PART - III

SOCIAL MILIEU

Chapter-10

"Social and Political Organization"

...NS, we have seen, allocates Sanskrit and the different Prakrit speeches to particular classes of people. Some of these classes were racial, while others were professional and artisan classes. Dramas are supposed to reflect the social conditions of their times. It is reasonable to suppose that NS must have derived its material from the existing dramas. It must also have related its information to the actual conditions as well as traditional beliefs.

Let us now gather this information from the NS to draw a picture of society that might emerge out of it. We have noted the geographical background, the racial background and the linguistic background. Let us now take other aspects.

Indian society, from very early times, has been an hierarchical society. The four-fold division into Varnas: Brāhmaṇa, Kaśtriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra is traced to the Puruṣasūkta of Rgveda, Mandala X.

1. RV. X 90-12; & NS. 18-36 of Keatilya's As Bd. R.P. Nagle, Part I. 18-21, pl. 18.
This arrangement has been taken for granted in the NS, because references are found at different places in it to Brāhmaṇas, Vipras or Dwijas, Kṣatriyas, Vanijas i.e. Vaisyas and Śūdras. In addition to this, we have a separate class of Mlecchas, of which two tribes, Pulindas and Śabaras, are specially mentioned. Other tribes are also noted, as we have seen in the foregoing chapter No. 9. It is not clear from the NS as to how these foreign tribes were classed. It is likely that some of these must have been classed with Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas. The rigid exclusiveness of the Brāhmaṇa class would debar one from supposing that foreigners could have been absorbed in it. But when one considers all the different Brāhmaṇa castes of India, one cannot help supposing that even Brāhmīns have absorbed foreign elements. The lower castes might have been included into the Śūdra class. The Mlecchas and many of the other aboriginal and foreign tribes might have been regarded as outside of the pale of the four Varnas. The conditions, however, must have been fluid.

There is another hierarchical division, which may be taken as based upon character. It is the division of persons into Uttama, Madhyama, and Adhama or Nīca. Sometimes even this coincides with the Varna division of Indian society.

3 NS 1. 113; 6. 52; 12. 127, 150, 192; 17. 66; 18. 34, 35
The honoured position of the Brāhmaṇa is found reflected throughout the NS. The Kṣatriya comes next. However, in actual state of affairs it is the ruler, Rājan, who predominates. He is usually a Kṣatriya. Let us, therefore first take note of the political situation in which the Kṣatriya hold dominance.

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The political system, as inferred from the NS, is monarchical. The NS divides the associates of a king into two classes: one concerned with his Antahpurā - palace, and the other Bāhya - concerned with his court and political activities. We, therefore, first take note of the king and his principal associates, officers and other attendants of his court. The NS gives the following list: Rājan (king or some prince), Senāpati (Chief of the army), Purodhas (Chaplain), Mantrins (Councillors), Saciva (Executive Officers), Prādyūvākās (Judges), Kumārādīhkṛtas (Wardens of princes).

4. NS 24.27 and 73.

5. Cf. The list given in the Kautiliya's As, Book I., Chapter twelve: Mantri-Purohita-Senāpati-Yuvarāja-Dauvārika-Antaravaiṣika-Praśātri-Samādhartṛ-Sannīdhāṭṛ-Pradeśṭṛ-Nāyaka-Pauravāvahārika-Kārmāntika-Mantri-prarāṣadhyakṣa - Daṇḍa-Durgā - Antapāla - Āṭavika. It may also be compared with the list given by Amarasimha. He mentions: Mantrin, Dhiśaciva, Amāṭya, Karmasaciva, Mahāmāṭra, Pradhāna, Purodhas (Purohita), Prādyūvāka or Aksadarsaka, Pratīhiṭa, Dvarapāla, Dvāsthita, Dārsaka, etc. (AK, p. 181).
We may further augment this list with the names mentioned in the NS at other places. These are Amatya, Mahamatra, Nagaraka, Sthaniyaduta, Rajasevaka, Kumara, Yuvaraja, Prathihari, and Mahisi. The last two concern the king's palace also.

Now let us study the import of these terms. The qualities and qualifications of some of the persons mentioned in the above list are described in Adhyaya 24 of the NS. Before we take note of this it will be interesting to note that NS tells us "Members of the court should be appointed according to the opinion of Brhaspati." From this we may presume that Bharata had before him either the work of Brhaspati or tradition about Brhaspati's opinion. No ancient work of Brhaspati is yet discovered. In Kautiliya AS, however, Brhaspati is mentioned.

6. In Indian tradition Brhaspati and Usanas are considered as the founders of Arthasastra. Brhaspati is referred to by AsvaghoSa in his Buddhacarita (I.46). The celebrated dramatist Bhasa refers to a Brhaspati Arthasastra in his Pratima Nataka. Dr. F.W. Thomas, in the Punjab Sanskrit Series has edited "Brihaspati Sutra." Pt. Sham Shastri has also published these Sutras in his edition of the text of AS. But this work is considered to be of very modern fabrication.

General political incidents like Rāṣṭrapravardhana, Apacaya of the kingdom, Rājabhraṃsa, Rāṣṭrakopa, Apaharaṇa, Grahaṇa, Yuddha, Niyuddha, Sampheṭa and Sandhi are also referred to.

Now let us study the import of these terms.

1. Rāja or Svāmin: A King. He was the supreme authority of the state. In the NS his qualities are described thus: "The king should be brave, truthful, master of his senses, clever, and of good character, patient (Dhṛtimāṇa) powerful, high minded and pure. He should be foresighted, greatly energetic, grateful and skilled in using sweet words. He should take a vow of protecting people and be expert in the various routine work (Karmamārgavīśāradāh), should be alert and active. He should associate himself with old people (i.e. men of experience) and be well versed in the Arthasastra and the practice of various policies. He should think positive and negative reasoning (Uñāpohavicārī) and should promote various arts and crafts. He should be expert in Nītisāstra and must possess love for it. He should be the knower of Dharma and free from evil." These qualities,

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8. NS 1.113; 5.114; 12.25, 27, 29; 17.69, 81; 18.10, 22, 203; 24.74; 27.77; 35.11.
9. NS 2.29, 3.89.
10. NS 24.76-80.
described in the NS, are also to be found in
the Kautiliya Arthasastra. In Book VI, chapter
one, while describing the excellences of the
king, he describes these qualities.11.

Some of the words in the NS denoting
a king are: Bhūpati, Rājan, Mahārāja, Sārvabhauma

11. The excellences of the king are described thus:
"Born in a high family, endowed with good fortune,
intelligence and spirit, given to seeing elders,
pious, truthful in speech, not breaking his promise,
grateful, liberal, of great energy, not dilatory
with weak neighbouring princes, resolute, not having
a mean council (of ministers), desirous of training-
these are the qualities of one easily approachable.
Desire to learn, listening, learning, retention,
through understanding, reflecting, rejecting (false
views) and intensity on truth, these are the qualities
of intellect. Bravery, resentment, quickness
and dexterity, these are the qualities of energy.
Eloquent, bold, endowed with memory, intellect and
strength, exalted, easy to manage, trained in arts,
free from vices, able to lead the army, able to
requite obligations and injury in the prescribed
manner, possessed of a sense of shame, able to take
suitable action in calamities and normal conditions,
seeing long and far, attaching prominence to undertakings
at the proper place and time and with appropriate
human endeavour, able to discriminate between peace
and fighting, giving and withholding, and (observance)
of conditions and (striking at) the enemy's weak
points, well guarded, not laughing in an undignified
manner, with a glance which is straight and without
a frown, devoid of passion, anger, greed, stiffness,
fickleness, troublesomeness and slandering, sweet
in speech, speaking with a smile and with dignity,
with conduct conforming to the advice of elders;
these are personal excellences." (AS. ed. by
Rājan, Rājarṣi, Nṛpa, Narādhipa, Narendra, Narapati, Mahīpati, Mahīpāla, Pārthiva and Svāmin. Rājan means a ruler, Mahārāja means a great ruler and Sārvabhauma Rājan means an Emperor; Nṛpa, Narādhipa and Narapati mean protector of the people; Narendra means the best of men or the lord of men; and Pārthiva which in Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda means merely an inhabitant of the earth, comes to mean later on, a prince, lord of the earth or a king. The word Bhūpati, Mahīpāla and Mahīpati mean the protector or the lord of the earth. Rājarṣi means sage-like or an ideal king.

2. Rājarṣi: Though mentioned in the NS is not described in the list given in Adhyāya 24. We may therefore consult Kautilya's AS. The Rājarṣivṛtta forms a special chapter in it. Book I, 'Chapter seven has the title' "Rājarṣivṛttam" i.e. "the life of a sage-like king." In the previous chapter, the king was admonished to control his senses by controlling passions like sex, anger, greed, etc. Kautilya says, "With his senses thus under control he

12. NS 18.10.
should avoid another man's wife, property as well as doing injury to others, also (avoid) sleepiness, capriciousness, falsehood, wearing an extravagant dress, association with harmful persons and any transaction associated with unrighteousness or harm. The further says, "He should enjoy sensual pleasures without contravening his spiritual good and material well-being; he should not deprive himself of pleasure. Or (he should devote himself) equally to the three goals of life which are bound up with one another. For any one of (the three, viz.) spiritual good, material well-being and sensual pleasures, (if) excessively indulged in, does harm to itself as well as to the other two." In the end of this section Kautilya says, "Material well-being alone is supreme. For, spiritual good and sensual pleasures depend on material well being. He should set the preceptors or ministers as the bounds of proper conduct (for himself), who should restrain from occasions of harm, or, when he is erring in private, should prick him with the goad in the form of (the indication of time for the performance of his regular duties by means of) the shadow (of the gnomon) or the nālikā (water-clock)."

15. Ibid. p. 16.
3. **Mantrins** In the NS the qualities of a Mantrin and a Purodhas are described together. This means that they have equal importance. The qualities described in the NS are: "Those who are high-born, intelligent, well versed in various scriptures, affectionate to the king, incorruptible, not haughty (Vinita), the compatriot, free from greed, disciplined, trustworthy, and virtuous are to be made Purodhas and Mantrins." 

In *Kautiliya Arthasastra* the special qualifications of a Mantrin are shown in Book I, chapter ten. We are informed that the Mantrins are to be appointed from those Amāyas whose integrity is proved by all the five tests—"Sarvopādāsuddān mantriṇāḥ Kuryāt." i.e. those proved honest by all tests should be made councilors. The first test is Dharmopāda, i.e. the test of piety, the second is Arthopāda, i.e. the test of material gain, the third is Kāmopāda, i.e. the test of lust, the fourth is Bhayopāda, i.e. the test of fear.

The great importance of a mantrin in *Kautiliya Arthasastra* is shown by many references to Mantra, Mantrin, Mantriparishad, etc. in it.

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16. NS 24.74, 82.
17. NS 24.80-82.
About the duties of Mantrins, Kautilya says, "They should think over the (King's) own party and the enemy's party. And (they) should bring about the commencement of what is not done, the carrying out of what is commenced, the improvement of what has been carried out and the excellences of (the execution of) orders in the case of works. He should look into the affairs with those who are present. With those are not present he should hold consultations by sending out letter."

4. Purodhas or Purohita. Purohita, though essentially a priest concerned with religious ceremonies, is yet a person of great importance amongst a king's associates. The qualities of a Purodhas are described in the NS along with those of a Mantrin. I have described the same on page 16, while describing the qualities of a Mantrin.


We may here note the qualifications of a Mantrin given by Kāmandaka (500 to 600 A.D.) in his Nītisārā. "The excellences of a Mantrin lie in memory, readiness in achieving objectives, deliberations, definite knowledge, firmness and the guarding of counsel." (Nītisārā, verse 30, p. 55, Trivendrum S.S.)

20. NS 2.59; 18. 15, 48, 51.
21. NS 17-49; 21. 116; 126, 149; 24. 74, 82.
In the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya his qualities and qualifications are described thus: "He should be very exalted in family and character, thoroughly trained in the Veda with its auxiliary sciences (Vedāṅgas), in divine signs, in omens, and in the science of politics." This last qualification of proficiency in Dandaṇīti is to be particularly noted in a Purohita. He is supposed to be capable of counteracting divine and human calamities by means of Atharvan remedies.

The Purohita was held in great respect and awe. Kautilya says, "The king should follow him as a pupil does his teacher, a son his father or a servant his master." The superiority of Brāhmaṇa over Kṣatriya is prescribed by Kautilya thus: "Kṣatriya power, made to prosper by the Brahmin (Chapāśāna) is sanctified by spells in the form of the council of ministers (and) possessed of arms in the

23. Ibid., p. 20.
24. Ibid.
form of compliance with the science (of politics), triumphs, remaining over unconquered."25

Thus the NS notes the four principal associates - Saciva, Mantrin, Amātya and Purohita having different functions.

5. Saciva26 His qualifications are not described in the editors of NS. Let us therefore consult Kautilya's AS.

Kautilya in his AS, at the end of Book I, chapter seven, informs us that rulership can be successfully carried out only with the help of associates (Sahāyas); one wheel alone does not turn. Therefore, he should appoint Sacivas and listen to their opinion.27 It is obvious from this verse that Sahāya and Saciva mean the same thing.28

25. Ibid.
26. NS 12.15; 17.7; 18.48, 51; 24.74.
28. In the list of homonyms, Amarasimha gives Saciva as a term used for Mantrin and Sahāya (AK, III. p. 205). Hemacandra in his Anekārthasaṅgraha uses the term Saciva for Bṛtyaka and Amātya (AS, Kanda III, v. 752, p. 107) Bṛtyaka means one who is to be maintained, a dependent, a servant.

Kāmandaka, in his Nītisāra, describes the qualities and qualifications of a Saciva thus: "They should be of a noble family, pure in character, brave, learned, loyal, and expert in the application of Dandaniti-science of politics." He further on, in verses 27 and 28, describes these qualifications in terms almost identical with those describing the qualifications of Amātyas (Nītisāra, IV. 24.)
The word Saciva comes from the root 'Sac', which is connected with root-Sajj, Saṅj, Sakh. It means to be associated or united with, to belong to, be attached or devoted to, serve, follow, etc. Another meaning of the root 'Sac' is 'to adhere to'. From this the word Saca (M) is derived. It means one attached. The word Saciva is connected with Saca and means an associate, companion or friend. The word Sahāya probably comes from Saha-aya. But according to some, a Prakrit form of Sakhaya i.e. one who goes along with another, a companion, follower, adherent, ally, assistance, etc.


30. Thus the nouns (Sakhi (M), Sahāya and Saciva have the same connotation. When these are associated with a king, they would have the general meaning of a minister. However, the word Saciva has maintained its general meaning of an associate. Cf. Mālavikāgnimitra, Act I, the king calls Vidūṣaka his Kāryāntara Saciva. So also in Raghuvamsa, Sarga VIII, Verse 67, Aja calls his queen Indumati Saciva. In Mālatimādhava Kāmandaki calls Nandana, the Narmasaciva of the king. This Nandana is called also Suhrda and Saciva by Kāmandaki (Mālatimādhava, I.7 and II.8).
This general connection of Saciva as minister or associate of a king is confirmed by Amarasimha in his lexicon, as we have already noted in fn. 18, of this chapter. In the list of homonyms, he gives Saciva as a term used for Mantrin and Sahāya. He says, "Mantrīdhīsačiva amātyo anye karmasačivāstataḥ." So it is clear that here Sacivas are divided into Dhisacivas and Karmasacivas. Mantrin, Dhīsačiva and Amātya are synonyms. They connote those ministers of the king who are his advisers or counsellors, the the Karmasacivas being his executive ministers.

This division of office was in vogue in the early history of India is confirmed by the mention of Mati Sacivas and Karmasacivas in the Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradēmanta I (150 A.D.).

6. Amātya: The qualities of an Amātya are described in verses 92-93 in Adhyāya 34 in the edition of Dr. M. M. Ghosh. In verse 68 Adhyāya 24, of the

31. AK. II.8.4.
32. Select Inscriptions p. 172.
Nirṇayāsāgar edition, we are informed that the qualities of Amātyas and Mantrins are the same. In the G.O.S. edition, the verse is missing. The qualities described are "Those who are intelligent, well versed in polity, powerful, sweet-tongued, conversant with the Arthasāstra, and attached to the subjects and are followers of Dharma, should be always appointed by kings as Amātyas."  

Kautiliya Arthasāstra seems to take Amātya as a general term to designate all important associates and officers of a king. It places Amātya in the seven Prakṛtis which constitute the State. In Book I, chapter eight, Kautiliya gives the opinion of Bhardvāja, Visālākṣa, Parāśara, Pisūna, Kaunapadanta, etc.

35. These are Svāmin, Amātya, Janapada, Dūrga, Kośa, Daṇḍa, and Mitra (Book-I, Chapter )
Vatavyādhi and Bhafrdantiputra regarding the qualities and qualifications of an Amātya.

36. In the opinion of Bhāradvāja the king should make his fellow-students his ministers because their integrity and capability are known to him and because they enjoy his confidence. This opinion is in accordance with the literal meaning of the word Amātya, which means one who is with the king or near the king.

Visālākṣaṇa objects to this view. He says that his fellow-students having been his playmates treat him with disrespect. He should appoint those persons who have same character and vices as he has. This opinion is rejected by the followers of Parāśara because these persons being conversant with his secrets, he would have to acquiesce and what they do and what they omit to do. In their opinion, persons who may have helped the king in dūmites involving danger to life should be made his Amātyas, because their is a proved loyalty. Piśūna would not agree with this view. He says this is devotion, not a trait of intellect. He would emphasize Buddhīgūṇa, quality of intellect. Kaunapadanta is not satisfied with this view. According to him, the king should make those his ministers, who have come as hereditary servants from his father and grand-father, because their pure conduct is known. Vatavyādhi says no to this. The hereditary Amātyas would behave like master. He would rather have new men well versed in politics (nītividā) as the king's ministers. Bhaṇudantiputra is not satisfied with persons who only knew the nītiśāstra, but not experienced in practical affairs. In his view, a king should appoint persons as ministers who are endowed with nobility of birth (Abhijana), intellect (Prajñā), integrity (Gauca), bravery (Gauṣyā), and loyalty (Amurāga), because in the appointment of Amātyas qualities are of supreme importance. (As Edited by H.P. Kangle, Eng. Trans. Part II. pp. 17-18).

In the first three paragraphs of the next chapter, he further describes the qualifications of Amātya thus:

"1. A native of the country, of noble birth, easy to hold in check, trained in the arts, possessed of the eye (of science) intelligent, persevering, dexterous, eloquent, bold, possessed of a ready wit, endowed with energy and power, able to bear troubles, upright, friendly, firmly devoted, endowed with character, strength, health and spirit, devoid of stiffness and fickleness, amiable (and not given to creating animosities—these are the excellences of a minister.

2. One, lacking in a quarter and a half of these qualities is the middling and the lowest (type, respectively)" (Abid, pp. 18-29).
In the end of this section, he gives his own opinion thus: "Everything is justifiable, for from the capacity for doing work is the ability of a person judged" - "Kāryaśāmartah hi puṇaśāmartah Kalpyate." 37 In accordance with this ability, a king should appoint all these persons as Amātyas - ministers, not however, as Mantrins - councillors, and should suitably distribute rank amongst them and assign place, time and work to them.

7. Senāpati38 The qualities of a Senāpati, though stated to have been described in verse 74, Adhyāya twenty four, are not described in the NS of the G.O.S. Edition. In verse 84 there is a different reading. The editor has accepted the reading "Kartavyāḥ Keatipath sadā." 39 Dr. M.M. Ghosh in his Adhyāya 34 has accepted the reading "Bahvet Senāpatirgūṇaiḥ." 40

The qualities of a Senāpati are described thus: "One who possesses a good character and truthfulness, and is always active,
sweet-tongued, knows the rules regarding weakness of the enemy, and proper time for marching against him, has a knowledge of the Arthasastra and of everything about wealth, is devoted to the king, honoured in his own clan, and has a knowledge about time and place should be made a leader of the army."41

In Kautiliya AS, Senāpati is mentioned in the list of principal officers of a king who are to be spied upon in Book-I, chapter twelve.42 His qualifications are described in Book-II, chapter thirty three thus: "The Senāpati (Commandant of the army) trained in the science of all kinds of fights and weapons, (and) renowned for riding on elephants, horses or in chariots, should be conversant with the same (i.e. with the duties of Paṭṭādhyakṣa -Superintendent of the foot-soldiers), and with the direction of the work carried out by the four-fold troops. He should look out for suitable ground for one's side for suitable season, for fighting, for arrange a force against (enemy's arrays), for breaking unbroken ranks, for re-forming broken ranks, for breaking compact ranks, for destroying broken ranks, for destroying the fort

41. NS Ed. M.M.Ghosh Part-II(Trans.) P.211.
and for the season for an expedition." 43

Being devoted to the training of the troops, he should arrange signals for the arrays by means of musical instruments, banners and flags, when halting, marching and attacking.

Amongst the persons to be appointed on the post of Senāpatyāh - i.e. the generalship, Kautilya recommends thus: "Amongst the sons of a king one who is possessed of the excellences of self." 44

Book X, chapter three tells us as to how a Senāpati addresses his army, after it is carefully made well-disposed with money and honour, thus: "One hundred thousand shall be the prize for killing the enemy king, 50,000 for killing the Commander-in-Chief or a Prince, 10,000 for killing the foremost warrior, etc." 45

Book X, chapter five gives us information as to how the Senāpati and Nāyaka arrange the battle arrays: "The Senāpati-Commander-in-Chief and the Nāyaka-Commandant should arrange the army in a battle array with

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44. "Ātmasampannāṁ saṁpatyam āsuvarājye vā Sthāpayet" (AS. 1.17.43, p.24, Kangle Part-I.)

chiefs assigned different positions, after detaching it out of sight of the enemy, etc.  

The position of a Senāpati in the army is mentioned by Kaṭūlya in Book X, chapter Six. 

"The one commander of ten single units is the Padika (Lieutenant), the one commander of ten Padikas is the Senāpati, the general. The one commander of ten Senāpatjis is the Nāyaka, commandant."  

47. Ibid. p. 524.  

* This is the reading adopted by Sham Shastri and T. Ganapati Shastri and J.Jolly. Prof. Kangle takes the reading Patika.  

The qualities and qualifications of a Senāpati, must be common with the qualities of men of the army. These are described in Book VI, Chapter one as follows:  

"Inherited from the father and the grandfather, constant, obedient, with the soldiers' sons and wives contented, not disappointed during marches, unhindered everywhere, able to put up with troubles, that has fought many battles, skilled in the science of all types of war and weapons, not having a separate interest because of prosperity and adversity shared (with the king), consisting mostly of Kṣatriyas, these are the excellences of any army. (Ibid., p. 366)."
Thus the position of a Senāpati is between a Padika and a Nāyaka. Nāyaka seems to be the highest military officer. He may be identified with Senāni.

8. Prādvivāka. The qualifications of this officer are described in the NS thus: "Those who know well about litigation, and the true nature of pecuniary transactions, are intelligent, and well versed in many departments of knowledge, impartial, followers of Dharma, wise, able to discriminate between good and bad deeds, and are forebearing and self-controlled, and can control anger, are not haughty and have similar respect for all, should be placed in seats of justice as Judges."49

Though the term Prādvivāka does not appear in the AS of Kauṭilya, his duties are described in Dharmasthiyādikaraṇa particularly in Book XII, chapter two, verse 36. The Dharmastha is one of the Amātyas.50

9. Kumārādikarta. This officer was in charge of the royal princes. His qualities in the NS are described thus: "Those who are alert, careful,

48. NS 27.74, 86, 98.
49. NS Eng. Trans. Vol. II, p. 212. Shri V. R. R. Diksitar has also described the duties of this officer from Nārada, (Hindu Administrative systems, p. 224).
51. NS 24.74, 88.
always active, inured to hard work, affectionate, forbearing, disciplined, impartial, skillful, well-versed in policy and in discipline, and who are masters of reasoning, positive and negative, have knowledge of all the śāstras and are not vitiated by passion and such other things, and who are hereditary servants of the king, and are devoted to him, should be made wardens of princes.\(^5^2\)

This officer can be identified with the Kumārāmātya of Kautiliya AS. According to Amarakośa, Adhikṛta and Adhyakṣa are synonyms. We may, therefore, identify Kumārādhikṛta with Kumārādhyakṣa mentioned in the AS.\(^5^3\)

10. **Nayajña-Vinayajña.**\(^5^4\) These are important qualifications of Kumārādhikṛta. Naya means right political conduct and Anaya means wrong political conduct. This is the subject-matter of Daṇḍanīti. Similarly Vinaya is referred to in Book-I, chapter five. Vinaya means education, training and discipline. Kautilya says Vinaya is acquired and

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54. NS 24.87.
inborn. Vinaya is to be acquired through the authoritativeness of the teachers in the respective sciences. In Book-I, chapter seven, verse one, Kautilya says "Vinayaṁ Vidypadesena Kurvītan" i.e. a king should achieve Vinaya by the teaching of different branches of learning. Regarding the possible achievement due to Vinaya, Kautilya says, "The king trained in the sciences (Vidyāvinīta), intent on the discipline of the subjects (Prajānam vinayenataḥ), enjoys the earth alone, without sharing it with any other ruler, being devoted to the welfare of all beings." About a king who is Nayajña(conversant with the science of politics) Kautilya says, "He surely conquers the entire earth and never looses." Vinayajña should similarly be regarded as a person who is well educated in the different branches of learning.

Now let us consider the officers mentioned in the NS in addition to those mentioned in Adhyāya 24. We have already noted Rājarṣi.

57. Ibid p.165.
11. **Mahāmātra**: The qualities and qualifications of the Mahāmāstras are not described in the NS. They are referred to like this. "Mahāmātrasca ye narāḥ". i.e. Those persons who are Mahāmātras." Their head-dress should be Ardhamukuta.

In the Kautilīya Arthasastra, though the qualifications of a Mahāmātra are not directly given, he, like a Saciva and Amātya, seems to occupy ministerial rank. At one place the readings Mahāmātya and Mahāmātra are confused. In Book I, chapter thirteen, we have the reading, "Kṛtamahāmātyāpasarpah" in the editions of Sham Shastri and T.Ganapati Shastri. Dr. Jolly, Prof.Kangle, however, adopt the reading "Kṛtamahātrāpasarpah" which seems to be more appropriate. So also in Book I, Chapter ten, in a section pertaining to the test of lust of Amātyas, a Pārivrājika is supposed to approach each minister. The word there used is "Mahāmātraṁ ekaikāṁ upajapet." So it is clear from this reference that Mahāmātra is used here for an Amātya. Here Mahāmātra is taken as equivalent to Mahāmātya.

