CHAPTER IX: RESUMÉ AND CONCLUSIONS
In the preceding chapters we have endeavoured to collect the material on socio-cultural conditions as reflected in the dramas of Vatsarāja. Now, the following pages aim at presenting a rapid survey of the striking features preserved in this study.

The introductory chapter deals with some primary prospects such as the subject and its importance, scope of the work, cultural background, co-relation among society, culture and literature, and the line of approach. Dealing with these points, the possibility of some more works composed by Vatsarāja has been projected in agreement with Fühler, on the one hand, on the basis of a manuscript of Bhojarājananda composed by Vatsarāja, and with Śūktimuktāvalī of Jalhaṇa on the other, on the basis of a verse by the name of Vatsarāja which does not exist in any of the Vatsarāja's dramas available so far.

Chapter II on 'Vatsarāja's plane of existence' deals with the author's identification, date, place, caste and family. So many Vatsarājas are heard not only in the Indian history and literature but also in the history of Candellas itself. But we have identified our poet Vatsarāja as different from all other Vatsarājas belonging to the Candella history. He was a
minister of the Candella ruler Paramarddideva. With the help of internal as well as external evidence his date has been fixed between second half of the 12th century and the first half of the 13th century A.D. Kālañjara and its surrounding area seems to be his work-place.

About his caste some of our predecessors like L.N. Shukla have vehemently argued that he was a Brāhmaṇa. But bringing out some more information to new light I have put forth a hypothesis that he might have been a Māyastha.

Further, searching out his family life we find that there are two persons - Haripāla and Ratnapāla, who are mentioned as the Vatsarāja's son and grandson respectively in a Candella record. Further, epigraphic sources indicating that Vatsarāja was working under Paramarddideva, Vatsarāja's son Haripāla under Paramarddideva's son Trailokyavarman, Vatsarāja's grandson Ratnapāla under Paramarddideva's grandson Vīravarman, are quoted and a suggestion is made that Haripāla and Ratnapāla both were related to our Vatsarāja himself. It is also argued that both of them (Haripāla and Ratnapāla), being poets as mentioned in the Candella record, must have composed some important literary works.

In the next part of this chapter an account of the geographical situation is given. A large part of the northern India ruled by the Candella rulers was known as Jejākabhukti.
which is indicated by the author in its short form bhukti. Finally all the six dramas of Vatsarāja are introduced in some details. It is shown there how the varied peculiarities of these dramas are laid down in the dramaturgical treatises and how skilfully the author has followed them in composition of his dramas.

Chapter III deals with the structure of the society which gives a general impression that the society of Vatsarāja's age was under-going some transition. The ramification of castes was highly increased and consequently society was divided in many sub-castes. The system of castes had become so rigid that people confined their meals and marriages to their own respective sub-caste.

Although society was maintaining the traditional dignity of Brāhmaṇas by means of paying due regards to them, the Brāhmaṇas themselves were not always upto the mark and were neglecting their traditional duties. Three sorts of Kṣatriyas were found in the society - Kṣatriya, Satkṣatriya and Kṣudrakaṣatriya. A few common features were seen among them. They used to mention their family (= kula or vāṁsa) instead of their caste and they also used the terms Varman and deva as their name-ending suffixes. Some Kṣatriyas were quite particular in following the rules of kṣātradharma but many of them were highly arrogant. It is also indicated that
their conceited chivalric attitude was bringing several unfortu­
fortunate results to the country. It ultimately resulted in
internecine and finally, to some extent, the Kṣatriyas began
to deviate from their traditional kṣatradharma.

Vatsarāja has not referred to any of the last two
varṇas i.e. Vaiśya and Śūdra. In the light of some other
contemporary sources it appears that there was no great dif­
ference between the two and the people of these castes were
known by their profession rather than by their castes. The
following main castes known by their vocation were seen in
the society - cowherds (ābhīras), wild mountaineer tribes
(kīrātas and āsāras), dramatic actors (kuṭālav, nata and
āsālas), garland-makers (mālākāras), gardeners (udvāna-
śāles), fowlers (mrgavas), bards (bandin or cīrana) and wine­
sellers (saunāvikas).

