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The Daily Routine of Kings, Men-about-town and Poets

Abstract

This paper focusses on the daily routine of the king as it is discussed in the *Kauṭīliya-artha-śāstra* and in the other texts listed below. Moreover, we deal with the daily routine of the man-about-town in the *Kāma-sūtra* and of the poet in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* and try to elucidate the dependence or independence of these traditions.

I shall subdivide my paper as follows:

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A. The daily routine of the king

1. *Kauṭīliya-artha-śāstra* I, 19, 6-26 and I, 5, 12-15

In the 19th *adhyāya* (= 16th *prakaraṇa*), which is named *rāja-praṇidhiḥ* ("Rules for the king"), the daily routine of the king is described as follows:

Kangle 1960: *nālikābhir ahar aṣṭa-dhā rātriṃ ca vibhajet, chāyā-pramāṇena vā* /6/ (...) *tatra pūrve divasasyāṣṭa-bhāge rakṣāvidhānam āvayayau ca śṛṇuyāt* /9/ *dviṭīye paura-jāna-padānāṃ karyāṇi paśyet* /10/ *trīṭīye snāna-bhojanam*

*seveta, svādhyāyaṃ ca kurvīta /11/ caturthe hiraṇya-pratigrahaṃ
 adhyakṣāṃś ca kurvīta /12/ pañcame sandhi-parīṣadā patra-saṃpreṣaṇeṇa
 mantrayeta, cāra-guhyā-bodhanīyāni ca budhyeta /13/ śaṣṭhe svaira-
 vihāraṃ mantram vā seveta /14/ saptame hasty-aśva-rathāyudhīyān
 paśyēt /15/ aṣṭame senā-pati-sakho vikramaṃ cintayēt /16/ pratiṣṭhite
 'hani sandhyāṃ upāsīta /17/ prathima-rātri-bhāge gūḍha-puruṣān paśyēt
 /18/ dvitīye snāna-bhojanaṃ kurvīta, svādhyāyaṃ ca /19/ tṛtīye tūrya-
 ghoṣeṇa saṃviṣṭaś caturtha-pañcamau śayīta /20/ śaṣṭhe tūrya-ghoṣeṇa
 pratibuddhaḥ śāstram iti-kartavyatām ca cintayēt /21/ saptame mantram
 adhyāsīta, gūḍha-puruṣāṃś ca preṣayēt /22/ aṣṭame ṛtvig-ācārya-purohita-
 svastyayanāni pratigrhṇīyāt, cikitsaka-māhānasika-mauhūrtikāṃś ca
 paśyēt /23/ savatsaṃ dhenuṃ vṛṣabhaṃ ca pradakṣiṇī-kṛtyopasthānaṃ
 gacchet /24/ ātma-balānukūlyena vā niśāhar-bhāgān pravibhajya
 kāryāni seveta /25/ upasthāna-gataḥ kāryārthināṃ advāra-saṅgaṃ
 kārayēt /26/.*

Kangle 1963: “6. He should divide the day into eight parts as also the night by means of nālikās, or by the measure of the shadow (of the gnomon). (...) 9. During the first eighth part of the day, he should listen to measures taken for defence and (accounts of) income and expenditure. 10. During the second, he should look into the affairs of the citizens and the country people. 11. During the third, he should take his bath and meals and devote himself to study. 12. During the fourth, he should receive revenue in cash and assign tasks to heads of departments. 13. During the fifth, he should consult the council of ministers by sending letters, and acquaint himself with secret information brought in by spies. 14. During the sixth, he should engage in recreation at his pleasure or hold consultations. 15. During the seventh, he should review elephants, horses, chariots and troops. 16. During the eighth, he should deliberate on military plans with the commander-in-chief. 17. When the day is ended, he should worship the evening twilight. 18. During the first (eighth) part of the night, he should interview secret agents. 19. During the second, he should take a bath and meals and engage in study. 20. During the third, he should go to bed to the strains of musical instruments and sleep during the fourth and fifth (parts). 21. During the sixth, he should awaken to the sound of musical instruments and ponder over the teaching of the science (of politics) as well as over the work to be done. 22. During the seventh, he should sit in consultation (with counsellors) and despatch secret agents. 23. During the eighth, he should receive blessings from priests, preceptors and chaplain, and see his physician, chief cook and astrologer. 24. And after going round a cow with her calf and a bull, he should proceed to the assembly hall. 25. Or, he should divide the day and night into (different) parts in conformity with his capacity and carry out his tasks. 26. Arriving in the assembly hall, he should allow unrestricted entrance to those wishing to see him in connection with their affairs.”

