be a dull student by the teacher, Vh(P), 126. The reason behind this probably was that while telling one's name to one's teacher one was to add bhoḥ at the end, MDS, II, 122-26.
  4. Vh(P), 10.      5. Ibid., 317.
  6. Punarāgamaṇāe vijaṇam, Vh(P), 58.

Piyāṅgusūṃdarī, both at the time of arrival and departure of her friend Bāṃdhumatī, greets her by embracing<sup>1</sup><sub>her</sub>. While a senior person was always bowed down to, he, in turn, raised the junior by holding him by his arms<sup>2</sup>. An old person when bowed down to<sup>by</sup> the young, blessed him with long life<sup>3</sup>. A dignified person was addressed and referred to as 'sāmī' by others and sometimes even by his friends<sup>4</sup> or persons senior in age<sup>5</sup>. Ascetics in general evoked respects, irrespective of the differences<sup>of</sup> in sects<sup>6</sup>.

However, a person who had given himself to vices and indulged in wine, women of loose character and dice, was looked down upon in society and was sometimes disowned even by his relatives. Ibbha Usabhadatta had disowned openly<sup>7</sup> his younger brother Jīṇadāsa who had the

1. Vh(P), 288-89.

2. Ibid.; 179.

3. 'putta jīva bahūni vāsasahassāni', says Bhāgīrahi to Vasudeva, Vh(P), 351.

4. Ibid.; 102, 142.

5. Ibid.; 203.

6. Ibid.; 360.

7. 'Sayanaviditam kāuna paricatto abhāyā ajjapabhiim me' tti', Vh(P).25.

three vices (majja-juya-vesapasamgi). The followers of Jaina religion did not even test wine (majja)<sup>1</sup> or honey (madhu) or meat (marisa). Carudatta's father was against his dalliances with a courtesan as he took it to be a bad habit (vasana)<sup>2</sup>.

Still it can be observed that all these vices in a moderate proportion were accepted as quite normal, and were overlooked.

But adultery was not so. It was contemptuous in the eyes of the society<sup>3</sup>. A righteous person was afraid even of its distant connection<sup>4</sup>.

#### The Nāgara :

In the Vh(M), however, it can be noticed that ideas of ideal social behaviour seem to have gathered around the

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1. Vh(P), 142, Vasudeva was hesitant in accepting wine (majja) even though it was the remnant of the worship of gods (devayasesa); Vh(P), 225-26.
  2. ibid.; 141.
  3. ibid.; 9, 14.
  4. Tāvasi jo parāyam puttam bhanati 'mamesa putto' tti so je paradāre dosā tehim dosehim lippai; Vh(P), 299.

concept of the nāgaraka. It is said, though literally the word meant a resident of city where probably one obtained an ideal environment for bringing refinement to one's behaviour —, one could not become a nāgaraka by simply living in a nagara<sup>1</sup>.

The ideal nāgara was endowed with different qualities, which are i) learning (paṇḍiccaniyayā); ii) Forbearance (avarāḍhasahāna) ; iii) respecting the likes and dislikes of others (paracchamānuyattana); iv) sinlessness (sāvajjātā); v) mildness (maddavattana) vi) farsightedness (dīhāvekkhittana); vii) control over emotions (nigūḍhabhāvātā); viii) good speech (bhaṅgīrattana); ix) avoidance of immoral behaviour (kusīlavajjana); x) service to the good (sādhujāna nisevanā); xi) compassion (dayāluttana) ; xii) initiative in speech (aggabhāsittana) ; xiii) courtesy (dakkhinnatā);, xiv) avoidance of wickedness (apisunatā); xv) modesty (vinatā); xvi) charity (saṃvibhāga-sīlatā) and xvii) helpfulness (payovakaritta). In these qualities one finds a fine blending of a good, i.e. a sāvaya and a responsible person in the society. The personality of Vasudeva in the Vh has been portrayed keeping in view this

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1. Vh(M), I. 23a.

ideal. While speaking about Vasudeva, his father-in-law, Bharaddāya, says, 'our son-in-law, is a perfect nāgara (nāgaro hu amha jāmatā mahānubhāvo)<sup>1</sup>.

Religious Liberalism :

In spite of the above ideal, one finds a marked difference in the lay follower's attitude towards the ascetics of other sects. A sort of a sectarian attitude seems to have developed which failed to see any merit in other ways of religious behaviour (mayā bhāṇiyā jēna annattha dhammam ceva na passāmi); and Vasudeva is no exception to it. He salutes only a Jaina monk or a lay follower<sup>2</sup>.

Householder Receiving a Guest :

Customs, as it has been stated in the Vh(P), differed from district to district<sup>3</sup>. Still, some uniformity as regards the normal incidents must have been there.

The usual way a householder received his guest was to offer him water for cleansing his feet (pādasoya),

1. Vh(M), II. 4a.

2. Ibid.; II.79b-80a.

3. When Vasudeva sees a big trade in lyres going on in Campā, he asks the people whether it was one of the customs of a district (visayācāra) to learn music; Vh(P), 126.



a seat, meals and other objects to indicate honour (pūyā)<sup>1</sup>. Even a monk had some notions of honouring the guests (pānunṇaya). A parivvāyaga, travelling along with a caravan, requests his fellow travellers to grant his wish of feeding them at places of acquaintances on their way<sup>2</sup>.

According to the Vh(M), regard was shown to a respected person (pujja) by offering him clothes, food, drinks, garland of flowers, betel leaves, scents and flowers<sup>3</sup>. Vasudeva, when visiting a hermitage, received such a respectable treatment (aggha) by maids (tāvasakannagā) who were directed to do so by the head (kulavati)<sup>4</sup> of the establishment.

#### Royal Way of Receiving the Guest :

A sort of speciality was always there when a king received his guest. Kaṇagaraḥa was accompanied by his queen Caṁdābhā when he had been to receive his overlord

1. Anāṁgasenā, a courtesan, offers such a reception to a trader, Vh(P), 294. Gahavati Mahādhaṇa and the kāyaṁjala birds in a fable, received their guests in a similar way, Vh(P), 74, 33.

2. Ibid.; 43.

3. Vh(M), II. 212b.

4. Ibid.; II. 117a.

(ahirāyā) king Mahu. As a part of the reception, queen Camdābhā herself washed the feet of king Mahu after throwing around him some water (udagamāvajjun) from a sprinkler (bhīṅgāra)<sup>1</sup>. The king, while receiving a dignified person, also asked him to ride an elephant and followed him on a horse as did king Abhaggaseṇa in the case of Vasudeva<sup>2</sup>. Sometimes he deputed his personnel to receive him. Vasudeva, when he was received both by the king Asanivega and Gamdhāra with a view to get him married with their daughter, was met near the city by the personnel of the king. They bathed him and draped in new clothes. Vasudeva was afterwards led to the city in a chariot-like vehicle with a parasol (sachatto raho) and later on to the court of the king. When he passed through the city which was decorated with banners, flags and arches (kayatoranavana-mālāe samūsiyajjayapadāe) he was hailed victory by the citizens<sup>3</sup>.

Similar formalities being observed by the kings are also to be noticed in the Vh(M). The king while receiving his guests himself went forward accompanied by his wives<sup>4</sup> and the officials (pagiti)<sup>5</sup>. Sometimes he was

1. Vh(P), 90.

2. Ibid., 203.

3. Ibid., 123, 351.

5. Ibid., I. 5a.

4. Vh(M), II. 106.

represented by his ministers (sacīva) only<sup>1</sup>. In the case of an eminent person, say the king's son-in-law, the city was decorated with banners, victory flags (viṣayavejayamti), garlands and flowers. On his way to the palace, flowers were showered on him<sup>2</sup>. The joyous people danced before the procession with cymbals (tāla) and trumpets (namditūra)<sup>3</sup>. The day was declared one of celebrations like that of a kaumudimahotsava (akālakomudī). Vasudeva's happy return was celebrated by his fathers-in-law in such a manner<sup>4</sup>. In such festivals, conches and drums were blown and beaten<sup>5</sup>, and the city was crowded with the performance of dramatic troupes<sup>6</sup>.

While on tour, the royal officials received their guests with due respect and hospitality suitable to camp life (adavivāsa sarisa ātidheya)<sup>7</sup>.

#### The Reception of a Hero :

In the Vh(P), descriptions, somewhat similar to those of royal reception are given also in the cases of

1. Vh(M), II. 81a.

2. Ibid.; II. 199b.

3. Ibid.; II. 243a.

4. Ibid.; II. 52b, 199b.

5. Ibid.; II. 203a.

6. Ibid.; II. 199b.

7. Ibid.; II. 202a.

heroes who had performed some feats.

Dhammilla was received by the residents of a palli when in a very close combat, he killed the leader of a gang of thieves harassing the people nearby. People, through joy, beat drums and blew conches, raised flags of victory (viḥayaṁveḥayaṁti) and gave cheers (ukkaṭṭhinaḥa). The headman of the palli embraced Dhammilla and smelt his head and congratulated him on his success<sup>1</sup>.

In the case of Vasudeva, however, the reception was a bit different. When he killed singlehanded a cannibal, Vasudeva was bathed outside the village first by the Brahamaṇas and then by old ladies, with hundred and eight jars full of water. Afterwards he was helped in getting dressed by maidens (kanna) and was taken in a procession in a bullock cart to the village. In honour of the hero, the village was decorated with arches and series of banners<sup>2</sup>.

### EDUCATION

#### The Age of Initiation to Study :

The general practice was to send the student to the house of the tutor (ayariyagiha,

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1. Vh(P), 90.

2. ibid., 196.

lehasāla)<sup>1</sup> and the ideal age for initiation seems to have been eight<sup>2</sup>. However, this age limit never barred those advanced in age from the opportunity of learning<sup>3</sup>.

The student was initiated to the studies on an auspicious day and time, after giving proper consideration to the good and bad omens<sup>4</sup>. In the case of musical studies, the lessons started with the worship of Tumburu and Nāraya<sup>5</sup>.

According to the information from the Vh(M) also, it can be gathered that the students lived in a hostel (cattavinayasāla)<sup>6</sup>. The only exception to the above practice seems to be that of the princesses. Princess Muttavāḷī of Vacchagumma was instructed by her teacher in music and dance, at her palace. The tradition of starting

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1. Vh(P), 36-38, 118. The teacher has been referred to as kalāyariya, Vh(P), 74, 118. Reference to teachers in spiritual matters (dhamaḥāyariya), in kalās and in sippas are to be found in the canonical literature. It should also be noted that sippas are included in the seventy-two kalās, see Jain, op.cit., pp.169, 172.
2. Vh(P), 74, 114.
3. Ibid., 127, 193-94, 203.
4. Ibid.; 36.
5. Ibid.; 127-
6. Vh(M), II. 113a.
7. Vh(M), II. 209a.

lessons on an auspicious day and time seems to have continued<sup>1</sup>, even in the period of the Vh(M).

The Curriculum :

As the Vh(P) shows, students were trained or taught in various branches of learning<sup>2</sup>. The kalās, which are also referred to as āgamas<sup>3</sup> or vijjās<sup>4</sup>, were seventy two in number<sup>5</sup>. At their head was the art of writing (lehādiyā), for<sup>6</sup>most amongst them was arithmetics (ganiyappahānā) and at the end of the list came the science of omens (saunarutapajjivasānā)<sup>6</sup>.

According to the Jaina tradition as represented in the Vh(P), Usabha was the first to spread the knowledge of crafts (sippa), which are basically five, and other various arts like that of writing (livi), arithmetic (ganiya) Sculpture (rūva), painting (cittakamma), art of interpreting the auspicious and inauspicious bodily signs of men and women (lakḥaṇam itthipurisāṇam), judging the value of precious stones, pearls, etc<sup>7</sup>.

1. Ibid.;

2. Religious treatises; Vh(P), 152, 182; Kalās; Vh(P), 127; and crafts; Vh(P), 145-47, 62.

3. Ibid.; 122.

4. Ibid.; 122, 203. 5. Ibid.; 141.

6. Ibid.; 27.

7. Vh(P), 163.

The range of subjects studied by different students covered the Veda<sup>1</sup>, grammar or etymology (sadda)<sup>2</sup>, the science of metres (chamda)<sup>3</sup>, music (gamdhavva)<sup>4</sup>, dance (natta)<sup>5</sup>, painting (alekkha)<sup>6</sup>, military lore (samgamikāo vijjāo)<sup>7</sup> and a course in charioteership (īsathasattharahacariyāsikkhā)<sup>8</sup>.

Men <sup>and</sup> women of higher classes seem to have been conversant with writing. A trader wrote letters to his relatives<sup>9</sup> <sup>and</sup> princesses sent love letters to their lovers<sup>10</sup>.

Sometimes written orders were given to royal servants by the princesses under special circumstances<sup>11</sup>. Many times the officers of the king moved in the capital

1. Ibid.; 152, 182.

2. Ibid.; 203. Samānasavanniya, studied by Dhammilla; Vh(P), 23, According to Sandesara (trans. p.34), <sup>it</sup> means the section on savarna in the Pāṇinian grammar.

3. Vh(P), 203.

4. Ibid.; 127.

5. Ibid.; 121.

6. Ibid.; 141.

7. Ibid.; 121; dhanuvveya and āhuāvijjā have been also referred to; Vh(P), 201-202.

8. Ibid.; 37.

9. Ibid.; 52.

10. Ibid.; 80.

11. Vh(P), 171.

with note books (pattalivāsana) in their hands to make entries of certain on the spot observations.<sup>1</sup> Public declarations were probably inscribed (lekkha)<sup>2</sup> on the stone, Copperplates (tambapatta) -<sup>o</sup>potthaya) inscribed at the order of the kings, and preserved in copper jar (tambabhāyana)<sup>3</sup> have also been referred to.

The students practised their homework on some sort of handy boards (phalaga)<sup>4</sup> or on slate (caūramsīya) with chalk pieces (sediyā)<sup>5</sup>.

The number of kalās studied is at some places given to be sixty-four<sup>6</sup> while at some other places it is seventy two<sup>7</sup> in the Vh(M). These seventy-two arts referred to are the same traditional arts referred to in the Vh(P), while the sixty four arts mastered by princesses Muttāvati and Mayūrasenā were the same as referred to in the kāmasūtra and expected to be mastered by respectable men and women.<sup>8</sup>

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1. Ibid.; 102; Sandesara, trans., p. 126.

2. Vh(P), 154.

3. Ibid.; 189.

6. Vh(M), II. 175a, 208b.

7. Ibid.; I. 8a.

6.4. Vh(P), 28

7. Ibid.

8. Chakladar, Social Life in Ancient India, p. 130.



One can get a fairly good idea about the subjects, highly esteemed by intellectual circles and worthy of study as discussed by Vasudeva with his brothers-in-law. The subjects under discussion were varied and included arithmetic (gaṇiū), grammar (vāgarāṇa), prosody (chanda), astronomy (jotisa), mīmāṃsā, saṃkha (Sāṅkhya), loyāyātiyavāda (laukāyatikavāda), satthitanta (saṣṭitantra), veda, purāṇa, itihāsa, uppakkhadivvabhumamtalikkha (astrology?), music (gaṃdhavva), poetry (kavva), drama (nāḍaga) and stories based on historical incidents (akkhāigā)<sup>1</sup>.

In the Vh(M), reference is also made to ink (mella), which was dark blue in colour like a lotus<sup>2</sup> and also to letter-writing. Vegyati, a princess, wrote a letter to her husband, which was written in a way<sup>that is</sup> still in vogue.

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1. Vh(M), I.11a. The list enumerating the popular subjects of study as given in the Anuyoga dvāra sūtra is similar to the above list.

Anuyogadvārāṇi, Sūtra 49.f.

2. Vh(M), I. 4a.

The letter opened with words "requests so and so with head bowed down to the ground----- I communicate the well being-----" etc.<sup>1</sup> The letters were sealed with inscribed rings<sup>2</sup> and despatched with messengers<sup>3</sup>.

### Specialised Instructions :

The variety of subjects could not be taught in one school, hence there was a specialisation, In some schools only the Vedas<sup>4</sup> were taught; while in others only carpentry<sup>5</sup> or archery<sup>6</sup> or music<sup>7</sup> was taught. There was also a sort of differentiation among the schools because of the sectarian bias which was associated with the teachers<sup>8</sup>.

### The Student and the Teacher :

As has been observed earlier, all the students lived with the teacher<sup>9</sup>, and got shelter, food and clothes

1. " dihāumantam ajjāuttam Vasudeva-devam avanitalagatena sirasā vinnaveti sarirakusala vattāe pesanujjāe piyasukusalam, Vh(M), I.2.

2. Ibid.; I.3; II. 169b.

3. Along with the messenger some oral message also was despatched, Vh(M) I.3. 4. Vh(P), 182. 5. Ibid.; 62. 5\* Ibid

6. Ibid.; 201-202. 7. Ibid.; 126. 8. Ibid.; 50.

9. Ref. to a Prince living with his teacher, Vh(P), 189-91; so also the scions of the royal family living with Punnāsa who was a teacher in archery, Vh(P), 202.

from the wife of the teacher especially so when they were in her good books<sup>1</sup>. She, probably against the wish of her husband, paid no attention to the intellectual capabilities of students, but only to their capacity of paying money to her<sup>2</sup>. The teacher generally got some fees<sup>3</sup> at the end of the course<sup>4</sup>, which, of course, was according to the wish of the teacher<sup>5</sup>. The profession of teaching was not, it seems, prospective from the point of view of economic stability, as can be seen from the example of Vasubhūi who had to support himself not only with farming but with priestly income also<sup>6</sup>.

That the profession of the teacher was respected can be seen from the story of a school-boy in the Vh(M). The story illustrates, how a student had full faith in his teacher and hence obeyed him, and how in turn the teacher

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1. Ibid.; 126-27.

2. Ibid.; 182.

3. Vasudeva, however, gave it at the beginning only; Vh(P), 182.

4. Ibid.; 190.

5. Prince Vasu had to suffer on this account. Vasu was asked by his preceptor to look after the welfare of his family after his (preceptor's) death. Vasu spoke a lie and had to go to the nether world; Vh(P), 190.

6. Ibid.; 30.

paid attention to the well-being of his ward<sup>1</sup>. That due respect was given to, and proper mode of respectful address was observed in the case of teachers even in the palace, can be seen from the example of princess Muttāvalī and Vasudeva<sup>2</sup>.

### The Method of Teaching :

Some details are to be found in the Vh(P) as to how a student was taught in a particular subject stage by stage.

In Vedic instructions the student was first of all to read and write (akharasamjoga)<sup>3</sup> and then to learn by heart word by word<sup>4</sup>, the vedas along with the angas<sup>5</sup>.

In the case of a charioteer who had to study archery, the course consisted of stretching the arrow (kaddhiyā silāgā). Practically the five types of positions of fingers (pamcaviha mutthibamdhō) employed while shooting, winning Pumnāga(?), proper grip over the position of fingers (mutthibamdha), quickness in aiming at the target

1. Vh(M), II. 112b.

2. Ibid.; II. 212a.

3. Vh(P), 152.

4. Ibid.; 182.

5. Ibid.; 152.

(jāyalakkha<sup>1</sup>sigghayā), firmness in shooting (dadhappahāriṭṭa),  
 using two types of weapons  
 (īsatthe, paḍiyage, jantamukkhe, ya), and other items of  
 skill enumerated in the science about cutting trees etc.<sup>1</sup>

#### Female Education :

In the selection on curriculum it was observed that literacy prevailed even amongst women from the higher classes. ~~The~~ <sup>The</sup> maidens from royal families and families of rich merchants (rāyasitthiibhasuyā). Seem to have been proficient also in music, dance arranging flowers into wreaths and garlands (mallasamjōyana), arranging beds (sejjārayana), composing music (gamdhavvarayana), cut-work in leaves (pattacchejja), reading historical stories (akkhāyāpōtthayavāyana), relating stories<sup>2</sup> and the art of perfuming water (uḍagaparikamma)<sup>3</sup>.

Probably the students from the rich class were taught at home all these arts by experts, as in the case of princess Muttāvalī, referred to in the Vh(M) Shows.

#### Liberary activity :

Under this heading only that literature would be dealt with which has not been referred to in the section on the curriculum.

1. Ibid.; 36.

2. Vh(P), 68.

3. Ibid.; also Sandesara trans., p.82.

Jaina Literature :

A treatise by name Sāvayapannatti was written with a view to show the path of liberation to the lay followers. It was also called Āriya-Veda, and was so big as to contain a hundred thousand (sayasahassa) stanzas. This treatise written at the time of emperor Bharaha is stated to have remained in a very fragmentary form<sup>1</sup>.

The literature referred to in the Vh(P) is the eleven angas and the fourteen puvvas which formed a part of the curricula of the Jaina monks<sup>2</sup>.

Padhamānuoga, of which the Vh forms a part according to the Jaina tradition described the life stories of the saviours (titthagara) sovereigns (cakkavattī) and famous personalities from the dynasty of the Dasāras<sup>3</sup>. Nirutta is said to help the proper interpretation of the Vedas, obviously Āriyavedas<sup>4</sup>.

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1. The term Āriyaveda to the treatise was given to differentiate it from Anāriya Vedas like the Ahavyaveda, Vh(P), 184-85.
  2. Ibid., 85, 174.
  3. Ibid., 1-2.
  4. Vh(P), 184.

