CHAPTER II
SOCIAL LIFE

Section (i) : The Caste System.

The caste system which was prevalent in the Gupta age, did not undergo any material change in the post-Gupta period. It should be remembered that most of the major Puranic and Smriti texts were compiled in the Gupta period under the direct supervision of caste-conscious Brahmanas and there is undoubted bias towards the higher castes in these works. What we learn from the Jain texts of our period regarding different castes is confirmed by both the non-Jain works and contemporary epigraphs. Foreign writers also help a great deal in this respect. Let us first see how the Brahmanas are depicted, in the Jain literary texts of the early medieval period.

Before analyzing the evidence of Jain works as regards the position of the Brahmanas, we have to take note of what Yuan Chwang, writing in the second quarter of the 7th century, says about them in his famous Si-yu-ki. We quote from the original "There are four orders of hereditary class distribution. The first is that of the Brahman or 'pure living'; these keep their principles and live continently, strictly observing ceremonial purity. Elsewhere he says, "Brahmin clean-headed and unostentatious, pure and simple in life and very frugal". These two statements of Yuan Chwang
who was both a Buddhist and a foreigner, are extremely significant
as they are totally unbiased conclusions of outsider. The statement
of Yuan Chwang regarding the Brahmanas is strikingly confirmed
by that of another Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, who wrote a few
decades after Yuan Chwang. I-tsing, also, places the Brahmanas
above the other castes.

Both Yuan Chwang and I-tsing belonged
to the 7th century and to this period we can assign the
Śvetāmbara commentator Jinadāsagani Mahattara (śaka 598)
and also Revijna the great Digambara author of the Padmanārāṇa
in Sanskrit. It should be remembered that Jinadāsa was almost
an exact contemporary of the Chinese traveller I-tsing
and thus, his testimony is equally valuable. According to
the Nīṣītha Cūrṇī, the Brahmanas are like god and they have
been specially created by Prajāpati himself. It further adds
that the members of this caste are fit to receive all sorts
of donations. Elsewhere, Jinadāsa has carefully distinguished
the Brahmanas from other castes. According to this work, king
Bharata used to feed Brahmins every day. From the Āvalokiteśvara Cūrṇī
we also learn that people honoured the Brahmanas by gudāṇa etc.
The Ācārāṅga Cūrṇī mentions that the Brahmanas were well-
versed in both Prakrit and Sanskrit epics.

The Nīṣītha Bhārhaṇe, 7 (6th century)
testifies to the fact that the Brahmanas spent their days
in educational pursuits. Both the original cannon and the
7th-century commentary refer to the learned Brahmans wandering in different places along with their students and disciples. The Ayasvaka Churni pointedly associates the learned Brahmans with various sacrifices including Agnihotra. The same work mentions a Brahmin called Somalijja and describes him as taking special interest in sacrifices. The Brhatkalpabhashya even refers to human sacrifice undertaken by the Brahmans.

Ravisena, whose Padma Purana was composed in the second half of the 7th century, has given some interesting information on the Brahmans. A satirical representation of a Brahmana called Kapila is given in 35. 11-12, but Ravisena is evidently acquainted with the Smriti passage according to which Brahmanas cannot be killed, for he remarks that Brahmans, Sramanas, cows, women, animals, children and aged people should not be killed.

During Ravisena’s time, Brahmans were mostly poverty-stricken; and this is suggested by a passage of his work.

Another 7th-century poem viz. the Varangacarita provides useful details regarding the Brahmans of that period. It should be noted at the very outset that Jatila, the Digambara author of Varangacarita did not believe in the efficacy of the caste system. This is apparent from
his vigorous denunciation of the caste system in his poem. He also attacks the Vedas which according to him encourage bloody rituals. He taunts the priests pointing out how they are often turned away from the gates of the king and their wrath has absolutely no effect on the potentates.

However, the author is prepared to honour a Brahmāna who is truly educated. The entire caste system, according to Jatila, has really no basis and the only thing that matters is karmā. He also shows no deference for the gods of the Brahmānical pantheon.

Several Jain texts of the 8th century, provide interesting details on the position of the Brahmānas of that time. Among the representative works of this period we would like to refer to the two noted works of Haribhadra viz. the Sañaricnakaḥa and Dhurtakhyāna, the Kuvalavaraḥ of Udyotanasuri and the Harivamanyūraḥ of Jinasena II. In the second bhava of the Sañaricnakaḥa we find the Brahmāna being assigned the most important role in the marriage ceremony. Passages in the eighth and ninth bhavas of this work acknowledge the supremacy of the Brahmānas. Brahmāna sacivas are also mentioned. They are further described as engaged both in teaching and sacrifices. In the ninth bhava we are told that Brahmānas were fed in the Śraddha ceremony.

Let us not forget, however, that the chief villain of the Sañaricnakaḥa was Brahmāna Agnisarman, the son of the chief and the arch-enemy of prince Samaruditya. The role of Agnisarman is similar to that
of Devadatta in the Pali Jātakas. In Haribhadra's second book Dhūrtakhyāna, the author indirectly criticises the Brāhmanical epics and Purāṇas as works full of falsehood. A much more comprehensive account regarding the Brāhmaṇas is to be found in the Kuvalavamala composed in saka 700, corresponding to 779 A.D., at Jāvālipura (Jalor). Udyotasūri, the author of this work, has represented the Brāhmaṇas of his time as studying the Vedas and reciting Gayatrīmantra as well as acting as the Purohitā to the king. The expression Nātha-brahmana, which is used in Kalidāsa's Sakuntala in a euphemistic sense, is utilized here in a laudatory sense. That Brāhmaṇas were excellent astrologers is admitted by the author. Prior to all important matters the Brāhmaṇas were invited and their blessings sought. In times of distress the Brāhmaṇas were sumptuously fed. We also get a reference to Brāhmaṇaśālās of Kausāmibī where mantras were recited. Killing of Brāhmaṇas is severely condemned. The majority of this class, were poor. In times of need they were even forced to undertake menial jobs. Elsewhere, a vivid picture of Brāhmaṇas deserting their homes because of famine, is portrayed. The Jain canonical literature knows of rich Brāhmaṇas, but in later times, it appears many of them had to lead a life of misery. The well-known writer Bāna, it appears from the Harshacaritā came from an orthodox Brāhmaṇa family, as he calls himself a descendant of ancient Somapāvīn Brāhmaṇas. His conversation with Harsha also reveals the colourful life led by a young Brāhmaṇa of those
times. Another Brähmanical work viz. Somesvaras Suryāhotsava echoes the sentiment expressed by Bana in the Harshacarita. Somesvaras work refers to a Brähmana family which served the Gauhaltas from Mularaja I for 250 years. It should be noted, that like Bana's forefathers, the ancestors of Somesvara were good orthodox Brahmanas who performed the ancient Vedic rites for householders. Thus, both the Harshacarita and Somesvaras Suryāhotsava corroborate the statements of the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, who refers to the pure and simple life of the Brähmanas of that time.

It appears from several Jain and non-Jains works that in the historical period, quite a number of Brähmanas gradually took to agriculture which in the earlier literature (cf. epics and Smrtis) was generally reserved for Sudras. The Harivaṃsa Purāṇa of Jinasena II (733 A.D.) refers to a Brähmana farmer called Pravaraka. That the Brähmanas were compelled to adopt the agricultural profession is also proved by the evidence of the Kathasaritsaṃgara which mentions a Brähmana called Somadatta who became a tiller of the soil. The Jataka also refer to Brähmana farmers, a Brähmana farmer of Sravasti of Buddhás time, and another Brähmana farmer has been mentioned elsewhere in these texts.

The Pāñcatantra also mentions a Brähmana agriculturist called Haridatta. All these examples show, that even in quite early times the Brähmanas did not hesitate to embrace an agrarian life. However, it should not be supposed, that all Brähmana cultivators were poor. The Jataka No.484
refers to a Brahmana farmer of Magadha who owned a large estate. Therefore, it seems, that not all Brahmanas were forced to become farmers owing to poverty. It should be remembered, however, that our Smrti writers do not approve of Brahmanas pursuing an agricultural profession, which was exclusively reserved for Sudras in the earlier literature. 48

Although in several Jain texts of the early medieval period the Brahmanas are criticised, their predominance has not been denied. According to the Uttarapurâna of Gunabhadra, a Brahmana could not be given capital punishment. That sometimes, even the members of the highest caste indulged in licentious acts is suggested by the evidence of this work. 50

The rivalry between the Brahmanas and Jains is clearly evident from a story of the Brhatkathâkôsa. 51 We are told how the Brahmaratha of the Brahmanas was destroyed by the Jains. In spite of the fact that the Jain texts mostly disparage Brahmanas, they at the same time recommend the appointment of persons belonging to this class, for certain important posts like minister, purohita and dûta. According to Somadeva's Yâsastilaka, a dûta should always be an aged Brahmana, learned, eloquent, forbearing in the face of provocation and amiable; he should be efficient, courageous, pure, wise, bold and ready-witted. This indirectly proves that in Somadeva's time (10th century A.D.) Brahmanas possessing such exceptional qualities were not rare. It is also interesting to note that Somadeva directly disapproves of appointing low born persons as ministers. In Book III of the Yâsastilaka, we are told how a Vângala king was killed for
appointing an outcaste as minister. Elsewhere in the same work we are told that the low origin of Pamarodara was responsible for his failure as a minister. Therefore, it is obvious, that the Jain writers like their Brahmanical counterparts generally respected the prevailing caste system of the Indian society.

It should further be noted that although in his *Nitivakvāmṛta* Somadeva recommends the appointment of all the three higher castes for councillor, his first preference is for the Brāhmaṇa. In another passage of the *Nitivakvāmṛta* Somadeva once more lays stress on the appointment of councillors of high family, for according to him a lowly born individual never feels secure after committing misdeeds.