58. NS 21.148.
59. Ibid.
60. AS. Rd. by R.P.Kangle, Par- I(Text), p.11.
Sham Shastri consistently translates it by the words "Prime Ministers",\textsuperscript{61} while Prof. Kangle here translates it as "High Officials\textsuperscript{62}.

In Book-I, Chapter twelve on the topic of the appointment of roving spies, we have reference to "Mahāmātrakulāni\textsuperscript{63} This has been translated by Sham Shastri as "Residences of the king's prime ministers\textsuperscript{64}" and by Prof. Kangle, "Houses of high Officers\textsuperscript{65} In Book-II, Chapter five on the subject of the work of store-keeping by the Director of Stores, we have a reference to a Dharamsthiya and Mahāmātriya house. This has been translated by Sham Shastri thus: "The court (Dharmasthiya) and the office of the ministers (Mahāmātriya) shall be built in a separate locality.\textsuperscript{66} Prof. Kangle, however, translates it differently thus: "Separate prison houses for houses for those convicted by Judges (Dharmasthiya) and those punished by high officers (Mahāmātriya)\textsuperscript{67}

\textsuperscript{61. AS. Ed. by Sham Shastri (Trans.) p.26.}
\textsuperscript{62. AS. Ed. by R.P.Kangle, Part-II(Eng.Trans.),p.31.}
\textsuperscript{63. AS. Ed. R.P.Kangle, Part-I(Text),p.14.}
\textsuperscript{64. AS. Ed. Sham Shastri,(Trans.) p.20.}
\textsuperscript{65. AS. Ed.R.P.Kangle Part-II(Trans.)p.27.}
\textsuperscript{66. AS. Ed.Sham Shastri, (Eng.Trans.) p.23.}
\textsuperscript{67. AS. Ed. R.P.Kangle, Part-II,(Trans.) p.27.}
All the above references from the Kautiliya Arthasastra go to show that Mahamatra was a kind of Amatya, if not always a Prime Minister, as Sham Shastri would like to take it.

Amarasimha in his Amarakośa mentions Mahamātras between Karasacivas and a Purohita. He says, "Mahamātrāḥ pradhānāni." Thus Mahamātras and Pradhānas are synonyms. In Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, Hemacandra also gives the same wording and in his vṛtti explains the word Mahamātra thus: "Mahatī mātra parichhadaḥ eṣam mahamātraḥ." Those who paraphernalia is great are called Mahamātras. Hemacandra includes under Pradhānas, Amātya, Purohita, Senāpati, etc. Thus in Hemacandra's opinion Mahamātra has the Status of Pradhana, in which the other members are Amātya, Purohita and Senāpati.

68. AK. II.5 (Kṣatriyavarga)
69. AC. verse 384, p. 282.
70. Another meaning of the word given by Hemacandra is the principal driver of an elephant. (AC., p. 282). Hemacandra, in his Anekārthasaṃgraha gives three meanings of Mahāmātra: (i) Pradhāna (Principal Minister), Árohaka (Driver of an elephant), and (iii) Samṛddha (man of riches) AS., verse 235, p. 134. Similarly Medinikosa gives the three meanings thus: "Mahāmātraḥ samṛddhaca amātye hastipakādhipe" i.e. man of riches, a minister, and a principal driver of an elephant. (MK., verse 290, p. 143).
12. 

Yuvarāja: Crowned prince. Amongst a king's important associates who are to be watched. In Kautiliya AS, Yuvarāja is mentioned after Mantrin-Purohita and Senāpati and before Dauvarika.

13. 

Kumāra: Prince. In Kautiliya AS in a Chapter on Rājputrakṣaṇa, a king is advised to be on his guard against his own princes called Rājputras called Kumāras. In Book II, chapter fifteen, 6 dronas of Śāli are preserved for Devīs and Kumāras.

During the Mauryan rule Kumāras—princes of the royal blood were appointed provincial governors. Four such Kumāra Vīra Viceroylties are mentioned in the edicts of Asoka, one in Takṣasila in the frontier province of Gāndhāra, a second at Svaṇagiri, third at Tosali(Dhauli) in Kaliṅga and fourth at Ujjain.

14. 

Dūta: Dūta is also a very important Officer. The kings are called Dūtamukha i.e. the envoys are

73. NS 12.116; 21.117; 35.11.
74. AS. Ed. R.P.Kangle, Part-I(Text)p.23.
75. Ibid.p.64.
76. Asoka, by D.R.Bhandarkar, pp.49-50.
77. NS 23.13.
the mouth-pieces of kings. His duties are described in Book I, chapter sixteen. There are three grades amongst the Dūtas. One is endowed with the excellences of an Amātya (minister) is Nisṛstārthaḥ i.e. pleni[-]potentiary; one lacking in a quarter of the qualities is called Parimitārthaḥ i.e. the envoy with a limited mission, one lacking in half the qualities is called Sāsanaharaḥ i.e. the bearer of a message. The dūtakarma is described in the same Adhyāya as follows:

"Sending communications, guarding the terms of a treaty, upholding his king's majesty, acquisition of allies, instigation, dividing (the enmy's) friends, conveying secret agents and troops (into enemy's territory). Kidnapping the enemy's kinsmen and treasures, ascertainment of secret information, showing valour, (helping in) the escape of hostages, and resort to secret practices." 79.

In Book XII, chapter one Dūtakarma is referred to, but it mainly describes how a weak king may behave.

15. **Naearakat** This is an officer who looks after a city, just as Samāhartṛ administrator looks after Janapada—countryside. The duties of the Naearakat were onerous. He examined every day the water reservoirs, roads, secret passages, fortresses, and other defensive works. He kept in his custody things stolen or lost, to be returned to the owners on their claim. He could set free a child, the old, the diseased and others by taking compensation.

16. **Sthāṇīyat** This was a local officer. The NS does not mention his qualifications and duties. It informs us that the Sthāṇīyas who are of high birth and possess (great) learning should be honoured by the king by offering suitable sets.

17. **Rathi** A charioteer, A car fighter, Champion, Hero, or a Chief of the charioteers. He is referred as Rathika in Kauṭilya's AS.

18. **Sūta** A charioteer, driver, groom, master of the horse.

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80. NS 17.53.
81. AS. Ed. by R.P. Kangle, Part-I (Text), 2.36.1 p.93. The reading accepted by Prof. T. Ganapati Shastri and R.P. Kangle is Nāgarika. The above reading is accepted by Sham Shastri & Jolly.
82. NS 12.224.
83. Ibid.
84. NS 17.75.
85. AS., Ed. R.P. Kangle, Part-II (Trans.), 5.3.12, p.351.
86. NS 17.75.
In epics he is mentioned as a royal herald or bard, whose business was to proclaim the heroic actions of the king and his ancestors, while he drove his chariot to battle or on the state occasions. He had, therefore, to know by heart portions of the epic poems and ancient ballads. He is the son of a Kṣatriya by a Brahmin woman or of a Brahmin and a Kṣatriya woman.

The most celebrated Sūta in the Indian tradition is Loma-harṣaṇa, who was a pupil of Vṛṣṇi.

Now we take Pratihārī and Mahiṣī who have greater concern with the king's palace or harem.

19. Pratihārī.87 Usher. According to the NS, 'Females who lay before the king any business related to various affairs of the State such as treaty, war and the like are called Pratihārīs.'88

20. Mahiṣī.89 Rājamahiṣī is referred to in Kautiliya Arthasastra in Book-I, chapter ten. Mahiṣī is

87. NS 24.32,60.
88. NS 24.30.
89. NS 17.88.
referred in Book-I, chapter eleven, and Devī is referred to in Book-I, chapter eleven.

Amarasimha explains Mahiṣī and Devī thus:

"Kr̥tabhisekā Mahiṣī bhoginyoḥanyapāstryah."

The Queen who is coronated with a king is called Mahiṣī and his other women are called Bhoginīs. Devī is also used in the same sense.

According to Amarakosa, "Devī kr̥tabhisekāyāṁ itarāśu tu Bhattini."

It may be noted here that we have the term Bhattini in place of Bhogini of Kānda II verse 5. The difference can be easily explained. In a drama Mahiṣī is called Devī and Bhogini is called Bhattini.

These are the officers concerned with the King's court. Now let us take note of the women attached with the king's palace, particularly harem. In the twenty fourth Adhyāya, a graphic picture of king's harem is given in the NS. The female in mates of the harem are referred to in verses 30-32. They are: Mahādevī, Devī, Svāmini, Sthāpītā, Bhoginī, Śilpakārikā, Nāṭakiyā, Nartakī, Anucārikā, Paricārikā, Saṅcārikā, Preṣṇakārikā, Mahattarī, Pratiharī, Kumārī, Sthavirā and Ayuktikā. The qualities and functions

90. AK. II Manusyaavarga -Verse 5, p.131.
91. AK - Nātyavarga, Verse 12, p.44.

These verses in substance follow the NS. Their readings however, are much more intelligible than some of those given in the editions of the NS.
of all these inmates are described in the same Adhyāya. We may further augment this list with the names referred to in the NS in the other Adhyāyas. These are: Mahisi, Bhaṭṭinī, Bhartrūḍārikā, Kaṅcoukin, Varṣavara, and Dhātrī.

These female inmates of the harem may be put under three categories: (i) Daughters and Queens, (ii) Female servants attached with the harem, (iii) Female servants of the artisan class attached with the harem. In the first category we put Bhartrūḍārikās, Mahiśis, Mahādevīs, Devis, Rājūs, Bhaṭṭinīs, Svāmīnīs, Sthāpitās, and Bhoginīs; in the second, Anucārikās, Paricārikās, Saṅcārikās, Presaṅgārikās, Mahattarīs, Pratihārīs, Kumārīs, Sthavirās, Āyuktikās, Nātakiyās, Nartakīs, Silpakārikās and Antahpurasāgītakanyā. In the class of the Trṭiyā Prakṛti or neuters, may be placed Kaṅcoukiyas, Varṣavaras, Aupasthāyikā Nirmūṇās or Aupusthāpikās and Nirmūṇās.

Now let us note the qualities and functions and positions of these persons as described in the NS.

1. Mahisi. As we have noted in the foregoing page No. 297 that she is the coronated Queen of the king. She naturally occupied the highest position in the king's palace. According

\[93. \text{NS 17.88.}\]
to BP, Mahisi is a queen who has received coronation and who, character and family are equally high, who does not know of co-wives and who accompanies the king in all the duties of life. 94

2. **Mahādevi.** 95 I Means a Chief Queen. She may be identified with Mahisi. The qualities of the Chief queen are described in the NS thus:

"She should be consecrated on her head and should be of high birth and character. She should be possessed of accomplishments, should be elderly, indifferent to her rivals, free from anger and malice. She should also understand the king's character, should share equally in his joys and sorrows. She should engage herself always in propitiatory rites for the good of her husband. She should be calm, affectionate, patient, and benevolent to the inmates of the harem." 96

According to BP, Mahādevi is a queen who is beneficial to the harem who is of good character, who is blessed with "Sānti ma Mantras Ex and Svastya Yana" Mantras, who is free from Jealousy,

94. BP, p. 290.
95. NS 24.30, 35.
36. NS 24.33-35,
knows the nature of the king, and is faithful to her husband. 97

3. **Devī** Queen. According to NS, "Those wives of the king who have all these qualities (i.e. of a Mahādevī) except that they are denied proper consecration are Devīs. They are proud and possess great conjugal felicity (or beauty and charm), are eager for sensual enjoyment, are pure and always brilliantly dressed, jealous of their rivals, and rich in qualities of youth and beauty. 99

According to BP., this is a queen who has the qualities of Mahīṣī and Mahādevī, but is a little less respected, proud, is eager for carnal enjoyment, envious and endowed with youth and beauty. 100

4. **Rāṁī.** Any queen.

5. **Bhaṭṭini.** According to Amarakosa Bhaṭṭini means a queen 103 other than a Mahīṣī. This is one of the terms by which queens are addressed.

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97. **BP., p. 290**

98. **NS 12.218; 18.18,60; 24.30,37.**

99. **NS 24.36-37.**

100. **BP., p. 290.**

101. **NS 12-218; 17.39,82,88; 22.155,205,208; 24.28.**

102. **NS 17.88.**

103. "Devikrtābhisekayām iteṇāsu tu bhaṭṭini" AK, Nātyavarga, V. 13 f. 44.
6. **Svāmini.** According to NS "Daughters of generals, or ministers or of other employees, when they are elevated by the king through bestowal of affection and honour, and become his favourite due to good manners and physical charm, and attain importance through their own merits, are known as Svāminis."  

7. **Sthāpitā or Sthāvinī.** Ordinary wives of the king. Their qualities are described in the NS thus: "They possess physical charm and are of young age. They are violent (in sexual acts) and full of amorous gestures and movements. They are experts in the enjoyment of love and are jealous of their rivals. They are honest and clear in their dealings. They are exalted and always brilliant with their scents and garlands. They follow the wishes of the king and are free from desire. They are well behaved and demand no honour, gentle in manner and not very vain. They are sober, humble and forbearing.  

8. **Bhogini.** According to Amarakosa, "Kṛtabhisēkā mahiśi bhoginyeḥ anyāṁpastyah." i.e. the queen who is coronated with the king is called Mahiśī.
and other wives are called Bhoginis. Their qualities in the NS are described thus: Bhoginis are queens who are honoured by their family and who are tender, not violent, impartial (Madhyasthā), modest(Nibhrta) and forbearing(Ksanta).  

According to BP., Bhogini is a queen who constantly embelishes and decorates herself, who has character and beauty, who of her own accord engages herself in carnal enjoyment, who cannot bear a co-wife.

Now we take up the second category.

9. Anucārika: Females in constant attendance of the king. According to NS, they are the females who do not leave the king under any circumstances and who are in constant attendance.  

10. Paricārika: Females of special work. According to NS, these are the female servants, who are employed for looking after the umbrella, bed, and seat (of the king) as well as for fanning and massaging him. Their special work is to help the king in applying scent to his body and assisting him in his toilet. They should also help the king in wearing ornaments and garments. She is a sort of female valet.
According to BP., Paricārikās are those who wait upon Mahiśī everywhere and in all conditions. 116.

11. Sañcārikās 117 Female servants in constant move. According to NS, they are authorised to move in the different parts of the palace, gardens, temples, pleasure pavilions. They have to strike the bell to indicate the Yamas, 118 that is time.

According to BP., Sañcārikās should be given work according to their character, nature, and sentiment. 119

12. Presanakārikās 120 In G.O.S. & Edition the reading is Presānakārikā 121. The reading accepted by Dr. M. M. Ghosh is Presānacārikā, 122 and translates it as "Errand Girls." According to NS, these are the female servants of the king who are employed in the secret missions connected with his love-affairs. 124

According to BP., Preksanikās are employed by the king in his love affairs - ezam secret and open. 125.

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116. BP., p. 291.
117. NS 24. 31, 57.
118. NS 24. 55-57.
119. BP., p. 291. Yama=One eighth part of the day i.e. three hours.
120. NS 24. 31, 57.
121. NS 24. 31(GOS)
123. NS 24-57.
124. X BP., p. 291.
13. **Mahattāris**. Royal matrons. They are female servants for the protection of the entire harem. According to NS these are the female servants appointed to protect the entire harem, for the king's prosperity. They should take pleasure in singing hymns to gods and in performing auspicious ceremonies.\(^{126}\)

According to BP., Mahattāris are women of the harem who with affection inquire about the well being of the Devi.\(^{127}\)

14. **Kumārīs**. Maidens. According to NS, "Girls who have no experience of ratisambhoga i.e. sexual enjoyment, and are quiet, devoid of rashness, modest, and bashful are known as Kumārīs."\(^{128}\)

According to BP., girls between the age of five and ten are called Kumārīs. Such girls are appointed as the Pratihāris of Princesses.\(^{129}\)

15. **Sthāvīrās**. Old lady in charge of harem. According to NS, "Old women who know the manners of departed kings and have been honoured by them and who know the character of all the persons connected with the harem are said to be Vṛddhās."\(^{130}\)

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\(^{125}\) NS 24.32, 59.

\(^{126}\) NS 24.59.

\(^{127}\) BP., p.292

\(^{128}\) NS 23.9, 24.32, 61.

\(^{129}\) NS 24.61.

\(^{130}\) BP., p.292. We can identify Vasulakṣmī of Mālavikāgnimitra as Kumārī.

\(^{131}\) NS 24.32.

\(^{132}\) NS 24.60-61.
According to BP., the Vṛddhas know the customs and manners of the earlier kings. They divert the minds of the queens with humorous stories.\textsuperscript{133}

16. **Pratihārī:**\textsuperscript{134} We have taken note of this officer on p.147. According to BP., girls between five and ten are to be appointed as Pratihāris of princesses\textsuperscript{135}

17. **Āyuktikā:**\textsuperscript{136} Female Overseer appointed by the king. According to NS, "Women who are in charge of stores, weapons, and fruits, roots and grains, who examine the food (cooked for the king), and are in charge of scents, ornaments, and garlands and clothes of the king are called Āyuktikā. They are employed for various purposes.\textsuperscript{137}

According to BP., women in charge of fruits, roots, medicinal plants, flowers, garlands, scents, ornaments, clothes, pots, weapons, and seats are called Āyuktikās.\textsuperscript{138} They are eight in number.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{133} BP., p.292.
\item \textsuperscript{134} IS 24.32,60
\item \textsuperscript{135} BP., p.292.
\item \textsuperscript{136} IS 24.32,64.
\item \textsuperscript{137} IS 24.64.
\item \textsuperscript{138} BP., p.292.
\end{itemize}
18. **Silpakārikā**: Craftswomen. Her qualities in the NS, are described thus: "Those women who are conversant with various arts and skilled in different crafts, know different modes of paintings, know all about the comfort of beds, seats and vehicles, and are sweet, clever, honest (Dakṣa), agreeable, clear in their dealings with the other, gentle, and humble are to be known as Silpa-kārikās."

According to HP., Silpakārikā is a woman who is expert in preparing dress, ungents for the body, ornaments, and garlands. They also know the art of preparing beds and seats and give varieties to the Lord by their artistic sexual play.

19. **Nātakiyā**: The female actresses. The qualities of these females are described in the NS thus: "Women who have physical beauty, good qualities, generosity, feminine charm, patience, and good manners and who possess soft, sweet and charming voice are known as Nātakiyās. They must be expert in the representation of passion (Heḷa) and feelings (Bhāva). They must know well how to...

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139. NS 24.44; Sīlpakāriṇī (24.30), Sīlpakārī (17.39).
140. NS 24.44-46.
141. HP., p.291.
142. NS 24.46.47.
represent various temperament. They must be skilled in playing musical instruments, must have knowledge of notes, Tāla, and Yati and should be associated with the master of the dramatic art. They must be skilled in acting and capable in using positive and negative reasoning. 143

According to BP., Nāṭakiyā is a woman who sings songs praising the king and excites the erotic passion of the king by her own lascivious gestures, and who dances with recitation. 144

Nartakī 145 Dancers. The qualities of Nartakī are described in the NS thus: "She should have beautiful limbs. She must be conversant with the sixty-four arts, she should be clever, courteous in behaviour, free from diseases, and always bold. She should be free from indolence, insured to hard work, capable of practising various arts and crafts, skilled in dancing and songs. She should excel by her beauty, youthfulness brilliance and other qualities of all other women standing by her side." 146

143. NS 24.46.47.
144. BP., p.291.
145. NS 24.52; 25.54.
146. NS 24.47-52.
21. Karukas: Artisans who are permitted to move above in the harem with Kaṅcoukīyas and Varṣavaras or Varṣadhāras.

After this list of female inmates of the king's palace, NS gives a list of persons belonging to "Trīyā Prakṛti" - i.e., neither male nor female. This type according to Kāmasūtra has two forms: the female form and the male form.148

In the Chaukhambā and Nirnayasagara editions we have a verse which says that this third variety should be appointed for work in royal

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147. NS 24.68. Chaukhambā Edn. has a mistaken reading Kārakāḥ for Kārūkāḥ. In the edition of Dr. Ghosh, the reading is Snātaka. Snātaka literally means a person who has finished his studies and performed the ceremonial bath. This permits him to be a house-holder. Hemacandra in his Abhidhanacintāmaṇī mentions Snātaka as a synonym of Grāhastha - a house-holder (AC.K.3 472.p.323) He is describes in the NS as a person with polished manners. He should be made the warden of the gate. Old Brahmins who are clever and free from sexual passion should always be employed by the king for various needs of queens.(NS, Eng.Trans. Vol.II, p.209).

148. KS. II.91. 149. NS (Chaukhambā Ed.).34.61.

150. NS (Nirnayasagar Ed.)-24.48.
houses. This verse is, however, wanting in the G.O.S. edition.

This list varies in the different editions of the NS. The G.O.S. and the Chaukhambā editions have Kārūkas, Kañcukiyas, Varṣavāras and Amasthāyika-Nirmundas, the Nirñyasāgara and Dr. Ghosh's editions has Snātakas, Kañcukiyas, Varṣadharas and Amasthāyika-Nirmundas.

22. Kañcukiyas.¹⁵¹ The G.O.S. edition of the NS does not define this important inmate of the harem. The other editions of the NS describe him thus: "Kañcukiyas are those Vipras who have learning, truthfulness, and are free from sexual passion, and who have deep knowledge and wisdom."¹⁵² We are further informed that they should be appointed to do business connected with polity.¹⁵³

According to BP., Kañcukins are those Brahmins who are free from sensuality, who wear corselets and turbans and who bear staff in their hands and who are full of knowledge and wisdom.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ NS 12.112; 19.111; 21.126; 149; 24.68; 34.234; 35.14.
¹⁵² NS 34.75-76 (MMG's edn.)
¹⁵³ Ibid.
¹⁵⁴ BP., p. 292. - Dr. M. M. Ghosh believes, "The word Kañcukīya (Kañcukin) should be translated as 'Armour bearer' and not as 'Chamberlain' which term should be used for Sannidhātrī. (See Kāṭṭiliya AS., 2.4.23, NS. Eng. Trans. Vol.I. Second revised Edn., p. 2287).
23. **Varsavara or Varsadhara**\(^{155}\) He is also not described in the G.C.S. edition. In other editions of the NS, he is described thus: "Those who are of poor vitality, who are clever and are hermaphrodites and have feminine nature but are not defective from birth are called Varsavaras."\(^{156}\) NS informs us that Varsavaras should be employed for errands relating to love affairs. (of the king).\(^{157}\)

According to BP., Varsavaras are persons of poor vitality with womanly temperament. They are eunuchs and deprived of sex passion or they may be free from sex passion from birth.\(^{158}\)

24. **Aupasthāyika-Nirmandas**\(^{159}\) This seems to be a corrupt reading. Aupasthāyika would mean those who live by fornication and Nirmandas are eunuchs. Nirmandas are described in other editions as those men who are neuter and devoid of feminine

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155. NS 24.68,71.
157. NS 24.71.
158. BP., p.292.
Dr. M.M. Ghosh accepts the reading Varsadhara and translates it as "One whose seminal discharge has been arrested." (NS, Eng. Trans. Vol. II, p.210).
159. NS 24.69.
temperament and sex experience. The Kārūkas, Kaṅcukāyās, Varṣavaras or Varṣadharas and Aupasthayika-Nirmundas are given the work of carrying messages of women as well as guarding infant princesses. They carry all doings of those who follow the king's routine in the harem.160

According to BP., the reading is A Aupasthayika. He is a person who moves in the inner apartments of a king and is corpulent with a big belly. He is dwarfish with protruding teeth and unpierced ears. He is a eunuch. Nirmundas are persons who are ignorant of sex and who are deprived of testicles or penis.161

This is all about king's officers attached with his harem and court. Now let us see the significance of the general political incidents referred to in the NS. These incidents are: Rāṣtrapravardhana, Rāstrakopa (According to other readings Rājyakopa or Rāstrakṣobha), Apacaya of the kingdom, Rājyabhramā, Vadha, Aparasaraṇa, Grahaṇa or Sandhi of a king, Nagaroparodha, three types

160. NS (MMG's Edn. 34-78-79).
161. BP., p. 293.

Dr. M.M. Ghosh believes that "Nirmunda or Aupasthayika nirmunda probably meant one who had the head(munda) of his memberum virile (Upastha) cut off. The definition given here seems to have been due to a concoction when the real significance was lost sight of." (NS, Eng. Trans. Vol. II, p. 210 F. N.)
of Vidrava (Commotion), three types of Kapata (Fraud or Deceit), Yuddha, Niyuddha and Gharaṇa.

Rāstrapravardhana is mentioned in the last section of the 5th Adhyāya in the benedictory stanzas thus: "Rāstram pravardhatām caiva - i.e. let this state prosper."¹⁶² Rastrakopa, we come across in the second Adhyāya, thus: "Tribhāgaśaśaṣaṇayā rājvā rāstrakopo vidhiyate." i.e. if the string breaks into three pieces, a political disorder will occur in the land.¹⁶³

Rājyabhramśa is referred to in Adhyāya 18 which deals with Dasārūpaśikṣakalpana. Here we are informed that Yuddha (Battle), Rājyabhramśa (Loss of a kingdom), Vadha (Death), Nagaroparodha (Siege of a city), not being presentable in an Act, should be referred to by means of introductory scenes.¹⁶⁴ Similarly in the same Adhyāya, we are informed that Vadha, Apasaraṇa, Grahaṇa or Sandhi of a king should be indicated in the introductory scene.¹⁶⁵

In the same Adhyāya, three types of Vidrava (Commotion) are mentioned in the definition of Samavakāra, viz. one caused by fights and floods, second by cyclone, fire and big elephant and the third by siege of a city.¹⁶⁶ Similarly three types of Kapata - frauds or deceits are also mentioned in the same Adhyāya in same connection, viz.  

¹⁶². NS 5.107.  
¹⁶³. NS 2.36.  
¹⁶⁴. NS 18.38.  
¹⁶⁵. NS 18.39-40.  
¹⁶⁶. NS 18.70.
Vastugatakramavihita, Daivavasatā and Parpaprayukta. 167
Abhinavagupta explains these as one caused by intelligence, second due to misfortune and the third caused by enemy. 168

In the same Adhyāya, while defining Vyāyoga NS informs us "Vyāyoga should include Yuddha (Battle), Mīyuddha (Personal combat, challenge) and Gharṣaṇa i.e. angry conflict. 169

Some scholars, however, see in the word 'Śvāmin' mentioned in the NS some historical reference. On the strength of references to Kṣatrapa king in their inscriptions as 'Śvāmin', Prof. Sylvain Lévi thinks that the term Śvāmin was adopted by the composers of inscriptions from the NS. He has discussed this issue at length in Indian Antiquity, Vol. XXXIII, p. 163. The learned scholar places NS, from this viewpoint, in the first 250 years of the Christian era.

