

CHAPTER FIVE

CONTEMPORARY GENERATIVE

SITUATION

As has been discussed in the third chapter, Dhana-pāla was a court-poet of the Paramāra King Bhoja at whose instace he composed his Tilakamañjarī-kathā. This prose-romance contains many descriptions and incidents which reflect contemporary political, religious and social situation which must have created a deep impression on the mind of the poet. It is proposed in this chapter to investigate into this contemporary influences which contributed to the moulding of our poet's personality.

I. THE PATRONS OF DHANAPĀLA :-

The political situation prevalent during the latter half of the tenth and the first half of the eleventh centuries A.D. was definitely monarchical. Our poet's life-span has been chequered with the career of at least four Paramāra kings, viz., Sīyaka II alias Harṣadeva, Vākpatirāja alias Muñja, Sindhurāja and Bhoja. It was but natural under the monarchical governments that the poets and scholars generally flocked in the capital cities where they could get due recognition and

necessary patronage of the kings, ~~who only~~ or their feudatories. Scholarship was necessarily to be cultivated, nourished and preserved in various assemblies which could be available and possible only in the big cities under the patronage of the kings, who only could provide ample facilities in terms of wealth and leisure to the scholars and the poets, since the education was imparted by these scholars fully free of charge. Government was ~~not~~ expected to enable teachers to impart free education by giving them land grants and pensions.¹ The situation thus contributed doubly in moulding the cultural and the educational aspects of the personality of both the poets as well as the patrons. An account of the patrons of Dhanapāla would, thus, be of much interest as it would enable us to trace various historical influences in his work.

(1) Sīyaka II alias Harṣadeva :- Dhanapāla was most probably a boy in his teens during the late years of the Paramāra King Sīyaka II, alias Harṣadeva, who, however, must have contributed not less in moulding much of the personality of the young poet. It is quite possible that the poet's grandfather Devarṣi came to Ujjayinī and -----
1.EAI.p.83.

settled in the service of this king from whom he obtained profuse wealth, which his son – and the poet's father – was in search of.² Dhanapāla seems to have been deeply impressed by the kingly and martial qualities of Śrī Harṣadeva Sīyaka, who is praised by him as "the one who has dwarfed his enemies in point of the pride of greatness."³

The Paramāras came into prominence with Sīyaka II who still claimed to have been a descendant of Amoghavarṣa in the Udayapura Prasasti.⁴ paramāra Sīyaka II most probably came to occupy the whole of Gujarāt south of the Sarasvatī and perhaps Saurāṣṭra as the viceroy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa conqueror Kṛṣṇa III. Between A.D. 910 and 940 modern Gujarat south of the Sarasvatī, Malwa and Saurāṣṭra had already passed under the sway of the Paramāras, who had accepted the vassalage of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors at some date before 910 A.D.⁵ This is confirmed by the Harsola Grants dated V.Sam.1005 (i.e. 949 A.D.) of Sīyaka II who declares himself to be "mahamāṇḍalika-cūdāmaṇi" of "mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrī-Akālavarṣadeva-prṭhvī-vallabha".⁶ Sīyaka II also vanquished the king of the Hūnas, who ruled somewhere to the north-west of Malwa.⁷

2.PRC.17.18-19.

3.TM(N).Intro.vs.41: तत्राभूद्वसतिः श्रीश्रियामपरया श्रीहर्ष इत्याख्यया, विख्यातश्चतुरम्बुराशिरशनादाम्नः प्रशास्ता भुवः। भूपः स्वर्वित वैरिगर्भ-गरिमा श्रीसीयकः सायकाः, पञ्चैषोरिव यस्य पौरुषगुणाः केषां न लज्जा हृदि॥४१॥

4.EI.Vol.IIpp.233-238.

5.GGD.p.108-110.

6.GMRI.P.142-143.

7.NC.XI.90: अनेकङ्कणमकेयूरमनूपुरममेखलम् । हूणावरोधवैधव्यदीक्षादानं
व्यधत्त यः॥९०॥

He also came in conflict with Yaśovarman, the Candellā of Jejābhukti (925-950 A.D.), but had to retreat.⁸

Parimala also records that Sīyaka II invaded Rudrapāṭī — referred to in the inscriptions of Rājendra Cōla as Raṭṭapāḍi — the ancestral territory of the Western Cālukyas and defeated its ruler.⁹

It is difficult to say where the capital of Sīyaka II was at the time. It was neither Ujjayinī nor Khetaka. Dhārā was not still the capital. Lāṭa was more likely under his sway. His nominal sovereign was the emperor of Mānyakheṭa.¹⁰ Shri D.K. Shastri thinks that it was possibly between V.Sam. 1005 and 1029 (i.e. 949 and 973 A.D.) that Sīyaka II defeated the feudatory of Kanoj from whom he wrested Malwa and established his autonomous kingdom with the capital at Ujjayinī.¹¹ Luckily for Sīyaka II, the imperial power at Mānyakheṭa was on the decline. Emperor Kṛṣṇa III (939-956 A.D.) after his invasion of the North in circa 940 A.D., was too busy settling with the rulers of the South to turn his attention to the North. In the meanwhile Sīyaka II went on consolidating

8.EI.Vol.I.p.126, vs.23: ... कालवन्मालवानाम् । ... मरुत्संज्वरो
शूर्जराणाम् -----।

9.NC.XI.89: स्मितज्योत्स्नादरिद्रेण बाष्पस्राविमुखेन्दुना । शशंसुर्विजयं
यस्य रुद्रपाटीपतिस्त्रियः ॥८३॥

10.GGD.p.111.

11.GMRI.pp.146-147.

his power. Shri K.M.Munshi opines that about 960 A.D. he added Ujjayani and the region around it to his dominions. Between A.D. 965 and 968 he had a temporary setback at the hands of Narasiṃha, his feudatory. Two of the inscriptions of Kṛṣṇa III — one of 965 A.D. and the other of 968 A.D. — describe his general's subordinates as "Ujjayani-bhujāṅga"s, i.e. the destroyers of Ujjayini.¹² But this conflict did not leave Sīyaka — still referred to as "Gurjara" — any the weaker, since after the death of Kṛṣṇa III in 968 A.D., he had almost consolidated his power and was ~~now~~ now bidding for imperial power by destroying his suzerain himself. ~~in 968~~ In 972 A.D. Sīyaka II was at the gates of Mānyakheta which he captured and sacked, as has been recorded by Dhanapāla himself in his PIN and also by the Udayapur Prasasti.¹³ By this time, it seems, he had shifted his capital to Dhārā further away from the reach of Mānyakheta.

Sīyaka II was the real founder of the Paramāra kingdom, and the first imperial ruler of his family. From the position of a petty local chief, he succeeded by his ingenuity and military skill in occupying a place

12. EC. Vol. XI. Nos. 23, 33. How the word "Bhujāṅga" can mean 'a destroyer' is but a mystery. It can, however, mean & 'lover' or 'lord' in general sense.

13. PIN(D). 276; also EI. Vol. I. pp. 233-238, vs. 12.

among the foremost rulers of his age. He left behind him a vast empire which extended on the north upto the Bānswarā State,¹⁴ on the east to Bhilsā,¹⁵ on the south to the Godāvarī and on the west upto the Mahī.¹⁶ Padmagupta, alias Parimala, tells us that in the latter part of his reign the king adopted the life of an ascetic.¹⁷ vadajā was the name of his queen¹⁸ and Sindhurāja was his son.

All this happened during the early years of Dhanapāla's life and left an ~~inde~~ ineradicable impression on his young mind. Many of these events have served as the historical counterpart of the background on which the poet has erected his palace of poetical descriptions of ~~the~~ King Meghavāhana, who, like Sīyaka II alias Harṣadeva, ~~was also~~ alias Simhadattabhaṭṭa, was also childless, and as the Jain tradition records, his successor Muñja was but an adopted child poetically represented by Dhanapāla as Harivāhana who was born due to the goddess Śrī – a personification of regal power. The representation becomes quite transparent when Dhanapāla

14.EI.Vol.XIV.p.295.

15.EI.Vol.I.p.134,vs.45.

16.EI.Vol.XIX.p.236.

17.NSC.XI.88: पशीकृताक्षमालो यः क्षमामत्यायतां दधन् । राज्याश्रममलंयते
राजर्षिः कृत्योपरः ॥८८॥

18. *ibid.* vs.86: वड्जैत्यभवदेवी कलत्रं यस्य भूरिव ।

declares that Meghavāhana was well-known in his territory as a "Bhujāṅga",¹⁹ utilizing the same epithet which incidentally is also found in the above-mentioned inscriptions of Kṛṣṇa III. The sack of Māñyakheta seems to have been reflected in the realistic description of the sacked city of Rativiśālā.²⁰ One is easily tempted to think that the poet might have accompanied the conqueror on that expedition. However, in the character of Meghavāhana, as will be clear later on, Dhanapāla has amalgamated some of the traits of the personality of Muñja also whose successor Bhoja was practically a son offered by the goddess Śrī as a legal heir to the kingdom of Malwa.

(2) Vākpatirāja II alias Muñja :- The earliest known date of Śīyaka's successor Vākpati II can be inferred from his inscription dated V.Sam.1032, i.e.975 A.D.²¹ Fact and fiction have surrounded him with an attractiveness given to few kings. Merutuṅga has related a long and interesting story regarding Muñja in the PC.²²

Long ago in the country of Malwa when the childless Paramāra King Simhadantabhaṭṭa alias Harsa - Śīyaka II - was roaming about in his royal circuit, he saw in the

19. TM(N).p.14: शिवविशुद्धसमाचारोऽपि सर्वकालमुच्यते भुजङ्गनाम्ना
प्राजितः सर्वभूमी राजा मेघवाहनो जगाम ।

20. ibid. pp.40-41.

21. IA.Vol.VI. pp.48-53.

22. PCT.30-33.

midst of a thicket of reeds a certain just-born male child. He took it up lovingly and made it over to his queen. The child's name was called 'Muñja' with reference to his origin. Bühler and Zachariae reject the legend about Muñja's being a foundling as unhistorical.²³ Later on a son was born to Śīyaka II. He was named Sindhula. As Muñja united in himself all the good qualities, the king wished to crown him king. It is narrated that Muñja killed his own wife who had overheard the king relating the story about his being a foundling and entrusting him with the care of Sindhula. But Sindhula is said to have disobeyed Munja who, therefore, banished him, though after some time the former went back and received from Muñja a district for his personal revenue. But when Sindhula again displayed his haughtiness he had his eyes put out by Munja and was confined in a wooden cage. Sindhula was called "Navasāhasāṅka" because he undertook hundreds of daring deeds. His son was Bhoja. Merutuṅga further informs us that at the birth of Bhoja, a certain astrologer skillfully calculated his nativity and predicted that "for fifty-five years, seven months and three days King Bhoja is destined

to rule Dakṣiṇāpatha with gauda"²⁴ When Muñja learnt about this he feared that if Bhoja lived, his own son would not inherit the kingdom. So he made over Bhoja to the executuiners to put him to death. The executioners, however, felt pity for his conspicuously handsome form and trembled and asked him to remember his favourite deity. At this Bhoja wrote on a leaf the following verse:²⁵

"Māndhātā, that lord of the earth, the ornament of the Kṛta age, passed away;

Where is that enemy of the ten-headed Rāvaṇa, who made the bridge over the ocean ?

As many other sovereigns have there been, Yudhiṣṭhira and others, ending with thee, O King;

Not with one of them did the earth pass away; I suppose it will pass away with thee !"

In accordance with the request of Bhoja, the verse was carried to Muñja, whose mind was filled with regret as he read it. Then the king had Bhoja brought back by them with great respect and honoured by appointing him as the crown prince. A similar story occurs with some variations, in the Purātana-prabandha-saṁgraha.²⁶ Surprisingly, it is

24.PC(SJGM).p.22: चत्वारिंशत्पञ्चवर्षाणि मायाः सप्त दिनत्रयम् ।

भोक्तव्यं भोजसाजेन सगौडं दक्षिणापथम् ॥
25. ibid.: मान्दधाता स महीपतिः कृतानुगतलङ्कारभूतो गतः, सेतुर्येन महोदधौ विरचितः स्वासौ दशस्यान्तकः । अन्ये चापि युधिष्ठिर-प्रभृतयो याता दिवं भूपते, नैकेनापि समं गता वसुमती, मुञ्ज त्वया यास्यति ॥

26.PPS.p.13

also recorded in the Āin-i-Akbari of Abul-Fazal, where Muñja's ~~the~~ foster father is named 'Baijanand'.²⁷ This story of Muñja, the wicked uncle, is disapproved by Drs. Bühler, Ganguly and Shri Munshi.²⁸

As to Muñja's last expedition against the Cālukya King Tailappa II of Kalyāṇa, a feudatory of the Rāṣṭra-kūṭas, Merutuṅga narrates the following tragic events. As Tailappa II harassed Muñja by sending raiders into his country he determined to march against him, though his minister Rudrāditya, who was seized with illness, endeavoured to dissuade him.²⁹ The minister conjured him to make the river Godāvarī the utmost limit of his expedition and not to advance beyond it.³⁰ But Muñja looked upon Tailappa with contempt, as he had defeated him six times before;³¹ so in his overweening confidence he crossed the river and pitched the camp on the other side. When Rudrāditya heard about it he foresaw the misfortune resulting from the king's headstrong conduct and

27.AAk.II.p.215.

28.NSC(BZ).p.50; HPD.p.83; GGD.p.76 ff.

29.This is confirmed by a Śāsana (dated 979 A.D.) of Vākpati II, alias Muñja; cf. PCT.p.33 ft.nt.

30.Subhaśīla and Ratnamandana-gaṇi somewhat differ in this matter. cf. PCS.p.56 ft.nt.

31.PC(SJGM).p.22:.....पुरा बोढा निर्जितम्)

himself entered the flames of a funeral pyre. Then Tailappa, by force and fraud, cut Muñja's army to pieces and took King Muñja prisoner, binding him with a rope of reed and put him in prison where he fell in love with Tailappa's sister Mrñālavatī.³² Though his ministers attempted to save him through a tunnel dug into the prison, Muñja tried to persuade Mrñālavatī to accompany him and consequently he was betrayed by her to Tailappa who confined him in a wooden cage and later on crushed him under the feet of an elephant. Ballāla ignores this incident, as he writes that Muñja retired to the forest after duly making over the kingdom to Bhoja.³³ Merutuṅga's version of Vākpati's overthrow and execution is corroborated in its main details by the epigraphic accounts of the Cālukyas, viz., the Kauthem Grant of Vikramāditya V and Gadag inscription of Vikramāditya VI.³⁴

As regards the romantic aspect of his life several Apabhraṃśa verses seem to be composed soon after his death and are preserved in the Jain Prabandhas, which, perhaps borrowed then from, now a missing, Apabhraṃśa

32.cf.PCS.p.57 ft.nt. Subhaśīla has given a full account of Mrñālavatī.

33.BPr.p.10: ततः संतुष्टो राजा निजसिंहासने तं निवेश्य छत्रचामरा-
भ्यां भूषयित्वा तस्मै राज्यं ददौ । निजपुत्रेभ्यः प्रत्येकमेकैकं ग्रामं
दत्त्वा परमप्रेमास्पदं जयन्तं भोजनिकाशे निवेशयामास । ततो
मुग्धोऽपि निजपुत्रास्तीभिः सह तपोवनभूमिं गत्वा परं तपस्तेषु ।

34.IA.Vol.XVI.p.23; EI.Vol.XV.p.350.

work called 'Muñjarāso', believed to have been composed in the eleventh century A.D. Writing about Muñja's early career soon after his coronation when he entrusted the administrative burden to his minister Rudrāditya, Merutunga relates that during this stage of his life, he was devoted to a certain lady, and he used to mount a camel named Cirikalla, travel twelve Yojanas and return in the night.³⁵ Dhanapāla's description of Meghavāhana's amorous life is significant in this respect.³⁶ Significant again is the incident of Prince Harivāhana's being kidnapped – rather carried – to his beloved's place by an elephant.³⁷

the
Muñja Vākpati II was/second of the Paramāra emperors, and included most parts of Gurjaradeśa within his empire, shortly after he came to the throne of Dhārā in 972 A.D. Many were his names and epithets – like Vākpatirāja, Utpalarāja, Amoghavarṣa, and Prthvivallabha, Śrīvallabha etc. – by which he was designated.³⁸ He is

35. PCT. p. 31.

36. TM(N). p. 16 ff.: स्त राजा बाल एवाधिगत राज्याभिषेकः ----
समग्रमपि राज्यम् ---- अमात्यवर्गस्यायत्तमकरोत् । --- विषयेषु
परिभ्रोजलालसं मानसमासञ्जयामास ।

37. ibid. pp. 185-187 and ~~240-247~~ 240-247.

38. IA. Vol. VI. pp. 48-53.

is described as 'Muñja' in the Nagpur Prasasti³⁹ and in the rest of his inscriptions he is described as 'Vākpati'. King Arjunavarmadeva in his commentary Rasikasañjīvanī on the Amarusataka, Parimala in his NSC, and Dhanapāla in his TM have established the identity of Muñja and Vākpati.⁴⁰ His appellations like 'Śrīvallabha' and 'Prthvivallabha' were in fact the family epithets of the imperial Rāstrakūṭas of the Deccan.⁴¹ Dr.D.C.Ganguly informs us that with the accession of Vākpati II, a new era dawned upon Malwa. The consolidation of the empire was complete, and the government was based on a strong foundation.⁴² This is echoed by Dhanapāla in his description of King Meghavāhana.⁴³ Hence forward the Paramāra kings did not limit their activities merely to undertaking of military expeditions for conquest, but also directed their attention to the cultural development and social welfare of their subjects. Under the powerful

39.EI.Vol.II.p.184.vs.3.

40.cf. Rasikasañjīvanī on Amarusataka vs.22, p.23: अस्मत्-
पूर्वजस्य वाक्यतिशजापरनाम्नो मुञ्जदेवस्य.; NSC.I.vss.92,101;
and TM(N).Intro.vs.43.

41.EI.Vol.VIII. Appendix II.p.2.

42.HPD.p.48.

43.TM(N).p.16:... निर्जित्य शप्ताम्बुराशिरशनाकलापाँ काश्यपी...
कृत्वा निष्कण्टकाः ककुभौ... समोरोपितस्वनामश्रेणिकानाशेष्य
दिशानामष्टानामपि पर्यन्तेषु जयस्तभ्यम्
..... etc.

monarchy, the people of Malwa grew into a ~~new~~ strong state. Rudrāditya was the king's minister and Mahāika and the poet Dhanika were respectively Mahāsāadhanika and Mahāsādhyapāla of his government.⁴⁴

Vākpati was himself a great poet and by his liberal patronage, unvarying devotion to the Goddess of Learning and by rich contributions, he brought about a renaissance of Sanskrit literature in Malwa.⁴⁵ Padmagupta, Dhanañjaya, Halāyudha, Dhanika, Dhanapāla, Amitagati and other scholar-poets flourished under his beneficent patronage.⁴⁶ Dhanika in his commentary on the Daśarūpaka of Dhanañjaya twice quotes a verse the authorship of which he ascribes in one place to Vākpatirāja and in the other to Muñja.⁴⁷ The Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra quotes three different stanzas as composed by Utpalarāja in his Sūvṛttitilaka, Kavikaṇṭhābharana and Aucityavicāracarcā. Śrīdharadāsa, the author of the Saduktikarnāmrta a Sanskrit anthology, quotes several verses of Muñja.⁴⁸ Ujjayinī attracted the best talents from Kanoj, Kāśī and other

44.HPD.p.48-49.

45.ibid.p.63.

46.cf.NSC.I.7: सरस्वतीकल्पलतैककन्दं वन्दामहे वाक्पतिराजदेवम्। यस्य प्रसादादेव येन प्यनन्यकवीन्द्र-चीर्णे पथि सन्ध्यामः॥ TM(N).Intro. vs. 53 d: श्रीमुञ्जेन सरस्वतीति सद्यसि क्षौणीभूता व्याहलः। DR.IV. 86:--- धनञ्जयेन --- मुञ्जगहीशगोपीवैदग्ध्यभाजा ---। प्रणयकुपिता ---

47.DR.p.273: नायिकाया यथा श्रीवाक्पतिराजदेवस्य --- etc.; p.275: दृष्टो यथा मुञ्जस्य - प्रणयकुपिता --- etc.

48.cf.Sd.Krn.Intro.p.93.

centres of learning. Dhanapāla, as we already know, actually honoured with the title 'Sarasvatī' by ~~MM~~ Muñja.

Muñja was also a great builder. It was probably he who made Dhārā his permanent capital and beautified it with many tanks, one of which is still called Muñja-sāgara. He also built 'ghāṭs' and temples at Ujjayinī, at Mahesvara on the Narmadā, at Omkāra-Māndhātā and Dharampur. A town in Gujarat was also founded by him and was known as Muñjapura.⁴⁹

Merutunga relates that when Muñja was to be executed and was asked to call in mind his favourite deity, he mournfully recited the verse -

"Lakṣmī will return to Govinda, Vīraśrī to the house of the heroes; but now that Muñja, the storehouse of Fame, is about to die, the Goddess of Learning will be without a support."⁵⁰

(3) Sindhurāja :- Dhanapāla refers to him as a son of King Śīyaka Harṣadeva. But strangely enough he does not qualify Sindhurāja with any adjective indicating that he was a crowned king, as is the case with his

49.GGD.p.117.

50.PC(SJGM).p.25: लक्ष्मीरस्यति गोविन्दे वीरश्रीरिवेशमनि ।

जते मुञ्जे दशःपुञ्जे निशलम्बा सरस्वती॥

51.TM(X)Xintrex

father who is explicitly called a 'king' (bhūpa). Similarly, it may be noted that no such qualification is mentioned with reference also to Vairisiṃha, the father of Siyaka.⁵¹ Again Vākpatirāja Muñja is called a 'nrpati', 'bhūmipati' and 'kṣonibhṛt'.⁵²

Mrutuṅga knows him as 'Sindhula', the son of King Siṃhadantabhaṭṭa, who made over his sceptre to Muñja, a foundling, whom he had picked up from a thicket of reeds and adopted as his first child. Merutuṅga further records as follows : "That brother, named Sindhula, out of high spirit, disobeyed the orders of Muñja; accordingly he banished him from his kingdom, and so ruled for a long time. That Sindhula came to Gujarat, and established his settlement in the neighbourhood of the city of Kāsāhrada".⁵³

Tradition is confused with regard to Sindhurāja. Merutuṅga, while referring to Muñja's attempt at getting Bhoja assassinated, concludes that the latter was called back and duly crowned as an heir-apparent.⁵⁴ Dhanapāla confirms this.⁵⁵ Again, at the end of the account of Muñja, Merutuṅga expressly states that "the ministers in the

51. TM(N).Intro.vss.40-42.

52. *ibid.* vs.42 d: श्रीमदवाक्यतिराजदेवजृपतिः - - - - - ; vs.43 d : वाक्यतिराजभूमिपतिना - - - - - ; vs.53 d: श्रीमुग्धेन - - क्षोणीभूता - - -

53. PCT.p.31.

54. *ibid.*

55. TM(N).Intro. vs.43d: यः (i.e. Bhoja) श्रीवाक्यतिराजभूमिपतिना राज्येऽभिषिक्तः स्वयम् ॥

country of Mālava, hearing that event, placed on the throne Bhoja, the son of Muñja's brother"⁵⁶ Ballāla represents Sindhula to be the elder brother of Muñja and holds that the latter succeeded the former.⁵⁷ But the Jain tradition unanimously holds Sindhula to be the younger brother of Muñja. Padmagupta alias Parimala, the court-poet of Sindhurāja, who has immortalized the latter as the hero in his NSC, confirms this.⁵⁸ This is supported also by the Udayapura Prasasti and by Dhanapāla.⁵⁹ Thus Merutunga's account referring to the incident of Sindhula being banished and Bhoja having succeeded Muñja, though apparently at variance with the contemporary evidence, is not quite improbable. It is a fact that Muñja gave only small principalities like Ābu to his sons, while he crowned Bhoja as the crown-prince of the whole empire.⁶⁰

This might lend support to Merutunga's account of Muñja being a foundling, in which case Bhoja would

56.PC(SJGM).p.25:अथ मालवमण्डले तद्वृत्तान्तवेदिभिः सचिवैस्तद्भ्रातृ-
व्यो भोजनात्ता राज्येऽभिषिच्यत ।

57.BPB.p.1:आदौ धाशराज्ये सिन्धुलसंसो राजा चिरं प्रजाः पर्य-
पालयत् । -- राज्यं मुञ्जाय दत्त्वा तदुत्सङ्गे भोजनात्तज्जं मुञ्चोच ।

58.NSC.XI.98:पुरा कालक्रमानेन प्रस्थितेनाम्बिकापतेः । मौर्वी-
किणाङ्गवत्सस्य पृथ्वी दोष्णि निवेशिता ॥३८॥

59.EI.Vol.I.pp.233-238; TM(N).Intro.vs.42:--- श्रीसिन्धुराजो-
ऽभवत् । --- अस्य सः श्रीमदुवाक्यमतिराजदेवनृपतिर्वीरागणीराजः ॥४२॥

60.HPD.p.52; GGD.p.127.

naturally claim the regal right of succession, and that Muñja, or his ministers, simply upheld Bhoja's right of heirdom to his ancestral throne of Malwa in pursuance of the arrangement made by Sīyaka II just before his abdication. But at least five dynastic inscriptions stand to prove that Sindhurāja was the immediate successor of Vākpati II, ~~though~~ though no inscription of Sindhurāja's reign has yet been discovered. Our main source is the NSC of Padmagupta whose main object is to record some of the incidents of Sindhurāja's life leading to his marriage with the Nāga princess Śasiprabhā. It represents, according to Dr.D.C.Ganguly, a solid historical fact in the garb of romantic story.⁶¹ The historical background of this work is one of the Sindhurāja's adventurous expeditions against Mānatuṅga, the king of Vajra, who was a constant enemy of the Bastar state. The latter, having failed to cope successfully with the Mānas in the battle, turned to Sindhurāja for help. The Paṛmāra king readily granted the request. During the fierce battle, Ramāṅgada, the minister of Sindhurāja, lost his life at the hand of Māna prince, whom Sindhurāja finally slew and conquered Ratnavatī. As a token of gratitude for

61.NSC.Epilogue vs.1 : एतद्विजितकुमुदयुति पद्मगुप्तः श्रीसिन्धु-
राजमुपलब्धरितं अर्चयत् ॥ १ ॥ ; also HPD.p.69.

his services, the Nāga chief gave him his daughter in marriage.⁶²

The literary activity which had fallen in abeyance owing to the death of Vākpatirāja, received fresh impetus under the encouraging attention of Sindhurāja.⁶³ The old poets Dhanika and Dhanapāla also seem to have adorned his court. Sindhurāja did not rule for long and he was succeeded by his son Bhoja.

Samaraketu, the hero of the sub-plot of Dhanapāla's TM, shares some of the characteristics of Sindhurāja in that he also is represented as having won the hand of Malayasundarī, a princess of a king in South India, and he is portrayed as a very brave and dashing warrior. The capture of Samaraketu by the forces of Ayodhyā in the TM seems to reflect the historical incident of Vallabhārāja's victory over Sindhuraja as recorded in the Vaḍnagar Prasasti.⁶⁴

(4) Bhoja :- Paramāra Bhojadeva of Dhārā, the son and successor of Sindhurāja, was one of the most famous rulers of the eleventh century A.D., celebrated for his learning and patronage of learned men. His rule -----

62. HPD. pp. 75-76.

63. NSC. I. 8: दिवं धियासुर्जितं वाचि मुद्रामधत्त यां वाच्यतिसुजदेवः।

तस्यानुजन्म कविबान्धवस्य भिन्नं तौ संप्रति सिन्दुराजः॥८॥

64. EI. Vol. I. pp. 296-305, vs. 7.

revived the memories of the reign of Vikramāditya the Great.⁶⁵ At least six inscriptions of Bhoja are available, viz., the Bānswārā plates dated 1020 A.D., the Bātma plates dated 1020 A.D., the Sarasvatī-image Inscription dated 1047 A.D., the Tilakawāda copper plate dated 1047 A.D., and the Kalyan Inscription.⁶⁶

Bhoja's military career as the most powerful emperor in the north was chequered with constant conflicts with the surrounding contemporary Hindu kingdoms of Chedi in the east, Cālukyas of Anahilavāḍa in the west and the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa in the south. He had fights with the king of Chedi Indranātha Toggala I, with Bhīma of Gujarat, with the kings of Karnāṭaka and Lāṭa and with the Gurjaras and the Turushkas, as stated in the Udayapura Prasasti.⁶⁷ By ~~means~~ means of intrigues, Bhoja defeated Gāṅgeya Vikramāditya (circa 1010-1041 A.D.), Kalacuri the/king of Tripuri, encaged him and took him away to his capital, honoured him and at last made him his friend. This incident may have served as a historical background for the parallel incident, in the TM, of the

65.HCAI.Vol.II.p.320.

66.HPD.pp.83-88.

67.EI.Vol.I.vs.19: *जेदीश्वरेन्द्ररथतो ज्जलभीममुख्यान् कर्णाटलारपति-*

68.PPS(SJGM). II.p.20 *गुर्जरराट्पुरुषान् । यद्भूत्वा मात्रविजिता-
नवलोक्य मौला दोष्णां वलाजि केलधवि
न बोद्धलोकान् ॥१९॥*

defeat of Samaraketu at the hands of Vajrāyudha due to the magic power of the Bālārūṇa ring and the former's capture and subsequent friendship with Harivāhana, the son of his opponent Meghavāhana.⁶⁹ The Udayapura Prasasti speaks of the Turks and others as being defeated by the contingents or a general of Bhoja and not by Bhoja himself. He was certainly not one of those who fought with Mahmud at Somanātha. Perhaps, as suggested by Col. Luard and Mr. Lele on the ~~misapprehension~~ strength of a statement in the Tabakat-i-Akbari, it was due to Bhoja's efforts to intercept the defiler of the temple built by him and by his feudatory Cālukya Bhīma that Mahmud went back with his plunder through the western part of the desert of Multan.⁷⁰ His revenge over Tailappa II,⁷¹ his enmity with the Chedi kingdom on the east and with the Kārṇāṭaka king in the south were almost hereditary and more disastrous. Having subjugated Jayasimha after a long conflict of nine years (1010-1019 A.D.), Bhoja annexed Koṅkana to his kingdom as is confirmed by a Jain inscription known as the Kalyāṇa plates of Yaśovarman.⁷²

69. TM(N).pp.92-103.

70. HMNI. Vol. III. p.158.

71. BCRI. pp.50-56; PHNI. p.98.

72. EI. Vol. XVIII. pp.320-325.

In Gujarat his enmity was with Bhīma who, however, established diplomatic relations with Bhoja. His envoy was Dāmara⁷³ who has been mentioned as 'Dāmodara' by Hemacandra.⁷⁴

In the north Bhoja seems to have received a set-back at the hands of the Kacchapaghaṭas, rulers of Gwalior, the feudatories of the Candellās.⁷⁵ In 1043 A.D. a great confederacy of the king of Delhi, Bhīma of Gujarat, the Cāhamāna of Naḍūlla, Someśvara of Kalyāṇi and the Kalcuri King Karna seems to have been formed under Bhoja's leadership.⁷⁶ This confederacy wrested Hansi, Thaneshwar and other places in the north from the Yāminī kings of Gazna.⁷⁷ At this time the brilliant military career of Bhoja reached its pinnacle with his empire extending from Camba and Thaneshwar in the north to Kṛṣṇā and Tungabhadra in the south, and from Dwarka in the west to Kanoj in the east.⁷⁸ The acquisition of Lāṭa emboldened Bhoja to push his armies further south. This brought him to the border of Koṅkana, the region extending from the present Thana District in the Maharashtra to the Malbar

73. PC(SJGM).p.33.

74. DK.IX.26.

75. DHNI.Pt.II.p.870; also EI.Vol.IX.pp.70 ff.

76. BF.I.118.

77. CHI.III.32-33 referred to in GGD., p.145.

78. GGD.P.145; also the Udayapura Prasasti vs.17: उाकैलासा-

मलयजिरितोऽस्तोदयाद्रिद्वयाद्वा भुक्ता पृथ्वी पृथुनरपतेस्तुल्यरूपेण येन
उन्मूल्योर्वाभरगुरुगणा लीलया चापयज्या, क्षिप्ता दिक्षु क्षितिरपि
परां प्रीतिमापादिता च ॥ in EI.Vol.I.p.235.

coast in Kerala. Śīlāhāras held sway over the north part of this country and their territory extended as far as Goa. They had been on friendly terms with Sindhurāja, but, for some reason, their relations with Bhoja became unfriendly. In ~~the~~ 1017 A.D. he invaded Koṅkaṇa and returned victorious to Malwa where he celebrated the events with great pomp and ceremony. The Śīlāhāras, however, continued to rule over Koṅkaṇa, probably as vassals of the Paramāras, as is evidenced by the Bhandup plates of the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Cittarāja (1026 A.D.).⁷⁹ Thus practically the whole of North India was under the sway of Bhoja.

The only other rival emperor in the country was Rājarāja Cōḷa of Tanjore (984-1014 A.D.), the virtual monarch of almost the whole of South India as well as the Greater India. He was on terms of cordial friendship with Bhoja.⁸⁰ The Paramāra King Bhoja is sometimes represented as the lord of the land bounded by the Kailasa, Malaya and the mythical Sunset and Sunrise mountains. Another tradition holds that the same Paramāra king ruled for a little over fifty-five years over 'Dakṣiṇāpatha' together with 'Gauda'. There is no doubt that 'Dakṣiṇāpatha'

79.HPD.pp.96-98.

80.ibid.p.117.

has been mentioned here in the sense of the whole of South India often conceived as a separate Cakravarti-kṣetra. Shri D.C.Sarkar opines⁸¹ that the claim is merely conventional as is shown by the fact that Bhoja's dominions did not include any considerable part of South India. Gauda, according to him, indicates the northern Cakravarti-kṣetra or Āryāvarta, and the above-mentioned tradition mentions both the partial Cakravarti-kṣetras side by side to signify the whole of the Bhāratavarṣa conceived as the main Cakravarti-kṣetra. The opinion of Shri Sarkar is corroborated by the TM wherein Meghavāhana, as well as Harivāhana are said to have ruled as the emperors of North India.⁸² The utilization of the word 'rājarāja' in compounds like 'vidyādhara-rājarājadhāni'⁸³ might have conveyed some oblique references with the contemporary audience. In Samaraketu's naval expedition to the South⁸⁴ is reflected Rājarāja's naval expedition of 'Srīvijaya'. It might have been significant that the name of the warship of Samaraketu is 'Vijaya-yatrā'.⁸⁵ Dr. Moticandra has already drawn our attention to the striking resemblance between these two naval expeditions.⁸⁶

81. SGAMI. p. 15.

82. TM(N). p. 362: -- भारतवर्षीयभूभुजो महाराजमेघवाहनस्य... etc.

83. ibid. p. 366.

84. ibid. pp. 114-126 and 131-140.

85. ibid. p. 131: -- सज्जीकृता विजययात्राधिधाना नौः ।

86. STv. p. 220.

And Harivāhana's attainment of the emperorship of the Vidyādhara inhabiting the northern slope of the Vaitādhya range⁸⁷ and subsequent gift of it to Samaraketu⁸⁸ is but an image of Bhoja's unrivalled sovereignty of the whole of North India and his subsequent political adjustment with Rājarāja Cōla and later on with his successor Rājendra Cōla who is declared, in his inscriptions (A.D. 1025), to have conquered Orissa, Bihar and Bengal and reached the banks of the Gangā from which he assumed the title of Gaṅgaikonda-cōla (the Cōla who seized the Gangā)⁸⁹.

The latter part of Bhoja's reign was as unhappy and inglorious as those of his predecessor Muñja and Sindhu-rāja. Incessant wars with his neighbours wore out his military strength, and it was further weakened shortly after 1044 A.D. by the terrible blow inflicted on it by the Karnāṭaka King Someśvara who ravaged Malwa, plundered its capital and forced Bhoja to flee. It was probably after this tragic end of Bhoja that Dhanapāla thought of undertaking the Jainistic vow of a fast unto the death.

One of the greatest monarchs of India, Bhoja was, at the same time, a great scholar and patron of learning.

87. TM(N).p.403: अग्निविष्णु च -- उत्तरक्षेत्रेण राज्ये etc.

88. ibid.p.426: आयातमात्रस्य चारय -- सकलमप्युत्तरक्षेत्रेण राज्यमुत्तरक्षेत्रेण चारयतुः साद्विद्वत्तुः ।

89. HISMA.p.175; also C.p.194.

He is properly called 'Kavirāja' and 'Mālavacakravartin' by the inscription writers of the time even in other domains. He was also called 'Triloka-nārāyaṇa-bhūmipāla' by Vardhamana in his Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi.⁹⁰ Prabhacandra also testifies to this effect.⁹¹ He has been credited with works in every branch of knowledge in every Śāstra. According to Ājāda, the commentator of the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhā-bharana, Bhoja wrote eighty-four works and all these were given the names which were Bhoja's own titles — Birudas.⁹² He is traditionally credited to have ~~composed~~ been a polymath who composed works on Grammar, Poetics, Astronomy, Astrology, Logic, Medicine, Zoology, Architecture, Numismatics, Philosophy, Dream Psychology, Palmistry and etc.⁹³

90. GRM. III. 5. pp. 150-151.

91. PROC. 18. 13: अधः श्रीभोजराजस्य वाग्देवीकुलसद्मनः । कला-
सिद्धिमुपहासिन्धोर्विद्वद्बल्लमीमहौकसः ॥ १३ ॥ etc.

92. " इह हि सिद्धिशिरोमणिनिखिलनिखद्यविद्यानिर्माणापूर्वप्रजापतिः
त्रयण्डभुजदण्डपराक्रमार्जितचतुरशीतिविरुदप्रकाशितस्वकृतग्रन्थसमाजः
श्रीभोजराजः शास्त्रारम्भे - - - " etc. p. 37. Des. Cat. of Mss.
in Jain Bhandars at Pattan. Vol. I. Palm leaves, GOS
LXXVI, as quoted by BSPR.

93. PROC. 17. 75-78: भोजव्याकरणं श्रुतं शब्दशास्त्रं प्रवर्तते ॥ ७५ ॥
असौ हि मालवाधीशो विद्वच्चक्रशिरोमणिः । शब्दालङ्कारदैवस-
तर्कशास्त्राणि निर्ममे ॥ ७६ ॥ चिकित्सा राजसिद्धान्तस्तवास्त्युदयानि
च । अङ्गशाकुनकाध्यात्मस्यजसामुद्रिकाण्यपि ॥ ७७ ॥ ग्रन्थान्निर्मित-
व्याख्यानप्रश्नचूडामणीनिह । विवृतिं चायसद्भावेऽर्धकाण्डं मेघमालया ॥ ७८ ॥

Aufrecht records the following works as attributed to
Bhoja ⁹⁴ :-

- I. Anthology:- (1) Subhāṣita-prabandha;
- II. Architecture:- (2) Samarāṅgaṇa-sutradhāra ;
- III. Astronomy and Astrology:- (3) Āditya-pratāpa-siddhānta; (4) Rāja-mārtanda; (5) Rāja-mrgāṅka (Karaṇa); (6) Vidvajjana-vallabha (Prašna);
- IV. Dharmaśāstra - Rājasdharma and Polity :- (7) Bhuja-bala-nibandha; (8) Bhūpāla-paddhati; (9) Bhūpāla-samucchaya (or Kṛtya-samucchaya); (10) Cāṇakya-nīti (or Dandanīti); (11) Cārucaryā; (12) Pūrtamārtanda; (13) Rāja-mārtanda; (14) Rājanīti; (15) Vyavahāra-samuccaya; (16) Yukti-kalpataru;
- V. Grammar:- (17) Sarasvati-kapṭhābharana (or Śabdānu-sāsana);
- VI. Lexicography:- (18) Nāma-mālikā;
- VII. Medicine:- (19) Āyurveda-sarvasva; (20) Rāja-mārtanda (or Yogasārasaṅgraha); (21) Rāja-mrgāṅka; (22) Sāli-hotra; (23) Viśrānta-vidyāvinoda;
- VIII. Music:- (24) Sangita-prakāśa;
- IX. Philosophy:- (25) Rāja-mārtanda (commentary on Patanjali's Yogasūtras); (26) Siddhānta-sāra-paddhati; (27) Śiva-tattva-ratna-kalikā; (28) Tattva-parikṣā

(or Śiva-tattva-parīkṣā);

X. Rhetorics:- (29) Sarasvatīkanṭhābharana; (30) Śrī-gāra-prakāśa;

XI. Sanskrit Poetry and Prose: (31) Campū-rāmāyana; (32) Mahākālaviṇaya; (33) Śrīngāra-manjarī; (34) Vidyā-vinoda;

XII. Prakrit Poems:- (35) Kusumaśataka.

Shri T.R. Cintamani adds⁹⁵ a few more, viz., (36) Amaravyākhyā and (37) Kodaṇḍa-maṇḍana. Some of these works have already been published.

Modern scholars like Aufrecht and A. Rangaswami Sarasvati hold that all these must have been the works of quite a large number of scholars, all working under the presidentship of Bhoja himself. Dr. V. Raghavan and Ray, however, do not fully agree with them.⁹⁶ Sridharadasa, the author of the Sd.Krn. quotes about forty verses of Bhoja-deva.⁹⁷

Bhoja was a great builder. Highly devoted as he was to Śiva, who was his dynastic deity,⁹⁸ he built temples dedicated to Kedareshvara, Rameshvara, Somanātha, Sundīra, Kāla, Anala and Rudra.⁹⁹ The Bhojaśālā at Dhārā (now Kamāla Maulā Mosque) was a university variously referred

95. SKB(C).Intro.p.xiii-xvi.

96. BSPR.Intro.1 ff.; DHNI.p.872.

97. Sd.Krn.Intro.p.87.

98. PIDS.p.1, Intro.vss. of Gandhawani plates dated V.Sam.

99. EI.Vol.I.pp.233-238. vs.20: सुरेश्वर्यक्ष्मि च यः समन्ताद्यक्षार्थ-
संज्ञां जगती चकार । ; also Bhj.Car.Intro.p.2

to as 'Sarasvatī-sadana', 'Bharati-bhavana', or 'Saraṁā-sadma', and it exhibited on its two pillars two charts, alphabetical and grammatical, the first in the form of a single snake and the second in that of two intertwined snakes.¹⁰⁰ The university, adorned with a temple of Śrasvatī, was a meeting place of great poets, scholars and critics attracted from all parts of India.¹⁰¹ Close to it was a large well known as 'Akkal-kui'. Bhoja's big palace formerly known as Rāja-mārtanda (now the Lāṭa Masjid) is another living monument. The old forts of Dhārā and Mandu are also attributed to him. The extensive lake known as Bhoja-sāgara (covering about 250 sq. miles) of Bhopal in the vicinity of Bhojapur (Lat. 23'-6 N - Long. 77'-30 E) encircling the village Dip (Rly. Stn. on the Central Rly.) which was then an island, has never been a myth.¹⁰² Bhoja erected a sacred tank at Kapileśvara in Kashmir, from which one Padmarāja, a betel-seller, used to dispatch large number of jars of holy water to wash the king's face.¹⁰³ Ujjayini reached its cultural height during the days of Muñja and Bhoja, both of whom were the children of that ancient seat of empires and

100. Bhoja Rāja by P.T. Shrinivasa Aiyangar, pp. 98-99 as quoted by HIS. p. 353.

101. EI. Vol. VIII. pp. 96 ff.

102. PIDS. Intro. p. xi.

103. Rajat. VIII. 190-193.

profound ~~h~~ learning, though these emperors seem to have shifted their capital to Dhārā due to political and military reasons.

King Bhoja still lives in public memory chiefly as a patron of learning and a liberal donor. Kalhana¹⁰⁴ and Merutuṅga as well as other Jain chroniclers have recorded many anecdotes testifying to his munificence to poets and scholars. Mammāta, a junior contemporary, also adduces to it.¹⁰⁵ During Bhoja's rule Uvāta, the son of Vajrāta of Ānandapura ~~in~~ (modern Vadnagar) in the north Gujarat, ~~he~~ wrote the Sukla-yajurveda-bhāṣya in Ujjayini, as is evident from his concluding remarks to the commentary. Bhoja conferred the honour of 'Vidyapati' to ~~h~~ Bāskarabhaṭṭa, the forefather of Bhāskarācārya, the famous writer on Astrology. At the court of this magnificent royal polymath flourished Dhanapāla, the author of the TM, one Kālidāsa, the author of the Nalodaya, Vijñāneśvara, the author of the Mitākṣarā, and others like Kīra and Cittapa. In the opinion of Dr. Kunhan Raja,¹⁰⁶ the famous nine scholarly 'jems', referred to in the wellknown verse of the Jyotirvidābharāna, seem to have

104. Rajat. IV. 259.

105. KP. X. 114: ...

106. Sur. Skt. Lit. p. 96.

flourished in the court of Bhoja of Malwa who is but mentioned as 'Vikrama'. The nine 'jems' were Dhanvantari, Kṣapaṇaka, Amarasiṃha, Śaṅku, Vetāḥabhaṭṭa, Ghāṭakarpa and Kālidāsa. He granted a hundred 'agraharas' on the bank of the Narmadā in Śaka 923 (i.e. 1001 A.D.) to Purāntaka for his Śyāmala-dandaka, a proso-poetic piece in praise of the goddess Sarasvatī.¹⁰⁷ Bhoja is said to have honoured Shri Gopanandisūri.¹⁰⁸ Two hundred years later, Someśvara refers to his munificence in his Girnar Inscription.¹⁰⁹ Thus the universal testimony of succeeding ages prove that the high praise showered on Bhoja was based on a fact of history. This is poetically recorded in the popular verse in the SRB.¹¹⁰

As an imperial monarch whose writ ran over almost the whole of North India, and as an unrivalled patron of men of letters, Bhoja naturally seems to have been very proud — almost to the extent of being jealous or impatient — of his Śaiva faith, of his power, patronage and unsurpassable scholarship of his assembly. Prabhācandra has noted a few instances of Bhoja's anxiety to guard the

107.HCSL.p.492.

108.JP.Intro.p.8: सः श्रीप्रभानन्दो गोपनन्दिना सूरिणा सहाध्यैष्ट
अस्य पादौ धारानगराधिपतिः श्रीभोजराजः समपूजयत् ।

109.GGD.p.218.

110.SRS.III.79,p.117: अस्य श्रीभोजराजस्य द्वयमेव सुदुर्लभम् ।
शत्रूणां शृङ्खलैर्लोहं ताम्रं शासनपत्रकैः ॥

honour of his assembly of scholars, even at the cost of the life of the adversary. Thus it is said that he almost decided to murder Dhanapāla whose caustic digs at the weak points of certain Hindu religious beliefs.¹¹¹ Again, he is said to have staked one lac coins each for each of the five hundred scholars of his assembly to meet the challenge of Vādivetāla Śāntisūri, who is said to have returned alive on the strength of Dhanapāla's precautions.¹¹² A similar, though more serious, incident is recorded about Sūrācārya, a Jain monk, who, due to his haughty scholarship, severely criticized the introductory verse of Bhoja's Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharana, a work on Sanskrit Grammar, and obliquely abused the king to have committed a great poetic crime in composing a verse suggestive of conjugal relations with the wife

of one's nephew ! It was, again, due to Dhanapāla's

111. PRO. 17. 139: श्रीभोजः कुपितस्तस्यापसव्यवचनक्रमै । दध्यावमुं
हनिष्यामि विब्रुवन्तं द्विजब्रुवम् ॥ १३९ ॥

112. ibid. 16. 53 cd: अन्यथा मत्सभां जित्वा को यात्यक्षतविग्रहः ॥ and
ibid. 60: कविश्वशनुप्रयाताश्च गुर्जरेशधरावधिः । प्रत्यावृत्त्याथ
तैः प्रापुः पत्तनं श्रीनिकेतनम् ॥ ६० ॥

113. ibid. 18. 153 ff. The introductory verse of Bhoja's
SKB is: चतुर्मुखमुखाभोजवनहंसवधूर्मम । मानसे रमता
नित्यं शुद्धवर्णा सरस्वती ॥ १५३ ॥ The comments of Sūrācārya
were: अस्माभिर्भारती पूर्वमश्रावि ब्रह्मचारिणी । कुमारी संपन्नं तव
व्यपदिष्टा वधूरिति ॥ १५५ ॥ चित्रमक्षुतपूर्वं तदन्यत् पृच्छामि
किञ्चन । मातुलस्य सुता गम्या यथाऽऽस्ते दक्षिणापथे ॥ १५६ ॥
आतृजाया देवरस्य यथोचिता । भवदेशे तथा गम्याऽनुजाऽजवधू
कथम् ॥ १५७ ॥ यद्वधूशब्दसामीप्ये 'मानसे रमता' मम । प्रयुक्तं च ;
also ibid. 195: श्रीभोजराजः स्वसभाजेतारं हन्ति निश्चितम् ।
जये पराजये वापि न श्रेयः किमु कुर्महे ॥ १९५ ॥

active assistance that Sūrācārya could safely be transported beyond the pale of the Mālava territory. In his ambitious zeal to reconcile all the systems of Indian Philosophy, Bhoja is recorded to have had recourse to dictatorial method when he rounded up various scholars of different faiths and confined them in a dungeon from which there were to be set free only when they arrive at a unanimous decision !¹¹⁴ And the desired unanimity did come off, not with regard to the systems, but about how to save one's life !! And the credit for setting the king on the right track by convincing him of the impossibility of such a unanimity and abandoning the method is said to have gone to the above-mentioned Sūrācārya. If we take these traditional anecdotes at their face value, we have no ground to disbelieve the incident of Bhoja's throwing the Ms. of the TM into the fire-pan.

Another point worth noting – and a unique one in the whole history of the Sanskrit literature – is the composition of the Sanskrit prose-romance named the Śṛṅgāramañjarī-kathā by Bhoja. It was composed most probably after the composition of the TM by Dhanapāla,

114.PRC.18.111 ff.: तस्मात्सर्वेऽपि संगत्य दर्शनस्थमनीषिणः। कुरु-
ध्वमैकमेवेदं सन्निहाम यथा न हि ॥११३॥ ... सप्तपिण्डयदेकत्र वारके
तान् पशून्विज ॥११६॥ सहस्रसरव्यया तत्र पुंसः स्त्रीरपि चागमत् ।
भोक्तुं नोदाच्य सर्वेषामैकमत्यचिकीर्षया ॥११७॥ दुर्धावापरीणाश्च-
दैकमत्वं त्वजायत । जीवो निजः कथं रक्ष्यः इति चिन्ता महाज्वरे ॥११८॥

who composed his work probably after Bhoja composed the Campū-rāmāyana. It was composed probably because Dhanapāla refused to fall in line with the wish of Bhoja to have him as a hero of his prose-romance, in the same way as Bāṇa obliged his patron King Harṣa, compred to whom Bhoja was definitely a far greater scholar. The apologetic tone of Bhoja in the beginning of the SMK with regard to describing his own capital city Dhārā and resorting to the device of putting his own ~~describing~~ description as the hero of the story in the mouth of a fountain-doll is very remarkable.¹¹⁵ And, Bhoja, unobliged by Dhanapāla, had to indulge in this direct literary action to get himself immortalized, in view of an imperial patron's then justifiable expectations from the ~~first~~ foremost of his court-poets — especially when there was such a glorious precedent~~s~~ formed by Bāṇa — and might be that none of his other court-poets possessed the quality and the talent requⁱsⁱte for composing such an inimitable work with him as the hero — a work which stand a fair comparision with the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa. Dhanapāla was the only poet who could bear the brunt of such a responsible and tough commission, as was amply

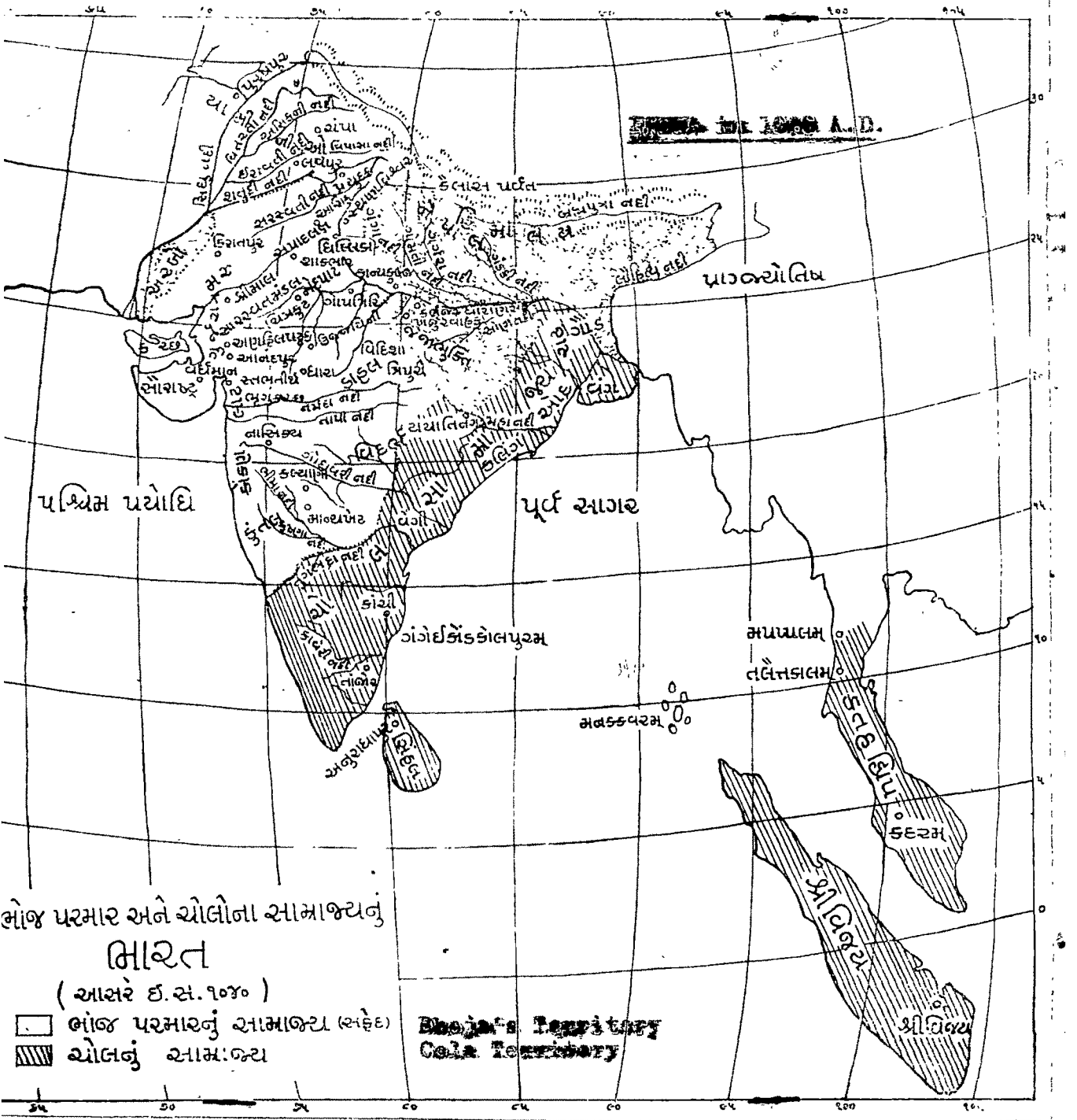
115.SMK.p.7: --- इत्यभिधाय 'रे यन्त्रपुत्रक ! यद्यप्यस्मत्परिषदः समस्तं तद्यपि निजगुणविष्करणमवगीतमिव प्रतिभासते । तद्वाजवर्णनं' अवाजेन भणतु ' इत्यभिहितः --- स भणितुमारभे --- ।

proved by his composition of the TM. In the absence of the availability of this poet, Bhoja seems to have been constrained to compose a work which might serve as an illustration of different types of love (raga) as the Erotic (śṛṅgāra) was his most favourite sentiment. And this might have been the principal cause behind Dhanapāla's refusal to comply with Bhoja's request to put his name in the place of Meghavāhana and that of Dhārā in that of Ayodhyā. This might also have nipped in the bud even a possible hope of Bhoja about Dhanapāla ever composing another work — an 'Ākhyāyikā' — to commemorate him. The difference of their mutually hostile religious faiths, seem to have been a gulf too unbridgeably wide for the imperial order made to the poet, who was a senior in age and scholarship and favoured even by his predecessor, like Munja and who was too popular with the people to be coerced into composing a work of art to order. A sort of an inherent contempt of a Jain poet for a Śaivite royal, but junior, patron surely precluded the possibility of his ever being dazzled by the king's personality so as to command an instantaneous natural eulogistic inspiration. Otherwise, a poet — Dhanapāla — who admired Bāṇa for his Harṣacarita which fetched its author boundless

fame¹¹⁶ could not have resisted a similar temptation to such a fame for himself. It is significant that Dhanapāla praises Bhoja elaborately for his personal handsomeness and valour. As to his scholarship, however, he briefly calls him 'acquainted with the entire literature' (niḥ-śeṣavāṇmayavid) and nothing more. Bhoja's craving for literary fame must have been whetted by Dhanapāla's work, which far surpassed the former's Campū-rāmāyaṇa — indirectly criticized by the latter in the introductory verses of the TM — and ultimately resulted in a direct request by the emperor to his favourite court-poet, who refused to oblige. And taking recourse to the rather justifiable grounds in view of his own considerable talents, Bhoja seems to have seized the opportunity of incidentally immortalizing himself and his capital — Dhārā — rather with a vengeance,¹¹⁷ while principally writing a work in illustrating his main thesis of Rāga-śṛṅgāra in his Śṛṅgāraprakāśa.¹¹⁸ This is a unique instance of religious difference of opinion depriving us another historical Sanskrit prose-romance — an 'Ākhyāyikā' — which could have successfully contended with that of Bāṇa's Harṣacaritam. And Bhoja amply deserved such an honour in view of his

¹¹⁶ TM(N).Intro.vs.27.

¹¹⁷ (P.T.O.)



Photostat of the Political Map of India (1040 A.D.) as given by Shri K.M. Munshi in his Gujarati book entitled 'Cakravarti Gurjaro'.

brilliant career, profoundly extensive scholarship and munificent patronage, the qualities, which are beautifully summed up in a verse in the Udayapura Prasasti.¹¹⁹

II. THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH INDIA :-

In South India, under Rājendra Cōla Gaṅgaikonda (1012-1044 A.D.)¹²⁰ the Cōla empire reached its zenith, comprising besides the whole of South India upto the Tuṅgabhadra, the Maldives, ~~part~~ parts of what is at present Madhya Pradesh, the whole of Andhra, Ceylon, and parts of Orissa, Bengal and Bihar. Their navy controlled the bay of Bengal, which became a "Cōla lake", and won a colonial empire which ~~embraced~~ embraced Ceylon, Nicobar Islands, the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. They built magnificent temples and established schools of Vedic and Sanskrit learning. Under the Cōlas literature blossomed and art flourished and the South contributed valuable works in the field of philosophy, Dharmaśāstra, Saivism, dramaturgy, music and dancing.

Drs. R.C.Mazumdar and A.D.Pusalkar further inform us¹²¹ that in the tenth century A.D. the castes were comparatively fluid and reconversion to Hinduism not

119. EI. Vol. I. pp. 233-238 vs. 18: साधितं विहितं दत्तं शतं लघुन्न

केनचित् । किमन्यत्कयिराजस्य श्रीभोजस्य प्रशस्यते ॥ १८ ॥

120. SE. Intro. p. xx.

121. ibid. pp. xxii ff.

impossible. But in this age the fundamental values of Dharmaśāstras were readjusted not only to restore continuity and stability to the social order, but to provide defensive ramparts in order to present a solid front to an aggressive alien culture and religion. The dynamic outlook of Medhātithi and Devalasmṛti, therefore, gave place to a conservative outlook. Sanskrit had been placed on a pedestal of scholarship and sanctity, assuming a more learned character. Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa had receded in the background.

III. THE CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS TRENDS :-

The outstanding trend in the religious history¹²² of the period under review is the triumphant revival of Brahmanical religion. The muslims were still a merely militant force and had hardly come into close or peaceful contact with the Hindus, to whom they were not only foreign and 'mleccha' (unclean and boorish) conquerors, but they had deeply wounded their religious susceptibilities by demolition of temples and destruction of images of gods on a large scale. The Hindus kept themselves severely aloof in order to save their purity against the unclean aliens.

122.SE.pp.398 ff.

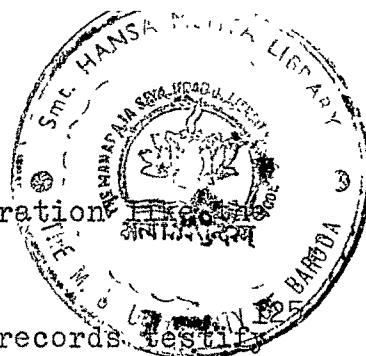
The most important feature in the evolution of Indian religion¹²³ was the growing influence of Tantric Buddhism and Brahmanical religion. Belief in the efficacy of the mantra, maṇḍala and other elements of esoteric practices as the easiest means for attaining salvation retarded the growth of spiritual ideas. The most regrettable feature was the degradation in the ideas of decency and sexual morality brought about by the religious practices. Brahmanical religion showed its catholicity by declaring Buddha to be an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Under the patronage of the later Cālukyas, and the Hoysalas, Jainism maintained for long its position in Deccan and South India; but with the growing influence of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism it gradually lost its importance in both these regions. The Hoysalas, though converted to Vaiṣṇavism, supported the Jain religion, but the Cōlas and the Pāṇḍyas were begoted Śaivas, and are said to have persecuted the Jains.

The growth of big temples, Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Jain, constituted another important feature¹²⁴ in the religious development. Rich endowments made to them by kings, merchants and other men of wealth made them not only important centres of higher education, but also of

123. SE. pp. 400 ff.

124. ibid. pp. 404 ff.

missionary activity and spiritual inspiration of the
Buddhists' monasteries of yore.



Both the epigraphic and literary records testify to the fact that Buddhism had quite a large numbers of followers also in the parts of India other than Bengal and Bihar. Nālandā and Vikramaśīlā were great centres of Buddhism. To all such Mahāvihāras or universities, richly endowed with royal grants, flocked learners from all quarters of India and abroad to receive instructions at the feet of most profound savants of the day. Another vigorous centre of Buddhism was Kashmir from where number of missionaries went to Tibet and Central Asia to spread the doctrine. Both the Kashmirian schools of Śaivism, viz., Spanda and Pratyabhijñā that came into being in the ninth and the tenth centuries A.D., had been more or less influenced by Buddhism. Sāranātha also was a living centre of Buddhism at this time.

Gujarat was a flourishing centre of Jainism throughout this ¹²⁶ period. The Jain influence at the court of the Ḡālukyas of Gujarat may be traced from the time of the very founder of the dynasty. Teachers like Sahasrakīrti are described as "the sinless teachers whose

125.SE.pp.414 ff.

126.ibid.pp.427 ff.

lotus-feet were worshipped by eminent kings like Gāṅgeya, Bhojadeva and others." Indian craftsmanship of the age ~~has~~ has found its best expression in the most magnificent Jain temples with their rich delicate carvings, grace and beauty which is considered to be unique in the world. During the reign of Bhīma I his minister Vimāla of the Prāgvāta family completed in 1031 A.D. the famous temple of Ādinātha at Ābu.¹²⁷ At the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. the Western Cālukyas and the Hoysals were great patrons of Jainism. We possess numerous records¹²⁸ from 1000 A.D. onwards of solitary rulers and noblemen, in addition to those of the merchant class and others, who built temples, installed images, performed worship and made endowments for perpetual service of divinity and piety and who even ended their lives by the renunciation of all worldly attachment and observing fasts in strict adherence to the Jain faith, which had grown in the form of a large number of Saṅghas, Gaṇas, Gaṇachas, Balis and Śākhās.

Paramāra Bhojadeva was not only a follower, but also an exponent of Śaivism. One of his works, the Tattva-parīkṣā, deals with Śaivism. The Kalcuris of Tricuri, with

 127.JSSI(D).pp.211-214; also SE.p.428.
 128.SE.pp.431 ff.

a few exceptions, were Śaivas. So also were the Candellās of Bundelkhand. The Western Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa were of Śaiva persuasion. The Eastern Cālukyas, the Eastern Gaṅgas and the Kakatiyas were Śaivas. The Cōla kings also were great patrons of Śaivism.¹²⁹ One of the important features of this age was, therefore, the rising rivalry among the Śaivas, the Vaiṣṇavas, the Buddhists and the Jains.

IV. THE CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE :-

The tenth and the eleventh centuries saw a great surge in literary activity. Most of the known poets in Muṇja's court were Jains.¹³⁰ Muṇja received special honour from the Jain Ācārya Mahāsenasūri, who wrote the Pradyumnacarita at the instance of one of the feudatories of Sindhurāja. Dhanapāla left Ujjayinī for Dhārā out of his hatred for Jainism which was responsible for the unexpected conversion of his younger brother Śobhana, who became a Jain monk under the discipleship of the Jain preceptor Mahendrasūri. A prince, later on known as Subhacandrācārya, the author of the Jñānārṇava, also flourished in Muṇja's time. Famous Jain writer Amitagati wrote his works at this time. The influence of Ācārya Mānatuṅga, the author of the well-known hymn,

129. SE. pp. 443 ff.

130. SJI. p. 153 ff.

Bhaktāmara-stotra, is said to have made Bhoja well-disposed to Jainism. Dhanañjaya wrote his Viṣāpahāra-stotra to save his son from serpent-bite. He also wrote the Nāmamālā, the Dvisandhāna-kāvya and Vaidyaka-nighanṭu. Nemicandrācārya, the author of the Dravya-saṅgraha and Nayanandi, the author of the Sudarśana-carita lived in Bhoja's time. Many aphorisms of the Kātantra system of Sanskrit Grammar have been inscribed on the pillars of Bhojaśālā. The Jain scholar Vādivetāla Śāntisūri, the author of the Gaṇḍīyacintāmaṇi, defeated Bhoja's assembly of scholars.

It was during this period¹³¹ that Kṣemeśvara, the author of the Sanskrit dramas like Caṇḍakauśika and Naiