

શ્રી સુધામણી જ્ઞાનભંડાર
શ્રી ઉમરા ચે. મૂ. જેન સંઘ
મહાનર હિલ સોસાયટી, સરગમ રોપિંગ સેક્ટરની પાછળ,
ઉમરા, સુરત - ૩૯૫ ૦૦૭ (ગુજરાત)
ફોન : ૮૯૮૦૨ ૨૫૫૦૧, ૯૧૩૭૪ ૬૩૭૯૪

પદ્મશ્રી જિનવિજયજી સ્મૃતિ ગ્રંથમાલા
ગ્રંથમાલા સંયોજક મુનિ કીર્તિચન્દ્રજી

ગ્રંથાંક ૮૭

LITERARY CIRCLE OF MAHAMATYA VASTUPAL AND CONTRIBUTION OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE

by

DR. BHOGILAL SANDESARA

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જ્ઞાનમાસર્વજ્ઞાનયા ॥ તત્ત્વવિવિગ્નસાધ્યેવ વિપરીત્યા
જિતે ॥ અત્રાદ્યમાપિયઃ કયોજ્ઞેન પ્રવચનામ્ભિસંક
હિ ॥ ક્ષિપ્રાગેવાસિસશતધરાવાસામિધેયુરં વિરિસિ
અપાધારકમાશકાલકાસિધ ॥ નિર્જિતવિદ્યશીલા



શ્રવિષ્ણુસાદ
દ્યતિષ્ઠતિકાસ
ભ્રાહ્મણસ્રવણ
પાદ્મસાધાદ્ય





सत्यमेव जयते

मुनि जिन विजय

मैं, भारत का राष्ट्रपति,
राजेन्द्र प्रसाद, व्यक्तिगत गुणों
के लिए आपके सम्मानार्थ,
पद्म श्री प्रदान करता हूँ।

नई दिल्ली

२१ जून ५६१५
राष्ट्रपति

दिनांक २७ अप्रैल, १९६१
७ वैशाख, १८८३



पुरातत्त्वाचार्य पद्मश्री मुनि जिनविजयजी

जन्म : २७.०१.१८८८ स्थल : रुपाहेली, राजस्थान

स्वर्गवास : २.६.१९७६ स्थल : अमदावाद, गुजरात

अंतिमसंस्कार : सर्वोदय साधना आश्रम - चंदेरीया

(चितोड), राजस्थान

सादर समर्पण

पुरातत्त्वाचार्य पद्मश्री मुनि जिनविजयजी अेक महान ज्ञानयोगी और कर्मयोगी थे। अनेक संस्थाओके सर्जक मुनिजी अनेक ग्रंथोके भी सर्जक थे। हिन्दी, गुजराती, संस्कृत, प्राकृत, अंग्रेजी तथा जर्मन भाषाके भी विशिष्ट ज्ञाता थे। मुनिजीने ताडपत्र आदि पर लिखित प्राचीन दुर्लभ ग्रंथोका आधुनिक शैलीमें संशोधन, संपादन, अेवम् तुलनात्मक अध्ययन करके शताधिक ग्रंथोंका सर्जन करनेका महाभारत कार्य किया था।

महात्मा गांधीजी, कलागुरु रवीन्द्रनाथ टागोर तथा प्रसिद्ध साहित्यकार कनैयालाल मुनशीजीने अपनी संस्थाओ में उन्हें उच्च पद पर प्रतिष्ठित किया था और मुनिजीने भी अपनी ज्ञानसेवासे उन संस्थाओं का गौरव बढ़ाया था।

उनके महत्त्वपूर्ण कई ग्रंथ आज दुर्लभ हो गये हैं और जीर्ण-शीर्ण हालातमें पाये गये हैं। अैसे दुर्लभ ग्रंथोको प्राप्त करके उन्हें चिर काल तक सुरक्षित रखनेका अेक छोटासा प्रयत्न स्वाध्याय प्रेमी “बंधु त्रिपुटी” मुनिश्री कीर्तिचंद्र की प्रेरणासे प्रारंभ हुआ है। उसके प्रथम चरणके रूपमें स्व. मुनि जिनविजयजी द्वारा तथा उनके सहयोगी समर्थ विद्वानोंके द्वारा संशोधित, संपादित दुर्लभ ग्रंथोको पूनर्जीवित करनेका प्रयत्न हमारी संस्था कर रही है। अैसे शताधिक ग्रंथोंकी प्रतिलिपि अति अल्पसंख्या मे तैयार हो रही है। उसका प्रथम संपूट पद्मश्री मुनि जिनविजयजीकी आनेवाली १३०वी जन्म जयंतिके अवसर पर उन्हींके आश्रममें, उनके स्मारकमें अर्पण करनेकी हमारी भावना है।

सर्वोदय साधना आश्रम - चंदेरीया (चितोड) में दिनांक २७.०१.२०१८ को यह मंगल कार्य संपन्न होगा। इस कार्य में हमारे सहयोगी बनने वाले सभी महानुभावोंके प्रति और संस्थाओंके प्रति हम हृदयसे आभार व्यक्त करते हैं।

निवेदक : शांतिनिकेतन साधना केन्द्र-तिथल-गुजरात
के ट्रस्टीगण अेवम् साधक परिवार

Shri Bahadur Singh Singhi Memoirs

[Volume No. 3]

LITERARY CIRCLE OF MAHĀMĀTYA VASTUPĀLA
AND
ITS CONTRIBUTION TO SANŚKRIT LITERATURE

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OF CALCUTTA

BY

HIS LATE DEVOTED SON

DĀNAŚĪLA-SĀHITYARASIKA-SANSKRITIPRIYA

SRĪ BAHĀDUR SINGH SINGHĪ

•

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(HON DIRECTOR—BHĀRATĪYA VIDYĀ BHAVAN—BOMBAY,

AND

RĀJSTHĀN PURĀTATTVA MANDIR, JAIPUR)

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UNDER THE EXCLUSIVE PATRONAGE OF

ŚRĪ RĀJENDRA SINGH SINGHI

AND

ŚRĪ NARENDRA SINGH SINGHI

•

PUBLISHED BY

SINGHI JAIN ŚĀSTRA ŚIKSHĀPITH

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN

BOMBAY

General Editor's Foreword

It is with great pleasure that I present to the scholarly world Dr Bhogilal J Sandesara's learned work entitled 'Literary Circle of Mahā-mātya Vastupāla and its contribution to Sanskrit Literature' which is being published as the third volume of Shri Bahādur Singhji Singhī Memorial Series established in the sacred memory of the Late Bābu Shri Bahādur Singhji Singhī, the founder of the Singhī Jain Series

On the 7th July, 1944, Shri Bahādur Singhji Singhī of memorable name left his mortal coils. To perpetuate his sacred memory was published under my editorship the *बाबु बहादुरसिंहजी सिंघी स्मृतिग्रन्थ* in the form of a bulky issue of the *भारतीय विद्या* a Hindi-Gujarati Research Quarterly, presenting a collection of highly valuable contributions from numerous scholars. There-with was also included an extensive essay by me giving my cherished reminiscences of Singhīji. At the time of issuing that memorial volume, it occurred to me that to commemorate the name of the late Singhīji such a memorial volume should be published every year. Accordingly a special yearly number of the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, a research journal in English published by the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan was issued as the Bābu Shri Bahādursinghji Singhī Memorial Volume. It proved to be a rich and valuable collection of important research papers. But because of some unfavourable circumstances, my decision of publishing a memorial volume yearly in the sacred memory of Singhīji could not be regularly given effect to in the immediately following years, though my efforts in that connection were continued. And before the present work was taken up for publication, I undertook in 1946-47 to publish in the present series the two volumes of 'Studies in Indian Literary History', presenting a collection of valuable articles of my learned friend Prof P. K. Gode. But as an aftermath of the large-scale destruction and loss that resulted from the Second World War, paper, etc. became very scarce, so that the printing of these volumes of Prof. Gode could not be carried on according to schedule, and it has not yet been possible to place them before the reading public.

In the meanwhile printing of the present work was completed, and I experience satisfaction to some degree in presenting it to the learned world.

To-day is the ninth anniversary of the passing away of that great soul to commemorate whose name the present memorial series is started. And the fact that on this very day it has been possible to publish such a rich volume of the memorial series will, I hope, be a matter of gratification to the admirers and lovers of the Singhī Jain Series. I also hope that further within a few months it will be possible to make available to scholars the above-mentioned two important volumes together of Prof. Gode's writings too.

The author of the present monograph, Dr. Bhogilal J Sandesara is a deep and well-advanced student of his subject. He has studied as well as taught the subject of Gujarati language, culture and ancient history with earnestness and enthusiasm. I personally know him since many years—since even when he had not yet passed his school final. At that time being impressed by his insatiable urge to learn—and especially to know and understand everything about the ancient cultural glory of Gujarat, I had also an occasion to say to him a few words of encouragement. Being a native of Pāṭan which remained for centuries the greatest centre of culture and prosperity, and which is even at present quite famous for having preserved the literary treasures of Gujarat, it was but natural for Dr Sandesara to draw ever-fresh inspiration for the study of subjects, clear to him. The famous Jain Bhandārs at Pāṭan harbouring thousands of Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss and hundreds of Old Gujarati works belonging right down to the eighteenth century would prove a effective source of inspiration to any one sufficiently curious and deligent. In my case too, for instance, it was Pāṭan with its rich and varied materials and sources relating to the past history, literature and glory of Gujarat which principally induced me to study them, and enable me by publishing them to make my humble contribution in the service of literature. This very work of Dr Sandesara is sufficient proof as to how much valuable were these Mss at Pāṭan for his work of editing and research. Had he not got any clear idea of the rich materials stored in the Pāṭan Bhandārs, and had he not got an opportunity of having access to them, he would have not been able, as he has been, to substantiate his thesis at various places with original, reliable and first-rate evidences, and thus makes the work authentic and well written.

*

Concerning the life and good deeds of Vastupāla, the great and glorious minister of Mahā-Gujarāt, there are numerous works in Sanskrit and Old Gujarati, and on the basis of these a number of works, essays and articles have appeared in Modern Gujarati, Hindi, English, German, etc. But among all these writings the present work of Prof Sandesara occupies a special place on account of organized marshalling of facts and of authentic pictures of the cultural and social conditions of the Gujarat of those times.

I offer my heart-felt congratulations to Prof. Sandesara for this work done so well.

*

In fine I take this opportunity to express here my feeling of sincere gratitude towards the University of Bombay which having taken into consideration the high worth of the present work, has shown generousness in granting a substantial sum towards the cost of its publication.

7th of July, 1953

JINA VIJAYA MUNI

SHRI BAHADUR SINGHI SINGHI

By

Acharya Jina Vijaya Muni

THE 7th OF JULY, is a sorrowful day for me. This day, in the year 1944, Babu Shri Bahadur Singhi Singhi left his mortal coils at the comparatively early age of fiftynine. His loss has been widely felt. His aged mother received this rude shock so ill that she did not long outlive him. His worthy sons have lost an affectionate and noble father, the industrialists and businessmen of the country one of their pioneers, the large number of his employees a benevolent master, scholarship one of its best patrons and the poor people of his native district a most generous donor. To me his loss has been personal. My contact with him was a turning point in my life. Whatever I have been able, during the past fifteen years, to achieve in the field of scholarship is due directly to him. The financial assistance with which he backed up my activities was the least of his contributions. But for his love of scholarship with which he inspired me, this chapter of my life would have been entirely different. To his sacred memory I am penning these few lines. This volume is brought out in his memory.

Babu Shri Bahadur Singhi was born in Azimganj, Murshidabad, in Vikram Samvat 1941, in the ancient family of the Singhis, who were of old the treasurers of the Mughal emperors. The family had passed through many vicissitudes of fortune and in the 17th century it migrated from Rajaputana to Bengal, but thanks to the energy and enterprise of Singhi's father, Babu Dalchandji Singhi, the family firm became a very flourishing concern.

At an early age Singhi joined the family business and by pushing ahead with father's enterprises, succeeded in making the firm the foremost in the mining industry of Bengal and Central India. Besides he also acquired vast zamindaries and had interests in many industrial and banking concerns. This early preoccupation with business affairs prevented his having a college education. But Singhi was studious and introspective by nature. Unlike many other wealthy men who spend their money and time in such fads as the races, the theatres, and the like, he devoted all his spare time to study and cultural development. He acquired an excellent command over several languages. Art and literature were the subjects of his choice. He was very fond of collecting rare and invaluable specimens of ancient sculpture, paintings, coins, copper plates and inscriptions. His manuscript collection contained a large number of rare works of historical and cultural importance, among which mention must be made of a unique manuscript of the Koran which was handed down from Baber to Aurangzeb and bears the autographs of all of them. It is recorded therein that it was considered by them all as more valuable than the empire.

His numismatic collection, especially of Kushan and Gupta coins, is considered the third best in the world. He also had a good and large collection of works of art and historical importance. Singhji was a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts (London), a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, the Indian Research Institute and a Founder-Member of the Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan. He was also the President of the Jain Svetambara Conference held in Bombay 1926. Though he had made no special study of law he was well up in the legal matters. On one occasion when he found that his lawyers were not properly representing his case he himself pleaded out the case successfully, much to the surprise of the bench and the bar who took him for an accomplished advocate.

Though a highly religious and leading figure in the Jain Community he had an outlook which was far from sectarian. More than three-fourths of the six lakhs and over of his donations were for non-jain causes. More often than not he preferred to give his assistance anonymously and he did not keep a list of his donations even when they were made in his name. To the Chittaranjan Seva Sadan, Calcutta, he gave Rs. 10,000/-, when Mahatmajī had been to his place for the collection of funds; to the Hindu Accademy, Daultapur, Rs. 15,000/-, to the Taraqi-Urdu Bangala 5000/-, the Hindi Sahitya Parishad 12,500/-, to the Vishuddhanand Sarasvati Marwari Hospital 10,000/-, to several maternity homes 2,500/-, to the Benares Hindu University 2,500/-, to the Jagann High School 5,000/-, to the Jagann London Mission Hospital 6000/-, to the Jain Temples at Calcutta and Murshidabad 11,000/-, to the Jain Dharma Pracharak Sabha, Manbhum 5,000/-, to the Jain Bhavan, Calcutta, 15,000/-, to the Jain Pustak Prachar Mandal, Agra, 7,500/-, to the Agra Jain Temple 3,500/-, to the Ambala Jain High School, 2,100/-, for the Prakrit Kosh 2,500/-, and the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan 10,000/-. At the Singh Park Mela held at his Ballyganj residence in which Viscount Wavell, then Commander-in-Chief and Lord John Herbert, Governor of Bengal and Lady Herbert participated, he donated Rs. 41,000/-, for the Red Cross Fund.

The people of the district of Murshidabad, his native place, will ever remain grateful to him for having distributed several thousand maunds of rice at the low price of Rs. 8/- when rice was selling at Rs. 24/- in those terrible years of 1942-52, himself thereby suffering a loss of over three lakhs. In May-June 1944 he again spent Rs. 50,000/- for the distribution of cloth, rice and coins for the people of that place.

My close association with Singhji began in 1931, when he invited me to occupy the Chair for Jain Studies which he was starting at the Vishvabharati. Due to unfavourable climatic conditions of Shantiniketan I could not continue to work there for more than four years, but during those years was founded the Singh Jain Series. During the period of ten years of my principalship of Gujarat Puratattva Mandir, Ahmedabad, and even before that I had been collecting materials of historical and philological importance and folk-lore etc. which had been lying hidden in the great Jain Bhandars of Patan, Ahmedabad, Baroda etc. I persuaded Singhji to start

a series which would publish works dealing with the vast materials in my possession, and also other important Jain texts and studies prepared on the most modern scientific lines. On the works of the Series he spent through me more than Rs. 75,000/-. During this long period of over a dozen years he not even once asked me as to how and for what works the amount was spent. Whenever the account was submitted he did not ask for even the least information, but sanctioned it casting merely a formal glance on the accounts sheets. But he showed the most discriminating interest in the matter that was being published and on the material and manner in which they were being brought out. His only desire was to see the publication of as many works as possible during his lifetime. In May 1943 at my instance he gave over the Series to the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. In September 1943 I had been to Calcutta to negotiate the purchase, for the Bhavan, of a well-equipped library of a retired professor. Singhji casually asked me what arrangements had been made for meeting the cost. I promptly replied that there was no cause for worry as long as donors like himself were there. He smiled, he had decided. Eventually he persuaded me to go in for the Nahar Collection which was a still more valuable one. He did not live long enough to present this literary treasure to the Bhavan, but his eldest son and my beloved friend, Babu Shri Rajendra Singh has fulfilled his father's wish though he was totally ignorant of it and has got this unique collection for the Bhavan and spent Rs. 50,000/- for the purpose.

By the end of 1943 his health began to decline. In the first week of January, 1944, when I went to him at Calcutta in connection with the work of the Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti I found him extremely unwell. Notwithstanding his ill-health he talked to me for more than a couple of hours on the day of my arrival there. The first thing he said in the course of this lengthy, though very sweet talk, was to give me a mild reproof for undertaking the long and tedious journeys to Calcutta, Benaras and Cawnpore in spite of my ill health. He discussed with absorbing interest the details of the Samiti's proposed History of India, a subject of great interest to him. Our talks then drifted to the subject of the History of Jainism in which connection also he expressed his opinion about the material to be utilised for such a work. At the termination of our talks, which this time lasted for over three hours, I found him much exhausted and drooping in spirits.

On the 7th January his health took a turn for the worse. On 11th January I went to take leave of him, which he, full of emotion, gave with a heavy heart, exclaiming "Who knows whether we shall meet again or not?" I requested him to take heart and remain buoyant. He would be soon restored to normal health. But while I was stepping out of his room, my eyes were full of tears and his last words began to eat into my heart. Ill-luck prevented our second meeting. That lofty and generous soul finally left its mortal habitat at mid-day on 7th July, 1944. May his soul rest in peace!

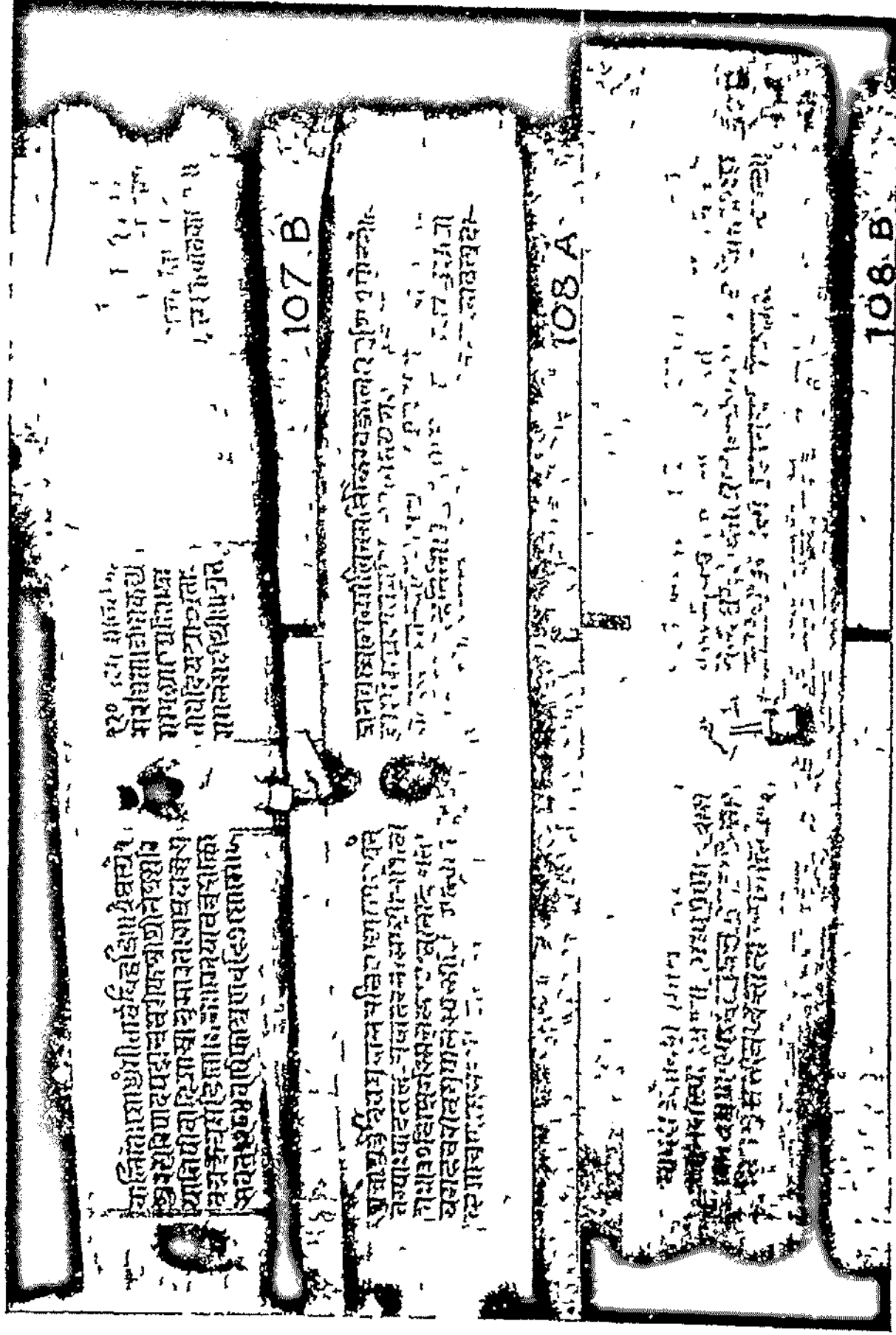
His sons, Babu Rajendra Singh, Babu Narendra Singh and Babu Virendra Singh are treading in the footsteps of their revered father. During

the past year on the Singhi Series alone they have spent over Rs. 20,000/-. I have already mentioned how Babu Rajendra Singh purchased for the Bhavan the valuable Nahar collection. Babu Narendra Singh has also spent Rs. 30,000/- for a foundation of a Jain Bhavan at Calcutta. Babu Rajendra Singh and Babu Narendra Singh have also very generously promised me to continue to meet all the expenses of the Singhi Jain Series and requested me to bring out as many works as possible, at whatever cost so that this unique series founded and cherished by their late lamented father may continue to bring to light the invaluable treasures of Jain literature and culture.

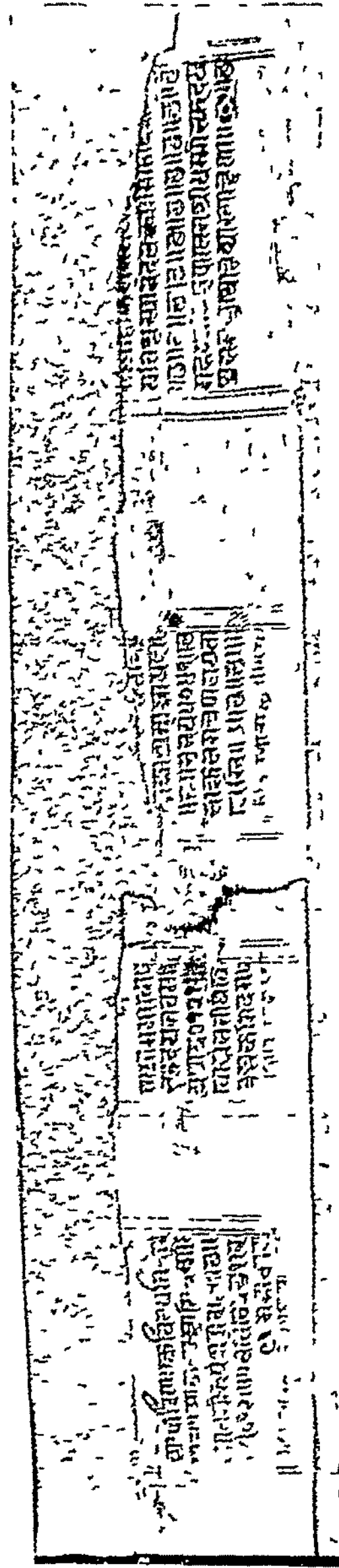
In recognition of his unique assistance the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan has decided to perpetuate Singhi's memory by naming its Indological library after him. Further, one of its main halls will bear his name. The Bhavan's Jain Department will also be known as the Singhi Jain Shikshapith.

July 1, 1945.
BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVANA
BOMBAY.

Jina Vijaya Muni



Last two folios (No 107b and 108a-b) of a palmleaf ms of the *Jītakalpa-cūṁu-vyākhyā* of Śācandīasūtra, copied down in 1284 V S (1228 A D), which may be taken as a rare remain of the public libraries established by Vastupāla (Vide Paras 220 and 61 n)



Handwritings of Vastupāla—last folio of the palm-leaf ms of the Dharmabhyudaya Mahākāvya
copied down by him in 1290 V S i. e 1234 A. D (Vide Para 62)

PREFACE

MAHĀMĀTYA VASTUPĀLA, the prime-minister of the Vāghelā king of Dhaivalakka or Dholkā in Gujarāt during the first half of the 13th century A. D., was not only a prominent political figure of his times, but also a great patron of literature and art, a great builder of monuments and a man of letters. Under his patronage there flourished a literary group whose activities made a notable contribution to mediaeval Sanskrit literature in its various forms, both creative and Śāstric.

The life and works of Mahāmātya Vastupāla have attracted the attention of scholars for the last several decades. Prof A. V. Kāthavate has given a short sketch of Vastupāla's life and works as early as 1883 in his Introduction to the Kīrtikaumudī of Someśvara published in the Bombay Sanskrit Series (No XXV) and Dr Bühler dealt with the same topic when he made a critical analysis of the contents of the Sukīrtasamkīrtana of Arisimha in a paper published in 1889¹.

The Bombay Gazetteer, Vol I Pt I (History of Gujarāt), published in 1896, devotes a chapter to the history of the Vāghelās, a few pages (pp 198-203) of which are given to the political career of Vastupāla. Divān Bahādur Ranchhodhbhāi Udayarām, the Gujarātī translator of Forbe's Rāsmālā, added a supplement about the Vāghelās in the second edition of his translation published in 1899 and collected therein many facts about the personal history and political career of Vastupāla. The same subject was discussed by Mr Vallabhji Hanidatta Ācārya in his Introduction to the versified Gujarātī translation of Someśvara's Kīrtikaumudī published in 1908. Mr Chimanlāl D. Dilāl also dealt with it from various points of view, very briefly of course, in his Introductions to the Naranārāyaṇānanda of Vastupāla, Vasantavilāsa of Balacondra and Hammīramadamaradana of Jayasimhasūri, published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series. Recently, in 1939, Mr Durgāshankar K. Shāstī devoted, in the second volume of his Gujarātī work, Gujarātano Madhyakālīn Rājput Itihāsa, a few pages (pp 381-395) to the life and works of Vastupāla, giving one or two paragraphs (pp 394-95) to Vastupāla's patronage of literature.

However, during the last five or six decades, after Kāthavate, Bühler, Ranchhodhbhāi and Ācārya wrote their essays, many important sources—both literary and epigraphic—bearing on the life and works of Vastupāla have been discovered and several of his own compositions—a Mahākāvya and four Stotras—have been unearthed from the old manuscript-libraries at Pātan and other places. The historical and biographical details about several figures in the literary circle of Vastupāla have become known and

1 The original German paper was published in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Imperial Academy of Vienna (Vol CXIX, 1889) and an English translation of the same—The Sukīrtasamkīrtana of Arisimha—was printed in the Indian Antiquary, Vol XXXI, pp 477 ff.

their works are brought to light. Though a considerable part of these literary productions is unprinted as yet and is available only in manuscript-form they constitute important data for purposes of study.

Here I may state that the scholars mentioned above have dealt with only some aspects of Vastupāla's life and that none of them has treated the subject as a whole and exhaustively and that in the matter of contribution to Sanskrit literature by Vastupāla and his circle, there has been only a very scanty discussion. Further, these scholars had no opportunity to utilize all the new material discovered up to date. Thus there was scope enough for an adequate treatment of Vastupāla's life and especially for a critical account of his own and his circle's contribution to Sanskrit literature. The present work is an attempt to study the topic critically from the historical, the biographical and the literary points of view.

The work has been divided into three parts. The *first part*—viz. Introductory—presents in brief the cultural and literary background and deals with the past literary and scholastic traditions of Gujarāt with a view to studying the life and works of Vastupāla and his circle in their proper perspective. The *second part*—viz. Mahāmūṭya Vastupāla and His Literary Circle—deals with the personal and political history of Vastupāla and studies critically Vastupāla's role as a great patron of literature and art and a man of letters. Moreover, it tries to present all the available biographical details, in an authenticated form, about the known literary figures in Vastupāla's circle. Thus the first two parts of the book are devoted to the study of the historical and biographical material.

The *third part*—viz. Contribution to Sanskrit Literature—makes a critical survey of the contribution of Vastupāla and his circle to different branches of literature. First, I have dealt with the creative forms of literature, like Mahākāvya, Nāṭaka, Prasasti, Stotra, anthology, Dharmakathā, Prabandha, Apabhramśa Rāsas etc., and then with the Śāstric forms, like the works on poetics, grammar, metrics, Nyāya astrology and commentaries on Jaina religious works¹. And at the end of the book, I have added a *Conclusion* summarising the main currents of the whole treatment.

While preparing the present work I have tried my best to consult all the available sources, published or in manuscript-form in Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhramśa and Old Gujarātī, and have also gone through all the

1 Section I of chapter VI (Historical Mahākāvyas) and chapter VIII (Prasastis) etc. will be found to have some portions of the subject-matter repeated to a certain extent. This was rather inevitable, because all the four historical Mahākāvyas and all the Prasastis are sources of contemporary history and at the same time they are literary compositions having Vastupāla as their hero. In this work dealing with the history as well as literature of mediaeval Gujarāt, I have utilized these for both the purposes, and hence while analysing the plots of the historical poems etc. from the literary point of view at least a few things had to be repeated.

known research-works pertaining to the subject in English, Hindi and Gujarātī

As considerable part of the literary sources pertaining to Vastupāla and his circle of poets and scholars and to their compositions is not printed as yet, I had to procure a large number of manuscripts—about forty in all—written on palm-leaves and on paper for the purpose of this study. It was through the good offices of Muni Śrī Puṇyaviṇayaṇī that I had free access to the famous manuscript-libraries at Pātan, and also at Baroda and Chānī, a village near Baroda. Moreover, I had to consult several manuscripts from Jaina Bhāṇḍārs at Cambay, Ahmedabad and Chānaśmā, and I am grateful to the authorities of the Bhāṇḍārs for giving me facilities for work. I am also thankful to Prof P. K. Gode, Curator, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, for putting at my disposal some of the required manuscripts for a long time, and to Muni Śrī Kāntiviṇayaṇī for the loan of copies of some unpublished works. I am indebted to Prof K. V. Abhyankar, Pandit Sukhlālji and Śrī Jitendra Jetly, M.A., Nyāyācārya, for useful suggestions, to Prof C. N. Patel, M.A., for going through the press-copy and to Śrī Suresh H. Joshi, M.A., for preparing the Index.

The work was prepared when I was Professor of Gujarātī and Ardhamāgadhī at the B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Gujarāt Vidyā Sabhā, Ahmedabad, and I take this opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude to Prof R. C. Parikh, Director of the Institute, for helping me in a variety of ways in the prosecution of my research and also for the invaluable facility of the Institute's very rich library. I also acknowledge my indebtedness to the University of Bombay for the grant-in-aid received by me from the University towards the cost of publication of this work.

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CONTENTS

Preface	I-III
Contents	IV-VII
Bibliography	VIII-XXIII
Abbreviations	XXIV-XXV

PART I INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER I. CULTURAL AND LITERARY BACKGROUND 1-19

Glory of Valabhi-2, Cultural and literary life at Śrīmāla-5; Literary and scholarly traditions of Anahilavād Pātan-8

PART II. MAHĀMĀTYA VASTUPĀLA AND HIS LITERARY CIRCLE

CHAPTER II SOURCES 23-25

Contemporary literary sources-23 Later literary sources-24, Epigraphic sources-24, Monuments-25

CHAPTER III. PERSONAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF VASTUPĀLA 26-34

Ancestors of Vastupāla-26, Vastupāla-son of a remarried widow-26 Brothers and sisters of Vastupāla-27; Beginning of political career-27, Economic and political consolidation of the Gujarāt kingdom-28; Victory over Śamkha-30 Treaty with the Yādava king of Devagiri-30 Other warlike deeds of Vīradhavalā and his ministers-30 How a Muslim attack was repulsed-31 Death of Vīradhavalā and Vastupāla-32 Death of Tejapāla-33

CHAPTER IV VASTUPĀLA—A GREAT PATRON OF LITERATURE AND ART AND A MAN OF LETTERS 35-42

Pilgrimages of Vastupāla-35. Public works of Vastupāla-35, Ābu temple—a memorable specimen of mediaeval Indian architecture-36 Vastupāla—a great patron of learning and literature-38. Literary works of Vastupāla-39

CHAPTER V. THE LITERARY CIRCLE OF MAHĀMĀTYA VASTUPĀLA 43-84

(1) SOMEŚVARA (44-52). Someśvara and his ancestors-44, Literary works of Someśvara-47, Our Someśvara is different from the author of the Kāvyaadarśa-49 Chronology of Someśvara's works-49; Stray verses of Someśvara-50 Someśvara abandoned the Vyāsavidyā after the death of Vastupāla-52

(2) HARIHARA (52-55) Traditional account of Harihara-53 Study and circulation of the Naisadha in Gujarāt-54 Stray verses of Harihara-109

(iii) NĀNĀKA (56-58), Family-history of Nānāka-56, Nānāka patronised by Viśaladeva-57, Nānāka-a patron of poets-57, Nānāka's praise of Vastupāla-57

(iv) YAŚOVĪRA (58-61) Yaśovīra-a close friend of Vastupāla-58, Yaśovīra's knowledge of the Śilpaśāstra-59, Yaśovīra a poet and a patron of literature-60

(v) SUBHATA. 57

(vi) ARISIMHA (61-64) Arisimha and Amaracandīa-61, The Sukrtasamkūta and its date-62

(vii) AMARACANDRASŪRI (64-68) Amaracandra-a Sādhu of the Vāyada gachha-64, Possibly a Vāyadā Brāhmin before he became a monk-64, Amaracandra at the court of Viśaladeva, Amaracandra and Arisimha-65, Literary works of Amaracandra-66, Amaracandīa's relations with the minister Padma-66, Chronology of Amaracandra's works-67, Amaracandīa nick-named Veni-Krpāna-68, Image of Amaracandīa installed in a temple-68.

(viii) VIJAYASENASŪRI (69-70). Vijayasenasūri-Vastupāla's family-preceptor-69, Genealogy of the Nāgendra gachha-69, Intimate relations of Vijayasena with Vastupāla's family-69, Vijayasena-a scholar and a poet-70, Death of Vijayasena-70

(ix) UDAYAPRABHASŪRI (71-72) Udayaprabhasūri-junior in age to Vastupāla-71, Literary works of Udayaprabha, he is different from Udayaprabha, author of the Tīppanas on the three Kaimagranthas, etc.-71

(x) JINABHADRA 72

(xi) NARACANDRASŪRI (73-75) Naracandra-Vastupāla's Guru on the maternal side-73, Literary works of Naracandra-73, Date of Naracandra's death-75

(xii) NARENDRAPRABHASŪRI (75-76) Composition of the Alamkāramahodadhī at Vastupāla's request-75, Other works of Narendra-prabha-75.

(xiii) BĀLACANDRA (76-78) Genealogy of Bālacandra's teachers-76, Bālacandra's personal history and his contact with Vastupāla-77, Literary works of Bālacandra-77.

(xiv) JAYASIMHASŪRI (78-79) Hammīramadāmadana and Vastupāla-Tejapāla Praśasti-78, This Jayasimhasūri different from the author of the Kumārapālacarita and Dharmopadeśamālā-79.

(xv) MĀNIKYACANDRA (79-81) Date of the composition of the Samketa-79, Mānikyacandīa's contact with Vastupāla-81

MINOR POETS AND SCHOLARS (81-83) Madana and his rivalry with Harihara-81, Pālhanaputra, Cācarīyāka and others-82, Vastupāla's family-members credited with poetic achievements-83.

ANONYMOUS POETS 83-84

PART III: CONTRIBUTION TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

CHAPTER VI. MAHĀKĀVYAS ... 87-111

Characteristics of the Mahākāvya-87, Study of the classical models in Gujarāt-88.

SECTION I. HISTORICAL MAHĀKĀVYAS

The Kīrtikaumudī of Someśvara-88, The Sukrtasamkirtana of Arisimha-94, The Vasantavilāsa of Bālacandra-98, The Dharmābhyudaya or Samghapaticarita of Udayaprabhasūri-102

SECTION II. MYTHOLOGICAL MAHĀKĀVYAS

The Surathotsava of Someśvara-103, The Naranārāyaṇānanda of Vastupāla-107, The Bālabhārata of Amaraśāstrasūri-109, The Padmānanda Mahākāvya of Amaraśāstrasūri-110, Caturvimśati-Jinendra-Samkṣipta-Caritāni by Amaraśāstra-110, The Śāntināthacaritra and Pārsvanāthacaritra of Māṇkyacandra-111.

CHAPTER VII. PLAYS ... 112-126

Characteristics of Sanskrit drama-112; The Ullāgharāghava of Someśvara-113; The Dūtāṅgada of Subhata-a Chāyā Nāṭaka-118, Interpretation of the word Chāyā Nāṭaka, Characteristics of the Chāyā Nāṭaka-119, The Karuṇāvajrāyudha of Bālocandra-121, The Hammīramadamardana of Jayasimhasūri-122, Naracandra's gloss on the Anargharāghava-125.

CHAPTER VIII. PRAŚASTIS ... 127-135

Literary form of Praśasti and its development-127. Praśastis commemorating good deeds of Vastupāla and Tejapāla-128, The Ābu Praśasti of Someśvara-128, Prose-portion in the Gīrnār inscriptions-129, Someśvara's verses in the Gīrnār inscriptions-129, The Vaidyanātha Praśasti of Someśvara-129, Udayaprabha's verses in a Gīrnār inscription and his Sukrtakīrtikallohni-130, Udayaprabha's Praśasti of the Upāśraya at Stambhatīrtha and the Vastupālastuti-131, Naracandra's verses in the Gīrnār inscription and his Vastupālapraśasti-131; Narendraprabha's verses in a Gīrnār inscription and his two Praśastis of Vastupāla-132; The Vastupāla-Tejapāla Praśasti of Jayasimhasūri-132, The Darbhāvātipraśasti-133; Grantha-Praśastis in praise of Vastupāla and his son Jaitrasimha-134.

CHAPTER IX. STOTRAS ... 136-139

Stotra in Sanskrit literature-136, The Rāmaśataka of Someśvara-136; The Stotra in Jaina literature-138; The Stotras of Vastupāla-138, The Sarva-Jina-Sādhārana Stavana of Naracandra-139.

CHAPTER X. ANTHOLOGIES ... 140-143

Two types of Sanskrit anthologies-140, The Karnāmṛtaprapā of Someśvara-140, The Vivekapādapa and the Vivekakalikā of Narendraprabha-142.

CHAPTER XI. PRABANDHAS 144-147

The Prabandha as a form of literature; Prabandha as material for history-144, The Prabandhāvali of Jinabhadra-144.

CHAPTER XII. A COLLECTION OF JAINA DHARMAKATHĀS . 148-149

Dharmakathā-literature of the Jainas-148, The Kathāratnākara of Naracandrasūri-149.

CHAPTER XIII. APABHRAṂŚA RĀSAS 150-152

A short history of the Rāsaka or Rāsa-150, The Revantagiri Rāsa of Vijayasenasūri-151, The Ābā Rāsa of Pālhanaputra-152.

CHAPTER XIV. WORKS ON POETICS 153-169

Development of Alamkāra-literature-153, The Kāvyaaprakāśa-Samketa of Mānikyacandra-156, The Alamkāramahodadhī of Narendraprabhasūri-158, Development Kaviśikṣā-literature-161, The Kāvya-kalpalatā and its commentary Kaviśikṣā by Amaraçandra-163, Parimala, another Svopajña commentary on the Kāvya-kalpalatā-167.

CHAPTER XV. WORKS ON GRAMMAR . . 170-173

Systems of Sanskrit grammar-170, The Syādiśabdasamuccaya of Amaraçandrasūri-171, The Prākṛtaprabodha of Naracandrasūri-172.

CHAPTER XVI. A WORK ON METRICS 174-177

Science of metrics in Sanskrit-174, The Chandoratnāvali of Amaraçandra-174

CHAPTER XVII. A WORK ON NYĀYA . 178-184

The Vaiśeṣika school and the Nyāyakandalī-178, Naracandra's Tīppana on the Nyāyakandalī-179

CHAPTER XVIII. WORKS ON ASTROLOGY . . 185-186

Literature on astrology-185, The Ārambhasiddhi of Udayaprabha and Jyotiḥsāra of Naracandra-185.

CHAPTER XIX. COMMENTARIES ON JAINA RELIGIOUS WORKS . . 187-189

Exegetical literature of the Jainas-187, The Upadeśamālā-Karmikā of Udayaprabha-187, Bālaçandra's commentaries on the Vivekamañjarī and Upadeśakandalī-188.

CONCLUSION 190-191

INDEX' 193-217

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Journal of the Gujarat Research Society

Library Miscellany

HINDI-GUJARATI

Bhāratīya Vidyā

GUJARATI

Jaina Yuga

Jaina Satyapīṭhakaśa

Jaina Sāhitya Samsodhaka

Purātattva

Forbes' Gujarātī Sabhā Traimūṣika

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Vasant

HINDI

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Karmastava Tīppana

Śataka Tīppana

(All the three works in ms no 2173 in Pravartaka Kāntivijayajī Śāstrasamgraha, Baroda)

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* Vide para 92.

ABBREVIATIONS

AM	Alamkāramahodadhī of Narendraprabhasūri
ANNALS	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
BBH	Bālabhārata of Amracandrasūri
BG	Bombay Gazetteer, Vol I, Pt I (History of Gujarat)
BHV	Bhāratīya Vidyā (Hindi-Gujarati)
BP	Buddhīprakāśa (Guj)
CC	Catalogus Catalogorum
CHA	Chandonuśāsana of Hemacandra
DHA	Dharmābhyudaya of Udayaprabhasūri
EI	Epigraphia Indica
FGST	Forbes Gujarātī Sabhā Traimāsika (Guj)
GMRI	Gujarātano Madhyakālīn Rājput Itihās (Guj) by D. K. Shastri
HIG	Historical Inscriptions of Gujarāt, edited by G. V. Acharya
HMM	Hammāramadamardana Nāṭaka of Jayasimhasūri
IA	Indian Antiquary
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
JBC	A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jain Bhāndārs at Jesalmere
JG	Jaina Granthāvalī
JGRS	Journal of the Gujarat Research Society
JRK	Jinaratnakosa by Prof H. D. Velankar
JPPS	Jaina Pustaka Praśasti Samgraha, edited by Jinavijayaṇī
JSI	Jaina Sāhityano Samkṣipta Itihās (Guj) by M. D. Desai
JSP	Jaina Satya Prakāśa (Guj)
KK	Kīrtikāumudī of Someśvara
KKL	Kāvyakalpalatā of Amracandrasūri
KP	Kāvyaprakāśa of Mammata
LBC	Catalogue of the Jain Bhāndār at Lumbini
NK	Nyāyakandalī of Śrīdhara
NKT	Nyāyakandalī Tīppana of Naracandrasūri
NN	Naranārāyanānanda of Vastupāla
NPP	Nāgarī Pracārīnī Patrikā (Hindi)
PBC	A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jain Bhāndārs at Patan, Vol I
PC	Prabandhaśāntāmanī of Merutunga
PGGS	Prācīna Gujarātī Gadya Sandarbha, edited by Jinavijayaṇī
PGKS	Prācīna Gurjara Kāvya Samgraha, edited by O. D. Dalal
PJLS	Prācīna Jaina Lekha Samgraha, Pt II, edited by Jinavijayaṇī
PK	Prabandhakośa of Rājasekhara
PLM	Prācīna Lekhamālā
PP	Prākṛta Prabodha of Naracandrasūri
PPS	Purātana Prabandha Samgraha
PT	Purātattva (Guj)
SKK	Sukṛtakīrtikāloṇī of Udayaprabhasūri
SM	Sūktamuktāvalī of Jahlana
SS	Sukṛtasamkīrtana of Arisimha
SU	Surathotsava of Someśvara

UKT	Upadeśakandali Tikā of Bālacandra
UR	Ullāgharāghava Nāṭaka of Someśvara
UT	Upadeśataramgini of Ratnamandira Gaṇi
VO	Vastupālacarita of Jinaharsa
VK	Vivekakalikā of Narendraprabhasūri
VMT	Vivekamañjarī Tikā of Bālacandra
VP	Vivekapādapa of Narendraprabhasūri
VTK	Vividhatīrthakalpa of Jinaprabhasūri
VV	Vasantavilāsa of Bālacandra

CHAPTER I

CULTURAL AND LITERARY BACKGROUND

1. MAHĀVĀTĀ VASTUPĀLA, who lived in the first half of the 13th century A. D. is a remarkable figure not only in the history of Gujarāt, but also in the history of mediæval Sanskrit literature. He and his younger brother Tejapāla were ministers of King Virādhaṃsa I of Dhavalakka (modern Dholka in the Ahmedabad district), who was a feudatory of king Bhīma-deva II of Anahilavād. Vastupāla was a shrewd politician and a successful general, and came from a Jaina family belonging to the Pārsvāta (Parsva) community, which is famous in the history of Gujarāt for its valour, statesman-ship and business acumen. But it is noteworthy that Vastupāla was also a great patron of learning, a promoter of literature and a philanthropist, a man of religious devotion and a great builder of monuments, such as the temples on Abu and Girnar. Moreover, he was a Sanskrit poet of distinct merit, and is known to have composed a Mahābhāṣya and several Stotras. Consequently a large number of poets and scholars had gathered around him, who made a remarkable contribution to various branches of mediæval Sanskrit literature. It is a rare thing in the history of India to find such a bright galaxy of scholars and poets gathered around a person who was not a king. In the long and varied history of Sanskrit literature, there is hardly a figure round whom had grown, as round Vastupāla, so much authentic material from contemporary pens surviving to this day. This work aims at giving an exhaustive treatment, as far as possible, of the life and works of Vastupāla, especially from cultural and literary points of view, and adducing historical evidence to establish the existence of a bright literary circle around him. It also aims at showing how he and his literary circle have enriched Sanskrit literature in a variety of ways.

2. To assess properly the work of Vastupāla and his literary circle, it is necessary to understand the cultural and literary background of his times, and it would be proper here to make a short survey of literary and scholarly traditions prevailing in the age that preceded his. It would show what Gujarāt has done to enrich the Sanskrit literature at least since the times of the Valabhī kings. From this point of view the history of Gujarāt has to show two very bright periods—one the period of the great savant Hemacandra (1088-1173 A. D.) and the other that of Vastupāla. The former has been discussed at length by Bühler in his *Life of Hemacandrācārya* and by Professor R. C. Parikh in his introduction to the *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* of Hemacandra. The other period, that is the period of Vastupāla, is the subject of the present work.

3. The intellectual and cultural life of cities like Anahilavād and Dhavalakka where men like Hemacandra and Vastupāla lived and worked

was, as we shall see presently, in the high tradition of Pāṭaliputra, Ujjayinī, Kānyakubja, Valabhī and Bhinnamāla.¹

Glory of Valabhī

4. Leaving aside Dvārakā of mythological times, which Śrī Kṛṣṇa made his capital when he fled from Jarāsandha, we come to the historic city of Girinagara (modern Junāgaḍh). It has the inscription of Aśoka (274-237 B C.) in Prākṛit which was presumably understood in this part of the country, and the Sanskrit inscription of Rudradāman (150 A. D.) in prose, one of the earliest, if not the earliest, specimens of classical Sanskrit literature, and the inscription of Skandagupta (456 A. D.) in verse—all on a rock at the foot of mt. Girnār in the vicinity of Junāgaḍh. These are the earliest remarkable literary records of Gujarāt, and they belong to the well-known historical ages of India—viz. of the Mauryas, the Kṣatrapas and the Guptas respectively. Next we come to the age of the Maṅtrakas of Valabhī which was contemporary with the latter part of the Gupta age. Valabhī (modern Valā or Valabhīpur in Saurāstra) was a great centre of Brahmanical, Buddhist as well as Jaina learning. The description of Valabhī given by the great Chinese traveller Yuan-chang who came there about 641 A. D. bears ample testimony to its splendour. According to him, there were some hundred Saṃghārāmas, where about 6000 priests lived and studied the little vehicle (the tenets of Hīnayāna) according to the Saṃmatīyā school. Moreover, he says that “not far from the city is a great Saṃghārāma which was built by the Arhat (‘o-che-lo)², here the Bodhisattvas Guṇamatī and Sthīramatī (Kien-hwui)³ fixed their residences during their travels and composed treatises which have gained a high renown⁴. Asaṃga, Vasubandhu and Sthīramatī are the three great names in the history of the Yogācāra sect of the Māhāyāna Buddhism, and on the authority of Yüan-Chang we may say that at least one of them, Sthīramatī, who has commented upon Vasubandhu’s *Trīśikā* and also composed several Yogācāra works, lived near Valabhī, and that the study of Buddhist philosophy was a highly prized subject there.

5. That Valabhī was a great seat of learning is again proved by I-Tsing, a junior contemporary of Yuan-chang. According to him, “Nālandā in South Behar and Valabhī were two places in India which deserved comparison with the most famous centres of learning in China and were frequented by crowds of eager students who commonly devoted two or three years on attendance at lectures on Buddhist philosophy.”⁵

1 R. C. Parikh, *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*, intro, p. 1.

2 This Saṃghārāma has been identified with the caves in the Talajā hills near Bhavnagar in Saurāstra (PT, Vol I, pp 103-12)

3 According to a tradition, one Sthīramatī was a pupil of Guṇamatī, and lived before 425 A. D. (Vide Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol II, p 362 n)

4 Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Bk XI, p. 208.

5 Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 314

6. We have ample evidence to show that Brahmanical and Jaina learning flourished at Valabhī. In the 32nd Taramga of the Kathāsaritsāgara of Kashmirian Somadeva (11th century A. D), one Visnudatta has been described as going to Valabhī from Antarvedī for learning Vidyā. Though the Kathāsaritsāgara was composed in the 11th century, the reference in question may be considered very old, because as it is well known, it is a version of the lost Brihatkathā of Guṇādhyā, who lived in the beginning of the Christian era. Grants of the Valabhī kings attest to the royal patronage of the Vedic learning throughout the kingdom, and learned Brahmins of Ānandapura (modern Vadanagar) are conspicuous in the grants. The great Bhattikāvya or Rāvanavadhā (between about 500 and 650 A. D.), which is the first Vyākaraṇa-Kāvya in the history of Sanskrit literature, a veritable literary feat, was composed at Valabhī. The Bhattikāvya must have become a model for the composition of the two Dvyāśraya Kāvya—one Sanskrit and another Prākṛit—of Hemacandra,¹ which form the most important sources for the study of history and culture of Gujarāt in the Caulukya or Solankī period. Naturally, the Bhattikāvya must be considered a single literary reman, which is, however, suggestive of a vast literary activity. This inference would be considered right if we remember that some kings of Valabhī are described as very learned. One of them, Dhruvasena II (329 A. D.) is described in one of the grants as specially proficient in the science of Sālāturiyā, that is the grammar of Pāṇini, and the science of polity (cf राज्यसालतुरीयतन्त्रयोस्मयोरपि निष्णात. ...)² In a grant of Dharasena II (478 A. D) his father Guhasena is said to be well-versed in composing works in three languages, viz Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa (सङ्कृतप्राकृतापभ्रंशभाषात्रयप्रतिबद्धप्रबन्धरचनानिपुणतरान्त करण ।)³ It may also be noted in passing that though the Valabhī inscriptions are purely donatory, their formal references to the donating ruler and his ancestors are in a style which anticipates the elegant prose of the latter Sanskrit Gadyakāvya.

7. Evidence is not lacking to show that Valabhī was also a great seat of Jaina religion and learning. Jaina religion, though originating in Magadha, had changed its centre of activity and in the early centuries of the Christian era Ujjayinī in Central India, Mathurā in the midland and Valabhī in western India had become very important places of Jainism. The first council for the redaction of the Jaina canon was convened at Pāṭaliputra during the second century after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, when the first eleven Aṅgas were compiled and the remnants of the fourteen Pūrvas were collected to form a twelfth Aṅga, the Drstivāda. But in course of time the canon was put into disorder, and a second council was convened by Ārya Skandila at Mathurā and by Ārya Nāgārjuna at Valabhī almost simultaneously, in the ninth century after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra (Kalyāṇaviyaya, Vīra Nirvāṇa Samvat,

1 R. C. Parikh, op. cit., p. 56.

2 HIG, No. 63.

3 Ibid, no. 50. According to Buhler (IA, Vol. X, p. 278 ff), this is a spurious grant, and it is latter than the date which is mentioned in it.

p 104) These two Ācāryas, unfortunately, could not meet one another, and hence there were many textual variations in the versions of the canon compiled by both of them, one being known as the Māthurī Vācanā, and the other as the Valabhī Vācanā. After this, there came the great event of committing to writing the Jain canon according to the Māthurī Vācanā, taking down the variations of the Valabhī Vācanā wherever necessary. In the year 980 (or 993) after the death of Mahāvīra (i. e. in A. D. 454 or 467) again a council was held in Valabhī presided over by Devardhigani Kṣamāsramana, for the purpose of collecting the sacred texts and writing them down. The Jain canon as a whole was written down for the first time under the auspices of this council and it is possible that the copies of different texts of the canon were sent to different parts of the country for circulation of the authentic version. In fact, this is a great event in Jain history, and it is quite significant that Valabhī was selected as the meeting-place for these important councils¹

8. Malla Vādin was a great Jain scholar of Valabhī. He was the author of the Nayacakra or Dvādaśāranayacakra considered to be one of the greatest works of Jain logic. According to the Prabhāvakacanta (1278 A. D.) of Prabhācandrasūrī, Malla was the youngest of the three brothers—the names of the other two being Jitayaśas or Jinayaśas and Yakṣa. They had a maternal uncle, who had become a Śvetāmbara Jain monk and was known as Jinānandasūrī. He was defeated by a Buddhist monk named Nanda or Buddhānanda in a public controversy at Brīgukachha (modern Broach). So he left that city and came to Valabhī, where he made his nephews his disciples. All the three received sound training at Valabhī, and became masters of Śāstras. Jitayaśas wrote a Nyāsa on a work of grammar known as the Viśrāntavidyādhara,² Yakṣa composed a work on astrology called Nimitṭāstāmbabodhinī; while Malla wrote his famous treatise Nayacakra. Malla went to Brīgukachha and defeated his uncle's opponent in a debate, and received the title of Vādin as a token of victory. The Prabhāvakacanta gives the year of this event as 884 after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra (i. e. 358 A. D.). Unfortunately, the original Nayacakra is not extant to-day, and we have to reconstruct the text with the help of the commentary by Simha Kṣamāsramana (circa 700 A. D.).

1 Traditions about these councils have been preserved in the Nandī Cūṛṇī (677 A. D.) of Jinadāsagani Mahattara, Nandī Vṛtti of Haribhadra (701-771 A. D.), Vicārasrenī of Merutunga (14th cent. A. D.), Jyotiṣkarandakā Vṛtti of Malayagiri (12th cent. A. D.), Lokaprakāśa (1652 A. D.) of Vinayavijaya, Sāmācārīśataka (1616 A. D.) of Samayasundara, and several other works. Final redaction of the Canon made by Devardhhi notes the variations of the Valabhī Vācanā indicated there as वरानसि, and the commentators of the texts have added many more under the head नागार्जुनीयान्तु पठन्ति (i. e. the followers of the Nāgārjuna school read this way).

2 This work has been referred to by Hemacandra in his grammar (PT, Vol. IV, p. 91). There its authorship has been ascribed to Vāmana (R. C. Parikh, op. cit., pp. 76-77).

9. It is said that Malla Vādin had written a Tīppana or gloss on Dharmottara's commentary on the Nyāyabindu of the Buddhist scholar Dharmakīrti.¹ There is a tradition that he wrote a commentary on the Sanmatitarka of Sidhhasena Divākara, which is another great work on jaina logic. Ācārya Hemacandra has paid a glowing tribute to Malla in his Sidhha-Hema grammar, calling him the foremost among logicians.² In addition to the Prabhāvakacarita, the traditional account of this Jaina scholar is also found in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi (1305 A. D.) of Merutunga, the Prabandhakośa (1349 A. D.) of Rājasekhara, and several other works.

Cultural and Literary life at S'rīmāla

10. Valabhī fell at the hands of the Arabs from Sind most probably in 789 A. D., as given by Jinaprabhasūri, the author of the Vividhatīrthakalpa.³ This was the final attack of the Arabs by which the glory of Valabhī was extinguished. "After the overthrow of Valabhī its place as chief city of western India was taken by Anahilvād, which retained that honour until the fifteenth century, when it was superseded by Ahmedabad."⁴ But before we come to Anahilvād, it is necessary to have a glance at the cultural life that was prevailing at Bhinnamāla or Śrīmāla, which was the first capital of the Gujaras who gave the name Gujarāt to the province where they finally settled. Even after Bhinnamāla ceased to be the capital, it was the people who hailed from the place that mostly made the history of Gujarāt. Vastupāla himself belonged to the Prāgvāṭa community, which came from Śrīmāla.

11. On the authority of Yuan-chang, we may say that Bhinnamāla which lies fifty miles west of Mount Ābu was in the seventh century A. D. the capital of a Gurjara kingdom whose circuit was more than 830 miles.⁵ The

1 Some scholars put Dharmottara in the 8th century A. D. (Vidyābhūṣana, History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic, pp. 34-35). The grammarian Vāman to whom Hemacandra has ascribed the authorship of the Viśrāntavidyādhara probably lived in the sixth century, according to Macdonell (A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 432) and others. If Malla Vādin who wrote the Tīppana on Dharmottara is not different from the author of the Nayacakia, there might be some inaccuracy in the traditional date given by the Prabhāvakacarita. For a discussion of the date of Malla Vādin, vide Vidyābhūṣana, A History of Indian Logic, pp. 194 f., where Malla Vādin is assigned to the 9th century A. D. by taking the traditional date in the Vikrama (or Śaka) era instead of the Vira era. Jambuvijaya (Viśāla Bhārata, Vol. XLIII, p. 415), however, upholds the traditional date adducing various reasons in its favour.

2 अनुमहवादिन तार्किका — Brhattikā on the Sidhha-Hema (II. 11, 30).

3 H. G. Shastri, IHQ, Vol. 23, pp. 248 ff.

4 Smith, Early History of India, pp. 314-15.

5 Now-a-days Bhinnamāla is not included in the limits of Gujarāt proper. But it is well-known that at least upto the sixteenth century Gujarāt and Rājasthān were one from cultural and linguistic points

present ruins of that city, objects of interest in it and its surroundings, several old inscriptions which are found there and also the mythological and traditional account of the city given in the work known as the Śrīmālapurāṇa—are enough to prove that the site of the present Bhinnamāla was once a large and flourishing city¹ The Prabhāvakacarita (ch XIV–XV) gives fine descriptions of Śrīmāla, and as late as 1612 A. D. an English merchant Nicholas Ufflet has spoken of its fortifications, enclosing a circuit of thirtysix miles, containing many fine tanks going to ruins,² of which almost no trace remains now-a-days.

12. Just like Valabhīpur, the capital city of Śrīmāla was also a centre of Brahmanical and Jaina learning, and on the authority of Yün-chang we may say that Buddhism also prevailed there - According to the Śrīmālapurāṇa, Śrīmāla had one thousand Brahmasālās and four thousand Mathas where different branches of learning were taught (Adhyāya 12, verse 22, and also Adhyāya 71), and the Purāṇa says that:—

चतुर्वेदा साक्षाच्च त्वयनिपत्यदिनास्तथा । सर्वशास्त्राणि वदन्ते श्रीमाले श्रीनिजेनने ॥

(Adhyāya 71, verse 9)

13 But the first authentic source of information about Bhinnamāla is an inscription of Varmalāta, who according to the Prabhāvakacarita was a king of Bhinnamāla This inscription is dated V. S. 682 (= 626 A. D.) This is probably the same Varmalāta who is referred to by Māgha in the Praśasti of his Śisupālavadhā. If this identity is accepted, we can place Māgha, who according to tradition, was a poet of Śrīmāla, 50 years after this, or considering his reference to Jinendrabuddhi's Nyāsa on the Kāśikā, about 700 A. D.,³ for Suprabhadeva, the grandfather of Māgha was prime minister of Varmalāta, the name of the poet's father being Dattaka who was addressed as Sarvāśraya by the people for his friendliness towards all It may be that Māgha ended every canto of his poem with the word Śrī for which he is called Śrīamka with a view to commemorate his city Śrīmāla⁴

14. Another great name from Śrīmāla is that of the astronomer Brahmagupta who completed his work Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta in Śaka Saṁvat

of view, and hence the name 'Old Western Rajasthan' given by scholars like Tessitori to a language which is properly speaking Old Gujarāt During the Caulukya times, politically as well as culturally Gujarāt included north Gujarāt as well as Rājasthān, and Lāta or South Gujarāt was added later on only after its final conquest by Śidhharāja Jayasimha It is possible that Gujarāt and Rājasthān developed in their own individual ways after a Sultanate, independent of Delhi, was established at Ahmedabad in the fifteenth century.

1 For detailed account of the ruins of Bhinnamāla, vide Jackson's paper in the appendix of the LG, Vol. I, pt I

2 Ibid, Vol I pt I, p. 449

3 Keith, Sanskrit Literature, p 124.

4 R. C. Parikh, op cit, pp 95-96

550, that is, 628 A. D., when Vyāghramukha of the cāpa dynasty was ruling there. On account of the city of his residence Bāhmagupta is famous in Indian literature as the Bhūllamālakācārya.

15 Jain learning also greatly flourished at Śrīmālā. The famous Upamitabhavaprapaṇcācārya of Siddharsī was completed there, according to the author's own statement, in V. S. 962 (= 906 A. D.) The Jain literary form known as Dharmakathā or religious novel, reaches its culmination in this allegorical kathā-work. In the Pīśasti of the work, Siddharsī mentions in his genealogy of teachers the names of Sūnyācārya of the Nuvrtti Kula, Dellamahattara and Durgasvāmin, a wealthy Brahmin who had become a Jain monk, and who died at Bhūllamāla.¹ He then speaks with enthusiasm and great respect of the Ācārya Haribhadra to whom he is indebted for enlightenment in the true religion and of whom he has spoken in Book I of his work as the "awakener of true knowledge of the religion" (Dharmabodhakara). These words would lead one to believe that Haribhadra must have been the immediate teacher of the poet. Nevertheless that is impossible if we consider the date of Haribhadrasūri (701-771 A. D.) established on most unimpeachable authority by Ācārya Jinavijaya.² And we may safely assume, as Jinavijaya has done, that Siddharsī pays Haribhadra such a glowing tribute only because he has derived the greatest inspiration from his writings. Siddharsī says that he chose the form of allegory in order to attract the readers, and for the same reason he wrote in Sanskrit, and not in Prākṛit, because Prākṛit is for the uneducated, whilst even the educated are to be won over to the true doctrine from their heretical views. Upamitabhavaprapaṇcācārya is the first long Sanskrit work composed by a Jain author, and that shows how by that time the Jains found it necessary to write in Sanskrit instead of Prākṛit in order to appeal to the whole world of Indian scholarship. The great popularity that Siddharsī's work enjoyed among the Jains is shown by the fact that only 100 years after its appearance, extracts and abridgments were made from it, and even Hemacandra uses names in one of the stories in the Pañcīstaparvan, which presupposes that it was universally known.³ Siddharsī also made a Sanskrit version of Prākṛit Candraprabhacandra, wrote commentaries on the Prākṛit Upadeśamālā of Dharmadāsa Gaṇi and on the Nyāyāvātāna of Siddhasena Divākara.

16 As seen above Śrīmālā was one of the centres of activity of Haribhadrasūri, the author of many important works on Jain philosophy, and a general work on the schools of Indian philosophy known as the Saddarśanasamuccaya, a long Prākṛit Dharmakathā named Samarāṇcācārya, a satirical kathā-work like the Dhūrtākhyāna, a number of religious Prakaranas

1 In the Jain temple of the same city Siddharsī first recited his work and the nun Gaṇā, a pupil of Durgasvāmin, first wrote it down.

2 Vide his Sanskrit paper on the date of Haribhadra in the Proceedings of the First All India Oriental Conference, Poona, Vol. I, pp. 124-34.

3 Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, p. 532.

and Sanskrit commentaries on several Jaina canonical works. He is perhaps the first among those Jaina authors who commented in Sanskrit on the original Prākṛit Sūtras. While utilizing the old Prākṛit commentaries he retained the narratives in their original Prākṛit form.

17. Another ancient Prākṛit Dharmakathā—the Kuvalayamālā of Udyotanasūri was composed at Jābālipura (modern Jhalor in Mārvād), a town not very far away from Bhūnamāla, in Śaka era 700, that is 778 A. D. On the author's own statement in the Praśasti, Tattvācārya had given him initiation in the religious order. In addition to this, the author has mentioned two of his Vidyāgurus. One of them was Virabhadra who had got constructed a temple of the first Tīrthamkara Ādinātha in Jābālipura. He had taught the author Jain religious tenets. The other was Haribhadra, composer of many Śāstras, who had taught him logic. Thus Haribhadra was a senior contemporary of Udyotanasūri. In the genealogy of his teachers the author has referred to an Ācārya named Devagupta who was a Mahākavi, and his pupil Śivacandra, who had selected Śrīmāla as the place of his residence (Verses 5-7).¹

18. These few instances will suffice to give an idea of the active literary life of Śrīmāla, which was the immediate inspiring model of Anahilavād Pātan. In this period, upto 953 A. D., Śrīmāla seems to have remained as the most important city in Gurjara Des'a.² Immediately after that, during the reign of one Bhūmasena, a migration of 18000 Gurjars from Śrīmāla is recorded. According to the Śrīmāla Purāna, Śrī left that city, in V. S. 1203 (1147 A. D.).³ If this statement is to be believed, there must have been a great exodus of population from Śrīmāla to Northern Gujarāt and to Anahilavād in particular. Most of the Brāhmins and Baniās, and a large number of artisan classes of Gujarāt trace their place of origin in Mārvād, and some of them in Śrīmāla proper and its suburbs. Śrīmālī Brāhmins and Baniās, Prāgvāta (Porvād = staying in the eastern part of Śrīmāla) Baniās and Śrīmālī Sonis (gold-smiths) are, as is evident from their caste-names, from Śrīmāla proper. Anahilavād had profited at the expense of Śrīmāla, by the migration of this great refugee population, and we find later on how the Śrīmālīs and Prāgvātas had made their contribution to the political, cultural and religious life of Gujarāt. We see some of them as great administrators and generals, proficient composers of literary works, builders of monuments and religious leaders of their times.

Literary and Scholarly traditions of Anahilavād Pātan

19. Anahilavād Pātan was already founded several centuries before the decline of Bhūnamāla, in V. S. 802,⁴ i. e. in 746 A. D., by Vanarāja, a chief of the Cāvādā clan, on the site of an old village Lābhārām on the bank of the

1 Jinavijayaji's Paper on the Kuvalayamālā in the Vasant Rajat Mahotsava Smarak Granth (Gujarati), pp. 270-71.

2 R. C. Parikh, op. cit., p. 107.

3 Ibid., p. 102.

4 For discussion of the date vide R. C. Modi's paper in the Kāntamālā (Guj.).

river Sarasvatī in North Gujarāt.¹ Looking to the fact that we have no contemporary records, no inscriptions and no coins of the Cāvalās, and that they are referred to as robbers in works like the *Prabandhacintāmani*,² we are justified in assuming that their sway extended to only a limited region surrounding their capital town. Their rule came to an end in 942 A. D., when Mūlarāja, nephew of the last Cāvalā ruler Sāmantasimha, usurped the throne after murdering his maternal uncle, who was addicted to drink and had given away his kingdom to Mūlarāja in a spell of intoxication. Even during these times, when Anahilvād was a small principality, we find at least one instance which characteristically shows how the literary life of Bhinnamāla had continued at places around Anahilvād. We have already mentioned that one Tattvācārya was preceptor of Udyotanasūri, the author of the *Kuvalayamālā* (see *supra* Para 17). It is possible to identify him with Śilācārya or Śilāmkācārya who wrote learned commentaries on the first two Aṅgas of the Jaina canon—viz. the *Ācārāṅga* and the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, in Gambhūtā (modern Gambhū), only a few miles from Pātan. This identification is based on the fact that the said commentator Śilāmka was also known as Tattvāditya, which is just an equivalent of Tattvācārya. Moreover, in the 12th verse of the *Prasasti* of the *Kuvalayamālā*, while mentioning Tattvācārya, the author has, through a pun, referred to Śilāmka.³ There is also a tradition that Śilāmkācārya was identical with Śilāgunasūri, the Guru of Vanarāja, the founder of Anahilvād Pātan.⁴ The Jaina tradition says that Vanarāja and his mother were protected by Śilāgunasūri, when Vanarāja's father was killed and his kingdom was usurped by the enemies.

20 Mūlarāja, the first ruler of the illustrious Caulukya dynasty that reigned at Anahilvād, was a great general and a far-sighted statesman, and developed the Gujarāt kingdom from the small principality that he got from the Cāvalās. He overcame Bārappa, the viceroy of the Deccan Caulukyas in Lāta, destroyed the formidable Graharipu of Saurāstra, and subdued Lākṣhā Phulānī of Kachha. He built the famous Rudramahālaya at Sīdhhapura, which was one of the greatest architectural monuments of the Caulukya period, and invited the learned Brahmins of Uttarāpatha to come and settle in

1 26th Kalpa of the VTK of Jinaprabha. Also R. C. Parikh, *op cit*, pp. 203-4.

2 PC, p. 14.

3 नमस् वि सीसो तत्तावरिश्रो त्ति णाम पयटगुणो । आसि तवसेयणिजियपविगयमोहो [दिणयर न्व] ॥११॥
[तो दूसमगल्लिपवाटनेगहीरन्तगुणसदस्साण] सीलगविडलसालो लकरणरुक्खो व निक्खो ॥ १२ ॥

• -Vasant Rajat Mahotsava Smārak Granth (Guj.), p. 269.

It must be noted here that though the said identification is quite probable, it cannot be considered final until the problem of the date of the composition of the commentary of the *Ācārāṅga*, which is tentatively believed by some as 877 A. D. (JSI, p. 181), is finally settled, see Jinavijayaji, *Jītakalpasūtra*, introduction.

4 Muniratna in his poem *Amamacaritra* says about Śilāmka-

गुरुर्गुरराजस्य चातुर्विधैकसृष्टिकृत् । त्रिपटिनरसद्वृत्तकविर्गोचर ॥

Gujarāt.¹ It was in times of Mularāja that the name 'Gujarāt' began to be used for the province.² Cultural and literary expansion came in the wake of political expansion and reached its height in the times of Siddharāja Jayasīma and Kumārapāla in the twelfth century. Though peace of Gujarāt was seriously disturbed for some time by the terrible onslaught of Mahmud of Ghaznī (1024 A D) during the rule of Bhīmadeva I (1022-1064 A D), the general literary culture was a matter of continuous growth. After the foundation of the Gurjara empire at Anahilavāḍpātra we find an intensive literary activity mostly of the Jain scholars and poets especially in the region of Northern Gujarāt. Out of them, Śāntasūri (11th century) and Nemicandra (1073 A D), the authors of two separate commentaries on the Uttarādhyāyana Sūtra, which are very useful to the scholar and the student respectively, Abhayadevasūri (1064 A D), who wrote learned commentaries on the nine Āngas of the Jain Canon and hence was known as the Navāṅgī-vṛttikāra, and Dronācārya, who revised these commentaries, and two brothers—Jinśvara and Buddhisiṅga (first half of the 11th century) who wrote on various religious and secular subjects—deserve special mention.³

21. From all available evidence we gather that the poets and dialecticians of the different sects from many parts of India visited the capital of Gurjaradeś. And even in the case of the learned men of the Jain sect, their erudition is more shown by their proficiency in logic and the art of dialectics, mastery of all the schools of philosophy, their thorough grounding in grammar and the science of language, and their cleverness in poetic composition.⁴ Tarka, Lakṣaṇa and Sāhitya or logic, grammar and poetics are some of the main subjects that formed the common field of intellectual activity in India, and these three are specially mentioned as the Vidyātrayī by the Jain writers from Gujarāt.⁵

22. There was a keen cultural rivalry between Anahilavāḍ and Dhārā, or so to say, between Gujarāt and Mālva. The scholars of one region were going to the other to fight the intellectual battle on behalf of their country.⁶ On account of this rivalry the general cultural life of Mālva and Gujarāt together was a matter of continuous growth, though the rulers were fighting continuously and causing so many political disturbances. When Gujarāt and Mālva did not form one political unit, they often waged bitter wars against each other, and as a result, were joined together when Siddharāja Jayasīma finally conquered Mālva in 1136-37 A D.⁷

1 Descendants of those Brāhmins are now-a-days known as the Udīcyā or Audīcyā Brāhmins.

2 B. J. Sāndesarā, *Itihāsaṃ Keli* (Guj.) pp. 131 ff.

3 These are only a few out of a large number of works composed in Anahilavāḍ and adjoining regions. The curious reader is referred to a book like the *Jain Sāhityaṃ Itihāsa* (Guj.) by M. D. Desai, for details.

4 R. C. Parikh, *op cit*, pp. 139-40.

5 B. J. Sāndesarā, *op cit*, p. 36.

6 R. C. Parikh, *op cit*, pp. 140 ff.

7 D. K. Shastri, *GMRI* (Guj.), Vol. I. p. 245.

23. Sidhharāja Jayasīma (1094–1143 A. D.) is the most remembered of all the kings of Gujarāt. He still lives in the folk-literature and folk-dramas. Like Vikrama and Bhoja, he has almost become a legendary figure. In fact, it appears to have been the ambition of Jayasīma to emulate Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī in all fields of life.¹ His court had become a favourite place for scholars coming from different parts of India. Important debates like that between Digambara Kumudacandra and Śvetāmbara Vādī Devasūri were held in his court, and he used to preside on such occasions, which shows that he was sufficiently conversant with different branches of learning prevalent in his times.² He found in Hemacandra a great literary figure who could compose works which would stand side by side the literary glories of Mālvā.

24. The celebrated Hemacandra was a pupil of Devacandra. He was one of the most versatile and prolific writers, who worked in the most varied domains, both as a poet and a scholar. It was due to him that Gujarāt became a main stronghold of the Śvetāmbara Jainas and has remained so for centuries, and that Jaina literature flourished so exceedingly there in the 12th and the 13th centuries. He was not, however, only the author of Jinistic works, but in addition, he provided Gujarāt with important text-books on secular branches of learning (grammar, lexicography, poetics and metrics), so that he was called "The Omniscient of the Kali age" (Kalikālasarvajña). He was born at Dhandhukā, a town in the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad in 1089 A. D. as the son of a merchant. His parents were pious Jainas, and in his early childhood he was already destined for the life of a monk. As a Jaina teacher he spent the greater part of his life in the capital of Gujarāt. When Sidhharāja returned triumphant from a war with Mālvā, learned men of Anahilavād had waited upon him to offer their congratulations. Sidhharāja, jealous of the literary glory of Ujjayinī, asked Hemacandra to write a Grammar, and procured for the scholar all the grammars available then from different parts of the country. Hemacandra compiled his famous text-book of grammar, and associating his name with that of the monarch, called it Sidhha-Hemacandra. Sidhharāja got copies of it made, and sent them to various kingdoms of India. Twenty copies were sent to Kāshmīr, the then home of learning. Hemacandra also composed two Dvyāśraya Mahākāvyas—one Sanskrit and another Prākṛit—in which, while illustrating the rules of Sanskrit and Prākṛit Grammar, he celebrated the glories of his two patrons, Sidhharāja and his successor Kumārapāla (1143–1174 A. D.) along with an authentic poetical history of their dynasty. There is scarcely any branch of literature in which Hemacandra has not given his special contribution. One of his junior contemporaries, Somaprabhācārya, has succinctly described his literary achievements in the following śloka—

कलस व्याकरण नव विरचित छन्दो नव द्वात्र्यालकारौ प्रवितौ नवौ प्रकटित श्रियोगशास्त्र नवम् ।
तर्क सञ्जनितो नवो जिनवरादीना चरित्र नव वद्ध येन न केन केन विधिना मोह कृतो दूरत ॥

1 R. C. Parikh, op cit, p 162

2 We find a fine delineation of the debate between Kumudacandra and Devasūri, and also of Jayasīma and his court in a historical play by Yasascandra, viz. the Mudritakumudacandra Prakarana.

"He composed a new Grammar-the *Siddha-Hemacandra*, a new science of metrics-the *Chandonuśāsana*, two *Dvyāśraya-Kāvya*s and the *Kavyānuśāsana*, a new *Yogaśāstra*, a new logic-the *Pramānamīmāṃsā*, and a new biography of the Jinas etc—the *Trisasti-śalākāpuruṣacarita* and the *Parīṣiṣṭapaivan*. In what way has he not removed our ignorance?"

In addition to these works Hemacandra wrote *Anekīrthasamgraha*, a dictionary of homonyms, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, a dictionary of synonyms; *Deśināmamūlā*, a lexicon of non-Sanskritic Prākṛit words; *Nighantusūtra* in three volumes, two of them dealing with medicine and botany, and the third with jewels, and also a number of philosophical stotras¹. Not only Gujarāt and the Jaina community owe a great debt of gratitude to Hemacandra but he has a place of honour in general Sanskrit Literature².

25. Jayasīma's successor Kumārapāla (1143-1174 A D), originally a devotee of Śiva, was greatly influenced by Jainistic teachings of Hemacandra, and considered him as his Guru. As a result of Hemacandra's teaching Kumārapāla renounced hunting, and prohibited in his entire realm the slaughter of animals, the eating of meat and the drinking of intoxicants, dice-playing, animal-fighting and betting. He erected Jaina temples, and favoured the literary efforts of the Jainas. In his honour Hemacandra has called his second *Dvyāśraya Kāvya*, which illustrates the rules of the Prākṛit part of his Grammar, *Kumārapālacarita*, and has described therein the life of Kumārapāla as a pious Jaina. During the reign of these two kings, Jayasīma and Kumārapāla, not only Hemacandra and his disciples, but a large number of poets and scholars, both Jaina and non-Jaina, wrote their works, and Gujarāt enjoyed a period of intense literary activity.

26. Hemacandra's educational work seems to have been no less fruitful than his literary activities. A number of his pupils have left works on various branches of Sanskrit literature³. Chief among those pupils was Rāmacandra, a great lover of personal freedom,⁴ notable dramatist, and author of a rare work on dramaturgy, viz the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*. Another pupil of Hemacandra, Guṇacandra, had collaborated with Rāmacandra in writing the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*. The work contains quotations from Viśākhadatta's lost drama *Devicandragupta*, which have proved of great value in reconstructing a forgotten chapter in the Gupta history. It also contains references to a number of Sanskrit plays, extant and non-extant, some of them by the author himself. Dhanañjaya's work, *Daśarūpaka* (10th century A D), must have been known to Rāmacandra, yet his *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* seems to have been composed on original lines. He seems to embody in this work some traditions about the types of drama and the nature and classifications of Rasas, which are different from Bharata. Out of about two dozen Sanskrit plays written in Gujarāt, not less than eleven are

1 For life and works of Hemacandra vide Buhler, the *Life of Hemacandra-cārya*, R. C. Parikh, op cit, pt I, and M. C. Modi, *Hema-Samiksā* (Guj.).

2 Winternitz, foreword to Buhler, op cit.

3 B. J. Sāndesarā, op cit, pp 25 ff. (paper on 'Hemacandra-cārya's disciples').

4 Ibid, pp. 35 ff.

from the pen of Rāmacandra. Rāmacandra has written at least four varieties of Sanskrit drama—viz Nāṭaka, Prakaraṇa, Nāṭikā, and Vyāyoga.

27 Among other pupils of Hemacandra we have the names of Mahendra-sūri, who wrote a commentary on the Anekārthakośa of Hemacandra; Devacandra, the author of a historical play Candralekhāvijayaprakaraṇa, which describes Kumārapāla's conquest of Ainorāja, the king of Sapādalakṣa or Śākambharī (modern Sāmbhar in Rājputānā), and his marriage with Ainorāja's sister, Vardhamāna Gau, who had written an erudite commentary on the Kumāravihārapraśasti Kāvya of Rāmacandra, describing a temple Kumāravihāra built by Kumārapāla, Udayacandra, who had corrected some grammatical mistakes in the Yogasātra of Hemacandra, Yaśāscandra, who has been referred to in the Prabhāvakacanta¹ and the Kumārapālaprabandha;² and lastly Bālacandra, who was partly responsible for the cruel death of Rāmacandra at the hand of king Ajayapāla, successor of Kumārapāla and a hater of the Jains.³ Tradition credits Hemacandra with a large number of pupils,⁴ and it is possible that he had many more than those mentioned above.

28 Among notable contemporaries of Hemacandra we may mention the blind poet-laureate of Siddharāja, viz Śrīpāla who came from a Prāgvyāta family. He had written a Praśasti of the famous Sahasalinga lake constructed by Siddharāja, only a fragment of which has been preserved on a slab found in a temple at Pāṭan.⁵ It is also said that he had written the Praśasti of the Rudramahālaya,⁶ which was repaired by Siddharāja. At the end of his famous Praśasti of the fort of Vadnagar composed in 1150 A. D. during the reign of Kumārapāla, Śrīpāla says about himself—

एकानिष्पन्नमहाप्रबन्ध श्रीसिद्धराजप्रनिष्पन्नबन्धु ।
श्रीपालनामा कविचक्रवर्ती प्रशस्तिनेतामकरोत्प्रशस्ताम् ॥⁷

The Mahāprabandha which is referred to here must be none other than the Vairocanavijaya mentioned in the Prabhāvakacanta.⁸ Śrīpāla was a friend of Siddharāja and chief among the poets at his court. About his rivalry and contact with Devabodha of the Bhāgavata sect who had come to Anahilavād, as also with other scholars, we get a wealth of information from the Prabandhas.⁹ We also find that some of the contemporary poets were coming to Śrīpāla for getting their works revised.¹⁰

1 Oh 22, v 739

2 p 188.

3 PK, p 98, PPS, p 49, PC, p 97

4 Buhler, op cit, p 60

5 R O Modi, Proceedings and Transactions of the 7th All India Oriental Conference, Baroda, pp 649 ff

6 JSI, pp 235 f

7 Prācīna Lekhamālā, Pt. I, no 45.

8 BP, Vol 77, p 35

9 R C Parikh, op cit, pp 255 ff

10 SI, pp. 235 ff

29. It is an interesting fact that Śūpāla's son Siddhapāla also was a good poet, and Somaprabhācārya had composed his Prakrit work, Kumārāpālaprati-bodha, which has for its subject the sermons of the teacher Hemacandra to his royal disciple while staying in the Upāsraya of Siddhapāla, in 1135 A. D. Siddhapāla's son Vṛjayapāla also was a dramatist, and we get one of his works, Draupadīsvayaṇvata, which was performed at Anubhūṛḍ at the order of Bhīmaśiva II in the Triṃśayāsāḍa built by Mālarāja.¹ It is not a frequent occurrence in history of literature when favour of the Muse has been continuously showered in this way on three successive generations.

30. Among other authors of this period worthy of mention is Vāgḍhata, the author of Vāgḍhataśālikāra, a work on poetics. This author is often confused with the minister Vāgḍhata, son of minister Udayana, and also with another Vāgḍhata, son of Nemiśākhara, who wrote a work on poetics called the Kāvyaśālikā and who flourished later. But these three are really different persons. Our author was the son of Soma. He was a follower of Jaina religion, as is evident from the benedictory verses of his work. As prof. R. C. Parikh has rightly inferred, this work must have been finished between Jayasīma's conquest of Mālava (1136 A. D.), and his death (1145 A. D.), because it refers to the said victory and has no verse in praise of Kumārāpāla.²

31. Two other notable Sanskrit plays of the time are the Pārthapārā-kramavyāyoga of Prahlādanāḍeva (About 1170 A. D.) and Moharājapara-jaya of Yaśahpāla (between 1174 and 1177 A. D.) Prahlādanāḍeva the author of the former play was a brother of Dhārāvata, the lord of Candrāvati, and a feudatory of Kumārāpāla. It was acted on the occasion of the festival of the investment of Aculeśvara, the tutelary deity of Mount Abu with the sacred thread, as is mentioned in the Prastāvanā, and claims to exhibit the sentiment of excitement (Dīptarasa). The story, taken from the Virāṭa Parvan of the Mahābhārata, is a well-known episode of the recovery by Arjuna of the cows of Virāṭa, raided by the Kauravas, and the defeat of the raiders. The poet, whose fame as a warrior and whose princely generosity are extolled by Vasudāpāla's friend Someśvara in his poem Kirtikaumodī, claims for his poetry the merits of smooth composition and clearness. Technically the play is of some interest, because immediately after the Nāṭī the Sthāpaka enters, recites a couple of stanzas, and then an actor comes on the stage who addresses him, but is answered by the Sūtradhāra. apparently the two terms are considered synonymous by the author of the play or the later tradition. Moreover, the final benediction is allotted not to Arjuna, the hero of the play, but to Vāsava, who appears at the close of the play in a celestial chariot in company with the Apsarasas to bestow his blessing.³ Prahlādanāḍeva wrote other works, of which some verses are preserved in anthologies; he must have been a man of considerable ability and merit. He is the only author in Gujarāt, who after Rāmacandra has attempted the form of Vyāyoga. It is also interesting

1 B. J. Sānde, arā op. cit. p. 60

2 R. C. Parikh, op. cit., p. 262

3 Katta, Sanskrit Drama, p. 255.

to note that he was the founder of the city of Prahlādanapur or Pālanpur in north Gujarāt.

32. Moharājaparājaya was composed by Yaśahpāla, the Jaina minister of Kumārapāla's successor Ajayapāla. Apparently the play was written during the reign of Ajayapāla (1174-77 A. D.), and was performed on the occasion of the Yātrāmahotsava of the idol of Mahāvīra at the Kumāravihāra, a temple erected by Kumārapāla, at Thāṭpādra (modern Tharād in the Banāskānthā district), where the author seems to have been governor or only a resident. The play is an example of a Jaina allegory of comparatively early date. It describes the conversion of Kumārapāla to Jainism, his prohibition of the killing of animals, and his cessation from the practice of confiscating the property of persons dying without heirs (Rudatīvitta) in his realm, as a result of the efforts of the famous sage, Hemacandra. The title of the play means "conquest on king Moha or ignorance", and all the personages in it, save the king, Hemacandra and the Vidyāsaka, are the personifications of qualities, good and evil.¹ The play is certainly not without merits. In the main it is written in simple Sanskrit, and is free from the artifices which disfigure more pretentious plays, and it has the merit of bringing vividly before us the activities of Jainism in the regulation of Kumārapāla's kingdom, throwing an interesting light on what is known from inscriptions and other sources of the history of Gujarāt. Interesting details are given of the different forms of gambling and of the sects which approve slaughter. The Prākṛits are, of course, deeply influenced by Hemacandra's grammar.² We may profitably compare this allegorical play with an earlier piece, viz the Prabodhacandrodaya of Kṛṣṇamīśra (11th century) which may have influenced it to a certain extent.

33. A great Sanskrit commentator of the Jaina canonical works was Ācārya Malayagiri. In addition to writing commentaries on several Jaina Āgamas he has commented upon a number of non-canonical works, and has written a Sanskrit grammar called the Mustivyākaraṇa ('concise grammar'). Malayagiri has not given any personal information in his works nor has he mentioned the date of composition in any of them. But he has referred to "the reign of Kumārapāla" in some of them, and has given an illustration—अकृणत् कुमारपालोऽस्मिन् in his grammar.³ Hence it is evident that Malayagiri must have lived in or about the reign of Kumārapāla. In his commentaries we find both great scholarship and lucidity side by side and so they are very important for the student. We have four great names among the Sanskrit commentators of the Āgama—viz. Haribhadra, Śīlānka, Abhayadeva, and Malayagiri. Malayagiri is last but not the least of them. It is noteworthy in the history of Jaina literature that though the original canon was composed in Magadha, the final redaction of it and all the commentaries on it have been written in the Gurjaradeśa.

1 Ibid, pp 253 f.

2 Ibid, pp 255 f.

3 JSI, pp 273 f. As the verb is in aorist, it may be assumed that the sentence refers to very recent happenings.

34. Leaving the reign of Kumārapāla and his successors and coming further to the end of the 12th century A. D., we get a work which is valuable for the study of the whole of the Indian Kathā-literature. That work is the Pañcākhyāna of the Jaina monk Pūrnabhadra. It was composed in 1199 A. D., when probably Vastupāla and his brother Tejapāla were in their teens. Pañcākhyāna is a version of the Western Indian Pañcatantra, the Textus Simplicior, which is the most famous recension of the original, showing clear influence of the Tantrākhyāyikā, that is, the Kāshmirian recension of the Pañcatantra, and containing additions of a few stories from some unknown source, probably from folk-lore. But the real merit of the work lies in the fact that the author has edited the whole Textus Simplicior carefully, because by his time its text had become very corrupt. He had undertaken this editing at the instance of one Soma Mantrin,¹ who has not been properly identified as yet. As stated in the colophon of the work, he had revised the original text word by word,² and prepared "a new version, the like of which does not exist anywhere"³. We must admit that this is not an editing of the Pañcatantra in the modern sense according to the science of textual criticism, but it is clear that Pūrnabhadra must have collected a number of manuscripts belonging to different schools and corrected the readings of the Textus Simplicior, which was enjoying great popularity in India, and hence had become full of textual corruptions. The success of Pūrnabhadra is attested by the fact that at a number of places in the Western Indian Pañcatantra we can arrive at a correct reading and logical interpretation only by accepting the reading supplied by him.⁴

35. This is but a short account of only some of the prominent literary figures and literary works of the Gujaraḍeśa. Hundreds of works in Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Apabhramśa and also in a post-Apabhramśa dialect which must have been current in those days in the province were composed at Anahilvād and various parts of the Caulukya kingdom of Gujārāt, from the days of Mūlarāja upto Karna Vāghelā, the last Hindu king who ruled at Anahilvād (1296-1304) and even after that right upto the 18th century. They cover all the branches of literature, both religious and secular, and because a greater part of all this literary treasure has remained unpublished, in Bhāndārs accessible only to a few scholars, it has not been better known to the students at large, and one has to be satisfied by merely having a glance at the descriptive catalogues prepared by research-workers over a whole generation.

1 श्रीसोममन्त्रिवचनेन त्रिशीर्षवर्णमालोक्य शान्तिमखिलं खलु पद्मनन्त्रम् ।

श्रीपूर्णमद्रुरणा गुरुणादरेण सशोधितं नृपनिर्णीतिविवेचनाय ॥

2 प्रत्यक्षरं प्रतिपद्य प्रतिवाक्यं प्रतिक्रियं प्रतिश्लोकम् ।

श्रीपूर्णमद्रश्निर्विशोध्यामास शान्तिमिदम् ॥

3 प्रत्यन्तरं न पुनरस्त्यमुना क्रमेण कुत्रापि किञ्चन जगत्पि निश्चयो मे ।

किन्त्वायसत्कविपदाक्षतदीजमुष्टिं सिक्ता मया मन्त्रिजलेन जगाम वृद्धिम् ॥

4 For illustrations vide B J Sāndesiā, Pañcatantra (Guj.) pp 11-12n, 242-43n, 327n, 330n, 331-32n, 333n, etc

36. Anahilvād Pātan was the nerve-centre of the vast Gujjar dominion which at its zenith in the reign of Kumārapāla extended from Konkau in the south to the whole of Rājputānā in the north, and from Cutch and Saurāstra in the west and the border-land of Sū d in the north-west to the whole of Mālvā in the east. Seeds of disruption of the Gujarāt power were already sown in the last days of Kumārapāla's life¹ Though the decline is clearly visible during the reign of Bhīmadeva II (1179-1242 A D) who was the third ruler from Kumārapāla—the intermediate two rulers enjoying power for a very short time—the glory of Gujarāt shone bright again in the time of Viradhavala Vāghelā and his great ministers Vastupāla and Tejapāla Considering very important position which Pātan enjoyed throughout the mediaeval Hindu rule in Western India, we would be well-advised to have again a glance at the splendour of that great city

37 There is no evidence to show that during the Caulukya and the Vāghelā period there was anything like a system of census, such as we find in the Maurya times But from several descriptions which we get of Anahilvād, we have no hesitation in saying that it had an enormous population At places it has been referred as the "Narasamudra" ("The ocean of men") Naturally it was a great centre of trade and commerce We have a number of important descriptions of the city in contemporary literary works Descriptions by Hemacandra in his two Dvyāśraya Kāvya, and by Someśvara in his Kīrtikaumudī are very remarkable, and inspite of poetic exaggerations and embellishments, they are sufficiently realistic to guide the student's historical imagination² The great lake Sahasralinga, built by Śidhharāja, which was surrounded by 1008 Śiva temples and 108 Devī temples, and the great Kīrtistambha on which Śrīpāla's Praśasti of the lake was inscribed must have made the surroundings of Anahilvād really magnificent. Satraśālās and Mathas providing for various departments of learning, where teachers and students were given free lodging, boarding and clothing by the state,³ must have made the area something like a University suburb Every sect found a place, and all the schools of philosophy including Buddhist logic⁴ were studied in the city As we shall have occasion to see in the case of Vastupāla, general religious tolerance prevailed everywhere, and we have instances in which different members of a family professed different religions, keeping harmonious relations with one another. There are a number of cases in which persons of the ruling class had become Jaina monks, most interesting among them being that of Dronācārya (para 20), who was a maternal uncle of Bhīmadeva I and of Surācārya who was a nephew as well as pupil of Dronācārya.⁵

38. General culture of the city was at a high level, as mentioned in the foregoing pages. In addition to the Vidyāmāthas conducted by the state, the

1 R C Parikh, op cit, pp 229 f.

2 Ibid, p. 232

3 Vide commentary on the Skt Dvyāśraya Kāvya, I. 7.

4 Prabhāvakacarita, XVI, 73.

5 Surācārya was also a great scholar and teacher For the traditional account of his life, vide the Prabhāvakacarita, ch. XVIII.

Cartyas and Mathas of the different sects, in fact, were the academies and colleges where the Vidyātrayī and allied subjects were taught and discussed. It would be interesting to note that in Anahilavād and other towns Sanskrit plays were performed on festive occasions, and the people flocked to see them in great enthusiasm. This would not have been possible unless the common people understood the general sense of Sanskrit and Prākṛit dialogues. The plays were performed generally in the temples at the order of either the king or minister or a wealthy member of the merchant class. The Karnasundarī Nāṭikā of the famous Kashmirian poet Bīhlana, composed during his short stay in Anahilavād in the reign of Karna Solamkī (1064-1094 A. D.), the father of Siddharāja, was performed in the temple of Ādinātha at the instance of the minister Sampat-kara or Sāntu. Candralekhāvijayaprakaraṇa of Devacandra, one of Hemacandra's pupils (vide supra para 27), was performed in the Kumāravihāra for the entertainment of Kumārāpāla's assembly. We have already referred to the acting of the Pārthaparākramavyāyoga of Prahlādana and the Moharājaparājaya of Yaśahpāla (see supra para 31-32). The Draupadivaymvara of Vijayapāla, who was definitely a contemporary of Vastupāla, and lived in the first half of the 13th century A. D., was acted in the Tripurusaprāsāda on the occasion of the Vasantotsava at the order of Bhīmadeva II, and the Prabuddharahūneya of Rāmabhadra, delineating the enlightenment of a thief Rauhineya, a contemporary of Mahāvīra according to the Jaina stories, was enacted at Jhalor about year 1200 A. D. by two brothers and merchant-princes—Yaśovīra and Ajayapāla in a temple built by them¹. We shall have occasion later on to review those plays which were got performed by Vastupāla and his family-members, but the instances given above are enough to support our main argument regarding the cultural conditions prevailing in Gujarāt. Gujarāt is perhaps the only province in India where merchants belonging to Vaiśya castes like Prāgyvāta, Śrīmālī etc. were scholars (cf. ch. IV, last footnote). They composed Sanskrit and Prākṛit works not only of the Kāvya and Nāṭaka variety, but also works belonging to other branches of literature like poetics and philosophy. We find some of them who were less learned, requesting their teachers and preachers to write for their enlightenment books on different subjects. Getting the books copied down and also giving them as donation to deserving scholars as well as establishment of Bhāudārs or manuscript-libraries were considered highly meritorious.

1 B. J. Sāndesarā, op. cit., pp. 50 ff. We may note here in passing that even after the establishment of Muslim rule in Gujarāt and an independent Gujarātī Sultanate at Ahmedabad the tradition of staging the Sanskrit plays had continued, at least in a few surviving Hindu states. About the year 1449 A. D. we have a nine-act play, the Gamgādāsapratāpavilāsa of Gamgādāra, a protégé of Gamgādāsa, king of Chāmpāner, a hill fort in the Panchmahāl district. It is a historical play based on a contemporary event describing the defeat of Sultan Muhammad II of Ahmedabad at the hand of Gamgādāsa. The play depicts the heroic sentiment, and it was performed at Chāmpāner in the assembly-hall of the shrine of the goddess Mahākālī.

deeds, as Jñāna or books was one of the seven Ksetras enjoined by the Jaina religion for spending wealth. But this does not mean that literary activity in Gujarāt was restricted to the followers of the Jaina faith. Śaivism was the hereditary faith of the Caulukya dynasty, and the Purohita was generally a learned person. Someśvara, the friend and protege of Vastupāla, was one of those hereditary priests. It was through the good offices of one of his ancestors—Soma or Someśvara—that during the reign of Durlabharāja (1010–1022 A. D.) the Suvihita monks of Jain sect could get residence in Pātan in the teeth of opposition by the Caityavāsī monks of the same sect¹. The king patronised learning, and poetry, scholarship and learned debates flourished at his court. Consequently, the Brahmins also must have composed a considerable number of literary works, because they had inherited the traditional lore through generations. But in comparison to the works composed by the Jainas, the Brahmin works which have survived are very small in number, many of the compositions being irretrievably lost. The reason of this lies in the fact that the Jaina works were carefully guarded in the Bhāndārs which were a public property looked after by the whole community, while there was no such arrangement in respect of the other sect. It is especially noteworthy that several of the rarest Brahmanical and Buddhist works like the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* of Rājasēkhara, the *Tattvopaplavasīmha* of Bhaṭṭa Jayarāṣi and the original Sanskrit *Tattvasamgraha* were available only in the Jaina libraries. At any rate, in Gujarāt of the Caulukyas and the Vāghelās there was a good deal of toleration and intellectual understanding among the followers of both the faiths, which expressed itself powerfully in the varied literary output and a remarkable cultural co-operation in life. It was in these times that Vastupāla and his literary circle lived, and did their work.

1 *Prabhāvaka-carita*, ch. XIX

PART II

MAHĀMĀTYA VASTUPĀLA

AND

HIS LITERARY CIRCLE

CHAPTER II

SOURCES

39 Before coming to the life and works of Vastupāla it would be proper to mention the available sources which would supply the necessary data. The historian of mediaeval Gujarāt is fortunate in this respect that he gets copious material to deal with his subject. The data for the study of the work of Vastupāla and his literary circle can be divided under three heads—(1) literary sources, (2) epigraphic sources, and (3) monuments. Literary sources can be further subdivided into—(a) contemporary, and (b) later. We shall examine here briefly all the three kinds of sources.

Contemporary literary sources

40 As pointed out earlier, Vastupāla being a great patron of learning, the poets and scholars who came in contact with him have left many accounts of their patron, ranging from stray verses to the Mahākāvyas. All those writings are highly important not only for the personal history of Vastupāla, but also for the history of Gujarāt, because the life of Vastupāla was intimately connected with contemporary history. At the same time, some of these works are fine specimens of Sanskrit poetry. In addition to the Naranārāyaṇānanda Mahākāvya by Vastupāla, in the last canto of which he gives an account of his family and of himself, we have the following contemporary literary sources for the study of our subject. Among the Mahākāvyas we get the Kīrtikaumudī and Surathotsava of Someśvara, the Sukrtasamkīrtana of Arisimha, the Vasantavilāsa of Bālacandra, and the Dharmābhyudaya or Samghapaticaritra of Udayaprabhasūri. The Kīrtikaumudī, the Sukrtasamkīrtana and the Vasantavilāsa are the Mahākāvyas based on contemporary history, having Vastupāla as the hero. The former two works were written during the life-time of Vastupāla, and the third one, viz. the Vasantavilāsa was composed not long after his death, and thus the three works together supply a complete account of Vastupāla (ch. VI, section I), though it must be borne in mind that after all they are ornate poems, and do not give everything necessary for a biography as such in the modern sense. Though the Surathotsava takes a mythological theme, it seems to be a historical allegory, and has some bearing on the vicissitudes of king Bhīmadeva II (para 75) under whom Vastupāla first began his political career (para 47), and the historical portion in the Dharmābhyudaya is mainly devoted to the pilgrimages of Vastupāla as a pious Jaina (para 162-64). The play Hamnīramadamardana (between 1220 and 1230 A. D.) of Jayasimhasūri is important for Vastupāla's political and military career, as it dramatizes his strategy in repulsing a Muslim on-slaught (para 200-202). The Revantagiri Rāsa by Vijayasensūri, Vastupāla's Guru, and the Ābu Rāsa (1233 A. D.) by a poet who calls himself Pālhanaputra ('son of Pālhana') are poetical works in Apabhramsa and describe Vastupāla's pilgrimage to Revantagiri or Gūnār and his building of temples on Ābu, respectively (vide chapter XIII). The Prabandhāvalī of Jinabhadra (1234 A. D.) is

also worthy of note, because it is the oldest specimen available of the Prabandha-form (vide chapter XI), and also because the author refers to some incidents of Vastupāla's life, which have proved to be helpful in solving important chronological problems (para 129). There are two small poetical works known as the Vastupālapraśasti by Narendraprabhasūri (para 122 and 216), one Vastupālapraśasti by Naracandrasūri (para 215), and also a Vastupālastuti by Udayaprabhasūri (para 214)—all of them describing the good deeds of Vastupāla. In addition to these contemporary compositions, there is a host of others, which though not devoted to the life of the hero, give important information in their Praśastis and colophons, and also by way of stray references in the body of the text.

Later literary sources

41. Among the later literary sources, the most important are the Prabandhacintāmaṇi of Merutunga (1305 A D), the Prabandhakōśa of Rājasekharasūri (1349 A D), and the Purāṇanaprabandhasamgraha, a collection of several Prabandhasamgrahas composed in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries. The Vividhatīrthakalpa of Jinaprabhasūri (completed in 1333 A D) is also worthy of note. The Vastupālacarita of Jinaharsa (1441 A D) is a detailed biography of Vastupāla and deserves a close study, because though composed about two centuries after the death of the hero, it supplies many authentic facts about him, which are not given even by contemporary authors, and is comparatively free from exaggerations. It seems that Jinaharsa had utilized all the historical material which was available in his times, bearing on the life and works of Vastupāla. The Upadeśataramgini of Ratnamandiragani (about 1461 A D), the Prabandhapāñicāṣaṭi or Kathākosa of Śubhaśilagani (1453 A D), and the Upadeśasaptati of Sonadharma (1447 A D) are the Prabandha-works¹ of the 15th century, and all of them, especially the first, contain much that is important for the study of the cultural aspect of Vastupāla's life, and for his contact with several poets in the capacity of a patron. Several Jaina poets have written in old Gujarātī, poetical works called the Vastupāla Rāsa or Vastupāla-Tejapāla Rāsa, and such Rāsas by Hīrananda (1428 A D), Laksmīsāgara (after 1452 A D), Pārśvacandra (1541 A D), Samayasundara (1626 A D), and Meruvijaya (1665 A D) are available. Though these were written a long time after the death of Vastupāla, and in conventional pattern, some of them supply very significant data about the personal history of the hero, which are not given by any of the contemporary authors for one reason or another.

Epigraphic sources

42. As epigraphic sources we have a number of inscriptions of Vastupāla—some of them very short, of a few lines only, while others comparatively long like independent Kāvya, most of which have been published in various journals of Indology, and in collections like the Historical Inscriptions of

¹ For a historical and literary evolution of the Prabandha-form, vide chapter XI.

Gujarāt, Prācīna Jaina Lekha saṁgraha and Prācīna Lekhamālā. Most of the inscriptions are found on Ābu and Gūnār, and a few on Tāramgā hills in North Gujarāt, at Dabhoi near Baroda, Anahilvād Pātan, Serisā near Ahmedabad—these being places where Vastupāla and his brother had built temples, and at Navum Samgapur¹ near Vījāpur in the Mehsānā district. Though Udayaprabha's Sukrtakīrtikallohī (1221 A. D.) and Jayasimhasūri's Vastupāla-Tejapāla Prāśasti are not extant as inscriptions, they are found from the manuscripts². There are two inscriptions from Prabhāsa Pātan known as the Sarasvatīśadana Prāśasti (1272 A. D.) and an incomplete inscription from Vanthali in Saurāstra—which are of great value for the life of Nānāka, a Brahmin poet in the literary circle of Vastupāla (para 85–89). It hardly requires to be said that all these inscriptions are to be treated as contemporary sources, because most of them were written during the life-time of Vastupāla, and though the Vaidyanāthapraśasti (1255 A. D.) of Dabhoi composed by Someśvara, and the Sarasvatīśadana Prāśasti were written after his death, they are sufficiently near to his period to be considered as contemporary sources.

Monuments

43 Monuments are important for artistic and cultural history. Vastupāla and Tejapāla had erected a large number of monuments at various places in Gujarāt and Saurāstra (para 58–60), but no trace of them is to be seen now-a-days, only their temples on Ābu and Gūnār have been preserved. The temple on Ābu is a memorable specimen of mediaeval Indian architecture, profusely decorated with sculpture of great excellence, and bears eloquent testimony to the fine taste and great munificence of its builders.

1 The inscription at Navum Samgapur is the least known of all. It is a fragmentary inscription of the Vāghelā period, which respectfully mentions Vastupāla and Tejapāla as ministers. Its text was published, several years ago, by Buddhisiṅgarasūri in the *Bṛhad Vījāpura-vṛttānta* (Guj.), intro., pp 2–8. The Baroda Archaeological Report, 1938–39 (p 3), has taken a notice of the inscription.

2 For a critical survey and literary appreciation of those inscriptions of Vastupāla which deserve the place of independent Kāvya is, vide chapter VIII.

CHAPTER III

PERSONAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF VASTUPĀLA

Ancestors of Vastupāla

44 In order to assess properly Vastupāla's role as a great patron of literature and art, it is necessary to narrate in brief his personal and political history. There is no dearth of material on the subject, though sometimes we get conflicting and confusing statements. Vastupāla and Tejapāla were born in an aristocratic Prāgyātr family of Anahuvād Pātan. We get authentic information about their ancestry. The chronicles begin the genealogy of Vastupāla from a man named Candapa¹. According to Vastupāla himself and his friend Someśvara, Candapa was a minister². Most probably, he was a minister of a Caulukya king at Anahuvād. His son was Candaprasāda, whose hand was never without the ministerial seal³. He had two sons—Soma and Sūra. Soma was keeper of jewels in the court of Siddharāja Jayasimha.⁴ His wife was Sitā,⁵ and she bore him a son named Aśvarāja or Aśūrāja, who also held some ministerial position⁶. Aśvarāja had married Kumāradevī, daughter of a Prāgyāta Vānik named Ābhu, who was a Dandapati⁷. Aśvarāja and Kumāradevī were parents of Vastupāla.

Vastupāla-son of a remarried widow

45 A tradition has come down to this day, according to which Kumāradevī was a widow remarried to Aśvarāja. Merutumga⁸ has noted this tradition for the first time, and three old Gujarātī poems called Vastupāla Rāsa by Laksmīsāgara, Pārśvacandra⁹ and Meruvijaya¹⁰ have confirmed it. C D Dalal¹¹ and M D Desai¹² have, however, refused to accept the tradition as authentic on the ground that none of the contemporary works has mentioned it. Here is an interesting problem of historical method. Generally speaking, contemporary accounts are to be regarded as more trustworthy than writings of later date. But there may be certain matters about a person on which the contemporaries would prefer to remain silent, especially on matters which are not quite complimentary either to the person concerned or to his family, and therefore such matters would not be mentioned by those who are more concerned with praising him rather than presenting a critical account of his life. This may be the reason why the remarriage of Kumāradevī, the mother

1-2 NN, XVI 3, KK, III 4

3 KK, III 9

4 Ibid, III 14

5 Ibid, III 16

6 Ibid, III 17 and 22

7 Ibid, III 22, NN, XVI 25, vide VC, ch I

8 PO, p 98

9 ISS, Vol III, pp 112 ff

10 Vastupāla-Tejapāla Rāsa, pp 12 ff

11 VV, intro, p 13

12 JSI, pp 351 f

of Vastupāla, may not have been mentioned by the contemporaries, later writers, however, would not feel the same scruples or hesitancy which the contemporaries felt. And hence we cannot reject this tradition merely on the ground that it was not mentioned by contemporary authors. Merutumga who wrote his work only about six decades after the death of Vastupāla and one of whose aims is to eulogize the great men of Jaina religion, would not mention it but for its authenticity. Later Rāsas which have narrated the account of Kumāradevī's remarriage have not copied Merutumga, but they seem to have followed entirely independent sources, which shows that there must have been other evidence for the fact.¹ The *Viravamsāvalī*, an old Gujarātī genealogy of Jaina teachers, supports the tradition in a slightly different manner.² If it was not a fact that Vastupāla was the son of a remarried widow, the tradition would not have found such a wide currency after his death.

Brothers and sisters of Vastupāla

46. Kumāradevī and Aśvarāja had eleven issues in all—seven daughters named Jālhu, Māu, Sāu, Dhanadevī, Sohagā, Vaiju and Padmaladevī,³ and four sons named Luuga, Malladeva, Vastupāla and Tejapāla. Out of these four brothers Luuga died at an early age, and Malladeva expired in youth after becoming father of a son, Pūnasimha. Even though we have plenty of information about Vastupāla, we have no means of finding out the date of his birth. The earliest date that we find recorded is V S 1249 (1193 A D),⁴ given in an inscription without date, but epigraphically not later than Vastupāla's period, preserved in the Watson Museum at Rajkot. According to the inscription, Vastupāla and his younger brother Tejapāla had made the pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya with their father in that year. It may be assumed that this was in their childhood. Vastupāla had two wives—Lalitā and Sokhu or Vayajalladevī, and Tejapāla was married to Anupamā, who is famous as a wise counsellor of both the brothers, and to the less known Suhavadevī.

Beginning of political career

47. Very little is known about the early life of Vastupāla and Tejapāla. In early childhood they were living with their father in a town called Sumhālakapura which was given to him as a reward for services to the Caulukya king.⁵ After the death of Aśvarāja, the two brothers with their mother went

1 Strangely enough, both the Rāsas by Lakṣmīsīgara and Pārsvacandra have sought the precedent for widow-remarriage in the fact that Ādinātha, the first Tīrthamkara had married a widow, and hence they say that others also could follow the ancient custom (JSS, Vol III, pp 113 and 118).

2 This work adds that the division in Vīdhhasākhī and Laghusākhī (mod. Vīṣā and Dasā) of the Vanik community of Gujarāt—especially among the Prāgvātas—began with this incident, which was against the prevalent custom. Those who were with Vastupāla became Laghusākhīya, i.e. inferior. Vide JSS, Vol III, pp 36-37 of the text.

3 PJS, no 64, and also nos 94-97 and 103. Also VC, ch I.

4 VV, intro, p 11.

5 VC, ch. I.

to Mandali¹ (modern Māṇḍala near Viramgām) when we have no means of ascertaining, lived there until the death of their mother, after which they seem to have begun their political career. While returning from a pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya they came to Dhavalakka. The Kīrtikaumudī, the Vasantavilāsa, the Prabandhacintāmaṇi, and the Prabandhakośa mention that the two brothers had gone to Dhavalakka and Viradhavala had made their appointment, after they were introduced to him by Someśvara. The Sukrtasamkīrtana (canto IV), the Vastupāla-Tejapālāpraśasti of Jayasimhasūri (verse 51), and the Sukrtakīrtikallolīnī of Udayaprabha (verses 118-19), on the other hand, inform us that they were already in the service of Bhīmadeva II of Anahilavād, and that he had given them to Viradhavala at his request. Vastupāla's own statement at the end of the Naranārāyaṇānanda, however, removes all doubts and makes it quite clear that he was first under Bhīmadeva,² and his services were lent to the court of Dhavalakka only afterwards. We do not know when Vastupāla joined the service of Bhīma, but it is certain that he and his brother were appointed at Dhavalakka in 1220 A. D (V. S 1276)³. It was after this that their great career began, which made its mark in almost all the fields of life.

Economic and political consolidation of the Gujarāt kingdom

48 While Bhīmadeva II was struggling hard to maintain his central authority, the Vāghelās who formed a branch of the Caulukyās sprung from Ānāka or Ānurāja, the son of the sister of Kumārapāla's mother, were becoming stronger roundabout Dhavalakka, which was their capital. In return for services to Kumārapāla, Ānāka had received the village of Vyāghrapallī or Vāghela, about 10 miles south-west of Anahilavād. And hence the name Vāghelās given to his descendents⁴. Ānāka survived Kumārapāla, and served also under Bhīmadeva II, and strove until death to re-establish the glory of the Caulukya kingdom. Ānāka's son was Lavanaprasāda, and his son was Viradhavala. It seems probable from the account given in the sources that for a time these father and son—Lavanaprasāda and Viradhavala were ruling at Dhavalakka. Bhīmadeva II, who is known in history as Bholo or simpleton, was a weak sovereign, and he was unable to protect his kingdom from the depredation of his feudatories as well as the foreign enemies, and there was a time when a chieftain named Jayantasimha could usurp the throne of Anahilavād for some time, about 1224 A. D (V. S 1280), and issue the grants in his own name⁵. Naturally, Bhīma must have been compelled to abandon

1 Ibid. Also PK, p 103

2 भान्वत्प्रभावमधुराय निरन्तरायधर्मात्मव्यतिकराय निरन्तराय ।

यो गुर्जरावनिमहीपतिर्भामभूपमन्त्रीन्द्रतापरवशत्वमपि प्रवेदे ॥ (NN, XVI 35)

3 This fact has been noted in all the Gīrnār inscriptions of Vastupāla

4 BG, Vol I, pt I, p 198

5 Buhler, IA, Vol VI, pp 187 ff. Also of following quotations—

उत्तमनितनदानशीर्षानि श्रेष्ठलक्ष्मी रितनितरुचिकीर्तिर्भामभूमिभुजङ्ग ।

वलकवलितभूमिमण्डलो मण्डलेश्विरमुपचितचिन्ताक्रान्तचित्तान्तरोऽभूत् ॥ (SS, II 51)

मन्त्रिभिर्मण्डलीकेश्व वलवद्धि शने शने । गालस्य भूमिपालस्य तस्य राज्य व्यमज्यत ॥

(KK, II 61)

his throne and take refuge somewhere. To regain the lost splendour of his kingdom, Bhīma had made Lavanapiasāda his Sarveśvara or vice-regent, and it is to his credit and that of his son Viradhavala that though they became all-powerful in the kingdom and became successful for the time being to re-establish the the glory of Anahilavād, they themselves did not think of usurping the throne of Anahilavād, and remained Mahāmandaleśvaras and Rānakas upto the end of their life, though they could have easily become in turn the Mahārājādhirājas.¹ Leading supporters of both Lavauaprasāda and Viradhavala were their ministers Vastupāla and Tejapāla, who by their valour and statesmanship spread the power of the Vāghelās in the entire region between the rivers Sābarmatī and Narmadā, and having established peace and order in the whole of Gujarāt made the country secure from disruptive forces

49. It appears from the Prabandhas that after his appointment Vastupāla was placed as the governor of Stambhatīrtha or Cambay, and Tejapāla was in charge of the ministerial seal² Vastupāla redressed many of the wrongs committed by previous governors. During his administration there was a marked improvement in the moral tone of the people, a check was placed on unscrupulous people making money by base means, and all people carried on their business honestly in security. He put an end to piracy (KK, IV 16). He checked corruption with a strong hand and overhauled the whole administration. He took a fine of 2000 dramma from an old corrupt official³. There were great arrears in state-revenue; he employed the four means mentioned in the Nīṭisāstra to reclaim the arrears and made the state-treasury full⁴. He checked accounts of several high officers in Stambhatīrtha, who were reluctant to make a suitable report, and punished them⁵. He also punished several unjust headmen of the villages roundabout Stambhatīrtha and erected temples with money recovered from them⁶. Thus he put an end to the Mātsya Nyāya prevailing in the state (VC, IV 40), and curbed the laxity of officials, both high and low, with commendable sternness. It is quite possible that the war-like deeds of Vastupāla and his brother were mostly undertaken with a view to ending the law of jungle and restoring confidence among the people, as well as with the aim of filling the coffers of the state which had become quite empty during the weak rule of Bhīmadeva. The Vastupālacarita states that in punishing Sadik or Said, a wealthy Muslim merchant of Stambhatīrtha (see para. 59), Vastupāla's aim was to show that now there was no place for

1 It was destined for Viśaladeva (1238-1261 A. D.), son of Viradhavala, to become the Mahārājādhirāja. After ruling at Dhavalakka as the Mandaleśvara for 9 years he came to the throne of Pātan either by killing the last Caulukya monarch Tribhuvanapāla or because Tribhuvanapāla left no heir (Shastri, GMRI, Vol. II, p. 399)

2 PK, p 102

3 VC, ch II, PK, p 103

4 VC, Ch II

5 Ibid, ch IV.

6 Ibid.

the Mātsya Nyāya¹ In short, the first work of Vastupāla after coming to power was to secure the economic as well as political consolidation of the Gujarāt kingdom

Victory over Samkha

50 When Vastupāla had succeeded in restoring peace in the region roundabout Dhavalakka and Stambhatīrtha, Samkha, the ruler of Lāta, made an attack on him, claiming that the port of Stambhatīrtha was a possession of the king of Lāta After a fierce fight, at a place called Vatafūpa (or Vadavī) near Stambhatīrtha, Samkha found Vastupāla to be more than a match for him and made a hasty retreat To commemorate this victory the citizens of Stambhatīrtha celebrated a festival in the shrine of the goddess Ekallvīnā, which was outside the town, and the minister went there to pay his homage to the deity.² This incident must have occurred before 1223 A.D (V S 1279), because in that year Vastupāla entrusted the governorship of Stambhatīrtha to his son Jayantasimha or Jaitrasimha³ after overhauling the administration of that city, which was the principal port of Northern India and hence a place of great importance from the economic and commercial point of view

Treaty with the Yādava king of Devagiri

51 Another time of peril was the joint attack of Yādava Simhana or Simghana of Davagiri from the south and four Mārāvādī rulers from the north Lavanaprasāda and Viradhavala went to meet the enemy, but with the powerful invader in front and a combination of four hostile kings in the rear the position was indeed critical But Lavanaprasāda and his son did not lose courage and fought valiantly In the end there was a truce with the four chiefs from Mārāvād,⁴ as well as with the Yādava king from Devagiri⁵ Text of the treaty with Simhana preserved in the Lekhapadhlhatī, a work giving different documentary forms, mentions the date as 1232 A.D (V S 1288), if we take it as correct and we may, as there is no evidence to the contrary-it may be said that the fight with Simhana must have ended in that year

Other warlike deeds of Viradhavala and his ministers

52. The Prabandhas describe several other warlike deeds of Viradhavala and his two ministers First of all, they conquered the rulers of Vāmanasthali (modern Vantali near Junāgarh), Sārngana and Cāmunda, who were the brothers of Viradhavala's queen Jayataladevi, who declined to pay homage to Viradhavala in spite of repeated entreaties from their sister They were slain in a combat and the great riches of the palace of Vāmanasthali came into the hands of Viradhavala.⁶ Viradhavala led another attack against

1 Ibid

2 KK, ch IV-V, VV, ch V, also vide PK, pp. 108-109, PC, p 102.

3 PJS, no 40-3

4 KK, VI, 67.

5 Lekhapadhlhatī, p. 52, also vide BG, Vol I, pt I, pp 199 f.

6 PK, pp. 103 f, VC, ch II

Bhīmasīmha of the Pratihāra clan ruling at Bhadrēsvāra in Cutch, but as Bhīmasīmha was served by several powerful warriors who had come from Mārvād, Vīradhavalā could not conquer him, but had to return after making a peace-treaty.¹ By this treaty a new friend was made and the Cutch border became free from danger. After this, Vīradhavalā thought of subduing Ghūghulā, a chief ruling at Godraha (modern Godhrā) in the Mahītata region or the banks of the river Mahī. Ghūghulā had made an alliance with the Mārvād kings when the latter attacked Gujarāt, and was plundering the merchants, pilgrims and caravans coming to and going from Gujarāt. Tejapāla was sent with a strong force. He captured Ghūghulā and put him in a wooden cage and appointed one of his lieutenants as a governor of Godraha. Ghūghulā, unable to bear this insult, committed suicide by biting his tongue.² As a result of this victory power of the Vāghelās extended upto the eastern border of Gujarāt, and the trade-route to Mālvā was again made secure.

How a Muslim attack was repulsed

53 There is ample historical evidence to show that during the rule of Vīradhavalā, there was a Muslim attack on Gujarāt, and that it was successfully repulsed by the strategy of Vastupāla. Jayasīmhasūri has dramatized this event in his Sanskrit play *Hatmīramadamardana*. The *Prabandhakōśa* describes how Sultān Mojḍīn of Delhi had invaded Gujarāt, and how he was encircled by Dhārāvārsa of Candīāvātī from the north and Vastupāla from the south after his army had entered a mountain pass near Ābu.³ Consequently the Sultān had to retreat.⁴ After some time the Sultān's mother (according to the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, his teacher) was going on a pilgrimage to the holy Mecca, and had come to a port of Gujarāt, most probably Stambhatīrtha, to take a boat. Vastupāla ordered his men to take possession of the old woman's property. The captain of the ship came and complained before Vastupāla that the pirates had robbed the old woman. Vastupāla caught the pirates who were really sent by him, and returned the old woman's property after receiving her with great respect, and also provided for her comfort and safety. While returning from Mecca, she took Vastupāla with her to Delhi, and introduced him to the Sultān. Vastupāla obtained a promise from the Sultān to keep friendship with Vīradhavalā, and

1. PK, pp 104 ff, VC, ch II

2 PK, pp. 107 f, VC, ch III.

3 PK, p 117

4 There is some controversy about the identification of Mojḍīn or Muḥammadīn, as no Sultān bearing that name sat on the throne of Delhi. The BG (Vol I, pt I, p 201) considers Mojḍīn to be Muhammad Ghori. Prof R C Parikh has identified him with Shāhabuddīn Ghori (JSS, Vol III, pp. 153 ff). Pandit G H Oza (*Rājputāne kā Itihās*, Vol I, pp 467 f), Mr D K. Shastri (GMRI, Vol II, pp 380 f) and myself ('Gujarātī', Divālī number, A D 1934, pp 18 f) have identified him with Sultān Altamash (1210-1235 A D) of Delhi, and that seems to be the most natural identification on chronological grounds.

thus made his kingdom safe. Coming back from Delhi Vastupāla was received by Vīradhavalā with great honour.¹ As the play Hammīramadamardana, depicting the victory of Vastupāla over the Muslim ruler was copied down in 1230 A. D. (1286 V. S.)² this event must have occurred between 1220 and 1230 A. D. (1276 and 1286 V. S.), the date of commencement of Vastupāla's ministry and the date of the manuscript of the play preserved in the Jesalmer Bhāndār, respectively.

Death of Vīradhavalā and Vastupāla

54 King Vīradhavalā died in 1238 A. D.³ His popularity has created a tradition that a large number of people burnt themselves on his funeral pyre, and Tejapāla had to come to the cremation ground with army to check others from doing so.⁴ Vīradhavalā had two sons—Pratāpamalla and Visaladeva. Pratāpamalla had died during the life-time of Vīradhavalā, leaving a son, Arjunadeva, after him. Visaladeva, the younger son of Vīradhavalā, came to throne in 1238 A. D.⁵ Vastupāla died in 1240 A. D. (1296 V. S.), only two years after Visaladeva's coming to throne. Both the Prabandhakōśa⁶ and the Vastupālacanta⁷ have given 1242 A. D. (1298 V. S.) as the date of Vastupāla's death, and it was generally believed to be correct. But the Vasantavilās Mahākāvya of the contemporary Bālacandra has the date of his death as Sunday the fifth day of the bright half of the month Māgha in the year 1296 V. S. (1st January, 1240 A. D.).⁸ This

1 PK, pp. 119 f, PC, p 103.

2 HMM, intro, p. 1, JBC, p 23

3 BG, Vol I, pt. I, p 203. Also vide the Rājāvalī Kōsthaka in the appendix to the Śātruñjayatīrthodhāraprabandha. Buhler has given the date as 1295 V. S. (IA, Vol VI, p 213). It may be noted here that we do not know anything about the death of Lavanaprasād. The BG (Vol I, pt I, p 200) has assumed that Lavanaprasāda abdicated in favour of Vīradhavalā in the year 1232 A. D., after the conclusion of the treaty with Simhana of Devagiri. Others think that perhaps he might have died by that year (GMRI, Vol II, p 389). The Rājāvalīkōsthaka begins the rule of Vīradhavalā from 1282 V. S. (1226 A. D.). On the whole it seems plausible that Lavanaprasāda died between 1232 and 1238 A. D.

4 PC, p 105

5 The Prabandhas give an account of Vīrama, Vīradhavalā's son, and his attempt to capture the throne (PK, pp. 124 f). It is said that his attempt failed and Visaladeva could come to the throne only because of Vastupāla's help. But it is proved now that Vīradhavalā had no son called Vīrama, and hence the story given in the Prabandha is not to be relied upon (GMRI, Vol II, pp 390 ff).

6 PK, pp 127 f.

7 VC, ch VIII

8 वर्ये हर्षनिषण्णयण्णयनिके श्रीविजयोर्वीभूतः कालाद् द्वादशसहस्रहयनगतात् मासेऽत्र माषाह्वये ।
पञ्चन्या च त्रिंशदिनादिमये वारे च मानोस्तयोद्भोदु सद्गतिमस्ति लग्नममम नत्वर्यना त्वर्यतान् ॥
(VV, XIV. 37)

statement is also supported by the dates in a palm-leaf manuscript, which mentions that Vastupāla died in 1296 V. S. and Tejapāla in 1304 V. S. (1248 A. D.)¹ The Prabandhas say that Vastupāla expired in the village Amkevaliā (situated 10 miles south-east of Wadhvān in Saurāstra), while he was going on his last pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya.² The statement may be reliable, but we do not find it mentioned in the Vasantavilāsa.³ The Prabandhakosa (p. 125) and the Vividhatīrthakalpa (p. 80) refer to the loss of Vastupāla's ministerial power in favour of the Nāgara minister Nāgada. Elsewhere it is said that Vastupāla had incurred the anger of Viśaladeva, because of the punishment meted by the former to a maternal uncle of the king, as that man had insulted a Jama Sādhu, but the minister was saved by the intervention of Someśvara.⁴ It is also mentioned that once Viśaladeva demanded from Vastupāla the accounts of the state-revenue, and finding that some of the money was spent after temples etc., decided to punish him, but here also the king was held back by Someśvara.⁵ Though we may not accept such stories in their entirety, they can be considered as indicative of the fact that the minister had incurred the displeasure of the new king, in his later life. There is nothing inherently impossible in this, as we know several such instances in history, when a new king finds it difficult to pull on with the old minister. But here, there is no evidence to show that Vastupāla was actually displaced by Viśaladeva, though he was no more on very good terms with the young sovereign. It is not unlikely that this may have been due to the machinations of Nāgara politicians led by Nāgada or because Viśaladeva might have felt the old minister rather too overbearing to be tolerated.

Death of Tejapāla

55 There is a very trustworthy evidence to show that Tejapāla, the younger brother, continued as the Mahāmātya or prime minister for a few years after the death of Vastupāla, and that the king's displeasure was not so great as to displace him from the office. In an Ābu inscription of the third day of the bright half of month Vaiśākha of year 1296 V. S. (26th April, 1240 A. D.), Tejapāla is referred to as the Mahāmātya,⁶ which corroborates the above statement that Vastupāla died in the Māgha month of the year, and Tejapāla took the charge of his office. In the colophon of a palm-leaf manuscript of

1 Ibid, intro, p. 8.

2 PC, p. 105, PK, p. 128, VO, ch VIII.

3 The VV, on the other hand, informs that Vastupāla ascended Mt Śatruñjaya and married Sadgati (or felicity), daughter of Dharmā, before Ādinātha. That is, in simple words, he expired on Śatruñjaya (VV, XIV 49-52). We do not know if this is a mere allegory or an actual fact. It is probable that though Vastupāla died on the way to Śatruñjaya, Bālacandra may have described it otherwise to make the allegory of marriage before Ādinātha, poetically complete.

4 PK, pp. 126 f., VO, ch VIII.

5 PK, p. 125.

6 PJLS, no 66.

1298 V S (1242 A D.), Lunasimha, the son of Mahāmātya Tejapāla, is mentioned as the governor of Bṛgukachha¹. In a manuscript of the Ācārāṃga Sūtra of V S 1303 (1247 A. D.), Tejapāla is called a Mahāmātya in power at Anahillapura². We get the first colophon mentioning Nāgada as the Mahāmātya in 1310 V S (1254 A. D.)³, which shows that Tejapāla died between 1247 and 1254 A. D. According to the Vastupālacarita, Tejapāla died ten years after Vastupāla, and the Prabandhakośa gives 1308 V. S. (1252 A. D.) as the year of his death. Thus the year 1306 V. S. (Vastupāla's death in 1296 + 10 years = 1306 V S = 1250 A. D.), 1308 V S. (= 1252 A. D.) or 1304 V. S. (= 1248 A. D., as given in an old palm-leaf manuscript, vide para 54) may be taken as the year of Tejapāla's death. Unfortunately, we have no trustworthy evidence, as in the case of Vastupāla, to choose one of these three dates as historically final. In any case, it can be definitely said that Nāgara Brāhmin Nāgada became the Mahāmātya of Viśaladeva only after Tejapāla's demise.

1 PBC, p 60

2 Peterson, First Report, Appendix I, p 41.

3 JBC, pp. 37 f

CHAPTER IV

VASTUPĀLA-A GREAT PATRON OF LITERATURE AND ART AND A MAN OF LETTERS

56. As can be seen from chapter III, Vastupāla and Tejapāla wielded a great influence at the courts of Dhavalakka and Anahilavād, and they consolidated the state of Gujarāt politically as well as economically. But they are more remembered for cultural activities inspired by their splendid munificence. They brought a cultural renaissance in Gujarāt, such as would remind one of the days of the great savant Hemacandra, and which vied with the cultural glories of Mālvā under kings Muñja and Bhoja.

Pilgrimages of Vastupāla

57. According to the Prabandhas, Vastupāla had made thirteen pilgrimages to Śatruñjaya and Gīrnār. In childhood he went to both the places with his father Aśvarāja, who was a Samghapati or leader of the pilgrims' caravan. That was in the years 1193 and 1194 A. D. After becoming a minister he led the Samghas more than once, and undertook the pilgrimage of Śatruñjaya and Gīrnār in the years 1221, 1234, 1235, 1236 and 1237 A. D. He also went to Śatruñjaya only with his family in the years 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232 and 1233 A. D.¹ The last pilgrimage, which he desired to make, to Śatruñjaya, but could not complete owing to his death on the way, was begun in 1240 A. D., and has been described by Bālacandra in the Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya. The pilgrimage which he did in 1221 A. D. was probably the most important one, as it is the only pilgrimage repeatedly mentioned in the Gīrnār inscriptions and presumably the same one is described with remarkable accuracy and poetic skill in contemporary works like the Kīrtikaumudī, the Sukṛtasamkīrtana, the Dharmābhyudaya etc., with which we shall deal in chapter VI.

Public works of Vastupāla

58. Even if we look to the account given in the contemporary literary works, which may be safely relied upon, the monuments and public works like temples, rest houses, tanks, wells etc. erected and sunk by the ministers were very numerous.² Even if we consider only the contemporary evidence, keeping aside the later Prabandhas, there is no doubt that their munificence and philanthropy extended to a large number of places in the whole of Gujarāt, Saurāstra and Mārvād. Jinaprabhasūri and Rājasekhara assert that their public works extended to Śrī Śāla in the south, Prabhāsa in the west, Kedāra in the north and Benares in the east.³ This does not seem improbable when we consider the fact that the scholars, poets and religious men from almost the whole of India were coming in those days to Anahilavād and Dhavalakka, and were getting some patronage from Vastu-

1 VCO, ch VIII, PPS, p 59, also vide JSI, pp 308 f

2 NN, XVI, 37, also vide SS, SKK, etc

3 VTK, pp 79 f, PK, p 130.

pāla and his brother. Public works of Vastupāla were not limited only to the Jaina religion which he professed. We are told that he also built hospitals, Brahmaśālās, Mathas, Śiva temples, and even mosques.¹ There might be some exaggeration in the later accounts, because places on which Vastupāla spent wealth in public works are about 50 in a contemporary source like the Sukrtasamkīrtana. That number we find greatly increased in the works of Rājasekhara, Jinaharsa and Jinaprabha, and some of the details seem ridiculous, because they are evident exaggerations. But even if we look to plain facts given by contemporary authors, there is no doubt that Vastupāla was one of the greatest philanthropists that Gujarāt and perhaps India has ever produced.

59 Vastupāla and Tejapāla spent a large amount of wealth after their public works, and one would like to know where this wealth came from. We already know that the two brothers came from an aristocratic family, which was supplying statesmen to the state of Gujarāt, and hence they must be enjoying considerable affluence. The Prabandhas contain stories as to how they came to possess fabulous wealth. Though these read like some folk-tales, it is probable that they contain germs of truth. When Vastupāla was appointed as the governor of Stambhatirtha, a Muslim merchant named Said or Sadik refused to accept his authority. When Vastupāla tried to punish him, Said called Śamkha, the prince of Lata to his aid. But Śamkha was defeated, Said captured and his property confiscated. When this was reported to the king, he ordered that all the valuables of Said should go to the state, but assigned the dust of his house to Vastupāla. Much of the dust was gold-dust and a fire turned more of Said's gold and silver to dust. Thus the bulk of Said's wealth passed to Vastupāla.² Another account states that while going on a pilgrimage to Jaina holy places in Saurāstra the two brothers went to bury their wealth amounting to a total value of about one lakh, near a village called Hadālaka (modern Hadālā near Dhandhukā). There, while digging the earth, they got more wealth. Vastupāla asked Anupamā, wife of Tejapāla, as to what should be done with this treasure. Anupamā replied that "It may be kept on the peaks of the mountains, so that it may not fall in the hands of some other person, as it has fallen to ours." And Vastupāla and Tejapāla spent it in building famous temples on Gīrnār and Ābu, and leading Saṃghas to the holy place of Śātruṅjaya.³

Ābu temple—a memorable specimen of mediaeval Indian architecture

60 Advice of Anupamā has proved to be true, and no public work of Vastupāla and Tejapāla has been preserved to this day, except the temples on Ābu and Gīrnār.⁴ The temple on Ābu was built by Tejapāla in 1231 A. D.

1 PK, pp 129 f, VC, ch II, III & VI, VTK, pp 79 f.

2 PPS, pp 56 and 73

3 PK, p 101.

4 Three old marble-pillars with inscriptions have been preserved at Pātan. Two of them are used as pillars in the comparatively modern structure.

(V. S. 1287), and it has Neminātha, the twenty-second Jaina Tirthamkara, as the chief deity. Temples on Girnār were built by Vastupāla in 1232 A.D. (1288 Y. S.). The Ābu temple, situated in the temple-city of Delvādā, and generally known as Luna-vasati in memory of Vastupāla's elder brother Luniga,¹ is one of the finest works of mediaeval Indian art, and of sufficient excellence to immortalize the name of its builder in the history of art.² This temple as well as the Vimala-vasati, built by Vimalasāha, about two centuries before it, are wholly of white marble, though no quarries of that material, except of inferior quality, are known to exist within 20 or 30 miles of the spot, the transporting and carrying it up the hill to the side of these temples must have added immensely to the expense of the undertaking. Externally the temple is perfectly plain, and one is totally unprepared for the splendour of the interior. As Cousens remarks, "the amount of the beautiful ornamental detail, spread over these temples in the minutely carved decoration of ceilings, pillars, doorways, panels, and niches is simply marvellous, the cusp, thin, translucent, shell-like treatment of the marble surpasses anything seen elsewhere, and some of the designs are veritable dreams of beauty. The work is so delicate that ordinary chiselling would have been disastrous. It is said that much of it was produced by scraping the marble away, and that masons were paid by the amount of marble-dust remained." "The pendent which hangs from the centre of the dome of the temple of Tejapāla is particularly remarkable and rivets the attention of every visitor. Colonel Tod justly remarks, 'the delineation of it defies pen, and would tax to the utmost the pencil of the most patient artist;' and he is secure in asserting that no ornament of the most florid style of Gothic architecture can be compared with it in richness. 'It appears like a cluster of the half-disclosed lotus, whose cups are so thin, so transparent, and so accurately wrought that it fixes the eye in admiration.' The sculpture of the temples does not, however, confine to the representation of inanimate objects, it exercises itself also upon the scenes of domestic life, the labours of navigation and commerce, and the struggles of battle-field, and it may be safely asserted that the student of antiquities, who should devote sufficient attention to these bas-reliefs, would be amply repaid by a large increase of knowledge regarding many interesting points in the manners and customs of mediaeval India."³ According to the Prabandhas, Vastupāla and Tejapāla spent eighteen crores and ninety-six lakhs on Śatruñjaya, twelve

of the temple of Kālikā Mātā. The third one lies in the local archaeological museum, of Dr Pandyā Abhyāsagrha. It is evident from the inscriptions that the pillars are the remains of the palaces of Vastupāla and his family members (These inscriptions have been published by me, vide FGST, Vol IV, pp 192 ff.)

1 PC, p 101. But the inscriptions mention that it was built for the spiritual welfare of Tejapāla's wife Anupamā and son Lunasimha.

2 For description of the temple see Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol II, pp 36 ff., Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Vol I, pp 144 f. Also Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarāt*, pp 108, 128.

3 Forbes, *Rāsmālā*, Vol. I, pp 257 f.

crores and eighty lakhs on Gīrnār, and twelve crores and fiftythree lakhs after the erection of the Lunavasatī on Ābu.¹ There might be exaggeration in these figures, but there is not the least doubt that a vast amount of wealth, and immense labour must have been spent after the building of these monuments, which bespeak extraordinary liberality and religious devotion on the part of their builders. The chronicles say that not only was there no forced labour, as was the case in the erection of some similar buildings elsewhere in India and outside, but ample wages were being given, and utmost care taken for the amenities of the artisans who worked there.²

Vastupāla - a great patron of learning and literature

61 Besides being a philanthropist and patron of art, Vastupāla was a great patron of learning. He had established three public libraries (Bhāṇḍārs) in Anahilavād, Stambhatīrtha, and Brgukaccha by spending great sums of money for them.³ His personal library was also very rich, and contained more than one copy of all important Śāstra-works.⁴ He was highly liberal towards poets and scholars, and it has been noted in his case that like Bhoja and Vikramāditya, he gave thousands to poets for the composition of one verse or even for a half. Long and detailed accounts of his enjoyment and patronage of poetry have been given in the works like the Prabandhakośa, the Vastupālacarita, the Purāṇanaprabandhasamgraha and the Upadeśataramgū. Because of his liberality to the poets he was called Laghu Bhojarāja or junior Bhoja. So many poets, both known and anonymous, had profited by his liberality that Someśvara has expressed their gratitude in the following words—

सूत्रे वृत्ति कृता पूर्व दुर्गमिहेन धीमता । विद्वन्ने तु कृता तेषा वस्तुपालेन मन्त्रिणा ॥⁶

“Formerly learned Durgasimha had composed the Vṛtti (commentary) on the Sūtras (of the Kātantra grammar), but the minister Vastupāla has given Vṛtti (means of maintenance) to the poets without any Sūtra.”

While giving patronage to poets and making donations in the cause of learning Vastupāla made no distinction between a jaina and a non-jaina. He donated ten thousand drammas to the Śaiva Tīrth of Prabhāsa,⁵ and gave

1 PK, p 129

2 Ibid, pp 122 f

3 Ibid, p 129, PPS, p 65, VTK, p 80 Institution of Jaina public library or Jñāna-Bhāṇḍār seems to be very old in Gujarāt. When Devardhhi got the Jaina scriptures copied down, they must have been put in some Bhāṇḍār (para 7) It is said that Kumārapāla had established 21 Bhāṇḍārs (Kumārapāla Prabandha, pp 96 f) Manuscripts of these Bhāṇḍārs have not been preserved for us. Possibly they were destroyed by the Muslims. There is a palm leaf manuscript of the Jītakalpa-Cūṛṇi-Vyākhyā in the Pātan Bhāṇḍār dated 1284 V S = 1228 A D (PBC, p 400), it has in its colophon some verses in praise of Vastupāla. Probably it is a rare remain of one of the Bhāṇḍārs of Vastupāla (vide para 220)

4 VO, ch VII 113

5 PK, p 112, VO, IV 443

6 UT, p 77

great wealth to the Brāhmins having poetic skill. Such occasions were not rare, but on the contrary, very numerous. And the Kīrtikaumudī says about him—

नानर्च भक्तिमान्नेमौ नेमौ शकरकेशवौ । जैनोऽपि य सवेदाना दानाग्भः कुरुते करे ॥¹

His tolerance of other faiths had become so proverbial that the Purātana-prabandhasamgraha has the following verse about him—

नौद्वैतौद्धो वैष्णवैर्विष्णुभक्तः शैवैः शैवो योगिभिर्योगरङ्ग ।
जैनैस्तावज्जैन एवेति कृत्वा सत्त्वाधारः स्तूयते वस्तुपाल ॥²

62. Moreover, Vastupāla was credited with a critical faculty which enabled him to detect defects in poetic compositions by others, and to make improvements in them. He has been referred to as "the best among the appreciators of poetry and art" (Sahridayacūdamani)³ Not only did he appreciate poetry and art, but also requested others to write religious and literary works for his instruction and delectation. The Kathāratnākara of Naracandrasūri and the Alamkāraṇahodadhi of Narendraprabhasūri were composed at his request (vide para 119-121). Greater part of his leisure-hours was spent in the company of literary men.⁴ He himself has said in the Naranārāyaṇānanda Mahākāvya (XVI 36) that he could devote his time to the company of poets and scholars, because his younger brother Tejapāla looked properly after the state-affairs. In spite of the high position which he enjoyed his modesty was proverbial, and amidst the manifold engagements of state-affairs he found time to make a copy in his own hand of the Dharmābhyudaya Mahākāvya of Udayaprabha, a pupil of his preceptor Vijayasenasūri. This manuscript, dated 1290 V. S. (1234 A. D.), has been preserved in the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Cambay, and we are fortunate in having the handwriting of such a great personality even after the lapse of more than seven centuries (cf. colophon of the manuscript—स १२९० वर्षे चैत्र शुद्ध १२ रवौ सप्तमीर्बेलाकूलमनुपालयता महो श्रीवस्तुपालेन श्रीधर्माभ्युदयमहाकाव्यपुस्तकमिदमलेखि ॥) There was hardly a notable scholar, Jaina or non-Jaina, in Gujarāt of those days who had not come in contact with Vastupāla in one way or the other. And there is no wonder that we find a large number of works written directly under his patronage or indirectly under the stimulus of his magnetic personality.

Literary works of Vastupāla

63. It has happened many times in history that patrons of poets were themselves poets. We have many instances of royal poets in Indian literature. The name of Vastupāla also can be counted among such persons. Just as he is praised as a patron of poets in the works which are the sources of much of our information regarding him, he is highly eulogized as a poet too. He is called 'Sarasvatī with a beard' (Kūrcālasarasvatī)⁵

1 KK, IV. 40

2 PPS, p. 68

3 सत्कविकाव्यशरीरे दुष्यदगददोषमोषणैकभिपक्षः । श्रीवस्तुपालसचिवः सहृदयचूडामणिर्जयति ॥
(UR, II)

4 KK, VI.

5 PPS, p. 55.

and Kavikuñjara and Kavicakravartin, and praised as a spiritual son of Sarāsvatī¹ The Prabandhacintāmañī (p. 100) and other works call him "ornament of Sarāsvatī's neck" (Sarāsvatikauṭhābharana). We are also informed that he had studied from Naracandra the three vidyās, i. e. the Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa and Sāhitya, and also works on Jaina philosophy (para 118) His poetic name was Vasantapāla, which was given to him by Harīhara, Someśvara and other poets² This is the reason why Bālacandra has given the name Vasantavilāsa to his poem giving an account of Vastupāla's life. At the end of the Naranārāyaṇānanda, Vastupāla says that his first poem was the result of an inspired outburst in the form of a hymn in the praise of Ādiśvara on the Śatruñjaya hills³ This hymn is none other than his Ādināth Stotra Vastupāla has also written several Stotras like the Neminātha Stotra, Ambikā Stotra, and a short Ārādhana of ten verses The Ārādhana is probably the last composition of Vastupāla, because its first verse (न कृतं सुकृतं किञ्चित्) has been quoted by the PC (v. 234), PK (v. 337) and PPS (v. 202) as spoken by the minister while on death-bed The PC (p. 105) says that the minister did his Paryantārādhana or the last devotional act by uttering this verse when nearing death in the course of his journey to Śatruñjaya, and it seems that he had composed the Ārādhana during his last pilgrimage, while his health was failing

64. We also gather from the literary sources that Vastupāla was proficient in composition of Sūktis. Someśvara, in one place, writes as follows about this particular faculty of his patron—

अम्भोजसम्भवसुता वक्त्राम्भोजेऽन्ति वस्तुपालस्य । यद्दीणारणितानि श्रूयन्ते सुक्तिरम्भेन ॥⁴

And Udayaprabha, in the first verse of his Vastupālastuti has praised the Sūktis of Vastupāla in a simple but poetic stanza—

पीयूषादपि पेयला शृङ्गपरज्योत्स्नाकलापादपि स्वच्छा नूतनचूतमञ्जरिमरादप्युद्धमत्सौरगा ।
वाग्देवीमुग्रसामयुक्तविगडोद्वारादपि प्राशला केपा न प्रथयन्ति चेतमि मुद श्रीवस्तुपालोक्तय ॥⁵

1 In the Girnār inscriptions he is described as धर्मसुनु सरस्वत्याः and शारदाप्रतिपन्नापत्य Also vide KK, I 29—

वस्तुपाल्यगोवीरी मन्त्र वाग्देवतामुता । एको दानस्वभावोऽमृदुसयोरन्यथा कथन् ॥

Vastupāla has used this epithet for himself in NN, XVI. 40 For laudatory titles (Bīradas) of Vastupāla, vide VC, VI 133-34; also the Vastupāla Rāsa of Hīrānanda.

2 NN, XVI 38 Just as Vasantapāla is a poetic form of the name Vastupāla, it is not improbable that the form Vastupāla itself may be a Sanskritization of a name which may have perhaps a rustic touch I am led to this inference because of the fact that the old Gujarātī Rāsas sometimes refer to Vastupāla and Tejapāla as Vastiga and Tejiga It is significant that even to-day Vasto is a common name in the Baniā community of North Gujarāt and Mārvād

3 Ibid, XVI 39.

4 UR, VIII

5 This verse occurs in PK (p. 116) and UT (p. 78) It is also quoted at the end of canto X of the Dharmābhyudaya Mahākāvya of Udayaprabha

Vastupāla has been quoted in anthologies, which shows that his poetic fame had spread far and wide outside the borders of Gujarāt. His four verses are found in the *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Jahlaua, keeper of elephants of king Kṛṣṇa (1247-1260 A. D.) of Devagiri.¹ Constant warfare was going on between Devagiri and Gujarāt, but as a result of that strife cultural contact got some impetus during the intervals of peace, and there must have been a good deal of give and take on both the sides. In the *Śārngadhara* (1363 A. D.) of Śākambharī, a verse of Vastupāla has found place.² In the *Prabandha* a large number of verses have been put in the mouth of Vastupāla,³ as spoken by him on particular occasions, and it is certain that most of them are his own composition, in view of his skill in this particular branch of poetry. It can be imagined that he could compose Sanskrit Sūktis on the spur of the moment on suitable occasions. In the *Ābu Praśasti*, Someśvara has spoken highly of his originality in the field of poetry and his strict administration in the domain of state-craft.⁴ Verses spoken by him before his death, while he was on the way to Śatruñjaya, express a deep-seated religious fervour and a humility, which only the great souls can show (PC, p 105; VC, VIII 571-74).

65. As remarked earlier, Vastupāla has composed the *Naranārāyaṇānanda*, a *Mahākāvya* in 16 cantos, describing the friendship of Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, their rambles in the *Raivataka* garden, and the consequent carrying away by Arjuna of Kṛṣṇa's sister *Subhadrā*. At the end of the poem (XVI. 33), he has mentioned his numerous *Samghayātrās*, and we know from other sources that his first great pilgrimage was undertaken in 1221 A. D.; hence the poem must have been composed after that year. Praising Vastupāla, who did such remarkable work in various fields of life and literature, *Narendra-prabhasūri* has given the following verse, which summarizes succinctly his manifold achievements—

त्यागा कुहमलयन्ति कस्यविटपित्यागक्रियापाटव काम काव्यकलापि कोमलयति द्वैपायनीय वच ।

उन्निधिहृते च यस्य धिपणा चाणक्यचिन्तामणे सोऽय कस्य न वस्तुपालसचिवोत्तम प्रशस्तास्पदम् ॥⁵

66. It appears rather unusual to the modern reader that a man should be simultaneously a great statesman and administrator and also a literary figure. Such people are known to patronize learning, but one feels some doubt when they are also credited with authorship of literary works. And such doubts are not altogether groundless, because it is believed by some scholars in the case of such famous kings as Bhoja and others that they are credited with the

1 (I) अध्वान यदि० (II) यत्रोन्मुख० (III) संप्रति न० (IV) साम्य निश्चिन्नता० The first verse has been traced to NN, I 6

2 संप्रति न० (no 66), which is also common to SM.

3 PPS, p. 64, PK, pp. 114, 116, 123, 124, 125, 128, PC, p 105, VO, VI. 507, 508, 552, 609, 610, etc. In case of several verses the PC has made following significant remark—इत्यादीनि श्रीवस्तुपालमहाकवे स्वयकृतान्यमूनि (p 105).

4 विरचयति वस्तुपालश्चतुर्व्यसचिवेषु कथिषु च प्रवर । न कदाचिदर्थहरण श्रीकरणे काव्यकरणे वा ॥ (PJLS, no. 64)

5 AM, p 2.

authorship of literary compositions coming from the pen of their proteges. Is such a doubt, then, not justified about Vastupāla's authorship of literary works attributed to him? Doubts in such cases cannot be completely resolved, as it is a matter of interpreting evidence. But one thing is, however, certain that there is nothing inherently incompatible in a statesman and administrator being also a literary writer. The case of Disraeli is well-known. But we need not go to foreign countries for examples. The literary history of Gujārāt as well as that of other parts of India supplies us with many such cases. Some of them may be mentioned here. Viśākhadatta, the famous author of the *Mudrārākṣasa* (5th century A. D.), was the son of Mahārāja Bhāskaradatta and grandson of Sāmanta Vateśvaradatta, and belonged to a family of the ruling class under the Imperial Guptas. Vatsarāja, the author of six *Rūpakas* (the *Karpūracarita Bhāna* etc. published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series under the title *Rūpakasatkam*), was a minister of Paramardideva, and his son Trailokyavarmadeva of Kālanjara, who flourished in the 13th century. Śricandrasūri, the author of the Prākṛit work *Munisuvratacarita* (1137 A. D.), was a minister of Lātadeśa before he joined the ascetic order; and this fact has been mentioned by his brother Lakṣmana Gauṇī, the celebrated author of the *Supāsanāhacariya* (1143 A. D.) at the end of his work. The names of the great Vedic commentator Sāyana and his brother Mādhava (14th century), who were ministers at the court of Vijayanagar, are well-known. They were great scholars as well as patrons of learning and their work is too well-known to require any introduction. It was a tradition in ancient and mediaeval India that the persons of eminent positions were also the cultural leaders of their times, and it was their highest ambition after doing their life's work to die in religious meditation, having renounced the worldly ties, just as our Vastupāla had tried to do. So, as pointed out earlier, on grounds of supposed incompatibility we are not justified in having doubts about Vastupāla's authorship of the works attributed to him, unless, as in other cases, there is some positive evidence, circumstantial or direct, which justifies us in raising such doubts.¹

1 While taking into consideration the cultural traditions of Gujārādeśa, one has to think of several other historical facts also, which are characteristic of the province. We have already seen that in addition to the Brāhmins, who were wedded to learning by their birth and profession, there was a cultured section of the Prāgvāta and Śrīmālī communities in Gujārāt which had inherited the literary traditions of Śrīmāla, and thus it can be said that Vastupāla, who combined in himself the arts of statesmanship and government as well as the art of literature was only continuing the tradition of his own community. Both these communities—Prāgvātas and Śrīmālīs have produced not only merchants, but great administrators, generals, builders of monuments, scholars as well as poets. To take only a few examples—Śrīpāla, his son Siddhapāla and grandson Vijayapāla (vide para 28–29) were Prāgvātas. Durlabharāja, the poet-minister of Kumārapāla, who began *Sāmudrikatilaka*, a work on astrology, in 1160 A. D., was a Prāgvāta (JSI, pp. 277 f.) The rhetorician, Vāgbhata (para 30), and Ās-

CHAPTER V

LITERARY CIRCLE OF MAHĀMĀTYA VASTUPĀLA

67. After making a study of the life and works of Vastupāla we now come to the known figures of his literary circle. From the available biographical data about these persons we shall see how they came in contact with Vastupāla and how they entertained him with their poetic compositions, and in what way the patron appreciated their work. We shall also see how some of them composed poems to express their admiration for him, and also how some works were written on particular subjects in response to requests from the patron. We shall find, moreover, how those poets and scholars were having contact among themselves, and how they appreciated, helped and sometimes rivalled each other. That these persons really formed a circle, and were not merely casual visitors, will be clearly seen. But here a question might naturally arise about the propriety of describing these writers as forming the literary circle of Vastupāla, and not of the Royal court of the Vāghelās. There is no doubt that these poets and scholars came to the Vāghelā court, and sometimes received gifts from the king, as in the case of Hanhara and Nānaka and Ansimha (para 81, 87, 96); but it is clear from the evidence, which will be presented here that these writers cared to bestow praise on the Vāghelā kings only rarely, which indicates that all of them were dependent upon Vastupāla, and it was mainly through him that their literary efforts flourished. And hence we are justified in calling these writers as the literary circle of Vastupāla. A study of the activity of this circle throws a flood of light on the cultural life of the times of Vastupāla and also it is very important for understanding the literary and scholastic traditions of mediaeval Gujarāt. We shall take these literary figures one by one.

ada, the commentator of the Meghadūta and author of two Prakaranas in Prākṛit, viz, the Upadeśakandalī and Vivekamañjarī, were Śrīmālīs (Peterson, Report I, p 56, Report III, pp 12 and 100). Jagaddeva, who was given the Biruda or laudatory title of Bālakavi by Hemacandra, was the son of a minister and a Śrīmālī (Peterson, Report III, pp 96 f). Coming to comparatively later times, we may refer to Śrīmālī minister Mandana (about 1150 A. D.) of Māndu in Mālva, who was a great patron of learning and himself a Sanskrit author of no poor merit (JSI, pp 476 ff). Several other Vanik communities of Gujarāt like Dharkata, Modha and Vāyadā also have given their contribution to Sanskrit literature. To take only one instance for each—Yaśāscandra, the author of the Mudritakumudacandra Prakarana (p 11 n), was a Dharkata, and Yasahpāla, the author of the Moharāja-parājaya (para 32), was a Modha. Minister Padma, who is credited with the composition of several hymns (para 105), was a Vāyadā. There are many more authors, who deserve mention, but these few instances would suffice to show how both Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī received equal devotion from the statesmen and merchant-princes of Gujarāt.

(i) *Somes'vara*

वस्यास्ते सुखपद्मे सुखमृत्ना वेद. तृतीर्वेद यस्मैता सद्यन्ति वस्य वस्य रसना सूत्रे च चूलाभृतम् ।
राजानं प्रियमर्जयन्ति महर्षी यत्पूजया सुर्वरा कर्तुं तस्य गुणस्तुतिं जगति क सोमेश्वरस्त्वेष्वर ॥
—Vastupāla¹

68. *Somes'vara* or *Somes'varadeva* was a close friend of *Vastupāla* and chief among the poets patronized by him. He was hereditary priest of the *Caulukya* kings of *Gujarāt*, and wielded great influence at the courts of *Anahilavād* and *Dhavalakka*. When *Vastupāla* and *Tejapāla* came to *Dhavalakka*, on their way back from a pilgrimage to *Śatruñjaya*, they met *Somes'vara* (para 47), and in a short time they became such fast friends that *Somes'vara* introduced them to king *Vīradhavalā*. It was probably after this that appreciating the capacities of the two brothers, *Vīradhavalā* borrowed their services from *Bhīmadeva II*. So it is quite likely that *Vastupāla* and *Somes'vara* knew each other at least some time before 1220 A D, the date of beginning of *Vastupāla*'s ministry. And I may hazard a guess here that their acquaintance may have been earlier. *Somes'vara*, who was the hereditary *Purohita* of the *Caulukyās*, may have met *Vastupāla* at *Anahilavād* previously. The impression that these two remarkable men created upon each other may have developed at *Dhavalakka* into an admiring friendship, which might be regarded as the real fountain-head of this last political and cultural revival of Hindu *Gujarāt*.

Somes'vara and his ancestors

69. Unlike so many other authors in Sanskrit literature, *Somes'vara* has given a good deal of information not only about himself, but also about his ancestors. In the last canto of his *Surathotsava Mahākāvya*, called the *Kavi-Praśasti-Varnana*, he has given brief life-sketches of ten of his ancestors, and also supplied important autobiographical details. It would be useful for our purpose to have a glance at the summary of that part of the canto. There *Somes'vara* says—“There is a city of *Brāhmins* called *Nagara*,² where the prescribed rituals are strictly adhered to, and where the *Kali* was unable to enter, as it was purified by the three sacred fires—viz *Gārhapatya*, *Āhavanīya* and *Dakṣiṇa*. Really speaking, it is a great place of pilgrimage. There all the people recited *Vedas*, and even a child was not impure. It was fancied that attracted by the beauty and purity of the place, *Gods* abandoned the heaven and incarnating themselves as *Brāhmins*, resided there. In that city among the *Brāhmins* of the *Vasiṣṭha* *Gotra* there was a family bearing the surname *Gulecā*.³ In that family a great *Brāhmin* called *Solasarman* was born, who satisfied his ancestors with the *Soma* juice in the sacrifices performed by him, and also by doing the *Śrādhha* ceremony at *Prayāga*. He was

1 Quoted in UR, I. 8

2 A shortened form of *Vadnagara* (ancient *Ānandapura*) in North *Gujarāt*, from which the *Vadnagarā Nāgar Brāhmins* of *Gujarāt* get their name.

3 Among the present-day *Nāgaras*, the *Gulecā* *gotra* is mentioned at the time of the *Gotroccāra* at the good-bye ceremony after the marriage, vide *Dhruva, Dīgdarśana* (Guj.), p. 18n.

made Purohita by Mularāja, the lord of the Gurjara land, and consequently he attained fame among the Caulukyās, just as Vasiṣṭha in the solar dynasty. Even in this Kali age he performed the Vājapeya sacrifice according to proper rituals. How far shall I describe his good deeds? It is enough to say that he used to recite the Rgveda, had performed a number of sacrifices, gave food to the hungry, and controlled his senses. His son was Lallaśarman, who was the Purohita of Cāmtundarāja, Mularāja's son. The son of Lallaśarman was Muñja, who became the priest of Durlabharāja. Under his priesthood, nothing in this world was unattainable for Durlabharāja. His Son was Soma,¹ by whose favour the kings attained victory everywhere. Soma's son was Āmaśarman, who performed six forms of the Jyotistoma sacrifices and bore sacrificial title of Samrāt.² He was the Purohita of king Karua, the father of Sidhharāja. The wealth he received from the Caulukya kings, he spent in building the shrines of Śiva, digging ponds, beautiful with lotuses, and giving donations to the poor. Once Karua had invaded the kingdom of Dhārā. Realising that the Mālava army was being defeated in the combat, the Purohit of Dhārā produced a Krtyā or demoness. But Āmaśarman not only protected his king by the power of his Mantras, but defeated the Krtyā, who disappeared after destroying her creator. The son of Āmaśarman was Kumāra, who was the Purohita of Sidhharāja. By the power of his

1 This must be the same Soma or Someśvara, who was instrumental in getting admission to Anahilavād for the Suvihita Jain monks (vide supra para 37)

2 It is noteworthy that in mediaeval Gujarāt not only Vedic sacrifices were performed, but they were popular. The tradition continued, at least, upto the beginning of the 14th century A. D., when the Muslims captured Anahilavād. Candu Pandita (1297 A. D.), the celebrated commentator of the Naisadhiyacarita and an inhabitant of Dhavalakka, had performed several Vedic sacrifices like Dvādaśāha and Agnicayana. By performing the Vājapeya and Brhaspatiśrava sacrifices he got the titles of Samrāt and Sthapati, respectively—

यो वाजपेययज्ञेन बभूव सम्राट् कृत्वा बृहस्पतिसव सप्ततित्वमाप ।

यो द्वादशाह्य(ज)नेऽग्निर्द्विदप्यभूत् स श्रीचण्डुपण्डित इमा विततान दीप्ताम् ॥

He also performed a number of Somasatras. Candu is the only commentator of Sanskrit poems, who often quotes the Śrauta Sūtras (Handique, Naisadhiyacarita, trans, intro, p 3). This shows how Vedic learning flourished in Gujarāt especially among the Brāhmins from Vadnagar, Anahilavād and Dhavalakka. Dhavalakka, which was the place of Vastu pāla's activity became the second capital of Gujarāt not only from political but also from cultural point of view. It would be interesting to mention in this respect that the Tattvopaplavasimha of Jayarāsi Bhatta (circa 7th-8th century), a unique work on the Lokāyata philosophy, was copied down at Dhavalakka in the year 1293 A. D. This shows that dialectics was a highly prized subject in that city during the reign of the Vāghelās, and even study of the tenets of an almost forgotten school of philosophy like that of Cārvāka was not neglected (R. C. Parikh, Tattvopaplavasimha, intro, pp. 1 f.).

blessings Sidhharāja captured the lord of Sindhudeśa, put into prison the powerful king of Mālvā with his harem, and taught the haughty chief of Sapādalaksa how to bow down his head. This Purohita of the Cakravartin performed many sacrifices and dug hundreds of ponds. Kumāra's son was Sarvadeva, who was highly proficient in the Manusmṛiti. Following the tradition of his ancestors, he performed sacrifices, and satisfied the people by giving donations, but never stretched his own hand to receive them. Sarvadeva's son was Āmiga, who was a Vedic scholar. To him, who liked to do good deeds, only two things were shameful—viz. to hear his praise from the superiors and living in this prison house of the worldly existence. He had four sons like the four Vedas of the Brahman or creator. Eldest among them was Sarvadeva, who was a great scholar. Names of other three were Kumāra, Muñja, and Āhada. Sarvadeva immersed the remains of king Kumārapāla in the sacred Ganges, and satisfied the Brāhmins of Gayā and Prayāga by giving them donations. He sunk tanks in various places, worshipped Śiva everyday, welcomed every Brāhmin, and consequently, he was praised in every house. His brother, Kumāra, was free from greed. One day, at the time of the solar eclipse, the king of Gujarāt, who was Kumārapāla's son,¹ offered him many jewels, but he did not accept them, though pressed by the donor. By worshipping the Śiva-god called Katukeśvara, he healed the fatal wounds of Ajayapāla, which the later had received in a battle. At a time of famine, when the people had become emaciated like skeletons, he prevailed upon king Mūlraja II to remit the taxes. Pratāpamalla of the Rāstrakūṭa clan had made him his counsellor. Once the Caulukya king appointed him as the commander, and by defeating the enemies he proved himself worthy of choice. Once Kumāra fought with king Vindhya, the grandson of Yośovarman, the lord of Dhārā. Not only did he drive away Vindhya, but having devastated his city called Gogasthāna, dug a well on the site of his palace. He got great wealth from the land of Mālvā, and gave it away when he went to Gayā for a Śrāddha ceremony. Kumāra defeated the invincible army of the lord of the Mlechhas near a place named Rājāsara or Rānisara, and satisfied the manes by performing the rites with the waters of the holy Ganges. He was proficient in the six Karmans of the Brāhmin, and always uttered the sacred syllables—ॐ नमः. He had shown his proficiency in the Śāstras when performing sacrifices, and that in Śāstra or arms when fighting in the battles. He always bore the Brahmasūtra or sacred thread on his body, and Rājya-sūtra in his heart, that is, he incessantly thought about the welfare of the state and the king. Kumāra had an obedient wife named Laksmī, who was beautiful like the goddess Laksmī. She gave birth to three sons—Mahādeva, Someśvaradeva and Vijaya”²

1 As Kumārapāla had no son, we take the word 'son' (Kumārapālasya sutena rājā—v 31) to mean his 'successor'. We are totally justified in this interpretation, because just after this, Ajayapāla, the successor of Kumārapāla, is expressly mentioned by his name (v 32)

2 SU, XV 1-43.

70. Thus Someśvara was the son of Kumāra and Laksmī. He had two brothers, one elder and the other younger, named Mahādeva and Vijaya respectively. He has given the history of his ancestors ranging over a long period of about 250 years from the days of Mūlarāja. It is evident from this account that Someśvara was born in one of the most eminent, learned and wealthy Brāhmin families of Gujarāt. That family hailed from Vadnagar. In addition to doing the work of the high priest of the king, some members of the family, like Someśvara's father Kumāra, could fight and command an army successfully. We can say, on the authority of the *Amamacarita* of Municandrasūri (1199 A. D.) that the same gentleman was the chief accountant of Gujarāt (*Nrpāksapatalādhyaksa*) for some time and that he had revised and corrected the said work at the author's request. This would not appear strange when we look to the manifold duties of the Rājapurohita in ancient India, who was not only an expert in the Śāstras, but also proficient in the Dandanīti or politics, and sometimes had to look after the civil and military administration. We have seen above that Vedic learning and rituals were highly prized things among the ancestors of Someśvara, and some of them were, no doubt, great scholars. But it may be remarked here that though Someśvara has given many interesting details about his ancestors, he has said nothing about their literary works, if they wrote any.

