

MINORU HARA

HINDU CONCEPT OF SHAME – SANSKRIT LAJJĀ, VRĪDĀ, HRĪ –

There are several words expressive of shame in Sanskrit. Amara listed *vrīdā*, *lajjā*, *hrī* and *trapā*. Of these, we shall discuss in this paper the first three because of the frequency of their use and the scantiness of the last one.

Two examples are quoted below in which these three words are used synonymously.

(0-1) There are three passages, illustrating the same idea of shame or bashfulness as the quality essential to women (*aṅganā*) in general and well-bred ladies (*kula-stṛī*) in particular.

(0-1-1) *hrī* is called an adornment (*maṇḍana*) of women.

*nītir bhūmi-bhujām natir guṇavatām hrīr aṅganānām ratir
daṃpatyoḥ śīśavo gr̥hasya kavītā buddheḥ prasādo girām
lāvanyaṃ vapuṣaḥ smṛtiḥ sumanasaḥ śāntir dvijasya kṣamā
śaktasya draviṇaṃ gr̥hāśramavatām svāsthyaṃ satām maṇḍanam
(IS.3800)*

Right policy is the adornment (*maṇḍana*) of kings, so is modesty of the virtuous, shame (*hrī*) of women, love-delight of the couple, children of a house, poetic skill of the intellect, lucidity of words, charmingness of body, memory of the wise, tranquillity of a Brahmin, endurance of the powerful, wealth of householders, healthiness of good men.

(0-1-2) The same idea of adornment (*bhūṣaṇa*) is attributed also to *vrīḍā*.

*kṣāntiś cet kavacena kiṃ kim aribhiḥ krodho 'sti ced dehinām
jñātiś ced analena kiṃ yadi suhrd divyausadhaiḥ kiṃ phalam
kiṃ sarpaīr yadi durjanāḥ kim u dhanair vidyānavadyā yadi
vrīḍā cet kim u bhūṣaṇaiḥ sukavitā yady asti rājyena kim* (IS.2016)

If one has endurance, enough of armour, if men have anger, enough of enemies, if there is relative, enough of fire, if one has a friend, what is the need of divine herbs? If there is an evil man, enough of snakes, if one has perfect knowledge, enough of wealth, if there is shame (*vrīḍā*), no need of adornment (*bhūṣaṇa*), if one has wisdom enough of kingship.

(0-1-3) The word *lajjā* appears in a similar context.

*asamtuṣṭā dvijā naṣṭāḥ samtūṣṭāś caiva pārthivāḥ
salajjā gaṇikā naṣṭā nirlajjāś ca kula-striyaḥ* (IS.755. cf. 6086)

The unsatisfied twice-borns perish, so do kings who are satisfied.
Courtesans with shame perish, so do women of good family (*kula-stri*)
without shame (*nirlajjā*)¹.

(0-1-4) In these examples, we notice that the three words *hrī*, *vrīḍā* and *lajjā* are used synonymously.

(0-2) When a warrior is insulted in public, he is ashamed, drooping his face (*avān-mukha*, *adho-mukha*, *avanata-vadana*). In such a context the word for shame is *hrī*, *vrīḍā* or *lajjā*.

(0-2-1) A verse, which describes the Pāṇḍavas leaving the capital for the forest, reads as follows.

*ruru-carmāvṛta-tanūn hriyā kiṃcid avān-mukhān
paraiḥ parītān samhr̥ṣṭaiḥ suhr̥dbhiś cāśocitān* (MBh.2.70.11)

1. The word *trapā* is also used in a similar context of *bhūṣaṇa*.
*javo hi sapteḥ bhūṣaṇaṃ trapāṅganāyāḥ kṛśatā tapasvinaḥ
dvijaśya vidyaiva muner api kṣamā parākramaḥ śastra-balopajivinām* (IS.2373)

She (Prthā) saw all her sons, whose bodies were covered with deer-skins, drooping their faces with shame (*hrī*), found amidst their delighted enemies, but mourned by their friends².

(0-2-2) Duryodhana had his face downcast because he was rescued and delivered by his enemy.

*dharmarāja-nisrṣṭas tu dhārtarāṣṭraḥ suyodhanaḥ
lajjayādhomekhaḥ sīdann upāsarpāt suduḥkhiṭaḥ* (MBh.3.236.5)

Suyodhana, the son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, after having been dismissed by King Dharma, hung his head in shame (*lajjā*) and made his way back slowly³.

(0-2-3) The Bodhisattva had a downcast look, being ashamed and embarrassed by the unexpected immoral suggestion of his teacher.

vrīḍāvanata-vadanas tu bodhisattvo mṛdu viniśvasya tūṣṇim abhūt (JM 12. 10 prose, p.78 23)

Ashamed and with downcast looks (*vrīḍāvanata-vadana*) he heaved a soft sigh and remained silent. (Speijer)

(0-2-4) In the above passages, the three words *hrī*, *lajjā*, and *vrīḍā* are used synonymously.

All these examples invite us to take these words as synonyms.

(0-3) However, if they are used synonymously, how should we translate these words where they appear in one and the same passage? Two Epic passages which have the compound *lajjā-vrīḍita* demand that we differentiate the meanings of these two words, *lajjā* and *vrīḍā*.

(0-3-1) First, in Sītā's well-known encounter with Rāma after exile, she had to hear harsh words from the mouth of her beloved husband. The text reads as follows,

2. Cf. also,
*praṇamya ca gurau mūrdhnā bāṣpa-vyākula-locanaḥ
kṛtvāñjalim uvācedaṃ hriyā kiṃcid avān-mukhaḥ* (SN 12.12)

3. Cf. MBh.7.91.2 (*lajjayāvanata*).

*sā tad aśruta-pūrvam hi jane mahati maithilī
śrutvā bharatṛ-vaco rūkṣam lajjayā vrīḍitābhavat* (R.6.104.2)

Having heard her husband's harsh words in the midst of the people, which she had never heard before, she became ashamed (*vrīḍita*) by the shame (*lajjā*).

(0-3-2) Similarly, Bhīṣma, the respected elder among the Kurus, was perplexed when his advice was completely ignored by the young Kauravas. The text reads as follows.

*tāms tu samprasthitān dr̥ṣṭvā bhīṣmaḥ kuru-pitāmahaḥ
lajjayā vrīḍito rājañ jagāma svam niveśanam* (MBh.3.241.12)

Having seen them leave (with no regard for him), Bhīṣma, grandsire of the Kurus, was ashamed (*vrīḍita*) by shame (*lajjā*), oh king, and he went to his own quarter.

A chaste woman was perplexed being rejected unexpectedly by her beloved husband, and the respected elder was bewildered because his advice was completely ignored by his nephews. Embarrassed by the unexpected disgrace (*vrīḍita*), they feel ashamed (*lajjā*). Here *vrīḍā* is imbued with the tinge of embarrassment, while its emotional outcome is expressed by *lajjā*.

(0-3-3) Furthermore, when Bhīṣma was seriously wounded, Duryodhana and his followers were ashamed.

*vivarṇa-vadanāś cāsan gata-srīkāś ca bhārata
atiṣṭhan vrīḍitāś caiva hriyā yuktā hy adho-mukhāḥ* (MBh.6.115..16)

They stood with their face pale, and their splendour was gone. They remained ashamed (*vrīḍita*) with their faces downcast because of shame (*hrī*)⁴.

4. *trapā* is also compounded with *-avanata*.
*tīryak-trapāvanata-pakṣima-puta-pravāntair
dhautādhara-sana-mukhī nayanāmbu-pātaiḥ
svāṅgeṣv aliyata navaiḥ sahasā stanadbhir
udvejitā jaladharair iva rāja-hamsī* (Pādatāḍitaka 11)
Also *apatrapā* is construed with *adhomukha*.
āsīnayoś cāvayor mām evopagamyā sā nīlotpala-mayam ivāpāṅga-dāmāṅge

Here the Kauravas were perplexed (*vr̥ḍita*) by the unbelievable death of their invincible hero, and hung their head down, being deprived of their pride (*hr̥i*). We note that *vr̥ḍā* is imbued with the tinge of confusion, while *hr̥i* is associated with a sense of pride as an honourable warrior.

(0-3-4) In these examples, the semantic content of the words *lajjā*, *vr̥ḍā* and *hr̥i*, which appear in one and the same verse, should be differentiated.

(0-4) With this brief introduction, now let us proceed to our main discussion, examining the semantic content of these words in more detail.

I. *lajjā*

As we have seen above, the word is often construed with well-bred woman.

(1-1) Women

(1-1-1) A maiden (*kula-yuvati*)

It is not only peculiar to *kula-strī* (IS.755), but also to *kula-yuvati*.

vidyā-tīrthe vimala-matayaḥ sādhaveḥ satya-tīrthe
gaṅgā-tīrthe malina-manaso dāna-tīrthe dhanāḍyāḥ
lajjā-tīrthe kula-yuvatayo yogino jñāna-tīrthe
dhārā-tīrthe dharaṇi-patayaḥ kalmaṣaṃ kṣālayanti (IS.6086)

Men of pure thoughts wash their dirt in wisdom, so do the virtuous in truth, men of dirty minds in Ganges, the rich in giving, young women of noble family in shame, Yogins in knowledge, kings in a river⁵.

(1-1-2) Married women

mama muñcantī tam janam apatr̥yādhomekhaṃ vyadhata (Daśakumāracarita 93.12-94.2)

5. When Nala appeared in the court of Damayantī, her attendant-maidens (*varāṅgnā*) were too bashful to speak out even a word.

na tv enaṃ śaknuvanti sma vyāhartum api kiṃcana
tejasā dharṣitāḥ sarvā lajjāvato varāṅganāḥ (MBh.3.52.17)

A newly married woman, wishing to have a child from her beloved husband, feels ashamed in confessing her desire. Thus, young Lopamudrā said to Agastya.

*tataḥ sā prāñjalir bhūtvā lajjamāneva bhāmini
tadā sapraṇayaṃ vākyam bhagavantam athābravīt* (MBh.3.95.15)

With folded hands she stood there, blushing as though bashful, and addressed the blessed lord with this love-pleading word. (van Buitenen)

A young lady embraces bashfully her husband in the full view of the people. Thus the daughter of Virāṭa embraced Abhimanyu who fell dead in the battle-field.

*kāmya-rūpavati caīṣā pariṣvajati bhāmini
lajjamānā purevainam mādhavīka-mada-mūrchitā* (MBh.11.20.7)

The beautiful and lovely-shaped lady bashfully embraces him just as before, inebriated with honeyed wines.

Likewise, a young wife feels ashamed, when giving herself to a guest, keeping her husband's constant instruction. Oghāvati in her husband's absence, offered herself to a Brahmin at his request, but when her husband came back, she could not show up herself in front of him.

*ucchiṣṭāsmīti manvānā lajjitā bhartur eva ca
tūṣṇī-bhūtābhavat sādhvī na covācātha kiṃcana* (MBh.13.2.60)

The chaste woman, considering herself abandoned, became speechless, overcome with the shame of her husband and said nothing.

(1-1-3) It is the courtesans who use *lajjā* as a trick for deceiving an innocent man. Thus, the courtesan Kāmamañjarī succeeded in seducing the sage Marīci. She behaves as if ashamed, when the love-sick sage asks her what *kāma* is.

iti preritā marricinā lajjā-mantharam ārabhatābhidhātum

(Daśakumāracarita 83 6-7)

Thus requested by Marīci, she began to speak slowly, showing bashfulness.

All these passages quoted above show that *lajjā* is the essential quality of women in general, and to the well-bred maiden and lady in particular.

(1-2) Warrior

(1-2-1) The honourable Kṣatriyas are ashamed, when they are annoyed by the enemy.

*lajjayāvanate cāpi prahr̥ṣṭaiś caiva tāvakaiḥ
dvīpo ya āsit pāṇḍūnām agādhe gādham icchatām* (MBh.7.91.2)

When bent down with shame by your troops (who were) elated with joy, he (Sātyaki came there) who was the island of those (Pāṇḍavas) who were desirous in the fathomless sea (of distress)⁶.

(1-2-2) Similarly, the noble warrior is ashamed, when he is rescued by his enemy. In his cattle expedition with the intention of disgracing the Pāṇḍavas, Duryodhana was unexpectedly captured by a group of Gandharvas. Then the Pāṇḍavas requested them to deliver him. Being rescued, Duryodhana felt great shame.

*dharmarāja-nirṣṭas tu dhārtarāṣṭraḥ suyodhanaḥ
lajjayādhumukhaḥ śidann upāsarpāt suduḥkhiṭaḥ* (MBh.3.236.5)

Suyodhana, the son of Dhārtarāṣṭra, after having been dismissed by the King of Dharma, hung his head in shame and made his way back slowly, desirous of displaying their courage unto one another.

6. Thus, the high-souled warriors remained in the front out of the sense of honour, even when all others took flight.

*tān nivṛtān samikṣyaiva tato 'nye 'pītare janāḥ
anyonya-sparḍhayā rājamīl lajjayānye 'vatasthīre* (MBh.6.54.29)

Seeing them taking flight, another group of people remained (in the battle-field), desirous of displaying their courage unto one another.

As we shall see later, the warriors' shame arising from pride and honour is ordinarily expressed by *hrī* instead.

7. On seeing the same Duryodhana come back from the cattle-expedition, Bhīṣma said to him as follows.

*tataḥ prāptam tvayā vīra grahaṇam śatrubhir balāt
mokṣitaś cāsi dharmajñaiḥ pāṇḍavair na ca lajjāse* (MBh.3.241.6)

So you were taken forcibly captive by enemies and set free by the Law-wise Pāṇḍavas. Have you no shame? (van Buitenen).

(1-2-3) Warriors in self-reflection and regret feel ashamed. When the great slaughter was over, the guilty-conscious king Yudhiṣṭhira had no courage to approach Bhīṣma.

*lajjayā parayopeto dharmātmā sa yudhiṣṭhirah
abhiśāpa-bhayād bhīto bhavantaṃ nopasarpati* (MBh.12.55.11)

Yudhiṣṭhira, the conscientious lord, was overcome with great shame. Being afraid of (your) curse, he does not dare to approach you.

Bhīṣma encouraged him, explaining the Kṣatradharma as being cruel. Similarly, Arjuna was ashamed, upon his reflection of his harsh speech to his elder brother.