Being indisciplined the wild mountaineer tribes were
often creating problems to the state and consequently the un­
fortunate rulers had been under tripartite danger-foreign
invaders, neighbouring rivals, and savage tribes. Since the
dramatic art was highly popular in those days, the dramatic
actors (= nataś) were naturally found in rich position. Fur­
ther, in that age of high chivalry the number of bards was much
more than ever earlier, but it is found that they were not
playing fair role and were exciting the internecines among
kings. In that society where drinking of liquor had become a common feature, the profession of wine-sellers was lavishly flourishing and thus a large part of the wealth of society was absorbed by these people. Moreover, following the rigidity of caste system the untouchability had started to stretch its sway on social life.

Not only in the system of varnas but also in that of árāmas many alternations had grown up. Students (brahma-cārīs) were not going to the guru-kulas in forest for their study but they were studying in various mathas and temples. They were taking more interest in the sciences of sorcery than in metaphysical and other serious subjects. The teacher-taught relations had been worsened to an undesirable degree.

The grhasthārāma was sheathed by several ill-customs. Further, most of the people who were incompetent to face the worldly struggle were entering the third stage of life i.e. Vānapraṣṭha-ārāma. During ancient ages śāṁśās used to live in the forests but by the age of Vatsarāja the situation was changed and they started to live in various monasteries. Unfortunately they are found to be engaged in bad propensities and thus their performance was highly reprehensible.

About family pattern it is found that the joint family system was in vogue which included the members of three generations. But at the same time the indications of some familial
imbalance and tension are also revealed which show the practical difficulties in a joint family. Intercaste marriage was discouraged and equal marriage was considered to be appreciable. Thus, the ancient tradition of svayamvara was disappearing. Rakṣasa form of marriage was quite common particularly among aristocratic people on account of their chivalric attitude and the tendency of polygamy was also a common feature with them.

The position of women was miserable. A female in general used to depend on others and she was not free to choose her life-partner at her own will. Kidnapping and provoking her was a general happening in the society. She was stringed with a cable in the form of various unhealthy customs like veil, burning on her husband's funeral pyre, and confinement to the boundary of her own house etc. It also appears that women themselves were responsible to some extent for not acquiring an agreeable attitude from the society. The character and behaviour of some women was not always appreciable.

A considerable part of the female section was appropriating the prostitution as its profession. Many people used associated to be with this institution. The prostitutes were getting a considerable scope in the royal places and even in the temples (as temple-dancing-girls). One significant change is noticeable in the affairs of prostitution. Earlier a mother of the harlots
used to occupy a prominent position. Her permission was considered to be necessary for brothel-visitors and hence she was always surrounded by the clients seeking her consent for meeting with courtesans. But in the dramas of Vatsaraja her importance faded into insignificance. The strumpets and clients both were not bothering about her and they were carrying on their business even against her will.

Chapter IV on economic life and worldly enjoyments begins with some information about various types of professions. Agriculture has ever been a principal occupation of Indian people. But the number of agriculturists appears to have been extensively increased particularly in the age of Vatsaraja. The disturbed socio-political conditions of that age period caused a considerable decline in trade and commerce and consequently a large part of the population was left jobless which had to accept agriculture as its profession.

The farming depended on two types of means of irrigation - natural and artificial. Various sorts of water reservoirs were existing for that purpose. However, the agricultural output was not satisfactory. The farmers were not much benefitted and at the same time they had to face the problem of the protection of their crops from savage animals. Further, on account of insufficient means of intercommunication the state had to face several famines and droughts. The other
professions were cattle-rearing, hunting, painting, gardening and garland-making, domestic and government servitude, teaching, dramatic performing and stealing.

Technical professions were not much disturbed by the transitional conditions of that age. Various industries such as metal industry, stone and wood industry, liquor industry, and mineral industry were running somehow smoothly.

The position of towns was prosperous. But the author has not referred to village life. However, through other contemporary sources it is known that the size of villages was small and some monolithic marks were used to fix the boundary of villages. A few officials were appointed to look after the village affairs but unfortunately they used to befool the villagers and exploit them taking disadvantage of their simplicity. The villagers were working hard from morning to evening in their fields.

At the time of Vatsarśja the meat diet appears to be popular. However, some people were taking vegetarian food consisting of rice, milk and various vegetable products. On the other hand the growing Tantric tendencies which gave religious sanction to the use of wine including it among five sacred elements (= pāñcamaṅgasya vī. mādirā, mātsāya, mātsrā, mūdṛā and meithuna) allowed to increase the drinking habit in society to a great extent.
There was no significant change in dress and ornaments. As in earlier times, so in the age of Vatsarāja men as well as women were mainly two garments - one lower and one upper, generally made of cotton. The ascetics used garments made of barks. Among ornaments, of course, anklet had been so much popular that names of the people like Mānjiraka used to be given after it. The author has not furnished us with any depiction of women's dress and hair-styles through which we have gauged the increasing tendency of Purdah system due to Muslims' influence in the country.