Literary works of Someśvara

71. After eulogizing his ancestors, Someśvara has mentioned a few facts about himself in the *Surathotsava*. He says how contemporary poets like Harihara and Subhata appreciated his poetry¹. By composing a work full of poetic merits, and a play, within only half of a Yāma (one and a half hour), he had highly entertained the members of the court of Bhīmadeva². After praising his own poetry, and also the poetry and munificence of Vastupāla in a number of verses (vv. 48-66), he closes the canto, which shows that the author and the patron were fast friends before the composition of the *Surathotsava*.

72. In addition to the *Surathotsava*, based on the *Devīmāhātmya* in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna*, the poet has composed other works. The *Kīrtikaumudī Mahākāvya* is a panegyric of the glorious deeds of Vastupāla and is very important for the study of contemporary history and society. He wrote a play—*Ullāgharūghava*,³ dramatizing the *Rāmāyana* story. It was acted in

1 श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवकवेरेवेत्य लोकमृण गुणग्रामम् । हरिहरसुभटप्रभृतिभिरभिहितमेव कविप्रवरै ॥

२ × × × × ×

वाग्देवतावसन्तस्य कवे श्रीसोमशर्मेण । धुनोति विबुधान् सक्ति साहित्याम्भोनिधे सुधा ॥

तव वक्त्रं शतपत्र सदृशं सर्वशास्त्रसंपूर्णम् ॥ अवतु निज पुस्तकमिव सोमेश्वरदेव वाग्देवी ॥

—Ibid, XV. 44 and 46-47.

2 काव्येन नव्यपदपाकरसारपदेन यामार्थमात्रघटितेन च नाटकेन ।

श्रीभीमभूमिपतिसंसदि सम्यलोकमस्तोरुसमदवशवदमादधे य ॥ —Ibid, XV 49.

3 अस्त्येव वशिष्ठान्वयसमूतेश्चौलुक्यचक्रवर्तिवन्दितचरणारविन्दस्य श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवस्य कृतिर्नवमुल्लासराधव नाम नाटकम् ।—UR, prologue

the famous temple at Dvārakā on the Prabodhinī Ekādaśī.¹ We cannot say with certainty whether the play with which Someśvara entertained the assembly of Bhīmadeva II was this Ullāgharāghava. The Ullāgharāghava, as we know from the play, was written at the request of the poet's son Bhallaśarman,² and was performed at Dvārakā, as already pointed out. But this, however, does not exclude the possibility of the Ullāgharāghava being identical with the play mentioned in the last canto of the Surathotsava.

73. In addition to these, Someśvara has composed an anthology of didactic verses called the *Karnāmṛtaprapā*.³ No scholar has taken any notice of the work up to now. *Rāmaśataka*, a hymn to Rāma in one hundred verses, is also a work of Someśvara,⁴ and was once very popular, judging from the number of manuscripts of the poem and of its two commentaries— one by Ekanātha and the other by some unknown author.⁵ The *Ābu Praśasti*⁶ of Someśvara bears the date of 1287 V. S. (1231 A. D.), the year of installation of the image of Neminātha in the temple. The metrical portion in two, out of several, Gīṇār inscriptions of Vastupāla are from the pen of Someśvara.⁷ His *Vaidyanātha Praśasti*, commemorating the reparation of the Vaidyanātha temple at Darbhāvati,⁸ by king Viśaladeva, bears the date of V. S. 1311 (1255 A. D.), which shows that Someśvara lived at least for 16 years after the death of Vastupāla. The *Vaidyanātha Praśasti* seems to be his last composition. One more *Praśasti* was written by Someśvara, but no trace of it is available to-day. That was the *Praśasti* of the *Vīranārāyaṇa Prāsāda*, built by king Vīradhavalā at Dhavalakka. It contained 108 verses.⁹ It can be inferred from the name of the monument that it was a temple of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu. No remains of this temple nor any other building of Vastupāla have survived at modern Dholkā. From his numerous compositions on various subjects, it appears that Someśvara was a man of liberal outlook. Though he was a devout śaiva and śākta and

1 तदस्य भगवत श्रीद्वारिकालङ्कारनीलमणे श्रीकृष्णदेवस्य पुरतः श्रीप्रबोधैकादशीपर्वणि सर्वदिगागतानां सामाजिकजनानां जनकमुतापतिचरिताभिनयदानेन कृतार्थयामि ससारकदर्थितमात्मानम् ।

—Ibid, prologue.

2 तद्वत् स्वार्जजमहर्षप्रयुक्त्या प्रार्थनया प्रणुत् । चकार सोमेश्वरदेवनामा रामायणं नाटककल्पमेतत् ॥

—Ibid, last verse.

3 कष्टा नष्टापि निर्विघ्न्य रसास्तेष्वपि नीरसः । श्रीकुमारनुतो द्वे विपासुर्नवमं रमम् ॥ —*Karnāmṛta-prapā*, v 4

ससारस्यन्दु स्यान्ना प्राणिना प्रीतिहेतवे । श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवेन कृता कर्णानृतप्रपा ॥ —Ibid, v. 217.

4 विश्वमगमण्डलमण्डनस्य श्रीरामभद्रस्य यशः प्रगस्तिन् ।

चकार सोमेश्वरदेवनामा यानार्थनिष्पन्नमहाप्रबन्धम् ॥ —*Rāmaśataka*, v 101.

5 Five manuscripts of the *Rāmaśataka* are preserved in the Government collection deposited at the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona. A manuscript of the commentary by the anonymous writer was got by me from the collection of Muni Śrī Puṇyavijaya.

6 PJLS, no 65, HIG, no 206.

7 PJLS, nos 38-1 and 40-3, HIG, nos. 207, and 209, PLM, nos. 168 and 170.

8 CI, Vol. I, pp 20ff ; HIG, no, 215.

9 PK, p 59

an adept in the Vedas, he wrote not only poems and plays praising Rāma, but also Praśastis for the Jaina temples.

This *Somes'vara* is different from the author of the *Kāvyādarśa*

74. Some scholars have tried to identify our *Somes'vara* with the author of a commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, known as the *Kāvyādarśa*, whose name was also *Somes'vara*¹. But the identification is not correct, as the author of the *Kāvyādarśa* was the son of Devaka of the Bhāradvāja Gotra,² while our *Somes'vara* was the son of Kumāra of the Vasistha Gotra. And hence the two authors are different.

Chronology of *Somes'vara*'s works

75. No work of *Somes'vara*, except his inscriptions, bears any date. But the upper or lower limit of at least some of those works can be decided on the basis of internal evidence. A comparison of the *Surathotsava* and the *Kīrtikaumudī* reveals a great difference between the style of these two poems. In the former, the style appears to be more or less of the Gaudī type, forced and obscure, and full of tiresome puns, while the style of the latter is of the Vaidarbhī type, marked by perspicuity, and makes one believe that here the model was that of Kālidāsa. One cannot with certainty view this difference of style as a criterion of priority in time, but it tempts one to believe that probably the work of the Gaudī style may have been earlier. This surmise is further corroborated by the subject-matter of the two poems. The *Surathotsava* is more or less an allegory of the political misfortunes of Bhīmadeva II and the re-establishment of his power at Anahilavād. We know from a grant dated 1224 A. D., that by that time one Jayantasimha had usurped the throne of Anahilavād (para 48). Naturally, Bhīma had to take refuge somewhere, and he could regain his lost kingdom in 1225 or 1226—in any case, before 1227 A. D. (GMRI, Vol. II, p. 359) through the faithful services of Lavanaprasāda and his son. The *Surathotsava* also describes similar misfortunes of, and regaining of power by a mythical king Suratha (para 169-71), and it is quite probable that *Somes'vara* may have chosen the story of Suratha as the theme of his poem on account of its striking similarity with contemporary events, and that he may have written the work to commemorate the re-establishment of Bhīmadeva's power, sometime about 1227 A. D. The *Kīrtikaumudī* (IX 31) narrates the events of Vastupāla's life, including the temples that he built at Śatruñjaya, and on the reasons adduced by Kathavate (KK, intro, p. 17) it was composed after 1232 A. D. Nothing definite can be said about the dates of the *Karnāmrtaprapā* and the *Rāmaśataka*, though on the basis of stylistic improvements, I would like to consider both of them as later than the *Surathotsava*.

1 Peterson, Report V, p. 84, CC, Vol. I, pp. 102 and 737. Also vide SU, intro, p. 16.

2 भरद्वाजकुलोत्तमभट्टदेवकसुनुना । सोमेश्वरेण रचित काव्यादर्श सुमेधसा ॥ (JBC, intro., p. 62 n.) This *Somes'vara* must have lived in or before the 12th century A. D., as the manuscript of his work in the Jesalmer Bhāndār is dated 1213 V. S. = 1227 A. D. (Ibid, p. 43)

Stray verses of Someśvara

76 The Prabandhas give a number of references and anecdotes which bear upon Someśvara's relation with Vastupāla. All these cannot be taken at their face-value, but a critical examination of them reveals that they are based upon historical facts. I have been able to gather a number of such references, out of which some important and interesting ones may be mentioned here:

Once in rainy season Vastupāla and Someśvara had been to the port of Stambhatīrtha. At that time horses imported from some foreign country¹ were being brought down from the ships. Vastupāla looked at the horses and gave the following Samasyā to Someśvara—

प्रावृद्धकाले पयोराशिः कथं गर्जितवर्जितः ।

to which Someśvara gave a swift answer as follows—

अतः सुप्तजगन्नाथनिद्रामद्गमयादिव ॥

And he was promptly rewarded with a gift of 16 horses²

On one occasion the members of the literary circle had assembled. Vastupāla and Tejapāla were also present. A Samasyā was given—काकं किं वा क्रमेल्कः । Someśvara promptly composed a couplet and the seemingly irrelevant words of the Samasyā became full of meaning—

येनागच्छन्ममारयातो येनानीनश्च मे पतिः । प्रथमं सखि कं पूज्यं काकं किं वा क्रमेल्कः ॥

Highly pleased at this gift of ready poetry, Vastupāla gave Someśvara a present of 16 thousand drammas³

Once when Someśvara came to Vastupāla's mansion he was given a seat, which he did not occupy. When asked the reason for this, he uttered the following verse—

अन्नदानेऽप्यपानर्धमेस्थानश्च भूतलम् । यशसा वस्तुपालेन रुद्धमाकाशमण्डलम् ॥

Having heard this the minister gave nine thousand drammas.⁴

During one of his Samghayātrās to Śātruñjaya, the minister was worshipping the Jina, when the supplicants ran towards him all at a time. Looking to the crowd Someśvara spoke the following verse—

इच्छाति हि ममुन्नते सुरगणे कल्पद्रुमे स्वीयते पानाले पवनानमोजनजने कष्टं प्रणष्टो बलिः ।

नीरागानगमन्मुनीन् सुरभयश्चिन्तामणिं क्वाप्यगात् तस्मादर्थिकदर्थेना विग्रहता श्रीवस्तुपालः क्षिणौ ॥

The Prabandhas say that for this he received a large sum as a gift.⁵

When Vastupāla returned from the campaign in which he defeated Śamkhā, he was received by Someśvara with the following śloka—

1 It is well-known that high-breed horses were imported in India from foreign countries like Arabia (BP, Vol XC, pp 195 f). There were settlements of Arab merchants in the coastal cities. Sadik or Said was probably a wealthy and influential one among them (vide supra para 59).

2 PK, p 121, VC, VII 377-84

3 Ibid

4 PC, p. 104, UT, p. 76.

5 PK, p. 116, UT, p 74

श्रीवस्तुपाल प्रतिपक्षकाल त्वया प्रपेदे पुरुषोत्तमत्वम् ।¹

तीरेऽपि वार्द्धैरकृतेऽपि मात्स्ये दूर पराजीयत येन शङ्ख ॥²

77. In addition to these specimens, the Prabandhas have quoted a number of stray extempore verses spoken by Someśvara on particular occasions. His praise of Tejapāla when the latter returned after defeating Ghūghula,² beautiful description of the Lalitāsara, a lake built by Vastupāla at Pālitānā and named after his wife,³ laudatory verses for Vastupāla during the Sāṃghayātrā on Śatruñjaya,⁴ verses in praise of Vīradhavalā when he held durbar after a victory—⁵ these are some of the illustrations in point. The Sūktimuktāvalī of Jahlana contains four verses⁶ of Someśvaradeva. Now, we know that there were more than one poets of this name,⁷ and one is not quite sure whether the author of these verses is our Someśvara. But considering the fact that the Sūktimuktāvalī contains verses of several other Sanskrit poets from Gujarāt—like Hemacandra, Somaprabha, Śrīpāla, Vastupāla, Vāgbhaṭa, Vijayapāla, Prabhādana, Durlabharāja, Devabodhi or Devabodha,⁸ Kumudacandra, Arasī Thakkura or Arasīma and also two verses ascribed to Jayasīma Śidhharāja, the famous king of Anahilavād, it is quite possible that the said Someśvaradeva is none other than our author. The probability becomes stronger when we know that our author prefers to mention himself as Someśvaradeva, just as the compiler of the Sūktimuktāvalī has done. Moreover, the Sūktimuktāvalī quotes two verses from the Vaidyanāthaprasāsti,⁹ which is definitely a work of Someśvara. The anthologies seldom quote from inscriptions, and the fact that the Vaidyanāthaprasāsti is quoted that way shows that it was considered a composition of high literary merit.¹⁰ It is interesting to note that a verse

1 PPS, p 74

2 PPS, p. 69, VC, III 428-33

3 Ibid, p 72, also PC, p 102, VC, VI 512, UT, p 79

4 VC, VI 83, UT, p 75.

5 VC, III. 464-68

6 इन्द्राभ्यर्चनया०, यथावद्रादनात्०, वनभुवि०, वाच यस्मत्स०

7 Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, pp 1108-9

8 The Prabhāvakacarita (ch. 21) says that Devabodha had come to Anahilavād during the reign of Śidhharāja and had come in contact with the poet Śrīpāla. He is said to be an Ācārya of the Bhāgavata sect. Both Devabodha and Śrīpāla were favourites of Śidhharāja, though their relations were anything but friendly (R. C. Parikh, Kāvyaṇusāsana, intro, pp 255 ff.)

9 सिन्दूर सीमन्तात्० and यथेतत्सुवद्धि०. As the text of the Prasāsti has been found in a very fragmentary form owing to the delapidated state of the slab bearing the inscription, it has not been possible to trace out these verses.

10 Another inscription quoted in the Sūktimuktāvalī is the Somanāthaprasāsti, evidently an inscription from Gujarāt (सन्ध्याताण्डव० etc.) As the verse is not found in any of the extant inscriptions connected with the famous Somanātha temple, it may belong to some earlier Prasāsti of the same shrine, which was repaired more than once.

from the Kīrtikaumudī (VII 79 निगदिगु विधिनापि०) has found place in the Vasanta Vilāsa, an old Gujarātī Phāgu of the 15th century A. D.

Somes'vara abandoned the Vyāsavidyā after the death of Vastupāla.

78. Someśvara's verses in praise of Vastupāla, referred to above, reveal the respect and admiration of a friend. Vastupāla has also paid tribute to the scholarship, poetic merits and high position of Someśvara in equally glowing terms (in the verse quoted in the beginning of the para 68). According to the Prabandhas, it was Someśvara who had saved Vastupāla twice from the wrath of king Viśaladeva (vide supra para 54). When Viśaladeva was harassing Vastupāla and Tejapāla, inspite of their previous obligations on him, Someśvara readily composed a verse suggesting the ruler's ingratitude, and the king was ashamed¹. The Prabandha notes that after the death of Vastupāla, Someśvara abandoned the Vyāsavidyā to mark his deep sense of bereavement at the loss of his great friend, and refused to recite the Pūrāṇas, though pressed by the king. And the king appointed another man named Gauapati Vyāsa to do the work.² There seems to be truth in the tradition, as we find Gauapati Vyāsa as the writer of the second Pras'asti of Nānāka in 1272 A. D., in which he mentions himself as the author of a work called Dhārādhvamsa, commemorating Viśaladeva's victory over Mālva.³ It is clear that Gauapati Vyāsa had become the court-poet of Viśaladeva.

79. We do not know the date of Someśvara's death, just as we do not get his birth-date. He was living at least upto 1255 A. D., the date of the Vaidyanāthapras'asti.

(ii) Harihara

मुधा मधु मुधा सीधु मुधा कोऽपि सुधारस । आस्वादित मनोहारि यद्वि हरिहर वच ॥

—Vastupāla⁴

स्ववाक्पाकेन यो वाचा पाक आस्त्यपरान् कवीन् । कथं हरिहर सोऽभूत् कवीना पाकशासन ॥

—Someśvara⁵

80. Harihara appears to be one of the prominent literary figures of the time, as Rājasekhara has devoted one whole Prabandha to him in the Prabandhakośa, and Vastupāla also held his poetry in high esteem. According to the Prabandhakośa,⁶ Harihara was a descendent of Śrīharsa, author of the famous Naisadhīyacarita (circa 1174 A. D.)⁷, one of the most formidable, yet poetic compositions in Sanskrit literature. It was Harihara who had brought the first manuscript of the Naisadha to Gujarāt and it was at the

1 PK, p. 126, VC, III. 332, VTK, p. 80.

2 PPS, p. 80

3 HIG, no 219, v. 18

4 Quoted in PK, p. 58

5 KK, I. 25

6 PK, pp. 58 ff

7 Pandita Śivadatta, Naisadhīyacarita, intro, pp. 9-13, Krishnamachārīar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, pp. 177-78.

initiative of Vastupāla that the work got a wide currency in the province, as a result of which the oldest commentaries of the work were written solely in Gujarāt.

Traditional account of Harihara

81 The Prabandha says that Harihara was a rich man, and came to Gujarāt with a caravan of 50 camels, 200 horses and 500 men from the Gauda country. While on the way, he gave food to the hungry with a liberal hand. When he came to the outskirts of Dhavalakka he sent a man to the court to carry intimation of his arrival, and convey his blessings to Virādhavala, Vastupāla and Someśvara. Vastupāla and Virādhavala were glad that such a scholar had come to their land and decided to receive him next day in a public procession. But Someśvara became jealous, and did not show enough courtesy even to speak with the messenger. Next day, Harihara was received with great honour by the king and the minister and was lodged in a mansion. Since then, everyday, Harihara used to come to the court, where literary discussions were carried on. Once, Virādhavala asked Harihara to examine the poetic merits of 108 verses of the Prasasti of the Viranārāyana Prāsāda built by him. The Prasasti was a composition of Someśvara, and Harihara, who was angry at the apparent jealousy of the court-poet, said—"I have seen all these verses in the shrine called the Sarasvatikanthābharana Prāsāda, built by Bhojadeva in Ujjayinī. If you are not convinced of the truth of my statement, hear me, I recite all the verses one by one." And he recited all the verses in due order. Virādhavala and Vastupāla became sorry, and Someśvara who was thus charged with plagiarism became so much ashamed that he was not able even to show his face. Sometime after, Someśvara went to Vastupāla and told how wrongly he was made a butt of ridicule. Vastupāla advised him to befriend Harihara, and both of them went to Harihara's house. Someśvara requested Harihara to absolve him from the wrong charge of plagiarism, and Harihara accepted to do so. Next day in the court, Harihara said that the goddess Sarasvatī was pleased with him, and that he could recite 108 verses of any description if he had heard them only once, and gave the example of the verses of Someśvara's Prasasti, which he had recited that way. To convince the king and the courtiers about the veracity of his statement Harihara did show again several such intellectual feats there and then. Virādhavala asked Harihara—"if such was the case, why did you accuse Someśvara of plagiarism?" Harihara replied that he had done so because Someśvara had insulted him. But after all, the matters had become clear and both the literary men became friends through the intervention of Virādhavala, and Someśvara's literary career was shown to be spotless. After that the literary discussions in the court became more lively, and at times Harihara used to recite verses from the Naisadha. The Naisadha which was composed about 1174 A. D., was not known in Gujarāt by the time of Vastupāla, and all became astonished by the poetic merits of the work which was also full of scholarship. Once, when questioned by Vastupāla, Harihara said that the verses were from the poem, Naisadha and

that Śrīhara was its author. Vastupāla asked for the manuscript of the work, and Harihara lent it only for one night, as it was very rare. Vastupāla got it copied down during the night, and put it in his own library after binding it with old strings and making it dusty by strewing scented powders over it. When Harihara came next morning to get his book back the minister spoke, "I remember that I have got this work in my library" He told his men to bring the book and the new copy of the manuscript was found out after some delay and shown to Harihara. Harihara was astonished, and said, "This is your strategy. None else is clever enough to do this. You have punished the enemies in a fitting manner, established the influence of jaina, Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva religions, and put the dynasty of your master on the path of glory."¹

Study and circulation of the Naiṣadha in Gujarāt

82. We cannot be sure whether the above account given in the Prabandhakośa is quite accurate in its details. According to Buhler² and others, the Jaina Prabandhas are composed on the basis of historical traditions preserved and transmitted through the Vṛddhaparamparā or through a line of teachers, and there is every probability that the account as a whole may be correct. It also throws some light on the atmosphere of the courts, where a number of poets and scholars gathered together, and competed with each other for royal or ministerial favour. There is no reason to doubt that the first manuscript of the Naiṣadha was brought by Harihara, and that Vastupāla was instrumental in the circulation of that work in the literary world of Gujarāt, because the oldest manuscripts of it are available only in Gujarāt. Two palm-leaf manuscripts of the Naiṣadha as old as V. S. 1304 (1248 A. D.) and V. S. 1395 (1339 A. D.) are preserved in the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Pātan³. One more palm-leaf manuscript copied down in V. S. 1378 (1322 A. D.) is preserved in the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Jesalmer⁴, and there are a few other palm-leaf manuscripts without any date, at both the places⁵. It has also been shown that a copy of the Naiṣadha was put in the Bhārati-Bhāṇḍāgāra or the library of king Viśaladeva,⁶ which may be possibly from the original manuscript in the possession of Harihara or from its copy which was procured by Vastupāla. The oldest commentaries of that celebrated poem are also from Gujarāt—one by Vidyādhara, known as the Sāhityavidyādhari, and the other by the famous Candu Pandita of Dhavalakka. The commentary of Vidyādhara was composed probably during the reign of Viśaladeva (1238–1261 A. D.), as the author has commented upon the text as it was found in the manuscript in the Royal library of Viśaladeva⁷. The commentary of Candu Pandita was written in 1353 V. S. (1297 A. D.), according to

1 PK, pp 58 ff

2 Buhler, Life of Hemacandrācārya, p 4.

3 PBC, pp 64 and 113

4 JBC, p 14

5 Ibid, pp 13, 16, 17, PBC, p 170.

6 Handiqui, op. cit, p 9

7 Sāndesarā, BHV, Vol III, p. 26.

the author's own statement.¹ The wide popularity of the Naisadha in the scholarly world of Gujarāt within a century of its composition was mainly due to Harihara's coming to Gujarāt, and also to the scholastic activities of the literary circle patronized by Vastupāla and the Vāghelā kings like Viradhavala and Visaladeva. The visit of Harihara reminds one of the visit of the poet Bihlana, who had also come to Gujarāt from the far off land of Kāshmir, and had composed a play—Karnasundarī Nāṭikā—staying at Anahilavād, during the reign of Karna, the father of Siddharāja (para 38).

Stray verses of Harihara

83. According to Someśvara's statement in the Kīrtikaumudī, Harihara was a distinguished poet. If Harihara wrote any works they have not been discovered. A number of verses ascribed to him are found in the Prabandhas. His two verses in praise of Viradhavala when the latter came to receive him along with Vastupāla,² his praise of Vastupāla when the minister gave away to the supplicants the gold obtained from a golden staff sent to Viradhavala by a foreign king as a token of his submission,³ and his verses on the occasion of the Saṁghayātrā of Vastupāla,⁴ are particularly interesting. The Sūktimuktāvalī and the Śārngadharapadhīatī contain a number of verses in the name of Harihara, but we are not sure whether they are the compositions of our Harihara or of some other poet of that name.

84. We do not know exactly how long Harihara lived in Gujarāt, but from the account given in the Prabandha it appears that he must have stayed at Dhavalakka at least for a few years. The Prabandha says that once Harihara went to Prabhāsa to pay his homage to the god Someśvara or Somanātha. But there, because of similarity in name he was reminded of the rough behaviour of the poet Someśvara towards him, and at once burst forth into two verses, one of which runs as follows and also contains the name of its composer—

क्व यातु क्वायातु क्व वदतु सम केन पठतु क्व काव्यान्यव्याज रचयतु सद कस्य विगतु ।

सल्लयाल्यस्ते जगति न गति क्वापि कृतिनामिति श्रुत्वा तत्त्व हर हर विमूढो हरिहरः ॥⁵

And he gave half of his wealth to the supplicants and taking the rest with him came to Dhavalakka from where taking leave of Viradhavala and Vastupāla went to Kāśī.⁶

1 Ibid.

2 शम्भुर्मानससन्निभो, वृष्टस्तेन शरणम् PK, p 58.

3 आ. ! साम्यं न सह्ये Ibid, p. 61.

4 अन्य स वीरधवलं, आजन्मापि वशीकृताय VC, VI. 79-80

5 PK, p. 61. The other verse is अस्त्वाम नृपप्रसारं. The interpretation of the verse क्व यातु by Rājasekhara does not appear to be historically correct, because both Someśvara and Harihara have praised the poetry of each other (KK, I. 25, SU, XV. 44), and though their acquaintance had begun with mutual jealousy, it had developed into an admiring friendship. The Prabandha, as it can be seen, has put more emphasis on the tradition of their jealousy.

6 PK, p 61.

(iii) Nānāka

मुखे यदाये विमलं कृत्रित्वं बुद्धो च तत्त्व हृदि यस्य सत्त्वम् ।
करे सदा दानमयावदानं पादे च सारस्वततीर्थयानम् ।
काव्येषु नव्येषु ददाति कर्णं प्राप्नोति च ससदि माधुवर्णम् ।
विभूषणं यस्य सदा सुवर्णं प्राप्ते तु पात्रे न मुखं विवर्णम् ॥

—Ganapati Vṛyāsa¹

85 Nānākabhūti or Nānāka was born in an aristocratic family of learned Brāhmins, just like Someśvara and Harihara. He was a court poet of King Viśaladeva, and had also come in contact with Vastupāla. He had established a Sarasvatīsadaśa or college of learning at Prabhāsa Pātan, where the river Sarasvatī falls into the sea.² Two Pras'astis³ recording the establishment of the college are found, and a good deal of information regarding Nānāka and his family can be obtained from them. The first Pras'asti is not dated, while the second one bears the date of 1328 V. S. (1272 A. D.), which is the eleventh year after king Viśaladeva's death. Even in the first Pras'asti Viśaladeva has been referred to as Tridaś'asuhṛd or "the friend of Gods", which shows that he was not living. We can infer from this that Nānāka was considerably junior in age both to Viśaladeva and Vastupāla.

Family-history of Nānāka

86 Nānāka's family was staying at Ānandapura or Nāgara (modern Vāḍnagar). He was a Nāgara Brāhmin by caste, and his gotra was Kāpisthala. The Pras'astis begin his genealogy from a man named Someśvara. Someśvara was born in the village Guñjā near Vāḍnagar, which belonged to the Brāhmins of the Vaijāvāpa gotra, as it was given in gift to some Brāhmin of that gotra by a Caulukya king, who was pleased with the former's ministership.⁴ Someśvara was an Ācārya and the pupils taught by him also became very learned. He had a wife named Sītā and a son named Āmata, who was an expert in sacrificial rituals. Āmata's wife was Sṛjjanī, and she bore him a son named Govinda, who was learned like God Brahman. Govinda had two wives—Lāchī and Suhavā. Suhavā was so full of excellences that no efforts to praise her could do them full justice. In her company Govinda paid off three debts, and having taken ablution in the sacred Revā

1 The second Pras'asti of Nānāka, vv 14-15.

2 The site of the college of Nānāka is to be seen even to-day at Prabhāsa Pātan, near the temple of Brahmeśvara. There, the Sarasvatī-Pūjā (ceremonial worship of Sarasvatī) is done every year on the last day of the Navarātri festival.

3 IA, Vol. XI, pp 93 ff. Also III G, nos 218-19, Gadre, Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State, pp 14 ff.

4 Though Someśvara belonged to the Kāpisthala gotra, he was born in a village belonging to the Vaijāvāpa gotra, so it can be inferred that the village Guñjā must be a place of his maternal grandfather. Vide R. O. Modi, Ācārya Dhruva Smāraka Grantha (Guj.), p 386.

entered the fourth stage of life. He had three sons. The eldest among them was Purusottama, who was a student of the Vedas. The youngest son was named Malhana, who flourished at the court of the king, being proficient in the six *gunas*. He had done a pilgrimage to Kāśī, and could recite the whole of the Rgveda. Govinda's second son was Nānāka who was wealthy and was also a favourite of Sarasvatī. Nānāka made a deep study of the Kātantra grammar. He had a thorough grasp of the whole of the Rgveda, and was proficient in the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata, the Purānas and the Smṛtis, an expert in the Kāvya, the Nāṭaka and the Alamkāra. He was also a poet, as the Praśasti mentions that Sarasvatī had resided on his tongue to remove her bereavement caused by the passing away of her sons in the form of ancient poets. He has been mentioned as an ornament of the Nāgar community (नानाकः नागरोत्तमः, first Praśasti, v 23). The name of his wife was Lakṣmī, who was a jewel of both the families. His son was Gaṅgādhara, about whose achievements the Praśasti is silent, but whom it gives blessings, which shows that he was comparatively young at the time.

Nānāka patronized by Viśaladeva

87. Viśaladeva bestowed great favours on Nānāka. He gave Nānāka a mansion in a locality of the Brāhmins called the Viśalabrahmapurī built by himself at Prabhāsa and thus made him a resident of the holy place. At the time of worshipping Somanātha, Viśaladeva had given him the town of Vagasarā (modern Bagasarā in Saurāstra) as gift. Nānāka, in his turn, used to please the king by reciting the sweet texts from the Purānas while the king was alive, and satisfied him by doing the Śrādhha after he became 'a friend of the gods'. Viṛabhadra, the head of the shrine of Somanātha, had given Nānāka the seventh share of the revenue of the town of Maṅgala Grāma (modern Māngrol on the southern coast of Saurāstra), pleased by his worship of Somanātha. Nānāka was well-known for his hospitality, and also helped his friends and relatives with a liberal hand.

Nānāka—a patron of poets

88. Thus we get sufficient information about Nānāka, his family and ancestors. His opulence and his love of learning were not the poetic exaggerations of a panegyrist, for we know that he established and maintained a college. He was wealthy enough to patronise other poets, his first Praśasti has been written by the poet Kṛṣṇa, son of Ratna and the grandson of the author of the Kuvalayāśvacūṭa, who was nick named Bālasarasvatī by the people pleased by his Astāvadhāna powers, and the second one was composed by Gauṇapati Vyāsa, the author of the Dhārādhyaṃsa (para 78).

Nānāka's praise of Vastupāla

89. We do not possess any work from the pen of Nānāka, though the Praśastis speak much of his poetic achievements. An incomplete inscription from Vanthali in Saurāstra¹ seems to be a composition of Nānāka, as the author mentions himself as an inhabitant of Ānandapura, gives Kāpisthala as

¹ Annals, Vol. V, p. 171, HIG, no. 225.

his gotra and mentions Govinda as his father. The last line has been inscribed only half, and thus the inscription has remained incomplete, and we do not get author's name. The date is also not known, as the first line is broken. This inscription can be considered a rare specimen of the poetry of Nānāka. The Prabandhakośa informs us that when Amaracandra entered the court of Viśaladeva (vide para 103) his poetic faculties were tested by several poets including Nānāka.¹ Again, we get a further specimen of Nānāka's versification, which is especially noteworthy as it is indicative of his contact with Vastupāla. Once several poets were praising the generosity of Vastupāla, the ministers head hanging down in embarrassed modesty. At that time the young Nānāka uttered the following verse—

एकस्व मुवतोषमारु इति हृत्वा सता जल्पित लज्जानत्रशिग शिरानल्मिद यद्भीक्ष्णे वेद्यि तत् ।
वाग्देवीवदनारविन्दतिलक श्रीवस्तुपाल उव पातालाद् बलिमुदिर्वापुर्मकुन्मार्ग मवान् मार्गति ॥
And the poet was awarded precious gifts.²

(iv) Yaśovīra

लक्ष्मीयत्र न वाक् तत्र यत्र ते विनयो न हि । यमोवीर महच्चित्रं ना च ता च स च त्वयि ॥
—Vastupāla³
प्रकाश्यते नना साक्षाद् यमोवीरेण धीमता । मुखे दन्तद्युता ब्राह्मी करे श्री स्वर्णमुद्रया ॥
—Someśvara⁴

Yaśovīra—a close friend of Vastupāla

90. Yaśovīra was a close friend of Vastupāla. Someśvara has praised both these friends in a verse by describing them as “two sons of the goddess Sarasvatī.”⁵ Yaśovīra was a Vāṇik and professed the jaina religion, though nothing is known about his specific caste. He was a minister of the Cohāna king Udayasimha of Jābālipura (modera jhālor in Rājputānā).⁶ The Kirtikaumudī has clearly mentioned him as “the minister of the Cohāna king,”⁷ though it has not given the ruler's name. In the drama Hammīramadamar-dana (V 48) of Jayasimhasūri, Vastupāla has been represented as honouring Yaśovīra as his elder brother. It can be said on the authority of the same

1 PK, 62. Here Nānāka has been referred to as the Viśalanagariya or coming from Viśalanagara (modern Visnagar in North Gujarat), in the same work elsewhere (p 120) he is mentioned as the Mahānagariya or coming from Vādnagar. But it is evident on the authority of the contemporary Praśastis that Nānāka was an inhabitant of Vādnagar, and not of Viśalanagara.

2 PK, p. 120. According to the PPS (p 60), the sum awarded was 16000. The UT (p 65) informs that Vastupāla gave Nānāka a tongue of gold. In a later collection of Prabandhas included in the PPS (p 74) this verse has been ascribed to Someśvara.

3 Quoted in PC, p. 102.

4 KK, I 27.

5 Ibid, I. 29.

6 VC, ch VIII, PPS, p 49.

7 KK, I 28.

work that Yaśovīra had rendered considerable help to Tejapāla in making Vastupāla's strategy successful against the Muslim invasion (which is the theme of the HMM), and that Yaśovīra's advice was sought by Tejapāla on all important matters at that time, as Mārvād and Mevāl were the places of action (HMM, V. 47 and p. 54). The name of Yaśovīra's father was also Udayasimha, as is known with certainty from his inscriptions.¹ The Purāṇa-prabandhasamgraha has given Dusāja as name of his father, and has also quoted some Apabhramśa Dūhās recited by the bards,² mentioning him as दुसाजुः (vide para 93); and this means that Dusāja may be another name of Yaśovīra's father Udayasimha. Yaśovīra's wife was Suhagadevī; he had five sons, out of which the name of only one, Karmasimha, is known.

Yaśovīra's knowledge of the Śīlpaśāstra

91. Yaśovīra was also known as the Sarasvatikanthābharana,³ probably on account of his love for learning and his patronage of poets. Inscriptions call him Kavindrabandhu,⁴ perhaps on account of his close relationship with Vastupāla. Someśvara has devoted to him not less than four laudatory verses in the first canto of his Kīrtikaumudī, which also speak of his intimate contact with Someśvara's patron. We get the description of his meeting with Vastupāla at the time of the installation ceremony of the Lunavasatī in 1231 A. D. Udayasimha, the lord of Jābālipura, the chief of Nadul and Parmār Somasimha of Candrāvātī were among the royal personalities who had arrived to attend the function, and there were hundreds of officials from the towns and villages of the Caulukya kingdom.⁵ Yaśovīra had also arrived with his king. Vastupāla welcomed him with a number of verses, and Yaśovīra, in his turn, praised Vastupāla with two poetic verses.⁶ Yaśovīra has been mentioned in the Prabandhas as an authority on the science of architecture, and he was asked to give an opinion on the architecture of the Ābu temple. Then Yaśovīra drew attention of Śobhanadeva, the chief architect, to the following defects according to the Śīlpaśāstra—"In the assembly-hall the broad passage between the two female statues is altogether inappropriate in the temple of a Tīrthamkara, and is forbidden by the treatises on architecture. Moreover, this arch over the door that leads into the inner cell of the temple, on account of the two lions on it, altogether disturbs the worship of the god, and moreover, the hall of the elephants adorned with the statues of ancestors in the back-part of

1 PJS, nos. 108, 109, 213.

2 PPS, pp. 50-51. This Yaśovīra should not be considered identical with Yaśovīra under whose patronage the play Prabudhharanāmeya was acted (para 38), because the latter was a son of Pāsu, and a senior contemporary of our Yaśovīra, and lived during the reign of Samarasimha, the father of Udayasimha, under whom our Yaśovīra worked as minister (PJS, no. 352; JSI, p. 325 n.).

3 PK, p. 123.

4 तदगजन्मास्ति कवीन्द्रबन्धुमेत्री यशोवीर इति प्रसिद्धः ।

माक्षीरमाभ्या युगपद्गुणोत्थविरोधशान्त्यर्थमिवाश्रितो यः ॥ (PJS, nos. 108, 109, 213)

5 VO. ch. VIII.

6 PO, pp. 101-2; PK, 124, PPS, pp. 70-71.

the temple, is fatal to the long life of the man who built the temple. That an intelligent architect should have committed these irremediable faults is to be ascribed to the force of actions in a former life, which must always produce their effect." And thus giving the decision Yośovīra returned to his place.¹

Yas'ovīra—a poet and a patron of literature.

92. From his verses quoted in the Prabandhas it seems that Yośovīra was a Sanskrit poet not devoid of merits. This is further corroborated by the fact that the Kīrtikaumudī has compared him with the poets Kālidāsa, Māgha and Abhinanda.² But no work of Yośovīra has come down to us. Being a man in an eminent position, he was also a patron of literature. In a palm-leaf manuscript of a Sanskrit anthology of verses preserved in the Samghavi pādū Bhāndār at Pātan (no. 52 of the incomplete section), I saw several verses in praise of minister Yośovīra in the section called Sajjanaprasamsā or the praise of the good. As the manuscript is fragmentary, we do not know either the date of composition or of copying or the name of the anthology or of the compiler. But this is enough to show how Yośovīra was held in high esteem by some poets. Jayamangalasūri, grand-pupil of Vādī Devasūri and author of the Prasasti of Cācigedeva on the Sundhā hills in Rājasthān, had uttered the following verse, when Yośovīra installed the image of Mahāvīra in a temple called the Candana Vasatī built by him at Jhālor—

यत्त्वयोपार्जितं वित्तं यशोवीरं प्रतिष्ठया । तद्वक्ष्युणिता नीनं यशो वीरप्रतिष्ठया ॥³

And the rhetorician Māuikyacandra (see para 129-30), author of a commentary Samketa on the Kāvyaaprakāśa, thus praised Yośovīra on an occasion—

यशोवीरं लिखित्याख्या यावच्चन्द्रे विधिस्तव । न मानि भुवने तावदाद्यमप्यक्षरद्वयम् ॥⁴

93. Yośovīra was well-known among the Cāranas or bards, because he patronized them with ample gifts. Several Apabhramśa Dūhās of the bards recited in his praise have been preserved in the Prabandhas, and they are important not only for the personal history of Yośovīra and his patronage of the bards, but also for the study of the Apabhramśa folk-literature of Gujarāt and Rājasthān, a valuable part of which has been preserved in the Prakrit Grammar of Hemacandra, and works like the Prakrit Pīṅgala. When Yośovīra concluded a treaty with Viśaladeva of Dhavalakka on behalf of his ruler Udayasimha and thus made the latter's kingdom safe, a bard uttered the following Apabhramśa couplet—

1 PC, p 101. A further list of such architectural defects will be found in the PK, p 124. We are not sure if these lists of defects, in their entirety really came from Yośovīra. But we may say that he might have criticized the architecture of the temple from the point of view of the Vāstuśāstra, which points out not only artistic defects, but what may be called defects according to rules derived from superstitious beliefs.

2 KK, I, 26.

3 PPS, p. 50.

4 Ibid, p 50.

जिम केनू हरि आजु निम जइ लंका इत दुसाजुन ।
नाउ बूढत राजु राणाहीव रोवण नणउ ॥¹

"O son of Dusāj ' had you been in Lamkā just as you are here, the kingdom of the great king Rāvana would not have gone."

94 As we have seen, Yos'ovira had built a temple in Jhālor. He had installed an image of Śāntinātha, the 16th Tīrthamkara, in a temple constructed for the spiritual welfare of his mother, in 1232 A. D (1288 V. S) at Mādri, (near Īranapura Road in Mārvād),² and had also built two Deva-kulikās or small shrines on Ābu in 1235 A. D (1291 V. S.)³ From the inscriptions in these places it seems that Yos'ovira was a follower of the Ācārya Śāntisūri of the Sanderaka gachha of the jama Śvetāmbara sect.

(v) Subhata

सुभटेन पदन्याम. सः कोऽपि समितौ कृतः । येनाधुनापि धीराणा रोमाञ्चो नापचीयते ॥

—Somes'vara⁴

95 Nothing is known about the personal history of Subhata, but his connection with the literary circle of Vastupāla is attested by the fact that Someśvara has praised his poetry along with that of other poets of the circle like Naracandra, Vijayasena, Hanhara and Yos'ovira, and that the Surathotsava informs us how Subhata and Harihara appreciated the poetry of Someśvara (see para 71). Only a one-act Sanskrit drama of Subhata, the Dūtāmgada, which is called a Chāyānātaka by the author, has come down to us. As is mentioned in the prologue, it was acted in Anahilavād by the order of king Tribhuvanapāla (1242-1244 A. D) on the occasion of a festival in honour of the late king Kumārapāla. But when we take into consideration the title of Kavipravara or 'the chief among the poets' bestowed upon Subhata by Someśvara, it appears that he may have written some greater works worthy enough to justify that title. Subhata has also described himself in the prologue as proficient in logic

(vi) Arisimha

यत्कवेलेवणसिंहजन्मन काव्यमेतदमृतोददीर्घिका ।
वस्तुपालनवकीर्तिकन्यया धन्यया किमपि यत्र खेलितम् ॥

—Amaracandrasūri⁵

Arisimha and Amaracandra

96. Thakkura Arisimha was the son of Lāvauyasimha or Lavānasimha⁶ He was a favourite of Vastupāla, and had received from him land and

1 Ibid, p 52. Two other Apabhramsa couplets in praise of Yasovira are quoted in the same work (pp 50-51) One couplet in Udayasimha's praise is also found there.

2 JSI, p 389.

3 PJLS, nos 108-9

4 KK, I 24

5 SS, X. 46

6 Ibid, VIII. 48 and X 46.

other gifts, just like Somes'vara, the author of the *Kīrtikaumudī*.¹ According to the *Prabandhakosā*, he was a follower of Jinadattasūri of the Vāyagaśha,² and as such he may be considered a Jain. Though Arisimha was a layman, he was a *Kalāguru* or preceptor in fine arts of the famous poet and rhetorician Amaraśandra.³ Amaraśandra held Arisimha and his poetry in high esteem, as is clear from his works, and both the literary men, one a layman and another a monk, worked in close collaboration. Just as Arisimha had initiated Amaraśandra into poetic art, it was Amaraśandra who brought the former to the court of Viśaladeva. Once Viśaladeva asked Amaraśandra, "who is your teacher in fine art?" Amara said, "the poet-prince Arisimha." "Then bring him to me to-morrow morning" (answered the king). The following morning Amaraśandra led the poet before the king. The king sat leaning on his sword and asked, "is this the poet-prince?" He answered, "yes." Then the king said, "recite something suitable to the occasion." Thereupon Arisimha recited four verses in which he praised Viśaladeva's sword. The prince was so charmed that he bestowed a permanent appointment and a high salary upon the poet. Soon afterwards the salary was doubled, because he described skilfully in a metrical form a blade of grass which the king held in his hand.⁴

The Sukrtasamkīrtana and its date

97. Poetic fame of Arisimha had spread outside Gujarāt and a number of his verses have been included in the anthologies like the *Sūktimuktāvalī*⁵ and the *Śārngadhara-padhrīṭi*.⁶ In these anthologies he has been mentioned as Arasī Thakkura. Arasī is clearly the current form in Prākṛit of his name and the identification becomes all the more probable when we find that in the *Prabandhakośa* his name has been spelt as Arasimha, the form which is so near to Arasī of the anthologies. The *Ūpadeśataramgī* has quoted a verse of Arisimha in praise of Vastupāla, for which, according to that work, the former was awarded the sum of two thousand.⁷ But most remarkable specimen of the poetic activity of Arisimha is his *Mahākāvya Sukrtasamkīrtana* written in praise of his patron Vastupāla for commemorating his good deeds. Five verses at the end of each canto of this *Mahākāvya* are the compositions not of Arisimha, but of Amaraśandra or Amara Paṇḍita. It is stated, "in this work which Arisimha composed, Amara Paṇḍita wrote these four verses canto by canto."⁸ The number refers to the preceding four

1 UT, p. 79.

2 PK, p. 61.

3 PK, p. 61.

4 Ibid, p. 63.

5 अतिविपुलं, ज्ञान्तारे देव, तदिदं पद्मे वा, दधिपयनं, नक्त निरकुशं, मध्येन वस्त्रं. It may be remarked that दधिपयनं is wrongly ascribed here to Arisimha, as it is from the eleventh canto of the *Ādiparvan* of the *Bālabbhārata* of Amaraśandra.

6 अतिविपुलं (no. 76).

7 UT, p. 73.

8 SS, L. 46.

verses and fifth which is repeated at the end of each canto is not reckoned. The verses have no close connection with the contents of the preceding parts. The first three either contain general praise of Vastupāla and bestow blessing upon him or mention incidents not described by Arisimha. The fourth always names Arisimha as the author of the work and praises his poetic skill; and the fifth mentions the fact that the preceding four are from the pen of Amara Paṇḍita.

98 Evidently, the Sukrtasamkīrtana was composed when Vastupāla was at the zenith of his power¹ This is proved, for instance, by two verses at the end of the first and second cantos—

"Daily, illustrious prince of the council! Vastupāla! the Brāhmins call blessings on you, 'long may you live!' The chief bards, 'may you attain the age of Brahman'; and noble women, 'may you never grow old, and be immortal!' But I will also say something 'may you rejoice in your life as long as your far-reaching fame dances in the sky'" (I. 42).

"Heavenly (wishing) cow, the (paradise) tree, (wish-fulfilling) precious stones! why hide ye yourselves in the tottering rocks of the divine mountain (Meru)? Adorn the earth; nobody demands you! May the illustrious minister Vastupāla live for ever!" (II. 52)

We are able to decide the upper and lower limits of the date of composition of the work more precisely. It was written most probably before 1231 A. D., to which year the inscriptions of the Ābu temple belong, because those magnificent structures are nowhere referred to in this work. But it was written after 1222 A. D. (V. S. 1278), the date of construction of a niche of Mallinātha on Ābu, which it mentions.²

99. No work of Arisimha, other than the Sukrtasamkīrtana is extant. From a verse of Amara-candra in his Kāvya-kalpalatā (I. 2),³ Bühler thinks that Arisimha must have written another work called the Kavitarahasya, and that it was a hand-book of poetry.⁴ It is possible, however, to interpret the word Kavitarahasya in the sense of "the mystery or depth of poetic genius." It appears that Arisimha was proficient in logic and dialectics, as at one place Amara-candra has referred to him as "a lion for the elephants in the form of rival dialecticians."⁵ But we do not know if he wrote any work on the subject.

100. The work of Arisimha leaves no doubt that both he and Amara-candra belonged to Vastupāla's circle of poets, which the Prabandhas often mention. Amara-candra speaks thus in one of his concluding verses—

"Poverty has deserted, in resignation, so completely those men who continually rejoice in praising Vastupāla that she, indolent in spite of the

1 Bühler, IA, Vol. XXXI, p. 480.

2 SS, XI. 34

3 सारस्वतामृतमहार्णवपूर्णमेन्द्रोर्मत्वारिसिंहसुकवे कवितारहस्यम् ।

किञ्चिच्च तद्रचितमात्मकं च किञ्चिद् व्याख्यास्यते त्वरितकान्यकृतेऽत्र सूत्रम् ॥ (I. 2)

4 Bühler, op. cit., p. 479

5 SS, I. 45. Also II. 55.

command of the gods, does not even cross the threshold of their neighbours' houses" (II. 53).

It is clear from this that Arisimha and other poets were amply rewarded by Vastupāla for their poetic compositions and that the information regarding Vastupāla's patronage of literature derived from the later Prabandhas contains a good deal of truth. Moreover, we may not put the prime of the poetic career of Arisimha and Amaracandra as late as the reign of Visladeva, but it appears certain that they kept themselves in favour at the court of Dhavalakka even after the death of Viradhavala and their patron Vastupāla.

(vii) Amaracandrasūri

नक्षत्रप्रवरो महाप्रवरो वेणीकृपाणोऽमरः ।

—Nayacandrasūri¹

Amaracandra-a Sādhu of the Vāyada gachha

101. Amaracandrasūri is one of the remarkable names in the history of mediaeval Sanskrit literature, and he is best known as the author of the Bālabhārata and the Kāvyaśālistatā. Amaracandra was a pupil of Jinadattasūri² of the Vāyada gachha of the Śvetāmbara Jaina sect. Vāyada or Vāyatiya gachha has derived its name from a place called Vāyada situated 15 miles north-west of Anahilavād. The presiding deity of the place is Vāyu or the wind-god and hence the name of the place; and the Vāyadā Banias and Brāhmins of Gujarāt, who are devotees of the wind-god, have originated from Vāyada. It was a custom in the Vāyada gachha that the Ācāryas had only three names,³ viz Jinadatta, Rās'illa and Jivadeva. Thus Amaracandra's guru was Jinadatta, his pupil was Rās'illa and the pupil of the latter was Jivadeva, and again there came an Ācārya named Jinadatta. Considerable information regarding the antiquity of the Vāyada gachha and the Ācāryas that flourished in that gachha can be had from the 7th chapter of the Prabhāvākacarita and also from the Pras'asti of the Bālabhārata.

Possibly a Vāyadā Brāhmin before he became a monk.

102. Nothing is known about the personal history of Amaracandra before he became a Jaina monk. But it is not impossible that he was a Vāyadā Brāhmin, because in spite of the fact that he was a Jaina ascetic he has eulogized

1 Hammīra Mahākāvya, XIV 31.

2 This Jinadattasūri is the same as the preceptor of Arisimha (para 96). He is the author of the Vīvekavilāsa (circa 1220 A.D.), an encyclopaedic work composed for the instruction of the Jaina layman. Amaracandra says that he had written many other works (BBH, last canto, v. 30), but none of them except this one is extant. For Jinadatta's instruction to Vastupāla, vide PC, p. 101.

3 अमीमिस्त्रिमिरेव श्रीजिनदत्तादिनामभिः ।

सुरयो भूरयोऽमूवस्तत्प्रमावास्तदन्वये ॥ (BBH, last canto, v. 27).

Vyāsa in the beginning of every canto of his Bālabhārata and has praised the wind-god, the presiding deity of Vāyada, in the Pras'asti of the same work.¹ We also come to know that he had written the Bālabhārata at the request of the Brāhmins residing in Vāyada.² The Hammīra Mahākāvya (14th century A. D.) eulogizes Amaracandra as a Brahmajña or knower of Veda, and the Kāvyaikalpalatā reveals Amaracandra's complete mastery of Brāhmanical learning. Though Amaracandra became a Jaina Sādhu, it seems that, he did not abandon his ancestral Brāhmanism in toto. We get some more information about Amaracandra after his initiation into religious order, though even that information is mixed with accounts of strange miracles. It is narrated by the Prabandhakos'a³ that Amaracandra, the pupil of Jinadattasūri, received the charm called Sidhhasārasvata from Kavirāja Arisimha. By his chanting of this charm for twentyone days in a secluded part of the mansion of the minister Padma, who was a staunch follower of the Vāyada gachha, the goddess of learning appeared before him from the disc of the moon at the midnight of the twentyfirst day and gave him the boon that he would be a Sidhha Kavi or perfect poet, honoured by all the kings. The Purātanaprabandhasamgraha⁴ informs that Amaracandra had cured some scholar of a fatal disease, and the latter gave him the charm called the Sidhhasārasvata. In any case, we may take it as certain that Amaracandra was initiated in the art of poetic composition by a literary man, in all probability by Arisimha, who was obliged by him in some way.

Amaracandra at the court of Viśaladevā; Amaracandra and Arisimha

103. The Prabandhakos'a notes that after this Amaracandra wrote many works, and became famous as a poet, and was honoured by the king of Mahārāstra and other rulers. Hearing of his fame, he was invited by Viśaladeva to come to his court through the minister Vajala. While entering the court, Amaracandra praised Viśaladeva with two poetic verses. There the faculty of Amaracandra in extempore poetry was tested, and he was given Samasyās by Somes'vara, Somāditya of Vāmanasthali, Kamalāditya of Kṛṣṇanagara, Nānāka and other court-poets, which were readily answered by him in poetic verses. The Prabandha says that in this way he answered 108 Samasyās, and the assembly was so enchanted that the people sat there till evening and Viśaladeva accepted Amaracandra as the chief of the poets.⁵ Though Amaracandra attained great literary fame, he always held in high esteem Arisimha, his teacher in fine arts, this is clear from the way in which

1 किविद्वत्सञ्चलितेऽपि वस्तुनि भूश यत्समवान्मन्महे विश्व यन्मयमीश्वरादिमयतास्पष्टप्रमाणेऽस्तितम् ।
संसारप्रसर. परस्त्वनुमता यस्यानुरोधेषु यत्सरोधेषु शिवं स यच्छतु सता श्रीचारुता मारुत. ॥

(Ibid, last canto, v. 1)

2 Ibid, last canto, vv. 42-44.

3 PK, p. 61.

4 PPS, p. 78.

5 PK, pp. 62-63.

he speaks about Arisimha in the verses appended to each canto of the *Sulāṭasamkīrtana*. For example—

“Arisimha, a lion for his elephant-like opponents in the field of dialectics, composed this work, which like the glances of the ever-gracious Vastupāla, dispenses rivers of nectar” (I 45).

“This work, a flood of beams from the moon of the face of Lāvanya-simha’s son, which draws off the swarms of bees from those water-lilies, the faces of the unworthy, produces mighty waves in the milk-ocean of fame of the excellent minister Vastupāla” (VIII 48).

Literary works of Amaracandra

104. Amaracandra was a prolific and versatile writer. His *Bālābhārata Mahākāvya*, which is a summary in verse of the *Mahābhārata*, and *Kāvyaikalpalatā*, a work on rhetoric, are well-known. It is noteworthy that according to the statement of Amaracandra himself,¹ the *Kārikās* in the *Kāvyaikalpalatā* are partly composed by Amaracandra and partly by Arisimha. Amaracandra also composed a commentary called the *Kavisīksā* on the *Kāvyaikalpalatā*. He wrote two other commentaries on the same work, viz. the *Kāvyaikalpalatā-Parimāla* and the *Kāvyaikalpalatā-Maṇjarī*, out of which the *Maṇjarī* is not extant.² Both the commentaries are referred by the author in the *Kāvyaikalpalatā*.³ Amaracandra wrote a work on poetics, called *Alamkāraprabodha*, which is also mentioned in the said *Vṛtti* (p 116), but it is not discovered as yet. Moreover, Amaracandra wrote the *Chandro-ratnāvalī*, a work on metrics, and the *Syādis’abdasamuccaya*, a work on grammar, which has been commented upon by one Jayānanda, of uncertain date. The *Prabandhakosā* has mentioned two other works of Amaracandra, which are lost—viz. *Sūktāvalī* and *Kalākalāpa*.⁴ The former appears to have been an anthology of verses, while the latter has been called a *Śāstra* by the *Prabandhakosā*, and it is probable that it may be a treatise on various traditional arts, just like the *Kalāvīlāsa* of Ksemendra.

Amaracandra’s relations with the minister Padma

105. Among the works of Amaracandra, the *Padmānanda Mahākāvya* or *Jinendracarita* deserves special mention, because it was written under the auspices of a patron other than Vastupāla. That patron was none else but the minister Padma, whose name has been associated with the said work, and in whose house Amaracandra stayed, while chanting the *Siddhasārasvata* charm, as stated in the *Prabandha* (para 102). Amaracandra has given a good deal of information about Padma in the *Prasasti* of the *Padmānanda*, from which we can gather many things about an aristocratic family of Anahila-

1 p 63, fn 3.

2 Śubhaviṇaya has written a commentary, *Makaranda*, on the *Kāvyaikalpalatā* in 1609 A. D (JRK, p. 89).

3 KKL, pp 19, 28, 63, 67. Also vide Kapadia, *Padmānanda Mahākāvya*, intro, pp 28 and 42, and JSI, p. 378.

4 PK, p. 62.

vād, which was very fond of learning and literature. Padma was born in a Vāyadā Vanik family, and Amaraçandra begins his genealogy from a man named Vāsupūjya who was a minister. Padma had received his Śrīkarana-mudrā or ministerial seal from Viśaladeva. His younger brother Malladeva has been also mentioned as minister, he may be among the councillors of Viśaladeva, and may have attained the prime-ministership during the time of his successor Arjunadeva, because according to the inscriptions, Arjunadeva's Mahāmātya was one Māladeva¹. Padma was not only an adept in politics but was also a poet, who praised the Tīrthamkara by composing new hymns. A dialectical contest was held before him between Amaraçandra and a paṇḍita named Gauraguna, and he gave Jayapatīṇ or certificate of victory and the title of Brahmendu to Amaraçandra in recognition of his victory. Amaraçandra wrote his poem, Padmānanda Mahākāvya, at the request of this gentleman. Belonging originally to the same place, that is Vāyada, and being the followers of the same gachha, these two persons—one a layman, and the other a monk—were on very intimate terms, and it is no wonder if Amaraçandra had got from Padma much help and encouragement in his literary pursuits, as he had got from Vastupāla. The Padmānanda Mahākāvya has for its subject the life of the first Tīrthamkara Ādinātha, and hence it is also known as the Jinendracarita. Amaraçandra has written another shorter work delineating the life of all the 24 Tīrthamkaras, which is entitled as the Caturvims'ati-Jinendra-samkṣipta-caritāni.

Chronology of Amaraçandra's works

106. Nothing definite can be said regarding the chronology of Amaraçandra's works, because none of them bears the date of its composition. There is not much of internal evidence to throw light on the point. We can only say that the Kāvyaakalpalatā-mañjarī, Kāvyaakalpalatā-parimāla, Alamkāra-prabodha and Chandoratnāvalī were composed before the Kāvyaakalpalatā-vṛtti, because all of them are mentioned in the latter work². Moreover, it may be inferred from the nomenclature of the commentaries that the Mañjarī ('sprout') was the first one to be written, and was followed by the Parimāla ('fragrance'). The Padmānanda Mahākāvya was composed between 1238 (date of Viśaladeva's accession) and 1241 A. D. (=1297 V. S., date of the Cambay ms),³ as it cannot be earlier than the date of Viśaladeva's accession, because Viśaladeva has been mentioned in its Praśasti as the king, and in the same way, it cannot be later than 1241 A. D., the date of its copy. From a reference in the Caturvims'ati-Jinendra-Samkṣipta-caritāni by Amaraçandra,⁴ it can be seen that the composition of the shorter work preceded that of the Padmānanda Mahākāvya.

1 BG, Vol I, pt I, p 206

2 For reference to the Chandoratnāvalī, vide KKL, p 6.

3 Buhler, IA, Vol XXXI, p 480

4 पूर्व श्रीवृषभादीनामर्हता चरितानि ते । पुरः श्रीपद्म सक्षेपाद् वक्ष्ये विस्तरतस्ततः ॥

107. Some verses ascribed to Amaracandra are preserved in the Prabandhas. On the occasion of one of Vastupāla's Samghayātrās, Amaracandra was dozing, and hence the former just taunted him, but Amaracandra explained the reason of his sleepiness by way of a poetic verse, in which he described Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī conversing about the splendour of the pilgrim-caravan.¹ And Vastupāla put the lion-seat of Amaracandra first among all the poets. Another verse has been noted in the Upadeśataraṅgiṇī. Once Vastupāla was going to attend the sermon of Amaracandra, but while at the door of the hall he heard the Ācārya uttering the following line—

अस्मिन्नसारे ससारे सार सारङ्गलोचना ।

And Vastupāla, thinking that the Ācārya's mind was full with thoughts about women, did not salute him. Then the Ācārya recited the second foot of the verse—

यत्कुक्षिप्रभवा एते वस्तुपाल भवादृशा ॥

And being astonished, Vastupāla saluted him with honour.²

Amaracandra, nick-named as Venī-krpāna

108 Just as Kālidāsa is nick-named in Sanskrit literature as Dīpaśikhā—Kālidāsa, Māgha as Ghantā—Māgha and Harsa as Anamga—Harsa, Amaracandra is known as Venīkrpāna (PK, p. 62), because in a beautiful verse in the Bālabhārata he has compared the braid of hair of a young woman with the sword of the god of love.³

Image of Amaracandra installed in a temple

109. There is an image of Amaracandra installed in a Jaina temple at Anahilavād in V. S. 1349 (=1293 A. D.) by a person named Madanacandra, who was a disciple of Paudita Mahendra⁴. It speaks of the eminent position that Amaracandra held in the field of scholarship and literature and also in the field of jaina religion, that though he was not the head even of his own Gachha, his image was installed and worshipped in a Jaina temple not long after his death.

1 लक्ष्मि प्रेयसि० (VC, VI. 90). The PPS (p. 62) has ascribed this verse to Naracandrācārya.

2 UT, p. 74. The PK (pp. 109-11) and VC (IV. 485 ff) ascribe this incident to Malla Vādin, head of the Stambhana Pārśvanātha Cārya at Stambhatīrtha, while the PPS (p. 76) ascribes it to Bālahamsasūri of the Suvrataswāmī Cārya at Brgukachha. But we must bear in mind that Malla Vādin had lived during the Valabhī age (para 8) and that Virasūri and his pupil Jayasimhasūri were the heads of the Muni Suvrata Cārya in the time of Vastupāla (para 126), and hence the account given in the UT seems to be more reliable.

3 Ādiparvan, XI. 6. For a verse having similar idea, vide the Ādiparvan, III. 63.

4 PJLS, no. 523.

(viii) Vijayasenasūri

जीयाद् विजयसेनस्य प्रभोः प्रातिमदर्पण । प्रतिविम्बितमात्मानं यत्र पश्यति गारती ॥

—Udayaprabhasūri¹

मुनेर्विजयसेनस्य सुधामधुरया गिरा । भारतीमशुमजीरस्वरोऽपि परुषीकृतः ॥

—Someśvara²

Vijayasenasūri. Vastupāla's family-preceptor

110. Vijayasenasūri was the Ācārya of the Nāgendra gachha, and Vastupāla's preceptor on the paternal side, and as such, the installation-ceremony of the images in the temples built by Vastupāla was performed at his hands. It was the advice and instruction of Vijayasena which inspired the building of temples, establishment of the Bhāndāras, and the undertaking of Saṃghayātrās by Vastupāla and Tejapāla.³

Genealogy of the Nāgendra Gachha

111. Udayaprabhasūri, the chief disciple of Vijayasena, has given the genealogy of the teachers of the Nāgendra gachha in the Praśasti of his Dharmābhyudaya Mahākāvya, and also at the end of his commentary on the Upadeśamālā. Udayaprabha begins the genealogy from an Ācārya named Mahendrasūri, who was a great scholar of the Āgamas and also highly proficient in logic. His pupil was Śāntisūri, who had vanquished the Digambaras with the power of his knowledge. His two disciples were Ānandasūri and Amaracandrasūri, like the two tusks of the elephant in the form of religion. They were like the Mandara mountain for the unfathomable ocean of literature, and vanquished the rival dialecticians even in childhood, and hence they were called "the young ones of the tiger and the lion" (Vyāghra-simha-śiśukau) by the king Śidhharāja. Then came Haribhadrāsūri, who was known as the Kalikālagautama on account of his merits. His pupil was Vijayasenasūri, 'whose speech is like the rainy waters able to extinguish the fire of worldly existence.' We also know from the Praśasti that when in Anahilavād, Vijayasena always used to deliver his sermon in the temple of the Pañcāsarā Pārśvanātha, supposed to have been built by Vanarāja, the founder of the city.

Intimate relations of Vijayasena with Vastupāla's family

112. Vijayasena's relations with the family of Vastupāla were naturally very cordial, he being a Kulaguru or family-preceptor. A characteristic incident showing this intimacy has been described by Merutumga. He says, "Anupamādevī (Tejapāla's wife) having died, the knot of grief swelled up in Tejapāla, and could not be removed. Then Ācārya Vijayasena came there and assuaged his sorrow, and when Tejapāla had partially recovered his self-command, he became a little ashamed of himself and was thus addressed by the Ācārya, 'we have come to see this fraud of yours.' Vastupāla asked

1 DHA, I. 14.

2 KK, I. 23.

3 VO, V. 420 ff, VI. 63 ff and 613 ff, VII. 333 ff; VIII. 1 ff.

the reverend teacher what this meant. He said, 'when Tejapāla was a boy, I asked for him from Dharaṇiga the hand of the maiden Anupamā in marriage, and the arrangement was then concluded. Afterwards he heard of the lack of beauty of the maiden, and in order to break off the engagement, he offered the Kṣetrapāla in the shrine of Jina Candraprabha, eatables and other things worth eight drammas. Now he is despondent on account of the pain of separation from her, of these two sides on which lies the truth?' When Tejapāla was thus reminded of the original state of affairs, he made his heart firm."¹

Vijayasena-a scholar and a poet

113 It was at the instance of Vijayasena that Vastupāla had gone to salute Jagaccandrasūri of the Vrdhha Tapā gachha² and had honoured him and his pupils. Vijayasena was a scholar. Pradyumnasūri, the author of the Samarāditya-samksepā (1268 A. D.), was taught Nyāya by him,³ and he had also revised the Vivekamañjarī-Tīkā of Bālacandra.⁴ A verse in praise of Vastupāla has been ascribed to Vijayasena by the Upadeśatārāṅgīnī (p. 76. देव स्वनाय कष्टं), but we cannot take the ascription as authentic, because the same is found as the seventh verse of the metrical portion of the Gīrnār inscription by Narendraprabha (PJLS, no 4-4; HIG, no 210) and also as the 27th verse of the second Vastupālaprasasti of the same author.⁵ No other Sanskrit composition of Vijayasena has been found as yet, but judging from the way in which his poetic faculty has been referred to by the contemporary authors, it is probable that he may have composed some Sanskrit poetic works worthy of note. We have an Apabhramśa work, the Revantagiri Rāsu, from his pen. It was composed on the occasion of one of Vastupāla's pilgrimages to Gīrnār.

Death of Vijayasena

114. According to the colophon of a manuscript of the Pindaniryakti in the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Chāui, near Baroda, Vijayasenasūri died in 1301 V. S. (1245 A. D.)⁶ The manuscript appears to have been copied down by a Sādhu of the Nāgendra Gachha, as the colophon gives a metrical genealogy of the teachers of the same Gachha, beginning from Mahendrasūri, and hence the date given in it may be considered reliable.

1 The translation is quoted from Tawny (p. 167) with a few emendations here and there. Also vide the PC (Skt), pp. 104-5.

2 VC, VIII. 31 ff. It may be noted here that Vijayacandrasūri, the pupil of Jagaccandrasūri, was an accountant in the house of Vastupāla before he became an ascetic (Gurvāvalī of Munisundarasūri, vv. 122-25).

3 Samarāditya-Samksepā, L. 24.

4 Peterson, Report III, p. 100.

5 In the PK (p. 59) the same verse has been ascribed to Harihara and in the VC (V. 403) to some anonymous poet.

6 २३०१ विंशतिविंशत्यवतारे ज्येष्ठकृष्णनवमीतिथौ निशि। स्वपुरीतल्लम्कापुं(र)र्हतां ध्यानतो विजयसेनचरय॥

(ix) Udayaprabhasūri

गुरोस्तस्याग्रिषा पात्र सूरिस्तुदयप्रभ । मौक्तिकानीव सूक्तानि भान्ति यत्प्रतिभाम्बुधे ॥

—Someśvara¹

Udayaprabha-junior in age to Vastupāla

115 Udayaprabhasūri was the chief pupil of Vijayasenasūri. It appears that he was considerably junior in age to Vastupāla, as Vastupāla had invited well-known scholars from long distance for teaching Udayaprabha various Śāstras.² Vastupāla also organised the function to install Udayaprabha as an Ācārya at a large expense.³

Literary works of Udayaprabha, he is different from Udayaprabha, author of the Tīppanas on three Karmagranthas, etc

116. The main literary work of Udayaprabhasūri is his Dharmābhyudaya Mahākāvya or Samghapaticaritra, which was probably composed on the occasion of Vastupāla's great pilgrimage in 1221 A. D., though the author has not mentioned the date of composition or has not expressly referred to any particular yātrā. In any case, it must have been composed before 1234 A. D. (= 1290 V. S.), because a manuscript of the work bearing that date, in Vastupāla's own handwriting, has been preserved in the jaina Bhāudār at Cambay. The Nemināthacarita of Udayaprabha (JRK, p. 217, JSI, p. 386) is not a separate work, but it is only a part of his Dharmābhyudaya (cantos 10-14). This statement is corroborated by the fact that the Granthāgra of the Nemināthacarita has been given as 2100 ślokas (JRK, p. 217), and that of the above-mentioned five cantos in the Dharmābhyudaya is 2142 ślokas, which can be considered almost equal, if we make allowance for the difference of a few verses here and there, owing to discrepancies at the hands of the copyists. Among other works of Udayaprabha there are two panegyrics called the Sukrtakīrtikallolīnī and Vastupālastuti, glorifying the good deeds of Vastupāla and Tejapāla. The former work was composed on the occasion of Vastupāla's Samghayātrā in 1221 A. D., and was inscribed on a slab in the Indramandapa built by him on Śatruñjaya.⁴ Udayaprabha also wrote in 1243 A. D. (1299 V. S.) an exhaustive commentary called the Karnikā on the Upadeśamālā, the famous Prākṛit Prakaraṇa by Dharmadāsa Gaṇi (before the 9th century), while staying in the Upāśrayā built by Vastupāla at Dhavalakka.⁵ The commentary was composed, as mentioned in the Praśasti, at the suggestion of Vijayasenasūri, the author's Guru, and the first copy of the same was made by a scholar named Devabodha. It was revised by Pradyumnasūri, pupil of Kanakaprabha and the author of the Samarāditya-

1 Ābu Praśasti, v. 71.

2 PPS, p. 64.

3 VO, VII. 60-61.

4 SKK, vv. 165-67.

5 सेय पुरे भवले नृपवीरवीरमन्त्रीशपुण्यवसतौ वसतौ वसन्ति ।

वर्षे मद्-मद्-रवौ कृतमार्कसंख्ये. श्लोकैर्विशेषविवृतिर्विहिताऽद्भुतश्री ॥

—Karnikā, Praśasti. 11

samksepa. The scholarship of Udayaprabha is noticed in other fields too. He composed the *Ārambhasiddhi*, a well-known work on astrology. A fragmentary work, only 47 verses of which have been preserved on a palm-leaf manuscript in the Khetaravasi Bhāndār at Pātan, is a composition of Udayaprabha, and the name of the work is probably *Śabdabrahmollāsa*, as can be inferred from the second verse (प्रमोदयप्रम शब्दब्रह्मोल्लास. प्रकाशतान् ।) The extant verses are mostly for the Mangala purposes, and it is difficult to say anything definitely about the subject-matter of the work. Perhaps it may have been a treatise on the philosophy of grammar, as the title suggests. Verses in a Gūnār inscription of Vastupāla are composed by Udayaprabha.¹ A 19-verse Praśasti of a Pausadhaśālā built by Vastupāla in Stambhatīrtha in 1225 A. D. (1281 V. S.) was written by Udayaprabha,² and the Prabandhas ascribe to him a few Sanskrit verses.³ It may be noted here that Mallisena, the author of the *Syādvādamāñjarī* (1292 A. D.), the famous work on Jaina philosophy, which is a commentary on the *Anyayogavyavachhedadvātrīṃśikā* of Hemacandra, was a pupil of Udayaprabhasūri (JRK, p. 12, Peterson, Report IV; p. 125). Udayaprabha, who wrote a commentary on the *Pravacanasāroddhāra* of Nemīcandra,⁴ and also *Ṭippaṇas* on three Karmagranthas, viz. the *Karmavipāka*, *Karmastava* and *Śataka*, was a pupil of Raviprabhasūri,⁵ and hence different from our Udayaprabha. This other Udayaprabha is older than our Udayaprabha, and lived in the 12th century A. D.⁶

(x) Jinabhadra

117. Jinabhadra was a pupil of Udayaprabhasūri. No more information is available about him, but this much we know that he had composed a *Prabandhāvalī* or a collection of historical and legendary anecdotes, which contained a number of stories, for the reading of Jayatasīma, Vastupāla's son, in 1234 A. D. (=1290 V. S.)⁷ Though the work has come down in a form which cannot be called complete and also contains some interpolations (para 234), it is an important source-book for the history of Gujarāt, and as such, has been included by Jinavijaya in that collection of the Prabandhas, called the *Purātanaprabandha-samgraha*.

1 HIG, no 212, P.JLS, no. 43-6.

2 Annals, vol IX, p. 177.

3 PPS, p. 71, UT, P. 142.

4 Peterson, Report III, p. 262, JRK, p. 272

5 Vide at the end of the *Ṭippaṇa* on the *Sataka*—

स्वपरत्तमयज्ञानप्रीतिप्रहृष्टजगज्जनाश्चतुरवचनामोदनुष्ठानरेजगुरुप्रसा. ।

अभिनृपसमं गगनौर्प्रनर्तितकीर्त्तयस्तदनु महस पात्र याता रविप्रभसूरय. ॥

तच्छिष्य स्वपरकृते श्रीशतकस्य टिप्पणम् । श्रीउदयप्रमचरित्रकार शुभमङ्गलम् ॥

Verses to the same purport are also to be seen at the end of the *Ṭippaṇas* on the *Karmavipāka* and *Karmastava* (vide ms. no. 2173 in the *Pravartaka Kāntivijaya Śāstrasamgraha*, Baroda).

6 JSL, p. 25.

7 PPS, p. 136.

(xi) Naracandrasūri

नरचन्द्रमुनीन्द्रस्य विश्वविद्यालय महः। चतुरन्तपरित्रीशसभ्यैरभ्यर्चितं स्तुम ॥

—Udayaprabhasūri¹

कनीन्द्रश्च मुनीन्द्रश्च नरचन्द्रो जयत्यसौ । प्रशस्तिर्यस्य काव्येषु सक्रान्ता हृदयादिव ॥

—Someśvara²

Naracandra- Vastupāla's Guru on the maternal side

118. Naracandrasūri was a pupil of Devaprabhasūri³ of the Harsapuriya or Maladhāra gachha. He was the preceptor of Vastupāla on the maternal side,⁴ and was in close contact with Vijayasenasūri and his pupils. Vastupāla held him in high honour, and he had taught Vastupāla the three Vidyās, i. e. Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa and Sāhitya, and also the jaina works—Śadūvaśyaka and Karmaprakṛti.⁵ On the occasion of one of his Saṃghayātrās, Vastupāla requested Naracandra to perform the Vāsaksepa ceremony, but Naracandra with a high sense of propriety, declined to do so, and at his suggestion Vastupāla called Vijayasena and Udayaprabha, his preceptors on the paternal side, from a place called Pilupadra or Piluāi (probably modern Pilu, a few miles from Hanumāngadh in the Bikaner State) in Mārvād.⁶ He accompanied Vastupāla in a number of his pilgrimages.

Literary works of Naracandra

119. Naracandrasūri was a great scholar, and highly proficient at least in four Śāstras—viz. Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa, Sāhitya and Jyotiḥ. In Nyāya he has written a scholarly Tīppana or gloss on the Nyāyakaṇḍalī of Śrīdhara, in Vyākaraṇa the Prākṛataprabodha, a treatise on the Prākṛit grammar, in Sāhitya a Tīppana on the Anaigharāghava of Murāri,⁷ and in Jyotiḥ the Jyotiḥsāra or Nāracandra jyotiḥsāra—more briefly known as the Nāracandra, perhaps the most popular work

1 DHA, I. 13.

2 KK, I. 22.

3 Devaprabhasūri was the author of the Pāṇḍavacarita, a Jaina poetical version of the Mahābhārata, a commentary on the Anargharāghava Nāṭaka of Murāri, and several other works. The Prabandhas state that he gave religious sermons citing the authority of the Brāhmin Śāstras, and hearing him, king Vīradhavalā had abandoned hunting, and also partaking of meat and liquor (VC, V. 348 ff, PK, p. 113) Jagaddandrasūri was guided by Devaprabha in the interpretation of the Jaina Āgamas (VC, VII. 320).

4 VC, I. 92, PK, p. 113.

5 PK, p. 113.

6 VC, V. 420, PK, p. 113.

7 Naracandra was helped by one Vimalasūri in the writing of this Tīppana; see the last verse of the Praśasti—

शब्दप्रमाणसाहित्यत्रिवेणीसङ्गमश्रियाम् । श्रीमद्विमलसूरीणामिदमुद्यमवैभवम् ॥

of Jaina astrology.¹ Unfortunately, only two chapters of the *Jyotiḥsāra* are extant and as one *Sāgaracandra*, of uncertain date, has commented only upon these two chapters, it can be said that the complete text was not available even to him. It was in order to satisfy the eagerness of *Vastupāla* to hear the narratives pertaining to Jaina religion that *Naracandrasūri* composed his *Kathāratnākara* or *Kathāratna-sāgara*, containing a number of *Dharmakathās*.² Peterson has taken notice of a manuscript of the *Carturvimśati—Jina—Stotra* of *Naracandra* in the *Pātan Bhāṇḍār*,³ but I could not trace the manuscript in any of the *Bhāṇḍāras* in the said place. A hymn called the *Sarva-Jina-Sādhāraṇa-Stavana* of *Naracandra* has been included in the *Jain Stotra Sandoha* (pp. 20-22), and presumably this may be identical with the hymn noted by Peterson. *Naracandra* also wrote metrical portion of two of the *Gīrnār* inscriptions of *Vastupāla*⁴ and also a panegyric called the *Vastupālaprasasti*. We also know that *Naracandra* had revised the *Pāṇḍavacarita* of his own Guru *Devaprabhasūri*, and the *Dharmābhyudaya* of *Udayaprabhasūri*, as is mentioned at the end of both these works. Moreover, he had given lessons in the *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra* to *Pradyumnasūri*,⁵ whom I have already referred to (para 113 and 116). Several verses ascribed to *Naracandra* have

1 cf. *Rājaśekharaśūri* on *Naracandra* in his *Nyāyakandallī Pañjikā* (circa 1349 A. D.)—

दिप्यनननर्वरावशाले किल दिप्यन्तं च कन्दल्यान् । तार ज्योतिषनटुमथ प्राकृतदीपिकामपि च ॥

—Peterson, Report III, p. 275.

It may be noted here that *Naracandra*, who wrote *Praśnaśataka* (1178 A. D.), *Jyotiś-caturvimśikā* and *Janmasamudra*, was a *Sādhu* of the *Kāsahrada gachha* and a pupil of *Simhasūri*, and hence different from our *Naracandra*. Vide the colophon of the *Praśnaśataka*—

इति श्रीकान्तद्वन्द्वीयश्रीनिन्दुर्गिशिष्यश्रीनरचन्द्रोपाध्यायकृतायां शानदीपिकासंज्ञया प्रश्नशतकवृत्तौ वृत्तिवेदान्तबुधगिन्या वृष्टिवाचादिप्रकीर्णकफलञ्जो नाम सप्तम प्रकाश ॥ छ ॥ शानदीपिकानामवृत्तिः समाप्ता ॥ जन्मप्रकाश कवितत्त्वलेख प्रश्नप्रकाशं नरचन्द्रनामा । योऽध्यापकः प्रश्नगतं स चक्रे कासहदो जन्ममसुद्रवृत्ती ॥

(ms. no. 2164, collection of *Pravartaka Śrī Kāntivijaya*, Baroda)

Colophon of the *Jyotiś-caturvimśikā*—

श्रीकान्तद्वन्द्वीयश्रीनिन्दुर्गिशिष्यश्रीनरचन्द्रोपाध्यायकृतायां शानदीपिकासंज्ञया प्रश्नशतकवृत्तौ वृत्तिवेदान्तबुधगिन्या वृष्टिवाचादिप्रकीर्णकफलञ्जो नाम सप्तम प्रकाश ॥ छ ॥ शानदीपिकानामवृत्तिः समाप्ता ॥ जन्मप्रकाश कवितत्त्वलेख प्रश्नप्रकाशं नरचन्द्रनामा । योऽध्यापकः प्रश्नगतं स चक्रे कासहदो जन्ममसुद्रवृत्ती ॥

(ms no 5101, *Śrī Hemacandrācārya Jaina Jñāna Mandira*, Pātan)

2 अन्येषुमन्त्रिनो मौला निधाय ककुडमलम् । तेन निजपित. श्रीमान् नरचन्द्रमुनीश्वर ॥

युष्माभि स्वक्रान्तुजस्य शिरसि न्यस्तस्य नाहात्म्यव. प्राप्तं जन्मजिनोऽपि दुर्लभतरं सदाधिपत्यं मया ।

यमेत्यानशानानि दानविषयस्ते ते च सन्वेतिरे चेत् सन्प्रति जैनशासनकथा श्रोतु समुत्कण्ठते ॥

इत्यन्ययनया चरुर्वस्तुपालस्य मन्त्रिण । नरचन्द्रमुनीन्द्रास्ते श्रीकथारत्नसागरम् ॥

—*Kathāratnākara*, I. 8-10.

