CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC THOUGHTS
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6/1. Introduction:

Literature is not only spectator of his age but also a visionary and sometimes creator of the future. Sankardeva and Tulsidāsa were writers of this type who transcended the time. They were followers of a particular religious way of life. Study of their works will, however, show that they were not indifferent to the thoughts of social welfare. While discussing the society they lived in, the reality that they faced and the ideas of a well organised society that they had, we should keep in mind that they were not sociologist or economist in strict sense of the term. We often come across a lack of systematic thoughts in this regard in their works. In the context of their praise of the deity such ideas have found place now and then. These are ideas of two types - realistic, i.e., as they had seen their society and lived in it; and idealistic, as what they thought the society should be. In the present chapter, we will first assess the realities of the contemporary society and then try to put together their ideal of society as imagined by them under different headings.

6/2. Contemporary decadent society:

In the second chapter of the dissertation a survey of the social conditions of Sankar and Tulasi's days has been presented.
It was seen that their contemporary society was decadent. Libertine tendencies dominated the social life. The family, religious and political life with its defects affected the Vaiṣṇava saints also. This did not evade the keen eyes of Śaṅkara and Tulsī. The different weakness of the contemporary society is described in their writings.

A. Common life:

That the disharmony prevalent in their society has been mentioned by both. The following verses of Śaṅkara and Tulsidaśa expressed the same thing although their methods of expression are different:

eribe ācāra dharma vedara bihita.

- Śaṅkara

barana dharma nahin āśrama cīrī.

- Tulsī

It shows that the organisation relating varna and āśrama had been disrupted. Many native as foreign currents were visible in the non-vedic tradition. The social organisation was loosened, life was indisciplined, deception reigned. This condition is described in their writings in many places:

eribe ācāra dharma vedara bihita.
kulakriya eko nathākibeka kalita.
aneka pāṣanda āsi vyāpikeka deśa.
lāibe loke pāśanda janara upadeśa.

- Sānkar, Bhāg, 12/40

kahibe napāre eko veda sāstra tatwa.
mahā jñāna sūnya paramārtha bicārata.
ekowe najāne kicho napāre khandita.
bahubalki bhaile tāke bulibe pandita.

- Sānkar, Bhāg, 12/28

najāne dakṣhinā bidhi pūjāro nāhike siddhi
najāne prāṇira hiṃsā doṣa.
āpuna jīvika arthe pasūgana māre vyarthe
tāte mile manata santosa.

- Sānkar, N.N.S., 334

brahmacāri sannyāsiyo haibe jñānahīna.
danda kamandalu mātra thākibeka cīna.
kātita kapina sārīrata byāghra carma.
besādhārī mātra nāhi āśramara dharma.

- Sānkar, Bhāg, 12/26

zarana dharma nahin āśrama cārī.
sruti birodha rata saba nara nārī.

- Tulsi, Mānas, 7/97/1

mārāg soi jā kahun joi bhāvā.
pandita soi jo gāla bajāwā.
mithyārambha dambha rata joi.
tā kanhu santa kahai saba koi.

- Tulsī, Mānas, 7/97/2

asubha beṣa ohūṣana dharen, ohachābhachā je khāhin.
tei jogi tei siddha nara, pūjya te kalijuga māhin.

- Tulsī, Mānas, 7/98/A

sudra kaharin japa tapa brata nānā.
baithi barāsana kaharin purānā.
saba nara kalpita kaharin acārā.
jāi na barani anīti apārā.

- Tulsī, Mānas, 7/99/5

An important cause of disharmony and disorder in the
social life was that its body was disintegrating. Mutual human
relationship were disappearing. Powerful and weak sections were
moving seperately. The powerful were oppressing the weak and
their power was utilised not for the security of the weak but
for their torture. As a result the weaker sections of the
society was drifting apart from the powerful and prosperous.
Different ways of torture to the poor were being found out. This
has been indicated by both the poets:

pīḍibe durjana kali guchibe acāra.

- Sāńkar, dhāg, 11/137

uttama nāyaka yadi howe kṣhīnaīita.
eribeka tāka purātana yata bhṛtya.
yadi rogī bhaila bhṛtya aneka puruṣī.
dekhi swāmīsabā tāka eribe nupusi.

- Sānkar, dhāg, 12/123-24

rājā, ranka, rāgī au birāgī, bhūri uhāgī ye
abhāgī jīva jērata, prabhāva kali bāma ko.

- Tulsī, Kavit., 7/83

tribidha eka bidhi prabhu-anuga, avasara karahin kuṭḥāta
sudhe tēḍa, sama visama, saba manha dārāpabāta.

- Tulsī, Dohā, 500

Enmity was increasing among the different units of social lives. Even family life as the primary unit of society was developing signs of disintegration. It was devoid of peace and happiness. This critical state of family is mentioned by both the poets. It lead them to think of the need for reorientation of family. It has been accepted by many scholars that Tulsī's Rāmcaritmānas is an ideal presentation of his practical view that he adapted towards the re-organisation of the otherwise disintegrating Hindu family life. We may not say so in regard to any specific works of Sānkardeva. However, some standards of ideal for family in accordance with the local peculiarities of contemporary Kāmrupa are there scattered in his writings.
B. Varna :

The *varna-vyāvasthā* had loosen. References to four varnas in Sāṅkar and Tulsi are either based on *puraṇas* or reflect the contemporary society. Among the four varnas the brāhmaṇ was the most important. Both the poets have mentioned it at many places:

brāhmaṇaṇaṇa mora mahā iṣṭa.
bipra sevātē āhmāra khyāti.

- Sāṅkar, Kīr., 267

pāṛanta gūli yadi bipre āsi.
praṇāma karoi jito tāṅka hāsi.
sambodhi prabodhe sādhu bacane.
karilka basʿya moka si jane.

- Sāṅkar, Kīr., 270

sāpata tāḍata parūṣa kahantā.
bipra pūjya asa gāuahin santā.

- Tulsi, Mānas, 3/33/1

mohi na sohāi brahmakulē drohi.

- Tulsi, Mānas, 3/32/4

Among the brāhmaṇaṇas the devotees and *veda*-followers were more important. Sāṅkardeva prefers *visnubhakte brāhmaṇaṇas* to those were indifferent to devotion¹:
aneka brāhmaṇa karanta tarpana, nirmala jalata pāṣī.
snāna dāna kari sumaranta hari, kato kākharata basi.

- Sāṅkar, R.H.K., 204

And Tulsi has said:

tinh mahan dwija dwija mahan śrutichāri.
tinh mahun nigama dharama anusāri.