From these references stated above, we can say that the 'NS incidentally discusses certain topics which belong to the Arthasastra. It describes qualities and duties of a king with his important functionaries, Senāpati, Purodhas, Mantrin, Saciva, Amātya, Prādvivāka and

167. NS 18.71.
169. NS 18.92.
Kumaradhikṛta. While describing the qualities of a
Prādvivāka, Arthaśāstra is also referred to, in Adhyāya
twenty four. Not only this, but NS precisely mentions
the name of Brāhaspati. We have already noted that we
have no definite information of this ancient author on
Arthaśāstra. Though Arthaśāstra is mentioned in the NS,
Kauṭiliya is not mentioned. Does this mean that the Arthaśāstra
referred to in the NS belongs to Brāhaspati?

Dr. M.M. Ghosh is of the opinion Kauṭiliya's work was considered modern when the NS was written. 171

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170. NS 24.83.

171. JDL., Vol. XXV, p. 49. Dr. Ghosh says, "The fact that
the opinion of Brāhaspati and not of Kauṭiliya has
been adopted by the author of the NS, probably
shows that Kauṭiliya's work was yet considered
modern (i.e. not more than two or three centuries
old) when the NS was written; and hence Brāhaspati,
a more ancient teacher of the Arthaśāstra, has been
referred to by the latter."
Chapter-11

**WAR AND WEAPONS**

Amongst the various things that Nātya is supposed to represent, there is mention of fight and the killing of the people. It also informs us that those who are engaged in a fight, an angry conflict or a siege use different kinds of weapons. When these actions are represented on the stage, weapons also have to be shown. So the NS prescribes rules for the use of weapons as well as their measurements and the material out of which they are to be made for the stage purposes.

We come across the names of weapons in the NS mainly in Adhyāyas 3, 9, 10, 12, 13, 21 and 27. The third Adhyāya which prescribes worship of different things of stage refers in this connection to the weapons of Viṣṇu in a general way and to Vajra (the weapon of Indra). The ninth Adhyāya which deals with the gestures of hands, describes the various weapons to be represented by Śīkharā hand as follows: Aṅkuśa, Dhanuṣ, Cāpa, Cakra, Tomara, Asi, Kāunta, Gadā, Śakti and Vajra. In the tenth Adhyāya, which is on Ārāśī, four Nyāyas i.e. ways of discharging missiles are mentioned. These

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1. NS 21.164.
Nyāyas are: Bhārata, Sāttvata, Vārṣagana and Kaisika. The four Karanas relating to the bow are also mentioned in this Adhyāya. In Adhyāya thirteen, instructions are given how to represent objects like Gāma, Varma, weapons and Dhvaja in accordance with the dramatic convention (Nātyadharma). The twenty-first Adhyāya which deals with the Āhārīyābhinaṇaya gives ample information in regard to the use of weapons on the stage. The rule is that "Weapons should be made by experts with proper measurements." Accordingly measurements of the weapons like Bhindi, Kunta, Satagchn, Gūla, Tomara, Sakti, Dhanuṣ, Sāra, Gadā, Vajra, Asi, Cakra, Prāśa, Pāṭṭasa and Kaṇaya are given. The measurements of the Gāma and Khetaka are also given. The twenty-seventh Adhyāya which deals with Siddhiyānjaka, describes faults in the way of mounting or dismounting chariots, elephants, horses, asses, camels, palanquins, aerial cars and vehicles and wrongly holding or using the weapons and armours.

Let us arrange these weapons referred to in different Adhyāyas alphabetically for description:

Aṅkuśa, Asi, Bhindi, Cakra, Cēpa, Dhanuṣ, Gadā, Kaṇaya, Khadga, Kunta, Pāṭṭasa, Prāśa, Sakti, Sāra, Satagchn, Gūla, Tomara, Vajra and Yaṣṭi.

2. NS 21.165.
Over and above these weapons, we have the terms Yarma and Kavaca in the sense of armour and Carma and Khetaka in the sense of shield.

Let us try to identify these names as far as we can.

1. **Afikusa**: The goad or the hook. "Shri T.A. Copinath Rao describes it thus: Afikusa or the elephant goad is a weapon consisting of a sharp metal hook attached to a wooden handle." In Sisupālavadha of Māgha, we are informed that Afikusa had peacock feathers attached to it.

We see beautiful representation of this weapon in the sculptures of Bharhut and Sāñchī which have, however, no feathers.

In the Vedic Index it is referred to as a divine weapon.

2. **Asī**: A sword. According to NS it should measure forty Angulas. Dr. P.C. Chakravarti is of the

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3. NS 9.58, 63.
6. Maisy, Sāñchī and its remains, Pl.VI Fig.I, Pl.XVI, XX, XXVII; Cunningham, The Stūpa of Bharhut Ch.IV, see VII, 11.339-40.
8. NS 9.60; 10.46, 86; 21.168.
opinion that "The sword appears to have come into use comparatively later than the bow. No sword or sword-blade has been discovered at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. And although it was known to the Vedic Āryans, it appears to have been seldom used in the battles of the period. But as centuries elapsed it came more and more into prominence."¹⁰ The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Asi usually denotes the sacrificial knife, but occasionally appears to mean a knife used in war."¹¹ Shri G.T. Date describes two kinds of sword: (i) the long sword and (ii) the dagger or short sword, and says, "Both these sorts were known to the Vedic Āryaṅs, the former was called Asi and the latter Krīṭi. The epics mention this distinction: asi which is sometimes called Mahāṣi or Dīrghāṣi, may be taken to be a long sword, while Nistrimśa was probably the short one."¹² Gustav Oppert who does not see any difference between Khaḍga and Asi translates both the words as 'Sword'. He says, "because being created separately and specially by Brahmā, it was regarded as a superior weapon altogether."¹³

Different varieties of swords are mentioned in epics and Purāṇas. Certain regions

¹⁰. Art of War in Anc. India, p. 162.
¹². The art of war in Anc. India, p. 20.
of India appear to have enjoyed special reputation for excellent sword-fabrication. In the Viśvāmī-
parva there is an eulogistic reference to swords manufactured in the country of the Niṣadhas.
In the Śabha-parva, the Aparānta country is declared to be one of the best centres for the
manufacture of swords and other steel weapons. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, on the authority of
the Agni Purāṇa, states, "The Purānic literature knows of different varieties of swords. Those
which were manufactured in Khaṭi and Khāṭṭara (Khaṭi or Khāṭṭara according to Agni Purāṇa)
were famous for their lusture, those Kaisikā for power in felling, of Surparaka for
durability, and of Vaṅga and of Vaṅga and Aṅga for sharpness. The best swords were those which
measured fifty fingers in length." 

Asi is from the root 'As' - to throw. So it might have originally meant a sort of a javelin which could be thrown at the enemy.

In ancient India a sword as a weapon was considered valuable for the achievement of wealth, kingdom, fame and the destruction of enemy.

14. The Art of war in Ancient India, p. 163.
15. War in Ancient India, p. 117.
The sword was usually worn on the left side. At Bharhut and Sāñchī it is shown as suspended from the left shoulder by means of a belt. But this was not the only mode of carrying a sword. On some of the Gupta coins, the king's sword is shown as hanging from a waist belt. It was used in rending, cutting, lopping, and striking the enemy.

3. **Bhindī** One kind of spear. There is much controversy about the identification of this weapon. In the NS it is classed with Kunta, Sataghnī, Śīla, Tomara, and Sakti. It should measure twelve Tālas. It appears to be a short form of Bhindipāla or Bhīṇḍipāla or Bhīṇḍivāla. According to Kautilya this was the weapon with edges like a ploughshare (Halamukhāni). The commentator of the AS identifies this weapon as "A rod with heavy top." G. Oppert identifies this weapon thus:

"The bhīṇḍivāla or bhīṇḍipāla (Crooked club) has a crooked body; its head, which is bent and..."
broad, is a cubit long, and it is a hand in circumference. It is first whirled thrice and then thrown against the foot of the enemy. When throwing the bhindivāla, the left foot should be placed in front. 21 C.T.Date considers this weapon as a 'heavy rod' and says, "from the accounts it seems that this instrument was a heavy rod thrown against an enemy like a missile. Its special work was battering, cutting, breaking, dealing strokes like those of the luguḍa. It appears that it was used also in pulling down fortifications." 22 Dr. P.C.Chakravarti considers this weapon in the generic class of spears and says, "Though it is often mentioned in the Mahābhārata, its nature is left undefined. In most passages, however, it is described as 'flung', and in one as 'sharp and frog-mouthed', Kautilya mentions it along with Sakti, Prāsa, Tomara, etc. and defines it, like the latter, as a weapon with edges like plough-share. There is no doubt but that Kautilya regarded it as a kind of javelin or lance. This conclusion is also borne out by later evidence. The Matsya Purāṇa, for instance, describes it as 'made of Iron'.

22. The art of war in Anc. India, p. 22.
(ayomayajj and 'flung' (Cikṣepa). The Vaijayanti defines it as a long dart with a large head."

V.R. Ramachandra Dikshit, on the authority of the Nītīprakāśikā of Vaiśampāyana, considers this weapon as 'a heavy club which had a broad and bent tail end, measuring one cubit in length' and says, "It was to be used with the left foot of the warrior placed in front. The various uses of this weapon were cutting, hitting, striking and breaking. It was like a Kunta but with a big blade. It was used by the Asuras in their fight with Kārtavīrya Arjuna."

Hopkins says that it was a "missile, flung by the hand, and is usually associated with darts, hammers, clubs, etc." 25

4. Cakra: 26 A disc. This is the favourite weapon of Viṣṇu in Indian mythology. According to NS it should measure twelve Aṅgulas. 27 In the Arthaśāstra it is described as a movable machine 28 (Gala yantra). The commentator identifies it as a disc. 29

24. War in Anc. India p.106.
27. NS 21.168.
29. Ibid.
In Rgveda, it is repeatedly referred in the sense of a 'wheel' of a chariot or wagon. It is also referred to as one of the weapons of Indra. The Mahabharata (Adiparva 33, 2 ff) describes it as a revolving (Paribharamantam) weapon, made of iron or steel (Ayasmayam) and sharp-edged(Tikaṇa-dhāram). Māgha in his Sisūpālavāda speaks of this weapon as a weapon which is hurled from a distance, and cuts off some limb of the enemy. The Matsya Purāṇa describes it as a wheel with eight spokes and besmeared with oil. In the Nītiprakāśikā of Vaiśāmpāyana it is stated to have the form of a circular disc with a triangular hole in its midst. G. Oppert, on the authority of this work identifies this weapon thus: "The Cakra(discus) has the form of a circular disk with a quadrangular hole in its midst. Its color is like that of Indigo water and its circumference amounts to two spans or 10 cubits according to the Śukranīti. Five or seven motions are connected with the discus.

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31. RV., VIII, 96,9.
32. Quoted by P.C.Chakravarti, p.171.
33. Sisūpālavāda, XVIII. 45.
34. Matsya Purāṇa, 150, 195 (Quoted by Dr.S.G.Kantawala, CHM, p. 147).
35. Nītiprakāśikā, IV. 47.
practice. It is most probably identical with the quoit still in use in some Sikh regiments and also among the troops of Native Indian princes.\textsuperscript{36} Shri G.T. Date describes this weapon thus: "It had diagonal bars in the middle and pointed projections on the periphery. Its common name is Cakra, but a commentator on Amara calls it Prāśa. Kauṭilya and Śākra regard it as a razor-like weapon, and according to the former, it is six cubits in circumference. \textsuperscript{37} Vaiśampāyana's idea of it is somewhat different. It is, according to him, a sort of circular disc with a quadrangular hole in the middle. Its uses are cutting, piercing, felling, whirling and severing."\textsuperscript{38} Shri V. Ramachandra Dākshitar on the authority of the Ausanasa Dhanurveda enumerates three kinds of Cakra. He says, "The Cakraṇ is a circular disc with a small opening in the middle. It was of three kinds of eight, six and four spokes. It was used in five or six ways."\textsuperscript{38} He further says, "it resembled the quoit of the Sikhs to-day. The various uses of a disc were felling, whirling, rending, breaking,

\textsuperscript{36} Weapons, army organisation and political maxims, p. 15
\textsuperscript{37} The art of war in Anc. India, p. 19.
\textsuperscript{38} War in Ancient in India, p. 109.
severing, and cutting. It is one of the instruments peculiar to Visṇu. Kauṭilya speaks of it as a movable machine.39

Shri T. A. Gopinath Rao, from iconographical viewpoint explains this weapon thus: "Chakra is also a characteristically Vaisnava weapon. It is also carried by Durgā, who is said to be the sister and as such the female form of Visṇu. It is shown in sculptures in two different forms. In the first variety, it is shaped like the wheel of a cart, with spokes, nave and all, and is meant to be grasped by the rim. But in the other form, it is highly ornamented, the spokes are made to resemble the petals of a lotus so that the internal parts appear like a full blown lotus in the tout ensemble. As in the case of Sāṅkha, the Chakra also has ornamentations on the top and sides and a jewelled ribbon running around it. It is in some cases held in the hand by means of this ribbon, and in other cases between the first two fingers. It is a weapon resembling the modern quoit and must have been used as a missile to be thrown against the enemy to cut him through and kill him."40

39. Ibid.
5. **Cāpa.** One type of bow. According to Hemacandra it was so called because it was made of Cāpa (Bamboo). Kauṭilya mentions Cāpa as one of the four types of a bow - one made of Cāpa.

6. **Bhanus.** Also means a bow, a popular weapon of ancient India. According to the NS it should measure eight Tālas and its width should be two cubits. It is interesting to note that the NS gives the tradition of four acts (Karaṇas) relating to the bow. These are: Parimārjana (preparing), Ādāna (taking an arrow), Sandhāna (taking an aim) and Mokṣaṇa (shooting). The Parimārjana is the holding of the bow and cleaning it, Ādāna is the taking of an arrow, Sandhāna is the putting of an arrow on the bow and Mokṣaṇa is the shooting of the arrow. This may be compared with what has been said in the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā of Śukla Yajurveda which mentions the stringing (Aṭan) of the bow, the placing (Pratijñāhā) of the arrow, the bending (A-yam) of the bow and the shooting (AS).

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41. NS 9.60.
42. AC., 3.394, p.368.
44. NS 9.58; 10.46,66,86;21. 167.
45. NS 21. 167.
46. NS 10.96-97.
Dr. P.C. Chakravarti is of the opinion that "The origin of the bow is lost in the mists of obscurity. The discovery of a number of copper and bronze arrow-heads at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa proves that the use of the weapon was known to the people of the Indus valley about the third or fourth millennium B.C."\(^{48}\)

The learned scholar further says, "The evidence of comparative philology shows that the Indo-Aryans were acquainted with archery even before they settled down in India. For, the names of the bow, bow-string and arrow are the same in Indo-Iranian and in part appear Indo-European."\(^{49}\) The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Dhanus, the 'bow' frequently mentioned in the Rigveda and later, was the chief weapon of the Vedic Indian. The last act of the funeral rite included the removal of the bow from the right hand of the dead man. The weapon was composed of a stout staff bent into a curved shape (Vakra) and of a bow string (Jya) made of a strip of cowhide which joined the ends. The tips of the bow, when the string was fastened, were called Ārṇī. Relaxed when not in actual use, the bow was specially strung up

\(^{48}\) Art of war in Anc. India, p. 151.

\(^{49}\) Ibid. pp. 151-152.
when needed for shooting. The stages of the process are given in detail in the Vajasaneyi Samhita, the stringing (a-tan) of the bow, the placing (Prati-dha), of the arrow, the bending (a-yam) of the bow, and the shooting (As). The arrow was discharged from the ear, and hence called Karṇa-yoṇi, 'Having the ear as its point of origin'. The making of bows was a regular profession.\textsuperscript{50}

In the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya four kinds of bow are mentioned, each being made of material quite different from the other. Kautilya says, bows made of Taḷāḷi (Palmyra), of Cāpa (a kind of bamboo), of Daru (a kind of wood), and Śṛṅga (bone or horn) are respectively called Kārmuka, Kodanḍa, Drūṇa Dhanuṣ.\textsuperscript{51} As to the material of bow strings, he says, "Bow strings are made of Murva (Sansviera Roxburghiana), Arka (Cato tropis Gigantia), Saṅa (Hemp), Gavedhu (Coix Barbata), Veṇu (Bamboo bark), and Snāyu (Sinew).\textsuperscript{52}

The Śiva Dhanur-veda mentions two kinds of bows, one made of bamboo (Vaṃsām) and

\textsuperscript{50} VI., Vol.I. pp.388-389.
\textsuperscript{51} Kautilya's AS. Eng. Trans. Shamasantry, p.111.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid.
the other of horn (Sārīgām). It lays down that bows of bamboo should consist of three, five, seven or nine knots. Those having four, six or eight knots should be discarded.53

According to the rules laid down in the Dhanurveda, the bow should be bent by the left hand, the bowstring should be taken by the right hand, and the arrow be placed on the thumb and between the fingers of the bow-hand on the bank of the bow.54.

The weapon did not undergo any material change in the epic and post-epic periods.55

The Brhat Sarīgadhara Paddhati gives in detail the rules for the manufacture of bows and other weapons.56 The Agni Purāṇa supplies us with the following account of the materials for making the bow: "Bows are made of three things, viz. metal, horn and wood. The string of a bow is likewise made of three substances, viz. rattan (Vamśa), hemp (Bhaṅga), and hide

53. Quoted by Dr. P.C.Chakravarti, p.153.
54. Quoted by G.Oppert, p.12.
55. The art of war in Anc. India, p.12.
56. Quoted by G.T.Date, p.13.
(tvac). The best bow is four cubits long, the medium bow three and a half cubits, and the inferior bow only three cubits. The bow-stave is to be prepared that it may not have any uneveness from its centre to the extremities. In order that it may be firmly held, a spare piece of wood should be fixed at the centre of the bow-stave. The ends of the bow should be made thin and tapering so as to resemble the eye-brows of a handsome woman. Metal and horn bows should be made either of iron or horn separately or of the two substances conjointly. The horn-bow should be well shaped and decked with gold. Bows which are crooked or have cracks or holes in them are not good. The metal-bow is to be made of gold, silver, copper and black iron (Steel). Horn bows made out of the horns of buffaloes, Sarâjâbha and Rohiçâ are praiseworthy. Bows are also made of Sandal wood, rattan, sal wood, Dhanvanâ (a king of Hedyserum) and Kukùtha (Pentapetera arjuna). But the bow made of bamboo, which grows in autumn and which is cut and taken at that time, is the best of all.\footnote{Quoted by Dr. P.G. Chakravarti, the Art of War in Anc. India, pp. 153-154.}
Dr. P. G. Chakravarti is of the opinion that originally wooden and bamboo bows were alone used, and horn bows were later inventions.\(^{58}\)

We know that the varieties of bows are represented in the reliefs of Sāñchi and on the Gupta coins. The history of the ancient Indian tradition says that the bow was used as the main offensive weapon and the man who showed skill in using it was highly honoured. We very well know that the ancient heroes like Bhīṣma, Rāma, Karna and Arjuna were notable Dhanurdhāras.

7. **Gada**\(^{59}\) A mace. According to NS it should measure four Tālas.\(^{60}\) This is one of the most primitive weapons of India. According to John Marshall it was known to the people of Indus valley.\(^{61}\) Maces of stone and copper have been discovered at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappā. These are usually of three different shapes, of which the pearshaped mace was the commonest.\(^{62}\)

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60. *NS* 21.167.
62. Ibid.
Plutarch says that in the capital of Malloia, Alexander received a blow on his neck from a club, which forced him to lean for support against the wall with his face towards the enemy.  

In the Arthasastra of Kauṭilya three types of mace are mentioned viz. Musaḷa, Yaṣṭi and Gada. The commentator says that Musaḷa and Yaṣṭi were "pointed rods made of Khādira," whereas the Gada was "a long and heavy rod."  

During the time of Epics and Purāṇas this weapon acquired considerable popularity. Noted warriors like Bhīma, Sālya, Duhṣesana, Duryodhana, etc. were clubmen.  

On the authority of the Mitiprakāśikā G. Oppert says, "The Gada (Club) is made of sharp iron, has 100 spikes at its broad head, and is covered on the sides with spikes. It is a formidable weapon, four cubits long, and its body equals a carriage axle in measure. The head is adorned with a crest; it is covered with a golden belt, and is able to crush elephants and mountains. Twenty different

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63. McCrindle, India and its Invasion by Alexander, p. 312.  
64. Kauṭilya's AS, Eng. Trans. Shamsastry, p. 110
motions are ascribed to the Gada.\textsuperscript{65} V.R. Dikshitar says, "The Gada is heavy rod of iron with one hundred spikes at the top. Three kinds are distinguished according to the Amahanasa Dhanurveda.

One of four cabits was able to destroy elephants and rocks. (It could be handled in twenty different ways. By means of gunpowder it could be used as a projectile weapon of war.) Its principal use was to strike the enemy either from a raised place or from both sides and strike terror into the enemy especially of the Gomutra array."\textsuperscript{66}

T.A. Gopinath Rao speaks of this weapon thus: "Gada is the ordinary Indian club. It is held in the hand by the images with all the five fingers. In some cases, however, one of the hands of the image is placed upon the top of the Gada which rests on the floor. In the earlier sculptures, its representation is always plain; it has a tapering top and a stout bottom. In comparatively later instances, it is more or less elaborately ornamented. It is a weapon meant to strike the enemy at close quarters and does not therefore leave the hand of its owner."\textsuperscript{67}
8. **Kanaya** The other reading of this weapon is Kampana. Dr. M.M.Ghosh accepts Kampana as Kanapa but does not identify the same. According to the NS it should measure, like Danda, twenty Angulas. 70

According to the AS of Kautilya it is a weapon with edges like ploughshare. 71 The commentator of the AS identifies this weapon thus. "A metallic rod both ends of which are triangular. This is held in the middle as is 20, 22 or 24 inches long." 72

Dr. P.C.Chakravarti includes this weapon in the class of spears and javelins and says, "We may also include in the same class such weapons as the Kanaya and Karpana." 73

9. **Khadga** A sword. G.Oppert does not see any difference between Asi and Khadga. 75

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68. NS 21.168.
70. NS 21.168.
73. Art of War in Anc. India., p.168.
74. NS 10.79.
75. Weapons, army organisation, and political maxims,p.24.
literature Asi is known by different other names: Nistriṃśa, Vaiśamana, Khaḍga, Tīkṣṇadhāra, Durāsada, Śrīgarbha, Vijaya and Dharmamūla meaning respectively cruel, fearful, powerful, fiery, unassailable, affording wealth, giving victory and the source of maintaining Dharma. As regards the use and measurements of Asi, I have discussed the same in the description pertaining to Asi (pp. 319-320).

From Iconographical viewpoint, T. A. Gopinath Rao says, "Khaḍga is a sword, long or short, and is used along with a Khetaka or shield made of wood or hide. The Khaḍga is either single-edged or double-edged and has a handle which is not different from the handle of swords seen in the pictures of the Crusaders and the early kings of Europe." It is interesting to note that in the NS Khaḍga is mentioned with Khetaka in the description of the Bhārata Nyāya.

10. Kunta78 A spear. According to NS it should measure ten Tālas.79

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77. NS 10.79.
78. NS 9.56; 21.166.
79. NS 21.166.
Archaeology has discovered spear-heads at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa and hence we can presume that the use of this weapon was known to the Indians before 3000 B.C.\textsuperscript{80} In the time of Mahābhārata this weapon acquired great importance. In the Arthasastra of Kauṭilya it is an arm with edges like a ploughshare.\textsuperscript{81} The commentator identifies it as a “wooden rod, 7, 6, or 5 hands in length.”\textsuperscript{82}

On the authority of the Mītiprakāśikā, G. Oppert says, “The Kunta (Lance) has an iron body, a sharp top, and six edges. It is six or ten cubits high, and is round at the foot end. It is handled in six ways.”\textsuperscript{83}

V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar identifies Kunta as a ‘lance’ and says, “It is also a kind of barbed dart, six to ten cubits long. It can be manipulated in six ways. It is of iron and has six edges. Sukra speaks of ten hastas as its measurement, having the end of a ploughshare capable of opposing another dart.”\textsuperscript{84}

He further informs us that “It is of three kinds,

\textsuperscript{80} John Marshall: Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation, p. 35.
\textsuperscript{81} Kauṭilya’s AS, Eng. Trans. Shamasātry, p. 111.
\textsuperscript{82} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{83} Weapons, army organisation and political maxims, p. 19.
\textsuperscript{84} War in Anc. India, p. 112.
the best, the middling, and the inferior, measuring 7, 6 and 5 hastas respectively.\textsuperscript{85}

11. \textit{Pattasa:}\textsuperscript{86} A battle axe. According to the \textit{NS}, it should measure like the \textit{Präśa},\textsuperscript{87} i.e. six anuglas.

According to \textit{Arthasastra} it was a razōrīka weapon.\textsuperscript{88} The commentator identifies it with \textit{Paraśu}, but shaped like a trident at both ends.\textsuperscript{89}

On the authority of the \textit{Nitiprakāśikā}, \textit{Sukranīti}, and \textit{Agni Purāṇa} G. Oppert says, "\textit{Pattisa} (Battle Axe) is of a man's height, has two sharp blades and a sharp top. Its handle has a protection for the hand. The \textit{Pattisa} is generally \textit{six} called the uterine brother of the sword."\textsuperscript{90} Hopkins takes the \textit{Pattisa} of \textit{Mahābhārata} to be a kind of spear.\textsuperscript{91}

It is difficult to say whether \textit{Pattasa} of the \textit{NS} is an axe or sword or a spear.

12. \textit{Präśa:}\textsuperscript{92} A spear. According to the \textit{NS} it should measure six Anuglas.\textsuperscript{93} V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar

\textsuperscript{85} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{86} NS 21. 169.
\textsuperscript{87} Ibid
\textsuperscript{88} Kauṭilya's \textit{As Eng. Translation} R. Shamsastry, p. 111.
\textsuperscript{89} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{90} Weapons, army organisation and political maxims, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{91} JAOS, XIII, p. 289.
\textsuperscript{92} NS 21. 168.
\textsuperscript{93} Ibid.
states that it figures also in the Rgveda but the name is not found in the Vedic Index. The Mahābhārata contains frequent references to this weapon, but nowhere its exact nature made sufficiently clear. In the Arthasastra of Kautilya it is described as a weapon with edges like a ploughshare. The commentator identifies it as a weapon, 24 inches (angulas) long, with two handles.