Let us remember that most of the Jain works of our period (600-1000 A.D.) were written either in Western India or the Deccan. Therefore, whatever information we get from them pertains mainly to these two areas of the sub-continent. It must be pointed out in this connexion that hundreds of inscriptions which have been discovered from these two regions fully prove that the Brāhmaṇas continued to enjoy all sorts of privilege during this period. We should take particular note of the 15th canto of Somāvāra's work *Surathotsava* which offers a rare glimpse of the exact position held by the Brāhmaṇas in the Gujarat region during the days of the Caukukya kings. In the first few verses of this canto, Somāvāra has described the town of Nagara thus, "There is a city of Brāhmaṇas called Nagara, where the prescribed rituals are strictly adhered to,"
and where the Kali was unable to enter, as it was purified by the three sacred fires viz. Gārhaṇatva, Āhanaviya and Dakshina the people recited the Vedas and even a child was not impure; it was fancied that attracted by the beauty and purity of the place, Gods abandoned the heaven and incarnating themselves as Brāhmaṇas, resided there. In that city among the Brāhmaṇas of the Vasishtha gotra there was a family bearing the surname Guleca. In that family a great Brāhmaṇa called Solaśarman was born, who satisfied his ancestors with the Somajīva in the sacrifices performed by him, and also by doing the Śrāddha ceremony at Prayāga⁴. This Brāhmaṇa named Solasaśarman we are told by the author was the Purohita of Mūla-raja I, who reigned in the second half of the 10th century.⁵⁸ He was like a Vasishtha in the family of the Caulukyas and performed the Vājapeya sacrifice according to proper rituals. His successors also, all of whom were orthodox Brāhmaṇas served the successive generations of Caulukya monarchs. That the city of Nagara or Ānandapura of Gujarāt was a great centre of Brāhmaṇas is also confirmed by contemporary epigraphic references. The well-known Harsola grant dated 949 A.D. of Paramāra Śiyaka II⁵⁹ mentions a grant to the Nagara Brāhmaṇa Lallopadhyāya of Ānandapura. The Guhila princes also claim descent from Nagara Brāhmaṇas of Ānandapura.⁶⁰ The Brhatkathakāva of Harisena also refers to a learned Brāhmaṇa of Ānandanagara.

Although Somadeva recommends the appointment of Kshatriya and Vaiśya ministers along with Brāhmaṇas, in actual
practise, the ministers in early period mostly hailed from the Brahmans caste. According to Prabandhacintamani minister of the celebrated Vakpati Munja (last quarter of the 10th century) was Rudraditya who has been described as a 'King among the learned'. The same work testifies to the fact that this Brahmans minister served Munja with absolute fidelity. From the Garuḍa Pillar inscription also we learn that a respected Brahma family served successive kings from Dharmapala to Narayanapala. We must also remember that quite a number of prominent Jain writers and philosophers of this period were Brahmin by birth. The most renowned literary figure of this age was Haribhadra, who originally was an erudite Brahmin of Citrakūtas (Chitor). Dhanapala, the author of the Tilakaśāṇi and Pushpadanta writer of several Apabhramśa texts were originally Brahmans and such examples can easily be multiplied. It may be noted that in the earlier period Jain savants like Śaṅkumārt (author of the Daśavaikālikas) and Uśṇīśaśānti (the first systematic Jain philosopher) were Brahmans by birth. Even in the canonical texts we find Tīrthaṅkaras like Pārśva and Mahāvīra coming in close contact with Brahmans. The only Jain inscription from Bengal discloses the name of a Brahmin called Nāthaśraman who lived in the last quarter of the 5th century A.D.

The word Vaiśya which in earlier literature meant common people belonging to the Aryan stock, gradually came to denote traders. We should remember that before the
development of industry the Vaisyas (and also a section of
the Sudras) were forced to undertake occupations not assigned
to the Brāhmanas or Ksatriyas. Needless to say, the two major
pursuits were cattle-rearing and agriculture. However,
since the society had to depend on these people for subsistence
they were included in the Aryan system of varna and along with
the Brāhmanas and Ksatriyas came to be called a dvija or
twice-born. The permission to wear the sacred thread was
indeed a great achievement on the part of the Vaiśyas as it
gave them the right even to study the sacred literature of
the Brāhmanas.

In the days of Buddha and Mahāvīra we find the
emergence of a new class called setthi in both Pali literature
and the Ardha-Magadhi Jain canon. The Pali texts contain
several stories about setthi Anāthapindika of Sravasti who
was fabulously rich and at the same time a politically
influential person. In the Jain Ānga texts a few wealthy
setthis are mentioned. It is interesting to note that in
the Pali canon distinction is made between the town setthis
and the setthas of the village who are called jānapada
setthis. The setthi whether of town or village was an
influential and opulent Vaiśya, who mainly depended on trade
for his livelihood. Both the Jain and Buddhist canonical
texts suggest that setthi was not only a term for 'banker'
or 'trader' but also a sort of administrative official. In
this context, we should also take note of the term āhuṣatthi.
found in the Pāli literature, which actually means a minor setthi or trader. It has been argued that the term śāhavati or grhapati (meaning householder) in Jain canon means a Vaiśya. In most cases the householders were rich people and quite a few of them were devotees of Lord Mahāvira. Revati was another respectable and gracious grhapati who helped Lord Mahāvira to recover from a serious illness. Since Brāhmaṇa householders are mentioned separately, it is reasonable to infer that most of the grhapatis mentioned in the Jain canon were Vaiśyas by birth.

In the works of our period we find Vaiśyas playing a very significant part. Most of the principal characters of the Jain narrative literature belong to the Vaiśya or merchant class. A typical example of such a medieval Jain work containing Vaiśya characters is the Brhatkathakosa of Harisena. The majority of the heroes of this highly interesting collection of Kathas or stories are the sons of wealthy town-srēṣṭhis. Story number four mentions one Jinadasa of Rajagrha, another (No. 30) refers to one Dhanadatta of Takka country; we get the names of also Samudradatta of Kauśāmbi (No. 45) and Nāgadatta of Lātadesa (No. 54) etc. Several srēṣṭhis are also mentioned in Jinasena II's Harivaṃsa Purāṇa composed in 783 A.D. We may refer to Viraka and Carudatta mentioned respectively in the 15th and 21st chapters of the work.

We have already noted that even in the
pre-Christian period the Sreshthias played an important role in the administration. The drama Myochakatika even associates them with the Judiciary. That the Sreshthias, particularly of the town, took a leading part in the royal administration in the Gupta period by the evidence of several Damodarpur inscriptions beginning with the Gupta era 124 which refer to the Nagarāsreshthin who formed one of the four members of the board of administration. This shows, that roughly from the days of Lords Mahavira and Buddha, the Sreshthias, who represented the most dominant section of the Vaiśya society, played a pivotal role in the social set-up of ancient India.

Several references to the Sreshthias in Haribhadra's immortal prakrit classic Senevaiccakaha prove that they indeed took a prominent part in the economic life of the society in the 8th century A.D. They also participated in religious activities. The Nagarāsreshthin referred to in Damodarpur Inscriptions are also mentioned in this work. The singularly interesting expression Mahanagarāsreshthin occurs in another 8th century Prakrit work viz. the Kuvalavāmala. Other expressions like Bhadrasreshthin, Mahadhanaftashthin also occur in this work. Regarding the business activities of this particular class, we will have something more to say in the chapter on Economic Life.

The Sreshthias, however, were not the only section of the Vaiśya community engaged in trade and commerce.
Another group of Vaisyas viz. the Sarthavahas were also engaged in commercial enterprises from even earlier times. While the Sreshthins did business from a single place, the Sarthavahas were roving traders and even visited overseas countries for trading purposes. The earliest reference to the Sarthavahas in Indian literature is found in connexion with the story of Mala-Damayanti in the Third Book of the Mahabharata. According to V. S. Agrawala, Sarthavaha is the same as Sastiyanika of Panini. The term occurs in the earliest Pali canon. In the Jain canonical texts the word occurs frequently. That, like the Sreshthins, the Sarthavahas also played an important part even in municipal administration is proved by Damodarpur Inscriptions of the Gupta period beginning from Gupta Era 124. The Sarthavaha Bandumitra of Kotivarsha (N. Bengal) of 1st and 2nd Damodarpur Inscriptions (G.E. 124 and 128) was one of the four members of the Board that governed the vishaya of Kotivarsha in the middle of the 5th century A.D. during the reign of Haragupta I. In two more Damodarpur Inscriptions two Sarthavahas are once again mentioned as members of the all important city-board. So, like the Sreshthins, this particular community of Vaisyas were considered eminent members of society from early times.

In the post-Gupta period, also as our literary texts suggest, the position of the Sarthavahas did not decline. The Kuvalavamsala, that 8th century Svetambara
Jain work, gives us some interesting information about them.

In the story of Dhanadeva of this work, we are told about a young entrepreneur, who was an accomplished Sarthavaha. The Kuvalavamala further mentions Sarthavahās of South India and also of Eastern India. The merchants were fully armed during their journey. Both Udyotana and Haribhadra allude to the armed guards who accompanied sarthas. Another Prakrit work of this period viz. the Camprempurushacarīvāya of Silanka composed in V.S. 925 corresponding to 867 A.D., gives a description of a rich Sarthavaha. The story of Dhana Sarthavaha depicts the qualities possessed by a man of wealth. In a passage of this work, we find rich merchant (sārtha) advising his son as to the proper conduct of a man of wealth. The father counsels his offspring that as decent traders, he should remember that in spite of his youth he must possess the restraint and maturity of old age, and not flaunt his wealth like a garishly dressed person. They should spend their money modestly and even their charitable acts should not be publicised. The above picture gives us a true idea as to the simple and unpretentious life led by a sartha of those times, in spite of his affluence. In another cātāi of the same work, it is stated that there is no difference between the house of Śvēnd (rich man), a servant and a commoner. This highlights the ideal of equality of opportunity.

Not all Vaiśyas however, were Sreshthīs or Sarthavahās. The Kuvalavamala refers to one Vaiśya of the name of Gangaditya who was born in a poor family. It appears that in course of time, the Vaiśyas probably gave up agriculture, as it
was not a very agreeable profession, and the Sudras and other lower classes gradually monopolised it. Even as early as the days of Yuan Chwang the Vaisyas are described only as traders and Sudras as agriculturists.