- Tulsi, Mānas, 7/85/3

Some scholars who have studied the verse relating to
brāhmaṇas in Tulsi-sāhitya have named him as advocate of
brāhmaṇas. This opinion might have been derived from Tulsi's
verses, such as - 'pūjiya bipra sīla guna hīnā'. (Mānas, 3/33/1)
etc. But such conclusion have not been taken into account
that Tulsi also attacked brāhmins and called them śruti-pucaka²
(traders in scriptures). In Śankardeva's verses also there is
an expression of disaffection towards those brāhmins who had
fallen from the dignified state due to them.³

Next to brāhmaṇa, khaṭriyas have found place in the society.
ŚrīKṛṣṇa and Rāma, the respective deities of Śāṅkar and Tulsi
belong to the khaṭriya family. They may be taken as representatives
of khaṭriya. There are references to khaṭra-dharmā in their
writings. At many places there are references to the protection
of weak⁴, nourishment of the subject⁵, observance of promise⁶
and readiness for war etc. are the qualities of the kshatriyas.

As to vaisyas, we come across verses relating to their occupation in Sankar and Tulsi. Accumulation of an use of deceptiveness in business was prevalent. It has been observed by both the poets:

kr̥aya bikrayato howa māyā vyāvahāra.

- Sānkar, Bhāg, 12/23

priti, sagāi, sakala guṇa, banīja, upāya aneka.
kalē-bala-chalo-kalimala -malina, dhanakata ekahi eka.

- Tulsī, Dohā, 547

The condition of sudras was very pitiable. They were not allowed to study scriptures. In conformity with ancient assumptions Sānkardeva has said that sudras are not eligible for the study of vedas. Tulsidas found a scholarly and virtuous sudra inferior to a brahmin even if he is devoid of grace and virtue. Although Sānkar and Tulsī adopted the ancient traditional assumptions from social point of view and did not give importance to sudras, the highway they presented in the form of devotion was open to all. Their traditional views relating to sudras should be seen differently in this light. A changing attitude towards sudras can be seen in the following verses:
It may however be remembered that this liberal attitude is limited to devotion. These verses cannot be taken as the mirror of social organisation.

The place of woman in society is quite significant. From different sources it has been found that woman occupied a respectful place in ancient India. But in the days of Sankar and Tulsi the place of woman had fallen. This condition might have derived from male ruled society and woman's own fickle nature. In devotional literature she has been acknowledged as māyā:

ghora nārīmāyā sarba māyāta kutcita.

- Sānkar, Bhāg, 8/658

moha bipina kahun nāri basantā.

- Tulsi, Mānas, 3/43/1

Both the poets rejected the idea of woman's freedom:

swabhāvate tiri jāti nuhi swatantarī.

- Sānkar, R.H.K., 133
It may therefore be said that their views relating to woman were partly traditional and partly inspired by the ideals of devotion.

C. Morality:

Besides the disruption of social life of Śāṅkar and Tulsi's times, there was moral deterioration as well. Immorality is on increase at all the levels - individual, family and social. All sorts of misconducts, theft, prosecution, perversion, slavery to woman, prostitution, quarrel, drunkenness etc. can be taken as indication of moral degeneration. References to this state of affairs are there in the writings of Śāṅkar and Tulsi in plenties.

A morally degenerated man does not know where he is going. Individual is a unit of society. The degeneration of individual is the degeneration of society. It leads to the growth of the forces of disruption in society and its good aspect disappears. The description of kali-kālā in Śāṅkar and Tulsi is no doubt based on scriptures. However, it can't be denied that these descriptions represent the contemporary social realities -

huibeka pracura cora dakāita kalita.
pāṣande eribe veda pathaka dūṣita.
pāṣandara mukhata śikhibe dharma jñāna.
That the tendency towards evil, murder of brahmin, theft in brahmin's house, sexuality, violence, disrespect to the guest, pride, bad nature, selfishness in love etc. are described in Tulsi's writings. There are also references to sexuality arising from drunkenness and opium eating.
Vāmācār is found by both the poets as the main cause of moral decadence. Both the poets have described sensualist and woman with fallen character. The role of woman as mother and as wife is fundamental to worldly welfare. But it seems that the woman of those days was reduced to object of sensuality. This tendency is described by both the poets:

kalita haibeka loka strī parādhīna.

- Sāṅkar, Bhāg, 12/124

ralita kusāla jiṭojana anācārī.
tākese purūṣa bulioeka ouṣṭā nārī rati susīkhitē jito duṣṭā mana pūre.
strī ouli tāke mānioeka kāmāture.
kula strīko eri tāte karibeka rati.
nija pati teji tāke mānioeka pati.

- Sāṅkar, Bhāg, 12/23-24

khaneke harisa soka khaneke ākula.
kāmāturā huyā nabāchīoe jāti kula.
paradārā gamana pāteke huibe ohraṣṭā.
āti khudra āyu alpa kāle jāibe naṣṭa.

- Sāṅkar, Bhāg, 12/15

nārī oibasa nara sakala gosāīn.
nācahi nara markata kī nāī.
sudra dwijanha upadesahin gyānā.
meļi jāneu lehin kudānā.

- Tulsī, Mānas, 7/98/1
saba nara kāma lobha rata krodhi
deva vīpra sruti santa virodhi.
guna mandira sundara patī tyāgī
ahajahin nāri para puruṣa abhāgī.

- Tulsī, Mānas, 7/98/2

para tiya lampāṭa kapaṭa sayāne,
moha droha mamatā lapatāṇe.
tei aonedavāci gyāṇī nara,
dekhā mein caritra kalijuga kara.

- Tulsī, Mānas, 7/99/1

Thus, we find that the moral degradation in the
contemporary society has been forcefully portrayed in the
writings of Sānkar and Tulsī:

gucibe ācāra dharma hūibekā ourmati.

- Sānkar, dhāg, 12/7

ohaye oaran sankara kali

- Tulsī, Mānas, 7/100/A

nuhin mānata kau anujā tanujā.

- Tulsī, Mānas, 7/101/3

D. Economic life:

The contemporary society was also economically weak.

Economic stability is the basis of firm social organisation.
Tulsīdāsa recognised the importance of money for livelihood - 'āgi baḍavāgi tein baḍi nāi āgi peṭa kī' (Kāsit, 7/96). He also pointed out that many people were dying of hunger due to poverty at that time. The condition in Sānkar's Assam was not much different. It was common occurrence that for many people told lies, used deception in business, killed people and committed other crimes. Economically the royalty and its officials were prosperous. All means of corruption were available to them. This class was highly respected in society. For money this class did not hesitate to commit condemnable acts and used their cunningness. The other class was of the poor. It included the ordinary subjects like peasants, labourers etc. and also sādhus and sannyāsīs. This class was leading a life of comparative goodness, but inspite of hard labour it was not able to free itself from poverty. One was exploiter and the other exploited. In the contemporary vocabulary they were called svāmī and sevaka. Earlier there was not much gap between the two, but now it was increasing. The life of the common man was reduced to that of slavery and want. Through the analogy of svāmī-sevaka Sānkar and Tulsī made unique attempts to bridge the gap in the contemporary society. In Rāmcarītmanas Tulsīdāsa has tried to bring about readjustment in the relationship of the master and the servant from other aspects also.
There are indications of the poverty in contemporary society in many places in the writings of both the poet. The following can be taken as examples:

ati dīna dukhi bitta nubibe pracura.