On the authority of the Nītiprakāsikā, G. Oppert says, "The Prāśa (spear) is seven cubits long and made of bamboo, which is colored red. It has a head made of metal, and is sharp at the foot-end; it is adorned with silken tufts." He further informs us that in the Sūkranīti this weapon resembles a broad sword.

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94. War in Ancient India, p. 113.
95. Quoted by Dr. P. C. Chakravarti, p. 167.
97. Ibid.
98. Weapons, army organisation and political maxims, p. 19.
99. Ibid.
13. **Sārā** 100 An arrow. According to the NS it should measure four Tālas. 101 It is closely connected with the bow. We have already noted that the arrows were known to the people of Indus valley civilization. The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Sāra in the Rgveda and later denotes a kind of 'reed' (Saccaram Sāra). Its use for arrow-shafts and its brittleness are expressly referred to in the Atharvaaveda. 102

Its head was usually tipped with horn, bone, wood or metal. In the Arthasastra of Kautilya different varieties of arrow such as Venu, Sāra Śālākā, Dandasana and Nārāca are mentioned. 103

It also informs us that "The edges of arrows shall be so made of iron, bone or wood as to cut, rend or pierce." 104 This Dronaparva (188.11 ff) gives a list of forbidden weapons and mentions arrow-heads made of monkey-bone, cow-bone and elephant-bone. 105 In the Śivadhanurveda various types of arrow-heads assuming different shapes in different regions, such as Arāmukha (head shaped like an awl), Kṣurapra (head having a razor like barb), Copuccha...
resembling a cow's tail), Ardha-candra (crescent-shaped head), Śūcīmukha (Needle-shaped), Bhalla (broad headed?), Vatsa-danta (head shaped like a calf's tooth), Dvibhalla (?) (Having two blades?) Karna (ear-shaped head), and Kāka-tūṇḍa (head shaped like a crow's beak), are described.\(^\text{106}\)

The size and the length of the arrows varied from time to time. In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (VI, 2, 10), the length of an arrow is stated to be five spans, about three feet.\(^\text{107}\) According to Strabo, Indian arrows in the Mauryan period were nearly three cubits long.\(^\text{108}\) In the reliefs of Sānchi, Cunningham has observed arrows made of three to five feet in length.\(^\text{109}\) The Śiva Dhanurveda describes the length of an arrow as two cubits or two cubits subtracted by a mūṣṭi (fist).\(^\text{110}\) According to Agni Purāṇa, an arrow of the best class should measure twelve mūṣṭis in length.\(^\text{111}\) In the Mītiprakāśikā (I, 17; IV.23, 9), we are informed that it should measure three cubits long and an Aṅjali (the hollow of the two palms) in circumference.\(^\text{112}\) According to the NS, as noted above, it should measure four Tālas.\(^\text{113}\)

\(^{106}\) Ibid.\(^{107}\) VI., Vol. I, p. 82.\(^{108}\) McCrindle, Anc. India, p. 73.\(^{109}\) Cunningham, Philo. Topes, xI, 22.\(^{110}\) Quoted by Dr. P. C. Chakrabarti, p. 158.\(^{111}\) Agni Purāṇa, 249.36.\(^{112}\) Quoted by Dr. P. C. Chakrabarti, p. 159.\(^{113}\) NS 21.67.
Arrows were usually feathered for the purpose of stabilizing its flight. On the authority of Śiva Dhanurveda, Dr. P. C. Chakravarty says, "The Śiva-Dhanurveda recommends the feathers of the following birds for arrows: heron (Kaṅka), goose (Hānsa), brown hawk (Saśada), osprey (matsyāda-kaṁca), peacock, vulture and wild cock (kukkaṭa)."\(^{114}\) The learned scholar further informs that "The Mahābhārata mentions all these and the feathers of flamingos besides."\(^{115}\)

It is known that the arrows were carried by the archer in one or two quivers slung over his shoulder.

14. Sakti:\(^{116}\) A spear. According to the NS it should measure eight Tālas.\(^{117}\)

In the Mahābhārata, it is said to be of different kinds, but all sharp (Saktiśca Vividhastikṣaṇāḥ).\(^{118}\) In the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya, this weapon is described having edges like a ploughshare.\(^{119}\) The commentator of the AS

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\(^{114}\) The art of War in Anc. India, p. 157.

\(^{115}\) Ibid.

\(^{116}\) NS 58, 60; 21-166.

\(^{117}\) NS 21. 166.

\(^{118}\) Quoted by Dr. P. C. Chakravarti, p. 166.

\(^{119}\) Kautilya's AS, Eng. Shamasasya, p. 111.
spear, "It was a metallic weapon four hands long, and like the leaf of Karavīra and provided with a handle like cow's nipple." 120

On the authority of the Nītiprakāśikā, G. Oppert identifies thus: "The Śakti (spear) is represented as being two cubits long, with a steady sideway moment. It has a sharp tongue, a horrible claw, and makes a sound like a bell. It has an open mouth, is very dark, and is colored with the blood of the enemy. It is covered with garlands of entrails; has the mouth of a lion, and is fearful to look at. It is as broad as a fist and goes very far. It must be taken up and thrown with two hands. Its movements are of six kinds." 121

Shri V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, on the authority of the Ausānasā Dhanurveda, says: "The Śakti is said to be of three kinds - the best, middling and the inferior. Their handle was again of four kinds - bamboo, wood, ivory and iron." 122

T. A. Gopinath Rao identifies this weapon as a spear and says, "It consists of metallic

120. Ibid.
121. Weapons, army organisation and political maxims, p. 13.
122. War in Anc. India, p. 106, fn. 50.
piece, either quadrangular or elliptical in shape, with a socket into which a long wooden handle is fixed."123

15. *Sataghnī.* 124 It is difficult to say what was the real nature of this weapon. The word literally means a "hundred killer." This weapon was frequently used in the wars of Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. 125 According to the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya this was a movable machine. 126 The commentator of AS describes this weapon as follows: "A big pillar with immense number of sharp points on its surface and situated on the top of a fort wall." 127 The Vaijayanti (p.118, 11.337.8) describes it as a huge block of stone (Mahāśila), studded with iron spikes. 128 On the authority of the Nītikāśikā, G.Oppert identifies this weapon thus: "The *Sataghnī* (hundred-killer) is provided with thorns, is of black iron, and hard. It looks like a mudgara, is four cubits long, round and provided with a handle."129

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124. NS 21, 166.
125. Quoted by V.R.Ramchandra Dikshitar, p.115.
127. Ibid., fn.24.
128. Quoted by Dr. P.C.Chakravarti, p.174.
129. Weapons arm organisation and political maxims, p.22.
authority of Vaisampayana the same author describes it thus: "According to Vaisampayana it resembles in all its movements the gada, it was therefore like the gada shot out of other projectile weapons."\(^1\)\(^3\)\(^0\) V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar identifies this weapon, on the authority of the Niti-prakāsīka, in the same way as identified by G. Oppert and says, "It is generally identified with the modern cannon and hence was a projectile weapon of war. Mālinātha quotes from Keśava in his commentary on the word occurring in the verse 95 of Chapter 12 of the Raghuvamśa:

Sātaghnī tu catustāla-lohakāntaka samīcita
Yastih!

It was generally placed on the wall of a fort."\(^1\)\(^3\)\(^1\)\(^1\)

G. N. Vaidya identifies this weapon thus:

"It must have been some machine in the nature of a catapult."\(^1\)\(^3\)\(^2\)

Dr. P. C. Chakravarti speaks two varieties of Sataghnis and says, "Ancient writers seem refer to two varieties of Sātaghnīs - the first

\(^{130}\) Ibid. p. 22.
\(^{131}\) War in Anc. India, p. 115.
\(^{132}\) J. B. B. R. A. S. Dec., 1928, p. 32 (Quoted by Dr. P. C. Chakravarti, p. 173)
forming part of a city's defence, and second
used as a sort of projectile along with spears, 
javelins, etc."\(^1\)\(^{133}\)

In the NS it is described as measuring 
eight Tālas.\(^1\)\(^{34}\)

16. Sūla: A trident. According to the NS it should 
measure eight Tālas.\(^1\)\(^{35}\) In the Śaḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, 
it is described as a weapon of Rudra.\(^1\)\(^{36}\)

There are numerous references to this 
weapon in the Epics.\(^1\)\(^{37}\).

In Kautilya's Arthasastra this 
weapon is described as a weapon with edges like 
a ploughshare. The commentator of AS identifies 
this weapon as a pointed rod without any fixed length.\(^1\)\(^{38}\)

In the Vāyu Purāṇa Sūlin(Wielder of 
Sūla) is a very common attribute of Śiva. He 
again called Sūlapāṇi, Sūlahasta, Sūladṛk, 
Trisūlin, Trisūlapāṇi, Trisūlāṅga, 
Sahasrodyatasūla and Jvalita-Sūla, etc. Sūlin

\(^{133}\). Art of a war in Anct. India. p.173.
\(^{134}\). NS 21.166.
\(^{135}\). NS 21.166.
\(^{136}\). Ibid.
\(^{137}\). VI., Vol-II.p.393.
\(^{138}\). G.Date, The art of war in Anc.India, p.16.
is also a name of Śiva's twenty-fourth incarnation. Śiva's wife too wielded the Śūla and the Rudras are likewise called Śūlahastāḥ.\textsuperscript{140}

Hemacandra in his Abhidhāṃcintāmaṇī takes Śūla and Trisūrṣaka as synonyms.\textsuperscript{141}

G. Oppert does not mention Śūla but describes Pināka or Trisūla thus: "The pināka or trisūla (trident) has three heads, is sharp in front, made of brass, has an iron head, and measures four cubits. It has a tuft made of the hair of a bear, and its neck is ornamented with brass armlets. It is shaken and impales the enemy."\textsuperscript{142}

G. T. Date identifies this weapon in the same way and says, "In almost all the important political treatises this weapon has found place. It is probable that the abridged form of Trisūla was Śūla, or the latter may have been a light javelin."\textsuperscript{143}

T. A. Gopinath Rao, from the iconographical point, says, "Śūla is the trident

\textsuperscript{140} Dr. D. R. Patil, Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa, p. 106.
\textsuperscript{141} AC., III. 451, p. 316.
\textsuperscript{142} Weapons, army organization and political maxims, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{143} The art of war in Ancient India, p. 16.
which is the favourite weapon of Siva. It is represented in many forms and the essential feature of all these is the triple metal pike ending in sharp points and mounted upon a long wooden handle."

Dr. D.R. Patil says, "The Sūla is almost always associated with Siva in early coins." Dr. Sankalia has found this weapon on the coins of Pāṇcāla king Rāṇḍragupta and on other early coins and on the coins of Vema Kadphises.

17. Tomara. A javelin. According to the NS it should measure eight Tālas.

In the Ādiparva of Mahābhārata it is described as possessed of a very sharp point. In the Karpṛparva it is referred to as iron mouthed (Ayasmaya) and gilded (Hema-danda), piercing straight through the arms of a combatant.

The Arthasastra of Kautilya describes this weapon with edges like a ploughshare.

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145. Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa, p.228.
147. NS 9.58,60; 21.146.
148. NS 21.166.
149. Quoted by Dr. P.C. Chakravarti, pp.166,167.
According to the commentator, "A rodé with an arrow-like edge, and four, four-and a half or five hands long." 151

On the authority of the Mitāpakhāśīka, G. Oppert describes this weapon thus: "The Tomara (Tomahawk) has a wooden body and a metal head formed like a bunch of flowers. It is three cubits long, has a red colour, and is not crooked. It is moved in three ways." 152.

G.T. Date identifies this weapon thus: "It was a kind of dart with a wooden handle and having a hook at the end. It was besmeared with poison, and was in consequence called Viṣatomara." 153

On the authority of the Ausānasa Dhanurveda, Dr. P. G. Chakravarti says, "Three regions were famous for the manufacture of Tomaras. These were Avanti, Magadha and the South (Dakṣinātya)." 154 On the authority of the same work, V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar describes two types of Tomaras and says, "It was of two kinds, an iron club (Sārvāyasam) and a javelin (danda)." 155

151. Ibid, f.n. 7.
152. Weapons, Army organization, and political maxim p.
153. The art of war in Anc. India, p. 22.
The Vaisāmpāyana further says, "According to Vaisāmpāyana it was a club three cubits long and capable of three different movements. According to the Agni Purāṇa it was to be with the help of an arrow of straight feathers, and was powerful in dealing blows on the eyes and hands of an enemy." 156

18. Vajra 157 A thunderbolt. According to the NS it should measure four Tālas. 158

The weapon is referred to in the Rāhmanya Tattvār. 159 It was regarded as the deadliest weapon in the Vedic times. This is the famous weapon of Indra. In the Tīrthayātra portion of the Mahābhārata, a mythological origin is given of this weapon. It was made out of the backbone of the Rsi Dadhīci which was freely given by him to Indra. 160 In Vāyu Purāṇa Śiva is also called Vajra-hasta. 161

G. Oppert on the authority of the Nitiprakāśikā says, "The Vajra was, according to tradition, made out of the backbone of the sage Dadhīci. It keeps its mythical character.

157. NS 3.7; 9.60; 10.46, 66, 86; 21.167.
158. NS 21.167. Kadav Sāstra
160. Quoted by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, p. 110.
161. Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa, p. 106.
throughout. Nothing can withstand its splendour, and it was originally made for the destruction of the demon Vṛtra. It shines brightly with the light of a krore of suns, and it resembles the fire which shone at the dissolution of the world. Its fangs extend to a yojana (10 miles) in length, and its tongue too is most horrible. It resembles the night of destruction at the end of the world, and is covered with 100 knots. Its breadth amounts to five yojanas and its length to 10 yojanas. Its pariphery is covered with sharp points; in color it resembles lightning; a broad strong handle is fixed to it. Its movements are four in number.¹⁶²

G.T. Date is of the opinion that "The identity of the Vajra or Thunderbolt was comparatively unknown till recently. But the article by Mr. K.G. Majumdar, in the Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University has brought the subject nearer solution."¹⁶³

Amongst the Buddhists one Bodhisatva is named as "Vṛtrāṇī Bodhisatva."

¹⁶² Weapons, army organisation and political maxims, p. 16.
¹⁶³ The art of war in Anc. India, p. 17.
T. A. Gopinath Rao, from the iconographical viewpoint speaks thus: "Vajra is the thunderbolt. This has a long history beginning from the Buddhistic period. In later Hindu mythology, it is shown in almost the same form which it had in earlier times. It is made up of two similar limbs, each having three claws, resembling the claws of birds; and both its parts are connected together by the handle in the middle." 164

Over and above these weapons the defensive armour like Kavaca, Khetaka, Carma and Varma are also described in the NS.

16. Kavaca 165 This means an armour. Its measurement and preparation is not mentioned in the NS. The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Kavaca denotes a 'coif' or 'breastplate' in the Atharvaveda and later. There is nothing to show whether it was made of metal, but that it was so is quite possible." 166 In the Vāyu Purāṇa Śiva is frequently called Kavacin. 167 Kavaca is also mentioned in the AS as one kind of armour. 168

165. NS. 27.37.
The commentator identifies it as "a coat of iron made of detached pieces to cover the head, the trunk and the arms."\textsuperscript{169}

In the Vāyu Purāṇa Kavaca is mentioned with reference to kings Prīthu and Rukmakavaca. Dr. D.R. Patil says, "The fact that king Rukmakavaca killed 'many who wore Kavaca' with sharp arrows shows that these Kavacas were probably not made of iron."\textsuperscript{170} This may suggest that armours were not merely made from metal but from other material also.

20. \textit{Khetaka} \textsuperscript{171} A shield made of wood or hide. It is generally associated with the Ḫadga. According to the NS it should measure thirty Āṅgulas.\textsuperscript{172} According to T. A. Gopinath Rao, "Kheṭaṇa is either circular or quadrangular and has a handle at the back, by which it is held. Sometimes there are curious emblems and devices depicted on the face of the Kheṭaṇa."\textsuperscript{173}

21. \textit{Carman} \textsuperscript{174} A type of leather shield. The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Carman, denoting 'hide'

\textsuperscript{169} Ibid. Æm & f.n.6.
\textsuperscript{170} Cultural history from the Vayu Purana p.
\textsuperscript{171} NS 10-76, 78, 80, 81, 83; 21.170.
\textsuperscript{172} NS 21.170.
\textsuperscript{174} NS 13.77.
in general, is a common expression from the 
Rigveda onwards. The oxhide was turned to many 
uses, such as the manufacture of bowstrings, 
slings, and reins. Carma is also mentioned 
in the AS of Kautilya as one of the instruments 
used in self-defence. The commentator of the 
AS identifies this instrument as "A kind of 
covering called vasunandaka and made of leather."

This type of shield is mentioned in 
our epics also. Dr. P.C. Chakravarti says, "The 
frequent mention in the Mahabharata of the 
epithet Carma for shield probably shows that 
the knights used hide-shields in preference to 
others. These shields were sometimes 
prepared from the skin of tigers, more 
frequently from that of bulls. They were, 
moreover, elaborately decorated and damascened 
with golden stars, crescents and moons."

22. Varma. One type of armour. This was in use 
from the Vedic times. The editors of the Vedic 
Index say, "Varman denotes 'body armour', 
'Coat of mail', 'corselet' in the Rigveda and 

177. Ibid., n.9.  
178. The art of War in Anc. India, pp. 175-176.  
179. NS 13.77.
later. Of what material it was made is uncertain; there are references to sewing (Syūta) which may be reckoned in favour of the use of linen corselets such as those recorded by Herodotus, but there is a later reference to corselets of Ayas, Loha or Rajata, on which it is doubtful whether much stress can be laid. They may, however, have been either of metal or of leather covered with metal.\footnote{180} Kauṭilya in Āṣ refers to various kinds of body armours such as Lohajālika, Paṭṭā, Kavaca, and Sūraka.\footnote{181}

Dr. P.C. Chakravarti is of the opinion that "It is probable that the different varieties of armour mentioned in the Arthasāstra remained a permanent feature of Indian armoury throughout our period.\footnote{182}"

It will be seen that all the weapons listed in the NS are mentioned in the AS also.

\footnote{181} Kauṭilya's AS., Eng.Trans. Shamashastry, p.112. 
\footnote{182} The Art of War in Anc. India, p.179.
The latter has a few more additional names. It does not follow that those not mentioned in the HS were not actually used by the soldiers.

183. Kautilya in his AS (ii. 13) dealing with the duties of the Superintendent of Armoury refers to four kinds of military hardware: (i) Yantra-machine to be used in battles for the defence of forts and for assaulting enemy's towns, (ii) Ayudha-weapons, (iii) Avarāna-armour, and (iv) Upakara - accoutrements. These may be used for battles (Sāmigrāhāīaka) for the defence of forts (Daurga-karmika) and for assault of enemy's forts (Parapurābhhāīaka). Prof. Kangale, however, limits these uses only to machines. (AS., Eng. Trans. R.P. Kangale, p. 150). The Yantras are divided into two groups viz. (i) Sthita-fixed and (ii) Cakral-mobile. In the former group are included Sarvabhadra, Jāmadagnya, Behumukha, Viśvagṛhi, Saṅghāti, Yānaka, Parjanya, Ardhabāhu, and Urdhvalāhu. The proper names like Jāmadagni are noteworthy. In the second group are included Pancaḷīka, Devilsandha, Sūkarika, Mūsala, Yasti, Kastivāraka, Tālavṛtta, Mūdgara, Cāḍē, Sprktalā, Kuddāḷa, Aspṛ黏īma, Audghṛatīma, Saṭataghnī, Trīṣūla, and Cakra. Saktī, Prāsa, Kanta, Hataka, Bhīndivāla, Sīla, Tomara, Vārāhakarna, Kāṇāya, Karpan, Trasika, and the like are weapons with edges like a ploughshare. Bows are of four kinds - Kārmuka, Kodanda, Drūga and DhanAGES respectively made of Tāla, Cāpa, Sāru and Śrīga. Bow-strings are made of Marva, Arka, Saga, Gavedhu, Venu, or Śnayu. Venu, Sāra, Salāka, Daṇḍāsana and Nārāca are different kinds of arrows. The edges of arrows shall be so made of iron, bone or wood as to cut, rend or pierce. Nistirāsa, Maṅgalaśra and Asyaṭī are swords. The handles of swords are made of the horn of rhinoceros, buffalo, of the tusk of elephants, of wood or of the root of Bamboo. Parasā, Kūṭāra, Paṭṭasa, Khaṇitra, Kuddāḷa, Cakra, and Kandaçchāṭvedana are razor-like weapons. Yantrapāṣaṇa, Cōṣpaṇaṭaṇa, Māṭīpāṣaṇa rocani, and stones are other weapons. (Kautilya's AS Eng. Trans. Shamasahastry, pp. 110-112).

Hemacandra, in his Abhidhanācintāmaṇi, gives Ayudha, Heti, Praharana, Sāstra and Astra as Synonyms. Acc to him Ayudha is of four types: Mukta, Amukta, Muktāmukta. Mukta is of two types: (i) released by hand or (ii) by a machine. Saktī is mentioned as one thrown by hand, and Sara, etc., by machine. Sastrika is an example of a weapon held by hand and not released, while Yasti is an example of a weapon either held by hand or thrown. (AC. III, 437-438, pp. 307-308).
Chapter 12

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION AND PROFESSIONAL CLASSES.

The economic conditions of the time are reflected in the mention of names of professionals, artisans and artists. I have noted political professionals in the previous chapter on social and political organization. In this chapter I take note of persons connected with teaching profession, trade and commerce, as well as various arts and crafts.

The persons connected with teaching profession are: Śiśya, Ācārya, Upādhyāya, Paṇḍita and Prāshīka.

The persons connected with trade and commerce are Vanika or Vanija, Sreṣṭhin, Sārthavāna, Rajaka, Mālyakṛta or Mālyakaṇa, Mukutakara, and Sastrapanyopajīvin.

Coming to Arts proper, as far as painting is concerned, we have Citrakṛta, Citrajña and Citrakāra.

Of the remaining, the majority of terms signifies arts of music, dance and drama. For vocal music we have Gāyaka, Gāyikā, Gārāṇa, Vāḍ, Nāndi or according to another reading Bandi. For music in general we have the term Gāndharva. For instrumental music have Dardarika, Mārdīngika, Maurijaka, Pāṇavi, Taurika, Vipaṇcika, Vāṇīka and Vāsāvāda. For dancing we have Nartaka and Nartakā. For story teller, we have Kathinī. For actors in general we have the terms Bharata, Kusīlava, Naṭa, Naṭī,
Nāṭakiyā, Nāṭyakāra, and for managers of the stage we have Nāṭyayoktru. Nāṭyācārya is mentioned in the sense of the Master of Nāṭya. Arthapati is mentioned as a patron of a dramatic troupe. A general term, for those whose livelihood depends upon the stage, is Raṅgopajīvin. The leaders of the stage are Sūtradāra or Sūtradārik, Nāṭyayoktru and Nāṭyācārya and Nāyaka (different from Nāyaka, the hero of a play).

The general term for any worker is Kāmuka and Ayastakarmin. The term for any artisan is Silpakāri. Those who help in ornaments and dress are respectively termed as Ābharana and Veṣakāri.

Vesāya, Vesayuvati, Vidūṣaka, Viṣa, Cēta, Ceti, Sakāra, Pāripārvaka, Nāyaka and Nāyikā are some of the stock characters.

Vaisīka is an expert in all love matters, well versed in art and much to do with Vesāyas—Courtesans. So also are Viṣas and Dhūrtas.

Now let understand the professional significance of these names.

1. Acārya: Here Acārya means Nāṭyācārya i.e. Master of the dramatic art. His qualities are described in the

1. NS 3.17; 17.69; 26.4, 35, 36; 33.11; 35.3, 4, 19; 37.6, 8.
26th Adhyāya. These are six in number viz. Expert knowledge of singing, playing of instruments, dancing, Tāla, movements and the training of students. The other five qualities are: Īha, Apoha, Māti, Smṛti, and Medhā. In Adhyāya thirty-three also six qualities are described. These are: (i) He should be wellversed in Śāstras, (ii) He should know the application of the knowledge, (iii) He should know the Karanas of the hands and voice, (iv) He should be the master of Granthavācana, (v) He should be able to produce the production in accordance with the traditions of the particular nation or region, and (vi) He should be able to impart knowledge to the students according to their akalibre. In the third Adhyāya, we are informed that the stage should be illuminated and the pūjā of the gods in its connection should be performed by the Ācārya after he has purified his body, concentrated his mind and initiated himself to the pūjā. In Adhyāya thirty-five, we are informed that Ācārya should distribute the roles to different characters after ascertaining their natural aptitudes.

2. Upādhyāya. In the seventeenth Adhyāya, we are informed that he should be addressed as "Ācārya."
From this we can say that he must be having the same position as that of the Nātyācārya. His qualities are not described in the NS. In Adhyāya thirty-four, while describing the ceremony of installing the drums, Bharata informs us that Upādhyāya, the master of the dramatic arts who is Kulīna i.e. born in a good family, who is free from passions, who is an expert in playing solid instruments, and who knows the theory of songs, possessed of a sweet temper, has his sense organs under control, has fasted and cut his hairs short and has taken strong vow, should make three Mandalas with cowdung free from bad smell and assign these three to Brahman, Śaṅkara and Viṣṇu.⁹

3. Pandit.⁸ In Adhyāya thirty-four, we are informed that "Acāryaḥ saṁmicchanti padacchedam tu panditāḥ."¹¹ i.e. Acārya likes harmony in a dramatic production, while Panditas like Enunciation of words (Pada) of the song. Abhinavagupta explains Pandita as "Vaiyākaraṇādyāḥ."¹² i.e. grammarians, etc. Their qualities are not described in the NS.