It, however, appears that the orthodox Brähmanas had little respect for the Vaisyas. Their disdainful attitude is reflected indirectly in the following statements of Al-Biruni. The famous Muslim historian observes in one passage, that in his time, there was not much difference between the Vaisyas and Sudras. Elsewhere he remarks that the Vaisyas are not allowed to read the Vedas much less to pronounce and recite it. If such a thing can be proved against one of them, the Brähmanas drag him before the magistrate, and he is punished by having his tongue cut off. Again in another place Al-Biruni observes "it is the duty of the Vaiśya to practice agriculture and to cultivate the land, to tend the cattle and to render needs of the Brähmanas. He is only allowed to gird himself with a single Yajnopavita which is made of two cords." It appears that Al-Biruni was only making a theoretical statement based on Purānic and Smṛti works which are generally biased against the Vaisyas and Sudras. We have already observed on the basis of a comment by Yuan Chwang, who spent a number of years in India, that the Vaisyas were mainly traders. As regards agriculture we all know that even Brähmanas sometimes adopted this profession and Yuan Chwang himself met a Brähmana agriculturist in India.

We should further remember that the great Harsha,
the patron of Yuan Chwang himself was a Vaisya. Yet, Bana himself in his Harshacarita praises the august family of Pushyabhūtis to which Harsha belonged. Moreover, we know that Harsha's sister Rajyasrī was given in marriage to Grahavarman of Kanyakubja who was of purest Kshatriya blood. Elsewhere, Yuan Chwang says that a daughter of Harsha married the Kshatriya king of Valabhi. Besides Harsha, there was another king of the early 7th century who was a Vaisya. He was the king of Bairat (Po-li-ya-ta-do).

Almost all our earlier works, written before 600 A.D., have represented the Sudras as the most backward section of the society. In the principal Smrti text viz., the Manusmṛti, the Sudras have been asked only to serve the twice-born and especially the Brāhmaṇas. This sentiment is echoed in several later texts. But in Kautilya along with serving of the twice-born (dvijati), agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade (varta), the profession of artisans and court-bards have been assigned to the Sudras. This shows that in the Maurya period, the Sudras were allowed to pursue a number of professions including agriculture, animal-husbandry and trade, which in earlier times were reserved for Vaiśyas only.

Let us not forget that the first man to unify a major portion of India under one royal sceptre was the Sudra Mahāpadma Nanda and from that time onwards in many parts of the country they continued to wield considerable
power. Even the orthodox Smrti writers including Visnu allow a Sudra wife for a Brahmana. The father of Parasara had married a second woman of Sudra origin and had by her two sons of the name of Candrasena and Matsrena. Bana had no hesitation in calling them brothers (bhratafrati). It is interesting to note that according to Yuan Chwang, a number of important kings of different janapadas of India, in the second quarter of the 7th century, were of Sudra origin. They were Mo-ti-pu-lo, (Matipur) near Bihar in Western U.P., and Sindh, "a Sudra and a believer in Buddhism". He was also the overlord of A-tien-po-chih-lo, (probably Kutch) Pi-to-shh-lo A-fan-tu. Therefore, it appears that the Sudra king was practically the overlord of a major part of Western India. This indirectly proves that by the 7th century A.D., the Sudras threw off the yoke of servitude to the twice-born and became both economically and politically independent. It is also apparent from Vadhātithi's commentary on Manu (C. 9th century) that in his time a Sudra was not only permitted to own land but also was not required to serve the other varnas. The Jain works of our period supply useful data on the position of the Sudras during that time. We have already seen that Kautilya allows a Sudra to adopt even a trader's profession. In the Kovalayamala we come across a Sudra caravan-leader (sarthavaha) called...
Dhanadeva who was resident of Takshasila. He was treated like other Sarthavahas.

It is equally interesting to note that like the Smrti writes, the author of the Adipuranam makes the Sudras servants of the three higher castes. Even Somadeva, the author of the Vagabhillaka declares that the Sudras and other low-born peoples are untouchables.

Somadeva also says that only the higher castes are eligible for religious initiation. We are further told that the low origin of a minister called Pamarodara, (whose father was an oilman and his mother a low-born woman) was the cause of all his misdeeds. This indirectly shows that Somadeva believed in the caste system.

In the Brhatkathakoda there is a story which declares that it was a crime for a dvarja to eat in the house of a Sudra. The Brahmana Sivabhuti was excommunicated on the suspicion that he had partaken food and drink with a Sudra. Mahesvara's Jnanaanandakatha tells us a story in which a Brahmana cuts off the hand of his wife because she had been giving him milk received from an Abhiri friend.

A passage quoted by Prof. Dasarath Sharma from a commentary on Haribhadra's Dharmabinda is reproduced here, "Fie on the Brahmana woman who lives like one dead on the death of her husband. We must praise the Sudra female who is respected by all and blamed by none even
Several professional classes were included among the Sudras. According to the Amarakosa, various professional groups were included in the Sudra caste; and they will be discussed in the chapter on Economic Life. However, it should be noted that the Candalas, Vyadhas, Kiratas, Sabaras, and Pulindas fell within the periphery of the Sudra caste. Needless to say, all these peoples were outside the pale of Aryan civilization for a very long time. By the Gupta period, when the Amarakosa was compiled, they were included in the growing Indian society.

Let us take, for instance the Candalas, who are frequently mentioned by Haribhadra in his *Amarakosakabha*. As is well known, according to the Smriti and Dharmastra texts, the Candalas is the offspring of the union between a Sudra and a Brahmana woman. Both Fa-hien and I-tsing have depicted them as outcastes. In the early 7th century text the *Kadambara*, the Kattanga, and Candalas are described as untouchables. The Jain writers of our period also share the same attitude. They are depicted as executioners both in Brahmanical texts and the Jain texts. In the *Upasimitibbavagrasangakabha* it has been asserted that a Candalas was considered an untouchable. Al-Dhirmi also endorses the view of his two Chinese predecessors viz. Fa-hien and I-tsing, by calling the Candalas 'degraded outcastes'. However, some idea about
the life of the Candrašas can be obtained from the \textit{Yagastilakacarita} of Somadeva, where they are described as enjoying both wine and women. It thus appears that the Candrašas in spite of being shunned by society, led a happy-go-lucky existence, caring little for the idiosyncrasies of caste Hindus.

As a matter of fact, the Candraša was an indispensable member of the society, as none could perform the tasks assigned to them. Therefore nothing was done to offend them.

The Śabarās, Pulindas, Barbaras, and Kiratas were collectively called \textit{Mlecchas}. The Śabarās in particular are repeatedly mentioned in the literature of all periods. They are mentioned as early as the \textit{Aitareya Brahmana} and we also find reference to them in the Great Epic. In the \textit{Adipurana} of Jinasena I they are described as a jungle people of the south moving with their bows and arrows. The Book VI of the \textit{Samaraścakāha} gives some valuable details regarding the life of Śabarās in the paliś; their leader was known as \textit{pallivati}. They were usually brave but cruel and a constant threat to the \textit{sārthas} (traders). Their tutelary deity was Candika and this is also confirmed by the Vaishnava \textit{Harivamsa}. The \textit{Samaraścakāha} also refers to Śabara doctors.

Regarding the Kshatriyas, the foreign writers
give us some definite informations. Yuan Chwang, writing in the second quarter of the 7th century, observes, that the "second order is that of the Kshatriyas, the race of kings; this order has held sovereignty for many generations, and its aims are benevolence and mercy". Elsewhere, he praises the Kshatriyas for their unostentatious and pure habits. The Chinese pilgrim has nothing but glowing terms of praise for Indian warriors (mostly of Kshatriya stock). "They are experts with all the implements of war such as spear, shield, bow and arrow, sword, sabre, all having been drilled into them for generations." It should be remembered here that even the earlier classical writers have great respect for Indian warriors. Yuan Chwang, nevertheless, admits that sometimes persons belonging to other castes assumed sovereignty. As he himself records, at the time of his visit, several states like Sindh, Mahesvarapura, Chih-ch-to, Wu-sho-yan-na, Kāmarūpa, Kanauj, Matipur, Pāryatra (Bairat) etc., had non-Kshatriya kings. This shows that a large part of the country in the second quarter of the 7th century was ruled by monarchs who did not possess Kshatriya blood, and even the mightiest king of that time viz., Harshavardhana was a Vaiśya.

In the early medieval period, it seems that the Kshatriyas generally are mentioned by their Kulas (class) and not by gotra. They started using the gotra of their
purohitas in most cases. It is interesting to note that Madhatithi (9th century), in his commentary on Manu observes that the distinction of gotra and brava applied only to Brahmanas; Mitakshara also says that the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas should adopt the gotra and brava of their purohitas in as much as they had no gotra of their own.

The relevant Jain texts of our period also enable us to form an idea of the position of the Kshatriyas in the early medieval times. The Kuvalayamala informs us that the Thakuras were Kshatriyas, and also used to receive gifts of villages from the kings in recognition of their service. Their descendants also used to enjoy the same privileges. The Thakuras also could be Brahmanas as we learn from a few Gahadavala inscriptions. The Kayastha Thakuras were also quite well-known. It is of interest to note that according to Somadeva's Nativakyamrta, a Kshatriya could be appointed as a minister just like a Brahmana or a Vaisya. Epigraphic references show that Kshatriya girls freely married Brahmanas. A number of Guhila princes (who were descendants from Brahmana Guabhatta) married Cahanana, Rashtrakuta and even Huna girls. Another example is the Kshatriya Valabhi king marrying the daughter of Harsha, a Vaisya potentate.

Section (ii) : The Family

We have beautiful descriptions of
family life not only in the two epics, but also in the earlier Vedic literature. As a matter of fact, both the Rāmāvama and the Mahābhārata paint good husbands, dutiful sons, loving mothers, affectionate daughters and at the same times loving wives. We have a poetic description of a small family, living at the town of Ekaśkṛṣṭa in the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata. This description shows that every member of this family had almost equal status in the household. Even the daughter also was equally loved by her parents and the husband regarded the wife as his greatest friend. This particular family, although indigent, belonged to the highest class of society i.e. the Brahmanas. There are some other references to a few poor families in the two epics, where a similar intimate relationship is depicted. In the Buddhist canonical literature, also, there are numerous references to happy family life. The Jātakas particularly refer to families who dwelt in both urban and rural areas. A close study of the Jātakas show that both husband and wife looked upon each other as equal partners in the family, and had unlimited concern for the welfare of each other. The Jain canons, also, throw some light on the family life of those days. The Kalpasūtra particularly shows the close relationship between Siddhārtha and Trisala, the parents of Lord Mahāvīra. Both the husband and the wife, used to address each other as 'beloved of gods' (devanāpāniya or devānapāniya) which shows that they had equal deference for one another.
In the Jain literature of our period we get a very interesting picture of the family life of those days. As pointed out by Prof. J. C. Jain, who quotes Kautilya, the family consisted of the father, the mother, the son, the daughter, and the close paternal and maternal relatives. Let us now discuss the principal members of the family.