Besides these rules, which were adapted by later texts, we find a concise reference to the daily education of the crown prince or young king in *Kauṭīliya-artha-śāstra* I, 5, 12-15,

i.e. in the 5th *adhyāya* (= 2nd *prakaraṇa*), which is called *vṛddha-saṃyogaḥ* (“Association with elders”):

*pūrvam ahar-bhāgaṃ hasty-aśva-ratha-praharaṇa-vidyāsu vinayaṃ
gacchet /12/ paścimam itihāsaśravaṇe /13/ purāṇam iti-vṛttam
ākhyāyikodāharanaṃ dharma-śāstram artha-śāstram cetītiḥsaḥ /14/
śeṣam aho-rātra-bhāgaṃ apūrva-grahaṇaṃ grhīta-paricayaṃ ca kuryāt,
agrhitānām abhikṣya-śravaṇaṃ ca /15/.*

Kangle 1963: “12. During the first part of the day, he should undergo training in the (arts) of (using) elephants, horses, chariots and weapons. 13. In the latter part, (he should engage in listening to Itihāsa. [In 14. follows a definition of itihāsa]. 15. During the remaining parts of the day and the night, he should learn new things and familiarise himself with those already learnt, and listen repeatedly to things not learnt.”

2. *Nīti-vākyāmrta* and other Jain sources

In Somadeva’s *Nīti-vākyāmrta*, a Jain treatise on political science, chapter 25 *divasānuṣṭhāna-samuddeśa* (“Discourse on daily duties”) deals with daily duties in general and not only with those of the king. We quote Gupta 1987 and Botto 1962: *brāhma-muhūrta utthāya iti-kartavyatāyāṃ samādhim upeyāt* / (25, 1)

“Dopo essersi alzato al momento dedicato a Brahṃā, cominci la [sua] meditazione sul particolareggiato complesso di ciò che deve fare.”
 (“He should get up in the muhūrta dedicated to Brahman and concentrate on the work he has to do.”)

Generally valid are the statements in 25, 2ff on the value of good sleep and the importance of being awake at the time of sunrise and sunset. The text emphasizes personal hygiene, such as cleansing the mouth, bathing, physical exercises and massage – some statements as on digestion, meals and diet are influenced by Āyur-veda and some come close to the *Kāma-sūtra* (25, 23 is even a verbatim replica of *Kāma-sūtra* I, 4, 6): *nityaṃ snānaṃ dvitīyakam utsādanaṃ tṛtīyakam āyusaṃ caturthakam pratyāyusyakam ity ahīnaṃ seveta* / “Abluzione quotidiana, unzione ogni due giorni, [cerimonia] per la longevità ogni tre giorni, [cerimonia] che consolidi la durata della vita ogni quattro giorni: tale l’osservanza per un sacrificio che duri parecchi giorni.”

After long digressions the text reverts in 25, 68 to the daily routine of the king in particular: *ātma-sukhānurodhena kāryāya naktam ahaś ca vibhajet* / “Tenendo conto della proprio felicità, suddivide la notte e il giorno per quanto ha da fare.” (“He should divide night and day for his work without impairing his own well-being.”)

In 25, 73 we read: *savatsaṃ dhenuṃ pradakṣiṇī-kṛtya dharmāsanam yāyāt* / “Dopo aver girato da sinistra a destra intorno a una vacca con vitello, entri nell’aula regia.” (“He should

circumambulate a cow with a calf and then go to the seat of justice.”) This statement is nearly identical with *Kauṭīlīya-artha-śāstra* I, 19, 24 (*dharmāsana* instead of *upasthāna*).