- Sānkar, ḍhāg, 12/117

nuhuiokeka oasana bhūṣana anna pāna.
sūkhaive sārīra eko nāpāibe āhāra.
huiokeka kalita loka pisāca ākāra.
suhṛda sodara eko nāoāchnibe cite.
kariue kandala pāncha gandāra nimitte,
suhṛdaka bāndhibeka dhanara nīdāne.

- Sānkar, Bhāg, 12/128-29

michā māti sāude karioe kinā bikā.
jībe sampadato kari nindita jīvikā.

- Sānkar, ḍhāg, 12/123

ghora kalijuge jitojana dhanavanta.
sehise kulīna saoācāri gunavanta.

- Sānkar, Bhāg, 12/21

Or,
kara akāryaka jena dhanara garoata.

- Sānkar, ḍhāg, 10/781

dārīdi dukhāri dekhi bhūṣura bhikhařī bhīrū,
lobha moha kāma koha kalimala gnerē hāin.

- Tulsī, Kavit., 7/174
Sānkar and Tulsi have mentioned many things of daily use in their writings. Edibles are mentioned in various contexts. Among cosmetics—flowers, sandal wood, arecanut, musk, agar etc. find place. Among earthen utensils are ukhal, mathañì, and various earthen utensils are among the domestic objects. Plates and kalasa of gold and silver are also mentioned. The royalty and officials used various means of transport. Mention is mainly made of elephants and horses. Chariots are also referred to. After the victory, Rāma comes back to Ayodhyā with his company in puspak vimāna. Sānkardeva also mentioned vimāna as means of transport of men. But it appears to be an exaggeration. Both the poets are referred to vimāna as mainly as means of godly transport.
Women of the noble class used dolā or pālki. Sāṅkar uses narāyana also in place of dolā. Sāṅkar has also taken of circumstances where royal ladies go on foot, Sūkmini goes for the worship of Bhavānī along with her guards, she walks on foot. Amongst the things use men and women in daily life, there are garments and ornaments.

Among objects of daily life house or residence has special significance. For human residence, the eyes of Sāṅkar and Tulsī have mainly moved towards the cities and palaces. It may be inferred that the cities described by Sāṅkar and Tulsī-Kundilpura, Dwārakā, Mathurā, Ayodhyā, Janakapura, Lankā etc. reflected the contemporary sculpture and the forts and graves erected during the Mugal period and also the grand temples and palaces of the Koch kings. The followings are relevant examples -

ratnamaya grhasadhvā kare jātiśkāra.
nāhi khere oeta bānsa kāśṭhara sancāra.
ekō eko grha meru samāna uchṛta.
hīrā mani marakata mānike gaṭnita
kata rajatara kato sūddha suvānāra.
cikimiki kare jena kānti ādityāra.

- Sāṅkar, R.H.K., 112-13

mani dīpa rājahn ohavaṇa bhṛajahn āharin oiranci rací.
mani khamāha bhīti oiranci biracī kanaka mani marakata khāti.
sundara manohara mandirāyata ajira rucira phatika race.
pratī dwāra dwāra kapāṭa purāṭa banāī oahu orajahni khace.

- Tulsi, Mānas, 7/26

Similar descriptions are found at many other places. Tulsi writes - 'mangalamaya mandira saoa keren, citrita janu ratināthe citerein' (Mānas, 1/212/3) and 'cāru citrasālā grha, grha pratī likhe banāī' (Ibid, 7/27). Similar mentions can be found in Śankardeva also.29

On the basis of this description of palaces and cities, it would be incorrect to conclude that the houses of the common men were similar. Like the majority of people today, most men of that time also lived in houses made of clay and straw. It is surprising that these poets' attention was directed only towards the palaces of their goas and royal residences. However, there are few references to houses made of leaves, bamboo and cane, but on the whole they are neglected.

6/3. Customs:

Apparently the customs prevalent in entire Hindu society are more or less similar. However, there are some variations based on region and castes. In the days of Śankar and Tulsi also most of the customs were common with a few regional variations. It has found reflections in various ways in their writings.
A. Salutation:

There were prevalent of various forms of saluation. Different words were used for it and sometimes special gestures were also used. Words of saluation like - namā, namaste, namaskāra, pranāma are found in both. Prostration was commonly used to show respect to gods and revered persons. Words denoting welfare like aśīrvacana, aśīrvāda, ciranjīvi, dirghāyu etc. were used for the young. Some bodily movements like touching the feet, washing it, embracing etc. were prevalent forms of expressing respect and saluation.

These salutations were common in Hindu society, but the Muslim society of Northern India had a different form of salutation. Similarly various non-aryan groups in Kāmrup might have had different way of salutation, but there is no mention of this kind either in Sānkar and Tulsī. The reason may be that the social atmosphere described by them is Hindu and not anything else.

B. Śīstācāra:

Some other lokācāras and śīstācāras are included in saluation. To enquire of one's welfare, to welcome the guest, to fold hands while talking with respected persons, raising of hand by the old and the respected persons while wishing
well, to receive the guest and dear ones, to affectionately kiss the younger ones are mentioned in both as lokācāra. In Indian culture the guest is referred to as god. Naturally both the poets mention the expression of special respect to the guest. The guests were seated with respect. They were worshipped with pādya-arghya, valuables were presented to them. These have been mentioned by both the poets. To seek favour words expressing humility were used towards unknown persons and the respected ones. In conversation persons were addressed according to their ability and deed. For superior persons words like - deva, pāpa, nātana, tāta etc. find places in the works of Śānkar and Tulsi. For inferior persons words like- dusta, khala, adhama, pāpi etc. are used.

C. Food :

Things used in food are generally mentioned by both the poets. The number of times the food was taken in a day, whether the members of the family took their food together or not are mentioned in their works. Based on mentions made by them it appears that on the occasion of the guests and festivals food was specially prepared. Sometimes food is referred to as such, sometimes it finds place to the accompaniment of vegetables, roots, fruits, pāncāmrte etc. Śānkaradeva has mentioned different objects of food like - īkāhu, cūdā, ākhai, dāghi, aśūka, pānna, pithā, paramānna, cīnī, laddu etc. On the occasion of Rāma's
marriage Tulsīdāsa has described the feast of the marriage party in detail, but he has not mentioned the objects of food separately. The use of arecanut after food is mentioned by Sāṅkardeva at many places. It indicates a prevalent practice in Assam. To please the guests with food is a sanctimonious aspect of domestic life. It is equally reflected in the writing of two poets.

D. Upālambha:

In social life we come across moments of delight as well as grief. The language used to express delight and happiness differs from the one used in the expression of complaint, ill will etc. In ability to cause harm leads a man to take recourse to malice and cavil. At many places in the writings of Sāṅkar and Tulsi, we find its examples. For instance, in Sāṅkar's literatures we have the gopies complaining to Yasodā against Kṛṣṇa; in Pārijātharaṇa Satyabhāma complains to Kṛṣṇa on the gift of pārijāt flower to Rukmini by Nārada; the complaint against Sītā in Uttarākānda Rāmāyaṇa etc. Such examples can be found in Tulsi's literature as well. For instance, Bharata's complain to Rāma against his mother, Vibhiṣaṇa's complain to Rāma against Rāvana; Surpanakhā's complain to Rāvana against Rāma etc.

