



TILAKAMAÑJARĪ **of** **DHANAPĀLA**

A Critical and Cultural Study

Dr. Sudarshan Kumar Sharma

The Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla is a unique composition of Sanskrit prose literature of the 11th century A.D. which very truly follows the trail of the Kādambarī of Bānabhaṭṭa. Dhanapāla was an inspired poet who had a mighty impact of the geniotic exuberance of the great litterateur Bhoja for the sake of whose recreation he composed his illustrious prose-romance. This Tilakamañjarī presents a unique type of Kathā which though inheriting most of the victuals from Kādambarī has brought into being something very delicious and superb in the descriptive and narrative materials, characterisation and human psychology. By giving in it a brief genealogy of his patrons Muñja and Bhoja, Dhanapāla has helped the ancient Indian historians in understanding the historical links in the regnal line up of the Paramāras. The vast and panoramic review of the geographical spots amply illustrates his ubiquitous knowledge about the topography of India.

The present study tries to examine the different facets of Tilakamañjarī by grouping it into three major parts-- Introduction, Dhanapāla as a prose-writer and the cultural data in the Tilakamañjarī. While in the first and second parts, the author makes an attempt to provide an evaluation of Dhanapāla's life and literature, the third part gives an elaborate analysis of the geographical Data, Administration of Statecraft, Social and Economic conditions, Religion and Philosophy and Education, Literature and Art. The author has indeed done here the gigantic task of elucidating the literary as well as cultural heritages represented by Dhanapāla in his Tilakamañjarī with the pen of the true master and skilled artist.

Price : Rs. 450.00

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A CRITICAL AND CULTURAL STUDY

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Dedicated to the
everlasting memory of
my illustrious daughter

Rashmi Sharma

M.A. Bed (M.A. Sanskrit 1st Class 1st
Punjabi University Patiala) Who
expired on 8.11.96 in P.G.I.,
Chandigarh

FOREWORD

Among the Sanskrit prose works the Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla has suffered comparative neglect, though in its style and beauty of diction it compares very favourably with some of the masterpieces in the field. It is therefore gratifying to note that of late it has begun to attract critical notice of scholars. A critique on it was included in the Delhi University Ph.D. thesis :“A study of Kathā Literature in Sanskrit” by Miss Kamal Gogna. A far more detailed notice was taken of it by Dr. N.M. Kansara of Ahmedabad who produced two volumes on it, one containing the critical edition of the work and the other, a study of it. These volumes were in the form of a thesis that he had submitted to the M.S. University, Baroda, for the degree of Ph.D. Apiece with these studies is the study by Dr. Sudarshan Kumar Sharma. He has produced a volume of more than 900 pages on it. Dr. Sharma has worked hard and has come out with penetrating critique on the work of Dhanapāla. His processing of the cultural material in it is particularly welcome. Equally welcome is his presentation of the facts and style of writing. The world of scholars would keenly look forward to seeing his study in print and profiting by it.

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PREFATORY NOTE

The Sanskrit text of Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla was first published in full in 1930 by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press Bombay kāvyāmāla Series No. 85 in a single volume of three hundred and fifty pages. The second edition TM (N) published in 1938 A.D. being more or less a reprint preserving all the mistakes and misprints available has been reconstructed by Dr. N.M. Kansara of Gujarat College Ahmedabad in June 1991 L.D. Series ed. No. 110 published by L.D. Institute of Indology, Amedabad. This edition of 1938 in collaboration with the Botad edition (3 volume incomplete leaving the fourth volume to be reconstructed from the 1938 edition) has been followed by me in preparing the present work entitled “Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla- A critical and cultural study. It took me over three years to complete the MSS which was typewritten in 1972. This monumental project which is being followed by a complete English translation of the Text of Tilakamañjarī now completed accepted for publication has been accomplished with the help of all the Critical editions mentioned in the Bibliography including now the L.D. Series ed. at typical spots. The Kāvyañuśāsana of Hemacandra, the Historical Geography of Ancient India by Dr. B.C. Law and many others referred to in the footnotes have been taken into consideration. My special knack for classical Sanskrit Prose already fructified in the critical study of Harṣacarita of Bāṇa bearing an English translation being revised into a better accomplished form, has helped me achieve this monumental effort. “Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa Kā Ādāna Pradāna by Dr. A.N. Pandeya of Kashi Vidyapeeth, Varanasi deserves a special mention.

I am greatly beholden up Dr. Satyavrat Shastri Visiting Professor of Sanskrit in Thailand, Vice Chancellor Puri University erstwhile Professor of Sanskrit University of Delhi, who thoroughly perused my work and was kind enough to give his expert comments on it.

I am equally grateful to the Proprietor of Parimal Publications, Delhi, for having offered his sporting gesture for undertaking the publication of this work.

Dr. Sudarshan Kumar Sharma

Dated ...

15th August 2002

IIIG. Block, 61-B 3 Sector-VI

PARWANOO

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DIACRITICAL WORDS

VOWELS

अ	a
आ	ā
इ	i
ई	ī
उ	u
ऊ	ū
ऋ	r̥
ॠ	r̄
ऌ	l
ॡ	l̄
ए	e
ऐ	ai
ओ	o
औ	au
अं	an̐
अः	aḥ

CONSONANTS

क	Ka
ख	Kha
ग	ga
घ	gha
ङ	ṅ
च	ca
छ	cha
ज	ja
झ	jha
ञ	ñ
ट	ṭa
ठ	ṭha
ड	ḍa
ढ	ḍha
ण	ṇa
त	ta
थ	tha
द	da
ध	dha
न	na
प	pa
फ	pha
ब	ba
भ	bha
म	ma
य	ya
र	ra
ल	la
व	va
श	śa
ष	ṣa
स	sa
ह	ha
क्ष	kṣa
त्र	tra
ज्ञ	jña
०	m̐
:	ḥ

ABBREVIATION

Abhi. śāk.	Abhijñāna Śākuntalam
Ait. Br.	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
AKS.	Avanti-Sundarīkathā
Aṣṭād.	Aṣṭādhyāyī
AV.	Atharvaveda.
Bṛhad. Up.	Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad
CAI	Cities of Ancient India
Chānd. Up.	Chāndogyaopaniṣad
Daśa-r.	Daśarūpaka
GCM	Gadyacintāmaṇi.
HAI	History of Ancient India
HC	Harṣacaritam
HGAI	Historical Geography of Ancient India
HCESA	Harṣacarita Eka Sāṃskṛtika adhyayana
HSL	History of Sanskrit Literature
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
JIH	Journal of Indian History
KAŚ	Kauṭīliyam Arthaśāstram
Kād. ESA	Kādambarī Eka Sāṃskṛtika adhyayana.
Kād. KM	Kādambarī Kathā mukha
Kālid. Kośa	Kālidāsa Kośa.
Kāv. Mīm.	Kāvya Mīmāṃsā.
KKB	Kālidāsa Kā Bhārata.
KSN	Kālidāsa Special Number.
KSS	Kathāsaritsāgara
K-Sū	Kāma Sūtra.
Mahābh.	Mahābhāṣya
Mālati	Mālatīmādhvam
Mālv.	Mālavikāgni Mitram
Mārka. P.	Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.
M. Williams	Monier Williams.

MBh.	Mahābhārataṁ
MBh. Kośa	Mahābhārata Kośa.
Megh.	Meghadūta
Mṛcch.	Mṛcchakaṭīkāṁ
NN	Nāgānanda.
NS	Nāṭyāśāstra.
Pr. Yaug.	Pratijñā Yaugandharāyaṇaṁ
Prab. Cint.	Prabandha Cintāmaṇi.
Prati. N.	Pratimā nāṭaka.
Ratn.	Ratnāvalī.
Rājat. Kośa	Rājataranṅinīkośa.
RV	R̥gveda
Rāja-t.	Rājataranṅinī.
Rag. V.	Raghuvamśa
Rām.	Rāmāyāṇa
Saund	Saundarananda
SSD	Samarāṅgana Sūtradhāra
Skt. Engl. Dict.	Sanskrit English Dictionary
St. Ind.	Studies in Indology.
Sāh. D.	Sāhitya darpaṇa.
Śāṅkh. Śr. Sū.	Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
Taitt. Br.	Tattirīya Brāhmaṇa.
Tāṇḍ. Br.	Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa.
TM	Tilakamāñjarī.
URC	Uttararāmacaritam.
USK	Udaya Sundarīkathā
Vāj. Sam.	Vājasneyī Samhitā
VD	Vāsavadattā
VII	Vishveshwarananda, Indological Journal.
VS.	Viśva Saṁskṛta.
Yaj. V.	Yajurveda.

PART I INTRODUCTION

PERSONAL HISTORY OF DHANAPĀLA

Unlike Bāṇa who has given a detailed account of his pedigree along with a history of the personal life till he reached the court of King Harṣavardhana of Kannauja and Thanesar and returned home to start with the biography of the king in the first two and a quarter of the IIIrd Ucchvāsa of Harṣacarita and Introductory Verses of Kādambari Dhanapāla has felt satisfied in giving a very few facts about his pedigree in the last three introductory Verses of his Tilakamañjarī. Besides Tilakamañjarī Prabandhacintāmaṇi of Merutuṅgācārya will also form the second source for tracing the personal account of the poet.

According to Tilakamañjarī¹

“There was a twice-born (Brāhmaṇa) born in the abode known conspicuously or popularly Sāmkāśya in the entire range of Madhyadeśa, who, even though adorned with the seerdom among the Dānavas attained to prominence as a seer among the gods”.

“He was well versed in the Scriptures, skilled in activities or arts (क्रियासु or कलासु), attained to perfection in creative faculties and interpretations or philosophical dissertation; his self-born or son came to be a great soul, the illustrious Sarvadeva a peer to Svayambhū or Brahman”.

“Having attained to the smattering of learning on waiting upon the lotus feet of his progenitor, his son, a Brāhmaṇa, the illustrious Dhanapāla, composed this unblemished *Kathā*. Even though unparalleled in composing sweet sayings of unrivalled import, he was spoken in the court, by the overlord of the earth, Illustrious Muñja, the ocean of all the lores, the speech; like this. Therefore, according to Dhanapāla himself, he was the son

1. आसीद् द्विजन्माऽखिलमध्यदेशे प्रकाशशांकाशमनिवेशजन्मा ।

अलब्धदेववर्षिरिति प्रसिद्धिं यो दानवर्षित्वविभूषितोऽपि ॥

शास्त्रेष्वधीतो कुशलः क्रियासु (कलासु) बन्धे च बोधे च गिरां प्रकृष्टः ।

तस्यात्मजन्मा समभून्महात्मा देवः स्वयम्भूरिव सर्वदेवः ॥

तज्जन्मा जनकादिप्रपंकजराजः सेवासविद्यालवो

विप्रः श्रीधनपाल इत्यविशदामेतामबध्नात् कथाम् ।

अक्षुण्णोऽपि विविक्तसूक्तिरचने यः सर्वविद्याब्धिना

श्रीभुज्जन सरस्वतीति सदसि क्षोणीभूता व्याहृतः ॥ - TM: Intro., V. 51. 53, pp. 40-42 Vol. I

of Sarvadeva, a great poet and a philosopher, who composed this Kathā at the instance of Muñjarāja. Sarvadeva belonged to a family of hereditary Brāhmaṇas. His father was born in a place named Sāmkāśya situated in the Madhya Pradesh. He married a girl named Dhanaśrī of a very noble family as by Kamal Gogna in 'Dhanapāla, A Literary Study' p. 430 (Chārudeva Shastri Felicitation-Volume-2).

According to Merutungācārya

"Formerly in the city (Puri) called Viśālā (Ujjayini) abounding in riches, there lived a Brāhmaṇa Sarvadeva by name and of Sāmkāśya gotra, born in the Madhyadeśa. He was inherited by his two sons Dhanapāla and Śobhana after having attained to quietude owing to his adherence to the philosophy of Jina. Sometimes, Śrīvardhamānasūri, son of Sarvajña came to him and took shelter under him due to love for his virtues. He was cordially greeted by him. He was begged of half of the share under the pretext of a vow after quiering after the previous birth hitherto defunct. By symbolic expression he was begged of one of the two sons. He was interdicted not to offer his elder son Dhanapāla who was sceptic about the dicta of the philosophy of Jina. He became complaisant unto Śobhana, the younger one and started for pilgrimage to the holy banks with a view to expiating the sin accrued from showing infirmity in fulfilling the vow. Therafter he followed that preceptor in company with his younger son Śobhana having presented the other one. Dhanapāla having obtained acquaintance with all the lores prohibited the preaching of Jaina darśana in Dhārā for 12 years. Ultimately he welcomed Śobhana into his home-land appreciating the tolerant attitude of the latter who had responded respectfully to the rebuke of the former (Homage to you, O Jaina monk, having teeth like those of a donkey). By that time Dhanapāla had attained to the status of the foremost among the savants in the court of Bhoja. Dhanapāla attended upon Śobhana having gone to the palace, with victuals and sweet words"¹. Para 58 in the same

1. पुरा समृद्धिविशालायां विशालायां पुरि मध्यदेशजन्मा साकांश्यगोत्रः सर्वदेवनामा द्विजो निवसन् जैनदर्शनसंसाग्रीत्यायः प्रशान्तमिथ्यात्वो धनपालशोभनपुत्रद्वयेनान्वितः कदाचिदागतान् वर्धमानसूरीन् गुणानुरागात्रिजोपाश्रये निवास्यु निर्द्वन्द्वभक्त्या परितोषितान् सर्वज्ञपुत्रकानिति धिया तिरोहितं निजपूर्वजनिधिं पृच्छंस्तैर्वचनच्छलेनार्द्धविभागं याचितः। संकेतनिवेदनाल्लभ्यनिश्चितदुर्द्धं यच्छंस्तैः पुत्रद्वयार्द्धं याचितो ज्यायसा धनपालेन मिथ्यात्वान्धमतिना जैनमार्गनिन्दारेण निषिद्धः कनीयसि शोभने कृपापरः स्वप्रतिज्ञाभङ्गपातकं तीर्थेषु शालयितुमिच्छुः प्रतितीर्थं प्रतस्थे। अथ पितृभक्तं शोभनान्मा लघुपुत्रेण तं तदाग्रहात्रिषिधयः पितुः प्रतिज्ञां प्रतिपालयितुमुपातन्नतः स्वयं तान् गुरुनुससार। अभ्यस्तसमस्तविद्यास्थानेन धनपालेन श्रीभोजप्रसादसम्प्राप्त समस्तपण्डितप्रकृष्टप्रतिष्ठेन निजसहोदरामर्षभावादद्वादशाब्दीं यावत्स्वदेशे निषिद्धजैनदर्शनप्रवेशेन तद्देशोपासकैः अत्यर्थमभ्यर्थनया गुरुपुरुषेष्वहूयमानेषु सकलसिद्धान्तपारावारपारदृष्टा स शोभननामा तपोधनो गुरुनापृच्छ्य तत्र प्रयातो भारायां प्रविशन् पण्डितधनपालेन राजपाटिकायां व्रजता तं सहोदरमित्यनुपलक्ष्य सोपहासम्- गदभदन्त भदन्त नमस्ते' इति प्रोक्ते, कपिवृषणास्य वयस्य सुखं ते (इति प्रत्युत्तरयांचक्रे ततश्चमत्कृतो धनपालो मया नर्मणापि नमस्ते इत्युक्तम्। अनेन तु वयस्य सुखं ते)

narrative 'धनपालपण्डितप्रबन्धः' recounts an incident from the life of Dhanapāla that occurred when he was in association with Bhoja.

The King went to his palace named Śarasvatī Kaṇṭhābharāṇa, had some pow-wow with the literateur as to whether there happened to be an omniscient one or was there anyone well advanced in knowledge etc.? Some discussion about the authenticity of Arhantaśrī, composed by Arhata etc. Ultimately the king is convinced by Dhanapāla to take to the path of Jina¹. Dhanapāla inscribing the decision about the question of Bhoja in a birch bark leaf easily alludes to the art of writing having birch bark leaflets as the material on which the scripts could be inscribed. The whole discussion gives a clear allusion to the fact that Dhanapāla having been taken to the path of Jina by Sarvajña and Śobhana tickled cunningly by Bhoja about the word Sarvajña confirms his faith in the doctrine of Sarvajña and even makes the king conform to that faith. Advancing ahead we find that Merutuṅga refers to the composition of Tilakamañjarī by Dhanapāla under the stewardship of Bhoja. Para 60 is very significant in this respect. Merutuṅga and Hemacandra are the only post-Dhanapāla authors referring to the authorship of Tilakamañjarī in the name of Dhanapāla.

Dhanapāla gone remiss in his wordly duties was tickled one day by Bhoja and in reply he feigned over-engrossment in stringing the pearls of his Tilakamañjarī. First copy presented by the Paṇḍita, Bhoja requested him to treat him as the hero and substitute Avantī for the heroine, recount Mahākāla Stotra on the shores of Śākṛāvatāra whereby he would get the cherished end of his desires. Chafed for the moment Dhanapāla slept in anxiety and awakened by his young daughter redrafted his compositions and presented a fresh copy to the king after renovating it. During the course of discussion with the king Dhanapāla had been decried by some one in Prākṛta. Bhoja ultimately quelled the dispute between the two. Other

इत्युच्यता वचनचातुर्यान्निर्जितोस्मीति। तत्कस्यातिथयो यूयमिति धनपालस्यालापैः भवत एवातिथयो वयमिति शोभनमुनेर्वाचमाकर्ण्य वदुना सह निजसौधे प्रस्थाप्य तत्रैव प्रस्थापितः। स्वयं सौधे समागत्य धनपालः प्रियालापैः सपरिकरमपि तं भोजनाय निमन्त्रयन्तैः प्रासुकाहारसेवापरैर्निषिद्धः। -- Prab.Cint. II, Para 57, p. 36.

1. अथ कस्मिन्नप्यवसरे नरेश्वरः सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणप्रासादे व्रजन् सदा सर्वत्रशासनप्रशंसापरं पण्डितं धनपालमालपत् 'सर्वज्ञस्तावत्कदाचिदासीत्। तत्र साम्प्रतं' कश्चिज्ज्ञानतिशयोऽस्तीत्यभिहिते. अर्हतकृते अर्हन्त श्रीनामनि चूडामणिग्रन्थे विश्वत्रयस्य त्रिकालवस्तुविषयस्वरूपपरिज्ञानमद्यापि विद्यते इति तेनाभिहिते त्रिद्वारमण्डपे स्थितः कस्मिन्द्वारेऽस्माकं निर्गमः। इति शास्त्रकलंकारोपगोद्यते नृपे, बुद्धिमात्रा त्रयोदशीति पाठं सत्यापयता भूर्जपत्रे नृपप्रश्ननिर्णयमालिख्य मृण्मयगोलकं निधाय च स्थागिकाधरस्य तं समर्प्य देव। पादावधार्यतामिति नृपं प्राह। नृपस्तद्वुद्धिसंकटे निपतितं स्वं मन्यमान एतद्वारत्रयस्य मध्यातिकमपि निर्णीतं भविष्यतीति विमृश्य सूत्रमुद्धिर्मण्डपपद्मशिलातलमपनीय तन्मार्गेण निर्गत्य तं गोलकं भित्त्वा तेष्वक्षरेषु निर्गमनिर्णयं वाचयन्स्तत्कौतुकोत्तालचित्तः श्रीजिनशासनमेव प्रशंशत्। Ibid., Para 58, p. 39.

Paṇḍits also derided his talent but he remained non-chalant¹. To confirm the scholarship of Dhanapāla Bhoja summoned the latter to his court and challenged the rivals to outvie him. Dhanapāla triumphed ultimately as no one could stand his calibre. All these spotlights visioned in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi, when compared with the account of Tilakamañjarī make one point clear that whereas Dhanapāla says that he wrote the Kathā known as Tilakamañjarī at the instance of Muñjarāja, Merutuṅga mentions that he wrote it at the instance of Bhoja. Both, however, are of one mind about the fact that Dhanapāla was the son of Sarvadeva a learned savant. Śobhana's name is missing from the account of Dhanapāla whereas Merutuṅga mentions it which may mean that Dhanapāla did not deem it fit to mention the name of his brother who had been taken away by Sarvajña. Dhanapāla mentions Sāmkāśya as a niveśa— a particular place name whereas Merutuṅga refers to it as the personal gotra of Sarvadeva.

A. PERSONALITY OF DHANAPĀLA

The famous saying of Carlyle that 'Style is the man' can be recognised here to understand the personal attainments of Dhanapāla who according to his own saying was unparalleled in the composition of stray but sweet sayings.² He was a Vipra³ i.e. a scholar or an inspired poet brought into being through the environments⁴. He inherited the vast store of knowledge (lit. out of humility-few drops of knowledge) by virtue of his waiting upon the lotus-feet of his progenitor (i.e. sire) Sarvadeva who was a peer to Brahmā or a Vedic-scholar, a great soul lofty in composition as well as the

1. कदाचिद्वाज्ञा सेवाश्लथतां पृष्ठः पण्डितः स्वं तिलकमंजरीमुष्कवैयर्थ्यं जगौ। शिशिरयामिन्याश्चरमे यामे निर्विनोदत्वानां प्रथमादर्शप्रतिमानोय पण्डितेन व्याख्यायमानां तिलकमंजरीकथां वाचयंस्तद्वसनिपाताभीरुः पुस्तकस्याधः कद्योलकयुतसुवर्णस्थालस्थापनपूर्वं तां समाप्य तच्चित्रं कविताचित्रीयमाणचितो नृपः पण्डितं प्राह-मामत्र कथानायकं कुर्वन् विनीतायाः पदेऽवन्तीमारोपयन् शक्रावतारतीर्थस्य पदे महाकालमाकलयन् (यद्याचसे) तनुभ्यं ददामोत्यभिधाने नृपे खद्योतप्रद्योतनयोः सर्षपकनकाचलयोः काचकांचनयोः धतूरकल्पपादपयोरिव तव तेषां महदन्तरमित्युच्चरन्।

दोमुहय निरक्खर लोहमईय नाराय तुज्झ किं भणिमो। गुंजाहि समं कणयं तोलन्तु न गअसि पायालम्। इत्याक्रोशपरे तस्मिन् जाज्वल्यमानेऽग्नौ तां मूलप्रतिमिन्धनीचकार। अथ स द्विधा निर्वेदभाग् द्विधाऽवाङ्मुखो निजसौधपश्चाद्भागे जीर्णमञ्चाधिरूढो निःश्वसन् भृशं सुष्वाप। बालपण्डितया तत्सुतया सभक्तिकमुत्थाप्य स्नानपानभोजननिर्माणानन्तरं तिलकमंजरीप्रथमादर्शलेखनात्संस्मृत्य ग्रन्थस्यार्द्धं लेखयाश्चक्रे। तदुत्तरार्धं नूतनीकृत्य ग्रन्थः समर्थितः। Ibid. II. 7. 60, p. 41.

2. अक्षुण्णेऽपि विविक्तसूक्तिरचने— TM Intr. V. 53 Vol. I, p.42.
3. उपह्वरे गिरीणां सङ्गमे च नदीनां धिया विप्रो अजायत। Vaj. Sam. 26.15. Svādhyāyamaṇḍala Pāraḍī ed. P. 113. Śrīpāda Dāmodara Sātavalekara's text.
4. विप्रः श्रीधनपाल इत्यविशदमेतमबध्नात्कथाम्। TM. Int.V. 53 Vol. I, p. 42.

understanding of the lores, skilled in practical ways of life and a student of the scriptures¹. His style and apart from that his varied understanding of the works of his predecessor poets the large number of them paid homage to by him beginning from Vālmīki and ending with Kardamarāja, his deep insight into the varied characteristics of a Kathā i.e. a prose romance², his nuancing of the distinction between a Kathā and a Campū abounding in verses and mixed up with prose—all these go to establish the point that he was a versatile genius having an all-round purview of the Rhetorical devices in their totem.³

His style is replete with a variety of syllabic denominations and is laden with impenetrable jaggery of lengthy sentences full of recondite and abstruse vocabulary being the natural urge of the age which had practically left nothing to sponsor by way of a new genre in the type of writing he was going to undertake. But his lack of verbosity ranks him as one of the great prose writers who could stand the test of time to be reckoned with such stalwarts as Bāṇa whose faithful imitator he strikes on many parallels struck by him.

His obvious homage to Amaraguru and Bhārgava⁴ (i.e. Bṛhaspatī and Śukra) the two great authorities on Ancient Indian Polity (Arthaśāstra) makes it manifest that his intellect had been polished by the wisdom-provoking thoughts of these great authorities on the relevant science. Unlike Bāṇa he has not shown much influence of Kauṭilya on his mode of thinking. His description of Ayodhyā on the same lines as that of Dhārā by Bhoja and Ujjaynī by Bāṇa testify his knowledge of the Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra and Kādambarī and above all his knowledge of the science of architecture in its varied aspects. Description of Sarayū having connections with Bhāgīrathī and the Eastern ocean, in the Uttarakośālas, his description of the Sīmhalas and the Suvarṇadvīpa, Kāñcī, Vaijayanṭī, Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Mahākośāla, Kāśmīra, Kuśasthala and Pāñcāla, Magadha, Saurāṣṭra, Kāmarūpa (Prāgyotiṣa) etc. testify his expert knowledge of the Indian Geography.

‘वैशम्पायनशापकथाप्रक्रममिव दुर्वर्णशुकनासमनोरमम्’⁵

1. तत्रन्मा जनकाभिप्रेतकजरजः सेवासविद्यालवो । - TM. Int.V. 53

2. See I above.

3. अखण्डदण्डकारण्यभाजः प्रचुरवर्णकात् व्याघ्रादिबसयाघ्रातो गद्यादव्यावर्तते जनः ॥
अश्रान्तगद्यसन्ताना श्रोतॄणां निर्विदे कथा, जहाति पद्यप्रचुरा चम्पूरपि कथारसम् ॥

4. निर्गर्गनिर्मलालोकाभ्यामभिनवं नयमार्गमुपदेष्टुममरगुरुभार्गवाभ्यामिकोपताभ्याम् । TM. Vol. III, p.120

5. TM Vol. III, p. 95.

Referring to the theme of Kādambārī of Bāṇa illustrate the point that Dhanapāla was a close student of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa. The legends of Rāmāyaṇa¹ such as—

इतस्ततः सखीखेहदूराकृष्टमनसा त्रिजटयाविनोदितदयितविरहक्षाममैथिलीकेषु, अनेकशः क्रीडानिमित्तमागतायाप्रधाननक्तं चरामिः सह पादचारेण विचरन्त्या लतामन्दिरेषु मन्दोदर्या सविभ्रमावचितविकचमन्दारेषु निद्रानिषण्णकुम्भकर्णाभिनन्दितशिशिरहरिचन्दनवीथिषु, जानकीवैमुख्यदुःखक्षाम-दशकण्ठातिवाहितोत्कण्ठेषु तटवनेषु.... विचरन्, 'इह निद्रिषु दृष्टलंकाणिर्णीतदशकण्ठ कण्ठच्छेदनिर्वृतेन दशरथात्मजेन स्नात्वा जटायुषे निवर्तितः प्रथमो निवापाजलिः, इह प्रहर्षास्फोटन-संक्रान्तसरसौरिकपंकपंचागुलैर्दृश्यमानमूर्तिमत्प्रतापानलशिखैरिव भुजशिखरैः खर्वयन्तस्त्रिकूटगिरिकूटानि घटितसमग्रसेतुबन्धा बन्धुरं वल्लुरंगद पुरोगाः प्लवंगपतयः, इयमसमंजसाक्षिसलंकाप्राकारकांचनशिलाशबला शिविरसंनिवेशभूः सुग्रीवस्य; एषा परस्परविलक्षः नक्ष्यमाणराक्षसकपिकरंकावयवा रामरावणयोरजिभूमिः, इह सकलदिङ्मुखान्तरालव्यापिघोषस्य त्रिष्वपि भुवनेषु सर्पतः पौलस्त्ययशसो रथस्येव प्रवर्तकः प्रयत्नवद्भिः क्षपाचरैरनेकधाकृताध्यवसायेन प्रसह्य मारुतिना भुजबलेन भग्नोऽक्षः, इह कन्दरायामरातिदारितप्रधानवीरविद्राणविजयाध्ववसायेन सायं चरचक्रवर्तिना तैस्तैरमुकुमारैरूपक्रमैरकाल एव त्याजितो निद्रां महानिद्रायैसहोदरः, इह क्रमाक्रान्तसकलाम्बरेण साडम्बरमुदंचता ज्वलनजन्मना नीलेन धूमोत्प्लिलेनेव नयननलिनेषु विस्तारितः प्रहस्तप्रणयिनीनामश्रुधारासारः इदमुपान्तनिर्झरासन्न-प्ररूढविरलविशल्यौषधि लवमवदारितोरःस्थलस्य शक्त्या समिति सुमित्रासुतस्य मूर्च्छानिपतनस्थानम्, अमो नेमिनिषिष्टकपिशिरः कपालकर्परशुक्तिकाशकलशारिताः शरविसरवर्षिणि रामभद्रे पुनरुक्तमुपसृता पसूतरावण रथस्य क्षयसमयशोषितमहानदीप्रवाहानुकारिणः (चक्रमार्गाः), इयं स्वामिभक्तेरग्रजशक्तेः (क्ष) जगति ज्ञापनाय विभोषणेन प्रतिष्ठापिता दूतापतच्छिन्न कुम्भकर्णोत्तमांगत्रासितस्य दाशरथेर्यथाप्रथममायत पदान्तराप्रतोपापसर्पण सरणिः, इह लतावेशमन्यपनीत रक्षोगृहनिवास निर्वाद कलंकायाः जनकदुहितु-वैपमान स्वेदाद्द करकिसलयेन दाशरथिना कथञ्चिदुन्मोचितो हुताशन प्रवेशलग्नोभूमदण्ड इव भृश कुटिलायतशिखो वेणीबन्धः, इतो निवर्तितानुब्रजत्सुरब्रजेन निजगोत्रराजधानीमयोध्यां प्रति यियासुना दशास्यदमनेन सविलासमध्यस्थित महार्हमणि वातायनः कौतुकोत्ताननयनजानकीविलोकिता-गतिरनुकूलपवनप्रसारितैः पताकबाहुभिः परिरब्धुमिव चिरोत्सृष्टदृष्टां कुबेरपुरीमम्बरपथेन प्रधावितः पुष्पकनामा विमानराजः-etc. along with सौमित्रिचरितमिव विस्तारितोर्मिलास्यशोभम् (Vol. III 73-74).

illustrate his expert knowledge of the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki.

तत्रैव क्षणे ज्वलन्तमन्तर्मदनानलं साक्षीकृत्य भूयो गृहीतपाणिस्तां चकितमृग शावलोचनामत्यन्तमनुरागान्धां योजनगन्धामिव पाराशरः प्रणयिनीकृतः²

illustrates his expert knowledge of the Mahābhārata.

'विदितनिःशेषनीतिशास्त्रसंहतिः'³

illustrates the point that he knew almost all the schools of polity available, up to date. It included the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya as well.

1. TM: Vol. II pp. 288-291.

2. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 278.

3. Ibid., Vol. I p. 71.

The various love and creative sports of Meghavāhana illustrated by him¹ and the mention of terms such as

'विदूषकान्' 'निपुणचित्राकरै' 'रागविशेषेषु संस्थाप्य'....

'शृंगारप्राय रसानि स्वरचितसुभाषितानि' 'निखिलनाट्यवेदोपनिषद्भिर्नर्तकोपाध्यायैः'

'कुलक्रमागतवैशिककला कलापवैचक्षण्याभिः साक्षादिव कामसूत्रविद्याभिः'²

illustrate his thorough insight into the lore of Kāma or Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana.

'जातनिःशेषपुराणेतिहाससारैः दृष्टसकलकाव्यनाटकप्रबन्धैः' परिचितनिखिलाख्यायिकाख्यानव्याख्यानैः प्रमाणविदिभिः.... अभ्यस्तनाट्यशास्त्रैः, कामसूत्रपारगैः,³ शब्दविद्यामिव विद्यानाम्, कौ(कै)शिकीमिव रसवृत्तीनां, उपजातिमिव छन्दोजातिनाम्, जातिमिवालंकृतीनाम्, वैदर्भीमिव, रीतिनाम्, प्रसत्तिमिव काव्यगुणसंपदाम्, पंचमश्रुतिमिव गीतिनाम्, रसोक्तिमिव भण्तिनाम्,⁴ etc. all these go to establish Dhanapāla's scholarship in the lores such as legend and Chronicle, Drama, poetry, Prose, Philosophy, Dramaturgy, Kāmasāstra, Grammar, Prosody, Figures of speech, Music and Rhetorics.

'कलाविदो विदितसकलशास्त्रतत्त्वाः कवयो वाग्मिनः काव्यगुणदोषज्ञाः विज्ञातविविधपुराणेतिहासकथाः कथाख्यायिकानाटकादिप्रबन्धवद्धरतयो रतितन्त्रपरम्परा परामर्शरसिकमनसः..... राजपुत्राः'⁵

refers to arts, śāstras such as Dharmaśāstra, Arthaśāstra, Ratitantra (Kāma śāstra), Purāṇa, Itihāsa, Kathā, Ākhyāyikā, Nāṭaka etc. forming the domain of Dhanapāla's study.

The complete picture given in the cultural study (Fine Arts) amply display his knack for the understanding of all the practical lores.

B. WORKS OF DHANAPĀLA- A SURVEY

Ascription of three works to the authorship of Dhanapāla goes beyond any doubts in the opinion of literary critics. Pailacchi, a Prakṛt lexicon and Rṣabhapaṃcāśikā, a short poem of fifty verses eulogising the Jaina ācārya Rṣabhadeva, also written in Prakṛt hardly stand in need of a critical study within the field of our survey. Tilakamañjarī, being the most celebrated of the works of Dhanapāla, is a Kathā like Kādambarī of Bāṇa and Gadyacintāmaṇi of Oḍayadeva. The classification of prose Kāvya in Sanskrit into two forms such as Ākhyāyikā and Kathā is quite popularly a

1. TM: Vol. I, pp. 74-75

2. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 51.

3. Ibid. Vol. I, pp. 51-52.

4. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 328.

5. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 240.

topic of discussion among the literary critics like Dr. S.K.De.¹ and Dr. Necta Sharma.²

Bāṇa has paid a lofty mead of encomium to the Kathā mode of Prose Kāvya in Kādambarī and to ākhyāyikā in Harṣacarita.

स्फुरत्कलालापविलासकोमला करोति रागं हृदि कौतुकाधिकम्।

रसेन शय्यां स्वयमभ्युपागता कथा जनस्याभिनवावधूरिव।

‘हरन्ति कं नोज्ज्वलदीपकोपमैर्नवैः पदार्थैरुपपादिताः कथाः।

निस्तरङ्गश्लेषघनाः सुजातयो महास्रजश्चम्पककुड्मलैरिव॥’³

‘उच्छ्वासान्तेऽप्यखिन्नास्ते येषां वक्त्रे सरस्वती।

कथमाख्यायिकाकाराः न ते वन्द्याः कवीश्वराः॥’

‘सुखप्रबोधललिता सुवर्णघटनोज्ज्वलैः।

शब्दैराख्यायिका भाति शय्येव प्रतिपादिकैः॥’⁴

Besides Rhetoricians like Bhāmah⁵, Daṇḍin⁶ have also dealt with this topic in detail. Dhanapāla has referred to Kādambarī and Harṣākhyāyikā by virtue of which Bāṇa attained prominence⁷

Regarding the characteristics of Kathā and Campū Dhanapāla says—

“A Kathā palls the listeners with series of intermittent prose (narratives) while Campū, too, loses the charm of its story being preponderant in metrical forms.”⁸

Dr. S.K. De⁹ after having examined the views of Bhāmah and Daṇḍi along with those of Rudraṭa and those given in the Agni Purāṇa, goes to illustrate Ākhyāyikā and Kathā as under:—

1. Some Problems of Sanskrit Poetics pp. 65-79.

2. Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa- A Study. pp. 17-18.

3. Kādambari Introductory Verses 8.9.

4. Harṣacarita. Introductory Verses 10.20.

5. Kāvya-lāṅkāra. p. 19. by Devendra Natha Sharma, Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad, Patna 1968.

6. Kāvya-darśa. 11, 12-15. With Jivānanda Vidyasāgar tīkā, edited by V.Narayana Ayyar, 1964

7. कादम्बरी सहोदर्या सुधया वैबुधे हृदि।

हर्षाख्यायिकया ख्यातिं बाणोऽब्धिरिव लब्धवान्। TM Verse Intr. 27.

8. अश्रान्तगद्यसन्ताना श्रोतॄणां निर्विदे कथा।

जहाति पद्यप्रचुरा चम्पूरपि कथारसम्। TM Verse 17.

9. Some Problems of Sanskrit Poetics. p. 78.

Ākhyāyikā—

- (1) The subject matter gives facts of actual experience;
- (2) The narrator need not be the hero himself;
- (3) It is divided into chapters called Uucchāsas which should (excepting the first) open with the stanzas, preferably in āryā, indicating the tenor of the chapter in question;
- (4) It possesses a metrical introduction of a literary character.

Kathā—

- (1) The subject matter is a story generally a love story, for the most part invented by the poet;
- (2) The narrator should be some person other than the hero, who may sometimes take that role;
- (3) There is no division into chapters;
- (4) It should have a literary metrical introduction.

As already observed Dhanapāla himself denominates Tilakamañjarī- a Kathā.¹ Let us try to find out if the characteristics of this species as enunciated by Dr. S. K. De strike any similitude with the characteristics of Tilakamañjarī.

1. The subject matter of Tilakamañjarī is a story, a love story of two men and two women- Harivāhana and Tilakamañjarī and Samaraketu and Malayasundarī and has been invented by the poet.

2. Narration goes first from the lips of Dhanapāla who writes it and describes the affluence of Ayodhyā, its King Meghavāhana, the Queen Madirāvatī, birth of a son to both and later on we find the narrative taken in hand by Harivāhana and Samaraketu at regular intervals.

3. The whole work is undivided into any chapters and is narrated in a series without any subsections even. Only paragraphs are there.

4. Its Introduction comprising of 53 stanzas is quite literary in so far as verses 1 and 2 eulogise Jina, verse 3 deals with the eulogium of the Navel born god Viṣṇu. Verse No.4 deals with the sermons on piety of the Lord of the Jinās; Verse 5 eulogises Brahmā, Verse 6 pays homage to Vīra i.e., Mahāvīra; Verse 7 generalises the virtues of a poet and likewise the 8th deals with poets as a body; Verses 9 and 10 dilate upon the thinkers; some tirade against poetasters in verse 11; verse 12 tackles the problems of poesy; verse 13 refers to the plagiarists and their art; Verse 14 tackles the issue of a wicked person the enemy of literary muse, Verse 15 presents the hideous

1. विप्रः श्रीधनपाल इत्यविशदामेतामबध्नात् कथाम्। - TM. Intro. V. 53.

figure of prose compared to a tiger; Verse 16 underrates the paranomastic composition as well as the script; Verse 17 tackles the issues concerning the Kathā and Campū their pre-requisites; Verse 18 deals with a good Kathā; Verse 19 offers obeisance to Munindra; Verse 20 eulogises Vālmiki and Vyāsa; Verse 21 mentions Bṛhatkathā; Verse 22 refers to Pravarasena and his Śrutubandha Kāvya; Verse 23 refers to a Kathā known as Taraṅgavatī; Verse 24 eulogises the literary attainments of Jivadeva, Verse 25 favours Kālidāsa; Verse 26 praises Bāṇa and his son Pulinda; Likewise verse 27 refers to Kādambarī as a Kathā and the Harṣākhyāyikā; Verse 28 compares and contrasts the talent of Māgha and Bhāravi; Verse 29 deals with the story of Caramakathā written by Haribhadrāsūri; Verse 30 belauds the dramatic muse of Bhavabhūti; Verse 31 refers to Vākpatirāja; Verse 32 referring to Bhadrakīrti refers to Bappa Bhaṭṭi Caritam quite symbolically; Similarly Yāyāvara Kavi i.e. Rājaśekhara, Mahendrasūri, Rudra and his Trailokya Sundarī, a Kathā, the sweet sayings of Kardamarāja and varied aptitudes of various literary artists have been dwelt upon in the verses succeeding 37; verses 38 to 50 deal with the Paramāra lineage and its origin from the Agnikula, greater space devoted to a panegyric of Bhoja and finally the last three verses tackle the issue of the pedigree of the poet which though very brief is quite significant.

C. DATE OF DHANAPĀLA

Unlike Bāṇa and like most of his predecessors and successors Dhanapāla has also displayed an intentional reticence about disclosing the exact chronological line of events based on correct system of dating according to which we could find out the definite landmarks for the upper and lower limits of his career. Still there is a silver lining in the dark cloud and we find an express mention of the lineage of Paramāras starting with King Paramāra of the Agnikula legend fame and ending with Bhoja who was followed by an indirect line of royal scions as evidenced by inscriptional and other literary records such as Prabandhacintāmaṇi.

The main crux of the problem baffling the minds of critics is the paucity of tangible evidence plainly configurating the exact reign periods of the patrons under whose umbrage he flourished. Two types of evidence are available one of which maintains that Dhanapāla flourished under the reign period of Muṇja (Vākpatirāja II) while the other goes to prove that he flourished under the stewardship of Bhoja. A third possible conclusion is derived which postulates that he flourished in the reign periods of Vākpatirāja Muṇja, Sindhurāja and Bhoja and perhaps he ended his life when Bhoja was yet his patron and on the throne.

With a view to arriving at a definite decision concerning the patronage of Dhanapāla we shall have to depend upon the Tilakamañjarī on the one hand and on the other upon Prabandhacintāmaṇi of Merutuṅgācārya which has been quoted by Dr. Pratipāl Bhatia¹ and Narayana Manilal Kansara's introduction to the (Pallipāla) Dhanapāla's Tilakamañjarīsāra.²

According to Dr. Pratipāl Bhatia, Dhanapāla was a contemporary of three Paramāra rulers viz. Sīyaka II, Vākpati II and King Bhoja. He was awarded the title 'Sarasvatī' by Vākpati Muñja.³

According to Prof. Kansara Kavi Dhanapāla, the author of this prose romance- Tilakamañjarī Kathā- was a Brahmin convert to Jainism and flourished sometime between 955 and 1055 A.D., during the heydays of the Paramāra Dynasty of Dhārā. A contemporary of well-known Sanskrit Paṇḍits and poets like Dhanika, Hālāyuddha, Padmagupta alias Parimala, Amitagati and others, he was closely associated with the royal court of the Paramāra rulers right from Sīyaka Harṣa to Bhoja the illustrious. The latter's predecessor Vākpatirāja Muñja, highly celebrated in the folklore as 'Prthivivallabha' actually honoured Dhanapāla with the coveted title of 'Sarasvatī' in the midst of his imperial court.⁴

The last named poet predecessor by Dhanapāla in serial order in his introductory verses is Kardamarāja preceded by Rudra (author of Trailokyasundarī) preceded by Sūrimahendra preceded by Yāyavārakavi (Rājaśekhara)⁵ the correct date of the last named (i.e., Rājaśekhara being known fairly certainly i. e. A.D. 880-920. Kardamarāja, Rudra and Sūrimahendra or Mahendrasūri might have been his living or senior contemporaries flourishing between 920 and 955 A.D. The first author to quote from Tilakamañjarī is Hemacandra⁶ who flourished between A.D. 1089 and 1173.

Hence the upper limit of the period of Dhanapāla comes to the beginning of the second half of the tenth century and lower limit comes to the middle of the eleventh century A.D.

1. Paramāras p. 327.

2. Ibid., p. 3.

3. Paramāras p. 327. TM. Intro. Verse 53, Vol. I, P.42.

श्रीमुञ्जेन सरस्वतीति सदसि क्षोणीभूता व्याहृतः।

4. Introduction to Pallipāla Dhanapāla's Tilakamañjarī. p.3.

5. TM. Intro., Verses 33-36, Vol. I, pp. 30-32.

6. Kāvyaṇuśāsana- by Rasiklal Parikh and Dr. V.M. Kulkarni V. 6. 489, p. 328.

1) प्राज्यप्रभावः प्रभवो धर्मस्यास्तरजस्तमाः।

ददतां निर्वृतात्मानः आद्योऽन्येऽपि मुदंजिनाः। from TM Introductory Verse 2, Vol. I, p. 10.

PART II

DHANAPĀLA AS A PROSE WRITER

A. EMERGENCE AND GROWTH OF CLASSICAL SANSKRIT PROSE LITERATURE

Prose composition in Sanskrit Literature is less numerous than the verse combinations. The reason being obvious. The verse combination being easily suited to memory and capable of being inscribed on the canvas of the reader's mind, became more popular whereas prose emerged and evolved at a steady pace at a much later time so much so that even the technical treatises came to be written in verse form than in prose.

“Dr. D. K. Gupta refuses to uphold the theory of Oldenberg that prose intermingled with verses was the original form of literature in India. The theory of Oldenberg propounds that this kind of literature existed in Rgveda, the Brāhmaṇas, the Epics and the Jātakas, the verses preserved in definite form in these writings, the prose portions required to be supplied by the story tellers were subsequently eliminated; the Jātakamālā and Pañcatantra being amongst the earliest extant examples of this form”.¹

Dr. Gupta further says to refute this theory:-

“But the earliest form of prose with verses interspersed appears to be that where a gnomic verse is cited to corroborate what is stated in prose and this is in line with the practice followed in the Brāhmaṇas and Dharmasūtras and in some cases, in the Upaniṣadas. The next stage is the class of composition where the writer concludes his treatment of a subject with a few verses of his own giving a resume of the theme. Even the grammarians recognised the importance of this device² which was emulated by the writers like Kauṭīliya and Vātsyāyana also in their works.”³

The earliest specimens of prose we notice as early as in the Vedic Saṁhitās, the Black Yajurveda which owes its nomenclature to the fact that it exhibits a regular blend of prose formulae along with commentaries. Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā, likewise abounds in prose passages of no mean merits. The Taittirīya, Maitrāyaṇīya, Kāṭhaka, Kapiṣṭhala-kāṭha recensions of the same Veda also contain prose passages in a larger number.

1. A study of Dandin Section III. Ch. I, p. 305.

2. CP the Kārikās of Mahābh.

3. Ibid., p. 306.

Atharvaveda (about one sixth of the whole including whole of the XVth and XVIth Kāṇḍa and another thirty hymns scattered all about the remaining portions),¹ Brāhmaṇas such as Aitareya and Kauṣītaki (of the RV), Tāṇḍya or Pañcaviṃśa along with Saḍviṃśa (of the Sāmaveda), Śatapatha and Taittirīya (of the Yajurveda) and Gopatha (belonging to the Atharvaveda), Āraṇyakas such as Aitareya, Upaniṣads such as Chāndogya, Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Taittirīya, Maitrī etc. all go to prove a steady cultivation of prose composition in the Vedic epoch.

According to Dr. D. K. Gupta-

“The Brāhmaṇas are mostly written in prose; they contain, inter-alia, ākhyānas or traditional stories also which may be regarded as the rudimentary form of fiction in prose”.² Dr. Gupta also holds the same views as expressed by me above about the existence of prose in Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads, Vedāṅgas such as Chandasūtra of Piṅgala, Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini, Ṛkprātiśākhya of Śaunaka, Nirukta of Yāska, the Kalpasūtra such as Āśvalāyana, Gṛhyasūtra, Pāraskara, Gṛhyasūtra, the Kauthumagrhyasūtra, Āpastamba Dharmasūtra, Gautama Dharmasūtra, Lātyāyana Śrautasūtra, Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra etc. are written in what is called the sūtra style or prose.

Regarding the characteristics of the Vedic prose Dr. Gupta says-

“The Vedic prose which is freely and extensively used in literature is simple, straight and forceful; it is unlike the classical prose, composed of short sentences, devoid of lengthy compounds and laboured diction. Poetic figures like simile and metaphor have been suitably employed with proper judgement and power. The developed form of prose in Yajurveda presupposes an earlier tradition perhaps of centuries and the conjecture is not wholly discardable that it existed in the Ṛgvedic period also, though of course, we cannot maintain the existence of prose in the supposed original dialogic hymns of Ṛgveda.”³

In the post Vedic or classical period we find prose in the technical treatises such as Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana, Caraka Saṁhitā of Caraka; in the Epics (Mahābhārata)⁴ Purāṇas such as Viṣṇu (4th aṁśa) and Bhāgavata (5th Skandha); Didactic Beast Fable Literature such as Jātakamālā and

1. IISL McDonnell p. 157.

2. A Study of Daṇḍin Sec. III, Ch. I, p. 306.

3. Ibid. p. 307-308.

4. Mokṣadharmaparva of Śāntiparva Ch 342-362.

Pañcatantra preceded by Divyāvadāna and Avdānaśataka in the Buddhist period; inscriptions such as Prakṛt records of Aśoka, inscriptional records of the Śuīngas, Śakakṣatrapa Rudradāman; Śātavāhanas, Guptas, Maghas, Vardhanas etc. Drāmās, of Bhāsa, Śudraka, Aśvaghoṣa, Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Viśākhadatta, Rājaśekhara etc.; and the prose romances and Campūs.

Dr. Gupta divides the classical prose into three modes of style the Sūtra (aphoristic), Vṛtti (commentorial) and Bhāṣya (expositive). He further says-

“For evident reasons, a proper development of prose norm could not be possible in these forms (and especially in the first one) though we often notice forceful prose composed in a style capable of fully expressing the requisite thought material. Patañjali's prose which is possessed of elegant and forceful diction deserves a special mention in this respect”.

The prose of Kauṭīliyaṁ arthaśāstraṁ is equally marked by diction that though cryptic is crisp in essence and at places the narrative and illustrative data are of the classical norm. The raciness of the moral dictum and effective control over using long compounds in compressing details about the variety of materials on social and cultural topics all these show a distinct tendency towards elaboration into the ornate prose Kāvya style. Kāmasūtra and Caraka Saṁhitā exhibit a further simplification in expression and clarity of diction; there is greater tendency towards elaboration in descriptive and narrative aspect. The philosophical dissertations of the two authors stand predecessors to the reflective index of the prose style in later romances and Campūs.

Prose in the Mahābhārata, the Viṣṇu and the Bhāgavata Purāṇas is all the more charming and effective and is amply characterised by ornate diction laden with embellishments. The perspicuity is natural and the flow of diction is admirable.

Jātakamālā, even though it is written in the early stages of the Brahmanical revival, is yet imbued with stylistic peculiarities of the Buddhistic age in so far as it is couched in a repetitive mode of thought content and is laden with simple and unornamental series of descriptive compounds with grammatical archaisms here and there. Nevertheless the contribution of this work towards a gradual elaboration of the ornate prose Kāvya cannot be outrightly denied to it.

Pañcatantra's racy and vigorous narratives with simile, metaphors, fancies etc. interspersed within the frame work of the fable enhances the

charm of the didactic motive intended behind its composition. Style is very forceful, expressions short and sentences brimming with short and pithy sayings, the method of enboxed tales terms this thesaurus of narratives a storehouse of ākhyāyikās in the manner of Daśakumārcarita of Daṇḍin. The prose in inscriptions tends to a natural and close approach towards the literary prose in point of style and language. The hitherto defunct though known by casual references, the contemporary prose romances might have had an impact on these inscriptions.

‘स्फुटलघुमधुरचित्रकान्तशब्दसमयोदासलंकृतगद्यपद्य(काव्य)विधानप्रवीणेन’¹

i.e. clarity, raciness, attractiveness, variety and aptness of expressions which have been characterised as the virtues of a good prose and metrical Kāvya in line with-

‘उत्कृष्टकविगद्यमिव विविधवर्णश्रेणिप्रतिपाद्यमानानेकाभिनवार्थसंचयम्।’²

Bāṇa's assertion easily confirms the view that by 150 A.D. the ornate prose style had a firm basis to stand upon by having many more works preceding them but unfortunately lost.

The Allahabad stone pillar insc. of Samudragupta is next best specimen of long compounded ornate prose Kāvya. Compared with the Ginnar insc. of Rudradāmā, it is highly refined and the expressions are used in the same manner as in the later romances. Lines 17 to 31 are connected by a singly independent verb, subdivided by long compounded adjectival sentences forming the chief requisites of Samudragupta as a conqueror, a warrior, a patron of letters, an administrator and a poet cum artist. Madhuban and Banskhera copper plate grants of king Harṣavardhana and the Maliya copper plate grant of Valabhi King Dharasena easily stand eponymous with the style of Daṇḍin, Subandhu and Bāṇa.

Prose in Dramas of Bhāsa interspersed along with the verses is simple, racy, vigorous, flowing and couched in the simplest standard of figurative delineation, compounds hardly exceeding the mark of six or seven syllables. Upamās, Utprekṣās, rūpakas, along with a stray example of Virodhābhāsa (Avimāraka I) P. 112. (26-2) Bhāsanitaka Cakan, C.R. Devdhar oriental book Agency Puna-1, 1962.

‘(अथ कश्चिद् दर्शनीयोऽप्यविस्मितस्तरुणोऽप्यनहंकारः शूरोऽपि दाक्षिण्यवान् सुकुमारोऽपि बलवान्)’

are easily suited to the system of dialoguing in drama. Sūdraka follows the same trend. Throughout his Mṛcchakaṭikam he displays a tendency to compose longer paragraphs which contain very short and racy expressions

1. Ginnar Insc. of Rudradāman. - Choukhamba S.S. Office Varanasi, 1962.

2. Kād. p. 273 L.2 Caukhamba Series. Edition. (Pūrvabhāga)

easily intelligible to the common reader. The vocabulary is so rich and practical that an ordinary urchin roving about the town can make out the import contained therein. Acts VI to X are all replete with the piquant narratives which are quite attractive and charming from the point of view of vigorous action. Kālidāsa's prose is equally effective and polished marked by the special quality of Irony about the activities of the dramatise personae. The general poetic elements like figures of speech and excellences have been employed with proper restraint. The ornate prose Kāvya comprising of Kathā, Ākhyāyikā and Campū represented by the works of Daṇḍin, Subandhu, Bāṇa, Dhanapāla, Sodḍhala, Oḍayadeva Vādībhasinḥa, Trivikarmabhaṭṭa and Somadeva-contains the maturer form of prose style which is highly involved and full of three modes of diction, long compounded, short compounded and compoundless ones known to rhetoricians as Utkalikā or Taṇḍaka, Cūrṇaka and Aviddha. This fact, however, easily gives a clue to the situation that many more romance works were written before these mature works came into prominence. These became so popular that they eclipsed the very existence of all their predecessors to which references have been made by the earlier as well as the later writers.

Ākhyāyikā has been referred by Kātyāyana in his vārttika on a Sūtra of Pāṇini's and Patañjali on Pāṇini iv-2-60.

‘लुबाख्यायिकाभ्यो बहुलम् आख्यानाख्यायिकेतिहासपुराणेभ्यश्च’

According to Kautilya (I.5.14. p.7) Itihāsa carries within its fold-

‘पुराणमितिवृत्तमाख्याकोदाहरणम्’

out of these the annotator Shri R.P. Kangle says about ākhyāyikā that it is ‘divyamanuṣyādicaritaṁ.’

Patañjali¹ refers to Yavakṛta, Priyaṅgava and Yayāti as instances of ākhyāna and Vāsavadattā, Sumanottarā and Bhai-marathī as those of ākhyāyikā. All these works are unfortunately gone to oblivion. We also know little about the Cārumatī of Vararuci from which a stanza has been quoted in Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa; even Śūdrakakathā perhaps a ‘Kathā’ by Rāmīla and Somīla referred to by Jalhana and Bhoja or Taraṅgavatī of

1. यावक्रीतिकः, प्रेयङ्गविकः, यायतिकः, आख्याना।

आख्यायिका वासवदत्तिकैः, सुमनोत्तरिकः॥ - Mahābh. IV. 2.60. Vol. II, p. 421. MLBD Delhi, 1967.

अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे इत्याख्यायिकाभ्यो बहुलं लुबक्यः।

वासवदत्ता सुमनोत्तरा। न च भवति मैमर्था॥ - Ibid., IV. 3.87. p.458.

Śrīpālita praised by Dhanapāla in his *Tilakamañjarī*¹ and by Abhinanda in his *Rāmacaritaṃ* (a contemporary of *Hālasātavāhana*) (7A.D.) and not available in MSS form. Similarly *Trailokyasundarī* a 'Kathā' referred to by Dhanapāla is not available in MSS form. Its author is styled as Rudra.²

Works such as *Śātkaṇṇiharaṇa* and *Namovantīkathā* written at the time of the *Āndhrabhṛtyas* are also mere names to us, as also *Manovatī* referred to by Daṇḍi³ and *Bhoja* and the *Sātakihaṇa* mentioned by the latter.

Bāṇa has referred to Bhaṭṭāraharicandra as the author of a prose *Kāvya* of excellent merit.⁴ Prākṛit poet *Vākpatirāja* has mentioned Bhaṭṭāra Haricandra along with *Kālidāsa*, *Subandhu* and *Bāṇa* in his *Gauḍhavaho* (9 the Cent. A.D.).⁵

These works though defunct cannot preclude the possibility of the existence of innumerable works of this important branch of Sanskrit literature. Rather they vouchsafe the emergence and growth of ornate prose *Kāvya* in a steady chain of antiquity. The forms as enunciated by Daṇḍi and *Bhānmaha* certainly do not keep in view the works of *Subandhu* and *Bāṇa* but many more specimens existing in earlier stages of evolution marked out in respect of this literary norm.

According to Dr. D. K. Gupta.

"The older form of prose *Kāvya* reflected in these early theorists seems to have been replaced by the newer one, evidently on the line of the model set by *Bāṇa* in his two romances, the chief characteristics of which were generalised into definite rules to be universally followed. These specific rules, on their part, finally stereotyped the two forms of prose *Kāvya* in Sanskrit literature."⁶

The earlier specimens gone defunct, it becomes immensely difficult to determine the precise conception and original character of this form of literature, though it is definite that it hardly stands in need of beating any standard of comparison in point of origin and development from the

1. प्रसन्नगम्भीरपथा रथाङ्गमिथुनाश्रया।

पुण्या पुनार्ति गङ्गेव गां तरङ्गवती कथा। -- TM Intro. V.23. p. 25 Boṭad ed.

2. स मदान्धकविध्वंसी रुद्रः कैर्नोभिनन्द्यते।

सुश्लिष्टललिता यस्य कथा त्रैलोक्यसुन्दरी॥ - Ibid. Intro. V.35

3. ध्रुवलप्रियारागं सा तनोति मनोवती। - Ask. Intro. V. 21. P. 3.

4. 16. IIC. Intro. V. 12. p. 3 JNVSE

5. *Gauḍavaho*. V. 800 *Rājaśekhara* also refers to him. *Kāv.* MTM p.

6. 18. A Study of Daṇḍin. p. 311.

Didactic Beast Fable. Its early connection with the folk tale literature cannot be over-ruled as is evident from the epithet 'Kathā' as imposed upon the Brhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya from which almost all the later writers have drawn inspiration for forming the basis of their plots in their raw materials. Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara which according to the author himself is the true original transformation of Pāisācī into Sanskrit (यथा मूलं तथैवेतत् न मनागप्यतिक्रमः) follows the device of emboxed tales with intervening stray narratives supplying the deductive motive, can easily be presumed to form the basis for weaving the thread of the plots but in conception and expression they are essentially different. To quote Dr. Gupta here-

"For obvious reasons, the popular tale did not aspire for the artistic polish and finish which the prose Kāvya stood for from the very inception and therefore, the latter cannot be traced back to the form in point of diction and style for which its direct precursor is the ornate Kāvya itself. Thus the prose Kāvya was evolved out of the artistic Kāvya with the raw material either of the folk-tale or some historical story."

As a matter of fact the historical story and the popular tale supplied sperm to the focus of Gītī Kāvya of Khaṇḍa Kāvya, the Mahākāvya and ultimately the prose Kāvya as well. The raw material was polished and elaborated in the same manner into prose as in the Mahākāvya with a series of elaborate lakṣaṇas and the huge structure or prose evolved in the manner of the ornate Kāvya represented by Bhāravi's and Māgha's works. Besides the origin of prose Kāvya dates much earlier back to antiquity than the dates of the inscriptional panegyrics.

The Greek origin of Sanskrit romance postulated by Dr. Peterson is also not tenable. As in the case of drama so also in the case of Romance the two civilisations originating and growing eponymously started with the same elements simply to arrive at a common goal. Ideal love and wondrous beauty along with the charming objects of nature, love at first sight and its consequences, lovers revealed in vision, affectionate letters of courtship, pathetic lamentations of lovers in affliction, fight for the forceful possession of a maiden, passion of love in inanimate objects, fickleness of fortune and women-all these inherent in both the civilisations, the forms of literature grew and evolved in their successive stages. The mutual impact on the growth of types of romance literature in Greece and India cannot be over-ruled after the Alexandrian onslaughts.

PREDECESSORS OF DHANAPĀLA

As already observed the Introductory verses of Tilakamañjarī styled as a 'Kathā' are quite literary in character so as to justify the classification of this romance as 'Kathā'. Dhanapāla has mentioned a long list of his predecessors whose impact on the text of Tilakamañjarī appears quite conspicuous.

"The Primary persons referred to in the Introductory portions or preludes (prologue), Vālmīki and Kāñīna. (i.e., Vyāsa) as if they were peers to Sun and the Moon, (mentioned) in the lineages of Raghu and the Scions of Kuru, I bow to them."¹

"Having picked up a drop from the ocean known as Bṛhatkathā and refurbished thereby in the true sense by that same, the other Kathās look like loincloths before that."²

"Like Rāma, the high souled one, who, along with his efficient army attained triumph the popularity about which in the form of a bridge stands overborne on the ocean (in) the annals of speech, Pravarasena the great savant won a victory by virtue of his bright (Setu) i.e. Setubandha Kāvya that stands to prominence over the ocean of literature."³

"The sacred Kathā Taraṅgavatī recumbent upon the (story) concerning the pair of Cakravākas, marked by a diction full of prolific sense and easy of comprehension, sanctifies the earth like the holy Ganges sanctifying the earth, acting as refuge for the pair of Cakravākas (on its shores), with its beds deep and pellucid, being full of ripples at the same time."⁴

"In the Prākṛita composition the words of Jivadeva gleam forth as if sprouted up, with syllables succulent with sentiments."⁵

"By Kālidāsa standing close at hand, the words of poets or talents of literateurs wilt down in entirety, like the sprouts of Mālatī by the proximity of a lamp."⁶

1. प्रस्तावनादिपुरुषे रघुर्कोरववंशयोः ।

वन्दे वाल्मीकिकानीनौ सूर्याचन्द्रमसाविव ।- TM. Intro. V. 20. P. 23 Botad ed.

2. सत्यं बृहत्कथाम्भोधेविन्दुमादाय संस्कृतः ।

तेनतरकथाः कन्थाः प्रतिभान्ति तदग्रतः ।- Ibid. V. 21.

3. जितं प्रवरसेनेन रामेणेव महात्मना ।

तरत्युपरि यत्कीर्तिः सेतुर्वाङ्मयवारिधेः ॥ Ibid. V. 22.

4. प्रसन्नगम्भीरपथा रथाङ्गमिथुनाश्रया ।

पुण्या पुनाति गङ्गेव गो तरङ्गवती कथा ॥ TM. V. 23.

5. प्राकृतेषु प्रबन्धेषु रसनिष्पन्दिभिः पदैः ।

राजन्ते जीवदेवस्य वाचः पल्लविता इव ॥ TM. V. 24.

6. प्रसृत्यति मकल्लाः कालिदासेनास्रवतिना ।

“Springing forth alone, even Bāṇa renders the poets shorn of their prestige what could then be spoken of Pulinda who having brought about the connecting link had rendered help to him.”¹

Bāṇa attained popularity in the hearts of the learned by virtue of his ambrosial ākhyāyikā of Harṣa the very co-uterine sister of Kādambarī (the Kathā) like the ocean that came into prominence in the hearts of the gods by virtue of the ambrosia bespeaking their joy, the very co-uterine associate of Kādambarī, the liquor.”²

“The poets with their spunk shattered by Māgha dare not advance in the composition of Padas i.e. literary expressions and remember only Bhāravi like monkeys who disheartened by Māgha month dare not advance a step further and remember only the brilliance of the Sun.”³

“The quietude born from (a study of) the (plot of) the treatise) known as Samarāditya and the mind grown amenable to that “Give up battle” etc. how can it be brought to restraint.”⁴

“Moved by variety of expressions with sentiments and feelings explicit, the speech of Bhavabhūti in the dramas bears semblance of a dancing maid who moved by placement of feet in a variety, makes her feeling and sentiments known (to others).”⁵

“Having scanned the powers of Vākpatirāja carrying the mighty yoke of Gauḍavadha, the intellect overcome by awe as it were fails to bring forth its action.”⁶

“The fame of Bhadrakīrti, the best jewel of the Śvetāmbaras moves in the directions through the path of the constellations of stars like the gleam of the lord of the stellars.”⁷

गिरः कवोनां दीपेन मालतीकलिकाः इव॥ TM. V. 25. P. 25 Botad ed.

1. केवलोऽपि स्फुरन् आणः करोति विमदान्कवीन्।

किं पुनः क्लृप्तमन्थानपुलिन्दकृतसन्निधिः॥ Ibid. V. 26. P. 26 Botad ed.

2. कादम्बरी संहोदर्या सुधया केषुधे हृदि।

हर्षाख्यायिकया ख्यातिं आणोऽब्धिरिव लब्धवान्॥ Ibid. V. 27. P.27 Botad ed.

3. माघेन विविनतोत्साहाः नोत्सहन्ते पदक्रमे।

स्मरन्ति भारवरेव कवयः कपयो यथा॥ Ibid. V. 28. P. 28 Botad ed.

4. निरादुं पायते केन समरादित्यजन्मनः।

प्रशमस्य वशीभूतं समरादित्यजन्मनः॥ TM V. 29. P. 28 Botad ed.

5. स्पष्टभावरसा चित्रैः पदन्यासैः प्रवर्तिता।

नाटकेषु नटस्त्रोव भारती भवभूतिना॥ Ibid. V. 30. P. 28 Botad ed.

6. दृष्ट्वा वाक्पतिराजस्य शक्तिं गोडवधोदुराम्।

वृद्धिः साध्वत्सरुद्धेव वाचं न प्रतिपद्यते॥ Ibid V. 31. P. 29 Botad ed.

7. भद्रकीर्तिर्भ्रमत्याशाः कीर्तिस्तारागणाध्वना।

“The words of Yāyāvara poet i.e. Rājaśekhara imbued with virtues such as grace or perspicuity and other qualities and shining with qualities of etymologies, appear like the tendencies of the yogīs that are ripe with circumspection and shining with the qualities of concentration.”¹ “Mahendra, the sole savant with his literary status is to be eulogised by the learned whose speech brings marvel to the poets whose maturity is suited even to the gems.”²

“Like Śiva (Rudra) who is eulogised, being the destroyer of Andhaka full of pride, who welcomes Rudra who destroys the poets blind with hauteur whose Kathā called Trailokyasundarī is full of puns and is graceful.”³

“To whom would not appeal the sweet saying of Kardamarāja or how appealing wouldn’t be the sweet saying of Kardamarāja who has his father the repertory of intellect, for the poet (author of) Trailokyasundarī”⁴

So Dhanapāla pays tributes to Vālmīki, Vāyas, Guṇāḍhya, Pravarasena, the author of Taraṅgavatī, Jivadeva, Kālidāsa, Pulinda, Bāṇa Māgha, Bhāravi, the author of Samarāditya, Bhavabhūti, Vākpatirāja, Bhadrakīrti, Rājaśekhara, Mahendrasūri, Rudra and Kardamarāja.

These predecessors of his must have influenced him. He has quoted similes, metaphors and many social and cultural characteristics from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. The very description of Ayodhyā is full of such allusions. Guṇāḍhya might have supplied him the very basis for the plot of his romance. Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Māgha and Bhāravi must have given him many sided views about the accomplishment of ornamentation. Gaudhavadha, Bappa, Bhaṭṭi-Caritaṁ (Bhadrakīrti) and Trailokyasundarī might have supplied him greater details about elaboration of descriptive and narrative materials. In verse 37 Dhanapāla remarks that-

“Some are skilled in reflection, some in expression, while some take complete interest in the palatability of the narratives; some belaud virtues such as perspicuity etc. while some are skilled in every thing.”¹

प्रभा ताराधिपस्येव श्रुताम्बरशिरोमणेः॥ TM. Intr. V. 32.

1. समाधिगुणशालिन्यः प्रसन्नपरिपक्विमाः।

यायावरकवेवांचो मुनीनामिव वृत्तयः॥ Ibid. V. 33.

2. सुरिमहेन्द्र एवको वैबुधाराधितक्रमः।

यस्यामर्त्योचितप्रौढिकर्वावस्मयकद्वयः॥ Ibid. V. 34.

3. स मदन्धकविध्वंसी रुद्रः कर्नाभिनन्दते।

मुक्तिप्रलम्बिता यस्य कथा त्रैलोक्यसुन्दरी॥ Ibid. V. 35.

4. सन्तु कर्दमराजस्य कथं हृद्या न सूक्तयः।

कविस्त्रैलोक्यसुन्दरीर्यो यस्य प्रजान्निधः पिता॥ Ibid. v. 36.

All these easily allude to the variety of prose existent before the times of Dhanapāla.

“स्वपदापहारशंकितशतक्रतुप्रार्थितेन शततमक्रतुवांछाविच्छेदार्थमिव पार्थिवानामिष्वाकूणामुत्पादिता प्रजापतिना² मञ्जत् (माद्यत्) कौशलविलासिनी नितम्बास्फालनस्फारिततरंगया.....कपिल कोपानलेन्धनीकृत³ सगरतनयस्वर्गवार्तामिव प्रष्टुं भागीरथीमुपस्थितया सरिता सरव्याख्याकृतपर्यन्तसंख्या⁴ सर्वाश्चर्यनिधानमुत्तरकोशलेष्वयोध्येति यथार्थाभिधाना नगरी।

असावस्य सकलस्यापि भारतवर्षस्य चूडालंकारभूता गौत्रराजधानी रघुदिलीपदशरथप्रभृतीनां नराधिपानामयोध्याभिधानां पुरी प्रधानभूता सर्वनगरीणाम्।”⁵

all these display Dhanapāla's great indebtedness to the author of Rāmāyaṇa. Introductory verses 26, 27 and 30 referring to Bāṇa the paramount sovereign of prose composition making other poets shorn of their prides, his censure of Māgha's talent, (verse 28) praise of Bhāravi's music, eulogium of Rājaśekhara's words⁶ all go to illustrate that these authors above all others had enormous impact upon the mind of Dhanapāla who while writing his Tilakamañjarī utilised all the qualities imbibed by these predecessors. Kālidāsa's identity of nature with human being, Bhāravi's arthagaurava, Māgha's rich wealth of social and cultural materials, Bāṇa's threefold prose style laden with cosmopolitan equipage of the world, Rājaśekhara's ubiquitous knowledge of the world around all these seem to have a deep impact on Dhanapāla as gleaned through the narrative of Tilakamañjarī.

That is why we find in Bāṇa-

A Kathā compared to a newly-wedded wife who out of attachment comes to the couch of her own accord generating passion in greater intensity being pliant through dalliance and fascinating sweet indistinct murmurings-punningly the Kathā being graceful owing to dalliance of coruscating sweet indistinct expressions and brimming with sentiment, it creates interest in the mind of the person who goes through it (and).⁷

An ākhyāyikā shines well with words forming the subject matter, being brilliant having been nuanced with fine syllables, charming owing to easy

1. केचिद्वचसि वाच्येऽन्ये केऽप्यशून्ये कथारसे।

केचिद् गुणे प्रसादादौ धन्याः सर्वत्र केचन॥ TM. Intr. v. 37.

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 43. LL. 1-2

3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 47. LL. 1-3

4. Ibid. p. 55. L. 3.

5. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 94. LL. 1-2.

6. Ibid. Vol. I p. 6-28 Botad ed.

7. Kād. Intro. 8. P. 5 CSS Varanasi, 1953.

comprehension like a couch that shines well being beautiful owing to its capability of waking up the person at ease, being effulgent owing to a counterpane of well-textured placement.¹

In contrast Dhanapāla says- “people turn their faces away from prose, moved by fright, on account of its prolixity of descriptions and attaining to the state of a forest in the form of unbroken Daṇḍakas i.e., lengthy sentences, as if from a tiger that is pied hued and takes to the impenetrable Daṇḍaka forest and move sover.”²

“Even though couched in series of syllables attractive for the people and terse and profuse with excessive puns, a composition does not attain to laudation like a script that consists of well connected syllables and is attractive like the unctuous collyrium and is dense with excessive emulsiveness.” “A Kathā palls the listeners being a series of unending prose.” “A Campū also deserts its taste for the narrative being abundant in versimilitude.”³

Hence Dhanapāla is all praise for Bāṇa's diction and shows a marked inaptitude for the existing trend of verbose style in prose diction which to a greater extent he has tried to shun in his work and has followed the middle path between Bāṇa and Oḍayadeva Vādībhasinḥa whose Gadyacintāmaṇi is the true replica of the characteristics enunciated by Dhanapāla. The very fact that Dhanapāla has ignored the name of Śubandhu gives a clear clue to the fact that he had a marked distaste for his diction and keeping in view that once he has made these remarks of considering prose as a tiger infesting the Daṇḍakāraṇya in the form of sesquipedalia verb a of Keith's Conception.

B. LITERARY TENDENCIES OF THE AGE

Circumstances, characteristics and achievements of the Age.

With a view to understanding fully the literary tendencies of the age i.e. the circumstances, characteristics and the achievements of the age it becomes absolutely necessary to study the conditions under which the classical prose Kāvya originated and the environments under which it grew to its fuller size.

1. HC Intro. verse 20. P. 14, JNVSI:

सुखप्रबोधललिता सुवर्णघटनीज्ज्वलेः ।

शब्दैराख्यायिका भाति शट्येव प्रतिपादकैः ॥

2. TM Intro. verse 15. p. 20 Botad ed.

अरण्यदण्डकारण्यभाजः प्रचुरवर्णकात् । व्याघ्रादिव भयाघ्रातो गद्याद् व्यावर्तते जनः ॥

3. Ibid. Intro. verses 16, 17. P. p.21 Botad ed.

A study of the History of Sanskrit literature reveals that in Ancient India the poets and litterateurs enjoyed the patronage of some royal personage or the other. Even in the Vedic period the Vedic Caranas and pīṭhas had their connections with some royal personality or the other. The prose portions in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas also treat of the royal sages and seers for their characters. The earliest specimens of classical prose Kāvya style available in the dramas of Bhāsa flourished under the patronage of Udayana, Mahāsena etc. The author of Mṛcchakaṭika was most probably a royal person who treats of the tumult and hubbub of a royal revolt in Ujjayinī in the reign periods of Pālaka, the second son of Mahāsena who had managed to kill his elder brother Gopālaka and kept in custody latter's son Āryaka. The Prakṛt prose inscriptions of the time of Aśoka Priyadarśi were also popularised by the great royal king Aśoka. And likewise the prose inscription of the Śuṅgas, Śātavāhanas, Śākakṣatrapas, Guptas, Vardhanas, Valabhi monarchs- all were got inscribed by the royal patrons. The Jātakamālā of Āryaśūra, Pañcatantra of Viṣṇuśarma and above all the original Bṛhatkathā of Guṇḍhya, the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana and before that the gigantic monumental treatise of Kauṭilya and the Great Commentary on Aṣṭādhyāyī, Mahābhāṣya, Caraka Saṁhitā of Caraka, Daṇḍī's Daśakumāracarita, Subhandhu's Vāsavadattā (written in prose) and Bāṇa's work-twain and Dhanapāla's Tilakamañjarī all these were written under the encouragement and patronage of some royal king or the other. The patronage of the royal sages gave impetus to prose Kāvya for inculcating the norm of artificial conceits, luxuriance of fancy and fiction, proclivities of mind towards what attracts the eye in preference to what touches the heart.

The theories about Ancient Indian Erotics and the Erotic literature equally played a significant role in the fructification of the ornate Kāvya in which despite all the trials and tribulations natural to life the sole aim of ultimate bliss was most prominent.

Reference to Gandharva Veda, Gītā, vāditra,¹ etc. in Hāthigumphā insc. of Khāravela (1st Cent. A.D.), the use of expression 'कामदस्य'² in the Nānāghat Cave insc. of Nāganikā (1st Cent. B.C) प्रियदर्शनस्य वरवारणविक्रमचारुविक्रमस्य भुजगपतिभोगपीनवाटविपुलदीर्घसुन्दरभुजस्य अभयोदकदानविलत्रनिर्भयकरस्य' along with 'क्षणधनुस्त्वसमाजकारकस्य'³ in the cave Insc. of Gautamīputra Balaśrī (2nd Cent.

1. Historical and Literary Inscriptions by Dr. Raj Bali Pandey. p. 46 L. 5. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies Vol. XXIII. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office Varanasi, 1952
2. Ibid. p. 48 L. 4.
3. Ibid. p. 53 LL 4, 8.

A.D.) शब्दार्थगन्धर्वन्यायाद्यानां विद्यानां महतीनां पारणधारणविज्ञानप्रयोगावाप्तविपुलकीर्तिना¹
निशितविदग्धमतिगन्धर्वललितैः ब्रीडितत्रिदशपतिगुरुतुम्बुरुनारदादेः विद्वज्जनोपजीव्यानेककाव्यविक्रयाभिः
प्रतिष्ठितकविराजशब्दस्य सुचिरस्तोतव्यानेकाद्भुतोदारचरितस्य²

all these go to illustrate the delicate lores of Erotics and Music which earned the patronage of the royal personages who created special environments for the growth of literary compositions.

Even the text of Tilakamañjarī corroborates the fact that in the capital of Meghavāhana, Ayodhyā, all types of dilettantes and the fine arts, literary concerts and compositions were patronised.

“परित्यक्तसकलव्यापारेण पौरवनितामुखापितदृशा सविक्रियं प्रजल्पता पठता गायता च भुजंगसमाजेन
क्षणमप्यमुच्यमान मनोभवभावनीभवनैः..... मकरध्वजेनापि दर्शिताधिना लब्धहृदय प्रवेश महोत्सवाभिः.....³
सुरतशिल्पप्रगल्भतावष्टभेन रूपमपि निरुपयोगमवगच्छन्तीभिस्तारुण्यमपि तृणलघु गणयन्तीभिर्विलासानपि
हास्यकोटी कलयन्तीभिः⁴ अपरैस्तु चषकैरिव कदाचिदाननप्रणयितामानीय प्रणुत्रैरप्रसन्नैः रणन्मधुकरध्वनिना
मन्दं मन्दं रणरणायमानैः कामिभिरशून्यद्वाराभिर्नवसुरेतेषु बद्धरागाभिरपि नीचरतेष्वसक्ताभि लक्ष्मीमनोवृत्तिभिरिव
पुरुषोत्तमगुणहार्याभिर्न पुनरेकान्ततोऽर्थानुरागिणीभिः संसारेऽपि सारताबुद्धिं निबन्धनभूताभिः
कुलक्रमागतवैशिककलावैचक्षण्याभिः साक्षादिव कामसूत्रविद्याभिर्विलासिनी भिर्वितीर्णत्रिभुवन-
जिगीषुकुसुमसायकसाहायका, अकलिताद्वयानाद्यविवेकैरगृहीतपण्डितापण्डितविभक्तिभिरनुबुद्धसाध्वसाधु-
विशेषैरनवधारितधार्मिकाधार्मिक परिछित्तिभिः सर्वैरपि उदारविशेषैः सर्वैरपि छेकोत्तिकोविदैः सर्वैरपि
परोपकारप्रवीणैः सर्वैरपि सन्मार्गवर्तिभिः ज्ञातानिःशेषपुराणेतिहाससारैर्दृष्टसकलकाव्यनाटकबन्धैः
परिचितनिखिलाख्यायिकाख्यानकाव्यव्याख्यानैः..... कामसूत्रपारगैरप्याविदितवैशिकैः सात्विकैरपि
राजसभावाहख्यातिभिः पूर्वाभिभाषिभिरुत्तरालापनिपुणैः सकलरसभावाभिज्ञैरविषादिभिर्न्यायदर्शनानुरागिभिरौद्वैः
परानुपहासिभिर्नर्मशीलैः⁵ समकरध्वजराज्येव पुरन्धि बिब्वोकैः सब्रह्मलोकेव द्विजसमाजैः.....
विचित्राकारवैदिभिरंगणैरिव नागरिकगणैलंकृतगृहा⁶”⁷

It becomes apparent from the above quoted passages of Dhanapāla that the royal courts in Ancient India provided all facilities to the different elements of society wherein love, gaiety, rejoicing, festivities, imbued with obscenity and vulgarity within restricted means formed part and parcel of every day life which normally forms the basis of art since art is life seen through a temperament. The temperament of the nāgaraka as enunciated by

1. Historical and Literary Inscriptions., p. 64 L. 13 Girnar Rock Insc. of Rudradāman
Dated AD 150.

2. Ibid. p. 76 L. 27. Prajāga Praśasti of Samudra Gupta.

3. TM Vol. I p. 45, LL 2.3

4. Ibid. p. 49. LLI-2.

5. Ibid. p. 50. LLI-2.

6. Ibid. pp. 50 to 54. P.50 LL 4-5 p. 51-LLI-6 p. 52 LLI-4 p. 53 LI

7. Ibid. p. 54. LLI.1, 3. पौरलोकपरितोषहेतोश्च..... etc. परां मुदमुवाह..... p. 77. LLI. 9. according to the dicta of Kāmasūtra Meghavāhana as a nāgaraka.

Vātsyāyana borrowed by him through early traditions imbedded in the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata, easily formed the basis of inspiration to poets and prose writers to load their muse with motifs that could regale the minds of the readers and men about the town or else in absence of these things life would become a dull and monotonous affair. That is why Bharata has said in his Nāṭyaśāstra that this treatise on dramaturgy was evolved by him with a view to giving relief to those who are tormented by the agonies of worldly realities.

“दुःखार्तानां श्रमार्तानां शोकार्तानां तपस्विनां । विश्राम(विनोद)जननं लोके नाट्यमेतद्भविव्यति ।”¹

The Sahrdaya or the man of taste equally influenced the cultivation of a specific norm for the poet.

Dr. K. Krishnamurthy in his two papers-

“The Sanskrit Conception of a poet” and “The office of the Sanskrit poet in theory and practice” has dealt with in details the problem of specific norm for a poet along with the environment under which he can go ahead with his literary pursuits.

According to Dr. Krishnamurthy.

“The social position of the poet in ancient India was a very honoured one. The poet enjoyed a highly privileged and enviable status in the assemblies and concourses of cultured classes in those days. The gift of composing poetry was considered to be the acid test of polish in speech and manners.”²

He Quotes the view of Bhāmah, Daṇḍin, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, Ananda Vardhana, Abhivava-gupta, Mahimabhatta and Kuntaka, along with those of Bhaṭṭa tauta, Mammaṭa, Mañkhaka and Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita. According to him Bhamah, necessitates besides the Pratibhā of poet, the study of grammar, metre, lexicography, epic, stories, worldly affairs, logic and fine arts. Daṇḍin according to Dr. Krishnamurthy is more explicit. He quotes Daṇḍin as follows:-

“So away with sloth, let Sarasvatī be ceaselessly worshipped by those who would win fame. Men who have earned the capacity of composing poetry with sustained effort, though their poetic endowment be slender, are sure to shine in the assemblies of the learned. In other words genius may live and thrive without training, but it does not, the less reward the watering

1. NS I. 114 p. 11. Ed. by Manmohan Ghosh. Manisho Granthalaya, Calcutta.

Essays in Sanskrit Criticism pp 167-186. Dr. K. Krishna murthy Karnatak University Dharwar, 1964.

2. Ibid. p. 167.

pot and pruning knife. Labour and intent study joined with the strong propensity of nature would, no doubt, produce the best results”.

Loka, Vidyā and Prakīrṇaṁ, the three aṅgas of Kāvya according to Vāmana include Pratibhā in the last aṅga.

According to Dr. Krishnamurthy Vāmana says that the poet must bring to bear upon his composition a perfect concentration of mind. It is only then that he will be in a position to see through “the life of things”. To achieve such a state of mind, the poet must first gain access to the atmosphere congenial to his aim. The suitable atmosphere can be procured only at certain times of the day in specific places. The place must be secluded and the time perfectly the fourth watch of the night.

According to Rudraṭa-Śakti, Vyutpatti and abhyāsa are the three pre-requisites which entitle a person to the status of a poet. Śakti and Pratibhā according to him are synonymous, which is Sahajā and Utpādyā.

Dr. Krishnamurthy quotes the views of Bhaṭṭatauta whose Kāvya-kuntaka though not extant, is quoted by Abhinavagupta in his Dhvanyāloka locana. The definition is-

“Poetic imagination is that gift of mind of whose aid one can visualise myriad things anew. It is by virtue of this gift alone that one deserves the title of a “Poet”. Hence it goes without saying that poetry abounds for the most part in imaginative description. Bhaṭṭatauta gives a poet the status of a Rṣi “(Nānṛṣiḥ Kurute Kāvyaṁ)” and “Rṣayaḥ Krāntadarśinaḥ”. A poet is first and foremost a seer. His alert genius penetrates all directions and he sees through the nature of every object. But mere vision is not enough. It must be co-ordinated by the creative faculty which enables the poet to translate into words the numberless things that his imagination pictures before his mind.¹

Dr. Krishnamurthy further remarks-

The correlation between the ‘poet’ and the ‘seer’ that Bhaṭṭa Tauta has instituted appears to be doubly significant.

The origin of the Vedic literature is no doubt shrouded in mystery. There is also no gainsaying the fact that many works belonging to that hoary antiquity are more voluminous though by no means luminous. Granting all this, it will have to be admitted that early Vedic poetry as preserved to us in the R̥gvedic Samhitā, sprang from inspiration and enthusiasm. The Vedic bards must have been struck with sublime conceptions, with admiration and awe, by those great phenomena which, though repeated daily, can never be

1. Essays in Sanskrit Criticism. p. 180.

viewed without intense emotion. These would break forth in exclamations expressive of the feeling produced, whether surprise or gratitude, terror or exultation. The rising, the apparent course, the setting and seeming renovation of the sun; the revolution of the light and darkness; the splendour, change and circuit of the moon and the canopy of heaven bespangled with stars, must have produced expressions of wonder and adoration. In other words, the muse would be consecrated to the purpose of adoration.¹ He quotes Ṛgveda III 62. 10. The Gāyatrī Mantra Abhinavagupta, Ānandavardhana and Mammaṭa consider the Pratibhā or imagination of the poet as so flexible that the poet as a sole creator creates as and what he deems fit. Even the hardest of the substances are emolliated to tenderness by the soaring thought of the poet, his creative insight and sympathetic outlook to view things the way his fancy guides him to do.

And finally Dr. Krishnamurthy remarks on the evidence of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣitā-

“The poets charm the readers and hold them spellbound by their skill and dexterity in the handling of the self same material, which one and all are wont to use in their day-to-day existence. The words employed by poets are none other than the ones current in everyday life, The meanings attaching to them also are the same as in ordinary parlance, only the magic is different.”²

Regarding the latter stages of Sanskrit literary epoch Dr. Krishnamurthy says that a rapid decline in the taste of the poets as well as the critics is discernible.

More emphasis was laid on outwards embellishments and consequently they missed the essence. They began to revel in artificial fancies and conceits and were very fond of wordplay and obscure elaboration. The use of unwieldy compounds, incessant puns, alliterations and assonances, recondite allusions and other literary devices became their favourite forte.”³

The indication is already towards the Prose romances and Campūs of Daṇḍin, Subandhu, Bāṇa, Dhanapāla, Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa and Somadeva. These writers handle their materials as with a gloved hand; they shrink from a plain word without a decorating epithet as from something coarse or undignified. There is veneer and glittering gilt over everything. They speak through a muffler of artifice. They look at things through gauze and turn away their face from the simple truths. Thoughts trip through their verses

1. Essays in Sanskrit Criticism., pp. 181-182.

2. Ibid. p. 186.

3. Ibid. The office of the Sanskrit Poet in Theory and Practice p. 203.

with the mincing step of a minuet. They were the victims of a convention (Kavisamaya) that sought in language a gaudy substitute for the thing instead of its close fitting garments and in the realm of pure poetry, where we look for lofty thought and vivid imagination, they were denied open vision and free soaring flights. They sang in a cage and not upon a branch. Though they wield language with such astonishing skill, they seldom work the miracles with it, that proclaim the divine poet. The most brilliant electric light is not sunshine.¹ Dr. Krishnamurthy quotes Bāṇa the chief exponent of this latter staged muse.

सन्ति श्रान इवासंख्याः जातिभाजो गृहे गृहे।

उत्पादकाः न बहवः कवयः शरभाः इव॥²

Even Dhanapāla deserves to be quoted here-

“Worthy of obeisance are those poets skilled in virtuosity of the muse, shorn of spite, who calculate the qualities as well as the faults of the (poets as well as the poetry).”³

“That unrighteous being deserves to be kept away, who may take to the path of poetry, that is free from the faults of etymologies. Creating troubles he becomes a serpent owing to his being foremost in that.⁴ Whose words that don't even exhilarate the mind of even the dullard, brought to the sweetness of honey or brimming with sweet essence of lofty thoughts, are they really poets?”⁵

Does that deserve the gnomon of a Kāvya that does not bring low the faces as well as heads of the opponents on its very melody.”⁶ The meanings applied to the compositions which are irreconcilable to the sentiments contained in the fine Kathās, become a source of enmity usually like the riches supplied to the pusillanimous.”⁷

1. Essays in Sanskrit Criticism., pp. 203-204. p.5 JNVSE

2. IIC, Intro. verse, 6.

3. वन्द्यास्ते कवयः काव्यपरमार्थविशारदाः।

विचारयन्ति ये दोषान् गुणांश्च गतमत्सराः॥ TM Intr. V. 8. P.16 Botad ed.

4. वार्योऽनार्यः सः निर्दोषे यः काव्यध्वनि सर्पताम्।

अग्रगमितया कुर्वन् विघ्नमायाति सर्पताम्॥ Ibid. Intro. V. 9. P.16 Botad ed.

5. स्वादुतां मधुना नीताः पशूनांसि मानसम्।

मदयन्ति न यद्वाचः किं तेऽपि कवयो भुवि॥ Ibid. Intro. V. 11. P.18 Botad ed.

6. काव्यं तदपि किं वाच्यमवाञ्छि न करोति यत्।

श्रुतमात्रममित्राणां वक्त्राणि च शिरांसि च॥ Ibid. Intr. V. 12. p. 18 Botad ed.

7. सत्कथा रसबन्धेषु निबन्धेषु नियोजिताः।

नीचेष्विव भवन्त्यर्था प्रायो वैरस्य हेतवः॥ Ibid. Intr. V. 18

To conclude this chapter it will be quite befitting to quote Dr. Gupta here-¹

"The peculiar conception of Kāvya which was regarded, more or less, as a piece of literary composition, romantic in matter and sentimental in character and above all strictly perfect in form and diction, affected its nature and scope as also its growth. The fact that the term Kāvya commanded a wide scope comprehending any literary piece of imagination whether it is in prose or verse results into the insalubrious tendency of developing similar art and style for the metrical and prose forms of literary composition. And as was natural, the art and style of metrical Kāvya invaded the sphere of prose with the result that the prose form was unduly marked with poetic stamp. In theory it may have been a wise step to discard the metre, an external factor, as a line of demarcation of poetry, but in practice it seriously hampered a natural development of prose as prose. Prose and poetry may be essentially one in spirit, but they are entirely different in rhythm, diction and technique and hence can never reconcile with each other, judged from modern measure-stick of literary criticism, Sanskrit prose Kāvya, wherein the elements of poetry and prose have been interwoven together in unnatural way, the former over- powering the latter, presents a strange type of literary form. The prose which may be regarded as such from modern standard the simple fluent and forceful prose, could never develop in Sanskrit under the circumstances described above."

C. PROSE ROMANCE OF DHANAPĀLA; ACT AND STYLE

1. CONSTRUCTION OF THE PLOT, ITS SOURCES AND THE INNOVATIONS INTRODUCED BY DHANAPĀLA

As already observed the romance of Dhanapāla falls within the fold of a 'Kathā' and unlike Daṇḍin and like Subandhu and Bāṇa, he has tried to utilize the traditional norm in descriptive as well as narrative moods most meticulously. Bāṇa's description of Ujjayinī in the Kādambarī Kathā provides a cue to the description of Ayodhyā to Dhanapāla in his Tilakamañjarī. Tārāpīḍa, the supreme sovereign of Ujjayinī having Vilāsavatī for his chief queen, remained issueless for a long time after his marriage and it was after a propitiatory ritual performed by the queen that he got a son. Dhanapāla's Meghavāhana having Madirāvātī for his consort suffered the same fate and it was only after propitiating Śrī in the manner of Puṣpabhūti of Harṣacarita of Bāṇa, that he begot a son. In Harṣacarita it was

1. A critical study of Daṇḍin and his works, p. 277, Chapter-II. Mehar Chand and Lachhman dass, Delhi

Bhairavācārya the Śaiva mendicant who tested Puṣpabhūti on behalf of Śrī whereas in Tilakamañjarī, it is Mahodara, the close attendant of Śrī garbled as a hideous vampire who tested Meghavāhan. Both Puṣpabhūti and Meghavāhana got the blessing of Śrī and got their ends achieved accordingly. The introduction of the Vidyādhara sage who met Meghavāhana on the roof of his palace and consoled him not to feel morose over his plight in so far as he was to be blessed with a son who was likely to be the paramount, sovereign of the Vidyādharas in case he propitiated Śrī, followed by introduction of the Vaimānika, Jvalanaprabha by name, who likewise forestalls the same prediction as sponsored by the Vidyādhara sage and adds to his accounts the personal account whereby he was actually to assume the garb of his son incarnated in his next birth in the palace of Meghavāhana, are the improvements made by Dhanapāla as compared with the plot construction of the romance of Bāṇa. The child in Kādambarī was named as Candrāpīḍa in accordance with the psychology of the dream visioned by Tārāpīḍa, the child in Tilakamañjarī was likewise baptised, as Harivāhana in accordance with the dream, visioned by Meghavāhana. The expedition launched by Vajrāyuddha, the army in chief of Meghavāhana deputed to subjugate the king of Dakṣiṇāpatha, brought Samaraketu, son of Candraketu, the overlord of the Siṃhalas in close proximity of Meghavāhana who impressed by his chivalry and appearance brought him close to Harivāhana as the foster brother of the latter. He also conferred the governorship (bhukti) of Kāśmīra and other areas of uttarāpatha on Harivāhana and that of Aṅgas on Samaraketu. While on a promenade in the Mattakokila garden on the shores of Sarayū Harivāhana happened to see a billet brought by Mañjirā, the narmasaciva of the prince, the import whereof concerned Samaraketu who despite the fact that he was derided by Kamalagupta, the prince of the Kaliṅgas, was prompted by Harivāhana to narrate his previous account as to why he felt morose over the message purported forth by the billet. This intervening account of Samaraketu described the way he started from Raṅgaśālā, the capital city of the Siṃhalas, detailed as he was on duty by his sire to render succour to the King of Kāñcī, the way he was afforded a hearty send off by the people of his country, the way he ventured to ferry across the ocean on hearing the notes of a musical rally, the way he was discouraged by Tāraka, the chief of the naval staff and ultimately encouraged to go his way etc., gets interrupted by the ushering in of Vajrārgalā, the portress who brought the picture canvas bearing the portrait of a maiden, given to her by Gandharvaka, a Vidyādhara lad who himself described the genealogy of the maiden after he had been introduced to the prince. Gandharvaka described that maiden as Tilakamañjarī, the daughter of Cakrasena and Patralekhā, King and queen of

the Vidyādhara reigning in Rathanūpuracakravāla on the mount Vaitāḍhya, who grown into a youthful beauty enjoyed all the privileges available to her but never longed for a suitor. Her mother had despatched Gandharvaka to carry that portrait into the quarters in order to find out the earthly youth who according to the Prajñaptividyā had been predicted as the would be consort of Tilakamañjarī. In pursuit of that he had reached that spot and as he was also to go to Vicitravīrya on the mount Suvela, the sire of Patralekhā, he begged leave of the prince and promised to return back after doing his job and conduct him to Tilakamañjarī. But as ill-luck would have it he could not return soon with the result that Harivāhana's yearning for the maiden got augmented and under the pretext of a digvijaya he begged leave of his sire and accompanied by Samaraketu, Kamalagupta and others he started off from his capital and reached the country known as Kāmarūpa where he was welcomed by the king of Prāgyotiṣa. The entire host of kings of Uttarāpatha welcomed him likewise and offered gifts choicest from their respective countries. Enjoying all types of sports in the forest adjoining the Kāmarūpa, Harivāhana desisted from actual chase and just took to the vow of non-violence. The fact of Candrāpīḍa marching on a digvijaya in company of Vaiśampāyana in Kādambarī and his subsequent adventure afford a cue to Dhanapāla for creating a parallel picture.

The sport, however, took a nasty turn. Puṣkara, the chief of the elephant corps brought news to Harivāhana that Vairīyamadaṇḍa, the elephant lord had gone astray and was not coming under sway after strenuous efforts whereupon Harivāhana started off with Samaraketu and others to subjugate the wicked tusker personally. He was, however, carried away by the tusker who was a different divine animal but not Vairīyamadaṇḍa. Samaraketu made all possible efforts to search out and bring back the prince but failed. Thoroughly frustrated he took upon to immolate himself and as he was on the point of doing so, Harṣa, the porter brought news to him that Paritoṣa, a confidant courier of Kamalagupta had brought a billet that purported forth the security of Harivāhana. Amazed over this Samaraketu started off on one night leaving his colleagues behind and wading through the forest close to the Kāmarūpa he met Mitradhara, the younger brother of the king of Prāgyotiṣa with whose guidance he reached a spot from where he heard the notes of orchestra accompanied by vocal music. Having reached the Adṛṣṭ apāra lake he crossed it and reached the spot where he was welcomed by Gandharvaka who ultimately brought him close to Harivāhana who in company of Tilakamañjarī was enjoying the bliss of paramourship of the Vidyādhara. Harivāhana introduced Samaraketu as the self choice consort of Malayasundarī her sister, being the son of the lord of the Siṃhala.

This much practically is the main plot of the whole romance which revolves round the adventurous exploits of Harivāhana and Samaraketu who during their sojourns are led away from their proper abodes, the army encampments, one by an elephant, the other by the responsibility he owned for the security of the life of his friend turned into a brother; their encounters with maidens, their love at first sight, their separation from their beloved seeking search for their lovers, the stories of the previous births of Tilakamañjarī and Malayasundarī who were Priyaṅgusundarī and Priyaṁvadā involved in love intrigues, who lost their lovers, Jvalanaprabha and Sumālī in separation like Mahāśvestā of Bāṇa's Kādambarī and happened to take birth again to find Harivāhana and Samaraketu to woo them in their present birth, the ultimate reunion of the two couples forming the finale of the whole romance.

The motif of the elephant carrying Harivāhana deep into the lake Adṛṣṭ apāra, the subsequent conversion of Gandharavaka into a parrot by the vile deed of Mahodara, the favourite attendant of Śrī, the personal account of the parrot as narrated before Harivāhana, Harivāhana's first meeting with Tilakamañjarī and his subsequent meeting with Malayasundarī residing in the hermitages of Kulapati after she had been sent there by parents who remorseful over triplefold attempt of their daughter at self-immolation once by tightening a noose over her neck, a second time by taking the poisonous fluid of the Kimpāka fruit and third time by plunging into the Adṛṣṭapāra-rescued in time by Bandhusundarī and Samaraketu, Taraṅgalekhā and the wet billet of Samaraketu, Harivāhana's return to his camp and disgust on not finding out Samaraketu who had gone out to find out Harivāhana, his meeting with Tilakamañjarī and Malayasundarī, the latter sending him back to trace out Samaraketu, his encounter with Anaṅgarati who being persuaded by a princess, his acquisition of the charm from Anaṅgarati at the instance of Śākyabuddhi, the Buddhisaciva' of Vikramabāhu, the king of Gaganavallabha on the Vijayārdha mountain, who made Harivāhana the king of Vidyādharas, the appearance of Śrī along with Mahodara assuring his reunion with Samaraketu, Tilakamañjarī and Malayasundarī who were none but Priyaṅgusundarī and Priyaṁvadā the consorts of Jvalanaprabha and Sumālī, knowing their true identities through a presentation of Candrātapa necklace to Tilakamañjarī and the ring Bālārūpa to Malayasundarī by Harivāhana, inherited by his father Meghavāhana through austerities, through Gandharvaka; donning of the divine scarf 'Niśītha' as given by Citralekhā to Harivāhana and the subsequent regainment of the original form by Gandharvaka ere his handing over the ornaments to the two beloved's, the subsequent approval of Vicitravīrya and Ramā to celebrate the marriage ritual of Samaraketu and Malayasundarī through

Kusumaśekhara and Gandharvadattā and the same ritual of Harivāhana and Tilakamañjarī by the hands of Cakrasena and Patralekhā, the subsequent demise of Meghavāhana and ere to that his object of crowning Harivāhana as king of the territories owned by himself, Harivāhana's alliance of Kamalagupta and Samaraketu leading to a series of happy rejoicings for a long time provide a happy ending to this romance.

Apart from this the account of Samaraketu narrated by himself leading to his first meeting with Malayasundarī after he had started off from Raṅgaśālā in the Sindhālas through sea in company of Tāraka, a sailor youth, son of Vaiśravaṇa and Vasudattā and a consort of Priyadarśana daughter of Jalaketu, who had been made chief of the naval staff of Candraketu, sire, of Samaraketu, the lord of the Sindhālas, the subsequent narrative recounted by Malayasundarī likewise before Harivāhana, also describing her first meeting with Samaraketu, the act of messenger in love performed by Tāraka for the latter, the act of plunging into the ocean by Samaraketu, subsequent following into the ocean by Malayasundarī, her rescue by an unknown agency, her bereavement in the house of her grandsire Vicitravīrya, reappearance of Samaraketu on the scene of strangulation by Malayasundarī after he had heard the doleful cries of Bandhusundarī, the story of Gandharvadattā's separation from her parents in childhood and her fostering care having been taken by the Kulapati in the Prasāntavaira hermitage, the prophecy about her reunion with her sire Vicitravīrya after the nuptial tie of her daughter Malayasundarī- all these facts go to make this prose treatise an interesting piece of literary enjoyment throwing all the time into a revelry of horripilation caused by suspense permeating each and every thread of the emboxed variety of tales. The nature of the emboxed tales throughout the whole romance resembles the nature of the emboxed tales in Kādambarī and is most unlike the nature of the emboxed tales available in the Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍin wherein the entire galaxy of coruscating narrative diction entails a steady flow of incident following each other in a chain and not intertwined into one another like a jaggery of creepers.

Drs. A. B. Keith¹ and S. K. De.² have postulated that the story of Tilakamañjarī is a love episode of Samaraketu and Tilakamañjarī whereas Dr. V. Varadācārī says that it is a story of love between the princess Tilakā and prince Samaraketu. But a final reunion of Harivāhana and Tilakamañjarī, Samaraketu and Malayasundarī clearly contradicts the views

1. HSL. p. 331.Ch.XV Oxford University, Press London, 1953.

2. Ibid., pp. 430-431. University of Calcutta, 1947 Chapter VI topic-5.

of the great scholars and establishes the view that it is a love episode of the two couples who after passing through ordeals of a Vipralabhaśṛṅgāra or love in separation achieve their end admirably and the romance is a comedy though tragedies befall the characters ever and anon during the course of their achievements.

Śrī Nārāyaṇa Maṇilāla Kansārā (Introduction to Pallipāla Dhanapāla's Tilakamañjarīsāra) agrees with me on this point by saying-

'The Tilakamañjarī (TM) of Kavi Dhanapāla is a Sanskrit prose-romance depicting a love affair on the one hand of prince Harivāhana with a celestial princess Tilakamañjarī and on the other hand, that of another prince Samaraketu with a semi celestial princess Malayasundarī.'¹

Regarding the sources of the plot it is very difficult to say as to whence did Dhanapāla derive his inspiration to interconnect the main threads of his narratives. Even his characters do not afford any clues to the parallels they might have sought cues from. Still the lofty encomium offered to Guṇādhya and his Bṛhatkathā by Dhanapāla can afford us an inkling into the surmise that he must have picked up the drops of water from the huge ocean of tales making them laden with variety of coloured pearls in the form of words to make the muse of his Lavaṇasindhu, Ratnākara as observed by him himself during the course of his narratives.²

He says-

"Having taken verily a drop out of the ocean in the form of Bṛhatkathā and rendered polished, the other stories appear like the mantle of worn out rags (lit. loincloths) before that"³

As is well known the original Bṛhatkathā was in Paisācī a spoken dialect, a subdivision of the spoken Prākṛtas, according to some a dialect spoken round about the areas of Pratiṣṭhāna (modern Paiṭhana⁴) or a village Pothra situated on a small river of the same name which joins the Wunna, a remnant of town Supratiṣṭha as given in the Kathāsaritsāgara⁵, while

1. HSL p. 178. (Hindi Ed). Rāmanarayan Lal Beniprasad, Allahabad-, 1962.

2. TM p. 323, Vol. II. L.8, p. 117 (English Edition CH-XVII

3. सत्यं बृहत्कथाम्बोधेर्बिन्दुमादाय संस्कृताः ।

तेनेतरकथाः कथाः प्रतिभान्ति तदग्रतः ॥ TM. Intr. verse 21.

4. Dr. D. K. Gupta. p.100 Society and Culture in the time of Daṇḍin.

5. Home of Guṇādhya. V. V. Mirashi studies in Indology Pt. 1. p.69 Vidarbha Samsodhana Mandak Nagapur, 1960.

according to others a dialect, an old descendant of modern Kāśmīrī¹ and is now lost. We find three Sanskrit adaptations in verse of Buddhasvāmī (8th or 9th Cent. A.D.) Bṛhatkathāśloka Saṁgraha), Kṣeṁendra (11th the Cent. A.D.) Bṛhatkathāmañjarī and Somadeva (11th, 12th Cent. A.D. Kathāsaritsāgara), the 2nd one being very brief and the 3rd one being quite literal. We cannot draw any synchronistic parallels between these adaptations and the romance of Dhanapāla, still we can bank upon kathāsaritsāgara, the faithful version of the original which was written in 5th Cen. B.C.)² Dhanapāla has paid tributes to Bāṇa and his son³ Pulinda named as Abhinanda in Aryāṣaptaśatī of Viśeṣvara Paṇḍita in I-57. P. 26. who played adjunct to his sire in composing Kādambarī a Kathā which derived the source of its plot also from Bṛhatkathā.⁴ He lauds Bāṇa as an ocean who attained eminence through his ākhyāyikā depicting the life of Harṣa. Since Bāṇa, the ocean drew out drops from the ocean of the stream of tales Dhanapāla followed suit and drew out drops from the ocean of Bāṇa as also from that of Guṇāḍhya. In order to probe into the sources of the plot of Tilakamañjarī we can take into consideration the Lambakas 4 and 16 of Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, 4, 5, 6 and 10 of Kathāsaritsāgara. Of the tenth Lambaka of Kathāsaritsāgara only the third taraṅga deserves a notice. Guṇāḍhya has been referred to by Daṇḍī⁵, called as adbhutārha by Daṇḍin, Subandhu⁶ and Bāṇa,⁷ He must have flourished long before the 5th cent. A.D. and since he incorporates almost all the stories of Pañcatantra into his Bṛhatkathā, he

1. Guṇāḍya might have had his parents belonging to Kāśmīra but shifted to the region of Pratiṣṭhāna maintaining his own regional language or mother tongue for his medium of expression.
2. यथामूलं तथैवेतन्नमनात्तत्पतिक्रमः ।
ग्रन्थविस्तरसंश्लेषमात्रं भाषा च भिद्यते॥— KSS I,1.10. p. 1
3. सहजेनाद्भुतजनकः सः जयति कादम्बरीकृतभिनन्दः ।
यस्य जनकोऽपि बाणः तां प्रति नैवान्यथासिद्धः.. Āryāṣaptaśatī 1.51 p. 26 The Sanskrit Academy
Osmania university Hyderabad printed 1966.
केवलोऽपि स्फुरन् बाणः करोति विमदान्कवीन् ।
किं पुनः क्लृप्तसन्धानपुलिन्दकृतसन्निधिः ॥
कादम्बरी सहोदर्या सुधया वैबुधे हृदि ।
हर्षाख्यायिकया ख्यातिं बाणोऽब्धिरिव लब्धवान्॥ TM Intro. verse 26. 27. pp. 26, 27 Botād ed.
4. Bāṇa and Dhanapāla as Sanskrit Novelists by Dr. N.M. Kansara pp. 223-238 Vol. XIV. Pt. II, 1976.
5. Kāvyaadarśa I. 38. P. 19.
6. VD., p. 166 L.H. Gray LL 18-19.
7. HC., I. 18., p. 12 JNVSE MLBD, Delhi.

must have flourished much earlier than the 3rd Cent. A.D. even. He has referred to Cāṇakya and also to Yaugandharāyaṇa, Udayana, Mahāśena, Gopālaka, Pālaka and Naravāhanadatta (son of Udayana) and omitted Āryaka (the son of Gopālaka and grandson of Mahāśena referred to by Śūdraka in his *Mṛcchakaṭika*). He cannot be posterior to Cāṇakya also known as Kauṭilya and even Śūdraka. Bhāsa has referred to Udayana, Mahāśena, Gopālaka and Pālaka¹ and not to Naravāhanadatta and Āryaka. Bhāsa is definitely anterior to both Guṇāḍhya and Śūdraka. On the basis of this we can place Guṇāḍhya towards the last quarter or second half of the fifth century B.C. and the first half of the 4th century B.C. Brhatkathāmañjarī of Kṣemendra illustrates in brief the point that Udayana after his Digvijaya assumed the status of Purāṇḍara while his spouse became a female swan and as both of them were rejoicing in the bliss of conjugal felicity there came to them one day Nārada in their royal court where he warned the King against over-addiction to vices such as hunting whereby Pāṇḍu of Mahābhārata fame had met his doom. He, however, blessed the king that he would be blessed with son who would assume the paramountsy of the Vidyādhara after having propitiated the moon-crested one i.e. Śiva who also produced Kumāra. Vāsavadattā would bear that child who would be an incarnation of Smara (Cupid) consumed by the eye of Hara (i.e. Śiva) and brought into being by Śiva pleased over the austerities of Rati.²

The same account is obtained more elaborately and faithfully in the version of Somadeva³ which lends better incentive to our probe meant to locate the source of the theme of our romance.

In the first taraṅga after the benediction which is the same as one given before the kathāpīṭha lambaka we find a mention made of the paramountsy of Udayana over the entire earth held underneath by a single parasol. Having devolved all the responsibilities as well as the liabilities of his kingdom over to the army chief Rumanvān and the Prime-minister Yaugandharāyaṇa he took to a life of licentiousness enjoying music and drinking in association with his queens and many other maidens. Hunting also became his inordinate passion. Finding him given over to these habits there came to him one day the sage Nārada who having seen that king, a

1. Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa. II. 13. p. 90 by Sudarshan Sharma, (MLBD Delhi, 1965.)

2. Lambaka IV Guccha I. verses 2-10. P.102, 103. Mehar Chand Lacchmandas Delhi, 1982 Published by VVBI VSIS.

3. KSS Vol. I. Kedārenātha Lambaka IV taraṅga I verses 2-37. pp. 408-412. Bihar Rastra bhogh parisad Patna, 1960.

veritable peer, to the sun, spoke to him after having been greeted by him accordingly, the narrative of Pāṇḍu who was his Primeval grandsire and who had perished likewise, owing to his excessive addiction to chase by the curse of Kṛndama, a sage who roaming about in company of his wife, as an antelope had been killed by Pāṇḍu and had cursed the latter to meet the same fate as he himself did. Nārada even proclaimed it before the King that chase was a vice of the type that it had brought to doom many a king like the deer themselves. He dubbed chase as a demoness that could hardly do good to anyone. It involved great risk for the life of the hunter, the prey as well as the vehicle. He rather persuaded king Udayana to refrain from taking to such a vice and told him that he was dear to him because his ancestors were his friends. He also predicted that a son, a veritable peer to Cupid was likely to come as his scion in a short time. He narrated another tale that in times of yore after Cupid had been consumed (by the fire of wrath of Śiva) Rati, his spouse had adored god Śiva who pleased over her had blessed her this way that Pārvatī having got down in her partial incarnation over the earth and obsessed with the idea of begetting, progeny would give birth to a son from her own womb and told him that Vāsavadattā, the daughter of Caṇḍamahāseṇa, was sprung from the partial incarnation of Gaurī and was at that time his chief queen, who having propitiated the illustrious god Śiva, was to give birth to a boy, a veritable partial incarnation of Kāmadeva who was to be the universal monarch of all the Vidyādhara. Having heard that the king donated the entire earth to the sage who returned the same to him and went away. The sage having gone the king spent his day all in musings about the birth of a son in association with his queen who was anxious to give birth to a son.

The intervening tales of a Brāhmaṇī Piṅgalikā by name, of King Devadatta and his harlot spouse, autobiography of Piṅgalikā have been introduced in the Kathāsaritsāgara with a view to bringing out some instructive motif meant to preach a sermon to king Udayana and his queen Vāsavadattā. Brhatkathāmañjarī contains only the first tale. Verses 40-48 in the Brhatkathāmañjarī narrate the way Vāsavadattā adored God Śiva and subsequently got a boon from him for the birth of a son, the way she saw a person with matted hair handing her over, a divine fruit, in a dream and the way she recounted it to the king. Subsequently she bearing all signs of pregnancy the king fulfilled her desire of having an aerial voyage and Yaugandharāyaṇa coming to her narrated the fascinating tale of the exploits of a Vidyādhara named Jimūtavāhana, son of Jimūtaketu.

Verses 140-148 of the first taraṅga of the Fourth Lambaka of Kathāsaritsāgara, recount the tale of Nārada guiding the queen to adore

Śiva, the bestower of boons. Goaded by Vatsarāja accordingly the queen took to her resolve for that austerity whereupon the king also along with his subject folk became keen on that act of propitiation. In a dream the Moon crested one (i.e. Śiva) revealed to the aspiring couple that a son claiming supremacy over the lords of the Vidyādhara would be born to them out of his benignity unto them. Having said so the Moon crested one became away from sight. Gloating over their impending fortunes, the couple became busy taking food meant to break their fast in company with their kinsfolk and after a few days, a person with matted hair having come in a dream, gave to the queen a fruit, a fact which she narrated before the king as also to the minister visualising that a son in the form of fruit had been bestowed upon her by the Moon crested one i.e., Śiva.

Verses 135-142 at the end of fourth Lambaka of Bṛhatkathāmañjarī narrate the actual birth of a son to Vāsavadattā who was named Naravāhanadatta whereas verses 131-134 narrate the birth of sons Marubhūti of Yaugandharāyaṇa, Hariśikha of Rumanvān, Gomukha of Nityodita, the porter, who were to be the associates of Naravāhanadatta.

In Kathāsaritsāgara (Lambaka IV taraṅga II) the growth of the foetus of Vāsavadattā, the environments under which she was placed accordingly being regaled by female chaperons, the narration of a tale of a Vidyādhara Cakravartī Jīmūtavāhana, the story of the previous birth of Jīmūtavāhana, the marriage of Malayavatī and Jīmūtavāhana, the tale of Kadru and Vinatā, the mighty sacrifice of Jīmūtavāhana for the Nāgas, the ecstacy of Vāsavadattā on hearing all this (verses-1-259) the vision of Vāsavadattā in taraṅga III wherein Śiva assured her not to worry about her foetus since it was to go all safe (verses 1-30), the birth of sons Marubhūti of Yaugandharāyaṇa, Hariśikha of Rumanvān, Tapantaka of Vasantaka, Gomukha or Ityaka of Nityodita and the subsequent birth of Naravāhanadatta to Vāsavadattā the rejoicing all over the country (verses 54-93) have been described elaborately and can easily bear semblance to the description of Ujjayinī in Kādambarī, her Monarch Tārāpīda and his queen Vilāsavatī, both failing to get a son, getting the same through the blessings of a sage offering them to observe austerities and the parallel description of Ayodhyā in Tilakamañjarī, her sovereign Meghavāhana having a queen Madirāvatī, both being issueless for a long time, getting the blessings of an aerial sage, a Vidyādhara offering them to adore Śiva who could bestow upon them a boon for the birth of a son and subsequently getting a son baptised after psychology of a dream seen by the king who saw Indra riding his elephant and conjuring before him the charm of his getting a son who was to be paramount sovereign of the Vidyādhara.

The same semblance can be traced in the story of Somaprabha, son of Jyotiḥprabha, king of Ratnākrapura who installed as heir apparent to the throne and started off for the conquest of the quarters in company of huge army battalions and played adjunct to by Priyaṅkara a son of his sire's minister, reached a forest after wading through the entire earth and seeing a Kinnara couple followed it up by his horse and carried to a divine region saw a shrine of Śiva (Tryambaka) on the shores of a lake and finding a divine dame therein playing on lute, he happened to face her and listen to her account as to why she had been there given to austerities. Having heard from her that she was Manorathaprabhā the daughter of Padmakūṭa, a Vidyādhara king, born in Ratnaprabhā, his queen and attained to puberty in due course of time she happened to see a sage boy who responding to her reciprocal call for love through his adviser Buddhadatta questioned by her chaperon Padmalekhā, narrated the tale of his previous birth (verses 196-251) etc. in the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī (XVI Lambaka) which has a better and clearer elaboration in the Tenth Lambaka, third taraṅga, of Kathāsaritsāgara. There are certain variations in the two texts.

“There was a king Jyotiṣprabha by name in a town named Ratnākara, who was the overlord of the earth extending up to the ocean, who begot a son in his chief consort Harṣavatī by the grace of a boon showered upon by the lord of Gaurī i.e., Śiva. As the queen had seen the Moon entering into her mouth in a dream ere to her having the germination of the foetus, the king named the son as Somaprabha who grew up becoming a source of joy for the populace. Grown into a budding youth, capable of bearing yoke of kingdom, a chivalrous being, his sire Jyotiṣprabha installed him to his throne quite pleased over him. He deputed Priyaṅkara, the son of his minister Prabhākara by name, to the office of a minister to Somaprabha. Anon getting down from the sky having brought a horse, Mātali spoke to Somaprabha that he was an ally of Indra, a Vidyādhara got down to the earth whom Indra had gifted a horse Āśuśravā, son of Uccaiḥśravā got upon whom he would become invincible. Having said so and presented the steed to Somaprabha with hospitality done to him Mātali flew to the sky. Overjoyed over that Somaprabha told his sire that it ill became a kṣatriya to keep away from the conquest of the quarters and sought his permission to move out for the same. Having heard that his sire pleased over him permitted him to go and arranged for his march. Having bowed before his sire Somaprabha started for the conquest of the quarters, on an auspicious day and conquered the kings with the help of his gem of a horse and brought gems as a recompense for that. He made the heads of his enemies bend down in line with the tips of his bow. His éclat grew up and not the heads of the enemies. Come to the vicinity of Himādrī along with his army hosts he

took to chase, saw a Kinnara and chased him with his steed. That Kinnara grew out of sight after having entered the cavern of a mountain. Somaprabha was drawn away by that horse. Having turned round, being fatigued, he saw a huge lake and desirous of passing that night there he got down from the horse. Having refreshed and fed that horse he heard the sound of music from one side and following the track saw a divine dame quite at short distance; who was singing in front of a phalluṣ shaped image of Śiva. Curious to know as to who she was he moved ahead. She, welcoming him inquired as to who he was and whence did he come. Having heard that he also inquired as to who she was and why did she stay in that sequestered region? (Verses 1-85).

Whole of this account can easily be compared to the account of Dhanapāla's muse as narrated by him in his *Tilakamañjarī*. Innovations are obvious. Having seen the great romance (*Kādambarī*) of Bāṇa winning laurels by virtue of her abundant merits and originality of the poet in transforming the Epicurean theme to an equally blameless prose narrative style laden with all types of literary equipments, Dhanapāla could hardly think of going one better than his illustrious predecessor. Having picked up the drop from the ocean of *Bṛhatkathā* he has renovated the whole theme in his own way giving it the coating of a new creed sponsored by a sentimental urge of the Heterodox system of religious fervour commingling it at the same time with the popular beliefs of the Hinduities under whose patronage he was given to work as a literary artist. Bidding his unflinching devotion to the Jain Ācāryas Dhanapāla has upheld the lofty ideals of Hinduism and characterised his characters giving up all the noxious tendencies inherited by them through a following of the Hindu polity and taking the doctrine of non-violence as being proposed by the canons of the Jaina protagonists.

Description of Ayodhyā is in line with the description of Ujjayinī in *Kādambarī*. In it reigned supreme a king named Meghavāhana, a scion, of the Ikṣvāku race, who had a queen Madirāvatī by name. Enjoying all the carnal pleasures with her he failed to get an heir to his parental throne like Vilāsavatī, queen of Tārāpīḍa, who performed a ritual to propitiate the gurus, deities and the sages and Harṣavatī, queen of Jyotiṣprabha who propitiated the lord of Gaurī, Madirāvatī, has been shown insisting her husband to associate her with him in his pious resolve to propitiate the manes in the sequestered wilds. Like a sage appearing before Tārāpīḍa in *Kādambarī* and Nārada appearing before Jyotiṣprabha in the *Bṛhatkathā* (*Kathāsaritsāgara*), we have a Vidyādhara sage appearing before Meghavāhana and his consort Madirāvatī on the roof of their palace consoling the royal couple being swayed down by grief born of their

impending separation. He comes to know the cause of the be wailments of Madirāvatī and persuades the king not to go to the wilds. He rather instructs him to stay in his home and offers a charm of holy syllables, which could help him propitiate Śrī the goddess of fortunes, who was likely to bless him with a son who was to be the supreme overlord of the Vidyādhara. A temple of Śrī got constructed by the king with daily obeisance being done to the goddess by him a vaimānika named Jvalanaprabha coming to him and presenting to him a necklace named Candrātapa that was to decide the fortunes of his son to be born as his incarnation, Śrī one day presented herself after testing his faithfulness and courage through Mahodara, her attendant transformed into a vampire and blessed him with a boon that was to bring him a son of merits recounted above and presented the finger ring Bālārūpa along with the candrātapa necklace he had offered at her feet. All these constitute a novel idea as compared with the boon of Kādambarī and Bṛhatkathā though it resembles the idea of a boon conferred on Puṣpabhūti by Śrī in the Third Uchhvāsa of Harṣacarita. The baptism of Harivāhana in conformity to the psychology of the dream resembles its counterparts both in Kādambarī as well as Bṛhatkathā. The idea of adoring the Saṣṭhīdevi on the occasion of the Saṣṭhīprajāgara (wakefulness ceremony on the sixth day after the childbirth) is similar to the one depicted by Bāṇa in his Kādambarī. The idea of sending Harivāhana for schooling at the age of six and bringing him back after his Samāvarttana at the age of sixteen resembles its counterpart in Kādambarī where Tārāpīḍa does the same in case of Candrāpīḍa. Somaprabha, Candrāpīḍa and Harivāhana are installed as heir apparents as soon as they grow into budding youths. All start for the conquest of quarters immediately after their installations. But circumstance varies in the case of Harivāhana. Candrāpīḍa and Somaprabha start off on hereditary aims of digvijaya accompanied by the sons of their minister whereas Harivāhana starts off after he gets impatient on not finding any news about Gandharvaka who has promised him to bring tidings about Tilakamañjarī, the queen of his heart. He is accompanied by Samaraketu who being the son of a paramount sovereign, the king of Simhala, is placed in the status of a foster brother by Meghavāhana, but is not the son of a minister of Meghavāhana abiding in the same kingdom and has come on his own way to a personal digvijaya to render succour to the king of Kāñci. Whereas Candrāpīḍa and Vaiśampāyana, Somaprabha and Priyamkara form ideas about their loves after they have gone far away during their journeys, Harivāhana and Samaraketu have been given an idea about them while yet they are in the capital (Avodhyā) and have yet to start off for the conquest of the quarters which is specifically meant as a pretext to find out the maidens of their hearts hitherto lost to them.

Somaprabha and Candrāpīḍa start off on the horses gifted by the divinities whereas Harivāhana and Samaraketu start off on their own individual horses in search for the elephant Lord Vairīyamadaṇḍa after they receive a report from Puṣkara the chief of the elephant corps (karisādhanādhyakṣa)¹⁷ that the animal had gone astray. Somaprabha and Candrāpīḍa are taken to the lakes while pursuing a Kinnara and Kinnara couple respectively but Harivāhana is taken aloft and thrown into the lake Adṛṣṭapāra by the divine elephant who had been mistaken for Vairīyamadaṇḍa by him. And as is revealed by Citramāya himself in later references the elephant carrying Harivāhana and flying into the sky was none else than Citramāya himself who had been detailed on duty to bring Harivāhana so that he could come close to Tilakamañjarī. It is here that Harivāhana and Samaraketu separate from each other like Somaprabha and Candrāpīḍa separating from Vaiśampāyana and Priyaṅkara respectively. The account of Candrāpīḍa hearing from a distance the chime of the chord of a lute while standing on the lake Acchoda resembles the accounts of Harivāhana hearing the same type of note from the shores of the lake Adṛṣṭapāra. Candrāpīḍa meets Mahāśvetā who narrates her tale of woe as she had been waiting for her lover Puṇḍarīka since long under the hope that he would come to her again. Harivāhana likewise meets Tilakamañjarī who having seen him at first sight evades him away and trying a second time by likening her features to the portrait presented by Gandharvaka he only advances ahead to meet Malayasundarī who like Mahāśvetā narrates her tale of woe since she, too, had been waiting for Samaraketu to come to her again. Just as Mahāśvetā conducted Candrāpīḍa to Kādambarī who ensured her love to him, Malayasundarī conducted Harivāhana to Tilakamañjarī who likewise assured her faithfulness to the prince. The motif of Candrāpīḍa worrying after his entourage headed by Vaiśampāyana and taking leave of Kādambarī to search out his colleague resembles the motif of Harivāhana reminded of Samaraketu and other allies and taking leave of Tilakamañjarī to help Malayasundarī unite with her consort. The motif of the parrot who was actually Gandharvaka cursed to that state by Mahodara, the vile attendant of Śrī resembles the similar transformation of Vaiśampāyana into a parrot brought by the Cāṇḍāla maiden (Kādambarī in previous birth) to the court of Śūdraka, the king of Ujjayinī (Candrāpīḍa in previous birth) in Kādambarī. But the parrot in Tilakamañjarī is resuscitated to his original state by the help of a scarf named Niśītha. Gandharvaka's presentation of the two ornaments to Tilakamañjarī and Malayasundarī, as ordained by Śrī, reminds the two princesses that they were Priyaṅgusundarī and Priyaṁvadā, the consorts of Jvalanaprabha and Sumāli in previous births who had now taken the garbs of Harivāhana and Samaraketu. Parrot transformed into

Vaiśampāyana, Cāṇḍāla Kanyā into Kādambarī and Śūdraka into Candrāpīḍa, all go to make the romance a happy comedy out of a grim tragedy when Mahāśvetā woos Vaiśampāyana (Puṇḍarīka in previous birth) and Candrāpīḍa woos Kādambarī. Harivāhana wooing Tilakamañjarī and Samaraketu wooing Malayasundarī provide the comic relief the denouement of the plot after the tragic stance of the freaks of providence had been over. The incidence of Śūdraka meeting the Cāṇḍālakanyā coincides with that of Somaprabha meeting the Niśādakanyā Makarandikā by name. Dhanapāla's invention of the motifs of the Vidyādhara sage and the Vaimānika Jvalanaprabha are ingenious in so far as the necklace presented by the Vaimānika and the ring presented by Śrī the favourite of the Vidyādhara sage constitute the deciding factor towards recognition of the two couples towards the finale of the whole romance. The introduction of the Vimānas or aerial cars of Gandharvaka, Citralekhā and Tilakamañjarī is the anachronistic fabrication of the mind of the poet who was perhaps reminded of the hoary past wherein science had its glory in all respects and had lost its lease due to the ravages of time.

2. DESCRIPTIVE AND NARRATIVE ELEMENT

The paucity of any regular specimens of ornate prose in earlier literature before the times of Daṇḍī, Subandhu and Bāṇa, is a mighty handicap for the serious literary critic who can hardly probe into the circumstances and environments which led to the evolution and growth of ornate prose Kāvya although casual references to the existence of such Kāvya stand imbedded in these very Kāvya of later writers, Mahābhāṣya of Patañjalī and other literary sources. The tendency to elaborate a huge structure of descriptive and narrative elements around the nucleus of drop-size theme of the Epicurean literature, arose in the Mahākāvya of Bhāravi, Māgha and Śrī Harṣa when Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa had eclipsed all the earlier efforts by their ubiquitous efforts at describing and narrating many things within the fold of seventeen to twenty eight cantos, similar might have been the case with Daṇḍī, Subandhu and Bāṇa who must have thrown into oblivion all the preliminary and mediocre efforts by their ubiquitous talents consuming all types of descriptive and narrative details in their panoramic compositions. That is why we find in Dhanapāla, Trivikramabhaṭṭa, Somadeva, Oḍayadeva Vādībhaṣiṃha and Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa, the imitative recurrence of the verse combinations of Bhāravi, Māgha and Śrī Harṣa transformed into the garb of unmetrical narrative compositions which according to Daṇḍin's dictum-

"The floridity and abundance of compounds form the very life of prose" misunderstood the real import of the words of the great stalwart who wrote

his *Daśakumāracarita* in the tight vein of a perspicuous diction though his illustrious successors emulating his norm went to the extent of pedagogic equivoques and brought it to the consummation of ornate verbal jugglery.¹

Such is the pattern set by Dhanapāla in his *Tilakamañjarī* in which he himself described prose as a multicoloured tiger abiding in the impenetrable *Danḍaka* forest in the form of abundantly numerous descriptions seeking refuge in a forest of unbroken *Danḍakas* (i.e., long drawn sentences), struck by terror (from whom) the people turn their faces away (with a view to escaping for life).²

This highly ornamented style has been styled as *Vicitramārga* by Kuntaka in his *Vakroktijīvitā*.³ The *Vicitramārga* or the chequered route entails the detour involvement's in descriptive and narrative sequence wherein equivoques form the bedrock of words and their meaning or sounds and senses; where in a multiple series of figurative expressions stranded into a circuitous noose or strung into a series of pearls like expressions render the poetic muse a veritable peer to a comely dame resounding with the clank of jingling ornaments in the form of associative expressions inlaid into a variety of material comprising of the rich wealth of imaginative descriptions of towns, gardens, men, women, seasons, religious places, rivers and streams, lakes and bowers, chivalrous deeds of the heroes, amorous dalliances of lovers given to love in union as well as in separation, festivals, processions and all types of social and cultural leanings. Dhanapāla has ostensibly adhered to the path already paved by Bāṇa in his *Kādambarīkathā* but in his modes of delineation and arrangement of distinct imagery he has taken a cue from his *Harsacarita*.

In his general mode of descriptive and narrative sequence Dhanapāla gets lost so much in heaping of figurative embellishments that invariably he loses sight of the links of the narrative which advance the plot ahead but in doing so he was bound meticulously by the legacies of the age he inherited from Bāṇa or else he would have failed to produce the volume of such a romance. He treats of all the constituent elements of his plot in a judicious manner and never fails to maintain the subsequent inter relation of the characters conversing during his descriptions though the reader finds it very hard to understand the correct links provided by the mutual conversations of

1. ओजः समासभूयस्त्वमेतद्दृश्यं जीवितम्। *Kāvyaḍarśa* I. 80 p. 43. V. Narayanan, Jivananda Vidyasagar 1964. (18)

2. अखण्डदण्डकारण्यभाजः प्रचुरवर्णकात्।

न्याघ्रादिबभयाघ्रातो गद्गाद्व्यावर्तते जनः। *TM Vol. I. Intr. verse 15 p. 20. Botad ed. (19)*

3. प्रथमोत्प्रेष *Kārikās* 34-43. pp. 124-125. Dr. Nagendra and pp. 133-136 text

the characters finding their way-out to solve the problems facing them in the course of their weals as well as woes. It is quite after a second or a third reading that the reader finds it more convenient to understand the main theme of the romance, a tendency which is equally discernible in the works of Daṇḍī, Śubandhu and Bāṇa in the like manner.

Dhanapāla invariably loves to write in a difficult manner and his intentional efforts to evolve something original, something unusual and something provoking marvel, led him to pick up a theme he has tried to portray in a skilled artistic way. His descriptions and narratives are quite tardy and rarely and occasionally we find a swift and racy vigour in them particularly when he goes to adopt a reflective style. Unlike the slim waisted maiden-like muse of Daṇḍī and like the obese-waisted and slothfully-moving maiden-like muse of Subandhu and to some extent of Bāṇa Dhanapāla's muse goes a step further in so far as its tense and abstruse phrasology laden with fanciful conceits and literary as well as philosophical embellishment rank her to the status of a maiden heavily overloaded with the galaxy of gaudy ornaments inlaid over her spruce costumes.

The romance Tilakamañjarī starts with a description of Ayodhyā a nagarī of appropriate appellation, in the Northern Kośālas, a repertory of all the narvels. The poet while going to tell the reader that there is a capital town of Ayodhyā in the Northern Kośālas he starts with the expression 'अस्ति' and bringing in a huge string of qualifying epithets defining its pre-requisites he covers a number of pages before ending his sentence with-

'सर्वाश्चर्यनिधानमुत्तरकोशलैष्वयोध्येति यथार्थाभिधाना नगरी।'

Anon he illustrates its affluence in hyperbolic terms of fanciful flights of imagination and following on with the word 'यस्याम्' etc. occurring almost in all the clauses, he establishes the prosperous state of its citizens, the physical as well as natural environments abounding in bliss, the absence of any devious tendencies among the subject folk. He concludes his description by starting with the expression 'तस्यां' and loading it with the qualifying epithets of the Supreme sovereign Meghavāhana both as a ruler as well as a man.

He recounts the virtues of his personal sword, his individual radiance and all other manly qualities he possessed, his entourage consisting of the army-chiefs (Sainyanāyakaḥ), his porters (Pratihārāḥ), his chamberlains (sthapatyah), his umbrella bearers as also the Chowrie bearers (Chattracāmaragrāhāḥ), his body guards (Aṅgarakṣāḥ), his Law-governors

(Dharmastheyāḥ), his secretaries of amusements (Narmasacivāḥ) or the pleasure companions, his priests (purodhasaḥ), his counsellors (Mantriṇaḥ) his espionage (Gūḍhapuruṣāḥ), his bards (Vandipurtrāḥ) followed by a detailed account of the Law and Order situation prevailing during his reign period marked by the figure Parisaṁkhyā (Exclusion or Restriction) p. 70 LL 5-8/Botād ed. The four verses substantiate his excellent way of administration. In the subsequent prose-passage he goes to inform the reader that king Meghavāhana who had been consecrated to the throne while being a boy, had entrusted the onus of administration to his counsellors after having become a fully fledged monarch and in doing that he had made himself free from all worries by appropriating the earth engirt by seven seas, had rendered all the quarters free from thorns, had dug up victory-columns all over the extremities of his kingdom, had a fabulous treasury, had subjugated all the vassals, had won the confidence of all his ministers as also of the allies, had stationed men of reliance in the forts and himself with mind addicted to the enjoyment of physical pleasures, had brought into being a battle field of sensual sports. The whole sentence is laden with heavily loaded compound epithets brimming with hard consonants. All types of cajoleries and pranks of erotic sports and dalliance in company with women have been described in details comprising of separate single sentences starting with 'Kadācit' etc. Apart from that he attended to his kingly duties as also as opportunities offered him to do so and even took up the task of moving incognito in the city to find out the strength and weakness of his administration. His counsellors, too, took to their respective duties most carefully para 51-3, pp 43-70 : 71-78, p. 78 LL1-2. Botād ed.

Indulging in all these descriptive details Dhanapāla ultimately brings before the eyes of the readers the fact that even though endowed with all these gifts of physical and intellectual enjoyment, he could not derive pleasure of embracing the limbs of his self born i.e. a son. The psychological repression at night coming through dreams consequent on his suppression of feelings during the day time, caused by constant reveries is thoroughly elaborated in his descriptions of the means, the scions of the Ikṣvāku lineage, the goddess of fortune or royal sovereignty (Śrī), his youth, the code of law etc. After this simply to afford a clue to the facet that he had got a queen named Madirāvatī, the intervening piles of epithets of cultural importance, though they are redundant, yet they fascinate the reader to understand the leanings of the literary artist that Dhanapāla was Gaṅgā, Ratī, Sarasvatī, Pārvatī, Medinī, (Earth) and Rājyalakṣmī have been shown

having been outlived by her i.e., Madirāvātī. The Vidyādhara sage seen by Meghavāhana enjoying the company of Madirāvātī while sitting at the roof of the palace named Bhadrāsāla, has equally been deified having been eulogised in hyperbolas abounding in heaped up metaphors. Pp. 78 LL 2-7 : pp 29 LL 1-8 180 LL 1-10 p 81 LL p. 82 LL1) p 83 LL, 1-6.

Dr. Neeta Sharma¹ has quoted Phillis Bentley's scope of narrative in fiction entailing three types i.e. description, scene and summary, forming the essence of imaginative writing in prose which has been truly and meticulously followed by Bāṇa. In reality the western scholar must have formed the conception by a comparative study of the fiction in West as well as in the East. Bāṇa's fiction must have, however, given a clue to this conception in the practical aspect of fiction in Europe through Greek legacies. In Dhanapāla's muse this phenomenon is eventually discernible. We find long drawn descriptions advancing the narrative mode of prose diction occasionally presenting scenic delineations as in dramatic compositions and in points of inter-linking the various threads of the plot the succinct reflective moods form the basis of summary in narration's.

Dhanapāla has as already observed described Ayodhyā, the personality of king Meghavāhana and his queen Madirāvātī who though being ideal husband and wife and failed to beget a son. Absorbed in such a reverie the king one day saw a Vidyādhara sage who got down from the space emitting out effulgent light. The scene becomes all the more dramatic when Meghavāhana in company with Madirāvātī gets up to offer his homage to the sage who had just assorted his feet on the floor of the roof. The posture in which the king kept gazing at the face of the sage and the way he spoke to him addressing him as 'Bhagavān', the subsequent words of ingratiating and flattery, the queries of the sage subsequent reply of the king bringing before the sage his personal dilemma, his resolve to go to the wilds to propitiate some deity, the insistence of the queen to accompany him, the subsequent advice of the sage and bestowal of charm upon the king, his devoted fervour unto the sage, the blessings of the sage on the queen, the subsequent bashfulness of the queen, king's request to the sage of seeing her in that state, the subsequent reply of the sage, blessing showered on the king and his final flight to the aerial route- all these are fairly scenic delineations depicted by the romanced in a dramatic way. Following this:- para 6, p. 84 LL 5-6, p. 85 LL 5-8, p. 86 LL 1-4, p. 87 LL 1-8, p. 88 LL 1-4, p. 89 LL 1-4 p. 90 LI-1.

1. Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa- A Literary Study p. 115. Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, N. Delhi, 1968.

‘अन्तरितदर्शने च तस्मिन्रणकदूयमानः शून्य इव पार्थिवः स्थित्वा मुहूर्तं हर्म्यशिखरादवततार। निर्वर्तितमाध्याह्निकविधिश्च तत्कालकृतसन्निधीनां गुरूणां बान्धवानां बुद्धिसचिवानां च यथावृत्तं सर्वमेव मुनिवृत्तान्तमाख्यत् देवताराधनविषये चापृच्छत्।

उच्छिद्यमानभरतवंशदर्शननित्योद्विग्नैश्च तैरालोच्य देवतागृहमकारयत्²। तत्र चातिप्रशस्तेऽहनि..... भगवत्याः श्रियः प्रतिकृतिं यथाविधि प्रतिष्ठाप्य प्रतिपन्नैष्टिकोचितक्रियो मुनिप्रदर्शितेन क्रमेण प्रतिदिनमुपासांचक्रे तथाहि प्रातरेवोत्थाय प्रस्थितः परिचारकैरनुगम्यमानः गत्वा कृत्रिमादिपरिसरसरिति गृहीतदन्तधावनो निर्वर्तितस्नानजपविधिः... मुद्रितमुखो मुखोद्गीर्णमुखरवारिस्रोतोभिः कनककुम्भैः सुचिरमेनामभ्याषिञ्चत्। एणनाभिकपूरकणसन्तर्पितामोदेन च... समुपविष्टः... पुष्टार्थाभिः स्तुतिभिरतिचिरं तुष्टाव। समापितमन्त्रविधिश्चातिक्रान्तै कियत्यपि समये विनिर्गत्य देवतागृहाद्..... गुरुजनं ववन्दे। विहितमभ्यन्दिनावश्यकविधिश्चापराहसमयानुज्ञातदर्शनेन सर्वदर्शनग्रन्थार्थवेदिना विद्वज्जनेन सार्धं तैस्तैः कथालापैस्तस्थौ। उपस्थिते च प्रदोषसमये तेनैव विधिना श्रियः पूजोपचारं चक्रे। अन्यदिवसेष्वप्येतदेवान्वतिष्ठत्।³

all these form the summary types of narratives.

Like Bāṇa Dhanapāla, too, does not allow a topic to pass unless he has got to squeeze no more out of it. He hardly knows where and when to stop except in certain passages where he has to provide the links to the chains of events occurring and recurring in the lives of the characters whose actions and reactions to the natural psychic situations rotate like a wheel, simply with a view to clearing off any types of confusions likely to mar the smooth sailing of the subsequent threads of the plot.

Performing his daily routines of adoration to Śrī, he saw one day having gone to the shrine of the Siddhas known as Śākrāvātāra, a Vaimānika who was getting down in his front. The entire array of qualifying epithets strung into separate sentences inter-linked properly, form the scene type of narrative. The way he welcomed him forms the summary type. The Vaimānika, too, seeing him fascinated by him spoke to him recognising him as Meghavāhana, etc. illustrates the scene type. The way the Vaimānika introduced himself as Jvalanaprabha etc. and the way he took king Meghavāhana to be an incarnation of Jinavṛṣa named Vṛṣabha, the Primeval god (Ādideva), the way he sought permission to go to the chief island named Nandīśvara brought into being by the ocean named Nandīśvara etc. go to illustrate the scene type of narrative which is followed by the descriptive mode of narration comprising of the nagarī named Rativiśālā which lay in a state of be wailment and mourning. The narratives containing the presentation of the necklace of the said description, the subsequent

1. TM Vol. I, p. 103. Para 14. LL. 6-8 Botad.

2. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 103. Para 14. LL. 6-8 Botad. Ibid. pp. 103-104. p. 103. LL. 8-9. p. 1-4 LL. 2-3 para 13.

3. Ibid. pp. 104-106. para 14. p. 104. LL. 3, 4, 5 p. 105 LL. 1-8 p. 106. LIII-3.

presentation of the same necklace by Meghavāhana at the feet of śrī, the following description of the Vampire (Vetāla) form again the scene types.

And following on we can mark out the huge lot of descriptive and narrative element occurring up to the culmination of the story as a true replica of the threefold subdivision of the narration as propounded by Phillis Bentley. The other descriptions of note are:-

Conversation between the king and Vetāla, the subsequent grasp of the scimitar by the king and his daring resort to chop his own head off in order to serve the Vetāla, the failure of the scimitar to chop his head off beyond a half of it, the shrill cries of the celestial dames, the subsequent description of Śrī her conversation with the king, her resultant shower of a boon wishing him the birth of the propagator of his lineage and her final exit after presenting him back the necklace called Candrātapa as also the finger ring called Bālārūṇa taken off from her own hand; king's taking to the bedstead of Kuśā seated there his conversation and consultations with his counsellors as well as the subject folk, his narration of the whole account of acquisition of the brace of ornaments, the presentation of the necklace to Mahodadhi, the chief of the Lapidaries and the despatch of that finger ring through Vijayavega to Vajrāyudha to help him in nocturnal warfare; the description of the Rājakula having reached where he got down from the elephant and sat on a dais made of ivory; the description of the Dining Hall (Āhāramaṇḍapa) where having had his repast he went to the ivory chamber; the description of the court hall (Āsthānamaṇḍapa), that of the seraglio (Śuddhāntā) where he saw Madirāvātī, the description of the vision of Meghavāhana, the subsequent narrative of the ancient state of the queen, the birth of a son at the completion of the ninth month, the subsequent revelries and rejoicing and the festal melee at the birth of the propagator of the lineage; the description of the Maternity Chamber (Prasūtiḡṛha), the satisfaction of the king, the Jātakarma and the Nāmakaraṇa Saṁskāras, the completion of the five years of life of the child in the harem and at the advent of the sixth year, the performance of the Upanayana Saṁskāra marking his initiation into education; completion of education at the age of sixteen and the subsequent return to the palace; the description of the Kumārabhavana; the desire of the king to consecrate the prince; the description of the portress Vetralatā, her introduction of Vijayavega come from the vicinity of Vajrāyudha victorious in his encounter with the king of Dakṣiṇāpatha; the description of Vijayavega; conversation between the king and Vijayavega; the description of the battles (āyodhanāni); the description of the appearance of a prince after a bloody battle over Kāñcī; the subsequent scuffle of Vajrāyudha with that prince; the introduction of that

prince with the army in chief, the description of the battle field; cessation of hostilities; the welcome of the prince by the army in chief (i.e. Vajrāyudha), his subsequent treatment (i.e. dressing) of the wounds of the prince and his taking him to his own abode; the conversation between the two, the narration of the account of the acquisition of the divine ornaments before the prince by the army-in-chief; the king's inquisitiveness to see the prince of the Siṃhalas; the description of Samaraketu; the welcome ovation; instructions to Harivāhana that Samaraketu was his younger brother whom he made the overlord of the Aṅgas and the conferment of overlordship of the whole of Uttarāpatha led by Kāśmīra and the contiguous areas through a mandate put on a scroll held by Sudṛṣṭi, the keeper of the records; description of Mañjira the character of the palm-leaf-billet; the autobiographical account of Samaraketu; the description of the outer-court hall (Bāhyāsthānamandapa) of Candraketu in the Siṃhalas; the description of the naval youth; the autobiographical account of Tāraka containing the description of Raṅgaśālā; the subsequent conversation between Tāraka and Samaraketu- all these forming a part of the autobiographical account of Samaraketu; the reminiscences of the legends of the Rāmāyaṇa epoch associated with Laṅkāpurī; description of the sea-voyage; the description of the group of celestial kings; Description of the celestial shrine (Divyāyatana); the description of the divine maid he saw being sixteen years of age; the intrusion of the portress Vajrārgalā, her presentation of a picture canvas and the subsequent narration of the way she got it- description of Harivāhana; description of Gandharvaka narrating a tale himself; description of Rathanūpura Cakravāla and the king Cakrasena who bore a daughter Tilakamañjarī in Patralekhā; description of Harivāhana's Vāsabhavana; description of Kāmarūpa; the description of the elephant run amuck (Vairiyamadāṇḍa); description of the image (Pratimā) of Ṛṣabha; that of the shrine of Jina, description of Gandharavaka description of Pratolikā; that of the horse-cavalcade (Aśvavṛnda); description of Harivāhana seated in the midst of the plantain-grove; description of Samaraketu; description of Gaganvallabhanagara; narrative of Harivāhana, Samaraketu and the entourage going to the royal house and from there to the Bhojanabhavana (i.e. the Dining Hall) where they took their meals; description of the Vaitāḍhya mountain whereupon they rode; Samaraketu pressing Harivāhana to narrate the whole account starting from his loss by the elephant and ending with his attaining to the paramountsy of the Vidyādharas, the status in which he had seen him in company with Tilakamañjarī.

The narrative sponsored by Harivāhana contains the description of the maiden (bālikā) whom he had seen in the cardamom creeper-bower after

having got away from the Adṛṣṭapāra lake; the narrative of his encounter with that maiden a scene type the way she looked at him meaningfully and spoke not even a single word and left off even though introduced by himself accordingly; Tallying the appearance with one painted in the picture presented by the portress he marvelled at that and returned to find her out another scene type narrative. His moving off on being unable to find her again and finding in her stead the ascetic maid whose description again is very picturesque; scenic delineation of the way that ascetic maid came in front of him after finishing her formal religious observances such as circumambulation of the original shrine or the chief shrine, the way she spoke to him after having seen him addressing him as Mahābhāga and requesting him to pay a visit to her is equally notable (vol. III. p. 116); Harivāhana's relating of the account to Samaraketu while on his way to the sanctuary on the lane of which he had seen Gandharvaka, regarding his first meeting with Tilakamañjarī after he had been carried afar by that mysterious elephant; his persuasion of Malayasundarī to narrate the cause of her taking to the life of an anchorite all these form the summary types. Malayasundarī's personal account contains the description of Kāñcī (Vol. III p. 171); description of Kusumaśekhara her overlord whose daughter she was born in Gandharvadattā his chief consort; the description of her blooming youth; the scenic delineation of her being in the midst of maidens after she had woke up one night, the way she went to the door and asked an old lady as to where she was; Told by her finding herself on the island Pañcaśaila which has been described as the island of the Southern ocean where reigned supreme the sovereign lord Vicitravīrya. her maternal grandsire, whom a person introduced certain princesses such as Kusumavālī daughter of Pratāpaśīla, the king of Kuśasthala, (Vol. III p. 185), Malayasundarī daughter of Kusumaśekhara, king of Kāñcī, Śakuntalā, daughter of Śaraketu, the king of the Magadhas; Bandhumatī, daughter of Mahābala, king of Saurāṣṭras; Indulekhā, Līlāvatī, Mālatikā, Madanalekhā etc. daughters of the kings of Kaliṅga, Vaṅga Aṅga, Kośala and Kulūta (Vol. III. p. 186); The scenic depiction of the art of dance, Vicitravīrya's appreciation of her art; recognition of her mother Gandharvadattā as his own daughter by Vicitravīrya at the instance of Vīryamitra, a minister; the account of Gandharvadattā the way she got separated from her sire in a royal cataclysm caused by an enemy named Jitaśatru; the way she lived in the hermitage of a sage from where Kusumaśekhara brought her as his spouse; the prediction of the sage Mahāyasaḥ that she (i.e. Gandharvadattā) would meet her parents after her daughter was given over to someone in marriage Tapanavega conducting her to Kāñcī in vicinity of her parents; After a sight of the image of Jina and offering of homage her mounting the

southern wall of the fortification and seeing a prince, her love at first sight, the reciprocity of the prince, Dūtakarma of kaivarta Tāraka; exchange of love messâges; separation; Malyasundarī's rescue by Bandhusundarī from a strangulation, other suicide attempts; acquisition of the love billet; meeting with Tilakamañjarī, reminiscences of the past; search for Samaraketu by Harivāhana; the tãntric ritual observed by Harivāhana; appearance of Śrī; prior to the reminiscences the conversion of parrot into Gandharvaka by the divine garment Niśītha; the sight of the ornaments; the reminiscences of the past births; union of the two couples;- all these having the description of the chamber of Tilakamañjarī, her Bhojanabhavana etc. go to illustrate the scenic and summary types of narratives.

3. DESCRIPTION OF NATURE

Without being a lover of nature a poet ceases to be a poet. Hence it is that in accordance with the traditional instincts Dhanapāla has utilized all types of natural phenomena with a view to satiating his aesthetic cravings. As is apparent from his Tilakamañjarī he had a thorough acquaintance with the regions such as Northern Kośala, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Kāmarūpa etc. and evinces close contact with the environments and outlying as well as inlying regions of these areas associated with all types of land, sylvan as well as mountainous routes. He had equally great fascination for the seasons which have a great role to play in the working of the human minds. Above all he had a great attraction for the nature of the oceans he has tried to describe most figuratively.

Nature to man has been a great source of inspiration right from the early times. The Vedic seers described it in her metamorphistic aspect and held it in great awe for fear of vengeance it could wreak in face of violations of her laws by man. Bhāsa, Śūdraka and Aśvaghoṣa depicted it in her natural colours. Vālmiki was most realistic in describing the variety of her aspects most vividly as well as realistically. Kālidāsa identified the activity of nature with the activity of human being. Bāṇa followed Kālidāsa in this respect. Dhanapāla like Bhāravi and Māgha has tried to screen her real nature within the frame work of embellishments which are, however, not difficult to understand as they are in Bhāravi and Māgha. Like Subandhu and Bāṇa, Dhanapāla has utilized all the traditional elements of punning similes, metaphors, fancies, apparent incongruities as also Parisamkhyā and Ullekha in enhancing the frame of his descriptions of nature.

While describing Ayodhyā he illustrates a hyperbole 'वृत्तोज्ज्वलवर्णशालिनी कर्णिकिवाम्भोरुहस्य'¹ that Ayodhyā was, as it were, an ear-penduncle (of Bhāratavarṣa), gleaming with round luscious leaves of a lotus.

"मनोरथानामपि दुर्विलम्बेनप्लवमानकरिमकरकुम्भीरभीषणोर्मिणा जलप्रतिबिम्बितप्राकारच्छलेन जलराशिशंकया मैनाकमन्वेष्टुमन्तःप्रविष्टहिमवतेव महता खातवलेयेन वेष्टिता।"²

that Ayodhyā was engirt round by a huge moat as if Himālaya had entered into it with a view to searching out Maināka, apprehensive as he were of the ocean, under the pretext of the rampart reflected inside its water having its surges violent with Hippopotamuses, alligators, aquatic boars dipping into it.

'जामदग्न्यमार्गणाहतक्रौंचादिच्छिद्रैरिवोद्भ्रान्तराजहंसेः उपेता।'³ i.e. It had royal swans hovering over it as they hovered over the Krauñca Mount.

'मृदुपवनचलितमृद्विकालतावलेषु वियति विलसतामसितागुरुधूपधूमयोनीनामासार-
वारिणेषोपसिध्यमानेष्वतिनीलसुरभिषु गृहोपवनेषु वनिता विलासिभिरनुभूयमानमधुपानोत्सवा।'⁴ i.e. It had drinking revelries or carousals being enjoyed by the gallants in their domestic orchards. It had been chaperoned on her out precincts by the stream named Sarayū stationed there with a view to inquiring about the account of the (descent from the) heavens of the sons of Sagara consumed by the fuel of fire in the form of the wrath of Kapila, with her sides never deserted by the royal swans as if by the old chamberlains sent to her by the Eastern ocean⁵. Her natural environments were beautified by the saplings or small gardens as if they were her forehead marks formed out of collyrium tint made apparent on them (Ayodhyā has been visualised as maiden)⁶. She had mirrors in the form of lakes⁷. In the spring season it appeared as if adomishing the Purī named Alakā that had lent opportunity to Śūlapāṇi (i.e. Śiva) for the great sin of consuming the shark bannered god (Makaradhvaja) by means of the flags made of ruddy silk cloths etc.);⁸ where in the merited souls did not feel any anxiety for the lower storeys surrounded by orchards

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1. TM Vol. I. p. 43. LL. 2-3
 2. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 44. LL. 1-3
 3. TM. Vol. I, p. 44. LL. 3-4
 4. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 46. LL. 5-6
 5. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 47. LL. 1-4
 6. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 53. LL. 4-5
 7. Ibid. LL. 5
 8. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 56. LL. 6-7

and enjoyed during the summer, while staying on the rows of the upper chambers of the mansions with their skirts surrounded by the rows of fresh clouds resonant with the melodious cries of tame peacocks hilarious (with joy) during the Rainy Season;¹ wherein the moon of the full moon night shone forth as if donning scarlet robes out of his inferiority complex before the Autumnal nights, suffused with the rays of the topaz gems studded into the lofty mansions cleansed of the columns of dust washed off in the Season of the clouds,² wherein the gales blew without having rendered wilted the groves of lotuses in the oblong tanks meant for sport, without having given any importance to the fire-brand taken to (for warming up,) with importance enhanced of the anointing of limbs by sandal, during the nights of Hemanta being scared away here and there by the warmth of the breasts of maidens getting stronger with the snowfall.³

It, therefore, appears evident that Dhanapāla has illustrated five of the six seasons while describing the natural beauty of Ayodhyā which had her men and women behaving according as they were affected by the relevant seasons.

In that Ayodhyā reigned supreme a king named Meghavāhana who was as it were an incarnation in physical form of the Aruṇasārathi i.e. the sun with limits of four oceans circumambulated by his sole chariot⁴. His fame and radiance have been metaphorically compared with Moon as well as the Sun, conch as well as the quoit, nectar as well as submarine fire and thereby he is shown as a peer to gaganābhoga or the expanse of the sky, Acyuta (i.e. Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa) and Ambhasāmpati (i.e. the ocean)⁵. His series of virtues over-spreading the interiors of the quarters of the Universe have been metaphorically compared to the rows of royal swans marching off to the Mānasa lake at the advent of the rainy season, being transparent as the moon⁶.

In another context Dhanapāla has brought in Jaladhara Samaya (i.e., the Season of Clouds) and Śarat samaya (or the Autumn Season) into description. The sleep of the host of the guardians of the earth belonging to (different) islands, come to cessation like that of the enemy of Kāṁsa (i.e.

1. TM., Vol. I, pp. 56-57, p. 5. LL. 7, p. 57. LLI. 1-2.

2. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 57. LL. 2-4

3. Ibid. pp. 4-6

4. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 59. L. -1

5. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 61. LL. 1-2

6. Ibid. LL. 2-3

Kṛṣṇa) getting lost even when residing in the middle of the unfathomable repository of water (i.e. the ocean), when his hosts of armics started off in the Autumn Season on all sides, with a desire to escheat the fortunes of the opponents, creating an apprehension in the minds of the people that the erstwhile Rainy season had come back with group of rainbows formed by the tassels of rays shooting forth from the crest jewels of the kings shaken from their lion seats with fever generated among the people by the clatter of the cavities of the hoofs of the steeds vociferous on account of the fall of the heaps of hail stones scattered by the terrible squall, with the interiors of the quarters, rendered jagged by the stretches of the streaks of lightning in the form of scimitars balanced on the hollows of the palms of the pedestrians springing in hauteur, with creaking sound of the chariots reeling forth like gharghara rumble of the clouds, with divisions of the eight quarters darkened by the circles of clouds in the form of thousands of arrays of tuskens showering forth sprays of water of ichor.¹

After the conferment of boon fulfilling the desire of Meghavāhana by Śrī, the king came to his regnal abode and while he was touring Ayodhyā for inspection noon tide came about and the overlord of the lotuses (i.e. the Sun) mounted the middle of the sky i.e. became more sultry². The noon tide approached as if anxious to express his own grievances being tormented by the rays of the torrid hot rayed one i.e. the Sun. The lord of the lotuses (i.e. the Sun) mounted the middle of the sky having resolved in mind for an ablution in the heavenly Ganges, with his chariot being steered by Aruṇa quite steadily with clusters of flowers in the form of stars blown forth, having made a search on the peak of the trees of the Eastern Horizon whitened up early in the morning with green Kuśas uprooted with efforts.³

Meghavāhana saw in a dream the elephant, the vehicle of Surendra (i.e. Indra) suckling milk drawing it again and again with his trunk having a lotus apparently placed on the pitcher like breasts, at the time when the glooms of nocturnal hours were tinged with the hue of twilight having clusters of bees anointed with the mire of honey, hovering about here and there having moved away from the sky as if it were the lotus with hollows of its interior becoming blown up with leaves or petals in the form of eight quarters closing up in order; when the quarter creepers were deserting incessantly the group of stellars as if it were the network of drops of water of dew got into the petals formed out of the bits of darkness thinning down

1. TM. Vol. I, pp. 60-70. p. 69. LL. 4-6. p. 70. LL. 1-3

2. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 164. LL. 1-8

3. Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 164-165. p. 164. LL. 8. p. 165. LL. 1-2.

being struck by the stormy breezes of the morning; when the moon with light void of any radiance and fading away quite gradually being sipped from all sides by the female cakoras of the western (lit. setting) horizon, was setting down at the reversal of the original and the upper parts held fast by the deer forming its distinguished mark having its feet gone up and the tips of its horns converged down, during the night which was left to the remnant of a small fraction.¹

Herein we find a graphic delineation of the nocturnal hours fading towards their close watches with moon equally shorn of grandeur.

In the exclamations of Vijayavega who narrates the way Vajrāyudha waged the bloody battle against the king of Kāñcī at the end of the rains and advent of Autumn, we find a few illustrative word pictures-

‘देव! सः कृतो यं न कश्चिदन्यः करोति, आकर्णयतु देवः, इतः समनन्तरातीतवर्षं निवृत्तास्वविरलजलासारवर्षासु वर्षासु प्रवृत्ते संवर्तिते सिन्धुपूरपथसि परिणमत्कलमकपिलायमानकैदारिके बद्धस्तम्बतृणसंबाधग्रामसीम्नि जनितविजिगीषुपार्थिवजनोत्साहे शरत्समये सेनापतिरर्थशास्त्रपरामर्शपूतमतिभिरमात्यैः सह कृतकार्यवस्तुनिर्णयः प्रशस्तेऽहनि समस्तबलपरिवृतश्चरणतलमुदितभुजबलावलिसारिभूपालशिरःशेखरं-कुसुमशेखरनामानमवनिपालमुन्मूलयितुकामः कुण्डिनपुरात् कांचिमण्डलकाञ्चिमण्डलाभिमुखमचलत्।’² i.e.,

The Army-in-chief (Vajrāyudha) started off facing the Kāñcīmaṇḍala from Kuṇḍinapura, desirous as he was of uprooting the guardian of the earth named Kusumaśekhara who had pressed down the diadems of the crests of the kings proud on account of the prowess of their arms, surrounded as he was by his entire host of battalions, on an auspicious day with decision of the outlay of his plans made in company of his counsellors whose intellects were sanctified by the deliberations on the science of polity, in the Autumn season which creates courage in the kings desirous of conquests, with borders of the country sides overgrown with wattle (reeds) grow into stalks, with cultivated lands growing ferret hued (or tawny) with red rice ripened up and started with currents in the rivers becoming subsided, the rains with showers full of sprays of water in continuous flow having come to a cease.

‘Varṣāsu Varṣāu’ is a yamaka. There is a pun on the word- ‘कृतासारसंरोधश्च प्रावृषेण्यजलधरव्यूह इव पौरलोकानां महान्तमातङ्कमकरोत्’³ with inverted commas in the above sentence which contains a simile as well. The king of Kāñcī dug himself into tactical warfare after having got the news from his spies that the Army-in-chief (i.e. Vajrāyudha) had created a great terror for the people of Kāñcī having blocked all his sources of succour like the blocks of clouds in the

1. TM. Vol. II, pp. 178-179. p. 178. LL. 6-9. p. 179. LL. 1-5.

2. Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 192-193. p. 192. LL. 9. p. 193. LL. 1-5.

3. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 195. LL. 1-2

rainy season which also create great terror among the people by blocking all the resources of supplies or by blocking with their showers.

In his encounter with the armies of Kusumaśekhara the sprays from the ichor fluids of elephant gave impression of a cloudy day with clouds such as samvarttakas appearing in it. 'संसंवर्तकाम्बुर्दिन इव करिशीकरासरैः'¹

Similarly-

'सतारकावर्ष इव वेतालदृष्टिभिः, सोत्कापात इव निशितप्रासवृष्टिभिः, सनिर्धातपात इव गदाप्रहारैः, सोत्पातरविमण्डल इव कीलालितकरालचक्रमुक्तिभिः, सवैद्युतस्फूर्ज इव जवापतज्ज्वलितशक्तिभिः, सखण्डपरशुताण्डव इव प्रचण्डानिलधूतध्वजसहस्रैः, सकालाग्निधूम इव प्रकुपितसुभटभ्रुकुटितमिस्त्रैरजायत महाप्रलयसंनिभः समरसंघट्टः।'² in this passage the glances of vampires have been fancied as the showers of stellars, the showers of sharp javelins have been fancied as the meteor-falls, the strokes of the maces as the adamantinc strokes of the thunderbolt; the release of bloodstained quoits have been regarded as the orbs of the Sun presaging a cataclysm; the burning spears falling with a thud have been presumed to be terrible crash of lightning; the flags in thousand shaken by terrible squall have been imagined as the battle fields' terrific with the frantic dance of Śiva; the battle field became a peer to a deluge by the glooms of the eye brows of the soldiers flared up as it were associated with the dark smoke of fire. And likewise.

'अविरलशरासारत्रासिता हंसीव मेघागमे पल्लवमनवलोकिताश्रयविसंस्थुला सैन्यपतिवक्षःस्थलममुंचद् राजलक्ष्मीः।'³

Thoroughly non-plussed in battle the royal sovereignty or regnal glory took leave of the army-in-chief's chest with her resort wrested off unobserved, having been frightened by the showers of shafts like the female swan taking leave of her pristine-glory being refit of resort, quite unobserved, being frightened by the continuous showers (of water) on the reeds has a fine simile based on the motif derived from the phenomena of nature.

● 'उपान्तकेतुस्तम्भविन्यस्तदेहभारैश्च निद्रादूरभुगनकण्ठनालैरात्मयोधैः परिवृतं प्रसुप्तसरः कुमुदवनमध्यवर्तिनमिव प्रतिमादिनकरम्'⁴ refers to Vajrāyudha's observance of Samaraketu (i.e. Kumāra) who at that time was surrounded by his own soldiers who had their stalk-like necks curved to a long extent by sleep or bent to the last corner and had their burdens of the bodies supported on the pillars of staffs of the flags fixed hard by and appeared a peer to the image

1. TM. Vol. II, 203. L. 3.

2. Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 203-204 p. 203. LL. 2-5. p. 204. LL. 1-7. p. 221 LI

3. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 211. LL. 3-4.

4. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 216. LL. 6-7

of the Sun shining in the midst of the slumbering groves of lilies grown in lakes.

In the narrative of Vijayavega explaining to Meghavāhana regarding the encounter of Samaraketu with Vajrāyudha Dhanapāla has heaped up certain fine allusions from the phenomenal beauty of nature in her gloomy aspect observable during the introduction of Samaraketu before Vajrāyudha by the chowrie bearing maid of Samaraketu. The poet exclaims.

“The night attained to leanness with her stellars moulted away as if through grief, the surface of the sky showered forth the clusters of drops of water of frost as if it were the cluster of pearls let loose by the necklaces of nymphs (lit. the spouses of the gods) embraced ruthlessly by the soldiers gone to impartiality; the lord of the stellars (i.e. the moon) fell down with rays grown sparse and faltering on the peak of the western mount as if *frightened* on seeing the gore of the battlefield; the group of constellations crouched up with its strength sapped by the effect of the gleam of the rising sun like the son of the king of Siṃhalas having his prowess screened by the effect of the sheen of Bālāruṇa (ring) clinging on to him; the clusters of birds hovered about undaunted in the sky having its space unfrequented by the rain of arrows of the soldiers come to a cease as if their fears had been allayed of the strokes deserted as they had their nests at that time, the twilight tint reddened the eastern quarter as if it were the effluence of blood from the solar orb pierced by the hosts of heroes marched on for the heavens or for renunciation; the quarters moved afar as if frightful at the sight of the horrible battle field; the night shone forth at that moment like the regnal glory of the king of Dravidas with drops of tear water clinging to the hair hanging, low through grief, with stars scattered with patches of darkness growing lean owing to their slipping down from the faces of the quarters; the hot rayed one (i.e. the Sun) with frame growing ruddy hued, glared forth from the fore, as if flared up at the disparagement of the son of the king of Siṃhalas vanquished through deceit.

Further more,-

The dawn having appeared like that the gloom grown screened as if anxious to vanquish the foe, the splendour of the sun spreading forth in the interiors of the quarters, the army of the opponent also woke up in its entirety all of a sudden.¹

Samaraketu proclaimed a foster brother of Harivāhana, by Meghavāhana, the Aṅgas and Uttarāpatha having been given in the charge of the two respectively, they passed their few days without becoming

1. TM. Vol. II, pp. 219-221. p. 219. LL. 9-10. p. 220. LL. 1-7. p. 221. LL. 1-2.

a prey to the viles of cupid who stayed away as if out of fright produced in due course by the irrepressible prowess of arms seen by him, with his staff like bow undrawn even in the advent of clouds (i.e. the Rains) with its fresh arrow kept in abeyance even in the time of flavour (i.e. the spring) and with its string unstrung even at the appearance of the orb of the Autumnal moon.¹

Enjoying a stroll with Samaraketu Harivāhana went to the outer garden named mattakokoila clinging to the shores of Sarayū during the Summer season in the morning hours and having entered it he approached the vicinity of the shores of Sarayū with her waters flowing hard by with creeper bowers decked with peacocks taking to their frantic dance as also with the men about the town having erotic feelings produced in them by the noise of the tabors sounded during a revelry at drink; the canopy of the solar rays sultry in summer made cold by the dangling sprays of showers of water spurting forth owing to the breaking of breezes in the sky, of constantly undulating water spirals resonant with the shrill cries, with ketakī stalks having floral bunches come out upon them slightly, with groups of Jambu trees prone to fructification with water flourished tersely, while observing the small mansions white with the stucco paint, the fruits of trees fit for being collected by the hands of women seated in the windows, the Mādhavī bowers having their centres encircled round by water-basins brimming with water and the floral beds prepared by the way-farers tormented by heat, the oblong tanks meant for sport having waters redolent with trumpet flowers grown overshores, the bits of leaves of lotuses supported by the stalks resorted to by the flamingos, the groves of Kādambas flourishing in spring having clusters of bees vociferous having been attracted by the fresh floral scent, having their attractive buds grown quite recently.²

The description of the ocean (Ambhonidhi) the adorable (Bhagavantam) as seen by Samaraketu starting on a voyage to render help to the king of Kāñcī at the errands of his sire Candraketu, is gorgeous as well as glamorous on account of its enchanting as well as horrifying aspects. It is long drawn picturesque and figurative. His fancies therein are imbedded with their natural hyperboles forming their indispensable part. The metaphors have been chosen for comparison from life as well as from the legends. It (i.e. the ocean) was, as it were a covering of the Hades³; a birth

1. TM. Vol. II, p. 233. LL. 3-5

2. Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 234-235. p. 234. LL. 8-9. p. 235. LL. 1-8.