Two other Jain texts treat the daily routine in greater detail: the *Tilaka-mañjari* of Dhanapāla (*Kāvya-mālā* 85), pp. 62-71 and the *Kumāra-pāla-pratibodha* of Somaprabhāsūri, pp. 422-443. The statements of both texts are summed up by Choudhary 1954: 343-344: “From the description it appears that the king devoted the first quarter of the day in personal purification and devotion to gods and religious teachers and then he granted the interviews to all important persons and officers such as religious Brahmanas, the prime minister, secretaries, kings, feudatories, kinsmen and friends and other citizens. He held some sort of a private darbar with them. Here the king dealt with important and secret business of the state, discussed the matter with foreign ambassadors and gratified dependants and admirers. After this, on certain occasions, he visited the temples of the city and inspected the departments of public work. He returned at midday to his palace and, after giving food and alms to mendicants, took his meal surrounded by friends and pleasure companions. Then he retired to his picture galleries for enjoyment and relaxation. There he enjoyed music and poetic talks. In the afternoon he attended the general court (*āsthāna-maṇḍapa*) where he transacted the business of state, and also interviewed foreign kings and gave darśan to the general public who came to see him. Sometimes, purely as a part of royal duty, he attended wrestling matches, elephant fights and other such pastimes. Thus he passed the day and then retired to sleep at last.”

3. *Daśa-kumāra-carita*

A satirical version of the daily routine of the king is included in the eighth chapter (*ucchvāsa*) of the *Daśa-kumāra-carita*. This parody of *Artha-śāstra* I, 19, 6ff reads as follows (ed. Varanasi 1958, Haridas Samskr̥t Granthamala 12):

[...] *utthitena ca rājñā* [...] *kṛtsnam āyavyayajātam ahñah prathame 'ṣtame vā bhāge śrotavyam / śṛṇvata evāsyā dviguṇam apaharanti* [...] *dvitīye 'nyonyam vivadamānānām ākrośād dahyamāna-karṇah kaṣṭam jīvati* [...] *ṭṭīye snātuṃ bhoktuṃ ca na labhate / bhuktasya yāvad andhaḥ-pariṇāmas tāvad asya viśabhayaṃ na sāmyaty eva / caturthe hiraṇya-pratigrahāya hastam prasārayann evottiṣṭhati / pañcame mantra-cittayā mahāntam āyāsam anubhavati* [...] *ṣaṣṭhe svaira-vihāro mantro vā sevyah / so 'syaitāvān svaira-vihāra-kālo yasya tisras tripādottarā nāḍikāḥ / saptame caturaṅga-bala-pratyavekṣaṇa-prayāsaḥ / aṣṭame 'sya senā-pati-sakhasya vikrama-cintā-kleśaḥ / punar upāsyaiva saṃdhyāṃ / prathame rātri-bhāge gūḍha-puruṣā draṣṭavyāḥ / tan-mukhena cātinṛśamsāḥ śaṣṭrāgni-rasa-praṇidhayo 'nuṣṭheyāḥ / dvitīye bhojanānantaram śrotṛiya iva svādhyāyam ārabheta / ṭṭīye tūrya-ghoṣeṇa saṃviṣṭaś caturtha-pañcamau śayita kila / [...] punaḥ ṣaṣṭhe śāstra-cintā-kārya-cintārambhaḥ / saptame tu mantra-graho dūtābhipreṣaṇāni ca / [...] aṣṭame purohitādayo 'bhyetyainam āhuḥ:*

*‘adya dṛṣṭo duḥ-svapnaḥ / duḥsthā grahāḥ śakunāni cāśubhāni / śāntayaḥ
kriyantām / sarvam astu sauvarṇam eva homa-sāadhanam’ /.*

Ryder (1960: 203ff) translates: “Having risen (Ryder wrongly: from table) [...] he must spend the first eighth of the day in listening to a complete statement of receipts and disbursements. While he is listening, a double amount is stolen by the knavish bureaucrats who have the wit to multiply a thousandfold the forty tricks of speculation taught by Chanakya. In the second eighth, his ears tingle with the vociferation of litigious subjects – a tough life! [...] In the third eighth, he gets a chance to bathe and eat, but he is always afraid of poison until the food is quite digested. In the fourth eighth, he stands stretching out his hand to receive gold. In the fifth, he has great bother with counsels of state [...] In the sixth, recreation or more counsels of state; you see, his maximum time for recreation is ninety minutes. In the seventh, a tiresome military review. In the eighth, worry about the competence of his friend, the general.