Anāriya Vedas :

Ahāvaveda which was the 'Anāriya Veda' was created according to the Vh(P) by god Mahākāla to delude the people<sup>1</sup>. Later on, it was revived by Pippalāda with ulterior motives<sup>2</sup>. The contents of the Ahāvaveda are said to describe, mainly the following sacrifices : rāyasūya (rājasūya), āsamedha (asvamedha), piūmedha (pitṛmedha) and māūmedha (mātrmedha)<sup>3</sup>.

A probable reference to the four Vedas<sup>4</sup> (caūgaya) and a separate mention of Vedas along with aṅgas (veyā sahaṅgehim)<sup>5</sup> has been made in the Vh(P).

The Bhagavadgītā has been referred to in connection with a lay follower of the Bhāgavata religion, who, it is said, knew both the text (sutta) and its meaning<sup>6</sup>.

The Vh(M) also refers to Brahmanical literature such as Purāna, Itihāsa, nādaga, akkhāigā, all of which<sup>7</sup>

1. Ibid.; 185-189.

2. Ibid.; 151-53.

3. Ibid.; 152-53, 192.

4. Ibid.; 192.

5. Vh(P), 152.

6. Ibid.; 50.

7. Vh(M), II.177b.

were very popular and were related on religious occasions or otherwise<sup>1</sup>. The stories from the Purānas were known as loiyakahās (popular tales) and were quoted as illustrations on various occasions.

Śāstras :

The Vh(P) refers to the lakḥanasattha<sup>2</sup> which described the auspicious and inauspicious bodily forms of men and women. The Atthasattha which has been quoted by the Vh(P)<sup>3</sup> was possibly in Prākṛit only, according to Sandesara<sup>4</sup>.

The āgamas<sup>5</sup> and the samayas<sup>6</sup>, i.e. treatises on dance, painting and music have been referred to.

The scientific literature (satthas) referred to in the Vh(M) includes atthamga mahānimitta<sup>7</sup> (science

1. Ibid.; II. 10a.

2. Vh(P), 313.

3. Ibid.; 45.

4. Sandesara, trans.p.55.

5. Vh(P), 121, 352.

6. Ibid.; 121, 174.

7. Vh(M), II. 50a.



of good and bad omens), Vesiyasavvattha<sup>1</sup> (science of prostitutes), Samudda-cāraṇa or ḍurisitthilakkhaṇa<sup>2</sup> (palmistry and auspicious and inauspicious bodily signs of human beings), Sūdasatta<sup>3</sup> (coockery) and cilāīyasattha<sup>4</sup> (science of dancing).

Though the above mentioned sciences have been referred to in the Vh(M), Sappatigicchāsutta<sup>5</sup>, Dehappamdanāsutta<sup>6</sup> and Saunaruta<sup>7</sup> are the only ones which have been quoted in the text.

The Vh(P) also refers to the kathās and ākhyāyikās<sup>8</sup> kappiya kathā (romantic) and caritakattā (story based on historical incidents)<sup>9</sup>, but does not give any example of these.

The Vh(M), however, refers to the Nāṭya śāstra (nadasutta)<sup>10</sup> of Bharata, which was quite popular and had

1. Ibid.; II. 177b.

2. Ibid.; II. 193a.

3. Ibid., II. 61

4. Ibid., II. 177ab.

5. Vh(M), II. 205a.

6. Ibid.; II. 170b.

7. Ibid.; II. 159b.

8. Vh(P), 68.

9. Ibid.; 208-09.

10. Vh(M). II. 56a.

influenced the mode of life of the elite<sup>1</sup>.

Superstitions :

A large mass of beliefs about auspicious and inauspicious bodily forms, orientations of limbs, complexion etc.; auspicious and inauspicious natural phenomena like sounds of birds and dreams, were current in the society.

As explained earlier, Jaina philosophy advocated a sort of cycle of karman and its effects. The marks on the body of a person which were the result of the karman in previous birth were supposed to provide a clue to probe into future incidents also. So also were the nature without and the psychological phenomena within, supposed to help in giving a sort of intimation about the future incidents. How such beliefs got currency is altogether a different field of study ; but we might describe it as an attempt of man to interpret the nature in relation to human life.

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1. Vesiyapuvvācāra followed by Vasudeva; Vh(M), I.32.

The enactment of the seven attacks (vega) resulting due to snake-bite by an actor and Vasudeva's knowledge ( Vh(M), 205a) of these very well compares with a section from Bharta's Nāṭyasāstra (XXV, 102-110).

Persons specializing in the traditional knowledge of these branches of learning were called Lakkhanapāthagas and Nemitts or Jōṣa vijjāpāragas.

The Lakkhanapāthagas :

The Lakkhanapāthagas on the basis of their knowledge of auspicious and inauspicious signs on the body could foretell in the case of unmarried girls as to who their husbands would be and how ~~he~~<sup>they</sup> should be identified<sup>1</sup>. Many of the wives of Vasudeva were told beforehand that they would be the wives of the father of ~~the~~ Baladeva and Vāsudeva<sup>2</sup> (addhabharahāhiva-piūbhajjā).

Basis of Interpretation :

The auspicious and inauspicious signs on the body as also the beauty and deformity were supposed to be an outcome of good and bad karman<sup>3</sup>. Because of inauspicious karman Amjanasenā, a Brahmin maiden, was born ugly. She is described to have brown and rough hair, brown eyes, uneven teeth and <sup>a</sup>dull complexion<sup>4</sup>. Naṃdisena, a Brahmin, because of his bad looks, was supposed to be

1. Vh(P), 18-19.

2. Ibid., 99.

puhavipaibhāriya, ibid., 197.

3. Ibid.; ~~ibid.~~; 233.

4. Ibid.;

inauspicious and also responsible for the death of his parents shortly after his birth. He was later on rejected as a bridegroom in his youth. Disgusted, he renounced the world, acquired merit, and was born as a beautiful person in his next birth<sup>1</sup>.

A rudimentary idea about the auspicious male form can be had from the various descriptions of Vasudeva<sup>2</sup>, Vairajamgha<sup>3</sup>, Tivittu and Acala<sup>4</sup>, Rāma and Kesava<sup>5</sup>, and Pajjunna<sup>6</sup>, in the Vh(P). Similarly, the concept of an ideal female form is revealed in the descriptions of Vegavati<sup>7</sup>, Bandhumati<sup>8</sup>, Sāmali<sup>9</sup>, Sāmā and Vijayā<sup>10</sup> and Pāumavati<sup>11</sup>. Ideals of male beauty were Devakumāra or Vidyādhara-kumāra<sup>12</sup> or a Gandhavva<sup>13</sup>.

The uttamapurisa lakkhana was another term expressive of auspicious bodily form. Such a person, i.e.

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|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Vh(P), 114-15, 118-19. | 2. <u>Ibid.</u> ; 204, 280, 353. |
| 3. <u>Ibid.</u> ; 176.    | 4. <u>Ibid.</u> ; 276.           |
| 5. <u>Ibid.</u> ; 77.     | 6. <u>Ibid.</u> ; 91-92.         |
| 7. <u>Ibid.</u> ; 221.    | 8. <u>Ibid.</u> ; 280.           |
| 9. <u>Ibid.</u> ; 123.    | 10. <u>Ibid.</u> ; 121.          |
| 11. <u>Ibid.</u> ; 78.    | 12. Vh(P), 66, 281, 356, 363.    |
| 13. <u>Ibid.</u> ; 359.   |                                  |

an uttamapurisa, has been described as follows : with the head round like a parasol, face like the moon, lotus-like eyes, arms like the body of a serpent, chest wide like the gate of a city, waist like the middle portion of a thunderbolt, navel like the pericarp of a lotus (kamalakosa), thighs like the trunk of an elephant, shanks like kuruvimda flower and feet having likeness with the golden tortoise and bearing auspicious marks.<sup>1</sup>

The Ideal Female Form :

The female form had its ideal in the goddesses Siri<sup>2</sup> and Sarassati<sup>3</sup>.

From her appearance, Vasudeva could make out that Vegavati was a woman of character and not a wanton one<sup>4</sup>. She is described as follows : Her pleasing face was like a lotus; her hair curly; forehead, proportionate, i.e. one third of the face; her eyebrows were thick, long and curved like a bow; nose not too prominent or low; eyelids dark and thick; cheeks circular and prominent; ears fleshy and having a small cavity, and lips red like the Bimba fruit<sup>5</sup>.

1. Ibid.; 204, 353.

2. Ibid.; 280.

3. Ibid.; 133, 204.

4. Vh(F), 226.

5. Ibid.;

The lakṣhanapāthagas while judging the auspicious form of a woman, mainly took into consideration the following parts of the body : the face, eyes, nose, lips, breasts, arms, ~~the~~ waist, ~~the~~ buttocks, thighs, shanks and feet<sup>1</sup>.

In the Vh(M) more details about lakṣhanas of men and women are told. The context in which these exhaustive details appear is like this. Vasudeva was secretly living in the palace <sup>of</sup> princess Rāyaṇapadī of Banaras with the help of her doorkeeper by name Piyadatta. He, with the help of his knowledge of palmistry (samudda) and the auspicious and inauspicious bodily forms (lakṣhana), tells the princess that she and Vasudeva would be separated for some~~t~~ime. On this, Vasudeva and others ask Piyadatta to tell them something about these two branches of learning.

The treatment of the information as given in the text is very unsystematic. The information pertaining to both men and women appears mixed up in between in the course of the information about the auspicious and inauspicious

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1. Ibid., 204.

bodily forms of the women, and in the repetition of the bodily form of the mother of a sovereign (cakkavattījanānī) and thus stands testimony to the above remark.

The information which Piyatt<sup>d</sup>atta gives is as follows:

The persons proficient in the art of prognostication examine mainly the hands, legs, head and other limbs, after making a preliminary examination of the complexion, character (satta) and the age of the person concerned.

In the examination of the hands, signs on the palm are given an important place.

#### Palms :

A person, whether male or female, who has three lines on his wrist never faces distress.

On the palm there are mainly three lines which tell the lineage (kulalehā), the wealth to one's share (dhanalehā) and the span of life (āulehā). All the three lines, when not intercepted and sufficiently long, suggest a good lineage, a good amount of property, including that from the ancestors, and a long span of life; otherwise,

however, they indicate birth in a low family, poverty and premature death.

### Lines on the Palm<sup>1</sup>

The line which starts from the wrist and goes <sup>ward</sup> up is indicative of prosperity, wealth and recognition in public life. If it reaches the thumb or the index finger (padēsini) it is a sign of kingship. If the person does not become a king then he at least becomes a general or a royal priest enjoying the same prosperity.

### Number of Lines :

The number of lines on the middle of the front portion of the thumb (amgutt̄hodare) coincides with the number of one's germane brothers and sisters, that on the back (pat̄thi) of the thumb, with that of the number of one's issues.

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1. Sāmali, a Vidyādhara princess and wife of Vasudeva, has been described in the Vh(P) as having very clear lines on her palm, and having marks of cāmaras, fish and the parasol on the palm; Vh(P), 123.



### Circles on the Palm :

The circles formed on the palm of the root of fingers, when clockwise and anticlockwise give respectively a clue to the male and female issues of a person. The number of circles moving to the right (padāhināvatta) coincides with the number of male issues, and the number of circles moving to the left with the number of female issues.

### The Nails :

The colour of nails indicates the financial position of a person. Nails, red like a lotus, are said to be most auspicious, and bring wealth.

### Gap in Fingers :

The absence of any gap in the straightened fingers of the open palm are suggestive of happiness during the three stages of life. Non-cavity between the <sup>n</sup>index and middle fingers shows easy-going life during childhood and young age (padhamavaya) and the non-cavity between the rest is indicative of happy life in the middle and ~~the~~ old age.

### The Fingers :

If the little finger has an ugly nail then one can foretell the death of the father and if such a finger

touches obliquely the finger nearby then it is indicative of the death of the mother (jananighata) in the childhood.

Marks on the Palm :

A person on whose palm there are marks of the shape of sutthiyā (suktikā) can be judged to be happy, healthy and religious-minded. Whenever macchas on the palm have their mouth outward one can foretell that the person is going to be happy in the later part of his life<sup>1</sup>.

The Marks on the Fingers :

If there is a gap (bhaga) in between the index finger and the thumb, it indicates prosperity in the case of males, and devotion towards the husband in the case of females.

The person on whose fingers and toes, marks similar to fish or tortoise are seen, prospers in (business connected with) water and ~~on~~ has to reside <sup>on</sup> water (salila vatthi) suhidā ya. Marks of the shape of a churning rod (mamthānī), a jar (kalasa) or a rope (dāma) are suggestive of prosperity in kine (godhana). Marks similar to a crow, jackal, bear, tiger, dog and other inauspicious

1. Cf. Vh(P) 123, Where Vidyādhara princess Sāmali is said to have marks of cāmaras, fish and the parasol on her palm.

animals show low profession (kuvuttiya). <sup>Marks of</sup> Elephant, fish, conch, sword and tortoise ~~marks~~ make a person a king.

The auspicious and inauspicious marks pertaining to the palm are efficacious only if they are on the right hand in the case of males, and on the left in the case of females.

#### Other parts of the Body :

After this Piyadatta enumerates auspicious and inauspicious orientation of the various parts of the body.

#### The Head :

The head of the shape of a parasol (chattākāra) and hair turning in a curl to the right (padāhīṇāvatta) is auspicious in the case of males; while a kuḍa (a kind of a vessel)-shaped head and hair curling to the left are auspicious in the case of women.

#### The Forehead :

Forehead similar to the moon on the eighth night (aṭṭamicāṇḍa) and having no wrinkles (arebham) is auspicious both for the male and the females. The wrinkles on the forehead suggest rebirth for as many pallopamās as the number of the wrinkles.

Gait :

A person whose gait is similar to that of either an elephant, a bull, a lion or a goose goes on the feet of others, (te avassa parapādehim bimbhavana gacchamti), i.e. moves in vehicles. Such a person is always prosperous and happy.

The Waist :

Waist similar to that of a lion is suggestive of continued happiness.

Auspiciousness of the above parts of the body is efficacious in bringing good results only when it is supported by good character or resolution (satta).

The Face :

The similarity in face with animals was believed to associate certain qualities in the person.

A mongoose-like face indicated bravery, hare-like, short life; monkey-like, wickedness; vulture-like (yaddhavayana gadhavayona), taste for meat; buffalo-like, bad character; donkey-like, difficulty in livelihood; tiger-like, ~~face~~, hunger; cow-like ~~face~~, livelihood on cattle; while a face like the moon indicated kingship.

Eyes :

Big, watery and thoughtful (gambhīrā) eyes were supposed to attract the attention of the ladies. Eyes similar to those of a peacock are said to be beautiful. It was believed that speckled eyes indicated adultery. Eyes similar to those of a crow showed bad character; like those of a donkey showed short life; and like those of a cat, liking for theft. Vile persons were supposed to have squint eyes.

The Feet :

Jackal-like and crow-like feet showed that a person would not live for a long time in his <sup>own</sup> ~~own~~ house. Feet, broad in shape, were supposed to be inauspicious in the case of both men and women.

The Nose :

A person who has a nose similar to the flower of sesamum plant (tilapuppha) becomes wealthy while a person who has a crooked nose can be taken to be a vile ~~one~~.

Shanks :

A person whose shanks are very prominent (pimḍiyāu) roams about from place to place.

Other Attributes :

Complexion like the colour of a rose-apple (jambuphala), or like gold, or like that of a goose, or like a crystal or ruby (paumarāga) or iron, all of them are auspicious as they give persons strength and other good qualities.

Lustre in various parts of the body is also indicative of certain good results. Lustrous nails indicate good seraches (vana) in amorous play; lustrous eyes show beauty; lustrous teeth are <sup>conducive to</sup> ~~conducive to~~ giving good food to a person; while similar hair go to make available for him cosmetics (gamdhamattanulevana).

Voices similar to the sounds created by the bull, sarasa bird and a goose, and sounds of clouds, a pitcher (gagara), rattling of wheels, stormy sea, drum and surattara kova (?) were supposed to be auspicious. On the other hand voices which are similar to the sounds created by owls, worms, or crows as also rough, harsh, full of stammering and fierce ~~voices~~ are inauspicious. It is said that a person should have a deep navel, deep lines on the palm and a deep voice; for an order from a person who has deep voice is never questioned. It is always complied with by others (apadihadā).

A person who has very good nails, and whose tongue, pallet, lower lip, eyes, teeth, hands and feet are red, becomes equal to Dhanapadi, i.e. Kubera. A person who has his palms red like fire is never forsaken by the goddess of wealth.

A person who is bulky with flesh is always prone to luxury.

Auspicious and Inauspicious Signs pertaining to Women :

In addition to the above enumeration, Piyadatta also gives <sup>Some</sup> of the auspicious <sup>and</sup> inauspicious marks of specifically pertaining to women, in the Vh(M).

According to him an ideal woman who is fit to become the chief queen of a sovereign has a gait like that of a goose, shanks like the tail of a cow, a prominent chin (unnatahanu), nails red in colour, eyes like lotus leaves, prominent hips (vicchadajahanā) and plump breasts.

He also gives another description of the wife of an emperor (sagalapuhavīpatibhāriyā), wherein he tells that she is generally of dark complexion, or like that of a moon or of a lotus. Her speech is sweet like the cooing of a goose (rāyahamsa) and she has large brown eyes (pimgalāyataloanā). She gives birth to five sons.

The mother of an emperor has somewhat different signs. She has both on her hands and feet marks of a nagara (namgala(?), a plough), a crocodile, a disk, a god and a lotus. She is also said to have, in addition to the above marks, symbols resembling mt. Meru, and the ocean.

The mother of a Vāsudeva<sup>1</sup> has <sup>the</sup> following marks on her hands and feet : a plough, thunderbolt, conch, lotus, mirror, soda (?), mallet and a box (karamka). The mother of a Baladeva<sup>2</sup> has the marks of a plough, pestle (mussala), horse, excellent elephant (gayapadi) and a lotus.

A woman who speaks sweet like a goose (hansa) and has red charming eyes gives birth to three sons.

One who has flanks like those of a frog gives birth to a son and brings prosperity in the form of wealth and agricultural produce (dhanadhanna). Her son becomes a king.

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1. Cf. Vh(P), 276, where the Vāsudeva himself is described to have on his palms and the soles of his feet marks and resembling the moon (sasi), the sun (śura), a god (amkusa), the ocean (samudda), the mt. Māndara, and a discus (cakka).
  2. See also Vh(P), 276, where Baladeva is described to have the mark of siripāyava on his chest.



One whose waist is similar to sayamadu (?) and has eyes like those of a female goose gives birth to two sons who become very prosperous.

A woman who has a black spot (tilo) on her forehead begets eight sons who become affluent (dhanasāmi)

One whose feet are proportionate with the soles falling flat on the earth while walking, attains happiness.

A woman who has long fingers, nails and nose lives long but does not get a son.

One on whose left flank there is a black spot (kālaū tilo) not a mole (na tu khīlo) definitely gives birth to a son.

Descriptions of women having inauspicious marks, so also their ill consequences have been related.

A woman having rough hair, brown eyes (pimgalacchi) because of which she has been referred to as (Pimgalā) or much hair on her body, or has very less hair is inauspicious and she first of all kills her husband then her brother-in-law, and within no time the whole family ~~also~~.

Similarly, a woman who has a big belly, a long forehead and hanging phidū (hips?) kills three males of the family, viz., the husband along with his father and brother.

After their death, she becomes dependent on other persons (parapimda).

A woman having excessively fleshy shanks (thūlajamghā) is inauspicious and she either becomes an adulteress or is widowed and becomes a servant in <sup>an</sup> other's family.

A woman whose little toe does not touch the floor, while walking, kills her husband.

The Nemittis :

Foreteller Saṃdillāyana's example from the Vh(P) shows that a nemitti had to be proficient in the sciences of astronomy and astrology (joisavijiāpāraga). He could tell on the basis of his studies in the atthamga mahānimitta, the exact nature of the future incidents. For example, Saṃdillāyana could forecast that the king of Poyanapura, whoever he may be, will meet a fatal accident with lightning (imdāsani)<sup>1</sup>. Because of such accuracies in prediction, a nemitti was consulted while selecting a bride as to whether she is auspicious to the family or not<sup>2</sup>.

In the Vh(M) also, there are instances of a nemitti being consulted for finding out the right time

1. Vh(P), 315.

2. Ibid.; 118.

(tithi-karana-divasamuhutta) for the accomplishment of certain acts like war<sup>1</sup>; entering the town<sup>2</sup>, or even approaching a courtesan<sup>3</sup>. The moment chosen for war was dreadful (rod̄da), destructive for enemy and favourable for the march as in the case of Vasudeva. This moment occurred when the sun was in the second mansion (? dodiyatthe) and the moon in the mansion of Kṛttikās<sup>4</sup>. Nemittī was also consulted to know a favourable moment for a sudden attack on the enemy. In the case of Susena of Kākamdi the foreteller could forecast much in advance, exactly on what day and at what time a tempest was expected, so that if attacked at such a time, the enemy would be caught unawares<sup>5</sup>.