3. पिधानमिव पातालस्य Ibid., Vol. II p. 261. L. 8.

giving lake of the lotus in the form of sky, as it were¹; a tassel of sheen of sapphire bracelet of the circle of quarters as it were²; the halo of lustre, as it were, of the thicket of trees in the form of the orb of the Universe³. It reated terror in the heart of even the most courageous ones, by means of the unguents in the form of the gleams of water, lustrous and having their flow, rendered free from obstacles as if by the emissions of the shadows of the groves of Tamūla trees grown overshores, anointed as it were, by the loveliness of the body of the younger sister of Vaivasvata (Yamunā) residing in the heart (i.e. the interior), as if screened by the smokes of the submarine fires smouldered by the squalls, as if brought to refinement by the sheen of the frame of Acyuta (Kṛṣṇa) slumbering inside it.⁴

It was hugged close by the coquettes in the form of the rivers having come repeatedly from the reverse routes during the days rendered murky by the fresh clouds hovering about, screening to long distances with the veil in the form of fresh water rendered turbid by mire, their faces smeared with the bunches of profuse musk, corals and moss and eyes in the form of fishes having their tremulous pupils reeling up this way and that way, bearing the regions of the posteriors in the form of shoals having girdle zones in the form of arrays of tumultuous Krauñca birds let loose, having the surfaces of their protuberant breasts pulsating, perforce, the swift movement, having the clank of anklets in the form of sweet noted swans blocked inside them⁵. It had water being drawn out of it continuously by the arrays of clouds as if by the rows of water buckets of the water machine formed out of well chiselled or carved out wood, in the form of the sky having quarters well laid down inside it from all sides, constructed by the lord of the immortals with a view to irrigating the orchard in the form of the world, having innumerable rainbows formed out of the sprays of heavy showers, getting down time and again and rising up to a considerable height once again having taken water

1. जन्मपल्वलमिवाकाशकुवलयस्य॥ TM. Vol. II p. 261. L. 8.
2. प्रभापटलमिव दिङ्मण्डलेन्द्रनीलवलयस्य Ibid. pp. 261-62. p. 261 L. 8. p. 262 L.1.
3. छायाचक्रमिव ब्रह्मस्तम्बतरुगहनस्य Ibid. p. 262. L.1
4. अन्तःप्रसूसाच्युतशरीरद्युत्येव दत्तसंस्काराभिरनिलविलितैरौर्वज्वलनधूमैरिवानुरंजिताभिरन्तःकरणवासि-
वैवस्वतानुजा..... देहलावण्येनेव लिप्ताभिस्तटतमालकाननच्छायार्निगमैरिव निर्गलीकृतप्रसरभिरुल्लसन्तीभि-रम्भसः
प्रभावर्तिभिरत्यन्तशौराणामपि मनसि साध्वसमादधानम्। TM.. Vol. II, p. 262.
5. मुद्रितमुखरहंसनूपुरस्वनाभिः त्वरितगतिवशोत्कम्पमानपृथुपयोधरतटाभिर्मुक्तावाचाल- कौञ्चमालामेखलानि
पुलिनजघनस्थलानि बिभ्रतीभिरितस्ततो बलितविलोलतारशफरलोचनाभिर्बहलशैवलप्रवालकस्तूरिका-
स्तवककलंकितानि पंकमलिनेन नवनोरवाससा सुदूरमावृण्वतीभिः मुखानि विजृम्भिताभिनव- मेघदुर्दिनेषु
दिनेषूत्थेनागत्यागत्य निम्नगाभिसारिकाभिर्गाढमुपमूढम्। Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 262-63. p. 263. LL. 8-10. p. 263 LI.

time and again¹. It had sinking and swimming being undergone by the Moon and the Sun, which had observed the upsurge of the digit of moon as also that of the divine horse (Uccaiśravas) during its churning, as if with a view to searching out the sixteenth digit of his own body with disfigurement produced by its incompleteness, the eighth steed of his own chariot having its gait rendered loose by the uneven number of steeds i.e. the seven⁵⁹. It carried the fire named Aurva one i.e. the Submarine fire by the one side of its interiors being swollen by waters incessantly fallen from the hollows of the Samvartaka clouds, as if it were the circle of lightning of the end of the aeon, clinging at the time of quaffing the fire, as it were, of the stomach of Agastya.⁶⁰

In these three points Dhanapāla has illustrated the scientific truths of clouds borrowing water from the ocean and emitting them out in the form of rain upholding there by the moral truth of Kālidāsa illustrated in his Raghuvamśa. 'आदानं हि विसर्गाय सतां वरिमुचामिव'² The Sun and the Moon have their effect on their rising as well as setting by the ebbing and tiding of the ocean while the submarine fire develops and grows through the phenomenal occurrence of the clouds, lightning and thunder etc. The ocean abounds in the rich quarry of pearls and shells, below the surfaces of its waters. Their production has been fancied by the poet through poetic conceits based on the legendary lore. As for example- It had its interiors decorated with pearls born from the wombs of the oyster shells assuming solidity and augmented as if by the drops of perspiration from the breasts of Lakṣmī.³ They were, as it were, the drops of tears shed forth by the baby-moon dragged perforce by Śiva. They were, as it were, fallen from the global pates of Airāvata torn by the claws of the mighty lion. Somewhere they were released perhaps from the throat caverns of the fish of Viṣṇu fatigued while searching out the Veda. Elsewhere they were spitted out by the bamboo-staves on the low

1. मुहुरवतरन्त्या तोयमादाय पुनरूर्ध्वमतिदूरमुत्पतन्त्या सान्द्रशीकरक्षोदविरचितानेकसुरचापया जगदुपवनम् सेकुममरपतिना प्रकल्पितस्य सर्वतः सुघटितकाष्ठस्य गगनारघुस्य घटीमालयेव जलदसन्त्या सततमुदच्यमानम् विषमवाहनविसंस्थुलस्य निजरथस्याष्टमं तुरङ्गमसमग्रताजनितवैरूप्यस्य चात्मवपुषः षोडशीं कलामन्वेष्टुमिव मथनदृष्टदिव्याश्चशशिखण्डसंभवाभ्यामहिमहिमगभस्तिभ्यामनवरतकृतमञ्जनोन्मञ्जनम् अगस्त्यजठरानलमिव पानावसरलग्नं युगान्तविद्युद्वलयमिव संवर्तकाभ्रगतमनवरतमानोयमानं वृद्धिमुदकैरुदरैकदेशेन दहनमौर्वाभिधानं दधानम्। Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 263-264.

2. Raghu. IV. 86. p. 121 GRNE MLBD, Delhi 1971.

3. धूर्जटिहठाकृष्टशिशुचन्द्रमुक्ताश्रुबिन्दुशंकाविधायिभिलक्ष्मीस्तनस्वेदलेशैरिव लब्धकाठिन्यैरमृतशक्ति-गर्भसंभवेः मुक्ताफलैरलंकृताभ्यन्तरम् अपरैरपि महाप्रमाणैः क्वचित् प्रलयवातविभूतपुष्कारवर्तकं मेघमुक्तैः क्वचित् कुलिशकर्कशहिरण्याश्वक्षोऽभिघातदलितमहावराहदंष्ट्रांकुरोच्छलितैः क्वचित्कमठपतिपृष्ठकपणोत्थपावकप्रदीपमन्दर-नितम्बवेणुस्तम्बनिष्ठयूतैः क्वचिद्वेदान्वेषणक्लान्तहरिशकुलगलरन्ध्राज्झितैः क्वचित् प्रौढकेशरिन्ध्र-रदारितैरावणकुम्भकृष्टभ्रष्टैः... भिन्नजातिभिर्मौक्तिकैः स्तवकिततलम्। Ibid. Vol. II p. 264.

lying regions of Mandara smouldering with fire born out of its contact with the back of the lord of tortoises. Some where they were splashed out from the lips of the jaws of the huge boar crushed by the strokes of the chest of Hiranyākṣa as hard as the adamant. Elsewhere they were emitted out, as it were, by the clouds Puṣkaras and Āvarttakas swung by the squall of deluge, being of diverse nature and huge in form.¹

Its spume white like Kailāśa whitened the faces of the quarters, being the boisterous laughter, as it were emitted out suddenly by the Submarine fire unsated by the waters being spilled out into its mouth continuously with its tongue in the form of flames outstretched lengthwise.

The Acalarāja or the king of the mountains named Suvela had an array of azure forests or groves visible on it from afar. The faces of all the quarters were scaled by the groups of peaks scraping the sky. It had its Plateau's cordoned by the mountains of rise as well as of setting or Udayagiri and astagiri having eastern and western parts joined together. It was constantly splashed over by the water spilt by the hands in the form of billows directed by the tide of the Lavaṇa Jalanidhi. Samaraketu visited this mountain while having a sight, of the hill overgrows with groves on the shoals (of the ocean) having groups of trees being visible at intervals, with stretches of thin peaks vanishing at every shore.²

Ratnakūṭa has been described as the crest ornament of the island called Pañcaśaila, a sportive adornment of the ocean, a Sport venue town for the celestial couples and a field of accomplishment for the group of Vidyādhara and foremost in beauty of all the mountaineers.³

The horror provoking aspect of nature is available in the description of the same ocean already referred to above.

The repository of waters (*toyarāśih*) is intractable from all sides on the circumambulatory corners of this mountain and is therefore difficult of

1. सर्वतः प्रसारितायतज्वालजिह्वस्य सततमावर्ज्यमानैरपि मुखे पयोभिरनुपजाततृप्तेरौर्वदहनस्य दर्शनाज्झटितिनिःसृतैरट्टहासच्छेदैरिव कैलासविशदैः केनराशिभिराशामुखानि धवलयन्तम्। Ibid. Vol. II pp. 264-265.
2. प्रतिवेलमपसरत्सानुविस्तारान् निरन्तरोपलक्ष्यमाणसान्तरालतरुणान्.... अवलोकयन् वेलावनाचलान्... दूरादेव दृश्यमानश्यामवनलेखमम्बरोल्लेखिना शिखरसंघातेन लंघिताखिलाशामुखमुदयास्तशैलमेखला-मूलमिलितपूर्वपाश्चात्यभागम्... लवणजलनिधिवेलया बीचिहस्तापर्वजितैः पयोभिरनवरतमाहन्यमानं सुवेलनामानं मन्त्रराजमग्रजम्। Ibid. Vol. II pp. 283, 287.
3. एष चूडालंकारः पञ्चशैलद्वीपस्य लीलावतंसकः सागरस्य क्रीडास्थाननगरममरमिथुनानां सिद्धिक्षेत्रं विद्याभरणानामग्रिमो रामणीयकेन सर्वपर्वतानां रत्नकूटो नाम सानुमान्। -Ibid. Vol. II p. 292. LL. 6-7

wading through even by those possessed of navigatory vessels without hectic perseverance. It is infested with huge sea monsters who at every step immanently uncondusive to wading through the maelstroms turn the movements of the vessels back and the expansive huge rocks on the shores mar the courage to advance ahead at every spot. The voyage through the ocean is still more difficult by any one amongst the navigators at night in which the regions such as even, uneven appearing alike as such when the colleagues who deserve not to be deserted even for a moment, are not hard by, the other vessels, too, being far away, on a route full of handicaps, being inscrutable with its fords uncanny by nature.¹ When deep in the midstreams the navigator's alarms against the ravages of the sea-monsters and the precautions observed to scare them away for a smooth sailing through the waters are equally interesting. The circles of crocodiles lurking all around, the groups of alligators moving in a circular gait, the array of dolphins moving about, the rows of snakes crawling about-all these needed the raising aloft of lamps to illuminate the path in order to scare them away. The Lion faced crocodile prowling about desirous of jumping up with gaze pinioned on the banners of red silk cloth apprehensive of the succulent pork, with tail wagging tremulously, needed the precaution of spraying of spills of oil along with fire smouldering in water in front of it to make it clear the path of the vessel. The Hippopotamuses descending into water on seeing the vessels, with a view to watch guarding their cubs, needed the hand claps to scare them away. The tortoise as huge as a sanctuary abounding in pigeons, likely to stray the vessels on a wrong track and the Timiṅgila (whale) engulfing the small fish and followed by the spouses of those engulfed running in quest for a prey fit to be engulfed by his being a measuring rod of the ocean, as it were required to be ignored quietly, being provoked they could create a heavy wreckage.²

1. सर्वतः एव दुर्गः पर्वतस्यास्य पर्यन्तेषु तोयराशिर्न शक्यते महान्तं यत्नमन्तरेण यानपात्रिकैरवगाहयितुम्; अत्र हि महाप्रमाणाः संचरन्तिः जलचराः, पदे पदे प्रकृतिदुस्तराः प्रवहणानां निर्वययन्ति गतिमावर्त्ताः, स्थाने स्थाने शिथिलयन्ति यात्रोत्साहमतिशयोदग्रास्तटग्रावाणः ईदृशे च निसर्गदुखतारे नोरधावनवधारिते कर्णधारेषु केनापि निरपाये पथि यथावदविभाव्यमानसमानसमविषमभागायां विभावयामनुक्षणमपेक्षणीयसाहायकेष्वनासन्नवर्तिष्वपरयानपात्रेषु यानमत्यन्तसङ्केशमिति मन्यमानस्य मे मनाङ्कुन्दायते चितम्। TM. Vol. II . p. 302. LL. 2-6.
2. इतश्चङ्क्रम्यते मकरचक्रम्, इतः परिक्रामति नक्रनिकरः, इतः सरति शिशुभारश्रेणिः, इतः प्रसर्पति सर्पपङ्क्तिः, उत्सर्पयत दीपिकाः, प्रकाशयत सर्वतो मार्गम्, अपसारयत निकटचारिणो दूरं दुष्टजलचरान्, अयमुनप्रस्थमचलस्य चटुलवेल्लितलोङ्गुलवद्विरार्द्रबह्वृशंकया रक्तांशुकपताकासु पातित दृष्टिरुत्पित्सुरिव चेष्टते सिंहमकरः, किरत रंहसाभिमुखमस्य पथसि ज्वलन्तीरग्नितैलच्छटाः, इदमकस्मादस्मदबलोकनक्षुध्बितमुत्रस्त कलभसंवरणविहस्तयूथपं तीरशायि जलहस्तियूथमग्रपथेन पाथोनिधिमवतितीर्षति, त्वरितमुत्सारयन्, युगपदाहितेन हस्ततालशब्देन दूरम्। असौ

The famous metaphor of lightning considered as the spouse of the cloud is given in "उत्पातपवनधूननोपजातखेदानां गर्भपातमिव संवर्तकाभ्रविद्युताम्।"¹ The lightning forming consorts of the clouds named *saṁvarttakas* feeling dismayed over their abortions caused by the tremors caused by typhoons. The divine shrine has been fancied metaphorically to be the cessation of burning power, as it were, of the submarine fire with extinction produced in it by the desiccation of waters in the ocean without a cease.

"अनवरतवारिधिसलिलशोषणोत्पन्नजाड्यस्य दाहशक्तिभ्रंशमिव वाडवाग्नेः।"²

The metaphor of white flags fluttering owing to breeze, acting the role or bearing semblance of female cranes (*balākās*) in the midst of the circle of sheen azure hues on a hazy day (rendered so by the clouds) is available in the same description of the shrine- "घनदुर्दिनश्यामले प्रभाचक्रवाले बलाकायमानपवनलोलसितपताकम्।"³ The description of Seasons also forms a prominent part of the description of Nature of Dhanapāla.

"The Autumnal Sun has been described as frightening". 'कठोर-शरदातपत्रासात्'⁴ There is a simile in the description of the divine shrine involving the 'Hemanta' and 'Śiśira.'

The divine shrine was decorated with wind breaking lattices prepared quite close like the season of Frost which is redolent with the emissions of breezes in the cold season (Śiśira) 'हेमन्तमिव समासन्नशिशिरवातायनालंकृतम्'⁵ The Rainy Season (*Vāridāgamah*) attended by clouds and the earth overgrown with variety of plants and abounding in puddles etc. is fully elaborated in its rich wealth of descriptive details.

The advent of the clouds doing good to the whole universe took descent into the Universe as if with a view to alleviating (the anguish) having seen him (i.e. *Harivāhana*) tormented by both the Summer Season as well as the Cupid an enemy without a cause. The clouds blue like the heaps of lotus petals hovered over the sky instantaneously with arrays of heavy showers

रसातलात् सद्य एवोन्मग्नो मठ इव सपाशपतः संचरति कमठो, मा प्रतिष्ठध्वमभिमुखमेव निकषा प्रस्थितो नेष्यत्यपथेन नावम्, असावपि विदारितगिरिकन्द्राकारतुण्डो मानदण्ड इव सागरस्य ग्रासीकृताक्रन्दञ्जलकरिजटाल-वदनैर्बालूमत्स्यैरनुसृताभिर्मत्सीभिरनुगम्यमानो मृगयते निजग्रासोचितं सत्त्वं सत्त्वरमितस्ततः स्तिभिततया गत्या तिमिङ्गिलो, मा विधत्त कलकलं, यातु निभूतमेव, विकृत एष महतेऽनर्थाय। TM. Vol. II pp. 305-306. p. 305. LL. 6-9.

1. Ibid. Vol. II p. 319. L. 9.
2. Ibid. Vol. II, LL. 9-10.
3. Ibid. Vol. II, 320. LL. 8-9
4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 273. L. 7. para 93.
5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 321. L. 6.

brought into being, as if to shatter his lust for the founts. The bearer of the creatures (i.e. the Earth) became viridiscent with meadows of thickset emerald, with stars gone listless on account of its waking constantly during the nights, as if to propitiate or please the gaze of that one (i.e. Harivāhana). The breezes redolent with the Kādamba perfumes saturated with the floral succulence perfumed constantly, starting wafting, cool with initial showers of clouds as if to allay the torment of his limbs. The royal swans started off for the northern direction, with lust produced in them by the reminiscences of the Mānasa lake, as if to report the attachment towards him of the daughter of the lord of the celestials. The lotus groves sunk into the pleasure ponds replenished with rain waters as if full of shame, by the display of the clusters of his petals incapable of alleviating the pangs of his separation from her (i.e. Tilakamañjarī). The trees in the gardens shed forth a flood of tears in the form of drops of water through their eyes in the form of petals hung low afar as if aggrieved at the sight of his anguish, with their frames sprayed over by the showers from the clouds. The hot rayed one (i.e. the Sun) threw into the caverns of the clouds, having waters in the interiors, his rays naturally harsh and fit to have a touch of their limbs. The groves of Ketakī with their hollows of their palms in the form of flowers folded up, had taken birth in that, as if to ward off the shark bannered god (Cupid) with his clusters of arrows shot forth invariably. The domestic peacocks with circles of their plumes raised aloft stalk like started their hilarious dance with ditties in the form of the hums of bees clattered ceaselessly as if to regale him off his stupor.

And in this manner there set in the advent of showers unbearable to a greater degree than the summer season, for the son of the overlord of the Kośalas whose mind had undergone a chagrin during the murky days of the bearers of water (i.e. clouds) overcast from all sides which had scared away in its entirety the groups of travellers turning up having been thrown into a trance by the redolence of thickly grown Kuṭaja trees, had wrested fortitude off the heart of a lewd man by a series of showers from the outstretched clouds; that was horrible owing to the lightning flashing about, that had cleft as-under both the heaven as well as the earth by the tumult of the rumbling of the terrible clouds; that had the sombre din of floods of the shore-less rivulets, that had ears torn by the raucous croaks of the frogs and had the warbling of the thrush as well as of the cuckoos becoming prominent promiscuously.¹

1. दृष्ट्वा च तमकाण्डवैरिणा मन्मथेन घर्मतुना च युगपदुपताप्यमानमुत्पन्नानुकम्पो निर्वापयितुमिव चक्रे जगत्यामवतारमखिलविशेषकारी वारिदागमः। प्रवर्तितप्रबलधारापङ्क्तयो भङ्कुमिव तस्य धारामृहस्पृहां

Jaladasamaya has been construed as a lover gone out to the distant lands (only to come back in the next session), the love lorn beloved Śarad presented herself as if to make a display of her own state bearing semblance of one of the ladies doomed to separation anguished by the going outdoor of their newly wedded lords with inordinate passions produced every day due to separations (The Autumn, too, having excessive heat getting augmented by her separation from the Season of rains).¹

“स्निग्धपत्रलतागुल्मगहनेष्वनेकतरुफलरसास्वादजनितनानाशकुनिकुलसौहित्येषु लौहित्योपकण्ठकाननेषु।”²

illustrates the groves ashore the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) satiating the hunger of many groups of birds by a taste of the juice of the fruits of many trees impenetrable through bushes and creepers overgrown with unctuous sprouts. Strolling about in that forest situate to the Kāmarūpa (Prāgjyotiṣa) Harivāhana got the queer experience of listening to the horrifying exclamations such as “Here is this cluster of trees abounding in bears, here is a shore of the streams occupied by a herd of bisons, here is a hill cavern having squatted in its interior the bulky boars and here is a thicket of reed stalks having śarabhas prowling quietly within its centre.”³

क्षिप्रमेवान्तरिक्षमाच्छादयांचक्रुः अब्जिनीपलाशप्रकरनीलाः पयोमुचः। सततयामिनीजागरणजडतारकां प्रसादयितुमिवतद्दृष्टिमविरलौदिभ्रमरकतश्यामशाद्वला बभूव भूतधात्री। प्रथम जलधारासार-
शिशिरास्तदङ्गतापमिव निर्वापयितुं निर्वातुमारभन्त संततामोदमकरन्दमांसलाः कदम्बवाताः।

मानसस्मरणसञ्जातरणरणकास्तदनुरागमाख्यातुमिव खेचरेन्द्रदुहितुरुत्तरां दिशमभिप्रतस्थिरे राजहंसाः।
तद्विरहदाहविच्छेदाक्षमेण पत्रखण्डाडम्बरेण विहितापत्रपाणीव वर्षासलिलपूरितासु विलाससरसीषु
निममज्जुरम्भोजिनीवनानि। घनधाराभिवृष्टमूर्तयस्तदर्तिदर्शनदुःखिता इव दूरविनतैः
पल्लवैश्चणैरम्बुकणिकाश्रुविसरमजस्रमसृजन्नुपवनदुमाः। प्रकृतिकर्कशास्तदङ्गसंस्पर्शयोग्यानिव कर्तुमात्मनः
करानन्तःसलिलेषु जलमुचां कुक्षिषु निचिक्षेप चण्डभानुः। तस्मिन्सकृदुत्सृष्टबाणविसरं निवारयितुमिव
मकरकेतुमाबद्धकुसुमांजलिपुटान्यजायन्त केतकीकानाननि। विनोदयितुमिव तस्यारतिमनारतोदीरित-
मधुरकेकागीतिभिः समारम्भ ताण्डवमुदण्डबर्हमण्डलैर्गृहशिखण्डिभिः।

एवं च विकसिताकुण्ठकलकण्ठचातककलकले कठोरदुर्द्वारदितदारितश्रवसि विश्रुतापारवाहिनीपूरधृत्कारे
घोरधनगर्जितारविजर्जितरोदसि द्योतमानविद्युद्दामदारुणे विततवारिशाराधोरणिध्वस्तधोरकामुकमनसि सान्द्र
कुटजदुमाभोदमूर्च्छिता गच्छदुच्छन्नकल्पाध्वगकलापे समन्ताद्विजृम्भितेऽम्बुधरदुर्दिने विधुरीभूतमनसः
कोशलाधिपसुतस्य। ग्रीष्मकालादधिकदुःसहो बभूव वर्षासमयारम्भः।

TM.Vol. III pp. 29-31. p. 29. LL. 3-11. p. 30. LL. 1-8. p. 31 LL. 9.

1. अथ प्रेषिते जलदसमये तद्वियोगादनुदिवसमाविर्भवत्प्रबलातपायामभिनवपतिप्रवासदुःखितस्य विरहिणीजनस्य सदृशावस्थमात्मनमिव दर्शयितुमागतायां शरदि। Ibid. Vol. II p. 32. LL. 1-2.
2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 35. LL. 2-3.
3. इयमृक्षसंकुला वृक्षसंहतिः, एष वनमहिषयूथाधिष्ठतो नद्युपकण्ठः, इदमुदरदेशासीनमेदुरवराह-मद्दिगह्वरम्, असावन्तरनिभृतभ्रान्तशरभः शरस्तम्बनिकुरम्बः। Ibid. Vol. III p. 37. LL. 2-3.

Spring season has been described as prolific in sweet warblings of the inebriate cuckoo.¹ There is a pun on the word 'Kaṇṭhīrava' meaning a lion, 'Kalakanthirava' meaning the 'warbling of the sweet and indistinct noted cuckoo.' 'A wild forest infested with lions imbued with pride or ferocity' is what is purported forth by the latter part of the compound.

The appearance of the nocturnal hour, its culmination, the dawn of the diurnal glow, the march in that hour of Samaraketu in search of Harivāhana, the Atavībhū (Sylvan terrain) through which he passed, the Ekaśṛṅga mount he mounted on and the lake named Adṛṣṭapāra, he waded through all go to establish the point that Dhanapāla had a peculiar eye for the minute observation of all types of phenomenal occurrence, the Beauties of Nature likely to inspire and influence the psychology of a human being working under trying and affluent circumstances.

As Samaraketu resolved to start off (for a search of Harivāhana), as if having come to know of his resolve, the twilight tint with glow ripened up approached the sun as if to inquire after the piety involved in his marching off. The patches of sun shine mounted the tree tops, from the surface of the earth as if to collect the leaves for the salutation wreaths auspicious at the time of march. The array of orchards accommodated inside the hollows of the nests of trees, the clusters of birds made vociferous, stretched out as if prone to scare away the evil prates. The advent of night concealed the copper vessel in the form of the pitcher like orb of the solar (disc) inside the vat in the form of the western ocean, whose capacities to sip in waters (i.e. consume waters) had been examined manifoldly with a view to sanctifying the zodiac. The quarters coalesced mutually with leaves of Kuśā (Dūrvā grass) suffused with the drops of curd in the form of gloom-spangled with stars transferred into the caldron of emerald in the form of sky as if they were the coquettes wearing silk robes of the evening glow. The group of seven sages rose up in the sky shining with an upper scarf as if to proclaim the auspicious chart (Svastyayana).

And gradually as the nocturnal hour slinked away, the effulgence of the ambrosial rayed one blooming up slowly with the eastern sky shimmering forth, the quarters envying with the sylvan lakes endowed with the groves of lilies and lotuses blown up recently with glooms encircled round by the shine of the Moon, the trees owing to their interstices appearing to come closer with the intervening darkness patching up,..... Samaraketu-----
-- started off towards the Northern direction. Marching on, ----- when the Thousand rayed one (i.e. the Sun) with faces of eight quarters brought to

1. सुरभिमामिव समदकलकण्ठीरवममानुषमरव्यमविशम्। Ibid. Sm. ed. p.389. LL.2-3.

appearance, had got up having left behind that dusty path cadaverous with dust raised up by many travellers----- (he) started off through a different route of the forest bestrewn with clusters of leaves scared and fallen. Having got some rest on the peak of a mountain and taken bath in a mountain spring he slept in a hill cavern.

Having got up from the bed with sleep disturbed by the cries of the wild beasts, weapon in hand and following a tract extremely intractable, he started off through a sylvan terrain that had horrible grottos deep like the Hades; that was difficult of ingress for those lacking courage like a field of battle; that had its internal recesses rendered low-levelled by the hill streams creating a tumult indistinct owing to the clarion calls of Nāhals (Mleccha tribes) lying in covert in the under woods of reeds grown over shores having been splashed across and their shores or shoals shattered at intervals by the sand of stones overcast by the bushes of thickset Nirguṇḍī creepers, with their waters having their currents resonant issuing out from many sources owing to their slipping on the heaps of stones with their tops upraised and their shores being difficult of fording, that had screened from sight the rising and the setting of sun, by the trees that mainly consisted of Śālikī, the Karañja potherb, Arjuna, Sarja and Sarala, clinging to the tops of the sky as if to bring to the state of floral bunches the clusters of stars by means of the groups of branches not stretched forth and as if to afford space to each other by the networks of the fragile matted tendrils of loose roots etc. Apart from this the flesh of the wild beasts was being roasted on the spits and fire brands at certain places. Somewhere the tabor sounds on a drinking revelry were heard while elsewhere the young chaps were being taught the doleful ditties meant to attract the deer. At every pond squatted the fishermen holding their fishing hooks and nets. Every day persons meant to be sacrificed at the altar of Caṇḍī were being searched out. At places it was uneven owing to the establishments of the śābaras brought into being. Somewhere it had the crackling noise of the bamboos being heard burning as they were in the conflagration. Elsewhere it was variegated with the sheen of the eyes of the antelopes frightened by the ceaseless growls of the lions. Somewhere the śābaris were stringing the pearl wreaths out of the Guñjā berries meant to prepare necklaces of the elephants. Elsewhere the huge trunks of the trees were being made to dance by the whooping sighs of the large boas. Somewhere the groups of terriers shattered by boars were being mourned after by the groups of hunters; Elsewhere the passers-by were throwing into peels of laughter the groups of foresters by uselessly pelting stones on the monkeys and the tame birds perching on the branches of the trees. Somewhere it had the track of leopards being marked by the hunters greedy for the skins. It was full of white (wild) donkeys, white bears

and Śarabhas etc.¹ On the west of the Aṣṭāpadaśaila not far away from Vaitāḍhya mount, was a mountain named Ekaśṅga of many peaks beatific and covered by creeper arbours, having its innumerable caverns reverberous

1. अथावबुद्धतदभिप्रायः प्रयाणशुद्धिमिव प्रष्टुमुपसर्ष परिणतज्योतिषमतुषारदीधितिमस्त (स) मयूराणः प्रस्थानवन्दनमालाकिशलयानीव ग्रहीतुमवनीतलाप्रशिखरेषु शाखिनामारुरुहुरातपच्छेदाः, शुभेतरालापसंवरणपरेव विस्तारिता निबद्धकोलाहलानि शकुनिकुलानि तरुकुलायकोटरेष्वसुषूपदुपवनराजिः लग्नशुद्धयर्थमनेकशो दृष्टसलिलाकृष्टिसामर्थ्यमपराम्भोधिजलकटाहे तपनमण्डलघटीताप्रभाजनं निचिक्षेप क्षापारम्भः, सन्ध्यागारक्तंशुकभारिण्यो विलासिन्य इव गगनमरकतस्थालसंचारितस्रतारकतामिसदधिलवोन्मिश्रदूर्वापल्लवाः परस्परं संजग्मिरे ककुभः उत्तरासङ्गशोभि स्वस्त्ययनमिव कर्तुमुन्नगाम व्योम्नि सप्तर्षिमण्डलम्। TM. III. p.59 LL. 5-9. क्रमेण चातिक्रान्ते प्रदोषसमये, समुल्लासितपौरस्त्यनभसि मन्दमन्दमुद्दिद्यमाने सौधांशवं महसि शशिकरप्रभासंवलिततिमिरासु तत्कालविकसितसकैरवेन्दोवरवर्नाभिरण्यसरसीभिः स्पर्धमानासु दिक्षु, विघटितान्तरालतिमिरसंधानेषु विच्छिन्नतया प्रतीयमानेषु तरुषु, तरुतलास्तीर्णपर्णशयने शयाने निर्भर राजपुत्रान्वेषणक्लान्तवपुषि पृतनापदालिलोके... TM. III. p. 60 LL. 2-6.

समरकेतुः

अध्यवसितकुमारान्वेषणो वेश्रवणवल्लयां दिशं प्रत्युदचलत्। उदगते च स्पष्टिताष्टदिमुरवे दशशतमयूरेवे... तमनेकपथिकलोकेप्रहतमुत्पांशुलं मार्गम्, अपरेण पतितशीर्णतरुपर्णनिकरावकीर्णेन कान्तावरत्नम्... प्रतस्थे। लङ्घितानेकसमविषमभूधरधराविभागञ्चक्रमश्च पत्रललतागुल्फगुपिते विपुलसान्द्रच्छायाशखिनि सानुमत्प्रस्थे स्थितिमकरोत्। अतिवाहितक्लमश्च कंचित् कालम्... गिरिनी स्रोतसि स्नात्वा... नीत्वा पराह्वसमयमुपस्थिते सायाह्निकृतसंध्यावश्यकः प्रविश्य पर्वतगुहां सुष्वाप क्षपावसाने च क्षपितनिद्रः क्षापदारावैरुत्थाय शयनाद् गृहीतशस्त्रस्तमेव मार्गमतिदुर्गमनुरसन् रसातलगम्भीरभौमगह्वरया समरभूम्येव साहसराहितजनदुष्प्रवेशया, शिथिलमूलदुर्बलजटाजालकैः परस्परवकाशमिव दातुमप्रसारितशाखायामण्डलैस्तारकानिकुरम्भमिव कुसुमस्तवकतां नेतुमम्बरग्रास्यैः सरलसर्जानुंन करज्जशाकशल्लकीप्रायैः पादपैरपास्तदिनरोदयास्तमयदर्शनया, दुरवतारतुङ्गतटाभिरत्कोटिपाषाणपटल स्खलनबहुमुख प्रवृत्तमुखरश्रोतोजलाभिरनतिनिबिडनिर्गुण्डीलतागुल्फमुपिलीकृतोपलवालुकाबहुलविच्छिन्नान्तरालपुलिनाभिरुच्छलत्कूल - नलवननिलीननाहलनिवहकाहलकोलाहलाभिः शैलनिम्नगाभिर्निम्नीकृतान्तरालया, वनान्तरालसर्पिभि स्तारतुमलैरुद्गिरिविदिङ्मुखेषु मुखरितादिकुहरकुंजैः काहलाकुजितैः सूचितापतत्सुचिरसंगलितजनसंघातया, युवजनादतिरेकनिर्विवेकस्थविराभिर्निषादलोकादधिकनिर्दयद्विजातिभिर्दिवानिशमविश्रान्तनिनादैरापानकमर्दलैर्दूरादेव सूच्यमानसंनिवेशमिः प्रतियुल्लि पच्यमानशूलीकृतानेकश्चापद पिशिताभिः प्रतिनिकुंजमाकर्ण्यमानबन्दीजनाक्रन्दाभिः। प्रतिवसति विभज्यमानतस्कराहतस्वापतेयाभिः, प्रतिदिम्भपमुपदिश्यमानमृगमोहकारिकरुणगीताभिः प्रतिजलाशयमासीनानाथबडिशहस्तकैवताभिः प्रतिदिवसमन्विष्यमाणचण्डिकोपहारपुरुषभिभृताधिज्यधनुषा निभृतमुचारितचण्डिकास्तोत्रदण्डकेन सर्वतः प्रहितभय तरलदृष्टिना त्रयोभक्तेनेव गाढाञ्जितहिरण्यगर्भकेशवेशेन देशिकजनेन लघुतरोलङ्घ्यमानपरिसराभिः... शबरपल्लीभिरध्यासितविषमपर्वतोदेशया, क्वचिद् दावदहना श्लिष्टवंशोवनश्रूयमाणश्रवणनिष्ठरुष्टात्कारया, क्वचिदकुण्ठकण्ठारवावचकितसारङ्गोल्लोचनोशुशारदा क्वचित् तेरुतलासवि शबरी विरच्य मान करिकुम्भ मुक्तायादिशबल मुञ्जाफल प्रातम्बय, क्वचिदधः सुप्त दूमाजगरिनिः श्वास नर्तितमहातरुस्तम्ब्या, क्वचिद्दुः श्रुकणिकाश्चागणिकशोच्यमान कोलदलित निः स्पन्दसारमेव वृन्दया, क्वचित्प्र चारनिर्गत वनेचरान्विष्यमाणफलमूलकन्दया, क्वचिच्छेकशाखाभृगाच्छिन्नपाथेयपथिकनिष्फलोल्लोहवृष्टि- हासितादविकवर्गया, क्वचिच्चर्मबुधलुब्धकानुबध्यमानमार्गप्रहतमर्मद्वीपिमार्गया सापराधवध्वेव प्रियालपनसफलीभूत- पादपातिनिष्ठया, वीरपुरुषतूष्येव गोरखराच्छमलशरभरोचितया जठरजीनीनेकोदिव्यौषधिसमुहयापि व्याधीनां गणैराक्रान्तया गन्तुमटवीभुवाप्रवर्तत। Ibid. Vol. III pp. 59-60, 62-66. TM. III. p. 62 LL. 7-10.

with the cries of the peacocks dancing in hilarity without a cease; having the tumult of the linns (i.e. the springs) unceasing in its borders, circumbulated by the currents of celestial stream (i.e. the Ganges) having pedestals of charming bejewelled rocks prepared at every spot by the hermits abiding in hermitages established situate to it with a view to accomplishing the act of concentration, gorgeous with the shoals expansive and white and having waters unfathomable, having auspicious ditties strained forth ceaselessly by the Siddha Couples in the groups of shrines of the Siddhas adjacent to the plateaus darkened on all sides by the sylvan arrays deeply green with open space stretched overhead, having rendered diminutive the ethereal region by the heights of its peaks.¹ Mounted on the Ekaśṛṅga and marching on Samaraketu saw on a summer day a lake named Adṛṣṭapāra that had its out precincts quite expansive that was being indicated from afar by the breeze wafted from water quite fresh as if by a herd of wild tuskers got up from water quite afresh, with quarters besprinkled with sprays of strong showers and lotuses fresh and tremulous with the arrays of ripples splashed ceaselessly; that was surrounded on all sides by a contravallation close to the sky scraping peak, formed into a circle under the pressure of churning as if by the form of lord of the serpents (Vāsuki), darkened by the sylvan arrays bearing semblance of the circles of clouds quiet being laden with water, infested with wild beasts sleeping at ease by drinking its water, having litters on swings of creepers being undulated by pert apes, having their branches breaking loose by the draggings with their trunks by the elephant cubs, having inebriate cranes reclining on the region of their tops tumultuous with the noise of the cries of the peacocks prone to hilarity, raised aloft by the Hades, as if they were the rows of gloom, bearing the gleam of the clusters of hair of the maidens of kuntala flushing with youth, being thoroughly spaceless or terse.

It (i.e. the lake) was as if the water-basin brimming with water, of the creeper of the triad of worlds; the umbilical orb as it were having its interior over-shadowed by the series of gleams, the sliver plaited mirror meant for sport, as it were, of the quarters; a reflective index or the image, as it were, of the surface of the sky; the canopy made of silk meant for dalliance, as it

1. अथास्ति पश्चिमेनाष्टपदशैलमनतिदूरवर्ती वैताड्यपर्वतस्य, शिखरोच्छ्रायखर्वितान्तरिक्षतो, नितान्तविततावकाशः, शिरस्निग्धहरिताभिः सवन्त एवान्धकारितो वनलेखामिः अनुमेखलं सिद्धायतनमण्डलेषु सिद्धमिथुनैः सततारब्धमङ्गलनीलिभिः अमाध्यमलिलेन-सितविशालवालूकापुनिनलनिशालिना समाधिसुरवसाधनाय संनिधानाश्रमनिवासिभिस्तापसैः स्थमस्थानरचितचारुमणिशिलावेदिकेन त्रिदशसिन्धुस्रोतसा परिगतः, प्रातोन्ध्रविश्रान्तनिर्झरनिनादो, नित्यमुदितनृत्यन्मयूररुतमुखरितसंख्यकन्दरो लतामन्दिरच्छत्रसुन्दरानेकसानुरेकशृङ्गो नाम शिखरो। TM. Vol. III, p. 69. LL. 3-8 L.D. Seves ed. para 159 p. 117 LL. 25-31.

were, of the Lord of Serpents (i.e. Vāsuki); a boisterous laughter, as it were of Tryambaka (Śiva) abiding in the Nethers; an egress route, as it were, for the heaps of fame of Bali; an entrance door to Hades, as it were, for the current of Mandākinī; It were, as it were, the tassel of sheen shot up, of the circle of hoods of the serpent Śeṣa; the expanse of the light of the Moon frightful owing to its being engulfed by Rāhu, melted down as it were, the sky melted down by the heat of the maker of the day (i.e. the Sun) of the time of destruction, as it were, the cluster of Autumnal clouds flowed forth by the contact of the fire of clouds in huge numbers, as it were, the water of the tears of Himālaya wept in grief born of bereavement from Maniāka, melted down collectively as it were: the surface of the circle of clouds transformed into water as it were; owing to its transparency and limpidness it had been formed as if out of the glories of the leers of the eyes of the Lāṭa maidens, out of the rays of the teeth of the Kerala women, as it were and as if out of the gleam of the cheeks of the maidens of the Sindhudeśa.

It was bearing the water on its shores as if suffused with the lotus petals, tinged with moss, being rendered virid by the canopy of sheen shooting forth from the banks bedecked with rows of sapphire rocks, having rows of ripples as if despatched as gifts by the oceans vanquished by its expanses, formed as they were into series of steps. It had entry made after in its full form under the pretext of an image by the firmament surrounded by the circle of all the stars as if with a desire to wait upon, disparaged owing to its excessive expanse. It had innocent fish being duped by the image of the leaves from the trees grown ashore trumpet hued like the bits of fresh meat. It was as if having huge boas swimming across by the acreca nut palms quavering owing to their contact with the ripples impelled to motion at places under the pretext of their reflection in water. It had echoed the Universe with ripples. It was over grown with golden lotusues.¹

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1. तस्य सर्वदा कुसुमफलसमृद्धशाखिनि शिखरपृष्ठे प्रस्थितः समरकेतुरेकदा निदाघसमये महाभोगपरिसरम् अविरता, आस्फलितातरङ्गततिना तरलितवालपुष्करेण प्रबलसीकरासारसिक्तकुम्भा वन्यद्विरदयूथेनेव सद्यो जलादूत्तीर्णेन मरुता दूरत एव सूच्यमानं निरन्तराभिस्तरुणकुन्तलीकुन्तलकालापकान्तिभिर्ध्वान्तमालाभिरिव रसातलोलासिताभिरुल्लसन् मयूरकेकारवमुखराभिः शिखरदेशविश्रान्तमत्तसारसाभिरिभकलभकरावकृष्टिविघटमानविटपाभिश्चटुलवानरावाह्यमानलता दोलाभिरम्भःपानानन्दनिद्रायमाणश्चापदसंकुलाभिरम्बुगभर्निर्भरनिभृताभ्रमण्डलीविभ्रमाभिर्वनराजिभिर्स्थकारितया भुजङ्गराजमूर्त्तयैव मथनायासमण्डलीभूतायाभ्रलिहशिखरोपशल्ययापाल्या परितः परिक्षिप्तम्, अर्णः पूर्णमालबालमिव त्रिलोकोलतायाः कान्तिसंततितरोहितान्तरालं नाभिमण्डलमिव भूतधात्र्याः, विलासरोप्यदर्पणमिव दिशां प्रतिबिम्बिम्बाभ्यन्तरतलस्य लीलादूकूलवितानमिव फणीन्द्रस्य, रसातलप्रवेशद्वारमिव मन्दाकिनीप्रवाहस्य, शेषाहिफणा चक्रवालद्युतिजालमिवोच्छलितं विधुन्तुदग्रासभयादिचन्द्रिकापटलमिव गलितं, प्रलयदिवसकरोष्माणकाशमिव सुतम्। अदभ्राभ्रदहनसंपर्केण शरदभ्रवृन्दमिव द्रुतम्, मैनाकवियोगदुःखरुदितहिमाचलाश्रुजलमिव सङ्कलितम्। अभ्रमण्डलस्थलमिव जलीभूतम्, अवदाततया स्वच्छतया च कपोलच्छविभिरिव केलीदशनकिरणैरिव

Harivāhana's first meeting with Tilakamañjarī in the cardamom bower ending in separation after the exchange of mutual glances, the restless night of the prince in reveries for the maiden, the advent of the dawn marking his return to the tryst to find the maiden of his heart, has been described equally with a masterly execution of the design.

"The nocturnal gloom had vacated the opening of the quarters, the sluggish morning breezes were blowing, the sylvan creepers were waving the fans in the form of their leaves, the groves of blue lotuses were blowing up slightly, the rays of the sun were descending down gradually, the arrays of swans, Krauñcas (Heron) and cranes slumbering in lakes were spreading in the sky, the morning hour becoming apparent, he again started off following the track of Tilakamañjarī."¹

All said and done the rich wealth of Dhanapāla's imagination in associating Nature with all types of mundane material, its mild as well as the fierce aspects, its humanising effects on the reflective moods of human nature, all stand displayed in the broad purview taken above.

4. CHARACTERISATION

Dhanapāla's handling of various characters acting their respective roles on the stage of this romance is equally appreciable. He certainly does not attain to the high water mark of precision as exhibited by Bāṇa. But his characters both men as well as women are perfect types, individuals of their own calibres whom he has tried to portray with the pen of a moralist. Whereas Bāṇa is perfectly human and he hardly swerves from the tendencies of mundane mortality, he imbues his characters with, Dhanapāla is immensely idealistic and soaring to the utmost heights of idealism he at places errs on the side of becoming sentimental.

His men characters are a complete picture of sobriety and large heartedness whereas women characters don't rise to the same level as those of Bāṇa. Meghavāhana bearing semblance of Tārāpīḍa in Kādambarī and

लाटीकटाक्षच्छटाभिरिव निर्मितं, सर्वतश्च सोपानक्रमरचिताभिराभोगविजितैः पयोधिभिरुपायनप्रहिताभिरिव तरङ्गमालाभिरिन्द्रीलशिलाश्रेणीभिरवनद्धस्य रोधसो विसरिणा प्रभावितानेन हरितायमानं सशैवलमिव सपद्मिनी दलमिवतीरवारिबिभ्राणम्, अदभ्रविस्तारतिरस्कृतेन सेवाविधित्सयेव समग्रग्रहचक्रपरिवृत्तेन वियता प्रतिमा व्यपदेशेन सर्वात्मना कृतानुप्रवेशं, स प्रत्यग्रपलशकलपाटलैरुपान्तरुपल्लवप्रतिबिम्बैर्विप्रलम्बमानमुग्धमीनम्, अम्भः प्रतिफलनच्छलेन च क्वचित्पवनतरलिततरङ्गसङ्गभङ्गुरैः पूगतरुभिस्तरन्महाभुजङ्गमिव... अतिरमणीयम्, आनन्दकारिदृष्टेः अदृष्टपाराभिधानं सरो दृष्टवान्॥ TM. Vol. III, pp. 75.

1. अथ... उज्झत्सु दिग्द्वाराणि शार्वरी तिमिरेषु... बहत्सु मन्थरप्रभातपवनेषु...
2. प्रचलयन्तीषु पल्लवतालवृन्तानि प्राप्तवनलतासु ईषन्निमित्तसु नीलोत्पलवनेषु... अवतरत्सु भास्करकरेषु वियति विततायमानासु सरःशायि स्पष्टमासि प्रभातसमये भूयोऽपि तामग्रगल्भमृगशावलोचनामन्वेष्टुमनुसृत तदीयपदपंक्तिरुदचलम्। TM. Vol. III p. 161, L.L. 1-2, 5, 6-8.

his son Harivāhana bearing semblance of Candrāpīḍa along with Madirāvati depicted on the same lines as Vilāsavati all stand in comparison to Bāṇa's muse where as Samaraketu, Vajrāyudha, Kusumaśekhara, Gandharvadattā, Malayasundarī and Tilakamañjarī stand in contrast to it.

The figurative elevation of Meghavāhana as an ideal king of the Ikṣvāku descent has been planned on the same lines as that of Dilīpa, Raghu and Rāma in the Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa and that of Tārāpīḍa and Śudraka in the Kādambarī of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa. He has been described as a paramount sovereign (सार्वभौमो राजा) who shone forth all the times with the earth come under his way (सर्वकालमुर्व्या भुजंगतया भ्रजितः) constantly busy in guarding, with eminence attained in his speech (गिरावाप्तप्रतिष्ठः सततमम्वनचरतः). He is further described as free from infatuation born of the acquisition of enormous éclat, unfettered by the fetters of the love of maidens, unattracted by the alligators in the form of sense objects, unharassed by the tortures of the groups of vices, not made to dance or unobsessed by morbid tendencies caused by hauteur of fortunes. (अनर्तितो लक्ष्मीमदविकारैरखलीकृतो व्यसनचक्रपीडाभिरनाकृष्टो विषयग्राहैरयन्त्रितः प्रमदाप्रेमनिगडैरजडीकृतः परमैश्वर्यसंनिपातेन)¹

His fortitude has been compared to the steadiness of the earth, his radiance to that of the hot-rayed one (i.e. the Sun), his speech has been likened to the very form of Sarasvatī, his loveliness to that of the goddess of fortunes (Lakṣmī); in attractiveness, he has been likened to the sweetness of nectar, in his inventive skill to achieve his ends, he has been deemed a peer to austerity in corporeal form.²

His sobriety, éclat, chivalry, fame, equanimity, physical capacities or prowess of arms and dignity have been fancied to be brought into being by all the oceans, all the mountains, all the fires, the rise of all the lunar orbs, the entire host of sages, the group of lions and the entire lustre of gems, charms and herbs.³ He was a guardian of the four Aśramas i.e. the four stages of life and had taken the responsibility to safe guard the interests of the religious resorts. He was capable of propping up the burden of the whole earth endowed as he was fully with the three Śāktis (Powers of state-craft). His fame was well known and he was capable of exterminating his foes. He

1. TM Vol. I p. 64. L.L. 2-4.

2. पृथ्वीमय इव स्थैर्यं, तिग्मांशुमय इव तेजसि, सरस्वतीमय इव वचसि, लक्ष्मीमय इव लावण्ये, सुधामय इव माधुर्ये, तपोमय इव साध्यसाधनेषु. Ibid. Vol. I, pp. 63-64. p. 63. L.4. p. 64. L.L. 1-2.

3. सर्वसागरैरिवोत्पादितगाम्भीर्यः, सर्वगिरिभिरिवविभक्तोन्नतिः, सर्वज्वलनैरिव जनितप्रकाशः, सर्वचन्द्रोदयरिव रचितकीर्तिः, सर्वपुनिभिरिव निर्मितोपशमः, सर्वकेसरिभिरिव कल्पितपराक्रमः, सर्वमणिमन्त्रौषधैरिवोपबृंहितप्रभावः। Ibid. Vol. I p. 63. L.L. 2-4.

was of a tranquil disposition and was a scion born in the line age of Sagara. He was endowed with enormous dignity and his prowess sprang from the adventures of battles. In radiance he even outpassed the fire. It (i.e. the radiance) even made him a compeer to Nala and Prthu. He was wont to wield his sword in battle and was having his disposition amenable to suavity.¹

He was not atrocious towards the supplicants and had a naturally ruddy glow on his feet as well as hands. He alleviated the anguish of the earth (i.e. the Universe) by protection and not by dalliance or frivolity and was not an abductor of women for the sake of lewdness. He did not have the tendency of kinship towards the wives of others and was equally averse to embracing the wives of others but was addicted to hospitalities. He had sermons administered to him through his religious preceptor by virtue of his fervour not that he had his command conformed to by callosity. He was charitable enough to devote his interests and never had a knack to disparage the elders by the pride of his intellect. During extirpation of foes he used to carry aloft his bow and never used revilious tongue while deliberating over certain topic. He had sanctified the lord of the triad of worlds by his conduct gone to the upper world, being quite elevated owing to his having gratified the people once for all by means of the fame earned by the performance of sacrifices and endowed as he was with virtues such as compassion, complaisance etc. He had circumambulated the interiors of the Universe by means of his series of virtues. His fame and chivalry were both charming as well as awe-inspiring. Like Acyuta (i.e. Viṣṇu) who carried conch and the quoit on his hands, he bore the marks of conch and the quoit on his palms (indicative of paramountsy). The fortunes of the opponents arrayed in rows came to woo him as their consort brought on to him by the portress in the form of his political acumen (Daṇḍanīti). His intellect had the knack of discrimination about right and wrong (lit. fit to be acquired and fit to be discarded) attuned as it were to the cadence of the interpretation of all the scriptures on polity. He was a specialist in all the six schools of philosophy and had attained proficiency in all the branches of learning. He was skilled in the employment of the six expedients of state craft (Sandhi, Vighraha, Yāna, Āsana, Dvaidhībhāva, Samāśraya or Samśraya). He could understand

1. सौजन्यपरतन्त्रवृत्तिरप्यसौजन्ये निषण्णः नलपृथुप्रभोऽप्यनलपृथुप्रभः समिद्व्यतिकरस्फुरितप्रभावोऽप्य-
कृशानुभावोपेतः, सगरान्वयप्रभवोऽप्यमृतशीतलप्रकृतिः, शत्रुघ्नोऽपि विश्रुतकीर्तिः, अशेषशक्त्युपेतोऽपि
सकलभूभारधारणक्षमः, रक्षितखिलक्षितितपोधनोऽपि त्रातचतुराश्रमः। Ibid. Vol. 1. pp. 62. LL. 3-4. p. 63.
LL. 1-2.

what is done by man and what is done by Providence. He could control the inward and outward upsurges and revolts of the enemies. He was a real lord of the subject with duties towards four castes (Varnas) and stages of life (Āśramas) well laid down.¹

Apart from this his feats of the sword subjugating his enemies, his effulgent prowess, his submissiveness, proneness to bestowing gifts, adventuresome nature, his unswerving temper under adverse circumstances, his keeping of good temper before the tense moods of his elders all these have been mentioned by the poet.² Consecrated to the throne while yet being a boy he took to all the facilities of youth available to him and devolved all the responsibilities of his kingdom on his ministers.³ He, however, did not allow his excessive addiction to lascivity encroach upon kingly liabilities. He gave proper attention to the grievances of his subject folk.⁴

Being issueless like Dilīpa and Daśaratha of Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa, Rājahamśa of Daṇḍin, Tārāpīḍa of Bāṇa, he resolves to take to austerity meant to expiate the sins on account of which he could not redeem himself from the 'Naraka' called 'Pun'⁵. In this manner he has been depicted as superstitious in the opinion of the Atheists and a highly religious Saint king in the opinion of those who believe in the doctrine of metempsychosis.

1. तस्यां च भुवनत्रयाश्चर्यभूतायां नगर्यामवार्यभुजबलारातिकठिनकण्ठास्थिदलनदन्तूरकृपाणधारः, अवतार इव साक्षादरुणसारथ्यैरकरथाक्रान्तचतुर्ब्धसीमा, समस्तैकविष्टपाधिपतया तुल्यरेखया वासुकिवासवयोरवस्थितः, यथाविधिद्व्यस्थापितवर्णाश्रमधर्मा यथार्थः प्रजापतिः प्रतिपक्षणामान्तराणामन्तराणां च विनेता, प्राप्तदैवपुरुषकारानुगुणः, पाङ्गुण्यप्रयोगचतुरः, चतसृष्वपि विद्यासु लब्धप्रकर्षः, मनुष्य लोक इव गुणैरुपरि स्थितोऽपि मध्यस्थः, सर्वलोकानाम् विशेषज्ञोऽपि समदर्शनः, सर्वदर्शनानाम् अनायासगृहीतसकलशास्त्रार्थाऽपि नीतिशास्त्रेषु खिन्नया परमाणुसूक्ष्मयापि क्रोडीकृतत्रैलोक्यया व्यक्तविवेकयापि अतिनिविडया प्रसन्नयाऽप्यसन्निहितमदया विशालहृदयासादितस्वेच्छावकाशयेवातिदूरप्रसृतया प्रज्ञया सम्याग्ज्ञातहंयोपादेयविभागः, सन्निहितदण्डनीतिप्रतीहारिसमाकृष्टाभिः समन्ततः पतिवराभिरागत्य सिद्धमालाभिराश्रितो विपक्षलक्ष्मीभिः, गगनाभोग इव शशिभास्कराभ्यामच्युत इव शंखचक्राभ्यामम्भसांपतिरिवाभूतवाडवाभ्याम् अभिरामभोषणो यशः प्रतापाभ्याम् इन्दुविमलाभिर्जदलसमयारम्भ इव राजहंसपंक्तिभिः प्रतिमानसं प्रस्थिताभिः व्याप्तभुवनान्तरालो गुणपरम्पराभिः असंख्यगुणशालिनापि सप्ततन्तुख्यातेन सर्वदाऽऽह्लादितलोकैनाप्यकेदानानन्दितजनेनोदात्तेनापि स्वरितेन चरितेन पवित्रितत्रिभुवनानिः उच्चापशब्दः शत्रुसंहारे न वस्तुविचारे, वृद्धत्यागशीलो विवेकेन न प्रज्ञोत्सेकेन, गुरुवितोर्णशीलो भक्त्या न प्रभुशक्त्या, स्वजनपराङ्मुखः परभार्यासु न सपर्यासु, अवनितापहारी पालनेन न लालनेन, अकृतकारुण्यः करचरणे न शरणे। TM., Vol. I. p. 58. L. 4. p. 59. LL. 1-4 p. 60. LL. 1-4. p. 61. LL. 1-4. p. 62. LL. 1-3.
2. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 65. LL. 5. p. 66. LL. 1-3.
3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 71. LL. 1-7. p. 72. LL. 1-3.
4. Ibid. vol. I p. 76. LL. 8-9. p. 77. L.1.
5. Ibid. Vol.I p. 80. LL. 6-8.

Intent upon undergoing an ordeal of abiding in a secluded forest with a view to propitiating the deity he is dissuaded by his queen Madirāvatī who also insists to accompany him. The Vidyādhara sage descended down from the sky intercedes on her behalf and persuades the king to offer adoration to the deity with the charm presented by him called Aparājita the honoured lore of the Lord of the Vidyādharas. His religious disposition is further illustrated by the act of construction of a temple of the deity where by he got installed an image of Śrī. His intrepid and reckless temperament is discernible in his encounter with the Vetāla who nurtures the vicarious pleasure of extricating the impossible demand of the human skull for which the king himself took to self immolation with his own sword. Offering penance to beget progeny he was constrained to sacrifice his own head like 'Puṣpabhūti' of Bāṇa before the Śaiva mendicant Bhairavācārya in the Harṣacarita. The subsequent appearance of Śrī both in Tilakamañjarī as well as in Harṣacarita and the consequent shower of a boon on both Meghavāhana as well as Puṣpabhūti rescue the mighty monarchs from a major royal cataclysm and redeem them of the crucifixion. They were going to undergo and emoliate the tense and horrible odium marring the optimism of the situation and vindicate the two lordly heroes through the ordeal. They were forced to pass through cleansing that way the stigma of manly levity that could turn their efforts to a simple farce resulting in their failure to get boons for their ultimate goals.¹

His superstitious nature is further illustrated by his sight of a vision in which he saw the elephant, the vehicle of Indra suckling the breasts having dragged on to it with his trunk the breasts with lotus placed on them immediately before Madirāvatī had conceived.²

This much is the portrait of Meghavāhana delineated by Dhanapāla absolutely in a traditional norm conforming to the ideal of Ancient Indian royal traditions.

Harivāhana and Samaraketu, the Hero and the side hero in their two respective romances have been depicted with a tinge of comparison as well as contrast. The former got by a boon in later age of his sire coming as a boon to his parents is obviously the more pampered one than Samaraketu who though being the only son of his sire Candraketu the king of Sindh, has been depicted on a different plane being a hero of battles to all intents and purpose. Harivāhana got his name in accordance with the psychology of the dream seen by his sire ere to the conception of his mother, on the tenth day after the birth and up to the age of five he enjoyed all the sports and

1. TM. Vol. I pp. 127-155.

2. Ibid. Vol. II p. 179. Ll. 2-5.

dandlings of the nurses and cajoleries of his mates. He was initiated to education at six and returned home at the age of sixteen when his sire performed his consecration.¹ Being the only and the pampered son he has been depicted as accommodating and suave, serene and calm in so far as he does not decline the offer of an association with Samaraketu brought as a war prisoner by Vajrāyudha from Kāñcī, by Meghavāhana according to whom he (i.e. Samaraketu) was a little more in virtues than Harivāhana and a better substitute for a reliable man amongst his kinsfolk with the result that he was made his close confidant like Vaiśampāyana of Candrāpīḍa. He was to treat him patiently and cordially in weal as well as woe. In teeth of opposition he was not to feel offended by him. He was to treat him as his secret counsel in matters of policy and above all he was to deem him a brother, a servant, a minister and an associate.² He (i.e. Harivāhana) did not feel any pinch on it when his sire, Meghavāhana proclaimed Samaraketu as the overlord of the Aṅgas a subdivision of the kingdom distributed between the two, the whole of Uttarāpatha consisting of maṇḍalas such as Kāśmīra falling to the lot of Harivāhana himself³. Rather he felt pleased over it and passed some of his days in company of Samaraketu quite jovially and pleasantly sometimes introducing him to his mother and sometimes to others and enjoying the gifts and compliments from the subsidiary vassals and other subject dignitaries.⁴ Even Samaraketu did not feel elated even the least when being seen by the king with the undistinguished love of a son.⁵ He took after Harivāhana's virtues in all respects barring aside the prowess of arms and served him day and night with unflinching devotion raised to

1. TM. vol. II, pp. 182-189.

2. वत्स! एष समरकेतुर्गुणैः समधिकं समं चात्मबन्धुवर्गे प्रधानपुरुषमपश्यता मया तवैव सहचरः परिकल्पितः।
अन्वहम् चायमापत्स्वपरिहारेण, संपत्स्वादरातिशयेन, समानगुणेषु गौरवोत्कर्षेण, विवादेषु पक्षग्रहणेन, नूतनार्थलाभेषु संविभजनेन, नर्मस्वमर्मोद्धिटेन मन्त्रणेष्वदूरीकरणेन, दारसंनिधावविकारदर्शनेन। प्रणयकलिकोषेषु स्वयमनुनयेन, उत्सवेष्वग्रपूजासंपादनेन, प्रारब्धवस्तुनिर्वहणेषु स्तुतिप्रपंचनेन प्रतिपन्नकार्येष्वविसंवादेन, सर्वत्र चातिविश्रामदर्शनेन परं संख्यमानेयः, एष ते भ्राता च भृत्यश्च सचिवश्च, सहचरश्च। TM. Vol. II. pp. 230- 231. p. 230. LL. 4-8. p. 231. LL. 1-4.
3. राजा समादिष्टः सुदृष्टिनामाऽक्षपटलिकः प्रविश्य पट्टकारोपितनिरवशेषमभ्यर्णवर्तिभिरनेकैः कश्मीरादि-मण्डलप्रतिबद्धैः प्रधाननगरग्रामैरुपेतं कुमारभुक्तावखिलमुत्तरापथमपर्यांबभूव, समरकेतोश्च सर्वदायसहितानङ्ग-जीवनेङ्गादिजनपदान् प्रायच्छत्। Ibid. Vol. II pp. 231-32. p. 231. L. 10. p. 232. LL. 1-3.
4. एवं च दर्शितप्रसादेन नृपतिना प्रतिदिनसमापाद्यमाननवनवसत्कारयोः...एकत्र कल्पिताशनस्नानासनशयनयोः सदृशवेषालंकारधारिणोः शाक्यशिष्ययोरिवानुपजातविप्रयोगदुःखयोः सुखमया इव, धृतिमया इव अमृतमया इव प्रीतिमया इवातिचक्रमुः कतिपये दिवसाः~ Ibid. Vol. II pp. 232-234. p. 232. L. 5. p. 234. L. 2-4.
5. यथोक्तं प्रकीर्तितप्रसादेन नृपतिना दृश्यमानोऽपि सुतीर्तवैशेषमोषदपि समरकेतुर्नौत्सेकमगमत्। Ibid. p. 234. LL. 5-6.

dignity by the group of his own virtues. Even Harivāhana felt great glee, with heart gladdened by his virtues, even when Samaraketu was seen by him in a dream like an ambitious king getting overjoyed on seeing in a vision the territory of an enemy.¹

Pulsating with youthful vigour he has been depicted as a gallant going to the outer garden named Mattakokila clinging to the shores of Sarayā mounted on an elephant bearing thereby the semblance of Indra mounted on Airāvata and accompanied by Samaraketu mounted on the globular pate of the tusker and acting the role of an elephant driver bearing a pointed goad with betel box bearer seated on the hinder part and a fly-whisk strung with a golden handle being waved every moment overhead balanced by a circle of a parasol made of peacock's plumes appearing thereby to be Jayanta made subservient by Saṁkrandana i.e. Indra wearing a limited heap of ornaments, painted with unguents, wearing a crest chaplet and donning a pair of robes transparent like the slough of a serpent shaken off.² All this is in conformity with the characterisation of the Nāgaraka idealised by Vātsyāyana in his Kāmasūtra (Book I). Dallying in the water pavilion he regaled himself with the fellow princes.³ Enjoying various sports and literary concourses situate to the shrine of cupid he spent his time with gaiety combined with serenity and circumspection which are apparent from the sober suggestion he gave to Samaraketu feeling malaise on hearing the import of the palm-leaf-billet. Instead of entertaining spite on understanding that the love letter from the beloved created anxiety in the mind of Samaraketu who might have been feeling perturbed on the perturbed condition of the sweetheart, he simply consoles him.

"Friend : How is that you are feeling indisposed on an occasion which entails great rejoicing? Why does not the gleam of smile permeate your lips? Why don't the words of poets brimming with sentiment of love pour

1. अपहाय भुजवीर्यमन्वकृत हरिवाहनस्य सर्वानपि गुणान् आत्मगुणगणेन प्रगुणितश्च परमया भक्त्या प्रीत्या च निःसामान्यया राजानमिव तमहर्निशमसेवत। हरिवाहनोऽपि तद्गुणान् रंजितमनाः स्वप्नदृष्टेऽपि समरकेतौ विपक्षजनपद इव जिगीषुः परां मुदमवापत्। Ibid. Vol. II p. 234. LL. 5-7.
2. एकदा च स ग्रीष्मसमये प्रातरेवोत्थाय निर्वर्तितस्नानभोजनादिविधिरुदधिजलविलुलितवासुकिमुकनिर्मोकनिर्मलं परिधाय वासोयुगलमुद्दिद्रमल्लिकामुकुलरचित शेखरो.....शिरीषतरुकुसुमकल्पितकर्णपूरः, कर्पूरपरिमलमुचा चन्दनद्रवेण विहितसर्वाङ्गीणाङ्गरागः, तत्कालोपनीतरलोपलशकलशीतलममलमुक्ताफलप्रायमल्पमुद्ग्रहन् भूषणकलापम्, ऐरावताधिरूढः सहस्राक्ष इव साक्षादुपलक्ष्यमाणः..... तत्क्षणगृहीतनिशितसृणेर्निषादितां प्रतिपद्य सिन्धुरस्कन्धमध्यासितस्य समरकेतोरधिस्कन्धमर्पितोभयबाहुपाशः पश्चिमासनाध्यासिता ताम्बूलदायकेन प्रतिबलमुद्धूयमानकनकदण्डडामैरैकचामारः, तुलितगतवरतमालतरुखण्डेन मायूरतपत्रमण्डलेन जयन्त इव संक्रन्दनानुचरीकृतेः... सरयूतटासङ्गि मतकोकिलं नाम बाह्योद्यानमगच्छत्। TM II. p. 234 LL. 8-9. p. 235 LL. 1-8.
3. Ibid. vol. II pp. 236-240.

into your cars? Why does your cheek twain rest on the couch of your palm twain without feeling the pulsation of bristles by the heartening words of your associates? Have you got the memory of some absorbing thought? Is it that you have been pierced by the arrows of the eyes of some princess or that you have been given some tryst to accomplish your soul or that you have not been driven afar by some exacting duty while striving to obtain her?¹

A sincere friend as he is reciprocated equally with a concordant note by Samaraketu reminded of his fault of deserting the maiden of his heart simply by a refractory attitude.

‘सशोक इव समरकेतुर्विरतवाक्प्रवृत्तिः स्थित्वा मुहूर्त्तमुपचक्रमे वक्तुम्²’ speaks of the cheering up of Samaraketu on finding a sympathiser likely to relieve him of his sorrow. He calls Harivāhana as ‘अमानुषी कुमार! तव प्रज्ञा प्रजापतेरिव तनुस्तनोति सर्वतोमुखतया परं मे मनसि विस्मयम्, अखिलजनमानसनिवासादिव त्वया समासादितमिदं पराशयज्ञानकौशलम्³’ A prince possessed of superhuman instincts whose intellect was like that of Brahmā, ubiquitous enough to create marvel in the hearts of others in so far as without having been told of anything, he came to understand the reality about his cause of anxiety and that he had the skill of understanding the depth of the minds of others through his own telepathy.

Recounting his tale Samaraketu represents himself as an able heir to his sire. Candraketu who had detailed him on duty to lead the naval, force bound for Dakṣiṇāpatha in order to chastise the wicked vassal refusing to pay off tributes of violating the law of the supreme sovereign.⁴ He is represented as skilled in the study of all lores according to his capacities, well versed in the science of polity (Nīṭividyā) amply practised in the art of archery (Dhanurveda) and used to the working of weapons such as the sword, the mace, the quoit (disc), the javelin etc. ‘असिगदाचक्रकुन्तप्रासादिपु प्रहरणविशेषेषु⁵’ Marching on to wade through the ocean he is discouraged by Tāraka but is courageous enough to encourage him to accede to his demand.

1. सखे किंनिमित्तं प्रहर्षस्थानेऽप्येवमस्वस्थेन भवता स्थीयते, किमर्थमिदमर्कितगतनेन तमसा समास्कन्दितवदनमिन्दुमिव चन्द्रिका नाद्रीत नर्मालापेष्वपि कुन्दनिर्मला ते स्मितद्युतिः किमित्यधिकमधुरा अपि परपुरन्ध्रिदूतोगिर इव श्रवसि न विशन्ति शृंगारप्रधानश्चिरन्तनकवीनामुक्तयः केन हेतुना नूतनैरपि सुहृज्जनसूक्तेरजातपुलकाद्गतिरुभयपाणिपर्यंक शरणाधार्यते कपोलद्वयोः।

2. T.M. Vol. II p. 249. L. 10.

3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 250. LL. 1-2.

4. Ibid. Vol. II pp 250-51. p. 250. LL. 7-8 p. 251. LL. 1-3.

5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 251. L. 4.

‘सखे! यदि तवाप्यभिलाषस्तदलं विलम्बितुम् उत्तिष्ठ गमननिष्ठो भव मैकान्ततो विनिपातभीरुर्मन्त्रीव यात्राभियोगभंगार्थमर्थशास्त्रप्रदर्शितेन वर्त्मना देशकालसहायवैकल्यादीनि कारणान्यकारणमेव दर्शय, सक्लेशमस्तु यदि वा क्लेशरहितम् अवश्यमेव तावद् गन्तव्यमवगन्तव्यम् च गीतध्वनेरस्य तत्त्वम्।’¹ On hearing the sound of music he ventures to pursue it and risks his life through the unfathomable and horror provoking ocean abounding in sea fauna. This proves his adventurous disposition. Following the music he reached a spot and saw a maiden sixteen years old and just at that time Vajrārgalā the portress of Harivāhana brought a portrait originally brought by Gandharvaka setting thereby the stage for the initial meeting of the Hero and the side hero with their respective beloveds who put their lovers to such trials that after undergoing the perils of death and derision they emerge out successful vindicated through the ordeals. Love smitten (Samaraketu on seeing the maiden and Harivāhana on seeing the maiden painted in the picture) both display a certain amount of lack of fortitude but gradually adjust themselves according to the circumstances. Harivāhana unable to find Gandharvaka return back after the promise, gets impatient and unable to bear himself finds excuse to proceed on a Digvijaya and wading through the regions round about Kāmarūpa and the adjoining forest terrain on the banks of Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) he is lured into the clutches of Providence in so far as in trying to turn back Vairiyamadaṇḍa, his personal vehicle, he is raised aloft by a miracle tuskar who throws him into the lake Adṛṣṭapāra and helps him see the face of the maiden of his heart for the first time. Failing to have a chat he returns and returning to meet her in the morning again he loses her sight and instead sees the beloved of his brother Samaraketu who narrates her woeful tale of her separation from her lord and ultimately helps him to unite with Tilakamañjarī, who also suffers another separation from him due to the non-availability of Samaraketu, his friend in need and trials simply with a view to making him available to Malayasundarī. The non availability of his friend impels him to have a fall from the precipice, where-from he is rescued by the intervention of a youth named Anaṅgarati who prompts him to undergo the ordeal of a secret charm and its performance in a hill cavern. A prince used to the life of luxury he ventures to undergo the ordeal of a secret charm and its performance in a hill cavern. A prince used to the life of luxury he ventures to undergo that ordeal for the sake of his friend and ultimately finds Śrī appearing before him to shower the boon of reuniting with his beloved Tilakamañjarī who was none but Priyaṅgusundarī in a

1. TM. Vol.II pp. 302-303. p. 302. L. 10. p. 303. LL. 1-3.

previous birth. Samaraketu's ordeal of maintaining his love intact in face of the torturous war, he was given to fight against Vajrāyudha in favour of Kusumaśekhara is all the more exacting and full of contrast. He loves his maiden but is firm in duty. He ventures to save her from strangulation at the intercession of Bandhusundarī, but refuses to go the way of a coward eloping with his beloved like the wicked Vajrāyudha, who wanted to abduct Malayasundarī under cover of darkness.

‘सूक्तवादिनि, युक्तवादिनि। युक्तमभिहितम्। किंतु दुष्करमिदं मादृशानाम्। अहं हि बारंबारमभ्यर्थितेन प्रतिपद्य मित्रतां शत्रुगृहीतस्य राजस्तावकस्य साहाय्यकाय पित्रा समादिष्टः... तेनास्य सर्वथा सराष्टस्य सपशोः सपुत्रदारस्य रक्षाविधौ मया व्यापृतव्यम्। यदा तु छलेन राजावुपेत्य प्राणभूतामस्य दुहितरमपहरामि, तदा तदपकारकृत्येषु नित्यमेव निषण्णबुद्धेर्द्वज्रायुधस्य मम च न व्यतिरिच्यते किञ्चित्’

His devotion and love for Harivāhana are amply justified, when we find him burst into tears on not finding him return from his loss by the miracle tusker and leaving his entourage behind he wades through the sylvan terrain alone on foot and reaches the spot of the Cardamom creeper enroute Kāmarūpa and Adrṣṭapāra and sees his friend on the paramountsy of the Vidyādhara.

The Vaimānika, the Vidyādhara sage, the Vetāla Mahodara, Gandharvaka, Cakrasena, Vicitravīrya, Kusumaśekhara, Vajrāyudha, Vijayavega, Mahodadhi (the chief royal lapidary), Citramāya, Anaṅgarati, Vikramabāhu, Śākyabuddhi, Mañjīrā, Kamalagupta, Sudṛṣṭi etc. are the other major as well as minor characters of note playing adjuncts to the main heroes and the side hero.

Vaimānika has been introduced in the romance to apprise the king of the fact that his issuelessness was not long destined and it was he who was to take birth in his house as the sole scion of the Ikṣvāku race. He is a celestial character and presents the divine necklace to the king. This necklace serves as the source to reminiscences of the past in case of Harivāhana and Tilakamañjarī, Samaraketu and Malayasundarī, the latter being Sumālī and Priyamvadā in an earlier birth. His form has been depicted as effulgent decked with ornaments, costumes, cosmetics etc. He appears more of a spiritual being than of a mundane soul. The Vidyādhara sage is likewise a spiritual being come to inspire the king in his days of dismay and in the manner of a Siddha predicts the birth of a son in the house of Meghavāhana by the ritual of propitiation of Śrī. He has been described as radiant in form, pious in resolves and fit to be met with by merits.² He is further described as

1. TM. Sm. ed. p. 326. LL. 6-12. L.D. Seves ed. Para 292. LL. 17-22.

2. तेजसंमूर्त्या पावनं चरितैः, आप्यं पुण्यैः।

being, as it were, the rite of virtuosity, the accomplishment of the vow of knowledge, the accumulation of the purity, as it were of sanctity, the right to duty, as it were, of piety, the all bestowal of compassion and a director to the path of emancipation.¹

The Vetāla Mahodara presented as a hideous looking stupendous figure sent only to suit the opportunity of Vindication of the king through an ordeal by Śrī, presents a typical figure wearing a crest wreath hanging up to the knees, wearing anklets of bones and eating a condiment of bones smacking of odium. He was actually a foil employed by the goddess to test the mettle of the king or else he was a Yakṣa a semi divine being and never a vampire. His role in the latter stages is equally haughty his pride born of the special grace of Śrī, his irate temper being manifest even at that stage when he checkmates the progress of Gandharvaka and throws him into the lake along with the aerial car only to find him get back with the form of a parrot. This unfolds his mysterious character of a tantric intolerant of others. His characteristic role in the caverns where Harivāhana performed penance is equally of the same nature. He acts as the sentinel of the goddess guarding the cardinal point of her religious resorts.

Gandharavaka is just a tame boy acting as a courier carrying the portrait of Tilakamañjarī employed by Patralekhā the consort of Cakrasena. He meets a mishap while performing that duty and transformed into parrot retains his memory and speech and not the form and sticks to his business of rescue work during the odd hours of Malayasundarī. His resuscitation through the divine scarf Niśītha brings him to human form again and he performs his duties there even in association with Citramāya by conducting the Hero and the side hero with their respective heroines. Cakrasena is the sire of Tilakamañjarī, a Vidyādhara king of Rathanūpura Cakravāla, affectionate towards his daughter and respectful towards his wife.

Vicitravīrya is the sire of Gandharvadattā and maternal grand sire of Malayasundarī, sire of Patralekhā as well, staying at Vaijayantī, affectionate unto his grand daughter, always pining to meet his daughter Gandharvadattā lost in his royal cataclysm.

Kusumaśekhara is the king of Kāñcī, sire of Malayasundarī, consort of Gandharvadattā, who had the expanse of his cantonment extending up to the shores of the Southern ocean having his fame sojourning up to the Eastern and the Western corners. He has been depicted as a chivalrous king standing in the Van of battle to face the foe with expert war strategies but is

1. आचारमिव चरित्रस्य, प्रतिज्ञानिर्वाहमिव ज्ञानस्य, शुद्धिसंचयमिव शौचस्य, धर्माधिकारमिव धर्मस्य, सर्वस्वदायमिव दयायाः, मार्गदेशकमिवोपवर्गस्य। Ibid. vol. I p. 89. LL. 3-4.

vanquished by the superior forces of the enemy, even though allied by Samaraketu the prince of the Siṃhalas. He preferred fighting to surrendering the hand of his daughter Malayasundarī against her wishes, when persuaded by her and interceded by her mother though at the first instance he had resolved to do the same as a mark of matrimonial alliance fostering the cause of political alliance. That shows his intense love for his daughter in preference to his kingdom.

Vajrāyudha is the supreme commander of the forces marching towards Dakṣiṇāpatha. His chivalry is imbued with callosity of conscience in so far as he wants to elope with the daughter of the king of Kāñcī by the force of arms and by devastating the capital in case the king did not surrender his daughter to him wilfully. He is shown as a sportsman in not killing Samaraketu caught as a prisoner of war when vanquished in the nocturnal warfare. Vijayavega is his deputy meant to communicate the happenings about Vajrāyudha when away on campaigns etc.

Sudṛṣṭi is the keeper of the records concerning the royal mandates (Akṣapāṭalikāḥ) through whom the king conducted his business of issuing the orders etc..

Mahodadhi is the chief officer incharge of the jewellery Citramāya is a courier in the harem of Tilakamañjarī. Anaṅgarati is the youthful prince, son of a kinsman of Śākyabuddhi, the Pradhānabuddhisaciva of Vikramabāhu the overlord of Gaganavallabha. He played a significant role in rescuing the life of Harivāhana.

Mañjīrā has been described as the son of a bard, extremely zestful for the art of poetry, a close confidant of Harivāhana, an object of amusement for all the princes.¹ Kamalagupta has been described as the son of the lord of Kaliṅgas skilled in the arts of cajoleries, outspoken by nature, an object of veneration for the confidants of the prince (Harivāhana), being in an age that had most of its boyhood gone, i.e. Being in youthful age, skilled in all the scriptures and languages, extreme favourite of the prince, being of the same status as Samaraketu.² He calls himself as, one of inacute intellect contaminated by nature³ and intolerant of the import of the billet finding fault with understanding of Samaraketu and that of Cupid both of whom had

1. काव्येष्वतीव रसिकः सर्वदा निकटवर्ती कुमारस्य नर्मपात्रं सकलराजपुत्राणां मञ्जीरनामा बन्दिपुत्रः। Ibid. Vol. II. p. 241. LL. 3-4.

2. समरकेतुना समानप्रतिपत्तिरत्यन्तमभिमतो राजपुत्रस्य सकलशास्त्रभाषाविचक्षणः क्षीणभृविष्टशैशवे वयसि वर्तमानो भाननीयः कुमारपरिग्रहस्य प्रकृतिप्रगल्भवाक् किमपि कोविदः परिहासकेलितु कमलगुप्तनामा कलिङ्गदेशाधीशसूनुः। Ibid. Vol. II p. 245. LL. 9-11.

3. अस्मद्विधानां हि स्वभावकश्मलस्थूल बुद्धीनां। Ibid. Vol. II p. 245. LL. 2-3.

shown their own influence under the circumstances, the latter having had the upper hand and instead of consoling, Samaraketu disheartens him without feeling the grain of sympathy for his pitiable condition, getting thereby the censure of being uselessly exasperated.¹ Even though enjoying the same status as Samaraketu he bears a great contrast to the latter in so far as on the loss of the sight of Harivāhana by the mysterious Device of the elephant, he does not feel the pinch of the chagrin likely to be felt on the loss of a dear friend and unlike Samaraketu in order to play adjunct to him in searching out the prince. Throughout the adventures of Harivāhana and Samaraketu he remains in charge of the army battalions of Digvijaya and appears at the end when it is all happy about the Hero and the Heroine.

Of the women characters Madirāvatī ranks foremost. Tilakamañjarī and Malayasundarī come next to her. Madirāvatī has been called the spouse of Maghavāhana, an object of love of the king, the chief among the ladies of the harem, worthy of respect for the whole lot of favourites and born in a mighty lineage of the Kṣatriyas consecrated on the forehead.² She was adorned with a demeanour shining with extreme piety. Her form co-operated with her demeanour. Her youth co-ordinated with her modesty, her dignity conformed to her-quanimity.³ Her supremacy was at its acme, her spirit was lofty. She was above the act of falsehood and did not have the association of the want on women even in a dream.⁴ Her fidelity is beyond question in so far as she persisted to perform the religious rites in company of her lord revelling in conjugal bliss.⁵

“इत्युक्ते महर्षिणा मदिरावती त्रपातरलतारया दृशाऽबलोक्य पत्युर्मुखमधोमुखीबभूव”⁶

Alludes to her instinctive bashfulness. As a mother her love for her child is beyond its bounds so much so that when her son brought Samaraketu along with him to her chamber after his sire had appointed him as his foster

1. TM. Vol. II pp. 246-249.

2. इयमप्युपजातजन्मा महति मूर्धाभिषिक्तक्षत्रियाम्नाये माननीया समग्रस्यापि मत्परिग्रहस्य सर्वान्तःपुरप्रधानभूता मदिरावती नाम प्रेमपात्रं मे कलत्रम्। Ibid. Vol. I p. 94. LL. 4-6.

3. परमशुद्धिशालिना शीलेनालंकृता, शीलसहचारिणा रूपेण विनयवता यौवनेन... प्रशमभाजा प्रभुत्वेन... सततमुपगमिता... Ibid. Vol. I p. 82. LL. 1-3.

4. परां कोटिमारूढा स्वामिभावस्य सर्वदासत्त्वे स्थिता, असत्यमुक्ता स्वप्नेऽप्यजातस्वैरिणीसङ्गा। Ibid. Vol. I p. 82. LL. 7-8.

5. आर्यपुत्र! यथा तत्र तथा ममाप्याराधनीया देवता, एवं च कस्मात् परित्यज्य मामेक एव व्रजसि वनम्। Ibid. pp. 96-97. p. 96. L. 9. p. LL. 1.

6. Ibid. Vol. I p. 101. LL. 2-3.

brother she did not slacken her love for him and even treated Samaraketu at par with Harivāhana.¹

Tilakamañjarī, the heroine of the romance has been called the gem of a maiden being the daughter of Patralekhā begot by Cakarsena, king of the Vidyādhara. Her form painted in the picture had enchanted and entranced the gaze of Harivāhana. Her girlhood had passed with gaiety through sports such as celebrating the fake marital ties of the puppets, ball playing and preparation of Pāñcālīkās (the dolls made of cloth etc.).² Her youth had arrived but she did not like to come close to any youth. The 'Prajñaptividyā' foreboding her union with a terrestrial prince her mother arranged a painting through Citralekhā and deputed Gandharvaka to search for that coveted prince. Her beauty was so enticing that even a sober soul like Harivāhana felt shaken within himself and unable to see the promise of Gandharvaka getting fulfilled he grew impatient speculating over his own prospects about winning her hand declaiming as to who shall be so fortunate as to get the self choice necklace worn over his neck etc.³

"अन्या अपि प्रकृष्टरूपलावण्यवत्यः प्राप्तयौवनाः दृष्ट्वाः क्षितिपकन्याः, अन्यासामपि श्रुतस्तत्त्ववेदिभिरनेकधा निवेद्यमानो विलासक्रमः, न तु कयाऽपि क्वाप्यपहतं चेतो यथाऽनया।"⁴ These words of Harivāhana extol her super-human charms. He was so much enamoured of her that he found out some excuse to get out of his house when failing to get a wink of sleep during nights and at times saw her forms inscribed on the faces of the vacant quarters.⁵

'सर्वथा गन्धर्वकागमननिष्प्रत्याशः स्तिलकमंजरीसंततस्मरणजन्मना विक्रविकृतो गाढमतिदारुणावेगेनोद्वेगेन कथंचनाप्यशक्नुवन् गृहेऽवस्थातुम्।'⁶

Further illustrates his extraordinary attachment unto Tilakamañjarī who was a superb beauty for him. When seen by Harivāhana for the first time and feeling the sprout of love at first sight she started trembling like the sprout of fresh plantain plant struck by a terrible squall.⁷ But due to instinctive bashfulness she could not utter a word and introduced fully by

1. TM. Vol. II p. 231. LL. 6-10.

2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 11. LL. 6-8.

3. TM. Vol. III p. 21. L. 10. p. 22. LL. 1-5.

4. Ibid. Vol. III p. 24. LL. 4-6.

5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 29. LL. 1-3

6. Ibid. Vol. III p. 32. LL. 2-3.

7. सापि मां तथागत्य द्वारदेशे कृतावस्थानम्.. अवलोक्य समुषजातसाध्वसा सहसैव प्रबलमारुताहता बालकदलीकन्दजलीव कम्पितुमारब्धम्। Ibid. Vol. III p. 153. LL. 3-5.

Harivāhana left that place only to pause and pass through the ordeal of ennobling love which gets vindicated only through separation and suffering. She is the lunar line for the lily grove of his heart.¹ The ordeal of separation is vindicated to union by Malayasundarī who arranged the meeting of the two, which casually turns into separation when he sees the plight of Malayasundarī not finding her lord of the heart Samaraketu who was a foster brother to him as well. The intervening cause of impatience of Tilakamañjarī bearing a mark of reaction on Malayasundarī pricking the latter to recognise herself as the instrument for that separation bring in the character contrast between the two. The ultimate austerity of Harivāhana, the motif of the scarf Nīṣītha bringing to human form Gandharavaka the parrot convert resulting in the reunion of the two couples completes the character portrait of Tilakamañjarī who like wise feels a privilege to see the union of her sister heroine with her hero lord Samaraketu. Malayasundarī compared with Tilakamañjarī bears a contrast to the former being an epitome of a maiden exposed to the callosities of dastardly providence who making her come face to face with her lover, feels the pinch of love at first sight but is given to suffer the pangs of dereliction the moment she sees her lord who is harder pressed by the exigency of a more exacting task of helping the sire of his beloved against the cruel onslaught of a callous foe. Once thinking of putting the nuptial wreath round his neck she suffers the pangs of unceasing separation prompting her to undergo the threefold attempt at suicide comprising of strangulation, watery grave and poisoning through the Kimpāka fruit. She, however, escapes the cruel jaws of death through the sheer freaks of favourable destiny. Being the pampered daughter of her sire Kusumaśekhara king of Kāñcī she feels embarrassed over the hasty decision of her sire in accepting the unrighteous proposal of giving her over to Vajrāyudha the proud sentinel of Meghavāhana who was ruthlessly ambitious to derive the vicarious pleasure of razing Kāñcī to the ground in case he did not accept the marital alliance with his daughter, intended by him.²

Her taking recourse to asceticism after receiving the billet from Gandharvaka (Parrot) when rescued from a watery grave and waiting for long to unite finally through the assistance of Harivāhana, with Samaraketu bring her in line with Mahāśvetā of Bāṇa waiting for long years on the

1. मद्भूदयकुमुदाकरशांकलेखा तिलकमञ्जरी। TM. Vol. III p. 157. LL. 4-5.

2. अविज्ञाय मच्छिववृत्तिम्, अनाकर्ण्य वचनमम्बायाः, अनवलम्ब्यमत्यक्षपतिवर्गमतम्, तथात्यन्तवात्सल्येनापि किंनिमित्तमिदमनुष्ठितं इदित्येव कार्यं तातेन। यदि वा न कोऽपि परमार्थतः प्रेयाननुवर्तनीयः पूजनीयो वा प्रजारक्षणमात्रं कर्तव्यानां नरपतीनाम् को वा मदीयाभिप्रायवेदनेऽवसरस्तातस्य। नहि कोऽपि कन्याकायाः प्रियः तवायमाप्रियो वा इति। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 299. L. D. Series ed. para 251. LL. 26. 30.

shores of Acchoda lake to meet her lord of life towards the end. Malayasundarī had been waiting in a shrine on the shores of Adrṣṭapāra lake.

Patralekhā and Gandharvadattā are the two sisters mothers of Tilakamañjarī and Malayasundarī respectively representing the true epitomes of fond mothers looking to the betterment of their daughters. Gandharvadattā is an obedient spouse not gainsaying the verdict of her lord Kusumaśekhara even when her daughter feels embarrassed over his decision. Her words-

‘देव काहमुपदेशदाने। किं वाभ्यधिकमन्यद्विज्ञापयिष्णमि द्वावपि व्यजितौ देवेन पक्षौ । य एवात्मने रोचते, य एवं बहुगुणः प्रतिभाति स एवाश्रीयते।’¹ amply illustrate the fact recounted above. These same words establish her a fond mother who through a gesture made her lord come to decide upon the path that could save the life of their daughter.

Bandhusundarī has been described as an associate by Malayasundarī of the same age as she is extremely skilled in understanding the indications about others or the special behaviours of others the sole repose of confidence, her second heart as it were, with ardent affection developed unto her right from her childhood.² Being a sincere friend and an affectionate sister, as it were, she fully took cognisance of the trustful visage of Malayasundarī who had given up all her regular ways of dress and behaviour³ and in spite of a feigned effort on the part of Malayasundarī to conceal her morbid transformations of heart she did not feel duped and inquisitive to know her real heart persisted to prick her against her wishes.⁴ Being a true chaperon of her childhood she knew the working of her destiny as foretold by Āryavasurāta whose words could never belie the facts.⁵ That is why in order to divert her love-smitten heart she consoled her with the

1. TM. Sm. ed. pp. 327-328. p. 327. L. 23. p. 328. LL. 1-2. L.D. Series ed. para 296. LL. 19-21. p. 191.

2. तावदगता तत्र शैशवात्प्रभृति रूढगाढप्रणया द्वितीयमिव हृदयमेकभूमिविश्रम्भस्य परं प्रगल्भा परैगितावबोधे बन्धु सुन्दरी नाम समवयाः सखी मे। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 293.

3. भर्तृदारिके! महदाश्चर्यम्। अन्यः कोऽपि दृश्यते एष ते वेषपरिग्रहः। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 293. LL. 10-11.

L. D. Series para 244p. 171 L. 21.

4. अन्यच्च शयनीयमिदमधिशयाना प्रविश्य प्रथममवलोकित्वापि निपुणं मया त्वं न दृष्टा। दृष्टा च साम्प्रतम्। तत्किमेतत्। कथय तथ्यम्। अत्यर्थमाकुलं मे हृदयम्। अन्यदेवोत्प्रेक्षते किञ्चित्। Ibid. Sm. ed. pp. 293-94. p. 292. L. 22. p. 244. LL. 1-2. L. D. Series ed. p. 171. para 244 L. 30-31.

5. यः सः कोऽपि कण्ठे कुसुममालामारोप्य कल्पितं वरत्वेनानया नृपकुमारः तस्मान्न शक्यते वाक्यशर्तैरपि निवर्तयितुमिति निश्चलनिश्चयैषा विषादोऽप्येष तत्त्वाग्रपतनजनितो नियतमस्याः। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 295. LL. 3-5 L.D. Series ed. p. 172. para 246. LL. 18-20.

words that she would certainly achieve her end in so far as her consort was likely to be a prince of great repute.¹

Deeming her a fatalist Malayasundarī strikes a note of optimism by tickling her with words full of irony that since she thought her tie with him was destiny bound, he would listen to her words and would get out of the ocean even if sunk deep into it.²

Apart from being an affectionate friend she is also a faithful servant in so far as realising well the state of mind of Malayasundarī going against the wishes of her sire who was willing to marry her to Vajrāyudha by way of a political wager in order to save his territory from the ravages of an onslaught, she tries to persuade her feeling thoroughly sympathetic towards the maintenance of the regnal autonomy of her master i.e. Kusumaśekhara. It is she who not finding Malayasundarī in her chamber runs to rescue her from strangulation by a noose which the latter had prepared to immolate herself. It is she who called Samaraketu at that spot and got that noose cut off and ultimately requested him to lend her a helping hand in her final goal. Her self censure and laments on not finding Malayasundarī in her chamber display her responsible character in life.³ As a go between she acts the role of a diplomat. Having shown due hospitality to Samaraketu, she requested him to woo Malayasundarī since it was he who was responsible for that sorrowful state of committing self immolation.⁴ And when he replied that it was not possible to divulge that secret she felt a bit annoyed and tried to provoke the prince by giving a nod to Malayasundarī that she was going to do so.

‘Princess! You acted most undesirably in so far as you did not take leave of your life even at the Primary separation from him and did not go mad and

1. भर्तृदारिके, विदितं मया ते शोककारणम्। अनाकुलाऽऽस्व। भविष्यत्यवश्यं तव तेन नरपतिसूनुना सह समागमप्राप्तिः।
अवितथादेशो हि तत्रभवानार्यवसुरातः न तद्भाषितोऽर्थः कदाचिद्विषयसंबन्धितः। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 295. LL. 6-8 L.D. Series ed. p. 172. para 246. LL. 21-23.
2. सखि! किमेतेन तव चिन्तितेन। अद्यापि बहु चिन्तनीयमास्ते। यदि तावदवहितस्तस्य मद्वचनस्यार्थमवधारयिष्यति। निमग्नश्च सागरादुत्तरिष्यति नितान्तमनुरक्ते वा मयि भविष्यति। TM. Sm. ed. p. 296. LL. 4-7. L.D Series ed. p. 173. para 247. LL. 3-6.
3. विगतलक्षणे बन्धुसुन्दरि! जानत्यापि जीवितमुत्सृष्टुकामा किमियमवधीरिता त्वया निर्गच्छन्ती धृता च, किं न धावित्वा हठात्पृष्ठतो विमोहितया च संकटप्रासादकुट्यान्तरालपरिसर्पणेन कस्मात् कोलाहलः कृतः। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 308. LL. 5-8. L. D. Series ed. p. 179. para 265. LI. 30-31 p. 180 LLI.
4. महाभाग! मदभिप्रायेण सत्यं महानर्थहेतुरस्यास्त्वम्। अत एव वायुक्तमुपकारोद्धट्टनं मया विहितम्। केवलं त्वदभिप्रायमाश्रित्य पृच्छामि। सर्व कालमन्तःपुरगतायाः स्वप्नेऽप्यजातपुरुषसंनिधेरधुनैव दृष्टः कथं महानर्थहेतुरस्याः भवान्। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 315. LL. 19-22. L.D. Series ed p. 184. para 274. LL. 10-13.

took to a mighty vow and showed your attachment like this while undergoing great torture.”¹

Her complaint to the prince that ere long she had been under an impression that women by instinct were crookedly disposed while men-folk were immanently simple. And this popular saying had been free from any gainsaying. But at that time when not even inquired about, Malayasundarī had narrated the entire account, from start to the finish, about her meeting and attachment with him, but he, when asked had refused to express his true intention even when fully aware of the same.²

Prince, becoming silent she tried to bind her in nuptial tie by joining her hand with the right hand of the prince and performed the formal rite. The intervention of Tāraka bringing a message as a courier from Candraketu disturbed the whole scene and Samaraketu assured her that he would not act like Vajrāyudha resorting to the Rākṣasa, Āsura or Paisāca mode of marriage. He was inclined to take to the Daiva type though he had already taken to the Gāndharva mode. He suggested a via-media that he did not want to augment hostilities with Vajrāyudha and desired to earn the goodwill of her sire Kusumaśekhara. Samaraketu gone, Bandhusundarī also wended her way towards her princesses' chamber and narrated the account of Malayasundarī just then. Here practically ends the characteristic role of Bandhusundarī the saviour of the side heroine of the romance which but for her sagacious pluck and alertness might have ended in a tragic denouement at least of one of the love episodes of the whole plot.

Vajrārgalā is a portress who conducted Gandharvaka and ere to that the portrait of Tilakamañjarī.

Citrālekḥā was a chief shampooing maid skilled in the art of painting, who had the privilege of introducing Malayasundarī to Patrālekḥā after the incident of poison taking of Kimpāka fruit by her.³

Taraṅgalekhā was the chaperon from childhood of Gandharvadattā residing in the hermitage of Kulapati, where she had been brought up after her separation from her sire, Vicitravīrya and where Malayasundarī had been sent by her sire at the instance of her mother to keep her away from the

1. भर्तृदारिके! कृतमतीव दुष्करं त्वया यदस्य प्रथम एव विरहे न मुक्ताः प्राणाः न गृहीत उन्मादः, न प्रतिपन्नं महाव्रतम्। एवं दुःखमनुभवन्त्या दर्शितः स्नेहः। TM. Sm. ed. p. 316. LL. 7-9. L.D. Series ed. p. 184. para 275 LL. 18-20.

2. कुमार! कुटिलस्वभावाः स्त्रियः, निर्गस्रलः पुरुषवर्गः, इति जनप्रवादो न निरवद्य इति चिरादद्य मे स्थितं मनसि, यस्मादपृष्टयापि मया दृष्टमात्रस्य ते जन्मनः प्रभृति सर्वमावेदितं निजरहस्यम्। त्वया तु पृष्टेन विदितपूर्वमेतावदपि मे न प्रकाशितम्। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 316. LL. 10-14 L.D. Series ed. p. 184. para 275 LL. 21-24.

3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 340. LL. 5-11. L.D. Series ed. p. 198. para 314 LL. 26-30.

inhuman guiles of the lecherous foe (Vajrāyudha). She had rescued Malayasundarī by providing antidote after she had taken the Kimpāka fruit. She had to run a long way in her rear to ultimately catch her unconscious. With the status of a foster mother she had the courage to even rebuke the princess by saying-

'Pert dame! How did you come here? What reason prompted you to reach here? Who related to you, stays here for your sake? Who gave this wicked proposal to you? You did not feel ashamed while roaming at will on this sea beach abounding in ferocious fanna, derelicated from all your associates, O you inimical or sinister one.'

5. SENTIMENTS

According to Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy Sentiment or Rasa is a term from diatetics, meaning taste or relish and introduced by Bharata into the field of dramatic criticism to denote the complex of aesthetic enjoyment. According to his analysis, it is a complex range of Psycho physical response man is capable of Drama or poetry is the stimulus by which multiple and even fleeting moods, feelings and responses are made to fall into a pattern around the more or less permanent nucleus of an emotion. The organised response complex of the connoisseur is termed 'rasa' and its possible varieties are eight or nine, depending on the classic number of nuclear emotions (sthāyibhāvas).²

According to Viśvanātha a Kāvya is that sentence the soul whereof is the Rasa (वाक्यं रसात्मकं काव्यम्)³ or in other words of Viśvanātha 'Rasa or sentiment is the very soul as a succinct observation the very infuser of life'.

'रस एवात्मा साररूपतया जीवनाधायको यस्य।'⁴

Like Bāṇa speaking of the dominance of Rasa in a Kathā⁵ comparing it to a newly wedded wife full of sentiments coming to her lord of her own

1. दुर्विनीते! क्वागता त्वमिह ? किं तवागमनकार्यमत्रोपजातम् ? कस्तवास्मिन्नास्ते ? केन ते दुर्मतिरियं दत्ता ?
होतापि न तपस्वलोकस्य निर्विवेकवनचरप्रचारदूषिते सागरोपकण्ठकच्छेऽस्मिन्नेकाकिनी यदृच्छया भ्रमन्ती उत्सादिता
सगोत्रपुत्रपरिवारा वैरिणि ! त्वयाहम् । TM. Sm. ed. p. 335. LL. 14-18. L.D. Series ed. p. 196.
para 309. LL. 3-6.
2. Essays on Sanskrit Criticism p. 65. Karnatak University Dharwar 1964.
3. Sah. D. I. p. 20. edited by Acharya Shri Krishna Mohon Shastri, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi 1955.
4. Ibid. pp. 21-22.
5. स्फुरत्तालापविलासकोमला करोति रागं हृदि कौतुकाधिकम्।
रसेन शय्यां स्वयमभ्युपागता कथा जनस्यभिनवावधूरिव॥

accord, etc. Dhanapāla speaks of the diverse tastes of the people whereby some take delight in the speech full of prolific sense while others take delight in the tersely laden sentiments of a Kathā. Some have an appeal for the Qualities such as perspicuity etc. whereas some have a penchant for all these.¹

Almost all the nine Rasas find their place in the prose romance of Dhanapāla. Śṛṅgāra in its two fold aspects forms the main sentiment of his romance which deals with the theme of love at first sight of the two couples Harivāhana and Tilakamañjarī on the one hand and Samaraketu and Malayasundarī on the other hand, their subsequent separation and final reunion after vindication, through ordeals abounding in pangs of separation. Sambhoga or love in union and Vipralambha or love in separation, the two main subdivisions of Śṛṅgāra (Erotic) along with their dependent determinants and the excitement determinants, emotions and ensuants have been fully illustrated through the development of feelings of attachment between the two couples. Sambhoga Śṛṅgāra is even discernible in the mutual attachment and devotion of Meghavāhana and Madirāvati, as also of Meghavāhana and other ladies of the harem.

Free from fears of inner upsurges and outer revolts, having devolved the burdens of his regnal duties on able minister, Meghavāhana indulged in all types of physical enjoyment, fully engrossed by Cupid. In that way he used to ensue a battlefield of sexual sport, wonderful and attractive through the employment of grand devices such as showers of flowers being sprayed on him by the mind born one, feeling the sense of horripilation saturated with perspiration caused by ceaseless exertion, having jewel bracelets resounding through stroke of the hands, with surface of his pate glistening during the process of grasping of locks, with lips clutched by biting with the tips of teeth, quite in restiveness, with impatience for (copulation) in creating through twitters of the pleasure birds as if they were the eulogiums of the bards straining aloud the tunes of music, accentuated by the clanks of anklets and jingings of ornaments of the Loving maidens scanned with glee by the tutelary deities quite curiously.²

Kādambarī Introductory Verse 8. p. 5. Krishna Mohon Shasrti Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series office varanasi, 1953.

1. केचिद् वचसि वाच्येऽन्ये, केऽप्यशून्ये कथारसे।

केचिद् गुणे प्रसादादौ धन्याः सर्वत्र केचन॥ – TM Introductory Verse 37 Vol. I. p. 32. Botad ed. p.

3. L.D. Series ed. p. 5. NSP!, 1938. ed. (146)

2. आत्मनापि निश्शेषितारिवंशतया विगतशंकः स्वधर्मव्यवस्थापितवर्णाश्रमतया जातनिर्वृत्तिः
पर्यवसिताखिलप्रारब्धकार्यतया निराकुलमनास्तकालं मनःपुरीमनुप्रवेष्टुकामं कामुकधारणापराधविलक्ष्मनसं

Literally construed Sāmbhoga means the physical union of man and woman. The accessories such as perspiration, horripilation, exasperation, impatience, devices such as stroking with hands and nails, embracing, kissing etc.,¹ all form the subject matter of the paragraph under consideration being in other words the dependent and exciting determinants, emotions and ensuants respectively.

He (i.e. Meghavāhana) even went to the extent of attracting maidens to distant regions during the dark fortnights² and resorted to water sports.³ His pangs of separation from his beloved's is equally illustrated in a realistic norm being a pre requisite of Vipralambha.

'Disappointed in his efforts to reconcile with his beloved's playful entreats on account of their having ignored him when prostrate on their feet, on account of the exuberance of their ire, he used to palliate his anguish born of the mind born, reclining on the counter pane of louts petals, at the fountains having the crevices of their interiors darkened by the sprays of water falling ashores.'⁴

Sometimes it so happened that envying his queen he would try to afford the fulfilment of the ardent longings of the domesticated orchard creepers that had put forth flowers out of season exciting thereby his 'ālabhāna' Vibhāva (i.e. the queen) by the parallel insinuation of the 'Uddīpana' Vibhāva (i.e. the creepers treated as females) to physical enjoyment and probe into the idea of her having delayed giving birth to a scion of the race.⁵

मकरलक्ष्माणमनुग्राहयितुमागतेन विस्तारितचतुरोकिना दूतेनेव नवयौवनेनोपदर्शितेष्वन्द्रियग्रामहारिषु विषयेषु परिभोगलालसं, मानसमासंजयामास। तथापि कदाचित् सकुतूहलगृहदेवतादरविलोकिताः, कामिनीजनाभरण-
जात्कारवयंतूर्यवसंबर्धितैस्तारतरविलापिनां वैतालिकानामिव केलिशुकन्तानां ध्वनिभिराधीयमानरभसः,
सरभसदशनाग्रदंशलितदन्तच्छदमदयकचग्रहोल्लसद्भुकुटीभूषितललाटदेशमावेशपरवशप्रवृत्तकरप्रहारव्याहरन्मणि-
वल्लयमविरलोद्गतश्रमस्वेदतिम्यद्रोमाञ्जकवचमनवरतमुक्तकौसुम-शरासारव्यपदेशादुपजाततुष्टिनेव मानसभुवा देवेन
पात्यामानपुष्पवृष्टिरुत्कृष्टकरणप्रयोगमणीयमत्यद्भुतं रतसमरमाततान। TM. Vol. I pp. 71-72. p. 71. LL. 7.
p. 72. LL. 1-7. para 93. L.D. Series ed. p. 10. LL. 23-32.

1. रतम्भप्रलयरोमांचाः स्वेदो वैवर्ण्यवेपथु अश्रुवैस्वर्यमित्यष्टौ स्तम्भोऽस्मिन्निष्क्रियांगता, प्रलयो नष्टसंज्ञत्वं शेषाः सुव्यक्त लक्षणाः ॥ Daśarūpa IV 5. 6. p. 266 ed. p. by Dr. Śrīnivāsa Śāstrī. Published by Rati Ram Shastri, Subash Bazar Meerut, 1966.
2. बहुल प्रदोषाभिसारिकाः सुदूरमाचकर्ष। TM Vol. I p. 73. LL. 1-2.
3. जलक्रीडामकरोत्। Ibid. p. 732-3.
4. कदाचिन्मन्युगौरवादतिलंघितपादपतनविभ्रमाणं प्रेयसीनां प्रसादनं प्रति निष्प्रत्याशः प्रन्तनिपतदम्बुधाराभ्रकारितोदरकुहरेषु धारागृहेषु विसिनीपलाशस्तारशायी मनसिशयसंतापमत्यबाहयत्। Ibid. Vol. I pp. 73-74. p. 73. L. 5. p. 74. LL. 1-2.
5. ¹कदाचिद्देव्या सार्धमारब्धस्पर्धः स्वपरिगृहीतानां गृहोद्यानवीरुधामकालकुसुमोद्गातिकारिणस्तांस्तान्दोहदयोगानदात्। TM. Vol. I p. 74.

Bharata and his followers, Dhanañjaya, Hemacandra and Viśvanātha put forth almost the same contentions concerning the scope of a sentiment that has been put forward by Keith in the following words:-

‘A Dominant feeling or emotion (Sthāyibhāva) becomes a sentiment (rasa) when it is transformed into an object of enjoyment (ānīyamāṇaḥ Svādyatvaṁ) through the co-operation of the determinants (Vibhāvas), the consequents (anubhāvas), including the involuntary manifestation of feeling (Sāttvikaiḥ) and the transitory feelings (Vyabhicāribhīḥ).¹

Love is the dominant emotion of Śṛṅgāra both Saṁbhoga as well as Vipralambha. Love delineated by Dhanapāla is sublime in both the cases (i.e. the two couples) except in the latter case wherein Malayasundarī losing her patience on seeing her lover unintentionally given to make her face the ordeals of separation and suffering by the force of circumstances. Her threefold attempt of self immolation smacks of levity and brings her down to the status of a heroine in love being ‘Dhīroddhatā’, i.e. recalcitrant and temerous. But the bond of hope restrains the loving heart of the wincing maid in separation. It becomes sublime as well when she takes to asceticism and waits on the Adṛṣṭapāra lake for long like Mahāśvetā of Bāṇa waiting for her lover on the shores of the Achhoda lake. The ālambana vibhāva (dependent determinant) in case of Harivāhana is the portrait of Tilakamañjarī brought by Vajrārgalā from Gandharvaka, Uddīpana (the Exciting determinant) comes when Gandharvaka informs that he had got out in search for the terrestrial prince forestalled by the Prajñapati Vidyā to become the paramount sovereign and consort of Tilakamañjarī. It also got enhanced by the environments of Mattakokila garden visited before and after seeing the portrait. The observance of the lascivious traits in the objects of nature excited him and he invariably looked at the Keśapāśa (the braid of tresses), mukhaśaśī (moon like face), Akṣipātras (vasc-like eyes), Kaṇṭhakaṇḍalā (stalk like neck), Stanamaṇḍalā (protuberant breasts), Madhyabhāga (waist), Nābhicakrābhoga (circular navel), Jaghanabhāra (obese posteriors), Urustambhas (pillar like thighs) etc. all these forming the anubhāvas or consequents. The reaction in mind forming a repression to the suppression of feelings prompting him to indulge in eulogium indicative of the virtuous or involuntary (Sāttvika) Bhāvas is apparent from the exclamation of Harivāhana when he values her charms as described by Gandharvaka i.e. the real form excelling the form in the painting by a margin of huge fractions. He even deems her slighting the pride of beauty in case of Rambhā and other celestial nymphs. She even outvies Rati etc.²

1. The Sanskrit Drama by A. B. Keith p. 319.

2. TM. Vol. III pp. 21-22.

The evanescent feeling (Vyabhicāribhāvas) become apparent when even after praising her he fails to see her actual form and losing his patience starts doubting his own conscience that due to some short coming in him he has not been able to impress upon her the necessity to reciprocate his intentions. Who will become the object of the lear falls of that Timorous lady? Who shall wear the self choice garland over his neck as put by her with her own hand? Who would descend down on to the holy dais in the wedding pavilion in order to win her in nuptial tie? Who endowed with the auspicious marks of the conch and quoit shall hold her right hand? The inferiority complex consequent upon these frivolous thoughts makes the confusion worse confounded and unable to see Gandharvaka come back he finds a lame excuse to rush in search for her somewhere and marching on the conquest of the quarters and reaching the out precincts of Kāmarūpa is carried through the divine agency of the mystery tusker to the Adṛṣṭapāra lake and from there to the Cardamom creeper arbour where scanning her for the first time he is again struck by the involuntary emotions and rushing to see her again and acquire her he meets Malayasundarī pining in separation for the hand of her lover Samaraketu who too after enjoying the phenomenon of Saṁbhoga (love in union brought in by the first sight) had separated himself by the force of circumstances. Ālambana in case of Malayasundarī was Samaraketu and in case of Samaraketu was Malayasundarī, the blooming youth of both creating the Uddīpanvibhāva in both through mutual reciprocity. Samaraketu being Dhīrodātta is carried away by the involuntary emotion of revelry in bliss of her company but is persuaded by Tāraka to take to the duty that was his foremost on which he had been detailed by his sire. He actually plunges into the evanescent mood of a watery grave when interdicted by Tāraka but is soon redeemed by his expert skill in navigation. This, however, proves a shock to Malayasundarī, a consequent coming upon her and she plunges herself headlong into the ocean where from she is rescued by Mahodara. Consoled by Bandhusundarī she heartens up a bit from the 'glāni', Śāṅkā, the involuntary emotions, but is again plunged into discouragement, distraction, inconstancy and impatience when she hears of the impious resolve of her sire to bestow her unto Vajrāyudha. She is rescued from the transitory emotions of strangulation, drowning and poison taking by Bandhusundarī Samaraketu, Taraṅgalekhā and the billet thrown by a parrot and is given to undergo the 'Nirveda' made of involuntary emotion simply to hope for a final reunion. The mutual give and take policy in point of helping each other in case of Malayasundarī and Harivāhana result in the permanent state of palatability of the sentiment of love in final reunion of the two couples.

The Vipralambha of Harivāhana had its excitant determinant in the summer season which augmented his torment manifoldly while the rainy season came to alleviate that torment the green grass covering the surface of the earth, the breezes from the Kādamba trees, the sweet cackling royal swans, the lotus groves sinking in the lakes brimming with rain waters, the water, dripping orchards, the saplings, the sun concentrating its rays into the interiors of the clouds the flower laden Ketakī groves, the hilarious peacocks switching over to circular dance all these factors played a prominent role in further augmenting the abullition of his heart brought by separation.¹ The consequents and the ensuants such as the burning fever caused by separation and Smaraṇa etc. Prompting him to move ahead for a journey in śarador Autumn fit for marching on campaigns he found the ray of hope of a meeting with his beloved.

In the Vipralambha of Malayasundarī as well, we find the evil influence of the demon of love (i.e. Kandarpa) who approached her unnoticed having obtained scope even when kept away by her anxious to have a coveted meeting with her lord. The shade of her loveliness grew doubly radiant like the moonlight reflected from the setting moon with a view to scanning the cupid come close. Her lotus face beamed forth with eyes bristling up. The horripilation manifested itself all around. The limbs full of perspiration felt a trembling and her voice under went a change by way of sobbing² - all these forming the involuntary and evanescent emotions in Vipralambha or love in separation.

The pathetic or Karuṇa sentiment is based on sorrow its consequents being sighing, panting, weeping, paralysis, raving etc. and its evanescent emotions being sleep, epilepsy, depression, agony, death, indolence, agitation, despair, stupor, insanity etc.

According to Dr. Neeta Sharma Karuṇa bears a close relation to the sentiment of love because it arises out of the loss of the object of love (iṣṭanāśa) or from the arrival of what is undesired (aniṣṭāpti).³ The instances of 'iṣṭanāśa' and 'aniṣṭāpti' are quite numerous in Tilakamañjarī. The cessation

1. TM. Vol. III p. 29. See the text under Descriptions of Nature.

2. अभिमतसमागमोत्सुकायाश्च तस्याः सर्वदा दूरीकृतः शनैः शनैगत्य लब्ध्वावसर इव समीपमुपसर्प कन्दर्पः। समागतानङ्गदर्शनागतेन्दुसंक्रमितयन्त्रिकेव द्विगुणमुल्लास लावण्यछाया। कान्तिचन्द्रिकावतारभीतातपरामृष्टमिव हृष्टलोचनपत्रमयभवद्गदनशतपत्रम्। अञ्जनज्वरागमिव निधित्सुरक्षालयत्तरङ्गायतापाङ्गमक्षियुगलम्। आनन्दबाष्पस्तनावरणवल्कलमिव त्याजयितुमुदगच्छदच्छिन्नसंततिः समन्ततः प्रकीर्णकनकचूर्णाभिरामो रोमभेदः। प्रथमसङ्क्रमसध्वसानिव सपकम्पन्त सततस्वेदानि सर्वाङ्गानि। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 347. LL. 11-18. L.D. Series ed. P. 213 para 329. LL. 8-13.

3. Bāna Bhaṭṭa, a Literary Study p. 138.

of the progeny in the house of Meghavāhana is 'iṣṭanāśa' during the blooming youth which resulted in the plaints and complaints, ravings and repressions, resultant upon the sub conscious mind exposed to the admonitions of the manes, the censure of the royal sovereignty, doleful cries of the subjects thirsting for a future king all being 'aniṣṭāpti' for the ruler of the state in the later age of his life, Agitation, despair, depression and anxiety all being the subsidiary evanescent moods instrumental in this 'aniṣṭa' by virtue of the lack of progeny who cannot fill in the gap created by Providence which is hard enough to provide an enjoyer of these luxuries through inheritance. Just as sun feels hot through its own heat the king felt tormented by his own radiance. His regal sovereignty became a peer to the spouse deserted by her husband (durbhagāṅganēva) not liking her husband.¹ The indisposed state of the mind of the couple (Meghavāhana and Madirāvati) has been alleged as caused by the state of issuelessness.² Its unbearability has become the augmentor of the sorrow.³ All these and Meghavāhana's resolve to go to the wilds is 'aniṣṭāpti' for Madirāvati who feels wilted in form and weeps.⁴

Dhanapāla has depicted pathos admirably in the love intrigues of the two couples who having initial meetings with their beloved's suffer the pangs of separations which are again the 'aniṣṭāpti' resulting in sorrow for the two heroes and reciprocally for the heroines as well. Pathos is greater in the case of Malayasundarī who is given to paralysis after the feigned drowning of Samaraketu. It becomes more poignant when she takes to the threefold attempts of self immolation through strangulation, poison taking and drowning etc. Her melancholy state as an ascetic maid equally evokes sympathy as well as pity when she narrates her plaintive account to Harivāhana. It be-fell due to her 'aniṣṭāpti' in the form of the intended resolve of Kusumaśekhara to marry her to Vajrāyudha as well as by the separation and the news about the supposed demise of Samaraketu. Harivāhana's loss through the elephant is another 'aniṣṭāpti' at the outset for Harivāhana. But it became an 'iṣṭāpti' for him later on. At that time it was equally an 'aniṣṭāpti' for Samaraketu as well as the 'iṣṭanāśa'. Samaraketu's

1. प्रतिदिवसमासादितोद्दामप्रौढिना निदाघतपन इव निजतेजसा ताप्यमानो गुणानुरक्त्यापि राजलक्ष्म्या दुर्भगाङ्गनेव नारमत। TM. Vol. I p. 80.
2. अस्वस्थताकारणं चावयोरुर्गुरुपचीयमानसकलसंकल्पितार्थयोः..... प्रायेण नाल्पमप्यपरमस्ति मुक्तवैकमनपत्यतादुःखम्। Ibid. Vol. I p. 94 LL.
3. तत्तु दैवादतिशयेनासह्यताम् गतम्। Ibid. Vol. I p. 94. L. 10 p. 95. L.-1.
4. इयमपि च कल्याणी किमिति म्लानदेहा पाणितल-संक्रान्तकञ्जलकलंकपिशुनिताश्रुप्रमार्जना सद्यो विरतेव रोदनात् विज्ञायते, कच्चिन्न सम्पन्नः प्रयत्नसंरक्षितस्यार्थस्य कस्यचिदतर्कितो विनाशः। Ibid. vol. i. p. 93. LL. 4-6.

desire to die before he heard any evil news about Harivāhana is sorrow provoking. Samaraketu's morose state on hearing the import of the billet brought by Mañjirā is equally reminiscent of the pathos evoked by the pitiable condition of Malayasundarī complaining of injustice. Harivāhana's not finding Samaraketu for Malayasundarī after having been conducted unto Tilakamañjarī by her and her pious resolves to bring back Samaraketu resulting in the separation and suffering for Tilakamañjarī, his impious resolve to have a fall from the precipice, the pitiable condition of Gandharayaka transformed into a parrot, all provoke the sentiment of pathos based on grief, pity, complaining and loss of the desired object or appearance of the undesired object. The pitiable plight of Samaraketu on hearing the import of the billet brought by Mañjirā, is described by Dhanapāla as under-

"Samaraketu, too, with face losing colour through grief or sorrow, as if struck on head by the dry stroke of the thunderbolt, hung his face low and with long sighs emitted out, having eyes grown motionless with eye lashes unctuous with spray of tears trickling down, erased the earth with the tips of the nails of the thumb of his hand.¹

The comic or Hāsya depends on mirth which is caused by one's own or another strange appearance speech or attire. The evanescent emotion in its case are sleeping, indolence, weariness, weakness and stupor.² Like Bāṇa Dhanapāla has resorted to the subtle and refined aspect of humour, quite different from the one available in the jokes of jester (Vidūṣaka) of the dramas, who according to J.T. Pārikha, stand for laughter which is the distinct physical privilege of human beings and is an expression of that aspect of human life which has a supreme biological value.³

Dhanapāla subtle humour is apparent in construing prose as a tiger abiding in the Daṇḍaka forest streaked and terror provoking the prose being variegated with heaps of qualifying epithets and metaphors abounding in complex puns etc., frightening the reader from its apparent norm of sesquipedalia verb a of Keith's conception.⁴ In drawing comparison

1. समरकेतुविषादविच्छाद्यवदनः शुष्काशनिनेव शिरसि ताडितस्तत्क्षणमेवाधोमुखोऽभवत्, उत्सृष्टसृष्टदीर्घ-निःश्वसश्च निश्चलनयनयुगला विगलिताश्रुशीकरक्लिन्नपश्माकराङ्गुष्ठनवलेखया भूतलमलिखत्। TM. Vol. II p. 245. LL. 5-7.

2. Sanskrit Drama- A. B. Keith pp. 323-24.

3. Sanskrit Comic Characters p. 1. Popular store, Surat Second ed. 1962.

4. अखण्डदण्डकारण्यभाजः प्रचुरवर्णकात्। व्याघ्रादिव भयाघ्रातो गद्याद्व्यावर्तते जनः।। TM Vol. I Intr. verse 15. P. 20 Botad ed माघेन विघ्नितोत्साहाः गोत्सहन्ते पदक्रमे स्मरन्ति भारवेरेव कवयः कपयो यथा। TM I. Introductory verse 28 p. 27. Bīṭāḍ ed.

between the muse of Māgha and Bhāravi he has given a very humorous pun by construing Māgha as a poet as well as a month. Just as disheartened by the chilly cold of Māgha month monkeys fail to move even a pace forward and pray for the appearance of the sun, so do the poets disheartened by Māgha fail to compose an expression to pace forward in literary growth and start remembering Bhāravi who gave them the way to a new path of composition in ornate style.¹ "परानुपहासिभिर्नर्मशैलैः"² Referring to the denizens of Ayodhyā prone to amuse others and disposed to fun and frolic has 'Upahāsa' and 'narma' as the two types of Humour mentioned in it.

Meghavāhana's physical privilege to amuse the ladies of the harem by provoking to laughter the jesters by the devices such as making up of the face etc. has been deemed a source of recreation.³ The terror provoking laughter is depicted in the case of the Vetāla (Mahodara) who had appeared in that garb, being a Yakṣa originally to vindicate the king through an ordeal.⁴ There is no real character of Vidūṣaka in the romance but Kamalagupta's reactions to the morose countenance of Samaraketu after the latter had heard the import of the billet brought by Mañjirā, make him easily a counterpart of a jester tampering wilfully with the interests of both Harivāhana and Samaraketu, the hero and the side hero involved in love affairs. Mañjirā, on his own part has been called a source of amusement for the entire host of princes, being a bard by descent.⁵ Kamalagupta has been likewise called as flippant in speech and somewhat versed in the humorous skits or sports.⁶ He can be compared to Vihārabhadra of Daṇḍin's Viśrutacaritaṁ in Daśakumācaritaṁ, though not in his practical way of life, at least in his innate proneness to mislead and taunt others owing to instinctive spite and intolerance to brook the pleasure of others.

'समरकेतुना समानप्रतिपत्तिरत्यन्तमभिमतो राजपुत्रस्य सकलशास्त्रभाषाविचक्षणः क्षीणभूयिष्ठशैशवे वयसि वर्तमानः माननीयः कुमारपरिग्रहस्य'⁷

1. There is no footnote in book

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 53. LL. 1- Botad ed.

3. कदाचिद् बंदनमण्डनादिभिर्विडम्बनाप्रकारैरुपहसन् विदूषकान्तःपुरिकाजमहासयत्। Ibid. Vol. I p. 75. LL. 1-2.

4. कुलिशताडितकुलाचलशिखरसमकालनिषतद्रण्डशैलनिवहनादोद्धुरो हासध्वनिरुदलसत्। Ibid. Vol. I p. 126. L. 8.

5. काव्येष्वतीव रसिकः सर्वदा निकटकर्तो कुमारस्य नर्मपात्रं सकलराजपुत्राणां मंजीरनामा बन्दिपुत्रः। Ibid. vol. II p. 241. LL. 3-4.

6. प्रकृतिप्रगल्भवाक् किमपि कोविदः परिहासकेलिषु कमलगुप्तनामा कलिगदेशाधीशसुनुः। Ibid. Vol. II p. 245.

7. TM. Vol. II p. 245. LL. 9-10.

are some of the traits of his revilious character that can bear him semblance of Vihārabhadra in point of Sarcasm and piquancy of humour. He derides Samaraketu deeming him as unintelligent, undiligent, spiteful, a man lacking taste, feigning silence.¹ The derisive humour is, therefore, apparent here. Samaraketu with eyes steady and unctuous through water (tears) compared to an elephant caught up in water and a saint with hypocritical intentions speaks of the biting and vitriolic sarcasm he is exposed to by Kamalagupta.² He indulges in ridiculous humour when trying to provoke Samaraketu through the device of mocking at first censuring cupid and later on Mañjirā who was actually responsible for creating that situation. He ridicules him by calling him a sinister being base born owing to his deeds, wicked souled by nature, a posier, a head of all the thieves, having a name unfit to be pronounced who being a peer to a cat having approached the pair of rats furtively, had created a separation between the two without any reason.³

The heroic (Vīra) corresponds to the emotion of energy. It may take the three forms of courage in battle as in Rāma, compassion as in Jīmūtavāhava; and liberality as in Paraśurāma; Assurance, contentment, arrogance and joy are the transitory states connected with it.⁴

Dhanapāla has depicted this sentiment in the prowess of arms of Meghavāhana whose sword had been blunted by crushing the bones of the stout necks of the enemies of inexorable prowess of arms.⁵ He had sufficient courage to wield his scimitar with which he cut the throats of his enemies thereby giving force to the consequents such as combats. He was a vanquisher of foes both internal as well as external. Internal foes can be lust, ire, greed, etc., as well as the internal insurgents.⁶ The word 'vinetā' brings 'vinaya' as the dominant emotion of the sentiment in to recognition., His chivalry, liberality, indomitability, discipline, compassion, radiance, fame and dignity testifying his paramounts are the involuntary emotions of the

1. TM. Vol. II p. 246. L. 1. अनवगतार्थ इव अप्रगल्भ इव मत्सरीवाऽऽरसिक इव मूकतामवलम्ब्य स्थितः ।

2. अश्रुसलिलक्लिनन्नश्चक्षुरधोमुखो वारिबद्ध इव वनकरी लब्धमिथ्याभिशाप इव साधुः...

आयतोष्णान् सुहृर्मुहुः सुजसि निःश्वासान् । Ibid. vol. II p. 246. LL. 4-6.

3. शोच्यः पुनरसौ पापकर्मा कर्मचाण्डालः प्रकृतिदुष्टात्मा विशिष्टाभासः सकलचौरग्रामणौरग्राह्यनामा मंजीरो येन मार्जारिणेव मूषिकमिथुनमुपसृत्य निभृतमत्र..... भगवता मकरकेतनेन संयोज्यमानस्य मिथुनस्य प्रयोजनमन्तरेण विघटने कृच्छम् । Ibid. Vol. II pp. 247-248. LL. 5-8. P. 248. L.1

4. Sanskrit Drama Keith p. 323.

5. अवार्यभुजबलारातिकठिनकण्ठास्थिदलनदन्तुरकृपाणधारः । Ibid. Vol. I. pp. 58-59. LL. 4.

6. प्रतिपक्षापायान्तगणामन्तराणां च विनेता ।

heroism inherent in him.¹ The description of the siege of Kāñcī by Vajrāyudha, his various moves to shatter the forts of Kusumaśekhara, his employment of a variety of weapons both lathe as well as mechanical, during the warfare, goes to illustrate the exquisite spunk and chivalry of the army in chief. Samaraketu's courage is equally laudable in so far as when resorting to warfare, he did not leave the field as a fugitive or coward. Instead he fought against the enemy even when left alone in the van of battle.² His courage is also testified by the following words spoken to Vajrāyudha.

"Vajrāyudha! Don't get aggrieved, advance confidently. I shall not strike till you have struck first".³ Vajrāyudha felt amazed on seeing the courage to get up after a fall, of Samaraketu and consoled the fleeing forces to stop the cowardice by the beat of the tabor.⁴ He had his prowess beyond all pretensions.⁵ His courage is equally commendable when all alone he started off through the forest adjacent to the Kāmarūpa deśa, infested with beasts, bare footed and marched on undaunted wading through the lake Adṛṣṭapāra and reached the destination quite casually.

The sentiments of Raudra, Bhayānaka, Adbhuta, Bībhatsa and Śānta are the remaining five sentiments that have found their due place in the romance of Dhanapāla.

The sentiment of fury (Raudra) is based on anger, Its transitory states are indignation, intoxication, recollection, inconstancy, envy, cruelty,

1. उच्चापशब्दः शत्रुसंहारे न वस्तुविचारे, वृद्धत्यागशीलो विवेकेन न प्रज्ञोत्सेकेन, गुरुवित्तीर्णशासनो भवत्या न प्रभुशक्त्या, स्वजनपराङ्मुखो परभार्यासु न सपर्यासु, अवनितापहारी पालनेन न लालनेन, अकृतकारुण्यः करचरणे न शरणे, समिद्व्यतिकरस्फुरितप्रतापोऽप्यकृशानुन्नवोपतेः शत्रुघ्नोऽपि विश्रुतकीर्तिः.....सर्वभौमो राजा मेघनाह्नो नाम्। TM. Vol. I p. 62. LL. 1-4. P. 63 LL. 1 p. 64 LL. 4-5.
2. बालिके! कथय कोऽयम्, कस्य वाऽपत्यम् किमभिधानः, किनिमित्तमनपेक्षितात्मविनिपातः पतङ्ग इव पावके महसैवास्मत्सैन्ये प्रविष्टः। किमर्थमसमर्थसहायेनानेन साहसप्रायमिदमतिदुष्करं कर्माध्यवसितम्। Ibid. Vol. II p. 217. LL. 1-3.
3. वज्रायुध! मा विषादं ब्रज, विश्रब्धमेहि, न तावत् प्रहरामि यावच्च त्वया न प्रहतम्। Ibid. Vol. II p. 221. LL. 3-4.
4. सेनापतिरपि तेन, तस्यातर्कितेनासंभावनीयेनादृष्टपूर्वेण प्रत्युज्जीवनेन जनित विस्मयः कान्दिशीकस्य शत्रुलोकस्याश्वासनार्थं समन्तादभयप्रदानपटहमदापयत्। Ibid. Vol. II pp. 221-22.
5. अव्याजशौर्यवर्जितश्च etc. Ibid. Vol. II p. 226. L. 3.
अथ शान्तो नाम रामस्थायिभावात्मको मोक्षप्रवर्तकः स तु तत्त्वज्ञानवैराग्याशयशुद्ध्यादिभिर्विभावैः समुत्पद्यते। तस्य
१) यमनियमाध्यात्मध्यानधारणोपसवसर्वभूतदयालिङ्गग्रहणादिभिरनुभावैरभिनयः। व्याभिचाभिणश्चास्य विवेदस्मृतिधृति-
सर्वाश्रमशौचस्तम्भरोमाञ्छादयः। pp. 332-333 Gosc Vol-I Oriental Institute Baroda, 1956.

agitation and the like.¹ The sentiment of wonder (adbhuta) is based on astonishment; its transitory states being joy, agitation and contentment.² The sentiment of terror (Bhayānaka) is based on terror; its transitory states being depression, agitation, distraction, fright etc.³ The sentiment of horror or odium (Bībhatsa) is based on disgust; its associated states being agitation, sickness, apprehension etc.⁴ The sentiment of calm (Śānta) is based on indifference to origination of all worldly things or devices (nirveda) as recognised by later theorists. It is considered to be an evanescent emotion in the Nāṭyaśāstra.⁵

Raudra is apparent in the irate state of Meghavāhana who took the risk of chopping his own head off in order to satiate the vicarious pleasures and inhuman crave of Mahodara. Dhanapāla has given a complete picture of the 'Bhāvas' in the lines-

“अथ भीमकर्मावलोकनोद्धतभीतिभिरिव स्थायिभिरपि शोकभयजुगुप्साप्रभृतिभिः परित्यक्तधीः, असाधारणधैर्यदर्शनादाहितव्रीडैरिव सत्त्विकैरपि स्वेदवैवर्ण्यवैषथ्यस्ताम्भादिभिरपास्तसंनिधिः, अव्याजसाहसावर्जितमनोवृत्तिभिरिव व्यभिचारिभिरप्यमर्षमदहर्षगर्वोग्रतापुरःसरैरालिङ्गितः सर्वाङ्गेषु भावैः।”⁶

referring to Meghavāhana's condition in which he was fury betaken speaking of Raudra sentiment in its main aspects. But by referring to 'Sthāyibhiḥ', śoka, bhaya, jugupsā, dhairya, vṛdā, sāttvikaiḥ, sveda, vepathuḥ, stambha etc., sāhasa, vyabhicāribhiḥ, amarṣa, mada, harṣa, garva, ugratā etc., he has illustrated the theory of these later sentiments such as Raudra, Adbhuta, Bhayānaka and Bībhatsa as also Karuṇa and Vīra; Hāsyā and Śṛṅgāra (Vipralambha one) also coming within its fold because bhīti, śoka, bhaya, amarṣa, jugupsā, sveda, vaivarṇya, vepathuḥ and stambha, sāhasa, mada, harṣa, garva and ugratā all form a common factor by way of permanent, involuntary and evanescent emotions in case of all the sentiments. 'सकलरसभावविभ्रैरविषादिभिः'⁷ smells of the sentiment of calm (śānta)

1. Sanskrit Drama Keith pp. 323=24. LL. 3-5.

2. Ibid., pp. 323=24. LL. 3-5.

3. Ibid., pp. 323=24. LL. 3-5.

4. Ibid., pp. 323=24. LL. 3-5.

5. Ibid., pp. 323=24. LL. 3-5. Also Ānandavardhana iii, 26 (Dhvanyāloka, part II pp. 965 ML BD, Delhi-110007, 1963) शान्तश्च तृष्णाक्षयसुखस्य यः परिपोषस्तल्लक्षणो रसः प्रतीयत एव। तथा चोक्तम् यच्च कामः सुखं लोकं तृष्णाक्षयसुखस्यैते नार्हतः षोडशीं कलाम्

6. TM. Vol. p. 139.

7. Ibid. Vol. I p. 52. L. 4.

“न्यायदर्शनानुगमिभिरौद्रेः¹ also feels the same norm. The exchange of wrathful tempers in the case of battle between Kusumaśekhara and Vajrāyudha speaks of the Raudra sentiment. The irate exchange of words between Vajrāyudha and Samaraketu equally pose the same point. The wrath of Mahodara shown to the king busy in the propitiation of Śrī is also Raudra in character-

“राजन्! न किञ्चिदन्यत् त्वदीयमेव चेष्टितम् त्वया हि फलमभिलष्य किञ्चिदियमस्मत्स्वामिनी श्रीस्तुदिवसमासेवितुमुपक्रान्ता, सेवकाश्च फलप्राप्तिकामाः प्रथममुपचारेण गृहीतवाक्यं परिग्रहलोकमावर्जयन्ति, ततस्तेन कृतपक्षंपरिग्रहेण ग्राहितसम्बन्धाः प्रभूणामसक्तमात्मभक्तिमुपदर्शयन्ति एषः तावज्जगति दृश्यते व्यवहारः त्वया तु विपरीतः प्रस्तुतोऽयं सेवाविधिः”²

along with-

‘नरेन्द्र, न वयं पक्षिणः न पशवः, न मनुष्याः, कथं फलानि मूलान्यन्नंचाहरामः क्षपाचराः खलु वयम् व्याघ्राणाभिवास्माकमात्मभुजविक्रमोपक्रीतमामिषाहारः’³

Mahodara’s wrath against Gandharvaka whom he threw into the lake along with his aerial car again smacks of Raudra sentiment born of indignation, cruelty and agitation.

‘रे रे दुरात्मन्! अनात्मज्ञ! विज्ञानरहित, परिहृतविशिष्टजनसमाचार, विगतपारसंसारपल्लवपंकशूकर, महापापकारिन्, अखिलदुःखितप्राणिवत्सलमतिविशुद्धधर्ममार्गं विनिविष्ट दृष्टिमविनीतजनशासनाय प्रभुजनेन नियुक्तं सर्वदा शान्तायतनवासिनं मामपि महोदराख्यं यक्षसेनाधिपमभिक्षपसि। रे विद्याधराधम, न जानासि मे स्वरूपम्। यादृशोऽहं तादृगहमेव। नान्यः..... क्व यासि..... इत्युदीर्य दत्तहुंकारः स्थानस्थ एव तद्विमानं कथंचिदुत्क्षिप्य दूरमदृष्टपरि सरसिन्यक्षिपत्।’⁴

Samaraketu’s fiery temper on finding his attendants returning without Harivāhana lost by an elephant, displayed on receiving a great shock to his persons being hurt in his sense of responsibilities and questionability unto the sovereign Meghavāhana, equally smacks of fury born of anger.

‘‘भोः भोः भूमिपतयः! किमेवमुद्विग्नमानसास्तिष्ठथ, किं न कुरुथ प्रस्तुतानि कार्याणि, कृतं भवदिभः कुमारस्य पुरुषकारोचितं यत् कर्तव्यम् पृष्ठतः प्रतिष्ठमानैरनुसृतो दिनमशेषम्। अन्वेषितः प्रेषितपदाति तन्त्रैस्तत्र तत्राटवीगहनेषु, प्रतीक्षितः क्षुत्पिपासापरिक्षीणकार्यैरेष्यतीत्याशया मार्गदेशोपविष्टैरहोरात्रत्रितयम्। अधुना तु किं कुरुथ, निधनं प्रापितो

1. TM. Vol. I p. 52. L. 4.

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 133. LL. 1-5.

3. Ibid. vol. I p. 135. LL. 6-8.

4.) Ibid. Sm. ed. pp. 382-383. P. 383. LL. 4-10. P. 383. L. 1, 6, 7. LD. Series ed. P. 223 para 381 LL. 20-24. P. 224. LL. 4. 8-9.

चः पौरुषावलेपो बलवता दैवेन, दूरं गतोऽसौ, तदलमेतच्चिन्तया, कुरुत सांप्रतकालोचितं कृत्यम्। अद्यैव कमलगुप्तं पुरस्कृत्य यात सकेतम्, अर्पयताधिकारिणामत्र यत्किंचिदर्जितं कुमारेण द्रव्यजातम् आराधयत मुक्त्वा छद्मपादपद्मद्वयं कौशलेन्द्रस्य। मुंचत च सर्वात्मना मय्यपेक्षाम् अहं हि प्रथम दर्शन एव दैवेन भृत्यतां कुमारस्यानीतः न तद्विरहितेन मया क्षणमपीहस्थातव्यम्।'¹

Taraṅgalekhā's reprimand to Malayasundarī unconscious by the poisonous Kimpāka fruit smacking of fury also represents the Raudra sentiment.²

Adbhuta or the marvellous or wonder based on astonishment is represented by the complete plot of the romance in which the incidents of Vidyādhara sage, Vaimānika, Śrī's appearance, the loss of Harivāhana through the divine elephant, the conversion of Gandharvaka into parrot, the motif of the Nīśitha scarf, the miraculous rites of Harivāhana etc. are all full of astonishment. Meghavāhana's marvel on seeing the wonder boy Samaraketu speaks of Adbhuta rasa.

“वत्स! स्वागतं ते, साधुकृतं यदत्रागतोऽसि अनेन तव निसर्गसुन्दरेण दृष्टमात्रेण देहाकारेण पुरुषकारेणैव श्रुतेन श्रोत्रमानन्दितं मे किमपि नेत्रयुग्मम्, धन्यस्त्वमेको जगति यस्मादुपजातजन्मनः पराजयं विजयमिव सभासु शंससि प्रीतिविकसिताक्षो विपक्षलोकः, लोकमुपजनयता भवन्तमस्तोकसंचितसंभारेण धारितो धुरि समस्तानां पुत्रिणामात्मा महात्मना सिंहलेश्वरेण।”³

Bhayānaka has been represented by Vampire described as an example of all the terrors of the triad of worlds.

“निदर्शनमिवाशेषत्रिभुवनभीषणानाम्”⁴

The tumultuous din of the celestial dames heard by Meghavāhana immediately after he had taken up his sword to chop his own head off, bursting it did the auricular passage is equally terrifying. “श्रवणविवरमाध्मायन्त-मश्रुतपूर्वममरसुन्दरीजनस्य हाहारवमशृणोत्”⁵ Vajrāyudha became a source of terror for the people of Kāñcī in so far as he had blocked all the sources of supplies and reinforcements and his armies were arrayed like the whirling clusters of rain clouds.

1. TM. Vol. III pp 49-50. P. 49. LL. 5-10. P. 50. LL. 5-24. L.D. Series ed. P. 179. LL. 30-31 p. 180.

2. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 308.

3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 229.

4. Ibid. Vol. I p. 127. L. 2.

5. Ibid. Vol. I p. 141. L. 5.

“कृतासारसरोधश्च प्रावृषेण्य जलधर व्यूह इव पौरलोकानां महान्तमातंकमकरोत्”¹

The vassals of Vajrāyuddha came out to fight and they were engaged in terrific duels with the vassal folk of Kusmaśekhara who were pitched up in battle on the turrets of the ramparts. The duels entailed the mutual reprimands. The auricular passages of the persons standing hard by were deafened by the lion roars of the soldiers given to spite. The surface of the sky had been brought to the state of a ground by throws of holeless stones (i.e. opaque stones). The weapons in the hands of the timid people were made to thwart by the calls of the trumpets beaten ruthlessly. The groups of terrible pedestrians were being scattered by the sprays of oil heated by fire and sprayed by syringes. The foundations of the ramparts were being dug up or rooted out by the persons lying in covert with helmets put on. The terrific cries of the enemy staying in the forest were being heard by the urchins biting their lips in anger. The entry into the recesses of different walls was being prayed for by the wall diggers carrying bucklers. The perturbed elephant drivers were issuing out of the trappings of the elephants smouldered by the fire of the sparks arising out of the heaps of grass. The golden diadems of the kings were melting down through the arrows burning *with fire clinging through speed. The huge showers of stones were falling* down following the creaking noise of the door panels of the principal roads having been struck by hoes. The arrays of tuskers fleeing being disturbed by the strokes were being seen by the vociferous villagers. In this manner the daily battles were terror provoking भयानकानि.....प्रतिदिवसमायोधनान्यभवन्². The horrifying spectacle of the ocean abounding in ferocious sea fauna and the sylvan terrain adjoining the shores of Lauhitya abounding in wild beasts is equally terror provoking.³

The odious or Bībhatsa (the sentiment of Horror) actuated by disgust (Jugupsā) and smacking of reeking foul smell gushing of blood, exudation of marrow and cutting of flesh etc. is available in the description of the vampire's physical structure where by his body has been described as stout and terrifying being very tall and lanky the murkiness of his radiance spreading all around he was rendering the earth as if suffused with collyrium, along with the mountains, islands and groves. The interstices of the toes were screened by the darkness of his own sheen made manifest by

1. TM. Vol. II p. 195. L. 1-2.

2. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 196. LL. 3-4.

3. See Description of Nature. TM II para 90 pp. 261. LL. 8. P. 262. L. 1-10. P. 263. L. 1-6. P. 264. LL. 1-8. P. 265. LL. 1-8. P. 266. LL. 1-4. P. 267. LL. 1-2 L.D. Series ed. Para 90. P. 69. LL. 31-32. P. 70. LL. 1-32 p. 71. LL. 1-11.

the extremely fatty and glistening row of nails as if by the image of the rows of his teeth showing out afar through laughter bearing the semblance of the sheen of the rows of not very old oyster shells. He was bestrewing into the quarters the expanse of the sheen of his toe nails cadaverous like the snout of a donkey through his foot twain extremely fat with anklets of bones tied to it as if it were the dust of the ashes meant for protection during his movements in the midst of the circles of many Vātikas (charm-chanters). He was, as it were, sitting on the top of the palmyra twain constantly entwined with the net works of creepers, through his shank twain or leg twain, wading through the limits of the sky and being estimated through many measuring ropes collected together in order to ascertain the height of the upper world, stuffed as it was with the stalks of large and straight veins. His upper scarf made of the tiger skin wet and crimson with the decoction of gore inspissated by the aged python with venom exurgitated from its mouth through furious movements. He was displaying his region of the chest as if it were the field of impiety in corporeal form, the dense sprout of poison grown out of the pathway of the plough, with young one's of serpents sleeping in the troughs within the interior of the ribs having their elevations prominent from a distance on account of the extreme leanness of the body murky with the pools of wet mire, the Hades of the cavern of his fierce stomach was divided by the creeper like (line of) hair long and broad, as if it were the current of water from the Vaitaraṇī river; he carried hanging from his neck the skull of a charm chanter or a sorcerer (a performer of incantations) chopped off afresh, like Rāhu, obtained stealing the projecting jaws white and oblique, out of the devotion for the digit of the moon or Śiva (Indu Khaṇḍa). In his left hand he carried a cup of liquor of gore, stretched over a distance, hard like the bones on the global pate of the elephant of the quarters, bearing shape of the picture like dames on the pillars of the shrine besprinkled with the sprays of blood spilled having percolated from the interior of the fingers joined together on account of their heavy weight, standing aloft in the same posture, with the expanse of its arms extremely marvellous displayed by his capacities, he was eating the condiment of bones having flayed again and again with a sharp knife applied every moment with his right hand, the flesh of the limbs of a vampire harnessing person roasted by the flickering fire of the poison in the mouth of a venomous snake encircled round with useless strokes made by the poniard, crying inwardly most plaintively like the sacrificial prey on account of the emissions of sighs blocked perforce, with his neck concealed inside the left armpit, he bore his chin loose and plump as if it were the mouthful of gore trickling down from all the pores of the hair, armoured by (lit., covered all over by) the cluster of the hair on the beard bearing lustre of the fire of

destruction and tremulous on account of his efforts at ruminating the flesh chewed down, as if by the invocation of the ensign marked by the streaky lightnings flashing into the triad of worlds for affording distribution of the crimson hue-----He bore the five fingered imprint of blood impressed recently by his expansive surface of the pate as if it were the sepulchral fire encircled round the glooms of smokes in the form of natural scowls, collected in order to roast the human flesh..... His cavern of the mouth was occupied by the array of teeth bearing bits of bones of a dead body entered within with innumerable teeth associated with it in order to engulf the entire triad of worlds. The showers of drops of blood were gushing out from the skin of the human being meant to work as a scarf as if by the cranium bowls introduced in the mouth bearing as they did the nails of deep interiors shining white, even by the toes-----He bore his limbs connected tight by the knots of the sinews as if anxious to flee away through fear of observing the extremely hideous form, consisting mainly as they did of bones. He wore a crest chaplet of corpse hanging down to his knees.¹

The description of the battle between Vajrāyudha, his armies and the forces of Kusumaśekhara also contains certain points evoking odium.

It was odious with the howlings of the female jackals crying hideously having quaffed the human marrow the group of lords being searched out by many bereaved ladies in it, the water of ichor from the tuskers violent with speed, flowing on in it tumultuous as it was with the hosts of kings perturbed and running; it had the cranium bowls of the quarter-guardians being looked for by the hilarious yoginīs; it was horrible with pedestrians thickly arrayed showering forth floods of water of tears; it was an ocean (lit. repository of waters) of vast expanse accumulated instantaneously; the world of creatures was perturbed at the moment when both the sides were engaged in killing one another.

“परस्परवधनिबद्धकक्षयोश्च तयोस्तत्क्षणमाकुलितसकलजीवलोको युगपदेकीभूतोदारवारिराशिरस्रजल-
विसरवर्षिघनपदातिघोरो मुदितयोगिनीमृग्यमाणलोकपालकपालचषकः प्रचलितरसाकुलभूभृत्वच्चक्रवाल-
कृततुमुलः प्रसृतरभसोत्तालगजदानवारिरार्तत्रिदशदारिकान्विध्यमाणरमणसार्थो निपीतनरवशाविस्वरविसारि शिवा
फेत्कारडामरः”²

The group of demons drank the water of the streams of gore mainly consisting of mire on account of their ardent lust produced in order to feed on sumptuous flesh.

1. TM. Vol. I pp 127-132. P. 127. 1-8.

2. अद्राक्षीद्य.... आजानुलम्बमानशवशिरोमालमेकं वेतालम्।

2. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 202-203. p. 202.

"प्रभूतपिशिताभ्यवहारजनिततोत्रोदन्येन कर्दमप्रायमपीयत क्षतजापगाम्बु कौणपाणेन।"¹

The Quixotic or the Śānta rasa is also available in the behaviour of Harivāhana also when out for his digvijaya he roamed about in the sylvan retreats of the Kānmarūpadeśa and disdained killing and wild game even when it came within the range of the mark of his bow.

"जातकोतुकैश्च मृगया व्यसनिभिः क्षितिपतिकुमारैः क्षणाय तेषामनुक्षणं व्यापार्यत, न च प्रकृति सानुक्रोशतया शस्त्रगोचरगतानपि तान् जघान। केवलं कुतूहलोत्पादनाय प्रधानभूपतीनामनवरत-तन्त्रीताडनाभ्यासलघुरंगुलिव्यापारेण सव्येतरपाणिना स्फुटतरास्फालितरत्नवीणस्तद्वध्वनि श्रवणनिश्चलनिमीलित-क्षणानर्भकानपि विधेयांचकार।"²

A purview of the facts narrated above reveals that Dhanapāla by treating of all the sentiments in his romance has given more of creativity to the mental faculties of his calibre which is circumambient as well as ubiquitous in understanding the human psychology.

6. PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

As is evident from the account of Dhanapāla as given by Merutūṅgācārya in his Prabandhacintāmani, Sarvadeva the sire of Dhanapāla was a Brāhmaṇa by caste and had a distinct leaning towards the doctrine of jina, his two sons Dhanapāla and Śobhana likewise had an inclination towards the same faith.³ Śobhana took refuge under the feet of Varddhamaṇa sūri while Dhanapāla became the court poet of Muñja, Sindhurāja and Bhoja and at the instance of the last named king he finalised his romance, Tilakamañjarī,⁴ which extols in the first six verses of the Introductory portion, the Jinas and among them jina Rīṣabhadeva whom he has referred to in the text of the prose narratives as well.

Like the Bodhisattva, Jina is also postulated to assume many forms of one creature and the triad of worlds stands occupied by him and he is capable of seeing it every moment. This conception of Jina as held by Dhanapāla strictly conforms to the doctrine enunciated in the Iṣopaniṣad.⁵ In the second verse Jina has been deemed a source of righteousness, immensely powerful and free from (the guṇas) rajas and Tamas implying thereby to contain sattva in its complete form. He is also praised as one of the accomplished souls (nivr̥ttātmā) and a Primeval being (ādyah) followed by many others following thereby the doctrine of the Purāṇapurusa of the

1. TM. Vol. II p. 205. LL. 2-3.

2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 35. LL. 5-8.

3. Prab. Cint. pp. 36, 42.

4. Ibid. p. 41.

5. Verse I. ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वं यत्किंच जगत्प्रां जगत्। Also Yajurveda, chapter 40. verse I.

creation hymns of the Ṛgveda (x 129, 191) and Subālopaniṣad (v.1,IV). The third verse belauding Nābhisūnu (the son of the king Nābhi i.e. Ṛṣ abha) has the outward covering of the Brāhmanic Brahman as indicated by “āttānyarūpadvayaḥ”. He has been prayed to afford fortunes being the obviator of sin from the triad of worlds. Dṛśyāṅgalakṣmī as compared with Namī, Viṇamī and their scimitar, makes a covert allusion to Lakṣmī as the consort of Brahmā and Viṣṇu both. Viratilābha appertains to the doctrine of mokṣa or emancipation born of awareness to pleasure and pain (Virati freedom from pleasure) which are not alien to the quixotic disposition of Brahma.

Verse four alludes to the freedom from attachment having objects of senses scared away (Vibhinnaviṣayaṃ moham) abiding in the hearts of the human beings (hr̥di prāṇi nām). The Primeval Jina like the Primeval being is an embodiment of mental concentration as a shower of ambrosia on the ears when discoursing upon the Primeval way of sermonising on piety as righteousness.

Verse five illustrates the conception of the goddess of speech and her form radiant like the Autumnal moon, cleansed bright by the tassel of rays from the teeth, abiding in the interior of the lotus in the form of the face of god, the scion of Nābhi, the best of men (son of Viṣṇu or Brahmā, the best of men or the highest among the human beings). She has been prayed to protect the world.

The sixth verse belauds the eyes of Vīra-(a valiant) as also Mahāvīra Jina; these have been prayed to safeguard the eyes of a valiant got sore by the strokes of the circular weapons or by joltings of the chariots or by the attacks of the enemy arrays which have their bodies dug deep into the centre of the earth up to the knees whereas those of Mahāvīra get pained by the strokes of the circle of births and deaths having bodies dug into the earth covering the knees. Valiant gets swoons in the warfare and his eyes get swollen up.¹

Verse 13 allude to the dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu who with the stretch of three strides scaled the Universe placing his left foot on the head of Bali the demon. This verse alludes to the writer's faith in the Vaiṣṇava cult.²

Verse 32 refers to Śvetāmbara Śiromaṇi, the crest gem of the Śvetāmbara sect of the Jains whereas punningly it also means the crest gem of the white firmament.³

1. पुरुषोत्तमनाभिसूतेर्देवस्य वक्त्रकमलोदरमावसन्त्याः गिरामधिपतेः देव्याः मूर्तिः TM. Vol. I p. 13, 14.

2. उत्पन्त्यजवद् व्योम्नि केचित् प्राप्तपदत्रयाः ।

विशन्त्यन्ये प्रबन्धेऽपि लब्धे बलिरिव क्षितिम्॥

3. TM. Vol. I p. 19.

His firm belief in the orthodox lore of legends and myths, such as the search of Maināka from the ocean by Himālaya,¹ the piercing with arrows by the son of Jamadgni (i.e. Paraśurāma), of the Krauñca mountain,² the approach of Sarayū river situate to Bhāgīrathī in order to inquire after the news about the ascent to the heavens, of the sons of Sāgara consumed by the fire of wrath of Kapila³ etc., his inclination towards the Vaiṣṇava faith,⁴ his attitude towards the institutions of castes and stages of life all go to establish his basic belief in the Hindu way of life and philosophical understanding. His ideal king in Meghavāhana taking care of all such institutions and abiding by the tenets of six schools of philosophy is the true reflection of the personal leanings of Dhanapāla. The performance of sacrifices, the way of charity known as affability, circumspective nature all being the personal traits of Meghavāhana embody in reality the personal cult of Dhanapāla. He also upholds the lofty ideal of devotion or faithfulness in preference to imperial awe.⁵ Unlike Daṇḍin he evinces great respect for higher values of morality and little respect for the objectionable deeds. That is why he says.

“He (i.e. Meghavāhana) was averse to embracing of other's wives but not to service of his own men.”⁶

The transformation caused by the pride of riches, the torment caused by the group of passion, shackling by the alligators in the form of the objects of senses, the bonds of attachment (lit. love) of intoxicated maidens, excessive doze of affluence etc. were a source of indignation for him.⁷

His love for the high ideals of life is reflected in his illustration of Meghavāhana feeling satisfied in elevating his opponents, being a great devotee of battle and never allowing them to bow down. His Harivāhana, too, maintaining perfect equanimity divorced from spite and intolerance when finding a co-suitor to the royal sovereignty of Meghavāhana, imposed

1. TM. Vol. I. TM I. P. 44. LL. 2. Botad ed.

2. Ibid. p. 44. L. 4.

3. Ibid. p. 47. L. 2. P. 62. L. 4.

4. Ibid. p. 58. L. 1. वैष्णवानां कृष्णवर्त्मनि प्रवेशः ।

5. गुरुवितीर्णशासनो भक्त्या न प्रभुशक्त्या । Ibid. vol. I. p. 62. LL. 1-2.

6. स्वजनपराङ्मुखः परभार्यासु न सपर्यासु । Ibid. Vol. I. p. 62. L. 2.

7. अनर्तितो लक्ष्मीमदविकारैरखलीकृतो व्यसनचक्रपोडाभिरनाकृष्टो विषयग्राहैरयन्त्रितः प्रमदाप्रेमनिगडैरजडीकृतः परमैश्वर्यसन्निपातेन । TM. Vol. I. p. 64. LL. 2-3.

perforce by the latter as his foster brother establishes the same fact. In describing Meghavāhana and Harivāhana as 'Dharmavijayins' taking to warfare only to display their Prowess of arms and releasing after vanquishing the enemies, raising the war- captive Samaraketu to the status of a foster son and a governor of the Aṅgas, Dhanapāla has displayed his belief in the lofty ideals of human disposition.

Unlike Daṇḍin's Apahāravarman who is hypocritical enough to steal wealth from others in order to distribute it among the poor proclaiming that it is futile to store it, Dhanapāla has depicted Meghavāhana having a penchant to take leave of his riches already stored by him as a matter of voluntary charity.

दानव्यसनीजनानामर्थितयाऽप्रीयत न कृतार्थतया¹

Life of hazards is the most virtuous one in the world or else there remains no charm in it if it sails on smoothly without any risks. This ideal is also established in the adventurous conduct of Meghavāhana who felt joy over odds and not in evenness owing to his resourcefulness of intellect.

"कुशाग्रीयबुद्धिः कार्याणां वैषम्येन जहर्ष न समतया।"²

To strive for success under unfavourable circumstances and adverse providence, to love to earn fortunes by the Sweat of the brow formed the special feature of his philosophy.

"लक्ष्मीहठाकर्षणलम्पटो दैवस्य वैमुख्यमाचकाङ्क्ष नाभिमुख्यम्।"³

Prominence born of riches and self control and awe, greatness born of circumspective action, affluence born of a healthy household, physical appearance promoting the dignity, radiance quelling (the unvirtuous elements, ubiquitous intellect taking to politic behaviour in keeping balance in law, form indicating attractiveness and amiability, piety provoking to keep away from sin, efficient discernment proving one an expert, virtues teaching restraint in face of the group of six enemies (ariṣaḍvarga) and self abnegation all these evince the author's *balanced outlook on the values or Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa*.⁴

His belief in the doctrine of metempsychosis purporting forth that it is something of divine agency known as the fruit born of one's action in a previous birth that hampers certain activity or impels it, in the present one,

1. TM. Vol. I p. 65. L. 4. (220)

2. Ibid. p. 65. LL. 4-5.

3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 65. LL. 5.

4. Ibid. Vol. I pp. 66-67. LL. 1-2. LL. 1-3.

is amply illustrated from his accounting of cessation of progeny in case of Meghavāhana.

“समग्राणि हि कारणानि न प्राग्जन्मजनितकर्मोदयक्षणनिरपेक्षाणि फलमुपनयन्ति यतोऽस्य नूतनेऽपि वयसि महत्यप्यन्तःपुरे बहुनापि कालेन नैकोऽप्युदपादि तनयः।”¹

The doctrine of Mokṣa is professed in the portrait of the Vidyādhara sage who says-

‘केवलमभूमिर्मुनिजनो विभवानाम्, विषयोपभोगगृध्रवो हि धनान्युपाददते। मद्दिधास्तु संन्यस्तसर्वाग्भाः, समस्तसङ्गविरताः निर्जनारण्यबद्धगृहबुद्धयो भैक्षमात्रभावितसन्तोषाः किं तैः करिष्यन्ति।’²

that it is only those addicted to the objects of senses that long for wealth etc.

Kamalagupta’s tirade on Samaraketu brings a pessimistic attitude towards life and its surroundings, the irresistible freak of destiny marring the optimistic interests of human beings when they are on the point of fructification and his ultimate advice to face the inevitable boldly without having taken to the policy of escapism in teeth of opposition, adversity and failures. Love has been construed as a source of anguish in the world which is a cause of remorse while the desire for the enjoyment of objects of senses is a peer to poison, the freaks of unrighteous action are a barrier to cherished ends. The undertakings of the cherished objects have an innate proneness to obstacles from all sides. The inexorable providence has been compared to a wicked elephant so godless instinctively that untrammelled even by the meshes of steel in the form of intellect extremely acute, it moves unshackled.³

Samaraketu averring to strike Vajrāyudha only after the latter had done so speaks of the lofty and moral idea of shilling hitting below the belt in normal conduct of life (TM II p 221 LL B-4). His pious resolve not to carry Malayasundarī perforce and to woo her only with proper moral and social rites again upholds the uncommon philosophy of humanism or else who would leave a beauty untouched and unmolested when set sail for the purpose it is meant to extort from its counterpart.

Dhanapāla’s philosophy of life is, therefore, most humanistic and unlike Daṇḍin’s thought it shuns the idea of ‘end justifies the means’ preponderating in every day life. It evades immorality as well as unmoral attitudes. His pessimism occurs in the light of optimism and the inevitable

1. TM. Vol. I pp. 78-79. L. 7. LL. 1-2.

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 92. LL. 4-6.

3. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 246-247. p. 246. LL. 1-8. P. 247. LL. 1-3.

has been deemed a nightmare that deserves to be faced boldly and persistently.

7. POETIC EMBELISHMENTS, LANGUAGE AND DICTION

'गदितुं योग्यं गद्यम्' the etymology of the word 'gadya' implies the freedom of expression in speech which is not fettered by the dicta of counting of syllables in producing intonation in poetry. Still Prose is termed within the scope of Kāvya in Sanskrit. Barring aside the metrical enumeration, prose follows the same traits of a Kāvya as verse because it is imbued with all the literary embellishments inherent in an equivocal speech meant to be construed figuratively. This tendency of resorting to evasiveness developed gradually through a period of centuries having evolved from the straight forward narratives of earlier literature mainly consisting of the aphoristic style. Daṇḍin, Subandhu and Bāṇa constitute the master minds who produced prose in its consummation thereby precluding the possibility of the existence of innumerable specimens preceding them having got into oblivion perforce due to the tendency of restraining only the best of the lot earning wider popularity of the general reader.

Dhanapāla is a faithful follower of Bāṇa whose Kādambarī has proved the model for his Tilakamañjarī. He has followed his predecessor in the outer frame work of the style and has couched his diction in such a way that the reader never gets palled while going through the epithet laden word-pictures of the scenes laid down by him and can never underrate the work as a second rate copy of an original. He was, however, self conscious about the tendency of the age. That is why he has prayed to the reader to rise above spite before meriting the values of his muse or else the real charm of it would lose its sentiment.¹ His bold saying that he would like to keep away the unrighteous critic who would like to move in front of the pathway to poetry immune from all faults, like a serpent, who in order to overtake by his own circuitous crawl blocks the way only to bite.² In this respect Dhanapāla can be compared to Bhavabhūti who says in his Mālatīmādhava³ that 'Those who spread censure in our case, they should know that the

1. वन्द्यास्ते कवयः काव्यपरमार्थविशारदाः ।

विचारयन्ति ये दोषान् गुणांश्च गतमत्सराः ॥ TM Intr. verse 8 Vol. I p. 16. Botad ed.

2. वार्योऽनार्यः स निर्दोषे यः काव्याध्वनि सर्पताम् ।

अग्रगमितया कुर्वन् विघ्नमायाति सर्पताम् ॥ TM. Vol. I verse 9. 16.

3. Act. I verse 6 p. 8 M. R. Kale's edition. MLBD Delhi, 1967.

ये नाम केचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञाम् जानन्ति ते किमपि तान्प्रति नैषः यत्नः ।

उत्पत्स्यतेऽस्ति मम कोऽपि समानधर्मः कालोद्धार्यं निरवधिर्विपुला च पृथिवी ॥

present effort (i.e. Mālatīmādhava) is not meant for their tastes. It is only some compeer of our calibre that would be born and value it, because, the time is limitless and the earth (i.e. the Universe) is very wide". He is complacent that his muse will certainly entrance the minds of readers and shall bend the heads of the recalcitrant critics burnt with spite, when just heard of them.¹ He is fully confident that even the animals shall feel the sweet sentiment of melody in his muse, not to speak of the human beings. Even a wicked man is constrained to admire the virtues of a muse of gold with his head hung low like a goldsmith who values the gold even through a touch stone that is black.² Before taking up his dissertation on Tilakamañjarī Dhanapāla wants to be conscious that he shall avoid composing that style of prose which shall be variegated with abstruse vocabulary assuming the garb of a Daṇḍaka forest infested with chequered hued tigers in the from of long stave like unbreakable sentences from which the people shall fear as they fear the beast.³ He also vindicates himself through the ordeal that he would not compose a muse stuffed with complex puns because like a synthetic script such a muse fails to earn the encomium.⁴

‘‘उज्झितालंकारामप्यकृत्रिमेण कान्तिसुकुमारतादिगुणपरिगृहीतेनांगमाधुर्येण सुकविवाचमिव सहृदयानां हृदयमावर्जयन्तीम्।’’⁵

is another proud saying of Dhanapāla which extols the muse of an illustrious poet which even when not laden with the figures of speech, attracts the hearts of the men of tastes, by virtue of its instinctive qualities such as grace and perspicuity enhancing the attractiveness of its constituent elements like a woman (here Madirāvātī) fascinating the hearts of the persons of concordant minds, by virtue of the natural sweetness of her limbs imbued with qualities such as suppleness and radiance, even when she is not adorned with the ornaments. This high water mark of real poetry is

1. स्वादुतां मधुना नीता पशूनामपि मानसम्।
मदयन्ति न यद्वाचः किं तेऽपि कवयो भुवि॥
काव्यं तदपि किं वाच्यमवाञ्छि न करोति यत्।
श्रुतमात्रममित्राणां वक्त्राणि च शिरसि च॥ Ibid. verses 11, 12, p. 18.
2. कपाश्मनेव श्यामेन मुखेनाधौ मुखेक्षणः।
काव्यहेम्नो गुणान् वक्ति कलाद इव दुर्जनः॥ Ibid. verse 14. p. 19.
3. अखण्डदण्डकारण्यभाजः प्रचुरवर्णकात्।
व्याघ्रादिवसयाघ्रातो गद्याद्व्यावर्तते जनः॥ Ibid. Verse 15 p. 20.
4. वर्णयुक्तिं दधानापि स्निग्धाञ्जनमनोहराम्।
नातिश्लेषघना श्लाघां कृतिर्लिपिर्वाशनुते॥ Ibid. verse 16 p. 21.
5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 175. 1-2

discernible in Dhanapāla's muse where he indulges in diction of āviddha' mode being compoundless altogether. This trait of composition is equally admirable in other modes as well where his muse is laden with heavily compounded and less compounded diction's known as 'Utkalikā' or Taṇḍaka and Cūrṇaka respectively.¹

Homogeneous blend of sound and sense forms the essence of Pāñcālīrīti or style which is available both in the works of Śīlābhāṭṭārikā as well as Bāṇa.² Dhanapāla being a true pupil of Bāṇa seems to have inherited this function from his illustrious preceptor. The style of Dhanapāla is characterised by all the traits mentioned above. It abounds in lengthy sentences full of compound forms connecting the subject with its verb through a series of qualifying epithets. As for example, the very first paragraph starts with the word 'अस्ति' and ends with 'उत्तरकोशलेष्वयोध्येति यथार्थाभिधाना नगरी' and intervening series of metaphors, alliterative compounds, similes, fancies etc. go to the length of three and a half pages of a small printed book. Another one page illustrates its extra store of virtues, which contains prominent allusions to the cultural data affording clues to the erudition of the poet. Parisamkhyā (Exclusion or restriction) and Virodhābhāsa, Atiśayokti or (hyperbole), Samāsokti, Utprekṣā, Arthāpatti, Ullekha, Viśeṣokti, Śleṣa, Śleṣānuprāṇitopamā, are the main figures strung into the frame of this description. The description starting with 'तस्यां च भुवनत्रयाश्चर्यभूतायां नगर्याम्' and ending with 'सर्वभौमो मेघवाहने नाम' also covers a page and three quarters abounding in all the three modes of style i.e. the long compounded, short compounded and the uncompounded ones. It also contains a galaxy of figures such as Upamā (Simile), Utprekṣā (i.e. Fancy), rūpaka (i.e. metaphor), Virodhābhāsa (i.e. apparent incongruity) and Parisamkhyā. In order to provide a few illustrations here are the chosen examples.

'रम्यतानिरस्तसमस्तसुरलोका'³ is an attribute of Ayodhyā a terrestrial town transgressing the limits of the usage, a fabulous spot. It is gorgeous beyond the grandeur of Suraloka. Hence there is 'Atiśayokit' or Hyperbole in it.

1. Kādambarī eka Sāṃskritika adhyayana by Dr. V.S. Agravala p. 12. Chowkhamba Vidyabhawan Varanasi 1-1957.

2. Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa- A Literary study by Dr. Necta Sharma p. 189. cf.

शब्दार्थयोः समोः गुम्फः पांचाली रीतिरिष्यते।

3. शीलाभट्टारिका वापि बाणोक्तिषु च सा यदि। ascribed to Rājśakhera house in Śukti muktāvali.

3. TM. Vol. I p. 43. L. 1.

'रम्यतानिरस्तसमस्त' has alliteration in 'र' 'स' and 'त' and has an associative element, the inkling of a 'Yamaka' in 'निरस्त', 'समस्त', 'स्त' being repeated once.

'स्वपदापहारशङ्किशतक्रतुप्रार्थितेन शततमक्रतुवांछाविच्छेदार्थमिव पार्थिवानामिक्ष्वाकूणामुत्पादिता प्रजापतिना'

has an Utprekṣā or fancy in it in so far as it has been fancied to have been brought into being by the creator for the kings of the Ikṣvāku race as if to satiate the desire for performing a hundred and odd horse sacrifices, challenged by Indra (Śatakratu) apprehensive of the loss of his own status.

'वृत्तोज्ज्वलवर्णशालिनी कर्णिकेवाम्भोरुहस्य मध्यभागमलंकृत्य स्थिता भारतवर्षस्य'²

has an Upamā or simile suffused with pun (Śleśānuprāṇitopamā). Ayodhyā has been qualified as the ornament of the central part of the Bhāratavarṣa (India) and has been compared to the pericarp of a lotus shining with gleaming glow, being robed in structure. Punningly, it is glamorous with Varṇas or people of all the four castes refulgent or righteous in conduct.

'मज्जत्कोशलविलासिनीनितम्बास्फालनस्फारिततरंगया गृहीतसरलमृणालयष्टिभिः पूर्वार्णवावतीर्णे वृद्धकंचुकिभिरिव राजहंसैः क्षणमप्यमुक्तपार्श्वया कपिलकोपानलेन्धनीकृतसगरतनयस्वर्गवार्तामिव प्रष्टुं भागीरथोमुपस्थितया सरिता सरस्वाख्यया कृतपर्यन्तसख्या'³

has Utprekṣā (fancy) as well as Samāsokti or terseness in expression or a speech of brevity in it in so far as the Eastern ocean has been deemed a hero and Sarayū river has been deemed a heroine, the royal swans acting as chamberlains, Sarayū in itself acting as a female associate of Ayodhyā or Ayodhyā acting a female associate of Sarayū as Nāyikā. It even implies that Ayodhyā consisting of the Kośala Vilāsinīs or the maidens of Kośala acted as heroine by virtue of her being an associate to Ayodhyā. It even implies a rūpaka or a metaphor in so far as the Eastern ocean supplies the royal swans to Sarayū who are none but the chamberlains conducting her to her lord or as if they were the chamberlains, implies a fancy. Sarayū has been fancied to have approached Bhāgīrathī or Gaṅgā, another female chaperon in order to inquire after her account of conducting to heaven the sons of Sagara consumed by the fire of wrath of Kapila. Here there is Utprekṣā obviously.