E. Saṃskāra:

There has been provision of following the saṃskāras
in Hindu society since ancient times. Different smriti writers have differently enumerated the samskaras. To Gautama they are forty, if we exclude the samskaras relating to vrata and yajña, only ten are left - garbhādhāna, pumsavāna, sīmantonayana, jātakarana, nāmkerana, annaprāśana, cūḍākarana, upanayana, samāvaratana, vivāha and antyesti. Most of the samskaras are only indicated in Śaṅkar and Tulsī. Only marriage ceremony is described in detail. Some samskaras are discussed below:

I. Garbhādhāna:

Both Śaṅkar and Tulsī indirectly referred to the conception without describing it as such. On the other hand the ceremonial celebration on birth of a child is described in detail. Śaṅkar’s description of Kṛṣṇa’s birth ceremony and that of Rāma by Tulsī are its examples.

II. Jātakarma:

Among the post natial ceremonies jātakarma is very important. Cutting of the naval cord, child’s bath, placing of honey and curd in its mouth, breast feeding are such ceremonies. In Śaṅkar’s and Tulsī’s description of jāta-samskaras the child’s bath and merry-making after application of medicated paste have found place. Tulsī has described the celebration of chatni and parānī. On this occasion and also the fact of keeping awake on the night of the chathi. These ceremonies are not found in Assam, hence
their absence in Śāṅkar's writing.

III. Nāmakaraṇa :

In naming ceremony generally takes place on the eighth or tenth day of birth. But no definite date is mentioned by either. Tulsi has however mentioned to an auspicious day for the occasion. Both the poets have described the naming ceremony as a celebration.

IV. Karṇavedha :

The ceremony of ear piercing is mentioned in Tulsi but not in Śāṅkar.

V. Cudākaraṇa :

Neither poets describes the hair cutting ceremony. It is mentioned by way of information. Tulsi has used the cudākaraṇa for it and in Śāṅkar it is jātakarma.

VI. Upanayana :

The ceremony is not described by Śāṅkar and Tulsi. Śāṅkar has only referred to yajñasūtra dāna and Tulsi to upanīta. In this context they have mentioned the initiation to schooling.

VII. Marriage :

The marriage ceremony is given by Śāṅkar and Tulsi a comparatively greater space. In Śāṅkar's different marriages of Kṛṣṇa are mentioned in passing, but the marriage with Rukmiṇī
is described in detail. On this subject he composed two independent works entitled *Rukminiharanā*, poetry and play both. In *Rāmavijaynāt* he has described the marriage of Rāma and Sītā in detail.

Tulsī has evinced a great interest in describing the marriage of Rāma and Sītā and of Śiva and Pārvatī. It is found, besides *Rāmcariṭmānas*, in *Jānakimangala* and *Pārvatimangala*. *Nahemyu* as a part of marriage ceremony became the subject of an independent poem of Tulsī. In *Gītāvālī* and *Kavitāvālī* also Rāma's marriage is given due place.

A comparative analysis of marriage in Śankar and Tulsi shows that there are certain things common in them. Its examples can be found in *lagna-nirnaya*, *aarāt-vātre*, *aṃavāṇī*, *kulūry pūjan*, *homa-mantrycārana*, *mangal gīta* and *vūyā*, *nagar-sajavata*, *daheja*, *ātithya*, *kanyā-dāna*, the entry of the couple with *ārati* and well wishing to bride, etc. In this context many auspicious things are mentioned. Sandalwood, vermillion, silken cloth, golden pot, flower, earthen lamp, *dhupe*, *kusa*, *tila*, etc. are mentioned in Śankar.

Following of the auspicious objects referred to by Tulsī:

- harada dūba dadhi pallava phūlā.
- pāna mūgaphala mangala mūlā.
- achata ankura locana lājā.
- manjula manjari tulsi birājā.

In this connection we find detail description of receiving the marriage party in both the poets. The offer of arecanut as *mukhasūdhi* after food is there in both the poets. However, there are certain customs described by them which are of different kind.

There is a mention of *uruli* in Sānkara. It is a special kind of oral sound produced by women on auspicious occasion is called *uruli* or *jokār*. It is also mentioned in *Anargharaṇagaha* (3/55) and *Naisadhīva carita* (14/51). The day proceeding to marriage is called *adhivāsa*. On this day the bride, the bridegroom are required to keep certain positives and negatives. This day there is provision for the worship of *kuladevata*, *ghata-sthāpana* by the priest, chanting of *mantras*, auspicious songs and *uludhwani*, application of paste etc. In *Rukminī-harana nāt* it is on the day of *adhivāsa* that Rukmini is required to go for the worship of goddess Bhavāni - āju *adhivāsa*, kāli *bibhāhaka diyasa*, devīka *pūjā*, *kara gīyā* (p. 15), when the bride and bridegroom see each other on the marriage day it is called *mukhacandrikā*. Sānkara has mentioned it on the occasion of the marriages of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmini and Rāma and Sītā. The tying together of the lock of hair of bride and bridegroom as a mark of unification is called *kesabhāndhana*. Alongwith *kesabhāndhana*, Sānkardeva has also mentioned pouring
of water by the bride and groom of each other -
sohi samaye rājā Bhīṣmaka kanyā sampradāna karite bare
kanyāka keśa eka thāma kariye kaho, pānī ghālīte ājīce
kautuka milal.
- R.H.N., p. 25

Biswamitra kusāṇḍi kariye homa ārambhala, sohi samaye bare-
kanyāka keśa eka thāma kariye pānī ghālīte brahma, Indra,
Rudrādi devatāsaba jaicana ānanda milāwala.
- R.V.N., p. 14

Besides, other activities sexual acts also find place in
Sāṅkar's writings. Although there is no definite term used
for it, it may be inferred that the sexual activities form
part of the description of kusumaṣaiyyā. After the night there
is a provision of snāna-dāna in the morning. This day is called
bāśī-biya. It is however not mentioned in Sāṅkar.

The above things found in Sāṅkar are not there in Tulsi's
literature. But in Tulsi there are other things that are absent
in Sāṅkar. If the details of marriage described in Tulsi are
put together in an organised and systematic way, we will find
a faithful and realistic picture of the marriage customs
prevalent in Northern India today. In Sāṅkar's description of
marriage the conformity to the purāṇas and the presence of
god's lands an aura of other wordliness more than that of
realism. The customs mentioned by Tulsi are varied like –

\[\text{dwarācāra}^{72}, \text{parachana}^{73}, \text{gālī-gīta}^{74}, \text{kohapara}^{75}, \text{dyūtakriyā}^{76}, \text{lāha kaura (laghu kaura)}^{77}, \text{jyonāra}^{78}, \text{kanyāvigāi}^{79}, \text{bahu-
svāgata}^{80}, \text{catuṛti}^{81}\] etc.