*tato 'rjuno mahā-rāja lajjayā vai samanvitaḥ
dharmarājasya caraṇau prapede śirasānagha* (MBh.8.50.9)

O king, then Arjuna overcome by the sense of shame touched the feet of the righteous king with his head⁸.

(1-2-4) “Shame on you (*lajjasva*)”.

When the love-sick Jayadratha approached Draupadī, speaking ill of the sons of Pāṇḍu, she rejected him with the following words.

*avamatyāsyā tad-vākyam ākṣipya ca sumadhyamā
maivam ity abravīt kṛṣṇā lajjasveti ca saindhavam* (MBh.3.251.20)

With contempt the slender-waisted Kṛṣṇā rejected his words and said to Jayadratha, “Do not speak like that! Shame on you!”

8. False praise (*mithyā praśaṃsā*) also causes shame on the part of the falsely praised. Being ignorant of Arjuna's identity, people praised Uttara instead.

*mithyā-praśaṃsā khalu nāma kaṣṭhā yeṣāṃ tu mithyā-vacaneṣu bhaktiḥ
ahaṃ hi yuddhāśrayam ucyamāno vācānuvarī hrdayena lajje* (Pañcarātra 2.60)
The false praise is indeed terrible, although I discern their affection (to me) in their false words (of praise).

Being praised in connection with battle, I feel comfortable with the words, but at heart I am ashamed.

We note here a sense of “embarrassment” which is ordinarily expressed by *vriḍā*.

(1-3) Its private connotation

When Cārudatta, the noble merchant in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, was summoned to the court, the judge asked him as follows,

adhikaraṇikāḥ --- ārya gaṇikā tava mitram

Sir, is the courtesan (Vasantasenā) your friend?

Being inquired about his private affairs in public, Cārudatta was embarrassed and ashamed (*cārudatto lajjāṃ nāṭayati*). Then the wicked false accuser Śākāra openly blamed him in Prakrit, saying that Cārudatta wanted to conceal his evil act of murder (*alīka cāritra*) under the pretext of bashfulness (*lajjā*) and cowardice (*bhīrutā*) (9.17). Then the two assessors (*śreṣṭhin* and *kāyastha*) encouraged Cārudatta, saying that it is simply the legal procedure (*vyavahāra*) and there is no need to be ashamed (*alam lajjayā*). Seeing Cārudatta still hesitant in shame (*salajjam*), the judge says as follows,

vyavahāraḥ savighno 'yaṃ tyaja lajjāṃ hr̥di sthitām (Cārudatta 9.18ab)

Leave off the shame you feel in your heart, for (otherwise) the legal procedure will be disturbed⁹.

One feels ashamed when he has to speak out about his private life in public.

(1-4) Its negative uses

Next, we shall proceed to its negative use by examining the contexts of *nirlajja*, *tyakta-lajjā*, *mukta-lajjā* and the like.

(1-4-1) *nirlajja*

(1-4-1-1) Women

The well-bred ladies become "shameless", losing *lajjā* in their possession by great grief. The warriors' wives embraced their dead husbands in the battle-field.

9. Cf. IS.2111 as quoted below.

*vrīḍāṃ jagmuḥ purā yāḥ sma sakhinām api yoṣitaḥ
tā eka-vastrā nirlajjāḥ śvaśrūṇām purato 'bhavan* (MBh.11.9.15)

These young women who used to be embarrassed (*vrīḍāṃ gam-*) even in the presence of their friends, now became shameless (*nirlajjā*) even in front of their mothers-in-law, wearing a single garment.

(1-4-1-2) Warriors

Warriors are also described as “shameless”. Saṃjaya reports to Dhṛtarāṣṭra.

*prāhiṇod ānayaheti putro duryodhanas tava
sūta-putraṃ sumandātmā nirlajjāḥ prātikāminam* (MBh.2.72.7)

Duryodhana, the foolish and shameless son of yours, sent the son of a sūta as his messenger, saying “bring her here”.

Also the love-blinded warrior becomes shameless. Thus the enamoured Yavakṛita approached the sage Raibhya’s daughter-in-law.

*yavakṛitas tām uvācedam upatiṣṭhasva mām iti
nirlajjo lajjayā yuktām kāmēna hrta-cetanaḥ* (MBh.3.137.3)

The shameless Yavakṛita, deprived of his senses by passion, said “Lie with me!” to her, who had a sense of shame¹⁰.

(1-4-1-3) Subject-people

Common people become shameless and bold, if the king is slighted by them. In Bhīṣma’s discourse we read,

*vātaṃ ca ṣṭhīvanaṃ caiva kurvatē cāsya saṃnidhau
nirlajjā nara-śārdūla vyāharanti ca tad-vacaḥ* (MBh.12.56.53)

They make eructations and expectoration in his presence. They become shameless and speak out such a word.

10. Occasionally, *nirlajja* is replaced by *nirapatrapa*. The enamoured Kīcaka approached Draupadī in disguise.

*na gaccheyam ahaṃ tasya rājaputri niveśanam
tvam eva rājñi jānāsi yathā sa nirapatrapaḥ* (MBh.4.14.11)

The king should be feared by the people, but not be too friendly with them.

(1-4-2) *nairlajjya*

As we have seen above the private connotation in *lajjā*, it is considered shameless to do a private act openly in public.

*kaś ca tāvad ayam asmimś candrātape 'py andhakāra iva vartamāno
veśa-rathyāyāṃ garbha-gr̥ha-bhogena tiṣṭhan nairlajyam āviṣ-karoti
(Pādatāḍitaka 110.1)*

But whoever is this who even in this moonlight is acting shamelessly (*nairlajyam*), as though he were in the dark, enjoying the delights of the bed chamber in the street of the district of prostitutes? (Schokker)

(1-4-3) *vilajjā*

Unlike *nirlajja*, *vilajja* seems to appear only in the feminine form. Ordinarily, the word is translated as “shameful”, but in some context it also means “shameless”. It depends whether one takes the meaning of the prefix *vi-* positively (intensification) or negatively (separation or absence).

(1-4-3-1) shameful

Kuntī felt ashamed of her words, realizing that what her sons gained was Draupadī.

*sādharma-bhītā hi vilajjamānā tāṃ yājñasenim̐ parama-pratītām
pāṇau gr̥hītvopajagāma kuntī yudhiṣṭhiraṃ vākyaṃ uvāca cedam
(MBh.1.182.3)*

Afraid to prove lawless and much ashamed --while Draupadī was exceedingly trustful--, she took the girl by the hand and went in and spoke this word to Yudhiṣṭhira. (van Buitenen)

(1-4-3-2) Shameless

In the seduction-story of R̥śyaśṛṅga we read,

*sarjān asokāṃś tilakāṃś ca vr̥kṣān prapuspitān avanāmyāvabhajya
vilajjamāneva madābhibhūtā pralobhayam āsa sutam̐ maharṣeḥ
(MBh.3.111.16)*

She bent the branches and plucked the flowers of *sarjas*, *asokas*, and *tilaka* trees.

And as if shamelessly, overcome with liquor, she began to seduce the seer's son. (van Buitenen)

As a woman in her act of seduction becomes bold, so also a woman in love forgets her shamefulnes (*vilajjā*). Thus, Hiḍimbā confessed her love to Bhīma.

*sā kāma-rūpiṇī rūpaṃ kṛtvā mānuṣam uttamam
upatasthe mahā-bāhuṃ bhīmasenaṃ śanaiḥ śanaiḥ (17)
vilajjamāneva latā divyābharaṇa-bhūṣitā
smīta-pūrvam idaṃ vākyam bhīmasenam athābravīt (MBh.1.139.18)*

Capable of changing herself, she took on a beautiful human shape and very softly approached the strong-armed Bhīmasena like a bashful creeper, decked with celestial ornaments; and smilingly she said to him (van Buitenen).

Though van Buitenen translated “like a bashful creeper”, we may take *vilajjamānā* in the sense of “forgetting shame” (=boldly) as above, for a woman in love becomes bold ¹¹.

(1-4-4) Other negative usages

(1-4-4-1) *vibhraṣṭa-lajjā* (women)

In Karṇa's blame to Śalya, we read.

*yās tiṣṭhantyaḥ pramehanti yathaivoṣṭrī-daśerake
tāsām vibhraṣṭa-lajjānām nirlajjānām tatas tataḥ*

11. In the following verse, it is not easy to decide which meaning we should take.

*vilajjamānā vastrānte jagrāhāyatalocanā
skandha-deśe 'srjac cāsya srajaṃ parama-sobhanām
varayām āsa caivainam patitve vara-varṇinī (MBh.3.54.26)*

Bashfully she touched the hem of his garment and threw over his shoulders a most beautiful garland; and thus the fair woman chose him for her husband (van Buitenen).

In her *svayaṃvara*, indeed Damayantī chose Nala bashfully, but she did it boldly as she wished.

tvam putras tādṛśinām hi dharmam vaktum ihēcchasi (MBh.8.27.86)

Here you want to speak righteousness (*dharmā*), despite your being a son of those shameless (*nirlajjā*) women who are so shameless (*vibhraṣṭa-lajjā*) as to discharge urine while standing, like a she-camel or a young camel.

(1-4-4-2) *lajjām tyaktvā* (women)

Pañcacūḍā speaks of the evils of women to the sage Nārada,

*asaddharmas tv ayaṃ strīṇām asmākaṃ bhavati prabho
pāpīyaso narān yad vai lajjām tyaktvā bhajāmahe* (MBh.13.38.14)

It is a sinful disposition with us women that, casting shame (=modesty) aside, we women love men worse (than our husbands).

(1-4-4-3) *vimukta-lajjā* (women)

In the assembly-hall, the insolent Duṣṣāsana said to Draupadī as follows,

*ehy ehi pāñcālī jitāsi kṛṣṇe duryodhanam paśya vimukta-lajjā
kurūn bhajasvāyata-padma-netre dharmeṇa labdhāsi sabhām paraihi*
(MBh.2.60.20)

All right now, come, Pāñcālī, you're won! Look upon Duryodhana, without shame!

You shall now love the Kurus, long-lotus-eyed one, you've been won under Law, come along to the hall (van Buitenen).

He was so arrogant that he permitted her to love Duryodhana without reserve.

(1-4-4-4) *mukta-lajja* (warriors)

The haughty Duṣṣāsana pranced about Bhīma who was prepared for exile.

*evam bruvāṇam ajinair vivāsitaṃ
duḥkhābhībhūtaṃ parinṛtyanti sma
madhye kurūṇām dharmā-nibaddha-mārgam
gaur gaur iti smāhvayan mukta-lajjaḥ* (MBh.2.68.19)

As Bhīma, so speaking and clad in his deer-skin, subdued by his grief, still kept to his Law, the other, shameless, amidst the Kurus, pranced about him and challenged him, “Cow! You, cow!” (van Buitenen) ¹².

(1-4-4-5) *lajjā-viyukta* (neutral)

hanta vijñātam. eṣa hi purobhāgī lajjā-viyuktaḥ sarvaṃkaṣaḥ sārva-janīnatvāt (Pādatāḍitaka 30.16)

O, I know how. He is of course intrusive, shameless, and annoys everyone with his familiar behaviour. (Schokker)

vyatītya lajjām (neutral)

kapālam ādāya vivarṇa-vāsasā varam dviṣad-veśma-samṛddhir iḁṣitā vyatītya lajjām na tu dharma-vaiśase surendratārthe 'py upasamhṛtam manah (JM.12.19)

I would rather go with a monk's drab robe and begging bowl to my enemy's house and see him living in luxury than shamelessly (*vyatītya lajjām*) contemplate some moral outrage, even if I stood to become lord of heaven (Khoroché).

(1-4-4-6) *tyakta-lajja* (the positive use)

gīte nāṭye pāṭhe vāde saṃgrāme suratotsave āhāre vyavahāre ca tyakta-lajjāḥ sadā bhavet (IS.2111)

In singing, in theatrical presentation, in recitation, in discussion, in battle, in sexual intercourse, in eating and in court, one should always be without shame ¹³.

12. We have also a long compound *ujjihita-satpuruṣocita-lajjāvaguṇṭhana* (throwing off the veil of shame, suitable for noble men), describing the warriors in retreat.

(*sāvaṣṭambhaṃ parikramyāgrato vilokya*) *katham avadhīrita-kṣātra-dharmānām ujjhita-satpuruṣocita-lajjāvaguṇṭhanānām vismṛta-svāmi-satkāra-laghucetasām dvirada-turaṅgana-caraṇacāriṇām aḡaṇita-kula-yaśaḥ-sadrśa-parākrama-vratānām raṇa-bhūmeḥ samantād apakrāmatām ayaṃ mahān nādo balānām* (Veṇisaṃhāra 3.5 prose, 70.14-71.2)

13. Cf.

dhana-dhānya-prayogeṣu tathā vidyāgameṣu ca

One should not be shy, but aggressive in learning. Shyness (*lajjā*) becomes an obstacle to mastering arts, and brings about the disadvantage in fighting, love-making, eating, etc.

(1-5) *lajjā* as the mother of *vinaya*

(1-5-1) The Kūrma-purāṇa 1.8 speaks of Dakṣa's thirteen daughters who were married to Dharma and then proceeds to name their sons. Among them, Lajjā bears a son called Vinaya to her husband Dharma.

*śraddhā lakṣmī dhṛti tuṣṭi puṣṭi medhā kriyā tathā
buddhir lajjā vapuḥ śānti. siddhiḥ kīrti trayo-daśi* (15)
*patny-arthaṃ pratijagrāha dharmo dākṣāyaṇīḥ śubhāḥ
tābhyah śiṣṭā yavīyasya ekā-daśa sulocanāḥ* (16)
*khyātīḥ satyaś ca sambhūtiḥ smṛtiḥ pṛītiḥ kṣamā tathā
saṃtatiś cānasūyā ca ūrjā svāha svadhā tathā* (17)
*bhṛgur bhavo marīciś ca tathā caivāṅgira munīḥ
pulastyah pulahaś caiva krath parama-dharmavit* (18)
*atrir vasiṣṭho vahnīś ca pitaraś ca yathā-kramam
khyātyādyā jagṛhuḥ kanyā munayo muni-sattamāḥ* (19)
*śraddhāyā ātmajaḥ kāmo darpo lakṣmī-sutaḥ smṛtaḥ
dhṛtyāś tu niyamaḥ putras tuṣṭyāḥ saṃtoṣa ucyate* (20)
*puṣṭyā lābhah sutaś cāpi medhā-putraḥ śrutas tathā
kriyāyāś cābhavat putro daṇḍah samaya eva ca* (21)
*buddhyā bodhah sutas tadvad apramādo vyajāyata
lajjāyā vinayah putro vapulso vyavasāyakah* (22)
*kṣemaḥ śānti-sutaś cāpi sukham siddhir ajāyata
yaśah kīrti-sutas tad vad ity ete dharmā-sūtavaḥ* (Kūrmapurāṇa 1.8.23)

For brevity's sake, we list them in paradigm.