1. TM. p. 43. LL. 1-2.

2. Ibid. p. 43. LL. 2-3.

3. Ibid. Vol. 1 p. 47. LL. 1-3.

“सततगृहव्यापारनिपण्णमानसाभिर्निसर्गतो गुरुवचनानुरागिणीभिरनुत्पन्नोज्ज्वलवेषाभिः स्वकुलाचार-
कौशलशालिनीभिः शालीनतया सुकुमारतया च कुचकुम्भयोरपि कदर्थ्यमानाभिरुद्धत्या मणिभूषणानामपि
खिद्यमानाभिर्मुखरतया रतेष्वपि ताम्यन्तीभिवैयात्यपरिग्रहेण स्वप्नेऽप्यलंघयन्तीभिर्द्वारतोरण-
मंगीकृतसतीव्रताभिरप्यसतीव्रताभिरलसाभिर्नितम्बभारवहने तुच्छाभिरुदरे तरलाभिश्चक्षुषि कुटिलाभिर्भुवो-
रत्पाभिरंगशोभायामुद्धताभिस्तारुण्ये कृतकुंसगाभिश्चरणयोर्न स्वभावे कोपेऽप्यदृष्टमुखविकाराभि-
व्यलीकेऽप्यनुज्झितविनयाभिः खेदेऽप्यखण्डितोचितप्रतिपत्तिभिः कलहेऽप्यनिष्ठुरभाषिणीभिः सकलपुरुषार्थ-
सिद्धिभिरिव शरीरबद्धाभिरलंकृता वधूमिः ।”¹

Ayodhyā ornamented by the house wives who were always having their minds concentrated on household chores etc. has Arthāpatti, Virodhābhāsa, a Saṁkara of Parisaṁkhyā and Ullekha, Viśeṣokti and Utprekṣā.

“पादशोभयाऽपि न्यक्तपद्माभिरुश्रियाऽपि लघूकतरम्भास्तम्भाभिर्गौर्योऽपि च्छायया
सोभाग्यहेतोरुपासिताभिः..... विलासिनीभिर्वितीर्णात्रिभुवनजिगीषुकुसुमसायकसाहायका”² contains
Virodhābhāsa in it with śleṣa and Upamā playing adjunct to it.

“अकलिताद्यानाद्यविवेकैरगृहीतपण्डितापण्डितविभक्तिभिरनवबुद्धसाधुस्वसाधुविशेषैरनवधारितधार्मिकाधा-
मिकपरिच्छिन्तिभिः सर्वैरप्युदारविशेषः सर्वैरपि लोकोक्तिकोविदैः सर्वैरपि परोपकारप्रवणैः सर्वैरपि सन्मार्ग-
वर्तिभिः.... प्रमाणविद्भिरप्यप्रमाणविद्यैः अधीतनीतिभिरप्यकुटिलैः अभ्यस्तनाट्यशास्त्रैरप्यदर्शितभूनेप्रविकारैः
कामसूत्रपारंगैरप्यविदितवैशिकैः सर्वभाषाविचक्षणैरप्यशिक्षितलाटोक्तिभिः सात्विकैरपि राजस भावासख्यातिभिः-
.... निवासिलोकैः संकुला”³

contains śleṣamūlakārthāpatti along with Virodhābhāsa. The inhabitants of Ayodhyā had no discrimination between the rich and the poor. It automatically implies that they were all amply affluent. Punningly- They had not understood the circumspection about both rich as well as the poor. They did not understand the distinction between the learned and the illiterate. It automatically implies that all were learned, Punningly They had undergone the division among the learned and the illiterate. This is śleṣa mūlakārthāpatti “प्रमाणविद्भिरप्यप्रमाणविद्यैः” has Virodhābhāsa in so far as the citizens knew logic and yet could produce no syllogistic instance. The apparent incongruity is removed by construing ‘अप्रमाणविद्यैः’ to mean. They were possessed of illimitable knowledge-

“विरचितालकेव मखानलधूमकोटिभिः स्पष्टिजानतिलकबिन्दुरिव बालोद्यानैः, आविष्कृतविलाससहासेव
दन्तबलभीभिः, आगृहीतदर्पणेव सरोभिः सकृतयुगेव सत्पुरुषव्यवहारैः, समकरध्वजराज्येव पुरन्ध्रबिम्बोक्तैः
सब्रह्मलोकेव द्विजसमाजैः....”

1. TM. Vol. I pp. 47-48. p. 47. LL. 3-9. p. 48 L. 1. Botad ed.

2. Ibid. Vol. I pp. 48-51. p. 48. LL. 2. p. 49 LL. 1. p. 51. LL. 3-4.

3. Ibid. Vol. I pp. 51-53. p. 51. LL. 4-6. p. 52. LL. 1-3. p. 53. L. 4.

etc. has Utprekṣā and Samāsokti and 'विततप्रभावविभिराभरणपाषाणखण्डैरिव पाखण्डैर्मृपितकल्मषा.... बिचित्राकारवेदिभिरंगणैरिव नागरिकगणैरलंकृतगृहा, सवनराजिभिः सामस्वरैरिव क्रोडापर्वतक परिसरैरानन्दितद्विजा.. ' Has śleṣopamā.¹ The figure Sahakoti is available in 'या सितांसुकरसम्पर्कादपरिस्फुटदोलासु बद्धासनैर्विलासिमिथुनैरवगाह्यमानगगनान्तरा समन्तादन्तरिक्षसंचर त्वेचरमिथुनस्य शुचिप्रदोषेषु शोभामधरीचकार विद्याधरलोकस्य।'² is so far Ayodhyā has been described as slighting the glamour of the Vidyādhara world implying thereby the exchange of qualities of the Vidyādhara world Ayodhyā conjunctively through the same expressions. In the Vidyādhara world the celestial couples moving about in the sky in all directions in clear nights ride the swings of marble indistinct through their contact with the rays of the Moon or ride the indistinct crystalline swings in the form of the rays of the Sun whereas Ayodhyā has the aerial regions being waded through by the dallying couples seated on the swings of marble made invisible by the contact of the rays of Moon during clear nights.

'यस्यां च वीथिगृहाणां राजपथातिक्रमः, दोलाक्रोडासु दिगन्तरयात्रा, कुमुदखण्डानां राज्ञा सर्वस्वापहरणम्। अनंगमार्गगणानां मर्मघट्टनव्यसनम्, वैष्णवानां कृष्णवर्त्मनि प्रवेशः, सूर्योपलानां मित्रोदयेन ज्वलनम्, वैशेषिकमते द्वयस्य कूटस्थ नित्यता, यत्र च भोगस्पृहया दानप्रवृत्तयः, दुरितप्रशान्तये शान्तिककर्मणि, भयेन प्रणतयः.... पुंसामासन्।'³

contains Parisamkhyā in so far as it purports forth like this.

"Arcades occupied the royal roads but no transgression of royal mandate was effected amongst the people. The journey to the other quarters was visible in sports of swings but no exiles to different quarters was visible among the public, on account of the violation of the regional law. The bits of lilics were plucked by all but no attachment by royal order was discernible. The arrows of Cupid had a tendency to acrimonise the vitals and no piercing of vitals by the arrows meant to pierce the limbs was effected etc. "

There are the figure Udātta, Ullekha and Upamā in "गगनाभोग इव शशिभास्कराभ्याम् अच्युत इव शंखक्राभ्याम्। अम्भसां पतिरिवामृत वाडवाभ्याम् अभिरामभीषणो यशः प्रतापाभ्याम्, इन्दुविमलाभिर्जलद समयारम्भ इव राजहंसं पंक्तिभिः प्रतिमानसं प्रस्थिताभिर्व्याप्त भुवनान्तरालो गुणपरम्पराभिः"⁴ in so far as the qualities of head and heart of king Meghavāhana have been

1. TM. Vol. I pp. 53-55. p. 53. LL. 4-5. p. 54. L. 1-4.

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 55. LL. 3-4. p. 56. L. 1.

3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 57. LL. 3-4. p. 58. LL. 1-4.

4. Ibid. Vol. I p. 61. LL. 1-3.

described and one man Meghavāhana has been described as a peer to the expanse of the sky, to Kṛṣṇa, the ocean and just as the expanse of the sky is attractive and horrible with Moon and the Sun, Kṛṣṇa is attractive with conch and terrific with quoits, ocean is attractive with the nectar and terrific with submarine fire, the king was attractive and terrific on account of his fame and prowess. "उद्यापशब्दः शत्रुसंहारे न वस्तुविचारे, वृद्धत्यागशीलो विवेकेन न प्रज्ञोत्सेकेन, गुरुवितोर्णशासनो भक्त्या न प्रभुशक्त्या, स्वजनपराङ्मुखो परभार्यासु न सपर्यासु, अवनितापहारी पालनेन न लालनेन, अकृतकारुण्यः करचरणे न शरणे" etc. has *Parisamkhyā* in it.

"अनिवर्ततो लक्ष्मीमदविकारैः अखलीकृतो व्यसनचक्रपीडाभिः अनाकृष्टो विषयग्राहैः, अयन्त्रितः प्रमदाप्रेमनिगडैः, अजडीकृतः परमैश्वर्यसंनिपातैः" ²

has *Viśeṣokti* in so far as King Meghavāhana was unaffected by the common tendencies of the ordinary beings such as pride born of riches, harassment through catastrophes, attraction by the alligators in the form of the objects of senses, bonds of women's love and infatuation of affluence etc. "विषयग्राहैः" has *rūpaka* since object of senses have been deemed crocodiles i.e. the character of crocodiles or the alligators has been superimposed on the object of sense. "प्रमदाप्रेमेव निगडीतैः प्रमदाप्रेमनिगडैः" meshes in the form of love of maidens.

यस्य फेनवत्स्फुटप्रसृतयशोऽदृढहासभरितभुवनकुक्षिः, अंगीकृतगजेन्द्रकृत्तिभीषणः, प्रकटितानेक नरकपालः, प्रलयकालविभ्रमेष्वाजिमूर्धसु, संजहार विश्वानि शात्रवाणि महाभैरवः कृपाणूः।" ³

There is *śleṣānuprāṇitam rūpakām* in it. "यशांस्येवादृढहासः प्रलयकाल विभ्रमा एव आजिमूर्धनः तेषु" There is *śleṣānuprāṇitopamā* in "यस्य चाकाण्डदर्शितसकलदिग्दाहो वज्र इव विडौजसो निर्ददाह महीभृत्कुलानि समन्ततः प्रज्वलत्प्रतापः। दर्शित.... दिग्दाहो वज्र इव विडौजस प्रज्वलत्प्रतापः" ⁴ has alliteration in it.

There is *ārthī Parisamkhyā* i.e. Exclusion derived from the sense in--

"यश्च संमरश्रद्धालुः अहितानामुन्नत्यानुतोषणप्रणत्या, दानव्यसनी जनानाम् अर्थितया अप्रीयत न कृतार्धतया कुशाग्रीय बुद्धिः कार्याणां वैषम्येन जहर्ष न समतया.... धैर्यव्यक्तिकामो व्यसनाय स्पृहयांचकार नाभ्युदयाय"

"यस्य च प्रताप एव वसुधामसाधयत् परिकरः सैन्यनायकाः, महिमैव राजकम् अनामयत् नीतिः प्रतिहाराः, सौभाग्यमेवान्तःपुरं ररक्ष स्थितिः स्थापत्याः आकार एव प्रभुतां शंशस परिच्छदः छत्रचामर ग्राहाः" ⁵

There is also *Kāvyaṅga* commingled with *Parisamkhyā* in it.

1. TM. Vol. I p. 62. LL. 1-3.

2. Ibid. p. 64. LL. 2-3.

3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 65. LL. 1-2.

4. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 65. LL. 1-3.

5. Ibid. Vol. I p. 65. LL. 3-5. p. 66. LL. 3-4.

He had a devotion for fighting. That is why he felt pleased when his enemies rose and loved to subdue them at that time and did not feel happy if they continued to feel awe from him and supplicated. There is Kāvya-linga when there is a reason implied from the meaning of a sentence or an expression-- "यस्मिंश्च राजनि अनुवर्तितशास्त्रमार्गे प्रशासति वसुमती धातूनां सोपसर्गत्वं इक्षूणां दिव्यग्रहणम् पदानां विग्रहः तिमोनां गलग्रहः"¹ etc. has a Parisamkhyā which is implied. There was the association of Prepositions with the roots during the reign of Meghavāhana but there was none who died because of contagious maladies. Only sugar canes were passed and none was suppressed among the people etc.

There is Pūrṇopamā in-

"प्रतिदिवसमासादितोद्दामप्रौढिना निदाघतपन इव निजतेजसा ताप्यमानो गुणानुरक्तयापि राजलक्ष्म्या दुर्भगाङ्गनयेव नारमत।"²

"पञ्जरशुकैरपि प्रस्तुतवादिभिर्बन्दिभिरिवोच्चार्यमाणमङ्गलम् अन्तःपुरसारिकाभिरपि परिमितव्याहारिणीभि-
राराध्यजरतीभिरिव वितौर्यमाणराजवनिताशीर्वादम् अभिकैरपि विनयनिभृतैः प्रवीणपुरुषैरिव
निवार्यमाणशुद्धदासीपरस्परकलहम्"³

has rūpaka in it in so far as superimposition of the character of bards and old ladies on parrots and starlings is implied in it. "चारिचारणोच्चार्यमाण"⁴ is an alliteration Similarly-

"पीनपरिमण्डलापीनभार"⁵

"कवलानाकुलशकुलकुलाभिः"⁶

"पिशुनितपशुपरम्परोत्ताराभिः"⁷

"घण्टिकाघोषकमनीयम्"⁸

"काककोकिलकलविंककण्ठकालकायैः"⁹

"तरुणकुन्तलीकुन्तलकलापकान्तिभिः"¹⁰

1. TM. Vol. I p. 67. LL. 3-4. p. 68. L. 1.

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 80. LL. 8-9.

3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 162. LL. 1-3.

4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 201. L. 5.

5. Ibid. Vol. TM. II p. 257. L. 70. L. 1. p. 69. L. 7. TM II. p. 273. L. 5.

6. Ibid. Vol. TM. II p. 257. L. 70. L. 1. p. 69. L. 7. TM II. p. 273. L. 5.

7. Ibid. Vol. TM. II p. 257. L. 70. L. 1. p. 69. L. 7. TM II. p. 273. L. 5.

8. Ibid. Vol. TM. II p. 257. L. 70. L. 1. p. 69. L. 7. TM II. p. 273. L. 5.

9. Ibid. Vol. TM. II p. 257. L. 70. L. 1. p. 69. L. 7. TM II. p. 273. L. 5.

10. Ibid. Vol. III p. 70. L. 2, 4-6.

“इभकलभकरावकृष्टिविघटमानविटपाभिः”¹

“अम्बुगर्भनिभृताम्रमण्डलीवभ्रमाभिः”²

“शिखरोपशल्यया पाल्यापरितः परिक्षिपत्”³

Have alliterations in them.

“श्वासशेषावशेषजीवितजीवितम्”⁴

“भूमिसशैषावशेषभूमिगोचराणामभूमिभूमिः”⁵

“विन्ध्याद्रेस्तलपरुचिरे न वेशमनि नवेशमनि”

“दृष्ट्वा वैरस्य वैरस्यमुज्झितास्त्रो रिपुव्रजः”

यस्मिन् विश्वस्य विश्वस्य कुलस्य कुशलं व्यधात्।

अवलम्बितासमक्षमस्य समक्षमस्य सामन्तलोकस्य”⁶

has Yamakas in it. All the examples quoted above have a less abstruse style though long compounded, short compounded and compoundless diction's are available therein.

The instances of longer compounds are available at certain places-

“प्रावृषेण्यसलिलपूरक्षालनापनीतसकलपंकमलाभिः”⁷

“प्रकटितौदनाज्यदधिभाण्डखण्डमोदकप्रायपण्यप्रसारकाभिः”⁸

“दरीगृहप्रस्तरगलितगुंजाफलकांचीसूचितवनेचरीचित्ररतविमर्दाभिः”⁹

“कुसुमितलताकुंजगुंजन्मधुपमधुरितमनस्वीकोपकुटिलभ्रुकुटिभंगः”¹⁰

“उत्पाककलमकेदारकपिलायमानसकलग्रामसीमान्तमातपकान्तकान्तारमहिषयूथाध्युषितपल्वलोपान्त कृष्णागुरुतरुतलम्”¹¹

Apart from the descriptive mode of style in prose, Dhanapāla has displayed immense skill in composing the reflective style which contains a great instructive value couched as it is all over in the usual norm of idioms pertaining to wordily wisdom and common mode of intelligence waking the mind of a character. Samaraketu wading through the ocean finding odds on

1. TM. Vol. III p. 70. L. 2, 4-6.

2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 70. L. 2, 4-6.

3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 70. L. 2, 4-6.

4. Ibid. Vol. III p. 162.

5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 324. L. 2.

6. Ibid. Vol. I p. 70 verse 54-55 and Vol. II p. 210. L. 3.

7. Ibid. Vol. II p. 256. L. 6.

8. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 356. L. 6-7.

9. Ibid. Vol. III p. 129. L. 1.

10. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 370. LL. 16-17.

11. Ibid. Vol. III p. 34. LL. 2-3.

the way hampering his progress just tries to indulge in the compunction of a folly he committed in the manner of a child who all of a sudden, on seeing an object of amazement rushes to snatch it but fails to do so and comes to levity as he does sometimes to snatch at the moon, an object of attraction to his eyes. Samaraketu, too, on hearing the noise of Orchestra from a-far made his resolve to pursue it and while doing so came face to face with insurmountable difficulties when come face to face with the sea fauna who tried to turn his vessel down into the deep waters.

“हन्त! कस्मान्मया मिथ्याकुतूहलतरलितेन सहसैव तूर्यरवमुपश्रुत्य धावता शिशुनेव लघुतां परमात्मा नीतः, किमिर्त्याचिन्ततात्मावीनपातदुःखेन शिखरिणेव कुलिशपातभोरुणा संचरदनेकदुष्टग्राहदुरवगाहो महासमुद्रकुक्षिरवगाहः, किमनिवारितेन्द्रियवृत्तिना बालतपस्विनेव निष्कलोऽनुभूतः शीतवातादिजनितः कायक्लेशः, कुतो ममेदमनुपदिष्टमशिक्षितमनभ्यस्तमचिन्तितमेवाद्य चापलमाविर्भूतम्, अहो! चंचलस्वभावता चित्तपरिणतेः, अहो विकारबहुलता तारुण्यगतेः, अहो दुःखदायकत्वं सुखाभिलाषाणाम्, अहो व्यसनदानवैदग्ध्यमनधीनतायाः, अहो कार्यपरिणतिर्विकारविद्वेषो दर्पोद्विकविलसितानाम्, अहो मतिविपर्ययप्रदानतात्पर्यं दैवप्रातिकूल्यस्य, तस्य तादृशस्य तातप्रयत्नस्य, तस्य विद्याभ्यासस्य, तस्य नीतिशास्त्रश्रवणस्य, तस्य हेयोपादेयतत्त्वपरिज्ञानस्य, तेषां वृद्धोपदेशानां तस्याः विदग्धजनसंगतेः तस्य च निसर्गसिद्धस्येन्द्रियवर्गसंयमस्य कीदृशो विपाकः संवृतः”¹

The passage has got good similes too.

“सर्वथा पुण्यभाजो वयम् जातं जन्मसफलम्, उत्तिष्ठ तूर्णम्, अनुत्तिष्ठ साम्प्रतं कालोचितकृत्यम्, उपसृत्य पर्वतनितम्वादितः समाहार प्रत्यग्रविकसितानि संतानकप्रभृतीनि पुष्पपादपानां पादशौचाः प्रविश्य पश्यामः पूजयामश्च भगवन्तमन्तःप्रतिष्ठितमस्य देवतायतनस्य दैवम्”²

along with

“ब्रजामि वैताड्यम् अनुसरन्नमुनैव गजगमनमार्गम्, अन्वेष्ट्यामि तदुपान्तवर्तिषु ग्रामेषु, नगरेषु आश्रमपदेषु काननेष्वपरेषु च संभाव्यमानतदवस्थितिषु रम्यस्थानेषु कुमारम्, अनुज्झिताभियोगस्य सततमन्विध्यतो भविष्यत्यवश्यं मम क्वापि तद्वृत्तान्तोपलब्धिः लब्धनिर्गमा निसर्गविमलाभ्यः कलाभ्यः प्रभेव मृगलाञ्छनं छत्रमपि तमाविष्कारिष्यति विजृम्भमाणदिङ्मुखेषु सद्गुणख्यातिः।”³

is a fine examples of short compounded and compoundless diction marked by steady glow of reflection in it. There is a simile in

“प्रभेव मृगलाञ्छनम्”

“मद्गुरुतरुचितमपि नमद्गुरुतरुचितम्”⁴

“बकैरवभासितमपि नवकैरवभासितम्”⁵

1. TM. Vol. II p. 311. LL. 2-9.
2. Ibid. Vol. II p. 324. LL. 4-7.
3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 58. LL. 6-7.
4. Ibid. Vol. III p. 74. LL. 3. LL. 3-4.
5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 74. LL. 3. LL. 3-4.

“विषैकसदनमप्यमृतमयम्”¹

“शंखनिधानमपि स्थैर्योपेतम्”²

has Virodhābhāsa in the description of the lake Adr̥ṣṭapāra.

“It was shining with the caws of the water crows and yet was not shining with the caws of the water crows- The apparent incongruity is removed by construing the latter part as and yet was full of trees huge and bent low. It was shining with cranes and yet was not shining with cranes. The apparent incongruity is removed by saying-

and yet was shining with new and blooming lilies”

“सौमित्रोचरितमिव विस्तारितोर्मिलास्य शोभम्”

“विलासिनी गमनमिव कलहंस कलापकृतक्षोभम्”

“कुलाचलक्षयमिव कैसरिमहापद्म तिगिच्छ भूपितं”

“गगनमिव मकरमिथुनाध्यासितम्”³

has śleṣopamā in it.

“अहो द्रष्टव्यतामुपेतः संसारः, सारतां गतो जीवलोकः, लोकोत्तरं फलमवाप्तमुत्साहतरुणा, प्रकर्षो लब्धः परिपाकस्य शुभकर्मणा, पर्यन्तभूमिरधिष्ठिता कृतार्थभावस्य जन्मना, कोटिरध्यासिता पुण्यभागित्वस्य लोचनसृष्ट्या, दृष्टः समस्तरमणीयानां सीमा, विलोकितः कौतुकविधायिनामवधिः, वीक्षितो विस्मयनीयानामन्तः साक्षात्कृतमद्भुतानामास्पदम्, समासादितं महिम्नामायतनम्, अधिगतमागधतानामधिष्ठानम्”⁴

has a compoundless diction and a reflective style indicative of marvel of Samaraketu on seeing the lake Adr̥ṣṭapāra. There appears to be ‘Ullekha’ in it in so far as one object i.e. the lake has been considered and illustrated mainfoldly.

“एकस्यानेकद्योल्लेखो यः सः उल्लेख उच्यते”⁵ “नष्टशल्याकृष्टिकृष्टिभिः”⁶

has Yamaka

“रससमूहमारणमहितमाहात्म्याभिश्च”⁷

has alliterations

‘भीतभीताध्वनि’⁸

has Yamaka

1. TM. Vol. III p. 74. LL. 3. LL. 3-4.

2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 74. LL. 3. LL. 3-4.

3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 73. L. 7. p. 74. L. 1-2.

4. Ibid. Vol. III p. 75. LL. 6-8. p. 76. LL. 1-2.

5. Sah. D. X. 37 p. 696.

6. TM Vol. III p. 129. L. 5.

7. Ibid. Vol. III p. 130. L. 1.

8. Ibid. Vol. III p. 131. L. 8.

“हासमिव हारं हारमुरसा”¹

has alliteration and Yamaka both

“सखे तारक! प्रतीक्षस्व तावत्क्षणमेकम्। अत्र क्षणे बलवदस्वस्थं मे शरीरम् प्रवृत्ता शिरसि वेदना, दृढारम्भा जृम्भा, विजृम्भते निकामं रणरणकदायी केनापि कारणेन दारुणावेगो दाहज्वरः।”²

and

“कुमार! यद्यहं प्रमाणम् तत्र युज्यते निमेषमात्रमपीह स्थातुम्। अतिबहुदोषमत्र प्रदेशे चिरागवस्थानम्। एष च व्याधिरनावेदितोऽपि विदितो मया। निदानं चास्य। विज्ञातम्। अतएव प्रतीकारहेतोः स्थानान्तरमितस्त्वां नैतुमिच्छामि। योऽपि कर्पूरचन्दनच्छाशिशिरः प्रशमहेतुस्त्वया परिकल्पितः प्रदेशः सोऽप्यस्य तव शरीरसंतापस्य सन्निपातज्वरस्येव सुतरां संतर्पकप्रकारान्तरेण शमयितव्यः। तदलमावेगेन यथा समार्थमवसरेऽस्य यत्नसहमेव चिन्तयिष्यामि।”³

Containing query of Samaraketu and reply of Tāraka on the after math of love engendered in the heart of Samaraketu, is reminiscent of the reflective index of Bāṇa's admonition of Kapiñjala to Puṇḍarīka in the Mahāśvetārvṛttānta of Kādambarī, though characterised by lesser piquancy of thought.

“वरगीत्रि त्वमस्य शरणम्, त्वं परित्राणम्, त्वामाश्रयः, त्वं विश्राम भूमिः, त्वमवलम्बनम्, त्वयायं गतिमान्, त्वया चेष्टावान् त्वया कर्णधारिण्यस्य वचने प्रवृत्तिः, त्वया व्यापारित स्निग्ध तारकथा जीवितव्यम् त्वयानुकूलं वर्तमानं यानुकूलं देवम्, त्वयि प्रसादवत्या प्रसन्ना देवता, त्वयि कृतानुग्रहायामनुग्राहिकाः प्रसीद मानिनि, परिहर भ्रमम्, आलोक्य स्वकायमल्पमपि मा दोलायस्व। अत्रेवास्व तावत्।”⁴

etc. reflecting upon the intercession of Tāraka on behalf of Samaraketu requesting Malayasundarī to help his lord in his sore-straits is again mostly a compoundless diction purporting forth the deep sympathy of a servant for his master given to the incorrigible inevitability of a love-smitten conscience doomed in youth by the ravages of Cupid.

Dhanapāla has also emulated Bāṇa in the invocative mode of writing. This mode occurs even in Subandhu. Bāṇa has adopted this style in the Vth and VIIIth Uucchāsas of Harṣacarita and Mahāśvetāvilāpavarṇana and Kanyāpurodantavarṇana of Kādambarī. Dhanapāla's example is quoted here-

“वरुणिकै, वारय निकटनाट्यशालाशैलूषकुलसंगीतकलहम्। कौकिले! विधेहि स्वविषयादुपेयुषः किन्नरराजकुलचारणकुलस्य स्वरसंदेहविच्छेदम्। विहंगिके! ग्रहिणुयानाशक्तिरिक्तभूतचिरसंचित-द्रविणविद्वाणमदरिद्रीकस्य वैश्रवणयाचकवृन्दम्।”⁵

1. TM. Vol. III p. 151. L.3.

2. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 281. LL. 8-11. LL. 14-21.

3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 281. LL. 8-11. LL. 14-21.

4. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 284. LL. 4-11.

5. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 372. LL. 6-10.

The reflective mode presents more of its beauteous aspect in the following few examples-

“अहो! निरवधिप्रचारो विधिः नास्त्यगोचरः पुरस्कृतकर्मणाम्। अशक्यप्रतीकारा कृतान्तशक्तिः अव्याहता गतिः सर्वत्र भवितव्यतायाः। येन भुवनत्रयख्यातभूपतिकुलोद्भवानामसदृशानुभावशुभलक्षणाश्लिष्टवपुषामनुसृतानीति मार्गणामुपशमादिगुणगणजुषामीदृशानामप्याकृतिविशेषणामेवंविधान्यापतन्ति व्यसनानि।”¹

purporting forth Bandhusundarī's advice to Malayasundarī on latter's pitiable condition born of attachment with Samaraketu. She casts a fling on the revilious character of Providence, commenting upon its irresistibility.

“इह हि संसारसद्मनि समासादितावतारः स्वभावविमलोऽपि जन्तुरेकत्रैव जन्मनि दशावशेन दीपाङ्कुरइवानेकानि रम्यान्तराण्यनुभवति। तथाहि। विपुलेश्वरकुलोत्पन्नोऽपि नाप्रोति निरपायनि विषयास्वादसौख्यानि। असंख्यपरिवारोऽपि क्षणेनैकाकितां याति। निः प्रत्याशतां गतोऽपि सर्वं लोकातिगमकस्माद्वस्तु लभते। लब्धाभिमतलोभोऽपि झगिति वियुज्यते तेन। जाताप्रतिविधेयविरहोऽपि भूयः समागच्छति तेनाभिर्वाञ्छितेन। अनिरामयशरीरोऽपि मरणावहां विपदमासादयति। लब्ध्वापि परमकल्यतां कल्याणपरम्परामधिगच्छति।”²

refers to the same type of deliberation on the ephemeral nature of the world in which the man of diverse temperaments undergoes many transformations like the wick of a lamp. A mighty sovereign goes down from prosperity to adversity in no time. A person of huge family becomes lone without a moment's notice. A disappointed being becomes thoroughly hopeful about his success in adventures. A healthy being becomes a patient etc. Continuing the same tune Dhanapāla strains forth-

पृष्ठो मुनिः, प्रगल्भया दृष्ट्या विलोक्य तम् अभाषत। महात्मन्! इदं हि जीवः शुभाशुभनिमित्तनिर्वर्तितेन स्वकर्मणा नित्यमनुसृतः परिवर्तमानो महति संसारचक्रे कुशलकुलालपरिगृहीत इव मृत्पिण्डः स्थालकोशकलशादीनि स्पृशति विविधान्यवस्थान्तराणि, तथाहि-नाकसद्मापि नारको भवति। तिर्यङ्पि (तिर्यङ् अपि) मनुष्यतामायाति राजाऽपि भृत्यत्वमावर्जयति। दासोऽपि स्वामितामेति सुखितोऽपि दुःखमाप्नोति, कल्योऽपि दौर्बल्यमधिगच्छति। तथा च- लोकपालः कीनाशोऽपि धनदत्वमाश्रयति etc. (This portion is missing in Sm ed. p. 406 LL II on words before दासोऽपि.

“लोकपालः कीनाशोऽपि धनदत्वमाश्रयति। धनदोऽपि पुरुषः कीनाशतां प्रतिपद्य काकणीमपि न ददाति। एकवेदविद्विजोऽपि मातङ्गजातौ जायते। मदालसगर्तिमातङ्गोऽपि गत्या द्विजत्वमनिलवर्त्मना सर्वतः संचरति। रूपवानपि कुरूपो भवति कुरूपोऽपि तेजोमयं कायमास्कन्दति।”³

That a king becomes a niggard, a niggard becomes a charitable being, a rich man abounding in riches refuses to part with even a single cowry. Brāhmaṇa learned in Vedas is born in the family of Cāṇḍālas and a Cāṇḍāla is honoured like a Brāhmaṇa etc.

1. TM. Sm. ed. pp. 345-346. p. 345. L. 22. p. 346. LL. 1-5.

2. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 346. LL. 8-16.

3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 406. LL. 12-16. L.D. Series ed. para 418 p. 238. LL. 22-30.

"क्षीयमाणेषु क्षितिपतिषु निपतत्सु पादातेषु सीदत्सु सादिषु व्रजत्सु विधुरतामाधोरणेषु प्रहारविकलकायेष्वितस्ततः परिस्खलत्सु शून्यासनेषु सप्तिषु।

क्रौर्यमय इव वैरमय इव व्याजमय इव हिंसामय इव विभाव्यमाने जगति,....

मृगयुमार्गणप्रहारताडित इव मृगारातिः, आकर्णितदुर्निन्दमन्त्रपद इव महाहिः, आघ्रातविपक्षवारणमदगन्ध इव वनकरेणुः।"¹

all referring to the approach of Samaraketu in the battlefield contain the āviddha mode (style), Utprekṣās and Upamās.

"स्तूयमानमिव सुभटशस्त्रपातरणितेन प्रणम्यमानमिव भूमिनिक्षिप्तमूर्धाभिः कबन्धैः, अर्च्यमानमिव निपतदातपत्रकुसुमैः स्यन्दनैः, क्षिप्यमानलाजमिव उच्छलत्कुम्भमुक्ताफलाभिः करिघटाभिः प्रहारव्रणैः, दीयमानचक्राभिघातमिव विलोलमणिकुण्डलैः क्षमापालमुण्डैः, प्रबलपरिवारगतमिव शरच्छैदैः, मूकं मासंभेदैः मन्दं मेदसि, मुखरमस्थिषु, मन्थरं स्नायुग्रन्थिष्वसंख्यमसृजन्मार्गणव्रातम्। अतिवेगव्यापृतोऽस्य तत्र क्षणे प्रोत इव तूणीमुखेषु, लिखित इव मौर्व्याम् उत्कीर्ण इव पुंखेषु, अवतंसित इव श्रवणाते तुल्यकालमलक्ष्यत वामेतरपाणिः। अविरलशरास्रास्त्रासिता हंसीव मेघागमे पल्लवमनवलोकिताश्रय विसंस्थुला सैन्यपतिवक्षःस्थलममुंचद् राजलक्ष्मीः।"²

has Utprekṣās and Upamās alike. Both the modes Cūrṇaka and Āviddha occur simultaneously.

Apart from this-

"विजृम्भिनभिनतावमेघदुर्दिनेषु दिनेषूपथेनागत्यागत्य।"³

"तस्य जलकेतोः सुतासुतारवृत्तमौक्तिकप्रकल्पितं हारमादाय"⁴

Have a Yamaka each.

So also-

"दृष्टलङ्कानिर्णीतदशकण्ठकण्ठच्छेदनिर्वृतेन"⁵

has another Yamaka in

विपदापगासंतरणसेतुमार्गः"⁶

is a rūpaka.

"प्रणतसुरमुकुटकोटिचुम्बितचरणपरागमपरागम्"

त्रिभुवनभवनदीपमभवनदीपम्, संसारजीर्णारण्यैकपारिजातमपारिजातं सकलभव्यलोकनयानाभिनन्दनं नाभिनन्दन्म्,⁷

1. TM. Vol. II p. 205. LL. 5-6. p. 206. LL. 1-2.

2. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 210-211. p. 210. LL. 5-8. p. 211. LL. 1-4.

3. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 262-263. p. 262. L. 10. p. 263. L. 1.

4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 276. L. 1.

5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 289. L. 1.

6. Ibid. Vol. III p. 61. L. 2.

7. Ibid. Vol. III p. 100. LL. 4-5.

- सकलकुलैधराधरसाधारणगुणग्रामगरिमा गिरिषः¹
 “अखिलदोषमुक्ते मुक्तेव देवारण्यवंशे वंशे”²
 “प्रसाधनाराधनविधिविधेयकृतविविधविद्यासंपादितात्यद्भुतसिद्धयो”³
 “विरलस्वेदाम्बुकणकबुरीकृतकपोलपत्रभंगा⁴ ग्रस्तसहकारकोकिलकूजितकल्प,⁵
 “अनेकराजान्यजन्यविजयोपार्जितं⁶ कृतकरुणकोलाहलैः”⁷
 “दृष्टिविप्रिया प्रिया”⁸
 “दृ सकलजनधनप्राणचौरेण चोरेणैव”⁹
 “उत्पन्नारतिररति भागिनी”¹⁰
 “केनाप्यकिञ्चत्करौ करौ संवृत्तौ”¹¹
 “वनगजालीसंकुलमपि नवनगजाली संकुलम्”¹²

has also a Yamaka. The language on the whole is simple and forceful though at places we find a desire on the part of the poet to strain it. It displays characteristics midway between the language of Bāṇa on the one hand and Trivikramabhaṭṭa and Somadeva on the other. He has perfect control over the dicta of grammar which are strictly Pāṇinian and has made all out efforts to make use of the wealth of verbal and nominal suffixes, participles, the prepositions, the denominatives, the Primary and Secondary suffixes, the tenses and moods especially Perfect and Aorist. He has a peculiar taste for the use of an expletive particle ‘Jhagiti’ signifying ‘inajiffy’ at many places such as-

- “झटित्यदर्शनमगात्”¹³
 “झटिति दत्तदर्शनाम्”¹⁴

1. TM. Vol. III p. 141. L.2.
2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 168. L.8.
3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 184. LL. 3-4.
4. Ibid. Vol. III p. 190. L.2.
5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 191. L.11.
6. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 299. LL. 16-17.
7. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 306. LL. 19-20.
8. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 407. L.10.
9. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 410. LL. 5-6.
10. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 410. L.12.
11. Ibid. Vol. I p. 145. L.9.
12. Ibid. Vol. III p. 140. L.3.
13. Ibid. Vol. I p. 159, L.8. Vol. III p. 42. L.7.
14. Ibid. Vol. I p. 141. L.6.

“झटिति दीपिताशेषदिग्भागाम्”¹

“झटिति विस्मृताकृत्रिमतापसोपत्रारस्य”²

“झटिति विन्यस्त बाहुपाशकै”³

“झटिति मोहमगमत्”⁴

“झटिति लोचनमार्गवतीर्णममृतकरमिव पुरुषरूपमादाय”⁵

लब्धाभितमतलाभोऽपि झटिति वियुज्यते तेन⁶

“मूर्ध्निमपसृतं स्मृतेर्झगिति तत्पुरा परमेश्वरेण प्रहितमङ्गुलीयकं बालारुणभस्मरम्”⁷

“जाता अपि जरामवयवेषूज्झन्ति झगिति सन्निपातज्वरपुरः सराः रोगाः”⁸

“चकित मानसा कमलिनीव प्रचण्ड हिमवाताहता मलयसुन्दरी झगिति विच्छायातात्मगच्छत”⁹

“अखिलजगदाक्षेपकारिरूपाः कन्यकाः झगित्यद्राक्षम्”¹⁰

and a variant

‘झटित्यदर्शनमगमत्’¹¹

Ojas or floridity is discernible where the poet is given to describe certain elaborate picture of a battle, some mountains, river or some holy place or even some forest resort, a garden etc. Otherwise his pen-portraits are normally couched in easy flowing lucid word pictures.

“सरभसदशनाग्रदंशदलितदन्तच्छदमदयकचग्रहोल्लसद्भुकुटीभूषितललाटदेशम्,”

“आवेशपरवशप्रवृत्तकरप्रहारव्याहरन्मणिवलयम्”

“विरलोदगतश्रमस्वेदितम्यद्रोमाञ्जकवचमनवरतमुक्तकौसुमशरासारव्यपदेशादुपजाततुष्टिनेव,
मानसभुवा देवेन”¹²

“अकठोरविदुमकन्दलीसरलाभिरम्भोजदलभ्रमापतद्भ्रमरसम्भ्रमादिबान्योऽन्यलानाभिरग्रतः”¹³

1. TM. Vol. III p. 92. L.8.

2. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 416. L.12.

3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 279. L.5.

4. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 290. L.2.

5. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 310. L.21.

6. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 346. L.1.

7. Ibid. Vol. II p. 211. L.8.

8. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 376. L.14.

9. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 385. L.9.

10. Ibid. Vol. II p. 328. L.6.

11. Ibid. Vol. I p. 125. L.4. Vol. II. p. 55. L.6-7. Vol. III. p. 50. L.9.

12. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 72. L.5-7.

13. Ibid. Vol. I p. 108. LL.2-3.

“खरखलीनखणखणारवेणानुमीयमानमाननखस्तपाण्डुरफेनपिण्डस्तवकतारकितभूतलम्’..... अश्ववृन्दम-
द्राक्षीत्।”¹

are some of the important examples of the pictures full of florid norm.

“त्रिभुवनपताकायमानमिः”² ‘रणरायमानैः’³ “बलाकायमानपवनलोलसितपताकम्”⁴
कुरंगलोचनालोचनलव्यपदम् अंजनमपि मण्डनायते”⁵ “ प्राजापत्याः अपि पराजयन्तेऽन्तःपुरिका जनस्य
रूपम्”⁶

are some of the chosen examples of the usages of denominatives.

“लघूत्तरम्भास्तम्भामिः”⁷ “शोभामघरीचकार”⁸

Have the two examples of

‘अभूतद्भावेच्चि।’

Suffixes.

Also ‘अंगीकुर्वणम्’

अवुः in ‘जवनमचुः प्रभजनाः’⁹ (Perfect from ‘vā’ to waft-third person plural;¹⁰
‘संजहार (स + ह लिट्)’¹¹ निर्ददष्ट (निः दह् लिट्)’ तुलोष¹² (तुष+लिट्), जहर्ष¹³ (हृष+लिट्)
आचकाङ्क्ष¹⁴ (आ + काङ्क्ष्+लिट्) (रेमे)¹⁵ (रम्+लिट्) ‘स्पृहयांचकार’¹⁶ (Periphrastic perfect)
मुमुदे¹⁷ (मुद+लिट्) ररक्ष¹⁸ (रक्ष+ लिट्) शंशस¹⁹ (शंस् + लिट्) रुरीघ²⁰ (रुघ +लिट्) प्रतिचकार²¹ (प्रति

1. TM. Vol. III pp. 115-16. p. 115. LL. 6-7. p. 116. L.2.

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 48. L.1.

3. Ibid. Vol. I pp. 50-51. p. 50. L. 5. p. 514.

4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 320. L.9.

5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 91. LL.1-2.

6. Ibid. Vol. III p. 187. L.1.

7. Ibid. Vol. I p. 48. L.2.

8. Ibid. Vol. I p. 56. L.2.; Vol. II p. 110. L.3.

9. Ibid. Vol. I p. 57. L.6.

10. Ibid. Vol. I pp. 65- 66. p. 65. L.2.

11. Ibid. p. 65. L.3.

12. Ibid. p. 63. L.4.

13. Ibid. p. 65. L.5.

14. Ibid. p. 65. L.5.

15. Ibid. p. 66. L.1.

16. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 66. L.1.

17. Ibid. p. 66. L.2.

18. Ibid. p. 66. L.1.

19. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 66. L.5.

20. Ibid. p. 66. p. 66 L.5.

21. Ibid. p. 66. L.6.

कृ+ लिट्), निश्चिकाय¹ (निः+ चि+ लिट्), आचकण² (आ+ कृष + लिट्), बभूवुः³ (भू + लिट्), विजहुः⁴ (वि+ हा + लिट्) भेजे⁵ वभ्राम⁶ जगाद,⁷ जगोद, उवाह,⁸ (वहू); विरेमतुः⁹ are the chosen instances of perfect and periphrastic perfect.

अशिश्नयिन्त¹⁰ (शि), उदपादि¹¹ (Passive aorist from) (उत्+ पद) अगमत्¹² (गम), अगात्¹³ (गम्), अधत्त¹⁴ (धा), आयासीत्¹⁵ (या) अद्राक्षीत्¹⁶ अस्थात्¹⁷ (स्था), अप्राक्षीत्¹⁸ (पृच्छ), अवादीत्¹⁹ (वद) अविक्षत्²⁰ (विश) are the chosen example of Aorist of (लुङ् लकार) 'भ्राजमानम्' 'द्योतमानम्'²¹ are the (Present active participles) वैद्युतम्²² is a secondary suffix or taddhita suffix विचिन्त्य²³ is a kṛdanta. 'विभानवासमुत्सृजत्'²⁴ 'उत्सृजत्' for 'उदसृजत्' may be a scribal error. Dhanapāla has shown a distinct leaning towards employing certain variant words meant as synonyms and instances of novel vocabulary.

The word 'देवानां प्रियेण' has been used in imitation of Bāṇa in

-
1. TM. p. 67. L.1.
 2. Ibid. p. 67. L.1.
 3. Ibid. p. 67. L.2.
 4. Ibid. p. 67. L.3.
 5. Ibid. p. 76. L.9.
 6. Ibid. p. 77. L.5.
 7. Ibid. p. 77. L.9.
 8. Ibid. p. 77. L.6.
 9. Ibid. Vol. II p. 200. L.5.
 10. Ibid. Vol. I p. 67. L.3.
 11. Ibid. Vol. I p. 79. L.2.
 12. Ibid. Vol. I p. 107, L.1-9. Vol. II. p. 214.
 13. Ibid. Vol. I p. 156. L.1.
 14. Ibid. Vol. I p. 158. L.4.
 15. Ibid. Vol. II p. 170. L.3.
 16. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 176. L.4.
 17. Ibid. Vol. II p. 201. L.3.
 18. Ibid. Vol. II p. 217. L.1.
 19. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 217. L.6.
 20. Ibid. Vol. II p. 221. L.6.
 21. Ibid. Vol. I p. 108. LL. 6-7.
 22. Ibid. Vol. II p. 112. L.8.
 23. Ibid. Vol. I p. 113. L.5.
 24. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 407. L.7.

द्वेषादिषु विशेषकारणान्यमुष्याः कृतो देवानांप्रियेण प्रश्नः¹

as an epithet of reverence shown to the royal dignitaries. Here it is Gandharvaka who is addressing Harivāhana as such.

(वन्यान्धसा विहितपारणा² वन्यमन्थः Has 'अन्धस्' meaning 'अन्न' or food in Vedic literature. Dhanapāla has brought it on to the classical usage.

'शाखी'³ and 'अंचिप'⁴ are the two unusual expressions meaning a tree.

'तोक'⁵ meaning a child, जन्य'⁶ meaning 'battle'.

'द्युम्न'⁷ meaning wealth, glory, possession, पस्त्यम्⁸ meaning a stall, a stable, a family member, homestead, dwelling etc.

'पृतना'⁹ meaning an army.

सिचय¹⁰ a cloth 'अयल्लक'¹¹ meaning 'खेद, कलाचिका'¹² meaning a wrist, हैरम्ब¹³ meaning 'गणेश राजतगिरि'¹⁴ meaning कैलाश, सैविदल्ल¹⁵ a chamberlain 'राकानजिनि'¹⁶ meaning a full moon night 'राका' therefore meaning 'full moon'. 'स्फर'¹⁷ meaning a hamlet इलाघर¹⁸ meaning a mountain, 'वासतेयी'¹⁹ variantly given as 'शर्वरी, क्षपा त्रियामा and निशीधिनी' meaning night, 'जम्भारि'²⁰ meaning Indra अब्द²¹ meaning a cloud,

1. TM. Sm. ed. p. 406. L.21.

2. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 417. L.19.

3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 331. L.9.

4. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 117, 121. L.9.

5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 229. L.3.

6. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 99. L.16.

7. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 301. L.5.

8. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 343. L.2.

9. Ibid. Vol. II p. 194. L.9.

10. Ibid. Vol. II p. 123, L.9. Sm. ed. pp. 293, L. 15. 340. 366. L.9.

11. Ibid. Vol. II p. 181. L.4.

12. Ibid. Vol. II p. 190. L.5. Sm. ed. p. 356. L.17.

13. Ibid. Vol. II p. 179. L.3.

14. Ibid. Vol. II p. 179. L.2.

15. Ibid. Vol. II p. 176. L.10.

16. Ibid. Vol. II p. 175. L.2.

17. Ibid. Vol. II p. 195. L.6.

18. Ibid. Vol. III p. 67. L.2.

19. Ibid. Vol. III p. 56. L.9. L.D. Series ed para 152. p. 113. L.32 TM. III. p. 25. L. 7-11.

TM. III. p. 49. L.21. TM. III. p. 44. L.8; TM. III. p. 45. L.5.

20. Ibid. Vol. III p. 61. L.5.

21. Ibid. Vol. I p. 97, L.5. Vol. III p. 140. L.5.

- ¹ अनीकिनी an army
- ² पन्नरथराज meaning Garuḍa and
- ³ रथाङ्गयाणि: meaning Viṣṇu,
- ⁴ शिलीमुख meaning a bee as well as an arrow
- ⁵ कान्दिशीक meaning a fugitive,
- ⁶ दवधु: meaning a torment.
- ⁷ काश्यपीगोल: the orb of the earth also महीगोल:
- ⁸ सादी meaning horse, rider,
- ⁹ ससी a horse,
- ¹⁰ इभपतीनां बृंहितेन (grunting of elephant lords),
- ¹¹ वाजिनां हेषितेन (neighing of horses),
- ¹² स्यन्दनानां चीत्कृतेन (creaking of chariots)
- ¹³ चाप यष्टीनां टंकृतेन (the twang of the bow staves),
- ¹⁴ रथकेतनानां कडत्कारेण (the sound kaḍat of the chariot flags),
- ¹⁵ नाराचाणां सूत्कारेण (the swishing sound of the nārāca)
- ¹⁶ रुधिरापगानां धूत्कारेण (the 'dhūt' noise of the streams of gore)
- ¹⁷ समरभेरीणां भांकारेण (the 'bhān' sound of the battle drums)

has a typical vocabulary based on onomatopoetic significance etc. Sun has synonyms in-

1. TM. Vol. II p. 196. L.1.
2. Ibid. Vol. II p. 200. L.9.
3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 200. L.9.
4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 209. L.1.
5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 221. L.10.
6. Ibid. Vol. III p. 28. L.7.
7. Ibid. Vol. III p. 28. L.3.
8. Ibid. Vol. II p. 205. LL.6.
9. Ibid. Vol. II p. 205. L.6.
10. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 204. LL.1.
11. Ibid. Vol. II p. 204. L.2.
12. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 204. L.2.
13. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 204. L.3.
14. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 204. LL. 3-4.
15. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 204. L. 4.
16. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 204. L. 5.
17. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 204. L. 5.

¹अनुरसाधि; ²अहिमांशु; ³चण्डभानु; ⁴तरणि; ⁵मत्रत्सितमाली; ⁶दशशतमयूख; ⁷तिग्मदीधिति; ⁸दिनपति; ⁹अर्क; ¹⁰अरुणसारधि; ¹¹सप्तसति; ¹²सूर्य; ¹³भास्कर; ¹⁴अरुणकर; ¹⁵तपनमण्डल; ¹⁶दिनेश; ¹⁷तिग्मभानु; ¹⁸दिवसकर; ¹⁹तपन; ²⁰मरीचिमाली; ²¹द्युमणि; ²²मार्तण्डमण्डलम्; ²³तपनविम्बम्; ²⁴अशिशिरगभस्ति; ²⁵खरांशु; ²⁶चण्डदीधिति; ²⁷सहस्रदीधिति; ²⁸विषमवाहन;

²⁹वासरमणि; ³⁰अहिमगमस्ति; ³¹दिवसमणि; ³²अम्बुरुहिणीनाथ; ³³उष्णरश्मि; and दिनकर¹

1. TM. Vol. III. p. 28. L. 6.
2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 103. L.1.
3. Ibid. Vol. II Sm. ed. p. 350. L.9.
4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 171. L. 8. Vol. II. p. 324. L.10. Vol. III. p. 77. L.4. p. 79. L.3.
5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 99. L.8.
6. Ibid. Vol. III p. 62. L.2.
7. Ibid. Vol. III p. 44. L.3.
8. Ibid. Vol. III p. 44. L.9.
9. Ibid. Vol. II p. 254. L.6. Sm. ed. p. 334. L.18.
10. Ibid. Vol. III p. 135. L.6.
11. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 387. L.10.
12. Ibid. Vol. III p. 138. L.8.
13. Ibid. Vol. III p. 161. L.5.
14. Ibid. Vol. III p. 161. L.1.
15. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 143. L. 8. Vol. II. p. 320. L.9.
16. Ibid. Vol. III p. 118. L. 7. p. 28. L.1.
17. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 302. L.3.
18. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 368. L.11.
19. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 80. L. 8.
20. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 197. L. 9.
21. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 358. L.2.
22. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 323. L.18.
23. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 350. L.16.
24. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 28. L. 1.
25. Ibid. Vol. III p. 107. L.7.
26. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 409. L.13.
27. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 315. L. 8.
28. Ibid. Vol. II p. 263. L.3.
29. Ibid. Vol. III p. 82. L.4.
30. Ibid. Vol. II p. 263. L.5.
31. Ibid. Vol. II p. 168. L.3.
32. Ibid. Vol. II p. 165. L.2.
33. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 167. L.2.

Moon has been styled as following:-

शीतरश्मिः,² श्वेतकिरणः,³ शशधरः,⁴ चन्द्रः,⁵ इन्दुः⁶ (इन्दुमण्डल), हिमांशुः,⁷ शशिः,⁸ औषधीनाथः,⁹
नक्षत्रनाथः,¹⁰ हिमकरः,¹¹ मृगांकः,¹² निशाकरः,¹³ यामिनीपतिः,¹⁴ हरिणलङ्घनः,¹⁵ रजनि जानिः,¹⁶ शशांकः,¹⁷
हिमगभस्तिः,¹⁸ originally अहिमगभस्तिः in the text

Ocean has been named in the following ways:-

तरंगिणीनाथः,¹⁹ सलिलराशिः,²⁰ मकराकरः,²¹ अकूपारः,²² अर्णवः,²³ नदीनामीशः,²⁴
वाहिनीपतिः,²⁵ जलनिधिः,²⁶ पारावारः,²⁷ सागरः,²⁸ नदाधिराजः,²⁹ अम्बुराशिः,³⁰ लवणार्णवः,

1. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 45. L.4.
2. TM. Sm. ed. p. 362. L.6.
3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 358. L.20.
4. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 319. LL.1-2. p. 311. L.3.
5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 315. L.7. Sm. ed. p. 311. L.6. II. p. 199. L.2.
6. Ibid. Vol. I p. 107 Vol. III p. 160, L.9 Vol. II p. 271. L.6. p. 319. L.12.
7. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 324. L.8.
8. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 358. L.1.
9. Ibid. Vol. II p. 215. L.8.
10. Ibid. Vol. III p. 199. L.5-6.
11. Ibid. Vol. III p. 152. L.2. Sm. ed. p. 285. L.4.
12. Ibid. Vol. III p. 91. L.1.
13. Ibid. Vol. III p. 85. L.5.
14. Ibid. Vol. III p. 107. L.3.
15. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 415. L.11.
16. Ibid. Vol. III p. 174. LL. 3-4.
17. Ibid. Vol. II p. 265. L.6.
18. Ibid. Vol. II p. 263. L.5.
19. Ibid. Vol. II p. 315. L.7.
20. Ibid. Vol. III p. 184, L.4. Vol. II p. 279. L.4.
21. Ibid. Vol. III p. 189. L.4.
22. Ibid. Vol. II p. 304. L.1.
23. Ibid. Vol. II p. 281. L.7. TM. III. p. 199. L.6.
24. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 285. L.13.
25. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 291. L.17.
26. Ibid. Vol. II p. 317, L.7. Sm. ed. p. 292. p. 278. L.6. Vol. II. p. 271. L.6.
27. Ibid. Vol. II Sm. ed. p. 278. L.6. p. 320, L.1. 282, 278, Sm. ed. 310.
28. Ibid. Vol. II p. 292, Sm. ed. 311, L.9. Vol. II p. 280 Vol. II p. 270. L.6. TM. II. p. 307. L.1. TM. II. p. 321. L.1.
29. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 320. L.4.
30. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 332, vol. II p. 280. TM. I. p. 71. L.1.

Salt ocean also known as-

लवणजलनिधिः, लवणाब्धिः, लवणसिन्धुः, लवणजलराशिः,¹ जलराशिः,² उदन्वान्,³ अब्धि,⁴ उदधिः,⁵ पयोराशिः, व्ययोधिः,⁶ वारिधिः,⁷ पाथोनिधिः,⁸ समुद्रः च⁹ नीरधिः, अम्बुधिः,¹⁰ तोयराशिः,¹¹ जलप्राग्भारः,¹² जलधिः,¹³ वारिराशिः,¹⁴ अम्भोधिः¹⁵

Cupid is given in the following terms:-

कुसुमसायकः,¹⁶ कुसुमास्त्रः,¹⁷ कन्दर्पः,¹⁸ मकरकेतुः,¹⁹ स्मरः,²⁰ मन्मथः,²¹ कामदेवः,²² मनसिजः,²³ मनसिशयः,²⁴ मुर्मुरः,²⁵ रतिपतिः,²⁶ मनोभवः,²⁷ मदनः,²⁸ विषमसायकः,²⁹ अयुग्मेषु,³⁰ विषमबाणः,³¹ पंचबाणः, कुसुमबाणः, मीनध्वजः,³² कुसुममार्गणः,³³ अनंगः,³⁴ मारः,³⁵ कुसुमायुधः,³⁶

1. TM. Sm. ed. p. 332, L.7. 322, L.2. p. 363, LL. 22-23, 337. L.17.
2. Ibid. Sm. ed. pp. 343. L.2. Vol. I p. 44.
3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 334, L.14. Vol. II p. 314. L.8.
4. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 382, L.11. Vol. III p. 143. L.8.
5. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 320, p. 282. L.10. TM. p. 199. L.5.
6. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 282. L.10. TM. III. p. 71. L.6.
7. Ibid. Vol. II p. 282, 283, Vol. II p. 199. L.3.
8. Ibid. Vol. II p. 306, L.1. Vol. II p. 293. L.2.
9. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 311, L.4. 285. L.4.
10. Ibid. Vol. II p. 302. L.5.; pp. 307, L.7. 312. L.8.
11. Ibid. Vol. II p. 302. L.2.
12. Ibid. Vol. III p. 76. L.2.
13. Ibid. Vol. II p. 279. L.8. p. 99. L.5.
14. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 286. L.4.
15. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 358, L.17. Vol. II p. 267. L.1.
16. Ibid. Vol. I p. 51, L.4. Vol. II p. 276, L.9. Vol. III p. 149. L.4.
17. Ibid. Vol. III p. 149. L.9.
18. Ibid. Vol. III p. 151. L.3.
19. Ibid. Vol. III p. 148, L.7, 151, L.1, 7. Sm. ed. pp. 313. L.8. 347, L.22. 370. L.21. p. 322. L.22.
20. Ibid. Sm. ed. pp. 369, L.11. 324, L.11. 357, 391.
21. Ibid. Vol. III p. 154, Sm. ed. pp. 278, L.18. 291, L.17, 368, 370, 309, 310, 297. L.19. p. 298. L.7.
22. Ibid. Sm. ed. pp. 304, L. 3. 315. L.8.
23. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 363. L.2.
24. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 74. L.1.
25. Ibid. Vol. I p. 80. L.7.
26. Ibid. Vol. III p. 150. L.4.
27. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 150, L.7. 152. L.10.
28. Ibid. Vol. II p. 278, L.3. Sm. ed. 310, L.22. 311, L.6. 355, L.5. 303, L.6. Vol. III p. 91. L.3.
29. Ibid. Vol. III p. 169. L.2.; p. 199. L.5.; p. 181. L.1.
30. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 357. L.18.; p. 362. L.8.; p. 284. L.1.
31. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 277. LL. 2-3.
32. Ibid. Vol. I p. 58. L.1., Vol. III pp. 160. L.6., 173. L.3., 174. L.1., Sm. ed. pp. 338. L.15., 347. L.12.
33. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 284. L.4.
34. Ibid. Vol. I p. 77. L.5.

मकरध्वजः,¹ कुसुमकेतुः,² कुसुमशरासनः,³ चितयोनिः,⁴ कुसुमकार्मुकः,⁵ रतिभर्ता,⁶ प्रद्युम्नः,⁷ मकरलक्ष्मा,⁸ कुसुमेषुः,⁹ संकल्पयोनिः,¹⁰ कुसुमधनुः,¹¹ अनन्यजनिः¹²

Elephant has its synonyms for-

स्तम्बेरमः,¹³ दन्ती,¹⁴ अनेकपः,¹⁵ नागराजः,¹⁶ इभः,¹⁷ वारणः,¹⁸ व्यालः,¹⁹ कुंजरः,²⁰ करिः,²¹ द्विपः,²² हस्ती,²³ मातङ्गः,²⁴ द्विरदः,²⁵ करटी,²⁶ सामजः,²⁷ अभ्रमूकलमः²⁸ (दिव्यहस्तिशिशुः) ।

'ध्वजीवी'²⁹ (an army) 'खण्डपरशु'³⁰ (śiva) अनायः³¹ (a net) प्रचलाकि मण्डलानि having प्रचलाकिन्³² and कलापिकेकारवैः having कलापिन्³³ to mean a peacock, Dhanapāla has also given certain illustrations which are based on Universal truths.

1. TM. Vol. I p. 55. L.6., 56. L.6.
2. TM. Sm. ed. pp. 303. L.5.
3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 305. L.14.
4. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 308. L.19.
5. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 173. L.7., 184. L.10., Sm. ed. p. 393. L.17.
6. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 323. L.18., Vol. III p. 3.
7. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 301. L.5.
8. Ibid. Vol. I p. 72. L.1.
9. Ibid. Vol. I p. 79. L.2.
10. Ibid. Vol. I p. 82. L.4.
11. Ibid. Vol. I p. 11.
12. Ibid. Vol. II p. 330. L.2.
13. Ibid. Vol. III p. 128. L.7.
14. Ibid. Vol. III p. 158. L.2. TM. II. p. 259. L.6.
15. Ibid. Vol. III p. 127. L.3.
16. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 370.
17. Ibid. Vol. II p. 204. L.1.
18. Ibid. II. p. 179. L.5. III. p. 146. L.7. III. p. 37. L.7. Sm. ed. p. 367. L.4. TM II. p. 186. L.5.
19. Ibid. II. p. 259. L.6.
20. Ibid. II. p. 144. L.4.
21. Ibid. II. p. 144. L.1. II. p. 246. L.5. II. p. 276. L. 6. II. p. 279. L.10.
22. Ibid. III. p. 46. L.9. p. 42. L.2.
23. Ibid. II. p. 165. L.7. TM. III. p. 39. L.8.
24. Ibid. II. p. 198. L.2.
25. Ibid. II. p. 259. L.2.
26. Ibid. III. p. 49. L.1. p. 141. L.6.
27. Ibid. II. p. 195. L.2.
28. Ibid. Vol. I p. 147. L.6.
29. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 388. L.9.
30. Ibid. Vol. II p. 203. L.4.
31. Ibid. Vol. III verse 3 p. 136, Vol. III p. 64. L.3.
32. Ibid. Vol. III p. 85. L.2.
33. Ibid. Vol. III p. 95. L.1.

‘धार्मिकजनानुवृत्त्यभिमुखानि हि भवन्ति सर्वदा धर्मतत्त्ववेदिनां हृदयानि’¹

The hearts of those who know the essence of duty or religion, are always prone to behave in accordance with the attitudes of the minds of the persons amenable to duty.

“विपत्प्रतीकारासमर्थः क्षीणायुषोऽस्य भिषगिव कथं रिक्थमाहरामि ? अलङ्कारः क्षत्रियकुलस्य याचकद्विज इव कथं प्रतिग्रहमङ्गीकरोमि ? गृहाभ्यागतेनामुना दीयमानं दुर्गतगृहस्थ इव गृह्यत्रपरं लघिमानमासादयिष्यामि”²

Deeming himself a high minded soul, born in a high lineage Meghavāhana does not want to accept the offer of the necklace from the Vaimānika whom he deems a patient whose life is not so long and deems himself to be a physician who does not want to appropriate the property of his patient and more so does he eschew the idea of exposing himself to levity by accepting gift from a begging Brāhmaṇa being himself an ornament of the Kṣatriya race. He even deems himself a penury stricken householder whom a visitor offers a gift and he accepts it and thereby exposes himself to a greater levity.

“नहि विरक्ताः स्त्रियः कदाचिदक्षिगतानामीक्षणहारिणस्तादृशानुदारविरचनौल्लेखानभिलिख्य तथाऽत्यादरेण प्रेषयन्ति।”³

“Unwilling maidens never send with utmost regard having written in that manner the import of that essence, attractive to the eyes, to those who act as sores to their eyes or who come within the range of their eyes.”

“व्यक्तं जगत्पददृष्टवशाद् विशालगुणसंपद्भिरप्यसुलभाः स्वल्पगुणैरपि सुग्रापाः प्रसिद्धयो भवन्ति”⁴

Evidently in the world, the eminence becomes easy of attainment even by dint of lesser merits and difficult of attainment even by offences of greater merits, under the pressure of the unforeseen.”

“अदृष्टपरे संसारे भंगुरस्वभावेषु विभवादिषु सर्वभावेषु कर्मपरतन्त्राणां प्राणिनां सर्वमपि संभवति”⁵

In the world whose end has not been seen, when affluence and the like are naturally evanescent, every thing is possible in case of living beings who are dependent on others in point of actions.

‘सततमचलप्रकृतिना पुरुषेण भवितव्यम्’⁶

“A man should be steadily disposed in all circumstances.”

1. TM., Vol. I p. 90. LL.4-5.

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 123. LL. 5-6.

3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 244. LL. 9. p. 245. L.1.

4. Ibid. Vol. III p. 90. LL.5.

5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 158. LL.1-2.

6. Ibid. Vol. III p. 81. L.11.

“आत्मनो महिमानमिच्छता पुरुषेण पूर्वे वयस्यपूर्वा सर्वापि परयोषित् प्रायशो न बहु भाषणीया, विशेषतः प्रथमयौवना व्रतस्था”¹

“A man desirous of saving his face should avoid talking much to a maiden revelling in the bliss of her puberty, being himself in an age of adolescence at that time. He should be particularly careful in case of a maiden who is in her blooming youth and is standing on a vow.”

D. IMPACT OF EARLIER PROSE WRITERS ON DHANAPĀLA AND HIS INFLUENCE ON LATER PROSE WRITERS.

Much has already been said regarding the impact of Bāṇa's muse on Dhanapāla's calibre during our discussions on the Art and Style of Dhanapāla and still an urgency remains to dilate upon the topic in minute details. Regarding the influence of Dhanapāla on later writers such as Soḍḍhala (Udayasundarī-kathā), Oḍayadeva, Gadyacintāmaṇi Vāmanabhṭṭa a Bāṇa (Vembhūpāla Caritaṁ) we can understand that he had some such on the analogy of Bāṇa. Pandit Amaranatha Pandey has discussed the impact and influence of Bāṇa on later writers in his 'बाणभट्ट का आदान प्रदान'.

In this manner this book will help us in construing the Pradāna of Bāṇa as 'ādāna' in case of Dhanapāla while the 'Pradāna' of Dhanapāla shall be discussed at its due order.

At the first instance, Bāṇa's inspiration on Dhanapāla is conspicuous from Harṣacarita and even Kādambarī in so far as in the Tilakamañjarī Dhanapāla has prefixed as many as fifty three verses at the beginning before the actual prose portions start. Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita as well as in Kādambarī has given a good number of Introductory verses which contain the invocations to the favourite deities, to the ruling patrons, to the predecessor poets and dissertations on the special features of prose, its art as well as its style.

Bāṇa has paid a lofty tribute to Kathā² in Kādambarī (Intro. verse 8) whereas Dhanapāla has also done so but described as palling the special type of it (i.e. Kathā) that contains stretches of unending prose.³ Bāṇa has belauded the prose of an efficient poet by characterising it as abounding in many and new meanings being purported forth by the rows of syllables of

1. TM. Vol. III p. 168. LL. 5-6.

2. See Part-I Section B also Part I. works of Dhanapāla.

3. Ibid.

many and new meanings being purported forth by the rows of syllables of diverse characters,¹ whereas Dhanapāla has praised the speech of an efficient poet which fascinates the hearts of the men of taste by its sweetness permeating its limbs by characteristics such as grace and radiance being natural to it even when it is not loaded with (complex) figures.² Bāṇa has paid his homage to the illustrious predecessors such as Vālmīki, Vyāsa, Bhāsa, Guṇāḍhya, Kālidāsa, Subandhu, Bhaṭṭāra Haricandra and others in the Introductory verses of his *Harṣacarita* and has given the name of his patron in the last verse, with an autobiographical account in the Introductory verses of *Kādambarī*. Dhanapāla has paid rich tributes to Vālmīki, Kānīna (Vyāsa), Guṇāḍhya, Pravarasena, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa and Pulinda, Māgha, *Bhāravi*, *Bhavabhūti*, *Vākpatirāja* and *Rājaśekhara* etc. in the introductory verses of his *Tilakamañjarī* with a detailed genealogy of his patron following on, the autobiographical account of the poet in three last verses ending it.

The Prose narrative in the Third Uucchvāsa of *Harṣacarita* describing the Janapada named Śrīkaṇṭha having Sthanviśvara for its Capital with Puṣpabhūti reigning supreme over it, having no scion for long, propitiating Śrī through the charms of Bhairavācārya and getting the boon and ultimately a son, the description of Ujjayinī in the *Kādambarī Kathā* (after the *kathāmukha*) in the *Avantī Janapada* on the shores of Śīprā having Tārāpīḍa for her reigning sovereign, having no scion through Vilāsavatī, the latter taking to propitiation of the deities in company of her husband, getting a son through their grace, named Candrāpīḍa have been instrumental in influencing Dhanapāla in planning the description of Ayodhyā in *Uttarakośala* on the shores of Sarayū, having her supreme sovereign Meghavāhana getting one after propitiating Śrī at the instance of the Vidyādhara sage. The motifs of educating Candrāpīḍa and Harivāhana between the age period of six and sixteen, their return home and marching on a *digvijaya*, accompanied by Vaiśampāyana and Samaraketu have been planned exactly on parallel lines. The *Acchoda* lake in *Kādambarī* has a parallel to influence the point of the lake *Adrṣṭapāra* in *Tilakamañjarī*. The loss of Harivāhana through the divine tusker has its origin in the loss of Candrāpīḍa by the chase of the Kinnara couple. Mahāśvetā waiting for long years having taken to asceticism has a parallel in *Malayasundarī* waiting for Samaraketu in the same garb. *Tilakamañjarī* is also a true replica of *Kādambarī*.

1. See Part II Section A.

2. See part II Section C

In point of stylistic peculiarities much has already been said by way of a comparison alluding to the influence of Kādambarī on Tilakamañjarī.

The Nalacampū of Trivikramabhaṭṭa and Yaśastilaka Campū of Somadeva also starting on the same lines, the former describing the deśa Āryāvartta having Niṣadha as its Janapada having capital for Niṣadha, a purī, while the latter describing Yaudheya Janapada-and its capital seem to have some impact on the muse of Dhanapāla, Both being the senior contemporaries of the romancer. It is very difficult to say whether Dhanapāla had studied the works of the two in so far as it is doubtful if the two works had attained to prominence in such a short period separating the age of Dhanapāla from that of the two campū writers. But the technique of the two campū leaves no doubt to the effect that they did have some influence on our poet. To take a wider stride it will be safer to presume that Trivikramabhaṭṭa, Somadeva and Dhanapāla had all the influence of Bāṇa's Kādambarī on their writings.

Pandit Amaranatha Pandey has placed Dhanapāla in the tenth century and has ascribed the influence of Bāṇa to the muse of Dhanapāla. According to him Dhanapāla has referred to Bāṇa, Kādambarī and Harṣacarita.¹ He has also drawn parallels between the Description of Ayodhyā in Tilakamañjarī and that of Ujjayinī in Kādambarī. The motif of Meghavāhana getting a son after long pursuits bearing resemblance with that of Tārāpīḍa doing the same after propitiatory rites; Madirāvati forming a true replica of Yaśovati and Tilakamañjarī being that of Kādambarī; the descriptions of the child birth in Harṣacarita as well as Kādambarī finding a parallel in Tilakamañjarī; Adṣṭapāra being a prototype of Acchoda.²

Apart from this Shri Pandey has drawn out many parallels from the texts of the three works i.e. Harṣacarita, Kādambarī and Tilakamañjarī.

कुरुत हरिचन्दनोपलेपहारि मन्दिराङ्गणम्, रचयत स्थानस्थानेषु रत्नचूर्णस्वस्तिकान् दत्त द्वारि नूतनं
चूतपल्लवदाम्, विकिरितान्तरुत्फुल्लपंकजोपहारम्, कारयत सर्वतः शान्तिसलिलक्षेपमकृतकालक्षेपम्, आहरत
भगवतीं षष्ठीदेवीम्, आलिखत जातमातृपटलम्, आरभध्वमार्यवृद्धासपर्याम्, गिधत्त पर्यन्तेषु शयनस्य
सद्योभिमन्त्रितां रक्षाभूतिरेखाम् इत्यादि जल्पता तल्पनिकटोपविष्टेन शुद्धान्तजरतीजनेन
क्रियमाणविविधशिशुरक्षाविधानम्... प्रियायाः प्रसूतिगृहमविशत्।'³

1. TM Vol. I Intro. verses 26-27. बाणभट्ट का आदान प्रदान पृ-63.

2. बाणभट्ट का आदान प्रदान पृ० 63.

3. TM. Vol. II pp. 184-185. p. 184. LL. 7-8. p. 185. LL.1-6.

has been shown to bear semblance of the similar type of description in Kādambarī of the Sūtikāgrha.¹

तरङ्गिके! दूरमपसर। विघ्निता गतिस्तव जघनभित्त्वा सर्वतो निरुद्धमार्गस्यास्य सैनिकवर्गस्य; लवङ्गिके! परिकरबन्धदर्शनेऽपि परिचारकः स्विन्नसकलगात्रयष्टिर्यथैष कम्पते तथावश्यमवतरन्त्यास्तरीतस्तव घनस्तनजघनभारेण पीडितो ब्रीडियिष्यति प्रेक्षकजनम्; व्याघ्रदत! धाव, शीघ्रमेषा विपद्यते निपतिता पोतात् पितामही मकरिकायास्तव श्वश्रूः; अश्रूणि किं सृजसि? विसृज वार्तामपि तस्य तथाविधस्थानपतितस्य दस्युनगरनारीकर्णभूषणसुवर्णस्य।

has been quoted as an instance of invocative style inherited from Bāṇa³ and as already illustrated by me in the 'Art and Style' of Dhanapāla. Regarding the 'Bhāvasāmya' or the parallel from ideology Dhanapāla has borrowed enough from Bāṇa.

⁴तिग्मांशुमय इव तेजसि, सरस्वतीमय इव वचसि, bears sameness with 'वाचि सरस्वत्या, तेजसि सवित्रा' of Bāṇa.⁵

'तमपि भुवनभारमनायासेनैव धृतासिना भुजेन यो बभार'⁶ has sameness with

'बलयमिव लीलया भुजेन भुवनभारमुद्वहन्'⁷ of Kādambarī

'उपहसितधिविषणस्यापि'⁸ has sameness with

अमरगुरुमपि प्रज्ञयोपहसद्भि⁹ of Kādambarī

आत्मनापि निश्शेषितारिवंशतया विगतशङ्कः¹⁰ bears resemblance with

'विजिताशेषभुवनमण्डलतया विगतराज्यचिन्ताभारनिर्वृतः'¹¹ Some more parallels are being quoted below:-

तिलकमंजरी- कदाचिन्नोलपटवगुण्ठितांगो, लांगलीव कालिन्दी जलवेणिकाः प्रत्यग्रमृगमदागाराग-मलिनवपुषो बहुलप्रदोषाभिसारिकाः सुदूरमाचकर्ष।

1. Kād. Pū. M. R. Kale pp 118-121.

2. TM Vol.II pp. 295-296. p. 295. LL. 9. p. 296. LL.1-4.

3. तात चूत। प्रवसति ते जननी। वत्स जातीगुच्छ, गच्छसि, आपृच्छस्वमाम् (पंचम उच्छ्वासः) by C. Śaṅkara Rāma Śāstrī. 164 Niraya Sagar press edition Seventh Bombay, 1946.

4. TM Vol. I pp. 63-64.

5. Kad. KM. by P. L. Vaidya, J. N. S. Cakravarti and P. V. Kane, p. 6. Also Kād. M. R. Kale p. 11.

6. TM. Vol. I, p. 69

7. Kād. KM p. 7

8. TM. Vol. I, p. 71

9. Kād. KM p. 7

10. TM. Vol. I, p. 71

11. Kād. KM p. 7

कादम्बरी- कदाचित् नीलपटविरचितावगुण्ठनो बहुलपक्षप्रदोषदत्तसंकेताः सुन्दरीभिससारः¹

तिलकमंजरी- कदाचित् क्रीडाद्युत्पराजितः पणितमप्रयच्छन् क्व गच्छसि ?

इति बद्धालीकभृकुटिभिर्विदग्धवनिताभिराकृष्य कृत्तविषमपादपातो बलादिव दत्तकपाटसंपुटेषु वासवेश्मसु सपत्नीसमक्षमेवाक्षिप्यत।

कादम्बरी- कदाचित् संकेतवंचिताभिः प्रणयिनीभिराबद्धः भंगुरभृकुटिभिरारणितमणिपरिहार्यमुख-
भुजलताभिर्बकुलकुसुमावलीभिः संयतचरणः नखकिरणविमिश्रैः कुसुमदामयिः कृतापराधो दिवसमताडयत्।

पुण्यपरिणतिरिव लावण्यस्य, संकल्पसिद्धिरिव संकल्पयोः, सर्वकामावाप्तिरिव कम्पनीयतायाः,⁴

“नदीतटतरुमिव स्फुटोपलक्ष्यमाणजटम्”⁵

“अमरशैलमिव स्वयंतितकल्पदुग्धदुग्धकूलवल्कलावृत्तनितम्बम्”⁶

“आचारमिव चारित्रस्य शुद्धिसंचयमिव शौचस्य, धर्माधिकारमिव धर्मस्य, सर्वस्वदायमिव दयायाः⁷
शान्त्युदकशोकैरिव दृष्टिपातैर्दूरीकृतो दुरितराशिरस्य।”⁸

“इदं राज्यम्, एषा मे पृथिवी, एतानि वसूनि, असौ हस्त्यश्चरथपदातिप्रायो बाह्यः परिच्छदः, इदं शरीरम्,
एतद् गृहं गृह्यतां स्वार्थसिद्धये परार्थसम्पादनाय वा, यदत्रोपयोगार्हम्”⁹

“केवलभूमिर्मुनिजनेषु विभवानाम्। विषयोपभोगगृध्रवो हि धनान्युपाददते, मद्विधास्तु संन्यस्तसर्वारम्भाः¹⁰
समस्तसङ्गविरताः निर्जनारण्यबद्धगृहबुद्धयो भैक्षमात्रभावितसंतोषाः किं तैः करिष्यन्ति ? सलिलनिर्भराम्भोधर-
निनादगम्भीरेण स्वरेण मधुरमब्रवीत्।”¹¹

“द्रष्टा कालत्रितयवर्तिनां भावानाम्”¹²

“उपदेष्टा चिरप्रनष्टस्य धर्मतत्त्वस्य”¹³

“सेतुबन्धः संसारसिन्धो”¹⁴

अतिक्रान्ते च षष्ठीजागरे समागते च दशमेऽह्नि कारयित्वा सर्वनगरदेवतायतनेषु पूजाम् मानयित्वा
मित्रज्ञातिवर्गम्, अभ्यर्च्य गुरुजनम्, दत्त्वा समारोपिताभरणाः सवत्साः सहस्रशो गाः सुवर्णं च

1. TM. Vol. I, p. 73

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 74. LL.5-6.

3. Kād. Kathā p. 49. M. R. Kale.

4. TM Vol. I p. 82. LL.3-4.

5. Ibid. Vol. I p. 88. L.1.

6. Ibid. p. 88. L.2.

7. Ibid. Vol. I p. 89. LL.3-4.

8. Ibid. Vol. I p. 91. L.7.

9. Ibid. Vol. I p. 92. LL.1-2.

10. Ibid. Vol. I p. 92. LL. 4-6.

11. Ibid. Vol. I p. 114. LL.2-3.

12. Ibid. Vol. I p. 115. LL.4.

13. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 115 L.5.

14. Ibid. Vol. I p. 185. L.5.

प्रचुरमारम्भनिःस्पृहेभ्यो विप्रेभ्यः स्वप्ने शतमन्युवाहनो वारणपतिर्दृष्ट इति संप्रधार्य तस्यैव स्वप्नस्य सदृशमात्मीयानाम्भैकदेशेन समुदायवाच्येन चार्थेन समर्थितानुहारं हरिवाहन इति शिशोर्नाम चक्रे।¹

दृष्टः समस्तरमणीयानां सीमा, विलोकितः कौतुकविधायिनामवधिर्वीक्षितः विस्मयनीयनामन्तः, साक्षात्कृतमद्भुतानामास्पदम् आसादितं महिम्नानामायतनम् अधिगतमागधानामधिष्ठानम्।²

“अहो पूर्वजन्मान्तरसंचितैरशुभशुकर्माभिरांशजिताः सुनिपुणमपि निरूपितोपायैर्मनीषिभिरनीषित्कराः परिहर्तुमुपतापाः येनेयमपहाय परमसंक्लेशहेतुं सकलसंगमेकाकिनी विगतमर्त्यसंचारे गुरुणि गिरिकान्तारे कृतस्थितिरनेकयोजनशतव्यवहितमेकदेशेनैव संयोज्य मामीदृश्यत मानसः दुःखभारस्य भाजनं कृता महानुभावा दैवेन इति सोद्वेगविस्मयः समाश्वास्य तां सुचिरमुत्थाय तं करांजलिपुटावर्जितं दीर्घिकाजलमुपानयम्। सापि किंचिद्विरलशोकाः वाष्पजलपरिप्लुतारदक्षमा वदनभालं प्रक्षाल्य तेन प्रमृद्य चोबरीयपल्लवप्रान्तेन धरनमुत्सृष्टदीर्घनिःश्वासा विलम्ब्य कंचित्कालमुपचक्रमे वक्तुम्।”³

“आज्ञासिद्धिरिव मकरध्वजस्य, मनोरथसमृद्धिरिव रामणीयस्य, दैवसम्पत्तिरिव लावण्यस्य” नदीतटरुरिव सततजलक्षालनविमलजटः”⁴

“विटप इव कोमलवल्कलावृतशरीरः”⁵

“धाम धर्मस्य, पतनं पूतायाः, आकरं करुणायाः”⁶

“पुण्यजलैः प्रक्षालयन्निव मामिति प्रशान्तया दृष्ट्या दृष्ट्वा”⁷

“तस्मै राजा सान्तःपुरं सपरिजनं सकोषमात्मानं निवेदितवान्। जन्मनः प्रभृति अदत्तदृष्टिरस्मि स्वापतेयेषु। यतः सकलदोषकलापलेन्धनैर्धनैरविक्रीतं क्वाचिच्छरीरकमस्ति। भैक्षरक्षिताः सन्तिः प्राणाः। दुर्गृहीतानि कतिचित् विद्यन्ते विद्याऽक्षराणि।”⁸

“सन्तरणसेतुः संसारसिन्धोः”⁹

अतिक्रान्ते च षष्ठीजागरे प्राप्तेदशमेऽहनि पुण्ये मुहूर्ते गाः सुवर्णं च कोटिशो ब्राह्मणसात्कृत्वा मातुरस्य मया परिपूर्णमण्डलश्चन्द्रः स्वप्ने मुख कमलमाविशन् दृष्टः” इति स्वप्नानुरूपमेव सूनोः चन्द्रापीड इति नाम चकार।¹⁰

“अथ परिसमाप्तमीक्षणयगलस्य दृष्ट्यदर्शनफलम् आलोकितः खलु रमणीयाणामन्तःदृष्ट आल्युदनीयानामवधिः वीक्षिता मनोहराणां सीमान्तलेखा, प्रत्यक्षीकृता प्रीतिजननानां परिसमाप्तिः, विलोकिता दर्शनीयानामवसानभूमिः”¹¹

1. TM. Vol. II. p. 186. LL. 3-6.

2. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 75-76. p. 75. L.8. p. 76. LL.1-2.

3. TM. Vol. III pp. 169-178. p. 169. LL.8-10. p. 170. LL.1-4.

4. HC IV p. 351. LL.3-5. Cal. ed. Jivanando Vidyosoyara tika etam forth ed. 1939. Calcutta.

5. Kād. KM p. 37. M.R. Kale p. 66.

6. HC. III. p. 293. LL.2-5. Cal. ed.

7. Kād. KM p. 46. LL.13-15. M. R. Kale p. 80. LL.11-12.

8. HC III p. 299 Cal. ed. LL.6-12.

9. Ibid. III pp 297-298. Cal. ed. p. 297. LL. 6-8. p. 298. LL.1-2.

10. Kād. KM. p. 44. LL.18-19. K. R. Kale. p. 78. L.11.

11. Ibid. Kathā p. 125. M. R. Kale. LL.4-6.

“अहो दुर्निवारता व्यसनोपनिपातनाम्, यदीदृशीमप्याकृतिमनभिभवनीयामात्मीयां कुर्वन्ति सर्वथा न कंचन स्पृशन्ति शरीरधर्माणमुपतापाः, बलवतीहि द्वन्द्वानां प्रवृत्तिः उत्थाय प्रस्रवणादंजलिना मुखप्रक्षालनोदकमुपनित्ये। सातु तदनुरोधादविच्छिन्नबाष्पजलधारा सन्तानापि किञ्चित्कषायितोदरे प्रक्षाल्य लोचने बल्कलोपान्तेन वदनमुपमृज्य दीर्घमुष्णं च निःश्वस्य शनैः शनैः प्रत्यवादीत्।¹

of Bāṇa.

Soḍḍhala (middle of the Eleventh Cent. A.D.) i.e. (1026-1050 A.D.)² being almost an immediate successor or even a junior contemporary of Dhanapāla, follows the trail of Bāṇa more apparently than that of Dhanapāla in his Udayasundarī Kathā, in so far as he has quoted and paid a happy homage to him in his composition.³ He has openly mentioned the names of Harṣa and Bāṇa, latter's Harṣacarita, Kālidāsa and has denominated Bāṇa as the paramount sovereign of the poets.⁴ He has not mentioned anything about Dhanapāla who can simply be counted amongst the pupils of Bāṇa⁵ in point of inspiration, being his junior class fellow. Soḍḍhala has followed the pattern of Harṣacarita in all respects but has followed Kādambarī in drawing a parallel between Śukanāsa and Vibhūtivardhana, the motif of the parrot singing an Āryā couplet, the description of the Caṇḍikāyatana (i.e. shrine of Caṇḍikā) the curse motif transforming Vaiśampāyana into parrot having the parrot of Udayasundarī Kathā a victim of curse etc. Dhanapāla's parrot is also a victim of curse, being Gandharvaka in his original garb. Regarding the resemblance of ideas, art and style we can postulate a better impact of Bāṇa than of Dhanapāla on Soḍḍhala. In spirit of technique, however, Soḍḍhala can be said to have learnt a lot from Dhanapāla whom he does not refer to at all but seems to have had some knowledge of his muse. He might have ignored mentioning his name because he had not acquired that celebrity as Bāṇa had and as two pupils vying with each other while pursuing their studies under one preceptor, try to undermine the activity of each other and produce a literary piece of similar nature, one gaining better position than the other, Soḍḍhala might have ignored the name of his senior

1. Kād., p. 201. M. R. Kale. LL.2-5.

2. Kād. pp. 218-19. M. R. Kale. p. 218. LL.11-14. p. 219. LL.1-4.

3. बाणभट्ट का आदान प्रदान p. 72. Cf. 2-6, USK pp. 2, 3, 20, 154 and 157 edited by C. D. Dalal etc. and continued by eniber Krishnamacharya adhyaks a sanskrit pathasata Vadtal. Central library Baroda, 1920 A. D.

4. बाणः कवीनामिह चक्रवर्ती।

चकास्ति यस्योज्ज्वलवर्णशोभा॥

5. Ibid. VIII. p. 154. verse No. 218.

class mate only to shroud his laurels with the better score won by him. Dhanapāla's referring to Soḍḍhala was out of question since he was senior to him and Soḍḍhala inadvertently ignored him in order, not to acknowledge his debt of gratitude to him and simply paid homage to Bāṇa who was the real preceptor for his inspiration. It is possible to draw certain parallels between the muse of Dhanapāla and Soḍḍhala, but the overall effect would make it apparent that it is Bāṇa and not Dhanapāla who is goading the pen of Soḍḍhala.

Oḍayadeva Vādībhasiṃha (12th Century A.D) writing his Gadyacintāmaṇi and Kṣattracūḍāmaṇi seems to have had some inkling of borrowing from Dhanapāla. The gap between the two being so apparent that it can be possible to presume that Dhanapāla's fame had reached his ears by that time. According to Paṇḍita Amaranātha Pāṇḍeya Vādībhasiṃha has also followed Bāṇa in the basic construction of his text. But Dhanapāla seems to have influenced him more than Bāṇa who himself was the source of inspiration for the former. The very fact that Oḍayadeva has devoted ten out of the fifteen Introductory verses to the eulogium, of Jina and the Jaina sages like the first sixth, nineteenth, thirty second, of the Introductory portion of Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla, amply illustrates the influence of the latter on the calibre of the former. The remaining five verses deal with the patronage of the poet and some homage to the old predecessor poets (Sūribhiḥ). Even the descriptive and the narrative mode has been influenced by Dhanapāla. The description of the Janapada named Hemāṅgada and its Capital Rājapurī have been influenced by Dhanapāla's description of Ayodhyā in the Northern Kośalas. The description of Hemāṅgada also bears semblance of the description of the Nagara Sīmā of the Capital of the Sīmhalas.

Both have started their muse with the word 'अस्ति' and given the relative clauses in such a manner that the descriptions have an apparent similarity of thoughts and motifs between them. The description of Rājapurī in Gadya Cintāmaṇi has many parallels to derive from the description of Ayodhyā in Tilakamañjarī.

- “तत्र चास्ति समस्तभुवनविख्यातसंपदाभोगा, भोगवतीव भुजंगचरितोद्वेगेन भित्त्वा भुवमुत्थिता, नमुचि मधननगरीव निरालम्बनतया नभःस्थलान्निपतिता, माधुर्यकुलभूमिः फलमंजरीव भारतवर्षभूरुहस्य, भवन-वलभीमण्डनमुक्तासरमरीचिनिचयकवचिताकर्णचामरिकेव हेमांगदयमतंगजस्य, मरकतमणिकुट्टिममयूखपत्रला पद्मसरसीव कमला कलहंसीविहारस्य, पातालवासिभिरप्यनालोकितमूलेन गगनचरैरत्यलक्षितशिखरेण पराजितपरनरपतिकरदीकृतकनकोपलपटलघटितेन विघटितकुलगिरितटाभिर्दिगन्तदन्तावलदशनकुलिशकोटिभि-
रप्यभैद्यसंस्थानेन स्तम्भितजगदुपरमसमयसमीरसंरम्भेण त्रिभुवनलक्ष्मीकनकपादकटककान्तितस्करेण प्राकारेण परिवृता स्नानावतरदवनीपतिमदवारणकपोलतलविगलितदानजलवेणिका व्याजेन जलनिधिसमुत्कण्ठया यमुनयेव

विगाह्यमानेन कुपितसुरपतिकरकल्पितकुलिशपतनभयमग्नमहामहीधरमुदधिमवधोरयातपरिखाचक्रेण
परिष्कृता.... उपवनैरुदभासमाना.... विभ्रमदीर्घिकाभिदीधीकृतसौभाग्या कुलगिरिभिरिव गुरुभिः प्रासादैः
प्रसाधिता..... वारवामत्रयनाभिर्विशजिता राजपुरी नाम राजधानी।

bears resemblance with

अस्ति रम्यतानिरस्तसमस्तसुरलोका, स्वपदापहारशंकितशतक्रतुप्रार्थितेन शततमक्रतुवाञ्छाविच्छेदार्थमिव
पार्थिवानामिश्वाकूणामुत्पादिता प्रजापतिना वृत्तोज्ज्वलवर्णशालिनी कर्णिकेवाम्भोरुहस्य मध्यभागमलंकृत्य स्थिता
भारतवर्षस्य तुषारधवलभित्तिना विशालवप्रेण परिगता प्राकारेण, विपुलसोपानसुगमावतारवापीशतसमाकुला,
मनोरथानामपि दुर्विलङ्घ्येन प्लवमानकरिमकरकुम्भीरभौषणोर्मिणा जलप्रतिबिम्बितप्राकारच्छलेन जलराशिशंकया
मैनाकमन्वेष्टुमन्तःप्रविष्टमिवतेव महता खातवलयेन वेष्टिता.....अमरकाननानुकारिभिरारामैः
श्यामायमानपरिसरा चण्डांशुरथचक्रमार्गैः पृथुलायतैर्विपणिपथैः प्रसाधिताः.... य अद्भुताकारैरेकभूमिका
भ्राजिष्णुभिः सौधैः प्रवर्तिताविरतचन्द्रोदया.... पूर्वाणवतिर्गोवृद्धकंचुकिभिरिव राजहंसैः, क्षणमप्यमुक्तपाश्र्व्या,
भागीरथीमुपस्थितया सरिता सरखाख्यया कृतपर्यन्तसरख्या,.... अलंकृता वधूभिः... साक्षादिव
कामसूत्रविद्याभिर्विलासिनीर्वितोर्णत्रिभुवनजिगीषु कुसुमसायकसाहायका,... निवासिलोकैः संकुला,.....
सर्वाश्चर्यनिधानमुत्तरकोशलोष्वयोध्येति यथार्थाभिधाना नगरी।¹

अस्ति खलु निखिलजलधिपरिक्षेपविलसदनेकद्वीपकमलकणिकारूपस्य जम्बूद्वीपस्य दक्षिणभाभाजि भारते
खण्डे पुण्डरीकासनायाः क्रीडागृहमिव लक्ष्यमाणः

वृत्तोज्ज्वलवर्णशालिनी कर्णिकेवाम्भोरुहस्य मध्यभागमलंकृतस्य स्थिता भारतवर्षस्य;⁴
उद्दण्डकमलविष्टरोपविष्टकादम्बकदम्बकैः उत्फुल्लकल्हारनिःप्यन्दिमकरन्दमेदुरितपाथोभिः पवनोद्भूत-
कल्लोलपटलकवलितवियदवकाशैः पाथोराशि परिबुभूषणया सागरमहिषोमन्दाकिनीं बन्दीकर्तुमन्तरिक्षमुत्पदिभरिव
प्रेक्ष्यमाणैः.... जलाशयैः दर्शितानेकसागरमहिमा⁵

⁶भागीरथीमुपस्थितया सरिता सरखाख्यया कृतपर्यन्तसरख्या प्रत्यग्रोहसिततृणकरीरकवलनमुदितैः
अवनिलविलुठितबालाधिपल्लवैः अग्रचलितबलवन्दुक्षदर्शनभयधावदध्वगैर्गतिरभसरणितमणिर्किङ्किणीरवमुखरित
भुवनविवरैः स्मरण पथविहरमाणतर्णकवमितदुग्धधाराधौतधरातलैः कठिनखुरपुटखननसमुत्पतदविरलपराग-
पटलच्छलेन गोशब्दसाम्यसमाविभूतस्नेहतया भूतधात्र्येव दीयमानानुयात्रैः स्वभावकुण्डलित
शिखरभौषणविषाणव्याजेन दुष्टसत्त्वसमुत्सारणाय कार्मुकमिव कलयदिभः प्रशस्तकर्मसाधनैः गोधनैः
पवित्रीकृतसीमा हेमांगवनामा जनपदः⁷

प्रातरेव प्रचारनिर्गताभिस्तत्कलमधिगताधिकबलोपचयवृंहितेन स्वाभाविकभव्यतागुणेनद्विगुणाकृष्ट-
लोकदृष्टिभिः पीनपरिमण्डलापीनभारविकटमन्थरगमनाभिरनणुमणिघण्टिकाघोषरमणीयमितस्ततो विचरन्तीभिः
सततानुचरचाटुकारस्वैरसौरभेयाभिरचिरजातप्रसवाभिरक्षत्रीनाभिश्च गोभिरशून्यपर्यन्तैः तुहिनपातशीतहैयंगवीन-
वर्णतनुलतालावण्याभिः क्षीरधवलचलत्कटाक्षच्छटाप्रतिक्षणक्षालितादिङ्मुखाभिर्नवनीतपिण्डपाण्डुवल्गात्कठिन-
परिमण्डलस्तनकलशयुगलाभिर्गौरसश्रीभिरिव शरीरिणीभिः सविभ्रमैरंगवलनैः स्नेहनिर्भराणि दध्नीनि

1. GCM I pp. 15-24.

2. TM Vol. I pp. 43- 55.

3. LL.2-3. GCM I p. 8. L. 3-4.

4. TM. Vol. I. p. 43. L. 2.

5. GCM I p. 11. LL 2-6.

6. TM Vol. I p. 43. L. 3

7. GCM I p. 13. L. 7. p. 14

बलवद्दयानीव निर्दयमामध्नतीभिर्गोपललनाभिः सर्वतः समाकुलैर्गोकुलैरधिष्ठितकक्षोपकण्ठं नगरसीमामलंघयम्¹..... यत्र स्त्रीणामधरपल्लवेष्वाधरताकुचतटेषु कठिना, कुन्तलेषु कुटिलता, मध्येषु दरिद्रता, कटाक्षेषु कातरता, विनयातिक्रमो मानग्रहेषु निग्रहः प्रणयकलहेषु प्रार्थनाप्रणामः पंचबाणलीलासु वंचनावतारः परमभूत्²।

यस्मिंश्च राजन्यनुवर्तितशास्त्रमार्गे प्रशासति वसुमतीं धातूनां सोपसर्गत्वम्, इक्षूणां पीडनम्, पक्षिणां दिव्यग्रहणम्, पदानां विग्रहः, तिमीनां गलग्रहः, गूढचतुर्थकानां पादाकृष्टयः कुकविकाव्येषु यतिभ्रंशदर्शनम्, उदधीनामपवृद्धिः, निधुवनक्रीडासु तुर्जनताडनानि, द्विजातिक्रियाणां शाखोद्धरणम्,.... वैशिष्टिकमते, द्रव्यस्य प्राधान्यं गुणानामुपसर्जनभावो बभूव।

of Dhanapāla where in the righteous reign of Meghavāhana has been fully illustrated through the exclusion of unrighteous tendencies on the part of the people. The figure Parisamkhyā is a borrowing from Dhanapāla who on his own part takes it from Bāṇa. Description of Satyandhara takes its cue from that of Meghavāhana.

तस्यां चैवंविधायां विधेयोकृतप्रकृतिः, प्रतापविनमदवनीपतिमकुटमणिवलभी विटंकसंचारितचरणनख-कान्तिचन्द्रातपः करतलकलितकरवालमयूखतिमिराभिसरदाहवविजयलक्ष्मी लक्षितसौभाग्यः सेमरसागरमथनसंभृतेन सुधारसेनेव प्रतापदहनदनच्छन्ददह्यमानप्रतिभटविपिनजनित भसितराशिनेव निजभुजविटपिविनिर्गतकुसुभस्तवकेनेव परिपन्थिपंकजाकरसंकोचकौतुकसंचितेन चन्द्रमरीचिनिचयेनेव खड्ककालिन्दीसंजातेन फेनपटलेनेव पाण्डुरेण यशसा प्रकाशितदिगन्तः, दिशि दिशि निहितजयस्तम्भः कुमार इव शक्तिशकलितभूभृद्विग्रहः, शतमख इव सुमनसामेकान्तसेव्यः, सुमेरुरिव राजहंसलालितपादः, दुर्योधन इव कर्णानुकूलचरितः, चन्द्र इव कुवलयानन्दिकप्रचारः, चण्डदीधितिरेव कमलाकरसुखायमानपादः पारिजात इव परिपूर्णार्थजन मनोरथः, राजा राज्याश्रम गुरुः कुरुकुलधुरं घरः सत्यंधरो नामाभूत्।

तस्यां चाश्चर्यभूतायां नगर्यामवार्यभुजबलारातिकठिनकण्ठास्थिदलनदन्तुरकृपाणधारः,.... सार्वभौमो राजा मेघवाहनो नाम।³

यस्य चारम्भमभिममतावासिः पुसां विद्याधिगमः, पराक्रमं परिपन्थिपरिक्षयः, परहितनिरति जनानुरागः, प्रतापं दुराक्रमता, त्यागम् भोगावली, काव्यरसाभिज्ञतां कविसंग्रहतां, कल्यसंगतौ कल्याणसंपत्तिः न्यायनेतृतां निजकृत्यानुल्लंघिलोक्ता, तत्त्वज्ञानिनां धर्मशास्त्रशुश्रूषा, दुरभिमानहीनतां मुनिजनपदग्रहता, माननीयतां दानजलाद्रोकृतकरः परमधार्मितां परमेश्वरस्पर्धा, नीतिनिपुणतां निष्कण्टकतानिरक्षरं निरन्तरं निवेदयति।

यश्च संगरश्रद्धालुरहितानामुन्नत्यानुतोषणप्रणत्यादानव्यसनी जनानामर्थितया प्रीयत न कृतार्थतया, कुशाग्रीयबुद्धिः कार्याणां⁴ वैषम्येन जहर्ष न समतया, लक्ष्मीहताकर्षणलम्पटो दैवस्य वैमुख्यमाचकांक्षनाभिमुख्यम्,⁵

1. TM. VO. II pp. 257-258.

2. GCM.I p. 26. LL 3-5.

3. TM Vol.I pp. 67. LL. 3-4. p. 68. LL. 1-3. p. 69. L.1.

4. GCM I pp. 27-29. p. 27. LL.1-6. p. 28. L.4-5.

5. TM Vol. I pp. 58-64. L.4. L.4.

Ibid. Vol. I pp. 65-67. p. 65. LL.3-5. p. 66. LL.3-6. p. 67. L.1.

6. GCM I pp. 30-31. p. 30. LL. 6-8. p. 31. LL.1-3.

7. TM. Vol. I pp. 65-67. LL. 3-5.

along with

“यस्य च प्रताप एव वसुधामसाधयत् परिकरः सैन्यनायकाः, महिमैव राजकम् अनामयत् नीतिः प्रतिहाराः, सौभाग्यमेवान्तःपुरं ररक्ष स्थितिः स्थापत्याः आकार एव प्रभुतां शंशस परिच्छदः छत्रचामरग्राहाः। तेज एव दुष्टप्रसरं रुरोध, आज्ञैवान्यायं न्यवेधयत्, रूपमेव मनस्विनीः प्रसादमनयत् धार्मिकतैव दुरितानि प्रतिचकार, प्रज्ञैव मन्त्रान् निश्चिकाय।”¹

of Dhanapāla containing Parisamkhyā which in ārthi takes a cue from-

तस्य चाभवददभुताचाररूपा रूपसंपदिव विग्रहिणी, गृहिणीधर्मस्थितिरिव साक्षात्क्रियमाणा, समरविजयलक्ष्मीरिव पुष्पधनुषः प्रतिनिधिरिव लक्ष्म्याः प्रतापपूर्तिरिव सौभाग्यस्य, समाप्तिभूमिरिव सौन्दर्यपरमाणूनाम् मनोरथसिद्धिरिव पातिव्रत्यस्य, प्रकर्षरेखेव स्त्रीवस्य, मूर्तिरिव दाक्षिण्यस्य, कीर्तिरिव चारित्र्यस्य, विजयपताकेव पंचशरस्य विजयानाम महिषी।²

which resembles.

तस्य च राज्ञः सकलभुवनाभिनन्दितोदया द्वितीयाशशिकलेवाद्वितीया..... भाग्यसंपत्तिरिव सौभाग्यस्य पुण्यपरिणतिरिव लावण्यस्य, संकल्पसिद्धिरिव संकल्पयोनेः सर्वकामावाप्तिरिव कमनीयतायाः, निःस्यन्दभारेव शृंगारसुधाभृंगारस्य, रंगशाला रागशैलूषस्य, ज्येष्ठवर्णिका रूपजातरूपस्य, अम्भोजिनोविभ्रमभ्रमराणाम्, शरत्कालागतिः केलिकलहंसानाम्, वशीकरणविद्या मदनमहावार्तिकस्य, रससिद्धिवेदश्च धातुवादिकस्य समस्तान्तःपुरशिरोरत्नभूता मदिरावती नाम देव्यभवत्।³

कदाचित्प्रहतमृदुमृदंगः रंगमधिवसन्विलासिनीनामतिचतुरकरण बन्धबन्धुरमनंग तन्त्रशिक्षाविचक्षणविट-विदूषक परिषदुपास्यं लास्यमवालोकिष्ठ। कदाचिदनुगतवीणावेणुरणितरमणीयां रमणीनां गीतमाकर्णयन् गीतामाकर्णयन्कर्णपारणामकार्षीत्। कदाचिद्विकच कुसुमपरिमल तरल मधुकर कलरवमुखरितं लतामण्डपे विरचितनवकिसलयशयने कृशोदरीमरीरमत्। कदाचित् वनकरीविकरिणीसखः सह दीर्घदृशा विहरन्विहारदीर्घिकां बलवदास्फालनभयादिव समुतरतरंगलाञ्छितधितमणि सोपानपथां परस्परलीलाप्रहारदोहलावचितनलिनशयन-समुद्गीनकलहंस धवलपक्षपटलमुहूर्तघटितवियद्वितानमतानीत्। कदाचिच्चन्द्रशालातलप्रसारितशयनमध्यं तनुमध्यया सहागिधिवसन्वसन्तयामि नीषु। निरन्तरमाविर्भवद्विरमृतकरकिरणकन्दलैः कन्दर्पदन्तावल कर्ण तालावचूल चामरैर्नयतन चकोरयोरातिथेयीम नल्पाकल्पिष्ठ।⁴

exactly coincides with Dhanapāla's description of the sports of Meghavāhana such as

कदाचिद्वदनमण्डनादिभिर्विडम्बनाप्रकारैरुपहसन् विदूषकानन्तःपुरिकाजनमहासयत्। कदाचित् स्वयमेव रागविशेषेषु संस्थाप्य समर्थितानि शृंगारप्रादुरसानि स्वरचितसुभाषितानि स्वभावरक्तकण्ठया गाथकगोष्ठ्या पुनरुक्तमुपगीयमानान्यनुरागभावितमनाः शुश्राव⁵

It will take lot of space to draw out comparisons between the two in order to show that Vāḍibhasinḥa is indebted to Dhanapāla in many ways. In the construction of the plot as well there seems to be an apparent vision

1. GCM I pp. 31, 36-37.

2. TM. Vol. I pp. 81, 82, 83. p. 81. LL.3-4. p. 82. LL.3-6. p. 83. L.1.

3. GCM I, pp. 42-43. p. 42. LL.1-8. p. 43. L.1.

4. TM. Vol. I p. 75. LL.1-2., 4-6.

5. GCM. III. p. 153. LL.2-8.

about the indebtedness of Vādībhaśīmha to Dhanapāla. The motif of Gunamālā and Jivandhārā exchanging billets through a parrot takes its cue from the exchange of billets between Samaraketu and Malayasundarī through Gandharvaka transformed into a parrot. Gandharvadatta being the first spouse of Jivandhārā, being a daughter of Garuḍavega the king of the Vidyādharaś reigning in Gaganavallabha on the southern range of the mount Vijayārdha in the Bhāratakṣetra (IInd Lambha of GCM) amply illustrates Oḍayadeva's indebtedness to Dhanapāla in so far as Vijayārdha mount has been described by him also along with the town named Gaganavallabha a capital of the Vidyādharaś. The predictions of the sage Vipulamati regarding the future of Gandharvadattā, likely to be the spouse of Jivandhārā, Gandharvadattā and Suramañjarī have been depicted on the same lines as Tilakamañjarī and Malayasundarī. Even Gunamālā strikes a parallel with Malayasundarī in point of the motif of the exchange of billets through the parrot.

अयि भोः श्रूयताम्। इह विश्रुतायां विद्याधरधरायां विविधवृत्तिदानदक्षदक्षिणश्रेण्यां श्रेणीभूतपुरग्रामकान्ते गान्धारविषये योषाजनभूषालोकतिरस्कृतदिनकृदुदयालोको नित्यालोकइत्यख्यया विख्यातः कोऽपि विराजते किन्धावारः। तस्य पतिर्गमने चरकिरीटाधिरुद्धशासनो गरुडवेगो नाम। तस्य च महिषी सकलगुणमनोहारिणी धारिणी नाम। तयोः सुता देहकान्तिव्यामोहितचित्तभूमिका गन्धर्वदत्ता। तस्याः जन्ममुहूर्त एव मौहूर्तिकाः कन्येयं मेदिन्यामतनयसाधारणवीणावादननैपुण्यादेनामतिशयानस्य कस्यचित्कुमारस्य राजपुर्या भार्या भविष्यति इति व्याहार्षुः।

Dhanapāla appears to be a counterpart to Vijayavega while the introduction of Śridatta to Garuḍavega brings to mind the similar type of introduction by Vijayavega of Samaraketu with Meghavāhana.¹

पुत्रि! श्रीदत्तेनास्माकं कुलक्रमागतो मैत्री। गात्रान्तरस्थं मामेव तावदमुं मन्येथाः। कन्ये, जनकस्तवायं जननी चास्यगृहिणी। गृहाणामुना प्रयाणे मतिम्। अलं कातर्येण। गगने चराणां राजपुत्री किं न भवनद्वारसमा। इति सानुनयं समभ्यधत्।

bears parallel to the sermon of Meghavāhana given to Harivāhana while introducing Samaraketu to be the foster brother of the latter.

“वत्स, एष समरकेतुर्गुणैः समधिकं समं चात्मबन्धुवर्गे प्रधानपुरुषमपश्यता मया तवैव सहचरः परिकल्पितः, अस्य कल्पायुषो दर्पणस्येव सद्बुद्धस्य कलंकरहितात्मनो मत्पुरस्कृतस्य सर्वकालमभिमुखेन भवितव्यम्।”²

Oḍayadeva like Dhanapāla has employed certain uncommon vocabulary such as

1. TM. III. p. 160

2. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 230

'Riñcholi' meaning an 'array'¹ 'Cikroḍa' meaning a Squirrel² 'Candropaka' a canopy, 'Kañja' a lotus, 'Camaraja' a bālavayajana, 'Hariviṣṭara' a Simhāsana, 'Apasarpa' a spy, 'Uravya' a Vaiśya³, 'Amburāsiraśanā Earth'⁴, 'Nilimpa' Indra, 'Animiṣa' a god⁵ etc.

Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa's Vembhūpāla Caritaṁ (15th Century AD) like Sodḍhala's Udayasundarikathā derives most of its motif from the Harsacarita of Bāṇa whose muse has been extolled in the beginning of the text. But there is a basic scent of Kādambarī in the construction of the plot. The entry of Prollabhūpati into a sylvan resort, his pursuit of the deer, the smell of a scent of flower, the hearing of a sweet melodious song, the sight of the enchanting beauty, the description of the lotus lake, Vindhyāṭavi, Nyagrodha, the shrine of Gaṇḍikā, all these derive inspiration from Bāṇa's Kādambarī kathā. The style and technique have an impact of both the works of Bāṇa.⁶ From the extracts quoted by Pandit Amaranatha Pandey Dhanapāla's impact on these is fairly negligible. It was perhaps Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa who did not like his muse in so far as he did not deem its value in comparison of Bāṇa at so short an interval of time given to him to attain to popularity. It was certainly his personal discretion to have ignored him or else he could view with Vādībhasimha in becoming a co-student of Dhanapāla.

E. PLACE OF DHANAPĀLA'S WORKS IN THE SANSKRIT PROSE LITERATURE; GENERAL ESTIMATE

It is pretty hard a task to evaluate the degree of superiority or inferiority of a literary artist without being prejudiced while comparing him to the predecessors. Dhanapāla as a prose writer certainly ranks as one of the illustrious stars who proved a surest plank in the tottering structure of classical romance that had started signs of wear and tear due to decadence in tastes after the lofty and sublime muse of Bāṇa who had produced works of the norm that exhausted all scope for originality for all those aspiring to keep the lamp of prose literature enkindled through the mansion of Literary traditions. His Tilakamañjarī presents a unique type of Kathā which though inheriting most of its victuals from Kādambarī has brought into being something very sumptuous and delicious in point of the food stuffs

1. GCM i, p. 10

2. Ibid. p. 12

3. Ibid. p. 160

4. Ibid. p. 161

5. Ibid. p. 67

6. बाणभट्ट का आदान प्रदान। पृ० ८९-९४

consisting in the descriptive and the narrative materials, characterisation, human psychology and above all the superb mode of sermonising for the sake of obviating sin and spreading health and fortune in the world.

A critical examination of the Literary aspects screened through Tilakamañjarī makes it very clear that Dhanapāla in writing his romance has conformed faithfully to the literary tendencies of the age which had an inclination towards the Heterodox cults such as Jainism reacting violently against the ritualistic performances, of the Vedic and Hindu cults which had started degenerating on account of their taking to the path of mass killing in the sacrifices as is evident from the Yaśastilaka Campū of Somadeva where in king Māridatta had taken a vow even to sacrifice a youthful pair of a boy and a girl. Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa's erudition meant to display a tendency to strain language by the employment of 'Bhaṅgaśleṣa' equally smacks of bad tastes leading the literary traditions towards a decadence unprecedented enough to mar the steady growth of literature. Dhanapāla felt it worthwhile to get out of that rut of pretentiousness and produced a writing that lit the lamp of classical Sanskrit prose to such an extent that the years to come could never foster the feeling of Sanskrit continuing to be the living language among the literacurs. Dhanapāla's critical outlook in treating of the two love episodes intertwined within one another is remarkable in so far as he has created confusion even in the minds of literary stalwarts such as Dr. S.K. De and A.B. Keith and even V. Varadacari who failed to understand its theme properly and deemed it to be a romance depicting the love episode of Samaraketu and Tilakamañjarī. (Tilakā by V.Varadācārī)

On the whole Dhanapāla has been pretty successful in inventing a theme and carrying it out to the furthest limits from the point of view of shedding off of the old complexes such as inability to produce something superior to Bāṇa etc. and treating off of all the modes of literary styles of prose, descriptions, narration's and reflective moods of his characters some of whom though celestial or semi-celestial beings yet act and behave on the same plane as the mundane beings given to callow indelicacies and frivolous dicacities of the physical form. The vast and panoramic review of the Geographical spots amply illustrates his ubiquitous knowledge about the topography of India and establishes him to have been a great wandering soul that had observed very minutely every nook and corner of his Homeland.

PART III

CULTURAL DATA IN TILAKAMAÑJARĪ

1. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

MAIN SUB-DIVISIONS OF BHĀRATAVARṢA

As already observed on the testimony of the Prabandha Cintāmaṇi of Merutungaśārya and other literary, inscriptional and extraneous sources, Dhanapāla lived and flourished in the times of Muñja, Sindhurāja and Bhoja and approximately in the last two decades of the tenth and first half of the eleventh century A.D. and composed as well as completed his Tilakamañjarī in the reign period of Bhoja who himself was great patron of learning, a prolific writer, an author of as many as thirty four literary pieces on all subjects, literary, rhetorical and technical, we shall have to examine the relevant geographical details available throughout his descriptions in the light of the history of the Gurjara Pratihāras and Paramāras, the latter being the very title of the lineage of Bhoja and his predecessors.

Like Kālidāsa (Raghu Varṇa)¹ and Daṇḍin (Avantisundarī Kathā)² Dhanapāla has also referred to the tradition of eighteen dvīpas³ which may have been the southern and south-eastern islands like Andaman (Indradyumna), Laṅkā (Simhala), Malaya, Jāvā (Yava) and Sumātrā (Suvarṇa) etc. described in the Geography of the Gupta age.⁴

The reference of Dhanapāla is in context with Harivāhana who is likely to be born to Madirāvati as the son of Meghavāhana, king of Ayodhyā in the Uttarakośalas, a son endowed with prowess (प्रतापवान् पुत्रः), an enjoyer of the kingdoms of the overlords of both the terrestrials as well as the celestials; likely to take birth very shortly by the blessings of Śrī (lit. by the power of Śrī), with the victory column made of wood, stones and gems dug up at the peaks of the mountains on the shores of the four oceans having service rendered unto his feet by the spouses of the harem, being rendered

1. VI. 38.

2. ASK pp 62; 161. also Bāṇa in his HC. pp. 179, 185; of the Vikram Quarterly Research Journal of Vikram University, Ujjain p. 109.

3. TM Vol. I, p. 153, Vol. II p. 149.

4. KSN p. 110. See Also HSA p. 119 Ragh. V.VI 62 XII 63, 66.

reverentially, by the damsels of the kings of the eighteen dvīpas (islands) made subservient (lit. captive) by him.

Even Candraketu, the sire of Samaraketu has been proclaimed as a king well known over the four oceans whose succour was fit to be sought by even the great kings; he has even been described as the only valiant in the entire Universe who had brought to the state of subsidiary vassals the kings reigning over the islands falling within the range of all the oceans. Samaraketu was the son of such a king.¹

Dhanapāla has also referred to the group of kings of the islands situated in between the unfathomable oceans² and the earth having the seven repertoires of water i.e. the oceans for her group of zone girdles having the victory columns at the extremities made of eight quarters by Meghavāhana who had proclaimed victory over them as soon as he was consecrated to the throne while yet being a boy.³

It obviously implies on the analogy of Daṇḍin's conception that the globe was divided into seven continents said to be encircled by the same number of oceans.⁴ Dr. Kailasha Natha Dvivedi in his article edited "Saptadvīpavatī Pṛthvī" published in *Sanskṛita-vimarśaḥ* xv. 2.1987 edited by Dr. Mandana Misra and Sampannarayanacharya published by Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, New Delhi, has identified Jambūdvīpa with Asia, plakṣa divīpa as North America, Śālmalīdvīpa as African Islands, Krauñcadvīpa as Europe, Śākadvīpa as Australia and Puṣkara as Antarctic region.

Meghavāhana has been described as the incarnation in corporeal form of the sun with extremities of the four oceans overwhelmed by his sole chariot. Hence the four oceans formed the four extremities of the land of Bharata i.e. Bhāratavarṣa which had Ayodhyā, the capital of Meghavāhana, forming the ornament of its middle portion or central part⁵ The earth having extremities for the oceans having mountains, islands and groves in between has also been referred to in a number of places.⁶

1. TM. Vol. II p. 227.

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 70, p. 227, p. 402 Sm. ed. p. 402 Saptānnavi Salīla.

3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 71, Vol. I p. 85.

4. Ibid. Vol. I p. 59.

5. Ibid. Vol. I p. 43.

6. Ibid. Vol. I p. 148, Vol. II p. 174, Vol. II p.204 Vol. I p.127, Vol. I verses 40-41 p. 34, vol. III p. 178 100 vol. i.

Meghavāhana yearning for progeny expresses his desire that he did not want to be the last of the Ikṣvākus who had outlived the splendour of the sun by their primeval person on account of their lofty prowess transferred into the faces of all the quarters, enjoying the earth (Vasurndharā) up to the shores of the four oceans (Caturudadhi Velāvadhi), Vasundharā bearing as they did the conduct effulgent and eulogised by the entire Universe. This point corroborates the idea of four oceans encircling the earth.¹

रङ्गावलीयोग्यरत्नानयनाय पृथ्वीतलोपान्तेषुपाथोनिधीन् बभ्राम²

again refers to oceans surrounding the earth.

Candraketu's son Samaraketu had come to Kāñcī followed by kings with a view to vanquishing the islands falling in between all the oceans, with consecration performed in his very boyhood.³

Dhanapāla has also referred to the four oceans as pūrvārṇava,⁴ Aparā Payodhi⁵ and Dadṣinārṇava⁶ with a casual reference to Uttarāsājalarāsi⁷, in his Tilakamañjarī. He has described Ayodhyā having had the friendship on all extremities of the river named Sarayū which had its precincts dissociated not even for a moment by royal swans who were as though the old chamberlains provided by the Eastern ocean, carrying straight lotus stalks for their staves. While describing Tilakamañjarī as the daughter of Cakrasena, through Patralekhā Dhanapāla has described Cakrasena as the king who had established his command over the circle of the earth having her limits extending up to the Pūrva (Eastern) and Aparā (western) oceans through sheer force. While showering his benevolence unto Samaraketu Meghavāhana describes the array of groves on the outskirts of the Southern ocean as abounding in puñnāga, lavaṅga (clove), clā (cardamom), Campaka, tāla and tilaka trees. The childhood pranks of Tilakamañjarī have been described amongst the young palmyra palms struck by the surges of the southern ocean. Meghavāhana has been described as the overlord of Dakṣiṇa, Aparā and Pūrva oceans. Kāñcī was a nagarī abounding in gold and

1. TM Vol. I p. 151.

2. Ibid. Vol. II p. 183.

3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 218.

4. Ibid. Vol. I p. 47 Vol. III pp. 11, 138, 154.

5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 11, Vol. III p. 154.

6. Ibid. Vol. II p. 230, Vol. I p. 88 Vol. III p. 171, Vol. III p. 12, Vol. III p. 154 Sm. ed. p. 343.

7. Ibid. Vol. III p. 128.

riches in illimitable quantum sprung from the southern ocean. The forest ranging between the Vaitāḍhya and Ekaśṛṅga mountains has been described as the road meant to get out of the northern ocean quiet at the end of the deluge.

The western ocean¹ has also been referred to as 'Pāścātya Sindhu' whose banks had been battered by the weights of the armies of Mahābala the overlord of the Saurāṣṭramanḍala.

The three oceans according to Dr. D.K.Gupta are

Pūrvasāgara (or Pūrvāṃava of Dhanapāla) represented by Bay of Bengal, Aparāṃava or Pāścātya Sindhu of Dhanapāla and Paścimasāgara of Kālidāsa and Daṇḍin represented by the Arabian Sea, Dakṣiṇāṃava or Dakṣiṇodadhi of Dhanapāla, Kālidāsa and Daṇḍin represented by the Indian ocean.²

The fourth ocean referred to by Dhanapāla as Uttarāśa Jalarāśī was traditionally known in the ancient times and is known to the modern Geographers as Tarim Basin beyond the Himālayas.³

Apart from this Dhanapāla has referred to Lavaṇasindhu⁴, Lavaṇajalarāśī,⁵ Lavaṇajaladhi,⁶ Lavaṇasāgara,⁷ Lavaṇāṃava,⁸ Lavaṇajalanidhi,⁹ Lavaṇābdhi,¹⁰ etc. as synonyms for the salt ocean.

“लंकेव लवणसागरेण....अनतिदूरवर्तिनी दक्षिणोदधेरपारधन कनकसंचया कांची नाम नगरी।”¹¹

clearly distinguishes the Lavaṇasāgara from Dakṣiṇodadhi. Just as Kāñcī was not far away from the Southern ocean, Laṅkā was quite situate to the Lavaṇasāgara.

At another place Dhanapāla has baptised Lavaṇa Sindhu variantly as Ratnākara.

1. TM Vol. III p. 186.

2. KSN Vol. X p. 110.

3. Ibid. p. 110.

4. TM Vol. II p. 323. Sm. ed. p. 409.

5. Ibid Vol. II p. 273, Sm. ed. pp. 337, 378.

6. Ibid. Vol. II p. 202.

7. Ibid. Vol. III p. 171.

8. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 382.

9. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 322. Vol. II p. 287.

10. Ibid. Sm. ed. pp. 363-364.

11. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 323.

“शंके चात्र निष्पाद्यमाने त्रिदिवशिल्पिनामभीक्षणमतितीक्ष्णकोटिभिर्ष्टांकिभिस्तक्ष्यमाणाभ्यः समन्ततः समुच्छलितानि यानि स्थूलशकलानि तैरेष लम्बितो रत्नाकराभिधानं लवणसिन्धुः।”¹

“Lavaṇasindhu has been made to bear the name Ratnākara through those very thick slabs splashed aloft from all sides from the bejewelled rocks on the peak being chiselled with hoes of extremely sharp points, (employed by) the divine sculptors when it (i.e. the shrine) was being built up.”

This makes it clear that Lavaṇasindhu is a repertory of gems on account of its being called Ratnākara. It became so i.e. Ratnākara because huge slabs chiselled out from the rocks on the peak or peaks (of a mountain) were thrown into it by the ravages of the weather. It also makes it apparent that it i.e. the Lavaṇasindhu is quite distinct an ocean from Pūrvāṇava as also the Aparāṇava which are bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. It is distinct from the Indian ocean, this fact has been observed already. Hence Lavaṇasāgara or Lavaṇasindhu or Lavaṇārṇava etc. is quite distinct from the three oceans, the Eastern, the western as well as the Southern ones (Pūrvāparadaḥ inārṇavas). It may signify the fourth of the four oceans. Dhanapāla has categorically added arṇava, sāgara, sindhu, jalarāśī, abdhi, jalaṇidhi, jaladhi to Lavaṇa and has prefixed Pūrva, apara or pāścātya and Dakṣiṇa to the arṇava, abdhi, udadhi etc. and has even generalised the term Samudra or Sāgara for these. He has even called Lavaṇasāgara as ‘bhagavantamambhonidhim’ but it is a word or adjective of rare occurrence. It cannot, however, refer to either the Pūrva Sāgara or the Dakṣiṇārṇava by any stretch of imagination. An ocean can be spiced by the variety of gems, stones and other mineral materials getting suffused into its water after having fallen from the mountains. The Lavaṇasindhu may be called so because of its water getting suffused with the mineral materials from the Himālaya bearing the name Tarim basin beyond the Himālaya and Lavaṇasāgara as it flowed beyond the Tarim basin and close to Laṅkā etc. Kusumaśekhara had the expanse of his army camp stretching on to the groves on the shores of the Southern ocean like the mount Malaya having its extensions into the Eastern and the Western quarters.² This also proves the distinctness of Lavaṇarṇava from the Dakṣiṇodadhi. Meghavāhana had the groves situate to the shores of the Southern, eastern and the western oceans trampled by the hooves of the steeds of his army. Both preclude the possibility of their contacts with the Lavaṇasindhu which may in all

1. TM. Vol. II p. 323.

2. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 176.

probability be the fourth ocean understood by Dhanapāla. He has also referred to the Śīsiranīradhi in 'शिशिरनीरधिमरुन्निरोधाय अगोतिरिति विन्यस्तबाहु स्वस्तिके' which refers to Samaraketu's morbid transformations on seeing Malayasundarī and his efforts to guard against the breeze blowing from the cold sea which may refer to the Lavaṇasindhu or the Northern ocean emitting out cold breezes. Samaraketu had reached Kāñcī by series of movements having passed through the Janapadas and after having waded through the Lavaṇajalanidhi.¹ उच्चलित सकलनैदण्डीच प्रत्यहखण्डितैः प्रघावैर्लङ्घयित्वा लवण जलनिधिं जनपदांश्च कसिचित्क मेण काञ्चिम गभत्।

“न सा गवलशिखिगलश्यामलया मलय गिरिमूलवनमालया समन्ततो मालिता लवणजलराशिवेला”²

refers to the shores of Lavaṇajalarāśi lined on all sides of the arrays of groves on the bottoms of the Malayagiri (Western Ghāṭs). Lavaṇajalarāśi may be extending up to the Western Ghāṭs also. It is not the Southern ocean as in 30 above; the army cantonment spreading on the shores of this ocean has been compared to the Malayagiri extending in the Eastern as well as the Western directions.

“दक्षिणाशाविभूषणेषु त्रिकूटमलयादिषु नगेन्द्रनिश्चलनिबद्धनीड गरुडपोतोद्भासित फणिषु लवणाब्धिरोधोवनेषु।”³

refers to Trikūṭa and Malaya as the mountains forming the ornaments of the Southern direction and the groves on the shores of the Lavaṇābdhi having snakes drawn out by the young ones of the Garuḍas establishing their nests calmly in the mountains. This refers to Lavaṇābdhi drawing close to Trikūṭa and Malaya the mountains.

“उत्तरीयंचलनिबद्धनिश्चलसमरकेतु लेखाश्च लंघयित्वा लवणजलराशिमुत्तराशाभिमुखमापतम्। प्रशान्तवैराश्रम समीपे मलयर्वतोपान्तवर्तिनः पारावारपुलिनादुद्यन्तमतिकरुणमाक्रन्दशब्दमाकर्ण्य मनस्यकरवम्।”⁴

refers to Gandharvaka carrying the billet of Samaraketu and wading through the Lavaṇajalarāśi and finally soaring to the north. He reached the hermitage Praśāntavaira and heard the doleful cries rising from the shores of the ocean that lay close to the Malayaparvata. This also establishes the distinctness of Lavaṇajalarāśi and the Southern ocean.

1. TM. Sm ed. p. 322.

2. Ibid. Sm ed. p. 322.

3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 337.

4. Ibid. p. 378.

“अगाधलवणाबिधजलपरिक्षिप्तभानो रनेकसुरपादपच्छत्रदंकच्छिन्नकटकस्य शिखरिणो रत्नकूटस्य।”¹

refers to Ratnakūṭa connected with the Lavaṇābdhi.² Ratnakūṭa has been described by Dhanapāla as a fragment separated from the Meru (Hātakagiri) and thrown into the ocean by the lords of the monkey forces at the instance of Rāma,³ Meru is Rudra Himālaya in Garhwal where the Ganges takes its rise. Ratnakūṭa being a fragment of Meru and falling into the Lavaṇajalarāśi makes the Lavaṇajalarāśi a northern ocean which extended even in the South at certain spots.

“मध्ये लवणसिन्धोरितस्ततः प्रहसितप्रयत्ननयनया रत्नकूटाद्विपरिसरे”⁴

again refers to Ratnakūṭa connected with Lavaṇasindhu.

“प्रारब्धपरिहासयेव लवणजलनिधिवेलया वीचिहस्तापवर्जितः पयोभिरनवरतमाहन्यामानं सुवेलनामानमचलराजमव्रजम्।”⁵

refers to Suvela mountain having its sides struck against by the hands in the form of ripples by the Lavaṇajalanidhi - Trikūṭa and Suvela and accessories. The expansion of Lavaṇajalanidhi in the South cannot be overlooked here. Hence the purview taken above makes it clear that Lavaṇābdhi is quite distinct from the Eastern, the Western and the Southern oceans and it can be construed to have an affinity with the Northern or the Fourth ocean.

Besides these milk ocean has been referred to variantly as

Kṣīrasāgara,⁶ Kṣīrajaladhi,⁷ Kṣīroda,⁸ Kṣīrasindhu,⁹ Dughodadhi,¹⁰ Dugdābdhi,¹¹ Dugdhasāgara,¹² etc. In all these references the mythical legend of churning of the ocean with Mandara forming the churning rod of

1. TM. Sm. ed. p. 408.

2. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 292-293.

3. Historical Geography of Ancient India by B. C. Law p. 131.

4. TM. Sm. ed. p. 409.

5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 287.

6. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 26, 114, Vol. I p. 141 Vol. I Sm. ed. p. 313, 337, 376.

7. Ibid. Vol. III p. 33, Vol. I p. 150.

8. Ibid. Vol. I p. 73. Sm. ed. p. 421, vol. I p. 111, vol. III p. 189, vol. I p. 154, vol. III p. 114, vol. III p. 137, Sm ed. pp. 373-408, pp. 121, 142.

9. Ibid. Vol. III p. 76, vol. III p. 185, vol. III p. 137.

10. Ibid. Vol. III p. 191.

11. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 408.

12. Ibid. Vol. I p. 122.

the gods as well as demons has been alluded to Gods brought out nectar as a result of that. In Mahābhārata,¹ a highly luscious island (Śvetadvīpa) has been established as lying to the north of the milk ocean (Kṣīrodadhi). Śvetadvīpa has been identified by Sir Monier Williams² as a sacred place near Kāśī, a white island, a mythical abode of the blessed.

Dr. B.S. Upadhyaya³ on the evidence of Mahābhārata,⁴ Purāṇas, N.L. Dey's dictionary and the works of Kālidāsa has identified Mandara as the hills of the Himālayan range which may lead to the conjecture that the fourth ocean forming the fourth of the division of caturudadhi may be the Kṣīrasāgara which advancing ahead assumes the shape of Lavaṇasāgara also known as Ratnākara.⁵

of the dvīpas and varṣas Dhanapāla has mentioned Surarṇa dvīpa;⁶ Puṣkara dvīpa;⁷ Jambu dvīpa;⁸ Pañcaśaila dvīpa;⁹ Sindhala dvīpa;¹⁰ and Nandīśvara dvīpa;¹¹ Haimavatavarṣa;¹² Harivarṣa;¹³ Airāvartavarṣa;¹⁴ Bhāratavarṣa.¹⁵

Suvarṇa dvīpa, as already observed was Sumātrā which had a town named Maṇipura where in lived a maritime trader named Vaiśravaṇa who bore a son named Tāraka in Vasudattā, who became the close associate of Samaraketu after having come to Raṅgaśāla, the principal town of the

1. XII. 336.27 Mahābhāratakośa by Rāmakumāra Ray p. 227 Part II.

2. Skt. Eng. Dict. under Śvetadvīpa.

3. KKB Pt. I, p. 24.

4. Anuśāsana Parva = 9 Vana Parva 162, 164.

5. Styled as Vaijayanta in Mahabharata Śāntiparva 350, p. 729.

6. TM Vol. I p. 85, vol. II p. 274.

7. Ibid. Vol. I p. 103.

8. Ibid. Vol. I p. 103, Vol. III p. 137, Vol. I. p. 116, Sm. ed. p. 407.

9. Ibid. Vol. III p. 184, Vol. II p. 292, Sm. ed. p. 310, Sm. ed. p. 343, Sm. ed. p. 382.

10. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 123, 124, vol. III, p. 106, vol. III, p. 51, vol. III, p. 48, Vol. II 248, 250, 226, Vol. III p. 154, vol. II p. 229, Sm. ed. p. 382, Sm. ed. 279, Vol. I p. 93.

11. Ibid. Vol. I p. 116, vol. I. p. 154, Sm. ed. p. 421 Sm. ed. p. 411, Sm. ed. p. 409.

12. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 412.

13. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 412.

14. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 21, Sm. ed. 412.

15. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 381, vol. III p. 187, Sm. ed. p. 411, 421, 356, 362, 412, 407, Vol. III p. 3, Vol. I p. 94, Vol. III p. 14, 137.

Simhalas, followed by many sailors who had travelled across many other islands with manifold riches collected therefrom. But in case Suvarṇadvīpa is to be construed synonymous with Suvarṇabhūmi it shall have to be identified with Lower Burma.¹ Apart from being a dvīpa, Puṣkara has been referred to as an ocean² as well.

Puṣkaradvīpa occurs in Tilakamañjarī in a context where the Vidyādhara sage got down from the ethereal regions told the king Meghavāhana that he had come from the Puṣkara dvīpa and had to go to the chief places of pilgrimage (Pradhāna tīrtheṣu) lying within the range of the Jambūdvīpa.

Dr. B.C. Law³ has referred to Jambūmārga⁴ and Puṣkara forest side by side and has remarked.

“The Jambūmārga was situated between Puṣkara and Mount Ābu according to the Agni Purāṇa (Ch. 109). The Puṣkara forest is situated at a distance of six miles from Ajmer. At the time of Mahābhārata some Mleccha tribes lived near Puṣkara and the Himālaya”.⁵

According to Dr. B.C. Law ‘Jambū dvīpa’ was a term evolved by the ancient Indians to denote the territory extending from the Himālaya in the north to the sea in the south. In Buddhist literature Jambū dvīpa figures as one of the four Mahādvīpas or the four great continents, including India, with Mt. Sineru (Sumeru) in the centre of them. A portion of Jambūdvīpa known as Aṅgadvīpa was inherited by the Mlecchas according to the Vāyu Purāṇa (48 14-18). Childers (Pāli Dictionary) points out that when opposed to Sihaladvīpa, Jambū dvīpa means the continent of India. In Sanskrit Buddhist texts such as Mahāvastu we have reference to Jambūdvīpa. The minor rock edict No.1 of Aśoka mentions Jambūdvīpa which denotes the vast country ruled by that great emperor. In the epics and Purāṇas Jambūdvīpa is described as one of the seven concentric islands encircled by seven Samudras. Of these seven islands Jambūdvīpa is the most alluded to in various sources and is one which in its narrower sense is identified with Bhāratavarṣa or the Indian Peninsula.⁶

Dhanapāla has referred to

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1. HGA I B. C. Law p. 3.
 2. TM. Sm. Ed. p. 421.
 3. HGA. I. p. 46.
 4. MBH Vanaparva 82-40
 5. Sabhāparva Ch. 32.8 p. 331 MBH I. GPE 1957
 6. Ibid. I pp. 9-10.

“दधिमुखाभिधानमहाधराधरेन्द्रषोडशक-परिक्षेपणीनां जम्बूद्वीपपरिमाणमण्डलाकृतीनां..... महापुष्करिणीनाम्”

“अस्यैव जम्बूद्वीपस्य द्वीपभूतो भारतेवर्षे दूरदर्शितोच्छ्रायेण शिखरवर्ष्मणा निरुद्धभानुरथगतिः सानुमानेकशृंगो रत्नकूटश्च य प्रकटनामास्ति।”

उष्णीषपट्टमिव जम्बूद्वीप referring to Vaitādhya in above alone with जम्बूद्वीपस्य परिमाणपरिमण्डलाकृतिनां, जम्बूद्वीपस्य द्वीपभूतो भारतेवर्षे..... उष्णीषपट्टमिव जम्बूद्वीपस्य मानसूत्रमिव भारतवर्षस्य,¹

followed by

सीमन्तमिव भुवः, हारमिव वैश्रवणहरितः

are significant.

At the first instance it implies that Jambūdvīpa ranges were very vast in dimensions where in Bhāratavarṣa is one of the dvīpa, having vaitādhya mountain for its measuring rod. The same mountain is the head wrap of the Jambūdvīpa, the parting line of the earth and a necklace of the Northern direction. It is an arm of the Kṣīroda, a counterpart to Himālaya clinging to the Eastern and the Western oceans, deriding even Kailāśa with the upshooting sheen of its body stealing the shine of moon, producing thousands of Gaṅgās out of envy for Himālaya, feeling jealous even of Sumeru, vying even with Mandara. बाहुरिव क्षीरोदस्य, विशालक 'कावष्टधभूतलं प्रतिपक्षमिव हिमवतः, पूर्वापरोदधिवेलावलान्मुदकपानतृष्ण्या जीर्णसंवर्तकाम्बुदसंघातमिव युगान्तसमयमुदीक्ष्यमाणम्, इन्दुद्युतिमुषा देहप्रभोल्लासेन पौलस्त्यहस्तोल्लासितं कैलासमिव हसन्तम् प्रकटितबहुस्रोतसा निर्झरनिवहेन तुहिनशैलस्पर्धया जाह्नवीसहस्राणीव सृजन्तम्, सुमेरुमहिमाभ्यसूयया निःश्वासानिव विमुञ्चन्तम्।²

According to Dr. B.C. Law Bhāratavarṣa was just one of the nine varṣas or countries constituting the nine main divisions of Jambū dvīpa.³

According to Dr. Rāmakumāra Roy Jambūdvīpa is that ancient region that ranges between the area south of Nīlagiri and Sudarśana to the north of Nīśadha. It derives its name from the name of the tree of the same appellation. The juice of the fruits of this tree streaming down into the form of a rivulet and circumambulating the Meru mount reaches Uttarakuruvarṣa on the testimony of Mahābhārata and identifies it to the north of mountain called Saumanasa on the testimony of Rāmāyaṇa.⁴

1. TM. Vol. I p. 116, TM 407 Sm. ed. Text seems to be faulty in so far as it has द्वीपभूतो qualifying Ekaśṛṅga. It should be द्वीपभूते qualifying Dhāratevarṣe.

2. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 137-138.

3. HGA-I p. 11.

4. Mbh. Kośa p. 277. Rām. Kośa p. 117.

Pañcaśaila has been described by Dhanapāla as an island forming an intermediary to the Southern ocean.

“सर्वद्वीपानां पंचशैलो नाम दक्षिणस्य सलिलराशेरन्तरद्वीपः”¹

and the mountain Ratnakūṭa has been called the crest ornament of the Pañcaśaila island.

“चूडालंकारः पञ्चशैलकद्वीपस्य लीलावतंसकः सागरस्य..... रत्नकूटो नाम सानुमान्”²

Siṃhala is obviously Ceylon which is associated by Trikūṭa mountain, Raṅgaśāla its capital had Candraketu for its Lord who even had a source of consternation for the wicked vassals asking near the mountain Suvela. (TM II. p.250). Nandīśvara has been described as a chief island surrounded by the Lord of the streams i.e. the ocean also named Nandīśvara.

“रामणीयकेन सकलद्वीपानामपारजलपूरितान्तरिक्षेण सर्वतः कृतपरिक्षेपं नन्दीश्वरनाम्ना नन्दीनाथेन नन्दीश्वराभिधानं प्रधानद्वीपम्”³

Sumāli god had gone to this island to see the beauty of a shrine of Jina. Sir Monier William identifies it to a place held sacred by the Jains.

Haimavatavarṣa

According to the Great Epic (Mahābhārata)⁴(इदं तु भारतं वर्षं ततो हैमवतं परम् मेरोर्हरथो दे वर्षं हैमवतं ततुः। क्रमेणैवं व्यतिक्रम्य भारतं वर्षभासदन्त) the Haimavata region was situated just to the west of Nepāla (Nepālaviṣaya). It mainly comprised the Kulinda Viṣaya representing the region of high mountains in which the sources of the Ganges, Yamunā and Sataluja lay. It may thus be taken to include parts of the modern Himācala Pradeśa and adjoining tracts and some parts of Dehra Dun.⁵

The eastern Himālayan region extending up to Assam and Manipura roughly constituted the Haimavata division of the Jambūdīvīpa in respect of which Aśoka introduced the Nābhākas and Nābhapaṃtis in his Rock edict XIII.⁶

The Himālaya region (Haimavatapradesa) of the Jambūdīvīpa (continent of India) extended northwards according to the Pāli accounts, as far as the south side of the Mount Sumeru (Pāli Sineru). Haimavata division of India is indicated by Kālsi set of Rock edicts, the Aśokan monoliths at Nigliva, Lumbinī and those in the districts of campāraṇa. The Himālayan region

1. TM. Vol. III p. 184.

2. Ibid. Vol. II p. 292.

3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 116.

4. Vanaparva Ch. 253.

5. IIGAI p. 95. B. C. Law.

6. Ibid. p. 96. B. C. Law.

(Haimavatapradesa) has been identified by some with Tibet, by Ferguson with Nepāla and by Rhys Davids with the central Himālayas.

According to ancient Geographers the name Haimavata was applied to the entire mountain range stretching from Sulaimana along the west of Punjab and whole of the northern boundary of India up to the Assam and Arakan hill ranges in the east.¹

It is very difficult to define the extents of Harivarṣa. Dr. B.C.Law comes to our rescue here as well. According to him Himālayan range and Hemakūṭa are placed in between Bhāratavarṣa and Harivarṣa. Hemakūṭa region is also called Kimpuruṣavarṣa while the Haimavata region is called Kinnarakhaṇḍa. Himālayan range lay to the south of Hemakūṭa region. Hence Kinnara Khaṇḍa lay to the south of Kimpuruṣavarṣa. Both these lay between Bhāratavarṣa and Harivarṣa.

Hence Harivarṣa may be the region beyond the northern boundaries of the Bhāratavarṣa, beyond the part of Rudra Himālaya or the Kailāśa range.

As already observed in 66 above, Bhāratavarṣa is one of the dvīpas of the Jambūdvīpa, Vaitāḍhya, the mountain forming its measuring rod we can fix up the jurisdictions of the entire Bhāratavarṣa forming the Kṣetra of the Cakravartī Meghavāhana as illustrated by Dhanapāla during the course of his allusions to the regions coming within the fold of the administrative units of the great king. Harivāhana² has been described as the sole scion of Meghavāhana, the overlord of the circle of the earth divided by the four oceans and his lotus foot twain has been described as saluted by the groups of all the kings endowed with the affluence of virtues of the whole of Bhāratavarṣa; Harivāhana³ performed acts not fit to be performed by the princes of the kings of entire Bhāratavarṣa; The sons of the lords of the maṇḍalas abiding in the central and half of the southern parts of the Bhārata Kṣetra offered homage to Harivāhana and his sire Meghavāhana, the lord of the earth endowed with enormous circle of the earth, enormous power born of his dignity, enormous army personal, enormous courage and enormous affluence, enjoying certain part of the Bhārata on account of his regard for his contemporary lords of the earth (being a Dharmavijayī), born in the Ikṣvāku race and Purī Ayodhyā being principal among all the towns, lineal capital of kings such as Raghu, Dilīpa and Daśaratha, the Creast jewel of the whole of Bhāratavarṣa.⁴

1. HGAI p. 96. B. C. Law.

2. TM. Vol. III p. 3.

3. Ibid. Vol. III p 14.

4. Ibid. Vol. III p. 187, Vol. I p. 94.

Harivāhana was the son of Meghavāhana the king whose command was fit to be obeyed by Malayasundarī's sire Kusumaśekhara who to begin with was the overlord of the whole of Dakṣiṇāpatha and later on became a subsidiary vassal of king Meghavāhana whose commander Vajrāyudha has been described as the overlord of the earth of the entire Dākṣiṇātyajanapada, reduced to the state of subsidy paying vassal by him and thereby making Meghavāhana the overlord of the lord of Dākṣiṇātya Janapada (Kusumaśekhara), whose expanse of the cantonment was ubiquitous enough to cover the groves of the shore of the southern ocean, who had obtained luxuriance in the east as well as in the west, like the expanse of the precincts of Mount Malaya.¹ And Meghavāhana offering the governorship of whole of the Uttarāpatha consisting of Kāśmīra and other maṇḍalas including all the main towns and villages to Harivāhana and to Samaraketu Janapadas headed by Aṅga and others along with all their estates etc. encompass the whole of Uttarāpatha (the northern range) and Aṅga (the eastern range of Gauḍa Vaṅga etc.)² After Harivāhana became the Supreme sovereign of the Bhāratavarṣa on the abdication of Meghavāhana, he handed over his own governorship of Uttarāpatha etc. over to him.³

During his sojourn for the conquest of the quarters Harivāhana had reached Kāmarūpa visiting the insurmountable Mandaraka hill, the stream called Śaravatī, the devāgrahāra foremost of all the villages of all the maṇḍala donated by queen Madirāvatī at the time of the solar eclipse, being limited to the extent of ten thousand ploughs, the Dharmāranya built by minister Surānanda, the border land where Nītivarmā had put an end to the life of the lord of the Hūṇas passing through the bhukti of prince Samaraketu, visiting the village and town given in honorarium to Kamalagupta, the prince of the Kalingas⁴ (कमलगुप्तानाम् कलिङ्गदेशाधीशसूनुः) and witnessing the sports of the sylvan fauna, where welcomed by the overlord of Prāgjyotiṣa who had shown devotion day in and day out, he left his encampment in order to enjoy the chase on the out precinct of river Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) and met all the kings of the Uttarāpatha who came to bid their homage as subservients after having got the news of his arrival from their spies.⁵

1. TM.Sm ed. p. 343 Vol. II p. 192 Vol. III p. 176.

2. Ibid. Vol. II p. 232.

3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 426.

4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 426.

5. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 32-33.

From this review it becomes apparent that Meghavāhana followed by Harivāhana had almost whole of the Bhārataśetra having the four subdivisions of the four oceans, Dakṣiṇāpatha including the Eastern and the Western direction surrendered by Kusumaśekhara and Vicitravīrya who was the supreme sovereign of Pañcaśaila which was an intermediary island of the Southern ocean, the whole of the Uttarāpatha, the Central part (Madhyamakhaṇḍa) of Bhārataśetra), Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Kāmarūpa (Prāgyjyotiṣa) forming the Eastern part, Eastern and Western Vidha has (पूर्वपरविदेहविजयेषु)¹ the overlords of the Pāñcāla (Kuśasthala), Draviḍa (Kāñcī), whose king Kusumaśekhara the fore head mark of the Yadu kings had brought under sway the overlords of the earth falling between the mountains Mahendra and Malaya, the Magadha whose lord Suraketu reigning in Kusumapura had yielded to Meghavāhana.² Even Raivataka mountain in Surāṣṭramāṇḍala and its king Mahābala who had battered the banks of the western ocean by the pressure of his armies, have been referred to.³ Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kośala (Mahākośala) and Kulūta have been treated in the same line indicating the subservience of these to Meghavāhana. Kulūta is modern Kullū⁴ in Himācala Pradesh.

While describing the sylvan tracts of Kāmarūpa Dhanapāla has shown distinction between the civilized and the uncivilized localities in so far as he has referred to

“कदाचिदुत्तमप्रकृतेरिव महाजनपदानुसारिणः⁵

शबरपल्लीषु रणपराजयप्रतिपन्नदास्यान् दस्युसेनापतीनितस्ततः प्रेषयतः,⁶

शोभ्रतरलंघितानेकसुन्दरार्यजनपदस्य,⁷ निकटग्रामवासिकीकटकुटुम्बसंगृह्यमाणनिघसयवसेन्धने⁸

हठनिराकृतलुण्ठाककीकटप्रायलोके⁹”

The distinction between the Mahājanapadas inhabited by the sophisticated subjects, the army-in-chiefs of the marauders taking to servitude after having been defeated in battle in the hamlets of the Śābaras

1. TM Sm. Ed. p. 428 Sm ed. p. 142.

2. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 184-185.

3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 186.

4. HGA1 p. 119.

5. TM Vol. III p.67.

6. Ibid. Vol. III p. 68.

7. Ibid. Vol. III p. 68.

8. Ibid. Vol. II p. 270.

9. Ibid. Vol. III p. 298.

(the wild tribes) and between the handsome people of the Ārya Janapadas (the Kikāṭas (the anārya or non-aryan tribes) may allude to all types of habitations forming part of the kingdom of Meghavāhana and Harivāhana, which formed a definite Geographical unit in the times of Dhanapāla.

The Ekaśṛṅga series of Vaitāḍhya contains reference to Kuntala, (तरुणकुन्तलीकुन्तलकलापकान्तिभिः) Himācala, Sindhu, Kerala and Lāṭa' (मैनाकवियोगदुःखरुदितहिमाचलाश्रुजलमिव संगलितम्। सैन्धवीकपोलच्छविभिरिव केरलीदशनकिरणैरिव लाटीकटाक्षछायाभिरिव निर्मितम्) proving thereby the supremacy of Meghavāhana over these: Dhanapāla's reference to the region called Puṣkarāvati (TM. Sm. ed. p. 407. L. 16 (पुष्करावती नाम्नि विजय) to the east of mount Meru (Rudra Himālaya in Garhwal) also alludes to the inclusion of Puṣkarāvati, a town proper to the east of Garhwal within the Kṣetra of Cakravartī's Meghavāhana and Harivāhana. Reference to Rathanūpuracakravāla, the ornament of the southern range of Vijayārdha,² (विजयार्धदक्षिणश्रेणिभूषणम् रथनूपुरचक्रवालसंज्ञं विद्याधरनगरम्) and Gaganavallabha, the chief town amongst all the towns, foremost in unprecedented glory in the northern range of the Vijayādhara mount ³(अस्त्यत्रैव विजयार्धशिरसि रिपुशरश्रेण्यामनुवाद श्लोकमाद्यं सर्वनम सणाम् भगवन्वल्लभामिधानं प्रधानभरम्) along with-

“बहुलशो गन्धर्वबालिकावकृष्टस्फुटिततरुवत्कलोद्गीर्णधनसारम्”⁴

and

“व्रजति विरलतामनुर्वीगन्धर्वनगरे स्कन्धावारे”⁵

all go to make it manifest that the jurisdiction of the Cakravartīkṣetra encompassed within its fold the countries of the Gāndhāra as well apart from the regions of the southern and northern series of Vijayārdha.

Airāvartavarṣa may be the same as Airāvātṭamaṇḍala which was included in the Patoḍāviṣaya. It may be identified with Raṭāgrha in the Banki Police Station of the Cuttack district.⁶ (नीलात्परतरं श्वेतं श्वेताद्धारण्यकं परम् वर्षमैरावतम् राजन् नानाजनपदावृतम्॥ उत्तरेण तु शृङ्गस्य समुद्रान्ते जनाधिप, वर्षमैरावतं नाम तस्माच्छृङ्गमतः परम्॥) or a country to the north of the mount Sringavana near the seashore as per Mahabharata⁷

1. TM Vol. III p. 70-71.

2. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 366.

3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 401.

4. Ibid. Vol. III p. 86.

5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 270.

6. HGAI. p. 242.

7. Bhīṣma parva VI-37 and VIII 10-11

2. MOUNTAINS AND FORESTS

Of the mountains Dhanapāla has mentioned Himālaya¹ variously named as Himācala, Himavat, Himādari, Nihāragiri, Śailarāja, Tuhinācala, Himagiri, Tuśāragiri, Tuhinaśaila etc.; Maināka,² Kailāśa,³ Meru⁴ or Sumeru also called Amaraśaila, Ratnasānugiri, Hātakagiri, Kanakagiri, Rohanācala, Amaragiri, Suranaga, Suraśaila, Hemācala etc.; Vindhya,⁵ Trikūṭa,⁶ Suvela;⁷ Ratnakūṭa⁸ Ekaśṛṅga⁹ and Vaitāḍhya; Vijayārdha;¹⁰ Aṣṭāpadaśaila;¹¹ Mandara,¹² Mandaraka,¹³ Krauñca;¹⁴ Añjanagiri;¹⁵ Hemakūṭa;¹⁶ Sahya;¹⁷ Mahendra;¹⁸ Malaya¹⁹ also known as²⁰ candanagiri; Arbuda;²¹ Raivataka²² Besides these Dhanapāla has referred to the Kulaparvatas in

1. TM verse 38 Intro.; p. 44. vol. I p. 91. vol. I p. 154 Vol. I p. 179, Vol. II p. 238 Vol. II p. 12, Vol. III p. 14 Vol. III p. 89 Vol. III pp. 137-138, vol. III p. 290 Sm. ed. pp. 410, 412 Sm. ed. p. 373 Sm. ed. p. 120. vol. III.
2. Ibid. Intro.. V. 38. Vol. I. p. 44, Vol. II. P. 227, vol. III p. Vol. II p. 295, Vol. II pp. 234-235, vol. II p. 229, Vol. II p. 266, vol. III p. 144, vol. III p. 120, vol. II, p. 327.
3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 73, 85, vol. III p. 151, vol. II p. 179, 265, vol. III pp. 137-138.
4. Ibid. Vol. I p. 85, vol. II p. 147, vol. III p. 105, 140, 94, 111, 120, 93, m 49, Vol. II p. 321, vol. III pp. 197-198, vol. II p. 292, Sm. ed. p. 421, 276-77, vol. II p. 264, 407-408, vol. I p. 88, vol. II p. 315, vol. III p. 139. vol. I p. 88. Sm. ed. Vol. II p. 319.
5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 193, vol. p. 85, vol. III p. 107, 143 vol. I p. 70, vol. II p. 315, vol. I p. 86, Vol II pp. 207, 319.
6. Ibid. Vol. II p. 88, vol. II p. 218, vol. III p. 16, vol. II p. 253, 289, Vol. III p. 197, Sm., ed. p. 363, 378, 423.
7. Ibid. Vol. II p. 287, 283, 315, Vol III p. 15, 19, Sm. ed. p. 286, Vol. II p. 251, 319, Sm ed. pp. 342 and 341.
8. Ibid. Vol. II p. 292. 309, vol. III p. 15, Sm ed. p. 310 407-408, 409, 427-428.
9. Ibid. Vol. III p. 144, Sm. ed. p. 405. vol. III p. 56. 66. 72, 73, 113, 133, 184, Sm. ed. pp. 381, 414, 415, 390, 401, 352, 342.
10. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 61, 107, Sm. ed. pp. 408, 414, 415, 426, 397.
11. Ibid. Vol. III p. 69, Sm. ed. 408, 405, vol. II p. 319.
12. Ibid. Vol. III p. 106, vol. II p. 313, vol. III p. 41, Vol. II p. 323, 183, 264. Sm. ed. p. 337, Vol. II p. 332, Vol. III p. 76, 138, Vol. I p. 73, Vol. III pp. 110, 93, vol. II p. 319, Vol. III pp. 40-41, Vol II p. 321.
13. Ibid. Vol. III p. 33.
14. Ibid. Vol. I p. 44.
15. Ibid. Vol. II p. 287, Sm. ed. p. 425.
16. Ibid. Vol. III p. 178.
17. Ibid. Vol. III p. 143.
18. Ibid. Vol. III p. 185.
19. TM. Vol. III pp. 12, 76, 176, Sm. Ed. pp. 286, 363, 337, 376, 378, 427, 428, Vol. III p. 185.
20. Ibid. verse L.D. series ed p. 123. L. 24
21. Ibid. Intro.. Verses 38, 39, pp/ 32, 33.
22. Ibid. Vol. III p. 186.

“कुलाचलत्रयमिव केसरि महापद्मतिगिच्छभूषितम्।”¹

with reference to adṛṣṭapāra lake.

“अष्टमं कुलाचलं”² with reference to Meghavāhana

“पल्लवितकल्पपादपलताकुलेषु कुलगिरिनितम्बारामेषु रन्तुमभिललाष”³

with reference to Madirāvatī's ancient state.

“पृथुप्रतापावज्जनिजनितसकलारातिकुलपर्वतप्रमाथः स्वर्णार्थ इव।”⁴

with Saumanasa⁵ and Vidyutprabha among the hills in the interiors of other varṣas other than the Himavatavarṣa and Harivarṣa and the huge mountains numbering sixteen known as Dadhimukhas.⁶

Himālaya also called Śailendra⁷

(अच्छशिशिरेण शैलेन्द्रमिव हिमद्रवेण)

by Dhanapāla has been referred to as ‘Paravatarāja’ in Aṅguttaranikāya⁸ and Nagādhirāja by Kālidāsa⁹ and the author of the Kālikāpurāṇa.¹⁰ It stood 5 yojanas in extent. It was adorned with 84000 peaks with 800 rivers following all round. Raghu is said to have ascended this mountain.¹¹ According to the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (कैलासो हिमवांश्चैव दक्षिणेन महाबलौ॥ पूर्वपश्चायतावेतावार्णवान्तर्व्यवस्थितौ)¹² Himālayan mountain (Himavat) stretched from sea to sea like the string of a bow. Mahābhārata (VI. 4.3) and Kumārasambhava (I.1) support the statement of Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. Aśvaghoṣa refers to Himālaya and places the Madhyadeśa between this mountain and the Pāriṣātra.¹³ (मध्यदेश इव व्यक्तो हिमवत्पारिषात्रयोः)

Dhanapāla has mentioned the mountain of snow (tuṣāragiri) having its peaks scraping the clouds or the sky (abhrāṅkaṣāgrasīkharah) descending down from the vault of the sky through the currents of the Ganges

1. Ibid. Vol. III p. 74.

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 69.

3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 181.

4. Ibid. Vol. III p. 176.

5. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 412.

6. Ibid. Vol. I p. 116.

7. Ibid. Vol. III p. 120.

8. I. 152 of HGAI B. C. Law pp. 94-95.

9. Kumārasambhava. I. 1.

10. Ch. 14. 51.

11. Raghuvarṇa IV 71.

12. 54. 24 p. 212 edited Manasukha Rai Mor, Calcutta, 1962.

13. Saund. Kāvya II verse 62.

(Gaṅgāsrotasā gaganamaṇḍalā davatīrya),¹ the huge lake named Padma, the abode of Śrī, having been called the silvery mirror for the array of groves on the peaks of the mountain of snow (tuhinācala).²

It has also been called Śailarāja³ by Dhanapāla (as already referred to in 100 above).

He calls its peaks (nīhāragiri śikhareṣu) having their cornices linked by the threads of the currents of the Ganges (Suranimnagā).⁴ Himavat has been called as Varṣadharapurvata by him.⁵

*According to Dr. B. C. Law. The two loftiest mountains the Kailāśa and the Himālaya (Himavān) stand to the south of the Meru mountain.*⁶

In the Kuṇḍalajāṭaka Himālaya has been described as a vast region, 500 leagues in height and 3000 leagues in breadth.⁷

The Himālayan mountain is the source from which the ten rivers, namely, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Acirāvatī, Sarabhu, Mahi, Sindhu, Sarasvatī, Vetravatī, Vitamśā and Candrabhāgā take their rise.⁸ But Purāṇas mention more than ten rivers issuing from the Himavat viz. the Gaṅgā, Sarasvatī, Sindhu, Candrabhāgā, Yamunā, Śatadru, Vitastā, Irāvatī, Kuhu, Gomatī, Dhutapāpā, Bāhudā, Drṣadvatī, Vipāśā, Devikā, Raṅkṣu, Niścīrā, Gaṇḍakī and Kauśikī.⁹

Himālaya mountain is the only Varṣapurvata which is placed within the geographical limits of Bhāratavarṣa. The Muṅgera grant of Devapāla refers to Kedāra which is situated in the Himālaya. According to the Kumārasambhava (I.1) the ancient Himālaya mountain stands on the north of Bhāratavarṣa and it is engulfed by the sea on the east and west.¹⁰

According to Dr. B. C. Law Maināka mountain was a part of the great Himālayana range. It was near Kailāśa.¹¹ According to Dr. B. S. Upadhyaya

1. TM Vol. I p. 91.

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 154.

3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 179.

4. Ibid. Vol. III p. 12.

5. Ibid. Sm. ed. 412.

6. HGA I p. 95.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid. p. 96.

9. Ibid.

10. HGA I p. 97.

11. BHA I p. 95.

Maināka is a triple fold range of hills, one being called the Śivālīka range spreading between the Gaṅgā and the Beas rivers, the second being in the north of Almodā district near the source of Gaṅgā while the third ranging between India and Ceylon a mountain standing on the sea and a particular mountain in western India near Gujarāta. This is a testimony of Mahābhārata.¹ Kālidāsa's version of Maināka places this mountain between India and Laṅkā on the sea. In Deccan, as also in the distant plateaus of Deccan there are deltas of Revā, Godāvarī, Kāverī and Tāmraparnī rivers. Kālidāsa has referred to these also.² Dhanapāla's description of Maināka is also Paurāṇic.

He calls Maināka, son of Mainaka spouse of Himācala that jumped into the ocean frightened by the bolt of Indra.³

मैनाकेन महार्णवे हरतनौ सत्या प्रवेशे कृते।

येनैकेन हिमाचलो शिखारिणो पुत्रीतिलक्ष्योऽभवत् ॥

Ayodhyā surrounded by a circle of moat having the reflection of a contravallation gave the look of Maināka entering into the ocean.⁴ Even Harivāhana has been construed surrounded as he was by princes as Maināka plunged into the ocean.⁵ At another spot Samaraketu describes the scaling of the ranges of hills of the group of Maināka while moving out of Laṅkā (Raṅgaśālā etc.). It can imply the range of Maināka hills between Laṅkā and the sea on the seashore, Maināka being a smaller range of the Himālaya dragged on to the ocean by the natural outrages of Indra, the god of rain and thunder.⁶ Himālaya, Kailāśa, Meru, Mandara, Hemakūṭa, Ratnakūṭa and Krauñca are all varṣaparvatas mentioned by Dhanapāla.

According to Dr. D.K. Gupta⁷ Himālaya known variously is the great mountain range extending from Kāśmīra to Assam while Meru is the Rudra Himālaya of Garhwal where Gaṅgā springs near Badarikāśrama. Mandara is situated to the north of Badarikāśrama and south of Gandhamādana.

Kailāśa is probably Svagrīva's pūch of the Tibetans which is situated to the east of the Nīti pass twenty five miles north of Mānasarovara ahead of

1. Vanaparva, Ch. 89.11

2. KKB Part I pp. 35-36.

3. TM Introductory verse 38.

4. Ibid. Vol. I p. 44, Vol. II p. 227.

5. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 234-35.

6. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 294-95.

7. KSN p. 110 and HGA p. 131.

Gangotri. Kailāśa is clinging to the well known Gaṅgri range. Mahābhārata and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa recognise the ranges of Kumaon and Garhwal as the Kailāśa range. Kālidāsa agrees with it.¹ Kailāśa is also called Hemakūṭa according to the Mahābhārata.² (Bhīṣma Parva Ch.6). Mainākagiri referred to above has been identified with the Śivālika range extending from the Ganges to the Beas by Dr. B. C. Law. According to him the Śivālika hills proper extend for about 200 miles from the Beas to the Ganges and are known to the ancient Geographers as Mainākaparvata. In the Uttaraprdeśa the Śivālikas are known as the churia and the Dundwa ranges and lie between the Ganges and the Yamunā. Here the hills rise abruptly from the plains and slope rather gently northwards into the valley of Dehradun.³

Dhanapāla takes Kailāśa quite traditionally. He refers to the dance of - Śiva with Pārvatī on the mountain.⁴ He even associates Vindhya in line with Kailāśa where by he feels that Vindhya along with its store of medicinal herbs moved on for a residence on Kailāśa out of his love for the moon on the head of Śiva. Vidyādhara sage has been likened to Vindhya moving on to the roof of Meghavāhana for an interview with the king.⁵ Kailāśa has been called 'Rajatagiri'⁶ by him meaning the silvery mount or the snow-clad mount etc. According to Dr. N. L. Dey's evidence of the Purāṇas, a hill in the tehsil Bānkā of Bhāgalpur district should be called Mandara. Kālidāsa's identification differs from it. Kālidāsa places Mandara in the Himālaya.⁷ Mahābhārata agrees with it.⁸ Some Purāṇas identify Badarikāśrama having the image of Nārāyaṇa as Mandara. But according to Mahābhārata Mandara is to the north of Badarikāśrama and to the east of Gandhamādana⁹ (southern part of the Kailāśa range). Kālidāsa has followed Mahābhārata in this point.¹⁰

“कनकगिरिपर्यन्तचारिसूर्यतुरगानुसारेण नयनरश्मिनिबहमिव मन्दाकिनीं प्रतिप्रधानवितमन्तकमहिषस्य।”

1. KKB Part I p. 22. HGAI p. 102.

2. HGAI p. 102.

3. HGAI p. 142.

4. TM. Vol. I p. 73.

5. Ibid. Vol. I p. 85.

6. Ibid. Vol. II P. 179.L.2

7. Kumarasambhava VIII. 23.59

8. Anuśāsanaparva Ch.19 Vanaparva Ch.162

9. KSN p. 110.

10. KKB Part I p. 24, pp. 85, 147 Vol. I.

“कनकगिरिकन्दरप्रभानुलिप्तपादपेषु कल्पतरुतलनिषण्णकिन्नरारब्धगान्धारग्रामगीतिरमणीयेष्वितस्ततः
प्रवृत्तमुखरमन्दकिनीस्रोतः सरणिसिच्यमानबालपरिजातालबालेषु।”¹

alluding to Sumeru's association with Mandākinī or Gaṅgā agree with the idea of Sumeru or Rudra Himālaya being a source of Gaṅgā. Hemakūṭa referred to by Kālidāsa and Daṇḍin² has been identified with the Bandaripucch range of the Himālaya. Krauñcādrichidre³ referred to by Dhanapāla is the same as the Krauñcarandhra of Kālidāsa.⁴ Krauñcarandhara is the famous Nīti pass of Kumaon and is a pathway from Bhārata to Tibet. It is a trade route between the two countries.⁵ Dhanapāla and Kālidāsa refer to these two most identically.

Ratnakūṭa as already observed has been described by Dhanapāla as the crest jewel of the Pañcaśaila island, a sportive ornament of the ocean, a playground city of the celestial couples a field for accomplishment of the Vidyādharas, foremost in beauty of all the mountains.⁶ It has been fancied to be the peak of Sumeru brought on after having been uprooted by the overlords of the hosts of monkeys bringing down mountains at the errands of the son of Daśaratha (i.e. Rāma) started off for Lañkāpurī bearing dart of grief from the separation of Maithilī, rankling in his heart. Ocean is deemed as having deemed him a son, the sportive mound as it was.

It clearly appears that Ratnakūṭa mountain is a part of the Himālayan ranges from where it gets separated as a beauty spot on the Lavaṇasindhu ranging from the north.

Añjanagiri⁷ or Añjanādri referred to by Dhanapāla was situated in the Mahāvana. it is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa (Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa 37.5) and in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (58.11). वृषध्वजोऽञ्जनश्चैव जम्बाख्या मानवीचलः। It is also mentioned in the Jaina Āvaśyakacūṃṃ (p.516).

According to the Skandapurāṇa (Ch. I. 36-48), it was made up of gold. It is the Sulaiman range in the Punjab. The Sulaiman mountain, known to the ancient Geographers as the Añjanagiri separates the N. W. F. Province and the Punjab from Baluchistan. It overlooks the Gomal river on the north and Indus on the South. The Takht-i-Sulaiman (Soloman's Throne) is the

1. KKB. Part I p. 24, pp. 85, 147 Vol. I.

2. KSN p. 110.

3. TM Vol. I p. 44.

4. Megha Pū. verse 57.

5. KKB Part I p. 27.

6. TM Vol. II pp. 282-283.

7. Ibid. Vol. II p. 287 Sm. ed. p. 425.

highest Peak (11295 ft.). The Southern part of the main range is composed of sand stones, whereas the northern part is built up of lime stones. The range is pierced by a number of gorges through which run the main routes from India to Baluchistan.¹

Of the Kulaparvatas Dhanapāla has referred to Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Viṇḍhya, only four of them and has also referred to Kulācalatraya viz. Vindhya, Śuktimat, Malaya and named them as Mahāparvatatrayaṃ which is adorned with the Capillaments of lotuses or is adorned with the huge lakes such as Kesari, Mahāpadma and Tigiccha. The reference to the eighth Kulācala implies the recognition of seven Kulācalas such as Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimān, Ṛkṣavān, Vindhya, Pāriyātra etc.² Vindhya and Sahya have been called 'gaṇḍasailas' or the hills of the extents of rocks fallen down from the bigger mountains.