From very early times the Father or Pita was regarded as the most important member of the family. As a matter of fact, each member of the family was dependent on the Father, who was looked upon as the Prabhu of the house. Let us not forget that the early Indo-Aryan society was fully male-dominated, and naturally all the members of the household looked upon the father as their sole guardian. The father, too, was required to take proper care of all the members of his household. The earlier literary texts have always depicted him as the source of the families' happiness. The Pannasariyan of Vimala, one of the earliest narrative texts of the Jains, shows, that the father exercised full control over his off-spring and was the ultimate authority in distributing his property to his children. Even he could take action against his disobedient sons. In the Mahabharata, we have the story of King Sagara, who did not hesitate to expel his eldest son and successor in order to satisfy his subjects. The 7th-century commentary the Nisittha Curni represents the father as both the master (Prabhu) and the grhastha (head of the family).
We are further told by the author of that text that all the vital decisions were taken by him. But there is little doubt that in every important matter, he usually consulted his spouse. As the evidence of Kalidasa suggests, the father or husband regarded his wife not only as the mistress of the house, but also his chief counsellor (Saciva).

The Kovalavanāla gives us some idea about the care taken by the father for the members of his household. The Samāraicakaha represents the husband not only as dutiful towards his children but also towards his wife. It is, however, true that polygamy was widely practised not only in the royal families, but also by the commoner. Naturally a person with a number of wives had to face delicate problems in dealing with his spouses. Such a man is hardly expected to do justice to all his wives. However, as the evidence of the play Mrochakatika proves, the hero who was in love with a beautiful prostitute held his own wife in great respect.

The commentary of the Uttāra-dhvāna relates the story of a disgusted husband who did not hesitate to turn his wayward wife out of the house and marry another woman. In this connection we should take note of another story told in the HaVivamakapuraṇa of Jinasena II which depicts a husband as embracing monastic life, after being deserted by his wife.

Ideal mothers have been depicted in our epics and Purāṇas. We have the classic examples of Kausalya in the
and Kunti and Gandhari in the Mahabharata. In the Buddhist literature, too, there are numerous stories about dutiful mothers. In the Jain literature, of our period also, we have some good descriptions regarding loving and affectionate mothers. The Adipurana of Jinasena I shows the mother as mahadevi, sumangale and vasasvinī. The Upamitibhayaprapancakatha also highly praises the mother and it declares that, under no circumstances, can the mother betray her children. The Samarājacakabā repeatedly refers to devoted mothers, whose primary concern was the welfare of her children. It also refers to the fact that mothers had to look after their daughters-in-law. The Adipurana further elucidates that the happiest person at the time of the son's marriage was the mother herself. The Samarājacakabā at the same time, refers to a motivated mother who does not hesitate to kill her son for selfish ends. However, such cases are rare. The Nisītha Gurni depicts the mother also as the arhini, and she is described as the person-in-charge of the internal affairs of the family. She was responsible for meeting the requirements of the other family members, and as noted by M. Sen, she had to manage the family budget.

The most important role in the life of a woman is that of a wife. It appears from our ancient texts that the majority of marriages took place only after the girl had attained puberty. This is suggested by the statement
of Manu himself. The *Mishtha Gurni* also seems to endorse the view of Manu. The Jain writers of our period generally depict faithful and loving wives, although, sometimes bad wives have been mentioned. We may cite the example of Amrtamāti, the consort of Yasodhara, who fell in love with an ugly cripple called Asabanka. We are further told by the author of the *Yagyastilaka* that, ultimately, that bad woman treacherously killed her husband and mother-in-law.

The *Kuvalayamalā* also tells us about the love-affair of a married lady called Suvarnedvī with a prince named Tosala. However, this lady was not exactly an immoral woman, as we are told, that her husband had gone for trading purposes to Lankapuri for almost twelve years. In majority of the cases, however, the wives are delineated as loving and ever faithful. Rajimati, in the Jain canonical literature is represented as a faithful and chaste woman, who followed the footsteps of her husband. In the *Āvsvakavrtti* of Haribhadra we have the curious story of a husband who immolated himself on the funeral pyre of his dead wife. This shows that husbands and wives usually shared a deep bond of love which prompted either to the ultimate sacrifice. The *Kuvalayamalā* of Udyotana also highlights the profound love that a wife cherished for her husband in an interesting story where the wife believing that her husband had fallen in a well, followed suit in true Hindu fashion.

Although from early times the birth of a
daughter was not regarded as auspicious, they were not actually neglected in the family. The evidence of both the Vedic and epic texts abundantly prove that girls received proper education, along with their brothers. They also led a free life and we have stories regarding virgins falling in love with young men.

The fact that Svayamvara was recognised by society, indirectly proves that unmarried girls enjoyed full freedom in ancient Indian society. Bhāsa's Avimaraka reveals the profound love and affection the king Pradyota had for his daughter.

The Jain texts of our period show that daughters received proper education in the family. The Samaśālacakaha emphasizes this point. The same text mentions the fact that daughters received training in literature and painting. The Adipurana also refers to the proper education of daughters. Vatsana's Kāmasūtra also repeatedly refers to various types of arts which a girl should learn. The Ratnavāli of Harsha refers to the painting done by a princess. The Samaralacakaha vehemently denounces uneducated girls who are a source of constant threat to the family. The Kuvalayamāla also confirms that daughters were well-educated when it refers to the heroine Kuvālamālī, writing an incomplete verse, and challenging any man to complete it, whom she promised to marry. The Kadambāri of Bana (written in the first half of the 7th century A.D.) also throws considerable light not only on the freedom of girls, but also on their proper education. It appears
from a close study of the relevant passages of that immortal work that even prince Candrapida considered himself inferior to the heroine Kadambari who apparently was a highly educated woman. The *Dasakumaracarita*, a Sanskrit work of our period, also, indirectly mentions the complete freedom a girl enjoyed in those days by describing the *Kandukakrida* of the princess of Suhma country (W. Bengal). We are told in this connection that this Bengal princess was an expert in this game and people thronged to see her play. That young girls enjoyed a great deal of freedom is also attested by a story in the *Kuvalayamala*. It depicts a young girl leaving the house unattended to go and watch a performance by a group of actors in the village. The *Nisitha Curni* shows that unmarried daughters helped their mothers in her household works. Such a model daughter has been beautifully depicted in Dandin’s *Dasakumaracarita* who pointedly mentions the fact that this particular girl was later accepted by a prince as his wife because of her versatility in household work.

The birth of a son was a moment of great joy in every ancient Indian family. In the *Rajasmita* we find the poets praying for numerous sons. In the two epics also we find the kings performing *vajjas*, for the birth of sons. We may particularly refer to the *Asvamedha Kajne*, performed by Basaratha, for the birth of sons. The widespread custom of *niyoga* also shows that husbands
could go to any length to obtain a son. Two types of sons, such as Aurasa and Ksetra, are recognised in both the epics and Smriti texts. The society even accepted the so-called illegitimate sons. We may refer to the installation of Karna, the illegitimate child of Kunti, as the king of Anga Janapada. The great Vyasa himself was the natural son of Satyavati.

In the Jain works of our period, also, we get a very good picture of sons most of whom have been represented as dutiful and loving. The Samaraiccakāhā in one passage represents a son as bowing to his mother. The birth of a son was celebrated with great pomp and this is evident not only from the Kalpasutra but also from almost all the Jain texts of our period. The Kuvalayavālā particularly gives a good description of the celebration, connected with the birth of a son. The sons from early times received proper education and the evidence of the epics prove that the sons of both Brāhmanas and Kshatriyas received serious training in their early youth. In the Buddhist canonical literature we have the story of Jīvakā's medical training at Takshasila, in spite of the fact that he was an illegitimate son of a prostitute. Udyotana, in his noted work, shows the prince Kuvalayacandra beginning his education at the tender age of eight years under a lekhācārya. This description of his training reminds us of a more elaborate description of a prince's education given by Bāna, in his exemplary style in the Kādambarī. The Brhatkathākāhā of Harishena contains
numerous stories which portray the love and affection of the parents for their sons. We may refer to story Nos. 23, 24 and 25. We have also stories telling us about merchants sending their sons to distant countries for acquiring knowledge in trade and commerce. Such stories are generally found almost everywhere in the Jain literature. The two popular Sanskrit texts viz., the *Pancatantra* and *Hitopadesa* stress the proper education of sons. The *Pancatantra* declares that it is better to have no son at all, than to have an uneducated one. It is, however, a fact that only sons belonging to the three upper classes received some sort of education. The sons of the Sudras and various other despised classes were practically denied any kind of education. However, there were some exceptions. In the *Mahabharata* we have the story of Ekalavya, who although of base origin, received good training in the science of archery. Similar was the case with Sūrya, who was an expert engineer during the time of Avantivarman, king of Kashmir (second half of the 9th century). This man was the adopted son of a Candala woman. According to the *Nisitha Curni*, in the absence of the father, the eldest son (*jettha-putta*) became the master of the house. We are, moreover, told that after the demise of the father, the property was distributed equally between all his sons irrespective of whether any of them were undeserving and prone to vices such as drinking and gambling. The evidence of Bāna shows Harsha's great love for his mother Yasomati and his father Prabhakararavardhana.
He had also great respect for his elder brother Rajyavardhana. We are further told by Bana that Harsha took great trouble to rescue his sister Rajyasri from the dense Vindhya forest. 220

The pattern of family life was a joint one in which different members of the family like brothers, uncles, grandfather and grandsons lived together under one roof and shared in the joy and sorrow of the house. Sometimes, however, as the evidence of the Jatakas suggest the daughters-in-law often quarrelled with their mothers-in-law. But this feature is common in every ancient society. Despite this fact, family ties were much stronger in ancient Indian society, compared to those in other countries of the world. Perhaps, to emphasize this point, Kautilya's Arthasastra categorically states that the members of a family must live in the same abode, partake the food cooked in the same kitchen, and enjoy the common property. 221

Section (iii) : Position of Women.