3 Peterson, Report V, p. 96.

4 HIG, nos. 208 and 211, PJS, nos. 39-2 and 42-5.

5 *Samarāditya-Samksepā*, I. 23.

been preserved in the Prabandhas.¹ The account of the consolation that he gave to Vastupāla when the latter wept on seeing the image of his mother on Śatruñjaya is most touching, and also significant from the historical point of view, because it refers to a similar incident in the case of Śidhharāja Jayasimha.²

Date of Naracandra's death

120. According to the Prabandhakośa, Naracandrasūri died on the tenth day of the dark fortnight of the month Bhādrapada in V S 1287 (=1231 A. D.).³ The Prabandha notes that some time before his death, he prophesied the year of Vastupāla's demise.⁴

(xii) Narendraprabhasūri

तस्य गुरोः प्रियशिष्यः प्रमुनेरेन्द्रप्रभः प्रभाषाद्व्य । योऽलंकारमहोदधिमकरोत् काकुत्स्थकेलि च ॥
—Rājaśekharaśūri⁵

Composition of the Alamkāramahodadhī at Vastupāla's request

121. "Once Vastupāla, folding his hands with devotion, thus requested Naracandrasūri— 'Some works on Alamkāra are difficult to grasp, because they are lengthy, while some are not sufficiently clear, as they are too short. Some other books contain much that is irrelevant and can be understood with difficulty. My mind is tired of listening to such works, which give no judgment regarding the real nature of poetic art. So please expound to me a Śāstra, which is not too long, which contains the essence of poetic art and can be understood even by the less intelligent.' Hearing this, the Ācārya suggested to his pupil Narendraprabhasūri to write such a work, and the latter composed the Alamkāramahodadhī—kārīkās and the vitti thereon—for the delectation of Vastupāla.⁶ It was written, according to the author's own statement, in V. S. 1282 (= 1226 A D).

Other works of Narendraprabha

122 It appears that in addition to the Alamkāramahodadhī, Narendraprabha had composed a work called the Kākutsthakeli, as can be inferred from the verse of Rājaśekharaśūri, quoted above from the Nyāyakandalī-pañjikā. From the list of an old Bhāṇḍārā⁷ we come to know that the Kākutsthakeli was a drama, the Granthamāna or

1 PPS, p. 69, PK, p. 115, VC, VI 75, 372, UT, p. 73.

2 PK, p. 115, VC, VI. 468 ff.

3 PK, p. 127.

4 VC, VIII. 440-42.

5 Praśasti of the Nyāyakandalī-Pañjikā, quoted by Peterson, Report III, p. 275.

6 AM, p. 3.

7 PT, Vol. II, p. 426.

Granthāgra¹ of which was 1500 Ślokas. The list does not throw any light on the subject-matter of the play, but it may be assumed from the title that its theme may have something to do with the history of Rāma, a favourite subject with the Sanskrit play-wrights. No manuscript of the said work has been found as yet. Narendraprabhasūri has written two panegyrics of Vastupāla, known as the Vastupālapraśasti—one of 104, and the other of 37 verses. Probably, the longer Praśasti was composed on Śatruñjaya on the occasion of one of the Saṃghayātrās of Vastupāla, as is evident from the manner in which the author refers to that mountain (अत्रैव शैले रचनाचकार मनोऽमाखण्डलमण्डप य ० v. 78; अत्रैव शत्रुञ्जयशैलमालै ० 1.82). There is also additional evidence in the fact that verses 77 to 98 are devoted to the enumeration of public and pious works of Vastupāla during the pilgrimage. In the same way, one may be justified in assuming that the shorter Vastupālapraśasti may have been composed at the commencement of the aforesaid Saṃghayātrā, as in the last verse it refers to the commencement of the pilgrimage, but does not give any more details, the rest of the poem being devoted to the conventional praise of the ministers. Thus we may believe that Narendraprabha accompanied the pilgrim-caravan; and wrote his two panegyrics—the shorter one at the commencement of the pilgrimage and the longer one at the time of its completion on Śatruñjaya. Moreover, verses in a Gīrnār inscription of Vastupāla are composed by Narendraprabha.² He also wrote two collections of verses on religious topics—Vivekapaṇḍita and Vivekakalikā—from which we know that he bore the pen-name Vibudhacandra Kavi.³

(xiii) Bālacandra

वाग्बलीदलदस्यः कति न वे सन्त्यानुतुष्योपमा सत्योऽपेक्षुष स्वकोष्ठमिठरीसम्पूत्तिवावद्विय¹ ।
सोऽन्य कोऽपि विदर्भरीतिवचनान् बालेन्दुचरि पुरो यत्न स्वर्गिपुरोहितोऽपि न गवा पौरोगवन्तादृश ॥

—Aparājita Kavi⁴

बहुप्रबन्धकृतं श्रीबालचन्द्रस्य का स्तुति । मध्वीशवस्तुपालेन य. स्तुतः कवितागुणात् ॥

—Pradyumnasūri⁵

Genealogy of Bālacandra's teachers

123. Bālacandra was a pupil of Haribhadrāsūri of the Candra Gachha. He has given at length the genealogy of his teachers in the Praśastis of his commentaries on the Upadeśakandali and Vivekamañjarī

1 It is well-known that this device of Granthāgra has been used, mostly by Jaina writers and copyists, to indicate the extent of literary works. The Anustup is taken as a unit, and the number of the ślokas of the work—which may be in verse or prose or in both—is calculated by considering 32 syllables as equal to one śloka.

2 HIG, no 210, PJLS, no 41-4.

3 PBC, pp 187 f.

4 This verse has been found written at the end of a manuscript of the Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya of Bālacandra, in the Pātan Bhāṇḍār (VV, p. 79). Nothing is known about the date or personal history of Aparājita Kavi, its author.

5 Samarāditya-Saṃhāṣa, I. 26.

of Āsada (PBC, pp. 329-33; VMT, pp. 215 ff): In the Candra Gachha there flourished an Ācārya named Pradyumnasūri, who gave religious instruction to the king of Talavātaka (modern Talavādā, situated 8 miles west of Bānsvādā in Rājasthān). Candraprabhasūri, who succeeded him, composed a morning hymn to jina. After him came Dhaneśvarasūri, who got a Mantra from his Guru, and initiated to right understanding the goddess of Samayupura (modern Samau, near Pātau). He had four pupils—Vīrabhadra, Devasūri, Devabhadra and Devendrasūri, like four hands of Sarasvatī. Devendrasūri was staying at Maudalī and he performed the installation ceremony of the image in a temple of Mahavīra in that city. His successor was Bhadreśvarasūri, and after him came Abhayadevasūri who vanquished many disputants. The poet Āsada drank the nectar of instruction of Abhayadevasūri,¹ and then composed his two works—Vivekamañjarī and Upadeśakandalī. His pupil was Haribhadra, well-versed in six schools of philosophy and literature, and the Guru of our author.

Bālacandra's Personal history and his contact with Vastupāla

124. In the first canto of his Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya, Bālacandra has given some account of his life, prior to his becoming a Jaina ascetic: In the town of Modheraka (modern Modherā near Pātau) there was a famous Brāhmin named Dharādeva. He was well-acquainted with jainism. He was a wealthy man, and supplicants coming to his house always returned with their hands full with money. The name of his wife was Vidyut. They had a son named Muñjāla, who though living with his parents, looked on the world as an illusion. Being instructed and enlightened by Haribhadrasūri, he became a Jaina ascetic with the permission of his parents, and was named Bālacandra. When Haribhadra found that his end was near, he installed Bālacandra in his place. Bālacandra was tutored by Padmāditya, who was a great scholar and adored by the Caulukya kings. Udayasūri of the gachha of Vādī Devasūri gave him the Sārasvata charm. Once, when Bālacandra was in Yogandhrā or contemplative trance, the Goddess Sarasvatī appeared to him, and told him that she was pleased with his devotion, and that he was just her child like Kāldāsa and other poets. And the poet says that being thus blessed by the goddess of learning he became bold enough to sing the fame of Vastupāla. The Prabandhas mention that once young Bālacandra praised Vastupāla with a verse (गौरी रागवती त्वयि०), comparing him with God Śiva in every respect,² and Vastupāla, being pleased with it, spent several thousand drammas in the ceremony for installing Bālacandra as an Ācārya.

Literary works of Bālacandra

125 The main work of Bālacandra is his Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya, depicting the life of Vasantapāla, a name given to Vastupāla by his poet-friends

¹ It may be mentioned here that this Abhayadevasūri is different from Abhayadevasūri, the famous commentator of the Jaina Āgama (para 20)

² PC, p. 103, VC, VII 118-20, UT, p. 73. The same verse with some alteration has been given by Bālacandra in praise of Jaitrasimha, Vastupāla's son, at the end of the third canto of the Vasantavilāsa.

(para 63). It was written at the request of the latter's son Jaitrasimha. The author has not given the date of composition, but as it mentions the death of Vastupāla in 1240 A. D. (1296 V. S.), it must have been written after that year. *Karuṇāvajrāyudha* is a one-act play of Bālacandra, which was acted on Śatruñjaya in the temple of Ādinātha, for the entertainment of the pilgrims on the occasion of one of Vastupāla's Saṃghayātrās, as mentioned in the prologue. Some scholars think that this was the famous Saṃghayātrā of 1221 A. D.¹ Two other works of Bālacandra are his commentaries on the *Vivekamañjarī* and the *Upadeśakandali*, two *Prakarana*s in Prākṛit giving Jaina religious instruction, by Āsada of the Śrīmālī community, who was given the title of Kavi-sabhā-śringāra by the courtiers of the Caulukya king, as stated in the *Prasastis* of both the commentaries. The commentary on the former work was revised by Vijayasenasūri of the Nāgendra gachha and Padmasūri of the Brhad gachha. It bears no date, but it must have been composed before 1245 A. D., the year of Vijayasena's death (para 114). The commentary on the latter work is also without date, but as a palm-leaf manuscript of the same in the Pāṭaṇ Bhāṇḍāra is copied down in 1296 V. S. (1240 A. D.),² it must have been composed before that year. Both the commentaries were written at the request of Jaitrasimha, the younger son of Āsada, the author of the original works. We also know from the *Prasastis* of both the commentaries that as the family of Jaitrasimha followed the Candra gachha, Bālacandra was his Kulaguru, 'family-preceptor', and that he was a spiritual son (Dharmaja) of a nun named Ratnasrī. Pradyumnasūri of the same gachha, who considered Bālacandra his elder brother,³ helped him in writing both the commentaries.⁴ It seems that Bālacandra had also written a work called the *Gaṇadharāvalī*, giving the genealogy of Jaina teachers, as is suggested by the title, he refers to it as his own composition in his commentary on the *Vivekamañjarī*.⁵ The work is not discovered as yet.

(xiv) Jayasimhasūri

Hammīramadamarāḍana and Vastupāla-Tejapāla Pras'asti

126. Jayasimhasūri was a pupil of Virasūri and head of the Mimi Suvrata Caitya of Brgukachha. He is the author of the play *Hammīramadamarāḍana*, dramatizing Vastupāla's strategy in repulsing a Muslim attack on Gujarāt. The play was acted at Stambhatīrtha at the instance of Jayantasimha or Jaitrasimha, Vastupāla's son, the then governor of that city. It must have been composed between 1223 A.D. (=1279 V.S.),⁶ the date of the beginning of Jayantasimha's governorship and the date of the Jesalmer palm-leaf manuscript, which was copied down in 1230 A.D. (=1286 V.S.).⁷ Another composition of Jayasimha-

1 JSI, p. 384.

2 PBC, p. 333.

3 Samarāditya-Samksepā, *Prasasti*, v. 4.

4 Peterson, Report III, p. 100. Also VMT *Prasasti*, v. 14.

5 यदुक्तमस्माभिर्गणवरावल्यान्—VMT, pp. 5, 50.

6 Vide the Gīrnār inscriptions of Vastupāla.

7 HMM, intro., p. 1, JBC, p. 23.

sūri is a panegyric in 77 verses called the Vastupāla-Tejapāla Praśasti. The occasion of its composition was as follows—Once Tejapāla had been on a pilgrimage to the Muni Suvrata Caitya, when the author requested him to provide 25 Devakulikās or small shrines in the temple Śakunikāvihāra, built by minister Āmbaḍa, with golden flag-staffs. Tejapāla agreed to it with the consent of Vastupāla, and erected the staffs,¹ and Jayasimhasūri composed the Praśasti to commemorate the occasion. It appears from the form of the Praśasti that it must have been inscribed on a slab in the walls of the temple. But the Śakunikāvihāra was turned into a mosque and the slab destroyed, but the Praśasti has come down to us in the manuscript-form. It is difficult to assign an exact date to the Praśasti.

This Jayasimhasūri different from the author of the Kumārapālacarita and Dharmopades'amālā

127. It may be noted here that This Jayasimhasūri is different from Jayasimhasūri of the Krsna Gachha, author of the Kumārapālacarita Mahākāvya (1366 A.D.), and of the Nyāyatātparya Dīpikā, a commentary on the Nyāyasāra of Bhāsarvajña and also different from an older Jayasimhasūri, pupil of Krsna, who wrote Dharmopades'amālā in 859 A.D. (para 304).

(xv) Māṅkyacandra

128. Māṅkyacandra was a Jaina ascetic of the Rāja Gachha, and a pupil of Sāgaracandrasūri, who was a pupil of Nemīcandrasūri.² He is the author of the famous Samketa, one of the oldest and most authoritative commentaries on the Kāvyaaprakāśa of Mammata (circa 1100 A.D.), another very old commentary from Gujarāt being the Dīpikā or Jayantī by Jayanta (1294 A.D.), son of Bhāradvāja and family-priest of the chief minister of king Sāramgadeva of the Vāghelā dynasty.³ Māṅkyacandra also composed two Mahākāvyas—Śāntināthacaritra and Pārśvanāthacaritra.⁴

Date of the composition of the Samketa

129. The Samketa is generally believed by scholars to have been composed in 1160 A.D. (1216 V.S.).⁵ Māṅkyacandra himself has mentioned the date of composition as follows, at the end of his work—

1 Vide also VC, ch VII

2 For genealogy of Māṅkyacandra's teachers, vide Peterson, Report III, pp 157 ff, also PBO, pp 53 f

3 De, Sanskrit Poetics, Vol I, pp 171 f.

4 J.R.K., pp 244 and 379.

5 Kane, Sāhityadarpana, intro, p. 106, De, op. cit, p. 167, Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 198, Dhruva, Dīgdarsana (Guj), p. 22 Mahāmahopādhyāya Vāsudeva Śāstri Abhyankar has given this date in the introduction to his edition of the Samketa, but the relevant verse mentioning the year of composition, which is found in the manuscripts, is not to be seen in his text. It appears that in his edition, he has omitted the Praśasti.

रस-वन्द-प्रदापीशवन्दरे गति नथये । काव्ये भाव्यप्रदागहा नैवेतोऽयं समर्पितः ॥¹

Ordinarily, the word वन्द may be taken to mean 'one' and hence the scholars have interpreted रस-वन्द-प्रदापीश as "year 1216" V. S. But against this, there are certain historical facts, which lead us to interpret वन्द not as "one" but as "six" (mouths of Kārtikēya) or "four" (mouths of Brahman), and consequently, the year must be read as 1266 or 1246 V. S. (i) Firstly, Mānukyaśāstra composed his Pārśvanāthacaritra in A. D. 1220 (V. S. 1276) at Devakūpaka or Dvīpa (modern Dīva, an island on the southern coast of Saurāstra). He has mentioned the date as follows:—

रस-वन्द-प्रदापीशवन्दरे गति नथये । काव्ये भाव्यप्रदागहा नैवेतोऽयं समर्पितः ॥²

Now, if the author wrote the Saṁketa, a fruit of his mature learning and ripe intelligence, in 1160 A. D., it is difficult to believe that he should have been fit enough to compose a Mahākāvya sixty years afterwards— in 1220 A. D.—if at all he could have lived so long. And therefore, it would be more natural to interpret वन्द as "six" (mouths of Kārtikēya) or "four" (mouths of Brahman), and believe the Saṁketa to have been composed in 1266 V. S. (1210 A. D.) or 1246 V. S. (1190 A. D.). This interpretation is supported by some old authorities, the references from which were supplied to me by Mr. Agarachand Nāhatā,³ who has made a deep study of Śabdāmka (symbols for figures) occurring in the colophons of numerous works in Sanskrit and Prākṛit literature, and who believes that the word गुह्यवन्द, गुह्यवन्द or कुमारवन्द which meant "six (mouths of Kārtikēya)" was shortened later on to वन्द, वन्द or गुह्य, and still retained its original sense. It is interesting that nowhere in the treatises on Śabdāmka the word गुह्य has been used in the sense of "one" (e. g. KKL, p. 144); either it is वन्दमुत्र or उदमुत्र. (ii) secondly, in the Praśasti of the Pārśvanāthacaritra we are told that the author had composed that work at the request of one Dehāda and his son pālhaṇa (who was also a poet) of the Śrīmālī community, the former being a son of Vardhamāna, who was a courtier of kings Kumārapāla and Ajayapāla of Anahilavād Pāṭan.⁴ Kumārapāla died in 1174 A. D.,⁵ and was succeeded by his nephew Ajayapāla, who was murdered by an attendant in 1177 A. D.⁶ Now, if Mānukyaśāstra had written at the request of the son and the grandson of a courtier of Ajayapāla (the grandson,

1 PBC, p. 54.

2 Peterson, op. cit., p. 157.

3 (i) कवु जीवो रसो लेख्या द्रव्यश्च पदकं स्वरम् । कुमारवन्दनं यत्तु शिलीमुखपदानि च ॥

—Gaṇitasāra of Mahavirācārya

(ii) रसदर्शनतुलकाः गुह्यवन्दानि पद तथा ।

—from an old palm-leaf giving Śabdāmka

(From Mr. Nāhatā's letter dated 15th May 1948)

In addition to these—

रसरागवन्दनैः त्रिशिरो नेत्रानराणि गुणतर्का । दर्शनगुह्यमुखभूयटचक्राणि स्थिरि पदसंख्या ॥

KKL, p. 145.

4 Peterson, op. cit.

5 BG, Vol I, pt. I, p. 194.

6 Ibid, p. 195.

too, must have been of mature age, as he has been referred to by the author as प्रजावना सत्कविपुङ्गवेन), it is evident that the date of his works should be considerably later than the reign of Ajāyapāla. Apparently, that date must be nearer to 1220 A. D., the date of composition of the Pārs'vanāthacarita.

Mānikyacandra's contact with Vastupāla

130 (iii) Thirdly, there is most trustworthy evidence to show that Mānikyacandra had come in close touch with Vastupāla. According to the contemporary Prabandhāvalī (1234 A. D.) of Jinabhadra¹ (para 117), Vastupāla once invited Mānikyacandra at his place, when the latter was staying at Vata-kūpa near Stambhatīrtha. Mānikyacandra did not accept the invitation on account of some engagement². Vastupāla, rather irritated at the pride of the scholar, sent to him a satirical verse, in which making a pun on the place-name Vatakūpa he called him a frog of the well. Mānikyacandra retorted in an equally pungent manner. Then Vastupāla, through his men, got manuscripts and all other things removed from Mānikyacandra's Upāśraya at Stambhatīrtha, and then the Ācārya came to him for making a complaint. Mānikyacandra asked, "why should there be this trouble in my place, though you, the chief of the community, are living?" The minister smilingly replied, "because the reverend su was not coming." And then the minister returned to Mānikyacandra all his belongings and arranged a public welcome in his honour³. According to the same Prabandhāvalī, Mānikyacandra was also in touch with Yasovira, a friend and contemporary of Vastupāla (para 92)⁴. Now, if we take the date of the Samketa to be 1160 A. D., there would arise a gross anachronism, as probably Vastupāla was not even born in that year. The chronology becomes quite clear if we take the date 1210 or 1190 A. D., as suggested above.

131 It seems from the Prabandhas that though in the beginning the relations of Vastupāla and Mānikyacandra were not sufficiently cordial, later on they came nearer, and Vastupāla gave considerable literary help to Mānikyacandra by supplying to him manuscripts, etc. Prabandhas also quote several verses of Mānikyacandra composed in Vastupāla's praise⁵.

MINOR POETS AND SCHOLARS

Madana and his rivalry with Harihara

132 In addition to the poets and scholars mentioned above, there were a number of others comparatively of minor importance, who came in touch

1 PPS, pp 63 f, also pp 76 f

2 According to the VC (VII 99-113), Vastupāla invited Mānikyacandra to join him in a pilgrimage, but the latter could not come, as he was engaged upon writing of his Samketa. He did not even care to depute any of his pupils.

3 According to the VC (VII 113), Vastupāla gave Mānikyacandra one copy of all the important works on different Śāstras from his library.

4 PPS, p 50.

5 Ibid, pp 64 and 77

with Vastupāla and were patronized by him. The traditional accounts of such literary persons have been preserved in the Prabandhas, and we have a peep in the contemporary literary life when we make a search for their biographical details. Among such poets there was one Madana, who has been identified by Dr Bhandarkar with a Digambara Madanakīrti, whose life has been described in the 14th chapter of the Prabandhakosa,¹ though we may say that there is scarcely any historical ground to do so, and that the identification of Madana with any well-known personality of that name is, really speaking, without any positive evidence. The Purātanaprabandhasamgraha notes that two great poets named Madana and Hanhara (para 80-84) in Vastupāla's assembly were always at logger-head and they never ceased to annoy one another. Vastupāla had ordered the door-keeper that "when one is with me, the other should not be allowed to enter." But once when Hanhara was having some literary discussions with Vastupāla, Madana went there, and said—

हरिहर परिहर गर्व कविराजजाङ्गमो मदन ।

to which Hanhara promptly retorted—

मदन विमुद्रन वदन हरिहरचरित नरातीतम् ॥

Then, to make an end of their controversy, Vastupāla said, "he will be considered a Mahākavi who composes one hundred verses at once." Madana at once composed a hundred verses describing a cocoanut, while Hanhara could prepare only sixty. Hanhara was told by Vastupāla that he was vanquished. Thereupon Hanhara uttered a verse showing the difference between a large quantity of coarse garments prepared by a village-weaver and a precious cloth fit to be worn by the queens, suggesting thereby that in poetry quality is more important than quantity. Vastupāla, entertained by this, gave pleasure-gifts to both these poets.² The account given by the Purātanaprabandhasamgraha is supported by the Subhāṣitaratnakōśa of Kṛṣṇa, as it has quoted the verses showing the poetic rivalry between Madana and Hanhara.³

Pālhanaputra, Cācariyāka and others

133. There was a poet who called himself Pālhanaputra or son of Pālha-ana, who composed in 1233 A D (V S 1289) Āburāsa, a poem in Apabhramśa, commemorating Vastupāla's building of temples on Ābu two years earlier. A scholar named Cācariyāka had come to Dhavalakka in the times of Vastupāla, and his speech was so instructive that Udayaprabhasūri was going incognito to hear him. Vastupāla presented him with two thousand drammas and honoured him in public.⁴ Cācariyāka had a pupil named Haradeva, who had highly entertained the people of Āsāpallī (same as Karn-

1 Bhandarkar, Report IV, p 77

2 PPS, p 77

3 Bhandarkar, op cit., p 57

4 PPS, p. 76

āvati on the site of modern Ahmedabad) by reciting the Rāmāyana¹ We are also told about two reciters of religious stories, both known as Pippalācārya, who had won a large prize in cash from Tejapāla and Anupamā by singing before them the life of Satī Candanabālā² In addition to these, we get names of several other poets and bards—Yaśodhara of Vāmanasthali,³ Mādhava,⁴ Kamalāditya of Kṛṣṇanagai,⁵ Śamkarasvāmin,⁶ Dāmodara,⁷ Vikala,⁸ Varisimha of Prabhāsa Pātan,⁹ Jayantadeva or Jayadeva,¹⁰ etc, who entertained Vastupāla with their poetic achievements and whose verses composed on various occasions—like a pilgrimage, a victory, a poetic assembly or a welcome—have been quoted in the Prabandhas They were amply rewarded by their patron

Vastupāla's family-members credited with poetic achievements

134 It would be interesting here to note that several family-members of Vastupāla are also credited with poetic achievements Some verses are ascribed to Tejapāla,¹¹ the one recited by him at the time of welcoming Yaśovīra on Ābu being especially noteworthy¹² Tejapāla's famous wife Anupamā, who was praised by the followers of the six systems as Śaddarśanamātā or the mother of six darsanas on account of her equal treatment of all in matters of giving donations, has been credited with the composition of a Kamkanakāvya ('a woman's poem'), which has been expressly mentioned as her own work¹³ Jayantasimha or Jaitrasimha, Vastupāla's son, who was also a patron of literature, as we have already seen (para 117 and 126), had uttered a verse at the death of his father, which has been quoted in more than one Prabandhas¹⁴ It is not to be wondered at if persons brought up in a literary atmosphere saturated with Sanskrit learning, though not poets themselves, could compose stray verses when moved on particular occasions And in that way, there is no reason to doubt the statements found in the Prabandhas

ANONYMOUS POETS

135 In addition to these, there were a number of poets whose names are not known, but whose verses in praise of Vastupāla on different occasions are

1 Ibid, p 78,

2 Ibid, p 75

3 Ibid, p 62

4 Ibid, p 62

5 PK, p 120.

6 VC, IV 736, 737

7 Ibid, VI 81.

8 Ibid, VI. 364

9 Ibid, VIII 344

10 PC, p 103, UT, p 76

11 PPS, p 70, PK, p 120

12 VC, VIII 210

13 PPS, p 63 Also vide p 70.

14 VC, VIII 480

quoted in the Prabandhas. The number of such laudatory verses available ascribed to anonymous poets would exceed perhaps one hundred, which shows that they were patronized by Vastupāla, and it is expressly mentioned that they were rewarded with large gifts. There were a number of Bhattas or bards and Cārauas among these poets, and some of them have praised their patron in Apabhramśa Dūhās¹—Dūhā being the most widely current metre for literary compositions, especially of lyric and gnomic type, in the Apabhramśa and old western Rājasthānī literature.

¹ PPS, pp 63-64, UT, p 79

PART III

CONTRIBUTION TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

CHAPTER VI

MAHĀKĀVYAS

136 After making a historical and biographical study of the literary circle of Vastupāla, we now come to the contribution which it made to Sanskrit literature. For that purpose, it is necessary to make a survey of the literary works extant composed by the poets and scholars in that circle. I propose to make that survey by classifying the literature according to form, and beginning with the Mahākāvya

Characteristics of the Mahākāvya

137. The Mahākāvya (lit 'great narrative poem')¹ along with the Nāṭaka or drama is decidedly the most popular form of Sanskrit literature and hundreds of poets from the days of Asvaghosa or even before have attempted that form. Dandin (circa 600 A.D.), in his Kāvyaḍarśa, has described the characteristics of Mahākāvya in the following manner "Composition in canto is a long poem (Mahākāvya) and its definition is being given (now) Its opening is a benediction, a salutation, or naming of the principal theme, it springs from a historical incident (Itihāsa-kathā) or is otherwise based upon some fact (Sadāśraya), it turns upon the fruition of the fourfold ends and its hero is clever and noble, by description of cities, oceans, mountains, seasons and risings of the moon or the sun, through sporting and love, through sentiments of love in separation and through marriages, by description of the birth and rise of princes, and likewise through state-counsel, embassy, advance, battle, and the hero's triumph, embellished, not too condensed, and pervaded all through with poetic sentiments and emotions, with cantos none too lengthy and having agreeable metres and well-formed joints, and in each case with an ending in a different metre, furnished, such a poem possessing good figures of speech wins the peoples' heart and endures longer than (even) a Kalpa"²

138 As mentioned in the above definition, a Mahākāvya is based on Itihāsa-kathā, that is, a story handed down traditionally, or otherwise, as Dandin says, it may be Sadāśraya or based upon some real fact, that is, a historical incident in the modern sense. Most of the Mahākāvyas in Sanskrit literature are based upon mythological themes. It is in comparatively later times that one finds poems based upon incidents which can be looked upon as historical. Nevertheless the Indian literary taste was so much enchanted with the mythological heroes, whose lives made an appeal throughout the length and breadth of the whole of India that the

1 I am translating the word Mahākāvya in this way to distinguish it from the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, for which the word 'epic' may be reserved

2 Kāvyaḍarśa, I 14-19 (Belwalkar's translation, pp 1 f.), for two other detailed definitions of the Mahākāvya, vide the Kāvyaśālikā of Rudrata, XVI 7-18, and the Sāhityadarpana, VI 315-25

Mahākāvyas having less widely known heroes of recent history could attain only a limited popularity in comparison with those based on mythology. In spite of this general tendency, in certain parts of India like Gujarāt, a large number of Mahākāvyas based upon historical events and personalities were written and they were fairly popular. The historical Mahākāvyas of which we are going to make a survey, have predecessors in Gujarāt in such works as the two Dvājāyaya Mahākāvyas of Hemacandra (para 24) and successors in such works as the Dhārādhyakṣa of Gaṇapati Vyaṣa, referred to in the Praśasti of Nānāka (para 88), but not discovered as yet, the Kumārapālacarita Mahākāvya (1367 A. D.) of Jayasimhasūri, the Somasubhāṇva (1468 A. D.) of Pratīsthāsoma, the Hīrasubhāṇva of Devavīmala (17th century), and other works; and several Caritras can be conveniently included under this head. The contribution of the literary circle of Vastupāla in the domain of Mahākāvya consists of four historical Mahākāvyas and several others which are based either on Brahmanical or Jain mythology. After making a historical and biographical study of Vastupāla and his literary circle, it would be more suitable to discuss these two types in separate sections, and to review the historical ones first.

Study of the classical models in Gujarāt

139. While reviewing these works, we have to bear in mind that we may not expect in them the first class poetry of the classical period, but that does not mean that their achievements in literary skill are negligible, because they were a result of a competent study of the classical models. In mediaeval Gujarāt, there was a great scholastic activity going on, as I have already pointed out earlier, and the works of the great masters like those of Kālidāsa, Bhaṭṭi, Bhāravi, Māgha, and later on of Śrīhaṣa, were being zealously studied and commented upon,¹ and these provided much mental food to the aspiring poets. Among the lovers of drama, the plays of Haṣa and the Anargharāghava of Murāri were very popular. However, the literary works which we are to study are not mere imitations of the great masters, rather they are inspired by the style, descriptions and subject-matter of the older poems, but have an individuality of their own, and in certain cases at least, we get poems which can be ranked among finest productions of mediaeval Sanskrit poetry.

SECTION I

HISTORICAL MAHĀKĀVYAS

The Kīrtikaumudī of Someśvara

140. Coming to the historical Mahākāvyas, we first take the Kīrtikaumudī of Someśvara, which, as we have seen, is the main source of information among the contemporary works for the history of the Vāghelās and also

1 For a number of commentaries on the Pañcalāvyas written in Gujarāt vide BHV, vol II, pp 267 ff, 417 ff, and vol III, pp 25 ff

for the history of Vastupāla. It is a poem in nine cantos, comprising 722 verses in all. In the *first canto*, after saluting the four hands of Viṣṇu, which are like the four sentinels of Dharma, the poet pays his homage to God Śiva and goddess Sarasvatī. Then he praises the poets in general, and particularly has devoted separate stanzas to Valmīki, Vyāsa, Kālidāsa, Māgha, Bhāṭavi, Bāṇa, Dhanapāla, Bīhlana, Hemacandra, Nīlakantha and Prahlādāna. Among the poets in the literary circle of Vastupāla, he has praised Naracandra, Vijayasena, Subhata and Yaśovīra. After praising the good and having censured the wicked in a few verses the poet says that he has proceeded to write a poem about Vastupāla having observed his high birth, generosity, hospitality, good conduct, wisdom, mercy, justice and devotion towards him (i. e. the poet), and that his speech becomes, as if eager to sing the merits of Vastupāla (vv 44-47). Then the poet gives a description of Ananīlavād, which though full of poetic embellishments, is sufficiently realistic to give an idea of the glories of that capital city of the Gujarāt kingdom. Among many other things, the poet has made a special mention of the lake Sahasrahīṇḍa and Kīrtistambha on its bank (vv 71-81).

141 The *second canto* gives the history of the kings of Gujarāt from Mūlarāja to Lavanaprasāda and his son Vīradhavalā of Dhavalakka. It mentions Mūlarāja, Cāmunda, Vallabharāja, Durlabharāja, Bhīma, Karṇa, Jaysimha, Sidhharājā, Kumārapāla, Ajayapāla, Mūlarāja II and Bhīma II, and describes their political career and warlike exploits in a few poetical lines (vv. 1-61) and comes to Dhavalā, the first man of the Vāghelā dynasty and his son Amorāja, who tried his best to put the Caulukya kingdom of Gujarāt on a firm foundation. The treatment naturally becomes more detailed, when the poet comes to Amorāja's son Lavanaprasāda and grandson Vīradhavalā, who had selected Vastupāla as their minister. Lavanaprasāda slew the lord of Nadul. In his kingdom thieves were unknown. Only he carried away the glories of the hostile kings. His son, the illustrious Vīradhavalā, resembled his father so closely that he reflected, as it were, his image in the mirror (vv 67-77). Once Lavanaprasāda, waking up at day-break, sent for his purohita Someśvaradeva (the author himself) to inform him of the dream which he had seen during the night. The priest came, gave his blessings to the chief, and sat down on a mat. Then Lavanaprasāda, attended by his son Vīradhavalā, began to narrate as follows (vv 83-86)—“It seemed to me that I ascended the mountain of Śiva and worshipped the god, who visibly appeared before my eyes. Then as I finished my worship and became absorbed in holy meditation, I saw standing before me a moon-faced woman, beautiful like the Rākā (the goddess of the full-moon), dressed in white garments, anointed with white unguents, and holding a chaplet in her hands. Wondering, I asked her who she was and why she had come. Then she addressed me thus—‘O hero, know that I am the royal fortune of the Gurjara kings, who is sorely tormented by the crowds of the enemies. Alas! those Gurjara princes are dead, who were able to destroy their foes, and in whose arms I used to rest. The young or foolish king who rules in their stead is

unable to subdue the armies of his enemies His Mantrins and Māṇḍalikas possess neither wisdom nor valour. They even cast their lustful glances to me, though I am their lord's lawful wife The Purohita Āmaśarman is dead, who used to protect me Gone is the son of Muñjāla, who humbled rebellious Rājputs Pratāpamalla of the Rāstrakūta clan is no longer, who could not even bear the smell of the hostile elephants My own people have brought me very low, all except one, namely Jagaddeva, who kept the enemy from entering the capital No lights shine at night in the capital of the Gurjara land, it resounds with the howl of the jackal, its walls are broken Therefore, do thou, together with thy son Viradhavala rescue me and save' " And Lavauaprasāda continued, "After the goddess had spoken thus, she threw her garland on my neck and vanished together with my dream. Now, tell me what this means " Hereupon Someśvara addressed the chief, declared him to be the happiest of all Rājputs, since fortune wooed him of her own accord, and he exhorted him to accept the charge laid upon him and to engage able ministers (vv 87-113)¹

142 This allegorical description hints at the fact that Lavauaprasāda had taken into his hands the reign of Government at Anahilavād to remove disorder and to protect the fortune of the king The same allegory, with some alterations, additions and embellishments occurs in other contemporary works like the Sukrtasamkīrtana and the Vasantavilāsa, and the later chronicles like the Prabandhakośa and the Vastupālacarita. The plain fact may be this that Lavanaprasāda and his son employed various tactics—fair and foul—to uproot the enemies of Bhīmadeva, and hence the chroniclers were obliged to justify all their actions in this way in the interests of the royal fortune of Gujarāt.

143 In the *third canto* the poet gives an account of Vastupāla's ancestors right onwards from Candapa and completes the genealogy mentioning Vastupāla's son Jaitrasimha and Tejapāla's son Lāvanyasimha (vv 1-50) Lavanaprasāda was thinking of appointing able ministers, and he instantly called for Vastupāla and Tejapāla, whom he held in high esteem, and expressed his desire to appoint them as his counsellors Vastupāla accepted the offer and the chief gave the two brothers the charge of ministerial seal. The *fourth canto* says that after his appointment Vastupāla was sent to Stambhatīrtha, where he re-established order and overhauled the administration (para 49), and peace began to reign in the land, when Simhaua of Devagiri invaded Gujarāt, but was repulsed by Lavauaprasāda Śamkhā of Lāta, who considered the port of Stambhatīrtha his own property, sent messenger to Vastupāla, and pressed the latter to accept his service But Vastupāla gave a crushing rejoinder, and the messenger had to return. The *fifth canto* describes the fierce battle between Vastupāla and Śamkhā, in which brave warriors on both the sides were killed, but in the end Śamkhā of Brgukachha had to make a retreat with the remainder of his army. The *sixth canto* is mainly devoted to the festivities of the citizens of

¹ 1A, Vol VI, p. 189.

Stambhatīrtha, elated with delight at Vastupāla's valour in fighting the imminent calamity. The houses were white-washed, the sounds of musical instruments were heard, the house-wives began to sing pleasant songs, special ceremonies were held in the temples, the high roads were decorated, and women wore costly attire (vv 2-3). There was a festival in the temple of the goddess Ekallavīrā, and the minister with a small retinue went to salute the goddess, and the men and women flocked on the roads to have a glance at the victorious hero. After worshipping the goddess, the minister entered the pleasure-grove, and there at the noon-time he sat in a conference with the poets. Some poets admired his family, some his gifts, and others his virtuous character. The ears of Vastupāla, who was like Karna, were purified by the speech of the poets, and he in his turn delighted their hearts with his generosity. Thus being sprinkled by the nectar of poetry, Vastupāla spent the noon in summer season, in the garden in the company of the poets, and returned home in the evening (vv 49-56).

144. The *seventh canto* is devoted to traditional description of moon-rise and love-sports, full of high poetic fancy. The *eighth canto* is styled the Parmārtha-vicāra or religious thought. After the morning bath, the minister worshipped the Tīrthamkara, and became deeply engrossed in religious thoughts, and decided to make a pilgrimage. The *ninth canto* is devoted to the description of the Samghayātrā. The pilgrim-caravan started on an auspicious day with numerous elephants, horses, bullocks, camels, chariots and all the important articles of daily use. A large number of servants were taken with the Samgha. Those who had no conveyance were given conveyance, those in need of money were given money, and those who required cloths were given cloths. The Samgha was given due reception in all the towns on the way. The men and women in the Samgha were singing religious songs, and worshipped the images of Jina in the temples in course of their travel. The minister reached the beautiful peak of Śatruñjaya, and worshipped with flowers the Yakṣa called Kapardin. There he built two imposing shrines of Nemnātha and Pārśvanātha, and in the assembly-hall of the latter temple he put the equestrian statues of his ancestors, brothers and friends, and constructed a lake near the mountain (vv 31-36). Staying there for two or three days (v 37),¹ he went to the mountain Raivataka (Girnār), and entering the shrine of Nemnātha, worshipped the deity with perfumes, so that the whole mountain became fragrant. Forgetting the worries of political affairs he spent there many days (v 69), and then going to Prabhāsa Pāṭan in Southern Saurāstra saluted the Tīrthamkara Candraprabha and worshipped the God Somanātha with devotion, and then returned to his city Dhavalakka, giving donations to the supplicants. The women of

1 This statement is of particular interest, because the Jaina pilgrims never pass the night on the mountain now. The SS (VI. 43) informs us that Vastupāla's stay on the mountain lasted for eight days, which is also corroborated by the VC (IA, Vol XXXI, p 489 n). In any case, it is certain that in those days the pilgrims used to spend several nights on the holy mountain.

the city flocked to see the minister, though they had seen him previously perhaps a hundred times. Having entered the town, Vastupāla touched the feet of his Indra-like master, and bade farewell to the people of the Saṃgha having given them a welcome (v. 77). And Someśvara completes his poem with a final benediction that Vastupāla, a great donor like Karna, may be ever-victorious, hearing the admiration of his fame, sung by the bards (v. 78).

145 Thus the Kīrtikaumudī is a poem written to eulogize a contemporary hero, but at the same time it fulfils all the conditions laid down for the literary form of Mahākāvya. It is based upon the life of an actual person (Sadāśraya), and its hero is intelligent and noble (Caturodātta). The style of Someśvara in this poem is the easy and simple Vaidarbhī style, sufficiently elevated and grand at appropriate places, he seldom employs any slesas, and as a rule, he is free in this poem from the artificialities prevalent in the poetic art of his times. Clearly, the model of Someśvara is Kālidāsa, and at least one of his Mahākāvyas, viz. the Kīrtikaumudī, is such as can stand honourably with the famous specimens of Sanskrit poetry, composed after Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, and Māgha. In the first canto of the Surathotsava, he has expressed his fondness for Kālidāsa's poetry in the following words, "my intellect does not find pleasure in any other poem, when I think of the speech of Kālidāsa. Would ever the swarm of bees delight in the Sindhuvāra flower abandoning the heavenly Pāṇjāta?"¹ This statement by the poet himself becomes significant, when we know that the autobiographical account of the royal glory in the Kīrtikaumudī (II) is an unmistakable reflection, if not imitation, of an almost similar account in the Raghuvamśa (XVI 4-24) of the desolate city of Ayodhyā, requesting Kuśa to shift his capital back from Kuśāvratī to the parental town. A number of descriptions in the Kīrtikaumudī are of such high literary merit as can stand in comparison with some of the best specimens of Sanskrit poetry. The description of Anahilavād, the lake Sahasraliṅga and the Kīrtistambha (I 47 ff), and lamentation of the royal glory of Gujarāt in her misery (II 87 ff), welcome of Vastupāla in Stambhatīrtha, when he went to that city as a governor (II. 7-8), and festivities of the citizens when Śamkha was defeated (VI. 2 ff), the description of women hurrying to have a glance at Vastupāla (VI 16 ff), which is reminiscent of similar descriptions in Aśvaghoṣa, Kālidāsa and Bāna, the charming description of moon-rise (VII), and narration of the great Saṃghayātrā (IX)—are some instances in point. The short dialogue between Vastupāla and Lavauaprasāda (III 59 ff) is an illustration of forceful poetic dialogue, containing important discussion on politics, such as we find in the beginning of the Śisupālavadha and the Kīrātārjuniya.

146 It would be proper here to quote a few verses from the Kīrtikaumudī, which would give some idea of Someśvara's poetic art at its best, e.g. description of the Kīrtistambha in one verse—

यस्यांच सस्वस्तीरे राजते रजतोच्च १ । नीलिस्तम्भो ननोगङ्गाप्रवाहोऽनंतरत्रिव ॥

(I 75)

And the pitiable condition of Anahlavād in the reign of Bhīmadeva, as described by the Rājyalakṣmī

मुण्डेव मण्डितनिरन्तरवृक्षखण्डा निष्कुण्डलेव ढलितोज्ज्वलवृत्तवप्रा ।
दूरादवास्त वपया विधवेव दैन्यमभ्येति गुर्जरधराधिपराजधानी ॥

(II 104)

Someśvara's argument before Lavauaprasāda to appoint capable ministers

इयद्भजा क्षितिभुज त्रियमर्जयन्ति नीत्या समुन्नयति मन्त्रिजन पुनस्तान् ।
रत्नावली जलधरो जनयन्ति किन्तु सस्कारमत्र मणिकारगण करोति ॥

(II 113)

Vastupāla expresses readiness to accept the charge of ministership only if the king is willing to act justly in matters political

पुरस्कृत्य न्याय चलजनमनादृत्य सहजात्रगीत्रिजित्य श्रीपतिचरितमाश्रित्य च यदि ।
समुद्धर्तुं धात्रीमभिलषामि तत्तैष शिरसा धृतो देवादेश स्फुटमपरथा स्वस्ति भवते ॥

(III 77)

There is a powerful description of panic in the Gurjara land, when Simhana attacked it

शूनसिद्धनर्मिहनादप्रमरा गुर्जरराजराजधानी ।
हरिणीव हरिन्मुखावलोक चकितान्त करणा मुहुश्चकार ॥
गृहमारभते न कोऽपि कतु कुरुते कोऽपि न सग्रह कणानाम् ।
स्थिरतां क्वचनपि नैति चेत् परचक्रागमशङ्कया प्रजानाम् ॥
अवधीरितधान्यसचयाना बहुमान शक्रुष्टेषु मानवानाम् ।
विषदामुद्रये हि दुर्निवारे शरण चक्रुष्टदेव देहभाजाम् ॥
समुपैति यथा यथा समीप रिपुराजव्यजिनी मदात्तदानीम् ।
परन् परन्स्तथा तथासौ जनता जातभयोच्छ्रया प्रयाति ॥

(IV 43-46)

Public festivities in Stambhatīrtha delineated in simple but expressive language—

गृहे गृहे धातुरमानुलेपा समन्तत स्वस्तिरुपह्वितमन्तः ।
विरेजिरे तूर्यगवानुकला कुलाङ्गनामङ्गलगीतयश्च ॥
बभूव देवेषु विशेषपूजा राजन्यमार्गेषु विशेषशोभा ।
विशेषहर्ष पुरपूरुषेषु विशेषवेषश्च वधूजनेषु ॥

(VI 2-3)

Beautiful poetic generalizations

त्रैलोक्यदीपके देवे लोकान्तरमुपेयुषि । तमस्तान्तमभूद्विधं क्व सुखी महदापदि ॥
गते भानौ स्थिते ध्वान्ते पद्मिन्या साधु मीलितम् । दुरीक्षा महतामापदसतामुन्नतिश्च यत् ॥

(VII 15-16)

Some highly poetic fancies

क्व गत सविना ध्वान्तमेतदप्यागन् कुत । एष सविसयेव द्यौ स्फारतारमवैक्षत ॥

(VII 19)

नीरन्ध्रेणान्धकारेण रोदसी सपुटीकृते । जयोद्वाद्यितु कोऽपि प्रवृत्त इव पूर्वत ॥

(VII. 24)

મેળે પીરખે વીર્ય ગાગરગતમિતે । મહિમેવ જુઓવ નગરમરિતે ॥
(VII. 26)

વૈશિંભુવ વૃક્ષારથેથઃ મને મને । વૈશિંભુવ નગરમરિતે ॥
(VII. 27)

There is a realistic touch in comparing the emerald-tinted colour of the women with black letter in books written on palm-leaf, on account of similarity in colour.

મારવગાયેવા અત્યંતીત્યગદગદાયા । ગુલિએવ નગરમરિતે ॥
(VII. 28)

A masterly description of the autumn, which shows that Śaṅkara was equally at home in composition in longer metres also.

અવન્ટે તારે તિગામિત્યગદગદાયા । ગુલિએવ નગરમરિતે ॥
માત્ર ત્વ પ્રગાદ્ય ત્વેતિત્યગદગદાયા । ગુલિએવ નગરમરિતે ॥
(VIII. 71)

Two out of several pithy sayings put in the mouth of Vasupāla for he starts on a pilgrimage.

વિદ્યાર્થિ મુક્તિ મા પ્રાપ્તિ મેવતે । જાનતો ન મ મરો પ્રાપ્તિ મેવતે ॥
(VIII. 72)

અન્યા પદ્મ ધનાન્યા । મુરિતિ ત્વ ત્વા દિ મે । જાનતો ન મ મરો પ્રાપ્તિ મેવતે ॥
(VIII. 73)

And he comes to the conclusion that Dharma is the only support in life

વિદ્યા વિધિ સુકોદે મેવતે મેવતે મેવતે ॥ મ મરો પ્રાપ્તિ મેવતે ॥
(VIII. 74)

Sukrtasamkīrtana of Arisimha

147. Sukrtasamkīrtana of Arisimha is another historical Mahākāvya, which also has for its theme the life and works of Vasupāla. As its name suggests, it has been composed for commemorating the good deeds of Vasupāla. Just as the Kīrtikāumudī puts comparatively more emphasis on the political side of Vasupāla's life, the Sukrtasamkīrtana gives more space to his religious and public works. Thus the two poems supplement each other, and it is quite possible that they were written with the same end in view. The Sukrtasamkīrtana has 11 cantos and 553 verses in all.

148. The first canto gives a genealogy of the kings of the Çapotkata or Cāvadā dynasty, which was the first ruling family at Anahilavādī, and a description of that city. It is worthy of note that out of a large number of historical poems written in Gujarāt during the Caulukya and the Vāghelā period, only the Sukrtasamkīrtana of Arisimha and Sukrtakīrtikallolīnī of Udayaprabha have mentioned the Cāvadās, and even Hemacandra who made a regular attempt to write a history of his city has remained silent on this matter. It was probably because the Cāvadās were considered an unimportant dynasty.

ruling over a small territory, though Vanarāja of the same clan was the founder of Anahilavād. Arisimha has mentioned eight kings of the Cāvadā dynasty, viz. Vanarāja, Yogarāja, Ratnāditya, Varisimha, Ksemarāja, Cāmunda, Rāhula and Bhūbhata¹. He has nothing particular to say about them except with reference to Vanarāja that he had built the temple of Pañcāśrī Pārsvanātha in Anahilavād (I. 10), which was later on repaired by Vastupāla (XI 2)². The second canto is devoted to description of the Cuḷukya dynasty, and beginning from Mūlarāja, the poet comes upto Bhīma-deva II, whom he describes as beset with worries, because his territories were usurped by his feudatories (II 51). No more historical information is derived from it than what we obtain from the Kīrtikaumudī.

149. The *third canto* is styled Mantriprakāśa or appearance of ministers. If we compare the narrative given in this canto with that given by Someśvara in the second canto of the Kīrtikaumudī, a considerable difference can be marked. According to Someśvara's representation, a female figure symbolising the fortune of kings of Gujarāt appeared in a dream to Lavanaprasāda, and called upon him to save the kingdom which had fallen into decay under the rule of Bhīma. Thereupon, obeying the command of the goddess, Lavanaprasāda and Viradhavala took upon themselves the task of re-establishing the glory of Anahilavād, and appointed Vastupāla and Tejapāla as their ministers. That is the simple story, when we reject the mythological additions, which Someśvara as a good court-poet was bound to have inserted. Arisimha has put the matter in a different manner. Kumārapāla (who, as we know, was a cousin of Arjorāja, the first man of the Vāghelā clan) appeared to Bhīma in a dream in the form of a god (III 1 ff), and ordered him to appoint Lavanaprasāda as his Sarveśvara (III 23), so that the latter may destroy the enemies, and make him the lord of wealth. Bhīma in his assembly appointed Lavanaprasāda as Sarveśvara, and called Viradhavala his Yuvarāj (III 37-39)³. Lavanaprasāda requested Bhīma that

1 The earliest inscriptional reference to the Cāvadās is to be found in the Vadnagar inscription of Kumārapāla dated V S 1208 (1152 A D). The earliest literary reference to the name of Vanarāja, founder of Anahilavād, and first king of the Cāvalā dynasty, who ruled there, is in the Prasasti of an Apabhramśa work called Neminābhacarīu composed by Haribhadrasūri (different from his famous name sake mentioned in para 17) in V S 1216 i.e. 1160 A D (R C Parikh, Kāvyaśāstra, intro, p 103). There is considerable difference in the genealogy of the Cāvadā kings and their years of rule given in the later works, and the chronology of the Cāvadās has not been satisfactorily settled as yet. For a discussion of the problem, vide Buhler, IA, vol XXXI, pp 481 f, and R C Modi, Cāvadāonī Vamsāvalī (Guj.) in the Proceedings and Transactions of the 7th Gujarati Literary Conference.

2 VC, VII 66.

3 गृहण विग्रहोदयमयैश्वर्यद मन । युवराजोऽस्तु मे, नीरवलो धवलो गुणै ॥

(SS, III 39)

to do his task properly he must have a minister who may be proficient in the use of Śāstras (authoritative treatises) and the Śastra (use of arms), equally an adept in the replenishing of treasury and fighting battles (III. 43) The king, having thought for a while replied that he would readily lend the services of Vastupāla and Tejapāla, and ordered them to work as ministers of Viradhavala (III 44 ff).¹

150 Having thus described Vastupāla's promotion to political power, Anisimha comes to his Sukṛta or pious works in the *fourth canto* Viradhavala conquered, with the help of Vastupāla, 'the ocean-girt earth' Then, on the advice of his brother Vastupāla once decided to hear the preachings of his preceptor and to do the pious works according to his advice (IV 14-26) At this juncture the poet gives the genealogy of the monks of the Nāgendra gachha, who from the time of Candapa served his family as spiritual preceptors—from Mahendrasūri to Vijayasenasūri (IV 15-26) Vastupāla goes to Vijayasena and hears sermon The Guru commends a pilgrimage as a meritorious deed (IV. 33-43) and consequently Vastupāla decides to lead a Saṃgha to Śatruñjaya and Gīrnār (IV 44) The *fifth canto* describes the preparations for journey (v. 1-6), which can be compared with the description of the same topic in the Kīrtikaumudī (Canto IX) The poet says that physicians were also taken, carrying necessary medicines, so that the sick could be given assistance (v 2-4) Vastupāla personally went to the monasteries and invited the monks respectfully to join the Saṃgha (v 6) Names of some distinguished monks who took part in the pilgrimage are also mentioned. They are Naracandrasūri, Jinadattasūri of the Vāyada gachha,² who was abode of arts, Śāntisūri of the Sauderaka gachha,³ and Vardhamānasūri,⁴ 'the sun of the Gallakas'⁵ (v 10-13) The canto closes with the arrival of the Saṃgha at the foot of the mountain Śatruñjaya.

1 आहूय तौ स्वयं प्राह नमन्मौली नरोदरा । युवा नरेन्द्रव्याघ्रपाणवर्गैः प्रपारगौ ॥
कुरुता मन्त्रिता वीरधवलस्य मदाकृते ।

(SS, III 58-59)

2 Vide para 101, footnotes

3 Śāntisūri was the preceptor of minister Yaśovīra of Jābālipura (para 94) Installation-ceremonies of images in the temples built by Yaśovīra were performed by this Acārya (PJS, nos 108-109)

4 Vardhamānasūri was an Acārya of the Vrdhha gachha (VC, VIII. 603). Vastupāla did a pilgrimage to Śamkheśvara in North Gujaraṭ on hearing his sermon (VC, VII. 284-97) He is also mentioned in the PPS (pp 68, 83, 95, 119)

5 The Gallakas seem to be a tribe or a caste of which Vardhamānasūri was a spiritual head (cf स. वर्धमानाभिधमुरिशेखस्तनोऽचलद् गहकलोकभास्कर (SS, V 13) According to an inscription from Verāval in Saurāstra dated Valabhi era 927 (1216 A D), Śresthin Mūla, who belonged to the Gallaka community (Gallaka-Jātīya), had installed an image of Govardhana at Prabhās Pātan (HIG, no 250 A) Perhaps the word Gallaka may have some affinity with

151. The *sixth canto* is devoted to a conventional description of sunrise, and the *seventh* describes the ascent of the mountain and the festivities there in the next morning. After saluting the Yakṣa Kapardin, Vastupāla went to the main shrine of Ādinātha, where the pilgrims followed him. Vastupāla laid himself prostrate outside the shrine, and praised the Jina in a hymn (VII. 26-33). Then he entered the shrine after purifying himself amidst dances and songs, and washed the image with saffron-water, rubbed it with musk and put the flowers on it. After staying on the mountain for eight days the minister descended from it, and became eager to go to Gīrnār. The *eighth canto* describes how the minister made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Somanātha at Piabhās Pātan, and to that of Neminātha on Gīrnār, where also he stayed for eight days. The *Ninth canto* describes the beauties of six seasons, which Vastupāla saw on the slope of the mountain, and thus adds to the poem a traditional feature required by the technical rules of the Mahākāvya.

152 The *tenth canto* describes the return journey of the Saṃgha from Gīrnār to Dhavalakka. After coming down from the mountain, Vastupāla feasted the pilgrims and distributed gifts among them. Then he went to Vāmaṇasthalī and made a solemn entry into the town, because formerly the jaina pilgrims were prohibited to enter the place (X. 6), probably because of the opposition of Sāṃgana and Cāmunda, the two brothers-in-law of Vīradhavalā (para 52). When the pilgrim-caravan reached the vicinity of Dhavalakka, king Vīradhavalā and a large number of citizens came to receive it. Vastupāla, with his brother Tejapāla and king Vīradhavalā, "like Śiva in the form of Tripurusa" (X. 11), entered the town amidst praises of bards (X. 14-29) and passionate expressions of joy by the women (X. 31-42).

153 The *eleventh canto* is devoted to the good deeds of Vastupāla, and that is perhaps the principal part of the work, judging from its title. It says in the beginning that immediately after Vastupāla was appointed the governor of Stambhatīrtha, he began to build temples, which were like the embodiments of his fame on the earth. The canto enumerates (vv. 2-34) forty-three buildings, restorations and institutions of different kinds. The actual list of Vastupāla's public works must have been still larger, because the Sukītasamkīrtana was composed before 1231 A. D. (para. 98), and could not have mentioned works undertaken or carried out after that date. Arisimha has given the list in a classified manner, taking note of the public works in different towns, one by one. He mentions the temples, tanks and other structures built and restored in Anahilavād, Stam-

the Canarese and Telugu word Golla, meaning 'a shepherd'. In the commentaries on the Jaina canonical works we have frequent references to the Golladeśa, and at one place, we are informed that the famous Cānakya was born in a village called Canaka in that country (Abhidhāna-Rājendra, vol II, p. 1011). But we have hardly any evidence to decide the exact location of that region. It is possible that the Gallaka community may have been originally from that country.

bhatīrtha, Dhavalakka, Śatruñjaya, Pādahpatapura or Pālītānā at the foot of Śatruñjaya, Arkapālita or Amkevalā, Ujjayanta or Gīrnār, Stambhana or Thāmanā in the Kaira district, Darbhāvātī or Dabhoī near Barodā, and Ābu¹. The list mentions the restoration and decoration of a number of Brāhmanical temples too, thus throwing light on the catholicity of outlook of this great philanthropist. In the end, the poet expresses his inability to speak adequately of the vast number of Vastupāla's public works, and completes the poem with a eulogy of his fame.

154 The Sukrtasamkīrtana cannot bear comparison with the Kīrtikau-mudī from the literary point of view. However, the poet is a good versifier, and has to his credit some good descriptions and pleasing Śabdālamkāras, which may be the result of his study of Alamkāra Śāstra. The description of Anahilavād, which is more imaginary than actual (I 10ff), the appearance of Kumārapāla in Bhīmadeva's dream and his exhortation to the latter (III 1 ff), and rising of dust an account of going forth of the Saṃgha (V. 22 ff), beautiful descriptions of the moon-rise (VI) and the six seasons (IX), full of charming alliterations—are some of Arisimha's notable achievements. The dance of the Śrāvaka ladies in the beginning of the sixth canto is nothing but the Garabā dance still prevalent in Gujarāt, and gives a characteristic local touch to the composition—

जिनमहमहिमानं प्रत्यदीयन्त दूरादथ वलयिनवृन्दं रामका अपिकाभि ।

तनुमदननियण्णकूरकाकोलकालस्फुरितदुरितजालवासकृतारतालम् ॥ (VI. 1)

And description of moon-rise in the same canto.

विरहशिखिसमीर कामनामोखीरस्तिमिरनरकुठार पूर्वदिक्तारहार ।

गगनगजनिपादी कामिनीचक्रवादी सितरुचिरदितोऽय वर्धयन् बाधितोयम् ॥ (VI. 16)

Two verses full of charming alliterations describing the beauties of spring.

सिनसरोजमुखीमुखवासनाभुरभिमद्यविशेषितसौरभम् ।

परिहतापरवह्निमधुव्रतीधवकुल वकुल प्रति यावति ॥

सुमनसा त्वमसि स्यितिभूस्त्वया जयति निश्वसन्मौ कुतुभायुध ।

नधुमितीह रसालरसालसा पिकवय कवय कवयन्त्यमी ॥ (IX 5-6)

The Vasantavilāsa of Bālacandra

155 Now we come to the Vasantavilāsa Mahākāvya of Bālacandra, which as pointed out earlier (para 40 and 125), describes the life of Vastupāla. The poem is divided into 14 cantos, and contains 1021 verses in all. At the end of each canto the poet has given one verse in praise of Jaitrasimha, Vastupāla's son, at whose instance he had composed his work (vide para 125).

156 In the *first canto* after praising the good and censuring the wicked, and dwelling at length on the nectar of poetry, the poet has given his personal history and has described how he was favoured by Sarasvatī. Introducing his hero, he justifies the choice of his subject-matter by saying

1 For details of the public works mentioned in SS, and a comparison of the details with the information derived from other sources, vide Buhler, IA, vol XXXI, pp. 491 ff.

that "those qualities which resided in Nala, Rāma and Yudhsthira are now-a-days seen in Vastupāla, and hence I sing of him" (I 76) The *second canto* is devoted to a description of Anahillapūna, its big gold-knobbed temples, its palace-like buildings, its magnificent fort and the ditch around it, and the Durlabharāja tank. In the *third canto* we are given a history of the kings of Gujarāt from Mūlarāja to Bhīmadeva II, which can be compared with that in the Kīrtikaumudī and the Sukṛtasamkīrtana. Valour of Viradhavala and his ancestors in protecting the state of Gujarāt from anarchy has been praised (III 37-50) Fortune of the Gurjara kingdom appears in Viradhavala's dream and entreats him to protect her from her sorry plight under the weak rule of Bhīmadeva, and advises him to appoint Vastupāla and Tejapāla as ministers to help him for attaining that end (III. 51-64) It is evident that the whole thing is a direct adaptation of the episode described in the Kīrtikaumudī (para 141)

157. The *fourth canto* describes in hyperbolic terms the high merits of both the ministers, and ends with the appointment of Vastupāla as the governor of Stambhatīrtha. The *fifth canto* narrates Vastupāla's fight with Śamkha, and the defeat of the latter, whose precipitate flight back to Brhukachha has been suggested by saying that 'he took his breath only after he reached his native town' (IV. 109) The canto ends with a description of festivities in Stambhatīrtha to commemorate the defeat of the aggressor (IV. 110-11). The three cantos which follow are devoted to traditional descriptions. The *sixth canto* describes the six seasons, the *seventh* is devoted to the descriptions of collection of flowers, pleasures of swinging and the water-sports; and the *eighth canto* to the descriptions of love-sports, and moon-rise.

158. The *ninth canto* says that when Vastupāla went to sleep at night he saw a dream. Dharma, who had only one leg left came to him, and told that he was four-legged in the Kṛtayuga, three-legged in the Trētā, two-legged in the Dvāpara and one-legged in the present Kali age. Dharma says further, "kings Mūlarāja and Sidhharāja propagated me by making pilgrimage to Somanātha, Sidhharāja built a great temple called the Rājavihāra which was like my pleasure-mountain, and gave twelve villages to the holy place of Śatruñjaya to increase my splendour. Gone is that king and also his mother Mayanalladevi, who abolished the tax on the pilgrims to Somanātha, which was being collected at Bāhulod (modern Bholād near Dholkā), and instead provided them with food and drink. Kumārapāla made pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya and Gīrnār, and built many temples. He repaired the shrines of Kedāra and Someśvara, which were like two horns of mine, described as Vṛsa (bull). Kumārapāla also repaired the temple of Mūleśvara Mahādeva, built by Mūlarāja at Mandalī. But now that old splendour is gone. Where should the adherents of different schools of philosophy go? I have described only a part of the whole calamity. O great minister! Do act in a way that may remove the affliction of my mind". While Dharma spoke thus, Vastupāla was aroused from his slumber (IX. 1-34). The rest of the canto (IX. 35-60) is devoted to the songs of Vaitālikas, which praise Vastupāla in a poetic language

and describe sunrise at the same time. Coming of Dharma in Vastupāla's dream is a notable feature in this poem. Nowhere else in Jaina literature or mythology Dharma is represented as a bull, who has been left with only one leg in the Kali age. We find this type of description in the Bhāgavata Purāna (I. ch. 16-17), which may have influenced Bālacandra to a certain extent. The Naiṣadhiyacarita (I 7) also refers to Dharma having four legs in the Kṛtayuga. There was an intimate cultural contact between the Brāhmanical and Jaina scholars at the courts of Anahilavād and Dhavalakha, and there is nothing to be wondered at if Bālacandra, who was a Brāhmin before he became a Jaina ascetic (para 124), takes this motif from the Bhāgavata Purāna, and makes its poetic application while delineating the life of Vastupāla. Moreover, we may compare here the songs of Vaitālikas at the end of canto IX with at least two such descriptions from Sanskrit literature—one from the Raghuvamśa (V. 65-76) and the other from the Naiṣadha (XIX), in which while arousing Aja and Nala, respectively, from slumber, the Vaitālikas describe sun-rise at length. The songs of the Vaitālikas in the Śiśupālavadha (XI), while they arouse Kṛṣṇa from sleep, also may be compared.

159. *Cantos ten to thirteen* describe at length Vastupāla's pilgrimage which does not materially differ from the account given in the Kirtikaumudī and the Sukrtasamkīrtana. In the *fourteenth* canto the poet says that the number of religious places, temples, resting houses, dwelling places for the Brāhmins, and tanks built by Vastupāla at various towns, villages and mountains is so great that it baffles the attempt of poets to count it, like stars in the heaven (XIV. 9-10). Then follows an allegory describing Vastupāla's death, which is of particular interest, because it is not to be found anywhere else. "Once, the old Age, the messenger of Dharma, told Vastupāla that Sadgati (felicity), daughter of Dharma, was longing for him and her parents had decided to marry her to him. Absorbed in her thoughts, Vastupāla was attacked with fever of love, and resolved to go to Śatruñjaya to marry her. This resolve was brought to the notice of Dharma by his servant Āyurbandha or limit of life. Dharma was pleased with the errand and fixing the time for marriage, sent his messenger Sadbodha or good knowledge. The messenger told Vastupāla that Dharma called him on mt. Śatruñjaya for marriage in the morning of Sunday, the fifth day of the bright half of Māgha, in samvat 1296. Vastupāla called his son Jaitrasīmha, his wife Lalitādevī, and his brother Tejapāla, and gave them instructions and advice for their guidance. After seeing the king, he set forth for Śatruñjaya. He ascended the hill, and on the day of the marriage the temple of Ādinātha was profusely decorated. Dharma gave his daughter to Vastupāla before Ādinātha, and then took him to heaven, where he was received with exultation by the Lord of heaven".¹ It is quite possible that the poet may have been inspired in preparing this allegory by the Moharājaparājaya of Yaśahpāla,

1 Dalal, intro to the VV, p. IV.

describing Kumārapāla's marriage to Kṛpāsundarī, the daughter of king Vivekacandra (para 32).

160 Aparājita Kavi has described Bālacandra as 'an adept in the Vaidarbhī style, and spoken very highly of his poetic capacities (see the verse quoted in the beginning of para 123). We may say that the praise is not underserved, because though the life of Vastupāla was made the subject of a Mahākāvya by two previous poets like Someśvara and Arisimha, Bālacandra has acquitted himself quite worthily in writing a third one on the same theme. His language is imbued with a distinct poetic fervour, which gives an imprint of personality to his compositions. His descriptions, though generally long and elaborate, are charming and full of vivid images. Description of Sarasvatī appearing in the poet's Yoganidrā (I 58-70), description of Anahilavād (II), which is a fine blending of the actual with the imaginative, short but striking description of the port of Stambhatīrtha (III. 17-23); realistic description of the battle with Śamkha, which refers to the actual historical participants in the combat (V)—can be cited as some of the illustrations.

161. A verse put in the mouth of Vastupāla on the eve of his ministerial appointment is a charming example of Ślesha—

अत्यवेमर्धमुपलौकितमाद्रियन्ते त च प्रभूतगुणित पुनरर्पयन्ति ।
न्यस्ता पदे समुचिते गमिताश्च मैत्री शब्दा कत्रेरिव नृपस्य नियोगिन स्यु ॥
(III. 79)

And the following verse addressed to the king reminds a similar one in the Kīrtikaumudī (III 77) quoted on p. 93—

न्यायं यदि स्पृगसि लोभमपाकरोषि कर्णेजपानपधिनोपि शमं तनोपि ।
मुस्वामिनस्तव धृत शिरसा निदेशस्तन्नूनमेव मयकाऽपरथाऽस्तु मद्रम ॥
(III. 80)

Crushing rejoinder to the messenger of Śamkha, who suggested Vastupāla to come in the former's service—

क्षत्रिया समरकेलिरहस्य जानते न वणिजो भ्रम एव ।
अम्बटो वणिगपि प्रधने किं मल्लिकार्जुननृप न जवान ॥
दूत रे वणिगह रणहटे विश्रुतोऽसितुलया कलयामि ।
मौलिभाण्डपटलानि रिपूणा स्वर्गवेतनमथो वितरामि ॥
(IV. 42-43)

A fine poetic fancy—

यौवन चलमुपैति नो गत विग्रहैरलमुपास्यता प्रिय ।
इत्यवोचदिव झडकृतैर्वधूपाढ्योरभिनिपत्य नूपुर ॥
(VIII. 45)

Description of meeting of river Sarasvatī and the ocean at Somanātha Pātan—

सरस्वतीवारिधिवीचिहस्तसञ्चारितैर्यस्य पुर पुरस्य
परस्परालेखविभेदवद्विश्रामयमाचर्यत फेनकूटै ॥
तीरस्फुटन्नीरकदम्बकेन बहि सदा गर्जति यत्र वादो ।
वृथैव सोमेशपिनाकिनोऽग्रे त्रिधूपवेलापटहप्रपञ्च ॥
(XI. 33-34)

The Dharmābhyudaya or Samghapaticarita of Udayaprabhasūri .

162 The Dharmābhyudaya or Samghapaticarita of Udayaprabhasūri is another Kāvya in which we find Vastupāla as a character. I have taken it last in this section on the historical Mahākāvyas, because only its two cantos—first and last—contain matter which is historical, while the rest is devoted to Dharmakathās based on Jaina mythology. The Dharmābhyudaya is divided into 15 cantos and at the end of each canto a few laudatory verses in praise of Vastupāla are appended, the Granthāgra of the whole work being 5041 ślokas

163 The *first canto* begins with salutation to Jina, and then praises the knowledge, scholarship and poetic merits of Gautama, the disciple of Mahāvīra, Haribhadra, Siddhasena Divākara, Hemacandra, Nācandra and Vijayasena, speaks about the greatness of the Samgha or the four-fold Jaina community comprising the Sādhu, Sādhvī, Śrāvaka and Śrāvikā and eulogizes the greatness of Vastupāla. After this the poet has mentioned in one verse (I 17) the name of his work, and given the genealogy of his spiritual preceptors (I. 18–25), right upto Vijayasenasūri. Then Vastupāla is described as going to Vijayasena to hear religious instruction. The teacher tells him about three kinds of Prabhāvanā Dharma, viz. Astāhnikā festival, Rathayātrā and Samghayātrā, and instructs about the ceremonies to be observed while doing the Samghayātrā (I 48–106)

164. Then the Ācārya narrates to Vastupāla several Dharmakathās to illustrate the religious merits to be attained by doing good to others, observing celibacy and being merciful to other creatures. Cantos II–XIV are devoted to such Kathās taken from the Jaina mythology. Cantos II–VI describe the life of the first Tīrthamkara Rsabhadeva or Ādinātha and also of his sons Bharata and Bāhubali, ending with the Nirvāna of Bharata. The *sixth canto* gives a history of the Yaksha Kapardin, the guardian deity of Śatruñjaya, and dilates on the greatness of the temple built there by Bharata and later on repaired by great men of the past, like Sagara Cakravartin, Rāmacandra, Jāvada, Śilāditya, and Āśuka and Bāhada, ministers of Siddharāja and Kumārapāla, respectively (VI. 67–83). This account, though in the nature of a digression, is quite suitable in a work, the ultimate aim of which is to describe a great pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya. The *eighth canto* contains a life of Jambusvāmin, who had taken the religious vow on the first night after marriage, having abandoned the eight beautiful wives, and the *ninth canto* gives the story of a prince Yugabāhu to eulogize the fruits of penance. The cantos X–XIV describe at great length the life of Neminātha, the 22nd Tīrthamkara, from his previous births upto his Nirvāna, the Granthāgra of these five cantos being 2142 ślokas. Contemporary history, again, comes into prominence in the *fifteenth canto*, which describes the pilgrimage thus inspired by the religious instructions of Vijayasenasūri. After the coming down of the Samgha from Śatruñjaya, two stations are mentioned which are not referred to by any Kāvya treated before—they are Ajāhara Nagara¹ and Kotinagara

1 Ajāhara is at present a small village near Unā in Southern Saurāstra.

(modern Kōḍinār on the southern coast of Saurāstra) (XV. 12).¹ Verses 25–31 give a list of public works of Vastupāla, which is supported by other contemporary writings. At the end, the author gives a Praśastī supplying a genealogical list of the Ācāryas of the Nāgendra gachha, to which he belonged (vide para 111).

165. The poem has been characterized by the word Laksmī, occurring in the concluding verse of each canto, and has been called Laksmīyamka in the colophons. To characterise their poems by words which were lofty and auspicious was a well-established convention among the Sanskrit and Pīākṛit poets, and in this connection I may point out that the Kirātāṅgunīya of Bhāravi is characterized by the word Laksmī, and Śiśupālavadha of Māgha by the word Śrī, the Setubandha of Pravarasena by Anurāya (skt. Anurāga), the Haraviṇaya of Ratnākara by Ratna, etc.

166. The Dharmābhyudaya is called a Mahākāvya in the colophons at the end of each canto;¹ we do not know if the colophons are from the pen of the author or from that of Vastupāla who copied it, but the contents of the work noted above would show that technically it cannot be called a Mahākāvya, as it does not conform to the rules laid down for such a composition. Really speaking, this is a Caritra or biographical account as its alternative title, viz. Samghapaticaritra, suggests. Among the Jānas there was a tradition of composing the Caritras of historical as well as mythological personages, in the simple Purāna style, the principal metre being the Anuṣṭup, such poems, including those comprising the lives of the Tīrthamkaras were sometimes called the Mahākāvyas, the title probably signifying the lives of the great or the compositions which can be considered great from religious point of view. We cannot say that such works were called Mahākāvyas through ignorance of the technique of the literary Mahākāvya, because the lives of Tīrthamkaras written by well-known scholars like Mānukyaśandra are called Mahākāvyas, though they do not conform to the rules laid down by Dandin and others (para 182).

167. The Dharmābhyudaya is a collection of several Kathās including the lives of two Tīrthamkaras, and the bulk of it has been written in easy, flowing, but at the same time matter of fact style, which does not give much scope to long descriptions and other poetic luxuries. This style is affected in a number of Kathā-works written by the mediaeval Jaina authors both in Sanskrit and Pīākṛit, in which the aim is to narrate rather than to describe.²

SECTION II

MYTHOLOGICAL MAHĀKĀVYAS

The Surathotsava of Someśvara

168. In this section it will be convenient to treat first of the Surathotsava Mahākāvya of Someśvara, because though its theme has been taken from

1 e.g. इति श्रीविजयमेतस्मृतिगिप्यश्रीउदयप्रमस्मृतिरचिते श्रीधर्माभ्युदयनाम्नि सधपतिविरिते लक्ष्म्यदे महाकाव्ये तीर्थयात्राविनिर्णयो नाम प्रथम सर्ग ॥

2 For an account of some such works, vide Hertel, On Narrative Literature of the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarāt.

mythology, it has a political and historical significance. It gives the story of king Suratha contained in the Saptasatī or Devīmāhātmya in the Adhyāyas 81-93 of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, but presumably hints at the same time at political misfortune and re-establishment of the power of king Bhīmadeva II, as suggested before (para 48 and 75)

169 The Surathotsava is divided in 15 cantos containing 1082 verses in all. In the *first canto* the poet pays his homage to various deities, devoting the first five stanzas to Bhavānī or Durgā. He then renders his obeisance to him who "in the temple of his poem placed the image of the fame of Rāma" and to "the son of Satyavatī" as well as to their works, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata. Several other poets are also mentioned with admiration—Guṇādhyā, the author of the Brhatkathā, Subandhu, Kālidāsa, Māgha and Murāri. In the words of Dr R. G. Bhandarkar, who has given an excellent summary of the Surathotsava in one of his reports, "the poet then devotes a good many stanzas to such general subjects as poetry, good men, wicked men, etc., and afterwards introduces his hero Suratha to his readers. The *first canto* ends with the mention of his Viśvavijaya or conquest of the world. At the beginning of the *second canto*, some of Suratha's counsellors are represented to have played into the hands of his enemies, who with their assistance vanquished him and deprived him of his kingdom. Suratha then betook himself to a forest, where he met a Muni or sage to whom he recounted his misfortunes. He advised him to have recourse to austere practices (tapas) in order to propitiate Bhavānī and narrated the glorious deeds of that goddess. Śumbha and Niśumbha had obtained from Brahmadeva the boon of freedom from death at the hands of any but a woman, and through the virtue of that boon they made themselves all-powerful and oppressed all creatures. The gods thereupon went to Brahmadeva and laid their complaints before him. Brahmadeva explained to them the nature of the boon the demon had received, and advised the gods to go to Umā or Bhavānī and entreat her to kill Śumbha. Thus ends the *third canto*.

170 "The Gods then went to the Himālayas, a description of which in accordance with the orthodox rules of poetry constitutes the *fourth canto*. A description of the seasons, all of which came to wait upon the gods in the course of their march, follows in the *fifth*, and a description of moon-rise in the *sixth*. The *seventh canto* opens with a description of a sun-rise and then Bhavānī is represented as going out to gather flowers. Then she goes to the Gamgā to bathe, and as she is returning the gods see her from a distance and sing her praises. They then lay their complaints before her and implore her to kill the Daitya Śumbha. She allays their fears and promises to destroy the demon. In the *eighth canto*, Bhavānī transforms herself into a beautiful maiden and resides on a peak of the Himālayas. The report spreads that a beautiful maiden has appeared on the Himālayas, and reached the ears of Śumbha. He sends a person to propose to her a marriage with himself. Bhavānī tells the messenger that she has vowed that that man only shall be her husband who will fight with her while she is riding a lion.

The messenger goes back to S'umbha and informs him of this. S'umbha wonders at the woman's oddity and sends a demon of the name of Dhumralocana to induce her to give up what she called her vow, and, if she remained still obstinate, to use force and bring her away. Dhumralocana goes to Bhavānī and while about to execute his master's commands, he is reduced to ashes by the power of the goddess. Then in the *ninth canto* S'umbha is represented as marching against Umā in person with a large army; the fight between them is described in the *tenth*, and the death of S'umbha in the *eleventh*.

171. "Having heard of this glorious deed of Bhavānī from the mouth of the Muni, Suratha makes up his mind to propitiate her by the severest austerities. These are described in the *twelfth canto*; and in the *thirteenth*, Pārvatī sends a beautiful woman to test his firmness, but he is proof against her blandishments and goes on with his religious exercises. Then in the *fourteenth*, Bhavānī is pleased and manifests herself to Suratha, she pronounces a benediction, and promises his supreme sovereignty for a thousand years and the dignity of the eighth Manu, after the present or seventh is over, in a future life. In the meanwhile, such of the counsellors of Suratha as were faithful to him destroyed those who had acted as traitors and sent men in all directions to trace him out. One of them reached at last the forest where Suratha had been practising austerities and gave intelligence of his being there to the counsellors. They then went to the place with a large number of followers and conducted Suratha to his capital, where he enjoyed supreme sovereignty in accordance with the promise of Umā."¹ In the *fifteenth canto* Someśvara gives the history of his family and his own and at the end devotes a few verses to the praise of Vastupāla. I have already given a summary of this canto in the fifth chapter (para 69-71)

172 If Someśvara's Kīrtikaumudī is written in the Vaidarbhī style, his Surathotsava tries to affect the Gaudī style, and his model there seems to be the Kīrātārjunīya and Śīsupālavadha rather than the works of Kālidāsa. Though the language of the Surathotsava is simple in comparison with these two difficult masterpieces of Sanskrit poetry, it abounds in Ślesas, in the use of rare and uncommon words and the Śabdālamkāras. The tenth canto, which describes the fight between the goddess and the demon is full of all kinds of Citrakāvya, just like the 15th canto of the Kīrātārjunīya and the 19th canto of the Śīsupālavadha, which are also devoted to the description of fight and contain the Citrakāvya. It appears that there was a tradition among the writers of Mahākāvya, which delighted in describing the fights by means of various kinds of Citrakāvya, though these were really speaking an obstacle to the proper depicting of the tumultuous and rapid action of a battle.¹

173. The poetic merits of the author of the Kīrtikaumudī are conspicuous even in this poem. Some of Someśvara's descriptions here are such as can be compared with the best ones in the Kīrtikaumudī. The description of God

Brahman when the other gods wait upon him to present the account of their plight (III), and that of the grandeur of the Himālayas—full of alliterations and puns (IV)—in which the poet may have been inspired to some extent by the first canto of the Kumārasambhava, can be pointed out as illustrations. The cantos IV and X are also notable, which are devoted to the descriptions of the six seasons and battle-scenes, respectively,

174. I may quote here few verses illustrating Someśvara's poetic art in the Surathotsava. When Suratha, deserted by his ministers, enters the woodlands the poet gives a good example of Dhvanikāvya—

विग्रन् वनादेव वनान्तराणि सान्द्रद्रुमश्रेणितिरन्तराणि ।
माति स भिन्नाजनसनिमानि धनादिवेन्दुर्धनमण्डलानि ॥
(II. 18)

Though the poem generally follows the difficult poetic models of Bhāravi and Māgha, at some places we get a fine blending of simplicity and real poetry. As for example, spring in the description of six seasons—

कदाक्षिता कैरपि चुम्बिता परं. कृतोपभोगा मधुपैश्च कैश्चन ।
मधु क्षरन्ती विरराज माधवी नवीनरूपा गणिकैव कामिभिः ॥
(V. 10)

Autumn :

जलं प्रसन्न जलदा निवर्तिता. प्रवर्तिताश्चाध्वनि साधुसिन्धवः ।
गदाधर स्वापपर प्रदोषित शरदिनैर्निर्मलतोचितं कृतम् ॥
(V. 39)

Beginning of spring :

लमन्ते सौभाग्यं किमपि हरिणाङ्गस्य किरणा
पिका शब्दायन्ते स्वगतममृतस्यन्दि च तदा ।
चलत्यथ श्रो वा पवनपृतना चन्दनगिरे-
रवामं कामस्य स्फुरति च शुभाशसि नयनम् ॥
(V. 56)¹

It is generally believed that there is no clear mention of glass-bangles in Sanskrit literature,² but it is noteworthy that VI. 105 expressly refers to glass-bangles worn by women—

का च काचवल्यावलिश्चैराजुहाव हृदय दयितास्य ।

which shows that the ornament was fairly common in Gujarāt in the times of Someśvara.

1 This verse is also found in the UR, II. 31.

2 "I have not come across any definite reference in Sanskrit literature to the use of the glass-bangles, but I think that they began to be used sometime about 8th-9th century, i.e. in the early mediaeval period. Their use seems to have been brought by the foreign tribes like the Hūnas and the Gurjaras coming from Central Asia"—Dr V. S Agrawala quoted by Prof. Gode, Journal of Oriental Studies, vol I, p 16.

It may be noted here that the word स्फटिक also sometimes has been taken in Sanskrit as meaning glass, as for example, स्फटिकवलय referred to in the Yaśastilaka of Somadeva (951 A. D.) has been translated by

The Naranārāyanānanda of Vastupāla

175. The Naranārāyanānanda is a Mahākāvya composed by Vastupāla. Its subject-matter is taken from the Vanaparvan of the Mahābhārata and it describes the friendship of Nara and Nārāyana or Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, their rambles in the Raivataka park and the carrying away of Kṛṣṇa's sister Subhadrā by Arjuna. The poetic model of the author is Māgha and to a certain extent Bhāravi. In the compositions of these two master-poets as well as in that of Vastupāla, the theme is taken from the Mahābhārata, the subject-matter is very scanty and large portions of the poems are taken up by conventional descriptions such as those of the city, the king and his court; the rise of the sun and the moon and gathering of flowers, and on certain occasions by lengthy dialogues. All the three poets have affected a style, ornate and more artificial than artistic for the modern taste, though in this respect Vastupāla is comparatively simple than his predecessors. Like Bhāravi and Māgha, Vastupāla also has devoted one whole canto (XIV) to the description of a fight by means of various kinds of Citrakāvyas, and all the forty verses in that canto represent so many varieties of the Citrakāvyas, some of them very rare even in the realm of ornate Sanskrit poetry.