The above discussion shows that both Sānkara and Tulsi have described the marriage ceremony in detail. There is an amalgamation of Vedic rituals and local customs. There is an element of credibility and realism in them. Tulsi’s description in this respect are closer to the life of the people than Sānkara’s.

VIII. Funeral ceremony:

Funeral is the last ceremony of man’s life. It includes bathing the body before cremation, erection of pyre, sprinkling of fragrant object on the pyre and the body, tarpan etc. In Sānkara and Tulsi there is just mention of the funeral rites of some persons like Pūtnā, Kaṁsa, Yādava, Bali, Rākṣhasas etc. The funeral rites of some others are described in detail. Its example can be found in Sānkara’s description of Rohit’s funeral and Tulsi’s description of the funerals of Daśaratha and Jaṭāyu.

Ceremonies like Pumāvāna, sīmāntonnayanā, annaprāyanā and samāvartāna etc. are not found either in Sānkara and Tulsi.

F. Parva-tyohār:

Local festivals etc. drew the attention of Sānkara and Tulsi.
They are fundamentally related to the social organisation and reflects its progressiveness. Some festivals are connected with particular religious rituals. Some have only social significance. Some festivals have assumed an all-India level nature. Other festivals remain confined to the specific region. In the writing of Śāṅkar and Tiḷūsi generally those festivals have found importance which are somehow related to religion. Mention can be made of Vaiśākhī, jyeṣṭi, rāṣa-krūḍā, pañjalī etc., in Śāṅkar’s writings and of hindolā, dipmālīkā and holi in Tiḷūsi’s in this connection. The sānkṛānti day of Vaiśākh month is celebrated with festivity in Assam. Its local name is Bihū. It might have been celebrated in Śāṅkar’s days but he has not paid attention to its social sides and has related it with religious city. He has described it thus:

biṣudinā vidhimate panca tīrtha kari.

śuddhamane dekhaya subhadra rāma hari.

- Śāṅkar, Kīr. 2226

It is assumed by Śāṅkar that the combination of rikṣhayaga-nakṣattra is the occasion of the greatest purity of mūhā-jyeṣṭi. He has mentioned that the sight of Viṣṇukṣetra on this occasion can lead to the redemption of twenty one generations.64

The sāradīya rāsa-krūḍā is described in detail by Śāṅkardeva. It conforms to the Jhāgavata. It is referred to as kāmp-svaya.65
Rasotsava received religious significance in Assam and it is organised in many cities even today with pomp and show. There is no mention of rāsakīḍā in Tulsi. However, it does not mean that rāsa-līlā was not prevalent in Northern India nor that he was not acquainted with it.

There are descriptions of hindolā, dipmālikā and holi in Tulsidāsa. His Rāma and Sītā enjoyed the swing with other women. The organisation of hindolā in Sāvana in North India is quite common. Its recognition by Tulsi reflects his popular vision. In today's Assam also the images of Sṛṅkṛaṇa are placed for singing in the month of Sāvana. However, it is not mentioned in Śankar possibly because it was not prevalent. There is no mention of celebration of deepāvalī in Śankar. The decoration of Ayodhyā on the occasion of deepāvalī is well described. It is also mentioned that on this occasion there is a celebration of every household and the rich and the poor are equally delighted. Today also we come across similar scenes on the occasion of deepāvalī.

The description of spring and holi festivals is there in both. Celebrated with delight and enthusiasm, it is the speciality of the festival that people throw colour on one another and sing the phāguqīta. Its excitements and delightfulness cannot be compared with any other festivals. It is
described by Tulsi in greater detail. The following are some examples from Śankar and Tulsi -

range phāgu khele caitanya vanamālī.
duhāte phālgura guṇdā sincata murārī.

- Śankar, Kīr, 186

nagara-nāri-nara haraśita saba cale khelata phāgu.

-khelata phāgu avadhapati anuja-sakhā saba sanga.

- Tulsi, G.V., 7/21

This festival is organised in today's Assam as daul-vātrā.
Its indication is found in Śankar's also -

phālgunita govindaka tuliā daulata.
daulayātrā karai mahotsaba sibelāta.

- Śankar., Kīr., 2225

In the description of this festival both the poet have mentioned about colour throwing, singing of holi- songs to the accompaniment of various musical instruments and exchange of joviality etc.

G. Folk-beliefs :

Besides scriptural ideas, every society has some beliefs peculiar to itself. It effects the life of common men to a great
extent. But the attention of Sāṅkar and Tulsī was drawn to such beliefs in contemporary society and in their poetry it is mentioned at relevant places. These beliefs are sometimes religion oriented and sometimes founded on the long and intense experiences of peoples life. The religious beliefs that appeared to be in conflict with their writing were left out by them. But they acknowledged the folk-beliefs of religious significance like Vṛata-upavāsa, satsaṅg etc. It has been discussed earlier.

As Sāṅkardeva's emphasis is on 'One God', the worship of folk gods, ghosts and spirits etc. is commonly opposed. But in this connection Tulsīdāsa has gone beyond sectarian considerations and given importance to the feelings of the people. The mention of the worship of various folk-gods in the writings should be seen in this light.

Non-religious folk-beliefs include fatalism, importance of astrology, magic rituals, etc. The use of talisman to protect children from evil eyes and evil stars, auspicious and inauspicious signs, dream, curse, blessing etc. are mentioned by both the poets. They have more or less same point of view in this regard.

H. Recreation:

There is mention of various forms and means of recreation in Sāṅkar and Tulsī. Means of recreation may not be common to all.
Some games and recreations suite the children while others the old men. Similarly there are different recreations for men and women. These recreations are indicated by both the poets but only a few are mentioned clearly. Dance and wrestling entertained all sorts of persons but games like hunting and caugān remain limited to men. Grownup people may be spectators but not participants in children games. Certain social festivals are also related to entertainment.

Of the sports and recreation of children we can see the playfulness, chuckling, crawling of Kṛṣṇa and Rāma in writings of two poets. Śankar's ŚrīKṛṣṇa steals butter, grazes cows, plays on flute, throws stones at trees full of fruits and enjoys swimming. Tulsi's Rāma plays with ball, and caugān and is rider of horse; wrestling and hunting are mentioned as recreation of the youth. Tulsi has mentioned the hunting of other birds by tame hawks. Śankar's description of ŚrīKṛṣṇa's forest delights and feasting there with his friends are such recreations. Śankardeva and Tulsi have mentioned singing, dancing and play acting. There is a mention of nat-natis and panegyrist from other parts of India in the court of Koch king of Naranārāyaṇ in Śankar's writings. Besides being means of recreation, acting and dramatic presentation are also forceful medium of communicating thoughts and feelings. Śankardeva therefore, not only wrote
plays but also took part in their staging. He also supervised
the making of various musical instruments. In Tulsi's literatures
there is mention of nats and nati, dancers and dances.\textsuperscript{113}
Rāsalīlā and Rāma-līlās were prevalent in Northern India too.\textsuperscript{111}

