

HEMACANDRA'S  
**DVYĀŚRAYAKĀVYA**

A  
LITERARY  
AND  
CULTURAL  
STUDY

SATYA PAL NARANG

THIS WORK is an attempt to study various literary, historical, grammatical and cultural aspects of the Dvyāśrayakāvya written by Jain scholar Ācārya Hemacandra 1088-1172 A.D. The Dvyāśrayakāvya has a unique place not only in the history of grammatical poems of Sanskrit literature but also for its historical value for the history of Caulukyias of Gujarat and for the cultural study of Gujarat during eleventh and twelfth century A.D.

Life, personality, works and erudition of Hemacandra; Summary of the Dvyāśrayakāvya; Mythological allusions in the Dvyāśrayakāvya; literary study viz. as a mahākāvya, language and style, figures of speech, characterization, metrical analysis etc.; Historical evaluation on the basis of various sources; various aspects of the grammatical study of the Dvyāśrayakāvya, Geographical data, polity and administration, social conditions, economic conditions fauna and flora and religious conditions, as reflected from the Dvyāśrayakāvya are the main contents of the work. It is followed by a bibliography and an index.

**Hemacandra's  
Dvyāśrayakāvya**





HEMACANDRA'S  
**DVYĀŚRAYAKĀVYA**  
*A literary and cultural study*

*by*  
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***Dedicated***  
***To my Mother***



## Abbreviations

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| A.B.O.R.I    | Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.              |
| A.S.I.       | Archaeological Survey of India.                                |
| A.S.W.I.     | Archaeological Survey of Western India.                        |
| B.S.S.       | Bombay Sanskrit Series   |
| Ch. (s)      | Chapter (s)  |
| Comm.        | Commentary or commentator                                      |
| DV. or Dv.   | Dvyāśrayakāvya of Hemacandra.                                  |
| Ed.          | Edited or Editor   |
| E.I.         | Epigraphia Indica  |
| G.O.S.       | Gaekwar Oriental Series  |
| Haima        | Hemacandra's Siddhahaima-śabdānuśāsana.                        |
| I.A.         | Indian Antiquary.  |
| I H.Q.       | Indian Historical Quarterly                                    |
| J.A.S.B.     | Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.                          |
| J.B.B.R.A.S. | Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.             |
| J.O.R.       | Journal of Oriental Research, Baroda.                          |
| J.R.A.S.     | Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. |
| K.M.         | Kāvya-mālā Series, Bombay.                                     |



|                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| <b>Ku</b>       | <b>Kumārapālacarita of Hema-<br/>candra.</b>                  |
| <b>Lat.</b>     | <b>Latin</b>  |
| <b>MS (s)</b>   | <b>Manuscript (s)</b>   |
| <b>M. Wil.</b>  | <b>Monier William's Sanskrit—<br/>English Dictionary</b>      |
| <b>Pāṇ</b>      | <b>Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī</b>                                    |
| <b>P.O.</b>     | <b>Poona Orientalist.</b>                                     |
| <b>W.Z.K.M.</b> | <b>Wiener Zeitschrift für die<br/>Kunde des Morgenlandes.</b> |

## Transliteration

|    |       |    |      |            |    |    |
|----|-------|----|------|------------|----|----|
| अ  | आ     | इ  | ई    | उ          | ऊ  | ऋ  |
| a  | ā     | i  | ī    | u          | ū  | r̥ |
|    | लृ    | ए  | ओ    | ऐ          | औ  |    |
|    | lṛ    | e  | o    | ai         | au |    |
| क  | ख     | ग  | घ    | ङ          |    |    |
| k  | kh    | g  | gh   | ṅ          |    |    |
| च  | छ     | ज  | झ    | ञ          |    |    |
| c  | ch    | j  | jh   | ñ          |    |    |
| ट  | ठ     | ड  | ढ    | ण          |    |    |
| t  | ṭh    | ḍ  | ḍh   | ṇ          |    |    |
| त  | थ     | द  | ध    | न          |    |    |
| t  | th    | d  | dh   | n          |    |    |
| प  | फ     | ब  | भ    | म          |    |    |
| p  | ph(f) | b  | bh   | m          |    |    |
| य  | र     | ल  | व    | ह          |    |    |
| y  | r     | l  | v(w) | h          |    |    |
| श् | ष्    | स् |      | Anusvāra=ṁ |    |    |
| ś  | ṣ     | s  |      | Visarga=ḥ  |    |    |

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Manu, Maināka, Yama, 40 ; Rudras, Lakṣmī, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, 41 ; Śiva, Śeṣanāga, Sarasvatī, Skanda, 42; Vedic Mythology, 43 ; Epic Mythology, Purāṇic legends 43-44 ; Semi-gods, 45.

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## PREFACE

This work is based on the fourth chapter of my thesis 'A study of Śāstra-kāvya in Sanskrit literature' which was submitted and approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Delhi in 1967. Amendments, additions and revisions have been made throughout. The Cultural study of the Dvyāśrayakāvya i.e. chapters XII-XVII were not presented in the thesis. It is completely a new addition.

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## INTRODUCTION

The *Dvyāśayakāvya*, a grammatico-poetic work aims at illustrating the grammatical treatise called *Haimaśabdānuśāsana* written by the poet Hemacandra himself. It appears that Hemacandra was inspired by the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya* which illustrated a few grammatical rules as well as tenses in accordance with Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Undoubtedly, in origin, such like poems might have aimed at accuracy and exactitude of teaching grammar through facile and accessible medium but, in culmination, they endeavored to demonstrate intellectuality. The *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali has cited an example,<sup>1</sup> which accumulates homogeneous examples for the facility of teaching. The climax of this trend comes into vision with the boastful verse of Bhaṭṭi, "This poem can be understood only with the help of a commentary which is a delight to the scholars and due to my liking for intellectuals, I have killed unintelligent."<sup>2</sup> Bhāmaha, a contemporary rhetorician has expressed a deep regret and unhappiness in answer to this boastful verse<sup>3</sup>.

---

### 1. Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇ. 1.1.57

प्रचः परस्मिन् पूर्वविधौ ।

स्तोष्याभ्यहं पादिकमोदवाहि ततः श्वोभूते शातनीं पातनीं च ॥  
नेतारावगच्छतं धारणिं रावणिं च ततः पश्चात् स्तस्यते ध्वंस्यते च ॥

### 2. Bhaṭṭikāvya, XXII.34

व्याख्यागम्यमिदं काव्यमुत्सवः सुधियामलम् ।  
हता दुर्मेधसश्चास्मिन् विद्वत्प्रियतया मया ॥

### 3. Bhāmaha's Kāvyaālaṅkāra, I.20

काव्यान्यपि यदीमानि व्याख्यागम्यानि शास्त्रवत् ।  
उत्सवः सुधियामेष अहो दुर्मेधसो हताः ॥

But Sanskrit poetry continued flourishing in the atmosphere of intellectual rivalry and gave birth to various tendencies of tedious poetry. These intellectual faculties not only influenced the subsequent writings of India but also inspired the poetry of the Far East. According to Hooykaas "56% of the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa is influenced by the exemplary expressions of the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya."<sup>1</sup> Bhūbhhaṭṭa, a Kashmirian poet (Xth cent. A.D.) wrote a poem Rāvaṇārjuniya on the same pattern. He strove to illustrate the grammatical rules in toto but could not fully accomplish his object. Halāyudha, a lexicographer collected the homomorphous, homophonic and homonymous roots of various classes (gaṇas) and wrote the grammatical poem *Kavirahasya* (Beginning of Xth cent. A. D.).

Ācārya Hemacandra, a distinguished Jain monk, a socio-religious reformer, a politician and an extraordinary scholar wrote a new grammar called *Siddhahaimaśabdānuśāsana* a d carrying on the grammatical illustrative tendency of his predecessors wrote a historico-grammatical poem the *Dvyāśrayakāvya*. The poem is the climax of the illustrative tendency ; important historical document of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat and an unexplored work for the cultural history of Gujarat in twelfth cent. A. D. The Prakrit part of the work viz. *Kumārapālacarita* is equally important for its cultural value. No serious research in the various aspects of the *Dvyāśrayakāvya* has been made except that it has been utilized for historical purposes by H. D. Sankalia (Archaeology of Gujarat) and A. K. Majumdar (Chaulukyas of Gujarat). This attempt aims at saturating the desideratum by critically studying various aspects of the *Dvyāśrayakāvya*. The method of classification, investigation

---

1. Hooykaas, C. old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, an exemplary Kakwin, New Holland, 1958.

of sources and facts and the technique of drawing conclusions in each chapter is as follows :—

In the first chapter, an attempt has been made to present a brief account of the life of Hemacandra. G. Bühler's monograph 'The life of Hemacandrācārya' is unique in this field. For the analysis in this chapter, I have utilized Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha and Kumārapālacaritasāṅgraha also which have not been used so far. Only significant events and characteristics of the life and personality of Hemacandra are given.

In the second chapter, it is aimed at to enlist published as well as unpublished works of Hemacandra. In this connection, I have used various editions of his works, relevant articles; published lists of manuscripts in various libraries and both old and new Catalogus Catalogorum of strenuous scholars, T. Aufrecht and V. Raghavan. Some other works ascribed to Hemacandra are still subject to controversy. The third chapter is a canto-wise summary of the Dvyāśrayakāvya.

Poet's erudition and allusive vision is appreciated in Indian literary criticism. Due to his command on various branches of Indian learning, Hemacandra is extolled with the epithet, "*The omniscient of Kali Age (Kalikālasarvajña)*". Various allusions to the Veda, Vedāṅga, the Orthodox and Heterodox systems of Philosophy, Āyurveda, Dharmaśāstra, Arthaśāstra, Kāmaśāstra, Mokṣa, Music, Dance, Dramaturgy, Gajaśāstra, Ratnaśāstra, Rhetorics, Epics and the Purāṇas have been made in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. For a comparison of these allusions, old ritualistic treatises, Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha, Sāṅkhyakārikā, Smṛtis, Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, Amarakośa, the Abhidhānacintāmaṇi of Hemacandra and the poems like Raghuvamśa and Meghadūta have been utilized occasionally. The cultural study of various aspects of the Dvyāśrayakāvya (*infra* ch. XII-XVII.) will also serve as addenda to his multifarious geographical, social, economic and religious erudition. These are the contents of the fourth chapter.



The fifth chapter consists of the mythological allusions of the Dvyāśrayakāvya. Most of these allusions are derived from the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Mythological personalities are classified alphabetically and the personalities correlated to a particular old work or works (e. g. Rāmāyaṇa etc.) have been ranked separately. For the comparison in this chapter, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and the Abhidhānacintāmaṇi of Hemacandra have been used now and then.

An attempt has been made to evaluate the Dvyāśraya as a Mahākāvya on the basis of conventional characteristics of a Mahākāvya as found in Bhāmaha's Kāvya-lāṅkāra, Daṇḍin's Kāvya-darśa and Viśvanātha's Sāhityadarpaṇa etc. in the sixth chapter. For this purpose, the Prakrit Kumārapālacarita has also been used. General statements about the various aspects have been made under separate sub-heads. In the descriptions, various depicted objects and substances have been grouped together and the reactions have been observed. Only most important observations and objects are given in this chapter.

A study of the various aspects of the language and style of the Dvyāśraya has been made in the seventh chapter. This study is based both on conventional as well as modern values of criticism. The technique of arrangement; formation and coining of epithets and new technical vocabulary etc. have been noted in this chapter. The general statements have been supported by important quotations.

In the eighth chapter, the figures of speech of the Dvyāśrayakāvya have been sorted in accordance with the definitions of various rhetoricians especially those of Maṃmaṭa and Viśvanātha. Only one or two examples have been cited in original and the others are indicated by number. Simile is an extraordinary feature of Hemacandra. The words expressing

comparison ; Vedic and Classical mythology and the other worldly similes have been classified according to their upamānas.

Hemacandra has followed the conventional characteristics of a Mahākāvya and accordingly, has depicted excellence and benevolence in his royal characters whereas the opponants are portrayed as corrosive, destructive and horrible. No innovation or novelty can be observed in the characterization of the Dvyāśrayakāvya. An attempt has been made to draw a brief portrait of the characters of the Dvyāśrayakāvya in the ninth chapter.

In the tenth chapter, metrical analysis of the Dvyāśraya has been made. Metres are arranged both canto-wise and alphabetically.

The Dvyāśrayakāvya is a most authentic historical document for the history of the Caulukyās of Gujarat by an eurdite contemporary author. Undoubtedly, Hemacandra had another purpose of writing a grammatical poem but historical facts rarely escape from his vision. A few poetical elements crept into the poem which were responsible for the change in facts. For the historical evaluation, various contemporary Prabandhas, poems, accounts of Mohammadan historians, inscriptions of the Caulukya kings, archaeological evidences ; accounts of Bayley, Forbes, Gezetteers and the works of G.C. Ganguly and A.K. Majumdar have been frequently utilized. An attempt has been made to separate the facts from fiction and it has been striven to search out their causes.

It is the most mature poem amongst the grammatical poems because it not only illustrates each and every sūtra of Haimaśabdānuśāsana but also clarifies them through counter-examples. A study of the technique of illustrations has been made in the chapter XI th (a) (a is added due to a misprint of XI instead of XII). It comprises of the treatment of the

subjects like Sañjñās, Adhikārasūtras, *it* letters, Counter-examples, Synonyms, Prefixes, Suffixes, Nipātanās, Adhyāhāra and optional examples etc. in details.

The XII. to XVII. chapters deal with the cultural study of the Dvyāśrayakāvya. In the twelfth chapter, an attempt has been made to collect the geographical data, viz. mountains, states and territorial divisions, cities and rivers etc. In this chapter, the most important information has been collected. Due to a regular change in the territorial divisions of India throughout the ages, it is impossible to determine their invariable identity. For the identification of various geographical locations, the works of Cunningham, N.L. Dey, V.S. Agrawal, S.C. Sircar, P.D. Agnihotri and K.D. Bajpai were very useful. Some unidentified and dubious cities have been put separately.

In the thirteenth chapter, a study of the Polity and Administration as reflected from the Dvyāśrayakāvya has been made. For the identification of administrative divisions and officers, the works of P.V. Kane, H.D. Sankalia, and A.K. Majumdar have been utilized.

A study of the social conditions of the Dvyāśrayakāvya, viz. caste system, tribes, position of women, marriage, society food and drinks, dress, ornaments, games and amusements, music and education etc. has been made in fourteenth chapter. For comparison, a few works have been used now and then.

In the fifteenth chapter, a study of the economic conditions of the Dvyāśraya, viz. agriculture, occupations, communication, debt, coin, weights and measurements etc. has been made. For identity of weights etc. the works of V.S. Agrawala A.K. Majumdar and P.D. Agnihotri were very helpful.

In the sixteenth chapter the fauna and flora as found in the Dvyāśrayakāvya has been classified. For the names and identity of animals, the dictionaries of V.S. Apte and Monie

Williams were helpful. For flora, I have utilized the above dictionaries and the work of G.P. Majumdar, "Plants and Plant life in Indian treatises and traditions". Being classified alphabetically (Devanāgarī), the proper names of flora and fauna are not included in the index.

The last seventeenth chapter deals with the religious position in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. Hemacandra played an important part in the religious history of Gujarat. Due to his efforts, Jainism was made a state religion in the reign of Jayasimha and Kumārapāla. Other religions and sects also flourished in Gujarat. The rituals of the temple of Somanātha influenced Jain rituals also. In this chapter, an attempt has been made to study Brāhmaṇism, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Sun-worship, Agastya-worship, Mother-goddesses, Buddhism, and Jainism together with their rituals and an attempt has been made to support the concepts by other historical documents. In the last, a study of fares and festivals, pilgrimages, beliefs, superstitions and omens as reflected from the Dvyāśrayakāvya has been made. It is followed by a bibliography and an index.





## I. LIFE AND PERSONALITY OF HEMACANDRA

The life of Hemacandra has been depicted by many of his contemporary as well as later annalists. Some of the significant annals are the Kumārapālpratiḥodha of Somaprabha<sup>1</sup>, the Prabhāvakacarita of Prabhāvakācārya<sup>2</sup>, Prabandhacintāmaṇi of Merutuṅga<sup>3</sup>, Prabandhakośa of Rājaśekhara<sup>4</sup>, Purātanaḥprabandhasaṅgraha<sup>5</sup>, a collection of old semi-historical stories and Kumārapālacaritasāṅgraha<sup>6</sup>, a collection of stories related to the life of Kumārapāla. G. Bühler, in his scholarly monograph<sup>7</sup>, has made use of many other stories in this connection.

According to Prabhāvakācārya, Hemcandra was born in Vikrama Saṁvat 1145 i. e. 1088 A. D<sup>8</sup>.

His birth place was Dhandhuka<sup>9</sup>, situated in Ardhāṣṭama District<sup>10</sup>. According to Purātanaḥprabandhasaṅgraha<sup>11</sup> and Kumārapālacaritasāṅgraha<sup>12</sup> the name of his lineage was Moḍa. Perhaps Moḍa was a sub caste. His father's name was

1. Ed. Jinavijaya muni, G.O.S. Baroda, 1920.
2. Ed. Jinavijaya muni, Calcutta, 1940.
3. Ed. Jinavijaya muni, Śāntiniketana, 1933.
4. Ed. Jinavijaya muni, Śāntiniketana, 1935.
5. Ed. Jinavijaya muni, Calcutta, 1936.
6. Ed. Jinavijaya muni, Bombay, 1956.
7. Bühler, G. The life of Hemacandrācārya Tr. by Manilal Patel, Śāntiniketana, 1936.
8. Prabhāvakacarita, p. 212.
9. Other names for Dhandhuka are: Dhandhūka (Prabhāvakacarita, p. 183), Dhandhukka (Purātanaḥprabandhasaṅgraha, p. 123). and Dhandhukkaka (Kumārapālacaritasāṅgraha, p. 18). It appears that simple name is Dhandhuka and the other names are substitutes due to phonetic variants.
10. Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p.83.
11. Purātanaḥprabandhasaṅgraha, p. 123.
12. Kumārapālacaritasāṅgraha, pp. 18-19.

Cāciga<sup>1</sup>, who was a merchant by occupation (Śreṣṭhin or Vyavahārin). His mother was called Cāhini or Pāhiṇī<sup>2</sup>. In his childhood, Hemacandra was named as Cāṅgadeva. According to Merutuṅga<sup>3</sup>, Cāhini saw a dream and recounted it to Devacandrasūri, a monk. He predicted that her son would be a great Jain monk and a reformer. But according to the version of Rājaśekhara, Nemināga, a brother of cāhini introduced Cāṅgadeva to Devacandrasūri and related the account of the dream. Merutuṅga narrates that when Cāṅgadeva was eight years old, Devacandrasūri came to Dhundhūka and saw the child. He was astonished at the significant marks of the child and predicted that the child would be a great man. Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha also follows the version of Merutuṅga.

Cāṅgadeva was initiated in Jainism by Devacandrasūri. He vowed observance in Vik. Saṁ 1150 (1093 A. D.) and was consecrated to Sūri Pada in Vik. Saṁ 1166 (1109 A. D.)<sup>4</sup>. Later on, he was properly educated in the sacred lore and was named as Hemacandra<sup>5</sup>.

### MEETING WITH JAYASIMHA

According to Prabhāvakācārya, Hemacandra met Siddharāja in the market as the latter was going on an elephant in a procession. Hemacandra extolled Siddharāja Jayasimha by a beautiful eulogistic verse<sup>6</sup>, who, in return adequately appreciated

1. Other names found for cāciga are cāca (Prabhāvakacarita, p. 183) and Ṭhakkara cāciga (prabandhakośa, p. 47). It appears that cāca is an abbreviated name for cāciga and Ṭhakkara is an appellative word.
2. Except Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha, all the texts read Pāhiṇī.
3. Prabandhacintāmaṇi p. 84.
4. Prabhāvakacarita, pp. 184-85 According to Rājaśekhara, Pāhiṇī and cāciga went to Devacandra who consecrated him and named him as Hemasūri.
5. Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha, p. 84.
6. Prabhāvakacarita, p. 185.

कारय प्रसरं सिद्ध ! हस्तिराजमशङ्कितम् ।

अस्यन्तु दिग्गजाः किं तेभ्यस्स्यैवोद्भूता यतः ॥

it and invited the former to his palace. After the victory of Siddharāja over Malaya, Hemacandra met him again and thenceforward their friendship continued. But according to Merutuṅga, Siddharāja, a patron of learning himself invited Hemacandra to his palace and requested the erudite monk to compile a new grammatical treatise. Hemacandra accompanied Siddharāja to his pilgrimage to *Raivataka* as well as *Simhapura*. Later on they visited *Sāṅkaligrāma*, *Ujjayantatīrtha*, *Ambaśikhara*, *Someśvarapaṭṭaṇa* and *Koṭinagara* also<sup>1</sup>.

Being incited by the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharṇa, a new grammatical treatise by Bhoja, Hemacandra, compiled a new grammar and felicitating his patron named it as *Siddhahaimavyākaraṇa*. Later on he compiled the *Nāmamālā*, *Anekārthasaṅgraha* and got them propagated in the reign of Siddharāja. According to Merutuṅga, the *Dvyāśrayakāvya* was also written in the reign of Jayasīmha but it appears that it was written in the reign of Kumārapāla because five cantos of the Sanskrit *Dvyāśrayakāvya* (cantos XVI-XX) and the whole of the Prakrit *Dvyāśrayakāvya* (Kumārapālacarita) is devoted to Kumārapāla.

#### MEETING WITH KUMĀRAPĀLA

According to Prabhāvakācārya<sup>2</sup>, Hemacandra predicted the succession of Kumārapāla to throne in the temple of lord Śiva at Someśvarapaṭṭaṇa. Siddharāja had an aversion from Kumārapāla and conspired to get him assassinated. Kumārpāla escaped to the house of Hemacandra who concealed him in the palm-leaves and thus saved his life. Kumārapāla absconded again and was protected by a potter called Āli or Āliga for the second time. During the observance of his Cāturmāsya, Hemacandra happened to meet Kumārapāla and predicted his future succession. Hemacandra and his political associates helped Kumārapāla to regain the succession.

But according to Merutuṅga<sup>3</sup>, when Kumārapāla was

1. Prabhāvakacarita, p. 196.

2. ibid. p. 194.

3. Prabandhacintāmaṇi, pp. 77-78

sauntering to escape Siddharāja, he happened to meet Hemacandra who prophesied that he would acquire kingship in future. Kumārapāla solemnly declared that if the prediction will happen true, he would become a devoted servant of Hemacandra for the whole of his life. Kumārapāla fulfilled his declaration in his later life.

Rājaśekhara<sup>1</sup> has not elaborated the account. In his opinion, when Kumārapāla accepted Hemacandra as his preceptor, the latter strived to get kingship for him. But according to Kumārapālacaritasāṅgraha<sup>2</sup> they happened to meet with the prophecy of Hemacandra and Kumārapāla promised to become a servant of Hemacandra.

Thus Hemacandra became a religio-political counsellor of Kumārapāla who accepted him as a final authority in all religious, social and political affairs<sup>3</sup>.

### ATTITUDE OF BRĀHMAṆAS

Hemacandra was a great scholar and a supporter of Jainism who was given royal patronage. Brāhmaṇas felt jealous of him and satirised upon his scholarship and luxurious way of living. This satirical tendency of Brāhmaṇas is noticed by all the annalists. Hemacandra endured all these satirical remarks and defended himself in humorous and argumentative style.

### PROPAGATION OF JAINISM

Hemacandra strived to acquire a status of state-religion for Jainism both in the reign of Jayasīṃha and Kumārapāla. In one of his pilgrimages to Somanatha, he bowed his head to lord Śiva which shows his individual liberalization in religious matters<sup>4</sup>. Being incited by Hemacandra, both Jayasīṃha and Kumārapāla got numerous Jain caityas constructed. Neminātha caitya on the Raivāṭaka mountain was built due to an insti-

1. Prabandhakośa, p. 47.

2. Kumārapālacaritasāṅgraha, p. 45.

3. Prabandhakośa, pp. 47-58.

4. Kumārapālacaritasāṅgraha, p. 17.

gation of Hemacandra<sup>1</sup>. It is further stated that it was due to Hemacandra that Kumārapāla abolished the practice of confiscating the property of hairless persons and agreed to banish the seven sins from his administration<sup>2</sup>.

Thus it can be concluded that Hemacandra was a humanitarian who was, no doubt, a Jain by religion, yet he accepted Humanism and believed in human values of life.

For the rest of his life he devoted himself to the propagation of Jainism and to the accomplishment of his vast literary career. According to Prabhāvakacarita, he breathed his last in Vik. Saṁ 1229 (1172 A.D.) in the reign of Kumārapāla.

1. Prabhāvakacarita, p. 202.

2. Prabhāvakacarita, p. 203; Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 84; Prabandhakośa, p. 48; Kumārapālacaritasāṅgraha, p. 17; Also Cf. Mohaparājaya of yaśaḥpāla. Ed. Caturvijaya muni G.O.S. Baroda, 1918.

According to the Dvyāśrayakāvya (XX.37). loans were given to wine-sellers and butchers to shift to a new occupation.

## II. WORKS OF HEMACANDRA

Hemacandra was an erudite Jain monk who not only digested and reproduced numerous branches of Sanskrit learning but also wrote new technical treatises and lucid poetry. Due to his multifarious productivity in language and literature he was extolled with the epithet '*Omniscient of the Kali Age*' (Kalikālasarvajña). His works comprise of dictionaries, philosophical treatises, Sanskrit literary criticism, grammar, original poetry and commentaries. A brief outline of his works is given below :

### (A) DICTIONARIES

1. *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*<sup>1</sup> and its commentary called *Abhidhānacintāmaṇiṭīkā*<sup>2</sup>, *Tattvabodhavidhāyini*<sup>3</sup> or *Avacūri*<sup>4</sup>.

It is divided into six Kāṇḍas and of its sections the first is devoted to Jain gods; the second enlists Hindu gods; the third enumerates men; the fourth classifies animals; in the fifth residents of the Narakaloka are elaborated and the sixth consists of the abstract nouns, adjectives and particles. Kuśa-lasāgara, Devasāgara, Narendrasūri and vallabhagaṇi wrote commentaries on the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*<sup>5</sup>. *Abhidhānacintāmaṇiśīloṇcha* by Jinadeva<sup>6</sup> and *Abhidhānacintāmaṇiśeṣasaṅgraha*<sup>7</sup>

1. Ed. O. Böhtlingk and C. Rieu. St. Petersburg, 1847; Devacandralal-bhai Jain Pustakoddhāra series, 92, Bombay, 1946 and Vijaykastursuri, Bombay, 1956.
2. Bhandarkar, R.G. Report on search for Skt. Mss. in the Bomyay Presidency during the year 1880-84, p. 20, No. 87.
3. Parikh, R. C. Ed. *Kavyānuśāsana* of Hemacandra, Vol. II. Bombay, 1938, introduction, p. CCXCIV.
4. Raghavan, V. New Catalogus Catalogorum, Vol. I. Madras, 1949, pp. 218-219.
5. *ibid.*, pp. 218-219.
6. Ptd. in *Abhidhānasāṅgraha*, Bombay, 1896 and also an appendix to *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi Loc. cit.*, Bombay, 1946.
7. Raghavan, V. New Catalogus Catalogorum, Vol. I. pp. 218-19.

are the supplements of the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*. Vallabha-  
gaṇi wrote a commentary called *Śeṣasaṅgrahasāroddhāra*<sup>1</sup> on  
*Śeṣasaṅgraha*. An index to the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* was  
compiled by Maithila vidyākara<sup>2</sup>.

Perhaps, his dictionaries were compiled after the  
*Siddhahaimaśabdānuśāsana* in the year between 1141—1143  
A. D.<sup>3</sup>

2. *Anekārthasaṅgraha*<sup>4</sup> ; It is called *Nānārthamālākhyā-  
kośa*<sup>5</sup> also. It is a hynonymic dictionary divided in seven  
chapters. First six chapters are divided in accordance with  
the number of syllables i. e. from monosyllabic to hexasyllabic  
words. The seventh chapter deal with indeclinables.  
Mahendrasūri, a disciple of Hemacandra wrote a commentary  
called *Anekārthakairavakaumudī*<sup>6</sup> on it and because of  
profound respect for his preceptor attributed to his name<sup>7</sup>. C.D.  
Dalal also ascribes the commentary to Mahendrasūri<sup>8</sup>. Another  
commentary on the work is *Anekārthasaṅgrahaṭikā*<sup>9</sup>. *Ane-  
kārthasaṅgrahaśeṣa* of Jinaprabha and *Anekārthavyayasaṅ-  
graha* are its supplements<sup>10</sup>

3. *Anekārthaseṣa*<sup>11</sup> : It is perhaps, a supplement to  
*Anekārthasaṅgraha*.

1. *ibid.*, p. 219.

2. *ibid.*, p. 219.

3. Zachariae, T. *Indischen wörterbücher*, p. 31.

4. Ed, with the commentary of Mahendrasūri, Zachariae, T. wien 1893.

5. Lists of MSS. collected for the Govt. Mss. Library by the Professors  
of Sanskrit at the Deccan and Elphinstone colleges since 1895-99.  
Appendix by Bühler, G, No. 114.

6. Ed, Zachariae, T. wien, 1893.

7. Peterson, P. Reports on the search of Skt. Mss, Vol. I. p. 51.

8. Dalal, C.D. A catalogue of Mss. in Jesalmere Bhandar, G.O.S. XXI,  
p. 63.

9. Raghavan, V. *New Catalogus catalogorum*, Vol. I. 168.

10. *ibid.*, pp. 168-169.

11. Bühler, G. A Catalogue of Skt. Mss. in the Private libraries of  
Gujarat etc. p. 34, No. 5.

4 *Ekākṣaranāmamālā* or *Ekākṣarīnāmamālā*: Kathvate has ascribed this work to Hemacandra<sup>1</sup>. But printed *Ekākṣara nāmamālā* is written by Sudhākalaśa<sup>2</sup>. It appears that being a supplement of the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, *Ekākṣaranāmamālā* was also attributed to Hemacandra. But the authorship of this work is still questionable.

5. *Deśināmamālā*<sup>3</sup> : The *Deśināmamālā* is divided in eight vargas. In each section, words with one meaning are given first and then their synonyms are arranged. In each section, words are arranged according to the number of their syllables. *Deśī* words classified by Hemacandra are not necessarily Sanskritic in nature. Some non-Sanskritic foreign words have also been compiled in the *Deśināmamālā*. G. Grierson has shown an Arabic word in this work<sup>4</sup>. K. Amritarao has shown that there are a number of Persian and Arabic words in the *Deśināmamālā*<sup>5</sup>.

Hemacandra wrote a *Vṛtti* called *Deśīśabdasaṅgraha-vṛtti*<sup>6</sup>. It is called *Deśināmamālāvṛtti* also<sup>7</sup>.

#### 6. *Nāmamālā*<sup>8</sup>

#### 7. *Nāmamālāśeṣasaṅgraha*<sup>9</sup> or *Śeṣasaṅgrahanāmamālā*<sup>10</sup>

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1. Kathavate, V. Report for the search of Skt. Mss. in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1891-95, Bombay, 1901. p. 86. No. 1349.
  2. Ed. as an appendix to *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, Bombay, 1946.
  3. Ed. R. Pischel, Kiel 1880; B.S.S. XVII. Second Ed. Ramanujaswami, Bombay, 1938,
  4. Grierson, G. J.R. A.S. 1919, p. 235.
  5. Rao, K. Amrit, I.A. XLVI. p. 33 ff.
  6. Kielhorn, F. Lists of the Sanskrit Mss. collected in 1877-78 Bombay, 1883, p. 17, No. 49.
  7. *ibid.*, p. 25, No 159.
  8. Bhandarkar, R.G. op. cit., 1884-87, p. 123, No. 1337.
  9. *ibid*, 1887-91, p. 106, No. 1377.
  10. Aufrecht, T. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 786.



8. *Nighaṇṭuśeṣa*<sup>1</sup> : It is a botanical dictionary being a supplement to Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*. It is called Hemacandriya also<sup>2</sup>.

(B) G R A M M A R

9. *Uṇādisūtras*<sup>3</sup> and their *vṛtti*<sup>4</sup> or *vivarāṇa*<sup>5</sup>.

10. *Dhātupāṭha* and its *Vṛtti*<sup>6</sup>.

11. *Dhātupārāyaṇa* and its *vṛtti*<sup>7</sup>.

12. *Dhātumālā*<sup>8</sup>.

13. *Bālabhāṣyavyākaraṇasūtravṛtti*<sup>9</sup>.

14. *Bhvādisattāvacūri*<sup>10</sup>.

15. *Liṅganirdeśa*<sup>11</sup>.

16. *Liṅgānuśāsana*<sup>12</sup> with a *Bṛhaṭṭikā*<sup>13</sup>, *Vivarāṇa*<sup>14</sup> or *vivṛti*<sup>15</sup>.

1. Ed. as an appendix to *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, Bombay, 1946.
2. oppert, G. Lists of Skt. Mss. in Private libraries of Southern India, p. 505, No. 6706.
3. For the *uṇādisūtras*, see, Kirste, *Epilegomena zur Ausgabe des uṇādisūtras in Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der wissenschaften*, 1895.
4. Aufrecht, T. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 786.
5. Peterson, P. Reports on the search of Skt. Mss. Vol. VI. Appendix II. p. 79, No. 229.
6. Aufrecht, T. op. cit., p. 768, Ed. J. Kirste, Wien, 1895, 1899.
7. (i) Bühler, G. Detailed report of a tour in search of Skt. Mss. made in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India, p. XLVII, No. 728.  
(ii) Dalal, C. D. A Catalogue of Skt. Mss. in Jesalmere Bhandar, p. 123, No. 1337.
8. Aufrecht, T. op. cit., p. 768.
9. *ibid.*, p. 768.
10. List of Mss. Collected for the Govt. Skt. Mss. Library by the Professors of Skt. at the Deccan and Elphinstone Colleges since 1895-1899, pt. I. P. 31, No. 826.
11. Bhandarkar, R. G. op. cit., 1884-87, p. 124, No. 1366
12. Ed. as an appendix to *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, Bombay, 1946.
13. (i) Belvalkar, S. K. Systems of Sanskrit grammar, Poona, 1915. p. 73.  
(ii) Parikh, R. C. Ed. *Kāvyānuśāsana*, Vol. II., introduction, p. CCXC11
14. Dalal, C. D. op. cit., p. 22. No. 189 (1)
15. Peterson. p. op. cit., Vol. I Appendix I, p. 76, No. 113.

He wrote *līṅgānuśāsanavivaraṇoddhāra*<sup>1</sup> also.

17. *Śabdānuśāsana*,<sup>2</sup> its *Vṛtti*, *Bṛhadvṛtti*, *Vyākaraṇaḍḍhikā*, *Laghuvṛtti*, *Laghuvṛtticandrikā* and *Bṛhannyāsa*<sup>3</sup>.

This grammar was written on the request of Siddharāja Jayasīmha. Hemacandra consulted eight old grammatical systems and tried to incorporate them in his new work. He made the Sañjñā terms easy and omitted the rules related to Vedic grammar and accent. By appending the Prakrit grammar in his *Śabdānuśāsana*, he introduced a new trend in the history of Sanskrit grammar and thus made the grammar more practicable. Kielhorn rightly reviews it as the best grammar of Mediaeval India.<sup>4</sup>

18. *Prakrit vyākaraṇa*<sup>5</sup> and its commentary called *Haima prākṛtaḍḍhikā*<sup>6</sup>.

### (C) METRICS

19. *Chandonuśāsana*<sup>7</sup> and its *Vṛtti*.

### (D) RHETORICS

20. *Kāvyaṅuśāsana*<sup>8</sup> and its Commentary called *Alaṅkāracūḍāmaṇi*

### (E) PHILOSOPHY

21. *Anyayogavyavacchedaḍvātriṃśikā* : It Contains thirty two eulogistic verses of Vardhamāna. Most of its verses are philosophical and lyrical in nature. Malliṣeṇa wrote an extensive commentary on it which is called *Syādvādamañjarī*<sup>9</sup>.

1. Winternitz, M. and Keith, A-B. Catalogue of Skt. Mss. in the Bodlein library. Voi. II. Oxford, 1905, p. 134, No. 1143 and p. 348.
2. Ed. vaṣovijaya, Benaras, 1905 ; Hīmāṃśuvijayamuni Ahmedabad, 1934 (used for references). Vijayalavanya sūri, Batod, 1956.
3. Parikh, R.C. op. cit., p. CCXCII—CCXCIII-
4. W. Z. K. M. II. 1888, p. 24
5. Ed. R. Pischel, Helle, 1877—1880, Rev. ed. P. L. Vaidya, Poona, 1958.
6. Bühler, G. Detailed report of a tour in search of Skt. Mss. made in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India, Extra No. J.B.B.R.A.S. 1877, No. 778.
7. Ed. Velankar, H.D. Singh Jain Granthamālā, 49, Bombay, 1960.
8. Ed. K.M. 1901 and R.C. Parikh, Two Vols, Bombay, 1938.
9. Ed. Oswal, Motilal Ladhaji, Poona, 1926.

22. *Ayogavyavacchedadvātrimśikā*<sup>1</sup> : Like *Ayogavyavaccheda*, it also contains thirty two eulogistic verses which are likewise lyrical and philosophical in nature.

23. *Jīvasamāsa* and its *Vṛtti*<sup>2</sup> : It was written in Sam 1164 and according to Peterson the available copy was written by Hemacandra himself.

24. *Pramāṇamīmāṃsā* and its Commentary<sup>3</sup> : It is an authentic work on Jain logic. According to Satkari Mookerjee and Nathmal Tatai, "it is most probably the last work of Hemacandra and from all available manuscripts of the work which end abruptly in the same place it is evident that he could not finish it."<sup>4</sup>

25. *Yogaśāstra* and his own commentary called *Svopajñavi-  
varaṇa*<sup>5</sup>. Indrasaughāgyagaṇi wrote a *vārttika* on the *Yogaśāstra*<sup>6</sup>.

#### (F) P O E M S

Besides the above mentioned *Dvātrimśikās*, he wrote :

26. *Upadeśamālā* or *Puṣpamālā* and its commentary<sup>7</sup>,

Its commentary is called *puṣpamālāprakāśana* also<sup>8</sup>,

27. *Dvyāśrayakāvyā*<sup>9</sup> : It is written to illustrate his own

1. Ed. Haragovinddas and Bechardas, Varanasi, Vira Sam, 2433.

2. Peterson, P. op. cit., Vol. I. p. 63. No. 29 and Appendix I, p. 18, No. 29.

3. Ed. Oswal, Motilal, Poona, Vira Sam, 2452 and English tr. by Satkari Mookerjee and Nathmal Tatai, Calcutta 1946.

4. Satkari Mookerjee and Nathmal Tatai, op. cit., introduction p. vi.

5. Ed. Dharmavijaya, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1907-1921.

6. Raghvan, V. New Catalogus Catalogorum, Vol. II. Madras, 1966, p. 256.

7. Peterson, p. op. cit., Vol. IV. p. 45. No. 1201 and Vol. V. p. 290, No. 75. Appendix I, p. 56, No. 34; p. 57. No. 35; p. 98, No. 58.

8. Peterson, P. op. cit., vol. I, p. 127, No. 303 and 304.

9. Ed. A. V. Kathavate, vol. I, B. S. S. 69, 1915 and vol. II B.S.S. 76, 1921.

grammar. Twenty cantos of the Dvyāśraya are written in Sanskrit and eight cantos are written in Prakrit. The Prākṛit Dvyāśrayakāvya is called Kumārapālacarita<sup>1</sup> because the annals of only Kumārapāla are found in this work. Peterson has mentioned a manuscript containing the author's own commentary on eight cantos.<sup>2</sup> Similarly Bühler<sup>3</sup> has referred to *Dvyāśrayakoṣavṛtti* which appears to be a commentary on the Dvyāśrayakāvya. A commentary of Abhayatilakagaṇi is available with the printed text of the Dvyāśrayakāvya. Pūrṇakalaśagaṇi's commentary on the Kumārapālacarita is available in print.

28. *Padmacarita* : R.G. Bhandarkar has referred to an incomplete manuscript of the Padmacarita which has been ascribed to Hemacandra<sup>4</sup>. But a printed poem named Padmacarita is written by Śubhavaradhanagaṇi.<sup>5</sup> So the identity of the work is not known exactly.

29. *Mahādevastotra*<sup>6</sup> : This stotra contains forty four eulogistic verses of mahāvīra.

30. *Vītarāgastotra*<sup>7</sup> : It has 188 devotional lyrics of a detached sage.

## (G) GĀTHAS AND CARITAS

31. *Gāthāśatakaprakaraṇaṭīkā*<sup>8</sup> :

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1. Ed. S. P. Pandit, Poona, 1936.
  2. Peterson, P. op. cit., vol. III., p. 19.
  3. Bühler, G. Detailed report of a tour in search of Skt. Mss. made in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India, p. XLVI, No. 725.
  4. Bhandarkar, R. G. op. cit. 1887-91, p. 101, No. 1319.
  5. Ed. Hiralal Hansraj, Jamnagar (no era).
  6. Ed. Caranavijaya, Bhavnagar, 1934.
  7. Ed. Caranavijaya, Bhavnagar, 1934.
  8. Kielhorn, F. List of Skt. Mss. p. 25, No. 148.

32. *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*<sup>1</sup>: It describes the lives of sixty-three great Jain saints.

33. *Sthavirāvalicarita* or *Parīṣiṣṭaparvan*<sup>2</sup>: It is an appendix to *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*. In the opinion of Jacobi<sup>3</sup>, "the original poem was written in Prakrit and that the work of Hemacandra is a paraphrastic version of the original.

34. *Yugādidevacarita*<sup>4</sup>

#### (H) COMMENTARIES

35. *Anuyogadvārāsūtraṭīkā*<sup>5</sup> or *Vṛtti*<sup>6</sup>: It is a commentary on the *Anuyogasūtras* which are written in Pāli.

36. *Āvaśyakavṛttiṭīkā*: *Āvaśyakavṛtti*<sup>7</sup> is written by Hari-  
bhadrā and Hemacandra has commented on it.

#### (I) OTHER WORKS ASCRIBED TO HEMACANDRA

37. *Viśeṣāvaśyakavṛtti*<sup>8</sup>

38. *Nyāyasūtras*<sup>9</sup>

39. *Prāyaścītamuktāvalī*<sup>10</sup>

40. *Balābalasūtrabhṛhadvṛtti*<sup>11</sup>

41. *Bhāvabhāvanāprakarana*<sup>12</sup> with a commentary<sup>13</sup> called

1. Ed. in six vols. Prasārakasabhā, Bhavnagar, 1905-1909, Tr. into English by H.M. Johnson vol. I Baroda, 1931; II. 1937; III. 1949 IV. 1954 etc.
2. Ed. H. Jacobi, Calcutta, 1883.
3. ibid., Introduction p. 10.
4. Dalal, C. D. op. cit. list of palm leaf MSS. in Tapaghccha Bhandar, p. 51, No. 5.
5. Bhandarkar, R. G. op. cit. 1887-91, p. 82, No. 1078.
6. Peterson, P. op. cit. vol. VI, p. 111, No. 543.
7. Ed. Kumudvijaya, Bombay, 1920.
8. Peterson, P. op. cit., vol. VI. p. 49.
9. Kielhorn, F. List of Skt. MSS. collected in 1887-88, p. 3.
10. Hiralal, Rai Bahadur. A Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS., 1926, No. 3236-3239.
11. Aufrecht, T. Catalogus Catalogorum, p. 768.
12. (i) Peterson, P. op. cit, V. p. 95. No. 57(3); p. 293. No, 782.  
(ii) Bhandarkar, R.G. op. cit, 1887-91, p, 91. No. 1190.
13. (i) Bhandarkar, R.G. op. cit., 1884-87, p. 113, No. 1212.  
(ii) Dalal, C. D. op. cit. p. 36.

Tabbā<sup>1</sup> also.

42. *Vibhramasūtras* : First, Aufrech<sup>2</sup> attributed them to Hemacandra but later on questioned its authenticity<sup>3</sup>. Infact, it is not a work of Hemacandra. Guṇacandrasūri wrote a commentary on Kātantravibhrama, a work having twenty one kārīkās. He explained those kārīkas in accordance with the grammatical system of Hemacandra and hence named his work as Haima-Vibhrama<sup>4</sup>

43. *Śatakavṛtti*<sup>5</sup> or *Bṛhacchatakavṛtti*<sup>6</sup>

44. *Śrīpālacarita* : Peterson ascribed this poem to Hemacandra.<sup>7</sup> According to A. V. Kathavate<sup>8</sup>, Divārāja is the author of the poem and Hemacandra wrote a Commentary only.

45. *San̄grahiṇīsūtra*<sup>9</sup>

46. *Hemacandraviveka*<sup>10</sup>

1. (i) Peterson P. op. cit., vol. V. p. 293, No. 783.

(ii) Bhandarkar, R.G. op. cit., 1887-91, p. 91, No. 1190.

2. Aufrecht, T. Catalogus Codicum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae, Bodleinae, Oxford, 1864, p. 409.

3. Aufrecht, T. Catalogus Catalogorum, p. 578.

4. Ed. Haragovind and Bechargovind, Varanasi, Vira Saṁ, 2439.

5. Bhandarkar R.G. op. cit., 1887-91, p. 108, No. 1405.

6. Dalal C. D. op. cit. p. 33.

7. Peterson, P. op. cit. vol. IV. p. 118, No. 1348.

8. Kathavate, A.V. Report for the search of MSS. p. 91. No. 1424.

9. Peterson, P. op. cit., vol. V. p. 95, No. 57.

10. Lists of Mss. collected for the Govt. Mss. Library by the professors of Sanskrit at the Deccan and Elphinstone colleges since 1895-1899. Appendix by Bühler, No. 114.

### III. SUMMARY

**Canto I.** The poem begins with an auspicious word *Arham* and an eulogy of the Chaulukya dynasty (1-3). The description of the Aṇhilwāḍa city; beauty of the women and an account of the religious, educational, social and administrative institutions is given (4-134). Mūlarāja was the originator of the dynasty. Heroic as well as administrative qualities of Mūlarāja are elucidated in the poem. In his administration, the subjects were happy, co-operative and austere (135-201).

**Canto II.** Once, Mūlarāja saw Lord Śiva in a dream and was ordered to crush demons who had made preparations to demolish *Prabhāsa Tīrtha* (1-4). In the morning, he went to council-chamber together with his ministers named Jambaka and Jehula (5-60). Explaining the anti-Aryan and irreligious conduct of Grāharipu, Jehula advised to wage a war in accordance with the instructions of the Lord Śiva (61-95). Jambaka critically reviewed the military power and strategy of Grāharipu and persuaded Mūlarāja to invade personally (96-110).

**Canto III.** The winter season set in and is described in detail (1-50). Mūlarāja made military preparations and launched an expedition against Grāharipu, (51-78). During the expedition, auspicious and favourable omens appeared (79-92). People gathered, witnessed the march and army proceeded (93-116). They reached the bank of the river Jambumālī. By the order of the king, tents were erected for a

stay in the night. Description of the night and the cantonment follows (117-160).

**Canto IV.** A messenger named Durṇasa came to Mūlarāja and asked him the cause of the expedition. Without waiting for a reply, the messenger himself speaks of a number of probable causes (1-19). Mūlarāja appreciated the boldness of the messenger, ; refuted all his arguments ; refused to have friendship with Grāharipu and challenged him to meet in the battlefield (20-40). Having received the challenge, Grāharipu made preparations (41-45). Some Bhillas of the aboriginal tribe, his friend Lakṣa, his sons and other relatives came to fight for Grāharipu. As he set out for the expedition, ill-omens appeared. Grāharipu went on without caring for them (46-78). The king of Sindhu also joined and took the southern position in the battle-field (79-89). Astrologers predicted the death of Lakṣa but it did not move him. Mūlarāja saw the army of the enemy and made preparations for the fight (91-94).

**Canto V.** Śailaprashta, Gaṅgāmaha, his younger brother and many other kings fought from the side of Mūlarāja. In the following verses, description of the army and the fight time is given (1-16). The warriors of Grāharipu continued to fight (17-36). The army of Mūlarāja stood on the eastern side of the Arbuda mountain. Both Mūlarāja and Grāharipu advanced in the field (37-89). Their fight continued (90-97). As soon as Grāharipu climbed the chariot of Mūlarāja to kill him he was made a captive himself (98-104). Lakṣa, a friend of Grāharipu challenged Mūlarāja but was assassinated by a spear in no time (105-127). On a plea of submission, Grāharipu was released by Mūlarāja (128-129). Thenceforward, people of Saurāṣṭra began to wear Sārīs, the dress of women and a token of their defeat (130). Mūlarāja went to Prabhāsa



pilgrimage to worship Somanātha and returned after a few days (131-142).

**Canto VI.** A child was born to the king who was named as Cāmuṇḍarāja. He was educated in royal fashion (1-14). Once, the king received some presents from the kings of Aṅga, Sindhu, Vanavāsa, Devagiri, Kollāpura, Kāśmīra and Kāmpīya countries (15-26). Dvārāpa, the king of Lāṭadeśa sent an elephant as a present (27). The king observed that the elephant was that of an inferior quality. The king perceived his political humiliation and ordered Cāmuṇḍarāja to invade Lāṭadeśa (40-43). Both Mūlarāja and Cāmuṇḍarāja reached the bank of the river Śvabhṛavatī (44-56). After a severe fight, Lāṭarāja was defeated (57-103). On an auspicious occasion, the Installation ceremony of Cāmuṇḍarāja was performed (104-106). Mūlarāja renounced the world and went to Śrīsthala, a city situated on the bank of the river Sarasvatī. Later on he breathed his last by climbing the funeral-pyre (107).

**Canto VII.** Two sons Vallabharāja and Durlabharāja were born to the king Cāmuṇḍarāja (1-19). Later on a third son was born who was named as Nāgarāja (20). They were brought up nicely and were imparted royal education (21-29). Once Cāmuṇḍarāja ordered Vallabharāja to invade the king of Mālava. During his expedition, no one resisted. Unfortunately, he was caught by small-pox and expired (30-48). His body was brought to the city (49-55). After coronating Durlabharāja, Cāmuṇḍarāja took to asceticism and expired on the bank of the Narmadā river (56-58). Durlabharāja administered with great discrimination. Once Mahendra, the king of Marudeśa invited Durlabha on the occasion of the Svyamvara ceremony of his sister. Both Durlabarāja and Nāgarāja went to attend the Svyamvara. Durlabharāja was chosen as bridegroom and Nāgarāja was married to king

Mahendra's younger sister (59-115). After defeating the jealous and confederate kings both Durlabharāja and Nāgarāja came back (116-142).

**Canota VIII.** Nāgarāja was blessed with a son who was name Bhīma (1-4). Bhīma was predicted to be a hero (5-8). On being coronated, Bhīma acquired popularity amongst his subjects by means of his excellent administration (9-39). Once two spies informed Bhīma that the kings of Puṇḍra, Vṇḍāvana, Mathurā, Mithilāvana, Āndhra and Magadha speak highly of him whereas the kings of Sindhu and Cedi alongwith other kings conspire to murder him (40-72). With the consent of his ministers, Bhīma made preparations for an expedition against Sindhurāja. The river Sindhu was in spate, therefore, a bridge had to be constructed over it (73-112). The king Hammuka himself came to fight but had to face a defeat (113-125).

**Canto IX.** Having defeated Hammuka, Bhīma went to fight against the king of Cedi who was ready for defensive attack and had organised an army of the Bhillas (1-10).

Bhīma sent his messenger to Cedirāja who, in return, offered himself for friendship (11-40). Bhīmarāja accepted his friendship and came back to Aṇhilwādapattaṇa (41-69).

Bhīma abdicated the crown and Karṇa was coronated. After the death of Bhīma, his son Kṣemarāja retired from public life and went to the pilgrimage called Dadhisthali. Karṇa directed his son Devaprasāda to look after his father (70-76).

Thus Karṇa ruled over his subjects excellently (77-88). Once an artist brought a portrait of a girl which excited the emotions of the king (89-97). The artist explained the beauty of Mayaṇallā, daughter of Jayakeśin, and also informed him about her love for Karṇa. Moreover, he presented an elephant which was sent by her father in the form of a gift (98-130). Karṇa came to the royal garden and was astonished to see a

beautiful girl there (131-140). When the king inquired her friend about her identity, she disclosed that she was none other than Mayaṇallā. Karna married Mayaṇallā and led his life quite happily (141-172).

**Canto X.** Karna respected Mayaṇalla very much. On not seeing his wife pregnant for a long time, Karna began to practise penance in the temple of Lakṣmī (1-11). He was advised by his preceptors to recite a particular mantra (12-14). Here follows an exhaustive description of the rainy season and the sun-set. Then the poet introduces some beautiful damsels known as Apsarās, who make a futile attempt to impede Karna in his penance (15-53). After the disappearance of the Apsarās in the sky, a terrifying figure appeared in the meantime and prohibited him from his practice. But Karna was not agitated (54-67). Last of all, Lakṣmī herself, appeared before Karna and blessed him with a boon for a son (68-81). Karna eulogised Lakṣmī with his folded hands and when she disappeared he came to his royal palace (82-90).

**Canto XI.** All kinds of desires (Dohada) of the pregnant queen were fulfilled. She gave birth to a son whom the astrologers predicted to be a great man (1-23). Festivities were arranged and prisoners were released. The child was named as Jayasimha (24-39). He spent his childhood happily and controlled the kings vigorously in his youth (40-68). Karna proposed for the coronation of Jayasimha and due to his repeated insistence, Jayasimha was coronated. Karna breathed his last after taking to the path of asceticism, (69-111). Having consigned his son Tribhuvanapāla to Jayasimha, Devaprasāda also entered the funeral-pyre. Thenceforward Jayasimha reigned (112-118).

