

PROSTITUTES¹ IN THE MṚCCHAKAṬIKA² OF SŪDRAKA

As in other parts of the world the prostitutes are found in India also from a very early period³. They are mentioned in the *Rgveda*. At one place the bright *maruts* are said to have become associated with the young lightning just as men become associated with a young cour-

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1. Prostitute is a woman who offers herself indiscriminately to sexual intercourse for hire. *Websters New International Dictionary of the English Language*, vol. III, p. 1988. Prostitute is a woman who offers herself to many men for money. *Chambers New English Dictionary*, ed. by A. M. MACDONALD, Singapore, 1971. Generally the words *ganikā* and *veśyā* have been used in the same sense. Almost all the lexicons of Sanskrit and Prakrit make no difference between their meaning. But in Pali-English Dictionary these words carry different meanings. Here the word *ganikā* means a high-caste public woman who could be enjoyed only by the bureaucrats and members of the royal family and the word *veśyā* on the other hand stands for a low-caste public-woman who could be carnally approached by any common man. From this it can be concluded that during the period of Buddhism there was a clear distinction between *ganikā* and *veśyā*, but later on the difference started becoming vague and in the end these words became synonyms. K. C. JAIN, *Bauddha aur Jaina Āgamon men Nāri Jīwan*, Amritsar, India, 1967, p. 146 ff.

2. In the long and varied history of Sanskrit drama the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Sūdraka occupies a unique place. It has been variously assigned to periods ranging from the 2nd Century B.C. to the 6th Century A.D. It is one of the few Sanskrit dramas in which the dramatist departs from the beaten track and attempts to envisage directly a wider, fuller and deeper life. In this drama, for the first time we turn from the stories of Kings and queens to a more playbian atmosphere and from the dramatisation of timeworn legends to a more refreshing plot of everyday life. It holds the mirror up to nature and gives us a good picture of the social, religious and political conditions of its day. The title *Mṛcchakaṭika* (the little clay-cart) is derived from an episode which leads to the leaving of the heroine's jewels in the toy clay-cart of the hero's little son and gives rise to complications of the plot which are finally resolved in the denouncement and has a psychological significance in the form of the heroine's life.

3. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. X, p. 406.

tesan⁴. Gautama also refers to prostitutes⁵. In the *Mahābhārata* and the *Arthaśāstra* courtesans are described as an established institution. In the *Mahābhārata* it is narrated how a prostitute waited upon Dhṛtarāṣṭra when his wife Gāndhārī was pregnant⁶. Yudhiṣṭhira sends greetings to the prostitutes of the Kauravas⁷. Courtesans are described as going out to welcome Kṛṣṇa when he came on a mission of peace to the Kaurava court⁸. When the Pāṇḍava army is described as about to start for battle it is said that courtesans also accompanied it⁹. Kauṭilya recommends the appointment of the superintendent of prostitutes who watched their activities and looked after their welfare. The prostitutes also paid regular tax to the king and attended his court and rendered him personal service¹⁰. Kālidāsa also refers to the institution of prostitutes¹¹. In the *Jātakas* also there are numerous references to prostitutes which indicate that they were tolerated and even esteemed to a certain degree. The fees paid to them were exceedingly high. The roguery and rapacity of prostitutes are often mentioned and it was regarded as a misfortune to be born of a harlot's womb. The stories of Ambapālī and Śālavatī show the important role, the prostitutes played in the social life. Under the Muslim rulers also unmistakable existence of prostitutes is referred to. There is mention of elaborate organisations of the brothels at Vijayanagar in the 15th Century. Under Akbar the prostitutes of the realm had a separate quarter in the town assigned to them. Even in the modern India prostitution existed as an established institution. They were often recruited from widows or women expelled from caste for immorality or other misconduct¹².

Sufficient materials regarding the existence of the prostitutes are found in the *Mṛcchakaṭīka* also. Prostitutes were normally looked down upon in the society¹³ and were vehemently condemned. Birth in a family of prostitutes was taken to be a result of one's evil doings of the previous birth. It is, therefore, that Viṭa¹⁴ wishes that virtuous Vasantasenā¹⁵

4. *Ṛgveda*, I.167.4.

5. *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, XXII.27.

6. *Mahābhārata*, I.115.39.

7. *Ibid.*, V.30.38.

8. *Ibid.*, V.86.15.

9. *Ibid.*, V.151.58; IV.239.37; VIII.94.26.

10. *Arthaśāstra*, II.27.124-25.

11. *Pūrvaṃegha*, 39.

12. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. X, pp. 404-9.

13. *Tasmānmareṇa kulaśīlasamanvītena,*

Veśyāḥ smaśānasumanā iva varjanīyāḥ, 4/14.

Mṛcchakaṭīka, ed. by R. S. TRIPATHI, Varanasi, 1969.

... *na veśajātāḥ śucayastathāṅganāḥ* (*ibid.*, 4/17).

14. Viṭa is the servant of Śakāra, but presents a good contrast to his master. He is well accomplished and cultured in his manners. He has great regard for Vasantasenā and helps her when he knows that she is in love with Cārudatta.

15. Vasantasenā, the heroine of the play *Mṛcch.* is a courtesan by birth but a *kulastrī* by her demeanour. Unlike her fellow-prostitutes, she is more devoted to virtues than to wealth.

not be reborn in the family of prostitutes but in that of good men¹⁶. It was below dignity for a respectful person to go to such places where they resided¹⁷. Their social status was far inferior, so much so that neither they nor anything belonging to them had any access to the interior of the house of a gentleman¹⁸. Even Vasantasenā does not find herself fit to enter the inner apartment of her lover Cārudatta's¹⁹ house. Even visiting his house, she regards as a crime and with bended head apologises for it²⁰. In the morning finding herself in the house of Cārudatta she feels very much guilty²¹, thinking that her presence in Cārudatta's house might have very much pained the inmates of the house²². Even ornaments put on by the prostitutes were also the objects of contempt. Cārudatta seems reluctant to allow the entry of Vasantasenā's ornaments in the inner apartment of his house²³.

Persons, in any way related to the prostitutes also were considered to be untouchables. In the opinion of Vidūṣaka²⁴ the brother of Vasantasenā is untouchable like the Campaka-tree growing on the way to the cremation-ground²⁵. For a respectable person keeping company with a prostitute was a shameful act. In the court when the judge asks Cārudatta whether the prostitute Vasantasenā is his friend, he keeps mum²⁶. When pressed further, in a very low tone, he, throwing all blame on unbridled youth, accepts his relations with Vasantasenā²⁷. Even Vasantasenā's mother feels reluctant to disclose that Cārudatta had friendship with Vasantasenā. She knows full well that a respectful person does not like to disclose his relations with a prostitute, however noble she might be²⁸.

16. *Anyasyāmapī jātau mā veśyā bhūstvaṃ hi sundari!*

Cārītryaguṇasampanne jāyethā vimale kule (ibid., 8/43).

17. *Gaṇikā, hastī kāyastho, bhīkṣuḥ, cāto, rājabhaṣca yatraite nivasanti tatra*
[*duṣṭā api na jāyante (ibid., 5/7/1).*]

18. Vasantasenā says to herself, *Mandabhāginī khalvahaṃ tavābhyantarasya*
(*ibid.*, 1/52/7).

19. Cārudatta, the hero of the play *Mṛcch.* is a large-hearted brahmin by birth and a wealthy merchant by profession, whose princely liberality wins the admiration of the whole city but reduces him to lonely poverty.

20. *Etenānucitabhūmikārohaṇenāparāddhāryaṃ śīrṣeṇa praṇamya prasādayāmi*
(*ibid.*, 1/56/2).

21. *Kim praviṣṭāhamihābhyantacaratuḥśālakaṃ? (ibid., 6/0/11).*

22. *Api santapyate Cārudattasya parijanaḥ (ibid., 6/0/13).*

23. *Alaṃ catuḥśālamimamāṃ praveśya prakāśanārīdhṛta eṣa yasmāt (ibid., 3/7).*

24. Vidūṣaka, named Maitreya, a comedian is a staunch friend and confidante of the hero Cārudatta.

25. ... *tathāpi smaśānavithyāṃ jāta iva campakavṛkṣo'nabhigamanīyo lokasya*
(*ibid.*, 4/29).

26. *Ārya! gaṇikā tava mitram?*

Cārudatta lajjāṃ nāyati (ibid., 9/16/11-12).

27. *Cāru — (Salajjam) bho adhikṛtāḥ! mayā kathamūḍṣaṃ vaktavyam — yathā*
[*gaṇikā mama mitrami? Athawa yauvanamatṛāparādhyati, na cārītryam*
(*ibid.*, 9/17/2).

28. *Adhi — kinnāmadheyam tasyā mitram?*

Vṛddhā — hā dhik, hā dhik, atilajjanīyam khalvidam (ibid., 9/7/29-30).

Prostitutes gave top preference to wealth. That is why they preferred kings and feudal lords and their favourites most²⁹. Wealth was the only means by which they could be procured³⁰. When Śakāra³¹ wants to call Vasantasenā to his place, he sends ornaments worth ten-thousand gold-coins in advance to her as her fee³². This led to the accumulation of huge wealth in the house of prostitutes³³. Vasantasenā's residence has been compared with the palace of Indra and the residents of the former with those of the latter³⁴. The prostitutes gave second preference to a learned brahmin youth³⁵. Such business-class persons, in their eyes, occupied third position as had acquired much wealth by doing business in different cities and towns³⁶.

Vātsyāyana lays down that prostitutes, while choosing a person considered three points — his wealth, his capacity to protect them from all possible dangers and misfortunes and his love and affection³⁷.

Prostitutes were by nature greedy. A greedless prostitute was hard to find³⁸. They often amassed vast wealth and owned palatial mansions with varied riches³⁹. They as a general rule loved the riches of a man more than the man himself whom they deserted as soon as they had screwed out all his wealth from him⁴⁰. They accompanied anyone who offered them great wealth in any form and even went out to public gardens to sport with such men. They were looked upon as the common property or a commodity that could be purchased by anyone at will⁴¹. This aspect of their character is further brought into bold relief by the statements of Viṭa where he compares a prostitute with a public pond,

29. *Kim rājā rājavallabho vā sevyate? (ibid., 2/0/14).*

30. ... *vahasi hi dhanahāryam paṇyabhūtaṁ śarīram (ibid., 1/31).*

Cf. *yasyārthastasya sā kāntā dhanahāryo hyasau janaḥ (ibid., 5/9/1).*

31. Śakāra or Saṁsthānaka is an important character having unique personality in the whole field of Sanskrit dramatic literature. He is Cārudatta's co-suitor seeking Vasantasenā's hand per force.

32. *Cetī — Yena pravahaṇena saha suvarṇadaśasāhasriko'laṅkāro'nupreṣitaḥ.*

Vasant — *Kaḥ punaḥ saḥ?*

Cetī — Eṣa eva rājaśyālaḥ saṁsthānakaḥ (ibid., 4/8/14-16).

33. *Ibid., 4/27/6, onwards.*

34. *Yatsatyam nandanavanameva me gaṇikāgrhaṁ pratibhāsate (ibid., 4/29/5).*

Cf. *Kim tāvatgaṇikāgrhaṁ? Athawā kuberaḥ bhawanaparicchedaḥ (ibid., 4/29/3).*

Cf. *Iha gandharvāsparogaṇairiva vividhālaṅkāraśobhitairgaṇikājanairbandhulaiśca*

[yatsatyam svargāyate idaṁ geḥam (ibid., 4/27/17).

35. ... *vidyāviśeśalaṅkṛtaḥ kim ko'pi brāhmaṇayuvā kāmyate? (ibid., 2/0/16).*

36. *Kim anekanagarābhigamanajanitavibhavavistaro vaṇijayuvā vā kāmyate (ibid., 2/0/18).*

37. ... *arthānarthapratighātaḥ prītiśceti Vātsyāyanaḥ (Kāmasūtra, 6.1.18).*

38. ... *alubdhā gaṇikā...iti duṣkaramete saṁbhāvyaṇte (Mṛcch., 5/6/1).*

39. Read the detailed description of the Vasantasenā's palace given by Maitreya in the fourth act of the drama *Mṛcchakaṭīka*.

40. *Striyo hṛtārtham puruṣam nirartham, Niṣpīditā laktakavattyajanti (Mṛcch., 4/15).*

41. *Ibid., 1/31.*

with a wild creeper, and with a hired boat⁴², which are open to all irrespective of caste, creed or any other consideration.

Some prostitutes were, however too good for the profession and refused to be attracted by wealth. They cared more for qualities⁴³ than for money and boldly stuck to their resolve in spite of an opposing mother⁴⁴. It is because of this that Vasantasenā, who loves wealthless Cārudatta feels that she is above condemnation⁴⁵.

Prostitutes were well-versed in dance and music — both vocal and instrumental, and in the art of drawing and painting. From their very childhood they were properly trained in these arts. They were also experts in arts conducive to sexual pleasures⁴⁶. Even while moving on roads they displayed such amorous activities as produced passion in the hearts of persons given to sensual pleasures. The result was that a band of notorious and undesirable persons followed them on roads⁴⁷, passing vulgar remarks and using abusive words for them and followed them to long distances⁴⁸.

Various derogatory and contemptuous names and titles given to prostitutes throw ample light on the dark aspect of their character in general. They have been called *nānakamoṣikāmakaśikā* (they whip up the sexual passion of thieves, who steal costly gems and metals); *matsyāśikā* (they always take fish, a very passion-provoking food); *lāsikā* (they always indulge in fine-arts like dancing etc. to attract men towards them); *nirnasā* (they, after their death go to hell on account of their evil-doings); *kulanāśikā* (they spoil the families of noble persons by their contaminating contact); *avaśikā* (they cannot be made one's own by giving them even vast wealth); *kāmamañjūśikā* (they are the store-house of amorous activities); *veśavadhū* (they are the wives of such persons as are dependents on the earnings of their wives); *suveśanīlayā* (they always keep themselves decorated with beautiful, costly and attractive clothes and ornaments); *veśāṅganā* (they reside in the red-light area);

42. *Vāpyāṃ snāti vicakṣaṇo dvijavaro mūrkhō'pi varnādhamah,
Phullāṃ nāmyati vāyaso'pi hi latāṃ yā nāmītā barhiṇā;
Brahmakṣatraviśastaranti ca yayā nāvā tayaivetaṛe,
Tvam vāpīva lateva, nauriva janāṃ veśyāsi sarvaṃ bhāja* (*ibid.*, 1/32).

Cf. *ibid.*, 5/9.

43. ... *guṇāḥ khalu anurāgasya kāraṇaṃ na balātkārah* (*ibid.*, 1/31/1).

44. ... *yadi māṃ jivantimicchasi, tadaivaṃ na punarahāṃ mātṛā jñāpayitavyā* (*ibid.*, 4/0/20).

45. Vasant — *daridrapuruṣasankrāntamaṇaḥ khalu gāṇikā loke avacanīyā*
[*bhavati* (*ibid.*, 2/0/31)].

46. See Vasantasenā's palace — description in the fourth act of the drama, *Mṛcchakaṭīka*.

47. ... *salīlāṃ gaḥchantī ratisamayalajjāpraṇayinī,
Ratikṣetre raṅge priyapathikasārthairanugatā* (*ibid.*, 5/12).

48. For detail see how Viṭa and Sakāra follow Vasantasenā for quite a long distance, *ibid.*, 1/17, onwards.

and *veśikā* (they enter into the hearts of other men in order to procure wealth from them) ⁴⁹.

The following various activities of the prostitutes as described by the dramatist further refer to some more evil-aspects of their nature and thus render their dark character still darker. They like birds eat-up the fruit, like wealth of tree-like noble persons ⁵⁰; they are the tender weapons of Cupid ⁵¹; they are cause of sorrow to the ladies of noble families ⁵²; they are the charming flowers of the tree of Cupid ⁵³; they are the fire-house of the fire of passion where men's youth and wealth are offered as oblations ⁵⁴; they try to procure wealth by laughing and weeping as the occasion demands ⁵⁵; they first create confidence in men and then cheat them ⁵⁶; they are fickle-minded ⁵⁷ and their affection is unstable ⁵⁸; they first squeeze out wealth of men and then kick them out ⁵⁹; they are expert in using sweet words ⁶⁰ and telling lies ⁶¹; they are clever in creating rift between true-lovers ⁶²; they are the birth-place of illusion, deceit and untruth ⁶³; they always take recourse to fraudulent behaviour ⁶⁴; they always keep themselves engaged in amorous activities and sensual pleasures ⁶⁵; they sell their youth ⁶⁶ and they exert such a pull on a young man that once entrapped he could hardly get rid of

49. *Eṣā nānakamoṣikāmākāśikā matsyāśikā lāsikā, Nirnāsā kulanāśikā avāśikā kāmasya mañjūśikā; Eṣā vesavadhūh suveśanīlayā veśāṅganā veśikā; Etānyasya daśa nāmakāni mayā kṛtānyadyāpi mām necchati (ibid., 1/23). Cf. ibid., 1/31.*

Manu (4/84) also condemns such men as earn their livelihood by allowing their wives to earn money by immoral ways.