*śraddhā---kāma, lakṣmī---darpa, dhṛti---niyama, tuṣṭi---saṃtoṣa,
puṣṭi---lābha, medhā---śruta, kriyā---daṇḍa and samaya, buddhi---
bodha and apramāda, lajjā---vinaya, vapuḥ---vyavasāyaka, śānti---
kṣama, siddhi---sukha, kīrti---yaśas.*

(1-5-2) Thus, when the love-passion (*kāma*) is successful in removing the *lajjā* of women, it is an easy step for him to destroy her *vinaya*.

prāyeṇa prathamam madanānalo lajjāṃ dahati, tato hṛdayam/ādau vinayādikaṃ kusumeṣu-sarāḥ khaṇḍayanti, paścān marmāṇi (Kādambarī 409 9-10)

Generally speaking, the love-fire burns bashfulness first, and then heart. First, the arrows of Kāma attack decorum and then the vital points.

yadi tāvad itara-kanyakeva vihāya lajjāṃ, utsrjya dhairyam, avamucya vinayam, acintayitvā janāpavādam, atikramya sadācāram, ullaṅghya śīlam, avagaṇayya kulam, aṅgīkrtyāyaśo rāgāndha-vṛttiḥ, ananujñātā pitrā ananumoditā mātṛā, svayam upagamya grāhayāmi pāṇim/evaṃ gurujanātikramād adhamo mahān (Kādambarī 296 11-297 3)

If from passion I behave blind like an ordinary girl, abandoning bashfulness (*lajjā*), discarding steadfastness, losing decorum (*vinaya*), ignoring what people say, transgressing a good manner, traversing modesty, thinking nothing of the noble family, admitting ill-fame, and marry him by myself approaching without my father's approval and my mother's agreement, there would be a great sin by transgressing the elders¹⁴.

Thus, in Kādambarī, the well-bred ladies feel ashamed in their loving willingness to surrender themselves to their beloved, as was the case with Lopamudrā and Hiḍimbā.

(1-5-3) *kāma* deprives one not only of *lajjā*, but also of *bhaya*

arthāturāṇāṃ na gurur na bandhuḥ kāmāturāṇāṃ na bhayaṃ na lajjā cittāturāṇāṃ na sukhaṃ na nidrā kṣudhāturāṇāṃ na balaṃ na buddhiḥ (IS.602)

There are no teachers and friends for those suffering from poverty, no fear and shame for those suffering from love, no happiness and sleep for those suffering from apprehension, and there are no power and understanding for those suffering from hunger.

(1-5-4) *lajjā* is also enumerated among the five agreeable qualities.

— *āhāre vyavahāre ca tyakta-lajjaḥ sadā bhavet (IS.3042)*

14. Cf. M.Hara, "Vinaya-kenkyū", in Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies 7 (2004) pp.38-41.

*pañca yatra na vidyante na kuryāt tatra saṁsthitim
lokā-yātrābhayaṁ lajjā dākṣiṇyaṁ tyāga-śīlatā* (IS.3862)

One should not live in such a place where the next five are not found: livelihood, security, shame, modesty and generosity.

II. *vrīḍā*

(2-0-1) A systematic definition of *vrīḍā* is given in the texts of Hindu dramaturgy as one of the thirty-three *vyabhicāra-bhāva*. In Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* it is defined as follows,

*kiṁcid akāryaṁ kurvann evaṁ yo dṛśyate śucibhir anyaiḥ
paścāttāpena yuto vrīḍita iti vedītavyo 'sau* (58)
*lajjā-nigūḍha-vadano bhūmiṁ vilikhan nakhāṁś ca vinikṛntan
vastrāṅguliyakānāṁ saṁsparśaṁ vrīḍitaḥ kuryāt* (NS.7.59)

When a man, after he has done anything improper, is seen by those who are pure, he becomes repentant and is ashamed.

The ashamed man will cover his face, draw lines on the ground, bite the nails and touch clothes and rings (Ghosh) ¹⁵.

In this stage-direction Bharata refers to *lajjā* as a motivation of *vrīḍā* (*lajjā-nigūḍha-vadana*).

In Dhanamjaya's *Daśarūpa* it is first referred to in 4.9 and later defined as follows,

15. According to its prose-portion it is produced out of repentance (*paścāt-tāpa*) for the improper action (*akārya-karaṇa*), such as neglect and dishonour of one's teacher, and non-fulfilment of promise.

*vrīḍā nāma---ākārya-karaṇātmikā/sā ca guru-vyatikramaṇāvajñāna-prati-
jñātānirvahaṇa-paścāttāpādibhir vibhāvaiḥ samutpadyate/tāṁ nigūḍha-
vadanādhomukha-vicintanor valikhana-vastrāṅguīyakasparśana-
nakanikṛntanādibhir anubhāvair abhinayet.*

Shame (*vrīḍā*) has improper action as its basis. It is caused by Determinants such as humiliation and repentance on account of transgressing words of superiors or disregarding them, nonfulfilment of vows and the like. It is to be represented on the stage by Consequents such as covered face, thinking with downcast face, drawing lines on the ground, touching clothes and rings, and biting the nails, and the like. (M.Ghosh, *The Nāṭyaśāstra, A Treatise on Hindu Dramaturgy and Historionics*, Bibliotheca Indica 272, Calcutta, 1950).

*durācārādibhir vṛiḍā dhārṣṭyābhāvas tam unnayet
sācīkṛtāṅgāvaraṇa-vaivarṇyādhomukhādibhiḥ* (Daśarūpa 4.30)

Shame (*vṛiḍā*) is lack of boldness in consequence of misconduct (*durācāra*) and so forth. One should infer it from (a person's) keeping the body averted, from concealment, change of colour, lowering of head, and the like (Haas) ¹⁶.

(2-0-2) This definition in Hindu dramaturgy, however, is not quite sufficient, for this can be also applied to *lajjā* and *hrī*. Furthermore, *vṛiḍā* is not always preceded by *akārya-karaṇa* and followed by *paścāt-tāpa* (remorse), as we shall see later. In such cases, *vṛiḍā* is imbued with a tinge of embarrassment. When one is made *vṛiḍita* unjustly without reason, he is destined to bear a grudge against the accuser. We shall see some examples below.

When Nala was possessed by Kali, he could not stop dicing despite the warning of his wife and ministers. Though they were not responsible, the result was disastrous. Thus these advisers were at a complete loss what to do with him. Two passages speak of the situation.

*tatas te mantriṇaḥ sarve te caiva pura-vāsināḥ
nāyam astīti duḥkhārtā vṛiḍitā jagmur ālayān* (MBh.3.56.17)

Thereupon all the councillors and city dwellers thought, "The man is lost!" and unhappy and humbled (*vṛiḍita*) returned home (van Buitenen).

*vākyam apratinandantaṃ bhartāram abhivikṣya sā
damayanī punar veśma vṛiḍitā praviveśa ha* (MBh.3.57.7)

Seeing that her husband did not welcome her words, Damayanti shamefacedly (*vṛiḍitā*) returned to her house (van Buitenen).

Though his wife and subjects themselves did nothing wrong (*durācāra*), they were forced to feel "ashamed" in perplexity and embarrassment ¹⁷.

16. Cf. also,
atha vṛiḍā--

dhārṣṭyābhāvo vṛiḍā vadanānamanādi-kṛd durācārāt (Sāhitya-darpaṇa 3.165)

17. When Karṇa was asked by Kṛpa about his family-lineage, he was too emba-

(2-0-3) But when such a person without *durācāra* is further accused and prosecuted in public, the embarrassment develops into humiliation. Particularly when a noble lady is unjustly made ashamed (*vr̥ḍitā*), she is made to feel insulted, and such an insult leads her to a vow of revenge. It was the case with Draupadī in humiliation and Sītā in the false accusation of her unchastity, as we shall see later.

Under such circumstances, in our discussion on *vr̥ḍā*, we shall sub-divide each section (maiden, women, warriors and others) into the following two, that is, with and without *durācāra*.

(2-1) Maiden

(2-1-1) Maiden *vr̥ḍitā* with *durācāra*

In the case of a maiden, *akārya-karaṇa* or *durācāra* is secret intercourse without her father's consent.

Being presented with a special mantra from the ascetic Durvāsas who was satisfied with her devoted service, Kuntī in her father's house became curious about testing its efficacy, holding the sun in her mind.

*evam saṃcintayanti sādadarśartuṃ yadṛcchayā
vr̥ḍitā sābhavad bālā kanyā-bhāve rajasvalā* (MBh.3.290.3)

While she was pondering thus, she noticed that her period had happened,

rassed to answer anything.

*evam uktasya karṇasya vr̥ḍāvanatam ānanam
babhau varṣāmbubhiḥ klinnaṃ padmam āgalitaṃ yathā* (MBh.1.126.33)

At his words Karṇa hung his head in shame (*vr̥ḍita*), and his face faded like a lotus that has been showered by the rains (van Buitenen).

Since he was aware of the fact that he was a son of Sūta, here this proud warrior was touched at his most vulnerable point and ashamed, though he was in reality a son of Kuntī.

Maidens also become *vr̥ḍitā*, when touched on their sore point. Sāvitrī as an old maiden apparently felt *vr̥ḍā*, when it was suggested by her father Aśvapati that she find a suitable husband by herself.

*sābhivādya pituḥ pādau vr̥ḍiteva manasvini
pitur vacanam ājñāya nīrjagāmāvicāritam* (MBh.3.277.38)

And she, proud lady, bowed her respects to her father's feet somewhat bashfully, and having learned her father's command, she went out without hesitation. (Brough)

and the young woman was ashamed (*vr̥ḍitā*) having her flow while she still was a spinster (van Buitenen).

Summoned by this spell, Sūrya came down from heaven and demanded intercourse with her. She was wrapped in confusion (*vr̥ḍāmānā*: 3.290.21).

*taṃ devam abravīd bhītā bandhūnāṃ rāja-sattama
vr̥ḍā-vihlavayā vācā śāpa-trastā viśāṃ pate* (MBh.3.291.7)

Afraid for her relatives and fearing the curse, she spoke to the God in a voice unnerved by shame (*vr̥ḍā*) (van Buitenen).

Despite her imploring, the sun made demands of her, but promised the recovery of her virginity even after delivering a son of the god.

*tataḥ sā vr̥ḍitā bālā tadā sūryam athābravīt
evam astv iti rājendra prasthitaṃ bhūri-varcasam* (MBh.3.291.26)

Bashfully the girl said to the Sun “So be it, Indra among kings”; and the Sun departed in all his splendor (van Buitenen).

The innocent maiden Kuntī started all this out of curiosity (*kautūhala*), but the result was so serious that she became pregnant and finally delivered a baby in her father’s house. Without the knowledge of all her relatives she threw the baby into a river. The baby was under the care of Sūta and was brought up as Karṇa. Here the mixed feeling of unexpectedness, confusion and embarrassment is implied by the word *vr̥ḍā*.

(2-1-1-2) The same motif of the recovery of maidenhood is repeated in the story of Satyavati who was demanded by the enamored sage Parāśara. When she refused his demand in deference to the public eye, he created a fog around them so that nobody would see their secret. The maiden was surprised.

*dr̥ṣṭvā sr̥ṣṭaṃ tu nīhāraṃ tatas taṃ paramar̥ṣiṇā
vismitā cābravīt kanyā vr̥ḍitā ca manasvinī* (MBh.1.57.60)

When she saw the fog that the great seer had created, the modest (*vr̥ḍitā*) and spirited girl said smilingly (van Buitenen).

The maiden was astonished (*vismita*) by the miraculous act of the sage, and at the same time perplexed (*vr̥ḍita*), finding herself unable to refuse him any further.

(2-1-1-3) Unlike the cases of Lopamudrā and Kādambarī who are willing to give themselves to their beloved, these maidens are demanded by a god and sage. In the same situation of sexual intercourse, the presence of willingness on the part of the maidens makes them feel *lajjā*, whereas the absence of preparation makes the poor girls feel *vr̥ḍā* in their embarrassment.

(2-1-2) Maiden *vr̥ḍitā* without *durācāra*

A maiden feels *vr̥ḍā* when she finds herself married to a woman. King Hiraṇyavarman gave his daughter to Śikhaṇḍinī who was in reality Ambā reborn, thinking her to be a man. Later the princess discovered that her husband was in reality a woman.

*hiraṇyavarmanaḥ kanyā jñātvā tāṃ tu śikhaṇḍinīm
dhātriṇāṃ ca sakhināṃ ca vr̥ḍamānā nyavedayat* (MBh.5.190.14ad)

Upon discovering Śikhaṇḍinī to be a woman, Hiraṇyavarman's daughter told it in embarrassment to her nurses and friends¹⁸.

A maiden feels ashamed without remembering anything wrong on her part. Here *vr̥ḍā* is accompanied by embarrassment and confusion¹⁹.

(2-2) Married women

18. Her father king got angry, thinking himself deceived, and attacked the capital of Drupada, the father of Śikhaṇḍinī. Seeing her parents threatened by father-in-law because of her, she resolved to kill herself and went into the deep forest.

*evam sambhāsamānau tau dr̥ṣtvā śoka-parāyaṇau
śikhaṇḍinī tadā kanyā vr̥ḍiteva manasvinī* (MBh.5.192.17)

When the spirited maiden Śikhaṇḍinī saw her parents talk together in obvious grief, she became ashamed (van Buitenen).

19. When Ambā, a princess of Kāśī, was carried away by Bhiṣma who won her in her *svayamvara*, she confessed to him shamefully (*sa-vr̥ḍa*: MBh.35.171.4) her previous engagement with the king of Śālva. Delivered by Bhiṣma, she resorted to her fiancé, but was rejected by him. Then she decided to become an ascetic, but

(2-2-1) Married women *vr̥ḍitā* with *durācāra*

The *akārya-karaṇa* in the case of married women is the neglect of service to the guest (*atithi-pūjā*).

(2-2-1-1) In the story of the devoted wife, she kept a Brahmin waiting, while serving her husband first. Noticing the Brahmin still waiting, she felt ashamed.

*vr̥ḍitā sābhavat sādhvī tadā bharata-sattama
bhikṣām ādāya viprāya nirjaḡāma yaśasvinī* (MBh.3.197.17)

The good woman became embarrassed, best of the Bharata, and the reputable wife took alms and went out to the Brahmin (van Buitenen)²⁰.

(2-2-2) Married women *vr̥ḍitā* without *durācāra*

(2-2-2-1) In the story of the loving royal couple Śatadhanu and Śaibyā, the king Śatadhanu was reborn as a dog because of the fault of speaking with heretics (*pāṣaṇḍa, nagna*) in a previous life, but the queen was reborn as a princess furnished with the memory of her previous life (*jāti-smara*). The faithful princess tried to find her former husband and finally found him in the form of a dog. Yet, she was disappointed when the dog frisked about her flatteringly.

Akṛtavraṇa in the *āśrama* dissuaded her and advised her to return to her father instead. She answered him.

*nā hy utsahe sva-nagaram pratyātum tapodhana
avamāna-bhayāc caiva vr̥ḍayā ca mahāmune* (MBh.5.175.29)

I cannot return to my own city, ascetic, for fear of contemptuous treatment and because I am ashamed, great hermit (van Buitenen).

20. Harsh words to her guest are also *durācāra*. Ruci, the fickle wife of the sage Devaśarman, rejected Indra in disguise who visited her in her husband's absence. Upon the request of his teacher to protect her during his absence, his disciple Vipula entered into her body by yogic power (*parakāya-praveśa*) and controlled her from inside. When Indra came, she rejected him against her will under Vipula's control.

*vr̥ḍitā sā tu tad-vākyam uktvā paravaśā tadā
puraṇḍaraś ca saṃtrasto babhūva vimanās tadā* (MBh.13.41.15)

Speaking thus under another's control, she was ashamed. Indra was afraid and went out of his mind then.

Ruci is not only ashamed, but astonished and embarrassed by unexpected speech.

*atīva vrīḍitā bālā kurvatā cātu tena sā
praṇāma-pūrvam āhedam dayitam taṃ kuyonijam (Viṣṇu Purāṇa
3.18.68)*

The young lady, being much embarrassed by his coaxing, said to her beloved now transformed into a dog as follows.

She reminded him of the previous birth, but she was so shocked (*atīva vrīḍitā*) when she found her beloved husband in such a miserable state²¹.

(2-2-2-2) But the most remarkable example of this sort is the well-known humiliation of Draupadī in her period by the hand of the ignoble Duḥśāsana.

*tāṃ vepamānāṃ savrīḍāṃ pralapantīm sma pāṇḍavān
duḥśāsanaḥ sabhā-madhye vicakarṣa tapasvinīm (MBh.2.61.82)*

Duḥśāsana, in the hall, dragged away the trembling and ashamed (*savrīḍam*) woman who miserably complained to the Pāṇḍavas (van Buitenen).

Indeed, by this humiliation the young lady was naturally “ashamed”, but she was more “embarrassed” by the ignoble act to the lady which she had never dreamt of before.

(2-2-2-3) Similarly, when Sītā was recovered from the hand of Rāvaṇa, Rāma who was afraid of public rumour (*janāpavāda*) intentionally rejected her in pretended suspicion of her unchastity. Sītā was embarrassed by the harsh words of her beloved husband. Though not included in the Baroda critical edition, we have the following passages, describing this tragedy of the chaste woman.

21. Women in competition also experience the same feeling. In Aruṇa's birth-story, two wives of Kaśyapa, Kadrū and Vinatā, were given a boon, and the former chose one thousand sons, while the latter only two mighty ones. Later, one thousand eggs were hatched, but it took time for the two. Vinatā was too impatient and broke it untimely.

*tataḥ putrārthinī devī vrīḍitā sā tapasvinī
aṇḍam bibheda vinatā tatra putram adṛkṣata (MBh.1.14.15)*

Thereupon the divine Vinatā, impatient for a son, embarrassed and aggrieved, broke open one of the eggs and beheld her son (van Buitenen).

She was disturbed by jealousy and confused, seeing her rival's success. Thus Aruṇa was born to her, who was destitute of the lower part of the body.

*sā tad bhartur vacaḥ śrutvā babhūva vṛḍitānanā
acintayac ca vaidehī kiṃ nu rājā cikīrṣati* (R.6.102.320* 1 p.757)

Hearing the words of her husband, her face showed perplexity (*vṛḍitānana*) and the Videhan princess was anxious about what the king wanted to do.

She had to endure the maltreatment of being carried in a palanquin without any cover.

*sītā tv antar-gataṃ roṣaṃ tadā viprakṛtā safī
dhārayām āsa durdharṣā bhartr-vākya-samāhitā
tato rāghavam ālokya vṛḍitā janakātmajā* (R.6.102.3212*.4-5 p.760)

Though offended (*viprakṛta*), Sītā then suppressed her inner resentment (*roṣa*), ever attentive of her husband's words. Then, being confused (*vṛḍita*), she looked at Rāma²².

In these example, the humiliated ladies naturally held a grudge against the false accusers and determined that they would have eventually revenge on them. As Draupadī was resented in her humiliation by Duḥśāsana, Sītā felt *roṣa* and her complexion was tinged with anger and astonishment (*vṛḍita-kupita-vismitātma-vaktra*).

(2-3) Warriors

22. But she laid aside her embarrassment (*vṛḍām utsṛjya*) and stood before him (R.6.102.3219*.7-8 p.763), but her face still remained perplexed.

*āviśad anupamaṃ manaḥ-klamam sā
tad abhisamikṣya punaḥ priyasya vaktram
vṛḍita-kupita-vismitātma-vaktrā
vividha-vapur janakātmajā babhūva* (R.6.102.3222* p.764)

She suffered from great mental anguish, and once again she looked at the face of her beloved.

Her face took various forms, with mixed feelings of embarrassment, anger and astonishment.

It was not only Sītā herself, but also the people around were equally embarrassed.

*lakṣmaṇo 'pi sasugrīvas te ca sarve plavaṅgamāḥ
āsan suvṛḍitās tatra mṛta-kalpās tv acintayan* (R.2.102.3215 p.762)

Lakṣmaṇa and all the monkeys including Sugrīva were so much perplexed (*suvṛḍita*) that they simply wondered there (what to do), having completely lost their judgment (*mṛta-samkalpa*).

Here, the word *vṛḍa* is construed with the compound *mṛta-kalpa*.

(2-3-1) Warriors *vr̥ḍita* with *akārya-karaṇa*

(2-3-1-1) An honourable warrior feels *vr̥ḍā* when he does an ignoble act to a lady. In the well-known dicing hall, Karṇa was insolent enough to say that Kauravas could collect the clothes of the Pāṇḍavas, including that of Draupadī. Hearing this, all the Pāṇḍavas shed their upper clothes. Then, Duḥśāsana forcibly laid hold of Draupadī's robe and began to undress her in the midst of the assembly. Bhīma in a rage pronounced the well-known curse of breaking his chest and drinking his blood in revenge.

*yadā tu vāsasāṃ rāśiḥ sabhā-madhye samācitaḥ
tato duḥśāsanaḥ śrānto vr̥ḍitaḥ samupāviśat* (MBh.2.61.48)

A pile of clothes was heaped up in the middle of the hall, when Duḥśāsana tired and ashamed, at last desisted and sat down (van Buitenen).

Here Duḥśāsana was not "ashamed" but "terrified in confusion", hearing the curse which he has never heard before.

(2-3-1-2) Deceiving an adversary by a trick is another *durācāra* of the honourable warrior. Droṇa lost his fighting spirit upon hearing of the death of his son, which was falsely announced by Bhīma and repeated again by Yudhiṣṭhira. The aged Droṇa was finally killed by Dhṛṣṭadyumna. Later all the honourable Pāṇḍavas felt guilty and ashamed of their unfair victory and the slaughter of their guru.

*bhīmasenas tu savr̥ḍam upetya droṇam āhave
aśvatthāmā hata iti śabdam uccaiś cakāra ha* (MBh.7.164.72)
*yudhiṣṭhiraś ca bhīmaś ca yamau kṛṣṇas tathāpare
āsan suvr̥ḍitā rājan sātyakir idaṃ abravīt* (MBh.7.169.8)

Hesitantly (*savr̥ḍam*) approaching Droṇa on the battle-field, Bhīmasena loudly declared that Aśvatthāman had been killed.

Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, Nakula, Sahadeva, Kṛṣṇa and others were bitterly ashamed. Then Sātyaki spoke as follows²³.

23. Even Duryodhana felt ashamed in telling this sad news of Droṇa to his son Aśvatthāman.

These passages testify to the fact that *vriḍa* is imbued with a sense of regret, remorse and guilty-conscience.

(2-3-3-3) Another act not to be expected from a warrior is retreat from the battle-field. Thus the defeated warriors (*parājita*) naturally feel ashamed.

*kauravās tu tato rājan prayayuh sibiram svakam
vriḍamānā niśā-kāle paṇḍavaḥ parājitāḥ* (MBh.6.60.73)

The Kauravas went back to their own tent in the evening, ashamed of defeat by the Pāṇḍavas²⁴.

The defeated general feels ashamed when reporting it to the king.

*kṛtvāvahāram sainyānām droṇaḥ parama-durmanāḥ
duryodhanam abhipreksya savriḍam idam abravīt* (MBh.7.16.2)

Having withdrawn his armies, Droṇa was deeply distressed, and seeing Duryodhana, he said shamefully (*savriḍam*).

The king also feels ashamed, seeing his subject killed in battle. Thus, Bhūriśravas threatened Sātyaki as follows.

*adya dharmasuto rājā śrutvā tvām nihataṃ mayā
sa vriḍo bhavitā sadyo yenāsīha praveśitaḥ* (MBh.7.117.6)

Today, king Yudhiṣṭhira who sent you here will be ashamed, hearing of your death by my hand.

*tataḥ śāradvataṃ rājā savriḍam idam abravīt
śamseha sarvaṃ bhādraṃ te yathā sanyam idam drutam* (MBh.7.165.96)

Prior to this, when Bhīṣma tells Arjuna secretly how to kill himself, Arjuna was annoyed, seeing the Pāṇḍavas' victory only possible through the slaughter of Bhīṣma, his respected elder. He said how he could fight with Bhīṣma.

*tathoktavāti gaṅgeye para-lokāya dikṣite
arjuno duḥkha-samtaptaḥ savriḍam abravīt* (MBh.6.103.84)

When Bhīṣma spoke thus of his final decision for the other world (=death), Arjuna was annoyed with shame and said.

24. For *vyamsita*, cf.

*sa samāsādyā vārṣṇeyaṃ yogānām īśvaraṃ prabhum
vyamsito vriḍito rājann ājagāma sa kuṇḍinam* (MBh.5.155.14)

(2-3-3-4) It is more disgraceful for the warrior to be captured, and then released by his proud enemy.

Nakula, the Pāṇḍava prince, was released by Karna in battle. In a gentle, yet boastful tone Karna spoke to Nakula as follows

*mā yotsir gurubhiḥ sārdaṃ balavadbhiḥ ca pāṇḍava
sadrśais tāta yudhyasva vṛīḍaṃ mā kuru pāṇḍava
grhaṃ vā gaccha mādreya yatra vā kṛṣṇa-phalgunau* (MBh.8.17.94)

Do not, O son of Pāṇḍu, fight again with those amongst the Kurus that are possessed of greater might. O child, fight with them that are thy equals. Do not, O son of Pāṇḍu, feel any shame about it. Return home, O son of Madri, or go thither where Kṛṣṇa and Phalgun are²⁵.

Karna also released Yudhiṣṭhira, giving the same advice not to fight with him.

*evam uktvā tataḥ pārthaṃ visṛjya ca mahābalaḥ
nyahanat pāṇḍaviṃ senāṃ vajra-hasta ivāsurīn
tataḥ prāyād drutaṃ rājan vṛīḍann iva janeśvaraḥ* (MBh.8.33.40)

With these words, the mighty Karna released the son of Prthā and the defeated Pāṇḍava army, as Indra did for the Asura's one. The king went back hasty with shame to his camp²⁶.

25. *visṛṣṭaḥ pāṇḍavo rājan sūta-putreṇa dhanvinā
vṛīḍann iva jagāmātha yudhiṣṭhira-ratham prati* (MBh.8.17.96)

26. But above all, a warrior is *vṛīḍita* when delivered by his enemy who rescued him from the state of a captivity by others. Toward the end of the third book, the wicked Duryodhana proceeds on the Cattle-expedition with the intention of disgracing the Pāṇḍavas. But quite unexpectedly he and his army were captured by the Gandharvas. Seeing them in danger, the Pāṇḍavas requested Citrasena, the chief of the Gandharvas, to set them free. Citrasena told Arjuna all about Duryodhana's original intention. His wickedness being publicly revealed, Duryodhana was so ashamed of himself that he declined to continue his life. The text reads as follows,

*pāṇḍavenābhyanujñāto rājā duryodhanas tadā
vidīryamāṇo vṛīḍena jagāma nagāṃ prati* (MBh.3.235.23)

Prince Duryodhana, having been dismissed by the Pāṇḍava, went back to his city, driven with shame.

Yet, when the same king is described objectively, the word *lajjā* appears in place of *vṛīḍā*. Thus Janamejaya asked Vaiśampāyana, how Duryodhana had come back to Hāstīnapura.

*tasya lajjānvitasyaiva śoka-vyākula-cetasah
praveśaṃ vistareṇa tvaṃ vaiśampāyana kīrtaya* (MBh.3.236.4)

(2-3-3) Warrior *vr̥ḍita* without *durācāra*

Apart from the battle-field, there are cases where the warrior-king feels *vr̥ḍā*. It is in the context of sex-change, where a man becomes a woman.

(2-3-3-1) Bereft of his subjects, when the king Bhaṅgāśavana took a bath in a lake, he found himself transformed into a woman by Indra's trick. On seeing himself made into a woman he was at a loss how to return to his palace and what to say his subjects.

*āmānaṃ strī-kṛtaṃ dr̥ṣṭvā vr̥ḍito nr̥pa-sattamaḥ
cintānugata-sarvātmā vyākulendriya-cetanaḥ* (MBh.13.12.10)

Seeing himself made into a woman the highest king was ashamed (*vr̥ḍita*) and pondering with his sense-organs and mind troubled.

Here *vr̥ḍita* implies the king's confusion and embarrassment²⁷.

Relate to me fully, Vaiśampāyana, how he made his entrance, shame-faced, and grief-stricken in his heart.

Then, Vaiśampāyana began to speak,

*dharmarāja-niṣṛṣṭa tu dhārtarāṣṭraḥ suyodhanaḥ
lajjayādhomukhaḥ sīdannn upāsarpatsuduḥkhiṭaḥ* (MBh.3.236.5)

Suyodhana Dhārtarāṣṭra, after having been dismissed by the King Dharma, hung his head in shame (*lajjā*) and made his way back slowly.

Duryodhana confessed all this to Karṇa.

*tasminn uccāryamāṇe tu gandharveṇa vacasy atha
bhūmer vivaram anvaicchaṃ praveṣṭuṃ vr̥ḍayānvitaḥ* (MBh.3.238.4)

And when that Gandharva made his speech, I was covered with shame, and I hoped for the earth to split so that I could enter.

*karṇa-saubalayoś cāpi saṃsmṛtya vacanāny asau
nirvedaṃ paramaṃ gatvā rājā duryodhanas tadā
vr̥ḍayābhiparītātmā nairāśyaṃ aḡamat param* (MBh.3.239.11)

The honourable warrior is so ashamed that he feels like sinking into the floor (*vivara*) and so hopeless (*nairāśya*) as to commit suicide. Here *vr̥ḍa* leads one even to death (*prāya*: MBh.3.238.10, 19.)

27. A similar story of a sex-change is told in MBh.5.193 where the Yakṣa chief, Sthūṅākarna, exchanged his male organ (*puṃ-liṅga*) with that of the female organ (*strī-lakṣaṇa*) of Śikhaṇḍinī. Later when Kubera came to his place, Sthūṅākarna, now in the shape of a woman, was too embarrassed to see him in the shape of a woman. The lord of Yakṣa asked his attendants why he did not come to greet him. They told the master as follows.

(2-4) Non-warriors

(2-4-1) *vṛīḍita* with *durācāra*

(2-4-1-1) Nārada and Parvata promised each other not to conceal anything, but when the former fell in love with Sukumārī, he could not tell it to the latter.

*na ca taṃ bhāgineyāya parvatāya mahātmane
śaśaṃsa manmathaṃ tīvraṃ vṛīḍamānaḥ sa dharmavit* (MBh.12.30.17)

The virtuous Nārada, however, highly overwhelmed by shame (*vṛīḍamāna*), could not disclose his love to his sister's son, the high-souled Parvata.

(2-4-1-2) One feels *vṛīḍā*, when he is made to realize his own fickle-mindedness. When Nanda's heart was captured by the beauty of the nymphs in heaven, forgetting completely his former attachment to his beloved Sundarī, he was reminded of his former love by Ānanda and felt ashamed.

*apsaro-bhṛtako dharmaṃ carasīty aṭha coditaḥ
ānandena tadā nandaḥ paraṃ vṛīḍam upāgamat* (1)
*tasya vṛīḍena mahatā pramodo hṛdi nābhavat
aprāmodyena vimukhaṃ nāvataste vrata manaḥ* (SN 12.1-2)

Then Nanda felt highly abashed at being upbraided by Ānanda for following the Law in order to earn the Apsarases as his wages.

The feeling of deep shame made exaltation leave his heart, and his mind, downcast for lack of exaltation, did not abide firm in his vow (Johnston).

Though Johnston translated "abashed" for *vṛīḍita* and "shame" for *vṛīḍa*, here Nanda was confused and embarrassed by realizing his own

*agrahīl lakṣaṇaṃ strīṇāṃ strī-bhūtas tiṣṭhate gr̥he
nopasarpātī tenāsau savṛīḍaḥ strī-svarūpavān* (MBh.5.193.37)

He took the mark of women and stays at home as a woman. That is reason why he does not come to greet you, having female shape and being ashamed (*savṛīḍa*). Being summoned by Kubera, he came to see him ashamed (*vṛīḍa-samanvitaḥ*: MBh.5.193.40).

fickleness. The sense of shame caused by his self-reflection finally led him to the path of detachment.

(2-4-2) *vr̥ḍita* without *durācāra*

A Bodhisattva was embarrassed (*vr̥ḍita*) when he was ordered by his teacher to commit theft.

vr̥ḍāvanata-vadanas tu bodhisattvo mṛḍu viniśvasya tūṣṇīm abhūt (JM 12.10 prose, p.78 23)

Ashamed and with downcast looks he heaved a soft sigh and remained silent (Speijer).

A high-souled Bodhisattva was embarrassed by his preceptor's order to steal secretly.

(2-5) Causative (*vr̥ḍaya-*, *vr̥ḍotpādana*)

The causative *vr̥ḍaya-* implies an intentional humiliation.

(2-5-1) Though a courtesan is expected to please her guest, it is a rule for her not to fall in love with a poor man (*asāra*). But when such a poor fellow becomes serious, she must repulse him by all means. One of the ways to get rid of such a man is for her to put him intentionally to shame in public. Such a malicious insult is expressed by the causative.

api caiṣā bhartur no 'dhirājasya syālaṃ pāraśavaṃ kauṣikaṃ siṃhavarmanāṃ miṭraṃ apadiśanti sarvān kāmīnaḥ pratyākhyānena vr̥ḍayati (Pādatāḍitaka 54.1)

And in particular she shames all lovers with her discouraging attitude, indicating that the bastard Kauśika Siṃhavarman, the brother-in-law of our sovereign lord, is her friend (Schokker)²⁸.

28. Cf. also,

(8) *tat kim ayam idānīm asmād veśa-saṃsargād vr̥ḍita ivātmānaṃ pariharati*
 (9) (*vicintya*) (10) *pārthiva-kumāra-saṃnikarṣa enam anayā pravṛṭtyā vr̥ḍayati*
 (Pādatāḍitaka 88.8-10)

(2-5-2) The compound *vr̥ḍotpādana* appears in a similar context. In the mother's discourse to a fille de joie (*gaṇikā-mātur adhikāra*), it is said,

*asārasya vāk-saṃtakṣaṇair lokopakrośanair duhitṛ-nirodhanair
vr̥ḍotpādanair anyābhiyogair avamānaiś cāpavāhanam*
(Daśakumāracarita 83 6-84 1)

To scare off a man with no substance by taunting him, having him reviled in public, carefully chaperoning the girl, making him ashamed of himself, having him abused by others, and generally bringing him into contempt (Brough).

(2-5-3) A more elegant expression *vr̥ḍā-alaṃkāra* is used for the same purpose.

aye vr̥ḍitā/hanta anenaiva vr̥ḍālaṃkāreṇa visarjitāḥ smaḥ
(Ubhayābhisārikā 29 prose p.48.6-7)

Oh! she is shy. Well! by this ornament of shyness I am dismissed (Warder)²⁹.

(2-5-4) Such an insult (*vr̥ḍotpādana*) or refusal in public occasionally provoked anger on the part of the refused. Hence its construction with words expressive of anger or revenge (*kupīta, roṣa, amarṣa*). When Sītā was humiliated in public by her husband, she was ashamed and at the same time filled with vexation.

*sītā tv antar-gataṃ roṣaṃ tadā viprakṛtā satī
dhārayām āsa durdharṣā bhartr-vākya-samāhitā*

Why then is he now hiding, as though he were ashamed of this contact with the district of prostitutes? (Upon reflection) his contact with the king's son is making him feel ashamed of this behaviour (Schokker).

29. Even without malignant intention, those who are rejected feel humiliated. Hence *vr̥ḍā*'s construction with *bhagna-darpa*. In Draupadī's *svayaṃvara*, when she chose the Pāṇḍavas, the Kauravas lost face.

*viduras tv atha tāñ śrutvā draupadyā pāṇḍavān vṛtān
vr̥ḍitān dhārtarāṣṭrāṃś ca bhagna-darpān upāgatān* (MBh.1.192.16)

But when Vidura heard that Draupadī had chosen the Pāṇḍavas and that the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra had come back ashamed and their pride broken... (van Buitenen)

*tato rāghavam ālokya vr̥ḍitā janakātmajā
harṣam antar-gataṃ roṣān nijagrāha varānanā* (R.6.102.3212*.4-6)

When the virtuous Sītā was (thus) offended, she had anger that came up from within, but this unassailable lady controlled it, thinking (highly) of her husband's word. She casted a shy glance at Rāma and was delighted, but she suppressed her delight because of anger³⁰.

(2-6) Others

(2-6-1) *vr̥ḍā* and smiling

People smile in order to cover their confusion. Though Satyavati herself is fully aware of the well-known vow of lifelong-bachelorship of Bhīṣma, she requested him to marry the daughters of the king of Kāśī.

*tataḥ satyavātī bhīṣmaṃ vācā saṃsajjamānāyā
vihasantīva savr̥ḍam idaṃ vacanam abravīt* (MBh.1.99.3)

Then Satyavati with a faltering voice said to Bhīṣma, smiling shyly (van Buitenen)³¹.

Likewise the courtezans shyly demand love-making with coquettish smiles.

*netrair ardha-nimilitaiḥ stana-tataḥ savyāja-sandarśitaiḥ
hāsair vr̥ḍa-bhūṣitaiḥ śruti-sukhair alpākṣarair bhāṣitaiḥ
mandair niśvasitaiḥ svabhāva-mdhurair gitairś ca tālānvitaiḥ
nityākṛṣṭa-śarāsanam manasijam kurvanti veśyāṅganāḥ
(Dhūrtavītasamvāda 17)*

With half-shut eyes they are showing on some pretext the surface of their breasts; sometimes they are speaking a few words adorned with

30. Cf.

*āviśad anupamaṃ manaḥ-klamam sā
tad abhisamikṣya punaḥ priyasya vaktram
vr̥ḍita-kupita-vismitātma-vaktrā
vivīdha-vapur janakātmajā babhūva* (R.6.102.3222*)

31. Cf. MBh.1.57.60: *vismitā cābravīt kanyā vr̥ḍitā ca manasvinī*.

coquettish smiles; sometimes they are sighing slowly or are singing with their naturally sweet voices and are observing proper time (*tālā*) to this. By all this the courtézans are always urging the god of love to pull the string of his bow³².

(2-6-2) The factors which deprive one of *vrīḍā*

Grief and intoxication make a lady forgetful of *vrīḍā*, but there is no negative form for *vrīḍā* as is the case of *lajjā* (*nir-lajjā*).

(2-6-2-1) Grief.

The high-souled women of honourable Kṣatriya lose the sense of shame (*lajjā*), when they encounter the death of their beloved husband and sons. In the pathetic description of grieved women in the Strī-parvan we read.

*vrīḍāṃ jagmuḥ purā yā. sma sakhīnām api yoṣitaḥ
tā eka-vastrā nirlajjāḥ śvaśrūnām purato 'bhavan* (MBh.11.9.15)

Those young ladies who used to feel shame (*vrīḍā*) even in the presence of friends of their own sex, now wearing a single garment, became shameless (*nirlajja*) even in front of their mothers-in-law.

32. Cf. also,

*kathaṃ 'hī' ity ekākṣaram uktvā savrīḍam avekṣya mām vrajati tūrṇam anava-
sitārdha-bhāṣiṇī/tat khalu kāmasya sarvasvam* (Dhūrtaviṣaṃvāda 18 prose
p.24. 11-12)

What! She looks bashfully, utters the syllable hi and departs quickly without completing her words. This is indeed the treasure of the god of love.

kathaṃ vrīḍāvanata-vadanayānayā hasitam (Ubhayābhisārikā 9 prose, p.37.5-6)

How now? She smiles with her face bent down with shame. (Warder).

For the construction of *lajjā* and smiling (*upahas-*), cf. also,

*tataḥ sā tenaiva paricārakena saha mām upasthitā lajjā-vilakṣam upahasantiva
mām uktavati* (Pādatāditaka 70.3)

Then, together with that servant, she came to me and laughing shyly because of her shame she spoke to me. (Schokker)

Occasionally, *vrīḍā* is construed also with *viṣāda* and *gaurava*. When the courtesan Kāmamañjarī approached the sage Marīci for help, she had mixed feelings of shame, despondency and respect.

sā tu sa-vrīḍeva sa-viṣādeva sa-gauraveva cābravīt (Daśakumāracarita 79 4-5)

She confessed to him as if with shame, despondency and respect.

It was just a trick designed to seduce him.

K.M.Ganguli is right in translating the word *vr̥ḍā* here as “the blush of modesty”.

(2-6-2-2) Intoxication (*mada*)

*yā kathamcana sakhī-vacanena prāg abhipriyatamaṃ prajagalbhe
vr̥ḍa-jāḍyam abhajan madhu-pā sā svām madāt prakṛtim eti hi sarvaḥ
(Śīsupālavadha 10,18)*

Those ladies who scarcely behave resolutely in front of their beloved due to their friends' advice became unconscious of shame when drunk, for everybody comes to their own nature due to drink.

One may translate here *vr̥ḍa* as “modesty”.

(2-7) Comparison with *lajjā*

Though the two words *lajjā* and *vr̥ḍā* are often rendered as the single word “shame”, there exist semantic differences between them.

The most remarkable one is that the former is characterized by “bashfulness”, while the latter by “confusion and embarrassment”. That is to say, while one feels *lajjā* (bashfulness) which germinates naturally from inside, *vr̥ḍā* is often caused by others from outside. Thus, maidens who are willing to accept the beloved feel *lajjā*, as is the case with Lopamudrā and Kādambarī, but they feel *vr̥ḍā* when demands are made for the same action, as is the case with Kuntī and Satyavatī. The former is characterized by willingness, having an inner motivation, while the latter is by embarrassment, urged from outside, while being passive and receptive³³.

Another factor which is peculiar to *vr̥ḍā* is “unexpectedness”, which is responsible for its construction with such words as *vismita* (astonished)³⁴, *naṣṭa-cetana* (put out of mind)³⁵, *mṛta-saṃkalpa*

33. Cf.

*samupasthitasya jaghanaṃ raśanā-tyāgād viviktatara-bimbam
pāṇibhyāṃ vr̥ḍitayā nimilite me 'nayā nayane* (Pādatāḍitaka 48)

From shame she shut both my eyes with her hands when I came near her hips, the disc of which was clearly visible now that she had removed her girdle. (Schokker)

34. *dr̥ṣṭvā sr̥ṣṭam tu nihāram tatas taṃ paramarsiṇā*

(bereft of judgement) ³⁶, *cintānugata-sarvātman* (one's person filled with anxiety), *vyākulendriya-cetana* (with his sense organs and mind disturbed) ³⁷, *udvigna* (agitated) ³⁸, and *visaṃjñā* (without consciousness) ³⁹. Furthermore, it gives rise to bewilderment (*sādhvasa*), perspiration (*svedana*) and even trembling (*vepatha*).

tato vṛḍārjita-sādhvasa-svedana-vepathuh śuṣyateva mukhena nātipragarbhākṣaram uktavān (Pādatāḍitaka 72.3)

Then he said with a dry mouth, as his embarrassment gave rise to bewilderment, perspiration and trembling, and his words were not over-bold (Schokker).

It may not be unrelated to this peculiarity of *vṛḍā* that we have neither a negative form comparable to *nir-lajja*, nor an imperative equivalent to *lajjasva* (shame upon you!) ⁴⁰.

III. *hrī*

We have seen above how Draupadī was insulted (*sa-vṛḍā*), being dragged by Duṣṣāsana to the assembly hall (*sabhā*) (MBh.2.61.82), but what made her feel so humiliated in full view of the people was her pride as the wife of the noble Kṣatriya, for she was described elsewhere as *hrī-matī*.

vismitā cābravīt kanyā vṛḍitā ca manasvinī (MBh.1.57.60)

35. *adr̥ṣṭvā sa mahīpālas tam ṛṣim saha bhāryayā pariśrānto nivavṛte vṛḍito naṣṭa-cetanaḥ* (MBh.13.53.2)

36. *lakṣmaṇo 'pi sa-sugrīvas te ca sarve plavaṅgamāḥ āsan suvṛḍitās tatra mṛta-saṅkalpās tv acintayan* (R.6.3215* p.762)

37. *ātmānam stri-kṛtaṃ dr̥ṣṭvā vṛḍito nr̥pa-sattamaḥ cintānugata-sarvātmā vyākulendriya-cetanaḥ* (MBh.13.12.10)

38. *tatas te brāhmaṇāḥ sarve sa ca rājā yudhiṣṭhiraḥ vṛḍitāḥ paramadvignass tūṣṇim āsan viśaṃ pate* (MBh.12.39.29)

39. *saivam uktā varārohā vṛḍiteva manasvinī visaṃjñeva ca duḥkhena tasthau sthāṇur ivācalā* (MBh.1.68.20)

40. Occasionally, however, we have such expressions.

vṛḍā cātra na kartavyā sāhasaṃ yad idaṃ kṛtam dr̥ṣṭas cāpi suraiḥ pūrvam vināśo yakṣa-rakṣām (MBh.3.158.43)

mat-pūrvam rukminiṇim kṛṣṇa samsatsu parikirtayan viśeṣataḥ pārthiveṣu vṛḍāṃ na kuruse katham (MBh.2.42.18)

*prakīrṇa-keśi patitārdha-vastrā duḥśāsanena vyavadhūyamānā
hrīmaty amarṣeṇa ca dahyamānā śanair idam vākyam uvāca kṛṣṇā*
(MBh.2.60.28)

Her hair disheveled, her half skirt drooping, shaken about by Duḥśāsana, Ashamed and burning with indignation, Kṛṣṇā said slowly this word (van Buitenen).

Though van Buitenen translates the word *hrīmatī* as “ashamed”, her shame here is imbued with the sense of pride and honour as a lady of a noble family. Being dishonoured, she was “burning with indignation” (*amarṣa*) which led her later to the vow of revenge (MBh.2.61.82)⁴¹.

(3-1) However, this semantic peculiarity of *hrī* as imbued with pride and honour is best illustrated in the case of the honourable warrior. Thus, when Yudhiṣṭhira was invited for the second time to dice-play by his adversary, he had no hesitation in accepting it, for it was a rule for an honourable warrior to welcome the challenge of his enemy and he was expected to accept it⁴². If he did not accept it, his refusal was tantamount to the cowardly act of retreat from the front (*nivartana*). The noble warrior is supposed to accept another’s challenge by all means. Thus Arjuna said to Kṛṣṇa as follows.

*katham hi puruṣo jātaḥ kṣatriyeṣu dhanur-dharaḥ
samāhūto nivarteta prāṇa-tyāge 'py upasthite* (MBh.5.76.14)

How can a man who has been born a holder of the bow among the

41. However, we have the example where the word *hrī* means feminine bashfulness. In Udāyin’s criticism of the women’s attitude to the Buddha, *hrī* is a quality of the newly married woman (*nava-vadhū*).

*idam nava-vadhūnām vo hrī-nikuñcita-cakṣuṣām
sadr̥ṣam ceṣṭitam hi syād api vā gopa-yośītām* (BC 4.14)

Conduct such as this of yours would be more proper in brides who narrow their eyes in shame, or even in the wives of cowherds. (Johnston)

Here, *hrī* is almost equivalent to *lajjā*.

42. It is expected for a Kṣatriya always to accept another’s request and to give what is asked for. Thus, Yayāti accepted śarmiṣṭhā’s request, for it was his vow (*vrata*).

*dātavyam yācamānebhya iti me vratam āhitam
tvam ca yācasi mām kāmaṁ brūhi kiṃ karavāṇi te* (MBh.1.77.19)

barons decline, when challenged, even though he lose his life? (van Buitenen)

It was indeed the great vow (*mahā-vrata*) of Arjuna.

āhūto na nivarteyam iti tasya mahā-vratam (MBh.7.157.3ab)

Once challenged, I would never retreat (*āhūto na nivarteyam*). It was indeed his great vow⁴³.

Although Yudhiṣṭhira was fully aware of a forth-coming calamity, it was the primary concern for him to think much of his honour in accepting it.

*jana-pravādān subahūn iti śrṅvan narādhipaḥ
hriyā ca dharma-saṅgāc ca pārtho dyūtam iyāt punaḥ* (MBh.2.67.15)

Pārtha, king of his people, heard the many speeches of people, but compelled by his shame (*hri*) and his love for the Law, again had to go to the game (van Buitenen).

Though van Buitenen often translates the word as “shame” or “modest(y)”, it is imbued with pride as an honourable warrior. The honourable Kṣatriya has an inhibition from within, which prevents him from doing a cowardly action and he values honour more than anything else.

(3-2) Such honourable warriors feel ashamed even in referring to an unfair trick as the stratagem. When Aśvatthāman determined on the nocturnal slaughter in revenge for his father, he was still hesitant in proposing it to his colleagues, Kṛpa and Kṛtavarman.

43. It also reminds us of Karṇa's vow (*vrata*) mentioned in MBh.3.284-286.

*prasādāye tvāṃvaradaṃpraṇayācca bravīmy aham
na nivāryo vratād asmād aham yady asmi te priyaḥ* (24)

*vratam vai mama loko 'yaṃ vetti kṛtsno vibhāvaso
yathāham dvija-mukhyebhyo dadyāṃ prāṇān api dhruvam* (MBh.3.284.25)

Despite Sūrya's advice not to give his ear-rings and armour to Indra in a Brahmin's disguise, Karṇa did not follow his father's advice, for he preferred honourable fame (*kīrti*) to death.

*nottaraṃ pratipede ca tatra yuktaṃ hriyā vṛtaḥ
sa muhūrtam iva dhyātvā bāṣpa-vihvalam abravīt* (MBh.10.1.55)

Filled with shame (*hrī*), then he abstained from giving a suitable reply.
Having reflected for a moment, he said (with his voice) disturbed by tears.

Though the text itself is confused and we are not sure whether the subject here is Aśvatthāman or his colleague, the righteous warriors are ashamed even in referring to the unrighteous attempt of a nocturnal attack.

(3-3) Such a high-souled warrior prefers death to the act of retreating (*nivartana*) and remains in the battle-field.

*pīḍyamānāḥ parair ye tu hīyamānā nirāyudhāḥ
hrī-niṣedhā mahātmānaḥ parān abhimukhā raṇe* (15)
*chidyamānāḥ śitaiḥ śastraiḥ kṣatradharma-parāyaṇāḥ
gatās te brahma-sadanaṃ hatā vīrāḥ suvarcasaḥ* (MBh.11.26.16)

But those exalted ones devoted to the Law of *kṣatra*, who stifled all their inhibitions (*hrī-niṣedha*) and attacked the enemy in battle when the enemy was pressing them hard, when others were deserting them, when they had lost their weapons, when they were being cut by the sharpened blades of weapons – these dazzling heroes went to the seat of Brahmā when they were killed (Fitzgerald)⁴⁴.

Bereft of his kinsmen, deprived of weapons and seriously wounded, the sense of pride urges him to remain at the front. They prefer death to dishonour of retreat⁴⁵.

Even having once retreated, those who have their pride (*hrī*) and think of their duty (*sva-dharma*) returned to the front.

*ye tathā pārāyantaś ca hrīmantaś ca viśeṣataḥ
svadharmam anupaśyanto na jahuh svām anīkinīm* (MBh.7.159.15)

44. Cf. also,

*te tathā pārāyantaś ca hrīmantaś ca viśeṣataḥ
svadharmam anupaśyanto na jahuh svām anīkinīm* (MBh.7.159.15)

45. For the expression *mṛtyuṃ kṛtvā nivartanam*, cf. Hara, "On phrases not shared by the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa" Indologica Taurinensia XIX-XX (1993-94), pp.153-4.

Though thus in flight, those who had a sense of shame (*hrī*) among them did not abandon their own ally, observing their own duty.

All these passages quoted above outline the semantic content of *hrī*, as distinguished from *lajjā* and *vriḍā*. Though usually all rendered as “shame”, *hrī* is imbued with the tinge of pride and honour, which is peculiar to Kṣatriyas, including their wives.

(3-4) *hrī-niṣedha*

Since the honourable warrior has an inhibition from within (*niṣedha*) which compels him to noble action in the name of *hrī*, we have the oft-recurring compound in the Epics of *hrī-niṣedha* which illustrates such a warrior.

dhṛtimanto hrī-niṣedhā dharmātmāno yaśasvinaḥ
mūrdhābhiṣiktās te cainaṃ rajānaḥ paryupāsate (MBh.2.49.2)

Imperturbable, restrained by their modesty, law-spirited and famous, kings themselves whose heads have been anointed, wait on him (van Buitenen).

Though the compound is rendered often as “restrained by modesty” (van Buitenen) and “restrained by a sense of shame” (Fitzgerald), we notice here a tone of inhibition or prevention (*niṣedha*) in the name of honour. As a matter of fact, this compound *hrī-niṣedha* repeatedly appears in both the Epics as a typical expression to describe the proud warrior. Yudhiṣṭhira, for example, is described as follows.

dharmārāmo hrī-niṣedhas tarasvī kuntī-putraḥ pāṇḍavo 'jāta-śatruḥ
duryodhanena nirkṛto mānasvī no ced kruddhaḥ pradahed dhārtarāṣṭrān
(MBh.5.22.32)

Kuntī's son Pāṇḍava Ajātaśatru who delights in the Law, is modest and bold, This spirited man Duryodhana wronged--Pray he does not in anger set fire to the Kurus (van Buitenen)⁴⁶.

46. Cf. also,
yāvan na prekṣate kruddhaḥ senāṃ tava yudhiṣṭhiraḥ
hrī-niṣedho maheṣvāsas tāvac cchāmyatu vaiśasam (MBh.5.124.3)

He is also described as *hrīmat*.

*dhṛtyā ca puruṣavyāghro naibhrīyena ca pāṇḍavaḥ
anṛśaṃso vadānyaś ca hrīmān satya-parākramaḥ* (MBh.5.52.10)

Perseverance he possesses, and secrets he keeps, that tigerlike Pāṇḍava: he is gentle and generous and modest, and his word is his strength (van Buitenen)⁴⁷.

So is Droṇa who is also *hrī-mat* (MBh.7.167.21) and compelled by *hrī*.

*sāṅgā vedā yathā-nyāyaṃ yenādhītā mahātmanā
yasmīn sākṣād dhanurvedo hrī-niṣedhe pratiṣṭhitaḥ* (MBh.7.169.1)

The science of archery is visibly established in him who has the inhibition of pride, who learnt properly (all) the Vedas with their parts⁴⁸.

*sātyakīr bhīmasenaś ca mādri-putrau ca pāṇḍavau
yudhiṣṭhiraṃ puraskṛtya hrī-niṣedham ariṃdamam* (MBh.9.9.54)

47. Cf. also,

*hrīmān satya-dhṛtir dānto bhūtānām anukapitā
kāma-dveṣai vaśe kṛtvā satāṃ vartmānuvartate* (MBh.5.88.18)

48. So also is Sahadeva.

*dayāvān sarva-bhūteṣu hrī-niṣedho mahāstravit
mṛduś ca sukumāraś ca dhārmikaś ca priyaś ca me* (MBh.5.88.34)

Compassionate to all creatures, restrained by modesty, a great master of arms, gentle and delicate, law-abiding and dear to me. (van Buitenen)

So is also Bharata, Rāma's younger brother.

*padma-patrekṣaṇaḥ śyāmaḥ śrīmān nirudadro mahān
dharmajñāḥ satya-vādī ca hrī-niṣedho jitendriyaḥ* (R.3.15.29)

He is lotus-eyed, swarthy, regal, slim, and tall, wise in the ways of righteousness, truthful in speech, controlled by shame, and self-restrained. (Pollock)

Other examples are:

*hrī-niṣedhāḥ sadā santaḥ satyārjava-samanvitāḥ
śaktāḥ kathayitūṃ sāmyak te tava syuḥ sabahāsadaḥ* (MBh.12.84.1)

*sva-bāhula-saṃpannā hrī-niṣedhāyata-vratāḥ
saṃgrāma-śiraso madhye tām rātrim sukhino 'vasan* (MBh.4.32.35)

*sarvair dharmaiḥ samupetāḥ stha pārthāḥ
prasthānena mārḍavenārjavena*

jātāḥ kule anuśaṃsā vadānyā

hrī-niṣedhāḥ karmaṇāṃ niścita-yajñāḥ (MBh.5.25.5)

hrī-niṣedho nipuṇaḥ satyavādī

mahābalaḥ sarva-dharmopapannaḥ

gāndhārimārcchus tumule kṣiprakārī

kṣeptā janān sahadēvas tarasvī (MBh.5.47.26)

(3-5) As we have seen above, the word *lajjā* appears occasionally in a similar context.

*tān nivṛttan samīkṣyaiva tato 'nye 'pītare janāḥ
anyonya-spardhayā rājaṃ lajjayānye 'vatasthīre* (MBh.6.54.29)

Seeing them in retreat, other people also (retreated). Yet, some others remained (without retreating) with a sense of shame (*lajjā*), emulating each other.

A similar atmosphere is discernable in Nikumbha's warning. Seeing soldiers in flight from the battle-field, Nikumbha, their leader, ordered them to remain, appealing to a sense of pride as honourable warriors.

*hīna-pratijñāḥ kāmī lokān prayāsyatha palāyitāḥ
agatvāpacitīm yuddhe jñātināṃ kṛta-nīścayāḥ* (4)
*phalaṃ jitveha bhoktavyaṃ ripūn samara-karkaśān
hatena cāpi śūreṇa vastavyaṃ tridive sukham* (5)
*palāyitvā gṛhaṃ gatvā kasya drakṣyatha he mukham
dārān vakṣyatha kiṃ cāpi dhig dhik kiṃ kiṃ na lajjatha* (H. 2.85.6)

What sorts of worlds are you going to, abandoning (the former) vow and fleeing, despite having promised to your relatives, without accomplishing it in battle?

Enjoy here (in this world) the fruit by defeating the cruel fighters, or stay happily in heaven by being killed as a hero!

Whose face will you see, returning home in flight? What are you going to tell your wife?

Fie upon you! Why do not you feel ashamed (*lajj-*)⁴⁹?

*hriyā niṣedho madhura-vāg dhārmikaś ca priyaś ca me
sa te 'raṇyeṣu boddhavyo yājñaseni kṣapāsv api* (MBh.4.18.29)
*prahlādo namurir dakṣo vipracittir virocanaḥ
hrī-niṣedhaḥ suhotraś ca bhūrihā puṣpavān vṛṣaḥ* (MBh.12.220.50)
*hrī-niṣedhā bharatā rājaputrāś citrāyudhaḥ śrutakarmā jayaś ca
śalaś ca satyavrataduḥśalau ca vyavasthitā balino yoddhukāmaḥ* (MBh.8.4.101)
*saṃtuṣṭa-bhṛtya-sacivāḥ kṛtajñāḥ priyavādināḥ
yathārtham ānārthakarā hrī-niṣedhā yatavratāḥ* (MBh.12.221.34)
*sāngā vedā yathā-nyāyaṃ yenādhitā mahātmanā
yasmīn sākṣād dhanurvedo hrī-niṣedhe pratiṣṭhitāḥ* (MBh.7.169.1)

49. We have a similar use in *vyapatrap-* (*na vyapatrapase katham=katham na lajjase*).

People are called back to the battle-field, being reminded of the family-honour as Kṣatriyas. Here we notice that *lajjā* and its verbal form *lajj-atha* are used instead of *hrī*⁵⁰ with reference to the disgrace of the retreating warrior. But apparently, his shame (*lajjā*) is the result of his retreat which is originally prohibited to him by the sense of honour (*hrī-niṣedha*). In a sense, *hrī* and *lajjā* stand in the relation of cause and effect.

(3-6) *hirī-nisedha* in Pali.

The compound also appears in the early phase of Pali Buddhist texts.

mā jātiṃ puccha, caraṇañ ca puccha
kaṭṭhā have jāyati jātavedo
nīcākulīno pi munī dhitīma
ājāniyo hoti hirī-nisedho (Suttanipāta 462)

Do not ask about descent, but ask about conduct. Truly from wood fire is produced. A sage, (possessed of firmness), although of lowly birth, becomes a thoroughbred, (having modesty as his restraint) (Norman).

hirīnisedho puriso koci lokasmi vijjati
so nindaṃ appabodhati asso bhadro kaśāṃ iva (Dhammapada 143)

Is a man restrained by modesty found anywhere in this world, who thinks little of censure as a well-bred horse thinks little of the whip⁵¹? (Norman)

(3-7) *hrī* as the virtue

vibhīṣikābhir bahvībhir bhīṣayan sarva-pārthivān
na vyapatrapase kasmād vṛddhaḥ san kula-pāṃsanah (MBh.2.38.1)
ekasyārthe bahūn hatvā putrasyādharmaṃ yathā
svakaramathān vikarmastho na vyapatrapase katham (MBh.7.165.31)
 50. Cf. also *lajjamāna* in H.2.85.7.

51. For *hirimat* as contrasted with a *-hirika*, cf. Dhammapada 244-5.

This verse corresponds to *Udāna-varga* 19.5, which reads,

hrī-niṣevī hi puruṣaḥ prājño yaḥ susamāhitaḥ
sarva-pāpaṃ jahāty eṣa bhadrāśvo hi kaśāṃ iva

One notices that here *hrī-niṣedha* is replaced by *hrī-niṣevin*.

As the principle of self-restraint, it is natural for *hrī* to be enumerated in the list of virtues. We shall quote some of them below.

It is one of the twelve great vows (*mahā-vrata*) of a Brahmin.

*dharmaś ca satyaṃ ca damaś tapaś ca amātsaryaṃ hrīś titikṣānasūyā
yajñāś ca dānaṃ ca dhṛtiḥ śrutam ca mahāvratā dvādaśa brāhmaṇasya*
(MBh.5.43.12)

Law, truthfulness, self-control, austerity, lack of envy, modesty (*hrī*), forbearance, contentment, sacrifice, gift, steadfastness, and learning are the twelve great vows of the brahmin (van Buitenen)⁵².

It is one of the eleven. Bhīṣma enumerates eleven virtues as the qualifications of *pātra*, the worthy receptacle of a gift (*dāna*), as follows,

*akrodhaḥ satya-vacanam ahiṃsā dama ārjavam
adroho nātimānaś ca hrīś titikṣā tapaḥ śamaḥ (8)
yasminn etāni drśyante na cākāryāṇi bhārata
bhāvato viniviṣṭāni tat pātram mānam arhati* (MBh.13.37.9)

Non-anger, true speech, non-violence, self-control, uprightness, non-threatening, non-self-conceit, shame, endurance, austerity, tranquillity,

He who possesses these virtues as a natural disposition is the receptacle (of a gift) and deserves respect⁵³.

52. Bhīṣma speaks of another set of twelve as essential to Kṛṣṇa.
*dānaṃ dākṣyaṃ śrutam śauryaṃ hrīḥ kīrtir buddhir uttamā
samnatīḥ śrīr dhṛtiś tuṣṭiḥ puṣṭiś ca niyatācyute* (MBh.2.35.19)

Liberality, dexterity, learning, gallantry, modesty, fame, a supreme resolve, humility, luster, pertinacity, contentment and prosperity are forever in Acyuta (van Buitenen).

53. Another set of eleven is found in Kṛṣṇa's praise of Śiva.
*iṣṭam dattam addhitam ca vratāni niyamāś ca ye
hrīḥ kīrtiḥ śrīr dyutiś tuṣṭiḥ siddhiś caiva tvad-arpaṇā* (MBh.13.15.35)

Sacrifice, giving, learning, vows, restraints, shame, fame, fortune, splendour, contentment and perfection; these are essential to you.

Further sets of virtues are as follows,

The following ten are prerequisite for pursuing the eight-noble path.

*asyopacāre dhṛtir ārjavam ca hrīr apramādaḥ praviviktatā ca
alpechatā tuṣṭir asaṃgatā ca loka-pravṛttāvaratiḥ kṣamā ca* (SN 16.38)

A similar idea is expressed negatively, where it is enumerated as one of five.

*krodho harṣaś ca darpaś ca hrī-stambho mānya-mānitā
yam arthān nāpakarṣanti sa vai paṇḍita ucyate* (MBh.5.33.17)

In following it are required steadfastness, simple-mindedness, self-respect, heedfulness and discrimination, desire for little, contentment and lack of attachment, patience and dislike of mundane activity. (Johnston)

It is one of the nine.

*brahma satyaṃ damaḥ śaucaṃ dharmo hrīḥ śrīr dhṛtiḥ kṣamā
yatra tatra rame nityam ahaṃ satyena te śape* (MBh.7.156.29)

Brahman, truth, self-control, purity, righteousness, shame, fortune, steadfastness, endurance: I am always devoted to them. By this truth, I curse you.

In the description of Bhīṣma's virtues, we read,

*yasmin dhṛtir buddhi-parākramaujo damaḥ satyaṃ vīra-guṇāś ca sarve
astrāṇi divyāny aha samnatir hrīḥ priyā ca vāg anapāyini bhīṣme* (MBh.7.2.4)

In non-reatreating Bhīṣma, all the heroic qualities, such as steadfastness, intelligence, vigour, power, self-control, truth, and heavenly weapons, modesty, shame, and kind words.

It is one of the seven.

*yasmin dānaṃ damaḥ śaucaṃ ahimsā hrīr dhṛtiḥ kṣamā
anapāyini sarvāṇi nityaṃ rājñi yudhiṣṭhīre* (MBh.7.131.12)

(Such virtues as) generosity, self-control, purity, non-violence, shame, steadfastness, and patience – all these are ever established in king Yudhiṣṭhira.

Cf. also,

hriyā jñānena tapasā damena krodhenātho dharmaguptyā dhanena
(MBh.5.47.10)

Cf. also MBh.1.85.22, 94.2, 3.159.19, 198.87, 4.27.26, 12.156.8, 262.37, 279.19.

It is one of the six.

satyārjave hrīr dama-śauca-vidyāḥ ṣaṇ māna-moha-pratibādhānāni (MBh.5.42.32cd)

These six; truth, uprightness, modesty (*hrī*), self-control, purity, and knowledge, are destructive of pride (*māna*) and delusion (*moha*) (van Buitenen).

It is one of the five.

*hrīmatā tv iha durjivaṃ nityaṃ śuci-gaveṣiṇā
sulīnenāpragabdhena śuddhājīvena paśyatā* (Udānavarga 27.4ab=/*Dhammapada* 245ab)

In this world it is always hard to live for him who has the sense of honour and ever seeking purity.

It is one of the four.

*yataḥ satyaṃ yato dharmo yato hrīr ārjayaṃ yataḥ
tato bhavati govindo yataḥ kṛṣṇas tato jayah* (MBh.5.67.9)

Wherever there is truth, wherever Law, wherever modesty (*hrī*) and honesty, there is Govinda. Where Kṛṣṇa is, there is victory.

He is called wise whom neither anger, joy, pride, false modesty (*hrī-stambha*), nor vain glory draw away from his purpose (van Buitenen).

Here the compound *hrī-stambha* would be better taken in the sense of “stoppage of shame” or “shamelessness, ignominy”.

(3-7-1) Among these virtues, some are remarkable.

(3-7-1-1) *hrī* and *dharma* (righteousness)

As is evident in the above list, *dharma* occupies the prominent position in its association with *hrī*.

hrī is the foundation of *dharma*.

*kule jātasya vṛddhasya para-vitteṣu gṛdhyataḥ
lobhaḥ prajñānam āhanti prajñā hanti hatā hriyam (18)
hrīr hatā bādhathe dharmam dharmo hanti hataḥ śriyam
śrīr hatā puruṣam hanti puruṣasyāsvatā vadhaḥ (MBh.5.70.19)*

If a man who is born and bred in a high lineage covets the possessions of others, his greed kills his good sense, and once his good sense is gone, shame goes. Shame destroyed kills Law, Law killed kills fortune, fortune killed destroys the man; poverty is the death of a man (van Buitenen).

Similarly, *hrī* stands in a functional relation to *dharma*.

*hrīmān hi pāpaṃ pradveṣṭi tasya śrīr abhivardhate
hrīr hatā bādhathe dharmam dharmo hanti hataḥ śriyam (IS.7424)*

A man of shame hates evil. For such a man fortune increases.
But once shame is hurt, it disturbs *dharma*, and when *dharma* is hurt, it hurts glory.

It is also said that *hrī* is gained from *dharma*.

*kalyāṇam kurute gādham hrīmān na ślāghate kvacit
prasānta-vān-manā nityam hris tu dharmād avāpyate (MBh.12.156.15)*

A “modest” man does not boast a lot to anyone when he has done something superb. He is always quiet in mind and quiet in speech, while mod-

esty is gained from doing Lawful Deeds (Fitzgerald)⁵⁴.

Though Fitzgerald translates *hrīmat* as “a modest man”, one can render it as “a man of pride”.

(3-7-1-2) *hrī* and *dhṛti*

Dhṛti (decorum) also makes a pair with *hrī*. In the lamentation of Yaśodharā we read,

*iīha devī pati-śoka-mūrchitā ruroda dadhyau vilalāpa cāsakṛt
svabhāva-dhīrāpi hi sā satī śucā dhṛtiṃ na sasmāra cakāra no hriyam
(BC 8.70)*

In such terms the princess, fainting with grief for her husband, wept and brooded and lamented repeatedly. For, though steadfast by nature, she forgot the rules of decorum (*dhṛti*) and felt no shame (*hrī*) (Johnston)⁵⁵.

In his discourse to Nanda, still attached to his wife, a Buddha’s disciple says as follows,

*avaśaḥ khalu kāma-mūrchayā priyayā śyena-bhayād vinākṛtaḥ
na dhṛtiṃ samupaiti na hriyaṃ karuṇaṃ jīvati jīva-jīvakahaḥ (SN.8.20)*

Verily a francolin partridge finds no satisfaction or self-respect and lives miserably in the helpless infatuation of his love, when separated from his mate by fear of the hawk! (Johnston)

Here Johnston translates *dhṛti* as “satisfaction”, and *hrī* as “self-respect”⁵⁶.

54. As we have seen above, *hrī-niṣedha* is construed with *dharmātman*.
*dhṛtimanto hrī-niṣedhā dharmātmāno yaśasvinah
mūrdhābhiṣiktās te cainaṃ rājānaḥ paryupāsate (MBh.2.49.2)*

Similarly Yudhiṣṭhira

*jana-pravādān subahūn iti śṛṇvan narādhipaḥ
hriyā ca dharmā-saṅgāc ca pārtho dyūtam iyāt punaḥ (MBh.2.67.15)*

55. Cf. also,

*aparās tv avaśā hriyā viyuktā dhṛtimatyō 'pi vapur-guṇair upetāḥ
viniśaśvasur ulbaṇaṃ śayānā vikṛtāḥ kṣipta-bhujā jajṛmbhire ca (BC.5.59)*

Johnston translates the word *dhṛtimat* as “(despite their) natural decorum”.