Various festivals prevalent in the society were also
means of entertainment. Mention can be made of birth day ceremony,
marrige, holi, devālī and the celeration of birth anniversary
of the deity and other religious festivals. They have been
given place in the writings of the two poets as discussed
earlier.\textsuperscript{112}

I. Cosmetics, cloths and ornaments:

Both the poets have made some mention relating to woman's
beauty and cosmetics. Here, pre and post bath ceremonies have
found place. The application of oil\textsuperscript{113} and paste\textsuperscript{114} before bath
and the use of fragrant materials like sandal, musk, after-eros
are mentioned. In Śankara it is more clearly expressed. The
extensive use of cosmetics in Śankar's area in comparison to
Tulsi is supported by Nāsiadhīya interpretation of Rāmāyana.\textsuperscript{115}
Use of anjana in the eyes, tikā on the forehead, application
of mehendi on hand-palms are mentioned in both the poets.\textsuperscript{115}
Mention is made of sixteen forms of woman's sringēr in Rup
Goswāmī's Ujjval Nīlamāṇi and Vallaondev's Sūbhāsītāvūali.
Cosmetics, cloths and ornaments are included in it.\textsuperscript{117}
Most of these are found in Śankar and Tulsi. The difference is that
Tulsi does not describe them individually and is content with the statements like 'sarvam alamkaro bhavati surūpānām' and 'bhūṣana sakala sudesa suhāye'. Sankardeva has described them individually, following are of some examples:

1. **Asitpata**
   - gāwa mucī dibhya neta bastra dīlā āni.
   - pravandhe pindhilā tāka āpuni gosāni.
   - ratnara mekhalā tāni bāndhilā kankūle.
   - muṭhite lukāi batāsate jena hāle.
   - R.H.K., 254-55

2. **Tieing of hair locks**: pravandhe bāndhilā ati ucca kari khopā.
   - Ibid, 255

3. **Use of flower in hair**: mālatī phularā bhītarata dīlā thopā.
   - Ibid, 255

4. **Tīlaka**
   - sikhata sindūra āgarara dīlā phoṭa.
   - Ibid, 256

5. **Karnāvatamsa**
   - karṇe khanjakhili śire pindhila mukūta.
   - cāru cākisālāi juwale upara karṇate.
   - Ibid, 256

6. **Ornaments etc.**
   - ratnamaya galapatā guliā galāta.
   - suvarne khacita gale sāte sari hāra.
   - hṛdayata jvalai jilimili pecandāra.
bāhuta suvarṇa tāra karata kankaṇa
duyo hāte dekhi sāṅkha devāṅga anuṣaṇa.
kapālāta jualai āti suvarṇara jėthi.
daso āṅgulita jāmpa sōnāra ānguṭhi.
ratnara nūpura pāwe runa juna vāje.
- Ibid, 236-38

About women's cosmetics, cloths and garments on the occasion of Śītā's marriage Tulsi writes -

Pahirein barana barana bara cīrā,
sakala vibhūṣana sajein sarīrā,
sakala sumangala saŋa banāyen,
karaṅin gāna kalakonṭhi lajāyein,
kankaṅa kinkini nūpura bājahin,
cāli biloki kāma gaja lājahin.
- Mānas, 1/317/1-2

Here, the two poets have accorded singular importance to local customs. Śāṅkaradeva repeatedly refers to mekhalā and divyaneta among Rukmiṇī's cloths. It may be noted that mekhalā and silken garments in Assam and sāri in North-India have been behind the treatment of the two poets.

Śāṅkar and Tulsi also took note of men's garments. The description of cloths and ornaments of Kṛṣṇa and Rāma can be taken as examples.
6/4. Ideals :

Besides the picture of real society, the two poets have also expressed their thoughts on various subjects. Here, the vaisnava doctrine and ideals find greater reflection. The applicability or otherwise of these thoughts in the present day family and social life is a different matter. It is being discussed below as the standards of their ideals.

A. Family :

The prosperity of the family depend upon the harmony of its members. The ideal Hindu family described in Sankar and Tuls is, in modern terminology, joint family. It includes not only mother, father, son, brother, but also grandfather, uncle, aunt and family servants as well. Sankar's SriKrsha family and Harishchandra family and Tuls's Dasaratha family are ideal families. While describing Kaliyuga the two poets indicate the disintegration and decadence of family. Side by side they also present pictures of well-organised families like those of Harishchandra, Krsna and Dasaratha. It is in the context of such family that the ideal of son is derived :

anucita ucita vicara teji, te palahi pitu baina.

- Tuls, Udh, 541

The happiness of wife and husband in a family is the first condition of an ideal family. Rift in conjugal life leads to disturbance and disintegration. Woman's duty has been equated
with the service to the husband:

stri jati ohaile tara swami jiva prana.

suamise devata yata tapa japa dhyana.

- Sankar, H.J., 443.

pativrata stri ra suamise jivana
kane rakhii acho prana.

- Sankar, Bhag, 11/540

pativrata nri ra suamise moksha prana.

- Sankar, Bhag, 10/655

nariharamu pati deu na duja.

- Tulsi, Manas, 1/101/2

akai dharma eka urata nemai.
kaya bacana mana pati pada-prema.

- Tulsi, Manas, 3/4/5

sahaja apavani nari pati sevata suoha gati lahai.

- Tulsi, Manas, 3/5/5

Saiyai, Rukmini, Sitai, Parvati are presented as ideal women. Sankar's Saiyai becomes a slave to meet the demand of dakshina to her husband; Tulsi's Sita adopts the life of discomfort in forest to accompany her husband. Thus their ardhangini form gain meaning. After attaining Krsna, Rukmini tells Satyaahamai - jagataka parama guru suami SriKrsna, unikara
carana sevā karite brahmāṇḍa bhitarē kona durīlabha thīka,
dharma, artha, kāma, mokṣa cāri padāratha hāte milāva,
(R.H.N., p. 20). It is an example of her single minded sincerity
to the husband. Tulsī's description of Satī illustrates the
same point. Satī sacrifices herself in Dakṣa Yajña, takes
rebirth and performs penance to attain Śiva as husband. The
following verses show the significance of conjugal life
described by the two poets:

karma samayata toka mantri buli lekhi,
rongara belāta yena tai prāṇa sakhi,
sneharā prastāve tai mātri yena ṭhāna,
sayana belāta tai dāsīra samāna.

- Śāṅkar, H.U., 436

sabahin bhānti piya sevā karihaun.
māraga janita sakalā śrama harihaun.
pāya pakhārī osīthi taru chāhīn.
karihaun bāyumudita mana māhin.