176. The Naranārāyanānanda is divided in 16 cantos, comprising 794 verses in all. It begins without any formal salutation to any deity, like the Kumārasambhava, the Kirātārjunīya, and the Śiśupālavadha and the Naisadha. The *first canto* describes the city of Dvārakā, the capital of Kṛṣṇa, and the *second* describes Kṛṣṇa's assembly and his coming there. Then the keeper of the Raivataka garden comes and presents him with flowers and informs that Arjuna is staying in the garden. Kṛṣṇa becomes eager to see his dear friend, and in the *third canto* he comes to the Raivataka and embraces Arjuna. Both the friends sit in a pleasure-grove and talk. The *fourth canto* describes the six seasons which simultaneously held their sway in the Raivataka, and then the moon rises as if to have a look at both these friends. The following three cantos (V-VII) are devoted to the descriptions of sun-set, moon-rise, drinking and love-sports, setting of the moon and the sun-rise. Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa spent the whole night in conversation. In the *eighth canto* Balabhadra, the brother of Kṛṣṇa goes to Raivataka, and the poet takes the opportunity to give a description of his army. The *cantos ninth and tenth* describe the flowers and the water-sports. Beautiful Subhadrā was seen by Arjuna as she was returning from her bath, and both were mutually attracted by love. Then Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa enter Dvāravatī. The *eleventh canto* describes Arjuna's pangs

Prof. Handique as meaning 'glass-bangle' (Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture, p. 123). It is difficult to say whether the meaning of the word स्फटिक was extended to denote glass as distinct from natural crystal, which is its usual meaning in Sanskrit. So our contention that the quotation from the Surathotsava contains the earliest indubitable reference so far discovered to glass-bangles under the name काचवलय still holds good.

of separation, when a lady messenger of love comes and informs him about Subhadrā's condition, who was equally love-smitten. Arjuna reads the love-letter sent by Subhadrā and sends a word to her that she should meet him in the Raivataka park. The *twelfth canto* describes Subhadrā going to Raivataka for worshipping Kāmadeva, when Arjuna carries her away. The watch-men inform Baladeva, who moved by anger taunts Kṛṣṇa about the behaviour of his dear friend, to which Kṛṣṇa replies that Arjuna is a worthy bridegroom for Subhadrā, and she is also deeply in love with him, and hence there was no cause for Baladeva to become angry. The *cantos thirteenth and fourteenth* describe the fierce battle between the Yādava army on the one hand and Arjuna on the other. But in the end Kṛṣṇa intervenes, stops the fight and takes Arjuna back to Dvārakā. The *fifteenth canto* describes the decorations and festive scenes in Dvārakā, and the marriage of Arjuna and Subhadrā. In the last and the *sixteenth canto* the poet gives an autobiographical account beginning from his ancestor Caudapa, and ends the work with the following verse expressing humility :

उद्गामद्विष्विद्याल्वनयमनसः कोविदेन्द्रा वितन्द्रा
मन्त्री वद्वाञ्छित्वो विनयनतशिरा याचते वस्तुपाल
स्वयंप्रज्ञाप्रदोधादपि नपदि मया कल्पितेऽस्मिन् प्रदन्वे
भूयो भूयोऽपि यूयं जनयन् नयनक्षेपनी दीपमोषम् ॥

Some poet patronized by Vastupāla has appended one or two verses in his praise at the end of each canto. The number of such verses is 18 in all.

177. The Naranārāyaṇānanda appears to have established itself in the poetic world within a short time after its composition, as the sixth verse of its first canto is quoted in the Sūktimuktāvali of Jahlana (vide para 64), and one more verse (XIV 16) is to be found in the Kāvyaakalpalatā (p. 103) of Amaracandrasūri. As we have seen, the bulk of the poem is taken up by conventional descriptions, but even there the poetic distinction does not remain concealed, and there are a number of poetic flashes which remind us of beautiful verses from Bhāravi and Māgha, and even the poem as a whole maintains a certain level, which is not to be commonly found in the authors of the Sanskrit Mahākāvyas during the mediaeval times. Suggesting beautifully the apparent contradictions in Kṛṣṇa's character the poet says:

पुण्ये मित्राण्यपि निर्मनोऽसौ गतस्मृतौ राज्यमपि प्रतेने ।
जघान शत्रून्तपि शान्तचेता प्रभु प्रजेकार्यकृतावनार ॥

(I. 42)

And the meeting of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna in Raivataka after a very long time:

हरसि रसिकयोस्तयो प्रमोदाद् दृढपरिरन्मविभिन्नभूषणंऽपि ।
दृढमननुत नारदारलक्ष्मीं सितनचिविचुरिताश्रुविन्दुषुऽपि ॥

(III. 11)

A fine fancy about the disappearance of darkness at the time of sunrise:

नक्तं निरकुशतया कुशसुचिभ्यो च सर्वतन्मिमुवनेऽपि ममौ कथंचित् ।
माति स सोऽपि दृशि धूकविदग्धमल्य मानोर्भयात् क्षणिति सङ्कुचिनोऽन्धकारः ॥

(VII. 35)

The forceful warning of Baladeva to Arjuna when the latter was carrying away Subhadrā :

रे नौर यदि सौजन्यं तादृक्षमपि विस्मृतम् ।

तर्हि मे वामपादोऽपि विस्मृतोऽरिक्पालभित् ॥

(XII. 37)

At another place, Subhadrā's braid of hair hanging on her breast is described as the Divya (or ordeal to decide guilt or otherwise of a suspect) called Ghata-sarpa¹ of king cupid :

द्रुततरुमपरस्या जालगर्भं गताया ललितलुलितवेणि पीवरश्रीरुरोजे ।

शतमुखसुतक्रायच्छायचौर्यापवादादधत्त घटसर्पो मन्मथस्यैव दिव्यम् ॥

(XV. 21)

The Bālabhārata of Amaracandrasūri

178. The Bālabhārata of Amaracandrasūri is a sort of epitome, in its subject-matter, of the famous Mahābhārata, as its very name suggests. The author has called it a Mahākāvya, and being characterized by the word Vīra at the end of each canto, this poem as well as his Padmāhanda Mahākāvya are known as Vīrāmka. Like its prototype, the Bālabhārata is divided into 18 Parvans, each of which is further subdivided into one or more cantos, the sum total being 44, including the last canto which gives the Praśasti. The Granthāgra of the whole work, as given in the last verse of the last canto is 6950 ślokaś. The author has so arranged the work as to look like a Mahākāvya, adhering to certain technicalities laid down by the writers on poetics, though the subject-matter of the Mahābhārata is too bulky to be condensed in a single Mahākāvya. In the beginning of every canto except the last, the author has devoted one verse to the praise of Vyāsa, thus praising him 43 times in 43 verses, a fact which shows his great respect for the author of the original epic. The *seventh canto* of the Ādiparvan is devoted to the description of the spring and *cantos eight to eleven* to collection of flowers and water-sports, moon-rise, drinking and love-sports, etc. The *twelfth canto* gives a splendid description of the Khāndava-forest, which was burnt by Arjuna. We find description of seasons in the *fourth canto* of the Sabhāparvan, and that of fights in the Drona and Bhīṣmaparvans. The author has depicted the sentiment of pathos in the Strīparvan, when the women of the Kaurava family are mourning the loss of their kith and kin.

179. But in spite of all these efforts to present the work as a Mahākāvya, it is more of an outline summary of the story of the Mahābhārata rather than a real Mahākāvya of the literary type. In compressing the original, Amaracandra has concentrated on the story-part of the Mahābhārata, almost omitting its didactic and religious matter. That is why the Parvans from the

¹ In the ordeal Ghatasarpa a suspect was forced to put his hand in a pitcher in which there is a serpent. The PK (p. 125) informs us that king Viśaladeva wished that Vastupāla should pass through that ordeal as the latter was suspected by him of mismanaging the state-revenue, but the king was checked by Lavanaprasāda, who was living at that time.

Ādi to the Udyoga are given a considerable space, while the Śānti and the Anuśāsana Parvans which are the main didactic and religious portions of the Mahābhārata are allotted only one canto each. The story of all the latter Parvans is also told very briefly. Though the work of a jaina ascetic, the Bālābhārata was very well-known in the Brāhmanical literary world, and that popularity is to be accounted for by the fact that this poetical synopsis of the famous epic, though faithfully following the original, is an independent Kāvya at the same time.

The Padmānanda Mahākāvya of Amaracandrasūri

180 The Padmānanda Mahākāvya or Jinendracarita is another work of Amaracandra, which is midway between a Mahākāvya in the technical sense and a religious Caritra. The work has for its subject the mythical account of the first Jaina Tīrthamkara Ādinātha. It is divided into 19 cantos, and its Granthāgra is 6281 ślokas¹. The religious Caritras generally prefer one principal metre, viz. Anustup, while this work has tried all the well-known metres of classical Sanskrit poetry in the style of the Mahākāvya and has devoted one whole canto (XI) to the description of the seasons. In addition to the life of Ādinātha, the hero, it includes a number of legends and anecdotes, religious and philosophical discourses and discussions, which reveal its character as a sectarian work. In spite of the didactic material it does not lack poetic quality. The author, in this Kāvya, appears to be particularly fond of the Arthāntaranyāsas, and we find a number of verses which would be highly prized as Subhāsitas.² The author shows a mastery over classical Sanskrit and its literary diction.

Caturvims'ati-Jinendra-Samksipta-Caritāni by Amaracandra

181. It would be apposite here to treat of the Caturvims'ati-Jinendra-Samksipta-Caritāni, though it is neither a Mahākāvya nor a long Caritra of one Tīrthamkara. If the Padmānanda Mahākāvya is an account of the first Jina, this work supplies short accounts of all the 24 Jinas, including the first, and as such forms as if an appendix to the former, though composed before it (para 106). It is divided into 24 chapters and comprises 1802 ślokas in all. The author has to treat of all the Jinas in a short space and naturally he does not get scope for any poetic luxuries. The main topics treated in every chapter, that is, in case of every Jina, may be outlined as under: (1) The previous birth or births, (2) the parentage, (3) explanation of the proper name given to the Tīrthamkara, (4) the days of entering the embryo, birth, renunciation and salvation, (5) the height of the Caitya-vrksa, (6) the Parivāra consisting of the Gaṇadharas (apostles), male and female ascetics, those conversant with the 14 Pūrvas, those having the Avadhī-Jñāna and the Manahpariyaya-Jñāna, the Kevalins, those endowed with the Vaikriya-labdhi (power to

1 JRK, p. 234.

2 Vide Kapadia, intro to the Padmānanda Mahākāvya, p. 15n., where a number of illustrations are given.

change the form of body), experts in polemics, the devoted house-holders of both sexes etc, and (7) the duration of life with the specification of the periods passed as a youth, a crown-prince, a ruler (where possible), a Chadmastha (one who is imperfect) and an omniscient being¹

The S'āntināthacaritra and Pārśvanāthacaritra of Mānikyacandra

182 Lastly, we come to the poetical compositions of Mānikyacandra viz. his S'āntināthacaritra and Pārśvanāthacaritra, which are called Mahākāvyas in the colophons of the manuscript copies², according to the tradition among the Jainas which many a times referred to the religious Caritras as the Mahākāvyas, as mentioned before (para 166). S'āntinātha is the 16th Tirthamkara, while Pārśvanātha is the 23rd, and the lives of these two Jinas along with those of several others, viz. Ādinātha, Neminātha and Mahāvīra, form the most popular literary themes for the Jaina poets, and a large number of poems both in Sanskrit and Prākṛit have been written about these two Jinas.³ Both the works are not printed as yet, and are available only in manuscript-form. The S'āntināthacaritra is divided into eight cantos and its Granthāgra is 5574 ślokaś,⁴ while the Pārśvanāthacaritra has nine cantos having the Granthāgra of 5278 ślokaś.⁵ The bulk of both the works is devoted to the previous births of Jinas (6 cantos in former work, while 4 cantos in the latter). The narrative of these poems generally follows the fifth and ninth Parvans of the Trisastī-śalākāpuruṣacaritra of Hemacandra, which gave, respectively, the lives of these two Tirthamkaras, and also the relevant portions of the Ādipurāna of Jinasena and Uttarapurāna of Guṇabhadra. Both the works are written in the simple Purāna style, the principal metre being Anuṣṭup, and the legend of these two Jinas forms the frame-work into which numerous stories, fables and fairy-tales are inserted in the manner so familiar in Indian narrative literature. In no way do the contents conform to the technical requirements of the Mahākāvya, but being the compositions of a renowned scholar like Mānikyacandra these two works present good examples of Jaina narrative poetry.

1 Kapadia, op cit, p 36.

2 e g इत्याचार्यश्रीमाणिक्यचन्द्रविरचिते श्रीगान्तिनाथचरिते महाकाव्ये तपो-भावनाकथा-चक्रायुध-गणभृन्निर्वाणवर्णनो नाम अष्टम सर्ग समाप्त । (PBC, p. 205)

Almost similar colophons mentioning the work as a Mahākāvya are also found at the end of each canto of the Pārśvanāthacaritra.

3 JRK, pp 244-46 and 378-81

4 Ibid, p 380

5 Ibid, p. 244-45.

CHAPTER VII

PLAYS

Characteristics of Sanskrit drama

183. Drama is another popular form of Sanskrit literature, which is considered to be the highest poetic achievement of Sanskrit authors. It can show a continuous history of more than twenty centuries, from the times of Aśvaghosa upto the most recent times. The earliest form of dramatic literature in India is represented by the Rgveda-dialogues between Saramā and Pauṁ, Yama and Yamī, Viśvāmitra and the rivers, Pururavas and Urvāśī etc., the last one being the first version of the Pururavas-Urvāśī story, which forms the subject-matter of a famous play by Kālidāsa, viz. his Vikramorvaśīya. Oldest references to the acted drama are to be found in the Mahābhārata (about 120 B C), which mentions the performance of Kamsavadha or slaying of Kamsa and Balibandha or binding of Bali, two episodes from the life of Viṣṇu. From this and from several other references it is believed that the Sanskrit drama was developed in connection with the cult of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, and that the earliest acted representations were, therefore, like the mysteries of the Christian middle ages¹. That the drama had a rich and varied development in India is also attested by the fact that in addition to a large number of plays there are a number of elaborate treatises on dramaturgy and acting, the oldest being the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata (circa 300 A D.). The Sanskrit drama is generally divided into two varieties—Rūpaka and Uparūpaka. The Sāhityadarpaṇa of Viśvānātha (circa 1450 A.D.) divides the Rūpaka into ten varieties and the Uparūpaka into eighteen.

184. The number of acts in a play varies from one to ten. The variety known as Nāṭikā has four acts, while the minor dramatic types like Prahāsana, Bhāna etc. have only one act. Every Sanskrit play begins with a prologue, which opens with Nāṇḍī or benediction invoking the favour of God for the welfare of the audience. Then follows a dialogue between the Sūtradhāra or stage-manager and one or two actors, which gives some information about the play and its author, and introduces at the end, one of the characters of the plot in a particularly dramatic situation. The stage does not remain vacant until the end of the act and no change in locality takes place until then. Before a new act begins, sometimes an interlude known as the Viśkambhaka or Praveśaka is inserted, which makes the audience aware of the events which occurred during the interval between the two acts, and mentally prepares them for the events which are to occur. The play closes with a Bhāratavākya or the prayer for general prosperity and it is put in the mouth of one of the principal elderly characters of the play. The Sanskrit play is a mixed composition containing prose-dialogues and lyrical verses. The dialogues are sometimes very commonplace serving only to introduce lofty lyrical stanzas, which describe the scenes, situations or personalities or sometimes contain high

1 Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, p. 317.

reflections. It is also well-known that different characters in a Sanskrit play speak different dialects according to their social position. Heroes, kings, Brāhmins, and other men of high social status speak Sanskrit, while Prākṛit is spoken by women and also by men of lower social status. Even in case of Prākṛit, its different sub-dialects are employed for those persons, according to the rules prescribed in the Nāṭyaśāstra. The story is always terminated happily, and there is no tragedy as such in Sanskrit drama. Not only that, nothing deeply tragic, e g death, is allowed to occur on the stage¹. The texts on dramaturgy allow nothing very harsh or indecorous on the stage, and the audience never witnesses such things like the utterance of a curse, fighting, kissing, eating and sleeping.

185. Though the number of the extant Sanskrit plays can be counted by several hundreds, the best specimens which number not more than twenty, are from the pen of the ancient masters like Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Śūdraka, Viśākhadatta, Harsa and Bhavabhūti. Many of the later authors have taken some composition of one of these older writers as a model, and thus have more or less imitated the creations of a more vital dramatic tradition. Even when the creative period in the history of Sanskrit drama as well as literature in general came to an end by the early mediaeval times, the scholastic traditions were zealously maintained, and theory and practice of drama were being cultivated at the royal courts and under the patronage of the richer section of the society. As already pointed out in the first chapter, not only were a number of dramas composed and performed in Gujarāt of the Caulukya period, but Hemacandra also wrote on dramatic theory in the eighth chapter of his Kāvyaṇuśāsa and his pupil Rāmacandra, who was himself a dramatist, wrote the Nāṭyadarpaṇa, a voluminous work on dramaturgy. During the times of Vastupāla, i e in the later Caulukya period also this tradition continued, and we know about five plays composed by the poets in the literary circle of Vastupāla, out of which one, viz the Kākutsthakeś of Narendraprabhasūri is not extant. We shall make here a critical survey of the remaining four.

The Ullāgharāghava of Someśvara

186 First we take the Ullāgharāghava of Someśvara, a play in eight acts, dramatizing the story of the Rāmāyana. The only available manuscript of this very rare work, which has remained almost unknown to the students of the Sanskrit drama, is preserved in the Bombay Government collection of manuscripts deposited at the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona (no 343 of 1884-86), and even in that, eleven folios in all (1-5, 18, 39, 40, 71, 73 and 87) are missing. Thus we miss the historically very important prologue in this manuscript, but I was fortunate enough to get that portion from a copy of the work made by the late Mr T M Tripāthī of Bombay, who had taken down the whole of the Poona manuscript, but had supple-

1 Though this has been a general rule in the later Sanskrit drama, it appears that in earlier plays like the Urubhamga of Bhāsa, the convention was not observed, for we find Duryodhana dying on the stage in that short drama.

mented the missing section from some other manuscript, which I was unable to discover from his private collection¹ The Granthāgra of the play is 2100 ślokaś, as is noted in a later hand on the last folio of the Poona manuscript.

187. Looking to the contents of the play—in act I, after the Nāndī, Śatānanda, the Purohita of Janaka, refers to the grief of the king that his daughter Sītā will now be separated from him, that is, the play begins after the marriage of Rāma and Sītā Daśaratha and his two sons and Sītā take Janaka's leave and start for their capital After a while the chamberlain Haridatta informs how, on the way, angry Paraśurāma was pacified by Rāma, and Janaka goes to inform the inmates of the harem about this great success of his son-in-law From a Viskambhaka in the beginning of act II, containing a dialogue between two servants, we know that Daśaratha has decided to install Rāma as the king and has called for his Purohita Vasistha. Then Rāma and Sītā, with the garden-keeper, move about the pleasure-garden and the pleasure-pond, and enjoy the beauty of the place. Meanwhile Daśaratha calls Rāma and bids him to remain ready to take charge of the onerous duties of state-affairs It is the time of evening, and the stanzas of the Vaitālikas describing the evening twilight are heard from the back-ground. The chamberlain informs Daśaratha that queen Kaikeyī requests him to come to her place Before going there, the king again tells Rāma to remain ready for the coronation-ceremony In act III, from the conversation of two maid-servants it is inferred that Kaikeyī has decided to obtain two gifts from the king which the latter had promised her some time ago, and that one was the banishment of Rāma and the other was the coronation of Bharata in his place Then Rāma drives in state to the palace, witnessing the festivities in the city, but coming to the residence of Kaikeyī, he and Sumantra find the old king vainly attempting to persuade the queen, so that she may not insist upon her demands The king faints when he sees Rāma At this juncture enter Kausalyā, Sumitrā and Sītā, and are stunned to know the turn which the events have taken Angry Lakṣmana enters with drawn bow, asking who is bold enough to banish Rāma But Rāma pacifies him, and bidding farewell to all retires to the forest, and grief prevails in the whole kingdom

188. The whole of act IV is utilized for supplying information regarding the events that occurred after the banishment of Rāma The act is devoted to the aerial travel and conversation of two Gandharvas—Kumudāṃgada and his son Kanakacūda We know that Daśaratha is dead, Bharata follows Rāma to Citrakūta, but there he is prevailed upon by Rāma to return to Ayodhyā for the protection of the people, Rāma has killed the demon Virādhā, and in the end, he expresses a desire to go to the southern direction. Act V has a Viskambhaka in the beginning, in which the audience know from the soliloquy of Mārīca that Rāvana wants to take his help in the abduction of Sītā and that the ears and nose of Sūrpanakhā were cut by Lakṣmana and

¹ For some quotations from the prologue of the Ullāgharāghava supplied by Mr. Tripāthi to Mr. C. D. Dalal, first general editor of the Gackwad's Oriental series, vide the Vasant (Guj.), Vol. XIV, p. 191

also that the demons residing in the Janasthāna were killed. Then enters Rāvana and forcibly carries away Sītā. Jatāyu, king of the vultures, comes to Sītā's help, and fights with Rāvana, but he is not successful, and from the speech of Ghorākṣa, Rāvana's attendant, we know that Jatāyu is fatally wounded. Rāma and Lakṣmana, not finding Sītā in the hut, start for her search, and know the details of her carrying away from Jatāyu. Jatāyu advises Rāma to go to the Pampāsaras in the south, where he will make friends with Sugrīva and other monkey-chiefs, and thus a suggestion is made as to how it will become possible for Rāma to attack Lamkā. Act VI begins with the dialogues of three demons, viz. Mālyavān, Sārana and Śūka, from which the audience know that Vālī was killed by Rāma and that Hanumān had burnt Lamkā, Vibhīṣana advised Rāvana to return Sītā to Rāmā, but he was insulted and consequently went over to Rāma's camp. Then Aṅgada comes to Rāvana's court for a peace-mission, but his mission fails and there follows an interchange of recriminations. The battle-cries of the monkeys are heard from the background. Rāvana, from the terrace of his palace, takes a view of Rāma's army, and the chief warriors are pointed out to him by Śūka. In the same way Rāma and Vibhīṣana see Rāvana's army from the peak of mountain Suvela.

189. Almost the whole of act VII is a dialogue between Kāpatika, who was a spy of Ravana, the lord Mathurā and a friend of Rāvana, and a demon named Vrkamukha. We know that Rāvana has been killed, Sītā has come out pure from the fire and Vibhīṣana is installed on the throne of Lamkā. Kāpatika says that he would try his best still to create difficulties in the way of Rāma. In the end, Vibhīṣana's voice is heard from the background requesting Rāma to sit in the aerial car Puspaka for going to Ayodhyā. Act VIII begins with the aerial journey of Rāma to Ayodhyā. Sītā asks him about various places coming on the way and he satisfies her curiosity. Kāpatika takes the guise of a young Muni, and hastily goes to Ayodhyā where the news of Rāvana's death have not reached as yet. There he gives false information that Rāvana in his aerial car is coming to attack Ayodhyā having killed both Rāma and Lakṣmana. The army is ordered to remain ready and Kausalyā and Sumitrā, struck with grief, prepare for burning themselves alive. At this juncture enters the aerial car, Bharata aims an arrow at Vibhīṣana taking him to be an ally of Rāvana, but Vasistha who knows everything checks him, and the plot of Kāpatika is found out. The concluding portion of the play (folio 87) is missing, but it can be easily surmised that it must have depicted the reunion of the family, and in the end there must have been a Bharatavākya in the mouth of Rāma. We may mention here that in the beginning of each act, except the first, the poet has put one verse in praise of Vastupāla, which speaks of his close association with the patron.

190. Thus the Ullāgharāghava is a long drawn out play, possibly having as its model the Anargharāghava of Murārī (before the 9th century A. D.), a play in seven acts. There is a series of Rāma-dramas, ending

with the word Rāghava, which seem to have some connection with one another. We are in darkness regarding the Udāttarāghava of Māyurāja, which is known only by reference,¹ and we are not able to say anything about its relation with the Anargharāghava of Murāri, who may either have succeeded him or preceded him. Murāri seems to have been imitated by Jayadeva (circa 1200 A. D.) in the Prasannarāghava,² which is also a Rāma-play in seven acts. Murāri's play was very popular in Sanskrit literature, at a time, and he has been spoken of very highly in anthologies, and a large number of commentaries were written on his play.³ The play was zealously read and studied also in mediaeval Gujarāt, and Naracandra and his Guru Devaprabha,⁴ both of them contemporaries of Vastupāla, have composed commentaries on it. A third commentary was written by Jinaharsa in the 15th century.⁵ And it is no wonder if Someśvara was influenced by it. Just as act IV of the Ullāgharāghava is entirely taken up by the dialogue of two Gandharvas, Kanakacūda and Kumudāmgada, the later part of act VI of the Anargharāghava is similarly devoted to the talks between Ratnacūda and Hemāmgada, who are also Gandharvas. These dialogues in both the plays serve the same purpose, viz. to inform the audience about the events that have already occurred. Dialogues of Mālyavān, Śūka and Sārana are found almost in identical places in act VI in both the plays. VIII. 29-30 of the Ullāgharāghava are mere imitation of the VII 97-98 of the Anargharāghava, and the whole of the act VIII in the former play seems to have been inspired by act VII of the latter, though here one may be tempted to say that the poet may have also seen the portions describing Rāma's return to Ayodhyā in canto XIII of the Raghuvamśa and act X of the Bālarāmāyanā of Rājasekhara (circa 900 A. D.).

191 The Ullāgharāghava betrays some influence of the Abhijñāna-śākuntala. The scenes in which Sitā goes to Ayodhyā and the grief of Janaka at the separation from his dear daughter is expressed—are reminiscent of similar scenes in the fourth act of the great drama of Kālidāsa. When Someśvara wrote—

नवपरिणीता दुहिता गच्छन्ती पतिगृहाय बन्धूनाम् ।
परमार्थवेदिनामपि वैकुण्ठं विरचयत्येव ॥

(I. 10)

he must have in his mind the following half-verse from the Śakuntalā, put in Kauva's mouth—

1 Keith, Sanskrit Drama, pp 223 ff.

2 Ibid, p 226 The Unmattarāghava of Bhāskara Kavi of unknown date, though a one-act play, seems to have been influenced at least in its name by the plays like the Anargharāghava.

3 Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, pp 638 f.

4 PBO, p. 301, JRK, p. 7.

5 PBO, intro, p. 52.

वैकुण्ठं मम तामदीदृशमहो लेहादरण्यौकस
पीड्यन्ते गृहिण कथं न तनयाविशेषदुःखैर्नये ॥
(IV. 5)

And Śatānanda's instruction to Sītā—

शुश्रूषा श्वशुरे ननान्द्रुपु नति श्वश्रुपु याजलि (1 वदजलि ?)
पत्न्यौ तत्परता सुनर्मे च वचस्तन्निवर्गौ शुचौ ।
साक्षत् कुलवालिकासु विनय पूज्ये तनौ सवृत्ति-
मार्गोऽयं मुनिपुङ्गवैर्मृगदृशा श्रेय श्रिये दर्शित ॥
(I. 21)

appears to have been based on the famous verse in the Śakuntalā spoken by Kauva, beginning with the words शुश्रूषस्व गुरुन् (IV. 17). In the second act of the Ullāgharāghava, Rāma protects Sītā from the bee which was attracted by the fragrance of her mouth and addresses him a verse आतश्चक्रे भ्रगर भवता (II. 35), which is inspired by a similar scene in the first act of the Śakuntalā and the verse चलापाङ्गा दुष्टि (I. 20)

192. The Sanskrit drama was generally under the influence of the court, and though the audience was mixed, its worth was judged by the learned who were intent on discerning poetic beauties or defects. The result was that the poet attempted to introduce as many lyric verses as he could, and consequently the action and dialogues suffered. This process can be seen in full development in Murāri, Rājasekhara and other later dramatists, in whom we find subordination of action to description, and the degeneration of the description into a mere exercise in style and in the use of alliteration.¹ We find these features also in Someśvara, he being the child of his age. At some places he has made the things too lengthy, e. g., whole of the fourth act is devoted to the long and tedious dialogues between two Gandharvas, the second act describes the beauties of the garden, and a part of the last act gives large number of verses in epic style about several geographical places from Lankā to Ayodhyā. This was partly due to the fact that the plays for their reputation depended largely on being read, not witnessed, however important it may have been for the poet to secure the honour of public performance.

193. But the merit of Someśvara's work lies in the fact that though it exhibits all these characteristics of the later drama, prose as well as verses in it are written in an elegant and effective style, which has always marked his compositions, as we have seen before. He has tried to dramatize the whole of the Rāmāyana, but has utilized his long and unwieldy subject-matter in a judicious way, as a result of which his acts generally do not degenerate into something like separate plays, as has happened in case of the Bālarāmāyana of Rājasekhara. A number of lyric verses can be cited as poetic achievements of Someśvara. Rāma being abashed at his praise for his valour before Paraśurāma, expresses exemplary modesty—

1 Keith, op. cit., p. 244.

भग्न जीर्णं त्रिनयनधनु यन्मया दंभयोगात् यत्समोढ शिशुरिति रणे रैणुकेयेन चाहम् ।
लोकं प्रीत्या तदपि किल मे पोरुष मापमाणो वार्यं कार्यं न खलु महता गर्हणा निर्निमित्तम् ॥
(II. 9)

Jatukarna, a pupil of Vasistha, describes Daśaratha sitting with Rāma, comparing him with a great Banyan tree—

राजा राजत्यनेनार्यं सुतेनान्तिकवर्तिना । प्ररोट्णात्नतुल्येन वटवृक्ष स्वोऽन ॥
(II 44)

And Daśaratha, deeply aggrieved at the idea of Rāma's banishment, expresses his agony—

मात श्रिते तपननात विभो नभस्वन् सर्वं हि वित्य तदिदं वदनं प्रसृत ।
का दुर्द्वेयमधुना मम वर्तते यन्मूच्छो तु गच्छति न गच्छति जीपितव्यम् ॥
(III 18)

Touching farewell of Rāma to Ayodhyā and its people—

मास्वद्भोजचरित्रचित्ररुचिरप्रासादं तुभ्य नमः-
स्त्वा वन्दे सुकृतानुरक्तजनतामेवामयोव्या पुरीम् ।
आपृच्छे पुरवासिनः समिनव युष्मानिहायुष्मति
दमाभार भरते समुद्धरति च स्वस्त्यस्तु गच्छान्यहम् ॥
(III. 35)

And a charming description of the moon-rise—

ब्रह्मालं मन्मथस्य त्रिभुवनवनितामानमीनावकृष्टं
कैवर्णं केरवाणां प्रियनुहृदमृतस्रोतसा जलराज ।
पान्यस्त्रीणामप्ययं रश्मिचरणमूचक्रवात्म्य काल
गङ्गारसोपकार किरति रतिमसावोषवीनामधीश ॥
(IV 53)

Rāma's dejection when he knew that Sītā was carried away—

दृष्टिं रपष्ट तदगतमपि वीक्षते नाश्रुमिश्रा
दूराह्वाणे न हि पटुरयं वाष्पकुण्ठश्च कण्ठ ।
पादद्वन्द्वं प्रचलितुमिदं न क्षमं मुखनो मे
नहैदेही कचिदचिरयन् वत्स पश्य त्वमेव ॥
(V. 40)

The Dūtāṅgada of Subhata—a Chāyā Nāṭaka

194. The Dūtāṅgada of Subhata is a brief one-act play depicting the peace-mission of Aṅgada to Rāvana's court. It is interesting to note that the poet does not make claim to originality, but on the contrary says that he has borrowed from former poets¹. A number of verses in this play have been traced to other works. The latter half of the first benedictory verse is quoted by Namisādhū (1069 A. D.) in his commentary on the Kāvya-lambkāra (II 8) of Rudrata. The fifth verse is found in the Hitopadeśa (circa 900 A. D.) and in several recensions of the Pañcatantra, while the ninth is quoted by Ksemendra (11th century A. D.) in his Suvṛttatilaka (p 13), ascribing it

¹ स्वनिर्मितं किञ्चन गद्यपद्यवन्धनियत् प्राक्तनसत्त्वकीन्द्रे ।

प्रोक्तं गृहीत्या प्रविरच्यते स रमाञ्जमेतन्मुगटेन नाट्यम् ॥ (last verse)

to Bhavabhūti. Moreover, Subhata has taken a number of verses from the Balarāmāyana¹ of Rājasekhara, and also from the Mahānāṭaka². It is quite possible that a number of other verses also may be from the older poets.

195. In the beginning of the play we find that Amgada is appointed to go to the court of Rāvana to demand the return of Sītā. Then enters Rāvana, and with him his queen Mandodarī and brother Vibhīṣana, who entreat him to make peace with Rāma, but Rāvana gets enraged at the suggestion and drives away his brother. At this juncture the door-keeper announces the arrival of Amgada, and some heated conversation follows between Rāma's messenger and Rāvana. Then enters the apparition of Sītā created by the Rākṣasa's magic, which sits on Rāvana's lap, and Amgada is quite puzzled to see it. But the next moment two Rākṣasīs come, bringing the news that Sītā is trying to commit suicide hearing something untoward about Rāma, and Amgada is delighted to know that the form in Rāvana's lap is not real Sītā. Rāvana declines to hand back Sītā and Amgada returns after trying to impress upon him the power of Rāma, we learn shortly afterwards that Rāvana has met his doom.

Interpretation of the word Chāyā Nāṭaka; Characteristics of the Chāyā Nāṭaka

196. The prose-portion in the play is very scanty, and the bulk of the play is taken up by verses, a number of which are borrowed material, as I have just pointed out. Poetic merits of the work are negligible, but it is important from another point of view, because it is called a Chāyā Nāṭaka or shadow-play in the prologue, and is one of the oldest available works among the Sanskrit plays to which the technical name Chāyā Nāṭaka is applied³. This type of drama is not mentioned in the list of Rūpakas and Uparūpakas, and we have to ask the question—what is meant by the Chāyā Nāṭaka? We get some clue to the characteristics of this type of drama from another play, viz. Dharmābhyudaya of Meghaprabhācārya, which is called a Chāyā Nāṭya Prabandha, and in which a definite stage-direction is found, to the effect that, when the king expresses his intention to become an ascetic, a puppet is to be placed inside the curtain in the attire of an ascetic (यवनिकान्तराद् यत्तिष्ठेन्नारी पुनरुक्तत्र स्यापनीय, p. 15). Unfortunately, the date of the Dharmābhyudaya cannot be finally settled, but it is certain that it was composed before 1217 A. D. (=1273 V. S.), because a palm-leaf manuscript of the work written in that year is preserved in the

1 Verses 46, 47, 51, 52, 53 and 54 are to be traced respectively to IX 53, IX 55, IX 56, IX 58, IX 59 and X. 21 of the Balarāmāyana.

2 Keith, op cit, p 269 n.

3 Keith, op cit, p 55. It is interesting to note that the Ullāgharāghava of Somesvara has been called a Chāyā Nāṭaka in the colophon in the Poona manuscript at the end of the third act, as follows—इति श्रीकुमारसुनो श्रीमोमेश्वरदेवस्य कृताबुल्लघराघवे छायानाटके चतुर्थाङ्कः । Other acts have no colophons, and the play is not described as a Chāyā Nāṭaka in the prologue or the Prastā, and this single reference remains only a matter of curiosity.

Samgha Bhāṇḍār at pāṭan.¹ The play has taken as its theme the life of a Jaina sage named Daśāruabhadra, it was acted in a temple of Pārśvanātha, as mentioned in the prologue, and its author was a Jaina Sādhu most probably from Gujarāt, as its manuscripts are found in Gujarāt.² *Śamāmṛtam*, delineating the life of Nemmātha, by some unknown Jaina author from Gujarāt, is another short play which has been called a *Chāyā Nāṭaka* in the prologue (भगवत् श्रीनेमिनाथस्य यात्रामहोत्सवे विद्वद्भिः सभासद्भिरादिष्टोऽसि यथा श्रीनेमिनाथस्य शमामृतं नाम छायानाटकमभिनयस्वेति । p 1) The date of this play is not known.

197. In any case, we might conclude that the *Chāyā Nāṭaka* was a literary piece to be recited by the performers of puppet-show. The word *Chāyā Nāṭaka* can be translated as "imitation-play", i e, a play with a lot of verbal borrowings from other literary works. This applies to the *Dūtāṅgada*, as just pointed out (para 194). Rājendralāl Mitra, however, gives a different interpretation,³ and identifies the *Chāyā Nāṭaka* with the *entracte* in a play. He explains the word *Chāyā Nāṭaka* as "drama in the form of a shadow", i e, reduced to the minimum for representation in such a form. But the *Dūtāṅgada*, the *Dharmābhyudaya* and the *Śamāmṛtam* do not give any clue which would help us in deciding if this interpretation is correct. Professor Luders has taken the *Dūtāṅgada* as the type of the *Chāyā Nāṭaka*, and thence deduced its characteristics; viz - the prevalence of verse—often epic in character—over prose, the absence of *Prākṛit*, the large number of characters, and the omission of the *Vidūsaka*, and on this basis has considered the *Mahānāṭaka* and the *Haridūta* also as *Chāyā Nāṭaka*.⁴ But we cannot take these characteristics as peculiar to the *Chāyā Nāṭaka*, because the *Dūtāṅgada*, the *Śamāmṛtam* and the *Dharmābhyudaya* have some *Prākṛit* dialogues, and in the case of the last work the prose-portion predominates over the verses, unlike in the *Dūtāṅgada*. Any way, it is certain from these three works which are called *Chāyā Nāṭakas* by their authors, that the *Chāyā Nāṭaka* was a short and simple composition in one act. But we are left in the dark regarding its other characteristics and the exact manner of its representation. Whatever part the shadow-plays of puppets might have played in the evolution of the Sanskrit drama⁵ the literary type known as the *Chāyā Nāṭaka* appears to be comparatively late, because it has been never alluded to in works on dramatic theory. Whatever may be the correct interpretation of the word *Chāyā Nāṭaka*, we can say with certainty that the three extant *Chāyā Nāṭakas*, viz the *Dūtāṅgada*, the *Śamāmṛtam* and *Dharmābhyudaya*, are from Gujarāt, and if they really indicated shadow-play, one may say that in mediaeval Gujarāt recitation of elegant Sanskrit prose and verse must have accompanied these puppet-plays.

1 PBC, p. 387

2 JRK, p. 195

3 Bilaner Catalogue, p. 251

4 Keith, op cit, p. 56

5 I may quote here a reference from Nilakantha's commentary on the *Mahābhārata*, XII. 294 5 (रत्नावतरणं चैव तथा रूपोपजीवनम् । मद्यमानोपजीव्य च दिक्कय

The Karunāvajrāyudha of Bālacandrā

198 Now, we come to the Karunāvajrāyudha, a one-act play by Bālacandra. It has taken for its theme the Jaina version of the famous legend of king Śibi and the pigeon occurring in the Vanaparvan of the Mahābhārata and also in the Jātaka (no 499). In the Jaina story, the hero is king Vajrāyudha, who is the Tīrthamkara Śāntinātha in one of his former births, and it occurs in its oldest form in the 21st chapter of the Vasudeva-Hīndī of Saṃghadāśa (circa 500 A. D.), and later on in the fifth Parvan of Trisastīśālākāpurusa-candra of Hemacandra and in numerous other works. In the prologue of the play the Sūtradhāra gives good many details about Vastupāla and his ancestors and also about the poet and his spiritual teachers. Then follows a Viskambhaka, containing a dialogue between two dancing-teachers named Kalahamsa and Kalakautha, from which we know that king Vajrāyudha has only recently returned after accomplishing a world-conquest, and that he is a man of great piety. Kalahamsa infers from the throbbing of both of his eyes that some incident will occur which will be bad for the king in the beginning, but will turn out to be good in the end. Both start to see the king who was sitting in the courtyard of the Pausadhaśālā after ending the Pausadha of the last day which was the fourteenth day of the fortnight, held sacred by the Jainas. Then follows a conversation between the king and his minister Purusottama, in which the king expresses his great ideals about the religion which enjoins non-violence to all living beings, and gives the ideal of his life in the following verse—

असारस्य शरीरस्य सारमेतद्गुणद्वयम् । तपः प्राणैरपि प्रीतिविधानमपरे जने ॥

(v. 58)

on which the fruition of the main action in the play is based. Meanwhile, a great uproar is heard from the background, and a frightened dove chased by a hawk enters. The dove seeks shelter from the king, which the latter is ever-ready to extend, but the hawk is very hungry and demands his food, and faints. The king offers him sweet-balls, but he being a carnivorous animal can not partake of them. Then the king decides to give him the flesh of his own body equal in weight to that of the dove, but the dove proves to be so weighty that the king sits down in the scale and thus offers his life for the bird. At this juncture the two gods who had come in the form of birds to test the king's piety reveal themselves, and everything ends well.

लोहचर्मणो ॥ Citraśālā press edition). Nīlakantha explains the word रूपोपजीवनम् in the following manner—रूपोपजीवनं जलमण्डपिकेति दाक्षिणात्येषु प्रसिद्धम् । यत्र सूक्ष्मवस्त्रं व्यवधाय चर्ममयैराकारैः राजामात्यादीनां चर्यां प्रदर्शयते । The word जल in the compound जलमण्डपिका can be derived from Arabic *Zil* meaning 'a shadow,' and the explanation refers to the shadow play of puppets popular even now in the Indian country-side. Nīlakantha is traditionally believed to be a scholar patronized by the Peshvās, and as such he may be assigned to the 18th century. Burnell, however, puts him in the 16th century (Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, p. 290). In any case, the reference by Nīlakantha is of a later date, and though useful for the history of the puppet-play, does not throw any light on the early history of the Ohāyā Nāṭaka in its literary form.

199. The work is an example of a play composed and performed for the propagation of the Jaina religion in the manner of the Moharājaparājaya (para 32), the Prabudhbarauhmeya (para 38) and the Dharmābhyudaya (para 196). Consequently, greater part of it is occupied by the religious discussions between the king and his minister, and also between the king and the hawk. Sometimes the pranks of the Vidūsaka bring a lively touch, but on the whole there is practically very little action, and the verses predominate over the dialogues, so much so that we find not less than 137 stanzas in this short play. Some of the verses are quite noteworthy. When the Vidūsaka raises doubts regarding the existence of another world the king makes him silent with the following illustration—

करस्यनप्येवमनी कृतीन्मला. क्षिपन्ति दीन पृथुपक्ष्मदंटे ।
वयस्य केनापि कथं निरोक्तिः समस्ति नाम्नीत्यथवा फलोदय ॥
(v. 50)

And description of the shining sabre in the king's hand—

बाणा कालरात्रिर्मृगमदनिलक प्राज्यसाम्राज्यउद्भवा
शाखा रोपद्रुनस्य प्रवलनरनहसद्गिन. शङ्खयष्टि ।
स्फूर्जच्छौर्यप्रदीपाश्चनननणुयश पुण्डरीकस्य नाल
पाथोधि पुष्करागामनिरनितरुचिर्माति देवस्य हस्ते ॥
(v. 62)

Finally, when the gods praise the greatness of Vajrāyudha, he expresses his modesty in very simple but eloquent words :

सत्त्वना परमस्तोकं स्तोत्रमप्यालयन्ति हि । क्वयः क्वयन्त्यपि क्षारनप्यमृताकरम् ॥

The Hammīramadamardana of Jayasimhasūri

200 The Hammīramadamardana of Jayasimhasūri is especially noteworthy, because it is a drama on a contemporary historical event. Of historical dramas we have very little in Sanskrit literature in comparison with the plays based on mythology. Two plays of Viśākhadatta—the Mudrārākṣasa and the Devicandragupta, the latter being known only through the quotations in the Nāṭyadarpaṇa of Rāmacandra and the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa of Bhoja—are famous. We know of the Lalitavīgarāja Nāṭaka composed by Somadeva (circa 1153 A. D.), in honour of king Viśaladeva or Vīgraharāja of Śākambharī,¹ and also of the Pratāparudrakalyāṇa (circa 1300 A. D.) of Vidyānātha, inserted in his treatise on rhetoric, the Pratāparudrayaśobhāsana, as an illustration of the drama, which celebrates his patron, and of the Pārijātamañjarī (1231 A. D.) of Madana.² We have already mentioned in the first chapter several historical plays composed and performed in Gujarāt—viz the Karnasundarī of Bīhlana, the Mudritakumudacandra Prakarana of Yaśāscandra, the Moharājaparājaya of Yaśabpāla, the Candralekhāvijaya Prakarana of Devacandra, and the Gamgādāsapratāpavilāsa of Gamgādhara. Several of these plays make use of mythological motifs and they are historical only in a limited sense. The

¹ Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, p 643

² Hultsch, IA, Vol XXXV, pp 236 ff. This Madana was the Royal priest at Dhūrā, and hence different from the poet Madana, who was patronized by Vastupāla (para 132)

Hammīramadamardana takes for its theme a purely historical incident viz. the repulse of the Muslim attack by Vastupāla and Viradhavala, and has treated of it in a manner which reveals that the author had almost first-hand information of the contemporary events. The word Hammīra is a corrupt form of the Arabic word *Amīra* meaning 'a noble,' which seems to have been used here to denote the Sultān of Delhi, who has been sometimes called by the name Milachrikāra in the drama.

201. The Hammīramadamardana is a five-act play. The author claims (p. 1) that it includes all the nine sentiments, in contrast to some Prakaranas exploiting the sentiment of fear, with which the audience has been surfeited. In act I after the prologue, enter Viradhavala and Tejapāla, the subject of their talk being the extraordinary merits of Vastupāla as a statesman. We also know that Turuska Hammīra and Yādava Simhana seek an opportunity of attacking Gujarāt, and that they may hope for aid from Samgrāmasimha, nephew of Simha, the lord of Lāta. The spies of Lāvanyasimha, Tejapāla's son, supply important information and king Viradhavala expresses desire to attack Hammīra. But Vastupāla warns him against rashness in pursuing the enemies too far and advises him to take the aid of the Mārvād princes. In act II we find that the advice has been followed, as related by Lāvanyasimha. Then a spy Nipunaka enters with the tale of his adventures, he entered Simhana's camp, passed himself off as a spy on Viradhavala's movements, reported that the king was ready for an attack on Hammīra, and persuaded Simhana to wait in the forest of the river Tapti for a favourable opportunity to attack Viradhavala after his forces have been weakened by battle with Hammīra. Through the machinations of his brother Suvega, who was also a spy in the service of king Devapāla of Mālvā, Nipunaka succeeds in creating an impression on Simhana that Samgrāmasimha was in the opposite camp, and in frightening the latter into flight. Vastupāla comes on the stage. His spy Kuśalaka informs him that Samgrāmasimha is preparing for an attack on Stambhatīrtha. Vastupāla takes precautions for its defence, and summons Bhuvanapāla, Samgrāmasimha's minister, with whom he arrives at an understanding, assuring Viradhavala of that Prince's aid. In act III, a spy Kamalaka informs about the fate of Jayatala, the king of Meyād. Terrified by the attack of the Mlechhas, some people in despair flung themselves into wells, burned themselves in their houses or hanged themselves, until he depressed the foe and heartened the people by announcing the approach of Viradhavala, at whose name the Turuskas fled in terror. What Vastupāla is doing for success against the Mlechhas after he had disposed off other foes has been shown by a conversation between two spies, Kuvalayaka and Śighraka, which forms the Praveśaka to act IV, Vastupāla has induced the Caliph of Baghdād by a false report to instruct Kharpara Khān to send Milachrikāra to him in chains, and he has won over several Gurjara princes by promising them the lands of the Turuskas when they are defeated. Then enter Milchrikāra and his minister Ghori Isapa discussing the situation. They are

pressed hard by Kharpara Khān as well as Vīradhavalā. Mīlchrikāra does not desire to retreat, but he and his minister fly hastily when they hear the sound of approach of Vīradhavalā's army. Vīradhavalā is disappointed at not being able to capture his foes, but obeys Vastupāla's counsel against rash pursuit. Act V is very interesting, as it describes the return of the triumphant king and the minister Tejapāla to Dhavalakka from the scene of action. Vīradhavalā has been depicted as mounted over a Naravimāna, which presumably means an aerial car in the form of a man. After passing over Mount Ābu, the seat of the God Acaleśvara, the Vasisthāśrama and the sages living there, they come to Candrāvātī, the capital of the Paramāra kings. Then they approach the town of Siddhapura, where the sacred Sarasvatī flows eastwards (नूनमस्ता सिद्धपुरपरिमरे प्राचीमुखप्रसृतमर पय प्रवाहमधिवमन्, p. 47), and see the temple of the Bhadrāmāhākāla, by which is meant the famous shrine Rudramahālaya built by Mūlarāja. Then they see Anahilavād, the capital of Gujarāt, and are highly delighted at the sight of the great lake Sahasralinga. Going southwards, they see Karmāvātī (same as Āśāpallī on the site of modern Ahmedabad) on the bank of the river Sābhramatī, held by Lavanaprasāda, and finally reach Dhavalakka, where the queen Jayataladevī was eagerly waiting for the king. The places are described in a highly rhetorical style, and the idea of the aerial travel from Ābu to Dhavalakka seems to have occurred to the poet's mind by the descriptions of such travels from Lamkā to Ayodhyā in the numerous Rāma-dramas and also in the Raghuvamśa (vide para 190). After the return of all to Dhavalakka, we know that Vastupāla has intercepted at sea Radī and Kadī, Mīlchrikāra's preceptors, returning from Baghdād, and that Mīlchrikāra has been forced to enter into a friendly alliance in order to secure their safety. Vastupāla and Vīradhavalā congratulate one another. Finally, the king enters Śiva's temple, where the god presents himself before him and grants him a boon.¹

202. Though the Hammīramadamardana is primarily meant to eulogize the greatness of Vastupāla and Tejapāla, and also of king Vīradhavalā, naturally it throws some important light on contemporary history. We also come to know how the system of spies worked in those days. Being a production of the later mediaeval Sanskrit literature, it is written in a highly ornate and artificial style, however, the dialogues are forceful, and the poetry is charming and abounds in choice similes. The characters of Vastupāla, Tejapāla and Vīradhavalā are well-marked and full of life and the depiction of the 'aerial travel suggests that the poet is intent upon doing something imaginative. There is only one female character in the play, viz. queen Jayataladevī, and it seems that the poet has introduced her to delineate the erotic sentiment in the beginning of the fifth act. If we consider her to be the heroine, naturally we should take Vīradhavalā as hero, in whose mouth the Bharatavākya is also put. On the other hand, Vastupāla is the main character in the play, and his figure looms large over all the events. Probably, the poet has intended him as the counsellor and the guide—rather a Guru in the political

1 For a short summary of the play, vide Keith, op cit, pp 248 ff, and for a detailed analysis of its subject-matter, Dalal, intro to the HMM, pp 6 ff.

sense—of Viradhavāla. His role may be compared with that of Cānakya in the *Mudrārāksasa*, in which Candragupta is the hero, but the main burden of action falls on his Guru.

203. The play abounds in lyric verses, though there is no such great disparity between the extent of the prose and verse, as we find, for example, in the *Dūtāṅgada* or the *Karuṇāvajrāyudha*. There is a remarkable fancy in the following description of the evening :

नीलानि पद्मपदकुलानि हसन्मुखीना लीनानि भान्ति हृदयेषु कुसुद्वतीनाम् ।
दूराभ्युपेतनिजकान्तकरान्तसङ्गपीयूषशान्तविरहानलसनिभानि ॥

(II. 20)

And the chamberlain gives a poetic account of his old age in the following verse—

सर्वाङ्ग पलितच्छलेन जरया मुक्ता कटाक्षच्छटा स्वात्मा कम्पयते शिरश्च विषयाभोगान्निपेधन्निव ।
आलोकाय मुहुर्जल वितरतो बाष्पच्छलाच्चक्षुषी देहोऽद्यापि तथापि सङ्कुचति मे मृत्योर्भियेवाधिकम् ॥

(V. 2)

Following is a picturesque description of Mount Ābu :

धरित्रीधम्मिलो विलसति वसिष्ठशतक्रतुस्फुरद्भूम इयामीकृतवपुरसावर्धुदगिरि ।
इमे ताराभारास्त्वदहितयगपद्मपदजुषो यदङ्ग रङ्गन्त कुसुमभरमङ्गीमविभरु ॥

(V 3)

Trees in the penance-grove of Vasistha looking like ascetics :

कार्श्यस्पष्टशिराभरोपमलतासवेष्टिताङ्गा जटाजूटप्रायदलप्रतानमुकुटा सौख्योपविष्टा ध्रुवम् ।
उत्कुलानि तपोधना श्व वनोत्सङ्गे भृङ्ग विभ्रते शुभ्रध्याननिभानिमानि शिरसा पुष्पाण्यमी पादपा ॥

(V. 10)

Bhadramahākāla in Sīdhhapura, whose fire-eye, as if, performs his own Ārātrika ceremony :

चूलागलद्वलसिन्धुपयप्रवाहो व्यालोलचामरतुला कुरुते त्रिसन्ध्यम् ।
नृत्यघ्नसौ प्रसृमरानलचक्षुरस्या नीराजनीभवति च स्वयमेव देव ॥

(V. 21)

Sky- touching temples in Anahilavād, the capital of Gujarāt :

निशि निशि तुहिनाशुज्योत्स्नया जातजाड्याकृतिरिव रविमूर्त्योर्मुहसन्त्या हसन्त्याम् ।
इह सुरगृहपङ्क्तिर्वासरे वासरेऽसौ वत तपति पताकाहस्तविस्तारणेन ॥

(V 24)

NARACANDRA'S GLOSS ON THE ANARGHARĀGHAVA

204. It will be convenient here to treat of Naracandra's *Tippana* on the *Anargharāghava* Nāṭaka of Murāri, as its subject pertains to drama. As we have already seen, Devaprabha, Naracandra's guru, had composed a commentary on the same play, but we would not study here the works of Devaprabha, because though he was a senior contemporary of Vastupāla,¹ he cannot be considered one of his literary circle, in the sense in which Naracandra can be. We have no evidence whatsoever to suggest that

¹ Vide p. 73, footnote 3.

the literary activity of Devaprabha was patronized by Vastupāla or by any of his family-members. The work of Devaprabha as well as that of Naracandra are unprinted and available in manuscript form. The commentary of Devaprabha is a detailed and elaborate work, its Granthāgra being 7100 ślokaś,¹ while the work of Naracandra is a Tīppana or gloss, its Granthāgra being 2450 ślokaś,² i e, only about one third of the work of his Guru. Thus Naracandra has not aimed at writing a full-fledged commentary on the Anargharāghava, the reason may be that his Guru had already composed one. Naracandra's work being like modern 'Notes' is concerned only with the elucidation of the meaning of the text, and the text not being a scientific work like the Nyāyakandalī, he had no occasion to propound any independent views, as he had in his Tīppana on the Nyāyakandalī (vide ch XVII). It appears that in the Tīppana on the Anargharāghava, the author desired to supply a handy guide to the students, as the play of Murāri attracted a large number of students in mediaeval Gujarāt. In this work, Naracandra has never cited an authority or discussed a figure of speech, and seldom has he given any quotations. He has not discussed the technicalities of Sanskrit drama nor has he dwelt upon the explanations of the technical terms. Though Naracandra was a great scholar, he has produced this work in a very simple form, which would be useful to the beginners in literary studies. Perhaps, that is the reason why the number of the extant manuscripts of Naracandra's work is much larger than of the manuscripts of the commentaries of Devaprabha and Jinaharsa,³ which would show that Naracandra's gloss had proved to be useful and popular among the students.

1 PBC, p 301.

2 JRK, p. 7

3 Ibid, p 7.

CHAPTER VIII

PRAS'ASTIS

The literary form of Pras'asti and its development

205. Pras'asti or panegyric is one of the most interesting forms of Sanskrit literature, because though written in ornate Kāvya style, the Pras'astis deal with historical personages and contain much that is helpful for the reconstruction of the past history. In the earliest Indian literature, there is frequent mention in the Brāhmanas and the Upanisads of the "Gāthā Nārāśamsī" or "songs in praise of men." These songs are connected with the Dānastutis of the Rgveda and the Kuntāpa hymns of the Atharvaveda, and are in a way precursors of the heroic episodes in the epics, for their contents are glorious deeds of the warriors and princes; and the scholars believe that these Gāthās developed into epic poems of considerable length, centring around one hero or one great event.¹

206. Later on, we find the Pras'astis in the form of inscriptions, the notable examples of which we find in the Gupta age. Harisena's Pras'asti of Samudragupta, inscribed on the Allahabad pillar (375-390 A. D.), Gurnār inscription of Skandagupta (456 A. D.) and Vatsabhatti's Pras'asti of the sun-temple at Mandasar (Mālava Samvat 529, which according to Bühler is equivalent to 473-4 A. D.) deserve special mention. These and several others are the specimens of the court-poetry zealously cultivated under the patronage of kings or sometimes of ministers, as in the case of Vastupāla. Even after the days of Hindu suzerainty were over this tradition of composing a Pras'asti especially to commemorate the building of monuments continued upto most recent times. In Gujarāt and Rājasthān, especially among the Jainas, there is a characteristic form of the Pras'asti, viz. the Grantha-pras'asti or "panegyric at the end of the book." The Jaina authors generally gave long Pras'astis at the end of their compositions, supplying detailed account of themselves, their Gurus and their gachha. Moreover, the Pras'astis of those lay followers under whose auspices the books were copied down and also of those who bought religious books and donated them to deserving monks and nuns for attaining merit have also been given at the end of manuscripts. A large number of such Pras'astis have been published in the reports of scholars like Peterson and Bhandarkar, and also in the descriptive catalogues of the Jaina Bhāndārs at Pātan and Jesalmer, and in collections like the Jaina Pustaka Pras'asti Samgraha. Such Pras'astis yield a wealth of information on the history of a large number of aristocratic and upper middle-class Jaina families of mediaeval Gujarāt.

207. A typical Pras'asti is simple in structure. After a benediction it proceeds to describe the donor or the builder of the monument. When the donor or the builder is not identical with the reigning prince, the Pras'asti adds something about the latter. In both the cases it gives some

1 Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, p. 314.

genealogical information. Then it describes the donation and enumerates the privileges or conditions accompanying it, or describes in Kāvya style the structure built by the patron. It also sets out generally the name of the architect who constructed it, the priest who consecrated it, the poet who composed the Praśasti, the scribe who wrote it on copper or stone, and the artisan who engraved it. There are slight variations in the form according as the Praśasti is inscribed on a temple, an image, a public building, a copper-plate or is appended to a manuscript. The historically interesting part is generally the genealogy and the heroic or pious deeds mentioned therein. Some Praśastis are very short—only of a few lines, while others extend to more than a hundred lines or verses. Some Praśastis are written in prose, some in verse, while others in a mixture of prose and verse; and their value as history and poetry varies within a wide range.

Pras'astis commemorating good deeds of Vastupāla and Tejapāla

208. Vastupāla and Tejapāla have to their credit a large number of inscriptions—both long and short—but we shall take into consideration only those which deserve to be called independent Kāvya. We shall also review such poems which though not inscribed anywhere were composed as panegyrics and as such deserve to be reviewed here. All these poems have Vastupāla and Tejapāla as their central figures, except one Praśasti, viz the Vaidyanāthapraśasti of Darbhāvatī, extolling the Vaidyanātha temple and its renovator king Viśaladeva, composed by Someśvara, one of Vastupāla's literary circle. As the central theme of most of the Praśastis is Vastupāla and his good deeds and as almost all of them indulge in unqualified praise according to the traditional style, they are not more than mediocre in literary merit. However, they have remarkable flashes of poetry in certain places.

The Ābu Pras'asti of Someśvara

209. The Ābu Praśasti of Someśvara is intended to commemorate the building of the temples on Ābu, and contains 74 verses in different metres. First two verses praise the goddess Sarasvatī and Neminātha, the chief deity in the Ābu temple, and the third verse contains a short description of Anahilavād. Then follow a genealogy of the builders and admiring references to their parents, brothers and sisters (vv. 4-24). In verses 25-29 the poet mentions Arnorāja, who was 'an ornament of a clan of the Caulukyas' (viz. Vāghelās), and his son and grandson Lavanaprasāda and Vīradhavalā. Then we find a description of Ābu and a genealogy of the Paramār kings ruling there, beginning from their mythical origin from the sacrificial altar of Vasistha upto Somasimha, the then ruler, and his heir-apparent Kṛṣṇarāja (vv. 30-42). Again, there begins an eulogy of Vastupāla and his family-members—his wife Lalitādevī and son Jayantasimha, Tejapāla and his wife Anupamā, and also elder brother Malladeva and his wife and son (vv. 43-58). Then the poet refers to the building of the temple by Tejapāla and installation of the statues of ten of his family-members on elephants, looking like ten

Dikpālas coming to salute the Jina (vv. 59-65) Verses 66-68 eulogize in hyperbolic terms the good deeds of Vastupāla, and 69-71 mention the Ācāryas of the Nāgendra gachha, from among whom Vijayasenasūri had performed the installation-ceremony of the temple Verse 72 bestows benediction on the temple and its builder, and in 73 Someśvara mentions himself as the author. And the last verse invokes the favour of Neminātha and goddess Ambikā on this panegyric of Vastupāla's family, and two sentences in simple prose mention the name of the engraver and the date of installation.

Prose-portion in the Gīrnār inscriptions

210. Among the Gīrnār inscriptions of Vastupāla, there are six long inscriptions which deserve the status of independent Praśastis. The prose-portion in all the six inscriptions occurs in the beginning, and being almost literally identical in all of them, presumably is the composition of one author, whose name, unfortunately, is not known. It is noteworthy that the prose-portion contains some useful information and important dates regarding the history of Vastupāla's family, and as such, is useful for the history of Gujarāt of the mediaeval Hindu period.

Somes'vara's verses in the Gīrnār inscriptions

211. In the Gīrnār inscriptions, after the aforesaid prose-portion, there occur a few verses by way of the panegyric of the builder—verses which are expressly mentioned as the composition of individual poets Out of six inscriptions, verses in two (HIG no 207 and PJLS no 38-1, HIG no. 209 and PJLS no 40-3) are from the pen of Someśvara The first inscription has 9, while the second has 16 of Someśvara's verses All the verses contain nothing more than conventional panegyric Though the literary merit of the Praśastis is bound to be mediocre by reason of the very condition in which they are composed, Someśvara succeeds in giving some good poetic touches. Speaking of the poetic achievements and administrative efficiency of Vastupāla he says—

विरचयति वस्तुपालश्चतुर्मुखसचिवेषु कविषु च प्रवरः । न रुद्राचिदर्थहरण श्रीकरणे काव्यकरणे वा ॥¹

About Tejapāla he says—

तेज पाळ सकलप्रनोदजीव्यस्य वस्तुपालस्य । सचिवे विभाति सफल सरोवरस्येव सहकार ॥²

And he describes how the fame of Vastupāla has spread everywhere—

उदार शूरो वा रुचिरवचनो वाऽस्ति न हि वा भवत्तुल्य कोऽपि कंचिदिति चुलुक्येन्द्रसचिव ।
समुद्भूतभ्रान्तिर्नियतमवगन्तु तव यशस्ततिर्गेहे मेहे पुरि पुरि च याता दिशि दिशि ॥³

The Vaidyanātha Pras'asti of Someśvara

212 Someśvara has got to his credit another very important Praśasti of historical value, viz the Vaidyanāthapras'asti of Darbhāvatī, even if we do not consider his lost Praśasti of the Vīranārāyanaprasāda, built by king

1 Ābu Praśasti, v 14.

2 Ibid, v 65

3 The second Gīrnār inscription of Someśvara, v. 4

Viradhavala at Dhavalakka (para 73) The Vaidyanāthapraśasti was intended to commemorate the reparation by King Viśaladeva of the temple of Vaidyanātha Mahādeva or Śiva in the form of divine physician. The Praśasti is a long poem of 116 verses and bears the date of V: S 1311 (1255 A D), when both Vastupāla and Tejapāla were already dead some years before. Unfortunately, the two slabs bearing the Praśasti are very badly worn out. The writing on one slab is almost wholly obliterated, and no line on the other is now left entire, and consequently we can hardly make out a single verse in its entirety. Still, we can see that the fragments of verse six are identical with the Kirtikaumudī II 2, and verse 14 with the Kirtikaumudī II. 99. Available portions of verse 25 agree with verse 27 of the Ābu Praśasti of Someśvara. Even from the scanty fragments of the Praśasti, it can be said that the major portion of it extolls the warlike exploits of kings of Gujarāt and of the Vāghelā chiefs, and especially of Viśaladeva. Verse 45 refers to defeat of the lord of Dhārā and of the ruler of Deccan at the hand of Viśaladeva. With verse 80 begins apparently the account of Viśaladeva's building operations. We hear of the erection of one or several temples of Śiva (vv. 81 and 91), and of the restoration of a temple of the Sun, called Mūlasthāna¹ (v. 92), of another 'temple which resembled a peak of the mountain of Hara,' i. e. Kailāsa (v. 93), and that 'he who in form resembled Cupid renovated the Prākāra,' i. e. the enclosure, probably of some other temple. Verse 102 says that in his country the sound of the Vedas, chanted by indefatigable Brāhmins who were gladdened by fees given at great sacrifices, (ever) meets one's ears. In the concluding portion of the poem (vv. 109 ff), Someśvara speaks of the officials and architects connected with the building of the temple, of himself, of the writer and the engraver of the Praśasti. The fact that two verses from this Praśasti have been included in the Sūktimuktāvalī of Jahlana (para 77) is an eloquent testimony of the poetic fame which it enjoyed, and if we get a transcript of it from some old manuscript, as in the case of the Sukrtakīrtikallolīnī of Udayaprabha and the Vastupāla-Tejapālapraśasti of Jayasimhasūri, it will be deemed a notable literary discovery.

Udayaprabha's verses in a Gīrnār inscription and his
Sūktakīrtikallolīnī

213. Then, coming to the Praśastis composed by Udayaprabhasūri, we may first mention his 9 verses in one of the Gīrnār inscriptions (HIG no. 212 and PJLS no. 43-6). But his principal contribution to this domain of literature is the Sūktakīrtikallolīnī, a long Praśasti of 179 verses. As its very name suggests, it is a panegyric of the good deeds of Vastupāla. After usual salutation to the deities, it describes at considerable length the valour of the kings of the Cāvaḍā dynasty (vv. 9-18), and devotes not less than fifty verses (vv. 19-69) to the kings of the Caulukya

1 Probably this may be the Sun-temple at Thān (Skt Sthāna) in Saurāstra, the magnificent ruins of which are found even now-a-days.

dynasty Then follows the praise of Varadhavala and his ancestors (vv. 70-97); a genealogy of Vastupāla and the praises in Kāvya style of the minister and his family-members naturally follow (vv. 98-137) Verses 137-140 mention his warlike deeds, and 141-149 refer to his pilgrimages After giving a genealogy of the Ācāryas of the Nāgendra gachha (vv. 150-157) and praising Vijayasenasūri (vv. 158-61), the author enumerates the Dharmasthānaparamparā or the large number of public and religious buildings of Vastupāla, which he had built in obedience to the instruction of the Ācārya (vv. 162-77) Verse 178 supplies the name of the author and the last verse gives the conventional blessing The Prasasti does not contain any new historical information, which we do not get from other sources, though its importance is not to be minimized, as it refers to many facts which might prove very useful as corroborative evidence

Udayaprabha's Prasasti of the Upās'raya at Stambhatīrtha and the Vastupālastuti

214. The Prasasti of an Upās'raya built by Vastupāla at Stambhatīrtha is a composition of Udayaprabha It contains 19 verses and a few lines in prose, and has nothing more than the genealogy and the conventional praise of the builder and his religious teachers The Vastupālastuti of Udayaprabha is a collection of 33 eulogistic verses. The work as a whole does not seem to have been occasioned by a particular incident or to be intended to commemorate some good deed, but looks like a systematic arrangement of the author's laudatory verses in praise of Vastupāla, and it is quite possible that the individual verses might have been composed on particular occasions, though nothing definite can be said on that point. There are some beautiful verses in the Prasastis by Udayaprabha, and I might quote here a few of them He praises the speech of Vastupāla in a very charming manner—

पीयूषादपि पेशला शशवरज्योत्स्नाकलापादपि स्वच्छा नूतनचूतमशरिमरादप्युल्लसत्सौरमा ।
वाग्देवीमुखमामगूक्तविशदोद्गारादपि प्राञ्जला केपा न प्रव्यन्ति चेतसि मुद श्रीवस्तुपालोक्तयः ॥¹

And expressing wonder at the contrast between his merciful mind and warlike deeds, the poet says—

चेत केतकगर्भपत्रविशद वाच नुधावन्धव कीर्त्तिं कार्त्तिकमासमासलशशिज्योत्स्नावदातधुति ।
आश्चर्यं क्षितिरक्षणक्षणविधौ श्रीवस्तुपालस्य यत् कृष्णत्व चरितैरपास्तदुरितैर्लोकेषु भेजे भुज ॥²

Making a charming use of Ślesa which is a favourite literary figure with Sanskrit poets, the poet again praises his patron—

सुरो रणेषु चरणप्रणतेषु सोमो वक्रोऽतिवक्रचरितेषु युथोऽर्धयोधे ।
नीती गुरु कृतिजने कनिरक्रियासु मन्दोऽपि च अहमयी न हि वस्तुपाल ॥³

Naracandra's verses in the Gīrnār inscriptions and his Vastupālaprasasti

215. Naracandrasūri has to his credit the metrical portion in two inscriptions on Gīrnār (HIG no 208 and PJLS no 39-2, HIG no 211 and

1 Vastupāla stuti, v 1.

2 Ibid, v 2.

3 Ibid, v 4.

PJLS no. 42-5). The first inscription has 7, while the second has 11 laudatory verses. Naracandrasūri's Vastupālapraśasti is a panegyric in 26 verses. In the first verse the poet salutes the first Tīrthamkara Ṛṣabhadeva and in the second verse he mentions Vastupāla, Tejapāla and their ancestors, while the rest of the poem is devoted to conventional praise of the patron. About the merits of his patron the poet says—

विभुता-विभ्रम-विद्या-विदग्धता विभ्रत विवरण विवेकै । य. सप्तभिर्दिकारै कलितोऽपि वभार न विकारन् ॥¹

Vastupāla's proficiency in use of arms and his generosity have been praised in following words—

रणे वितरणे चात्र बलैर्वैभवं वर्धति । अमित्रमित्रयो लयो भिद्यते दृष्ट्यावनि ॥²

Narendraprabha's verses in a Gīrnār inscription and his two Pras'astis of Vastupāla

216. 13 laudatory verses in a Gīrnār inscription (HIG no 210 and PJLS no 41-4) are from the pen of Narendraprabhasūri. His longer Vastupāla-praśasti of 104 verses is of some importance from historical and literary point of view. After saluting the first Jina and Mahādeva in a punning verse, the poet extolls the kings of the Caulukya dynasty (vv. 2-12), and then those of the Vāghelā dynasty (vv. 13-17). Then we are told about the ancestors of Vastupāla (vv. 18-24), and also about his personal merits (vv. 25-28). Verse 29 says that Vastupāla fixed his mind on religion, and verses 30-31 mention his pilgrimages, after which follows a long list of temples, public places, etc., built and repaired by him at different places (vv. 32-98). Verses 99-104 refer to the Ācāryas of the Nāgendra gachha of which Vastupāla was a follower, and also to the author himself and his Gurus. Narendraprabha's second Vastupāla-praśasti in 37 verses is entirely devoted to conventional praise of the two brothers and of king Vīradhavalā, whom they were serving, and does not refer to any historical event in particular.

The Vastupāla-Tejapāla-Pras'asti of Jayasimhasūri

217. The Vastupāla-Tejapāla-praśasti of Jayasimhasūri is a panegyric in 77 verses commemorating the installation of golden flag-staffs by Tejapāla on the Devakulikās or small shrines in the temple of Muni Suvratasvāmin which was known as the Śakunikāyihāra at Brgukachha. Like a number of Pras'astis which we have reviewed, this also contains the genealogy of the Caulukya (vv. 4-32) and the Vāghelā (vv. 33-38) kings, and that of the donor Vastupāla (vv. 39-51) and also a list of his good deeds (vv. 52-62). Verses 63-71 describe how Jayasimhasūri, head priest of the shrine and the author of this poem, requested Tejapāla for installation of golden flag-staffs, and how Tejapāla acted accordingly after obtaining the consent from his elder brother. The rest of the poem bestows conventional blessings, in high-flown language, on the golden staffs, the temple and the two ministers, and in the last verse the poet mentions his name.

1 Second Gīrnār inscription of Naracandra, v. 2

2 Vastupālastuti, v. 14.

The Darbhāvati-Prasasti

218 Now, we would review a Prasasti, the text of which is lost, and the author unknown, but the detailed contents of which are available from the Vastupālacarita of Jinaharsa¹. While Tejapāla returned from Godraha (Godhrā) after defeating and capturing Ghūghula, the chief of that place (vide para 52), he built the fort of Darbhāvati and also constructed some temples in that city. The Vastupālacarita expressly mentions that Tejapāla had installed two slabs of a Prasasti or inscription in the walls of a Jaina temple built by him there, and concludes the account of the public works of Tejapāla in that city by the words—इति दर्भावतिप्रशस्तौ, meaning thereby that these details have been taken from the above-mentioned Prasasti. The Darbhāvati-prasasti mentioned by the Vastupālacarita is clearly different from the Vaidyanāthaprasasti of Someśvara to which we have already referred, because the contents of the two are altogether different from each other. Though we are not in a position to reconstruct the text of the original Prasasti, it would be suitable here to give a translation of the relevant verses of the Vastupālacarita²—“Accompanied by the tributary chiefs the son of Aśvarāja arrived at the town of Darbhāvati, which was rich like the capital city of the Vīdarbha country (62). The wise one, finding that the residents of the town were affected with the pain of the shaft of terror of the rulers of Pallī, forgetting all other thoughts, constructed round the town ramparts which touched the sky and were made resplendent by the statues of Mūlraja and other kings. It had various courses, it afforded shelter to the virtuous, (and was meant) so to say, for the comfort of the gods moving in the sky without a support. He thus removed every fear of the helpless travellers, as the Sun removes the mass of darkness. The birth of such persons is, verily, good for humanity (63-66). He built there the temple of Jina-lord Pārśva, which was marked with golden pitchers, was like Kailāsa, the chief of the mountains, and looked brilliant on account of the line of fluttering banners. It had the Toranas and the statues of his forefathers, was like collirium of nectar for the eyes of the triple world, and had one hundred and seventy temples of Jina around it. The image of Kumāradevī, the mother of the chief minister, riding an elephant and holding a garland of silver-flowers in the hand, shines in the porch, like the mother of the first Jina. There he also constructed other famous monuments with a view to please the heart of the Caulukya king (67-70), such as these—in the assembly-hall of the Vaidyanātha temple in the town of Darbhāvati, Tejapāla placed twentyone pitchers of gold (71). He, who was the chief among the victorious, built a Jaina temple in the front of the adytum of the Vaidyanātha Mahādeva, in which he put the statues of his master (the king Viradhavala), his beloved queen, as well as his own image and the images of the younger and elder members of his family (72). He also put nine sacred gold pitchers in the Udyotas or sky-lights of the nine partitions, and they looked like illuminators

1 VC, ch III, 363-79

2 The translation is adapted from the Ruins of Darbhāvati or Dabhoi, by Dr. Hirananda Shastri, pp 5 f, with some necessary corrections.

(73). In the two doors of the western and the northern verandah he placed two (slabs of the) Praśasti¹ speaking of his auspicious fame (74). Having constructed a beautiful step-well full of sweet water, called Svayamvara, he made the earth full of the relish of the fresh ambrosia (75). In front of the northern gate of the abode of Vaidyanātha he erected high Torana of white marble (76). Here his brother (i. e. Vastupāla) built with white marble a porch for the bull (Vr̥sa-maudapikā) in two storcsys adorned with golden Kalaśa, in front of the residence of the king (77). He also built at the confluence of the rivers Revā and Uru in the Kālaksetra the temple of Vireśvara which he so named after the name of his king (i. e. Viradhavala) (78). At the sacred place called Kumbheśvara he built five abodes of ascetics, with all the materials for religious performances (79). This is in the Darbhāvati Praśasti."

219. The Authenticity of the contents of the Darbhāvati-praśasti supplied by the Vastupālacarita is corroborated by the fact that the installation of golden pitchers in the temple of Vaidyanātha has been also mentioned by the Sukṛta-samkīrtana (XI. 344), the Sukṛtakīrtikallohnī (vv 175-76), and the first Vastupālapraśasti of Narendraprabhasūri (vv 48-50). The putting of the statues of king Viradhavala, his queen and several of the minister's family-members has been referred to in the two latter works, while all the three are unanimous in saying that the golden pitchers were put in place of those carried away by king Subhatavarman of Mālavā, when he attacked Gujarāt. Unfortunately, we are unable to get the original text of the Darbhāvati-praśasti, and hence the literary evaluation of the work is not possible.

Grantha-Prasastis in praise of Vastupāla and his son Jaitrasimha

220. It has been pointed out earlier that Vastupāla had established three manuscript-libraries at Anahilavād, Stambhatīrtha and Bṛgukachha, at a heavy cost of money (para 61). It is an old tradition, especially among the Jainas, that the persons who established such libraries or who got a large number of manuscripts copied down for such purposes would have their Praśastis appended at the end of each of the manuscripts (para 206), and we may believe that the manuscripts in the libraries established by Vastupāla also must have contained such Praśastis. But unfortunately, there is no trace now-a-days of those libraries. The Tapā Gachha Bhāṇḍār at Pātan has a palm-leaf manu-

1 The original reads as प्रशस्ती न्यस्तवानात्मकीर्तिमद्भट्टपाठिके । I have translated in this way the word प्रशस्ती which is in the dual, because the closing words after verse 379 are इति दर्शयतीप्रशस्तौ, which shows that there was only one Praśasti, and not two. It was customary in old times to inscribe one Kāvya on two slabs and to put them on two different doors or two sides of the main door. Even to-day we can see that the two slabs of the Vaidyanāthaprasasti of Somesvara have been put on two door-sides of the famous Hirā Bhāgol at Darbhāvati. It may be remembered here that the Praśasti which we know of from the Vastupālacarita was composed to commemorate a Jaina temple built by Tejapāla in front of the Vaidyanātha temple.

script (no 8) of the *Jitakalpa-cūṇi-vyākhyā* of Śrīcandrasūri, copied down in V S. 1284 (1228 A D) The text proper is completed on folio 107, while the subsequent folio (which bears the figure 108 in a later hand, the original page-figure having become illegible) has four verses in praise of Vastupāla. These four verses are respectively numbered from 37 to 40, and not referring to any historical incident in particular they indulge in hyperbolic praise of the conventional type that is found in some of the Praśastis.¹ It seems that these four verses are concluding portion of a long Praśasti of 40 verses. Several folios, subsequent to folio 107, of the said palm-leaf manuscript are presumably lost, and they must have contained the verses 1-35 of the Praśasti, some uncritical reader of the later times, not cognisant of the loss of these verses, may have written the figure 108 on the last folio, under the impression that no portion of his manuscript is missing. Anyhow, we can assume that the said manuscript may be a rare remnant of one of the public libraries established by Vastupāla, and that the extant verses on the last folio form the part of a longer *Grantha-praśasti*, which must have been appended at the end of the manuscripts in those libraries. This inference is supported by the fact that the above-mentioned four verses are not to be seen in any other available poems pertaining to Vastupāla, and hence we are justified in assuming that they are from an independent Praśasti-kāvya praising him. It may be rightly inferred that Jaitrasimha, Vastupāla's son, was also instrumental in the copying down of a number of books, as there is a paper-manuscript in the Vādī Pārśvanātha Bhāṇḍār at Pātan, which has at its end a Praśasti of 13 verses,² Which gives the genealogy from Candapa to Jaitrasimha, and mentions that the book under reference was copied down for the spiritual welfare of the latter's son, Pratāpasimha. Originally the book must be on palm-leaves, from which it was taken down along with the Praśasti, when most of the manuscripts of the above-mentioned Bhāṇḍār were transcribed on paper in the fifteenth century with a view to preserving the contents of the old and worn-out palm-leaf manuscripts.

1 For the text of these four verses, see PBO, p. 400,

2 JPPS, pp 9-10.

CHAPTER IX

STOTRAS

The Stotra in Sanskrit literature

221. Stotra or hymn is one of the well-practised forms of Sanskrit literature, and some of its productions are very remarkable specimens of lyrical poetry. In fact, of all the types of Sanskrit literature, the hymn is the oldest, because the earliest religious book of India, viz the Rgveda, is a collection of hymns. These hymns have for their subject Agni, Indra, Varuna, Uṣas, and many other deities. In course of time, with the change of religious ideas and forms of worship, Viṣṇu and his various Avatāras and Śiva became the principal deities, and hymns began to be composed about them. Śakti in her various forms was also worshipped and hymns were addressed to her. The epics have a large number of hymns to various gods and goddesses uttered by different characters, and the Purāṇas and the Tantras afford many specimens of hymns, and we also find that collection of a hundred or thousand names of a god or a goddess become numerous. But the Stotra has established as an independent variety of lyric poetry, and the great popularity enjoyed by the Śivamahimnastotra, the Śivāparādhaksamāpanastotra, the Sūryaśataka of Mayūra, and a number of Stotras—both long and short—ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya is an eloquent testimony to its value as a poetic form, and upto the most recent times the literary form of Stotra has been cultivated throughout India.

The Rāmaśataka of Someśvara

222 Among the literary works of the men of letters patronized by Vastupāla we find the composition of a number of Stotras also, the most noteworthy among them being the Rāmaśataka of Someśvara. The Rāmaśataka is unprinted, and available in manuscript-form. It is a hymn to Rāma in one hundred verses as its very name suggests, and the metre uniformly used throughout is the Sragdharā. Verse 101, which is not, really speaking, the part of the hymn proper, is in the Upajāti metre and mentions the name of the author. The hymn praises Rāma, and is evidently modelled on the Sūryaśataka of Mayūra and the Candīśataka of Bāna, which are also hundred-verse hymns in the Sragdharā metre, and were popular in Sanskrit literature¹. The praise in the Rāmaśataka follows the course of biographical events in Rāma's life. Verses 1-6 are devoted to his birth and child-plays and verses 6-8 to his training in various lores. Then we find protection of Viśvāmitra's sacrifice by Rāma (vv 9-11), the killing of Tāḍakā and other demons (vv 12-15), redemption of Ahalyā (vv. 16-19), Rāma's coming to Mithilā with Viśvāmitra, breaking of Śiva's bow and marriage with Sītā (vv 20-31), going back from Mithilā and meeting Paras'urāma (vv 32-39), Daśaratha's desire to install Rāma as the king and Rāma's going to the forest (vv 40-56), wanderings in the forest, the abduct-

1 The Jinaśataka of Jambu Gura (published in the Kāvya-mālā, Vol VII) also is in 100 Sragdhārā verses and appears to have continued the same tradition.

ion of Sitā, and Rāma's meeting with the monkeys (vv. 57-71), Hanumān's meeting with Sitā, building of the bridge on the ocean and the attack on Lamkā (vv. 72-81), battle of Rāma and Rāvāna and the killing of the latter (vv. 82-85), Sitā's purification in fire, Rāma's coming to Ayodhyā, and coronation in the end (vv. 96-100).