The passages scattered in various Vedic texts prove that women enjoyed a high status in society from the earliest historical times. Although, the society was male-dominated, the women were seldom neglected. References to love-marriages and lovers etc., show that child-marriage was seldom approved and marriages took place long after the attainment of puberty. 222 It has been observed that marriage of an Aryan girl with dasvuvarna people (non-Aryans) was not
in vogue. In their early life, girls received education in the house of their parents and we know from Vedic references that highly educated women existed in the Vedic society and competed with men in intellectual debates. In this connection we may cite the examples of Gargi and Maitreyi, the two great women philosophers of ancient times. However, in the Satapatha Brahmana and some other Brahmanical texts, we get uncomplimentary references to women. The absence of large scale polygamy in the Vedic period also indirectly proves that women were not basically neglected in the Vedic times.

It has been opined that by the time the latest sections of the Vedas were composed, the position of women somewhat deteriorated. However, the actual references do not warrant such a conclusion. In this connection we may refer to the view of the Anastambha Dharmasutra, which says that, a wife who forsakes her husband has only to perform a penance to expiate herself. Such a liberal attitude is also to be seen in the Vasistha Dharmasutra which declares that even a wife who has committed adultery becomes pure and is taken back by her husband after she has undergone proper penances. The two epics also paint women quite favourably. We have some of the finest female characters represented in the epics, which indirectly proves that women were treated very honourably in the society of that period. That remarriage of women was not unknown is not only proved by the story of Damayanti's second Svayamvara but also by the clear
statement of the Parasarasmrti, repeated in the Naradasmrtil. Such remarriages are also known to the Buddhist writers.

However, the statement of the Manusamhita that a man of 30 years should marry a girl of twelve or a man of 24 years a girl of eight probably suggests that child-marriages were not unknown in the Hindu society of that period. But in actual practice, it appears, that men generally married grown-up girls.

In the Gupta period, the position of women did not undergo any fundamental change. In this context we may refer to a passage in the Susruta samhita which recommends the marriage of a 25 years old boy with a girl of sixteen. There is little doubt that this authoritative opinion of that medical authority could not be ignored by the serious people of those days, and the evidence of Classical Sanskrit literature proves that our heroines were mature women at the time of courthip. That remarriage was not unknown in the early Gupta period is proved by the marriage of Candragupta II with Dhruvadevi, the widow of his elder brother. However, the evidence of Yuan Chwang shows that widow-marriages gradually became unpopular in the 7th century. Al-Hiruni also has referred to the absence of widow-marriage.

In the Jain texts of our period we not only get references to the free life of those days, but also we come across stories which refer to love and romance between young men and women. In the contemporary non-Jain texts, too, we
get a similar picture and in this connection we should especially mention the *Kadambari* of Banabhatta, written in the first quarter of the 7th century A.D. Banas earlier work *Harshacarita* also reveals the relationship between young boys and girls. The young Banabhatta had some personal friends including a few girl-friends. This shows that even in the villages of those days friendship between boys and girls was not discouraged. The *Kadambari* gives a more complete picture of the love-affairs of those days and the relevant passages of this text depict women in a very favourable light. Bana being a great rationalist, has not spared those people who try to keep women under subjection and his violent denunciation of the practice of widow-burning (*sati*) proves that he was one of the most advanced thinkers of 7th century-India. Varahamihira was another great defender of woman and he has very strongly condemned the hypocritical attitude of men towards women. In the *Brhatasamhita* he has referred to remarried women (*Punarabhya*) and their sons.

In the representative Jain narrative works of our period the free romantic life of those days has been beautifully portrayed. The *Harivamsa-purana* of Jinasena II is probably the most romantic Jain narrative work of our period. Here the hero Vasudeva (and not his son Vasudeva) is shown dallying with heroines like Añgāravatī, Veṣamati, Bandhumatī, Padmāvatī, Kalingasaṇa, Veṣantasena etc. The descriptions of love, preserved in this poem, fully justify
our assumption that love-making was one of the most favourite pastimes of the young people of those days. We have already referred to the story of Vanamāla, the married wife of a merchant, who is represented as falling hopelessly in love with Suṣmāka, king of Kauśāmbi. Such delineations of love-scenes are also to be found elsewhere in the Jain works. In the Adipurāṇa, for example, we have the detailed story of romantic love between Vajrajangha and Srimati. The Jain works, however, mostly refer to marriages between cousin brothers and sisters which were apparently popular in parts of western and southern India.

However, the misogynistic passages are by no means rare in the Jain works of our period. The Paumacarīyāvam pointedly describes women as fickle-minded. We have also stories of their greed and jealousy and at the same time a few immoral women have been depicted by Vimala. We have the example of queen Lalītā who fell in love with an innocent Brahmana who was afterwards betrayed by her. Another such immoral married woman in the Paumacarīyāvam was Upāśambha who did not hesitate to betray her husband for the sake of her own lustful desires. Such stories of faithless women are also to be found elsewhere in the Jain literature. A similar story of love between a queen and a merchant's son has been told in Jayasimha's Dharmaśāntakā. Elsewhere in this work we have the story of Sukumārīka who is also represented as a woman of loose morals. Misogynistic statements are also to be found in the
Yasastilakacampu of Somadeva, who declares "who doth ever make a woman excel is wisdom, desiring his domestic peace? How can a man, who nourishes a serpent with milk, profusely thrive"? The same sentiment is also expressed by Somadeva in his Nityāvāṃrta. As a matter of fact the Yasastilakacampu has the tendency to derogate women and the stories in connection with the treachery of Amśamati told in Book IV of this work also prove the perfidious nature of women. A few such stories are evidently inspired by the Brhatkatha tradition and the Pāṇcatantra. However, Somadeva, on the other hand, has also praised the intellectual abilities of women.

Harishena’s Brhatkathakośa has painted several types of women. We have stories of dedicated women like Urmilla, Buddhimitā, Rohini, and Jinadāsi. The same author has also depicted women in love like Vasantāsenā who was in love with a merchant called Carudatta.

That women of the early medieval period received good education is evident from both Jain and non-Jain works of our period. Both Mahāvēpa and Kadambāri of Kāna’s immortal work were highly accomplished and cultured ladies. In the plays, written by king Harsha, also, we come across sophisticated and highly educated ladies. The poet Harishena in his Padmapurāṇa has represented Kaikeyi as a lady versed in sixty-four arts. This description proves that girls not only received good training in music, but also other branches of learning. The Samarṣicakhāṇḍa also lays special stress on the
education of women, including serious training in literature, painting and fine arts. In Harsha's *Ratnavali* we find a reference to a painting, done by a woman. The princess Kuvalayamālī is represented by Udyotanasūri as a skillful painter as well as a good poetess. All these references amply prove that women of both the post-Gupta and the early medieval period received special training in various branches of learning, and the same impression regarding women is obtained from the historical poem of Kalhana and the plays of Bhavabhuti.

Section (iv): Marriage

A lot of material on marriage is to be found in the Jain texts (both canonical and non-canonical), of our period. But except for one particular feature, we cannot say that their evidences have any special value. The Jain marriage system is exactly like that of the Hindus and almost all types of marriages, enumerated in the Hindu Smṛti texts, are described in the literary works of the early medieval Jain authors. However, unlike the majority of the Hindu literary texts, most of the Jain works of our period are dated and therefore their evidence can be chronologically analysed. Let us first discuss the most popular type of marriage viz., the love or the Gandharva form.

The Gandharva form of marriage is practically as old as the Vedic period. In the epics there are a good
number of stories based on the Gandharva form of marriage, the most popular of which is the union of Dushyanta and Sakuntala, told in the First Book of the Mahabharata. The Ramayana also knows of such marriages; the major Puranas also contain stories in which romantic love-marriages have been generally eulogised. However, the greatest protagonist of romantic marriage is Vatsyayana, the author of the Kamasutra, who regards such union as the best form of marriage, a sentiment echoed also in a few passages of the Mahabharata. The Buddhist canonical works also contain stories of such marriages and in the Jatakas particularly, a few stories in connection with romantic love-marriages are told.

The Jain canonical texts like their Buddhist counterparts relate a few interesting stories in connection with romantic love; but in their non-canonical texts, such romantic love-stories are more abundant. The Vasudevahindi, a text composed probably in the Gupta period, is almost a Jain version of the missing Brhatkatha, which is however, preserved in Sanskrit translations. This particular Jain work is the source of many later Jain literary texts and contains highly interesting love stories. Its hero is Vasudeva, the father of Krishna, who like Naravahanadatta of the Brhatkatha literature, married the princess of every janarada he visited.

In the literature of our period several
stories are told about romantic love. We have the episode of Raktasubhadra told in the Prasnavyakaranatika. Such stories are also to be found in the Tarangaloka and the Prasnavyakaranatika. In the Harivamsa of Jinasena II, a work composed in the last quarter of the 8th century, a highly interesting story is told regarding the love-marriage of a king with the married wife of a merchant. The description of the romantic longing of Sumukha, the king of Kausambi for Vanamala reminds us of the descriptions of Kālidāsa. It is significant that Jinasena II, otherwise a strict Jain disciplinarian, allows a lover to marry a paramātri.

The marriage of a paramātri (in the lifetime of her husband) is also described in a Buddhist canonical text. It should be noted that such a marriage does not have the sanction of the law as not a single condition for remarriage of a woman preserved by Parāśara or Narada is fulfilled. In the unique story told in the Buddhist literature a husband himself is represented as bestowing his wife on another man for marriage with proper rites. Even the Sampradāna ceremony was performed by the husband.

Our Smṛti texts speak of this particular type of marriage which involves the abduction of the girl forcibly by the lover from her relatives. The Jain works of our period know of such marriages. The abduction of Padmināti by Kṛṣṇa is told in the Prasnavyākaranatika. An earlier work viz., the Avadhyaśaṅkunī composed in the 7th century A.D., describes at length the abduction of Cellaṇā by Śrenika. Udayana also is represented as marrying
Vasavadatta in the same text by the Rakshasa form. Krishna's marriage with Rukmini described in various Jain texts was also similar. As a matter of fact, it appears, the Rakshasa form of marriage was considered second most popular form, after the Gandharva type. In both the cases the element of love was present. According to the Mahabharata, the Rakshasa form was proper for kings and Kshatriyas and the marriage of Subhadra with Arjuna is the best example of the Rakshasa form of marriage.