When at last he greets the twilight, in the first eighth of the night he must interview secret agents and, in accordance with their reports, set desperadoes to work – murderers, incendiaries, poisoners. In the second eighth, after snatching a bite, he says his prayers like a priest. In the third, he lies down to a musical accompaniment, and can sleep (perhaps) through the fourth and fifth. Let him rest as best he can, poor duffer, with his mind dizzy with everlasting fretting. Then in the sixth begins bother with books and bother with business; in the seventh, more counsel and despatch of messengers. Of course, the messengers exaggerate both pleasant reports and accounts of misfortune [...] In the eighth, the chaplain and others come and say: ‘A bad dream last night! The planets are adverse, and the omens evil. Let us have expiatory services, and let all the sacrificial equipment be of solid gold [...]’.”

4. *Manu-smṛti* VII, 145-146; 151-153 and 216-226

Dharma texts specify daily rites and prayers and set up rules for eating and sleeping for Brahmins and the other castes. *Manu* IV, 92ff, for instance, lists the daily rites of the *snātaka* Brahmin. But the daily routine of kings is only discussed in greater detail by *Manu* and *Yājñavalkya*. We quote the edition of Dave 1985 and sum up the essential points in brackets. For a full English translation, see Bühler 1964 and Doniger, Smith 1991.

*utthāya paścime yāme kṛta-śaucaḥ samāhitaḥ /
hutāgnir brāhmaṇāṃś cārcya praviśet sa śubhām sabhām //* (145)
*tatra sthitaḥ prajāḥ sarvāḥ pratinandya visarjayet /
visrjya ca prajāḥ sarvā mantrayet saha mantribhiḥ //* (146)

(He should arise in the last watch [*yāma* = 3 hours] of the night, offer oblations to the fire, honour the Brahmins and enter the assembly-hall (*sabhā*). There he should greet all his subjects, then dismiss them and take counsel.)

*madhyaṃ-dine 'rdha-rātre vā viśrānto vigata-klamah /
 cintayed dharma-kāmārthān sārdhaṃ tair eka eva vā // (151)
 paraspara-viruddhānāṃ teṣāṃ ca samupārjanam /
 kanyānāṃ sampradānaṃ ca kumārāṇāṃ ca rakṣaṇam // (152)
 dūta-sampreṣaṇaṃ caiva kārya-śeṣaṃ tathaiva ca /
 antaḥ-pura-pracāraṃ ca praṇidhīnāṃ ca ceṣṭitam // (153)*

(At noon or midnight when he has overcome his tiredness he should deliberate on the three aims of life, on the attainment of those aims which are in conflict with each other, on the marriage of his daughters and on the protection of his sons, on the dispatching of envoys, on the way of life in the harem and on the movements of his spies.)

The verb *cintayet* also governs the accusatives in 154, where further topics of deliberation are enumerated, among them *pracāraṃ maṇḍalasya* (the conduct of the “circle”) which leads to a long discussion on foreign policy, warfare, etc., and only in 216 does the text revert to the daily routine:

*evaṃ sarvaṃ idaṃ rājā saha saṃmantrya mantribhiḥ /
 vyāyamyāplutya madhyāhṇe bhoktum antaḥ-puraṃ viśet // (216)*

(After deliberation with his ministers etc., the king should enter the harem at noon in order to eat.)

217-218 digress on the proper preparation of food and antidotes, 219-220 advise the king to be careful with his female servants and with his carriages, his bed etc., 221 continues 216:

*bhuktavān viharec caiva strībhir antaḥ-pure saha /
 vihr̥tya tu yathā-kālaṃ punaḥ kāryāṇi cintayet // (221)*

(Having eaten he should amuse himself with the women in the harem, having amused himself at the proper time [Kullūka: “in the seventh part (*bhāga*) of the day”] he should again [in the eighth part of the day] deliberate on affairs of state.)