4. Sisya.¹³ A student of dramatic art. His qualities are described in Adhyāya twenty-sixth of the NS. They are six in number, viz: Medhā(intelligence), Saṣṭi(memory), Guṇaśādha(willingness to serve),

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⁹. NS 34.274.
10. NS 34.223.
11. Ibid.
Rāga (devotion), Saṃgharṣa (Spirit of emulation) and Utsāḥ (enthusiasm). 14

6. **Prāśnikas:** The Judges of Nāṭya. Their qualities are described in the twenty-seventh Adhyāya thus:

"Those who are possessed of good character, high birth, quiet behaviour and learning, desirous of fame, virtue, impartial, advanced in age, proficient in drama in all its six limbs, alert, honest, unaffected by passion, expert in playing four types of musical instruments, very virtuous, acquainted with the costumes and make-up, knowers of the rules of dialects and the four types of Abhinayas, grammar, prosody and various other Sāstras, experts in arts and crafts and possessors of fine sense of sentiments and psychological states should be made judges of Nāṭya. 16 Yajñavid, Nartaka, Gāndōvid, are: Sabdavid, Astravid, Citakrta, Vēṣyā, Gāndharva and Rājasevaka. 17

These Ācārya, Upādhyāya, Sīṣya and Prāśnika connected with the dramatic art reflect those in the general field of learning.

After this let us see the social position and functions of the persons connected with (Trade and commerce) Various professions.

15. NS 27.41, 49, 64, 67, 69.
16. NS 27.50-53.
17. NS 27.64-67.
6. Vanijas or Vanikas.\(^{18}\) In NS both these terms are used for merchants. They are referred to with Amatyas, Purodhas and kañcukins. In Adhyāya 18, we are informed that the varied exploits of Brāhmaṇas, Vanikas i.e. merchants, ministers, priests, officers of the king and leaders of the caravan when presented in a play are to be known as Prakaraṇa.\(^{20}\) NS recommends Suddha Vastra i.e. white dress for Vanijas.\(^{21}\)

7. Sresthins.\(^{22}\) In NS they are mentioned with Amatyas and Kañcukins. Their qualities are not described in the NS. But they are the leaders of commercial communities. They need not necessarily belong to the Vaisya class. In Mrochāṣṭikā we see that Brāhmaṇas are Sresthins and Sārthavāhas. Their language in a dramatic production, as recommended in the NS, is Ardhamāgadhī.\(^{23}\) Their dress should be made of Suddha vastra i.e. white.\(^{24}\)

8. Sārthavāhas.\(^{25}\) They are the leaders of caravan. In NS they are mentioned with Vipra, Vanika, Saciva, Purohitas and Amatya. In Adhyāya 18, we are informed that in a play where the varied exploits of Brāhmaṇas,

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18. NS 12.75; 21.126; 24.19.
22. NS 17.51; 18.51; 21.126, 149.
23. NS 17.51.
25. NS 17.94, 18.18, 48, 51.
Yanikas, ministers, priests and officers of the king and leaders of the Jaravan, are presented, it is to be known as Prakarana.  

9. Rajaka. This means a dyer. In Adhyaya thirty-five we are informed that "Vastrasya ranjanattathā Rajakaḥ" i.e. he is a Rajaka - a dyer because he dyes clothes. It means a washerman also.

10. Mālyakṛta or Mālayakāra: One who prepares Mālas. In Adhyaya 35, he is described thus: "Yo vai mālyām kurute msa ca Mālyakṛta Vījñeyah" i.e. One who makes garlands (of flowers) is called Mālyakāra.

11. Abharana: One who helps in ornaments. In Adhyaya thirty-five he is thus described: "Yastvābharanāṃkuryād in bahuvidhavihitaṃ sa cābharanaḥ." i.e. He who makes ornaments of various types is called Abharana.

12. Mukutakāra: He is a crown maker. In Adhyaya thirty-five he is thus described: "He who makes masks and various special dresses together with Śṛṣṭaka (headgear) suited to various characters is called a Mukutakāra.

13. Sastraanyopajīvin: The other two readings are Puṣṭribālapajīvin and Sastraibālakumāraḥ. The first

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26. NS 13.48. 32. Ibid.  
27. NS 36.37. 33. NS 35.33.  
28. Ibid. 34. Ibid.  
29. NS 35.36. 35. NS 36.40.  
30. Ibid. 36. NS Nirnayasāgara Edn. 36.36, p.661.  
31. NS 35.35. 37. NS Chaukhambā Edn. 36.37, p.472.
reading can be interpreted in two ways, (i) those who live by arms (sastropajīvin), and those who live by selling goods, (ii) those who live by selling arms. This second interpretation is better. The second reading is of the Nīrṇayasāgara edition. It means: those whose livelihood depends upon men, women and children. The third reading which is of Chaukhambā edition means: along with wives and children.

Looking to the context, the reading is more appropriate. 38

14. Citrakṛta39 Citrajñā and Citrakārā41 Citrakṛta or Citrakāra means a painter and Citrajñā means one who knows about painting. These are the terms denoting persons connected with painting. In Adhyāya 27, Citrakṛta is mentioned as one of the Prāśnikas (judges) and he is to be consulted in matters of dress and make-up. 42

Now let us take note of the artists concerned with music both vocal and instrumental. For music in general we have the term Gāndharva.

15. Gāndharva43 Gāndharva here means the artists concerned with Gāndharva-vidyā. Abhinavagupta explains this term thus: 44

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38. This is also accepted by Dr. M. M. Ghosh (See NS Vol. II (Text), 36.41, p. 214).
39. NS 27.66.
40. NS 35-37.
41. Ibid.
42. NS 27.66
43. NS 13.22; 27.67; 28.9
gāndharvam, gandharvānāṁ idam iti ca
i.e. that which holds speech is gāndharva. Gāndharva is what belong to gāndharva.

Gāyaka, Gāyika, Cārana, Vādi, Nāndi or Bandī (According to other reading) denote persons connected with vocal music.

16. **Gāyaka:** This means a singer. In Kautiliya AS the term "Gāyana" is used for a singer. The qualities of a Gata are described in Adhyāya 33 thus: "He should be of young age possessing sweet voice and must have knowledge of tempo, Tāla, division of Kalās, their measure and application." 47

17. **Gāyikā:** A female singer. Her qualities are described in Adhyāya thirty-three thus: "She should be a Śyāma - a young woman, possessing good form and beauty. Her voice has to be unagitated, soft, charming and resonant and harmonious. She must be expert in Tāla and Laya. She should be capable of regulating Karaṇās according to musical instruments." 49

18. **Cārana:** The NS mentions them with Vidyādharas and Siddhas. In Adhyāya 21, their head-dress is

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44. NS Vol.IV, p. 6
45. NS 215.
46. AS Vol.I Text ed. by R.P. Kangle, 1.12.9; 2.1.34; 7.17.34; 3.3.15.
47. NS 33.2. 49. NS 33.4.
48. NS 5.17,27; 33.4, 34.215. 50. NS 21.143.
recommended of Kesamukuta. According to Amarakosa, 'Caranastu Kusilvah' i.e. Caranas are musicians. Hemacandra in his Abhidhanacintamani also mentions Caranas in the same sense. Dr. M.M. Ghosh is of the opinion that "Caranas are demi-gods who sing the praise of superior gods." In this context it would mean singers of gods. Carana also means any actor for bard. There is a community of Caranas in Gujarat.

19. Vādi. In Adhyāya thirty-five he is thus described: "One who lauds people with salutations and praises in sweet words and with auspicious acts is called Vādi."

20. Nandi. Another reading is Vandī or Sandī. His qualities are thus described: "One who pleases the audience with sweet words of blessing, is called Nandī. His recitation consists of Sanskrit and Prakrit." This is all about vocal musicians. Let us see the qualities and qualifications of the players of instrumental music.

21. Dardarika. A player of the Dardura, drum. His qualities are described in Adhyāya thirty-four thus:

51. NS 21.144. 55. NS 35.21,28.
52. Ak.II.10. 56. NS 35.23.
53. AC.II.329. 57. NS 35.29.
59. NS 22.5,34.217; 34.301. AG explains Dardura as "Mahāghatakāraḥ" as being liked a large gong, made up of bell metal.
"A player of a Dardara is praised if he is firm, clever in his art, soft, nimble and knows the rules of playing other instruments."

22. Mārdanaika. A player of Mṛdaṅga. His qualities are described in Adhyāya thirty-four thus: He should be expert in vocal and instrumental music. He should be well-versed in Tāla and recitation. He must know how to begin and end the song. He should have nimble hands. He must have knowledge of Pāṇis and rules of achievements (siddhi). He must be expert in singing Dhruvās. He should be knower of Sāma songs. He should be in a position to practise Karāṇas and Grahas. He must have pleasing hands while playing with the musical instruments. He should be physically strong and without any defect of limbs. He must have undergone laboured training. He should know the application of 'Lepa' to drums. He should know how to perform good music.

23. Muraika. A player of Mura. In NS he is classed with Pāṇavika and Dardarika.

24. Pāṇavika. A player of Pāṇava. Pāṇava is a small drum. His qualities are described in Adhyāya 34 thus:

60. NS 34.301.
61. NS 23.5; 34.297.
62. NS 34.296,297.
63. NS 34.215.
64. NS 28.5; 34.300,215.
"He who is unerring, expert in the use of hands and observing time is known to be an expert player of Paṇava. He should know how to cover the faults of performance and he who should be well-practised in playing Karanas." 65

25. **Taurika** 66 Taurika is one who possesses a musical instrument tūra. He is supposed to be clever in playing all the instruments. (Tūra is a sort of Tabor).

26. **Vipančika** 67 A player of Vipaṇci, Vīṇā. His qualifications are not described in the NS.

27. **Vainika** 68 A player of Vīṇā. His qualifications are described in Adhyāya thirty-three thus: "He should be conversant with the use of Pāṇi(Tāla), tempo (Jaya), and Yati. He should have nimble hands in producing sweet sounds and should possess the qualifications of a singer. He should be attentive in mind and be able to produce music in accompaniment of other instruments. He should be able to produce clear Karanas. He should be industrious. He should possess pleasing voice and should be expert in playing citrā Vīṇās, etc." 69

65. NS 34. 300
66. NS 35. 21, 26.
67. NS 23. 4. For Vipaṇci Vīṇā, see the Chapter on musical instruments.
68. NS 23. 4; 33. 9; 34. 215.
69. NS 33. 7-8.
32. *Vamśavādaka* 

A player of a reed-pipe. His qualities are described in Adhyāya thirty-three thus: "A player of reed-pipe should be strong and of concentrative mind, should properly know songs and their tempo, and be able to create music in accompaniment of other instruments. He should be able to produce voluminous notes which should be sweet and pleasing. He should possess strong breath-capacity." 71

This is all about the qualifications of players of musical instruments.

33. *Nartaka* 72 and *Nartakī* 73

A male and a female dancer.

They are connected with the art of dancing. The qualities of a Nartaka are not described in the MS. In Adhyāya twenty-seven we are informed that a Nartaka is to be appointed as one of the Prāśnikas and should be consulted in matters of Abhinaya i.e. historic art. be impure. Those born in your family will be Nartakas i.e. dancers and will have to depend upon other." 74

The qualities of a Nartakī are thus described in the MS. "She should have beautiful limbs, she must be conversant with the sixty-four arts, she should be clever, courteous in behaviour, free from diseases,

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70. NS 28.4; 33.9; 34.215.
71. NS 33.9.
72. NS 24.52; 25.64.
73. NS 28.4; 33.9; 34.215.
74. NS 36.40.
and always bold. She should be free from indolence, inured to hard work, capable of practising various arts and crafts, skilled in dancing and songs. She should excel in beauty, youthfulness, brilliance and other qualities of all the other women standing by her side."75

34. Kathini.76 This is a female story teller. As we have noted on page , Kathini is one of the female employees in making a king's palace. Kathini has been explained by Aminavagupta77 as a woman expert in telling stories from such works as Bharatakatha, etc. Here qualification is described thus: Vijñanagunasampanna, i.e. possessed of the quality of intelligence or possessing skill or art.78 The word Kathini is not found in lexicons, but its cognate Kathika is found in them. It means a professional story teller. The meaning of Kathika and Kathini would be the same. They indicate the profession of story telling accompanied with dancing. The present day term Kathaka seems to be connected with these words.

Now let us see the qualities and qualifications of artists connected with the dramatic production.

They are generally known as Bharatas. A detailed

75. NS 24.47-52.
76. NS 23.9.
78. NS 23.9.
description of the Bharata's troup is given in
Adhyāya thirty-five. We are informed that
"Bharatāśryāsca Bharatāḥ," i.e. They are called
bharatas because the resort to Bharata's art.
The members of the Bharata's troup listed in this
Adhyāya are: Bharatas, Vidūṣaka, (jester), the
Taurika, a player of Tūra instrument), Naṭa
(the actor), Siṭradhāra (the director), Nāṭyakāra
lit. the producer of dramatic representation,
Nāyaka, the Mukutakāra, (the maker of the crowns
and ornaments), the Mālyakāra (the maker of garlands),
the Kārka (the artisan labourer), and Kusūlāva
(actor-musicians) and other who are to be known by
other—who—are—to—be—known—by—their names. Their
characteristics are described in this Adhyāya. The
other artists connected with dramatic production
referred to in the NS in the other Adhyāyas are:
Naṭi, Nāṭakiyā, Nāyaka, Nāyikā, Nāṭyayoktru,
Silpakārī, Ṭharaṇa, Vesayuvati, Vesyā, Viṭa, Ceta,
Caṭi, Sakāra and Pāripārśvaka

35. Bharata. This means an actor. In Adhyāya thirty-
five he is thus defined: "He is called Bharata
because he alone conducts as the leader of a play
by acting in many roles and playing many instruments
and by providing many accessories."
36. **Vidüşaka.**

This is a well-known character of Sanskrit plays. He is described in Adhyāya thirty-five thus:

"He should be dwarfish, and should possess big teeth. He should be hunch-backed, double-tongued, bald-headed and tawny-eyed."  

In Adhyāya seventeen, we are informed that he should speak the language of the Prācyā countries. In Adhyāya twenty-one, his head-dress is thus described: his head should be bald or it may have a small tuft of hair looking like a foot of a crow.

His four classes mentioned in the NS are:

- Lingis-sectarians, Dvija-Brahmins, Rājajīvins i.e. dependent on the state and Sisyas-disciples.

37. **Taurika.**

A player of a Tūra instrument. I have described his qualifications on page 368 of this chapter.

38. **Nata.**

An actor. NS explains the meaning of Naṭa thus: "The meaning of the root 'Naṭ' is 'to act' and hence as he acts-(Nāṭayati) again and again the stories of men with sentiments, mental states and temperament, he is called a Naṭa."
39. **Sūtradhāra**: A director of the play. He is thus defined in the NS: "One who knows from the teaching of the learned (śīṣṭa), the principles for the application of songs, instrumental music and recitation in their unity is called a Sūtradhāra."

40. **Nātyakāra**: (A producer) He is thus defined in the NS: "One who represents the various sentiments, mental states and temperaments as taught in the Sāstras, in different characters is called a Nātyakāra."

41. **Nāyaka**: Here the term means not the Hero of a play but a producer of a play. He is thus defined in the NS: "One who can use the music of four types of instruments and produce a play according to the meaning of the Sāstras and his own reasoning is called a Nāyaka." In Gujarat we have Targālās-Bhavaiyās bearing this surname who are connected with the profession of Bhavāī and Drama.

42. **Mukutakāra**: One who prepares crowns.

43. **Mālyakṛti (Kār)**: One who prepares Mālās, particularly of flowers.

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90. NS 5.28,71,74,104,134,153; 20.30; 35.21,30.
91. NS 35.30.
92. NS 35.21.
93. NS Ibid.
94. NS 35.21,32.
95. NS 35.32.
96. NS 35.33.
97. NS 35.36.
44. **Káruka.** Káruka means any artisan or artificer. AG calls them builders of Stūpa, etc. The NS informs us that Káruka is so called because he can make things out of lac, stone, metal and wood. In Adhyáya 23, Kárú, Silpiní is mentioned.

45. **Ṛvastakarcina.** This means a labourer. AG explains it as 'Ṛvastamśaríraklesk bahulaṁ karma Yeśamītyartham', i.e. engaged in more physical laboured work. Their colour as mentioned in the NS is Asita i.e. brown.

46. **Kusilava.** He is thus described in the NS. "He who can apply the principles of instrumental music and is himself expert in playing instruments, is called Kusilava."

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98. NS 17.73; 24.68; 35.22, 37.
100. NS 35.37.
101. NS 23.9.
102. NS 21.106.
104. NS 21.106.
105. NS 35.32, 38.
106. NS 35.38.
Abhinavagupta connects the words Kusilava with Kusala and explains it as any artisan clever in making stage properties required in a play.107

There are several references to Kusilavas in the Kautiliya Arthashastra. In the first Adhikaraṇa they are thus mentioned: 108

"Kusīlava sāstrāgūrāsakrīṣvarjāmarjārmayeyuḥ"

I.e. Kusilavas should entertain (the king) avoiding plays involving (the use of) weapons, fire or poison.

There is another derivation according to which it could mean one having sad character (ku-Sīla). There is a tradition which connects Kusilava with the twin sons of Sītā-Kusā and Lava, who used to sing the ballad of Rāma in company of a lute.

47. Nāti:109 An actress. Her qualifications are not described in the NS.

48. Nātakiyā:110 A female actress. She is thus described in the NS in Adhyāya thirty-five: "A woman who knows all about the playing of drums, Laya (tempo), and Tāla and is conversant with sentiments and is beautiful in all her limbs, should be made Nātakiyā i.e. actress."

109. NS 20-29.
110. NS 24. 30; 47; 35. 34.
111. NS 35. 34.
49. **Nāyaka.** A hero of the play. He is thus defined in the NS: "Out of many male characters in a play, one who, being in misfortune or distress, ultimately attains elevation, is called a Hero." Different types of heroes are described in the NS for different type of plays e.g. in a Nāṭaka, they are semi-divine beings or royal personages, while in a Prakaraṇa they come from the classes of Brahmins, merchants, ministers, purchitas, counsellors and the leaders of caravans. Four classes of heroes are defined and described in the NS. They are: Dhīroddhata (vehement), Dhīralalita(light-hearted), Dhīroḍḍāta (self-controlled), and Dhīra-prasānta (self-controlled and calm). In a dramatic representation they should be assigned Sanskrit language.

50. **Nāyikā.** A heroine of the play. NS describes four classes of heroines viz. goddesses, queens, women of high family and courtesans. They are said to possess various characteristics e.g. Dhīra(self-controlled), Lalita(light-hearted), Udāṭta(exalted), and Nibhrta(modest).
51. **Natyayoktrś** 119 A producer of the play. NS assigns him the religious ceremonies to be performed for the stage. 120 In the twenty-eighth Adhyāya we are informed that "The Gāna(song), Vādyā (instrumental music) and the Nātya(acting) having different kinds of appeals - vividhāsāraya(i.e. depending on different things) should be made by the Nātyayoktrś like an Alātacakra, i.e. brilliant entity. 121

52. **Silpakārī** 122 A female artist. She is employed in a king's harem. She is classed with Bhoginis, Nātakiyās, and Martakīs in the NS. Her qualifications are described above (on page 307 ) in the section on employees of the king's harem. The term is explained by Abhinavagupta thus: "Kalāsu vidagdha" i.e. well versed in arts. 123 Silpakārī is included in the NS amongst the women who may speak Sanskrit on occasions. 124

53. **Pārīpaśvaka** 125 It literally means a by-stander. The NS associates him with Vidūṣaka and Śatrudhāra. Here it means an assitant of the manager of a play.

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119. NS 1.124; 28.7.
120. NS 1.124.
121. NS 28.7.
122. NS 17.39.
123. NS Vol.II.p.374.
124. NS 17.39.
125. NS 5.28, 116, 135; 20.30.
54. **Sakāra:** A king's brother-in-law through one of his wives. In the Sanskrit drama Mrçchakatika, he is represented as a foolish, frivolous, proud, low and cruel man. The NS assigns him Sakārī dialect.

55. **Vita:** A parasite or a boon companion. In the Mrçchakatika, he is the companion of a dissolute prince and resembles in some respects the Vidūṣaka, is generally represented as a parasite on familiar terms with his associate, but at the same time accomplished in the arts of poetry, music and singing.

56. **Ceta:** A servant, a slave. The NS assigns him Arpadhamāgadhī, as his language.

57. **Rangopajīvini:** This means a woman whose livelihood depends upon the stage. AG explains her as 'Rajakstrī cāraṇāstrī' i.e. A Rajaka or a Cāraṇa woman.

58. **Vesāyuvati:** This is difficult to identify. The other reading is Vesāyuvati. This means that she should be a young courtesan.

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127. NS 17.54.
128. NS 12.110; IXXIX; 18.50; 110; 24.24; 25.76.
129. NS 12.146, 148; 17.51; 21.155.
130. NS 17.51.
131. NS 23.9.
133. NS 18.52.
59. Vesakarii. This is a costumier. The NS informs us that Yasćapi veṣa yogam विरुते सा ca vesakari tu!
i.e. one who looks after dressing is called Vesakari. 135.

60. Vesva. She is a courtezan. In Adhyaya 27, we are informed that she should be appointed as a Prāśnika and consulted in matters of Kāma i.e. love-making. 137

In ancient Indian society the courtezan or the Ganikā was esteemed with high respect. She was even honoured by kings and praised by the leaders of the society. She attracted them and was visited by them. The fashion of the day was centred round her. We know that in Mauryan period they were endowed with royal duties especially pertaining to spies. This was not without reason. The courtezans were expected to learn various arts and crafts. Naturally, a courtezan who has trained herself in various arts and crafts was endowed with high status.

NS devotes two Adhyayas on the subject of erotics particularly in connection with the courtezans viz. twenty-second and twenty-third. The purpose of introducing this subject is given in verses 79-80 of the twenty-third Adhyaya. Particularly in a Prakaraṇa, the relations with a courtezan are depicted

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134. NS 35.36.
135. Ibid.
136. NS 12.220; 17.42,92; 18.51; 21.153; 22.150, 153, 156, 166, 226, 231; 23.35, 80; 27.65, 67; 34.p. 453.
137. NS 27.67.
and sometimes in a Nāṭaka also, we can take note of Vasantasenā in the Prakaraṇa Mrčchakatika and Urvasī in the Nāṭaka Vikramorvasīya. In this way the whole subject of erotics and Ars-amatoria finds scope in the NS. I have noted this matter in a separate chapter because it throws light on this particular aspect of social life in Ancient India.

61. Vaiśīka 138 A person dealing with the courtesans.

Amongst the persons who constitute a king's company in the palace, there is a mention of a character called Vaiśīka. NS defines Vaiśīka in two ways: (i) A person who has particular knowledge of all arts is Vaiśīka or (ii) One who is expert in dealing with courtesans is called a Vaiśīka. He knows all arts and crafts but particularly he is clever in understanding the minds of women. He is supposed to have thirty-three qualities, some of which are natural and the others are artificial. His qualities are thus described in the NS: "One who is well versed in the Śāstras, skilled in arts, crafts, well formed, pleasant looking, powerful, possessed of self command, of desirable age, dress and pedigree,

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138. NS 23-1, 2,7,79.
is friendly, sweet tempered, munificent, patient, free from bragging, fearless, accustomed to use sweet words, clever, elegant, clean in habits, expert in the practice of love, honest, able to act suitably to time and place, speaking no pitiful words, accustomed to speak smilingly, eloquent, sweet-tongued, greedless as a partner, full of faith, firm in resolve, unrash, not trusting even an accessible woman and has a sense of self-respect is called an expert gallant."139

Thus we can say that all these classes of artisans and craftmen played an important part in the economic organization of the society.

A picture of the economic life of a people can also be gathered from the various articles of food and drinks prevailing in their days. So in the next chapter deals with food and drinks referred to in the NS.

139. NS 23.4-7.
Chapter 13

"FOOD AND DRINKS"

We get these things referred to mainly in Adhyāyas one, two and three. In Adhyāya one, verse 121, we learn that Bali - oblations should consist of Bhojya, Bhakṣya and Pāna accompanied by ṛtvic - sacrifices, Mantras and plants. This is a form of worship of the stage. Adhyāya two is devoted to the construction of a theatre. While putting up the manoḍa certain ceremonies are to be performed. In these the oblation is accompanied by different kinds of food. The oblation to be offered in the east should consist of Śuklāṇa (white food), in the south Nīlāṇa (blue-black food), in the west Pīta (Yellow food), and in the north Haktā (red food). This means that foods of four colours are to be offered as oblations in the respective directions. We are further told that Gṛtapāyasa is to be offered to the Brahmaṇas, Madhuparka to the kings and Gudaudana to the workers. Similar oblations are to be offered while raising the pillars of the theatre. To the Brāhmin pillar Pāyasa cooked in Sarpis and Sarṣapa is to be offered. To the Kṣatriya pillar clothes, garlands and unguents are to be offered. It must be all red. The Brāhmins are to be offered Gudaudana. To the Vaiṣya pillar offerings of yellow colour are to be made. The Brāhmaṇas are to be
given Ghrtaudana. To the Sudra pillar everything blue-black is to be offered. The Brahmanas are to be given Krasara as food. Similar ceremonies are to be performed while raising the Ragamandapa. For the food the Brahmanas are to be given Krasara. Adhyaya three is devoted to different kinds of stage worship and ceremonials. Symbolic dwelling places for deities are to be formed with the following materials: Yava, Siddhârthaka, Lâja, Akṣata, Sâli and Tândula, powder of Nâgâpûpa, and Priyaṅgu free from chaff (Tuṣ). Circular forms (Hândalas) are to be made with these materials.

The following food-offerings are mentioned with reference to different deities: Madhuparka is to be offered to Brahmanas; Pâyasa to Sarasvatî; Modakas to Siva, Vaisu, Mahendra, etc.; Ghrtaudana to Fire; Guḍaudana to the Sun and the Moon; Madhupâyasa to Viśvedevas, Gândharvas and the Munis; Apûpa and Modaka to Yama and Mitra; Sarpis and milk to Pitra, Piśâcas, and Uragas; Pakvāna, Mâṃsa (Flesh), Sura, Śidhu and juices of fruits, grams mixed with ground sesame, cooked and raw flesh to the groups of Râkṣasas; Sura and Mâṃsa (flesh) to Danavas; Apûpa, Utkârikâ and Odana to the remaining gods. Fish and ground eatables are to be offered to the Seas and rivers; Ghṛtapaśya to Varuṇa; different kinds of roots and fruits to Munis; various kinds of eatables to Winds and Birds; Various Bhaksyas and Bhojyas mixed with Apûpa and Lâjika to the
We may note, to start with, the three types of food viz. Shojya, Bhakṣya and Pāna. This classification is assumed throughout. Bhakṣya may be defined as that type of food which is to be masticated. (The word comes from the root Bhāṇja to break). Shojya means any type of eatable generally and particularly one which requires little mastication or none and Pāna consists of different kinds of drinks, both liquors as well as ordinary juices.