50. *Iha sarvasvaphalīnaḥ kulaputramahādrumaḥ. Niṣphalatvamalaṃ yānti veśyāvihagabhakṣitāḥ (ibid., 4/10).*

51. *Praharaṇamanangasya lalitāṃ (ibid., 5/12).*

52. *Kulastrīṇāṃ śoko (ibid.).*

53. *Madanavaravṛkṣasya kusumaṃ (ibid.).*

54. *Ayaṃ ca suratajwālāḥ kāmāgniḥ praṇayendhanaḥ, Narāṇāṃ yatra hūyante yauvanāni dhanāni ca (Mṛcch., 4/11).*

55. *Etā hāsanti ca rudanti ca vittahetoḥ (ibid., 4/14).*

56. *Viśwāsayanti puruṣaṃ na tu viśvasanti (ibid.).*

Cf. *Anyāṃ manuṣyaṃ hṛdayena kṛtvā,*

Anyāṃ tato dṛṣṭibhirāhwayanti,

Anyatra muñcanti mādaprāsekamānyāṃ śarīreṇa ca kāmāyante (ibid., 4/16).

57. *Samudravichīva calasvabhāvaḥ (ibid., 4/15).*

58. *Sandhyābhralekheva muhūrtarāgaḥ (ibid.).*

59. *Strīyo hṛtārthaṃ puruṣaṃ nirarthaṃ niṣpīḍītālakta-kavattiyajanti (ibid., 4/15).*

60. *When Vasantasena abuses Śākāra, he says — « Vasantasena! veśāvāsaviruddhamabhihitāṃ bhavatyā » (ibid., 1/30/10).*

61. *Nānāpuruṣasaṅgena veśyājanāḥ alīkadakṣiṇo bhavati (ibid., 4/0/8).*

62. *Madanasandhivigraha-caturāḥ itastataḥ paribhramanti gaṇikā (ibid., 4/27/13).*

63. *Sātopakūtakapaṭṅṛtajanmabhūmeḥ (ibid., 5/36).*

64. *Sāthyātmakasya (ibid.).*

65. *Raṭikelikṛtālayasya (ibid.).*

66. *Veśyāpaṇasya suratotsava-saṅgrahasya;*

Dakṣiṇyapaṇyasukhaniṣkrayasiddhirastu (ibid.).

them and they always keep him under perpetual torture like a pebble in shoe⁶⁷.

Retired old mother of the prostitute was her sole guardian⁶⁸. She was harsh and money-minded. Her sole aim was to see that her daughter, by any means, earned maximum wealth. Knowing that Śakāra has sent huge wealth in the form of gold ornaments she orders Vasantasenā to rush up to Śakāra's house⁶⁹. She does not respect at all the feelings and emotions of her daughter⁷⁰.

Prostitute's mother was the mistress of the house. Dressed in printed clothes, she amorously occupied a high and cushioned seat⁷¹. She put on shoes in her highly greased legs⁷². She had a huge and bulging belly⁷³. She drank different kinds of intoxicants⁷⁴.

Prostitute's brother was also dependent on the earnings of his sister. He put on silken garments and ornaments in odd ways. His life was swayed by material prosperities. Under the heady influence of wealth he walked like a drunkard, in a staggering manner⁷⁵. Though he profusely used costly and scented cosmetics, yet he was considered inauspicious and untouchable like a campaka tree grown on a cremation ground⁷⁶.

The houses of prostitutes were dens of libidinous persons⁷⁷. Youths of well-to-do families neglecting their faithful and devoted wives went to the prostitutes and spent their money extravagantly over them⁷⁸. There, in their company, they indulged in luxurious carnal pleasures. They chewed camphored betels offered by them and cut jokes with them preceded by throwing side-glances. They very gladly and most

67. *Gaṇikā nāma pādukāntarapraviṣṭā iva ḍeṣṭukā duḥkhena punaḥ nirākriyate* (ibid., 5/7/1).

68. *Mātrā vinā kiñcinna ceṣṭeta* (*Kāmasūtra*, 6/2).

69. See — the dialogue between Cetī and Vasantasenā, *Mṛcch.*, 4/0/10-20.

70. *Ibid.*

71. *Vidūṣaka — Bhavati! eṣa punaḥ kā puṣpaprāvāraprāvṛto... uccāsane upaviṣṭā tiṣṭhati?* (ibid., 4/29/1).

72. ... *pānādyugalanikṣiptatāilacikkaṇābhyaṁ pādābhyaṁuccāsane upaviṣṭā* [tiṣṭhati]

Cetī — *Ārya! eṣa khalvasmākamāryāyāḥ mātā* (ibid., 4/29/2).

73. *Aho asyāḥ kapardakaḍākinīyāḥ udaravistarāḥ* (ibid., 4/29/3).

74. *Sīdhūsurāsavamatā etāvadvasthāṁ gatā hi mātā* (ibid., 4/30).

75. *Vidūṣaka — bhavati! ka eṣa paṭṭaprāvāraprāvṛtoḍhikataramatyādbhūtapu- [naruktāṅkāṅkārāṅkṛto'ṅgabhaṅgaiḥ pariskhalannitastataḥ paribhrāmati?*

Cetī — *Ārya! eṣa āryāyāḥ bhrātā bhavati* (ibid., 4/28/7).

76. *Mā tāvadyadyapyeṣa ujjwalaḥ, Snigdhaśca sugandhaśca.*

Tathāpi śmaśānavithyaṁ jāta iva,

Campakavṛkṣo'nabhigamanīyo lokasya (ibid., 4/29).

77. *Taruṇajanasaḥāyaścintyatām veśavāso* (ibid., 1/31).

78. ... *ime apare'vadhīritaputradāravittā manuṣyāḥ* (ibid., 4/28/8).

willingly drank the ice-mixed wine, which was left over by the prostitutes after partially tasting it ⁷⁹.

Prostitutes maintained a hallow of religious life around them. They regularly performed their daily duties and observed religious ceremonies and worshipped gods ⁸⁰. Cupid was their most favourite deity. Prosperous prostitutes had idols or temples of Cupid located in the courtyard of their houses ⁸¹. If, they due to any unavoidable circumstances could not themselves worship their deities, brahmins deputed by them did the job ⁸². Besides this, there were also public temples of Cupid where they went on certain festive occasions ⁸³.

There existed a provision under which a prostitute could get emancipation from the hellish condition of her ignominious life. She could attain the status of a *Kulavadhū* (woman of a respectable family) by getting married ⁸⁴ and such a *kulavadhū* was considered to be superior in status even to her former mistress ⁸⁵. Sometimes the king bestowed the title of a *kulavadhū* on a prostitute in appreciation of her good qualities ⁸⁶. Consequently, she could become a lawful wife of the man of her choice.

Thus we see that *Mṛcchakaṭīka* presents a very living, true and vivid picture of prostitutes prevailing during its time.

79. *Diyate gaṇikāmukayoḥ sakarpūraṁ tāmbūlaṁ. Avalokyate sakaṭākṣaṁ.*

[*Pravartate hāsaḥ. Piyate cānavarataṁ saṣṭikāraṁ madirā. Ime cetāḥ,*

[*imaṣceṭīkāḥ, ime apare'vadhīritaputradāravittā manuṣyāḥ*

[*āsavakarakāpitamadīraiḥ gaṇikājanairye muktāste pibanti (ibid., 4/28/8).*

80. *Ceti — Ārye! mātā'dīṣati — snātā bhūtā devatānāṁ pūjāṁ nirvartaya (ibid., 20/0/7).*

81. When Śarvilaka comes to meet Vasantasenā, Madanikā asks him to wait in the temple of Cupid, located in the courtyard of the house of Vasantasenā, *ibid.*, 4/21/1.

82. *Vasant — Adya na snāyāmi. Tat brāhmaṇa eva pūjāṁ nirvartayatu (ibid., 2/0/8).*

83. *Ibid.*, 1/32/2.

84. *Sudṛṣṭaḥ kriyatāmeṣa śirasā vandyatāṁ janaḥ.*

Yatra te durlabhaṁ prāptaṁ vadhūśabdāvaguṇhanam (ibid., 4/24).

85. *Sāmprataṁ tvameva vandaniyā saṁvṛttā (ibid., 4/23/5).*

86. *Ārye Vasantasene! parituṣṭo rājā bhavatiṁ vadhūśabdena anugrḥṇāti (ibid., 10/58/10).*