223. Again, in this Stotra we find Someśvara as a poet of high calibre. As pointed out earlier, though his Rāmaśataka has been modelled on the Sūryaśataka and the Candīśataka, it is nowhere a verbal imitation of these older poems; we can only say that the poet was inspired by the popularity of these works. The Rāmaśataka is entirely free from the artificiality of some of the latter hymns—on the contrary, it has the quality of Prasād or perspicuity, like his Mahākāvya, Kīrtikaumudī. It has that heart-felt fervour and devotion required in this type of lyrical poetry. These one hundred chiselled verses in Sragdharā also speak for the author's mastery over the longer metres. And this one hymn is enough to reserve a place of honour in the Stotra-literature for its author, Someśvara. I may quote here a few specimens from his poem. The poet praising Rāma refers to his childhood—

पर्यङ्के पद्मजन्माङ्किततलविचलत्पाणिपादप्रवाल
खेलन् बाल प्रमोद प्रथयतु मिथिलानां पुत्रीपतिवः ।
पित्रो पोतप्रतीति समभवदुचिता पुति यस्मिन् पुराणे
पार ससारवार्द्धनं हि परमपरस्तं विना नेतुमीश ॥

(v 2)

The poet describes in a charming verse as to how different persons looked at Rāma—

पुण्यानां प्राक्तनानां फलमिति जनकेनान्तरात्मेति मात्रा
साक्षादक्षीयमाणप्रणयनिधिरिति भ्रातृभिश्च त्रिभिर्य ।
नीतिमूर्त्तौल्यमालै परपुरुष इति ज्ञानिभिः शायमान-
प्राप प्रौढिं क्रमेण दृढयतु नितरा राघव स श्रिय व ॥

(v 6)

How the vernal beauty welcomed Rāma when he entered the forest—

सन्दोहे पादपाना विकिरति कुसुमस्तोममुच्चै पिकाना
गीते नृत्य श्रितास्तु व्रततिषु मरुता कीचकेषु ध्वनस्तु ।
संगीतं काननेन प्रथितमिव मुदा यत्र नाये व्रयाणा
लोकानामभ्युपेते स भवदवभयाद् पातु पीतावरो व ॥

(v. 55)

Look to the Māyā of Rāma: Rāvāna attained salvation, because he was killed by Rāma, but while living he experienced the pains of hell, as he saw the relatives dying before his own eyes—

तस्माद् व सर्वसिद्धिर्भवतु भगवतो भूरिमायाप्रपन्न-
पञ्चत्व प्राप्य यस्मादगमदमरता राक्षस सोऽपि सम्यक् ।
किन्तु श्रीकान्तकान्ताहठरणमहापातकात्तेन काम-
भ्यामोहान्धेन बन्धुक्षयनिरयरुज सेहिरे जीवतेव ॥

(v. 92)

The Stotra in Jaina literature

224. Since very old times the Jainas also have vied with the poets of other sects in the sphere of religious lyrical poetry, as in almost all the literary forms. The Jaina literature can show a large number of Stotras in praise of various Tirthamkaras and other deities as well as some philosophical Stotras, both in Sanskrit and Prākṛit. Some of them are written for purposes of the cult, while several others are worthy of being appreciated as lyrical poems too, the earliest known hymn being the Uvasaggahara-stotra, a hymn to Pārśvanātha in 5 stanzas, ascribed to Bhadrabāhu, who is believed by some scholars to have lived in the second century after Mahāvīra's death¹. According to Muni Śrī Puṇyavijayaājī, this Bhadrabāhu is identical with Bhadrabāhu, the author of the Niryuktis on several Jaina Sūtras, but different from his name-sake who is the author of the Cheda Sūtras, and that he lived in the first half the of 6th century A. D. (vide Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya Rajat Mahotsava Granth, pp 185-201). Among other old and well-known Stotras of the Jainas, the Bhaktāmra-stotra of Mānatunga² and the Kalyāṇamandira-stotra of Siddhasena Divākara³ and the Svayambhū-stotra of Samantabhadra⁴ deserve mention. After that, right upto the 19th century we find numerous Stotras composed by the Jainā ascetics including the great Hemacandra as well as by lay adherents, in Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa as well as in old Gujarātī and several other regional dialects, and a few collections of such stotras like the Kāvya-mālā, Vol VII, the Jaina Stotra Sandoha and the Jaina Stotra Samuccaya have already been published.

The Stotras by Vastupāla

225. Among the Stotras composed by the lay adherents those by Vastupāla are remarkable not only because they are from the pen of a notable historical personality, but also because they are not devoid of literary merits of the religious lyrics. Vastupāla has four Stotras to his credit. (1) The Ādinātha Stotra is a hymn to the first Tirthamkara in 12 verses. The hymn is called मनोरमच, because in it the author expresses his ardent longings in religious and philosophical matters. In the last verse the author mentions himself as the गूर्तरक्षकवाचिस्त्विव or minister of the Gurjar sovereign. (ii) The Nemistava is a hymn to Nemnātha in 10 verses, the hymn proper being an Astaka containing eight verses, because in the last two verses the author introduces himself. Here (v. 9) the poet calls himself शारदाधर्मस्तु or a spiri-

1 Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, p 431. The Sūtra-kṛtāṅga Sūtra contains a chapter called वीरसूत्र (Skt. वीरसूत्र) which is, really speaking, a hymn to Mahāvīra.

2 According to some lists of teachers, Mānatunga lived as early as the beginning of the 3rd century A. D. Other traditions point to the 5th, 7th, 8th or 9th century as his period (Ibid, p 549).

3 Some have put Siddhasena Divākara in the earlier centuries of the Christian era, while others believe that he flourished as late as the 7th century A. D. (Ibid, p 477).

4 Samantabhadra is not later than the 7th centry A. D. For his time, vide Mahendrakumar Shastri, Prameyaka-malamārtanda, intro, pp 30-32.

tual son of Sarasvatī (iii) The Ambikā Stotra is a hymn in 10 verses to Ambikā who is the Śāsana-devatā of Neminātha and also the Kuladevatā of the Prāgvāta community to which Vastupāla belonged. This is also an Astaka, because in the 9th verse, there is a prayer for blessings to the devotee and the 10th verse mentions the author. Here Ambikā is described as 'the blessed one, born on the Himālayas' and 'Haimavatī' (v 1), 'Kusmāndī,' (vv 2, 3, and 4), 'honoured by Purusottama' (v 6) and also as 'Sarasvatī' (v 9), which shows how the Jaina and Brāhmanical elements were inextricably mixed in the later Jaina pantheon (iv) The Ārādhana is a simple devotional lyric in 10 verses, speaking about the emptiness of worldly existence and reality of Dharma. Its first verse (न कृतं सुकृतं किञ्चित्^१) is found in the Prabandhaśāntāmaṇi (v. 234), and the Prabandhakosha (v 337), and the Purāṇanaprabandhasamgraha (v. 202), and there it is put in Vastupāla's mouth when he was in his last days (vide para 63). Prabandhas are probably right in doing so, because in the last verse the author expresses his resolve to abandon food and thus desires to attain death by fasting like a pious Jaina.

226. If the Naranārāyaṇānanda shows Vastupāla as a remarkable poet who attempted the form of the Mahākāvya, in these hymns we see him as a good lyric poet. The hymns are full of devotional fervour and at the same time reveal the author's command over literary style. A few examples will be sufficient to prove this. In what an ardent manner the author expresses his longing in the Ādinātha Stotra—

ससारव्यवहारतो रतिमऽतिव्यावर्त्य कर्त्तव्यतावार्तामप्यपहाय चिन्मयतया त्रैलोक्यमालोकयन् ।

श्रीशत्रुञ्जयगैलगङ्गाहरगुहामध्ये निवद्वलिति श्रीनाभेय कदा लभेय गलितक्षेयाभिमान मन ॥

(v. 5)

आस्य कस्य न वीक्षितं ? क न कृता सेवा ? न के वा स्तुता ? नृष्णापूरपराहतेन विहिता केया च नाभ्यर्धना ? ।
तत् त्रातर् विमलाद्रिनन्दनवनीकरूपेककल्पद्रुम त्वामासाद्य कदा कदर्थनमिदं भूयोऽपि नाहं सहे ? ॥

(v 9)²

And his lofty praise of Neminātha also deserves notice—

जयत्यसमसयमं शमितमन्मथप्राभवो भवोदधिमातुरिदुरितदावपाथोधर ।

तपस्तपनपूर्वदिकल्पकर्मवलीगज समुद्रविजयाङ्गजम्भिभुवनैकचूडामणि ॥

(v. 1)

The Sarva-Jina-Sādhārana Stavana of Naracandra

227. The Sarva-Jina-Sādhārana Stavana of Naracandra is a hymn in 11 verses of Mālinī metre. As the very name of the poem suggests, it is not addressed to any particular Jina, but it is a hymn in general terms, such as would apply to all the Jinas. The hymn hardly possesses any noteworthy feature, except that every foot of each stanza begins with a charming alliteration, e. g.—

हरसि हरसितामि स्रजितशानलक्ष्म्या नयन नयनभाभिस्तातरशानपद्मम् ।

तमसि तमसितिन्ना लोकमाक्रान्तमिन्दु करनिकरनिपातै किं न शुभीरुरोति ॥

(v 7)

1 The verse is also found in the PK (v. 291) and the PPS (v 172). It is noteworthy that in both these works the verse has been correctly ascribed to Vastupāla.

CHAPTER X

ANTHOLOGIES

Two types of Sanskrit anthologies

228. Anthologies are compilations of verses on several topics. They may be the composition of one author, like the Subhāsitaratnasandoha (994 A. D.) of Āmitagati or a selection from earlier authors, like the Kavīndravacanasaṃuccaya (end of the 10th century A. D.) and like several other well-known anthologies compiled thereafter. In the anthologies of the latter class, sometimes the names of the poets are given with the individual verses, and as such they are important for the history of literature, though in the majority of cases we have no evidence to determine the dates of the poets. But in this chapter we have to deal with the anthologies of the former class, viz. those from the pen of a single author. They are the Karmāmṛtaprapā of Somaśvara and the Vivekapāḍapa and the Vivekakalikā of Narendraprabhasūri.

The Karmāmṛtaprapā of Somaśvara

229. The Karmāmṛtaprapā is a collection of religious, devotional and didactic Muktakas composed by the author, and contains 217 verses in different metres. The work is unprinted, and available only in manuscript-form. Some of its verses can be traced, as will be seen in the next paragraph, to some of Somaśvara's other works, while others cannot be so traced. They may have been from some other lost works of the author of which these might have formed a part, or more probably, they may have been new compositions for this particular purpose. In the colophon, the work has been designated as a Subhāsitāvalī or collection of Subhāsitas.¹ That the aim of the author is mainly religious and didactic is clear from the Maṅgalācarana, which extends to first nine verses. The author salutes to Kṛṣṇa and Śiva to make an end of his Karmas, then salutes the sacred Ganges and pays homage to the three Vedas residing in his own mouth (v. 5), and in verse 7 he says that the aim of his work is 'good instruction' (Sādhubodha). The work is divided into 14 different sections, each devoted to a single theme, like Lakṣmī or wealth (vv. 10-19), desire (vv. 20-25), anger (v. 26), greed (v. 27), form of the Kali (vv. 28-39), censure of bad kings (vv. 40-56), the bad people (vv. 57-65), the learned men (vv. 66-70), fate (vv. 71-79), indifference to worldly objects (vv. 80-109), in addition, there are miscellaneous poems (vv. 110-45) which contain a number of Anyoktis, verses on quietism (vv. 146-62), didactic verses (vv. 163-96), and lastly, prayer to Kṛṣṇa (vv. 196-216), which contains some verses in praise of Śiva also. The last verse refers to the poet.

230. Verse 109 of the Karmāmṛtaprapā describing the sorry plight of Anahīlavād, capital of the Gurjar land (मुण्डेव खण्डितनिरन्तरवृक्षखण्डा०) can be traced to the Kīrtikaumudī (II. 104). Verse 108 (सिद्धेश्वरमुखै पुरा परिहृतं०)

1 इति श्रीठक्कुरमोमेश्वरविरचिता कर्णामृतप्रपा मुद्रापितावली संपूर्णा ॥

also dilates upon the same topic, but is not to be found in any of the author's known works. Among the Anyoktis, the verse 124 (मामान् मासलपाटलापरिमलम्) is to be found in the Prabandhakos'a (v. 329) and the Vividhatīrthakalpa (p. 80), and in both these works it is correctly ascribed to Somaśvara. Verses 106 and 107 (तिष्ठत्येव तवान्तिके० and तानेव स्तुमहे महेन्द्र०) are in memory of the departed king Śidhharāja Jayasimha. Verses 177-96 seem to have been composed under the influence of the Carpatapañjarikā Stotra ascribed to Saṅkarācārya, as both metre and style suggest. As for example—

चित्तं तदखिलमपि परिगलितं प्रादुर्भूतं शिरसि च पलितम् ।
तदपि न हृदयं विषयवितुषा संसेवितुमभिलष्यति कृष्णम् ॥
इयमपि दशनश्रेणी पतिता सा च समाप्ता जगदधिपतिता ।
तज्जगदाश्रयमाश्रय देव हृदयं विरस्यसि दुःखादेवम् ॥
सत्पात्रेषु न दत्तं दानं मन्ये तत्तव दौस्थ्यनिदानम् ।
प्रणतः क्वचिदपि न स गोविन्दस्तदयं प्रहरति कालपुलिन्दः ॥
(v. 177-79)

These may be compared with the following verses of the Carpatapañjari—

अङ्गं गलितं पलितं मुण्डं दशनविहीनं जातं तुण्डम् ।
बुद्धो याति गृहीत्वा दण्डं तदपि न मुञ्चत्याशापिण्डम् ॥
(v. 6)

नेयं गीतानामसहस्रं ध्येयं श्रीपतिरूपमजस्रम् ।
नेयं सज्जनसंगे चित्तं देयं दीनजनाय च वित्तम् ॥
(v. 13)

Though Somaśvara has given these 20 verses as a part of his anthology, they form an independent didactic-philosophical poem and as such deserves notice.

231. If the Kīrtikaumudī shows Somaśvara's success in the Mahākāvya form, his Karnāmṛtaprapā testifies to his being equally an adept in the composition of the Muktakas. It is noteworthy that the author maintains almost the same poetic level throughout the work, and most of the verses from the Karnāmṛtaprapā can be cited as excellent examples of gnomic and didactic poetry. The diction is very simple and forceful, and one feels as if the author is inspired by a religious motive. I shall quote here a few verses. In the beginning the author bows to the three Vedas which reside in his mouth, and which are like a medicine prepared from three bitter roots for persons like himself, afflicted by ignorance—

विषयसन्निरन्तरानुपानप्रकुपितमोहकफोपगुम्फितात्मा ।
त्रिरुद्धकगुटिकामिव त्रिवेदीं वदनगतामहमन्वहं नमामि ॥
(v. 5)

At another place he praises the Dhīra or stout-hearted fellow—

कुरुता विधिर्विरुद्धं तत्कृतमनुमोदता च पिशुनजन । न मनागपि धीरमना कुप्यति तस्मै च नस्मै च ॥

(v. 78)

He has a fling at the rich people, generally averse to learning—

धत्ते व्याकरण न कोऽपि कविता कुत्रापि नावैत्यसौ तर्कं मर्कटवन्न कोऽपि निकटीकृतुं कदापीच्छति ।
वेदादुद्धिजते जनस्तद्वपरं नैवात्पमप्यस्ति मे त्रातर्जल्य पगेन केन तदहं वित्तं धनिन्यो लभे ॥

(v. 98)

The author expresses his heart-felt desire for doing religious meditation in a lonely place—

नगोपान्ते कान्ते कचिदपि निकुञ्जे श्रुतिजपैरपेन्द्रध्यानैर्वा सकलमपि कालं गनयत ।
हिमाकार हारि त्रिदशतटिनीवारि पिवत कदा कन्दैर्बृत्तिर्नम शमरतेरीह भविता ॥

(v. 152)

And he is determined to worship the feet of Dāmodara in any circumstances—

स्वयं श्रीरायातु प्रकृतिचपला यातु यदि वा शिवा कश्चिद् वाचो वदतु यदि वा वक्तुं विरता ।
तथाप्येते ज्ञानर्तं खलु विलसामो न च वयं विपीडामो दामोदरचरणचर्चासु रसिका ॥

(v. 159)

He advises ignorant in the following expressive words—

चित्तं दमय मा कूर्चं वृत्तं सुत्कुर मा वपुः । गीता च शृणु ना गीतं पुरुष पदय मा स्त्रियम् ॥

(v. 164)

In the end he prays the divine father to save him—the poet—from worldly existence—

त्वमसि न तथा तान ध्यात. प्रमादितया मया फलमभिमन निःशङ्कस्त्वा यथाऽहमिहापये ।
तदपि करुणात्मानं मत्वा भवन्तमुपाश्रितस्तद्वक्तुं जवान्मामेतस्माद् भगवन्निमवाद् भवान् ॥

(v. 216)

It hardly requires to be said that certain sections of the anthology betray influences of the *Nīṭisāṭaka* and the *Vairāgyasāṭaka*, though it is to the author's credit that those influences are not verbal, but only in the matter of treatment and style. It is but natural that a later poet like *Someśvara* should derive inspiration from a great predecessor like *Bhartrhari*.

The *Vivekapādapa* and the *Vivekakalikā* of *Narendraprabha*

232. The *Vivekapādapa* and the *Vivekakalikā* are two collections of verses on Jaina religious and philosophical topics from the pen of *Narendraprabhasūri*. Unfortunately, the only palm-leaf manuscript (no. 52 of the incomplete section, in the *Samghavi Pādā Bhāṇḍār* at Pāṭan) in which these two anthologies are found is fragmentary, and hence the works are available in a fragmentary state. From the figures on the last folio of the *Vivekapādapa* we know that the complete work would contain 421 verses, but only 109 verses are available from the extant folios. In the same way the *Vivekakalikā* has 110 verses, but 69 out of them are to be found in the manuscript. Extant portion of the former work is uniformly in the *Anustup* metre, except the two *Prasastisloka*s which are in the *Śārdūla* and the *Vasantatilakā* respectively, while the latter work is composed in a variety of metres. Though the author has intended both the works as collections of verses on Jaina religious topics, many of the *sloka*s are in the nature of sayings on general morality, good

conduct and human virtues Though the writings of Narendraprabha cannot be compared in literary merit with the Karnāmṛtaprapā, his verses are simple and touching. As for example, he gives a verse on the value of mercy in human life—

दयादयितया शून्ये मनोलीलागृहे नृणाम् । दानादिदूताहूतोऽपि धर्मोऽयं नावतिष्ठते ॥

(VP, v. 24)

Praising the Guru he says—

दिनं न तपनं विना न अग्निं विना कौमुदी श्रियो न सुकृतं विना न जगती विना विक्रमम् ।
कुलं न तनयान्विता न समता विना निर्वृतिर्गुरुश्च न विना नृणां भवति धर्मतत्त्वश्रुतिः ॥

(VK, v. 12)

The author gives several good verses on speaking truth, out of which one may be quoted—

विवेकस्य प्राणा श्रुतरसरहस्य शुभधियः प्रकारः प्राकारः सुचरितपुरस्सोन्नततरः ।
शुणानां जीवातुः प्रशमदममन्तोपनिकषः सुसुश्रीपत्यको वचनमनलीकः सुकृतिनाम् ॥

(VK, v. 39)

And he pays homage to Jñāna or knowledge, fancying it to be a divine being—

किं कृत्यं किमकृत्यमेव किमुपादेयं च हेयं च किं देवः कश्च गुरुश्च कः किमयं वा तत्त्वं कुतश्च च किम् ।
संसारश्च कः एव मुक्तिरपि केत्येव यतः सर्वतो निश्चयेत विवेकिभिर्भगवते शानाय तस्मै नमः ॥

(VK, v. 80)

CHAPTER XI

PRABANDHAS

The Prabandha as a form of literature; Prabandha as material for history

233. The Prabandha is a form of literature peculiar to Gujarāt and Māl-vā, and especially cultivated by the Jaina writers. The name Prabandha is given to a historical anecdote generally written in simple Sanskrit prose, and sometimes in verse. The Prabandhacintāmaṇi of Merutuṅga (1305 A. D.), the Prabandhakos'a of Rājas'ekharasūri (1349 A. D.), the Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa of Jinaprabhasūri (completed in 1333 A. D.) and the Bhojaprabandha of Ballāla (circa 16th century A. D.) are well-known instances of the Prabandhas in prose, while the Prabhāvakacanta of Prabhācandrasūri (1277 A. D.) is a collection of Prabandhas in verse. Rājas'ekhara, the author of the Prabandhakos'a, has tried, in the introductory portion of his book,¹ to make a distinction between a Caritra and a Prabandha. According to him, the Caritras are the biographies of the Tīrthamkaras, of the Cakravartins or sovereigns according to the Jaina mythology, of ancient kings, and also of the religious pontiffs upto Ārya Rakṣitasūri, who died in the year 557 after Mahāvīra or in 30 A. D. Accounts of the persons who flourished after Ārya Rakṣita, monks as well as laymen, have been given the name Prabandha by Rājas'ekhara. We cannot say whether Rājas'ekhara has some older authority for making this distinction or whether it is of his own making. Whatever the case may be, this type of distinction in nomenclature has not been always observed in actual compositions, because the works dealing with the life of persons like Kumārapāla, Vastupāla and Jagadū who flourished as late as in the 12th and 13th century have been styled as Caritra, e. g. the Kumārapālacantra of Jinamandana (1335-36 A. D.), the Vastupālacantra of Jinaharsa (1441 A. D.) and the Jagadūcantra of Sarvānanda (14th century A. D.). Though the Prabandhas deal with historical personages, the motives with which they were written "are to edify the congregations, to convince them of the magnificence and the might of the Jaina faith and to supply the monks with the material for their sermons, or when the subject is purely of worldly interest, to provide the public with pleasant entertainment."² Therefore, the Prabandhas should be treated not as so many real histories or biographies, but only as material to be critically used for historical purposes.

The Prabandhāvali of Jinabhadra

234. The work with which we are to deal here is the Prabandhāvali of Jinabhadra, which being composed during the life-time of Vastupāla for the instruction of his son Jaitrasimha (para 117), is the oldest collection of the Prabandhas discovered as yet. The only available manuscript of this work contains 40 Prabandhas in prose—most of them dealing with historical persons and topics pertaining to Gujarāt, Rājasthān and Māl-vā, while a few give stories taken from folklore. It has come down in a form, which cannot be

1 PK, p 1.

2 Bühler, Life of Hemacandrācārya, p. 3.

called complete. There appears to be some interpolations in the text, because it refers to certain events, which occurred after the death of Vastupāla, and a Prabandha (viz. the Valabhībhāṅga-Prabandha) has been literally copied down from the Prabandhacintāmaṇi.¹ Two Prabandhas from the work under review (viz. the Pādaliptācārya Prabandha and the Ratnas'āvaka Prabandha) have been adapted in the Prabandhakos'a.² There we cannot say that these portions have been copied down and interpolated in the work under review by some later writer or copyist, because the style of this work is very simple and rudimentary as intended for some elementary student of Sanskrit, while that of the Prabandhakos'a is comparatively cultured and elevated, which shows that the author of the Prabandhakos'a has taken these two chapters from the Prabandhāvali of Jinabhadra, making some stylistic and linguistic improvements. It may be said on the whole that the later Prabandhas appear to be indebted to the Prabandhāvali for some of their matter, and that is why it is included by Jinaviṇṇayajī in the 'Purāṇanaprabandhasamgraha, which forms a companion-volume to the Prabandhacintāmaṇi. It is noteworthy that the Prabandhāvali quotes in the Prthvirāja Prabandha four 'Apabramśa verses, three out of which are traced in a corrupt form to the Prthvirāja Rāso ascribed to the poet Candā, a friend and contemporary of the last Hindu sovereign of Delhi. These citations have gone a long way to show that the published Prthvirāja Rāso is not a later work in toto, as some scholars are inclined to believe, but that the Rāso has very old nucleus, which is earlier than at least 1234 A. D., the date of Jinabhadra's work.³

235. The Prabandhāvali has got a peculiar literary importance. It is an example of a type of literary medium in which Sanskrit was, so to say, vernacularized. It popularized the knowledge of Sanskrit and served as a stepping-stone to the more advanced study of Sanskrit, at least among the Vais'ya classes of the Gujjarades'a. Thus the language of the Prabandhāvali is replete not only with Prākṛitisms, but also with the words taken from the regional dialect of the time, so much so that it would be difficult for the reader who does not know something of Prākṛits and of old and modern Gujarātī to grasp the meaning of certain words and expressions. They are also found in other Prabandhas and some of the Kathā-works written by the Janas of Gujarāt, and are generally unknown to other parts of India. It may be noted in this connection that in ancient and mediaeval India, Sanskrit was not merely the language of the priestly class and the scholars. It was also the language of the court and of diplomacy, and it was a spoken language down to comparatively recent times. In Gujarāt, even after the establishment of Muslim rule the legal documents were written in a colloquial Sanskrit, and they were accepted by the courts for the purpose of registration.⁴ Sanskrit was even understood by a considerable part of the population which

1 PPS, intro, p. 8

2 Ibid, p. 7.

3 Ibid, pp. 8-10

4 PT, Vol. IV, pp. 1ff.; JGRS, Vol. XI, pp. 89 ff.

did not itself use it. "Of course, the Sanskrit spoken or understood by those who were no scholars, was a popular and colloquial one, not the highly artificial language of Kāvya verse and prose. The speakers of this colloquial Sanskrit did not study Pāṇini or Hemacandra, but such books as the Mugdhāvabodhamauktika. The Śvetāmbar authors of Gujarāt used this colloquial Sanskrit in their stories in order to make them intelligible to their public."¹ Not that the Jaina authors were incapable of expressing themselves in literary Sanskrit, but they tried to approach the general public by the style which may be described as a type of 'vernacular-Sanskrit,' as pointed out above, and may be compared with a similar mixed language of the northern Buddhists, known as the 'Gāthā Sanskrit,' the language of works like the Lalitavistara and the Mahāvastu. Prof. Zachariae has published a list of words which exclusively occur in the Kāshmirian authors, and Prof. Schmidt has supplemented this list.² It would be interesting from literary, linguistic as well as from the cultural point of view if such a list—which is bound to be a lengthy one—is prepared from the Jaina writers of Gujarāt. Dr. Hertel in his edition (pp. 291-95) of the Pañcākhyāna of Pūrṇabhadra and Dr. Upādhye in his introduction (pp. 101-10) to the Brhat Kathākośa of Hariseva, also a Jaina writer from Gujarāt, have given lists of words peculiar to Jaina Sanskrit occurring in their respective texts; and a large number of these words can be shown as related etymologically, phonetically and semantically to the forms prevalent in old and modern Gujarātī. I shall give here a short, but representative list of such words from the Prabandhāvalī—वर (pp. 13, 32; Prākṛit वर / Skt. गृह, Guj वर, 'a house'), सल्ललितम् (p. 13, Guj समल्लु, 'moved'), महीयारी (p. 14; <Skt. *मधिनकारी> महिमारी, Guj महियारी, 'a milk-maid'), कुतुगिया (p. 47, from Skt कौतुकिता, cf. old Guj. कुतिग <Skt कौतुक, 'a curiosity'. The word कुतुगिया means 'a joker'), दोलिक (p. 39, Guj दोमी / Skt. दौलिक, 'a cloth-merchant'), ओलगा (p. 54, 'service'. The word is freely used as ओलग and ओलन in old and modern Gujarātī cf. Old Marāṭhī ओलग, ओलन, Kanarese उल्लिग), बुवंसाल (p. 59, Guj वृषसाल, 'a number of small bells'), गल्यहस्त (p. 86; lit. 'one who holds a spear in his hand,' that is, 'a state-officer'. The word is used as सेलहत्य, सेलहुन and सेलेत in old Gujarātī in the sense of 'a state-officer,' cf. the Prthvīcandracaritra-1422- A. D. printed in the Prācīna Gujara Kāvya-saṁgraha, p. 128; Pethada Rāsa-14th century-v. 22; Mādhavānala-Kāma-kandalā Prabandha, VII 482 and 494. It is also preserved as a surname, सेलत, among the Khedāvāla Brāhmins of Gujarāt, though obliterated from general usage in the current language. Vide my paper in the Gujarātī journal Buddhīprakāśa, January, 1952), दारमट्ट (p. 86; cf. Guj वारहट्ट, वारोट, 'a bard'), अघारी (p. 86; Guj अघारी / Skt *अघकारी, 'black cellar of the prison'), भारिका (p. 89, Guj भारी, 'a bundle of wood'), टिप्पा (p. 89, from Skt. तिप् 'to sprinkle'; Guj. टीपु, 'a drop'), खटखट (p. 89; Guj खटखट, 'trouble'), मेलापक (p. 89; old Guj मेलावो, 'military array'), धगड (p. 90, 'a Muslim warrior,' cf. Guj. धगडो, 'a bully'), धाटी (p. 102; Guj धाट, 'a raid'), मेलित (p. 103, old Guj. मेल्यो, 'plundered'; cf. पडी मेल प्रासादि देवनद, भागा कुची ताला). 'The shrine of the god was

1 Hertel, On the Literature of the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarāt, pp. 17-18.

2 Ibid, p. 19;

plundered (पक्षी नेष्ट) and the keys and locks were broken'—The Kāṇhadade Prabandha of Padmanābha, composed in 1456 A. D., I. 93) Some words of Persian and Arabic origin like *दुर्वैर* (p. 86, Persian *Durvidh* 'a religious man') and *मसीति* (p. 86, Arabic *Masjid* 'a mosque') are also adapted here. Some of the words cited above are also to be found in other New Indo-Aryan languages of India, but that does not weaken our main argument, because the author lived in Gujarāt, and it is but natural that he adapted certain colloquial words and expressions from the spoken language with which he was most familiar.

236. Though the Prabandhāvalī of Jinabhadra is written in this type of Sanskrit prose, it is occasionally sprinkled with a number of verses in Sanskrit, Prākṛit and also in Apabhraṃśa. The Apabhraṃśa verses are mostly in the Dūhā metre, and they appear to have been taken by the author from folk-literature. It would be interesting to refer in this connection to the Apabhraṃśa verses put in the mouth of Sonaladevī 'queen' of Khamgāra, the chief of Jirṇadūrga (modern Junāgaḍh), when he was slain by the forces of Śiḍḍharāja Jayasīmbha. The Prabandhāvalī quotes 13 such verses (pp. 34–35). Six out of these are found with slight variations in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi (p. 65), which was composed 71 years later, and it has two more which are not available in the Prabandhāvalī. All these verses are still widely current in the folk-lore of Gujarāt and Saurāstra, though naturally they are found in the modern linguistic grab.¹ But their prevalence throughout a long period extending over more than seven hundred years speaks for the popularity of this kind of folk-literature, specimens of which have been preserved in the works like this Prabandhāvalī.

1 For minute linguistic comparison of the Apabhraṃśa Dūhās from the Prabandhacintāmaṇi with their modern Gujarātī versions, vide N.¹B. Divatia, Manomukura (Guj.), Vol. II, pp. 27 ff.

CHAPTER XII

A COLLECTION OF JAINA DHARMAKATHĀS

Dharmakathā-literature of the Jainas

237. Narrating entertaining stories and listening to them are deep-rooted in human nature, as we find from the folk-lore of all the countries of the world. The folk-stories have been adapted in literature merely as charming fiction or have been utilized for various purposes, both secular and religious. Talking of Indian literature, the lost *Brhatkathā* of which *Prākṛit* and *Sanskrit* versions are found in the *Vasudeva-Hindī* (about 5th century A. D.), and the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* and the *Brhatkathīmāñjarī* (both composed in the 11th century A. D.) was a great store-house of secular stories, collected with the sole purpose of literary entertainment. The *Pañcatantra* is a famous story-book in which the folk-tales are utilized for teaching worldly wisdom and also the elements of politics, while the *Jātaka* and the large number of stories found in *Jaina* literature are the instances of *Dharmakathā* or story used for religious purposes.

238. Buddhists and the Jainas were great story-tellers, because story was one of the means by which their religious precepts could be preached in a popular form. The *Jaina* canon is traditionally divided into four *Amuyogas* or sections, of which one is the *Dharmakathānuyoga* which deals with religious stories, and the *Jñātādharmakathā* has been considered as a representative text of that section. The *Prākṛit* and *Sanskrit* commentaries of the *Jaina* canonical works contain not only a mass of ancient traditions and legends, but also numerous folk-tales and stories, and the versified *Caritras* of the *Tīrthamkaras* and other religious personalities were often used as frame-work in which all types of stories could be inserted. But apart from all these, the *Jaina* authors have to their credit a vast story-literature in *Sanskrit*, *Prākṛit*, *Apabhramśa* and modern *Indian* languages. "All these works, be they stories in plain prose or in simple verse or elaborate poems, novels or epics, are all essentially sermons. They are never intended for mere entertainment, but always serve the purpose of religious instruction and edification."¹

239. The *Jaina* literature can show scores of story-works, but a great majority of them have been composed after the 10th century. As we go to the earlier centuries the number of available works progressively decreases, and we hardly get ten works in all composed during the first millennium after Christ. *Pādalīpta's* great religious novel, *Taramgavati* (before the 5th century A. D.) is known only through a shorter version prepared by *Nemicandra* about 1000 years later; and other ancient works like the *Malayavati*, the *Magadhasenā*, the *Bandhumati* and the *Sulocanā* are known only through literary references.² The *Vasudeva-Hindī* of *Samgha-dāsa* is a *Jaina* version in *Prākṛit* of the lost *Brhatkathā*, and presents itself as

¹ Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Pt II, p 521.

² JSS, Vol. III, p 194

a monumental remain of the Jaina Dharmakathā-literature which flourished after the Āgama-period. The Samarāicca-kathā of Haribhadrāsūri, the Kuvalayamālākathā of Udyotanasūri and the Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā of Śiḍhharṣi are three other old Dharmakathās, to which I have already referred in the first chapter. The Brhatkathākośa of Harisena is a collection of Dharmakathās composed in the 10th century A. D. In later times the Jainas, in addition to composing long and elaborate Kathā-works on the ancient model, also compiled books of stories,¹ in which the stories are either inserted within a frame-story, in the manner familiar in Indian narrative literature or else they are just told one after another.

Kathāratnākara of Naracandrasūri

240. The Kathāratnākara or Kathāratnasāgara of Naracandrasūri with which we have to deal here is a work belonging to the later category. It is unprinted and available only in manuscript-form. The Granthāgāra of the work is 2091 ślokaś,² It has been divided into 15 Taramgas or chapters and each chapter contains a story illustrating the merit attained by adhering to some principle taught by the Jainā religion. It is possible that the author may have been inspired, in calling his work Kathāratnākara and dividing it into Taramgas, by the Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva, though there is no similarity between their contents. The whole work has been written in the Anuṣṭup metre, but the concluding verse of every chapter is in a different metre. Virtues like chastity, penance, giving donations, humility, non-killing of living beings, non-stealing, serving the elders, not envying others, repeating the Navakāra Mantra for attaining religious merits, etc have been extolled in these stories, by showing how the principal characters got the fruit of these moral and religious practices either in this or in the next birth. The narrative is dull and monotonous in style, and the work has to give nothing very valuable from the view-point of literature. Though it is from the pen of a scholar like Naracandra and composed at Vastupāla's request (para 119) it seems to have been written with an eye on a purely religious audience, probably for the daily Vyākhyāna, and the principal aim of the author seems to impress on the mind of the lay adherents the importance of good conduct from the point of view of the Jaina religion. It may be noted here that the Kathāratnākara is a collection of Jaina religious stories composed in comparatively earlier times, as the majority of the Kathākośas are later than our author.³

1 JRK, pp. 65-67. For a short survey of some such works, vide Winternitz, op cit, 541 ff.

2 JRK, p. 66.

3 Ibid, pp. 64-67, Upadhye, Brhat Kathākośa, intro., pp. 39 ff.

CHAPTER XIII

APABHRAMŚA RĀSAS

A short history of the Rāsaka or Rāsa

241. Though this book is mainly devoted to Sanskrit literary contribution of the literary circle of Vastupala, it would not be inappropriate here to review two Apabhrāmśa Rāsas composed by the poets of the circle, because they are also a part of the great literary activity patronized by the minister. These two Rāsas are the Revantagiri Rāsu of Vijayasena-sūri and the Ābu Rāsa of Palhanaputra. But before coming to these poems we shall consider what is to be understood by the literary form of Rāsa or Rāsu (Skt. Rāsaka) which was very popular in Apabhrāmśa as well as in old Gujarātī literature.

242. The Rāsaka was not meant for mere recitation or reading, but was composed with a view to be sung and danced. This type of composition which would be compared to ballet dance, must have been originally a piece of folk-dance and music. Later on, when a comprehensive survey of the different types of actable literary compositions was made, they were classified under two main heads- (i) the one included the compositions which mainly provided for recitation and acting, and (ii) the other provided for singing and dancing. The Rāsaka from which the form Rāsa or Rāsu is derived comes under the latter head. The oldest extant reference to this classification—which includes Dombikā, Bhāna, Prasthāna, Sīdgaka, Bhānikā, Rāmākṛida, Hallisaka and Rāsaka—is found in the Abhinavabhārati of Abhinavagupta (circa 1000 A. D.), and there Rāsaka has been defined as follows—

अनेकनर्तकीयोज्य चित्रान्तरान्वितम् । आचतुष्पट्टियुगलाद्रातकं मस्योदितम् ॥¹

from which we know that the Rāsaka was a Geya Rūpaka, was full of charming rhythm, in which a number of dancing women took part, in which a maximum of 64 pairs were allowed to play, and which was at times soft and excited. Later on, we find that the classification and definition mentioned above were adopted by Hemacandra in the Kāvyaṇuśāsana (VIII. 4) and by Vāgbhata II in his Kāvyaṇuśāsana (p 18). Rāmacandra, the pupil of Hemacandra, in his Nātyadarpana (Vol. I, pp. 214-15) and Viśvanātha in Sāhityadarpana (Kane's ed, pp. 104-5) have also given the characteristics of Rāsaka and Nātya-rāsaka. It appears that in older times, the folk-dances were current in different parts of India, though we have no definite evidence to say in what particular parts the particular type of folk-dance prevailed. In this connection we have an interesting legendary account in the Saṃgītaratnākara of Śārngadeva (circa 1200 A. D.), which appears to have preserved some historical traditions. We find therein that Śiva created the Tāndava type of dance, while Pārvatī created the Lāsya type of dance. Pārvatī taught this dance to Uśā,

1 Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra (G. O. S.), Vol. I, p 183.

the daughter of Bāpāsura and wife of Anirudhha, the grandson of Śrī Kṛṣṇa; and Uśā, in her turn, taught it to the Gopīs of Dvāravatī, and they taught it to the young women of Saurāstra, through whom it spread throughout the world.¹ This tradition is corroborated by the prevalence of different types of folk-dances known as Rāsas, Rāsadās, Garabās and Garabīs prevalent in Gujarāt and Saurāstra even to-day

243. From all this it may be surmised that the Rāsaka or Rāsa was a type of folk-dance, comparable to the Rāsa-Kṛīḍā of Kṛṣṇa described in the Bhāgavata and other Purāṇas, and also to the Garabā dance peculiar to Gujarāt (alternatively known as Rāsa), it was later on adapted as a literary piece to be acted, mostly in Prākṛit. That the Rāsa was actually played in public is evident from several literary references. The last verse of the Revantagiri Rāsu refers to the actual performance of the Rāsa—

रगिदि ए रमइ जो रामु सिरिविजयसेनसरिनिम्मविउ ए ।

नेमिजिणु तूमइ तासु अंकि पूइ मणि रली ए ॥

"Jina Neminātha will favour those who play with enthusiasm this Rāsa composed by Śrī Vijayasenasūri, and goddess Ambikā will fulfill their desires."

The Saptaksetri Rāsu (1271 A. D.) speaks of two types of Rāsas—viz Tālārāsa and Lakutārāsa.² By the former category is meant that kind of Rāsa-dance in which the timing was given by clapping of hands, while the latter category which is known in Gujarāt as Dāndiā Rāsa, denotes that in which the timing is given by the short sticks (Lakuta) held in the hands of the dancers. Lakṣmaṇagani, the author of the Supāsanābhacariya (1143 A. D.), has described the action in the Rāsa-dance as केवि उत्तालतालाउल रामय,³ and thus he refers to that type of Rāsa in which timing was given by clapping of hands

244. Thus it is clear that the Rāsa as a folk-dance and as adapted in literature was originally meant to be performed. We get a number of Rāsas from Gujarāt in Apabhramśa or a post-Apabhramśa dialect which was current in the province, the oldest available specimen of this literary form being the Bharata Bāhubali Rāsa of Śālibhadrāsūri (1185 A. D.). Later on, in Old Gujarātī the Rāsa form became stereotyped and generally denoted the versified narratives from the Jaina mythology which were recited in Upāśrayas, and we have to put hundreds of works in this category.⁴

The Revantagiri Rāsu of Vijayasenasūri

245. The Rāsa is generally divided into Bhāsa (Skt. Bhāṣā) or Kadavaka or sometimes as in old Gujarātī literature into Dhāla, which

1. Saṅgītaratnākara, VII 4-8.

2. PGKS, p. 52.

3. Munshi, Gujarāt and its Literature, p. 88

4. For a descriptive list of such Rāsas, vide M. D. Desai, Jaina Gūjara Kaviō (Guj.), Vols I-III.

may be translated as "rhythmical verse-paragraphs". The Revantagiri-Rāsu of Vijayasenasūri has four Kadavakas and 62 verses in all. The first Kadavaka, after the benediction, refers briefly to the beautiful Sōratha country (Southern Saurāstra) where Gīrnār is situated (vv 2-5), and gives the genealogy of Vastupāla, mentioning the instruction imparted to him by Vijayasenasūri and the pious deeds which it inspired (vv. 6-11), and describes the joy of the pilgrim-caravan on seeing the vernal beauty at the foot of Gīrnār (vv 12-20). The second and the third Kadavakas give some old history of the Gīrnār Tīrtha and an account of the temples built there by Vastupāla, the second Kadavaka being interspersed with some good descriptions of the wood-land. The last Kadavaka praises goddess Ambikā and Neminātha, and dwells at some length on the religious greatness of Gīrnār. The style of the work is very simple and unassuming. Poetically the composition is interesting, and description of Gīrnār in the second Kadavaka may be regarded as worthy of note—

जिम जिम चढई तडि कडणि गिरनारह, निम निम उटई जण भवण समारह ।
जिम जिम सेउजलु अणि पलोदुए, निम निम कळिमलु सयलु ओदुए ॥
जिम जिम वाचइ वाउ तहि निज्जरसीनलु, निम तिम भवदुदाहो तन्त्रणि तुट्ट निचलु ।
कोइलकलरवो मोरकेकारवो, सुन्मए महुयर महुर गुंजारवो ।
पाय चढनह मावगलोवणी लाशारामु दित्ति दीक्षए दाहिणी ॥
जळजळालववाले नीझरणि रमावळु, रेहड उज्जिलनिहक अलि-कजलसामलु ।
बहलुहु धाउरसमेउणी जत्थ उल्लडड सोवन्नमड मेउणी ।
जत्थ दिणंति दिव्वोसही सुदरा, गुटिर वर गइय गमीर गिरिकदरा ॥

(vv. 2-4)

"As the people ascend the slopes of Gīrnār, they close (the doors of) the house of worldly existence. As the limbs perspire with exertion, impurities of the Kali are washed away. As the winds, cool with the waters of streams, are blowing gently, the burning caused by the worries of worldly existence are ended instantly. Cooing of the cuckoo, cry of the peacock and sweet humming of the bees—are heard. While ascending the steps (of the mountain), the Śrāvakas see on the right side (the park) Lakhārāma. The peak of Gīrnār, enclustered by a large number of clouds, charming on account of many streams and black like the bees and the collirium, looks beautiful. (It is Gīrnār,) where the land having golden colour and full of various kinds of minerals, looks resplendent; where the celestial herbs are shining, and which has impenetrable, excellent, great and deep caves."

The Ābu Rāsa of Pālhanaputra

246. The Ābu Rāsa of Pālhanaputra or the son of Pālhanā is a poem in 50 stanzas describing the building of temples on Ābu by Vastupāla and Teja-pāla. The poem is divided into Bhāsa and Thavanī, which occur alternately. All the information supplied by this poem is available from other sources, except the fact that the image of Neminātha installed in the Ābu temple was made at Stambhatīrtha, which would show that the image-making and allied arts were flourishing at the place. Though the poem has nothing noteworthy from literary point of view, it deserves notice from the historical and linguistic standpoint as a work describing in the popular dialect a notable event of Vastupāla's times.

CHAPTER XIV

WORKS ON POETICS

Development of Alamkāra-literature

247. Though Sanskrit poetry goes back to the second millennium B. C.—or probably earlier—when the hymns of the Rgveda may have been composed, the oldest reference to anything concerning to poetics is not found before the 6th or 7th century B. C. The Alamkāraśāstra is not mentioned in the Vedāṅgas nor do we meet with any passage in the Vedic Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas or the earlier Upanisads in which we may find a real basis for the system of poetics.¹ In the Nirukta of Yāska (circa 700 B. C.) we find a reference to the Pūrṇā and Luptā varieties of Upamā. The Nighantu brings particles like *Iva*, *Yathā*, etc. under the crude term Upamā, and Yāska has cited a definition of Upamā by Gārgya, from among his predecessors², which would show that some elements of Sanskrit poetics are earlier even than Yāska, who is himself earliest extant exponent of the Veda. The great grammarian Pāṇini (circa 500 B. C.) uses technical terms like Upamā, Upamita, Sāmānya, Upamāna, etc. with a facility indicative of the fact that they were in general vogue before his time, and his grammatical analysis of the general idea of comparison is the nearest approach among early writings to the technical conception of poetics.³ The Arthaśāstra of Kautilya mentions the excellences of literary compositions, and defines them in a manner which does not materially differ from the later writers on poetics.

248. Considerable development of the science of poetics in India can be seen before the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata (circa 300 A. D.). The work contains the first available exposition of the Rasa-theory, which played a noteworthy part in the Sanskrit literary criticism and contains considerable information upon many topics pertaining to Alamkāraśāstra. In the 16th chapter of the Nāṭyaśāstra we get for the first time an outline of the science of poetics. It enumerates four poetic figures (Alamkāras), ten excellences (Gunas), ten defects (Dosas) and thirty-six characteristics (Laksanas) of poetic compositions. But the earliest authorities on poetics proper are Dandin and Bhāmaha (circa 600 A. D.), the question of whose relative priority of age has not been finally settled as yet. "This is followed by a fruitful and creative stage, ending with Abhinavagupta, in which the theories of different schools or systems were settled in their general outlines, giving rise to four distinct schools of opinion respectively represented by the Rāsa, Alamkāra, Rīti and Dhvani-systems. It covers more than three centuries, and includes some of the great names in the history of the discipline, like those of Bhāmaha, Udbhata and Rudrata, of Lollata, Śaṅkuka and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, of Dandin and Vāmana, of the Dhvanikāra, Ānandavardhana and Abhinava-

1 De, Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I, p. 3-4.

2 Ibid, pp. 4-6.

3 Ibid, pp. 6-8.

vagupta; of Kuntaka, Mahimabhatta and Bhoja—all of whom helped in a constructive or destructive way to shape the different currents of thought which ultimately ran into one stream in the text-book of Mammata"¹

249. Mammata (circa 1100 A. D.) is the most noteworthy figure among the writers on poetics who came after the Dhvanikāra, Ānandavardhana (circa 850 A. D.) and Abhinavagupta (circa 1000 A. D.) His Kāvya-prakāśa enjoyed a great popularity and exerted a remarkable influence in the field of Sanskrit literature, and helped in finally establishing the authority of the Rasa-dhvaṃ school which was most ably expounded by the Dhvanyāloka. The Kāvya-prakāśa tries to synthesize in a succinct and scholarly form the tenets of different schools of Sanskrit poetics in the light of the new doctrine put forward in the Dhvanyāloka. Thus having the merit of an excellent text-book for the students, combining fulness and conciseness in its treatment, the Kāvya-prakāśa, though composed in far off Kāśmīr, began to be studied throughout the length and breadth of India within a few decades from the time of its composition, and a large number of commentaries were written on that scholarly work, so much so that a proverbial saying came into vogue in Sanskrit that the Kāvya-prakāśa has been commented upon in every house and yet it has remained a hard nut to crack². Without giving up the accepted superiority of the 'Dhvani' theory of poetry, Mammata attempted to effect a compromise among the divergent schools of thought, and his views have been generally considered the most balanced theory of poetry in Sanskrit. In the mode of exposition and in the classification of the subject, the Kāvya-prakāśa has come to be regarded as a standard work, and many rhetoricians of repute thought it a matter of credit to compose commentaries on it, though they also expressed their views in independent treatises on poetics. Except in the way of further illustrations, newer definitions and keener classifications the science of poetry as described by Mammata has remained almost the same since his days³.

250. The Kāvya-prakāśa began to be zealously studied in Gujarāt within a few years of its composition, as is shown by the fact that the great savant Hemacandra, who has written his Kāvya-anuśāsana during the first half of the 12th century A. D., has based his Sūtras upon, and has quoted profusely from the Kāvya-prakāśa—at several places verbatim—and has also mentioned Mammata by name⁴. It is clear that Mammata's work was used as a text-book in Gujarāt even before the times of Hemacandra. When we bear in mind the possible date of the composition of the Kāvya-prakāśa (circa 1100 A. D.) and that of the Kāvya-anuśāsana (about 1143 A. D.), the fact seems to be more remarkable and characteristically indicative of the cultural contact in ancient and media-

1. Ibid, Vol II, p. 268.

2. काव्यप्रकाशस्य कृता गृहे गृहे दीप्ता तथाप्येव तथैव दुर्गमः ।

This saying originally belongs to Mahesvara, a commentator of the Kāvya-prakāśa (Krishnamachariar, Classical Skt Lit., p. 756), who probably flourished in the 17th century A. D. (De, op cit, Vol. I, p. 179)

3. Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 719

4. R. C. Parikh, intro to the Kāvya-anuśāsana, pp. 318 and 273.

eval India, when there were no speedy means of communication. It would be interesting here to note that there was considerable contact in matters of learning between Gujarāt and Kāshmir. According to the *Prabhāvakacarita*, Somacandra (Hemacandra's name before he was installed as an Ācārya) is described as taking the permission of his Guru to propitiate the goddess living in Kāshmir (काश्मीरवासिनी देवीम्)¹. We know from the autobiographical account given in the last canto of the *Vikramāmkadevacanta* of Bihlana that scholars from that land of Śāradā—as Kāshmir was called—used to come to Gujarāt. In the court of Śidhharāja Jayasinha there was a scholar named Utsāha who was a great grammarian and whose learning was famous in Śāradādeśa². It was this Utsāha who was sent by the Kāshmir Panditas with eight grammars from Kāshmir, from which Hemacandra compiled his work³. One of the oldest commentaries on Mammata's work is by the Jain monk Mānikya-candra who was a friend of Vastupāla, as we have already seen (para 130), the first commentary being by Kāshmirian Rūcaka or Ruyyaka, the famous author of the *Alamkāra-sarvasva* (second and third quarters of the 12th century). Another very old commentary on the *Kāvya-prakāśa* written in Gujarāt is by Jayanta Bhatta (1294 A. D.), a contemporary of king Sāramga-deva Vāghelā of Gujarāt (vide para 128), on whose work the commentator Ratnakantha (between 1648-1681) had based his commentary⁴. There are

1 Ibid; p 271. In old Gujarātī literature also we find a number of references to 'goddess (Sarasvatī) who is ornament of Kāshmir' e g —

(i) उरि कमला ममरो भमई कासमीरां मुखमंडण माइ ।

—Vīśaladeva Rāso of Nālha (1216 A. D.), v 7

(ii) सारद तूठि ब्रह्मकुमारी, कासमीरां मुखमंडणी ।

—Ibid, v 9

(iii) कासमीर मुखमंडण माडी, तू तमी न जगि कोडे भिराडी ।

—Vīrataparva of Śālisūri (circa 15th cent. A. D.) v 1

(iv) देव सरसति देव सरसति सुमति दातार,

कासमीर मुखमंडणी ब्रह्मपुत्रि करि वीण सोहइ ।

—Mādhavānala Chopāi of Kuśalalābha (1560 A. D.), v 1

(v) कासमीर मुखमंडणी (हमगमणी) सरसति सामिणि, तास प्रसादि

वेदव्यास वालमीक रपि डम एहनु उपदेस

तास प्रसादि असाईत भणि वीरकथा वरणव्योस

—Hamsāuli of Asūta (1361 A. D.), v 1

(vi) कासमीरपोरवासनी, विद्या तणी निधान ।

सेवक कर जोडी कहइ, आपउ विद्यादान

—Pañcadand-nī Vārtā of Narapati (1504 A. D.), v 8

(vii) सरसती सामिण पय नमी, मायु उचित प्रसाय,

कासमीर मुखमंडणी, वाणी दिउ मक्ष माय

—Vetālapacīsi of Devasila (1563 A. D.), v 1

(viii) कासमीरनिवासिनी सरसती समर मात.

—Karpūramajjari of Matīsāra (1548 A. D.), line 6

These are a few specimens, many more quotations can be cited

2 R. C. Parikh, op' cit, p. 253.

3 Ibid, p 273. Also see my paper on *Gujarāt and Kāshmir in Sanskrit* (Gu), February 1951.

4 De, op. cit, Vol I, p. 171.

two other commentaries on the Kāvyaṣaṣa written by scholars from Gujarāt, which are not hitherto well-known. One is by Jayānandasūri,¹ whose date is not known, and the other is by the great Jaina savant Yaśovijaya (17th century A. D.)².

The Kāvyaṣaṣa'sa-saṣketa of Māṣikyacandra

251. The brief review of the history of the Alamkāra-literature given above would show that the Alamkāraśāstra was a branch of learning zealously cultivated in Gujarāt. After Hemacandra and his pupils, Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra (para 26), we can mention the names of three scholars of Vastupāla's literary circle as important writers on Sanskrit poetics. Out of the works of these three scholars, the Saṣketa of Māṣikyacandra on the Kāvyaṣaṣa is the oldest, the other two, viz the Alamkāramahodadhī of Narendraprabhasūri and the Kāvyaśaṣa of Amaraśaṣasūri, being later than the Saṣketa.

252. Māṣikyacandra's Saṣketa is not only one of the oldest, but also one of the most authoritative commentaries on the Kāvyaṣaṣa. Its Granthāgra is 3244 ślokaś, as mentioned at the end of an old palm-leaf manuscript preserved at the Jaina Bhāudār at Pātau.³ This work is also important on account of its merit as an expository work. It is entirely free from the failings so often found in commentaries, viz absence of explanatory comments on difficult topics and prolixity where it is not wanted. Though Māṣikyacandra was a Jaina Sādhu, his erudition in the Brāmaṣical literature and philosophy is evident from his exposition and criticism of the text as well as from the references and quotations given by him. Not only the author is a scholar and a master of poetics, but he is a keen appreciator and critic of poetry, and himself a poet of some merit. His original faculty of poetic appreciation can be seen, as for example, in his commentary on two verses, viz. सुखं विकसितसितं (II. 9) and प्रस्थानं वलयैः कृतं (IV. 46), and also on the Kārikāś 29 (शृङ्गारस्य द्वौ भेदौ ।) and 30 (रतिर्हासश्च शोकश्च). He has given a number of quotations from his own poems to make his statements clear.⁴ Thus three great

1 JRK, p. 90

2 Looking to the great reputation of Yaśovijaya as a versatile scholar his commentary on the Kāvyaṣaṣa should be considered a remarkable work. Recently Muni Śri Panyavijayaji has found out an incomplete manuscript of this commentary from Cambay. The work deserves to be critically edited and printed even in the incomplete form.

3 PBO, p. 54

4 Māṣikyacandra has cited 17 verses in all, which are his own compositions; vide pp. 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 195, 203, 204, 205, 216, 230, 237, 252, 270. Several of these verses (pp. 203, 204, 205, 216) appear to have been taken from the hymns in praise of Jina, which shows that Māṣikyacandra had composed several devotional lyrics in addition to his Saṣketa and the two Mahāśaṣyāś (vide para 182).

literary merits—scholarship, critical faculty and keen poetic appreciation—are to be found together in this commentary.

253. The remarkable scholarship and wide reading of Mānikyacandra have been attested by the large number of quotations and references given by him. It also shows the author to be quite at home with the bulk of Alankāra literature written before his time and also with Sanskrit literature in general. He has quoted from or referred to Bhatta Nāyaka and his *Hṛdayadarpana* (pp. 4, 8), the *Kāvya-kautuka* (p. 5),¹ Pāṇini (pp. 14, 29), Bhatta Kumārila (p. 16) and Jaimini (p. 111). Bhartṛmītra (p. 17), the *Vakroktikāra* (p. 25), the logician Dharmakīrti (p. 43), Māgha (p. 52), the *Udbhatakumārasambhava* (p. 252),² the *Kādambarī* (p. 177), the *Kumārasambhava* (p. 178) and the *Śakuntalā* (p. 195), the *Dhvanikāra* (p. 200), the *Kaṇthābharana* (p. 216)³ and the *Vidhhaśālabhaṅgikā* (p. 303). Mānikyacandra has also traced some verses quoted by Mammata to their originals. Thus he has traced a Prākṛit gāthā to the *Pañcabānalīlākathā* of Ānandavardhana (p. 144), and another gāthā to the *Viśamabānalīlākathā* (p. 173). Some other illustrations are traced to the *Pratimānirudhha Nāṭaka*,⁴ the *Venisambhāra* and the *Mālatīmādhava* (p. 264), the *Rāghavānanda* (p. 91) and the *Mahābhārata* (p. 86). A verse (IV. 39) has been elaborately traced in the following manner—कश्मीरराजमातुमरणे भट्टनारायणकविकाव्यमिदम् (p. 57), though nothing is definitely known about this Bhatta Nārāyaṇa and the occasion on which this verse was composed. Mānikyacandra has quoted one verse with the remarks—पूज्यानामिदम् (p. 203), and it is quite probable that it may be from the pen of the author's Guru.

254. Moreover, Mānikyacandra has cited following authors or authorities, and supported or criticized their views—Kanāda (p. 14), the Nyāya-kumudacandra of Prabhācandra (p. 14), Mukula (pp. 18, 22, 24), Abhinavagupta (pp. 25, 48), Vāmana (pp. 25, 53, 152, 186, 188, 190), Bharata (pp. 189, 191, 192), Dandin (pp. 189, 191, 192, 245), Bhoja (pp. 192, 195, 219, 304), Śaṅkuka (pp. 45, 50), Bhatta Tota (p. 43), Lollata (p. 52), Bhāmaha (pp. 120, 189, 213, 287), Udbhata (pp. 121, 174, 187, 212, 259, 272, 294), Rudrata (pp. 245, 249, 257, 266, 211, 274), Mamgala (p. 190),⁵ Alankāra-

1 The author of this lost work was Bhatta Tauta. It has been mentioned in Abhinavagupta's commentary on Bharata (ch. I)

2 This is a lost poem. It has been also quoted by Prabhārendurāja in his commentary on Udbhata (PT, Vol. I, p. 187)

3 The author has not quoted from this book, but has only mentioned it by name. *Possibly it may be the *Sarasvatīkanthābharana* of Bhoja.

4 This lost work is also mentioned in Abhinavagupta's commentary on Bharata (ch. XIX) There it is ascribed to Bhīma

5 Vāmana and Mamgala are cited simultaneously ('गौडीयानां निर्देशो न युक्तिमान् इति वासनमगलौ' p. 190) Hence Mamgala was definitely a rhetorician. Opinions of Mamgala have been also cited in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (3rd edition, pp. 11, 14, 16, 20) by Rājasekhara and in the *Viveka* on the *Kāvya-anuśāsana* (IV. 1) by Hemacandra.

sarvasva (pp. 209, 249),¹ Kohala² and the Locana (p. 65) It is evident from the above list that some of the authors and works cited in the commentary are lost centuries ago, and hence references to them are very important from historical and literary point of view.

255. Moreover, Mānkyacandra has discussed at several places the variant readings of Mammata and has spoken about their relative merits (pp. 37, 250), which shows that within about a century after the composition of the Kāvya-prakāśa there had arisen some important variants in the readings of the text. While commenting upon a Prākṛit gāthā (छणपाहुटिआ देअर०, IV. 112), Mānkyacandra has given a short but interesting discussion regarding the interpretation of the Prākṛit word एटोर or एटोर, and has cited several opinions about its meaning, including that of Sātavāhana. Scholarship of Mānkyacandra is also to be seen in his explanation of the following words of the text—अत्र ओणिनश्चरस्य रुधिरलक्षणेनार्थेनो ज्वलीकृतस्त्वार्थे व्यवधीयते (IV. 146); he has said—यद्वा काश्मीरभाषया उल्लङ्घनञ्चोऽन्वयः (p. 124). This is a further proof to show that Mammata was an inhabitant of Kāśmīr. The tradition that Mammata had written the Kāvya-prakāśa upto the Parikara Alamkāra and the rest of the work was completed by one Alaka or Alata also finds support from Mānkyacandra. Commenting upon the last verse of the Kāvya-prakāśa (इत्येव मार्गे विदुषा निमित्तो०), Mānkyacandra has said—अथ चान् ग्रन्थोऽन्येना स्सन्धोऽपरेण समाहित इति द्विस्रष्टोवि सघटनावशादखण्डयते । (p. 304). This shows, that the tradition about the double authorship of the Kāvya-prakāśa is very old-known to one of the earliest commentators and therefore deserves serious consideration. Mānkyacandra has, at some places, given old Gujarātī equivalents of Sanskrit words, e g—commenting upon a verse in the Kāvya-prakāśa (एतन्मन्दविपक्तिन्दुरुफल०, VII, 143), he says—तिन्दुरुफलं तद्यस्य तिस्ररुक्रमिति ख्यातिः, p. 123). The word in question is still used in Gujarātī as तिरुल्ल

The Alamkāramahodadhī of Narendraprabhasūri

256. Now, we come to the Alamkāramahodadhī of Narendraprabhasūri. The Granthāgra of the work is 4500 slokas. Following the masterpiece of Mammata, the work has been written in the Kārikās and Vṛtti. But while the Kāvya-prakāśa has been divided into ten chapters, the Alamkāramahodadhī comprises eight chapters, like the Kāvya-anuśāsana of Hemacandra who was the author's great predecessor in Gujarāt. The Kārikās are in the Anustup metre, but the concluding stanza of every chapter is generally in a different metre. The number of the Kārikās is 296 in all. The work being styled as the Alamkāramahodadhī ('great ocean of the Alamkāras'), its chapters are called the Tāraṅgas ('waves'). Presumably, the author was tempted to

1 Reference to the Alamkārasarvasva shows definitely that Ruyyaka was chronologically older than Mānkyacandra.

2 Kohala is cited along with the Locana (विस्तरविचारस्तु कोहललोचनग्रन्थादिषु देयः, p. 65). He was a follower of Bhārata, and has been cited by Abhinavagupta. A study of citations indicates that though Kohala followed Bhārata in the main, he improved upon the Nāṭyaśāstra in details of classification (Krishnamachariar, op cit, p. 822).

employ this terminology by the example of his Guru Naracandrasūri, who had styled the chapters of his Kathāratnākara as the Taramgas (vide para 240).

257. The author lays no claim to originality. He says that there is nothing which has not been expounded by the ancient rhetoricians, and hence this work is merely the selection from their sayings (p 3). In the Praśasti (v 10) he says that he wrote the work after hearing the lectures of his Guru seeking to entertain the learned and also for the benefit of his own scholarship. But putting the things plainly, the Alamkāramahodadhī has simplified and extended the subject-matter of the Kāvya prakāśa without interfering with its scientific arrangement, and that can be considered the chief merit of the work. The author has added some subsidiary matter which is not to be found in the Kāvya prakāśa, and that has extended the bulk of his work. He has also taken a large number of new illustrations either from previous Alamkāra-works or from general Sanskrit literature, and has thus made his work more readable. The number of the illustrations cited by Mammata is 602, while the number of those in the Alamkāramahodadhī is 982. Narendraprabha has done justice to the contents of the ten chapters of the Kāvya prakāśa in the eight chapters of his work. The second and third chapters of the Kāvya prakāśa have been represented by the second chapter of the Alamkāramahodadhī, while the subject-matter of the sixth chapter has been almost omitted in the latter work, and thus an economy of two chapters has been achieved. The author of the Alamkāramahodadhī has been influenced by Mammata to such a great extent that at a number of places his Kārikās as well as Vṛttī are full of verbal borrowings from the Kāśhinīrīan master (e g—pp 6, 7, 14-15, 43, 48, 55-56; 57, 58, 123, 180-82, 183, 184-86, 197, 199, etc of the Alamkāramahodadhī), but at the same time the Alamkāramahodadhī betrays some influence of Hemacandra's Kāvyañuśāsana. In I 10, while explaining the word Śikṣā with reference to a poet, the author has quoted almost verbatim the whole portion dealing with Śikṣā, that is Kāvīśikṣā, from the Alamkāracūdāmaṇi on the Kāvyañuśāsana. Moreover, his definition of poetry is more akin to one in the Kāvyañuśāsana than to that in the Kāvya prakāśa, and he appears to have taken several illustrations from the two commentaries on the Kāvyañuśāsana, viz the Alamkāracūdāmaṇi and the Viveka (e g—no. 5 from the AC II 170; no 256 from the AC I 71 and VK no 425-281). Narendraprabha must have also seen Māṇikyacandra's Samketa on the Kāvya prakāśa with which we have just dealt, because while commenting upon the Kārikā giving the purpose of poetry (p 6) he has quoted from the Hrdayadarpaṇa of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, just like Māṇikyacandra (I 2). Māṇikyacandra in I 3 has quoted from the Kāvya kautuka (प्रश्न नवनवोन्मेषः), the same quotation has been given by Narendraprabha in the Vṛttī on I 7 while dealing with the subject of Pratibhā. But inspite of all these influences the fact remains that the Alamkāramahodadhī follows the Kāvya prakāśa with meticulous care, though generally supplementing, extending and simplifying its subject-matter.

258. In the beginning of the Vrtti, after praising the highest light, the author gives a genealogy of his teachers and also a genealogy of Vastupāla, his patron (vv. 1-11), and he describes how the work was composed at the request made by Vastupāla to Naracandra, author's Guru (vv. 15-21). The first chapter is styled प्रयोजन-कारण-स्वरूपभेदनिर्णय¹. Here the author has given the purpose and definition of poetry in general, and has also defined its three varieties, viz. Dhvani, Guṇibhūtavyamgya and Avara. शब्दवैचित्र्यवर्णन² is the title of the second chapter, and it is devoted to different powers of words—viz. Abhidhā or primary sense, Lakṣanā or secondary sense and Vyāñjanā or suggested sense. In II. 16-20 the author has defined Bandha or compactness of compositions as अर्द्धनारीश्वरस्पर्द्धि यत्र सवद्वनकम्, and has considered the charm arising out of Bandha a very important thing in poetry. The third chapter is ध्वनिनिर्णय³. After discussing Abhidhā and Lakṣanā, the author now turns to Vyāñjanā or Dhvani. He follows the Kāvya-prakāśa in his treatment of the production of Dhvani, but has given a number of new illustrations to show how different circumstances contribute to the process. (pp. 49-53). The portion about the theory of Rasa has been taken down faithfully from the fourth Ullāsa of the Kāvya-prakāśa, though coming to the nine sentiments (III. 13-25), our author's treatment becomes comparatively fuller in the matter of illustrations and other secondary details. The author has given 39 varieties of the suggested sense (III. 63), and then he has multiplied the number to 6123 by Samkara and samśruti or permutations and combinations of those varieties (III. 64), while the Kāvya-prakāśa (IV. 44) has given the number as 10455. In the end (III. 64-65), the author says that the Dhvani is the soul of poetry, and it being अलंकार does not deserve to become an अलंकार, and hence the Rasavat cannot be a figure of speech—as mentioned by some rhetoricians. The whole of the third chapter of the Ālamkāramahodadhī is, so to say, a longer and simplified version of the fourth Ullāsa of the Kāvya-prakāśa.

259. The fourth chapter called गुणीभूतव्यंग्यप्रदर्शन⁴ deals with this secondary variety of Dhvani, while the fifth called दोषव्यावर्णन⁵ deals with the faults of poetry at considerable length. In this chapter the phrasing of a number of Kāṅkas and the Vrtti thereon can be seen to be greatly influenced by Mammata, sometimes to the extent of being almost verbatim extracts from him. The sixth chapter is styled as गुणनिर्णय⁶ and is devoted to the treatment of three poetic merits, viz. Mādhurya or sweetness, Ojas or strength and Prasāda or perspicuity. The author generally follows Mammata, but his treatment is more detailed and lucid. The seventh chapter, शब्दालंकारवर्णन⁷, deals with the figures of word. While following Mammata in general treatment, our author has given more subdivisions, and a number of new illustrations.

1 cf. KP, ch I. प्रयोजन-कारण-स्वरूपविशेषनिर्णय

2 cf. Ibid, ch II. शब्दनिर्णय

3 cf. Ibid, ch. III-IV. अव्यञ्जकतानिर्णय and ध्वनिनिर्णय.

4 cf. Ibid, ch. V ध्वनि गुणीभूतव्यंग्य-सङ्कीर्ण-भेदनिर्णय

5 cf. Ibid, ch VII दोषदर्शन

6 cf. Ibid, ch VIII गुणालंकारभेदनियतगुणनिर्णय

7 cf. Ibid, ch. IX. शब्दालंकारनिर्णय.

The eighth chapter is अर्थान्कारवर्णन,¹ and is devoted to the figures of sense. The author has discussed here 70 Alamkāras in all, while the Kāvyaaprakāśa, his model, has given 61, and Hemacandra discusses in 31 Sūtras 29 figures of sense. Our author, though generally following Mammata, has arranged his figures in a different manner, beginning with Atīśayokti rather than Upamā. He has discussed and illustrated the following nine Arthālamkāras which are not to be found in Mammata—Ullekha, Parīṇāma, Vikalpa, Arthāpatti, Vicitra, Rasavat, Pieyah, Urjasvī and Samāhita (different from Samādhi). Though the figures Rasavat etc. are not theoretically acceptable to the author, he has included them in his comprehensive treatment, because some other rhetoricians have accepted them.² By defining and subdividing the figures in a simple and methodical manner and by profusely illustrating them the author has made his work scientific as well as interesting, and it can be said without exaggeration that the Alamkāramahodadhī is one of the most notable Alamkāra-works written by the Jaina authors after Hemacandra and the two Vāgbhatas.

260 Narendraprabhasūri appears to be a man of wide reading and notable scholarship, from the treatment he has given to his subject, from the accessory matter that he has added to the theoretical nucleus found in Mammata, and also from the authorities and illustrations that he has cited. As authorities he has cited the following—the Hīdayadaipana (p. 6) and its author Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka (p. 57), the Vākya-pāṇiniya (p. 15) and the Mahābhāṣya (pp. 15-16), Mukula (p. 36), Kāyāta (p. 44), Bharata and his commentator (p. 55), Lollata (p. 56), Śaṅkuka (p. 56), Abhinavagupta (p. 58), the grammar of Hemacandra, though it has not been expressly mentioned by name (pp. 166, 238, 315, 332), the Dhvanyākāra (pp. 182, 183), Vāmana (p. 190), and Kuntaka (p. 201) whose name is printed in the text as Kuttu(tta)ka. References to the following authors and works have been given—Kālidāsa (p. 6), Bharata, Cāṇakya, Vātsyāyana, the Śakuntalā and Kādambarī (p. 8), Anandavardhana (p. 11), Kāṇāda (p. 15), the Kumārasambhava (p. 180), the Venusambhāra (p. 180), the Viracarita (p. 181), the Hayagrīvavadha (p. 181), the Śiśupālavadha (p. 181), the Ratnāvalī (p. 181), the Arjunacarita (p. 183), the Nāgānanda (p. 183) and the Harsacarita (pp. 250, 304).

Development of Kavis'ikṣā-literature

261 The Kāvya-kalpalatā of Amaraśaṅkara and two Svopajña ('composed by the author himself') commentaries on it—viz. the Kavis'ikṣā and the Parimāla—form a notable work on Kavis'ikṣā or discipline of the poets, and were intended to supply a text-book for aspiring poets. As the commentary Kavis'ikṣā comments upon the text in a

1 cf. Ibid, ch. X अर्थान्कारनिर्णय

2 रसादयः पूर्वप्रतिपादितरूपाः सर्वस्येते च न कचिदात्मानं गुणीकृत्यापरस्व रसादेरेवाज्ञतामवयवता धारयन्ति तस्मिन् विषये स्मे रसवत्-प्रेय-ऊर्जस्वि-समाहितादिनामानोऽलङ्काराः कैश्चिदलङ्कारकैः कुरीकृता अतीकृता । p. 328.

It may be mentioned here that Mammata has referred to figures Rasavat etc. while discussing the Guṇibhūta Vyamgya (of Vṛtti on KP, V. 2)

more systematic consistent and faithful manner, is more well-known and has been published with the *Kāvyaikalpalatā* more than once, we shall take it first and shall treat of the *Parimāla* later on. But before that we should take a bird's eye view of the historical development of the literature on *Kavīśikṣā*. "These treatises do not deal with the conventional topics of poetics with its theories, dogmas and definitions, but they are meant chiefly as manuals to guide the poet in his profession, their primary object being *Kavīśikṣā* or instruction of the aspiring poet in the devices of the craft . . .

. . . The ancient as well as modern writers on general poetics, no doubt, touch occasionally upon the question of the practical training of the poet, and it is not improbable that this, in course of time, formed the object of a separate study and multiplied these convenient hand-books, of which necessarily we possess comparatively late specimens."¹ According to Dr. Jacobi, originally *ars poetica* in India did not go further than offering suggestions and advice on matters of poetic craftsmanship and formulating prescriptions for the practical guidance of the poet. This theme in later literature became a separate study when the theoretical aspects of the problems involved began to occupy an important place in the discipline.² The cultural equipment of the poet and his practical training were considered very important in ancient India, and the poet had to labour long in various fields of learning before he could please the *Sahrdaya* or the man of taste. *Bhāmaha* appears to be cognisant of the importance of the poet's training, but his remarks on these points are brief in comparison to *Vāmana's*, who deals with the subject elaborately for the first time. While not denying the supreme necessity of genius or poetic gift (*Satkavitva*, *Bhāmaha* I 4) which consists in *Pratibhā* (poetic genius), all writers, early or late, agree in emphasising the necessity of study and experience. The poet is thus required to be an expert in a long list of sciences or arts. The earliest is given by *Bhāmaha* (I. 9), where grammar, prosody, lexicography, stories based on *Itihāsa*, ways of the world, logic and the fine arts are mentioned as sources of poetic material. This agrees substantially with the list given by *Rudrata* (I 18). *Vāmana* (I. iii. 1-20) deals with the topic in greater detail, and requires the poet to be conversant with grammar, lexicon, metrics, arts, morals, erotics, politics and, above all, the ways and means of the world.³ The *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* of *Rājaśekhara* (circa 900 A. D.), a work of comparatively early date, mixes up the topics of *Kavīśikṣā* with those of poetics proper, at the same time giving us a somewhat rambling treatment of various extraneous matters, and includes the subjects like general geography, conventions observed by the poets, a disquisition on the seasons and an account of *Kavī-gosthī* etc., as of importance for the aspiring poet.

262. From this standpoint the two works of the Kāshmirian polymath

1 De, op cit., Vol II, p 356-57

2 Ibid, p. 43.

3 Ibid, p. 54.

Ksemendra (11th century A. D.)—viz. his *Aucityavicāracarcā* and *Kavī-kanthābharana*—are notable, as they appear to have been written for the guidance of the budding poets. But at the same time they are not full-fledged text-books on *Kavīśikṣā*, but are important in as much as they treat of some practical issues. Three notable Jaina rhetoricians, viz. Hemacandra and two Vāgbhataś wrote their works with a view to supplying suitable text-books, and consequently while discussing general principles, they incorporated hints on matters helpful in the practical task of poetic composition. It would be interesting to note that both Hemacandra and the younger Vāgbhata have borrowed considerably from Ksemendra and Rājaśekhara.¹ The oldest extant full-fledged *Kavīśikṣā*-work we get also from a Jaina writer from Gujaraṭ. It is styled as *Kavīśikṣā* and its author is one Jayamangala Ācārya. A very old palm leaf manuscript of the work has been preserved at the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Cambay.² As the work includes a stanza in praise of king Śidhharāja Jayasīma of Anahilavād Pāṭan, the author appears to have been a contemporary of that king and must have flourished about the first half of the twelfth century A. D. The *Kāvyaikalpalatā* of Amaracandra comes about a century after that. The *Kavīśikṣā* of Vinayacandra is a voluminous work on the same subject, especially interesting because it gives much important information about history, geography and about literary conditions in mediaeval India. A palm-leaf manuscript of Vinayacandra's work is available in the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Pāṭan.³ The author has been conjecturably put in the first half of the 13th century A. D.,⁴ but anyhow he is not earlier than the beginning of the 12th century A. D., because he refers to the poet Bīhlana.⁵

The *Kāvyaikalpalatā* and its commentary *Kavīśikṣā* by Amaracandra

263. Thus the *Kāvyaikalpalatā* of Amaracandra is one of the oldest extant works on the subject of *Kavīśikṣā*, and looking to its fame and popularity, it can be easily considered the most authoritative and instructive book on the practical aspect of the poet's work. The *Kāvyaikalpalatā* is in the form of *Kārikās*, the number of *Kārikās* as printed in the edition of the Kāshī Sanskrit Series being 798. The *Kavīśikṣā Vṛtti* is a running commentary on these *Kārikās*, strictly following the text, unlike the *Parimāla* which is rather a free, rambling exposition of the *Kārikās*. The *Gānthāgra* of the *Kavīśikṣā Vṛtti* is 3357 ślokaś.⁶ A brief summary of the main topics dealt with in the *Kāvyaikalpalatā* and thus *Vṛtti* will give an idea of the general scope and nature of *Kavīśikṣā* works.

264. The *Kāvyaikalpalatā* has been divided into four *Pratānas* or chapters—viz. (I) *Chandaśasidhhi*, (II) *Śabdāsīdhi*, (III) *Śleśāsīdhi*, and (IV)

1 Ibid, p. 366

2 Peterson, Report I, pp. 78-80.

3 PBC, pp. 46-50.

4 AM, intro, p. 18.

5 PBC, p. 49.

6 JRK, p. 89.

Arthasiddhi¹ The chapters are further subdivided into Stabakas or sections (i) The first section of the Chandaśiddhi is Anustup-śāsana Anustup being the most popular metre in Sanskrit poetry, the author has first given practical suggestions for composition in that metre. He has suggested suitable words which would fit in the Anustup, and has also given the method of scanning the syllables and the mātrās (ii) The second section is called Chandobhyāsa. It enumerates the principal metres having 9 to 21 syllables in a foot, and also the characteristics of the Āryā. For practical proficiency in metrical compositions the author has advised the practice in narrating stories and describing cities, daily works and worldly behaviour etc., which would give depth and range to the studies of the poet. He has also advised the rendering of one's own or another poet's ideas into the same or different metres, and conversion of one metre into another. The author has given illustrations of all these, and thus has helped the student with practical suggestions. After the student has learnt to compose in a number of metres, he is advised to know the Marma or secrets of the metres (Kārikā 31), and by comparison and contrast to make himself proficient in other metres also. Thus, for example, by adding a long and a short syllable at the end of Bhadrīkā metre we get Rathodbhātā, and by adding a long syllable we get Lātā, by adding a short syllable after the seventh syllable of the Vamśastha we get Mañjubhāmī, and so on (p 11). Thus after learning a few metres the budding poet can be at home with all the principal ones. At the end of the section the author has given a dissertation on the place of caesura (Yati) in the metre (iii) The third section is devoted to words (Sāmānya-śabdāḥ) for filling up the verse (Chanda-pūraṇa), which would be especially useful for the purposes of extempore poetry. The author has given a list of words containing one to four syllables which can be put in the beginning and the end of Anustup and other metres. He has illustrated both the feet of the Anustup in this way, and then has given similar treatment to other principal metres. (iv) The fourth section is entitled Vādaśikṣā². The author defines Vāda as

1 Titles of the chapters ending in the word Siddhi denoting accomplishment deserves notice, because all the chapters of the Siddhiviniśaya by the great scholar Akalanika (circa 643 A. D.) have the word Siddhi at the end of their titles, and there are some works of the Vedānta philosophy like Brahmasiddhi, Istasiddhi, Advaitasiddhi, etc. A work on Jyotiḥ by Udayaprabhasūri is called the Ārambhasiddhi (vide para 116 and 301). Thus the nomenclature of the chapters of the Kāvya-kalpalatā is significant, as it is the result of a scholarly and philosophic tradition which put emphasis on high accomplishment in learning as well as in spiritual attainment.

2 In ancient India Vāda or learned dispute was a subject of common importance to all the Śāstras and hence there are independent treatises on Vāda. The Buddhist scholar Vasubandhu has written a work called Vādaśikṣā which is extant only in its Tibetan translation (Winter-nitz, vol. II, p 632, Sanmatitarka, intro, p 79), and Siddhasena Divākara has composed a Vādopaniṣaddvāitrasikā which is seventh in his extant Ekavimsatī Dvāitrasikā.

follows—

वाडोऽनुप्रासयुक्तोक्तिः स्वोत्कर्षं परगर्हणा । कुलशास्त्रादिसंप्रश्नं स्वशास्त्राध्ययनप्रथा ॥

(K 44)

That is, by Vāda is meant pointed sayings full of Anuprāsa, praise of oneself and vituperation of opponents, and interrogation (of the opponent) with regard to his family and learning, and declaring one's own learning. All these points are duly illustrated in the commentary (p. 21-24), and a list of words which can be useful in forming Anuprāsa is given (p. 20-21). From the illustrations we get an idea as to how the learned men and the poets rivalled with one another in the assembly of the kings and the ministers in ancient and mediaeval India. The title of this section, Vādaśikṣā, suggests that it essentially deals with Vāda or learned disputes of which we get numerous accounts in old literature. (v) The fifth section is styled Varuṇa-sthiti, and enumerates subjects fit for description by the poets—like king, minister, priests, queens, prince, commander, country, village, city, lake, ocean, rivers, gardens, forest, hermitage, political counsels, messenger, battle, march, hunting, horses, elephants, rising of sun and moon, marriage, separation, collection of flowers, water-sports, love-sport, etc (Kārikā 45). Not satisfied by mere enumeration the author has given hints as to how to describe these topics, because his book is much more concerned with practice than with theory. Regarding the minister the author has said—

आन्वीक्षिकीवरीवार्तादृष्टनीतिज्ञतथम । क्रमागतो वणिक्पुत्रो भवेद्राज्यविवृद्धये ॥

(K. 55)

It is interesting that the minister has been described as coming from the merchant-class, because in mediaeval Gujaraṭ the business community used to work in political service and the author's patron, Vastupāla, was himself a member of that community.