In the Epics, Rāmāyaṇa and Māhābhārata, the food has been classified into four varieties hard food, soft food, preparations which are sucked and food stuffs which could be licked such as honey. ¹

This sort of classification is to be found in other works particularly on Āyurveda. Caraka mentions Pāna, Āśāna, Bhakṣya and Lehya. ² Bhāvaprakāśa mentions six kinds of Āhāra: Ĉusya, Peya, Lehya, Bhojya, Bhakṣya and Carvya. Mānasollāsa of Somesvara mentions five kinds of Annabhoga: (i) Bhojya, (ii) Bhakṣya,(iii)Peya, (iv) Lehya and (v) Ĉusya. ³

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1. Quoted by Om Prakash, FDAI, p.102.
2. Caturvidhopayogah Pānasasānalbhakṣya Lehyopayogāt/25.36 (Quoted by Om Prakash, FDAI, p. 102)
For easy reference I arrange these items in an alphabetical order:

Aksata, Anna(pakva), Apūpa, Odana ♠ (with Ghṛta and Guda), Bhakṣya (simple and mixed with Lājika), Bhojya (simple and mixed with Lājika), Canaka, Ghṛta, Gṛtaudana, Guda, Gṛtaudana, Kṛsara, Kṛsara-lavanottara, Keśa, Lāja, Lājika, Madhparka, Madhupāya, Māmsa (Pakva and Āma), Matsya, Kodaka, Nāgapuṣpa-cūrṇa, Palala, Pāyasā, Phalāsava, Pistabhakṣya, Priyāngu (free from chaff), Sarpis, Sarpiṣṭira, Sarṣapa, Sāli, Siddhārthaka, Śīthu (dhū), Sūrā, Tāṇḍula, Utkārika and Yava.

Now let us try to identify these things.

1. Anna: Food, victuals, especially rice. It also means bread, corn. It is very often referred to in the Vedic literature and the later literature. Upaniṣads tell us "Annam Vai prāṇāh" i.e. Food is life.

   In Pāṇini food is called Anna and the eater of food Gaṇaṇa.

2. Apūpa: It means a cake made of rice or barley meal cooked in clarified butter on slow fire. Honey was mixed to sweeten it. It is probably the

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4. NS 3.40.
5. Pāṇini-III.2.68.
6. NS 3.39,42,46.
earliest sweet known to us. The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Apūpa is the general word from the Rāgveda onwards for a cake, which might be mixed with ghee (ghṛtavant), or be made of rice (vṛīhi), or of barley (yava)." Panini mentions Apupa stuffed with fried wheat flour. Caraka (Sū. 27. 268) mentions Pūpas prepared with the addition of milk and juice of sugarcane. Vāgbhata I mentions five varieties of cakes:

(i) Cooked in a pit heated with chaff fire (Kukulapakva)
(ii) Cooked in an earthen potsherd (Kārpara-pakva),
(iii) Cooked in a Bhū>.astra (Bhrāstra-pakva),
(iv) Cooked in Kandu (Kandu-pakva), and
(v) Cooked on live charcoals (Angara-pakva).

We can identify this with Gujarati Pullā or Hindi Pua.

3. Odana: means a mess. Grain mashed and cooked with milk. The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Odana is a common expression denoting a mess, usually of grain cooked with milk. Special varieties are mentioned, such the 'milk-mess' (Kāśaoudana), the 'curd-mess' (dadhy-odana), the 'bean-mess'"

7. FDAI., p. 284.
9. Quoted by Dr. Om Prakash, FDAI, p. 284.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. NS 2.42, 49.3.38.
(raudgaudana), the 'Sesame-mess' (tilaudana), the 'water-mess' (udaudana), the 'meat-mess' (mamsaudana), the 'ghee-mess' (Ghrtaudana), etc."¹³.

It is also mentioned in Panini.¹⁴

Shri Om Prakash says, "According to Dr. Burrow the Dravidians used boiled rice. In the Av. (VII. 69.14) it has the sense of a mess but in the Av. (IV. 14.7) and later, boiled rice. It is called Udaudana in Brhad. Up. (VI. 4.16) Susruta (Su. 46) mentions two varieties of Odana one in which rice was well washed (dhauta) and the other in which rice was not washed before cooking. Odana was prepared with clarified butter meat, fruit, tubers, pulses and milk."¹⁵

4. Bhaksya and Bhojya:¹⁶ Simple and mixed with Lajika. These are soft and hard eatables. They are also mixed with Apūpa and Lajika, when offerings are to be made to the Nātyamātrikās and Dhanada (Kubera) with his followers, as described in the NS.

¹⁵. PDAI., p. 289. App. VII.
¹⁶. MS. I. 121; 3. 44, 76.
5. **Canaka** means Grams. This is one type of pulse. Shri Om Prakash identifies it with Hindi Cana and says, "Dr. G.F. Majumdar on the basis of Mahidhara has interpreted Khalva, which occurs in the Yajurveda, as Canaka. On the other hand Dr. P.A. Gode is of the opinion that the grain was probably introduced into the Panjab by the Greeks sometime between B.C. 130-A.D. 20 According to the Dictionary of Food Products it originated from the south of the Caucasus or of the Caspian Sea. It was grown in Egypt from very early times. The earliest mention in Indian literature is in the Uttarkanda of Ramayana and the Baudh. Gr. Sesa. Sutra. In the time of Amarasimha it was mainly used as food for horses. Dr. Sankalia thinks that the grain has been identified at Maheshwar Niyada Toli (1200 B.C.). It will be a fact, the theory of Dr. Gode cannot hold water." We can identify this with Gujarati Cana.

6. **Ghṛta** means clarified butter. This was a liquid type of offering. In Vedic times its use was popular. The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Ghṛta, the modern Chee or 'clarified butter' is repeatedly mentioned in the Rigveda and later both as in

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17. NS 3.40.
18. FDAI., Appendix VI, p.263.
19. NS 2.41, 3.43.
ordinary use and as a customary form of sacrifice. According to a citation in Sayana's commentary on the Aitareya Brähmana, the distinction between Ghṛta and Sarpis consisted in the latter being butter fully melted, while the former was butter melted and hardened (gnañi-bhūta), but this distinction cannot be pressed. Because the butter was thrown into the fire, Agni is styled 'butter-faced' (ghṛta-pratika), butter-backed (ghṛta-prastha), and 'propitiated with butter' (ghṛta-prasatta) and 'fond of butter' (ghṛta-prī). This can be identified with Gujarati Ghee.

7. Ghṛtaudana: A preparation of rice mixed with ghee. In the Sāmkhyaṇa Āryaka it is mentioned as "Boiled rice mixed with clarified butter." Shri Om Prakasn identifies this preparation in the same way as mentioned in the Sāmkhyaṇa Āryaka.

8. Guda: Molasses, a product of sugarcane juice. It is not mentioned in the Vedic literature. It is, however, mentioned in Pāṇini. Pāṇini's phrase 'excellent for making guda (gudā sādhru) refers to some special variety of sugarcane yielding better quality of guda.

21. NS 2.49; 3.38.
23. FDAI, Appendix VII, p.286.
24. NS 2.42; 43; 3.38.
25. Pāṇini, V.4.103.
26. IKP.p.111.
we know that Lord Buddha allowed gudā to sick persons and water of gudā to healthy persons.  

It is also mentioned in Kautilya. In Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata we learn that sugarcane was used for making gudā which was used in the preparation of many sweets.

Old gudā was considered very efficacious as medicine by Susruta. A variety of gudā called Kṣudragudā was not considered good by Caraka. We learn from Caraka that Gudāsidhū or Gudāsāva was prepared from gudā.

In the NS gudā is mentioned with Odana. In Gujarati gudā is known as Gola.

9. **Gudaudana**: A preparation of rice boiled with treacle. On the authority of the Baudhāyana Gr. Gṛṣṭha sutras, Shri Om Prakash says, "This was rice boiled with treacle."

10. **Kṛsara**: This preparation was known in the Vedic times. The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Kṛsara,

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27. Mahāvagga(H) VI.4.5 quoted by Om Prakash FDAl, p.63
29. quoted by Om Prakash, FDAl, p.112.
30. Ibid, p.144 Fn.3.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. NS 2.43, 48; 3.38.
34. FDAl, Appendix, p.236.
35. NS 2.50, 67.
a term denoting a mess of rice and sesame, often mentioned in the Sūtras, occurs in the Śādvyāma Brāhmaṇa. According to Shri Om Prakash, "Kṛṣara is a dish prepared with sesame and rice cooked in milk. In Dañana's time it was a dish prepared with sesame, rice and Māsa." The other variety of this preparation mixed with salt is also mentioned in the NS. This is Kṛṣara-Lavapottara.

Dr. Manomohan Ghosh compares this word with NIA Khicaṭ or Khicciṭi.

11. Kṣīra. This was the principal ingredient of food of Vedic times. The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Kṣīra, 'milk', also called Go or Payas, played a large part in the economy of the Vedic Indian. It was taken warm (pakva) as it came from the cow, or was used with grain to make a 'mess cooked with milk' (ksīra-pakam odanam). It was also used for mixing with Soma. From it butter (Ghṛta) was made. Milk was also curdled, the Pūtka and Kāvala plants, among others, being used for the purpose."

In the NS it is mentioned with Sarpis.
12. Lāja means fried or parched grain. It was known to the Vedic Indians. The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Lāja, masc.plur., in the later Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇas denotes 'fried or parched grain'". Shri Om Prakash identifies this as parched rice. He also identifies the same with Hindi-Dhāinki-khil.

13. Lājikā would be the same as Lāja. It is difficult to identify. According to the NS Bhakṣyas and Bhūyas mixed with Lājikā are to be offered as offerings to the nāyamāṭyakās and Dhanada with his followers. Dr. M. Ghosh takes the reading "Locitabhistairbhakṣyabhōjyaḥ" and says, 'Locita'. This word seems to be connected with the MIA Loci, Luei.

14. Madhuparka A sweet drink. This was a very popular drink of the Vedic people. The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Madhu denotes anything sweet used as food, and especially drink, 'mead', a sense often found in the Rigveda. More precisely it denotes

43. NS 3.20.
44. VI, Vol.II, p.231.
45. FBAL, Appendix, VII, p.238.
46. Ibid.
47. NS 3.45.
50. NS 2.42; 3.37.
either 'Soma' or 'milk', or less often 'honey', which, however, is the most definite sense in the later literature. 51 On the authority of the Brhadaranyaka Upanishad, Shri OM Prakash identifies it as "a mixture of curds, honey and clarified butter." 52 Dr. M.M. Ghosh identifies it as a mixture of honey and says, "A respectful offering prescribed to be made in Vedic times, to an honourable person and this custom still lingers in ceremonie like marriage. Its ingredients are five — Curd (Dadhi), Sarpis̄i (water Jala), Honey Kṣaudra and white sugar (Sīta)." 53

15. Madhupāyasa. 54 It is a Pāyasa mixed with honey. Pāyasa. Madhu means honey. Pāyasa means rice cooked with milk and mixed with sugar. 55 We may identify Pāyasa with Gujarati Khīra. Madhupāyasa may be a preparation of milk, rice and honey.

16. Māṃsa. 56 It means meat. In the NS two types of māṃsa i.e. Pakva (cooked) and Amaka (raw) are mentioned. This was regularly taken as food in the Vedic period.

The editors of the Vedic Index say, "The eating of flesh appears as something quite regular in the Vedic

52. FOAL., Appendix VII, p. 286.
54. NS 2.59; 3.38.
55. FOAL, Appendix VII, p. 290.
56. NS 3.40, 41, 42.
texts, which show no trace of the doctrine of Ahīṃsā, or abstaining from injury to animals. For example, the ritual offerings of flesh contemplate that the gods will eat it, and again the Brāhmīns ate the offerings." We know that it was also prevalent in the post-Vedic period. Pāṇini explicitly refers to Māṁsa in Sūtra IV.4.67. In the AS of shops of cooked meat are mentioned.

17. Matsya: Fish. It was not so popular in the Vedic period. Rating of fish was popular in the Indus Valley people. Sir John Marshall says, "The food of the Indus people comprised beef, mutton, pork, poultry; the flesh of the gharial; turtles and tortoises; fresh local fish from the river and dried fish brought from the sea-coast along with shell-fish. The bones or shells of all these have been found, often in a half-burnt state, either in and around houses of the living or among the offerings to the dead, and they were undoubtedly articles of diet." The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Fish is mentioned only once in the Rgveda, but frequently later."

57. VI., Vol.II. p.145.
58. Quoted by Dr. V.S. Agrawal, IKP. p.112.
59. AS I.36.
60. AS 3.43.
18. **Modaka**

It. means a food preparation which pleases or gives joy (mud). There is no doubt that it was round in shape like a ball. Vidūṣaka in the Vikramorvasīya of Kālidāsa compares the moon with Khanda modaka. Usually Khanda modaka is taken to mean a broken modaka. Khanda, however, means sugar (Khanda in Guj.) also. So we may take Khanda to mean modaka, a modaka made of sugar. Modaka was made of rice flour or wheat flour. In Gujarat, however, ladus are made of wheat flour, guḍa ṃx and ghee.

Shri Om Prakash says, "This was prepared with the flour of rice or some pulse and sugar."  

19. **Nāgaruṇḍa cūraṇa**

Nāgaruṇḍa powder. Nāgaruṇḍa is a name of a whole species of plants and trees (N.O. Guttifereae). It contains resin-like substance. One of its varieties is yellow Campaka tree. For its use as material for drawing figures, its flowers would be required to be dried and powdered. This seems to be rather far-fetched. Therefore the meaning given by AG viz. Nagadantālvory seems more appropriate, because its powder must be more helpful for drawing purposes.

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63. NS 3.37, 38.
64. Vikram. III. Khanda-modasassirio.
65. Food and Drinks in Anc. India, Appendix, VII, p. 238.
66. NS 3.20.
68. NS Vol. I., p. 73.
20. Palala. Monier-Williams gives three meanings of this word in his Dictionary: (i) ground sesamum, (ii) a kind of sweet-meat made of ground sesamum and sugar, (iii) flesh. This preparation is not known in the Vedic times. In Pañini 'Palala' is mentioned as a sweet preparation made of pounded sesamum and guda. Dr. V.S. Agrawal identifies this with modern Tila Kuta.

21. Pāvasa. Rice cooked with milk and mixed with sugar. It is mentioned in the Grhya Śūtras. It is also mentioned in the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata.

Can we identify this with Gujarati Dādhapāka?

22. Phalāsava. Asava prepared from fruits. According to Rāmāyana, it was generally prepared from dates. As stated by Shri Om Prakash "in the epics Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata and Manusmṛti four varieties of Asavas are mentioned: one prepared from flowers, the second from fruits, the third from honey, and the

68. NS 3.40.
70. Pañini, VI.2.128.
71. IKP., p.110.
72. NS 2.41,47; 3.37,43.
73. Khādira Gr. Su. III, I.33; IV.2.18; Māhava Gr. Su. I.; 9.22 (quoted by Dr. Om Prakash, FDAI, p.38).
74. Rāmāyana, Ay.75.30 (Ibid, p.103).
76. NS 3.40.
77. quoted by Dr. Om Prakash, p.FDAI, p.118.
fourth from sugar. The learned author further informs us that "An āsava in which surā was used in place of water was called surāsava."

In Kumārāsambhava, Kālidāsa mentions Madhuka (Puspāsava). Commentator Mallināthassya, "Puspanāmāsavo madyam puspāsavaḥ." 80

23. Pistabhakṣya: lit. means pounded food which requires mastication. In the brāhmanas and Atharvaveda reference to this type of food is made. 82 In Pāṇini Pīṣa denoted the ground paste of any grain. Articles prepared by mixing pīṣa were generally called pīṣṭamayam. 83 On the authority of Sūrūta, Shri Om Prakash identifies it thus: "meat pasted, formed into balls and cooked with curds, juice of pomegranates, and aromatic species." 84

24. Priyaṅgu: Panic seed. This was known in the Vedic times. The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Priyaṅgu denotes 'panic seed' (Panicum italicum) in the

78. Ibid, Food and Drinks in Anc. India, p.118.
79. Ibid.
80. quoted by Dr. B.S.Upadhyaya, India in Kālidāsa, p.197. f.n.7.
81. NS 3.43.
82. VI. Vol. 1, p.534.
83. IKP. p.108.
84. FDAI, Appendix VII, p.296.
85. NS 3.20.
Yajurveda Sāṁhitā and the Brāhmaṇas. It is mentioned in the AS of Kautilya. According to Caraka this was an inferior variety of cereals. In the Vāyu Purāṇa, it is mentioned among the cultivated grains.

Dr. M. M. Ghosh believes that here Priyangu means saffron and not the fruit of the Priyangu creeper. In the NS it is mentioned without chaff. From the NS we can infer that Priyangu must have been covered with chaff when it was used for drawing figures the chaff must have been removed.

25. Sarpis melted butter with the scum cleaned off, commonly known as ghee. This was popular in the Vedic times. The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Sarpis denotes 'melted butter' whether in a liquid for solidified condition, and not differing from Ghṛta according to the St. Petersburg Dictionary. The word is repeatedly mentioned in the Rigveda and later.

26. Sarpī-Keśa Keśa mixed with Sarpī i.e. a preparation of milk, rice and Ghee.

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87. AS of Kautilya Ed. by Kangle, Part I (Text) 2.24.1, p. 77.
88. Quoted by Om Prakash, BD1, p. 134, f.n. 6.
91. NS 3.39.
93. NS 3.39.
27. **Sarsa**

Mustard or mustard-seed. This was known in the later Vedic times. The Editors of the Vedic Index say, "Sarṣapa—denoting 'mustard' or 'mustard seed' occurs only a few times in later Vedic texts." It is mentioned in Sūttanipāta and Dhammapada. Kauṭilya also mentions it.

Shri Om Prakash quotes, "Sarṣapa (Brassica Campesbri, Hindi-Sarson) is mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, and Sūtras. The white variety (Brassica alba) was considered good as it was called Siddhārtha. The red variety was also known to Kauṭilya. The Aṅgavijjā mentions a variety called Rāja Sarṣapa. Huen Tsang noted that mustard oil was in common use.

28. **Sāli**

One type of rice. This type is not mentioned in the Vedic literature. In the Buddhist and Jain works its three famous varieties Raktasāli, Kalmaśāli and Manasaśāli are mentioned. In the Upāsaka Daśāṅga Sūtra, we are informed that Kalmaśāli was cultivated in Magadha and is recommended as the best food. In Pāṇini also Sāli is distinguished from

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94. NS 2.46.
96. Quoted by Om Prakash, FDAI, p.71, f.n.3.(X
97. AS of Kauṭilya, edited by Kangle, Part I, (Text) II.15.16.
98. FDAI, Appendix VI, p.265.
99. NS.3.20.
100. Mentioned by Om Prakash, FDAI, p.58.
101. Ibid. fn.1.

29. **Siddhārthaka:**\(^{105}\) White mustard. It is mentioned in Kautilya as Gaura sarsapa.\(^{106}\)

30. **Sīthu(dhu):**\(^{107}\) One type of liquor. In the Uttarādhyayana sūtra and Jhātādhamakathāṅga it is described as distilled from juice of Sugarcane.\(^{108}\) On the authority of the Rāmāyaṇa, Shri Om Prakash says, "Sīthu, which was the daily drink of the non-Aryans, was distilled from the juice of sugarcane and Dhaski flowers."\(^{109}\) Sīthu is also mentioned in Kālidāsa as an intoxicating drink.\(^{110}\) In Garaka and

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102. Pāṇini, V.22.
104. Quoted by Om Prakash, FDAI, Appendix, VI, p.262.
105. RS 3.20.
107. RS 3.40.
108. Quoted by Om Prakash, FDAI, p.75, f.n.6.
110. Raghuvamsa, XVI, 52, Mālaviyā. IV.p.
carasidhu-prepared from sugar, (ii) Pakvarasa Sidhu-prepared from boiled juice of sugarcane, (iii) Sitarasa Sidhu-prepared from unboiled juice of sugarcane, (iv) Guđa Sidhu-prepared from treacle and flowers of Dhātaki, (v) Aksikisidhu-prepared from the bark of aksa."

31. *Surea* Spirituous liquor. This was the popular beverage of the Vedic times. The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Sūrā is the name of an intoxicating 'spirituous liquor' often mentioned in Vedic literature. In some passages it is referred to favourably, in others with decided disapproval. It is classed with the use of meat and with dicing as an evil in the AV, and often with dicing. It was, as opposed to Soma, essentially a drink of ordinary life. It was the drink of men in the Saucha and gave rise to broils." The learned editors further inform us, "Its exact nature is not certain. It may have been a strong spirit prepared from fermented grains and plants, as Eggeling held or, as Whitney thought, a kind of beer or ale. Geldner renders it 'brandy'. It is sometimes mentioned in connexion with Madhu. It was kept in skins."

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111. Quoted by Om Prakash, FOAI, p. 152, f.n. 1.
112. NS 3.40, 42.
The Vinayapitaka mentions five kinds of Sura prepared from rice-meal, cakes, boiled rice, ferment and with spices.\textsuperscript{115}

Sura is also mentioned in Panini.\textsuperscript{116} We know that Kautilya has devoted one whole Adhyaya for the duties of a Sura-dhyaka.\textsuperscript{117}

The Rāmāyana mentions two varieties of Sura: ordinary one and the fermented one.\textsuperscript{118} Suraśava is also mentioned in Mahābhārata.\textsuperscript{119}

According to Caraka, it was also prepared from Madhulika variety of wheat.\textsuperscript{120}

we know that in Sanskrit plays royal Kṣitigarbha ladies and other officers of the kings are shown in the habit of drinking Sura.

32. **Tandula.**\textsuperscript{121} Husked rice. Shri Om Prakash believes that "The word Tandula(husked rice) also seems to be of Austric origin. This leads us to the conclusion that these people probably used rice as the staple food grain."\textsuperscript{122}

From Caraka we learn that Bhṛṣṭa tandula-parched rice was used in preparing a porridge.\textsuperscript{123}

In NS Tandula is mentioned along with Se.\textsuperscript{124}

\textsuperscript{115} quoted by Om Prakash FDAl, p.75.
\textsuperscript{116} Panini 11.1.25.
\textsuperscript{117} AS of Kautilya, edited by Kangle. Part I. (Text)
\textsuperscript{118} Rāmāyana, Ay. 52.89; 55.20; 91.21. (Quoted by Dr. Om Prakash, FDAl, p.118.
\textsuperscript{119} Mbh. Mauns. 16.29. (Ibid p.119).
\textsuperscript{120} quoted by Om Prakash, FDAl, Appendix.VIII.p.300.121, NS3.20.
\textsuperscript{122} FDAl, pp.1-2.123. Caraka, Su. 27.257. (Quoted by Dr. Om Prakash, FDAl, p.130).
33. **Utkārika**. A preparation of cake made from rice flour and milk, treacle, and clarified butter.

This new preparation of food came in vogue in the Gupta period. Shri Om Prakash says, "Besides the old preparations of rice a new one was Utkārika. A variety of this cake prepared with rice flour and milk and clarified butter of a goat with some medicines was considered aphrodisiac."  

Arunadatta equates it with Lāpasikā. If so it can be identified with Gujarati Lāvasī.

In the NS it is mentioned with Odana.

32. **Yava**. Barley. This was known to the Indian people during the pre-Vedic times. Specimens of barley have been found among the ruins of Mohenjodaro. It was also probably known to the Vedic Indians. The editors of the Vedic Index say, "Yava in the Rigveda appears to be generic term for any sort of 'grain' and not merely 'barley'. The latter sense is probably in the Atharvaveda and is regular later. The barley harvest came after spring, in the summer. That barley

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124. NS 3.42.
125. FDAI, p. 170.
126. Ibid.
127. Quoted by Om Prakash, FDAI, p. 293.
128. NS 3.20.
129. John Marshal, (Vol. I, p. 27.)
was cultivated in the period of Rigveda is not certain, but on the whole very probable."\textsuperscript{130}

Shri Om Prakash says, "Cereals formed a very important part of Indian food and among cereals the most important place was occupied by barley. In the Atharvaveda it is called one of the two immortal sons of heaven i.e. barley and rice. It was ground and formed into cakes which were dipped into ghee before eating. Sweet cakes (Arūpa) of barley flour were also prepared."\textsuperscript{131}

During the Sūtra period also barley and rice continued to be the most important food grains. An inferior variety of barley is also mentioned in addition to common barley by Panini.\textsuperscript{132}

Shri Om Prakash says, "Yava (Hordeum Vulgare, Hindi Jau)-According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it has been grown in India from very remote times. It has been identified in the Indus valley and was the staple food grain of the Ṛgvedic Āryans. A wild variety is mentioned by Pāṇini and Pliny. Hauṭilya calls it Yavaka, probably it may be identified with oats. A large variety is called Atiyava by Susruta."\textsuperscript{133}

\textsuperscript{130} VI., Vol.II, p.187.
\textsuperscript{131} FDAI, pp.7-8.
\textsuperscript{132} Panini, IV-149.
\textsuperscript{133} FDAI, p.263.
We know that barley is also used for preparing an āsava. This can be identified with Gujarati Java.

Over and above these things various fruits and roots are also mentioned as offerings to be offered to the sages in the NS.

From this data we can say that both the types of food, viz. Vegetarian and non-Vegetarian were in use in the society depicted in the NS. Various types of Surās, āsavas and sweet drinks were also in vogue.
Chapter 14

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The twenty-first Adhyāya of the NS is devoted to what is called Āhāryābhinaya, which means representation of a character through artificial aids. For this purpose various kinds of Nepathya i.e. costumes, ornaments, make-ups are described. It, therefore, supplies interesting details about costumes and ornaments of various types of men and women of different status, as well as the dresses and ornaments with which the images of gods, goddesses and other kinds of divinities are dressed and ornamented.

This Adhyāya describes three kinds of Vesa or costume viz. Śuddha, Vicitra and Malina. Śuddha is explained by AG as Sukla vāstra i.e. white garments. In contrast, Vicitra means coloured, many-coloured or painted. Malina means soiled or of a dark colour, gray, dark-gray or black.

The classes of people who wear pure white dress are old Brahmins, heads of merchant class,

1. NS 21.122.
ministers, chaplains, merchants in general, the Kañcukis, the ascetics, Brahmás, Ksatriyas, and Vaisyás in general and those who are local officers.³

The occasions on which all people have to wear white dress are mentioned thus: Going to the temples, observing some auspicious rite or vow or at the conjunction of some Tithis and stars, or at the time of marriage or any other sacramental rites.⁴ The Prayatnikas also wear white dress. The word is explained by AG as Vinita i.e. disciplined or trained persons.⁵ The word, however, seems to mean, some particular class of office bearers.