From quite early times Svayamvara or choosing of the husband from a number of suitors was popular in India. Exactly this form of marriage was not known outside the Indian sub-continent. The Mahabharata particularly refers to this form of marriage in several places. We can refer to the Svayamvara of Draupadi told in the First Book and that of Damayanti told in the 3rd Book of the Great Epic. However, in the case of Draupadi, the Pandavas had to prove themselves worthy of the choice of that lovely lady. Damayanti's Svayamvara is regarded as the most ideal form this particular type of marriage. The Raghuvamsha, as is well-known, describes in detail the Svayamvara of Indumati. The historians of Alexander also have shown their acquaintance with this form of marriage. It further appears from the history of the lunar dynasty told in the Adiparvan, that the Svayamvara system of marriage was an age-old practice in India. It indirectly
also proves the high status of woman as this system envisages the selection of the husband by the girl herself.

In the Jain canonical text the *Navadharmakahao*, we have the detailed description of a *svayamvara* which is, however, almost based on the description of the *Mahabharata*. In the *Uttaradhyanatika*, a long description of *svayamvara* ceremony of *Kirtti*, the daughter of a Mathura king is told. It, however, appears that *svayamvara* was popular among the higher castes and not among the poor people. It seems inconceivable that a poor father could afford the expenses of a *svayamvara* ceremony. In the *Bṛhatkalpa-Bhashya*, however, interesting reference is found to the *svayamvara* of slave-girls (*daśaceta*). Even now among some aboriginals some form of *svayamvara* is known.

The marriage of boys with the daughter of their maternal uncles was extremely popular among the Jains from early medieval period. As a matter of fact, in about all the Jain narrative works of this period there are stories of cousin-marriage. It should, however, be emphasized that our law-givers are generally against cousin-marriages. It was known to Baudhāyana and it appears that it was at first popular among the Southerners. According to the 7th-century Jain texts, the *Āryavakacūrṇī*, cousin-marriage was popular in Lata and Dakshinapatha, but was not legal in Uttarapatha. This appears to be a very important statement. Since most of the Jain works of our period were composed in Western India, it is but natural that they should refer to
such marriages repeatedly. It further appears that cousin-
marrige was popular amongst the merchant class than any
other professional caste or class. However, only the maternal
cousin could be married, although sometimes marriage with the
daughter of father's sister was known. There was one obvious
advantage in close-cousin marriage. Probably it did not
involve high financial transactions and the risk of marrying
an unknown person could be avoided.

The Jain Harivamsa of Jinasena II,
composed in the last quarter of the 8th century, pointedly
mentions the custom of cousin-marriage in several places.
However, in all cases the bride was the daughter of the
maternal uncle. References to cousin-marriages will also be
found in several other Jain texts of this period including
the well known Samvatsarakatha composed in all probability
before 750 A.D. The much earlier Paumacariva also
refers to cousin-marriage and an important Bashtakuta
inscription also mentions it.

Remarriage of women, though not encouraged,
was not unknown in ancient India. Even the orthodox Smrti
writers like Narada and Parasara approve of remarriage
of women under five circumstances:

\[
\text{nashta mrte pravrśita klīve ca patite patau}
\text{pāṇcasvāratau nārjñām patiraunī vidhivate}
\]

A careful analysis of the passage quoted here shows that in
all possible circumstances, remarriage was permitted. The Mahābhārata itself, it is of supreme interest to note, refers to the second svayamvara of Damayanti, since in her case the first condition nashta (lost) was fulfilled. In the Therigāthā of the Buddhists, a text composed in the pre-Christian period, we have the story of the remarriage of Isidāsi, the daughter of a merchant of Ujjayini. This lady, we are told, had two divorces and married altogether three times. It should further be remembered that Isidāsi was the daughter of a very influential person, of one of the principal towns of India, and it further proves that remarriage was not discouraged in this part of India. We should also refer to the highly interesting passage of the Mahāvastu, where we find Nanda and Devadatta proposing to marry to Siddārtha’s wife. In this case the third condition presented in the Smṛti texts, namely Pravṛtvya, was fulfilled.

The evidence of Yuan Chwang suggests that widow remarriage was not permitted in India in his time; he also refers to the absence of cousin marriage. This we feel was the custom of Madhyadesa and not of outlying provinces. Alp-Biruni also supports Yuan Chwang’s statement. We have a very well-known instance of widow remarriage in Gupta History. We are referring to the marriage of Chandragupta II with the widow king of his brother Kumāragupta. It is also interesting to note that the son born of this union duly succeeded Chandragupta II (namely Kumāragupta I). As we have already
said, the story of Vanamala, told in the 8th century Jain Harivamsa shows that remarriage of women was possible (chapter 15). Here the second husband does not only legally marry a married lady but also is represented as producing legitimate children by her.

The Jain works of our period contain some fine descriptions of the festivities connected with marriage. The most detailed description of a marriage ceremony of the 8th century will be found in the Samarāhācakha composed by Haribhadra before 750 A.D. Like the Hindu marriage we find here the astrologers fixing the auspicious time of the marriage ceremony. The bride on the morning of the wedding is placed on a decorated stool (āsandira) covered with a white silk cloth. A barber combs and cleans the nails of the girl. After the ceremonial birth she is dressed in a red garment. During the bathing ceremony only women whose husbands are alive, are permitted to take part. Other women also wear red garments on this special occasion. After the bath, the priests shower rice on her head. After this, the bride's friends start decorating her. At first, the lower feet are painted with the paint of saffron; the painting is also done on the pair of thick ear-like breasts. Her face is decorated with sandal pigment mixed with black sandal. Her lower lip is also coloured. Then the women beautify her eyes by applying collyrium. Beautiful jewel
anklets are then tied on her feet. Her fingers are decorated with jewelled rings. Her hips are also decorated with a waist-band made of gems and the jewelled strings on the arms are tied on the part near the arm-pits. The breasts are also made attractive by various types of ornaments, and a pearl necklace is put on her beautiful neck, to the central garment knot. The ears too are coloured by saffron and then jewelled ear-rings are put on them. The pure crest-jewel is then placed on her head.

In the same account the female friends of the bride are represented as indulging in amorous banterings. After wards a beautiful pandal (mandapa) is erected for the marriage ceremony. The father of the bride is then represented as distributing costly presents like silken cloth, made of C-cina and arsha-cina, ornaments like bracelets, necklace, ear-rings, wristlets, horses of various countries (Balhika, Vajjara and Kamboja) to the relations and friends assembled in the pavilion hall.

In the actual ceremony, the bride and the groom circumambulate the sacred fire in which oblations of ghee and honey are offered. At every turn of the couple, the bride's father gave to those assembled, unwrought gold pieces, various ornaments, silver vessels and various types of cloth. The bride-groom's father also gave costly presents to the daughter-in-law.
The *Adipurana* gives the detailed description of the *mandapa* (pavilion) in which the marriage takes place. We further learn from it that even prostitutes used to participate in the marriage ceremony. That the prostitutes were considered auspicious is also evident from the *Ramayana*, the *Mrochakatike*, the *Kamasutra*, and other works. We will discuss the status and position of prostitutes elsewhere in this chapter.

A few details regarding the marriage ceremony are to be found in another *8th century* Jain narrative work namely the *Kuvalavadā*. From this work we learn that the mother-in-law herself decorated her son-in-law for the ceremony. A tilaka is put on the forehead of the groom, who is dressed in the finest white silk. The bride too, is represented here as wearing white silken cloth and not red silk as we learn from the *Samaracaka*. The *Harshacarita* of Bana also refers to the bride wearing white silk. As a matter of fact both red and white were considered auspicious for marriage. We should refer in this connection to the extremely detailed and wonderful description of Rajyārī’s marriage ceremony told in Bana’s *Harshacarita*. There is little doubt that most of the details found in Jain works are similar to that found in the celebrated work of Bana, who himself being a householder had a more intimate knowledge of the different customs, connected with marriage than the Jain monks like Jinasena, Pushpadanta or even...
Haribhadra. One fact of vital importance that we learn from Bana\textsuperscript{316} is that the groom, after the marriage, stayed for ten days in his father-in-law's house.

The Jain works emphasise the role of Brahmans during marriage rites and also clearly mention the fact that Agni was the only witness of the marriage. As a matter of fact, there is no real difference between the marriage described in the Harshacarita and the early medieval Jain works. However Bana in his characteristic way has not missed even the minutest details.

It is also interesting to note that caste considerations could not be ignored even by the Buddhists and Jain authors. More than once in the Pali Tripitaka Buddha admits the validity of the caste system. The Jain canonical authors have repeatedly emphasized that Kshatriyas are the highest caste. The great Jinasena I in his celebrated Adipur\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{318}} has spoken against marriage between different castes. This proves that even in the early medieval period, in marriage, caste considerations could not be ignored. This also fully confirmed by Yuan Chwang,\textsuperscript{319} who wrote more than a century before the author of the Adipur\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{318}}.

Somadeva the celebrated Jain author of the 10th century in his Nitivakvamr\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{320}} recommends that a boy of sixteen, should marry a girl of twelve. However, Susruta,
the earlier Brahmanical authority opines that a grown up man of twenty five should marry a girl of sixteen.

Section (v) : Prostitution

It has been claimed that prostitution was known even in the early Vedic period. The two epics not only refer to prostitutes by such names as vasvā or ganika, but also have nothing but praise for them. The evidence of the Rāmacarita shows that the ganikās were looked upon as auspicious. Kautilya has given a lot of information on prostitution, and it is clear from the relevant section of Kautilya that some of the leading prostitutes of the state like ganika and pratiganika (rival-prostitute) received respectively a salary of 1000 and 500 manas from the royal treasury. The Buddhist canonical texts contain innumerable references to prostitutes and we are told that they received handsome fees both from the state and their customers. The Mahāvagga refers to the influential prostitute (ganika) called Ambapāli (also spelt Ambapalika) of Vaiśāli, who was a lay devotee of Buddha. She has also been prominently mentioned in the famous Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya and we learn from that work that she donated a garden to Buddha at Vaiśāli. The great physician Jīvaka, according to the Mahāvagga, was a son of prostitute Salāvati of Rajagṛha and was afterwards brought up by prince Abhaya, the son of Bimbisāra.
The Kamasutra of Vatsyayana throws a flood of light on the prostitutes of those days and several types of prostitutes are mentioned in this work. They were Kumbhadasi, paricarika, kula, svairini, nati, silnakarika, prakasvinashta, nipa, vesva, and ganika. However, it appears that afterwards the two main types namely Kumbhadasi (common prostitute) and ganika (also called vesva) became more prominent. The great Vasantasena of Bhasa's Carudatta and Sudraka's Mrochakatika was a ganika type of prostitute. The superior position of a ganika of those days, is indicated by the fact that the Mrochakatika describes, Vasantasena as the nagara-ari of Ujjayini.

The Jain canonical works also give a good deal of information on prostitution of those days. The Vinaakasrute refers to a prominent prostitute called Kamadhvaja (Arda-Magadhi Kamajjhaya), who according to that Jain text was endowed with 72 qualities (ganivyaguna). Another prostitute called Sudarsana is mentioned in that text. In the Nvadahemmakabao, the 6th Anga text of the Jains, we come across a prostitute called Devadatta, who resided at Campa, and who was the mistress of a Bohemian Club of that town called Lalita. It is interesting to note that in several later Jain works, this particular prostitute of Campa has been prominently mentioned. The Vasudevahindi, an early non-canonical Svetambara narrative work, also throws light on prostitution.
The *Nigitha Curna*\(^{336}\) not only mentions prostitutes, but also refers to brothels. Altogether four types of prostitutes namely *ganika*, *vesya*, *vesithi* and *vesastri*\(^{337}\) are known to Jinadasa. The text also pointedly asks the nuns to avoid the company of even old prostitutes.\(^{338}\)

The *Varangarita*\(^{339}\) while describing the town of Visita (Ayodhya) refers to its *vesyanganana*, which proves that at the time of its composition (probably 7th century), the prostitutes were looked upon as auspicious. Elsewhere in the text, they are mentioned in connexion with the description of a Jain temple.\(^{340}\)

Several 8th century Jain works like the *Harivamśa* of Jinasena and the *Samarājacakāha* of Haribhadra throw some new information on prostitution prevalent in the early medieval period. The *Samarājacakāha* contains several references to prostitutes.\(^{341}\) Practically everywhere they have been represented as taking part in the marriage-festivals and other social festivals like the *Madanotsava*. The *Adipurāna*\(^{342}\) of Jinasena I associates prostitutes with religious and other activities. It is evident from that work\(^{343}\) that the prostitutes used to take active part during marriage-festivals. The poet Jinasena I has used words like *vārāganā* (7.244) *vāravadhu*, (7.243) *vāramukhya*, (17.85) and *vāravoshit* (17.86) for prostitutes. There is little doubt that these women mentioned...
by the author of the Adipurana, were not ordinary prostitutes, but superior types of ganika, well-versed in different kalas. In the Harivamsa of Jinasena II we are told about the love-affair of merchant Carudatta of Campa (and not like the Mrochakatika, of Ujjayini) and the prostitute Vasantasena, the daughter of another prostitute, called Kalingasena. There is little doubt that the author Jinasena II has cleverly appropriated the earlier story of the Mrochakatika. The character of Kalingasena, who asks his daughter Vasantasena to shun the company of the penniless Carudatta, reminds us of the advice of the procurress Vikarala to the prostitute Malati in the Kuttani-mala of Damodaragupta, which was also written in the 8th century.

The Brhatkathakosa of Harishena, also gives us a lot of information on prostitutes. The story of Carudatta and Vasantasena of Campa has also been given in this work. The story also represents the prostitutes as experts in the game of dice. Another prostitute called Viragati (a resident of Pataliputra) has been mentioned in this work, and in this connexion the poet uses the word panyasti. The Uttarapurana of Gunabhadra mentions not only a prostitute called Buddhishena, but also has the word ganikagrha. However it refers to Buddhishena as a Jain lay devotee. Elsewhere in this work, we have a reference to the prostitute Vasantasena, who is not identical with the prostitute of the same name, mentioned elsewhere in the Jain
literature. In the relevant passage, we are told that Vasantasena was surrounded by many *vitas* (rogues or knaves).

The commentary of the *Uttarādhyavāna* mentions two courtesans called Kosā and Upakośā. The former was in love with the great Jain savant Sthulabhadra. But afterwards, we are told, that she became a Jain lay devotee. Another well-known courtesan was Devadattā, who is mentioned in the 6th Anga text and also the later commentaries. The *Dharmopadesamāla* of Jayasimha (a contemporary of Pratihāra Bhoja) also throws light on prostitution by telling the story of Anangasena, the chief prostitute (nābhāna-sanīvā) of Sravasti.

The above discussion shows that the Jain literature, of our period, gives quite a good deal of information on prostitutes, who took part in the cultural life of the early medieval times.
REFERENCES

2. I. p. 151.
3. Record, p. 182.
4. IV. 13. 4425. See also Jain Agama Sahitya etc. p. 224.
5. Avasvakaūrṇi, p. 213.
6. P. & 123.
7. 13. 4425; See also Jain, Jain Agama etc. p. 227.
11. I. 1456.
13. 5. 2-8.
14. 35. 182.
15. For the date of this work, see A. M. Upadhyā's extremely learned Introduction to his edition of the work, Bombay, 1938, pp. 19 ff. the author according to him flourished at the close of the 7th century A.D. (p. 22).
16. 23. 1-11.
17. 25. 12ff.
17A. Jñānaśila, gūpata Suktam tam Brahmanam Brahmadevopadevānti, 25-43.
19. 25. 40-41.
20. 25. 74 ff.
23. pp. 945, 951.
26. 32, 17, 32.
27. 16, 21.
29. 16, 20.
30. 19, 4 and 20, 26.
31. 63, 6; 105, 31.
32. 68, 18.
33. 82, 32.
33A. 112, 21.
34. 117, 6.
35. 118, 5.
36. 258, 31; 117. 21 ff. See also Kathasaritasagar, and Chandogya Upanisad I. 10.1.
37. See Bhagavat. Book-XVI.
38. Somadeva's Kathasaritasagar. Tawney Vol. I, p. 167 - the story of Pungalika which is found in all the known Sanskrit versions of Brhatkatha (cf. also Brhatkathaslo-kasanraha (9th century); Brhatkathasuniari 11th cent.).

40. Cf. Surathotsava, canto 15; these passages were first discussed by R. G. Bhardarkar in Report of M.S.S. 1933-34.

41. 43, 116.

42. III, Ch. 6; VSS 25 ff.; II, pp. 96-97 (Tawney, Penzer).


44. Buddha's Time (IV, No. 41, p. 104).

45. IV, No. 484, p. 175.


47. Cowell, IV, p. 175.

48. See Kautilya I, 5, L. 4 - since agriculture is included in Ṛātra, it can be taken for granted that agriculture was one of the occupations of the Sudras in the pre-Christian days.

49. Edited P. L. Jain, Delhi, 1968, 70, 155. However, according to the much earlier Jain canonical work the Vinakasruta (Kota ed., p. 200), the Brahmin Brhashpatidatta, son of Somadatta, an old man of 64, was condemned to death by Udayana for making love with the queen Padminati; the Brahmana Gārudatta, according to Mrochakatika was also sentenced to death which finally was not carried out.

50. 70, 153 ff.

51. 35, 7 ff.

52. 3, 11.
53. P. 431.
54. Book III.
55. P. 108.
58. See H. C. Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India, II, pp. 943 ff; see also A. Majumdar, Gaulkyas of Gujarat, Bombay, 1956, pp. 23 ff.
61. P. 247.
64. See Prabhahadintanam, p. 32; see Prabhandhacintananip, p. 32.
65. See N. Premi, Jain-Sahitya aur Itibasa, pp. 225 ff.
66. E. I. XX, pp. 61 ff.
68. See Patthayasa, Mahavinda Seth, p. 950.
69. See for reference to Sheth, p. 950.
70. See Fausboll, Jat. IV. 37.
71. See Bhagavati, IV. p. 199 etc. etc.
72. See Cullavagga, translation Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, S. B. E. 20, pp. 78 also pp. 157 ff; see also Mrochakatika, A., 19.
74. See J. C. Jain, Jain-Agama Sahitya me-Bharatya Sansa, p. 219.
75. The most important was Ananda, mentioned prominently in Upasakadasa. N. A. Gore, Poona, pp. 66 ff.

76. See Bhagavati 15th sataka p. 2462.

77. Gobahula in the Bhagavati, 15th sataka, p. 2374.

78. 9th Act.

79. Select Insps., pp. 290 ff; 336 ff; 347 ff.


82. IV, p. 278.

83. 73. 8.

84. 65. 21.

85. 107. 16; 224. 18.

86. Ch. ed. Geeta Press a Critical Edition; according to the relevant passage the word Sarthavaha means the leader of Sarthas or merchants; this is confirmed by Amarakosa 3. 9. 78.

87. 4. 4. 72. See Panini Kalin Bharatasvarsha p. 227.


89. See Seth, Patyenderasamahayana, p. 962.


91. (at Budhaguptas time) - Sel. Insps., 336 ff and the 2nd of G. E. 224, Ibid. 346 ff).

92. 65-69.

93. 135. 8.

94. 75. 15, 14.
95. 135. 5-8.
96. 135. 1ff.
97. Samācakaha, p. 476.
98. For more details see Kuvalayamala ka Sanskritik
Adhyayana, P. S. Jain, pp. 212 ff; see also Lalanji
100. p. 7.
101. p. 10.28.
102. 56. 31.
103. Waters, I, p. 163.
105. p. 125.
107. See Beal, I, p. 73, see also the statement of Madhatithi
(commentary on Manu).
108. See Beal, I, p. 343.
111. II, p. 246.
113. See Vedic Age, pp. 390ff; and also pp. 454 ff and p. 514.
114. I, 91; IX, 354 f.
118. Watters, I, p. 322, A. G. I (Cunningham) p. 348; the Sudra King here is described as a good Hindu not believing in the tenets of Buddha.
120. See for his date, Kane History of Dharmasastra, p. 48.
121. See commentary, III, 156 of Manu and VIII, 145.
122. p. 65.
123. XVI, 184-86.
124. p. 457.
125. Book VIII, see 48.
127. Story No. 51, Upadhyay, pp. 51f.
128. p. 65 (S. J. G. K).
129. Rajasthan through the Ages, p. 456.
131. II, 10, 5ff.
132. II, 10, 19 ff.
133. See Gautama, IV, 15-23; also S.B.E., I, pp. 82, 91; II, 105; IV, p. 169; XV, 343, 444.
134. Legge, p. 45.
135. p. 159.
138. cf. Mrochakatika, A cT K
139. See Yasastilakacampu, Handiqui, p. 421.
140. Quoted in Rajasthan through the ages, p. 450 - pp. 38, 98, 250, 592, 764 etc.
142. See Handiqui, p. 418 - quoting from Book VII.
143. 35, 6.
144. Critical ed. of Vahabherata, XIII, 35. 17; XII, 65. 13 etc.
145. 16, 168.
147. II, 120; VI, 511; VII, 656-57, 661-62; VIII, 798.
148. VI, p. 529.
150. VI, p. 589.
151. Watters, I, p. 168.
152. I, p. 151.
154. See Majumdar, Classical Account of India, p. 250
156. Ibid; II, p. 251.
158. Ibid, II, 250
159. Ibid, II, 186.
160. Ibid, Max. I, 393.
161. Ibid, I, 322.
162. Ibid., I, 300.

163. See Ojha, Baiputana Ka Itihasa, I, pp. 355-54.

164. For his date see Keith, H. S., L. p. 34-35.

165. III, 5.


167. 50, 26.


170. See E. I. IV, pp. 103f; and E. I. VIII, pp. 152-53 etc.

171. 10, 5.

172. See A inscription of V.S. 1034 - I. A. 39, pp. 191 ff, also Bhandarkar List No. 35.


174. I, chapters 145ff (cr. ed.).

175. See Cowell, Jataka Stories, Nos. 31, 41, 43, 49, 61 etc. etc.


177. Loc. cit.

178. See Jain, J. C., op. cit, p. 146.

179. For details see Chandra, K. R., op. cit., pp. 332ff.

180. Mbh, III, 106. 10ff (or. ed.).

181. For details see Sen K., op. cit, pp. 97f.

182. See Raghuvamsa, VIII, 67.
184. See Book V, pp. 454f; 6, p. 546.
186. 15. 36ff.
187. 15. 30.
188. p. 153.
189. See Bhava 4, pp. 236f; Bhava 5, pp. 365, 471 etc., Bhava 6, p. 564.
190. 7. 205; 15. 75.
192. See *op. cit.*, p. 98 and also NC 2, p. 22; 3, 357.
193. See *Manusamhitā*, IX. 90.
195. See Book IV and Handiqui, *op. cit.*, pp. 34 ff.
196. For details see *Kuvalayamala*, part 2, Introduction, p. 33 and the text 72. 34ff.
197. See in this connection Jain, J. C. Life etc. pp. 154ff.
198. See Jain J.C., *Prakrit Sahitva Ka itihāsa* p. 266.
201. Bhava 8, pp. 750ff.
204. 1. 2.
205. Bhava 9, p. 922.
207. Kadambari, (Chowkamba ed.) pp. 554, 631 (Kūrvārda),
208. Dasakumaracarita, (Chowkamba ed.) pp. 320ff (Uttarapitikā, 6th Book),
209. Kuvalayamalā, part 2, Introd. of Upadhye, p. 28 and text 46. 5-8.
212. 4, pp. 296-97.
213. Kalpasutra, pp. 76 ff.
214. See Jain, P. S., op. cit., pp. 127f; see also the text 17, 27; 17. 23 and 18.30.
216. See Brhatkathakosha, story No. 107.
217. See Rājaëtāragītī (Stein's Trans.), V. 74ff.
218. See Sen, M. op. cit., p. 97. Also NO, 2, p. 140.
219. Ibid., p. 98; see also NO, 3, p. 227.
220. See chapter 8, pp. 244ff (Cowell's trans.)
221. See Jātaka No. 417 (Cowell, op. cit., III, pp. 253 f); see also Jātaka, No. 452.
222. Arthasāstra, p. 190.
223. See Vedic Age, p. 392.
225. See 1. 10; 23. 20; Also Vedic Age, p. 519.
226. 21. 3 - 10.
227. See Mahabharata, Critical edition, III. 72. 3; also 68.21 ff; and 69.2.

228. See IV. 26.

229. XIV. 97.

230. See in this connexion Mahāvastra (R.G. Basak), Calcutta 1965, pp. 97f.

231. See (Motilal Banarsidass) Delhi, 1975, Sarīra, X. 55.


234. See Chapter I, pp. 32-38 (Cowell's trans.).


236. See Brāhmaṇī, ch. 74.


238. Harivama, 14. 32 ff.

239. See chs. 6 ff.

240. 31. 8 ff.

241. 12. 55 ff.

242. See pp. 32 ff.

243. See pp. 194 ff.

244. Book IV, p. 152; see also Handiqui, op. cit., p. 105.

245. 24. 43.


247. 1. 146; see also Handiqui, op. cit., p. 106.

248. Brāhmaṇī, pp. 26 ff.

249. Ibid., pp. 28 ff.

250. Ibid., pp. 214 ff.
251. Ibid., pp. 218 ff.
252. See ch. 24 verses 5ff.
253. See Book 8, pp. 738 f, 759 and also Book 2, pp. 87 f.
255. See Kuvalayamala, 160, 9ff.
256. Vedic Age, p. 392.
258. See Gita Press edn., VII, chs. 88f.
259. See Vishnu Purana, V, chs. 26, 32; see also Vatsya P, chs. 26 ff.
262. See Cowell, Jataka Stories, Nos. 4, 7, 252, 479 etc. etc.
263. See J. C. Jain, Life etc., p. 159.
266. See 4, 16, p. 35; see also J. C. Jain, op. cit., p. 159.
268. See pp. 35ff.
270. See Jbid., 66. 52, which tells us that this work was completed in Saka 705, corresponding to 785 A.D.
   Nacchadum, etc. etc.
273. See IV. 26 (Calcutta, Āryaśāstra edn.).
274. See XV. 97 (Calcutta Āryaśāstra edn.).
275. See for example, Manusmṛti, III, 35; Vishnuṣūtra, 24. 18, etc.
276. See Prakrit Proper Names, I, pp. 420; and Prāṇayākaranatīka (Abhayadeva), p. 88.
280. For the description of this marriage, see Mahābhārata, I, Chapters 211 f (Cr. ed.).
281. See I, Chapters, 175ff.
282. See III, Chapter 54.
283. See VI.
286. See Book XVI, pp. 179ff; for the description of this Svaṣayamvara, see J. C. Jain, Life etc., p. 156.
287. For the description, see J. C. Jain, Life etc., pp. 158-9.
288. See 2. 3446; and also Nālīka Gūmī, IV, p. 62; see also M.
See for example, *Manusmrti*, III. 5; and XI. 172-73; Yuan Chwang, writing in the 7th century, obviously speaks about the absence of cousin-marriage, when he says "the members of a caste marry within the caste, the great and the obscure keeping apart. Relations, whether by the father's or the mother's side, do not intermarry"; see Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 168; see also *S.B.E.* II, p. 126 (Aragantamba, II. 5, 11. 16).

See in this connexion *Vedic Age*, p. 518.

See *Vedic Index*, I, p. 475.

See II, p. 181; see also M. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

For example, the marriage of Arjuna with Subhadra.

See 18. 131; 21. 39; etc.

See 2nd Bhava (Jacobi).

The author Haribhadra was one of the teachers of Udyotana, who flourished in Saka 700.


See *E.I.*, 7, pp. 36 ff.; "Cambay Plates of Govinda IV".

XV. 97.

IV. 26.

See Cr. ed., III. 63. 21; 72. 3 etc.


See Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 168.


308. See Bhava 2, p. 100.


310. 7. 243-244.

311. See II. 3,17 (Gita Press).

312. The entire play is dominated by the great personality of the prostitute Vasantasena, who has been described as the nacara-Sri of Ujjayini (Chowkhamba ed., Act VIII, p. 436).

313. The author Vātsyāyana has several chapters for the prostitutes, see Kāmasūtra (Chowkhamba); see the 6th Adhikaraṇa and all its six chapters (pp. 601-703).

314. See 170-71; see also P. S. Jain, op. cit., pp. 129-30.


316. Ibid., p. 131.

317. See the Aggānāsūktaṇḍa of the Dīgha N. III (Nalanda), pp. 73 ff.; see also Ambattha Sūkta of the same Dīgha N., where the Buddha accepts the divisions of caste. In other places of the Pāli Nikāyas, the Buddha describes the Kshatriyas as the best caste which indirectly proves that he had faith in the ancient caste system.

318. 16. 187; in 16.187 Jinasena I has distinguished between touchables and untouchables.

319. See op. cit., p. 168.
320. See *Mativakyamrta* 31.1.

321. See *Susrutasamhita* (Motilal Banarsidass), §201, 10.5.3.


323. (Gita press) II. 3. 17.

324. See Sharmaastray, trans., pp. 139 ff.

325. See Nalanda edition, pp. 246, 256.

326. See Nalanda edition of the *Dighe*, II, pp. 73 ff.

327. See p. 237.


331. See Act VIII, p. 436.

332. See pp. 66 f (Kota, 1955).

333. See p. 175.

334. Para 118.


337. *Loc. cit.*

338. III, p. 536 (quoted by M. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 113, fn.1)


340. See XXIII, 35, 42 etc.

341. See I, p. 53; II, p. 92; IV, pp. 539-40; VII, p. 634 etc.

342. See 17. 83, 86.

343. See 7. 243, 245.

345. See A. Mitra Shastri, *India as seen in the Kuttani-mata* of Dvaradhara Gupta, Delhi, 1975, pp. 20 ff.
346. See No. 95 and pp. 218 f.
347. See No. 95.
348. 95. 18.
349. 59. 253 ff (Delhi, 2nd edition, 1968).
350. 59. 263.
351. 72. 258.
353. See *Prakrit Proper Names*, I, p. 385.