Then the author has given a list of poetic conventions (Kāvīsamayas) as observed in Sanskrit literature for the guidance of his students

265. The second chapter, Śabdasiḍdhi, is divided into four sections. (i) The first chapter explains Rūḍha, Yaugika and Mīśra words, and cites copious illustrations to show that only those words which are well-known in literature can be used in poetry. (ii) The second section gives a list of Yaugika synonyms of things and personalities, real or fictitious, generally occurring in poetry, and advises the reader to choose from these words according as he desires to achieve verbal conciseness or elaboration (K 70). (iii) The third chapter gives a long list of words which would be useful in achieving Anuprāsa. Then the author has given a second list of words having the syllables Ka to Ma at the end, for help in writing poetry full of Anuprāsa and Yamaka. (iv) The fourth chapter explains Abhidhā, Lakṣanā and Vyañjanā at length. Then the author has given a list of Lakṣanika words useful in poetry (K. 183-206), suggesting how those words can be employed as Upamāna and Upameya. This section shows clear influence of the

Dhvani-school which had established itself long before the times of Amaraśāstra.

266. The third chapter Śleśasiddhi deals with employment of double-meaning, because it played an important part in Sanskrit poetry. It has been divided into four sections (i) The first section deals with composing of words in such a way that they can be read differently according as they are divided and gives a list of words useful in achieving Śleśa. (ii) The second section deals with a kind of Śleśa occurring in the description of an object by analogies, in which the same quality or condition is to be traced in the same words or in synonyms (iii) The third section is devoted to the cases of double meaning, produced by homonyms capable of widely different interpretations, and (iv) the fourth deals with the Citrakāvya. The author has given lists of words useful in composing the Citrakāvya—e.g., words having one and two syllables (pp 86–87 and 94–96), and roots with one syllable (pp 92–94), and also a list of words which can be read identically both ways (p 100). Different varieties of the Citrakāvya have been illustrated in this section—viz. स्वरचित्र, व्यञ्जनचित्र, गतिचित्र, आकारच्युत, मात्राच्युत, वर्णच्युत, and different kinds of गूढ.

267. The fourth chapter Arthasiddhi has been divided into seven sections. (i) The first section is devoted to the study of Alamkāras. First the author treats of the Upamā. He gives a list of words expressive of Upamā and also a concordance of particular Upameyas befitting particular Upamānas (pp. 105–107), and has set forth a number of practical suggestions for achieving proficiency in verses with good Upamās (pp 107–8), because according to him—उपमाया हि सिद्धया बहुलकानिद्वय (K 36), he has shown how by making slight changes in the Upamā, a number of other principal Alamkāras like Rūpaka, Ananyaya, Smarana, Sandeha, Apahnuti, Vyatireka, Utpreksā, etc are produced (p 109). The Rūpaka has been given a more detailed treatment. Hints as to how the Rūpaka should be composed and how one and the same idea can be expressed in different ways are given (pp 111–16). (ii–iv) The second, third and fourth sections lay down how the objects with different colours, actions and forms should be described (v) The fifth section explains at length how the poet should invent poetic conceits regarding support, surroundings and attributes of different objects, and thus describe them in a charming manner. Analogy is the principal method of good expression in poetry (K 163) and hence the author gives a long list of analogous things—e.g. sharp, great, auspicious, inauspicious, pure, impure, rapid, slow, strong, weak, cruel, merciful, or things like great sounds, beautiful men, great archers, learned kings, and so on (K 164–248). (vi) The sixth section is especially important to the student of Sanskrit poetry, because it gives a list of words expressive of numbers. We get here words expressive of the figures from one to twenty, and also of a hundred and a thousand (pp 143–48). It is a well-known convention among mediaeval Sanskrit authors to mention the year of composition of their works in a roundabout way by the help of such Saṃkhyā-sabdās, without giving the figures directly (cf. para 129). (vii)

The seventh section offers suggestions as to how to fill up different kinds of Samasyās. The filling up of Samasyās was a very important thing for a Sanskrit poet, especially when in public assembly or in poetic disputes, and our author has not failed to incorporate in his text-book the practical suggestions on that point.

Parimala—another Svopajñā commentary on the Kāvyaikalpalatā

268. Another Svopajñā commentary on the Kāvyaikalpalatā, viz the Parimala, cannot be described as a commentary in the technical sense, it is a free, rambling exposition of several points of the original text. The work is not printed. Unfortunately, both the manuscripts of the Parimala that I could procure from the Jaina Bhāṇḍār at Pāṭan end at the beginning of the second chapter (Śabdāsiddhi) at almost identical places, and hence I have not been able to study the whole of this interesting work. A third manuscript of the Parimala has been noticed by Prof H. R. Kapadia in his introduction (p. 42) to the Padmānanda Mahākāvya, but that also being incomplete is not useful for our purpose. The Granthāgā of the Parimala has been given by the Jaina Granthāvalī as 1122 ślokaś,¹ but it seems to be wrong. The approximate Granthāgā of the Pāṭan manuscripts, both of which are incomplete from the beginning of the second chapter, has been calculated by Mr. Muralīlāl Nāgar as 4500 ślokaś, and we may assume that the entire work being a commentary on four chapters would not be less than ten or eleven thousand ślokaś. While commenting upon the second section of the first chapter the author has dealt with prosody at considerable length, and has treated of the Apabhraṃśa metres, like Hemacandra in his Chandonuśāsana. Here the author has laid down the characteristics of six types of Prākṛits, generally following Hemacandra. In the fifth section, Amaracandra has enumerated different Vidyās, arts and different kinds of weapons, forms of gods and goddesses, tenets of different schools of philosophy, and subjects of general knowledge useful for the poet in his craft. The erotic sentiment is the favourite subject of Sanskrit poets, and hence the author has dwelt upon erotics, covering all its topics from the classification of different types of men and women as laid down in the Kāmasāstra, to love-sports. Then the characteristics of the Nāyaka or hero and Prātināyaka or hero's rival as well as those of the Nāyikās or heroines are given. Describing the nature of all creatures (Sarvajīva), the commentary dwells upon the characteristics of the creatures without feet (serpents etc.), bipeds (men, gods and birds), quadrupeds, and creatures with six feet (bees etc.) which might prove of use in composing poetry. Moreover, the author has given Purāṇic geography and something of the geography of India known in his times. While speaking of division of time, starting from the smallest division, he comes to the year, and then says—

देवशता च भेदादिर्लोकानां धान्नादिक ।

(folio 69)²

1 JG, p. 216, following it JRK, p. 89

2 The numbers of folios of the Parimala mentioned here are of ms. no. 9511 of Śrī Hemacandrācārya Jaina Jñāna Mandira of Pāṭan.

which shows that in the times of Amaraçandra in certain parts of Gujarāt at least, the beginning of the year was considered from the month of Śrāvana. It is interesting to note here that two works of the Jaina canon, viz. the Bhagavati Sūtra (XVIII. 10) and the Jñānīdharmā Kathā (p. 107) refer to the *śrāvaṇa*-year, and the Arthaśāstra of Kauṇḍilya (Adhikarana II, Adhyāya 7) also mentions it. After this, the author speaks about the glories of the seasons—especially the spring, of the trees blossoming in it, and of their Dola-das or longings. Thus after mentioning a great many of details useful to the poet, Amaraçandra completes his Parimāla on the last section of the first chapter. Then begins the commentary on the second chapter, but both the manuscripts procured by me end even before the second section of the second chapter is completed. The Kaviśikṣā Vṛtti leaves the list of Yaugic words (second section of the second chapter) uncommented, which the Parimāla expounds at length, while the Parimāla leaves the first section uncommented which has been commented upon by the Kaviśikṣā Vṛtti.

269. The Kāvyaakalpalatā and both the commentaries on it consider the practical, rather mechanical, and not the scholarly or theoretical side of poetry, and hence do not contain many quotations or references to authorities. In the Kaviśikṣā Vṛtti, Amaraçandra mentions his own works—the Chandoratnāvalī, the Mañjarī, the Parimāla and Alamkāraprabodha,¹ and at one place he has cited the authority of the grammarian Śākātāyana (p. 28). In the Parimāla, we find the authority of Bharata quoted (folio 64), and also of the Chandoruśāsana (folios 2, 9) and the Grammar (folio 11) of Hemacandra. There is a reference to the Mālatīmādhava (folio 61), a quotation from the Raghuvamśa (folio 1), from the poet Dhanapāla (folio 9),² who was a contemporary of king Bhoja of Dhārā and lived in the 10th century A. D., and also from Mānikyasūri (folio 1)³, presumably the author of the Samketa on the Kāvyaaprakāśa.

270. The above analysis of the contents of the Kāvyaakalpalatā would show how it gives practical instructions for the craft of the poet. It seems from the manner in which Amaraçandra has handled his subject-matter, that he himself must have passed at some time through the discipline laid down in the book. The account given by the Prabandhakōśa of the testing of the poetic faculties of Amaraçandra by the court-poets of king Viśaladeva (vide para 103) is very interesting when considered from this point of view. In ancient India, poetry was not merely a matter of subjective expression for the poet. The poet had to try to please a particular audience. When a new work was published, it was to be submitted to and approved by assemblies of experts, as we are told by Rājasekhara and others, and the poet was

1 cf Para 164 and 106

2 यथा वनपान्थस्य-ननुरकिरीटसदृशचरण, जय भगवति सीतजनैकशरण०

3 यदुक्तं श्रीमाणिक्यसरिणि —

स्तुत्य तद्वास्ति नूनं न जगनि जनना यत्र वाधा विदध्या-

दन्योन्यस्पर्शिनोऽपि त्वयि तु शुभविधौ वादिनो निर्विनाशः ।

यत्तच्चित्रं न किञ्चिद् स्फुरति मतिमता मानसे विश्रमात-

त्रास्ति त्वं येन धर्मे सकलजनयमयं रूपमर्हत्तुल्यम् ॥

expected to fulfil all the demands of the theory. Works like the *Kāvya-kalpalatā* of Amaraçandra teach the aspiring poet how to fulfil those demands. From such works we get a glimpse of the methods by which the students were taught to compose poetry, provided they had some natural talent. The work teaches the intricacies of metres, shows how to weave out poetic figures, shows the tricks of producing double meaning and manipulating complicated schemes of alliteration and rhyming, gives the secrets of quick compositions and making complete strophes out of broken lines and sentences. Though on the whole the thing is mechanical, it gives very important hints to the young poets and shows to what an extent the author was a past master in his craft and an erudite scholar of rhetoric.

271. A number of later writers have been deeply influenced by the *Kāvya-kalpalatā*. The *Kāvya-kalpalatā* of Devaçvara (circa 14th century A. D.) closely follows in its treatment of the subject and general arrangement the work of Amaraçandra, and at several places Devaçvara has copied down wholesale from his predecessor. He borrows literally most of the rules and definitions, and repeats the illustrative stanzas.¹ This copying is not sporadic but systematic and is found throughout the work, from which we may infer that Devaçvara must have before him the text of Amaraçandra's work. A considerable portion of the treatment given to his subject by Amaraçandra has been reproduced by Keçavamiçra (16th century A. D.) in his *Alamkāraśekhara*,² though the latter text deals, besides *Kavīśikṣā*, with the ordinary topics of poetics. And to this day, the *Kāvya-kalpalatā* of Amaraçandra has enjoyed the fame of being a unique text-book on the subject of *Kavīśikṣā* among the scholars of Sanskrit throughout India.

1 De, op cit, vol I, p. 212.

2 Ibid, pp. 261 ff.

CHAPTER XV

WORKS ON GRAMMAR

Systems of Sanskrit Grammar

272 As is well-known, Vyākaraṇa is one of the six Vedāṅgas or accessory sciences to the study of the Veda, which were principally concerned with the preservation and interpretation of the sacred texts. The Padapāṭha of the Rgveda prepared by Śākalya, the Prātisākhya and the Śikṣā are works which show what a great care was taken to preserve and pronounce the texts in their correct form, and from the Nirukta of Yāska (circa 700 B C.) we know how etymological and philological discussions were carried on with the Vedic texts as their data, and how the different schools of interpretation had established themselves by the times of Yāska. But while discussing the grammatical problems connected with ancient texts, the grammarians had to take some cognisance of the current speech of the people also, and it was probably from this tendency that the secular grammars arose. The first available grammar which deals with the current usage of Sanskrit as contrasted with the archaic language of the scriptures is the monumental Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini (circa 500 B C.), who cites by name many predecessors including Śākatāyana (III iv iii), Āpiśali (VI i 91), Sphotāyana (VI i 123), Śākalya (I i 16), Cākraṇa (VI i 128), Senaka (V iv 112), Gārgya (VIII iii 20), and Gālava (VI. iii 61), testifying to the fact that Pāṇini had several important works on grammar before him. From Pāṇini's references to 'the easterners' some scholars have inferred the existence of the Andra school of grammarians which was supplanted by his grammar¹. In addition to the great Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (circa 120 B C.), there are several accessory treatises on the Sūtras of Pāṇini, out of which may be mentioned the Vārttika of Kātyāyana (circa 350 B C.), the Kāśikā Vṛtti of Jayāditya and Vāmana (7th century A D.), the Dhātupāṭha, the Unādisūtra traditionally ascribed to Śākatāyana or Vararuci, and the Phitsūtra of Śāntanava, these were followed by a number of important works, which we are not mentioning here.

273. After the times of Pāṇini, grammar occupied a very important place in the literary and scientific studies in India, and every student had to get at least a working knowledge of the Śabdaśāstra, and in course of time different schools of grammar arose in different parts of India. The oldest among these schools was probably the Kātantra, also known as the Kaumāra or Kālāpa. This school had much influence in Kāśmīr and Bengal, and was generally followed by all sections of the people in Gujarāt before Hemacandra wrote his grammar.² The Cāndra Vyākaraṇa of Candragomin (circa 470 A D.) was popular in the Buddhist countries, Kāśmīr, Tibet,

1 Belvalkar, Systems of Sanskrit Grammar, pp 10 ff

2 PT, Vol. II, p 419

Nepal, and reached Ceylon.¹ The Sārasvata school of grammarians cannot be put down to a date very much earlier than 1250 A. D.² The influence of this school was mostly limited to Gujarāt, Rājasthān, the region around Delhi and Bengal, and it continued in vigour down to the modern revival of Pāṇini under the auspices of Bhattojī Dikṣita (circa 1630 A. D.) and his pupils, when all the other schools of grammar began to decline.³ Among other noteworthy schools are the Jaumāra school of Kramadīśvara (after 1150 A. D.)⁴ which takes its name from Jaumāranandi, the most celebrated writer of the school, and the school of Bopadeva (13th century A. D.), the author of the Mugdhabodha.

274. The Jainas have also got their own systems of grammar, and the schools of Jainendra, Śākatāyana and Hemacandra have their own tradition and following. The authorship of the Jainendra grammar has been traditionally ascribed to the last Jina Mahāvīra, but it is the work of Pūjyapāda Devanandi, and on consideration of historical evidence scholars have put it in the later part of the fifth century A. D.⁵ It is a condensation of Pāṇini and the Vārttikas. Jain Śākatāyana who belonged to the Yāpanīya samgha is different from the ancient grammarian bearing that name, and wrote his Śabdānuśāsana in the 9th century A. D.⁶ Though it was primarily meant for the Jainas, it was also studied among other communities, if we are to judge from references in later grammatical literature.⁷ We have already seen in the first chapter how Hemacandra's grammar, which contains the detailed treatment of both Sanskrit and Prākṛit languages, including Apabhraṃsa, was written at the request of king Siddharāja Jayasīma. Hemacandra's grammar nearly supplanted all other systems of grammar among the Jainas in Gujarāt, and in the study of Prākṛits its position has always remained supreme. In addition to the commentaries and other accessory treatises which Hemacandra wrote on his grammar, the Jaina scholars have composed, right up to the 18th century, and in a few cases even upto this day, a large number of works annotating, abridging, simplifying and recasting for the convenience of students the monumental work of Hemacandra.⁸

The Syādis'abdasamuccaya of Amaraśāstrī

275 Both the works which are to be reviewed here, viz. the Syādis'abdasamuccaya of Amaraśāstrī and the Prākṛitprabodha or Prākṛitadīpikā of

1 Belvalkar, op. cit., pp 57 ff.

2 Ibid, p 91

3 Ibid, p 92.

4 Keith, Sanskrit Literature, p. 432

5 Belvalkar, op. cit., p 64. Also vide Premi, Jaina Sahitya aur Itihāsa, pp 93 ff.

6 Ibid, p. 69. Also vide Premi, op. cit., pp 150 ff.

7 Ibid, p 68

8 For a list of such works written upto the 18th century, vide Pt Bechardas, PT, Vol IV, pp 80 f.

Naracandrasūri are accessory treatises to the grammar of Hemacandra, the former being on its Sanskrit section and the latter on its eighth chapter dealing with Prākṛits. First we take the Syādisābhasamuccaya. The name स्यादि is a technical term of the Hemacandra-school deriving its authority from his grammar I. 1 17 (सौजसित्वादि .), the nominative singular termination being सि (cf. Pāṇini, IV. 1 2, खोजमोद्गम्या भिद् etc., Hemacandra changing सु to सि), and hence by स्यादि is meant the declensional terminations beginning with सि. The work deals in four chapters with nominal, pronominal and numeral declensions. It is written in flowing Kārikās, and the four chapters contain 26, 23, 2 and 3 Kārikās respectively.

276. The first Kārikā is employed for the Māṅgala, and Kārikās 2-4 give the classification of words into nine divisions with respect to gender, and in these divisions the author has followed the Limgānuśāsana of Hemacandra. Words are (1) masculine, (2) feminine, (3) neuter, (4) both masculine and feminine (5) both feminine and neuter, (6) both masculine and neuter, (7) with indefinite gender, अलिङ्गा, e. g. शुभद्, असद्, etc., (8) used in all the three genders, त्रिलिङ्गा, e. g. कन्दर्प-लोल, नृणां-लील, गङ्गा-दीर्घ, etc., (9) Those words the genders of which are determined by the genders of words with which they are used in the same case, वाच्यलिङ्गा, e. g. शुक्र, कृष्ण, अरुण, etc. As stated above, the author treats of nouns, pronouns and numerals. In the treatment of nouns he has tried to become elaborate, while dealing with the pronouns and numerals, he has given mere enumeration of head-words, dismissing them in five Kārikās only.

277. (i) The first chapter divides words into स्वतन्त्र and व्यञ्जनान्त, and classifies the स्वतन्त्र words only. Words ending in अ, आ, इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ऋ, ॠ, ए, ऐ, ओ, औ are arranged in order of पुल्लिङ्ग स्त्रीलिङ्ग, नपुंसकलिङ्ग and वाच्यलिङ्ग, respectively. (ii) The second chapter treats of the व्यञ्जनान्त words, and the same system of classification has been adhered to. (iii) The third chapter treats of pronouns in 3 Kārikās, and the author gives practically nothing more than the enumeration of the सर्वादिगण given in the Pāṇinian Gauapāṭha and accepted by Hemacandra. (iv) In the fourth chapter the first Kārikā touches the numerals in a single line—

एकाद्या सदस्याशब्दा त्वु स्वस्वोक्तप्रक्रियास्तृशः ।

and then goes to a meagre enumeration of the words having more than one gender, having three genders, and having indefinite gender.

278. The chief merit of this work giving declensional formations is this that it is convenient to memorise, being written in the form of the Kārikās. It is probably on account of this feature that it became popular among the students, and numerous manuscripts of it, along with the commentary of Jayānanda, whose date is unknown, are found in the old Bhāṇḍārs.

279. The Granthāgra of the Prākṛtaprabodha or Prākṛtadīpikā of Naracandrasūri is 1420 śloka¹. It has not been printed as yet, and is available

only in manuscript-form. The work purports to explain the formation of the illustrations provided by Hemacandra in his *Svopajña Vṛtti* on the 8th book of his *Śabdānuśāsana*, i. e., his *Prākṛit* grammar,¹ with the help of the aphorisms in that book. The work being strictly limited to the *Prākṛit* grammar, the aphorisms pertaining to Sanskrit of the first seven *Adhyāyas* of Hemacandra's grammar are quoted rarely, only about half a dozen times. However, it proceeds on the same principles of arriving at nominal or verbal base, as is found in the Sanskrit grammar of Hemacandra.² This, however, in no case, limits the application of separate rules for the *Prākṛits*.³ The writer invariably refrains from giving the full text of the *Sūtras* of the 8th chapter (e. g. दीर्घद्वौ for दीर्घद्वौ मियो वृत्तौ । VIII. 1. 4) He has taken upon himself the task of applying the *Sūtras* to explain the changes in *Prākṛit* words as illustrated in the *Vṛtti*, and not of explaining the *Sūtras*, the meaning of which he assumes to have been understood by the reader. In the beginning, the author has explained the formation of each and every word, but he seems to be in a hurry with the advance of the work, and in the later part of the book, many words, apparently easy and not requiring much explanation are omitted. He seldom uses *Paubhāsās* or rules of interpretation,⁴ and does not explain the words which are directly borrowed in *Prākṛit* from the original Sanskrit without any change, e. g. उपरि, वन्दे, etc.

280. Throughout the four *Pādas* of the 8th book a number of *Sūtras* have been omitted by the author. He seems to have considered certain *Sūtras* unimportant. The *Sūtras* treating of solitary changes, interjections (II. 193-203), some of the initial *Sūtras* (I 2 and I 3), and those treating of pronominal declensions (III 107-17 and IV 372-76) are omitted.

281. As Naracandra mentions at the end of his work, the *Prākṛita-prabodha* was written at the request of his students⁵, and it is nothing more than a practical manual for the students for understanding the formation of the *Prākṛit* words, just as his *Anargharāghava Tīppana* is a student's guide to that drama. Naracandra has laid down from this view-point limits of the treatment of his subject-matter in the very beginning, and we can just infer from such works how careful he was of the needs of his students.

1 See the *Mangala* verse—

प्रणम्य परम ज्योतिर्योतिताशेषवाङ्मयम् । सिद्धहेम । एमा व्यायरूपमिद्विविधीयते ॥

2 सस्कृतलक्षणे धातुप्रत्ययादिसिद्धाया प्रकृती पश्चाद् विभक्त्यादिविहितया प्राकृतलक्षणेऽभिप्राय । intro.

3 प्राकृतलक्षणसिद्धा प्रकृतिमाधाय तदनन्तर विभक्त्यादिप्रक्रिया कर्तव्या, नान्यथा, क्रममङ्गप्रमत्तात् । intro

4 There are only two solitary examples— (1) निमित्ताभाते नैमित्तिकस्य गम्याभाव । PP, I. 6, and अत्र स्थानित्वपरिभाषया अनित्याश्रयणात् सत्यादेजे स्यात्पत्ति । PP, III 180

5 Concluding verse of the PP—

नानाविधैर्विरचिता विबुधैः स्वतुङ्गता ता रूपसिद्धिमसिन्धुमवलोक्य शिष्ये ।

अभ्याथितो मुनिरनुज्झितसप्रदायमारुह्यमेतत्करोतश्चन्द्रनागा ॥

CHAPTER XVI

A WORK ON METRICS

Science of metrics in Sanskrit

282 Chandas or metrics, like the Vyākaraṇa, is also one of the six Vedāṅgas. The origin of the vedic metres may probably date back to the Indo-Iranian period, but the science of metrics can be considered to have begun from the time when inquiries into the nature of metrics were seriously made. The earliest attempts are found in Indian literature in the Nidānasūtra of the Sāmaveda, the S'āṃkhāyana Śrautasūtra (vii 2), in the Rk Prātisākhya and also in the Anukramanī of Kātyāyana. "Our authorities leave us wholly in the dark regarding the development of metre between the Vedic and classical periods of Sanskrit, and it is hardly very profitable speculating exactly why there grew up in Sanskrit poetry the use of metres with a determined length of quarter-stanzas or lines, each line being built exactly on the same model, while the first two and the last two lines were more closely combined than the second and the third, between which a complete caesura was essential."¹ The Sūtras of Piṅgala contain a section on the Vedic metres, but the treatise as a whole is meant as a manual on classical prosody. Among earlier writers on prosody quoted by Piṅgala are Kraustuki, Tandin, Yaska, Kāśyapa, S'aitava, Rāta and Māṇḍavya.² The name of Piṅgala became so proverbial in course of time that the word Piṅgala itself came to mean "the science of prosody", as can be seen from the title Prākṛta Piṅgala given to a work on Prākṛit metres composed about the 13th or 14th century A. D. Scholars believe that Piṅgala is earlier than the chapters XIV and XV of the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata which deal with metres and the relevant section of the Agni Purāṇa.³ We get numerous treatises on metrics after the time of these early authorities. A short manual known as the Śrutabodha is ascribed to Kālidāsa, but there are no means of identifying the author with the author of the Śakuntalā and Raghuvamśa. In chapter CIV of his Bṛhatsamhitā, Varāhamihira (circa 550 A. D.) describes various metres simultaneously with the planetary movements, and by the 11th century A. D. we get the Suvṛttatilaka of Keśamendra, which is noteworthy because the author deals with his subject not only from the practical, but also from the aesthetic point of view. In the 12th century Hemacandra wrote his elaborate manual Chandosāsana, which is very important because of the bulky sections on the Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa metres.

The Chandoratnāvalī of Amaraçandra

283. Amaraçandrasūri, who was, as we have seen, one of the foremost figures in the literary circle of Vastupāla, has also written a work

1 Keith, Sanskrit Literature, p. 417.

2 Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 902.

3 Keith, op. cit., p. 416.

on metrics, called the Chandoratnāvalī. Amaraśāstra comes about a century after Hemacandra, and being a Jaina writer from Gujārāt, his work shows considerable influence of Hemacandra, and at times he borrows wholesale from his great predecessor. The Chandoratnāvalī is unprinted as yet. None of its several manuscripts examined by me has noted its Granthāgra, but according to a rough calculation made by me it is about 820 ślokaś. Hemacandra's work is much more extensive, and its Granthāgra along with that of the Svopajñā Vitti is about 3124 ślokaś.¹ Thus the Chandoratnāvalī being only about one-fourth in extent in comparison with the Chandonuśāsana, its treatment is naturally less elaborate, though in general plan it is remarkably similar to Hemacandra. As we have seen before (para 106 and 269), Amaraśāstra has referred to the Chandoratnāvalī in his Kāvya-kalpalatā, and it is possible that he might have considered this short treatise on metrics as a companion-volume to his work on Kāvyaśikṣā, as both deal with subjects which are of much practical use in the craft of the poet.

284. The Chandoratnāvalī is divided into 9 chapters. The first chapter is called the सङ्ग्राह्य,² and explains the Saṃjñās or terminology used in the work, like वर्णगण, मात्रागण, वृत्त, समवृत्त, विषमवृत्त, अर्धसमवृत्त, पाद यति, etc. The second chapter is styled the समवृत्ताध्याय.³ It deals with various Samavṛttas, and in the end treats of a number of Dandakas, and arrangement of Ganas in them.⁴ The third chapter is अर्धसमवृत्ताध्याय⁵ and the fourth is विषमवृत्ताध्याय,⁶ and both deal with the Sama and Visama metres respectively. The fifth chapter is मात्रावृत्ताध्याय, and lays down the characteristics of metres like Āryā, Gītī and their various types. The sixth chapter is styled the प्रस्ताराध्याय,⁷ and deals with the exposition of prosody mathematically developed in the calculations of combinations. The seventh chapter is प्राकृतछन्दोऽध्याय,⁸ and deals with various types of Gāthā, Āryā, Galitā, Khaṇḍjaka, Dvīpadī, Khaṇḍagītī, etc., which are Mātrāvṛttas principally of the Prākṛit languages. The eighth and ninth chapters are described as उत्साहादिप्रतिपादन⁹ and पदपदीद्विपदीचतुष्पदीव्यावर्णन,¹⁰ and deal with Apabhraṃśa metres like Ūtsāha, Rāsaka, Dvīpadī, Catuspadī, Rāsāvalaya, Adilā, Vastū, Karpūra, Kumkuma, Vadanaka, different types of Dhavalamangala, Fulladaka, Jhambadaka, Ullāla, Catuskala, Śat-kala, Śatpadī and many others. The author has also laid down the numerous sub-varieties of some of them, has shown how the permutations and combinations of the metres can be made, and has given the characteristics of

1 JG, p 317

2 cf CHA, ch I सङ्ग्राह्य

3 of Ibid, ch. II समवृत्ताध्याय

4 Hemacandra also lays down the characteristics of different types of Dandakas at the end of his second chapter.

5-6 cf CHA, ch III. अर्धसमविषमवैतालीयमात्रासमन्तादिव्यावर्णन

7 cf Ibid, ch VIII प्रस्ताराध्याय

8 cf Ibid, ch IV आर्यागलितकसज्जगीर्णव्यावर्णन

9 cf Ibid, ch V उत्साहादिप्रतिपादन

10 cf Ibid, ch. VI. पदपदीचतुष्पदीशासन, ch. VII द्विपदीव्यावर्णन

Sandhi, Kadavaka and Dhruvā, which are important units in versification in the Apabhramśa narrative poetry.

285. Amaraçandra has cited a number of authorities in his work. In chapter I and II he has quoted the opinions of Bharata, Jayadeva,¹ Pīṅgala and Svayambhū,² especially while giving the alternative names of different metres. In chapter III he has quoted the verses of Dhaṇapāla (10th century A. D.) and Hemacandra. Chapter VII cites a Prākṛit verse in praise of king Kumārāpāla (निरिमलनायभूवङ्कुलगणमयंकुं) and also quotes from the Ratnāvalī I 13 (कुनुमाउहपिअदूअओं). From this chapter begins the treatment of Prākṛit and Apabhramśa metres, and here the author frankly acknowledges his indebtedness to the Chandonuśāsana of Hemacandra, which is alternatively known as the Chandascūlāmaṇī.³ Chapter VIII and IX which deal with Apabhramśa metres are also very interesting from the literary point of view, because they quote a number of verses from the Apabhramśa literature. Some of the verses are taken from the Chandonuśāsana, as the author is deeply indebted to that work. I shall cite only a few illustrations which are also important from the viewpoint of literary history. At one place in chapter IX five Dūhās of poet Muñja are compared with the five arrows of the god of love—

चूडुछउ वाहोहजलु नयणा कञ्जुवि समवण । इय मुजि रइया दूहटा पच वि कामहु पंच सर ॥⁴

"Five Dūhās composed by Muñja, containing the words चूडुछउं, वाहोहजलुं, नयणां, कञ्जुविं and समवणं are like the five arrows of Kāma."

Two out of these five Dūhās are also given by the author—

चूडुहउ चुणीहोइमः मुद्धि कवोलि निहितउ । निद्वद्वउ सासानणि वाहसल्लिससितउ ॥⁵

"O shy one ! the bangle on your hand, when put on the cheeks, will break to pieces being burnt by the fire of your breath and then sprinkled over by the water of your tears"

त वेत्तिउ वाहोहजलु निहिण निरु वि न पचु । छिमछिमिवि गंटद्वलिहि सिमसिमिवि समनु ॥⁶

1 Jayadeva had written a treatise on metrics in the Sūtra style. He has been quoted as a master of metrics and music by Abhinavagupta (circa 1000 A. D.) in his Abhinavabhāratī (Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 902) and he must have, therefore, lived before his time.

2 We know of two well-known Apabhramśa poets—Caturmukha Svayambhū and his son Tribhuvana Svayambhū, who lived between the 8th and 10th century A. D. (M. C. Modi, BHV, Vol. I, pp. 157 ff.) We do not know whether one of them was identical with Svayambhū quoted by Amaraçandra.

3 प्राह्नाष्टपयोगानि छन्दसि कतिचिद् ह्ये । एषा च रक्षण लक्ष्य लिखिष्यामि पृथक् पृथक् ॥

श्रीहेमसूरिप्रणीतछन्दश्चूडामणेरिह । किञ्चित् किञ्चन चान्यसाहस्य छन्दोऽभिधान्वितन् ॥

(VII. 1-2)

4 cf. CHA, commentary on VI. 20.

5 cf. Ibid. This verse with slight variations in reading is also found in the Prākṛit grammar of Hemacandra (IV. 395)

6 cf. Ibid.

"So much water, of tears could not reach even the breasts. It simply disappeared (evaporated) on the (very hot) cheeks, making a sound."

We do not exactly know who this poet Muñja was. The Prabandhacintāmaṇi has nine Apabhramśa verses bearing the name of Muñja¹, and there Muñja is none but the king of Mālvā, who was a great patron of learning and lived, in the 10th century A. D. It is quite possible that the erotic verses ascribed to Muñja and quoted by Hemacandra and Amaraçandra may be from the pen of this poet-king.

CHAPTER XVII

A WORK ON NYĀYA

The Vaiśeṣika school and the Nyāyakandali

286 Now we take up Naracandrasūri's Tīppana on the Nyāyakandali of Śrīdhara (991 A. D.), which is a commentary on the Bhāṣya of Praśastapāda (5th century A. D.) on the Vaiśeṣikasūtras of Kanāda. As is well-known, the Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya are two of the six traditional Darśanas. In their earlier stages of development the two grew up as independent systems of thought. The Nyāya or the discipline of logic really originated in the earlier discussions in the Brāhmaṇas, which were later on systematized in the Nyāya section of the Mīmāṃsā. In fact, with appropriate variation, Nyāya or logic was a part of every school of Indian thought—Vedic, Jaina and Buddhist. But in the early centuries of the Christian era the Nyāya, as systematized by Gautama in his Nyāyasūtras, became a Darśana by itself, and adopted the Vaiśeṣika metaphysics to complete itself as a Darśana. The Vaiśeṣikasūtras are believed to be probably earlier than the Nyāyasūtras¹. The Vaiśeṣika was primarily a school of metaphysics, basing itself on the atomic theory. In its early history it had its own system of Pramāṇa. But later on the Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣika became cognate systems, the Vaiśeṣika giving prominence to the metaphysical aspect, while the Nyāya emphasised the logical aspect.

287 It is difficult to trace the early history of the seven Padārthas or categories of the Vaiśeṣika school; but we can say that the atomic theory and the theory of Viśeṣas or particulars is very old one, the traces of which can be found in Pāli literature as well as in the Jaina Canon. The Milindapañha (circa 1st century A. D.)² gives the words Nīti (i. e. Nyāya) and Vaiśeṣika³. In several works of the Jaina canon like the Sthānāṅga Sūtra (ch 7), the Samavāyāṅga Sūtra (p 40), etc., and also in the Viśeṣavākyaka Bhāṣya (vv 2451-2508) we find a reference to the school of thought called the Terāsiya or Trairāsiṣika. The summary of the principles of this school given by the Jaina works is "clearly Vaiśeṣika, of the Kanāda type, nine substances, seventeen qualities, five forms of motion, particularity, and inherence with, however, three forms of generality somewhat obscurely phrased."⁴ The Jainas also accept a sort of atomic theory—the theory of Pudgalas—for explaining the constitution of matter. Thus there seems to be some relation between the Jaina theory of matter and the Vaiśeṣika theory of atoms. This may explain why some Jaina writers in mediaeval times wrote commentaries on the Vaiśeṣika works. In fact, Naracandrasūri was only following this tradition in writing his gloss on the Nyāyakandali

1 Keith, Indian Logic and Atomism, pp 23 f

2 Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol II, p 175

3 Keith, op. cit, p 14

4 Ibid, p 14

on the Bhāṣya of Prasastapāda, and Rājaśekharaśūri (circa 1349 A. D.) in writing his Pañjikā on the same work

288. Old commentaries on the Bhāṣya of Prasastapāda, like the Vyomavati of Vyomas'ivācārya (7th century A. D.),¹ the Kiranāvali of Udayanācārya (984 A. D.) and the Nyāyakandalī of S'rīdharācārya have always wielded great influence among the students of the Vaiśeṣika school, and are considered as land-marks in the history of the system. The Nyāyakandalī, along with other two works, had become popular among students and was used as a text-book in higher studies of logic. That was especially the case in mediaeval Gujarāt, because two out of a very few available commentaries on the Nyāyakandalī—the Tīppana by Naracandrasūri and the Pañjikā by Rājaśekharaśūri—were composed in Gujarāt, as I have just pointed out, great logician Vādī Devasūri (12th century A. D.) in his Syādvādaratnākara has often referred to and also quoted from S'rīdhara mentioning him by his name and also as the Kandalikāra (e g—pp 328, 412, 416, 852, 923, etc.); and Jayasimhasūri, a Jaina writer from Gujarāt, has cited with respect the opinion of the author of the Nyāyakandalī in his Nyāyatātparyadipikā (circa 1366 A. D.), which is a commentary on the Nyāyasāra of Bhāsarvajña (तथा च प्रतिपादयाजकार श्रीकन्दलीकार, p 47). We are to study here the Tīppana of Naracandrasūri who, as I have already mentioned, was not only proficient in Nyāya, but was also an adept in different Śāstras like poetics, grammar and astrology, and also in Jaina religious studies (para 119).

Naracandra's Tīppana on the Nyāyakandalī

289. The Nyāyakandalī expounds the contents of the monumental work of Prasastapāda, and naturally the author who wanted to write a gloss upon the Nyāyakandalī must be not only a profound logician, but also a deep scholar of other systems of philosophy, as Naracandrasūri was. Naracandra's Tīppana is not printed, and is available in manuscript-form only. Its Granthāgra is 2500 ślokaś,² and as such it is very short in comparison to the Nyāyakandalī, still it shows the author's thorough grasp and his lucid exposition of the subject-matter. Naracandra's work has merit in another respect too. Though he was a staunch Jaina, he treated the subject as an adherent of the Vaiśeṣika system, following a great tradition of Indian savants like Vācaspati Miśra (841 A. D.), who composed great expository treatises on the texts of the Vedānta, Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya schools—the tradition of remaining faithful to the work which they were expounding. A few illustrative quotations would go a long way to show this.

290. Naracandra writes as follows, commenting upon the words अद्वितीयन् and ज्ञानात्मने occurring in the benedictory verse of the Nyāyakandalī—अद्वितीयत्वं वेदान्ताभिप्रायेण, विदितानि आश्रितानि बन्धनानि येन स्वयं नित्यमुक्तत्वात् । अथवा महेश्वरोऽपि पुरुषेषु उत्तम

1 Mahendrakumār Śāstrī, intro. to the Prameyakamalāmārtanda, pp 8 ff.

2 JRK, p. 219.

इति तस्यैव नमस्कारो, अत्राद्वितीयमिति न विग्रहे द्वितीयो यस्य, ज्ञानात्मने इति ज्ञानधर्मवते इत्यर्थः । आत्मशब्दो धर्मस्यैव वर्तते यथा घटत्वं घटस्य स्वरूप घटस्य धर्म इत्यर्थः ।¹ In this way, though beginning the interpretation from the view-point of the Vedānta, Naracandra has concluded it from the stand-point of a Naiyāyika.

In the same way, commenting upon the half-verse पराञ्चि खानि व्यवृण्व स्वयम्भूः तस्मात् परान् पश्यति नान्तरात्मा quoted by the Nyāyakandalī (p. 57), Naracandra writes—पराञ्चि खानि इति । ब्रह्मा पराञ्चि बाह्यावेन्द्राहकाणीन्द्रियाणि सृष्ट्वास्तत्कारणादसृष्टादिशरीरान्निर्वर्तमान आत्मा परान् शरीराद्युपादानयोग्यान् परमाणून् पश्यति । परो ह्यर्थे इन्द्रियैरेव ग्राह्यो नात्मना, इन्द्रियाणि च न परमाणुग्रहणे समर्थानीति भावः । व्यवृण्वदिति तृहे रौधादिकस्य हस्तन्या रूपम् ।²

At another place, he explains from the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika stand-point, how the external desire of god can arise at the time of Pralaya—सञ्जिहीर्षेति (NK, p. 51) । तावत्कालावच्छेदकोपाध्यवच्छिन्नकालसहकृतत्वमेवैश्वरेच्छाया उत्पादस्तस्या नित्यत्वात् । एवं प्रयत्नस्यपीति ।³ These illustrations would show Naracandra's method of treatment of his subject, and they can be easily multiplied. It will be enough to say that he writes here as a staunch Naiyāyika, and would not spare in this matter even Śridhara, on whose work he has commented. As for example, the Nyāyakandalī (p. 9) writes about the blueness of sky visible by day-time—मध्यन्दिनेऽपि दूरगगनान्तमोगव्यापिनो नीलिमश्च प्रतीते । on which Naracandra has criticized as follows—आलोकमद्भावेऽपि मध्यन्दिने गगनव्यापि नीलिमरूपं तमः प्रतीयते इत्यर्थः । एतच्च स्वसिद्धान्तनिरपेक्षयैवोक्तं, गगननीलिमो नयनगोलकगगननीलिमत्वेन स्वप्नमन्युपगमात् ।⁴

291. It is clear from the work that Naracandra had made a thorough study of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika literature that was written before his time, and that he had good grasp of the theoretical differences between the Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣika systems. The Nyāyakandalī refutes from the Vaiśeṣika point of view the Naiyāyika theory regarding the Upamāna Pramāna—येऽपि श्रुतातिदेश-वाक्यस्य, etc (NK, p. 221), which Naracandra explains as follows—अथ नैयायिकमतमुपदर्श्य दूषयन्नाह येऽपि श्रुतातिदेशेत्यादि ।⁵ At another place he has referred to the opinion of Bhusana, the commentator of the Nyāyasāra of Bhāsarvajña⁶, and has compared his view with that of the Nyāyakandalī as to whether the लैङ्गिक ज्ञान is उभयालवि or एकालंवि । That is as follows—प्रत्यक्षत्वे सति (NK, p. 117) । प्रत्यक्षत्वे सतीति, यद्यपि पुरुषो दण्डी, पर्वतो वह्निमानित्युभयत्राप्येकालम्बनत्वमुभयालम्बनत्वं वा तुल्यं तथापि सुरभि चन्दनमित्यत्र बाधवशादेकालम्बनसिद्धावन्यदपि विशिष्ट प्रत्यक्षज्ञानमेकालंवनमित्यस्याभिमतं, लैङ्गिकज्ञानं तुभयालंवनमेवाभिमतमिति तद्व्यवच्छेदो कृतः । भूषणस्तु लैङ्गिकज्ञानमप्येकालम्बनमेवाभ्युपगच्छतीति ।⁷

292. The Nyāyakandalī has refuted at a number of places the views of Vyomaśivācārya, who was an earlier commentator of Praśastapāda, and it

1 NKT, folio 1 The numbers of the folios mentioned here are of the ms. no. 2709 of the collection of Muni Hamsavijayaji, deposited at the Jaina Jñāna Mandir, Baroda

2 Ibid, folio 27.

3 Ibid, folio 25

4 Ibid, folios 5-6

5 Ibid, folio 68.

6 Randle, Indian Logic in the Early Schools, p. 305n., Keith, op. cit., pp 30f

7 Ibid, folio 46.

seems that Naracandra, before writing his *Ṭippana*, had thoroughly digested the *Vyomavati*. This is especially remarkable, because at a number of places he has traced the view anonymously cited by Śrīdhara to the *Vyomavati*. I would quote here a few references—

(1) क्त्वाप्रत्ययेनानूयते इति—व्योमशिवेन व्याख्यात तद्विधिविधेयाभावात्प्रयोजनमिति दूषयिष्यन्न-
न्यथा व्याचष्टे—अत्रैव च (NK, p. 2) ¹

(ii) किमस्यास्तित्वे प्रमाणम् ? प्रत्यक्षमेव, त्वगिन्द्रियव्यापारेण वायुर्वातीत्यपरोक्षज्ञानोत्पत्तेरिति कश्चिद्
(NK, p. 46) । कश्चिदिति व्योमशिवः । ²

(iii) स्पर्शनप्रत्यक्षो वायुरूपलभ्यमानस्पर्शाधिष्ठानत्वात् (NK, p. 46) । व्योमशिवमते तु शीनो
वायुरित्यादौ जलादिस्पर्शोपलम्भेऽपि अन्धस्योष्णो घट इतिवत् वायुप्रत्यक्षत्वम् । ³

(iv) अत्राह कश्चिद्— (NK, p. 214) । अत्राह कश्चिदिति शब्दप्रमाणान्तरवादी व्योम-
शिवादि । ⁴

293 That Naracandra was a master of the dialectical style of the logicians is evident from the *Vikalpas* of the *आत्यन्तिकत्व* that he has given in his *Ṭippana*. The passage throws ample light on Naracandra's capacity as a logician, and as such deserves to be quoted here in its entirety—
तस्मादहितनिवृत्तिरात्यन्तिकीति (NK, p. 41) । ननु किमिदमात्यन्तिकत्व ? न तावन्निवृत्तस्य पुनरुत्पादस्तस्य ससारिसाधारण्यात्, ससारिणामपि यद्दुःखं निवृत्तं न तत्पुनरुत्पद्यते, नाप्युच्छिन्ति प्रलयेऽपि निर्वाणप्रमत्तात्, नापि निवृत्तजातीयस्य पुनरनुत्पादः, कोऽयमनुत्पादो नाम ? किं प्रागभाव उत प्रध्वसाभावोऽथे-
तरेतराभाव, आहोस्विदत्यन्ताभाव ? तत्र न तावत् पूर्वव्रित्तस्य ससारिसाधारण्यात्, नापि तुर्यं स किं दुःखमात्रस्य दुःखविशेषस्य वा ? नाद्यस्तस्य भोगवस्थायां सभवेन त्रैकाल्यासत्वासिद्धेस्त्रैकालिकाभावस्यैवात्यन्ताभावत्वात्, न द्वितीयस्तस्य संसारवस्थायामपि सभवात्, किञ्चिद्धि तद्दुःखमस्ति यत्ससारिणामपि नानुभूयते, नापि समूलं दुःखनिवृ-
त्तिरात्यन्तिकत्व, सा किं विद्यमानयोर्दुःखान्मूलयोरविद्यमानयोर्वा ? नाद्यो विद्यमानयो रतिचित्कालपरिपाकवशादव-
श्यभावि निवृत्तित्वेन तन्निवृत्त्यर्थं ज्ञानाभ्यासादिप्रयासवैयर्थ्यं, नापरोऽविद्यमानस्येश्वरेणापि निवर्तयितुमशक्यत्वात्,
नापि दुःखप्रागभावासहवर्तित्वं, प्रागभावाभावे सति दुःखस्वीकारप्रमत्तात्, सहवर्तित्वाभावस्याभावचतुष्टयत्वेन
विकल्प्यमानस्य पूर्वदोषप्रसङ्गात् । उच्यते—दुःखप्रध्वसरूपाया दुःखनिवृत्तेरागामिदुःखमात्रात्यन्ताभावसहकृतत्वमात्य-
न्तिकत्वमिति । ⁵

294. The *Nyāyakandalī* has refuted at length the views of the Buddhist philosophy setting them as the *Pūrvapakṣa*. Hence the author who writes a gloss or a commentary on the *Nyāyakandalī* must have a thorough grounding in the Buddhist philosophy, as Naracandrasūri had. The fact becomes significant when we know that Buddhist logic was one of the main subjects taught to the students in mediaeval Gujarāt (para 37). A few illustrative quotations from the *Ṭippana* will be enough to show Naracandra's proficiency in Buddhist philosophy—

(1) अथ माध्यमिकमाशङ्कते—सवासनेति (NK, p. 3) ⁶

(ii) 'यथाऽप्रतीयमानेऽपि' (NK, p. 75), on which Naracandra writes—बौद्धोत्तर-

1 Ibid, folios 26-27.

2 Ibid, folio 24.

3 Ibid, folio 24

4 Ibid, folio 64

5 Ibid, folio 3.

6 Ibid, folio 2.

माशंस्य यथाऽप्रतीयमानेऽशीनि-अत्र चाक्षणिक्कस्य व्यावृत्तिविषयस्याप्रतीनौ कथं सत्त्वव्यावृत्तिप्रतीतिरिति शंकाया व्यावृत्तिविषयाप्रत्यक्षत्वेऽपि व्यावृत्तिर्दृश्यते ।¹

(III) अपि भो सर्वमिति (NK, p. 122) । ग्रन्थकारो हि प्रथमं वैभाषिकमतं ततः सौत्रान्तिकमतं योगाचारेण दूषयित्वा ततः स्वयं योगाचारमपि निराकरिष्यमाणं प्रथमं ब्राह्मधर्मप्रत्यक्षतावादिनं वैभाषिकं निराकरिष्यन् योगाचारमुत्थापयति अपि भो सर्वमिति ।²

(IV) न च नदुत्पत्तेरिति (NK, p. 123) । न च नदुत्पत्तेरन्यदिति-ज्ञानस्यार्थोदुत्पन्नत्वमेव नियताध्याहितास्वभावहेतुर्नान्यं इत्यर्थः । एव वैभाषिकमतं योगाचारेण दूषयित्वा विषयाप्रत्यक्षतावादिनं ब्राह्मकारज्ञानप्रत्यक्षतावादिनं सौत्रान्तिकं योगाचारादूषयित्वा गुरुयति अवोच्यते इत्यादि ।³

(V) अवोच्यते (NK, p. 123) । योगाचारेण सौत्रान्तिकं दूषयति अवोच्यते इत्यादि ।⁴

(VI) अयं मतं यद्वेतदित्यादि (NK, p. 124) । सौत्रान्तिकपरिहारमाशंकयति ।⁵

(VII) अयं नाकारेणेति (NK, p. 124) । एतावता अन्येन किमर्थं गृह्यते, किमुनोभयमिति विरुद्धं द्वयं निराकृत्य, किं वा आकार इति तृतीयं विकल्पं योगाचारो निराचष्टे अयं नाकारेणेति ।⁶

The quotations show that Naracandra knew Buddhist philosophy as propounded by different sects of the Buddhists, like Mādhyamika, Sautrāntika, Vaibhāṣika and Yogācāra. But for his minute knowledge of the different philosophical tenets of these sects he could not have exactly identified them while explaining the Pūrvapakṣa in his Ṭippaṇa.

295. It seems from the Ṭippaṇa that Naracandra had also studied other systems of philosophy like Sāṃkhya-Yoga, Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta. I shall present here a few quotations to show his knowledge of each of these systems.

(I) SĀMKNHYA

(i) सर्वमन्मवाभावादिति (NK, p. 143) । साख्यमते त्वयमपि हेतुः, विवादाध्यासिनं कार्यमुत्पत्तेः प्रागपि स्वकारणेऽप्यस्ति तसादेव जायमानत्वात् नैलवत् ।⁷

(ii) प्रधानात्मकत्वे इति (NK, p. 144) । साख्यैर्हि कार्यं प्रकृतितत्त्वकार्यमेवाभ्युपगम्यते, ततः कार्यकारणयोस्तादात्म्येऽतीन्द्रियकारणात्मकत्वात्कार्यजातस्याप्यतीन्द्रियत्वप्रसङ्गः, वैशेषिकमते तु भेदाभ्युपगमात् अगुरुत्वाप्रत्यक्षत्वेऽपि तत्कार्यस्योद्भूतरूपवत्त्वादिसामग्रीवशात् प्रत्यक्षनोपपद्यत एव ।⁸

(iii) प्रधानस्य विकारो महदिनि (NK, p. 171) । साख्यमते हि प्रकृतिर्नाम प्रधानापरपर्यायं सर्वात्म्यमिहाकारणं प्रथमं तत्त्वमभ्युपगच्छन्ति । तद्विकारमहत्तत्त्वं तस्य चान्तकरणं चित्तं चेति पर्यायौ तद्विकारतत्त्वं, ततः पञ्चतन्मात्राणि त्वर्धनादीनि पञ्चबुद्धीन्द्रियाणि वाक्पाण्यादीनि पञ्चकर्मेन्द्रियाणि मनश्चेति । अत एव महद्बहद्भारमन सहितैर्बुद्धिकर्मेन्द्रियैस्त्वयोदशेन्द्रियाण्युपपद्यन्ते ।⁹

(II) YOGA

(1) हेतुकर्ममिति (NK, p. 58) । अविद्या-असिता-राग-द्वेषादिनिवेशाद्देहा, कर्माणि योगादीनि विधाता जात्यायुर्भोगा, आशया धर्माधर्मसंस्कारा । संस्काराणां तु केवलानामाशयत्वे कर्मशब्देन धर्माधर्मयोरभिधानम् ।¹⁰

1 Ibid, folio 31

2 Ibid, folio 47.

3 Ibid, folio 47.

4 Ibid, folio 48

5 Ibid, folio 48.

6 Ibid, folio 48

7 Ibid, folio 53

8 Ibid, folio 53

9 Ibid, folio 56

10 Ibid, folio 27

(III) MĪMĀMSĀ AND ITS BRANCHES

(i) शब्दस्य हि निजम् (NK, p. 216)। शब्दस्य हि निजमिति वैशेषिकभट्टमते सामान्य प्रमाकरमते तु स्वरूपमेवेति ।¹

(ii) अत्रैके वदन्ति (NK, p. 217)। अत्रैके इति स्वतः प्रामाण्यवादिनो जैनभट्टबौद्धादयः, भाट्टादयो हि ज्ञानमेव प्रमाणमाहुः, वैशेषिकास्तु ज्ञान धूमचक्षुरादिकमज्ञानं च प्रमाणमाहुरित्यज्ञानरूपप्रमाणाभिप्रायेणाह । प्रामाण्यमेव तावदिति ।²

(iii) 'तत्किं स्वतो ज्ञायते' (NK, p. 218)। भट्टाभिप्रायेण यस्मादेव ज्ञाततादेशान् ज्ञायते तस्मादेव स्वकीयात्प्रामाण्यमपि ज्ञायते इत्यत्र स्वशब्द आत्मीयवचनः बौद्धप्रमाकरमते तु ज्ञानस्य स्वसंवेदनत्वाभ्युपगमात् स्वस्मादात्मन एव ज्ञायते इत्यत्र स्वशब्दः आत्मवचनः ।³

(iv) ये तावत्पूर्वेति (NK, p. 220)। जरन्मीमांसकमतोपमानमुपदर्शयन्तर्भावयन्ति ये तावत्पूर्वेति ।⁴

(IV) VEDĀNTA

(i) यदाहुरेके (NK, p. 97)। यदाहुरेके इति वेदान्तवादिन इत्यर्थः ।⁵

(ii) केचित्सामान्यवतः शुक्लादिगुणानपि व्यापकान् नित्यानाहुस्तन्निराचष्टे-एतेनैकमिति (NK, p. 98) ।⁶

(iii) ये तु शुक्तिकायामिति (NK, p. 181)। ये इति जरद्वेदान्तिनः ।⁷

296. In addition to being a skilled logician, Naracandra was also a teacher of grammar, as we have already seen while reviewing his *Prākṛtaprabodha* (para 281) In this *Tippāna* also he has given etymologies of numerous words on the authority of grammar, and has inserted at several places short grammatical discussions,⁸ which show his command over the subject

297. Naracandra's *Tippāna* also supplies some important historical information about Śrīdhara, the author of the *Nyāyakandalī*. We know from the concluding portion of the *Nyāyakandalī* that Śrīdhara was a native of the Rādha district in the Gauda country, and that he had written his work at the request of king Pāṇḍudāsa, who was reigning there. In short, Pāṇḍudāsa was the patron of Śrīdhara. Now, Naracandra writes at a place in his *Tippāna*-पाण्डुदासोऽयमिति ग्रन्थकृच्छिष्यः ।⁹ The Benares edition of the *Nyāyakandalī* (p. 93) reads here as एतोऽयमिति । From this can be inferred that the manuscript of the *Nyāyakandalī* which Naracandra had got contained some important variants and that there was a tradition prevalent, at least in Gujarāt, that Pāṇḍudāsa was a pupil of Śrīdhara. Naracandra's *Tippāna* also notes the name of Bhaṭṭācārya as the preceptor of Śrīdhara-गुरुभिरिन्द्रियजा भ्रान्तिरुच्यते (NK, p. 178)। गुरुभिरिति भट्टाचार्यैरित्यर्थः ।¹⁰ This piece of information

1 Ibid, folio 65

2 Ibid, folio 66.

3 Ibid, folio 66

4 Ibid, folio 68

5 Ibid, folio 42

6 Ibid, folio 42.

7 Ibid, folio 58

8 Ibid, folios 18, 21-22, 51, etc.

9 Ibid, folio 40

10 Ibid, folio 58

bearing on the personal history of the famous author of the Nyāyakandalī is especially noteworthy, because we do not get it from any other source.

298 Thus though Naracandra is a profound logician and a deep scholar of various Śāstras, he is not free from a common defect found among the Sanskrit commentators of Śāstra-works. The defect is this—that in the beginning of the commentary, they write at length, but in the later portions of the work their treatment becomes briefer, as if they were fatigued by their literary effort. While expounding the Nyāyakandalī, Naracandra has written at sufficient length on the Dravyagrantha which comes in the beginning. His treatment becomes progressively shorter as we go further. The gloss on the Gunagrantha is shorter in comparison with that on the Dravyagrantha, Karma and Sāmānya are hastily passed off, nothing is written on Viśeṣa, and Samavāya has been treated in three or four lines only. It is possible, however, that in the Ṭippana Naracandra intended to supply a handy guide-book to students, just like his Ṭippana on the Anargharāghava and also his Prākṛtaprabodha, and probably the Ṭippana may have been in the form of lecture-notes, in which case the treatment he has given to the subject can be assigned some reason.

CHAPTER XVIII

WORKS ON ASTROLOGY

Literature on astrology

299. Jyotis meaning both astronomy and astrology was one of the oldest branches of learning cultivated in India, it being one of the six Vedāṅgas. "In the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras we find recognition of the idea of a lucky star, and the Dharmasūtras demand that the king shall have an astrologer just as he has a house-chaplain, while the Arthaśāstra ranks the court-bards, the servants of the chaplain and astrologer among the lower court-functionaries."¹ From the great work of Varāhamihira, viz his Brhatsamhitā (circa 550 A. D.), we know the names of several authorities on astrology, like Asita Devala, Garga, Vrdhha Garga, Nārada and Parāśara, whose works are not extant—from which we know that a number of text-books existed before the times of Varāhamihira. From a reference in Varāhamihira² which mentions the great reputation of the Greeks in astrology and also from the fact that a number of Sanskrit technical terms of astrology have been directly adapted from Greek astrology,³ we get a clear indication of the Hellenic influence on this branch of scientific literature in India.

300 In later Sanskrit literature we find a number of treatises not only on astrology, but also on omens and augury, which are allied lores. The Jainas have made a worthy contribution to all these branches of learning,⁴ right from the Āgama-period when the works like the Jyotiskarandaka, the Ganvivijā and the Āṃgavivijā were composed, upto the most recent times, because practice of Jyotis and medicine was the hobby and sometimes profession of the Jaina Yatis. Among the comparatively earlier works on astrology written in Gujarāt we may mention the Sāmudrikatilaka begun in 1160 A. D. under king Kumārapāla by Durlabharāja and finished by his son Jagaddeva, who also wrote the Svapnacintāmaṇi explaining the meaning of dreams, and also the Narapatījayacaryā Svarodaya written at Anahilavād under king Ajayapāla by one Narahari, son of Āmradeva.⁵

The Ārambhasiddhi of Udayaprabha and Jyotihsāra of Naracandra

301 A few decades after the period of Kumārapāla and Ajayapāla, we come to the period of Vastupāla, the literary activities of whose circle include at least two works on astrology, viz the Ārambhasiddhi of Udayaprabhasūri and the Jyotihsāra of Naracandrasūri. The Ārambhasiddhi has 412 verses in all, while the available portions of the Jyotihsāra have 257 verses. Both

1 Keith, Sanskrit Literature, p. 528.

2 Brhatsamhitā, II 25.

3 Keith, op. cit., p. 530.

4 JRK, pp. 128, 134, 150-51, 159, 368-69, 460, and JSP, Vol. XIX, p. 4.

5 Keith, op. cit., pp. 534-35. Also LBC, p. 160 and JSI, pp. 277 f.

the works mainly deal with the Muhūrta-sudhhi or the finding out of correct time for auspicious undertakings from the astrological point of view, a branch of this science in which the Jaina writers specialized. Though the Jaina literature can show a large number of works on astrology and allied subjects, these two works have been always considered the most authoritative books on the topics with which they deal, and their popularity has been attested by the fact that scores of manuscripts of both of them can be obtained from different old Bhāndārs all over Gujarāt and Rājasthān.

CHAPTER XIX

COMMENTARIES ON JAINA RELIGIOUS WORKS

Exegetical literature of the Jainas

302. Exegetical activity of the Jainas began with the Nirvyuktis, which are short metrical expositions of certain parts of the scriptural texts, and are traditionally ascribed to Bhadrabāhu (para 224). Then there are Bhāṣyas in Prākṛit verse, which are sometimes inextricably intermingled with the Nirvyukti-verses. Most of the Cūṛnis or Prākṛit commentaries in prose on several canonical texts are ascribed to Jṇadāsaganī who lived in the 7th century, as his Cūṛni on the Nandisūtra was completed in 677 A. D.¹ Then commences the period in which the Jainas began to write Sanskrit commentaries on their religious works which were in Prākṛit, because they had fully accepted Sanskrit as the language of scholarship and high learning by that time; and we find learned Sanskrit commentaries from the pen of Haribhadrāsūri, Śīlāmkadeva, Abhayadevasūri and Malayagiri—to all of whom we have referred in the first chapter—and from several others. This scholastic tradition continued with full vigour, upto the 17th century at least, when important commentaries like Vinayaviṇaya's Subodhikā and Dharma-sāgara's Kiranāvalī on the Kalpasūtra were composed.

303. Among the works of the literary circle of Vastupāla we do not find any commentary on the canonical texts, but we get detailed commentaries on three Prakaranas, which according to Jaina literary tradition mean short treatises dealing with some aspect of Jaina religion and philosophy, mostly composed in Prākṛit verse. These three commentaries are—Udayaprabhasūri's Karṇikā on the Upadeśamālā of Dharmadāsaganī, and Bālacandra's two commentaries on the Vivekamañjarī and the Upadeśakandali of Āsada.

The Upadeśamālā-Karṇikā of Udayaprabha

304. First we take the Upadeśamālā-Karṇikā. The Upadeśamālā is a Prākṛit work giving religious and moral instruction in 540 gāthās, and its author Dharmadāsa is believed by tradition to be a pupil of Mahāvīra.² But this is hardly possible, because the language of the Upadeśamālā corresponds to the later Jaina Mahārāstrī. In any way, it is earlier than the 9th century, because by that time Siddharsī had written a commentary on it (para 16). The Upadeśamālā was very widely read and studied, and not less than eighteen commentaries in Sanskrit, one in Prākṛit and three Bālāvabodhas in old Guṇarāṣṭī are known on the work.³ Chronologically, the Karṇikā of Udayaprabha is the fourth commentary, the earlier three being the commentary by Siddharsī, the Prākṛit Vṛtti by Jayasimhasūri (857 A. D.) a pupil of Kṛṣṇa,⁴

1 JSI, p. 161, JRK, p. 201.

2 JSI, p. 31.

3 JRK, pp. 49-51.

4 The same author has also written a Prākṛit Prakarana called the Dharmopadeśamālā, in 859 A. D., evidently inspired by the work of Dharmadāsa.

and the Doghatti Vṛtti by Ratnaprabhasūri (1182 A. D.)¹ The Karnikā of Udayaprabha is not printed and is available in manuscript-form only. It is a very long commentary, its Granthāgra being 12274 śloka². But the size of the work has been swelled not by explanations of the text, which are usually short, but by numerous stories and narratives inserted as illustrations of points stressed in the gāthās; it is for this reason that the Granthāgra of the commentary on the first three gāthās only is not less than 1944 śloka. All the illustrative stories are the typical examples of Jaina Dharmalālās. They are taken, as a rule, from the Jaina mythology and the Jain historical tradition, and are always in the Anuṣṭup metre, while the textual explanations are in prose. In his 8th Maṅgala verse Udayaprabhasūri has mentioned Siddharsi out of his previous commentators—

नावाहं न उ धर्ममग्निं न तास्तुभ्य विद्म्यं युरन्मनिर निद्रिजिवाति ।
नेनेनामिष्टनंरु पाणिमात्रा कर्मा श्रुति मेस्य नावेन पत्नीनामश्रममात्र ॥
(folio 1)

Bālacandra's commentaries on the Vivekamañjarī and Upadeśakandali

305 Next we come to Bālacandra's commentaries on the two Prālīn Prakaraṇas by Āsada—viz. his Vivekamañjarī and Upadeśakandali. The former work contains 327 gāthās, while the latter one comprises 125 gāthās, and both the works contain Jain religious instruction in its various aspects. The commentary on the Vivekamañjarī is published, while that on the Upadeśakandali being unprinted is available only in manuscript-form. Both the commentaries have been composed in the style of the Karnikā, inserting numerous long narratives in verse, so much so that the Granthāgra of the commentary on the Vivekamañjarī is 8000 śloka³, while that of the commentary on the Upadeśakandali is 7600 śloka⁴. The Vivekamañjarī-Tikā has been divided into four parts, and at the end of the first three parts the author has given a verse in praise of Jaitrasimha, Āsada's son, for whom he had composed the commentary (para 125), while at the end of the fourth part a long Praśasti has been given, which is literally identical with that at the end of the Upadeśakandali-Tikā. The Upadeśakandali-Tikā is in twelve parts, and two verses are appended at the end of each part—one in praise of Haribhadrāsūri, the Guru of Bālacandra, and the other in praise of Āsada, the author of the original Prakaraṇas. Some of the narratives in both the Tikās extend to several hundred verses. In the Vivekamañjarī-Tikā the author has given the Bharata-Bhūṣana Mahākāvya,⁵ the life of Bharata in a versified narrative which comprises 545 verses in four cantos, the Sitācanta Mahākāvya⁶ which has 556 verses in three cantos, and

1 JRK, p. 49-50.

2 Ibid, p. 50

3 अष्टावन्नुष्टममत्र सप्तसणि भवन्ति हि । प्रत्यक्षर गणनया ग्रन्थमाने विनिश्चिते ॥ (VMT, p. 217).

4 JRK, p. 47

5 VMT, pp. 9-25.

6 Ibid, pp. 111-27.

Damayanti-Lalita Mahākāvya¹ giving an account of Nala and Damayanti, which contains 314 verses in three cantos. It may be remembered that the title Mahākāvya is to be understood here in the qualified sense of a narrative poem having great religious or mythological figures as heroes or heroines (para 166). The Sitācarita Mahākāvya also occurs in the Upadeśakandali-Tīkā,² which has another long narrative giving the life of king Śrenika, styled the Śrenikopākhyāna Mahākāvya³ and comprising 336 verses in four cantos. As both the commentaries are from the pen of one author, a number of stories are literally common to both of them. It is interesting to note here that at one place in the Vivekamañjarī-Tīkā the author has quoted a Subhāsita from his own pen.⁴

306. Thus the method of all the three commentaries is almost identical, and the reason of that lies in the history of the Jaina scholastic tradition as far as it was concerned with the interpretation and study of the sacred texts. The metrical Niryuktis and Bhāṣyas many times give the story, but only in the form of catch-words, such as would enable the reader to recapitulate the whole story, which he would then narrate in his own words, to his students or his audience. The Prākṛit Cūṛnis frequently give the illustrative stories handed down by tradition; these stories are always in prose and are very briefly told without any literary embellishments. In Sanskrit commentaries also the stories are generally in Prākṛit, because they are taken from older sources which were in Prākṛit, though in some Sanskrit commentaries of later date one finds these stories in their Sanskrit versions. Not infrequently we get the stories in verse, as for example in Nemicandra's commentary on the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra (1073 A. D.). As time went on the Prākṛit was cultivated less even by the Jainas, and possibly the bilingual commentaries were found to be somewhat inconvenient from the view-point of readers, most of whom were not scholars, even if they were Jaina ascetics. And we come nearer to the period of the commentaries we have just reviewed, which are entirely in Sanskrit and have their stories in lucid and readable Sanskrit verse. It was customary to read the religious Prakaranas at the time of daily sermon, and the illustrative stories helped the preacher a lot in making his discourse interesting to the audience. From this view-point, it can be said that the institution of the daily Vyākhyāna or sermon was instrumental in the development of the Jaina exegetical literature from the memorial verses of the Niryuktis to the elaborate and exhaustive commentaries like the writings of Udayaprabha and Bālaçandra.

1 Ibid, pp 132-43

2 UKT, folios 165-81.

3 Ibid, folios 18-32.

4 यदुक्तमस्माभि सत्यपञ्चो-

पञ्चाश्रय इति पञ्च विनोति कुमुद न यदञ्जबन्धुरपि ।

अञ्जत्वे तुल्येऽपि हि तज्ज्ञाति कारणात्मेव ॥

CONCLUSION

307. In the preceding chapters we have seen the literary and scholarly traditions of Gujarāt in the ages that preceded that of Vastupāla, we have studied the historical and biographical account of Vastupāla and of the poets and scholars in his literary circle, and then we have reviewed the noteworthy contribution which they made to Sanskrit literature, considering it form-wise. The works of this literary circle range from stray verses to Mahākāvyas and also deal with various branches of Śāstric literature. Even if we do not consider the works which are known only through references and have not yet been discovered, there are ten Mahākāvyas, four plays, eighteen Praśastis (exclusive of the shorter inscriptions and a large number of laudatory verses found in the Prabandhas, etc.), six Stotras, three anthologies, a collection of Prabandhas, a collection of Jaina Dharmakathās, two Apabhramśa Rāsas, three works on poetics including one on Kaviśikṣā, two works on grammar (one on Sanskrit and the other on Prākṛit grammar), a work on metrics, a work on Nyāya, two works on astrology, three commentaries on Jaina religious works and a gloss on the Sanskrit play Anargharāghava. This contribution becomes all the more noteworthy when we remember that it is but a part of the great literary and scholastic activity that was going on in Gujarāt in the 13th century A. D.; because, as remarked in the very beginning, in this book I have limited my subject to works of those literary figures, who were directly patronized by Vastupāla, and have not reviewed the life and works of his other contemporaries, among whom may be mentioned Vidyādhara (para 82), author of the earliest known commentary on the Naisadhīyacarita, Vinayacandra, the author of the Kaviśikṣā (para 262), and Lakṣmīdhara (1225 A. D.) and Devendia (1242 A. D.), who gave excellent summaries of the Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla and the Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā of Siddharsī, respectively, and others. The extent and quality of their works were in no way negligible.

308. The most remarkable figure in the literary circle of Vastupāla was Someśvara. This hereditary priest of the Caulukya kings of Gujarāt was a poet of distinct merit and he attempted with notable success, almost all the forms of creative literature in Sanskrit, as we have seen in the preceding chapters. He composed Mahākāvyas, plays, Stotras, a collection of Muktakas, Praśastis, and numerous stray verses. In all these forms he acquitted himself very well, and it may be said without hesitation that not only does he occupy a high place in mediaeval Sanskrit literature, but his works like the Kīrtikaumudī may be ranked as second in merit only to the compositions of the great masters like Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha and others of the classical period.

309. Among other figures of the circle, whose literary works have come down to us, may be mentioned Amaraśūri and Narakaśūri. The former was a prolific and versatile writer, as shown before, but a single composition of his, viz. the Kāvyaśikṣā, which is a text-book of Kaviśikṣā, has made his name famous, and the said text has proved to

be the most popular and authoritative treatise on the topic among the students of Sanskrit, both Jainas and non-Jainas. The latter, viz Naracandra-sūri was proficient in various Śāstras, he had taught Vastupāla three Vidyās (para 118), and his gloss on the Nyāyakandalī of Śrīdhara shows his great erudition not only in Nyāya, but also in other Śāstras. We may also mention Māṇikyaçandra, the author of the Samketa who, as we have seen, was one of the early commentators of the Kāvyaçprakāśa of Mammata. I have dealt with other literary figures at the proper places, and the same things need not be repeated here.

310. The literary culture of Gujarāt in those days was a composite one, in which there was an admirable cultural co-operation among the Brāhmanical and Jaina scholars. We find that a royal priest like Someśvara writes Praśastis of Jaina temples and a Jaina Sādhu like Bālaçandra borrows literary motifs from a great Brāhmanical work like the Bhāgavata Pūrāṇa (para 158). Moreover, we find that Amaracandra, also a Jain Sādhu, summarises the whole of the Mahābhārata in verse, and praises Vyāsa in the beginning of every canto. It may be noted that the sacred book summarized by Amaracandra is not the Jaina version of the Mahābhārata available in the Trisastīśalākāpuruṣaçantra and other works, but that great encyclopaedia of Indian traditions and legends ascribed to Vyāsa. This emphatically shows that listeners of Amaracandra, most of whom were most probably Jainas, were accustomed with the Brāhmanical Mahābhārata. The age-long enmity between the Śramana and the Brāhmana mentioned by Patañjali and others as if vanished in Gujarāt. This non-sectarian outlook in literary matters was not accidental, but it came from commendable toleration and the spirit of give and take which prevailed in contemporary life, represented by the great figure of Vastupāla in almost all its aspects, as the preceding chapters have shown. It also shows that the Hindu culture, of which the Jaina religion and culture form an integral part, was one, and whole of the mediaeval history of Gujarāt gives a picture in which we find this remarkable fusion of Brāhmanical and Jaina trends which has left its indelible mark on the cultural life of the whole province.

INDEX

[Names of literary works etc. are printed in italics]

A

Abhayadevasūri 10, 15, 77, 187
 Abhidhā 160, 165
Abhidhāna-Cintāmanī 12
Abhidhāna-Rājendra 97 (f n)
Abhiyñāna-Śākuntala 116
 Abhinanda 60
Abhinavabhārati 150, 176 (f n)
 Abhinavagupta 150, 153, 154, 157,
 158 (f n.), 161, 176 (f n)
 Ābhu 26
 Ābu 1, 23, 25, 33, 36, 38, 61, 63, 82,
 83, 98, 124, 125, 128, 152
Ābu-Praśasti 41, 48, 71 (f n), 128,
 129, 130
Āburāsa 23, 150, 152
 Ābu-temple 36, 37, 59, 63
 Acalesvara 14, 124
Ācārāṃga Sūtra 9, 34
 Ācārya 4, 56, 64, 102, 103, 129, 131,
 132, 155
Ācārya Dhruva Smāraka Grantha
 56 (f n)
 Ācārya Malayagiri 15
 Acting 112
 Ādinātha 8, 18, 27 (f n.), 33 (f n.),
 67, 78, 97, 100, 102, 110, 111
Ādinātha Stotra 40, 138, 139
 Adilā 175
Ādipurāna 111
Ādiparvan 62 (f n), 109, 110
 Ādīśvara 40
Advaitasiddhi 164 (f n)
 Āgama-period 149, 185
Āgamas 15, 69, 73 (f n)
 Agni 136
 Agnicayana sacrifice 45 (f n)
Agni Purāna 174
 Agrawala V. S. (Dr) 106 (f. n)
 Āhada 46
 Ahalyā 136
 Āhavanīya fire 44
 Ahmedabad 1, 5, 6 (f. n), 11, 18
 (f. n), 25, 83, 124
 Andra School of grammarians 170

Aja 100
 Ajāhara Nagara 102
 Ajayapāla 13, 15, 18, 46, 81, 89, 185
 Akalamka 164 (f n)
 Alaka 158
 Alamkāra 57, 75, 153, 157, 161, 166
Alamkāracūdāmanī 159
 Alamkāra-literature 153, 156, 157
Alamkāramahodadhī 39, 75, 156, 158,
 159, 160, 161
Alamkāraprabodha 66, 67, 168
Alamkāra-Sarvasva 155, 158 (f n)
 Alamkārasāstra 98, 153, 156
Alakmārasākhara 169
 Alamkāra-works 159
 Alata 158
 Allahabad pillar 127
 All India Oriental Conference 7 (f n),
 13 (f n.)
 Alliteration 117
 Altamash 31 (f n)
Amamacaritra 9 (f n), 47
 Amaracandra 58, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66,
 67, 68, 163, 166, 167, 168, 169
 Amaracandrasūri 64, 69, 108, 109, 110,
 156, 161, 171, 190
 Amaradeva 185
 Amara Pandita 62, 63
 Āmasarman 45, 90
 Āmata 56
 Ambikā 129, 139, 151, 152
Ambikā Stotra 40, 139
 Amga 3, 9, 10
 Amgada 115, 118, 119
Amgavyājā 185
 Āmiga 46
 Amīra 123
 Amitagatī 140
 Amkevalhā 33, 98
 Ānahillapura 34, 99
 Anahilavād 8, 9, 13, 14, 16, 18, 28, 29,
 35, 38, 44, 45 (f n), 49, 51, 55, 61,
 64, 66, 68, 69, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95,
 97, 98, 100, 101, 124, 125, 128, 134,
 140, 185

Anahlavād Pātan 1, 5, 8, 10, 17, 25, 26, 163
 Ānāla 28
 Ānanga—Harsa 68
 Ānandapura 3, 44 (f n), 56, 57
 Ānandasūri 69
 Ānandavardhana 153, 154, 157, 161
 Ananvaya 166
 Anargharāghara 73, 88, 115, 116, 125, 126, 180, 190
 Anargharāghara Tīppana 173
 Anekārthakośa 13
 Anekārthasamgraha 12
 Anirudbha 151
 Antarvedi 3,
 Anthologies 140, 141, 142, 190
 Anukramani 171
 Anupamā 27, 36, 37 (f n), 69, 70, 83, 128
 Anuprāsa 165
 Anuśāsanaparvan 110
 Anustup 103, 110, 111, 142, 149, 158, 164, 188
 Anuyogas 148
 Anyayogavyavachhedadvātrimśikā 72
 Anyoktis 140, 141
 Apabhramsa 3, 16, 23, 59, 60, 61 (f n), 70, 82, 84, 95, 138, 147, 148, 151, 171, 176, 177
 Apabhramśa literature 176
 Apabhramśa metres 167, 174, 175, 176
 Apabhramśa Rāsas 150, 190
 Apabhramśa verses 145, 147
 Apahnuti 166
 Aparājita Kavi 76, 101
 Āpiśali 170
 Arab 5
 Arabia 50 (f n)
 Arabic 121 (f n), 123
 Arab merchant 50 (f n)
 Ārādhana 40, 139
 Ārambhasiddhi 72, 164 (f n), 185
 Arasi Thakkura 51, 62
 Archeology of Gujarāt 37 (f n)
 Arhat 2
 Arisimha 23, 43, 51, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 101
 Arjuna 14, 41, 107, 108, 109
 Arjunacarita 161

Arjunadeva 32, 67
 Arkapāhita 98
 Arnorāja 13, 28, 89, 95, 128
 Arthālamkāras 161
 Arthāntaranyāsa 110
 Arthapatti 161
 Arthāśāstra 153, 168, 185
 Ārya 164
 Ārya gīti 175
 Ārya Nāgārjuna 3
 Ārya Rakṣitasūri 144
 Ārya Skandila 3
 Āśada 42 (f n), 77, 78, 187, 188
 Asamga 2
 Āśāpalli 82, 124
 Āsārāja 26
 Āśāita 155 (f n)
 Āśita Devala 185
 Āśoka 2
 Āśādhyāyī 170
 Astābnikā festival 102
 Astaka 138, 139
 Astāvadhāna 57
 Astrology 179, 185
 Astronomy 185
 Āśuka 102
 Āśvaghosa 87, 92, 112
 Asvarāja 26, 27, 35, 133
 Atiśayokti 161
 Atomic theory 178
 Aucityavicāracarcā 163
 Audicya Brūhmins 10 (f n)
 Augury 165
 Avadhī-jñāna 110
 Avara 160
 Avatāras 136
 Ayodhyā 92, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 124, 137
 Āyurbandha 100

B

Bagasarā 57
 Baghdād 123
 Bāhada 102
 Bāhubali 102
 Bāhulod 99
 Balabhadra 107
 Bālabhārata 62 (f n), 64, 65, 66, 68, 109, 110

- Bālacandra 13, 23, 32, 33 (f n), 35, 40, 70, 76, 77, 78, 98, 100, 101, 121, 187, 188, 189, 191
 Baladeva 108, 109
 Bālakavi 43
 Bālahamsasūri 68 (f. n.)
 Bālarāmāyana 116, 117, 119
 Bālasarasvatī 57
 Bālāvabodha 187
 Bah 112
 Bahibandha 112
 Ballāla 144
 Ballet-dance 150
 Bāna 92, 136
 Banās Kānthā district 15
 Bānāsura 151
 Bandha 160
 Bandhumatī 148
 Banās 8
 Bānsvādā 77
 Bārappa 9
 Baroda 25, 70, 72 (f. n.), 74 (f n), 98
 Baroda Archaeological Report 25
 Beal 2 (f n)
 Bechardās pandita 171 (f n)
 Behār 2 (f n.)
 Belvalkar 87 (f n), 170, 171 (f. n)
 Benares 35
 Bengal 170, 171
 Bhadrabāhu 138, 187
 Bhadramahākāla 124, 125
 Bhadresvara 31
 Bhadresvarasūri 77
 Bhadrakā 164
 Bhāgavata Purāṇa 100, 151, 191
 Bhāgavata sect 13, 51 (f n)
 Bhagavatī Sūtra 168
 Bhaktāmarastotra 138
 Bhallaśarman 48
 Bhāmaha 153, 157, 162
 Bhūna 112, 150
 Bhāndārs 16, 18, 19, 38, 69, 135, 172, 186
 Bhandarkar (Dr) 82, 104, 105 (f n), 127
 Bhandarkar Institute 48 (f n.), 113
 Bhāṇskā 150
 Bharadvāja gotra 49
 Bharata 12, 102, 112, 114, 115, 150, 153, 157, 158, 161, 168, 174, 176, 186
 Bharata Bāhubali Rāsa 151
 Bharata-Bhūsana Mahākāvya 188
 Bharatavākya 112, 115, 124
 Bhāratī Bhāndāgāra 54
 Bhāravi 88, 89, 92, 106, 107, 108, 190
 Bhartrhari 142
 Bhartrmitra 157
 Bhāsa 113, 151, 152
 Bhāsarvajña 179, 180
 Bhāskara Kavi 116 (f n)
 Bhāsyas 187, 189
 Bhattācārya 183
 Bhatta Kumārila 157
 Bhatta Nārāyana 157
 Bhatta Nāyaka 153, 157, 159, 161
 Bhattas 84
 Bhatta Tanta 157 (f n)
 Bhatta Tota 157
 Bhatti 88
 Bhattikāvya 3
 Bhattojī Dīksit 171
 Bhavabhūti 113, 119
 Bhuvanapāla 123
 Bhavānī 104, 105
 Bhāvnagar 2 (f n)
 Bhūllamālākācārya 7
 Bhīma 89, 157 (f n)
 Bhīma II 89
 Bhīmadeva 47, 90, 93, 98
 Bhīmadeva I 10, 17
 Bhīmadeva II 1, 14, 17, 18, 23, 28, 29, 44, 48, 95, 99, 104
 Bhīmasena 8
 Bhīmasimha 31
 Bhinnamāla 2, 5, 6 (f n), 9
 Bhīmparvan 109
 Bhoja 11, 35, 41, 122, 154, 157, 168
 Bhojadeva 53
 Bhojaprabandha 144
 Bholād 99
 Bhūbhata 95
 Bhūsana 180
 Bihlana 18, 55, 89, 122, 155, 163
 Bikaner Catalogue 120 (f n)
 Bikaner State 73
 Bodhisattvas 2
 Bombay Government 113

- Bopadeva 171
 Brahmadeva 104
 Brahmagupta 6, 7
 Brahmajña 65
 Brahman 46, 136
 Brāhmanas 191
Brāhmanas 127, 153, 178, 185
 Brahmanical temples 98
 Brahmanism 65
 Brahmasālās 6, 36
Brahmasidhhi 164 (f. n.)
Brāhmasphuṭasidhhihānta 6
 Brahmasūtra 46
 Brahmenu 67
 Brahmesvara 56 (f. n.)
 Brāhmīns 8, 44, 46, 47, 56, 57, 63, 64, 113
 Bṛgukachha 4, 34, 38, 68, 78, 90, 99, 132, 134
 Brhad gachha 78
Brhad Vājāpur Vṛttānta 25
 Brhaspatisava sacrifice 45 (f. n.)
Brhatkathā 3, 104, 148
Brhatkathāmañjarī 148
Brhatkathāloka 146, 149
Brhatsaṃhitā 174, 185
Brhattika on the Siddha Hema 5 (f. n.)
 Broach 4
 Brown 37 (f. n.)
 Buddhānanda 4
Buddhiprakāśa 146
 Buddhisaṅgāra 10
 Buddhisaṅgarasūri 25
 Buddhism 6
 Buddhist countries 170
 Buddhist logic 17, 181
 Buddhist philosophy 2, 3 (f. n.), 4, 5, 181, 182
Buddhist Records of the Western World 2 (f. n.)
 Buddhists 146, 148, 164
 Buddhist works 19
 Bühler 1, 3, 12 (f. n.), 28 (f. n.), 32, 54, 63, 67, 95 (f. n.), 98 (f. n.), 127
 Burnell 121 (f. n.)
- C
- Cācarīyāka 82
 Cācigadeva 60
 Caesura 174
 Caitya 18, 68 (f. n.), 78
 Caityavāsī 19
 Caitya-vṛkṣa 110
 Cākṛavarman 170
 Cakravartin 46, 144
 Caliph 123
 Cambay 29, 39, 67, 71, 156 (f. n.), 163
 Cāmunda 30, 89, 97
 Cāmundaṛāja 45
 Cānakya 97 (f. n.), 125, 161
 Canarese 97 (f. n.)
 Canda 145
 Candana Vasati 60
 Candapa 26, 90, 96, 108, 135
 Candaprasāda 26
Candīśatāla 136, 137
 Candragachha 76, 77, 78
 Candragomin 170
 Candragupta 125
Candralekhāvyayapraharana 13, 18, 122
 Candraprabha 70, 91
Candraprabhacaritra 7
 Candraprabhasūri 77
 Candrāvati 14, 31, 59, 124
Cāndra Vyākaraṇa 170
 Candu Pandita 45 (f. n.), 54
 Cāpa dynasty 7
 Cāpotkata 94
 Cāranas 60, 84
Caritra 88, 103, 110, 111, 144, 148
Carpatapañjarī 141
Carpatapañjarīlā 141
 Cārvāka 45 (f. n.)
 Caturmukha Svayambhū 176 (f. n.)
Caturvīṃśati-Jina-Stotra 74
Caturvīṃśati-Jinendra-Saṃlekṣita-Caritaṇī 67, 110
 Catuskala 175
 Catuspadī 175
 Caulukya 3, 6 (f. n.), 9, 16, 17, 19, 27, 28, 29 (f. n.), 44, 45, 46, 56, 59, 77, 78, 89, 94, 128, 130, 132
 Caulukya dynasty 95, 131, 132, 133
 Caulukya period 113
 Cāvadhā 8, 9
 Cāvadhā dynasty 94, 95, 130
Cāradāonī Vamśāvalī 95 (f. n.)