The Vicitra or many-coloured costume is worn by Devas, Dānavas, Yaksas Gandharvas, Uragas, and Rāksasas. It is also worn by kings and lovers.⁶ Generally the kings wear coloured dresses, excepting on the occasions of affliction under any evil star. Sūdha costume is recommended for such occasions.

The Malina i.e. the gray or dark coloured clothes are worn by Unmatta, Pramatta, travellers, and those who are in any calamities.⁷

³. NS 21.126-127.
⁴. NS 21.123.
⁶. If we accept the reading Kamuka for Karkasa.
⁸. NS 21.126-127.
In case of pure costumes the clothes and the upper garments should be made white, in case of coloured costumes, the clothes and the upper garments should be of a red colour or of other bright colours. In case of the soiled costume, the colour should be dark grey.  

General instruction about costumes is that it should be made according to the nature of the people: e.g. the Tāpasas wear Cīras, Valkalas and Carmas.  

These words are explained by AG thus: Cīra means short thick bark of a tree. The Valkala is opposite e.g. the bark of Bhūrjapatra. The Carma is the skin of deer, etc. The dress of the Parivṛjakas, Mūnis, and Śakyas should be Kāsāya i.e. of brown red colour.  
The Pāśupatas wear clothes of various colours. The people of the lower castes should wear the dress according to their custom. Persons appointed in a harem should wear robes of brown red colour.  

Another instruction is that men should wear clothes according to the state in which they are e.g. warriors should wear military costumes. They should bear different kinds of weapons, armours, bows with quivers tied.  

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9. NS 21.  
12. NS 21.132.  
13. NS 21.132.  
15. NS 21.135.
the region, caste, or age. Another general instruction is that the clothes of women and men should be according to their status of higher castes, middle castes and lower castes. 16

Head gears and Hair styles:

Verses 67 to 70 and 139 to 156 describe different types of hair styles and head gears. A general instruction regarding this is that "Pratisīra of gods and human beings should be in accordance with the region, the caste and age." 17 The word Pratisīra lit. means something resembling head. 18 The word Pratisīra is explained by AG as "Prakṛtirūpa śirāḥ," i.e. the head having the form of the original. So this would be something like a mask of hair, something like modern wigs expressing different hair types. In verse 149 we have the word Pratisīra also, which should also be taken in this sense.

The general word for head gear for gods and kings is Makuṭa, Mukuṭa or Makuṭa. These are said to be of three varieties: Pārśvagatas, Mastakins, and Kiritins. 20 The Pārśvagata or Pārśvāgata would lit.

16. NS 21.137.
17. NS 21.139.
20. NS 21.140.
mean, that which comes down up to sides (of the head) i.e. temples. The Mastakin would mean, that which covers the top part of skull. Kirita means crown proper.

Another word that we find is Mauli, e.g. Parsvamauli, Sirsmauli.

The Mukuta, Makuata, or Makrta is a general word for ornamental head-dress. We also have Ardhamakuata. The word Vestana which lit. means tying round, is also there. Now let us consider the meanings of the three words Mukuta, Mauli and Kirita as given in the lexicons.

The three meanings of the word Mauli given in Amarakosa are: Cuda - head tail, Kirita and tied hair. Hemacandra in his Abhidhānacintāmani states "Mukutam punaḥ maulih kiritam kotiram uśniśam." i.e. the synonyms for Mukuta are Mukuta, Mauli, Kirita, Koṭir and Uśnīśa. Amarakosa takes Mukuta and Kirita as synonyms - "Mukutaṁ kiritam". From these lexicographical references we can say that Mauli, Mukuta and Kirita are synonyms.

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23. AK, II. 102, p.16.
24. In Mānasara, the head-gears, in respect of form (shape) and measure are classified as Jata, Mauli, Kirita, Karanda, Sirsaka, Kuntala, Kesabhandha, Dhammila, Alaka, Cuda and Mukuta (Mānasara, Eng. Trans. Dr. P.K. Acharya, p.484).
NS informs us that the Mukutas of Devas, Gandharvas, Pannagas, Rākṣasas should be Pārśvamauli or Pārśvavartin,\(^{25}\) the crown coming down or covering the temples. This is the variety mentioned as Pārśvagata or Pārśvāgata. The Mukutas of the highest gods should be of the Kiritan type proper.\(^{26}\) Dr. T. A. Copinath Rao explains Kiritaka Mukuta thus. "Kiritaka Mukuta is a conical cap sometimes ending in an ornamental top carrying a central pointed knob. It is covered with jewelled discs in front or on all sides and has jewelled bands round the top as well as the bottom."\(^{27}\) The Mukutas of the middle class of gods are called Maulins while of the lowest class are called Pārśvamauli. The Mukutas of the kings should be on the head proper. So also of Vidyādhara, Siddha, and Gānaṇas.\(^{28}\)

The Rākṣasas, Dānavas, and Daityas wear head-gears made of their yellow hair knotted. The best amongst them should wear Pārśva-mauli crown.\(^{29}\)

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25. NS 21.141.
27. Elements of Hindu Iconography, p. 29). This type of Mukuta is exclusively reserved for Nārāyana among the gods. Among the human being the same is prescribed for Sārvabhauma Cakravartins or emperors, Adhirājas or superior governors of provinces. (Ibid. p. 20).
29. NS 21.145.
The head-gear of an army chief and a crown prince is called Ardhamukuta.\textsuperscript{30} The Mahāmātras, the Amātyas, the Kaṇcukins, the Śreṣṭhins, and the Purohitas should wear turbans,\textsuperscript{31} i.e. pieces of cloth tied round.

The following do not wear any head-gear, so their hair-types are described in the NS. The Pīṣācas, the Unmattas and the Bhūtas, the Śādhakas, the Tapasvins and those whose vows are not completed wear long hair.\textsuperscript{32} The head of Śākyas, Śrotiyas, Nirgrahthas, Parivrājakas, Dīkṣitas and Yajña-dīkṣitas should be clean shaven.\textsuperscript{33} In the case of those who are following some vows or the rest of the Lingins (sectarian ascetics), the head may be clean shaven or the hair may be curly or may hang loose.\textsuperscript{34} The hair of the rogues and those who have their work in night and amorous persons should hang curled hair.\textsuperscript{35} On the heads of the young boys there is what is called Trisikhaṅḍa (three tufts of hair). The sages wear what is called Jaṭā mukuṭa i.e. the head-covering made of their knotted hair. The heads of the Cetās may be shaven or they would have three Śikhās.

\textsuperscript{30} NS 21.148.
\textsuperscript{31} NS 21.149.
\textsuperscript{32} NS 21.150
\textsuperscript{33} NS 21.151
\textsuperscript{34} NS 21.152
\textsuperscript{35} NS 21.153.
The Vidūṣaka should have a hāṭh head or head with the Kākapada lit. just a small hair like a foot of a crow.

The verses 146 and 147 explain what made the head-gear necessary. According to Vedic sacrificial ritual, the hair is to be cut off and sometimes there has to be clean shaved on the head. At a that time some sort of covering of the head was desired. Another reason was that the hair were short. For this purpose the ṭukūṭa-dhāraṇa has been traditionally prescribed.36

In the same Adhyāya verses 67 to 70 describe rules for the hair styles of ladies of different regions. The young ladies of Avanti have curling hair and the ladies of Gauḍa are generally to have Alaka i.e. lock of hair and they are to have the Śikhāpāda and the Venī. The young ladies of Ābhīra region should have to Venīs and their heads generally have an encircling band. The ladies of the North-East countries are to hold up their Śikhandās tails of hair. The ladies of the South should have Ulekhya with Kumbhipadaka and Āvarta (curl) on the forehead.37 For the hair-styles of the other characters we are informed that they should be regulated in accordance with their regions and castes.38

36. NS 21.2146-147
37. NS 21.7-70.
38. NS 21-72.
Various types of moustaches and beards: The NS gives a general prescription regarding the provision of moustaches and beards to the actors according to the regions, times and ages of the characters which they have to represent. From these descriptions, we are able to visualize the customs of having different types of moustaches and beards of men of different regions, times and characters.

Four types of Śmāśān are prescribed. These are (i) Śuddha (white), (ii) Vicitra (cut in various fashions), (iii) Syāma (black), and (iv) Romasa (bushy). AG explains these types thus: Śuddha means clean shaved with a razor. Vicitra means stylish shapes made with the scissors and razors. Syāma means black or dark blue i.e. hair allowed to grow after shaving) and Romasa means natural hair. The Śuddha Śmāśān is prescribed for Liṅgins (ascetics of different religious sects), Amātāyas (ministers), Purodhas (Chaplains), Madhyasthas (Settlers of disputes) and persons who have consecrated themselves for any ritual. The Vicitra type is prescribed for celestial males like Siddhas and Vidyādharas as well as for mortal kings, princes,

39 NS 21.114.
40. NS 21.114.
dependents of the king, gallants and persons who are intoxicated with their youth. The Syāma type is prescribed for persons who have not completed their vows, ascetics, unhappy persons and men hurt by calamities. The Homaśa type is prescribed for Rsis (Vedic Seers), Tāpasas (ascetics) and Dīrghavratahaṁ, i.e. persons observing a long-standing vow.  

Ornaments and Decorations:

Ālamkāra (decoration) is thus explained in the NS: Ālamkāra consists in the making of garlands, of ornaments, and of clothes in a variety of ways to suit the major and minor limbs of the body. NS prescribes a list of varieties of ornaments both for men and women. It also speaks about the Anjana of eyes (application of collyrium to the eye-lashes or the inner coat of the eye-lids) and Raṅjana of lips (reddening of lower lips). It prescribes also the colouring of the teeth with various colours.

NS speaks of Mālyā (wreath) to be made in five forms: Vēṣitā (encircling), (ii) Vitata (Spread-up), (iii) Saṃghāṭya (grouped), (iv) Granthīma (knotted), and Pralambita (hung-down).

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42. NS 21.115-120.
43. NS 21.10.
44. NS 21.11.
NS describes four types of Abharaṇas (Ornaments) viz. (i) Āvedhya: to be fixed by piercing the limbs such as Kundāla, etc. (ii) Bandhanīya: to be tied up, such as Sroni-Sūtra and Anīgada, (iii) Prakṣepya: to be put on, such as Nūpura, etc. and (iv) Āropya: to be put round, such as Hema-Sūtra, and different types of Hāra. 45

Clothing (Ācchādana lit. covering of the body) is of many kinds manufactured in different industrial towns. It is of three types i.e. Pure (white), red, and of variegated colours. 46

Ornaments for males:

Ornaments for the various limbs of the body such as head, ear, neck, finger, forearm, wrist, breast, waist, etc. are described in detail. The ornaments for the head are Cudāmanī (crest jewel) and the Mukūṭa (crown). According to AG Cudāmanī is to be worn on the head, and Mukūṭa is to be worn above the forehead. 47

Kundāla (ear-ring), Mocaka (ear- pendant), and Kīla (ear-top), are the ornaments of ears. 48 Mukāvali, Harṣaka and the

45. NS 21.12.
46. NS 21.51.
47. NS Vol. III (GOS), p. 111. Dr. P.K. Acharya believes that Cudāmanī implies the crest of a cock or peacock (Mānasāra, Eng. Trans.), p. 488. According to Mānasāra the width of all the Mukūtas (crowns) should extend along the extremity of the hair (on the forehead) from ear to ear (lit. from one earing to the other) (Ibid. p. 485).
48. NS 21.16. According to AG Kundāla is to be worn on the lower lobe of the ear and Mocaka is to be worn in a hole in the middle of the ear. According to him Kīla it to be worn in the hole on the ear top and is known as Uttarākarpikā (NS GOS, Vol. III, p. 111).
Hema-sūtra are the ornaments of the neck.⁴⁹ Veṣṭika and Aṅguli-mudrā (finger-ring) are the ornaments of the finger.⁵⁰ Hastali & Valaya are the ornaments of the fore-arm.⁵¹ Rucaka and Gūlikā are the ornaments of the wrist.⁵² Keyūra and Aṅgada are the ornaments above the elbow.⁵³ Trisara and Hāra are the ornaments of the breast.⁵⁴ Vyālambita Mauktika Hāra (Suspended pearl necklace) and wreath are


⁵¹ NS 21.18. Dr. M.M. Ghosh believes that Hastali or Hastavi is very rarely mentioned in Sanskrit literature (NS Eng. Trans. Vol. I Revised Edn. p. 414, fn. 17.1). He identifies Valaya with Bengali Bala (Ibid). It may also be identified with Gujarati Balaīyā.

⁵² NS 21.18. According to AG Rucaka is an ornament spread over the rounded hand, above it is Gūlikā i.e. Gujarati Gadi. It is known as Nikuncaka also. This is the ornament proper of wrist.

⁵³ NS 21.19. According to AG Keyūra is to be worn above the elbow and Aṅgada is to be worn above it.

the ornaments for the entire body.\textsuperscript{55} Talaka and Sūtrakā are the ornaments of the waist.\textsuperscript{56} After describing the ornaments for men NS describes ornaments and decorations for women.

\textbf{Ornaments and Decorations for women:}

The varieties of ornaments prescribed for women vary in number and form from those prescribed for men. Practically they cover all the limbs of the body of a woman.

The Śikhāpāsa, the Śikhāvyāla, the Piṇḍipatṛa, the Ćūḍāmanī (Crest Jewel), the Mākārīkā, the Mūktājāla (Pearl-net) with large meshes and the Śīrṣajolakā are the ornaments of the head.\textsuperscript{57} Kandaka, Śikhipatra, Vepīpuccaḥa with thread, are also the ornaments of the head.\textsuperscript{58} After describing the head ornaments, the NS informs us that the Tilaka on the forehead should be made by many artistic touches and by group of designs above the eyebrows should imitate flowers.\textsuperscript{59}

\begin{itemize}
\item[55.] NS 21.20.
\item[56.] NS 21.20. According to AG Talaka is to be worn below the navel. Sūtrakā is an ornament to be worn below Talaka. (NS Gos. Vol. III, p. 112).
\item[58.] NS 21.23.
\item[59.] NS 21.24.
\end{itemize}
The Karṇika, the Karṇavalaya, Patrakaṇṇikā, Kuṇḍala, Karṇamudrā, Karṇotkilaka, the various kinds of the Danta-patras (ivory-sets) set with jewels, and the Karṇapūra, are the ornaments of ear. 60

The Tilaka and the Patralekhā are the ornaments of the cheeks. 61 also.

The Triveni is an ornament of the breast. 62

After describing the ornaments of head, NS describes the decorations of the face of a woman. The two eyes are to be touched with collyrium and the lips are also to be painted. The teeth are to be coloured with various colours and the four of them may have whitness. NS further informs us that when dyed with turmeric their beauty is enhanced. Pearl-like teeth of beautiful young women embellish their smile, and the teeth dyed with the colour of lotus-petals will be charming and when dyed with the colour of precious stone (asma) will attain the beauty of blossoms and amorous look will constitute their charm. 63 The Muktāvalī (pearl-necklace), the Vyālapaṅkti (snake-group), the Maṅjarī, the Ratnamālikā (jewel string), the Ratnāvalī (jewel-necklace) and the Sūtra (neck-chain) are the ornaments of the neck. 64

61. NS 21.27.
62. NS 21.27.
63. NS 21.28-31.
64. NS 21.31-32.
also informed that the necklace with two, three, or four strings as well as a golden chain, is the ornament of the neck. The necklaces with the most artistic work are the ornaments of the breasts. The Manijāla (jewelled net) is an ornament of the Stana. 65

The Kharjūraka and the Ucchītika are the ornaments of the fore-arm. Kalāpi, Kaṭaka, K Saṃkha, Hastapatra, the Pūraka, and the Mudrāṅgulīyaka are the ornaments of the fingers. 66

The saṃsārā with Taḻaka covered with Mauktikajāla, the Mekhalā, the Kaṃcī, the Raśānā and the Kalāpa are the ornaments of the hip. The Kaṃcī is a girdle of one string, the Mekhalā is of eight strings, the saṃsārā is of one string, the Mekhalā is of eight strings, and the Raśānā is of sixteen strings and the Kalāpa is of twenty-five strings. 67 We are informed that in case of goddesses and queens, there should be a combination of thirty-two strings, sixty-four strings or one hundred and eight strings. 68

The Nū pura, the Kīṃ kini, the Chaṇṭika, the Ratnajālaka, the jingling Kaṭaka are the ornaments of the angles. The Pāda-patra is an ornament of the shanks and the Aṅgulīyaka, the Aṅgaustānatilaka are the ornaments of the feet. 70

After describing the ornaments of the feet, NS describes the various patterns of lac-dye for their application. The lac-dye is to be applied to the feet in various patterns to impart the natural colour of Asoka blossoms.\footnote{71. NS 21.42.}

While concluding this section the author of the NS informs us that "These are the decorations of women from the hair to the nails of the feet. Keeping in view the mental states and sentiments these are to be \textit{applied} used for the different parts of the body."\footnote{72. NS 21.43.} He also informs us that these ornaments are to be applied after considering the popular tradition, measurements and the colour of the body and practices mentioned in Visvakarma's work.\footnote{73. NS 21.44.}

In a dramatic production one is not entitled to decorate limbs freely and at one's will, with gold, pearls, and jewels. We are further informed that the jewelled ornaments applied with a sense of proportion and put on in proper places will beautify the limbs of the body. But in the production of a play, there should not be too many ornaments, because they will \textit{tire} out the actors.\footnote{74. NS 21.45.}
and actresses while making prolonged movements. Moreover weighed down with heavy ornaments, one is likely to be exhausted and to faint. Hence ornaments made of pure gold should not be used. Here the author of the NS recommends use of the ornaments made of lac and inlaid slightly with jewels. In verse 73 we are informed that the ornaments not put in their proper places would create no beauty. e.g. wearing a mekhalā (girdle) on the breast, one will create laughter. In a dramatic production the ornaments should be used according to popular tradition and the rules prescribed in the works of Visvākarma.  

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74. NS 21.45-47.
75. NS 21.48.
76. We do not know any of the work written by Visvākarma. Generally in Indian tradition, he is accepted as the first Architect of this Universe.
Chapter 15

ETIQUETTE

Etiquette means conventional code of good manners. It consists of conventional rules of personal behaviour in polite society. It also includes court ceremonies.

In the NS we get this information mainly in Adhyāyas 13 and 17. The 13th Adhyāya gives rules regarding the types of seats to be given to the various personages of different status. The 17th Adhyāya gives rules regarding the different languages and dialects to be spoken by the different classes of people. The same Adhyāya, in a similar way, gives rules as to how persons of different status are to be addressed. So also the endings of the names of persons of different classes are given. We begin with the languages and dialects to be spoken by different classes of people.

Sanskrit is assigned to four types of Heroes viz. Dhiroddhata (self controlled and vehement), Dhirođatta (self controlled and exalted), Dhiralalita (self controlled and light-hearted), and Dhiraprasānta (Self controlled and calm). The Parivrājakas, Munis, Sākyas, Cokṣas, Śrotiyas, Śiṣṭas and the Liṅgasthas speak Sanskrit. It is also used by queens, courtesans, female artists to suit special conditions and times. The

2. NS 17.32-35.
courtezans also speak Sanskrit for the pleasure of all kinds of people and in connection with the practice of arts.

Prakrit is assigned to Vyājaliṅga-pravīṣṭas (Sectarians in disguise), Śramaṇas, Tapasvins, Bhiksus, Cakrācaras, Bhāgavatas, Tāpasaḍa, Unmattas, men and women born in low class, eunuchs and children. The celestial nymphs, while they move on the earth, should also be assigned this language.

Māgadhī is used by the guards of royal harem. It is also used by the diggers of the subterranean passages, guards of drinking houses and grooms. In times of calamity the heroes may also use this dialect. Ardhamāgadhī to the Ceta, princes and the leaders of the Bankers' guilds. Prācyā is to be assigned to Jester and the like and Āvantī to the Dhūrtas (gallant crooks).

The heroines and their female friends use Śūrṣenī. The Yaudhas (soldiers), Nagarakas (police chiefs of the city) and the like speak Dākṣinātyā language. The people of the North use Bāhlikī. Sakāri is to be used by the Sakāras, the Sakas and other groups of the same nature. The Pulkasas and the like use Cāṇḍāli. The

3. NS 17.36-37.
4. NS 17.45.
5. NS 17.51-52.57.
6. NS 17.52.
7. NS 17.54.
Aṅgārkaras (charcoal-makers), Vyādhas (hunters) and those who earn their livelihood by collecting wood and leaves speak Sābarī. Ābhīrī or Sābarī is to be used by those who live in places where elephants, horses, goats, sheep, camels, or cows are kept in large number. Drāvidī is to be spoken by foresters. This is all about the languages and dialects of the various classes of people.

Now let us see the various modes of address.

We are informed that generally a person is to be addressed by a term appropriate to his birth or to his vocation, art or learning practised by him.

As the great sages are adorable even to the gods they are to be addressed as Bhagavan. Their wives are also to be addressed in the same manner. So also gods, Liṅgins, and Nāṃbrutadharas (persons learned in different branches of learning).

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8. NS 17.55-56.
9. NS 17.56.
10. NS 17.77.
11. NS 17.67. In Abhi.Śaṅk.kaṇya is addressed by his disciple in this manner. (Act.IV). Similarly Mārica is addressed by Daṇyanta (Act.VII).
12. NS 17.68.
13. NS 17.68. In Abhiśekanaṭaka of Bhāsa, we find Agni and Varuṇa mār addressed in the same manner. (Acts.VI, IV).
The Brāhmaṇas are to be addressed as 'Ārya'.

A king may be addressed as 'Mahārāja'. He is also to be addressed by his servants as well as his subjects as 'Deva' but when he is Sārvabhauma (emperor), he is always to be addressed by his servants as 'Bhaṭṭa'. The Rṣis should address him as Rājan or by his patronymic name. In this rule the Brāhmaṇas are given exception. They may address the king at their pleasure, by their names. NS informs us that this should be tolerated because the Brāhmaṇas are superior to kings i.e. Kṣatriyas.

The Vidūṣaka should address the king as 'Vasya' (friend) and the king should also address him in the same manner.

14. NS 17.69. In Madhyamavyayoga Brahmin Kesāvadasa is addressed by Bhima in this manner.

15. NS 17.69, 80, 81. In Pratimā Nāṭaka, Sumantra addresses Dasaratha as 'Mahārāja' (Act. II). Similarly in Abhisekanāṭaka Rāvana is addressed by Vibhisana (Act. II). In the same drama Vibhisana refers to Rāma as 'Deva' (Act. VI. 26. 3). In Mādrāsākṣa the Kaṁcukin addresses the king as 'Deva'. In Abhī. Sāk. Yavanikā addresses the king Duṣyanta as 'Bhaṭṭa' (VI. 24. 10).

16. NS 17.81.

17. NS 17.70.

18. NS 17.81. In Abhī. Sāk. the Vidūṣaka addresses the king in this manner (II. 2. 1). In Mālavikā also the Vidūṣaka addresses the king in a similar way (V. 3. 18).
The Saciva is to be addressed by Brahmins as 'Amātya' or 'Saciva' and by other persons inferior to them as 'Ārya'. The crown prince is to be addressed as 'Śvāmin' and other princes as 'Bhārtrāraka' or 'Saumya' or 'Bhadramukha'. 'He' precede the names of inferiors.

Employees such as Karukas and Silpins are to be addressed by these very names. Marsa - an employee on the stage is addressed as Bhāva, while a person lower than Marsa as Mārṣaka. The chariot rider should always be addressed by the charioteer as 'Āyuṣman'.

19. NS 17.71. Dr. M.M. Ghosh says that no example of this rule seems to be available in any extant drama. (NS Eng. Trans. Vol. I. Second revised Edn. p. 334, f. n. 7. 1)

20. NS 17.76. Dr. M.M. Ghosh says that no example of this rule seems to be available in any extant drama. We, however, find dramas using Śvāmi as a form of addressing a king. e.g. In Svapna, Yaugandharayana address Udayana in this way. (Act. VI. 17. 1). Sylvain Lévi has discussed the use of the word 'Śvāmi' in inscriptions. (IA. Vol. XXXIII, p. 163). We have also discussed this point in Chapter 10 page 314.

21. NS 17.76.
22. Ibid.
23. NS 17.73. In Mālavikā, the king addresses Haradatna a teacher of dramatic art in this manner. (I.2.4).
24. NS 17.74. In Abhishekāntaka of Bhāsa, Pāripārvāvaka addresses Śtrādrāhāra as 'Bhava' and Śtrādrāhāra addresses him as 'Mārṣa' (I. 6. 8). Dr. M.M. Ghosh says that the word Mārṣaka does not seem to occur in any extant drama while Mārṣa occurs very often. (See. Uttara. I. 4. 7, and Mālavikā. I. 13). (Op. Cit. p. 335, f. n. 10. 1).
The Vidūṣaṭka should address a queen and her maids as 'Bhavati'(lady). All women address their husbands as 'Āryaputra(Father in law's son) when young, otherwise they are addressed simply as 'Ārya'. If he is a king, he should be addressed as 'Mahārāja'(great king).

An Upādhyāya (a teacher) is addressed as Ācārya, and a Vṛddha as 'Tāta'. A disciple or a son is to be addressed by the Guru or father as 'Vatsa' and 'Putraka'. The elder brother is to be addressed as 'Ārya' and the younger brother should be addressed as one would address a son.

26. NS 17.32. Dr. M.M. Ghosh says, Bhavati in the Jester's speech would be Bhodi e.g. The Jester addressing the queen's maid in Svapha (IV.0.23), also addressing the queen (Malāvika, IV.4.23) and addressing the queen's maid Susāmga (Ratnāvalī, IV.0.30) (NS. Eng. Trans. Vol. I(Second revised edn., p. 339. fn.5).

27. NS 17.33. In all the Sanskrit dramas this rule is maintained. In Urubhanga (I.32.2) Gandhari addresses Dhārtarāṣṭra as 'Mahārāja'. In the same way in Vikram, IV.39.2) Urvasī addresses the king.

28. NS 17.69. In Mudrāraksasa, Cāṇakya is addressed by his disciples in this manner.

29. Ibid. In Pratīma-Nāṭaka, Bharata addresses Sūmantra, and old charioteer, in this manner.

30. NS 17.78. In Pāṇcarātra, Droṇa addresses Duryodhana in this manner. (I.22.3). Dr. M.M. Ghosh says that the form 'Putraka' does not seem to occur in any extant play. Droṇa addresses Duryodhana as Putra (Paṇca.1.233.) In Urubhanga, Duryodhana addresses his son in a similar way. (I.42.3).

31. NS 17.84. In Pratīma, (I.21.2) Lākṣamana addresses Rāma in this manner. In Venīsāṁhāra, Sahādva also addresses Śīma in a similar manner. (I.19.12).
An ascetic and Praśānta (one whose passions are quite) is to be addressed as 'Śādhu'. The Śākyas (Buddhists) and the Nirgrāṇhas (Jain monks) are to be addressed as 'Bhadanta'. Persons of the other sects are to be addressed by the terms enjoined by their own rules. AG explains that Śākyas are Saugatāḥ and Nirgrāṇhas are Kṣapaṇakaṃ. According to him Sesah Pāsandās mean Pāṣupatas and the like.

equals are to be addressed by the name which they bear. They are also to be addressed as 'Vayasya'. A person of low status should be addressed as 'Ham ho'. Superior person may be addressed by name by the inferior persons when the latter are privileged to do so. This is all about the modes of address to men.

32. NS 17.75 In Aśvāhi. Śāk. Puṣyaṇa's priest addresses the two disciples of Kasyapa in this manner. (Act.V,2.6).
33. NS 17.79. In Mudra. Kṣapaṇaka is addressed by Rākṣasa and Siddhārthaka as Bhadanta. (IV.18.2;V.2.1). Dr.B.N. Ghosh is of the opinion that a Buddhist monk is rarely met with in extant dramas. Asvaghosa's drama included such a character, but one cannot say from the fragments how he was addressed. (Op.Cit.p.333, i.2.13.1)
34. NS 17.79.
35. NS (GOS). Vol.II.p.381.
36. Ibid.
38. NS 17.74. In Mudrārākṣasa, Siddhārthaka and Samiddhārthaka address each other in this manner.
40. NS 17.72. In Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa, Hamsaka refers to Yaugandharāyaṇa in this manner. (I.2.4).
Now let us see the modes of address for women.

The female ascetics and goddesses are to be addressed as 'Bhagavati'. The wives of the teachers and the local officers are also to be addressed as 'Bhavati'. The Gamyā (accessible woman) is to be addressed as 'Bhadre' and the Vṛddhā as 'Ambā'. The wives of the king are to be addressed as 'Bhaṭṭinī', 'Svāminī' and 'Devī'. Of these 'Devī' should be used for addressing the Mahisi (Chief queen) by her servants as well as the king. The remaining wives of the king may be addressed as 'Svāminī'. The unmarried princesses are to be addressed by their maids as Bhartrīriki. An elder sister is to be addressed as 'Bhaginī' and an younger sister as 'Vatse' (child).

41. NS 17.26. In Mālavikā, the king addresses the Parivrājikā in this manner. Similarly in Vikramo, Kaśchak små the female ascetic. (V.9.2).

42. NS 17.26. In Pratimānātaka, Sumantra addresses the widowed wife of Daśaratha as 'Bhavatyah' (III.12.2).

43. NS 17.26-27. Dr. M.K. Ghosh says that no example of Svāminī being used in addressing such a wife seems to occur in any extant drama. In Vikram Nipūnikā addresses the queen as Bhaṭṭinī (II.12.19). In Mālavikā Nipūnikā addressing Iravati the second of Agnimitra uses the term Bhaṭṭinī (IV.17.8).

44. NS 17.29-30. Dr. M.K. Ghosh is of the opinion that no example of this type seems to be available in any extant drama. (NS Eng. Trans., Vol. I Revised Edn., p.341, f.n.28.1).
A Brahmin lady, a Lingastha or a Vratinī should be addressed as Āryā (lady). Similarly a wife is to be addressed as Āryā or by referring to her father's or son's name. Women friends while talking with their equals should use 'Hala' (friend). A superior woman should address her Presyā (hand-maid) as Ḥamje (servant).

The attendants of a courtesan should address her as Ajjika and if she is a mother of a courtesan, as 'Attā'.

In erotic mood the Bhāryā (wife) should be addressed as 'Priyā' by all except the king. The wives of the Purodhas and Sārthavahās should always be addressed as 'Āryā'.

In this Adhyāya, in verses 95-100, the author of the NS has given a tradition prevalent in the society for the endings of names of persons of different castes. The names of Brahmini's and Kṣatriyas should be in accordance with their Gotra and profession.

45. NS 17.90-91. No. example of this rule seems to be available in Sanskrit dramas. In Mrcoh, Śatradhāra addresses his wife as 'Ārye'. As regards to the manner of addressing a wife by referring to her father's or son's name AC gives examples of Mātharaputri (Māthara's daughter) and Somasarmā-Janani, (Somasarma's mother) by as Dr. M. M. Ghosh says, no example seems to occur in any extant drama. (NS. Eng. Trans. Vol. I. Second Revised Edn. p. 342, f. n. 4.

46. NS 17.91-93. This type of address is common in Sanskrit dramas. In Pratimā (1.4.21), Sītā addressing her maid and in Mālavikā (III. 14.1), Iravati addressing Nipūnikā speaks in this manner. i.e. Ham-je. In Gāridatta (II.6.6), the Ganiṅka is addressed by her maid as Ajjukā. Dr. M. M. Ghosh says, "The word Ajjuka (Āryaka, OLA) 'Madam' afterwards came to mean 'heterae' as in the title of the Prahasana Bhagavadjūkīyam by Baudhāyana Kavi."

47. NS 17.93. 48. NS 17.94. 49. NS 17.95
A Brāhmaṇa's name should end in 'Sarman' while that of a Kṣatriya in 'Varman'. The names of merchants should generally end in 'Datta'. The names of the Kāpālikas should end in 'Ghanta'. The names of brave ones should suggest valour and exhortation. The names of queens should indicate victory; viz. Vijayavati, etc.; as explained by the commentator. The names of the courtesans end in Datta, Mitra, and Sena. The names illustrate this by the proper names: Devadatta, Vasantasena, Vidagdhamitra. Names like Vasavadatta indicate that names

50. *NS 17.96, Cf. Manusmrti Adhyāya-II.32 and the commentary of Kulluka Bhāṭṭa. A Brāhmaṇa's name should end in 'Sarman', a term suggesting 'Rakṣa' is for Kṣatriyas; 'Puṣṭi' for Vaiśyas and Pṛṣṭha or servant for Śūdras. According to Kulluka's explanation a Brāhmaṇa's name should end in 'Sarman', a Kṣatriya's in 'Varman', a Vaiśya's in 'Bhūti' and a Śūdra's in 'Dāsa'. His illustrations are Subhasarma, Balavarma, Vasubhūti and Dīnādāsa respectively. He quotes Yama as follows: A Brāhmaṇa's name may end in 'Sarman' or 'Deva', a king's in 'Varma' or 'Trata', a Vaiśya's in 'Bhūti' or 'Datta' and of Śūdra in 'Dāsa'. He also quotes Viśu Purāṇa. According to it a Brāhmaṇa's name ends in 'Sarman', a Kṣatriya's in 'Varman', a Vaiśya's in 'Gupta' and a Śūdra's in 'Dāsa'. (*Manu. Ch. II.32, p.44).

51. Ibid. We can quote the names of Carudatta of Mṛcch.

52. *NS 17.96. In Mālatīmādhava, we come across a character of this name viz. Aghoraghaṇṭa.

53. *NS 17.97.


55. *NS 17.98.


57. *NS 17.98.

ending in these words were not exclusive for the courtesans. Names of women ending with Dattā, Mitrā, and Senā must have been common in higher classes of society but not exclusive to them. The courtesans of a higher order must have adopted the names with these endings. The Preṣyās (maid servants) have names of various flowers. e.g. Bakulāvali in Mālavikā. But this practice should not be taken as exclusive, because a minister's daughter could be called Mālatī. The names of servants should have auspicious suggestions. The commentator illustrates this by Siddhārthaka. Superior persons should have names of high significance. The commentator illustrates this by Aksobhya. The rest of the persons should be given names in accordance with their caste and work.

Let us now note the rules given in Adhyāya 13 regarding the types of seats to be offered to different personages.

The author of the NS informs us in a general way that a king should offer seats equal in height to his equals, to persons of medium importance the seats of middling height, and to persons who are superior to him should be given a more elevated seat, while the low persons should be asked to sit on the ground.
The Simāhasana (lion-seat) is to be given to Brahmāṇas, gods, kings, chief queens, female relatives and high-born wives of the king. The Vedrāsana (cane-seat) is to be given to the Purodhas, Āmātyas, and their wives. The Sthāniyas (local officers), who are of high birth and possess learning, should be honoured by the king with suitable seats. The Muṇḍāsana is to be given to a Senānī, a Yuvarāja and a Devi. Kaṭhāsana is to be given to the Brāhmaṇs and Kuthāsana to the Kumāras. The Bhoginīs should be given seats of cloth, skin or carpet. The Patāsana (seats of woven silk) should be given to the wives of Brahmāṇs and female ascetics. The seats of Maṣuraka are to be given to the wives of Vaiśyas. The other women should be asked to sit on the ground.

All these modes of etiquette indicate a society in recognized forms of status. It gives clear picture of social hierarchy. It also throws light on the social decorum maintained in the various classes of the society mirrored in the NS.

68. NS 12.224. 72. Ibid.
69. NS 12.216. 73. NS 12.220.
74. Ibid.
Chapter 26

"RELIGIOUS SECTS AND CREEDS"

In the NS we come across these names mainly in Adhyayas 2, 17 and 21. Adhyaya second, which deals with the Mandapavidhāna, mentions Pāśaṇḍas, Sramaṇas and Kāṣāyavasanas. Here we are informed that while performing the ceremony of laying the foundation, undesirable persons such as Pāśaṇḍas, Sramaṇas and Kāṣāyavasanas should be turned out. Adhyaya 17, which deals with the use of speeches for the different characters in a play, prescribes rules for the use of Prakrit and Sanskrit. Here we are informed that Prakrit should be assigned to Vyājalingapravisthas, Sramaṇas, Tapasvins, Bhikṣus, Cakrācaras or Cakradharas, Bhāgavatas and Tāpasas. Sanskrit is to be assigned to Parivrājakas, Munis, Sākyas, Cokṣas, Śrotriyas, Śiṣṭas and Liṅgasthas. In verse 97 of this Adhyaya, which seems to be interpolated, Kāpālikas are mentioned. Adhyaya 21, which deals with the Āhāryābhīnaya, prescribes rules for the costumes and hair dress of Rṣis, Tapasvins, Tāpasas, Munis, Nirgrantha, Sākyas, Śrotriyas, Parivrājakas, Sādhakas, Yatis, Pāṣupatas, Liṅgins, Vratyānugas and Yajñadīkṣānvitas.

1. NS 2.37
2. NS 17.37
3. NS 17.38
I arrange these names in their alphabetical order:

Bhāgavatas, Bhikṣus, Cakracaras or Cakradharas, Coksas, Kāpālikas, Kāśāyavasanas, Liṅgins, Munis, Nirgraṅthas, Parivrājakas, Pāśupatas, Pāsaṇḍas, Sādhakas, Sākyas, Śramaṇas, Śrōtriyas, Tapasvins, Tāpasas, Vratānugās, Vratamāsthitas, Yatis and Yajñādiśānvīitas.

These names denote their religious sects. Let us try to identify them in the religious and historical perspective of Ancient India.

1. **Bhāgavatas**: The word literally would mean any worshipper or follower of Bhagavat, which should mean any holy or worshipable person. Amarakośa uses this word for Buddha, but it is commonly used for the worshippers of Viṣṇu, and according to Sabdakalpadruma, worshippers of Uṛgā also. But just as much as the Bhāgavatas are assigned Prakrit, it is doubtful whether the word is to be taken as denoting the respectable followers of Viṣṇu cult. Therefore, we may accept the identification of Bhāgavatas with Devalakas given by AC.

Devalakas are described in Amarakośa as persons whose livelihood depends upon attendance.

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4. NS 17.37
6. Sabdakalpadruma, Vol.II.
on idols of any deity particularly Viṣṇu and his incarnations. They are like the Puṣṭris of modern times. They are mentioned in Manusmṛti amongst Brahmins unfit for invitation in a Sraddha. They are mentioned in Śūdravarga by Amara in his lexicon. It is therefore, appropriate that they are assigned Prakrit.

2. **Bhikṣu** It is a general word suggesting any religious mendicant. According to Amarakośa a person in the fourth Āśrama or period of life is called a Bhikṣu. Such a Bhikṣu, however, is supposed to speak Sanskrit. So it is a question as to who are meant by Bhikṣus in the NS. The fact that they are assigned Prakrit would go to show that they must be Śramaṇa Bhikṣus. Bhikṣu generally means a Śramaṇa ascetic, particularly the Buddhist. In Majjhimanikāya and several Pali texts Buddha addresses his disciples as Bhikkhavo.

3. **Cakracara or Cakradhara** The first reading Cakracara is explained by AG as those who make their livelihood by a wheel or disc. From the context here, it would mean that they also belong to some religious sect or creed. In the Sarvadarsānasamgraha of Sāyāga Mādhava (14th Cent.)

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10. NS 17.36.
11. AK.11.7.3.p.166 (Comm. Shantuji Diksit).
12. See Majjhimanikāya, etc.
13. NS 17.36.
15. Sarvadarsānasamgraha, p.133.
A.D.), we are informed that a man who bears Abhitapta Cakra (heated wheel or disc) attains Svarga. This Cakra is one of the emblems of Lord Visnu. This reference occurs in the description of Pūrṇaprajña system, and the verses quoted in this connection are referred to Sākalya Samhitā by Śeṣaṇa Mādhava. This is, therefore, a sect of Vaiṣṇavism.

4. Cokṣas  Abhinavagupta explains this word as follows: "Cokṣa bhagavata-viṣeṣa, ye ekayana iti prasiddha" i.e. Cokṣas belong to a particular sect of the Bhāgavatas i.e. Vaiṣṇavas. They are identified as Ekāyanas by him. If these Ekāyanas are the same as Ekāntikās, we refer them to the Pāñcarātra system.

The NS assigns them Sanskrit. Dr. M.M. Ghosh accepts this word in a different manner.

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16. NS 17.38.  
18. NS 17.33.  
19. Dr. M.M. Ghosh accepts this word as an adjective of Srotriya and translates it as 'pure'. He is of the opinion that "The adjective 'pure' (Gauksa) used with Srotriya is possibly to separate him from an apostate who might have entered into Jain or any other heterodox fold and was at liberty to use Prakrit." (NS. Eng. Trans. Vol. I (Second Revised Ed.), p. 327.)
5. **Kāpālikas:** NS mentions Kāpālikas in the 17th Adhyāya while prescribing the rules for giving names to the various characters in a play. Here we are informed that the names of the Kāpālikas should end in 'Ghanta'.

The earliest reference of Kāpālikas can be traced to the Maitrāyaṇi Upaniṣad. They are also mentioned in the Purāṇas and Tāntric works. Rāmānuja in his Śrībhāṣya, gives interesting details about their religious beliefs and practice: Rāmānuja tells us that "Kāpālikas maintain that a man, who knows the essence of the six marks (Mudrikā) and who is skilful in their use, attains the highest bliss by concentrating his mind on the soul seated on the female organ. The six marks are (1) a necklace, (2) an ornament, (3) an ear-ornament, (4) a crest jewel, (5) ashes, and (6) the sacred thread (Yajnopavīta). He whose body bears these marks, is free from transmigration." 

Servadarsānasamgraha mentions Kapali in Rasesvāra system. Kāpālikas belonged to a sect of

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20. NS 17.97.
21. Ibid.
22. Maitrāyaṇi Upaniṣad - "Atha ye canye has vrtha kasayakunda, inah kapalinah." (VI)
24. Servadarsānasamgraha, p. 204.
Saivism. The Kāpālika characters occur in such plays as the Mālatī-Mādhava, the Karpūra Maṇjarī, the Matta Vilāsa, the Pratodha Candrodaya, the Caṇḍa-Kausāka, etc.

Kāpālikas are associated with Śiva-Sāsana and Soma-Siddhānta.

6. Kāśāyavasanaśa\textsuperscript{25} Those who wear brown red garment.

In Adhyāya 21, Kāśāya Vasana is recommended for Parivrājakas, Munis and Śākyas\textsuperscript{26}. Therefore, we may guess that they must be these mendicants. In the second Adhyāya, they are expected to be removed when the foundation ceremony for the theatre building is to be performed.\textsuperscript{27} These, therefore, refer in a general (general) way to Brāhmaṇa and Śramaṇa ascetics.

7. Liṅgastha, Liṅgastha, Liṅgin\textsuperscript{28} and Liṅgin\textsuperscript{29} (Śīṣṭa and Vyāja).

Liṅga is explained by Māheśvara\textsuperscript{30} in his commentary on Amarakośa as Dharmacitā i.e. the sign of a religious sect. NS uses all these words

\textsuperscript{25} NS 2.38.
\textsuperscript{26} NS 21.130.
\textsuperscript{27} NS 2.38.
\textsuperscript{28} NS 17.38.
\textsuperscript{29} NS 17.90.
\textsuperscript{30} NS 12.85, 222; 17.68, 21.116, 152; 24.20.
\textsuperscript{31} NS 23.9.
\textsuperscript{32} Nī K; p.179.
in a general sense suggesting ascetics of particular sects. Abhinavagupta includes amongst the Lingins, Sākyas, Śaivas, and Kāpanakas, who are assigned different kinds of seats. The pseudo-Lingins referred to as Vyājalingapravista are identical with the Lingavṛttis of Amarakaśa. They are deceitful ascetics. They are assigned Prakrit by the NS. While the Śīṣṭa Liṅgasthas mean genuine ascetics of different sects, who are assigned Sanskrit. Liṅgastha is also a respectable nun who is to be addressed as Āryā. Liṅgini, however, is explained by AG as Citrakārī, a woman painter.

8. Muni. This is a general term. They are assigned seats made of the skin of deer. NS assigns them a dress of dark red colour (Kāśāyasana). Their hair should be like a crown of matted hair-Jaṭa-mukuta.

33. NS Vol.II(Goś), p.173.
34. AK. p.179.
35. NS 17.90
37. NS 1.3; 2.1, 4; 8.1,4; 12.213, 222; 21.120, 154.
38. NS 12.222.
39. NS 21.130.
40. NS 21.154. Dr. Manomohan Ghosh says, "The word Muni is evidently to be derived from the Prakrit root 'Muna' to know, which is most probably not of Sanskrit origin." The learned scholar is of the opinion that "This word, probably of non-Indo-Aryan origin, meant in all likelihood 'wise man'. In the ancient world wisdom was usually associated with religious and spiritual elevation. This might have been the reason why the word was applied to persons like Vaśishta and Nārada, etc." (NS Vol.I.Eng. Trans. (Second Revised Edn. p.6. f.n.23.1.)
9. **Nirgranthas**: Jain monks. Nirgrantha means one who is free from a knot. It would mean one whose dress is without a knot and one who is free from worldly knot. The term is used in Jain tradition as an adjective of *mahāvīra*, the last *Tirthaṅkara* and his followers.

The NS informs us that the costumes of the sages, the Nirgranthas and Sākyas, Yatis and Pāśupatas should be made according to their respective rules and practice prevailed amongst the people. **42**

According to AG Nirgranthas are Kāśapaṇakas i.e. Jain mendicants who wear no garments.

The NS informs us that their heads should be clean shaved. **44**

10. **Parivṛṣṭikās**: Wandering ascetics, particularly ascetics of the fourth and the last religious order (Sāatyāsāśrama) who have renounced the world.

The NS assigns them Sanskrit language. **46**

Their heads should be shown clean shaved. **47** Their dress should be of *Kāśāya* i.e. dark-red colour. **48**

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41. NS 17.79, 21.130, 151.  
42. NS 21.130.  
43. NS Vol. II, p. 381.  
44. NS 21.151.  
45. NS 17.32; 21.132, 151.  
46. NS 17.33.  
47. NS 21.151.  
48. NS 21.132.
11. **Pasanda**: Dr. M.M. Ghosh believes that 'Pasada is derived originally from Pārṣada (meaning assembly or community), its Prakrit form was Pāṣada. With spontaneous nasalization of the second vowel it gave rise to Asokan Pāṣaṇḍa (Seventh Pillar Edict, Delhi, Topra), which is the basis of Sanskrit Pāṣaṇḍa in the sense of heretic.\(^{50}\)

According to **Nyāyakośa**, Pāṣaṇḍi means "Vedābhya-gamavihita karmakārī"\(^{51}\) i.e. One who does his actions according to Āgamas, which are not recognised by the Vedas.

12. **Pasupatas**.\(^{52}\) This is a well-known sect of Saivism. Its founder was Śrīkānta, the consort of Uma and son of Brahma.\(^{53}\)

The **NS** informs us that their costumes should be made according to their respective rules prevailed amongst the people.\(^{54}\) In verse 132 of Adhyāya 21, their clothes are described as 'Nānācitrāṇi' i.e. of variegated colours.\(^{55}\)

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49. **NS** 2.37.
52. **NS** 12.86; 21.130, 132; 34.233.
53. **Saiva Culti/s in Northern India**, p. 4 Dr. R.C. Bhandarkar regards Lakulīsa as the founder of this School (See vaishnavism, Saivism and minor religious systems, p. 116).
54. **NS** 21.130
55. **NS** 21.132.
The movements on the stage of the Pāśupatas are thus described: The members of the Pāśupata sect should walk in the Śakāṭāśyā and Atikrāntā Cārīs with haughty steps.\textsuperscript{56}

13. **Sādhakas.**\textsuperscript{57} Those who have consecrated themselves for some rites. NS prescribes their head dress thus: Their head dress should be clean shaved or should have curling hairs or hairs loosely hanging down.\textsuperscript{58}

14. **Sākṣaṭas.**\textsuperscript{59} Buddhist monks. The NS assigns them Sanskrit language. Dr. M. M. Ghosh believes, "There is nothing very astonishing in Sanskrit being assigned to Buddhist monks. Buddhist teachers like Aśvaghosa, Nāgarjuna, Āryadeva, Vasubandhu were all very great Sanskritists, and the Mahāyāna literature was written in the Sanskrit of corrupt as well of pure variety. This might have been the general linguistic condition before the schism arose among the Buddhists." We know that in Sāriputra-prakaraṇa drama of Aśvaghosa, Buddha and his disciples speak Sanskrit.\textsuperscript{61}

\textsuperscript{56.} NS 12.86.
\textsuperscript{57.} NS 21.150; 27.10.
\textsuperscript{58.} NS 21.150.
\textsuperscript{59.} NS 17.38; 79; 21.130, 132, 151; 34.233.
\textsuperscript{60.} NS Eng. Trans. Vol. I(Second Edn.)p. 327, f.n.36.3.
\textsuperscript{61.} SD, p.82.
According to NS the heads of the Sakyas should be clean shaved and their dress should be according to their sectarian rules. Their costumes should be of Kasāya colour i.e. dark-red colour.

15. śramaṇaśi: Monks belonging to Śramaṇic tradition. This term applies to the Buddhist as well as Jaina monks.

The NS assigns them Pārśkrit language. Their gaits should be like those who are observing the vow of Brahmacarya.

16. śrotriyaś: Persons who are expert in Vedic studies.

The NS assigns them Sanskrit and recommends to show their heads clean shaved.

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62. NS 21.151
63. NS 21.130
64. NS 21.132.
65. NS 12.79; 17.36.
66. Dr. M. M. Ghosh believes that the word is to be taken to mean here a Jain monk. (NS Vol. I. Eng. Trans. Second revised Edn. p. 326).
67. NS 17.36.
68. NS 12.79.
69. NS 17.38; 21.151; 34.224, 35.14.
70. NS 17.38.
71. NS 21.151.
17. Tapasvinī.\textsuperscript{72} Ascetics of all sects.\textsuperscript{73}

The NS assigns them Prakrit\textsuperscript{74} because persons of low class and of no education would be amongst them.

Their beard should be shown black\textsuperscript{75} and their hairs long.\textsuperscript{76}

18. Tāpasa.\textsuperscript{77} Those practising austerities.

The NS assigns them Prakrit language.\textsuperscript{78}

Their beard should be shown Romasa\textsuperscript{79}, i.e. bushy. Their head should be clean shaved or should have curling hairs or hairs loosely hanging down.\textsuperscript{80} Their dress should be made of tattered cloth, barks and skin.\textsuperscript{81}

19. Vratamāsthitas.\textsuperscript{82} Those observing vows. This is a general term which would suggest monks who have

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\textsuperscript{72} NS 17.36; 21.113, 126, 131, 150.
\textsuperscript{73} Dr. M.M. Ghosh believes that the author of the NS meant by this term ascetics in general. Though we find Brahmin ascetics in ancient literature, the institution of asceticism was most probably of non-Aryan origin. This seems to be the justification of assigning Prakritic recitation to all the ascetics irrespective of their sectarian affiliation. (NS., Eng. Trans., Vol.1, Second Revised Edn., p.326.
\textsuperscript{74} NS 17.36.
\textsuperscript{75} NS 21.113.
\textsuperscript{76} NS 21.150.
\textsuperscript{77} NS 17.37, 21, 120, 131.
\textsuperscript{78} NS 17.37.
\textsuperscript{79} NS 21.120.
\textsuperscript{80} NS 21.152.
\textsuperscript{81} NS 21.131.
\textsuperscript{82} NS 12.79, 85.
taken certain vows as well as householders who have also taken vows.

20. **Yatis**: This is a term suggesting all kinds of ascetics.

The NS informs us that their costumes should be made according to their respective rules & practice prevailed among the people. 21.

21. **Yajñadikṣānvitas**: who have consecrated themselves for Yajñes.

The NS informs us that their head should be shown clean shaved. 22.

If we classify these names according to the religious sects they denote, we get the following data:

**Brāhmanism:** Bhāgavatas, Bhikṣus, Cakracaras or Cakradharas, Cokṣas, Kāpiśikas, Parivṛṣājakas, Pāśupatas, Srotriyas & Yajñadikṣānvitas.

**Jainism:** Nirgranthas, Śramana and Bhikṣus.

**Buddhism:** Bhikṣus, Sākyas, Śramana.

**General:** Kāśāyasanas, Liṅgasthas, Liṅgasthas Liṅgins Liṅginīs, Minis, Pāṣandas, Sādhakas, Tapasvins, Vratamāṭhitas, and Yatis.

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83. NS 12.79; 21.130; 34.233.
84. NS 21.130.
85. NS 21.151.
86. Ibid.