**Canto XII.** Once some sages came to the court of Jayasimha and reported that the Rākṣasas were intending to demolish the temple at Śrīpurasthala (3-15). The king

apologised for his ignorance and having consoled them proceeded towards Rākṣasas on the bank of the river Sarasvatī (16-31). Having known about Jayasimha's intention to attack Barbara, the king of the Rākṣasas came to the battle-field (32-36). Jayasimha's soldiers could not resist the battle and began to flee but Jayasimha and his maiden servant persuaded them to fight the battle as it is their moral duty (37-57). Thus, the fight was resumed. After a severe clash between Jayasimha and Barbara, the latter was held captive but was released on the request of Barbara's wife Piṅgalikā (58-81).

**Canto XIII.** Barbara presented a number of valuables to the king Jayasimha (1-4). While the king performed his duties towards his subjects nicely, he, once, heard lamentation of a pair (5-39). Asked by the king, the male reported that he was a son of the king Ratnacūḍa and had put his wife for stake to his friend Dāmana on the controversy of the sprouting of Lavalī flowers. If the bet is lost, he would have to surrender his wife. The compassionate king helped the pair to win its stipulation (40-104). Henceforth the king entrusted the task of protection of the Pātālaloka to the Rākṣasas. Nāgas conferred a boon in favour of the king (105-110).

**Canto XIV.** The king came to his palace unnoticed. A yoginī came to him and suggested him to worship Kālikā in the temple of Ujjainī. Moreover, she advised him to develop friendship with yaśovarman, the king of Ujjainī (1-13). The king could know the intention of the the yoginī, so, he marched towards Ujjainī. Being directed by the Kirātas in way, he reached the bank of the Sīprā river (14-36). The king of Malavā had already sent his warriors (37-38). In the night Jayasimha went to the temple of Devī and heard the sound of yoginīs praying for the protection of Yaśovarman (39-52). The king found out the conspiracy of the yoginīs and struck

upon them unwillingly. Next day he confined Yaśovarman and his associates. (53-74).

**Canto XV.** On his return from Malavā, Jayasimha received valuable gifts from his subordinate kings. He constructed a temple called Rudramahālaya on the bank of the Sarasvatī river. At Siddhapur he got built a caitya of Mahāvīra (1-17). Later on, the king visited the pilgrimage at Somanātha on foot and reached Devapaṭṭaṇa (18-37). He eulogized Somanātha and the Lord Śiva blessed him to be victorious. The Lord Śiva ordered him to abdicate the kingship and coronate Kumārapāla (38-55). While returning Vibhīṣaṇa led the procession and showed him some visitable places. He saw the caitya of Neminātha and worshipped the deity. He was warmly welcomed there. On his return from Raivataka, he established simhapura, a city for ascetics. He donated valuables and villages to Brāhmaṇas (88-99). He established a number of temples and educational institutions and breathed his last while performing righteous deeds (100-125).

**Canto XVI.** After the death of Jayasimha, his ministers performed the installation ceremony of Kumārapāla. Āṇa and Ballāla together invaded Kumārapāla who, in return, furiously attacked Āṇa. Many kings and aboriginal inhabitants joined his army. Thus they reached the Arbuda mounion (1-33). Vikramasimha gives a description of the Arbuda mounion (34-69). The king of Arbuda wished him a victory. Here, a description of various seasons is introduced (70-96). The king enjoyed himself on the mountain (97).

**Canto XVII.** This canto is full of various descriptions. Women are described in their amorous sports (1-36). Women entering water and their water sports are given in detail (37-70). Their coming out of water; scenes of the sun-set, the evening, the night and the rising moon are described (72-110).

Enjoyment of women with their husbands, drinks and their sexual feelings are described (111-138).

**Canto XVIII.** Kumārapāla marched against Ānna who was already prepared for the fight (1-13). Ānna's ministers advised him not to fight but inattentive of their counsel, Ānna resolved to have a fight (14-41). He was informed by his spies about the aggression of Kumārapāla and hence Ānna himself led the command (42-52). Here the poet describes various activities of the army and overwhelming enthusiasm for the combat (53-71). Kumārapāla blamed Ānna for his aggressive attitude which he could not endeavour during the reign of Jayasimha. Kumārapāla challenged Ānna and the fight continued for a long time (72-102). Lastly, struck by an iron-rod, Ānna fell down and was defeated (103-106).

**Canto XIX.** Kumārapāla stayed there for many days and subjugated other opponents also. Kumārapāla did not kill Ānna (1-20). Ānna offered a number of valuable things and got married his daughter to Kumārapāla (21-41). On their return to the city, marriage ceremony was performed again by the preceptor of Ānna in accordance with sacred rites (42-90). In the meanwhile, a spy informed Kumārapāla that some of his commanders had joined Ballāla and that the king of Mālava was going to invade him (91-123). Kumārapāla's friends resisted Ballāla and killed him (124-137).

**Canto XX.** Thus, due to his excellent administration Kumārapāla became popular with his subjects (1-4). Kumārapāla was shocked to see a sacrificial goat ready to be sacrificed and therefore, he prohibited the oblation of an animal in the sacrifice. He forbade hunting even for the royal family (5-36). He granted loans to wine-sellers and butchers to shift to other occupations (37). Despite of severe opposition from his ministers, he issued orders that the property of an

issueless widow would not be forfeited (38-89). He got repaired the temple of the Lord Śiva and the shrine of Somanātha (90-97). He ordered for the construction of a caitya of Pārśvanātha at Aṇhilwāḍapaṭṭaṇa and Devapaṭṭaṇa. He constructed a temple of the Lord Śiva Kumārapālā khyāyatana at Aṇhilwāḍapaṭṭaṇa and thus became popular amongst the people (101-102).

## IV. HEMACANDRA'S ERUDITION (GENERAL)

Hemacandra had a command on all the fields of Sanskrit learning and that is why he was called the *omniscient of the Kali Age* (Kalikālasarvajña). It has been observed before that Hemacandra digested and reproduced various branches of Sanskrit scholarship consisting of Lexicography, Grammar, Metrics, Philosophy, Literary criticism and original poetry. Thus, his scholarship is thoroughly reflected in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. Besides his mature expression and deep thinking, he has a wonderful command on diction. He immediately comes across the vocabulary adjustable to his sense, sound and metre. Various allusions to orthodox and heterodox systems of philosophy, mythology and Dharmasāstra can be frequently observed in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. Here some of his erudite allusions as reflected in the Dvyāśrayakāvya are given.

**VEDAS :** Brahma is another synonym for the Veda (I. 82). Hemacandra has referred to three Vedas called *chandās* also (VII. 24; XII. 8). Elsewhere, he speaks of the four Vedas as *catuḥ-chandas* or *catuḥśruti* (I. 191; II. 2). The Vedas are specified as the Ṛk, Yajus, Sāman and Atharvan (I. 182). Those who recite the Vedas orally are called *Sumantrasnuḥ* (II. 55). The process of teaching the Vedas by recitation is called *Vedāpayana* (VII. 111). The Vedas are specified by the name *Samhitā*, *Padaka* (having *Pada-pāṭha*) and *Kramaka* (having *Krama-pāṭha*) (V. 120). Moreover, Hemacandra has



mentioned the *R̥gveda* consisting of two or three *Padas* (*Dvipada*, *Tripada*, IV. 41).

Hemacandra has alluded to the *Taittirīya* recension of the *Yajurveda*. When *Yājñavalkya* vomitted the lessons of the *Veda*, they were swallowed by his other class-fellows in the form of *Tittiris*<sup>1</sup> (VIII. 42). Moreover, he has referred to the study of the *Kaṭha* recension of the *Yajurveda* (*Katara-kaṭha*, V. 88, 91, 118).

The *Sāmaveda* and its two *Rāgas* viz. *Rathantara*<sup>2</sup> and *Br̥hadrathantara* are specified in the *Dvyāśrayakāvya* (II. 44, 75).

**VEDĀṄGA** : Hemacandra has referred to six auxiliary branches of the *Veda* called *Ṣaḍaṅga* (I.191) or *Ṣaḍaṅgī* (I. 65).

**METRICS** : In the Sanskrit Portion of the *Dvyāśraya-kāvya* Hemacandra has used twenty-nine metres (*vide, infra*). A variety of *Prakrit* metres has been used by the author in the *Kumārapālacarita* as well. He wrote *Chandonuśāsana*, an exhaustive work on metrics. He has named some Vedic metres like *Uṣṇik* (XI. 106) *viṣṭārapaṅkti* and *Aṣṭārapaṅkti* (XII. 79).

**RITUALS** : Hemacandra has described various rituals including those of Jainism. Morning-sacrifices are called *yāga* (I. 70). Sacrifices are performed by the preceptor (XI. 12). For the performance of the sacrifice, a special *maṇḍapa* was constructed which consisted of *Ājya*, *Bahiṣprastāra* and *Pra-stāra* (XII.78)<sup>3</sup>. Hemacandra has referred to some sacrificial

1. Cf. Winternitz, M. *History of Indian Literature*, vol. I., pt. I, 2nd ed. Calcutta, 1959. p. 149. f.n. 2. 'But already in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* XIV. 9. 4. 33 (cf. IV. 4.5.19) the 'white sacrificial utterances (*Śuklāni yajurṃsi*) are called *Ādityāni*, 'revealed by the Sun'; and the *Purāṇas*, too, related that *yājñavalkya* received new sacrificial utterances from the Sun (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, III, 5).

2. Cf. *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*. Ed. Gaastra, Dieuke, Leiden, 1919, *Pūrvabhāga*, II. 18, p. 51.

रथन्तरं नाम मे सामाघोरञ्चाक्रूरञ्च ।

3. Dv. XII. 78. *Abhayatilakagaṇi* remarks :

सामगणनाङ्गभूतानामुदुम्बरकाष्ठकुशानां रचनाविशेषः ।

utensils (II. 27). The oblation of milk (VIII. 99), ghee (II. 27), sesamum seeds (XV. 115) and barley was made in the sacrifice.

Hemacandra has specified the Cāturmāsya (XVII. 49), Agniṣṭoma, Jyotiṣṭoma, Āyusṭoma (III. 102; XI. 111) and Vājapeya (V. 119) sacrifices. Amongst the sacrificial fires, the poet has named Sāhyāgni (V. 50), Pañcāgni (IV. 91), Dākṣiṇāgni and Āhavanīyāgni.<sup>1</sup> Sacrifices like kuṇḍapāyya, Sañcāyya, Rājasūya, Sānnāya, Paricāyya and Upaccāyya are referred to illustrate examples only (XI. 9). Saṁvāhya fire is mentioned in the same context. Sacrificial mantras named Vāyavya, R̥tavya, Pitr̥tavya, Uṣasya and Prauṣṭhapadika are referred to (XV. 112). Drinking of Soma is also mentioned (I. 181; V. 137).

Madhuparka is served in the marriage ceremony (IX. 168)<sup>2</sup>. On the ninth day of Āśvin, harvest was cropped; Brāhmaṇas were invited and worshipped (III. 6). The installation ceremony was performed in accordance with the position of stars (VI. 104-105).

The king was offered Arghya (XV. 40)<sup>3</sup>.

GRAMMAR : Hemacandra wrote a bulk of literature on Sanskrit and Prakrit grammar himself (*vide, supra*, ch. II).

1. Cf. Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, 826.

स्युर्दक्षिणाहवनीयगार्हपत्यास्त्रयोऽग्नयः ।

इदमग्नित्रयं त्रेता प्रणीतः संस्कृतोऽग्नयः ।

2. Cf. Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra 1.2.37; Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, 1.3.20; Āpastamba Gṛhyasūtra V. 13. 13; Vaikhānasa Gṛhyasūtra, II. 16. For details see, [Krishnalal], Gṛhyamantra aura una kā Vinīyoga, Delhi, 1970. pp. 63ff.

1. Cf. Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra, I. 24(1.4); Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra I.2.65; Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra, Bombay, 1938, p. 17.

His Haimaśabdānuśāsana is a mature and unambiguous work on grammar of the mediaeval age. He utilized all the available schools of grammar and tried to incorporate them in his work. While reviewing this grammar, kielhorn calls it to be the best grammar of the middle age of India<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, the whole of the Dvyāśrayakāvya is a marvellous proof of his practical grammatical knowledge. In this poem he has elucidated some of the tedious concepts of grammar through similes<sup>2</sup>. He calls grammarians as Lākṣaṇika. He has cited the Pāṇinian grammar also (I. 3; IV. 44).

ŚIKṢĀ AND NIRUKTA : They are referred to by Abhayatilakagaṇi while commenting upon Ṣaḍaṅga (I. 65)<sup>3</sup>.

ASTRONOMY : Hemacandra has specified astronomers as Mauhūrtas. Abhayatilakagaṇi has explained the word muhūrta as *Astronomy* (XV. 116). The nine planets have been enumerated as Arka, Soma, Maṅgala, Buddha, Guru, Śukra, Śaniścara, Rāhu and Ketu (I. 195). Hemacandra has enlisted the Nakṣatras as Citrā, Revatī, Rohiṇī, Māgha, Aśvin, Kṛttikā (XVI. 53), Puṣya, Svātī, Viśākhā, Raivata, Tīṣya, Punarvasū and Rāhuṇa (XVI. 57)<sup>4</sup>. Hemacandra has propounded their conjunction also e.g. the conjunction of Tīṣya and Punarvasū is named as *Tīṣyapunarvasū* (V. 107). The night of the Mārgaśīrṣa month is called Āgrahāyaṇikā (XV. 103). The commentator Abhayatilakagaṇi has expounded the relation of Nakṣatras in detail (V. 56). Beside, Hemacandra

1. Kielhorn, W.Z.K.M. II., 1888, p. 24.

2. Dv. I. 8, 16, 34, 37, 38, 50, 104 etc. *vide, infra*, ch. VIII.

3. Dv. I. 65

शिक्षाकल्पव्याकरणनिरुक्तज्योतिश्छन्दसाम् ।

4. For synonyms of Nakṣatras, see Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi II. (Devakāṇḍa), Verses 87-126.

has given some astronomical observations and their results. Sometimes, the Sun is very hot in the winter. Abhayatilakagaṇi explains that when the Sun is in conjunction with Svātīnakṣatra, it becomes very hot (III. 28). Moreover, he has referred to the conjunction of the moon with the names of months (XVI. 54). On the full-moon day, the water of the ocean rises (XIX. 111). Conjunct Sidhya and Pauṣa Nakṣatras fulfil desires (IV. 90). When the Moon associated with Revatī apperas in the Mīna Rāśi, it causes the death of a person. Rāhu is named as Tamastah and is described as headless (I. 137; V. 64). Apart from these, Planets (I. 66), Comets (I. 86), Stars (V. 16) and Ursa Major (Saptarṣi I. 10) are mentioned.

### PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEMS

Hemacandra has referred to six systems of Indian Philosophy (I. 39. 63). while explaining this verse, Abhayatilakagaṇi has excluded the Vedānta and the Yoga and has added Jain and Buddhist systems of Philosophy. Hemacandra has not gone into details of these systems.

Hemacandra has alluded to the main concept of the Cārvāka system of philosophy i. e. One should grow fat by drinking ghee (IV. 31)<sup>1</sup>. He has referred to the Mimāṃsā (V.135) Syādvāda (I. 2 ; VIII. 37), Nyāya (II. 37) and Buddhism also (VII.64).

**SĀṆKHYA :** According to Hemacandra, the Sāṅkhya system of philosophy consists of twenty five elements (I. 196). The commentator explains them as such : 1. Prakṛti 2. Mahat 3. Ahaṅkāra 4. Sparśana. 5. Rasana. 6. Prāṇa 7. Cakṣu

1. Cf. Sarvadarśanasānagraha of Śāyaṇa Mādhava. Ed. V.S. Abhyāṅkara. Poona, 1951, p.14, Cārvākadrśana.

यावज्जीवेत् सुखं जीवेद्दणं कृत्वा घृतं पिबेत् ।

भस्मीभूतस्य देहस्य पुनरागमनं कुतः ॥

8. Śrotra 9. Pāyu 10. Upastha 11. Vacas 12. Pāṇi 13. Pāda 14. Manas. 15. Rūpa. 16. Rasa. 17. Gandha. 18. Sparśa. 19. Śabda. 20. Tejas. 21. Jala. 22. Pṛthivī. 23. Nabhas. 24. Vāyu and 25. Ātman<sup>1</sup>. Ātman is described as non-doer, attributeless and enjoyer (I. 196).

**YOGA :** In the opinion of Hemacandra, Yoga is the highest stage of human life (XI. 98). One can be sanctified by the practice of Yama and Niyamas (VII. 46). Hemacandra has referred to Idā and Piṅgalā and in his opinion no one can be called as true yogin without the knowledge of these entities (Ku. VIII. 24). He thinks that the nectar exudes from the aperture of the head (Brahmrandhra and an ascetic who drinks it is never afraid of old-age or death (Ku. VIII. 24).

**ĀYURVEDA :** Physicians are called Kovids (VII. 26). Both physicians and veterinary doctors are mentioned in the poem (VIII. 19). Some diseases, medicines and herbs have been specified in the poem. The following diseases have been named.

Dysentery ( Atisāra, XI.57 ), Diarrhoea ( Pravāhikā XVIII. 97), A fistula in the anus or *pudendum* (Bhagandara, XI, 77), Gout (Vātūla XVIII. 74,75); Cholera (Viśucikā, XIII. 82) and Small-pox (Śitalikā, VII. 43).

An exhaustive list of the medicines is not found in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. A few domestic treatments are scatteringly alluded. A mass of fried and ground flour of barley was bandaged on the wound (VI. 82). Karīra was ground in water and pasted on a wound (XV. 64). Ashes of Karīra heal the

1. Cf. Sāṅkhyakārikā of Iśvarakṛṣṇa, 22

प्रकृतेर्महान् ततोऽहङ्कारस्तस्माद्गणश्च षोडशकः ।

तस्मादपि च षोडशकात् पञ्चम्यः पञ्चभूतानि ॥

Also See Sarvadarśanaśaṅgraha, op. cit., pp. 317-320  
(Sāṅkhya Darśana).

wound and control bleeding. A few natural treatments are referred to. Cough can be pacified by labour {VII. 22}. Regularly washing the feet; bandaging wet cloth and the use of guda with milk can remove many diseases (III.129.)

While illustrating the compounds, Hemacandra has mentioned the following herbs :

Śatapušpā, Jīṣṇuśāṅkha-pušpā, Satyāpuṣpā, Prāntapuṣpāyāmā, vāsīphalyā, Ekapuṣpā, Bhasrāphalā, Samphalā, Ajitaphalā and Adarbhamūlaphalā (IV. 69-70). Other herbs are Jayadā, Kṛṣṇapākī, Ākhukarṇī, Govālī and Śālaparṇī (IV. 60). Hemacandra compiled a long list of flora in his botanical dictionary called Nighaṇṭuśeṣa. These herbs cannot be identified easily.

**DHARMAŚĀSTRA:** Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa are four goals of human life (I. 130; II. 2). At another place, they are mentioned three in number (Trikarapumartha, I. 183; XI.61). In the opinion of Hemacandra, it is very essential to acquire them (VII. 29),

Amongst Smṛtis (I. 66) Hemacandra has named the Manusmṛti and the Yājñavalkyasmṛti which were listened to by the kings (XII. 1) Hemacandra has referred to four Āśramas which are interpreted by Abhayatilakagaṇi as Brahmacārin, Gṛhin, Vānaprastha and Bhikṣu (I. 128). He has mentioned Śrāddhas (V. 38), Gṛhyakarmas (XV. III), Saptapadī (XVIII. 28), Bali (XIV. 43), Pitṛ-tarpaṇa (I. 188) and the importance of Pitṛṇa (XI.11). Pitṛvahni and Brahmavahni are the two main sacrificial fires.

Amongst Vratas, Hemacandra has specified Cāṇḍrāyaṇa (XVII.47), Godānavrata (also called Ādityavrata XVII.48), no marriage (Devavrata) and to practise Yamas (Mahāvratā XVII.49). He has referred to *six essential duties* which are explained by Abhayatilakagaṇi as sacrifice (yajña), conducting a sacrifice for others (yājana), study (Adhyayana),

teaching (Adhayāpana), donation (Dāna) and accepting a donation (Pratigraha). According to Hemacandra non-violence (Ahimsā), truth (Satya), non-stealing (Asteya), celibacy (Brahmacarya) and destitution (Akiñcanatā) are the five Yamas.<sup>1</sup> While commenting on the word Niyama, Abhayatilakagaṇi thinks that the bath (Snāna), silence (Mauna), fast (Upavāsa) Ijyā, (donation or sacrifice?), study (Svādhyāya), concealment of generative organs (upasthitiguhā), service of the preceptor (Guruśuśrūṣā), purity (Śauca), good conduct (Ācāra). and forbearance (Kṣamā) are the ten Niyamas.<sup>2</sup> One should feel happiness in the adoration of the guests by offering them the water for washing the feet ( ādya), food and cloth etc. (I. 63).

Donation is frequently referred to in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. While commenting on the word Pūrta (XV. 114), Abhayatilakagaṇi explains that it is to construct tanks, wells, temples, gardens and to donate grain<sup>3</sup>. Moreover for the mingled sense

1. Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, 81

व्रतादानं परिव्रज्या तपस्या नियमस्थितिः ।  
अहिंसा सूनृतास्तेयब्रह्माकिञ्चनता यमाः ॥

2. Cf. Apte's Sanskrit-English Dictionary (p. 290) quotes Atri-Smṛti

शौचमिज्या तपो दानं स्वाध्यायोपस्थनिग्रहः ।  
व्रतमौनोपवासं च स्नानं च नियमा दश ॥

3. Dv. XV. 114

वापीकूपतडागानि देवतायतनानि च ।  
आरामान्नप्रदानानि पूर्तमर्घ्या प्रचक्षते ॥

The idea may be compared exactly with that of the Manusmṛti. IV. 226

वापीकूपतडागादि देवतायतनानि च ।  
अन्नदानमारामः पूर्तमित्यभिधीयते ॥

of donation, good conduct, austerity and self-realization, Hemacandra has used the word Kalya.

Hemacandra has referred to *Internal Enemies* which are interpreted by Pūrṇakalaśagaṇi as inebriety (Mada), conceit (Māna), sexual desire (Manodbhava), excessive joy (Sammada), anger (Krodha) and avarice (Lobha) (Ku. VII. 1) Moreover, to serve a teacher (XIV.1); not to go to other's wife (X. 3) and to observe celibacy (XVII. 69) etc. are also scatteringly found in the Dvyāśrayakāvya.

ARTHAŚĀSTRA: Being a close associate of the king Jaysimha and a preceptor of the king Kumārapāla, Hemacandra was fully conversant with his contemporary Politics. He has frequently and argumentatively propounded the political concepts in his poem. Hemacandra has spoken of four expedients against an enemy (caturupāya). They are the conciliation (Sāma), bribery (Dāna), attack or punishment (Daṇḍa) and sowing dissensions in an enemy's party (Bheda)<sup>1</sup>. In the Dvyāśrayakāvya, Durṇasa, a minister or Mūlarāja has elaborated the Sāma policy (IV. 14—16). Later on he propounded the Daṇḍa policy as well (IV. 18). Moreover, Hemacandra has referred to a group of six expedients to be employed by a king (Ṣaḍguṇagaṇa). Abhayatilakagaṇi has explained them as alliance (Sandhi), war (Vigraha), march or expedition (Yāna), halt

1. Cf. Abhidhānacintāmaṇi of Hemacandra, verses 736-737.

सामदानभेददण्डा उपायाः साम सान्त्वनम् ।  
 उपजापः पुनर्भेदो दण्डः स्यात् सप्तसं दमः ॥  
 प्राभूतं ढीकनं लञ्चोत्कोचः कौशलिकामिषे ।  
 उपाच्चारः प्रदानं दाहारी ग्राहयाम अपि ॥



(Āsana), duplicity Dvaidhībāva) and seeking shelter (saṁś-  
raya (I. 65, 182)<sup>1</sup>.

Hemacandra has mentioned three political powers. They are explained as the majesty of the king (Prabhutvaśakti), the power of energy (Utsāhaśakti) and the power of good-counsel (Mantra-śakti) (I. 191). The occupation of a kṣatriya is based on his power and hence he is called Śāuryavṛtti (I. 65). A kṣatriya should not use his sword on an afraid man (IX.88).

Permanent regiment (Maulabala), hired army (Bhṛtakabala), corporate army (Śreṇībala), enemy's army (Aribala), army of the friends (subhṛdbala) and forest army (Āṭavikabala) are enlisted as six kinds of army (VI. 71). Besides, the qualities of a minister (II.99), characteristics of an administrator (I. 201) and politician (II.10); duties of a servant (I. 17); construction of forts (II. 79, 101) and prohibition of attack on women (XIV. 58) are scatteringly found in the Dvyāśrayakāvya.

**KĀMAŚĀSTRA :** Kāmaśāstra has been specified in the Dvyāśrayakāvya (I. 81). An education of practical arts (Kalā) was given to women (I.106; VI. 4; IX. 70). Sportive actions of women (vibhrama I. 91) and nail-bite by women (Ku.I. 55; II. 24) have been given in the poem. Besides, while commenting

1. Cf. Arthaśāstra, Ed. Pandeya, R.S. Varanasi, Saṁ. 2016, VII.1.p.425.

षड्गुण्यमेवैतदवस्थाभेदादिति कौटिल्यः । तत्र पणबन्धः सन्धिः  
अपकारो विग्रहः, उपेक्षणमासनम्, अभ्युच्चयो यानं, परापणं  
संश्रयः, सन्धिविग्रहोपादानं द्वैधीभाव इति षड्गुणाः ।

Also Abhidhānacintāmaṇi of Hemacandra, Verse 735.

सन्धिविग्रहयानान्यासनद्वैधाश्रया अपि ।

षड्गुणाः शक्तयस्तिष्ठः प्रभावोत्साहमन्त्रजाः ॥

Also Cf. Amarakośa, N.S.P. 1950, lines 1504-1505

सन्धिर्ना विग्रहो यानमासनं द्वैधमाश्रयः ।

षड्गुणाः शक्तयस्तिष्ठः प्रभावोत्साहमन्त्रजाः ॥

on the word *Ibhyaṇṇebhyaṇṇuṇṇatī* Abhayatilakagaṇi explains that she is a *Hastinī* category of women as it is called by the writers on erotic science (V. 89).

**MOKṢA :** According to Hemacandra, salvation can be attained by Yoga as well as Bhakti. After the attainment of salvation, one does not revolve in the circle of birth and death (I.30; XV.82). One can attain salvation by drinking the nectar exuding from the aperture of the head (Ku. VIII. 24). In his opinion, salvation can be attained by giving up the attachment to women (Ku. VII. 12).

**MUSIC :** Hemcandra has referred to some instruments as well as technical terms of music. Among musical tunes, he has specified the Ṣaḍja (I. 67; X. 20), Madhyama (I.67), Gāṇḍhāra (X. 87) and Pañcama (I.67). He has referred to Kekārāga (III. 23) which, perhaps, resembles to Ṣaḍja tune<sup>1</sup>. He has referred to descending and ascending sounds in music (Ku. II. 67). By music one can lose his senses and may be perplexed (I.24).

**DANCE AND DRAMATURGY :** Besides dance (III.37), drama and dramaturgy are frequently referred to in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. Hemacandra has mentioned the preceptor of the auditorium called Raṅgācārya (I. 180). He has referred to the Bhāvas which are explained Sāttvika and Rati etc. by Abhayatilakagaṇi (X.35, 41). He has mentioned Lāśya (III.36;X.28), Rāsa, Hallīsa (X. 22), Tāla (X.51) and Nāṇḍī Tūrya (V.I). Some technical words like 'Svāḍhīnabhartīkā' etc. (I.27) occur in the poem.

**AŚVAŚĀSTRA :** Besides frequent descriptions of the horses, Hemacandra has given the qualities of good-horses also.

1. Cf. Raghuvamśa, I. 39

षड्जसंवादिनी: केका: ।

his opinion, horses emerged from the Sāmaveds and hence they are called Niḥṣāmāṇaḥ (III. 115). Horses were trained with labour (III. 114). A variety of horses like Śyenī, Enī, Bhariṇī, Hariṇī, Rohiṇī etc. is enlisted in the Dvyāśrayakāvya (IV. 55). In the Kumārapālacarita, various signs of horses are given (Ku. II. 85 onwards). The ears of the horses were unmarked; were torn; had the sign of Svāstika on them; had holes; were signed like a spoon and had the sign of Avagraha (S) for their identity (VI. 65-66). Horses were bathed in the water (III. 122), and their faces were decorated with jewels (Ku. I.8). Horses of the Sindhudeśa were famous for their strength (XVI. 31).

**GAJAŚĀSTRA** : Hemacandra appears to be possessing a minute observation about the elephants just like that of horses (III. 101, 104; VIII. 34). The ichor exuding from the temple of an elephant is frequently described (I. 114; IV. 53; VIII. 77). Elephant-keepers called Mahāmātra, riding the back of the horses trained the horses. They had an iron hook called *Picchikā* to control the elephants (III. 113). Hemacandra has referred to *Vācaspatīyam*, a treatise on the science of elephants (VI. 29). Detailed distinctive characteristics of the elephants are also found in the Dvyāśrayakāvya (VI. 17 and Ku. II. 26 onwards). Good elephants have wide thighs, nice face, oozing rut and flickering movements (Ku. II. 31). Bad elephants possess a long trunk; have eyes like that of a cat; a parrot-like tail, blackish nails, weak back, wrinkly lips and ill-smell (VI. 30-37). Such an elephant may crush his own master (VI. 32-33).

Elephants of the Vindhya mountain were considered to be the best (XIX. 24). They were decorated on their face with embroidery called praṣṭhatā (III. 115).

**RATNAŚĀSTRA** : Hemacandra has referred to a variety of Jewels in his poem (I. 29, 57; XI. 54). The science of Jewellery has been specified in the poem (I. 86). He has mentioned

Navanidhi, the nine treasures which are enumerated as Mahāpadma, Padma, Śaṅkha, Makara, Kacchapa, Mukunda, Kunda, Nīla and Carca (I. 195)<sup>1</sup>.

**RHETORICS:** Hemacandra himself wrote Kāvyaṇuśāsana, a treatise of Sanskrit Literary criticism (*Supra*, ch. II). In the Dvyāśrayakāvya, rhetorical terms occur frequently. He has written a variety of figures of speech and multifarious similes (*Infra*). Some of the heroines like Māninī (I. 31), Mugdhā (I. 126), Khaṇḍitā (Ku. IV. 14-15; II. 13, 24) etc. are specified in the poem. A cunning hero (Śaṭha Nāyaka) has also been referred to (II. 18).

**EPICS AND PURĀṆAS:** Hemcandra has frequently referred to the mythological allusions of the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. In the illustrations of the secondary suffixes, he has given long lists of mythological and historical kings and sages (I. 128, 146; V. 104; IX. 45; XIV. 42 etc.). Some of the Puranic concepts like fourteen Bhuvanas occur in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. The characters of the Rāmāyaṇa (I.32; VI. 89; VIII. 9, 100 etc.) and the Māhābhārata (I. 161; II. 65; IV. 7; V. 4; VIII. 20; XI. 45 etc.) are frequently found in the poem.

1. Cf. Meghadūta, Uttaramegha, 20

द्वारोपान्ते लिखितवपुषी शङ्खपद्मौ च दष्ट्वा ।

Here Mallinātha comments :

शङ्खपद्मौ नाम निधिविशेषौ ।

M.R. Kale in his notes (p.135) has quoted a verse as :

महापद्मश्च पद्मश्च शङ्खो मकरकच्छपौ ।

मुकुन्दकुन्दनीलाश्च खर्वश्च निधयो नव ॥

Cf. Abhidhānacintāmaṇi of Hemacandra, Verse 193

महापद्मश्च पद्मश्च शङ्खो मकरकच्छपौ ।

मुकुन्दकुन्दनीलाश्च चर्चश्च निधयो नव ॥

## V. MYTHOLOGICAL ALLUSIONS IN THE DVYĀŚRAYAKĀVYA

Hemacandra is a past master in mythological allusions. While illustrating grammar, he moulds his examples so as they become an adjective of a mythological personality and by a simile adjusts the allusion in the poem. He transforms mythological characteristics either into adjectives or similizes them to a king. Thus, his allusions have become a part and parcel of the poem and do not appear to be superfluous.

Most of his mythological allusions are derived from the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. The depiction of mythology below is based on the Dvyāśrayakāvya.

**AGASTYA :** Agastya is presented as a deity in the poem (IV. 89). He was born in a pitcher (VIII. 83) and killed the demon Vātāpi (III. 46)<sup>1</sup>. Another demon Devāpi was killed by him but the source of the name Devāpi is not known.<sup>2</sup> In some of the stories, the name Ilvala is found instead of Devāpi. Agastya blesses the king and the subject in the form of thunder (III. 31).

**ĀDITYAS :** They are referred to in the poem (I. 70). Abhayatilakagaṇi has specified them as : 1. Dhātṛ. 2. Aryaman

1. Cf. Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, Devakāṇḍa Verse 122.

अमस्त्योऽगस्तितः पीताब्धिर्वातापिद्विड् घटोद्भवः ।

Also Cf. Kādambarī, Ed. Śrinivāsa Śāstrī, 1964, p. 76.

जठरानलजीर्णवातापिदानवस्य ।

2. Dv. XI, 57. Abhayatilakagaṇi remarks :

यदि पुनर्देवाप्यगस्त्येन जितः कश्चिद्दैत्योऽभूत्स मम न प्रसिद्धः ।

In the Mahābhārata (Ādi. 94,61-62) Devāpi is referred to as a king.

3. Mitra. 4. Varuṇa. 5. Aṁśu. 6. Bhaga. 7. Indra. 8. Vivasvan. 9. Pūṣan. 10. Parjanya. 11. Tvaṣṭṛ. 12. Viṣṇu (I.70).

INDRA : Indra has been frequently alluded in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. His synonymous names and characteristics are oft-recurring in the poem.

Indra resides in the heaven (III. 68). He is called Ugradhanvā who killed the demon Jambha and hence is named as Jambhavidviṣ also (II.95 ; XI. III).<sup>1</sup> His other names are Turāṣāt (II.4),<sup>2</sup> Purudamśa (II.4) Biḍaujās (I.185 ; IX.63), Maghavan (II.73), Vāsava (I.148),<sup>3</sup> Śaka (I.102) and Ṛbhukṣa (II.1). Due to his one thousand eyes, he is called Sahasrākṣa (I.56).<sup>4</sup>

His wife is called Indrāṇī (V.109), Śacī (VI 79) or Maghoni (II.73).<sup>5</sup>

Indra and Viṣṇu are described together. In dual form, they are called Indrau or Upendrau (I 147). Indra cut down the wings of the mountains (II.63 ; XVIII 72)<sup>6</sup> ; killed Vṛtra

1. Cf. Abhidhāncintāmaṇi, 174-175

पृतनाषाडुग्रधन्वा मरुत्वान्मघवास्य तु ।

द्विषः पाकोऽद्रयो वृत्रः पुलोमा नमुचिर्बलः, जम्भः ॥

2. ibid., 172 (ii).

पर्जन्यहर्ष्यश्वकृभुक्षिबाहुदन्तेयवृद्धश्वस्तुराषाद् ।

3. ibid., 117.

इन्द्रो हरिर्दुश्च्यवनोऽच्युताग्रजो वज्री बिडौजा मघवान् पुरन्दरः ।

प्राचीनबहिः पुरुहूतवासवो सङ् क्रन्दनाखण्डलमेघवाहनाः ॥

4. ibid., 172 (i).

सुतामवास्तोष्पतिदत्तिमशक्राः वृषा सुनासीरसहस्रनेत्री ।

5. ibid., 175.

जम्भः प्रिया शचीन्द्राणी पौलोमी जयवाहिनी ।

6. Rāmāyaṇa, Sundarakāṇḍa, I.124.

ततः क्रुद्धः सहस्राक्षः पर्वतानां शतक्रतुः ।

पक्षांश्चिच्छेद वज्रेण ततः शतसहस्रशः ॥

(Vṛtrahan, IV.12)<sup>1</sup> and destroyed the cities (Purāṁ Bhattā V.67).<sup>2</sup> He performed one thousand sacrifices (IV.57). He was won by Indrajit (V.69).<sup>3</sup> Thus, his epithets are inspired by illustrations and his characteristics appear to be influenced both by the Vedic and Classical mythology.

**AIRĀVATA** : Airāvata is called Surebha, the elephant of the deities (V.9 ; VI.81). His another name is Airāvaṇa (XV.5). Airāvata is mentioned to be one the eight elephants said to be guiding and presiding over the eight cardinal points (I.195)<sup>4</sup>

**KĀMA** : Another synonym of Kāma is Smara (I.95). The name of his mother is Rukmīṇī or Lakṣmī (IV. 94). His bow is made of flowers and hence he is called Puṣpadhanvan (I.89). The spring is one of his friends (I.171). By his bow, he can win the world (I.125)<sup>5</sup>

**KĀRTAVĪRYĀRJUNA** : His name occurs in the poem in (II.82 ; V.77). His kingdom is the city Māhiṣmatī (II.65).<sup>6</sup> He stole the cows of the sage Jamadagni (II.65,82).

**KUBERA** : He is the god of wealth (II. 81) and a friend of the Lord Śiva (I. 171)<sup>7</sup> His city is called Alakā or Dhanapatinagarī (XIV 38). Nalakūbara is the son of Kubera (VI. 102).

1. Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, 174, op. cit.

2. ibid., 171. op. cit.

3. Cf. Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa, xxx. 50-51 and the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, IX. 10.18,

4. Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, 170.

ऐरावतः पुण्डरीको वामनः कुमुदोज्जनः ।

पुष्पदन्तः सार्वभौमः सुप्रतीकश्च दिग्गजाः ॥

5. Cf. Kumārasambhava of Kālidāsa, III.10.

तव प्रसादात्कुसुमायुधोऽपि सहायमेकं मधुमेव लब्ध्वा ।

कुर्या हरस्यापि पिनाकपाणैर्धैर्यच्युतिं के सम घन्विनोऽन्ये ॥

6. For Kārtavīryārjuna, See, Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa, xxxi—xxxii.

7. Cf. Meghadūta of Kālidāsa, Uttaramegha, 14.

मत्वा देवं धनपतिसखं यत्र साक्षाद्वसन्तम् ।

**KṚṢṆA** : Kṛṣṇa is called Acyutagopāḥ (VIII. 50) He is a messenger of Arjuna (Pārthadūta, IX.26). His sports on the banks of Yamunā are referred to in the poem (VIII.43). Yamunā is said to be a friend of Kṛṣṇa (XII.30). Kṛṣṇa killed Keśyāditya, a demon in the form of a horse (VIII. 42)<sup>1</sup>.

**BRAHMĀ** : Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are called the primitive Beings (Ādi Pumān VII. 24). His other synonyms are Dhātṛ (XI. 26), Svyambhū, Caturmukha (II. 37) and Parmeṣṭhin (I. 1). The faculty of creation is attributed to Brahmā<sup>2</sup>.

**BRHASPATI** : He is the lord of speech so he is named as Giṣpati, Vācaspati (I. 117) or Vākpati (I. 43) He is the preceptor of the deities and the faculty of intellect is attributed to him (I. 100).<sup>3</sup>

**MANU** : Fourteen Manus are referred to in the poem (XX. 51 ; Ku. II. 15). Abhayatilakagaṇi has enumerated them as : Svāyambhuva. 2. Svārociṣa. 3. Auttama. 4. Tāmas. 5. Cākṣuṣ. 6. Raivata. 7. Vaivasvata. 8. Sūryasāvarṇa. 9. Brahmasāvarṇa. 10. Rudrasāvarṇa. 11. Dharmasāvarṇa. 12. Dakṣasāvarṇa. 13. Raucya. 14. Bhautya (XX. 51).

**MAINĀKA** : Maināka is the son of Himādri and Menā (V. 103).

**YAMA** : He is called Kṛtānta because he destroys the world. (I. 147). He is the son of Sūryānī, the wife of the Sun (IV. 75). His city is called Kālapurī. Citragupta is a clerk of Yama (XI. 63).

1. Cf. Bhāgavatapurāṇa, X.37.

2. For synonyms of Brahmā, Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, 212-13.

3. ibid., 118-119.

बृहस्पतिः सुराचार्यो जीवाश्चित्रशिखण्डिजः ।

वाचस्पतिर्द्वादशाच्चिर्धिषणः फाल्गुनीभवः ॥

गीर्बृहद्वयोः पतिस्तथ्यानुजाङ्गिरसौ गुरुः ॥



**RUDRAS** : Eleven Rudras are mentioned in the Dvyāś-rayakāvya (I. 138,197). Abhayatilakagaṇi has enlisted them as 1. Aja. 2. Ekapāda. 3. Ahirbudhna. 4. Virūpākṣa. 5. Raivata. 6. Hara. 7. Bahurūpa. 8. Tryambaka. 9. Sāvitra. 10. Jayanta. 11. Pināka (I.138). Śatarudriyas are also mentioned in the poem (XV.106).

**LAKṢMĪ** : She resides in a lotus flower and hence she is called Abjavāsā (X.83). She is beyond the knowledge of even Brahmā (X.81). worship of Mahālakṣmī is referred to in the poem (III.85).

**VARUNA** : Only one synonym of Varuṇa i.e. Pracetas is found in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. No other characteristic of Varuṇa is found in the poem.

**VIṢṆU** : Viṣṇu is dominantly depicted in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. He is called Upendera, the younger brother of Indra (V.104); Indrānuja (VII.1), Govinda (XI.32) and Dvaimāturāri, the enemy of the Jarāsandha (XIV.64). He is called Padmanābha because he has a Lotus in his navel (V.133). Being a lover of Lakṣmī, he is called Lakṣmī-vallabha (IV.94) or Śrī-nāyaka (XI.26). His another name is Daśārha (V.80).

Viṣṇu is an enemy of Kaiṭabha and Madhu (III.47). He sleeps in the ocean (VIII. 78) and is far away from old-age (II.11). Viṣṇu is called Vṛṣākapi and his Māyā is called Vṛṣākapyāi (IV.71).

Eleven incarnations of Viṣṇu are referred to in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. They are enumerated as 1. Matsya. 2. Kūrma. 3. Varāha. 4. Nārasimha. 5. Vāmana. 6. Rāma (Paraśurāma). 7. Rāma (Dāśarathi). 8. Kṛṣṇa. 9. Buddha.

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1. Cf. Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, 188

10. Kalki. According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, Viṣṇu is himself an eleventh incarnation (VI.44). These incarnations are repeatedly alluded in the poem. Matsyāvatāra (XIII.29), Kūrmāvatāra (VII.62; IX.11), Varāhāvatāra (V.78), Narasimhāvatāra (V.82), Vāmanāvatāra (I.123 ; VII.4, 23 ; VIII.42) and Rāmāvatāra (Dāśarathi VIII.4) are scatteringly found in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. In the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa, he is depicted as the younger brother of Balarāma (VI.20) and an enemy of Kāṁsa (II.57). His conveyance is Garuḍa (VIII.86).

ŚIVA : In comparison with other deities, His characteristics are propounded in detail. Despite of his depiction as Ultimate Reality (I.168), human characteristics are also attributed to Him. He is the husband of Umā (I.6, 185 ; V.102 ; IX.120) and besmears his body with ashes (V.142). Paraśurāma is one of his pupils (IV.74). He keeps Moon on his head (XI.62). He is called Aṇṭakara, the destroyer of the world. He burnt three cities (VIII.125) ; destroyed Andhaka (VIII.88) and Lavaṇa demons and inflamed Cupid (VII.78).

He is mentioned as a liberal and just deity (I.168).

ŚEṢANĀGA : He is the lord of the serpents (Nāgeṭ I.127) and vomits the poison (V.78 ; VI. 96 ; IX.11).

SARASVATĪ : Abhayatilakagaṇi has noted an allusion about Sarasvatī (I.23). By the order of Brahmā, she put Agni in the ocean as Agni was desirous to destroy each and every thing (I.23).

SKANDA : He possesses the lustre of Agni and is called Āgneyaruk (XIV.14) or Āgneyadyuti (VI.39). He was born in a kind of reed (śara) and is called Śaraja (VI.21). Skanda is called 'vipūyajanma' also because he was born in the sacrificial grass (vipūya, XI.24). One of his synonyms is Śaṇmātura because he has six mothers (V.80 ; XIV.43). He

is the son of the Lord Śiva (V.81) and his conveyance is a peacock (VIII.33)<sup>1</sup>

Besides the deities mentioned above, the poet has referred to Kāmadhenu (I.174), Gaṇeśa (V.141), Pradyumna (V.102), Balarāma (XIX.20), Rati (I.13 ; III.72), Rantideva (II.62 ; IX.36) and Rāhu (V.64).

### VEDIC MYTHOLOGY

No particular characteristics of the Vedic mythology are given in the Dvyāśrayakāvya except the occurrence of a few words appearing to be Vedic in character. Such words, in fact, are illustrative in nature. These are as follows :

1. Apām Napāt (XV.106). 2. Aśvinau (I.141). 3. Indrāvaruṇā (VI.133). 4. Vāstoṣpati. 5. Divodāśa (VI.30). 6. Dyāvāprthivī. (II.30). 7. Vṛtrāsura (II.75).

### EPIC MYTHOLOGY

#### RĀMĀYAṆA

Like the Vedic mythology, some proper names are found in the poem which are borrowed from the epics. Their detailed characteristics are not given in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. They are as follows :

Abhinavarāvaṇa (V.78) ; Jāmbavān (II.96) ; Paraśurāma (VIII.78) and Indrajit (XIV.62).

VAŚIṢṬHA : He is called the son of Gādhi (XIV.62). Abhayatilakagaṇi has given an account about Vasiṣṭha.

1. Cf. Abhidhānacitāmaṇi, 208-209.

स्कन्दः स्वामी महासेनः सेनानीः शिखिवाहनः ।  
 षण्मातुरो ब्रह्मचारी गङ्गोमाकृतिकासुतः ॥  
 द्वादशपक्षो महातेजाः कुमारः षण्मुखो गुहः ।  
 विशालः शशितभृत् क्रौञ्चतारकारिः शरान्वितः ॥

performed a sacrifice to bring back the cow which was taken away by Viśvāmitra (I.108).<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, Vibhīṣaṇa (XV.36) ; Viśvāmitra (I.108 ; VI.63) and Hanumat have been specified in the poem.

### MAHĀBHĀRATA

*Arjuna* : He is called a friend of Viṣṇu (II.4).

*Aśvatthāmā* (XIV.61).

*Kadru and Vinatā* (XIV.68).

*Karṇa* : He is the son of Kuntī (Sūrī, IV.75). A fight of Karṇa and Ghaṭotkaca is alluded in the poem (XIV.62).<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, *Gāndhārī* (XI 45), *Takṣaka* (V.76), *Nala* and *Damayantī* (IX.119), *Parikṣit* (IX.47), *Bhīṣma*, an enemy of Duḥśāsana (Ku.I.31), *Yudhiṣṭhira* (IX.46) and *Bhīṣma*, a student of Balarāma are specified in the poem (Ku.I. 31).

### PURĀṆIC LEGENDS

Some Purāṇic persons are specified in the poem. Either their characteristics are given in short or omitted altogether. They are as follows :

Manu, Indrāṇī, Rudrāṇī, Mānavī, Mṛdānī, Manāyī, Śarvāṇī, Bhavānī (IV.72), Aila, Rāghava, Karṇa etc. (VIII.47) ; Dakṣa, Durvāsā(XII.9), Nahuṣa or Naghuṣa (IX.44); Nārada is depicted as an afraid sage (V.98) ; Puṣkarāvarta, the predecessors of the clouds (III.16)<sup>3</sup> ; Rambhā (I.11) ; Sanaka is depicted as an illegitimate son (Anaurasa XVI 94) ; churning of the ocean by Mandara mountain (III.153) and the horse Uccaiḥśravas coming out of the ocean.

1. Cf. Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, LII-LIV.

2. Cf. Mahābhārata, Droṇaparva, CLXXV.

3. Cf. Meghadūta, Pūrvamegha, 6.

जातं वंशे भुवनविदिते पुष्करावर्तकानाम् ।

SEMI-GODS<sup>1</sup>

Apsarā (I.91, 120 ; IX.142) ; Gandharvas residing in the sky (I.72 ; III.159) ; Pitṛs (III.159), Piśācas (II.68,84) ; Vidyādhara are mentioned as sauntering in the sky (I.60 ; IV.56 ; XIV.3) ; Nāgas (XIII.23) and Siddhas are mentioned in the poem.

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1. Cf. Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, 91.

स्युः पिशाचा भूता यक्षा राक्षसाः किन्नरा अपि ।  
किम्पुरुषा महोरगा गन्धर्वा व्यन्तरा अमी ॥

## VI. DVĀŚRAYAKĀVYA : A MAHĀKĀVYA

Like his predecessors, Hemacandra also tried his best to fulfill all the characteristics of a Māhākāvya in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. Undoubtedly his poem is different from those of other poets (e.g. Bhāravi and Māgha) both in subject and motif. Although he has followed the Bhaṭṭikāvya in motif, yet he has not adopted the conventional banal theme which was chosen by the former. Hemacandra took his theme from his contemporary history ; adopted the conventional exuberant style of expression and had grammatical examples as a recourse. Restrained by the historical facts and figures and controlled by the systematic illustrative vocabulary, Hemacandra could not write in frolic fashion and fancy. He described the conventional natural phenomenon only in its outer apparent physique. His motif is a great obstacle in the vividness of the expression of sentiments and accordant diction.

The Dvyāśrayakāvya is divided in twenty eight cantos. Twenty cantos are written in Sankrit and eight cantos in Prakrit. The cantos of the Dvyāśrayakāvya are lengthy. The largest (canto I) has 201 verses and the shortest canto XIV contains 74 verses only.

The poem begins with an auspicious Jain word *Arham*<sup>1</sup> which is a synonym of Jina and Brahmā.<sup>1</sup> The Kumārapāla-carita also begins with *Atha*, an auspicious word.

The theme of the poem consists of the history of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat. It begins with Mūlarāja who was the proper originator of the dynasty and having described the

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1. Dv. I. 1.

the main acquisitions of Cāmuṇḍarāja, Vallabharāja, Bhīma-deva, Karṇa and Jayasimha comes to an end with the social and religious achievements of Kumārāpāla. Kings portrayed in the Dvyāśrakāvya are heroic, exalted, restrained, obedient religious and righteous. Sometime the poet has described the exaltations of the enemy and his defeat by the hero thereafter<sup>1</sup>. Thus, the Dvyāśrayakāvya in a multi-heroic poem which in its theme brings in the characteristics of a Mahākāvya propounded by Sanskrit rhetoricians.

### DESCRIPTIONS

Sanskrit rhetoricians have prescribed various descriptions as an essentiality in a Mahākāvya. The descriptions in the Dvyāśrayakāvya are more artificial and conventional rather than vivid, sublime and aesthetic. Besides the seasons and natural descriptions the poet has described the cities, Svyarṇvara, expeditions, messengers and fights.

(i) SEASONS : In the *summer*, there are blossoms of flowers ; drinking in groups ; water-sports and amorous sports of women<sup>2</sup>. Women decorate themselves with Śīriṣa flowers and besmear pollen of the flowers on their bodies.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, Banana trees shoot forth ; new Mallikā flowers sprout and the cool breeze blows touching the water of the river.

In the *spring*, the Cuckoo sings intoxicant songs; flowers, as if smile ; mango trees bring forth new fruit and the youth is intoxicated.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Dv. IV. 18. Here the poet describes the virtuous characteristics of Grāharipu and thereafter his defeat by Mūlarāja. Similarly exaltations of Hammuka are shown first and his defeat by Bhīmarāja is shown later on (VIII. 123.)
  2. Kumārāpālacarita, IV. 1-77.
  3. Dv. XVI. 79-84.
  4. Ibid., XVI. 73,76,77.

The *Winter* and *Rainy* seasons are described in detail. A number of birds rejoice on the banks of ponds and utter various sounds.<sup>1</sup> Swans sing melodious songs and Kumuda, Jasmine and Lotus flowers sprout.<sup>2</sup> Cold waves of the air and transformation of the water to snow produces beautiful sight. These descriptions are elaborated in the Kumārapālacarita also.<sup>4</sup> Thorough prevalence of darkness ; thundering of clouds ; rivers in spate ; shattering of the mountainous peaks and dance of the peacocks are objectified in the rainy season. These natural objects intensify sensual pleasures.<sup>5</sup> Similarly the fragrance of the Nīpa, ketaka, kadali blossoms enhance sexual sentiments.<sup>6</sup>

### (ii) OTHER NATURAL PHENOMENON

The Sun-rise,<sup>7</sup> the Sun-set<sup>8</sup> and the Moon rise<sup>9</sup> is described in the poem. Mockery of the Lotus flowers : rushing out to meet women (Abhisāra) ; drinking ; excitement of sensual pleasures and separation of the Cakravāka birds are the main objects of description in the Moon-rise. At the *Dawn*, the darkness is removed ; sages began to perform sacrifice ; birds fly in the sky and the Cakravāka birds are united.<sup>10</sup>

Other descriptions of nature found in the Dvyāśrayakāvya are those of the *hermitage*<sup>11</sup>, the *river*<sup>12</sup>, *plucking of*

1. Dv. III. 1-15.
2. ibid., XVI. 90-93.
3. ibid., III. 48 ; XVI. 94.
4. Kumārapālacarita, V. 46-65.
5. ibid., Dv. X. 16-29.
6. ibid., XVI. 85-88 and Kumārapālacarita, V. 1-45.
7. Dv. II, 7, 38.
8. ibid., X. 32.
9. ibid., XVII. 92-120 and Kumārapālacarita, V-106; VI. 1-20.
10. Dv. IV. 37 ; XVII. 138 ; Kumārapālacarita, I. 56, 57, 68.
11. Dv. II. 23.
12. ibid., VIII. 75 ; XVI. 67.