*alaṃ-kṛtāś ca sampāṣyed āyudhīyaṃ punar janam /
 vahanāṇi ca sarvāṇi śāstrāṇy ābharanāṇi ca // (222)*

(Adorned, he should again inspect his troops, and all his vehicles, weapons and ornaments.)

We sum up the following śloka 223-225: After his twilight-devotions in his private apartment he should listen to those who report secrets and the movement of spies. Having dismissed these people, he should go again to the harem for dinner. After dinner, delighted by instrumental music he should go to rest and should get up at the proper time [Kullūka: *rātre paścime yāme*, “in the last *yāma* of the night”] (223-225).

The last śloka of the 7th chapter excuses the king from these duties when he is ill (226).

5. *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* I, 326-333

Yājñavalkya, less explicit than *Manu*, discusses this problem in seven coherent śloka. We quote Stenzler 1970:

kṛta-rakṣaḥ samutthāya paśyed āvyayau svayam /
vyavahārāms tato dṛṣṭvā snātvā bhuñjīta kāmataḥ // (326)
hiraṇyaṃ vyāpṛtānītaṃ bhāṇḍāgaṛeṣu nikṣipet /
paśyec cārāṃs tato dūtān preṣayen mantri-saṅgataḥ // (327)
tataḥ svairavihārī syān mantribhir vā samāgataḥ /
balānāṃ darśanaṃ kṛtvā senānyā saha cintayet // (328)
sandhyāṃ upāsya śṛṇuyāc cārānāṃ gūḍha-bhāṣitam /
gīta-nṛtyaiś ca bhuñjīta paṭhet svādhyāṃ eva ca // (329)
saṃviśet tūrya-ghoṣeṇa pratibudhyet tathaiva ca /
śāstrāṇi cintayed buddhvā sarva-kartavyatās tathā / (330)
preṣayec ca tataś cārān sveṣv anyeṣu ca sādārān /
ṛtvik-purohitācāryair āśībhir abhinanditaḥ // (331)
dṛṣṭvā jyotir-vido vaidyān dadyād gāṃ kāñcanaṃ mahīm /
naiveśikāni ca tathā śrotriyeḥ gṛhāṇi ca // (332).

Summing up: 326: After getting up the king should check income and expenditure. Bath and breakfast. 327: He should deposit the gold brought to him in the treasury, see his spies and send off his messengers. 328: Meeting with his counsellors, inspection of the troops, discussion with his general. 329: After the twilight rites listening to secret information, dinner with song and dance. Veda recitation. 330: Going to rest accompanied by instrumental music and arising in the same manner. Then study of the śāstras. 331: Sending out his spies. Blessings by his purohita and priests. 332: Seeing his astrologers and doctors and donations to learned Brahmins.

6. Other evidence

Above we quoted the essential discourses on this subject but we know that our list is incomplete. For evidence in the *Mahā-bhārata*, *Agni-purāṇa* etc., see P.V. Kane

1972: 60-61. We should mention Sharma 1986: 308-309 who refers to *Rāmāyaṇa* VII, 40, 2ff and 44, 1ff: “A king was awakened from sleep very early in the morning by sweet music and eulogies of professional bards and panegyrists [...] after perhaps finishing his breakfast he came out into the *bāhya-kakshyā* where the *purohita*, the ministers and other officers [...] waited for him. Accompanied by them he went to the *sabhā* for the transactions of public business [...]. The *Ramayana* does not say much directly about the king’s programme in the evening and the night.”

B. The daily routine of the man-about-town: *Kāma-sūtra* I, 4, 5-13

The fourth chapter (*adhyāya*) of the first book (*adhikaraṇa*) of Vātsyāyana’s *Kāma-sūtra* deals with the life-style of the *nāgaraka* (literally ‘town-dweller’) in the sense of man-about-town, who plays the leading part in the *Kāma-sūtra* as does the king in the *Artha-śāstra*. His daily routine is described in *Kāma-sūtra* I, 4, 5-13 (Madhavacharya 1934):

sa prātar utthāya kṛta-niyata-kṛtya grhīta-danta-dhāvanah mātrayānulepanam dhūpaṃ srajam iti ca grhītvā dattvā sikthakam alaktakam ca dr̥ṣṭvādarśe mukhaṃ grhīta-mukha-vāsatāmbūlah kāryāṇy anuṭiṣṭhet (5)
nītyaṃ snānam / dvitīyakam utsādanam / tṛtīyakaḥ phenakaḥ / caturthakam āyusyam / pañcamakam daśamakam vā pratyāyusyam ity ahīnam / sātatyāc ca saṃvr̥ta-kakṣā-svedāpanodaḥ (6)
pūrvāhñāparāhñayor bhojanam / sāyam Cārayaṇasya (7)
 [The commentary *Jayamaṅgalā* explains the first compound: *dinaṃ rātrim aṣṭadhā vibhajya pūrvāhñe tribhīr bhāgaiḥ kāryāṇy anuṭiṣṭhet, caturthe snānādikaṃ kṛtvā bhuñjīta / aparāhñe ca paścime bhāge [...]*
bhojanānantaram śuka-sārikā-pralāpana-vyāpārāḥ [...] *divāsāyā ca* (8)
grhīta-prasādhanaśyāparāhñe goṣṭhī-vihārāḥ (9)
 [Jayamaṅgalā: *aparāhñe ’hñas catur-bhāge*]
pradoṣe ca saṃgītakāni / tad-ante ca prasādhite vāsa-gr̥he saṃcārīta-surabhi-dhūpe saśahāyasya śayyām abhisārikāṇām pratīkṣaṇam (10)
 [Jayamaṅgalā: *pradoṣe ceti pratiṣṭhitāyām saṃdhyāyām rājanī-mukhe*]
dūtīnām preṣaṇam svayaṃ vā gamanam (11) *āgatānām ca manoharair ālāpair upacārāis ca saśahāyasyopakramāḥ* (12) *varṣa-mṛṣṭa-nepathyānām durdinābhisārikāṇām svayam eva punar-maṇḍanam mitra-jaṇena vā paricaraṇam ity āho-rātrikam* (13).

Doniger, Kakar 2003: 18 (Polish transl. Byrski 1985: 26): “He gets up in the morning, relieves himself, cleans his teeth, applies fragrant oils in small quantities, as well as incense, garlands, beeswax, and red lac, looks at his face in a mirror, takes some mouth-wash and betel, and attends to the things that need to be done. He bathes every day [...]. In the

morning and afternoon he eats; 'In the evening, too,' says Charayana. After eating, he passes his time teaching his parrots and mynah birds to speak [...]. And he takes a nap. In the late afternoon, he gets dressed up and goes to salons to amuse himself. And when the women arrive, he and his friends greet them with gentle conversation [...]. That is what he does by day and night." The following passage mentions events which take place only on a specified day or just occasionally.

C. The daily routine of the poet: *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* I, 10

We quote Dalal, Sastry 1934: 52, l. 12-28:

*aniyata-kālāḥ pravṛttayo viplavante tasmād divasaṃ niśaṃ ca yāma-
kramena caturdhā vibhajeta /
sa prātar utthāya kṛta-sandhyāvarivasyaḥ sārāsvataṃ sūktam adhīyāta /
tato vidyāvasathe yathā-sukham āsīnaḥ kāvyasya vidyā upavidyāś
cānuśīlaye āprahārāt / na hy evaṃ-vidho 'nyo pratibhā-hetur yathā
pratyagra-saṃskāraḥ /
dvitīye kāvya-kriyāṃ / upamadyāhnaṃ snāyād aviruddhaṃ bhuñjīta ca /
bhojanānte kāvya-goṣṭhīm pravarttayet / [...] / kāvya-samasyādhāraṇā,
mātrkābhyāsaḥ, citrā yogā ity āyāma-trayam /
caturtha ekākinaḥ parimita-pariśado vā pūrvāhṇa-bhāga-vihitasya
kāvyasya parīkṣā / [...]
sāyaṃ sandhyāṃ upāsīta sārāsvatīm ca / tato divā vihita-
parīkṣitasyābhilekhaṇaṃ āpradoṣāt / yāvad ārti striyaṃ abhimanyeta /
dvitīya-trītyau sādhu śayīta / samyak-svāpo vapuṣaḥ paramārogyāya /
caturthe saprayatnaṃ pratibudhyeta / brāhṃe muhūrte manaḥ prasīdattāṃs
tān arthān adhyakṣayati / ity āho-rātrikam /.*

Making use of the French translation (Stchoupak, Renou 1946: 152-154) we insert here our English rendering of this passage: "Activities without specific timing fall into disorder. Therefore he (the poet) should divide day and night into four parts in accordance with the division of three hours (*yāma*). Having got up at day-break, he should perform the morning rites and recite the hymn to Sarasvatī. Then sitting at ease in his studio he should practise the main and complementary subjects of poetics until the end of the (first) watch, for there is no such positive source of inspiration as early training. The second (watch) is poetical. At noon he should bathe and eat without disturbance. After the midday meal he should convene an assembly for poetry [...] Up to the (end of) the third watch the competition of completing stanzas, the exercise of *mātrkā*, and various other activities should be carried out. In the fourth (watch) alone or in a small group examination of poems conceived in the morning [...] In the evening he should revere the twilight and Sarasvatī. Then until the end of nightfall (in the first watch of the night)

writing down what he has conceived and examined during the entire day. If he desires he should make love to a woman. During the third and fourth (watch) he should sleep well. Good sleep is the best remedy for good bodily health. In the fourth (watch) he should be awake. At the moment of Brahman (at the end of the night) the placid mind should concentrate on various matters. This is (the division of) day and night.”

Conclusions

The problem that a daily routine must be based on a timetable is solved in different ways. The *Kauṭīliya-artha-śāstra* divides the day in eight parts and the night in eight parts. Each part (*bhāga*) equals 90 minutes (one half *yāma*). This *aṣṭa-bhāga* system is found in the *Daśa-kumāra-carita*, except in one place which introduces the time unit *nāḍikā* (24 minutes): 3 3/4 *nāḍikā* equal one *bhāga*. In *Yājñavalkya* each and every activity follows another without relation to a fixed time unit, and so also in *Manu*, except that the king gets up in the last *yāma* of the night and has certain tasks at noon and midnight. Kullūka, however, explains this passage by introducing the *aṣṭa-bhāga* system as does the *Jayamaṅgalā* when commenting on the *Kāma-sūtra*. The *Kāma-sūtra* text itself describes the daily activities, one after the other, of the man-about-town (occasionally using terms like *prātar* or *pradoṣa*). The maxims in the 25th chapter of the *Nīti-vākyaṃṛta* start with the words *brāhma-muhūrte utthāya* (“rising at the moment of Brahman”), which reminds one of *Manu* IV, 92: *brāhme muhūrte budhyeta* (“he – the snātaka – should wake up at the moment of Brahman”). The *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, which also uses the term *brāhma-muhūrta*, follows a rigid time table dividing day and night each into four *yāmas* (3 hours). It is only in the *Śukra-nīti*, a political treatise composed in the 19th century (Gopal 1978), that day and night are subdivided in 30 *muhūrtas* (48 minutes), but the term *yāma* is used once in I, 76: *utthāya paścime yāme* (“getting up at the last *yāma* (of the night)”), which echoes *Manu* VII, 145: *utthāya paścime yāme*.

We cannot say to what extent the daily routine of kings in the *Kauṭīliya-artha-śāstra* and in other Sanskrit texts mirror historical facts as we lack concrete evidence for ancient India. However, we can draw on the Mughal period for facts where we have documents which show that the emperors Jahāngīr and Šāh Jahān followed a strict daily routine. For example, we quote from the journal of Sir Thomas Roe (Foster 1990: 84-86) dated Ajmer, January 10, 1616: “I went to the court [of Jahāngīr] at four in the evening to the durbar [...] he comes every morning to a wyndow [...] and shoves him selfe to the common people. At noone hee returns thither and sits some howers to see the fight of eliphants and willd beasts [...] from whence he retiers to sleepe among his woemen. At afternoone he returns to the durbar before mentioned. At eight, after supper, he comes downe to the guzelcane, a faire court [...] to which are none admitted but of great qualetye [...] where he discourses of all matters with much affabilitye [...] this course is unchangeable, except sickness or drinck prevent yt.”

With regard to the history of ancient India we have to rely on normative texts. The traditions of artha and dharma are independent but they agree that kings are expected to follow a daily routine. These norms were part of a system of checks and balances, which attempt to control absolute power. It certainly was a check to licentious conduct such as that of Agnivarṇa in the 19th sarga of Kālidāsa's *Raghu-vaṃśa*, but it did not necessarily prevent autocratic rule. There are many cases in history where rulers acted despotically while minutely observing their daily obligations.

All texts which expound the daily routine of the king intend to establish normative rules. It is only the *Daśa-kumāra-carita* that makes sarcastic use of this passage as a form of political satire, which would not stir up revolutionary activities, but answer the taste of liberal minded citizens. Such criticism has always been tolerated as an outlet by the powerful except in the worst forms of dictatorship.

Not all political texts mention the daily routine of the king, and the *Kāmandakīya-nīti-sāra* which adopted many topics of the *Kauṭīliya-artha-śāstra* (Wilhelm 1996) does not discuss this point. The late *Śukra-nīti* deals with this subject in the 1st chapter (Sarkar 1975: 36-37) without any recognisable connection to the *Artha-śāstra*. The same is true for dharma literature and for the epics. In contrast to the *Kauṭīliya-artha-śāstra*, *Manu* and *Yājñavalkya* emphasise religious rites and the importance of the purohita. *Yājñavalkya* (I, 332) even demands regular donations to Brahmins. In the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* the poet has to revere Sarasvatī during the morning and evening twilight, which would be very appropriate as she is the Goddess of speech and learning.

The timetable of the man-about-town in the *Kāma-sūtra* and of the poet in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* are modelled on the daily routine of the king in the *Kauṭīliya-artha-śāstra*, which is surprising only at first sight. The man-about-town is no debauchee, but supposed to be a man of wealth and taste. He enjoys far more liberties than a king but still has to observe the various obligations of a sophisticated socialite.

The textual structure of the *Kāma-sūtra* is very close to that of the *Kauṭīliya-artha-śāstra* (Wilhelm 1967; Fezas 1994) and many scholars (including me) are convinced that the *Kāma-sūtra* borrowed its division (in *adhikaraṇas*, *adhyāyas* and *prakaraṇas*) and the *bhāṣya* style from the *Artha-śāstra*. Doniger, Kakar 2002 in their introduction do not refer to the formal relations between *Artha-śāstra* and *Kāma-sūtra* but give an interesting explanation for its division into seven *adhikaraṇas* as "a play in seven acts" (Doniger, Kakar 2002: XXVff) and point out the resemblance of the *nāgaraka* (man-about-town) to the *nāyaka* (the hero of the drama).

The scintillatingly witty book by Siegel 1999 is a splendid satire on Western academic life and *Kāma-sūtra* research. The discussion on the relationship of the *Kāma-sūtra* to other texts is solved in a hilarious way: an American professor quotes from an imaginary paper by the German Sanskritist Rudolf Roth when he takes the *Kāma-sūtra* for a "grammar of love" in which "sexual activities are conjugated and sexual objects declined" (Siegel 1999: 5).

Though there are influences of political texts on the *Nāṭya-śāstra* (Wilhelm 1974) they do not include the topic of a daily routine. So it is surprising that the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara among all these poetical treatises treats the daily routine of

the poet (*kavi*) based on that of the king, as creative writing and a daily routine seem to be incompatible. However, we know of many poets who got their inspirations while working according to a timetable. The *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* says expressly that inspiration (*pratibhā*) is to be expected in the first watch of the day, which may be in tune with the experience of many poets. Through the French translation of Stchoupak, Renou 1946 and their comments this and other influences of the *Kauṭīliya-artha-śāstra* on the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* have been made known to us.

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