Central Asia 106 (f. n.)
 Ceylon 171
 Chadmastha 111
 Chāmpāner 18 (f. n.)
 Chandas 174
 Chandaścūdāmanī 176
 Chānī 70
 Chandonuśūsana 12, 167, 168, 174, 175, 176
 Chandoratnāvalī 66, 67, 168, 174, 175
 Chāyā-Nāṭaka 61, 118, 119, 120, 121 (f. n.)
 Chāyānāṭyaprabandha 119
 Cheda Sūtras 138
 Chief accountant 47
 China 2
 Christian 112
 Citrakāvya 105, 107, 166
 Citrakūta 114
 Citraśālā Press 121 (f. n.)
 Classical Sanskrit Literature 51 (f. n.), 52 (f. n.), 116 (f. n.), 122 (f. n.), 154 (f. n.), 174 (f. n.), 176 (f. n.)
 Colloquial Sanskrit 145, 146
 Colonel Tod 37
 Cousens 37
 Cūrnī 187, 189
 Cutch 17, 31

D

Dabhoi 25, 98
 Dakṣiṇa fire 44
 Dalal C D 26, 114 (f. n.), 124 (f. n.)
 Damayantī 189
 Damayantī-Lalitā Mahākāvya 189
 Dāmodara 83, 142
 Dānastutis 127
 Daṇoing teachers 121
 Dandakas 175
 Dandanīti 47
 Dandapaṭi 26
 Dāndīā-Rāsa 151
 Dandin 87, 103, 153, 157
 Darbhāvati 48, 98, 128, 129, 134 (f. n.)
 Darbhāvati-praśasti 133, 134
 Daśā (division of Vāṇik community) 27 (f. n.)
 Daśaratha 114, 118, 136
 Daśārnabhadra 120

Daśarūpaka 12
 Dattaka 6
 Decoan 130
 Decoan Caulukyās 9
 Delhi 6 (f. n.), 31, 32, 123, 145, 171
 Dellamahattara 7
 Delvādā 37
 Desai M D 10 (f. n.), 26, 151 (f. n.)
 Deśināmamālā 12
 Devabhadra 77
 Devabodha 13, 51, 71
 Devabodhi 51
 Devacandī 11, 13, 18, 122
 Devagiri 30, 32, 41
 Devagupta 8
 Devaka 49
 Devakulikās 61, 132
 Devapāla 123
 Devaprabha 125, 126
 Devaprabhasūri 73, 74
 Devardhhigani 4, 38 (f. n.)
 Devaśila 155 (f. n.)
 Devasūri 11 (f. n.), 77
 Devavimala 88
 Devendra 190
 Devendrasūri 77
 Devesvara 169
 Devīcandragupta 12, 122
 Devīmāhātmya 47, 104
 Dhāla 151
 Dhanadevi 27
 Dhanajaya 12
 Dhanapāla 168, 176, 190
 Dhandhukā 11, 36
 Dhaneśvarasūri 77
 Dhārā 10, 22 (f. n.), 45, 46, 130, 168
 Dharādeva 77
 Dhārādhvamsa 52, 57, 88
 Dharaniga 70
 Dharasena II 3
 Dhārāvarsa 14, 31
 Dharkata 43
 Dharma 89, 99, 100, 139
 Dharmābhyudaya 23, 35, 39, 40 (f. n.), 69, 71, 74, 102, 103, 119, 120, 122
 Dharmadāsa Gaṇi 7, 71, 187
 Dharmakathā 7, 8, 74, 102, 148, 188, 190
 Dharmakathānuyoga 148

- Dharmakathā*—literature 148, 149
Dharmakīrti 5, 157
Dharmasāgara 187
Dharmasthānaparamparā 131
Dharmasūtras 185
Dharmopadeśamālā 187 (f. n.)
Dharmottara 5
Dhātupāṭha 170
Dhavalā 89
Dhavalakka 1, 28, 30, 35, 44, 45 (f. n.), 48, 53, 54, 55, 60, 64, 71, 82, 89, 91, 98, 100, 124, 130
Dhavalamangala 175
Dhīra 141
Dholkā 1, 48, 99
Dhruva 44 (f. n.)
Dhruvā 176
Dhruvasena II 3
Dhumralocana 105
Dhūrtākhyāna 7
Dhvani 153, 160
Dhvanikāra 153, 154, 157, 161
Dhvanilāvya 106
Dhvani—school 166
Dhvanyalōka 154
Dialectical style 181
Digambaras 11, 69, 82
Digdarśana 44 (f. n.)
Dīkpālas 129
Dīpasikhā—Kālidāsa 68
Disraeli 42
Dīvyā 109
Doghatti Vrtti on the *Upadeśamālā* 188
Dohadas 168
Dombikā 150
Dośas 153
Drama 112
Dramatic theory 120
Dramaturgy 112, 113
Drammas 29, 38, 50, 70, 77, 82
Dravyagrantha 184
Draupadīsvayamvara 14, 18
Dronācārya 10, 17
Dronaparvan 109
Dūhā metre 147
Dūhās 59, 60, 84, 176
Durgā 104
Durgasimha 38
Durgasvāmīn 7
Durlabharāja 19, 42 (f. n.), 45, 51, 89, 185
Durlabharāja tank 99
Duryodhana 113 (f. n.)
Dusāja 59, 61
Dūtāṅgada 61, 118, 120, 125
Dvādasāha sacrifice 45 (f. n.)
Dvādaśāranayacakra 4
Dvāpara 99
Dvārakā 2, 48, 107, 108
Dvāravatī 107, 151
*Dvyāśraya Kāvya*s 3, 17
Dvyāśraya Mahākāvya 11, 12, 88

E

Early History of India 2 (f. n.), 5 (f. n.)
Ekallaviṭā goddess 30, 91
Ekaviṃśati Dvātrīṃśikāh 164 (f. n.)
Eranapura Road 61
Exegetical literature 189

F

Fergusson 37 (f. n.)
Figures of word 160
Folk-dance 150, 151
Folk-literature 147
Folk-lore 144, 147
Folk-tales 148
Forbes 37 (f. n.)
Fulladaka 175

G

Gachha 127
Gadre 56 (f. n.)
*Gadyakāvya*s 3
Gaekwad's Oriental Series 42, 114 (f. n.)
Gālava 170
Galita 175
Gallaka community 96 (f. n.), 97 (f. n.)
Gallakas 96
Gāmbhu 9
Gambhutā 9
Gaṅgā 104
Gaṅgādāsa 11 (f. n.)
Gaṅgādāsapratāpavilāsa 18 (f. n.), 122
Gaṅgādhara 18 (f. n.), 57, 122
Gaṇā 7 (f. n.)

Ganadharas 110
Ganadharāvali 78
 Ganapati Vyāsa 52, 56, 57, 88
 Ganas 175
 Gandharvas 114, 116, 117
 Ganges 46, 140
Ganivyā 185
Garabā dance 98
Garabā 151
 Garga 185
 Gārgya 153, 170
 Gārhapatya-fire 44
Gāthā Nārāśamsī 127
 Gāthās 127, 157, 175, 187, 188
 Gāthā Sanskrit 146
 Gauda 53
 Gauda country 183
 Gaudī style 49, 105
 Gauraguna 67
 Gautama 102, 178
 Gayā 46
 Gaznā 10
Geya Rūpaka 150
 Ghantā-Māgha 68
 Ghata-sarpa 109
 Ghorāksa 115
 Ghorī Isapa 123
 Ghūghula 31, 51, 133
 Girinagara 2
 Gīrnār 1, 2, 23, 25, 28, (f n), 35, 36,
 37, 38 40 (f n), 70, 72, 74, 76, 78
 (f n), 91, 96, 97, 98, 99, 152
 Gīrnār inscription 48, 127, 129, 130,
 131, 132
 Gīrnār Tīrtha 152
 Glass-bangles 106, 107 (f n.)
 Gloss 125, 126
 Gode (Prof) 106 (f n)
 Godhrā 133
 Godraha 31, 133
 Gogasthāna 46
 Golla 97 (f n)
 Golladeśa 97 (f n)
 Gopīs 151
 Gothic architecture 37
 Gotroccāra 44 (f n)
 Govardhana 96 (f n)
 Govinda 56, 58

Grahariṇa 9
 Grammar 179
 Granthāgra 71, 76, 102, 109, 110, 111,
 114, 126, 149, 156, 158, 163, 167,
 172, 175, 179, 188
 Granthamāna 75
 Grantha-prasasti 127, 134, 135
 Greek astrology 185
 Greeks 185
 Guhasena 3
 Gujarāt 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 (f n), 8, 9, 10, 12,
 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 25, 27
 (f n), 28, 29, 31, 35, 36, 39, 41, 42,
 44, 46, 47, 60, 62, 64, 120, 122, 123,
 124, 125, 126, 127, 129, 130, 134, 144,
 151, 153, 154, 155, 156, 170, 171,
 175, 179, 181, 183, 185, 186, 190
Gujarāt and its Literature 151 (f n)
Gujarāt and Kāshmīr 155 (f n)
Gujarātī (Divālī number) 31 (f n)
 Gujarāt kingdom 30
 Gujarāt Literary Conference 95 (f n)
 Gujjaras 5
 Gulecā 44
 Gunabhadra 111
 Gunacandra 12, 156
 Gunādhyā 3, 104
Gunagrantha 184
 Gunamati 2
 Gunas 57
 Guṇibhūtavayamgya 160, 161 (f n)
 Guṇijā 56
 Gupta age 127
 Gupta history 12
 Guptas 2
 Gurjara 8, 89, 90, 93, 106 (f n.)
 Gurjaradesa 8, 10, 15, 16, 42 (f n.), 145
 Gurjara empire 10
 Gurjara land 140
 Gurjara princes 123
 Gurjara sovereign 138
Gurvāvali 70 (f n)

H

Hadālā 36
 Hadālaka 36
Hallisaka 150
Hammīramadamardana 23, 31, 32, 58,
 78, 122, 123, 124

- Hammīra Mahākāvya* 64 (f. n.), 65
Hamśāul 155 (f. n.)
 Handiqui 45 (f. n.), 54 (f. n.), 107 (f. n.)
 Hanumāna 115
 Hanumāngadh 73
 Haradeva 82
 Haribhadra 4 (f. n.), 7, 8, 15, 77, 102
 Haribhadrāsūri 69, 76, 95 (f. n.), 149, 187, 188
 Haridatta 114
Haridūta 120
 Harihara 40, 43, 47, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 61, 70 (f. n.), 81, 82
 Harisena 146, 149
 Harisena's *Praśasti* 127
 Harsa 68, 88, 113
Harsacarita 161
 Harsapuriya gachha 73
Hayagrīvavadha 161
 Hellenic influence 185
 Hemacandra 1, 3, 4 (f. n.), 5, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 35, 43, 51, 60, 72, 146, 88, 89, 94, 102, 111, 113, 121, 138, 150, 154, 156, 157 (f. n.), 158, 159, 161, 163, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177
Hemacandrācārya's disciples 12 (f. n.)
 Hemacandrācārya Jaina Jñāna Mandira, Pātan 74 (f. n.), 167 (f. n.)
 Hemacandra-school of grammar 172
 Hemāngada 116
Hema-samīkṣā 12 (f. n.)
 Hertel (Dr) 103, 146
 Himālaya 104, 106, 139
 Haimavati 139
 Hīnayāna 2
 Hīrā Bhāgol 134 (f. n.)
 Hīrānanda 24, 40 (f. n.)
Hīrasaubhāgya 88
 Historical *Mahākāvya*s 102
History of Indian and Eastern Architecture 37 (f. n.)
History of Indian Literature 2 (f. n.), 7 (f. n.), 127 (f. n.), 138 (f. n.), 148 (f. n.), 178 (f. n.)
History of Indian Logic 5 (f. n.)
History of Mediaeval School of Indian Logic 5 (f. n.)
History of Sanskrit Literature 5 (f. n.)
Hitopadeśa 118
 Hospitals 36
Hridayadarpana 157, 159, 161
 Hultsch 122 (f. n.)
 Hūnas 106 (f. n.)
 I
 'Imitation-play' 120
 Imperial Guptas 42
Indian Architecture 37 (f. n.)
Indian Logic and Atomism 178 (f. n.)
Indian Logic in the Early Schools 180 (f. n.)
 Indo-Iranian period 174
 Indra 136
 Indramandapa 71
Istasiddhi 164 (f. n.)
Itihāsanī Kedī 10 (f. n.)
 I-Tsing 2
 J
 Jābālipura 8, 58, 59, 96 (f. n.)
 Jackson 6 (f. n.)
 Jacobi 162
 Jagaccandrasūri 70, 73 (f. n.)
 Jagaddeva 185
 Jagadu 144
Jagaducaritra 144
 Jahlana 41, 51, 108, 130
 Jaimini 157
 Jaina 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 14, 54
 Jaina Āgama 77 (f. n.)
 Jaina Bhāndār 39, 54, 70, 71, 127, 156, 163, 167
 Jaina Canon 3, 4, 9, 10, 148, 178
 Jaina Canonical works 97 (f. n.)
Jaina Granthāvali 167
Jaina Gurjara Kavo 151 (f. n.)
 Jaina Jñāna Mandira, Baroda 180 (f. n.)
 Jaina Mahārāstrī 187
 Jaina libraries 19
 Jaina literature 11, 15
 Jaina monk 64
 Jaina mythology 102, 144, 151, 188
 Jaina pantheon 139
 Jaina philosophy 40
 Jaina poets 111
Jaina Pustaka Praśasti Samgraha 127

- Jaina religion 27, 36, 122, 149
 Jainas 13, 121, 138, 145, 148, 171
 Jaina Sādhu 33, 120
 Jaina sage 120
 Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa 171 (f n)
 Jaina Śākatāyana 171
 Jaina Sanskrit 146
 Jain scriptures 38 (f n)
 Jaina Stotra Samuccaya 138
 Jaina Stotra Sandoha 74, 138
 Jaina Sūtras 138
 Jaina teachers 27
 Jaina temples 133, 191
 Jaina Yatis 185
 Jainendra 171
 Jainendra grammar 171
 Jainism 15
 Jainasimha, son of Āsada 78, 188
 Jainasimha, son of Vastupāla 30, 77
 (f n), 78, 83, 90, 98, 100, 134, 135,
 144
 Jaina writers 144
 Jālu 27
 Jambu Guru 136 (f n)
 Jambusvāmīn 102
 Jambuvijaya 5 (f n)
 Janaka 114, 116
 Janmasamudra 74 (f n)
 Jarāsandha 2
 Jātaka 121, 148
 Jātāyu 115
 Jātukarna 118
 Jaumāranandī 171
 Jaumāra school of grammar 171
 Jāvala 102
 Jayadeva 83, 116, 176
 Jayāditya 170
 Jayamamgala Ācārya 163
 Jayamamgalasūri 60
 Jayānanda 66, 172
 Jayānandasūri 156
 Jayanta Bhatta 155
 Jayantadeva 83
 Jayatasimha 28, 30, 49, 72, 78, 83,
 128
 Jayarāsi 19
 Jayarāsi Bhatta 45 (f n)
 Jayasimha 10, 11, 12, 14
 Jayasimha Siddharāja 51, 89
 Jayasimhasūri 23, 25, 28, 31, 58, 68
 (f n), 78, 88, 122, 130, 132, 179,
 187
 Jayatala 123
 Jayataladevi 30, 124
 Jesalmer 54, 78, 127
 Jesalmer Bhāndār 32, 49 (f n)
 Jhālor 8, 18, 58, 61
 Jhambadaka 175
 Jina 50, 91, 97, 102, 110, 129, 132, 133,
 139, 151, 156 (f n), 171
 Jinabhadra 23, 72, 81, 144, 145, 147
 Jinadāsaganī 187
 Jinadāsaganī Mahattara 4 (f n)
 Jinadatta 64
 Jinadattasūri 62, 64, 65, 96
 Jinadeva 64
 Jinabharṣa 24, 36, 126, 133, 144
 Jinamandana 144
 Jinānandasūri 4
 Jinaprabha 9 (f n), 36
 Jinaprabhasūri 5, 24, 35, 144
 Jināśataka 136 (f n)
 Jinasena 111
 Jinavijaya 7, 8, 72, 145
 Jinayasas 4
 Jinendrabudhhi 6
 Jinendracarita 66, 67, 110
 Jinendra-Samkṣipta-Caritāni 67
 Jinesvara 10
 Jirnadurga 147
 Jitakalpasūtra 9 (f n)
 Jītakalpacūrnivyākhyā 38 (f n), 135
 Jitayaśas 4
 Jñāna 19, 143
 Jñāna Bhāndār 38 (f n)
 Jñānādharmakathā 148, 168
 Journal of Oriental Studies 106 (f n)
 Junāgadh 2, 30, 147
 Jyotīśāra 73, 74, 185
 Jyotiś 73, 164 (f n), 185
 Jyotiś caturvimsikā 74 (f n)
 Jyotiśkarandaka 185
 Jyotiśkarandaka Vṛtti 4 (f n)
 Jyotiśtoma sacrifice 45

K

- Kachha 9
 Kādambārī 157, 161

- Kadavaka 151, 152, 176
 Kadī 124
 Kaikeyī 114
 Kailāsa 130, 133
Kākutsthaleśi 75, 113
 Kalāguru 62
 Kalahamsa 121
Kalāhaḥpa 66
 Kālaketra 134
 Kālāujara 42
 Kālāpa school of grammar 170
 Kalāśa 134
Kalāvīlāsa 66
 Kalī 152
 Kalī age 99, 100
 Kalikālagantama 69
 Kalikālasarvajña 11
 Kalikā Mātā 37 (f n)
 Kālidāsa 49, 60, 68, 77, 88, 89, 92,
 104, 112, 113, 116, 161, 174, 190
 Kalpa 87
Kalpasūtra 187
Kalyānamandira Stotra 138
 Kalyānavijaya 3
 Kāmadeva 108
 Kamalāditya 65, 83
 Kamalaka 123
 Kāmasāstra 167
Kamṣanākāya 83
 Kamsa 112
Kamśavadha 112
 Kanāda 157, 161, 178
 Kanakacūda 114, 116
 Kanakaprabha 71
 Kandalikāra 179
Kāṇhadade Prabandha 147
Kāntamālā 8
Kaṇṭhābharana 157
 Kanya 116, 117
 Kānyakubja 2
 Kapadia H R 66 (f n.), 110 (f n.),
 111 (f n.), 167
 Kapardin 91
 Kūpatika 115
 Kāpisthala 56, 57
 Kārīkās 66, 156, 158, 159, 160, 163
 Karma 110, 184
Karmagranthas 71, 72
Karmapratīti 73
Karmasimha 59
Karmastava 72
Karmavipāka 72
 Karna 45, 55, 89, 91, 92
Karnāmrlaprapā 48, 49, 140, 141, 143
 Karna Solamkī 18
Karnasundarī Nāṭikā 18, 55, 122
 Karna Vāghelā 16
 Karnāvatī 82, 124
Karnīlā on the *upadeśamālā* 71, 187, 188
 Karpūra 175
Karpūracarita Bhāṇa 42
Karpūramañjarī 155 (f n)
Karunārajayudha 78, 121, 125
 Kāsahrada gachha 74 (f, n)
 Kāshmīr 11, 55, 154, 155, 158, 170, 184
 Kāshmīrian authors 146
 Kāshmīr Panditas 55
 Kāsī 55, 57
Kāśīlā Prīti 6, 170
 Kāśī Sanskrit series 163
 Kāśyapa 174
Kātantra grammar 38, 57, 170
Kathākośa 24, 149
 Kathā-literature 16
Kathāratnākara 39, 74, 149, 159
Kathāratnasāgara 149
Kathāsaritsāgara 3, 148, 149
 Kāthavate 49
 Kathā-works 103, 145, 149
 Kāṭkesvara 46
 Kātyāyana 170, 174
 Kavīcakravartin 40
 Kavi-gosthī 162
Kavīkaṇṭhābharana 163
 Kavīkūjara 40
 Kavīndrabandha 59
Kavīndraracanāsamuccaya 140
 Kavīpravara 61
 Kavi-sabbā-śrīngāra 78
 Kavīsamayas 165
Kavīśīlā 159, 161, 162, 163, 169,
 175, 190
 Kavīśīlā-literature 161
Kavīśīlā Prīti 168
 Kavītarahasya 63
Kāvya 57, 131 (f n.), 146
Kāvyaūdarśa 49, 87

- Kāvya-kalpalatā* 63, 64, 65, 66, 108, 156, 161, 162, 163, 164, 167, 168, 169, 175, 190
Kāvya-kalpalatā-mañjarī 66, 67
Kāvya-kalpalatā-parimala 66, 67
Kāvya-kalpalatā Vṛtti 67
Kāvya-kautuka 157, 159
Kāvya-lamāra 87 (f n), 118
Kāvya-mālā 136 (f n), 138
Kāvya-mīmāṃsā 19, 157 (f n), 162
Kāvya-niśāna 1, 2 (f n), 14, 51 (f n), 95, (f n.), 113, 150, 154, 157 (f n.), 158, 159
Kāvya-prakāśa 49, 60, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 161, 168, 191
Kāvya-prakāśa-samhita 156
Kaumāra school of Grammar 170
Kaurava 14, 109
Kausalyā 114, 115
Kautilya 153, 168
Kavyata 161
Kedāra 35, 99
Keith 6 (f n), 14 (f n), 116 (f n), 117 (f n.), 119 (f n), 120 (f n), 124 (f n), 171 (f n), 174 (f n), 178 (f n.), 185 (f n)
Keśavamisra 169
Kevalin 110
Khamgāra 147
Khandagītī 175
Khāndava-forest 109
Khaṇḍika 175
Kharpara khān 123, 124
Khedāvāla Brāhmīns 146
Khetaravasi Bhāndār 72
Kien-hwui 2
Kīranāvalī 179
Kīranāvalī on the Kalpasūtra 187
Kīrātārjunīya 92, 105, 107
Kīrti-haumudī 14, 17, 23, 28, 35, 39, 49, 52, 55, 58, 59, 60, 62, 88, 92, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100, 101, 105, 130, 137, 140, 141, 190
Kīrti-stambha 17, 89, 92
Kodīnār 103
Kohala 158
Kohnagara 102,
Kramadīśvara 171
Kraustuki 174
Krishnamachariar 51 (f n), 52 (f n), 116 (f n.), 122 (f n), 154 (f n), 158 (f n), 174 (f n), 176 (f n)
Kṛpāsundarī 101
Kṛṣṇa 41, 57, 82, 100, 107, 108, 112, 140, 151, 187
Kṛṣṇamīśra 15
Kṛṣṇanagara 65, 83
Kṛṣṇarāja 128
Kṛtayuga 99, 100
Kṛtyā 45
Kṣamāśramana 4
Kṣemarāja 95
Kṣemendra 66, 118, 163, 174
Kṣetrapāla 70
Kṣetras 19
Kṣtrapas 2
Kuladevatā 139
Kulaguru 69, 78
Kumāra 45, 46, 47, 49
Kumāradevī 26, 27, 133
Kumārāpāla 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 28, 38 (f n), 42 (f n), 46, 61, 89, 95, 98, 99, 101, 102, 144, 176, 185
Kumārāpālacarita 12, 144
Kumārāpālacarita Mahākāvya 88
Kumārāpālāprabandha 13, 38 (f n)
Kumārāpālāpratibodha 14
Kumārāsambhava 106, 107, 157, 161
Kumāravihāra 13, 15, 18
Kumāravihārapraśasti Kāvya 13
Kumbheśvara 134
Kumkuma 175
Kumudacandra 11, 51
Kumudāmgada 114, 116
Kuntaka 154, 161
Kuntāpa hymns 127
Kūrcālasarasvatī 39
Kuśa 92
Kuśalaka 123
Kuśalalābha 155 (f n.)
Kuśāvatī 92
Kusmāndī 139
Kuttu(tta)ka 161
Kuvalayaka 123
Kuvalayamālā Kathā 8, 9, 149
Kuvalayāśvacarita 57

L

- Lāchi 56
 Laghu Bhojarāj 36
 Laghu Śākhā 27 (f n)
 Laghu Śākhīya 27 (f n)
 Lākhā Phulānī 9
 Lākhārāma 8, 152
 Laksanā 10, 160, 165
 Laksanas 153
 Laksmāna 114, 115
 Laksmāna Ganī 42, 151
 Laksmī 46, 47, 57, 68
 Laksmīdhara 160,
 Laksmīsāgara 24, 26, 27, (f. n) 103
 Laksmīyamka 103
 Lakuta 151
 Lakutārāsa 151
 Lahitā 27, 164
 c' Lahitādevī 100, 178
 Lahitasara 51
Lalitavivraharāja Nāṭaka 122
Lalitavistara 146
 Lallasarman 45
 Lamkā 61, 115, 117, 124, 137
 Lāsya 150
 Lāta 6 (f n), 9, 30, 36, 42, 90, 123
 Lātadesa 42
 Lavana 115
 Lavanaprasāda 28, 29, 30, 32, 49, 89,
 90, 92, 93, 95, 109 (f n), 124, 128
 Lavanasīmha 61
 Lāvanyasīmha 61, 66, 90, 123
Lelhapaddhati 30
Life of Hemcandrācārya 1, 12 (f. n),
 54 (f n)
Limgānuśasana 172
 Little Vehicle 2
Locana on the Dhvanyāloka 158
Lohaprahāsa 4 (f n)
 Lokāyata philosophy 45 (f n)
 Lollata 153, 157, 161
 Luders, prof 120
 Lunasīmha 34, 37 (f. n)
 Lunavasatī 37, 38, 59
 Luniḡa 27, 37
 Luplā variety of Upamā 153

M

- Macdonell 5 (f n), 112 (f n), 121
 (f n)

- Madana 81, 82, 122
 Madanacandra 68
 Madanakīrti 82
 Mādhava 42, 83
Mādhavānala chopāi 155 (f n)
Mādhavānala-Kāmakaṇḍalū Probandha
 146
 Mādhurya 160
 Mādhyamika 182
 Mādrī 61
 Magadha 3, 15
Magadhasenā 148
 Māgha 6, 60, 68, 89, 92, 103, 106, 107,
 108, 157, 190
Mahābhārata 14, 57, 66, 73 (f n), 87,
 104, 107, 110, 120, 121, 157, 191
Mahābhāṣya 112, 161, 170
 Mahādeva 46, 47, 132
 Mahākālī 18 (f n)
 Mahākavi 82
Mahākāvya 1, 23, 41, 62, 87, 88, 92, 94,
 97, 101, 103, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111,
 137, 139, 141, 156 (f n), 189, 190
 Mahāmandaleśvara 29
 Mahāmātya 33, 34
 Mahānagarīya 58 (f. n)
Mahānāṭaka 119, 120
 Mahāprabandha 13
 Mahārāstra 65
Mahāvastu 146
 Mahāvīra 3, 4, 15, 18, 60, 77, 102, 111,
 138, 144, 171, 187
 Mahārāja Bhāskaradatta 42
 Maharājādhirāja 29
Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya Rajat Ma-
hotsava Grantha 138
 Mahāyāna 2
 Mahendra 68 (f n)
 Mahendrakumār sāstrī 138 (f. n), 179
 (f n)
 Mahendrasūri 13, 69, 70, 96
 Mahesvara 154
 Mahī 31
 Mahimabhatta 154
 Mahitata region 31
 Mahmud 10
 Maṭrakas 2
Makaranda on the KāvyaKalpalatā 66
 (f n)

- Māladēva 67
Mālatīmādhava 157, 168
 Mālava Samvat 107
 Malayagiri 4 (f n), 15, 187
Malayavatī 148
 Mahinī metre 139
 Malladeva 27, 57, 67, 128
 Malla Vādin 4, 5, 68 (f n)
 Mallinātha 63
 Mallisena 72
 Mālva 10, 11, 14, 17, 31, 33, 43, 45, 46, 52, 123, 134, 144, 177
 Mālyavān 115, 116
 Maṅgala 157
 Maṅgalācarana 140
 Maṅgala Grāma 57
 Mammata 154, 155, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 191
 Manahparyaya Jñāna 110
 Mānatunga 138
 Mandalesvara 29 (f n)
 Mandali 28, 77, 99
 Mandana 43
 Mandara mountain 69
 Mandasar 127
 Māndavya 174
 Mandodari 119
 Māndu 43
 Māngrol 57
 Mānikyacandra 60, 81, 103, 111, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 191
 Mānikyasūri 168
Mañjarī on the Kāvyaśalpalatā 66, 168
 Mañjubhāsini 164
 Manu 105
 Manuscript-libraries 134
Manusmṛti 46
 Mārīca 114
Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna 47, 104
 Marma 164
 Mārvād 8, 30, 31, 35, 40 (f n), 59, 61, 73, 115, 123
 Mārvādī 30
 Mathas 6, 18, 36
 Mathurā 3
Māthurī Vācanā of the Jaina Canon 4
 Matīsāra 155 (f n)
 Mātrāvr̥ttas 175
 Mātsya Nyāya 29, 30
 Māu 27
 Mauryas 2, 17
 Māyā 137
 Mayanallādevī 99
 Māyurāja 116
 Mayūra 136
 Mecca 31
Meghadūta 43 (f n)
 Meghaprabhācārya 119
 Mehsānā 25
 Meru 63
 Merutunga 4 (f n), 5, 24, 26, 27, 69, 144
 Meruvijaya 24, 26
 Metrics 174, 175, 176 (f n), 190
 Mevād 59, 123
 Milachūkāra 123, 124
Milindapañha 178
 Nīmāmsā 178, 179, 182, 183
 Mīśra 165
 Mithilā 136
 Mlecchas 46, 123
 Modha 43
 Modherā 77
 Modheraka 77
 Modi M O 12 (f n), 176 (f n)
 Modi R C 8 (f n), 13 (f n), 56 (f n), 95 (f n) —
Moharājaparājaya 14, 15, 18, 43, 100, 122
 Mojdīn 31
 Mosques 36
 Mount Ābu 5, 14
Mudrārāksasa 42, 122, 125
Mudratakumudacandra Prakaraṇa 11 (f n), 43, 122
Mugdhabodha 171
Mugdhāvabadhamauktika 146
 Muhammad II 18 (f n)
 Muhammad Ghorī 31 (f n)
 Mubūrta-śudhhi 186
 Muizzuddin 31 (f n)
 Muktakas 140, 141, 190
 Mukula 157, 161
 Mūlarāja 9, 10, 14, 16, 45, 47, 89, 95, 99, 124, 133
 Mūlarāja II 46, 89
 Mūlasthāna 130
 Mūlesvara Mahādeva 99

- Muniandrasūri 47
 Muni Hamsaviṣayaḥ 180 (f n)
 Muniratna 9 (f n)
 Muni Śrī Puṇyaviṣayaḥ 156 (f n.)
 Munisundarasūri 70 (f n)
 Muni Suvrata 78
Munisuvratacarita 42
 Muni Suvratasvāmin 132
 Muṇja 35, 45, 46, 176, 177
 Muṇjāla 77, 90
 Munshi 151 (f n)
 Murāri 73, 88, 115, 116, 117, 125, 126
 Murārīlāl Nāgar 167
 Muslim 123
 Muslim attack 31, 78
 Muslim merchant 29, 36
 Muslim rule 145
Muṣṣyākarana 15
 N
 Nadul 59, 89
 Nāgaḍa 33, 34
Nāgānanda 161
 Nāgara 33, 34, 44, 56, 57
 Nāgara Brāhmin 56
 Nāgārjuna 4 (f n)
 Nāgendra gachha 69, 70, 78, 96, 103, 129, 131, 132
Naisadha 53, 54, 55, 107
Naisadhīyacarita 45 (f. n.), 52, 100, 190
 Nala 99, 100, 189
 Nālandā 2
 Nālha 155 (f n)
 Namisādhū 118
 Nānāka 25, 43, 52, 56, 57, 58, 65, 88
 Nānākabhūti 56
 Nanda 4
 Nāndī 14, 112, 114
Nandī Cūrṇa 1 (f n.)
Nandīsūtra 187
Nandī Vṛtti 4 (f n.)
 Nara 107
 Naracandra 40, 61, 73, 74 (f n) 75, 89, 102, 125, 126, 139, 160, 180, 181, 183, 184
 Naracandraśārya 68 (f n.)
Nāracandra-Jyotiḥśāra 73
 Naracandraśūri 24, 39, 73, 74, 96, 131, 132, 149, 159, 172, 178, 185, 190, 191
 Nārada 185
 Narahari 185
Naranārāyanānanda 23, 28, 39, 40, 41, 107, 108, 139
 Narapati 155 (f n)
Narapatiṣayacaryā Svoroḍaya 185
 Nārāyana 48, 107
 Narendraprabha 70, 143, 159
 Narendraprabhasūri 24, 39, 41, 75, 76, 113, 132, 134, 140, 142, 156, 158, 161
 Narmadā 29
 Narrative poetry 176
 Naravimāna 124
 Nāṭaka 13, 57
 Nāṭikā 13, 55, 112
Nāṭyadarpana 12, 113, 122, 150
Nāṭya-rāsaka 150
Nāṭyāśāstra 112, 113, 150 (f. n.), 153, 158 (f n), 174
Naraka Mantra 149
 Navāṃgīvṛttikāra 10
 Navarātri festival 56 (f. n)
 Navum Samgapur 25
Nayacakra 4, 5 (f n.)
 Nayacandrasūri 64
 Nāyaka 167
 Nāyikās 167
 Nemicandra 10, 72, 148, 189
 Nemikumāra 14
 Neminātha 37, 48, 91, 97, 102, 111, 120, 128, 129, 138, 139, 151, 152
Nemināthacarita 95 (f n)
Nemināthacarita 71
Nemistara 138
 Nepal 171
 Nicholas Ufflet 6
Nidānasūtra 174
Nighantu 153
Nighantuśeṣa 12
 Nīlakantha 89, 120 (f n), 121 (f. n)
Nimittāsāṃgabodhinī 4
 Nipunaka 123
Nirukta 153, 170
 Nirvāna 102
 Nirvṛtti Kala 7
Niryuktis 138, 187, 189
 Nisumbha 104
 Niti 178
Nītiśāstra 29

Nīṭisataka 142
 North Gujarāt 58 (f n)
Nṛpāksapatalādhyaksa 47
Nyāsa on the *Kāśikā* 6
Nyāsa on the *Viśrūntavidyūdharā* 4
Nyāya 40, 70, 73, 178, 179, 180, 190, 191
Nyāyabindu 5
Nyāyakaṇḍalī 73, 74 (f n), 126, 178, 179, 180, 181, 183, 184, 191
Nyāyakaṇḍalī Pañjikā 75
Nyāyakumudacandra 157
Nyāyasāra 179, 180
Nyāyasūtras 178
Nyāyatātparyadīpikā 179
Nyāya-Vaisesika 180
Nyāyāvatāra 7

O

O che-lo 2
Ojas 160
 Old Gujarātī 6 (f n), 26, 27, 40 (f n), 138, 146, 151, 158, 187
 Old Gujarātī literature 155 (f n)
 Old Western Rājasthānī 6 (f n)
 Old Western Rājasthānī literature 84
 On the Literature of the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarāt 103 (f n), 46 (f n)
Omens 185
Ozā G. H. 31 (f n)

P

Pādahipta 148
Pādahiptācārya Prabandha 145
Pādahiptapura 98
Padapātha 170
Padārthas 178
Padma 43 (f n), 65, 66, 67
Padmāditya 77
Padmaladevī 27
Padmanābha 147
Padmānanda Mahākāvya 66, 67, 109, 110, 167
Padmasūri 78
Pālanpur 15
Pālhana 82, 152
Pālhana-putra 23, 82, 150, 152
Pālī literature 178
Pālitānā 51, 98

Pallī 133
Pampāsaras 115
Pañcabānalīlākathā 157
Pāñcadandanī Vārtā 155 (f n)
Pañcakāvya 88
Pañcākhyāna 16, 146
Pañcatantra 16, 118, 148
Pañcāsarā Pārsvanātha 69, 95
Panchamahāl 18 (f n)
Pāṇḍavacarita 73 (f n), 74
Pāṇḍita Sivadatta 52 (f n)
Pāṇḍudāsa 183
Pandya Abhyāsagrha, Pātan 37 (f n)
Pani 112
Pāṇini 3, 146, 153, 157, 170, 171, 172
Pāṇinian Ganapātha 172
Pañjikā on the *Nyāyakaṇḍalī* 74 (f n), 179
Paraśurāma 114, 117, 136
Paribhāṣā 173
Pāryātamāñjarī 122
Parikara Alamkāra 158
Parikh R. O. 1, 2 (f n), 3 (f n), 4 (f n), 6 (f n), 8 (f n), 9 (f n), 10 (f n), 11 (f n), 12 (f n), 13 (f n), 17 (f n), 31 (f n), 45 (f n), 51 (f n), 95 (f n), 154 (f n), 155 (f n)
Parimala on the *Kāvya-kalpalatā* 67, 161, 162, 163, 167, 168
Parināma 161
Parisistaparvan 7, 12
Parivāra 110
Parmār 59
Parmardideva 42
Parmār kings 124, 128
Pārsva 133
Pārsvacandra 24, 26, 27 (f n)
Pārsvanātha 91, 111, 120, 138
Pārśvanāthacarita 81, 111
Pārthaparākramavyāyoga 14, 18
Particulars 178
Pārvatī 105, 150
Paryantārādhana 40
Pāsu 59 (f n)
Pātaliputra 2, 3
Pātan 1, 9, 13, 17, 19, 29 (f n), 36 (f n), 54, 60, 74 (f n), 77, 120, 127, 135, 142, 156, 163, 167

- Pātan Bhāṇḍār 38 (f n), 72, 74, 76,
 (f n), 78
 Patañjali 170, 191
 Pausadha 121
 Pausadhaśālā 72, 121
 Peshvās 121 (f n)
 Persian 147
 Peterson 34 (f n), 43 (f n.), 49
 (f n), 70 (f n), 72, 74, 75 (f n),
 78 (f n), 127, 163 (f n.)
 Pethada Rāsa 116
 Phāgu 52
 Phitsūtra 170
 Pila 73
 Pilaṇi 73
 Pilupadra 73
 Pimgala 174, 176
 Pindaniryukti 70
 Pippalācārya 83
 Plays 190
 Poetics 153, 179, 190
 Poona 46 (f n), 113
 Poona manuscript 113, 114, 119 (f n)
 Porvād 1
 Post-Apabhramsa dialect 16, 151
 Prabandha 13, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 36,
 37, 41, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 58
 (f n), 59, 60, 63, 64, 65, 82, 83, 84,
 139, 144, 145, 190
 Prabandhacintāmanī 5, 9, 24, 28, 31,
 40, 139, 144, 145, 147, 177
 Prabandha-form 24
 Prabandhakōśa 5, 13, 28, 31, 32, 33,
 34, 38, 52, 54, 58, 62, 65, 66, 75, 82,
 90, 139, 141, 144, 145, 168
 Prabandhapañcaśatī 24
 Prabandhāvalī 23, 72, 81, 144, 145,
 146, 147
 Prabhācandra 157
 Prabhācandrasūri 4, 144
 Prabhāsa 35, 38, 55, 57
 Prabhāsa Pātan 25, 56, 91, 96 (f n),
 97
 Prabhāvahacarita 4, 5, 6, 17 (f n), 19
 (f n), 51 (f n), 64, 144, 155
 Prabhāvanā-Dharma 102
 Prabodhacandrodaya 15
 Prabodhinī Ekādasī 44
 Prabuddharauhinīya 18, 59 (f n), 122
 Prahasana 112
 Prahlādana 14, 18, 51, 89
 Prahlādanapur 15
 Prācīna Gurjara Kāvyaśamgraha 140
 Prācīna Jaina Lekhaśamgraha 25
 Prācīna Likhāmālā 13 (f n) 25
 Pradyumnasūri 70, 71, 74, 76, 77, 78
 Prāgvāta 1, 5, 8, 13, 18, 26, 27 (f n),
 42 (f n.)
 Prāgvāta community 139
 Prakarana 7, 13, 43 (f n.), 71, 78,
 123, 187, 188, 189
 Prākṛit 2, 3, 7, 8, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 12,
 43 (f n), 62, 103, 111, 115, 120,
 138, 145, 146, 147, 148, 151, 158,
 167, 171, 172, 173, 175, 187, 189
 Prākṛit commentaries 187
 Prākṛit gāthā 157, 158
 Prākṛit grammar 60, 73, 173, 176
 (f n), 190
 Prākṛitisms 115
 Prākṛit metres 171, 176
 Prākṛit Pimgala 60
 Prākṛit Vṛtti 187
 Prākṛitadīpikā 171, 172
 Prākṛitaprabodha 73, 171, 172, 173,
 183, 184
 Pramāna 178
 Pramānamīmāṃsā 12
 Prameyakamaṭamūrtanā 138 (f n),
 179 (f n)
 Prasāda 137, 160
 Prasannarāghava 116
 Prasastapūda 178, 179, 180
 Prasasti 25, 49, 52, 53, 56, 57, 60, 88,
 95 (f n), 103, 109, 119 (f n), 127,
 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 134, 135,
 159, 188, 190, 191
 Prasastihāvyā 135
 Prasastisamgraha 127
 Prasastilokas 142
 Prasāśataka 74 (f n)
 Prasthāna 150
 Pratāpamalla 32, 46
 Pratāparudrakalyāṇa 122
 Pratāparu Irayaśobhūṣana 122
 Pratāpasimha 135
 Pratibhā 159, 162
 Pratihāra clan 31

Pratibharendurāja 157 (f. n.)
 Pratimāmerudhha Nāṭaka 157
 Pratināyaka 167
 Prātistākhyas 170
 Pratiṣṭhāsoma 88
 Pravarasena 103
 Pravartaka Kāntivijayaḥ Śāstrasam-
 graha 72 (f. n.)
 Pravartaka Śrī Kāntivijayaḥ 74
 (f. n.)
 Praveśaka 112, 123
 Prayāga 44, 46
 Premī 171 (f. n.)
 Preyash 161
 Prthvīcandracaritra 146
 Prthvīrāja Prabandha 145
 Prthvīrāja Rāso 145
 Public libraries 38
 Pudgalas 178
 Pūjyapāda Devanandī 171
 Puṇyavijayaḥ 48 (f. n.), 138
 Puppet-plays 120, 121 (f. n.)
 Puppet-show 120
 Purānas 52, 57, 136, 151, 153
 Purāna-style 103, 111
 Purānic geography 167
 Purāṇanaprabandhasamgraha 24, 39,
 59, 65, 72, 82, 139, 145
 Pūrnabhadra 16, 146
 Pūrnasimha 27
 Purohita 45
 Pururavas-Ūrvaśī 112
 Purusottama 57, 121
 Pūrvapaksa 181, 182
 Pūrvas 3, 110
 Puṣpaka 115

R

Rādha district 183
 Rādī 124
 Rāghava 116
 Rāghavānanda 157
 Rāghuvamśa 92, 100, 116, 124, 168,
 174
 Rāhada 95
 Raivataka 91
 Raivataka garden 41
 Raivataka park 107, 108
 Rājapurohita 47

Rājasekhara 5, 19, 35, 36, 52, 55
 (f. n.), 116, 117, 119, 157 (f. n.),
 162, 163, 168
 Rājasekharasūri 24, 74 (f. n.), 75,
 144, 179
 Rājasthān 5 (f. n.), 6 (f. n.), 60, 77,
 127, 144, 171, 186
 Rājāvālikosthaka 32
 Rājavihāra 99
 Rājendralāl Mitra 120
 Rājkot 27
 Rājūisara 46
 Rājputānā 13, 17, 58
 Rājputāne kā Itihāsa 31 (f. n.)
 Rājyalaksmī 93
 Rājyasūtra 46
 Rāma 48, 49, 76, 99, 104, 114, 115, 116,
 117, 118, 119, 136, 137
 Rāmacandra 12, 13, 14, 102, 113, 122,
 150, 156
 Rāma-dramas 115, 124
 Rāmākṛīda 150
 Rāmabātala 48, 49, 136, 137
 Rāmāyana 47, 57, 83, 84 (f. n.), 104,
 113, 117
 Randle 180 (f. n.)
 Rasa 12, 160
 Rāsa 150, 151
 Rāsa-dance 151
 Rāsadās 151
 Rasa-dhvani school 154
 Rāsa form 151
 Rāsaka 150, 151, 175
 Rāsa-kṛīda 151
 Rāsmālā 37 (f. n.)
 Rasa-theory 153
 Rasavat 160, 161
 Rāsāvalaya 175
 Rāsilla 64
 Rāso 145
 Rāṣṭrakūta 46, 90
 Rāsu 150
 Rāta 174
 Ratna 57
 Ratnacūda 116
 Ratnāditya 95
 Ratnakantha 155
 Ratnamandiraganī 24
 Ratnaprabhasūri 188

Ratnaśrāvaka Prabandha 145

Ratnaśrī 78

Ratnāvali 161, 176

Rathayātrā 102

Rathodhbhatā 164

Rauhineya 18

Rāvana 61, 114, 115, 118, 119, 137

Rāvanavadha 3

Raviprabhasūri 72

Revā 56, 134

Revantagiri 23

Revantagiri Rāsu 23, 70, 150, 151, 152

Rgveda 45, 57, 127, 136, 153, 170

Rgveda-dialogues 112

Rīti 153

Rk Prātisākhya 174

Rsabhadeva 102, 132

Rūcaka 155

Rudativitta 15

Rūdha words 165

Rudradāman 2

Rudramabālaya 9, 13, 124

Rudrata 87 (f. n.), 118, 153, 157, 162

Ruins of Darbhāvatī or Dabhoi 133 (f. n.)

Rūpaka 42, 112, 119, 166

Rūpakasatkam 42

Ruyyaka 155, 158 (f. n.)

S

Sābaramati 29

Śabdabrahmollāsa 72

Śabdālamkāra 98, 105

Śabdānuśāsana 171

Sabhāparvan 109

Sābhramati 124

Sadāvalasyaka 73

Sadbodha 100

Saddarśanmātā 83

Saddarśanasamuccaya 7

Sadgati 100

Sādhu 102

Sādhyi 102

Sadik 29, 36, 50 (f. n.)

Sagara Cakravartin 102

Sāgaracandra 74

Sahasralinga 17, 89, 92, 124

Sahasralinga lake 13

Sāhitya 10, 40, 73

Sāhityadarpana 8 (f. n.), 112, 150

Sāhityavidyādhari on the *Naiṣadha* 54

Sahrdaya 162

Sahrdayacūdāmani 39

Said 29, 36, 50 (f. n.)

Śaitava 174

Śaiva 48, 54

Sajjanaprasāmsā 60

Sajjanī 56

Śaka era 5 (f. n.)

Śakalya 170

Śakambhari 13, 41, 122

Śakatāyana 168, 170, 171

Śakta 48

Śakti 136

Śakunikāvihāra 132

Śakuntalā 117, 157, 174, 161

Sālāturiya 3

Śālibhadrāsūri 151

Śālisūri 155 (f. n.)

Sāmācārisataka 4 (f. n.)

Samādhi 161

Samāhita 161

Sama metres 175

Śamāmṛtam 120

Samantabhadra 138

Sāmantasimha 9

Sāmānya 153, 184

Samarāditya-Samkṣepa 70, 71, 74 (f. n.),

76 (f. n.), 78 (f. n.)

Samarāṭcakahā 7, 149

Samarasimha 59 (f. n.)

Samasyā 50, 65, 167

Samau 77

Samavāya 184

Samarāyānga Sūtra 178

Sāmaveda 174

Sama Vṛttas 175

Samayasundara 4 (f. n.), 24

Samayupura 77

Sāmgana 30

Samgha 35, 36, 91, 92, 96, 97, 98, 102

Samgha Bhāṇḍār 120

Samghadāsa 121, 148

Samghapati 35

Samghapatīcarita 23, 71, 102, 103

Samghavi Pādā Bhāṇḍār 60, 142

Samghārāmas 2

- Saṃghayātrā 41, 50, 55, 68, 69, 71,
 73, 76, 78, 91, 92, 102
 Saṃgītaratnākara 150, 151 (f. n.)
 Saṃgrāmasūtra 123
 Saṃhitā 153
 Śaṃkara 160
 Śaṃkarācārya 136, 141
 Śaṃkarasvāmin 83
 Saṃketa on the *Kāvya-prakāśa* 60, 81,
 159, 168, 191
 Śaṃkha 30, 36, 50, 90, 92, 99, 101
 Śāṃkhāyana *Śrautasūtra* 174
 Śaṃkheśvara 96 (f. n.)
 Śāṃkhya 179, 182
 Saṃkhyā-śabdas 166
 Śāṃkhya-Yoga 182
 Śaṃkuka 153, 157, 161
 Saṃmatiyā school 2
 Saṃpatkara 18
 Saṃrāt 45
 Saṃrati 160
 Saṃudragupta 127
Saṃudrikatilaka 42 (f. n.), 185
 Saṃdeha 166
 Saṃderaka gachha 61, 96
 Sāṃdesarā B. J. 10 (f. n.), 12 (f. n.),
 14 (f. n.), 16 (f. n.), 18 (f. n.), 54
 (f. n.)
 Saṃdhi 176
 Saṃjñā 175
 Sāṃkalā 37 (f. n.)
 Saṃmatitarka 5, 164 (f. n.)
 Sanskrit commentaries 187, 189
 Sanskrit drama 14 (f. n.), 112, 113,
 116 (f. n.), 117, 120, 126
 Sanskrit Literature 6 (f. n.), 112
 (f. n.) 121 (f. n.), 174 (f. n.) 185
 (f. n.)
 Sanskrit plays—performance 18
 Sanskrit Poetics 153 (f. n.)
 Sanskrit 155 (f. n.)
 Śāntanava 170
 Śāntinātha 61, 111
 Śāntiparvan 110, 111
 Śāntisūri 10, 61, 69, 96
 Sāntu 18
 Sapādalakṣa 13, 46
 Saptakṣetrī Rāsu 151
 Saptatā 104
 Śāradādeśa 155
 Śāraṃgadeva Vāghelā 155
 Śārana 115, 116
 Saramā 112
 Śārasvata 171
 Śārsvata charṇ 77
 Śarasvatī 9, 53, 56, 57, 58, 89, 98, 101,
 124, 128, 139, 155 (f. n.)
 Śarasvatikanthābharana 40, 59
 Śarasvatikanthābharana of Bhoja 157
 (f. n.)
 Śarasvatikanthābharana Prāsāda 53
 Śarasvatī-Pūjā 56 (f. n.)
 Śarasvatīsādana Prāsāda 25
 Śarasvatīsadas 56
 Śārdūla 142
 Śārmgadeva 150
 Śārmgadharma 41
 Śārmgadharapadhhata 41, 55, 62
 Sarvadeva 46
 Sarva-Jina-Sādhārana Stavana 74, 139
 Sarvānanda 144
 Sarvāśraya 6
 Sarveśvara 29, 95
 Śāsana-devatā 139
 Śataka 72
 Satānanda 114, 117
 Sātavāhana 158
 Sati Candanabalā 83
 Satkala 175
 Satkavitva 162
 Satpadi 175
 Śatruñjaya 27, 28, 33, 35, 36, 37, 40,
 41, 44, 49, 50, 51, 71, 75, 76, 78, 96,
 98, 99, 100, 102
 Śatruñjayatīrthoddhārāprabandha 32
 Satyavati 104
 Sāu 27
 Saurāstra 2, 9, 17, 25, 33, 35, 36, 57,
 91, 96 (f. n.), 102 (f. n.), 103, 130
 (f. n.), 147, 151
 Sautrāntika 182
 Sāyana 42
 Schmidt (Prof.) 146
 Senaka 170
 Setubandha 103
 Shadow-play 119, 120, 121 (f. n.)
 Shastri D. K. 10 (f. n.), 29 (f. n.), 31
 (f. n.)

- Shastri Hīrānanda 133 (f. n.)
 Śibi 121
 Śiḍḡaka 150
 Siddha-Hemacandra 11, 12
 Siddha-Hema grammar 5
 Siddha Kavi 65
 Siddhapāla 14, 42 (f. n.)
 Siddharāja 9, 10, 13, 17, 18, 46, 51
 (f. n.); 55, 59, 99, 103
 Siddharāja Jayasimha 6 (f. n.) 11, 26,
 75, 141, 147, 155, 163, 171
 Siddhasārasvata charm 65, 66
 Sidhhapura 124, 125
 Sidhharsi 7, 149, 187, 188, 190
 Sidhhasena Divākara 5, 7, 102, 138,
 164 (f. n.)
 Sigbraka 123
 Siksā for the poets 159
 Siksās 170
 Śilācārya 9
 Śilāditya 102
 Śilāgunasūri 9
 Śilāmka 15
 Śilāmākācārya 9
 Śilāmkaśilācārya 187
 Śilpaśāstra 59
 Simghana 30
 Simha 123
 Simha Ksamāsramana 4
 Simhana 30, 32, 90, 93, 123
 Simbasūri 74 (f. n.)
 Sind 5, 17
 Sindhudeśa 46
 Śisūpālavadha 6, 92, 100, 103, 105,
 107, 161
 Sita 26, 56, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119,
 136, 137
 Sitācarita Mahākāvya 188, 189
 Śiva 45, 46, 89, 97, 124, 130, 136, 140,
 150
 Śivacandra 8
 Śivāparādhaśamāpanastotra 136
 Six Karmans 46
 Skandagupta 2, 127
 Śleṣa 101, 105, 166
 Smarana 166
 Smith 2 (f. n.), 5 (f. n.)
 Smṛti 57
 Sobhanadeva 59
 Sohagā 27
 Sokha 27
 Solamki 3
 Solaśarman 44
 Soma 14, 26, 45
 Somacandra 155
 Somadeva 3, 106 (f. n.), 122
 Somadharma 24
 Somāditya 65
 Soma juice 44
 Soma Mantrin 16
 Somanātha 55, 57, 91, 97, 99
 Somanātha Pātan 101
 Somanātha Praśasti 51 (f. n.)
 Somanātha temple 51 (f. n.)
 Somaprabha 51
 Somaprabhācārya 11, 14
 Somasatra 45 (f. n.)
 Somasaubhāgya 88
 Somasimha 59, 128
 Someśvara 14, 17, 23, 25, 26, 28, 33,
 38, 40, 41, 44, 45 (f. n.), 47, 48, 49,
 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 58, 61, 62, 65,
 69, 71, 88, 90, 93, 94, 95, 99, 101,
 103, 105, 106, 113, 116, 117, 119
 (f. n.), 129, 130, 133, 136, 137, 140,
 141, 142, 190, 191
 Someśvaradeva 44, 46, 51, 89
 Sonaladevi 147
 Soratha 152
 Sphotāyana 170
 Śrādhha 57
 Śrādhha ceremony 44, 46
 Sragdharā 136, 137
 Śramana 191
 Śrauta Sūtra 45 (f. n.)
 Śrāvaka 102, 152
 Śrāvaka ladies 98
 Śrāvika 102
 Śrenika 189
 Śrenikopākhyāna Mahākāvya 189
 Śresthin Mūla 96 (f. n.)
 Śricandrasūri 42, 135
 Śrīdhara 73, 178, 180, 181, 183, 191
 Śrīdharācārya 179
 Śrīharṣa 52, 54, 88
 Śrīkaranamudrā 67
 Śrīkrṣṇa 2
 Śrīmāla 5, 6, 8, 42 (f. n.)

- Śrīmāla Purāṇa* 6, 8
Śrīmālī 18, 42 (f. n.), 43
Śrīmālī Brāhmīns 8
Śrīmālī community 78
Śrīpāla 13, 14, 17, 42 (f. n.), 51
Śrīśaṅka 35
Śrīṅgāraprakāśa 122
Śrutabodha 174
Śryaṅka 6
Stage-manager 112
Stambhana 98
Stambhana Pārśvanātha caitya 68 (f. n.)
Stambhatirtha 29, 30, 31, 36, 38, 50, 72, 78, 81, 90, 91, 92, 93, 97, 99, 101, 123, 131, 134, 152
Sthānāṅgasūtra 178
Sthāpaka 14
Sthapā 45 (f. n.)
Sthiramati 2
Stotra 1, 12, 14, 45 (f. n.) 136, 137, 138, 190
Stotra-literature 137
Strīparvan 109
Subhadrā 41, 107, 108, 109
Subhāsita 110, 140
Subhāsīlaganī 24
Subhāsītaratnakośa 82
Subhāsītaratnasandoha 140
Subhāsītāvalī 140
Subhata 47, 61, 89, 118, 119
Subhatavarman 134
Subhaviyaya 66 (f. n.)
Subodhikā on the Kalpasūtra 187
Sūdraka 113
Sugrīva 115
Suhagadevī 59
Suhavā 56
Suhavadevī 27
Śūka 115, 116
Sukṛtakīrtīkallolīnī 25, 28, 71, 94, 130, 134
Sukṛtasamkīrtana 23, 28, 35, 36, 62, 63, 66, 90, 97, 98, 99, 100, 134
Sūktāvalī 66
Sūkti 40, 41
Sūktimuktāvalī 41, 51, 55, 62, 108, 130
Sulocanā 148
Sultān 31, 123
Sumantra 114
Sumbha 104, 105
Sumbhālakapura 27
Sumitrā 114, 115
Sundhā hills 60
Sun-temple 130 (f. n.)
Supūsanāhacarīya 42, 151
Suprabhadeva 6
Sūra 26
Surācārya 17
Suratha 49, 104, 105, 106
Surathotsava 23, 44, 47, 48, 49, 61, 92, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107 (f. n.)
Sūrpanakhā 114
Sūryācārya 7
Sūryasataka 136, 137
Sūtra 8, 154, 185
Sūtradhāra 14, 112, 121
Sūtrakṛtāṅgasūtra 9, 138 (f. n.)
Suvega 123
Suvela 115
Suvihita monks 19, 45 (f. n.)
Suvrataswāmī 68 (f. n.)
Suvṛttatīlaka 118, 174
Svapnacintāmaṇī 185
Svayambhū 176
Svayambhū Stotra 138
Svayamvara step-well 134
Śvetāmbara 4, 11
Śvetāmbara authors 146
Śvetāmbara Jainasect 61, 64
Svopajña commentary 161, 167
Svopajña Vṛtti 173, 175
Syādvādasamuccaya 66, 171, 172
Syādvādamañjarī 72
Syādvādaratnākara 179
Systems of Sanskrit Grammar 170 (f. n.)

T
Tādakā 136
Talājā 2 (f. n.)
Tālārāsa 151
Talavādā 77
Talavātaka 77
Tāndava 150
Tandin 174
Tāntra 136
Tantrākhyāyikā 16
Tapā gachha Bhāṇḍār 134

- Tapti 123
 Tarka 10
 Tāraṅgā hills 25
 Taramgas 149, 158
Taramgavatī 148
 Tattvācārya 8, 9
 Tattvāditya 9
Tattvasamgraha 19
Tattvopaplavasimha 19, 45, (f. n.)
 Tawny 70 (f. n.)
 Tejapāla 1, 16, 17, 25, 26, 27, 29, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 44, 50, 51, 52, 59, 69, 70, 71, 83, 90, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100, 123, 124, 128, 129, 130, 132, 133, 134 (f. n.), 152
 Tejga 40 (f. n.)
 Telugu 97, (f. n.)
 Temple of the sun 130
 Terāsiya 178
 Tessitori 6 (f. n.)
Textus Scriptor 16
 Thakkura Arisimha 61
 Thāmanā 98
 Thān 130 (f. n.)
 Tharād 15
 Thārāpadra 15
 Thavanī 152
 Three Vidyās 191
 Tibet 170
 Tibetan 164 (f. n.)
Tilakamañjarī 190
 Tippāna 5, 125, 126, 178, 179, 181, 182, 183
 Tirthamkara 8, 27 (f. n.), 37, 59, 61, 67, 91, 102, 103, 110, 111, 132, 138, 144, 148
 Tirthamkara Śāntinātha 121
 Toranās 133
 Trailokyavarmadeva 42
 Trairāsika 178
 Tretā 99
 Tribhuvana Svayambhū 176 (f. n.)
 Tribhuvanapāla 29 (f. n.)
Trimśikā 2
 Tripāthi T. M. 113, 114 (f. n.)
 Tripurusa 97
 Tripurusaaprāsāda 14, 18
Tricāṭīlākāpurusaacaritra 12, 14, 111, 121, 191
 Turuṅka 123
- U
- Udāttarāghava* 116
 Udayacandra 13
 Udayana 14
 Udayanācārya 179
 Udayaprabha 25, 28, 39, 40, 72, 94, 130, 131, 188, 189
 Udayaprabha, pupil of Raviprabha 72
 Udayaprabhasūri 23, 24, 69, 71, 73, 74, 82, 102, 164 (f. n.), 185, 187
 Udayasimha 58, 59, 60, 61 (f. n.)
 Udayasūri 77
 Udbhata 153, 157
Udbhatakumārasambhava 157
 Udīcya 10 (f. n.)
Udyogaparvan 110
 Udyotanasūri 8, 9, 149
 Ujjayanta 98
 Ujjayinī 2, 3, 11, 53
Ullāgharāghava 47, 48, 113, 114 (f. n.), 115, 117, 119 (f. n.)
 Ullāla 175
 Ullekha 161
 Umā 104, 105
 Unā 102 (f. n.)
Unādisūtra 170
 University-suburb 17
Unmattarāghava 116 (f. n.)
Upadeśakandalī 43 (f. n.), 76, 77, 78, 187, 188
Upadeśakandalī-Tīkā 189
Upadeśamālā 7, 69, 71, 187
Upadeśamālā-Karnikā 187
Upadeśasaptatī 24
Upadeśataramgīṇī 24, 38, 62, 68, 70
 Upādhye (Dr.) 146, 149 (f. n.)
 Upajāti 136
 Upamā 153, 161, 166
 Upamāna 153, 165, 166
 Upamāna Pramāna 180
 Upameya 165, 166
 Upamita 153
Upamitibhavaprapaṇcāthā 7, 149, 190
 Upanisads 127, 153
 Uparūpaka 112
 Upāśraya 131, 151
 Ūrjāsvi 161
 Uru 134

Urubhāṅga 113 (f. n.)

Uṣā 150, 151

Usas 136

Utprekṣā 166

Utsāha 155, 175

Uttarādhyayana Sūtra 10, 74, 189

Uttarāpatha 9 (f. n.)

Uttarapurāṇa 111

Uvaśaggahara-stotra 138

V

Vācaspati Miśra 179

Vāda 164, 165

Vadanaka 175

Vādin 4

Vadnagar 3, 13, 44, 45, 47, 56, 58 (f. n.)

Vadnagar Inscription 95 (f. n.)

Vadnagarā Nāgar 44 (f. n.)

Vādavidhi 164 (f. n.)

Vādi Devasūri 11, 60, 77, 179

Vādi Pārsvanātha Bhāṇḍār 135

Vādopanisaddvātrīṃśikā 164 (f. n.)

Vagasarā 57

Vāgbhata 14, 42 (f. n.), 51, 150, 161, 163

Vāgbhatālaṅkāra 14

Vāghelās 17, 28, 29, 31, 43, 45, 55, 88, 94, 95, 128, 132

Vāghelā chiefs 130

Vāghelā dynasty 89, 132

Vāghelā period 25 (f. n.)

Vaibhāsika 182

Vāidarbhī style 49, 92, 101, 105

Vaidyanātha Mahādeva 48, 130, 134

Vaidyanātha Prāśasti 128, 130

Vaijāla 65

Vaiju 27

Vaikṛīya Labdhi 110

Vairāgyaśataka 142

Vairamha 83, 95

Vairocanavyaya 13

Vaiśeṣika 180

Vaiśeṣika metaphysics 178

Vaiśeṣika school 178

Vaiśeṣikaśūtras 178

Vaiṣṇava 54

Vaiśya classes 144

Vatālikas 99, 100, 114

Vājapeya sacrifice 45

Vajrāyudha 121

Vakroktikāra 157

Vākyaapadīya 161

Valā 2

Valabhī 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 96 (f. n.)

Valabhī age 68 (f. n.)

Valabhībhaṅga Prabandha 145

Valabhīpur 2, 16

Valabhī Vācanā of the Jain Canon 4

Vallabharāja 89

Vālmīki 89

Vāmana 4 (f. n.), 5 (f. n.), 153, 157, 161, 162, 170

Vāmanasthali 30, 65, 83

Vaṁsastha 164

Vanaparvan 107, 121

Vanarāja 8, 9, 95

Vanthali 25, 30

Vanik Castes 18

Varāhamihira 174, 185

Vararuci 170

Vardhamāna Gani 13

Vardhamānasūri 96

Varmalāta 6

Vārttika of Kātyāyana 170, 171

Varuna 136

Vāsaksepa ceremony 73

Vasanti 114 (f. n.)

Vasantavilāsa 23, 28, 32, 33, 35, 40, 76 (f. n.), 77, 90, 98

Vasantavilāsa Phāgu 52

Vasantotsava 18

Vasanti Rajat Mahotsava Smāraka grantha 8 (f. n.), 9 (f. n.)

Vasantatilakā 142

Vasiṣṭha 45, 114, 115, 116, 125, 128

Vasiṣṭha gotra 44, 49

Vasiṣṭhāśrama 124

Vastiga 40 (f. n.)

Vasto 40 (f. n.)

Vastu 175

Vastupāla 1, 5, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 81, 82, 83, 84, 87, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97,

- 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 107, 109, 113, 115, 121, 122 (f. n.), 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 135, 136, 138, 139, 144, 145, 149, 152, 155, 156, 160, 165, 174, 185, 187, 190, 191
Vastupālacarita 24, 29, 34, 38, 90, 133, 134, 144
Vastupāla—his personal library 38
Vastupālapraśasti 24, 70, 74, 76, 131, 132, 134
Vastupāla Rāsa 24, 26, 40 (f. n.)
Vastupālastuti 24, 40, 71, 131, 132
Vastupāla-Tejapālapraśasti 28, 78, 130, 132
Vastupāla-Tejapāla-Rāsa 24, 26 (f. n.)
Vāstusāstra 60 (f. n.)
Vasubandhu 2, 164 (f. n.)
Vasudeva-Hindi 121, 148
Vāsupūjya 67
Vatakūpa 30
Vatsabhatti's Praśasti 127
Vatsarāja 42
Vātsyāyana 161
Vāyada 64, 65
Vāyadā Banias 43, 64, 67
Vāyadā Brāhmin 64
Vāyada gachha 62, 65, 96
Vāyadā Vanik 67
Vayajalladevi 27
Vāyatliya gachha 64
Vāyu 64
Veda 44, 46, 49, 57, 65, 130, 140, 170
Vedāṅgas 153, 170, 174, 185
Vedānta 179, 180, 182, 183
Vedānta philosophy 164 (f. n.)
Vedic learning 45 (f. n.), 47
Vedic metres 174
Vedic sacrifices 45 (f. n.)
Vedic scholar 46
Veni-Krpāna 68
Veṇṣaśāhāra 157, 161
Vernacular-Sanskrit 146
Verūval 96 (f. n.)
Vetālapaśi 155 (f. n.)
Vibhīṣana 115, 119
Vibudhacandra 76
Vicāraśreṇi 4 (f. n.)
Vicitra 161
Vidarbha 133
Vidhhaśālabhañjika 157
Vidūsaka 15, 120, 122
Vidyābhūṣana 5 (f. n.)
Vidyādhara 54, 190
Vidyāmāthas 17
Vidyānātha 122
Vidyātrayi 10, 18
Vidyut 77
Vijāpur 25
Vijaya 46, 47
Vijayacandrasūri 70 (f. n.)
Vijayanagara 42
Vijayapāla 14, 18, 42 (f. n.), 51
Vijayasena 61, 70, 78, 89, 102
Vijayasenasūri 23, 39, 69, 73, 77, 78, 96, 129, 131, 150, 151, 152
Vikala 83
Vikalpa 161, 181
Vikrama 11
Vikramāditya 11, 18
Vikramāṅkadevacarita 155
Vikrama era 5 (f. n.)
Vikramorvaṣīya 112
Vimalasāha 37
Vimalasūri 73 (f. n.)
Vimala-vasati 37
Vinayacandra 163, 190
Vinayavijaya 4 (f. n.), 187
Vindhya 46
Vira 5 (f. n.)
Virabhadra 8, 57, 77
Viracarita 161
Virādha 114
Viradhavala 1, 17, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 44, 48, 51, 53, 55, 64, 73, 89, 90, 95, 96, 97, 99, 123, 124, 128, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134
Virama 32 (f. n.)
Viramgām 28
Virāmka 109
Viranārāyana Prāsāda 48, 53, 129
Vira Nāvūna Samrat 3
Virasūri 68 (f. n.), 78
Virāta 14
Virātaparvan 14, 155 (f. n.)
Viravamsāvali 27
Vireśvara 134
Viśā (division of Vanik community) 27 (f. n.)

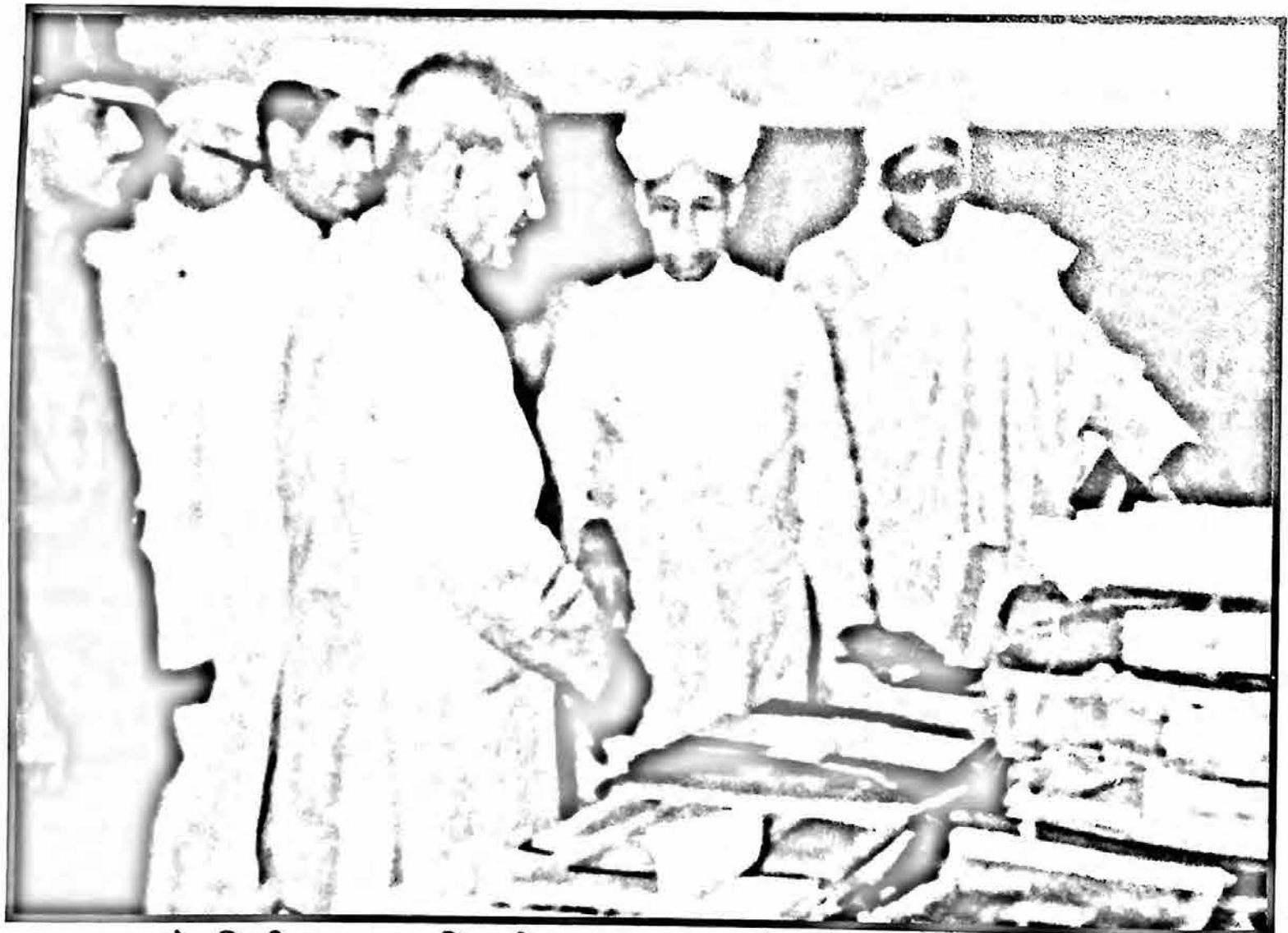
- Viśākhadatta 12, 42, 113, 122
Viśāla Bhārata 5 (f. n.)
 Visalabrahmapurī 57
 Visaladeva 29 (f. n.), 32, 33, 34, 48,
 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 62, 64, 65,
 67, 109 (f. n.), 122, 128, 130, 168
Viśaladeva Rāso 155 (f. n.)
 Viśalanagara 58 (f. n.)
 Viśalanagarīya 58 (f. n.)
Viśamabānalīlākathā 157
 Viśama metres 175
 Viśesa 178, 184
Viśeṣīvaśyaka Bhāṣya 178
 Viśkambhaka 112, 114, 121
 Viśnagar 58 (f. n.)
 Viśnu 48, 89, 112, 136
 Viśnudatta 3
Viśrāntavidyādharma 4, 5 (f. n.)
 Viśvāmītra 112, 136
 Viśvanātha 112, 150
 Viśvavijaya 104
Viveka on the Kāvyaṇuśāsana of
 Hemacandra 157 (f. n.), 159
 Vivekacandra 101
Vivekakaṭikā 76, 140, 142
Vivekamañjarī 43 (f. n.), 76, 77, 78,
 187, 188
Vivekamañjarī Tikā 70, 189
Vivekapāḍapa 76, 140, 142
Vivekavilāsa 64 (f. n.)
Vividhatīrthakalpa 5, 24, 33, 141, 144
 Vīdhha gachha 96 (f. n.)
 Vrdhha Garga 185
 Vīdhhaparamparā 54
 Vrdhdasākhā 27 (f. n.)
 Vrdhha Tapā gachha 70
 Vrkamukha 115
 Vṛṣa
 Vṛṣa-mandapikā 134
 Vṛtti 158, 159, 160
 Vyāghramukha 7
 Vyāghrapallī 28
 Vyākaraṇa 40, 73
Vyākaraṇa-Kāvya 3
 Vyākhyāna 149, 189
 Vyākṣanā 160, 165
 Vyāsa 65, 89, 109, 191,
 Vyāsavidyā 52
- Vyatireka 166
Vyāyoga 13
 Vyomasivācārya 179, 180
Vyomavatī 179, 181
- W
- Wadhvān 33
 Watson Museum, Rajkot 27
 Winternitz 2 (f. n.), 7 (f. n.), 12 (f. n.),
 127 (f. n.), 138 (f. n.), 148 (f. n.),
 149 (f. n.), 164 (f. n.), 178 (f. n.)
- Y
- Yādava 123, 108
 Yādava king 30
 Yaksa 4, 91
 Yaksa Kapardin 97, 102
 Yama 112
 Yamaka 165
 Yamī 112
 Yūpanīya Samgha 171
 Yasahpāla 14, 15, 18, 43, 100, 122
 Yaśaścandra 11 (f. n.), 13, 43, 122
Yaśastīlaka 106 (f. n.)
Yaśastīlaka and Indian Culture 107
 (f. n.)
 Yāska 153, 170, 174
 Yaśodhara 83
 Yasovarman 46
 Yasovīra 18, 58, 59, 60, 81, 83, 89, 96
 (f. n.)
 Yasovijaya 156
 Yatī 164
 Yūtrāmahotsava 15
 Yaugie words 165, 168
 Yoga 179, 182
 Yogācāra 2, 182
 Yoganidrā 101
 Yogarāja 95
 Yuan Chang 2, 5, 6
Yogaśāstra 12, 13
 Yośovīra 61
 Yngabāhu 102
 Yudhisthira 99
- Z
- Zachariae, Prof. 146
 Zī 121 (f. n.)

CORRIGENDA

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Read</i>	<i>For</i>
1	21	says	say
17	6	hfe	hfe
24	26	Somadharma	Sonadharma
„	43	evaluation	evolution
27	32	a reward	areward
31	4	Cutoh	Cuth
36	9	there	th re
39	12	Sahrdayacūdāmani	Sahrdayacūdaman
42	10	persons	persens
45	22	Jaina	Jains
59	12	Silpāsāstra	Silpasāstra
103	44	the	Narrative
104	32	gods	Gods
108	22	end	and
118	5	banyan	Banyan
147	22	garb	grab
151	5	—	prevalent
153	19	comparison	comparision
154	11	tenets	tenents
162	16	poet	poent



राष्ट्रपतिजी द्वारा पद्मश्री की उपाधिसे अलंकृत होते समय मुनि जिनविजयजी



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श्री सुधर्मास्वामी ज्ञानमंडार,
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 અધ્યક્ષ

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 મંત્રી

સંત વિનોબાજી મુનિ જિનવિજયજીકે આશ્રમ - ચંદેરીયામે.
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જ્ઞાનયોગી જિનવિજયજીકે સાંનિઘ્યમે હસ્તલિખિત ગ્રંથોકે સંશોધનકા જ્ઞાનયજ્ઞ



“पद्मश्री जिनविजयजी स्मृति ग्रंथमाला”

संयोजक : बंधुत्रिपुटी मुनिश्री कीर्तिचन्द्रजी

“पद्मश्री जिनविजयजी स्मृति ग्रंथमाला” का यह आयोजन, उनकी १३०वीं जन्मजयंती के महोत्सव के अवसर पर होने वाले, उनके १३० ग्रंथों की प्रदर्शनी के लिये किया गया है। यह एक प्रासंगिक आयोजन है।

इस ग्रंथमाला में जिनविजयजी के उन १३० ग्रंथों को पुनर्जीवित कर के नये रूपरंग में प्रस्तुत किया गया है, जो ग्रंथ जीर्णशीर्ण और बाझार में दुर्लभ हो गये हैं।

भारतीय इतिहास और पुरातत्वके विश्वविख्यात विद्वान स्व. मुनिश्री के साहित्य को आज के विज्ञान युग में आधुनिक टेक्नोलोजी द्वारा नये रूपमें प्रस्तुत करने का यह एक नम्र प्रयास है।

मुनि जिनविजयजी की १३०वीं जन्मजयंती के अवसर पर १३० ग्रंथों का यह नया संकलन उन्हीं के स्मारक भवनमें अर्पण करने का मंगल कार्यक्रम दिनांक २७-०१-२०१८ शनिवारको चित्तोड़ में होगा।

साहित्य संरक्षण का यह कार्य करने में हमें अनेक ज्ञानभंडारोंका, अनेक संस्थाओंका और विद्वान आचार्यों और मुनिवरोंका अमूल्य सहयोग मिला है। उन सभी का हम हृदय से आभार मानते हैं।

निवेदक

**शांतिनिकेतन साधना केन्द्र, तिथल, गुजरात के
ट्रस्टीगण एवम साधक परिवार**