It is but natural that an astrologer was consulted at the time of the performance of some religious or meritorious act. He was expected to tell not only the auspicious and right moment but was responsible in selecting, in case a structure was to be built, the right site for it. In the case of the construction of a shed

1. Vh(M), II. 128b.

2. Ibid.; II. 199b.

3. Ibid.; II. 178a.

4. Vh(M), II. 128b.

5. Ibid.; II. 214b.

meant for the free distribution of water (papā), various gains have been enumerated as a result of a difference in construction of it in various directions. Such a structure built in northern direction was believed to bring wealth; in north-eastern, authority (pabhuttana); in south, protection from the fear of fire; in south-western, prevention of ill luck, death and draught; and if in the west, prevention of fear from water<sup>1</sup>.

#### Eclipses :

On the basis of the information from the Vh(P) it seems that the nemittī arrived at some of his conclusions on the basis of the movement of the heavenly bodies and their possible effects on the human world. For example, the eclipse<sup>2</sup>

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1. ibid.; II. 87b.

2. Ruppīnī, becoming aware of the kidnapping of her newly-born son, says that her treasure was stolen and that the new moon was, as though, being eclipsed by the demon Rāhu; Vh(P), 83. From the above example it can very well be realised that the ideal of total destruction or bankruptcy is expressed ~~with~~<sup>in</sup> the idiom of an eclipse. The human mind interpreted violation in the cosmic order in the form of an eclipse as though it was a result of the sins committed by human beings. This was thought to be rectified by the performance of meritorious acts. The Vh(P), tells about Vasubhūi, a Brahmin, who went to an urban settlement with a desire to receive donations on the occasion of a ~~moon~~<sup>but lunar</sup> moon-eclipse (p.30).

of the sun was supposed to bring evil in this world<sup>1</sup>. Earth-quakes, fall of meteors, dimness of the sun during day time, an irregular eclipse, a dust-storm and the winds were also taken to be ill omens<sup>2</sup>. The occurrence of the above phenomena was interpreted by people as ~~one~~ capable of creating danger to the life of the king<sup>3</sup>.

The Vh(P) also refers to the technical names of rough winds such as samvatta<sup>4</sup>. This wind was thought to be capable of sweeping the whole world. The wind coming from the south-western direction, presided over by Nirr̥gi, goddess of the evil, was supposed to be the dispeller of clouds<sup>5</sup>.

Omens :

Manifestation of good omens was thought to be conducive to the success of a new enterprise. Many good and bad omens have been referred to in the course of the story of Vasudeva in the Vh(P). Vasudeva blamed his fate when he was separated from his wife, princess Nilajasā. In dejection

1. Vh(P), 315.

2. Ibid.; 317.

3. Vh(P), 317.

4. Ibid.; 160.

5. Ibid.; 207.

he started on his wanderings anew. His sight fell upon the vātamiya variety of antelopes in the forest. He was encouraged at their sight as it was interpreted to bring about a lucky event<sup>1</sup>. Later on, he came out successful in a debate on Vedic learning as a result of which he was married to Somasirī<sup>2</sup>.

Similarly, Dhammilla was very happy when he noted some good omens while entering the city of Campā<sup>3</sup>, as a result of which, probably, he married eight maidens from the sāṛthavāha community. Vasudeva, aware of being kidnapped by a Vetāla, did not mind it in as much as he came across some good omens such as the touch of a garland of flowers, white bull, conversation pertaining to union, sight of a temple and listening to the utterances of monks<sup>4</sup>. The conversation of union brought about his marriage with Nīlajāsā.

The period of twilight was supposed to be inauspicious (avelā). As such, two traders who brought jewels from Lamkā did not go straight to the town. They deposited their treasures outside the city and entered the city at night<sup>5</sup>.

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1. Vh(P), 181.

2. Ibid.; 194.

3. Ibid.; 69.

4. Ibid.; 179.

5. Ibid.; 111.

§ In the Vh(P), we get a very interesting example of an omen while selecting a good site for a town. Ila, a descendent of Hari, while on an expedition, sees a very curious incident. He notices a lame female antelope facing very calmly<sup>a</sup> a tiger. Taking it to be an auspicious omen, he builds a city on that site. Ila thinks that the incident could happen only because of the sanctity of the land<sup>1</sup>.

In this incident it has been probably suggested that the weak and the strong could live together peacefully on that site. Such a phenomenon is said to have occurred only in the sacred groves of ancient sages. Ila wanted his city to be similarly sacred where the weak and the strong could live together.

The Vh(M) also provides some information about the omens of similar types. In addition to those referred to in the Vh(P), the position of the sun,<sup>a</sup> glow of the horizon in various directions, or places like cemetery and the crying of birds gave intimation about the coming danger.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Vh(P), 357.
2. The passage which Vasudeva remembers in this connection is ~~all~~ defective. The source of the remark seems to be some commentary - like treatise, wherein various views on the same subjects are expressed. The expression Kesimci puna etc.; corroborates it. Howling of jackals towards the direction of the sun or near a cemetery was considered to be a bad omen, Vh(M), II. 221a.

✱ Actually there appears to be in all this information the implication of the existence of an independent treatise called saunaruda<sup>1</sup> on the cries of birds and their interpretation. Casual words in the conversation of the passers-by and the sight of certain objects were also supposed to indicate the future incidents. The sight of a peacock or of a cāraṇasamaṇa perching on the Asoga tree<sup>2</sup>, the words 'kāmasāmidha pamadavaṇa' from the mouth of a maid servant<sup>3</sup>, and good remarks of people going in a procession such as 'this is a good couple'<sup>4</sup>, were taken to be good omens. On the other hand the sight of an antelope being separated from its beloved<sup>5</sup>, or one's casually listening to an abusive quarrel between servants<sup>6</sup>, were indicative of bad future events.

#### Dreams :

Some of the foretellers specialised themselves in the science of interpreting dreams (suvinaṇādhaga). The science of interpreting dreams, according to the Vh(P), has been at least as old as the times of lord Mahāvira.

1. Ibid.;

2. Ibid.; II. 170b.

3. Ibid.; II. 208b.

4. Ibid.; II. 216ab.

5. Ibid.; II. 167.

6. Ibid.; II. 216ab.



He is said to have interpreted dreams similar to those seen by Dhāriṇī, as suggestive of the birth of an illustrious pahāṇa son<sup>1</sup>. Dhāriṇī, mother of Jambusāmī, had seen five dreams before his birth. In these dreams she had a vision of i) Fire burning brilliantly, ii) a lake of lotuses, iii) a field of paddy (sāliyaṇa) full of crop, iv) a white elephant with four tusks and v) fruits of rose-apple tree spreading fragrance all around.

When pregnant, the mothers of Titthayaras and Cakkavattis were supposed to perceive fourteen auspicious dreams<sup>2</sup>, and those of the Kesavas, seven<sup>3</sup>. In the case of Rohiṇī, who was the mother of Baladeva<sup>4</sup>, the Vh(P) informs us that she saw only four dreams.

The fourteen auspicious dreams which are said to be suggestive of religions and temporal sovereignty are given as follows :i) A bull, white like the silver mountain

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1. 1. Vh(P), 2; See also, the dream of Sijjāṃsa, grandson of Usabha, and <sup>his</sup> inability to interpret it; Vh(P), 164.
2. Ibid.; 300, 158-59
3. Ibid.; 276.
4. Ibid.; 366. The numbers of dreams given in the case of Titthayaras and the Cakkavattis, Kesavas and Baladevas seems to have been accepted by tradition in the later Śvetāmbara literature; see Shah, U.P., Studies in Jaina Art, p. 107.

descending from heaven ii) Erāvāṇa elephant, white in complexion like a cloud having no water, and having <sup>four</sup> ~~from~~ tusks; iii) Lion having the complexion of a cluster of necklaces (of pearls - hārāniyara) and having brown coloured manes; iv) goddess Lacchī accompanied by four ~~quarter~~-elephants descending from the sky; v) a pair of garlands (dāmaduya) filling all the quarters with fragrance; vi) the rising sun and the moon with their lustre and pleasing light; vii) the large banner of god Sakka (sakkajjhaya) hoisted high in the air and decorated with thousands of pennons (kuḍabhi) studded with jewels; viii) a water jar of gold, kept on a lotus and also covered with a lotus; ix) a pond full of various types of lotuses over which hover many bees attracted by the honey; x) the khīroda sea full of silver white water; xi) an aerial car (vimāṇa) shining with garlands of jewels and occupied by the celestial beauties; xii) the residence of the Nāgas (Nāgabhavana) resounding with sweet songs from the mouth of the nāga goddesses; xiii) a heap of jewels (rayanarāsi) high like mt. Māṇḍara, and consisting of the moonstones and sunstones (sasisurakāṃṭa), ruby (kamalarāya) and sapphire (imādanīla), and xiv) Fire (hutavaha) shining

more brilliantly due to the offerings<sup>1</sup>.

The same dreams have been described in an abridged form and put in a stanza, elsewhere in the Vh(P)<sup>2</sup>.

The objects seen in the dreams were believed to be associated with sovereignty, prosperity and sanctity.

It has been also told in the case of Usabha and Kanha that they not only perceived these dreams but experienced in the same a miracle. The bull seen by Marudevā entered her mouth when she was yawning. Even ~~that~~ when such a big elephant had entered, the Vh(P), says, that she experienced no pain; on the other hand, she experienced

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1. Vh(P), 158-59. The editor treats camdasure as separate and appends nagabhavana to devavimāna which is incorrect. The sixth dream has the speciality in showing the sun and the moon together (jugavam). The editor was influenced by the enumeration as given in the Kalpasutra (see Shah, U.P., op.cit., p.105) wherein the moon and the sun are treated as seen in separate dreams. The same enumeration is different from that given in the Vh(P) (158-59, 300) as it does not include the nagabhavana dream.
2. Vh(P), 300.

great pleasure (nivvui)<sup>1</sup>. In the case of Ruppini, mother of Kaṇha, the animal was a lion<sup>2</sup>. The Vh(M) states that dreams experienced about the break of the day come true<sup>3</sup>.

Some of the dreams described in the Vh(M), so also the interpretation regarding their results, have been given below.

Princess Damadaṃti in her dream perceived herself climbing a mango tree in the grove of the city of Kosalā. As soon as she climbed the tree, goddess Nevvudi manifested herself in the dream and gave a red lotus in Damadaṃti's hand<sup>4</sup>. Similarly, princess caṃdalaḥā saw herself climbing a mango tree and tasting (nighottana) its fruit<sup>5</sup>. Both these dreams were thought to be auspicious and interpreted as suggestive of the union with the husband.

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1. Ibid.; 158. Similar incident in the case of the mother of Siddhārtha is related in the Lalitavistara and Mahāvastu, the earliest sculptural representation of which we get in c.1st cent B.C. at Bharhut. See, Zimmer, The Art of Indian Asia, Vol.II,Pl.31,d.; See also Foucher, A.; The Life of the Buddha, etc., p. 25. pl.1.
2. Vh(P), 82. 3. Vh(M), II.213a. This belief is still current in India.
4. Vh(M), II. 70b. 5. Ibid.; II. 103b.

Princess Muttāvalī in her dream saw herself playing with a white lion, brought and put in a cage by her father. When let loose, the lion tore open her heart from which gushed forth a stream of blood<sup>1</sup>. This dream allegorically expressed her love for Vasudeva who was captured as a prisoner by her father. This dream was, of course, interpreted as an auspicious one.

Throbbing of limbs :

The Vh(M) also gives information about the beliefs current regarding the involuntary throbbing of various limbs and their good and bad results. Any such involuntary shaking of limbs in the left and right parts of the body were supposed to be auspicious for women and men respectively. The throbbing of feet and shanks was associated with travelling; that in the armpits, chest, breasts, shoulders, arms, neck, chin, eyes, eyebrows, ears and nose was associated with the acquisition of enjoyment for that particular part, and amorous love. The throbbing at the back of thighs and in the back proper were supposed to be indicative of defeat; that in the end of the shanks and feet, or all joints of the limbs, Samkhi(?)

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1. ibid.; 213a.

and the anus (vāyatthāna) were supposed to be inauspicious<sup>1</sup>. When princess Damadañṭi experienced horripilation all over her body, had her left eye full of tears and foot full of perspiration, she expected some good event. Later on she was united with her husband<sup>2</sup>.

Magical Spells and Other Practices :

The Vh(M) also alludes to magical practices which might have been current in the contemporary society.

The efficacy of the recitation of magical spells making the normal elephant<sup>3</sup> or horse<sup>4</sup> run fast, and spells making one have mastery over the favourable fall of dice<sup>5</sup> are reminiscent of such beliefs referred to in the Epics. The nāgahidayamānta which made a she-elephant run swiftly consisted of a namokkāra to the first two of the five Parameṣṭhins, then a namokkāra to Imda Vajjapāni, who has the best elephant Erāvāna as his vehicle, then to Erāvāna himself, and lastly to the <sup>elephants of the quarters.</sup> four ~~quarter~~ elephants. The charm prayed all these gods to make the elephant move fast<sup>6</sup>. This is one of the instances where one can sense

1. Vh(M), 159b.

2. Ibid.; II. 706-71a.

3. Vh(M), II. 219a.

4. Ibid.; II. 69a.

5. Ibid.;

6. Ibid.; II. 219a.

the popular transformation of Jaina beliefs, as indicated by the use of the namokkara, for such magical purposes and the skillful adaptation of the Hindu legends in the Jaina literature.

Herbs and Jewels :

Belief in the magical efficacy of certain divine herbs not easily accessible, partaking<sup>1</sup> or wearing<sup>2</sup> on <sup>one's</sup> person of which enabled a person to dispel all diseases and evils was current amongst the people. There is also a reference to a certain collyrium application of which made one invisible<sup>3</sup>.

In the Vh(M) there is a very detailed discourse<sup>4</sup> by Vasudeva on the art of the examination of various precious stones (manirayana), wherein various merits of wearing the jewels have also been described.

1. Vh(M), II. 113b.
2. ibid.; II. 117b.
3. ibid.; II. 8b. There is a reference to the use of such a collyrium by two monks who used to steal food from the palace of Candragupta; see Deo, op.cit., p. 298-99.
4. Vh(M), II. 149b-154b.

The precious stones and pearls were employed in various ways as can be seen from the example of ivory and the pearl obtained from the elephant. It was studded not only in the ornaments (bhūsanābharana) but also in weapons, cots, houses and conveyances<sup>1</sup>. The precious stones were also classified on the basis of shades, which had their own presiding deities, e.g.; the three varieties of Verūliya, viz.; white, blue and black are respectively presided over by Indra, Vāyu and Vinhu<sup>2</sup>. That this sort of belief had some meaning behind it can be seen from the example of māhimda variety of diamond (vajja) which was believed to bring victory in the war<sup>3</sup>.

The good results <sup>ru</sup>accrued from the wearing of the precious stones and pearls can be classified roughly into three categories: i) prosperity, ii) averting the evil and iii) strength.

Almost all precious stones, except the diamond, are said to bring prosperity to the person who wears them<sup>4</sup>.

1. Ibid.; 151b.

2. Ibid.; 154b.

3. Vh(M), II. 149b.

4. Ibid.; II. 151b, 153b.



Ruby (paūmarāga) is said to bring prosperity in wealth as well as in agricultural produce. It also grows the number of kine if set in gold<sup>1</sup>. Kakkedana brings prosperity also to relatives<sup>2</sup>. Verūliya gave splendour<sup>3</sup>, while Kakkedana enabled one to have a son who was expected to make the whole family happy<sup>4</sup>.

Pulaga and Paūmarāga dispells the evil<sup>5</sup>; while Maragada and pearl of varāha variety nullified poison<sup>6</sup>. Veruliya dispells the danger from wild animals<sup>7</sup>. Varāha pearl and the diamond are very powerful inasmuch as they were believed to dispell the evil spirits like, Rakkhasas Pisāyas, Jakha<sup>8</sup> Bhūdāsini, Husuvanna and Vigghavināyaga<sup>9</sup>.

Verūliya<sup>10</sup> dark blue variety of Paūmarāga<sup>11</sup>, pearls from the bamboo (vaṃsa)<sup>12</sup> and fish (maccha)<sup>13</sup> were believed to endow one with long life, averting untimely death, and energy; while the pearl from an elephant (nāga) and a boar (varāhakavila), māhinda <sup>diamond</sup> ~~duanibd~~ (vajja)<sup>14</sup> and Paūmarāga set in parisutta<sup>15</sup> made one invincible in war and always endowed one with victory.

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1. Ibid.; II. 152b-153a.      2. Ibid.; II. 153b.  
 3. Ibid.; II.154b.      4. Ibid.; 153b.  
 5- Ibid., II 152b-153a, 154a.      6. Ibid.; II.151b, 153b.  
 7. Ibid.; II. 151b, 154b.      8. Vh(M), II. 151b.  
 9. Ibid.; II. 150b.      10. Ibid.; II. 154b.  
 11. Ibid.; II. 152b-153a.      12. Ibid., II. 151b.  
 13. Ibid.;      14. Ibid.;  
 15. Ibid.; II. 149b.

The Evil Eye :

There is also a reference to a popular practice which was believed to help one in averting the evil eye. In the anointing ceremony of ~~the~~ Vasudeva salt was burnt to dispel ~~the~~ evil effects of the evil eye<sup>1</sup>.

From the use of jewels and the reference to <sup>above</sup> the practice, it can be seen that in the life of Jain laymen such popular practices played an important part and these practices were given a sort of recognition.

The Art of cooking :

From the example of Naṃda and Sunaṃda, both of whom were cooks of Vasudeva, it can be known that cooking was regarded as a specialised profession, wherein special training in cooking combined with the knowledge of medicine (tigiccha) was needed. It was held that the art of cooking was dependent on the science of medicine (tigicchāyattam sūyam)<sup>2</sup>. The meals prepared by the two cooks of Vasudeva are described as of good colour, taste and smell

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1. Vh(M), II. 134b. Such a practice is still observed in Mahārashtra, especially in the case of children.

2. Vh(P), 211.

(vanna-rasa-gandha-sampannavo), less in bulk (niyam) and conducive to health (hiyam, pattam)<sup>1</sup>.

The Vh(M) refers to the food of cakkavattī (cakkavattī-sarisa-bhoyanam), which was supposed to be the ideal one<sup>2</sup>, and also to the treatise ~~of~~ on cooking written by king Nala. The dishes and the way of cooking described in this treatise seem to have been very popular<sup>3</sup>.

Method of Taking Food :

Generally food was taken after bath as can be seen both from the Vh(P)<sup>4</sup> and the Vh(M)<sup>5</sup>. We get detailed information about the arrangement of seats and method of taking food in one of the descriptions of the picnic, given in the Vh(P)<sup>6</sup>.

By the order of the prince a pandal for taking meals (bhoyanamamdava) was erected. On its floor were

1. Ibid. :

2. Vh(M), I. 5a. 8b.

3. It is said that Nala knew Sūriyavijjā with which he cooked in a manner distinct from others. Nalagamthiyāū sūvakārasattha sapidāū loye payaramti, Vh(M), II. 67b.

4. 'majjīya-jimiya-pasāhio' is the usual phrase, Vh(P), 46, 218.

5. Vh(M), II. 134b. For similar observation made by Arab writers; See HCIP. Vol. IV. p. 388.

6. Vh(P), 64.

strewn flowers from a pot (kumbhagga so?) , and proper seats were arranged with due consideration to the rank (jahāriham). Members of the gotthi (gotthiyā) arrived at the pandal properly dressed (gahita gamda vathamallā-bharanā). After washing ~~of~~ hands, (pakaē hatthasoē), eatables (nānāviham khajja-bhojja-pejjam) were served. There is another description in the Vh(P) of the items served and the way of taking food. Vasudeva while receiving the liberal hospitality of a caravan trader (sattavāha) was first bathed and then asked to wear a pair of costly garments (mahariha vathajuyala) . In the meals he was served food of three varieties, viz., that which is to be eaten (bhakkha), that to be licked (lejja), thānakas(?), and drinks.

As can be seen from some of the incidents <sup>in</sup> of the Vh(P), the mode of eating and the items of eating differ in the cases of higher and lower class<sup>es</sup> and the cities and villages.

The Standard and Sub-standard meals :

The standard meals consisted of four types of food items, viz., asana, pāna, khāima and sāima<sup>2</sup>. For the

1. Vh(P), 218-19.

2. Ibid.; 176, corresponding to the bhojja, pejja, khajja and lejja in the part two of Vh, Vh(M), II. 49a.

poor, it consisted only of boiled rice and pulses, (vihī, nippāva); <sup>while</sup> ~~where~~ in the villages major portion of the items <sup>of</sup> ~~in~~ food was covered by milk products (gorasabahu)<sup>2</sup>

The Mode of eating :

When asked to demonstrate the right method of putting morsels <sup>to</sup> in the mouth, doorkeeper Gaṅgarakkhiya shaped boiled rice into a ball and left it in the mouth <sup>as</sup> ~~of~~ though it <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ a hole. The Princess Piyāṅgusaṃdari laughed at his way of eating<sup>3</sup>.

After the meals were over, the hands were <sup>rubbed</sup> ~~washed~~ with flour of pulses (kalāyacuṇṇa), and then were served the fragrant fruits<sup>4</sup>.

The Vh(M) also refers to the four varieties of the eatables, viz.; khajja (to be eaten), pejja (to be drunk or sipped), bojja (to be eaten by swallowing) and lejjha<sup>5</sup> (to be eaten by licking), which were expected to be full of flavours<sup>6</sup>.