The growing attitude of worldly enjoyments had disturbed the ancient ideal of purusārthacatuṣṭaya. Among four ideals of human life - dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa, the third one (= kāma) was getting undue response in the society through various means viz. Cārvāka theory, Tāṇtric tendencies and erotic elements in the contemporary art and literature. A glimpse of this social feature may be observed in a single figurative sentence of the RV where the author has mentioned the world entirely under the influence of kāma (RV, I. 3). Brothel-visiting was of common occurrence.

We may just imagine the state of common people from the fact that even ascetics, teachers and students who are expected to be away from such attitudes are shown to be highly eager to meet prostitutes.
A number of sports and means of entertainment such as gambling (उर्जया), hunting (प्रेसाका-क्रिदा), water-sports (सलिला-क्रिदा), enjoyment through poetic and academic discussion (सास्त्र-विनोद), enjoyment in the forest (वन-क्रिदा) and in the moonlight (ज्योतना-क्रिदा), enjoyment through puzzles (प्रहेलिका-क्रिदा), pigeons (पार्वतव-विनोद), ram-fight (मसयुद्ध-विनोद), weapons (सास्त्र-विनोद), songs (गीतव-विनोद), instrumental music (वैद्य-विनोद) and dance (प्रत्याव-विनोद) were prevalent in society in general and aristocratic people in particular.

Chapter V has revealed the religious and philosophical conditions. Śaivism was the most popular religion of that period. A great characteristic of this religious sect was that the cruel worshipping method (i.e. to worship with human flesh etc.) of कृष्णीक sect was sinking into insignificance and the sect of कृष्णीक Śaivism had been popular which was maintaining identity between Śiva and Jīva, and emphasising the appreciable combination of bhukti and mukti. Another characteristic of Śaivism of Vatsarāja's age in general was the discouragement to caste system.

In Vaiṣṇavism the worship of incarnations and idols was extensively prevalent. Bhakti type of worship associated with joy, dance and prayer was displacing the old cumbersome rituals. The doctrine of शिखर was well-preserved which
originally belonged to Buddhism and Jainism and was taken up afterwards by Vaishnavism. But unfortunately the growing Tantric tendencies into Vaishnavism had badly affected this religious sect the followers whereof had largely been seized by some vices like cheating, libidinousness and brothel-visiting etc.

Among goddesses Ambikā, Indrāṇī, Lākṣāṇī, Sarasvatī and Gaṅgā were more popular. Sun worship was also prevalent and the legendary belief regarding twelve forms of this deity was maintained. Other deities to be honoured and worshipped in society were Brahmā, Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa, Ŷama, Navagrahas, dīkpālas and Yakṣas.

The most striking feature of religious life was the religious tolerance. In spite of existing different types of religious sects, there was no sectarian jealousy. Rather they had an imitable synthesis. Donation and pilgrimage were other important religious trends which were of much social welfare. Through donations the needy part of the society must have been financially benefitted and the social gatherings consisting of all castes at the holy spots must be bringing people closer to each other and thus improving communal harmony in the society.

Among the philosophical trends, Advaita Vedānta was prominent one. Sāmkhya and Yoga were also practised. But an
indirect influence of Cārvāka views was highly pervading in the society where only the two values of human life - artha and kāma, were excessively emphasized.

Chapter VI has given an idea about the political structure. Following ancient tradition the state was constituted by seven elements viz. king, ministers, territory of the state, fortified city, treasury, army and friends or allies. The king was the head of the state administration. But his kingship in all was not salubrious for the country. These were kings who could not face the foreign invasions successfully and maintain independence of the country on account of their destitutions. Unfortunately, the ideal of saintly and disciplined king was being set aside. Most of the kings became arbitrary and arrogant and hence, engaged in wantonness and internecine plays at the cost of nation's unity, safety and liberty. The advice of a spy which was of great value for kings in ancient period began to be neglected by the imprudent rulers of Vatsarāja's age.

Ministers were expected to help a king in ways beyond number. But from 6th century A.D. a split between kings and ministers began to arise and in Vatsarāja's age it went to such a degree that ministers were to be often disbelieved and disregarded, and their advice was many times not accepted by the rulers. But in this respect we have concluded that kings
alone may not be blamed. Ministers also might be lacking in certain qualities. The tradition of hereditary succession to ministerial posts during those days leads us to conclude that the deserving candidates must have been checked from being appointed on ministerial posts and consequently some unworthy ministers might be working in the royal courts. It would have been better if ministers were to be appointed on merit alone and after being properly tested. It is remarkable to note in this regard that Purohita was getting high reverence from rulers.

The motive of enlarging the kingdom justly or unjustly by all means was a common feature amongst Indian rulers. This helps us to conclude that such type of ambition of the kings must have been resulted in internecine activities and they might have not paying due attention to strengthen the means of border-security which, according to some historians, was one of the principal causes of the downfall of Hindu India.

In the Vatsarāje's age of insecurity the capital of a state used to be mostly in a fortified city. The position of treasury was quite prosperous. It appears that the treasure used to be kept under-ground. Dīnāra was the most common coin of that age.

Of the four divisions of ancient Indian army viz. infantry, cavalry, elephants and chariots, the chariots had
been absent from warfare at the time of Vatsarāja, though the RS and contemporary literature have a few allusions to them in a conventional way. Although the bravery of armies was not dwindled, they possessed by some obnoxious trends. The size of army was, of course, big but the army was not standing one and used to consist of feudatories and hired soldiers. A critical observer may easily imagine that feudatory and hired army could not be as loyal and reliable as a standing army. Further, the armies of Vatsarāja's age were somewhat heterogenous. This turned it difficult to command and mobilize an army briskly. In these circumstances the soldiers were proud of their personal valour and could not act together for a pacified strategy. Further, the timing for the march of an army was fixed by the astrologers rather than by the diplomatic and strategic considerations. Another inimical trend was that the Indian armies used to fight in accordance with the rules prescribed in their dharmaśāstra and they used to hesitate in applying treacherous battle while the opponent troops were not circumscribed by any code or canon. It is also noticed that an important department of commissariat had been existing in Indian armies.

The seventh and last constituent part of the state viz. friends or allies was undergoing some change. Most of the rulers were ambitious of becoming a supreme power at the expense of others. There was hardly any king relying on friendly rela-
tions with other. It is found that the tradition of friends or allies was being replaced by that of feudatories or subordinate rulers (= sāmantas). However, the greatest demand of the hour was to be united and to develop friendly relations with neighbouring and other indigenous rulers which is implied through the theme of Tripurādēṣa-Dīma and Samudramathana-Samavākāra of Vatsarāja.¹

The administration of justice used to be rigidly impelled by the kings. No particular public grudge is heard in this regard. The culprits were properly punished and in case of some suspicion, the ordeals were to be conducted.

In chapter VII we have discussed the position of fine arts. Poetry was on its sublime position. The interest of society in general was prone to versification. Even kings and rulers used to be poets and they also patronised other poets in their courts. The intellectuals were getting a great entertainment through poetic and polemic assemblies. A new poetic fashion was developed in the age viz. to compose poetry so much full of pun that it might be interpreted in two, seven or even hundred ways.

The art of drama was much developed. Numerous noted dramatists were flourishing and a rich variety of Sanskrit drama was composed in the age of Vatsarāja. The art of acting was highly emphasized and the actors were provided proper train-

¹ cf. RV. p. 382.
ing. There was existing a number of professional actors and some families whereof mostly the members used to be dramatic actors. Some actors continued to offer their services even in their old age and thus there was no question of retirement of a worthy actor. While performing a drama the actors used to be so much pleased as if their greatest desire were fulfilled. Prostitutes used to play a special role in dramatic art. The dramas were to be staged on various occasions of pilgrimage. This art was getting patronage from kings and rulers who were acute lover of drama.

The musical art used to be practised in all the three sub-divisions - vocal, instrumental and dancing, by male as well as female performers. Songs were sung so sweetly that they seemed to have been engraved on the heart of a listener as it were. Instrumental music was used on auspicious occasions like marriage as well as fierce occasions like warfare. The art of dancing was popular not only in common social life but it had also been domiciling in religious life through the temple-dancing-girls.

Painting was reaching its bloom through a large contribution of some professional painters. Women were also taking great interest in the performance of this art. Some love-lorn people had the pictures of their sweet-hearts through which they were to be attracted and pacified during their separation
period. The pictures could be so lovely that they appeared to be speaking as it were.

The sculptural art used to be performed largely on stone. Even illiterate or little literate people used to have skill in sculptural art and used to prepare impressive scarecrows in their fields and scorpions of spices in betel leaves. I have added some relevant informations regarding the richness of sculptural art of at Kālañjara. As Vatsarāja was closely related to Kālañjara and Khajurāho, some significant pieces of sculptures available at both these places are compared with somewhat similar poetic allusions of the dramas of Vatsarāja.

Architecture centred mainly around building of forts. For, in that age of insecurity the only shelter for security remained a fort and hence, fortified places used to be built up in a large scale. Hill forts (= giridurga) and forts at watery places (= saliladurga) were quite common. Kālañjara was one of the most famous forts of India. Palatial buildings were existing for dwelling of well-to-do people. Some people of amorous taste had their own pleasure-houses (= kalingrāhas). Moreover, distilleries (= saundikāśāras) and gambling-houses (= durodarsalas) were also existing for the use of persons desirous of enjoyments. The towns were provided with long roads, quadrivials and gardens. A great attentio
was paid to the construction of various types of water reservoirs to meet the problems of drinking-water and draught etc. Further, under religious architecture a number of temples and monasteries were constructed for various uses like worship-place for devotees, educational centres for learning, community centres for social gatherings, residential places for ascetics etc. and some other missionary activities.

Chapter VIII has been devoted to gather the informations on Education, learning and Literature. The ancient gurukula-system for imparting education to students had gone away and the students used to study now in monasteries and temples. A considerable decay in healthy teacher-taught relations had come up in this age. Students were not paying respect to their teachers and teachers also did not deserve the same as they were weak in their ability and character. Further, the importance of some pseudo-sciences was gradually growing in that age and hence, the teachers of such sciences were getting undue respect in the society.

The writing work was generally done on the stone slabs, copper plates and bhūrjanatras among which the last one was prominent. The art of writing was so developed that letters could sometimes be written in a versified form. Iterance and retention formed the main method of imparting education. For a beginner student the teacher used to write a lesson on the
ground and asked the student to learn it by heart. When the student began to recite it, the place where the lesson was written, used to be covered for examining the student’s memory power.

*Vedas, Smritis* and various sciences of computation, weapons, archery, club, magic, setting mutual contest among others, restoring a dead body to life, supernatural knowledge, sexual knowledge, playing on musical instruments etc. were some of the main subjects for study. Of them also, the science of archery and weapons was prominent in that particular age of fighting and personal chivalry. Moreover, *Veda, dharmaśatra, Ayurveda, astrology and prognostications and erotics* etc. were the popular branches of Indian literature which were to be studied during that age.

Thus, the above survey may lead us to a general conclusion that in the socio-cultural life as gleaned from the RS there was going a steady process of decline and decadence excepting a few aspects like literary and artistic activities to a certain extent. These were the circumstances which, after a few years, ultimately led to the precipitate surrender of the country before Muslim invasions.

Finally a few words may be added here to the objective which the author might have had before him in the composition of his dramas. The dramatist expresses his desires in the
concluding verses (= bharata-vākyas) of his plays as follows.

i) May the kings afford pleasure being amorous in liberality as well as chivalry and the people be delighted being inclined in the good ways (audāryaśauryarasikāḥ sukhavantu bhūpah. sanmārgavāsitadhiyo vilasantu lokah. Samudra. III. 14).

ii) May the sovereigns protect the earth being adequately inclined in the (administrative) expedients full of justice (nyāvopāvaprayātta avanīmavanipā pūlavantu pragaktā. Kirāta. Verse 61).

iii) May the people be stranger to the griefes (bhavatu bhavatu lokah śokavaidēŚikētaḥ. Maśyā. II. 14).

iv) May the hearts of gentlemen be devoid of darkness in the form of delusion (niratamohatimirah tvayāt prdvaḥ satām. Triśura. IV. 25).

v) May the monarchs bestow sufficient wealth to the suppliants (varṣantu cārthiṣu dhanēvamātēni bhūpah. Rukmi. IV. 29).

vi) May the kings shower sufficient gold being kin-
hearted (vargaantu kamaḥ kanakah kr̥pāḍragnaṁ nareṇḍraṁ. Kāraṇa. Verse 32.).

All these verses indicate that Vatsarāja expected that good kings should rule and there should be general welfare among the people at large.