*flowers<sup>1</sup>, water-sports<sup>2</sup>, elephants<sup>3</sup> and the mountain<sup>4</sup>.*

(iii) CITY : The city Aṇhilwāḍapāṭaka and its residents, sages and cultural institutions etc. are described in the Dvyāś-rayakāvya.<sup>5</sup>

(iv) SVYAMVARA : Hemacandra has described the Svayaṁvara of the sister of the king Mahendra of Marudeśa.<sup>6</sup> It seems that the Svayaṁvara of Indumatī in the Raghuvamśa<sup>7</sup> of Kālidāsa has been imitated in the Dvyāś-rayakāvya. Pratihārī gives an introduction of all the invited kings just like those of the Raghuvamśa.

(v) EXPEDITION : The expedition or Prayāṇa is described a number of times in the Dvyāś-rayakāvya.<sup>11</sup> By the *expedition of the army*, the earth is grieved and the dust overspreads the whole sky. The army exhibits its heroic exploits and proceeds<sup>9</sup>. On the expeditions of the army, intoxicant elephants trumpet ; royal flags wave ; the women sing auspicious songs<sup>10</sup> ; merchants display the merchandise by the roadside and brāhmaṇas utter blessings<sup>11</sup>.

A *pilgrimage expedition* is also described in the Dvyāś-rayakāvya.<sup>12</sup>

(vi) BATTLES : Battles are frequently described in

- 
1. Dv. XVII. 8.
  2. Dv. XVII. 44-63 ; Kumārapālacarita, IV. 41.
  3. Dv. XVI. 68 ; Kumārapālacarita, II. 23-30.
  4. Dv. XVI. 67.
  5. Dv. I. 4-109, Kumārapālacarita, V. 1-45.
  6. Dv. VII. 70-97.
  7. Raghuvamśa, Canto VI.
  8. III. 10,96,107,108 ; IX. 17 ; XV. 22 ; XVIII. 1-2 etc.
  9. Dv. XIV. 21.
  10. ibid., III. 75-76, 83 ; VII. 71 ; VIII. 73.
  11. ibid., III. 130 ; IV. 91.
  12. ibid., XV. 29 onwards.

forcible and expeditious language in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. Sometimes difficult, harsh, technical and obsolete diction is used in these descriptions which is harmonious with the spirit of his object. Galloping of the horses ; march of the pedestrians and chariots<sup>2</sup> ; clanging of arms<sup>3</sup> and blare of the trumpets and other instruments<sup>4</sup> are the objects of the description in the battlefield. Such like descriptions are found in the Kumārapālarita also.<sup>5</sup>

### SENTIMENTS

Undoubtedly Hemacandra is a past-master in the observation of human feelings and has an amazing command over words but the use of the exemplary words is a great hindrance in the befitting expression of sentiments. Still he expresses a variety of sentiments as required in the conventional characteristics of a Mahākāvya.

(i) HEROIC (VĪRA) : In the Dvyāśrayakāvya, heroic sentiment is dominant and is expressed with a force and speed in the language. Difficult, harsh and compound vocabulary appears to be adequately befitting to his heroic sentiment. Heroic verses can be observed scatteringly throughout the Dvyāśrayakāvya<sup>6</sup>.

1. Dv. VIII. 121-122 ; XII. 72-74 ; XVIII. 47-54 etc.

2. Dv. V. 25 ; VII. 132.

3. ibid., VI. 59, 76, 89 etc.

4. ibid., V. 79 ; XVIII. 40.

5. Kumārapālarita, VI. 42 ff.

6. Dv. I. 200

सक्थनायुः पथि खेत्तृणा रिपुनृपा अक्षणासमोत्क्रान्तरं  
दघ्नोऽस्थनश्च न जानते स्म मधुनोऽम्बूनां च पर्याकुलाः ।  
अश्वीयानि सुवलङ्ग्यवलिगुमहास्त्यूज्जयनूजिं क्षणा—  
तोषां दन्तिकुलानि चालमभवन्नस्मिन् रणारम्भिणि ॥

Likewise VIII. 33, 34, 93, 94, 112-113, 120-22 ; XII.28, 47, 62 ; XIV.25 XVIII. 43, 63-67 etc.

(ii) **FURIOUS (RAUDRA)** : Like the heroic, furious sentiment is also found in the Dvyāśrayakāvya in abundance. Profound use of harsh diction and cerebral words are in concordance with the furious sentiment.<sup>1</sup> Anger and deformity of the brows are the physical reactions depicted in the poem<sup>2</sup>.

(iii) **DISGUSTFUL (BĪBHATSA)** : This sentiment prevails in the battlefields where the bloodshed occurs and the fat of dead-bodies is being eaten by the Rākṣasas.<sup>3</sup> Vultures drag the flesh of the dead-bodies. There is no extraordinary expression of disgustful sentiment except that referred to above.

(iv) **PATHETIC (KARUṆA)** : The objects of the description of the pathetic sentiments are the intense torture with anxiety and sorrow and pitiable condition of the body.<sup>4</sup>

(v) **EROTIC (ŚRṆGĀRA)** : Both love in union (*Sambhoga*) and love in separation (*vipralambha*) are found in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. At a few places, due to the harshness of diction, there is no harmony of the language with the erotic sentiment.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes, there are frank and nude descriptions in the poem.<sup>6</sup>

The objects of the description of this sentiment in the poem are the erotic expression of the eyes ; the marks of nails on the body ; putting off the clothes and sexual intercourse<sup>7</sup>. Showers of rain and humming of the bees are depicted as excitants.<sup>8</sup> He has referred to the appointment of lovers

1. Dv. X. 55 ; XVIII. 12, 35, 39.

2. Dv. V. 49, 94, 99.

3. *ibid.*, II. 68.

4. Kumārapālacarita, VI. 55.

5. Dv. III. 159.

6. *ibid.*, VIII. 135.

7. *ibid.*, I. 30 ; II. 24 ; IX. 103 ; XI. 1-2 ; XVII. 40, 78 etc.

8. Kumārapālacarita, IV. 35 ; Dv. XVI. 74.

*Abhisaraṇa*) and a heroine going to meet her lovers in blue clothes (*Nilāṃśukābhisārikā*)<sup>1</sup>.

Karṇa is portrayed as a lover in separation (*vipralambha*). The described objects are the swoon, lament, sighs, perspiration, consolation by friends and the administration of tranquilizing remedies.<sup>2</sup>

On the basis of the account given above, it can be concluded that Hemacandra tried his best to write his *Mahākāvya* in accordance with the conventional characteristics laid down by Sanskrit literary critics. But his exemplary motif was an obstacle in picturesque descriptions and vividness and spontaneity in sentimental expression.

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1. Dv. XVI. 83.

2. *ibid.*, IX. 113-160 ; XIII. 20-28.

## VII. LANGUAGE AND STYLE

Like that of other gramatical poets, one should not expect spontaneous poetry from the Dvyāśrayakāvya of Hemacandra whose exemplary task was the most difficult. In the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya, an attempt had been made to preserve the flow of the theme by inserting *non-exemplary* verses in it called the *Prakīrṇa-kāṇḍa*. Even in the Bhāṣāsamakāṇḍa, Bhaṭṭi has given a push to the theme by adding *Asaṅkīrṇa verses* to it.<sup>1</sup> But Hemacandra has not attempted to insert non-exemplary verses anywhere in the poem. Since Hemacandra illustrated his grammar in toto including the examples of the groups (Gaṇas) and counter-examples, therefore grammatical vocabulary dominates on the thought, theme and sentiments.

But being a great erudite in various branches of learning, Hemacandra was capable of innovating environments to fit his illustrations and mould them according to his descriptions or characters. He had an amazing command on roots, suffixes, prefixes and metres and could harmonize them with any context of his poem without hurting the spirit of his theme. Hemacandra transformed his theme to descriptions or similes to harmonize with his illustrative diction. He adjusted his harsh and difficult grammatical formations in the descriptions of the expedition and heroic sentiments and thus reconciled his theme with his motif.

Moreover, he harmonizes his historical and topographical scholarship in the poem with homologous grammatical illustrations. Although his poetry is suppressed by illust-

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1. Narang, S.P. Bhaṭṭi-kāvya : a study, Delhi, 1969, p.48.

rations, yet the examples appear to be arranged beautifully and expressively. Hemacandra is capable of writing emotional poetry<sup>1</sup> expressing the feelings of women<sup>2</sup> and reproducing the language of children<sup>3</sup> or villagers<sup>4</sup>.

Although Hemacandra tried his best to adjust examples beautifully, yet sometimes it becomes difficult to proceed further without the help of the commentator Abhayatilakagaṇi. In any aspect, the Dvyāśrayakāvya is not easier than the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya in which it is declared that “the poem is just like a lamp for those who have grammar as their eyes<sup>5</sup>” or “this poem is he understood with the help of a commentary and is joyous to scholars<sup>6</sup>.” The Bhaṭṭi-kāvya is easier because it does not illustrate all sūtras of Pāṇini ; omits Vedic and accentual rules and does not exemplify rare and obsolete words<sup>7</sup> where as each and every example of the Siddhahaimaśabdānuśāsana is given in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. Consequently Hemacandra had to innovate a few circumstances like that of divine voice (Canto XI) to exemplify of a few portions of grammar.

**ARRANGEMENT :** In other grammatical poem viz. the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya, the Rāvaṇārjunīya and the Vāsudevavijaya, the theme was arranged according to grammatical division i.e. wheresoever a grammatical division comes to an end, the poetic division (a canto) also came to an end. But this arrangement is not adopted by Hemacandra. He mainly depends on the theme and arranges his grammatical division in accordance with his poetic division. In a grammatical

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1. Dv.X. 40.

2. *ibid.*, II. 47.

3. *ibid.*, VIII. 12.

4. *ibid.*, II. 41.

5. Bhaṭṭi-kāvya, XXII. 33.

6. *ibid.*, XXII. 34.

7. Narang, S.P. Bhaṭṭi-kāvya ; a study, p. 88.

division (Adhikaraṇa) does not come to an end with that of a canto it will be continued in the next canto. It may lead to a conclusion that inspite of abundant illustrations, Hemacandra was thoroughly conscious of the flow of the theme and tried to harmonize his illustrations with the continuity of the theme. That is why inspite of his confined motif he narrated the exploits of a number of kings in his poem.

DESCRIPTIONS : One can neither expect graphic and sentimental descriptions like those of the Meghadūta nor vivid grand portraits like those of Bāṇa from a grammatical poem like the Dvyāśrayakāvya. If Bhāravi dominates in the profundity of meaning ; māgha in diction ; śrīharṣa in the lucidity of expression and Jayadera in alliteration Hemacandra excels in grammatical usages. If the poetry of Kālidāsa has a taste of grapes (Drākṣāpāka) ; that of Bhāravi as a coconut (Nārikelapāka) ; that of śrīharṣa as a wood-apple (Kapitthapāka), Hemacandra's poetry may be specified as *pepper* in taste (*Maricapāka*). Perhaps, that is why such like poems were named as *burning poems* (Vyoṣa-kāvya)<sup>1</sup>. Naturalness in the description of the Dvyāśrayakāvya has been subdued by the grammatical diction. Inspite of his intense observation of natural objects, Hemacandra's expression is not pleasant due to exemplary vocabulary<sup>2</sup>. His poetry is so

1. Puruṣottamadeva quoted a few verses from the Rāvaṇārjuniya, a grammatical poem of Bhūbhāṭṭa and named it as vyoṣakāvya. See Bhāṣāvṛtti, ed. S.C. Chakravarti, Rajshahi, 1918, p. 432 and Cf. Rāvaṇārjuniya, XX. 19.

Also Chatterjee, K.C. Rāvaṇārjuniya as a vyoṣakāvya, I. H. Q. VII., p. 628.

2. Dv. II. 43.

युङ् शीकरैः प्राङ् मरुदुन्मदक्रुङ् सज्ज रजोभिः स्फुटमम्बुजानाम् ।

आदावहः स्वेष जडत्वदस्तद्रविकृताहा अकृताह एव ॥

much blended and interwoven with grammar that pleasant and aesthetic expressions are found rarely<sup>1</sup>.

**EPITHETS :** Hemacandra is a past master in coining new words which may serve as adjustable epithets in his language. Hemacandra is capable of using any new words as an adjective of a particular object or thought either directly or through the use of a simile. Most of his illustrations are moulded and used epithetically<sup>2</sup>. Sometimes, the epithetical usages, undoubtedly grammatical in character, express the desired sentiment beautifully<sup>3</sup>. Such like illustrative expressions are mostly simlized. Hemacandra has a marvellous art in the creation of epithets immediately<sup>4</sup>.

**VOCABULARY :** Generally speaking, the vocabulary used by Hemacandra is tedious, technical and grammatical. Being an author of a number of dictionaries, Hemacandra had an extraordinary command on the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages. He never faces scarcity of words in the expression of any of his ideas. A few words like *Rodasī*, oft-used in Sanskrit, although Vedic in character have been used by Hemacandra<sup>5</sup>. A series of the genealogical words is an

1. Dv., X.34 ; XVI.93 ; XVII. 108 etc.

2. Dv. IV. 59. Piśācis have been described as:

नामिमुखास्तुङ्गनासिका कानासिक्यो लम्बोष्ठ्य उन्नतोष्ठाः ।

लम्बोदर्यः कृशोदरा काजङ्घाः पृथुजङ्घ्योऽन्वयुः पिशाच्यः ॥

3. द्विषद्बज्जालदावः पुण्यभावा भवोपमः ।

सर्वेषामुचितं चक्रे राजां नायो गुहेशरुक् ॥

Similarly VI. 25 ; XII 26, 38 ; XIII.17 etc.

4. Dv. XIII.40

तेजोदुर्दशादुर्धर्ममूचे सोपीति भूपतिम् ।

शृणु दुःशास दुर्योध दुर्मषाशेषमावयोः ॥

5. Dv. I. 29 ; III. 79.



example of his wonderful command over the language. A few obsolete particles have been beautifully used by Hemacandra.<sup>1</sup> Some rare, disused<sup>2</sup> and onomatopoeic<sup>3</sup> words have been used in the Dvyāśāyākāvya. Various usages in series and consequent order have made the language tedious.<sup>4</sup> His usages distinctly explain the meaning as they are used in contrast with other similar words.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes there is a consequent use of roots, tenses<sup>6</sup> and obsolete

1. Dv. I. 30.

अमी अमु मु ई चास्य नखा कण्ठे इ ईक्षिताः ।

अ एहि त्वमु उत्तिष्ठ यथा एवं नु मन्यसे ॥

2. *ibid.*, I. 43

पुंस्प्रण्टेः पुंस्तवैः पुंस्त्वपुंख्यातैः सह सौहृदम् ।

पुंष्ठकुण्डैः पुंस्थद्वैः पुं गवा अत्र कुर्वते ॥

Similarly यट्ट (I. 47), गदामतल्लिका (V. 92), तिष्ठद्गु, वहद्गु (V. 38), प्रियसारघ (XVI. 92), सक (I. 103), बाणिनी (I. 115) माठी (IV. 55) etc.

3. *ibid.* I. 54 धुट्कृत ।

4. *ibid.*, I. 143.

पूर्वस्माच्च परस्माच्च समस्मादसमाद्गुणैः

उत्कृष्टो राजकादत्ते सिमस्मै स्मैष विस्मयम् ॥

5. *ibid.*, III. 86.

स्थितं पादे तिरःकृत्वा तिरस्कृतगिरिं गजः ।

तिरःकृतारिः सोऽप्यास्त तिरस्कृत्वा रविं त्विषा ॥

6. *ibid.*, IX. 81-82.

न वेद विद्म विद्माथ न वेत्थ विदथुर्विद ।

नास्याग्रे वेद विदतुर्विदुः केऽत्रेति नाब्रुवन् ।

इन्दुर्दसौ हुताशः स्म वेति वित्तो विदन्त्यमुम् ।

वेत्ति वित्थो वित्थ वेद्म विद्वो विद्व इतीरिणः ।

roots<sup>1</sup> which are confined to Sanskrit grammar only. Moreover, a few beautiful grammatical words in their true spirit are found in the Dvyāśrayakāvya which can hardly be found in Sanskrit literature.<sup>2</sup> Some repeated words in their real sense have been used in the Dvyāśrayakāvya.<sup>3</sup> Similarly a few words different in minute sense have been used in the poem distinctly.<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, Hemacandra has used a number of beautiful idioms which are in harmony with the spirit of a spoken language and the real idiom of the Sanskrit language.<sup>5</sup>

1. Dv. VIII. 121.

इषुभिरनयोदयार्थं व्याथं व्यथं व्यथमव्यथि ।  
प्रतिकगयिता कर्गकगं कर्गकगमकगि ॥  
प्रतिजरयिता जारंजारं जरंजरमजरि ।  
वनसयितुजनः वनासंवनासं वनसंवनसमवनसि ॥

Similarly VIII. 122 ; IX. 6 etc.

Tedious usages of *San* suffix are found in III. 121 ff.

2. Dv. IX. 1-18. Here optional 'namul' suffix has been used :

यामंयामं यमंयमम् (IX. 5).  
चाहंचाहं चहंचहम् (IX. 7).

ज्वालंज्वालं ज्वलंज्वलम् (IX. 8) etc.

3. Dv. XIII. 94.

तवोषं देहि देहीति दशमोति वदन्नथ ।  
धेहि धेहीति तमघान्नुपतिः पणिना भुजे ॥

4. Dv. XII. 62.

धनुषां निनादेनिनदैः रिपूणां निगदेनृणां क्रव्यभुजां निगादैः ।  
रथनिस्वनेस्तत्प्रतिनिक्वणौश्च जगदेकनिक्वाणमयं तदाभूत् ॥

5. कृतान्तः कुपितस्तस्मै (I. 147).

अदर्शयत् कालपुरीमरातीन् (II. 84).

विहारयेन्मृत्युपथम् (II. 88).

करोहत्य पयः पपी (V. 20).

अर्धदृष्ट्यैक्षिष्ट (V. 51).

दृशा जेगित्यमानेव (VII. 87).

अस्त्राक्षीत् पणिना श्मश्रूणि (VII. 128).

मृत्योलिपिकरः पत्रं तस्याकाण्डेऽप्युदक्षिपत् (VI. 63) etc.

Besides the idiomatic language and wonderful diction in the Dvyāśrayakāvya, Hemacandra does not lack in the rhetorical defects viz., harsh, disused and doubtful words and abnormal syntax and sentences.

In conclusion, Hemacandra may be evaluated as a mediocre poet who could write neither suggestive nor aesthetic poetry due to his exemplary purpose. He is conscious of the sound and sense of poetry but could not express it in its colour due to his confined object. He is not a follower of a particular style of expression viz., Vaidarbhī or Gaudī etc. We do not find the explicit, clear, even, sweet and soft characteristics of poetry in the Dvyāśrayakāvya which are essential for the vaidarbhī style of expression.

## VIII. FIGURES OF SPEECH

Amongst the figures of speech used in the Dvyāśrayakāvya, simile is found in profundity. The use of simile became necessary in the illustrative part of the poem. Most of the figures of speech appear to be artificial because they do not exactly correspond to the sentiment. Hemacandra has not purposely illustrated the figures of speech like those of Bhaṭṭi. In the following pages, only a few illustrations and observations are given to exhibit the purview of the figures of speech in the Dvyāśrayakāvya.

1. ANUPRĀSA : In most of the examples, similar grammatical forms, when repeated generate Anuprāsa in the poem e. g.

न पुंष्टिद्विभुंश्चोरा न च पुंस्खलपुंष्ठकाः ।

न पुंस्फल्गुर्न पुंस्फेदुर्न पुंस्फुरिह ववचित् ॥

Such examples are found so frequently that it is difficult to enlist them. In spite of the harsh diction, anuprāsa is not lacking. Likewise similar words, similar roots and their repeated conjugational forms look like Anuprāsa. Such more examples are found in II.91 ; IV, 20, VIII. 93, 121-122 ; XVIII.79 etc.

2. YAMAKA : Yamaka is not found in large number in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. Here is an example (I.143).

उत्कृष्टो राजकादृते सिमस्मै स्मैष विस्मयम् ।

3. VAKROKTI : I.117

गीर्वातिर्गीपतिः सत्यमहर्षतिरहःपतिः ।

वाक्तेजोभ्राजि लोकेऽस्मिन् को हि गीःपत्यहःपती ॥

Similarly II.25 , IV. 24, 32, 35 etc.

4. ŚLEṢA : Mostly Abhaṅga śleṣa is found in the poem.

e. g.

तपःकाश्यं जुषां हर्षकृतां हिंस्रोऽपि दर्शनात् ।  
घनुस्त्यागं करोत्यस्मिन्नवर्कवत् कासरोत्सवे ॥ (I.92)  
सरूपयुक्ता सद्भाये राजन्यत्र कुलस्त्रियः ।  
व्यञ्जनाग्रे पञ्चमान्तःस्था वद्बालोपशोभिताः ॥ (I.107)

Here śleṣa occurs in the word Bāla+upaśobhitāḥ and  
Va+lopa+upaśobhitāḥ.

A few such like grammatical śleṣas are found in I.51,  
108, 124 ; II.63, 65 ; III.83 ; VI. 67 etc. also.

5. UTPREKṢĀ : About fifty examples of the utprekṣā  
are found in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. Most of the examples are  
related to natural objects.

तैस्तैस्थट्टैरिहाश्वानां रसति व्यथितेव भूः । (I.47)  
घट्य स्म मानं भ्रकुटि स्म दात्य  
घात्य स्म धैर्यं यदु तत्पिबध्वम् ।  
संदात्त कान्तानभिघात्त चोषः  
शंखोऽभिघत्ते न्विति मानिनीनाम् ॥ (II.47)

Other utprekṣās are found in : I.22,83,88,100,120 ; II.15,  
47,67,77 ; III 31,40,79,100 ; V.45,61 ; VI.45,99 ; VII.39,87,  
123 ; VIII.102,103,104 ; IX.44,68,87 ; X.14,17,29,76,90 ; XIII.  
18,96 ; XIV. 0 ; XV.47 ; XVI.39,77 ; XVIII.4,5,6 ; XIX.36.

RŪPAKA : Hemacandra has not written many Rūpakas.  
Some of the Rūpakas are very simple and natural while others  
are artificially coined in order to illustrate a particular group  
of exemplary words.

II.42 उदीयिवह्नैत्यरणाध्वरत्विक् सहस्रदृग्दिक्स्पृगुदककरस्रक् ।  
अजीववनिममुंनिभिर्दधृग्भिरुष्णिक् स्तुतो वोऽस्तवधनट्कृतेऽर्कः ॥  
VI.60 अष्टाकपालं नु हविद्विषो युन्मखे जुहूषो नृपतिः कुमारः ।  
आदिक्षष्टापदधारणयुग्मेराष्टागवैर्द्राक्तुरगावरोक्षम् ॥

Other Rūpakas are found in I. 121, 201 ; IV. 36 ; V. 73, 100 ; VI. 60, 88 etc.

7. ARTHĀNTARANYĀSA : Only a few examples of Arthāntaranyāsa are found in the Dvyāśrayakāvya II. 31, 59, 89 ; III. 15 etc.

8. SANDEHA :

एषकः किं सकः सर्वास्तस्यानेषो हि डम्बरः ।

सोऽप्यसः किमभूत्सिद्धै रन्नैव क्रियते भ्रमः ॥ (I. 103)

Similarly it is found in II. 17, III. 81, VIII. 77, 78, 79, 80, 82 etc.

9. VIRODHA : II. 43.

10. VYATIREKA : I. 137.

11. VIRODHĀBHĀSA : I. 151.

पुंस्कामा अप्यपुंश्चल्य इह पुंस्कोकिलस्वनाः ।

न पुंश्चलैरपुंश्चलैः पुंश्चलैर्भान्ति भर्तृभिः ॥

12. YATHĀSĀNKHYA : I. 111.

यदि स्त्रीणां श्रुतास्मिन् गीयंदि दृष्टा मुखेन्दवः ।

कलः क्वाणः स्वरः पिकयाः फल्गुश्चन्द्रोऽपि तर्क्यते ॥

13. BHRĀNTIMĀN : I. 28, 36 ; II. 39, 44.

14. SMARANA : VII. 41.

15. KĀVYALINGA : I. 137.

तमस्तमोभिभवः कालेऽप्यसर्वस्मिन् महोदयः ।

हीनतास्मादुभौ हेतु उभयस्मिन् रवौ विधौ ॥

16. SVABHĀVOKTI : This figure of speech is mostly found in the portraits of the war activities in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. Some of the verses which illustrate particular grammatical form, also appear to be natural sayings. A few descriptions are as follows :—

**Students : I. 31**

इत्युं इति विति चाहो इत्याह्वायके गुरो ।

विभो इति प्रभविति चाहात्र विनयी जनः ॥

**Horses : I. 47.**

निस्तन्द्रंश्चञ्चलैश्छेकैष्टीकमानैष्ठकारिभिः ।  
तैस्तैस्थट्टैरिहाश्वानां रसति व्यथितेव भूः ॥

**Battle : V. 33**

केषुचिद्विदधानेषु कुन्ताकुन्ति कचाकचि ।  
भूमिलोहितगङ्गा नु रक्तैः पञ्चनदं न्वभूत् ॥

Similar examples of Svabhāvokti are found in I. 38, 200 III. 15, 101, 128 ; IV. 36, 92 ; V. 51, 85 ; VI. 78 ; VII. 33, 34 etc.

Frequently similes and utprekṣās are mixed up in the poem which may be enlisted as the examples *Saṅkara* and *Samśrṣṭi*. Rest of the figures of speech have no compound or mixture.

17. UPAMĀ : About *three hundred* similes have been used in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. Since the author had to illustrate his grammar in toto, it was necessary to adjust his examples through similes. Mostly upamānas are artificial. Having a marvellous worldly knowledge, Hemacandra adjusted his similes in such a way that it expressed the most befitting illustration in accordance with his poem. Thus his similes are deviated from the known sphere of society and life. Some of his similes are very apt in the clarification of the meaning of the idea.

Hemacandra opened a new chapter in the history of Sanskrit similes by the introduction of *grammatical similes*. Some of his grammatical similes explain the tedious rules of grammar in a simple style. Only one grammatical simile is found in the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya where as Hemacandra wrote about thirty such similes. Besides, *mythological* and *geneological* similes are found in profundity in the poem. A classification

of various upamānas will follow the list of words expressing an upamā.

(i) *Iva* : It is used in about 23% of the total similes. I. 8, 29, 42, 67, 96, 180, 201 ; II. 3, 38, III. 4, 37, 67, 98, IV. 65, V. 67, 68, 90, 104, 114, 122 etc.

ii. *Nu* : This small particle has been used in about sixty (20%) similes because it is easily adjustable in a verse.

II. 37 ; III. 81 ; IV. 41, 47 ; V. 56, 76, 77, 82, 91, 94, 113, 120, 121, 133, VI. 11, 24, 41, 63 etc.

iii. *Vat* : About forty similes are expressed by this word e.g. I. 4, 37, 38, 69 ; II. 79 ; IV. 93 ; V. 83 ; XV. 18 etc.

iv. *Yathā* : It is used in about twenty verses. I. 34 ; II. 95 ; IV. 37 ; V. 43 ; VIII. 92 etc.

v. *Sama* : It is used in about eleven verses.  
I. 49 ; III. 11, 159 ; IV. 13 ; V. 55 ; VI. 65 etc.

vi. *Upama* : It is used in eight verses.  
V. 4, 80 ; IX. 33, 64, 103 ; XIII. 31, 32 ; XV. 98.

vii. *Ābha* : It is used in eight verses  
I. 50 ; IX. 36, 55, 57 ; XII. 49 ; XIV. 43 ; XV. 104 ; XVI. 49.

viii. *Nibha* : It is used in five verses only.  
I. 11 ; II. 72 ; IV. 55 ; V. 51 ; XX. 75.

ix. *Tulya* : It is used in three verses only.  
V. 95 ; VII. 55 ; XI. 50.

x. *Kalpa* : II. 65 ; xi. *Samāna* VI. 102 ;

xii. *Kvip* : IX. 93 and xiii. *Kyañ* : III. 45 are used in one verse each.

xiv. Other *miscellaneous* similes in compound etc. are seventy in number.



## MYTHOLOGICAL SIMILES

(a) **Vedic Mythology** : Some of the words related to Vedic mythology are used in similes. e.g:

स छावापृथिवीयो नु द्यावापृथिव्यकर्मणि ।

अग्नीषोम्ये विषावग्नीषोमीयो नूद्यतोऽभवत् ॥ (XV.109)

Similarly Dv. XV.110.

शुनासीर्याणि सूक्तानि शुनासीरीयवच्च सः ।

तथा वास्तोष्पतीयानि वास्तोष्पत्य इवाशृणोत् ॥

## (b) CLASSICAL MYTHOLOGY

## (i) THE RĀMĀYANA

फलाद्यवस्कन्दमलं क्षणासं मृहूर्तमत्पासमयोत्फलद्भिः ।

यामप्रतर्षं दृतिवाः पिबद्भिः स तैर्जहर्ष प्लवगेन रामः ॥

(XIV.26)

Similarly

| Upameya         | Upamāna     | Verse No. |
|-----------------|-------------|-----------|
| जयसिंह          | राम         | XIV.62    |
| क्रतुकरणा       | रामक्रतुकरण | XV.114    |
| चमूपति          | राम         | XIX.128   |
| कुमारपाल        | लक्ष्मण     | XVIII.81  |
| आन्न            | रावण        | XVIII.45  |
| जम्बक मन्त्रिन् | जाम्बवान्   | II.96     |

## (ii) THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

|             |           |           |
|-------------|-----------|-----------|
| जयसिंह      | युधिष्ठिर | XV.18,113 |
| अर्बुदेश्वर | अर्जुन    | V.43,83   |
| चामुण्डराज  | अर्जुन    | VI.7      |
| चामुण्डराज  | पार्थ     | VII.1     |
| बल          | अर्जुनबल  | XII.17    |
| जयसिंह      | भीम       | XI.45     |
| ग्राहरिपु   | दुर्योधन  | II.65     |

| Upameya           | Upamāna    | Verse No. |
|-------------------|------------|-----------|
| जयसिंह            | धृतराष्ट्र | XV.8      |
| (iii) PURĀṆAS     |            |           |
| <i>Viṣṇu</i>      |            |           |
| मूलराज            | पद्मनाभ    | V.133     |
| महेन्द्रराज       | शार्ङ्गि   | VII.113   |
| कर्णराज           | गोपविष्णु  | XI.104    |
| <i>Lakṣmī</i>     |            |           |
| जन                | श्री       | I.69      |
| रूप               | श्री रूप   | VI.102    |
| वारवधु            | श्री       | XIV.30    |
| <i>Śiva</i>       |            |           |
| ग्राहरिपु         | शिव        | V.67      |
| मूलराज            | शिव        | V.80      |
| बल                | भवबल       | XII.49    |
| कुमारपाल          | शिव        | XVIII.87  |
| कर्णराज           | भव         | XI.33     |
| <i>Kṛṣṇa</i>      |            |           |
| मूलराज            | कृष्ण      | V.121     |
| दूतदामोदर         | दूतकृष्ण   | IX.26     |
| जयसिंह            | बालकृष्ण   | XII.30    |
| <i>Balarāma</i>   |            |           |
| कर्ण              | बलराम      | XI.50     |
| <i>Paraśurāma</i> |            |           |
| कुमारपाल          | परशुराम    | XIII.93   |
| <i>Kārtikeya</i>  |            |           |
| ग्राहरिपु         | शक्तिभूत   | IV.54     |

| Upameya  | Upamāna         | Verse No. |
|----------|-----------------|-----------|
| सेना     | स्कन्दसेना      | V.8       |
| कान्ति   | आग्नेयकान्ति    | XIV.41    |
| बल       | षण्मातुराभबल    | XIV.43    |
|          | <i>Yama</i>     |           |
| भट       | यम              | V.4       |
|          | <i>Āditya</i>   |           |
| तेजस्    | आदित्यतेजस्     | XIV.39    |
|          | <i>Auśanasa</i> |           |
| कुमारपाल | औशनस्           | XIV.3     |

Besides these mythological personalities, Rantideva (IX. 36), Kārtavīryārjuna (V.77); the city of Kubera (XIV.38), Takṣaka (V.76) Gandharvapūrī (II.15); Cutting of the wings of mountains by Indra (XVIII.72); uccaiḥśravas (VI.65) and nectar (XIII.32) are also alluded in similes.

## (c) FAUNA AND FLORA (i) Animals

*Elephant*

|    |      |        |
|----|------|--------|
| बल | गजबल | XVI.27 |
|----|------|--------|

*Ox*

|        |          |       |
|--------|----------|-------|
| पुमान् | गो       | I.53  |
| पुमान् | अनड्वान् | I.201 |
| धुर्यं | अनड्वान् | II.3  |
| मत्त   | उक्ष     | VI.58 |

*Deer*

|       |          |          |
|-------|----------|----------|
| युद्ध | मृगयुद्ध | XVIII.70 |
|-------|----------|----------|

*Dog*

|      |         |       |
|------|---------|-------|
| कूदं | श्वकूदं | VI.70 |
|------|---------|-------|

| Upameya   | Upamāna        | Verse No. |
|-----------|----------------|-----------|
| मति       | शुनीपुच्छ      | II.73     |
|           | <i>Jackal</i>  |           |
| अन्धकार   | क्रोष्टा       | II.7      |
| वञ्चना    | जम्बुकवञ्चना   | XVI.22    |
|           | (ii) BIRDS     |           |
|           | <i>Peacock</i> |           |
| षड्जगान   | शिखण्डिगान     | I.67      |
| वाक्      | मयूरवाक्       | VII.32    |
| आलाप      | शिखण्डिनी      | X.28      |
|           | (iii) REPTILES |           |
|           | <i>Snake</i>   |           |
| ग्राहरिपु | सर्प           | IV.81     |
| शंकु      | सर्प           | V.95      |
| विरोध     | सर्पनकुलविरोध  | V.120     |
| दृप्त     | सर्प           | XI.54     |
|           | (iv) INSECTS   |           |
| तिमिर     | षट्पद          | XVII.74   |
| पुमान्    | टिट्ठिभ        | I.52      |
| वेधन      | वृश्चिक        | VIII.85   |
|           | (v) FLOWERS    |           |
|           | <i>Lotus</i>   |           |
| लोचन      | कमल            | I.95      |
| स्त्रीमुख | पद्म           | I.96      |
| श्री      | फुल्लपद्म      | IX.57     |
|           | <i>Kunda</i>   |           |
| यशस्      | कुन्द          | I.164     |

|         |         |           |
|---------|---------|-----------|
| Upameya | Upamāna | Verse No. |
|---------|---------|-----------|

(vi) TREES

|         |          |       |
|---------|----------|-------|
| जयसिंह  | द्रुम    | XI.56 |
| सन्ध्या | पक्वाग्र | II.38 |

(d) GRAMMATICAL SIMILES

लोकात्सालातुरीयादेः शब्दसिद्धिरिवानघा ।

चौलुक्यवंशाज्जयति नयधर्मव्यवस्थितिः ॥

अमुष्मिन् पुरुषार्थानां त्रिरूपत्वव्यवस्थितिः ।

लृकारस्य ऋकारेण संधाविव विराजते ॥ (I.8)

प्रात्कारायितवेणीकाः प्रलृकारायितभ्रुवः ।

प्रत्कारयन्ति खे दन्तज्योत्न्यात्र मृगीदृशः ॥ (I. 16)

गुरुं प्रति नृणामत्र वृद्धं घञ् अलं यथा (I. 34)

एतन्न्यायान् क्षमौ स्तोतुं न चतुर्मुखषण्मुखौ ।

हेतुर्वृद्धेरेतणिहृज्जिह्वद् उयेत सूरिभिः ॥ (I.37)

|        |       |       |
|--------|-------|-------|
| शिक्षा | रावत् | I. 38 |
|--------|-------|-------|

|     |      |       |
|-----|------|-------|
| कुच | ठवत् | I. 50 |
|-----|------|-------|

सरूपयुक्ता सद्याग्रे राजन्त्यत्र कुलस्त्रियः ।

व्यञ्जनाग्रे पञ्चमान्तस्था वद्बालोपशोभिताः ॥ (I. 104)

कण्ठलग्ना सदा स्त्रीणां खेलन्ति इह षिङ्गकाः ।

विरामे न प्रवर्तन्ते कदाचित् सन्धयो यथा ॥ (I. 110)

|             |      |        |
|-------------|------|--------|
| मूर्धन्यत्व | टवत् | I. 124 |
|-------------|------|--------|

|          |       |        |
|----------|-------|--------|
| कुटिलालक | रावत् | I. 125 |
|----------|-------|--------|

|           |         |        |
|-----------|---------|--------|
| ग्राहरिपु | कारकवत् | II. 79 |
|-----------|---------|--------|

महैनसां कारकवत् क्रियाणां हेतुः स्वतन्त्रः स कुकर्म कर्ता ।  
 समासे नाम नाम्नेव शस्त्रं शस्त्रेण युध्यथ  
 ऐकाग्र्येऽयोजि विस्पष्टपटुभिर्गुर्जरैर्भटैः ॥ (V. 29)  
 प्रसन्नयापन्नमनसाद्य देव्यात्मनेपदं पुंस्विह् डिन्तु धातुः (VI. 11)  
 परस्मैपदमेतेनात्मनेपदमिव प्रियम् ।  
 क्रियते स्मान्यकार्यार्थं कृतिभिर्भूयतेऽथवा । (VII. 7)

Similarly

| upameya  | upamāna             | Verse No. |
|--|---------------------|-----------|
| अङ्गविकार  | तद्धिताङ्गविकार     | XV.82     |
| राजा   | पदिक                | XV.122    |
| वीचि   | टवर्गं, जिह्वामुलीय | XVI.66    |
| शिखिन्   | पाणिनीयार्थवित्     | XVI.88    |
| अभूष्यताब्जैर्जलमत्र वारुरुचैः सुवाक्यैरिव पाणिनीयम् |                     | XVI. 92   |
| मूर्धन्यकुमारपाल                                     | मूर्धन्य र, ष.      | IX.49     |

### (e) NATURAL OBJECTS

#### Sun

|          |        |             |
|----------|--------|-------------|
| तेजस्    | सूर्यं | I.59 ; V.82 |
| प्रताप   | सूर्य  | IV.93       |
| ग्राहारि | सूर्यं | V.51        |
| राजा     | दिनकर  | XI.64       |

#### Moon

|     |            |        |
|-----|------------|--------|
| मुख | चन्द्र     | X.82   |
| वचन | ज्योत्स्ना | XI.140 |

#### Evening

|      |              |        |
|------|--------------|--------|
| शरीर | सन्ध्याप्रभा | XVI.49 |
|------|--------------|--------|

| upameya       | upamāna      | verse No.      |
|---------------|--------------|----------------|
| <i>Clouds</i> |              |                |
| धनु           | प्रावृषिजमेघ | VI.24          |
| प्रयाण        | घन           | XII.67         |
| <i>Snow</i>   |              |                |
| उज्ज्वल       | हिम          | VII.60         |
| <i>Sky</i>    |              |                |
| सारस          | नभस्         | III.11         |
| <i>Ocean</i>  |              |                |
| माम्भीर्यं    | समुद्र       | XIII.31        |
| प्रताप        | भौर्वाग्नि   | XIV.51         |
| <i>River</i>  |              |                |
| भवतरण         | निम्नगा      | XI.100         |
| राजा          | नी           | XVI.25         |
| <i>Fire</i>   |              |                |
| प्रताप        | हुताश        | I.193          |
| तेजस्         | अग्नि        | VI.23; VII.122 |
| ताप           | अग्नि        | VII.55         |
| नागराज        | अग्नि        | VIII.1         |

(f ) SOCIAL OBJECTS

|                     |          |       |
|---------------------|----------|-------|
| <i>Domestic</i>     |          |       |
| मसृण                | मणि      | I.29  |
| शत्रु               | तूल      | XV.57 |
| चन्द्रज्योतिनिस्सरण | टङ्कदारण | II.37 |

| upameya        | upamāna      | verse No. |
|----------------|--------------|-----------|
| योद्धापेषण     | तिलमाषपेषण   | V.113     |
| गलन            | जातुषगलन     | XV.65     |
| कान्ता         | परिखा        | XVII.134  |
| शुकपिच्छ       | नीलच्छत्र    | III.45    |
| जल             | इक्षु        | IV.13     |
| जयसिंह दण्डधार | कर्णधार, तरी | XI.53     |

*Social*

|              |               |          |
|--------------|---------------|----------|
| प्रभा        | वर्ग          | XVII 104 |
| सुभट         | ब्राह्मण      | III.98   |
| राजा         | पिता          | XX. 45   |
| अरिक्षय      | पतिघ्नीकन्या  | XI.46    |
| निषेव्या नदी | रजस्वलास्त्री | XVI.65   |
| भट           | वृषली         | IV.67    |
| रणशौण्ड      | अक्षधूर्त     | V.72     |
| जय           | छूत           | XII.76   |
| रण           | इमशान         | VI.64    |

*Dance*

|            |            |        |
|------------|------------|--------|
| अू         | रङ्गाचार्य | I.180  |
| केकीनर्तन  | नटनर्तन    | III.37 |
| भटभ्रुकुटि | नर्तकी     | V.4    |
| सेनाहनन    | अजाहनन     | V.10   |

## (g) FOOD AND DRINKS

|           |            |         |
|-----------|------------|---------|
| क्रोध     | भोज्यतिक्त | V.94    |
| शत्रुपेषण | ओदनपेषण    | VI.81   |
| सपत्नी    | श्राणिका   | XVII.41 |



| upameya   | upamāna      | verse No. |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| दुःख      | नखंपचा यवागू | XVII.42   |
| तर्पण     | बालक, आपूपिक | XI.73     |
| तेजस्     | अपक्वपूगफल   | IX.55     |
| जगद्दर्शन | करामलक       | XV.81     |
| चुलुक्य   | सुरा         | XVIII.96  |
| कीर्ति    | दुग्ध        | I.172     |
| दृष्टि    | दुग्ध        | II.54     |
| इन्दु     | दधि          | II.41     |
| कीर्ति    | पयस्         | V.124     |
| वाक्      | दधि          | IX.93     |

## (h) MISCELLANEOUS

|               |      |         |
|---------------|------|---------|
| अनङ्ग         | पापी | XVI.78  |
| प्रिया स्त्री | चोरी | XVII.36 |

*Astronomical* :—About ten astronomical similes are found in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. None of them appears to be spontaneous or apt. e.g.

तपः काश्यंजुषां हर्षकृतां हिंखोऽपि दर्शनात् ।

अनुस्त्यागं करोत्यस्मिन्नर्कवत् कार्शरोत्सवे ॥

Such like similes are found in III.67, 81 ; V.56 ; X.19 ; XV.103, 104 ; XVIII.65 ; XIX. 111 ; XX.2.

*Diseases*

|              |                 |        |
|--------------|-----------------|--------|
| शौयोष्मा     | कुम्बिवान्कण्डू | II.64  |
| अरिशमन       | कफशमन           | VII.62 |
| दुःख         | भगन्दर          | XI.77  |
| युद्धार्थचलन | रोग             | XII.57 |

| upameya    | upamāna          | verse No.   |
|------------|------------------|-------------|
| शत्रुदशा   | वातूलप्रस्त      | XVIII.74-75 |
|            | <i>Religious</i> |             |
| बाराकृन्तन | कुमारप्रव्रजिता  | V.96        |
| महापुरुष   | बोधिसत्त्व       | XX.50       |
| नगर        | स्वस्तिक         | I.4         |

*Philosophical*

गोतावतो यथा गोत्वं शुक्लत्वं शुक्लतावतः ।  
प्रबोधित्ववतो राजस्तथाभूत् प्रबोधिता ॥ (XVII.137)

*Ritualistic*

|               |                |         |
|---------------|----------------|---------|
| उक्लन         | अग्नि          | V.50    |
| कुन्त         | यूपदारु        | V.62    |
| नृप           | वैश्वानर       | V.63    |
| राजा          | अग्निष्टोमयाजी | XI.111  |
| निम्नगाविलोडन | यज्ञविलोडन     | XVII.43 |
| राजा          | याज्ञिक        | XIX.135 |

*Genealogical*

|            |             |        |
|------------|-------------|--------|
| ग्राहुरिपु | कठधूर्त     | V.91   |
| ऋषि        | लौमपान्थायन | XV.98  |
| काली       | काष्णायनी   | XIV.59 |

*Geographical*

|      |           |       |
|------|-----------|-------|
| लक्ष | नीत्यद्वि | IV.47 |
|------|-----------|-------|

*Occupational*

|         |            |         |
|---------|------------|---------|
| अरिगणना | वणिक् गणना | XVIII.8 |
| रण      | वणिक्      | XVIII.9 |

*Literary*

|      |                |       |
|------|----------------|-------|
| राजा | समस्याश्लोककार | XI.66 |
|------|----------------|-------|

| Upameya  | Upamāna         | Verse No. |
|----------|-----------------|-----------|
|          | <i>Battle</i>   |           |
| पद्ममाला | बनुष            | XVII.57   |
| जयसिंह   | शतघ्नी          | XI.46     |
|          | <i>Hinopamā</i> |           |
| प्राण    | यूत्            | I.49      |
| घन       | निष्ठ्यूत       | I.114     |

Some other similies having festivals as their upamānas are found in II.106 ; XI.7 ; XVI.69 ; XVII.47.

## IX. CHARACTERIZATION

Hemacandra has followed the conventional characteristics of a mahākāvya and hence his royal characters possess the qualities like handsomeness, stout-heartedness, moral rectitude, tolerance, benevolence, religiousness, equality with deities and sagacity. On the other hand the enemy of the hero is depicted as drunkard, proud, horrible, belonging to low caste and irreligious. Almost all the characters of the Dvyāśrayakāvya possess the stereotyped conventional characteristics and there is no innovation or novelty in them. A brief portrait of characters as given in the Dvyāśrayakāvya is as follows :

### MŪLARĀJA

Mūlarāja is a representative of the ideal kings of the Caulukya dynasty who has a vigorous body, a fine figure (III. 69) and beautiful eyes which are an astonishment even for the deities (I. 175, 178 ; V. 126).

Through his valour blended with self-confidence and and supremacy, he at once answered to Jambaka with his throbbing face as the latter finished his diplomatic speech (I. 69, 103 ; II. 109). According to his minister Jehula, Mūlarāja was capable of capturing the strongest possible enemy like Grāharipu (II. 92). He is depicted as possessed of innumerable virtues (I. 143, 169, 171, 174). His valour is equal to that of Indra and hence they help each other (I. 148).

His boundary is extending from the eastern to the

western mountains upto the banks of the ocean (I. 154-155). He is a friend of needy persons and an enemy of the defaulter (I. 140, 161, 194). He follows the qualities of a king as laid down in the Dharmaśāstra viz. fulfilment of the desires of the suppliants (I. 141, 145, 181); truthfulness (III. 107); righteousness (II. 91) and sleeplessness during the day (I. 193). He is kind not only towards his friends but also towards his enemies. He set Grāharipu free as the latter begged a pardon (V. 129).

Mūlarāja has an appreciative disposition and highly esteems the fearlessness of a messenger of the enemy (IV.20,22). He was educated in the Vedic tradition and his intellect is compared to that of Bṛhaspati. He is a man of artistic nature and an expert in the observation of the omens (I. 187; III.92).

He is a good administrator and a judge who has studied the Arthaśāstra; has strictness to his ordinances and is a follower of the right path (I.71, 87, 160, 181; II. 1; IV. 27). As a politician, he keeps silence to aggravate the anger of the messenger Duṛṇasa in whose opinion Mūlarāja has a [deceptive personality (IV. 18). Mūlaraja has a satiric nature and satirizes on the sayings of a messenger.

Due to his constant efforts for the welfare of his subjects, he became popular with his subject (I. 102, 158). He is so much esteemed by his warriors that they can breathe their last for their master (V. 41-42).

Mūlarāja has a modest behaviour for sages and his subjects. His personality appears to be a combination of affection, devotion and joy. He is a tolerant king and respects all the religions (I. 138). Infact, he was a follower of Śaivism and removed the antagonists of sacrifice (II. 52). Especially he was a follower of Caṇḍikā and is named as

Caṇḍikāmāta (I. 188). He is a profound devotee of the Lord Somanātha (II. 1; V. 142) and a follower of Mahālakṣmī (III. 85).

Due to his extraordinary characteristics, Mūlarāja is extolled as an incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu (II. 32; V. 82). According to Dur̥ṇasa, he is equal to Arjuna (IV. 2) and in the opinion of Lord Śiva appearing in dream, his valour is much more than Indra (II. 4).

### GRĀHARIPU

Grāharipu is a representative of the aboriginal caste and the anti-Aryan religion. His characteristics are contradictory to those of Mūlarāja, an embodiment of the Aryan culture. Grāharipu is depicted as a cruel, intolerant and irreligious king.

He is called an extraordinary demon (*Daityatalaja* and *Dānavaśreṣṭha* (V. 92). Grāharipu is called the Indra of Saurāṣṭra (V. 67 ; IX, 2,12). He is said to be an inferior politician (*Durnīti* or *Anīti* II, 80, 90). In the opinion of Mūlarāja, he has destroyed the lustre of the universe (IV. 30). His behaviour is very cruel towards the kings made captive (II. 85) and kills those who surrender themselves (IV. 34). He has captivated the female ascetics (IV. 42). He is a king of duplicity. Even his messenger shows off friendship externally but in reality, he is an enemy (IV. 14.) According to Mūlarāja, the whole of the universe is afraid of his ill-politics (IV.28).

Undoubtedly, he is kind towards those who bow their heads (IV.16), yet his policy is to submit to the powerful and suppress the afraid (IV.16). According to Dur̥ṇasa, he is a king who wants peace and friendship (IV.17). But infact, he is cruel. He is exploits his own subjects just like a fish that kills another (IV.34).

As an administrator, his policies are very strict.

Although he pays salary to his army in time, yet his practical behaviour is quelling. Due to his cruel and crushing behaviour, he is expressed like *Aśvatthāmā* (IV.74) or *Kaṁsa* (IV. 73) ; a thorn in the heart of the earth and a jackal or a snake in the jungle of cruelty.

He is an antagonist of the Hindu religion because he kills *Brāhmaṇas* ; spoils sacrifices and hates oblations (II.76). He is a worshipper of those who are against the worship of deities (V. 65). Due to his tyranny, he demands money and taxes from the sages (II. 80). He is a follower of the *Cārvāka* system of Philosophy and has a materialistic view of life (IV. 31). Due to his cruel behaviour towards sages, he burnt them in the fire which was lit to perform sacrifice (IV. 32). He took away the cows of the sages (II.65) ; killed the pilgrims (IV. 25) ; captivated the wives of the sages and practised adultery (IV. 80-81). According to *Mūlarāja*, due to his ill-deeds, he is not a fit person for friendship (IV. 29). *Grāharipu* has no belief in omens (IV. 71). He took the meat of uneatable animals and hunted the *camarī* cows (II. 86-89). In taxation, he was lustful just like a dog (II.74). He took the tax even on barley (II. 65) and mislead his subject (II. 88).

As a warrior, he is depicted as an expert in guerilla warfare (II. 86). He had two or three *akṣauhiṇī* army (V. 59). His valour is described like that of *Kārtavīryārjuna* ; or equal to three year's lion (V.55). According to *Durṇasa*, a messenger, *Grāharipu* cannot be won by the enemy (IV. 9). In his opinion, he is a good administrator, a protector of the friend and an expert in the battlefield. During the fight, he never sleeps even for a moment (II.101).

Thus *Grāharipu* has been depicted as a cruel and irreligious strong administrator.

## CĀMUṆḌARĀJA

Like Mūlaraja, all the kings of the Caulukya dynasty are depicted as exalted and possessing the similar qualities.

Cāmuṇḍarāja had a sweet voice ; a shining countenance and modest temperament (VI. 1). He is depicted as a powerful and intelligent king (VI. 11, 72). He learnt various arts and scriptures (VI. 4). He is depicted as a tolerant king and is never disturbed in any situation (VII. 2). Even in a painful disease like small pox, he neither wept nor cried (VII. 54).

As an administrator, he is compared to Rāma (VII. 4). He is an expert diplomat and at once understood the intention of Lāṭarāja when a messenger came to him (VI. 38). He treats his subjects nicely ; donates generously and serves elders respectfully (VI. 5, 10 ; VII. 2, 5). He avoided gambling and other bad habits (VI. 5). Moreover, he believes in omens and is very modest towards sages (VI. 9, 40).

## VALLABHARĀJA

He is equal to a lion in physique (VII. 40). He is depicted as an intellectual king who gained popularity (VII. 44,51).

Camuṇḍarāja was very confident of the valour of his son (VII. 9-11). As an administrator, he was popular with his subject (VII. 39) and modest towards sages (VII. 37). Due to his illness, he adopted asceticism and renounced the world. (VII. 45).

## DURLABHARĀJA

Handsome is a silent characteristic of Durlabharāja. By this quality, a woman was so much attracted that she constantly chased him and could not live without him (VII. 80). He had a nice beard (VIII. 12) and looks like



Cupid (VII. 78). He was very happy on the birth of Bhīma, as the latter was a propagator of the dynasty (VIII. 3).

As a religious king, he is compared to Lord Viṣṇu (VII. 13, 63). He attacked the enemy boldly; tormented them and made them afraid (VII. 59, 62). He is never inimical without a cause (VII. 107).

### KARNA

Karna is also portrayed as handsome. Mayanallā, a princess saw his portrait and was attracted towards him (IX. 109). Karna entered her heart and she lamented in his separation (IV. 111). A worry of issuelessness tormented him day and night (X. 2).

### BHĪMA

Bhīma had a fine figure blended with attractiveness (IX. 63). Right from the childhood, he observed the leaps of the horses and enjoyed riding (VIII. 11). He had a profound knowledge of Philosophy and was a judge himself (VII. 6, 39). He had a respect for elders (VIII. 16). Even his opponents sing his songs for his virtues VIII. 24).

As an administrator, he maintained all the social regulations. No one could transgress social order in his administration (VIII. 27). He never crushed the desires of the suppliants (VIII. 36). He was a firm politician and there was no loose or exploitation in his administration (VIII. 25; IX.49).

### JAYASIMHA

Jayasimha is felicitated with the adjectival words Siddharāja or Siddharāṭ (XV. 50). He is similized with the incarnation of Viṣṇu (XIV 67). or Rāmacandra (XV. 57). He had sturdy broad arms (XII.31) and on hearing his name, enemies get their forts constructed (XI. 40). Even Vāsukī is desirous to acquire valour like that of Jayasimha (XIII.44)

He is depicted like a vidyādhara (XIV. 3) and his sway extends upto Rasātala. Due to his compassionate nature, he assured the pair of Nāgas to win their stake and invaded upon Hullaḍa, the king of Kashmir (XII.81). He engaged Rākṣasas for the protection of the Nāgaloka (XIII. 105). He had a profound affection and devotion to his father and totally refused the kingship as the latter was still alive (XI.78-82, 91).

He is depicted as a religious king particularly bent upon Śaivism (XV. 15). He himself performed Vedic rituals and participated in sacrificial discussions himself (XV. 106, 108). Due to his kindheartedness, he set *Barbara* free as *Piṅgalikā*, the wife of *Barbara* requested for the same (XI 80). Thus Siddharāja Jayasimha is an important character of the Dvyāśrayakāvya.

### KUMĀRAPĀLA

The prowess of Kumārapāla created an astonishment in the hearts of the sages (Ku. I. 41). Besides being an expert politician, he is depicted as an active king (XVI. 3, 6). He was a patron of learning and had patronized many scholars (Ku. I. 4). His numerous virtues are depicted like fragrant southern wind (Ku. I. 33).

Kumārapāla had an appreciative nature and praises the heroic deeds of even an enemy (XIX. 27-29). In valour, he is compared to Indra and Nārāyaṇa (Ku. I. 45). He was very expert in various tacts of fighting and many kings bowed their heads to Kumārapāla (Ku. I. 43).

He was a tolerant king and although converted to Jainism, worshipped *Māṭṛs* (Ku. I. 84) and performed daily Sandhyā (Ku. V. 87). Being a Jain, he went to Caitya daily (Ku. II. 40). Kumārapāla was a follower of Jain ethics and non-violence. He saved the goat which was being taken to slaughter-house (XX.9) and prohibited hunting in the forest,

He banished meat-eating royal in palace and amongst the administrative staff (XX. 31-32). Due to his personal influence, many people gave up violence (XX. 35). In order to propagate non-violence, he took effective measures and gave loans to meat-sellers to shift to new occupations (XX. 37).

With his qualities, he gained popularity amongst his court-members (Ku. VI. 36). He never liked wicked persons and in his administration people strictly followed rules and regulations (XVI. 5 ; Ku. II. 18). Hemacandra has epicted his policy as "*Behave as others behave*" (Ku. I. 18). He removed taxes from those whose son was dead even at the cost of a set back to his own income (XX. 85).

#### OTHER MINOR CHARACTERS

*Kṣemarāja* : He knows and practises all the good acts (IX. 70).

*Lakṣa* : He is very proud of his dynasty (VI. 109).

*Barbara* : He began to perform sacrifice as he was released by Jayasīṃha after his defeat (XIII. 3).

*Hammuka* : He was very confident of himself (VIII. 116).

*Jehula* : He is a minister of Mūlarāja and is compared with Śukra in his intellect (II. 60). He is portrayed as sweet, prosperous and lustrous (II. 61). According to Jambaka, he is very intelligent and faithful (II. 97).

*Sindhurāja* : He is a follower of Agastya (IV. 89). He had an immense wealth with him but he did not keep himself to his boundary (VIII. 64-68). He had many healthy and costly horses (VIII. 70). He is depicted as an intolerant king (VIII. 67).

*Jambaka* : He is another minister of Mūlarāja having his intellect like that of Bṛhaspati (II. 60). He is a faithful minister and never likes flattery. He always leads the king to a right path (II. 98-103).

*Mayaṇallā* : She is depicted as a beautiful girl and she falls intensively in love with Karna. She constantly laments in separation (IX. 166).

## X. METRICAL ANALYSIS

|         |                  |         |                  |
|---------|------------------|---------|------------------|
|         | <b>Canto I</b>   | 56      | Upajāti          |
| 1-196   | Anuṣṭubh         | 57      | Indravajrā       |
| 197-198 | Vasantatilakā    | 58-61   | Upajāti          |
| 199     | Vaitāliya        | 62      | Indravajrā       |
| 200-201 | Śārdūlavikrīḍita | 63-86   | Upajāti          |
|         |                  | 87      | Indravajrā       |
|         | <b>Canto II</b>  | 88-89   | Upajāti          |
| 1       | Upajāti          | 90      | Indravajrā       |
| 2       | Indravajrā       | 91-93   | Upajāti          |
| 3-8     | Upajāti          | 94      | Indravajrā       |
| 9       | Indravajrā       | 95-97   | Upajāti          |
| 10      | Upendravajrā     | 98      | Indravajrā       |
| 11-18   | Upajāti          | 99-103  | Upajāti          |
| 19      | Upendravajrā     | 104     | Indravajrā       |
| 20      | Indravajrā       | 105     | Upajāti          |
| 21      | Upajāti          | 106-107 | Indravajrā       |
| 22      | Upendravajrā     | 108     | Vasantatilakā    |
| 23-31   | Upajāti          | 109     | Mattamayūra      |
| 32      | Indravajrā       | 110     | Prṭhvī           |
| 33-37   | Upajāti          |         |                  |
| 38      | Indravajrā       |         | <b>Canto III</b> |
| 39-45   | Upajāti          | 1-158   | Anuṣṭup          |
| 46      | Upendravajrā     | 159     | Śārdūlavikrīḍita |
| 47      | Indravajrā       | 160     | Vasantatilakā    |
| 48      | Upajāti          |         |                  |
| 49      | Indravajrā       |         | <b>Canto IV</b>  |
| 50-54   | Upajāti          | 1-90    | Aupacchandāsika  |
| 55      | Indravajrā       | 91-92   | Sragviṇī         |

|        |                  |         |                   |
|--------|------------------|---------|-------------------|
| 93     | Rathoddhata      | 101     | Indravajrā        |
| 94     | Śārdūlavikrīḍita | 102-103 | Upajāti           |
|        |                  | 104     | Indravajrā        |
|        | <b>Canto V</b>   | 105     | Upajāti           |
| 1-141  | Anuṣṭup          | 106     | Vasantatilakā     |
| 142    | Śārdūlavikrīḍita | 107     | Śikhariṇī         |
|        | <b>Canto VI</b>  |         | <b>Canto VII</b>  |
| 1-13   | Upajāti          | 1-141   | Anuṣṭup           |
| 14-15  | Indravajrā       | 142     | Vasantatilakā     |
| 16-17  | Upajāti          |         |                   |
| 18     | Indravajrā       |         | <b>Canto VIII</b> |
| 19     | Upajāti          | 1-20    | Śālinī            |
| 20     | Indravajrā       | 21-120  | Svāgatā           |
| 21-26  | Upajāti          | 121-124 | Harīṇī            |
| 27     | Indravajrā       | 125     | Puṣpitāgrā        |
| 28-31  | Upajāti          |         |                   |
| 32     | Indravajrā       |         | <b>Canto IX</b>   |
| 33-39  | Upajāti          | 1-166   | Anuṣṭubh          |
| 40-41  | Indravajrā       | 167     | Indravajrā        |
| 42-52  | Upajāti          | 168     | Śārdūlavikrīḍita  |
| 53     | Indravajrā       | 169     | Vaiśvadevī        |
| 54-58  | Upajāti          | 170-171 | Śālinī            |
| 59     | Indravajrā       | 172     | Upajāti           |
| 60-62  | Upajāti          |         |                   |
| 63     | Indravajrā       |         | <b>Canto X</b>    |
| 64-70  | Upajāti          | 1-2     | Indravajrā        |
| 71-72  | Indravajrā       | 3-4     | Upajāti           |
| 73-75  | Upajāti          | 5       | Indravajrā        |
| 76-78  | Indravajrā       | 6       | Upajāti           |
| 79-82  | Upajāti          | 7       | Indravajrā        |
| 83-84  | Indravajrā       | 8-11    | Upajāti           |
| 85-91  | Upajāti          | 12      | Indravajrā        |
| 92     | Indravajrā       | 13-22   | Upajāti           |
| 93-100 | Upajāti          | 23      | Indravajrā        |

|       |                  |         |                   |
|-------|------------------|---------|-------------------|
| 24    | Upendravajrā     | 78-79   | Vaiśvadevī        |
| 25-31 | Upajāti          | 80-81   | Vasantatilakā     |
| 32    | Indravajrā       |         |                   |
| 33-42 | Upajāti          |         | <b>Canto XIII</b> |
| 43    | Upendravajrā     | 1-108   | Anuṣṭubh          |
| 44-51 | Upajāti          | 109-110 | Vasantatilakā     |
| 52    | Indravajrā       |         |                   |
| 53-57 | Upajāti          |         | <b>Canto XIV</b>  |
| 58    | Indravajrā       | 1-2     | Upajāti           |
| 59-60 | Upajāti          | 3       | Indravajrā        |
| 61    | Indravajrā       | 4-9     | Upajāti           |
| 62-64 | Upajāti          | 10      | Indravajrā        |
| 65    | Indravajrā       | 11-12   | Upajāti           |
| 66-68 | Upajāti          | 13-15   | Indravajrā        |
| 69-70 | Indravajrā       | 16-19   | Upajāti           |
| 71    | Upajāti          | 20-23   | Indravajrā        |
| 72    | Indravajrā       | 24-26   | Upajāti           |
| 73-74 | Upajāti          | 27-33   | Indravajrā        |
| 75    | Indravajrā       | 34-36   | Upajāti           |
| 76-79 | Upajāti          | 37      | Indravajrā        |
| 80-81 | Indravajrā       | 38-44   | Upajāti           |
| 82-85 | Upajāti          | 45-46   | Indravajrā        |
| 86    | Śālinī           | 47-53   | Upajāti           |
| 87    | Vasantatilakā    | 54-57   | Indravajrā        |
| 88    | Śārdūlavikrīḍita | 58-60   | Upajāti           |
| 89-90 | Sudanta          | 61-62   | Indravajrā        |
|       |                  | 63      | Upajāti           |
|       | <b>Canto XI</b>  | 64-65   | Indravajrā        |
| 1-117 | Anuṣṭup          | 66      | Upajāti           |
| 118   | Vasantatilakā    | 67      | Indravajrā        |
|       |                  | 68-69   | Upajāti           |
|       | <b>Canto XII</b> | 70      | Indravajrā        |
| 1-75  | Kekirava         | 71      | Upajāti           |
| 76    | Upajāti          | 72      | Vasantatilakā     |
| 77    | Aupacchandāsika  | 73      | Vaiśvadevī        |

|       |                  |       |                               |
|-------|------------------|-------|-------------------------------|
| 74    | Śārdūlavikrīḍita | 97    | Nandinī                       |
|       | <b>Canto XV</b>  |       | <b>Canto XVII</b>             |
| 1-121 | Anuṣṭup          | 1-137 | Anuṣṭubh                      |
| 122   | Śikhariṇī        | 138   | Vasantatilakā                 |
| 123   | Rucirā           |       | <b>Canto XVIII</b>            |
| 124   | Aupacchandasika  | 1-6   | Svāgatā                       |
|       | <b>Canto XVI</b> | 7     | Upajāti                       |
| 1-5   | Upajāti          | 8     | Upendravajrā                  |
| 6     | Indravajrā       | 9     | Upajāti                       |
| 7-19  | Upajāti          | 10    | Vaiśvadevī                    |
| 20    | Indravajrā       | 11    | Nandinī                       |
| 21-37 | Upajāti          | 12    | Aupacchandasikā-<br>parāntika |
| 38    | Indravajrā       | 13    | Indravajrā                    |
| 39-42 | Upajāti          | 14    | Svāgatā                       |
| 43-44 | Indravajrā       | 15    | Upajāti                       |
| 45-49 | Upajāti          | 16    | Vaiśvadevī                    |
| 50-51 | Indravajrā       | 17    | Indravamśā                    |
| 52-55 | Upajāti          |       | Vamśastha                     |
| 56    | Indravajrā       | 18    | Indravajrā                    |
| 57-67 | Upajāti          | 19-20 | Vasantatilakā                 |
| 68    | Indravajrā       | 21-22 | Upajāti                       |
| 69-70 | Upajāti          | 23    | Aupacchandasika               |
| 71    | Upendravajrā     | 24    | Upajāti                       |
| 72-74 | Upajāti          | 25    | Śikhariṇī                     |
| 75    | Indravajrā       | 26-27 | Upajāti                       |
| 76-83 | Upajāti          | 28    | Indravajrā                    |
| 84    | Indravajrā       | 29    | Aupacchandasikā-<br>parāntika |
| 85    | Upajāti          |       | Upajāti                       |
| 86    | Indravajrā       | 30    | Vasantatilakā                 |
| 87-93 | Upajāti          | 31    | Indravajrā                    |
| 94    | Indravajrā       | 32    | Rathodhhatā                   |
| 95-96 | Śālinī           | 33    |                               |



|       |                  |       |                  |
|-------|------------------|-------|------------------|
| 34    | Vasantatilakā    | 66    | Aupacchandāsikā- |
| 35-36 | Nandinī          |       | parāntika        |
| 37    | Aupacchandāsika  | 67    | Varṁśastha+      |
| 38    | Upajāti          |       | Indravamśā       |
| 39    | Drutavilambita   | 68    | Upendravajrā     |
| 40    | Aupacchandāsika  | 69    | Sragviṇī         |
| 41    | Vaiśvadevī       | 70    | Upajāti          |
| 42    | Rathoddhatā      | 71    | Sudanta          |
| 43    | Indravajrā       | 72    | Varṁśastha       |
| 44    | Mattamayūra      | 73    | Upajāti          |
| 45    | Indravamśā+      | 74    | Upendravajrā     |
|       | Varṁśastha       | 75    | Vaiśvadevī       |
| 46    | Śālinī           | 76    | Svāgatā          |
| 47-48 | Kekirava         | 77    | Śālinī           |
| 49    | Upajāti          | 78    | Vasantatilakā    |
| 50    | Vasantatilakā    | 79    | Śārdūlavikrīḍita |
| 51    | Aupacchandāsikā- | 80    | Varṁśastha+      |
|       | parāntika        |       | Indravamśā       |
| 52    | Rathoddhatā      | 81    | Indravamśā       |
| 53    | Drutavilambita   | 82    | Vasantatilakā    |
| 54    | Aupacchandāsikā- | 83    | Varṁśastha+      |
|       | parāntika        |       | Indravamśā       |
| 55    | Vaiśvadevī       | 84    | Vasantatilakā    |
| 56-57 | Varṁśastha+      | 85    | Indravamśā       |
|       | Indravamśā       | 86    | Indravajrā       |
| 58    | Upajāti          | 87    | Kekirava         |
| 59    | Indravamśā+      | 88    | Vasantatilakā    |
|       | Varṁśastha       | 89    | Aupacchandāsika  |
| 60    | Upajāti          | 90    | Upajāti          |
| 61    | Vasantatilakā    | 91    | Rathoddhatā      |
| 62    | Upajāti          | 92-94 | Upajāti          |
| 63    | Varṁśastha+      | 95    | Vasantatilakā    |
|       | Indravamśā       | 96    | Sudanta          |
| 64    | Śālinī           | 97    | Indravamśā+      |
| 65    | Sragviṇī         |       | Varṁśastha       |

|         |                            |       |                           |
|---------|----------------------------|-------|---------------------------|
| 98      | Upajāti                    | 23-24 | Upajāti                   |
| 99      | Indravamśā                 | 25    | Svāgatā                   |
| 100     | Indravamśa +<br>Vamśastha  | 26    | Indravamśā +<br>Vamśastha |
| 101     | Kekirava                   | 27    | Vasantatilakā             |
| 102     | Mṛdaṅga                    | 28    | Indravajrā                |
| 103     | Upajāti                    | 29    | Svāgatā                   |
| 104     | Auacchandasa-<br>Parāntika | 30    | Indravamśā                |
| 105-106 | Vasantatilakā              | 31    | Upendravajrā              |
|         | <b>Canto XIX</b>           | 32    | Upajāti                   |
| 1-1 36  | Anuṣṭubh                   | 33    | Vaiśvadevī                |
| 137     | Vasantatilakā              | 34-36 | Upajāti                   |
|         | <b>Canto XX</b>            | 37    | Svāgatā                   |
| 1-2     | Vasantatilakā              | 38-39 | Upajāti                   |
| 3       | Upajāti                    | 40    | Vasantatilakā             |
| 4       | Kola                       | 41    | Vaitāliya                 |
| 5       | Mandākrāntā                | 42    | Indravamśā +<br>Vamśastha |
| 6       | Upajāti                    | 43    | Śālinī                    |
| 7       | Indravamśā +<br>Vamśastha  | 44    | Indravamśā +<br>Vamśastha |
| 8       | Rathoddhatā                | 45    | Upajāti                   |
| 9       | Indravamśa +<br>Vamśastha  | 46    | Rathoddhatā               |
| 10      | Upajāti                    | 47-48 | Upajāti                   |
| 11      | Vasantatilakā              | 49    | Vasantatilakā             |
| 12      | Indravajrā                 | 50    | Svāgatā                   |
| 13      | Vasantatilakā              | 51    | Kekirava                  |
| 14-15   | Upajāti                    | 52    | Śālinī                    |
| 16      | Rathoddhatā                | 53    | Svāgatā                   |
| 17-18   | Vasantatilakā              | 54    | Śālinī                    |
| 19      | Śālinī                     | 55    | Vaiśvadevī                |
| 20-21   | Vasantatilakā              | 56    | Svāgatā                   |
| 22      | Vamśastha +<br>Indravamśā  | 57    | Rathoddhatā               |
|         |                            | 58-59 | Upajāti                   |
|         |                            | 60    | Aupacchandasika           |

|    |                  |        |                  |
|----|------------------|--------|------------------|
| 61 | Kekirava         | 79-81  | Aupacchandāsika  |
| 62 | Rathoddhatā      | 82     | Aupacchandāsikā- |
| 63 | Aupacchandāsāpa- |        | parāntika        |
|    | rāntika          | 83     | Upajāti          |
| 64 | Svāgata          | 84     | Upendravajrā     |
| 65 | Vaṁśastha +      | 85     | Śālinī           |
|    | Indravamśā       | 86     | Indravajrā       |
| 66 | Vasantatilakā    | 87-88  | Vasantatilakā    |
| 67 | Rathoddhatā      | 89-90  | Mandākrāntā      |
| 68 | Indravajrā       | 91     | Vaiśvadevī       |
| 69 | Dodhaka          | 92     | Śārdūlavikrīḍita |
| 70 | Indravamśā +     | 93     | Vaiśvadevī       |
|    | Vaṁśastha        | 94     | Upajāti          |
| 71 | Aupacchandāsika  | 95     | Vasantatilakā    |
| 72 | Indravajrā       | 96     | Aupacchandāsika  |
| 73 | Upajāti          | 97     | Vasantatilakā    |
| 74 | Indravajrā       | 98     | Śārdūlavikrīḍita |
| 75 | Upajāti          | 99-100 | Vasantatilakā    |
| 76 | Śālinī           | 101    | Upajāti          |
| 77 | Upajāti          | 102    | Śārdūlavikrīḍita |
| 78 | Vaiśvadevī       |        |                  |

### Alphabetical

1. *Anuṣṭubh* I. 1-196 ; III. 1-158 ; V. 1-141 ; VII. 1-141 ; IX. 1-166 ; XI. 1-117 ; XIII. 1-108 ; XV. 1-121 ; XVII. 1-137 ; XIX. 1-136.
2. *Indravajrā*. II. 2, 9, 20, 32, 38, 47, 49, 55, 57, 87, 90, 94, 98, 104, 106, 107 ; VI. 14-15, 18, 20, 27, 32, 40, 41, 53, 59, 63, 71-72, 76-78, 83-84, 92, 101, 104 ; IX. 167 ; X. 1-2, 5, 7, 12, 23, 32, 52, 58, 61, 65, 69, 70, 72, 75, 80, 81 ; XIV. 3, 10, 13-15, 20-23, 27-33, 37, 45-46, 54-57, 61-62, 64-65, 67, 70, XVI. 6, 20, 38, 43-44, 50-51, 56, 68, 75, 84, 86, 94 ; XVIII. 13, 18, 28, 32, 43, 86 ; XX. 12, 28, 68, 72, 74, 86.
3. *Indravamśā*. XVIII. 17 (with Vaṁśastha), 45, 56-57, 59, 63, 67, 80, 81, 83, 85, 97, 99-100, XX. 7, 9, 22, 30, 42, 44, 65, 70.

4. *Upajāti*. II.1, 3-8, 11-18, 21, 23-31, 33-37, 39-45, 48, 50-54, 56, 58-61, 63-86, 88-89, 91-93, 95-97, 99-103, 105 ; VI. 1-13, 16-17, 19, 21-26, 28-31, 33-39, 42-52, 54-58, 60-62, 64-70, 73-75, 79-82, 85-91, 93-100, 102-103, 105 ; IX. 172 ; X. 3-4, 6, 8-11, 13-22; 25-31, 33-42, 44-51, 53-57, 59-60, 62-64, 66-68, 71, 73-74, 76-79, 82-85 ; XII. 76 ; XIV. 1-2, 4-9, 11-12, 16-19, 24-26, 34-36, 38-44, 47-53, 58-60, 63, 66, 68-69, 71 ; XVI. 1-5, 7-19, 21-37, 39-42, 45-49, 52-55, 57-67, 69-70, 72-74, 76-83, 85, 87-93; XVIII. 7, 9, 15, 21-22, 24, 26-27, 30, 38, 49, 58, 60, 62, 70, 73, 90, 92-94, 98, 103 ; XX. 3, 6, 10, 14-15, 23-24, 32, 34-36, 38-39, 45, 47-48, 58-59, 73, 75, 77, 83, 94, 101.

5. *Upendravajrā*. II.10, 19, 22, 46 ; X. 24, 43 ; XVI. 71 ; XVIII. 8, 68, 74 ; XX. 31, 84.

6. *Aupacchandāsika*. IV. 1-90 ; XII. 77 ; XV. 124 ; XVIII. 12, 23, 29 (aparāntika). 37, 40, 51, 54, 66, 89, 104 ; XX. 60, 63, 71, 79-81, 82, 96.

7. *Kekirava*. XII. 1-75 ; XVIII. 47-48, 87, 101 ; XX. 51, 61.

8. *Kola*. XX. 4.

9. *Drutavilambita*. XVIII. 39, 53.

10. *Dodhaka*. XX. 69.

11. *Nandinī*. XVI. 97 ; XVII. 11, 35-36.

12. *Prthvī*. III. 110.

13. *Puṣpitāgrā*. VII.125.

14. *Mattamayūra*. II.109 ; XVIII.44.

15. *Mandākrāntā*. XX.5, 89-90.

16. *Mṛdaṅga*. XVIII.102.

17. *Raṣhodhātā*. IV.93 ; XVIII.33, 42, 52, 91 ; XX.8, 16, 46, 57, 62, 67.

18. *Rucirā*. XV.123.

19. *Vasantatilakā*. I, 197-98 ; II. 108 ; III. 160 ; VI. 106 ; VII. 142 ; X. 87 ; XI. 118 ; XII. 80-81 ; XII. 109-110 ; XIV. 72; XVII. 138 ; XVIII. 19-20, 31, 34, 50, 61, 78, 82, 84, 88, 95 ;

- XIX. 137 ; XX. 1-2, 11, 13, 17-18, 20, 21, 27, 40, 49, 66, 87-88, 95, 97, 99-100.
20. *Vaiṭāliya*. I. 199 ; XX. 41.
21. *Vaiśvadevī*. IX.169 ; XII. 78-79, XIV. 73, XVIII. 10, 16, 41, 55, 75; XX. 33, 55, 78, 91, 93.
22. *Varṇāstha*. XVIII. 17 (mixed with Indra-varṇāśā), 45, 56-57, 59, 63, 67, 72, 80, 83, 97, 100 ; XX. 7, 9, 22, 42, 44, 65, 70.
23. *Harinī*. VIII.121-124.
24. *Śikharinī*. VI.107 ; XV.122 ; XVIII.25.
25. *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*. I. 200-201 ; III.159 ; IV. 94 ; V.142 ; IX 168 ; X.88 ; XIV. 74 ; XVIII. 79 ; XX. 92, 98, 102.
26. *Śālinī*. VII. 1-20 ; IX. 170-171 ; X. 86 ; XVI. 95-96 ; XVII. 46, 64, 77 ; XX. 19, 43, 52, 54, 76, 85.
27. *Svāgatā*. VIII. 21-120 ; XVIII. 1-6, 14, 76, XX. 29, 37, 50, 53, 56, 64,
28. *Sragvinī*. IV. 91-92 ; XVIII. 66.
29. *Sudantā*. X. 89-90 ; XVIII. 71,96.

## XI. HISTORICAL EVALUATION

The poem was written to serve two purposes. First, it relates the history of the Caulukyas from Mūlarāja to Kumārapāla and secondly it illustrates the grammar written by Hemacandra himself.

As Hemacandra had a motive of writing a Mahākāvya and to illustrate grammar so naturally poetical elements crept in which were the cause of the change in some facts. Some new and exaggerated information had also to be introduced to illustrate grammar. We can divide the historicity of the Dvyāśrakāvya as follows:—

1. *New information not known from the contemporary sources.*
2. *Accurate information supported by other historical evidences.*
3. *Omissions by the Dvyāśrayakāvya.*
4. *Exaggerations and transformation of facts.*
5. *New facts only for grammatical illustrations.*

Besides, Hemacandra omits the dates of the kings totally. He moulded his characters according to the ethical exaltations.

Genealogical lists of kings given by Hemacandra is completely authentic and is supported by paṭṭāvalī<sup>1</sup> and inscriptional evidences.

### **I. New information not given by contemporary sources.**

1. Bhandarkar, R. G. : Report on the search for Skt. Mss., 1883-84, p. 150. Appendix III. A Paṭṭāvalī of the kings of paṭṭaṇa.

(i) **Historical** : There were so many enemies of Mūlarāja besides Grāharipu and Lakṣa.<sup>1</sup> Other enemies belonged to mountainous areas and the shore of the ocean. Perhaps they were belonging to aboriginal tribes who had established themselves on the bank of the ocean. Such enemies are referred to by the poem (Dv. I. 179). They are explained as Bhillas by Abhayatilakagaṇi.

The king of Aṅga recognized the power of Cāmuṇḍarāja as the former sent a chariot to accept his supremacy<sup>2</sup>. But this is not supported by any other source. Pāṇḍupati<sup>3</sup>, the king of Vindhya, sent an elephant as he was caught by the army of Cāmuṇḍarāja<sup>4</sup>. This information is given by Abhayatilakagaṇi in the explanation of the word 'Cakrabandha' which was used as an example.

Kīra,<sup>5</sup> a king of Kashmir sent the present of musk to recognize his supremacy. But according to M. A. Stein, Kīra is not a proper name but it is the name of a race near Kashmir.

Cāmuṇḍa's foreign policy was friendly with neighbour kings. It is inferred by the fact that when Vallabha was going to invade Mālavā, no king contradicted him in the way<sup>7</sup>.

Cāmuṇḍarāja was still atill alive when his son Vallabharāja died<sup>8</sup>. After the death of Vallabharāja, Cāmuṇḍa coronated Durlabharāja and himself practised penances<sup>9</sup>.

1. DV. II. 107 ; Abhayatilakagaṇi has mentioned Lakṣa besides Grāharipu.
2. DV. VI.16.
3. DV. VI.18.
4. DV. VI.17.
5. DV. VI.23.
6. Stein, M.A.Ed. and Translated Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa, Delhi, 1961, Vol. II, p.520.
7. DV. VII.33.
8. DV. VII.63.
9. DV. VII.57.

Mahendra, the king of Marudeśa gave the hand his younger sister of Nāgarāja, the younger brother of Durlabharāja at the time to the Svayaṁvara ceremony of Durlabharāja<sup>1</sup>.

After Svayaṁvara, the king of Hūṇas was defeated by Durlabharāja in the battle-field<sup>2</sup>. The king of Mathurā, who had won Turuṣkas and mountaineer kings, was killed by Durlabharāja<sup>3</sup>. Similarly the king of Āndhra, Cedi, Kuru and Kāśī were won by Durlabharāja<sup>4</sup>. But according to A. K. Majumdar, this victory was introduced by Hemacandra merely to illustrate the characteristics of a Mahākāvya<sup>5</sup>.

One day in the court of Bhīma two messengers came and informed him that the king of puṇḍras accepted his order but in the areas of Vṇḍāvana, Mathurā, Śoṇitapura and Mithilā, no one obeyed his orders<sup>6</sup>. As regards Mathurā, it was won by Mahamood Ghaznī in his ninth invasion<sup>7</sup>. Perhaps, Mahamood left a representative at Mathurā. Probably such a representative was a Mohammadan. As Bhīma was totally against Mahamood Ghaznī so his inimical relations with the king of Mathurā are natural.

Again spies informed that Bhīmadeva had no recognition in the Kurudeśa<sup>8</sup>. Perhaps, the policy of Durlabharāja against Kurus continued. Bhīma had a good policy towards Āndhra, Magadha and Vṇḍāvana<sup>9</sup>.

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1. DV. VII.113

2. DV. VII.136.

3. DV. VII.137-139.

4. DV. VII.142-46.

5. Majumdar, A.K. Chaulukyas of Gujarat, p.4.

6. DV. VIII.41-44.

7. Brockman, Draka. Ed. U. P. Gazetteer, Vol. VII. Allahabad, 1911, p.118.

8. DV. VIII.46.

9. DV. VII. 48-50.



It was further informed that Sindhurāja and Cedirāja were against Bhīma. According to spies, Sindhurāja patronized some spies to kill Bhīma<sup>1</sup>. Having heard it Bhīma made an expedition against both the kings. Having won Sindhurāja<sup>2</sup>, Bhīma proceeded towards Cedī<sup>3</sup>. Cedīrāja also faced Bhīma but at last accepted the friendship of Bhīma<sup>4</sup>. According to J. Burgess and Henry Cousens<sup>5</sup>, this invasion was made after Mahmood Ghaznī went back and Bhīmadeva again established himself at Anḥilwāḍapaṭṭaṇa.

Before the invasion over Cedirāja, Bhīma had to face a fight waged by Bhillas also<sup>6</sup>.

Kumārāpāla, when invaded by Ānna, sent his army to invade Ballāla who was assisting Ānna<sup>7</sup>. He sent two Sāmantas Vijaya and Kṛṣṇaka but they joined Ballāla<sup>8</sup>. Ballāla was invaded and after a fight, he was thrown down from the elephant<sup>9</sup>. Later on Ballāla was killed by some Mahābrāhmaṇas<sup>10</sup>.

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1. DV. VIII.52-53.
  2. DV. VIII.85.
  3. DV. IX.1.
  4. DV. IX.1-50,
  5. Burgess, J, and Cousens, H. The architectural antiquities of Northern Gujarat. Archaeological Survey of Western India, IX. London, 1903. P. 13.
  6. DV. IX.4.
  7. DV. XIX.96.
  8. DV. XIX.99 ; 23. ibid. XIX.118-125.
  9. DV. XIX.119-125.
  10. DV. XIX. But his killing by some Mahābrāhmaṇas is introduced merely for grammatical illustration,

event is noted by the Bhāva Bṛhaspati praśasti of Somanātha temple also<sup>1</sup>.

Some other information is available in the Kumārapāla-carita, the prakrit portion of the Dvyāśrayakāvya. This Portion is more poetical than historical. However, the relations of a few kings can be inferred by the water-sports of the king.

The Hūṇa, Māgadha and Kośala kings were present in the water-sports of Kumārapāla<sup>2</sup>.

It is noticed by Pūrṇakalaśagaṇi, the commentator of the Kumārapālacarita that the king of Vārāṇasī brought some presents for Kumārapāla<sup>3</sup>. The king of Magadha, who was present in the water-sports, is also mentioned to have brought some presents for Kumārapāla<sup>4</sup>.

Gauḍadeśa was a tax-payee of Kumārapāla. He sent elephants as present<sup>5</sup>. The army of Kumārapāla is mentioned to have won Kānyakubja,<sup>6</sup> Daśārṇa<sup>7</sup> and Cedi<sup>8</sup>. The king of Mathurā gave gold to the army of Kumārapāla and thus saved his city<sup>9</sup>.

**ii. Geographical :** Grāharipu is mentioned as having won Uttarakośala<sup>10</sup>. But this is merely to illustrate the Hemacandra's Sūtra 3.1.98 of the Haimaśabdānuśāsana.

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1. Bühler, G. Somanātha Praśasti of Bhāva-Bṛhaspati, W.Z.K.M. III.p.2.

2. Kumārapālacarita, IV.65.

3. ibid.VI.76.

4. ibid.VI.77.

5. ibid. VI.78.

6. ibid. VI.79.

7. ibid. VI.80.

8. ibid. VI.85.

9. ibid. VI.88-89.

10. ibid. V.78.

Jāmbūmālī river is referred to be the boundary of Mūlārāja<sup>1</sup>. This river has been identified with the river Bhogāvati or Bhogao, which passes by the village Jambu to the east of Vadhavan<sup>2</sup>.

The city of Grāharipu is mentioned at a distance of one Krośa from mountain and one yojana from the ocean<sup>3</sup>. At another place, he is said to be living on the shore of the ocean so he is called Sāgaravāhin<sup>4</sup>. This indicates that the fort of Grāharipu was near the ocean in Saurāṣṭra. The proper place has not yet been identified.

Cāmuṇḍarāja expanded his boundary up to Kollāpurī<sup>5</sup>. Cāmuṇḍarāja crossed the border of Amarāvati, Ajirāvati, Bhogāvati and Sarasvati<sup>6</sup>. Amarāvati is the name of the Village Nagarahara about two miles to the west of Jallalabad. A Village close to it is still called Nāgaraka<sup>7</sup>. Bhogāvati has already been identified with Bhogao. Sarasvati has not yet been identified. Ajirāvati is the same as Acirāvati<sup>8</sup>.

Mūlārāja and Cāmuṇḍarāja crossed the river Śvabhra-vatī<sup>9</sup>. It is supported by the Surat grant of Trilocanapāla<sup>10</sup>. Bhimarāja went across the river Sindhu after constructing a bridge when the river was in spate<sup>11</sup>.

1. DV. V. 37.

2. A grant of Dharanivarāha of Vadhvan. I.A.XII.p. 192.

3. DV. II.101.

4. ibid. IV.10.

5. ibid. VI.22.

6. ibid. VI.62.

7. Dey, N.L. Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, Calcutta, 1899, p.5.

8. ibid. p.1.

9. DV. VI.45.

10. Ray, H.C. Dynastic history of Northern India, Vol.II. Calcutta, 1936, p.939.

11. DV. VIII.74.

Bhīma is mentioned to have won Kāśī and Daśārṇa<sup>1</sup>. The kings of Kanauj were swaying over Kāśī during the reign of Bhīma. Some other aboriginal tribes were not subdued and they maintained practical independence throughout Oudh and Eastern districts<sup>2</sup>. So it appears that chaulukyas had good relations with the kings of Kāśī and Kanauj and this policy continued upto the time of Kumārapāla.

Ballāla is also mentioned to be making a preparation to invade Kākandakas, Pāṭalīputrakas and Mālavas<sup>3</sup>. But this geographical information is given only to illustrate grammar.

Kumārapāla is informed to have crossed the river Revā. His army erected camps on the bank of the above river<sup>4</sup>.

**iii. Proper Names :** Hemacandra has given a few names of the commanders, messengers and royal characters. Some of the names are fictitious and are coined to illustrate some grammatical rules. A few names are as follows :

*Śrīmāla* : It was the name of a king of the enemy of Mūlarāja. A fight is mentioned between the king of Ābu and Śrīmāla<sup>5</sup>. Abhayatilakagaṇi has mentioned his other name as *Bhillamāla*.

*Gaṅgamaha* and *Gaṅgāmaha* are the brothers of Mūlarāja<sup>6</sup>. But both these names appear to be fictitious merely to illustrate Haima sūtra (2.4.99).

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1. DV. IX.33.

2. Nevill, H.R. Ed. U.P. Gazetteer 'Benaras', Allahabad, 1909, p.186.

3. DV. XVI.22.

4. Kumārapālacarita, VI.86-87.

5. DV. V.45.

6. *ibid.*, V.2.

*Grāharipu* : He is mentioned having two sons who returned to their native land having known the battle-time against Mūlarāja<sup>1</sup>. But no other chronicler has mentioned this fact.

*Durṇasa* : He is a messenger who came to Mūlarāja<sup>2</sup>. But this name is also created artificially to illustrate the Haima grammar's sūtra (2.3. 65).

*Jambuka and Jehula* : They are two ministers of Mūlarāja<sup>3</sup>. Abhayatilakagaṇi has mentioned Jambuka as Mahāmantrin of Mūlarāja while Jehula is Mahāpradhāna.

*Durlabhadevī* : It is the name of the sister of Mahendra<sup>4</sup> who married to Durlabharāja.

*Lakṣmī* : Abhayatilakagaṇi has mentioned Lakṣmī as the younger sister of Mahendra<sup>5</sup>. She was married to Nāgarāja after the performance of Svayaṁvara.

*Hammuka* : It is the name of the king of Sindha against whom Bhīma made an expedition<sup>6</sup>.

*Bhadrahaṭa* : He was a king of the Vindhyas who was released by Bhīma after paying taxes<sup>7</sup>.

*Cāhaḍa* : He is a commander of Kumārapāla<sup>8</sup>. But according to Merutuṅga<sup>9</sup>, Cāhaḍa was a favourite of Jayasīṁha. After the death of Jayasīṁha, he collected the royal force and joined the pedestrian command of Sapādadeśa. He invaded

1. DV. IV.48.

2. ibid. IV.2.

3. ibid. II.56.

4. ibid. VII.92.

5. ibid. VII.113.

6, ibid. VIII.116.

7. ibid. IX.34,

8. ibid. XVI.14.

9. Muni, Jinavijaya. Ed. Prabandhacintāmaṇi of Merutuṅga, Śāntiniketana, 1933, pp. 79-80.

Kumārapāla and fought very courageously. The statement of Hemacandra show that later on he accepted the commandership of Kumārapāla.

*Vijaya and Kṛṣṇaka* : They are two Sāmantas of Kumārapāla who joined Ballāla as he came to invade Kumārapāla<sup>1</sup>.

**iv. Religious information** ]Hemacandra mentions that Durlabharāja patronized Jainism and refuted Buddhism. But this statement is not supported by any of the inscriptional evidence.

The temple of lord Śiva was demolished by Rākṣasas during the reign of Jayasīṃha<sup>2</sup>. It appears to be the temple of *Somanātha* which was broken by Mohammadans.

Jayasīṃha made so many Satraśālas where food was also given to priests<sup>3</sup>.

Kumāranāla made a temple of Lord Śiva at Aṇhilawāḍ-apaṭṭaka<sup>4</sup>.

**2. Accurate information of Hemacandra Supported by other historical evidences.**

In the Dvyāśraya, the ancestors of Mūlarāja are not mentioned. He was the originator of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat. Before his advent there were so many known kings in the dynasty but with the advent of Mūlarāja, they lost their fame<sup>5</sup>. It is supported by the text of an inscription of Kumārapāla which mentions Mūlarāja as the Sun causing the lotus of the Chaulukya dynasty to blossom<sup>6</sup>.

1. DV. XIX.98.

2. DV. XII.6.

3. ibid. XV.115-16.

4. ibid. XX.101.

5. ibid. I.152.

6. Bühler, G. Eleven land-grants of the Chaulukyas of Aṇhilwāḍ.

I.A. VI.p.201.

कुलकमलविकासनैकमात्तण्डः ।

**Grāharipu** : In the time of Mūlarāja, Grāharipu was administering over Saurāṣṭra<sup>1</sup>. The ministers of Mūlarāja advised him to attack Grāharipu<sup>2</sup>. In the opinion of Abhayatilakagaṇi, Grāharipu indicates a *Dhīvara* caste and not a proper name. K.A. Forbes<sup>3</sup> also supports the above view. But according to col. Tod, Grāharipu is one of the princes of Ujmaer, who having defeated a Mohammadan king was called Sultan Grāha.

Grāharipu is mentioned by the Dvyāśraya as living at Vāmanasthali<sup>5</sup> which is indentified as modern Buntullee near Junāgaḍh. Col. Walker in his report of Sorātha gives the following account. "The residence of the Rajah of Soreth was first at Buntulle.<sup>6</sup> Hearing that the king of Anhilwar (i. e. Mūlarāja) is approaching he advanced with a large force. Grāharipu collected his army. The kings that adhere to win, whether allies or tributaries, joined his standard ; many forest Bheels were with him, his sons who dwelt on the banks of Bhadur, famous in sorath, came<sup>7</sup>." J. Burgess<sup>8</sup> and C.M. Duff<sup>9</sup> have identified him with the Chūḍasama prince of Gīrnar (Junāgaḥ).

Again Dvyāśraya has mentioned him as an Ābhīra king<sup>10</sup>. This fact is supported by Cousens<sup>11</sup> who identifies him as Grahario

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1. DV. II.64.

2. ibid. II.63.

3. Forbes, K.A. : Rāsamālā. London, 1876, P.39, f.n.

4. Tod, Col. : Annals of Rajasthan, New York, 1914, II, p.447.

5. DV. II.65.

6. Forbes, K.A., op.cit., P.41.

7. ibid. p.43.

8. Burgess, James. Reports on the Antiquity of Kathiawad and Kaccha (1874-75). A.S.W.I., II., London, 1876, p.164.

9. Duff, C.M. Chronology of India, Westminster, 1899, p.283.

10. DV. II.62.

11. Cousens, H. Somanātha, A.S.I. (Imperial Series), XLV. p.3.

I., an Ābhīra sheperd by caste, who built the fort of Junagarh, now known as the Uparakota.

*Lakṣa* : A king named Lakṣa is mentioned invading Mūlarāja. This Lakṣa belonged to Kaccha area. He was killed by Mūlarāja<sup>1</sup>. According to Forbes, Lakṣa or Lākhā was a friend of Grāharipu. He was the king of Kaccha<sup>2</sup>. Burgess identified him with Lākhā Phulenī of Kaccha who had harboured Rakhaich, a younger relative of Mūlarāja, a rival for the throne of Aṇhilawād and had been long at strife with Mūlarāja, who at length besieged him in Kapilakoṭi and finally slew him<sup>3</sup>. The event is noticed by Merutuṅga<sup>4</sup>, Someśvara<sup>5</sup> and Sukṛtakīrtikallolīnī<sup>6</sup> also.

After his victories, Mūlarāja is said to be Surāṣṭrarāt and Sindhurāt<sup>7</sup>. According to Burgess, Mūlarāja subdued Sorath and Kachha and defeated the king of Lāṭa or the northern part of the Koṅkaṇa to the South of the Narmadā<sup>8</sup>.

*Cāmuṇḍarāja*: He invaded Lāṭapati and destroyed Lāṭadeśa<sup>9</sup>. Cāmuṇḍa is mentioned invading Sindhurāt and

1. DV. IV.47 ; V.121 ; V.126.

2. Forbes, A.K. : Rāsamālā, p.43.

3. (a) Burgess, J. and Cousens, H. The Architectural Antiquity of Northern Gujarat, A.S.W.I. IX. p.11.

(b) A grant of Dharṇi Varāha of Vadhavan, I.A. XII. p.197.

4. Prabandhacintāmaṇi, pp. 18-19.

5. Kathvate, A.V. Ed. Kīrtikaumudī of Someśvara, Bombay, 1883, II.4.

6. Sūri, Punyavijaya, Ed. Sukṛtakīrtikallolīnī, Bombay, 1961, p.3.

7. DV. I.68.

8. (a) Burgess, J. on the Mohammadan Architecture, A.S.W.I., VI. p.4.

(b) Burgess, J. and Cousens, H. Antiquities of Northern Gujarat, A.S.W.I. IX. p.11.

9. DV. VI.40 ; VI.46.



the king of Vindhyas named Pāṇḍupati<sup>1</sup>. His invasion against Sindhurāja is mentioned in one of his inscriptions<sup>2</sup>. According to D.C. Ganguly, it was during the early part of Cāmuṇḍa's reign that Sindhurāja launched a campaign against Gujarat but Cāmuṇḍarāja had a successful resistance and completely routed the Paramaras<sup>3</sup>.

*Vallabharāja* : He was the son of Cāmuṇḍarāja who marched against his enemy, the king of Mālavā according to the commentator<sup>4</sup>. Abhayatilakagaṇi has given the cause that Cāmuṇḍarāja was going to Vārāṇasī when Mālavas invaded him and deprived him of his royal insignia. He returned to the city and ordered his son Vallabharāja to take revenge of his insult. It was the cause of the expedition of Vallabharāja.<sup>5</sup>

This expedition is noticed by most of the Prabandha-kāras<sup>6</sup> and a few inscriptions<sup>7</sup> also.

According to Kumārapālprabodhaprandha incorporated in the Kumārapālacaritrasaṅgraha<sup>8</sup>, it was Muñja who challenged and deprived Cāmundarāja of his royal insignia. The same is the cause of the enmity between Bhoja and Bhīma.

1. DV. VI. 19.

2. Dhruva, H. H. Ed. A Copper-plate of Trilocanapāla I.A. XII. p. 197.

3. Ganguly, D. C. History of the Paramara dynasty, Dacca, 1933, p. 79.

4. Dv. VII. 31.

5. ibid. VII. 31.

6. (a) Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 20.

(b) Sukṛtakīrtikallolī, p. 3 ; Kīrtikaumudī, II (9-10).

7. I.A. XII. p. 197.

8. Muni, Jina Vijaya, Ed. Kumārapālcaritrasaṅgraha, Bombay, 1956, p. 37.

The same instance is supported by an inscription also<sup>1</sup>. But according to G.C. Ganguly, "It was Bhoja who snatched the Royal insignia" In his opinion the signal discomfiture of his father Sindhurāja by the Chaulukya Cāmuṇḍarāja, undoubtedly left a deep impression on his mind<sup>2</sup>. Durlabharāja and the Svayaṁvara arranged by Mahendra, the king of Marudeśa is mentioned by Hemacandra in the seventh canto of the Dvyāśraya. It was supported by the historian like Forbes<sup>3</sup>. Mahendra, the king mentioned by Hemacandra has been identified with Mahindu of Nodol inscription<sup>4</sup>. According to A.K. Majumdar<sup>5</sup> this was introduced by Hemacandra so that his characteristics of Mahākāvya might not suffer. It is possible that all kings mentioned by Hemacandra might have not attended Svayaṁvara but the event cannot be said to be totally fictitious.

Again, in one of the inscriptions, Durlabha is mentioned as winning over Dhārā<sup>6</sup>. So there is no doubt, that there was a conflict between the kings of Chaulukya and Mālavā which is mentioned by Hemacandra in connection with the struggle at the time of Svayaṁvara. D. C. Ganguly has mentioned the king as Bhoja.<sup>7</sup>

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1. I.A. XII. p. 197.

तस्माद्वल्लभराजोऽभूद्यत्प्रतापाभितापितः ।

मुंजोऽवन्तीश्वरो धीरो यन्त्रेऽपि न घृति दधौ ॥

2. Ganguly, D.C. History of the Paramara dynasty, pp. 112-13.

3. Forbes, K.A. Rāsamālā, p. 53.

4. E. I. IX., p. 71, 68 and Ganguly D. C., History of the Paramara dynasty, p. 115. f.n.

5. Majumdar, A.K. Chaulukyas of Gujarat, pp. 40-41.

6. Ojha, V.G. and Bühler, G. The Vāḍnagar Praśasti of the reign of Kumārapāla. E. I. Vol. I. p. 296.

7. Ganguly, D. C. op. cit., p. 115.

*Bhīma* : Bhīma is mentioned as the nephew of Durlabharāja and the son of Nāgarāja in the Dvyāśraya and was coronated by Durlabharāja himself.<sup>1</sup>

This statement has been supported by Kīrtikaumudī of Someśvara<sup>2</sup>. In the geographical boundary, Kachha is mentioned under the administration of Bhīma.<sup>3</sup>

*Jayasimha* : He was the son of Karṇa<sup>4</sup>. The leader of the enemies of Jayasimha was Barbara. His wife is called Piṅgalikā.<sup>5</sup> The killing of Barbara has been noticed almost by all the Prabandhas<sup>6</sup> and an epithet of Jayasimha viz. Barbarakajiṣṇu is given almost by all the inscriptions related to Jayasimha.<sup>7</sup> According to Bühler Varvaraka belongs to one of the non-Aryan tribes who are settled in great numbers in northern Gujarat and that he was either a Koli or a Bhili or perhaps Mer. Such people are occasionally called Rākṣasas on account of their cruelty and want of civilization<sup>8</sup>. According to D.C. Ganguly<sup>9</sup>, these Timiṅgalas mentioned as Rākṣasas were probably one of those hill tribes who were subjugated by Siddharāja. One of these Rākṣasas is Bhilla

1. DV. VIII.1 ; VIII.15 ; VIII.22.

2. Someśvara, Kīrtikaumudī, V. 15.

3. (a) I.A. VI. p. 193.

(b) Peterson, P. A collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions, Bhavanagar. 1890, p.193.

4. DV. XI.39.

5. ibid. XII.33 ; XII.76.

6. Sukṛtakīrtikallolīnī, p. 5 verse 55 ; Kīrtikaumudī, II.38.

7. I.A., VI, p.186, 194 ; XI. p. 71 ; XVIII, p. 112, J.B.B.R.A.S., XXV. p. 323 ; A.B.O.R.I., XXIII, J.O.R. Baroda, II.p. 368.

8. I.A. VI., p. 186.

9. Gaaguly, D.C. History of the Paramara dynasty, pp. 153-54.

Āśāka who is mentioned by Kumārapālaprabodhprabandha incorporated in Kumārapālacarītrasaṅgraha.<sup>1</sup>

Jayasīmha's expedition against Avantī is noticed by Hemacandra and is supported by most of the inscriptions. He wanted to catch Yaśovarman and Kālī with his own hand.<sup>2</sup> So he marched towards Avantī<sup>3</sup>. Jayasīmha reached Sīprā river and Ujjainī was won by him.<sup>4</sup> He began to break the fort of Ujjainī and crossed it. He had a fight with the Mālvas but in the last Ujjainī was won.<sup>5</sup>

According to Merutuṅga, the cause of the expedition against Mālavā is that when Jayasīmha was on the pilgrimage to Somanātha together with his mother, Yaśovarman invaded Aṇhilwād Paṭṭaṇa. Śantu, the minister of the regent Mayaṇallā avoided him and in order to take revenge Jayasīmha made an expedition against Yaśovarman.<sup>6</sup> The cause given by Hemacandra is that Jayasīmha wanted to catch a Kālī.<sup>7</sup> Besides, it has been narrated in the Dhārādhavaṃśa-prabandha in Purāṇanaprabandhasaṅgraha<sup>8</sup> that Jayasīmha was assisted by Jesal Paramara and the fight continued for twelve years. The same story of Jayasīmha's pilgrimage to Somanātha is related by James Burgess.<sup>9</sup> This victory is also noted by Sukṛtakīrtikallolīnī<sup>10</sup>, Kīrtikaumudī<sup>11</sup> and by the

1. Kumārapālacarītrasaṅgraha, p. 39.

2. DV. XIV. 14.

3. ibid. XIV. 20.

4. ibid. XIV. 27-28.

5. ibid. XIV. 36-74.

6. Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 58-59.

7. DV. XIV. 14.

8. Muni, Jinavijaya, Ed. Purāṇanaprabandhasaṅgraha, Calcutta, 1936, pp. 23-24.

9. Burgess, J. The architectural antiquities of Northern Gujarat, A.S.W.I. IX. p. 14.

10. Sukṛtakīrtikallolīnī, p. 35. verse 20.

11. Someśvara, Kīrtikaumudī, II. 30-32.

historians A.K. Forbes<sup>1</sup>, Bayley<sup>2</sup>, Bühler<sup>3</sup> and Ganguly.<sup>4</sup>

Siddharāja had a victory over Arṇorāja. It is indicated by a verse of the Dvyāśraya<sup>5</sup> where Kumārāpāla rebukes Arṇorāja for his unethical expedition. This fact is supported by Someśvara.<sup>6</sup> Kīrtikaumudī states that Jayasīmha married the daughter of Arṇorāja.<sup>7</sup> But it is an established fact that Jayasīmha had no matrimonial relations with Arṇorāja but it was Kumārāpāla who married his daughter.<sup>8</sup>

According to Hemacandra Jayasīmha made a temple of Rudra<sup>9</sup> on the eastern bank of Sarasvatī. "He was a Śaiva and Jain", says Forbes<sup>10</sup>, and "Śaivism and Jainism flourished together in his administration." After conquering Malava, he constructed this temple<sup>11</sup>. Śaivism was given Royal patronage and he constructed a temple of lord Śiva in Siddhapura<sup>12</sup> which

1. Forbes, Rāsamālā, p.135.

2. Bayley, E.C. Local Mohammadan dynasties of Gujarat, London, 1886, p. 35.

3. Bühler Dohad Inscription of the Chaulukya King Jayasīmha, I.A. X. pp. 159, 161.

येन कारागृहे क्षिप्तौ सुराष्ट्रमालेश्वरौ ।

अन्येऽप्युसादिता येन सिन्धुराजादयो नृपाः ॥

4. Ganguly, D.C. op. cit., p. 167.

5. DV. XVIII. 84-85.

6. Someśvara, Kīrtikaumudī, II. 27.

7. ibid. II.28.

8. DV. XIX. 33-91.

9. DV. XV. 15.

10. Forbes, Rāsamālā. p. 134.

11. Ojha, V.G. and Bühler, G. Ed. Somanātha Praśasti of Bhāva-Bṛhaspati, W.Z.K.M. III.p.2.

12. DV. XV.15.

is still found there<sup>1</sup>. He was a devotee of Somanātha and paid visits to Somanātha<sup>2</sup>. Jayasimha made up his mind to get Somanātha repaired<sup>3</sup> which was later on fulfilled by Kumārapāla.

Jayasimha established a city named Simhapura which, according to Abhayatilakagaṇi was near Śatruñjayapura<sup>4</sup>. He established a number of villages all around Simhapura<sup>5</sup>. He performed a sacrifice<sup>6</sup> and got a temple constructed consisting of an idol of the ten incarnations of Lord Viṣṇu<sup>7</sup>.

Kumārapāla is described as the son of Tribhuvanapāla who was the younger brother of Jayasimha. So Kumārapāla is said to be a grandson of Jayasimha<sup>8</sup>. It is supported by most of the evidences of prabandhas and genealogy given in the inscriptions.

*Arṇorāja* : According to Hemacandra as soon as Kumārapāla ascended to throne, Āṇa invaded him with many other kings<sup>9</sup>. Ballāla, the Paramara king also came in a contract with Āṇa<sup>10</sup>. But Kumārapāla himself marched against Āṇa and reached the mountain Arbuda<sup>11</sup> where Vikramasimha was administering. Perhaps, he entered some political treaty with

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1. (a) Burgess, J. Sceneries in Gujarat and Rajputana, London, 1874, Photograph IV.

(b) A.S.W.I. IX. p. 14.

2. DV. XV. 18.

3. Peterson, P. A collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions, Bhavnagar Archaeological Series, Bhavnagar, 1890, p. 187.

4. DV. XV. 97.

5. DV. XV. 98.

6. ibid. XV.105.

7. ibid. XV.119.

8. ibid. XV. 123 ; XVI.1

9. ibid. XVI.7.

10. ibid. XVI.17.

11. ibid. XVI.33.

**Vikramasimha.** The ministers of Ānna prohibited him from war but Ānna rebuking and disgracing his ministers made up his mind to fight<sup>1</sup>. But as Ānna was preparing to fight, Kumārapāla invaded him and rebuked him for his unethical war in the battlefield<sup>2</sup>. Ānna fought with bravery but at last he had to surrender<sup>3</sup>. At the time of the battle with Arṇorāja, Vikramasimha turned to be a traitor and went over to the side of Arṇorāja. This disloyalty led Kumārapāla to uproot him and make his nephew Yaśodhavalā sit on the throne of Ābu<sup>4</sup>. Kumārapāla was victorious but Ānna sent some messengers and proposed to marry his daughter with Kumārapāla which was accepted<sup>5</sup>.

This invasion as narrated by Hemacandra is supported by most of the Prabandhakāras<sup>6</sup> and historians<sup>7</sup>. According to Burgess<sup>8</sup> Bāhaḍa or wāhaḍ, one of the sons of Udayana had revolted and incited the Sapādalakṣa or Śākambharī Rājā Ānna

1. *ibid.* XVIII. 29-37.

2. *ibid.* XVIII. 38 ; XVIII. 84, 85.

3. *ibid.* XVIII. 105-106.

4. Haldar, R. R. Yaśodhavalā Parmara and his inscription, I. A. LVI. p. 10.

5. DV. XIX. 1-91.

6. (a) Prabhāvakācārya, Prabhāvakacarita, pp. 197-198.

(b) Sukṛtakīrtikallolīnī, p. 5, verse 61 ; *ibid.* p. 36.

7. Forbes, Rāsamālā, pp. 141-142. In most of the inscriptions his epithet is given :

विनिज्जितशाकम्भरीभूपाल ।

I.A. XI. p. 71 ; *ibid.* XVIII. p. 12 ; Poona Orientalist, Vol. I. part II. p. 42 etc. Similarly V.G. Ojha and Bühler, E. I., I. p. 294 ; E.I. II. p. 423 ; I. A. VI. p. 201 and XVIII. p. 343 ; A.B.O.R.I. XX III.

8. Burgess, J. The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat, A.S.W.I., IX. p.15.

or Ānaka to invade Gujarat. But according to Kumārapālaprabodha<sup>1</sup>, its cause was religious rather than political one. According to Kumārapālaprabodha, sister of Kumārapāla was married to Ānaka, the Chauhaman king of Śākambharī. Once the king laughed at some Jain Munis. The queen prohibited the king and was insulted by him. Being repudiated, she came to her brother Kumārapāla. Ānaka engaged Vyāghrarāja giving three lac Dinar to kill Kumārapāla. But the king Kumārapāla caught Vyāghrarāja and invaded upon Sapādalakṣadeśa.

But according to Harabilas Sarda, there were two separate fights by Kumārapāla against Ānna<sup>2</sup>.

Kumārapāla got the temple of Somanātha repaired<sup>3</sup>. This fact is noticed by Hemacandra and by all the historians. This was due to the inspiration of Bhāvabṛhaspati that the temple was repaired<sup>4</sup>. Bhāvabṛhaspati exhorted Kumārapāla to restore the decayed temple of Somanātha. The king readily agreed and made Bṛhaspati the lord of all Gaṇas i.e. the head of all Śaiva-temples in his dominion ; bestowed presents of ornaments, two elephants and pearl necklaces on him and entrusted to him the governorship of Somanāthapaṭṭaṇ.<sup>5</sup> Again the inscription proves that it was Bṛhaspati and not Hemacandra who induced the king to rebuild the temple<sup>6</sup>.

Kumārapāla constructed a caitya of Pārśvanātha at Anhil-

1. Kumārapālacaritrasaṅgraha, p. 99.

2. Sarda, Harabilas, Kumārapāla and Arjorāja, I.A. XLI. pp. 195-96.

3. DV. XX. 92, 94, 97.

4. W.Z.K.M. III. p. 2.

5. ibid., p. 2.

6. (a) W.Z.K.M. III. pp. 5-6.

(b) Cousens, H : Somanātha and other medieval temples in Kathiavad, A.S.I. (Imperial series) XLV. p. 14 ; 23.



wāḍpaṭṭaṇa where the statue of Pārśvanātha was made of emeralds<sup>1</sup>. He made another caitya at Devapaṭṭaṇa<sup>2</sup>. This construction is supported by Someśvara<sup>3</sup>.

The king of Koṅkaṇa had no good relations with Kumārapāla. This is indicated in the Kumārapālacarita<sup>4</sup>. The warriors of Kumārapāla waged a fierce war against Koṅkaṇa and then killed the king<sup>5</sup>. Kumārapāla was not present in this fight. Prabhāvakācārya<sup>6</sup> gives his name as Mallikārjuna. The same account is given by Merutuṅga<sup>7</sup>. That Āmbaḍa killed Koṅkaṇādhīpa, is mentioned by the Kumārapālacaritra<sup>8</sup>.

The king of Jāṅgala also won by the army of Kumārapāla. He won Turuṣkas, Ḍilli or Ḍhilli and the king of Kāśī<sup>9</sup>. The winning of the Jāṅgala king is supported by Someśvara<sup>10</sup>. Kumārapāla is mentioned winning over a Dākṣiṇa<sup>11</sup>.

### 3. Omissions and Their probable Causes

Usually Hemacandra avoids the stuggleful early life of a king. If a Chaulukya king is invaded by another king and he faced a defeat, it is omitted by Hemacandra. The unethical actions of a Caulukya are not described. A Caulukya invading another

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1. DV. XX. 98.

2. ibid. XX.99.

3. Someśvara, Kīrtikaumudī, II. 50.

4. Kumārapālacarita, VI. 41.

5. ibid. VI.42-75.

6. Prabhāvakacarita, p. 207.

7. Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 80.

8. (a) Kumārapālacaritra, p. 169.

(b) Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha, pp. 34-40.

9. Kumārapālacarita, VI. 96.

10. Someśvara, Kīrtikaumudī, II. 46, p. 13.

11. ibid. II.49.

king without any proper cause is omitted by Hemacandra.

Hemacandra omits some minor events or victories of Caulukyas which are noticed by other sources.

Hemacandra has omitted the dates and proper boundaries of a particular king. Sometimes, Dvyāśraya depicts changed religion of a particular king due to religious bias.

Most of the archaeological edifices by Caulukyas are omitted by Hemacandra.

### 1. Omissions of the early life of kings

Mūlarāja's early life was full of struggles<sup>1</sup>. It is concluded by Bühler<sup>2</sup> that Mūlarāja changed his crest on succeeding to the Cūḍa throne, and accepted those of his mother's family.

His mother was Līlādevī, sister of Sāmanta Simha and his father was an unknown warrior<sup>3</sup>. In the age of twenty-one he became the founder of the Caulukya or Solanki dynasty<sup>4</sup>. Even such a creditable event of founding a dynasty is not mentioned by Hemacandra because to him this transgression of social order may appear to be more unethical than creditable.

Similar is the case of Jayasimha. He was a child when his father died so his mother was the regent to the throne<sup>5</sup>. His early life was also full of struggle. When he went to the

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1. Forbes, K.A. Rāsamālā, p. 38.

2. Bühler, G. Eleven Land-grants of Caulukyas, I.A. VI. p. 183.

3. (a) Merutuṅga, Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 15-16.

(b) Burgess, J. A.S.W.I. VI. p.4.

4. Burgess, J. A.S.W.I. IX. p. 11.

5. Forbes, Rāsamālā, p. 83.

pilgrimage of Somanātha with his mother, Yaśovarman invaded. Śantu was present at Anhilwāḍa as a minister. Thenceonwards Siddharāja had an enmity with Yaśovarman<sup>1</sup>. It is further informed that Jayasimha was only eight years old when Karna died<sup>2</sup>. So the early administration of Jayasimha was carried on by his mother and the ministers. It is omitted by Hemacandra.

*Kumārapāla* : His early wanderings, family relations and the acquisition of the kingship is omitted by Hemacandra only because the early life of Kumārapāla was full of hardships.

Kumārapāla had two sisters. One was Premalādevī who was married to Sapādalakṣa king Ānaka. The other was Nāmalādevī who was married to Pratāpamalla, the Mahāsādhnika of Jayasimha<sup>3</sup>. Being the son of a maidenservant he was hated by Jayasimha who made a search for him as the kingship of Kumārapāla was predicted. Kumārapāla escaped and then detailed accounts of his wanderings are given<sup>4</sup>. All these events and of the early life of Kumārapāla are omitted by Hemacandra.

Kumārapāla was helped Kṛṣṇa or Kāṇha in the acquisition of the throne<sup>5</sup>. According to another version pratāpamalla

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1. Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha, pp. 35-36.

2. ibid. p. 35.

3. (a) Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha, p. 38.  
(b) Kumārapālacaritrasaṅgraha, p. 113.

4 (a) Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 77.  
(b) Prabhāvakacarita, pp. 195-96.  
(c) Kumārapālacaritrasaṅgraha, pp. 7-13.

5. (a) Prabhāvakacarita, p. 197'  
(b) Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 78.

helped him in acquiring the throne<sup>1</sup>. The whole of the acquisition was planned by commanders Vijayapāla, Mahipāla and Ratnapāla<sup>2</sup>. The acquisition of the throne is omitted by Hemacandra.

**ii. Kings, running away from the field, omitted by Hemacandra.**

*Mulārāja* : He fled away to a fort called Kaṇṭha or Kaṇṭhakoṭa when he was simultaneously invaded by the king of Sapādalakṣa and Bārapa<sup>3</sup>. According to Sten Konow<sup>4</sup>, the Śākambharī king must have been the Cāhamāna Vāgharāja. Moreover, Bühler has supported his fleeing to fort which is found indirectly in the form of a simile<sup>5</sup>. This fact is omitted by Hemacandra.

Moreover, in a war with Vākpati, II., Mūlarāja ran away to the desert of Marawar and sought refuge with Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍī<sup>6</sup>. This run away and refuge is omitted by Hemacandra.

*Bhīma and invasion of Mahmood Ghaznī* : when Mahmood Ghaznī invaded India especially Somanātha, Bhīma was ruling

1. Purāṇanaprabandhasaṅgraha, pp. 38-39.

2. Kumārapālacaritrasaṅgraha, p. 7.

3. (a) Prabandhacintāmaṇi, pp. 16-17.

(b) Konow, Sten, Balera Plates of Mūlarāja I. E. I. Vol. X., p. 77.

4. Konow, Sten, Balera Plates of Mūlarāja, E. I. Vol. X. p. 77.

5. I. A. VI. p. 184.

त्र्यम्बक इव विहिताचलाश्रयः ।

whereon Bühler comments, "it seems to me very probable that the Paṇḍit who composed the Praśasti in his anxiety to find points of resemblance between his patron and various gods, found nothing more to the purpose than staying to Laṅkā which he compared with Śiva.

6. (a) I. A. XVI. p. 23.

(b) Ganguly, D. C. History of the Paramara dynasty, p. 53.

at Anhilwada Patṭana. According to Ibn-Asir<sup>1</sup> who is followed by Farishta, a Mohmmadan historian, the chief of Anhilwad Bhīma fled hastily and abandoning the city, he went to a certain fort for safety and prepared himself for war. The same account is given by Tarikha-i-Alf<sup>2</sup>. According to the Farishta's<sup>3</sup> account, it was Cāmuṇḍarāja who surrendered before Ghazni but it appears to be wrong. It was, in fact Bhīmadeva who fled away to Kaṇṭhakoṭa<sup>4</sup>.

This account is omitted by Hemacandra because Bhīmadeva had to face a defeat and Hemacandra did not want to narrate the defeat especially the demolition of Somanātha. But Bhīma also did not keep silence. He accompanied Maṇḍalika and marched against Mahmood Ghaznī. And this time Mahmood Ghaznī did not make a great stand<sup>5</sup>. The Byramdeo, mentioned by Farishta<sup>6</sup> who joined the army of Somanātha on the third day of fight, appears to be no one other than Bhīmadeva. Again Bhīmadeva met him near Multan and after a severe fight, he had to face such a defeat that he had much difficulty in reaching back to Ghaznī<sup>7</sup>. Again, Kutbuddin Aibak is mentioned to have revenged upon Bhīmadeva<sup>8</sup>. But all these events are omitted by Hemacandra.

According to Merutuṅga<sup>9</sup>, as there broke out a famine during the rule of Bhīma so Bhoja took an advantage and

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1. Elliot, History of India, II. p. 468.

2. *ibid.* II. 471.

3. Dow, Alexander, History of Hindoostan, London, 1768, p. 86.

4. I. A. VI. p. 185.

5. Rau, Chodji, Amarji, Tarikha-e-sorath, Bombay, 1882, p. 112.

6. Dow, Alexander, History of Hindoostan, p. 83.

7. Bayley, History of Gujarat, p. 35.

8. *ibid.*, p. 35.

9. Merutuṅga, Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 30.

invaded. Bhīma made an alliance with Karṇa, the king of Benaras to revenge upon Bhoja<sup>1</sup>. He made an expedition and was victorious over Bhoja. This victory is noted by most of the contemporay sources<sup>2</sup> and inscriptions<sup>3</sup>.

**iii. Invasions :** The following invasions are omitted by Hemacandra.

According to Merutuṅga<sup>4</sup> and Prabhāvakācārya<sup>5</sup>, Jayasimha invaded the Ābhīra king Navaghna. The cause of this invasion is not exactly known<sup>6</sup>.

The victory over Sindhupati which is mentioned by Kīrtikaumudī<sup>7</sup> and an inscription<sup>8</sup>, is omitted by Hemacandra. Again a victory of Saurāṣṭra which is mentioned by the above inscription and Someśvara<sup>9</sup>, is omitted by Hemacandra.

The defeat of Arjorāja, the king of Śākambharī is merely indicated when Kumārapāla rebuked Arjorāja for his unethical war<sup>10</sup>. But it is clearly mentioned by Someśvara<sup>11</sup>.

1. Forbes, Rāsamālā, p. 68-61.

2. (a) Kīrtikaumudī II. 16-18.

(b) Sukṛtakīrtikallolīnī, p. 35.

(c) Prabandhacintāmaṇi, pp. 30-32.

3. E.I., Vol.I. p. 294, E.I. IX. p.151, E.I. XII. p. 197.

4. Merutuṅga, Prabandhacintāmaṇi, pp. 64-65.

5. Prabhāvakacarita, p. 199.

6. Burgess, J. A.S.W.I. IX. p.14. The event is noticed by Burgess also but no cause is given here.

7. Someśvara, Kīrtikaumudī, II.26.

8. Dhruva, H.H. Dohad Inscription of the Chaulukya King Jayasimha-Deva. I.A. X. p. 159.

अन्येष्व्युत्सादिता येन सिन्धुराजादयो नृपाः ।

9. Ganguly, D.C. Paramaras, p. 163.

10. DV. XVIII. 87-88.

11. Someśvara, Kīrtikaumudī, II. 37.

The victory of Siddharāja over Naravarma after the continuation of war for twelve years, which is mentioned by Merutuṅga<sup>1</sup> and D.C. Ganguly<sup>2</sup>, is not mentioned by Hemacandra. Similarly according to Someśvara<sup>3</sup>, Jayasimha overpowered the king of Gauḍa. It is also omitted by Hemacandra.

Because all these invasions by Jayasimha were for the expansion of his territory, perhaps, that is why they are omitted by Hemacandra.

Kumārapāla's invasion against Karṇa, king of Dahul which is mentioned by Forbes<sup>4</sup> is omitted by Hemacandra.

**iv. Unethical actions of Caulukya king are omitted by Hemacandra.**

Mūlarāja killed his maternal uncle Sāmantasimha and established himself as the founder of the Caulukya dynasty<sup>5</sup>. It is omitted by Hemacandra.

"Bhīma", it is said by Forbes<sup>6</sup> "refused to join common attempt against Mahmood Ghaznī headed by veesaladeva. But Hemacandra has omitted the complete expedition against Mahmood Gazni.

**v. Some other invasions by Caulukyās**

Mūlarāja killed Bārapa, the king of Lāṭa<sup>7</sup>. Hemacandra

1. Merutuṅga, Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p.76.

2. Ganguly, D. The History of Paramara dynasty, p. 163.

3. Someśvara, Kīrtikaumudī, II.37.

4. Forbes, K.A. Rāsamālā, p. 152.

5. (a) Prabandhacintāmaṇi, pp. 15-16.

(b) Kumārapālacaritraśaṅgraha, p.37.

(c) I.A. XII., p. 197.

सामन्तसिंहमतुलं निजमातुलं यः शक्त्या निहत्य किल गुर्जरराज्यमाप ।

6. Forbes, K.A. : Rāsamālā, p. 70.

7. (a) Someśvara, Kīrtikaumudī, II.3

(b) Burgess- A.S.W.I. IX. p. 11.

gave the credit of killing Bārapa to Cāmuṇḍarāja but as all the other chroniclers ascribe this victory to Mūlarāja, so according to A K. Majumdar<sup>1</sup>, “it seems that Cāmuṇḍa fought under his father, though he may have led the army during the actual combat.”

Similary Mūlarāja's expeditions against Sindhurāja<sup>2</sup>, his victory over Vighararāja<sup>3</sup>; attacking and conquering northern Gujarat<sup>4</sup> and his fight with Kalchūris<sup>5</sup> are omitted by Hemacandra. Again, the cause appears to be the *expansionism* which is omitted by Hemacandra here.

Cāmuṇḍa's policy is omitted by Hemacandra. According to Forbes<sup>6</sup>, “He was better than his father because he had no enemies but Yavanas, whereas according to Ray Choudhuri<sup>7</sup> by his hostility to the Sind rulers he merely carried on the policy laid down by his father.

The victory of Lāṭa<sup>8</sup> by Durlabharāja is omitted by Hemacandra.

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1. Majumdar, A.K. Chaulukyas of Gujarat, p. 34.
  2. Ganguly D. C., History of the Paramar dynasty, p. 79.
  3. (a) Bühler, G. I.A., VI. p. 184.  
(b) Burgess. James, A.S.W.I. IX. p.11.
  4. Bühler, G. I. A. VI. p.182.
  5. Konow, Sten, Balera Plates of Mūlarāja, E.I. X. p.77-78.
  6. Forbes, Rāsamālā, p.50.
  7. Ray, H.C. dynastic History of Northern India, Calcutta, 1936, Vol.II. p.946.
  8. E.I. I. p.194 ; I.A. XII. p.197.

निर्मथ्य लाटनाथं यस्तद्रमां सक्षमां लली ।



**vi Minor victories omitted**

Kaṛṇa had a victory over Bhilla Captain Āśā of Āśāpalli<sup>1</sup>. It is omitted by Hemacandra. He won another Bhilla Khaṅgalakṣa or Khaṅgāra<sup>2</sup> which is omitted by Hemacandra.

Kumārāpāla's viceroy Gūmadeva keeping Ābhīra tribe under his subjection is noticed by recent researches<sup>3</sup>. But this is not mentioned by Hemacandra.

**vii. Religious omissions :** Mūlarāja was a Śaiva in religious thoughts and brought colonies of Audīcya Brāhmaṇas to Gujarat setting them at Simhapura or Sihar in the east of Kaṭhiawar, at Stambhatīrtha or Cambay and in various villages between Bāṇas and Sābharamatī rivers<sup>4</sup>.

Again, after winning Grāharipu, Mūlarāja went to Somanātha and worshipped there before returning to his capital<sup>5</sup>. He made a Śaiva temple Mūleśvara<sup>6</sup> which is omitted by Hemacandra.

It appears that such events are ignored by Hemacandra due to his religious bias because he was a Jain himself. Or it is possible that he might not have been acquainted with such events which were added by later prabandhakāras. similarly

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1. (a) Merutuṅga, Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 55.

(b) Forbes, Rāsamālā, p. 79.

(c) Burgess, A.S.W.I. VI. p.6.

(d) Burgess, A.S.W.I. IX. p. 13.

2. Merutuṅga, Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 55.

3. Diskalkar, D.B. Some unpublished inscriptions of Chaulukyas, P. O. Vol. I. pt. IV. p. 39.

4. Burgess, A.S.W.I. IX. p. 11.

5. Cousens, A.S.I. (Imperial Series), XLV. Somanātha, p. 3.

6. Merutuṅga, Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p.17.

Karṇa was also a Śaiva because the worship of Lord Śiva is mentioned in one of his land-grants<sup>1</sup>.

Most of the inscriptions<sup>2</sup> show that Śaivism developed in the reign of Kumārapāla also together with Jainism. The Jain facts are mentioned by Hemacandra while Śaivism in the reign of Kumārapāla is totally left by him. This again appears to be due to his religious bias.

**viii. Architectural omissions :** Most of the edifices of the Caulukya kings especially Śaiva temples are omitted by Hemacandra. In a few cases, it appears that Hemacandra had prejudice against Śaivism so he omitted them. But in most of the cases it appears that he was not interested in describing the monumental acquisitions of the Caulukyas. Some temples and buildings which were made by his patrons viz. Jāyasīṃha and Kumārapāla are described while other buildings made by other kings are omitted. Here is an account of the omissions by Hemacandra.

Mūlarāja constructed a temple called Rudramālā at Siddhapura. This temple was not completed by him<sup>3</sup>. The description of the above temple is extensively given by J. Burgess<sup>4</sup>. This temple which was begun by Mūlarāja remained incomplete due to invasions and was completed by Siddharāja later on<sup>5</sup>.

Mūlarāja constructed a temple of Mūleśvara as noticed

1. E.I. I. p. 3'6-17.

2. E.I. II. p. 424; W.Z.K.M. III. pp. 5-6 ; A.B.O.R.I. XXIII. 316.

3. Forbes, K.A. Rāsamālā, p. 39.

4. Burgess, J. A.S.W.I. IX. p.11.

5. *ibid.* p. 59-60.

by Merutuṅga<sup>1</sup>. This temple was made at Maṇḍalī. This has been identified with Mūlasthānadeva<sup>2</sup>. It was a Śaiva temple with monastery attached to it<sup>3</sup>.

Sometimes, Hemacandra omits even Jain edifices e.g. Mūlarāja is mentioned having made a Jain temple called Mūlarāja Vāsāhikā<sup>4</sup>. He built another palace called “the palace of Muñjāladevaswāmin”<sup>5</sup>. In one of the inscriptions<sup>6</sup>, it is mentioned that he made so many caityas. But these caityas are not traced as yet.

Cāmuṇḍarāja constructed the temple of the god Caṇḍanātha and the god Cācineśvara<sup>7</sup>. But it is omitted by Hemacandra.

Durlabha constructed a palace having seven storeys<sup>8</sup>. Then, he built a palace called Madanaśaṅkaraprāsāda to commemorate his brother Vallabharāja<sup>9</sup>. At Śrīpaṭṭaṇa he

- 
1. Merutuṅga, Prabandhacintāmaṇi. p.17.
  2. Bühler, G. Some Land grants of Chaulukyas, I.A. Vol. VI. p. 184.
  3. Burgess, A.S.W.I. VI. p.4 ; A.S.W.I., IX. p. 11.
  4. Merutuṅga, Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 17.
  5. (a) Merutuṅga, Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 17.  
(b) Burgess, J., A.S.W.I. IX. p. 11.
  6. Reu, B.N. The Śambhara inscription of the Chaulukya Jayasimha, I.A. LVIII. p.235.

धर्मार्थकामाक्षरसाधकस्तु चैत्यादिकार्याणि कृतानि येन ।

7. Burgess, J. A.S.W.I. IX. p. 12.
8. Merutuṅga, Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 20.
9. Merutuṅga, Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 20 ; Burgess, J. A. S.W.I. IX. p. 12.

made a lake called Durlabhasarovara<sup>1</sup>. All these are omitted by Hemacandra.

By the Vimala temple inscription of mount Ābu, it is informed that Bhīmadeva founded a temple of Ṛṣabhanātha. The temple was founded in about A.D. 1031<sup>2</sup>. Bhīmadeva began repairing Somanātha after Mahmood Ghaznī returned. He drove out the governor of Mahmud and got the temple repaired<sup>3</sup>. But such an important event was omitted by Hemacandra.

His wife is said to have constructed a step-well at Aṇhilwāḍa and Bhīma built the temples of Tripuruṣaprasāda of Bhīmeśvaradeva and of the goddess Bhiruanī<sup>4</sup>.

According to Merutuṅga Karṇa built Karṇeśvaradevatāyatana, Karṇasāgarataḍāga, Karṇavatīpura and Karṇameruprasāda at Śrīpatṭaṇa<sup>5</sup>. He made a superb temple attributed to Neminātha which is called Karṇavihāra<sup>6</sup>.

The city Karṇadevī according to J. Burgess<sup>7</sup>, is on the Sābarmatī river about fifty five miles from Aṇhilwāḍa. Karṇa Sāgara is an artificial lake on the Rupen river at Kunsagar near Mudhera<sup>8</sup>.

After winning Bhilla Khaṇḍa Lakṣāphipati, Karṇa built a

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1. (a) Merutuṅga, Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 20.

(b) Forbes, K.A., Rāsamālā, p. 53.

2. Kielhorn, F. Mount Abu Vimala temple inscription, E.I. IX., p. 148.

3. Cousens, H. Somanātha, A.S.I. (Imperial series), XLV. p. 22.

4. Burgess, G. A.S.W.I., IX. p. 13.

5. Merutuṅga, Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 55.

6. Forbes, Rāsamālā, p. 81.

7. Burgess, G. A.S.W.I., VI. p. 6.

8. *ibid.* p.6.

prāsāda of Jayantidevī<sup>1</sup>. He built a temple of Kocharābadevī on the west of the Sābaramatī also<sup>2</sup>. Thus his rule is marked as a period of National consolidation and great public works, both secular as well as religious<sup>3</sup>.

The age of Jayasimha is again very important for his constructions including fortification, establishment of cities, repairs of temples and constructing new edifices. He was so popular for his constructions that some of the buildings showing a later style are also ascribed to him<sup>4</sup>.

Merutuṅga has noticed that Jayasimha made a Sahasraliṅgasarovara<sup>5</sup> and Rudramālā<sup>6</sup> or Rudramahākālaprāsāda<sup>7</sup> at Siddhapura. According to a legend Jayasimha Siddharāja completed the great temple of Rudra Mahādeva and the name of Siddhapura was given in his honour<sup>8</sup>. He made a lake called 'Bindo-Sarovara' at siddhapura<sup>9</sup>. Jayasimha constructed a Sūrya temple at Mudher<sup>10</sup>.

One of his important constructions is the gateways and

- 
1. Merutuṅga, Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p.55.
  2. (a) *ibid.* p.55.  
(b) Burgess, J. A.S.W.I., IX. p.13.
  3. Burgess, A.S.W.I., VI. p.6.
  4. *ibid.* p.6.
  5. (a) Merutuṅga, Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p.62.  
(b) Burgess, J. A.S.W.I., VI., p.6.  
(c) *ibid.* IX. p.14.
  6. Burgess, J. A.S.W.I., VI. p.6.
  7. Merutuṅga, Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p.61.
  8. (a) Burgess, J. A.S.W.I., 'X. p.58.  
(b) I.A., VI. p.192.
  9. Burgess, J. A.S.W.I., VI. p.6.
  10. Burgess, J. A.S.W.I., VI. p.6.

fortification of Jhunjhuwāḍa and Daboi<sup>1</sup>. According to Burgess, probably he built the gates and possibly the temple of Śiva Vidyānātha also which was restored or completed at a later date<sup>2</sup>. Besides, he made two tanks called the 'Manāla Sarovara' at Viramgām and the Malavor Mainal Tālāva at Dholaka. He also constructed some Hindu temples at Karpāvai<sup>3</sup>.

At Ānandapur, an old temple of Ananteśvara Mahādeva which was rebuilt, is supposed to have been originally erected by Siddharāja<sup>4</sup>.

Jayasīmha repaired a temple of Neminātha at Raivataka. The original temple, according to the information of Merutuṅga was made of wood but later on it was converted into that of stones<sup>5</sup>. Besides, endowments were also made to Śatruñjaya shrines<sup>6</sup>. From an inscription of Siddharāja it appears that he made so many temples at Aṇhilwāḍapaṭṭaṇa<sup>7</sup>.

Jayasīmha established the city named Siddhapura. The original place was Śrīsthala which was established by Mūlarāja but that was changed to Siddhapura in the honour of Jayasīmha

1. (a) Burgess, Antiquities of the town of Dabhoi in Gujarat, 1888, p.2.

(b) A.S.W.I., VI. p.6.

2. Burgess, Antiquities of the town of Dabhoi in Gujarat, p.2.

3. Burgess, J. A.S.W.I., p.6.

4. Cousens, H. Somanātha, p.6, and plates LXIX and LXX.

5. Merutuṅga, Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p.65.

6. Burgess, J. A.S.W.I., IX. p.14.

7. I.A. X. p.159.

अणहिलपाटकनगरं सुरमन्दिररुद्धतरणिह्यमार्गम् ।

यस्यास्ति राजधानी राज्ञोऽयोध्येव रामस्य ॥

Siddharāja<sup>1</sup>. Admiring his constructions, Forbes<sup>2</sup> remarks, "His sumptuous edifices and reservoirs where ruins still remain excite the wonder of the rustic and the admiration of the student of ancient history".

But unfortunately, most of these constructions are omitted by Hemacandra.

Both the repair of Śatruñjaya Prāsāda by Kumārapāla and the construction of the temple of Neminātha by him are omitted by Hemacandra.

Besides, he put the golden jars at Somanātha ; constructed royal houses ; made Sarasvatī-Kūpikā, silver Paṭṭaśālikās ; Muṇḍukāśanas for shaving head; stair-case in the river ; guest-houses for Brāhmaṇas and Vāpikās in the way of Somanātha. He repaired the temple of Pāpamocadeva<sup>3</sup>. All these are omitted by Hemacandra.

It shows that Hemacandra had no archaeological aptitude in the Dvyāśrayakāvya.

#### 4. Exaggerations and transformation of facts

(i) **Heroism** : Hemacandra has introduced his characters as exalted and has depicted them according to the characteristics of a Mahākāvya. So he has introduced some exaltations and poetic elements in them. A few examples are as follows :

The kings of Caulukya dynasty are compared to or depicted more than the ancient kings like Hariścandra, Pururavas or Māndhātā<sup>4</sup>. This is the exaggerative style of expression.

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1. Burgess, J. A.S.W.I., IX. p.58.

2. Cousens, H. Somanātha, p.23.

3. Peterson, P. : A collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions, p.188

4. DV. I. 55.

Similarly the whole of the Prakrit Kumārapālacarita consists of the descriptions of various seasons and personal life of Kumārapāla rather than concrete historical facts.

The characteristics of a king are exaggerated politically also. Mūlarāja honours Grāharipu but only Grāharipu tormented sages besides his warning. The honour of Mūlarāja towards Grāharipu is merely a feather on the cap of Mūlarāja<sup>1</sup>.

A respect for elders and the refusal in the acceptance of kingship of Bhīma, when he was being coronated by Durlabha<sup>2</sup>, is again to show the exalted character of Bhīma. Similarly the insistence of Nāgarāja to take to asceticism only for his brother may also be quoted<sup>3</sup>.

**ii. Poetical change :** The introduction of Svayaṃvara arranged by the king Mahendra in Marudeśa is merely to illustrate the characteristics of a Mahākāvya just like of that of the Raghuvaṃśa<sup>4</sup>. In this respect, A.K. Majumdar has rightly remarked 'During the time, when the marriage of Durlabha is supposed to have taken place, North India was reeling under the remorseless raids of Sultan Mahmud. Hence it would have been remarkable for so many monarchs of North India to have left their domains for the purpose of attending the Svayaṃvara Sabhā of an insignificant Naḍḍula chief's sister<sup>5</sup> .

Moreover, none of the other historians has noticed this event.

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1. DV. II. 59.

2. ibid. VIII. 18.

3. ibid. VIII. 20.

4. Kālidāsa, Raghuvaṃśa, Canto VI.

5. Majumdar, A.K. Chaulukyas of Gujarat, pp. 41-42.



The cause of the enmity between Durlabharāja and Paramara Bhoja as indicated by Hemacandra is merely the imitation of the fight after the svayaṃvara of Indumatī<sup>1</sup>.

The introduction of the painter who brought a picture of a girl called Lakṣmī in the court of Karṇa is merely poetical. The depiction of Mayaṇallā in love is merely to introduce Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra.

Karṇa is depicted very handsome by all the historical sources.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps that is why the love-affair of Mayaṇallā was attached with him although the love-affair is not historical.

According to Forbes<sup>3</sup>, the king Karṇa fell in love with very beautiful actress 'Numoonjalā'. A minister Moonjāl cognizant of the fact contrived to substitute Mayaṇallā.

According to Merutuṅga<sup>4</sup>, Mayaṇallā was very ugly and wanted to marry Karṇa. Her father sent her to marry him. Karṇa hated her. She tried to commit suicide but was saved by Udayamatī the mother of Karṇa. She became pregnant through the trick of Muñjāla and gave birth to Jayasīṃha.

She belonged to the Kādamba dynasty of Goa as her father is mentioned as Jayakeśin who was a contemporary of

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1. Kālidāsa, Raghuvamśa, VII. 35 onwards.

2. a) Someśvara, Kīrtikaumudī, II. 21.

(b) Sukṛtakīrtikallolīnī, p. 4.

(c) I.A. VI. p. 194.

प्राप्तराज्यलक्ष्मीस्वयंवरकामिनीकन्दर्पवैलोक्यमल्लश्रीकर्णदेवः ।

3. Forbes, Rāsamālā, p. 82.

4. Merutuṅga, Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p.54-55.

**Karṇa<sup>1</sup>.** This fact is noted by Abhyatilakagaṇi also<sup>2</sup>.

Jayasimha is mentioned having constructed one thousand and eight temples of Lord Śiva on the bank of Sahasraliṅga-sarovara<sup>3</sup> which appears to be an exaggeration. Similarly he made one hundred and eight temples of Devī<sup>4</sup>. This is also not supported by any of the historians,

**iii. Belief in divinity :** Hemacandra occasionally introduces divine power to support the authority of kingship of a particular king. There was a divine prediction in favour of Bhīmarāja when he was born<sup>5</sup>. Similarly there was a prediction by lord Śiva that Kumārapāla will acquire the throne<sup>6</sup>. But Jayasimha did not want him. That is why he had to saunter in his early life to hide himself.

**iv. Mythological introductions :** At many places, Hemacandra introduced some semi-gods to show the valour of a king. The story of Nāgakanyā and Nāgarāja Hullada<sup>7</sup> who was won by Jayasimha is a quasi-myth rather than a political event. By this Jayasimha established a friendship with Nāgaloka. Similarly the catching of Śākinī was introduced by

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1. (a) Prabhāvakacarita, p. 174.
  - (b) Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 54.
  - (c) Kumārapālacaritrasaṅgraha, p. 38.
  - (d) Rāsamālā, p. 81.
  - (e) A.S.W.I., IX. p. 13.

2. DV. IX. 99-102.
3. ibid. XV. 117.
4. ibid. XV.118.
5. ibid. VIII. 5-8.
6. ibid. XV.55.
7. ibid. XIII.23 ; XIII.90,

Hemacandra but the real event was the political capture of Yaśovarman<sup>1</sup>.

**v. Geographical :** Kumārapāla is said to have controlled the places called Airāvata, Abhisāra, Dārva, Sthālaka, Dhaumaka, Trigarta and Abhisāragarta<sup>2</sup>. But these were introduced merely to illustrate grammar<sup>3</sup>.

### 5. New facts only for grammatical illustrations

Most the usages of the Dvyāśraya are merely to illustrate grammar. So artificial epithets blended with imagination frequently crept in the poem. Some of the contexts are so much blended with mythology and grammar that it becomes difficult to distinguish them from historical facts<sup>4</sup>. Some of them are used through Śleṣa.<sup>5</sup>

Still, there are some historical facts which are merely to illustrate grammar.

Some of the sages killed by Grāharipu are called 'Audanvata' i.e. living by the side of the ocean. This is merely to illustrate the sūtra<sup>6</sup> and make an artificial epithet of the sages.

The kings Rohiṇiṣeṇa, Śatabhiṣaksena, Punarvasūṣeṇaka etc. are said to be following Mūlarāja in his expedition against Grāharipu.<sup>7</sup> But all these are fictitious kings merely to illustrate grammar.<sup>8</sup>

1. DV. XIV. 17.

2. ibid. XVI. 24.

3. Haima 6.3.43-46.

4. DV. XV. 39.

5. DV. II. 75. The word Dhṛtarāja through śleṣa is used in the sense "who has supported kings."

6. Haima, 2.1.97.

7. DV. III. 109.

8. Haima, 2.3.27.

Yantirāt is mentioned to be released by Bhīmadeva.<sup>1</sup> But this is to illustrate the sūtra<sup>2</sup> only. Moreover, the kings Nanti, Ganṭi, Hanti, Vanti, Manti and Tanti are said to have accepted the supremacy of Bhīma but all these proper names are merely to illustrate grammar.<sup>3</sup>

The kings of Gāndhāra, Sālveya, Vaṅga, Paurava, Māgadha, Saurameya, Kālīṅga, Audumbari, Kālakūṭi, Prātyāgrathi, Rāśmaki, Naiṣṭhaya, Āmbaṣṭhya, Kauravya, Āvantya, Kausalya, Ājādi, Pāṇḍya, Yavana, Śaka, Kunti, Avanti, Kuru are mentioned under the kingship of Jayasimha.<sup>4</sup> But all these are merely to illustrate grammar<sup>5</sup>.

Similarly the queens called Kauravyāyaṇī, Śūrasenī, Mādri, Āsuri, Māgdhī, Auśinarī, Bhārgī are mentioned following the king Jayasimha.<sup>7</sup> These are also referred merely to illustrate grammar<sup>8</sup>.

This historical analysis of the Dvyāśrayakāvya leads to the conclusion that Hemacandra had a first hand knowledge of the chronicles of his patrons and their predecessors. It is again supported by the fact that his historical information is not only attested by other historical sources but also serves as addenda to some events, proper names and geographical

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1. DV. IX. 35.

2. Haima, 4.2.39.

3. DV. IX. 36.

4. Haima, 4.3.59.

5. DV. XV. 24-26.

6. Haima.6.1.115, 6.1.122.

7. DV. XV. 27.

8. Haima, 6.1.123, 6.1.124.

information. Although Hemacandra has not given dates of the kings, his sense of political boundaries and invasions except a few instances is quite historical and valuable. Besides all these facts, hero-worship and the characteristics of a Mahākāvya gave birth to exaggerative style of expression which is a salient feature of Sanskrit literature and which was inevitable by a man of letters like Hemacandra.

## XI. GRAMMATICAL STUDY

### (Arrangement and technique)

Hemacandra wrote a new grammar named *Haimaśabdā-nuśāsana* and in order to illustrate it, he wrote a historical *Mabākāvya* called the *Dvyāśrayakāvya*. Before Hemacandra, Bhaṭṭi had illustrated only a few *Adhikāras* of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* as well as all the tenses in his *Tinanta-kāṇḍa*. The *Rāvaṇārjunīya* set a new tradition to illustrate all the *Adhikaraṇas* of the grammar in the same order although he could not completely fulfil it. On the other hand *Halāyudha* in his *Kavirahasya* collected all the similar conjugational forms.

Hemacandra undertook a new enterprise to write his poem which comprised not only the complete examples of his grammar but manytimes quoted the controversial opinions of other scholars on grammar as well through examples. *Sūtras* injecting prohibition (*Pratiṣedha*) and indicated by negation (*Nañ-compound*) were neither illustrated in the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya* nor in the *Rāvaṇārjunīya*. But almost all such examples are given by Hemacandra. His novelty in illustrations lies in the fact that manytimes he gives even counter examples (*Pratyudāharaṇa*) which are totally ignored in other poems. Some of the *sūtras* which require a detailed explanation and a variety of examples are also given by Hemacandra.

Thus Hemacandra tried to acquire the culmination in grammatical poems in illustrations and he was successful in his object. Here is a study of his various salient characteristics which are found in his illustrations.

*Sañjñā and Adhikārasūtras* : Some of the initial Sañjñās are omitted by Hemacandra. The cause appears to be :

(a) They do not serve any direct purpose in the illustrations.

(b) They may create an obstacle in the flow of the story although Hemacandra is capable of moulding the whole of the diction accordingly. Most of the omissions occur in the beginning of the Dvyāśrayakāvya<sup>1</sup>.

Manytimes these Sañjñā or Adhikāra sūtras are not illustrated through a sense but their name is used in a verse either directly or through a simile<sup>2</sup>. Sometimes a number of

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1. Muni, *Himāmsūvijaya*, Ed. Siddha Hemacandraśabdānuśāsāna, Ahmedabad, 1934, 1.1.4-1.1.42. These omitted Sañjñās are :

स्वर, ह्रस्व, दीर्घ, प्लुत, नामी, समात, सन्ध्यक्षर, विसर्ग, व्यंजन, शुट्, वर्ग, घोष, अन्तःस्थ, शिट्, स्वः, विभक्ति, पद, वाक्य, नाम, शुट्, अव्यय, पुरण ।

2. (a) Dvyāśraya, II. 79. Haima 2.2.1-3. In the illustrations of Kāraka, Kartā and Karma, he has given the verse :

महैनसां कारकवत् क्रियाणां हेतुः स्वतन्त्रः स कुर्म कर्ता ।

Here both the names and definition are illustrated not through the sense but by the name only.

- (b) Similarly in the definition of Samāsa, Dv.V.29; Haima 3.1.18.

समासे नाम नाम्नेव शस्त्रं शस्त्रेण युध्यथ ।  
ऐकाध्येऽयोजि विस्पष्टपटुभिर्गूर्जरैर्मंडैः ॥

- (c) In the illustrations of

समर्थः पदविधिः

Dv. XX. 102; Haima 7.4.122, he gives :

आवोषत्सु सदा नृपः पदविधिर्यद्वत् समर्थोऽभवत् ।

Sañjñās are incorporated in one verse only.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes, the long list of Sañjñā sūtras are only illustrated by the name<sup>2</sup>.

Adhikāra sūtras are illustrated mostly by their use. Sometimes, a counter example is also given to support the scope of the Adhikārasūtra<sup>3</sup>.

2. *The Sañjñās employed in a Sūtra* : In most of the cases, Hemacandra tries to give all the illustrations of the

1. Haima 6.1.1. Taddhito (S) nādiḥ
- Haima 6.1.2. Vṛddha
- Haima 6.1.3. Yuvā
- Haima 6.1.11. Vādyāt

All these Sañjñās are incorporated in one verse. DV. XIV.37.

तत्तद्धितं कर्तृभिरात्मभृतुः समेत्य वृद्धैर्गुर्वभिः क्षणाद्वा ।

दुःस्थैरथावन्तिभटैः स वप्रोऽध्यारोह्यभीतैः रणतूर्यवाद्यात् ॥

2. DV. VIII. 4-5; Haima 3.3.6-16.

पंचमी, सप्तमी, प्रथमा, ह्यस्तनी

Neither their suffixes nor their application is illustrated. Similarly

वर्तमाना, भ्रतनी, परोक्षा, आशीः, इवस्तनी, भविष्यन्ती and क्रियातिपत्ति are illustrated. Likewise परस्मै and आत्मनेपद

are illustrated by their proper name. DV. VII.7; Haima 3.3.19-20.

3. Haima 5.1.14-15., DV. XI.4.

असरूपेऽपवादे, वोपसर्गः प्राक् क्तेः

Here, not only the example but also the counter-example is illustrated.

असरूप इति किम्—कार्याणि

प्राक्क्तेरिति किम्—प्रवर्धनी ।

Similarly Ā tumātyādi Kṛt (Haima 5.1.1. DV. X.84).

Here the counter-example of atyādi is given.



Saṅjñās used in a sūtra.<sup>1</sup> But sometimes, he gives only one example and proceeds further<sup>2</sup>.

3. 'It' letters : The purpose of making a letter 'it' is also explained through examples by Hemacandra<sup>3</sup>.

4. Further classification and discussions through examples :

Some of the sūtras, which are further explained and classified by some of the grammarians are also illustrated by Hemacandra in details. He explains all of them quoting a variety and vividness of examples. Moreover, the divergence in opinion is also quoted through examples although he has not mentioned the name of the person. In explaining these

1. DV. 1.1-4; Haima 1.2.1.

समानां तेन दीर्घः

Here he tried to give all the combinations of the samānā words viz. a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, etc.

2. DV. XI 17; Haima 5.1.54.

नाम्न्युपान्त्यपृक्गुञः कः

Here, Nāmī is the saṅjñā for all the vowels except avarṇa, (Anavarṇa Nāmī, Haima 1.1.6). But only one example Budha is given which is an example of u as Upāntya. Rest all the vowels are omitted.

3. DV. X·I. 58-59; Haima 5.3.19.

‘इङोऽपादाने तु टिद्वा’

Here the simple example of the Sūtra is adhyāya. But because it is ṭit for the feminine suffix so two examples more viz. Upādhyāya and upādhyāyī are given to explain the purpose of ṭit through examples.

examples Abhayatilakagaṇi, the commentator of the Dvyāśraya has completely explored them.<sup>1</sup>

### 5. Counter-examples : The trend of illustrating counter

1. (a) DV. II. 104-107; Haima 2.2.29.

#### अपायेऽवधिरपादानम्

So many examples of apāya are given. Apāya according to Abhayatilakagaṇi is of three types, nirdiṣṭaviṣaya, upāttaviṣaya and apekṣitakriya. Moreover, it is divided into two parts viz. Kāyasaṃsargapūrvaka and Buddhisamsargapūrvaka. Thus Hemacandra has illustrated all these types of apāya citing various example.

- (b) DV. 48-50 ; Haima 3.1.51. In the Sūtra Nañ, Hemacandra has given all the possible examples in various senses.  
(c) DV. V. 79-90 ; Haima 3.1.96.

#### विशेषणं विशेष्येणैकार्थं कर्मधारयश्च ।

The examples Nilotpalaiḥ and the counter example Takṣakaḥ sarpaiḥ following a discussion of Abhayatilakagaṇi to explain the variety. Further two examples ugrativraḥ and Tivrograḥ to illustrate their optional assertion of the position. Due to the Bāhulakāt of the Sūtra more examples are given viz.

क्वचिद्बाहुलकात् न स्यात् अर्जुनः कान्तवीर्यः, क्वचिन्वित्यः  
कृष्णसर्पः ।

- (d) DV. VII. 114; Haima 3.4. 46.

घातोस्नेकस्वारादाम् परोक्षायाः, कृष्वस्तिवानुत्वदन्तम् ।

Here it is classified and explained in detail by Gaṇi using the examples of the Dvyāśraya.

अनुग्रहणं विपर्यासव्यवहितनिवृत्त्यर्थम् । तेन चकार, चकासाम् ।  
ईहां देवदत्तश्चक्रे इत्यादिना न स्यात् इत्यन्वित्यनेनासूचि । उपसर्गस्य  
क्रियाविशेषकत्वाव्यवधायकत्वं नास्ति । तेनोक्षाप्रचकार इत्यादि  
स्यादेव ।

Contd.....

examples is totally new in the poem of Hemacandra which shows the climax in illustrating grammar in the poetry. Although he has not given all the counter-examples as the commentators of the grammatical schools do, yet he spares no place to clarify his Sūtra through counter-examples if the sense is not very clear. In the first stage, Hemacandra did not give the counter-example. That is why we find only three

- (e) DV. XI. 40; Haima 5.1.72.

‘कर्मणोऽण्’

Here two examples of Karma viz., Nirvartya and Vikārya are śīrolāva and ākampakāra.

- (f) Sometimes many examples of a suffix, in various senses are illustrated. These examples denoting various aspects of the meaning of the suffix are given by Abhayatilakagaṇi.

DV. XIX. 85; Haima. 7.3.5. Prakṛṣṭe tamap

The example is ‘gauratamaḥ’. Further explanation is given viz.

विलसत्तमः जातिद्रव्यवचनेभ्योऽपि गुणक्रियाप्रकर्षविवक्षया स्यात् ।  
स्त्रीतमा एता या सुलक्षणापूपपाकादि गीतगानादि च स्त्रीकार्यं  
कुर्वन्ति । द्रव्यान्तरस्तमवायिनां च प्रकृष्टेन गुणेन प्रकृष्टे द्रव्ये तद्वतः  
प्रत्ययः स्यात् । सूक्ष्मवस्त्रतमः .....etc.

- (g) Sometimes a few words used in the sūtra have many senses and they create a complexity in the explanation. Such words are explained by Hemacandra through various examples.

DV. IX. 169-172; Haima 4.3.97.

One of the root ‘mā’ is to be explained in the Sūtra where Abhayatilakagaṇi reads

मा इति मामाङ्मेडां त्रयाणां ग्रहणम् । मा माङ्वा । अमीयमानैः ।  
अमेपीयमानान् । मेङ् अमीयमानान् ।

Contd.

counter-examples in the first canto of the Dvyāśraya<sup>1</sup>. Then the number of counter-example took a new mould in the poem i.e. either they were given in the beginning of a canto<sup>2</sup> or in the beginning of the pāda of his grammar<sup>3</sup>. But in the rest of the portion, mostly counter examples were not given. Similarly sometimes they are given either at the end of a canto<sup>4</sup> or at the end of a pāda<sup>5</sup>.

The style of illustrations is that the counter-examples in the simple sūtras not requiring an explanation, are omitted while in the case of an indicatory negation<sup>6</sup> through nañ or

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Thus all the examples are given.

Similarly we find some similar examples in other verses of the Dvyāśraya also.

- |   |                |
|---|----------------|
| DV. X. 39-45.   | Haima 4.4.47.  |
| „ XI. 45.   | „ 5.1.80.      |
| „ XI. 110.  | „ 5.1.154.     |
| „ XVII.26.  | „ 6.4.42.      |
| 1. DV. I. 40  | „ 1.3.3.       |
| „ I. 47   | „ 1.3.12.      |
| ;; I. 105   | „ 1.3.48-50.   |
| 2. DV. II. 3; II.9; IV. 8-9; IV. 15; IV. 1; X.2. etc.     |                |
| 3. Haima 2.1.1.   | DV. II.9.      |
| „ 4.1.1.  | „ VIII. 26-27. |
| „ 1.4.1.  | „ I.130.       |
| 4. DV. I.130; II.87; III. 89-90 etc.                      |                |
| 5. Haima 2.4.98, which is in the ending part of the pāda. |                |
| 6. DV. XI. 17; 5.1.35-38.                                 |                |

‘नाम्नो वदः क्यप् च’

Here anupasargāt is following from Haima 5.1.30. So here the counter-example of anupasargāditi kim is given.

This anupasarga is an indicatory negation. But throughout the poem such examples are not necessarily found.

many words in one sense<sup>1</sup> or words in a group<sup>2</sup> or in order to further explain them<sup>3</sup>, counter-examples are given.

6. *Synonyms* : Hemacandra set up a new tradition by illustrating synonyms of the words or roots given in the sūtra. Usually Bhaṭṭi did not illustrate them. In the Rāvaṇārjuniya a few cases were illustrated while Hemacandra took it up as a regular practice. This style is applicable both to the roots and words.<sup>4</sup>

1. DV. XI. 47; Haima 5.1.85.

हस्तिवाहकपाटात् शक्ती

Here three words in one sense śakti are given and hence the counter examples of the above words are given.

2. DV. XVI. 31; Haima 6.3.55.

‘कच्छादेनून्स्थे’

Here the counter-examples of the Kacchādi group is given. But such examples are not given necessarily throughout.

3. DV. IV.1; Haima 2.3.63.

‘प्रव्यक्तानुकरणादनेकस्वरात् कुम्बस्तिनानिती द्विच’

Here in order to clarify it counter-examples are given.

Similarly DV. IV.1. Haima 2.3.63.

„ VII.84. „ 3.4.9.

„ XII.38. „ 5.2.69.

„ XVI.58. „ 6.3.108.

Note : The statistical account of these counter examples shows that about eighty sūtras of the Haima Vyākaraṇa have counter-examples in the Dvyāśrayakāvya.

4. (i) DV.III.33; Haima 2.2.68.

‘शक्तार्थबपड्मःस्वस्ति’

Here the individual word ‘śakta’ given in the sūtra and its synonym ‘alam’ are illustrated.

(ii) Very rarely the words given in a sūtra is omitted while its substitutive synonym is given. Haima 3.3.23.

क्रियाव्यतिहारे गतिहिंसाशब्दार्थे

Here the proper word śabda is omitted while its synonyms are given.

If there are long lists of roots<sup>1</sup> or words<sup>2</sup> which are injuncted with their synonyms, Hemacandra has incorporated all of them in his illustrations together with one more synonym.

only in three cases in the whole of such a long poem, the synonyms are not illustrated<sup>3</sup>.

7. *Long list of words or roots in a Sūtra* : An altogether new tendency was innovated by Hemacandra to illustrate all the words<sup>4</sup> and roots, whatsoever their length may be<sup>5</sup>.

1. DV. XIV.35-36; Haima 5.4.90.

2. DV. XIX.43; Haima 7.2.150.

बहुल्पायात् कारकादिष्ट०

Here the synonyms of 'Bahu' and 'alpa' together with their one synonym are illustrated.

3. DV. II.87; Haima 2.2.5.

DV. II.93; Haima 2.2.13.

„ III. 41; „ 2.2.87.

4. DV. IV.82-83; Haima 2.4.75.

उपमानसहितसंहितसहस्रफवामलक्ष्मणाद्यूरोः ।

Here all the words are illustrated in their proper form.

Similarly DV. V. 89-92; 3.1.11.

(i) In one word injuncting long list of senses, all the senses are illustrated.

DV. V. 39-42; Haima 3.1.39.

विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धिव्यव्यर्थभावात्ययासंप्रतिपश्चात्क्रमव्यातिशयग-

पत्सहस्रसम्पत्साकल्यान्तेऽव्ययम् ।

Here one word i.e. 'avyaya' (although various avyayas are illustrated) is illustrated in all the senses given in the list.

(ii) Similarly long possible examples in some of the sūtras are

Contd.....

8. *One root in many senses* : If one root is mentioned in a sūtra propounding various senses, all these senses are illustrated<sup>1</sup>.

given. e.g. in DV. XIII. 20; Haima 5.3.1.9.

‘प्रदत्ताख्याने देञ्’ he gives:

का कारिः कान्त कर्पूरे कस्तूर्या का च कारिका ।

का कृतिश्चन्दने कृत्या कागरी सक्षु का क्रिया ॥

(iii) Some of the long lists of examples having two suffixes each DV.XV. 109-111; Haima 6.2,108.

Similarly all the optional forms in such long sūtras are illustrated.

DV. XIV. 133-135.

Haima 7.3.119.

„ XX. 53-62.

„ 7.4.38-39.

„ XX.72.

„ 7.4.62.

5. (i) DV.I. 11; Haima 1.2.6.

‘अवर्णस्येवर्णादिनेदोदरल्’

i.e. when a is followed by i,u,r and lṛ the sandhi takes place as.

ए, ओ, अर्, अल्

respectively. In his examples in the Dvyāśraya, Hemacandra has given all these examples.

(ii) DV.XVI.4; Haima 6.4.2.

तेन जितजयदीव्यखनत्सु

Here all the words are illustrated.

(iii) Some of the constituent roots in a sūtra in a group are illustrated completely. DV. IX.64; Haima. 4.2.93.

‘द्व्युक्तजक्षपंचतः’

Here five roots ‘Jakṣa’ etc. i.e. hu, Jakṣa, daridra, Jāgr, cakāś and śāś are illustrated.

1. DV. IX.6; Haima 4.2.30.

‘मारणतोषणनिशामने जश्च’

Here Jñā in all these senses is illustrated.

Similarly DV. XII.59; Haima. 5.3.17.

„ XI.38;

„ 5.1.68,

9. *Long list of Suffixes* : If a number of suffixes are applied to a particular word or a root, all the examples are given completely<sup>1</sup>. Even in the optional forms of such suffixes all the examples are given<sup>2</sup>.

10. *Prefixes* : Sometimes, if the word 'upasarga' is specifically mentioned in a sūtra, many examples of these 'upasargas' are given<sup>3</sup>. But sometimes only one example is given<sup>4</sup>. Mostly he tries to give all the examples possible with all the prefixes<sup>5</sup>.

11. *One sūtra many examples* : Mostly Hemacandra has a great balance and exactness of examples. But many times one

1. DV. IV. 45; Haima. 2.4.20.

‘अणञोयेकरणञस्तञ् टिताम्’

Here all the suffixes are illustrated.

DV. XIII.33-34; Haima 5.3.137.

Here all these examples of the root 'khan' with all the suffixes are given.

2. DV. XIV.1-4; Haima 5.4.48-50.

‘ह्राम् चाभीक्ष्ण्ये’

Here two suffixes are injuncted and their optional forms are given regularly.

3. DV. I.20; Haima 1.2.19.

‘उपसर्गस्यानिणधेदो ति’

Here more than one examples are given.

4. DV. XI.28; Haima 5.1.56.

5. DV. IX.1-2; Haima 4.2.27.

‘पर्यपात् स्खदः’

Here skhad with both 'Pari' and 'apa' is illustrated.

On the other hand in the poems of Bhaṭṭi and Bhaumaka, such examples, as a rule, are not found in complete,



sūtra, although very small is illustrated in details by many examples. Such examples are not so many in number<sup>1</sup>.

12. *One word, many senses* : If in a sūtra one word is used in many senses either through an elliptical word 'Ca'<sup>2</sup> or otherwise,<sup>3</sup> all these senses are illustrated.

13. *Group of words (Gaṇa)*: Before Hemacandra, all the poets of this tendency had no definite plan about the illustrations of the group of words. Hemacandra did not neglect the words in the group whether it may be a group of obsolete words or

1. (i) DV. I.13; Haima 1.2.8.

ऋते तृतीयासमासे

Here three examples are given instead of one.

- (ii) In the sūtra DV.48-50; Haima 3.1.5 .

'Nañ' only one examples could be given. But he has given eight examples although they are not in the same sense throughout.

- (iii) In the sūtra DV. XI.106; Haima 5.1.148 'Kvip', he has given as many as twenty examples. The cause of so many examples is that he incorporated the long sūtra of Pāṇ. 3.2.6i viz. 'Satsūdviṣ' etc. only in the suffix 'Kvip'. While illustrating, he gave all the forms enlisted by Pāṇini.

2. DV. V.45; Haima. 3.1.45.

'अतिरतिक्रमे च'

Here the meaning 'Pūjā' is also found by elliptical word 'ca'. Both the senses of Atikrama and Pūjā are illustrated.

3. DV. VII.45-46; Haima 3.3.76.

'गन्धनावक्षेपसेवासाहसप्रतियस्तनप्रकथनोपयोगेषु'

Here Suṭ is illustrated in all these senses in the Dvyāśraya.

Sometimes a number of examples are found in the explanation of a particular word in the Sūtra e.g. a general rule 'Kvacit' DV. XI.118. Haima 5.1.117, which means other words which are not mentioned in the rule may take a 'ḍa' suffix. In order to support such examples, Hemacandra has given nine examples. Such cases are also very rare in the Dvyāśraya.

Taddhita words, or roots or suffixes, Hemacandra tried his best to adjust a few out of these groups. While illustrating, in most of the cases, he took up the initial word given in the sūtra and one more example to represent the group besides the words given in the sūtra. Thus, he has given two representative examples<sup>1</sup>.

1. (i) DV. IV.84; Haima 2.4.80.

क्रौड्यादीनाम्

Here two representative examples viz. initial Krauḍyā and another examples (lāḍyā) is given.

(ii) In the groups of Taddhitas also the same trend is going on e.g. in DV. XIV.41; Haima 6.1.19.

उत्सादेरञ्

Here two examples 'Autsa' and Audapānam are given. Likewise throughout the Dvyāśraya such examples are given.

(iii) In Roots : Two examples as usual are given if a group of roots is mentioned. e.g.

DV. VIII.31; Haima 4.1.9.

‘कण्ड्वादेस्तृतीयः’

DV. IX.41-43;,, 4.2.68.

ऋत्वादेरेषां तो नोऽपुः

(iv) If some of the roots indicated by their Anubandha are mentioned, only two examples are given. e.g.

DV. X. 32; Haima. 4.4.42.

‘अदितो वा’

Here two examples of roots with their ‘at’ as ‘It’ are illustrated.

Similarly DV. XIII.3; Haima. 5.3.84.

डिवतः क्विक्

Here two examples akṣtrimam and ayācitrimam are given.

(v) Pronouns : Pronouns indicated by the group are also illustrated with two examples. e.g. DV. VI.91; Haima. 3.2.122.

‘सर्वादिनिश्चग्देवाद् उद्भिः’

Here in the sarvādi group, only two example viz. ‘sarva’ and one more are given,

If the sūtra admits optional examples of groups, each group gives four examples viz. initial words, one word more and optional examples in both the cases<sup>1</sup>.

At four places in the whole of the Dvyāśrayakāvya, all the constituent words of a group are illustrated<sup>2</sup>.

**14. Group of irregular forms (Nipātanas) :** Even in the irregular words (Nipāta) the previous rule operates i.e. if there is a group of irregular forms, usually initial and one more representing the group are illustrated<sup>3</sup>. If such groups of

1. DV.XIII.18 ; Haima 5.3.115.

‘स्वादिभ्यो वा’.

Here the examples are Abhiḥ, bhīti, Ahrīḥ, hrīti i.e. the initial and one more having optional forms.

Similarly, such optional examples are found in the poem throughout.

2. (i) DV.124-129; Haima 1.4.7.

सर्वादिः स्मस्मातो ।

Here all the examples of the group sarva, pūrva, para, avata, dakṣiṇa, uttara, apara and adhara etc. are illustrated. Besides, counter-examples of all these are also given.

Similarly DV.1.160 ; Haima 1.4.16.

‘नवभ्यः पूर्वभ्यः स्मात्स्मिन्वा’

Here all the above nine words incorporated in the ‘sarvādi’ group are impossible to be repeated so their representative examples are given.

In roots : DV. X.70; Haima 4.4.88.

‘हृत्पंचकं त् शिदयः’

Here all the five root are enumerated.

In the sūtyādibhyo navabhyo Haima 4.2.70, only three examples are given and not the nine.

3. DV. V. 32; Haima 3.1.23.

‘उष्ट्रमुखादयः’

two examples, viz. uṣṭramukha and Vṛṣaskandha are given,

obsolete forms have optional forms, four forms are illustrated i.e. two normal forms and two optional<sup>1</sup>.

15. *Combination of groups* : If a group admits a number of examples through combination, all of them are illustrated<sup>2</sup>.

16. *Obsolete and rare usages* : Many usages which are mostly not prevalent in writing, are also taken up by Hemacandra and he has used them successfully<sup>3</sup>. Some of the forms which were totally omitted by the poets illustrating Pāṇinian grammar were also used by Hemacandra<sup>4</sup>. Similarly most of

1. Haima 3.1.153.

‘आहिताग्न्यादिषु’

Here both the forms āhitāgni and agnyāhita and two other optional forms are illustrated.

2. DV. XII.13; Haima 5.2.52.

‘प्रात् च यमयसः’

here Pra and ā multiplied by yam and yas form four examples viz Prayāmi, Āyāmi, Prayāsi, and Āyāsi. All of them are illustrated.

3. DV. I.27; Haima 1.2.32.

such usages are consisting of the sañjñās [like ‘Pluta’ and ‘Upadhmaniya’. These examples are given together with their proper sign of writing e.g. ‘Pluta’

ब्रज ३ आस्वेति मा वास्व ३ इति स्वाधीनभर्तृकाः ।

इदं ब्रूहि ३ इदं मा वा ब्रूहीत्यादुरिह प्रियम् ॥ ’

Similarly DV. I.81. Haima 1.3.29.

„ XX.90-92. „ 7.3.90-94.

and Upadhmaniya as

अस्यान्त-कृतिभि-कृत्य-वर्जैर्गुणफलदैर्गुणपरम्

DV. I. 45; Haima 1.3.5

4. DV. IV.1; Haima 2.3.63.

ऊँ चोव

Here the form like u ityūm iti viti were totally omitted by Bhaṭṭi and Rāvaṇārjunīya.

the difficult and rare forms<sup>1</sup> or Nipātanas<sup>2</sup>, are regularly exemplified by Hemacandra. Mostly all the optional Nipātanas are illustrated fully<sup>3</sup>. Some of the words which are either related to the Vedic vocabulary or the Vedic mythology, related to the Vedic vocabulary or the Vedic mythology which were completely omitted by both Bhaṭṭi and the Rāvaṇārjunīya, are used by Hemacandra without any bias or distinction<sup>4</sup>. If one obsolete form is used in many senses, all the senses are illustrated<sup>5</sup>.

1. DV. III.94; Haima 2.3.10.

‘सुचो वा’

It illustrates a long list of rare forms like Dviḥphalam, Triḥphalam Dviṣpuṣpam, Triṣpuṣpam etc. All are used regularly by the Dvyāśraya.

2. DV. IV.68 ; Haima 2.4.54.

‘पतिवत्त्यन्तर्वत्यो भार्याभिप्योः’

*Long List of Nipātanas*

DV. XIII 26-27 ; Haima 5.3.131.

*Taddhitas :*

DV. XIV.47 ; Haima 6.1.37.

*Some others*

DV. XX.22 ; Haima 7.3.168.

„ XX.86 ; „ 7.3.183.

3. DV. III.95-99 ; Haima 2.3.11-14.

„ III.100-116 ; „ 2.3.15-23;

*Very long lists of obsoletes :*

DV. I.50 ; Haima 1.3.8.

„ X.55-56 „ 4.4.70.

4. DV. XI.8-10 ; Haima 5.1.22-25.

5. DV. XI.15 ; Haima 5.1.33.

स्वामिवैश्येऽयः

Here both the senses of svāmin and vaiśya.

17. *Examples of negation (Nañ)*: All the examples indicated by a 'Nañ' compound in a sūtra are illustrated by Hemacandra<sup>1</sup>. Such a trend is also an innovation of Hemacandra. If these negations are representing a group indicated by the word ādi, usually two examples viz. initial word and one more example representing the group are given<sup>2</sup>. Only in one such case one example is given<sup>3</sup>. Likewise, if the negation presents a long list of words, all the words are illustrated in toto<sup>4</sup>. Sometimes many examples are given of one negative

1. DV.1.18; Haima 1.2.16.

अनियोगेऽलुगेव

Here specifically the example of negation i.e. Aniyoga is illustrated. Similarly we find such examples almost in the whole of the Dvyāśrayakāvyā.

2. DV. XVIII.1; Haima 7.1.57.

‘नञ्त्तत्पुरुषाद् बुधादेः’

Here two examples viz. ābudha and ācatūrya are illustrated out of the whole of the Budhādi group.

Similarly DV. XVIII.51; Haima 7.1.158.

‘षष्ठ्यादेरसंख्यादेः’

3. DV. XVII.91; Haima. 6.4.155.

4. DV. VII.10-11; Haima 3.3.23.

‘क्रियाव्यतिहारे गतिर्हिंसाशब्दार्थः ।’

Here all the words viz. gati, himsā, śabda and the group etc. are illustrated in complete

Similarly DV.XV.12 ; Haima 6.2.121.

sūtra<sup>1</sup>. Only in a few cases, such negative examples are not given.<sup>2</sup>

18. *Elliptical examples (Adhyāhāra)* : If suffixes recur from the previous sūtra, all the examples are given<sup>3</sup>.

19. *Optional examples* : In the field of optional examples, Hemacandra has tried his best to attain completeness. In the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya and the Rāvaṇārjuniya, there were no definite rules and regulations about the optional examples. But Hemacandra illustrated almost all the examples. Whether these are long lists of optional words<sup>4</sup> or optional group or optional groups or optional suffixes<sup>5</sup> or optional

1. DV. II.44; Haima 2.1.75.

‘रो लुप्यरिः’

Here ari has the examples.

अहो रस्तम्, अहो रूपम्,

अहो रात्र and अहो अन्तरम् ।

2. DV. V. 24; Haima 2.1.75.

„ VI 28; Haima 3.2.33.

3. DV. VIII.48; Haima 4.1.27.

„ XIV.42; „ 6.1.21.

This trend is found throughout the poem.

4. DV. III. 42-44; Haima 2.2.79.

स्तोकात्कुच्छ्रुतिपयादसत्वे करणे ।

The whole of the long list of these optional examples is illustrated here.

Similarly VIII.70-72. 4.1.61.

„ II.68-70. 2.1.101.

5. DV. IX.81-82; Haima 4.2.117.

तिवां एवः परस्मै

Here optionally eighteen examples could be found and all of them are illustrated.

DV. IX. 83-84; Haima. 4.2.118.

Similarly in DV. XVI.14; Haima. 6.3.19.

roots<sup>1</sup>, Hemacandra has illustrated completely. Those sūtras which are indicated by the word 'Kvacit'<sup>2</sup>, are illustrated by all the possible examples.

Thus, grammatically speaking, the Dvyāśrayakāvya can be said to be the best poem where all the examples were found in toto although they became an obstacle in the theme of the poem.

- 
1. DV. X.39 ; Haima 4.4.47.

Here all the optional examples with all these roots are given.

Similarly : DV. X.46-47; Haima 4.4.50.

„ X.88-89; „ 5.1.9.

2. DV. V.1-2; Haima 2.4.99.

„ XV.78-80; „ 6,2.57.

„ V.75-77; „ 3,2.98,



## XII. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

### (A) MOUNTAINS

In the Dvyāśryakāvya, Hemacandra has referred to eight mountains (I. 195) which are explained as 1. Vindhya 2. Pārijāta 3. Śaktimat 4. Rkṣaparvata 5. Māhendra 6. Sahya 7. Malaya and 8. Himavat. Heights and limits of these mountains are not given in the poem. Hemacandra has not stated the accounts and descriptions of these mountains. Various purāṇas speak of mountains and the emergent rivers<sup>1</sup>.

According to Brahma Purāṇa<sup>2</sup>, Sahya mountain is situated on the South of the Vindhya. Ptolemy calls it as *Adeisothro*<sup>3</sup>. Pargiter identifies this mountain with western Ghats<sup>4</sup>. Himavat is an synonym of the Himalayas (XVI. 39). *Malaya* has *Krauñca* and *Kruñca* as its synonyms<sup>5</sup>.

Other names of the mountains occurring in the Dvyāśraya-kāvya are as follows:

*Andha* (XIII.69). Two separate *Andhas* have been enlisted by K.D. Bajpai<sup>6</sup>. The first is identified with Āndhra and the

- 
1. Sircar, D.C. Studies in the geography of ancient and medieval India, pp.55 ff.
  2. Brahma Purāṇa, 91.2.13.
  3. Mc Crindle, India by Ptolemy, p. 165.
  4. Pargiter, Tr. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, p.285.
  5. Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, verse, 1029.
  6. Bajpai, K.D. The geographical encyclopaedia of ancient and medieval India, Pt. I. Varanasi, 1967, p.22.

other with the river Andhilā or Cāndan, the *Andomatts* of Arrian. But Hemacandra has enlisted Andha amongst the mountains.

*Arbuda* (V. 34, 42). The mountain Arbuda is same as the mountain *Ābu* in the Aravali range in Sirohi state of Rajaputana<sup>1</sup>. According to the Dvyāśrayakāvya, it is a storehouse of jewels and a number of minerals (XVI.53,60). The temples of Rṣabhanātha and Neminātha are situated on this mountain<sup>2</sup>. According to the Dvyāśrayakāvya, the Arbuda mountain is a sacred pilgrimage for the Jains (XVI.52).

*Uśīnara* (XV.27). In the Dvyāśrayakāvya, a resident of Uśīnara called Auśīnara is referred to. According to Dey, Uśīnaragiri is the Swalik range or the hills at Hardwar through which the Ganges forces her way into plain<sup>3</sup>.

*Kailāsa* (V.123). According to Sircar, Mountain Kailāsa is that part of the Himalayas which lies to the north of the Mānasarovara and from which the origin of the river Sarayū (Ghogra) is not far off<sup>4</sup>.

*Nilādri* (IV.47). The mountain Nīla is identified with Nīlācala. According to N.L. Dey, "it is a hill at Puri in Orissa on which the temple of Jagannātha is supposed to be situated<sup>5</sup>."

*Meru* (I.127). It is called Sumeru mountain also. According to N.L. Dey, "It is the Rudra Himalaya in Garwal, where the river Ganges have got its source and it is situated near Badrikāśrama<sup>6</sup>."

1. Dey, N.L. Geographical dictionary of ancient and medieval India, p.10

2. (a) Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol.I.

(b) Rajasthan Gazetteer, Vol. III. p.284.

(c) Bajpai, K.D. op. cit., pp. 31-32.

3. Dey, N.L. op. cit., p.123.

4. Sircar, D.C. op cit., p.97.

5. Dey, N.L. op. cit., p.140,

6. ibid, p.130,

*Rumṇvān* (II.62). It has not been identified.

*Raivataka* (XV.61). Raivataka has been identified with Girinar near Junagarh in Gujarat. It was the birth-place of Neminātha and is a Jain pilgrimage<sup>1</sup>. According to the *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, reeds and Kumuda flowers grow abundantly in the Raivataka mountain (XV.91).

*Hṛdgola* (XVII.3). It has not been identified.

*Śailaprastha* (V.1).

*Sālvā* (VI. 61). This mountain is said to be a limit of the Lāṭadeśa and hence may be identified near it.

#### (B) STATES AND TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS

Only a few names of the states and territorial divisions occur in the *Dvyāśrayakāvya*. The exact extent as well as boundaries are not given in the poem. Sometimes, a few cities are also named as *Deśa*. But the cities are enlisted separately (*infra*). The main divisions are as follows:

*Aṅga* (VI.16). It is one of the sixteen political divisions of India covering the area near Bhagalpur including Monghyr. According to Digghanikāya, it was one of the seven main political divisions of India. According to K.D. Bajpai, "Two villages called Campāpura and Campānagar near Bhāgalapura are believed to have been the actual site of the ancient city of Aṅga<sup>2</sup>."

*Avantī* (XIII.5). Avantī was the capital of the Mālava country. Avantī has been called the Mālava itself since the seventh or the eighth century B.C.<sup>3</sup>

According to Rājāśekhara, the Avantī consisted of Avantī

1. Dey, N.L. op.cit., p.165.

2. Bajpai, K.D. op. cit; p.23.

3. Rhys-Davids, T.W. Buddhist India, Calcutta, 1959 pp.14-15

Vidiśā, Saurāṣṭra, Mālava, Arbuda and Bhṛgukaccha<sup>1</sup>. According to B.C. Law, "Avantī is now identified with the country north of the Vindhya mountain and north-east of Bombay roughly corresponding to modern Malawa, Nimar and adjoining parts of the Central Province."<sup>2</sup>

*Āndhra* (VII.105). It is the country between Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā. Dhanakaṭaka was its capital<sup>3</sup>. It is also called Amarāvati at the mouth of the Kṛṣṇā. Veṅgī(modern peddavegī), five miles to the north of Ellur was its ancient capital<sup>4</sup>.

*Āryāvarta* (Ku. VII.95). While commenting on the word Āryāvarta, Puṣkarākṣagaṇi names it as a Janapada. The northern region of India which lies between the Himalayas and the Vindhya ranges is called Āryāvarta<sup>5</sup>.

*Uttarakośala* (V.76). Kośala was divided into two parts viz. Kośala and Uttarakośala. According to N.L. Dey, Uttarakośala is identified with modern Bahraich district<sup>6</sup>. Kosala was one of the sixteen Janapadas of India. Sadānirā (Gaṇḍaka) separated it from Videha<sup>7</sup>.

*Aurdāyana* (XV.10). It was an area included in Gandhāra.

*Kaccha* (II.106). Hemacandra has stated that the distance of Kaccha from the Saurāṣṭra is only eight yojanas. Kaccha is

1. Kāvya-mīmāṃsā, III.p.9.

ततः सोऽवतीप्रत्युच्चाल यत्रावन्तीवैदिशसुराद्रमालबाबुदभृगुकच्छा-  
दयो जनपदाः ।

2. Law, B.C. Geography of early Buddhism, p.22.

3. Bajpai, K.D. op.cit., p.23 and E.I.VI.p.88.

4. Dey, N.L. op. cit., p.7.

5. ibid.,p.12. Also cf. Māruṣmṛti, II.22. which accepts the same division.

6. Dey, N.L. op. cit. p.103.

7. Rapson, Cambridge History of India, Vol.I. p.308.

called Marukaccha also<sup>1</sup>. According to Cunningham, Kōṭīśvara was the kingdom of Kaccha<sup>2</sup>.

*Kāśī* (V.35). Abhayatilakagaṇi has explained the situation of Kāśī as across the Ganges. In the opinion of N.L. Dey, Kāśī was properly the name of the country of which Benaras was the capital<sup>3</sup>.

In the twelfth century, Benaras was wrested from the Pāla kings by Candradeva (1072-1092) and annexed to the kingdom of Kannauj. Towards the close of the twelfth century it was conquered by Mohammad Gaurī<sup>4</sup>.

*Gauḍa* (Ku.VI.78). The Bengal was called the Gauḍadeśa.

*Kāśmīra* (XII.88). Only the name Kāśmīra occurs in the Dvyāśrayakāvya.

*Kuntala* (VIII.35). At the time of the Caulukyas, Kuntaladeśa was bounded on the north by the Narmadā; on the south by the Tuṅgabhadra; on the west by the Arabian sea and on the east by the Godāvari and the Eastern Ghats. Its capital was Nasik and Kalyan at different periods. Kuntala was also called Karṇāṭa<sup>5</sup>.

*Kuru*: Hemacandra has mentioned two Kuru territories viz. Kuru-deśa (VIII.46) and Kuru Jāṅgala (XX.44). Perhaps, Kurudeśa was modern Yamunanagar and Luksar area between the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā. Kuru-Jāṅgala was a forest country situated in Sirhind, north-west of Hastināpura. It

1. Dey, N.L. op. cit., p.82.

2. Cunningham, Ancient geography of India, Varanasi, 1963 p. 255.

3. Dey, N.L. op. cit., p.95.

4. ibid., p.24.

5. ibid., p.109.

was called Śrīkaṇṭhadeśa during the Buddhist period<sup>1</sup>. A person born in the Kurudeśa is called Kauravaka (XVI.29-30) and a woman of that area is called Kauravyāyaṇī (XV.27).

*Kaliṅga* (XV.24): It is the northern Circars, a county lying on the border of Orissa and north of Draviḍa on the border of the sea. According to Cunningham, it was between the Godāvarī river on the south-west and the Godaliya branch of the Indrāvātī river on the north-west<sup>2</sup>.

*Khāṇḍavaka* (XV.96). It may be identified with Khāṇḍavavana which is situated at a short distance to the north of Mirat included in ancient Kurukṣetra<sup>3</sup>. It covers the area of modern Mozaffarnagar.

*Gāndhāra* (XV.24). It was situated on the north-western frontier of India which included modern Peshawar and Rawalpindi areas in Pakistan.

*Cedī* (VIII.63; Ku.VI.85). Cedī is identified with Bundelkhaṇḍa which is a part of the Central Provinces. It was bounded on the west by the Kali-Sindh and on the east by the Tonse. According to Tod (Rājasthāna, I.p 43n.), it is identified with Canderī<sup>4</sup>. In the medieval period, the territory of this area reached the bank of the Narmadā<sup>5</sup>. According to the Dvyāśrayakāvya, the Cedī was an independent state and all the neighbour kings wanted to have a friendship with Cedī state (VIII.66).

*Trigarta* (XVI.24) In the Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, Hemacandra has used Trigarta as a synonym of Jalandhara<sup>6</sup>.

1. Dey, N.L. op. cit., p.110.

2. ibid., p.85.

3. ibid., p.89.

4. Dey, N.L. op. cit. p.148.

5. Bajpai, K.D. op. cit., p.92.

6. Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, verse, 958.

According to Cunningham, it was Kangra area between Cambā mountain and the north of Vyāsa river<sup>1</sup>. According to Agnihotri, it was situated between Rāvi, Vyāsa and Satluja and hence was called Trigarta<sup>2</sup>.

*Pañcāla* (XV.28) Dey has identified this area with Rohilakhaṇḍa. In his opinion, Pañcāla was originally the country north and west of Delhi<sup>3</sup>.

According to Rapson, 'Pañcāla was divided into two parts viz., north Pañcāla and south Pañcāla<sup>4</sup>. Perhaps, it covered the central province of modern U.P.

*Pardi* (XV.11). The king of Pardi country is called Pārdāyana. According to Pargiter, Pardi or Pārda was the north west frontier province and its residents were the Śaka, Kamboj and Yavanas<sup>5</sup>.

*Puru* : A resident of Puru area is called Paurava (XV.24). According to the Ṛgveda, Purus are the residents of the river Sarasvatī and Zimmer identifies the area with Sindhu<sup>6</sup>.

*Puṇḍra* (VIII.41). According to the Dvyāśrayakāvya, Puṇḍra area was not under the Caulukyās. According to N.L. Dey, Puṇḍra is identified with Gauḍa country<sup>7</sup>.

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1. Cunningham, Report of the A.S.I. V.p.148 and V.S. Agrawala, India as known to Pāṇini, p.55.

2. Agnihotri, P.D. Patañjali-kālina Bhārata, p.101.

3. Dey, N.L. op. cit. p.145.

4. Rapson, Cambridge history of India, vol. I.p.167.

5. Pargiter, Ancient Indian historical traditions, p.206,268.

6. Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, vol. II. p.12.

7. Dey, N.L. op. cit. p.161.

*Baṅga* (XV.86). Baṅga is usually connected with Aṅga area. It is modern Bengal and Baṅglā deśa.

*Magadha* (XV.27). It is the Bihar province or properly South Bihar. Its western boundary was the river Sona.<sup>1</sup>

*Madra* (XVI.14). It was a country in Punjab between the river Ravi and Chinab. Śākala was the capital of Madra<sup>2</sup>. Hemacandra has referred to Pūrvamadra also (XVI.15).

*Maru* (VII.73-74). Marudeśa is Rājaputānā, an abode of death i.e. a desert. It is same as Marusthālī and Marudhanva<sup>3</sup>.

*Mahārāṣṭra* : The word Marabaṭṭha has been used for Mahārāṣṭra in Prakrit (Ku.I,28). It may be identified with modern Mahārāṣṭra.

*Mālava* : Dhāra was the capital of Mālava at the time of king Bhoja. Its former capital was Avantī or Ujjainī<sup>4</sup>. In Mālava country, some guilds had been developed. One of them was warrior-guild (XIX.95).

*Rohaṇaka* (XV.95). Dey has referred to *Rohaṇa* and identifies it with *Adam's peak in Ceylon* which is called *Sumanakūṭa* also<sup>5</sup>.

*Vāhika* (XVI.15) The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali has spoken of Ārāt, Kāstīra, Dāsarūpya, Śākala, Sausuka, Pātana-prasatha, Nāndipura, Kaukuḍivaha and Mauñja in the Vāhika territory. Eastern Punjab was, perhaps, called Vāhikadeśa<sup>6</sup>.

1. Dey, N.L. op. cit., p.116.

2. ibid., p.116.

3. ibid., p.127.

4. ibid., p. 122.

5. ibid., p.170.

6. Agnihotri, P.D. Patañjalikālīna Bhārata, p. 100,



*Videha* (XV.123). Videha is modern Tirahuta which was separated from Kosala by Sadānīrā or Gaṇḍakī river<sup>1</sup>. The king of Videha is called Vaideha.

*Viśvadhenu* (XX.44).

*Vaiṇuka* (XVI.35) Perhaps, it is not political territorial division. An area where bamboo grows in abundance is named as Vaiṇuka.

*Lāṭa* (VI.27). It is the southern Gujarat including Khaṇḍeśa situated between the river Mali and lower Tapti. It is the *Larike* of Ptolemy<sup>2</sup>.

*Śūrasena* : Śūrasena was the area of modern Mathurā and Agra etc. with Mathurā as its capital.

*Śivi* (XV.86). Patañjali has referred to Śivapurī as the capital of Śivis<sup>3</sup>. According to Dey, a branch of Śivis was in Rajasthan near chittor<sup>4</sup>. Perhaps, Hemacandra has referred to Śivis known in Rajasthan.

*Śivarūpya* (XVI.14). It has not been identified.

*Vrji* (XVI.21).

*Sālva* (XVI.30). According to Dey, Sālva was called Mārttikāvata also. It was situated near Kurukṣetra<sup>5</sup>. Sālva has been identified with Alwar also<sup>6</sup>.

1. Agnihotrī, P.D. Patañjalikālīna Bhārata, p.108.

2. Dey, N.L., op. cit., p.114.

3. Agnihotrī, P.D. op. cit., p.97.

4. Dey, N.L. op. cit., p.81.

5. ibid., p.175.

6. ibid., p.175.

According to V.S. Agrawal, 'Sālvas were an ancient people who seem to have migrated from the west through Baluchistan and Sindha<sup>1</sup>.

*Sindhu* (I.68; XVI.31). Sindhu is the Sindha country. According to Ptolemy, 'the Ābhīras dwelt in the southern portion of Sindha and Mushikas resided in Northern portion<sup>2</sup>.

*Saurāṣṭra* (I.68; II.64; V.40). Saurāṣṭra is the peninsula of Gujarāta or Kāṭhiawāḍa, the *syrastrene* of Ptolemy. The name was also applied to the country from Sindh to Broach i.e. Gujarat, Kaccha and Kathiawar<sup>3</sup>.

### (C) CITIES

Hemacandra has referred to a few cities by their name without elaborating their geographical location. Some of the cities are named after their peculiar feature; after the name of a particular person or after the name of a particular product in the city. Usually cities and villages are not differentiated in the Dvyāśrayakāvyā. Abhayatilakagaṇi has distinguished a few cities from villages. Some of the names of the cities and villages found in the Dvyāśrayakāvyā are as follows:

*Amarāvati* (VI.62). It is identified with Nagarahāra, about two miles to the west of Jallalabad. A village close to it is still called *Naganak* the *Nakie-loho* of Fabian. It is *Amarāvati* of Pāli literature<sup>4</sup>.

*Aśmaka* (XV.101). According to Bajpai, "Two kingdoms are known by this name. The Kūrmapurāṇa mentions it along with the countries of Punjab. The Bṛhatsamhitā

1. Agrawal, V.S. India as known to Pāṇini, p.57.

2. Dey, N.L. op. cit., p.186.

3. ibid., p.183.

4. Bajpai, K.D. op. cit., p.16.

(ch-XIV) places *Aśmaka* in the north west of India<sup>1</sup>. According to Apte, it is an old name of Travancore<sup>2</sup>.

*Audumbara* (XV.90). According to the poem, it is the name of the city where *udumbara* grows in abundance. According to Cunningham, it is some. as Cutch. Its ancient capital was *Kuteśvara* or *Kaccheśvara*<sup>3</sup>. According to Bajpai, 'this *udumbara* is a part of *Sāla* country probably identical with the city of *Nurpur* or rather *Gurdaspur*<sup>4</sup>.

*Kāmpilya* (VI.26). According to *Abhayatilakagaṇi*, it was situated in *Pañcāladeśa* on the bank of the Ganges.

*Kallāpurī* (VI.22). It may be identified with modern *Kollāpur*.

*Kṛkaṇīya and Parṇīya* (XVI.34). According to *Abhayatilakagaṇi*, they were situated in the *Bhāradvājadeśa*.

*Kauśāmbī* (XV.90). Perhaps, it is modern *Kosamgrāma*, 30 miles from Allahabad.

*Gahīya* (XVI.34). According to *Abhayatilakagaṇi*, it was situated near *Jullundhur*. It is the same as *Kulindrina* referred to by Ptolemy.

*Candrapurī* (IX.99). Rice identifies it with *Canda* in *Madhya Pradeśa*<sup>5</sup>. The *Bṛhatsaṃhita* places it in the eastern part of India. It has been identified with *Cāndapur* of *Tipperah* district; in *Kashmir* or with *Cāndaurī* etc<sup>6</sup>.

1. Bajpai, K.D. op. cit., p.35.

2. Apte, V.S. Student's Skt-Eng. dictionary, p.661.

3. Cunningham, A.S.J. Report vol.V. p.155.

4. Bajpai, K.D. op. cit., p.39.

5. Rice, Mysore inscriptions, introduction, p.XXIX.

6. Bajpai, K.D. op. cit., p.89.

*Mathurā* : The Dvyāśrayakāvya has referred to Mathurā as an independent city (VII.103).

*Māhiṣmatī* (XV.91). It was the capital of southern Avantī. Its modern name is Māheśvara.

*Siddhapura* (XV.15). It was situated on the eastern bank of Sarasvatī. It was called Śrīsthalapura also and was situated in the east of Aṇhivāḍa.

*Srughna* (XVI.76). Perhaps, it was situated near Mathurā. Those who go to Srughna are called Sraughna. Kumārapālacarita has referred to it as an important city for the productivity of cloth (Ku. III.58).

The following cities have been named after their special product or the abundance of a particular commodity.

Rṣyaka, Vārāhaka, Pālāsaka, Kumudika, Kaṭika, Aśvatthika, Kaumudika (XV.101-2); Naḍakiya, Plakṣiya, Ārīṣṭiya (XV.100).

The following cities are named after a particular person.

Pākṣāyana, Vāsiṣṭhāyanī, Kārṇāyanī (XV.99), Lauma, Pānthāyana (XV.98). Sākhyā and Sākhidatteya are the villages named after the word Sakhi (XV.98). Similar villages are Sāṅkāyana, Sautāṅgami (XV.97) and Kāśila.

Besides, the following cities are specified in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. It is difficult to identify some of them.

Dākṣinagara, Dākṣipalada (XV.33); Kāṇḍa, Āgnaka, Paippala, Kacchaka (modern Kaccha), Induvakra (XVI.26); Phālguṇivaha, Nāṇḍipura, Vātānuprastha (XVI.23); Kākanda, Pāṭaliputra (Patna), Malla, Vāsta (XVI.22); Kauṇḍeyaka, (XVI.9); Sālāturiya (XVII.3); Śikhāvala (XV.92); Kūcavāra, Śaṇḍikya (XVII.2); Suhma (XX.46); Suvaraṇavalajapura (XX.44); Acalapura (modern Ālacapura Ku.III.60), Dhilli

(modern Delhi, Ku. VI.96) ; Koṅkaṇa (modern also Ku.VI.41) ; Śoṇitapura, Mithilopavana (VII.42), Gūrjara, Kaccha, Dvārakā, Kuṇḍinapura (V.121) ; Devapattana (Somanātha XV.37); Vāśilā (XV.96) ; Madhumat (XV.90) ; Phalārka and Prākṣaṇī (XV.95).

#### (D) RIVERS

*Ajiravatī* (VI.62). *Ajiravatī* is the same as *Aciravatī*. In the Buddhist literature, *Śrāvastī* is frequently mentioned to be situated on the bank of *Ajiravatī*. Its another name is *Airāvātī*.

Cunningham has identified the river with the present *Rāpti* in Oudh on the bank of which the ruins of *Śrāvastī* have been discovered.

The river *Airāvātī* flows through the districts of Bahraich, Gonda and Basti and joins the *Saryu* or *Ghaghra*, west of *Braha* in the district of *Gorakhpur*<sup>1</sup>.

*Kuṇḍyā* : Hemacandra has used the word *Kaunḍeyaka* (XVI.9). According to *Abhayatilakagaṇi*, *kuṇḍyā* and *Kuṇyā* are the names of the cities or villages<sup>2</sup>. According to some grammarians quoted by *Abhayatilakagaṇi*, *Kuṇḍyā* is the name of a river in *Āndhra Pradesh*<sup>3</sup>.

*Gaṅgā* (III.4; V.121). Hemacandra speaks of *Gaṅgā* as

1. Bajpai, K.D. op. cit., p.11.

2. DV. XVI.9.

कुण्ड्या कुण्या च नगयो ग्रामो वा ।

3. DV. XVI. 9.

कुण्ड्यान्ध्रप्रदेशे नदीत्येके ।

the best river of India. It is also called divine river (Sura-sindhu XX.46)<sup>1</sup>.

Hemacandra has referred to *Gaṅgādvāra* also (V.2). *Gaṅgādvāra* has been recognized as a pilgrimage connected with the river Gaṅgā. D.C. Sircar<sup>2</sup> has quoted a verse from the *Viṣṇusamhitā* (ch.85, 28) to prove the same.

Moreover, *Lohitugaṅgam* (where Gaṅgā is red V.33) and *Trigaṅgam* (where three flows of Gaṅgā congregate, VI.7) have been mentioned in the poem.

*Godāvarī* (XIX.112). No special characteristics of the river Godāvarī are found in the poem.

*Carmavatī* (II.63). *Carmavatī* is called *Prabhāsabhūh* i.e. a pilgrimage. According to the *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, this was relinquished by the pilgrims due a fear from Grāharipu.

V.S. Agrawal has identified it with the modern Chambal river<sup>3</sup>. N.L.Dey has made specific mention of a cluster of hills called Janapava as its source<sup>4</sup> while in the *Purāṇas* it has been grouped with *Pārā*, *Śiprā*, and *Avantī* etc. which issue forth from *Pāriyātra*, the western *Vindhya*s together with the *Aravall*y range<sup>5</sup>. P.V. Kane puts *Mhow* as its source<sup>6</sup>.

The *Parā* (*Pārvatī*), *Avantī* and *Kuntī* are its main tributaries and *Carmav*vatī itself feeds the river *Yamunā*, about 25 miles to the south west of *Itawah*<sup>7</sup>.

1. For details of Gaṅgā, see D.C. Sircar, op. cit., pp.172ff.

2. ibid; p.179.

गङ्गाद्वारे प्रयागे च गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे ।

सततं नैमिषारण्ये वाराणस्यां विशेषतः ॥

3. Agrawal, V.S. India as known to Pāṇini, p.47.

4. Dey, N.L. op. cit., p.48

5. Sircar; D.C. op. cit., pp.45-46.

6. Kane, P.V. History of Dharmaśāstra, vol. IV. p.743.

7. Bajpai, K.D. op. cit., p.91.

*Jambūmālī* (III.17; V.37). This river is same as *Bhogāvati* or *Bhogao*.

*Tūdī* (XVII.3).

*Drumatī* (XV.90). The name of the river *Drumatī* is not found elsewhere. *Matsya Purāṇa* (22.37) speaks of a river *Droṇī*. Another river *Drumā* is mentioned in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (ch.75) along with the *Narmadā* and *Surahā* or *Sumahā*. Its identification is uncertain<sup>1</sup>.

Can *Drumatī* be identified with the river *Drumā*?

*Narmadā* (VII.58). Its another name is *Revā* (IX.54). In the *Dvyāśrayakāvya*.

*Pārā* (VII.35). According to the *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, it meets with the *Sindhu* river. According to *Bajpai*<sup>2</sup>. *Parā*, *Avantī* and *Kuntī* are the main tributaries of the river *Carmanvatī*. According to the Purāṇic geography, the *Pārā* river springs from the *Pāriyātra* mountain<sup>3</sup>.

*Bhogāvati* (VI.62) According to K.D. *Bajpai*<sup>4</sup>, it is a stream of *Gaṅgā*. A town in the nether world is also known as *Bhogāvati*.

*Yamunā* (VII.43). *Vṛndāvana* is situated on the bank of *Yamunā*.

*Varmatī* (XVII.3). This river has also not been identified.

*Śārāvati* (VI.62). *Śārāvati* is supposed to be a river which differentiates Northerners (*udañcaḥ*) and the Easterners

1. Sircar, D.C. op. cit., p.97. f. n. no.3 and *Bajpai*, K.D. op. cit., p.117.

2. *Bajpai*, K.D. op. cit., p.91.

3. Sircar, D.C. op. cit., p.46.

पारा चर्मण्वती लूपी (?) विदिशा वेत्रवत्यपि ।

शिप्रा ह्यवन्ती कुन्ती च पारियात्राश्रयाः स्मृताः ।

4. *Bajpai*, K.D. op. cit., p.68.

(Prāñcaḥ) D.C. Sircar<sup>1</sup> has quoted a traditional verse found in the Kāśikā.

*Śoṇa* (V. 121). According to the version of the Purāṇas, the Śoṇa river springs from the Rkṣapāda mountain<sup>2</sup>.

*Śvabhṛavatī* (VI.45). According to D.C. Sircar, Śvabhṛavatī is the same as Śābaramatī river<sup>3</sup>.

*Siprā* (XIV.27). According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, the river Siprā flows near the city Ujjainī<sup>4</sup>. In the opinion of D.C. Sircar, this river passes by the ancient city of Ujjainī. The reading of the other name and its identification are uncertain.<sup>5</sup>

*Sindhu* (I.68). The river Sindhu is said to be a boundary of the administration of Mūlarāja.

A description of the river Sindhu is found in the Dvyāśrayakāvya<sup>6</sup>. This river is same as the river Indus.<sup>7</sup>

*Sarasvatī* (XI.45). According to the Dvyāśrayakāvya, the Sarasvatī river was inhabited by the Rākṣasas. Sarasvatī is called a divine river also (Brāhmīnādī XI.115; XIII.14). D.C. Sircar has mentioned a river Sarasvatī in Gujarat also and has quoted Kāvyamīmāṃsā to support it<sup>8</sup>.

1. Sircar, D.C. op. cit., p. 210.

प्रागुदञ्चो विभजते हंसः क्षीरोदके यथा ।

विदुषां शब्दसिद्ध्यर्थं सा नः पातु शरावती ।

2. ibid, pp.47-49.

3. DV. XIX. 27.

4. Sircar, D.C. op. cit., p.50. note 3.

5. DV. VIII.74 ff.

6. Sircar, DC. op. cit; p.232.

7. ibid., p.294.

8. ibid., p.57, n.5. Also cf.

Kāvyamīmāṃsā of Rājaśekhara, G.O.S.pp.94.

पश्चाद्देशः सरस्वतीस्रवतीवार्तघ्नीमहीहिडिम्बाद्या नद्यः ।



## (E) MISCELLANEOUS

Hemacandra has accepted *fourteen Bhuvanas* (I.197) which have been explained by Abhaytilakagaṇi as 1. Bhūḥ 2. Bhuvah 3. Svah 4. Mahah 5. Janah 6. Tapah 7. Satya and seven types of Vāyu.

Hemacandra has enlisted *eight directions* as 1. Aindrī 2. Āgneyī 3. Yāmyā 4. Nairṛtī 5. Vāruṇī 6. Vāyavyā 7. Kauberī and 8. Aiśānī (I. 196; IV.35). Agastyā direction has also been referred to (IV.89). At another place, he speaks of four directions (II.3,10).

Hemacandra speaks of *nine Islands* (Dvīpa I.196). They have been explained as 1. Navendra 2. Kaśerumat 3. Tāmraparṇa 4. Gabhastimat 5. Nāga 6. Saumya 7. Gandharva 8. Varuṇa and 9. Kumārī. Rājaśekhara in his Kāvyaṁimāṁsā speaks of these nine dvīpas<sup>1</sup>.

Hemacandra has accepted four oceans which encircle the earth. They are explained as Eastern, Western, Northern and Southern oceans.

The concept of the Ganges of the sky (Vyomagaṅgā-III.105) also occurs in the poem.

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1, Kāvyaṁimāṁsā, p.92.

### XIII. POLITY AND ADMINISTRATION

*The king* : The concept of the king being a divine personlity can be gathered by the word *Svarāt* (self-effulgent, I.119). A group of subordinate kings and administrators is referred to be sitting all around the king (XV.48). The court of Mūlarāja is called *Sahasrarājñī* (consisting of thousands of kings IV.40). Feudalism continued in Gujarāta. Kumārapāla had two Sāmantas named Vijaya and Kṛṣṇaka in his court (XIX.98). Besides Sāmantas, Māṇḍalikas, the governors of some Maṇḍalas or Deśas (Ku. VI.26); Mahājanikas who were, perhaps, rich people and businessmen were also present in his court (Ku. VI.34).

The king was a supreme Judge himself and decided every important and higher affair (I.69).

*King and gifts* : Valuable gifts consisting of jewels and diamonds were given to a king by the rich and by the defeated enemies (VI.19; XV.35).

Barbara, an enemy of Jayasimha presented him the Māṇikyas as he was released by the latter (XIII.1). Camels laden with gold were sent to a king whose paramountcy was accepted. These gifts were presented on the golden plates (Paṭṭaka XV.71). Royal umbrellas were also sent as a token of accepting supremacy of a king (VI.24). Gifts were sent in the form of the military aids viz. elephants, horses etc. also (VI.17. XV.4). The special product of a particular area was also sent as gift. The king of Kāśmīra presented the musk which is a special product of Kāśmīra (VI.23).

**Coronation of the king :** Umbrella was the royal insignia. In the coronation ceremony, the king was made sit on an elephant and only after putting umbrella over him, he was declared to be the king (XI.100). The umbrella was made of the feathers of a peacock also (IX.12).

Won by the enemy, the king had to submit some royal insignia to the winner. Bhoja surrendered his golden canopy to Cedirāja which was later on presented to Bhīmarāja (IX.57).

**Personal life of the king :** In the Kumārapālacarita, the personal life of the king and his daily programmes have been elaborated. After getting up in the morning, the king be-thought of his favourite deities (Ku.1.72-73). At the same time prisoners, sūtas and ācāryas eulogized the king (II.5,14; Ku.-I.5). They blessed him and in return, the king presented them the cows (IV.38; VI.13; Ku.I.61).

The king performed his morning prayer and daily as well as periodical religious rites (II.9). The experts in the Vedas performed the morning prayer together with the king (II.55). After giving off donations, Kumārapāla came to the temple of his favourite deities (Mātṛgṛha, Ku.I.84) to worship *Mātr̥s*. After daily exercises (Ku.I.90) people came to see him in the morning (Ku.I.70). The king came to the council-hall (II 58). In the presence of all, the king entered Maṇḍapikā made of gold (Ku.VI.27) and sat down upon Simhāsana (III.77)<sup>1</sup>.

The king is mentioned to be educated in all the fine arts, religious scriptures and ancient lores (VI.4,6). Poets were also present in the council hall and they rejoiced the king by solving poetic puzzles (XI.66).

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1. The programme of the king corresponds to that of the king Śūdraka described in the Kādambarī of Bāṇabhaṭṭa.

The kings were religious and went to pilgrimages after winning the enemy (V.132). In the old age, they led their lives in pilgrimages (VIII.15). They observed asceticism and passed their old age peacefully.

### ADMINISTRATION

**Division :** The country was divided into Janapadas. For example, Sindhu territory is referred to as an independent Janapada (VIII.116). Maṇḍalas are the further divisions of a particular Janapada. Governors of maṇḍalas called Māṇḍalikas were also invited in the council-hall of the king. According to H.D. Sankalia, maṇḍala was the largest territorial division corresponding to a modern province, though at times *Lāṭa* and *Saurāṣṭra* are called *deśas* and *Gūṛjjara* (the whole of Gujarat) a maṇḍala. The other units in descending order of size were a Viśaya, Paṭhaka, group of villages and a village<sup>1</sup>. A.K. Majumdar has noted fourteen maṇḍalas in the Chaulukyan inscriptions<sup>2</sup>. Maṇḍala was divided into villages, Khalatikas (mountain according to Apte's dictionary) and forests (III.84). Another important unit of the division was Pathaka<sup>3</sup>. The head of the village is called Grāmaṇī (I.181).

### Concept of good Administration

Even in the time of Chaulukyas, Rāmarāja was thought to be an ideal for the king (VII.4). An administrative ideal was not to forfeit the wealth of others (VIII.31). There were no thieves and law and order was preserved (VIII.28). The subject had the full right to express their opinion in a public place (XIII.6).

1. Sankalia, H.D. Archaeology of Gujarat, Bombay, 1941, p.202.

2. Majumdar, A.K. Chaulukyas of Gujarat Bombay, 1956, pp.208-209.

3. *ibid.*, p.210.

## OFFICERS

All the administrative officials noticed by A.K. Majumdar<sup>1</sup> through various sources are not found in the poem.

H.D. Sankalia (p.203) has noted nineteen officers in the times of Caulukyās. Only the following officers are referred to in the Dvyāśrayakāvya.

1. *Purodhas* (III.80). Purohita or Purodhas was a political and religious adviser of the king who was entrusted with the performance of religious ceremonies of the king (Ku.VI.30). In the royal court, he eulogized the king (Ku.VI.28).

2. *Mahāmantrin* : The exact status of Mahāmantrin is not given in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, Jambaka was the Mahāmantrin of Mūlarāja. P.V. Kane has translated it as 'Great minister or councillor'<sup>2</sup>. The word occurs in the Benaras plate of Cedi king Karpadeva<sup>3</sup> and in the mount Abu inscription of Vimala<sup>4</sup>.

3. *Mahāpradhāna* : P.V. Kane has translated it as Great Minister or Prime Minister<sup>5</sup>. The exact distinction between Mahāmantrin and Mahāpradhāna is not known. According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, Jehula was the Mahāpradhāna of Mūlarāja (II.56). In the text of the Dvyāśrayakāvya, both Jambaka and Jehula appear to be ministers of equal status.

Ministers had the authority to speak frankly in the court. They could contradict other ministers inhesitatingly (II.97-99)।

1. *ibid*, Details, pp.222-242.

2. Kane, P.V. History of Dharmaśāstra. Vol. III. p.998.

3. E.I.II. p.309.

4. Kielhorn, F. Mount Abu Vimala Temple inscription.

E. I. IX. pp.151-52.

5. Kane, P.V., *op.cit.* Vol. III. p.997.

4. *Sāndhivigrahika*: He appears to be a minister of external affairs who is entrusted with the portfolio of "treaty and war". Puṣkarākṣagaṇi has mentioned him as "Pradhāna-puruṣa<sup>1</sup>".

5. *Mahāmtāya*: A.K. Majumder<sup>2</sup> has translated it as "Chancellor" while P.V. Kane<sup>3</sup> calls him "Great or Prime Minister". It is informed by the Kumārapālacarita that Mahāmtāyas were present in the court of the kings to provide them with various informations (Ku.VI.26).

6. *Māṇḍalika*: A Māṇḍalika is a chief administrator or governor of a Maṇḍala. They were also present in the court of the king (Ku.VI.26). Puṣkarākṣagaṇi remarks that they were the administrators of Deśas. Deśa is used by Hemacandra in the sense of a Maṇḍala. They are called Maṇḍaleśa in the Rājatarāṅginī and Maṇḍaleśvara in the inscriptions of Raṭṭas of Saundatti<sup>4</sup>. The governor of a Maṇḍala was usually styled as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara<sup>5</sup>.

7. *Daṇḍaneira*: (II.87). Abhayatilakagaṇi has explained him as Senānī i.e. the Commander of the force. Daṇḍaneira is a lower rank to that of Daṇḍapati. The word Daṇḍaneira does not occur in inscriptions so we can identify it with the inscriptional word "Dandanāyaka".

8. *Camūpa*: He appears to be the commander of a division of army. Many camūpas are mentioned in the poem (VIII.90).

9. *Āyudhāgārika*: He is the superintendent of the store of arms to be supplied to army (XVII.44).

1. Ku. VI.40.

2. Majumdar, A.K. op. cit. p.222.

3. Kane, P. V. op. cit. p. Vol. III. p.998.

4. ibid, Vol. III, p.998.

5. Sankalia, H.D. Archaeology of Gujarat, p.203.

10. *Pratihāras* : (Chamberlains). Because they attended the gate of the royal palace so they are called *Rājadvāḥ* (I.116). According to A.K. Majumdar, "they were provincial officials though sometimes they might have acted as chamberlains<sup>1</sup>. But Hemacandra has used the word directly in the sense of a 'Chamberlain'.

11. *Vetrin* : He is usually a gate-keeper having a *vetra* stick in his hand (VI.16). He is called "*Arthaśauṇḍa*" i.e. expert in meaning or expert in collecting money through bribe.

*Spies and intruders* : Spies and balds were sent to other territories by the king. Balds eulogized and propagated the virtues of the king while spies collected the information and communicated it to the king (VIII.45). Intruders were sent to disturb the administrative arrangements and create a chaos there. The spies changed their dress and identity and made breakages also. Such spies are called '*Nagaraghātas*' (XI.48). These spies dressed themselves as sage and lied by the road-side to collect secrets (XVI.9; XVI.16). Sometimes kings went out themselves in secrecy to observe the administration and the attitude of public towards them. Jayasimha went out only with this purpose (XIII.5). They observed not only the public attitude but also the activities of the spies engaged for detective purposes (XIII.II).

*Wages* : Wages to army were given both in the form of cows and coins (*Niṣkas*, XVIII.88).

*Imprisonment* : Prisoners were left at the time of the birth of a prince (VII.17; XI.35). The name of a rigorous punishment is *Krauñcabandha*. (XIV.16). Some of the kings put their foot on the heads of the king arrested as the latter bowed down his head to the feet of the former. *Grāparipu* is mentioned performing this action (II.85).

1. Majumdar, A.K. op. cit. p.229,

**Taxes :** In the reign of Caulukyās, there was no tax on sages (XVI.4). But Grāharipu charged tax even from sages. The subject was very happy while paying taxes to a king (VII.21) so it appears the tax was not a burden on public.

The main source of the income is the harvest. This tax was charged in the form of grain (III.18). Grāharipu is mentioned to be taking tax in the form of 'yavas' (II.65).

The other source of income is the taxation over subsidiary kings. These kings paid the tax in the form of gold to their supreme (VI.20). Some of the kings sent the tax in the form of the minerals of their area (VI.22).

In villages, one had to pay the tax at tax-booths on the roadside. The tax is referred to on honey and pepper also. The taxation officer is called 'Śaulkika'. The tax charged from villagers appears to be in the form of commodity and not in the form of coins (XVII.55).

Another source of income was the forfeiture of the property of an issueless man. But Kumārapāla banished this source despite of the risk of his income (XX.85).

### Army and Warfare

The army was divided in four divisions.

1. *Pedestrians* : They are called Patti (V.12).

2. *Elephants* : This force is called 'Hāstika' (I.62) or Dvipabala (I.197) or Dantikulāni i.e. the group of the elephants (I.200). They were decorated with gold as they moved in the battle-field (III.107). A housing called śārī was put on them (II.87). Faces of the elephants were covered with the cloth having the hair of a Meṣa or a bear. (IV.58).

3. *Horses* : Their group are called 'Āśvīyāni' (I.200). They are mentioned as an important part of the army (I.56; IV.39; VIII.70).



4. *Chariots* : Chariots are referred to made of wood so they are called 'Vaiṣṭava' (III.106).

*Other material* : Women of aboriginal tribes also went in the battlefield. They used a conveyance animal called 'Maya'. According to Abhayatilakagaṇi this 'Maya' is 'Saṇḍhi' which is a female camel. (IV.57). Carts were used to carry the pitchers full of water with the army (VI.79). Tents called 'Sthulas' were carried by soldiers in the battle-field and were pitched wheresoever necessary (III.145). Flags were used both on chariots and in hands (III.103; 112). The army made a circle called 'Vyūha' to attack the enemy (V.37).

In the night, no one was allowed to go out of the camp (III.159). The food to military was given by the king. Various departments were established to provide provision (XVII.41).

The army was divided into 'Akṣauhiṇīs'. According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, each akṣauhiṇī consisted of 21870 elephants 21870 chariots; 65610 horses and 109350 padestrians (V.59). It was further divided in various cantonments called 'Kaṭaka' (VIII.60). There was one commander of each cantonment (VIII.60). The army was also consisting of people of aboriginal castes viz. Bhillas etc. who were very expert in bows etc. (V.6). Some rural people engaged in other occupations were also recruited in army in the time of emergency. Such army is called Śreṇibala or 'Tantrādika' by Abhayatilakagaṇi (IV.52).

*Guerilla warfare* : This type of war is called 'Niśāvas-kandin' (which is made in the night (II.66). Some aboriginal tribes (e.g. the king Grāharipu) were very expert in this type of war. In Guerilla war, the army stood in a dress other than army e.g. in the dress of Brāhmaṇas and then attacked the back portion of the army (VI.76). This type of war is called 'Chala' or Māyā (XII.41). For guerilla war mines were also

used. It appears that underground mines were well-equipped because they are coloured with Mañjiṣṭhā (VI.42).

### INSTRUMENTS OF WAR

Amongst *musical instruments* in a battle-field, councshell (I.89; V.117; IX.19; XVIII.40), Bherī (V.117), Dundubhī, Ḍhakā (Drums), Yakā and Kāhala (IX.19; XVIII.40) are mentioned.

Hemacandra has referred to thirty-six kinds of instruments in the battle-field. (XI.51). Abhayatilakagaṇi has enumerated all those thirty-six types. Sometimes, through the medium of similes, the formation of instruments can also be known. The instruments mentioned by Abhayatilakagaṇi (XI.51) are as follows:-

1. *Cakra* (Ku.II.16).

2. *Dhanuṣ* (A bow) (III.98). It is called a cāpa (IV.25). It was used with arrows (V.18). It was made of Tāla tree (XV.65) and Badarī tree (V.6). Arrows are kept in a cavity called Tūṇa (V.12) or Niṣaṅga (VII.129).

3. *Vajra* : Vajra is a kind of stone. It is named Śilā also (XII.39).

4. *Khaṅga* : (I.20; V.26; Ku.1.39). It is called 'Asi' also (V.19). Asiputrikā (V.13) is a little sword (V.13). Kaukṣeyaka is a little sword hanging on a side (XVI.10).

*Kṣurikā* : It is a long knife. Even in modern dialects, it is called as 'Churi'.

6. *Tomara* : It is a lance

7. *Kunta* : It is a spear which is mentioned different from Tomara. (V.20). It is called Prāsa also which is named in Prakrit as Sella (Ku.I.39). The size of a Kunta is mentioned equal to the length of two men i.e. usually eleven or twelve feet long

(IV.47). Their weight were heavy and they were carried by strong animals (V.25). It was thrown with right hand so it is said 'Asvayaṣṭha', which is not carried by a left hand (III.122).

8. *Trisūla* (XI.51). It is a trident.

9. *Śakti* (IV.54.). The army of strong men is mentioned throwing Śakti. (IV.43; V.7). It appears to be a very heavy instrument made of iron (Ku.II.12).

10. *Paraśu* (Axe) : It was popular in the mountainous area of Raivataka (XV.68). It was used to cut trees also (VIII.93). Its weight is mentioned as fifty palas (Ku II.19).

11. *Makṣikā*.

12. *Bhalli*

13. *Bhindimāla*

14. *Muṣṣi* : It appears to be a kind of iron fist.

15. *Luṇṭhi*

16. *Saṅku* (V.95) It is made of iron and is mentioned like a snake.

17. *Pāśa* : It is a net to catch another man and then to kill him with spear or sword.

18. *Paṭṭiśa*.

19. *Riṣṭi*

20. *Kaṇaya*

21. *Kampana*

22. *Hala* (plough) This is also usually said to be an instrument of Balarāma.

23. *Mūsala* : It is a long staff.

24. *Gulika*: It appears to be clay-ball burnt in fire and was thrown with the help of a bow.

25. *Kartarī*.

26. *Karapatra*.

27. *Taravārī* ; It is the sword called 'Talawāra' these days.

28. *Kuddāla* : It is a long iron instruments which is used to dig a pit.

29. *Duṣfoṭa*.

30. *Gofaṇi*.

31. *Ḍāha*.

32. *Ḍuccūsa*.

33. *Mudgara*. It is a 'Mass' (V.58; V.54).

34. *Gadā* : It is also a kind of Mudgara but her gadā is mentioned made of stone while 'Mudgara' is made of iron (IV.43).

35. *Ghana*.

36. *Karavālikā*.

Besides these thirty-six mentioned at one place, some other names also occur separately. They are:-

37. *Śataghñī*. (II.76 ; XI.46). It was used to throw stones from a city (XIV.32).

38. *Yantra* : It was used to break the stones of a fort (XIV.32).

39. *Yaṣṭhī* : It is a bamboo staff used for fighting (VI.59).

40. *Raudrāstra*.

41. *Dalmi* (VIII.64).

42. *Raṅku* (VIII.95).

43. *Śalya* (IV.45). It may be identified with Śaṅku.

44. *Kuliśa* (VIII.95).

**45. *Stambhaparaghna*:** It appears to be a hammer (XII.68).

Besides these, trees are also mentioned to be used for fighting. Even seven horses were yoked to a chariot (VIII.70).

Amongst defensive weapons Varma and Carma are referred to (V.21).

## XIV. SOCIAL CONDITIONS

### (a) Caste system

Four castes are referred to in the *Dvyāśrayakāvya* (*caturvarṇa*). They are specified as *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya*, *Vaiśya* and *Śūdra* (I.183; II.2)). They are separately named as *Dvija*, *Kṣatra*, *Viṭ* and *Śūdra* (V.116).

*Brāhmaṇa*: According to H.D. Sankalia, "at the time of *Siddharāja*, indeed, *Brāhmaṇas* must have attained immense power, prestige and prosperity<sup>1</sup>."

The main duty of the *brāhmaṇas* is to study the *Vedas* and to perform sacrifices (I.75). Even a king is mentioned washing their feet and offering *Arghya* to them (VI.9). It was believed that if a *brāhmaṇa* utters a curse, it may cause an adverse effect on *yajamāna* (V.48). As a rule, a *kṣatriya* should not kill a *brāhmaṇa* (XVIII.19).

*Brāhmaṇas* were given donations in the form of cows and the land (XIV.23). A *brāhmaṇa* who is well-versed in the Vedic learning is called *Śrotriya* (V.91).

The *Kaṭaccūrī*, *Gujjara* and a few of the *Caulukya* records say that the grant was made to the *brāhmaṇas* for the performance of five great sacrifices (*Pañcamahāyajña*), *Bali*, *Caru*, *Vaiśvadeva*, *Agnihotra* and for the guests. *Darśa*, *Pūrnāmāsa*, *Rājasūya*, *Vājapeya* and *Agniṣṭoma* are the sacrifices for which the grants were made<sup>2</sup>.

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1. Sankalia, H.D. *Archæology of Gujarat*, p. 209.

2. *ibid.*, p. 209.

So it can be concluded that brāhmaṇas enjoyed prestige and dominance in the time of Caulukyās.

*Kṣatriya* : Usually kings belonged to Kṣatriya families. They had a lock of hair on their head (*Śikhā*) so Cāmuṇḍarāja is called mūrdhaśikha (IV.77).

In the Dvyāśrayakāvya, two kinds of kṣatriyas are referred to :

*i Śuddhakṣatriya* (Pure kṣatriya). According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, a kṣatriya who is born of a kṣatriya father and a kṣatriya mother is called Śuddhakṣatriya (XIX.115).

*ii Brāhmaṇakas*:- Such type of kṣatriyas are brāhmaṇas by birth. According to Abyayatilakagaṇi, those Brāhmaṇas who were thrust out of society and later on adopted warfare as their living, are called Brāhmaṇakas. Or those Brahmanas whose living was through warfare, are called Brāhmaṇakas (XVIII.59).

*Vaiśya* : They are called Arya (XI.15). Vaṇika or Dhānyamāya because their main occupation was to measure grain (XI.43).

### (b) Tribes

Amongst Hindus only these four castes were prevalent. But some other aboriginal tribes are referred to in the poem. Their hair are mentioned as long to reach the waist (IV.50). There are some differences in their physical structure they are called uccairmukha, having an upward faces or uṣṭramukha, having a face like that of a camel (V.32). Some of the castes of these tribes are as follows:-

*i. Ābhīra* : (XV.85). Grāharipu belonged to an Ābhīra tribe. It appears that they were anti-Hindu in their religion (II.109). According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, these Ābhīras are

the same as 'Gardabhas' (II.62). Hemacandra in his Śabdānuśāsana calls them Mahāśūdra<sup>1</sup>.

Similarly the Kāśikā has also referred to them as Mahāśūdras<sup>2</sup>.

ii. *Kirāta* (XIV.23). They are very expert in geogrpghy of the mountains and mine-occupations (XVI.53). In Prakrit, they are called Cilāya or Kirāya (Ku. II.29).

iii *Dhīva or Cāṇḍāla* (IV.38). They are called Bahiṣṭarām (Bahiḥ+tarām) or Niṣṭya (Nis+tya) i. e who are thrown out. According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, they were thrust out from Varṇas and Āśramas<sup>3</sup>. Outside the city, a private secluded hall called Antargṛha was constructed which was meant for cāṇḍālas (I 146). According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, they came in the city and begged (I.146). According to Smith, even in the Gupta period, these cāṇḍālas lived outside the city and had to inform as they entered it<sup>4</sup>.

But they had a respect in military and could get higher posts which were respected by all the castes (III.116).

iv. *Cīna* (VIII. 58). They are Chinese tribes.

v. *Barbara* : They are forest-living and cruel tribes (VIII.58).

vi. *Jāṅgala* : The army of Ānna is mentioned to be belonging to 'Jāṅgala' caste (XVIII.71).

1. Hemacandra, Śabdānuśāsana, II.4.54

2. Kāśikā, ed. Brahmadatta Jijñāsu, Varanasi, 1951. p.251. on Pān 4.1.4., the Vārttika of Kātyāyana

शूद्रा चामहत्पूर्वा जातिः ।

3. D.V. III.116.

बाह्यदेशे वर्तमानानाम् । निर्गता वर्णाश्रमेभ्य इति निष्ट्याः ।

4. Smith, V.A. The early history of India, oxford, 1957, p. 314.



vii. *Niṣāda* : They are mentioned as experts in driving elephants (V.50).

viii. *Bhilla* : (I.179). They are modern 'Bhīlas'. They are mentioned as experts in the warfare of bows and arrows (V.6). They are also called 'Meḍa' and Abhayatilakagaṇi has explained it as 'Bhillas' (IV.46).

ix. *Mlechhas* : According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, Bhillas (V.40). and Turuṣkas etc. belonged to Mlechha caste (V.59). Mlechhas could not become the friends of Aryans because they had bad habits and cruel disposition (IV.33).

x. *Turuṣka (Turks)* : They are also one of the Mlechha tribe (Ku. VI.96).

xi. *Yavanas* (XV.26).

xii. *Śaka* (XV.26).

xiii. *Śabarās* : They resided in forests so Abhayatilakagaṇi calls them Āraṇyakas (foresters XVI.27). Śabarās are called 'Parvatīya', (belonging to mountainous areas XV.33).

xvi. *Hūṇas* : It appears Hūṇas had also become a part and parcel of Indian society. In the 'Svayamvara' of Durlabhadevī, the sister of Mehendra of Marudeśa, the king of Hūṇas was also present together with the kings of other maṇḍalas (VII.102).

xv. *Takka* : They are mentioned by Abhayatilakagaṇi as 'Kṣatriyas' (I.54).

xvi. *Māheya* (XVI.6). According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, they are also Kṣatriyas called 'Mahiyāḍa'.

xvii. *Khasa* (VI.26). According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, they are Kṣatriyas residing in 'Kedāradeśa' (XX.90).

### Position of women

Abhyatilakagaṇi has indicated (XVIII.62) that the marriage of a girl had become a headache for father. Slowly the position of women was deteriorating.

Although she is referred to as a partner of man and could eat and drink with him in one pot (XI.2), yet women were left to their fate. It is mentioned that one could put his wife at stake (XIII.64). She was so much on the will of her husband that if she possessed the signs of one who kills her husband (Patighnī) she was either abandoned or married to to even an enemy (XI.46). After the death of her husband a widow dressed herself in a deer-leather (IV.65).

They had a freedom to go to bazar to make purchases etc. Such a woman is called Paṇitrī or Panitrī or Panāyitrī (VII.78). In one place, they are referred as pursuing lovers (VII.82).

Women were given education and the wives of high officers are mentioned to be proficient even in politics and grammar (IV.44). They were especially given education in fine arts viz. singing and dancing. Abhayatilakagaṇi has referred to sixty four types of fine arts (I.106).

Usually purdah was not used by women. But sometimes while going to a public place, the purdah was observed. The word "Asūryam paśyā" indicates to the prevalence of the veil. The purdah was not strictly observed everywhere. Abu Zaid an Arabian traveller of the early tenth century has noticed that in most of the courts of India, queens appeared in public without any veil<sup>1</sup>.

They went in temples with the covered face and saw the dance being performed before the statue of Jina from the stern of stone before them (Ku. II.28). Sweet-natured women were appreciated (I.35). Married girls were instructed to

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1. (a) Elliot and Dowson : History of India, as told by its own historians, London, 1867-77. Vol. I. p.11.

(b) Altekar, A.S: Position of women in Hindu civilization, p.172.

preserve social order (I.107). The fulfilment of their desire in pregnancy (Dohada) is mentioned in the poem (XI.3,6).

Women observed Vratas also. Those who observe Vrata for four months are called Cāturmāsikā. Others fasting for forty-eight days are called Aṣṭācatvāriṁśyā (XVII.50). They could become a mendicant and could celibate throughout their life. Such like women are called *Kumārāpravrājitā* (V.96).

Besides domestic duties, They performed some outer jobs also. In villages, women protected fields, corn and fruit and harvest the crops (Ku.V.70-71). Women selling garland, flowers and other such like objects are also mentioned (XVIII.-33-34). Their domestic duties were to cut the wood and to milk the cows (XIII.25).

The women of non-Aryan races accompanied their husbands to the battle-field also (IV.57,77). Even in Aryan tribes female-servants or wives of high officials accompanied their husbands in the battle-field (III.129). They inspired warriors to fight (V.111). While explaining the words like *Pañcarāma* or *Trirāmabhorū*, Abhayatilakagṇi has remarked that these women were bought for five or three prisoner women or so. This indicates that they were captured in the battle-field and were sold later on. It was prevalent amongst some aboriginal tribes (IV.92).

Personally, Hemacandra has severely condemned the company of women (Ku.VII.9). The sexual relations with female servants are also referred to. The rich offered grains as the price of sexual relations (III.20).

**Prostitution :** The group of harlots is called *Gāṇikya*. The attitude of society towards prostitution does not appear to be encouraging. Abhayatilaka explains this institution as

worst. The prostitution is called *Veṣa* (XIII.57) and a harlot is called *Avaiṣikī* (XVII.10).

Prostitutes accompanied the army in the battle-field also (XIV.30). Even married-men are referred to be indulged in prostitution (XVII.60).

No harlot was allowed to be present on an auspicious occasion like that of the marriage of a king (XIX.56). According to Pūrṇakaśagaṇi, they had a contract of time and after that they left men.<sup>1</sup> Viṭas were mediators and agents between the prostitutes and the customer (Ku. I.54).

They accompanied young-men even to palaces for water-sports (Ku. IV.66). Some well-dressed harlots could be present even in the court of a king (Ku. VI.38).

#### (d) Marriage

*Rituals* : Bridegroom reached the house of a bride and was welcomed at the door. He was marked with a 'Tilaka' of curd on his forehead. No harlot was allowed to be present at that occasion (XIX.56). The bride put a garland in the neck of the bridegroom (VII.108) and they entered inside having broken a pitcher consisting of salt and fire (XIX.58). Then they went to the 'Mātṛveśma' (XIX.59). Brāhamanas recited Mantras and the friends of the bride cut jokes and satires having seen his physique (XIX.63, 71).

Songs were sung at the time of marriage and a thread was bound called 'Sūtrabandhana'. Fingers of the lady were yellowed with 'Kuṅkuma' (IX.169). After the completion of

1. Ku. I.54.

यावान् प्रतिज्ञातः कालस्तावन्मात्रं वेद्या अरसिषुः ।

rituals, auspicious songs called 'Maṅgalagāna' were sung again (XIX.75).

*Svayamvara* : It was prevalent amongst Kṣatriyas. (VII.66). A place was decorated for Svayamvara called Svayamvara-maṇḍapa (VII.89). The bride put her hand in the hand of a maid-servant (Pratihārī) and then turn by turn went to all the candidates (VII.92). Then she put the garland in the neck of the most suitable (VII.108).

*Polygamy* : It is frequently referred to by the Dvyāśraya-kāvya and the description of a cowife; a jealousy for her and a lesson to 'Mugdhā-Nāyikā' is mentioned (I.107). It was prevalent mostly amongst kings (II.9).

*Dowry* : Dowry was very prevalent even in royal marriages. Elephants, horses, chariots and coins were also given to a king (VII.75; VII.109; VII.112; IX.171; XIX.24).

The Dowry is not mentioned in public directly except an indication that the father of the girl was worried for the marriage of girl (XVIII.62). In the poem the father of the girl is mentioned to be sending presents to his son-in-law (IX.163). According to Altekar it was a voluntary gift of pure affection and presented no impediments in the settlement of the daughter's marriage till the middle of the 19th century<sup>1</sup>.

### (e) Society

*People* : People in the society are said to be virtuous (I.59), true (I.85); restraint (I.92) and well-behaved (I.93). There was no mutual exploitation (I.94). People did not crave for women of others (I.20). They were leading a happy and healthy social life (I.104).

1. Altekar, A.S. Position of women in Hindu civilization, p. 71.

Besides good people in society, fraudulence in Kāśī was prevalent (Ku. III.59) People of Cedi are said to be very honest (XVI.19).

*Social relatives* : Relations between brothers and sisters were very good. A brother prevented his sister from immoral actions (VI.10). Both paternal and maternal aunts are mentioned (III.103, 104). Nephew and niece (both from brothers and sisters); cousins (both maternal and paternal XV.2) and brother-in-law (śyāla XV.3) are mentioned in the poem.

In Saurāṣṭra, husband of the daughter of a maternal uncle is called *Mātulāniputra*. According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, it is a local custom to call him by this name (IV.73).

Daughter-in-law respected her mother-in-law. Due to modesty, she always got up earlier than her mother-in-law (Ku. I. 52).

*Abuses* : Social abuses are mentioned but they are not obscene. Avaṭīta (flat-nosed, XVIII.35), Cāṇḍalakī or Kārmārki (A Cāṇḍālī or a low woman XIV.49), Devānām Priya (a fool, XVIII.103), Nikkīṭa (a mean), Kalahaśīla (quarrelsome), Dāsa, a slave (Ku. IV.13) and Śākinī (Fierce woman XIV.6) are the prevalent abuses.

### (f) Food and drinks

#### Corns

1. *Wheat* : Apūpas are made of ground wheat i. e. flour. Abhayatilaka calls it *Kaṇikkā* (XVII.24) It corresponds to Punjabi word kanaka. It was a popular corn.

2. *Rice* : Odana in prepared of rice (XVII.24).

3. *Barley* : It was used to cook barley-gruel called *Karambhaka* (XVIII.18) According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, karambhaka is prepared with curd and saktu. Saktu is also prepared from barley. It is a flour of fried and ground

preparation of barley (III. 143) In modern Indian languages it is called *Sattu*.

4. *Kulmāṣa* (XVIII. 61). It is a particular type of grain. The word occurs in the Nirukta whereon Rajamade has suggested its meaning to be half-boiled barely, which, it seems was considered unfit for the higher classes<sup>1</sup>.

Hemacandra has specified *yāvaka* as a synonym of *Kulmāṣa*<sup>2</sup>. It was, perhaps, an inferior type of barley.

5. *Tripuṭa*: According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, it was a special type of grain (XVIII. 61). Its identity is unknown.

6. *Tila* (sesamum, VI.12 ; XVIII.18).

7. *Nivāra*: It is a light grain of grass which is meant for the sages (III.27) and the deer (VII.72).

### Corn Preparations

1. *Dhāna*: They are fried barely which were frequently used as a substantial food (VI. 87). Abhayatilakagaṇi has mentioned them as fried barley (Bhraṣṭā yavāḥ, V. 116). In Punjabi, it is called *Dhāṇā*.

2. *Saktu*: They are prepared from fried and ground barley (III. 134). Generally they are prepared from *Dhāna*.

3. *Karambhaka*: Fried and ground barley (*Saktu*) is mixed with curd and is called *Karambhaka*. According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, *Karambhaka* is cool in effect (III.134).

4. *Maṇḍaka*: According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, it is called *Polikā*. It is a heavy wheat bread. Abhayatilakagaṇi has explained its preparation. It is prepared by wheat-flour

1. Rajwade, V.K. Ed. Nirukta, Poona, 1940, p.20 and 233.

2. Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, p. 10.

स्यात्कुल्माषस्तु शिवकः ।

after mixing it up with water. In Punjabi, they are called *Maṇḍe* (big roṭī) and in Marathi, they are called *Māṇḍe*.<sup>1</sup>

5. *Puroḍāṣa* : It was also a big bread made of rice. According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, it was used only in the sacrifice (XV. 75).

### Pulses

1. *Māṣa* (Black beans, III. 141 ; V. 137).

Its sweets are also mentioned in the poem (III.141).

2. *Mudga* : Green kidney-beans (XV. 71 ; XVIII.81).

3. *Kulattha* : It occurs in the poem in (XVII. 5). A synonym of kulattha is *Kālavṛnta*<sup>2</sup>.

*Cooking of Pulses* : Mudga is mentioned to be prepared in curd. It was made delicious with salt and camphor powder etc. (XVII. 5).

*Other tasteful edibles* : Some of the fragrant and astringent edibles are mentioned to make the preparation more tasteful. It is called *saṃskāra* or seasoning. According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, a soup was made more tasteful by refining it with Hīṅga (*Asa-foetida*) and camphor (I. 58). Some other things are :

(i) *Haridrā* (Turmeric). It is called *Haladī* in Prakrit (Ku. I. 60). It makes the pulse and soup colourful as well as delicious.

(ii) *Ciñcanikā* (Tarmind). It was mixed with the pulses

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1. Jani, A.N. A critical study of the Naiṣadhiyacarita, Baroda, 1957. p.218.

2. Aṭṭhidhānacīntāmaṇi, p.160,



to make them delicious (Ku. V. 14). It is called *Tiṇḍikā* also. A pulse mixed with tarmind is called *Taiṇḍika* (XVII. 5).

Making a pulse astringent with pepper is also referred to (V. 94).

**Meat :** Meat-eating was prevalent amongst royal persons (VI. 98). The meat cooked with rice is called *Māṃsaudanika* (XVII. 41).

The meat of a cow was eaten by some of the aboriginal tribes. Grāharipu took the meat of the camarī cow (II. 86) which enraged Mūlarāja to invade over him. But amongst Hindu kings, cow was honoured as 'Abhakṣyā'. Mūlarāja was strictly against taking the beef (II.87). Later on Kumārapāla prohibited the meat-eating under the influence of Jainism and milk was prescribed as a substitute (XX.12).

Fish was also taken (VI.87). Some of the aboriginal tribes are mentioned to be eating the meat of a dog (XX.34). Bhillas took frogs and other such like animals which come into existence in the rainy season. (Kūpavaṣabhū I.179).

Some of the aboriginal tribes (XI. 107) and the people of Cedi took raw-flesh which was looked upon as bad (IX. 31).

### Sweets

1. *Apūplkā* (XVI.96). It appears to be a delicious dish because children and students are referred to be very happy with it. (XV. 52). It corresponds to the modern 'Mālapuā'. Apūpa was prepared with the ground mudga pulse (XIX. 57).

2. *Audaśvitka* : Some of the sweets prepared in butter-milk (Udaśvit) are referred to. They are called *Audaśvitka* (XVI.5).

3. *Kilāṭa* : According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, it is deformed milk. According to Monier Williams, it is 'inspissated milk'<sup>1</sup>. But here in the context it appears that it was *cheese* which was prepared by deformed milk.

4. *Kṣaireya* : Some sweet dishes prepared in the milk are called Kṣaireya (XVI.5).

5. *Guḍadhāna* : Guḍa mixed with fried-barley (Dhāna) is called guḍadhāna. It is a popular edible amongst children (XIX, 79).

6. *Dādhika* : Dishes prepared in curd are called Dādhika (XVI.5).

7. *Modaka* : (XVII. 40). It is a sweet-dish which corresponds to Laḍḍu. The word occurs in the Naiṣadhīya-carita as Laḍḍuka<sup>2</sup>.

8. *Other dishes* : Another dish prepared by ground barley and mixed with sesamum and guḍa is referred to (XV.76).

9. *Yavāgu* : It was a popular dish since the time of Pāṇini<sup>3</sup>. Due to its excessive heat it is called Nakhampacā (XI. 73). Abhayatilakagaṇi has mentioned it as a medicine (Pathyāt Rogacchid). According to V. S. Aggrawal, it was a barley-gruel<sup>4</sup>. In the time of Patañjali, it was prepared both sweet and salty. It was mixed with milk and so it is Kṣaireya. Due to a large quantity of water, it is called 'Payaskalpa'<sup>5</sup>.

1. Williams, Monier. Sanskrit-English dictionary, p.284.

2. Jani A.N. op. cit. p.217.

3. Agrawala, V.S. India as known to Pāṇini, Lucknow, 1963. p.107.

4. ibid., p.107.

5. Agnihotri, Prabhu Dayal. Patañjali-Kālīna-Bhārata, Patna, 1963, pp.211-212,

As Abhayatilakagaṇi has referred to it as a diet agreeing with a medicine, it may be identified with Rice-Khicari rather than barley-gruel.

10. *Yava* : It is a preparation of barley mixed with some fragrant condiment (XV.77).

11. *Vaṭakinī* : It is a sweet-dish which is mentioned to be taken on some festival (XVIII.61). On another place, they are mentioned to be made of ground Māṣa (III.141). Its another text is vaṭikinī. It can be identified with the modern edible Piṇḍi made of Māṣa or Punjabi 'Pinnī'.

12. *Śaṣkulī* : Abhayatilakagaṇi has not remarked on the preparation of this dish. But it also appears to a sweet-dish (V.116).

### Fragrant Condiments

1. *Elā* (III.135.). Cardamom.

2. *Karpūra* (XIII.20; Ku.11. 39). Camphor.

3. *Kastūrikā* (VIII.20). Musk. It was besmeared even on feet which is called 'Pādyaka-kastūri' (XVII.115),

4. *Sandal* : It is called 'Agaru' also (XIII.20) and was used to be besmeared on body (XIII.20 ; XV.44 ; XV.73).

5. *Kuṅkuma* (Saffron). Mention of besmearing it on the body is mentioned (XV.75).

6. *Tagara*. (Ku.II.39).

7. *Tāmbūla eating* : Tāmbūla was popular amongst women also. Women eating 'Tāmbūla' are called Tāmbūlikyā (XVII.36). It was taken after food (Ku.VI.74). Betel nuts called Pūgaphala (IX.55) or Kramuka (IX.30) are referred to. Elā (III.135) was also taken with the betel leaf.

8. *Mustā* (XV.78).

9. *Śālālu* (XVII.34).

10. *Kiśara* (XVII.34).

Some of the other fragrant substances were prepared by grinding barley and mixing it with oil or ghee (XV.77).

### Vigorous food

1. *Butter* : It is called 'Haiyaṅgavīna' and was prepared by churning curd (XVII.107). It is called 'Navanīta' also (VIII.115).

*Ghee* : It is called Sarpi (VIII.15). So many sweets were prepared in ghee which are called 'Ghārtika' (XVII.6). Drinking of ghee is also mentioned (III.98).

3. *Curd* : Curd was also a popular vigorous food (IX.93). Curd and ghee are thought to be very good foods (XX.24).

4. *Honey* (XI.140). It is called Mākṣika (XVI.92).

### Fruit

1. *Āmalaka* (Emblic Myrobalan) (V.115 ; XV.81).

2. *Āmra* (Mango). They are mentioned red like those of the early ray of the sun (II.38).

3. *Kanda* : It is an earthly eatable which was roasted in fire (Ku.1.36).

4. *Kharjūra* (Date). (Ku.IV.23).

5. *Pīyūṣā* : They are a kind of grapes (IV.4).

6. *Kāpiṣāyana* : They are the grapes which are grown in Kapiṣā (Gāndhāra) (XV.11). Such fruit are called 'Vapya' (XI.5).

7. *Badara* : (Jujube fruit). (V.116 ; Ku.II.13).

8. *Bimbi* : It is a red fruit (Ku. V.10). It is a wild fruit which is roasted in the fire. In Prākṛta it is called 'Gollā' (Ku. I.35).

9. *Jambu* : (Rose apple or Eugenia Jambolana) (XV.81).

## Drinks

1. *Milk* : Milk and Takra (butter-milk) appear to be very important drinks of the age (II.48). Milk was mixed with guda (III.9). Milk mixed with ghee is also mentioned (VIII.96). Milk of camels was also taken in the Raivataka mountain and curd was also prepared by this milk (XV.66). The milk of a female deer is also mentioned (VI.49).

2. *Takra* (Butter-milk) (II.48).

3. *Sugar-cane juice* (XVIII.125).

4. *Soma* (XV.10). The Soma juice is extracted from creepers called *Valvajasoma* (XV.73).

5. *Phāṇṭa* (XV.10). Abhayatilakagaṇi has explained it as an astringent medicine (Kaṣāya). It is neither boiled nor ground but its juice is extracted only with the help of water (X.56)<sup>1</sup>. In the Kāśikā also such an explanation is given<sup>2</sup>.

6. *Phaṇita* (XV.10). The other form of Phāṇṭa is Phaṇita. According to V. S. Agrawala, Phaṇita denotes inspissated juice of sugar-cane boiled down to their consistency, a preparation now called 'rāb' from which after crystallization sugar is prepared<sup>3</sup>. It appears that Phaṇita was extracted with a great difficulty.

1. DV. XV.10.

अनायाससाध्यमश्रपितमपिष्टमुदकसम्पर्कमात्राद्विभक्तरसमीषधम् कषायादि  
फाण्टम् ।

2. Kāśikā. Pāṇ VI.2.18, p.633.

फाण्टमिति भवत्यनायासश्चेत् । फणितमन्यत् ।

यदश्रुतमपिष्टं च कषायमुदकसम्पर्कमात्राद्विभक्तरसमीषदुष्णं तत्फाण्टम् ।

3. Agrawal, V.S. op. cit., p.111.

7. *Wine*: It is called Madu (VII.61 ; 71) ; Surā (XVI.46) , Madirā (IV.49) and Hālā (XVII.112 ; XVI.46). Hālā is prepared from śālī (XVII.119). The wine prepared from grapes is called Drākṣārasapāna (Ku. IV.10). Drinking is called Kaṣāyapāna whereon Abhayatilakagaṇi has interpreted it as Madyapāna. According to Durṇasa, there is no harm in drinking it (IV.7).

Wine was taken in assemblies (Goṣṭhī IV.7). But Kumārapāla placed a restriction on this ill-habit (XX.24). Some drunkards are referred to be strolling in the bazars after drinking (XIII. 7). Women also took wine with their husbands but in the time of pregnancy it was prohibited (XI.13 ; XVII.117).

### (g) Dress

Various dresses were used for various seasons. The dress which is worn in Hemanta is called *Haimana* (XVI.63).

Various clothes are mentioned in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. Cotton fabrics (XV.71) and fine cotton cloth (XIX.58) are mentioned. These fine clothes were made in Srughna (Ku.III.58) so they are called Srughnaja.

*Ainśuka* : It is a silken cloth. Its price is mentioned either two or three golden coins (XVII.83). Another variety of silk is Kṣauma (IX.30). Perhaps, it was a precious cloth.

*Woollen*: Woollen clothes are called Aurnāvāsas (XVI.20). People of Saurāṣṭra are called Aurnāambaras because they wear the clothes made of wool (XV.67). It was the dress of mountaineers also (XV.68).

*Leather* : Leather of deer is referred to as a dress in mountainous areas (XV.68). It is called Tvakpaṭa.

*Kauṣeya* : It appears to be a silken cloth which is as soft as a koṣa (the bud of a flower XV.68).

**Trasara :** It is another kind of sturdy cloth. In Prakrit, it is called Ṭasara (Ku.II.39). Its modern equivalent appears to be Tassara.

**Aumaka :** It was a flickering cloth (XV.67)). V.S. Agrawal calls it a linen cloth.

### Colours

These clothes were dyed in various colours. The cloth dyed in Śakala is called Śakalika (XV.43). They were coloured yellow and blue also (XV.44). Kusumbha was a flower used for dyeing clothes (III.72).

### Costumes

1. **Skin :** Śabaras are referred to as wearing the skin of a lion in the winter and the rainy season to save themselves from cold (XVI.51). The skin of deer was worn by widows also (IV.65).

2. **Cīvara** (a rag). It was worn by Brāhmaṇas (VIII.110).

3. **Uṣṇīṣa :** A turban (XVII.125).

4. **Uttarīyavastra :** It is an upper garment (X.37; XVI.39)

5. **Udarāṃśuka :** It is a kind of silken saree covering both stomach and shoulders (VIII.84). The saree was a dress in Saurāṣṭra which was imposed on her people due to their defeat by Mūlarāja. This dress indicated the glory of Mūlarāja and was accepted by all (V.130).

6. **Colaka :** Colaka is mentioned especially for girls. This indicated their virginity (IX.145). According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, colaka is a Kañcuka or gown which is put on the whole of the body.

7. **Purdah :** It is called Niraṅgī (VII.86).

8. **Vāsa :** 'It is a lower garment', says Abhayatilakagaṇi (XII.43). Adhovastra is also mentioned (XVI.39). Nīvi is the knot of the adhovastra.

**Miscellaneous**

i. *Shoes* : They were made of leather. Its pinch is also mentioned (XVII.132).

ii. *Hair* : Men maintained hair and got them cut during an auspicious pilgrimage (XV.54).

iii. *Beard* : Both bearded and beardless men are referred to (XIX.68). Durlabharāja is mentioned having a beard (VIII.12).

iv. *Cūla* : Children had a bunch of hair on the head which is called cūla (XII.14).

v. *Kabarī* : Women had a thick braid on their head called kabarī (Ku. I.76). Thick braid was thought to be a sign of beauty amongst women.

Moreover, cutting of nails (VIII.13); putting a tilaka on the forehead (Ku. I.81); besmearing sandal paste called Aṅgarāga (III.72). or candana (IX.140) etc. were usual physical decorations.

**(h) Ornaments**

1. *Niṣka* : It is a golden ornament which is worn by ladies in their neck (VIII.76). Even children used to wear it. Bhīmarāja is mentioned wearing it in his childhood (VIII.10)

2. *Graivahāra* (XVI.69) : It is a necklace in the neck. This is also called 'Graiveyaka' (VI.10).

3. *Hāra* (A Necklace) : It is used by men also (VI.80).

4. *Ear rings* : They are called 'Kaṇṇika' (XVI.72). Kuṇḍala is also an ornament worn in the ear (XVI.59). Ear-rings were worn by men also (VIII.12). In Prākṛta they are called Kaṇayapariāle'.

5. *Valaya* : It is a ring worn in the finger (XVI.66).

6. *Aṅgulīya* : It is an ornament of forearm (XVIII.89. Ku. VI.34).



7. *Āṅgada* : It is a bracelet worn on the upper portion of the arm (Ku.1.76).

8. *Kāñcī* : It is a girdle furnished with small bells (VI.54). Nīvis were also decorated with small bells (Ku. VI.38).

*Ornaments of men.*

9. *Kaṭaka*: A bracelet.

10. *Keyūra*: an armlet.

11. *Mukuṭa* (A diadem). It is mentioned by Puṣkarākṣagaṇi on (Ku.II.34). Kings used to wear this ornament whereon jewels were decorated (Ku.II.34)

12. *Panniṣka* ; It was worn by men in their feet. According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, it is called 'Vīrakaṭaka' (VI.77). The 'niṣka' worn by women in their feet is called Padaniṣka'. It is indicated by the text itself which reads 'Ātmapanniṣka' and 'Kalatrapādaniṣka' (VI.77).

13. *Pādakaṇṭaka*:- It is an ornament of men worn in feet. (XVIII.79).

**Jewels:-** Hemacandra has mentioned twenty seven kinds of Jewels (Ku.1.2). Amongst these are 'Vidruma, and Padma-rāga' (XV.42); Vaidūrya (XIII.79) and Vajra (XV.42) etc.

Ornament of idols are mentioned to be made of 'brass' which is called 'Pīladhātu' (Ku. II.42). Puṣkarākṣagaṇi has rendered it as 'Pīladhātu' (Yellow-mineral). It corresponds to modern Indian language's 'Pīṭala'.

1. *Pots*: Some pots are made of earth (XV.73) e.g. pitcher (VI.79) called Kumbha or Karpara or śarāva (XV.14). Droṇa (XVII.94); Sthālī (XVII.106). Pāri or Dohinī is used (XII.44) while mikling (II.48). The spoon is called Juhu or sruva (VI.66). A pot made of bamboo is called "Paiṭākiki".

According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, its local word is 'Piṭāu'. (XVII.13). It is a bamboo basket.

Putā is a vessel made of leaves (III.143). A leather bag is called *Carmabhasrikā* (V.10). Dṛti is also a leather bag used to carry water (XIV.26; XVII.14). A pot made of leather was used to draw water (XIV.8).

Other domestic articles are as follows:—

*Dātra*: A sickle to harvest crops (XII.48).

*Śaṅkuka*: (A pair of scissors, V.53).

*Lohakīla*: Iron nails (XIV.45). Raṅku and kuliśa are also iron-nails (VIII.95).

*Abhrika*: An instrument to dig minerals (XVII.4).

*Cullī*: A fire-place (III.104).

*Manthanī*: It is used to churn curd and draw butter (XVII.107).

*Sthulā*: A tent. (III.145).

*Ulūkhala*: A mortar made of iron, wood or stone (Ku. II.16).

*Chatra*: An umbrella (V.98; VII.106).

*Darpaṇa*: A mirror (Ku.VIII.81).

#### (j) Games and amusements

Children played with toys called *Kriḍanakas* (VII.9-10).

Children of cowherds while breeding cows whistled for their amusements which is called *sinṭā* (VIII.43). The words *giri* and *aṇḍa* are mentioned by Hemacandra (III.10). A man became one-eyed (Kāṇa) when a *giri* pricked in his eye. Abhayatilakagaṇi has interpreted *giri* as a ball and following him A.K. Majumdar<sup>1</sup> has interpreted it as hockey and ball. But

1. Majumdar, A.K. Chaulukyās of Gujarat, 1956, p.359.

the game appears to be modern *gilliḍaṇḍā*. The word *giri* directly corresponds to the word *gilli* and many people are seen having lost their eyes with *gilli*. So the game appears to be *gilli-ḍaṇḍā* and not the Hockey and Ball. The word *Śaṅkulā* may be interpreted as hockey as Dr. A.K. Majumdar has done<sup>1</sup>. Ball-game is also mentioned (VIII 43).

*Catching of elephants* : It was another amusement. Elephants were caught from the Vindhya mountain (VI.17).

*Ox-contest* : It is called *Vṛṣabha-tulanā* (I.61). It is possible that the fight of the oxen would have been organized (I. 61).

*Wrestling* : It is an important game (VII.14; IX-88). Wrestling was prevalent amongst kings also (XI.47)

*Gambling* : It had become an important game in the time of Hemacandra. It was not only a royal game but even the wife and the husband played it in the house (XVII.12). It was played by dices called *Akṣa* or *glaha* (XVII.4). Abhayatilakagaṇi has mentioned a board (*dyūtapthalaka*) on which the dices were thrown. The fate of the gambler depended on the throw of the *glaha*. It was played by small-sicks (*śālākā*) also. The game is called *Pañcikā* because it is played by five *śālākas*. If all these *pañcikās* fall upwards or downwards, the player wins. Otherwise there is a defeat. It has been explained by Abhayatilakagaṇi. (V.39). On the explanation of the words *Ekaṇḍa* and *Dvipari* (V.39), Abhayatilakagaṇi has further clarified that a piece of *śālākā* was cut into two pieces. The game was either played by *śālākas* or by *akṣas*.

It appears that the attitude towards gambling was not appreciable. So the kings also avoided this game (VI.15).

1. Majumdar, A.K. op. cit., p.359.

**Hunting :** It was an important amusement which may be ranked next to gambling (II.86; IV.6; VIII.13). The hunting was operated through dogs (XVII.9 ; XX.34). Either spear or dogs or the bow and arrows were used to kill an animal from a distant place (III.131). Even wild boars were killed with the help of a dog (III.131). A bow made of the wood of Tāla was used to throw arrows (XV.65). On auspicious occasions e.g. on the birth of the son of a king, the hunting was prohibited (XI.36). Kumārapāla, a follower of Jainism laid down restriction on hunting. As a result, the skin of the deer was not available to sages (XX.33). The important amusement for women was to play with a ball (XIX.69). Going to the garden and playing a game called *Udyānakrīdā* (I.112) or plucking of flowers (XX 1) were popular. *Cūtabañjikā* or plucking of mangos is one of the garden-games (V.66).

Songs were popular with the village-women (III.5,7). Dance on the cropping of the harvest is also referred to (III.5). Like song, dance was also a popular amusement (XI.37 ; Ku. II.69).

#### (k) Music

Many references to the music, its technical aspects and instruments are found in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. The music was popular in the populace also. With their sweet voice, women used to sing songs (I.89). A special type of song called *Vakra* was sung by women only (XI.42). Female-singers are called *Gāthikā* (XI.37). The following instruments are referred to in the Dvyāśrayakāvya.

1. *Vīṇā* (III.38). A lute. It is called *Vaiṇa* also (XVI.63).

2. *Veṇu* (III.38). A flute. A special song called *Veṇugīti* is sung with the help of *veṇu* to express internal feelings (X.38). A *Veṇu* made of the Bilva wood is also referred to (IV.91).

3. *Bherī* (III.66; Ku. VII.13). A kettle-drum.

4. *Māḍḍuka* (XVII.35). It is a kind of drum.

5. *Jharjhara* (XVII.35).

6. *Jhachara* (Ku. VIII.13). It may be identified with Jharjhara. The commentator Puṣkarākṣagaṇi has explained it as a local instrument called *Aḍāuja*. Perhaps it is an instrument producing Jhar, Jhar sound.

7. *Ḍamarūka* (Ku. VII.13). It is a small-drum called ḍamaru in the modern Indian languages.

8. *Ḍhakkā* (IX.19; Ku. VIII.13). It is a big drum.

9. *Vikvaṇi* (XII.63). It is called *Vallakī* or *Lakī* also. It was played by cāraṇas. It appears to be a string instrument like an Indian lyre.

10. *Tantrī* (X.25). It is a string instrument like a vīṇā.

11. *Tūrya* (III.79). It is called Raṇatūryavādyā also (XIV.37). It appears to be kind of bugle winded in the battle-field. Abhayatilakagaṇi has mentioned twelve kinds of Tūryas (V.1; XI.62). A man who could play all kinds of tūryas, is called Nāndīkara (XI.62).

12. *Dundubhī* (V.139). It is a kind of drum (IX.19).

13. *Śaṅkha* (V.139). A conch-shell (IX.19). The worship of Lord Śiva is performed with the help of Śaṅkha, Dundubhī and Vīṇā.

14. *Kāhala* (IX.19). It is a wind instrument. According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, Kāhalas were sounded with the air of the mouth (XV.69). They were made of gold also.

15. *Yakā* (IX.19).

16. *Mṛdaṅga* It was played in temples (Ku. I.86). Some mṛdaṅgas of bronze were prevalent amongst mountainous areas (XV.69).

17. *Tāla* (Ku. II.71). According to Puṣkarākṣagaṇi, it was also a drum made of bronze.

### (I) Education

Āśramas were the centres of education where students were called according to the name of their teacher. They resided in *Gurukulas* and studied various branches of learning (XV.37). These educational institutions are called *Vidyāmaṭhas* (I.7). The sages were in the teachers these institutions whose work, according to Abhayatilakagaṇi is to perform sacrifices, to study and to teach (I.108).

These *Vidyāmaṭhas* were patronized by the kings (XV.120-121). The method of teaching was to learn a subject by heart. (I. 66). There were discourses amongst scholars which is also a method of propagation of knowledge (I.43).

In the month of Kārtika, the study was full-swing and there was no rest or leave in the daytime for fifteen days. (XIII. 54). Attitude towards teachers was very respectful. (I. 33).

### Subjects of Study

1. *Veda* : Four Vedas (I.1.122 191, ; XIII.47 ; XV.120-121). Vedic Pāṭhas viz. Padapāṭha, Krama-pāṭha etc. (XV. 124) were taught. Śākala recension of the Ṛgveda (XVI. 85) ; Ṛgayana (YV.75) were amongst the Ṛgveda. Kāṭha recension of the Yajurveda (XVI. 88) was also read.

Other recensions of the Vedas are mentioned as Vājasaneyā, Khāṇḍakīyā, Śaunakā, Aukha, Chāgaleyin (XVI.89). Chāndogya, Yājñikya, Bāhvṛcyā, Aukthikya, Ātharvaṇa and Kāṭhaka (XVI. 82), are other portions of the Vedic literature mentioned in the Dvyāśrayakāvya.

Some of the Mantras are called 'Mahārājikamantras' consisting of Vāyavya, Ṛtavya, Pitṛvyā, Uśasya and Prauṣṭhapadika mantras (XV. 112) Śunāsīrya Vastoṣpaṭīya

(XV. 110), Aponaptriya sūktas are also mentioned (XV.107).

2. *Vedāṅga* : It is called “*Ṣaḍaṅga*” also (XV. 120-121, 1.108 ; XVI. 75). *Nirukta* is called ‘*Anupadika*’ (XV. 118). *Jyotiṣ* or astronomy is referred to (XVI. 94). Ritualistic education is called *Yājñikavidā* (XV. 120-125). Amongst rituals *agniṣṭoma* (XV. 119) and *Puroḍāśa* (XVI. 74). are referred to. *Kalpasūtras* are also mentioned (XV.120-21). *Kalpa* by *Pañgī* XVI.90). *Kāśyapin* and *Kauśika* (XVI.90) are also mentioned. *Metres* are referred to (XIII. 46).

3. *Brāhmaṇa* : *Śatapatha* and *Ṣaṣṭhīpatha* *Brāhmaṇas* are mentioned in the poem (XV. 122). *Abhayatilakagaṇi* has mentioned ‘*Ṣaṣṭhīpatha*’ as a part of the *Veda*.

4. *Upaniṣad* : They are called ‘*Jñānaguhyā*’ (XI.23).

5. *Grammar* : *Grammarians* are called *Lākṣaṇikas* (XV. 118) or *Padikas* (V.122) or *Padakāras* (XV. 67).

The grammar of *Pāṇini*, *Vārttikas* of *Varuruci* (XVI. 92, XVI 88 ; XVI.1) are mentioned. Both *sūtras* and *vṛtti* were studied. They are called *Vārtisūtrika* (XV. 120.121).

6. *Purāṇas* : The *Purāṇas* were also a subject of study (XV. 118). In the time of *Hemacandra*, *Purāṇas* had become popular even in mountainous area (XVI.46). They are mentioned to be sung by bards in the *Arbuda* mountain (XVI. 46). *Purāṇas* by *Kāśyapin* and *Kauśika* are mentioned (XVI. 90).

7. *Philosophy* : Principles of all systems of *Philosophy* were taught called ‘*Sarvatantras*’ whereon *Abhayatilakagaṇi* has mentioned all the systems of philosophy” (XVI.1). *Logic* (XIII.46) and a work on this subject are mentioned (XVI.73). *Cārvāka* is called ‘*Laukāyita*’ (XV.120-121). *Mīmāṃsā* is also referred to (XV.124).

8. *Languages* : *Śaurasenī* (Ku. VII 93-102), *Śabari* (Ku.II. 66) are the dialects of *Prākṛta*. *Gopālajurjarī* is mentioned as a

special dialect which has been explained by Puṣkarākṣagaṇi as a language of the Bhairavarāga (Ku. V.91). Other languages and dialects are mentioned in Prākṛta-grammar by Hemacandra.

9. *Classical Sanskrit Literature* : He has mentioned the *Kirātārjunīya* (XVI.95) and the *Sītānveṣaṇīya* (XVI.95). *Vāsavadattika* is another work mentioned in the poem (XV.119). According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, this *Vāsavadattā* is an *Ākhyāyikā*. A work based on Subhadrā is called *Saubhadra* (XVI.94).

Besides, he has mentioned *samasyā-sloka* i.e. incomplete verses to be completed (XI.66), *itihāsa-granthana* i.e. writing ancient history (VIII.49), ancient lore (VI.6), *Aṣṭakas* and *stotras* (XVII.101). According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, *Āśiṣādhyaṇa* is a synonym of the *Saptaśatī*, the eulogy of Caṇḍikā (II.6).

10. *Arthaśāstra* : Hemacandra has referred to three political powers and *trividyā* (*vārtā*, *trayī*, *daṇḍanīti* (XV.120-121). It is called *kṣatradivdyā* or *Daṇḍanīti* also (XV.120-121). On the explanation of the word *Sūtrakāra* (XI.67), Abhayatilakagaṇi has specified *Śukra* as a *sūtra-kāra* on *Arthaśāstra*. *Uśanas*'s school of Politics was also taught to princes. *Kumārapāla* had a knowledge of this school (XVI.3).

11. *Poetics* : It was also taught in the *Āśramas* (XV.120-121).

12. *Dance* : Its teaching is also referred to (XVI.81). *Naṭasūtras* by *Śalālīn* (XVI.90), *Kārśaśvaka* (XVI.91) and *Kāpileya* (XVI.91) are mentioned.

13. *Asceticism* : *Bhikṣusūtras* by *Pārāśarin* (XVI.90) and *Karmandīni* (XVI.91) are mentioned.

14. *Medicine* : Many categories of diseases viz. *Vāttika*, *Paittika*, *Ślaishmika*, *Sānnipātika* etc. are mentioned (XVII.89). A work called *Śaiśukranda* is referred to (XVI.95). According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, the work is related to the diseases of children. It may be a work teaching maternity.



15. *Commerce* : A work on the sale and purchase of barley is called *Yāvakrīti ka* (XV.119).

16. *Other arts* : Some other works related to the science of metals were called *Samśargavidyā* (XV.120-121). Such arts were also taught in *Āśramas*.

17. *Animals*:- A work *vācaspatīyam* on the science of elephants is referred to (VI.29).

Thus various branches of learning were taught and hermitages were the centres of education.

## XV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

### Agriculture

The Dvyāśrayakāvya has depicted a society whose main occupation is agriculture.

It appears to be the main occupation and the source of income. The land is divided into two parts viz. the residential land in the village and the land for agriculture. The land near a is called Anugrāmika (XVI.71).

Some of the people were very rich because they had a large quantity of corn in their stocks. There were large store-houses to protect the corn. They are called khalyas (XV.59). Markets and Bazars are also referred to. Even the king and princes went in the open market for purchases (VII.77).

Agriculture and cattle-feeding is called Jānapadivṛtti, an occupation of Janapadas (IV.52). Abhayatilakagaṇi has explained it as Paśupālyakarṣaṇarūpā (IV.52).

*Products* : Vegetables, sugar-cane, various types of corn and pulses were the main products. Barley, sesamum and jute were also cultivated. The products of the jungle are various kinds of trees viz. Karīra Kuṇa, Pīlu etc. (XVIII.20).

The corn was put in large-store-houses called Mahākhalias. Later on it was crushed by oxen to get corn. People had very large store-houses and kept dogs to protect them (XV.59). Various forests are named after their products viz. Koṭarāvaṇa, Śārikāvaṇa, Miśrakavaṇa etc. are mentioned (VI.61). In the Dvyāśrayakāvya, a prayer for the prosperity of the plough, cows and calves is found (VI.101).

**Irrigation :** Irrigable fields are called *kaidārya* (XV.51). Artificial reservoirs to water the earth are referred to which are called *kulyā*. In Prakrit, they are called *kollā*. According to Puṣkarākṣagaṇi, *kulyā* is an artificial channel (Ku. III.46). Drainage for irrigation is called *Alābu* (Ku. I.46). Those who operate on wells are called *Ākhas* (XIII.33).

**Plough :** Ploughmen are called *Hālikas* or *Sairakas* (XVI.80). *Śāmba* is a particular type of plough (XIX.36).

### Occupations

In the *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, we find the reference of guilds of artists belonging to the same category (*Sajātiyaśilpisangha*, XI.24). Main occupations are as follows :

1. *Vanik* : They appear to be rich men whose occupation is to lend money and recollect it on the harvest of the crops. He is called *Dhānyamāya* because he measures the corn when collected (XI.43). Some of the *Vaniks* went out for business irrespective of the management of the house (III.25). *Vaniks* are also referred to as shopkeepers selling their merchandises on the road-side (III.130).

2. *Mahājanika* : They are usually the respectable and the rich men of the city so they are called *Mahājanikas*. According to Puṣkarākṣagaṇi, this category consists of business-men (*Śreṣṭhin*) and ship-owners (*Sārthavāha*, Ku. VI.34).

3. *Lauhprastarika* : They are dealer in iron (XVII.45).

4. *Vidyābhṛtya* : Their main pursuit is teaching (XIII.8). According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, they are called *Mahāyājñikas* or *Yajñopādhyāya* or *Samajya* because their duty is the performance of the sacrifices for others (XIII.8). Some of the priests whose occupation is to read *Sūktas* only are referred to in the poem (XV.113).

5. *Artists* : (IX.89). Some of them are painters who

portray prince or princess and hand it over to another (IX.108). They earn a handsome money by the presents given by the kings and princes.

6. *Astrologers* : They are called Daivajña (XI.6).

7. *Music artists* : Flutists are called Vāṁśika (Ku.II.70). Other artists who play on the Bherī are called Bhairika. An artist resounding the conch-shell is called Śāṅkhika (V.117). A female singer is called *Gāthikā* (XI.37). A male vocal musician is called Saṅgītaka or kalāvid (XI.29). Some other music-artists are called Pāṇigha or Tāḍagha (XI.48).

8. *Dancer* : A female-dancer is called Nartakī (XI.37).

9. *Physician* : They are also called artists (Kovid). According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, they are proficient in Physiology (VII.36).

10. *Dyers* : The art of dyeing appears to be fairly developed. Various types of dyeing a cloth with a variety of materials is found in the poem. Dyeing with Kusumbha flowers or lac (lākṣā), Gorocanā or Kardama etc. is referred to (XV.42).

11. *Miners* : They are called Khanakas. A woman working in the mine is called Khanikā (XI.37). Kirātas are referred to digging jewels from the mountains (XVI.53). A mine of Padmarāga is referred to be existing in Kollāpur (VI.22). A mine of gold in Vanavāsa is cited in the poem (VI.20). Labourers digging mines with instrument called Abhrikas are mentioned (XVII.4).

12. *Warriors* : Some of the people had adopted military as their occupation. They are called Āyudhika (XVII.11).

13. *Mahāmātra* : It is an occupation of training elephants and driving them (XI.84).

14. *Navigators* : They are the drivers of the boats in rivers and in the ocean (XVI.25). They are called Karṇadhāra also (XI.53).

15. *Meat-sellers* : They are called Śaunika (XX.37).
16. *Wine-sellers* : They are called Kallāla or Śaundika (XVI.76). In his administration, Kumārapāla banished this occupation. So wine-sellers and meat-sellers shifted to agriculture as their new occupation.
17. *Potter* : A potter is called Kulāla (XVI.93).
18. *Washerman* : He is called Rajaka (IX.30). A washerwoman is called Rajakī (XI.37).
19. *Black-smith* : They are called Lohakāra (XVI.49). Śāṇa, a sharpening stone is one of his instruments (X.65).
20. *Hair-Cutter* : He is called Nāṇṇa (XVI.21).
21. *Weavers* : They are called Tantuvāya (XVII.11).
22. *Other occupations* : In the villages, some people went out in the forest to fetch leaves or wood. They went there in groups (II 41). Even these days, it is an occupation of some people in the villages.

### Communication

Carts are the most popular conveyance. The cart to which two oxen were yoked is called 'Dvaiśakaṭī' (XVII.113). Various types of chariots were also prevalent (XVI.87). Some chariots covered with cloth are called vāstra and other chariots veiled with yellow blanket are called Pāṇḍukāmbali (XVI.2).

### Debt

The debts were defrayed in the form of corn also. A debt which is paid off in the form of the corn (yava) and chaff (Busa) is called Yāvabusakam. There was a compromise to pay off the debt in a particular period ; upto a festival or aseason (XVI.61). The debt which is to be paid off on the festival of the worship of Umā is called Umāvyāsakam. A debt to be paid after an year is named as Aṣamaka (XVI.60).

One who did not pay off his debt could be chained in the sun on the bank of the river (III.40).

### Foreign Trade

Only boats and littles-boats (Uḍupa XVII.7) are specified in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. No foreign trade, import or export is cited in the poem. In those days business relations had been established with China<sup>1</sup> via Jāvā. The trade with Sumātra was also prevalent. Forbes has recorded a tradition of Gujarat<sup>2</sup>.

It is a Saying in Goozrat  
Who goes to Java  
Never returns  
If by chance, he returns  
Then by two generations to live upon  
Money enough he brings back.

### Coins

i. *Niṣka* : It is frequently mentioned in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. Cows and Niṣkas are the subserviences of business (XVIII.18). According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, a Niṣka consists of hundred Palas (XV.69). On another place he has referred to Niṣka, a golden coin having hundred and eight palas (XVII.84).<sup>3</sup>

ii. *Karṣa* or *Karṣāpaṇa* : (XVII.79; Ku. III.27). It consists of sixteen paṇas. Perhaps it was made of gold. Originally it was a golden coin but later on silver Karṣāpaṇas were also used.<sup>4</sup> According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, it was

1. Majumdar, A.K. Chaulukyas of Gujarat, p.268.

2. *ibid.*, p.268.

3. DV. XVII.84

हेम्नोष्टोत्तरं शतं पलं वा

4. Aghnihorti, Prabhudayal. Patañjali-Kālīna Bhārata, Bihar, 1963, p.355.

a weight for gold<sup>1</sup>. V.S. Agrawala has given a table of its development in the Vedas, Pāṇini, Jātakas and later on<sup>2</sup>. Half Karṣa is also referred to in the Dvyāśrayakāvya. A woman whose wages are half karṣa will be called 'Ardhakārṣikī' (XVII.80).

*iii Rūpaka* : It is mentioned by Abhayatilakagaṇi on the explanation of the word 'Vaimśatika'<sup>3</sup>. A thing bought for twenty Rūpakas is called Vaimśatika (XVII.81). V.S. Agrawala thinks it to be a proper coin of twenty Māṣas made of silver and punch-marked therein<sup>4</sup>.

*iv. Rūpya* : It can be identified with Rūpaka. It appears to be a coin made of silver (XVII.79).

*v. Kākaṇi* : According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, its value is equal to twenty Kapardas (XVII.88).

*vi. Iron coins* : Some of the iron coins are referred to in the Dvyāśrayakāvya but their names are not given. Coins made of iron are called 'Lohitika' (XVII.82).

### Weights and Measurements

*i. Droṇa* : (III.18, 65). According to Prabhudayala Agnihotri, it was equal to four Āḍhakas<sup>5</sup>.

*ii. Khārī* : (III.65 ; XVII.91 ; XIX.74). According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, Khārī was equal to eight Droṇas.<sup>6</sup>

1. DV. XVII.80.

कंसकर्षो स्वर्णादिमानभेदो

2. Agrawala, V.S. India as known to Pāṇini, pp.266-268.

3. DV. XVII.81

4. Agrawala, V.S. op.cit. p.269.

5. Agnihotri, Prabhudayal, Paṭañjali-Kālina-Bhārata p.344

6. DV. V.16

Arthaśāstra defines Khārī equal to sixteen droṇas while according to Caraka four droṇas make one Khārī<sup>1</sup>.

iii. *Āḍhakī* : (XVII.96). It was a weight equal to 16 Kuḍavas or 256 Karṣas<sup>2</sup> It appears to be equal to one seer.

iv. *Prāsthika* : (XVII.88). It was a measurement of corn in the time of Patañjali. It was equal to four Kuḍavas or Añjali<sup>3</sup>.

### Measurements of road

i. *Krośa* : (XI.45; XIV.21).

ii. *Prayāṇaka* (VII.32).

iii. *Yojana* (III.67; XVII.50).

### Weights of gold

i. *Kaṁsa* : Abhayatilakagaṇi has explained it as a weight of gold (XVII.80).

ii. *Paṇa* : It is called Karṣāpaṇa also by Abhayatilakagaṇi (XVII.87).

iii. *Pāda* : According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, it is one fourth of Māṣa (XVII.87).

iv. *Māṣa* : It is a weight of gold called Māṣa. According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, it has five Guñjas (VI.13).

4. *Guñjā* : It is called Rattikā or Ratti these days. It is a small fruit of red and black colour.

It is the smallest weight for gold. Five Guñjas make a 'Māṣa' (VI.13).

1. Agrawala, V.S. India as known to Pāṇini p.253.

2. ibid., p.253

3. Agnihotri, Prabhudayal, Patañjali-Kāliṇa Bhāṣa'a p.344



*vi. Śāṇa* : According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, its weight is equal to four Māṣas i.e. twenty Guṇijas.

*vii. Bṛṣṭa* : It is also a weight for gold (XVII.84). According to Agnihotri, its weight is equal to eighty Rattiis<sup>1</sup>.

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1. *ibid.*, p.343.

## XVI. FAUNA AND FLORA

### Fauna

#### Animals

1. *Ajā* : a goat (X.9).
2. *Aśva* ; horse (V.106 ; III.3 ; V.124).
3. *Ukṣan* (IV.50 ; X.74). an ox or a bull.
4. *Uṣṭra* (IV.60; V.124 ; VI.77 : IX.58.) a Camel.  
Their masters are called auṣṭrikas (III.136).
5. *Rṣya* (V.114). A variety of an antelope.
6. *Ṛkṣa* : A bear (IV.61).
7. *Kapi* (IV.60) A monkey.
8. *Kari* (IV.60). 'elephant' Also called Ibha (III.3).  
A sign of dātra is mentioned to be marked on their ears (VI.64).
9. *Khara* : donkey (V.124). Also called Rāsabha (IV.60);
10. *Go* : III.3 ; V.105, IV.63, VIII.114, V.124. Cow,
11. *Rāṇkava* : A deer of a particular variety (XVI.11).
12. *Mṛgī* is a femal deer. The female deer is mentioned to be giving musk from her urine (VI.23).
13. *Enā* : (V.114) white female deer.
14. *Nyaṇku* (IV.80 : VIII.105). A special type of a deer.
15. *Ruru* (V.105) : A special kind of deer.
16. *Puṁśambara* : (XI.97). A variety of the deer.
17. *Vatsa* : A calf (V.105 XI.58.)
18. *Śvan* A dog (X.74).

**Birds**

1. *Ali* : A bee (III.41 ; VIII.46 etc). It is mentioned having six feet and is called 'Ṣaṭcaraṇa' (X.27).

2. *Kapiñjala* (V.114). The Cātaka or the Tittirī bird (Apte, p.132).

3. *Kāka* (XIII.17). a crow.

4. *Kurara* (Ku.V.47), an ostrey.

5. *Keka* (A peacock). Ṣaḍja voice is specified (X.20) in connection with a peacock.

6. *Kokila* : a cuckoo (Ku. III.34), Pika in 1.67.

7. *Krauñca* : According to Monier William's Dictionary Curlew-like or a female Curlew (III.19).

8. *Khañjana* (Wagtail) Ku. V.47 and Latin *Montacilla alba*.

9. *Garuḍa* (IV.63 : VIII.86) A kind of bird referred to as a conveyance of the Lord Viṣṇu.

10. *Ḡḍhra* : (Ku. VI.55) A vulture.

11. *Ghughghikā* (Ku. VIII.69) a variety of pigeon in Hindi called 'Ghuggi'.

12. *Ghūka* (XIII.17) (An Owl).

13. *Cakora* (III.44) (Partridge).

14. *Cakravāka* : (I.29) A pair of birds separating in the night. In latin called 'Anas Casarca'. They are also called Rathāṅgau in dual (II.19). (XV.76). Its female is called *Cakravākī* (II.15).

16. *Caṭakā* : (V.11). A sparrow. Male-sparrow called *Caṭaka* (Ku. V.53) .

16. *Cātaka* : The bird in Lat. called 'Cuculus melanaleucus' (X.24).

17. *Tittira* : 'A paridge' (IV.80, V.114.)

18. *Baka* : 'A crane' (XVII.68).

19. *Balākā* (VIII.114) is also a kind of Crane.

21. *Madgu* : (VIII.105) is a bird of water in latin called Mergus.

21. *Haṁsa* : (VIII.47) 'a swan'. They are mentioned going to Mānasa lake in (V.67 X.20). They are also called Rajahamṣa.

22. *Śikhaṇḍī* (I.67) ; 'a peacock'. Its Female is called Śikhaṇḍinī (peahen) (X.28).

23. *Śuka* : a parrot (III.45; VII.49; Ku. V.53).

24. *Śeku*: It is an unidentified bird. Abhayatilakagaṇi has mentioned it as a particular bird (III.112). Monier Williams has also not given it.

25. *Sārasa* (I.67). (Ku. V.53). 'A crane'

### Reptiles

1. *Ahi* : a snake (IV.61 ; VI.95)

2. *Vṛścika* : a scorpion (VIII.85)

### Water-animals :

1. *Jhaṣaka* is a small fish according to Abhayatilakagaṇi (III.153). Cf. Jhaṣa or Hindi Jhakha.

2. *Timiṅga* (VI.88)

3. *Mīna* (XVII 68) are also fishes.

4. *Nakra* (VIII.123) is a crocodile.

### Flora

#### Flowers :

1. *Abja* (III. 41). Lotus flower.

2. *Kāśa* (III. 12). *Saccharum cylindricum*.

3. *Kiñjalka* (III. 48). According to Monier Williams (p. 282), it is the filament of a plant especially of a lotus and a flower of 'Mesua Feria'.

4. *Kirīśuka* (Ku. I. 57). *Butea frondosa*.

According to Puṣkarākṣagaṇi it is the same as Palāśa flower (Ku. III. 66).

5. *Kumuda* (III. 41) *Nymphaea Lotus* (XVI. 90; XV. 91). In Prakrit it is called Candujja (Ku. 1.20) which is derived from Sanskrit Candraja (born with the moon).

6. *Kūṣmāṇḍi* (Ku. I. 76) *Curcubita pepo*.

7. *Ketaka* (III. 41). *Pandanus odoratissimus*.

It is the same as Ketakī (XVI.83).

8. *Japa* (I. 29. IV. 36).

9. *Jāti* 'Latin (III. 42). *Jamimum grandiflorum*' M. Will. p. 418. This is the same as Mālatī (XVI. 91). 'Aganosma Caryophyllata. Such a kind of flowers are called 'Lavya' i.e. which are plucked (XI. 5).

10. *Nīpa* (III. 41). 'Nauclea Cadamba'. According to Abhayatilakagaṇi its leaves have some astringent smell It is mentioned the same as Kādamba.

11. *Pāratti* : It is a special kind of flower according to Puṣkarākṣagaṇi. But its equivalent is not given anywhere. (Ku. 7. 74).

12. *Bandhūka* (III. 12). *Lat.* 'Terminalia Tomentosa' M. Will. p. 721.

13. *Mallikā* (Ku. III.71). 'Jasminum Sāmbac'.

14. *Lavalī* (XIII. 51). *Anona reticulata*. It is mentioned to be sprouting in Hemanta (XIII. 51 ; Ku. V. 16).

15. *Lāṅgalī* (Ku. V. 15 ; V. 16). It may be identified with *Lāṅgulika* (Gloriosa Superba).

16. *Śirīṣa* (XV. 79). 'Mimosa Sirisa'.

### Creepers

1. *Kadalī* (XVI. 79) *Musa Sapientum*.

2. *Kāñcanāra* (Ku. IV. 3). A mountain ebony called *Bauhinia variegata*.

3. *Karṇikāra* (Ku. III. 44). According to Monier Williams (p. 257). It is the *Pterospermum acerifolium*.

4. *Kurabaka* (Ku. III. 32). It is red *Amaranth* or red kind of *Barleria*.

5. *Ketakī* (X. 32). 'Pandanus odoratissimum. *Svarṇa-ketakī* is a golden quality of the same (Ku. IV.4).

6. *Lavalī* (Ku. III.36). 'A nona reticulata'.

7. *Dāḍima* (Ku. V. 8). 'Punica granatum'.

8. *Nāraṅga* (Ku. V. 79). *Citrus special*.

9. *Vāsantikā* (Ku. III. 54). It is the same as *Mādhavī*. Monier Williams p. 948. gives its equivalent as *Gaetnera racemosa*. *Mādhavī* is mentioned in (XVI. 77).

10. *Mālatī* (Ku. V. 5.) *Aganosma Caryophyllata*.

11. *Lavalī* (Ku. III. 63). 'Anona reticulata'.

12. *Laṅgalī* (Ku. V. 10).

### Trees

1. *Añjnā* (VI. 61).

2. *Aśoka* (XVI. 76 and Ku. III. 18) *Sarala indica*.

3. *Aśvattha* (XV. 81). *Ficus religiosa*.

4. *Udumbara* ((XV.90). *Ficus glomerata*.

5. *Kādamba* (X. 27). According to Monier Williams

(p. 247), it is a tree with orange-coloured fragrant blossoms. In latin called 'Anthocephalus Cadamba.

6. *Karīra* (XV. 64) *Capharis aphylla*.
7. *Khadira* (IV. 4 ; V. 98) *Acacia Catehu*.
8. *Kharjūra* (Ku. IV. 23). *Phoenix sylvestris*.
9. *Guggula* (V. 139). *Balasamodendron Mukul*.
10. *Dhava* (V. 98). *Anogeissus latifolia*.
11. *Nicula* (Ku. V. 20). Corresponding latin *Barringtonia Acutangula*.
12. *Nygradha* (V. 97 ; VIII. 107). *Ficus bengalensis*.
13. *Panas* (Ku. II. 53 ; Ku. IV. 23). *Antocarpus integrifolia*.
14. *Palāśa* (III. 4, V. 98). *Butea frondosa*. It is also called *Brahmataru* (Ku. III. 30).
15. *Pāribhadra* (Ku. II. 53). *Azadirachta indica* or *Erythrina indica*.
16. *Pippalī* (IV.93). *Piper longum*.
17. *Piyukṣa* (IV.4) Vine.
18. *Punnāga* (Ku. II.33). *Colophyllum inophyllum*.
19. *Priyāla* (Ku. IV.2). *Buchanania latifolia*.
20. *Plakṣa* (IV.4 ; V.97 ; Ku.III.43) *Ficus infectoria*.
21. *Bakula* (Ku.III.51). Lat. *Mimusops Elengi*. (M. Will. p.719).
22. *Śigrū* (IV.4 and XV.80). *Moringa Pterygosperma*.
23. *Badarī* (IV.80). Jujube tree or 'Zizyphus jujuba'
24. *Bilva* (V.139 ; Ku.V.7). Lat. *Aegle Marmelos* (M. Will. p.732). Flutes are mentioned to be made with the wood of the Bilva tree (IV.91).
25. *Madhūka* (Ku. III.28). *Bassia latifolia*.

26. *Śamī* (III.110 ; XV.80). *Mimosa Suma* and *prosopis spicigera*. This tree is mentioned giving a fire with friction. (XV.66).

27. *Śāla* (IV.4). *Shorea robusta*.

28. *Śirīṣa* Ku.III.42). *Mimosa sirisa*.

29. *Śephālī* (III.37). It is the same as *śephāla*. *Lat. Vitex. Negundo*.

30. *Saptacchada*. *Alstonia scholaris*. It is called *Ayukparṇa* in (III.36 ; IX.147 ; Ku.I.36 ; Ku.V.20).

31. *Sallakī* (III.151). *Boswellia serrata*. According to *Abhayatilakagaṇi*, this tree is liked by elephants very much. A juice is mentioned to be oozing from it.

32. *Silindhra* (Ku.V.16). *Lat. Musa Saspientum*.

33. *Hintāla* (Ku.III.65). *Phoenix paludosa*.



## XVII. RELIGIOUS POSITION

A.K. Majumdar<sup>1</sup> has dealt with various aspects of the religious position of the Caulukyas from various sources including the Dvyāśrayakāvya. In the following pages, I have restricted myself to the study as reflected in the Dvyāśrayakāvya only.

In the time of Mūlarāja Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism were flourishing in harmony in Gujarat. It continued upto the reign of Jayasīṃha and Kumārapāla who declared Jainism as a state-religion due to the personal influence of Hemacandra. When Jainism was declared as a state-religion, some of the Brāhmanas were jealous of Jain-caityas and opposed the proposal. They were consoled by Jayasīṃha (XV.17). Although the kings were tolerant for all the religions equally, there was a constant discordance between Hinduism and Jainism.

Some of the non-Aryan races were against Hinduism of whom Grāharipu can be said to be the representative. They charged taxes from the sages and drew them with a string in their nose (II.69). Even in Jain-temples, some of the rituals were introduced like those of Hindu temples. It was an influence of Hinduism over Jainism. On the other hand the concept of Ahimsā was being adopted in Hinduism in various aspects when Kumārapāla prohibited the oblation of an animal in the sacrifice (XX.30).

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1. Majumdar, A.K. Chaulukas of Gujarat, Bombay, 1956. pp.286-333.

## BRĀHMANISM

*Sacrificial Rituals* : Hemacandra has referred to the sacrificial fire whereon Abhayatilakagaṇi has given the explanation that the faggots of Palāśa and Aśvattha were used in the sacrifice. The sacrificial fire was lit with Ṛḡayanapaṭhana. Sacrificial pots are also mentioned (VII.14-15). Brāhmaṇas conducting a sacrifice are called Hotṛ or Potṛ. (VI.32). The Puroḍāśa prepared in eight sacrificial is called "Aṣṭākapāla" (VI.60).

Amonst sacrifices Turāyaṇayaājña (XVII.56), Śuṣkagomaya-homa (the sacrifice with dried cow-dung, IV.32) and Agniṣṭoma (XVII.58) are mentioned. Oblations are given to Dyāvāpṛthivī, Agniṣṭoma (XV.100), Indra (XV.107). Tārṇa-bindava deities, Śukriya, Śatarudriya and Apāṁ Napāt (XV.106).

In a sacrifice, the word 'Vaṣaṭ' is uttered for Indra (III.34). According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, silver or golden pitchers full of sugar-cane juice, milk, curd and fragrant water are called *Pūraṇakumbhas* and they are given as *Dakṣiṇā* (XV.70 113). Some sacrificial discussions were held after the sacrifice (XV.108).

*Domestic Rituals* : Arghya, Pādyā and Madhuparka were given to a king and a bride-groom (VI.9; VII.111).

'Navyayājñika' was a sacrifice held in the beginning of advent the of the new grain (XVII.43). Brāhmaṇas were invited and were worshipped on the cropping of the harvest on the ninth day of Aśvin month (111.6). Śrāddhas were celebrated in śarad (XVI.43) and Brāhmaṇas enjoyed the rich food (V.48; XVIII.55).

*Royal Rituals* : On the birth of the son to a king, a text specified as *Sūtramāṭṛkā* was recited by teachers and the students (XI.28). On the coronation of a king, Purohitas recited Mantras as a conch-shell was blown (XI.106).

**Worship :** Deities were worshipped with the fragrant substances like Tagara, Kaṭpūra etc. (Ku.II.39). On an alter besmeared with saffron (Kunkuma) and decorated with Śīrīṣa flowers, the worship was performed with garlands, jewels and the lotus-flowers (IX.106; XV.79). Money was given as donations after the worship (Ku.1.87).

**Other Religious Practices :** Some sacrifices, having Mokṣa as their object were performed (II.11). Sandhyā is included in Nityanaimittika actions (II.9). Taking bath is also enlisted in good activities and is called a 'Sukṛta' (II. 46). Donations are given preceded by the water (I. 114). Pilgrimages and donations were thought to be necessary for acquisition good birth in the next birth (IX. 149).

**Fast :** Fasts were frequently observed and thought to be an instrument of acquisition of the good. A fast where only the water is to be taken is expressed as "Payaḥ Vratayati" and the fast where grain is not to be taken is expressed as "Annam Vratayati" (VII. 111).

**Austerities :** The object of the austerities or *Tapas* is either to go to heaven or to acquire liberation or to attain any desired object (X. 48).

**Japa :** The Japa is the continuous recitation of the mantras (X. 9). These mantras were recited both for creative and destructive purposes (VIII. 62).

**Stuti :** The eulogy of the tutelar deities is mentioned with folded hands even at the time of eating (III. 142). The eulogy of gods, sages and Brāhmaṇas is referred to (II. 23).

## RELIGIONS

Many religions developed in Aṇhilwāḍapaṭṭaṇa in reconciliation and harmony. Followers of Viṣṇu and Rudra can be frequently seen in the city (I. 138, Ku. 1.26). People had a faith in sages and many hermitages were established

on the roadsides where guests were welcomed (VII. 36 ; Ku. 1.14).

Temples, each representing a tutelar deity of the village were established. It was thought that a deity of the road is responsible for the success in journey (VII. 34).

People believed in the incarnation of the deities called 'Avatīrṇī' (IX. 41). Infact, Caulukya kings were the propagators of Hinduism and they participated in the sacrifices themselves (1.44). Sandhyāvidhi was thought to be very essential (II. 49). Jayasīṃha was a follower of Hinduism and performed sacrifices. The following religions and sects flourished in Gujarat.

#### VAIṢṆAVISM

Jayasīṃha constructed a temple consisting an idol of ten incarnations of Lord Viṣṇu. The temple is called Daśāvatāra (XV. 119). According to A. K. Majumdar, "it was perhaps due to the influence of the 'Gītagovinda' which enjoyed great popularity during this period.<sup>1</sup>" Some other Vaiṣṇava temples were also built by Caulukyan high officers.<sup>2</sup>

#### ŚAIVISM

Not only in Aṇhilwāḍapaṭṭaṇa, Śaivism was predominating even in the mountainous areas. (XVI. 48), Almost all the kings of the Chaulukyas dynasty were the followers of the Śaivism. Mūlarāja saw lord Śiva in the dream (II.1). Lord Śiva is worshipped with various kinds of flowers. He is eulogized as the creator and the destructor of the universe (V.134-137). Hemacandra has referred to *Durvratikas* which are explained by Abhayatilakagaṇi as Śaivas belonging to *Kāpālīka* sect (XX. 46).

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1. Majumdar, A.K. Chaulukyas of Gujarat, p.296.

2. *ibid.*, p.295.

**Somanātha :** Somanātha, one of the most important Jyotirlingas was situated on the southern shore of Kathiawar in Saurāṣṭra (IV. 12). Hemacandra has given some descriptions of the journey to Somanātha.

He is called Vṛṣagāmin. The name of Somanātha was recited like the recitation of the word *Om*. (X.11). Kings visited the shrine and presented jewells and valuables to the temple<sup>1</sup>. The statue was bathed with the water of the Ganges<sup>2</sup>. (XV.43). The līṅga was dressed in various colours of silk (XV.44) and fragrant objects like Agarū (sandal) and Dhūpa were offered (XV.44).

It was an auspicious pilgrimage where pilgrims got their hair cut<sup>3</sup>. People came to Somanātha from all the directions to pay their oblations<sup>4</sup>. (XV.86-87).

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1. The richness of the temple can be inferred as it was a point of attraction for invaders who came to plunder it. The details of its prosperity and grandeur are found in Elliot, H.M. The history of India as told by its own historians vol. I. London, 1867 pp. 97-98. and Dow, Alexander, History of Hindoostan, Translated from Farishta, London. 1768 etc.

2. Cousens, Henry, Archaeological Survey of India XLV. (Imperial Series) p.19. The information is based on Ibn-Asir and Farishta.

3. Dv. XV. 54. Abhayatilakagaṇi remarks :

सोमनाथयात्रायां हि यात्रिकैः केशा उत्तार्यन्ते

This statement is supported by the accounts of Farishta and Ibn-Asir. There was three hundred barbers to shave the pilgrims. These accounts are found in : Dow, Alexander, History of Hindoostan, p. 86 and Elliot, H. M. History of India, Vol. II. London, 1869, p. 468, Appendix.

4. Dow, Alexander, op. cit., p. 85. Farishta has remarked "In the time of eclipses we are told that there used to be forty or fifty thousand worshippers at the temple ; and that the different Rājās of Hindustan had bestowed, in all, two thousand villages with their territories for the maintenance."

## Dvyāśrayakāvya

### SUN-WORSHIP

Worshipping of the Sun and its eulogy in the morning by Kumārapāla is referred to (II.22; Ku.1.66). Svastivācana and Śāntivācana mantras were recited while worshipping the deity. (XVII.73)<sup>1</sup>.

### AGASTYA-WORSHIP

Agastya is worshipped in the Sindha territory. (IV. 89)

### MOTHER GODDESSES

Mother goddesses are mentioned in the Dvyāśrayakāvya (I.189, X.70). They are referred to in plural as 'Mātaraḥ' (X.69). According to Abhayatilakagaṇi they are seven in number and Brāhmī is one of them. Puṣkarākṣagaṇi on (Ku.IV.57) has enumerated them as 1. Amṛtā, 2. Brahmāṇī 3. Siddhamāheśvarī, 4. Kaumārī, 5. Vaiṣṇavī, 6. Vārāhī and 7. Cāmuṇḍā. On another place, eight mother goddesses are enumerated as 1. Brāhmī, 2. Māheśvarī. 3. Aindrī, 4. Vārāhī, 5. Vaiṣṇavī, 6. Kaumārī, 7. Carmamuṇḍā, 8. Kālasaṅkarṣiṇī (Ku. IV.57). They are worshipped in temple called Mātṛgṛha (Ku. I.84). Some of the names scatteringly occur in the Dvyāśrayakāvya.

*Lakṣmī*: The worship of Mahālakṣmī is referred to (III.85; Ku. I.88). Lakṣmī cannot be attained without devotion (X.79), Karna come to the temple of the Lakṣmī with a number of lamps as he was desirous to get a son (X.7). There were Mantrācāryas in the temple who delivered a mantra to the worshipper (X.8). She was established on a Pīṭha and worshipped with Bali, flowers and Āhuti (X.12). Akṣasūtra was

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1. For the antiquity of the Sun-worship in Gujarat, (a) Cousens, H. Somanatha, A.S.I. Vol. XLV (Imperial Series), p. 9. (b) Majumdar, A.K. op. cit., pp. 298-300.

held in hand while meditation upon Her. An oblation of sesamum and flower an offered to Lakṣmī (X.13).

*Umā* : Umā was worshipped by women to get a suitable husband (IX.106). Old women also worshipped Her (I.99).

*Durgā* : She is called Durgakā also (V 8).

*Caṇḍikā* : She was worshipped in Gujarat especially on obtaining the harvest (I.188 ; III.6).

*Kālikā* : Related to lord Śiva, she is a controlling deity of Śākinīs. Jayasīṃha was advised by Śākinīs to worship Kālikā. If not propitiated, she can destroy the worshipper. (XIV.1<sup>1</sup>). A shrine of Kālikā is found in the ancient city Daboi<sup>1</sup>.

*Nimbajā* : She appears to be a goddess belonging to a local sect of Gujarat. According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, she is a *Lokaprasiddhā Devatā* (VII.41).

*Śrutadevī* : The eulogy of Śrutadevī is mentioned in the poem (Ku.VII 83).

*Pīṭhadevī* : She is also referred as a goddess (IV.49).

## BUDDHISM

In the the time of Maitareyas of Vallabhi, Gujarat was the biggest centre of Buddhism next to Kapilavastu. About one hundred Baudha Vihāras were found in Gujarat<sup>2</sup>. But the Chaulukyas of Gujarat were either the followers of Śaivism or Jainism. Nothing is found in details in the Dvayāśraya-kāvya except the fact that Durlabharāja refuted the concepts of Buddhism in his court. (VII.64).

1. Burgess, J. and Cousens, H. The antiquities of the town of Dabhoi in Gujarat, Edinburg 1888, p. 1, Also for the temple of Kālikāmātā, Plate No. 1.

2. Lamotte, Ettienne. Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, Louvain, 1958, p. 599.

## JAINISM

Because Jainism was given a royal patronage especially in the administration of Jayasīṃha and Kumārapāla, it is natural that it should influence Hinduism and other contemporary religions. Some new Jain temples were constructed by Jayasīṃha and Kumārapāla. Thus Jainism enjoyed a leading status in Gujarat in the mediaeval ages. Dvayāśraya has given some scattered concepts of Jainism.

Jainism is called 'Śreyoratha' which according to Abhayatilakagaṇi consists of eighteen 'Śīlāṅgas and one thousand Lakṣaṇas<sup>1</sup>. Jain monks are called 'Arha' (I.82) or Sādhu (II.40) in the poem.

Jain monks are described with their head as clean-shaved and besmeared with Kuṅkuma (Ku.II.41). In Jainism both men and women could observe celibacy from the very young age. Women observing celibacy are called "Kumāraśramaṇa." (V.96).

Hemacandra has described various Tīrthaṅkara in his work called Triṣaṣṭīśālākāpuruṣacarita. In the Dvayāśrayakāvya sixteen Tīrthaṅkaras are mentioned and Śāntinātha was a popular Tīrthaṅkara in Gujarat<sup>2</sup>. Tīrthaṅkaras follow one another. (XI.70). Tīrthaṅkaras are referred to be helpful even in the battlefield (Ku.II.57). Ādinātha is called 'Suṇhāla-cinḥa in Prakrit (Ku. I.51).

Hemacandra has referred to some of the great personalities of Jainism viz. Sthūlabhadra (VII. 31-32); Vajraṛṣi (VII.33-35); Gajasukumāra, Gautamaswāmin, Abhayakumāramuni, Sudharmaswāmin, Jambumuni, Prabhavaprabhu and Jina (VII.

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1. DV. II. 40. [REDACTED]

श्रेयोऽष्टादशशीलांगसहस्रलक्षणो धर्मः

2, ibid., I.129,



36-42). Bhadrāsṡvāmin has been quoted by Abhayatilakagaṇi as an authority on Jainism (II. 40).

Some of the rituals of Jainism are influenced by Hindu rituals as well. As far as the idol-worship is concerned, Jain rituals are not much different from Hindu rituals.

In Jain temples, the statue of Jina was bathed with pitchers of water (Ku. II. 64). After a bath with fragrant water, it was decorated with jewels and Mallikā flowers. An odour of Mustā was offered to it. (XV. 78).

The oblation of rice Puroḍāśa to Jina appears to be an influence of Hinduism. Jina was worshipped with lotus flowers (Ku. II. 56) and Ārātrikā as well as all the auspicious rituals were performed before the statue of Jina (Ku. II. 78). Moreover, songs and dance of women before the statue of Jina (Ku. II. 73) appears to be an influence of the temple of Somanātha where five hundred beautiful girls were preserved for the dance.

*Jain Ethics* : The performance of six actions by the Jain monks are referred to in the poem. These action are explained by Abhayatilakagaṇi as the worship of the deity (Devapūjā), the service of the teacher (Gurūpāsti), study (Svādhyāya), restraint (Saṃyama), austerity (Tapas) and donations (Dāna) (I.108). On another place, Tapas is divided into ten categories. According to Pūrṇakalaśagaṇi, these twelve categories consist of the internal and external austerities (Ku.VII.51).

Jain sages hated Violence and marriage. The meat of a goat is prohibited (XV. 63). Kumārapāla prohibited meat-eating even in the royal and administrative staff. (XX. 31). It can be supported by an allegorical contemporary play also<sup>1</sup>. Cutting of

1. Yaśaḥpāla, Moharājaparājaya ed. by Muni Caturavijaya, G.O.S.IX., Baroda, 1918, pp.V. and XVI.

trees and creepers was also thought to be a violence (I. 73). To avoid violence, hunting was also prohibited by Kumārapāla (XX.31). Due to the personal influence of Kumārapāla, a restriction on hunting was ordered (XX. 35). On account of the apprehension of Jivahatyā, even edibles were not taken in the rainy season (XI. 71). Other epithets of a Jain monks are Rtaṅkara, the doer of right and Abhayaṅkara (non-fierce). Pulling out hair (Keśaluṅcana) and pulling out the beard (Śmaśruluṅcana) are referred to (IX.107). Due to the royal influence of Kumārapāla, people began to bow to monks and the violence was never heard in his administration (XX.28 29; Ku. 1.6).

### FARES AND FESTIVALS

People used to gather with a great pleasure and enthusiasm to enjoy and celebrated festivals zealously (III 67). These festivals and fares are especially liked by women who assembled there in groups (XI.24). Some of them are as follows :

1. *Śrāddhas* : They were celebrated in houses and donations were also given thereafter (III. 7 : III.18).

2. *Indradhvaja festival* : This festival, according to Abhayatilakagaṇi is celebrated from Śuklapakṣa Aṣṭamī to the Pūrṇimā (the full-moon). This interpretation is based on the Bhaviṣyot-tarapurāṇa and the Varāhamihirasamhitā. (III.8). The flags of Indra were worshipped for prosperity. (III. 105).

3. *Udyānotsava* : It was celebrated in the month of pauṣa after Daśarātras (XIII. 52).

4. *Kārsarotsava* : It is celebrated on the first day of Uttarāyaṇa. On that day the Sun changes from Dhanu Rāśi to Makara Rāśi (I. 97).

5. *Dolā festival and Grīṣma festival* : These festivals fall in the month Phālguna and Caitra. In these festivals Lord Śiva is placed on a swing and worshipped by all the four castes (V. 144). This Grīṣma festival is connected with the

story of Dhuṇḍhā Rākṣasī also who torments children. All these explanation are given by Abhayatilakagaṇi.

6. *Caturmāsa*. It is called Caturmāsopavāsa also (III.27 ; XVI.89) According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, some of the sages preserve fast from Devasvapnaikādaśī (i.e. Ekādaśī when the deities sleep) to Devotthānaikādaśī (i.e. when they get up) (III 27).

7. *Caitra Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī* : It is a Jain festival celebrated on the Arbuda mountain on the Aṣṭamī of Kṛṣṇapakṣa. Once in a year, people assemble there to pay their homage to Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabhanātha (XVI.50).

8. *Cauḍaśrāddha* : It is a festival of women. (XVII.70).

9. *Dolārohaṇa* : It is a festival of women. They enjoy the swing and sing with a sweet voice (Ku. III.20).

10. *Pūrṇimā* : In the Dvyāśrayakāvya, three Pūrṇimās viz. Kaulmāṣī, Tripuṭikā and Vaṭakinī are mentioned (XVII.61). these are named after the eatables which are taken on that day.

11. *Bali day* : Bali day is celebrated on the fifteenth night of the black pakṣa in the month Kārttika and on the Pratipad day of the Śukla pakṣa (III.32) Abhayatilakagaṇi has explained this festival on the basis of the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa which has been quoted in his commentary.

In his opinion, men happily decorate themselves on this day and bow their respectful relatives like sisters etc. In response, they bless them and offer candana etc. It was conceived that whatsoever is done on the first day (Pratipad) of the month of Kārttika, the whole of the year passes in that way (III.32)

12. *Vijayadaśamī* : It falls in Śarad. It is a public festival with special interest of Brāhmaṇas and the kings. According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, Brāhmaṇas come to the royal palaces and

bless kings with a Śāntimantra (III.6). The festival was also of a public interest. People assembled and enjoyed many games like wrestling etc. (III.10).

13. *Viṣṇavārādhana* : According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, it was a festival related to a special worship of Lord Viṣṇu. It was celebrated on the Ekādaśī of the white Pakṣa in the month of Phālguna and Pauṣa. This worship yields a good fruit. Here Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa is quoted by the commentator (XX.5)<sup>1</sup>.

14. *Vrataikādaśī* : A fast was observed on this Ekādaśī so it is called by this name.

### Pilgrimages

Much religious importance is attached to pilgrimages. Pilgrimages were patronized by the kings who in their old-age went there and observed penances (VII.15). The kings visited pilgrimages to pay their oblations after winning the enemy (V.132). Pilgrims visited them as a part of their religious duty (IV.25). In the way, they recited Tīrthamāhātmya (the verses of the importance of the pilgrimages) (XV.30). The following pilgrimages have been specified in the poem.

1. *Sarasvatī* : It was a pilgrimage which reduced the sorrow of its visitors (IX.76).

2. *Carmavatī* : This river is also a pilgrimage but due to the fear from Grāharipu, pilgrims left it (II.63).

3. *Raivataka* : This mountain sanctifies its visitors and cuts their sins (XV 64).

1. DV. XX.5.

यदा तु शुक्लद्वादश्यां पुण्यं भवति कर्हिचित् ।  
तदा तु सा महापुण्या कथिता पापनाशिनी ॥

4. *Śaṅkhoddhāra* : It was an auspicious place in Saurāṣṭra (IV.13). People used to take auspicious water to their houses from this place (IV.13).

### Beliefs and Superstitions

*Mantras* (incantations) : It was believed that some mantras may take hold of a person. They are called 'Kīlaka mantras' (XIV.45). With the help of Mantra, a king can be controlled and the enemy can be killed (XIV.46-48). For killing an enemy 'Ugramantras' (Fierce incantations) are to be used (XIV.48). Rākṣasas could be removed with the help of Mantra and Tantra (X.63).

*Bhūtas* : Nineteen kinds of Bhūtas are referred to by Hemacandra (V.61). Abhayatilakagaṇi on the basis of Nārāyaṇasīmhitā has explained them as Sura, Asura, Yakṣa, Rākṣasa, Kāśmala, Bhasmaka, Piṭṛ, Vināyaka, Pralāpa, Piśāca, Antyaja, Yonija, Bhūta, Apasmāra, Brahmarākṣasa and Vaiśyarākṣasa.

*Pretas* : Existence of pretas (spirits) is also referred to (IV.61).

*Piśācīs* : A belief in the existence of female spirits viz. piśācīs and Śākinīs is found in the poem (II.68.XIV.4).

*Divinity* : A belief in divine and unseen voice is found in the poem (VIII.5,8; XI.107). These divine voices play a part in political sphere also.

*Rākṣasas* : They eat human-flesh and protect temples (X.78). They drink the blood of human-beings (X.60). Their physical formation is fierce and they have hair erected. Rākṣasas could be avoided by Mantras, Tantras and Astras (weapons X.63). They can appear and disappear at once (X.66-67).

*Pretīs* : They are mentioned as having long tails made of poison (IV.62). Their tails are variegated, arrow-like, Guruḍa

or cow-like (IV.63). Having long nails and deformed face they are named after their characteristics viz. Śūrpanakhā: Dātra-nakhī, Kālamukhī or Vajranakhā etc. (IV.62).

**Worlds :** Three worlds(Lokas) are specified as Martyaloka (XIII.41), Pātālaloka (XIII.52) and heaven (Svargaloka IX.84). Śiva, Indra and Brahmā are said to the residents of the heaven (IX.84).

**Rebirth** The previous Saṃskāras or impressions of previous life are said to be responsible for bringing a goodness in future (VI.5).

**Other beliefs :** Cows are milked on the earth in order to divert the pain in pregnancy (XI.10).

**Dreams :** A dream and the object seen therein is believed to be true. (II.5).

### Omens

Both good and bad omens have been frequently referred to by Hemacandra in his poem. Treatises on the omens are called *Naimitta* (science of omens, XV.116). But Hemacandra has not mentioned the name of any such-like work.

**Good-omens :** As a person went to see the king, elderly women performed auspicious rites (IV.45). When a person went to the battlefield, unbroken grains of rice, sandal, curd Dūrvā grass, flowers and fruit were presented to him as a token of auspiciousness (III.71). A newly married pair was accompanied upto water (VII.116). On going to a war, a pitcher, full of water was brought (III.88).

While going out, if a beautiful, sweet speaking and chaste woman carries a pot full of ghee, it was thought to be very auspicious (III.91). According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, if an ox passes from the left, it is a good omen (III.89). Similarly a cow with over flowing milk is thought to be auspicious (III.90). While going to war, trumpeting of elephants is very auspicious (V.9). If waging flags are seen, the battle-field is conceived to be in favour (VII.71).

*Ill-omens* : According to Abhayatilakagaṇi, if the Sun has tawny and burning light all around, it may beget destruction (IV.66). If the sky appears as if blood-besmeared it may also beget destruction (IV.64) Earth-quake (XIII.38), and falling of comets (IV.70) are thought to be inauspicious. In an unfavourable situation, medicinal herbs dry (IV.68-70). Dryness in the rut exuding from the temples of the elephants indicates a forth-coming destruction (IV.64).

Appearance of vultures with extended wings is not favourable (IV.65; XII.67). A king being followed by Pretas while marching, may face defeat (IV.61). Similarly, Rākṣasīs following with a deformed face indicate to an eventual defeat (IV.59-60).

Transgression of a king by the queens (IV.66); a slip of the upper garment from the head (IV.67) and the murder of the queen by the king are conceived to result in his defeat and death.

Men of bad appearance were also thought to be inauspicious and they were not allowed to come before a king (Ku.II.33).

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## A Literary Study

by

Dr. Neeta Sharma

This work is an extensive and exhaustive study of the two famous works *Harṣacarita* and *Kādambari* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, an encyclopaedic genius and the master of Sanskrit prose. It presents an elaborate treatment of the subject, which shows author's wide and intensive study, and capacity for critical evaluation and original approach. Though many eminent scholars have already written a lot on Bāṇa, yet it is admitted that this work is a comprehensive one with critical insight and great understanding. The author also traces the gradual development of Sanskrit prose from the Vedic period upto the time of inscriptions and the evolution of the 'artificial prose style.' Besides this the peculiarities and types of the Prose Kavya, the influence of the *Harṣacarita* and the *Kādambari* on the *Alamkarasastra*, life and works of Bāṇabhaṭṭa and an analytical treatment of his works from literary and historical view-point have also been discussed.

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by

Dr. A. D. Pusalker

In the field of Sanskrit literature, no other event has probably been of as great significance as the discovery, in 1909 by Mm. Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri, of the thirteen plays ascribed to Bhāsa. With that discovery, Bhāsa who was till then a mere name mentioned in passing by poets, dramatists and anthologists, became not only a reality but one of the most luminous stars in the Sanskrit literary galaxy. In this little over half a century, hundreds of critiques, big and small, have poured forth on the works of Bhāsa, but it would be admitted on all hands that the present work, *Bhāsa—A Study* by Dr. A.D. Pusalker, is the most detailed and comprehensive, written with understanding and authority. First published in 1940, this work has come to be considered as almost the last word on the subject. That such an eminent scholar as Dr. A.B. Keith has contributed the foreword to it is in itself a testimony to the high quality of the book. This book is divided into two sections: The first is concerned with the Bhāsa Problem and discusses at length the question of authenticity, authorship and date, besides examining and estimating the literary excellence of each of the plays. The second, bigger than the first, takes a yet different line of research. It paints the social conditions of the times of Bhāsa as revealed from his works and would, therefore, be of absorbing interest even to those whose concern transcends literature. In addition, the present second edition is brought up to date being supplemented by two new chapters, one of which surveys the recent material on Bhāsa and the other is on the *Yajñaphalam*.

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