1. Vh(P), 144.

2. Ibid.; 145.

3. Vh(P), 290.

4. Ibid.; 218-19.

5. Vh(M), II.49a.

6. Ibid.; I. 39ab.

Specific Types of Food :

The food fit for married persons was cooked in a different way and was denoted as kāmika or mihiniü āhāra<sup>1</sup>. Maids, and women in separation were not expected to take such a food<sup>2</sup>. The food recommended for the latter was boiled rice not mixed with anything else (āyambila)<sup>3</sup>.

Non-Vegetarian Food :

A point should be made clear in connection with the recognition of non-<sup>ge</sup>vegetarian diet. In the case of Brahmanical rituals such as a feast to the manes (bhattapānam piüno, i.e. the śrāddha ceremony), it was laid down in the codes that the persons should partake of the flesh of animals<sup>4</sup>. And apart from this, it was quite usual for certain sections of the society, say for instance, the gova<sup>5</sup>, gahavati<sup>6</sup> and the vāniya<sup>7</sup>, to consume fish<sup>8</sup>, so also animal flesh<sup>9</sup> as a regular item of food.

1. Ibid.; I. 26b; II. 194b.

2. Ibid.;

3. Ibid.; I. 266.

4. Vh(P), 14.

5. Ibid.; 274.

6. Ibid.; 274-75.

7. Ibid.; 294.

8. Ibid.; 74-75.

9. Ibid.; 74. 278.

For such persons who were accustomed to non-vegetarian diet, certain birds and animals were tabooed as for instance, dog, donkey and crow<sup>1</sup>.

Jaina-Followers : Vegetarians :

However, the followers of Jainism never entertained any non-vegetarian food<sup>2</sup>. The main reason to refuse any sort of non-vegetarian dish was practising non-violence completely. It implied practising non-violence not only on a personal level but also not being indirectly responsible for such an act. As such, a person was not only not allowed to kill an animal himself in his house but also not to purchase the flesh of an animal at the butcher's house or accept flesh purchased for him by others. Violence was not only believed to be against the principle of philanthropy but was supposed to be conducive to sinful activity, as it was obstructive to prayer (patthana) and ultimately forced the soul to go astray from the path of right knowledge<sup>3</sup>.

In the Vh(M), also Vasudeva is not ready to show respect to the sages of the Tāvasa fold in spite of their practice of celibacy and mortification of the

1. Vh(P), 260.

2. Ibid.; 142, 258-59.

3. Ibid.; 258-59.

body, as they practised violence by accepting roots, fruits, and flowers of plants as their food<sup>1</sup>, which were supposed to have life<sup>2</sup>.

Items of Vegetarian Food :

Names of a variety of eatables are to be met with in the course of the narrative of the Vh. In the Vh(P) these occur in the description of the feast given to Vasudeva, by a caravan trader (sattavāha) of Ilāvaddhana<sup>3</sup> and in the Vh(M) in the description of a similar feast thrown by a Vidyadhara king<sup>4</sup>. A list of items of food and drinks displayed on the desire-fulfilling trees (kappapāda) of the Namdana forest, also occurs in the Vh(M)<sup>5</sup>.

The Khajjas or Bhakkhas :

The bhakkhas served to Vasudeva in the trader's house<sup>6</sup> were sihakesara, kuvalaya (phalaphalamodaka), pappadultava [pappadaga of the Vh(M)?], Modakas of beans (kummasamoyaga), ukkāriha<sup>7</sup> and sirivattī.

1. Vh(M), II. 80b.

2. Vh(P), 267.

3. Vh(P), 219.

4. Vh(M), II. 49a.

5. Ibid.; I. 39ab.

6. Vh(P), 219.

7. Skt. Utkārihā, a sort of sweetmeat made of milk, treacle and ghee; MWD.



Along with the modaka<sup>1</sup> sweets, khamdamodakas<sup>2</sup> [modakas stuffed with candied sugar (khamda)], have also been referred to as the dishes very much liked by children<sup>3</sup>. Another sweetmeat, ghayapūra<sup>4</sup> (ghrtapūra)<sup>5</sup> which was prepared in clarified butter (ghaya) has also been referred to.

The Vh(M) on the other hand, ~~the~~ refers to the following bhakkhas : saktulī, khamdasakkulī, modayas stuffed with filaments or stalks of lotuses (?), tisaraya, khamdasakkara, pappaddaga, tilapappada, kampillagāsoyavattiyā, iṭṭaga, varapattisa, miyapūraga and āghoria<sup>6</sup>. The bhakkas tasted sweet, or salty or otherwise<sup>7</sup>.

Of the above, sakkulī and tisaraya were sweet as they were stuffed with sugar, jaggery and pulses (vaḍaga)<sup>8</sup>. The pappadaddagas also were prepared of pulses

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1. Vh(P), 101, 225-26.                      2. Ibid.; 18.  
 3. Vh(P), 172.                                4. Ibid.; 239.  
 5. A sweetmeat prepared of flour, milk, cocoanut and ghee, (See MWD) and the same as modern ghevera.  
 6. Vh(M), I. 39ab. II. 49a. Of these Pappada, modaka, sakkulikā and khāravattikā have been referred to in the Amgavijjā, p.182.  
 7. Amgavijjā, p.182.                      8. Vh(M), II. 49a.

but tasted salty, as sochal salt (sovaccala) was added to it as one of the ingredients<sup>1</sup>.

Bhojjas :

Rice, which probably formed the staple food<sup>2</sup>, of the people, was used in various preparations. Āyambila which was accepted as pure food<sup>3</sup>; kūra, which was served from the royal kitchen to the servants<sup>4</sup>; pāyasa<sup>5</sup> and khīrodana<sup>6</sup> which were cooked in milk, all these were preparations of rice. It is also stated that sometimes ghee was also added to pāyasa to make it more tasty<sup>7</sup>, and that khīrodana was very sweet<sup>8</sup>.

Among all the rice preparation that of kalamasāli, referred to in Vh(P), as kalamodana<sup>9</sup>, was said to be very tasty.

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1. Vh(M), II. 49a.

2. Terms used for meals are bhatta or bhattapāna  
Vh(P), 95, 21.

3. Ibid.; 62.

4. Ibid.; 290, also 44.

5. Ibid.; 22. 43. 95, 239.

6. Ibid.; 87, 169.

7. Ibid.; 314.

8. Ibid.; 87-

9. Ibid.; 218.

Rice cooked with pulses (nippāva) formed the meal of <sup>the</sup> ~~a~~ <sup>1</sup> poor person<sup>1</sup>.

According to the Vh(M) the bhoyanavihi included boiled rice, preparations of pulses like mugga, māsa and saṇa. To these were added ghee, honey, spices, flowers, butter, fruits and sugar for taste<sup>2</sup>.

Kalamodana was supposed to be the best variety of rice. When cooked with milk, rice was called paramanna and was considered to be a delicacy<sup>3</sup>.

#### The Lejjhas :

The lejjhas prepared in the house of the trader are said to be smelling sweet due to mustard<sup>4</sup> (rāyasādauppā).

Sum of rice (mamḍa), gruel of the flour of masūra pulse (cāmasijjada<sup>5</sup>) and palāla<sup>6</sup> of sesamum~~\$\$~~ and rice are the lejjhas referred to in the Vh(M).

1. Vh(P), 144.

2. Vh(M), I. 39ab.

3. Ibid., II. 49a.

4. Vh(P), 219.

5. Vh(M), II. 49a. Camasī has been explained so by the comm. on Amara, II.5.10. (p.346).

6. Vh(M), II. 19a. included among the lejjhas, Angavijjā, p. 182.

Pejjias :

The beverages referred to in the Vh(P), are sugarcane juice<sup>1</sup>, milk and curds<sup>2</sup>, and the javāgū.<sup>3</sup>

The terms madhu<sup>4</sup> and pāna<sup>5</sup> are both applied to wine in the Vh(P).

The beverages referred to be available on the kappapādavas are milk, honey, curds, madhu, majja, veraga, sūdhū, pasanna, and madira<sup>6</sup>.

Wine :

From the above list it can be made out that drinking was quite a common practice at least in the higher classes of the society. Vasudeva, though in the guise of a Brahmin, did not hesitate to drink liquor, so also Rayanapadī, a princess<sup>7</sup>. Mayūrasenā, daughter of a setthi

1. It was given as the first alms to Usabha by his grandson. The gods rejoiced at this moment; Vh(P), 165.

2. Ibid.; 43.

3. Īo javāgum; Vh(P), 146. Yavāgu has been explained as a weak decoction prepared in a particular way from grains; see MWD.

4. Vh(P), 33. 5. Ibid.; 142. Madhu also means honey, Vh(P), 8

6. Vh(M), II. 39ab.

7. Ibid.; II. 154a. Maidens generally were not expected to taste wine. Vh(M), II. 194a.

tasted liquor hesitatingly in the company of her husband<sup>1</sup>.

The practice of spicing liquors with the essences of fruits and flowers has been referred to. The āsavas served in the Vidyādhara feast, so also in the palace of princess Rayanapadi savoured lavali (Averrhoa Acida), blue lotus (kuvalaya), clove (lavanga), bakula flower, and trumpet flower (pādala)<sup>2</sup>. The nectar-like mahamadhu which Vasudeva tasted was scented with the essences of the fruits like mango, citron and orange (nāraṅga)<sup>3</sup>.

Muhavāsayas:

After <sup>the</sup> meals were over, the mouth was purified with fruits (sugamdhaphala-kaya-visada-vayano)<sup>4</sup>. Reference to tablets rendering the mouth smell like a lotus (kuvalaya-sugamdha)<sup>5</sup> and to the chewing of betel leaves<sup>6</sup> is to be found in the Vh(P).

1. Ibid.;

2. Ibid.; II. 49a, 194b.

3. Vh(M), II. 235a.

4. Vh(P), 219.

5. Ibid.; 218.

6. Ibid.; 51.

The practice of eating muhavāsayas<sup>1</sup> and the chewing of betel leaves, coated with lime of shells (samcunna<sup>kha</sup>) and stuffed with pieces of arecanut, spices and scents<sup>2</sup> is also referred to.

Daily Routine and Toilet :

Both in the case of men and women the routine followed seems to be as follows:- Before meals the person took bath and got dressed<sup>3</sup>. There was no hard and fast rule about the order of the toilette; it could be done either before the bath or after it<sup>4</sup>.

Before taking bath, the body was shampooed with oil (abhamgi) and rubbed with fragrant paste (uvvaliya)<sup>5</sup>. In the Vh(P), there is a list of material to be kept ready before bath<sup>6</sup>. It included oil for shampoo (abbhanga), a garment meant for covering (acchādāna) ornaments (alamkāva) and ether garments (vattha). Before

1. Vh(M), I.5a; II.96ab. On p. 96ab of Vh(M) II, the author gives a detailed process of preparing muhavāsayas.

2. Vh(M), II. 50a, 139b.

3. majjiyapasāhiyājimiya, Vh(P), 141; nhāya kayabalikamma bhuttabhoyāna, Vh(P), 140.

4. abbhamgiuvvaliya jimiyamajjya, Vh(P), 288.

5. Ibid.;

6. Ibid.; 145.

taking a bath a different garment suitable for oil (sinehadhāranīya) was worn<sup>1</sup>.

In a ceremonial bath a person was bathed with a hundred and eight jars (kalasa), of three types viz, of gold, of silver and clay<sup>2</sup>. Before getting dressed, a thick paste of (vannaga, anulevana) of sandal, and scents were applied to the body<sup>3</sup>. The ladies painted their feet with the juice of lac (camgalattaga)<sup>4</sup>. Reference to collyrium (kajjala) has also been made<sup>5</sup>.

Proper care and decoration of hair formed a part of the toilette<sup>6</sup> both for the males and women folk. Fashions of shaving half<sup>of</sup> the head (addhamumda) or a part of it (cīrikāmumda)<sup>7</sup> in the case of males were looked down upon. Reference to profusely ornamented hair (kesahattha)<sup>8</sup> in the case of maidens and women has been made. Women in separation were expected to tie their hair in a single braid (venibamūha)<sup>9</sup>.

1. Ibid.; 204.

2. Vh(P), 273, a hundred and eight jars of water were poured twice on Vasudeva, once by the priests and the second time by old ladies; Vh(P), 196.

3. Ibid.; 119, 169

4. Ibid.; 65, 32.

5. Ibid.; 37.

6. Ibid.; 17.

7. Ibid.; 96.

8. Ibid.; 65, 179, 280.

9. Vh(P), 72, 154.

As compared to the Vh(P), the Vh(M) gives more details about the daily routine and toilet.

The routine of a house-holder appears to be as follows: He took bath twice or thrice a day<sup>1</sup>. In case he did not take bath in the morning, he brushed teeth with tooth-wood, washed his face, dressed himself<sup>2</sup> and attended to his duties. Every time after his bath and before the meals he worshipped the gods<sup>3</sup>. In the evening, after taking bath and applying pastes he lighted the lamps and took food<sup>4</sup>.

In the case of the king the routine started with music. The instruments like padala, samkha,<sup>5</sup> a pipe and lyre<sup>6</sup>, and songs<sup>7</sup> in praise of from the singers and bards (sutamāgadha)<sup>8</sup> provided with music at dawn (pābhādugasamgīda)<sup>9</sup>.

1. Vh(M), II. 183a.

2. Ibid.; I. 39b.

3. ibid.; II. 183a.

4. Ibid.; II. 182b.

5. Vh(M), I. 9a, II. 148a.

6. Ibid.; I. 45a.

7. Ibid.; II. 196a.

9. Ibid.; I. 9a.

10. Ibid.; I. 45a.



The details of getting dressed both by the women folk and men are the same. They can be summed up as follows : applying pastes (vilevana), fuming the hair (kesadhuvana) and clothes (padavasa), applying bees-wax (mayana) on the lips, moving a stick of collyrium in the eyes (nayanamjanarayana) and putting on flowers, ornaments and clothes<sup>1</sup>.

All the details of routine and toilet as given in the Vh(M) are described below one by one in details.

#### Care of the teeth :

Proper attention was paid to the ~~care~~ of teeth. To prevent any decay due to diseases<sup>2</sup>, the teeth were dyed in various colours, matching to the hue of teeth, such as i) pomma (lotus red), ii) chappidaya (?), <sup>iii)</sup> kisina (black), iv) jamburasaya (of the colour of the juice of the fruit of rose of apple tree), v) addharakkhasa (?), vi) bahukkhamta(?),

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1. Vh(M), I.2. 38b; II. 182b, 183a, 237a. The above details of toilet are exactly similar to those described in the case of a nagaraka in the Kamasutra of Vatsyayana. See Chakladar, H.C. op.cit., p. 110.
  2. It is told that the Vidyadharas did not need any dye for their teeth as they ate pure food. This was not the case with the mortals; Vh(M), II. 140ab.

vii) aggaya (?) and viii) imdayudha (of the colour of the rainbow). In the Vh(M) details of the procedure of dyeing teeth in the above-mentioned colours except the fifth and the seventh, are given elaborately<sup>1</sup>.

It was a practice to brush teeth with twigs of specific trees, which were called damtakatthas. The length of the twigs differed from caste to caste. It was expected to be ten, eight, seven and six-fingers broad in the case Brāhmanas, khattiyas, Vaisas and Suddas respectively. The length of the twig in the case of ordinary people (pāyadapurisa) and women was six-finger broad (angulas) so and was expected to be soft. In the case of a dignitary (mahapurisa), like Vasudeva, the twig was twelve-finger broad (angulas) in length<sup>2</sup>.

#### Bath and swimming :

On an auspicious occasion, before taking the bath, the person was massaged with fragrant oils (abbhanga-gamdhīya-tella-tuppidasarīro) and powders (uvvattana). At the time of massage a garment which could

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1. Ibid.;

2. Ibid.; II. 193b.

accommodate stains of oil (abhamga) was worn<sup>1</sup>.

A fragrant towel (gamdhasai)<sup>2</sup> was also provided to rub the body after the bath. To the accompaniment of music<sup>3</sup> the person was bathed first with water scented with saffron and other unguents<sup>4</sup>. Three types of water<sup>5</sup>, viz. ~~probably~~ hot, cold and luke-warm, seem to have been used in bath.

While on a picnic the participants amused themselves with water-play (mahamajjana). In such a play, they threw at each other fragrant pastes of agallochum (agaru), Vermilion (cinapittha) and saffron<sup>6</sup>.

Toilet of Kāminī :

A young lady (kāminī), before getting ready in the evening, besmeared her body with pastes (levana) and essences (surabhīpajjamsana), fumigated (dhūvana) the hair, painted various parts of the body with the juice of lac, applied bees wax to the lips, and salved the eyes with

1. Vh(M), II. 133b.

2. ibid.; II. 134a.

3. ibid.; II. 226b.

4. ibid.; II. 193a.

5. ibid.; II. 226b.

6. Vh(M), I. 13a.

collyrium (mayanamjanarayana). Afterwards she put on ornaments and flowers<sup>1</sup>.

Scented Pastes for the Body :

The various pastes<sup>2</sup> with which the person was bedaubed were those of sandalwood and its varieties. Yellow orpiment (goroyana), haritāla<sup>3</sup> agallochum (kāleyaka), red arsenic (manosilābhanga)<sup>4</sup> and sīhakesara<sup>5</sup>. Other pastes which were prepared with the mixture of various perfumes, and essences of herbs are madanakusavannaga<sup>6</sup> Vijjādhara<sup>7</sup> vannaga and amgārasahanagavannaga<sup>8</sup>. In applying these pastes to the body, the medicinal qualities of their components were taken into consideration. To quench the heat water mixed with cāmphor and sandalwood paste was usually sprinkled, and leaves of banana tree (kayalī) and lotuses were kept on the body<sup>9</sup>. In rainy season

1. Ibid.; II. 188a.

2. In the description of the Namdana forest, the desire-fulfilling trees of Kovina type are said to have various types of pastes (vatti) and scents (jutti) on them; Vh(M).I.39a.

3. Vh(M), I.9b; II. 145a.

4. Ibid.; I. 96.

5. Ibid.; II. 124b.

6. Ibid.; II. 139a.

7. Ibid.; II. 96b.

8. Ibid.;

9. Ibid.; II. 130b.

agallochum paste was applied<sup>1</sup>, to keep oneself warm. In the case of women, as observed earlier, the palms and feet<sup>2</sup> were painted with the juice of lac (alattaya).

Collyrium :

Vasudeva, while getting dressed for the abhiseya ceremony, salved his eyes with antimony (sodomjana) toward off evils and the diseases of eye (savvanayanamaya-dosa-haram)<sup>3</sup>.

Scenting the Hair :

The hair were fumigated with perfumes (kesavāsa, kesadhūva). Madanakarambaga<sup>4</sup>, coradhūva<sup>5</sup> and gamdhahatthidhūva<sup>6</sup> were probably used for this purpose. A dhūva by name surappiū<sup>7</sup> and other dhūvas described along with it in the Vh(M)<sup>8</sup> were specifically meant for the hair. Like the Jinacakki which was a variety of kesavāsa, probably the others also were in a stick-form (vatti)<sup>9</sup>.

1. Ibid.; II. 81.

2. Ibid.; II. 124b.

3. Ibid.; II. 134b.

4. Vh(M), II. 193b.

5. Ibid.; II. 194a.

6. Ibid.; II. 96b.

7. Ibid.; II. 193b.

8. Ibid.; 193ab.

9. Ibid.; II. 96b.

Scents :

Juttis were probably used like modern scents. They were in a liquid form<sup>1</sup>. Two such scents named gamdhapisāyī<sup>2</sup> and piyadama<sup>3</sup> are referred to. The former was so profusely aromatic that it was supposed to awaken a person who was fast asleep.

Ornaments and Dress :

According to the Vh(P) the tradition of adorning one's person started with the first saviour Usabha. Usabha at the time of his birth was presented with a pair of linen cloth (khomajuyala) and earrings (kumdalajuyala). Later on, at the time of his anointing ceremony (rāyahiseya), the king of gods presented him with all ornaments to wear (savvālamkārahūsiö). His subjects imitated the way of adorning person as laid down by the gods (devehim vihiyam)<sup>5</sup>.

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1. The base of a jutti is described to be rasatilla ;  
Vh(M), II. 19b.

2. Ibid.; II. 193a.

3. Ibid.; II. 96b.

4. Ibid.; II. 193a.

5. Vh(P), 161-163. Even before him, the people wore garments and ornaments obtained from the kappapāyavas, Vh(P), 157; but Usabha seems to have started a new way of adorning the person.

According to the Vh(M), the ideals of a man and a woman adorned with raiment and ornaments were kappadagakkha<sup>1</sup> and amaravilāsinī<sup>2</sup> respectively. A fully dressed person has been described as : 'sukhadamallālamkāra-bhūsanō'<sup>3</sup>, 'gahidavatthakayābharanō'<sup>4</sup>, or 'gahidavatthālamkāra....'<sup>5</sup>. In the technical language all this can be equated with Bharata's term 'alankṛta'. The 'alankāra' according to Bharata meant wearing of flowers (mālya), ornaments (ābharana) and garments (vāsas).<sup>6</sup>

Mālyas (Garlands) :

Leaf cutting (pattacchejja) was one of the sports of the urban population and has been referred to in the Vh(P)<sup>7</sup>. Vasudeva the hero of the tale has been also referred to as one well-versed in the art of weaving flower garlands<sup>8</sup>. As such, it is no wonder that garlands of flowers had formed a part of decoration of males and females both in villages and towns. Princess Vimalasena<sup>9</sup>

1. Vh(M), II. 134a.

2. Ibid.; I. 43b.

3. Ibid.; II. 121a.

4. Ibid.; I.2.

5. Ibid.; II. 237.

6. Nāṭyasāstra, chap. XXI.10.

7. Vh(P), 58.

8. Ibid.; 356.

9. Ibid.; 64.

and five hundred maidens of village Tilavatthuya<sup>1</sup>, when they were to be given in marriage are all described to be decorated with flowers (kusuma) and garlands (malla). The māyāngas also decorated their persons with garlands of flowers (malladāmālamkiō)<sup>2</sup>.

The women wore flowers<sup>3</sup> in braids (kesahattha) profusely, and garlands of flowers ~~in~~terstrewn with dūrvā grass (dūvvamkura-mīsamālā<sup>4</sup>, Siridāma<sup>5</sup>). A Vidyādhara princess is described in the Vh(P) to have covered the upper part of her person with sprouts of Asoka (asokamamjarīhīm sapaḥchādita-sarīrā)<sup>6</sup>.

Males wore garlands of flowers as necklaces (kusumadāma, puppha<sup>7</sup>) as chaplets (pupphaseharaga<sup>8</sup>) on the crest. The sprouts of lotuses (kuvalayakisalaya) and jasmine flowers (tanasolliya) were worn over the ears as ornaments (kannapūra)<sup>9</sup>.

1. Ibid.; 196.

2. Vh(P), 155.

3. Ibid.; 37, 65, 179.

4. Ibid.; 280.

5. Ibid.; 356.

6. Ibid.; 73.

7. Ibid.; 66, 314, 364.

8. Ibid.; 67, 101.

9. Ibid.; 155.



The magical power of garlands of flowers has also been referred to. Sakka, at the time of the birth of Usabha, hangs a garland (siridāmagamda) at the ceiling of the room occupied by Usabha, to pacify the evils (savvavigghasamaṇam)<sup>1</sup>.

The evidence from the Vh(M) shows how the ornaments of flowers (kusumābharana) were a part of the royal toilet. Various types of garlands of flowers were deposited in the palace of king Māṇḍaradeva<sup>2</sup>. In the palace of Peḍḥālapura, these are said to have been deposited in the seventh courtyard (kacchamtara)<sup>3</sup>. That these were meant for the personal use of the king appears certain from their use by Vasudeva before ascending the throne<sup>4</sup>.

Garlands deposited in the palace of king Māṇḍaradeva are said to be of four types, viz. purima(?), saṅghādima (skt. saṅghātya), vedhima (skt. veṣṭima) and

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1. ibid.; 161.

2. Vh(M), II. 148a.

3. ibid.; II. 57ab.

4. ibid.; II. 121a.

gamthima (skt. granthima)<sup>1</sup>. The word purima cannot be explained satisfactorily; while the other three probably denote the way in which the garland was arranged. In the samghādīma type, flowers were clustered together; in the vedhima type, these were twisted like a rope; while in the gamthima, flowers were strung together.

The above conjecture about the interpretation of some words is supported from the description of the arrangement of mālyas. Mālyas are said to have been strung (gamthida<sup>2</sup>) some times with the thread-like stalks (nātisuttataṅga (tu)) of sattivanna flowers.<sup>3</sup>

Males wore them in the form of garlands (mālā)<sup>4</sup> around the neck and as chaplet (siridāmagamḍa)<sup>5</sup> and crest (sehaliyā)<sup>6</sup> on the head. The practice of wearing flowers, e.g. of vanamandāra and leaves of lotuses around the crest jewel (cūlāmani) has also been referred to.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Ibid.; II.148a; also 121a. Bharata (chap. XXI,11) also classifies the mālyas, but into five types, viz. i) veṣṭīma, ii) vitata, iii) saṅghātya, iv) granthima and v) pralambita. Of these, i), iii) and iv) have their counterparts above. According to the commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra (GOS, Vol. III, p. 110), the classification of mālyas is based on the way of arranging these.

2. Vh(M), II. 216b. 3. Ibid.; II. 197b. 4. Ibid.; 175b.  
5. Ibid.; II.134b, 175b. 6. Ibid.; I.19-20. 7. Ibid.; II.134a.

Women arranged Pāriyāda, koremta<sup>1</sup>, kesara, Punnāga and Bakula<sup>2</sup> flowers in their braids. They also wore hāras of flowers. Vasudeva had prepared a garland of sattivanna flowers with a locket (tarala, lit. central gem), of Bamdhūka flowers, for his wife.<sup>3</sup>

#### Flower Decorations :

Various flower decorations prepared by princess Mayaṇavegā for Vasudeva and her co-wives were kāṇṇiyā<sup>4</sup>, dumbhalaga, kaṁṭhaguna, mukutṭha, melaga, laddana and pappurana<sup>5</sup>. Those displayed on the desire-yielding trees were <sup>Siridāma</sup> sinidama-gaṁḍa, seharamallaga, vāhala(?), kāṇṇa-pūraga, thiūna and mālahikāṇṇikā<sup>6</sup> (ear ornament of mālatī flowers).

#### Ornaments :

Reference has already been made to the ornaments issued by the desire-yielding trees<sup>7</sup>. Such a

1. Vh(M), II. 94a, 95a.

2. Ibid.; I. 96.

3. Ibid.; II. 197a.

4. Ibid.; II. 216b.

5. Ibid.; II. 139a.

6. ibid.; I. 39a.

7. Vh(P), 57; Vh(M), I. 39.

concept and its representation in sculptures in early Buddhist art can be traced even to an earlier period<sup>1</sup>.

Though the way of wearing ornaments was laid down by Usabha<sup>2</sup>, from the philosophical point of view wearing of ornaments was just a proof of the crave for the worldly, and of conceit on the part of the human being<sup>3</sup>.

The evidence from the Vh(P) also shows that apart from the decoration of the body ~~there~~ was also another purpose in wearing at least some ornaments. Courtesan Vasamtatilakā and princess Pabhāvati wore khuddaga<sup>4</sup> (a bracelet) and egāvali (one-stringed pearl necklace)<sup>5</sup> respectively, for auspiciousness (māṅgala nimittam)<sup>6</sup>. The belief in the efficacy of flower decorations like sīridāmagamda<sup>7</sup> and the jewels (rayanarāsī)<sup>8</sup> is also revealed in the Vh(P).

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1. E.g. at Bharhut. See Barua, B.M., Barhut: Aspects of Life and Art, pls. XII-XIV.

2. Vh(P), 163.

3. Ibid.; 167.

4. Ibid.; 72.

5. Ibid.; 351.

6. Reference to māṅgalika valaya is also to be met with in the Harsacarita; Agrawala, HESA, p.170.

7. Vh(P), 161.

8. Ibid.;

The Vh(M) repeats the concept of the desire-yielding trees bestowing ornaments Vasudeva, along with his wives, is said to have visited the Namdana forest wherein were seen by him the celestial trees displaying all sorts of ornaments. A list of all these ornaments on Bhimga trees occurs in the first book of the Vh(M)<sup>1</sup>.

From the evidence in the Vh(M) it appears that in contemporary period great care was taken in the choice of ornaments. Only those ornaments were put <sup>on</sup> on one's person which were supposed to be matching to the dress worn (parihita viraitanuruva bhūṣana dhari)<sup>2</sup>.

#### Colour Sense :

While the ornaments were in the stage of manufacture, selection of jewels set in them was made to suit the complexion of the person who was to wear them. There was a sort of a convention about the combination of jewels and the complexion of the person. For instance, a woman of fair complexion wore black, and white jewels, while one with a darker complexion chose paumarga (ruby)

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1. Vh(M), I. 38b-39a.

2. ibid.; I. 4b.

and pearls for her golden ornaments<sup>1</sup>.

Materials :

Usabha was the first to conceive the use of mani-rayana (jewels) and mottiga (pearls) in the ornaments<sup>2</sup>. Shell and ivory were also used for the above purpose<sup>3</sup>. References to setting a diamond (Vaira) in a ring<sup>4</sup>, various jewels in ornaments<sup>5</sup> like crown (maūda), bracelets and armlets<sup>6</sup> are also to be found. The jewels which are referred to in some other context<sup>7</sup> were possibly employed in decorating ornaments also. These are the sun and moon-stones (Sasisurakanta), ruby (Kamalarāya), Imdanila, Nila,

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1. Vh(M), II. 182b. Elsewhere in the text, a woman of the complexion of lotus filaments (kaniyāraḥkesaravannā) is described to have worn variegated coloured dress (vicittarāgavasana), a girdle (mehalā) studded with fine crystals and beryls (veruliyavimalaphāliya . . mehalā) and other ornaments of gold such as anklets and bracelets; Vh(M), II. 232b.

2. Vh(P), 163.

3. Animals were killed to get shell, pearls, ivory etc. by human beings for enjoyments; Vh(P), 260.

4. Ibid.; 247.

5. Ibid.; 246.

6. Ibid.; 130.

7. Ibid.; 159. 347.

crystal (Phaliha), Ruhirakkhara, Maragaya, (emerald),  
Veruliya (beryl), Dulaya and coral (Vidduma).

The ornaments are said generally to be made of gold. The words for gold are suvanna<sup>1</sup>, kamcana<sup>2</sup> and kalahoyakanaga<sup>3</sup>. It is not known whether these terms are used to denote a difference in the quality or type of gold used. On these, the last one seems to be significant. Kahoyakanaga, as the etymology of the word suggests, was wrought gold wherein the crude alloys (kala) were destroyed (dhauta). That pure gold was used for fashioning ornaments can be gathered from the description of the ornaments of Gaṁdhavvadattā. Her ornaments were said to be as soft as a cluster of the filaments of lotus (paumatamtukalāvamaūya)<sup>4</sup>.

The Vh(M), while giving the description of ornaments, uses the same phrase 'manikanagarayana'<sup>5</sup> to denote the material used for them. Vasudeva while explaining the qualities of 'maṇi-kanagamuttaharāna' and

1. Vh(P), 185.

2. Ibid.; 244.

3. Ibid.; 246. 280.

4. Ibid.; 132.

5. Vh(M), II. 134a.

rayana, explains to prince Amisumanta that a diamond and other precious stones were jewels while rayana is any precious object. The term rayana, according to him, encompasses not only like gold, silver, copper and other metals but camphor (kappura), musk (katthuriya) and saffron (kamkuma). Any precious matter (gunaviya poggala) is rayana<sup>1</sup>.

Among the metals, kanaga, hadaga, ajjuna and suvanna are the types of gold from which ornaments were fashioned for the images of the Jinas<sup>2</sup>. Ear-rings (kumdala, damda, kuvalaya)<sup>3</sup>, anklets (nupura)<sup>4</sup>, tilaka<sup>5</sup>, dinaramaliya<sup>6</sup>, small bells (khimkhini)<sup>7</sup>, armllets (keura)<sup>8</sup> and waist bands (rasanakalava, mehalasuttaga, kamcidama)<sup>9</sup> are all said to be of gold. These were sometimes made of a very pure quality of gold and hence are described as very soft like the pallet of an elephant (gayatalusarisa)<sup>10</sup>.

1. Ibid.; II. 149b.

2. Ibid.; II.120a.

3. Ibid.; I.96; II.23a, 56-57, 95a, 134a.

4. Ibid.; I.9a; II.5657, 232b. 5. Ibid.; I.96.

6. Ibid.; II. 125a.

7. Ibid.;

8. Vh(M), I. 43b.

9. Ibid.; I.96; II.57b,110a.  
125a.

10. ibid.; I. 9b.



Among these, references to dīnāramāliyā, and hemaguḍiyā, i.e. roundels of gold which were fixed on waistbands (rasanākālāva), and coins - in this case, golden dīnāvas (Gk. Denarius) - , or their replicas, in terracotta being worn in a string are noteworthy. Evidence of such a practice in the 1st - 2nd cents. of <sup>the</sup> Christian is revealed from the excavated sites in the Deccan and other parts of India<sup>1</sup>.

Pearls :

Muttāguna<sup>2</sup>, muttāvalī<sup>3</sup>, muttāpagara<sup>4</sup>, were as their names suggest, made of pearls. A sixty-four stringed garland<sup>5</sup> and konnekapūrapadaraga<sup>6</sup> are described as made of pearls. Garlands such as egāvalī, hāra, addhahāra, nakkhattamāla<sup>7</sup> were all varieties of pearl necklaces<sup>8</sup>.

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1. Bullae made of clay, lead and gold have been found in the excavations at Nevasa, see From History to Pre-History at Nevasa, p. 200-201, other regions where such bullae have been found are Orissa, U.P., Madhya Pradesh, Andhra and Mysore.

2. Vh(M), II. 56-57.

3. Ibid.; II. 215a.

4. Ibid.; II. 182b.

5. Ibid.; I. 50a.

6. Ibid.; II. 134a.

7. Ibid.; II. 125a.

8. Ibid.; I. 50a.

The description of princess Sasippabhā as : 'muttāhala-pūrida-vayaṇā',<sup>1</sup> probably means that her face was fully adorned with pearl strings.

Jewels<sup>2</sup> :

Sometimes waistbands of ladies (mehalā, rasaṇā)<sup>3</sup>, ear-studs (samkhaphāliya-vimalapatta)<sup>4</sup> and pendants of garlands (taralā)<sup>5</sup> were mainly of jewels. Their use in other ornaments such as crown, armllets, necklets and ear ornaments<sup>6</sup> was quite common.

There are descriptions both in the Vh(P) and the Vh(M), from which a rough idea about the ornaments and their combinations can be had. The description of

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1. See Amara, II. 6. 105.106.
  2. A list of jewels in the treasury of king Mamdaradeva appears on p. 149b of the Vh(M) II.
  3. Ibid.; II. 56-57, 232b.      4. Ibid.; II. 125a.
  5. Ibid.; I. 50a.
  6. Kumḍala, Vh(M), II. 51a, 56-57, 134a; I. 43b; mukūṭa, Vh(M), II. 134a; kannepakūṭa, Vh(M), II. 134a; muttāvalī, Vh(M), II. 215a; hemajāla, Vh(M), II. 215a.

Vin̄hikumāra<sup>1</sup>, and Bamdhumatī<sup>2</sup> are illustrations from the Vh(P). The descriptions of ornaments in the Vh(M) are more detailed, yield more information and ~~whom~~<sup>Show</sup> a variety in the ornaments. From this point of view descriptions of the Vidyādhara princesses<sup>3</sup>, the female attendants in a royal palace of Pedhālapura<sup>4</sup>, the sālaphamjika<sup>5</sup>, presents to Vasudeva from gods<sup>6</sup>, and Nala<sup>7</sup>, Vasudeva's throne - ascending ceremony<sup>8</sup>, King Ayala of Vacchagumma and his minister<sup>9</sup> are worth mention.

Ornaments of the Male :

Head - Ornaments :

Vasudeva's head has been described as fit to wear a crown (kiridabhāyana)<sup>10</sup>. The crown of the Vidyādhara prince Amitagatī had a knot (maudagamthī) on its exterior<sup>11</sup>

1. Vh(P), 130.
2. Ibid.; 250.
3. Vh(M), I.9a, 15a; Princess Accharā as a bride; Vh(M) II. 95a; Vasudeva in the apparel of a Vidyādhara princess, Vh(M), II. 125a.
4. Ibid.; II. 56-57.
5. Ibid.; I. 43b.
6. Ibid.; I. 50a, II.59b-60a.
7. Ibid.; II. 72a.
8. Ibid.; II. 134a.
9. Vh(M), II. 208a, 206b.
10. Vh(P), 257.
11. Ibid.; 137.

The crown (makuda, tirīḍa<sup>1</sup>) was one of the ornaments of the king<sup>2</sup>. Both Nala<sup>3</sup> and Vasudeva<sup>4</sup> wore mukudās. The crown which Vasudeva wore on the occasion of his throne-ascending ceremony was white, resplendent and hence difficult to look at, as though it was a replica of some constellation (rikkhapadihāsa). It was also decorated with flowers and golden pūthikā(?)<sup>5</sup> Vasudeva is said elsewhere to have placed a magical herb (usadhī) in his crown<sup>6</sup>.

Another ornament worn on the head by males was the crest-jewel (cūlāmaṇi). Prince Puṅḡcamda set a very good pearl in his crest-jewel<sup>7</sup>.

According to the Vh(M) the crest-jewels (cūlāmaṇi)<sup>8</sup> could be worn with the <sup>crown</sup> ~~corwn~~<sup>9</sup>. The Nāga deity presiding over a lake worshipped by the Vidyādhara

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1. Tirīḍa was displayed on the kappapādava, Vh(M), II.38b .
  2. Bharata assigns tirīḍa for superhumans like deva, garudharva yakṣa , and kukūṭa for kings; see Nāṭyaśāstra, Chap. XXI, sts. 142-43.
  3. It was presented to him by a god; Vh(M), I.50a.
  4. Ibid.; II. 72a.                      5. Vh(M), II. 134a.
  6. Ibid.; II. 117b.                      7. Vh(P), 257.
  8. Vh(M), I.3; II. 59-60.              9. Ibid.; II. 134a.

presented a mahāmani which was to be used as a crest-jewel, to Vasudeva<sup>1</sup>.

Ear Ornaments :

A pair of kumḍalas<sup>2</sup> sometimes set with jewel (maṇimamḍiya)<sup>3</sup>, and described as rubbing the cheeks, was worn. Kumḍalas of a Vidyadhara were inscribed with his name (nāmamkiya)<sup>4</sup>.

Kumḍalas, kanniyās and kannepakūra are described in the Vh(M) as the ear ornaments of the male. Ear-rings were worn in one<sup>5</sup> or both<sup>6</sup> the ear-lobes. Practice of wearing a kumḍala in the left ear-lobe and a kannikā (ear/stud) on the right ear has been referred to<sup>7</sup>.

The practice of wearing a flower on the ear as an ornament has already been referred to in the preceding

1. Ibid.; II. 108a.

3. Ibid.; 176.

2. Vh(P), 130, 317; Bharata describes Kumḍala as an ornament which is to be worn after piercing the limb (āvedhya), Nāṭyaśāstra, chap. XXI.13.

4. Vh(P), 87.

5. A minister is described to have worn an ear-ring in his left ear-lobe (vāmekakumḍaladhāri), Vh(M), 206b.

6. Ibid.; II. 50a, II. 59-60, 72a, 134a.

7. Ibid., II. 208b, kannikā and talapatra are synonyms; See Amara, II.6.103.

section<sup>1</sup>. Instead of a flower, Vasudeva is described, in the Vh(M), to have worn a kannapura of jewels and pearls on one of his ears (kannepūra). The kannapura had a stem of beryl (Veruliya), leaves of five-coloured jewels, and a tassel of pearls with a pendant of kakkedana<sup>2</sup>.

Necklaces :

Prince Vairajamgha is described in the Vh(P) to have worn a necklace of jewels (rayanāvali pariṇaddhagīvo)<sup>3</sup> Vidyādhara princes Vāli and Suggīva wore chains of gold (kamcaṇamālā)<sup>4</sup>. Śamba, son of Kaṇha Vāsudeva, wore a string of twenty-seven pearls (nakkhattamālā) which was very bright<sup>5</sup>.

Kamṭhiyā<sup>6</sup> and tālakamṭhi<sup>7</sup> referred to in the Vh(M) were both, probably, necklets. Kamṭhiyā which Vasudeva wore on the occasion of his anointing ceremony was of pearls,

1. Māyāngas are described in the Vh(P) p.155 as wearing Campaka and Jasmine flowers as kannapūras.

2. Vh(M), II. 134a.

3. Vh(P), 176.

4. Ibid.; 244.

5. Ibid.; 106.

6. Kubera gave a kamṭhiyā to Vasudeva; Vh(M), II. 59-60.

7. Displayed on Bhimgaṭkappa-pādava; Vh(M), I. 38b-39a.

and jewels of Maragada and kīdapakkha types<sup>1</sup>.

Necklaces like nakkhattamālā ( a string of twenty-seven pearls), hāra, tarala-hāra ( a garland of pearl strings with a pendant gem) were worn to decorate the chest<sup>2</sup>. The locket (tarala) in Vasudeva's sixty-four-stringed garland was studded with Maragaya and kīdapakkha jewels<sup>3</sup>.

Armllets :

Kaḍaga, keūra and tudīya are the types of armllets referred to in the Vh(P). These were sometimes studded with jewels<sup>4</sup>. Sometimes two types of armllets were worn together<sup>5</sup>. It cannot be said how keūras and tudīyas differed from kaḍagas, which as the meaning of the word kaḍaga suggests, were of the shape of a ring<sup>6</sup> and were probably worn like bracelets.

The Vh(M) refers to keūras studded with gems<sup>7</sup>, and kaḍagajuvala<sup>8</sup>.

1. Ibid.; II. 134a.

2. Vh(M), I.50a, Nakkhattamālā II.59. Hāra, Vh(M), II.72a.

3. Ibid.; 150a.

4. Vh(P), 127, 130.

5. Kaḍaya and tudīya, Vh(P), 293; kaḍaya and keūra, Vh(P), 130.

6. See also Agrawala, V.S., KSA, p.47.

7. Vh(M), I.50a; II.50-60; 72a. 8. ibid.; 72a.

Rings :

When a child was named, there was a practice of putting a signet-ring <sup>on</sup> ~~around~~ the finger of the child<sup>1</sup>. Sometimes along with the name of the child the name of <sup>his</sup> ~~its~~ father was also engraved on the ring<sup>2</sup>. The person ~~with~~ signet-ring is also referred to as amgulimudda<sup>3</sup>.

Corroboration of the practice of engraving the owner's name and sometimes of his father can be had from the rings found in the Taxilā excavations<sup>4</sup>.

The signet-rings were used for sealing letters which were sent through messengers<sup>5</sup>.

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1. Vh(P), 11.

2. Ibid.; 92. 119.

3. Ibid.; 81.

4. Gold and copper rings from the layers dated 1st-2nd cents. B.C. are inscribed with the name of the owner. Specimens having names of both the owner and his father are also to be noticed. This practice seems to have continued in later times. A copper ring engraved with letters in Gupta Brāhmī characters and belonging to 5th cent. A.D. has also been found. See Marshall, Taxila, Vol III, pp.448-49 and specimen nos. 14, 54 and 56.

5. Vh(P), 253.



The rings were sometimes set with costly jewels like diamond (Vaira)<sup>1</sup>.

According to the Vh(M) Vasudeva was presented with a signet-ring (muddā) named kubera-kantā by Kubera himself. After wearing this ring Vasudeva looked virtually like Kubera<sup>2</sup>.

#### Waist-bands :

In the Vh(M), Kaḍisutta has been referred to. Such a waist-chain (kaḍisutta) along with a dāruṇa(?)<sup>3</sup> was probably used to secure the lower garment.

Kaṇaga saṃgalovalambana referred to as one of the ornaments displayed on the kappapādas<sup>4</sup> probably served the same purpose<sup>5</sup>.

#### Ornaments of Females :

##### Head Ornaments :

Crest-jewels (cudāmani) set in the mass of hair (kesahattha)<sup>6</sup> is the only head ornament referred to in the Vh(P).-

1. Ibid.; 247.

2. Vh(M), II. 59-60.

3. One of the presents given to Vasudeva by Kubera;  
Vh(M), II. 59-60.

4. Ibid.; I. 38b-39a.

5. Śrīkhalā was specifically meant for the males; Amara, II.6.109.

6. Vh(P), 123, 280.

The Vh(M) does not refer to the use of crest-jewels by ladies but it refers to other ornaments which were in vogue. They are the forehead disc (tilaka)<sup>1</sup> and the pearl-net to be worn on the head (uttimaṅgajāla). The pearl-net was decorated with beryl (veruliya) leaves, and bunches of pearls<sup>2</sup>.

### Ear Ornaments ;

Ear-rings (kumḍala) were worn by ladies, according to the Vh(P)<sup>3</sup>.

The Vh(M) offers more details about the ear ornaments kumḍala<sup>4</sup> were of gold<sup>5</sup> and were studded with gems<sup>6</sup> or decorated with pearls<sup>7</sup>. The qualifications 'lalida'<sup>8</sup> and 'lola'<sup>9</sup> for Ear-rings show that the grace of these ornaments lay in their pendulum-like movement.

1. Vh(M), I. 15a; One of the ornaments on kappapādavas; Vh(M), I. 38b-39a. Representation of such forehead discs is to be noticed in Ajanta paintings, Dhavalikar, M.K., Life in the Deccan etc., p.172.
2. Vh(M), I.9a. Bharata gives muktājalagavākṣika as one of the ornaments of women; Nāṭyaśāstra chap. XXI.22. The Dying Princess of Ajanta is depicted to have gathered her hair in a similar net decorated with pearl tassels; Dhavalikar, op.cit., p. 124.
3. pp. 123-280.
4. Vh(M), 1.15a.
5. Ibid.; I.96; II.95a.
6. Ibid.; II. 56-57.
7. Ibid.; I. 9a.
8. Ibid.; II. 207b.
9. Ibid.; II. 51a, 57b.

Some ear-rings were attached at the end with a rod (hemakundala damḍa)<sup>1</sup>, while the beauty of others was enhanced with a gold lotus (hemakuvalaya).<sup>2</sup>

Neck Ornaments :

According to the Vh(P), a string of jewels (rayanāvalī)<sup>3</sup> and a single-stringed pearl necklace (egāvalī)<sup>4</sup> beautified invariably the charming conch-like neck of a young lady while a garland (hāra<sup>5</sup>, vaṭṭahāra<sup>6</sup>) was a pleasing sight when rolling on the plump and prominent breasts of a lady.

The single-string pearl necklace was worn with a view to bring well-being (mangulanimitta)<sup>7</sup>.

1. Ibid.; II. 23a.

2. Ibid.; I.9b, for a depiction of it in the Ajanta painting; See Dhavalikar, op.cit., p.179 and pl. XVI, 20.21.

3. Vh(P), 123.

4. Ibid.; 351. Tears rolling in a

~~in~~ flow have been compared with a pearl string (muttāvalī); Vh(P), 351.

5. Vh(P), 280.

6. Ibid.; 80.

7. Ibid.; 351.

The Vh(M) describes women wearing charming collars (gevejja<sup>1</sup>, pavara gevejja<sup>2</sup>) and varieties of garlands like pavarahāra and addhahāra<sup>3</sup>. Pearl necklaces (muttāguna<sup>4</sup>, muttāvali<sup>5</sup>) of one string (egāvali)<sup>6</sup> and three strings (tisaraya)<sup>7</sup> were also in vogue.

The wearing of dināra coins (dināra māliya)<sup>8</sup> and the use of replicas of the sun <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~ the moon in necklaces (camdasūramāliya)<sup>9</sup> might have had some magical significance.

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1. Vh(M), I.15a, 38-39.                      2. Ibid., II. 25a.
3. Ibid., II. 125a. Ardhahāra comprised half the number of strings as those in a devacchanda hāra, which was made of hundred strings. See Amara (comm), II.6.105-106.
4. Vh(M), II. 56-57.
5. Ibid., II.215a; it has been given as a synonym of hāra; Amara, II.6.105.
6. Vh(M), II. 56-57, 125a; a common type of Ahanta; Dhavalikar, op.cit., p.194.
7. Ibid., II. 125a.                              8. Vh(M), I.15a, 38b-39a; II.125a.
9. Ibid., I. 38b-39a.

Nakkhattamālā<sup>1</sup>, hāra<sup>2</sup> and sixty-four-stringed garland with a locket (cadusatthiladā-tarala-hāra)<sup>3</sup> were used both by men and women.

Armllets :

Keuras, and dharanavalayas<sup>4</sup> which were, as the name suggests, armllets depicting Dharana, the king of serpents, were worn by ladies.

Bracelets :

The Vh(F) refers to the instance of Vasamtalilaya, a courtesan, who wore a khuddaga bracelet only as an auspicious ornament, and no other ornament, as she was separated from Dhammilla, her lover<sup>5</sup>.

Valayas are referred to in the Vh(M) as forming a part of the make-up of a woman<sup>6</sup>.

1. Ibid.; I.4.

2. Ibid.; I. 43b.

3. Ibid.; I.5; II. 56-57, 197b.

4. Ibid.; I.43b; armllets with snakehood terminals are depicted in the Ajanta paintings; Dhavalikar, op.cit., p. 202 ff.

5. Vh(F), 72.

6. Vh(M), I. 19-20; II. 125a, 207b, 232b.

Girdles :

Girdles consisted of a single string (rasanā<sup>1</sup>, rasanāvalī<sup>2</sup>) or a cluster of them (vasanā kalāva<sup>3</sup>, mehalādāmakalāva<sup>4</sup>). The girdles were used to hold in position the lower garment<sup>5</sup> and were fashioned, at least in the case of rasanās, of a ~~precise~~ <sup>certain</sup> length<sup>6</sup>. The Vh(M) refers, besides the above two types of girdles, also to kamcī and kalāva.

Of these, rasanā<sup>7</sup> or rasanāvalī<sup>8</sup> has been described as one made of gold<sup>9</sup> and set with jewels<sup>10</sup>. Rasanā had sometimes small suspended bells which formed a different

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1. Vh(P), 389.
  2. Ibid., 280.
  3. Ibid., 37.
  4. Ibid., 65; according to Bharata, however, kāncī, mekhalā, rasanā and kalāva consist of one, eight, sixteen and twenty-five strings respectively. Nātyasāstra, Chap. XXI, 37-38.
  5. Samosaramta-ratta-amsuya-vilaggantamehalādāmakalāvāe, Vh(P), 65.
  6. Ibid., 289.
  7. Vh(M), I. 19-20.
  8. Ibid., I. 38b-39a.
  9. Ibid., II. 125a.
  10. Ibid., II. 56-57.

type called khimkhinīrasanā<sup>1</sup>.

Kalāva<sup>2</sup> with similar bells, and in addition with loops<sup>3</sup>, has been referred to. It was also adorned with golden roundels (hemaguliya)<sup>4</sup> or gems<sup>5</sup>.

Kamci<sup>6</sup> was a wire (kamcidāma<sup>7</sup>, or dāma) of gold<sup>8</sup>, sometimes studded with rubies (Paumarāga) and with loops (pataraya) to which were fastened small jingling bells (laliya-ghamtiya-jāla)<sup>9</sup>.

Mekhalā could be fashioned out of gold<sup>10</sup> and with jewels<sup>11</sup>. A mekhalā of the latter type has been described as consisting of big pieces (bhārāya) of beryl

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1. Ibid.; I. 15a; See for its sculptural representation at Bharhut in 2<sup>nd</sup> <sup>cent.</sup> and ~~clut.~~ B.C. See Mārg, Vol. XVII, no. 4 (Sept. 1964), Fig. B, opp. p. 6.

2. Referred to along with mehalā, rasanā and sonisutta; Vh(M), I. 43b; II. 125a, 207b-208a.

3. Ibid.; I. 9a.

4. Ibid.; I. 96.

5. Ibid.; II. 56-57

6. Ibid.; II. 207b.

7. Ibid.; I. 9b.

8. Kamcidāma, Vh(M), II. 182b.

9. Vh(M), II. 182b; kamcidāma with small bells; Vh(M), I. 4b.

10. Ibid.; I. 19-20, 43b; II. 125a, 207b.

11. Ibid.; II. 57b.

(Veruliya), fine crystal (vimalaphāliya) and other jewels<sup>1</sup>.

The sonisuttaya<sup>2</sup> was a thread of gold in which were stringed pieces of gems (rayanaphalagā)<sup>3</sup>. Sometimes it was also decorated with small bells and golden nets (hemajāla)<sup>4</sup>.

Ornaments of the Leg :

Loops of pearls (muttiyājāla)<sup>5</sup> and anklets<sup>6</sup> jingling with small bells (khimkhini)<sup>7</sup> were worn on the leg as stated in the Vh(P).

To the above<sup>8</sup> Vh(M) adds the jālaneura<sup>9</sup>.

1. Ibid.; II. 232b.

2. Ibid.; I. 15a; II. 207b.

3. Ibid.; II. 110a.

4. Ibid.; II. 125a; Vāmorujāla worn by the princess was possibly similar to the hemajāla described above; Vh(M) II. 207b.

5. Vh(P), 65.

6. Ibid.; 65, 230, 296.

7. Ibid.; 136.

8. Jāla, khimkhini, Vh(M), I. 38b-39a.

9. Ibid.;



Dress :

Types of Cloth :

The various types of cloth<sup>1</sup> referred to in the Vh(P) can be broadly classified into four types<sup>2</sup> on the basis of the material used for the thread of the cloth. The thread could be made from i) cotton from pinacles of plants, ii) bark of trees, iii) cocoon of the silk worms and iv) from the wool of animals<sup>3</sup>. That the Vh(M) supports such a classification can be borne out from the discussion on the above subject between Vasudeva and prince Amsumanta. Vasudeva gives five categories into which the cloth can be classified. They are: i) am̐daya, ii) poṁdaya, iii) vāgaya, iv) kīdaya and v) vālaya<sup>4</sup>. Of these categories ii) to v) correspond to those given above, the first i.e. am̐daya having

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1. Words denoting cloth occurring in the Vh(P) are asuya (p.219), vattha (p.86), ambara (p.138) and paḍa (p.350).
  2. This has been devised on the basis of the traditional classification as noted in the Amara (II.6.111) which uses i) phāla, ii) vāḥalka, iii) kūṣeya and rāṅkava to denote the above four categories.
  3. Animal hide was also used to meet the need of clothes Vh(P), 336 and for stitching clothes (Vh(P), 147 but has not been considered here, as, strictly speaking, it is not a cloth.
  4. Vh(M), II. 149b.

no correspondence or place among them<sup>1</sup>.

Pomḍaya cloth :

There is no direct reference to cotton cloth in the Vh(P). However, from the mention of specialised trade

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1. The additional category of cloth designated as amḍaya is to be noticed only in the Jaina literature. The first reference to amḍaya type of cloth, so also its recognition as a variety of cloth different from the other four varieties, is to be found in the Anuyogadvārasūtra (sūtra 37). The passage occurring in the Vh(M) II. 149b receives inspiration from the same source, is very apparent from the phraseology of the text. In fact the Vh(M) copies the Anuyogadvāra passage and adds certain explanations to it in the style of a commentator. For example, the original passage in the Anuyogadvāra reads ' bomḍayam kappāsakkamāi ; Vh(M) reads ' bomḍayam kappāsakkasamvālādiyam ' .  
 The addition of amḍaya type of cloth in Jaina tradition has not only puzzled the commentators of the Anu.Sūtra, and Motichandra (op.cit., p. 145), but the writer of Vh(M) also. He explains the amḍaya cloth as a cloth on which a bird (amḍaja = bird ) like goose has been depicted.

in cotton (rūa, kappāsa) and fibre (sutta)<sup>1</sup>, it can be surmised that there were certain centres of cloth weaving which were provided with material from the adjoining regions.

Reference to a bed (sayanīya) stuffed with pattatūla type of cotton (pattatūliyacchurane)<sup>2</sup> shows that in the times of the Vh(P), patta was regarded as a variety of cotton. Pattamsaya<sup>3</sup> cloth referred to in the Vh(P) can be grouped in the category of cotton cloth if the interpretation of pattatūla is correct. The Vh(M) includes in this group <sup>of</sup> cloth made from cotton (kappāsika) and wool of akka plant<sup>4</sup>.

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1. Vh(P), 145.
  2. Ibid., 230.
  3. Ibid., 351. Generally pattamsuya is regarded as a silk cloth (see Motichandra, op.cit., p.95). Reference in the Mbh [Sabha, 47-19] to pattaja variety of cloth as different from kitaja (made from cocoon silk) also supports the contention.
  4. Vh(M), II. 149b.

Vāgaya Cloth :

Khoma<sup>1</sup> and dugulla<sup>2</sup> varieties of cloth fall in this category, both these being manufactured, according to the tradition, from the bark of trees. These also share a similarity; clothes of dukūla and khoma were worn by the bride and the bride-groom.

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1. M. Monier Williams gives four plants which claim the appellation kṣumā, from which the kṣauma can be said to be prepared. These are i) linseed, Linum Usitasium; ii) a sort of flax, Bengal san; iii) fig plant and iv) a sort of creeper. The meaning of kṣauma has been given as linen cloth manufactured from flax, i.e. Linum Usitasium, in the same dictionary. Tradition of khoma being manufactured from the fig tree (vada) has been referred to in the Nisīthacūrṇi (Vol. 7, p.467). See Motichandra, op.cit., p. 145-46.
  2. About dukūla there is a conflicting Jaina tradition. The comm. on the Ācārāṅga (2,5,1,3) says that it was made from a special variety of cotton from the Gauda country while the Nisīthacūrṇi says that it was a product of the bark of a tree named dugulla. See Motichandra op.cit., p.147. From its use as marriage dress, it seems that dukūla was a cloth similar to khoma, which was made from the bark of trees. Amara supports such a view (contd.)

Dukūla :

Dukūla has been described in the Vh(P) as of white colour (Sīta, dhavīda)<sup>1</sup>, and sometimes of very fine texture (suhuma)<sup>2</sup>. It was worn <sup>by</sup> dignitaries like the royal priest<sup>3</sup>, as also by the door-keeper<sup>4</sup> and maidens<sup>5</sup>. In the case of unmarried girls it was a sign of their virginity (kannābhāvadamsiya)<sup>6</sup>.

In this variety fall the cloths made from the bark of gambhiya, voddalaya<sup>7</sup> and also possibly of malaya<sup>8</sup> which are ~~all~~ referred to in the Vh(M).

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Foot-note No.2 continued from last page :-

2. (Amara, II.6.111) and in fact, equates the two.

Motichandra, however, does not accept this view.

According to him the conflicting evidence of commentaries is a sign of the evanescence of the dukūla type of cloth.

See Motichandra, op.cit, p. 146.

1. Vh(P), 53, 205.

2. Ibid.; 123.

3. Ibid.;

4. Ibid.; 205.

5. Ibid.; 53.

6. Ibid.; 144.

7. Vh(M), II. 149b.

8. This cloth was displayed on kappapādas; Vh(M), I.38b-39a.

Malaya, according to the Anuyogadvāra (sūtra 374) was a silken cloth; while the commentary on the Ācāraṅga (III.5.1.3) takes it to be of bark-variety. See Motichandra op.cit., p. 148.

Khoma and dukūla are jointly referred to as khomaudugūla<sup>1</sup>. It was available in plain white (sita)<sup>2</sup> and other colours<sup>3</sup>. Its use as bed quilt<sup>4</sup> and, when in finer texture, as a wear<sup>5</sup> has also been referred to.

Kidaya cloth :

During the course of a discussion on meat-eating and its evil consequences, Summitta the king who is against the killing of animals for flesh and who, it seems, has some inclination towards Jaina religion, is asked about the sinfulness in wearing pattunna (patrorna) which involved violence towards beings. He says that though it is a fact that such a violence is implicit in the use of pattunna, it is far-fetched and as such there is no harm in its use<sup>6</sup>. Here, by pattunna the author of the Vh(P) must be referring to the silk cloth, manufacture of which involved violence to beings.

1. Vh(M), II. 97a.

2. Ibid., II. 173.

3. Kimirāga khoma, Vh(M), II. 185a; nīla udūgūla, Vh(M), II. 93a.

4. Ibid., II. 97a.

5. Ibid., I. 9b; II. 120, 173.

6. Vh(P) , 260.

Other varieties of silk like Kosejja<sup>1</sup> and cīnāmsuya were seen by Vasudeva in the market of Ilāvaddhana<sup>2</sup>. Vinapattagga referred to in the same context<sup>3</sup>, is probably a wrong reading for cīnāpatta (cinapatta) which is generally translated as 'china silk'.<sup>4</sup>

While enumerating the examples of silken cloth the author of the Vh(M) refers to tirīdapatta, kosejja, vaḍaya, cittaga and vippa (?)<sup>5</sup>.

Valaya Cloth :

Kambala is the word used for woollen blankets. They were available both in a cheap quality and also were costly. Kambalas were used, while travelling, to bundle luggage<sup>6</sup>. These were sometimes costly enough (kambalārayana)

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1. It was prepared from the cocoon of silk worms (kośa), (See BKSB, IV, 3661.) and as such, the Jaina monks were not allowed to use it. Motichandra, op.cit., p.164.
  2. Vh(P), 218.
  3. ibid.;
  4. See Motichandra, op.cit., 56, 96.
  5. Vh(M), II. 149b; kosejja, varapatta, cittaya and cīnāmsuya have been referred to in connection with the kapparādas; Vh(M), I. 38b-39a. For the details about tirīdapatta, cittaya, (=citrapaṭa?) and Vaḍaga see Motichandra, op.cit., 153, 155-56.
  6. Vh(P), 86.

to be the exclusive possession of a dignified person like the king<sup>1</sup>. Varieties of Kambalas like amilākambala<sup>2</sup> and migalomika (woven out of the fur of antelopes), both dyed in different attractive colours were displayed in the market of Ilāvaddhana<sup>3</sup>.

Vasudeva, according to the Vh(M), saw migaromiya<sup>4</sup> blankets displayed on the kappapādavās in the Namdāna forest. Koyataka<sup>5</sup> and ralla<sup>6</sup> varieties of blankets were also in use.

1. Ibid.; 177.

2. Interpretation of the word amīlā as type of āhata cloth is preferred by Motichandra. But in the light of the evidence from the Vh(P) the meaning of amīlā offered in the Nisīthacūrṇi [7, 467; see Motichandra, op.cit., p.149-50.] as a variety of blanket seems to be correct.

3. Vh(P), 218.

4. Vh(M), I. 38b.

5. Ibid.; II.149b. It is probably the same as koyava and kotava of the Ācārāṅga (2,5,1, 3-8) and Nisīthacūrṇi (7, 467, both quoted by Motichandra, op.cit., p. 150).

6. Vh(M), II. 149b. See amara (II.6.116) where it is given as a synonym of kambala, a blanket; also Motichandra, op.cit., p. 153, 168.



A woollen garment referred to as dūsa was supposed to be <sup>a</sup> coveted present and was worn sometimes by the bride at the time of the marriage ceremony<sup>2</sup>.

Decoration on Cloth :

Decoration on cloth was done with threads of gold. Such a garment was called pahānasuvannavattha. Jambavati gave a such <sup>a</sup> garment as a present to Samba and his wife Suhirannā after their marriage<sup>3</sup>.

Some sort of an embroidery is suggested by the term suikavattha<sup>4</sup> while dasināsamghāyavattha<sup>5</sup> and dasipūranavattha<sup>6</sup> probably imply some sort of decoration at the end of the garment.

Brocade is probably implied in the term kanagakuda vattha<sup>7</sup> in the Vh(M).

Dyeing of cloth :

At two places in the Vh(P), the dyeing material has been referred to. One of these is red lead (cīnapitṭha)<sup>8</sup>

1. Vh(M), II, 67a, 134a.

2. Ibid.; II. 95a.

3. Vh(P), 104.

4. Ibid., 219.

5. Ibid., 155.

6. Ibid.; 86.

7. Vh(M), II. 108b.

8. Vh(P), 86.

and the other is red ochre (dhaurāga)<sup>1</sup>. Those used in the later period as referred to in the Vh(M) are adasirāga<sup>2</sup> of linseed, mamjihā<sup>3</sup> (madder) and kimirāga<sup>4</sup>. The last one, according to the Vh(M), was prepared from the blood of the leech (jalukā)<sup>5</sup>.

Cloth and clothes of variegated ~~colours~~<sup>colours</sup> were in use<sup>6</sup>. To use clothes of different colours was sign of festivity<sup>7</sup>.

The popular colours referred to in the Vh(P)

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1. Ibid., 40.
2. This was like that of the colour of pearl; Vh(M), II.151a.
3. Ibid., I.9a.
4. Ibid., II. 124b, 160a, 185a.
5. Vasudeva, while fighting with king Mamdaradeva, threatened him that he would crush him like a leech crushed for its blood to prepare the kimirāga dye, Vh(M), II. 143a; for similar information from the comm., See Upadhye, A.N., (Ed.) Brhatkathakosa, Introduction (p.88).
6. Vh(P), 216, 218.
7. Dhammilla with vicittavattha<sup>gves</sup> to a picnic (ujjanajattā), Vh(P), 64; reception of a hero by a maiden in such clothes, Vh(P), 196; palace dancers, Vh(P), 281.

were red<sup>1</sup> and its different shades such as vermilion<sup>2</sup>, bright red (palāsapātṭa)<sup>3</sup>, dull red (dhāurāgavattha)<sup>4</sup>, and yellow (piyaka)<sup>5</sup>.

Sometimes white clothes were printed with the pattern of goose. Such a garment was called hamssalakkhana and was popular among the young<sup>6</sup> as well as the old.<sup>7</sup>

Cittaka cloth of the silken variety was probably so called because of its colours. Clothes sometimes had such combinations that they gave an impression of rainbow colours,<sup>8</sup> or that of the juxtaposition of colours at the sunset<sup>9</sup>. Other colours, more in vogue, were blue<sup>10</sup>, yellow<sup>11</sup>, and various shades of red<sup>12</sup>.

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1. Rattamsaya, Vh(M), 37,73.      2. Cīnapitṭha, Vh(M), 86.  
 3. Ibid.; 187.      4. Ibid.; 40.  
 5. Ibid.; 138.      6. Ibid.; 179-80.  
 7. Ibid.; 350; This type of decoration on cloth was a peculiarity of the Gupta period and is found depicted in the frescoes of Ajanta, See Motichandra op.cit., p.147, 229, and illustrations, nos. 397. 417.  
 8. Vh(M), II. 107a, 185a.      9. Vh(M), 107a, 185a.  
 10. Ibid.; II. 56-57, 193a.      11. Ibid.; II. 56-57, k85a.  
 12. Red like rotāka flowers, Vh(M), I.9b; II. 107a; like kimirāga, Vh(M), I. 4b; II.95a; like ruby, Vh(M), II. 156b; pinkish, deep red and brown; Vh(M), II.56-57.

The Dress :

One could mark the difference in the way of putting on the dress in different parts of the country (nānā-desiya-kaya-nevatthe)<sup>1</sup>. Vasudeva had an opportunity to have a look at this variety in dress in the market of Ilāvaddhana<sup>2</sup>.

Generally the dress of both males<sup>3</sup> and females<sup>4</sup> consisted of two garments. The upper one is variously referred to as uttarāsaṅga, cela, pāvaraṇa and uttariya<sup>5</sup>.

It was a practice to tie valuables in a knot at the end of cela<sup>6</sup> or uttariya<sup>7</sup> for the sake of safety, while travelling. So also, the uttariyas could be exchanged by lovers as a mark of love<sup>8</sup>.

The lower garment is referred to as paridhāna<sup>9</sup> or adhovattha<sup>10</sup>.

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1. Vh(P), 210.

2. Ibid.;

3. Ibid.; 127, 205.

4. Ibid.; 123, 351.

5. Uttarāsaṅga Vh(P), 182 and cela Vh(P), 40, 205 seem to have been referred to in the case of males; pāvāra Vh(P), 135 in the case of females; and uttarāsaṅga for both Vh(P), 123, 138, 280.

6. Vh(P), 209.

7. Ibid.; 182.

8. Ibid.; 221.

9. Ibid.; 123, 280.

10. Ibid.; 45; Amara (II-6-117) gives four synonyms, viz. viz. antariya, upasaṃvyāna, paridhāna and adhamsuka.

Along with the above type of garments, <sup>stitched</sup> ~~sewn~~ clothes were also in vogue. Kuppāsaya<sup>1</sup> and addhoruya fall in this category - kūrpāsaka was a tight-fitting tunic, sometimes, with full sleeves. Ardhoruka was a lower garment which reached the thighs<sup>2</sup>.

The kuppāsaya was worn both by males<sup>3</sup> and females<sup>4</sup>, while addhoruya has been referred to only in connection with a horse-rider<sup>5</sup>.

The custom of wearing two garments<sup>6</sup> seems to have continued in the period of the Vh(M) also. Parihāna<sup>7</sup> and niyaṃsana<sup>8</sup> were the terms for the lower garment, and samvarana<sup>9</sup>, uttariya<sup>10</sup> and uvarimavattha<sup>11</sup> were for the upper one.

Sādaya, a garment described in the Buddhist literature as being worn by monks in the rainy season<sup>12</sup> was worn as a lower garment both by -----

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1. Vh(P), 53, 67, 212.                      2. Ibid.; 67.  
 3. Ibid.; 67, 212.                          4. Ibid.; 53.  
 5. Vh(P), 67.                                  6. vatthajuyala, pottijuyala,  
 7. Ibid.; II. 151a.                      Vh(M), I. 5b; II. 83a, 108b, 128a.  
 8. Ibid.; II. 87a, 95a, 133b, 160a.  
 9. Ibid.; II. 95a, 133b, 160a.    10. Ibid.; II. 70a, 120b.  
 11. Ibid.; II. 120b.    12. Mahāvagga 8.5-6; quoted by Motichandra  
 (op.cit. p.35) who gives its measure as six by two-and-a-  
 half vitastis (a vitasti = 12 finger-width or the span  
 between the thumb and little finger of the palm).

men<sup>1</sup> and women<sup>2</sup>. Sādāya was worn in such a way that its end (sādāyapattava) was left loose<sup>3</sup>.

Sometimes males wore a kaṃcuka<sup>4</sup> or a kuppāsaya<sup>5</sup> and the ladies even when they wore a kaṃcuka or a kucanivasana, i.e. a bodice, had to wear an uttariya as an upper garment<sup>6</sup>.

An avagunthana<sup>7</sup> and a samghādaga<sup>8</sup> when worn could conceal the identity of the person, male or female.

#### King and the Inmates of the Palace:

King Puṃḍa while attending a musical concert put on a white kuppāsaya<sup>9</sup>. The concert was arranged in honour

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1. Vh(M), I.17b; II. 133b; also addhamsādāya Vh(M), II.173.
  2. Ibid.; II. 95a, 124b, 160a.
  3. Vh(M), I. 17b.
  4. Ibid.; II.87a.
  5. Princess Tārāpadi draped in the attire of a male has been described as 'āsannagatā samsādhita - kaṃcuka jālantavēna lakkei', Vh(M), II. 84b.
  6. Ibid.; I. 44b; II.84b.
  7. Ibid.; II. 187a.
  8. Ibid.; II. 26b.
  9. Vh(P), 212; Bharata says that while participating in auspicious functions a king should put on suddha type of dress; Nāṭyasāstra, Chap. XXI 36-37, See also Vh(M), I.5b; 120a.

of the Jinas. The dancers attending <sup>on</sup> princess Piyāṅgusundarī were in a colourful dress<sup>1</sup>, though generally it was a fashion at the time of the Vh(P), to wear costly ornaments (mahagghābhara, alamkārasundarī) but very simple dress (vinīyavesa)<sup>2</sup>. The door-keeper is described to be in a very simple dress consisting of two white garments.<sup>3</sup>

In the Vh(M), however, the fashion seems to have changed. The princesses as well as their maidservants wore very colourful dress. Vasudeva, while receiving his wives, describes their dress as similar to the colours of the sunset or of the rainbow<sup>4</sup>, and observes that there was no difference in the dress of servants and their mistresses (tāsim ca avataramtinam kimkariyana-ābharana-vasana nevatthesu na viseso āsi)<sup>5</sup>. The doorkeeper in the princess' quarters used to be dressed in dull red clothes (kāsāyavattha).<sup>6</sup>

1. Vh(P), 281.

2. Vh(P), 179, 351. See for a similar observation about the dress of servants in royal palace and the members of royal family, Motichandra, op.cit., p. 220, He states that the dress of queens and ladies from the higher class was very simple except the ornaments, while the maidservants wore very colourful dresses.

3. Vh(P), 123. 4. Vh(M), I. 3-4 5. Ibid.; I. 4a.

6. Vh(M), II. 189a; Bharata directs that a door-keeper should be shown wearing such a dress, Nāṭyasāstra, Chap. XXI.

Dress in Other Strata of Society :

Bhrāhmanas<sup>1</sup>, old ladies<sup>2</sup> and a minister of a king<sup>3</sup> are all said to be clad in white robes. It seems that the respected persons in society were supposed to wear such clothes<sup>4</sup>. A respectable person also wore sandals (pāṇā)<sup>5</sup>.

Jaina monks<sup>6</sup> and nuns<sup>7</sup> wore white robes and the parivvāyagas ochre-coloured dress (kaśāyavattha) with sāḍiyā serving as the upper garment<sup>8</sup>.

1. Vh(P), 127, 205, 280.

2. Ibid.; 196, 350.

3. Ibid.; 353.

4. Bharata states that the old, the Brahmanas, royal priests and honourable persons of the three castes were to be shown clad in white; Nāṭyasāstra, Chap. XXI.

5. Vh(P), 127.

6. Ibid.; 150.

7. Ibid.; 212.

8. Ibid.; 40; According to Bharata, a muni, sakyas and parivrāja ascetics wore ochre-coloured dress, Nāṭyasātra, Chap. XXI.



The dress of a cowherd (gokuliyavesa)<sup>1</sup> and of a paṇa (nevattha)<sup>2</sup> was quite distinct and easy for recognition.

A cowherd is described in the Vh(M) as wearing a simple dress consisting of two white garments<sup>3</sup>.

A painter at work wore a kuppāsaka, of ochre colour as an upper garment and put a sprout of Asoka on his ear as a kannapūra<sup>4</sup>.

Dress of a Vidyādhara :

Generally, no difference could be noticed in the dress of Vidyādhara princes~~z~~ and princess<sup>s</sup> and their human counterparts except in one case.

1. Vh(P), 108; See for sculptural depiction, Vats, M.S., op.cit.
2. Ibid.; 98; Elsewhere they are described as wearing ornaments of flowers - garlands and kannapūra - and as having their body besmeared with sandal paste; Vh(P), 155.
3. Vh(M), I.17.
4. Ibid.; II. 87a.

A Vidyādhara princess is described as wearing costly but few ornaments and only one garment (rattamsuya-ekkavasana). She is described to have covered her body probably upper part of her body,† with the sprouts of Asoka (asogamamjarīhim)<sup>1</sup>.

According to the Vh(M), as a reveler<sup>Vasudeva</sup> in a park-picnic (ujjānajatā), had dressed himself as a Vijjāhara.<sup>2</sup> Vidyādharas are described to wear both ahada (new) and dhoda (washed) clothes, and to put on an upper garment (uttariya). They wore flowers and decorated the left ear with a bejewelled ear-ring<sup>3</sup>.

#### Clothes for Special Occasions :

A change in normal dress was associated with the change of season<sup>4</sup> or a celebration of some festivity<sup>5</sup>.

1. Vh(F), 73.

2. Vh(M), I. 9a.

3. Ibid.; II. 119b.

4. Clothes suitable to different seasons (uḡuṇasādhāraṇa) were worn by the people; Vh(F), 155.

5. Ibid.; 64. So also maidens in vicittavatthas go to receive a hero; Vh(F), 196.

The bride and the bridegroom wore, new clothes (ahadavattha)<sup>1</sup> generally of khoma variety<sup>2</sup> and decorated with ~~one~~ <sup>the</sup> goose-pattern (hamsalakkhana)<sup>3</sup>.

At the time of horse-riding, Dhammilla wore a kuppāsaya and addhoruya<sup>4</sup>.

The information from the Vh(M) shows that colourful and new clothes (ahada) were put on at the time of ceremonious occasions like ascending a throne or attending a festival<sup>5</sup>. However, while going for the worship of a god, generally white<sup>6</sup> and washed (dhoda) clothes<sup>7</sup> were worn. The practice of wearing khoma clothes at the time of marriage was continued in later times<sup>8</sup>, but exceptions to it are also available<sup>9</sup>.

1. Ibid.; 351.

2. Ibid.; 143-44, 280.

3. Ibid.; 179-80

4. Ibid.; 67.

5. Vh(M), II. 149b. Classifies the clothes as ahada and ahoda the former were put on at the time of festivals, Vh(M), 119b, 121

7. Ibid.; II. 120a.

6. Ibid.; I. 5b, 120a

pahanujjalavattha, Vh(M), II. 276a

8. Vh(M), I. 44b, II. 37a, 173a.

9. E.g. vijiādharaṭṭa sādāya and dūsa Vh(M), 95a; upper garment is dūsa in another case; Vh(M), II. 51a, see also II. 173-

Festivals :

One of the popular festivals in ancient times was the celebration of the spring (vasamtasiri, Vasantamāsa). To enjoy the beauty of the spring season (vasamtamāsamuvajīviūm)<sup>1</sup> king Abhayaghosa went to the garden outside the city with the host of his queens, and heaps of flowers. These flowers were probably utilised in the sport of hitting one another with flowers. King Vajjāuha similarly went out to a garden in the company of his queens and indulged in water sports with them in a big well (vāvī) in the garden<sup>2</sup>.

The Vh(M), however, refers to two important festivals associated with two seasons, viz. Mahākomudī and Vasamtajattā and describes them in details.

The Mahākomudī festival was celebrated on the full moon day of the autumn (sārada).

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1. Vh(P), 329-30.
  2. ibid.; 334, <sup>this</sup> One of the favourite festivals of the Gupta age. See for the literary evidence (e.g. Raghu. IX.46), Saletore, R.N.; Life in the Gupta Age, p. 163.
  3. Reference to Mahākaumudīmahotsava in the Mudrārākṣasam (Act III). See Saletore, R.N., op.cit., p. 161.

On this day 'the tree of lamps' (dīvarukkha) was lit with lamps and was worshipped by the people. Throughout the day and especially at night they participated in the revelry of songs, dance and music (gīta-nāṭṭa-gaṃdhavva) played on instruments like the pipe (venu), lyre (viṇā) and drums (paḍaha)<sup>1</sup>. Several dramatic troupes (pecchanaya-sahassa) visited big cities on such occasions<sup>2</sup>, ~~who enacted~~ <sup>Display of</sup> scenes (kougapecchanaya) with the help of mechanical devices (jamtaṇṇi) was also made to please the visitors. The scenes represented in such a way in the festival at Sāvathī were from ~~by~~ <sup>of</sup> the stories ~~from~~ the Purānas (loiyasui). At one place they showed Rāṃa in exile with Sītā. Elsewhere a married woman was shown praying <sup>to</sup> the god for union with the same husband in the next birth while at another place abduction of polomikannā by Indra was represented.

The Mahākomudī celebrations attracted a large number of people, and as such gave an ideal opportunity for a rendezvous<sup>3</sup>.

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1. Vh(M), I. 19b.

2. Ibid.; I. 17a.

3. Ibid.; I. 19-20.

Outside the town, amidst a caravan of cowherds the gopis danced a rāsa to celebrate the occasion<sup>1</sup>.

More details than those in the Vh(P) have been given in the Vh(M) about the spring festival. It was celebrated on the thirteenth day of the cetta ~~monk~~ month. On the previous day, the king, through a public declaration invited the subjects to take part in the celebrations which were in a park outside the city. On this auspicious occasion the king with his courtiers (talayara) went to the park in a procession in great pomp and threw a grand feast to the people. Throughout the day invitees enjoyed the feast and entertained themselves with music and songs<sup>2</sup>.

#### Entertainments :

It was a very common practice of the kings to entertain themselves with dances<sup>3</sup>. The prince of Candanapura was accompanied by a troupe of dancers to the performance of a sacrifice in the forest. The troupe entertained the hermits with dance recitals<sup>4</sup>. The dancers at

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1. Vh(M), I.20.

2- Ibid.; II. 215b-216b.

3. Vh(P), 109.

4. Ibid.; 293.

the court were known as nāḍaijja (skt. nāṭakiyāḥ) and sometimes sang and enacted popular stories through dance. Vasudeva was entertained in his house by palace-dancers with the story of caravan (sattha)<sup>1</sup>.

How a sort of prestige was attached to the patronisation of skilled dancers can be very well illustrated from the example of king Damiyārī. He ordered two young princesses to dispatch the famous dancers from their palace to his court<sup>2</sup>.

From the appellations, Babbārī and Cilāiga<sup>3</sup> it may be observed that they were imported from the countries Babbara (Skt. Barbara)<sup>4</sup> and cilāya (skt. kirāta)<sup>5</sup>.

Apart from the dancers, which only the affluent could afford to patronise, people entertained themselves at public dramatic performances (picchanaya)<sup>6</sup>, which were sometimes enacted by companies of actors who moved from place to place entertaining the people. In these, popular

1. Vh(P), 282.

2. Ibid., 325.

3. Ibid.;

4. See appendix B, 'Babbara'

5. kirātikās were famous in the Epic literature Mbh, Sabhā, 48.10.

6. Vh(P), 320.

mythological stories such as the affair of Āhallā and Vāsava<sup>1</sup>.

The favourite pastime of the rich, according to the Vh(M), was to listen to poetry and music and to see the dance recital (gamdhavvakavvanadanaccana), in the evening. Sometimes courtezans also were invited<sup>2</sup>. Another pastime was to witness the tricks of a juggler. One of the trick-scenes presented by the juggler has been referred to in a simile. A juggler (vijjāvādiū) could bring to life a dead person and kill him again<sup>3</sup>.

Amusements :

People from various strata of society amused themselves in different ways. Apart from the arts of music, dance and painting which were pursued with the liking of an amateur, people amused themselves with dice<sup>4</sup>, hunting<sup>5</sup>, birds like peacock<sup>6</sup>, partridge (tittiri)<sup>7</sup>, female ruddy

1. Vh(P), 292.

2. Vh(M), II. 188b.

3. anukūlabhāvidesu jivāveūna puno māresi sumdaram midu vijjāvādiū iva vip̄pasuttam ut̄thāveūna puno māranim vaheti, Vh(M), II.215b.

4. Vh(P), 11, 25, 206, 253. 5. Ibid.; 124.

6. Ibid.; 89-

7. Ibid.; 181, favourite in the Gupta period; See Vidya Prakash, "Material Life on Gupta coins" JNSI, Vol.23, pp. 273-74.



goose (cakkavāki)<sup>1</sup>, parrot (suka)<sup>2</sup> and sārikā, and animals like the monkey<sup>3</sup>. Especially the cock fight (juddham kukkudānam) was so popular that it not only interested the commoners<sup>4</sup> but also the royalty<sup>5</sup>. The custom of fabulous baiting on cock fights has also been referred to<sup>6</sup>. There is also an indirect reference to ram fight<sup>7</sup>.

Some of the above pursuits of entertainments must have got altogether a different set-up when these appeared in the context of the Gosthis. The gotthi or the club was a peculiar institution wherein generally people of the same taste gathered together and entertained themselves by arranging picnics (ujjānajatthā)<sup>8</sup>, debates and competitions. Members of a laliyagotthi arranged discussions on various branches of knowledge (vinnāna-nānā-isaesu) in parks (ujjāna), forests (kāna) and assembly halls (sabhā)<sup>9</sup>. Sometimes two members held funny but witty

1. Vh(P), 57.

2. Ibid., 249.

3- Ibid., 105.

4. Vh(P), 289.

5. Ibid., 333.

6. Ibid., 289. 333.

7. Vasudeva to test the might of a ram brought by Pajjunna signalled with his finger. The ram straight<sup>gha</sup> way rushed at him; Vh(P), 94.

8. Ibid., 64.

9. Ibid., 28.

competitions. The competitions between Samba and Subhānu stand a good example in this case<sup>1</sup>.

The king always honoured these clubs by asking them to act as connoisseurs (pāsaniyā) or judges for the dance recitals arranged for him<sup>2</sup>. Sometimes even members of the royal family, for example a prince<sup>3</sup>, were members of the gotthi.

As referred to earlier, the gotthi many times arranged to picnics (ujjānaittā) at its convenience. Many members attended it along with their families<sup>ies</sup>. In such picnics the members entertained themselves with dance, and music<sup>4</sup>, swing<sup>5</sup>, and swimming<sup>6</sup> after a hearty lunch.

Apart from the lalīyagotthis which were somewhat like the modern 'art-circles', there were regular dice-houses (jūyasālā, sabhā) where some of the rich (ibbhaputtā) gathered and played dice. These houses seem to have the sanction not only of the society but also of the

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1. Vh(P), 105-06.

2. Ibid.; 28.

3. Ibid.; 58.

4. Ibid.; 64.

5. Ibid.; 58.

administration, as many officials of the king are referred to have been the members of the dice house<sup>1</sup>. One of the rules of the dice house was that no one was expected to play on credit<sup>2</sup>.

The evidence from the Vh(M) shows that some of the members of the higher classes in the society mastered many arts because of their artistic inclinations. Vasudeva trained a group of dancers (pedaya) at the court of king Bhānucaṇḍa, in the art of Bharatanāṭṭa<sup>3</sup>.

Along with the fine arts, the elite in the society studied the sāstras to widen the horizon of their knowledge. As such, when in the company of those who were of the same disposition they discussed various problems related to their learning. Vasudeva and the envoys of king Jarāsaṁdha amused themselves, while on a long journey, with music, poetry, prosody and grammar<sup>4</sup>. On his way to the park

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1. Vh(P), 247-48. In this connection it can be noted that while playing dice there was a formality to be observed. The persons concerned exchanged the signet rings, [Vh(P), 253] probably as a guarantee not to cheat each other.
  2. Ibid.; 210-11.
  3. Vh(M), II. 206a.
  4. Ibid.; II.201a.

outside the town who discussed various topics in sāstras and kalās, with his friends. Their discussion covered subjects like mathematics, grammar, prosody, astronomy, mīmāṃsā, saṃkhasattha, satṭhitanta, Vedas, itihāsa and Purānas<sup>1</sup>.

Apart from these ~~tierary~~<sup>Literary</sup> and refined pastimes, the members of a society also indulged in playing dice (akkha), though it was normally looked upon as a bad habit (vasana). The story of Nala who lost his entire kingdom to his brother in a game of dice was a patent example<sup>2</sup>.

The other pastime referred to in the Vh(M) was probably more suitable to the warrior class; it was the race of animals. Two brothers, both princes, from the royal family of Vesālī, had contested such a race. This race was abnormal in the sense that a chariot and a female elephant were to run together. When Vasudeva saw that the owner of the female elephant, who was quite capable to win in case a skilled rider was to a god, was a bit diffident he offered<sup>ed</sup> himself as a driver and help<sup>ed</sup> him to emerge victorious<sup>3</sup>.

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1. Vh(M), I. 11a.

2. Ibid.; II. 61.

3. Vh(M), II. 32ab.

Pastimes of Women :

Many of the pastimes are common to both men and women, as for instance, cock fights<sup>1</sup> and pet birds<sup>2</sup>. But playing with a ball of gold (kanayatimduya) seems to be specifically a pastime of girls<sup>3</sup>.

The Vh(M) also repeats the same pastimes, viz. music, dance, drama (pekhanaya), bhanaya (skt. Bhāna), telling stories, in the case of inmates of inner apartments<sup>4</sup>, but adds two new features which are not given in the Vh(P)<sup>5</sup>. These are water sports (majjanaka) and drinking parties (pāna).

There is a detailed description of water sports (mahamajjanaka) in a tank enjoyed by Vasudeva and his wives. While playing pranks in the water, they threw at each other fragrant pastes and powders and indulged in

1. Vh(P), 333.

2. Ibid.; 181.

3. Ibid.; 355.

4. Vh(M), I. 8ab.

5. Reference to water sports in connection with the spring festival has already been made. Prevalence of such a sport is attested to by contemporary Sanskrit literature. See Saleṅtore, R.N., op.cit., p.155.

amorous actions such as embracing. They also had, after the sport, spirituous drinks at a place where special arrangements were made for the purpose (pānabhūmī)<sup>1</sup>.

Such a get-together for drinking could be independent of the water sports. The party in such cases, used to be very informal and more or less amorous in its character. It was arranged at a place outside the palace in case members from royal family attended it<sup>2</sup>. Such a gathering would never have been amusing if it was not accompanied by music<sup>3</sup>. Vasudeva in the company of his friends and wives, often enjoyed such drinking parties. It is interesting to note that here also some formalities were observed such as filling a cup of wine and offering it to others as a mark of respect<sup>3</sup>.

When left to themselves the inmates of the palace amused themselves with jokes (hāsa) and feigned quarrels (kelikalaha)<sup>4</sup>. A princess is stated to have

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1.  
Vh(M), I. 14a.

2. Ibid.; II. 91b.

3. Ibid.; II. 114b, 227b.

4. Ibid.; I. 8a.



sometimes to relax, and as such, were provided with cushions (sovadhāna)<sup>1</sup>. It

Sihāsana was the throne of the king<sup>2</sup>, depicting lions at the base or at the sides of it. The Īrthakaras are referred to as occupying a 'lion seat'<sup>3</sup> because of their excellence in spiritual field and superiority even to the king<sup>4</sup>. The 'Sihāsana' was generally provided with a footstool (pāyavidha)<sup>5</sup>.

The princes attending a svayamvara occupied couches (mamca)<sup>6</sup>. The cāraṇasamaṇa, who visited the house

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1. Ibid.; 133, 281.

2. Ibid.; 190.

3. Ibid.; 5.

4. Bharata dictates that gods and kings should be shown seated on sihāsanas; Nāṭyaśāstra, Chap, XII, 215-227.

5. Jarāsamdhā's footstool is said to be illuminated with the rays from the crowns of vassal kings, Vh(P), 247; other seats also had foot-stools, e.g. the foot-stool in the house of a courtesan is said to have been studded with five types of jewels; Vh(P), 4.

6. Ibid.; 78, 265.



of Vasudeva, was offered a wooden seat (kattāḥāsana).<sup>1</sup>  
A matanga lady is referred to have sat on a pīṭhikā  
when she was attending the sarvamaḥa.<sup>2</sup>

There is also a reference to a seat on which  
a person was to be bathed (ṇhānapīṭha).<sup>3</sup>

The seat used by the king, according to the  
Vh(M), was called bhaddāsana, the auspicious one<sup>4</sup>. It  
was provided with a pillow (sāvassaya) and a foot-stool  
(pādapīḍha)<sup>5</sup>. At the canopy (vidāna) of the bhaddāsana  
were suspended cāmaras and garlands of jewels and flowers<sup>6</sup>.

1. Vh(P), 110. Bharata prescribes that a kāṣṭhāsana should  
be offered to a Brahmana. The comm. explains the word  
kāṣṭhāsana as a pīṭhaka; Nāṭyaśāstra, XVI, 215-217.

2. Vh(P), 155.

3. Ibid.;

4. Amara (II.3. 32-33) makes a differentiation between  
a bhaddāsana and a simhāsana. The simhāsana was of gold.  
Vh(M) refers to kaṇaga bhaddāsana (I. 34b; II. 58a).  
See also Vh(M), I.9-10.

5. Vh(M), 34b. II. 93a.

6. Vh(M), II. 58a.

Besides the sihāsana and bhaddāsana several other seats, viz, garulāsana, pakkhāsana, disārūvāsana, kāmāsana, were displayed on the kappapādavas. All these seats were provided with cushions (sovadhāna)<sup>1</sup>.

Seats meant for the other members of the royal family<sup>2</sup> were kamalapattāsana, kaṇagapattāsana, saṃkhāvattāsana<sup>3</sup>, masūraya<sup>4</sup>, kaṭṭhāsana<sup>5</sup>, and kaṃcanaṣiḍha. Seats like kamalapattāsana, kaṇagapattāsana, and saṃkhāvattāsana had motifs, as their names suggest, of lotus leaves, golden leaves, and conch respectively. Vatṭovadhāna which was occupied by princess Piyāṅgusundarī, one of the wives of Vasudeva, was a traditional seat in the royal palace<sup>6</sup>. It was probably a circular pillow.

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1. Vh(M), I. 39b.

2. The queen, it seems, could share the same seat with the king. Princess Sāmali shared bhaddāsana with Vasudeva; Vh(M), I. 9b.

3. Vh(M), I. 9-10.

4. Vh(M), I. 96; II. 209a. According to Bharata maṣṭūraha was meant for a courtesan; Nāṭyaśāstra, Chap, XII, 215-27.

5. Vh(M), I. 24b. Somasirī, when living the life of a prisoner, was provided with a kaṭṭhāsana, a wooden seat. It was the same as pīṭha.

6. Vh(M), I. 9b.

While on excursion, such as to a park, however, furniture was not carried. Even the members of the royal family used raised platforms of mud and stone (pudhavisilāpaṭṭa) to sit upon. Before sitting on it they spread their upper garment over it. Similarly servants put leaves on the floor and then sat on them.

Sayana :

From the Vh(P), it appears that only the rich used <sup>d</sup>bestead, while the common people<sup>1</sup> like farmers slept on spread grass<sup>2</sup>. There is a reference to a couch (paṭṭamka)<sup>3</sup> -

On the cot was spread a bed as soft as the feathers of a goose<sup>4</sup> and stuffed with paṭṭatūla type of cotton<sup>5</sup>, over which was spread a white bed sheet (dhoyamsagasugamdhapacchādite)<sup>6</sup>. It was provided with a pillow (usīsayaga)<sup>7</sup>. A royal <sup>d</sup>bestead has been described

1. Vh(M), I. 11a.

2. Vh(P), 287.

3. Ibid., 296.

4. Ibid., 169.

5. Ibid., 230.

6. Ibid., 351.

7. Ibid., 167.

as one studded with sapphires (Surapatinīlamani), painted (cittakammabibboyana) and kept on firm bed platform (pidhiyā). The bedstead was decorated with garlands of flowers<sup>1</sup>.

The vh(M) refers to the use of sejā, which with its surface probably knit with strings or straps, could be tightened. Princess Accharā explains to Vasudeva how straps tied loose, tight or lightly, brought about different effects for those who slept on them. She herself had tied her cot loose, so that the surface hung low in the middle. Such an arrangement allowed the lovers to be close to one another. A tightly strapped cot made it possible for an angry wife to sleep some distance from the husband on the same bed<sup>2</sup>.

In the houses of the rich, the cot (pallamka) was decorated profusely. Over the cot were suspended cāmaras, festoons and garlands in the manner of a bhaddāsana, and was decorated with bells all around<sup>3</sup>. The cot was also provided with a foot-stool<sup>4</sup>.

1. Vh(P), 180.

2. Vh(M), II. 98a.

3. Ibid.; I. 25a.

4. Ibid.; II. 226b.

The savvatobhadda type of cot (pallamka) was provided with a flight of steps (somanaparamparā) which made it look like a temple. A cot also had a canopy (vidāna) over it. From it were suspended nets (jāla) of gold and jewels<sup>1</sup>. Over the cot was spread a very soft mattress with a bedquilt of cīnapatta or khoma<sup>2</sup>. The bed became more pleasant with a sprinkle of scents<sup>3</sup>.

Boxes :

A mamjūsā fashioned of bell metal (kamsa) accommodating a small child could float over the river, water<sup>4</sup>. The pedās<sup>5</sup> and karamḍaka<sup>6</sup> were used for depositing valuables. Poṭṭalaya and padala were not actual boxes but served the purpose of carrying merchandise<sup>7</sup>, flowers and other requisites required for worship<sup>8</sup>, and also sometimes ornaments<sup>9</sup>.

1. Vh(M), II. 57b.

2. Ibid.; I. 25a; II. 57b; Five-coloured dūsa; Vh(M), II. 136b. Somasirī slept on a bed of kusa grass during her separation; Vh(M), I. 24ab.

3. Ibid.; II. 98a.

4. Vh(P), 119, 309.

5. Ibid.; 40.

6. Ibid.; 217.

7. Ibid.; 138.

8. Ibid.; 65.

9. Ibid.; 31.

Boxes and receptacles<sup>5</sup> of different types like tāliyamkapuda<sup>1</sup>, velā (skt. petā), camgeri<sup>2</sup>, ratanakaramḍaka<sup>3</sup>, kumḍaya<sup>4</sup> and paṭala<sup>5</sup> were used to deposit clothes<sup>6</sup> and other requirements.

Pots and Utensils :

The general term for any type of pot or utensil was bhāyaṇa, which was fashioned out of a variety of materials, viz clay<sup>7</sup>, gold<sup>8</sup>, silver<sup>9</sup> and precious stones<sup>10</sup>. Apart

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1. Referred to among the items of furniture from Mamdaradeva's palace. Could it mean a box of tāla leaves?; Vh(M), II. 149a. Similar to the above is ppavālapadavelā (a box of coral); Vh(M), II. 148a.
  2. Ibid.; II. 149a.
  3. Used for keeping devadūśajūvala; Vh(M), II 67a. It was one of the requisites at the time of worship; Vh(M), I.5b.
  4. Knees are compared to this; Vh(M), I. 15a.
  5. Vh(M), II. 149a; It was also used to carry flowers and unguents for worships; Vh(I), I.5b. Nevatthapadala (made of cloth); Vh(I), I. 5b.
  6. Ibid.; 149a.
  7. Vh(P), 170. The credit of the invention of pottery goes to Usabha. He prepared a kumbha by putting a lump on the temples of an elephant; Vh(P), 163.
  8. Ibid.; 204.
  9. Ibid.; 218.
  10. ibid.; 64. Sometimes naturally available objects were used as utensils, eg. lotus leaves [Vh(P), 142] dried gourd [Vh(P), 147] etc.

from its use in cooking<sup>1</sup> and eating, it could be used to store wine<sup>2</sup> and oil<sup>3</sup>.

A particular shape and specialised use must have lent special names to pots. Tavikā<sup>4</sup> was a toasting pan<sup>5</sup> while kalasa was a big jar used for storing sugar-cane juice<sup>6</sup> and preserving copper-plates (tambapatta, - potthaya)<sup>7</sup>. In the latter case it has been described as a tambabhāyana<sup>8</sup>, a utensil made of copper.

The food was brought in a sarāva<sup>9</sup>, i.e. a trough or a shallow dish, or patthiya<sup>10</sup>, and served in dishes small (pattī)<sup>11</sup> or big (thāla)<sup>12</sup>, or in mallaga<sup>13</sup>. The last one, i.e. mallaga was narrow at the base and broad at the mouth.<sup>14</sup>

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1. References are available to the winnowing pan (suppa), and mortar to pound rice; Vh(P), 72, 44.
  2. Ibid.; 226.
  3. Ibid.; 44.
  4. Vh(P), 239.
  5. See Deo. S. B. "pots and Utensils in Jaina Literature", BDCRI, Vol XIV, no.1, p.38.
  6. Vh(P), 164-65.
  7. Ibid.; 189.
  8. Ibid.; many copper plates from the Gupta period have been found in copper jars.
  9. Vh(P), 225.
  10. Ibid.; 290.
  11. Ibid.; 95.
  12. Ibid.; 239; See also Deo. op.cit., p.39.
  13. Vh(P), 146.
  14. Ibid.

A kaḍucchaya, used to fill an utensil carved from a dried gourd (turba)<sup>1</sup>, was probably a small bowl.

Bhīṅgāra, usually fashioned of gold, however, had a specialised function to serve. It was a sprinkler used to wash the feet of an honourable guest<sup>2</sup>, and to sprinkle holy water over the head of a newly married couple<sup>3</sup>. There is also a reference to a such a sprinkler (bhīṅgāra) having an elephant spout (gayaṃuha)<sup>4</sup>.

The Vh(P) tells us that the vessels for the royal house were manufactured from gold and precious stones (kaṇagamanīrayana)<sup>5</sup> and of material such as shells<sup>6</sup>.

1. Vh(P), 147.

2. Ibid.; 90.

3. Ibid.; 280.

4. Ibid.; 66. Pots with animal spouts, e.g. makara spout, were very ~~popular~~<sup>popular</sup> in Gupta period. They ~~have~~<sup>have</sup> been found in contemporary levels in the excavations at Ahicchatra (see Agrawala, V.S., Gupta Art, p.15) and Taxila [Marshall, J. (Sir), Taxila, Part II, P. 414; pl. 123, no. 69].

5. Vh(M), I. 38b; II.57a, 148a, 211b.

6. maṇi-saṃkha-sippi-bhāyana, Vh(M), II. 49a.



The pots displayed on the desire-yielding, trees were tat̥ṭha, kavit̥ṭha, karod̥aka, kulum̥ka, sirimum̥da, kum̥da, kumbha, kalasaga and utensils of the shape of (or having the motifs of?) a female goose, eagle, Vidyādhara and gamdhavva couples<sup>1</sup>.

Bhīṅgāra, or a sprinkler as stated earlier made either of gold or silver<sup>2</sup>, was used for the purpose of worship<sup>3</sup>, or for honouring a dignitary<sup>4</sup>. Pattapudayas were used to store scents (jutti)<sup>5</sup>. A plate of gold (kam̥caṇapattī) was used to serve food<sup>6</sup>. Goblet (casaya)<sup>7</sup> and vessels (bhāyana) of gold and emerald (Maragada)<sup>8</sup> were used in drinking.

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1. Vh(M), I. 38b; tat̥ṭha and others upto kum̥da have been referred to in the Angavijjā, (pp. 65, 214).
  2. Vh(M), I. 5b, 120a. Amara (II. 182, 33) recognizes it specifically it to be of gold (kanakaṭu) and as an item of royal furniture.
  3. Vh(M), II.5b; II. 120a.      4. Ibid.; II.93b.
  5. Ibid.; II. 57a.                6. Ibid.; II. 193b.
  7. Ibid.; II. 227b.                8. Ibid.; I. 45b.

Lamps :

One of the necessities in a house was lamps. Houses of the rich were equipped with lamps set ~~in~~ with jewels<sup>1</sup>, which must have reflected more light<sup>2</sup>. Lamps used elsewhere than the main rooms, even in the palaces<sup>3</sup>, were simple oil lamps<sup>4</sup>. Some of the lamps had a chain with which ~~it~~<sup>they</sup> could be suspended<sup>5</sup>, while others had an arrangement of a lid which could be opened and shut (samuggaka, pacchan<sup>a</sup>ndīva)<sup>6</sup>. This device was conceived to make the bearer inconspicuous in the dark. There is also a reference to a lamp with a magical wick (jogavatti) which did not extinguish even in ~~in~~ places like a deep well<sup>7</sup>. According to the Vh(M) small lamps burnt with scented oil were used both for worship<sup>8</sup> and for light while moving from one place to another<sup>9</sup>.

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1. Dīvamānī, kavanādīvikā, Vh(P), 280, 178, 83.

2. Ibid.; 279.

3. Ibid.; 249.

4. Ibid.; 28, 32.

5. Ibid.; 65.

6. Ibid.; 48, 51.

7. Ibid.; 147.

8. Vh(M), I. 134b.

9. Ibid.; II. 93b.

Incense burners (dhūvaghadiyā<sup>1</sup>, dhūvakuducehaya<sup>2</sup>) were used both in the temples<sup>3</sup> as well as in palaces<sup>4</sup> with an obvious purpose.

Mirror :

Mirror (āyāmsaka, ādāmsana, ādarīsa) was one of the prerequisites of toilet. It was generally held in the hand<sup>5</sup>.

According to the Vh(M) also they were to be found associated with the dressing room (pasādhana-gharaya, sadāpnamjana-sitthagasālā)<sup>6</sup>.

From both the Vh(P) and the Vh(M) it is not clear of what material the mirrors were made.

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1. Ibid.; II. 120b, 148a.
  2. Ibid.; I. 5b.
  3. Ibid.; I. 5b; II. 120b.
  4. Ibid.; II. 148a.
  5. Vh(P), 139, 160, 299.
  6. Vh(M), I. 39a.

Fan :

The Vh(P) refers to the use of the fans of tāla leaves (tāliyaṃṭa) even in royal families<sup>1</sup>. The fly-whisk (bālavīyaṇī) was also in vogue<sup>2</sup>.

In the Vh(M), it is described that in the place of king Haricaṃḍa of Peḍhapura different types of fans were deposited. They are named as Vīyaṇukkhevaya, tāliyaṃṭa and dāmsāvaēdaga<sup>2a</sup>.

Curtains :

Reference has already been made to the use of javanīya in the section on the position of women. The curtain was used in big houses<sup>3</sup> and palaces<sup>4</sup>.

1. Vh(P), 115, 304, 327.

2. Ibid., 202.

2a. Vh(M), II. 57a.

3. Vh(P), 132.

4. Vh(M), II. 203b.