“(गण्डशैलप्रख्यविन्ध्यसह्यप्रमुखभूधराम्)”³

According to Dr. B. C. Law⁴ Mahendra refers to the hills of this name in the Gañjam district. The Mahendra range of mountains extended from Gañjam as far south as the Pāṇḍya country to the whole of the Eastern Ghāt range. The Mahendrādri or the Mahendra mountain was situated between the Gaṅgāsāgara saṅgama and the Sapta Godāvarī. A portion of the Eastern Ghāts near Gañjam is still called the Mahendra hill. Pargitar thinks that the name should be limited to the hills between the Mahānadī, Godāvarī and Gaṅgā and may perhaps comprise the portion of the Eastern Ghāts north of the Godāvarī. According to Bāṇa's Harṣacarita⁵ the Mahendra mountain joins the Malaya Parvata. This fact is also proved by the Caitanaya Caritāmṛtam.⁶ The Raghuvamśa⁷ places it in Kalinga. The name is principally applied to the range of hills separating Gañjam from the valley of the Mahānadī. Kālidāsa styles the king of Kalinga as the Lord of the Mahendra. The minor hills associated with the Mahendra mountain were the Śrīparvata, Puṣpagiri, Veṅkaṭādri, Aruṇācala and Rṣabha. The whole range of hills extending from Orissa to the district of Madura was known as the Mahendraparvata. It included the Eastern Ghāts. It joined the Malaya mountain. Paraśurāma retired to this mountain after being defeated by

1. HGA I p. 74.

2. See 122, 123, 124 above. also Mbh. 6. 9. 11. Mbh. Kośa by Rāmākumāra Roy p. 202.

3. TM Vol. III p. 143.

4. HGA I p. 205..

5. Ch. VII, JNVSE, p. 761. L.4 मलय लभ एव च महेन्द्रं

6. Vol. I. p. 581

7. IV. 39, 43; pp. 105, 107 VI 54, G.R. Nandargikar ed. MLBD, Delhi.

Rāmacandra. The Eastern Ghāṭs is still called by that name. They run as detached hills more or less parallel to the Eastern coast of India, which are known by different names in different parts of the country.¹ Malaygiri is mentioned in the *Bṛhat Samhitā* गिरिनगरमलयददुर्महेन्द्रमालिकाभरुकच्छाः.² Kālidāsa mentions it in his *Raghuvamśa*.³ A Pāṇḍya king leaving his own country sought refuge in this hill. Pargitar correctly identifies this range of hills with the portion of western Ghāṭs from the Nilgiris to the Cape Comorin. The hermitage of Agastya was situated on the Malayakūṭa which was also known as Śrīkhaṇḍādri or even as Candanādri⁴ or Candanagiri of Dhanapāla. It was visited by Balarāma. Manu performed austerities here. The southern extension of the western Ghāṭs below the Kāverī now known as the Travancore hills, really forms the western side of the Malayagiri. According to some the mount Caṇḍaka mentioned in the Jātaka (V. 162) is the Malayagiri or the Malabar State.

Sahyādri⁵ is a mountain lying as the western Ghāṭs. The western Ghāṭs were known to the ancients as Sahyādri, which form the western boundary of the Deccan and run continuously for a distance of about 1000 miles from the Kundaibari pass in the Khandesh district of the Bombay State down to cape Comorin, the southernmost point of India. Raghu crossed the Sahya mountain through Palghat gap between the Malaya and Dardura mountains.⁶ The western Ghāṭa are known by different local names. There are important passes too. Some minor hills are connected with it, e.g. Trikūṭa, Rṣyamūka and Gomanta.

Dr. B. C. Law at a different place has summed up the seven Kulācalas as under:-

“The group of mountains known as Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimat, Ṛkṣa, Vindhya and Pāripātra is known to ancient Indian Geographers as the Kulācalas.⁷ They were so called because each of them was associated with one particular country or tribe. Thus Mahendra is the mountain par-excellence of the Kālīngas, Malaya of the Pāṇḍyas, Sahya of

1. MGAI p. 206.

2. XIV p. 206.

3. IV. 46.

4. Dhoyī's Pavanadūtām.

5. HIGAI p. 222.

6. Ragh. V. IV. 51, 52.

7. Mārka p. 57. 10.

the Āparāntas, Śuktimat of the people of Bhallāta,¹ Rkṣa of the people of Mahiṣmati,² Vindhya of the Āṭavyas and other forest folks of central India and Pāripātra or Pāriyātra of the Niṣādas.³

Śuktimat range, according to Beglar, lies to the north of the Hazaribagh district. There is a difference of opinion as to its location. Cunningham identifies it with the hills south of Schoa and Kanker separating Chattisgarh from Bastar. Some have located it in western India and identified it with Kāṭhiāwāda range.⁴ Others have identified it with the Sulaiman range. Raichaudhuri applies the name with the chain of hills, extending from Śakti to Raigarh in C. P. (modern M. P.) to the Dalma hills in Manbhum drained by the Kumārī river and perhaps even to the hills in the Santhal Paraganas washed by the affluents of the Bāblā.⁵

The Pāripātra or Pāriyātra, the Rkṣavat,⁶ and the Vindhya are the mountains of central India. Rkṣa or Rkṣavant is the central region of the modern Vindhya range north of the Narmadā Rkṣavat according to Dr. D. K. Gupta is the modern Satpura range to the north of Sahyādri and south of Narmadā extending in the east up to the Son valley. Vindhya, according to him, is the famous range of that name to the north of Narmadā spreading as far as Mirzapur district in the east, where its old name is still preserved in the name of a place called Vindhyāvala. Pāriyātra is a part of the great Vindhya range running west ward from the source of Betwa river and extending as far as the Arrāvali range in the North⁷.

Dhanapāla's reference-

“कुलिशताडितकुलाचलशिखरसमकालनिपतद्गण्डशैलनिवहनादोद्भूतो हासध्वनिरुदलसत्।”⁸

refers to the tumultuous noise caused by the group of Gaṇḍasailas falling instantaneously from the peaks of the Kulācalas struck with the bolt

1. Mbh. II 30. 5. f. Harivaṃśa. 38. 19, Rai Chaudhuri Studies in Indian antiquities 105-6. KGAI. p. 26.
2. Mbh. II 30. 5. f. Harivaṃśa. 38. 19, Rai Chaudhuri Studies in Indian antiquities 105-6. KGAI. p. 26.
3. Mbh. II 30. 5. f. Harivaṃśa. 38. 19, Rai Chaudhuri Studies in Indian antiquities 105-6. KGAI. p. 26.
4. C. V. Vaidya Epic India. p. 276.
5. HGAI pp. 23-24 Introduction.
6. Ibid. p. 22.
7. KSN p. 111.
8. TM. Vol. p. 126.

(of Indra). He has also given 'gotrācalāh'¹ a variant name for Kulācalas. He has even described Vaitāḍhya as a mountain whose greatness equalled the host of virtues common to all the Kuladharādharas.²

Even Hemakūta represented by the Bandar puccha range of the Himālaya has been included within the range of the Kulaśailas.³ The peaks of the Kulāparvatas have been deemed encircling the shores of the oceans.

(सागरकूलवलयेषु कुलपर्वताग्रेषु)

At another place he has referred to Kulācalas crushed by the point of the bolt shaggy with the flames of fire burning on.⁴

Somewhat mythical mountains of rise and setting have been mentioned variantly. Udayādri,⁵ Kharva parvata,⁶ Udayācala,⁷ Paurastyabhūdhara,⁸ Udayāstaśaila Astaśaila,⁹ Pāścātyaśaila,¹⁰ Astācala¹¹ are the variant names given to the two mountains.

Udayādri or Udayagiri denotes the northern part of the Kalinga range where a place called Udayagiri (in Gañjam district) retains its old name.

Astaśaila or astagiri or Paścimādri or Sahya range, which is now known as the western Ghāṭs extends along the western coast as far as modern Sahyādri or Ajantā range, in the north.¹²

Dhanapāla has referred to the Acalarāja (the king of mountains) named Suvcla being struck constantly by the waters poured (lit. splashed) by the hands in the form of tides, by the beach of the lavaṇa jalandhi, having its eastern and western parts joined to the root of the plateaus of the Eastern and the Western mounts or the mountains of rise and setting etc.¹³

1. TM. Vol. IV p. 140.

2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 141.

3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 178.

4. Ibid. Vol. I p. 107.

5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 315.

6. Ibid. Vol. III p. 128.

7. Ibid. Vol. II p. 165.

8. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 90

9. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 287.

10. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 220.

11. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 44. Vol. II p. 171.

12. KSN. p. 111.

13. TM Vol. II p. 287.

It may indicate the point that the two mountains (mythical ones) of sunrise and sun set ultimately combine at the Suvela mountain that is washed by the ripples of the Lavaṇa Sindhu.

Trikūṭa, Suvela, Ekaśṛṅga and Vaitāḍhya, Vijayārdha, Aṣṭāpadaśaila, Arbuda and Raivataka remain to be classified and identified last of all. Nīlagiri has also been referred to by Dhanapāla in a solitary spot.

Trikūṭa according to Dr. A. D. Pusalkar is of four types each ranging in four different lands. Dr. Pusalkar quotes Dr. N. L. Dey who mentions Trikūṭa in the Southern east corner of Ceylon, Trikūṭa to the north of the Punjab and south of Kāśmīra, Junnar and the Yamnotri in the Himālaya.¹

According to Rāmakumāra Roy Trikūṭa is a mountain in Laṅkā where from Hanūmān took preview of whole of Laṅkā. Laṅkā was actually situated on one of its highest peaks.²

Suvela was the mountain at the foot of which Rāma had encamped with his army on his arrival in Laṅkā. It seems to have been near the sea as also near the capital of Laṅkā.³

Dhanapāla's reference to Trikūṭa and Suvela is in the light of the evidence of Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. He has referred to Laṅkā situated on the bosom of Trikūṭa beyond the southern ocean.

“दक्षिणार्णवपारमिव त्रिकूटककोरः स्थलकमलसमकरम्।”⁴

Similarly he refers to the Rāmāyaṇa legend of Rāma establishing his encampment on its tablelands and Rāvaṇa sending his spies at night to find out the cause of trouble to his country.

“त्रिकूटककभिस्तेरवस्कन्दपातभीतेनेव सर्वदा शर्वरीषु विहितप्रचारेण नक्तञ्चरचक्रवर्तिना लङ्केश्वरेणापि सततमभिशङ्कितोत्साहस्य।”⁵

“त्रिकूटपर्वतमिव परित्यक्तस्थावरावस्थम्।”⁶

refers to Trikūṭa changing its places on account of natural disfigurement.

“खर्वयन्तस्त्रिकूटगिरिकूटानि घटितसमग्रसेतुबन्धाः बन्धुरं बबलुरंगादपुरोगः प्लवंगपतयः”⁷

1. Bhāsa- a study p. 347.

2. Rām. Kośa p. 126.

3. Mbh. Kośa p. 301. Rām. Kośa p. 404, Bhāsa- a study p. 349.

4. TM Vol. I p. 88. आ त्रिकूटकककुट्टाकटङ्कलिखित काकुत्स्थलंकालुण्ठनव्यतिकरात् सुवेलात्, HC. VI. p. 669 Calcutta ed.

5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 218.

6. Ibid. Vol. II p. 253.

7. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 289.

is reminiscent of the monkey lords reducing to diminutiveness the mount Trikūṭa in demolishing its structure by breaking its frame in order to prepare the bridge over the ocean.

“त्रिकूटाचलकूटचूडामणौ विचित्रवीर्यनगरे”¹

refers to Vaijayantī, the capital of Vicitravīrya situated on top of the mountain Trikūṭa.

“दक्षिणाशार्णवभूषणेषु त्रिकूटमलयादिषु”²

refers to Trikūṭa and Malaya forming the ornament of the Southern ocean.

“त्रिकूट शिखरगोचरां खेचराजधानीम्”³

maintains the same fact i.e. the capital of the celestials situated on the peak of Trikūṭa.

As already observed Suvela was struck by the waters poured by the hands of ripples by the shores of the lavaṇasindhu it implies it was on the banks of this ocean.

Samaraketu started off from Raṅgaśālā to subjugate the wicked vassals abiding on the precincts of the mountain Suvela.⁴ This he did before ferrying across the ocean. It means Suvela was on the other side of the ocean from the land of the Bharata and on the same side of the land of the simhalas. Ekaśṛṅga and Vaitāḍhya have been referred to by Dhanapāla collectively.

“अथास्ति पश्चिमेनाष्टापदशैलमनतिदूरवर्ती वैताढ्यपर्वतस्य..... त्रिदशसिन्धुस्रोतसा परिगतः..... एकशृङ्गो नमसिखरी”⁵

refers to Ekaśṛṅga surrounded by the current of Gaṅgā, being to the west of Aṣṭāpada and not far away from the Vaitāḍhya.

According to Dr. B. C. Law Kālidāsa refers to Kailāśa in his Kumārasambhava.⁶ It is known to the Jains by the name of Aṣṭāpada mountain where the sons of Ṛṣabha and many sages attained perfection.⁷

1. TM. Vol. III p. 16.

2. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 363.

3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 378.

4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 251.

5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 69. दृष्टवानष्टापदाद्रिशिखरभास्वराकारम् दिव्यभायतनम्. TM Vol. II p. 319.

6. VIII. 24

7. HGAI p. 102.

Hence Ekaśṛṅga being to the west of Kailāśa and quite close to the Vaitāḍhya, being surrounded by Gaṅgā may be considered being not far away from the Himālayan range. It may rather be well within its fold.

The way to the Vaitāḍhya was rich in many streams of water very difficult to be waded through.¹ Having started off from Kāmarūpa Samaraketu reached Vijayārdha to the north offering homage to the Moon in the east. From Vijayārdha Samaraketu reached the Ekaśṛṅga that was to the west of Aṣṭāpada and situate to Vaitāḍhya. His exclamation.

“ब्रजामि वैताड्यम्, अनुसरन्मुमेव गजगमनमार्गम्, अन्वेषयामि तदुपान्तवर्तिषु ग्रामेषु नगरेष्वाश्रमपदेश काननेष्वापरेषु च संभाव्य मानतदवस्थिति रम्यस्थानेषुकुमारम्।”²

refers to Vaitāḍhya being quite close to Kāmarūpa where from Samaraketu started off to reach it and on the way wended his way through the forest and met Mitradhara, the brother of the king of Prāgyotiṣa (Kāmarūpa). Vaitāḍhya had a peak 'Caṇḍagahvara' by name where Harivāhana had been installed as supreme sovereign of the Vidyādhara.³ But at a latter stage Dhanapāla calls 'Caṇḍagahvara' the peak of the Vijayārdha mountain which means Vaitāḍhya and Vijayārdha belonged to the same range and Caṇḍagahvara formed a part and parcel of both these.⁴ Following on he says-

In Bhāratavarṣa, an island of the Jambūdvīpa, there is a mountain Ekaśṛṅga as well as Ratnakūṭa of apparent appellation with the movement of the chariot of the sun obstructed by the body of their peaks having their heights visible from afar, which implies Ekaśṛṅga and Ratnakūṭa belonging to the same range.⁵ And Ekaśṛṅga has been described as situated to the south of the great mountain Vijayārdha having the cries⁶ of hilarious peacocks resounding over it. Marching on Samaraketu reached 'gaganavallabha' a town being the forehead mark of the series of towns situated to the north and established on the Vaitāḍhya mountain,⁷ observing the forest falling intermediate, to the mountains Vaitāḍhya and Ekaśṛṅga.

1. दुःखोत्तरसल्लिगसंख्यनिम्नगाढ्ये वैताड्यवर्त्मनि। TM Vol. III p. 59.

2. TM Vol. III p. 58.

3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 113. देवोऽपि हरिवाहनश्चण्डगह्वरनाम्नि वैताड्य शिखरे खेचरैर्विहितमनुभूय राज्याभिषेकमायातो नातिबहुपरिच्छदः।

4. चण्डगह्वराख्यं विजयार्धगिरिशिखरम् etc. TM Sm. ed. p. 403.

5. Ibid. Sm. ed. pp. 207-08.

6. विजयार्धनगवरं दक्षिणेन क्षोणिधरमुद्धुरमयूरकेकमेकशृंगम्। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 408.

7. Ibid. Vol. III Commentary p. 133.

Samhāra has been named a sloppy peak (Prapāta Sānuh) of the peak of the Vidyāsiddhi known as Caṇḍagahvara.¹

The expression 'like the Vijayārdha mountain that was gorgeous with a triple series of ranges, the sanctuary or maṭha was beautiful with three storeys'² implies Vijayārdha being a range of triple series of hills. Of the two mountains Arbuda and Raivataka 'Arbuda' according to Dr. B. C. Law is a part of the Arāvalī range, but completely detached from it by a narrow valley in the south west, in the Sirohi State of Rajputana. It is known 'as Ābu' the rock island. The Arāvalī range runs across Rajputana in the west easterly direction and cuts the country into two halves, being closely connected with the Vindhyan range by the rocky ridges of southern Rajputana and central India,³ while Raivataka is the Mount Giranar near Jūnāgarh in Gujārāta situated beyond the Vindhyan ranges in the west in the centre of Kāṭhiwār Peninsula.⁴ According to V. S. Apte⁵ Raivataka is a mountain near Dvārikā, Māgha in his śiśupālavadha⁶ has described Raivataka as a part of the Vindhya. Arbuda is actually a mountain of the Pāriyātra range of Kulaparvatas.

Dhanapāla has also referred to 'Nīlagiri'⁷ hills, the range of the Malaya Kulaparvata which denotes the southern part of the western ghāts south of Kāverī comprising of the Dodabetta, Nīlgiri, Palni and cardamom and Malabar hills.⁸

वैतादयगिरिभराश्रयाः गमनचारिणो विद्याधराः ।⁹ may have a covert allusion to Girnar in Girinagara, but at the same time it may mean a town situated on the Vaitāṭhya mount which has been described at length by Dhanapāla as being rich in lakes and streams connected with the trees of Aḍṣṭapāra lake or lakes and streams connected with the trees whose other side was not visible. Harivāhana accompanied by Samaraketu saw that mountain that was, as it were, the turban wrap of the Jambūdvīpa, the measuring tape of the Bhāratavarṣa, the bridge construction of the ocean of the sky, the parting

1. चण्डगह्वराख्यविद्यासिद्धिशिखरस्य.... संहारो नाम सार्वकामिकः प्रपातः सानुः TM Sm. Ed. p. 398.

2. विजयार्धशैलमिव भालिकात्रयमनोहरम्। TM Vol. III. p. 107.

3. HGAI. p. 22.

4. Ibid. p. 22.

5. Skt. Eng. Dict. under Raivataka.

6. IV. 2.

7. अरण्यमहिषविषाणशिखरोत्खातनीलगिरिकूटाट्टहासिनीभिः - TM Vol. III. p. 129.

8. KSN p. 111.

9. TM Vol. III. p. 184.

line of the hair of the earth, the necklace of the northern direction; as if the ashes of the arm stave of Śiva spread during the tāṇḍava dance, fallen down in the form of a line, as if the spume of the milk ocean inundated during deluge standing in accordance with the low lands; as if the Current of Gaṅgā flown down at ease out of eagerness for beholding the heavens, as if it were the variant form of Śeṣa capable of supporting the burden of the whole earth; as if the arm of the milk ocean occupied by a bracelet having shining gems studded into it; as if the steady joint or ligature of the orb of the earth entered up to the root of the hades; as if a counterpart to Himavān (Himālaya) with surface of the earth held fast by its expansive table lands; as if it were the old group of clouds of deluge (Samvartakāmbuda) looking for the end of the aeon out of greed for quaffing the water clinging to the shores of the Eastern and the Western oceans; as if it derided Kailāśa swerved by the hands of Rāvaṇa by the shine of the sheen of its frame stealing the shine of the Moon; it was creating thousands of Ganges out of spite for the mountain of snow (i.e. the Himālaya) through the cluster of linns (springs) manifesting many spurts; it emitted out sighs, as it were, out of jealousy for the loftiness of Sumeru, by means of the breezes from the openings of the caverns, circumambiating the interior of the quarters; as if it were snubbing the Mandara; Like Śival it had the flow of river Gaṅgā issuing out of the forepart of its feet etc.² Vaitāḍhya deriding Kailāśa, being a counterpart to Himālaya, being a source of Gaṅgā, feeling jealous of Sumeru- all these go to establish its close association of Kailāśa, Himālaya and Sumeru which are a part and parcel of the Himālayan range.

Of the forests Dhanapāla has made mention of - Daṇḍaka³ abounding in tigers of many hues.

Daṇḍakāraṇya according to Pargitar, comprised all the forests from Bundelkhaṇḍa to the Kṛṣṇā. According to the Rāmāyaṇa (Uttara Kaṇḍa Ch. 81) it was situated between the Vindhya and the Śaivala⁴ mountains; a part of it was called Janasthāna. Rāmacandra lived here for a long time. According to the Uttara Rāmacarita (Act I) it was a place to the west of

1. Trivikrama-Mahābhārata Kośa p. 304

2. Ibid. Vol. III. pp. 137-140.

3. अखण्डदण्डकारण्यभाजः प्रचुरवर्णकाल्।

व्याघ्रादिवसयाग्नतो गद्यादव्यावर्तते जनः। TM. Intro. Verse 14. Vol. I. p. 20.

4. Southern boundary of the Daṇḍaka forest which may be identified with the hills near Mahābaleśvara in Surat district.

१) (सप्ताहद भस्मसाद्भूतम् यथाकं ब्रह्मवादिना, तस्यासौ दण्डविषमो विन्यस्यैवत्.... ततः प्रभृति काकुत्स्थ दण्डकारण्यमुच्यते।)

Janasthāna. Some hold this forest to be the same as Maharashtra including Nagapur. The Lalitavistara refers to the Daṇḍakavana in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. This forest remained burnt for many years. Even the grass did not grow here.¹ According to Dr. D. K. Gupta, Daṇḍaka is the forest track from the Vindhya range in the north to the Kṛṣṇā in the south, extending up to Chota Nagpur in East and Vidarbha in the west.²

There is reference to description of the 'aṭavībhū'³ of Kāmarūpa (Prāgyotiṣa) from where earlier Harivāhana and later on Samaraketu had marched on, the former having been carried by the divine tusker and latter carrying himself personally on his legs ultimately to reach Adṛṣṭapāra and from there to the place where both met each other to go ahead with the final mission of reunion with their beloveds. This aṭavī⁴ has been called 'Kāntāra'⁵ in earlier references which also coincides with the 'durgagiri Kāntāra'⁶ (in 230 above).

The report by Puṣkara the chief of the elephant corps refers to Vairiyamaḍaṇḍa, the elephant lord entering the huge forest that was difficult to wade through on account of its being mixed up with hard stony rocks.

“कठिनकर्करव्यतिकरकष्टसंचारमतिमहत्कान्तारम् प्रविष्टः।”⁷

The same forest called 'aṭavī' where Harivāhana accompanied by Samaraketu went to look for the tusker has been described as having spots which were even as well as uneven. The route to be traversed therein was screened by the foliage of trees rendered impenetrable by the peaks of the mountains marked by him.

“(मार्गभूमेः समविषमस्थानानि कथयता, महुश्चिह्नीकृतैरचलसानुभिसान्तरालतरुगहननिहनुतं यातव्यदेशमुपदर्शयता।)”⁸

The aṭavī or the forest was obviously situated within the jurisdiction of the Kāmarūpa from where Samaraketu anxious to search out Harivāhana

1. HGAI p. 46 B. C. Law. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar takes Daṇḍakāranya to the same as Maharashtra. Early History of the Deccan down to the Mohamedan conquest p. 11.

2. KSN. p. 112. cp. Ragh. V. XIX. 2; XII-9. XII. 42, XIII. 22.

3. दुर्गगिरिकान्तारमध्यवर्ती परिवृतो वनश्चापदशतैरन्यवैदेशिकपथिकसामान्यमवस्थाविशेषम्। TM Vol. III. p. 146.

4. TM Vol. III. pp. 62-66.

5. TM Vol. III. p. 38.

6. TM Vol. III. p. 146. LL. 2-3

7. TM III. p. 37. LL 7-8

8. TM Vol. III. p. 38 LL 5-6.

starts off with a mind to go to Vaitāḍhya (व्रजमि वैताड्यम् etc.)¹ and having reached the mountain Vijayārdha and started from here he moved on to the north and avoiding a following of his associates he moved on through a sylvan terrain² (कान्ताखर्त्तना) when the sun had just risen. Having stayed there for the day on the peak of a hill he slept in the hilly grotto for the night and at the end of the night getting up through the cries of the beasts he started moving through the sylvan terrain (गन्तुमटवीभुवा प्रावर्तत) wading through which he was seen by Mitradhara, the younger brother of the lord of Prāgjyotiṣa moving on the way come out to have a stroll in the forest at noon tide.³ Moved on from there he reached Ekaśṛṅga that was to the west of Aṣṭāpada (Kailāśa) not far away from Vaitāḍhya from where he saw the lake Adrṣṭapāra and following the neighing sound of the horse cavalcade reached a shrine and ultimately seeing Gandharvaka met Harivāhana who in company of Tilakamañjarī had been consecrated to the throne of the Vidyādhara as the paramount sovereign. Intending to go to Gaganavallabha, his capital, Harivāhana accompanied by Samaraketu saw the 'aṭavī' or the forest that lay between the Ekaśṛṅga and Vaitāḍhya mountains. Hence Vijayārdha fell within the territory of Kāmarūpa which had Ekaśṛṅga not away from it and Aṣṭāpada or Kailāśa having Ekaśṛṅga to its west. The forest lying between Ekaśṛṅga and Vaitāḍhya, therefore, lay in series not far away from the forest lying close to Kāmarūpa. This forest has been described as the stream of water in the form of pride having its current thick rolling on the surface of the earth of the overlord of the entire maṇḍala or circle of the northern land.⁴ It has also been described as the egress road of the northern ocean quiet at the end of the aeon, covered by many series of moss or Śaivala⁵ mountains (forming the southern boundary of Daṇḍaka forest, being identified with the hills near Mahābaleshwara in Satārā district). It has been described as glamorous with sylvan tracts deriding the peaks of the Nīlagiri also known as dardura belonging to the Malaya range.⁶

1. Cp. 210 above.

2. TM. Vol. III. P. 62.

3. विलिखितालघुपथश्च व्रजव्रजपराङ्मुखसमये वनविहारविनितेन मार्गवर्तिना प्राग्ज्योतिषेश्वरानुजेन मित्रधरनाम्ना समदृश्यत। TM. III, p. 66. LL. 1-2. also व्रजंश्च विजयार्धमूधराभिमुखमरण्यमध्यगतेन प्राग्ज्योतिषेश्वरा भ्रात्रा मित्रधरेण दृष्टो निरुद्धश्च। TM Sm ed. p. 388. KSN Dr. Gupta p. 112.

4. अवनिपीठपर्यस्तीरवप्रवाहां मदवारिवहिनीभिर्व सार्वभौमस्य (समस्तोत्तरमण्डलेश्वरस्य) TM Vol. III. p. 128. Commentary as well.

5. Ibid. p. 128. LL. 4-5

6. Ibid. III. 9.129. LL. 2-3

“एकशृंगवैतादयपर्वतान्तरालाटवी”¹

has a variant in-

“एकशृंगवैतादयशृंगिणो रन्तरालाटवी”²

in the smaller edition which seems to be an error like so many available in this old edition. Hence “एकशृंगिणो रन्तरालाटवीम्” seems to be a correct variant in the latter reference than the one seeming to be misspelled there. Apart from these three major forests referred to by Dhanapāla we find some more mentions made of groves and orchards of equally great prominence.

He has referred to the groves situated on the precincts of the huge lotus lakes beautiful with triple fold row of steps made of huge stone slabs splashed all over by the surges of water sweet and pellucid (or limpid) having the cool savour of Puṇḍra sugarcane, bearing forms of the orbs of the extents of Jambūdvīpa, surrounding the sixteen mountains known as Dadhimukha and others which now outlive the charms of the Nandana vana tree groves.³

अतिशयितनन्दनदुमवनेषु दधिमुखाभिधानमहाधराधरेन्द्रोडशकपरिक्षेपणानां जम्बूद्वीपपरिमाण-
परिमण्डलाकृतीनाम् पुण्ड्रेक्षुरसशिशिरसुरभिस्वच्छस्वादुसलिलकलोलोलास्फलितविशालमणिशिलासोपानपंक्ति-
त्रितयमणीयानाम् महापुष्करिणीनामुपान्तवर्तिषु विचित्रतरुकाननेषु।

It is very difficult to identify these groves as no correct identification of Dadhimukha and other ranges of fifteen mountains is either being given by the commentator nor do we find any parallels of these in Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata Kośas of Dr. Ramakumāra Roy. Even Dr. B. C. Law has referred to no such ranges in his historical Geography of Ancient India. Sanskrit English Dictionaries of Sir Monier William and V. S. Apte are also silent on this point. We can, however, trace the probable.

As is postulated by Dr. Ram Kumar Rai in his Mahābhārata. Kośa.

“To the south of Nilagiri (Dardura) and north of Niṣadha (Hindukush mountain to the north of Kabul river) there is a Jambū tree named Sudarśana which keeps its foliage ever green. It is a wish granting tree, sacred one and is a resort of the Siddhas and Cāraṇas. From this very point is derived the name Jambūdvīpa. This huge tree or the Royal tree has a height of eleven hundred yojanas which appears touching the heavens. When succulence gets saturated in these fruits they fall down voluntarily. The length of these fruits is regarded as two and a half thousands of āratnīs. These fruits fall with a

1. TM. Vol. III p. 133. L.4

2. Ibid. Sm. ED. p. 381. L. 3

3. Ibid. M. Vol. p. 116. LL. 5-7

musical sound and flow with golden fluids on the earth. The fluid collected from these fruits flows into streams and circumambulating Meru reaches the Uttarakuru varṣa (It is mentioned in the Vedic and later Brahmanical literature as a country situated somewhere north of Kashmir. It is mentioned in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (I. 16. 12) as the country of northern Kurus. Some call it a mythical region. The Kurudvīpa mentioned in the Dīpavaṇśa (p. 16) may be taken to be identified with Uttarakuru. Tidasapura was city of Uttarakuru according to the Vinaya commentary. The Lalitavistara (p. 19) refers to Uttarakuru as a Pratyanta dvīpa)¹. Having partaken of this fluid the people of that range become immortals. Thirst and old age does not pester them. From this Jambūnādī (river) the gold named Jambū is obtained which is an ornament of the gods. It is ruddy and shining like the cochineal insect (Indragopa)."²

Since Meru is Rudra Himālaya in Garhwal where Gaṅgā springs near Badarikāśrama and Uttarakuru was to the south of Nīlagiri (Dardura) and north of Meru (the Rudra Himālaya), the trees called Kṣīrīs giving milk that was naturally sweet, the sand there being gold producing, the seasons there being moderate whole the year long, we can identify these groves with pañcanadāranya of Daṇḍī extending from Nīlagiri to Hindukush and spreading all over the Rudra Himālaya in Garhwal, moving finally over to Punjab (Kashmir to Simla hills)³etc.

Nandana vana also named amarakānana⁴ has been referred to. It was a divine grove from where 200000 nymphs or celestial maidens had come to Bharata for welcoming his army at the invocation of Bhāradvāja. Rāvaṇa had destroyed it. It was full of trees that fructified whole the year long. When engaged in fight with Rāvaṇa and injured, Kubera had been brought to its grove.⁵

The outer garden named Mattakokila where Harivāhana accompanied by Samaraketu went for a stroll on one summer morning, has been described as clung to the shores of Sarayū.⁶

1. KSN. p. 11

2. Mhb. Kosa Part. p p.141

3. TM Vol. III. p. 11, Sm, ed. p. 421.

4. KSN p. 112

⁵ 5. Rām. Kośa p. 164.

6. सरयूतटसंनिमित्तकोकिलं नाम बाह्येध्यानमगच्छत्। TM Vol. II. p. 235. TM Vol. II. p. 288.

The creeper arbours where in Maithilī (Sītā) regaled her mind in company with Trijaṭā, situated in Lankā, have been referred to.¹

The alluvial groves having longing alleviated by Rāvaṇa lean through grief on account of refractoriness of Jānakī, with cool white sandal arbour welcomed by Kumbhakarna seated there in sleep, with their precincts rendered tawny by the golden shines of their frame by fawns roaming about born from the wombs of female antelopes belonging to the forests come there in association with the deer named Mārica, their progenitor, with the righteous reign of Bibhīṣaṇa manifested in them, by the ascetic princes residing in the proximate hermitages, undaunted and moving about on account of the ravages of the demons gone to a cease. There is a repetition of the reference to the forest contiguous to Lauhitya (Brahmaputra in Kāmarūpa) river from where it was citaramāya actually who actuated by the instigation of Gandharvaka, had assumed the garb of the divine elephant and taken Harivāhana away in order to make him a gift over to Tilakamañjarī.² There is also a reference to the groves on the skirts of Kāñcī as also to the Viśrānta (Praśānta) vairāśrama abounding in groves full of trees³ etc.

There is a reference to a 'dharmāraṇya' built by Surānanda, the minister (of Meghavāhana) abounding in bulbous roots and fruits of sweet taste available quite easily, with way farers and guests taking shelter therein.⁴

3. RIVERS AND LAKES

Of the rivers Dhanapāla has mentioned Sarayū which also occurs in Rāmāyaṇa,⁵ Bhāgavata Purāṇa,⁶ Mahābhārata,⁷ Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī,⁸

1. TM Vol. II. p. 288.

2. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 392. सः पुनरधुना मयैव गन्धर्वकप्रार्थितेन भर्तृदुहितुस्तिलकमञ्जर्याः प्राभूतं कर्तुमातद्विरदरूपेण लोहित्यतटपर्यन्ताटव्या विनिसृत्य शिविरादसिलतामात्रसहायो भयानकानेकसत्त्व संचारदुखतारमुत्तरदिगन्तकान्तारमाविशत्।

3. Ibid. Sm. ed. pp. 427. कांचीनगरीपरिसरारामे द्रविडेश्वरमुतादुःखदृश्यमानविश्रान्त (प्रशान्त वैराश्रम)पदेषु।

4. TM Vol. III. p. 33. LL. 5-6

5. Ādikāṇḍa or Bālakāṇḍa, Sarga XIV Uttarakāṇa, Sarga 123 verse 1.

6. V. 19. 18, IX 8. p. 637. 17; X. 79.9

7. Ādi parva. 169-170, p 215

8. VI. 4. 174.

Viṣṇusmṛti,¹ Yoginītantra,² Kālikāpurāṇa,³ Padmapurāṇa⁴ Raghuvaṃśa of Kālidāsa,⁵ Rgveda.⁶

According to Rāmāyaṇa king Daśaratha performed the Aśvamedha Yajña on the bank of this river. Many foremost Brahmins took part in it headed by Ṛṣyaśṛṅga Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa visited the confluence of the Sarayū and the Ganges.⁷ According to Milindapañha⁸ this river issued forth from the Himālaya. According to Rgveda Citraratha and Arṇa are said to have been defeated by the Turvaṣas and Yadus who crossed this river. It was Ghāgrā or Gogrā, a tributary of the Ganges, on which stood the city of Ayodhyā. it is the Sarabos of Ptolemy and is one of the five great rivers mentioned in early Buddhist texts. This river joins the Ganges in the district of Chapra Bihar. At the north east corner of the district of Bahraich it receives a tributary from the north east which goes by the name of Sarayū. Rāmāyaṇa places this river at a distance of half a yojana from the city of Ayodhyā.⁹

Dhanapāla mentions the town of appropriate appellation known as Ayodhyā in the Uttarakośālas¹⁰ which had association made on all sides by the river named Sarayū which had presented herself over to the Bhāgīrathī (Gaṅgā) in order to inquire after the account of ascent to the heavens of the sons of sāgara consumed by the fire of the ire of Kapila, which had her sides undeserted even for a moment by the royal swans as if they were the decrepit chamberlains bearing wands in the form of straight lotus stalks come down from the eastern ocean and had her surges over splashed owing to their contacts with the posteriors of the comely dames of Kośāla performing ablution therein.¹¹ He has also referred to Brāhmaṇas (Śrotriya)

1. 85. 32.

2. 2/5.

3. Ch. 24. 139.

4. Uttarakhaṇḍa vs. 35-38.

5. VIII. 95; IX. 20.; XIII. 60. 63; XIX. 40.

6. IV. 30. 18; X. 64. 9; V. 53. 9.

7. Rām Ādikāṇḍa Sarga 23 verse 5.

8. p. 114.

9. HGAI. B. C. Law pp. 142-43.

10. उत्तरकोशलेश्वयोध्यति यथार्थाभिधाना नगरी TM Vol. I. p. 55.

11. 'मज्जत्कोशलविलासिनीनितम्बास्फालनस्फारिततरंगया गृहीतसरलमृणालयष्टिभिः पूर्वार्णवावतीर्णैर्वृद्धकंचुकिभिरिव राजहंसैः क्षणमप्यमुक्तपार्श्वया कपिलकोपानलेन्धनीकृतसगरतनयस्वर्गवार्तामिव प्रष्टुं भागीरथीमुपस्थितया सरिता सरस्वाख्यया कृतपर्यन्तसख्या' TM Vol. I. p. 47. LL. 1-3

having hands sanctified by the leafy cups full of sheaves of darbha grass and leaves of sesame, starting off the shores of Sarayū in order to perform ablution with phials of emric juice and mustard oil carried by the followers.¹

At another place the shore of Sarayū has been called charming on account of its being situate to the garden associated with Śakrāvatāra² which according to Dr. B. S. Upadhyaya was a place a centre of political activity which included Śacitīrtha a holy place of pilgrimage situated on the shores of Gaṅgā quite close to Hastināpura.³ The outer garden Mattakokila has also been described as clinging to the shores of Sarayū.⁴ Gaṅgā⁵ has been referred to with variants such as Surāpagā,⁶ Bhāgīrathī,⁷ Amarāpagā,⁸ Tridaśasindhu,⁹ Jāhnavī,¹⁰ Vyomajāhnavī¹¹ Mandākinī,¹² Nākamandākinī,¹³ Ākāśajāhnavī,¹⁴ Tripathagā (Sindhu),¹⁵ Svargaṅgā,¹⁶ Gaganamandākinī,¹⁷ along with 'rasātala' tripathagā,¹⁸ also known as Bhogavatī.¹⁹

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1. अनुचरगृहीततैलामलंककतेषु प्रस्थितेषु स्नानाय सरयूतटानि तिलदर्भपत्रिकापूर्णपत्रपुटपवित्रपाणिषु श्रोत्रियेषु।
TM Vol. II. p. 166.
 2. शक्रवतारोद्यानसन्निधिरमणीये सरय्वाः परिसरे TM Vol. II. p. 226.
 3. Kālidāsa Kā Bhārata Part I. p. 123.
 4. सरयूतटसंगीमत्तकोकिगं नाम बाह्योद्यानम्। TM Vol. II. p. 225.
See also अदूरबहदगाधनौरसरयूवास्तीरपरिसरम्। Ibid. Vol. III. p. 236.
and अरतिविनोदस्थानभिव सागरविप्रयोगे सरय्वाः - Qualifying the Jalamandapa.
 5. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 83, Vol. II. p. 238, Vol. 87, Vol. III p. 87, Vol. I p. 91.
 6. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 83.
 7. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 47.
 8. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 202.
 9. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 69.
 10. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 21, also Jahnukanya Vol. III p. 76. Vol. III p. 138.
 11. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 372.
 12. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 147. Vol. III p. 137, Vol. III p. 143, Vol. III p. 71, Vol. III p. 79.
 13. Ibid. Vol. I. pp. 120, 110, Vol. II p. 165, Sm. ed. p. 360.
 14. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 237.
 15. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 140, TM Sm. ed. p. 421.
 16. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 175.
 17. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 183.
 18. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 320.
 19. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 93.

Amaranimnagā¹ is another variant for nākamandākinī. Bhāgīrathī according to Dr. B. C. Law is the same as the river Gaṅgā². This river is mentioned in the Harivaṁśa (I. 15) and in the Yoginītantra (2, 4, 128-29). It is so called because Bhagīratha brought this sacred river (Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa II 18. 42). A sacred spot called Hamsaprapatana lay to its east (Matsyapurāṇa 106. 32 Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa IV 12.44) According to the Vāyupurāṇa (77.93) it was fit for Śrāddha. It flows through Suhma in Bengal.³ According to Sena and Candra copper plates, the Bhāgīrathī is the Ganges.⁴ The Naihāti Copper plate of Ballālasena pointed out that the Bhāgīrathī was regarded as the Ganges and the queen mother performed a great religious ceremony at its banks on the occasion of the solar eclipse.⁵ The Govindapura Copper plate of Lakṣmaṇasena states that the Hooghly river was called Jāhnavī which flowed by the side of Betaḍ in the Howrah district.⁶

Dr. Law has treated⁷ Bhāgīrathī Gaṅgā, Mandākinī as a complete system known as Ganges system which includes the rivers of the Mid land (Madhyadeśa). The number of its tributaries, as known to the classical writers was nineteen.⁸ Though the Ganges and the Indus⁹ were known to them as the two largest rivers in India, the former was taken as the greater of the two. The Ganges is known by various other names such as Viṣṇupadī, Jāhnavī, Mandākinī, Bhāgīrathī etc. The Mahābhārata traces the sources of the Ganges to Bindusara. The Pāli works refer to the southern face of the Anottata lake as the source of the Ganges. According to modern Geographers the Bhāgīrathī first comes to light near Gangotrī in the territory of Garhwal. At Devaprāg it is joined on the left side by the Alaknandā. From Devaprāg the united stream is called the Ganges. Its descent by the Dehra Dun is rather rapid to Haridvār, also called the Gaṅgādvāra or the Gate of the Ganges. From Haridvār down to Bulandshahr the Ganges has a southerly course, after which it flows in a south-easterly direction up to

1. TM Vol. III. p. 155.

2. IIGAI p. 171.

3. Dhoyī's Pavanadūta V. 36.

4. Inscriptions of Bengal Vol. III p. 97.

5. Ibid. p. 74.

6. IIGAI pp. 252-53.

7. IIGAI p. 35-37.

8. MC Crindle Ancient India 136 ff.

9. See 285 above.

Prayāga (Allahabad) where it is jointed by the Yamunā. From Allahabad down to Rajmahal she has an easterly course, after which it follows again south easterly direction. The Alakanandā represents the upper course of the Ganges. The Mandākinī is one of the tributaries of the Alakanandā and it may be identified with the Kālīgaṅgā or Mandākinī rising in the mountains of Kedāra in Garhwal. The Ganges may be supposed to have assumed the name of the Gaṅgā-Bhāgīrathī from the point where it is met by the Mandākinī. The Ganges receives a tributary called Nuta just above Farrukhabad. Between Farrukhabad and Hardoi the Ganges receives another tributary called the Rāmagaṅgā. The Gomatī (modern Gumtī) joins the Ganges between Banaras and Ghazipur. The Dhutapāpā of the Paurāṇic fame was a tributary of the eastern Gomatī. The Tamasā or east Tons joins the Ganges to the west of Bālliā after flowing through Azamgarh. The Sarayū, a tributary of the Ganges, joins the Ganges in the district of Chaprā. The great historical river is now known as Ghargharā (Gogrā). Some unimportant tributaries join the Ghargharā in the Goṇḍā district flowing from the district of Bahraich. The little Gaṇḍaka joins the Ghargharā (Sarayū) on the western border of the district of Sārā. The ancient city of Ayodhyā stood on the Sarayū. The little Gaṇḍak also known as the Hiranyavati or Ajitrāvati flows through the district of Gorakhpura and falls into the Gogrā or Ghargharā (Sarayū). The Acirāvati, the great tributary of the Sarayū, flows through the districts of Bahraich, Goṇḍā and Basti and joins the Sarayū or Ghargharā west of Burhāj in the district of Gorakhpura. The Kakutthā was a tributary of the Hiranyavati or the little Gaṇḍak. The Gaṇḍakī (modern Gaṇḍak) is an upper tributary of the Ganges. The main stream of the Gaṇḍak flows into the Ganges between Sonpur in the Sārā district and Hazipur in the district of Muzaffarpur.

The Ganges in its lower course is known as the Bhāgīrathī Hooghly in West Bengal and the Padmā Meghnā in East Bengal. The Ganges enters Bengal between Rajmahal and Maida and bifurcates a little above Jangipur in the district of Murshidabad.

The Bhāgīrathī branch of the Ganges is met on the right side by the first tributary called Bansloi in the district of Murshidabad. The Ajayā, which is an important tributary, joins the Bhāgīrathī at Katwa in the district of Burdwan and forms a natural boundary between the districts of Burdwan and Birbhūm. The Bhāgīrathī in its lower course receives on the right side the well known tributary called the Damodar which flows into the Hooghly

in several streams in the district of Midnapore. The Damodar takes its rise in the hills near Bagodar in the district of Hazaribagh and flows through the districts of manbhum and Santhal Paraganas and then through the districts of Burdwan and Hooghly. The Rūpanārāyaṇa, another important tributary of the Bhāgīrathī branch of the Ganges, flows through the districts of Bankura, Hooghly is joined on the right side by the united flow of the haldi and Kashai. The Panar which is the first upper tributary of the main stream of the Ganges in Bengal, joins the Ganges below Nawabganj.

The Kaṁsavatī and Pūrṇabhava, are the two tributaries of the Panar in the district of Malda. The Ātrai (Atreyī) and the lesser Yamunā meet together in the district of Rājashāhi. These are also the tributaries of the Panar. At Goalkunda the Ganges receives the greater Yamunā which is nothing but the main steam of the Brahmaputra as it flows through East Bengal. The united stream is now known as Padmā. It joins the estuary of the Meghnā to the east of the Faridpur district. The Garāi issuing from the Gaṅgā above Pānsā in the district of Faridpur flows down under the name of the Madhumatī and reaches the Bay a little above Firojpur in the district of Backergunge under the name of the Haringhātā.

The Āriyālkhāl river, which is a distributary of the Ganges, issues from the right side of the Padmā, below the town of Faridpur and flows down into the Bay through the Mandaripur Sub-division of Faridpur and the district of Backergunge. The Āriyālkhāl and the Madhumatī are connected by a small river which flows from the former a little above the town of Madaripur and joins the latter a little above Gopalgunge in Madaripur sub-division. The lower course of the Padmā becomes known as the Kīrtināśā or destroyer of memorable works from the ravages wrought amongst the monuments and buildings of Rājā Rājavallabha at Rājnagar in the district of Faridpur.

Besides the Bhāgīrathī and Padmā, the water of the Ganges is carried to the sea through numerous other channels. The seaward end of the delta of the Ganges enclose the large swampy area covered with jungles called the Sundaravana. Mention of Sarasvatī is understandable only by pun from the sentence where in it has been postulated that in presence of Madirāvati, the chief consort of Meghavāhana, Sarasvatī (the goddess of speech) (and punningly the river) stood nowhere in point of purity (chastity in case of Madirāvati) when holding herself extremely turbid (the goddess of speech

on account of her obscene syllables and the river on account of its flowing through the muddy soils).¹

According to Dr. B. C. Law,²

The Sarasvatī and the Dr̥ṣadvatī are the two historical rivers of northern India that flow down independently without belonging to the Indus group. Manu locates the region of Brahmāvarta between these two sacred rivers. The Sarasvatī is described in the Milindapañha as a Himālayan river. It flows southwards through the Simla and Sirmur states forming a bulge. Manu applies the name of Vinasāna to the place where it disappears from view. The Taittirīya Saṃhitā,³ Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa,⁴ Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa,⁵ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,⁶ and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa⁷ mention this river. It is also mentioned in the Ṛgveda.⁸ This river is mentioned in the Viṣṇusmṛti.⁹ The Padmapurāṇa¹⁰ refers to the Gaṅgodbheda tīrtha (the same as Gaṅgādītīrtha of Dhanapāla),¹¹ which is the meeting place of this river with Ganges. The Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra,¹² Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra,¹³ Āśvalāyana śrauta sūtra,¹⁴ and Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta sūtra¹⁵ refer to the sacrifice held on the bank of this river as of great importance and sanctity. Kālidāsa mentions it in the Raghuvamśa¹⁶ and in his Meghadūta.¹⁷ The Yoginītantra (2/3; 2/5; 2/6) also mentions this river. In the Siddhānta Śīromaṇi the Sarasvatī is correctly described as a river which is visible in one place and invisible in

1. अधिकमलमात्मानं धारयन्ती शुचितया न कापि सरस्वती। TM Vol. I. p. 83.

2. IIGAI p. 143.

3. VII 2. 1. 4.

4. XXV. 10. 1.

5. XII. 2. 3.

6. I. 4. 1. 14.

7. II. 19. 1. 2.

8. RV. 1. 89.3; 164, 19.; II 41, 16; 30. 8; II. 54. 13; V. 42. 12; 43. 11; 46.2; V. 49.7; 50, 12, 52, 6; VII. 9. 5. 36. 6; 39.5; X. 17, 7; 30, 12; 131, 5; 184, 27.

9. 85. 27.

10. Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa Ch. 32 verse 105.

11. Tm Sm. ed. p. 371.

12. XII. 3, 20; XXIV 6. 22.

13. X. 15, 1; 18, 13, 19, 47.

14. XII 6, 2, 37. (IIGAI-pp. 236-237)

15. XIII. 29.

16. III. 9. pc. 68 GRNE. MLBD. Delhi.

17. Pūrvamegha 49. p. 33 Kālidāsa granthavali.

another. The river which still survives flows between the Śatadru and the Yamunā. It was known to the Vedic Āryans as a mighty river which flowed into the sea. The river issued forth from Himālayas. It rises in the hills of Sirmur in the Himālayan range, called the Śivālika and emerges into the plains at Ādbadrī in Ambala. It is considered sacred by the Hindus. According to the Mahābhārata¹ people offer Piṇḍas to their ancestors on the bank of this sacred river. There existed on its bank a forest sacred to Ambikā known as the Ambikāvana.²

Dhanapāla refers to 'Vaitarṇī' river having the current of its waters trumpet hued like the gush of gore.³

According to Monier Williams,⁴ it is the name of the Hindustyx i.e. the river that flows between the earth and the lower regions or the abode of the departed spirits presided over by yama, hot, fetid and filled with blood, hair and bones etc. There is also a sacred river in Kaliṅga or Orissa bearing the name Vaitarṇī.

Dr. B. C. Law⁵ has given details about the history of this river. He says This river rising among the hills in the north west of the Keonjhar state, flows first in a south westerly and then in an easterly direction, forming successively the boundaries between the Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj states and between Keonjhar and Cuttack. It enters the district of Cuttack near the village of Balipur and after flowing in a winding easterly course across the delta, where it marks the boundary line between Cuttack and Balasore, it joins its waters with the Brāhmaṇī and passing by Cāndbāli finds its way into the sea under the name of Dharma river. The principal branches thrown off from the right bank of the Vaitarṇī are cross streams connecting it with the Kharsua. According to Hindu tradition Kāma when marching to Ceylon to rescue his wife Sītā from the clutches of the ten-headed demon Rāvaṇa, halted on its back on the borders of Keonjhar. In commemoration of this event many people visit this river every January. This river which is mentioned in the Mahābhārata⁶ is situated in Kaliṅga. According to the Padma and Matsya Purāṇas, this sacred river is brought down to the world

1. Vanaparva 83.p. 571; 84. p. 574

2. Bhāgavata Purāṇa XI 34.2-17, p. 543 GPE 1961

3. अमृक्प्रवाहपाटल्या वैतरणीसरित्सलिलवेणिकयेव। TM Vol. I. p. 128. See Skt. English Dr. V.S. Apte.

4. Skt. Eng. Dict. Vaitarṇī.

5. TM Vol. I. p. 130. Vol. II p. 216.

6. Vanaparva Ch. 113, 85.6. p.516 GPE part I; Ādiparva 169.22, p.215

by Paraśurāma. The Padmapurāṇa (Ch. 21) refers to it as a holy river. The Jain literature mentions this river as Vaitariṇī. It is referred to in the Saṃyutta nikāya (I.21), where it is stated to be the river Yama (Yamassa vetaṇṇim). The Buddhist tradition therefore seems to support the Brahmanical tradition of the Vaitariṇī being the Yama's river.

Yamunā has been referred to by Dhanapāla variously as 'Kālindī'¹, Kālindatanaya,² Vaivasvatānujā³ and Kīnāśānujā⁴.

According to Dr. B. C. Law-⁵

This river is mentioned in the Ṛgveda,⁶ Atharvaveda,⁷ Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.⁸ It is known as Kalindakanyā because it takes its rise from the Kalindagiri.⁹ According to the Ṛgveda (VII. 18.19) the Tritsus and Sudās defeated their enemies on this river. The territory of the Tritsus lay between the Yamunā and the Sarasvatī on the east and the west respectively. According to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa¹⁰ and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa¹¹- The Bharartas are famed as victorious on the Yamunā. The Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇam,¹² Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra,¹³ Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra¹⁴ Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra¹⁵, Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra¹⁶, mention this river. Patañjali also mentions it in his Mahābhāṣya.¹⁷ The Yoginītantra¹⁸ and the Kālikāpurāṇa¹⁹ refer to it. This river also known as the Kālindī occurs in the

1. TM Vol. I. p. 73.

2. TM Vol. I. p. 138.

3. TM Vol. II. p. 262.

4. TM Sm. ed. p. 293.

5. HGAI pp. 160-161.

6. X. 75; V. 52. 17; VII 18. 19; X 75. 5.

7. IV 9. 10.

8. VIII 14. 4.

9. Ragh. V. VI 48.

10. VIII. 23.

11. XIII 5, 4. 11.

12. X. 4. 11. XXV 10. 24; 13. 4.

13. XIII. 29. 25, 33.

14. XXIV 6.10-36. Pp. 270-272

15. X. 19, 9, 10.

16. XII, 6. 28.

17. I I. 9. p. 436; I. 4. 2, p. 670.

18. (2-5, 139-140).

19. Ch. 15, 8.

Bhāgavata purāṇa¹ as well as in the Mahāvastu². Bāṇa in his Kādambarī³ also calls it the Kālindī because its water appears to be dark. It rises on the slopes of Bandarpunch, a peak situated on the watershed between the Yamunā and the Ganges. The shrine of Yamunotri stands at the base of the Bandarpunch. The first and great western tributary of the Ganges is the Yamunā proper, which takes its rise in the Himālayan range below Mount Kamet. It cuts a valley through the Śivālika range and Garhwal before it enters the plains of Northern India to flow South parallel to the Ganges from Mathurā downwards it follows a south eastern course till it meets the Ganges forming the famous confluence (Saṅgama) at Prayāga or Allahabad. In the district of Dehra Dun it receives two tributaries on the west side, the upper one of which is known as northern tons. Between Agra and Allahabad it is joined on the left side by four tributaries, called Carmanvatī (modern Chambal), Kālīsindhu, Vetravatī (modern Betwā), Ken and Payaṣṇī (modern Paisūnī). Many holy places are situated on this river. Śarabhaṅga, a disciple of Kāśyapa, was present at a great sacrifice held at a place between the Ganges and the Yamunā. The Yamunā is known to the Chinese as Yen-mok-na. It served as the boundary between Śūrasena and Kośāla and further down between Kośāla and Vamśa, Madurā, the Capital of Śūrasena and Kośāmbī, the Capital of Vamśa, standing on its right bank. The Yamunotri which is eight miles from Kursoli is considered to be the source of the river Yamunā. It is identified with the Greek Erannaboas (Hiraṇayavāha) or (Hiraṇayavāhu). Yamunā is one of the five great rivers mentioned in early Buddhist texts. It is modern Yamunā. The Skanda Purāṇa mentions the Vāyuvāhinī as a tributary of this river. Dhanapāla has mentioned a stream (Sarit) of shores fit to be strolled along, Śarāvatī by name, which had water of canals spreading on the skirts of many hard by villages.⁴

This stream is described as situated in the Janapadas visited by Harivāhana who had started off in order to have a look at maṇḍala of his personal charge, in company with Samaraketu etc. having got out of Sāketanagara. The subsidiary vassals abiding in those Janapadas amused

1. III. 4, 36; IV. 8, 43, VI 16, 1'6; VIII 4. 23; IX 4, 30; IX 4, 37, X 58, 22)

2. III. 201.

3. संकर्षणपटनीलच्छाययोपहसत इव गदाधरदेहच्छविमच्छेः कालिन्दीजलच्छदेरिव विरचितच्छदस्य। M.R. Kale pp. 62-63.

4.) असोवनेकनिकरग्रामपरिसरविसारिसारणिजला शरावती नाम किमपि सेव्यकूला सरित्। TM Vol. III. p. 33.

him by pointing out to him the location of an unscalable mountain (durgagiri) named Mandaraka, the sole resort of enemy kings incarcerated, with the city established over it surrounded by a thick circle of vellum, with the series of lofty peaks visible from afar and its grottoes abounding in herds of sylvan tuskers roving about undaunted; the lake made to be dug up by His Majesty (Meghavāhana) come there during the course of his conquest of the quarters. In times of yore; an agrahāra (a village granted to the poor Brāhmaṇas) cultivable enough to help them earn their livelihood) meant for the benefit of His majesty, the foremost among all the villages of all the maṇḍalas, donated by Queen Madirāvati on the occasion of the solar eclipse, having its boundaries measuring ten thousand ploughshares; a religious grove (Dharmāranya) built by Surānanda, the minister, having bulbous roots and fruits available quite easily etc.; the extremities of the border land of a mountain where Nitivarmā, the army in chief of the Northern region (Uttara diganta) had despatched to the city of Yama, the Lord of the Hūṇas, having resorted to the act of fighting; a stream having its shores miry with the shoals of overgrowing kuṁkuma plants, on the other side of which lay the bhukti of Yuvarāja Samaraketu and starting from that spot, to the west of it lay the group of towns and villages in its entirety made over to Kamalagupta as a means of subsistence. With the divisions of his Maṇḍala being pointed out to him (i.e. Harivāhana) from all sides, he reached the country known by the name Kāmarūpa charming with series of Puṇḍraka sugarcane plants.¹

In case the Śūrāvati river described by Dhanapāla refers to a river of the Madhyadeśa then it can be identified with Salalāvati in the south to the town of Śatakarṇika.² Sāketa being in northern India, Harivāhana started off from there and visiting the intervening Janapadas where he saw the durgagiri, Śārāvati, the lake, the Agrahāra, the Dharmāranya, the out precincts of a hilly region where the Hūṇa king was doomed by the Commander of the forces of the Northern direction from where moving across a stream he saw Aṅga and Kaliṅga in the east and ultimately reached Kāmarūpa. This proves the existence of Śārāvati in Northern India. The Majjhimadeśa according to B. C. Law had its boundaries extended in the east to the town of Kājaṅgala beyond which was the city of Mahāśāla in the south east to the river Salalāvati (Śārāvati) in the south the town of

1. TM Vol. III, pp. 33-34.

2. HGA I p. 14 (B. C. Law)

Śatakaṇṭika, in the west to the Brāhmaṇa district of Thūṇa (identified with Sthāṇviśvara)¹ Hence Madhyadeśa had its boundaries in Northern India as well. The identification of Śārāvati with river Salalāvatī is not an impossibility. The durgagiri Mandaraka having a town over its upper regions surrounded by a circular vellum, having its grottoes abounding in wild tuskers, being in itself a resort for the enemy kings imprisoned there in creates an impression on the mind to identify it with Śrīdurjayā, a fortification built by Ratnapāla (1000-1030) a contemporary of Bhoja of Dhārā whose court poet Dhanapāla was and a king of Kāmarūpa (Prāgjyotiṣa) who was succeeded by Indrapāla, the grandson (1030-1055), another contemporary of Bhoja, whose son Purandarpāla had died a crown prince. Śrīdurjayā is known from the anonymous inscriptions of these kings. The capital was on the south bank of Brahmaputra where as the grants were made to the Brāhmaṇas on the Uttarakūla or the northern bank. The fortified city was between modern Tezpur and Gauhāṭī.² But the Mandraka durgagiri being a resort of the imprisoned kings precludes the possibility of this identification to some extents. It might have been a hill fortification built by Meghavāhana to keep the imprisoned kings there in.³ Lauhitya has been eminently referred to by Dhanapāla. Having reached the country known as Kāmarūpa, greeted there by the king of Prayāgjyotiṣa Hariivāhana was offered homage to by the vassals of Uttarāpatha entreated by whom he had roved about the groves on the shores of Lauhitya.⁴ According to B. C. Law

“The Great tributary, which meets the Brahmaputra in the district of Sadiyā, is the Lohit or Lauhitya. It flows from north east above the Namkiu mountains as the united flow of four streams. This river formed the boundary of Prāgjyotiṣa or Gauhāṭī in Assam.”⁵ According to Dr. B. S. Upadhyaya “Lauhitya is Brahmaputra which according to Kālidāsa forms the western boundary of old Prāgjyotiṣa⁶ (Śrīdurjayā or modern Gauhāṭī).”

1. HGA I p. 14 (B. C. Law)

2. Early History of Kāmarūpa pp. 87-90 Rai K. L. Barua.

3. TM Sm. I: d. p. 349. कामरूपस्य मण्डलख्यातनामानमाश्रित्य लौहित्यनदम्।

Sm. ed. p. 357. लौहित्यमृगयावने। Sm. ed. p. 384. लौहित्यतटबन्धोजयस्कन्धावारस्य। Sm. ed. p. 394. लौहित्यतटवासिनः स्कन्धावारात्। Sm. ed. p. 392. लौहित्यतटपर्वताटव्याः। also Sm. ed. p. 374.

4. लौहित्योपकण्ठकाननेषु विचार- TM Vol. III. p. 35.

5. HGA I p. 275. Also pp. 37-38. The Brahmaputra Meghna System.

6. Kālidāsa Kā Bhārata Part I p. 44.

Of the Lakes Dhanapāla has mentioned Mānasa,¹ Padmahrada² and Adṛṣṭapāra³ as the main figures. He has also referred to three lakes associated with the three Kulācalas Vindhya, Śuktimat and Malaya known as Kesari, Mahāpadma⁴ Tigiñcha (तिगिञ्छ) and at another place to the huge lakes (mahāpuṣkariṇī) beautiful with triplefold rows of steps made of expansive bejewelled stone-slabs splashed by the surges of the sweet and limpid water redolent and cool with the juice of Puṇḍra sugarcane, having shapes circular like the dimensions of the Jambūdvīpa, encircling on all sides the sixteen huge mountains known as Dadhimukhas⁵ etc. Mānasa-Sarovara, according to B. C. Law is situated in the Kailāśa mountain in western Tibet.⁶ King Vibhrāja repaired this lake. The lotus grove associated with the Padma mahāhrada situated on the peak of the mountain of snow i.e. Himālaya has been alluded to explicitly by Dhanapāla.⁷ The huge lake named Padma has also been called the silvery mirror of the array of groves on the peak of the mountain of snow i.e., Himālaya.⁸ Padma and other lakes have been deemed situated on the crests of the Kulādris.⁹

Dr. B. C. Law quoting The Jambūdvīpapaṇṇati remarks that there were two lakes; each called Mahāpadmahrada, one connected with the western Himālayan range (Kṣudra Himavanta) and the other connected with the Eastern Himālayan range (Mahā Himavanta). The Himālayan lake called Chaddanta was 50 leagues long and 50 leagues broad. This lake contained white and red lotuses and white lilies and white esculent lilies.¹⁰

Of the two lakes connected with three Kulācalas Vindhya, Śuktimat and Malaya, Kesari, Mahāpadam may be the same as discussed above, Kulādrīcūlāhradas seems to be a repetition of the fact discussed above.

1. TM Vol. I. pp. 109, 111, 147, Vol. II p. 181, Vol. III p. 12, 143, Vol. I p. 81, Vol. III p. 75, Sm ed. p. 391, Vol. I p. 61, Vol. III p. 77, Sm. ed. p. 373.
2. TM Vol. I. p. 154, Vol. III p. 14, Sm. ed. p. 376. Sm. ed. p. 421.
3. TM Vol. III. pp. 69-75, Sm. ed. pp. 418, 412, 408, 394, 383.
4. कुलाचलत्रयमिव केसरीमहापत्रतिगिञ्छषितम् TM Vol. III. p. 74.
5. दधिमुखधिधानमहाधराधरेन्द्रषोडशकपरिक्षेपाणीनां जम्बूद्वीपप्रमाणपरिमण्डलाकृतीनां पुण्ड्रेक्षुरसशिखर-सुरभिस्वच्छस्वादुसलिलकल्लोलास्फालितविशालमणिशिलासोपानपंक्तित्रितयरमणीयानां महापुष्करिणीनाम् TM Vol. I. p. 116.
6. HIGAI p. 131.
7. हिमगिरिशिखर सग्नः पद्ममहाह्रदस्य पद्मवने। Vol. III p. 14.
8. तुहिनाचलशिखरवनराजिराजतदर्पणे..... पद्मानाम्नि महाह्रदे। TM Vol. I. p. 154.
9. पद्मादिषु कुलाद्रिचूलाह्रदेषु TM Sm. ed. p. 421.
10. HIGAI p. 98.

Adṛṣṭapāra has been described as the entrance door to the surface of the earth or the lower regions for the flow of Mandākinī¹, the water of tears of Himācala be-moaned in grief over his separation from Maināka, flown down as it were;² which implies that Adṛṣṭapāra was a lake from which Mandākinī (western Kālī or Kālīgāṅgā which rises in the mountains of Kedāra in Garhwal, being a tributary of Alakanandā) passed before descending down to the lower regions. Maināka (The Śivālīka range extending from Gaṅgā to Beas) separating from Himālaya leaving behind trails of water which flowing down from it (i.e. Himālaya) fancied as the tears again justify the point that Adṛṣṭapāra lake assumed its garb as a tributary of the Ganges which latter rising up and coming down the Himalayas left her offspring in the shape of the former (i.e. Adṛṣṭapāra).

Regarding the huge lakes having triplefold series of steps surrounding the mountains Dadhimukha and others numbering sixteen, it is very difficult to offer the precise identification as neither Moirer Williams, nor V. S. Apte, Dr. B. C. Law etc. have given any proper situation for these mountains.

4. REGIONS, STATES, CITES AND TIRTHAS

Dhanapāla has described Mahārāja Meghavāhana as the enjoyer of earth (or land) of half of the Bhāratavarṣa³ He has also mentioned the Southern precincts of the land of half of the Bhārata varṣa or the southern precincts of the half of the land of Bhārata.⁴ The entire range of the North and South⁵ The entire kingdom of the Northern range,⁶ Southern range governed by Cakrasena,⁷ Uttaragiri inhabited by human beings and consisting of villages and towns.⁸

Harivāhana has been called the sole scion (lit. Son) of Meghavāhana, the lord of the circle of the earth full of groves on the shores of the four oceans, whose foot twain was bade homage to by all the kings well known throughout the Bhāratavarṣa.⁹ He has also been shown performing deeds

1. रसातलप्रवेशद्वारमिव मन्दकिनीप्रवाहस्य। TM Vol. III. p. 71.
2. मैनाकवियोगदुःखरुदितहिमाचलाश्रुजलमिव संगलितम्। Ibid.
3. सुगृहीतनामा भरतवर्षार्धभुभुजो महाराजमेघवाहनस्य। TM Sm. ed. pp. 362.
4. दक्षिणं भारतवर्षे वसुधोपकण्ठम्। TM. Sm. ed. p. 381.
5. कृत्स्नमपि दक्षिणोत्तरश्रेणि TM. Sm. ed. p. 426.
6. सकलमप्युत्तरश्रेणिराज्य। TM Sm. ed. p. 426.
7. TM Sm. ed. p. 425, Vol. III p. 11.
8. Ibid. Sm ed. p. 417.
9. Ibid. Vol. Vol. III p. 3.

difficult of performance by the princes of the whole of Bhārata varṣa.¹ The princesses introduced by Pavanagati to Vicitravīrya come to attend the Yātrotsava were the daughters of the overlord of the Maṇḍalas inhabiting the middle portion and the southern half of the Bhāratavarṣa or inhabiting the middle, the half and the southern regions of the Bhāratakṣetra.² The town named Ayodhyā, the chief among all the towns, the lineal capital of the kings of Ikṣvāku race such as Raghu, Dilīpa, Daśaratha etc. has been called the Crest ornament of the whole of Bhāratavarṣa.³ Harivāhana has again been called the first son of Meghavāhana, the king of command fit to be obeyed even by the sire of (Malayasundarī), the enjoyer of the earth of the entire Bhāratavarṣa.⁴ All these go to demarcate the boundaries of the whole of Bhāratavarṣa lying under the sceptre of Meghavāhana who held sway over the entire Northern and the Southern ranges. 'Bhāratavarṣa ārdabhūbhuj' creates a confusion. 'Sakalasyāpi' may be construed as the Bhāratavarṣa accompanied by her digits or the component parts. 'Aśeṣa' and 'niśeṣa' may be hyperbolic suffixes. But a close study of the whole of Tilakamañjarī makes it clear that a Dharamavijayī or a Righteous conqueror as Meghavāhana was, he had first uprooted and then reinstated during the course of his digvijaya, the kings of the southern, northern, central and even eastern regions (kāmarūpa, Aṅga, Kālīṅga etc.) and certainly held sway over almost whole of the Land of Bharata, which had the Northern and Southern parts for her chief sub division which according to Dr. D. K. Gupta was called Āryavartta in the times of Kālidāsa as well as Daṇḍin.⁵ Dhanapāla has not mentioned Āryavartta specifically. He has, however, mentioned Airāvarta along with Bhārata at two places in the later portions of the old text which compared with certain portions of the newly constructed text having a commentary, shows many contradictions consequent upon scribal errors. This Airāvarta maṇḍala of Dr. B. C. Law is recognised as belonging to the Southern and Eastern India and believed to have been included in the Patodāviṣaya and identified with Ratāgarh in the Bānki Police Station of the Cuttack⁶ district. In case this be a scribal error for Āryavartta, we may presume its mention as such which included the northern half and Dakṣiṇāpatha, the Southern half, the line of demarcation being drawn by

1. TM Vol. III p. 14.

2. भारतक्षेत्रदक्षिणार्धमध्यमखण्डवासिना मण्डलतीनाभात्मजाः - TM Vol. III p. 187.

3. सकलस्यापि भारतवर्षस्य चूडालंकारभूता गोत्रराजधानी रघुदिलीपदशरथप्रभृतीनां नराधिपानामयोध्योभिधाना प्रधानभूता सर्वनगरीणाम् TM Vol. I. p. 94.

4. TM Sm. cd. 356.

5. KSN p. 115.

6. HGAJ pp. 164, 242.

Narmadā on western side and by the Mekala range and Suvarṇarekhā river on the eastern side.¹

According to Dr. Law, Āryāvartta to which Patañjali refers in his Mahābhāṣya² is described in the Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras to have extended from the region where the river Sarasvatī disappears in the west, to the Black forest in the east and from the Himālayas in the north to the Pāripātra in the south. Almost all the Brahmanical sources give a description of Madhyadeśa or Āryavartta, the most important division of India. The middle country was the cradle on which the Brahmanical aryaṇas or the Buddhist staged the entire drama of their career. The five divisions, as indicated in the Bhuvanakośa section of the Purāṇas, are identical with those given in the Kāvyaṁīmāṁsā. पूर्वापरयोः समुद्रयोर्हिमवद्विन्ध्ययोश्चान्तरमार्यावर्तः,³ They are as follows:-

- (a) Madhyadeśa (Middle country);
- (b) Udīcyā or Uttarāpatha (Northern country);
- (c) Prācyā (Eastern India);
- (d) Dakṣiṇāpatha (Deccan); and
- (e) Āparānta (Western India).⁴

Dhanapāla has mentioned -

Dakṣiṇrārdha and Madhyamakhaṇḍas of Bhāratakṣetra,⁵ Uttarāpatha,⁶ Dakṣiṇāpatha or Dākṣiṇātya.⁷ Prācyā can be understood by his reference to Meghavāhana's sway over kāmārūpa, Aṅga, Kaliṅga.⁸ The western part of India stands alluded to in his mention of Saurāṣṭramāṇḍala.⁹ काश्मीरादिमण्डलप्रतिबद्धैः प्रधाननगर भस्मै रूपं तं कुमारभुक्तावाखिलमुत्तरापथम्।

1. KSN p. 115.

2. II.4.10. p. 537. Mahābhāṣya part I MLBD, 1967— कः पुनरार्यावर्तः प्रमादशान्प्रत्यक्कालकवनादक्षिणेन हिमवन्तमुतरेण पारियात्रम्

3. XVII, p. 93. L.17 Edited by R.A. Shastri and revised by K.S. Rama Swami Shastri Siromani, O.I.B. 1934.

4. IJGAI p. 13.

5. Cp. 369 above.

6. TM Vol. p. 85, Vol. II pp. 229, 251, Sm. ed. p. 343. Vol. II p. 224, Sm. ed. p. 379, Vol. II p. 190. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar identified Dakṣiṇāpatha with Maharashtra. Early History of the Deccan down to the Mohamedan conquest p. 10.

7. TM Vol. III p. 15.

8. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 33-34, 186.

9. Ibid. Vol. III p. 186.

Uttarāpatha of Dhanapāla includes Kāśmīra and other regions.¹ Dakṣiṇāpatha comprised of Kāñcīmaṇḍala the principality of Kusumaśekhara.² Dakṣiṇāpatha as described by Daṇḍin was divided into four parts Viz. Vidarbha, Āparānta, Draviḍa and Kośala Kalinga³. Dhanapāla has mentioned Draviḍadeśa,⁴ Draviḍa maṇḍala⁵ and Dravideśvara.⁶ Kusumaśekhara has been called 'Draviḍa maṇḍalā dhipati' which implies Dakṣiṇāpatha as identical with it and the word maṇḍala may even imply the inclusion of Vidarbha, āparānta and Kalinga Kośala. But Vajrāyudha desirous of uprooting Kusumaśekhara the crest jewel of the heads of enemy kings, started off facing the Kāñcī maṇḍala, from Kuṇḍinapura⁷ (modern Kundanpur, about 64 Kms. east of Amraoti, the capital of Vidarbha, modern Berar and old Niṣadha)⁸ makes it clear that Kāñcī maṇḍala or Dakṣiṇāpatha had Vidarbha out of its jurisdiction. Draviḍa,⁹ however, coincides with Dakṣiṇāpatha. Kośala referred to in line with Kalinga, Baṅga, Aṅga and Kulūta definitely is different from the uttarakośala of Meghavāhana and must be the Kośala Kalinga¹⁰ or Kalinga Kośala¹¹ of Dr. D. K. Gupta. According to Dr. Law the whole tract of land lying to the south of the Ganges and to the north of Godāvari¹² was called Dakṣiṇāpatha.

According to Kāvya-mīmāṃsā (XVII. p. 94 --पृथूदकात्परत उत्तरापथः) Uttarāpatha lay to the western side of Pṛthūdaka¹³ (modern Pehowa in Haryana). According to Pāli literature it signified the entire northern India from Aṅga in the east to Gāndhāra in the north west and from the Himālaya in the north to the Vindhya in the south. Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa in his Harṣacarita (HC, V.) seems to include within Uttarāpatha the western part of the Uttarapradeśa the Punjab and the North western Frontier Provinces of India

1. TM Vol. II p. 232.

2. *Ibid.* Vol. II p. 193.

3. KSN p. 119.

4. *Ibid.* Sm. ed. p. 325.

5. *Ibid.* Sm. ed. p. 321.

6. *Ibid.* Sm. ed. p. 427.

7. *Ibid.* Vol. II p. 193.

8. KSN p. 120.

9. *Ibid.* Sm. ed. p. 421, 393, 365, 361, Vol. II p. 220, Vol. III p. 174, Vol. III p. 175.

10. Kālidāsa Special Number p. 119.

11. *Ibid.* p. 116.

12. HGAI p. 177.

13. HGAI p. 14

and Pakistan.¹ Since Dhanapāla is a close pupil of Bāṇa, we can easily presume that in defining Uttarāpatha he seems to point out to Bāṇa's description. Madhyamakhaṇḍa of Bhāratakṣetra according to Dr. Law signifies the whole of Gangetic provinces from Thanesvar to the head of the Delta and from the Himalayan mountain to the banks of the Narmadā.² Dhanapāla's reference to Pratāpaśīla reigning in Kuśasthala (Gādhipura, Mahodaya, Kanauj or Kānyakubja)³ refers to the Madhyadeśa. Magadha⁴ having Kusumapura for its capital and Suraketu as its ruler, also known as Kīkaṭa⁵ in R̥gveda, III,53-54, कि ते कृष्णन्ति कीकेषु मावो Pāda II Atharvaveda V. 22-14 p. 100 Also C.P. Kōkata on page 107 Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval Institute Dr. D.C. Sircar,⁶ (referred to as looters and barbarians abiding near Sīmhalā by Dhanapāla) refers to the Eastern part of India in line with Kaliṅga, Aṅga, Vaṅga etc.

Raivataka⁷ mountain (Girnar or Junagarh in Gujarat Saurāṣṭra) refers to Western part of the country. Of the Janapadas. Dhanapāla has mentioned Uttarakośala,⁸ Pūrvāparavideha,⁹ Kaliṅga,¹⁰ Baṅga,¹¹ Aṅga,¹² Pāñcāla,¹³ Magadha,¹⁴ Saurāṣṭra,¹⁵ Gurjara,¹⁶ Lāṭa,¹⁷ Kuntala¹⁸ Kerala,¹⁹ Sindhu,²⁰ Kaṇṇāṭa,²¹ Kāñcīmaṇḍala,²² Kāmarūpa, Maṇḍala,²³ Prāgyotiṣa,²⁴

1. HGAI. p. 15.

2. Ibid. p. 16.

3. Ibid. p. 109, TM Vol. III p. 185.

4. Ibid. Vol. III p. 185.

5. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 270, 298.

6. RV III 53. 14.

7. TM Vol. III p. 186.

8. Ibid. Vol. I pp. 55, 47, Vol. III pp. 30, 50, Sm. ed. pp. 243, 395, 399, 420, 426.

9. Ibid. Sm. ed. pp. 412, 428.

10. Ibid. Vol. II p. 245, Vol. III p. 186.

11. Ibid. Vol. III p. 186.

12. Ibid. Vol. III p. 186, 232, Sm. ed. 426.

13. TM Vol. III p. 105.

14. TM Vol. III p. 185.

15. TM Vol. III p. 186.

16. TM Intro., verse 39, p. 33.

17. TM Vol. III p. 71.

18. TM Vol. III p. 70, 79.

19. TM Vol. III pp. 71, 41, Vol. I p. 85.

20. TM Vol. III p. 71.

21. TM Vol. III p. 286.

22. TM Vol. III p. 193.

23. TM Vol. III p. 34, Sm. ed. 349.

24. TM Vol. III p. 66, Sm. ed. 388.

Kāśmīra,¹ Kulūta,² Strīrājya maṇḍala³ etc. Of the towns or cities he has mentioned Ayodhyā⁴ also known as Sāketa,⁵ Kāñcī⁶ Kuṇḍinapura⁷ Kusumapura,⁸ Kuśasthala,⁹ Rathanūpuracakravāla, Gaganvallabha,¹⁰ Vaijayantī,¹¹ Puṣkarāvātī,¹² Rativiśālā,¹³ Campā,¹⁴ Raṅgaśālā,¹⁵ Lankā¹⁶ Alakā,¹⁷ Maṇipura,¹⁸ and Saṁkāśya¹⁹ of the Tīrthas only Śākṛāvatāra²⁰ has been referred to specifically alongwith²¹ Gaṅgādītīrtha, and those forming the chief component parts of the Jambūdvīpa. Avanti has been mentioned as well.²²

According to Dr. B. C. Law-

Uttara-Kośala has been identified with Ayodhyā. In the Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā is mentioned as the earlier capital of Kośala and Śrāvastī as its later capital. In later times North Kośala came to be known as Śrāvastī in order to distinguish it from South Kośala. Hiuen Tsang called North Kośala by the name of Śrāvastī, which was about 600 li in circuit. There were many Buddhist monasteries in ruins. The people were honest in their ways and

1. TM Vol. II p. 232, Vol. III p. 88.

2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 186.

3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 372.

4. Vol. III pp. 30, 32, 49, 58, Vol. I 106, Vol. III. 23, Sm. ed. p. 378, Vol. p. 55, 94, 107, Vol. II p. 291, Sm. ed. pp. 357, 391, 386, 411, 412, 378.

5. Vol. III pp. 30, 32, 49, 58, Vol. I 106, Vol. III. 23, Sm. ed. p. 378, Vol. p. 55, 94, 107, Vol. II p. 291, Sm. ed. pp. 357, 391, 386, 411, 412, 378.

6. TM Vol. III pp. 279, 331, 339, 347, 338, 343, 377, 397, 378, 427, 428, 424, Sm. ed. Vol. III p. 15, Vol. 195, 185, 196, 194, Vol. III p. 16.

7. TM Vol. II p. 193.

8. TM Vol. III p. 185.

9. TM Sm. ed. p. 366, Vol. III p. 23. 10.

10. TM Sm. ed. p. 401 Vol. III p. 133.

11. TM Vol. III p. 16m Sm. ed. p. 342.

12. TM Sm. ed. p. 407.

13. TM Vol. I p. 117.

14. TM Sm. ed. p. 424.

15. TM Vol. II pp. 250, 275.

16. TM Vol. I pp. 56, 48, Vol. III p. 170, Vol. II p. 289 286, 291.

17. TM Vol. I pp. 85, 56, Vol. II. pp. 291 (Kuberapuri) Vol. II p. 323.

18. TM Vol. II p. 274.

19. TM Introductory verse 51 p. 40.

20. TM Sm. pp. 364, 405, Vol. II p. 226, Vol. I pp. 103-104, 107, Vol. II p. 175, Vol. I pp. 125, 156, Vol. II p. 224.

21. TM. Sm. ed. p. 371.

22. TM Vol. I p. 103. TM. Sm. Ed. P. 279. L.19. I.5-5. P. 23 I.13-26. P. 29 II.10.37 p. 97. IV. 40.22 VII. P. 332 p. 107.17. p. 707).

were fond of good work. This city was stocked with good crops and enjoyed an equable climate. Uttara Kośala was the kingdom of Raghu and his successors.¹ It was called Kośala by Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvamśa*². The northern frontier of Kośala must have been in the hills in what is now Nepal; its southern boundary was the Ganges and its eastern boundary was the eastern limit of the Śākya territory. The Kośalas were the ruling clan in the kingdom whose capital was Śrāvastī.

In an earlier context Dr. Law has remarked that the ancient Kośala kingdom was divided into two divisions, the river Sarayū serving as the wedge between the two; that to the north called the Uttarakośala and the one to the south was called Dakṣiṇa Kośala. The capital cities of Kośala were Śrāvastī and Sāketa. According to the Epics and some Buddhist works Ayodhyā seems to have been its earliest capital and Sāketa the next. In the Buddha's time Ayodhyā became an unimportant town, but Sāketa and Śrāvastī were two of the six great cities of India. Some think that Sāketa and Ayodhyā³ were identical.⁴

Dhanapāla has referred to Ayodhyā a town of appropriate appellation, in the Uttar Kośalas, where association of the precincts was made by the stream named Sarayū.⁵

He also refers to it as the town chief among all the towns, the lineal capital of kings such as Raghu, Dalīpa, Daśartha and others, the crest jewel of the whole of Bhāratavarṣa.⁶

In most of the later references Dhanapāla has substituted the word Sāketa for Ayodhyā proving thereby the fact that he deems the two names identical meant for one and the same city. He has invariably alternated the words Ayodhyā and Sāketa while referring to the Capital of Meghavāhana as for example-

“शक्रावतारचैत्यागारपरिचिताय साकेतनगराधिपतये”⁷

1. Ragh. V. V. 31; XIII 61, 71; XIV 29; XVI 11-29; XVII 30.

2. IV 70; IX 17.

3. Ragh. XIII. 61. P. 421. XIV. 29. P. 438. XVI. 11-29. pp. 498-505 GRNE MLBD, 1971

4. HGAI pp. 52-53.

5. सरिता सरयवाख्यया कृतपर्यन्तसख्या... उत्तरकोशलेष्वयोध्येति यथार्थाभिधाना नगरी। TM pp. 4, 55 Vol. 1.

6. सकलस्यापि भारतवर्षस्य चूडालंकारभूता गोत्रराजधानी रघुदिलीपदशरथप्रभृतीनां नराधिपानामयोध्याभिधाना पुरी प्रधानभूता सर्वनगरीणाम्। TM Vol. I p. 194.

7. TM Sm. ed. p. 411.

“नस्यैव साकेतनरपतेर्मैघवाहनस्य”¹

“सरयूतटासङ्गि मत्तकोकिलं नाम बाह्योद्यानमाच्छत्”²

along with

“तदा विमुच्य मत्तकोकिलोपवनमध्यमयोध्यानगर्युः”³

also make it clear that Meghavāhana having Ayodhyā for his capital was also the overlord of Sāketa and Mattakoila, the outer garden was clinging to the river Sarayū and belonged to Ayodhyā.

“वव भूमि गोचरस्य निकेतनं साकेतनगरं”⁴

referring to Harivāhana as the resident of Sāketa.

“विधुरीभूतमनसः कोशलधिप सुतस्य”⁵

referring to Harivāhana feeling distressed at heart on the inception of the rainy season along with-

“पंकपटलाविलेषु साकेतपुरपरिसरेषु.... खण्डितय दृच्छाविहारकौतुकस्य”⁶

also mentioning the lack of gaiety on the face of Harivāhana even when he roved about the out precincts of Sāketa turbid with the patches of mire;

“अद्यैव कमलगुप्तं पुरस्कृत्य यात साकेतम्”⁷

referring to Samaraketu's admonition to his followers on their failure to trace Harivāhana, asking them to get back to Sāketa;

“नापि कुमारेण सह निर्गत्य सांप्रतमेकाकिना प्रविश्य साकेतमात्मजप्रवास वार्ताश्रवणविस्तवस्य विलपतो देवस्य मेघवाहनस्य मुखं दर्शयितव्यम्”⁸

referring to Samaraketu's self remonstrance in keeping away from the idea of getting back to Sāketa without the company of Harivāhana and thereby tormenting the heart of Meghavāhana anxious to see the face and obtain the news about his son etc. and others amply corroborate the statement made above that Dhanapāla hardly discerns a distinction between the two viz. Sāketa and Ayodhyā. Dr. Viśuddhānanda Pāṭhaka in his “History of Kōśala up to the rise of the Mauryas” has affirmed the view that

1. TM Sm. ed. p. 412.

2. Ibid. Vol. II p. 235.

3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 378.

4. Ibid. Vol. III p. 23.

5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 30.

6. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 30-31.

7. Ibid. Vol. III p. 49.

8. Ibid. Vol. III p. 158.

there were no two Kośalas and refuted the opinion of different scholars as under:-¹

“Certain scholars believe that there were two Kośalas in North India itself. The Primary source of their belief is Avadānaśataka, which refers to a war between the kings of the two Kośalas north and south and suggest that the river Sarayū formed the dividing line between the two territories. According to them the two regions were called separately as Uttara Kośala and Dakṣiṇa Kośala. According to Cunningham the northern portion was called ‘Uttara Kośala’ and that to the south “Banaodha”. He further divided the two portions into separate sub-divisions. The real crux of the problem, however, lies in working out the details. The believers in the theory of two Kośalas in the north describe the river Sarayū i.e. Ghāgrā as the boundary line between the two divisions but at the same time they say that the capitals of Uttara and Dakṣiṇa Kośala were Śrāvastī and Kuśāvati respectively.² This, however, is the weakest point in their argument. As far Śrāvastī is concerned, it was undoubtedly the third and the last capital of Uttara Kośala. But what about Kuśāvati? If it is placed in the northern part of India, it can be identified only with the modern town of Kasaya, in the Deoria district of Uttara Pradesh, 37 miles east of Gorakhpur city. Kasaya has been distinguished as Kuśinārā in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the Dīghanikāya and is named Kuśāvati, the ancient capital of king Mahāsudassana in the Mahāsudassana Sutta. Then how can it be said to have existed to the south of Sarayū, the so called dividing line between the two Kośalas? Its present site Kasaya or Kuśinagara is far north of Sarayū and east of Śrāvastī. The two Kośalas then would not be the northern and southern ones. Rather one would be in the west with Śrāvastī as its capital and the other would fall in the east with Kuśāvati or Kusāvati i.e. Kasayā as its capital. The distinction becomes, it is evident, completely wrong and to accept the two portions as falling west and east of each other would be baseless.

That Kośala came to be later known as Uttara Kośala and was a single entity in the north of India having no internal divisions is proved from other independent reference. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa calls it both as Uttara Kośala and Kośala and points out to its single character. The Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa makes it perfectly clear that Kośala extended (Niviṣṭah) on both the sides of the river Sarayū. Kālidāsa states that Dilīpa was the sovereign of Uttara Kośala. (Raghuvamśa III 5, p.66 GRNE उत्तरकोशलेश्वरः) The region meant is the

1. History of Kośala up to the rise of the Mauryas pp 43-46.

2. HGA I pp. 52-53. See 44c above.

whole of the Kośala Mahājanapada, since there is no ground to contend that any other ruler in any part of it shared the monarchy with him.

In the days of Rāma, no doubt the great kingdom of Kośala was divided into many small principalities. Not only that the new conquests, which were made for the sons of Lakṣmaṇa,¹ were established under new ruler-ships under Aṅgada and Candraketu with Aṅgadīyā and Candracakrā respectively as their capitals but even the paternal kingdom was also parcelled out by Rāma between Kuśa and Lava. Kuśa ruled from Kuśāvati, modern Kasaya in the Deoria district of Uttara Pradesh, for sometimes, but returned (Raghuvamśa Canto XVI) soon to the hereditary capital Ayodhyā, which he had forsaken. Lava ruled from Śrāvastī. Despite this double monarchy, however, Lava seems to have accepted the suzerainty of the central Kośalan authority of Ayodhyā in which the descendants and the princes of Aṅgadīyā and Candracakrā perhaps followed his lead. The Kośala Janapada remained intact as a geographical unit and double monarchy was later on ended by Divākara, a king of Śrāvastī line, who conquered Ayodhyā. Even with the emergence of the Śākya gaṇa of Kapilavastu, its geographical entity or political supremacy was not violated. The Śākyas accepted themselves to belong to Kośala itself. In the Buddhist days, however, Śrāvastī had supplanted Ayodhyā as the capital of the kingdom and the latter had lost its political status.

In conclusion it can be said that Kośala Mahājanapada situated as it was in the north-east region of India, was geographically speaking, one single unit forever and not divided by the river Sarayū into Northern and Southern parts at any time. The myth of its being divided into two is the result of an incorrect and confused reading of the relevant texts. It came to be known as Uttara Kośala quite later in order to distinguish it from the Dakṣiṇa Kośala, which stood on the southern side of the Vindhyas and is now known as Mahā Kośala. This distinction of North and South Kośala is unknown to both Vedic and Buddhist literature.

In Light of these views of Dr. V. S. Pathak, the Kośala referred to by Dhanapāla on page 186 (Vol. III) along with Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Aṅga and Kulūta, whose princesses came to bid homage to Vicitravīrya, the Lord of Vaijayantī, who on his own part was a subsidiary vassal and ally of Meghavāhana, must be identified with the Mahā Kośala lying on the southern side of the Vindhyas where a different line of kings descendants of the brothers of Rāma might have been ruling and Madanalekhā may be their daughter. Apart from this Dhanapāla has baptised Kośala as Uttara Kośala

only in the beginning and mentioned it as Kośāla alone in expressions such as-

“कोशलेन्द्रकुलचन्द्र,¹ कोशलाधिपसुतः,² कोशलेश्वरसुतः,³ कोशलाधिपतिना,⁴ कोशलाधिपसुतस्य,⁵ कोशलेन्द्रस्य,⁶ कोशलविलासिनी”⁷

and others. To presume Madanalekhā as a daughter of Meghavāhana seems untenable. In that case Kośāla lined with Kaliṅga, Aṅga, Vaṅga would be the same as Uttara Kośāla which is distinct from Mahā Kośāla. Dr. V. S. Pāṭhaka has refuted the theory of two sub-divisions of Uttara Kośāla but has retained the existence of a Mahā Kośāla to the south of Vindhya. Hence Uttara Kośāla also known in brief as Kośāla and Kośāla (Mahā Kośāla) as two entities are tenable.

Pūrvāpara videha

Dhanapāla has referred to Eastern and Western Videhas. (TM Em ed.p. 412, P.428) According to Dr. Law The Vajjis (or Vrijis) were included into the eight confederate clans (aṭṭha Kulakā) among whom the Videhans, the Licchavīs and the Vajjis themselves became famous.⁸ He has referred to ‘Pubba Videha’ having been conquered by a Cakravatī king of Jambūdvīpa, named Māndhātā, along with Aparagoyāna and Uttarakuru.⁹ According to Dr. D. K. Gupta, Videha, the Tīrabhukti of the Guptas, corresponds to the north western part of Bihar with a portion of Nepal valley where modern Janakapura, North of Darbhāṅgā, represents its old capital Mithilā¹⁰ According to V. S. Apte, Videha is the name of a country lying to the north east of Magadha. its capital Mithilā is the same as Janakapura in Nepāla north of Madhubani. Videha must have covered in ancient times, besides a portion of Nepāla, all such places as Sītāmādhī, Sītākunḍa or the northern parts of the old district of Tirhut and the north western portion of Campāraṇa.¹¹

1. TM Vol. III p. 47.

2. TM Sm. ed. p. 420.

3. TM Sm. ed. p. 426.

4. TM Sm. ed. p. 399. Vol. II p. 234, Sm. ed. p. 395.

5. TM Vol. III p. 30.

6. TM Vol. III p. 50.

7. TM Vol. I p. 47.

8. HAGI p. 53.

9. Ibid. p. 55.

10. KSN p. 119.

11. Skt. Eng. Dict.

Kaliṅga

The Ancient Kaliṅga country seems to have comprised modern Orissa to the south, of the Vaitaraṇī and the sea coast southwards as far as Vizagapatam. It also included the Amarakaṇṭaka range, which is said to be in the western part. This country lies between the Godāvarī and Mahānadi rivers.¹

Vaṅga

It is the ancient name of Vengal. Baṅga which is the designation of Bengal proper is mentioned in the Aitareya Āraṇyaka² as well as in the Baudhāyana, Dharmasūtra.³ Pāṇinī refers to it as Vaṅga in his Aṣṭādhyāyī⁴ The Bhāgavata Purāṇa⁵ and Kāvya-mīmāṃsā⁶ mention it as a country. The Yoginītantra⁷ mentions it as Vaṅga. Kālidāsa places the Vaṅga in the delta formed by the Ganges and the Brahmaputra.⁸ Dhanapāla has mentioned it as Baṅga as well. (TM Vol.III, p.186, L-4) In the Tirumalai Rock inscription of Rājendra cola of the 11th century (the same period as of Dhanapāla) and in the Goharwa plate of Cedi Karmadeva, Vaṅga country is referred to as Baṅgāladeśaṃ, which in the thirteenth century came to be called Baṅgāla and in the Mohammedan times Vaṅglā.⁹

Aṅga

Aṅga was one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas of ancient India and was very rich and prosperous. It is mentioned in the Yoginītantra¹⁰ and in Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa.¹¹ The Atharvaveda¹² refers to the Aṅgas as a distinct people along with the Magadhas, Mūjavanta and Gamdharīs without specifying their territories. They were despised as Vrātyas or people who lived outside the pale of orthodox Brahmanism. In the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa

1. HGAI p. 189.

2. II. 1. 1. 1.

3. I 1. 14.

4. 4. 1. 170.

5. IX 23. 5.

6. CH. 3.

9. 2. 119.

8. Ragh. V. IV. 36.

9 HGAI p. 316.

10. 2. 2. 119.

11. VI. 22. 29.

12. V. 22. 14.

they are mentioned as Aṅga Magadha.¹ Pāṇinī groups together Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kāliṅga, Puṇḍra etc. all placed in the midland.² The Mahābhārata makes the races of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kāliṅga etc. to be the descendants of the saint Dīrghatamas by Sudeśṇā, wife of Bāli.³ According to Zimmer and Bloomfield the Aṅgas were settled on the river Son and Ganges in later times but their early seat was presumably there also. Pargitar regards them as a non-Āryan people that came over sea to eastern India. Ethnographically they were connected with the Kāliṅgas and other peoples of the plains of Bengal.

Aṅga comprised the country round the modern Bhagalpur. Aṅgas were named after an eponymous king Aṅga.⁴ The capital of Aṅgas was first called Mālinī which name was changed to campā or Campāvatī in honour of a king named Campa, Lomapada's great grandson. The city of Campā was built by Mahāgovinda. It was here that the Buddha was compelled to prescribe the use of slippers by the monks. At the time of the Buddha campā was a big town and not a village.⁵ According to Dr. D. K. Gupta To the South east of Videha lay the Aṅga country which comprised of the modern districts of Monghyr, Bhagalpur and Purnea. Its capital campā was situated near Lakhisarai in Monghyr district on the bank of Gaṅgā, as the epigraphic evidence suggests.⁶ Yugal Kishore Mishra in his article "Aṅga its name and extant (Journal of the Gaṅgānātha the Kendirya vidyāpeeth XXXIV parts 3-4 July Dec. 1978 pp. 1-8) has also illustrated Aṅga as modern districts of Bhagalpur and Munger and extended northward up to the Kosi river and included western parts of the district of Purnea. It also included some parts of modern Bihar.

Pāñcāla

Pāñcāladeśa⁷ comprised Bareilly, Badaun, Farrukhabad and the adjoining districts of Rohilkhand and the central Doab in the U. P. It seems to have been bounded on the east by the Gumtī and on the south by the Chambal. It extended from the Himālaya mountain to the Chambal river.

1. II. 9.

2. Aṣṭād. VI. 1. 170; II 4, 62.

3. I. 104.

4. Aṅga vairocana is included in the list of anointed Kings in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII. 22).

5. HGA I pp. 243-244.

6. KSN p. 119.

7. HGA I p. 136.

Pāñcāladeśa continued to be one of the great and powerful countries in Northern India down to the time when the Buddha lived. The great kingdom of Pāñcāla was divided into northern and southern Pāñcāla having Ahicchatra and Kāmpilya as their respective capitals. Northern Pāñcāla included districts of the Uttara Pradesh lying east of the Ganges and north west of Oudh, while southern Pāñcāla included the country between the Yamunā and the Ganges on the east and south east of the Kurus and Śūrasenas.

The kingdom of Pāñcāla passed through trouble our times after the death of Harṣavardhana but from about the 9th century A.D, under Bhoja and his son it became the principal power in northern India extending from Bihar to Sind.

Dhanapāla has referred to Pāñcāla in context with Pratāpaśīla, the Lord of Kuśasthala whose region of the chest was stout on account of its having been caressed by the elevation of the (or protuberance of the) breasts of the spouses from Pāñcāla flushing with Youth.¹

Pāñcāla being a Janapada of the Madhyadeśa, had matrimonial ties with the kingdom of the Kuśasthala² Janapada also known as Gādhīpura, Mahodaya in ancient times and Kanauj in modern times.

Magadha

Kīkaṭa³ was the synonym of Magadha. It was the name of a non aryan country according to Yāska.⁴ who says : Kākaṭa is the name of a country where the non Aryans dwell. Zimmer holds the same view. Weber says that the Kīkaṭas were the Aryan people living in Magadha. Kīkaṭa cannot be identified with certainty. Dr. D.C. Sircar in his "studies in Geography of ancient and mediaeval India" (p. 107 MLBD Delhi, 1971) places Kākaṭa in the southern part of Magadha the northern half of which is called Magadha proper. Kākaṭa is described as extending from caraṇādri upto Gr̥dhra Kūṭa (modern Satagiri) situated near Rajagr̥ha (Rajagir) in the Patna district. As already observed Dhanapāla⁵ mentions this word to mean a non aryan tribe. Pāṇinī in his Aṣṭādhyāyī⁶ and Patāñjalī in his Mahābhāṣya⁷ refer to it. Pāṇinī uses the form Magadha and Patāñjalī also uses Sumagadha.⁸

1. TM Vol. III p. 185.

2. HGAI p. 109.

3. Nirukta VI. 32.

4. HGAI pp. 275-276.

5. See 399 above.

6. 4. 1. 170.

7. I. 1. 2. p. 56.

8. 2. 1. 2. p. 48.

According to Dr. D. K. Gupta To the South of Videha and East of Kāśī was situated the great Janapada of Magadha comprising modern districts of Shahabad, Patna and Gayā, which region is still known as Magadha. Its capital was Kusuma (Puṣpa) pura or Pāṭaliputra, near Patna, at the confluence of Gaṅgā and Śoṇa.¹

Daṇḍin in his *Daśakumāracaritaṃ* has described Puṣpapurī, a town, the crest ornament of the Magadhadeśa. In *Avantisundarikathā*, the author has likewise given a variant Kusumapura for Puṣpapurī and described it as the decoration of the Magadha Viṣaya.² Dhanapāla has referred to Suraketu, the Lord of the Magadhas, foremost of all the magnanimous, whose birth was successful on account of his abiding constantly in Kusumapura.³ By this also the conjecture of Mark Collins that Kusumapura in Daṇḍin⁴ is an older name for Kānyakubja stands refuted in so far as Collins follows Hiuen Tsangin making this assertion. Kālidāsa has referred to Magadha⁵ and its capital Puṣpapura in his *Raghuvamśa*.⁶

Saurāṣṭra

Saurāṣṭra maṇḍala or Surāṣṭra country has been mentioned by Vālmīki⁷ as well as by Patañjali⁸. According to Padama Purāṇa,⁹ it is in Gurjara. It is modern Kāthiāwāḍa in Gujarāṭa. Dhanapāla refers to Saurāṣṭramaṇḍala having its king Mahābala, whose gardens surrounding the precincts of Raivataka (Girinagara or Girnar) were enjoyed at will by the ladies of the harem sporting therein.¹⁰

Gurjara

It was situated 300 miles to the north of Valabhi or 467 miles to the north east of Ujjain. The people of this place once dwelt in the Punjab and

1. KSN p. 119.

2. मण्डनं मगधविषयस्य.... कुसुमपुरं नाम..... नगरम् ASK p. 19.

3. कुसुमपुरतत्वाससफलीभूत जन्मनो मनस्विनां धैर्यस्य मगधेश्वरस्य सुरकेतोः शकुन्तला। TM Vol. III p. 185.

4. DKC p. 125 M. R. Kale.

5. KSN DK Gupta p. 119.

6. Ragh. V. I -31, IV 20-21; Vi 21-24.

7. Rām. Ādi or Bāla Kāṇḍa Ch. Sarga XII. Ayodhyākāṇa sarga Kiṣkindhyākāṇa XLI.

8. Mahābh. I. 1. 1. p. 31.

9. 190. 2.

10. क्रीडदवरोधसुन्दरी स्वच्छन्दोपमुक्तैरैवतकपरिसरोधानस्य सौराष्ट्रमण्डलपतेमहाबलस्य बन्धुमती। TM Vol. III p. 186.

migrated to Peninsula of Kathiawad which is now called Gujarata after them.¹

Dr. B. N. Puri has dealt in details with the exact location of Gurjara deśa or Gurjara maṇḍala in his 'The history of Gurjara Pratihāras'² He adduces evidence which goes as under:- The Jainad inscription from Hyderabad State refers to the wives of the Gurjara warriors shedding tears in the caves of the Arbuda, as a result of the conquest of the Paramāra jagaddeva who is placed in V. S. 1151. The association of the Gurjaras with the Arbuda mountain is also noticed in the Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla. An early inscription of Varmalāta dated in the V. S. 682 from Vasantagarh refers to his feudatory Vajrabhaṭa protecting Arbuda. His son was Rajjila and a Pratihāra is also mentioned. Rajjila was also the name might suggest that the two families probably belonged to the same stock. If we accept the suggestion and the evidence adduced above, the association of the Gurjaras with Mount Ābu may be presumed. Further this mountain is also associated with the origin of other ruling families. The Panhera³ inscription described the origin of the Paramāras from the fire pit on mount Arbuda. The Arthuna (Banswara, Rajputana) record refers to Vasiṣṭha creating a warrior called Paramāra on Mount Ābu to bring back his cow stolen by Viśvāmītra.⁴ In the case of Gurjara Pratihāras a different legendary colouring is given in the records. It is evident from the Jodhpur and the Sagartal inscriptions that the two families were called Pratihāra because Lakṣmaṇa served as doorkeeper (Pratihārī) to Rāma, his elder brother.⁵ The probability is that there were many pastoral tribes living in obscurity near about mount Ābu. One such tribe was that of the Gurjaras. Its leader marched out in different directions and they founded Gurjara settlements called Gurjaratrā. This event took place in 6th century A.D. as Varāhamihira in his Br̥hatsaṃhitā mentions

1. HGAI p. 335.

2. pp. 7-9.

3. This legend occurs in Navasāhasaṃkha caritaṃ of Padmagupta Parimala several Paramara inscription such as Harsola Plates, the documents of the Cāhamānas, the Pṛthvirāja Rāso of Chanda Bardai and innumerable bardic chronicles. Ancient Historians of India by Dr. V. S. Pathak.

4. This legend occurs in Navasāhasaṃkha caritaṃ of Padmagupta Parimala several Paramara inscription such as Harsola Plates, the documents of the Cāhamānas, the Pṛthvirāja Rāso of Chanda Bardai and innumerable bardic chronicles. --Ibid.

5. Also see. p. 165. Ancient Historians of India by Dr. V. S. Pathak.

Arbuda¹ and not Gurjaratrā or Gurjaradeśa, which terms are noticed only in later inscriptions.

Explaining the word Gurjaratrā on the analogy of Brāhmanatrā and Vipratrā occurring in Kāśika in the light of Pāṇinī's Sūtra (V.4.55) and on the evidence of Daulatpura record of Bhoja I of Mahodayta (referring to Gurjaratrābhūmi having Daṇḍavānaka viṣaya and its village Śiva in it), Dr. Puri goes to assert that Gurjara settlements were in central and Eastern Rājaputānā.² He further comments that later on this term was also used to indicate Gujarāta Jinadattasūri in his Gaṇadhara Sāraśataka, according to him, mentions Gujaratā (Gurjaratrā) with its capital Anahillavāḍa (Anahillapāṭaka) and with Durlabharāja reigning there. Similarly in Dharmasāgaragaṇin's Gurvavalisūtra from Ujjayinī in Mālavaka. In the inscriptions, the Caulūkyas are styled as Gurujaras and the country ruled by them is named Gurjaradeśa. Thus, we find reference to Gurjara king Bhīma identified with the Caulūky Bhīmadeva I and his son the Gurjara king Karṇa (Karṇa Trailokyamalla) of Anahillapāṭaka and Mahārājādhirāja Caulūky Kumārapāla as the lord of the Gurjara country. The Dohad inscription speaks of the Caulūky king Jayasimha ruling over the Gurjara maṇḍala from Anahillapāṭaka. Similarly the Somnath Patan Praśasti of the V.E. 850 mentions the Caulūky Prince Kumārapāla who is called the king of the Gurjaramaṇḍala.³

Dr. Puri has further illustrated the point by adducing evidence from Literary works such as Harṣacarita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Hieun Tsang's account, Aihola inscription of Pulakeśin II, Epigraphic records such as Radhanpur plates of Govinda III, Deoli plate of Kṛṣṇa III, Baroda Copper plate of Rāṣṭrakūṭakarka, Sañjana Copper plate of Amoghavarṣa, Badal pillar insc. of the

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1. V. 68. The Arbudas are mentioned in the Purāṇas such as Bhāg. Vol. XII, 1. 36; Viṣṇu Book II Ch. III Brahma Chapter XIX Śloka 17. The Rāmāyaṇa locates the tribe in the west (Kiṣkindhyāṇḍa caṇḍa XLII).

They must have been the people dwelling on and around the Arbuda mountain which is generally identified with Mt. Abu. This mountain continued to occupy a dominant place in the history of the people who were formerly living in that region. The migration of such peoples- one of them being the Gujaras to other regions, where they set up kingdoms named after them, was probably a living factor and that is the main reason why the Gurjaras are connected with Mt. Ābu. - The History of the Gurjara Pratihāras p. 7. note 8.

2. Ibid. p. 8.
3. Ibid. pp. 8-9.

time of Nārāyaṇapāla, Devapāla, Jain Harivaṃśa and Rajatarāginī of Kalhaṇa and proved that Gurjaradeśa primarily comprised of the regions of Rājaputānā and Kanauja.¹

Dhanapāla has referred to the Gurjaras on Arbuda singing songs in praise of the king Paramāra born from the fire altar (agnikuṇḍa) who brought back the cow of Vasiṣṭha from Viśvāmitra.² Dr. V. S. Pāṭhaka has identified Paramāras with Agniveśa Brāhmaṇas who belonged to Vasiṣṭha family by construing the Agni Kuḷa legend in the light of the evidence adduced by the Puraṇas.³

Lāṭa

Dhanapāla has mentioned the Ladies from Lāṭa, Kerala Kuntala etc. (TM III P.70-71, 411-12 above) and has given no details which can help us identify Lāṭa specifically. The Mandasor Insc. Of Bandhuvarman, the Ghat iyālā Insc. Of the Paramāra king Kakkuka refer to Lāṭa deśa. According to some Lāṭa was southern Gujarāṭa including Khandesh situated between the rivers Māhi and lower Tāptī. Some hold it as lying between rivers Māhi and Kim. It comprised the collectorates of Surat, Broach, Kheda and parts of Baroda. The Rewah stone ins. of Kaṇa refers to Lāṭa generally identified with central and southern Gujarāṭa. Lāṭarāṣṭra is identical with the old Lāṭa kingdom of Gujarāṭa, the capital city of which is stated in the Dīpavaṃśa (p. 54) to have been Simhapura (Sihapura)⁴.

Kuntala.

This is a district of the Kaṇaṭa country. According to some Mysore Inscriptions the Kuntala region included the southern part of the Bombay Presidency and the Northern portion of Mysore. The identity of the Gondaloi with Kuntala proposed by Yule may be accepted. It is so called because it resembles the hair (Kuntala) of the goddess of the earth. It was ruled at one time by the kings of the Nanda dynasty. The Kuntalas of the Deccan appear to have risen to a considerable importance in historical times. The Kuntala country is frequently referred to in the inscriptions of the 11th and 12th centuries when it consisted of the southern Marāṭhā country and the adjoining Kanarese districts. Literary and epigraphic references prove beyond doubt that there were several families of the Śātakarṇīs of the Deccan and one or more of these families ruled over Kuntala of the

1. Pratihāras pp. 9-12.

2. Cp. 509 above.

3. Ancient Historians of India pp. 166-171 Dr. V. S. Pathak.

4. HGAI pp. 338-339.

Vākāṭaka king Prthviṣeṇa I, who conquered a Kuntaleśvara (Lord of the Kuntala). Prthviṣeṇa extended his sovereignty over Nachṇe Kitalai and Ganj in Bundelkhand as well as over the borders of Kuntala. A Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa claimed victory over Kuntala. The Rewah stone Insc. of Kaṇṇa refers to Kuntala, which was country of the later Caulūkyas. According to some Kuntala is situated between the Bhīmā and Vedavatī, comprising the Kanarese districts of Bombay and Madras states and the Mysore state and also perhaps a part of Maharashtra with Vidarbha having its capital at Pratiṣṭhāna on the Godāvarī. The Tālaguṇḍā Pillar Insc. informs us that a Kuntala king of Vijayantī in Kuntala gave his daughter in marriage to Gupta and other kings. Some Mediacval kings of Kuntala traced their lineage to Candragupta. Dr. V. V. Mirashi does not subscribe to the view of Dr. Law that Kākut Sthavarman the Kādamba king gave his daughter in marriage to the son of Candragupta II Vikramāditya because according to him Kākutsthavarman flourished about A.D. 450 i.e. about fifty years after Candragupta II Vikramāditya.¹ Dr. V.V. Mirashi puts forward the hypothesis that Rāṣṭra Kūṭas of Mānapura and the Vākāṭakas of Nandivardhana owed allegiance to the Gupta monarch Candragupta II Vikramāditya. Devarāja of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family was a contemporary of Candragupta II. It was probably to the court of this king that Kālidāsa was sent as an ambassador as inferred by him from the stray references to Kuntaleś varadautya available in the Kāvya-mīmāṃsā of Rājaśekhara, Aucityavicāracarcā of Kṣemendra, Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa and Saravsatīkaṇṭhāharaṇa of Bhoja. He also infers that Candragupta II Vikramāditya had married his daughter Prabhāvatīguptā to Rudrasena II who died young and in order to help the dowager queen run her administration, with Divākarasena yet being her minor son, he sent some experienced generals and statesmen to his court in Vidarbha. Devarāja was feudatory of the king of the Vākāṭakas who was called Kuntaleśa and an ally of the Guptas. The Vākāṭaka prince Naredrasena, the great grand son of Candragupta II was married to the Kuntala Princess Ajjhita bhaṭṭārikā as recorded in the Bālāghāṭa plates.²

Kerala

Kerala is the Kamarese form of the Tamil Cerala. Pāṇinī mentions it in his Aṣṭādhyāyī.³ The Bhāgavata Purāṇa refers to it.⁴ This country is

1. Studies in Indology Vol. I p. 7.

2. Ibid. pp. 5-11.

3. 4. 1. 175. Neither traceable original text narepered to by Dr. V.S. Agrawal and Dr. A.D. Agnihotri and Dr. B.N. Puri Aṣṭādhyāyī IV. 1.174., 1977.

4. X. 79. 19. P. 637, 642; X 82.13

mentioned by Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvamśa* (IV 54. p. 111.), where women cast off their ornaments on hearing of the approach of Raghu's forces. This country was anciently called Ceralam or Cerala nāḍu. Ceralam means mountain range. The Kerala country is the same as Cera. The Kerala generally means the rugged region of the western Ghāts, south of the Candragiri river. It was conquered by Rājendracōḍa. It is present Malabar, Cochin and Travancore.¹

Sindhu

The river Sindhu or the Indus almost synchronises with the territory lying between the regions of its courses. The river passing through Attock, flows almost due south parallel to the Sulaiman Hills. Indus above its junction with Chenab was called Sindhu. According to Dr. Law Sindhu lent its name to the country through which is flowed.²

Karṇāṭa

This country figures prominently in the Tamil Classics. It is also mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (V. 6. 7.). It has been described as a vast country (*Dharāmaṇḍala*). It is occupied by the Kanarese speaking people. The kings of Karṇāṭa were nominally dependent on the Kings of Vijayanagara.³

Kāñcīmaṇḍala

Kāñcīmaṇḍala is the same as 'Draviḍamaṇḍala' which lay south of Āndhra. In its wider conception it included, in the North, Āndhra and in the South, Cola or Śibi and Pāṇḍya, besides the Draviḍa (or Dramila) proper. Āndhra is the land between Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā rivers to the east of Munār river, with its capital at Āndhanagara, probably the old town of Veṅgī. Draviḍamaṇḍala was ruled over by the Pallavas, which spread as far as vegavatī (Palar) river in the South, with its capital Kāñcīpura, modern Kanjeevaram, the seat of the Pallavas on its bank.⁴

Kāmarūpamaṇḍala; Prāgjyotiṣa

Prāgjyotiṣa according to Dr. Law included not only the Kāmarūpa country but also a considerable portion of North Bengal and Probably also of North Bihar. It stood on the river Lauhitya or Brahmaputra according to Kālidāsa (*Raghuvamśa* IV. 81, 83, 84 and VII.17.) Kāmarūpa, Prāgjyotiṣ

1. HGA I p. 195.

2. Ibid. p. 150.

3. Ibid. p. 191.

4. KSN p. 120.

apura and Lauhitya Vāridhi are all mentioned in the Howrahghat plates of Balavarman II of Kāmarūpa. The kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva Dated. 1142 AD. refers to the maṇḍala of Kāmarūpa and the Viśaya of Prāgyotiṣa, which implies that the latter was the larger administrative division including Kāmarūpa. This grant records the donation of lands including bhukti of Prāgyotiṣa Maṇḍal of Kāmarūpa, vishaya of Bada and villages sānti Bada and Mandara Early history of Kāmarūpa K.L. Baru Bahadur Ch. VIII. P. 124. In Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi (IV. 22) there is a mention of Prāgyotiṣāḥ Kāmarūpāḥ. According to Puruṣottama¹ Prāgyotiṣa is Kāmarūpa. The Bṛhatsaṃhitā (XIV. 6) mentions it. According to Kālikā Purāṇa (Ch. 38) the capital town of Prāgyotiṣa has been identified with Kāmākhyā or Gauhati. The Kāvya-mīmāṃsā of Rājaśekhara (Ch. XVII) places Prāgyotiṣa as a Janapada and Kāmarūpa as a Parvata and Lauhitya as a nadi in the east.

Rai K. L. Barua Bahadur² in his Early History of Kāmarūpa quotes the views of Pandit Vidyāvinoda who supposes that when Sālastambha founded his dynasty (having deposed Avantivarman the immediate successor of Bhāskaravarman),³ he removed the capital to Hārūpeśwara where all the kings of his line down to Tyāgasingh ruled. When the people elected Brahmapāla, a lineal descendant of Bhagadatta, as their king, he retransferred the capital to Prāgyotiṣapura (Gauhātī) or its neighbourhood. Ratnapāla after fortifying this city called it Śrīdurjayā. It is clearly stated that this city was on the Brahmaputra. The lands granted by Ratnapāla's first inscriptions and by both of Indrapāla's inscriptions were, as stated in these inscriptions, on the Uttara Kūla i.e. on the north bank of the river. From this specific mention of the Uttarakūla Vidyāvinoda supposes that the capital was on the south bank of the river. Between Tezpur and Gauhātī there is no other suitable site on the south bank of the river where a fortified city could be built. The identification of Śrīdurjayā with Gauhātī is, therefore, almost inevitable. Regarding Kāmarūpa Dr. Law writes at another place.

It is⁴ bounded on the north by Bhūtāna, on the east by the district of Darrang and Nowgong, on the south by the Khasi hills and on the west by Goalpārā. It was also called Prāgyotiṣa. The greater part of Kāmarūpa consists of a wide plain through the lower portion of which the Brahmaputra

1. Trikāṇḍa p. 93.

2. Early History of Kāmarūpa pp. 87-88 Ch. VI.

3. Ibid. p. 66. Ch. 5.

4. HGA I p. 268.

makes its way, flowing a steady course from east to west. South of the river this plain is much broken up by hills. It is mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription as one of the frontier states outside the limits of the Gupta empire of which the capital was Prāgjyotiṣapura identified with modern Gauhātī. The ancient kingdom of Kāmarūpa generally occupied an area large than that of the modern province and extended westwards to the Karatoyā river. Devapara Prasasti of Sena King Vijaya Sena verse 20 refers to a Kāmrūpa bhūpa (last quarter of 11th century A.D. may be Harsanāla or Dharmapāla)¹

Dhanapāla has referred to Kāmarūpa charming with the series of fields of Puṇḍra sugar cane having sprouts grown up. It has the borders of its villages getting crimson with the fields of red rice ripened up. The surfaces underneath the black aloe trees on the precincts of the puddles had bisons sitting thereon ennuied by the heat of the Sun. The wayfarers were kept away from the fields of rice by the clusters of parrots scared away by the clappings of the sylvan maids.

He certainly assumes Prāgjyotiṣa as the capital of Kāmarūpa where the lord of the Prāgjyotiṣa entreated Harivāhana with proper ardour and made necessary arrangements for his recreation. The vassals from Uttarāpatha brought gifts and accompanied by them Harivāhana strolled about in the groves, on the precincts of Lauhitya (Brahmaputra).²

Kāśmīra

It was known to Pāṇinī³, Patañjalī.⁴ It is also mentioned in the Yoginītantra (1/3; 2/9; p. 77). The Bṛhatsaṃhitā also mentions it as a country (XIV. 29. P. 122). It lies to the north of Punjab. The capital of this country on the west side was bordered by a great river which was evidently the Vitastā. The soil was fertile and hence cereals and fruits and flowers could be grown profusely. The medicinal plants were found here. The climate was cold and stern. The people were handsome in appearance. They were fond of learning. There were heretics and believers among them. The Stūpas and Saṅghārāmas were also found here., It was included in the Gāndhārī kingdom.. In Aśoka's time it was included in the Maurya

1. 1075-1090, 1090-1115 AD Early History of Kāmarūpa p. 95

2. TM Vol. III pp. 34-35.

3. Pāṇinī p. 133.

4. Mahābhāṣya part-II. P. 433, MLBD, 1967. pp. 188-189. I. 1. 6 p. 276.

dominion.¹ Its capital Śrīnagara was established by Aśoka as evidenced by Rājatarāṅginī.² According to Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra diamond was available here.³ Kauṭīliya has given the word 'Kāstīra' in place of Kāśmīra (कास्मीर राष्ट्रकं). Dr. R. P. Kangle quotes Dr. V. S. Agrawal⁴ who has quoted 'Kāśmīra rāṣṭrakam'. Dhanapāla has deemed it a part of the Uttarāpatha.⁵

Kulūta

Dr. Law⁶ takes it to be the same as Kullū which also occurs as Kulūta in the Epics. The district of Kully (Kullū) in the upper valley of the Beas river exactly corresponds with the kingdom of Kiu-lu-to which is placed by Hicun-Tsang at 700 li or 117 miles to the north east of Jālandhar.

Strīrājya

Vātsyāyana in his Kāmasūtra⁷ ग्रामनारीविषये स्त्रीराज्ये च बाह्ये बहवो युवानोऽन्तःपुरस्वधर्माणः एकैकस्य परिग्रहभूताः refers to Strīrājya in association with grāmanārīviṣaya and Bāhlika. According to Sir Monier Williams Strīrājya is a region perhaps in Bhūtāna peopled by Amazonian women.⁸ According to Yaśodhara, the commentator of Vātsyāyana.

“स्त्रीराज्यसमीप एव परतौ ग्रामनारीविषयः”⁹

which easily makes it clear that both are the contiguous regions. Dhanapāla has referred to Strīrājya in context with the inner apartment of Tilakamañjarī surrounded on all sides by lacks of 'Kumārīpuraprāsādas' having seven storeys as if it were the Strīrājya brought having been vanquished.

सप्तभूमैः कुमारीपुरप्रासादलक्षैः समन्ततः परिक्षिप्तपार्श्वदृश्यमानपुरुषप्रचारतया स्त्रीराज्यमण्डलमिव विजित्यानीतम् अखिलतिलकमञ्जरीमन्दिरमयूरम्¹⁰

Ayodhyā Sāketa

According to Dr. B. N. Puri-¹¹

1. HGA I p. 113.

2. Rāja. t. I. 104, 124, 129, 306, IB 6.

3. KAS II. 11. 37, p. 52 Vol. I p. 115 Vol. II notes p. 115.

4. India in the age of Pāṇinī, p. 65. Patañjali Kāli in Bhartī verse MLBD, Banaras, 1955.

5. TM. p. 232 Vol. II. L. I.

6. HGA I p. 119.

7. II 6. 45. Vol. I p. 444.

8. Skt. Eng. Dict. Under Strīrājya.

9. K. Sū. II. 6. 45. (tikā) p. 445.

10. TM. Sm. Ed. P. 372. LL. 3-5

11. CAI p. 12.

The ancient town of Ayodhyā also known as Sāketa, once the capital of Ikṣvāku kings and also of Prasenajita of Kośala, the birth place of seven Jain preceptors, seems to have withstood the ravages of time. Vinīta was another name for this city.¹ It was also known as Kośalanagara.² In the Brāhmaṇa Literature it is described as a village.³ According to Dr. Law it is also known as Sāketa, Ikṣvākubhūmi, Rāmapuri and Kośala.⁴ At the time of the Mahābhārata war, Bṛhadvāhu was the king of this place killed by Abhimanyu.⁵ In the Buddha's time, Sāketa was the capital of Kośala. The two are identical.⁶ The history of Kośala, with its mighty rulers Prasenajit and his son Viṣṇudābha who had extended their kingdom to include Kāśī in the east and the territory of the Śākyaas in the north east, pales into insignificance with the emergence of the Magadhan rulers as powerful antagonists. The Nandas followed by Mauryas, assimilated Kośala in their empire. Under the Śuṅgas, too, it had a viceroy ruling on their behalf here. An inscription found at Ayodhyā (that of Dhanadeva) mentions Puṣyamitra performing two horse sacrifices during his reign. Under the Kuṣāṇas the city remained more or less in oblivion. It, however, figures along with Prayāga and the country of Magadha in the Purāṇas as forming part of the kingdom of the Guptas. According to the Spurious Gaya plate (of Samudragupta), Ayodhyā was the seat of a Gupta camp of victory. It is likely that the successors of Skandagupta had a capital there till the rise of the Maukharīs.⁷ As already observed Dhanapāla has described Ayodhyā, a nagarī of appropriate appellation in the Uttara Kośalas, a repertory of all the marvels⁸ सर्वाश्चर्यनिधानमुत्तरकोशलेष्वयोध्येति यथार्थाभिधाना नगरी। situated having adorned the central zone of Bhāratavarṣa⁹ surrounded by an expansive fortification having a wall white like snow. It has been called shining with varṇas (the four orders) refulgent with virtuosity. It was crowded with hundreds of

1. Avassaka Commentary p. 244a.

2. Viṣṇaupurāṇa IV. 4. 103.

3. Ait. Br. VII 3. ff Śāṅkh. Śr. Sū. XV 17-26.

4. HGAI p. 76.

5. CAI p. 12 Dr. B.N. Puri in MBh.II Bhisma parva 45 14-18 ; Droṇa Parva 37. 5-6. 47. 20-22.

6. CAI- B. N. Puri p. 12.

7. Ibid. p. 13. Also HGAI p. 77.

8. TM Vol. I p. 55.

9. Ibid. Vol. I p. 43. वृत्तोज्ज्वलवर्णशालिनी... मध्यभागमलंकृत्य स्थिता भारतवर्षस्य, तुषारधवलभित्तिना विशालवप्रेण परिमता प्रकारेण।

oblong tanks having easy descents from the vast steps.¹ It was encompassed round by a vast circle of a moat (ditch) as if it had Himālaya entered into it to search out Maināka apprehending it to be the ocean under the pretext of the vallum or under the guise of the rampart reflected in its water.² It had four lofty gates all around (gopuras).³ It had its squares shining with groups of temples of gods encircled round by ramparts whitened with stucco paint with golden ewers gleaming forth on the tops of their high peaks.⁴ It had beautiful gardens on its out precincts. Vast expansive lanes and arcades enhanced its grandeur.⁵ It shone with gorgeous mansions, pleasure lakes⁶ etc. Gay drinking revelries marked the rejoicing in the midst of the vintage creeper bowers.⁷ It had Sarayū as an associate on all sides, the river come there to inquire from Bhāgīrathī (Gaṅgā) as if, about the account of descent from the heavens, of the sons of Sāgara consumed by the fire of wrath of Kapila; It had its sides undeserted perennially by the royal swans as if they were old chamberlains come down from the Eastern ocean carrying wands of straight Lotus stalks, with its ripples spreading splashed by the posteriors of the comely maids of Kośala bathing therein.⁸ The housewives therein were the true epitomes of conjugal felicity.⁹ It had succour rendered to Cupid by coquettes skilled in all types of fine arts and lores and were given to righteous intentions.¹⁰

According to Dr. Puri, Ayodhyā, as it stands now on the same Sarayū river, still harps on its association with Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu and draws to its bosom pilgrims and devotees from different parts of India. This small city forms only a part of Faizabad, but it has its natural beauty and religious sanctity to offer to those who come here not as tourists but as devotees of Rāma.¹¹

1. विपुलसोपानसुगमवतारवापी शतसमाकुला। TM Vol. I p. 44.

2. जलप्रतिबिम्बितप्रकारच्छलेन जलराशिशंकया मैनाकमन्वेष्टुमन्तःप्रविष्टहिमवतेव महता खातबलयेन वेष्टिता। TM Vol. I p. 44.

3. चतुर्भिरत्युच्चैर्गोपुरैरुपेता Ibid.

4. प्राशुं शिखरग्रज्वलत्कनककलशैः सुधापंकधवलप्राकारवलभिते रमरमन्दिरमण्डले...उद्भासित चत्वरा...

5. Ibid. Vol. I p. 45.

6. Ibid. Vol. I p. 46.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid. p. 47.

9. Ibid. pp. 47-48.

10. Ibid. pp. 51-53 also pp. 53-58.

11. CAI p. 15.

Kāñcī

Kāñcī,¹ also known as Kachchipeddu, the ancient capital of the Pallava rulers, a famous seat of learning the place of pilgrimage sacred to the Vaiṣṇavites and the Śaivites alike, is now represented by Kanjeevaram in the Chingleput district of Madras. The earliest reference to this place is in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali². It is identified by some with Satiyaputta of Aśokan Rock Edicts. The Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa links Kāñcī with Kāśī, forming as the two eyes of Śiva. It also figures in the Skandapurāṇa³ as well as in the Yoginītantra.⁴ The Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍin refers to the city Kāñcī as the abode of the rich merchants son Śāktikumāra.⁵ The Prayāga Preśasti of Samudragupta mentions Viṣṇugopa of Kāñcī⁶ among the southern conquests of the Emperor. Aihole insc. of Pulakeśin II refers to the conquest of the Caulukya ruler over Kāñcī (634 A.D.).⁷ The Tālaguṇḍā stone pillar insc. of Śāntivarman refers to Pallavendrapurī⁸ and Kāñcī⁹ separately. The Pallava ruler Mahendrapāla (Vikrama Varman) I was the author of Mattavilāsa Prahāsana in Sanskrit and during the time of his father flourished Bhāravī, the author of Kirātārjunīyam, Dhanapāla (the court poet of Bhoja) refers to Kāñcī as a nagarī abounding in innumerable riches and unlimited gold, situated not far away from the southern ocean. It had the vocabulary of the languages of all the regions audible herein and appeared to have assimilated the entire host of regions. It was gorgeous with gardens on the out precincts. By the temples of gods it appeared to have inhabited the cantonments of the Autumnal Clouds. It was cordoned by long and expensive arcades. It was surrounded by a fortification having a white wall made of marble and was encompassed round by a circle of moat.¹⁰ It has further been described as rich in harbours full of arcanuts (nāgavallī), philosophers and Brāhmaṇas. It had mansions of many storeys. Nāraṅga

1. CAL. p. 31.

2. II p. 298 HGAI p. 192.

3. Ch. 1. 19-23 HGAI p. 192.

4. HGAI p. 192.

5. Ask p. 6, L2; for Pallavas and Kāñcī Cp ASK pp 6, 6; DKC p. 159. also Cp. KA III 114 KSN p. 130 ff. 171.

6. कञ्चिकविष्णुगोप... etc. L. 19. Historical and Literary Inscriptions by Raj Bali Pandey p. 74.

7. आक्रान्तात्मबलोन्नतिम्बलरजस्सच्छत्रकांचीपुरः ।

प्राक्रान्तरितप्रतापमकरोद्यः पल्लवानाम्पतिम्॥ verse 29, p. 118

8. Ibid. HALI. p. 129 verse 10. Ibid. p. 244. verse 29.

9. Ibid. p. 129 verse 17.

10. TM Vol. III pp. 170 171.

(orange), Panasa, Kadalaka (Plantain) were the fruits pre-eminently meant for eating. The juice of the cocoanut fruit was the chief drink (nālikerīphalarasa), pearls were mostly used in ornaments. Tamāla bowers were used as resting places and the clove sprouts were used as reclining couches. Kāmasūtra was the spiritual lore. Enhancement of virility was the cure for diseases. The worship of Cupid (Anaṅga) was the main mode of worship. The breezes from the Malaya mount consisted in the sighs from the mouths, wafting as they did the perfume of clove and Kakkola berries. The advent of youth was the spring. The melody of the Cuckoos was the Pañcama note of music. The liquor was made out of the juice of the pālmyra palm etc.¹

Kuṇḍinapura²

As already illustrated, is modern Kundanpur, about 64 Kms. East of Amraoti,³ situated about 12 kilo metres north west of Guntur in the Sattenapalli Taluk of this district. famous for its stūpa with exquisite carved sculptures and as the seat of a temple of Śiva known as Amareśvara. With Dharanī Kotta, Amarāvati shared importance, as the metropolis of the Āndhra rulers, bearing its old name Dhānyaghata or Dhānyaghataka identical with Dhānyakata or Dhānyakataka meaning the 'corn town'.⁴ Kuṇḍinapura was the capital of Vidarbha (ancient Niṣadha) and modern Bihar. Daṇḍin has referred to Puṣpapuri as the capital of Magadha⁵ while Dhanapāla⁶ has referred to Kusumapura as the capital of Surakṣu the king of the Magadhas. Dr. B. N. Puri identifies Pāṭalīputra with Puṣpapura and Kusumapura. It is modern Patna.⁷

Kuśasthal

Kannauj the ancient Kānyakubja also known as Gādhinagara, Kuśasthala and Mahodaya, enjoyed the position of the metropolis of the three important dynasties the Maukharīs, the Gurjara Pratihāras and the Gāhaḍvālas in ancient India.⁸ Dhanapāla has referred to Kuśasthalapati as Pratāpaśīla.

1. TM Vol. III pp. 171-174.

2. Ibid. II. p.193, L-5

3. KSN p. 120.

4. CAI. p. 8.

5. DKC I.1.p.1 M.R. Kule ed. MLBD Delhi, 1966

6. TM Vol. III p. 185.

7. CAI pp. 63, 66.

8. CAI Dr. B. B. Puri p. 27.

Rathanūpura Cakrawāla and Gaganavallabha;Vaijayantī.

Rathanūpura Cakravāla has been described by Dhanapāla as the capital town of Cakrasena, a paramount sovereign of the whole of Southern Range (Dakṣiṇaśreṇī). It has been called a town of the Vidyādhara (a class of semi divine beings), situated on the Vaitāḍhya mountain, a dalliance couch for the glory of the whole of Bhāratavarṣa.¹ At another place it has been described as situated on the peak of a mountain fit for the association of the divinities.² And further on it has been described as the ornament of the southern range of the Vijayārdha mountain.³ It may have been the capital of the Śīlahāra prince Cittarājadeva, the nephew of Arikesarin.⁴

Gaganavallabha nagara has been described by him as bearing allusion to the town of Indra (Puruhūta) having outvied the latter, a forehead mark of the Northern range (lit. the range other than the southern one) (on the surface of the Vaitāḍhya mount).⁵

Yet at another place it has been associated with the Vijayārdha as well. Gaganavallabha, the principal metropolis, the foremost among all the towns, of transcendental glory, situated in the northern range on the Vijayārdha mountain.⁶

Vaijayantī has been described by Dhanapāla as the home town of the maternal grandsire of Gandharavadatā, the mother of Malayasundarī and spouse of Kusumaśekhara, the king of Kāñcī; Her sire resided on the Suvēla mountain (Vicitravīrya was her sire). Her maternal grandsire resided on the Vaitāḍhya mount.⁷ Vaijayantī may have been the capital of the Kuntala country which included southern Maharashtra and northern Kanarese districts of Mysore state, modern Banavāsi in the Kanara district.⁸

Puṣkarāvati

It has been described as a town to the east of mount Meru.⁹ It may be different one from a town of the same name, an earlier capital of Gāndhāra, situated to the west of the river Indus, modern Chārasadda or Chārasada) a

1. TM Vol. III p. 10.

2. दिव्यसंगसमुचिताचलप्रस्थसंस्थं रथनूपुरचक्रवालम् TM Vol. III p. 23.

3. विजयार्धदक्षिणश्रेणिभूषणम् रथनूपुरचक्रवालसंज्ञं विद्याधरराजधानीनगरम् TM Sm. ed. p. 366.

4. Studies in Indology. Part I p.70-71 Dr. V.V. Mirashi

5. दक्षिणेतरेणितिलकभूतमभिभूतपुरुषदूतनगररूपविभ्रमम्... गगनवल्लभनगरमाससाद। TM Vol. III p. 133.

6. विजयार्धशिखरिण्युत्तरश्रेण्यामनुत्तरश्रीकमाद्यं सर्वनगराणां गगनवल्लभाभिधानं प्रधाननगरम्। TM Sm. ed. p. 401.

7. TM Sm. ed. p. 342.

8. Studies in Indology part. I. p.7. (Dr. V.V.Mirashi)

9. TM Sm. ed. p. 407.

little above the junction of the Swat with the Kabul river or (17 miles northern east of Peshawar on the Swat river).¹

Rativiśālā

It has been described by Dhanapāla as a second Amarāvati, (the capital of Indra)² or the town of that name situated about 32 kilometres north west of Guntur in the Sattenapalli Taluk of this district,³ the veritable lamp of the island called Nandiśvara surrounded by the ocean named Nandiśvara.⁴

Rativiśālā may be a variant name for Amarāvati or Amaraoti having 64 kms. east of it Kundanpur or Kuṇḍinapura, the capital town of Berar.⁵ With this the Nandiśvara island left unidentified above makes a headway towards a solution and may be considered to have been situated round Amarāvati. Campā as already observed was the capital of Aṅgas.⁶

Raṅgaśālā

It has been described as a town in the Siṃhalas, having a circle of a fortification scraping the sky, glamorous with thousands of the abodes of the citizens (i. e., mansions) bearing the structure of seven storeys (Vimāna taken technically means a saptabhūmi prāsāda).⁷

Laṅkā (Tm II p.289, L-4) p.91, L-4,) is obviously in the Siṃhalas a town contiguous to Raṅgaśālā and not the capital of Candraketu, sire of Samaraketu.

Alakā (Tm II p.323, L-3; Tm I p.85, L-8, Tm I, p.56, L-6)

To say anything definite about Alakā or Kubera-pura is very difficult. It must have been a region in the Himālaya. This is the nearest conjecture.

Maṇipura

A town of Suvarṇa dvīpa⁸ (Sumātrā).⁹

1. HGA I p. 140.

2. TM Vol. I p. 116.

3. CAI p. 8.

4. TM Vol. I p. 116.

5. KSN p. 120.

6. TM. Vol. II p.232 L2. TM Sm ed. p. 424

7. सिंहलेष्वस्ति समस्तवसुमतीभूषणमभ्रं कषप्राकारवलयो विमानाकारपौरालयसहस्रशालिनी नाम नगरी। TM Vol. II p. 250.

8. TM Vol. II p. 274.

9. KSN p. 110.

अस्ति सुवर्णद्वीपे मणिपुराभिधाननगरनिवासी बहुमतो राज्ञः पौरवर्गस्य च प्रवीणः किमपि लोकयात्रायां
सांयात्रिक वणिग् वैश्रवणो नाम,

Saṁkāśya

It has been identified with modern Saṁkiśā, a village in the Farrukabad district of U. P., situated 36 miles north by west from Kudarkot, 11 miles south west-east from Aliganj in the Azamgarh Pargana of the Etawah district and 40 miles north east from Etawah. According to some Saṁkassa is Saṁkiśa or Saṁkisa Basantpura situated on the north bank of the river Ikṣumti, now called Kālindī between Atranji and Kannoj and 23 miles west of Fatehgarh in the district of Etawah and 45 miles north-west of Kannoj. According to Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya¹ it is four Yojanas distant from Gavīdhumat (2.3.28).²

According to Dr. B. S. Upadhyaya, it is very difficult to define the location of Śākrāvātāra and Śācītīrtha which have been mentioned by Kālidāsa in the Introductory scene (Prelude) of the sixth³ act and the middle of the Fifth⁴ act of his Abhijñānaśākuntalam.

According to Dr. Upadhyaya Śākuntala's dhīvara (fisherman) was a resident of Śākrāvātāra which formed such a political unit that included Śācītīrtha with in its fold. As is apparent from the appellation Śācītīratha was a place of pilgrimage situated on the Ganges near Hastināpura. Hence Śākrāvātāra mentioned by Kālidāsa and recurred by Dhanapāla was near Hastināpura where Meghavāhana came right from Ayodhyā to offer his homage to the shrine of the Siddhas having a fortification provided with arched gates and turrets rising high. It was well known on the earth on account of its being a primeval place of pilgrimage, an ornament of the garden on the outskirts of the capital.⁵ Meghavāhana had established the temple of Śrī situate to the pleasure mound and just in the centre of the Pleasure-grove.⁶

1. Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I. गवीधुमतो निःसृत्य सांकाश्यं चत्वारि योजनानि, MLBD Delhi, 1967, p. 455

2. HGAI p. 142.

3. शक्रावताराभ्यन्तरवासीधोवरः-and नूनं ते शक्रावतारभ्यन्तरे शचीतीर्थसलिलं वन्दमानायाः प्रभ्रष्टमंगुलीयकम्- p. 202 M. R. Kale.

4. शक्रावतारवासिको धोवरः and न खलु ते शक्रावतारे शचीतीर्थोदकमवगाहमानायाः प्रभ्रष्टमंगुलीयकम्। MR Kale p. 92.

5. नगरबाह्याराममण्डलमादितोर्थतया पृथिव्यां प्रथितमतिर्तुंगशिखरतोरणप्राकारं शक्रावतार नाम सिद्धायतनम् TM Vol. I pp. 106-107.

6. प्रमदवनमध्य एव सन्निधावाक्रीडपर्वतस्य..... देवतागृहमकारयत्। TM Vol. I pp. 103-104.

This version of Dhanapāla shows that Śākrāvātāra was a shrine of the Siddhas situated on the premises of the garden on the outskirts of the capital.

At another place he says referring to Meghavāhana

Having entered the middle of the Śākrāvātāra shrine and worshipped for long the adorable primeval god and having reached his own residence and performed the evening worship of Śrī with excessive devotion he sat there in meditation.¹

Yet at another place the shore of the Sarayū has been described as charming being close to the garden connected with the Śākrāvātārātīrtha (according to the commentator).²

“Śākrāvātārādītīrtha”³ refers to the place as a venue of pilgrimage.

Gaṅgādītīrtha referred to by Dhanapāla may be taken to mean the holy places of pilgrimage established on the confluences of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, Gaṅgā and Sarayū.⁴

Dhanapāla has mentioned a number of forest people like Kirātas,⁵ Ābhīras,⁶ Śābaras,⁷ Kīkaṭas,⁸ Niṣādas,⁹ Bhīllas,¹⁰ etc. along with¹¹ Huṇas,¹² Mlecchas also known as Nāhalas,¹³ Lubdhakas (hunters)¹⁴ and various classes of Devas,¹⁵ Asuras,¹⁶ also known as daityas and yātudhānas,

1. प्रविश्य च शक्रावतारयतनमध्यमाराध्य भगवन्तमतिचिरमादिदेवमागत्य सदनमुपपाद्य भक्त्यातिशयेन श्रियः सायन्तनीं सपर्यमभिमुखोभूय सम्मुखनिहितनिश्चललोचनो निषसाद। TM Vol. I p. 125.

2. शक्रावतारोद्धानसंनिधिरमणीये सरय्वाः परिसरे। TM Vol. II p. 226.

3. TM Sm. ed. p. 364.

4. KKB by Dr. B. S. Upadhyaya Part II p. 167.

5. TM Vol. II p. 291, 182, Sm. ed. 297, 290, Vol. III p. 138.

6. Ibid. Vol. II p. 242.

7. Ibid. Vol. II p. 316, Vol. III p. 68, 138, Sm. ed. p. 372, 353, TM pp. 64-65 Vol. III.

8. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 270, 298.

9. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 63, 84, Sm. ed. p. 415, Vol. II p. 289.

10. Ibid. Vol. III p. 68.

11. Ibid. Vol. III p. 33.

12. Ibid. Vol. III p. 81.

13. Ibid. Vol. III p. 63.

14. Ibid. Vol. III p. 65.

15. Ibid. Vol. I p. 116.

16. Ibid. Vol. I p. 107, Vol. III p. 81. (Sura)

Gandharvas,¹ Kinnaras,² Kimpuruṣas,³ Guhyakas,⁴ Vidyādharaś,⁵ and even Bhūtas,⁶ Sādhyas,⁷ Nāgas,⁸ Apsaras,⁹ Vetālas,¹⁰ Vāmanas,¹¹ Āryas,¹² Dānavas,¹³ Vaimānikas,¹⁴ Siddhas¹⁵ Apart from these he has referred to four types of Suranikāyas such as Bhuvanapati, Vyantara, Jyotiṣka, Vaimānika¹⁶ the species of divine beings gr̥hasthagīrvāṇas or the tutelary deities¹⁷ and variety of beings such as bearing one foot, faces of horses, necks lofty like the necks of the camel and limbs shaggy all over or having limbs shorn of shags.¹⁸ Urvaśī has been referred to among the Apsaras or the nymphs.¹⁹ A nāga prince Dharaṇa and his queen have been referred to.²⁰ A Kirātārāja named Parvataka far away from the west of the bridge, the causeway to Laṅkā²¹; The Vaimānika Jvalanaprabha and Sumālī, a deva,²² Bali and Madhu,²³ the dānava have been referred to; Daśāsya,²⁴ as Rāvaṇa a demon; Kubera²⁵ as the Lord of the Yakṣas or Guhyakas etc. also occur likewise.

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1. TM Vol. I p. 117, Vol. II p. 288, Vol. III p. 81, Vol. III p. 154, Vol. III p. 86.
 2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 117, Vol. II p. 310
 3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 117, Vol. III p. 133 Vol. III p. 139.
 4. Ibid. Vol. III p. 86, Vol. III p. 154.
 5. Ibid. Vol. I p. 148, Vol. III pp. 7, 11, 81, 122, Sm. ed. 409.
 6. Ibid. Vol. I p. 117.
 7. Ibid. Vol. I p. 117.
 8. Ibid. Vol. I p. 117. as Viṣadhara
 9. Ibid. Vol. I p. 119.
 10. Ibid. Vol. I p. 132.
 11. Ibid. Vol. II p. 315, 183.
 12. Ibid. Vol. III p. 68.
 13. Ibid. Vol. III p. 143.
 14. Ibid. Vol. II p. 175.
 15. Ibid. Vol. III p. 86, Vol. I p. 117.
 16. Ibid. Vol. I p. 115.
 17. Ibid. Vol. I p. 117.
 18. Ibid. Vol. III p. 68.
 19. Ibid. Vol. I p. 119.
 20. Ibid. Vol. III p. 73.
 21. Ibid. Vol. II p. 291.
 22. Ibid. Vol. I p. 116, Vol. I p. 115.
 23. Ibid. Vol. III p. 143.
 24. Ibid. Vol. II p. 291.
 25. Ibid. Vol. II p. 291.

According to Dr. D. K. Gupta Kirātas were termed 'Śabaras,' "Bhillas" and "Pulindas" in Daṇḍin and lived at the foothills of the Himālaya. They also occupied the regions of Vindhya and Satpurā ranges. The Kinnaras according to him occupied the region to the west of Kailāsa and Mānasa lake.¹ Dhanapāla has referred to Parvataka the Kirātarāja who ruled far away from Raṅgaśālā the capital of the Siṃhalas (modern Ceylon, alias Srilanka) from where Samaraketu had launched a campaign against him in order to subjugate him in so far as he was proud on account of his mighty host of armies and impregnable forts and had taken to the path of looting.²

अविलम्बितगतिश्च पश्चिमेन सेतोर्गत्वातिदूरमूरीकृतचौर्यवृत्तेरतिविषमदुर्गबलगवितस्य पर्वतकनाम्नः
किरतराजस्य राजधान्यामवस्कन्दमप्रतीकृतमय..... स्वशिपिराभिमुखोऽभवम्।

"Rathnaūpuracakravāla," the ornament of the southern range of the Vijayārdha has been called the capital of the Vidyādharas. It was obviously on the Himālayan range as already observed.³

According to Dr. B. S. Upadhyaya-

Kirātas in-habited the foothills of the Himālaya and likewise the Kinnaras too inhabited the same regions.⁴ Kinnaras according to him, were, however, distinct from the Kirātas and were counted along with the Yakṣas (Guhyakas of Dhanapāla) and Gandharvas. According to Jayacandra Vidyālamkāra, the abode of the Kinnaras lay in modern Kinnaur in the upper valley of Sutlej where the top currents of Candrabhāgā approach very closely.⁵ Dr. Upadhyaya concurs with Dr. D. K. Gupta in establishing the habitat of Kinnaras to the west of Kailāsa and the Mānasa lake.⁶ Gāndhāra, perhaps the Gandharva Janapada of Kālidāsa extended from river Kunar to Takṣaśilā (modern-Taxila) on the south east of Hindukush.⁷ According to Dr. Upadhyaya In the Sindhu lived the Gandharvas or the Gāndhāras who were defeated by Bharata. This country was divided by Bharata between his two sons Takṣa and Puṣkala who built the capitals Takṣaśilā and Puṣkalāvati after their own names (modern Taxila and Bāṣkala).⁸

Hence Gandharvas lived in the Sindhu region.

1. KSN p. 117.

2. TM Vol. II p. 291.

3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 366.

4. KKB Part I p. 108.

5. Ibid. pp. 108-09.

6. Ibid.

7. KSN p. 117 Ragh. V. XV 88.

8. KKB Part I p. 117. MBh., Sabhā P. x. 14 refers Kinnaras as Gandharvas.

Dhanapāla has referred to Hūṇa king killed by Nītivarmā the army in chief of the Northern direction which implies that during the times of Dhanapāla Hūṇas had advanced far into the north and established their independent kingdom.¹

Dhanapāla refers to the forest lying midway between the mountains Ekaśṛṅga and Vaitāḍhya having the forest tribes mainly consisting of the Kimpuruṣas who have been identified with Kinnaras by the commentator. Dr. B. C. Law takes the Hemakūṭa region as the Kimpuruṣavarṣa and the Haimavata region as Kinnara Khaṇḍa.²

5. FLORA AND FAUNA SEASONS

Of the flora Dhanapāla has mentioned the trees such as Akṣa³ The tree Terminalia balerica or the seed of its fruit. The seeds of its fruits appear to have been strung together to be used as Rosaries.⁴

Mahāvaṭa druma and Aśvattha-⁵ Pippala tree.⁶ Kāñcanāra- Kondāra. Akṣoṭa-⁷ Walnut.

He has also referred to- Tamāla⁸ Mandāra,⁹ Tāmbūla¹⁰ Kokanada (red lotus),¹¹ Śirīṣa,¹² Cūta and Sahakāra (mango tree),¹³ Bālakadalī or Rambhā (Plantain),¹⁴ Bakula¹⁵ and Mallikā,¹⁶ Bandhūka,¹⁷ Saptacchada,¹⁸

1. TM Vol. III p. 33.

2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 133.

3. HGA I p. 97.

4. TM Vol. I p. 86. cp Ragh V. XIII 43; Kum. S. III. 46, p. 88. Vol. III.

5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 256. Mahāvaṭadruma., Kālid. Kośa by S. C. Banerji p. 2.

6. KKB B. S. Upādhāya p. 66.

7. TM Vol. II p. 282.

8. Ibid. Vol. I p. 87, Vol. III p. 12, Sm. Ed. p. 361, Sm. Ed. 372, Sm. ed. 418, Vol. III p. 72, 131, 139, 159, 173.

9. Ibid. Vol. I p. 112, Vol. II p. 288, Sm. ed. p. 405, Vol. II p. 87.

10. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 163, 271, Vol. III p. 12, Sm ed. p. 353, 368, Vol. III p. 121, Sm ed. p. 305.

11. Ibid. Vol. I p. 144.

12. Ibid. Vol. II p. 237, Sm. ed. p. 338, Vol. II p. 235.

13. Ibid. Vol. II p. 237, 247, 288, Sm. Ed. p. 311, Vol. III 86, Sm. Ed. p. 297. L.D. Pera 90.

14. Ibid. Vol. II p. 237, 318, Vol. III pp. 5, 121, 23, 90, 123, 23, 172, Sm ed. 311.

15. Ibid. Vol. II p. 239, p. 287, Sm. ed. 324, Vol. III p. 86, 157, Sm. ed. pp. 297, 301.

16. Ibid. Vol. II p. 239, Vol. III p. 27.

17. Ibid. Vol. II p. 253 Vol. III p. 94.

18. Ibid. Vol. II p. 253 Vol. III p. 86.

Kalama (red rice),¹ Priyaṅgumañjarī (the panic seed),² Ikṣu (sugarcane),³ Śākaśākata (the fields of green potherbs or vegetables),⁴ Vraiheya (field of rice),⁵ Trapuṣa Karkārūka and Kārvella (Khīrā, Pumpkin and Karelā),⁶ Kuvalaya (blue lotus),⁷ Mālatī,⁸ Aśoka,⁹ Vidruma (coral tree),¹⁰ Nalavana or Nalastamba (The reed stalks),¹¹ Akṣata (wild rice soaked in water),¹² Tilaka,¹³ Campaka,¹⁴ Pūga (aeronaut),¹⁵ Lavaṅga (clove)¹⁶ Vetralatā,¹⁷ Candana¹⁸ also Known as Śrīkhaṇḍa, Lavalī,¹⁹ Karpūra,²⁰ Atimuktalatā,²¹ Paṅkaja,²² Punnāgapādapa,²³ Kanakāmbuja or Kāñcanāravinda, Kanaka Puṇḍarīka- Hemāravinda, Kanakarājīva (golden lotus),²⁴ Kumuda and Indīvara,²⁵ Sarasavānīra Vīrudh,²⁶ Pāṭalā (trumpet),²⁷

1. TM Vol. II p. 255.
2. Ibid. Vol. II p. 255, 271 Vol. III p. 86.
3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 260.
4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 260.
5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 260.
6. Ibid. Vol. II p. 261.
7. Ibid. Vol. II p. 261.
8. Ibid. Vol. II p. 271, Sm. ed. p. 297.
9. Ibid. Vol. II p. 273, Vol. III p. 157, Sm. ed. pp. 301, 297, Vol. II 287, 328, Vol. III pp. 154, 94, 159.
10. Ibid. Vol. II p. 273.
11. Ibid. Vol. III p. 63, Vol. III p. 158.
12. Ibid. Vol. II p. 282.
13. Ibid. Vol. II p. 287, Sm. ed. pp. 369, Vol. III p. 174, 157.
14. Ibid. Vol. II p. 287, Sm. ed. p. 297.
15. Ibid. Vol. III p. 87. Vol. III p. 71.
16. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 288, 298, Vol. III p. 85, 173, 157.
17. Ibid. Vol. II p. 294.
18. Ibid. Vol. II p. 235, Sm. ed. p. 303, Vol. III p. 87, Vol. II p. 298, Sm. ed. pp. 311, 320, 281, 405, 369.
19. Ibid. Vol. III p. 90. Vol. III pp. 12, 84.
20. Ibid. Vol. II p. 298.
21. Ibid. Vol. III p. 2, Sm. ed. p. 301.
22. Ibid. Vol. II p. 318.
23. Ibid. Vol. III p. 12, Vol. III p. 85, Sm. ed. p. 304.
24. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 12, 72, Vol. III 78, Sm. ed. p. 360.
25. Ibid. Vol. III p. 20.
26. Ibid. Vol. III p. 26, Vol. III p. 73.
27. Ibid. Vol. III p. 27, Sm. ed. p. 297, Vol. II p. 236.

Kuṭaja drumā,¹ Ketakī,² Śallakī,³ etc. Kamala, Kumuda and Kuvalaya⁴ (red lotus, white lotus and blue lotus). He has also referred to Mādhavī,⁵ Kimpāka (a poisonous fruit),⁶ Nalinīpalāśa,⁷ Dāḍima (Pomegranate)⁸ Rājādana,⁹ Tinduka,¹⁰ Arjuna,¹¹ Nāga or Nāgavellī and Nāgakesara,¹² Sāla,¹³ Ambhojinī,¹⁴ Plakṣa,¹⁵ Picumanda,¹⁶ Udumbara,¹⁷ Sarala (a kind of pine or Devadāra tree)¹⁸ Sarja,¹⁹ Nirguṇḍilatā²⁰ Guñja²¹ Bālapuṣkara²² Kalpaśākhī or Surapādapa or Pārijāta,²³ Lāmañjaka (Vīraṇa corn)²⁴ Vañjula,²⁵ (cane), Elā (cardamen)²⁶ Kakkola (berries)²⁷ Nīpa (Kadamba)²⁸ Rodhra (or Lodhra its pollen was used by women as cosmetic),²⁹ Pippalīphala,³⁰ Kālāguru or

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1. TM Vol. III p. 30, Sm. ed. 370.
 2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 30, Vol. III p. 83, Sm ed. p. 278, Sm. ed. p. 304, Vol. II p. 236.
 3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 39.
 4. Ibid. Vol. III p. 31, Sm. ed. p. 324, Vol. III p. 121.
 5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 324, Sm. ed. p. 297, Sm. ed. p. 236 Vol.
 6. Ibid. p. 338 Sm. ed. pp. 334-335 Sm. ed.
 7. Ibid. p. 360 Sm. ed.
 8. Ibid. p. 370 Sm. ed.
 9. Ibid. p. 370 Sm. ed.
 10. Ibid. p. 397 Sm. ed.
 11. Ibid. p. 369 Sm. ed. p. 372 Sm. ed. p. 63. Vol. III.
 12. Ibid. p. 370 Sm. ed. p. 171 Vol. III p. 278 Sm. ed. p. 304 Sm. ed.
 13. Ibid. p. 372 Sm. ed.
 14. Ibid. p. 391 Sm. ed.
 15. Ibid. p. 397 Sm. ed.
 16. Ibid. p. 397 Sm. ed.
 17. Ibid. p. 297 Sm. ed.
 18. Ibid. Vol. III p. 63, 121.
 19. Ibid. Vol. III p. 63.
 20. Ibid. Vol. III p. 63.
 21. Ibid. Vol. III p. 65, Vol. III p. 129.
 22. Ibid. Vol. III p. 70.
 23. Ibid. Vol. III p. 76, Vol. III p. 87, Vol. III p. 101, Vol. III p. 119.
 24. Ibid. Vol. III p. 84.
 25. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 84, 85.
 26. Ibid. Vol. III p. 85, Vol. III p. 174.
 27. Ibid. Vol. III p. 85, Vol. III p. 173.
 28. Ibid. Vol. III p. 86, Vol. II p. 235, Vol. III p. 29, Vol. III p. 100.
 29. Ibid. Vol. III p. 86.
 30. Ibid. Vol. III p. 86.

Kṛṣṇāguru¹ (Black aloe wood), Granthiparna² (a type of grass eaten by the musk deer), Namru (trees)³ Samtānaka tree,⁴ Tagara,⁵ Madhūka,⁶ (bassi-a Latifolia), Nīlanāgalatā⁷ (blue areca nut creeper), Śyāmalatā or (Priyaṅgu),⁸ Kimśuka or Palāśa,⁹ Kataka tree,¹⁰ Kramuka,¹¹ Nāgarakhaṇḍa,¹² ghanasāra¹³ (Camphor), Lakuca,¹⁴ Sinduvāra,¹⁵ Kimkirāta, Karṇikāra,¹⁶ Kurabaka,¹⁷ Muchukunda,¹⁸ Khadira,¹⁹ (Catechu) etc. and Jalajambū trees.²⁰ Dhanapāla has also referred to Nāraṅga (orange) TM p. 172 Vol. III. Panasa (a bread fruit), Nalikeri or nalikela (cocoanut) p. 172 Vol.III P. 293 Vo.II and Kharjūrataru p. 293 Vol. II (date palm).

Fauna

Of the fauna Dhanapāla has mentioned a number of Birds, Beasts, Fish and other aquatic beings along with the sea fauna.

Of the birds, he has mentioned Peacock known variantly in Sanskrit as:- Śikhāṇḍī,²¹ Mayūra,²² Nīlakaṇṭha,²³ Pracalākī,²⁴ Śikhī,²⁵ Kalāpī,²⁶ Śitikaṇṭha,²⁷ Barhiṇa,²⁸ etc.

1. TM Vol. III p. 86, Sm. ed. p. 303.
2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 86.
3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 87.
4. Ibid. Vol. III p. 87.
5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 87.
6. Ibid. Vol. III p. 87.
7. Ibid. Vol. III p. 87.
8. Ibid. Vol. III p. 88.
9. Ibid. Vol. III p. 119, Sm. ed. p. 297.
10. Ibid. Vol. III p. 174.
11. Ibid. Vol. III p. 174.
12. Ibid. Vol. III p. 174.
13. Ibid. III p. 86. L.7
14. Ibid. Vol. III p. 157.
15. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 297.
16. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 297.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 304, Vol. III p. 45.
20. Ibid. Vol. II p. 236.
21. Ibid. Vol. I p. 73, II p. 236, III p. 298, III p. 30, 90, 133, Sm. ed. pp. 301, 361.
22. Ibid. Vol. I p. 89, Vol. II p. 238, Vol. III p. 70, Vol. III p. 95, TM Sm. ed. p. 426.
23. Ibid. Vol. II p. 320, Vol. III p. 140, Sm. ed. p. 351
24. Ibid. Vol. III p. 85.
25. Ibid. Vol. III p. 90, Sm. ed. p. 337.
26. Ibid. Vol. III p. 95.
27. Ibid. Vol. III p. 116.
28. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 329.

The Cuckoo known variantly as-

Kokila,¹ Pika,² Kalakanṭha,³ Parabhr̥ta,⁴ etc. Hansa⁵ also known as Mallikākṣa,⁶ rājahansa,⁷ Cakravāka⁸ also known as Cakranāmā,⁹ Koka,¹⁰ Cātaka,¹¹ Garuḍa,¹² Cakora,¹³ Hārīta,¹⁴ Kādamba¹⁵, Kapota¹⁶ also known as Pārāpata¹⁷, Kurara,¹⁸ Sārasa,¹⁹ Sārīka,²⁰ Śuka²¹ also known as Kīra,²² Madhukara²³ also known as Ali,²⁴ Madhupa,²⁵ Śaṭpada,²⁶ Śaṭcaraṇa,²⁷

1. TM Vol. II p. 170, p. 235, p. 273, Vol. III p. 86, Sm. ed. p. 297, Sm. ed. p. 401.
2. Ibid. Vol. II p. 288, Sm. ed. p. 297.
3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 237.
4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 133, Vol. III p. 157, Sm. ed. p. 314.
5. Ibid. Vol. I p. 82, Vol. II p. 211, p. 238, p. 237. p. 300, Vol. III p. 73, p. 147, Sm. ed. p. 317.
6. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 408, Vol. III p. 88.
7. Ibid. Vol. II p. 329, Vol. III p. 6, Vol. III p. 9. Vol. III (Kalah amsa) p. 12. Vol. III p. 29, Vol. III p. 72.
8. Ibid. Vol. I p. 144, Vol. II p. 299, Vol. III p. 45. Vol. III p. 84, Vol. III p. 160, Sm. ed. p. 311, Sm. ed. p., 351. (Rathāṅga TM. Vol. III p. 74)
9. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 351.
10. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 302, Sm. ed. p. 311, Sm. ed. p. 359.
11. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 418, Vol. III p. 84, Vol. III p. 95.
12. Ibid. Vol. III p. 139, Vol. II p. 267 (tārksya), Vol. III p. 73.
13. Ibid. Vol. II p. 170.
14. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 316, 329.
15. Ibid. Vol. III p. 95, Vol. III p. 105, Vol. II p. 255.
16. Ibid. Vol. III p. 86.
17. Ibid. Vol. II p. 325, Vol. III p. 95, Vol. III p. 105.
18. Ibid. Vol. II p. 255, Vol. III p. 173.
19. Ibid. Vol. III p. 79.
20. Ibid. Vol. II p. 162, Vol. II p. 167, Vol. II p. 170.
21. Ibid. Vol. II p. 162, Vol. II p. 167, Vol. III p. 170, Vol. II p. 237, Vol. II p. 308, 316, Vol. III pp. 5, 55, 56, 64.
22. Ibid. Vol. II p. 255, Vol. III p. 34.
23. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 239, 255, 288, Vol. III p. 80, 83, Sm. ed. p. 360.
24. Ibid. Vol. II p. 237, Vol. III p. 41, Sm. ed. p. 354.
25. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 370.
26. Ibid. Vol. II p. 236, Vol. III p. 6, 21,
27. Ibid. Vol. III p. 91, Sm. ed. p. 305, Sm. ed. p. 351, Śaḍaṅghri Vol. III p. 78.

Madhulih,¹ Bhr̥ṅga,² Cañcarīka,³ Madhukṛt,⁴ Kāka and also Vāyasa,⁵ Krauñca⁶ (A Heron), Kalaviṅka,⁷ (Sparrow) also known as Caṭaka,⁸ Madgu⁹ (a water crow), Bhārūṇḍa,¹⁰ Ulūka¹¹ (an owl) also known as Kauśika,¹² Gaurakhara¹³ (a squirrel), Kṛkavāku also Kukkuṭa (a cock),¹⁴ Baka¹⁵ (a crane), Śalabha,¹⁶ Dātyūha¹⁷ (Droṇakāka- a type of crow having a black neck-Kālakaṇṭha) etc. and Khañjarīṭa (p, 86 Vol. II), Kapiñjala (Ibid.), Of the Beasts he has mentioned the elephant known variantly Anekapa,¹⁸ Dvipa,¹⁹ Nāgarāja,²⁰ Dvirada,²¹ Sāmaja,²² Karī,²³ Karaṭī,²⁴ Hastī,²⁵ Gaja,²⁶ Vyāla,²⁷ Ibha,²⁸ Kuñjara,²⁹ Dantin,³⁰ Stamberama,³¹ Vāraṇa,³² Sindhura and

1. TM Vol. III p. 107.
2. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 353, Vol. III p. 148, Sm. ed. p. 401.
3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 351. Vol. II. p. 326.
4. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 401.
5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 167, Vol. II p. 273.
6. Ibid. Vol. I p. 44. TM, II p. 262. L.9, Vol. III p. 85.
7. Ibid. Vol. II p. 166, Vol. II p. 273.
8. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 330.
9. Ibid. Vol. II p. 273, Vol. III p. 74.
10. Ibid. Vol. II p. 294, Vol. II p. 308. Vol. III p. 131.
11. Ibid. Vol. II p. 316, Sm. ed. p. 351.
12. Ibid. Vol. III p. 136.
13. Ibid. Vol. III p. 65.
14. Ibid. Vol. II p.316, Vol. III p. 84 (Kukkuṭa)
15. Ibid. Vol. III p. 74.
16. Ibid. Vol. III p. 95.
17. Ibid. Vol. III p. 135.
18. Ibid. Vol. III p. 127.
19. Ibid. Vol. III p. 35, Vol. III p. 42, Vol. III p. 46.
20. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 370.
21. Ibid. Vol. II p. 259, p. 37, Sm. ed. p. 361, Sm. ed. p. 355.
22. Ibid. Vol. II p. 195.
23. Ibid. Vol. I p. 44, Vol. II p. 259, Vol. II p. 276, Vol. III p. 329.
24. Ibid. Vol. III p. 49, Vol. III p. 141.
25. Ibid. Vol. II p. 165, Vol. III p. 45.
26. Ibid. Vol. III p. 83.
27. Ibid. Vol. II p. 259, Vol. III p. 40.
28. Ibid. Vol. II p. 254, Vol. III p. 70, Vol. III p. 75.
29. Ibid. Vol. III p. 73, Vol. III p. 144.
30. Ibid. Vol. II p. 259, Vol. III p. 37.
31. Ibid. Vol. III p. 128.
32. Ibid. Vol. III p. 37, p. 41, p. 139, Sm. ed. p. 322, Vol. III p. 235 (Sindhura).

Mātāṅga etc. Rkṣa¹ also known with a special variety white bear 'acchabhalla,² Gavaya³ or Gavala,⁴ Aranyamahīṣa,⁵ or Vanamahīṣa (Bison or a Yāk), Kareṇu⁶ (a female tusker), Camara⁷ (a yāk or a camarī-deer), Karabha,⁸ Kola⁹ (Hog) also known as Varāha,¹⁰ Potrī,¹¹ Kṛṣṇasāra¹² or Kṛṣṇamṛga,¹³ Eṇaka, sārāṅga,¹⁴ Kuraṅga,¹⁵ Śārdūla¹⁶ also known as Vyāghra,¹⁷ dvīpī¹⁸ (a leopard), Simha, Kesarī¹⁹ Mṛgārāti,²⁰ Kaṇṭhīraṇa,²¹ Ajagar,²² (Aboa), Kapi²³ also known as Śākhāmṛga,²⁴ Sārameya²⁵ also known as Kauleyaka²⁶ (Hound), Śarabha,²⁷ Kastūrikāmṛga,²⁸ Maṇḍūka²⁹ also known as Dardura,³⁰ Bhēka,³¹ Prdāku³², (Snake) also known as ahi, Vṛṣa³³ also

1. TM Vol. III p. 37.
2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 65.
3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 129.
4. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 353.
5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 270, Vol. III p. 34, Vol. III p. 35, Vol. III p. 37, Vol. III p. 129, Vol. III p. 140.
6. Ibid. Vol. II p. 259, Vol. III 78.
7. Ibid. Vol. III p. 35.
8. Ibid. Vol. II p. 259.
9. Ibid. Vol. III p. 65, Vol. III p. 84.
10. Ibid. Vol. II p. 254, Vol. II p. 264, Vol. III p. 35, Vol. III p. 37, Vol. III p. 80.
11. Ibid. Vol. III p. 131.
12. Ibid. Vol. III p. 116.
13. Ibid. Vol. II p. 288, Vol. III p. 35.
14. Ibid. Vol. III p. 65.
15. Ibid. Vol. III p. 26, Vol. III p. 83 (Haraṇa), Vol. III p. 86, Vol. III p. 91.
16. Ibid. Vol. II p. 254.
17. Ibid. Vol. I p. 135.
18. Ibid. Vol. III p. 35.
19. Ibid. Vol. II p. 264, Vol. III p. 316, Vol. III p. 73.
20. Ibid. Vol. II p. 206, Vol. III p. 35, Mṛgapati, Sm. ed. p. 398, Vol. III p. 139, (Mṛgendra) Sm. ed. p. 353 Kesarī Sm. ed. p. 426.
21. Ibid. Vol. III p. 65.
22. Ibid. Vol. III p. 65, Vol. III p. 138.
23. Ibid. Vol. II p. 259, Vol. II p. 316, Vol. III p. 70. (Vānara) Vol. III p. 86.
24. Ibid. Vol. III p. 65.
25. Ibid. Vol. III p. 65.
26. Ibid. Vol. II p. 257.
27. Ibid. Vol. II p. 254, Vol. III p. 37, Vol. III p. 65.
28. Ibid. Vol. III p. 133.
29. Ibid. Vol. II p. 307.
30. Ibid. Vol. III p. 30, Vol. III p. 129.
31. TM Vol. II p. 256.
32. TM Vol. II p. 267, (Sarpa), Vol. II p. 273 (Uraga) Vol. III p. 128 (Viṣadhara) p. 129 (Prdāku).
33. TM Vol. II p. 255, Vol. II p. 259, Vol. II p. 270.

Vṛṣabha known as anuḍuh (anadvān),¹ Saurabheyah,² cow known as go;³ Horse known as turaga,⁴ Vājī,⁵ Aśva;⁶ a mule as Aśvatara,⁷ a calf as Taraṇaka,⁸ a camel as Kramelaka,⁹ a tortoise as Kamaṭha and Kūrmī (Kūrma).¹⁰

The Fish, Aquatics and Sea Fauna

Dhanapāla has mentioned Ayodhyā surrounded by a huge circle of moat having its ripples terrific with the Hippopotamuses, Crocodiles and long nosed alligators.¹¹ करिमकरकुम्भीरभीषणोर्मिणा..... महता खातवलयेन।

He also mentions 'timi' or 'timiṅgila'¹² a kind of whale or a fabulous fish of enormous size.¹³ It has been described that the throttling of necks used to be most frequent in case of whales and no strangulations were possible in the reign of Meghavāhana (तिमोनांगलग्रहः).¹⁴

He refers to the word 'Makara'¹⁵ also known as 'Grāha'¹⁶ a shark in point of describing Cupid as a shark bannered god.

According to M. Williams— 'Makara' is a sea-monster sometimes confounded with the crocodile, shark, dolphin, regarded as the emblem of Kāmadeva.¹⁷

Śakula¹⁸— a kind of fish, perhaps a gilt head.¹⁹

1. TM Vol. II p. 259, Yugya Vol. II p. 270- a vehicle bull.

2. Ibid. Vol. II p. 258.

3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 258.

4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 256, Vol. III p. 116 (turāṅga).

5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 259, Sm. ed. p. 322.