- Tulsī, Mānas, 2/66/1

Both the poets have given importance to happy conjugal life
for the prosperity of family. It is inspired by their vaisnavā's
ideals. They accepted the dāśya form of devotion in which the
idea of master-servant relationship is dominant. Their descriptions
of the relationship of husband and wife show the same attitude.
B. Society:

Both the poets envisaged unity in diversity and oneness in duality. Here, they are guided by their single minded devotion to one God. Be it family or society, economy or politics, their ideas are influenced by the philosophy of advaita. Their social ideas reject the standards that do not confirm to advaita. The following verses can be taken as the foundation stone of their social thought:

sātru mitra udāsīna sabāte samēna.
- Sānkar, Bhāg, 8/1247

sama kancana kāncai ginata,
sātru mitra sama doi.
- Tulsī, V.S., 31

To make no distinction between friend and enemy, i.e., to convert an enemy into a friend through good thoughts and feelings indicate social peace and progress. The essence of these thoughts can be traced to vedas:

dṛte dṛṣṭha mā ca kṣuṇā sarvāṇi bhūtāṇi samikṣahantāṁ.
Mitrasyāham ca kṣuṇā sarvāṇi bhūtāṇi samikṣe.
Mitrasya kṣuṇā saṁikṣhāme.
- Yajurveda - 36/16

Like the ancient 'krṇwanto visvāryam’, the two poets conceived of universal equality. It can better be appreciated in the light
of the prevalent struggle in the contemporary medieval society. In the field of devotion the sense of equality indicates largeness of heartedness and in the social context it indicates the establishment of such equality. It is clearly expressed in the following verses:

kukura srigāla garddāhara ātmārāma.
jāniyā sabāko pari kariā prānāma.
samaste bhūtata ātmā suddhi nohe jāve.
kāya-vākya-mane abhyāsisā ehi bhāve.
  - Sānkar, Kīr., 1823
sakale prāṅika dekhibeka ātmāsama
  - Sānkar, Kīr., 1825
nabāchai bhakati jāti ajāti.
  - Sānkar, Kīr., 130
ati nicahu sana prīti kariya jāni nija parama hita.
  - Tulsi, Mānas, 7/95/Ā
jaḍa cetana jaga jīva jata sakala rāmamaya jāni.
bandau saba ke pada kamala sadā jori juga pāni.
  - Tulsi, Mānas, 1/7/C
śīya rāmamaya saba jaga jāni,
karaun prānāma jori juga pāni.
  - Tulsi, Mānas, 1/7/1
Many examples of this kind can be quoted from their works. It can be said that in the eyes of the two poets, the society could be either one of integration (bhakta) or that of disintegration (vibhakta). The society in which they lived was of the latter type and decadent. Their ideal of society was of the former, i.e., well-organised and ruled by principles of equality. Inequality was the fundamental character of the disintegrating society. The two poets on the contrary conceived of a society with essence of equality or oneness. This was their ideal of bhakta-samāja or integrated society.

That a social being should follow the rules of the society is acceptable to both. They gave greater importance to human values than legal sanctions, kindness, love, benevolence etc. One is more closely related to human values than to love. Kindness to the weak, help to the distressed etc. are equally emphasised by them. They take all in vaisnava terminology punya and dharma. Deception and oppression and inflicting pain to others was called pāpa. Throughout their life they tried to elevate good deeds to the status of social prestige. Such preachings are at several places in their writings:

jagatara punya māne jānā niṣṭha kari.
prāṇi upakārara alpakō nuhi sari.
henajani prāṇika abhaya diya dāna.

- Śāṅkar, H.U., 495
They illustrated benevolence with reference to the world of nature. In this connection Sankardeva's reference to the tree is an appropriate example:

para upakārī taru janama sārthaka.
santara bimukha yena nuhike pārthaka.
bākali pellava mūla patra puspaphala.
joj jibā cāve pāvai brkshata sakala.
jīvanara saphala dehira ehimēne.
jīvai para upakāra kari arthe prāne.

- Sānkara, Bhāg, 10/926-27

Tulsī's description of the characteristics of goodman and of benevolence is notable in this regard.

Truth and non-violence are treated by the two poets at social as well as individual level. Individual, social or economic, truth is the essence of all actions:

nāhi nāhi āna dharma jānā satya binā.

- Sānkara, H. U., 262

satyatese āche rahī mahī carācara.
satyasama dharma āura nāhi puruṣara.

- Sānkara, Rām. U., 575-76
Their concern with truth not only as precept but also as an example. Sankar's Harishchandra tells himself to the candra for the sake of truth and Tulsi's Dasaratha meets death in Rama's separation for the same cause. Similarly they have sufficiently stretched non-violence and therefore preached against violence, envy etc.

For healthy society they stressed the need of moral purity in daily life. Hence, they advised to keep away from greed, falsehood, desire, anger etc. and to live on truth, purity, non-violence, self-discipline etc. They condemn desires etc. and preached for emancipation for falsehood. In Sankar's words:

eribe sadāya kāma krodha ahamkāra.
ete eśe eśāe hāta durjaya māyāra.

- Sankar, N.N.S., 147

To Tulsi desire, anger etc. are destructive in themselves and when they collect together it is impossible to save oneself:

graha grihita punī bātabasa, tehi punī bīchī māra.
tāhi piyāī bārūni, kahahu kauna upacāra.

- Tulsi, Doha, 271.

Their statements to give up sense of discrimination, affection towards animals and birds, distance from greed, protection of the deserving, abstention from intoxicants, mother like attitude towards other women are its examples.

Social peace is to great extent guided by the disciplined life of individual. There come occasions when man suffers from many anxieties. In such cases one is prone to commit acts that may be injurious to the society. Keeping such situations in mind Śāṅkar and Tulsi have advised self-control. Persons in Tulsi’s Rāma-rāja had this characteristics:

jītahu manahi suniya asa rāmacandra ke rāja.

- Mānas, 7/22

Such mental discipline is mentioned by Śāṅkara also:

kariyo manaka baisya vidura samprati.

- A.P., 74

Śāṅkar’s refer to prānāyāma as its means; Tulsi’s santīhamsa can be interpreted in the context of mental discipline. Even in actually unfavourable circumstances one can take rational decisions through mental discipline. It keeps the stream of the life of individual, family and society flowing smoothly.
of proper discrimination between evil and good mind may be injurious to society. For Tulsi good mind leads to prosperity and evil mind implies grief. If one is unable to take a decision by himself he may seek the opinion of others and a work based on the right opinion of all is beneficial to the society.

It is for the harmonious organisation of society that the two poets thought of rational work or a work to be done by consultation with many persons. Here also their idea of equality is implicit. It does not mean that they were pleading for the abolition of the traditional organisation and its replacement by a radical one. Here also their idea of advaita vaisnava was at work.