56. For its juxtaposition with *saṃnati*, cf. Buddhacarita 5.70 where Johnstone

(3-7-1-3) *hrī* and *kuśala* (goodness)

In Āryasūra's Jātaka-mālā 12, where a story of an high-spirited Brahmin is told, we meet such compounds as *ātma-lajjā*, *hrī-bala*, *hrī-parikhā*. The Jātaka illustrates *hrī* as a touch-stone of *kuśala*.

tad evam ātma-lajjayaiva sat-puruṣā nācāra-velāṃ laṅghayanṭīti hrī-balenāryeṇa bhavitavyam / evaṃ hrī-parikhā-saṃpanna ārya-śrāvako 'kuśalaṃ prajahāti kuśalaṃ ca bhāvayatīty evam-ādiṣu sūtreṣūpaneyam / hrī-varṇa-pratisaṃyukteṣu lokādhipateyeṣu ceti (JM.80.11-14)

So, then, it is the very shame of the Self within their hearts that prevents the virtuous from transgressing the boundary of good behaviour. [For this reason the pious man (*ārya*) ought to have a powerful shelter in shame. (This story) is to be adduced on account of such texts as this: "In this way the faithful votary of our creed (*ārya-śrāvaka*), being well-guarded by the trench of his shame, avoids what is noxious and fosters what is wholesome". Likewise in texts dealing with the feeling of shame and the regard of public opinion] (Speijer).

As is evident, *ātma-lajjā* is translated as "the shame of the Self within their hearts", and *hrī-bala* as "a powerful shelter in shame", and *hrī-parikhā* as "trench of his shame"⁵⁷. But we notice here *hrī* always imbued with the sense of honour and pride.

(3-8) Other distinctions

Apart from the virtue as such, *hrī* appears also in the list of distinctions.

(3-8-1) *kula* (noble family)

In describing Yaśodharā, Aśvaghōṣa said as follows,

kulāt tato 'smai sthira-śīla-yuktāt sādhvīm vapur hrī-vinayopapannām

translates it as "respect (for me)", and *hrī* as "(their own) modesty", and for *hrī-vinata* (bent with shame), cf. SN 10.2.

57. Khoroché translated *ātma-lajjā* as "self-respect", (JM.77.1) and *hrī-bala* as "a powerful sense of shame", but he dispensed with *hrī-parikhā*.

yaśodharāṃ nāma yaśo-viśālāṃ vāmābhīdhānāṃ śrīyam ājuhāva
(BC 2.26)

Then from a family possessed of long-standing good conduct he summoned for him the goddess of Fortune in the shape of a maiden, Yaśodharā by name, of widespread renown, virtuous and endowed with beauty, modesty and gentle bearing (Johnston)⁵⁸.

We note here such words as *kula*, *śīla*, *sādhu*, *vinaya*, *yaśas*, *śrī* juxtaposed with *hrī*⁵⁹.

(3-8-2) *kīrti* (fame)

In Viṣṇu's praise to śiva we read,

iṣṭam dattam adhītam ca vratāni niyamās ca ye
hrīḥ kīrtiḥ śrīr dyutiḥ tuṣṭiḥ siddhiś caiva tvad-arpaṇā (MBh.13.15.35)

Sacrifice, gift, study, vows, regulations, sense of honour, fame, prosperity, splendour, contentment and perfection; (all these are for) leading to you⁶⁰.

(3-8-3) *saṃnati* (reverence),

In the well known decision of the Buddha to leave his palace for the forest, we read,

hriyam eva ca saṃnatiṃ ca hitvā śayitā mat-pramukhe yathā yuvatyaḥ
viṣṭe ca yathā svayaṃ kapāṭe niyataṃ yātum ito mamādya kālāḥ (BC 5.70)

58. Cf. MBh.7.5.13, 5.82.25 (*kulīnā hrīmanto...*)

59. Karṇa praised warriors of the Kaurava side.

kula-saṃhanana-jñānair'balā-vikrama-buddhibhiḥ
yuktāḥ kṛta-jñā hrīmanta āhaveṣv anivartinaḥ (MBh.7.5.13)

In the praise of Abhimanyu also,

alubdho matimann hrīmān kṣamāvān rūpavān balī
vapuśmān māna-kṛd vīraḥ priyaḥ satya-parāyaṇaḥ (MBh.7.49.15)

In praise of the Pāṇḍavas.

te tv amarṣa-vaśaṃ prāptā hrīmantaḥ sattva-coditāḥ
tyaktvā prāṇān nyavartanta ghnanto droṇaṃ mahāhave (MBh.7.30.11)

The great warriors on the Kuru-side.

sarve tu pratisaṃraddhā hrīmantaḥ sattva-coditāḥ
sthīrī-bhūtā mahātmānaḥ pratyagacchan dhanamjayam (MBh.7.76.2)

60. Cf. MBh.2.35.19.

Since these women lay in my presence without regard to their own modesty (*hrī*) or to respect for me (*saṃnati*), and since the doors opened of themselves, most certainly it is the time to-day for me to depart hence (Johnston)⁶¹.

Here “modesty” is a suitable translation, but it is sustained by the sense of pride as being the court women.

(3-8-4) Because of *hrī* the high-souled man feels ashamed of uttering false and harsh words.

*sāntvaṃ babhāṣe na ca nārthavad yaj jajalpa tattvaṃ na ca vipriyaṃ yat
sāntvaṃ hy atattvaṃ paruṣaṃ ca tattvaṃ hriyāśakann ātmana eva vaktum*
(BC 2.38)

He spoke what was pleasant and not unprofitable; he stated what was true and not disagreeable; for self-respect made him unable to say even to himself a pleasant falsehood or a harsh truth (Johnston).

Johnston is right in rendering *hrī* as “self-respect”. The sense of pride and honour as a man of self-respect prevents him from improper action.

(3-9) Association with *ottappa*

But it is in the Pali Buddhist texts that *hiri* which is often associated with *ottappa* (fear from sin) is enumerated as one of the seven sublime treasures (*satta-vidha-ariya-dhana*). We shall see below briefly its usages in Pali texts.

*Katamāni satta? Saddhā-dhanaṃ, sila-dhanaṃ, hiri-dhanam, ottappa-
dhanam, suta-dhanaṃ, cāga-dhanaṃ, paññā-dhanam. Imāni kho Ugga
satta dhanāni asādhāraṇāni agginā udakena rājūhi corehi appiyehi
dāyādehi'ti*

*Saddhā-dhanaṃ sila-dhanaṃ hiri ottappiyaṃ dhanam
suta-dhanāni ca cāgo ca paññā ve sattamaṃ dhanam
Yassa ete dhanā atthi itthiyā purisassa vā*

61. Cf. also MBh.2.35.19, 7.2.4.

*sa ve mahad-dhano lokeajeyyo deva-mānuse
adaliddo ti taṃ āhu, amoghaṃ tassa jīvitam,
tasmā saddhañ ca sīlañ ca pasādaṃ dhamma-dassanaṃ
anuyuñjetha medhāvī saraṃ buddhāna-sāsanan ti (AN. IV.7.8-17)*

What seven? The treasure of faith, virtue, conscientiousness, fear of blame, listening, bounty and wisdom. Verily, Ugga, these seven are not subject to fire, water, kings, robbers, enemies or heirs.

Faith, virtue, conscientiousness and fear of blame,

Learning, bounty and wisdom the seventh -

Who has these treasures, women or man,

has indeed a great treasure, which is unconquerable by god and men

Therefore, faith, virtue, grace, insight into the law,

the wise men pursue, ever thinking of the Buddhas' word⁶².

These seven virtues are called here the wealth (*dhana*) which is never stolen by others⁶³.

(3-10) *hrī* in negative contexts

As *vrīdā* comes out of *akārya-karaṇa* and results in *paścāt-tāpa*, the same aspect is also discernable in the case of *hrī*.

(3-10-1) *hrī* of the idle king

The king feels ashamed, realizing his negligence of duty. Thus Rāma felt ashamed, when ascetics in the Daṇḍaka forest being annoyed by Rākṣasas resorted to him for protection. He answered them as follows,

*prasīdantu bhavanto me hrir eṣā hi mamātulā
yadīdṛśair ahaṃ viprair upasthēyair upasthitāḥ
kiṃ karomīti ca mayā vyāhṛtaṃ dvija-saṃnidhau (R.3.9.9)*

“Please forgive me, sirs! How boundless is my shame that when I should

62. Cf. AN. IV.4.27-5.7, and 6.16-21 which have *adaliddo ti taṃ āhu, amoghaṃ tassa jīvitam in d.*

63. For the enumeration of these *satta dhanāni*, cf. DN. I*1.163.6-8, 251.20-22, 282.3-6, which are also called *satta ariya-dhana* in Visuddhimagga 675.6-7. But DN. I*.78.33-79.2 has *hiri-mana, ottāpī, bahussuta, āradha-viriya, upatṭhita-satī* and *paññāvat*.

be seeking out seers like you, you have had instead to seek me out". And in the presence of those twice-born men I spoke up and said, "What is it I may do?" (Pollock)

Since it was the king's duty to protect people, Rāma, the honourable king, realizing his negligence, felt a boundless shame.

(3-10-2) *hrī* of the idle onlookers.

When the Pāṇḍava princes had to leave town for the forest, the townsmen were annoyed by guilt-consciousness, remaining as idle onlookers without being able to do anything for them.

*na ca kiṃcī tādocus te hriyā santo yudhiṣṭhīram
manobhir eva kalyāṇaṃ dadhyus te tasya dhīmataḥ (MBh.2.69.4)*

From shame those good men made no reply to Yudhiṣṭhira, as in their thoughts they wished the wise prince well (van Buitenen).

Despite the great sympathy on their side, people could not do anything for the Pāṇḍavas in their miserable condition. This irritated inability made them ashamed.

(3-10-3) *nir-hrīka* (shameless)

Hari, the lord of Asuras, being given a boon from Brahman as the reward for severe asceticism, became haughty and began to attack the gods.

*tatas te lobha-mohābhyām abhibhūtā vicetasah
nirhrīkāḥ saṃsthītiṃ sarve sthāpitāṃ samalūlupan (MBh.8.24.28)*

Then, being overcome by greed and stupidity, all deprived of judgement and shame, he plundered the establishments built by that time.

In his reproach of the Madraka people, Karṇa said,

*nāryo bṛhatyo nirhrīkā madrakāḥ kambalāvṛtāḥ
ghasmarā naṣṭa-śaucāś ca prāya ity anuśuśrūma (MBh.8.27.79)*

I am informed that most of the maidens in Madras are shameless, have profuse hairs and are gluttonous and impure.

Dhrtarāṣṭra himself called his sons *nirhrīka* (shameless)

*saṃpramṛdya mahat sainyaṃ yāntaṃ śaineyam arjunam
nirhrīkā mama te putrāḥ kim akurvata saṃjaya* (MBh.7.97.1)

When (Sātyaki) the grandson of śini proceeded towards Arjuna, grinding as he went that large force, what indeed, O Saṃjaya, did those shameless sons of mine do ⁶⁴?

Conclusion

Though these three words are often rendered into the one English word “shame”, there exists a minute difference in their connotation. Roughly speaking, *lajjā* is the shame which is oriented to bashfulness, while *vrīḍā* is imbued with a tinge of embarrassment and confusion in an unexpected situation, and *hrī* has a special connection to honour.

(1) As its etymology shows, originally *lajjā* is related to the root *raj-*, *rañj-* (to become red) ⁶⁵ and it means “blush”. It is the foundation of decorum or courtesy (*vinaya*), and is figuratively called a wife of *dharmā* and the mother of *vinaya*. Thus once possessed by *kāma* a maiden loses the sense of *lajjā* (bashfulness) and forgets *vinaya* (courtesy).

(2) Quite in contrast, *vrīḍā* often appears in the context of the right persons who are falsely accused and ignored. The same maiden feels *lajjā* innately when she is willing to surrender herself to the beloved, but she feels *vrīḍā* when demands are made from outside by a male whom she could hardly refuse. This sort of shame is caused by embarrassment. But when the same embarrassment is caused by a malignant person, it naturally makes her indignant and invites her to revenge. Hence its construction with *amarṣa* and *roṣa*.

64. Under such circumstances, the reading of the Critical edition is rather doubtful.
*nirmamā nispratidvaṃdvā nirhrīkā nisprayojanāḥ
ahiṃsā-niratā ye ca ye ca sātya-vratā narāḥ
dāntāḥ śama-parāś caiva tān namasyāmi keśava* (MBh.13.32.18)

With the exception of *nirhrīka* in b, all the other words are expressive of virtue.

65. M. Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, Bd.II (Heidelberg 1996) p.473 (“ich schämen” aus **raj-y-* “rot werden”).

(3) Lastly *hrī* is shame which is imbued with the sense of pride and honour. The pride often originates from nobility (*kula*) and is accompanied by the appreciation of fame (*kīrti*). As a principle of self-restraint it is elevated to the status of virtue which prevents a noble man from acting contrary to his pride and honour, hence the compound *hrī-niṣedha*. These peculiarities are never met with in *lajjā* and *vrīḍā*.

(4) There are negative forms for *lajjā* (*nirlajja*) and *hrī* (*nīhrīka*)⁶⁶, but not for *vrīḍā*, for the latter is caused by embarrassment and confusion in an unexpected situation caused by outside persons. Instead, *vrīḍā* is associated with revenge.

66. We have also the negative form for *apatrapa* (*nirapatrapa*).
na gaccheyam ahaṃ tasya rājaputri niveśanam
tvam eva rājñi jānāsti yathā sa nirapatrapaḥ (MBh.4.14.11)
asaṃvibhāgī duṣṭātmā kṛtaghno nirapatrapaḥ
tādṛṇ narādhamo loke varjaṇīyo narādhipa (MBh.5.38.36)
dauskuleyā durātmāno nṛśamsā nirapatrapāḥ
ta etad īdṛśaṃ kuryur yathā tvam tāta manyase (MBh.5.122.8)
sarvān etān anāḍṛtya durmatir nirapatrapaḥ
aśiṣṭavad amaryādo mānī mānyāvamanītā (MBh.5.126.26)

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