6. Ibid. Vol. III p. 40, Vol. II p. 202 (Haya).

7. Ibid. Vol. II p. 256.

8. Ibid. Vol. II p. 257.

9. Ibid. Vol. II p. 259

10. Ibid. Vol. II p. 264, Vol. II p. 296.

11. Ibid. Vol. I p. 44 On Kumbhira- along nosed alligator (Monier Williams) Skt. Eng. Dic.

12. Ibid. Vol. I p. 68 Cp. Raghuvamśa XIII. 10, TM Vol. II p. 296, Vol. III p. 73.

13. Skt. Eng. Dict. M. Williams.

14. TM. I, p. 68 L. 1

15. Ibid. Vol. II p. 233, Vol. II p. 307, Vol. II p. 279, Sm. ed. p. 319, Vol. II p. 294, Vol. II p. 296.

16. Ibid. Vol. II p. 307, 311

17. Skt. Eng. Dict. p. 771

18. TM Vol. II p. 257, Vol. II p. 307.

19. M. Williams. p. 1046

Śaphara¹— a kind of bright little fish that glistens when darting about in shallow water.²

Jalakari³— A Hippopotamus, a water elephant also Jalahasti known as Kariyādas. Nakra in (नक्रादिजलचरवह्नितलोचनैः) 'qualifying 'कैवर्तैः' — the navigators that surrounded Taraka; means an alligator. The narrow of an alligator improved the vision and guarded it against the effect of certain poison effecting it in the sea.

'Śimśumāra',⁵ a porpoise.⁶

'A Simhamakara'⁷— a lion-faced Crocodile.

'Dundubha'⁸— a water snake-and Takṣakāśīviṣa.

Seasons

Dhanapāla has referred to all the six season.

The Summer, The Rains, The Autumn, The frost season, The Cold season and the Spring season at regular intervals in the text of Tilakamañjarī.⁹

Summer has been termed 'grīṣmasamaya' wherein it was convenient to rise up in morning and to take a bath in the early hours was not menacing. It was rather soothing. Harivāhana is shown here even taking his breakfast in these hours. The clusters of fresh clouds following it have been described as darkening the foreground of the outer garden Mattakokila, situated on the shores of the Sarayū. It has also been called 'Nidāgha' which torments the wayfarers who are prone to prepare the leafy couches in the arbours of Mādhavī-creepers having their centres surrounded by the water-basins replenished with water.

The precinct of the shores of Sarayū had canopies of the rays of the sun sultry during summer, benumbed by the sprays of the icy cold water showered by their being pierced by the breeze.¹⁰

1. TM Vol. III p. 262, Vol. II p. 274.

2. M Williams p. 1052

3. TM Vol. II p. 265, Vol. II p. 279, Vol. II p. 307.

4. Ibid. Vol. III p. 189, Vol. II p. 274, Vol. II p. 307, Vol. II p. 305.

5. Ibid. Vol. II p.305.

6. M. Williams. p. 1069

7. TM Vol. II p. 305.

8. Ibid. Vol. II p. 279. L. 9 TM Vol. III p. 50.

9. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 234-235, TM Vol. III p. 89.

10. Ibid. Vol. II p. 236.

The water pavilion (Jalamaṇḍapa) has been described as the fort establishment of Śīsira during the ruthless onslaughts of the summer.¹

दुर्गनिर्विशेषमिव ग्रीष्मनिर्दयावस्कन्देषु शिशिरस्य।

The anguish of Harivāhana pining for Tilakamañjarī carrying series of hot tear's flowing ceaselessly has been compared to the Nidāghasamaya (Summer Season) carrying a series of hot waves blowing ceaselessly.²

'Gharmartu' is another variant employed for summer season an unpretentious foe of love smitten heart, a counterpart to cupid (Manmatha), both tormenting Harivāhana simultaneously; Having seen him in that state, the advent of rains (lit. clouds) obliging unto entire populace took descent on the earth.³

The wells in the summer have networks of the boughs of trees hanging over them scorched and loosened by heat or the wells in the summer have very few spots brimming with water.⁴ The current of Yamunā has been described as terrific with a couple of whirlpools having their interior the reflection of the Summer sun.⁵

The Summer days have been described as acting fuels to the fire of conflagration consuming the mountain with the flickering flames.⁶

Rainy Season

It has been termed 'Ambudhārāgamah' the advent of clouds, which is spiteful towards the heat of the earth or which is spiteful towards the torment of the beings and is welcome to the peacocks.⁷

The array of the clouds of the Rainy season have been described as awe-inspiring for the people on account of its being instrumental in blocking the communications and supplies.⁸

'Jaladāgama'⁹ is another variant for this season which had been referred to as creating stir in the water of the celestial stream (Mandākinī). Rains abound in showers of unending sprays of water.¹⁰

1. TM Vol. II p. 238.

2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 28.

3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 29.

4. Ibid. Vol. I p. 88.

5. Ibid. Vol. I p. 130.

6. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 399.

7. भूतापददुहमम्बुधरागमसाधुमयूराणाम्। TM Vol. I p. 89.

8. कृतसारसंरोधश्च प्रावृषेयजलधरव्यूह इव पौरलोकानां महान्तमातंकमकरोत्। TM Vol. II p. 195.

9. जलदागमरमक्षुभितममरापगापूरजलमिव TM Vol. II p. 202.

10. अविस्लजलासारवर्षासु वर्षासु TM Vol. II p. 193.

Cupid or the emotive aberration of love is prone to raise aloft the arc stave (meant to entice the hearts of young men).¹

The water pavilion encircled round on all sides by the thick currents of water flowing out from the sluices or conduits made of moon gem stone placed thereon constantly, with groups of peacocks made to dance at the clamorous rumble of the mechanical clouds of the rainy seas on showering forth rains. (उपरि वर्षतां च प्रावृषेण्यन्त्रजलधाराणामुद्धरनिनादनर्तितमयूरमण्डलेन...) ² which follow summer and prove soothing to the populace tormented by the scorching heat of the latter.³

The Rainy clouds are normally azure in hue.⁴

The streams in the rains carry turbid waters.⁵ which grow limpid in Autumn. The early clouds or the clouds of the early season create an untimely hazy horizon.⁶

He has also mentioned a variety of clouds and their associated phenomena.

“Akāḷajaladhara”⁷ The ultimately clouds or the clouds that hover about out of season and normally spell disaster in the form of floods and inundations.

Samvartaka⁸ clouds. The clouds at the destruction of the world.⁹

Utpātajaladhara¹⁰ is another expression employed to signify the clouds at the destruction of the world.

Pralayajaladhara ¹¹ is another variant for the Puṣkara and Āvartaka¹² that have also been mentioned.

Autumn

The sportive, sweet and indistinct noted female swans have been described as welcoming the Autumn.¹³

1. TM Vol. II p. 233.

2. TM Vol. II p. 238.

3. TM III p. 29 LL. 4-5.

4. प्रावृषेण्यन्त्रजलधराणामुद्धरनिनादनर्तितमयूरमण्डलेन TM Vol. III p. 82.

5. TM Sm. ed. p. 299.

6. प्रथमपाथोदाः इव स्वप्रमान्वकारदर्शिताः कालदुर्दिनाः - TM SM. ed. p. 399.

7. TM Vol. I p. 141, Vol. III p. 39.

8. TM Vol. II pp. 203, 263, Vol. II p. 319. संवर्तकाम्यु दुर्दिन इव करिशीकरा सौरैः -

9. Skt. Eng. Dict. M. Williams. p. 1116.

10 TM Vol. II. p. 210

11. Ibid. Vol. III p. 39. See also Meghadūta verse 6 (Pūrvamegha).

12. Ibid. p. 143 Vol. III.

13. शरत्कालागतिः केलिकलहंसीनाम्। TM Vol. I p. 82.

The Moon of the full moon night has been described as shining forth as if having donned the scarlet robes, out of bash fullness for his defeat before the faces of the city maidens during the nights of the Autumn season.¹

The diurnal glory of the Autumn carries the shadows advanced ahead by the fresh sunshine.²

The Autumnal nights are normally moon lit nights where in the gloom of the dark fortnight vanishes away.³

The Autumnal sky affords pleasure by its variegated texture of the glow of stellars and moon, to the people who wake up at the end of the night.⁴

Hemanta, Śīśira, Vasanta

The nights of Hemanta had frost falling during their course.⁵ The fire brands or furnaces were got to be used to keep away cold. But Dhanapāla describes Ayodhyā having its breezes blowing without rendering the groves of lotuses grown in the sportive oblong tanks marred by frost or snow. The applications of the sandal unguents were not discarded because the breezes were being struck against by the heats of the breasts of the young maidens, accelerated by their coming into contact with the snow. Hemanta has been further described as adorned with cold windows existing hard by or adorned with the emissions of cold breezes approaching close or adorned with the emissions of the breezes of the Śīśira season approaching immediately afterwards.⁶

“बालचन्दनवृक्षखण्डस्येवाध्वगमित मार्गसहस्यशिशिर सुरभेः”⁷

Refers to Hemanta comprising of Mārgaśīrṣa and Pauṣa,⁸ Śīśira (Māgha and Phālguna),⁹ Vasanta (represented here by Surabhīh) (Caitra and Vaiśākha)¹⁰ “अकालनीहारवृष्टिमिव”¹¹ refers to the existence of the showers of frost

1. शरत्कालरजनीषु पौरजनीवदनपराजययया प्रतिपन्नकाषाय इव व्यराजतऽपार्वणो रजनिजानिः - TM Vol. I p. 57.
2. TM Vol. III p. 5.
3. शरत्त्रिशाकरभयाद् बहुलपक्षपात्न्यकारमिव पिण्डीभूतम्। TM Vol. III p. 85.
4. शरत्त्रय इव स्वातिचित्रोदयानन्दितनिशान्तप्रबुद्धलोकम्। TM Sm. cd. p. 371.
5. यस्यां च तुषार सम्पर्कपटुतैस्तुरुणीकुचोष्मभिरितस्ततस्ताड्यमाना हैमनीष्वपि क्षणदास्वमन्दीकृतचन्दनांगराग गौरवमदत्तांगारशकटिकासेवादरमप्सुक्षेलिवापिकापंकजवनमधुः प्रभञ्जनाः। TM Vol. I p. 57.
6. हेमन्तमिव समासत्रशिशिरवातायनादलंकृतम्। TM Vol. II p. 321.
7. TM. Vol. III pp. 68-69.
8. KKB. B. S. Upadhyaya p. 57.
9. KKB. B. S. Upadhyaya p. 57.
10. KKB. B. S. Upadhyaya p. 57.
11. TM. Vol. II p. 91.

in the Hemanta season. Śīśira can be understood only from 910 above, though it has been mentioned on TM p. 90, 89, Vol. III and p. 321 Vol. II. Spring has been referred to by Dhanapāla as 'vasanta'¹ Surabhi,² Madhu³ etc.

Spring is associated with the celebration of the festival of Anaṅga (Cupid or Kāmadeva).⁴

'Caitra vāta'⁵ has been used to mean Vasanta vāta.

"Caitra māsātma kavasantakālīka pavanasya"

Spring has been described as having its army sentinels in Tilaka, campaka, Aśoka, Punnāga, Nāgakesara and other chief trees which clung from all sides the shrine of Cupid who was ready to militate against the triad of worlds.⁶

1. TM Vol. I p. 77, Vol. III p. 91.

2. TM Vol. III p. 69, Vol. II p. 233.

3. TM Vol. I p. 56, Sm. ed. p. 304.

4. प्राप्ते वसन्तसमये समागतायामनंगोत्सवति। TM Vol. II p. 196.

5. TM Vol. II p. 310. also Commentary.

6. त्रीणिभुवनान्यमिषेणयितुमुद्यतस्य विषमवाणस्य बलदर्शनाय मधुना स्व सैन्ययोधैरिवाहतैस्तिलक चम्पकाशोकपुत्रागनागकेसरप्रभृतिभिः प्रधानपादपैः समन्तादुपगूढम् कामदेवायतनम्। TM Sm. ed. pp. 303, 304.

II. ADMINISTRATION AND STATECRAFT

1. STATE AND THE KING

Dhanapāla like many of his illustrious predecessors inherits the conception of construing (rājya) state as a body having aṅgas (limbs)¹ which have been counted as seven by Kauṭilya,² Śukra³ and Kālidāsa.⁴ The covert allusion to the seven constituent limbs of the body politic that a state is, is also indicated by the fact where by Meghavāhana has been construed as famous on account of his seven threads even when he was endowed with innumerable guṇas (threads; resources etc.). The apparent incongruity when solved, solves the hidden meaning as well. Guṇas taken technically mean expedients.. King Meghavāhana was provided with innumerable expedients and was known for his seven constituent limbs (of the State he was the supreme sovereign of)⁵. Śukra goes to the extent of naming Amātya as the eye, allies as the ears, Kośa as the mouth, army as the mind, durga and rāṣṭra as the two hands and two feet.⁶ That is why Dhanapāla remarks in context with Meghavāhana that even though he had amassed huge treasury, had subjugated all the vassals, had the cabinet of ministers amenable to him, had won over the group of allies, had his forts occupied by the guards; he made his kingdom over to (i.e. devolved the responsibilities of its administration upon) the group of the amātyas who were conversant with the science of polity in its entirety, who were foremost among the intelligentsia, who by intellect had their decided even Brhaspati, who were like his arm having shoulders capable of supporting the burden of the earth (Vasundharā) and who were his heart, as it were, with utmost amity secured from their very birth and who were the object of his great confidence.⁷ Hence Kośa,

1. तेजः एव दुष्टप्रसरं रुरोध राज्याङ्गमङ्गरक्षाः TM Vol. I p. 66.
2. स्वाम्यमात्यजनपददुर्गकोशदण्डमित्राणि प्रकृतयः KAŚ VI I. p. 164. R. P. Kangle Vol. I.
3. स्वाम्यमात्यसुहृत्कोशराष्ट्रदुर्गबलानि च।
सप्ताङ्गमुच्यते राज्यं तत्र मूर्धा नृपः स्मृतः॥ Śukranīti I. 61. p. 10.
4. उपपन्नं ननु शिवं सप्तस्वंगेषु यस्य मे।
देवीनां मानुषीणां च प्रतिहर्ता त्वमापदाम्॥ Ragh V. I. 60.
5. असंख्यगुणशालिनापि सप्ततन्तुख्यातेन TM Vol. I p. 61.
6. दृग्मात्यः सुहृच्छ्रो मुखं कोशो बलं मनः।
हस्तो पादो दुर्गराष्ट्रे राज्याङ्गानि स्मृतानि हि॥ Śukra nīti I. 62. p. 10.
7. उपार्जितप्रभूतकोशं वशीकृतसमस्तसामन्तमायत्तमन्त्रिमण्डलमुपगृहीतमित्रवर्गमासुरपुषाधिष्ठितदुर्गोमग्रमपि राज्यमा-
जन्मनः प्ररूढपरमसोहृदस्य हृदस्येवातिविश्वसनीयस्य बाहोरिव वसुन्धराभारवहनक्षमस्कन्धस्य
प्रगल्भमत्युपहसितधिषणस्यापि प्रज्ञावतां धौर्यस्य विदितनिःशेषनीतिशास्त्रसंहतेरमात्यवर्गस्यायत्तमकरोत् TM Vol. I p. 71.

Sāmanta, mitravarga, durga, amātya etc. form some of the limbs of the statecraft or body politic that have been mentioned by Dhanapāla in this paragraph.

According to Dr. A. S. Altekar the point is disputed whether Kingship was elective in Ancient India.¹ Dr. B. S. Upadhyaya quoting K. P. Jayaswal² remarks that it was elective in the Vedic age. According to Dr. Altekar it was quasi elective in the early Vedic period, the period of the Samhitās in so far as only the Kulapatis and Viśpatis had a voice in the election of the king and not the whole population.³ He also remarks that monarchy had become normally hereditary long before the later Vedic period.⁴ The rājakrts mentioned in Atharvaveda (III. 6. 7.) and rājakartārah referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa (II 67.2) were not the king electors but the Brāhmaṇas who were entrusted with the duty of offering the coronation ablutions to the king.⁵

According to Dr. Upadhyaya monarchy in the times of Kālidāsa had not only assumed hereditary offices but also taken on itself the air of divinity. Kālidāsa follows Manu in point of king and his relations with the state. And basically Kālidāsa's conception of monarchy is that it was a hereditary institution.⁶

Śukrācārya deems king a source of éclat or beneficence for the populace and one who delights the eyes of the subjects, like moon that is a source of tiding for the ocean and is a delight to the eyes of the people.⁷

He further remarks that the people without a leader working judiciously are counted a peer to the boat that unguided by a sailor gets sunk into the sea.⁸

Dhanapāla seems to have greater faith in the dicta of Bṛhaspati and Śukrācārya in so far as he has mentioned the names of these two teachers in his romance. Harivāhana wearing the ear peduncles of moon stone has been illustrated as having been approached near the ear lobes by Amaraguru

1. State and Govt. in Ancient India p. 75.

2. Hindu Polity. Pt. I pp. 11-16.

3. State and Govt. in Ancient India p. 75.

4. Ibid. p. 76.

5. Ibid. 76.

6. KKB Pt. I p. 128.

7. राजाऽस्य जगतो हेतुर्बुद्धये वृद्धाभिसंमतः.... नयनानन्दजनकः शशाक इव तोयधेः॥ Śukra nīti I. 64. p. 10.

8. यदि न स्यान्नरपतिः सम्यङ् नेता ततः प्रजाः ।

अकर्णधाराः जलयधौ विप्लवेतेह नोरिव। Ibid. I. 65 p. 10.

(Brhaspati) and Bhārgava (Śukrācārya) who had approached him to instruct the novel way of polity (enunciated by them).¹

Dhanapāla in his introductory verses refers to Paramāra, Śrīvairisīmha, Śrīharsa, Śrīsīyaka and Sindhurāja who had an elder brother Śrīvākpātirāja also known as Muñja who deeming Śrī Bhoja as a capable scion, son of Sindhurāja, installed him to the hereditary parental throne of the Paramāras in Dhārā² proving thereby the hereditary mode of monarchy in the reign of the Paramāras.

He even calls Meghavāhana a paramount sovereign (Sārvabhaumo rājā) whose senses were not dazed by the lofty elevation to divination (aiśvarya godheadship).³

On the analogy of Śukrācārya's views⁴ Meghavāhana had sanctified the earth of the triad of the world by his conduct that had travelled on to the heavens, being extremely virtuous, with populace made satisfied by the enormous charity having been a source of delight for them all the time.⁵ Divination has been conferred on Meghavāhana by Dhanapāla in so far as he deems him to be an incarnation in visual form, of the one who has Aruṇa for his charioteer (i.e. the Sun) who moves across the limits of the four oceans with his sole orb whereas the king over-whelmed the precincts or extremities of the four oceans with the help of his sole chariot.⁶ He has been deemed a peer to Vāsuki and Vāsava (Indra) in point of both governing one of the lower and the upper regions whereas the king governed the middle region.⁷ He had been endowed with favourability of the prowess of divine disposition.⁸ Even though he was a being of the mortal world he stood midway between all the worlds i. e. Being a man of the ephemeral world he was endowed with virtues that brought him on a higher plane of the divinities.⁹ He was peer to moon as well as the sun being tranquil and fierce likewise and looked thereby the vast expanse of the sky or like the expanse of the sky he bore the Moon and Sun lines (on his palm). Like Acyuta (Viṣ

1. निसर्गनिर्मलालोकाभ्यामी- नयमार्गमुपदेष्टुममरगुरुभार्गवाभ्यामिवोपगताभ्यामिन्दुकान्तकुण्डलाभ्यामाश्रितो भयश्रवणम्। TM Vol. III p. 120. LL 5-6.
2. Ibid. verses 38-43. Vol. I.
3. अजडोक्तपरमैश्वर्यसन्निपातेन Ibid. Vol. I p. 64.
4. See 15 above.
5. सर्वदाह्लादितलोकेनाप्येकदानानन्दितजनेनोदात्तेनापि चरितेन पवित्रितत्रिभुवनावनिः। Ibid. Vol. I p. 61.
6. अवतार इव साक्षादरुणसारथेरेकरथाक्रान्तचतुरव्यसीमा. TM Vol. I. p. 59.
7. समस्तैकविष्टपाधिपतया तुल्यरेखया वासुकिवासक्योरवस्थितः Ibid. Vol. I p. 59.
8. प्राप्तदैवपुरुषकारानुगुण्यः Ibid. Vol. I p. 59.
9. मनुष्यलोक इव गुणैरुपस्थितोऽपि मध्यस्थः सर्वलोकानाम्. Ibid. Vol. I pp. 59-60.

ṇu or Kṛṣṇa) who wielded conch and the disc he (i. e. Meghavāhana) bore the marks of conch and quoit (on his palm).¹

King is also called the Lord of the subjects in the real sense of the term with his duties judiciously allocated to the jurisdictions of the varṇas and āśramas.² He is especially a leader on account of some superhuman tendencies in him or else he would lose his eligibility in this regard. He is a subjugator of the enemies both internal as well as external.³ He is prone to possess the skill of the employment of six expedients of statecraft⁴ such as Peace, War, Campaign, deliberations, duplicity and seeking shelter etc. which according to Kauṭilya are 'Peace, war, staying quiet, marching seeking shelter and dual policy'⁵ or else he would throw the entire state into a jeopardy. Meghavāhana was a king who was endowed with these qualities. He had also obtained éclat in the four lores such as Philosophy, the three Vedas, Economics and the Science of Politics.⁶ The Science of Politics was his close associated portress who had drawn close to him the fortunes of the enemies who had espoused him having come to him time and again.⁷ He always twanged his bow during the course of destruction of his enemy and never struck a discordant note during deliberations.⁸ He was disposed to parting with what had been accumulated quite through circumspection and never did he take to delirium of intellect in order to desert the elders.⁹ He devoutly listened to the sermons of the preceptor and never forced his commands ruthlessly on account of the power born of his material resources.¹⁰ He was disposed to avoid embracing of others' wives and heartily served without becoming averse to his own men.¹¹ He would

1. गगनाभोग इव शशिभास्कराभ्यामच्युत इव शंखचक्राभ्याम्। Ibid. Vol. I p. 61.
2. यथाविधिव्यवस्थापितवर्णाश्रमधर्मो यथार्थः प्रजापतिः। Ibid. Vol. I. 59.
3. प्रतिपक्षणामान्तराणामन्तराणां च विनेता। Ibid. Vol. I p. 59.
4. षाड्गुण्यप्रयोगचतुरः। Ibid. Vol. I. p. 59.
5. सन्धिविग्रहासनयानसंश्रयद्वेधीभावाः षाड्गुण्यम्। KAS Vol. I R. P. Kangle. VIII 1.2 p. 168, Vol. II. p. 372.
6. आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति विद्याः। KAS Vol. I. p. 4, I. 2. 1. Vol. II p. 6. चतुसृष्वपि विद्यासु लब्धप्रकर्षः। TM Vol. I p. 59.
7. सन्निहितदण्डनीतिप्रतिहारीसमाकृष्टाभिः समन्ततः पतिवंशभिरिवागत्य बद्धमालान्निराश्रितो विलक्षणलक्ष्मीभिः। Ibid. Vol. p. 50.
8. उद्यापशब्दः शत्रुसंहारे न वस्तुविचारे। Vol. I p. 62.
9. बृद्धत्यागशीलो विवेकेन न प्रज्ञोत्सेकेन। Ibid. Vol. I p. 62.
10. KAS Vol. 6. 2. 33. pp. 166 Vol. II p. 370. गुरुवित्तीर्णशासनो भक्त्या न प्रभुशक्त्या। TM Vol. II p. 62.
11. स्वजनपराङ्मुखः परभार्यासु न सपर्यासु। TM. Vol. I p. 62.

wrest the torment of the earth by protection and was not a ravisher of women by dalliance.¹ He never showed relentlessness unto those who sought shelter under him.² He was endowed with the entire host of Śaktis such as Mantra Śakti, Prabhu Śakti and Utsāha Śakti the power of knowledge being the power of counsel, the power of treasury and the army being the power of might, the power of valour being the power of energy etc.³ and hence was capable of bearing the yoke of the earth most strenuously. He was prone to safeguard the entire group of groves on the earth lest any one should remove and cut short the tree trunks and was such who had secured the interests of the four stages of life⁴ i. e. He was the supreme saviour of the agricultural produce and was required to safeguard the interests of the sectarian resorts. He owed his steadiness to the earth and his radiance to the Sun, his speech to the goddess of learning, his physical charms to the goddess of fortunes.⁵ He was not made to dance to the tunes of the pride of fortunes, nor was he harassed by the anguishes born of the group of passions.⁶ The alligators of sense-objects did not attract him nor did the shackles of love of women bind him; He would clash with the enemies risen to power, had a bounteous disposition and felt pleased when supplicants were large in number. He would feel pleased when problems brought him a tussle. He felt cheerful when fortunes disfavoured him. Anxious to show his powers he would face odds. He had a knack for uprooting the evil⁷ (adharma).

A king was believed to possess some inherent virtues that counted him all above the other human beings. No commoner could vie with him. That is why Dhanapāla has compared his refulgent radiance to the bolt of Indra like whom he smote the circle of kings like mountains smitten by the bolt.⁸ His

1. अवनितापहारी पालनेन न लालनेन। Ibid. Vol. I. p. 62.
2. अकृतकारुण्यः करचरणे न शरणे। Ibid. Vol. I. p. 62.
3. अशेषशक्त्युपेतोऽपि सकलभूधारधारणक्षमः। TM p. 63. Vol. KAS Vol. I. 6. 2. 33. p. 166 Vol. II p. 370.
4. रक्षिताखिलक्षितितपोवनोऽपि त्रातचतुराश्रमः। TM Vol. I p. 63.
5. पृथ्वीमय इव स्थैर्ये तिगांशुमय इव तेजसि सरस्वतीमय इव वचसि, लक्ष्मीमय, इव लावण्ये। Ibid. Vol. p. 63-64.
6. अनर्तितो लक्ष्मीमदविकारैरखलीकृतोव्यसनचक्रपीडाभिरनाकृष्टो विषयग्राहैरयन्त्रितः प्रमदाप्रेमनिगडैः। Ibid. Vol. I. p. 64.
7. यश्च सङ्गरश्रद्धालुरहितानामुन्नत्यानुतोषणप्रणत्यादानव्यसनी जनानामर्धतयाऽप्रीयत, कार्याणां वैषम्येन जहर्ष, ... दैवस्य वैमुख्यमाचकांक्ष, धैर्यव्यक्तिकामो व्यसनाय स्पृहयांचकार,.... सकलाधर्मनिर्मूलनाभिलाषी। Ibid. Vol. I pp. 65-66.
8. व्रज इव विडौजसो निर्ददाह महीभृकुलानि समन्ततः प्रज्वलत्प्रतापः। TM Vol. I p. 65.

prowess brought the earth under sway, the army chiefs were just an entourage. His glory subdued the vassals, doorkeepers were a royal etiquette. His felicity protected the harem, the keepers of the harem were a tradition. His very appearance betrayed his supremacy by the chowrie bearing maids and umbrella bearers were just a paraphernalia. His innate effulgence curbed the spread of evil, his body guards were a mere limb of the kingdom. His very command put down injustice the law givers were a matter of duty. His very form gratified the high minded ladies, his ministers of recreation were a luxury. His intellect determined the counsel, counsellors were a decoration. His self evident store of merits dragged close the opponent, his spies were a legacy. His bounty spread his fame in quarters, his bards were an ornament (of the kingdom).¹ He was deemed a second śeṣa, a third sprout of the jaws of the primeval boar, an eighth Kulācala and a ninth quarter tusk, by the people meaning thereby that he had transcendental virtues much above those of the common people.² He had been consecrated right in his childhood and possessed the prowess of arms that overpowered the entire Universe. That is why he was capable of bringing under sway the earth having the store of girdles in the form of group of seven oceans and had removed all the thorns from the path of quarters so that his glory could travel unto them easily. He had dug up the pillars of his victory on the extremities of all the eight quarters etc.³

A king has been called Mahībhuj⁴ Jagatpati,⁵ Kṣaṇībhṛt,⁶ (Kṣaṇipala, Kṣaṇipati) Pārthiva,⁷ Bhūbhṛt,⁸ Prajāpati,⁹ Sārvabhaumo rāja,¹⁰ mahībhṛt,¹¹ Bhūpati, Prabhu,¹² Avanīpāla,¹³ Deva,¹⁴ Rāja,¹⁵ Medinīpati,¹⁶

1. Ibid. Vol. I pp. 66-67.

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 69.

3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 71.

4. Ibid. Vol. I p. 64.

5. Ibid. Introductory verse 3 (Interpolated) Vol. I p. 39.

6. Ibid. Introductory verse 13 Vol. I p. 42.

7. Ibid. Vol. I p. 43, Vol. I p. 155.

8. Ibid. Vol. I p. 53, TM Vol. II p. 230.

9. Ibid. Vol. I p. 59.

10. Ibid. Vol. I p. 64.

11. Ibid. Vol. I p. 65.

12. TM. Vol. I p. 78, Vol. II p. 294.

13. Ibid. Vol. I p. 80.

14. Ibid. Vol. I p. 77.

15. Ibid. Vol. I. 84.

16. Ibid. Vol. I p. 84.

Narendra,¹ Nṛpa,² Kṣitīsa,³ Kṣitipāla,⁴ Avaniśvara,⁵ Urvīnbhṛt⁶ or pati.⁷ Bhūpāla,⁸ bhūpa,⁹ Bhūmipati,¹⁰ Nṛpati or narapatih,¹¹ Madhyam lokapāla¹² etc. While the queen has been called Devī,¹³ Mahādevī¹⁴ Mahiṣī,¹⁵ etc.

The royal insignia was called by the gnomons 'Paricchada'¹⁶ 'Vyañjana'¹⁷ by Dhanapāla.

Of the insignia proper Dhanapāla has mentioned 'Cchattra'¹⁸ or the royal parasol also known as ātapatra (Ekātapatram) rājyam¹⁹ and (dhvaja or Ketu) with cāmara in

“क्षणमातंपत्रे क्षणं पालिध्वजेषु, क्षणं चामरेषु।”²⁰

केतुच्छत्रकार्मुकम्

परिच्छदश्छत्रचामरग्राहाः²¹

अस्वरवर्णा अपि परं न व्यंजनम् अशिश्चिन्त शत्रवः। पार्श्वविधृतचामरच्छत्रक्षरादिदिवसपरिचारकः²²

He has also mentioned the 'Kāryāsana'²³ 'Vikāṣa hema viṣṭara'²⁴ a counterpart of Simhāsana (also referred to p. 198 Vol. III. L.1) etc. accordingly Kṛpāna²⁵ or the personal sword of the king is also an insignia

1. Ibid. Vol. I p. 103, Vol. I 114, Vol. I p. 135.

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 137.

3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 152.

4. Ibid. Vol. I p. 165.

5. Ibid. Vol. I p. 184.

6. Ibid. Vol. II p.259. L. 8

7. Ibid. Vol. II p. 259, Vol. III p. 200.

8. Ibid. Intro.. verse 39 Vol. I p. 33.

9. Intro.. verse 41 Vol. I p. 34.

10. Ibid. Intro.. verse 43 vol. I p. 35. Vol. III p. 184.

11. Ibid. Intro.. verse 42 p. 35, TM Vol. I p. 99.

12. Ibid. Vol. I p. 114.

13. Ibid. Vol. I p. 83.

14. Ibid. Vol. III p 11, Vol. III p. 122. Vol. III p. 177, Sm. ed. p. 343.

15. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 341, Vol. I p. 151, TM Vol. III p. 73.

16. Ibid. Vol. I p. 66, TM Vol. III p. 190.

17. Ibid. Vol. I p. 67.

18. Ibid. Vol. I p. 66, TM Vol. I p. 150, Vol. II p. 330, Vol. II p. 211.

19. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 427., Tm Vol. II p. 300.

20. Ibid. II p. 211 L. 5

21. Ibid. I. p. 66 L.5

22. Ibid. II p. 211. L.7

23. TM. Vol. I p. 76.

24. Ibid. Vol. II p. 190, Vol. II p. 176.

25. Ibid. Vol. I p. 59, Vol. I p. 150 (Karavala).

referred to by Dhanapāla. Harivāhana going to the Mattakokila, the outer garden during the summer had a chowric fixed to a gold wand being waved on him every moment. (TM p. 235 Vol. III. 6, 7)

Śaṅkha¹ has also been referred to. The glazed ruby footstool (maṣṇa māṅkya pādapiṭha) has been mentioned with reference to Kusumaśekhara, the king, of Kāñcī.

“महेन्द्रमलयाद्रिमध्यवर्तिमेदिनीपाल मौलिसंघट्ट मसृण माणिक्यपाद पीठस्य।”²

Dhanapāla has also referred to the wooden dais inlaid with corals which had its central part elevated with bejewelled slabs spread over it, was upholstered by the pillow made of Netra cloth woven in variegated texture, had on both the sides the raised pedestals inlaid with gems and had a counterpane made of soft silk cloth.³

Meghavāhana was reclining after meals listening to music. The structure of wooden dais is no lesser a counterpart of the Royal seat of the king. Dhanapāla has positively substituted the word Viṣṭara for Siṃhāsana is clear from the reference-

“गच्छति च काले कदाचिदनवरत संचारखेचर परंपराख्यात लोकोत्तरचरित विस्मितः समाहूय सह समस्तेन समरकेतु कमलगुप्तादिना परिवारनृपसमाजेन राजा मेघवाहनः प्रशस्तेऽन्धि विधिना शास्त्र दृष्टेनविष्टरेन्यवेशयत्।”⁴

“एक हेमासनोपविष्टया मुहूर्तमप्यरहितान्तिकस्तिलक मंजर्या दिनान्ययापयत्।”

refers to the Hemāsana,⁵ another synonym for Siṃhāsana.

He has referred to ‘Kirīṭa’ as a synonym for mukuṭa while construing ‘Harivāhana as Indra descended down to the earth, in corporeal form, whose lotus feet were being prostrated at by the overlords of the celestials with their heads radiant with the *diadems* (Kirīṭa) made of gold and studded with ruby bits emitting out rays; who had attained to the status of a paramount sovereign of the Vidhyādhara and had enjoyed the consecration to the throne of the triad of the worlds etc.⁶

He has referred to the royal insignia ‘vitāna’ while describing the harem of Maḍirāvati who had established her residence in a gorgeous apartment which had canopies of thick cloth of the Netra variety spread overhead with

1. Ibid. Vol. I p. 61, Vol. I p. 149.

2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 185.

3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 171.

4. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 426.

5. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 428.

6. TM Vol. III p. 113. मौलिमुकुटमिव मर्त्यलोकभूपालस्य TM Vol. III p. 97.

attractive pillars of gold variegated with varied hued texture and had its bejewelled mosaic pliant with floral offerings¹ etc.

Meghavāhana issuing out of the Brāhmaṇa Sabhā maṇḍapa (dvijāva saramaṇḍapa) is greeted by the tumultuous din of the bards (Vandinām) pronouncing his victory proclamation etc., (Jayaśabda kala kalena)² and while issuing out of his royal house he is followed by the attendant folk supervised by confidants holding weapons etc. who moved behind him appearing glamorous with the group of pedestrians holding variety of swords with way being directed by the porters wielding gold batons raised aloft and running ahead, with chowrie being waved by the betel box bearing man.³ His arrival in the 'āsthāna maṇḍapa' or the Assembly chamber is marked by the pompous platitude of a different type. It had somewhere prominent ministers seated on lofty ratton seats (chairs) being served by other attendants detailed on duty according to their rights or status and some-where the atmosphere was being rendered crimson with the suffusions of vermilion meant to stamp the royal mandates being inscribed in countless number. It had its centre being occupied by the great army chiefs being helped by many attendants with their heads refulgent with the diadems (Mukuta) inlaid with gems and emitting out rays etc. It had the ingress as well as egress of the princes difficult of effect.⁴ Hence the association of bards, counsellors, army chiefs wearing diadems (mukuta) also formed a part and parcel of the regal insignia enhancing the prestige of the king.

“मध्याह्नकृत्याय प्रवर्तितो मागधश्लोकैरधिकृतैश्च राजलोकैः”⁵

refers to Māgadhas reciting eulogiums, māgadha being a synonym for vandin and cāraṇa etc. meaning bards.

He has also referred to the Kañcukīs, Kirātas, Kubjas, Kallas, mūkas and vāmanas (The chamberlains, the persons hailing from the sylvan tribes got into the royal service known as Kirātas, the hunchbacks, the deaf, the dumb and the dwarfs) accompanied by the venial coquettes of the harem in countless numbers marching on to the protector of the earth (bhūmipāla) in order to collect the basins brimming with gifts anticipating the birth of the son.⁶ It implies that these members of the entourage formed a part of the royal insignia in so far as the movement of these always anticipated the

1. TM Vol. II p. 174.

2. TM Vol. II pp. 162-163.

3. TM Vol. II p. 163.

4. TM Vol. II pp. 172-73.

5. TM Vol. II p. 168.

6. TM Vol. II pp. 182-83.

presence of the king as is evidenced even by Bhāsa in “अये संलीयमानान्तः पुरचरः सनाथोभवति देशः” “Pratijñāyangandharāyayam”¹ (Act-II). As to the construction of the Simhāsana, Dhanapāla has explicitly referred to but in the context of the image of the Mahāvīrajina who was sitting on a huge lion seat (Simhāsana) made of gold and designed with the imprints of the wheel (of piety), lions and elephants.²

“*ibha mygendra cakrādhyā site*” may also mean that the lion seat made of gold was supported on the four pillars bearing the designs of elephants, lions and the wheel of piety or it may mean that the lion seat was placed on the circle of the elephant shaped and lion shaped supports.

Dhanapāla has referred to the ‘Sabhā maṇḍapa’ of Samaraketu where he was seated on a huge golden seat (महति हेमासने) raised on the surface of a dais inlaid with pure gems (पवित्रमणि वेदिकापृष्ठनिहिते) p. 252 Vol. II, L-5.

At another place Dhanapāla refers to the sight of Urvīpatikumāra by Malayasundarī, who was eighteen years old, who had won over the entire Universe with the help of his supple body bearing extremely refulgent radiance and laudable expanse, shining with gold bracelets, having long arms of illimitable prowess and prominent lustre like a sovereign (Samrāja) who endowed with virtuous princes of extremely refulgent radiance having bright or promising future and shining with virtuous varṇas (four orders of society) and army encampments, bearing huge arms of illimitable prowess and generous spirit, subjugates the entire Universe; who was surrounded by three to four expert young attendants talking to him about the account that had come to pass during the night, who was attended by some who had raised aloft the betel boxes, by some who were busy dressing his hair, by some who had placed his feet on their lap, by some who had the pillar like left arm of his folded up and placed on the head of (or pinnacle of) the huge gold platform placed near his back; who was sitting on a dais made of ivory bearing shine refulgent like the interior of the lily, covered as it was by a counter pane made of washed netra silk cloth upholstered by pliant pillow stuffed with cotton of the type of the swan’s fur.³

1. Pr. Yang Act II p. 58-59.

2. TM Vol. III pp. 197-98.

इममुगेन्द्रचक्राध्यासिते.....हिरण्मये महति सिंहासने समासीनम्.....अपश्चिमस्य भगवतो महावीरजिनस्य.....
बिम्बमद्भाक्षम्।

3. TM Vol. III p. 199-200.

Hence the semblance of a sovereign imposed on Samaraketu seated on an ivory couch provided with counterpane of Netra cloth and upholstered by the pillow stuffed with swan's fur like cotton indicates the Simhāsana of the Samrāt formed out of ivory. The association of three to four attendants conversing with him on diverse talks, the presence of betel roll bearers, the shampooers, the chowrie bearers, his placing of the left arm on a huge golden platform all go to indicate the royal insignia playing adjunct to the ivory seat.

In the description of Harivāhana seen by Samaraketu inside the Rambhāgrha accompanied by Tilakamañjarī, Harivāhana has been described as sitting on the surface of a huge bejewelled stone slab made of ruby¹ clad in a pair of garments of China silk cloth embroidered with a new flank and made up of extremely thick texture,² with person occupied on all sides by the images of the chowrie bearing maids, reflected in the gems of the ornaments inlaid over his whole body,³ wearing on his broad chest the new necklace of pearls, hanging down to his navel;⁴ wearing in both of his ears the pendants made of moon gems,⁵ wearing carried on his pate endowed with the halo of lustre like the solar orb the fine bejewelled diadem wrapped round by the forehead wrap made of gold brand and shining clinging to the surface of his pate,⁶ surrounded by attendants in the form of bees, being fanned by the chowrie bearing maids in the form of plantain trees, even placed on her lap by the earth as if carrying a parasol, even honoured by the day with golden wand wielded in the form of the solar orb.⁷ Hence Harivāhana has been shown sitting on a Simhāsana made of ruby with a bejewelled diadem placed on head bordered by a gold wrap wound round the pate, provided with chowrie bearing maids and a parasol along with golden wand borne by an attendant forming his rod of dignity.

As evidence by Dr. B. S. Upadhyaya on the basis of the study of Kālidāsa the normal insignia used to be the two chowries and one parasol

1. पृथुनि कुरुविन्दमणिशिलातलेनिषण्णम् TM Vol. III p. 120.
2. अतिविमलघनसूत्रेण..... नवदशालंकूतेन श्वेतचीनवस्त्रद्वयेन संवीतम् TM Vol. III p. 120.
3. अखिलदेहाभरणमणिकंक्रान्ताभिरासन्नचामरग्राहिणीप्रतिमाभिः ... सर्वतोऽधिष्ठितशरीरम्। TM Vol. III p. 120.
4. अनभिलम्बमभिनवं मौक्तिकप्रालम्बम्..... विशालेन वक्षसा धारयन्तम् TM Vol. III p. 120.
5. इन्दुमणिकुण्डलाभ्यामश्रितोमश्रवणम्। TM Vol. III p. 120.
6. अलिकतटसंगिना विततभास्वरेण कनकपट्टवन्धेन बलयितमुत्तममणिमुकुट... तपनमण्डलमिव सपरिवेषमुत साङ्गस्थमुद्गहन्तम्। TM Vol. III p. 120.
7. अंघ्रिपेशि... अनुर्जविभिरिव परिवृतम् कदलीभिरपि... चामरग्राहिणीभिरिव वीज्यमानम् धरण्याप्यु-
परिधृतसरलकाण्ड सुरपादपया गुहहीतातपत्रयेरोत्सगितम्, अहपि तरुशाखान्तरप्रवेशित प्रांशुरविकरेणैव
प्रतिपन्नकनकबेत्रेणैव प्रकटितानिभावं हरिवाहनमद्राक्षीत। TM Vol. III p. 121.

that were indispensable for the king in any circumstance;¹ the chowrie bearing maids in case of Meghavāhana, Samaraketu and Harivāhana may be two in number invariably and a parasol is an explicit notion in case of Dhanapāla.

Cāmara for chowries is so named because it was woven out of the shags of a Camarī Cow.²

“उपरिविस्तारिततारनेत्रपटविताने वितानकप्रान्तलम्बमानलोलमुक्ताखजि... विशालवेश्मनि”³

in case of Mahādevī clearly alludes to the royal canopy over the royal chamber of the king as well as that of the queen as evidenced by Kālidāsa also.⁴

Apart from this

“अकरोद्य तस्याः कनकवेत्रच्छत्रचामरदिराज्यालंकारसूचितमहोत्सवं महादेवी पट्टबन्धम्”⁵

refers to Gandharvadattā's consecration as Mahādevī by Kusumaśekhara with forehead wrap wound round her head with royal insignia such as golden wand, parasol and fly-whisks forming her companions. The king's lotus foot twain has been deemed as the accomplisher of the achievement of the desires of the entire populace.⁶ The king has been deemed as always busy in protecting on account of his having acquired proficiency in the art of speaking.⁷ Even though he had been consecrated to the throne while being yet a boy he was given to strive hard to bring under his sway by the prowess of his arms overpowering the entire Universe, the earth engirt by the seven oceans, to remove the thorns in the form of his enemies and to erect his victory columns in the extremities of the eight quarters and finally to establish his kingdom endowed with huge treasury, subsidiary vassals, allies and strong forts.⁸ It implies perforce that even though the kingship was hereditary a king crowned to be the master of the masses was required to prove his mettle by displaying the prowess of his arms actuated by the other qualities of head and heart. The king⁹ was required to be free from all

1. KKB p. 132 (Part I).

2. Ibid. p. 133.

3. TM Vol. II p. 174.

4. KKB p. 133, TM Sm. cd. p. 343.

5. TM SM. Ed. P.343, L-14-15

6. सकलपुरुषार्थसिद्धिसम्पादकं देवस्य पादयुगलम्! TM p. 190.

7. गिरावाप्त प्रतिष्ठोऽपि सततमवनेचरतः Ibid. Vol. I p. 64.

8. TM. Vol. I p. 71.

9. आत्मनापि निःशेषितारिवंशतया विगतशंकः, स्वधर्मव्यवस्थापितवर्णाश्रमतया जातनिर्वृतिः, पर्यवसिताखिल प्रारब्धकार्यतया निराकुलमनास्तकालमनः पुरीन्मनुप्रवेष्टुकामं कार्मुकधारणापराधविलक्षणमनसं

worries on account of having brought to a cease the entire host of his enemies by his personal (endeavours), to absolve himself of all the liabilities relating to the proper adjustment of the jurisdictions of the (four) orders of society and the (four) stages of life in accordance with his own responsibilities, to keep his mind unperturbed on account of his having taken to accomplishment the entire store of undertaking undertaken by him and to take his mind, avid of enjoyment, in association of the sense objects attracting the group of senses, brought to limelight by a courier/manifesting skilful words and come to make favoured the shark marked god (Cupid) having his mind embarrassed on account of his fault of wielding the bow and anxious to obtain his ingress into the citadel of his mind instantaneously. Dhanapāla further elaborates his point with reference to Meghavāhana stressing the idea of taking to all types of duties as permitted by youth, as ordained by his attitude of mind, as it pleased the skilled persons, as it created no obstacles with reference to his indebtedness to the two worlds (This one and the yonder one), as it did not deprive him of any circumspection, as it steadied the prestige of his lineage, as it brought to perfection his discipline, as it enhanced the working of his spirit and as his piety did not come to a cease, as his material gains did not suffer cessation, as his regnal glory did not lose the equanimity, as his fame did not lose its ardour, as his prowess did not suffer extinction, as his virtues did not get tarnished, as his acquired knowledge did not become an object of ridicule, as his attendants did not feel severed from him, as his group of allies did not slink away, as his enemies did not grow active etc.¹

“स्वजनपराङ्मुखः परभार्यासु, अवनितापहारी पालनेन”,²

in 36, 37 along with “अखलीकृतो व्यसनचक्रपीडामिः” in 42 above alludes to the traditional addiction to the group of four vices such as hunting, gambling, drinking and philandering from which the kings invariably failed to save themselves and hence there arose the necessity on the part of Literatures to stress the point that they should keep away from these. Dhanapāla has referred to Meghavāhana as undeterred by the freaks of these vices by describing him as ‘untormented by the tortures caused by the circle of passions or vices’. But his reference.

मकरलक्ष्माणमनुग्राहयितुमागतेन विस्तारितचतुरोक्तिना दूतेनेव नवयौवनोपदशितेष्विन्द्रयग्रामहारिषु विषयेषु परिभोगलालसं मानसमासंजयामास। Ibid. Vol. I pp. 71-72.

1. Ibid. Vol. I p. 76.

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 74.

कदाचित् क्रीडाद्युत्तराजितः पणितमप्रयच्छन् 'क्व गच्छसि' इति
 बद्धालोकभ्रुकुटिभिर्विदग्धवनिताभिराकुप्य कृतविषमपादपतो बलादिव दत्तकपाटसंपुटेपु
 वासवेश्मसुसपत्नीसमक्षमेवाक्षिप्यत।¹

refers to his taking to gambling meant for the sake of fun wherein feigning the non payment of stake when defeated and being carried perforce by the ladies and thrown before the co-wives forming a part and parcel of the limited jurisdiction of his addiction of Kāma which never infringed upon the jurisdiction of his dharma and artha, both. And his reference

“भुक्तभूयिष्ठमधुना वर्तते तवापत्यसन्ततिप्रतिबन्धकमदृष्टम्”²

purporting forth the excessive indulgence being the cause of his issuelessness may even be taken to appertain to loss of virility by excessive indulgence during the limited jurisdiction of Kāma.

His portrait of Harivāhana as an epitome of innocuity is equally reminiscent of the poet's eagerness to emphasise the idea of refraining from the vice of hunting. Harivāhana during the course of his sojourn for a digvijaya reached the country named Kāmarūpa where greeted by the king of that country he begged leave of him and welcomed on the way by the entire host of kings of the Uttarāpatha he roved about in the groves on the shores of river Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) and saw the antelopes, bisons, lions, boars, panthers, the camarī deer or Yāks along with beasts of diverse forms and even though prompted by the associate princes to kill them he refrained from doing so even when they were well within the reach of his weapon on account of his innate proneness to compassion.³ Dhanapāla refers to Meghavāhana occupying the Assembly Chamber (Sabhā maṇḍapa) at intervals with time distributed accordingly in order to keep up the devotion of his dependants and on account of his amenability to righteousness taking to his seat in the office in order to cater to the urgent needs of the Hermits, Brāhmaṇas and gods⁴ making thereby manifest the necessity for his taking to the official responsibilities more readily than slothfully. In conformity with Kālidāsa's⁵ “राजाप्रकृतिरंजनात्” “राजा प्रजारंजन लब्धवर्णः”⁶ (Raghuvamśa) whereby a king becomes so by keeping his subject pleased. Dhanapāla has referred to Meghavāhana's act of visiting the capital with festal melees going on in perfect order during the spring and the like, having got out in

1. TM. Vol.I. p.74, LL 5-7

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 97.

3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 35.

4. Ibid. Vol. I p. 76.

5. Ragh V. IV. 12.

6. Ibid. VI. 21.

order to satisfy the citizen folk.¹ He further exclaims that he had innate proneness to become an inordinate favourite of the subjects much in excess in comparison of his predeceasing kings.² That is why clung fast in that way to the pleasures of the enjoyment of sense objects, knowing well the alertness (lit. wakefulness) of the counsellors, aware fully of the effectiveness of his errands, being apprised daily of the loyalty of the subjects unto him by the secret emissaries, the group of principal functionaries of the state (departments) being very close to him on account of their extremely faithful promises and skilfulness in performing their duties, he used to rove about every house in the capital on the opening of the nocturnal hours, having got out of his own accord with 'weapon forming his second (companion) like the flower weaponed (God Cupid) moving incognito (lit. unobserved by anybody) in order to obtain the idea of weal as well as woe among (the subjects)³. He even fathomed the consensibles of the dignitaries sitting here and there in order to have a desire for listening to the *rumours (taking airs promiscuously)*.⁴ *Pratīśraya* is an expression denoting the **Sabhā** or **Assembly** used by Dhanapāla. (as per Parāgatikā L. 19 प्रतिश्रयस्य सभायाः Hemacandra in Abhidha Cintāmani IV. 66. p 247) He used to visit the wattle huts where visitors come from different quarters used to assemble (in order to attend the assembly session)⁵. During the course of talks about the affairs of the state he used to proclaim the shortcomings of the functionaries, minister, the king, having fabricated them as far as possible, in order to understand the intentions of the citizens and felt extremely pleased being censured by them in harsh words under the pretext of not being recognised, with ire roused in them on account of their listening to the false opprobrium, of the Heads of the state, ministers and the king and feeling happy always on account of the entire host of catastrophes brought to a cease or quelled down.⁶

His counsellors, too, took to the affairs of the state removing all the difficulties of the subjects in conformity with their recognition of the attitude of-mind of the king, in conformity with their legacies inherited from their predecessors and in accordance with the dicta of the law codes.⁷

1. पौरलोकपरितोषहेतोश्च वसन्तादिषु सविशेषप्रवृत्तोत्सवां निर्गत्य नगरीमपश्यत्। TM Vol. I p. 77.

2. निसर्गत एवास्य पूर्वपार्थिवान्तिशायिनी प्रजासु पक्षपातपरवशा वृत्तिरासीत्। Ibid. Vol. I p. 77.

3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 77.

4. Ibid. Vol. I p. 77.

5. Ibid. Vol. I p. 77.

6. Ibid. Vol. I p. 77.

7. TM. Vol. I p. 78.

“अवतार इव साक्षादरूसारथेरकरथाक्रान्तचतुरब्धिसीमा” “निर्यत्नधृतसम्स्तभुवनभारतया च तं द्वितीयं शेषं तृतीयमादिवराहदंष्ट्राकुंरम्... अमन्यन्त जनाः।”¹²

referring to Meghavāhana allude to the fact that king was a peer to the Sun that yoked his chariot only once and went on moving without a pause. He was also a peer to the “Śeṣa” and the “Ādivarāha” who supported the earth once on its hood while the other on its snout. The king supported the earth likewise toiling day and night without a moment’s pause-

“तिग्मांशुमय इव तेजसि”¹³

alluding to Meghavāhana as radiant as the Sun makes him a source of inspiration and activity for the populace.

Meghavāhana has been depicted as an ideal administrator during whose reign period there was absence of disease among the people;⁴ no harassment was given to the people;⁵ punished people were not subjected to torture nor were there any thefts and subsequent punishments;⁶ there were no quarrels among the people;⁷ there was no strangulation;⁸ no dragging of feet of the culprits;⁹ there was no degradation in the characters of ascetics or there was no visibility of degradation in the self control of the people;¹⁰ no losses were suffered by the people;¹¹ there were no reprimands and beatings of people;¹² there were no rumours about the prevalence of the law of the jungle (lit. hearing about the inefficient administration)¹³. There were no mutual strifes, no imprisonments, no injuries, no murders consequent upon the excessive indulgence in the vice of gambling.¹⁴

His righteous way of administration had citizens who did not discern any distinction between the rich and the poor, no discrimination as to

1. Ibid. Vol. I p. 59.

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 69.

3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 63, Vol. I p. 64.

4. धातुनां सोपसर्गत्वम्। Ibid. Vol. I p. 67.

5. इक्षूणां पीडनम्। Ibid. Vol. I p. 67.

6. पक्षिणां दिव्यग्रहणम्। Ibid. Vol. I p. 67.

7. पदानां विग्रहः। Ibid. Vol. I p. 68.

8. तिमोनां गलग्रहः। Ibid. Vol. I p. 68.

9. गूढचतुर्थकानां पादाकृष्टयः। Ibid. Vol. I p. 68.

10. कुकवि काव्येषु यतिभ्रंश दर्शनम्। Ibid. Vol. I p. 68.

11. उदधीनाम वृद्धिः। Ibid. Vol. I p. 68.

12. निधुवनक्रीडासु तर्जनताडनानि। Ibid. Vol. I p. 68.

13. प्रतिपक्ष क्षयोद्यत मुनिकथा सुकुशास्त्रश्रवणम्।

14. शारीणमक्षप्रसङ्गगदोषेण परस्परं तन्मन्त्रव्याधमारणानि। Ibid. Vol. I p. 68.

whether a person was literate while another was illiterate, no recognition of the significance of a virtuous or a vicious man; no stratification of the religious or the irreligious; all were bounteous enough; all were conversant with the sayings of the wise; all were prone to doing good to others; all trod on the path of virtuosity; All knew the entire store of Purāṇas, Itihāsa along with their essence; All had studied the entire store of Kāvya, dramas and their associate treatises; all were conversant with the entire store of current legends, Kāvya and ākhyāyikās; all the practical lores in their innumerable treatises; Even though they had studied the statecraft (lit. science of polity) they had maintained an uninsidious demeanour; they had practised the science of acting and yet had no knack for indulging in the lascivious modes of grimaces and eyes; they had gone across the lore of Kāma and yet were free from the ills of the harlots; they were skilled in all the languages and had an innate proneness to sweet talks; they were virtuous and had obtained fame in the royal court; they were skilled in looking to the pros and cons of the propositions; they knew all the tastes and facts about the world and yet felt no embarrassment; they had a love for seeing the promulgation of justice and were full of equanimity; they did not ridicule and were satisfied; they were such who would stand by in woes; etc.¹

Even Cakrasena, sire of Tilakamañjarī, has been described as a paramount sovereign having prowess of mighty arms, an overlord of the entire southern range, a peer to Bharata, Sagara and other kings, famous throughout the triad of world, with penchant shown continuously to science of polity, the threefold group of Śaktis (Prabhu, Mantra and Utsāha) manifest in him, prone to subdue the group of six enemies (Kāma, Krodha, Lobha, Moha, Harṣa, Mada etc.), a refuge for the hundred of kings subdued by the enemies; with power of lore (of politics) undisputed, his vicinity never deserted by enemies even of mighty prowess like the precincts of the penance grove never deserted by the sages having self-control for their sole wealth.²

In order to run the administration the king was required to be eminently advanced in point of intellectual attainments. He was required to possess an intellect innately acute or else he could bungle with his affairs and become an instrument in the hands of his ministers. That is why Dhanapāla has called Meghavāhana 'Kuśā grīya buddhih'³ i.e. one having intellect

1. TM Vol. I pp. 51-53.

2. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 10-11.

3. कुशाग्रीयबुद्धिः कार्याणां वैषम्येन जहर्ष न समतया। Ibid. Vol. I p. 65.

extremely acute like the point of a Kuśā stalk. That is why he dared to face the odds and never relished the circumstances when it was all a smooth sailing. Only an intellect endowed with promise can achieve success in life of a leader. Coupled with that the education made him capable of understanding the strategies of warfare. That is why Dhanapāla calls Meghavāhana, as endowed with transcendental dignity even when his prowess had been shining on account of his association with battles.¹ As regards the specific education required by him Dhanapāla has followed his illustrious predecessors such as Kauṭilya,² Śukra³ and Kālidāsa⁴ who most meticulously enumerate the four sciences such as philosophy (ānvīkṣikī), the three Vedas (Trayī), Economics (Vārttā) and the science of politics (daṇḍanīti) which had been mastered by Meghavāhana (चतसृष्वपि विद्यासु लब्धप्रकर्षः).⁵ Sāṃkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata-these constitute philosophy. Investigation by means of reasoning (what is) spiritual good and evil in the Vedic lore, material gain and loss in economics, good policy and bad policy in the science of politics, as well as the relative strength and weakness of these (three sciences); philosophy confers benefit on the people, keeps the mind steady in adversity and in prosperity and brings about proficiency in thought, speech and action. Philosophy is ever thought of as the lamp of all sciences, as the means of all actions (and) as the support of all laws (and duties).⁶

“षाड्गुण्यप्रयोगचतुरः”⁷ is a part of the ‘Daṇḍanīti’ the fourth of the group of four lores which basically depends upon the expert handling of peace negotiations, warfare, campaigns, lying in wait for the suitable opportunities to strike, taking to strategic positions and creation of final schism in the ‘Saṃgha’ of the enemy (विशेषज्ञोऽपि समदर्शनः सर्वदर्शनानाम्)⁸ is a part of philosophy referred to above as ‘Sāṃkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata’ etc. Meghavāhana was skilled in all these.

1. समिद्व्यतिकरस्फुरितप्रतापोऽप्य कुशानु भावोपेतः Ibid. Vol. I p. 62.

2. KAS I. 2. I. Vol. p. 4, Vol. III p. 6 by R. P. Kangle.

3. Ragh. V. III 30.

4. धिया समग्रेः सः गुणौ रुदारधीः क्रमाच्चतस्रश्च तुरण्वोपमाः ।
ततार विद्याः पवनातिपातिभिर्दिशो हरिर्द्दिर्हरि तामिवेश्वरः ॥

5. TM Vol. I p. 59.

6. KAS I. 2. 10-12 p. 4, Vol. I p. 7 Vol. II. R.P. Kangle.

7. TM Vol. I p. 59.

8. TM. Vol. I p. 59.

“अनायासगृहीतसकलशास्त्रार्थयाऽपि नीतिशास्त्रेषु खिन्नया परमाणुसूक्ष्मयापि क्रोडीकृतत्रैलोक्यया व्यक्तविवेकयाप्यतिनिबिडया प्रसन्नयाऽप्यसंनिहितमदया, विशालहृदयासादितस्वेच्छावकाशयेवातिदूरप्रसृतया प्रज्ञया सम्यग्ज्ञातहेयोपादेयविभागः”¹¹

refers to his specialisation in Nītiśāstra even when he could understand the essence of all other lores. His intellect was such as could discern what is to be done and what is to be left out.

“सन्निहितदण्डनीतिप्रतीहारीसमाकृष्टाभिः समन्ततः पतिवराभिरिवागत्यागत्य बद्धमालाभिराश्रितो विपक्षलक्ष्मीभिः”¹²

again refers to his close contact with the science of politics. Dhanapāla has made an exclusive mention of the two of the four lores *danḍa nīti* and *vārttā* in

“राज्यनीतिरिव सन्निप्रतिपाद्यमान वार्ताधिगतार्था”¹³

along with-

“अर्हद्दर्शनस्थितिरिव नैगमव्यवहारक्षिप्तलोका”¹⁴

which refers to the Heterodox system of philosophy obtained in the Jain canons.

Ayodhyā, the capital of Uttara Kōśālas had the way of life of the regnal institutions covering within its fold the material gains procured by Vārttā (economics) being explored by the Sattrins (i .e. the secret spies). The king actually promulgated this in the state having its capital for Ayodhyā. There was a natural repulsion of the Jaina cult and hence the populace felt offended on seeing an arhat. But *naigama vyavahāra* also relates to the trade and commerce which refers to the lore (vārttā) of economics which also regulated by the king made the people perturbed or kept them over engrossed in their avocations.

“कदाचित् स्वयमेव रागविशेषेषु संस्थाप्य समर्थितानि शृंगारप्रायरसानि स्वरचितसुभाषितानि स्वभावरक्तकण्ठया पुनरुक्तमुपगीयमानान्यनुरागभावितमनाः शुश्राव।”¹⁵

refers to the king's knack for composing certain sweet sayings and making them tuned to music getting them sung by the consemblies of *gāthakas* which implies his being a poet as well like Samudragupta. Witnessing the dance shows and drama were also his fascinations.⁶

1. Ibid. Vol. I p. 60.

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 60.

3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 55.

4. Ibid. Vol. I p. 155.

5. Ibid. Vol. I p. 75.

6. TM. Vol. I p. 75, LL 6-7

King acquiring education as a prince is exemplified by Harivāhana who was named as such on the tenth day of his birth; the sacraments such as Annaprāśanaeti being performed by the priest himself he attained to the age of five just at his own residence. And when the sixth year made its appearance the king got established a vidyāgrha and collected many vidyāgurus in whose vicinity he initiated him into the start of education. The gurus or the preceptors taught him in due order the lores such as vyākaraṇa and its auxiliaries.

Harivāhana also had an intellect acute like the point of Kuśā and in a short time he became conversant with all the branches of knowledge. Within the span of ten years he acquired proficiency in all the fourteen lores along with their accessories. He even knew all the arts with special reference to painting and playing on the lute.¹ When grown mature in the learning of all the scriptures and gone past all the lores concerning the play of weapons, the king brought him home when he was sixteen years old; And got built a kumārabhavana gorgeous with a mews meant to station many tuskers and steeds with the region of its doors, shining with round ewers made of gold dug up on both sides, with the pillars on its arched portal of huge dimensions, slighting down the clouds by the rampart endowed with huge turrets of clay, established on the outskirts of the capital. Desirous of performing his consecration to the status of a crown prince (Yauvarājyābhishēkaṁ), he looked for another prince meant to play adjunct to him, through his secret emissaries, despatched through regard (for them) - the prince who could bear semblance of him in point of intellect, prowess, form, discipline, art of speech, perseverance and other virtues such as generosity, sturdiness² and sobriety the virtues suited to a Lord (of the subjects).²

Establishing him as crown prince the king used to sit in his Assembly Chamber (āsthānamandapa) occupying a huge golden chair (adhyāśita vikaṭa ahemaviṣṭaram), with valiant people surrounding him on both the sides, appointed to safeguard his persons, lined in a row, standing erect having taken their positions in a chain, with swords dug in, with favourite vassals sitting quiet, with his body being fanned by the harlots having their gold bracelets dangling on their wrists on account of the flapping of the fly-whisks (cāmara) being flapped ceaselessly and standing close to him, being waited upon by Harivāhana bearing steadfast gaze pinioned on the feet of

1. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 186-89.

2. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 189-190.

his sire and sitting on the surface of the earth having prostrated with modesty with some more princes entered along with him.¹

As a crown prince the heir to the throne, that Harivāhana was, a group of princes used to accompany him as his entourage in the manner of the entourage of the king himself following him in all royal formalities. And when he found in Samaraketu, a suitable associate for Harivāhana he bade a homily to the latter.

“Child; this Samaraketu has been ordained an associate for you by me being not in a position to find out a person exalted in virtues in the lot of the kinsfolk. It behoves you to be in front of this one who has been presented to you by me, bearing a soul as he does free from blemish. Like a guard of the harem endowed with the knowledge of polity, it behoves you to keep under your guard constantly your personal charge. It even behoves you to endow him with prosperity by deeds of charity like the enhancement of righteousness the main-spring of bliss and enjoyment. He is to be kept with you even during nights like a sword of one who is surrounded by his entourage. He is your brother, a servant, a minister and an associate who deserves to be brought to your association by providing him all the confidence, under all circumstances, by conforming to his desires when undertakings are in hand, by fostering encouragement during taking a project to accomplishment, by ingratiations incourse of playful quarrels and irate moods, by keeping him close during secret counsel, by unacrimonising attitude during humorous concerts, by taking his side when there is a dispute by enhancing his prestige when there is an equal race for honour, by showing extraordinary regard during prosperous situations and by keeping company during trying circumstances, day in and day out”.²

The king used to get up from his seat after his business was over and dismiss the group of kings to take up his duties again the other day as is evident by the line.

“विसर्जितास्थानराजको नृपतिरासनादुत्तस्थौ”³

Similarly the crown prince who has been called ‘Kumāra’ by Dhanapāla went to the apartment of Madirāvati being followed by the group of attendants meant to conduct him to the harem with (other) attendants

1. JTM. Vol. II p. 190.

2. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 230-31.

3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 231.

dismissed (by him) having grasped Samaraketu by hand and submitting to the king his homage as ordained by him to depart.¹

Given full recognition to the office of a crown prince, Harivāhana was ordained as the Governor of the whole of Uttarā patha including Kāśmīra and contiguous regions whereas Samaraketu was ordained on parallel status, as the Governor of the Aṅgas along with estates, through the keeper of the records Sudṛṣṭi.²

Both were, therefore, considered as two brothers by Meghavāhana, Harivāhana being the crown prince and Samaraketu as a young brother to Harivāhana enjoying their respective regions of administration.

'अनुजीविनो राजपुत्रजनस्य पात्रतानुसारेण संविभक्तस्वभुक्तिनगरग्रामनिवहनिनिश्चिन्तयोः, दुष्टदायादसमवष्टब्धराज्यैरागत्यागत्य दिङ्मुखेभ्यो निजपदार्थिभिः पार्थिवकुमारैरनवरतगृह्यमाणसेवयोः, नरेन्द्रसेवया प्रतिदिनमवन्ध्योः कृतोभयसंन्ध्ययोः,..... दुष्टजनपददृष्टिदोषसंरक्षार्थमिव पौरलोकेन स्वान्तेषु सततधार्यमाणयोः।'³

further establish the regnal status of the two. After becoming a Yuvarāja and a governor the crown prince was required to observe the formalities of taking into account the interests of the subsidiary princes along with their activities in the countries of his administration by distributing the administration of respective sub divisions among them and safeguarding the interests of those princes who fell a prey to the unrighteous political activities of their kinsfolk. He was required to wait upon his sire accordingly and even to win the good will of the subjects who wanted the obviation of evil intentions of the wicked people of the Janapadas. His associate and foster brother Samaraketu has been illustrated enjoying the same quantum of liberty and opportunities for life as Harivāhana. He was a Yuvarāja as described by himself. He was the son of Candraketu, the supreme sovereign of the Simhalas which had Raṅgaśālā for their capital. Candraketu had ordered the naval corps meant to march on to the Dakṣ ināpatha, in order to subjugate the wicked vassals abiding close to the Suvela mountain. As (he i. e. Samaraketu) had started off to annihilate the foes, (his sire) had appointed him the chief of that corps having consecrated him to the status of crown prince (अभिषिच्य यौवराज्ये), after he had attained to youth quite recently and had ventured great labours in special weapons such as Prāsa, Kunta, Cakra, Gadā, with the art of archery practised accordingly, with science of polity studied and acquaintance gained in the scripture in accordance with his capacities, and sent him attended by vassal, counsellors

1. TM Vol. II p. 231.

2. Ibid. Vol. II p. 231-232.

3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 232- 233.

and chief overlords of the earth on an auspicious day with unlimited array of foot soldiers made over to him.¹

The consecration ceremony proper has been fully illustrated by Dhanapāla neither in the case of Harivāhana nor in the case of Samaraketu but in case of the ablution ritual of the sole lord of the triad of worlds (Jinendra) making a covert allusion to the consecration bath of the supreme sovereign of the triad of the worlds Samaraketu (with reference to Malayasundarī) and Harivāhana (with reference to Tilakamañjarī)- both acting the would be chief queens (Mahādevīs) respectively for each of them).

"In the meantime ensued the auspicious ceremonial connected with the consecration bath of the overlord of the triad of the worlds. The lute players playing on lutes brought forth the chimes of their chords. The sons of Bharata (i.e., the followers of the school of Bharata) made ready many musical instruments with numerous mārjanās distributed among themselves. The flute players keeping female singers in front took their seats with flutes drawn out of their wooden cases. The people having hands sanctified by cleansing brought on the ewers of gold brimming with water brought from all the holy places. The harlots drew near bearing breasts shining with their expanses appearing thereby as carrying the gold ewers meant for consecration bath raised aloft. Some roved about carrying bunches of flowers; some carrying vases full of unguents while others carrying ewers brimming with scented water etc.² And ultimately when Samaraketu had been united with Malayasundarī and Harivāhana with Tilakamañjarī and Harivāhana had made over administration of his region allocated to him by his sire and when sufficient time had elapsed Meghavāhana summoned Samaraketu, Kamalagupta and others of the same stock and in their presence made him (i.e. Harivāhana) sit on the chair in accordance with the dicta of scriptures, on an auspicious day,³ meaning thereby that he abdicated the throne in his life time and departed for the other world only after that. Harivāhana, too, grown into a fully fledged sovereign pleased his attendants from his boyhood, by making over in charity the circle of many lands and had his vicinity never deserted by the chief princes such as Kamalagupta gratified by charities and munificence showered day in and day out. He protected his kingdom bearing one parasol for its insignia with subjects protected with efforts, with the disputes about the behaviour of the castes (lit. orders) connived at by him, with the proclamation tabor about ensuring

1. TM. Vol. II pp. 250-251.

2. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 188-189.

3. Ibid. Sm. p. 426.

fearlessness being made to be sounded in every direction, with adoration in the shrines built in all the holy places proclaimed without any speciality, with mutual antipathy regarding the whole administration rooted out in it, with penury of the indigents patched up by the charity of riches made in a continuity, being laudable on account of its association gifts being replenished by the extra amount of riches being donated by the subjects given immunity from taxation, with consecration to the kingdom of his own country rendered free from impediments on account of his first uprooting and then reinstating his opponent kṣatriyas, with rest houses in large number meant for group of travellers lean with hunger and thirst got built in every village, with circle of shrines quiet at the outskirts surrounded by vellums of the city provided with lofty turrets established in every town, with merit, stored with ample virtue following the merit earned in the previous birth, with bestowal of lands in nuptial ties, of the gems of maidens being performed with individual offers by the kings hailing from the terrestrial terrains as well as from the celestial world, having their minds gratified by the transcendental virtues (getting accumulated) every day, he deemed himself endowed with association only through Samaraketu even when there was a host of entourage and deemed himself espoused only through Tilakamañjarī.¹

Whole of the narrative alludes to Harivāhana as a righteous king, a righteous conqueror (Dharmavijayī) and a person looking to the general welfare of the populace.

Regarding the Political thought ventured by Dhanapāla we find that he had displayed ample knowledge of the theoretical aspect of the science of polity by referring to it as 'nītiḥ'² 'rājyanītiḥ'³ 'nītiśāstra'⁴, 'daṇḍanīti'⁵ 'Kūśāstra'⁶ 'Arthaśāstra'⁷ 'Bāhya tantra'⁸, 'nītividyā'⁹, 'rājanītiḥ',¹⁰ 'naya

1. TM Sm. p. 427.

2. अधीतनीतिभिरप्यकुटिलैः TM Vol. I p. 52.

3. राज्यनीतिरिव सन्निप्रतिपाद्यमानवार्ताधिगतार्था TM Vol. I p. 55.

4. नीतिशास्त्रेषु खिन्नया सम्यग्ज्ञानहेयोपादेयविभागः TM Vol. I p. 60. , TM Vol. I pp. 233, 311, TM Vol. III pp. 10, 176.

5. सन्निहितदण्ड नीतिप्रतिहारी समाकुष्टाभिर्विपक्षलक्ष्मीभिः TM Vol. I pp. 60-61. See also II p. 2.

6. प्रतिपक्षक्षयोद्यतमुनिकथासु कुशास्त्रव्रवणम् TM Vol. I p. 68.

7. अर्थशास्त्रपरामर्शपूतमतिभिरमात्यैः सह कृतकार्यवस्तुनिर्णयः विनिपातभोरुमन्त्रीव यात्राभियोग मङ्गलार्थमर्थशास्त्रप्रदर्शित वर्त्मना देशकाल सहाय वैकल्यादीनि कारणानि- TM Vol. II p. 303. LL.1-2 L.D. Series.

8. युगपदारटत्सु बाह्यतन्त्रपदातिनृन्देषु TM Vol. II p. 197.

9. यथाशक्ति कृतशास्त्र परिचय मधीतनीतिविद्यम् TM Vol. II p. 251.

10. राजनीतिरिव यथोचितमवस्थापितवर्णसमुदाया TM Vol. III p. 8.

mārga',¹ being 'abhivava' associated with Amaraguru (Bṛhaspati) and Bhārgava (Śukrācārya) etc. whereby it implies that he had before him a large number of treatises on this lore which dealt with the conduct of kingdom at home as well as abroad. His reference to Arthaśāstra may allude to his acquaintance with Kauṭilya and his treatise whom he seems to follow meticulously during the course of his dissertations on political affairs, but his express mention of the two ācāryas Bṛhaspati (Amaraguru) and Śukra (Bhārgava) clearly stresses the point that he had got great regard for these two and perhaps his allusion to 'Arthaśāstra' refers to the treatise of this name composed by Bṛhaspati referred to by Bhāsa² as well as Kauṭilya³ as 'बार्हस्पत्यमर्थशास्त्रम्' and 'षोडश इति बार्हस्पत्याः' respectively. Śukranītiḥ contains verses which tackle the theory of Administration and statecraft almost in the same manner as Kauṭilya. We can easily conclude that he had before him the Arthaśāstras of Bṛhaspati and Kauṭilya as also the Śukranītiḥ of Śukrācārya while exemplifying his own political notions and beliefs. Dhanapāla has referred to certain technical terms which make it evident that he had a firm grounding of the traditional lores on polity such as -

'Mahāmaṇḍalapati',⁴ Vijigīṣu,⁵ 'bahumālikāh prakṛtayah',⁶
'Cakravartī',⁷ 'Uttamaprakṛti',⁸ 'Mahājanapada',⁹ 'Maṇḍala',¹⁰
'Śaktitraya',¹¹ 'Śatruṣaḍvarga',¹² 'Viṣamadurgabala',¹³ 'Pranidhipuruṣa',¹⁴
'Utkhātāropita',¹⁵ 'Saurājya',¹⁶ 'Tantraśakti',¹⁷ 'Mantraśakti',¹⁸ 'Niśītaśāstra

1. अभिनवनयमार्गानुपदेष्टुममरगुरुभार्गवाभ्यामनिबोधिताभ्याम् etc. TM Vol. III p. 120.

2. Prati. N. Act V. p. 296 Bhāsanāṭakacakraṁ.

3. KAS I. 15. 48 Vol. I p. 20. R. P. Kangle.

4. TM Sm. ed. p. 280.

5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 176. TM Vol. II p. 193.

6. Ibid. Vol. III p. 172.

7. Ibid. Vol. I p. 48, 95, 114, Vol. III p. 11, 132, 140,

8. Ibid. Vol. III p. 67.

9. Ibid. Vol. III p. 67.

10. Ibid. Vol. III p. 32.

11. Ibid. Vol. III p. 10.

12. Ibid. L. 7. P. 10

13. Ibid. Vol. II p. 291.

14. Ibid. Vol. II p. 291.

15. Ibid. Vol. II p. 291, Sm. ed. p. 427.

16. Ibid. Vol. II p. 288.

17. Ibid. Vol. II p. 284.

18. Ibid.

vyāpāra,¹ 'Kṣāradūta vacana'² 'Raktāpakarṣaṇa,³ 'Tikṣṇakṣuraprabheda,⁴
 'Ekādeśa dahana,⁵ 'Sarva maṇḍalopamardana,⁶ 'Abhiṣeka Vidhinā paṭṭ
 abandhena,⁷ 'Anyaiśca nivṛttikaraiḥ rājya dānādibhirm adhuropacārāih,⁸
 'Anīkapatiḥ,⁹ 'Śenāparichadah,¹⁰ 'Nautantrayātra,¹¹ 'Nausādhanādhyakṣ
 ā,¹² 'Kaivartta tantra,¹³ 'Kāya' (a Govt. office),¹⁴ 'Balādhikṛta,¹⁵
 'Grāmapatiḥ,¹⁶ 'Duṣṭadāyāda,¹⁷ 'Bhukti,¹⁸ 'Akṣapatalikaḥ,¹⁹ 'Paṭṭaka,²⁰
 'Rājyacintakāḥ pradhānascivāḥ,²¹ 'Sauptika yuddhamārga,²² 'Kṣātra
 Samaranīti,²³ 'Cakravyūha,²⁴ 'Arikula,²⁵ 'Vyūhaviracanaṁ,²⁶
 'Parivarddhakas,²⁷ 'Niyogīs,²⁸ 'Sāmantas,²⁹ 'Bāhyatantra,³⁰

1. TM Vol. II p. 284.
2. TM Vol. II p. 284.
3. TM Vol. II p. 284.
4. TM Vol. II p. 284.
5. TM Vol. II p. 284.
6. TM Vol. II p. 284.
7. TM Vol. III p. 285.
8. TM Vol. III p. 285.
9. TM Vol. II p. 284.
10. TM Vol. II p. 281.
11. TM Vol. II p. 281.
12. TM Vol. II p. 274.
13. TM Vol. II p. 274.
14. TM Vol. II p. 267.
15. TM Vol. II p. 261.
16. TM Vol. II p. 260.
17. TM Vol. II p. 232.
18. TM Vol. II p. 232.
19. TM Vol. II p. 232.
20. TM Vol. II p. 232.
21. TM Vol. II p. 225.
22. TM Vol. II p. 217.
23. TM Vol. II p. 214.
24. TM Vol. II p. 206.
25. TM Vol. II p. 206.
26. TM Vol. II p. 201.
27. TM Vol. II pp. 196-197.
28. TM Vol. II pp. 196-197.
29. TM Vol. II pp. 196-197.
30. TM Vol. II pp. 196-197.

'Padātivrnda,'¹ 'Senādhīpa,'² 'Mahādaṇḍādhipatiḥ,'³ 'Mahādaṇḍanāyaka,'⁴ 'Sattrins,'⁵ 'Pradhānamantrino' mātyavṛddhāḥ,⁶ 'Mūrdhābhiḥ iktanṛpatayaḥ,'⁷ 'mahāsāmantāḥ,'⁸ 'Paurāḥ,'⁹ 'Śaktibhiriva tiṣṭbhiḥ,'¹⁰ 'Prabhuśakti,'¹¹ 'Mūrdhabhisiktakṣatriya samāmnāya,'¹² 'Trivarga Sampattiḥ,'¹³ 'Dharma'¹⁴ and Artha,'¹⁵ 'Mitravarga,'¹⁶ 'aśeṣa saktyupeto' pi bhūbhāra dhāraṇakṣamah'¹⁷ 'Śāḍguṇyaprayoga,'¹⁸ 'daivapurūṣakārān nugūnya,'¹⁹ the internal and the external foes (Pratipakṣānāntarāṇāmantarā ṇaṁ ca)²⁰, 'Mantra,'²¹ 'mitramaṇḍala,'²² 'tantra,'²³ 'caturaṅga,'²⁴ 'Digvijaya.'²⁵

Of these Vijigīṣu or 'the would be conqueror' has been described by Kauṭilya as-

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1. TM Vol. II pp. 196-197.
 2. TM Vol. II pp. 196-197.
 3. TM Vol. II p. 191.
 4. TM Vol. II p. 173.
 5. TM Vol. II p. 167, Vol. I. p. 55.
 6. TM Vol. I p. 157.
 7. TM Vol. I p. 157.
 8. TM Vol. I p. 157.
 9. TM Vol. I p. 157.
 10. TM Vol. I p. 142.
 11. TM Vol. I p. 94, Vol. I p. 62.
 12. TM Vol. I p. 94.
 13. TM Vol. I p. 94.
 14. TM Vol. I p. 89.
 15. TM Vol. I p. 76.
 16. TM Vol. I p. 76.
 17. TM Vol. I p. 63.
 18. TM Vol. I p. 59.
 19. TM Vol. I p. 59.
 20. TM Vol. I p. 59.
 21. TM Vol. I p. 49.
 22. TM Vol. I p. 53.
 23. TM Vol. III p. 133.
 24. TM Vol. III p. 81, Vol. III p. 10.
 25. TM Vol. III p. 81.

'The king, endowed with personal excellencies and those of his material constituents, the seat of good policy'.¹ Maṇḍala² is the circle of smaller kings. Kāmāndaka³ according to Dr. Upadhyaya and Kauṭilya⁴ classify these kings as twelve such as— *ari* or enemy, *mitra* or ally, *arimitra* or the enemy's ally, *mitramitra* or ally's ally, *arimitra mitra* i.e. enemy's ally's ally *pārṣṇīgrāja* or the enemy in the rear, *ākraṇḍa* or the ally in the rear, *pārṣṇīgrāhāsāra* or the rear enemy's ally, *ākraṇḍāsāra* or rear ally's ally, *madhyama* or the middle king and *udāsīna* or the neutral king. *Vijigīṣu*, the would be conqueror being the twelfth of the constituents referred to in 251 above.

'Śatruṣaḍvarga' in the general sense is taken to include Kāma, Krodha, Lobha, Moha, Mada, Harṣa etc. but construed technically it may include the enemy, the enemy's ally the enemy in the rear, the rear enemy's ally the natural enemy and the enemy by birth (*prakṛtyamitra* and *Sahajāmītra*).⁵

The *Prakṛtis* according to R. P. Kangle constitute the elements essential to make a state. Seven *Prakṛtis* have been enumerated by Kauṭilya⁶ Svāmin, (the ruler), *amātya*, (the minister), *Janapada*, (the territory with people settled on it,) *durga*, the fortified capital), *Kośa*, (the treasury), *daṇḍa*, the army and the *mitra*, (the ally.)

According to R. P. Kangle,

'The last in this list, viz. the ally is the ruler of a different similarly organised state and forms no part of the other states internal organisation. His mention is primarily in connection with that state's foreign relations. There are thus six essential elements in a state. This analysis of the elements that make up a state's organisation is obviously made from the practical stand point of administration. There is thus the ruler, then the ministers who assist him in his rule, the populated territory over which he rules, the fortified capital from which he rules and the treasury and army that ensure the stability and security of his rule. It is to be noted that in this analysis the citizens of the state are not directly referred to. Their existence is to be understood by implication in the reference to the *Janapada*. For, it is stated elsewhere in Kauṭilya's own words that there can be no *Janapada* without

1. KAS VI 2. 13. Vol. I p. 165, Vol. II p. 368.

2. Kālidāsa Kā Bhārata Part-I B. S. Upadhyaya p. 166.

3. Ibid.

4. KAS VI 214-22 Vol II pp. 165-166, 36 Vol. II p. 369.

5. KAS VI. 2. 18. 19 Vol. I p. 166 Vol. II p. 369

6. KAS VI. 1 VI. p. 164, Vol. II pp 364, Vol. III Ch. V p. 127.

people living in it.¹ This doctrine of the Prakṛtis, therefore, throws no light on the nature of the relation that may be assumed to exist between the state and the citizens.² By 'इति प्रकृतयः' Kauṭilya means. "These are the constituents (of the circle of kings)."³

He further adds-

The conqueror, the ally and the ally's ally, are the three constituents of this (circle of kings). They, each individually united with its five constituent elements, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury and the army, constitute the eighteen fold circle. By that is explained a separate circle (for each of) the enemy, the middle and the natural kings. Thus there is a collection of four circles⁴ which may coincide with the Mahāmaṇḍala of Dhanapāla.

There are twelve constituents who are kings, sixty material constituents, a total of seventy two in all.⁵

This explains the "बहुमालिकाः प्रकृतयः"(TM. III. p 172 L.2) of Dhanapāla.

His reference to Śaktitraya, tantra śakti, Mantra śakti, śakti bhiriva, *tiśrbhih*, *Prabhu śaktiḥ*, *aśeṣa śakti etc.* has allusion to— "शक्तिस्त्रिविधा ज्ञानबलं मन्त्रशक्तिः, कोशदण्डबलं प्रभुशक्तिः, विक्रमबलमुत्साहशक्तिः" of Kauṭilya. i.e. power is threefold: the power of knowledge is the power of counsel, the power of the treasury and the army is the power of might, the power of valour is the power of energy.⁶

'Prabhuśaktiḥ' has been specifically mentioned so also the mantraśaktiḥ. By tantraśaktiḥ Dhanapāla means perhaps the prabhu as well as the Utsāha śaktis which are equally essential for the proper running of the administration, being essential for the personal asset of the ruler. Mantraśaktiḥ, however, depends upon his deliberations with council of ministers.

"Uttama prakṛti" referred to by Dhanapāla in association with mahājanapada may allude to the collective group of mahāmaṇḍalas governing the vast group of citizens. 'Viṣamadurgabala' refers to the army

1. नृराजानो जनपदो राज्यमजनपदं वा भवतीति कौटिल्यः KAŚ XIII 4.5 Vol. I p. 263.

2. KAŚ Vol. III p. 127.

3. KAŚ VI. 2. 23. vol. I p. 166, Vol. II p. 370.

4. विजिगीषुमित्रं मित्रममित्रं वाऽस्य प्रकृतयस्त्रयः KAŚ VI. 2. 24 Vol. I p. 166, Vol. II p. 370.

5. ताः पञ्चभिरमात्यजनपददुर्गकोशदण्डप्रकृतिभिरैकैकशः संयुक्तामण्डाभयष्टादशकं भवति। अनेन मण्डलपृथक्तवं व्याख्यातम् रिमध्यमोदासीनानाम्। एवं चतुर्गण्डतसंक्षेपः। KAŚ VI 2. 2.5. 27 vol. I p. 166.

6. द्वादश राजप्रकृतयः षष्टिद्वयप्रकृतयः संक्षेपेण द्विसप्ततिः KAŚ VI 2. 28 vol. I p. 166, Vol. II p. 370.

stationed in an impregnable fort. "Pranidhipuruṣas" are the spies whose appointment and functions have been dealt with by Kauṭilya in i. 11 and i. 12 wherein he says-

"With the body of ministers proved upright by means of secret tests, the (king) should appoint persons in secret service, (viz.), the sharp pupil, the apostle monk, the seeming householder, the seeming trader and the seeming ascetic, as well as the secret agent, the bravo, the poison giver and the begging nun.¹

'Niśita' śāstra vyāpāra,' 'kṣāradūtavaçana,' 'tīkṣṇa kṣuraprabhedā' are the technical, terms alluding to strategies of Samaraketu assisted by his army chiefs and vassals making the kings of his maṇḍala shake off their prides by crushing the entire maṇḍala by means of sharp lathel weapons, acerbitous words of the emissaries etc. who had become the suppurated sores affording torture to the people.² 'Raktāpakarṣaṇa' added to the list of stratagems refers to the shedding of blood.³ 'Ekadeśa dahana'⁴ is a means of torture for the offender. The stratagems even included the acts of affording opportunities to those who could revolt, to accept certain lurements in the form of subsidiary vassals, charities etc. 'anikapatiḥ' means an army in chief. Śenāparicchada' means the army personnel and army equipage. 'Nautantrayātrā' is the maritime voyage. 'Nausādhanādhyakṣa' is the naval chief. 'Kaivartatantra is the avocation of sailors i.e. the navigation. 'Balādhikṛta an army chief, Grāmapatiḥ the village headman. 'Duṣṭadāyāda the wicked collaterals. 'Bhukit' the area meant to be governed by a governor. 'Akṣapatalikah' is the keeper of the royal records and mandates. 'Paṭṭaka' a royal mandate or the chart sheet on which the mandate is inscribed. A Cakravartī king obtains his status as such in case he possesses the horse named 'bhūpāla' who has one or three ripples on its snout according to Śukra.⁵ Sārvabhauma⁶ is another variant employed by Dhanapāla for 'Cakravartī' with reference to Meghavāhana. It means he had almost whole of the land of Bhāratavarṣa under his sway with vassals

1. KAŚ VI. 2.33 Vol. I p. 166 Vol. II p. 370.

2. उपधाभिः शुद्धामात्यावर्णा गूढपुरुषानुत्पादयेत् कापटिको दास्यति गृहपतिकवैदेहकतापसव्यंजनान् सत्त्रितोक्ष्ण रसदभिश्चकोष्ठ. KAŚ I. 11. 1. Vol. I p. 12, Vol. II p. 23.

3. TM Vol. II p. 284.

4. Ibid.

5. नासामध्ये यदावर्त एको वायदिवात्रयम्।

चक्रवर्ती स विज्ञेयो वाजीभूपाल संज्ञकः॥ Śukranīti IV p. 340.

6. TM Vol. I p. 64.

uprooted and reinstated on their respective kingdoms. “निर्जित्यसप्ताम्बु-
राशिरशनाकलापां काश्यपीम्”¹ refers to a Cakravartī holding sway over the earth
engirt by seven oceans etc.

Kauṭilya has referred to Vijigīṣu who ultimately becomes a Cakravartī.
He says-

The conqueror should employ the six expedients of policy with due
regard to his power.²

‘Sādgunya’³ referred to by Dhanapāla are the six measures of foreign
policy according to Kauṭilya.⁴

Sandhi (Peace), Vighraha (war), Āsana (staying quiet), Yāna (marching),
Saṁśraya (seeking shelter) and dvaidhībhāva (dual policy).⁵

Among them entering into a treaty is peace. Doing injury is war.
Remaining indifferent is staying quiet. Augmentation (of powers) is
marching. Submitting to another is seeking shelter., Resorting to peace
(with one) and war (with another) is dual policy.⁶

‘Rājyacintakāh Pradhāna Sacivāh means the chief counsellors belonging
to the mantripariṣad who look after the affairs of the State.
‘Sauptikayuddhamārga’ is the nocturnal warfare which according to
Dhanapāla is devised by the imbecile kṣatriyas (Kṣudra Kṣatriya loka
sūtritaḥ Saupṭika Yuddhamārgaḥ). ‘Kṣātrasamaranītiḥ’ is the ‘Parājaye
śāstra tyāgarūpā saṁgrāmanītiḥ’ according to the commentator.
‘Cakravyūha’ has been referred to by Dhanapāla while making a
comparison of Samaraketu plunging into the army of Vajrāyudha as
Abhimanyu plunged into the army of the Kaurvas arrayed in a Cakravyūha.

Śukra defines Cakravyūha as under

A battle array that is orbēd in the manner of a circle and is provided with
curved recesses intertwined into eight parts and has only one ingress road to
the whole show is called a Cakravyūha.⁷

1. TM Vol. I p. 71.

2. विजिगीषुः शक्त्ययपेक्षः षाड्गुण्यमुपयुंजीत KAS VII 3. 1. Vol I. p. 171, Vol. II p. 378.

3. TM Vol. I p. 59.

4. KAS VII 1. 5 Vol. I p. 168, Vol. II p. 372.

5. Ibid. VII 1.2 Vol. I p. 168, Vol. II p. 372.

6. तत्र पणबन्धः सन्धिः । अपकारो विग्रहः. उपेक्षणमासमनम् । अभ्युद्ययो यानम् । परार्पणः सश्रयः । संधि विग्रहो पातनं
द्वैधी भावः । KAS VII 1. 6. 12. Vol. I p. 168, Vol. II pp. 372-73.

7. चक्रव्यूहश्चैकमार्गो ह्यष्टधा कुण्डलो कृतः Śukranītiḥ IV 281 p. 371.

Śukra has also referred to 'Krauñcavyūha,' 'Śyenavyūha,' 'makaravyūha,' 'śūcimukha' Sarvatobhadra' and 'śakataavyūha.'¹

Kauṭilya has referred to Daṇḍa, Pradara, Dṛḍhaka, asahya, śyena, pratiṣṭha and supratiṣṭha, saṁjaya, vijaya, sthūṇākarma, viśālavyūha, camūmukham jhaṣāsyā, sūcī, valaya, durjaya, Bhoga, gomūtrikā, śakata, makara, pāripatantaka, maṇḍala, sarvatobhadra, asamhata, godhā, Kākapadī, karkataka śṛṅgī, ariṣṭa etc. as the various vyūhas or arrays of battle.²

'Niyogīs' were 'bhṛtyas.' 'Arikula' has already been defined as the group of enemies or circle of enemies. 'Parivarddhakas' are the horse riders. 'Sāmantas' are subsidiary vassals. 'Bāhyatantra' refers to the foreign political set up or the political set up of the foreign country. 'padātivṛnda' is the pedestrians of the army. 'Senādhipa' is army in chief. Mahādaṇḍanāyaka a chief of a huge force. 'Sattrins' has been taken to mean secret agents by Kauṭilya.³ 'Mūrdhābhiṣikṭanṛpatayah' were subsidiary vassals first uprooted and then reinstated or even those who were given to assume that office after being consecrated in order to keep their status intact but were subservient to the paramount sovereign after having been won over as the factitious allies and being stranger in themselves.

'Daivapuruṣakāra' is the same as daiva mānuṣaṁ karma of Kauṭilya⁴ where he says. It is acts of human and divine agency that make the world go.⁵

Caturaṅga has been referred to in case of the game of chess being full of the structures of 'Trikas' and 'Catuṣkas'. Chess is a game which is played on the analogy of the constituent limbs of the army personnel consisting of pedestrians, chariots, elephants and horses. Sometimes the threefold array of the three constituents and sometimes all the constituents moving together afford cue to the crafty brains to go ahead with their battle arrays in the battlefield. Chess may, therefore, be the theory anticipating the practical aspect of warfare where caturaṅga consisting of " सतुरङ्गरथमतङ्गपार्थिवं प्रतिपक्षम्... etc."⁶ can be combated like wise by the same types of counter intrigues.

1. Śukranītiḥ. IV 279-283 pp. 370-371.

2. KAŚ X 6. 8. 39 pp. 242-243.

3. KAŚ I. 20. 3. p. 11 I. 11.1 p. 12., I. 11. 18 p. 13, Vol. II p. 21, Vol. II p. 23, Vol. II p. 25.

4. KAŚ VI 2. 7. Vol. I p. 165.

5. KAŚ Vol II p. 368.

6. TM Vol. II p. 207.

THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLICIES OF THE KING

Dhanapāla has laid more emphasis on the importance of the secret agents (Sattrins) in the way of working of the affairs of the kingdom (rājanītiḥ) where in they take to all types of risks in finding out the seditious and loyal elements among the subjects as also do they take to the task of understanding the sources of income and expenditure including misappropriation and embezzlement which effect the economy of the country.¹ This point is further reflected in the righteous way of life being lived by his subjects who never violated the traditions set by the ruler (of Ayodhyā) and were never exposed to the punishment of being exiled (on account of violating the law of the land); no confiscation of their properties was effected; no spite was seen on finding a friend taking to prosperity; the exchequer of the country never suffered exhaustion; etc.²

Dhanapāla has also illustrated the ideal of rendering the quarters free from thorns on the analogy of 'Kaṇṭakaśodhanba' of Kautilya³ in order to keep the glory of the king travelling on without any obstacles.⁴ He also establishes the ideal of accumulating huge treasury, subjugating the subsidiary vassals, keeping the circle of ministers under his guard and maintaining his forts through royal guards and then and only then a king could keep his home safe from the internal insurgencies and outward revolts.⁵

A king was required to uproot his enemies and become free from fears of foreign invasions which could be done only if he made himself immune from all internal liabilities by keeping the status of orders of society and stages of life well within its normal course.⁶

As a supreme lord of the material set up a king was required to keep the spheres of Dharma, Artha and Kāma within their precise limits so that none of them infringed upon the limits of one or the other or else he would face restlessness and imbalance in the proper working of the state's affairs giving rise thereby to his censure of being inefficient in handling the internal

1. राज्यनीतिरिव सत्रिप्रतिपाद्यमानवार्ताधिगतार्थः TM Vol. I p. 55.

2. यस्यां च वीथिगृहाणां राजपथातिक्रमः दोलाक्रीडासु दिगन्तरयात्रा, कुमुदखण्डानां राज्ञा सर्वस्वापहरणम्, अनङ्गमार्गणानां मर्मघट्टनव्यसनम्, वैष्णवानां कृष्णवर्त्मनि प्रवेशः, सूर्योपलानां मित्रोदये ज्वलनम्, वैशेषिकमते द्रव्यस्य कटस्थनित्यता। TM Vol. I pp. 57-58.

3. KAS IV Vol. I pp. 129-150.

4. यशसः सुखप्रचारार्थं भिव निष्कष्टकाः ककुभः TM Vol. I p. 71.

5. उपार्जितप्रभृतकांशं वशीकृतसमस्तसामन्तमायतमन्त्रिमण्डलमुपगृहीतमित्रवर्गपातपुरुषाधिष्ठितदुर्गं समग्रमपि राज्यम्
TM Vol. I p. 71.

6. निरशेषितारिवंशतया विगतशंकः, स्वधर्मव्यवस्थापितवर्णाश्रमतया जातनिर्वृत्तिः, TM Vol. I p. 71.

policies judiciously. He was to look to the interests and demands of his servants as well as the allies and favourites so that he could keep them away from aligning with the enemies who are prone to get active on finding schism in the saṅgha herein. To sit in the royal chamber became obligatory for him by finding spare time at regular intervals so that his dependants and subordinates did not make a mess of the whole affairs by acting at will by stealing opportunities. To safeguard the interests and to listen to the supplications and claims of the religious sects also formed a part and parcel of his internal affairs or else he would earn the curses of these sects who when disgruntled would subvert the cause fostered by him.¹ He stresses the need of alertness on the part of ministers, irresistibility of the command of the king, perfect understanding between the secret agents and the king, inalienably of the group of nobles and parasites and desirability on the part of the king to move incognito at nights in order to find out the series of affections and disaffection likely to make or mar the career of his kingdom. To attend the consemblies of the elders brought him close to the idea of investigating into the pleasures and pains of the subjects. Self censure before the public to understand their acts of loyalty and satisfaction over his administration, along with the censure of the ministers, Heads of the departments in order to find out the rumours about these prevailing among them formed a part and parcel of a king's internal policies.²

Regarding the foreign policy Dhanapāla has enunciated the ideal of an ambitious conqueror³ taking to his campaigns at an improper occasion or in an untimely season in the context of the Vidyādhara sage. That means an ambitious conqueror can attack at a time when his enemy is caught napping. He is prone to inflict heavy injuries on his opponent. The sin accruing from that can be expiated by him by resorting to penance and bestowal of compassion after the war is over. This justifies the dictum of end justifying the means where in the devious tactics manipulated by him to serve his own end prove fruitful. Here again his espionage or the secret service becomes instrumental in making him take to campaigns when his enemy is inactive.

1. यथा न धर्मः सीदित, यथा नार्थः क्षयं व्रजति, यथा न राजलक्ष्मीरुन्मनायते, यथा न... परिजनो विरज्यते यथा न मित्रवर्गो भ्लायति यथा न शत्रवस्तरलायन्ते तथा सर्वमन्वतिष्ठत्। सेवकानुरागसंरक्षणाय च वित्तीर्णं सर्वावसरमन्तरान्तरा सभामण्डपमध्यास्त। धर्मपक्षपातितया च देवद्विजातितपस्विजनकार्येषु महत्सु कार्यासन भजे।

TM Vol. I p. 76.

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 77.

3. अकालविजिगीषुपुनृपतिसैन्यमिव यथासंख्यं तपोदयक्षपितानेकपापकलिम् TM Vol. I p. 88.

At another place Dhanapāla has enunciated the idea of a natural pleasure felt by an ambitious conqueror on obtaining the Janapada of an enemy.¹ Even when Samaraketu has been entitled 'a foster brother' by Meghavāhana, in relation to Harivāhana, Dhanapāla has likened Harivāhana to a 'jigīṣu' and Samaraketu to a 'vipakṣa Janapada' reminding one of the fact that the author as a true and sincere student of human psychology is not all sure about the fact that both would maintain the concord stipulated to be done so in so far as in the later stages to come Samaraketu had to face the ordeal of tracing Harivāhana who had been lost in alliance with him. He in collusion with Kamalagupta and others could fain obtain the status of the crown prince and thereby that of a Jigīṣu too if he wanted to do so by letting go the pursuit of Harivāhana lost by an elephant and giving it out to his sire his supposed death or even make efforts to get him killed by allowing his partners to make arrangements that way. It is a separate thing that he did not do so. On the other hand he himself had started on a digvijaya at the errands of his sire Candraketu who had installed him as his heir to the throne and had sent him attended by vassals, confidants and army personnel to render help to the king of Kāñcī an ally of his sire. In reality Samaraketu was a war prisoner brought by Vajrāyudha whom Meghavāhana elevated to the status of a foster brother to Harivāhana so that he could remove the thorn of animosity between himself and his sire Candraketu who could never dare in future to help his subsidiary vassal and erstwhile foe, Kusumaśekhara, the king of Kāñcī. Harivāhana started on his inspection of his own maṇḍala and was assisted by Samaraketu and other allies and moving through those and other Janapadas ultimately reached Kāmarūpa in Prāgyjyotiṣa (modern Assam) visiting enroute the durgagiri Mandaraka by name, a lake built by Meghavāhana on his way to the conquest of the quarters, a devāgrahāra donated by Madirāvatī, a dharmāranya built by mantrī Surānanda, the border land on the skirts of the mountain where Nītivarmā, the army in chief incharge of the North, had killed the Lord of the Hūnas, the bhukti of Samaraketu i. e. Aṅga on the other side of a stream and the region forming the administrative resort of Kamalagupta obtained as gratification along with its group of towns and villages i.e. Kalinga. (TM. III 9 235-245)

Thus it appears from this description of Dhanapāla that Meghavāhana enroute his conquest of the quarters had resorted to the policy of a

1. ¹ हर्षिकवहनाऽपि तद्गुणानुरजितमनाः स्वप्नदृष्टेऽपि समरकेतौ विपक्षजनपद इव जिगीषुः परं मुदमवाप्सु। TM Vol. II p. 234. L.7

Dharmavijayī having established a fort on a hill track named Mandaraka, dug a lake, donated a devāgrahāra, built a dharmaranya, vanquished a foreigner Hūṇa king and even conquered the kings of Aṅgas, Kālīṅgas and Kāmarūpa. He had, however, reinstated the two kings of Kāmarūpa and Kālīṅga after having uprooted them. The same policy seems to have been adopted by him in the case of other kings abiding in the Uttarāpatha who acting as subsidiaries to him having been reinstated after being uprooted, came to his son Harivāhana with gifts the best ones available from their territories, with news about his arrival being communicated to him through their secret agents.¹

The same policy of first uprooting and then reinstating is depicted having been followed by Candraketu, sire of Samaraketu who spent some of his days visiting the highlands contiguous to Laṅkā shown to him by the kings who had been first uprooted and later on reinstated and who stood close to him narrating to him all the anecdotes about the heroes of Rāmāyaṇa fame.²

Inspired³ by his secret emissaries returned having been despatched by him, he started off to chastise the capital of the Kirātārāja named Parvataka and having made to flee all the marauders (dasyu loka) he came back to his camp having appropriated the booty along with the harem (of Kairātārāja) including the children.

“अखण्डितोत्खातरोषितविषक्षराजन्य निजदेशराज्याभिषेकम्”⁴

qualifying “एकातपत्रं राज्यम्” of Harivāhana fully illustrates the foreign policy of a Dharmavijayī or the Righteous conqueror whose regal domain bearing one parasol for its insignia had the consecration to the throne in their own kingdoms of the Kṣatriyas on the opponents’ side, untampered on account of their being first uprooted and later on reinstated.

1. TM. III. pp 33-35

2. पिशुनितानेकारमायणमहापुरुषवृत्तान्तेरन्ति कस्थितै स्तत्रत्य नरपतिभिरुत्खात तारो पितैरनुपदं प्रदशितान् लंकपुरीसतौददेशान् सहर्षं भीक्षमाणः कतिचि दिदनान्यतिष्ठम् TM Vol. II p. 291.

3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 291.

4. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 427.

2. POWERS OF THE KING

Channelisation of the administrative duties:

The jurisdictions and powers of the ministers:

The departments, their heads and their administration etc.

Regarding the regal dignity Dhanapāla has endowed his kings with powers that were irresistible as well as unalienable. His panegyrics of the Paramāra kings amply illustrate the point. Vairisimha was a formidable king who had the walls in the form of the shores of the four oceans shattered by the tips of the tusks of the tuskers of his indomitable armies. And Śrī Harṣa was an abode of fortunes or regal glory (Śrī) and was well known as a ruler of the earth having the girdle zone for the four oceans. Śrī Sīyaka had thwarted the height of pride of his enemies. Sindhurāja had a lofty fame, a lion to the row of tuskers of his indomitable foes, who had an elder brother in Śrīmadvākpātirāja who wielded a single bow strung up, who had his earth engirt by four oceans subjugated by him. Sindhurāja's son Bhoja was an abode of valour. He was consecrated to his own throne by Vākpātirāja also known as Muñja, deeming that he was competent for that.¹

This forestalls the proposition that even when the king used to assume supernatural dignity it was his personal qualities that determined his stability on the throne and whenever there arose an occasion for appointing an heir it was he himself who would determine the eligibility or otherwise of the successor. His Meghavāhana has been described as wielding a sword the edge whereof had grown blunt (lit. jagged) on account of its having crushed the bones on the stout necks of the enemies, of irresistible prowess of arms.² He has been deemed an incarnation of the sun having overreached the extremities of the four oceans by his sole chariot, a peer to Vasu and Vāsava (Indra), a Brahmā in the real sense of the term.³ Even when residing in the mortal world he was intermediate to all the worlds— a factor which establishes the dignity of the king transcending the mortal beings.⁴ His intellect even though small in extent has been deemed having encompassed

1. TM Introductory verses 40- 43 Vol. I pp. 34-35

2. अवार्थभुजबलारातिकठिनकण्डस्थिदलनदन्तुरकृपाणधारः TM Vol. I pp. 58-59.

3. अवतार इव साक्षादरुणसारधेरेकतथाक्रान्तचतुरब्धिसीमा, समस्तैकविष्टपाधिपतया तुल्यरेखया वासुकि वासवयोरवस्थितः.....यथार्थः प्रजापतिः. TM Vol. I p. 59.

4. मनुष्यलोक इव गुणैः स्थितोऽपि मध्यस्थः सर्वलोकानाम् TM Vol. I p. 59.

within its fold the entire triad of the worlds.¹ His generosity of heart symbolising his intellect having assumed a huge stature along with his capacities to acquire or leave aside in accordance with his discriminate action easily imbues his personal dignity with the powers of superhuman tendencies.² Like Dilīpa of Kālidāsa³ endowed with qualities of a ruler," awe inspiring as well as lovable," Meghavāhana was "abhirāma" (glamorous or enviable) and "bhīṣaṇa" (terrible or awe-inspiring) by virtue of his fame as well as prowess.⁴ His radiance was effulgent or effervescent like fire making it manifest that a king's personality had an immanent glow on its mien that brought on a sense of divinity on him.⁵ Being a paramount sovereign (Sārvabhaumo rājā)⁶ his command scared away injustice.⁷

His army-chiefs (Sainya nāyakāḥ), porters (Pratihārah), the guardians of the harem (sthāpatyāḥ), the chowrie bearers (cāmara grāhāḥ), the body guards (aṅga rakṣāḥ), judges (Dharmastheyāḥ), the humorous sentinels (narmasacivāḥ), the ecclesiastics or chaplains (Purodhasaḥ), the secret emissaries (gūḍhapuruṣāḥ), the bards (vandiputrāḥ)⁸ all went to provide an upper coating of embellishment to his regal glory.

The pomp and show with which the king used to move into or out of his palace in order to perform certain rights both social as well as regal, form the traditions associated with the royal dignity and powers.

Being the lord of his subjects Meghavāhana was issueless and as he got the boon from Śrī he became an object of laudation and blessings as well as good wishes at the hands of his functionaries as well as the subjects including the social orders and religious sects the talking birds and other strata of society who all wished the birth of an heir to the throne under the belief that the continuity in the line of regal lineage would maintain the political prestige of their country as also her independence.⁹

Meghavāhana proceeding towards his palace ere to reaching the harem rode an elephant that was made to move by the alert driver, with sultry shine

1. परमाणु सूक्ष्मयापि क्रोडीकृतत्रैलोक्यया TM Vol. I p. 60.

2. विशाल हृदयासादित स्वेच्छावकाशयेवातिदूर प्रसृतया प्रज्ञया सम्यग्ज्ञातहेयोपादेयविभागः TM Vol. I p. 60.

3. Raghuvamśa I. 16. भीमकान्तैर्नृपगुणैः।

4. अभिरामभीषणो यशः प्रतापाभ्याम्। TM Vol. I p. 61.

5. नलपृथुप्रभोऽप्यनलपृथुप्रभः। TM. I. P. 62. LL. 3-4

6. TM Vol. I p. 64.

7. TM Vol. I p. 66. आज्ञेवान्यायं न्यषेधयद्।

8. TM Vol. I p. 66.

9. TM Vol. I pp. 157-160, Vol. II pp 161-62.

of the sun warded off by the white parasol and followed by the subsidiary kings on all sides.¹

He stationed his vehicle on one gate and got down at the other gate having stationed, the group of kings on both the sides. With retinue dispersed with the help of porters he walked just on foot surrounded by a limited number of princes and having gone to the middle chamber established himself on the ivory platform stationed in its middle portion.²

Samaraketu narrating his own account before Harivāhana, under the circumstances he left the court Hall of his sire, we find a complete picture of the regal pomp with which he was given a send off by the coquettes of the harem performing lustrations for him, the ecclesiastic or Chaplain muttering holy syllables in order to ward off any evils, abrewing ahead, the group of Brāhmaṇas showering blessings on him following the royal ecclesiastic chaplain, etc. He rode the scent elephant known as Amara vallabha brought close by the driver named Vajrāṅkuśa, having brought him facing the east. Both the flanks of his two shoulders were orbed with the quivers tucked up fast with his left hand equipped with the arrow seat i.e. the bow having its central part decorated with varied hued golden leaves. The groups of fly-whisks were being waved over him quite easily. The pedestrians moved about quite gallantly causing a tremor in the earth. The jubilant bards proclaimed the victory calls quite aloud. The entire Universe was made reverberous with the sounds of the trumpets named, the auspicious victory ones, being sounded up. The faces of the quarters were being resounded by the noise of the tabors sounding up aloud. The spaces between the quarters were crowded by the group of insignia shadowing the lustre of the sun, collected for warfare by many kings, bearing marks of fish and crocodiles or crocodiles, tigers, śarabhas, boars and elephants of diverse types, with their forms appearing in the gap filled in by the breeze, revolving round the fragment of the white parasol moving on in front of the golden stick studded with bits of varied-hued gems etc.³

Harivāhana impatient to meet the maiden of his heart found an excuse about inspecting the regions falling within the jurisdiction of his rulership or governorship and as a crown prince he observed the etiquette of informing his intentions through the Prime Minister and permitted accordingly to do the same he started off on an auspicious day, surrounded by the entire host of army-personnel, followed by his illustrious allies such as Samaraketu,

1. TM Vol. II p. 168.

2. TM Vol. II p. 169.

3. TM Vol. II pp. 252-54.

wearing spruce costumes and riding their respective vehicles and rides and got out of Sāketa.¹

In Harivāhana Dhanapāla has depicted a crown-prince in the making of an ideal paramount sovereign, a righteous monarch who when gone to Kāmarūpa and greeted by the king of Prāgjyotiṣa and welcomed by the kings of Uttarāpatha, was taken to the forest on the outskirts of river Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) and even when he saw all types of wild beasts, being a lover of chase, he did not kill any of those like Dilīpa of Kālidāsa, even though many came within the range of his arc and instead he charmed the young ones among them by the chime of the chord of his lute.² “Prakṛti sānu krośatayā”³ is most typical trait immanent to a righteous monarch who lets go the vanquished vassals to occupy their seats again after having uprooted them just as Harivāhana did allow the fauna falling within the reach of his arc, to go their gay moods and adorned them with different ornaments and sportive actions simply to study their normal behaviours.⁴ The employment of billets (lekha) obviously marked with the royal seal mentioned by Dhanapāla formed the main means of communication between the king and the princes, the king and the counsellors, the king and the army personnel.

लिख्यमाननिःसंख्याराजाज्ञालेखमुद्रासिन्दूरारुणीकृतदिवं⁵

The conferment by way of ‘Kumārabhukti’ the entire range of Uttarāpatha associated by maṇḍalas such as Kāśmīra and the entire region of Aṅgas and associated janapads on Harivāhana and Samaraketu, by Meghavāhana has been shown communicated having been inscribed on a canvas chart specially meant for the Royal mandates, as recorded by the keeper of the royal records Sudrṣṭi.⁶ Similar is the mode adopted by Harivāhana in communicating his welfare after having been lost through the divine elephant. Almost invariably such communications start with ‘svasti’ which is a typical ensign meant for the royal panegyrics available throughout the ancient Indian Historical records preserved as royal mandates or royal grants etc.

1. TM. Vol. III p. 32.

2. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 34-35.

3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 35.

4. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 35-36.

5. Ibid. II, p. 172, L 6

6. Ibid. Vol. II p. 232.

'स्वस्ति, अटव्या महाराजपुत्रहरिवाहनः कुशली लौहित्यकूलावासिते विजयिनि निजस्कन्धावारे युवराजसमरकेतु कमलगुप्तपुरः सरांश्च राजपुत्रान् सप्रसादमादिशति-अत्रैव कतिचिद्दिनानि स्थातव्यम्, ताताम्बयोश्च यथा मदपहारवार्तां श्रुतिपथं नायाति तथा प्रयतितव्यम् इति'

The billet-carrier or the courier come from the vicinity of Candraketu, sire of Samaraketu, ushered in by the cane-bearing maid presents the royal mandate issued by Candraketu. Here the word 'Svasti' is missing. But the general character of the billet is the same.

'शत्रुबलपीडितेन द्रविडमण्डलाधिपतिना कुसुमशेखरेण दूतमुखेन कृत्वा सख्यमुपयाचिताः स्मः। प्रतिज्ञातं प्रतिश्रुतं तस्मै तदस्माभिः। प्रेषितश्च तत्सैन्यसाहायकाय कियानपि रथाश्ववारणप्रायो दण्डः।

सैन्यं मन्त्यकृताशेषकार्येण कल्याणभागिना स्वसैन्यपरिगतेन गत्वा सत्वरमधिष्ठातव्यम् इत्यतिक्रान्त वार्ताप्रकाशनपुरःसरं पितुरादेशमभिलिखितमीक्षितवान्'¹²

The term 'abhilikhitam' denotes incised or inscribed on the analogy of 'abhilekha' an inscription or an inscribed or incised record.

Similarly the consolatory message of Samaraketu to Malayasundarī informing the latter about his personal welfare begins with 'Svasti'.

'स्वस्ति महाराजाधिराजचन्द्रकेतु चरणारविन्दमधुकरो युवराजसमरकेतुः कांच्यां सकलदक्षिण क्षौणिपालशिखरमहाराजकुसुमशेखरवंशकुमुदाकरशशिकलां मलयसुन्दरीं सप्रेमबहुमानमात्मीयदेहारोग्यवार्तया सुखयति।'¹³

and finally the message of Vicitravīrya to Harivāhana purporting forth his resolve to arrange the nuptial tie of Samaraketu and Malayasundarī likewise begins with 'Svasti'.

'स्वस्ति। त्रिकूटाचालाद्राजा विचित्रवीर्यः स्वसौन्दर्यतुलित सुरलोकशोभासमृद्धावुत्तरश्रेण्यामाश्रितजन शरण्यमन्यसाधारणगुणाधारं महाराजपुत्रहरिवाहनमशेषपृथ्वीविजयलाभाशिषा संयोज्य निजशरीरारोग्यवार्तया सुखयति। कथंचिदुपजातवर्षेण झटिति संजातघटनं वरत्वेन परिकल्प्य भ्रातरं ते समरकेतुमद्यैव वत्सायाः मलयसुन्दर्याः प्रस्तुतो मया विवाहोत्सवः कर्तुम्।'¹⁴

Herein the word 'ādeśa' is a technical one indicating the royal mandate. Of the types of 'rājyas' or kingdoms, Dhanapāla has mentioned—

'rājya'¹⁵ whereas words such as 'mahārāja'¹⁶,

'Mahārājadirāja'¹⁷ Samrāt¹⁸ and Sārvabhauma¹⁹ and Cakravarti;¹⁰ are not wanting indicating thereby the conceptions of 'Māhārājya', 'ādhirājya',

1. TM. III pp. 53-54.

2. Ibid.. Sm. ed. p. 321.

3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 338.

4. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 422.

5. Ibid. Intro.. verse 43 p. 35 Sm. ed. p. 427, Sm. ed. p. 402.

6. Ibid. Vol. III p. 3.

7. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 338.

8. Ibid. Vol. III p. 200.

9. Ibid. Vol. I p. 64.

10. Ibid. Vol. I p. 114, Vol. III p. 11 etc.

Sāmrajya' of Kālidāsa.¹ The conception of 'Dvairājya' is discernible in the equitable distribution of the kingdom of Kāśmīra and Uttarāpatha, Aṅga and associate janapadas between Harivāhana and Samaraketu who is ultimately handed over the entire kingdom of Uttara śreṇi by Harivāhana who himself became the Samrāt (not mentioned explicitly) of the kingdom held under one parasol (Ekātapatra rājya).²

Rājya, mähārājya, adhirājya and sāmrajya are practically cognate terms and the rulers of these had subsidiary vassals under them who used to be either vanquished monarchs surrendering their territories or those vanquished and reinstated simply to owe allegiance and offer tributes.

For Meghavāhana, the Sārvabhauma or Cakravartī Samrāt, the king of Prāgyotiṣa (Kāmarūpa), the vassals of Uttarāpatha, the king of Kāñcī, Kusumaśekhara by name, Vicitravīrya, the king of Vaijayantī, on Vaitāḍhya, the overlords of Pāñcāla (Kuśasthala) named Pratāpaśīla, Māgadha (Kusumapura) named Suraketu, Saurāṣṭra named Mahābala and those of Kāliṅga, Vāṅga, Aṅga, Kośala (Mahākośala) and Kulūta, etc., owed allegiance as Sāmantas.³

For Candraketu, Kirātārāja Parvataka and many others owed allegiance.

Regarding 'Digvijaya' we find Meghavāhana having done that and later on Harivāhana followed suit. Samaraketu had started off from Raṅgaśālā on a tour to conquer the quarters under the pretext of rendering succour to the king of Kāñcī at the errands of the sire Candraketu. The pattern of 'Aśvamedha' is missing in the mode of 'digvijaya' illustrated by Dhanapāla. Like Kālidāsa, Dhanapāla has deemed Autumn or Śarad, the best season suited for acquiring victory in battles. At the first instance Dhanapāla quotes the instance of Bhoja whose chivalry was so awe-inspiring for the enemies that as soon as śarad (Autumn) took her strides, they grew apprehensive about the approach of the armies. The new blooming flowers on the Saptacchāda trees grown in the pleasure groves and shown to them in front by the gay spouses, caused headache with their scent scattered (lit. drawn) by their sighs constant through anguish.⁴

Referring to Meghavāhana he follows the same dictum.

1. Ragh. V. II. 50 IV p. 93. XIV. 85. etc. II. 5, IV. 5. 88 etc.

2. TM Sm. ed. p. 427.

3. Ragh. V. IV 2, 26. III 21. IV 24. 22. 23. etc. यात्रायै चोदयामास तं शक्तेः प्रथमं शरत्।

4. आयाता शरदित्युदीर्य मुदितैतीरैः पुरो दर्शिताः लीलोद्यानमवाः नवाः सुमनसाः सप्तच्छदक्ष्मारुहाम्।

यत्सेन्यागमर्शकं नामसुहृदामाकृष्टगन्धा इव श्लासेः खेदनिरायते विदीधरे सद्यः शिरोवेदनाम्॥ TM Intro.. verse 45 p. 37.

In the Autumn season when his armies marched off with a desire to wrest the fortunes of his entire enemy-folk-the armies, that created an apprehension of the return of the first advent of the rainy season; that brought into being the entire texture of the cluster of rainbows by means of the circle of rays from the gems on the crests of the rows of kings marching ahead; that created a fever throughout the world or Universe by the shrill patter of the hooves of the steeds resonant during their stepping up and down (or prancing) like the fall of the heaps of hailstones steered on through terrible squall; that made the interiors of the atmosphere jagged with the stretches of the streaks of lightning in the form of swords balanced on the palms of the hands of the pedestrians swooping on in hauteur; that had the creaking noise of the chariots reeling about like the grinning rumble of the clouds; that had the spaces of the eight quarters rendered dark by the whirls of clouds in the form of arrays of tuskers emitting out sprays of the water of ichor - the sleep of the hosts of kings of the islands vanished away like that of the enemy of Kamsa even when abiding in the midst of unfathomable ocean.¹

The narration of Vijayavega before Meghavāhana as to how Vajrāyudha started off for his campaign against Kusumaśekhara, the king of Kāñcī, also contains a reference to the Autumn season deemed suitable for an army-campaign.

'Desirous of uprooting the king named Kusumaśekhara, the crest ornament of the enemy kings proud of the prowess of their arms, trampled under his feet, the army-in-chief started off, surrounded by his entire army facing the Kāñcī maṇḍala from Kuṇḍinapura, on an auspicious day, with decision arrived at on the issue along with the counsellors having their intellects polished by their consulting the Arthaśāstra, on the setting in of the Autumn season affording incentive to the kings desirous of conquests, when the borders of the villages created obstacles by way of the sheaves of grass standing up, the fields of ripened red rice assumed a crimson hue and the spates of waters in the streams subsided down and when the rains having showers carrying profuse sprays had vanished away, in the year that passed by'.²

1. भुक्तमदजलासारकरिषटासहस्रमेधमण्डलान्धकारिताष्टदिग्बिभागेषु घनस्तनितधर्धरवूर्णमान रथनिर्घोषेषु दपोत्पतत्पदाति करतल तुलि ततगवारि तडिल्लता प्रतान दन्तुरित न्तरिक्षकुक्षिषु प्रचण्डनिल प्रणुत्रकरकोपलप्रकरपात मुखर सति खुरपुटध्वानजनित गजगज्वरेषु प्रसर्पन्त्रेषु श्रेणि चूडामणि भरीचिचक्रविरचितेन्दूचापक लापेषु प्रत्यावृत प्रथमजलधरसमयशंकाविधायिषु लोकस्य यदीयसेन्धेषु सकल प्रतिपक्षलक्ष्मीजिघृक्षया शरत्समये समन्ततः प्रचलितेषु विषमजलनिधिमध्य वासिनोऽपि कंसद्विष इर दीपावनी पालनिवहस्य निद्रा क्षयमागच्छत् TM Vol. I pp. 69-70.
2. इतः समनन्तरमतीतवर्षे निवृत्तास्वविरलजलासारवर्षासु वर्षासु प्रवृत्ते संवर्तितसिन्धुपूरपयसि परिणमत्कलमकपिलाय मानकैदारिके बद्धस्तम्बतुणसंबाधग्रामसीमि जनितविजिगीषुपार्थिवजनोत्साहे शरत्समये सेनापतिरर्थशास्त्र परामर्शपुत्रमतिभिरमात्यैः सह कृतकार्यवस्तुनिर्णयः प्रशस्तेऽहनि समस्तबलपरिवृतचरणतलभृद्भित

The adaptability of Autumn to the army campaigns as given by Dhanapāla strikes true replica of the two verses of Kālidāsa who says—

‘Struck by jealousy by the ichor scented sprouts of the Saptacchada trees, his i.e. Raghu's tuskiers shed forth ichor as if seven-fold. Rendering the rivulets shallow or fordable and the routes having mire getting dried, the Autumn impelled him on for a campaign, foremost as he was in point of power of counsel and might’.¹

Dhanapāla has taken the group of Amātyas as the arms of the king without whose assistance he could hardly run the affairs of the state smoothly.² He has mentioned the term *mantrīmaṇḍala* and *amātyamaṇḍala* alongwith *Parīṣad*³ who was supposed to act in harmony with the king or else there could be anarchy and chaos in the proper functioning of the whole body-politic. Apart from this he was supposed to maintain a huge treasury, keep his vassals under his control and keep his fort well-guarded. All this could be done if his council of ministers offered full co-ordination unto him in propping up the responsibilities of the state-administration (lit. burden of the earth.)

This *amātyavarga*, *mantrīmaṇḍala*, *amātya-maṇḍala* etc. tallies with the ‘*amātya parīṣad* or *mantrīparīṣad*’ of Kālidāsa⁴ which was certainly an old institution known as *Rājakṛt* in the Vedas and variantly popular as *Ratnin* in later days.⁵

It has been discussed variously by the ancient authorities on the science of polity such as Kautīlya,⁶ Śukra,⁷ Samadeva.⁸

भुजबलावलिर्सापिभूपालशिरःशेखर कुसुमशेखरनामानमवनिपालमुन्मूलयितुकामः कुण्डिनपुरात् कांचिमण्डलाभिमुख मचलत्। TM Vol. II p. 193.

1. प्रसवै सप्तपर्णानां मदगन्धिभिः राहताः। असूययेव तत्रागाः सप्तधैवप्रसुप्तुवः॥
सरितः कुर्वन्ती गाधाः पथश्चाश्वान् कर्दमान्। यात्रायै चोदयामास तं शक्तेः प्रथमं शरत्॥ Ragh. V. IV 23, 24.
2. उपार्जितप्रभूतकोशं वशीकृतसमस्तसामन्तमायत्तमन्त्रिमण्डलमुपगृहीतमित्रवर्गमाप्तपुरुषाधिष्ठितदुर्गं समग्रमपि राज्यमाजन्मनः प्ररूढपरमसौहृदस्य हृदस्येवातिविश्वसनीयस्य बाहोरिव वसुन्धराभारवहनक्षमस्कन्धस्य प्रगल्भमत्युपहसितधिषणस्यापि प्रज्ञावतां धौरेयस्य विदितनिःशेषनीतिशास्त्रसंहर्तेरमात्यवर्गस्यायत्तमकरोत् TM Vol. I p. 71. Also p. 403 Sm. ed. (*mantrīmaṇḍala*) p. 268 Vol. II (*amātyamaṇḍala*).
3. TM Vol. I p. 71. Also p. 403 Sm. ed. (*mantrīmaṇḍala*) p. 268 Vol. II (*amātyamaṇḍala*).
4. *Mālavikāgnimitram* Act V. p. 188 (M. R. Kale).
5. Kālidāsa *Kā Bhārata* part I p. 200.
6. KAS I 15. 47-50 p. 20. R. P. Kangle Vol. I
7. Śukranīti II 70-31, 73-74 pp. 66-67.
8. *Nītivākya-mṛta* X 71. p. 49

Kauṭilya quotes the followers of Manu, Bṛhaspati and Uśanāḥ who advocate the strength of the council of ministers as twelve, sixteen and twenty respectively and ultimately forms his own opinion saying that it may constitute as many members as allowed by the requirements of the situation.

Śukra has termed this institution as—

‘Prakṛti’. He counts ten and eight prakṛtis optionally.

Purodhāḥ, Pratinidhiḥ, Pradhāna, Saciva, Mantrī, Prādvivāka, Paṇḍita and Sumantraka, Amātya and Dūta.

Some omit Purodhāḥ and Dūta and count eight members of the council of ministers of the king.¹ Nītivākyaṃmata of Somadeva who flourished in the 10th century A.D. recommends the appointment of 3, 5 or 7 councillors.²

‘बहुमालिकाः प्रकृतयः’ may refer to the Prakṛtis as the members of the council of ministers as enunciated by Śukra who has been referred to as Bhārgava by Dhanapāla,³ along with Bṛhaspati termed as Amaraguru. Dhanapāla has proclaimed the status of the amātyavarga as hereditary. They were supposed to be endowed with amity unto the king right from his very birth. They were supposed to be endowed with the intellect that transcended the mental capacities of the king. They were supposed to be the foremost among those endowed with political sagacity. They were also required to be adept in the group of lores connected with the science of polity.⁴

Dhanapāla has mentioned Śākya-buddhiḥ as ‘Pradhāna-buddhi saciṣa’ and ‘Mahāmantrin’ of Vikramabāhu, the sovereign of Gaganavallabha, a mantrī Surānanda by name of Meghavāhana. An unnamed ‘Pradhānamantrin’, of Meghavāhana; The apartment of the huge office in

1. समासतः पुरोध्यादलक्षणं यदुच्यते पुरोधाश्च प्रतिनिधिः प्रधानः सचिवस्तथा।

मन्त्री च प्रदिवाकश्च पण्डितश्च सुमन्त्रकः॥

अमात्योद्भूतः इत्येता राज्ञः प्रकृतयो दश।

दशमांशाधिकाः पूर्वं दूतान्ताः क्रमशः स्मृताः॥

अष्ट प्रकृतिभिर्युक्तो नृपः कैश्चित्स्मृतः सदा।

सुमन्त्रः पण्डितो मन्त्री प्रधानः सचिवस्तथा॥

अमात्यः प्रादिवाकश्च तथा प्रतिनिधिः स्मृतः॥

एता गृति समास्त्वष्टौ राज्ञः प्रकृत्य सदा॥

Cp state and Govt. in Ancient India by A. S. Altekar p. 159.

2. Paramāra. Dr. Pratipala Bhatia p. 209.

3. TM Vol. III p. 172. उत्तमप्रकृतेरिव महाजनपदानुसारिणः TM. Vol. III. p. 67.

4. TM Vol. III p. 120.

5. TM Vol. III p. 125

the residence of the 'Pradhānasaciva' not very situate to the palace of Candraketu and Samaraketu of Sindhala,¹ the keeper of the records known as Sudrṣṭi,² the Pradhānasacivas being the main instruments of deliberations concerning the affairs of the state;³ The Pradhānasaciva (of Meghavāhana) sitting on a huge ratton seat being waited upon by the selected attendants placed on responsibility,⁴ Pradhāna mantrins, amātyavṛddhas,⁵ Saciva and adhyakṣa (Secretaries and Heads of the Departments),⁶ a chief Head of the jewellery named Mahodadhi,⁷ etc. He has also mentioned Śaṅkhaṇḍi an officer incharge of the treasure travois.⁸

Dhanapāla has mentioned—

Purohita,⁹ Rājakam, Pratihāra, Sthāpatyāḥ, Aṅgarakṣāḥ, mantriṇaḥ, Gūḍhapuruṣāḥ, Vandiputrāḥ, Amātya,¹⁰ Narma Saciva,¹¹ Śayyāpālaka,¹² Dauvārika,¹³ Dharmastheyas, Kañcukī,¹⁴ Sauvidalla,¹⁵ Pradhānāntarvaṁśika,¹⁶ Dūta.¹⁷

He has also mentioned Muktāvalī, a lady appointed to guard the entire storehouse of quarries. (सकलकोशलाभारसंरक्षणाधिकारनियुक्ता मुक्तावली)¹⁸

Hence Purohita, Dharmastheya or Prāḍvivāka, amātya, saciva and dūta are the only prakṛtis referred to by Dhanapāla out of the ten or eight enumerated above.

1. TM Vol. III p. 33. L. 6

2. सुदृष्टिनामाजपटलिकः TM Vol. II p. 232.

3. राज्यचिन्तकाः प्रधान सचिवाः । TM Vol. II p. 225.

4. वरिष्ठताधिकारसेवकवार परिचर्यमाम- विकट वेत्रासनोपविष्टप्रधान सचिवम् । TM Vol. II p. 172.

5. Ibid. Vol. I p. 157.

6. Ibid. Vol. I p. 77.

7. Ibid. Vol. I p. 158. Vol. II p. 192.

8. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 395.

9. Ibid. Vol. II p. 176, Vol. I p. 159, Vol. II p. 268.

10. Ibid. Vol. I pp. 66-67.

11. Ibid. Vol. II p. 167

12. Ibid. Vol. II P. 52

13. Ibid.. Sm. Ed 321. L. 16

14. Ibid. Vol. II p. 125

15. Ibid. Vol. II p. 176

16. Ibid. Vol. II p. 176

17. Ibid. Sm ed. 321

18. Ibid. Sm ed. p. 341 L. 14.

The duty of a buddhisaciva, according to Dr. Pratipāla Bhatia, was to give advice to the king.¹ From this she says it may be inferred that the Paramāra kings adopted the old methods of appointing two categories of ministers viz. the buddhisaciva or Matisaciva or dhisaciva i.e. ministers whose duty it was to give counsel to the king on state matters and the Karma saciva i.e. minister whose duty it was to assist the king in execution of the state policy.² The same Buddhisaciva of Vikramabāhu Sākyabuddhih by name has been styled 'Mahāmantrin' also styled as 'Pradhānamantri', Pradhānasaciva' in case of Meghavāhana and Candraketu respectively. He easily coincides with the Mahāpradhāna (Chief Minister)³ of the Paramāra inscriptions,⁴ who was the highest officer of the state who held charge of the royal seal and exercised general supervision over all the departments, especially the revenue. Generally he was the most trusted and influential member of the ministry.⁵ In the expression

“सकलदर्शनार्थपरिभाषावलब्धप्रकर्षाः महर्षयः श्रोत्रियाः प्रधानमन्त्रिणोऽमात्यवृद्धाः मूर्धाभिषिक्तनृपतयो महासामन्ताः ज्ञातयः सुहृदः समग्रनगरलोकाग्रेसराश्च पौराः”⁶

evidently discerns a distinction between a 'mantrin' and an amātya, a Pradhānamantrin and a mantrin.

Amātya according to Śukra was to take out the statistics of towns, villages, forests, cultivated land, the amount of revenue obtained therefrom. He was also to find out the parts of the land that remained uncultivated. He was also to calculate the customs and duties levied on the produce of the soil and resultant revenue obtained therefrom. He was also to find out the amount of fine obtained by way of punishment in civil and criminal cases, etc.⁷

A Mantri was to manage the promulgation of the Śāḍguṇya i.e. Sandhi, Vighraha, Yāna, Āsana, Dvaidhībhāva and Samśraya or Samāśrays or to promulgate the dicta of sāma, dāma, bheda and danḍa.⁸ This entitles a

1. The Paramāras p. 209.

2. Ibid. pp 209-210.

3. Styled as Mahāmātya Rudrāditya of Vākpatirāja Muṇja in Prabandhacintāmaul of Merutungācārya, p. 22

4. Ibid. pp 210.

5. Ibid. pp 210.

6. TM Vol. I p. 157

7. Śukranīti --II 104-107. P. 72.

8. साम दानं च भेदश्च दण्डः केषु कदा कथम्।

कर्तव्यः किं फलं तेभ्यो बहुमध्यम् तथाऽल्पकम् एवत्संचिन्त्य निश्चित्य मन्त्री सर्वे निवेदयेत्॥

mantrin to the status of a Sāṁdhivigrahika or Mahāsāṁdhivigrahika of the Paramāra inscriptions who was the minister for war and peace. He was to be adept in the six-fold policy, a judge of what was expedient and a diplomat. He received envoys of friendly courts and ushered them into the king's presence, dealt also with the envoys of the hostile courts, drafting threatening letters to the enemy. In addition to these he was required to draft royal charters and despatches.¹

In view of the qualities recounted above, Vijayavega coming to Meghavāhana with the gift concealed within the hem of his scarf and followed by a porter, coming to deliver the report of the proceedings of the battle between Vajrāyudha, the Mahādaṇḍādhipatiḥ and Kusumaśekhara, the lord of Kāñcī (Dakṣiṇāpatha) and later on conducting the ushering in ceremony of Samaraketu into the court hall of Meghavāhana (Samaraketu being a vanquished enemy, rather an ally of the enemy come to help the enemy and captured in the process)², strikes a true parallel to the Mantrin or Mahāsāṁdhivigrahika of Meghavāhana. But he has been called by Dhanapāla as his chief devotee i.e. a firm devotee of Vajrāyudha (सकलपुरुषार्थसिद्धिः) an accomplishment of all the material gains. It may mean also 'His ardent admirer'. A minister for war and peace can be an ardent admirer of the army in chief. The expressions:

‘देव संप्रत्येव दक्षिणापथादागतो दक्षिणदण्डाधिपतेर्वज्रायुधस्य

प्रसादभूमिर्विजयवेगनामा प्रधानपुरुषः³

solve the controversy and prove Vijayavega to be a chief officer subservient to and an object of the grace of the army in chief Vajrāyudha. Hence Vijayavega was not a mantrin or Mahāsāṁdhivigrahika of Meghavāhana. He was rather a subsidiary sentinel conducting the messages of war between the king and the army-in-chief.

Surānanda, a mantrī, referred to in a later reference might have been the real minister for war and peace or even the Pradhāna mantrin referred to by Dhanapāla might have been the minister-in-charge of the foreign affairs (war and peace). Mantrī Surānanda might have been an earlier predecessor of Vijayavega who might have worked under Meghavāhana and might have died by that time. The building of a religious grove by him might have been a memoir recounted by Harivāhana during his sojourn for a survey of the personal Maṇḍala.

1. Śukrañtī II 96.97. p. 71. Paramaras p. 210.

2. TM Vol II. p. 190-191

3. Ibid. Vol II. p. 190. LL. 8-9

The officer known as the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka has been the subject of some controversy among various scholars such as Prinsep, Fleet, Auriel Stein, Marshall, Mirāshi and Altekar who construe it as 'trying Magistrate', 'the great leader of the forces', 'Prefect of Police', 'the Chief Judge or Chief Officer of Police' and 'Military officer' respectively.¹

In Tilakamañjarī Vajrāyudha has been called—

'Dakṣiṇa daṇḍādhipati',² Mahādaṇḍādhipati,³ 'Sainyādhipati',⁴ Senāpati,⁵ Prtanādhipa,⁶ Senādhipa,⁷ Daṇḍanātha,⁸ Vāhinībhartā,⁹ Senādhipati,¹⁰ 'Sainyapati',¹¹ 'Daṇḍādhipa',¹² etc. which proves emphatically that 'Daṇḍādhipati' was primarily a military officer in the times of Dhanapāla.

Dhanapāla has referred to Nītivarmā as the Daṇḍanāyaka of the Uttaradiganta or the Northern zone.¹³ (उत्तरदिगन्तदण्डनायकेन नीतिवर्णना) and Vajrāyudha as the 'Daṇḍādhipati of the Southern Zone' (दक्षिणदण्डाधिपतेर्वज्रायुधस्य)¹⁴ According to Dr. Bhatia, Paramāras, for the sake of an effective administration, had adopted the system of zonal command. The great Paramāra ruler Bhoja during whose time the Tilakamañjarī was written at least, might have had two Daṇḍanāyakas, one for the north and the other for the south.¹⁵

Apart from this Dhanapāla has referred to 'Sainyanāyakāḥ' with reference to Meghavāhana whose prowess brought the earth under his sway whereby the former were a mere equipage of the body politic.¹⁶

Dr̥dhavarmā has been referred to as leading the forces of Samaraketu from Siṃhala onwards¹ whereas he himself (i.e. Samaraketu) was the

1. Paramāras p. 211.

2. TM Vol II. P. 190.

3. Ibid. p. 191 Vol. II.

4. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 192

5. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 192, 913, 200, Sm ed. p. 298.

6. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 194

7. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 192

8. Ibid p. 200.

9. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 206.

10. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 209.

11. Ibid. Vol. II. p. 211.

12. Ibid. Vol. II p. 22, 224.

13. Ibid. Vol. III p. 33

14. Ibid. Vol. II p. 190.

15. Paramāras pp 211-212.

16. यस्य प्रताप एव वसुधामसाधयत् परिकरः सैन्यनायकाः TM. Vol. I p. 66.

'Nāyaka' (The Supreme Commander).² He has also employed the word- 'Daṇḍanāyakān' along with amātyas, Sāmantas and other in the army of Samaraketu.³ Kamalagupta has also been called a senānyaḥ⁴ He has referred to the Mahādaṇḍanāyakas attended by one individual attendant, sitting in the āsthānamandapa.

“एकैकानुचरकृतसाहायकैर्महादण्डानायकैरध्यासितम्”⁵

Balādhikṛta also means an army-in-chief.⁶ Anīkapati is another variant for the army-in-chief,⁷ Anikanāyaka- as well.⁸ He has also referred to Yakṣ apālita, the chief of the entire naval corps. He has been called an Amātya (of Samaraketu) and Tāraka has been called the leader of the whole stock of navigators.⁹ It easily refers to the naval force employed by the king of the Siṃhalas. Samaraketu was again its Supreme Commander. The Mahāpratihāra (Lord Chamberlain) known also as Dauvārika has always held a very high place at the Indian courts He was in constant attendance on the king and so must have wielded considerable influence with his master. The Tilakamañjarī gives a very graphic account of the duties and functions of the Mahāpratihāras. It shows the Mahāpratihāras¹⁰ 'imposing a vow of silence on those who talked much', making all officials do their duty', 'turning out people who had no right to be there', 'asking those who stood to sit down', 'showing respect with folded hands to those who deserved it', 'threatening the impudent ones' and 'bearing themselves with pride every where.' As a master of ceremonies he must have taught the right mode of salutations to the novices', for this might grow into a complicated affair and then escorted them out.'

1. दापय निदेशेन स्वेदशमुद्दश्याधुनैव प्रयाणमखिलसेना परिवृढं दृढवमीणम्। TM. Sm. ed. 290.

2. TM Vol. II p. 251.

3. TM Sm. Ed. p. 290.

4. Ibid. p. 34 Vol. III.

5. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 173, L-5

6. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 261, L-4

7. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 284, L-4

8. Ibid. Vol. III, p. 43, L-4

9. अखिलनौसैन्याध्यक्षं यक्षपालितामिधानममात्यमुद्दिश्य नाविकोऽयं सकलस्यापि कर्तव्यं तन्त्रस्यास्य नायकः। TM. Vol. II. p. 274

10. सवतश्च प्रकटिताहंकारेः पुरुषहुंकाररित्रासित जनैरुद्धतांस्तर्जयद्धि भीन्य लोकं कुंताजलीपुटैराव जयदिभरुर्ध्वसिथता नुपवेशयदिभरनुपयुक्तनिष्कासयाद्धरधिकृतान् स्वकर्मसु व्यापारयदिम वविदूकान भूकवत्रे धारयदिममहाप्रतीहारेः कृतावेक्षणम्। TM Vol. II p. 173.

Dhanapāla has mentioned the fact of devotion of the king unto the guru (The preceptor) who even though not included in the list of ministers, exercised a great influence in the court of the king.¹

The Purohitas (Royal ecclesiasts or chaplains) were generally the ruler's advisers in religious matters. Well-versed in the Atharvan lore, they were expected to ward off all the evils by means of rites and incantations. The boon of Śrī having been conferred on the king the Purohita carrying green Kuśā in hand was spraying the sprays of propitiatory water here and there with golden ewers collected from all sides.² They were also supposed to supervise the studious stock of Brāhmaṇa students repeating their lessons vociferously.³ The Brāhmaṇas headed by the Head Priest (Purohita) performed the morning and evening adorations of the king wishing him well.⁴

Samaraketu ere to his departure for the conquest of the quarters, was being followed by the group of Brāhmaṇas headed by the Purodhā vociferous with the pronunciation of the chanting of the Apratiratha chants (meant to be pronounced at the time of departure).⁵ Adhikārins or Governmental officers such as Dharmastheyas⁶ referred to by Dhanapāla were judicial officers according to Dr. Pratipāla Bhatia. They were of the rank of mantrins. Their main function was to advise the king in judicial matters and to prevent injustice being done.

The Akṣapātālīka⁷ was another high officer whose name was Sudrṣṭi who announced to prince Harivāhana the grant of all the Maṇḍalas of Uttarāpatha such as Kāśmīra and others and to Samaraketu, the Maṇḍalas headed by Aṅga and others. He seems to have been the head keeper of the accounts who kept a full account of the income of the state and also its expenditure. The Dūta of Kusumaśekhara has been described as communicating the request of the former to Candraketu, the king of the

1. गुरुविवर्णं शासनो भक्त्या TM Vol. I p. 62. also see Paramāras p. 213.

2. आगृहीतकनकभृङ्गारेण हरितकुशगर्भपाणिना पुरोहितेन तत इतः प्रकीर्यमाणशान्त्युदकशीकरम्। TM Vol. I p. 159.

3. पुरोहितपरीक्ष्यमाणध्ययनमुखरोन्मुखद्विजेषु सर्वतः सन्निष्ठां भवनेषु- TM Vol. II p. 167.

4. पुरोहितं पुरःसरेषु, विहितसायंतनस्वस्त्यंतनकर्मसु TM Vol. II p. 176.

5. अप्रतिरथाध्ययनध्वनिमुखरेण पुरःसरपुरोधसा द्विजातिवृन्दानुगम्यमानः TM Vol. II p. 253.

6. TM Vol. I p. 66 Paramāras p. 213, Vol. III p. 49. Dhanapāla has also mentioned the word meaning The officers in charge of various departments TM Vol. II p. 208.

7. TM Vol. II p. 232. Paramāras p. 213.

Simhalas, for help¹ against a campaign of the enemy. He could even convey the ruler's sanction of a charter to local officials who then had the charter drawn up and delivered.² The communiqué of Candraketu was conveyed to his son Samaraketu by a Lekhahāraka or a courier (billet bearer) of the former who had been ushered in by a portress.³ He may be compared with the Kauṭilyan dūta⁴ or Śāsanahara.⁵

The chief officer incharge of the jewellery (Pradhānaratnādhyakṣa) may be the same as the Kośādhyakṣa⁶ or Kośarakṣaka⁷ of Kauṭilya and the Paramāra inscriptions. The superintendent of the Treasury according to Kauṭilya was required to receive jewels, articles of high value, articles of small value or forest produce, to be received into the treasury (while) presiding over bureaus of experts in the (various) lines.⁸

Hence Mahodadhi, the Pradhānaratnādhyakṣa of Dhanapāla was the keeper of the royal treasury (Kośarakṣaka) of Paramāra inscriptions. Śaṅkhaṇḍi, (Sm ed. p.395, LL 5-6) the Ratnakōśādhyakṣa may be likewise the same in designation. In addition to these some other members of the royal court enjoyed close contact with the king. They were responsible for attending to the personal comforts of the king. Among them—

Naimittika⁹ or Jyotirganitavid¹⁰ or Gṛahaganitavid, Sāmvatsara (Vasurāta) and Mauhūrttika,¹¹ Bhisag,¹² Angarakṣaka,¹³ Śayāpālaka,¹⁴ Dauvārika,¹⁵ Pratihāra¹⁶ (Mahāpratihāra) Narmasaciva,¹⁷ Vandiputras,¹

1. TM Sm. ed. p. 321. शत्रुबलपीडितेन द्रविडमण्डलाधिपतिना कुसुमशेखरेण दूतमुखेन कृत्वा सख्यमुपयाचिताः स्म।

2. Paramāras pp. 213- 214.

3. TM Sm. ed. p. 321, Vol. III p. 50 Paritoṣa the Lekhahāraka of Senāpati Kamalagupta कुमार! देवस्य चन्द्रकेतोरन्तिकादागतो लेखहारकः प्रतिहारभूमौ तिष्ठति।

4. KAS I 16. 1. 13. 25 pp 21, 23.

5. Ibid. II. 28. 18 p. 83, I. 16. 4. p. 21. (अर्थगुणहीनः शासनहरः)

6. Ibid. II. 11. 1. Vol. I p. 51.

7. Ibid. II. 11. 1 Vol. I p. 51.

8. Paramāras p. 214.

9. TM Vol. I p. 160, Sm ed. p. 403.

10. Ibid. Vol. II p. 251, Sm. ed. p. 423.

11. Ibid. Vol. III p. 178, Vol. II p. 281, Vol. II p. 219.

12. Ibid. Vol. II p. 187.

13. TM Vol. I p. 66.

14. TM Vol. III p. 52.

15. TM Vol. III p. 50.

16. TM Vol. I p. 66, Vol. II p. 227.

17. TM Vol. I p. 66, Vol. II p. 241.

Sthāptya,² Sauvidallas³ and Pradhānānttarvaśśikas⁴— deserve special attention. Purudaśśā, the Rājamaimittika predicted the auspicious hour for the ingress into the capital of Vikramabāhu. Vasurāta the Sāmvatsara of Kusumaśśekhara predicated that his daughter Malayasundarī would attain the highest bliss of fortune in marital tie. The Jyotirganitavid of Samaraketu predicted the auspicious hour for his departure for his conquest of the quarters. The Naimittikas of Meghavāhana predicted the auspicious signs for the birth of a son.

Gaṇaka⁵ and Daivajña are the other expressions used for the astrologer the group of which satisfied the curiosity of the king (Meghavāhana) in finding out the auspicious ensigns attached to the birth-zodiac of the prince. Daivajña predicted the auspicious hour for Harivāhana to enter the capital of the Vidyādharas. The physicians (Bhīṣagbhiḥ) of Meghavāhana, skilled in the entire science of medicine (Sarvāyurveda pāragaiḥ) looked to the physical fitness of the prince. The Aṅgarakṣakas, were the bodyguards, the Śayyāpālakas were the guardians of the bed, Dauvārikas and Pratihāras were the porters or gate-keepers while the Antarvaśśikas and Sauvidallas were the inner and outer guards of the harem. Narmasacivas were the gay entertaining associates of the king for which Dhanapāla has used the word Vidūṣaka⁶ also. Mañjirā has been called a Narmapātra as well as the Vandiputra (a bard's scion) who regaled the prince Harivāhana in his off hours. Virādha has been called a Narmasaciva of the king of the Vidyādharas.⁷ Harṣa has been given as the Dauvārika of Samaraketu.⁸ A Sauvidalla or the keeper of the harem, has been described as skilled in the rule of the rod or the working of the science of administration.⁹

Those members together with the great sages, learned men (śrotriya), the subsidiary kings consecrated on the crests, the great vassals, kinsfolk friends, the citizens foremost among all the people of the entire capital

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1. TM Vol. I p. 66, Vol. II p. 241.
 2. TM Vol. I p. 66.
 3. TM Vol. II p. 176, Vol. II p. 230.
 4. TM Vol. II p. 176.
 5. TM Vol. II p. 184, Vol. III p. 125.
 6. TM Vol. I p. 75.
 7. TM Vol. III p. 125.
 8. TM Vol. III p. 50.
 9. TM Vol. II p. 230.

afforded splendour to the court of the paramount sovereign sharing his wealth as well as woes.¹

Dr. Pratipāla Bhatia as quoted above construes the data of Tilakamañjarī as alluding to the administrative organisation of the Paramāra kings and especially Bhoja among them all. She takes these Paramāras as the rulers of Malva and calls their territory as the Mālavadeśa,² which was divided into a number of Maṇḍalas for the sake of administrative convenience. But in reality the entire administrative organisation illustrated by Dhanapāla is in the light of the organisation of the territorial jurisdiction of Meghavāhana, the paramount sovereign of the Kośalas with their capital Ayodhyā. Harivāhana the crown prince along with his foster brother Samaraketu, the crown prince of the sovereign of the Siṃhalas has been described promiscuously holding sway over the entire territorial jurisdiction of his sire's regime which encompassed within its fold the Maṇḍalas such as Saurāṣṭra,³ Kāñcī,⁴ Kāmarūpa,⁵ Kāsmīra⁶ and Strīrājya.⁷ All these represent the western, southern, eastern and northern parts of the Indian Peninsula forming the four main subdivisions of the kingdom of Meghavāhana. The Maṇḍalas comprising of the kingdoms of subsidiary kings brought under sway by force and released accordingly were further subdivided into Janapadas or vijayas which were further subdivided into towns and villages. As for example Kāñcī maṇḍala having Kusumaśekhara, the forehead mark of the lineage of the Yadus, for its sovereign had under his suzerainty the kings reigning over the regions lying between the mountains Malaya and Mahendra,⁸ i.e. the portion of the western Ghāṭs, the Nilgiris to the Cape Comorin; the southern extension of the western Ghāṭs below the Kāverī now known as Travancore hills, really form the western side of the Malayagiri; or Mount Caṇḍaka in the Malabar State⁹ or the southern part of the western Ghāṭs south of Kāverī, comprising of the Dodabetta, Nilgiri,

1. TM Vol. I p. 157.

2. Paramāras p. 215.

3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 186.

4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 193, Sm. ed. p. 321.

5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 34, Sm. ed. p. 349.

6. Ibid. Vol. II p. 232, Vol. III p. 88.

7. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 372.

8. यदुनरेन्द्रवंशविशेषकस्य काञ्चीपतेः कुसुमशेखरस्य मलयसुन्दरी.....कुसुमशेखरस्य मलयसुन्दरी नाम TM. III. p. 185. LL. 2-3

9. HGAI p. 206.

Anaimalai, Palni and Cardemom and Malabar Hills;¹ Orissa to Madurai in the south including the eastern Ghāṭs and the range extending from North Circulars to Gondwana, a part of the range in the Gañjam district also (Mahendra). This means that the Kāñcī maṇḍala comprised of the regions of Eastern and Western Ghāṭ including Travancore Cochin, Nilgiris (modern Ootacommand), Malabar State, Orissa, the district of Madurā, Northern Circulars, Gondwana, Gañjam etc. It was close to Kuṇḍinapura,² modern Kuṇḍanpur about 64 kms. of Amraoti in Vidharbha (modern Berar and ancient Niṣadha). Kusumaśekhara has also been called the lord³ of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, the overlord of the Draviḍa maṇḍala.⁴ This means that Draviḍa maṇḍala and Dakṣiṇāpatha or Dākṣiṇātya⁵ were the same representing the major division of the kingdom of Meghavāhana. And Kāñcī maṇḍala forming a subsidy to the Draviḍa maṇḍala or Dakṣiṇāpatha or Dākṣiṇātya was well within the range of the supremacy of Meghavāhana and Harivāhana.

It comprised of the Janapadas of Vidarbha, Āparānta, Draviḍa Kośala-Kaliṅgs.⁶ According to Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, Dakṣiṇāpatha (in modern days) is almost identical with the country called Maharashtra or the region in which the Marāṭhī language is spoken; the narrow strip of land between the western Ghāṭs and the sea being excluded.⁷ The Uttarāpatha being a counterpart to Dakṣiṇāpatha, it appears that the vast kingdom of Meghavāhana was divided into two bigger zones (as already observed) which were subdivided into Maṇḍalas, Maṇḍalas into Janapadas or Vijayas, Janapadas into towns and villages. The Uttarāpatha has been described by Dhanapāla as comprising of the Kāśmīra and other Maṇḍalas⁸ which obviously included the whole of Punjab; Uttara Pradesh, Madhyadeśa, Himācala Pradesh, north-western Frontier province etc. and most probably included the Eastern regions of Kāmarūpa, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Videha etc., in so far as we find Dhanapāla mentioning Harivāhana reaching the region of

1. KSN D. K. Gupta p. 111.

2. TM Vol. II p. 193, KSN p. 120.

3. दक्षिणापथचक्रवर्तिना सकलदक्षिणापथस्य पार्थिवाय ख्यातमहसे कुसुमशेखराभिख्याम दक्षिणा-पथक्षेत्रियालस्य राज्ञः कुसुमशेखरस्य Vol. II TM p. 224.

4. द्रविडमण्डलाधिपतिना कुसुमशेखरेण TM p. 321.

5. TM Vol. II p. 192.

6. KSN p. 119.

7. Early History of the Deccan p. 10.

8. TM Vol. II p. 232.

Kāmarūpa in Prāgyjotiṣas where given a send off by the king of that region he roved about in the forests adjoining the river Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) in association with all the kings of the Uttarāpatha who came to offer their homage to him as subsidiary vassals gratifying him with gifts of their choice¹ Kamaḷagupta the son of the king of Kalinga² has been described as a 'Senānī' or the army-in-chief of a battalion of Meghavāhana (and Harivāhana)³ who had been given a Jagir (Vilambhaka) a region to the west of the Aṅgas the Kumārabhukti of Samaraketu quite close to the Kāmarūpa.⁴ And since Vaṅga, Aṅga and Kuluta have been associated in one line meaning thereby to include themselves in one zone make the point clearer in defining the area of the Uttarāpatha. Saurāṣṭra modern Kathiawar comprising of Valabhi as its capital the ruins of which were discovered at Bilbi, about 30 kms. North-west of Bhavnagar, Girinagar, Girnar in Junagarh District (Raivataka or Girnar Hills in Kathiawar),⁵ Khetakapur, probably modern Kaira and Ānandapura which may be identified with the village of the same name about 32 kms East of Rajkot, its north-western parts known as Ānarta having capital Dvārika (modern Dawrka)⁶ might have been a part of Dakṣiṇāpatha, Pāñcāla, (Northern having for Ahicchatra, modern Ramnagar in Bareilly district of Uttarpradeśa) and (Southern having Kāmpilya modern Kampil in Farrukhabad district of Uttarpradeśa)⁷ having its maidens won over by the Lord of Kuśasthala⁸ modern Kanauj (old Mahodaya and Gādhapura) (being in Pāñcāla)⁹ formed a part of Uttarpradesh and therefore of Uttarāpatha. Magadha having Kusumapura for its capital¹⁰ being in Eastern India and coming within the category of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kāmarūpa, formed a part of the Uttarāpatha. Strīrājya¹¹ being

1. TM pp 34-35.

2. Ibid. p. 245.

3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 34.

4. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 33-34 Paramāras p. 217.

5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 186.

6. KSN p. 118.

7. HGAI pp 71-72 TM Vol. III p. 185.

8. HGAI p. 109.

9. TM Vol. III p. 185.

10. Paramāras p. 217.

11. TM Sm ed. P.372, L-4

in Bhutan automatically came within the fold of the Northern zone i.e. Uttarāpatha.

Hence of the mandalas mentioned by Dhanapāla, Saurāṣṭra and Kāñcī formed a part of the Dakṣiṇāpatha or Draviḍa maṇḍala having Lāṭa, Kuntala, Kaṇṇāṭa, Keralā, Kalinga, for their Janapadas while Kāmarūpa, Kāśmīra, Strīrājya with Janapadas such as Uttara Kośala, Pūrvāparavideha, Baṅga, Aṅga, Pāñcāla Magadha, Sindhu, Kulūta etc. formed a part of Uttarāpatha. The cities of Kāñcī and Kuṇḍinapura (Vidarbha) formed a part of Dakṣiṇāpatha or the Draviḍa maṇḍala while Ayodhyā or Sāketa, Kusumapura, Kuśasthala, Campā, Sāmkāśya, Puṣkarāvati, Rativiśālā, Gaganvallabha, Rathanūpura Cakravāla, Vaijayanti formed a part of the Uttarāpatha.

Alakā being a mythical town, Raṅgaśālā and Laṅkā and Maṇipura formed a part of the regions beyond the pale of the Indian territory. The Paramāra kingdom included the territory administered by the feudatory princes or chiefs who were known by various titles. Dhanapāla has described the court of Paramāra king Bhoja promiscuously stuffed with many people wherein the overlords of men (i.e. kings) came along like ordinary people in order to render service unto him with their sole persons acting the role of paraphernalia.¹ The feudatory princes were represented by those who belonged to the circle of allies (मित्रमण्डल)²; who were great kings holding charge of a huge cavalry of steeds (महापथिव)³ who were consecrated on the head (by his own heads but acted subservient to him i.e. the Supreme sovereign (मूर्धाभिषिक्त नृपतयः),⁴ the great subsidiary vassals (महासामन्तः) who were ⁵frivolous vassals (विटसामन्तः)⁶ acquired for the court for the sake of regiment; who were the kings occupying the territories abounding in the wicked people or the revolting or treacherous people (दुष्टसामन्त)⁷ drawn close through mandates; who stayed within the territorial jurisdictions of the

1. आभान्ति प्रभवो नृणाभितरवत् तेऽप्यागताः सेवया यस्यानेकजनान्कुले निजवपुर्मात्राः सभामण्डले॥ TM Intro.. verse 48, p. 39.

2. TM Vol. I p. 53.

3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 55. महापथिववरूथिनीवानेकरथ्या संकुला।

4. Ibid. Vol. I p. 157.

5. Ibid. Vol. I p. 157.

6. Ibid. Vol. II p. 173.

7. Ibid. Vol. II p. 193.

sovereign (सामन्त),¹ who were vassals but treacherously disposed (दुष्टसामन्त),² who were the lords of the great circle (of kings)³ (महामण्डलपति) etc.

In view of this classification Tilakamañjarī reveals the existence of the following types of feudatory chiefs in the Paramāra court (illustrated here with reference to courts of Meghavāhana, Candraketu, Kusumaśekhara and others). The first category consists of the chiefs who were rewarded with the grant of lands in lieu of the meritorious services rendered by them unto the sovereign..

Dhanapāla refers to the grant of Kumārbhukti, the whole of Uttarāpatha including Kāśmīra and other maṇḍalas, along with their town and villages to Harivāhana and the Aṅgas, the Janapadas along with their constituent subdivisions to his companion Samaraketu. This was done by Meghavāhana in lieu of the pleasure derived by him on seeing his son grown into a budding youth, the sole scion of his lineage and finding in Samaraketu, a fit companion to assist his son in times of crisis. He was also pleased over Samaraketu because he had gratified him by his chivalrous deeds in battle against his general Vajrāyudha and had been brought as a war captive only to win the honorific title of a foster-brother to his son and ultimately to win the title of a subsidiary vassal come to take shelter under him having been uprooted and reinstated not upon his own territory but within the territory of the vanquisher. Kamalagupta, the Senānī and a prince of the king of Kalingas was given a jagir (vilambhaka) in the territory lying to the west of the Aṅgas.⁴ Both (Harivāhana and Samaraketu) were given to obtain the honours due to them day in and day out after they had been afforded the benignity (or favour) of the king. In case of Harivāhana and Kamalagupta the grant of jagirs seems to be hereditary in so far as the former was established by his sire on the territories of his own regime whereas the latter on the vanquished territory of his own sire i.e. the Kalinga.

The crown prince and his foster brother Harivāhana and Samaraketu enjoyed the status of sovereign lords under the tutelary stewardship of Meghavāhana. They had, therefore, their own subsidiary vassals (the princes of the kings vanquished by Meghavāhana) who in accordance with their own eligibility were conferred upon their own bhuktis (i.e. the territories meant for enjoyment) along with their groups of towns and villages and had

1. TM Vol. II p.197, 214, 284, Vol. III p. 299

2. Ibid. Vol. II p. 232. L. 5

3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 280.

4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 232, Vol. III p. 34, Sm. ed. p. 182, also Sm. ed. p. 103.

absolved themselves of all the liabilities recumbent upon their shoulders.¹ Some feudatories were acquired won over by (both of them) desirous of retrieving their status, taking up shelter constantly, having dropped repeatedly from quarters on account of their kingdoms usurped by their collaterals.² Both, however, kept away from the association of those feudatory princess who could prove treacherous unto them.³ Both were being waited upon constantly, by the kings of the other islands, devoted to their virtues and anxious to obtain their intended objects with clothes meant to cover the bodies, the gems and ornaments, unguents, fruits, weapons, vehicles and other unique articles produced in their respective countries.⁴

Dhanapāla has mentioned the names of Bhagadatta, Bhīma and Bhānuvega the kings who were born in the lineage of kings consecrated on their heads (by Meghavāhana).⁵ He has also referred to the Sainyādhipati (Vajrāyudha) who has subjugated the entire host of unchivalrous enemy-vassals.⁶ He has also alluded to the fact that the subsidiary vassals invariably accompanied the sovereign lord in his military expeditions.⁷

When Vajrāyudha started off for Kāñcī in order to chastise the Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha (i.e. Kusumaśekhara) he had his camp-establishment being filled in by the armies of the vassals who occupied the regions populated by wicked people and who were attracted by his command.⁸

In the van of battle the enemy i.e. Kusumaśekhara made his forts stronger and made Kāñcī decked with mechanical instruments placed on the fortification and despatched couriers to seek the alliance of the kings who lay situate to him.⁹ Vajrāyudha lay a siege of Kāñcī and blocking the supply of resources and ammunition created a terrific terror for the populace. In that process the subsidiary vassals got out in arrays, dispersed by him, for effecting a break-through in the enemy-fort with arrays of intoxicated

1. अनुजीविनो राजपुत्रजनस्य पात्रतानुसारेण संविभक्तस्वमुक्तिनगरग्रामनिवहनिनिश्चिन्तयोः ।
2. दुष्टदायादसमबृष्ट्यराज्यैरागत्यागत्य दिङ्मुखेभ्यो निजपदार्थिभिः पार्थिवकुमारैरनवरतगुह्यमाणसेवयोः TM Vol. II p. 232.
3. दूरीकृतदुष्टसामन्तसख्योपचारव्यवहारयोः । TM Vol. II p. 232.
4. गुणानुरागिभिरागन्तुकफलार्थिभिश्च द्वीपान्तरनराधिपैर्वासोभिराच्छदने रत्नारंकरैर्विलेपनैः फलैरायुधै- यानैरन्यैश्च निजनिजदेशसंभवैरपूर्ववस्तुभिः सततमुपचर्यमाणयोः TM Vol. II p. 232-33.
5. मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तपार्थिवकुलोद्भवाः भवदत्तभोमभानुवेगप्रभृतयः सपरिजनाः राजानः ।
6. TM Vol. II p. 192.
7. Paramāras p. 220.
8. आज्ञाकृष्टानां दुष्टसामन्तानामनीकैरापूर्यमाणकटकविनिवेशः TM Vol. II p. 193.
9. अपरित्यक्तसमराधिलाषश्च साहायकधिया सविधवर्तिनामवनिपालानामनुसंधानाय प्रधानदूतानहरहः प्राहिणोत् । TM Vol. II p. 194.

tuskers made ready.¹ The daily onslaughts getting on, Kāñcī was brought under sway. On one spring day when the army arrays were moving across, the movement of the vassals was indicated by the tinkling of the bells of the elephants. The vassals were moving back to their own encampments with two or three lamp-bearers moving in front.² Samaraketu describing his own adventures before Harivāhana explains that after consecrating him to the status of a crown prince his sire Candraketu made him the leader of the whole army naval as well as territorial. And provided with a huge infantry he sent him attended by vassals, amātyas and chief feudatory lords, on an auspicious day³. Marching on his voyage Samaraketu established his own encampment with its open space made uneven by the tents of robed structure surrounded completely by the camps of the vassals (Samantas) giving thereby the impression that vassals accompanied the lord during his expedition, for rendering help to the ally (Kusumaśekhara) against an enemy (Vajrāyudha).⁴ Dhanapāla has referred to the vassals of Samaraketu made to race off from their own maṇḍalas in fright to inform their lord of the impending danger of and onslaught of the enemy.⁵ He has also referred to the kings risen to power and puffed up with pride, perpetrating atrocities upon the people who were considered as the poignant wounds by Samaraketu. Some among them were subdued by the power of authority (tantraśakti) while others were brought to book by the power of counsel (mantraśakti). Some were done away with by the application of sharp weapons while others fell a prey to the acerbitous communiqués of the emissaries or fell a prey to the chemical elixirs or virulent poisons at the instance of the secret emissaries. Some were put to death by shedding off blood or squeezing out of blood while others met their doom by the employment of lethal poniards (or knives). Some were tortured to death by burning one of their sides while others perished along with their maṇḍalas. Thus did he wrest them of their fever of pride. Some were restored to their original status or state of mind by the tying of the forehead wraps with the process of consecration and other such agreeable treatment of granting estates (lit. kingdom) affording bliss, when they had lost their status, had

1. सामन्ताश्च सञ्जीकृतसमदसामजघटाय विघट्टनाय दुर्गस्य तेन कृतविसर्गः क्रमेण निर्जग्मुः। TM Vol. II p. 195.
2. पुरःसरद्वित्रदीपिकेषु व्रजत्सु निजशिविराणि तारतरकरेणुवण्टाकणितसूचितेषु सामन्तेषु TM Vol. II p. 197.
3. अर्पितानल्पपदातिसैन्यं च पुण्येऽहनिप्रधानैरवनिपतिभिरमात्यैः सामन्तैश्च कृत्वा ससहायं प्राहिणोत् TM Vol. II p. 251.
4. परिगतमशेषतः सामन्तशिविरैः,परिमण्डलाकारैः पटागारैः स्थपुटितावकाशं स्वावासमन्नजम् TM Vol. II p. 267.
5. अतिजवेन निजमण्डलेभ्यः प्रधावितैरनीकपतिभिः सामन्तैश्च भयसम्भ्रान्तैरनवरतमु-सृतगतिः। TM Vol. II p. 284.

their *êlat* swerved down, but had manifested their alacrity of face and had taken leave of their hot tempers (lit. heats). He has referred to the different islands occupied by the Niṣāda overlords brought under sway by Samaraketu, after he had subjugated the entire circle of the vassals (Sāmantas) prowling hard¹ by. The Rājaputras riding stately steeds,² Rajaloka³ Rājakaṁ,⁴ all referring to the subsidiary kings and princes associating Harivāhana's army indicate the devotion and sympathy they held to their lord. According to Dr. Bhatia Thakkuras or the rich landlords served the feudatory chiefs in almost all the feudatory states. The villagers witnessing the army-march of Samaraketu were being driven out by the Thakkura, perforce, when he failed to find a space to move across.⁵

While viewing the out precincts of Lankāpurī, Samaraketu had chief feudatory princes in his forces and with their help he chastised the capital of Kirātārāja named Parvataka who was proud of his army secured in the impregnable fort, who had taken to the tactics of a marauder, having gone not far away to the west of the bridge, without waiting for any delay. And with a pack of looters made fugitives by the ruthless handi-work of arms and bringing along with him the entire bevy of the ladies of his harem (seraglio) along with children, having long hair (pendulous) through grief, he again pinioned his gaze towards his camp.⁶

Dhanapāla has mentioned a 'Bhattaputra' Atri by name who conveyed the message of the Kumārasenāpati (the army-in-chief) of the prince⁷ most probably Dr̥dhavarmā by name⁸ who described the mountain Ratnakūṭa to him. The word 'Bhaṭṭa' means a bard, a soldier, a venerable person etc. But in view of the context it seems to mean a soldier and nothing else or who could bring the message of an army-in-chief.

1. गत्वा स्थानस्थानेषु लब्धोदयाहितोपचारैः परमुपचयं प्राप्तान् सर्वतः सभासादितप्रसरान् आविष्कृताने-
कविकाराननवरतकृतरुजो जनस्य दुष्टव्रणानिव नृपान् कांश्चित् तन्त्रशक्त्या कांश्चिन्मन्त्रशक्त्या
कांश्चिन्निशितशस्त्रव्यापारेण कांश्चित् क्षारैर्दूतवचनैः कांश्चिद् रक्तापकर्षणेन कांश्चित् तीक्ष्णक्षुरप्रभेदेन
कांश्चिदेकदेशदहनेन कांश्चित्सर्वमण्डलोपमर्दनेन दर्पज्वरमत्याजयम्। उज्झितोष्मणश्च प्रकटितप्रसन्नमुखरागान्
विगलितोन्नतीन् अविद्यमानगतोन्भिषेकविधिना पट्टबन्धेनान्यैश्च निवृत्तिकरैः राज्यदानादिभिर्मधुरोपचारैः पुनस्तामेव
..... पत्रगैरिव महारत्ननिधानानि निषादाधिपैः संरक्षितानि द्वीपान्तराणि TM Vol. II pp. 284-285, 287.

2. अश्वतन्त्रैः राजपूत्रैः TM Vol. III p. 44.

3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 42.

4. Ibid. Vol. III p. 46.

5. अलब्धावकाश ठक्कुरहटनिराकृतैः Ibid. Vol. III p. 260.

6. Ibid. Vol. II p. 291.

7. Ibid. Vol. II p. 292.

8. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 290.

Dhanapāla's reference "चम्पूरःसरानमात्यसामन्तदण्डनायकान्" again illustrates the point under purview that subsidiary vassals or feudatories formed a part and parcel of the army that led an expedition.

Some feudatories could be opportunists. In accordance with the exigency of the space and time they could raise their heads aloft in pride (for revolt), could refuse paying tributes to the sovereign lord even when already stipulated, could violate the limits of time when they were required to pay fines or recompenses in cash or kind, could act in such a way as made them disobey the royal mandate, could show resentment on occasions of rejoicing of the sovereign lord, act at ease during the time of catastrophes, could act favourably in words but unfavourably in deeds. Such feudatories were crooked enough abiding as they did situate to the low lands of Suvela mount. In order to extirpate them, Candraketu, the sire of Samaraketu had ordained his naval-corps for a campaign. Samaraketu had been ordained to head that corps as the Supreme Commander. Chief subsidiary kings and vassals accompanied him as his allies in that enterprise.² An enemy feudatory named Jitaśatru has been shown launching a sudden attack on the capital of the sire of Gandharvadattā, vaijayanti who was instinctively friendly towards his vassals. He was caught napping by the treacherous ally who was an acquired friend but a natural foe. He became the usurper of the kingdom of his sovereign³

3. MILITARY ORGANISATION

Regarding the military organisations in contemporary administrative set-up Dhanapāla postulates the existence of the group of Maulas as well as Bhṛtyas⁴ (Bhṛtas of Paramāra inscriptions and Bhṛtakas of Kauṭilya who illustrates the occasions for the employment of the hereditary (Maula) the hired (Bhṛtaka), the banded (Śreṇi) the ally's (mitra), the alien (amitra) and the forest troops (अटवीबलानाम्)⁵ etc.

Dhanapāla has mentioned the Maulas and Bhṛtyas of Meghavāhana, who were very close to the sovereign, were reliable in speech and were

1. TM. Sm. ed. p. 290.

2. तन्त्रस्थः पिता मे चन्द्रकेतुः कदाचिद् देश कालाद्यवष्टम् संभृतावलेपानां प्रपन्नमपि पूर्वदायभप्रयच्छतां विक्षेपविसर्जनिषु कालक्षेप कारिणामाहवनेषु बहन्नागमन कारणव्यवहारिणुमुत्सवेष्वहश्टानापत्सु सचिला सचेष्टानामुक्तया प्रीतिमुपदर्शयतां युक्तया प्रतिलोभ व्यवहरता सुवेल शैलोपकण्ठवासिना दुष्ट सामन्तानां प्रतिक्रियाय दक्षिणपथयायि नैसैन्यमाक्षिप्त। etc. TM Vol. II p. 251.

3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 342.

4. प्रत्यहमावेद्यमान प्रजानुरागोऽपि प्रणिधिपुरुषैः आदेशसम्पादन पटीयसि केनाप्यनुपलक्ष्यमाणविग्रहः कुसुमायुध इवायुधद्वितीयः स्वयमेव निर्गत्य निशामुखेषु प्रतिगृह नगया ब्रध्नाम। TM Vol. I p. 77.

5. मौलमृतकश्रेणी मित्रमित्राटवी बलानां समुदान कालाः KAŚ IX. 2.1. p. 219 Part I.

skilled in executing the errands. They helped him find out the seditious or inseditious characters or delinquent and undelinquent persons among the subjects in collaboration with the secret emissaries. The king, however, moved incognito to unobserved by any one during the nights, wielding his weapon in hand.

Hence Maulas or Hereditary troops as well as the hired troops were prone to be skilled in executing the command of the sovereign. They were supposed to be in confidence of the sovereign and their members were likely to remain in close proximity of his person.

According to Kauṭilya— the occasions for the employment of the hereditary and the hired troops are:—

When hereditary troops are in excess of what is required for the defence of the base; or when hereditary troops being over-strewn with treasonable men, might create trouble at the base; or the enemy has plenty of loyal hereditary troops or a strong army (hence) it is necessary to fight with military operations; or because on a long march or on one long duration, hereditary troops can bear losses and expenses; or when plenty of loyal troops being got together, no trust can be placed in other troops, hired and other, through fear of secret instigations by the enemy against whom one is marching; or when the strength of all (other) troops is depleted; these are occasions for the use of hereditary troops.¹

(When he thinks), 'I have a large hired army and only a small hereditary army; or the enemy has small or disaffected hereditary army or a hired army consisting mostly of weak troops or without strong troops; or it is to be a fight with diplomacy with slight military operations; or the distance is short or duration brief, involving few losses and expenses; or my enemy is with few treasonable men in it, with secret (enemy) instigations frustrated and trustworthy; a small, raid of the enemy is to be repelled these are occasions for the use of hired troops.² Because of their having the same feelings as the king and because of constant enjoyment of his regard (for them), hereditary troops are better than hired troops.³ Being always proximate to him, quick in

1. मूलरत्रणादतिरिक्तं मौलबलम् अत्यावापयुक्ता वा मौलाः मूले विकुबीरन् बहुलानुरक्त मौलबलः सारबलो वा प्रतियोद्धा व्यायामेन योद्धव्यम्, प्रकृष्टेऽध्वनि काले वा क्षय व्यय सहत्वान्मोलानाम् बहुलानुरक्त संपाते च यातव्यस्योपजाप भयादन्वसैन्यानां मृता दीनामविश्रामे, बलक्षये वा संवसैन्यानाम् इति मौलबल कालः। प्रभूत मै मृतबल मर्त्यं च मौलबलम्, परस्यात्पं विरक्तं वा मैलबलं, फल्यु प्रयमसारं वा मृतसैन्यम् मन्त्रेण योद्धव्यमल्पव्यायामेन हूस्वो देशः कालो वा तनुक्षयव्ययः, अत्यावापं शान्तोपजायं विश्वस्तं वा मे सैन्यम् परस्यात्यः प्रसारो हन्तव्यः इति मृतबलकालः KAS IX 2.2.3 p. 219 part I pp 474 475 Part II.

2. Ibid.

3. तद्भावमवित्वात्रित्यसत्कारनुगमाच्च मौलबल मृतबलात्त्रेयः।

rising for action and under control, hired troops are better than banded troops.¹

According to Dr. Pratipal Bhatia, 'The Maulas were , it seems, the hereditary soldiers and chiefs who depended for their subsistence on the land grants made by the king and thus were bound to serve the overlord. The king presumably did not have direct relations with the soldiers maintained by the Maulas for he did not grant land to the army chiefs who in their turn might have bestowed land upon the individual soldiers. The Bhṛtas were those who were paid wages for their services; they were near at hand and ever ready for march. Of the two the Maulas were more reliable and so were preferred to the Bhṛtas, who changed sides when they received higher wages from the other party.² The contingents of the feudatories formed the bulk of the army personnel.³

Dhanapāla has mentioned—

“पर्यन्तवर्ती सपक्षो भूभृतां वर्गः”⁴

the group of kings belonging to one's own side, belonging to the borders. It implies— Mitrabalam of Paramāra inscriptions.

Samaraketu starting off to render succour to Kusumaśekhara at the errands of his sire Candraketu, attended by a host of army represents the leader of a 'Mitrabalam'.⁵ At a different place the same fact is narrated differently. Candraketu had been requested by Kusumaśekhara through a courier for help against Meghavāhana who was a common foe for both viz. Candraketu and Kusumaśekhara.⁶ An enemy chastising Kusumaśekhara seeking help of Candraketu automatically becomes an enemy of Candraketu. It was only after Samaraketu had been defeated while rescuing the fortunes of Kusumaśekhara already doomed by Vajrāyudha, that Meghavāhana turns his war captive into a feudatory ally meant to render help to Harivāhana in latter's expeditions. Harivāhana starting off for an inspection of his maṇḍala accompanied by the armies of Samaraketu

नित्यानन्तरं क्षिप्रोत्थायि वश्यं च मृतबलश्रेणीबलाच्छेयः ॥ KAS IX 2. 14. 15 p. 220. Part I p. 477 Part. II.

1. Ibid.
2. Paramāras pp. 223-224.
3. TM pp 191, 194, 201, 206, 214, 232, 251, 291, Vol. II p . 285 Sm .ed. See also Paramāras p. 224.
4. TM Vol. II p. 230. Paramāras p. 224.
5. TM Vol. II p. 218.
6. TM Sm. ed. p. 321. TM Vol. III p. 74.

becomes attended by the 'Mitrabala' which was 'aribala' to begin with. Horses formed an important and major constituent of the army personnel in so far as Dhanapāla has described the army of a huge monarch abounding in innumerable steeds¹ Caturaṅga² explained by the commentator as "गजाश्चरथपादाम्नी सेनाविशेषः"³ means to denote the elephant corps, the cavalry, the chariots and the infantry. This word is also associated with the game of chess which also comprises of the four limbs of the army personnel and deals with the theory of warfare as a matter of sport and source of recreation. 'सतुरंगरथमातंगपार्थिवं प्रतिपक्षम्'⁴ again illustrates the 'Caturaṅga'.

"सत्रद्वसकलकरितुरंगयोधमावद्धवीरपट्टपादातभीषणमरुणनेत्रपताकापटपल्लवितरथनिरन्तरम्"⁵ further corroborates the point. 'Nausainyam'⁶ was associated with the army personnel of the king of Siṃhalas from where it could not be possible to cross the ocean and even launch a campaign without a naval force. The army personnel such as chariots, horses, elephants have been described as unsuitable for a maritime warfare.⁷ It has also been called 'naudanḍa'.⁸

Dhanapāla has referred to the white curtains forming the ornamentation of the ships (lit. vessels).⁹ The vessel made out of the wood of the wish-granting tree called Priyaṅgu having 'nāṃgara' was made of the sapphire stone slabs.

'कृतानि सर्वाण्यपि सुसूत्राणि यानपात्राणि, 'प्रगुणिताः समाहृत समगोपकरणाः पोताः, पुञ्जितं तेष्वतिप्राज्यमश्वनम्— आपूरितानि स्वादुना सलिलेन कृत्स्नान्यु दकपात्राणि; समारोपितमप्रमाणमिन्धनम्; अपरोऽपि देहस्थिति साधनमधिकृतैः यः कश्चिदर्पितः सोऽपि सर्पिस्तैलकम्बलौषधप्रायः प्रायशो विन्यस्तः समस्तोऽपि द्रौपान्तरदुरापो द्रव्याणां कलापः, स्थापिताश्च सर्वतः समारोपित समर्थनाविकास्तीर्थेषु दृढकाष्ठ गुम्फनिष्ठुराः नावः'¹⁰

illustrates many points regarding the sea voyage. Dhanapāla has employed the distinctive vocabulary for the sea vessels. He distinguishes between a 'yānapātra' and a 'pota'. He even uses the word 'nāvah'

1. महापार्थिववरूथिनीवानेकरथ्यासंकुला TM Vol. I p. 55.

2. TM Vol. III p. 81.

3. चतुरङ्गद्यूतमिव मुनिरुषितात्रिकचतुष्करचनं TM Vol. III p. 10.

4. TM Vol. II p. 207.

5. TM Vol. II p. 200.

6. TM Vol. II p. 251.

7. रथाश्च वारणादिनौतन्त्रयात्रायामनुपयुक्तः सेनापरिच्छदः TM Vol. II p. 281.

8. उच्चलितसकल नोदण्डश्च प्रत्यहमखण्डितैः प्रयाणेः लघयित्वा लवणजलनिधिं जनपदांशय कतिचित्क्रमेण काञ्चीमण्डलं TM Sm ed. p. 322.

9. यानपात्राणां सितपटानिव नवानासूत्रयन्तम् TM Vol. II p. 272.

10. TM Vol. II pp. 280-281.

separately. Sir Monier Williams construes 'Yānapātra' to mean 'a vessel for going', 'a Ship', 'a boat'.¹ 'Pota' also has been taken synonymously. The Yānapātras perhaps were propelled by ropes whereas 'Potas' were mechanically plied with fuel and fire.² The commentator takes 'Yānapātra' to mean 'Pravahāṇa' and 'Pota' as a Laghupravahāṇa'. Hence the distinction may be of size. Yānapātras were bigger ships whereas Potas were their younglings or smaller vessels. 'Nāvah' were boats which were used at the fords provided with sailors. They were perhaps meant to carry the sea-rovers or sea-soldiers or even the pilgrims from one ford to another covering a short distance.³ They perhaps even assisted the inmates of the bigger or smaller vessels as rescue measures during some ship wreckage. These were normally made of hard wood and were unbreakable. They were employed on the sea to carry the chivalrous soldiers wielding diverse weapons.⁴ A boat named 'Vijayayātra' specially meant for the prince (Samaraketu) has been mentioned. It was got ready in order to proceed for conquering the enemy.⁵ The series of ships were filled with helmets, armours and weapons of variety.⁶

‘श्रमविकलबाहवो न बाहयन्ति सत्वरमरित्राणि यानपात्रेषु पौतिकाः,
न शक्नुवन्ति निद्रावशीकृताः कर्तुवष्टम्भं कूपस्तम्भकेषु कर्णधाराः,
समीरोऽपि संप्रति प्रतीपगतिः प्रवाति, नाभिधावन्ति, शिविरगामिनं
मार्गमर्गलितानीव प्रेर्य भाणान्यपि पुरो निर्यामिकैः प्रवहणानि।’⁷

etc. alludes to the fact that 'Pautikāḥ' the sailors have been associated with 'Yānapātras' which implies that the romancer has employed the two words 'Pota' 'Yānapātra' synonymously indicating a distinction of size only. 'Kūpastambhas' were the masts of the ships. Karṇadhāras were likewise sailors. The opposite wind hampered the propulsion of the ship ahead. Pravahāṇa has been construed by the commentator as 'Potaḥ' which means-'Pota', 'yānapātra' and 'Pravahāṇa' are synonyms of ship, boat or vessel. There was only a difference of longer number of passengers. Boats

1. Skt. Eng. Dict. under Yānapātra.

2. Hemacandra in AbhidhaHemacandra in Abhidhaṇa cintāmaṇī Vol. III. p. 217. says:
यानपात्रं वहिजकम् बोहित्थम् वहनं पोतः।

3. Ibid. p. 650.

4. प्रतिष्ठिते अनवरतमारुसाह्य तासु गृहीतानाविधास्त्रः शिविरवीरलोकः। TM Vol. II p. 281.

5. Ibid.

6. संसपता विविधकवचशस्त्रशिरस्त्रपूरितेन पोत संतानेन TM Vol. II p. 283.

7. TM Vol. II p. 293.

perhaps could carry one or two passengers. The bigger ones could carry even a naval-battalion.

“पटुपवनपाटितसितपटानि गिरितटाघातविघटितफलकसन्धिबन्धानि यानपात्राणि”¹

indicates the ‘Yānapatras’ decked with white cloth which could be torn as under by the violent squall and their planks could be shattered by their accidental strokes against the surfaces of the rocks.

The naval force has also been called ‘varūthini’² which carried the insignia of a flag and a chowrie.³

The naval force is also described as consisting of feudatory princes (Rājaloḥa). ‘Yānapātras’ or vessels when reaching ashore were made light by making their interior empty. The group of soldiers took shelter on the landscape of the hilly rocks. The boats were harnessed by the hard wooden nails dug in firmly. The white canvas used to be closed up. The Potas rested on the huge slabs of the nāṅgaras fastened unto them. The sailors could move away along with their equipage. The Karmakaras (labourers) could go to their resting places. The barbarian tribes could be scared away perforce (Kikaṭa). The favourite buffoons and sycophants in regal service could enjoy the cool waters of the liens and fragrant redolence of the trees such as camphor, lavaṅga (clove), lavalī etc. The learned could take to the bowers of creepers resonant with the cries of peacocks. The tents of the Amātyas could be spread here and there. The Sāmāntas having abodes of the ladies of the harem being established by the quick moving harem-guards, could settle in them in resting abodes.⁴ This implies the accompaniments of the naval force automatically.

Dhanapāla’s reference to-the stately aerial car named Puṣpaka bearing banners and provided with very costly jewelled latticed windows fleeting through the aerial regions⁵ and his allusion to the aerial voyage of Gandharvaka⁶ and Tilakamañjarī,⁷ - do not affirm the view held by some scholars that Paramāras maintained an air force as well.⁸ The existence of the aerial ṇars and the air force in times of yore cannot be an impossibility.

1. TM Vol. II p. 294.

2. TM Vol. II p. 295.

3. Ibid.

4. TM Vol. II pp. 298-299.

5. TM Vol. II p. 291.

6. TM p. 378

7. TM. P. 337

8. Paramāras p. 226.

Dr. D.N. Shukla on the basis of Samarāṅganasastra dhāra¹ has postulated the maintenance of aeroplanes or aerial cars in ancient India. Some amongst them bore the shapes of elephants, birds monkeys, horses and chariots. Even Oḍayadeva Vādībhasiṃha has postulated the existence of the aerial cars made of gold 'कनकमयविमानतिलकितवियन्मध्येः'² He has also mentioned the peacock shaped mechanical aerial vehicle called 'Yantrakalāpi'³ and 'Mayūrayantra' of king Satyaṃdhara of Hemāṅgada Janapada having Rājapuri for its capital.

Regarding the dress and manners of the soldiers Tilakamañjarī provides some relevant information. He has mentioned the words 'Sphara'⁴ and 'Pharaka' both denoting 'a helmet' in the general sense and in particular sense they may have some variance as well. He refers to men lying in covert wearing spharas and digging out the joints of the foundations of the fortification whereas 'Pharakas' were placed on the heads by the Phārakas i.e. the persons who were digging up the basements of the fortification, who were imploring (their soldiers to enter the space created by the act of digging).

The text, however, fails to denote any distinction between the two. 'Sphara' and 'Pharaka' were most probably synonyms and Dhanapāla had a knack for alliteration in employing the variant expression 'Pharaka' in 'Pharaka Phārika'.

The use of armours (or corselets) was the most frequent feature of dress meant for defence against physical injury. 'Tanutarāni',⁶ 'Kavaca',⁷ 'Kālāyasa', Kaṅkaṭa⁸ or Kālāyasakavaca'-worn on the body and chest respectively have been mentioned. 'Tanutrāni' were most probably the iron nets covering the entire body and so were the 'Kavacas'. Kaṅkaṭa' a variety of armour worn on the chest and formed out of black steel has been mentioned variantly, Vajrāyudha wore this corselet of black steel, held a sword in his right hand and a buckler made of gold in the other i.e. left

1. Ibid. cg. 3.

2. GCM Ist Lambha p. 9.

3. Ibid. p. 54.

4. Ibid.

5. बद्धस्फुरतिरोहित पुरुष खन्द्यमान प्राकार मूलबन्धानि शिरस्थितफरकफारकप्रार्थ्यमान प्राकारखण्डी प्रवेशनि। TM Vol. II p. 195.

6. Ibid. Vol. II p. 198, Vol. II p. 206.

7. Ibid. Vol. II p. 198, Vol. II p. 206.

8. Ibid. Vol. II p. 198, Vol. II p. 206.

hand.¹ Kācaraka and Kāṇḍarāta, the two hefty steed-drivers have been described as riding horses that had lost their saddles, wearing expansive corselets (Tanutrāṇau) adjusted over their chests. They had their heads wrapped tight with the halved out hem of a scarlet scarf. They carried sharp spears fisted close in the left hand and the reins of the horses.²

The feudatories of Meghavāhana fighting under the command of Vajrāyudha against feudatories of Kusumaśekhara (both acting as soldiers) have been described as inexorable on account of their effervescence manifested thereon. Both the parties slighted down (lit. rebuked) the chivalry of either side. The warriors (Subhāṭa) were full of spite (Samatsara) and gave out roaring like those of lions deafening thereby the auricular passages of the men sauntering hardby. The stones thrown from the catapults rendered the atmospheric regions as if like the grounds. The weapons in the hands of the timid were being scared asunder by the relentless calls of the trumpets. The strongholds of the foot soldiers were being broken by the sprays of oil decocted on fire and showered through syringes. The diadems on the enemy vessels were melting down with nārācas clinging to them, being hot with fire etc.

The weapons used by the soldiers were -

gadā (a mace), Cakra (a disc), Kunta, Prāsa etc. and Śakti (javelin), Cāpayāṣṭi (a bow), Nārāca (a type of arrow), Kṛpāṇa (a poniard, a scimitar), Trisūla (a trident), Kārmuka (a bow).³

The forts used to be the mainstay of warfare. A fort was resorted to by an enemy who was weak and incapable of facing his stronger foe in an open combat. Kusumaśekhara chastised by Vajrāyudha is shown as taking recourse to the organisation of a fort in accordance with the injunctions of the Śāstra (science of polity i.e. Arthaśāstra), with his resources classified accordingly having deemed the biding of time the best opportune recourse to be adopted, being unable to launch an open combat on account of his lack of strength or power and unwilling to approach him on account of his

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1. दक्षिण करेणाच्छिद्य परिचारकहस्तात्..... कृपाणम् इतरपाणिना प्रेङ्खयन्.... प्रकोष्ठनि विष्टमष्टापदफलकम्। TM Vol. II p. 198.
 2. उरः कपाट घटितातनु तनुत्राणो तत्क्षणविपाटितकाषायपटाघन्तिपीडतोत्तमागो गृहीतनिशितप्राप्त मुष्टिना वामेन किञ्चिदुत्क्षिप्तवल्गो दक्षिणेन च करतलेन... कशामुद्धहन्तो तुरगपृष्ठवर्तिनावगि७ प्रज्ञाततमावश्च वारो। TM Vol. II pp. 199-200.
 3. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 204-205, 250, 251.

ferocity. He made his capital Kāñcī heaped with multi-powered mechanical instruments (or arms) placed on the tops of the fortifications and sent couriers to allies reigning contiguously seeking their succour.

Vajrāyudha (the army-in-chief of Meghavāhana) lay siege around Kāñcī and created a terror in the hearts of the populace with channels of reinforcement and supply of resources blocked en route to Kāñcī. His vassals mounted on tuskers arrayed into battalions marched off to effect a break-through into his fort.² Of the forts in particular, Dhanapāla has mentioned one named Mandraka, a durgagiri with its caverns abounding in herds of wild elephants roving about undaunted. Its series of peaks being visible from afar, it was having the city stationed on its tops surrounded by a huge rampart. It was the sole abode of the enemy kings incarcerated within.¹

As already observed² Tilakamañjarī favours Śaraḍṛtu as the suitable time for expedition. The march of the army of Samaraketu has been described as a colourful and spectacular affair. The march of the army has been called 'Yātrā'³ whose auspicious occasion had been marked by the ladies of the harem carrying golden vases full of unhusked rice placed in front along with curd, flowers, dūrvā sprouts etc., who were as if the glories of victory in corporeal form. Samaraketu was followed by a group of Brāhmaṇas led by Purodhā vociferous with the noise of the chanting of the 'Apratiratha' hymn (sung at the time of departure) after having propitiated the silver jar placed in front and bearing the imprints of the fresh sprouts of Saptacchada plant carved on the mouth. He rode a scent elephant named A00maravallabha held by the mahāmātra (driver) Vajrāṅkuśa. The tops of both of his shoulders were elevated owing to the pearl-inlaid-quivers stuck fast unto them. His left hand was provided with a bow having its central part variegated with textures of gold-leaves. He had clusters of flywhisks 0being waved quite gracefully. The tremor in the earth was being caused unaccounted for by the relentless stepping of the feet of the pedestrians (i.e. foot soldiers) moving with dignity. The bards were proclaiming the victory pronouncements. The Universe was being resounded with the call of the trumpets. The openings of the quarters were reverberous with sounds of tabors (Dhakkanām). The white parasol bearing the golden staff was oscillating in front. The group of insignia bearing marks of elephants, boars,

1. TM Vol. III pp. 32-33.

2. See 329-333 above. Paramāras 228.

3. साक्षादिव जयश्रीभिः पुरोनिहितदधि कुसुमदूराकुरसनाथा-क्षतपूर्णकनकपात्राभिरन्त पुराविलासिनीभिः संपादित सकलयात्रामङ्गलः । TM Vol. II pp. 252-253.

śarabhas, tigers, crocodiles, earned through wars with many kings were moving around the regal parasol. At every step he was being showered upon the blessing of victory by the Brāhmaṇas and was being supplicated by the citizen-folk. The old women spraying fried grains foreshadowed the fulfilment of his cherished ends. He was being scanned affectionately by the city-women.¹ And gradually he crossed the border-regions of the capital that had their glory enhanced by their close acquaintance with the Autumn season (Śaratsamaya),² the villagers looked at the forces. They were exasperated on seeing the horse-riders and presumed that the army battalions were coming on. They were made to run by the constant cries of the people and had given up their activities. They had assembled on the walls of the temples, collected on the rows of the lakes and on the heaps of debris. Some wearing white turbans, carrying ratton-wands, bearing lovely children on shoulders full of curiosity could feel amused over the sight of elephants, monkeys and camels, courtesans riding the female-tuskers, taking them to be the queens, the bards carrying umbrellas taking them to be the great princes, a merchant having his neck carrying a rosary of golden beads taking him to be carrying regal favour. Some could derive pleasure out of the prancing of the inexorable elephant cubs, steeds and oxen and the fast racing of the elephants got into rut. Some could even bear the torture of suffering hunger and thirst on account of their zest for seeing the kings well-known in quarters, the princes, the royal consorts, the chief courtesans, the lordly elephants. Some having obtained the close proximity of the daughter of the village head-man could even connive at the chaff that was being carried by the soldiers (Sāadhanikas) from the threshing floors or barns as if they had obtained a huge treasure-trove. Some could suffer the chagrin afforded to them by the wand bearers taking away corn furtively, the taking away of corn being desired by them, out of lurement for money, busy as they used to be in protecting the grass that was being carried away i.e. the wand bearing soldiers who desired to take away corn surreptitiously harassed the villagers who could bear that loss out of lurement for money.

Some derided the usual command of the king (that people deserved not be harassed) when it failed to abide by its tenets with fields of vegetables being pillaged by the unbridled men of the royal entourage. Some consoled the farmers pinched with sorrow at the pilferage of the sugarcanes from the fields. Some even greeted the king, being masters of the rice-fields.³ The villagers tried to conceal all they could - cow-dung cakes were carried to the

1. TM Vol. III pp. 253-255.

2. शरत्समयपरिचयप्रपंचितशोभाम् TM Vol. II p. 255.

3. TM Vol. II pp. 258-261.

back-yard, vegetables were transferred to the house from the adjoining pleasure groves, money was put in bronze vessels and carried to the house of the Balādhikṛta, to be kept as a Nyāsā with his ladies.¹

4. THE METHODS OF WARFARE

Dhanapāla has referred to the arrangement of arrays as the best method of warfare.

“कृतव्यूहविरचनश्च समरसंक्षोभक्षमायामुपान्तभूमावस्थात्”²

in case of Vajrāyudha; illustrates the point that on seeing the army-hosts ready for attack he arrayed his soldiers in typical arrays and stood in the field where he could withstand the onslaughts of the enemy.

And ‘अभिमन्युरिव चक्रव्यूहस्य सेनापतिपुरोभागपुञ्जितस्य राजसमूहस्य संचरदनेकरथ-सहस्रदुष्प्रवेशमविशन्मध्यम्’³

In case of Samaraketu refers to the ‘Cakravyūha’ type of array which was pierced through by him. The ‘Cakravyūha’ array was formed by the group of kings (rājasamūha) who collected in the vanguard of the army-in-chief and was impenetrable owing to thousands of typical chariots moving all around.

“अनुवर्तितक्षत्रधर्मैश्च महाबलैर्नरपतिभिरेकैकशोऽभिमुखीभवद्भिः क्षणमात्रमन्धरित रथगतिः वज्रायुध। वज्रायुध, इति सगर्वं व्याहरन् वाहिनीभर्तुरन्तिक मध्यागच्छत्।”⁴

illustrates the righteous mode of warfare in accordance with the duties ordained for a kṣatriya. Samaraketu approached the army-in-chief inspecting the feudatory chiefs that came before him one by one uninjured by them and himself injuring none, even when there was a chance for an onslaught. It easily illustrates the ‘Dharmayudha’ in contrast with the ‘Kūṭ ayuddha’ which was considered suitable only for the ignoble Kṣatriyas.⁵

The army officers as already observed were called Daṇḍanāyakas. Apart from these Sāadhanikas, Mahāmātratantra and Balādhikṛta⁶ denoted the auxiliary leaders of the forces.

1. पश्चाद्भाटकेषु गोपयपिण्डकुटानि गोपयदिभः भगवतिषु निष्कुटेषु त्रपुसकर्कारुक् कारवेष्टकादि गृहधनं च कास्य पात्रिका सूत्र कम्बरप्रायं बलाधिकृत धामन्य वलाजनस्य न्यासी कुर्वदिमः अनेकवृत्तान्तेः गामेयकैः अवलोक्यमान बलसंहतिः TM Vol. II p. 261. also Paramāras p. 228.

2. Ibid. Vol. II p. 201.

3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 206.

4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 206.

5. कथा प्रत्याशया शक्तेनापि शत्रुवधकर्मणि न कुतो दिवस एवाभियोगः किं फलमभिलष्य निर्व्याजपोरुषेय्यङ्गीकृतः क्षुद्रक्षत्रियलोकसूत्रितः सौप्तिकयुद्धमार्गः TM Vol. II p. 217.

6. TM Vol. II pp. 260-261.

According to Dr. Pratipāla Bhatia, Balādhikṛta construed literally denoted an officer in charge of an army. She quotes the text of Dhanapāla (Tilakamañjarī) which according to her differentiates the Balādhikṛta from Senāpati and makes him very much junior to the latter.¹ The house of the Balādhikṛtā has been described by Dhanapāla as the fit place where the household property such as bronze vessels, cotton and worsted yarn or yarns and blankets could be deposited with the ladies.² According to Dr. Bhatia Balādhikṛta was put in charge of a military town.³

Sāadhanikas according to her were put in charge of a cavalry detachment and perhaps were stationed at important forts while the Mahāmātras were the commanders of the elephant forces.⁴

Regarding the administrative set-up, state expenditure necessitating the organisation of revenue system is indicated by the term 'Sarvadāya sahitān' in granting the Janapadas such as Aṅga contiguous areas meant as a source of subsistence for Samaraketu, by Sudrṣṭi the keeper of records at the errands of Meghavāhana. 'Dāyas' definitely means the system of taxation as the main source of revenue. These could be paid in cash as well in kind. Balādhikṛta most probably was required to collect and arrange such 'dāyas' in the form of utensils, yarns and other allied articles or even the money in cash which were deposited with the ladies of his harem. Dhanapāla has referred to the system of 'royal' donation of lands to Brāhmanas'.⁵ (agrahāra). The term 'devāgrahāra' mentioned by him actually refers to the village mēant for the service of the king, being the foremost of the villages of the whole Maṇḍala donated earlier by the queen Madirāvati on the festal occasion of the solar eclipse. These villages were granted to the poor Brāhmanas and taxes such as hiranya, bhāga, uparikara, sarva dāyasameta or with bhāga-bhoga-kara or kara-hiranya-bhāga-bhoga etc. were collected from them. These taxes were normally paid in kind with the exception of hiranya which was paid in cash. Bhāga was the normal tax of payment of 1/6th of the share of the produce which could be altered as stated in the

1. Paramāras p. 230.

2. गृहधनं च कांस्यपात्रिका सूत्रकम्बलप्रायं बलधिकृतधामन्यबलाजनस्यन्यासी कुर्वदिमः TM Vol. II p.261.

Dr Bhatia's translation has been quoted in 562 above. I beg to differ from that in the present context. That is what the text actually implies.

3. Paramāras. p. 230.

4. Ibid.

5. सूर्यग्रहणपर्वणि पूर्वमपवर्जितो मदिरावतीदेव्या सर्वमण्डलग्रामानामग्निमो देवाग्रहारः । TM Vol. III p. 33.

legal texts. Bhoga was the periodic offerings of fruits, fire-woods, flowers, milk, curd etc.¹

Dhanapāla has referred to the villagers greeting the king in many ways with rice fields guarded by the arrays of guards. The sugarcane fields pillaged by the looters excited the disparagement of king because his orders had been violated. This implies that the protection of the agricultural produce needed the royal interference in point of security which means that the king had a share by way of taxes out of them. The term 'gṛhadhanam' may coincide with hiranya which was collected by the 'Balādhikṛta' and deposited with the ladies of his harem.²

5. JUDICIARY

Regarding the judiciary 'Dharamastheyas' were the outstanding officers who interpreted the law judiciously. Dhanapāla has referred to Dharamastheyas as a formality when Meghavāhana's command kept down injustice.³ This implies the supremacy of the king over the administration of justice. The punishment in case of crimes could be severe enough in the form of amputating the limbs such as hands and feet, exile, making the culprit ride a donkey and other ways suggested by the Codes of Law.⁴

'पक्षिणादिव्यग्रहणम्' by Parisatṅkhyā indicates the system of torture by exposing a culprit to the fire ordeal in order to extract the true confessions of a crime. 'तिमीनां गलग्रहः'⁵ indicates the absence of strangulation among themselves in case of subjects and by suggestion it can imply the absence of impalement on the stake by way of capital punishment. 'गूढचतुर्थकानां पादाकृष्टयः'⁶ refers to the exclusion of dragging of feet in case of those who committed theft and took to their heels. 'शारीणामक्षप्रसरणदोषेणपरस्पर बन्धव्यधमारणानि'⁷ implies the exclusion of incarceration, belabourment and death sentence in lieu of the mutual faults committed during the game of dice.

1. Paramāras p. 231.

2. TM. Vol. III pp. 260-261. Apart from this करदीकृताशेषसागरान्तरद्वीपभूपते: चतुरुदधिविख्यात पार्थिवप्रथमसूतो: TM Vol. II p. 192. refers to taxes paid by the kings of different islands.

3. आज्ञेवान्यायं न्यवेदयद् धर्मो धर्मस्थेयाः।

4. कुमारस्यैवाय प्रमादो यदीदृशोऽप्यपराधे नैनमन्यायकारिणं करचरणकल्पनेन वा स्वदेशनिवासिनेन वा रासमसगारोपणेन बान्येन वा धर्मशास्त्र प्रणीततनीतिना निग्रहेण विनय ग्राहयति। TM Vol. II p. 248.

5. Ibid. Vol. I p. 68.

6. Ibid. Vol. I p. 68.

7. Ibid. Vol. I p. 68.

Hence dice play could make a person undergo imprisonment, physical torture and even death sentence.

Self-immolation was a sin liable to punishment in so far as Bandhusundarī calls Malayasundarī as "पापकारिणि"¹ a sinful one. It is also called a temerity lacking the appreciation of any sane mind.

‘तेनास्थानविहितात्प वधसाहस त्रपाविलक्षविक्षिप्तक्षणाम्।’²

It is equally shameful for one who commits it.

The methods of committing suicide as described by Dhanapāla, are-
the application of a weapon, taking of poison, strangulation by hanging by a noose on the branches of a tree, abstinence from food etc.³

Malayāsundarī has been shown immolating herself by plunging into the ocean strangling herself by a noose, taking of kimpāka fruit (poison) etc. while Harivāhana is saved from a fall from a precipice by Anaṅgarati, the youth (अमिलषितमूधरभृगुप्रपातश्च)⁴ who himself going to have a fall from the same precipice. ‘Grāmapati’⁵ and ‘Thakkura’⁶ were the two persons who held some importance in the administration of the villages. Grāmapati was probably the village-headman and Thakkura was a rich landlord on whom the villagers could depend for financial government of the affairs of the villages.

“आद्यनैगम” or the rich Corporations have been referred to as abounding in horses and mules that formed the caravan meant to move on for conducting the business administration of the state as well as the local bodies.

Beyond this we do not find any information regarding the data connected with the state administration and practical politics.

1. TM. Sm. ed. p. 308.

2. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 328.

3. शस्त्रेण वा विषेण वा वृक्षशाखोदूत्यनेन वा प्रायोपवेशनकर्मणा वा जीवितं मुंचति। TM Sm. ed. p. 327.

4. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 397.

5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 260.

6. Ibid.

III. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

1. SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

The Society as depicted by Dhanapāla was no stranger to the old characteristics of the by-gone days. The popular institution of 'Varṇā-śramadharmā' forming the mainstay of the contemporary society gained a firmer hold on the beliefs of the individuals forming its constituent elements.

“यथाविधिव्यवस्थापितवर्णाश्रमधर्मो यथार्थः प्रजापतिः ।¹

‘रक्षिताखिलक्षितितपोवनोऽपि त्रातचतुराश्रमः ।²

“अस्वरवर्णा अपि परं न व्यंजनमश्निष्यन्त शत्रवः ।³

स्वधर्मव्यवस्थापित वर्णाश्रमतया जातनिवृत्तिः ।⁴

विरलवर्णाश्रमाचाराणि ।⁵

“राजनीतिरिव यथोचितमवस्थापितवर्णसमुदाया”⁶

सर्ववर्णान्तःपातिभिः --- नानाविधविद्याधरैः ।⁷

All these refer to the duties and jurisdictions of the four varṇas along with the four āśramas i.e. the four orders of society or castes along with four stages of life. He refers to these four orders of society and stages of life singularly as well as plurally during the course of his dissertations. Of the four orders he has mentioned the first three quite frequently while the fourth has not been mentioned expressly. It can be inferred indirectly. The stages of life have, however, been singled out directly.

“आसीद् द्विजन्माऽखिलमध्यदेश प्रकाशसांकाश्य विशेषजन्मा ।

अलब्धदेवर्षिरिति प्रसिद्धिं दानवर्षित्वविभूषितोऽपि

शास्त्रेष्वधीति कुशलः क्रियासु बन्धे च बोधे च गिरां प्रकृष्टः ॥”⁸

refers to the sire of Sarvadeva, who has been called a ‘dvijanmā’ a twice born one who was born in Sāmkāśya and was known as ‘devarṣi’ or a godly sage, a receptacle of charities, a scholar of lore, adept in activities (literary as well as wordily), expert in the composition as well as knowledge of

1. TM Vol. I p. 59.

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 63.

3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 67.

4. Ibid. Vol. I p. 71.

5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 286.

6. Ibid. Vol. III p. 61.

7. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 132-133.

8. Ibid. Intro., verses 51-52 pp. 40-41.

speech. His son Sarvadeva has been called a peer to Brahmā (Svayambhū), the four faced god which implies that he was a scholar of four Vedas or four lores such as philosophy, the three Vedas, economics and the science of politics.¹ The son of Sarvadeva, Dhanapāla has been called a 'Vipra' which means a 'sage' in the Yajurveda XXVI 15

‘उपहरे गिरीणां संगमे च नदीनाम्। धिया विप्रो अजायत’

i.e. In the solitude of mountains and confluence of streams a sage develops his spiritual force, contemplating on God through yoga.²

In a way the word 'vipra' here has been construed to mean a poet, an intellectual who creates his muse in the isolation of the environments of Nature. Dhanapāla, the vipra composed his 'Kathā' (Tilakamañjarī). He has been called a 'Vipra' to mean a Brahmana as well as an intellectual, a poet, a prose writer. Dhanapāla has taken the words 'dvijanmā' and 'Vipra' synonymously to mean the first of the four orders. Ayodhyā, the nagarī was as though endowed with the 'Brahmaloka' or the Universe of the Vedic scholars by virtue of the consemblies of the dvijas or twice born who used to be called so after they had undergone the ceremony of Upanayana at a specific age. 'Dvija' in ancient India was fairly a wider term meaning the first three of the four orders i.e. Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas (Brahma, Kṣatra, Viṣ). In later classical epoch they earned the special significance attached to the first order.

The Brāhmaṇas have been called 'dvijāti',³ 'śrotriyas',⁴ and dviya 'Brahma'⁵ etc. Kṣatriyas⁶ have been mentioned as such at a number of places. The third order or the Vaiśya has been represented by the term 'vaṇig' in-

“प्रवीणः किमपि लोकयात्रायां सांयात्रिकवणिग् वैश्रवणो नाम”⁷

“वणिग्जाचिसहभुवा भीरुत्वेन”⁸

which makes this third order skilled in worldly customs and endowed with instinctive timorousness.

The fourth order is inferable from

1. KAS 12.1. Vol. I p. 4, Vol. II p. 6.

2. Yaj. V. XXVI 15 pp 394-395 ed. by Devi Chand.

3. TM Vol. II pp. 164, 251, 254, 257, Sm. ed. p. 331.

4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 266 Vol. III p. 171.

5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 83.

6. Ibid. Vol. I p. 94, Vol. I p. 123.

7. Ibid. Vol. II p. 275.

8. Ibid. Vol. II p. 279.

‘दुर्वर्णजनवर्णनीयवीर्यैश्च’¹

‘दुष्कुलादपि ग्राह्यमंगनारत्नम्’²

‘Durvarṇa’ and ‘duṣkula’ both mean the ‘nīcavarṇa’ or the “Śūdravarṇa”.

‘Kikaṭas’³ or the ‘Anāryajātiyas’ referred to at two places indicate the barbarians or non-aryan tribes whose profession it was to collect grass and fuel. Of the Intermediary castes Dhanapāla has referred to ‘Niṣāda’⁴ which has been construed by the commentator as Cāṇḍāla.

But according to Kauṭilya-

“ब्राह्मणस्य-शूद्रायां निषादः पारशवो वा”⁵

or a son born in a Śūdrā mother by a Brāhmaṇa father is Niṣāda or Pāraśava. Dhanapāla has perhaps placed the ‘Yācakadvija’ inferior to the Kṣatriya when he puts it in the mouth of Meghavāhana-

‘An ornament’⁶ of the Kṣatriya lineage, how shall I accept alms like a begging Brāhmaṇa. The Brāhmaṇas on the whole have been shown enjoying the higher status than the kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas etc.

‘दर्शनार्थिनः सकलदर्शनार्थपरिभावेनालब्धबुद्धिप्रकर्षाः --- श्रोत्रियाः’⁷ ‘अधिगतविविधपूजा-प्रीतमानसैर्द्विजन्मभिः सत्रमण्डपाजिरमण्डलकसंनिधावाबद्धसंनिधावाबद्धमण्डलैर्मन्त्रोच्चारविरतौ युगपद् धुष्यमाणनृपतिसंतानोदयम्’⁸

“प्रस्तावयता देवद्विजप्रसादादिहापि सर्वं शुभं भविष्यतीति प्रकृते प्रयोजयता राजलोकेनातिवाह्यमान दिवसम्”⁹

“द्विजातीनां च गृहेषु प्रशस्तफलानि प्रहिण्वतीभिः”¹⁰

“ताम्बूलकपूर्णातिसर्जनविसर्जितपुरोधः प्रमुखमुख्यद्विजातिः”¹¹

“सितकुसुमदामदर्शनपुरःसरमावेदितनिजप्रयोजनद्विजातिजनमवधानदानेनानुगृह्यतः”¹²

1. TM Vol. III p. 129.

2. Ibid. Vol. II p. 278.

3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 270, 298.

4. कवलितपृदीकुदरुंदारणेद्यतनिषादनादिता नृपाभिः TM Vol. II p. 129.

5. KAS III 7. 21. p. 106.

6. अलंकारः क्षत्रियकुलस्य यातकद्विज इव कथं प्रतिग्रहमङ्गीकरोमि ?

7. TM Vol. I p. 157.

8. Ibid. Vol. I p. 159.

9. Ibid. Vol. II p. 161.

10. Ibid. Vol. II p. 161.

11. Ibid. Vol. II p. 162.

12. Ibid. Vol. II p. 164.

‘अनुचरगृहीतवैलामलंककतेषु प्रस्थितेषु स्नानाय सरयूतटानि तिलदर्भपत्रिकापूर्णपत्रपुटपवित्रपाणिषु श्रोत्रियेषु।’¹

“संपूज्य वस्त्राद्यतिसर्जनेन द्विजातिलोकम्”²

‘अनुपदं च प्रणामपरितुष्टाभिर्विजयाशिषाभिनन्दमानो द्विजातिपरिषद्भिः।’³ – “सफलजातयः श्रोत्रियाः गृहारामाश्च”⁴

all go to prove that the Brāhmaṇas known as Śrotriya, Dvijanmas, Dvijas and dvijātis earned the reverence of the Rājālokas or Kṣatriyas and enjoyed superior status to the latter in point of intellect, sagacity, social leanings. They could even shower blessings upon a king or prince starting on a digvijaya or taking upon himself the task of performing some religious ceremony. A king deemed it a privilege to obtain the blessings of the Brāhmaṇas for obtaining a son or progeny in general. Brāhmaṇas were kept in the foreground when a Kṣatriya started off to perform a ritual. Brāhmaṇas could be gratified by the bestowal of charity, clothes and costly gifts. They could be paid homage to by the kings and princes who could earn their goodwill by that medium. The term सफलजातयः श्रोत्रियाः in itself explains the higher status of this order.

‘उपजातजन्मा महति मूर्धाभिषिक्तक्षत्रियाम्नाये माननीया समग्रस्यापि मत्पग्रिहस्य सर्वान्तःपुरप्रधानभूता मदिरावती नाम प्रेमपात्रं मे कलत्रम्’⁵

referring to Madirāvatī, the chief consort of Meghavāhana born in the huge lineage of the kṣatriyas consecrated on the head etc. explains the equally honourable status of the second order i.e. the kṣatriyas.

“तस्य सर्वदा देवद्विजातिश्रमणगुरुशुश्रूषापरस्य निजभुजार्जितं पूर्वं पुरुषोपाजितं च प्राज्यमर्थमर्थिजनैः सुहृद्भिर्बान्धवैर्विद्वद्भिश्च भुक्तशेषमुपभुञ्जानस्य पश्चिमे वयसि वसुदत्ताभिधानायां गृहिण्यामपश्चिमः सर्वापत्यानां तारको नाम दारकः समुदपादि”⁶

referring to Vaiśravaṇa the Sāmyātriko vaṇig a maritime trader who got a son Tāraka in his spouse Vasudatta in his later age, refers to his amenability to the service of his preceptors, recluses, gods, Brāhmaṇas and others obviously Kṣatriyas and his duty to earn fabulous wealth in order to make it enjoyed by the learned, the friends, as also the suppliants. This ostensibly prescribes the third status in order of the third order i.e. the Vaiśyas who used to be grocers, traders or merchants. The very mention of

1. TM. Vol. II p. 166.

2. Ibid. Vol. II p. 251.

3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 254.

4. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 271-72.

5. Ibid. Vol. I p. 94.

6. Ibid. Vol. II p. 275, LL. 1-3

'durvarṇa' and 'duṣkula' attaches a sense of abominableness to the status of this order. His mention of 'Ābhīras'¹ 'Pāmarī'² a low-caste woman, 'Gopalalanās'³ the cowherd-maids, kṛṣībalas or tillers of the soil, hastipakas,⁴ Kuśilavas⁵ or the professional dancers or actors, Kirātas,⁶ Nāvikas⁷ or sailors, Karmakaras or labourers,⁸ Bhīllas,⁹ Sabara,¹⁰ Niṣādas.¹¹ Mlecchas also known as Nāhalas,¹² śvagaṇikas¹³ or the hunters, Dasyus¹⁴ or the barbarians— and tarkaras all these refers to Dhanapāla's knowledge of the tribes and clans that could be categorised within the pale of the fourth order. Mlecchas or Nāhalas could even be deemed untouchables.

All the four Āśramas stand alluded to in "आतचतुराश्रमः"¹⁵

The Brahmacharya has been referred to in the place where Meghavāhana has been described as taking to it after he had got a temple (Devātagriha) constructed of Śrī wherein the image of the latter had been installed accordingly.¹⁶ He took to it ere to his getting the boon of Śrī for the birth of a son. As advised by the Vidyādhara sage he would inspect the out precincts of Sāketupura and spend some of his days abstaining from physical enjoyments taking to the vow of muttering the holy syllables quite punctiliously anticipating well the birth of his progeny.¹⁷ During the course of his vow of continence he would sleep on a couch bestrewn with Kuśās.

1. TM. Vol. II p. 242.
2. Ibid. Vol. II p. 259.
3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 258.
4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 260.
5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 265.
6. Ibid. Vol. III p. 138, Vol. II. p. 182.
7. Ibid. Vol. II p. 298.
8. Ibid. Vol. II p. 298.
9. Ibid. Vol. III p. 68.
10. Ibid. Vol. III, 68, Vol. III p. 316, Vol. III p./ 138. TM Vol. III p. 65.
11. Ibid. Vol. III p. 63. Vol. III p. 84, Vol. II p. 289, Sm. ed. p. 415.
12. Ibid. Vol. III p. 81, Vol. III p. 63.
13. Ibid. Vol. III p. 65.
14. Ibid. Vol. III p. 68.
15. Ibid. Vol. I p. 63.
16. Ibid. Vol. I p. 104.
17. एवं च तस्योपरतराज्यचिन्ताभारस्य विरचिताभ्यर्णपणशालाकृतस्थितेस्त्रिकालस्थायिनः परिमितफलाहार परिपालितशरीरस्य कुशलत्वशायिनो मुनिसमुपदिष्टेन विधिनाव्रतमपत्यसन्ततिनिबन्धनमनतिचारं फलयन्तो गृहीत-ब्रह्मचर्यस्य दिवसाः कतिचिदतिजग्मुः । TM Vol. I p. 106.

Madirāvatī has been described by Meghavāhana as the accomplishment of his three values of life, Dharma, Artha and Kāma i.e. Trivarga.¹ With her he deems the burden of the reveries of his kingdom as unannoying or uncloying.² His enjoyments are enviable over the earth, let loose by her.³ He deems his youth triumphant with her.⁴ The taste of dalliance gave him no hesitations.⁵ His sports were enviable.⁶ Great occasions of joy afforded him bliss.⁷ The world of creatures looked attractive.⁸ The fiat of Cupid deserved compliance.⁹ The ways of the stage of the householder deserved to be adhered to.¹⁰

Gr̥hasthāśrama has been considered as the epitome of conjugal felicity, an accomplishment of the threefold aims of human existence, a source of physical enjoyment, addiction to the playfulness of youth etc. The woman in the form of queen has been deemed the foremost source for it.

“स रूपसंपदा तुलितसुरकुमारः कौमार एव यथाविधिश्रुतशास्त्रः कलामु कृतश्रमः क्रमागतमशेषपुरुषार्थसंगतिपात्रमभिनवमधिरुह्य यौवनं”¹¹

refers to Tāraka, son of Vaiśravaṇa of Maṇipura in Suvarṇa dvīpa, who came to Rāṅgaśālā, the capital of Siṃhalas and came face to face with Priyadarśanā, daughter of Jalaketu, who wooed him with the consent of her sire. The poet says - स्वदारपरिपालनकर्मगृहमेधिधर्मः न¹²

The whole situation refers to the Brahmacharya and Gr̥hastha stages of Tāraka. The spot where the Vidyādhara sage inquires about the bewailing of Madirāvatī from Meghavāhana and gets the reply from the latter, the subsequent advice of the sage to the king embodies the three Āśramas such

1. अनयास्माकमविकला त्रिवर्गसम्पत्तिः । अनुद्वेजको राज्यचिन्ताभारः आकीर्णाः महीस्मृहणीयाः भोगाः सफलं यौवनम्, अजनितद्वीडः क्रोडारसः, अभिलषणीयाः विलासाः, प्रीतिदायिनो महोत्सवाः, रमणीयो जीवलोकः माननीया मन्मथाज्ञा, प्रालनीया गृहस्थाश्रमस्थितिः । TM Vol. I p. 94.

2. Ibid. TM Vol. I p. 94.

3. Ibid. TM Vol. I p. 94.

4. Ibid. TM Vol. I p. 94.

5. Ibid. TM Vol. I p. 94.

6. Ibid. TM Vol. I p. 94.

7. Ibid. TM Vol. I p. 94.

8. Ibid. TM Vol. I p. 94.

9. Ibid. TM Vol. I p. 94.

10. Ibid. TM Vol. I p. 94.

11. Ibid. Vol. II p. 275.

12. Ibid. Sm ed. p.318, LL 10-11.

as Brahmacarya, Gr̥hastha and Vānaprastha. The sage spoke smilingly to the king -

“King! You are extremely anxious and desirous of taking her to the forest just now. Do take to the ritual of muttering auspicious syllables and charms. May she obtain the boon for a son bestowed by the Goddess of Royal sovereignty pleased by propitiation. May she obtain by virtue of that a son of radiance circumbiating the triad of worlds by dint of her glory. May she see his boyhood gladdening the entire Universe. May she experience the bliss of service of her feet brought about by his spouse folk. Anon would she proceed to the forest in the later age accompanied by you started off having made the subjects over to him and developed the affluence of your Kingdom on him fit to bear the brunt of the Universe on the bow strung up properly.”¹

The Samnyāsa Āśrama has been likewise referred to in the following lines :

“Our effort, too, is here in this very regard or else what duty becomes recumbent upon the recluses (yatis) emancipated from all avocations, in point of activities dealing with the duties of a householder.”²

On seeing the divine Shrine Samaraketu's mind is thrilled with ecstasy whereupon the surge of thoughts brings to his mind the point that the religious shrines are occupied by those who renounce material life and take to asceticism. That is why he says -

‘Meritorious in the world are they by whom even the kingdom having been given up, even renunciation having been resorted to, even the victuals of fruits and bulbous roots having been taken up, even the torment of sylvan abode difficult of bearing, having been borne up, even the separation from the friends and kinsmen having been endured, even the associations of vertebrates having been suffered, the end is invited here with repose having been taken here.’³

1. मुनिरपि वनागुपजातहासः राजन्! अतिमात्रमुत्कृष्टवर्मिदानीमेव वनमिमां नेतुमिच्छसि, विधेहि तावन्मन्त्रजपविधिम् आराधितप्रसन्नया राजलक्ष्म्या वित्तीर्णमाप्नोतु पुत्रवरमियम्, आसादयतु तत्प्रभावेण भुवनत्रयख्यातमहसमात्मजम्, पश्यतु तदीयमानन्दितसकलसंसारकुमारभावम् अनुभवतु तद्वधुजनोपजनितानि चरणपरिचर्यामुख्यानि ततो धूर्ताभिज्य धनुषि भुवनभारधारणक्षमे तत्र निक्षिप्य निजराजसम्पदं समर्प्य प्रजः प्रसिन्धतेन त्वयैव सहिता गमिष्यति पश्चिमे वयसि वनम्। TM Vol. I pp. 102-03.
2. अस्माकमप्येतदर्थ एवायमारम्भः, अन्यथा गृहस्थकार्येषु कर्तव्येषु सर्वास्मभनिवृत्तानां को यतीनामधिकारः? TM Vol. I p. 103.
3. पुण्यभाजो जगति, यैः परित्यज्य राज्यमपि, गृहीत्वा पारिव्राज्यमपि, भुक्त्वा फलमूलमयाहारलेशमपि, विपद्दुःसहं वनवासक्लेशमपि, अङ्गीकृत्य बान्धवसुहृद्वियोगमपि, प्राप्य पक्षिजातियोगमपि, कृतस्थितिभिरत्र कालः प्रैर्यते। TM Vol. II pp. 322-323.

The sylvan abode has been referred to having been resorted to by the Vidyādhara for the sake of accomplishment.¹ They have been called falling within the pale of all the Varnas or orders, immune from all the undertakings, having purity of minds (lit. intentions) acquired by abstaining from all the objects of senses. They were jāmjapūkas, vācamyamas i.e. muttering holy syllables repeatedly and keeping their tongues tied. They had worn deer hide, matted locks etc. Some wielded terrific bows and yet refrained from killing of life. Some had paramours or spouses close to them and yet were abstaining from sexual sport.² Apart from this Dhanapāla's reference to 'वैखानसाश्रमपदानि'³ Malayasundarī taking to sylvan resort in her prime of youth, all alone in the huge hilly forest void of any movement of human being, having paid goodbye to attachment of all types, a source of great chagrin, a freak of Destiny who had made her the prey to mental agony having made her concentrate on solitary aim—refers to Vānaprastha and Saṁnyāsa under pressure of trying circumstances.⁴

Regarding the prevalence of the Āśramas or stages of life there has started a great controversy among scholars of repute. Some postulate that only two Āśramas Brahmacharya and Gṛhastha were the most popular while the Vānaprastha and Saṁnyāsa were resorted to by people of certain categories who were either constrained to take to them by the force of circumstances or under certain professional exigency. Some, however, believe that there were only three, Vānaprastha and Saṁnyāsa being the two stages of one and the same period. It could be an exception with the Royal persons on account of their much married life to go to the wilds after handing over the reins of kingdom to the crown prince or sometimes to avoid conflicts among the kins born from different queens they could take to such a life. Such an instance is even seen in the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad wherein Yājñavalkya in order to settle the disputes between Maitreyī and Kātyāyanī loves to go to the wilds to lead a life of a recluse. Bhāsa's allusion-

“सुखं खलु निष्कलत्राणां कान्तरप्रवेशः रमणीयतरः खलु प्राप्नोतिस्थानां विनिपातः, अपश्चात्तापकरः खलु संचितधर्माणां मृत्युः।”⁵

makes it evident that it was more convenient for the unmarried or widowers or those who could get no progeny to go to the wilds in the earlier

1. मिडिनिमिनमद्वीकृतारण्यवासः (TM Vol. III p. 132).

2. TM. Vol. II pp. 132-33.

3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 169.

4. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 169-170.

5. Pr. Yang Act IV p. 167 (my self)

or later years of their lives for the sake of earning merit or leading a life of peace and equanimity. This fact is corroborated by Dhanapāla himself who says-

“अहो पूर्वजन्मान्तरसंचितैरशुभकर्मभिरायोजिताः सुनिपुणमपि निरूपितोपायैर्मनीषिभिरनीषत्कराः परिहर्तुमुपतापाः”

that the ‘manīṣis’ or the thoughtful persons take to renunciation under the pressing fiats of Destiny bringing forth certain sins as a result of which they are forced to undergo this way of life.

All this makes it manifest that Vānaprastha and Saṁnyāsa had nothing to do with the stipulated periods of the age of 50 to 75 and to 100 years. It was Brahmacharya till the completion of education and initiation into the life of a householder that could last up to the age of 25 to the maximum and after that a person could lead the life of a householder till his final exit enjoying all the privileges of seeing the faces of sons, grandsons, great grand sons etc. In accordance with the dicta of Hindu Law (Dharmaśāstra) a man could enter the life of a householder at the age of sixteen, which was normally the last stage of acquisition of education in the relevant period in case of princes in particular. Persons in royal service acting emissaries as apostate monks, wandering mendicants etc. could take to the life of Vānaprasthins or Saṁnyāsins at the raw age of flushing youth etc.

2. SACRAMENTS OR SAMSKĀRAS

Dhanapāla has described the pre-natal, post-natal or saṁskāras of childhood, the educational, the marital and funeral saṁskāras all in accordance with the exigency of the situation required to be depicted.

Garbhādhāna or conception is the pre-natal sacrament described and illustrated with full background marking its urgency and inevitability of performance.

According to Dr. Raj Bali Pandeya,

‘The rite through which a man placed his seed in a woman was called Garbhādhāna. It must have taken a very long period for the evolution of this saṁskāra. In the beginning procreation was a natural act. A human pair copulated, whenever there was a physical demand for it, without any anticipation of progeny, though it was a usual consequence. The Garbhādhāna Saṁskāra, however, presupposed a well-established home, a regular marriage, a desire of possessing children and a religious idea that beneficent gods helped men in begetting children’.²

1. TM Vol. III p. 659.

2. Hindu Samskāras p. 48.

Dhanapāla has called the bliss born of the world of creatures (जीवलांकसुखम्) as quite well-known in the world (लोकप्रसिद्धम्) or well-established in the world; necessitated by the objects of senses (विषयाणामपि प्रतिबद्धम्); fit to be performed through religious merits (पुण्यैरपि निष्पाद्यम्); fit to be tasted by the senses (इन्द्रियैरप्यास्वाद्यम्); fit to be enjoyed under the affluent circumstances (ऐश्वर्येणापि भोग्यम्); suitable for the enjoyers of the earth i.e. the kings (महीभुजामपि योग्यम्);¹ etc. All this alludes to the process of procreation entailing sexual enjoyment or copulations of the male and the female in so far as the following clause says-

“He i.e. Meghavāhana failed to derive the pleasure of embracement of the limbs of the self-born i.e. the son”.²

Because -

All the reasons do not bring about fructification unmindful of the hour of the advent of action performed in the previous birth i.e. all happenings are recumbent upon the fruits of actions performed in the previous birth. That is why inspite of his being in the new blooming age (i.e. youth) and maintaining a huge harem, he did not get even a single son even within the span of a longer interval of time.³ His youth having spelled out and the age of renunciation approaching close he became an object of ridicule and censure at the hands of ‘devarṣis’, ‘the manes’, ‘the progeny of the Ikṣvāku race meant to cling to him from behind’, ‘the Śrī’, ‘the subjects’, ‘the youth’, ‘the dicta of the Vedic lore’ - the fact which made him suffer from a fever of anxiety in his heart like the acrimonising Cupid. The dicta of the Vedic lore (Śrutidharma) cast a vitriolic censure on him asking him to be away with protecting others when he himself deserved protection against the ‘Naraka’ named ‘Pum’⁴ which derives its source from Kādambari-

“श्रुतपुत्राणां किल न सन्ति लोकाः शुभाः पुत्रान्मो नरकात्त्रायत पुत्रः इति”⁵

quoting *Mahābhārata* taking the original from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.⁶

Hence the polygamous harem of Meghavāhana enjoying the privileges of insemination from the king has been shown resulting in the failure of ‘Garabhādhāna’ in any of the ladies of the harem. Even his chief consort Madirāvati had failed to get the satisfaction of being the mother of the

1. TM Vol. I p. 78.

2. केवलमात्मजाङ्गपरिष्वङ्गनिवृत्ति नाध्यगच्छत्। TM Vol. I p. 78.

3. यतोऽस्य नूतनेऽपि वयसि महत्यप्यन्तःपुरे बहुनापि कालेन नैकोऽप्युदपादि तनयः। TM Vol. I p. 79.

4. TM Vol. I p. 80.

5. Kād. Kathā p. 104 M. R. Kale (Pūrvabhāga).

6. नापुत्रस्य लोकोऽस्तीति तत्सर्वे पशवो विदुः Ait. br. V. 2. 13 p. 96.

crown prince even though she has been described by Dhanapāla as the receptacle of love of Meghavāhana, catering to the latter's entire affluence of Trivarga or the threefold alms of human existence such as Dharma, Artha and Kāma. She had provided him with all the earthly amenities and luxuries. His youth was fruitful owing to her. His dalliance had its taste brimming to the full. His sports were enviable. The great occasions of joy brought him glee. The world of creatures looked rosy to him. He adhered to the fiat of Cupid and took to all the facilities of the life of a householder. The reason for the moroseness (अस्वस्थताकारणम्) of the queen was nothing but the anguish born of issuelessness even when she remained by his side every moment in the midst of the group of kinsfolk, performing all the religious rites meet for a housewife.¹

Too much of indulgence has been described as the main cause for the issuelessness² of the king as predicted by the Vidyādhara sage, who suggests to him to the austere penance of propitiating Śrī who could bestow on him the boon fulfilling his cherished desire. He handed over the armour fuming a talisman to the king muttering the holy syllables of charm quite slowly in his ears.³ The boon by Śrī conferred on the king⁴ he observes due formalities of approaching his queen quite ceremoniously. Having reached the Śuddhānta (Harem) and seen Madirāvātī there he made her sit on his own golden seat and indulging in all types of wheedling artifices reminding her of undergoing all the inconveniences of her separation from him he applied unguents, decked her with ornaments, applied forehead mark to her, provided ear-peduncles to her and even decorated her with a crest-chaplet with his own hands.⁵ The preliminaries ere to the coition have been literally depicted.

He brought her to the bed having embraced her close-her, who gave a charming look twice as before on account of those morbid transformations caused by passions born in excess from her love for her lover (i.e. the king) and manifested immediately on account of his assuming that garb looking glamorous, having seen her for long with a steadfast gaze. And slept there along with her. The night remaining very little he saw in dream the elephant, the vehicle of Indra sucking milk having drawn it again and again with the hand, the huge lotus, as it were, placed on the pitcher-like breasts.

1. TM Vol. I p. 94.

2. भुक्तभूमिग्रमधुना वर्तते तवापत्यसन्ततिप्रतिबन्धकमदृष्टम्। TM Vol. I p. 97.

3. TM Vol. I pp. 98-99. रक्षामन्त्राक्षरमयकवचमुपकर्णशूलमनुघैरुघरिताक्षरपदस्तां विद्यान्यवेदयत्।

4. TM Vol. I p. 153.

5. सविलेपनां सालंकारां सनिलकां सावतंसं सशेखरां ग्वकरेण तां चकार। TM Vol. II p. 178.

He construed the psychology of the dream manifesting the fruit of the boon conferred by Śrī foreboding the birth of a son and narrated the same to Madirāvatī after she had woke up earlier.¹

All this presupposes the performance of copulation anticipating Garbhādhāna or conception which has been illustrated by its distinguished marks in the following lines.

She became doubly glorious as if approached by conception with limbs stuffed with horripilation terrific and over-spreading on account of the burden of joy.² Very few days had elapsed when her menstrual flow stopped. She bathed and bore her foetus in her womb, the refulgent splendour which was as though the form of the Autumnal sun. She became pallid even when she had obtained immunity from menstrual discharges. Even though unable to walk she placed her paces sluggish with languor or sluggish with sportiveness. Even when emaciated she became doughty in frame. Her gaze became white. Her gait became slow. Her posteriors became obese. Her breasts bore their nipples black in hue. Her waist lost its sliminess etc.

Here again the 'Garbhādhāna' has been described as coming into action after the flow of the menstrual discharge and her womb conceived on some night falling between the fourth and the sixteenth day.³

Puṁsavana or the rite quickening a male child can be understood in the application of the secret lore instructed by the Vidyādhara sage. This lore might have been the usual rite obtained in the Vedic texts whereby this rite was performed in the third or fourth month of pregnancy, on the day when the moon was on a male constellation on Tisya particularly. The pregnant woman was required to fast on that day. After bath she put on new clothes. Then in the night the sprouts of the banyan tree were pounded and the juice was inserted into the right nostril of the woman with verses beginning with 'Hiraṇyagarbha' etc. Even Kuśakaṇṭaka and Somalatā were pounded with the sprouts of the banyan tree.⁴

The puerperal longings or 'dohadas' of Madirāvatī have been referred to. Sīmantonmayana was the third Saṁskāra of the embryo. That rite was called Sīmanta, in which the hairs of a pregnant woman were parted. The purpose of this Saṁskāra was partly superstitious and partly practical.

1. TM Vol. II pp. 178-179.

2. आनन्दभरविजृम्भमाणोद्दामपुलकोपचितसर्वावयवा च प्रतिपन्नेव सद्यो गर्भेण द्विगुणोपजातशोभा तत्क्षणमजायत TM Vol. II p. 180.

3. Hindu Saṁskāras p. 51.

4. Ibid. p. 61.

People believed that a woman in her pregnancy was subject to attacks of evil spirits and some rite should be performed to ward them off. The invocation of Śrī required to be performed by the husband in order to keep away the evil demons lurking on to devour the foetus as ordained by the 'Āśvalāyana smṛti' can find its counterpart in the entire ritual performed by Meghavāhana in order to propitiate Śrī with the secret charm afforded to him by the Vidyādhara sage.¹ The ritual performed by Meghavāhana is preceding even the Garbhādhāna as a special case because all the issues born to Madirāvātī used to be devoured by the evil spirits as can be guessed to be the psychological aspect on the whole problem.

‘उज्झितान्यकर्तव्येन वृद्धसंप्रदायागतानि विविधौषधानि प्रयुज्यानेन महानरेन्द्रलिखितानि मन्त्रकरण्डकानि वध्नाता दृष्टप्रत्ययप्रतीतपरित्राजकोपदिष्टनीत्या स्त्रपनमंगलानि प्रवर्तयता शुद्धान्तजरतीजनेन शश्वत्क्रियमाण गर्भग्रहणोपचारार्थिः पुत्रकाम्यन्तीभिरन्तःपुरकामिनोभिर्विधीयमानविविधव्रतविशेषम्’²

referring to the old ladies of the harem performing typical rites foreboding the development of the foetus, the growth of the male child and security of the child against evil spirits gives a clue to the idea of the triple-fold sacraments of Garbhādhāna, Pūṁsavana and Sīmantonayana.

Her ardent longings to bathe along with her female friends, in the water of the Mānasa lake, limpid like the autumn, when she felt malaised while bathing in the water founts established in the yards of the lounging chamber; to stroll about the gardens of the plateaus of the Kulaparvatas abounding in the creepers of the blown wish-granting trees when she felt ennuied during the heat of the mid-day; to witness the dance performances played in the open by the nymphs during the eventides, in the shrines of the Siddhas belonging to different islands engirt by oceans, surrounded by the gods; and her attending to the divine tales of the kathaka ladies— all these go to illustrate the point that the foetus in her womb gave her the sublime tendencies and attitudes of mind making her certain about its fructification without the obstruction of evil spirits etc.³

The narrative, therefore, covers up the rite of Sīmantonayana which entailed the parting of the hair of the woman in the fourth, fifth or up to the eighth month of pregnancy to keep her in good cheer and to avoid any physical shocks etc.

The Jātakarma Saṁskāra was actually the process of delivering the baby at the completion of the ninth month and advent of the tenth month of pregnancy. This Saṁskāra has been illustrated by Dhanapāla as under :-

1. Hindu Saṁskāras p. 64.

2. TM Vol. II pp. 161-62.

3. TM Vol. II p. 181.

“And gradually on the completion of the nine months added by a few days (Madirāvati) gave birth to a son of extraordinary form to the supreme joy of the whole subjects, born for the first time, in an hour that had raised its mouth aloft, pleased as it were on seeing the suspiciousness of the zodiac, in a zodiac free from all calamities, observed by the auspicious planets brimming with curiosity as it were, stationed in very high solstices in their respective order and in a sacred Muhūrta and on an extremely beneficent day associated by the best suited Tithis, Vāras and Karaṇas.”¹

TITHI, VĀRA, KARANA

Tithi—a lunar day (30th part of a whole lunation of rather more than 27 solar days; 15 Tithis, during the moon’s increase, constitute the light half of the month and the other 15 the dark half; the auspicious Tithis are, Nandā, Bhadrā, Vijayā, Pūṃā.

Var Brs ic. 2 Gobh Śāṅkh. Gṛ Mn. etc. (Monier Williams)

Vāra—Turn of a day under the regency of a planet or a day of the week—(they are—Āditya, Soma, Maṅgala, Budha, Guru, Śukra and Śani)²

Karāṇa—a calculation (astronomical-one) an astrological division of the day (these Karaṇas are eleven;—viz. vava, valava, kaulava, taitila, gara, vaṇija, viṣṭi, śakumi, catuspada, kintughna and nāga—two being equal to a lunar day. The first seven are called-adhruvāṇi or movable; and fill, eight times repeated the space from the second half the first day in the moon’s increase to the first half of the fourteenth day in its wane; the four others are dhruvāṇi or fixed and occupy the four half days from the second half of the fourteenth day in the wane of the moon to the first half of the first day in its increase. Var. Brs. (Monier Williams)

The dance revelry following the birth of the son brought the king i.e. the father of the child and husband of the queen quite into a joyous mood. The circumstances under which he entered the ‘Prasūtigrha’ are reminiscent of the ‘Jātakarma’ sacrament.

“The lord of the earth, too, with highest bliss experienced by him, determined the zodiac connected with the delivery of the queen along with the group of soothe sayers (Gaṇakas) who had placed their eyes on the ‘Nāḍikā’ or watch placed in the centre of the iron vat full of water and who

1. पूर्णेपु च क्रमेण किञ्चित्सतिरेकेषु नवसु मासेषु सारतिथिवारकरणाश्रितेऽतिश्रेयस्यहनि पुण्ये मुहूर्ते यथास्वमुद्यस्थानस्थितः कौतुकादिव शुभग्रहैरवलोकिते विशुद्धे लग्ने लग्नचारुतादर्शनजातपरितोषायामिवोर्ध्वमुख्या होरायामग्रत एव वातेन सहितामखिलप्रजामोदना-द्वितीयरूपमजनयत् तनयम्। TM Vol. II p. 182.

2. See Sanskrit-English Dictionary by Monier Williams

had come there (for that purpose) and having listened to the efficacy of the planet of birth described quite in many ways did his performance of ablution and other acts on an auspicious muhūrta, returned his followers or entourage and entered the Prasūtigrha or Maternity Chamber of his beloved with maternity rites being performed therein quite speedily by the ladies busy in their affairs quite hardby. The maternity chamber had the din of the auspicious ditties organised therein by the old kinswomen carrying the grains of unhusked rice, flowers strewn therein, having entered therein, with their feet washed freshly. It had its skirts encompassed round by the valiant people wielding swords dug up on all sides. It was glamorous with the pair of auspicious ewers clinging to the panels of the doors, having on their spouts strewn about the sprouts of holy trees. It had scared away the movement of the squint eyed ladies as well as the circle of evil spirited souls (doing harm to the life of the child) by the gloom of the smoke of incense and incense of amber emitting out strong odour. It had rituals connected with the safety of the newly born baby being demonstrated manifoldly by the old ladies of the harem with blessing squatting quite close to the bed (of the queen) speaking out-“Render the square of the mansion attractive with the plaster of white sandal”, “Prepare at various places, the Svastika— marks with the power of gems; “Hang the new wreath ‘of mango sprouts on the gate’; “Bestrew the offering of blown lotuses in the interior”; “Arrange immediately, on all sides, the sprays of propitiatory water”; “Present the adorable Śaṣṭhidevi”; “Paint the plaster of jātamātrs or the goddess Gaurī, Padmā and others numbering sixteen and governing the food consisting of cow’s ghee; “Commence the adoration of the civilized old ladies”; “Draw on all sides of the bedstead, the line formed out of the ashes meant as a protective charm spelled out quite recently,” skilled as they were in the wordily etiquette in its entirety talking in laudatory terms with the ingress of outside servants interdicted accordingly. It had cups of water meant for drinking the suffusion of dry ginger being cooked down by the fans waved on continuously. It had its interior illumined by the auspicious lamps. It had its glory excelling the glory of the triad of worlds, by the people scanning the face of the baby, marvelled as it were, having got up, with their positions steadfast with their souls thrilling up all the more.¹

1. अक्वनीश्वरोऽपि परमोत्पन्ननिवृत्तिजलकयहकोडनिक्षिप्तनाडिकानिहितचक्षुषा गणकनिवहेन निश्चित्य देव्याः प्रसवलग्नमागतेन मुहुर्मुहुरनेकप्रकारैः कृतोपवर्णनमाकर्ण्य जन्मग्रहचलं बालकस्य कृतमजनादिकृत्य शुभैः मुहूर्ते निवर्तितानुचरलोकः परिगतप्रान्तमुत्खातखड्गैः समन्तां वीरपुरुषैः प्रशस्ततरुपल्लवास्तृतमुखेन द्वारशाखासंगिना मङ्गलकलस्रगुलेनावभासितमुदारगुन्धोद्गारगुणुलभृपध्रुमान्धकारदूरीकृतदुष्टचक्रबक्राक्षौसंचारमचिरधौतचरणाभिः प्रविश्य साशीर्वादमन्तः प्रकीर्णकुसुमाशतकणीभिर्वन्धुवृद्धाभिरायुद्धमङ्गलगीतकोलाहलमदतबाह्यपरिजनप्रवेशेन

According to the ancient texts -

“The Jātakarma ceremony was performed before the severing of the navel cord. This seems to have been the original time, but later writers state that if the time expired it was performed at the end of the ceremonial impurity of ten days or if the birth took place during the impurity caused by a death in the family the ceremony was postponed until its expiry. In later times the moment of birth was noted with meticulous care for preparing horoscope as it was thought to be a determining factor in the life of the child. Then the good news was brought to the father. Different sentiments were expressed at the birth of a boy and a girl, as different prospects were depending on them. The first born was liked to be a boy, as he freed the father from all ancestral debts. But for a sensibleman a girl was not less meritorious, because her gift in marriage brought merits to the father. After this the father went to the mother in order to see the face of the son, because by looking at the face of the new-born son the father is absolved from all debts and attains immortality. Having seen the face of the child, he bathed with his clothes on, invited the elders and performed the Nāndī Śrāddha and the Jātakarma ceremony. Nāndī Śrāddha is an auspicious one. Thereafter the ‘Medhā-janana’, Āyusya and ‘prayers for strength’ of the child were performed.”¹ Dhanapāla has practically followed this pattern. The king consulted the astrologers regarding the hour of birth of his son and took his bath and performed other rites. The ladies of the harem performed all the charms to scare away and ward off the evil spirits and other wicked elements likely to prove harmful to the health of the child. The burning of incense and incense of amber is believed to be the means to ward off these evils. The plaster of white sandal in the courtyard, the drawing of Svastika marks, the hanging of mango sprout-wreaths, presenting of blown lotuses and spraying of propitiatory water— all these constitute the scope of the Jātakarma Saṁskāra. The adoration of Saṁhīdevī, Jātamātrpātālā, the drawing of lines of ashes, maintaining of the cups brimming with water suffused with dry ginger syrup etc. equally maintain the tempo of the ritual which marks the security of the health of the child immediately after birth.

प्रशस्तात्पापना सकललौकिकाचारकुशलेन, कुरुत हरिचन्दनोपलेपहारि मन्दिराङ्गणम्, रचयत स्थानस्थानेषु
स्वचूर्णस्वग्निकान्, दत्त द्वारि नूतनं चूतपल्लवदाम्, विकिरतान्तरुतुल्लपंकजापहारम्, कारयत सर्वतः
शान्तसरित्तलक्षेपमकृतकालक्षेपम्, आहरत भगवतीं पट्टीदेवीम् आलिखत जातमातृपटलम्, आरभध्वमार्यवृद्धासपर्याम्,
निधनं पर्यन्तेषु शयनस्य सद्योभिमन्त्रिता रक्षाभूतिरखाम् इत्यादि जल्पता तल्पनिकटोर्षविष्टेन शुद्धान्तजरतीजनन
क्रियमाणविविधशिशुरक्षाविद्यानमविरतचलनालवृन्तनिर्वाप्यमाणसनागरक्षोदपानोदकशरावमधिकोदकित्तात्मभिरचंचला
वस्थानैरुत्थाय विस्मितैरिव त्रिभुवनातिशायिशोभमर्भकरूपमवलोकयद्दिग्मङ्गलप्रदीपैः प्रकाशिताभ्यन्तरमदूरस्थितात्म-
व्यापारसत्त्वरसुतिकं प्रियायाः प्रसूतिगृहमाविशत्। TM Vol. II pp. 184-185.

Following on Dhanapāla says the king marked the distinguished lines on the palm of the child which predicted his future paramountsy. In lieu thereof he released all the captives and arranged a celebration of festal melee for one complete month.¹

Nāmakaraṇa

Dhanapāla has illustrated this sacrament in as many as two cases - those of Harivāhana and Malayasundarī.

In case of Harivāhana he refers to the naming ceremony having been performed on the tenth day after the birth of the child when the *Ṣaṣṭhijāgara*² (the waking on the sixth day after the birth of a child when the creator is supposed to enter the mother's chamber and write the child's destiny on its forehead).³ On the tenth day he arranged the adoration in all the shrines of gods to be performed, honoured the group of friends and relatives, paid obeisance to the preceptors or elders, bestowed in charity on the Brāhmaṇas averse to wordly gains, thousands of kine accompanied by calves and caparisoned with ornaments and heaps of gold. Since he had seen the vehicle of Indra (*Śatamanyu*) in a dream, he took cognizance of this fact accordingly and in line with the psychology of the dream gave the name, 'Harivāhana' to the child supported by the limitation in sense as well as in sound in communion with the one part of his own name.⁴

Malayasundarī while narrating her woeful tale to Harivāhana calls herself the sole scion of Kusumaśekhara and Gandharvadattā, the king and queen of Kāñcī.⁵

She further narrates that as soon as she was born she was addressed in plain words before the king, by the soothsayer Vasurāta by name, well honoured on account of his predictions coming out true a thousand-fold, knowing well the real imports of the whole of the lore of auspicious omens, being foremost of all the fortune-tellers his eyes brimming with water of tears born of joy over the fruit of the circumstance (prevailing at that time)

1. TM. Vol. II pp. 185-186.

2. Ibid. Vol. II p. 196.

3. Monier Williams under *Ṣaṣṭhijāgara*.

4. अतिक्रान्ते च षष्ठीजागरे समागते च दशमेऽहि कारयित्वा सर्वनगरदेवतायतनेषु पूजाम्, मानयित्वा मित्रजातिवर्गम्, अभ्यर्च्य गुरुजनम् दत्त्वा, समारोपिताभरणाः सक्त्याः सदृशशो गाः सुवर्णं च प्रचुरमारम्भनिःस्पृहेभ्यो विप्रेभ्यः स्वप्ने शतमन्युवाहनो वारणपतिर्दृष्ट इति संप्रधार्य तस्यैव स्वप्नस्य सदृशमात्मीयनाम्नश्चैकदेशेन समुदायवाच्येन चार्थेन समर्थितानुहारं हरिवाहन इति शिशोर्नाम चक्रे। TM Vol. II p. 186.

5. तस्य तेजस्विवर्गप्रसरस्य सकलगुणनिधेः.... आसन्नवर्तिनां जनानामुपतापकारणमेकेवात्मजा जाता। TM Vol. II p. 177.

in conformity with the planets working contemporaneously to the effect that she (lit. this maiden) being eminently meritorious would become a receptacle of abundant blissful enjoyments. She had taken birth in that type of zodiac.¹

In light of that prediction Kusumāśekhara arranged a huge festal melee as he would do on the birth of a son, surrounded by many vassals, having come to the chamber (maternity chamber) or Prasūtigrha, that had heaps of flowers strewn therein, had a dais of pearl stones established inside, had its Verandah or courtyard swept clean by the spurting sprays of extremely scented water and had white auspicious wreaths tied to the arched gate. And at the end of the tenth day when all the kinsfolk had assembled with auspicious preliminaries brought to being engrossed in traditional rituals of his heritage, gave her the name 'Malayasundarī'.

According to the general rule of the Gr̥hyasūtras the Nāmakaraṇa ceremony was performed on the tenth or the twelfth day after the birth of the child with the single exception of the secret name which was given in the opinion of some, on the birth day. But the later options range from the tenth up to the first day of the second year.²

The Nīṣkramaṇa Saṁskāra

As enjoined by the scriptures, the time for performing the Nīṣkramaṇa Saṁskāra varied from the twelfth day after the birth to the fourth month.³ The twelfth day could suit only because after the tenth day the name-giving ceremony was performed. For performing this the child was required to be taken out of the Sūtikāgrha or the maternity chamber. The general rule, however, according to the Gr̥hyasūtras and the Smṛtis was that the Saṁskāra took place in the third or in the fourth month after the birth.⁴

According to the Muhūrta Saṁgraha this ceremony was required to be performed by the maternal uncle, whereas the parents could do it normally.⁵

1. जातमात्रायामेव मयि समस्तदेवज्ञाग्रतः संरेण सकलनिमित्तशास्त्रत इव वेदिना सहस्रशः संवादितादेशतया परं संमतेन वसुरात नाम्ना सांवत्सरेण स्फुटीकृत्य तात्कालिकग्रहाणां दशाफलमानन्दाश्रुजलापरिप्लुतक्षणेन क्षोणीपतेः पुरः स्रष्टाक्षरमिदमदिष्टम् एष कन्यका निकामं पुण्यभागिनी भाजनं भविष्यति भूयसामुपभोगसौख्यानाम्, ईदृशे च लग्ने लक्ष्म्यमनया जन्म। TM Vol. III p. 178

2. तातोऽपि संरेणवद्धहरितवन्दनमालमुद्गमगन्धकच्छटाविच्छेदविरजोक्ताजिरमुपरचितमौक्तिकचतुष्कं पातितपुष्पप्रकर-मागत्य मातुर्मे भवनमनेकरजंगोलकपरिवृतः पुत्रजन्मः सदृशमतिमहान्तमुत्सवमकारयत् अतिक्रान्ते च दशमेऽहनि समगतसमस्तज्ञातिलोकः प्रवर्तितमङ्गलोपचारः स्वगोत्राचारकर्मण्यतिसादरो मलयसुन्दरीति मे नाम कृतवान्। TM Vol. III p. 179.

3. Hindu Saṁskāras p. 84.

4. Ibid. p. 86.

5. Ibid. p. 87.

This ceremony with reference to Harivāhana and Malayasundarī can be presumed to have been performed at the time of the Nāmakaraṇa which took place on the expiry of the tenth day after the birth of the two children as illustrated by Dhanapāla.

The Annaprāśana

For quite some time the child was nourished on the breasts of the mother but gradually as it grew it required richer nourishment when the quantity of milk in the mother's breasts also diminished. According to the Gr̥hyasūtras and the Smṛtis of Manu and Yājñavalkya advocated the age of six months as suited for this Saṁskāra. But Laugākṣī advocated the time when the child grew teeth or when it could digest solid food. Giving food before the fourth month was strictly prohibited. The last limit was one year, however, mixture of curd, honey, ghee, flesh of the birds Bhāradvāja, Kapiṅjala and ghee in abundance were also prescribed.¹

Harivāhana has been described by Dhanapāla as being nourished on the breasts of the nurses who had delivered quite recently getting thereby the radiance of his physical frame. His Annaprāśana and allied sacraments were performed by the ecclesiast or Chaplain (Purodhā) himself, who was a second Brahman as it were and who was conversant with the entire ritual sponsored by the Vedic lore.²

The term—

“अन्नप्राशनादिसकलसंस्कारस्य”³

implies the performance of the ‘Cūḍākaraṇa’ and ‘Kārṇavedha’ sacraments also in case these were essential for a Kṣatriya also. The first i.e. ‘Cūḍākaraṇa’ was performed in order to keep away the ring worms on the head which wore short hair.⁴ While the second or the ‘Kārṇavedha’ or the boring of ears was performed in order to escape the diseases of hydrocele and hernia.

The first was performed at the end of the first year or before the expiry of the third year⁵ while the second was performed on the tenth, the twelfth or

1. Hindu Saṁskāras., p. 87

2. Ibid. pp 90-91.

3. क्रमेण च प्रसवदिवसादारभ्य तत्कालोपजातप्रसवाभिर्भिनवयौवनोपचितपरिमण्डलस्तनीभिरव्यङ्गनीरोगाङ्ग्यांष्ट्रभिर्गृहविप्रयोगादिभिर्दुःखैस्तुपातसाधितास्तया निपुणमवधृताभिर्धोत्रोभिरनवरतमुपचर्यमाणस्य शुद्धपक्षचन्द्रमस इव प्रतिदिनसोपचौशमानदेहावयवकान्तोरप्युत्तरेवेदोक्तविधिविदा वेधसेवापरेण स्वयं पुरोधसा निर्वर्तितान्नप्राशनार्थादयकलसंस्कारस्य... etc. TM Vol. II pp. 186-187.

4. Hindu Saṁskāras p. 94.

5. Ibid. p. 96.

the sixteenth day after the birth of the child or before the teeth of the child came out.¹ Prince Harivāhana has been shown reaching the age of five before all these sacraments were performed in his case.

Within the period of these Saṁskāras (the post natal ones) every possible care was taken by the king Meghavāhana to secure and ensure the health and prosperity of the child. He arranged the lustration ceremonies to be performed thrice a day i.e. morning, noon-tide and evening by the old ladies of the harem carrying all the relevant materials of auspicious rites. He made the prince to be brought to thorough wakefulness time and again by very active and expert exercisers or sorcerers or charm-players gone to accomplishment by their skill in the exorcising of charms and by the physicians gone past all the branches of the science of medicine or Āyurveda. The ladies of the harem fondled him one and all. His lovely form had been bedecked with precious ornaments inlaid with innumerable gems of great efficacy in many places. His path was followed by the groups of palace guards, carrying weapons. Thus had he (i.e. Harivāhana) spent five years of his age in the harem having his movements knowing no bounds and enjoying many types of pleasures of sports along with children of protectors of earth having their glossy curls dangling about their cheeks, on the shores of canals (lit. artificial streams), in the palaces of the Nandanagrove, on the peaks of the pleasure mounts and on the bejewelled mosaics naturally beautiful.²

3. EDUCATIONAL SACRAMENTS (Saṁskāras)

The Vidyārambha

“At the advent of the sixth year when (Harivāhana) had attained to some refinements of the physical charms and had developed some leaning towards the understanding of the letters (of the alphabet), the king (i.e. Meghavāhana) managed to be constructed a temple of learning of blameless nature just in his own palace in order to superimpose discipline and made a collection of teachers of learning, every now and then, who were innately opposed to the idea of taking to the path of vice, who had taken birth in the best lieges of men, who had their arguments and sayings free from fault on account of their being conversant with the vital points of all the scriptures and who had served well in the Gurukulas or various abodes of learned

¹ Hindu Saṁskāras., pp. 102-103.

² TM Vol. II p. 187.

teachers.”¹ This easily conforms to the dicta enunciated by the ancient lores that when the child became competent to understand the preliminary exercises in alphabet, he was put in charge of the learned teachers in order to bring him trained in the world of wisdom. This Saṁskāra was actually merged with the Upanayana which trained the child in all the proceedings connected with the study of Sanskrit scriptures, which hardly needed a preliminary training in the alphabet because Sanskrit was the lingua franca of the time. But as this language became a monopoly of the learned and subsidiary dialects came into being the necessity for the special Saṁskāra of vidyārambha arose. This Saṁskāra is conspicuous by its absence in the Gṛhyasūtras and Dharmaśāstras whereas modern paddhatis, vīramitrodaya (Saṁskāra prakāśa Vol. I, p. 321 ff), the Smṛti-candrikā (Saṁskārakāṇḍa) (p. 67 ff), the Saṁskāraratnamālā of Gopinātha Bhaṭṭa and the commentary of Aparārka on the Yājñavalkya Smṛti mention it accordingly. According to Vīramitra the age for the performance of this Saṁskāra was five while an anonymous Smṛti quoted in the Śoḍaśa- Saṁskāravidhi, has extended it up to the seventh year. Dhanapāla has conformed to the dictum of Vīramitra and illustrated the point of Vidyārambha in case of Harivāhana at the age completing its fifth year and commencing the sixth.²

The Upanayana

“उपनिन्ये From ‘उप + नी + लिट्’

is a technical form referring to the terminology proper ‘The Upanayana has been mentioned by Dhanapāla who describes this Saṁskāra pertaining to Harivāhana.

The version refers to the king (अवनिपति) (Meghavāhana) who performed the ‘Upanayana’ of his son through them (i.e. the Vidyāgurus) on an auspicious day and in an auspicious Muhūrta (moment) having accomplished all that deserved to be undertaken-the son, who had taken his bath and had donned an upper-scarf formed out of pure silk-yarn; who had his frame anointed with fragrant sandal paste; who had a cluster of pearls (i.e. a necklace) worn over his chest; who had a forehead mark applied out of rocanādye on his forehead; who had borne a crest chaplet made out of the sprouts of mālatī; who had shown special reverence on account of his spruce attire; who was glamorous with the lustre of his frame white like the bright

1. अवतीर्णे च षष्ठे किञ्चिदुपजातदेहसौष्ठवस्य व्यक्तवर्णवचनप्रवृत्तेर्विनयारोपणाय राजा राजकुलाभ्यन्तर एव कारितानवद्यविद्यागृहः सम्यगासेवित... विद्यागुरूणामहरहः संग्रहमकरोत्। TM Vol. II pp. 187-188.

2. Hindu Saṁskāras pp. 106-110.

shine of Sarasvatī risen up again. They, with pleasure enhanced by special honour, taught him in due course of time, all the scriptures such as Vyākaraṇa (i.e. grammar) after he had obtained the preliminary knowledge of the alphabets.¹

In the Vedas the meaning of the word 'Upanayana' has been construed variously as -

“taking charge of a student,” “initiation of the child by a teacher into sacred lore” etc. The idea of the second birth through Gāyatrī mantra dominated the stage later on.²

The 'Upanayana' corresponds with the 'Naujat' (the new birth) of the Parsis that is performed in case of Parsi children at the age of six years and three months. This ceremony was most essential for the first three orders or else they were not allowed to continue as dvijas or twice born and enjoy the privileges of their race such as marriage within the Aryan pale etc.³ In the Sūtra period Upanayana was allowed at the age of eight, eleven and twelve in case of Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya children respectively.⁴ To begin with this saṁskāra was performed by the father himself who acted as the teacher of the child but later on it assumed the garb of a ritual wherein joint meal, bath, wearing of kaupīna, girdle, the sacred thread, the Ajina, holding of staff, etc. along with the symbolical performances of filling the hands with water, touching the heart, mounting the stone, taking the charge of the student by the teacher by circumambulating fire, the chanting of the Sāvitrī mantra, enkindling of the sacred fire, the rounds for alms, etc.-were rigidly and meticulously conformed to. Scriptures enjoin the performance of Upanayana in case of a Brāhmaṇa in Spring, of a Kṣatriya in Summer, of a Vaiśya in Autumn and of a Rathakāra in the Rainy season.⁵

The intellect of Harivāhana being very acute he became conversant with all the lores very shortly in so far as he had all the scriptures well within his reach, had not fallen a prey to impudence, had his sire prone to discipline and his preceptors putting their heart and soul in work. He mastered the

1. उपनिन्ये च तेभ्यः शोभने दिनमुद्धृते निर्वर्तिते समस्तैकैर्कव्यैः स्वातमनुपहतसूक्ष्मश्रोमकल्पितोत्तरासङ्गमनुलिप्तांगं मामोदिना मलयजरसेन प्रत्युरसमामुक्तमुक्ताकलापमुपरिचितरोचनातिलकरुचिरललाटमुत्तमाङ्गघटितमालतीमुकुल गण्डमालमवदातवेषतया सविशेषदर्शितादरमभ्युत्थितायाः पुनः सरस्वत्याः सितांशुधवलया शरीरच्छायायैव च्छदितमात्मजमवनिपतिः । पूजाविशेषवाधितप्रीतयश्च लिपिविशेषदर्शनपुरःसरमशेषाण्यपि व्याकरणदीनि शास्त्राणि तस्मै क्रमणोपादिक्षन् । TM. Vol. II p. 188.

2. Hindu Saṁskāras p. 115.

3. Ibid. p. 112.

4. Ibid. pp 117-118.

5. Ibid. pp. 127-140.

fourteen branches of knowledge along with their accessories well within the span of ten years. He learnt the arts in their entirety but specialised in painting and lute-playing.¹ This covers within its fold the Vedārambha including four Vedic vratas such as Mahānāmnī, Mahāvratam, Upaniṣad and Godāna etc., which actually became a formality losing all importance in later times and paved the way for the proper study of the different subjects of study or branches of knowledge which grew into separate treatises having evolved from the Vedas themselves.² Of the four Vratas only Keśānta the fourth one survived in later period assuming a separate entity as Saṁskāra.³

The Samāvartana or Snāna (The end of Studentship)

This has been illustrated by Dhanapāla in the following lines wherein it is described that Harivāhana was brought back to the palace by his sire, the king quite with pomp and dignity. He had prowess of arms outlying that of the gods as well as demons and had his physique robust innately like that of a lion's cub. All the scriptures finding maturation in him all the lores on weapons becoming seasoned in him, the sayings of the suave coming close to him, the flushing youth overpowering him, his limbs finding the glamour of radiance, his home return having been approved by his preceptors, when he had gone past the age of sixteen, the king immensely jubilant brought him back to his palace with full pomp being followed as he was by the chief functionaries sprucely attired and bearing dignifying looks, despatched by him in order to call him (back).⁴

According to Dr. Pandey -

“This Saṁskāra⁵ was performed at the close of the Brahmacarya period and it marked the termination of the student life. Samāvartana means- “returning home from the house of the Guru”

1. कुमारोऽपि सतताभियुक्ततया गुरुणा नियन्त्रणपरतया पितुरविद्यमानतया दुर्विनीतसंनिधेः स्वाधीनतया सर्वगमोपनिबन्धानां कुशाग्रीयतया च निजबद्धैरल्पेनैव कालेन तेषामभ्यन्तरोऽभवत् अमुक्ताभियोगश्च दशभिरब्दैश्चतुर्दशापि विद्यास्थानानि सह सर्वाभिरुपविद्याभिर्विदाञ्छकार। कलाशास्त्रं च निरवशेषं विवेद, विशेषतश्चित्रकर्मणि वीणावाद्ये च प्रवीणता प्राप। TM Vol. II pp. 188-189.
2. Hindu Saṁskāras pp. 141- 145.
3. Ibid. p. 143.
4. भुजबलं चास्य विस्मापितसुरासुरं केसरिकिशोरस्येव सहजं शारीरमभवत् आरब्धकार्यस्य त्रिभुवनेऽप्यशक्यमविजेयमसाध्यं च किमपि न प्रायेणाभूत्। एवं च परिणताशेषशास्त्रमासादितसकलास्त्रविद्या-पारमुपलब्धसर्वबुधजनसाधुवादमारूढनवतारुण्यलक्ष्मीलब्धपरिपूर्णसर्वावयवशोभमनुमोदितविद्यागुरुजनेन हरिवाहनमतिक्रान्ते षोडशे वर्षे हर्षनिर्भरो राजा विसर्जितैराकारणाय सादरमुदाराकारवेषैः प्रधानपुरुषैरनुगम्यमानमतिभूयसा विभवेन स्वभवनमानिताय। TM Vol. II p. 189.
5. Hindu Saṁskāras p. 146.

तत्र समावर्तनं नाम वेदाध्ययनानन्तरं गुरुकुलात् स्वगृहागमनम्।¹ समम् आ विकल्पात् वर्तनम् इति समावर्तनम्।²

“To return together optionally” with the permission of the Guru to the parents’ home. It was called Snāna because bathing formed a prominent part of it, signifying the washing off of the vow of continence etc. or divinity.³ Whereas scriptures enjoin the age limits ranging between 18 and 24 for the completion of student-life, Dhanapāla following Bānabhaṭṭa enjoins it at sixteen when Harivāhana came back to his father’s abode to enter his household life. Proceeding on Dhanapāla refers to the गृहप्रवेशमंगलं or the auspicious rite marking the entry into the palace of Harivāhana who obtained the privilege of having a ‘Kumārabhavana’ or the ‘Prince’s chamber’ got built by Meghavāhana, attractive with many a mews for tuskers and steeds, provided with door sides decorated above with gold ewers dug up on both sides and bearing pillars of the arched portal in the form of steady clouds bent low by the fortification decked with an expansive moat on the outskirts of the capital.

4. THE VIVĀHA SAMSKĀRA (Marriage Ceremony)

According to Dr. Pandey⁴ ‘The Vivāha is the most important of all the Hindu Samskāras. The Gṛhyasūtras generally begin with it, because it is the origin and centre of all domestic sacrifices. They presuppose that every man, in his normal conditions, is expected to marry and run a home. The R̥gveda (X.85-Vivāha Sūkta. pp. 696-699) and Atharvaveda (XIV. 1.2, pp. 305-314) refer to this institution elaborately. Marriage was regarded as a sacrifice⁵ and one who did not enter the married life was called “one without sacrifice”, a contemptible term, indeed, for the Hindus. Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa says-“He indeed is without sacrifice who has got no wife.” It again adds “He is himself a half-man, the second half is woman.”⁶ Dr. Pandey further adds –

“When the theory of three debts evolved, marriage gained greater importance and sanctity, as it was through marriage that one could pay off one’s ancestral debt, by producing children.” Prof. R.P. Kangle takes marriage to be the foremost duty of the householder. The law concerning

1. Vīramitrodaya Samskāras p. 146.

2. वीरमित्रोदय संस्कार प्रकाश Vol. I. p. 564. cf. I. p. 146.

3. Hindu Samskāras p. 146.

4. Hindu Samskāras p. 153.

5. अयज्ञो वा एष यो वृषतीकः । T. Br

6. अथो अधो वा एष आत्मनः यत्पत्नीः । Ibid. II 9. 4. 7.

marriage and the relation between husband and wife is fully stated in three chapters of Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya.¹ "All transactions begin with marriage," says Kauṭilya.² Eight forms of marriage have been enunciated as in the Smṛtis.

In light of these injunctions of the scriptures, Dhanapāla says -

"It is the duty of the householders to protect their wives."³

"The fiat⁴ of Cupid deserves to be adhered to and the establishment or traditions of the household have to be honoured" as illustrated by Meghavāhana with reference to Madirāvātī, along with -

"The cause for the ill-health of both of us given to observe all the vows undertaken and getting accumulated every day on account of respect and devotion for the gods and the elders or manes, having by our sides all the time the group of kinsfolk, rendered accomplished by the effluence of riches, is nothing beyond the torment caused by issuelessness. That, by ill-luck, has become extremely unbearable."

illustrates the point enunciated by Kauṭilya that women are wooed for the sake of progeny or wives are (necessary) for having sons.⁵ The king failing to get a son through Madirāvātī and any other of his wives, becomes disgusted with the circumstances and finds it very difficult to adjust himself with his queen even when gone to bed with her every night. He is superstitious enough to believe in the law of Providence and loves to go to the forests to propitiate some deity at the call of the royal bard. He does not forsake his queen in order to give a place to another. Rather in his polygamous harem there is no cause for him to desert one and marry a second. He has failed to get a son from any of his queens out of which he prefers Madirāvātī and goes to propitiate Śrī ultimately to get a boon from her at the command of the Vidyādhara sage. Years have elapsed eight, ten or even more i.e. twelve etc. and yet he has failed to get a son out of any. He cannot therefore, abide by the law of Kauṭilya (III 2.38-41) which enjoins divorce and compensations if a wife remains barren or bears no son or bears daughters alone throughout this period or bears still born children (nindu)

"अविरुद्धो हि कन्यकावस्थायामंगनानां मनुष्यसन्निधिः"⁶

1. KAS III 2-4 and the Kauṭilyam Arthaśāstram Part III p. 151.
2. विवाहपूर्वो व्यवहारः KAS Part. III. 2. 1. p. 98, Part II p. 227.
3. स्वदारपरिपालनकर्म गृहमेधिना धर्मैः TM Sm. ed. p. 318.
4. माननीया मन्मथाज्ञा गृहमेधिना गृहस्थाश्रयिनिः TM Vol. I p. 94.
5. पुत्रार्थाः हि स्त्रियः KAS III 2. 42 part I p. 100, part II p. 230.
6. TM Vol. III p. 9.

is another phrase which pronounces the fact that girls when grown up do require a man to approach them. This essentially illustrates the exigency of marriage in youth.

“कांचीग्रहेणरक्षणविधावधिरूढगाढाभिनिवेशयोरभिनवोददम्पतिकरपल्लवयोश्च”¹

refers to the process of snapping and keeping intact the zone girdle in sexual sport or hymeneal sport and the subsequent arousal of passions in case of a newly wedded couple whose sprout like hands betray a ruddy glow.

This represents the author's allusion to the practical aspect of a righteous marriage (a Dharma Vivāha).

Of the eight types of marriages Dhanapāla has alluded to some of them. In the marital tie of Meghavāhana, a scion of the Ikṣvāku kṣatriyas and Madirāvatī, a scion consecrated on the head,² we find the Prājāpatya mode which has been defined by Kauṭilya as - सहधर्मचर्या प्राजापत्यः³ or the ⁴ joint performance of sacred duties is Prājāpatya.

The Gāndharva mode forms almost the bedrock of the theme of the entire prose romance. According to Kauṭilya

‘मिथः समवायाद् गान्धर्वः’⁵

“By a secret association (between lovers) it is the Gāndharva.”⁶

This mode is illustrated in the marital tie of Tāraka, son of Vaiṣravaṇa and Vasudattā of Suvarṇadvīpa having Maṇipura for its capital and Priyadarśanā, daughter of Jalaketu of Siṃhala having Raṅgaśālā for their capital.

परस्परपंचारकर्मणा च प्रौढिमुष्णते तत्र कदाचिदारूढनवयौवना त्रिदशवनितेव शापदोषात्रिपतिता मनुष्यलोके निकामकमनीयदर्शना प्रियदर्शना नाम तस्य जलकेतोः सुता सुतारवृत्तमौक्तिकप्रकल्पितं हारमादाय पितुराज्ञया गता तद्गृहम्। दृष्ट्वा स तया प्रथमदर्शन एव रूपातिशयदर्शनारूढदृढतरानुरागया, सस्पर्हमुपनीतोपायना च स्थित्वा कंचित् कालं कृतप्रत्युपचारा तेन पुनर्गता स्वसदनम्, अनुरागप्रेरिता च तद्दर्शनाशया तैस्तैर्व्यपदेशैरागन्तुमारब्धा प्रतिदिनम्।⁷

refers to the Gāndharva mode of marital tie, between Tāraka and Priyadarśanā, which is secret in the sense that it has been arranged by both

1. TM. Vol. II p. 196.

2. अहमपीक्ष्वाकुलसम्भवो भोक्ताऽस्य कियतोऽपि भारतक्षेत्रस्य वर्तमानक्षोणीपालापेक्षया भूयसा विभवेन भूयसा प्रभावेन भूयसा सेनापरिच्छदेन भूयस्या प्रभुशक्त्या भूयस्य च भूमण्डलावाप्त्या। Ibid. I, p. 94.

3. KAS III 2.3. part I p. 98, Part II p. 227.

4. Ibid. III 2.3. part I p. 98, Part II p. 227.

5. Ibid. III 2.6. part I p. 98, Part II p. 227.

6. Ibid. III 2.6. part I p. 98, Part II p. 227.

7. Ibid. Vol. II p. 275-276.

by means of the nuptial garland put into the neck of the lover by the beloved with the consent of the sire of the latter. The sire of the former i.e. the lover has not been illustrated as come into the picture. The following lines describe the exchange of reciprocity in love messages which are verbal and not written, which ultimately ensure the final consent of the beloved as elicited by the lover.

“कुमार! त्वया गृहीतपाणिः कथमहं विसंस्थुलीभूतमात्मानं संवृणोमि, कथं च गेहादितो गृहान्तरं गच्छामि, साम्प्रतमिदमेव मे त्वदीयं सदनमाश्रयः संवृतः”

The ideal, ‘दुष्कुलादपि ग्राह्यमंगनारत्नम्’ ‘i.e. a gem of a maiden should be wooed from a lower order has been deemed the basic psychological factor in the Gāndharva mode. Dhanapāla has illustrated, an analogous instance of Pārāśara i.e. Vyāsa (son of Pārāśara) who wooed Yojanagandhā, a maiden of the lower order, in times of Yore whereby he justifies the espousal of Priyadarśanā, a Kaivartta maiden perhaps belonging to the lowest order i. e. Śūdra or any intermediary caste, by Tāraka who eschewed the rigidity of law under considerations.² This implies the ‘Anuloma’ type or the inter-caste element permissible in Gāndharva mode. Savarna could easily be permissible likewise. Even ‘Pratiloma’ could be a possibility.

The love episodes of Samaraketu and Malayasundarī, Harivāhana and Tilakamañjarī are such that they are absolutely based on the motif of a Gāndharva Vivāha.

Malayasundarī narrating her tale of woe before Harivāhana narrates the happy occasion on which she saw prince Samaraketu (उर्षोपतिकुमार) from the southern wall of the fortification built round the shrine of Mahāvīra jina, the adorable. The prince was eighteen years old.³ This implies that Malayasundarī was less than eighteen years at that time and hence of marriageable age which according to Kautilya could not be less than twelve. “A woman twelve years of age attains majority, a man when sixteen years of age. If after this there is a failure to carry out marital duties, there shall be a fine of twelve Paṇas for the woman, twice that for man.”⁴

This has been entitled as the topic of marital duty. The first meeting in the form of sight-seeing of Samaraketu by Malayasundarī created a sense of

1. TM. Vol. II p. 277.

2. दुष्कुलादपि ग्राह्यमङ्गनारत्नम् इत्याचार्यवचनं मनसि कृत्वा स्वजातिनिरपेक्षः तत्रैव क्षणे ज्वलन्तमन्तर्मदनानगं साक्षीकृत्य भूयो गृहीतपाणिस्तं चकितमृगशावलोचनामत्यन्तमनुरागान्ध्यां योजनगन्धामिव पाराशरः प्रणयिनीमकृत। Ibid. Vol. II p. 278.

3. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 197-200.

4. द्वादश वर्षा स्त्री प्राप्तव्यवहारा भवति, षोडश वर्षः पुमान् KAS III 3.1 part. I p. 100, Part II p. 232.

marvel in the heart of the latter who started expressing great regard and felicitations for the personality of the youth that he was- a fact which endorses the idea of 'love at first sight.'

As did she continue marvelling in this way, the shark-bannered god (Cupid) entered her heart having taken grasp of the sentiment of love, as if spiteful, in order to present his own form.''²

The evanescent feelings of horripilation, bashfulness, hesitation etc. manifesting in her she saw that prince with a gaze beyond the ken of her own understanding. The subsequent morbid transformations of the visual complexion of the prince, his casting of wistful leers, manifestation of contortions on his body, his humour-provoking behaviour towards the chowri bearing maid, his posture to paint a picture on the canvas, his varied actions of looking at distinctive limbs of the beloved (Malayasundarī) and his final resort to send the Kaivarta as a courier to negotiate the terms of reciprocal attachment and fascination, the subsequent introduction of the prince, Malyasundarī's reaction and consultations with Vasantascnā, the daughter of the king of Avantiviṣaya, who narrated the account to the prince- all these go to illustrate the point of secret association (between the two lovers) forming the main substratum of the Gāndharva mode. The first sight creating a sense of dazed emotion on the brains of the lovers resorting to prostrate at the feet of the beloved, personal qualms and compunction of the lover, the subsequent reaction of the beloved acknowledging the entreaties of the lover, the action of the courier, the surge of sympathy in the heart of the beloved whom seeing the lover taking to reckless endeavour of plunging into the ocean in case of disappointment from her, condescends to take to the path of self-choice ('स्वयंवराविधि') which was not averse to the conduct of the royal-maidens,³ an ideal already established by Kālidās.⁴ But this act of self-choice actuated by the sense of mutual attraction, unapproved at the outset by the parents, has been deemed as laughter-provoking in the presence of so many people, by Malayasundarī.⁵ She speculates over the

1. दृष्ट्वा चोपजातविस्मया चेतस्यकरवम् अहो, निरवधिरत्नसम्भारा भगवती भूतधात्रीति सत्यः प्रवादोऽयम् येन पृथुपार्थिवोपदेशात्सुमेरुमुख्यैः शिखरिभिः प्रयत्नदुग्धनिःशेषरत्नायाः अप्यमुष्याः दृश्यन्ते ईदृशान्यद्यापि पुरुषरत्नान्युत्पद्यमानानि, येषां रूपलावण्यादिगुणगणः कुसुममार्गणस्यापि रूपगर्वमपहरति। TM Sm. ed. pp. 276-277.

2. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 277.

3. अविरोद्धो हि राजकन्याजनस्य स्वयंवराविधिः। TM Sm. ed. p. 288.

4. गान्धर्वेण विवाहेन बहुयो राजर्षिकन्यकाः श्रूयन्ते परिणीतस्वाः पितृभिश्चानुमोदिताः। Abhijñāna-śākuntalam-Act III 21. M. R. Kale p. 118.

5. कथं पुनरेतावतो जनस्य मध्ये वर्तमानस्य हासकरमेतत्सारहं कर्तव्यम् TM Sm. ed. p. 288

idea of following her lover while taking refuge in a covert (lit. fort). She prefers, however, to take to the status of his spouse by some resort whereby she could remain unobserved by her girl-associates. She even subscribes to the view propounded by Kālidāsa¹ that even when not in communion and union with her lord she could deem it a privilege to bear the title of a house wife of that repertory of all the virtues.² Her avowal to take to continence in face of any other person further strengthens the threads of the Gāndharva mode.³ On seeing the garland meant to be worn as a token of self-choice (स्वयंवरदाम)⁴ the lover resented to accompany the sailor back home. He rather instructed him to take Dṛḍhavarmā and his party back home because he was not in a position to leave that spot on account of his having obtained the gem of a maiden that was very difficult of obtainment.⁵ He takes that garland forming the token of self-choice in marriage as the noose wound round the neck of a cow-elephant and even as a garland worn round the neck of a person meant to be impaled on the stake and shuns any idea of getting back home as she had him fast in her clutches of fascination and even resents any idea of losing her when she had come to his lap, accordingly.⁶ He takes Malayasundarī to be his natural beloved (अकृत्रिम प्रियतमा) and deems the memory of her love in separation as the excision of a saw that is extremely tormenting for the heart.⁷ He, however, plunged into the ocean in spite of being made to desist from this reckless temerity. The beloved followed suit. But as good luck would have it both survived their watery grave. Given to sorrow on the supposed death of her lord the beloved suffered the aftermath of separation in bereavement. Bandhusundarī, her chaperon reads her mind and says -

“That same prince who has been solemnised by her as her consort by putting the floral wreath on his neck, it is very difficult to dissuade her from

1. अनातुरोत्कण्ठितयोः प्रसिध्यता समागमेनापि रतिर्न मां प्रति। परस्परप्राप्तिनिराशयो शरीरनाशोऽपि समानुरागयोः। *Mālavikāgnimitram* III. 15 M. R. Kale p.
2. अप्राप्तसङ्गमयापि वरमस्य भुवनश्लाघ्यसम्बन्धस्य सर्वगुणनिधेर्गेहिनीशब्द ऊढः। *TM Sm. ed. p. 288.*
3. न मूढमनसान्येन सहितयोपमुक्तमाजन्म भोगसुखम्। *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 290.*
5. आहितो हेलयेवातिदुष्करो मे कन्या खलाभः। *Ibid.*
6. मया तु न प्रदेशादितः पदमपि प्रतीपं गन्तव्यम् यन्त्रितोऽहमत्रैवानया। तत्करद्वयीनिबिडसंदानितया करेणुरिव कण्ठरज्ज्वा स्वयंवरणमालया न शक्नोमि बन्धुश्रजमिवोद्धृत्रिमां कन्धराचट्टां बन्धुलोकं द्रष्टुम्। किं चाङ्गदेशापहतकलत्रेण निष्कलशस्त्रधारिणा विपक्षपक्षप्रतीकारक्षमेण नीतेनापि साध्यं मया। *Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 291.*
7. यस्मादेतेनापि तत्राकृत्रिमप्रियतमानुरागस्मरणदारुणक्रकचदारितहृदयमर्मणा द्वित्रैरेव दिवसैः प्रवासनीयाः प्राणा। *Ibid.*

wooing him even by hundreds of entreaties, firmly resolved as she is to own him. Her grief to be sure, is born of his plunging into the ocean.”¹

Acting as her go-between Bandhusundarī intercedes on behalf of the courier of the lover who she believes would certainly come to the beloved in so far as the revered Vasurāta could never be a man of failing words.² She makes her take leave of all malaise and recounts the words previously quoted by Vasurāta that she was bound to be the spouse of a paramount sovereign. Solaced by Bandhusundarī Malayasundarī drew the picture of her lord on the canvas and repeatedly gazed over it in order to satisfy her sense of attachment. As a Proṣitabhartṛkā she continued reclining on hope taking to variety of regalements.

The advent of spring augmenting her torment, a catastrophe took its stride. Kātyāyanikā, a maid of the harem coming from Kusumaśekhara broke the news that the king had accepted as wager for peace with Vajrāyudha, the army in chief of Meghavāhana, the bestowal of his daughter (Malayasundarī) in marriage or else Kāñcī along with its regions would be razed to the ground.

This brought the beloved to go in for crying having clasped Bandhusundarī whom she spoke-“Without having known the attitude of mind and having disregarded the opinion of my mother, without seeking the advice of kinsfolk holding opinion in my favour, what has been taken upon by my sire, even though he is extremely affectionate to me.”³

Hence girls could express their own opinion in the choice of a husband. The forced decision of the parents could be undone by persuasions and threats of suicide as in the present case wherein Malayasundarī asked Kātyāyanikā to go since she was to make a firm decision about the acceptance of the proposal.

Having eluded Bandhusundarī Malayasundarī resorts to the act of strangulation by a noose from where she is rescued by the former with the help of Samaraketu who happened to reach there on hearing the laments of Bandhusundarī. Samaraketu is forced to leave that place as ordained by his

1. यः सः कोऽपि कण्ठे कुसुममालामारोप्य कल्पितो वस्त्वेनानया नृपकुमारः, तस्मात्र शक्यते वाक्यशतैरपि निवर्तयितुमनिश्चलनिश्चयैषा। विषादोऽप्येष तत्सागरपतनजनितो नियतमस्याः। TM. Sm. ed. p. 295.

2. अविताथदेशो हि तत्रभवानार्यवसुरातः। न तद्भाषितोऽर्थः कदाचिद्विसंवदति। Ibid.

3. अविज्ञाय भक्षितवृत्तिम् अनाकर्ण्य वचनमम्बायाः अनवलम्ब्य मत्पक्षज्ञातिवर्गम् तथात्यन्तवत्सलेनापि किं निमित्तमिदमनुष्ठितं झटित्येव कार्यं तातेन। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 299.

sire to help the sire of Malayasundarī.¹ Before leaving he is requested by Bandhusundarī to take Malayasundarī away before Vajrāyudha came to clope with her perforce thereby resorting to the 'Rākṣasa' or 'Paiśāca' modes of marriage which consist in 'by forcible seizure (of a maiden)² or 'seizure of a sleeping or intoxicated (maiden).³

He believes in diplomacy in political intrigues. He wants to rank himself higher than Vajrāyudha⁴ and take the 'Prājāpatya'⁵ mode (joint performance of sacred duties) even when he has already taken to the Gāndharava mode in so far as he says -

‘इयमप्युचितकारिणी त्वदीया सहचरी विवाहसमये ‘पश्य वरमुखम्’ इति व्यापारिता प्रियसखीभिः कथमानन्दनिर्भरा मे वदनमवलोकयिष्यति, तदलमनेन कर्मणा। मा त्वरस्व। सः क्रमः कोऽपि चिन्तनीयो येन दातुमेतमुद्यतः कांचीविषयाधिपोऽपि निषिध्यते। विरोधोऽपि सार्धममुना न वर्धते। इयमपि प्रीतिकारिणी पितुर्भवति।’⁶

In case of resentment by the children parents could yield to the demands of the former. “Kusumaśekhara, at the outset deems the resentment of his daughter a freak of wicked destiny in so far as he had desired to bestow in marriage, Malayasundarī, over to Vajrāyudha in order to keep the demon of war at bay (lit. to do away with hostilities), at the advice of the minister as also affording no authenticity to her (i.e. queen's) words and had apprised the principal couriers, of the auspicious hour of bestowal, despatched by him accordingly, but this obstacle has blocked the way.” He easily balances the two alternatives in his mind. In case he gave her over to Vajrāyudha having disregarded all filial love, in order to obtain the security of subject folk oppressed under the onslaught of the mighty foe, she could easily put an end to her life either by a weapon, by taking poison, by strangling herself by a noose or by abstinence from food, ardently addicted to attachment for some other person as she was, becoming automatically repulsive to any person other than he. She having gone to extinction the sin and bad name accruing to him till the end of the aeon, shall never come to a cease. In case he did not bestow her, the enemy brought to peace, shall come to hostilities

1. TM. Sm. ed. p. 299.

2. प्रसह्यादानात् राक्षसः। KAS III 2. 8. Part I p. 98, Part II p. 227.

3. सुषमत्तादानात् पैशाचः। KAS III part I p. 98, Part II p. 227.

4. यदा तु छलेन रात्रावुपेत्य प्राणभूतामस्य दुहितरमपहरामि, तदा तदपकारकृत्येषु नित्यमेव निषण्णबुद्धेर्वज्रायुधस्य मम च न व्यतिरिच्यते किञ्चित्। TM Sm. ed. p. 326.

5. KAS I. III. 2-3. p. 98

6. TM. Sm. ed. p. 326.

like an arrow strung up getting disjoined when unshot immediately.¹ The opinion of the mother is sought. She easily agrees with the resolve of the father (i.e. her own husband) that the bestowal of their daughter be assented to nor resented openly. A *via media* should be evolved. The supposed rumour about the loss or death of the daughter by accident comes out to be the alternative that ultimately solves the riddle. She is subsequently made to leave her home and go to the hermitage *Prasāntavaira* where *Kulapati*, the foster sire of her mother took the responsibility of her care. The prediction of *Vasurāta* forms the basis of this decision.² The vague rumour about the dubious whereabouts of *Samaraketu* further aggravates the agony of the beloved who takes poison by way of the *Kāmpāka* fruit but is saved. She again plunges into the lake but is saved by *Mahodara*. The billet of *Samaraketu* brought by *Gandharvaka* turned into parrot enlivens her hope of sustenance and her vow of continence till her union with her lord, her meeting with *Harivāhana* who ultimately helps her unite with her lord, after having himself united with his beloved *Tilakamañjarī* who, too, meets her lord after a series of incidents all meant to foster the cause of *Gāndharva* mode finally approved by the parents. The billet brought by *Mañjirā* before *Harivāhana* and his entourage, purporting forth the message of *Malayasundarī* to *Samaraketu*, blaming the latter for his negligence in fulfilling the promise he had held with due formalities of a persuasive art in so far as was resenting the idea of wooing her through elopement etc. and was willing to come to her within a few days to espouse her keeping fire as his witness, with mind unattached to any other maiden,³ easily illustrates the basic principle of *Gāndharva* mode which also finds its implementation in the present of a picture board to *Harivāhana* by *Gandharvaka* who promised the former an ultimate union with his beloved *Tilakamañjarī* but failed subsequently in its initial stages by the force of circumstances i.e. the curse of *Mahodara* to become a parrot, prompting thereby the lover to start personally on his journey for the *Gāndharva* - contract and meet the maiden

1. यदि तावदवधीर्यै नमवधार्यं च प्रबलवैरिवृन्दावस्कन्दपीडितानां प्रजानां क्षेमलाभमनपेक्षितापत्यप्रीतिरेनाममुष्मै प्रयच्छामि, ततो नियतमेषा जात्यैव पुरुषद्वेषिणो पुरुषान्तरेऽवरूपाढानुरागा शस्त्रेण वा विषेण वा वृक्षशाखोद्धन्धनेन वा प्रायोपवेशनकर्म्मणा वा जीवितं मुञ्चति। अस्यां च पंचत्वनुपगतायामाकल्पमयशो दुष्कृतं च मे नोपारमति। अथ न प्रयच्छामि ततोऽधुनैव सन्धानमानीतो विशिख इव विघटते विपक्षः। Ibid. p. 327
2. Ibid. Sm. ed. pp 328 -329.
3. अकारणद्विष्टैर्मदीयगुरुभिः सामप्रयोगोपक्रमेण कथञ्चिदपि न प्रतिपादितामापमानासहिष्णुतया प्रसिद्धमपहाय क्रममपहारदीना प्रकारेण मामुद्धोदुमिच्छन्ननुचितकारी त्वम् अतो मा त्वरस्व, सेत्स्यति तवैष कामः, यतः कपिपयैरेव दिवसैर्यत्र..... पत्रप्रायतापादपगहने निर्गूहितो मदीयदूतिकया त्वमनपेक्षितापरविवाहमङ्गलोपकरणः केवलैर्नैवाग्निना सनाथीकृतपार्श्वः स्थास्यसि। स्थितश्च तत्र द्वित्राभिरासहचरीभिः सहानुपदमेव मे समुपस्थितायाः पाणिग्रहणमग्निसाक्षिकं कर्तासीति। TM Vol. II p. 244.

of his heart in a bower of cardamom creepers, feel an attachment for her at first sight, lose her sight on reciprocal attachment, meet her again through Malayasundarī, meet Gandharvaka brought back to the state of a human being by the scarf named Nisītha and ultimately to meet her again through the boon of Śrī after having separated from her under pressure of past memories.

‘आसादितः कोऽपि तत्रान्यत्र वा राजपुत्र्यास्तिलकमञ्जर्याः पाणिग्रहणसमुचितो राजपुत्रः’¹

this query made by Samaraketu from Gandharvaka illustrates the point of despatch of couriers for the search of suitable match for certain category of maiden as for example, Gandharvaka was sent by Patralekhā to search out a prince for the princess Tilakamañjarī who having got Harivāhana for her consort, has Samaraketu introduced to her by the latter who describes him as the self-chosen consort of her sister MaLayasundarī being the son of Candraketu, the illustrious lord of the island of Sīmhala.² Tāraka's entreaties to Malayasundarī to rescue the life of Samaraketu on the very first sight contains the idea of self-choice in so far as he says -

‘बिभेषि भाविनो व्यसनात्, अपेक्षसे जनतः साधुवादम्, इच्छसि कनकपट्टबन्धम्, तद्विलासिनि, माविधेहि द्विधा रूपम्, आश्रय स्वयंवरपथम्’³

‘‘उन्मुखदृशस्तस्य कन्धरायामधिरोपिता स्वहस्तेन दिव्या स्वयंवरकुसुममाला यथा च तिलकक्रियानन्तरमेव केनापि हेतुना समुपजाताच्चित्तविप्लवात्’’⁴

refers to the act of putting the garland on the neck along with the application of the forehead mark.

‘‘कृतशिरोवगुण्ठना तस्य नृपकुमारस्यां कपर्यकादेकदेशे कमलिनीपलाशशयनस्योपाविशम्’’⁵

refers to the traditional custom of wearing a veil on occasions of feeling some sense of reverence on the part of the wife towards her husband; otherwise the veil-bearing on the face was not a custom rigidly adhered to by women in their regular marital relations and family life.

‘‘कालान्तरे च सकलवरगुणोपेतेन निर्व्याजसुहृदा महाराजतनयेन गत्वा त्वया गृहीतपाणिः क्रमाधिगतवृत्तान्तस्य पितुरपि परं प्रीतिमावहति’’⁶

illustrates the point that in self choice even and in marital contrast, the virtues of the bridegroom were the foremost consideration. The Gāndharva

1. TM Vol. III p. 3.

2. सोऽयमखिलसिंहलद्वीपभर्तुर्महाराजचन्द्रकेतोरात्मजन्मा स्वयंवृतो वरस्त्वदीयायाः स्वसुर्मलयसुन्दर्याः सकलवीरवग्निसरो युवराजः समरकेतुः । TM Vol. III p. 124.

3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 285.

4. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 310.

5. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 313.

6. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 326.

mode has been categorised in the marital tie of Kusumaśekhara and Gandharvadattā.¹

विवाहमण्डपमिव दृश्यमानाभिनवशालाजिसंस्कारम्²

refers to the wedding pavilion having a newly constructed courtyard before it.

The word 'Agni sāksikam' referred to above covers within its fold the rites of Agni-Pradakṣiṇā and 'The Saptapadī' associated as they are with the expression 'Pāṇigrahaṇa' which³ is preceded by 'Rāṣṭrabhṛta and other sacrifices such as Jaya, Abhyātana and Lājāhoma. The Rāṣṭrabhṛta, Jaya, abhyātana etc. contain prayers for victory and protection and aim at hostile powers known or unknown to the bridegroom. The last Homa (i.e. the Lājāhoma) is symbolical of fecundity and prosperity. The brother of the bride pours out of his joined hands into her joined hands fried grains mixed with Śami leaves. The bride sacrifices them with firmly joined hands standing, while the bridegroom recites the verses.⁴

In Pāṇigrahaṇa or 'the grasping of the brides hand' the bridegroom seizes the right hand of the bride with -

'I seize your hand for the sake of happiness, that you may live to old age with me, your husband, Bhaga, Aryamā, Savitṛ, Purandhi, gods have given you to me, that we may rule over house' etc.

The stone-mounting ceremony followed by praise of woman precedes the 'Agni Pradakṣiṇā' or 'Agni Parikramā' wherein the wife treads on the stone to confirm her devotion to her lord and the latter praises her for devotion.

In Agni Parikramā, the couple goes round the fire while the husband recites the formula 'To you they have in the beginning carried round sūryā with the bridal procession. May you give back, Agni, to husbands the wife together with offspring's'. The rites from the Lājā Homa are repeated again and the bride pours the remaining fried grains by the net of a basket into the fire with,"⁵ etc.

In Saptapadī, the husband makes the wife step forward in a northern direction seven steps with the words 'one step for sap, two for juice, three

1. अथ स राजा समुपजातहर्षस्तदासादनेन कृतकृत्यमात्मानं मन्यमानस्तत्रैवाश्रमे तामुपयम्य सम्यग्विहितेन विवाहविधिना गन्धर्वेण गर्वोद्धुरः स्वनगरीं कांचीमागच्छत्। TM Sm. ed. p. 343.

2. TM Sm. ed. p. 371.

3. Ibid. Vol II. p. 224 L.6

4. Hindu Samskāras p. 218.

5. Ibid. p. 219.

for the prospering of wealth, four for comforts, five for cattle, six for seasons, Friend be with seven steps (united to me). So be you devoted to me.”¹ This rite makes marriage complete.

5. THE FUNERAL RITES

“आत्मनाऽपि स्वपरसत्त्वेषु सता बद्धबन्धुबुद्धिः स्पर्धयेवात्मसूनोः समुद्धतगुरुक्षमाभारः परलोकसाधनोन्मुखो बभूव”²

refers to the death of Meghavāhana and implies thereby the ‘Antyeṣṭi’ Samskāra.

“आसन्नसरिति निर्वर्तितस्नानक्रियश्च दत्त्वा संगरसमासप्राणेष्व्यो बान्धवेभ्यः प्रणयिभ्यश्च शोकदीर्घश्वासतरलिततिलोदकं निवापाञ्जलिम्”³

refers to the obsequial offering of sesames and water being offered to the victims of war by Vajrāyudha.

Antyeṣṭi implied carrying the dead on the bier laid upon with a deer skin (the skin being missed in modern days); the corpse covered with a new cloth having fringes on both sides; the bier carried to the burial in a procession and final burning of the sepulchral pile. The sacrifice of the Anustaraṇi cow or goat is dropped in the present custom. It was in vogue in the ancient lore.⁴ Dhanapāla has mentioned the sepulchral orbit having flames flickering above.

“उदञ्चदर्चिश्चक्रवालं चिता चक्रमिव।” (चिन्तितचिताप्रवेशः) -⁵

referring to the desperate deed of Samaraketu to burn himself on pyre refers to the word ‘Citā’ meaning a pyre which is a part of the funeral rite.

There is no allusion to the Asthi Samskāra and Śāntikaraṇa etc. in the Tilakamañjarī.

6. FAMILY LIFE, SOCIAL BELIEFS, SUPERSTITIONS GENERAL CUSTOMS AND TABOOS

Dhanapāla has established the ideals of a housewife, a son-in-law, a householder, quite evidently. In Madirāvati he has depicted an ideal housewife. She was adorned by extremely pious character which had her beauty playing adjunct to it and her youth bearing the discipline (inherent in it). Her attractive form was an ally to her éclat. Her skill in art had been

1. Hindu Samskāras. p. 219

2. TM Sm. ed. p. 426-427.

3. TM Vol. II p. 222.

4. Hindu Samskāras pp. 234-274.

5. TM p. 49, L-3 Vol. III and TM III p.50, L-5

acquired by modesty (lit. silence). Her dignity sprang from her quietude. Her vicinity was constantly attended by her virtues that had their decorations assuming the garb of personal attendants. She had attained to the utmost height of over lordship and had attained to height of virtuosity. She was immune from lack of veracity and could never dream of the association of a wanton woman. Even though she had no progeny she was always nursed in his lap by her husband. She was the crest-jewel of the entire scraglio.¹

She has been depicted as a devoted wife who takes every act of her husband to be one in which she owes her duties as a co-sharer as to its performance. That is why she says-

“Revered lord; I do not want to stand in your way when you have started to achieve accomplishment in the act of obtaining progeny, but I want to make a request. Just as by you, so also by me the deities deserve to be propitiated; why should you take to sylvan abode having left me alone here; I dare not stay here derelicted by you even for a moment² etc.

The employment of plural in case of addressing of the venerable names or elderly persons has been described by Dhanapāla as a common practice in the family life of Kāñcī. People, however, did not take to glib talks in achieving their selfish ends from others.³

Referring to the marital tie of Tāraka and Priyadarśanā daughter of Jalaketu Dhanapāla makes it manifest that as husband and wife both of them developed a deep sense of conjugal felicity from their very date of marriage. Tāraka took to all types of skilful cajoleries and tit bits that had their charm multiplied with the physical charms of that lovely maiden. He took to all types of wheedling artifices in order to amuse her and keep her in good humour. He did not superimpose his dignity of superiority complex upon her. He would take to momentary fits of gaiety and displeasures appearing at will. He would take to untimely but agreeable modes of restraints and releases being waited upon by his blooming youth day in and day out. He

1. परमशुद्धिशालिना शीलेनालंकृता, शीलसहचारिणा रूपेण विनयवता यौवनेन सौभाग्यसंगिना लावण्येन मौनकलितेन कलाकौशलेन प्रशमभाजा प्रभुत्वेन निपुणसेवकैरिव गृहीतनिजनिजालंकारैः गुणैः सततमुपासिता... परां कोटिमारूढा स्वामिभावस्य सर्वदासत्त्वे स्थिता, असत्यमुक्ता स्वेप्नेऽप्यजातस्वैरिणीसङ्गा, निरपत्या सततमुत्सङ्गेन लालितापत्या, समस्तान्तःपुरशिरोरत्नभूता मदिरावती नाम देव्यभवत्। TM Vol. I pp. 82-83.

2. आर्यपुत्र सन्तानकार्यसिद्धये तव प्रस्थितस्य नाहं प्रतिपन्थिनी, किञ्च पुनरिदं विज्ञापयामि यथा तव तथा ममाप्याराधनीया देवता एवं च कस्मात् परित्यज्य मामेक एव व्रजसि वनम्....न च त्वया विरहिता मुहुर्तमपि स्थातुं शक्नोमि... TM Vol. I pp. 96-97.

3. बहुवचनप्रयोगः पूज्यनामसु न परप्रयोजनाङ्गीकरणेषु TM Vol. III p. 172.

bade adicu to all types of extraneous enjoyments, addiction to other women and other household chores.¹

Jalaketu belonging to Simhālas had obtained Priyadarśanā as his foster daughter brought up by him having rescued her from the ocean in a naval accident. She was actually the daughter of a maritime trader. This fact was revealed to Tāraka by those who knew the reality but he did not like to go back to his native land Suvarṇadvīpa despite the fact that he had been pressed hard by his sailor-colleagues and despite the fact that his kinsfolk had been very anxious to receive him back.

Candraketu, the overlord of Simhālas, when he saw him come to the court chamber, welcomed him and offered him honour due to a son-in-law by appointing him leader of the whole naval-corps.²

Cakrasena's advice to Tilakamañjarī intent upon self-immolation before she could hear the impending demise of her lord Harivāhana, not to do so till she came across the real fact since he had heard about the survival of her lord and had despatched couriers to search him³ out, is reminiscent of the age old custom of Sati prevalent among the women of ancient India such as Mahāśvetā, Kādambārī and many others delineated by Literature, who were made to survive under certain stipulations. The instance of Vasumatī, spouse of Rājahansa in Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍin is equally fit to be quoted here. Malayasundarī taking to watery graves, poisonous herbs of the Kīmpāka fruit (TM SM ed. p.334, L-22), strangulation etc. is another instance fit to be quoted from the present context.(TM SM ed. pp. 333, 334) Sati custom was performed normally by consigning oneself to fire. In

1. तस्माद्य पाणिग्रहणदिवसादारभ्य निर्भरानुरागस्तया सर्वागसुन्दर्या सह विवर्धमानविविधविदग्ध परिहासमश्रान्तचित्रचाटुक्रमप्रकटितस्वस्वामिभावमत्यक्षणोपजायमानानेककोपप्रसादमस्थानसंपाद्यमानस्पृहणीयनिग्रहनु-ग्रहमनुदिवसमासेवमानो नवयौवनोपभोगमुपभोगसुखमपरकामिनीसुरतसंभोगानां गृहव्यापारयोगानां च प्रायच्छदुदकाञ्जलिम्। TM Vol. II p. 278.
2. जालकेतुना कस्यापि सांयत्रिकस्य तनया वहनभङ्गे सागरादुद्धृत्य परिपालितेयद्विद्विति तत्त्ववेदिभिरावेदित तदीयवृत्तान्तोऽपि सहागतैर्वणिभिः स्वदेश गमनाय पुनः पुनरभ्यर्थ्यमानोऽपि दर्शनात्कष्टितेन ज्ञातिवर्गेण सोपालम्भवचनैः सन्देशदनैरुन्मनीक्रियमाणोऽपि त्रपया स्थितोऽत्रैव न गतो निजस्थानम्, आस्थानभूमौ उपगतश्च द्रष्टुमाकृतिगुणाकृष्टचेतसा देवेन चन्द्रकेतुना निर्वर्ण्य सुचिरं परिजनादाकर्णिततदीयपूर्वापरवृत्तान्तेन चापलं प्रति पुनः पुनः सपरिहासमाभाषित मधुरमारोपितबहुमानश्च जामातृप्रतिपत्त्या दत्त्वा जीवनमतिप्रभूतं कृतः प्रभुरखिलस्यापि नाविकतन्त्रस्य TM Vol. II. pp. 278. 229.
3. देवि, मद्वाक्यसंक्रमितवचनस्त्वत्पिता चक्रसेनः समादिशति सर्वमुचितमाचरितमेतद्वत्सया, यदचिरसंभाविनं विनाशवृत्तान्तमसहमानया श्रोतुमग्रत एव कर्तुमध्यवसितः स्वदेहत्यागः। को हि नाम कुलवधूजनः प्राकृतम्यापि पत्युरपगमे गमयति गृहीतजीवितो जन्म, किं पुनः पूर्वजन्मसंबद्धस्य सर्वगुणनिधेर्दृष्टनिरुपधिप्रमसंपदस्तादृशस्य। TM Sm. ed. p. 417.

family life a woman, therefore, deemed it a sin to survive after her lord had been no more.

“निदाघपतन इव निजतेजसा ताप्यमानो गुणानुरक्तस्यापि राजलक्ष्म्या दुर्भनांगनयेव नारमत”¹

referring to Meghavāhana refers to Lakṣmī running a way from him, issueless as he was, being a debtor to her (Goddess of Royal sovereignty), like a wife deserted by her husband or disliked by her husband (who also dislikes her husband in² lieu thereof).

Regarding the Social Beliefs and Superstitions Dhanapāla has conformed to the typical Hindu custom of implicit faith in the working of the Unforeseen or Destiny and the efficacy of omens, the fruit of action done in previous births and good or bad results consequent upon religious or irreligious observances.

The prince of the king of Kalingas Kamalagupta by name making certain observations about the moods of Samaraketu who had heard the import of the billet brought by Mañjirā, read out by the billet-carrying maid, observes the following facts about the nature of Providence which had marred the gay atmosphere of the assembly of the youth.

“Providence, being overpowering, is immanently inexorable like a sinister elephant run amuck. It moves without any restraint even when bound tight with the iron-shackles in the form of intellect, by the intelligent. The fruit-seeking men applying all forces fail to achieve their desired ends when it moves unfavourable like the wayfarers who fail to find their way out when the deer on the way move to³ the left.”

Samaraketu is feeling morose which gives Kamalagupta the impression that Providence is unfavourable to him and he is unable to find some way out of a difficult situation.

“Prajñapatividya,”⁴ which revealed itself to Patralekhā, mother of Tilakamañjarī, predicting the bridegroom for the latter, may be called Premonition or precognition in para-psychology which is a natural basis for the calculated beliefs, of the people.

1. TM Vol. I p. 80.

2. KAS XIII I. 16 part I p. 257, part II p. 552.

दुर्भगालंकारेण द्वेषिणेति पूजाफलम्। By decoration of disliked wife by one who hates.

3. निसर्गत एव निरंकुशः पापकारीव व्यालो बलीयान् विधिबद्धोऽपि बुद्धिमद्विरतिनिबिडेन... निरवग्रहो विरचित, वामचारिण्यैत्र मार्गमृग इवाध्वगाः नाधिगच्छन्ति वाच्छितानि व्यापारितसकलसामर्थ्या अपि फलार्थिनः। TM Vol. I p. 247.

4. TM Vol. III p. 14.

This Vidyā predicted to Patralekhā at night that her daughter Tilakamañjarī was to have for her consort not a Vidyādhara prince but a prince of the terrestrial terrains, the likely paramount sovereign lord of the entire circle of kings.

Despatching couriers and maids skilled in painting Patralekhā feels half-conscious about her success in finding the fruit of her dream attaining to fructification. But still she bears faith by saying -

“The power of Destiny is beyond cognition”¹ - By doing so, her (i.e. Tilakamañjarī’s) gaze may get pinioned on some earthly prince (better than a Vidyādhara one- a fact which seemed apparently beyond her precognition). Struck by sorrow at the loss of Harivāhana, Samaraketu blurts forth a series of expressions which apparently assuming the garb of faithlessness actually pertain to his firm faith in the working of the unforeseen, the auspicious planets and the auspicious marks foreboding certain prosperity in future. His laments go as under:-

“Brother! that vision of the auspicious planets has slinked away. The foretelling of the soothsayers, of that type, have vanished away having taken recourse to uselessness.

The effect of the auspicious marks of a paramount sovereign has got bedimmed. All that had been bestowed by the Goddess of royal sovereignty, has gone topsy-turvy on account of the fault of my fortunes void of auspicious marks that I am, in so far as you have met with an accident through that worm of a tusker, endowed with prowess known in the triad of worlds that you² were.”

Man proposes, God disposes, is a saying which is quite true to the fact occurring in the world. Samaraketu had got a fascination for Malayasundarī for whom he became impatient to woo within a moment’s notice. But Providence had different plan to ride upon. The impatience of the lover prompted the courier to carry the message of modesty before the beloved. The lover was so much swayed down by the charms of the beloved that he started seeing in her the entire store of his heart’s repose whereby he made his courier speak out-“In your being favourable to him, the Providence will grow favourable. The deity will feel pleased in case you felt pleased. The

1. अचिन्त्या हि दैवशक्तिः एवमपि कृते कदाचित् क्वपि विश्रामयति चक्षुरस्याः TM Vol. III p. 15.

2. भ्रातः, विघटितः सः ते शुभग्रहदृष्टिपातः, गता वृथात्वमधिकृत्य तथाविधाः नैमित्तिकादेशाः क्षीणश्चक्रवर्तिलक्षणानामनुभावः, विसंवदितमुदितं राज्यलक्ष्म्या विगतलक्षणस्य मे भाग्यदोषेण येन भुवनत्रयख्यात विक्रमस्तस्मादपि करटिकोटादापदं प्राप्तोऽसि TM Vol. III p. 48-49.

visions of auspicious planets would grow complaisant in case you grew complaisant"¹ etc.

Bandhusundarī's assurance² to Malayasundarī that Vasurāta was such a man whose foretelling could never go waste or untrue in so far as he had predicted her union with the prince who was likely to be a paramount sovereign and hence the loss of Samaraketu was a temporary screening of the vision of the prince, is again reminiscent of the firm belief in the sayings of the soothsayers that could forestall the Destiny of human being. Kusumaśekhara intent upon bestowing Malayasundarī on Vajrāyudha as a wager for making peace and avoiding the massacre of the subjects at the hands of his hostile foe, finds it a miraculous freak of fate which he calls as wicked-souled one in so far as it had made his daughter disapprove of his proposal and create thereby an obstacle in his mission to save his subjects. In case he disapproved of his daughter's resolve not to subscribe to his contract of a marital barter, she could take to the path of self-immolation. The perplexity between the two alternatives is a doing of the unforeseen.³

According to Kauṭilya - (Acts) of human agency are all good policy and bad policy.

Acts of divine agency are good fortune and misfortune. For, it is acts of human and divine agency that make the world go. That caused by an unseen agency is the divine (act). In that the attainment of the desired fruit is good fortune; of undesired (fruit), misfortune.⁴

The female guard Muktāvalī's expressions made before Patralekhā about Gandharavadattā's previous identity also contain a belief in the freak of Destiny who had separated her (i.e. Gandharavadattā) from her parents in her early infancy when an enemy of her sire, a subsidiary vassal, had attacked the kingdom and razed it to the ground.⁵

The effect of certain tendencies of human mind and their reaction to what the mind observes is fairly reflected by the efficacy of omens which

1. त्वयानुकूलं वर्तमानयानुकूलं दैवम् त्वयि प्रसादवत्यां प्रसन्ना देवता, त्वयि कृतानुग्रहायामनुग्रहिका ग्रहदृष्टयः। TM Sm. ed. p. 284.

2. TM Sm. ed. p. 295. also Vol. III p. 178.

3. देवि पश्य दूरात्मनो दैवस्य गतिम्। etc. See. 762. above.

4. दैवमानुषं दैवमानुषं हि कर्म लोकं यापयति। अदृष्टकारितं दैवम्। तस्मिन्नादृष्टेन फलेन योगोऽयः अनिष्टेनानयः KAS VI. 2. 6. 9 part I p. 165, part II p. 368.

5. देवि, किमहमावेदयामि मन्दभाष्या। दैवमत्र प्रष्टव्यम्। येनासौ संभ्रमकारिणा निरस्तकरुणेन देहमात्रेणैव भिन्ना तवापि प्रश्नविषयतां नीता। प्रापिता चयमुपजातपरिचयलोकशोकोद्रेकहेतुमेकपद एवातिकष्टमीदृशमवस्थाविशेषम्। TM Sm ed. p. 342.

normally consist in the activity of certain parts of the body or in the observation of certain birds or animals. Birds are called Śakunis, the former being a synonym for the omen as well, a fact which easily proves the nature of birds being symbols of certain omens auspicious or inauspicious.

Dhanapāla has shown Meghavāhana taking to the religious duty of adoring Śrī i.e. the goddess of sovereignty whose temple¹ he got constructed in the middle of his pleasure grove and unto whom he started offering homage the whole day long under the firm faith that she (i.e. the deity) will shower upon him the boon that would foretell the birth of a son to his queen.² The intervention of the vampire Mahodara posing to be the favourite attendant of the deity and deeming himself to be the person on whose pleasure depended the pleasure of the deity, the subsequent vindication of the king through an ordeal of chopping off of his own head by the king, the appearance of Śrī, the conferment of a boon by her—all these are beliefs and superstitions which amply illustrate the point that Indians as a rule have great faith in the working of the evil spirits marring the smooth sailing of life and the efforts made to find out means to undo or avert those evils by means of propitiatory activities.³ Śrī as deity has been deemed so powerful as to afford sovereignty to Purandra on the throne of the heavens, Vāsuki in the Nethers (Pātāla), Kubera over the repertory of riches, She is responsible for affording the title 'Ratnākara' or the 'mine of jewels' to the oceans. She is capable of raising to lofty status those who have mean mentalities. She has also been called a second 'Kāmadhenu' sprung from the ocean, residing along with the heavenly tree a movable creeper granting desires, a living gem of thought, adored by the circle of paramount sovereigns⁴ etc.

The same type of adoration indulged in by Harivāhana⁵ not finding Samaraketu etc. and his beloved further corroborates the above point that when a person is in trouble and is unable to find any remedy he deems the effect of the unforeseen instrumental in his getting into it and finds out some means of taking to religious observance etc., to expiate the sin performed in early days and to propitiate the deity etc., to obviate the evil effect of the sin.

1. TM Vol. I pp. 101-102.

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 133.

3. Ibid. Vol. I pp. 134-149.

4. Ibid. pp 149-150.

5. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 400.

Regarding Śrī it has been further believed that she is possessed of eight arms and two forms.¹

The efficacy of the finger ring offered by Śrī along with the boon for the birth of a son, to Meghavāhana has been stressed to the point that it would help Vajrāyudha, the chief of the army-battalions, fight the foe safely during the nocturnal warfare.²

King has been shown as superstitious enough to bestow profusely dripping eows followed by calves unto the Brāhmaṇas pleased through adorations.³ The muttering of holy charms and syllables foreboding the birth of a child is equally reminiscent of the superstitions prevalent in the society.⁴

The belief in the predictions made on the basis of horoscopes and palm-studies (Palmistry) has also been laid down here.⁵ “Naimittikas” have been construed as experts in understanding the omens. The princesses forestalling the signs of pregnancy in accordance with the sayings of the palmists have been shown as being blessed by the king to the effect that they could get good matches for the life-long journey.

Karṇa piśāci has been construed by Monier Williams as the name of a goddess.⁶ But the commentator construes it to be a special lore indicating turpentine and past events charm whereby some invisible spirit (Piśāca) utters something quietly in the ears.⁷ Sometimes it indicates a good sign while sometimes it indicates a bad sign. King was anxious to get some clue to the good sign indicating the birth of a son. The kinsfolk of the king were even inquiring about the auspicious ensigns and their effects from the psychology of good dreams.⁸

Samaraketu narrating his experiences before starting from Simhalas for a digvijaya, in company of Tāraka and other naval soldiers refers to the fact

1. प्रकटिताष्टबाहुदेहद्वयो जनोऽयम्।

2. अयमपि बालारुणाख्यो दिव्याङ्गुलीयकालङ्कारः स्वमर्यादातिवर्तिनां दुष्टसामन्तानां दमनाय दक्षिणापथमधितिष्ठतो वज्रायुधस्य प्रस्थापनीयः वक्तव्यश्च तत्प्रधानप्रणयीविजयवेगः एष यापिनीयुद्धेषु विषमशत्रुसैन्यसंनिरुद्धस्य वज्रायुधस्य पाणिप्रणयितां त्वया नेतव्यः Ibid. Vol. I pp 158-159.

3. Ibid. p. 159.

4. Ibid.

5. नृपतिज्ञातिलोकेन होराकृष्टिषु नियुज्जानेनाङ्गुष्ठकादिप्रश्नं प्रति प्रवर्तयता दिवानिशमुपास्यमाननैमित्तिकम् अवितथादेशसामुद्रविदाख्यातप्रसवलक्षणानां क्षोणीपालकन्यानामुद्वाहनाय राज्ञः प्रणयिलोकैः प्रवर्त्यमानामात्यम्। Ibid. p. 160.

6. Under Karṇa Piśāci

7. TM Comm. p. 160. कर्णपिशाचिका नाम अतीतानागतार्था वेदविद्याविशेषः, यन्महिम्ना पिशाचः कर्णाभ्यूर्णमागत्य अतीतानागतार्थमावेदयति। Atharvaveda V. 13-9 TM Vol. I p. 160.

8. दृष्टशुभस्वप्नफलानि पृच्छता। Ibid. Vol. I p. 160.

of deeming ocean as a deity for which a salute is offered by Tāraka with folded hands before the start. The appearance of favourable omens propelling his attitude of mind towards a happy adventure,¹ such as the throbbing of the lower part of the lip and of the right eye in case of men has been described as indicating future happiness.² This redoubled the courage of Samaraketu who in an earlier chat with Tāraka had already given a cue to the latter that even when he had been apprised of by him that the voyage through the sea was not an easy job to accomplish on account of the ferocious fauna threatening life all the time, he had no fears since his intuition had been instigating him from inside not to turn back and had been impelling him to move ahead - a fact which he felt was being authenticated by the science of omens.³

‘Prajñaptividya’ or Precognition or Premonition over-showing the brooding mind of Patralekhā given to reveries concerning the future marital tie of her daughter Tilakamañjarī during the nocturnal hours in sleep forestalling the marital tie with a prince a paramount sovereign of all the earthly princes who would even reign over the Vidyādhara, is another belief that is based on the tendencies of human nature.

Marching on in search for Harivāhana carried away by the elephant and guided by the script of the latter brought by Pārītoṣa, the special envoy of Kamalagupta, Samaraketu spent his night with immense satisfaction being given to him at every step by the prominent omens foreboding extreme beneficence, covering the movement pacing from right to the left, being made to take to that route rapidly even by the slow-blowing southern breeze blowing from behind and the breath gushing out of the cavity of the left nostril, prevailing in front. Hence the southern breeze blowing from behind and the breath issuing out from the left nostril in front, is an indication foreboding achievement in the desired object.⁴ Gone beyond the lake Adīṣṭapāra Samaraketu seated on the stone slab made of pearls reclined there and

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1. प्रणतेन मूर्ध्ना बद्ध्वा नमस्काराञ्जलिमुदन्वते तत्क्षणोपनताभिप्रेतशकुनप्रगुणितमनोवृत्तिः प्रवर्तयामास गमनायनावम् TM. Vol. II p. 304.
 2. प्रस्थितायां च तस्याम् सहस्रैव स्पन्दिताधरपुटमचिरभाविनमानन्दमिव मे निवेदयामास दक्षिणं चक्षुः Ibid.
 3. यदि च निमित्तशास्त्रं प्रमाणं ततः सोऽपि गच्छतामस्माकमिह नास्ति, सर्वत्र निरपाया प्रमोदहेतुश्च यात्रेयमिति भावय स्वयं तत्त्वदृष्ट्या, नहि सन्निकृष्टायामापदि दुरुपपादायां च कल्याणसम्पदि कदाचिदौदृशी निरातङ्कता त्वरा च चित्तवृत्तेर्भवति। Ibid. Vol. II p. 303.
 4. अनुसृतदिवसदृष्टवर्त्या च तत्क्षणप्रसूतेन पृष्ठतो दक्षिणपवनेन पुरतो वामनासिकापुटश्वसनेन साम्यगतिनापि सत्त्वं प्रवर्त्यमानः, प्रतिपन्नदक्षिणवाममार्गपरैः परं शुभं शंसद्भिः....पदे पदे प्रधानशकुनैः पदै पदै दत्तानिवृत्तिः शर्वरीमनयत्। Ibid. Vol. III pp 61-62.

with eyes closed by sleep he saw in a dream a tree of coral gems (Pārijāta druma), got out immediately from the Nethers¹ (Prasātala).

When he woke up in line with the working of the dream he presumed that his meeting with his friend was a matter of smaller time.²

As he marched on he found that the wild tusked had started clapping their earflaps with the globular pates and had, therefore, started a trumpet call. The trees showered forth over his head, the grains of wild unhusked rice. The bees humming in clusters had started a Brahmaghoṣa (i.e. a chanting of Vedic mantras) as it were. The swans racing in front, had been directing the way, as it were. The wild antelopes standing facing the east, were, as if saluting him with circumambulations, at every step. His courage to advance ahead was being redoubled by the throbbing of the right eye and tip of the arm, at every moment. Hence the flapping of the ears of the elephants, falling of rice-grains from plants, the humming of bees during a match, the racing of swans in front, the presence of deer in the east are all auspicious omens which coupled with the throbbing of the right eye corroborate the idea of suspiciousness most eminently.³

Ere to the ingress of Citramāya reporting the non discovery of Harivāhana gone in search for Samaraketu, Tilakamañjarī speaks to Malayasundarī; "Sister! I don't know what to report now. My mind is awfully perturbed. This disgust has overpowered me without any reason. Even the agreeable talks of the people don't afford me pleasure. The sandal applied as unguent torments my limbs. My right eye throbs again and again as if viewing something extremely terrific. I do not know what is the reason behind this perversion of my nature that has come about without any opportunity. Has my sire started for the wilds? Has my mother started

1. निद्रया मुद्रितनयनयुगलः स्वप्ने रसातलात् तत्कालमेवोदगतम्.... पारिजातद्रुममद्राक्षीत्। Ibid. pp. 79-80, Vol. III

2. दर्शनानुपदेमव च प्रबुद्धः प्रबुद्धविभवेन सख्या सह समागमप्राप्तिमचिरभाविनीं निरचैषीत्.... Ibid. Vol. III p. 80.

3. अनवरतकर्णतालस्फालितकपोलभित्तिभिः सरभसमाहन्यमानप्रस्थानमङ्गलतूर्य इव वनकरिभिः
अनिलचलितशाखाग्रगलित सितकलिकैः शिरसि विक्षिप्यमाणाक्षतकण इव वनस्पतिभिः,
अङ्गसङ्गसंवेलितलताखण्डोद्भूतैराबद्धमंडलं ध्वनद्भिरारभ्यमाणब्रह्मघोष इव मधुकरैः
मानुषदर्शननिसर्गकातरैस्त्वरितपदमग्रतः पलायमानैरुपदिश्यमान कातरैस्त्वरितमग्रतः पलायमानैरुपदिश्यमानमार्ग इव
मल्लिकाक्षैः तत्क्षणनिपीताणोभिरुत्तीर्णैः सरोवराद् विरलतृणस्तम्बकवलनार्थमनुवेलमवनमितमूर्धभिः पदेपदे सप्रदक्षिणं
प्रणम्यमाण इव प्राङ्मुखप्रस्थितैर्वनहरिणैः प्रतिक्षणं च स्फुरता दक्षिणेन चक्षुषा भुजशिखरेण च
द्विगुणीक्रियमाणगमनोत्साहः..... प्रतस्थे। Ibid. Vol. III pp 83-84.

abstinence till she sees my face again? Or has any one else met with some mishap, tormented as he is because of my miseries?"¹

This unfolds the omen of throbbing of right eye in case of women as inauspicious coupled with all other instinctive and intuitive precognition's in para-psychology.

The Vaimānika (Javlanaprabha) presenting the necklace Candrātapa to the king Meghavāhana stresses the point before the latter that it was not proper for him to refuse that gift in so far as it was likely to bring about a reunion of the couples lost in a previous birth and corroborates his point by saying -

“In this² ocean of the world there came about the reminiscences of the previous births, extremely marvel-provoking and the connections get revived without any impediments, with objects, friends, kinsmen, of many types, whose relations were effected in many previous births and many a time, of the beings who act amenable to many types of actions.”

An unvirtuous man taking to evil deeds reaps the fruit of his actions in accordance with their performance is the same type of belief expressed by Kamalagupta while commenting upon the situation created by Mañjirā by bringing forth the billet that brought trustfulness on the visage of Samaraketu.³

The first meeting of Harivāhana with Tilakamañjarī in the bower of cardamom-creepers has been deemed by the former to be a maturation of the fruit after a long time affected all at one time, of the store of merits or virtuous deeds, accumulated in thousands in many a previous birth.⁴ Again on seeing Malayasundarī donning the scarlet robes and wearing morose looks, he (i.e. Harivāhana) recounts the effects of evil deeds performed in the previous births.

1. भगिनिके, न जाने किमावेदयामि। अत्यर्थापाकुलं मे चित्तम्। उदगतो निर्विमित्त एवोद्वेगः प्रिया अपि जनालापाः न जनयन्ति प्रीतिम्। अनुलेपनाय प्रयुक्तमपि सान्द्रमपि चन्दनं दुनोति गात्राणि। पश्यदिव किंचिदतिभीषणं पुरो मुहुर्मुहुः कम्पते दक्षिणमक्षि। न ज्ञायते किमस्य कारणमकाण्ड एव जातस्य प्रकृतिविपर्ययस्य। किं तातेन मद्वियोगाधिगतवैराग्येणारण्य....हारपरिहारः किमन्यस्य कस्यापि महुःखदुःखितस्य जनस्य दुर्जातं जातम् इति Ibid. Sm. Ed. p. 413-414.
2. संभवति च भवार्णवे विविधकर्मवशवर्तिनां जन्तूनामनेकशो जन्मान्तरजातसम्बन्धैर्बन्धुभिः सहदिभरथैश्च नानाविधैः साधर्मबाधिताः पुनस्ते संबन्धाः स्मरणानि, चात्यन्तविस्मयकराणि पूर्वजातेः अतो नायमालापो मोहप्रलाप इति मे समर्थनीयः, कदर्थनीयश्च पुनरहं प्रार्थनाभङ्गदैन्यसंपादनेन। TM. Vol. p. 124. LL-4-7.
3. जन्मान्ते नरकातिथीभूतः स्वत एव जाल्मः कल्मषस्य सदृशं दशापाकमनुभविष्यति। Ibid. Vol. II p. 248.
4. दृष्टा च भवती, अनुभूतं चिरादनेकजन्मान्तरसहस्रसंचितस्य सुकृतराशेरैककालमवाप्तपरमपरिपाकं फलम्। Ibid. Vol. III p. 155.

“Alas; The torments earned by the unvirtuous deeds performed in previous births are very difficult of being alleviated by the inspired beings who have devised means to that effect even most judiciously.”¹

Malayasundarī bearing the strangulation-noose, Bandhusundarī cried out for help. Samaraketu appeared on the scene. Malayasundarī’s reaction to that is the belief that he has been sent by the power of fructification of the virtuous deeds performed in the previous birth in so far as she got the privilege of getting into his lap, a privilege that could come to her only as a result of the virtuous deeds.²

Customs and Taboos

Customs denote a wider significance. These cover within their fold the general way of behaviour on the part of the constituent elements of society, manners and etiquette’s, celebrations of religious festivals, Food and Drinks, pastimes and sports. Taboos concern the field of prohibition and the social evils.

Dhanapāla has employed the expressions ‘Upcāra’ and ‘Ācāra’³ which mean ‘custom or manner of speech’⁴ and custom, practice, usage, an established rule of conduct,⁵ respectively. The context in view is of the base born women of Ayodhyā who took ‘manner of speech’ as a mark of social custom. In every society individuals are supposed to take to a set pattern of speech which becomes a model for all those who abide within a demarcated boundary of territorial jurisdiction. The base born women or the harlots of Ayodhyā must have had a special way of addressing their paramours, their go-between, their customers, their tribal chaperons and all those who came into contact with them. That is why Dhanapāla has defined the terms ‘Upcārā’ and ‘Ācārā’ distinctly within the fold of a common expression. The manner of speech was taken as a type of mannerism by those women. This is what can be understood ultimately. The coquettes have a set way of talking which becomes a usual way of mannerism in society.

The house wives or the brides of the same town have been described as following a way of conduct which is perfectly righteous and idealistic. They were such as would attend to their household chores every moment. They

1. अहो पूर्वजन्मान्तरसंचितैरशुभकर्मभिरायोजिताः सुनिपुणमपि—..... परिदुतमुपलायाः । TM. III. p. 169. ll.8-9.

2. चिन्तयन्ती च तदचिन्तितप्राप्तमनेकजन्मोपाजितैः सुकृतकर्मभिरपि दुरापमाकल्पावधिकृतैस्तपोभिरपि दुःसाध्यं तदङ्कुशय्यावस्थानमात्मनो Ibid. Sm. cd. p. 312.

3. उपचारमप्याचारबुद्ध्या प्रपंचयन्तीभिः TM Vol. I p. 50.

4. Monier William (Sanskrit English Dictionary) under Ācāra.

5. Ibid. pe. 137

had a special penchant to abide by the advice of the elders. They attired themselves in spruce but ungaudy costumes. They shone forth with their skill in conforming to the connections (Acāra) of their respective families. They were tormented in their pitcher like breasts on account of piance and bashfulness i.e. their protuberance and softness made them feel shy of their sight by men owing to bashfulness forming a natural ornament of their person. They were accustomed to wear loaded ornaments and therefore felt badgered or else they had no cause of anxiety and torment born of molestations. The jingling assonance of their ornaments made them feel unnerved and no teasing by eve-teasers made them so. They pined even during sexual sports on account of their taking to refractoriness and never owing to anguish in love. They were so virtuous that they even did not cross the boundaries of their outer portals even in a dream. They had taken to the vow of faithfulness and had never taken to the vow of raucousness. They never took to bad company by nature. They did not make their faces wry even during flare of temper. Even during refractory behaviours they did not lose their patience. Even when ennuied they did not take to the behaviour of those who had been infuriated or deprecated or repudiated. During pique they did not lose their control of the tongue at the same time they were the accomplishment of all the objectives of their men.¹

The etiquettes to be observed by the citizens of a country have been well established in the description of the Citizens of Ayodhyā who could not discriminate between the rich and the poor i.e. who could know how to accost or behave towards the rich and the poor or in other words they could neither despise the poor and love the rich invariably. They could distinguish between the learned and the unlearned one i.e. the literate and the illiterate. In reality there is an apparent paradox in these lines. They could never understand or know the distinction between the rich and the poor which means the citizens of Ayodhyā treated the rich and the poor alike or they never knew who was rich and who was poor. In other words the citizens of Ayodhyā were all placed at par in economy of the society and every one amongst them was literate and no illiterate people were found therein amongst them. All were virtuous to the exclusion of unvirtuous or wicked.

1. सततगृहव्यापारनिषण्णमानसाभिर्निसर्गतो गुरुवचनानुरागिणीभिरनुत्बणोज्ज्वलवेपाभिः स्वकुलाचारकौशलशालिनीभिः शालीनतया सुकुमारतया च कुचकुम्भयोरपि कदर्थ्यमानाभिरुद्धतया मणिभूषणानामपि खिद्यमानाभिर्मुखरतया रतेष्वपि ताप्यन्तीभिर्वैयात्यापरिग्रहेण स्वप्नेष्वलङ्घयन्तीभिर्द्वारतोरणमद्वीकृतसतीव्रताभिरप्यसतीव्रताभिः..... कृतकुसङ्गाभिश्चरणयोर्न स्वभावे कोपेप्यदृष्टमुखविकाराभिर्यलीकेष्वनुज्झितविनयाभिः खेदेऽप्यखण्डितोचित-प्रतिपत्तिभिः कलहेऽप्यनिष्ठुरभाषिणीभिः सकलपुरुषार्थसिद्धिभिरिव शरीरबद्धभिरलंकृता वधूभिः । TM Vol. I. pp. 47-48.

All were pious to the exclusion of the impious. All were bounteous. All understood the terms of the expert educationists. All took to doing good to others. All trod on righteous path. They had studied all the lore along with their subdivisions. All were rich in righteous temperaments and had earned the goodwill of the public as well as the council of ministers meant to fight their causes. They were prone to utter words of welcome in advance and had a knack for answering questions put to them or were prone to indulge in conversations (by way of hospitality unto the guests) after having welcomed them at the inception. They were men of all tastes and were full of ideas. They were cheerful in tempers. They were prone to observe a judicious way of life or prone to favour justice come to sight. They lacked ferocity of mind. They did not deride others. They were jovial in moods. They could imbibe the virtues of all. They were never fastidious. They were never prone to leaving in the lurch (the troubled ones). They shared the weal and woes with others. They were obliging unto the others. They were given to self-purification etc.¹

Vidyādhara sage getting down to the roof of the palace the welcome ovation afforded by the king along with the queen to the sage is reminiscent of the social custom that is normally prevalent in a society in point of hospitality meet for a guest.

“He welcomed him along with Madirāvati, facing as he was the mansion, with his face radiant to a distance, like the day accompanied by the morning glow as well as twilight welcoming the sun (lit. the maker of the day) anxious to ascend on the mountain of the east.”²

The sage finding himself in a state of dignity anticipating the honour likely to be done to them got down from the aerial regions and the king approaching him in modesty brought in front the vase containing the material of worship (Argha), paid his obeisance and made him sit on a seat of gold swept clean by the hem of his own garment and brought by himself personally.

With etiquettes fit to be shown to the great sage, a guest, observed in their entirety, he greeted him as he would do an elderly man or a preceptor,

1. “अकलिताद्यानाद्यविवेकैरगृहीतपण्डितापण्डितविभक्तिभिरनवबुद्धसाध्वसाधुविशेषैरनवधारितधार्मिकाधार्मिक-परिच्छिन्तिभिः सर्वैरप्युदारविशेषैः सर्वैरपि छेकोक्तिकोविदैः सर्वैरपि परोपकारप्रवणैः सर्वैरपि सन्मार्गवर्तिभिः.... प्रमाणविद्भिरप्यप्रमाणविद्भिः धीतनीतिभिरप्यकुटिलैरभ्यस्तनाट्यशास्त्रैरप्यदर्शितभूनेत्रविकारैः कामसूत्रपारगैरप्यविदित-वैशिकैः सर्वभाषाविचक्षणैरप्यशिक्षितलाटोक्तिभिः सात्त्विकैरपि राजसभावाप्तख्यातिभिः-.... निवासिलोकैः संकुला”। TM. Vol. I pp 51-53.

2. अभिमुखीभूतं च तं प्रासादस्य दिवसकरभिव पौरस्त्यभूधराभिलाषिणं सप्रभातसन्ध्यौ वासरः सुदूरविकासितमुखः समं मदिरावत्या प्रत्युन्नगाभा। Ibid. Vol. I p. 90.

a presiding deity and seated on the surface of the ground with eyes steadfast pinioned on his face for a long time spoke to him with modesty-“Revered sir! This palace has been elevated to heights by you, the venerable of the group of sages having got down from the circle of the firmament like the current of Ganges from the mountain of Snow. Following on you have obviated the store of sins of the entire citizen folk the object of my grace, by the castings of glances as if by the sprays of water of propitiation, limpid and cold, having observed on all sides. At the time of obeisance, the fruit of ablutions on all the places of pilgrimage or holy places has been accomplished through the dust of your own feet naturally sanctified and placed on the head. And in this way I crave your special favour for myself being performed by the revered one for the attainment of the affluence of greater beneficence even though dawned upon me from all sides, with satisfaction still not obtained by me. This kingdom, this earth of mine, these articles, that external paraphernalia (or equipage) comprising mostly of elephants, horses, chariots and the foot soldiers, as also this body this mansion, may be accepted for the sake of personal gain or the sake of the accomplishment of the ends of others, whatever is fit to be made use of. It behoves you to satiate my heart perturbed on account of grief on account of non-obtainment of a suitable receptacle since my very birth.”¹

The reprimand of the Vampire to Meghavāhana busy in the worship of Śrī establishes the well-established etiquette of society that before waiting upon the master, their lackeys deserve to be gratified or else some hurdle is created by them before one can see their masters. It is only through some glib artifice or way of bribery or payment of gratification that they get humoured and help the person to reach the vicinity of the masters. The words of vampire are like this.

“King:² Nothing beyond this that it is just a wanton deed of yours in so far as having desired the fruit of some (action) you have taken upon, the task of adoring every day, this Śrī, our mistress. And actually it is the servants anxious to achieve the accomplishment of their ends who make fit for favour with formal observances, those who have taken stand on some vow and are an object of amenability. Anon they curry their favours constantly in accordance with the whims of their masters through their sense of favouritism with relations confirmed accordingly. This verily appears to

1. TM. Vol. I pp 91-92.

2. राजन्, न किंचिदन्यत्, त्वदीयमेव चेष्टितम् त्वया हि फलमभिलष्य किंचिदियमस्मत्स्वामिनी श्रीरनुदिवसमासेवितुमुपक्रान्ता, सेवकाश्च फलप्राप्तिकामाः प्रथमुपचारेण गृहीतवाक्यं परिग्रहलोकमावर्जयन्ति, ततस्तेन कृतपक्षपरिग्रहेण ग्रहितसम्बन्धाः प्रभूणामसक्तमात्मभक्तिमुपदर्शयन्ति, एष तावज्जगति दृश्यते व्यवहारः त्वया तु विपरीतः प्रस्तुतोऽयं सेवाविधिः Ibid. Vol. I p. 133.

be the prevalent custom of the Universe. But you have presented a refractory type of sense of service". The hospitality shown to a guest is marked by the king's formal flattery of Śrī wherein he says- "Revered one: I am beholden unto you in so far as you have displayed this divine form of yours, which is fit to be seen, an obviator of the calamities in their entirety, of other people whose merits are scant, having approached me who am staying in this culminating age of my life. The accomplishment of the desired object has been attained."¹ The expressions -

‘यथाहमेषामशेषभुवनवन्दितावदातचरितानां चतुरुदधिवेलावधिवसुन्धराभुजामखिलदिङ्मुखविसर्पितोदग्र-
प्रतापतया तुलितनिजवंशादिपुरुषादित्ययशसामिक्ष्वाकुवंश्यानामवनीभृतां पश्चिमेन भवामि, यथा च देवी
मदिरावती जगदेकवीरात्मजप्रसविनीनामास्मत्पूर्वपुरुषमहिषीणां महिमानमनुविधत्ते, तथा विधेहि’²

contain the equivocal way of speaking what deserves to be spoken plainly but cannot be spoken like that under cover of social and moral way of understanding.

King wanted to speak to Śrī to bless him with the birth of a son so that his wife could attain to bliss of being called the producer of a valiant son etc. He, however, observed the etiquette of saying -

“Act in such a manner that I do not become the last of the kings of the Ikṣvāku race and that queen Madirāvatī attains to the greatness of the queens of the earlier kings of our race who were adorned with the title of producers of valiant sons etc.”.

The reply of Śrī -

“नरेन्द्रा! निजगोत्रसन्तरेविच्छेदायमदिरावत्याः पुत्रमिच्छसीति निश्चितं मया, केवलमिदं पृच्छामि-
किमेषवक्रया वचनभङ्ग्या युक्तिगम्यः कुतोऽर्थः, पुत्रं देहि मदिरावत्याः इति व्यक्तमेव किंनोक्तम्”³

purports forth the clear understanding of the words of the king whereby she spoke to him as to why he did not utter in clear terms that she should bless him with a son in Madirāvatī and why he indulged in that equivocation. In reality it was pertinent for the king to take to indirect and decorous speech or else his mission could be defeated on account of his frankness which was a profile of arrogance wanting in manners.

King willing to see his subjects share his weal as well as woes had reciprocal duty to perform by way of paying obeisance to the grand old men of the towns with the result that he could get their blessings by exchange of views and obtainment of advice, a fact which can be counted within the

1. TM. Vol. I p. 145.

2. Ibid. Vol. I pp 150-152.

3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 152.

range of moral etiquettes. It was well within the moral range of the king to honour the Brāhmaṇas by listening to their words of supplication as well as demands.¹

Having seen the picture- canvas bearing the image of the maiden of his heart Harivāhana is curious to find out the source of its acquisition. Gandharvaka narrates the tale of the source of its acquisition and explains the full particulars attached to it with the result that the prince is so bewitched by that young lad that he deems it a privilege to have him by his side perennially and not to part company with him even for a second. That is why he cannot desist from showing the necessary etiquette of a formal observance of hospitality the situation demands from him by saying-

‘Gandharvaka! What should I dare to speak here? My speech fails to get down to the tip of my tongue, being made to lose its working by my intellect brought to the state of strong frequency by your virtues by the veritable ropes as it were comprising of modesty, ingeniousness and affability and others, entered into the heart in their entirety. How can I permit you the beneficent one, by saying ‘go’? What should I do? That is the way of the world. The attitude of my mind does not brook the separation from even an ordinary man come to acquaintance not then to speak of a person of your class in whose close proximity this consensory of sweet sayings comes to function and numerous tell-tales come into being, proficiency is attained in arts such as music dance painting and others, the bliss of listening to the humorous skits is tasted and the time is spent with hearts free from anxiety. What wise man would miss a gem of a man procured without a toil through sheer conjunction of healthy merits? Even then, what can be done? You are such whose action is amenable to the others. It is not possible to keep you detained in my vicinity even for a day. Rise up and move off for the accomplishment of the royal mandate. My duty shall remain only to observe you in the southern direction and nothing beyond this.’²

Thoroughly perplexed under the burden of responsibilities at the loss of Harivāhana Samaraketu stoops a bit low in his behaviour whereby on receiving the news about the arrival of Paritoṣa the perfect confidant of Kamalagupta, the prince of Kāliṅgas, he loses all control over his person and finding an oasis in the desert in the form of sorrow, he deems that attendant to be a preceptor, a master, one fit to be propitiated, a veritable infuser of life and a duty of one's faith etc. and having ushered him in

1. TM. Vol. II p. 164.

2. Ibid. Vol. III pp 17-18.

inquired about the health of Kamalagupta a fact most suited to the limits of decorum.

"Nobleman : Is it all well with Kamalagupta, the great friend (of mine) a veritable ocean of ambrosia in the form of virtuous demeanour shining with unprecedented¹ amity?" And he as meet with his status, approached him like a servant and presented the billet after offering his homage accompanied by the expressions "He is all right today by seeing through my eyes the good health in the body of the affluent one."²

Harivāhana's first meeting with Malayasundarī staying as a hermit-maid (Tāpasakanyā) is again full of observance of mutual etiquettes. Harivāhana is narrating the account of Samaraketu come to him through Gandharvaka. Even though a hermit maid at that time she had taken to the usual way of a host offering the honour fit for a guest accompanied by 'Argha' and other materials with the help of water deposited in a water gourd with both of her hands and feet washed accordingly. Sat on a seat made of cloth she inquired from him about his particulars whereupon he took upon himself to narrate the same. After performing her religious preliminaries she sat close to him and as her intuition worked there she took him to be one who was previously seen by her who was as though one brought up along with her and as if one who had affection mounted to heights for her and one who was like a kinsman of desires approaching her after a long time. She looked at him quite affectionately.

The reply of Harivāhana is full of etiquettes that suit the temperament of a civilized being, a cultured man about the town. On seeing her he spoke-

"Noble lady! I cannot keep silent brought to pertness (i.e. made frivolous) by this etiquette of yours that has seen its favourable disposition that creates gratification in the heart of a lover or a devotee and that bespeaks of its inner purity by itself (lit. by inner instinct or by nature) in so far as I have taken myself to the task of making queries from you even when knowing fully well "that by a person wishing his *éclat* a stranger lass being in this early youth of your class of matchless qualities should normally not be talked to particularly when she is in her prime of puberty taking stand upon a vow, a source of transformation born of infatuation for

1. आदरप्रहितनयनयुगलो गुरुमिव स्वामिनमिवराध्यमिव जीवितप्रदभिवैष्टदैवतामिव सुचिरमवलोक्य तं पुरुषमाहूय संभाव्य चासनदानवचनेन भद्रमुख। भद्रमसदृशसांहादङ्गालिशिलामृतमहोदधे परमसुहृदः कमलगुप्तस्य। अथसतेन संभ्रमवता तस्य संभावाणेन कृतं कृत्यामात्मानन्यमानो भृत्यवत् समुपसृत्य सत्वरकृतप्रणामः। अयं भद्रं मच्चक्षुषा महाभागदेहाराग्यदर्शनेन इत्युदीर्योत्तरीयपटपल्लवं प्रान्तं संयतं सयत्नमादाय दक्षिणरूपेणागतो लेखमक्षिपत्। TM. Vol. 1, p. 51.
2. Ibid. p. 51.

even the persons of restrained consciences, abiding all alone and an abode of group of virtues such as loveliness of form."¹

The queries following on are equally reminiscent of the cultural standard of the prince, a constituent of civilized society. He says -

"Speak out as to who you are, in which lineage immune from all the indelicacies (lit. defects) are you born, like a pearl in the bamboo of a forest of the gods (or divine forest)? What syllables of your nomenclature, removing the burning fever of the heart like syllables of the divine charms, squeeze out ambrosia into the ears? Who, unmindful of opprobrium put on these barks of trees on your body fit for the costumes fit to be worn on the bodies of the gods? Having kept in mind what fruit of extremely tasteful sentiments do you subsist upon the distasteful fruits of sylvan trees, day in and day out? On what account do you abide in this isolated shrine of Jina, abiding in a sequestered wild, barring aside the well-known hermitages of the recluses? What type is this averseness from the enjoyment of the sense objects in this blooming age, the sole resort of the uneven arrowed one (i.e. Cupid)? What is it that you go on prying into the southern quarter hastily with glances full of devotion with your pout of lower lip throbbled every, moment as if desirous of inquiring about the welfare of some cherished being? Does some collateral colleague or a heart's repose abide here hard by?"²

The description of Kāñcī details forth certain customs habits of the people as well as their etiquettes as social beings. The poet has employed the figures Tulyayogitā and Parisamkhyā, Equal pairing (special mention) and exclusion or (restriction) very skilfully which are equally explicit in their paranomastic signification. Kāñcī has been described as having rich people who were very much used to the habit of chewing betel rolls and were languorous in gait like the elephants. Even the gardeners there were fond of having creepers of betel plants grown in the orchards.³ The citizens tolerated the views of others and the logicians understood the view points of their opponents i.e. the Buddhists etc.⁴ The Brāhmaṇas had their orders accomplished (by the performance of sacrifices and study of Vedas) and the orchards abounded in the fruits and Mālatī trees.⁵ The lovers were fond of inspissated unguents whereas the clusters of trees consisting in the bunches

1. TM. Vol. III p. 168.

2. Ibid. Vol. III pp 168-169.

3. यत्र नागवल्लीलालसा धनिनः उद्यानपालश्च Ibid. Vol. III p. 171.

4. समतज्ज्ञाः पौराः प्रामाणिकाश्च। Ibid.

5. सफलजातयः श्रोत्रियाः गृहारामाश्च Ibid. Vol. III pp 171-172.

of golden campaka flowers had lustres bright like turmeric.¹ The buildings had straight streets or arcades or market places whereas the quivers of the soldiers had pointed arrows in them.² The palaces there were many-storeyed and subjects were used to wearing many types of necklaces.³ The main shops were provided with locks and keys while the lines on the pates of the intoxicated maidens bore curly locks on them.⁴ The concubines there acted in accordance with their nature (i.e. gratified the carnal longings of the lovers or men) by fresh (use of) wine while the women of the town acted in accordance with their nature being endowed with husbands standing peers to the gods.⁵ Therein the attractiveness lay in forms and no infatuation was available for coition.⁶

Turmeric hue was plastered on the bodies and no adulteration of turmeric was seen in the oils or no fleeting nature was seen in loves like the colour of turmeric.⁷ The people loved to establish their houses near the gardens and temples.⁸ The groves of the Tamāla trees served as abodes. Their couches wore counterpanes of the clove-leaves or the mats formed out of the sprouts of cloves served as couches.⁹ Love-quarrels were the only quarrels.¹⁰ The marks of the nail bites served as the gems decorating the body.¹¹ The drinking vessels comprised of the lotus faces of the beloveds.¹² Kāmasūtra formed the spiritual lore.¹³ The cure for diseases consisted in the employment of the measurement to enhance virility.¹⁴ Their worship of

1. हरिद्रासान्द्ररुचयो रागिणं सुवर्णचम्पकस्तबकनिचायश्च। TM. Vol. III p. 172.

2. प्रगुणविशिखाः गृहनिवेशाः सुभटबाणधयश्च। Ibid.

3. बहुमालिकाः प्रासादाः प्रकृतयश्च। Ibid.

4. संकुचितालकाः प्रधानापणाः प्रमदाललाटलेखाश्च। Ibid.

5. सुराभिरामाभिरुचितकारिण्यः पण्यवनिताः पौरयुवतयश्च। Ibid.

6. यत्र मुरधता रूपेषु न सुरतेषु। Ibid. p.172

7. हरिद्रारागो देहेषु न स्नेहेषु। Ibid.

8. यत्र मन्दिरपवनान्यावासनगराणि, तमालतरुनिकुंजाः सदनानि, लवङ्गपल्लवस्तराः पर्यङ्काः, प्रणयकलहाः कलयः, नखदशनविन्यासाः शरीराभरणभणयः, प्रियावदनशतपत्राणि पानपात्राणि, कामसूत्रमध्यात्मशास्त्रम् वाजीकरण-योगोपयोगो, व्याधिभेषजम् अनङ्गपूजा देवतार्चनम्, सुरतदूतिका गुरवो भुजगवर्गस्य। Ibid. Vol. III p. 173.

9. Ibid. Vol. III p. 173.

10. Ibid. Vol. III p. 173.

11. Ibid. Vol. III p. 173.

12. Ibid. Vol. III p. 173.

13. Ibid. Vol. III p. 173.

14. Ibid. Vol. III p. 173.

deity consisted in the worship of Cupid. The go-betweens in sexual sport formed the preceptors of the group of gallants.¹

The Draviḍa ladies employed the plaster of turmeric fluid on their bodies wet with the evening ablution.² The ivory moon-chambers of the coquettes had black aloe burning all the time to render the atmosphere redolent with perfume.³ The expression -

“अंगीकृत्य नागरकवृत्तम्”⁴

‘uttered by Harivāhana before he was introduced to Tilakamañjarī by Malayasundarī is self-explanatory in so far as the Nāgarakavṛtta’ of Kāmasūtra implies the custom of living the life of a citizen or man about the town who according to Vātsyāyana was required to follow a definite line of action in life particularly when he was endowed with a household with the espousal of a wife etc.⁵ ‘Nāgarakavṛtta’ here means “the conduct or behaviour of a man about the town” - who could be entitled to the privileges of Vātsyāyana’s conception only when he took to the life of a householder or was just on the brink of taking to it.

Of the festivals Dhanapāla has mentioned - ‘Ṣaṣṭhijāgara’,⁶ ‘Yātrotsava’⁷ ‘Kaumudīmahotsava’,⁸ ‘Madanatrāyodaśīyātrā’,⁹ and Madhumāsasya Śuddhatrāyodaśī ‘Madanotsava’,¹⁰ ‘Madanayātrā’,¹¹ ‘Yātrā’,¹² ‘Caitriyātrā’,¹³ etc. Of these “Ṣaṣṭhijāgara or prajāgra is a festal gathering celebrated on the sixth night after the birth of a child wherein Ṣaṣṭhīdevī (TM II. p.185, L-1) a deity is believed to protect the life of a child, the sixth of the sixteen mātṛkās.

1. TM. Vol. III p. 173.

2. यत्र सायन्तनस्नानाद्रवपुष्पां द्विडयोषितामसान्द्रलग्नस्य हरिद्राद्रवरसस्य च्छायया पिञ्जरिततनुकिरणकन्दलो दलितचम्पककर्णपूरमनुकरोति कपोलदर्पणावलम्बी पार्वणो रजनिजानिः। Ibid. p. 174, Vol. III.

3. Ibid. p. 174 verse 1 Vol. III.

4. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 357.

5. K. SU T. 4. 1- 4 part I pp 125-128.

6. TM Vol. II p. 186, Vol. II p. 185.

7. Ibid. Vol. III p. 187, Vol. II p. 241, Vol. II p. 325.

8. Ibid. Vol. III p. 192, Vol. II p. 251.

9. Ibid. Sm ed. p. 298.

10. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 300, Sm. ed. p. 310.

11. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 303.

12. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 324, Sm. ed. p. 344.

13. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 322.

“*Ṣaṣṭhījāgara namaḥa*”¹ is the word used by Sir Monier Williams. It is the name of a particular ceremony; this is the day on which the creator is supposed to enter the mother's chamber and write the child's destiny on its forehead.

Ṣaṣṭhīdevī is the name of a divine mother or goddess often regarded as a form of *Durgā* (supposed to protect children and worshipped on the sixth day after delivery).²

“मातृकासु पूज्यतमा सा च षष्ठी प्रकीर्तिता।
शिशूनां प्रतिविशेषु प्रतिपालनकारिणी।
तपस्विनी विष्णुभक्ता कार्तिकेयस्य कामिनी॥”

is the definition given by the commentator *Vijayalāvaṇasūri*. (TM II. p.185, LL 6-7) That which is best revered among the *Mātrkāṣ* is known as *Ṣaṣṭhī*. She is the protector of children in every sphere of the world. She is given to austerities and is a devotee of *Viṣṇu*, a beloved of *Kārttikeya*. *Ṣaṣṭhī* being the sixth of the *Mātrkāṣ* which are sometimes reckoned as seven, eight, nine and sometimes as sixteen.³ They are the divine mothers or personified energies of the principal deities. The seven *Mātrkāṣ* are *Brāhmī* or *Brahmāṇī*, *Māheśvarī*, *Kaumārī*, *Vaiṣṇavī* *Vārāhī*, *Indrāṇī* or *Aindrī* or *Māhendrī*, *Cāmuṇḍā*;

Eight divine mothers are :-

Brāhmī, *Māheśvarī*, *Kaumārī*, *Vaiṣṇavī*, *Vārāhī*, *Raudrī*, *Camamuṇḍā*, *Kālasamkarṣiṇī*;

Nine divine mothers are :-

Brahmāṇī, *Vaiṣṇavī*, *Raudrī*, *Vārāhī*, *Nārasimhikā*, *Kaumārī*, *Māhendrī*, *Cāmuṇḍā*, *Caṇḍikā*;

Sixteen divine mothers are :-

Gaurī, *Padmā*, *Śacī*, *Medhā*, *Sāvitrī*, *Vijayā*, *Jayā*, *Devasenā*, *Svadhā*, *Svāhā*, *Śānti*, *Puṣṭi*, *Dhṛti*, *Tuṣṭi*, *Ātma-devatā* and *Kula-devatā*.

They are closely connected with the worship of *Śiva* and are described as attending on his son *Skanda* or *Kārttikeya* to whom the first only seven *Mātrṣ* were assigned but later on innumerable number.²⁸⁹

Dhanapāla has mentioned these *Mātrṣ* in -

1. Skt. Eng. Dict. under *Ṣaṣṭhījāgara*.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid. p. 807.

“आलिखत जातमातृपटलम्”¹ जातं नाम गोधृतप्राशनादिना संस्कारविशेषः तदधिष्ठातृभूतं मातृपटलम्²

The ritual or sacrament performed with the edibles such as ghee of a cow.

Hence the sixth of the 16th divine mothers is Vijayā which may be identified with the 'Śaṣṭhīdevī' who was worshipped during the wakefulness on the sixth night of the child-birth. It is the name of Durgā according to Sir Monier Williams.³ It is a usual practice even today that Durgā is worshipped on any type of wakefulness known as 'Jāgā' which is celebrated by waking the whole night long in order to celebrate the rejoicing in lieu of some ardent wish fulfilled or cherished to be fulfilled. In ancient times this wakefulness must have been a special feature on the sixth night after the delivery. People comprising mostly of relatives and well-wishers of the child's parents must have been assembling on that night before the image of Durgā (Śaṣṭhīdevī) and praises and eulogiums of the goddess (stotras in honour of Durgā) must have been sung as propitiatory chants by the devotees and priests the whole night long as is normally the case in modern times as well. 'Yātrotsava' a festive procession has been referred to by Dhanapāla with reference to the auspicious consecration ceremony of the adorable (god Jina) or (Jinendra) the parent both of the sensate as well as the insensate beings wherein music or orchestra played a significant role. Rejoicings (Pramoda) dance (lāsyalīlābhyupagamam), the stage-arena of amorous actions (śṅgāraceṣṭā raṅgabhūmi), the acting of enactable themes (abhinayanti samyagabhineyārthajātam), the highest pitch of enjoyment of a show by the audience (āropayanti prekṣakajanasya pramodama-grabhūmim) etc. forming the accessories to it.⁴

‘मधुमासस्य शुद्धत्रयोदश्यामहमहमिकोपदर्शितनिजविभवविच्छर्देन नगरीनिवासिना भुजंगलोकेन भक्त्या प्रवर्तितं यात्रोत्सवमवेक्षितुमिदमेव सर्वतोविरचितविचित्रवस्त्रध्वजवितानमात्तकनकशृंगवेश्यांगनाभुजंगजन-परस्परारब्धजलसेकयुद्धं भगवतो मकरध्वजस्यायतनमागतोऽस्मि’⁵

refers to the bright or light half of the Spring season and its thirteenth on which the gallants enjoyed a festal melee in company with the coquettes or harlots who carried the syringes made of gold with which they started a sprinkling warfare against the gallants, in the shrine of the shark-bannered god (i.e. Cupid). The citizen folk went to see this festival accordingly.

This is a true picture of the Holī of modern days.

1. TM Vol. II p. 185.

2. Ibid.

3. Skt. Eng. Dict. under Śaṣṭhīdevī,

4. TM Vol. III pp 187-188.

5. TM II. p.241, LL 5-8.

‘अवसिते च वासरे विरलीभवत्सु कृत्रिमतुरंगवारणक्रीडाप्रधानेषु प्रेक्षणकेषु, विघटितासु विटलोकलोचनसुधासु वेश्या-रासमण्डलीषु, कृतपरस्परसेकयुद्धेषु प्रस्थितेषु मञ्जनवापिकाभ्यः कनकदशशृंगभृंगारपाणिषु भुजंगपौरैषु, निर्याति यात्रायातनगरनारीगणे, क्षणेन विरते रतिभर्तुरायतनरामणीयके झटिति नष्टखिलाशः स्वयं मार्तण्डमण्डलाभोगेन विच्छाद्यतामगच्छम्।

refers to shows having sports of sham horses and elephants as well as the festival of Holi.¹

‘क्रमेण च समाप्ते परमदेवस्य मञ्जनविधौ निर्मापिते सविस्तरं पूजाकर्मणि, प्रवर्तिते सविस्तरं गायकगणेन मधुमृदंगध्वनिमिश्रे विश्राणितश्रावकश्रोत्रमुदि मंगलगीतध्वनौ, प्रनृतासु पर्यायेण तासु क्षितिपालकन्यायकासु, क्षीणभूयिष्ठायां क्षपायामहं चित्रलेखया विरचितविचित्रवेषा प्रभावद्भूपरिवेषैः प्रलघुभिर्मणिभूषणैः समन्तादलंकृतमनुल्वणधृतांगारामंग दधाना रंगमध्यध्यासितवती, प्रवृत्ता च सखीभिरिव साकं प्रेक्षकमनोवृत्तिभिः प्रनर्तितुम्।²

Refers to the festive occasion being charmed by the dance of Malayasundarī wherein the ablution (consecration) of the great god had been performed, the adoration of the deity had been offered, the singers had sung to the accompaniment of instrumental music such as the melodious sound of the tabor, the auspicious culogiums had been strained forth by the bards into the ears of the listeners, the princes had their dance performance displayed. The dance was performed by Malayasundarī after having presented herself in the midst of the audience decked with ornaments and plastered with unguents and cosmetics. The dance being over, the audience were paid homage to (अवसिते च नृत्यकर्मणि कृत रंग प्रणामम्)³ ‘देवयात्रादर्शनागतान् विद्याधरपतीन्’⁴

again refers to the festive procession in honour of god Jinendra. Kaumudī Mahotsava or the great festival falling on the full moon of Kārttika had a special significance in ancient times. "On this occasion houses and shops used to be decorated with flowers and flags and men and women also bedecked themselves with garlands and festive clothes. At night the streets and houses were illuminated with lights. Young men and women were expected to move about in all directions, singing, dancing, laughing and enjoying themselves. The festival was to be concluded with a great feast for which a number of animals were to be killed so that the Brāhmaṇas might be fed to their heart's content. It is stated by Lakṣmīdhara that if a person

1. TM. Sm ed. p. 323, LL-19

2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 189.

3. Ibid. Vol. III pp 189-190.

4. Ibid. Vol. III p. 196.

fails to celebrate the festival according to the rites described above, the king must award him physical punishment."¹

Madanatrayaḍaṣī yātrā, Madanotsava, Madanayātrā, Yātrā and Caitrīyātrā are all more or less synonymous terms illustrating the festival of Kāma mostly in the month of Caitra (Spring season).

According to Monier Williams -

Madanatrayaḍaṣī is the name of a festival in honour of Kāmadeva on the 13th day in the light half of the month caitra.² Madanotsava is again the Kāmadeva festival (Madanamaha), the holī or vernal³ festival. Yātrā means a procession or a festival.⁴ Caitrīyātrā therefore means the festival or procession in the month of Caitra (in honour of Kāmadeva). It may refer to modern festival of Holī which is celebrated likewise as a festival of Kāma in the spring season. According to Dr. Pratipāla Bhatia "We have reference to the Yātrā mahotsava of Madana in the Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā⁵ of Bhojadeva. This festival according to Dr. Bhatia fell on the 14th day of the bright half of Chaitra and was celebrated with dancing songs and merry making. In continuation of this festival observed in Malva, was the Vasantotsava, which fell in the full moon day of the month of Caitra.⁶ Harṣa in his Ratnāvalī⁷ referring to Vasantotsava according to Profs. Devadhara and Suru refers to the festivities that hailed the advent of spring that were formerly celebrated on the full moon day of the month of Caitra but now take place on the full moon day of Phālguna and are identified with the Holī celebration.⁸ Kālidāsa in his Mālavikāgnimitram⁹ mentions the fresh vernal festival (Vasantotsava) wherein the flowers of ruddy Aśoka tree marking the advent of early spring are sent as gifts to the loved beings and men and women (i.e. husbands and wives) take to the sport of riding the swing. In Abhijñānaśākuntalam Kālidāsa has referred to the term 'Rtūtsava' in -

1. Paramāras pp 291-292.

2. Skt. Eng. Dict. under Madanatrayaḍaṣī.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. p. 849.

5. Paramāras p. 290.

6. पौरलोकपरितोषहेतोश्च वसन्तादिषु सविशेषप्रवृत्तोत्सवां निर्गत्य नगरीमपश्यत्।

7. सूत्रधारः । अलमतिविस्तरेण । अद्याहं वसन्तोत्सवे । सबहुमानमाहूय नानादिदेशागतेन राज्ञः श्रीहर्षदेवस्य पादपद्मोपजीविना राजसमूहेनोक्तः Ratnāvalī C. R. Devadhar an N. G. Suru p. 4.

8. Notes to Ratn. p. 10.

9. नन्वद्यैव प्रथमं वसन्तावतारसूचकनि रक्ताशोककुसुमान्युपायनं प्रेष्य नववसन्तोत्सवापदेशेन इरावत्या निपुणिकामुखेन प्रार्थितो भवानिच्छाभ्यार्यपुत्रेण सह दोलाधिरोहणमनुभवितुमिति । Māli. v. Act. III p. 70 M. R. Kale.

“किं नु खलु ऋतुत्सवेऽपि निरुत्सवारम्भमिव राजकुलं दृश्यते”¹

The sprout of the mango tree is deemed the all-in-all of the life of the Spring months (Season) being the auspicious harbinger of the season.

‘आताम्रहरितपाण्डुरं जीवितसर्ववसन्तमासस्य (योः) ।

दृष्टोऽसि चूतकोरकऋतुमंगलं त्वां प्रसादयामि॥’²

Cuckoo gets maddened at the sight of the mango blossom. The maidens enjoy the privilege of intoxicated movements and raving ditties or impassioned songs. Standing on tip-toe the ladies worship the God of love with mango blossom in hand. The worship marking the celebration of the spring festival is as under :-

“Here do I offer you, O mango blossom, to the God of Love, who has taken up his bow. Do you become the most effective arrow of his fire, having for you making the young wives of men journeying abroad.”³

The word 'Vasantotsava' also occurs following on -

“कंचुकी- मा तावदनात्मजे। देवेन प्रतिषिद्धे वसन्तोत्सवे त्वामास्रकलिकाभंगं किमारभसे।”⁴

Dhanapāla describes the glory of spring in its festal melee as under -

“Spring season is the sole abode of loveliness of the entire triad of worlds, the paramount sovereign of the seasons, creating morbid transformations in the blooming youth rendered goadless, shattering the hopes of life of the wives of the journeying men, making the Cupid void of compassion, making the fresh stalks of mangoes bend low with the weight of blossoms.”⁵ The advent of Spring has been associated with the festivities on the 13th of the full moon day (of Caitra) the day on which Kāmadeva is honoured and worshipped.

“Today there is the festival or procession, in the shrine of Cupid, ensued on the thirteenth (of the full moon day) of Madana (i.e. Kāma). The entire

1. Abhi. Śāk Act. Vi p. 210. M.R. Kale edition.

2. Ibid. verse 2.

3. प्रथमा चूतकलिकां दृष्ट्वोन्मत्ता परभृतिका भवति।

द्वितीया सहर्षं त्वरयोपगम्य कथमुपस्थितो मधुमासः।

प्रथमा मधुकरिके तवेदानीं कालः एषः मदविभ्रमगीतानाम्।

द्वितीया सखि अवलम्बस्वमाः यावदग्रपाद स्थिता भूत्वा चूतकलिकां गृहीत्वा कामदेवार्चनं करोमि।

त्वमसि मया चूतांकुरदत्तः कामाय गृहीतधनुषे पथिकजनयुवतिलक्ष्यः पंचाभ्यधिकः शरो भव। Ibid.

4. Ibid. p. 214.

5. मुकुलभरनघनूतनाम्रस्तम्बे..... निष्करुणमकरध्वजे..... जर्जरिताध्वगवधूजनजीविताशे निरंकुशीकृताभिनवयौवनविकारे चक्रवर्तिनि प्रवृत्ते सकलत्रैलोक्यरामणीयकैकवसतौ वसन्तसमये। TM Sm. ed. pp. 297-298.

group of women of the town have started for the temple garden known as Kusumākara, attired in variegated costumes. You too start off having prepared all the equipage meant for worship, surrounded by your friends. Perform special adoration with devout faith for the extermination of all the hurdles."¹

"शक्रादिसुरवृन्दारकप्रतिष्ठितस्य देवताविशेषस्य यात्राव्यतिकरेण वा भवितव्यम्"²

refers to the legend of procession or festival of the special deity brought to eminence by great gods such as Indra. In other words it refers to the 'Indramaha'³ or the Indradhvajocchrāya⁴ a festival in honour of Indra (Indrotsava),⁵ known as 'Dhvajamaha' and 'Śākramaha' in Nāṭyaśātra.⁶

According to Dr. Bhatia -

"The 8th day of the light half of Bhādrapada was the day of Indradhvajocchrāya or the raising of the flag staff of Indra, when the moon was in śrāvanapakṣatra and the visarjana was to take place at the end of Bharaninapakṣatra. It was the duty of the king to raise the flags staff with due ceremonies."

"पद्मरागकलशैः प्रकाशिताकालदीपोत्सवविलासम्।"

refers to the festival of Dipāvalī (Diwali) (TM Vol. II p.320, LL 6-7). Apart from this

"सा चेयं देवी जन्मदिनमहोत्सवश्रीविश्राणितोभयश्रेणिचरखेचरगणानन्दा"

there is reference to a festal gathering on a birth day.⁷

7. FOOD AND DRINKS

According to the Chāndogya and the Taittiriyaopaniṣads¹ Food is the strength giving agent. Abstinence leads to ill-health. Food develops the

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1. भर्तृदारिके, देवी समादिशति अद्य अद्यमदनत्रयोदशीप्रवृत्ता मन्सथायतने यात्रा। प्रस्थितो विचित्रनेपथ्यधारी समग्रोऽपि नगरनारीजनः कुसुमाकराह्वयं मन्दिरारामम्। त्वमपि सर्जकृताशेषपूजोपकारणा प्रवर्तस्व परिवृत्ता सखीजनेन। निर्वर्तय विशेषपूजामशेषविघ्नोपशमाय परमया भक्त्या। TM. Sm. ed. p. 298.
 2. TM Vol. III p. 301.
 3. Monier Williams under Indra maha.
 4. Paramāras p. 291.
 5. NN -. 6. Rāmacandra Sharma.
 6. NS I 1. 54. 55. 75, Vol. I pp 5, 6, 7, Manmohan Ghosh.
अयं ध्वजमहः श्रीमान् महेन्द्रस्य प्रवर्तते।
ततस्तस्मिन्, ध्वजमहे निहतासुरदानवैः।
प्रयोग, प्रस्तुते ह्येवं स्फुर्यते शक्रमहे पुनः।
 7. TM Vol.III, p.II, LL 7-8

faculties of mind. It helps one become great in offspring and cattle and in the splendours of sacred wisdom. It is called Sarvausadha or panacea or healing herb of all. It is called anna because it is eaten. It is called Pitu because it provides nutriment.²

Because of this all embracing importance of anna, its variety in literature has assumed numerous forms such as cereals and pulses, Dairy products, Meat Deit, oils and oil seeds. Fluids and drinks also played a significant role though their evil effects were apparent on their excessive use. Fruits and vegetables equally enhanced its variety. Dhanapāla's Tilakamañjarī has not lagged behind in recounting all such types of food.³ He has mentioned the terms 'Anna' and 'Pāna' which has been explained by the commentator as -

‘तण्डुलचूर्णादीनि’ and ‘जलदुग्धादिपेयवस्तूनि। भक्ष्यलेह्यपेयप्रकारम्।’

He has also mentioned which refer to edibles, condiments and drinks. 'Taṇḍula' or rice and 'Cūrṇa' or flour-come within the range of cereals while 'Jala' and 'dugdha' i.e. water and milk come within the range of drinks. Of the cereals Dhanapāla has mentioned 'Akṣata',⁴ 'Kalama',⁵ 'Tandula',⁶ 'Vrīhi',⁷ 'Śāli',⁸ 'nīvāra',⁹ - all these being different varieties of rice and śasya for corn as a general term. Akṣata was the unhusked rice while kalama was the red rice. Taṇḍula, Vrīhi and Śāli were the different varieties of white rice and nīvāra was the wild rice.

“Khaṇḍaśāli” and ‘Taṇḍula’ have been distinguished as two different varieties of rice at a different place.¹⁰ Taṇḍula has been explained by Monier Williams as rice obtained after threshing and winnowing.¹¹

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1. CH. Up. VII 9. 1. p. 477 Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Taitt. Up. III 9.1. p. 559. अन्नवान् अन्नदौ भवति। महान् भवति प्रजया पशुभिः ब्रह्मवर्चसेन, महान् कीर्त्या।
 2. RV. I. 61. 7. 132, 6, 187. 1. VI 20. 4. Vājasanī.
 - II. 20-XVI. 65 etc. See also Food and Drinks in Ancient India by Dr. Om Prakash p. 7. Āśvalāyan Gṛahyasūtra I. 16. 2-5 pp. 39-40 (Vināyaka Gaṇesh Apte) Pune.
 3. सविशेषपत्रपान..... etc. TM Vol. II p. 164.
 4. TM Vol. II p. 176, Vol. III p. 83.
 5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 34, Vol. II p. 255.
 6. Ibid. Vol. III p. 130.
 7. Ibid. Vol. II p. 260.
 8. Ibid. Vol. III p. 340.
 9. Ibid. Vol. III, p. 133, Vol. II p. 322.
 10. TM Sm. ed. p. 305.
 11. Skt. Eng. Dic. under taṇḍula.

Śāli according to him is any grain of a smaller character as rice or grain of rice.¹

Vr̥hi is rice ripening in the rainy season.²

Kalama³ is the rice that is sown in May and June and ripens in December and January. Khaṇḍaśāli may be a variety of sweet rice or rice broken to pieces.

“Lāja”⁴ fried grains (of rice) have been mentioned.

“Priyaṅgu”⁵ according to Monier Williams is ‘Italian Millet’, long pepper, saffron. Panic seed or mustard seed,⁶ but a variety of rice according to Dr. Om Parkash.⁷

‘Odana’ is the rice porridge or ‘bhāta’ or cooked rice or grain mashed and cooked with milk or any pap or pulpy substance. Of the Dairy Products- Dhanapāla has mentioned Ājya (clarified butter), dadhi (curd), in “प्रकटितौदनाज्यदधिभाण्ड”⁸ etc.

meaning thereby the dishes containing the cooked rice, clarified butter and curd. It may even mean the serving of dishes containing cooked rice mixed with curd and clarified butter forming staple food.

“अजिरमण्डपच्छायानिविष्टगोरसमरिपुष्टमहाकायपुष्ट कौलेयकैः”⁹

refers to ‘Gorasa’ which had nourished the bodies of the terriers. ‘Gorasa’ is milk, butter-milk or curdled milk according to Monier Williams.¹⁰ The commentator construes - ‘गोरसेन-पयोदधिधृतादिना’¹¹ i.e. substances such as milk, curd and ghee.

1. Skt. Eng. Dic. p. 1068.

2. Ibid. p. 1043.

3. Ibid. p. 260.

4. TM Vol. II 210, Vol. II p. 254.

5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 255, Vol. II p. 273, Vol. III p. 86.

6. Skt. Eng. Dict. under Priyaṅgu.

7. Food and Drinks in Ancient India p. 87.

8. TM Vol. II p. 256.

9. Ibid. Vol. II p. 257.

10. Skt. Eng. Dict. Gorasa.

11. TM Vol. II p. 257 Commentary.

गौरसश्रीभिरिव शरीरिणीभिः-

गोपललनाभिः- Ibid. Vol. II p. 258.

Dhanapāla has referred to the preparation of butter milk or whey by means of the process of churning with a churning stick inside the churned milk, the noise of the churning being heard with ears rapt attentive by the calves, the splashes of the drops of inspissated butter milk (M. Williams) and hot ghee apparent from the spreading odour, springing up with a noise.¹ 'Pāyasa'² which literally means 'anything prepared from milk'³ has also been construed as a food prepared with milk, (esp.) rice boiled in milk or an oblation of milk and rice and sugar.⁴ The commentator takes it to be 'Kṣīrāṇṇa'⁵ i.e., food prepared with milk - 'Khīra' in modern Indian languages, a combination of rice decocted in milk, ghee, sugar etc.

"तुहिनपातशीनहैयंगवीन"⁶ refers to Haiyaṅgavīna i.e.,⁷ clarified butter prepared from yesterday's milking or fresh butter inspissated by the mixing of ice.

"स्नेहनिर्भराणिदधोनि"⁸ refers to the curd abounding in unctuousness or greasy elements.

"Sarpīḥ"⁹ is again clarified butter i.e. melted butter with the scum cleared off, commonly called 'ghee', the fluid or solidified.¹⁰ 'Navanīta'¹¹ is the word used for butter also.

Of the sweetmeats we find mention of 'Khaṇḍamodaka',¹² treacle, candied sugar or sweet-balls made of candied sugar - "Laḍḍu" in Hindi. Khaṇḍa may even mean the small bits of inspissated milk and grams-flour. The balls prepared out of the congestion of these bits may be called Khaṇḍa-modakas or 'Būndī Ke Laḍḍu'.

"फेनिकाशोकवर्तिखण्डवेष्टमोदकप्रायपक्वान्नबहुलेन"

1. सकलकलोच्छलत्राज्यपरिमलव्यञ्जिततसाज्यतक्रबिन्दुक्षेपैरुत्कर्णतर्णकाकर्णितमध्यमानमथितमन्थनीमन्थरनिर्घोषैः ।

TM. II. p. 257. LL. 3-4.

2. Ibid.

3. M. Williams under Pāyasa.

4. Ibid. under Kṣīra.

5. Comm. to TM Vol. II p. 257.

6. TM Vol. II p. 258.

7. M. Williams Maiyaṅgavīna.

8. TM Vol. II p. 258, Vol. III p. 59.

9. Ibid. Vol. II p. 258, Vol. II p. 296.

10. M. Williams under Sarpīḥ.

11. TM Vol. II p. 258.

12. M. Williams under Khaṇḍamodaka. TM Vol. II p. 256.

“विनष्टाः क्षारोदकेन मोदकाः”¹

Refers to - “Phenikā,” the same as Phenaka (Hindi Phenī)—cakes of fine wheat flour coated with sugar² - ‘Aśokavartti’ or sevian (sweet tendrils soaked and cooked in ghee, sugar etc.), Khaṇḍaveṣṭa modaka’ i.e. the sweet balls rounded up having been prepared from sugar candy and gram-flour etc.

Regarding the Meat diet Dhanapāla has mentioned the term - अमिषमाहारः which literally denotes the same significance. The reference is to the context of the vetāla Mahodara who in order to test the mettle of Meghavāhana presents himself in a perfectly hideous garb, who distinguishes the Meat diet as the special food habit of the night-rovers who like the tigers take to the eating of flesh earned by the prowess of their arms, from the diet of the birds, beasts and men who take fruits, bulbous roots and edibles (cereals etc.).³ He even stresses upon the non-adaptability⁴ of Brāhmaṇas to taking of meat-diet along with the description of the taste of wine which they do not take at all and simply manifest their aptitude for describing the real essence of the materials not fit to be eaten. It covertly implies that Brāhmaṇas did not know the taste of wine proper and could simply describe the charm of its taste in words and even go to the extent of counting articles that were ‘prohibited as a food.’⁵ Mahodara’s reference easily alludes to Meat as a diet prohibited for the Brāhmaṇas. “Anna” pertaining to cereals and pulses has been considered to be the special diet of men.

“Ārdravallūra”⁶ has been employed to mean ‘greasy meat’.

“प्रतिचुल्लिप्यमानशूलीकृतानेकश्वापदपिशिताभिः”⁷

refers to the meat of many beasts mounted on spits and being roasted on every hearth in the forest land adjoining to the regions of Kāmarūpa in Prāgjyotiṣa (Modern Assam).

“प्रतिजलाशयमासीनानायवडिशहस्तकैवर्तीभिः”⁸

refers to fishermen carrying meshes and fishing hooks meant to catch fish from the puddles for the purpose of fish-eating.

1. TM Sm. ed. p. 305, Vol. II p. 296.

2. Food and Drinks in Ancient India p. 290.

3. नरेन्द्र, न वयं पक्षिणः न पशवः, न मनुष्याः कथं फलानि मूलान्यत्रं चाहारामः क्षपाचराः खलु वयम्, व्याघ्राणामिववास्माकंमात्नभुजविक्रमोपक्रीतमामिषमाहारः। TM Vol. I p. 135.

4. किमनेन कर्णद्विगजनकेन द्विजस्येव मदिरा स्वादसौन्दर्यकथनेन भक्ष्येतरवस्तुतत्त्वप्रकाशनेन। Ibid. p.135

5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 305.

6. Ibid. Vol. III p. 64.

7. Ibid.

“प्रत्यग्रपलशकल”¹ refers to ‘Pala’ as a synonym for meat.

“कचिदामिषाशनश्येनाश्येनहेलाक्रम्यमाण कृत्रिमविहंगम्”¹²

refers to falcons as the eaters of meat. Of the fruits and vegetables, oils and oilseeds Dhanapāla has mentioned some of the popular ingredients.

Of the dry and sweet fruits he has mentioned.

Pūga³-(arecanut-supārī in Hindi).

Elā⁴-cardamom-(Ilāyçī).

Lavaṅga⁵-clove (Lauṅga).

Nāga⁶-betelnut.

Purīnāga⁷-nutmeg fruit.

Kakkolaka⁸-a type of berries.

Mātuliṅga⁹ (luṅga)-citron.

Nāraṅga¹⁰-orange-Hindi Nāraṅgī.

Nālikerī¹¹-coconut.

Jambīra¹²-Lemon.

Dāḍima¹³-Pomegranate-Anāra in Hindi.

Kadali¹⁴-plantain or banana.

Cūta¹⁵-Mango.

Pippalī¹⁶-Pepper. A red one.

1. TM. Vol. III p. 71.

2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 95.

3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 71.

4. एलालवङ्गनागपुत्रागसंकटम्। नागलतावनद्वबालपूरां नागवल्लीदलाद्द्रुं पूगीफलानि क्रमुकवृक्ष लवङ्गवकोल Ibid. Vol. III p. 173. Vol. III p. 85.

5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 173. Vol. III p. 85.

6. Ibid. Vol. III p. 173. Vol. III p. 85.

7. Ibid. Vol. III p. 173. Vol. III p. 85.

8. उत्कटोत्कलितकक्कोलकफलाभेदम्। TM. III. P. 85. LL 7-8

9. उद्गाढफलितमातुलिङ्गं नारङ्गनालिकेरीजम्बेरसुभगम् पानिफलापीड TM. III. P. 85.

10. Ibid. p. 305.

11. Ibid. p. 305.

12. Ibid. p. 305.

13. आपोनफलापीडपीडितदाडिमीखण्डम् TM. III p. 86

14. उद्गण्डराजकललीमन्दिरप्रभाकन्दलितान्धकारम् TM. III p. 85

15. आरब्धकेलिकलहकोकिलकुलाकुलितकलिकावितचूतमालम् Ibid. p. 86.

16. ववचिदालीढपिप्पलीफल etc. TM. III p. 172

“नारंगपनसकदलप्रायमशनम्”¹ refers to orange, Panasa or Kaṭahal in Hindi, banana as the staple food of the inhabitants of Kāñcī.

“नालिकेरीफलरसप्रायं पानम्”² refers to the drink of the same people that consisted mainly of the juice of the fruit of coconut, Sahakāra³-Mango.

“तालफलरसमधूनि”⁴ refers to the drinks of the juice of the fruit of palmyra palm.

आमलकीफल⁵ “प्राचीनामलकतिलकितक्षितितलाभिः” पूर्या आम्ला⁶ the fruit of emric myrobalan of eastern region especially.

“पुण्डरीकेक्षु” white sugarcane and Jalajambū.

“माक्षिकेशुरसकुम्भे”⁷ the pitcher full of juice of the sugarcane having taste of honey.

Kapittha⁸ (Hindi Kaith). wood apple

Of the vegetables he mentions -

Trapaṣa⁹ - a kind of cucumber, Karkāruka¹⁰ - very small pumpkin-Hindi Choṭāpethā. Kārvellaka¹¹ - Karelā or bitter gourd, Kūṣmāṇḍa¹² - Pumpkin gourd Hindi Sītāphala, Tuṇḍīraka¹³ - Brinjal etc.¹⁴ (Vārdāka)

Oil is represented by the word-taila which is a product of tila or sesame. Madhupāna has been mentioned as the expression meaning drinking of liquor. Madhu is a variety of liquor as also

1. TM. Vol. III p. 172, Sm. ed. p. 305. Nārangī.

2. Ibid. and Sm. ed. p. 305.

3. Ibid. Vol. III pp 173-174 Sm. ed. p. 301.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 272 Vol. III p. 164.

See Article of Prof. V. Venkatachalam (Ujjain M. P.) in Dr. V. Raghavan Feliction Vol. pp. 469-474. L. D. Series ed. p. 136. I. 22 NSPE 234 I. 7.

6. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 304, Vol. III p. 155.

7. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 305.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid. Vol. II p. 261, Sm. ed. p. 205.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. 973. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 305.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

अतिनीलसुरभिषु गृहोपवनेषु वनितासखैर्विलासिभिरनुभूयमानमधुपानोत्सवा¹

The juice of grapes is Madhu according to Kauṭilya.²

'Āsava'³ is another variety of wine referred to by Dhanapāla, though it occurs here as a generic name for wine appended to the word.

According to Kauṭilya -

One tulā of the wood-apple fruit, five tulās of treacle and a prastha of honey form the mixture for the āsava.

'āpānakamardalaiḥ'⁴ refers to 'āpānaka' as a drinking bout or carousal.

"आलीढफलमधुवार",⁵ again refers to Madhu, the juice of fruits such as Grapes etc.

'पानगोष्ठोगृहमिवाखिलमधुव्रतव्रातानाम्',⁶ refers to a drinking revelry in 'Pānagoṣṭhī'.

"नालिकेरीफलरसप्रायपानम्",⁷ refers to the juice of the cocoanut fruits serving a liquor for the people of Kāñcī.

"तालफलरसमधूनि",⁸ refers to the wine prepared out of the juice of the fruit of the palmyra palm.

'Sīdhu'⁹ is another type of wine referred to by Dhanapāla in', 'सोधुभृंगारधारिणा'

'Sīdhu'¹⁰ according to Dr. Om Prakash was prepared with the juice of sugarcane and dhātakī flowers. 'Kāpiśāyanam' is another expression denoting 'a kind of spirituous liquor' (M. Williams) and "द्राक्षारसात्मकं मद्यविशेषम्"¹¹ (also commentary Le. 28) It seems to have been a favourite drink of non-āryans. Kauṭilya takes as a juice grapes. Two kinds of Sīdhus are mentioned one prepared from boiled juice¹² and the other from unboiled juice.

1. TM Vol. I p. 46.

2. मृद्वीकारसो मधु KAŚ II 25. 24 part I p. 79, Part II p. 178.

3. कफित्थतुलाफणितं पंचतोलीकं प्रस्थो मधुनः इत्यासवयोगः। KAŚ II 25. 19 Part I p. 79.

4. TM Vol. III p. 64, part II p. 177.

5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 92.

6. Ibid. Vol. III p. 148, also Sm. ed. p. 324.

7. Ibid. Vol. III p. 172.

8. Ibid. Vol. III p. 173.

9. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 301.

10. Food & Drinks in Ancient India p. 300.

11. TM Vol. I, p. 74, L-7

12. Caraka Sūtrasthāna XV. 6. L-18, p. 126

“स्वादुफलरसैरासवविशेषैः” and विद्याधरेन्द्रगृहिणीभिः प्रेषितानपूर्वपरिमलमुचः फलपुष्पासवान्¹²

refers to ‘āsavas’ prepared out of floral and fruit juices. Regarding the Culinary art and cooking utensils we get the relevant information. ‘Rasavatī, is the expression employed for the kitchen and ‘Bhojanaśālā’ for the ‘Dining Hall’.

The smoke in the kitchen had come to a cease, the porches were being plastered, the seats were being cleansed, the utensils made of bell metal and silver were being cleaned, the variety of dainties were being served in the Dining Hall etc.³

‘Āhāraṃaṇḍapa’⁴ is another variant for the Dining Hall which has been described in all its variety of paraphernalia and formalism required to be observed inside it.

King Meghavāhana went to the Dining Hall, with attire assumed at the time of having a promenade, cast aside and with his sprout like feet washed by the group of attendants having cleansed his moon-like face bearing lines of drops of perspiration caused by fatigue and cadaverous with dust raised by the tumult of the army, with cold water poured by the servant carrying ice-cold water and approaching in haste, having rinsed a few mouthfuls of water having thrown them into the bejewelled spittoon placed in front, having cleaned the face along with sprout like hands, with the soft cloth brought in haste by the towel-bearing man advancing his hand in front, fanned slowly by another attendant holding a fan wet with water and carried in esteem, having waited for a while, with water carrying servants worried and running being attracted by the harsh notes of the army standing at the door side, with the surface of the floor being turned into a layer by the offerings of flowers wilted and thrown asunder, a large number of food-serving men or dining men assembled near the courtyard, many thousands

1. TM Sm. ed. p. 394.

2. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 373.

3. निवृत्तरसवतीधूमेषु समुपलिप्यमानाजरिभूमिषु प्रक्षाल्यमानासनेषु मार्ज्यमानकांस्वरजतादिभाजनेषु भोजनशालासंचार्यमाणविविधाहारपाकेषु Ibid. Vol. II p. 167.

4. व्यपास्तसकलविहारकालकल्पितवेषः प्रक्षालितचरणपल्लवश्च परिचारकगणेन सत्वरोपसुतधृतकरकीङ्करावर्जितेन शिशरवारिणा प्रक्षाल्य बलसंक्षोभधूलिधूसरश्रमस्वेदलवलेखं मुखेन्दुमग्रतः स्थापिते मणिपतद्गृहके प्रक्षिप्य कतिपयानुदकगण्डूषानुपस्पृश्य परिमृज्य चाभ्यग्रहस्तशाटकग्राहिसत्वरोपदौकितेन वस्त्रपल्लवेन सहस्रपल्लवं वदनमादरगृहीतजलाद्रतालवृत्तेनान्यतमपरिचारकेण मन्दमन्दमुपवीज्यमानो मुहुर्तमिव स्थित्वा द्वारदेशस्थकटक-करवाकृष्टधावमानसंभ्रान्तवारिकम्, उत्सारितकृन्तपुष्पबलितलिनायमानकुट्टिमोत्सङ्गम्, अङ्गणोपान्त-पुंजीभूतभूरिभुंजानकलोकम्, औत्सुक्यतरलारालिकश्रेणिंसंचार्यमाणानेककांचनस्थालीसहस्रम्, आदरव्यापृताक्षपरोगव-निरीक्ष्यमाणश्चुदपरिजनप्रवेशनिर्मावस्थानम्, अनिलताडितोद्दण्डकाण्डपटकप्रस्तुताकाण्डताण्डव माहामण्डपमयासीत्। Ibid. Vol. II pp 169-170.

of gold-caldrons being moved across by the rows of cooks moving in anxiety the ingress as well as the egress of the lowly servants being supervised by the Head Cooks appointed through honour the untimely frantic dance being displayed by the tent canopies erected on staves and moved by the wind. The word 'Āhāramaṇḍapa' (TM II. p.231, L-10) also occurs where detained by Meghavāhana and accompanied by Samaraketu, Harivāhana performed his activities such as taking of food etc. And sitting in the verandan of the 'Āhāramaṇḍapa' or Dining Hall, he met Sudrṣṭi, the chief officer of the Royal records.

“सूदृशप्रमदाप्रायेण मदिरावती परिजनेन”¹

Here the terms 'Vārikam', 'Bhuñjānakaloka', 'ārālika', Kāñcanasthālī Sahasra' are technical, meaning 'the professional water carrying servants', 'the persons meant to take food', 'cooks', 'caldrons in thousands, made of gold'.

'Caldron' has

पिठरः रं, उखा, कुंडं, स्थाली,

for its synonyms in Sanskrit. It means a basin in which vegetables, pulses, rice etc. are boiled and cooked, a 'Hāṇḍī' in Hindi or a 'Patilā' a 'Kettle' in English.

“विविधवितीर्णविततरत्नस्थालशतशक्तिक्षितितले नृपासनासन्नानिषण्णमिषजि संनिधापितशुक-
सारिकाचकौर क्रौञ्चकोकिलप्रमुखपत्रिणि— वाररमणीभिरूपनीयमानमनोऽभिलषितानेकभक्ष्यपेयप्रकरो यथा
स्थानमुपविष्टेन प्रधानपार्थिवगणनान्येन च प्रणयिना राजलोकेन परिवृतः कुर्वन्नन्तरान्तरा सह सुहृद्भिः
नर्मभोजनकर्म निरवर्तयत्”²

This narrative contains 'ratnasthāla'⁴ which seems to differ in significance from 'sthālī', meaning thereby the big expansive receptacle meant to hold dishes, rice, dainties and cups full of pulses and vegetable-
'Thāla' in Hindi and Punjabi : plate, cup, bowl, dish, caldron etc.

According to Dr. Om Prakash⁵ -

'Sthālī' is one of the utensils which Indians have been using at least since the time of the Yajurveda.⁶ Dr. B.N. Puri and Dr. P.D. Agnihotra and

1. TM Vol. II, p. 231, L-8.

2. The Students English Sanskrit Dictionary V. S. Apte. under Sthālī Skt. Dictionary. M. Williams.

3. TM Vol. II pp 170-171.

4. Skt. Eng. Dict. M. Williams under Sthāla.

5. Food and Drinks in Ancient India Appendix V p. 258.

6. Vaj Sam XIX 27, 86. AV VIII 6. 17.

in their publication 'India in the times of Patañjalī' p. 100¹ explained the word as 'a big earthen dish or pan now known as Sthālī. It would be seen from the following references that the word all along has the sense of a cooking utensil. In the Mānasollāsa² it is mentioned at two places and at both the places it is used for cooking meat. In the Amarakośa sthālī is given as synonym of Piṭhara and Ukhā which are both cooking utensils.³

In the Daśakumāracarita a girl asks her companions to bring a sthālī from the market for cooking rice for a guest.⁴ In the Nalapākadarpaṇa a sthālī is used for boiling rice.⁵ In the epics sthālī is said to have a neck and is used for cooking vegetables and other food articles and storing liquids such as curds.⁶ In the Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣads and the Sūtras the word sthālīpāka has very often been used and means any food article cooked in a sthālī.⁷

In view of all these references in the classical as well as Vedic literature's it seems almost certain that sthālī has the sense of a cooking utensil, even in Patañjalī. This interpretation is also supported by the phrase 'sthālīpākanyāya' which means just as we know about the quality of rice cooked in a sthālī by taking out one grain of boiled rice from it so do we judge the whole by its part."

Darvī⁸ is the term used for a ladle which is a utensil meant to collect cooked food from the caldrons or kettles.

Katāha⁹ - a vat or a utensil with a hollow expanse-Kaḍāhī in Hindi.

'Ghaṭītāmraabhājanam'¹⁰ - a copper vessel in the form of a small ewer.

Apart from this -

1. According to Dr. P. D. Agnihotri Patañjalīkāḷina Bhārata p. 210.

जिस पात्र में औदन पकाते थे, उसे स्थाली कहते थे।

2. Mānasollāsa III 1460, 1461 and II 1466.

3. पिठरः स्थाल्युखा कुण्डकलशस्तु, त्रिषु द्वयोः। Amarakośa II 1769 p. 81.

4. मितपचांस्थालीमुभे शरावै चाहर इति। DKC. VI p. 161 M. R. Kale.

5. p. 6.

6. Mbh. Van. 263-24.

7. Ait. Br. I. 11., Bṛhad. Up. VI 4. 19, Ap. Śr. Sū. I. 3. 7. 7. 8, ĀśV. Gr. Sū. II 1. 5. Khādir. Gr. Sū. II 226, Pār. Gr. Sū. I 15. 4. Gobhila Gr. Su. I 5. 20.

8. TM Sm. ed. p. 374.

9. Ibid. Vol. III p. 59.

10. Ibid.

“समनन्तरमेव सत्वरमागतैर्माहानसिकपुरुषैरुपनीतमतिहृद्यवर्णगन्धरसमुत्कृष्टमूल्यसंपद्धिः सुपकार-
शास्त्रोपलब्धैर्यथावसरमुपकल्पितैरनल्पबहुभिर्नवेदुण्यतद्रव्यविशेषैरुपस्कृतानेकमक्षयलेह्यपेय
प्रकारानास्वादयंचकार परिवृतो राजपुत्रैरुपवने तत्रैवाहारम्”¹

referring to Harivāhana anguished with love for Tilakamañjarī taking his food in the garden where he tasted all types of drinks, condiments, edibles prepared out of diverse articles prepared in accordance with the need of the hour and recognised under the culinary lore (lit. the lore connected with the curry-makers i.e., the cooks) having ingredients of highly priced values with tastes, flavours and colours of palatability provided by the persons incharge of the Kitchen who had come quite readily is reminiscent of the typical way the kitchen work was attached importance to. The terms ‘Māhānasika’, ‘Sūpakāra’ and the lore connected with them, ‘Bhakṣyalchya’ and ‘Peya’ are significant here.

“शुद्धान्तदासीभिर्महानसादानीयानीय संचार्यमाणानेकैः सूपकारैः प्रत्येकमारोपितविशिष्टतरसंस्कारा-
न्मण्डपान्तरतिभूयसो भक्ष्यप्रकारान्”²

referring to the Dining chamber of Tilakamañjarī refer to the female attendants of the royal kitchen serving food through the Sūpakāras or prepares of curry. Curry may be of meat or of pulses, vegetables etc.

“पुरोनिविष्टरन्धनदक्षदासीसंधुक्षितानलासुज्वलन्तीषु सर्वतः क्रथनवाचालस्थालीपरम्परापरिकरितचूलासु
प्रांगणचुह्वीषु”³

along with

“मकरिके! मार्जयसितेन रसवतीचुल्लिचन्दनभस्मना समस्तादर्शभवनम्”⁴

refer to ‘Randhana’ meaning cooking process taking place on the hearths in the square with their upper parts occupied by series of caldrons or kettles resounding owing to the decocting process, on all sides and burning with fires smouldered by the maid-servants skilled in cooking and sitting in front-and use of sandal wood in hearths the ashes of which were used to cleanse the mirror panels or door panels. ‘Culli’ may mean a frying hearth or furnace or fire-brand and sthālī may mean a frying pan.

“उपस्पृश्य चाग्रातधूपधूमवर्ति”⁵

“प्रारब्धधूमपानाधोमुखैः”⁶

1. TM. Vol. III p. 26.

2. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 373.

3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 269.

4. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 373.

5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 26.

6. Ibid. Vol. III p. 132.

“उपस्पृश्य च समाव्रतधूपधूमवर्ति”¹

गृहीत्वा च ताम्बूलम्

refer to rinsing the mouth after taking food, smoking and chewing of betel roll.

According to Dr. Om Prakash,² the smoking in the modern fashion using tobacco, started, in India about 1600 A.D., when Portuguese came here. In our ancient past we had other means and better ingredients, far more fragrant and health-giving, which gave the fullest satisfaction to the smoker not only without injuring his health but also improving it. Bāṇa in his Kādambarī and Dāmodargupta in his ‘Kuṭṭanīmata’ have given recipes of ingredients used in the cigar type fragrant stick meant for smoking.

Of Dhūmavartis, as these cigar-like preparations are called in our books, the medical works mention five types— the ordinary Prāyogikī which was meant for daily use and four others which were used to cure certain ailments. Their names are given by Śuśruta as-

“प्रायोगिकः, श्लेहिको, वैरेचनिकः, कासघ्नो, वामनीयः”³

The Prāyogikavarti consisted of aromatic ingredients like cardamom, saffron, sandal wood, aloe wood and uśīra. To these were added resin and the nicely cut thin barks of trees like banyan and the pipal all of which are known to burn very quickly and have some fragrance of their own. The resulting mixture was then ground finely, made into a paste and coated on a hollow reed nearly six inches long, which when dried had the thickness of a thumb. The reed was removed when dried and the resulting cigar-like varti was smeared with clarified butter before use. It yielded one of the most agreeable smokes.”⁴

tāmbūla also occurs variantly as Pūga, Nāga Vallī and Kramuka in -

“प्रलघुवेत्रकरण्डिकाक्रोडनिहितकतिपयताम्बूलवीटकसनाथाम्”⁵

“इयमुत्क्षिप्तपाण्डुपत्रवीटका समुपसृत्य सत्त्वाप्रसारिते तिर्यगुपनयति ताम्बूलमस्याः”⁶

“सुन्दराणि लवलीलतासदनानि पुगगहनानि नागवल्ली पत्रमण्डपकतलकुट्टिमानि च”⁷

“निरन्तरक्रमुकवनानि”⁸

1. TM. Vol. II p. 171.

2. Food and Drinks in Ancient India pp 255, 256.

3. Śū. Sam. Cikitsā 40. 3.

4. Food and Drinks in Ancient India, pp. 255-256. Śuśruta (Cikitsāstāna) 40.4

5. TM Vol. III p. 6.

6. Ibid. Vol. III p. 9.

7. Ibid. Vol. III p. 8, Vol. III p. 71.

8. Ibid. Vol. III p. 285.

According to Dr. Om Prakash¹

There is no reference to *tāmbūla* in the Vedic Saṁhitās, the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras. Even the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Smṛtis of Manu and Yājñavalkya make no mention of it. This conclusively proves that the custom was not prevalent among the Vedic Aryans.

According to Dr. K.A.N. Shastri the habit of eating betel leaves with lime and arecanut perhaps came into use after the Saṁgam Age. But the custom may be prior to 200 B.C. as there are references to it in some of the early Buddhist and Jain works. Kauṭilya (II,17.6) mentions betel nut but does not refer to the custom of betel chewing. Caraka, Kāśyapa and Śuśruta refer to the practice and Caraka mentions all the ingredients used in the preparation of betel leaves such as arecanut, cube pepper, cloves, nutmegs and cardamom. The Kāmasūtra (I, 5.34), the Brhatsaṁhitā, the Kuṭṭanīmata verse 148 and Raghuvamśa refer to the custom. Dandī Subandhu and Bāṇa mention it.

The custom may be a Tantricone. J.S. Pade (JORI Baroda, Vol. VII, 1957-58) thinks that it was prevalent among the Śūdras from the earliest times but was adopted by the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas when they gave up Vedic Saṁskāras and were initiated by the Brāhmaṇas into the Tantric cult. According to Śrī Pade, since then the use of Tāmbūla became popular among all sections of the Hindu society.

8. PASTIMES AND SPORTS

Dhanapāla has referred to the swing ride entailing the journey in the different quarters as a favourite pastime of men and women of Ayodhyā.²

He has referred to the diverse personal sports and sources of regalement of King Meghavāhana who delegating all powers of responsibility to his able counsellors took to them in order to achieve the accomplishment of Trivarga i.e. Dharma, Artha and Kāma, the three main values of life.

“Sometimes he acted like Lāṅgalī or the plough-shared one i.e. Balarāma, with body unmasked in azure garments and attracted afar the loving maidens during the nights of the dark fortnights, with their limbs anointed with fresh unguents and deer-musk as did the latter carry after the currents of water of Kālindī i.e. Yamunā. Sometimes he took to water-sports being sprayed having come again and again by the ladies of the harem carrying a variety of conches and shells, being himself attractive with the

1. Food and Drinks in Ancient India pp 253-254.

2. दोलाक्रीडासु दिगन्तरयात्रा।

shining gold syringe. Sometimes he roved lustily in company with his queen on the pleasure-mound having a peacock vociferous, with his way directed by hilarious associates. At times he assuaged his anguish of love reclining on the counterpane of lotus leaves on the fountains having cavities of their interiors darkened by the spurts of water splashed ashore, being disappointed from propitiation of the beloved whose dalliance in prostration at feet having been ignored through irresistibility of ire. Sometimes he satisfied the ardent desires of the creepers of the palace gardens yielding florescence at an odd hour and grown as a personal hobby actuated by his mutual envy for the queen. He even painted fingered leaves tortuous with many curves on the murals of the pitcher-shaped breasts of the damsels with a view to indicating the unending flow of the toilet esteeming well the clean unguent plaster of deer-musk never taking leave of the water of perspiration born of love. Sometimes defeated in pleasure sport of gambling he would not pay the wager and was, therefore, thrown as if perforce, before the co-wives in the pleasure-apartments with doors having panels joined together with terrible stroke of the feet brought about having been dragged by the clever maidens with feigned scowls woven up with the words "Where are you going?" Sometimes he used to ingratiate the beloveds irate through love, sip Kāpīśāyana (a type of liquor prepared out of grapes) on the roofs of the palace shining with moon light, helpless in love, bearing pegs of ruby poured down personally having red lotus petals placed over them and varied hues with the leers of other women glowing with jealousy. Sometimes he amused the ladies of the harem while making fun of the jesters (Vidūṣakas) by varied pranks of decorating the face or masking the face etc. Sometimes he whiled his day having given up all other activities and looking upon the images of the princes excelling in beauty and brought as gifts, having placed them on the picture-canvas by the expert painters deeming him as susceptible to women. Sometimes he listened to the sweet sayings composed by his own self and abounding in sentiment of love, well admired after having been tuned to special notes of music, being rehearsed as songs by the consensory of reciters or singers (gāthakas) through throats instinctively sweet. Sometimes he attracted the minds of the skilled vassals staying close, witnessing the performances of gentle dance (lāsyā) of the female dancers demonstrated by the dancing-teachers with the entire lore of dance expounded along with their secret parts (or accessories), with the nuancing of defects and virtues observed minutely through the medium of infallible scriptures. Sometimes he saw the faces of the lovely maidens of the scraglio taking to absolute taste of dalliance, in the oblong tanks of the palace, with zest of unmitigated inquisitiveness, holding the cloth on the posteriors; having dipped under one pretext or the other such as searching

for the finger ring fallen therein- the faces, that had their pupils (of the eyes) tremulous through natural bashfulness, pinioned on the faces of the other maidens standing hard by, that had words agreeable through feigned shrieks and had their mirror like cheeks blown through the sham embarrassing smile and had lines on the pate charming with the playful knitting of the brows.'"¹

‘Gītagoṣṭhī’² - A musical concert and ‘Pānakeli’ and Pānagoṣṭhī - a drinking revelry have been employed to cover the field of recreations. Gambling as a sport and pastime has been referred to at a number of places.

‘अन्तककितवकौतुकाष्टापदम्’³

‘कचिच् कितवा इव लिखिताष्टापदसारफलकाः’⁴

‘चतुरंगद्यूतमिव सुनिरूपितत्रिकचतुष्करचनम्’⁵

1. कदाचित्रीलपटावगुण्ठिताङ्गो लाङ्गलीव कालिन्दीजलवेणिकाः प्रत्यग्रमृगमदाङ्गरागमलिनवपुषो बहुलप्रदोषाभिसारिका सुदूरमाचर्षा। कदाचिदुल्लसितकनकशृङ्गसुन्दरो मन्दराद्विरिव क्षीरोदजलवीचिभिरागृहीतविविधशंखशुक्ति-पुटाभिरबोधपुष्पश्रीभिरुपसृत्योपसृत्य सिच्यमानो जलक्रीडामकरोत्। कदाचिन्मुदितसुहृद्गणोपदिश्यमानमार्गो मृगांकमौलिरिव कैलासशिखरे मुखरशिखण्डिनि क्रीडागिरौ देवी समेतः सविभ्रमं बभ्राम। कदाचिन्मन्युगौरवादतिलेखितपादपतनविभ्रमाणां प्रेयसीनां प्रसादनं प्रति निष्प्रत्यशः प्रान्तिनपतदम्युधाराब्धकारितोदरकुहरेषु धारागृहेषु विसिनीपलाशस्तरशायो मनसि शयसन्तापमत्यवाहयत्। कदाचिद्देव्या सार्धमारब्धस्पर्धः स्वपरिगृहीतानां गृहोद्यानवीरुधामकालकुसुमोद्गतिकारिणस्तास्तान् दोहदयोगानदात्। कदाचित् भूतमृगमदाङ्गरागमनुरागजं स्वेदजलमजस्रमुज्झहानं बहुमन्यमानः प्रतिकर्मसमाप्तिकाम्या कामिनीकुचकुम्भभित्तिष्वनेकभङ्गकुटिलाः पत्राङ्गुलीरकल्पयत्। कदाचित् क्रीडाद्युतपरजितः पणितमप्रयच्छन् ‘क्व गच्छसि’ इति बडालीकभुक्तुर्भिर्विदग्धवनिताभिराकृष्य कृतविषमपादपतो बलादिव दत्तकपादसंपुटेषु वासवेशमसु सपत्नीसमक्षमेवाक्षिपत्। कदाचिदोर्ष्यारुणप्रतिप्रमदाकटाक्षकबुर्मुपरिक्षिप्तस्कोत्पलपलाशमिव कापिशायनं स्वयमुक्षिप्तमाणिक्यचषकश्चन्द्रिकाप्रहासिषु प्रासादतलेषु प्रेमपरवशः प्रणयकुपिताः प्रेयसीः सानुनयमपाययत्। कदाचिद् वदनमण्डनादिभिर्विडम्बनाप्रकारैरुपहसनविदूषकानन्तःपुरिकाजनमहासयत्। कदाचिदङ्गनालोल इति मत्वा निपुणचित्रकारैश्चित्रपटेष्वारोप्य सादरमुपायनीकृतानि रूपातिशयशालिनीनामवनिपालकन्यकानां प्रतिविम्बानि परित्यक्तान्यकर्मा दिवसमालोकयत्। कदाचित्स्वयमेव रागविशेषेषु संस्थाप्य समर्थितानि शृङ्गारप्रायरसानि स्वरचितसुभाषितानि स्वभावरक्तकण्ठया गाथकगोष्ठ्या पुनरुक्तमुपगीयमानान्यनुरागभावितमनाः शुश्राव। कदाचिदावेदितानिखिलनाट्यवेदोपनिषद्भिर्नर्तकोपाध्यायैरुपदर्शितानां नर्तकीनामक्षुण्णेन शास्त्रवर्त्मना कृतसूक्ष्मगुणदोषोपन्यासः पश्यैल्लास्यविधिमासन्नवर्तिनो विदग्धराजलोकस्य मनांसि जहार। कदाचिद् भवनदीर्घिकाम्भसि प्रवृत्तिनिर्भरक्रीडारसानामन्तःपुरविलासिनीनां पतिताङ्गुलीयकमुद्रान्वेषणादिना तेन तेन व्याजेन निमग्न्य गृहीतजघनांशुको विभ्रमभूभङ्गसुभगललाटलेखानि व्याजवैलक्ष्यहासविकसित-कपोलदर्पणान्यलीकाक्रोशपदहृद्यवाञ्छि समासत्रप्रतिप्रमदामुखग्रहितकृत्रिमत्रपातरलतारतारकान्यविरतदि-दृक्षारसो वीक्षामास मुखानि। Ibid. Vol. I pp. 73-76.
2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 117, Vol. III p. 37, Vol. III p. 50. Vol. III p. 148, Sm. ed. p. 324.
3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 198.
4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 208.
5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 10.

‘द्यूतरसिकसुरकुमारकोत्कीर्णविविधफल कांकिततले’¹

‘ऊर्ध्वरिखाकाररोमावली समविभक्तोभयविभागस्य मध्येऽधिकतनोरति विशालसारिफलकस्योदरोद्देश्य’²

‘अपरः सरस्तीरविघटितशुक्तिमुक्तैर्मुक्ताफलैर्द्यूतक्रियां प्रावर्तयत्’³

‘अक्षक्रीडाविनोदेन क्षणमात्रमस्थाम्’⁴

‘नायमवसरो नयद्यूतस्य’⁵

‘क्वचिदद्यापि परमप्रमादवसरेवारिताक्षप्रचारहारितस्वार्थसंपदोऽष्टापदद्यूतस्येव’⁶

all these refer to ‘Kitava’ (a gambler), ‘Aṣṭāpada’- Draught-play, ‘caturaṅgadyūta’- game of chess, ‘sāriphalaka’ -the chess board, ‘akṣakrīḍā’ - gambling, ‘nayadyūta’ - statecraft deemed a gambling, ‘akṣapracāra’ and ‘aṣṭapadadyūta’ - the prevalence of gambling and the draught play.

Out of these -

Aṣṭāpada, caturaṅga, Sāri and Akṣakrīḍā are significantly important as referring to three main types of gambling viz. draught-play, chess and dice-play. aṣṭāpada is ‘Pāsā’ in Hindi. It can be played with any type of stake through lucky or unlucky throws. Chess (Caturaṅga and sāri) is played on a board carrying figures of horses, elephants, pedestrians and chariots placed as nuts on it. Akṣakrīḍā is also played on a board with dice thrown to win a stake or to lose it. It can coincide with modern carrom-board. Aṣṭāpada and Akṣakrīḍā can even be construed as identical.

Ball play or Kandukakrīḍā has been illustrated as a favourite sport of women and has been referred to in the case of Malayasundarī as well as Tilakamañjarī.

‘विरचयन्त्यशक्तमलस्तमप्यादरेण दरप्रकाशितपीनभुजमूलस्तनतटा पुनः पुनः कन्दुकक्रीडाप्रकमे पुष्पापीडमतिदीर्घमस्थात्’⁷

refers to Malayasundarī who has been described by Harivāhana as taking to the action of redressing her thick hair tuft inlaid with flowers while busy bumping the ball in its playing process.

‘‘पांचालिकाकन्दुकदुहितृकाविवाहगोचराभिः शिशुक्रीडाभिः अतिवाहितसर्वलोकस्पृहणोयबालभावा’’⁸

1. TM. Vol. III p. 102.

2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 150.

3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 353.

4. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 370.

5. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 372.

6. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 420.

7. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 365.

8. Ibid. Vol. III p. 11.

refers to doll-playing, ball-playing, the celebration of the nuptial tie of the male and female dolls or female bracket figures as the favourite sports of the childhood in case of Tilakamañjarī.

‘रुदिते रुदिते विनोद्यमाना विचित्रक्रीडनकैः’

referring to the childhood of Malayasundarī refers to the provision of variety of toys meant to divert the mind of a child when it takes to weeping.

The Recreating moods of Harivāhana in adolescence have been illustrated as follows-

“He took to many types of conversations with the chief stock of princes while seated in the water-pavilion (Jalamaṇḍapa). He took to poetry symposia abounding in variety of figures of speech, prolific in sense and elegant in style being made so by the employment of rich vocabulary. The species of riddles or literary puzzles attained to renown in the consensory of the learned were being read out. The series of questions and answers (i.e. dialogues) striking palling to the persons lacking in intelligence, were being deliberated upon. The anecdotes regarding the six-fold test of intelligence (pertaining to Dharma, Artha, Kāma, Mokṣa, Loka and Tattvārtha) bearing deep and clear imports were being examined critically. The verses lacking in Bindu or anusvāra, mātṛās (vowels) and syllables (akṣara) having lacunas supplied to them by filling in the blanks were being reflected upon.”¹

“प्रतिदोलमन्दोलनक्रीडानन्दितानिदृश्यन्ते सततमनवद्यवेषाणि विद्याधरद्वन्द्वानि”²

“प्रतिलतादोलमुत्पद्यमानान्दोलन स्पृहः”³

refer to swing ride as a sport, swings were tied to the creepers or these could be made out of creepers.

Gardening consisting in besprinkling the trees and plants by waters from the linns brought in hollowed cups of leaves, preparing the water-basins of the sylvan creepers growing situate to the porch of the cottage, painting of svastika marks and carving of lovely textures out of leaves in the platforms of the yards in the wattle-huts, nourishing with the morsels of grass, mown through tears, the fawns grown weak through scarcity of milk in the teats of their mothers (does) etc. has been mentioned in context with Malayasundarī

1. यथास्थानमुपविष्टैः सह प्रस्तुतविचित्रकथालापस्य चित्रपदभङ्गसूचितानेकसुन्दरोदारार्था प्रवृत्ता कथंचित् तस्य चित्रालंकारभूयिष्ठा काव्यगोष्ठी। तत्र च पद्यमानासु विद्वत्सभालब्धख्यातिषु प्रहेलिकाजातिषु चिन्त्यमानेषु मन्दमतिजनितनिर्वेदेषु प्रश्नोत्तरप्रभेदेषु भाव्यमानासु प्रसन्नगम्भीरभावार्थासु षट्प्रज्ञकागाथासु विमृश्यमानेषु बाधानुपदसंपादितोत्संकेषु बिन्दुमात्राक्षरच्युतकश्लोकेषु etc. Ibid. Vol. II pp 240-241.

2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 310.

3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 91.

who spent her time in the hermitage of the Kulapati.¹ Recreations of Tilakamañjarī and Harivāhana have been illustrated manifoldly in proper contexts.

"Severed from the latter she would even embrace close through morbid emotion emitting out swishing sounds, the stone-pillars in the ruby-pavilion cool and bland. She even studied the sweet-sayings of the good brimming with erotic sentiment in a language that could be heard. She would paint the pairs of animals, birds and Vidyādhara given to ephemeral love, on the wall-sides. She even made to dance the peacocks of the shrines standing in the windows made of the creepers dangling about unevenly, with the noise of the clappings of the hands having series of bracelets resounding and moving."²

"Harivāhana spent his days on the shores of Adṛṣṭapāra lake creating marvels by the artistic performances such as preparing texture on leaves, plaster-painting, painting of pictures etc., regaling by the variety of metrical compositions abounding in figures and concerts such as Bindumatī, Cakra, Yamaka, riddles (Pravahlikā), questions and answers, taking to deliberations of diverse types along with hereditary ācāryas endowed with dignity and sent for to remove his own doubts, taking to pride constantly by listening to or composing sweet sayings, composed with a series of erotic tales."³

Hunting as a sport has been mentioned in a couple of instances.⁴

1. कदाचित्पत्रपुटकाहतैः प्रसवणवारिभिर्बालवृक्षकानुक्षन्ती, कदाचिदुज्जिरोषान्तजातानां वनलतानामालवालानि विरचयन्ती कदाचिदचिरोपलिप्तासु पर्णशालाङ्गवितर्दिकासु दर्शितानेकललितपत्रलेखान्वस्तिकानभिलिखन्ती। कदाचित्प्रनष्टजननीदुग्धदुर्बलान्बालहरिणकान्वाष्पलव्यैः शण्यकवलैः संवर्धयन्ती। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 331.
2. तत्र च प्रतिक्षणं मयि क्षिप्तेक्षणा कुर्वन्ती मसृणशीतलेषु मणिकयमण्डपिकाशिलास्तम्भेषु मुक्तसीत्काराणि सविकारपरिरम्भणानि वाचयन्ती श्रव्यभाषया तत इतः शृङ्गारसाराणि सत्कविसुभाषितानि अभिलिखन्ती भित्तिभागेष्वभङ्गुरानुरागाणि विद्याधरपक्षिमुग्मिथुनानि, नर्तयन्ती चलितवाचालवलयश्रेणिना हस्तातालशब्देन विषमवेत्तद्भूलतावातायनं बर्हिणान्। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 364.
3. तत्र चादृष्टपारपरिसरनिरूपितावासः कदाचिच्च बहुविकल्पाश्चित्रकर्मपुस्तपत्रच्छेदादिभिः शिल्पभेदैरुपाद्यामानः, कदाचित्प्रनोत्तरप्रवहिलकायमकचक्रबिन्दुमत्यादिभिश्चित्रालंकारकाव्यैः प्रपंचितविनोदः कदाचित्त्वसंदेहनिर्णयाय प्रेषितैः प्रसर्पवद्भिः सह कुलाचार्यैः कृताच्चावचविचारः, कदाचिच्च शृङ्गारसङ्गतकथाप्रब्रह्मसंबद्धाः सूक्तीः सार्नुबन्धमुपजातमानः....कतिपयान्यपि दिनान्ययापयन्। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 394. 395.
4. यदिवरहवेदनाविहितसौहित्येन लौहित्यमृगयावने विना मृगग्रहणसंकल्पेन कल्पितः सपरिवादिनीबादनमनुदिनं विनोदः। जातकौतुकैश्च मृगयाव्यसनिभिः क्षितिपतिकुमारैः क्षणाय तेषामनुक्षणं व्यापार्यत न च प्रकृतिसानुक्रोशतया शस्त्रगोचरगतानपितान् जघान। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 357.

9. HARLOTRY

Harlotry or Prostitution as a social evil has been illustrated on many an occasion during the course of his descriptions by Dhanapāla. "He calls them Vilāsinīs 'living in Ayodhyā rendering help to Cupid the ambitious conqueror of the triad of worlds, who were the lores on Kāmasūtra in corporeal form, who were skilled in the lore of harlots come to them through heredity. They were the very bond of knowledge about the essence even of the world. They were not solely devoted to the riches. They were attracted by the virtues of best of men. They did not take to sexual sport with the dirty people, even when they were fond of all the nine modes of physical union etc. Their doors were always crowded with lovers having bristles growing on their bodies etc."¹

"The harlots have been described in the palace of Meghavāhana having been pressed into service for serving edibles and drinks etc. They wore brilliant silken robes studded with variegated ornaments."

Kāñcī, the capital town of Kusumaśekhara has been described as abounding in prostitutes (Panyavanitā) acting at will and attractive with wine.²

'पण्यनारीगणेन'³ is another expression employed by Dhanapāla meaning 'harlots' in the retinue of Tilakamañjarī.

10. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

As already observed Dhanapāla flourished in the reign period of probably the three Paramāra kings viz. Vākpatirāja Muñja, his younger brother Sindhurāja and the latter's son Bhoja; We can easily presume that he ventures to illustrate in his prose-romance the economic conditions of the reign of the Paramāras, the period of history ranging between A.D. 10th century and first half of the eleventh century. He describes Bhoja as a scholar versed in whole of literature and yet curious to listen to the narratives sponsored by the Jain scriptures. For the regalement or entertainment of that very king of unblemished demeanour this Kathā

1. रुग्णणायमानैः कामभिरशून्यद्वाराभिर्नवसुरतेषु बद्धरागाभिरपि नीचरतेष्वसक्तताभिः... पुरुषोत्तमगुणहार्याभिः न पुनरेकान्ततोऽर्थानुरागिणीभिः संसारोऽपि सारतादुद्धिनिबन्धनभूताभिः कुलक्रमायातवैशिकलाकलापवैचक्षण्याभिः साक्षादिव कामसूत्रविद्याभिर्विलासिनीभिवितीर्णत्रिभुवनजिगीषुकुसुमसायकसाहायका.... TM. I p. 50
2. चित्ररत्नाभरणादिव्यांशुकघराभिर्वारमणीभिरु पनीयमानमनोभिलषित अनेकभक्ष्यपेयप्रकारो। etc. Ibid. Vol. II p. 170. and सुराभिरमभिरुचितकारिण्यः पण्डवन्तिः Ibid. Vol. III p. 172.
3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 416.

(Tilakamañjarī) was composed, abounding as it did in the sentiment of wonder.¹

Sīyaka II alias Harṣa being issueless for a long period adopting Vākpati Muñja as his son and later on getting his own son Sindhurāja was perhaps before the eyes of Dhanapāla who fabricated the tale of king Meghavāhana of Ayodhyā, the great scion of Ikṣvāku race who failed to beget a scion through Madirāvātī and got it later on through some propitiatory rite, naming him Harivāhana who on his own part got a foster brother in Samaraketu the prince of the Simhalas, son of Candraketu both being consecrated to the two major sub-divisions of the kingdom of Meghavāhana as the diacritical representatives of the supreme overlord who had subjugated the subsidiary vassals as a Dharmavijayī.

The flourishing economic conditions of Ayodhyā, the capital town of Northern Kośalas and Kāñcī, the capital of Dakṣiṇāpatha may covertly allude to the flourishing economic conditions of the capital town of the Paramāra rulers Sīyaka-Harṣa, Vākpati Muñja, Sindhurāja and Bhoja etc.

Dhanapāla has referred to Madhyadeśa having its chief town as Sāmkāśya, the parent's home of Dhanapāla, identified with modern Sañkiśa, a village in the Farrukhabad district of the U.P., situated 36 miles north by west from Kudārkot, 11 miles south-east from Aliganj in the Azamnagar Pargana of the Etawah district and 40 miles north-north-east from Etawah.²

“Śrī Dhanapāla, the Brāhmaṇa, composed this kathā who was eulogised in the very court by Śrī Muñja the ocean of all the lores that it was the very Sarasvatī or Goddess of learning.”³ Or Śrī Muñja baptised Śrī Dhanapāla as the person bearing title ‘Sarasvatī’. These words amply justify the point that Dhanapāla wrote for the entertainment of Bhoja and at the instance of Muñja.

Ayodhyā, the capital of Northern Kośalas was refulgent with righteous and bright-complexioned or brilliant Varṇas (three orders of society standing as it did having adorned the central part of the Bhāratavarṣa.⁴ It

1. निःशेषवाङ्मयविदोऽपि जिनागमोक्ताः श्रोतुं कथाः समुपजातकुतूहलस्य।

तस्यावदातचरितस्य विनोदहेतो रज्ञः स्फुटाद्भुतस्सा रचिता कथेयम्॥ TM Intro.. Verse 50 Vol. I p. 40.

2. IIGA I p. 142.

3. तत्रन्मा जनकाङ्घ्रिपंकजरजःसेवासविद्यालवो विप्रः श्रीधनपाल इत्याविशदामेतामबध्नात् कथाम्।

अक्षुण्णोऽपि विविक्तसूक्तिरचने यः सर्वत्रिद्याब्धिना श्रीमुंजेन सरस्वतीति सदसि क्षोणीभूता व्याहृतः॥ TM Intro.. verse 53 p. 42, Vol. I.

4. वृत्तोज्ज्वलवर्णशालिनी.... मध्यभागमलङ्कृत्य स्थिता भारतवर्षस्य। Ibid. Vol. I p. 43.

was circumambiated by a fortification having a broad platform and its walls white like snow.¹

It was provided with hundreds of oblong tanks having extensive steps conducive to descent.² It was surrounded by huge circle of moat having its ripples terrific owing to existence of elephants alligators and crocodiles, being difficult to ferry across even by the flights of imagination.³ It had four huge gateways making egress to the quarters.⁴ It had its squares radiated by the circle of temples of gods engirt round by the ramparts white with the stucco-paint with gold ewers shining over the pinnacles of the sanctum-sanctorums.⁵ It had its out-precincts darkened by the groves having temples of Manobhava (Kāmadeva). Bhava (Śiva) and Bhavānī not being deserted even for a second by the society of gallants singing, reciting or chanting and discoursing with amorous gestures with eyes directed towards the faces of the towns-women and having the shrill creaks of the sweet and noisy water-machines being heard every day by the tired travellers sitting underneath the thick saplings irrigated by the sluices or canals flowing with water rushing in haste.⁶ It was adorned with the market-lanes extensive and wide, accessible to the wheel of the chariot (i.e. the tassels of rays) of the Sun, the heaps of turquoise, diamonds, sapphires, emeralds etc. being visible in the open and with their both sides occupied by the rows of golden mansions of the glare of the rows of hill-tops.⁷ It had palaces glamorous with many storeys provided with ruby lattices and mural-paintings carved out on the ivory-columns supporting the roofs and had pedestals of courtyards decked with swings, had auspicious wreaths hanging over the lofty alligator shaped arched portals and had parapet-turrets scraping the sky engirt by colossal

1. तुषारधवभिक्तिना विशालवप्रेण परिगता प्राकारेण। Ibid.

2. विपुलसोपानसुगमावतारवापीशतसमाकुला। मनोरथानामपि दुर्विलङ्घनेन प्लवमानकरिमकरकुम्भीरभोषणोर्मिणा महता खातवलयेन वेष्टिता। Ibid. vol. I p. 44.

3. Ibid. vol. I p. 44.

4. आशानिर्गम मार्गयमाणैश्चतुर्भिस्त्युद्यैवर्गपुरैरुपैता। Ibid.

5. प्रांशुशिखराप्रज्वलत्कनककलशैः सुधापंकधवलप्राकारवलयितैरमरमन्दिरमण्डलैः..... उद्भासितचत्वर। Ibid.

6. त्वरापतज्जलविसरसारणीसिक्तसान्द्रबालद्रुमतलनिषादिना परिश्रान्तपथिकलोकेन प्रतिदिवसमाकर्ण्यमानमधुरतारघटीयन्त्रचोत्करैः परित्यक्तसकलव्यापारेण पीरवनितमुखापितदृशा सविक्रियं प्रजल्पता पठता गायता च भुजङ्गसमाजेन क्षणमप्यमुच्यमानमनोभवभवभवानीभवनैः.... आरामैः श्यामायमानपरिसरा.... etc. Ibid. Vol. I p. 45.

7. गिरिशिखरतर्तिनिभशातकुम्भप्रासादमालाभ्यासितोभयविभागैः स्फुटविभाव्यमानमरकतेन्दुनीलवज्रवैडूर्यराशिभिः शमीकराचलतटीव चण्डांशुरथचक्रमार्गैः पृथुलायतैर्विपणिपथैः प्रसाधिता। Ibid. Vol. I p. 45.

walls. It was surrounded by the pleasure-ponds.¹ It had carousals being celebrated by the amorous persons in company with the ladies in domestic orchards abounding in coils of the Mṛdvikā (vintage) vines dancing in mellow breeze.² It had association made on all sides by Sarayū, the river that had come there to entertain Bhāgīrathī or Gaṅgā, with its precincts never deserted by royal swans come down from the Eastern ocean.³ It was inhabited in its interiors by all classes of people, virtuous housewives, coquettes being the embodiments of the lore of the treatise on Kāma, circumspective suave savants, well versed in the essence of legend and chronicle, skilled in drama, poetry, prose, philosophy, political science, treatises on dramaturgy and arts of acting and dancing, Kāmaśāstra, linguistics, etc. It had sacrificial ritual performed therein, had small gardens inside, had ivory columns meant to support the roofs, had lakes acting the role of mirrors. It had learned Brāhmaṇas turning it into a Brahmaloka. It had śrotrīyas, Nāgarikas, Dvijas, Pauras, Gr̥has, Rathyās, enhancing its beauty. It had its economy regulated by the able officers. It had a huge army led by a great king. It had given proper facilities to the Arhatas (Buddhist and Jain monks). It had its political policy governed by the secret agents and had its populace engrossed in the affairs of the corporations. It had *huge wells* (mahākūpa) and *water-machines* (Araghaṭṭa, Ghaṭīyantra, Udghāṭaka)⁴ as sources of irrigation etc.

1. धृतोद्गुरप्राकारपरिवैरभङ्गप्रतोलिभिरुत्तुङ्गमकरतोरणावनद्धहरितवन्दनमालैर्दोलाविभूषितागण-वेदिभिः.....
दन्तवलभिकाभित्तिचित्रानिव..... माणिक्यजालकान् कलयन्निद्रद्भुताकारैरनेकभूमिकाभ्राजिष्णुभिः सौधैः
प्रवर्तिताविरतचन्द्रोदया..... क्रीडासरसीभिः संवलिता, मृदुपवनचलितमृद्वीकालता-वलयेषु... गृहोपवनेषु वनितासखै
र्विलासिभिरनुभूमानमधुपानोत्सवा, पूर्वाण्यववितोर्णैः..... राजहंसैः क्षणमप्यमुक्तपार्श्वया.... भागोरथीमुपस्थितया सरिता
सरख्याख्यया कृतपर्यन्तसख्या..... सर्वाश्चर्यनिधानमुत्तरकौशलेष्वयोध्येति यथार्थाभिधाना नगरी। Ibid. Vol. I pp
46, 47, 55.
2. Ibid. Vol. I pp 46, 47, 55.
3. Ibid. Vol. I pp 46, 47, 55.
4. महापार्थिववरूथिनीवानेकरथ्यासकुंला, राज्यनीतिरिव सत्रिप्रतिपाद्यमानवार्ताधिगतार्था, अर्हदृशनिस्थितिरिव
नैगमव्यवहाराक्षिप्तलोका..... चोत्कारमुखरितमहाकूपारघट्टा..... विरताघट्टक्रमसमुच्छसत्सलिलमञ्जत्सोपानासु
भवनवापीषु Ibid. Vol. II p. 166. LL 5.
मधुरतारघटीयन्त्रचोत्कारः- Ibid. Vol. I 145. L.
सुघटितकाष्ठस्य गगनारघट्टस्य घटीमालयेव जलदसंतत्या Ibid. II p. 263. L. 3.
उद्योद्यारचोत्कारमुखराणां प्रेङ्खतामनवरतमुद्घाटकानां घूर्णमानैः..... तुषारजालकः Ibid. Vol. II. p. 236. L. 5.
Ibid. Vol. I p. 55. Cp. SSD Bhoja XVIII 1-6, 38, X. 89-102 pp 46-47, 88, 99 originally
Edited by T. Gaṇapatiśāstrī and revised by Dr. V.S. Agrawal.

The men of the town led a life of cosiness and sophistication. They were sāttvikas and had courage enough to reach the assembly of the king. They were good orators. They did not deride but amused others. They imbibed the virtues of others. They were contented. They stood by in hours of trial. They lived by the method of mutual give and take. They did good to others.¹

Kāñcī, the capital of Dakṣiṇāpatha, has been likewise described engirt round by a circle of moat abounding in groups of alligators, crabs and fish, like Lankā by Lavaṇasāgara and the capital of gods by the firmament² and the cordoned round by a fortification (or vallum) having a white wall of marble,³ partitioned on all sides by extensive and huge market lanes crowded by traders prone to maritime trade, stuffed with water in the form of tassels of sheen from the gems collected in heaps in their porches and bearing on both sides the series of mansions.⁴ It was as if the cantonment of autumnal clouds established through the temples of gods. It was, as it were, the enjoyment abode brought to incarceration, by the gardens on the out-precincts. It had the prevalence of dialects of all other countries obtained recognition. It had the chambers of the coquettes turning it into all the nethers. It was not far away from the southern ocean and was abounding in heaps of gold and hordes of riches.⁵ It had the moneyed people fond of betel roll (Punningly- It had rich people slothful like a tusker).⁶ It had citizens and philosophers conversant with the views of others or tolerant towards the creeds of others.⁷ The Brāhmaṇas were true to their caste and order.⁸ It had buildings built in straight lanes.⁹ The palaces ranged in large rows.¹⁰ The

1. TM. Vol. I. pp 52-53.

2. अस्ति... लंकैलवणसागरेण त्रिदशनगरीवान्तरिक्षेण कृतपरिकरा मकरकुलीरमोनाशिशंसकुलेन परिखामण्डलेन.... स्फातिमुपगतेन स्फाटिक धवलभित्तिना प्राकरेण परिवृत्ता, विधृततटसाधर्म्यहर्म्यावलीधृतोभय विभागैरजिरपुजित प्राज्य रत्नप्रभा जालजलनिर्भरैरनवरतबहत्समुद्रायायजनिवहकलकलाक्रान्त दिक्चक्रैः..... समन्ततः सीमन्तिता विशालायतैर्विपणिपथैः आवासित शरज्जलदशिविरैरिव सुरमन्दिरैः बन्दीकृत समस्तभोगभूमि रिव परिसरारामैः एकीकृतशेषविषयान्तरैव सर्वदेशभाषा श्रुतिभिः उद्घाटित समग्रसुरविवरेव विलासिनीवासभवनैः, अनातदूरवर्तिनी दक्षिणोदधेपारधनकनकसंचया काञ्ची नाम नगरी। Ibid. Vol. III p. 170.

3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 171.

4. Ibid. Vol. III p. 171.

5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 171.

6. नागगल्लीलालसाः धनिनः Ibid.

7. परमतजज्ञाः पौराः प्रामाणिकाश्च। Ibid. III p.171.

8. सफलजातयः श्रोत्रियाः गृहारामाश्च। Ibid.

9. प्रगुणविशिखाः गृहनिवेशाः Ibid. vol. III p. 172.

10. बहुमालिकाः प्रासादाः Ibid.

main shops bore locks and keys.¹ The city maidens as well as the harlots took to the penchant of taking to wine or the city maidens catered to the desires of the attractive husbands while the harlots acted wantonly by their liking for the wine.² Food of the people consisted in the fruits such as orange, Panasa (the bread fruit) and plantain, while their drink consisted solely of the juice of coconut fruit.³ The ornaments of the people consisted in pearls and their religious duty consisted in compassion.⁴ They revelled in charity and noble traits such as truthfulness, purity etc.⁵ Their recreation comprised of learned discourses on the scriptures.⁶

Similarly the nagarī named Raṅgaśālā (the capital town of Siṃhalas) was glamorous with thousands of mansions of the citizens bearing shapes of the aeroplanes or seven-storeyed in dimensions (Vimānākāra) and was surrounded by a sky-scraping fortification, being the very ornament of the entire earth.⁷ Candraketu, sire of Samaraketu, had a naval corps which had its jurisdiction up to the limits of the South of India (Dakṣiṇāpatha) and which could hold capacity to chastise the wicked vassals abiding close to the mountain called Suvēla, acting recussant through devices and betraying loyalty through argumentation, acting playfully during catastrophes, feeling morose during rejoicings, offering lame excuses for not having come when summoned, effecting delay or resorting to procrastination in offering or releasing charities or gifts and fines, refusing to pay off the tributes they had voluntarily agreed to pay and taking to hauteur by resorting to the strategies in accordance with the time and place etc.

Maṇḍala, Janapada, Nagara, Grāma were the four main divisions of the country populous with the population.

“अनेकैः काश्मीरादिमण्डलप्रतिबद्धैः प्रधाननगरग्रामैरुपेतं कुमारभुक्तावखिलमुत्तरापथमप्यम्बभूव, समरकेतोश्च सर्वदायसहितानंगजीवनेऽङ्गादिजनपदान् प्रायच्छत्”⁸

1. संकुचितालकाः प्रधानावणाः TM. Vol. III, p. 172
2. सुराभिरामाभिरुचितकारिण्यः पण्यवानिताः पौरयुवतश्च। Ibid.
3. यत्र नारङ्गपनसकदलकप्रायमशनम्, नालिकेरीफलरप्रायं पानम्, मुक्ताफलप्रायमाभरणम्, कृपाप्रायं धर्मानुष्ठानम्, दानप्रायं कर्म, सत्यशौचप्रायमाचरणम्, शस्त्रविचारणप्रायो विनोदो निवासि लोकस्य Ibid. III, p. 171.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. सिंहलेष्वस्ति समस्तवसुमतीभूषण.... विमानाकारपौरालयसहस्रशालिनी रङ्गशाला नाम नगरी। Ibid. Vol. II pp. 250-251.
8. तत्रस्थः पिता मे चन्द्रकेतुः कदाचिद् देशकालाद्यवष्टम्भसंभूतावलेपानां प्रपन्नमपि पूर्वदायंमप्रयच्छतां विश्लेषविसर्जनेषु कालक्षेपकारिणामाह्वनेषु बहनागमनकारण.... प्रीतिमुपदर्शयतां युक्त्या प्रतिलोमं व्यवहरतां सुवेलशैलोपकण्ठवासिनां दुष्टसामन्तानां प्रतिक्षेपाय दक्षिणापथयाचि नौसैन्यमादिक्षत। Ibid. Vol. II pp. 250-251.

along with –

“अनुजीविनो राजपुत्रजनस्य पात्रतानुसारेण संविभक्त स्वभुक्तिनगरग्रामनिवहनिश्चिन्तयोः”¹

refers to ‘Uttarāpatha’ or Northern India in its entirety comprising of Kāśmīra and other Maṇḍalas including all the towns and villages forming the region meant for the government of Harivāhana and Aṅga and other Janapadas with all the sources of revenue forming the region meant for the government of Samaraketu both of whom distributed the towns and villages meant to be governed locally by some princes of their choice.² The sources of revenue consisted in the acceptance of clothes, upper scarfs or counterpanes, gems, ornaments, unguents, fruits, weapons, vehicles and other gift articles produced or available in the countries of the subsidiary kings reigning in other islands, which involved a large amount of import and export duty on goods imported and sold and those exported in exchange. The economic affluence of the Nagara whose borders Samaraketu crossed in company with his entourage and army personnel has been amply illustrated here –

"The consemblies of the twice-born i.e. the Brāhmanas held in esteem by the prince by prostrations and gratified showering blessings afford an impression about the healthy economic conditions of the times. The crowds of citizen folk offering homage equally corroborates the fact that subjects had no resentments. The old women showering fried grains illustrates the contentment of the every section of society. The towns– women looking at him affectionately expresses the warmth of feeling which again is a trait of healthy circumstances prevailing in the country."³

The Nagarasīmā i.e. the border regions of the town had breeze from the groves redolent with the flavour of the vast fields of *red-rice*. The waters on the shores of lakes were resonant with the notes of the *sārasas*, *swans* and *ospreys* exuberantly inebriate. The under surfaces of the old trees were rendered yellowish by the seeds of *paniccorn* (*Priyaṅgu*) bitten half by aquiline beaks of *parrots*. It had stationed at many spots the rich caravans of traders consisting largely or crowded with *mules*, horses in many number, moved out for an outing as indicated by the turrets that had groups of kits (sacks) collected in the courtyards, had huge safes of riches placed in the corners of the tents made of crimson canvas tailored afresh and had servants busy continuously in preparing the trappings of the bulls such as

1. TM, Vol. II., 250-251

2. द्रोपान्तरनराधिपैर्वासोभिः आच्छातैः रत्नालंकारैर्विलेपनैः निजनिजदेशसंभवैरपूर्ववस्तुभिः सततमुपवर्चयमानयोः Ibid. pp. 232-233.

3. Ibid. pp. 254-255.

decorations and saddles carrying as they did the heavy loads required to be carried to the other islands. It had precincts of the huge banyan trees rendered uneven with the oblong tanks on the way, that were inlaid with well-glued steel-bricks, had plinths of the rows of steps resorted to by the groups of the consorts of the frogs with their palms spread in front as if out of fear for the innumerable pilgrims descending down being tormented by greed, had images of many deities engraved within the door-panels, had their shores encircled round by the circles of walls whitened with stucco-paint and had waters sweet and extremely limpid. It was cordoned by the sylvan rivulets having cane-groves grown ashore made capable of respite for the people at any time, being easy of crossing for the rows of animals as indicated by the channels gone afar, having groups of *śakulas* (a kind of fish) eager to engulf the food left out after eating being seen by the girls of the pilgrims standing ashore, had commodities such as *sweet-balls*, *trays full of curd clarified butter* spread here and there by the grocers abiding in the villages hard by and having the slush of mire cleansed by the process of washing by a flood of water of the rainy-season.

The precincts of the capital had forests nearby having suburbs of the cowherds having cowherds women churning remorselessly the curds as if the hearts of the cowherds. The milk maids forming the back bone of the society therein dealing with the dairy products have been depicted graphically. Revelling in the glory of the dairy products they were as it were the goddesses of fortunes incarnate of cows' milk being endowed with ewer- twains of protuberant round breasts hard and heaving or dangling white like the balls of butter. They had their loers tremulous and white like milk. The loveliness of their slim bodies resembled in hue the inspissated products of milk. The suburbs had cows that had their calving period drawn close and those who had not calved so far and had their oxen approaching them for mating. The king of the cowherds' colony invited travellers to partake of the rice cooked in milk. Hot ghee prepared out of the butter churned by the churning rods and making the calves raise their ears formed a part of the effluent economic set up. Even dogs could be nourished with the help of cows' milk sitting in the pavilions of the courtyards. The houses in the suburbs had networks of creepers overgrown with leaves adorning them having markets or streets easily accessible on account of cowdung cakes dried up and serving as a fuel material.¹ The grāmeyakas or the villagers who have been depicted in their simple and rustic instincts formed the bulk of the society and afford a glimpse of the impact they had upon the economy of the country.

1. TM. Vol. II pp 255-258.

The army-battalions were being seen by the villagers¹ who had some or the other business allocated to them or taken upon themselves by themselves.² In the villages they could only stand on the heaps of debris or refuse or dust.³ They could collect or gather near the rows of puddles.⁴ They could even take position on the low-levelled supports of the walls of the temples.⁵ Some of them found space to squat on the trunks of the trees.⁶ Some even stood there while the others sat down. Some hung both of their arms low. Some placed their two hands on the posteriors. Some had poniards tugged fast in tattered rags. Some wore head-wraps made of washed white cloth. Some supported themselves on ratton wands while some had placed on their shoulders their darling lads. Most of them being curious to see everything had pinioned their gaze on tuskers, apes and camels.⁷

Cattle-rearing and cattle-trade formed one of their main avocations; that is why some were busy proclaiming the price and measure of each of the bulls fine-looking on account of weight, form and strength.⁸ The wand-wielders of the villages were innocent enough to construe the libidinous bawds mounting the cow-elephants as the ladies of the harem, the bard carrying on umbrella as a great prince and a merchant wearing over his neck a gold-necklace as one who was the special favourite of the king, etc. because they had seen the army-personnel only once.⁹

The village headman (Grāmapati) had an enviable status in the village in so far as the villagers deemed it a privilege of the type of acquisition of a quarry on finding a place close to her daughter.¹⁰ The soldiers carrying perforce the chaff (as a fodder for their horses) put them to great loss

1. ग्रामेयकैरवलोक्यमानबलसंहतिः TM. Vol. II p., 261.

2. परित्यक्तनिजनिजव्यापारैः Ibid. Vol. II p. 258.

3. अवकरकृष्टेष्वधिरुढैः Ibid.

4. तडगपालीषु पुंजितैः । Ibid.

5. दैवकुलवरण्डकेषु कृतावस्थानैः । Ibid.

6. पादपस्कन्धेषु बद्धासनैः Ibid.

7. ऊर्ध्वक्षोपविष्टैश्च लम्बितोभयभुजैश्च जघनपार्श्वविन्यस्तहस्तयुगलैश्च शीर्षपट्टिकागाढग्रथितामिधेनुकैश्च ध्यातशाटककृतशिरोवेष्टनैश्च वेणुघट्टिषु कृतावष्टम्भैश्च स्कन्धाधिरूपितदयितडिम्भेषु सर्वत्र सकूतहर्तराप सर्वशेषं कार्ष्णिकगिषु क्रमेणकेषु च प्रहितदृष्टिभिः । Ibid. Vol. II pp. 258-259.

8. प्रमाणरूपबलापचयशालिनां प्रत्येकमनडुहां मूल्यमानमुदघट्टयदिभः । Ibid. Vol. II p. 259.

9. सकृदष्टकटकग्रामलाकुटिकैः करणुकाधिरुढैः क्षुद्रगणिकागणमप्यन्तः पुरामिति धृतोष्णवारणं चरणमापं महाराजपुत्र इति कनकनिष्कावतकन्धरं वणिजमपि राजप्रसादचिन्तक इति चिन्तयदिभः । Ibid.

10. कैश्चिन्मनोरथशतासादिग्रामपतिसुतासंनिधानैलेब्धमहानिधानैरिव । Ibid. Vol. II p. 260.

whereby they deemed it nothing more than straw and ignored it.¹ Some looked after the grass out of anxiety for earning money by its sale but were given to bear the loss of grass at the hands of the rod-bearers who were anxious to lop it off accordingly as they desired.² The cart-loads of green vegetables or potherbs equally formed a part of their economic resources whereby they earned money by their sale. But they suffered loss at the hands of people who looted them by violating the law of the land whereby it was enjoined that the weaker was not to be tortured or harassed by the stronger. They felt chafed and even derided the authority of the ruler.³ The tiller who tilled the soil to sow the seeds of sugar-cane in the plots felt dismayed on seeing the growth of his cultivation pillaged by the looters who when caught gave him solace.⁴ A *ṭhakkura* or a rich landlord also played a role in the economy and those who could find no service under his lordship were given to wander aimlessly carrying their luggage etc.⁵ The rice fields protected by the circle of guards brought them money through the grace of the ruler.⁶ Cow dung cakes forming the main equipment for fuel were stored behind the creeper-bowers.⁷ The fruits from the creepers of cucumber, pumpkin and *karelā* were also stored in houses in order to send them for sale.⁸

The household property of the villagers consisted mainly of the utensils made of bell-metal, worsted yarn and rugs.⁹ The *Gṛhasthas* or the householders were accustomed to wake up immediately at the advent of dawn and take to the regular routines of the day. The *Karamakaras* or the labourers have been described as leaving their beds quite with pains from the interiors of the wattle huts alarmed by the din and bustle (lit. cries) of the householders.¹⁰ The hearths in the courtyards put to action in the early hours with their upper portions covered by a series of caldrons tumultuous,

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1. खलधानतः साधनिकलोकेन निखिलमपि नीयमानं बुसं बुसाय मत्वा वध्नीरयदिभः । TM. Vol. II p. 260
 2. कैश्चित् गृह्यमाण यवसरक्षण व्यग्रैरर्थलोभादभिलषितलंचानां लंचया लाकुटिकानां क्लेशमनुभवद्भिः । Ibid.
 3. निगृहीतलुष्टाकत्रातवार्ताया लुण्ठितेक्षुवाटदुःखदुर्बलं कृषीवललोमपशोक कुर्वदिभः । Ibid.
 4. कैश्चिदलब्धावकाशठक्कुरहठनिराकृतैराश्रयाय प्रतिगृहं गृहीतभाण्डैराहिण्डदिभः । Ibid.
 5. कैश्चिज्जवप्राप्तपरिपालकव्यूहरक्षितसुजातव्रैहैरैरनेकधा नरेन्द्रमभिनन्दयदिभः । Ibid.
 6. पश्चाद्वाटकेषु गोमयपिण्डकूटानि गोपयदिभः । Ibid.
 7. भग्नवृत्तिषु निष्कृतेषु त्रपुसकर्कारुकरवेल्कादिवल्लीफलान्या दायादाय वेश्मनि प्रवेशयदिभः । Ibid.
 8. गृहधनं च कांस्यपात्रिका सूत्रकम्बलप्रायं । Ibid.
 9. सत्त्वरोत्थितगृहस्थनिर्दयाक्रोशकशितनिद्रेषु निःसरत्सु तृणकुटीरकोटरादतिकष्टमुक्तसंस्तरेषु कर्मकरेषु । Ibid. Vol. II p. 268.
 10. पुरोनिविष्ट रन्धनदक्षदासीसंधुक्षितानलासु ज्वलन्तीषु सर्वतः क्रथनवाचालस्थालोपरम्परा परिकरितचूलासु प्राङ्गणचुल्लीषु । Ibid. Vol. II p. 269.

through boiling, were burning on all sides with fires pitted into them by the maid servants skilled in the culinary art (or the process of cooking) and obtained their ingress quite in advance.¹ Cattle rearing formed a part and parcel of the economic life wherein the oxen or bulls were most useful for purposes of agriculture.² The customers holding the price-charts moving about in the market lanes stuffed with commodities formed a feature of the trade of the times.³ The sunrise marked the performance of the worship deities of the cherished ends, feeding of the labourers and servants, spreading of miscellaneous goods meant for consumption or sale, the tamed bulls constituting a source of vehicular traffic normally meant to bear the women carrying babies.⁴ The waters from the caṭasa (leather cups) (working on the well) emptied and replenished time and again by the people after they had taken their meals, in order to quench the thirst of the visitors formed a part of the social service which in its own way is subsidiary to the economic life.⁵

Nighasa (the edibles), Yavasa (grass for cattle) and indhana (fuel) formed the main necessities for the subsistence of the Kīkaṭas (uncivilised communities) settling in the villages.⁶ Bulls and male-buffaloes or bisons were used for loading carriageable goods such as steel vats, winnowing baskets, wooden platters and phials clinging to the vessels placed on their backs.⁵⁴⁵ The buffaloes have been prefixed by the epithet old (Jaranmahiṣa) implying thereby the fact that the youthful ones were employed for agriculture and yoking while the old ones were employed for loading lighter goods. The term 'Yugya' in 'विनीतयुग्याधिरोपित कृतसमायोगपुरन्ध्रवर्गेषु'

'refers to the bulls meant as vehicles as well as useful for yoking before the carts. Most probably the word '(yugya)' implies the bulls yoked before the carts so as to make the ride for the women-carrying babes who board the cart and not the back of the bullocks.

"आसीनराजलोकै ढौकितेऽध्वयोग्यगजवशावाजिनि" 17

1. समकालशिथिलित रोमन्थलीले सहेलमुत्थाय चरति सति पुंजितमग्रतः प्रयत्नसङ्गृहीतं यवसमन्वद्धिन्यतुण्डताडन रणदिवषाणे विषाणिबृन्दे। -TM. Vol. II p. 269.
2. संहतपण्यविषणि वीथीविधाभ्रमदग्रहीत मूल्य क्रयिकलोकै। -Ibid. vol. II pp 269-270.
3. क्रमण चोदगते दिवसकृति कृताभिमतदेवता चर्नविधिषु भोजितभुजिष्य कर्मकरलोकैषु संवृतप्रकीर्ण सर्वोस्करेषु विनीतयुग्याधिरोपितकृतसमायोग पुरन्ध्रवर्गेष्वगन्तुकपिपासा। प्रतिक्रियोद्युक्तपरिजनपुनरुक्तोपपादित रेच्यमानचटसोदकेषु। -Ibid. Vol. II p. 270.
4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 270.
5. निकटग्रामनिवासिकीकटकुटुम्बसंगृह्यमाणनिघसयवसेधने— Ibid.
6. चलितवृषयूथमार्गानुलग्ननिष्ठुरजरन्महिषपृष्ठकण्डालावलम्बित कुतुपकाष्ठपात्री शूर्पलोहकपरिषु। -Ibid.
7. Ibid. Vol. II p. 291.

refers to the employment of horses, cow-elephants and elephants meant as vehicles suited to cover a distance. They, therefore, comprised the traffic-vehicles' पौतिकानां कृताकृतज्ञानाय¹ refers to the ships meant for traffic through sea and maritime trade. श्वेतचोनांशुकम्² implies the trade with foreign countries such as China from where the silk cloth was imported.

सुवर्णद्वीपे मणिपुराभिधाननगरनिवासी प्रवीणः किमपि लोकयात्रायां सांयात्रिकवणिग् वैश्रवणो नाम³

refers to Vaiśravaṇa, the maritime trader resident of Manipura in Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumātrā) taking to maritime trade with Sindhala and India etc. निजभुजार्जितं पूर्वपुरुषोपार्जितं च प्राज्यमर्थम्⁴ refers to the money earned by one's own sweat of the brow and the one inherited through the ancestors.

Tāraka the son of Vaiśravaṇa has been deemed inheriting the property of his sire in youth (क्रमगतमशेषपुरुषार्थसंपत्तिपात्रमभिनवमधिरुह्य यौवनम्) and boarding a ship (अधिरुह्य यानपात्रं च) and going to Raṅgaśālā (the capital of Sindhala) followed by the maritime traders and many other associates travelling towards the other islands and carrying enormous hoards of articles of trade. (गृहीतप्रचुरसारभाण्डैर्भूरिशः कृतद्वीपान्तरयात्रैः सहकारिभिरनेकैः सांयात्रिकैरनुगम्यमानः इमामेव नगरीं रंगशालामागच्छत्)⁵

कर्णधाराणां कर्म⁶ refers to the profession of navigators.

(प्रकृष्टजांगुलिक इव)⁷ refers to a physician treating the cases of poisoning caused by snake bites etc.

The boats, the ships meant to steer the way clear through the ocean for maritime trade were required to be equipped with ropes and other accessory materials, the edibles required to serve the provender for the voyage-period, the whole stock of water carrying vessels filled with sweet (the water of the ocean being saline), the inexhaustible store of fuel meant to propel the vessel through the water.⁸

1. TM. Vol. II p. 291

2. Ibid. Vol. II p. 272.

3. Ibid. Vol. II pp 274.

4. Ibid. Vol. p. 275.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid. Vol. II p. 279.

7. Ibid. Vol. II p. 280.

8. कृतानि सर्वाण्यपि सुसूत्राणि यानपात्राणि, प्रगुणिताः समाहृतसमग्रोपकरणाः पोताः, पुजितं तेष्वतिप्राज्यमशनं, आपूरितानि स्वादुना खलिलेन कृत्स्नान्युदकपात्राणि समारोपितमप्रमाणं भिच्यनम्। --Ibid.

Though the context in view is the propulsion of the naval corps through the sea by the navigators headed by Samaraketu and others we can understand the same situation for the march of a caravan of traders across the waters of the ocean.

The stock of materials difficulties of obtainment in other islands was equally necessary to be arranged, consisting mainly of medicines, rugs or blankets, oil, ghee etc.¹ All these make the special ingredients helping sustain one's life. The boats used to be made of hard wood and were very stout. They were normally stationed on the fordable 'spots or fords with capable sailors detailed on duty in them.'²

“सञ्जीकृत्य प्राज्यवस्त्राभरणदानावर्जितसकलानिवकानाविका नाव आकतिपयदिवसपाथेयः प्रधानपार्थिवसूनुभिः”³

also refers to navigators supplied with enormous stock of clothes, ornaments and the princes provided with provender meant to last for the days of journey while on a march for a business enterprise or on an army-campaign.

“स्वच्छन्दलभ्यचन्दनादिपादपैथासि निरन्तरफलितनालिकेलकदलीपनसपिण्डखर्जूप्रायतरुषण्डे”⁴

refers to the fuel wood comprising of the wood from the sandal trees and fruits such as coconut, plantain or banana, panasa and dates forming the main and staple diet of the people belonging to the south.

The oars (aritrāni) were essential for the propulsion of the steering vessels (Yānapātras) while the officers in charge of the ships or the drivers of the ships were most essential pre-requisites during a naval-voyage (Pautikāḥ).⁵ The canoes also had their controllers.”⁶ (विदारितगिरिकन्दराकारतुण्डो मानदण्ड इव सागरस्य)⁷ refers to a measuring rod meant to measure distance in different spheres of economic life such as measuring of logs of wood, measuring of cloth etc.

‘भ्रमद्विरन्तःकुलालचक्रक्रमेण’⁸ refers to the potter's wheel used in preparing clay pots from raw material.

1. अपरोऽपि देहस्थितिसाधनमधिकृतैर्य कश्चिदर्पितः सोऽपि सर्पिस्तैलकम्बलोवघप्रायः प्रायसोरिन्यस्तः स्तोऽपि द्वोपान्तर दुरापो द्रव्याणां कलापः –TM. Vol. II pp. 280-281.
2. स्थापिताश्च सर्वतः समारोपित समर्थनाविकास्तीर्थेषु दृढकाष्ठमुष्फनिष्ठुराः नावः। –Ibid. vol. II p. 281.
3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 291.
4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 293.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid. vol. II p. 306.
8. Ibid.

‘कौपीनमात्रकर्पटावरणेषु जालिकेषु’¹ refers to the fishermen subsisting on their trade by wearing the sole garment of a loin-cloth.

प्रलघुवेत्रकरण्डिकाक्रोडनिहितकतिपयताम्बूलवीटकसनार्था- उत्कृष्टकर्पटप्रसेविकाम्²

-a cloth bag accompanied by a cane-basket carrying bundles of betel-rolls- refers to the articles of trade in economic life.

‘Yantradhārāgrhas’³ or fountains or water spurts or machines were used for the purpose of luxury or for the process of irrigation in point of enhancing the beauty of the campus by saplings and floral-vases.

‘ससलिततालवृन्तकदलोपत्रवातेषु’⁴ refers to the fans made of palm-leaves and plantain leaves used in fanning being laden with water.

“असावनेकनिकटग्रामपरिसरविसारिसारणिजला शरावती नाम किमपि सेव्यकूला सरित्, एतदुन्मदचक्रवाकवक्रांगकुररकारण्डवाकुलमुद्गण्डकमलिनीखण्डमण्डिततीरमंशावतार इव क्षीरजलधेः पुरा दिविजयागतेन देवेन खानितं सरः, एष दशसीरसहस्रसंमितसीमा सूर्यग्रहणपर्वणि पूर्वमपवर्जितो मदिरावती देव्या सर्वमण्डलग्रामाणामग्रिमो देवाग्रहारः,

इदमतिस्त्रिधसान्द्रसकलदुग्धमहनमुन्मुखैर्मुनिभिरनुदिनमुदीक्ष्यमाणमार्गापतदतिथिर्वर्गमनादरप्राप्यसुन्दरस्वादु फलमूलकन्दं मन्त्रिणा सुरानन्देन निर्मापितं धर्मारण्यम्।”⁵

- all these refer to the various projects of economic life such as digging of streams and canals such as Śarāvātī meant to irrigate the villages through channels and sluices, the artificial lakes meant to collect a variety of birds and enhance the beauty of the arena round about the suburbs of the capital and towns, the Agrahāra villages donated by the king or queen to accommodate the community of poor and indigent Brāhmaṇas and the religious groves meant to station visitors and helpless people.

The country known as Kāmarūpa (modern Assam, the region of Goalpara to Gauhāṭī) is described as attractive owing to its rich growth of Puṇḍra sugar cane, lofty stalks of śāli rice, luxuriant vintage-creepers (Mṛdvikā) Saptacchada trees, black aloe wood (Kṛṣṇāguru) and ripened crimson hued red rice (Kalama) fields (Kedāra).⁶

‘तुल्यपृष्ठास्तरणचर्म’⁷ refers to saddles or pannels made of leather meant to make the horse ride comfortable.

1. TM. Vol. II p. 314.

2. Ibid. Vol III p. 6.

3. Ibid. Vol III p. 31.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 33.

6. Ibid. Vol III p. 34.

7. Ibid. Vol. III p. 44.

'कुशास्तरणपर्यस्तदेहो'¹ refers to the carpets meant for sitting or reclining normally made of yarns-being an article of trade.

The prince abroad on a digvijaya was required to earn tributes in the form of cash meant to be deposited in the royal exchequer after it was handed over to the officers in charge of the Royal treasury.²

The economy³ of the thieves depended upon the distribution of the booty they brought by the process of pilferage. This was a social crime but was a practice in the sylvan-terrains where life had its own ways decent as well as indecent.

The fishermen subsisted on the earning they received from the sale of the fish caught from the ponds where they sat bearing nets and fish-hooks.⁴ The sylvan terrains of the out precincts of Kāmarūpa had Bhillapatis or the lords of the forest revers resorting to the bed-steads made out of the rocks where ordinary people could not dare to mount even. Their life, therefore, was harder enough to earn their bread even, because they always stood in fear of an onslaught from the enemies.

There were big towns (Bṛhatsu Nagareṣu) the smaller villages of the śabarās, the Janapadas inhabited by the handsome Ārya communities, (Sundarārya janapada) etc. which had their own economic growth proportionate with the population.⁵

“काश्मीरमण्डलमिव विकसत्कुङ्कुमकच्छकमनीयम्”⁶

refers to abundance of Kumkuma dye in Kāśmīra maṇḍala which could enhance its economy by taking to commercial enterprises.

‘अर्धगव्यूतिमात्र’⁷ refers to a measure of distance i.e. one kośa.

‘ऋकचक्षतकरिदन्तक्षोद’⁸ refers to the preparation of the dust of the elephant’s tusks with the implementation of a saw. The ivory industry given to the process of chiselling and sculpture was a source of income by commercial enterprises.

1. TM. Vol. III p. 48.

2. अर्पयताधिकारिणामत्र यात्किचिदर्जितं कुमारेण द्रव्यजातम् –Ibid. vol. III pp. 49-50.

3. प्रतिवसति विभज्यमानतस्कारहृतस्वापतैयाभिः –Ibid. Vol. III p. 64.

4. प्रतिजलाशयमासीनानायवडिशहस्तकैवर्तार्यभिः क्रैश्चितः अंसावसक्तवडिशवेणुयाष्टिभिः कैश्चित् कराव-लम्बमान बालशफरलूमिभिः –Ibid. Vol. III p. 64. Vol. II p. 274.

5. विपक्षभीतभिल्लपतेरिव प्राकृतज न दुरारोहानुपलपल्कानधिशयानस्य। –Ibid. Vol. III p. 68.

6. Ibid. Vol. III p. 88.

7. Ibid. Vol. III p. 89.

8. Ibid.

'इन्द्रजालिक इव मायाप्रगल्भः'¹ refers to the professional juggler taking to the feats of juggling by mesmerism.

The articles of trade² such as Manaḥśīla (Arsenic), Haritāla (yellow-orpiment), jātarūpa (gold), Durvarṇa (silver), śulva (copper), Rīti (Pittala), vaṅga (trapu i.e. tin), Nāga (Sīsaka i.e. lead), Kaṅkādiloha (iron ores), Aśmasāra (iron or Steel), Sparśa (a variety of gem), Padmarāga (ruby), Kṣudropala (thin slates), Rasasamūha (Mercury and other liquid substances), Śatadhāra (diamond) have been mentioned as occurring in the forest range between Ekaśṛṅga and Vaitādhya mountains.

पान्थतण्डुलप्रस्थम्पचैः प्रतिगर्तमावर्तिनाक्रथनेन क्रथ्यमानप्रकृतिभिर्दहनोदकैः³

refers to Prastha as a measure of weight in case of rice. The sylvan terrain had naturally boiling waters in which the Prastha weight of rice could easily be boiled by the travellers.

'बालपर्णशालासु परशुदात्रशस्त्रिकादीन्युपकरणान्यन्वेषयन्तीम्'⁴

refers to the agricultural implements such as an axe, sickle and the scythe. Apart from the has as a technical term taken to mean as a measure equal to a handful or a handful vegetable.⁵

1. TM. Vol. III p. 103.

2. Ibid. Vol. III pp 129-130.

3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 130.

4. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 307.

5. V.S. Apte- Sanskrit English Dictionary p. 551

IV. RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Religion according to Indian belief comes within the 'Dharma', the first value of life, while philosophy covers the field of 'Artha' and 'Kāma'. Dharma is a synonymy of piety or duty (Karttavya) in Sanskrit literature and forms the mainstay of Hindu society. Philosophy derived from the Greek term 'Philine Sophia' or 'love of wisdom' covers the fields of moral and material gains, desires and achievements. Religion and Philosophy i.e., Dharma and Darśana or duty and visual perception are the two terms inter-related in life without whose mutual co-operation the train of life becomes impossible to trail along. Dharma in reality comes within the fold of Darśana in so far as it is darśanas or visual perception that leads to action or duty. According to Kauṭilya -

Philosophy is ever thought of as the lamp of all sciences as the means of all actions (and) as the support of all laws (and duties).¹

'Sāṁkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata' - these constitute philosophy. Investigating by means of reasoning, (what is) spiritual good and evil in the Vedic lore, material gain and loss in economics, good policy and bad policy in the science of politics, as well as the relative strength and weakness of these (three sciences); philosophy confers benefit on the people, keeps the mind steady in adversity and in prosperity and brings about proficiency in thought, speech and action.²

'Sāṁkhya according to Bhagavaddatta is nothing but science. 'Sāṁkhya conception of matter and its exposition, constitutes the Vedic knowledge. The English word Science descends from the Latin word Scientia, which again is only a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word 'Sāṁkhya. It is, however, strange how the last two letters (ce = se or ka) of the English form of the word have partly preserved in 'khya' sound of the Sanskrit original.³

Hence philosophy forms a constituent of science ('sāṁkhya), practical application (Yoga) and visual perception (Lokāyata). The power of reasoning is the basic element of sāṁkhya, yoga and Nyāya which form the

1. प्रदीपः सर्वविद्यानामुपायः सर्वकर्मणाम्।

आश्रयः सर्वधर्माणां शश्वदान्वीक्षिकी मता॥ KAS I 2. 12. part I p. 4, part II p. 7.

2. साख्यं योगो लोकायतं चेत्यानवीक्षिकी धर्माधर्माव्ययामर्थानर्थौ वात्रीयां नयापनयौ दण्डनीत्या बलाबले चैतासां हेतुभिर्वीक्षमाणा लोकस्योपकरोति व्यसमेभ्युदये च बुद्धिर्व्यस्थापयति प्रज्ञावाक्यक्रिया वैशारद्यं च करोति। Ibid. I. 2. 10. 11 part I p. part II p. 7.

3. The story of Creation Chapter I p. 1.

basic elements of philosophy. 'Philine sophia' or love of wisdom is again the basic element of power of reasoning (Viveka). Duty or piety or sticking to what has become a moral necessity is Dharma which has philosophy or power of reasoning and circumspection for its basic element. Religion and philosophy, therefore, are the two similar yet dissimilar aspects of one and the same faculty i.e. the power of reasoning. They are similar because reasoning predominates in both. They are dissimilar because sometimes one has to stick to duty in the face of reasoning failing one to stick to it, because it is the strong will power that governs religion whereas philosophy is governed purely by strict adherence to right to the abnegation of wrong. That is why we find people sticking fast to their beliefs inherited through pedigree in point of conforming to the worship of deities, their images and idols without looking to the power of reasoning that disallows them to worship the insensate hard stones.

Dhanapāla in his Tilakamañjarī has demonstrated a heterogeneous yet homogeneous blend of professional faith in the efficacy of the orthodox and heterodox systems of thought which have sponsored the cults of the Vedas, Jainas and Buddhas. Primarily being a Brāhmaṇa of traditional calibre he was forced to profess the cause of Jainism as evinced from the Prabandhacintāmaṇi¹ under the patronage of a Jain saint Vardhamānasūri, son of Sarvajña. He has started his work by offering obeisance to Jina, Jinapati, Jinas and Nabhisūnu (Ādinātha) in first four of the introductory verses. In these verses Jina, the god who has vanquished the morbid tendencies such as attachment and others,² has been invoked to protect the readers, Jina, who keeps an eye upon the triad of worlds every moment, pervaded as it is by the manifold forms of every being.³ The primeval Jina has been called as one of enormous might, a source of religion or piety, free from Gunas such as rajas and Tamas i.e. endowed with Sattvaguna, the bestower of bliss in communion with the other Jinas.⁴ He has also been called Nābhisūnu (the son of Nābhi the king) the god, who after the attainment of enlightenment bore the glamour of his frame reflected in the sword of Nami and Vinami (his grand sons) moving in vicinity, who assumed two different forms in order to make the triad of worlds free from misery. He has been invoked to afford affluence to the readers.⁵ In the

1. The story of Creation., p. 36.
2. रागादिजेता देवः । Commentary vol. I p. 8.
3. सः वः पातु जिनः कृत्स्नमीक्षते यः प्रतिक्षणम् । रूपैरनन्तरैकैकजन्तोर्व्याप्तं जगत्त्रयम् ॥ TM Vol. I. p. 8.
4. प्राज्यप्रभावः प्रभवो धर्मस्यास्तरजस्तमाः ।
ददतां निर्वृतात्मा न आद्योऽन्येऽपि मुदं जिनाः ॥ -Ibid. verse 2 Vol. I p. 10.
5. दिशतु विरतिलाभानन्तरं पार्श्वसर्पत्रमिविनमिकृपाणोत्सङ्गदृश्याङ्गलक्ष्मीः ।

fourth verse, the speech of the primeval lord of the Jinas removing instantaneously the many-sided infatuation abiding in the hearts of the beings through nectar-showering meditation moving into the ears up to the distance of a Yojana, during the course of the religious homily, has been invoked, heard as it is by the groups of men brimming with sentiment of wonder.¹ In verse 19 the Jain sage Indrabhūti has been invoked as one fit to be paid homage to by the Universe, who having assumed the three-fold nomenclature through speech pervaded the earth like Viṣṇu.² Commentator says that Indrabhūti had a variant name 'Gautama' and a legendary name 'Trivikrama', being Viṣṇukumāra originally, the son of Padmottara, king of Hastināpura, who had consecrated his other son Mahāpadma to his own throne born from his queen Jvālādevī. It appears from the verse that Dhanapāla had no qualms of conscience or compunction in metaphorising a Jain sage with Viṣṇu, proving thereby his firm faith in the Brahmanical cult.

Jainism has been variously alluded to in the framework of the prose romance as well. As for example-while describing Ayodhyā, Nagarī, he has contemplated her having her people enamoured of the dicta of the 'Naigamas' (the Jaina texts) which dealt with the faiths of the Arhats (Jain monks).³ The primeval deity of the Jinas 'Ṛṣabhadeva' has been eulogised in the light of its image established by Śakra (Indra himself) in the description of the Vaimānika Jvalanaprapha who had reached there (i.e., the palace of the king Meghavāhana) after having paid homage to him.⁴ The poet visualises that the image of the Primeval lord had been established by Śakra or Indra himself at the very time of the establishment of Sāketapura i.e. the town of Ayodhyā. This also establishes the distinct leaning of the poet towards the Brahmanic religion from where he had been made to bow over to the Jain faith.⁵ The deity Ṛṣabhadeva has been illustrated further in

त्रिजगदपगतापत् कर्तुमातान्यरूपद्वय इव भगवान् वः सम्पदं नाभिसृजुः । ---TM. verse 3 Vol. I, p. 11.

1. ध्यानेनामृतवर्षिणा श्रवणयोरायोजनं भ्राम्यता। भिन्दता युगपद् विभिन्नविषये मोहं हृदि प्राणिनाम्।
आद्ये धर्मकथाविधौ जिनपतेराद्यस्य वाणी नृणाम्। वृन्दैरुद्यदपूर्वविस्मयरसैराकर्णिता पातु वः॥ -Ibid. verse 4, Vol. I p. 22.
2. नमो जगन्नमस्याय मुनीन्द्रायेन्द्रभूतये।
यः प्राप्य त्रिपदीं वाचा विश्वं विष्णुरिवानशे॥ TM verse 19, Vol. I p. 22.
3. अर्हदर्शनस्थितिरेव नैगमव्यवहारक्षितलोका। -Ibid. Vol. I p. 107.
4. अखिलविष्टपत्रयाधिपतिना.... भगवता स्वयं शक्तिगसाकेतपुरनिवेशकाल एव कृतप्रतिष्ठस्य भगवतो युगादिजिनस्य कृत्वा प्रणाममभिमुरवमापतन्तम्। -Ibid. Vol. I p. 55.
5. यः एष भगवान्शेषजगन्नाभिर्नाभिकुल कर कुलालंकारः कारणं सकललोकव्यवहार सृष्टेः, द्रष्टाकालत्रितय वर्तिनां भावानाम्, उपदेष्टाचिरप्रनष्टस्य धर्मतत्त्वस्य, सर्वसत्त्वनिर्निमित्त बन्धुः सेतुबन्धः संसारसिन्धोः, आद्यो धर्मचक्रवर्तिनाम् आराध्यश्रुतुविधस्यापि सुरनिकायस्य, नायकः समग्राणां गणधरकेलिप्रमुखाणां महर्षीणामुपभनामा जिनवृषः, यस्य

the following lines wherein the Vaimānika described him accordingly. This verily is he, the Jina lord Rṣabha by name, the leader of the great, all these sages such as Gaṇadharas and Kevalis, adorable of the group of deities of fourfold variety (Bhuvanapatis, Vyantaras, jyotiṣkas and vaimānikas), the foremost among the paramount sovereigns of piety, the dike-construction of the ocean of the world, undistinguished devotee of all the beings, instructor of the essence of duty hitherto forgotten, perceiver of the facts pertaining to the threefold measure of time, the source of creation of the activity of the entire populace, the ornament of the lineage of Nābhirāja, the very central figure (lit. navel) of the Universe, before whom was performed the act of reverence by Lord Śakra personally. He has further been regarded as the cause of extirpation of sins in their entirety and has been styled the primeval deity, the adorable one.

The image made of most precious gem, huge in dimensions, luminous from all sides, endowed with innumerable virtues, of Rṣabha, the Primeval lord of the Jinās, the sovereign of the Primeval age, the preceptor or parent of the triad of worlds, having perceived visually the entire store of ideas only through the eye of knowledge, of steadfast gaze, consumer of the fears of the hosts of beings desirous of refuge, extremely, compassionate, an undistinguished friend, an instrument of bliss of emancipation for him whose soul has freed itself from the bonds, the bridge over the unfathomable ocean in the form of the Universe, has been well illustrated as demarcating the mode of worship of Jina deemed as a god of matchless excellence.¹

‘भगवतो युगादिजिनस्य,’² and

‘भगवतश्चाचरगुरोः’³ refer to the same Jina Lord Rṣabhadeva.

Similarly -

इच्छानुरूपरचितपूज्यश्च प्रणम्य परमया भक्त्या प्रथमजिनबिम्बम्⁴

विद्याय भुवनत्रयगुरोरादियुगनाथस्य पूजाम्⁵

पुरास्वामिना शक्रेण स्वयमनुष्ठितः प्रतिष्ठाविधिः। दृष्टश्चैव भगवानशेषकल्मषक्षयहेतुरादिदेवः। -Ibid. Vol. I p. 115.

1. अगाधभवजलधिसेतुबन्धबन्धनिर्मुक्तात्मनो मुक्तिसुखैककारणस्य निष्कारणबन्धोः परमकारुणिकस्य शरणार्थिजन्तुमार्थं साध्वसमुषो निर्निमेषेण कैवलज्ञानचक्षुषा साक्षात्कृतसकलभावस्य भुवनत्रयगुरोर्युगादिपार्थिवस्य प्रथमजिनपते.... अनन्तागुणभूषणाम् प्रभापूरेण परितः परितः, महाप्रमाणं चिन्तामणिमयीं प्रतिमामपश्यत्। Ibid. Vol. III p. 99.
2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 164. 187.
3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 164. 187.
4. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 360.
5. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 370.

कदाचित्पर्वदिवसे निविश्य पुरतः पुरातनमुनेरादिनाथस्य¹

भगवतः नाभितनयेन जनितमहिमानमष्टापदाभिधानमचलराजमव्रजम्²

'भविष्यतां जिनवृषाणामप्रतिरूपाभिर्मणिप्रतिमाभिरध्यासितोदराणि— चैत्यायतनानि'³

'अध्यर्च्य भक्त्या परमया परमिव समाजं सप्तसतीनां सप्तलोकीमहितमर्हतां सप्तत्यधिकशतमवलोक्य तत्प्रतिमाभिरध्यासितोदराणि हिमवन्ध्यादिषु वर्षधरपर्वतेषु हैमवतहरिवर्षपुरःसरेषु वर्षेषु सौमनसविद्युत्प्रभमुखेषु वर्षान्तरगिरिष्वपरेषु परमरम्येष्वद्रिकूटेषु शाश्वतानि सिद्धायतनानि'⁴

etc. all these refer to Jina lord R̥ṣabha and the last one refers to the assembly of the Arhatas i.e. the Jaina monks or Jaina gods comprising of a hundred and seventy in number such as -

Śrī R̥ṣabhadeva, Śrī Vimalanātha, Śrī Ajitanātha, Śrī Anantanātha, Śrī Sambhavanātha, Śrī Dharmanātha, Śrī Abhinandana, Śrī Śāntinātha, Śrī Sumatinātha, Śrī Kunthunātha, Śrī Padmaprabhu, Śrī Arahanātha, Śrī Supārśvanātha, Śrī Mallinātha, Śrī Candraprabhu, Śrī Munisuvrata, Śrī Suvidhinātha, Śrī Naminātha, Śrī Śitalanātha, Śrī Ariṣṭaneminātha, Śrī Śreyāṁśanātha, Śrī Pārśvanātha, Śrī Vasupūjya, Śrī Mahāvīrasvāmi etc. twenty four and others.⁵

Apart from the Jina lord Dhanapāla has illustrated the Vedic gods and the gods of the Hindu family i.e. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa in their proper order- (त्रयीभक्तेनेव गाढाञ्जितहरिण्यगर्भकेशवेशेन)⁶

Indra⁷ occurs numerously and synonymously as 'Śatamakha'⁸ Amarapati Sakra,⁹ Tridaśanātha,¹⁰ Vāsava,¹¹ Purandara,¹² Sahasrākṣa,¹³ Saṁkrandana,¹⁴ Pākaśāsana,¹⁵ Ākhaṇḍala,¹⁶ Jambhāri,¹⁷ Maghavan etc.¹⁸

1. TM. Sm. ed. p. 394.

2. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 405.

3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 406.

4. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 412.

5. M. William under Ashat.

6. TM. III, p. 64

7. Ibid. Vol. I p. 48, Vol. I p. 156.

8. Ibid. Vol. I p. 87.

9. Ibid. Vol. I p. 107, Sm. ed. p. 325.

10. Ibid. Vol. I p. 123.

11. Ibid. Vol. I 125.

12. Ibid. Vol. I p. 149.

13. Ibid. Vol. II p. 235, Sm. ed. p. 306.

14. Ibid. Vol. II p. 235.

15. Ibid. Vol. III p. 3.

16. TM. Vol. III p. 11.

17. Ibid. Vol. III p. 61.

18. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 305, Śatamanyu Tridaśanātha Vol. I p. 123 Iliranygarbha vedhasa vol. X p. 108, Vol. III p. 76.

Caturmukha¹ (Brahmā) Hiranyagarbha, Śaṅkara² also known as Śambhu,³ Śūlāyudha,⁴ Tryāmbaka,⁵ Kaṇṭhekāla,⁶ Īśāna,⁷ Viśālākṣa,⁸ Viṣamalocana,⁹ Khaṇḍaparaśu,¹⁰ Andhakārāti,¹¹ Śūlapāṇi,¹² Dhūrjāti,¹³ Mahākāla etc.¹⁴ Viṣṇu¹⁵ known as Rathāṅgapāṇi,¹⁶ Acyuta, Śārṅgī,¹⁷ Madhuripu,¹⁸ Katayavana¹⁹, Dāmodara,²⁰ Keśava etc.²¹

Manobhava²² or Cupid deified as a god occurs along with Bhava i.e. Śiva and Bhavānī²³ (i.e. Pārvatī TM III. P.142,) who is also named Acalakanyā, Ambikā etc. Cittayoni²⁴ is also Cupid, a synonym of Manobhava.

Varuṇa²⁵ (the god of waters and moral order), (Agni) hutavaha,²⁶ Antaka²⁷ also known as Dharmarāja,²⁸ Yama,²⁹ Vaivasvata,³⁰ and Kṛtānta,³¹

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1. TM. Sm. ed. p. 305
 2. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 313.
 3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 178.
 4. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 397.
 5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 87, Vol. I p. 122.
 6. Ibid. Vol. III p. 128.
 7. Ibid. Vol. I p. 85, Vol. III p. 2.
 8. Ibid. Vol. I p. 85.
 9. Ibid. Vol. I p. 109.
 10. Ibid. Vol. II p. 203.
 11. Ibid. Vol. II p. 263.
 12. Ibid. Vol. I p. 56, Vol. II p. 233.
 13. Ibid. Vol. II p. 264.
 14. Ibid. Vol. III p. 50 Andhakārāti p. 39 Vol. III Gīṣa p. 152, Vol. I.
 15. Ibid. Vol. I p. 21 Introductory verse Viṣṇu 19 Vol. I p. 22.
 16. Ibid. Vol. II p. 200.
 17. Ibid. Vol. II p. 264.
 18. Ibid. Vol. II p. 267, Vol. III p. 143.
 19. Ibid. Vol. III p. 73.
 20. Ibid. Vol. III p. 76. Kālayavana p. 128 Vol. III
 21. Ibid. Vol. III p. 138.
 22. Ibid. Vol. I p. 45.
 23. Ibid. Vol. I p. 45, Vol. III p. 178, Vol. III p. 142.
 24. Ibid. Vol. I p. 83, Sm. ed. p. 313. Vol. I p. 88. Sm. ed. p. 308.
 25. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 308.
 26. Ibid. Vol. I p. 85.
 27. Ibid. Vol. I p. 85, Vol. III p. 39.
 28. Ibid. Vol. I p. 87.
 29. Ibid. Vol. II p. 201.
 30. Ibid. Vol. II p. 262, Vol. I p. 117 Kṛtānta.
 31. Ibid. Vol. III p. 12, Vol. I p. 149.

Kubera, also known as Dhanapati,¹ Vaiśravaṇa,² Dhanada³ etc. Śaci⁴ (Indrāṇī), Kamalā⁵ (Lakṣmī) also known as Śrī⁶ Lakṣmī⁷ Caṇḍikā,⁸ Acyutā,⁹ Vajrāmkuśī,¹⁰ Mānasī,¹¹ Mahāmānasī,¹² Cakrāyudhā,¹³ Vidyādevatā,¹⁴ Vanadevatā and Jaladevatā¹⁵ Yogimī¹⁶ (Cāmuṇḍā) Śākinī,¹⁷ etc. are the goddesses and demonesses mentioned by Dhanapāla. Daityas such as Bali¹⁸ also known as Vairocana,¹⁹ Hiraṇyākṣa,²⁰ Madhu and Kaiṭabha,²¹ Andhaka,²² Mura,²³ Vidhantuda²⁴ also known as Sainhikeya²⁵ have been mentioned. Even the ocean has been deemed a deity in 'भगवन्तमभोनिधिम्'²⁶

Agastya has been called Kalaśayoni²⁷ i.e. the Jar-born god. Sarasvatī, Saṣṭhīdevī, (TM Vol. p. 6, 8) (TM Vol. II, p. 18). Gajāsara (TM. Vol. III p. 3), Ratiḥ (TM, Vol. I, p. 8) also find mention in the text.

Dhanapāla has evinced immense fervour for the Vaiṣṇava cult which believes in the myth of churning of the ocean by Viṣṇu (Vāsudeva) holding fast the mount Mandara in his hand, in order to obtain Lakṣmī.²⁸ Though converted into a Jaina he exhibits partial disfavour for the cult which preached the dictum of renunciation to the utter exclusion of material

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1. TM. Vol. III p. 90.
 2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 137.
 3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 327.
 4. Ibid. Vol. I p. 122.
 5. Ibid. Vol. I p. 121.
 6. Ibid. Vol. I p. 121, Vol. I p. 125, Vol. I p. 133.
 7. Ibid. Vol. III p. 76, Vol. I p. 54, Vol. I, p. 64.
 8. Ibid. Vol. II p. 205, Vol. III p. 203- Śiva.
 9. Ibid. Vol. III p. 73.
 10. Ibid. Vol. III p. 73.
 11. Ibid. Vol. III p. 73.
 12. Ibid. Vol. III p. 73.
 13. Ibid. Vol. III p. 73.
 14. Ibid. Vol. III p. 73.
 15. Ibid. Vol. II p. 265, Vol. III p. 40.
 16. Ibid. Vol. II p. 202.
 17. Ibid. Vol. II p. 215.
 18. Ibid. Vol. III p. 71 Vol. III p. 142, Vol. II p. 264
 19. Ibid. Vol. III p. 93, x
 20. Ibid. Vol. III p. 93.
 21. Ibid. Vol. II p. 267.
 22. Ibid. Vol. III p. 39.
 23. Ibid. Sm. p. 35.
 24. Ibid. Vol. II p. 128.
 25. Ibid. Vol. II p. 204.
 26. Ibid. Vol. II p. 267.
 27. Ibid. Vol. II p. 315.
 28. लक्ष्मीप्राप्तये मातृभूतभूतसर्वं वायुदेवमपि विप्रनावर्द्धिः । Ibid. vol. I p. 53.

gains.¹ The columns of smoke from the fires of sacrifices bore an allusion about Ayodhyā being a maiden endowed with curly locks. This fact evinces Dhanapāla's faith in the Vedic ritual.² He had the conception of the righteous age before him when he thought of the virtuous. Conduct of the virtuous people in Ayodhyā (covertly Dhārā under Bhoja).³ The assemblies of the Dvijas (Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas or Brāhmaṇas exclusively) gave him the idea of the Brahmaloṇa or the world of the Vedic seers.⁴ The sages of efficacious powers as well as the heretical sects worked conjointly to obviate sin. Or the heretical sects of the sages of renowned eminence obviated evil.⁵ The professors of the Vedic lore (Śruti) had a penchant for muttering of holy syllables and hence made the country endowed with a happy reflection.⁶ The arrays of sacrifices and the recitations of the Sāmaveda made the Dvijas (Brāhmaṇas) exultant.⁷ He has described the influence of the Vedic gods Viśvakarman (the divine architect), Prajāpati (Brahmā) and the goddess Lakṣmī on the mansions, their inhabitants and the small chambers and even of all the gods (Viśvedevas Devatāsahasraiḥ).⁸

He has referred to the exponents⁹ of the Vaiṣṇava cult who could enter fire in order to vindicate themselves through the ordeals ordained for expiation as a result of the prevailing evil ordaining thereby the prevalence of righteousness by their sacrifice or the Vaiṣṇavites alone took to the path of Kṛṣṇa or the way of life ordained by Kṛṣṇa (an incarnation of Viṣṇu). People had a firm faith in the observance of propitiatory rites meant to obviate evil.¹⁰ The Sun is believed to have his charioteer in Aruṇa being a representative of the natural phenomena of ruddy glow preceding the pervasion of the actual radiance, the mark of activity for the populace, a king (here Meghavāhana) believed to be a peer to him (i.e. the Sun in corporeal form encompassing the extremities of the four repositories of

1. स्नेहशून्यमानसं जिनमप्यवजानद्धि: । - TM. vol. I p. 53.

2. विरचितालकेव मखानलधूमकोटिभिः । Ibid.

3. सकृतयुगेव सत्पुरुषव्यवहारैः ।

सब्रह्मलोकेव द्विजसमाजैः । Ibid. pp. 53-54.

4. Ibid. pp. 53-54.

5. विततप्रभावर्षिभिः.... पाखण्डैर्मुषितकल्मषा । Ibid. Vol. I. 54.

6. जयानुरागिभिः.... श्रोत्रियजनेः सच्छाया । Ibid. Vol. I p. 54.

7. सवनरार्जिभिः सामस्वरैरिव... आनन्दिताद्विजा । Ibid. Vol. I p. 54.

8. विश्वकर्मसहस्रैरिव निर्मितप्रासादा, प्रजापतिसहस्रैरिवोत्पादितपीरा, लक्ष्मीसहस्रैरिव पारंगुहैरिव
देवताग्रहस्रैरिव धिष्ठितप्रदेशा । Ibid. Vol. I p. 54.

9. वेण्णवानां कृष्णत्वनि प्रवेशः । Ibid. Vol. I p. 58.

10. दुरितप्रशान्तये शान्तिकर्मणि । Ibid. Vol. I p. 58.

water i.e. oceans) or the ethereal spaces with his chariot in the form of the circular orb.¹ Indra and Vāsuki (the serpent lord) the symbols of electricity² or cloud³ and the rapacious and virulent phenomena in the nether regions have been treated at par being the over-runners of the upper and the lower strata of the Primordial egg that the earth is.⁴ The belief in the efficacy of the spells and charms, talismans and the medicinal and potent herbs was also a common phenomena.⁵

Śaivites propitiating on all sides the vampires and adoring Śiva taking to the virtuous as well as the vicious way of the Kāpālīka's or Mahāvratadhārinis who profess to have their knowing power sharpened by drinking wine and eating carrion (or raw flesh)⁶ - have also been referred to.

In the description of the scimitar (kīpāṇa) of Meghavāhana the qualifying epithets have a covert allusion to the horror provoking feats of Śiva who is Mahā Bhairava and is prone to spell destruction during the Universal destruction manifesting many skulls, is terrific (bhīṣaṇa) with the hide of an elephant-lord and replenishes the interiors of the universe with his boisterous laughter. Faith in the performance of the sacrificial ritual is referred to in.

“अध्वरस्वाध्यायविधानादानृण्यं गतोऽसि नः वितृणामपिच्छ”⁷

Dhanapāla has illustrated a common belief, a popular saying as it were, by enunciating the point that the hearts of those who understand the realities about the Dharma i.e. religion or duty, are prone to go in conformity with the attitudes of the religious minded or the pious people or the dutiful persons.⁸ The pouring of propitiatory waters leads to the obviation of sins.⁹ Holy dips at the holy places led to emancipation from the sins.¹⁰ Virtuous, conduct prone to punctiliousness, firm avowal of knowledge, the unblamable store of purity, the legal remembrance of duty or piety, absolute

1. IM. Vol. I p. 59. अवतार इव साक्षादरुणसारथेरेकरथाक्रमन्तचतुरन्ध्रसोमाः

2. A Critical study of the Rgveda (I. 137-163) by Dr. Deo Prakash Pātāñjalāśāsurī p. 81.

3. सा क्लृताधोऽस्ता चण्डी भर्ता तत्सश्रुता वणो उद्धवनामैन्द्रायिना भूर्वित्तमग्राविवोरगे। Ezgh. XII 5.

4. समस्तैर्काव्येषूपधिपतया तुल्यरेखया वासुकिवासवयोरवस्थितः। Ibid. Vol. I p. 59.

5. सचर्मणिमन्त्रोपधरिचोपबृंहतप्रभावः। Ibid. Vol. I p. 63.

6. प्रातपन्नदक्षिणदाममार्गपरैः परं शिवं शंखद्विः अभिप्रेतसार्धकं सर्वैरिव पदे पदे दत्तनिवृत्ति। Ibid. vol. III pp 61-62. Par. mārās by Dr. Pratipāla Bhatia p. 253 Ch. XIV.

7. Ibid. Vol. I p. 79.

8. धार्मिकजनानुचर्याभिमुखानि हि भवन्ति सद्यदा धर्मतन्त्रवेदिना हृदयानि। Ibid. Vol. I p. 90.

9. जलानुदकशोकोरिव., दुष्टोक्ता दुस्तिगर्गशिरस्वः। Ibid. Vol. I p. 90.

10. अर्थव्यवर्धयन्मानफलम्। Ibid. Vol I p. 91.

bounty of compassion, the direction of the path to emancipation— all these have been illustrated as the prominent traits of a sage given to religious observance and leading a life of renunciation, in the example of the Vidyādhara sage.¹

The goddess of royal sovereignty (Rājalakṣmī) has been conceived as the tutelary deity of all the kings.² Construction of a temple and installation of an image inside for the purpose of worship is illustrated in the construction of the Devatāgrha wherein was installed the image (Pratikṛti) of Śrī (Goddess of royal sovereignty).³ Applications of cosmetics and unguents on the frame of the image with the sandal paste, application of perfumes such as deer-musk and camphor, decorating it with wreaths studded with pearls and crest chaplet made of Mālātī flowers, putting on the ear-peduncles made of leaves from the interiors of the Ketakī buds and fumigating it with the pulverisation of incense and black-aloe strewn over it— formed the accessories of worship.⁴ Worship also entailed the accompaniment of instrumental music and muttering of holy syllables and sacred chants.⁵ There is also reference to the shrine of the Siddhas established in Śakrāvātāra, provided with a fortification, arched portal having a lofty pinnacle.⁶

The image of the deity in the shrine of the Siddhas is unctuous, being adored at every place, stationed in a creeper arbour of sandal being cherished by the female snake, having tutelary deity endowed with bristles, having assemblies of Siddhas (stationed inside) and the musicians taking to music etc.⁷ The meditation on Śrī at the eventide preceded by the worship of the adorable (Ādideva i.e. Jina) has been referred to in case of Meghavāhana.⁸

1. आचारमिव चारित्रस्य, प्रतिज्ञानिवाहमिव ज्ञानस्य, शुद्धिसंचयमिव शौचस्य, धर्माधिकारमिव धर्मस्य, सर्वस्वदायमिव दयायाः, मार्गदेशकमिवापवर्गस्य । Ibid. Vol. I p. 89.

2. प्रकृतिसंख्यां सततसन्निहितामुपास्व सकलशक्तिपालकुलदेवता राजलक्ष्मीम् । Ibid. Vol. I p. 98.

3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 104.

4. Ibid. vol. I p. 105.

5. Ibid. Vol. I p. 105.

6. Ibid. pp 106-107. प्रथितमार्ततुङ्गशिखरतारणप्रकारं शक्रावतारं नाम सिद्धायतनम् ।

7. Ibid. Vol. I pp 117-118.

8. प्रविश्य च शक्रावतारमस्मादध्य भगवन्तर्निर्गमादिदेव मागत्यनिजसदनमुपपाद्य भक्त्यातिशयेन श्रियः सायन्तनौ सर्वार्थभूमौभूय तन्मुखनिर्हर्तनश्चलोचनो निपसाद । Ibid. Vol. I. p. 125.

Description of the Vetāla (Vampire) having a wreath of skulls hanging down to the knees and chewing the condiment of bones and crying like the sacrificial animal (Adhvarapaśoriva) refers to the Tantric mode of worship.¹

‘Adhvarapaśoriva’ refers to the make-belief of sacrificing the animals at the Vedic sacrifices and interpretation taken by a wrong construal of the Vedic texts.

Conception of two forms and eight arms of Lakṣmī has been held accordingly.²

Meghavāhana’s mode of worship has been graphically described by making him squat on the terrace of the courtyard in the temple promiscuously strewn with innumerable flowers, attended by the chief attendants, repose of his confidence, seated on the ground, wearing silk-robos of thick texture being clean through the process of water quite recently, who had performed the morning sacrifice and stationed quite at a distance. There came to him ambitious to meet him the great sages, the Brāhmaṇas etc. who had attained to perfection of intellect acquired by understanding the meanings of all the schools of philosophy.³

After he had got the boon from the blessings of Śrī, Meghavāhana underwent a large series of ritualistic performances which have been detailed accordingly. He entered the Rājakula surrounded by the chief subsidiary vassals, where special adoration of the tutelary deities was being performed; the sages were being implored; the importance of the fervour unto the elders or preceptors was being stressed upon; the group of Cintāmaṇi gems⁴ being adored; the rite of offerings unto the quarter-deities was being commenced; the act of alleviation of grief of the refugeless and the innocent was being performed; the sacrificial chambers according to desires entailing the rites of continuity of progeny had been commenced; the sprays of water concerning the propitiatory rites were being sprinkled here and there by the ecclesiast or chaplain bearing green Kuśā in hand, with golden ewers held in hands; the birth of progeny for the king was being pronounced all of a sudden at the culmination of the muttering of sacred

1. TM. Vol. I pp 129-130.

2. प्रकटिताष्ट्याहुदेहद्वयोजनः Ibid. Vol. I p. 153.

3. अत्रिलप्रसूतप्रकरभाजि देवतागृहप्राङ्गणवितर्दिकायामुपविष्टस्य नातिनिकटवर्तिना निर्वर्तितप्रातःसवनक्रियेण सद्यो जलक्षालनविमर्शनरायामक्षौमधारिणा क्षितावुपविष्टेन विशिष्टपरिचारकगणेनोपास्यमानस्यास्य दर्शनार्थिनः सकलदर्शनार्थपरिभावनालब्धबुद्धिप्रकर्षाः महर्षयः श्रोत्रियाः... समाजम्; Ibid. Vol. I p. 157.

4. Thought gem; a fabulous gem supposed to yield its possessor all desires (Harivaṇśa-8702). Name of various treatises e. g. one on astrology by Daśa bala and commentaries Monier Williams under Cintāmaṇi.

chants by the Brāhmaṇas collected in circles situate to the circle of courtyard (or Verandah) of the sacrificial pavilion, with their minds pleased by diverse types of adorations performed; the obsequial rites connected with the fifth zodiac¹ were being initiated.² The bestowal of cows in charity (Godāna) was the most sacred rite best suited to the religious temperament. Hence it is that Meghavāhana had the interiors of the outer-chambers being stuffed with rows of cows followed by calves with ears raised aloft, having udders orbed like the globular vessels, being brought every day with a view to bestowing them unto the Brāhmaṇas.³

Referring to the Tantric element Dr. Pratipāla Bhatia says -

“Tilakamañjarī refers to the sādhanā of the Māntrika deities like Aparājītā, Śrī and Aṣṭavidyā. King Meghavāhana is said to have recited the Mantra of Aparājītāvidyā three times a day with the intention of having a son. He was supposed to observe complete celibacy during the period of his Sādhanā. The Mantra was to be recited before Rājalakṣmī.”⁴

Reviewing the religious systems Dr. Bhatia says that the people had learnt to live together and recognised the truth in the religious systems of others.⁵ Malayasundarī taking to vow of continence till she met her lord, has been described as an ascetic maid (Tāpasakanyakā) who was eighteen years

1. The fifth day of the half month- Monier Williams under पचमी श्राद्ध।

2. प्रधानराजलोकैः परिवृतः प्रवर्त्यमानकुलदेवताविशेषपूजम् अभ्यर्च्यमानमुनिजनम् आरभ्यमाण गुरुभक्तिगौरवम् आराध्यमानचिन्तामणिगणम् आरभ्यमाणदिग्देवता बालारुणबलिकर्मक्रमम् क्रियमाणदीनानाथलोकशोकोच्छेदम्..... भृङ्गारेण हरितकुशगर्भपाणिना पुरोहितेन तत इतः प्रकीर्यमाणशान्त्युदकशीकरम् उपकल्प्यमानपंचमीश्राद्धम्, अधिगतविविधपूजाप्रीतमानसैर्द्विजन्मभिः सत्र मण्डपाजिरमण्डलकसंनिधावाद्यमण्डलैः मन्त्रोच्चारविर्ता युगपद् वृष्यमाणनृप्रतिसन्तानोदयम्। TM Vol. I p.159.

3. अहरहः श्रोत्रियविश्रापनार्थमाह्वयमाणानां कुण्डपरिमण्डललोभनीनां गवामुत्कर्षतणकानुसृताभिः परम्पराभिरापूर्वमाणवाहकक्षान्तरम्।-Ibid. Vol. I p. 159.

4. Paramāras pp 271-272. XIV and TM Vol. I pp 98-99.

अमुं च भक्तिप्रवणेन चेतसा गृहाण निर्विकल्पमत्पुण्यजनदुर्लभां त्रिभुवनख्यातयशसमपराजिताभिधानाम शेषविद्याधरेन्द्रवन्दितां विद्याम्, कुर दिवसस्य राजेश्व भागत्रयमशून्यं देवतार्चन अवसाने च तस्य जग जप्यचरितसमाहितेन चेतसा भक्तिमज्जनैकचिन्तामणिमिमाम्।

5. Ibid. p. 272 Ch. XIV. and TM pp 163-164 Vol. III.

अपश्यं च तत्राष्टादशवर्षदेशीयाम् अचिरस्नापितस्य तत्क्षणात्क्षिप्तभूपवर्तैर्युगादिजनिम्वस्य पुरतो नातिानकटे समुर्षविष्टार्मभमुखीम्। आबद्धपद्मसनाम्, अतिस्थिरतया कायस्य लिखितार्मिन्वत्कीर्णार्मद निखातार्मिन चिन्तामयानाम्. आयतनभित्तिसंरोधसंभूतस्य निजरेहप्रभप्रवाहस्य उपलक्ष्यमाणवयवाम्... अनवरतमन्त्रोच्चारविधतोऽष्टपुटान्मृद्वर्तमलकान्तिभिर्दन्तकिरण... आमलकीफलस्थूलमुक्ताफलप्रथितमधोमुख्यन चक्षुषा लक्ष्यीकृतमक्षसूत्रमङ्गुलतया मन्त्रापाठपरिसमाप्ती दक्षिणाग्रकरपरिगृहीतमावतयन्तो, दिव्यतरुवद्वल्कलद कूलनिवसास्म एकामखिललोकत्रयातिशायिरूपां तापसकन्यकाम्।

old, sitting at a distance (lit. not very near) before the image of the primeval lord Jina, having a stick of incense placed over it, with adoration performed with the help of golden lotuses, bathed quite afresh, sitting in a Padma posture appearing as if paralysed, dug in, engraved and carved out, her limbs being reflected in the walls of the shrine, chanting the sacred syllables without a break, revolving, rolled on the tips of the right hand at the end of the muttering of the syllables with the creeper like thumb, the rosary of beads, spotted out with an eye having its gleam shooting downwards being strung with pearls thick like the emric fruit, clad in silk barks of the heavenly tree, excelling in charms the charms of the triad of worlds. The Vidyādhara sage teaching to Meghavāhana, the secret charm in accordance with the Jaina canon actually teaches the religious philosophy of the Hinduites, who stress the point of alertness in taking to any task taken in hand, the application of mind regarding its performance whereby the intellect and perseverance being compeers to Araṇi and their striking agent form the sources of (lit. parents of) accomplishment of a task and the fire respectively. These two i.e. intellect and perseverance are the two complimentary agents to the activity of a man and there is nothing in the world that is not accomplished through them. Having said so he looked towards the side and with the rite of meditation on the deity connected with the sacred chant performed accordingly, placed on the body of his ownself as also on that of the king the corselet made of the syllables of the sacred chant meant as a talisman and instructed that lore (Aparājītā) with syllables pronounced in a low tone near his ear-lobes. The king accepted that accordingly.¹ The belief in the efficacy of the performance of the propitious rites accompanied by muttering of sacred syllables in honour of Śrī till she got pleased and conferred a boon has been upheld in accordance with the Hindu religious fervour.² The performance of the ritual connected with the adoration of Śrī with the muttering of Aparājītā lore has been ordained with the due observance of freedom from the worries of material ends (i.e. kingly duties), taking to stay in the wattle hut situate to the palace, bathing three times a day, keeping the body well-governed by the taking of limited food, sleeping on the Kuśā-couch, taking to the vow ordaining the propagation of

1. केवलं कर्तव्येषु दूढमप्रमादिना भवितव्यम्, आलोचितव्यं च सम्यक्प्रज्ञया प्रस्तावोचितमनुष्ठानम्, प्रज्ञाद्यमावरणिमन्थाविव हविर्भुजः पितरौ कार्यसिद्धेः तौ हि पुरुषव्यापारनुगृहीतौ नास्ति तद्वस्तु यत्र साध्यतः इत्यभिधाय कृतपार्श्वबलाकनो विहितमन्त्रदेवतानुध्यानविधिर्विधाय नरपतेरात्मनश्च वपुषि रक्षामन्त्रक्षरमयं..... कर्णमूलमनुद्यैकरुद्धरिचिताक्षरपदस्तां विद्यां न्यवेदयत्। राजाऽपि सविनयाबद्धकरसम्पुटः श्रद्धावता हृदयेन... तां जग्राह.... TM, Vol. I p. 99.
2. विधेहि तावन्मन्त्रजपविधिम् आराधितप्रसन्नया राजलक्ष्म्या वितीर्णमान्जोतु पुत्रवरमियम्। Ibid. vol. I p. 102.

the progeny in accordance with the errands of the sage and in absolute punctiliousness, taking to the vow of celibacy etc.¹

The importance of the Tirthas has been stressed in accordance with the Brahmanical cult. The shrine of the Siddha (Jina gone to accomplishment) known as Śākrāvātāra having a vallum connected with the arched gates having lofty turrets being well known on the earth on account of its being a primeval tirtha and ornament of the outer garden. It was visited by Meghavāhana unobserved by the entourage after he had performed the evening adoration of Śrī the goddess on a festal day with the adoration of the deity of the sacred chant performed in advance.²

There is also reference to the -

“गंगादितीर्थजलप्रक्षालनापनीतस्थावरावस्थाभिः”³

the places of pilgrimage such as Gaṅgā are considered to be the holiest according to the Hindu belief which washes off the sins of the sinners.

Samaraketu has been described as the son of Candraketu, the lord of the Simhalas whose fame had been amply illustrated by the adoration of the images of the Arhats i.e. the Buddhist sages like those performed in the towns of the gods by the denizens of the heaven attained to the status of gods, averse to the material gains opposed to the fructification of renunciation (Virati), with his own maturity being enhanced by having attained to the enlightenment of the virtuous conduct or religious duty, being a devotee of the other births or auspicious gains.⁴ The Jaina school of thought forms the main burden of the philosophical strain of Dhanapāla. The triad of worlds pervaded by plurality of forms of aught being, being scanned by Jina has been illustrated in the introductory verse 1.⁵ The Primeval Jina and his followers have been deemed as having soul full of

1. उपरतराज्यचिन्ताभारस्य विरचिताभ्यर्णपर्णशालाकृतस्थितेस्त्रिकालस्त्रायिनः परिमितफलाहारपरिपालितशरीरस्य कुशलत्पशायिनो मुनिसमुपदिष्टेन विधिना व्रतमपत्यसन्ततिनिबन्धनमनतिचारं पालयतो गृहीतब्रह्मचर्यस्य। etc. -TM. Vol. I p. 106.
2. विहितमन्त्रदेवतापूर्वसेवः स राजा पर्वदिवसे विशेषेण निर्वर्त्य देव्याः श्रियः सायन्तनीमायतनपूजामनुपलक्षितः परिचारकणेन नगरबाह्यराममण्डनमादितीर्थतया पृथिव्यां प्रथितमतितुङ्गशिखरतोरणप्राकारं शक्रावतारं नाम सिद्धायतनमगमत् TM. Vol. I pp 106-107.
3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 371.
4. भवान्तरप्रणयो संप्राप्य सद्धर्मबोधिमधिकाधिकप्रवर्धमानशुभतरपरिणामो विरतिपरिणामपरिपन्थिनं महार्हसंपत्संभारमपि गर्हमाणस्त्रिदशभावमात्मीयमनुदिवसमाहितत्रिदिववासिमानसोल्लासाभिरपरापराभिः सुरपुरेषु प्रवर्ति. द्विम्ब पूजाभिर्भूषावर्जितयशः कीर्तिनामकर्म समरकेतुनां सिंहलेन्द्रस्य चन्द्रकेतोरत्नजन्मा संजातः। Ibid. Sc. ed. pp 412-413.
5. Ibid. Vol. I p. 8.

nivṛtti. The primeval Jina has been construed as an omnipotent lord, source of dharma (duty or piety), oblivious of rajas and tamas etc.¹

The meditation or concentration dripping forth ambrosia, the obviation of infatuation of the people etc. have been stressed upon as the chief tenets of the doctrines of the Jinas.² Bhadrakīrti, the crest-jewel of the Śvetāmbara Jainas, has been extolled as having traversed the aerial regions.³

The denizens of Ayodhyā, disregarding Jina whose mind was free from attachment,⁴ illustrates the doctrine of 'Vitarāgatā' among the Jainas.

The dicta of the philosophy of the Arhats (Jainas) making the people inclined towards the tenets of Nigamas (doctrinal manuals) refers to the regard of the Jaina school of thought.⁵ The Vidyādhara sage attaining to the slumber of concentration refers to the yoganidrā of the Jainas.⁶

Buddhist doctrines have also been referred to at a number of places and the poet has adopted a general trend of condemnation of their faith.

"Like the followers of Buddha taking to argumentation even when finding no basis to stand upon."⁷

He has referred to the Buddhātarka i.e. the philosophy or the logic of the Buddhas rendering the material gains futile i.e. disbelief in the existence of the properties of matter has been illustrated.⁸ Similarly -

Like a Buddha deeming the world a void.⁹

"सर्वदर्शनग्रन्थार्थवेदिना विद्वज्जनैः"¹⁰

refers to the allusion of all the schools of philosophy (six schools) such as Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Pūrvottaramīmāṃsā or Vedānta. Apart from this these schools have been referred to individually as well as conjointly.

Sāṃkhya stresses upon the inalienable tie of Puruṣa with Prakṛti. Man in his different forms is guided by his disposition innate to him which brings

1. TM. Vol. I p. 10.

2. Ibid. Vol I p. 12.

3. Ibid. p. 29 verse 32 Vol. I.

4. संहशून्यमानसं जिनमप्यवजानद्धिः । Ibid. Vol. I p. 53.

5. अर्हदर्शनास्थितिरिव नैगमव्यवहाराक्षिसलोकाः । Ibid. Vol. I p. 55.

6. Ibid. Vol. I p. 97.

7. बौद्धानामनुपलब्धेरसद्व्यवहारप्रवर्तकत्वम् । Ibid. vol. I p. 68.

8. बौद्धतर्क इवार्थानाम् नाशो राज्ञां निरन्वयः । Ibid. Vol. I p. 70 verse 1.

9. बौद्ध इव सर्वतः शून्यदर्शी । Ibid. Vol. I p. 95.

10. Ibid. Vol. I p. 106.

him in line with the idea of his inalienability from woman. Sāṃkhya or the philosophy of deliberation aims at *Puruṣārtha* or the main object of the human being who normally aims at attaining freedom from misery here.¹

“जन्मसहभुवं पुमानिव सांख्यपरिकल्पितः”

प्रकृतिममुंचत्रिसर्गधीरोऽपि”² etc.

this expression of Dhanapāla illustrates the point detailed above.

The coquettes³ of Ayodhyā having an extra penchant for wealth and attracted by the virtues of best of men symbolised as ones having attitudes of mind like those of Lakṣmī attractive of *Puruṣottama* (i.e. Viṣṇu) again conforms to the dicta of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* being inseparable from each other illustrating thereby the Sāṃkhya Darśana.

Meghavāhana the man (*Puruṣa*) associated with *Madirāvati* (his *Prakṛti*) as a king had a special objective of life i.e. of vanquishing his foes and had also to keep his inner foes subdued which was again his *Puruṣārtha*. Having a wife unalienable from him he could keep his internal enemies subdued. He had an innate proneness to acting in accordance with the acts of human as well as divine agencies.⁴

Heya⁵ (i.e. the source of the birth of an affliction) and *Upādaya* (i.e. *Hānopāya*) or (the means to destroy that affliction) forming the main burden of the Sāṃkhya Darśana which according to Ācārya Bhagavaddatta⁶ is nothing but science. The English word Science descends from the Latin word *Scientia* which again is only a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word “Sāṃkhya.”

The sense objects being extremely delicious in their very root are deemed no more than a straw. By deeming them as straw one can keep away from them and therefore ‘*Upādeya*’ or the ‘*Hānopāya*’ is the basis of Sāṃkhya here.⁷

The rope of virtuosity has been deemed a source of redeeming the group of beings sunk deep into the well of birth or world difficult of being over reached.⁸ The establishment¹ of the world void of all taste has been decried,

1. Sam. D. I l. 18 pp 1, 8, edited by Swami Darshananda.

2. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 278.

3. लक्ष्मीमनोवृत्तिभिरिव पुरुषोत्तमगुणहार्याभिः । Ibid. Vol. I p. 51.

4. प्रतिपक्षाणामान्तराणामन्तराणां च विनेता प्राप्तदैव पुरुषकारनुगुण्यः । Ibid. Vol. I p. 59.

5. हेयोपादेयतत्त्वपरिज्ञानस्य सम्यग्ज्ञातहेयोपादेयविभागः । Ibid. p. 311. Ibid. Vol. I p. 60.

6. The study of Creation I p. 1.

7. मूलोऽस्तिमधुरेष्वपि विषयोपभोगसुखेषु काशस्तम्बेष्विव तृणबुद्धिं बबन्ध । Ibid. Vol. I p. 80.

8. दुरुत्तरभवकूपनिपतितप्राणिसार्वोद्धरणार्थमधःप्रवर्तितपुण्यरज्जुर्नैव । Ibid. Vol. I p. 87.

the fructifications of the actions has been lamented, the knack for wantonness on the part of the providence has been regretted and the ephemeral nature of the material gains has been marvelled at.

Puruṣa unalienable from his Prakṛti (the primary category being the primordial cause of the Universe)² has been deemed cherishing some end and the advice is given in his case that he should not be exclusively devoted to the act of politic behaviour. He should take to a task wholeheartedly by affording authority to Providence since that is instrumental in the accomplishment of the cherished end. The action of a courageous man flourishes when he is aided by the favourable providence.³

The attachment unto the world being very powerful and extremely deep-rooted, the lack of sense of detachment from it has been demurred. This is also an idea nourished by the Sāṃkhyas.⁴

World has been construed as having no furthest limit. It has its material gains ephemeral in character. The living beings are susceptible to any type of decency or indecency.⁵

There⁶ is reference to the Yoga practice of Kumbhaka 'Prāṇāyāma' in the restraint of the movement of the breath through the nostrils of the coquettes (vilāsiniḥ).

According to Pātañjali (Yogasūtra) (Samādhipāda I.12) Yoga is the restraint of the attitude of mind whereas in view of Śrīvyāsa it is a synonym of Samādhi or mental concentration.⁷

A supreme Yogī has been defined to be one who inculcates the desire to probe into the parent source of the object that has come to sight all but in a

1. अहो विरसता संसारस्थितेः अहो विचित्रता कर्मपरिणतीनाम्। अहो यदृच्छाकारितायामभिनिवेशो विधेः। अहो भंगुरस्वभावता विभवानाम्। -TM. Vol. III pp. 145-146.

2. Story of Creation of Bhagavadatta I p. 1.

3. फलभिलाषिणा पुरुषेण नैकान्ततो नीतिनिष्ठेन भवितव्यम् अभिमते वस्तुनि दैवं प्रमाणीकृत्य सर्वात्मना प्रवर्तितव्यम्, अनुकूलविधिविहितसाहायकस्य साहसिकस्य सर्वदा शस्यसंपदिवानेतिरनीतिरिप फलति। Ibid. Vol. II p. 322.

4. किं कैकमिह शोच्यते, सर्व एवायमेवप्रकारः संसारः। इदं तु चित्रं यदीदृश्यमप्येनमवगच्छतामीदृशीमपि भावनामनित्यतां विभावयतामीदृशानापि दशविशेषाननुभवतां न जातुचिञ्चन्तूनां विरज्यते चित्तम्। न विशीयते विपर्यायभलापः, न भंगुरीभवति भोगवाञ्छा नाभिधावति निःसङ्गता बुद्धिः, नाङ्गीकरोति निर्व्यावाधानित्यसुखमपवर्गस्थानमात्मा सर्वथातिगहनो बलीयानेषः संसारमोहः। Ibid. Vol. III pp 146- 147.

5. अदृष्टपारे संसारे भङ्गरेस्वभावेषु विभवादिषु सर्वभावेषु कर्मपरतन्त्राणां प्राणिनां सर्वमपि संभवति। Ibid. Vol. III p. 158.

6. अप्रयुक्तयोगाभिरेकाव्यवप्रकटानक मरुतामपि गतिं स्तम्भयन्तीभिः। Ibid. Vol. I p. 49.

7. Pat. Y. P. pp 140, 141, 147. यमनियमसनप्राणायामप्रत्याहारधारणध्यानसमाधयोऽष्टावङ्गानि।

moment.¹ The control of the group of senses being innately accomplished forms the basis of yoga. Dhanapāla has also referred to an application of eye-unction meant to provide special vision of a special object.²

Of the Nyāyasūtras Dhanapāla has mentioned 'Pramāṇa, Prameya explicitly in -

'प्रमाणविद्धिरप्यप्रमाणविद्यैः'³

'कदाचित्प्रमाणप्रमेयस्वरूपनिरूपणेन'⁴

In कदाचित् पदवाक्यविचारेण⁵ he has referred to 'logic' (Vākya) which is again Nyāya. According to Mahāmahopādhyā P.V. Kane, Pada means 'an inflected word' and stands for Grammar which deals with words 'Vākya' a sentence. Logic deals with sentences and the fallacies that lurk in them.⁶

Pramāṇa according to Mahāmahopādhyā Kane means 'authoritative means of knowledge'. It has been construed by Mahāmahopādhyā P.V. Kane as 'Mīmāṃsā' (both Pūrva and Uttara) which deals with Śabda and other Pramāṇas. According to others Vākya' stands for Mīmāṃsā (because Mīmāṃsā helps one to understand Vedic passages which often appear contradictory) and Pramāṇa for Tarka (logic).⁷

Pramāṇa according to Nyāyasūtra are- the words of comparison estimated from visual perception)⁸ while Prameya is the redemption from grief born of the fruit of death, vices such as attachment of mind, intellect, the objects of senses, body and soul.⁹

'Viveka', 'Vibhakti', 'Paricchitti' etc. are the expressions employed to illustrate the points of Logic whereby the citizens of Ayodhyā have been described as discerning enough to understand the quality of the rich as well as the poor, the learned and the illiterate, the virtuous and the vicious, the religious and the irreligious, etc.¹⁰

1. परमयोगीव क्षणमात्रमुपजाततत्तत्प्रभवदर्शनाभिलाषिः। TM Vol. II p. 300.

2. निसर्गसिद्धस्येन्द्रियवर्गसंयमस्य। Ibid. Vol. II p. 311. also तैस्तैरञ्जनैरञ्जितेक्षणसमुपजातयोगिज्ञान इव विज्ञातनिरवशेषविशेषः। Ibid. Vol. II p. 280.

3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 52.

4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 233.

5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 233.

6. Text (पदवाक्यप्रमाणज्ञः) p. 4. P. V. Kane and C. D. Joshi Notes p. 4.

7. Ibid. Notes p. 4.

8. प्रत्यक्षानुमानोपमानशब्दाः प्रमाणानि। Ny. S. I. 3 p. 6.

9. आत्मशरीरेन्द्रियार्थबुद्धिमानः प्रवृत्तिदोषप्रेत्यभावफलदुःखापवर्गास्तु प्रमेयम्। Ibid. I 9 p. 12.

10. अकलिताढ्यानाढ्यविवैकरगृहीतपण्डितापण्डितविभक्तिभिरनवबुद्धसाध्वसाधुविशेषैरनवधारितधार्मिकाधार्मिक परिच्छित्तिभिः। Ibid. Vol. I p. 51.

They knew logic and had enormous stock of lores to their credit. They were endowed with the Sattvaguṇa and had a knack for understanding the Primary argument and replying to it accordingly. They were conversant *with all types of manly qualities* and kept cheerful. They had a penchant for the Nyāyadarśana i.e. the observance of justice or logical statements and were equanimous.¹

Nyāyadarśana² has also been termed Tarkavidyā which takes to the examination of many arguments of blameless nature

अभिमतगमग्रन्थार्थसमर्थनेन कदाचिदसदर्शनोक्तयुक्तिनिराकरणेन³

also alludes to the science of logic (Nyāya) wherein the illogical statement is refuted by the logical one.

'परमाणुसूक्ष्मयापि क्रीडीकृतत्रैलोक्यया'⁴

refers to the Vaiśeṣika system wherein a dravya consisting of an atom has many sided activity emanating from its parts. Intellect of Meghavāhana acute like an atom had brought within its fold the triad of worlds i.e. it had supremacy over the three worlds through knowledge.

"त्रिभुवनसृष्टिमिव प्रकटोपलक्ष्यमाणब्रह्मसूत्रम्"⁵

refers to Brahmasūtra, the main treatise on Vedānta wherein are obtained the speculations connected with the triad of worlds, their creation, growth etc.

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1. प्रमाणविद्विद्विप्रमाणविद्यैः.... सात्त्विकैरपि राजसभावाख्यातिभिः... पूर्वाभिभाषिभिरुत्तरालापनिपुणैः
सकलरसभावाभिज्ञैर्विषादिभिः न्यायदर्शनानुरागिभिरप्यरंद्भिः । TM. vol. I p. 52.
 2. मन्त्रकैर्विद्यामिव विधिनिरूपितानवद्यप्रमाणं । Ibid. Vol. I p. 86.
 3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 233.
 4. Ibid. Vol. I p. 60.
 5. Ibid. vol. I p. 86.

V. EDUCATION, LITERATURE AND ART

Dhanapāla has followed Kautilya¹ and Daṇḍin² in recognising the number of lores as four.³ These four lores (i.e. philosophy, the triad of Vedas, economics-agriculture, animal husbandry etc. and the science of politics) form the basis of the secondary lores which actually emanate through them. He has referred to Kāmasūtra Vidyā⁴ as another lore which actually emanates from the sections dealing with Kāma also known as ratitantra, the third of the values of life, available in Purāṇa⁵ and itihāsa⁶ (Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata) which derive their source of inspiration from the triad of Vedas. He has further emphasised the specialisation of the science of politics particularly for the king⁷ in whose case it acts the role of a female porter (Pratihārī).⁸ Nāṭyaveda⁹ the science of histrionics has also been referred to (most probably alluding to the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata and his followers). Science of Logic¹⁰ (Tarkavidyā) forming part of philosophy has been referred to as a special branch of knowledge and subject of study.

Āyurveda¹¹ or the science of medicine as an auxiliary branch of lore, deriving its source from the fourth Veda (i.e. Atharvaveda) which also contains the dicta connected with the secret lore of charms and spells.

'Naupracāravidyā'¹² the science connected with the sailing of boats and ships.

'Nimittaśāstra'¹³ or the science of omens has also been referred to as a special subject of study.

1. आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति विद्याः ।

Philosophy the three Vedas, economic and the science of politics. KAS I 2. 1. p. 4, part I, p. 6 Part II R. P. Kangle.

2. ननु चतस्रो राजविद्याः, त्रयी वार्तान्वीक्षिकी दण्डनीतिरिति । DKC VIII p. 191 M. R. Kale

3. चतुस्त्रयं विद्यासु लब्धप्रकर्षः । TM Vol. I p. 159.

4. TM. Vol. I p. 51, 52. कामसूत्रपारंगैरप्यविदितवैशिकैः

5. Ibid. Vol. II pp 51, 240.

6. Ibid. Vol. II pp 51, 240.

7. अनायासगृहीतसकलशास्त्रार्थतयापि नीतिशास्त्रेषु खित्रया... प्रज्ञया । Ibid. Vol. I p. 60, Vol. II p. 311.

8. सत्रिहितदण्डनीति प्रतिहारीसमाकृष्टभिः । Ibid.

9. Ibid. Vol. I p. 75. आवेदितनिखिलनाट्यवेदोपनिषद्भिः ।

10. सत्तर्कविद्यामिव विधिनिरूपितानवद्यप्रमाणाम् । Ibid. Vol. I p. 86.

11. सर्वोपवेदपारंगैर्भिषग्भिर्मन्त्रासिद्धिलब्धप्रसिद्धिभिश्च महानरन्दैः । Ibid. Vol. II p. 187.

12. Ibid. Vol. II p. 279.

13. Ibid. Vol. II p. 303.

Citravidyā¹ the science of painting also known as 'alckhyaśāstra', śāstravidyā² in company with śāstravidyā³ - have been mentioned as covering the field of educational curriculum.

Apart from the enumeration Dhanapāla has illustrated certain salient features connected with these lores displaying thereby his personal scholarship and emphasising the point of prevalence and practice of these among the people. As for example -

“अभ्यस्तनाट्यशास्त्रं प्यदर्शितभूतैत्रविकारैः”⁴

referring to the practical aspect of the treatise on dramaturgy ('Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata) having formations of eyes and brows in acting.

“कामसूत्रपारंगरप्यविदितवैशिकैः”⁵

referring to Kāmasūtra the treatise on science of love having 'Vaiśikam' for one of its books (Adhikaraṇa) i.e. the 6th one.

“उदात्तेनापि स्वरितेन चरितेन”⁶

“उच्चापशब्दः न वस्तुविचारे”⁷

“धातूनां सोपसर्गत्वम्- पदानां विग्रहः”⁸ and लिपिविशेषदर्शनपुरःसराणि

“अशेषाण्यपि व्याकरणादीनि शास्त्राणि”⁹

“आत्मानं त्रायस्व पुंनाम्नो नरकात्”¹⁰

“पदवाक्यविचारेण”¹¹

“रूपान्तरग्रहणमिव शब्दराशेः”¹²

“शब्दविद्यामिव विद्यानाम्”¹³

“शब्द इव संस्कृतोऽपि प्राकृतबुद्धिमाधत्ते”

प्रसिद्धपुंभावोऽपि नपुसंकतया व्यवहियते।

सर्वदा खल्लिङ्गवृत्तिरपि परार्थे प्रवर्तमानः पुंस्त्वमर्जयति।¹³

1. TM. Vol. III p. 26.

2. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 35.

3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 52.

4. Ibid. Vol. I p. 61.

5. Ibid. Vol. I p. 62.

6. Ibid. Vol. I p. 62.

7. Ibid. Vol. I p. 67.

8. Ibid. Vol. I p. 68, Vol. III p. 188.

9. Ibid. Vol. I p. 80.

10. Ibid. Vol. II p. 233.

11. Ibid. Vol. II p. 262.

12. Ibid. Vol. II p. 328.

13. TM. Sm. ed. p. 406.

- all referring to one or the other aspect of grammar and etymology (Nirukta) are the valuable-contributions of Dhanapāla testifying his versatility. Udātta and Svarita are the high and circumflex accents of the Śikṣā Kalpasūtra. Uccāpaśabda refers to discordant note in pronunciation. Roots prefixed by prepositions, dissolution of the Padas in compounds, etymology of the word 'Putra' i.e. he who protects from the Naraka named Puṇ. Pada is grammar synonymous with Śabdavidyā which deals with the sentences and words, compound-words assuming varied and variant forms, discrimination of Saṁskṛta as well as the Prākṛta words, masculine, feminine and neuter genders.

“वशीकरणविद्या मदनमहावातिकस्य and

“रससिद्धिर्वैदग्ध्यधातुवादिकस्य”¹

refer to the Aupaniṣadikaṁ (i.e. VIIth) Adhikaraṇa of Kāmasūtra as well as of Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (XIVth Adhikaraṇa) wherein serpent charmers and alchemists, druggists are ordained to prepare spells and recipes for proper damage or cure.

“त्रयीमिव महामुनिसहस्रोपासितचरणाम्”²

refers to the triad of Vedas having their Caranās (i.e. schools) occupied by thousands of great sages acting as teachers.

“क्षेत्रगणितमिव लम्बभुजकर्णोद्भासितम्”³

refers to the science of Geometry (Kṣetragaṇita) wherein Rectangles, triangles etc. are most prevalent.

“संख्यानशास्त्रेणैव नवदशलंकृतेन”⁴

- the numerology in Arithmetic having Nine, Ten etc., as figures.

“छन्दोविचितिशस्त्रमिव बृहत्या जगत्या भ्राजितम्”⁵

- refers to the Vedic metre Bṛhatī and Jagatī.

Dhanapāla has mentioned the treatise on political science composed by Bṛhaspati and Śukranītiḥ.

In Āyurveda mercury cure is useful for the removal of gout which creates a burning sensation in the body.⁶

1. TM. Vol. I p. 82.

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 86.

3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 88.

4. Ibid. Vol. III p. 120, Vol. II p. 321.

5. Ibid. p321. Vol II, LL 5-6

6. नयमार्गमुपदंष्ट्रममरुगुरुभार्गवाभ्याम्; TM. Vol. III p. 120.

A physician conversant with quick modes of treatments prescribing the application of a cold treatment in case of a burning fever has been suggested.¹

Regarding the teacher and the taught, education and educational institutions also Dhanapāla has made some casual remarks.

He has referred to the 'Vaṭharacchātras' reciting the benedictory verses in the beginning of the granthas (Manuscripts connected through folios)² in context with the circle of lecturers working in the educational institutions wherein the books of personal possessions were being covered up by the groups of pupils studying in the caraṇas (schools professing the dicta of Vedic lores) of the revered Ācāryas. The words 'Vaṭharacchātra', 'Acārya', 'Carāṇa', 'Sīṣyagaṇa' and 'Vidyāmaṭha Vyākhyānanaṇḍaliṣu' are significant Maṭhas used to be the sanctuaries and more widely the institutions where the process of delivering lectures used to be most prevalent. The students as well as the teachers assembled in these 'Maṭhas' to discourse upon or listen to the discourses delivered after concentrated studies. Carāṇas used to be the private institutions of the Ācāryas where the students obtained instructions in private. 'Vaṭhara' has been construed by the commentator as well as the dictionary to mean a stupid or dull student. But the context demands its meaning as 'diligent' or 'mature' and not stupid or dull.

The 'Bhikṣācaras' (i.e. students roving about for alms) from the houses of the landlords, in the outer-orchards, roving about hither and thither, being vociferous in studying-have been referred to.³ The sacrificer's⁴ chambers have been described as crowded with the Brāhmaṇas wide awake or alert enough to read aloud when being examined by the ecclesiasts or chaplains (Purohitas) mounted on the tops of the "turrets on the parapets."⁵

There is reference to the Gāndharvikopādhyāyas i.e. the music teachers having their pride gone afar in their perfection of the lore of music:⁶ who practised in the instruments such as flute and the lute etc.

1. कृचिद्रातिका इव सूतमारणोद्यताः । TM. Vol. II p. 208.

2. सुप्रहृष्टवदरच्छात्रसत्त्वंसंघार्यमाणग्रन्थादिप्रथितदेवतास्तुतिश्लोकासु वन्दिताचार्यचरणशिष्यगणसंनियमाणनिजनिज-पुस्तकासु....विद्यामठव्याख्यानमण्डलीषु । Ibid. Vol. II p. 166.

3. अध्ययनमुख्यैरेष्वितस्ततोः भ्रमन्तु गृहपतिभवनवनखण्डभ्रमरेषु भिक्षाचरिषु । Ibid. Vol. II p. 167.

4. प्रतोलोशिखरार्धरूढपूराहितपरीश्रमणाध्ययनमुख्यैरेष्विदं सवन्तः संवृताः सत्रिणां भवन्ते । Ibid. II p. 167.

5. KAS II. 3. 11. part I p. 36 Glossary p. 53.

6. गीतशास्त्रपरिज्ञानद्वारुद्धगर्वैर्गान्धर्विकापाश्व्यासः सह वपुर्वीणादिवाद्यनिनन्दन दिग्दर्शनमनयत । Vol. II p. 171.

'Vidyāsattrasālāntevāsimaṇḍalāni'¹ has been construed by the commentator to mean -

'the groups of boarders staying in the charity home of education.'²

'Sattrā' in the technical sense may mean a session also. The groups of boarders abiding in the hostels where the educational session was spent by them- this may be a better sense.

The Age for the commencement of a child's education has been recognised as six, his five years required to be spent at home moving at will in playful moods in association with the playmates of the age as is evident from the case of Harivāhana³ whose advent of sixth year prompted his sire Meghavāhana to call for the preceptors innately inimical to treading on the unrighteous path, born in the best of the lineages, endowed with blameless sayings ordained by all the scriptures, who had served in the Gurukulas quite judiciously, after having got established an educational institution just within the premises of his own palace in order to bring him under discipline or training, with the tendency to pronounce expressions of letters becoming apparent in him, when a slight polish had come up to his personality.

The Upanayana or initiation into education has been illustrated subsequently. After inviting an assembly of Savants he (i.e. the king initiated him with the investiture thread (marking the beginning of education) through them, on an auspicious day and Zodiac after he had performed all that was required to be done so, had performed his ablution, had ensarfed himself in a white cleansed and fine silk garment, had anointed his body with fragrant sandal, unguent, had worn a necklace of pearls, had applied the forehead mark of rocanā dye, had worn on his head a crest chaplet of Mālātī blossoms etc.⁴ And they (i.e. the Savants) taught him

1. कृताध्ययनभंगविद्वज्जनविस्मर्जितानि प्रष्टीकृतेकैकवटरच्छात्रहस्तार्पितविशालपूर्णकलशानि युगपद्गुह्यारिताशौः परम्परावचनवाचालानि चेलुरन्तःपुराभिमुखमखिलानि विद्यासत्रशालान्तेवासिमण्डलानि। Ibid. Vol. II p. 183.
2. क्षितिपालदारकैः सह क्रीडासुखमनेकप्रकारमनुभवतो निरंकुशप्रचारस्य पंचवर्षाणि तस्यान्तःपुरेऽतिचक्रमुः अवतीर्णे च पष्टे किंचिदुपजातदेहसौष्ठवस्य व्यक्तवर्णवचनप्रवृत्तेर्विनयारोपणाय राजा राजकुलाभ्यन्तर एव कारितानवर्द्धविद्यागृहः सम्यगसेवितगुरुकुलानामवगताखिलशास्त्रमर्मनिर्मलंलोकियुक्तीनामुत्तमान्नायलब्धजन्मानामसन्मार्गगतिनिसर्गविद्विषां विद्यागुरुगणामहरहः संग्रहमकरोत्।
3. Cp. Bāṇa in his Kādambarī the case of Candrāpīḍa, अयमत्र भवतो दशमो वत्सरो विद्यागृहमधिवसतः। प्रविष्टोऽसि षष्ठमनुभवन्वर्षम्। एवं सांपण्डितेनामुना षोडशेन प्रवर्धसे Kād. Pū. M. R. Kale p. 128.
4. उपनिन्ये च तेभ्यः शोभने दिनमुहूर्ते निर्वर्तितसमस्तेतिकर्तव्यः स्नातमनुपहतसुश्रमश्रम- कन्यतोत्तरासंगमनुलिप्ताङ्गमामोदिना मलयजरसेन प्रत्युरसमामुक्तमुक्ताकलापमुपरिचिरोचनातिलकरुचरललाट-

gradually all the Śāstras such as Vyākaraṇa (Grammar) preceded by the demonstration of specific scripts.¹ The sincerity of the teachers, the disciplinary temperament of his sire, the paucity of evil-associations, complete facility of all the branches of knowledge available at hand; and the precocity of his own intellect, made him conversant with them in a short time. With interest unflagging he mastered all the stock of fourteen branches of learning along with their auxiliary lores quite within the period of ten years. He learnt the entire stock of arts obtaining skill especially in the art of painting and lute playing. When all the scriptures obtained maturation in him and he went past the lores of weapons with blessings of the intelligentia showered upon him who had attained to the glamour of flushing youth with limbs attaining to radiation who was as permitted by the teachers of learning (Samāvattana Saṁskāra) the king brought Harivāhana back to the palace, after he had gone past the sixteenth year of his age.² This proves the fact that in Ancient India as corroborated by Bāṇa's evidence above, a child's education started at six and ended at sixteen whereafter specialisation to attain to ā-cāryadom continued in case of Brāhmaṇas etc. But in case of Kṣatriyas it was an obligatory way to go through the period of ten years to understand and obtain training in fourteen branches of knowledge. In fact it was obligatory for every individual to undergo this must period of training in order to adjust himself in the educated and civilized society.

Regarding the fourteen branches of knowledge, the commentator says-

Four Vedas along with the Vedāṅgas (numbering six), Mīmāṃsā, Ānvikṣikī, Dharmaśāstra and the Purāṇa are the fourteen branches of lores.³

मुत्तमांगवर्धितमालतीमुकुलगण्डमालमवदातवेधतया सविशेषदर्शितादरमभ्युत्थितायाः पुनः सरस्वत्याः सितांशुभवलया
शरीरच्छात्ययेव च्छुरितमात्मजमवनिपतिः । Ibid. Vol. II p. 188.

1. 'पूजाविशेषवर्धितप्रीतयश्च ते लिपिविशेषदर्शनपुरःसरमशेषाण्यपि व्याकरणादीनि शास्त्राणि तस्मै क्रमेणोपादिशन् Ibid. Vol. II p. 188.

2. कृमायेऽपि सतताभियुक्ततया गुरुणा नियन्त्रणपरतया पितुरविद्यमानतया दुर्विनीतसंनिधेः स्वाधीनतया सखागमोपनिबन्धानां कुशीलोयतया च निजयुद्धेरत्येनेव कालेव तेषामभ्यन्तराऽभवत् । अमुक्ताभियागश्च दर्शाभग्नदेष्टृदंशपि विद्यास्थानानि सह सर्वाभिरुपाव्रज्याभिधिदोचकार । कृताशास्त्रं च तद्विशेषं विवद, विशेषमर्वाश्रमोणं वीणावाद्यं च प्रवोणताभाप । एव च पारणताशास्त्रास्त्रसामादित यकलाभ्यावद्यापारमुपलब्धसवबुभजनसाधुवादमारुह्यनवतारुण्यलक्ष्मीं जलाधपुणं सखावयवशाभानुमोदितविद्यागुरुजने न हरिवोहनमर्त आन्नेपाडशे वर्षे हर्षनिधरे राजा... स्वभवनमानिनाय Ibid. Vol. II pp. 188-189.

3. 'पञ्चदशतन्त्राश्रयणे मीमांसान्वीक्षकी तथा । धर्मशास्त्रपुराणं च विद्या एताश्चतुर्दशः । Commentary to LM Vol. II p. 188.

Samaraketu has been described as acquainted with the Śāstras studied according to his capacity, taught in the science of polity, trained well in the lore of archery without any flaw, exercised well in the special weapons such as sword, mace, disc or the quoit, a poniard, a javelin etc.¹ Strījana or the womenfolk had their due right for the acquisition of education in so far as Dhanapāla has mentioned them as skilled in all the arts and scriptures, conversant with the dialects or languages of all the countries, adept in the (narration of) the legends from the Purāṇas and aware of the variety of folk lores.²

They could learn Dharmaśāstra from the specialists in this lore and could be taught by the male teachers.³ Citralekhā has been referred to as skilled eminently in the art of painting.⁴ Malayasundarī has also been described as having a knack for the art and lores.⁵ Even the encaged birds like parrots taking to the medium of philosophical expositions pronounced aloud the auspicious chants. Even the starlings of the harem showered blessings on the royal ladies in the manner of inadorable old women.⁶

LITERATURE

According to Dr. Pratipāla Bhatia 'Under The Paramāras Malva rose to a high level of greatness and fame. In fact no other part of northern India can claim such a rich galaxy of literary giants in so short a period as Malva in the days of the Paramāras. Dhārā was the Mecca of the poets and Paṇḍits in the days of Bhoja the Great. And only a little less was the reputation enjoyed by Malva in the days of Vākpati II. Their enlightened patronage of scholars made Ujjain the literary capital of India in the spirit of the traditions current about it as the capital of the great Vikramāditya.'⁷

Dhanapāla while acknowledging the patronage of Bhoja for whom he wrote his Kathā (i.e. Tilakamañjarī) recognises him as one conversant with whole of literature, who had a zest for listening to the parables enunciated

1. यथाशक्तिकृतशास्त्रपरिचयमधीतनीतिविद्यामभ्यस्तनिरवद्यधनुर्वेदमसिगदाचक्रकुन्तप्रासादिषु प्रासग्रहरण-विशेषेषु कृतश्रमम्। TM Vol. II p. 251.
2. सर्वकलाशास्त्रकुशलेन सर्वदेशभाषाविदा सर्वपौराणिकाख्यानकप्रवीणेन स्वांजनेन। Ibid. Vol. III p. 13.
3. प्रवर्त्यमाणानि गुरुभिः प्रबोध्यमानानि धर्मशास्त्रविद्भिः। Ibid. Vol. III p. 13 referring to Tilakamañjarī.
4. सखि। चित्रलेखे। त्वं हि चित्रकर्मणि परं प्रवीणा। Ibid. Vol. III p. 14.
5. विस्तारित कलाशास्त्रविनोदेन। Ibid. p. 181.
6. पंचरशुकैरपि प्रस्तुतवादिभिर्वन्दिभिरिवोच्चार्यमाणमङ्गलम् अन्तःपुरसारिकाभिरपि परिमितः व्याहारिणोभिराभ्यर्च्य जर्तरीरिव विलीयमाणराजवनिताशोर्वादम्। Ibid. Vol. II p. 162.
7. Paramāras Ch. XVI. p. 315.

according to the expositions of the doctrines of the Jinas, and who as a man of blameless demeanour.¹ He has called Śrī Muñja also an ocean of all the lores.² He calls himself as the son of Sarvadeva and grandson of Devarṣi who was a scholar of the Śāstras, adept in the activities (dealing with the religious and expository lores), sublime in the composition and construal of the speech. His son Sarvadeva, the magnanimous one was a veritable peer to Svayambhū (i.e. Brahmā or the savant versed in the Vedic lore). Dhanapāla, the Vipra (a Brāhmaṇa or a scholar or an intellectual), being his son derived the source of knowledge from him was unparalleled in the composition of strong stock of sweet sayings and enjoyed the patronage of Śrī Muñja also who had graced him with his speech (Sarasvatī).³

Vākpati II is said to have written a geographical description of India known as 'Muñja-pratideśa Vyavasthā.'⁴ (Asiatic Researches IX, p.176)

Dhanañjaya in his Daśarñpaka (IV. 316) has assigned the verse to the authorship of Śrī Muñja.⁵ (Vākpatirāja IV.310, 316)

According to Dr. Bhatia Śrī Bhojadeva was first and foremost a man of great learning, a versatile scholar, a polymath indeed, for he has been credited with works in almost every branch of knowledge. According to Ājaḍa, who wrote a commentary named Padakaprakāśa on Bhoja's Sarasvatīkañṭhābharana, Bhoja wrote 84 works giving them names with his own titles or birudas. The Prabhāvakacarita refers to Bhoja's works in several branches of learning. Of the works ascribed to him the authorship of

1. निःशेषवाङ्मयविदोऽपि जिनागमोक्ताः श्रोतुं कथाः समुपजातकुतूहलस्य।
तस्यावदातचरितस्य विनोदहेतो राज्ञः स्फुटाद्भुतरसा रचिता कथैवम्॥ TM Intro.. verse 50 Vol. I p. 40.
 2. सर्वविद्यान्धिना Ibid. verse 53 Vol. I
 3. आसौद द्विजन्माऽखिलमध्यदेशे प्रकाशशांकाश्मनिवेशजन्मा।
अलम्बदेवर्षिरिति प्रसिद्धिं यो दानवर्षित्वविभूषितोऽपि॥
शास्त्रेण्वधीती कुशलः क्रियासु (कलासु) बन्धे च बोधे च गिरां प्रकृष्टः।
तस्यात्मजन्मा समभून्महात्मा देवः स्वयम्भूरिव सर्वदेवः॥
तज्जन्मा जनकाङ्घ्रिपंकजराजः सेवासविद्यालवो
विप्रः श्रीधनपाल इत्यविशदामितामयध्नात् कथाम्।
अक्षुण्णोऽपि विविक्तसूक्तिरचने यः सर्वविद्यान्धिना
श्रीमन्नेन सरस्वतीति सदसि क्षोणीभूता व्याहृतः॥
Ibid. verse 51, 52, 53, pp. 40-42.
 4. Paramāras p. 316 Cf. 2.
 5. Das. r. p. 374 ed. Śrīnivāsa Śāstrī.
- 1) प्रणयकुपितां दृष्ट्वा देवीं ससम्भ्रमविस्मितस्त्रिभुवनगुरुर्भूत्या सद्यः प्रणामपरोऽभवत्।
नर्मिताशिरसो गंगालोके तया चरणाहता भवतु भवतस्त्रयक्षस्यैतद्विलक्षमवस्थितम्॥

Rājamārtanḍa, a commentary on Patañjali's Yogasūtra, Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharāṇa (grammar) and Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharāṇa (Poetics), voluminous works, Śṛṅgāprakāśa, Tattvaparakāśa Bhujabalabhīma, Br̥hadrājamārtanḍa, Rājamrgāṅka, Samarāṅgana Sūtradhāra, Yuktikalpataru, Vyavahāramañjarī, Campūrāmāyaṇa or Bhoja Campū, Avani-kūrmasātaka, Vidvajjñānavallabha, Nāmamālikā and Sālīhotra can be established as factual.

Apart from this Dhanapāla has referred to enormous data on Sanskrit literature prior to his times and has alluded to certain special characteristic themes and sayings of different poets. As already observed he has referred to Vālmīkī and Vyāsa (Kāñina), the author and compiler of Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, Br̥hatkathā, the popular tales-thesaurus of Guṇāḍhya, Pravarasena, the author of Setubandha, Taraṅgavatī, a prose romance, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa and his son Pulinda Pulindhra actually Abhinanda as per Ārya Saptasatī of Viśveśvara Pāṇḍeya verse 51 page 26 their works Harsacarita and Kādambarī Pūrva and Uttara bhāga, Māgha, Haribhadrāsūri and his Samarāditya, Bhavabhūti, Vākpatirāja, Bhadrakīrti, the Śvetāmbara lord, Yāyāvarakavi (i.e. Rājaśekhara), Sūri Mahendra, Rudra and his Trailokya Sundarī, Kardamarāja etc. The legend of the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu supporting the earth on its snout has been referred to at a number of places.¹ The legend of the birth of submarine fire from the thigh of the Aurva sage has been mentioned, its scientific implication being different.² The legend of the churning of the ocean resulting in the war between the gods and the demons also occurs at few places.³ The legend of Viṣṇu sleeping in the ocean and waking up after a stipulated period of time symbolising the natural phenomena of ebbing and tiding of the ocean etc.⁴ The legends of the war between Nivāta and Kavaca (the daityas of the race of Hiraṇyakaśipu),⁵ the Vṛtra-Indra fight symbolising the release of waters from the barriers through the power of cloud and electricity;⁶ the legends of *Rāmāyaṇa* such as *regalment of Sītā by Trijaṭā in the Aśokavana (Laṅkā)*,⁷ the strolls of Mandodarī and the long slumbers of Kumbhakarna also called Sahodara, the character of Lakṣmaṇa (son of Sumitrā) associated with

1. TM Vol. I p. 69, Vol. II p. 264.

2. Ibid. Vol. II p. 262, Vol. III p. 263.

3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 264, Vol I p. 142.

4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 264.

5. Ibid. vol. II p. 266

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid. Vol. II p. 288.

Urmilā as his spouse are also referred to.¹ The discomfiture of Prahasta at the hands of Nīla,² the fainting of Lakṣmaṇa (son of Sumitrā) with the Javelin of (Meghanāda),³ devotion of Vibhīṣaṇa unto Rāma (Dāśarathī i.e. son of Daśaratha)⁴ etc. are reminiscent of the various legends of Rāmāyaṇa following the loss of Sītā; the return of Rāma to Ayodhyā in the aerial car named Puṣpaka⁵ also completes the story of Rāmāyaṇa in recapitulating the history of memoirs. Description of the army of Sugrīva having Nīla and Aṅgada for its sentinels again is a legend referring to the Kiṣkindhā and Yuddha Kāṇḍas of Rāmāyaṇa.⁶

Abhimanyu the leader of the Cakravyūha refers to the Mahābhārata.⁷ Rāvaṇa obtaining his powers through the grace of Śiva (Nīlaloḥita) refers to a legend of the Purāṇas.⁸

“वैशम्पायनशापकथाप्रक्रममिव दुर्वर्णशुकनास मनोरमम्”⁹

- refers to the story of Kādambarī as narrated by Bāṇa wherein the effect of curse showered on Vaiśampāyana by Mahāśvetā led to the remorseful plight of Śukanāsa and Manoramā, his sire and mother. Dhanapāla has also mentioned-

कांशिकीमिव रसवृत्तीनाम्	-Theory of Rasa.
उपजातिमिव छन्दोजातीनाम्	-Prosody.
जातिमिवालंकृतीनाम्	-Figures.
वैदर्भीमिव रीतिनाम्	-Styles.
प्रसन्नमिव काव्यगुणसम्पदाम्	-Prasādaguṇa (Perspicuity)
रसोक्तिमिव भण्णित्तीनाम्	-Sweet sayings.

- Rhetorics which also covered the domain of literature proper.

1. TM. Vol. II p. 288, 289, Vol. III p. 74.

2. Ibid. Vol. II p. 290.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 291.

6. Ibid. vol. I p. 144. सुग्रीवसेनामिव स्फुरत्तारनीलाङ्गदाम्।

7. अभिमन्युरिव चक्रव्यूहस्य सेनापति Ibid. vol. II p. 206.

सुग्रीवबलमिव सलीलमारुतिगवाक्षगवयोपनीतकुपितरामावलेपम्। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 371.

सुग्रीवमिव कपिशतान्वितम्। Ibid. Vol. III p. 107.

8. दशरथमिव नीललोहितप्रभावासि श्रयम्। Ibid. Vol. III p. 107.

9. Ibid. Vol. III p. 95, Vol. II p. 328.

ARTS :

Arts such as knowledge of skilful speech (Chokotikovidaiḥ),¹ the compositions of Kāvyaś and nāṭakas (poetry and drama),² the dissertations about the Akhyāyikās and Akhyānas (Legends and Chronicles),³ practice of physical movements such as knitting of eye-brows in accordance with the Nāṭyaśāstra (of Bharata),⁴ skilfulness in understanding all the languages,⁵ and the sayings prevalent among the lātas; the art of composing the fourth quarter in a verse, where three quarters are well-known;⁶ the display of lack of caesura in the poetry of bad poets (or poetasters);⁷ the poetry of the good poet liked by the virtuous;⁸ Evasive speech (Vakrayā Vacana Bhaṅgyā)⁹ giving out the logical meaning Sāmudrika' i.e. palmistry as an art also known as 'Hastarekhā Vijñāna'¹⁰ referred to in 'samudraavid' foreboding the signs of the embryo (ākhyātaprasava lakṣaṇam).¹¹

The art of recitation of a variety of anecdotes by the kathakanārījana (i.e. the women used to narrating the reciting).¹²

The 'Prekṣānāṭya' or a dance performance shown in an open arena (or theatre) as a trick of sight seeing and art.¹³

Prediction of auspicious dates, days and zodiacs in astrology has been hinted at while describing the birth of the son of Meghavāhana.¹⁴

'कलाविदो विदितसकलशास्त्रतत्त्वाः कवयो वाग्मिनः काव्यगुणदोषज्ञाः विज्ञातविविधपुराणतिहासकथाः कथाख्यायिका नाटकादिप्रबन्धबद्धरतयो रतितन्त्रपरम्परापरामर्शसिकमनसः परिहासशीलाः प्रधानराजलोकाः'¹⁵

1. TM. Vol. I p. 51.

2. सकलकाव्यनाटकप्रबन्धैः।

3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 52. परिचितनिखिलाख्यायिकाख्यानकाव्याख्यानेः

4. अभ्यस्तनाट्यशास्त्रेष्वदर्शितभूनेत्रविकारैः Ibid. Vol. I p. 52.

5. सर्वभाषाविचक्षणेः शिष्यशिक्षितललाटेऽक्षिभिः। Ibid. Vol. I p. 52.

6. गृहचतुर्थकानां पादावकृष्टयः। Ibid. Vol. I p. 68.

7. कुकविकाव्येषु यतिभ्रंशदर्शनम् Ibid.

8. सुकविकाव्यमिव सज्जनपरिग्रहेण Ibid. Vol. I p. 147.

9. Ibid. Vol. I p. 151.

10. सामुद्रं नाम हस्तरेखादिना शुभाशुभप्रतिपादकः, समुद्रनाम्ना महर्षिणा प्रणीतो ग्रन्थविशेषः।

11. अवितादेशसामुद्रविदाख्यातप्रसवतक्षणानां Ibid. Vol. I p. 160.

12. प्रपंचितविविचित्राख्यानेकेन श्रव्यवचसा कथकनारोजनेन। Ibid. Vol. II p. 181.

13. Ibid. Vol. II p. 181.

14. सारतिथिवाकरणश्रितेऽतिश्रेयस्यहनि पुण्ये मुहूर्ते। TM. Vol. II p. 182.

15. Ibid. Vol. II p. 240.

refers to poets, orators, critics, persons conversant with the literature on tale and fable, legend and chronicle, drama etc. the erotic lore and the like.

Art of writing and the writing materials

Tāḍīpatra¹ or the palm leaf meant for writing in place of paper has been described as a billet sent by Malayasundarī to Samaraketu with an inscription contained in a verse-couplet. The Tāḍīpatra was lying at the root of a mango tree grown in the courtyard. Its region of the neck was wound round by a thread of lotus fibre. It had an imprint of the style of the nipple of a breast attractive, impressed on its middle parts. Both of its sides were cordoned by a circumferential pedestal of the sandal mire hardened by drying, bearing a sheen white like snow and slightly unctuous, being pallid like the cheeks of an Ābhīra lady. The sole āryā couplet inscribed on it had its purport difficult of cognizance and was endowed with syllables (Aksaras) having their characters (lit. limbs) very soft and thin elevation of their maturation obtained accordingly (i.e. their legibility had been completely secured), being not capable of touching each other even when they were very thickly inlaid and were promiscuous from all sides, with camphor powder emitting out sacred odour having its colour effulgent like the fresh pearl powder suffused with illimitable fragrance of incense and black aloes and were decorated with the leafybits of fresh Kumkuma (dye) inscribed as they were with the mire of ink prepared out of inspissated deer-musk and characterised in charming letters.²

‘यत् तदासादितं त्वया तथाविधं ताडिपत्रकम्, असावनङ्गलेखस्तावत्’³

again refers to the palm-leaf the letters inscribed on which purported forth the import of a love-billet.

वेणुकर्पूरावरणकृतरक्षेष्वांकीर्णखरताडपणकोत्कीर्णकर्णाटादितिपिषु पुस्तकेषु विरलमवलोक्यमान-
संस्कृतानुविद्धस्वदेशभाषानिबद्धकाव्यप्रबन्धानि⁴

refers to the poetical compositions made in the languages of the local country interspersed with Sanskrit being observed in the books bearing

1. प्रांगणसहकारपादपस्य मूले मृणालसूत्रवलयितग्रीवाविभागमध्यभागविन्यस्तमुग्धस्तनमुखमुद्रेण स्थानतुहिन-
पाण्डुरत्विषा शोषाधिगतकाटिन्येन चन्दनपंकवेदिकाबन्धन संदानितोभयान्तमभिमतवियोगविधुराभारकामिनी-
कपोलपाण्डु ताडिपत्रखण्डमवलोकितम्। TM. Vol. II pp 241- 242.

2. ललितपदसंनिवेशा सान्द्रमृगमदमधीपङ्कलिखितैः प्रत्यग्रकुङ्कुमपत्रभंगशोभिभिः कृष्णागुरुधूपवाससंभृत-
सौरभातिरेकैरभिनवमौक्तिकक्षोदविशदवर्णेन पुण्यपरिमलमुचा...रेवासपरिणतिप्रकर्षैरपि सुकुमारसर्वावयवैरक्षरैरुपेता
दुरवबोधतात्पर्यवस्तुरैकैवार्या। Ibid. vol. II p. 242.

3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 243.

4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 286.

scripts such as the Kaṇṇāṭa one and others inscribed on the thickset palm-leaves preserved in the coverings of cane-caskets.

- अतिपृथुलताडीपत्रसंचारित सुरेखाक्षरं लेखम्¹

refers to the billet inscribed in well-designed letters transcribed on extremely thick palm-leaves.

- प्रत्यग्रलिपिना दिव्यपटपल्लवाग्रस्थिलेखेन संदेहित दयित जीविता²

refers to a billet inscribed on knotted sprout of divine cloth bearing fresh script.

स्वहस्तसंचारिता लिपिः सः ते स्वकुशलोदन्तलेखः³

refers to a billet bearing script prepared with one's own hand.

समासत्रताडीतरुतले करांगुलिनखाग्र

लेखन्यासुरेखाक्षरं लिखित्वा लेखम्॥⁴

also refers to the palm leaf manuscript inscribed with a pen in a beautiful handwriting.

अजर्जरंभूर्जलेखम्⁵ refers to birch-barks employed to inscribe the writings on them.

“परिस्फुटोत्कीर्णनाकलिपिवर्णानुपूर्विका पूर्वान्तेन”⁶

-refers to the scripts prevalent in the nāka i.e. the divine world. One can easily presume the existence of variety of scripts in various regions high, middle and low.

तस्यामयीह प्रशस्तावाष्टादशलपिव्यक्तिव्यतिरिक्तः कोऽप्यपरोलिपि विन्यासः⁷

refers to eighteen types of scripts known to Dhanapāla as existing and in use in various parts of the country of the times.

1. TM. Sm. ed. p. 338.

2. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 344.

3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 347.

4. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 349.

5. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 375.

6. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 419.

7. Ibid. Vol. III p. 105.

VI. FINE ARTS

(MUSIC, DANCE, PERFUMERY, DRAPERY, TOILETRY, ORNAMENTS,
ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE AND PAINTINGS.)

There is reference to the sixty four fine arts in case of Harivāhana.¹ Tilakamañjarī was likewise skilled in all the arts.² Apart from this-

“नृत्यगीतचित्रादिकलापारदृश्वा”³ along with

“कलासु शास्त्रेषु शिल्पेषु”⁴

“कलाशास्त्रकुशलस्य कौशलिकम्”⁵ and

“गीतनृत्याचित्रविदकलासु व्युत्पत्तिः”⁶

“निवृत्तगीतनृत्यादि सकलप्राक्तनव्यवहारः”⁷

“गीतनृत्यगोष्ठी”⁸

refer to the fine arts such as Dance, Music, Painting, Sculpture etc. which come within the scope of sixty four fine arts.

Tilakamañjarī's skill in painting, instrumental music such as lute-playing, gentle and frantic dance forming a part of histrionics the division of Svaras such as Śaḍja, the art of plastering pictures or sculpture, the Dravidian arts such as preparing of leaf-designs etc.⁹ again form a part of the sixty four arts which have been counted elaborately by Vātsyāyana in his Kāmasūtra.¹⁰

‘Nāṭyakarma’¹¹ or the art of acting, drama and dance accompanied by vocal and instrumental music (Gīta and Vādyā) has been referred to as a special feature of art on religious as well as social occasions. Gīta (vocal

1. अत्रिकलचतुःषष्टिकलाश्रयतया चतुर्गुणेनाधिकः कुमारो हरिवाहनः। TM Sm ed. p. 362.

2. इह लब्धपताका कलासु सकलास्त्रपि कौशलेन वत्सा तिलकमंजरी। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 363.

3. Ibid. Vol. III pp 3, 4, 17, 53, Sm. ed. p. 302.

4. Ibid. Vol. III pp 3, 4, 17, 53, Sm. ed. p. 302.

5. Ibid. Vol. III pp 3, 4, 17, 53, Sm. ed. p. 302.

6. Ibid. Vol. III pp 3, 4, 17, 53, Sm. ed. p. 302.

7. Ibid. Vol. III pp 3, 4, 17, 53, Sm. ed. p. 302.

8. Ibid. Vol. III pp 3, 4, 17, 53, Sm. ed. p. 302.

9. यदि च कौतुकं तर्तश्चित्रकर्मभिर्बोणावाद्ये लास्यताण्डवगतं पु नाट्यप्रयोगेषु षड्जादिस्वरविभागनिर्णयेषु च विदाधजन विनोदयोग्येषु वस्तुविज्ञानेषु पृच्छेनाम्। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 363.

10. Ksu Part i. I. 3. 15. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 14, 24, 27, 28, 29, 32, 38, 39, 40, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, pp 87-89.

11. अन्यन्तधार्मिका इव विधृतविद्याधराकाराः पुरो विद्यादेवतानामनवद्यगतिर्वाद्यनाट्यकर्मकर्तुं प्राक्रमन्त। Sm. ed. p. 399.

music) and Vādyā (instrumental music) have been referred to separately as well as conjointly with nr̥tya etc.¹

Regarding the Svaras in vocal music we find the implication or the mention of all the seven in the line.

‘Saḍjāḍisvaravibhāganirṇayeṣu’

(above) - explaining thereby the recognition of Ṣaḍja, Rṣabha, Gāndhāra, Madhyama, Pañcama, Dhaivata and Niṣāda.

Gāndhāra, Pañcama and Ṣaḍja have been mentioned exclusively too.

The word ‘Rūgiṇaḥ’ refers punningly to the singers straining forth to the dance given by Hari i.e. Viṣṇu.²

Vāditra,³ Vādyā⁴ and Ātodya⁵ have been employed to mean ‘musical instrument’ in general.

Vaipaṇcikas⁶ also called Vainikas⁷ i.e. the lute players playing upon lutes to strain forth melodious Pañcamarā-gas, the terms ‘Tantrī’ and ‘Vallakī’ being employed to mean the lute string and the lute itself. In other contexts ‘Tantrī’ means a ‘lute’ in itself as well. The ‘Pāṭahika’⁸ (i.e. the

1. निकटनाट्यशाला शैलुषकुलसङ्गीतकलहम्।

विधेहि स्वविषयानुपैयुषः स्वरसन्देहविच्छेदम्।

रात्रौ द्विजैः सह सहचरैः सेवते त्वद्विपक्षः किं सङ्गीतं नहि नहि महिनाथ हेमन्तशीतम्।

विरतसङ्गीतकरसावेशो।

प्रतिङ्भिमुपदिश्यमानमृगमोहकारि करुण गीताभिः।

किमपि सुन्दरः गीतनिष्पन्दः श्रुतिविषयभवसारसकुलक्राण इव निर्जलारण्यपथिकमधिकाद्भुतहर्षमाकर्षति ममान्तःकरणम्।

वन्दिवृन्दजयशब्दकोलाहलशालिना शकुनपाठकश्लोककलकलबहलेन गृहीततारस्वानगायनीगीतरवतरंगितेन गीतनृत्यादिकः प्रेक्षणकसमुचितो विधिः।

एकदेशारब्धमधुरगानगाथकपेटकोजुष्टम्।

प्राभातिकानि गङ्गास्तोत्रगीतकानि।

कदाचित् स्वयमेव रागविशेषेषु संस्थाप्य समर्थितानि शृङ्गारप्रायरसानि स्वरचितसुभाषितानि गाथकगोष्ठ्या पुनरुक्तमुपनीयमानान्यनुरागभावितमनाः शुश्राव। Ibid. S. ed. p. 372, 358; Vol. III p. 196, 54, Vol. II pp 300-301, Sm. ed. p. 310, Vol. III p. 119. Sm. ed. p. 358, Vol. I p. 75.

2. हरिद्रासान्द्ररुचयो रागिणः। Ibid. Vol. III p. 172.

3. ध्वनन्त्यमुनिवादित्राणि; विरते च वादित्रस्वनैः।

वितोर्ण विविधमार्जनानि सन्नान्यक्रियन्त भानावादित्राणि भरतपूत्रैः। TM Vol. II pp 301, 308.

4. वाद्यशब्दं कदाचित् तारं कदाचि मन्दमुच्चरन्तमच्छिन्नसन्तानमाह्वानशब्दमिव संजहार। Ibid. Vol. II p. 308.

5. विश्रान्त एष तावदत्रैव प्रदेशे मार्गदेश कोऽस्माकमतोद्यध्वनिः Ibid. Vol. II p. 309.

6. TM. II p. 172. L.5.

7. व्यश्रीयन्त वैष्णिकैरितस्ततः प्रहततन्त्रो परीक्षितकलध्वनिभिर्निश्चलाः कलाः वल्लकीषु। Ibid. Vol. III p. 188.

8. अतिशयच्छेकपाटहिकताडितपटहनादपटुतरवेण खुरपुटध्वनिना। Ibid. Vol. II p. 199.

taborbeater) striking the hide of the tabor with the stick in order to produce a shrill patter, has also been mentioned. The Bharataputras playing on various musical instruments mean the followers of the school of Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra specialising in the lore of instrumental music. The 'Vāṁśikas'¹ or Flute players have been described as seated in front of the female singers wielding flutes drawn out of the leather-cases.

Of the musical instruments proper Dhanapāla has mentioned the Lute known as Viṇā,² Vallakī,³ Vipañcī,⁴ Parivādinī,⁵ tantrī etc;⁶ Flute-known as Veṇu, Tabor known as Mrdaṅga,⁷ Paṭaha,⁸ Murajavādyā,⁹ Kāhala,¹⁰ Bherī,¹¹ Nāndī and Ḍhakkā,¹² Ḍiṇḍima,¹³ Clarion known as Tūrya,¹⁴ Trumpet (Dundubhi),¹⁵ Conch (Śaṅkha)¹⁶ Jhallarī (an instrument of bell-metal),¹⁷ Kāṁsyatāla¹⁸ (a bell-metal platter meant to strike with hands for a patter).¹⁹

The commentator construes Dundubhi as a synonyms of Bherī.¹⁹

Paṇava (a water-vessel used as a musical instrument).

1. निचुलकाकृष्टवैणवो ग्रेगायनीनाम् पविशन् वांशिकाः Ibid. Vol. III p. 188.
2. TM Sm. ed. pp. 372, 362, Vol. III p. 117 Also तारतन्त्रीगुणं वीणाम् धृत्वा काणं विरचितलये वादयन्दतवीणाम् Sm. ed. p. 358.
3. TM Vol. III p. 188, p. 42, Vol. I p. 118.
4. TM Vol. II p. 172, Vol. III p. 36.
5. TM Sm. ed. p. 357.
6. तलिनताडिततन्त्रीध्वनिकलेन TM Vol. II p. 327.
7. TM Vol. I p. 105.
8. TM Vol. I p. 118, Vol. II p. 165, 199, 198, Vol. III p. 181. Sm. ed. pp. 370, 360.
प्रतिभवनमाहतानामसंख्यकाहलशंखशल्लरीमुरजपटहानामनुसृतः पटीयसा झात्कुतेन वादित्राणाम् Ibid. vol. II p. 183.
9. TM Vol. II p. 183, Vol. I p. 155, Vol. II p. 300.
10. विमर्षदुन्दुभ्यल शंखकाहलकोलाहलः । TM Vol. II p. 300.
प्रतिसैन्यमाहतानां प्रसृततारतरकाहलवर्णितकाहलेन सत्राहपटहानामुन्नादितः कोलाहलेन Ibid. Vol. II pp 197-198.
11. Also p. 183. TM Vol. II pp 201, 204, 295; Sm. ed. p. 402.
12. 1466. TM Vol. II p. 201, 202, 254, p. 183 (Nāndī).
13. TM Sm. ed. p. 367.
14. TM Vol. III pp 189, 179, Vol. II pp 254, 268; Sm. ed. p. 360.
15. Tm Vol. II p. 200, Vol. III p. 101, Sm. ed. p. 370.
16. TM Vol. II pp 282, 183, Sm. ed. p. 360. 370.
17. TM Vol. II pp 282, 183, 300; Vol. III pp 134, 181, Sm. ed. p. 360.
18. TM Vol. II p. 300.
19. Commentary to TM Vol. III p. 101.

Regarding Dance we find references to its three forms known as 'Nṛtta',¹ 'Nṛtya',² and 'Nāṭya'³ - the first two being treated synonymously in classical literature and the third meant to mean 'drama'.

In reality Nṛtta is 'Aṅgikābhinaya' or physical movement, Nṛtya is that which contains Nṛtta or physical movement in it i.e. dance proper while Nāṭya is a Prākṛta form of Nṛtya coming from Nāṭa the Prākṛta forms of Nṛtta-including physical movement, dialogue, sentiments etc.

A dance hall is called 'Raṅgaśālā' while 'śailūṣa' is the word employed to mean a dancer or actor.⁴

'Lāśya'⁵ is the gentle dance performed by ladies such as Rambhā the celestial nymph-the dance sponsored by Pārvaṭī to begin with.

'Sairandhrī'⁶ - a dancing maid named Citralekhā has been referred to.

There is allusion to the Jamboree enjoyed by harlots in the company of gallants, with girdles tremulous through stepping of feet, being petulant with liquor.⁷ The 'Karaṇaprayogas' referred to in 919 above and the Aṅgahāras referred to in another context along with Sāmājikas and 'Karaṇaprayogāḥ' forming a prominent constituent of the Nāṭyaveda, deserve, a detailed reckoning. The word 'Raṅga' occurs here as well.⁸

Marvelling at the dance-performance of Malayasundarī Vicitravīrya makes queries of her as to whence did she learn that art whereby to entrance the hearts of the audience (Sāmājikas).

In Nāṭyaśāstra Nṛtta or dance has been described as adorned with 'Aṅgahāras' linked with many 'Karaṇas.' It was Taṇḍu⁹ who described the Aṅgahāras to Bharata as thirty two.¹⁰

1. TM Vol. III pp. 17, 189, 139, 140.

2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 53, 190.

3. Ibid. Vol. III pp 190., 191; Sm. ed. pp 363, 372.

4. रङ्गशाला रंगशैलूषस्य। अङ्गरङ्गे लुटन्तः। TM. Vol. I p. 82

5. Ibid. Vol. I p. 120. रम्भासायकरणाप्रयोगः

6. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 14, 15, 186.

7. मदविशृङ्खलपदक्षेपक्षोभित काञ्चयश्च सह भुजङ्गजनेन ननुतुनृपाङ्गणेषु गणिकाः Ibid. Vol. III p. 179.

8. वत्से मलयसुन्दरि! दूरमावर्जितानित्वया सामाजिक मनांसि, कथय कुतस्त्वद्वेशस्य.... सकलयेचरचमत्कारिणी नाट्यवेदस्याधिगतिः, कथं शिक्षिता स्वल्पेन कालेन ललितानेतावतः करण प्रयोगान्, केन संक्रमिता कृतिनाम्बरेण समस्तरङ्गरागहेतुरियमङ्गहारानां गतिः, अतिमहत् कुतूहलं मे, न हि कदाचित् क्षितिचारिणीष्ववस्थासु दृष्टा श्रुता वास्माभिरेवंविधा वेदध्वो नाट्यकर्मणि Ibid. Vol. III p. 190.

9. ततो वै तण्डुना प्रोक्ता स्त्वङ्गहाराः महात्मना। Ibid. IV. 18 p. 33.

10. द्वात्रिंशदेते संप्रोक्तास्त्वङ्गहारस्तु नामतः। Ibid. IV. 27 p. 34.

Sthirahasta, Paryastaka, Sūcividdha, Apaviddha, Ākṣiptaka, Udghaṭṭita, Viṣkambhaka, Aparājita, Viṣkambhāpasṛta, Mattākṛīḍa, Svastika, Recita, Pārśvasvastika, Vṛścika, Bhramara, Mattaaskhalitaka, Madāvilasitaḥ, Gatimaṇḍala, Paricchinna, Parivṛttarecita, Vaiśākharecita, Paravṛttaka, Alātaka, Pārśvaccheda, Vidyudbhrānta, ūrudvṛtta, Ālīḍha, Recita, Ācchurita, Ākṣiptarecita, Sambhrānta, Apasarpa and Ardhanikuṭṭaka.¹

Nāṭyaśāstra illustrates the prayogas depending on the Karaṇas in the following verses. In the Aṅgahāras the hands and feet are required to be moved and the Aṅgahāras achieve their accomplishment through Karaṇa. The simultaneous movement of hands and feet forms the Karaṇa of Nṛtta i.e. Dance. Two Karaṇas of Nṛtta i.e. Dance are known as 'Nṛttamātrkā'. Aṅgahāras is completed by two, three or four mātrkās. The Karaṇa of three fold mātrkās is called Kalāpaka, of four mātrkās is Śaṇḍaka, of five is called Saṅgātaka; Aṅgahāras even consist of six, seven, eight or even nine mātrkās. The postures of dance (Karaṇas) have been counted as hundred and eight² such as Talapuṣpapuṭa, arttita, Calitoru, Apaviddha, Samanakha, Līna, Swastikarecita, Maṇḍala, Svastika, Nikuṭṭaka, Ardhanikuṭṭaka, Kaṭ icchinna, Ardharecitaka, Vakṣasvastikaṁ, Unmattam, Svastikaṁ, Prṣṭha Svastikaṁ, Diksvastikaṁ, Alātam, Kaṭisamam, Ākṣiptarecitam, Vikṣiptakṣ iptakam, Ardhasvastikaṁ, Uddiṣṭam, Añcitam, Bhujaṅgatrasiṭam, Urdhvajānu, Nikuñcitam, Mattallī, Ardhamattalī, Recakanikuṭṭam, Pādāpaviddhakam, Ghūrṇitam, Lalitam, Valitam, Daṇḍapakṣam, Bhujaṅgaṭrastarecitam, Nūpuram, Vaiśākharecitam, Kaṭibhrāntam, Lāṭ avṛścikam, Chinnaṁ, Vṛścikarecitam, Vṛścikam, Vyamsitam, Pārśvanikuṭṭ akam, Lalāṭatilakam, Kuñcitam, Cakramaṇḍalam, Uromaṇḍalam, Ākṣiptam, Talavilāsitam, Vivṛttam, Vinivṛttam, Pārśvakrāntam, Niśumbhitam, Vidyudbhrāntam, Atikrāntam, Vivartitakam, Gajakṛīḍitakam, Gaṇḍasūci, Parivṛttam, Pārśvajānu, Grddhāvalīnakam, Sannatam, Sūcī, Ardhasūcī, Sūcividdham, Apakrāntam, Mayūralalitam, Sarpitam, Daṇḍapādam, Hariṇaplutam, Preṅkholitam, Nitambam, Skhalitam, Karihastakam, Samarpitam, Simhavikrīḍitam, Simhākarsitam, Udvṛttam, Apasṛtam, Talasamghaṭṭitam, Janitam, Avahitthakam, Niveśam, Elakākṛīḍam, Urūdṛttam, Madaskhalitam, Viṣṇukrāntam, Sambhrāntam, Viṣkambham, Udghaṭṭitam, Vṛṣabhakṛīḍitam, Lalitam, Nāgaprasarpitam, Śakaṭāsyam, Gaṅgavataraṇam, etc.

1. NS IV 19-27 pp 33-34.

2. एतेषामपि वक्ष्यामि हस्तपादविकल्पनम्।

तन्पुष्पपुटं चैव वर्तितं चलितोरु च॥

गङ्गावतरणं चैवेत्युक्तमष्टाधिकं शतम्। Ibid. IV. 34-55 pp 34-36.

Lāśya and Tāṇḍava¹ dance i.e. the gentle and the frantic ones sponsored by Pārvaṭī and Śiva respectively and propagated by Rambhā, Urvaśī and Taṇḍu etc. have been mentioned. The whole of the Fourth Adhyāya² of Nāṭyaśāstra deals with the Tāṇḍava dance, called so because of its being inherited and propagated by Taṇḍu through Śiva. There is allusion to a 'Prekṣāṇṭya'³ a dance in the open and a dance in a theatre before the audience.⁴

“विस्तारितरंगैः” कुशीलवैरिव।⁵ वारसुन्दरी वृन्दस्य रासविभ्रमभ्रमणम्”

‘अभिनवमम्लानयावकपङ्कङ्कानि पदमुद्रापरिपाटिमण्डलानि’⁶

ताण्डव प्रसृतखण्डपरशुभुजदण्डभस्मेव रेखा कारेण पतितम्।⁷

निखिलनाट्यवेदोपरिनिषिद्धि नर्तकोपाध्यायैरूपदर्शितानां नर्तकीनाम्। अक्षुण्णेन शास्त्रवर्त्मना कृतसूक्ष्मगुणदोषोपन्यासः पश्यन्नास्यविधिमासन्नवर्तिनो विदग्धराजलोकस्य मनांसि जहार।⁸

कुरु सफलानि रंगशालासु लासिकाजनस्य निजावलोकनेन लास्यलीलायितान्यपराण्यपि नियमग्रहण कालत्यक्तानि।⁹

‘कदाचिद्रसाभिनयभाव प्रपञ्चोपवर्णनेन।¹⁰ वनशिखण्डिभिश्च युगपदारब्धताण्डवैर्मण्डितलतामण्डपम्—सरय्वास्तीरपरिसरम्।¹¹

गृह्णन्ति महाजनसमाजलज्जास्तम्भितं लास्यलीलाभ्युपगमम् अवतरन्त्यनाकुलाभिरंगयष्टिभिरंगीकृतशृंगारचेष्टा रंगभूमिम्, अभिनयन्ति सम्यग्भिनयेमर्थजातम्, आरोपयन्ति प्रेक्षकजनस्य प्रमोदमग्नभूमिम्¹² नृत्यकर्मणि कृतरंगप्रणामम्।¹³

- all these refer to the audience having actors dancing before them, the ‘Rāsa’ dance of the venial coquettes, the Tāṇḍava associated with Khaṇḍaparaśu (Śiva), the female dancers, the dancing teachers, dancing lore along with its esoteric doctrines, Lāśya mode of dance. Raṅgaśālā, Lāsikājana (i.e. dancers) and Lāśyalīlā (the sport of dance), acting through

1. लास्यताण्डवगतेषु नाट्यप्रयोगेषु TM Sm. ed. p. 363 also 1479 above.

2. NS IV 1. 329 pp 32-59.

3. TM Vol. II p. 181. L.5

4. नर्तनाय व्योम्नि वैमानिकवृन्दमाकारयन्निव महोत्सवालोकनाय दिक्षु लोकपालपरिषदमादिशन्निव रङ्गावलीयोग्यरत्नानयनाय पृथ्वीतलोपान्तेषु पाथेनिधीन्। Ibid. Vol. II p. 183.

5. Ibid. Vol. II p. 265.

6. Ibid. Vol. II p. 325.

7. Ibid. Vol. III p. 137.

8. Ibid. Vol. I p. 75.

9. Ibid. Vol. I p. 155.

10. Ibid. Vol. II p. 234.

11. Ibid. Vol. II p. 236.

12. Ibid. Vol. III pp. 187-188.

13. Ibid. Vol. III p. 190.

sentiments as a source of drama and dance, the frantic dance of a peacock, Raṅgabhūmī (the Audience Hall), Prekṣakajana (the spectators), etc.

PERFUMERY, DRAPERY, TOILETRY AND ORNAMENTS

Perfumery

Incense and Black-aloe² (i.e. Dhūpa and Kālāguru or Kṛṣṇāguru) have been mentioned as fumigating agents emitting out perfumes meant to scare away rodents spoiling the atmosphere of a room in the house. These were also used for certain other purposes such as adoration of a deity. The jewelled vessels full of black aloe were also placed in windows for the purpose of fumigation. The trees of black aloe were also grown for their shade to be utilised by the camari deer couples to recline underneath. Deer-musk³ known as Mrgamada, Eṇanābhi, Kastūrikā, Mṛganābhi, Kuraṅgamada, meant for preparing leafy designs, perfumes in medicines, face-unguents flavours, cosmetics and anointment for the body etc., Camphor⁴ known as Karpūra, Ghanasāra also employed in medicines, unguents, perfumes and flavouring agents, have also been mentioned at many places. Sandal⁵ paste known as candana drava, candanarasa, Gośīrṣa candana, Hari candana, Malayajarasa, etc. employed for painting the body creating a soothing effect, painting the art-galleries, preparing water for the purpose of perfuming, etc. Kāśmīra⁶ or Kumkuma dye also serving as an unguent for the body, the suffusion of sandal paste or unguent with camphor dust, both producing an invigorating scent for cosmetics⁷ and even the deer-musk mixed with camphor and sandal paste have been mentioned accordingly. There is also reference to the scented water contained in ewers meant for spraying and drinking after or during lunch or dinner placed side by side with the ewers full of curd and clarified butter etc. Cardamoms, cloves, nutmegs, also served as perfumes (the edible and esculent ones).⁸

1. उन्नतप्रासाद.शिखर चन्द्रशालायां रचितरङ्गभूमिम्। TM. I TM. 149. LL. 1-2

2. TM Vol. I, p. 46, 105; Vol. II pp 163, 237-238, 331; Vol. III pp 34, 86, 174, 198, Sm. ed. pp 398, 416,

3. Ibid. Vol. I, pp 73, 74, 105; Vol. II p. 262, Vol. III pp 84, 151.

4. Ibid. Vol. I pp 105, 111, Vol. II p. 163; Vol. III pp 26, 27 86, Sm. ed. pp. 312, 353.

5. Ibid. Vol. I pp 105, 109, 111, 118, Vol. II pp 163, 317, vol.III pp 31, 107, 78, 198, Sm. ed. p. 373.

6. Ibid. Vol. II p. 163, Vol. III pp 27, 33; Sm. ed. p. 313.

7. Ibid. Vol. II pp. 253, 239, Sm. ed. p. 361.

8. Ibid. Vol. III p. 85.

Drapery

Costumes made of cotton and silk yarns, woollen or worsted yarns, tapestry and tent cloth, skins and Hides cover the domain of Drapery.

Dhanapāla has mentioned the buntings or flags made of ruddy silk cloth, raised aloft on every mansion.¹ Vidyādhara sage wore his lower-garments made of silk barks.² King Meghavāhana wore a pair of silk garments (upper cloak and a lower Pyjama etc.) The term 'Tatkāladhaute Kāladhaute' refers to silvery white, washed garments. The 'Uttariya'³ or an upper scarf referred to in case of Meghavāhana must have been the upper silk-scarf. A woman could be clad in a blue-garment.⁴ Karpāṭa is the term used to mean a cloth. This very word gives 'Kapaḍā' in Hindi. The cane-caskets have been described as carrying floral wreaths of diverse variety, covered with a cloth wet with water.⁵ Precious cloth bundles of diverse shades carried on shoulders by the servants in the royal house of Meghavāhana have also been referred to.⁶ An ivory-table (lit. plank) covered with a pellucid white washed silk cloth has been referred to.⁷ Before going to the Dining Hall (Āhāramaṇḍapa) there is reference to the preliminary of rinsing the mouth and washing of hands and cleansing them with the hem of a towel which has been termed as 'Śāṭaka'.⁸ The tent-canvas erected on bamboos constituting the dining chamber refers to tapestry cloth employed in the process.⁹ The coquettes have been described as wearing the divine silk cloth.¹⁰ There is a description of the couch (Paryāṅka) made of coral wood, having its seat made of broad bejewelled rectangular-counterpane upholstered by a pillow woven out of the netra (silk) yarn, placed on either side, with an elevated pedestal placed on both sides (downwards on the ground) made of jewels, having its upper cover made of white clean and soft or placid silk-cloth.¹¹ 'Uttariya' has been employed to mean an upper scarf

1. TM. Vol. I p. 56.

2. Ibid. Vol. I p. 88.

3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 125.

4. नीलपटावगुण्ठिताङ्गम् Ibid. Vol. I p. 73.

5. जलाद्रकर्मपटावगुण्ठितविचित्रकुसुमदामगर्भान् वेत्रकरण्डकान् कलयताम् । Ibid. Vol. II p. 163.

6. स्कन्धदेशोपेतान्श्च विचित्ररूपान् महार्हवस्त्रभारकान् धारयताम् । Ibid. Vol. II p. 163.

7. अच्छधवलश्रुतपट्टांशुकपटाच्छादितं दन्तपट्टमध्यास्तम् । Ibid. Vol. II p. 169.

8. पारमज्य चाभ्यग्रहस्तशाटकग्राहिसत्त्वरूपदौकितेन वस्त्रपल्लवेन सहस्तपल्लव वदनम् । Ibid. Vol. II p. 169.

9. उदण्डकाण्डपटकप्रस्तुताकाण्डताण्डवमाहारमण्डपमयासति । Ibid. Vol. II p. 170.

10. दिव्यांशुकधराभिवारमणोभिः । Ibid. Vol. II p. 170.

11. सितस्वच्छमुदुक्लोलतरच्छदमुदग्रत्नप्रतिपादुकप्रतिष्ठमुभयपार्श्वविन्यस्तचित्रमुत्रितनेत्र-

गण्डोपधानमभ्यासितविशालमणिशिलावेदिकां विद्रुमदारुपर्यङ्कमधिशयानम् । Ibid. Vol. II p. 171.

carried by a follower of Vijayavega carrying a gift covered by it.¹ There is also mention of an upper scarf shining like fire ferret-hued through the flames of fire, as it were.² 'Śvetavasana'- a white cloth, the scarlet-hued cloth serving the role of a head-wrap in case of Kācarāka and Kāṇḍarāta,³ 'Netra' variety of thickset cloths ruddy in hue used for preparing flags have been mentioned.⁴ Harivāhana was dressed in the pair of robes (upper and lower ones) untainted like the slough of Vāsuki (the serpent lord).⁵ The water-pavilion (Jalamandapa) was provided with canopies of China-Silk cloth (tapestry).⁶ The garden-deities were covered with upper scarfs woven out of the lotus-fibres, 'Samvyāna has been employed as a synonyms of 'Uttarīya'. The villagers wore turbans made of washed rough-cloths.⁷ The poniards were tied tight to their persons with the help of tattered cloths.⁸

The tapestry sewn afresh was used in the preparation of tents (small huts).⁹ Cotton and woollen yarn have been described as the domestic wealth of the poor people.¹⁰ Yellow and crimson dyed sheets of cloth coiled round the cane-bamboos were carried for sale to the different lands.¹¹ The ocean has been fancied to be the bed-cover of the couch of the earth.¹²

Amśukas i.e. the silk cloths have been given as bearing manifold textures.¹³ The labourers having their beds within the hollows of the wattle huts have also been referred to. Samstareṣu refers to the beds.¹⁴ The tents supported with fourfold ropes were spread on the uneven series of huge nails (or tie-posts), held fast by the bamboos raised aloft.¹⁵ The harems of the vassals were stationed in the canvas-tent-pavilions having canopies

1. उत्तरीयपटगोपायितोपायनेन पश्चाद्व्रजता पुरुषेणानुगम्यमानं विजयवेगमपश्यत्। Ibid. Vol. II p. 191.

2. शिखिशिखावलिभिरिव कपिशिताग्निशौचसिचयोत्तरासंगम। Ibid. Vol. I p. 110.

3. तत्क्षणविपाटितकाषाय पटार्धान्तपीडितोत्तमाङ्गौ Ibid. Vol. II p. 199.

4. अरुणनेत्रपताकापटपल्लवित etc. Ibid. Vol. II p. 200.

5. वासुकिमुक्तनिर्मोकनिर्मलपरिधाय वासोयुगलम्। Ibid. Vol. II p. 234.

6. सज्योत्स्रामिव चीनांशुकवितानैः Ibid. Vol. II p. 238.

7. धौतशाटकृतशिरोवेष्टनैश्च Ibid. Vol. II p. 258.

8. शीर्णपट्टिकादग्रथितासिधेतुकैश्च Ibid. Vol. II p. 258.

9. अभिनवसयूतग्रपरकुटीरकोणावस्थापित स्थूलद्रविण कण्डालैः। Ibid. Vol. II p. 256.

10. गृहधने च सूत्रकम्बल प्रायं etc. Ibid. Vol. II p. 261.

11. तत्क्षणं वेणुवष्टिषु कुट्टमलीकृत्य योजितैर्मजिष्टैश्च। Ibid. Vol. II p. 266.

12. प्रच्छदपटमिव महीतलमहाशयनस्य। Ibid. Vol. II p. 262.

13. अंशुकैः बह्विबकल्पैः। Ibid. Vol. II p. 268.

14. निःसरस्य तृणकुटीरकाटारादतिकष्टमुक्तसंस्तरेषु कर्मकरेषु। Ibid. Vol. II pp. 268-269.

15. ऊर्ध्वदण्डिकासु कौलपरिपाटिविपमसंकुचद्विस्तारासु... तन्निका चतुष्टयुतावष्टम्भाम्, पट्टकुटीषु। Ibid. Vol. II p. 268.

folded together.¹ The navigator-youth wore a pair of silk-cloth fresh and fine bearing the hue of a white-couch chiselled down.² 'Kṣauma' is another texture of silk cloth woven out of 'Kṣumā' reed yarns (i.e. linseed yarns). It is white in colour and the cloth woven out of it is also white.³ The silk cloth covering of the breasts in case of Priyadarśanā is also referred to.⁴ The woollen blanket meant for security against cold on a voyage has also been mentioned.⁵ Woollen yarn mixed with wax could be employed to stop leakage from the vessels (ships).⁶ The ruddy silk cloth was used in preparing the buntings or flags.⁷ The fishermen bearing nets resorting to the shores of the streams wore nothing beyond a loin-cloth.⁸

Description of Malayasundarī by Samaraketu on his first sight of her has a graphic description of her dress. She was wearing a silk undergarment from the wish-granting tree, which even though it had been put on with effort looked as if non-existing there, on circular posteriors having their hips rounded off with the tightened knot of the cincture as well as the fastening strap dividing the orbed thighs from both the sides. Her umbilical orb was visible every moment owing to the fluttering motion of the front-hem of her cloak (Kañcuka) white like the fledgling of the bird Hārīta, with the dimple trio on her belly covered by it.⁹

The old guards of the harem used to clad themselves in a china silk cloak hanging down to the feet.¹⁰ The shrine of Cupid had flags made of ruddy silk cloth.¹¹ Gandharvaka drew out the painting from inside the bag

1. मुकुलितपटमण्डपे पिण्डीकृतकाण्डपटक प्रकट सामन्तान्तः पुरे। Ibid. Vol. II p. 269.
2. उल्लिखितशंखावदातद्युतिना तनीयसी नवे दुकूल वाससी वसानम्। नाविकयुवानम्। Ibid. Vol. II pp. 271, 274.
3. क्षौमपाण्डुभिः... सितपटानिव नवामा सूत्रयन्तम्। Ibid. Vol. II pp. 271-272.
उत्तरीयक्षौममिर पिण्डीकृतम् Ibid. Vol. II p. 313.
4. संवृणु... स्तनांशुकम्। Ibid. Vol. II p. 276.
5. सर्पिस्तैलकम्बलौषधप्रायः प्रायशो विन्यस्तः समस्तोऽपि द्वीपान्तर दुरापे द्रव्याणां कलापः। Ibid. Vol. II p. 281.
6. निरुन्धता तूर्णमूर्णासिक्थकेन सूक्ष्ममपि विवरेभ्यः क्षरत्तोयमनुक्षणम्। Ibid. Vol. II p. 305.
7. रक्तांशुकपताकासु Ibid. Vol. II p. 305.
8. पंकमलिनतनुषु कौपीन मात्र कर्पटावरणेषु... समाश्रयत्सु बेलानदीपुलिनानि जालिकेषु Ibid. Vol. II p. 314.
LL. 6-7
9. उभयथापि परिमण्डलोरुणा द्विधापि निविडकक्षाबन्धबन्धुरेण नितम्बिना जघन बिम्बेन प्रयत्ननिवसितभव्य दृश्यत्वादविद्यामान कल्पं कल्पपादपांशुकं... कंचुकाग्रपल्लवस्य चंचलतया प्रतिक्षण मवेक्ष्यमाण विपुल नाभि मण्डलां... द्विरष्टवर्ष वयसं दिव्यारूपां कन्यका मद्राक्षम्। Ibid. Vol. II pp. 329-330 and 332.
10. आप्रपदीनचीनकंचुकावच्छत्र वपुषा... वृद्धान्तर्वशिकसमूहेन.... Ibid. Vol. II pp. 318-319. कल्पतरु चीर चण्डातकानि। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 372.
11. रक्तांशुपिताकस्य कुसुमायुधवेश्मनेव उत्कृष्टरपटोऽंशुकपताकान्। Ibid. Vol. III p. 4 and p. 36.

made of a fine China silk cloth.¹ He was clad in a fine silk robe green like a parrot and fastened tight (to his frame) and was wearing a cloak (Kūrpāsaka) made of Netra (a variety of silk).² He was glamorous with a cluster of hair wrapped in a turban made of fine silk cloth.³

The saddle hide on the back of a horse,⁴ an upper scarf,⁵ a carpet made of skin or hide or even tapestry have also been mentioned.⁶

The coquettes clad in ruddy robes like the twilightglow,⁷ Samaraketu clad in a pair of fresh-white silk robes,⁸ the heaps of divine silk raiments,⁹ the golden-hued barks,¹⁰ the flags made of China silk cloth,¹¹ Gandharvaka wearing a fine robe,¹² Adrṣṭapāra lake compared to a sportive canopy of silk or a double-hemmed canvas,¹³ of the serpent lord. Harivāhana seated on a huge slab of topaz (kuruvinda) stone covered with a white silk cloth¹⁴ and clad in a pair of white China silk raiments, embroidered by a new border and woven out of a white thick yarn;¹⁵ Hem of an upper scarf worn by Harivāhana;¹⁶ The Vassals in the following of Harivāhana and Samaraketu wearing head wraps of turban-cloths and clad in cloaks;¹⁷ A head wrap or turban;¹⁸ Malayasundarī wearing swan-white robe of divine silk;¹⁹ An upper

1. प्रकृष्टचीनांशुकप्रसेविकायाः सयत्नमाकृष्य चित्रपटमेनमुपवनीतवान्। उत्कृष्टकर्पटप्रसेविकाम्। Ibid. Vol. III p. 4 and p. 6.
2. गाढावनद्धशुकहरितपटांशुकनिवसनः धृतनेत्रकूर्पासकेन Ibid. Vol. III p. 5.
3. पट्टांशुकांष्णीषिणा.... केशभारेण। Ibid. Vol. III p. 6.
4. तुरगपृष्ठास्तरण चर्म Ibid. Vol. III p. 44.
5. उत्तरीयवाससा Ibid. Vol. III p. 47.
6. कुशास्तरणपर्यस्तदेहः Ibid. Vol. III p. 47.
7. सन्ध्यारागरक्तांशुकधारिण्यो विलासिन्य इव Ibid. Vol. III p. 59.
8. निवसितप्रत्यग्रसितदूकूलयुगलः Ibid. Vol. III p. 59.
9. दिव्यांशुककलापः Ibid. Vol. III p. 92.
10. चामीकरवल्कलैर्विभूषितम् Ibid. Vol. III p. 92.
11. चीनांशुकपताकम्। Ibid. Vol. III p. 95.
12. उत्कृष्टवसनधारिणम्, गन्धर्वकमपश्यत् Ibid. Vol. III p. 108.
13. लीलादूकूलवितानमिव फणीन्द्रस्य Ibid. Vol. III p. 71.
14. अमलांशुकाच्छादिते... पृथुनि कुरुविन्दमणि शिलातले निषण्णाम्। Ibid. Vol. III pp. 119-120.
15. अतिविमलघनसूत्रेण संख्यानशस्त्रेणैव नवदशालंकृतेन श्वेतचीनवस्त्रद्वयेन संवीतम्। Ibid. Vol. III p. 120.
16. उत्तरीयसिचयांचलम् Ibid. Vol. III p. 123.
17. उष्णीषपट्टकृतशिरोवेष्टनाः दृढाकृष्टचुककशाधिककृशोदरश्रियः पार्थिवाः यथास्वमश्वानारुहः Ibid. Vol. III p. 126.
18. उष्णीषपट्टमिव जम्बूद्वीपस्य Ibid. Vol. III p. 137.
19. परिधाय हंसधवलं दिव्यतरुवल्कलांशुकं Ibid. Vol. III p. 167.

scarf made of silk;¹ tightening of the fastening knot of a worn-robe;² the ruby pavilions (Māṇikyā maṇḍapa) having its centre covered by a tapestry of canvas engraved with an image of god or used for covering a deity;³ A canopy made of silk-cloth;⁴ An ivory-couch-counterpaned by a washed Netra silk-sheet and upholstered by soft plump pillow stuffed with the downy fluff of swan;⁵ The upper and the lower garment (Parikaaband;⁶ Kanthā (a loin cloth)⁷ covered by an upper silk scarf.⁸ The long sticks or scrolls of antelope-hide,⁹ the front hem of the tremulous cloak;¹⁰ the pair of silk robes;¹¹ the flags of China-silk-cloth;¹² the upper silk-scarf rolled round and placed on the head as a wrap.¹³ Fine barks worn as lower garments;¹⁴ Samaraketu wearing a precious costumes;¹⁵ Tapanavega wearing a spruce garb and clad in a ruddy robe;¹⁶ a pair of robes effulgent like fire and clean like the sun-shine of the Autumn season;¹⁷ the China silk robe of the line of a parrot;¹⁸ the supper silk scarf of the hue of a cochineal insect (Indragopa);¹⁹ Precious garments;²⁰ The China silk robe of thick texture being of the dimensions of an āprapadīna (Lahaṅgā) tied in a tight cloth;²¹ The upper silk scarf;²² are some more references alluding to the terms and types of garments used by men and women.

1. उत्तरीयांशुकम् TM. Sm. Ed. p. 277. L. 11
 2. निविडितपरिधाननीवि: Ibid. Vol. III p. 182.
 3. देवाङ्गपटवितानकावगुण्टितसकलक्षणस्य माणिक्यमण्डपस्य। Ibid. Vol. III p. 183.
 4. पट्टांशुकवितानस्य तलभावे। Ibid. Vol. III p. 185.
 5. स्थापितमुदुस्थूलहंसतूलोपधाने धौतनेत्रप्रच्छदाच्छादिते.... दन्तपट्टशयने Ibid. Vol. III p. 199.
 6. Ibid. Vol. II p. 296.
 7. Ibid.
 8. निविडोक्तपरिधानो.... प्रावृत्तोत्तरीयांशुकः Ibid. Vol. III pp. 82-83.
 9. लम्बमानलम्बाजिनवष्टयः Ibid. Vol. III p. 126.
 10. चटुलनेत्र कंचुकाग्रपल्लव Ibid. Vol. III p. 279.
 11. दुकूलवाससी Ibid. Vol. III p. 145, Sm. ed. p. 394.
 12. चीनांशुकपताकाभिः Ibid. Vol. II p. 325.
 13. चीनवाससा Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 311.
 14. अधिजघनमासक्तसूक्ष्मवत्कलम् Ibid. Vol. III pp 122-123.
 15. निवसितानधवाससा। Ibid. Vol. III p. 134.
 16. अनुत्त्वणोदारवेषधारी.... रूधिरवाससा... Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 288.
 17. शरत्कालबालातपशुचिभ्यामग्निशौचसिचयाभ्याम् Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 293.
 18. शुकाङ्गरुचिनीते चीनवाससी Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 293.
 19. इन्द्रगोपकारुण द्युतिभिरुत्तरीयांशुके Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 301.
 20. महार्हनिवसनम् Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 301.
 21. दृढनिबद्धनिवसनग्रन्थिः आप्रपदीन परिणाहेणप्रतनुना चीनांशुकपटेन। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 302.
 22. उत्तरीयाशुकदशा Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 303. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 312.
- हरिचन्दनद्वार्दमच्छविमलजलाद्रांशुकम्। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 419.

Malayasundarī feeling the impact of love describes her own carnal transformation in the effect produced on her dress. Even though her knot of the lower garments was tight she again made it tighter and even though her cloak was quite tight fitting her body she still prepared a tightening strap by fastening it with the Gātrikā strap over her breasts;¹

‘Nīvinivasana’² is a term used to mean an undergarment having a knot, got down from its proper position.

‘Stanāmśuka’³ was a silk covering for the breasts.

Regarding the Hides and Skins Dhanapāla has mentioned a fresh leopard’s skin meant to cover the earth in order to occupy a seat.⁴

The scabbard of the sword made of Kārmaraṅga leather dappled hued with many gems.⁵ Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa mentions Kārdaraṅga.⁶ According to Dr. V.S. Agrawal Kārdaraṅga was an island bearing variant names as Kārmaraṅga, Carmaraṅga and Nāgaraṅga in the Indian-Asian Archipelago.⁷ Camaraṅga according to Sir Monier Williams is a name of the people in the north-west of Madhyadeśa.⁸ Mahāmahopādhyāya P.V. Kane also construes Kārdaraṅga to be the name of the country.⁹

Niśītha the divine garment changing the form of Gandharvaka from parrot to the human being also seems to have been a tapestry cloth fine in texture.¹⁰

Toiletry

Ayodhyā construed as a youthful maiden has been described as having her hair composed by the columns of smoke from the sacrifices, her

1. प्रातः प्रमीतामसम्यगावृतवपुषमवलोक्य मां नरलोकस्त्रपामेव्यतीति शङ्कया निबिडनीविबन्धनमपि पुनः पुनर्गाढीकृत्य निविशितमशिथिल कंचुकावृतस्यापि कुचमण्डलस्योरि विधाय चिरमुत्तरीयेण बन्धुरं गात्रिकाबन्धम्। TM. Sm. ed. p. 306.
2. विस्त्रस्तनीविनिवसनम्। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 364.
3. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 354.
4. निम्नात्रतविभागविश्रान्ततिमिर रक्तातपच्छेदा नूतनद्वीपि चर्माच्छादितेन शबला शिलोद्यय क्षितिरलक्ष्यत। Ibid. Sm. ed. pp. 350-351.
5. अनेकरत्नाकिर्मिरकार्मरङ्गासिपट्टप्रणयरमणीयभीषणाभिः। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 361.
6. निचोलक रक्षितरुचां चारुचिर कांचन-पत्र भङ्गभंगुराणामतिबन्धुर पिरवेशाना कार्दरङ्गचर्मणाम् सम्भारान् भूर्जत्वक्क्रोमलाः स्पर्शवतीः जाति पट्टिकाः चामूरकोपधानादीन् विकारान् HC VII p. 775. CC 2-5.
7. हर्षचरित एक सांस्कृतिक अध्ययन। पृ० १५६.
8. Skt. Eng. Dictionary under Carmaraṅga.
9. HC (P. V. Kane) Notes p. 192 CC p. 175 CC -12.
10. निशीथाम्ना दिव्यपट्टरत्नेन प्रावृताङ्गः। Ibid. Sm. ed. pp. 376, 377.

forehead marks and collyrium paint provided by the young orchards and her mirror provided by the lakes.¹ Meghavāhana has been described as preparing leafy figures oblique and consisting of many designs on the walls in the form of the pitcher-like breasts of the loving maidens with a desire to see the act of toiletry unfinished.

'Pratikarma' is the term employed to mean 'toilet'.² Parikarma and Prasādhana³ are the other variants for the same.

Añjana⁴ and Añjanavarti and Kajjala⁵ are the two synonyms for the collyrium used to paint the eyes. The marrow of the aquatic animals could be used to prepare collyrium for the eyes to ward off any evil effect to them from the climate or any injurious element causing damage to the eyes in a sea-voyage. A crest chaplet made of coral flowers (Pārijātakusuma) has also been referred to.⁶

Manahśila⁷ or the red-arsenic was used as a paint in the toilet for the body. Gośīrṣa sandal unguent provided a toilet to the body of the vaimānika.⁸ Vilepana⁹ (anulepana) is the term used to denote unguents or cosmetics. The group of hair on the beard of the vampire was shining like the fire of destruction.¹⁰ Aṅgarāga¹¹ is another variant for 'toilet', 'unguent' or 'cosmetics'. So also is the word 'Parikarma'. Sindūra or Vemillion¹² paint was employed in colouring or painting the parting of the hair. The cosmetics or unguents were kept in bejewelled vases. The breasts were painted with the sandal unguents.¹³ Śṛṅgāraśa¹⁴ donned by Meghavāhana refers to the toilets performed by him; meant for the love-sport. The coquettes working

1. विरचितालकेव मखानलधूमकोटिभिः, स्पष्टितांजनतिलकविन्दुरिव बालोद्यानैः, आगृहीतदर्पणेव सरोभिः TM Vol. I p. 53.
2. प्रतिकर्मसमाप्तिकाम्यया कामिनीकुचकुम्भभित्तिष्वनेकभङ्गकुटिलाः पत्रांगुलीरकल्पयत् Ibid. Vol. I p. 74.
3. Ibid. Vol. I p. 146, Vol. III p. 186.
4. Ibid. Vol. II p. 274, 286, 320, 347, Vol. III p. 91, p. 130.
5. TM. I p. 112. पारिजातकुसुमशेखरेण।
6. Ibid. Vol. I p. 112.
7. शकलितमनःशिलागर्भबभूव्यतनुबले तनुप्रभाजले Ibid. Vol. I p. 113.
8. गोशीषचन्द्रेण कृतमसृणसर्वाङ्गीणभरणम्। Ibid. Vol. I p. 111.
9. Ibid. Vol. I p. 111, 133; Vol., II p. 317, 268, 328, Sm. ed. p. 311, 398.
10. क्षयानलवर्चसा कूर्चकचकलापेन...प्रलम्बपुधुलं चिबुकमुद्वहन्तम्। Ibid. Vol. I p. 129.
11. Ibid. Vol. I p. 144, Vol., II p. 238; vol. III p. 186, 121, Sm. ed. p. 313, 416.
12. Ibid. Vol. III p. 171
13. Ibid. Vol. II p. 253.
14. Ibid. Vol. II p. 238, i p. 146.

in the water-pavilion were decked in crest chaplets made of unwilted mallikā blossoms. Samaraketu, before he started on his sea voyage, decked himself in crest-chaplet of white floral wreaths, painted himself with sandal unguents smeared all over his body and wore over his chest a necklace (Ekāvalī).¹ He even wore a beard having black curly, soft and sparse hair.² The navigator youth (Tāraka) wore a crest chaplet made of small jasmine blossoms.³ Haritāla or the yellow orpiment was also a toilet paint. Deer-musk was used for the preparation of forehead marks.⁴ Harivāhana had his toilet performed by the toilet-maids, with the Kumkuma dye and had his crest chaplet made of the blossoms of trumpet and Mallikā flowers. His hands (i.e. palms) and face had been painted accordingly and he had his cosmetics performed with the sandal unguents, perfumes supplied by the deer-musk and camphor.⁵ Harivāhana is shown anointing the bodies of wild animals with the layers of Kumkuma dye.⁶ Men normally wore hair on the head as well as on the beard.⁷ While on the search for Harivāhana, Samaraketu wore a crest chaplet of blown Mālātī⁸ blossoms. Even sandal paste could serve the purpose of a forehead mark.⁹ Women applied lacquer dye on their palms as well as on feet.¹⁰ Yāvaka was a synonym of alaktaka meaning the lacquer dye. Anghrilepa means the same thing. Even Kumkuma could serve the purpose of this unguent.¹¹ Lākṣārāga also meant the lacquer dye.¹² Haridrā or turmeric was also used as a toilet paint.¹³ Tilaka and viśeṣaka meant a forehead mark while the latter also meant a

1. सितकुसुमदामग्रथितशेखरः, स्पर्शाह्निदिना चन्दनाङ्गरागेण सर्वाङ्गीणेन शोभमानः स्थूलस्वच्छमुक्ताफलग्रथितां... एकावली दधानः। TM. p 251.
2. कोमलाविरलनीलकेशकुण्डलिकालंकृतां श्मश्रुजामुद्रहन्तम्। Ibid. Vol. II p 272.
अल्पमालतोपुष्परचितशेखरम्। Ibid. Vol. II p. 271.
3. Ibid. Vol. II p. 316, Sm. ed. p. 297.
4. कस्तूरिकातिलककलङ्कितैराननेन्दुभिः। Ibid. Vol. II p. 328.
5. उद्धर्तितवदनकरतलः कुरंगमदकपूरामोदिना चन्दनद्रवेण.. प्रसाधिकाभिरधिमित्रमतिचिरेण निर्वर्तितकुङ्कुमोद्धर्तनक्रमः शिरसि घटितपाटला कुसुमसारमात्रिकामुकुलमुण्डमालः। Ibid. Vol. III pp 26-27..
6. कांश्चिदङ्गदत्तस्थूलकुङ्कुमस्थासकान्। Ibid. Vol. III p. 35.
7. पाण्डुरीकृतशिरःश्मश्रुकैशान्। Ibid. Vol. III p. 35.
8. विकचमालतीदामरचितशेखरः। Ibid. Vol. III p. 60.
9. चन्दनद्रवेण....स्वललाटफलके तिलकम्। Ibid. Vol. III p. 60.
10. विद्याधरीचरणालक्तक। Ibid. Vo. III p. 85
यावकरसस्येव वारं लंघितमहेलाधरस्य Ibid. Vo. III p. 67.
11. कुङ्कुमारुणाभिरङ्गनाचरणपद्ममुद्राभिः। Ibid. Vo. III p. 107.
12. चरणञ्जयुगे नाचिरकालपीतलाक्षारागरसमिव सफेनोदगमं घारामि रुदिगरन्तम्। Ibid. Vo. III p. 149.
13. हरिद्रासान्द्ररुचयो राणिणः। Ibid. Vo. III p. 172.

face unguent.¹ Sīmanta was the parting of the hair of the ladies.² Earth construed as a maiden Vaitāḍhya mountain has been fancied to be her parting of the hair.³ The term 'kaṅkata' for the Hair-comb occurs in T.M. p. 166, L-4 part II. (Botad edition).

Ornaments

Ābharāṇa,⁴ Ratna⁵ and Upala⁶ such as Rājatopala, Indranīlaprastra śakalārṇ or silver stones and bits of sapphire stones are the expressions employed to denote ornaments, gems and stones-all the three representing the various species of decorative material, which were employed in the preparation of ornaments for ears, neck, crest, waist, chest, breasts, ankles, hands (wrists) etc. Galvarka⁷ or the Agnipāṣāṇa was a fire-stone i.e. a stone which emitted out heat or fire under certain pressure or contact. Sūryopala or Sūryakāntāśma, was the Sun-stone while Indumaṇi or Candrakānta Maṇi was the moonstone gem. Both these have been categorised within the fold of gems and stones.

Vaikakṣaka strap or garland worn crosswise over the chest and passing over the one of the shoulders and under the two armpits has been mentioned as an ornament worn by the Vaimānika.⁸ Zone-girdle as an ornament for women worn on the waist has been referred to. It was also worn by men as is apparent from its mention in the context of the Vaimānika,⁹ whose girdle-string was studded with bits of topaz and sapphire-gems. Mekhalā, Kāñci and Rasanā (or Raśanā) are the terms employed to denote it. The sylvan-dames could prepare these out of the guñjā berries strung into a thread.

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1. राजकन्यानामलिकलेखासु तिलकानकार्षीत्। TM. Sm. ed. p. 289.
स्वहस्तचित्तविशेषकैः Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 289, Vo.. III p. 130.
 2. सीमन्तकालंकारमाणिक्यानां Ibid. Vol. II p. 327.
 3. सीमन्तमिव भुवः Ibid. Vol. III p. 137.
 4. TM Vol. I pp 50, 54 56; Vol. II p. 317; Vol III pp 92, 172.
 5. TM Vol. I p. 56; Vol. II pp 161, 268; Vol. III p. 52; Sm. ed. pp. 311, 322.
 6. TM Vol. I p. 58, Vol. II pp 161, 272, 266, 315, Vol. III pp 72, 133, Vol. III p. 76, Vol. II p. 318. Vol. III p. 102.
 7. TM. III. p. 133. L.3
 8. गत्युकम्पगलितवैकक्षलगदामरेणुनिश्चिनीलनैरलिभिः TM Vol. I p. 108.
 9. पद्मरागेन्द्रनीलखण्डखचितस्य मेखलादामनः। TM Vol. I p. 108.
मुक्तवाचालक्रौञ्चमालामेखलानि। Ibid. Vol. II p. 262.
मेखलादामरमणीयैः Ibid. Vol. III p. 72.
दरीगृहप्रस्तरगलितगुंजाफलकांची सूचितवनेचरीचिच्छेजे etc. Ibid. Vol. III pp 129-31.
कुवलयदामरसनागुणा। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 368.

Keyūra¹ or an armlet decked with topaz gems in the same context occurs likewise as an ornament for the hand or arm. Necklace² strung with pearls as thick as an emric fruit has been referred to in case of the Vaimānika. Its name was Candrātapa.

Samaraketu wore an ekāvali i.e. a necklace strung with pearls, white and thick.³

A trader has been described as wearing a gold necklace (Kanakamiṣka).⁴

The coquettes wore over their protuberant breasts the necklace of snow-white beads and their girdle zones could be made of bakula wreaths,⁵ - provided with circles of bells. Their bracelets could be made out of blue lotus stalks.⁶ A bracelet made of sapphire has been referred to.⁷

Niṣādas wore bracelets on their wrists, made of black steel.⁸ The gold bracelets worn on their wrists by coquettes have been mentioned in the harem of Meghavāhana.⁹

The Niṣādas wore ear-peduncles made of palm-leaflets tucked up into their ear-lobes.¹⁰

Nūpurās or anklets made of bones were worn by the Vampire, while those made of metals and gems were worn by the ladies.¹¹ Maṇinūpura is the typical word employed by Dhanapāla denoting the bejewelled anklet or the anklet made of gems.

1. TM. Vol. I pp 109-110, Vol. III p. 31, Sm. ed. pp 311, 404.

2. परिणतामलकोफलस्थूलनिस्तलानि मुक्ताफलान्यादाय कौतुकेनस्वयं तं हारमुत्तरोयेकदेशे बबन्ध. हार रत्नम्। TM Vol. I pp. 121, 125, 126; Ibid. Vol. II p. 272.

3. स्थूलस्वच्छमुक्ताफलप्रथितां. एकावलीं दधानः, TM Vol. II pp 251-252.

4. कनकनिष्कावृतकन्धरं वणिजमपि राजप्रसादचिन्तक इति चिन्तयद्भिः।

कण्ठकन्दलामुक्तहिमगुलिकाहारभासितोत्रतस्तनकलशाभिः।

रणितमधुकरजालकिङ्किणीचक्रवालेन बकुलमालामेखलागुणेन परिक्षितघनजघनभाः.... वारंरमणीभिः। TM Vol. II pp. 259.239

5. असितोत्पलनालवलयधिष्ठितप्रकोष्ठकाण्डाभिः। TM. Vol. II p. 239.

6. इन्द्रनीलवलय TM. Vol. II p. 262.

7. काललोहकटकान्यपि नितान्तमुखनिष्ठुराणि प्रकोष्ठगतानि धारयद्भिः.... निषादाधिपैः। TM Vol. II p. 287.

8. चामरोत्क्षेपचलितकलाचिकाकांचन वलयाभिवीरविलासिनीभिः। TM Vol. II p. 190.

9. अनल्पताडपत्रताडङ्कुपूरितैकैककर्णच्छिद्रैः। TM Vol. II p. 287.

10. TM. Vol. I p. 131; Vol. II pp. 262, 329, Sm. ed. p. 347.

11. माणिक्यखचितमुद्रमङ्गुलीयकरत्नम्। TM Vol. II p. 224.

बालारुणाभिधानं प्रधानरत्नाङ्गुलीयकम्। TM Vol. I p. 155.

The gem of the finger-ring having its imprint studded with ruby gem¹ and the pearl-leaflet serving as the ear-peduncle. A finger ring (Urmikā) made of emerald (marakata) has been referred to.²

Padmarāga and Puṣparāga³ (Topaz), Māṇikya (Ruby),⁴ Vajramaṇi (Diamond),⁵ Vidruma (Coral),⁶ Vaiḍūrya (Lapislazuli or turquoise),⁷ Gāruḍa stone (Gāruḍagrāva)⁸, Mahānīla stone (Mahānīlāśma)⁹, Sphaṭika (crystal or marble)¹⁰ have been mentioned as variety of gems and stones.

A finger ring made of topaz gem,¹¹ a bracelet made of gold inlaid with diamond stone worn on the wrist by Malayasundarī,¹² who also wore a necklace having a central gem and strung on the top-stick of emerald.¹³ She also wore an ear-peduncle of white pearls worn on her ear-lobes.¹⁴ A crest-gem (śikhāmaṇi)¹⁵ has also been referred to.

Lofty floral wreaths forming the crest-chaplets and the variegated flywhisks forming the ear-ornaments and the resounding golden-bells forming the ornaments of the neck have been mentioned with reference to the animals found in the forest situate to the Kāmarūpadeśa.¹⁶

1. निसर्गस्त्रिधेन कर्णपूरमौक्तिकस्तबकेन TM Vol. II p. 227.
2. शुक्च्छदश्याममरकतोशुवर्षिणा दिव्यांगुलीयेन। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 396.
3. TM Vol. II p. 316, 320, Vol. III p. 92, 72, 111, 163.
4. TM Vol. II. p. 320, Vol. III p. 102. (Sm. ed. pp. 291; 322, 329.)
5. TM Vol. II p. 320.
6. TM Vol. II pp 316-329; Vol. III pp 72, 138.
7. TM Vol. II p. 320.
8. TM Vol. II p. 320.
9. TM Vol. II p. 320. Vol. III p. 103.
10. TM Vol. II p. 321, Vol. III p. 133.
11. अङ्गुलिप्रणयिपद्मरागोर्मिका TM Vol. II p. 329.
12. प्रत्युत्तवज्रोपलगणैः कनककङ्कणैरधिष्ठितकोमलप्रकोष्ठकन्दलाम् TM Vol. II p. 330.
13. नाभिचक्रचुम्बिनो हारनायकस्यांशुलेखां... रोमराजिमरकतदण्डिकाशिखरलग्नामुद्गहन्तीम् TM Vol. II p. 330.
14. अच्छमुक्ताफलस्तम्बमुभयश्रवणशिखरावलम्बिनं बिभ्राणाम्। TM Vol. II pp. 330-331.
15. TM Vol. III p. 8. शिखामलि
16. विरचितोद्यकुसुमशेखरान् कर्णलम्बितविचित्रवर्णचामरान् कण्ठघटितवाचाटकनकघण्टिकाभरणान् TM Vol. III pp. 35-36.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE AND PAINTINGS

Sūtradhāra,¹ Śilpin² Viśvakarma³ (Primarily meaning the divine architect and through generalisation meaning an architect), Vātika⁴ are the expressions employed to mean an artisan, an architect, a sculptor etc., individually as well as conjointly in so far as all the four expressions have been employed to mean a sculptor apart from meaning an architect. 'Vātika', however, has been employed to mean a sculptor in its specialised sense. Meghavāhana ordained the Sūtradhāras to start the work for repairs in the shrine of gods. The Sūtradhāras even carved out image to be placed inside the shrines. Tridivaśilpin and Viśvakarmā primarily are synonymns meaning the divine architect and secondarily, an architect in the general sense.

‘तीक्ष्णकोटिभिरष्टुक्तिकाभिस्तक्ष्यमाणाभ्यः शिखा मणिशिलाभ्यः’⁵

refers to the art of carving out or chiselling out the bejewelled stones meant to form the images. ‘Taṅkikā’ is the chiselling hoe while ‘takṣ aṇakriyā’ in ‘तक्ष्यमाणाभ्यः’ means the act of chiselling or carving. Even ‘Viśvakarmā’ and ‘Śilpinah’, have been employed synonymously meaning artisans or architects. Vātika has been construed by the commentator to mean ‘Dhātuvādika’ or one who works on ores, mineral substances, metals etc. and Kuṭṭāka has been construed to mean ‘Chedanaśilaih’ i.e. prone to dissector chisel out or carve out while ‘ṭaṅka’ means a hoe. It appears, therefore, that Dhanapāla has treated ‘Artisanship’, Architecture and Sculpture as the mainsprings of the same art or science or branch of knowledge.

As already observed Dhanapāla in describing the temple, house and miscellaneous architecture of Ayodhyā has very much kept in mind the architecture of Dhārā illustrated in the Samarāṅganāsūtradhāra of Bhoja.⁶

Ayodhyā has been described as surrounded by a fortification having a broad plinth and a wall white like snow. It was provided with oblong tanks in hundreds having steps easy of descent and huge in (dimensions). It was

1. दर्शनपथावतीर्णेषु शीर्षदेवतायतनेषु कर्मारम्भाय.... सूत्रधारान् व्यापारयतः TM Vol. II p. 164.
देवताद्वन्द्वानि च पृथग्निष्पाद्यमानानिः सूत्रधारैरेकप्रतिमागतानि कारयन्ती Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 297.
2. त्रिदिवशिल्पिनामभोक्षणमतितीक्ष्णकोटिभिष्टुक्तिकाभिस्तक्ष्यमाणाभ्यः शिखरमणिशिलाभ्यः TM Vol. II p. 323.
3. संख्यातीनानां विश्वकर्मणां सर्गनिर्माणाय नष्टैकविश्वकर्मसमारब्धकर्मणा। TM Vol. II p. 323.
न विश्वकर्माणन्तरेण कर्मनैपुणमित्थंभूतपरस्य शिल्पिनः संभाव्यते। TM Vol. III p. 105.
विश्वकर्मसहस्रैरिव निर्मितप्रासादा Ibid. Vol. I p. 54.
4. वांतिककुट्टाकटङ्कशकलिताकृत्रिमशिवलिङ्गैः। TM Vol. III p. 131.
5. TM II p.323, LL 7 LDSE para 116 page 90 L-26
6. SSD. I. XVIII 1-6 Cg. Paramāras p. 297.

engirt round by a huge circle of moat difficult of being ferried across owing to the terrific ripples caused by the aquatic-boars, crocodiles and Hippopotamuses (either kept as a measure of security in the form of living beings or placed inside the water as a feature of art in an artificial garb). It was provided with four lofty gates veritable peers to the Krauñca apertures. It had its squares englamoured by the circle of temples of gods engirt round by vallums white with the stucco paint, with golden ewers shining at the tops of their lofty pinnacles.¹ It was provided with the ivory-chambers effulgent with gorgeousness.² Its houses had quadrangles having platforms of varied types.³ Its mansions were constructed by thousands of artisans.⁴ The pinnacles of its fortifications were sky-scraping.⁵ 'Raṅgaśālā'⁶ or the Audience Hall as a variant for 'Nāṭyaveśma', 'Nāṭyamaṇḍapa', double storeyed Nāṭyamaṇḍapa, 'Prekṣāgrha' of Bharata⁷ who enjoins its three types known as Vikṛṣṭa or Rectangular, Caturaśra or square and Tryaśra or Triangular,⁸ also formed a part of building architecture.

The mansion named 'Bhadraśālā' of Meghavāhana having its squares provided with pigeon holes has been described as consisting of many storeys.⁹ 'Harṁya'¹⁰ is another synonym for 'Prāsāda' meaning mansion. 'Pramadavana' or the pleasure-grove of Meghavāhana has been described as situated on the pleasure mound (Ākrīḍaparavata), where the king got a temple constructed. The temple's dimensions have been described most accurately. It was neither very expansive nor very short, dimensioned by small pillars, engirt by a small (lit. nottall) rampart, having squares expansive and provided with bejewelled pavements amply placid and spacious, with their joint segments unobserved between themselves. There

1. TM Vol. I pp 43-44.

तुषारधवलभित्तिना विशालवप्रेण परिगता प्राकरेण, विपुलसोपानसुगमावतारवापीशतसमाकुला... प्लवमानकरि
मकरकुम्भोरभीषणोर्मिणा... महता खातवलयेन वेष्टिता... क्रौंचाद्विच्छिद्रैरिव... चतुर्गोपुरैरुपेता,
प्रांशुशिखराग्रज्वलत्कनककलशैः सुधापंकधवलप्राकारवलयितैरमरमन्दिरमण्डलैः... उद्भासितचत्वर।

2. आविष्कृतविलासहासेव दन्तवलभीभिः। Ibid. Vol. I p.53.

3. विचित्राकारवेदिभिरङ्गणैः..... अलंकृतगृहा। Ibid. Vol. I p. 54.

4. विधिकर्मसहस्रैरिव निर्मितप्रासादा TM. I p. 54. LL 4-5.

5. गगनशिखोद्धेहिना प्राकारशिखरेण Ibid. Vol. I p. 56.

6. रङ्गशाला रागशैलूषस्य Ibid. Vol. I p. 82.

7. NŚ. II, Vol. I verses 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, p. 13, Manmohan Gihosh.

8. इह प्रेक्षामृहाणां तु धौमता विश्वकर्मणा।

तैषां त्रीणि प्रमाणानि ज्येष्ठयं मध्यं तथाऽवरम्। Ibid. verse 7, p. 12.

9. समुच्छ्रितानेकभूमिकस्य... शिखरविटंकवेदिकस्य भद्रशालनाम्नो महाप्रासादस्य। TM Vol. I p. 84.

10. Ibid. Vol. I p. 103.

in he established with due rites, the image of Śrī the goddess, prepared out of the wood inlaid with extremely luscious pearl stones, with its creeper-like frame bedecked with all the ornaments, endowed with all its limbs.¹ The shrine of the Siddhas named Śākrāvātāra has a fortification having very lofty pinnacles and portals.² A golden-pillar engraved or sculptured giving out a shining glow with its form chiselled out formed a feature of sculpture in architecture. The Vaimānika has been described as having his frame as luscious as the chiselled frame of the golden pillars.³ His limbs had been given a polished finish as if by the dusts formed out of the atoms of topaz gems.⁴ There is reference to the solar orb or the halo of lustre (Sūryamaṇḍala or Chāyamaṇḍala) encircling round the head of the celestial being (Vaimānika), a feature of art becoming popular during and after the Gupta hegemony.⁵ The Lamps erected on staves held in hands by the nymphs representing maidens formed a feature of art.⁶ Śrī or Lakṣmī i.e. Goddess of royal sovereignty and fortunes bearing two forms and eight arms seated constantly on the corner of a foot-stool made of gold and inlaid with variegated texture of leafy designs-forms another feature of art in Ancient Indian Sculpture.⁷

Ayodhyā has been described as promiscuous with Puraprāsādas, Surasadanās, Kūpas, Udyānas and Vāpīs, i.e. the residential mansions, temples, wells, orchards and oblong tanks in thousands.⁸ The locks clinging to the latches forming the closing-instruments for the doors of shops having wooden-panels also formed a feature of architecture.⁹ The buildings could have oblong tanks situated to them, having steps sunk in water spurting forth from the water machines when stopping to function.¹⁰

1. प्रमदवनमध्य एव सन्निधावाक्रीडपर्वतस्य नातिखर्वः नातिविस्तीर्णमल्पस्तम्भापरिकरमप्रांसुप्रकारकृतपरिक्षेप-
मनुपलक्षितान्योन्यसन्धिभागैराभोगशालिभिः प्रकाममसृणैः मणिशिलातलैरवनद्धविस्तीर्णाङ्गणम्.... देवतागृहमकारयत्।
तत्र चातिप्रशस्तेऽहनि... परिपूर्णसर्वावयवां सर्वप्रतिमालक्षणोपेतां सर्वालंकारभूषितवपुर्लतां... अत्युदारमुक्तशैलदारु-
सम्भवां भगवत्याः श्रियः प्रतिकृति यथाविधि प्रतिष्ठाप्य। TM. Vol. I pp 103-104.
2. अतितुङ्गशिखरतोरणप्रकारशक्रावतारं नाम सिद्धायतनम्।
3. उल्लिखितशातकुम्भस्तम्भवदातदेहम्। Ibid. Vol. I p. 107.
4. पुष्परामपरमाणुमूर्तिकभिरेव दत्तोपचयानाम्.... अङ्गणाम्। Ibid. Vol. I pp 107-108.
5. उत्पातसूर्यमण्डलेनेव सकीलेन कलितोत्तमाङ्गम्। Ibid. Vol. I p. 111.
6. करसंश्लिष्टयष्टिदोषिकाकिरणपटलपल्लवितदेहत्वावण्याभिः..... अमराङ्गणाभिः। Ibid. vol. I pp. 143-144.
7. उत्पन्नभंगचित्राष्टपदपादपीठप्राप्तसततनिषण्णः प्रकटिताष्टबाहुदेहद्वयो जनेऽयम्। Ibid. Vol. I p. 153.
8. पुरप्रासादसुरसदनकूपोद्यानवापीसहस्रसंकुलाम् अयोध्यापुरीम्। Ibid. Vol. II pp 163-164.
9. कपाटदारुपाशकनिर्दयास्फालनवाचालानि गृहोन्मुखापणिकसंवृतपण्यासु विपणिवीथिषु प्रत्यर्पणद्वारमधदन्त
कालायसतालकानि। Ibid. Vol. II p. 165.
10. विरतारघटक्रमसमुच्छ्वसत्सलिलमज्जत्सोपानासु... भवनवापीषु। Ibid. Vol. II p. 166.

Rasavatī (kitchen), Ajirabhūmi (Verandah), Bhojanaśālā (Dining Hall), Pratoli (the vestibule) or the front apartment), the chambers of the Sattrins (the sacrificers or the secret agents) formed a part of the residential abode of the king as well as the commoners.¹ The groups of parrots and starlings nibbling tree fruits pale through ripening were kept in cages hung in the upper-galleries susceptible to air.² The Rājakula or the residential arena of the king possessed white chambers or white mansions sky-scraping and numbering many hundreds having many rooms or apartments within.

A dantavalbhikā or an upper-ivory-chamber, situated at the corner of the roof of the residential mansion pleasant in the afternoon having guñjā berry creepers hanging over the bejewelled windows or lattices resounding with the flutters of squall pouring in every moment, with centre of its walls collided by the sprays of showers of scented water.³ Madirāvati's apartment in the harem was a spacious abode (Viśālaveśma) which had a bejewelled mosaic extremely placid and dappled with offerings of flowers strewn constantly, was glamorous with the construction of the pillars of gold designed with fine-leafy sprouts, had an awning overhead of a huge Netra-canvas, pendulous pearl wreaths hanging by the corners of the canopies; the wall paintings become luscious with the lamps steady on staves and burning, burnished slumber-cwens made of gold placed at the head of the couch shining with counterpanes stretched over nicely.⁴ Madirāvati was surrounded by the coquettes of the harem, who had placed expansive raised planks made of gold on the seat in the form of the surfaces of the bejewelled platform in the beautiful pavilion raised on four pillars prepared afresh.⁵ The golden seat was placed on the surface of the bejewelled dais.⁶

1. निवृत्तरसवतीभूमेषु समुपलिप्यमानाजिरभूमिषु...भोजनशालासंचार्यमाणविद्याहारपाकेषु प्रतोलीशिखराधिरुढ-
पुरोहितपरीक्ष्यमाणाध्ययनमुखरोन्मुखद्विजेषु सर्वतः संवृतेषु सत्रिणां भवनेषु। TM. Vol. II p. 167.
2. प्रवातपट्टशालावलम्बितपंजरे पाकपिंजराणि शकलयति तरुफलानि संवृतालापे शुक्सारिकाकलापे। Ibid. Vol. II p. 167
3. गन्धसलिलच्छटासेकशिशिरीकृतसकलभित्तिक्षणामनुक्षणापतत्पवनपुंजगुंजन् मणिगवाक्षगुंजामपराह्वरम्यामावासहस्र्य-
शिखरप्रान्तवर्तिनीं दन्तवलभिकामगच्छत्। Ibid. Vol. II p. 171.
4. तत्र चाविरलविप्रकीर्णपुष्पबलिशबलितातिमसृणमणिकुट्टिमे विकटपत्रभङ्गचित्रितचामीकरस्तम्भविरचना-
चारुण्युपरिविस्तारिततारनेत्रपटविताने वितानकप्रान्तलम्बमानलोलमुक्तास्रजि ज्वलदकम्पयष्टिप्रदीपप्रकटितप्रशस्त-
भित्तिचित्रसुकल्पितास्तरणतल्पतलोपशोभिनि शय्याशिरोभागनिहितधौतनिद्राकलशो विशालवेश्मनि कृतावस्थानाम्।
Ibid. Vol. II p. 174.
5. प्रत्यग्रविरचितचतुष्कचारुणिमणिवितर्दिकापृष्ठपीठे प्रतिष्ठापितविततहेमपट्टाभिः... अन्तःपुरविलासिनीभिः परिवृताम्।
Ibid. Vol. II p. 176.
6. मणिवेदिकापृष्ठवर्तिनि.. हेमविष्टरैः। Ibid.

Āsthānamandapa or the court hall of Meghavāhana had a golden seat. It may mean even an Assembly-Hall.¹ The mansions white with stucco-paint and provided with tree-fruits easy of access of the hands of the maidens sitting in the windows also illustrates the point that white mansions were provided with gardens.² The Sabhāmandapa or the Assembly Chamber or Court Hall of Samaraketu was designed in such a way that it was crowded with attendants come from outside given to talking ceaselessly being dispersed by the guards on duty, had coquettes moving about clad sparsely, had its courtyards void of dust through sprays of showers of strongly scented waters and had its arched-portal rippled with the rows of decorative wreaths tied to the sandal sprouts.³ His golden seat (hemāsana) was huge placed on the surface of a pellucid bejewelled platform or dais.⁴ A porch (Dvārabhūmi) adjoining the first chamber of the court Hall has been referred to.⁵ There is reference to the Howdah made of gold placed on the back of an elephant named Amaravallabha.⁶ The white parasol bearing its rod made of gold and inlaid with bits of varied-hued gems, with wreaths of pearls circular in shape dangling about and the thickset ewer made of ruby or topaz shining at the top also formed a feature of art in architecture.⁷ 'Kuttima' is typical word denoting a pavement or mosaic.⁸ 'Mattavāraṇa' or 'Mattavāraṇaka' means an elephant corniced pedestal⁹ or aisle supporting the expansive dais of a room or a pavilion meant for the presentation of a show (in a theatre). It is the same as the 'Mattavāraṇī' of Bharata.¹⁰ An

1. आस्थानमण्डपोपविष्टमध्यासितविकटहेमविष्टरम्। Ibid. Vol. II p. 190.

2. वातायनासीनवनिताकरप्रचेयतरुफलाश्च सुधार्पकधवलान् प्रासादकान्। Ibid. Vol. II p. 236.

3. बद्धचन्दनप्रवालचन्दनमालातरंगिततोरणमुद्दामगन्धोदकच्छटाविच्छर्दविरजीकृताजिरमागृहीतोज्ज्वलवेपसविशेष-
चारुसंचरद्वारवनिताजनमबहितप्रतोहारनिर्धार्यमाणानि बद्धभाषि बाह्यपरिजनं सभामण्डपमगच्छम्। Ibid. Vol. II p. 252.

4. पवित्रमणिवेदिकापृष्ठानिहिते महति हेमासने प्राङ्मुखोपविष्टः। Ibid.

5. प्रथमकक्षान्तरद्वारभूमिम्। Ibid. Vol. II p. 253.

6. शातुकुम्भशरीपरिकरितपृष्ठपीठम्। Ibid.

7. शिखरविस्फुरत्पद्मरागस्थूलकलशस्य दोलायमानावचूलमुक्ताफलदान्शिखरत्रखण्डखचितचामौकरदण्डस्य... श्रुतातपत्र
खण्डस्य। Ibid. vol. II p. 254.

8. Ibid. vol. II p. 276.

9. मन्तवाणमध्यमध्यास्य तत्र मन्तवारणोत्सङ्गसमर्पिताङ्गभारश्च तस्य वातायनस्य पाशाल्यभित्तिगर्भविन्यस्ते
गत्यानर्चान्द्रकापटलविषि स्फटिकशिलापट्टे निकुटितमतिस्पष्टवर्णतया तद्विनोत्कीर्णमिव मरकतदुतिपूरितनिखिल
रेखारभ्रसत्त्वाभिरत्यच्छतयाश्रयस्य निरालम्ब्याभिरिवाम्बरतलोत्कीर्णाभिरिव समतया प्रांजलतया च यन्त्राकृष्टाभिरिव
यग्यवतीकण्ठमणिक्ण्टिकानुकारिणीभिवर्णपंक्तिभिरुद्भासितां प्रशस्तिमैक्षत। Ibid. Vol. III p. 103.

10. शिन्नामण्डपद्वारस्य मणिशिलादारुमन्तवाणे द्वारमन्तवारणकाद। Ibid. Vol. III p. 163. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 323.

10. रङ्गपीठस्य पार्श्वे तु कर्त्तव्या मन्तवारणी।

वन्ःस्तम्भमययुक्ता रङ्गपीठप्रमाणतः। NS II. 63. 64

elephant corniced support provided with four pillars having images of elephants beside the pillars, on which the main dais of the stage or any other surface of a chamber is required to be stationed.

Dhanapāla refers to Mattavāraṇas in the context of a panygeric (inscribed on a marble stone slab placed or fixed in the interior of or the centre of the western wall of the window after Samaraketu had supported his body on the surface of an elephant-corniced-pedestal. He also refers to an elephant-corniced pedestal made of sticks of gem-stones, at the gate of a stone-pavilion and one just at the gate. The boats and canoes were hard made having been prepared out of hard wood.¹ The wooden pillars supporting the boats were called 'Kūpastambhakas'.² A window made of gems being very costly³ and the grotto abodes made of jewels have also been referred to.⁴ The divine shrine seen by Samaraketu after he had finished his sea-voyage is also a fine description of architectural specimen. The shrine had its path of descent at the door of the pavilion expansive and shining on account of the series of steps made of the slabs of the moon-stone-gem. It was decorated with many elephant-corniced-pedestals made of ruby. It had the tops of its pillars made of topaz-stones scraping the sky and occupied by the puppets or dolls or bracket female figures made of gem stones as if they were the celestial nymphs come down from the celestial world in order to supervise the architectural get up outlying the skill of Viśvakarmā. It had an untimely sport of festival of lamps organised by the cwers of topaz having their tips upraised and getting illumined by the acts of collyrium wicks performed by the rows of fresh-clouds darkened by-consuming water from the ocean and reeling about on high. It had peacocks concealed being guessed from the cries of the lattices made of the sticks of diamond gems with their plumes covered up by the rain-bow shining constantly. It had white buntings waving by the breeze assuming the garb of female cranes at the halo of lustre azure like the nebula nubilous with clouds, of the Amala-Sāraka (Sanctum-sanctorum) born of i.e. made of the Mahānīla stones and circumambiating the faces of the quarters. It had the tips of the sky scraped (lit. kissed) by its lofty pinnacle gone up to reduce the solar orb to the state of an ewer. It was engirt round by a circle of vallum of apparent expanse or breadth, made of marble of pure species having rows of steps of stones with series of tops stretched out. It was surrounded on all sides by the mansions of gods (i.e. temples) made of gold, as if by the peaks

1. दृढकाष्ठगुम्फनिष्ठराः नावः । TM Vol. II p. 281.

2. कूपस्तम्भकानुत्तम्भयद्धिः । Ibid. Vol. II p. 286.

3. महार्हमणिर्वितायनः । Ibid. Vol. II p. 291.

4. मणिगुहागृहेषु । Ibid. Vol. II p. 298.

of Sumeru. It was charming owing to many forms of 'Kālī' shining in the interior. It was adorned with cool-windows. It created marvel in the observers by its variegated texture of leafy designs, the variety of slabs made of gold and inlaid with many bits of rubies.¹ The door of that shrine provided with a turret had the movement of the chariot of the sun screened by the arched portal erected on bejewelled columns, blocking the sky.² The descent from that door was, as it were, covered by a rampart, clinging to the top of a hillock chiselled with hoes, stretched on both sides. And those that were the smaller doors by its side in the barracks or lanes, were also brought to obscurity by the refulgent aspect attained to sublimity, of this rampart serving an undistinguished wall for the firmament.³ The decorative wreaths made of sandal sprouts having jagged refulgence were there on the arched portals with sufficient breeze penetrating into them owing to their being lofty. The swinging machines were made of gold and having their tops sprouted with buntings or flags of China silk cloth prepared afresh. On the platform of the surface of the Dance-Hall (Gūṇanikāprāsāda), made of sapphire, the circles of the rows of the foot-imprints of decorative and unsunk paints of the lacquer-dye indicated the recent performance of a dance by the group of coquettes. The emerald conduits at the root of the vallum percolated in sparse drops kumkuma-ruddy water of the lakes meant for sport.⁴

1. चन्द्रकान्तमणिशिलासोपानमालया विराजितोदारमण्डपद्वारावतरमार्गम्, अनेकमणिक्थमत्तवारणकभूषितम्। अतिशयितविवर्धकमकौशलशिल्पनिर्माणमवलोकयितुममरलोकादुपगताभिः स्वर्गमणीभिरिव मणिशिलाशाल-भञ्जिकाभिरभ्यासिताभ्रंकपपुष्परागपाषाणस्तम्भशिखरम्, उपरि घूर्णन्तीभिरर्णवोदकपाणकालीभिर्बाल-जलधरलेखाभिरापादिताञ्जनवर्तिकृत्यैर्ज्वलद्भिरुच्छिखैः पद्मरागकलशैः प्रकाशिताकालदीपास्तवविलासम्, अविरोदीर्णसुरचापचक्रकृतकलापापलापेषु वज्रमणिशलाकाजालकेषु कूजितानुमितनिलीननीलकण्ठम्, आशामुखव्यापिनि महानीलाशमयोनेरामलसारकस्य घनदुर्दिनश्यामले प्रभाचक्रबाले बलाकायमानपवनलोलसितपताकम् आभोगदूरोत्सापितदिशा तपनमण्डलमिवात्मनः कलशतां नेतुमुत्थितेन चुम्बिताम्बरशिखरमतिप्रांशुना शिखरेण विततशिखरश्रेणिना.... शुद्धजातिस्फटिकनिर्मितेन स्फुटस्फातिना प्राकारमण्डलेन कुण्डलितम्। अमरगिरिशृङ्गैरिव सर्वतः परिवृत्तं हिरण्यैः सुरप्रासादैः..... विलसदनेकरूपकालिकान्तं समासत्रिशिशिरवातायनानकृतम्।... अतिविषमपत्रभङ्गविस्मयित प्रेक्षकजनम्। अनेकमणिक्थखण्डखचितकांचनशिलासंघातम् एवं दिव्यमायतनम् TM.

Vol. II pp 320 p. 320 LL. 3-9

Vilāsayantra putrikā Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 60. L II p. 374 I Cāmikara Śitā yantraputrikā

2. गोपुरप्रतिबद्धमम्बरोतम्भिना मणित्तम्भतोरेण तिरस्कृततरणिरथसंचारद्वारम्। Ibid. Vol. II p. 324.
3. अनेन योऽवतारः सः दूरमुभयतः प्रसूतेनटंकच्छिन्नपर्वतकटकसंगिना प्राकारेणैव वारितः यानि त्वस्य पार्श्वतः संभवन्ति प्रतानिकासु क्षुद्रद्वाराणि तान्यपि नभस्तलनिर्विशेषधितेरस्यैव प्राकारस्य प्रकर्षप्राप्तेन स्वच्छतागुणेन दुरुपलक्ष्यता नोत्तनि। Ibid. Vol. II p. 324. LL. 10
4. अत्र तुगत्वादधिकसंयुज्यमानसमीरणेष्वपि द्वारतोरेणेषु सान्द्ररुचयश्चन्दनप्रवालवन्दनमालाः प्रत्यग्रचित्ताभिश्चीनाशुंक-पताकाभिः पल्लवितशिखराणि चामीकरचक्रदोलायन्त्राणि गुणनिकाप्रासादस्य च पृष्ठवेदिकार्यामन्दनील

‘Pradoṣāsthānamandpa’¹ is the sleeping pavilion or a lounge.
‘Bhavanavalabhiḡavākṣa’² - the windows in the roof of a mansion.

“दूरवितस्तम्भनिश्चलं च क्रमेण निजमिव प्रासादमतिर्तुंगमप्युदग्रविकटेन दन्तसंक्रमेणाध्यारोहत्”³

‘तुंगमप्युदग्रविकटेन दन्तसंक्रमेणाध्यारोहत्’⁴

refers to a place steady with columns stretched far away and being lofty having a series of ivory ladders meant to mount its roofs. Mahānīla (Indranīla or sapphire) Vātāyana-a window made of sapphire has also been referred to.⁴

The Maṭha or sanctuary that Samaraketu saw in that divine shrine was somewhere white and somewhere cadaverous, somewhere bluish red and attractive on account of having three storeys. It was adorned with refulgent pinnacles decked with an ewer, had pigeon-holes, was built by special species of bejewelled slabs, had its gate towards the north; was huge and recently built.⁵

‘Catuśśāla’ is a term meant to denote a square or a four-roomed mansion the character of which has been superimposed upon the plantain-grove (Rambhāgrha).⁶ The pavilions of the shrine of Cāmuṇḍā established on the peaks of the hillocks and occupied by men taking to abstinence, being desirous of boons, have been referred to.⁷ He has referred to Prāsādakas containing the images of Jina. Prāsādakas may mean small chambers.⁸

The sleeping-chamber of Malayasundarī has been called Śāyanaśālā that was sanctified having been broomed afresh on its floor, having an upholstering pillow raised up and placed at the root of a wall and having a

मय्यामासादितप्रकटपरभागानि पिशुनयन्ति वारसुन्दरीवृन्दस्य रासविभ्रमभ्रमणमभिनवमस्तानयावकपङ्कङ्कानि
पदमुद्रापरिपाटिमण्डलानि। TM. Vol. II. p. 325.

and एतान्यपि क्षरन्ति विरलविरालैर्बिन्दुभिः कुंकुमारुणं केलिपुष्करिणीनां वारिप्राकारमूलमरकतप्राणालानि। Ibid.
Vol. II p. 326.

1. Ibid. Vol. III p. 20.

2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 31.

3. Ibid. Vol. III p. 42.

4. Ibid. Vol. III p. 103.

5. कचिद्वलताक्रान्तम्, कचित्कपि शतान्वितम्, कचिन्नोल्लोहितप्रभावात्तश्रियम्, मालिकात्रयमनोहरम् सकलशशि
खरांशुभूषितम्, कपोतपालीकलितम्, अशेषमणिशिलाविशेषकृतनिर्माणमुदङ्मुखद्वारम्... अतधिष्ठमभिनवं मटमैक्षिष्ट।
Ibid. Vol. III pp 107-108.

6. आरामलक्ष्म्याः साक्षादिव चतुःशालम्... रम्भागृहमपश्यत्। Ibid. Vol. III p. 119.

7. वरार्थिनिरशनरोषरुद्धगिरिशिखरचामुण्डायतनमण्डपैः। Ibid. vol. III p. 131.

8. आयतनपर्यन्तवर्तिषु प्रासादकेषु प्रतिष्ठिताः जिनप्रतिमाः Ibid. Vol. III p. 165.

bed-counterpane made of thick barks hanging by an ivory-peg.¹ She had placed her rosary of beads in that.

'प्रगुणविशिखाः गृहनिवेशाः'² alludes to the residential abodes abounding in straight lanes while 'बाहुमालिकाः प्रासादाः'³ refers to mansions comprising of many storeys वासदन्तवलभोषु⁴ refers to the ivory chambers meant for an abode. 'मणि शिलामयस्य जिनवेशमनः कोणैकदेशे निपण्णाम्'⁵ refers to the shrine of Jina made of bejewelled stones.

An image of Mahāvīra Jina made of diamond gem-stones⁶ and a sleeping gallery⁷ 'शयनचित्रशाला' (śayanacitraśālā) has been mentioned at a different place.

There is description of the central pavilion (Madhyama-maṇḍapikā) in the centre of which there was a dais meant for the court-business. King Meghavāhana sat on an ivory plank placed on the backside of the dais, that had broad elephant-corniced pedestals joined to it from both the sides, made of moon-stone wood, that had a raised seat of gold and was covered with fine silk cloth white and clean like the ripe old sprouts in the interior of a lily.⁸

'Saudha' is another term employed to mean a palace.

The alligator-shaped water-outlets attached to the roofs of a palace wherefrom the rain water could be carried down in a stream through the pipes, in the reservoirs or refuse-carrying channels, is also referred to as a special feature of Ancient Indian Architecture.⁹

The description of the shrine named Sudarśana also contains important architectural data of the age. Samaraketu entered through the turret-corniced

1. नागदन्तावलम्बितनिविडवल्कलास्तरणायां भित्तिमूलघटितोत्तानगण्डोपधानपट्टायामचिरप्रमृष्टकुट्टिमशुचौ शयनशालायामवस्थापिताक्षमाला। TM. vol. III p. 166.
2. Ibid. Vol. III p. 172.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid. Vol. III p. 174.
5. Ibid. Vol. III p. 181.
6. अतिमहाप्रमाणवज्रमणि शिलामयं महावीरजिनस्य विम्बम्। Ibid. Vol. III p. 198.
7. Ibid. Vol. III p. 135. L-2 Śayanacitra Śālā also Sm. ed. TM NSPE p. 302 L. 15 and Śayanacitra Śālikā Ibid. p. 327. L. 1.
8. गत्वा मध्यमां मण्डपिकां तन्मध्यभागे तत्क्षणेपलिषायाः... आस्थानवेदिकायाः पृष्ठभागे प्रतिष्ठापितमुभयतः संयोजितमृगांकमणिदारनिर्मितोदारमत्तवारणकमनुपृष्ठमाहितोद्यकांचनपीठमीषज्जरटकुमुदगर्भदलावदातमच्छधवलधौतपट्टां शुकपटाच्छादितं दन्तपट्टमध्यास्त। Ibid. vol. II p. 169.
9. हर्म्यतलप्रणालसलिलतूर इव हेलया निष्कामति मकरमुखतः। Ibid. Vol. II p. 279.

gate made of emerald gem having its lower part occupied by a series of rundles made of moon-stone; and saw an image made of Cintāmaṇi gem, huge in form of Primeval Jina Lord Rṣabha (Deva), having his supremacy over the triad of worlds manifested by the triad of parasols white like the lunar orb, surrounded by groups of images of gods adorned on the sides by the nymphs of fine and varied forms and mounted on various vehicles and aerial cars, refulgent with a halo of lustre of extremely luscious form, having its right as well as the left sides adorned by Indra bearing fly-whisks white and pendulous unto the shoulders, the backs of both the shoulders occupied by the creeper like curls, the creepers of leafy designs as it were, formed out of the black-aloe paint, clinging fast thereon the middle portion of legs sprouted with the hand-twain, raised aloft in posture, assuming a lotus posture on the huge lion-seat glamorous with a lion attended by (two) antelopes, adorned by the clusters of stellars; adorning the interior region of the central chamber having bells resounding tied with-chains of gold hanging by a cloth-noose of the screen canvas screening a part of the body of the deity, hanging by one side of the charming wall decorated by the white chowries sticking to the ivory-pegs, having its door-side accompanied by the idols of Yakṣas and devatās stationed inside them.¹ A bath-room (Snānamaṇḍapikā)² has also been mentioned. A rampart made of marble surrounded by the shrine of Jina.³ Śayanacitraśālikā was a sleeping gallery.⁴ 'Dārūbhavanam'⁵ - a wooden House actually a House Boat capable of swimming as well as flying. A sanctuary made of bejewelled stones consisting of three storeys had its middle portion comparatively nice. The uppermost storey of the sanctuary had a ruby-chamber decked with moon

1. ततश्चन्द्रकान्तसोपानपरम्पराक्रान्ततलभागेन.. वरीयसा मरकतमणिगोपुरेणोपविश्य... प्रतिष्ठितयक्षदेवता
प्रतियातनासनाश्वद्वारभागस्य नागदन्तावसक्तधवलचामरार्चिताचारुभित्तैरेकपाश्चावलम्बमानसंकोचितदेवाङ्गजव-
निकापटस्य जयन्तिकावलम्बिजाम्बूनदशृङ्खलाकलितवाचालवज्रघण्टस्य गर्भवेश्मनो गर्भभागमलङ्कृवाणां,
ग्रहचक्रालंकृते मृगाभाजि सिंहोद्भासिते.. सिंहासने निबद्धपद्मासनाम्, उपर्युपरि विरचितोत्तानकरयुगलकिसलयिताकं
मध्याम् आभङ्गिनीभिः कृष्णागुरुपंकलिखिताभिरिव पत्रभङ्गलताभिः केशवल्लरीभिरध्यासितोभयांशपीठाम्..
अंसीवलम्बिधवलचामरसुरेन्द्रसेवितसव्यापसव्यपाश्चां,.... भास्वतेव प्रभामण्डलेनोद्भासिताम्.....
इन्दुमण्डलसितातपत्रत्रयीप्रकाशितत्रिभुवनैश्वर्याम्, अशेषतश्च विविधविमानवाहनाधिरुढैरत्युदाराकृतिभिरप्सरा.....
कृत्रिमसुरसमूहैः परिकरिताम्... चिन्तामणिमयीं प्रतिमामपश्यत्। TM. Vol. III pp 97-99.

2. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 300.

3. स्फटिकजिनायतनपर्यन्तवर्तिनं प्रकारम्। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 310.

4. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 327.

5. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 337.

stones.¹ 'Śaṣīkantamaṇḍapikā'² is another term meaning a moon-chamber. Many gorgeous mansions with lofty pinnacles and surrounded by very lofty fortifications have also been alluded to. There is reference to a huge Sofa-couch made of gold even though soft-covered all over by an upper-covering-cloth below the bejewelled pavilion in the square of the sleeping gallery having an expansive open space endowed with a row of lofty golden pillars, having the surface of the lotus-pavement on the roof consisting of its approach through a series of steps made of plane bejewelled slabs shining with the movement of steps.³

Similarly -

A sleeping gallery clinging to the top of mansion, having a couch of lotus leaves in the moon-stone-window in the corner of the bejewelled storey or floor attached to the portion of the left wall with northern side becoming apparent owing to recent opening of the door,⁴ in the mansion of Tilakamañjarī has been described having all the accessories detailed here. It was endowed with flags, parasols, flywhisk forming its decorative materials placed within its chambers that had many diadems, accoutrements, couches having surfaces of pannels, all the equipments suited to the occasion of a promenade. These chambers were spacious and huge enhancing the beauty of the outer apartment. The central door attached to the turrets of the fortification was occupied by the vehicles of the Vidyādhara-maidens come to have a sight of that having assumed the garbs of peacocks, parrots, antelopes, lions, Garuḍas, suitably caparisoned. It (i.e. the mansion of Tilakamañjarī) was crowded with water pavilions, reservoirs and oblong tanks adjoining the associate-chambers. Its precincts were engirt by the seven storeyed chambers of the harem cordoned by the fortification of fructified Sarala and Arjuna trees, having sparks of fire of the thunderbolts spreading out, as if on to the tops of the Himālaya, with their pinnacles lofty

1. तिसृभिर्भूमिकाभिरुपरचितनिर्माणस्य मणिशिलामण्डपां रम्यतरमर्घ्यां ममेयभूमिकामाश्रयाय मै विश्राणितवतो। सुश्लिष्टसंस्थान मणिशिला तलघटितया शिखरपरिपाट्या समन्ततः परिक्षित पीठां मठाग्रभूमिकापृष्ठवर्तिनीमिन्दुकान्त मणिकय मण्डपिकामगच्छम्। Ibid. Sm. ed. pp 344, 352.
2. Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 356.
3. निरन्तरन्यासशालिना मणिशिलातलसंक्रमेण क्रमेणाधिरूढमानीय मामुपरितलकमलकुट्टिम तलस्योत्तुङ्गकनकस्तम्भ राजीविराः प्रकाश विपुल वातावकाशस्य शयनचित्रशालिकागणरत्न मण्डपस्याधस्यात् स्व हस्तसंचारितेनाचिरधौतेन शुचिना समन्तादुत्तरच्छद् पटेनाच्छादिते मृदावपि तापनीये महति पट्टपर्यंके न्यवेशयत्। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 367.
4. सौधशिखराग्रसंगिनी शयनचित्र शालाम्। Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 368.3
तस्य च तत्क्षणेऽद्भुतकपाटप्रकटितोत्तराशे दक्षिणेरभितिभागश्रियणि सुश्लिष्टमणि भूमिकान्ते शशिकान्त वातायने चित्तजन विरचित विचित्रविन्यासंश्चतुरपरिचारिका जनेन सरोजिनोपत्रशयनीय मधिशयाना। Ibid.

and expansive occupied by circles of gold ewers emitting out tassels of sheen.¹

Paintings :

According to Dr. Pratipāla Bhatia Dhanapāla's Tilakamañjarī contains very useful and interesting references to technical terms used in this art (i.e. painting) as well as the conversations of princes and painters and Chitrācāryas.² Painting as an art and a pastime has been referred to in case of Meghavāhana. He kept scanning the whole day long having given up all other avocations, the images of the princesses endowed with matchless charms, bestowed on him or brought as gifts to him through regard, having painted them on the picture canvases by the skilled painters deeming that he was susceptible to women.³ Madirāvati has been described as the superior painting brush made of gold in the form of her beauty.⁴ The picture-canvas (of Tilakamañjarī) brought for the first time before Harivāhana by Pratihārī (Vajrārgalā) was exquisite (Divya) and was wrapped in the hem of her upper scarf. It was an ambrosia for the eyes. On that picture-canvas was seen portrayed a painted puppet (or a doll) assuming the garb of a maiden. Being an expert of that art he for long deliberated over the glamour of her physical charms. And intermittently he continued looking at her braid of tresses, Moon-face, sprout like lower lip, eye-cups, soft throat, protuberant breasts, middle portion i.e. waist, the circumference of the orbs of her navel, posteriors, pillar-like thighs, lotus feet etc.⁵ Harivāhana has been called as skilled in (lit. gone past) the arts and lores such as dance, music and

1. आलोक्यमानविविधवज्रच्छत्रचामरोडुमराभिरनेकपर्याणपीठपर्यंककंकटकिरीटगभीभिर्विहार कालोपयुक्तवस्तुनिक्षेपक्ष माभिरुभयतो विशालगम्भीराभिः शालाभिरुपशोभमानबाह्यकक्षान्तरम् आरोपितानुरूपरत्नपर्याणैर्गङ्गडोरुकरङ्ग वक्राङ्गवर्धिण प्रमुखाकारधिरिभिर्विधावलकृतैर्दर्शनायात विद्याभरवधूवाहनाविशेषरश्म्यमध्यमप्राकारगोपुगद्वारम्,... अभंगुरप्रासाददीर्घिकाकुण्डजलमण्डपैरखण्डितम्,... उदंशुकांचनकलशचक्राक्रान्तविकटोदग्र कूटैस्तुषारगिरिशिगेभिरिव लग्नस्फारवज्राग्निविस्फुल्लिगैरदभ्रसरलार्जुनसालगुप्तिभिः सप्तभूमैः कुमारोपुरप्रासादैः समन्ततः परिश्रिततार्क्षम्...तिलकमंजरीमन्दिरमपश्यम्। TM. Sm. ed. pp. 370, 372.

2. Paramāras p. 348.

3. कदाचिदङ्गनालोत इति मत्वा निपुणचित्रकारैश्चित्रपटेष्वारोप्य सादरमुपापनी कृतानिरुपातिशयशालिनीनामवनिपाल कन्यकानां प्रतिविम्बानि परित्यक्तान्यकर्म दिवसमालोकयत्। Ibid. Vol. I p. 75.

4. ज्येष्ठवर्णिका रूपजातरूपस्य। Ibid. Vol. I p. 82.

5. उपरितनवसनपल्लवप्रान्तसंयतं चित्रपटमुपनिन्ये। Ibid. Vol. II p. 332.

तथा तत्क्षणमेव विस्तारिते पुरस्तात् तत्र.... कन्यकारूपधारिणीमेकां चित्रपुत्रिकां ददर्श। Ibid. Vol. II p. 1.

विममशं च अस्याः शरीरावयवसमुदायचारुतामतिचिरम्।

अनुपरतकौतुकस्य मूढः केशपाशे मुहुर्मुखशशिनि, मुहुरधरपत्रे, मुहुर्मध्यभागे मुदुररुस्तम्भयोः मुहुश्चरणवारिरुहयोः,

कृतारोहावरोहया दृष्ट्या तां व्यभावयत्। Ibid. Vol. III pp. 1-2.

painting etc.¹ The citizens as well as the foreigners came to him to venture his expert opinion on their skill in that art as well as other crafts and lores.² Vajrārgalā the portress (Pratihārī) had invited Gandharvaka the courier to conduct him to Harivāhana and had obtained the picture-canvas (Citrapaṭa) from him after he had brought to the fore having brought it out of a bag made of a fine China silk-cloth.³

'Painting' denoted by 'Citrakarma'-and Citraśilpa-Citravidyā occurs in many contexts. It has been considered to be a matter of fun (narma)⁴ Appreciating and commenting on the merits of the painting of Tilakamañjarī brought by Gandharvaka, Harivāhana as an expert in the art of painting, finds every aspect in its budding form except one fault being an intentional omission that she was not surrounded by forms of men naturally graceful in so far as in budding youth the company of men with women was a necessary evil.⁵ Here Sarvavastu-Viṣayaṁ Citrakarmakauśalam' is significant. Citralekhā, the personal attendant (Dhārī) of Patralekhā and a nurse of Tilakamañjarī has been considered extremely skilful in the art of painting and Tilakamañjarī has been called as having great love for the art. Moreover, all the shampooing maids in the harem of Patralekhā were skilled in the art of painting Gandharvaka begged leave of Harivāhana in so far as his more exacting task of meeting Gandharvadattā and Vicitravīrya encroached upon his privilege of adding the forms of men to the painting. Even Gandharvaka praises the skill of Harivāhana in the art of painting.⁶ Pining for a meeting with Tilakamañjarī, Harivāhana grew impatient after he did not see the return of Gandharvaka and intending to move away for a Digvijaya making it a pretext to search the maiden of his heart he spent long

1. नृत्यगीतचित्रादिकलाशास्त्रपारदृष्टा हरिवाहनो नाम कुमारः। TM. Vol. III p. 3.

2. प्रस्तुत विचित्र कथा विनोदं चैनमामत्यागत्य नगरनिवासिनो वैदेशिकाश्च लोकाः कलासु शास्त्रेषु शिल्पेषु च प्रकाशयितुमात्मनो विचक्षणतामनुक्षणं पश्यन्ति। Ibid. Vol. III p. 4.

3. प्रकृष्टचीनकर्पटप्रसेवकायाः सयलमाकुप्य चित्रपटमेनमुपनीतवान्। Ibid. Vol. III p. 4.

4. चित्रकर्मनर्मनिर्माणम्। Ibid. Vol. III p. 5.

5. यद्यदवलोक्यते तत् तत्सर्वमपि रूपमस्य चित्रपटस्य चारुताप्रकर्षहेतुः।

एक एव दोषो यदत्र पुरुष रूपमेकमपि न प्रकाशितम्। अनेन च मनागसमग्रशोभोऽयं तदधुनाऽस्य शोभातिशयमाधातुं प्रेक्षकजनस्य च कौतुकातिरेकमत्पादयितुमात्मनश्च सर्ववस्तुविषयं चित्रकर्मकौशलमविष्कर्तुं युज्यन्ते कतिचिदस्याः नरेन्द्रदुहितुः प्रकृतिसुन्दराणि पुरुषरूपाणि परिवारतां नेतुम्। अविरुद्धो हि कन्यकावस्थायाम् मंगनानां मनुष्यसंनिधिः। Ibid. Vol. III p. 9.

6. सर्वान्तःपुरप्रतिबद्धसैरन्ध्रीगणप्रशाप्रेष्टा प्रकृत्यैव जननी मे भर्तृदारिकायाः धात्री चित्रलेखा नाम सादरं समादिष्टा.. सखि चित्रलेखे। त्वं हि चित्रकर्मणि परं प्रवीणा, चित्रदर्शनानुरागिणी च वत्सा तिलकमंजरी। Ibid. Vol. III p. 14.

दक्षाश्चित्रकर्मणि समस्ता अपि स्वप्रतिबद्धाः शुद्धान्तसैरन्ध्रीदास्यः। Ibid. vol. III p. 15.

उपदर्शितबहुविकल्पाचित्र शिल्पेन च स्थिरता दिवसमेकमेकाग्रमनसा तथाभिलेखितव्यं यथावस्थितम् महाभागस्य रूपं यथा चित्रपटवर्तिना तेन पुरतो दृष्टमात्रेण सिद्धगारुडमन्त्रेणैव भर्तृदारिकायाः प्रशममुपयास्यति समस्तबान्धववर्गदुः सहोद्वेगः पुरुषद्वेषविषेणः। Ibid. Vol. III pp 16-17.

hours deliberating over the 'cārutātattva' of the picture painted on that canvas in company of the town folk well-versed in the art of painting (ālekhyasāstra) with curiosity provoked in them by a series of men and in association with the teachers masters of the art of painting who stood hard by squatted on the precincts of the shores of the oblong tank in the shrine of Cupid.¹ Even the murals or wall-paintings were in vogue.²

Tūlikā-a painting brush, Citraphalaka-a painting board, Citravalabhikā-a picture-gallery-are the technical terms pertaining to the art of painting.³ Citrakāra and Citrakṛt are the terms used to mean a painter. Even Samaraketu had a fascination for this art in so far as he has been described as having spent his days in company of Tāraka (in Kāñci) looking constantly at the excellent forms of the princesses of renowned forms, brought having been drawn by the skilled painters.⁴ Tilakamañjarī skilled in the art of painting sometimes had the painting brushes and the painting boxes (Vividhavartikā Samudgakā) by her sides brought by the attendant-maids, placed on a picture board, used to paint the excellent form of the illustrious one (Harivāhana) pierced by the groups of the arrows of Cupid, after having thought over time and again.⁵

Varttikā means a painting brush. Samudgakā, a painting box and Citraphalaka-a painting board or canvas etc. The picture of Tilakamañjarī painted on the picture-canvas⁶ was shown to Harivāhana, the painting was painted by Citralekhā on the canvas. 'Citraśālā' refers to an art-galley or a Painting-Hall having a smearing of sandal-coatings all over its frame.⁷

1. मकरध्वजायतनदीर्घिकातीरपरिसरे निषण्णः सन्निधानवर्तिभिश्चित्रविद्योपाध्यायैरन्यैश्च जनपरम्पराजनितं कुतूहलैश्चित्रमवलोकयितुमागतैरालेख्यशास्त्रविद्भिः नगरलोकैः सह विचारयन्नविचार्य चारुतातत्त्वं तस्याश्चित्रपटपुत्रिकायाः रूपमपसारितापरविनोदः पूर्वाह्नमनयत् TM. Vol. III pp 25-26.
2. नवचित्रभित्तौ: Ibid. vol. III p. 29.
3. आविष्कृतानेकभावविभ्रमाणि लिखितानीव केनापि निपुणचित्रकरेण दिभित्तिषु दिवानिशं ददर्श तस्याः प्रतिम्बानि जीवमिव चित्रकर्मखचितप्रदेशम्। Ibid. Sm. pp. 29, 95.
मत्समागमध्यानमीलिताक्षः पुरः स्थापिते वृथैव तूलिकया चित्रफलके रूपमलिखत् Ibid. Sm. ed. pp. 278-279 and 302.
4. तत्र च त्वदुपलम्भाशया दिङ्मुखख्यातरूपसंपदां राजकन्यानां विद्धरूपाण्यादरप्रवर्तितैश्चित्रकृद्भिर्भलिलिख्योपनीतान्य जस्रमवलोकयतः.... सवन्तो पुलिनेषु द्विधापि संचारिततारकस्य मे गताः कतिपयेऽपि दिवसाः Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 322.
5. कदाचिदन्तिकन्यस्तविधिवर्तिकासमुद्रकाप्रगुणीकृत्य परिचारिकाभिः पुरोऽवस्थापिते पृथुने चित्रफलके निपुणमालोच्यालोच्य मकरकेतुबाणद्वाताविद्धदेवस्यैव रूपं विद्धमभिलिखन्ती। Ibid Sm. ed. p. 363.
6. कथं दर्शितास्य चित्रपटे मत्प्रतिकृतिः Ibid. Sm. ed. p. 391.
7. चित्राशालास्वसंपाद्यमानहरिचन्दनं पङ्कोपलेपम्। Ibid. Vol. I p. 118.

VII. CONCLUSION

The gigantic task of elucidating the literary as well as cultural heritages represented by Dhanapāla in his *Tilakamañjarī* being over, there remains a necessity to provide an epilogue to the whole show. But for this composition the luminous lamp of the 11th century A.D. Prose literature, our knowledge of the Literary History, the Historical traditions of the age as well as the cultural leanings of the people of the age would have suffered a cessation and the continuity in the effluence of the literary stream of Sanskrit Prose would have marred the career of many a literary genius following the trail of Bāṇa, suffering thereby an oblivion. Dhanapāla practically showed the path to Oḍayadeva Vāḍibhasiṃha who produced his *Gadyacintāmaṇi* in a new holocaust of mental sacrifices whose smoke passed through the screens of Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa and Ambikāḍatta Vyāsa.

Dhanapāla by giving a brief genealogy of his patrons Muñja and Bhoja has amply helped the Ancient Indian Historians in understanding the Historical links in the regnal line-up of the Paramāras.⁹⁵ Dr. Pratipāla Bhatia⁹⁶ and Dr. V.S. Pathak⁹⁷ have derived much from these data in completing their Theses. Dhanapāla was an inspired poet who had a mighty impact of the geniotic exuberance of the great litterateur Bhoja for the sake of whose recreation he composed his illustrious prose-romance. The Agnikula myth referred to by him in imitation of Padmagupta alias Parimala (Navasāhasāṅkacarita) has provided food for thought to literary critics like Dr. V.S. Pathak who has ventured to prove the very fact that Paramāras were no scions of an alien-tribe. They were very much a produce of the Brahma Kṣatra anuloma type of combination and assumed Kṣātradharmā by virtue of their regional profession. They were actually the Agniveṣa Brāhmaṇas whose literary heritage Bhoja possessed in his own person.

The age of Orthodoxy losing face and that of Heterodox cult attaining to exuberance Dhanapāla took to both in order to please the exponents of both. He did not give up the cult of Brahmanism because his patron Bhoja was a staunch protagonist of that. Both, however, gradually reconciled to the changing order of the day and did not demur the beliefs of the followers of Jina though they did not deem it their sole object of fervour. Bhoja being a great rhetorician had immaculate impact upon the intellect of his court-poet who in his romance has tackled all types of figures with the pen of a skilled master. His learning in the lore of histrionics is amply illustrated by his numerous references to the dicta of Nāṭyaśāstra and its auxiliaries.

His romance is certainly a fiction based on the covert allusions to the lives of his patrons. As postulated by some such scholars as N.M. Kansara,⁹⁸ Tilakamañjarī was most probably his daughter and he perhaps by idealising her has idealised the fair and square dealings in the demeanour and deeds of his patron who might have had an eye of affection towards her. Or it may be so that aspiring a relation with the royal sage he might have anticipated a theme and characterised it in the mode of an immortal reminiscence. His Meghavāhana might have been Muñja or Sindhurāja whom he has characterised so elegantly as well as vivaciously. His Harivāhana appears to be a peer to Bhoja as established by me in my Paper entitled 'Historical Data in the Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla'.⁹⁹ His Candraketu and Samaraketu refer to Rāja rāja and Rājendra Cola, the Cola monarchs who had a sway over Ceylon (Sinhala) during the days of Dhanapāla. Viewing a matrimonial tie through his personal knowledge he might have fabricated the theme.

Apart from the theme he has woven on the analogy of Bāṇa's Kādambarī also taking cue from Guṇādhya and secondarily from Kathā Saritsāgara he has thoroughly justified his claim to be ranked a master-artist from the point of view of literary equipments. He has fostered the cause of the four-fold aims of human existence and the theory of Karman, that of the origin and growth of orders of society and stages of life. He had a humanistic approach to life and upheld the doctrine of virtuosity and piety to the exclusion of depravity and levity that deserved to be faced and counteracted. His descriptive and narrative materials, his dialogues all go to establish him a successful poet and a literary artist who could view life from very close quarters. His descriptions of nature amply establish his task for romanticism. His romantic characters of Harivāhana and Samaraketu are his true personal prototypes. The dark side of things observed in life has also been depicted but no severing of efforts through frustration born of pessimism is shown.

'सततमचलप्रकृतिना हि पुरुषेण भवितव्यम्'

(TM Vol. III, p. 81, L-11) i.e. A man should always possess a nonchalant disposition' is what seems to be the bedrock of his philosophy. Harivāhana, Samaraketu, Malayasundarī and Bandhusundarī are the true epitomes of this factual trait of disposition. His reflective moods are equally true to his calibre and personal leanings. His idioms and illustrations equally testify his skill in the wisdom of the world and practical way of life.

Apart from the Literary norm Dhanapāla has kept his tempo of supremacy in depicting lofty cultural heritages of the Age. His vast and figurative illustrations regarding the Geographical topography amply

establish the fact that he was a widely travelled man or at least he had learnt a lot from his preceptors and favourites as well as associates. His depiction of King Meghavāhana as an ideal king with all types of technical details on administration and statecraft, warfare, judiciary etc. exhibit his mastery over the treatises on polity such as Arthaśāstra of Brhaspati and Śukranīti as also of the Athaśāstra of Kauṭilya which latter has not been referred to by him. His mention of details regarding the social institutions, Saṁskāras, marriage law, Gāndharva, Prājāpatya, Daiva modes etc. speak of his knowledge of Manu and Yājñavalkya Smṛtis. The Dharmasthīyaṁ sections of the Arthaśāstras etc. He has detailed the principal festivals along with other classified customs and processions of the days such as Diwali, Holī, Kaumudīmahotsava etc. He has also illustrated the Food and Drinks habits of the people of the day including vegetarian and non-vegetarian diets, syrups, spirituous liquors as well, the culinary art and cooking utensils, the Dining Hall, the Dining etiquettes etc. Dance, drama and Music were popular among the people. Large temples and shrines dedicated to the worship of Hindu and Jaina gods were built by the kings. Every possible care was taken to guard against the evil effects of the wicked exploiters, food-poisoning, incendiary activities of the enemy etc. Education was a popular institution. It normally started at the age of six and ended with the age of sixteen. The country ruled over by the Paramāras was economically stronger and prosperous enough to sustain the aggressive foreign policy of the rulers. The soil was fertile with rich and luxuriant fields and garden-growth. Trade and Commerce were also flourishing. People lived a simple life but happy one. Middle classes enjoyed a comfortable life and no suppression of the poor by the rich was visible. Literacy was wide-spread and almost all the subjects of study including various arts and sciences were taught. The Karaṇas and Prayogas of Dance, the instrumental music with instruments such as flute, lute, tabour were used for playing to the accompaniment of classical as well as light vocal music. People used cosmetics and unguents. They wore normally a pair of clothes but woollen garments were used in winter. Skins and hides were also used to prepare certain articles of trade. Kārdaraṅga or Kārmaraṅga leather used to prepare scabbards has been referred to.

All these go to establish the fact that Dhanapāla has given a very clean and clear picture of Literary, Social and Cultural heritages of his age i.e. 11th Century A.D. with the pen of a true master and a skilled artist.

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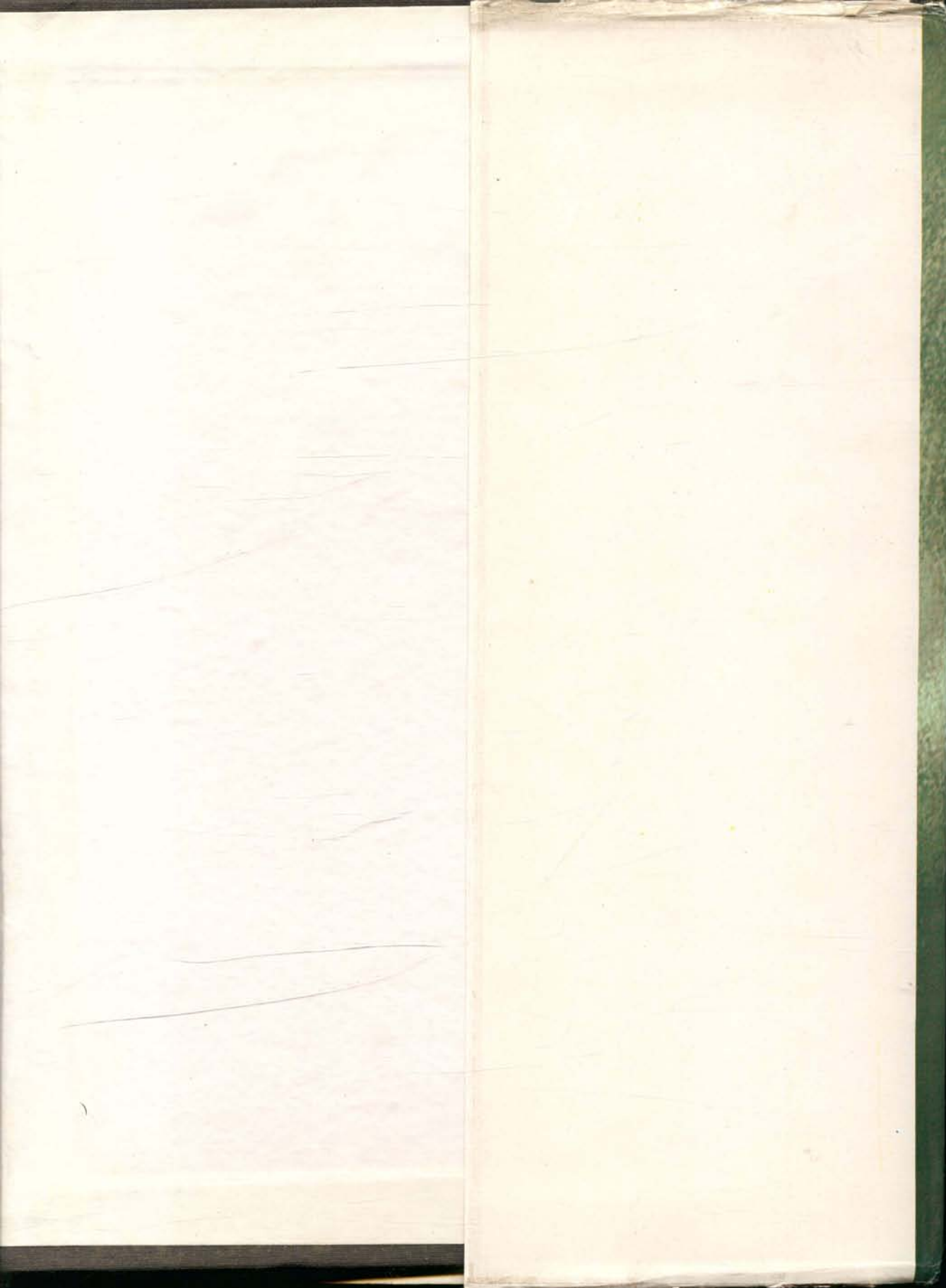
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