C. Economy:

Economic prosperity is necessary for material welfare. However, the ideas of Sankar and Tulsi were not materialistic. Their economic thoughts mainly represent the viewpoint of vaisnavas, sadhus and sannyasis. The kind of economic distress that Tulsi had gone through was not experienced by Sankaradeva. That is why Tulsi is much distressed by the fact that farmers were landless, beggars did not get alms, the traders business was hampered and persons seeking employment did not get it. People without means of livelihood find themselves in impossible
situation. Such thoughts are repeatedly expressed in Tulsi.\textsuperscript{136} In his opinion bread is a significant consideration for various acts done by people.\textsuperscript{137} There is no description of such distress for economic deprivation in Sankardeva. There may be two reasons for it. He himself did not experience it, there was more fertile land and less population in the contemporary Assam and people got at least minimum food. Excepting describing the pitiable economic distress Tulsi has not made any radical suggestion. It may be so, because Tulsi was vaisnava. The life of Sankar and Tulsi was one of self-discipline and inclined towards saints. Hence, they talked against disappointment and unnecessary accumulation of wealth. They had seen people accumulating wealth through dubious means.\textsuperscript{138} For them such accumulation was the cause of distress and therefore, irreligious.\textsuperscript{139} However, Tulsi kept the material value of wealth in mind and wanted to spend in accordance to one's income:

\begin{quote}
tulsi so samaratha sumati, sukṛṭī sādhu sayāna.
jo bicāri vyavaharai jaga, kharaca lāoha anumāna.
\end{quote}

-Doha, 471

Such persons are called wise, capable, clever, good etc. It implies that extravagance is the cause of suffering. It derives from his personal experience. It should not be interpreted that Tulsi wanted the perpetuation of two classes, the rich and the poor. In fact, he looks towards the administration for proper distribution of material commodities amongst
all sections of society. Following metaphorical verses illustrate it -

mukhiā muknu so cāhiye, khāna pāna kahun eka.
pālai pōṣai sakala anga, tulsi sahita pibeka.

- Tulsi, Mānas, 2/315

The idea of the balance of income and expenditure indicates that he desired proper earning and spending. That is why he preferred benevolent expenditure to consumption and extravagance. Sāmkaraṇeva's ideas are similar to Tulsi's. The following verses show how money should be spent:

pañca bhāga kari vibhāgibe nija bita.
dharma artha kāma yāsa putrara nidāne.
toese thākise pāi sukhe sarbakṣhane.

- Sāmkar, Bhāg, 8/1022

Earned income is divided in five parts for the growth of dharma, artha, kāma, yāsa and santati. The idea of spending money in fixed manner on different items is guided by practical consideration. It is necessary for social happiness and prosperity. This approach is missing in Tulsi. It is possible because Sāmkar was, besides a vaishnava bhākta and religious preacher, a domestic person. He had a full family and for its proper living, proper use of money was necessary. But Tulsi's life was that of a vairāqi in which increase of money, fulfilment
of desires through it an achievement of praise or bringing up fairly did not have a place. For him money had only one use, i.e., for religious purposes. It may be concluded that their economic thoughts were mainly based on the idea balance of income and expenditure.

6/5. Conclusion:

From the above description it can be seen that the subject of Sánkara and Tulsí's poetry is based on scripture and purāṇa. However, it has not remained untouched by the contemporary socio-economic assumptions. In their writings the social and economic assumptions have found expression in two forms - the realistic and the idealistic. It is a cause of anxiety for both the poets that the ancient social organisation with its basis in varṇa and āśrama has been totally disrupted; it has lost its utility. Only conservatism and superstition are left, which have contributed to the disintegration and dis-unity of the society. The society has disintegrated and become decadent. This state of the society, they felt, was due to Kaliyuga.

Both the poets were equally eager to bring about social integration and development of the then disintegrated and decadent society. Their solutions in this respect are mostly similar. In their view the establishment of an ideal society...
of unity and oneness could be brought about only through the eradication of conflict and dualism.

An ideal society is inconceivable in the midst of economic misery. Hence, their attention was drawn to the growing economic disparity in their society. They felt that each individual must have sufficient prosperity for his physical wellbeing. For them the parity between income and expenditure is the essence of proper economic policy. The social and economic thoughts of Śankar and Tulsi may not accord with the ideas of a sociologist or a economist; they in fact present the viewpoint of a devotee poet. In this respect they have much similarity, but Tulsi's viewpoint is sharper than Śankar's.

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5Ibid, 8; Mānas, 1/53
6 Bhāg, 8/1173; Rām. J., 565; Mānas, 2/54/4, 3/9
7 H. J., 84; Mānas, 1/153/2-3
8 A. P., 273-74; Bhāg, 12/24
9 Bhāg, 12/117
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12 Ibid, 6/23-24, 41-42
13 Ibid, 6/53
14 Mānas, 7/97/4
15 Doha, 537
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24 Bhāg (k), 10/26
25 Ibid, 10/31; Mānas, 1/299/2
26 Ibid, 10/11
27 R. H. K., 262
28 See in the discussion belong to 'cosmetics, cloths and ornaments'
29 R. H. K., 690-93
30 H.U., 614; Mānas, 1/331/4
31 R.H.K., 266; Ibid, 1/307/2
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76 J. M., 150; P. M. 135
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78 Ibid, 1/327
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81 Ibid, 1/359/1
82 Bhāg, 10/195, 2117, 11/588, 737; Rām. U., 438
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84 Kīr., 2228-29
85 Ibid, 1006
86 G. V. 7/18
87 Ibid, 7/20
88 H. U., 161, 166, 170, 173; Mānas, 1/164/4
89 R. H. K., 252; R. P.
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91 Ibid, 10/185, 193, Mānas, 1/197/3; G. V. 1/12
92 Ibid, 11/91-94; R. H. K., 469-472; Rām. U., 506-7; Mānas, 1/303/2
93 Ibid, 11/38; Mānas, 7/106/2-3, 107(A)
94 R. H. K., 251; Ibid, 1/326/4
95 Bhāg, 10/249; G. V., 1/30
96 Ibid; Ibid, 1/32
97 Ibid, 10/264.; K. G. V. 3
98 Kīr., 763
99 Ibid, K. G. V., 20
nataka ohātaka pasācima desāka, yata yata pāṇgīta āuve. ghotāka kambala bahuta rajata, āpanahi mano pūri pūve.
   - Sāṅkar, Bhat, p. 1035

See, under head 'Parva-tyohār'.

pracyao hi sundāryon vilocane netraprāntanirguḍteyā
karpōntararasasintānajana rekhyā ohuṣayanti
   - 15/34

Mānas, 6/12/2

R.H.K., 253

Ibid, 254

Mānas, 1/317/1-2

R.H.K., 255

Ibid, 254; H.U., 171

Mānas, 1/247/1
Bar, 2; Bhāg, 10/75-78; Mānas, 1/146-147/1, 1/315 - 315/2

Dohā, 345, 346, 467 etc.

N.N.S., 142; Mānas, 3/38/A, 39/8; Dohā, 264

See other examples, Dohā, 259-268

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Ibid

Ibid

Bhāg, 3/293, 6/53, 8/206; Dohā, 543

Ibid, 6/423; N.N.S., 347; Ibid, 502

Ibid, 10/359; V.S. 27

N.N.S., 146

Dohā, 369

Mānas, 4/39/3

Bhāg, 10/999; Dohā, 474

Kavītā, 7/97

Ibid, 7/96

Bhāg, 12/23; Mānas, 7/97/3

Ibid, 10/128; Ibid 7/96/2

Mānas, 7/126/4

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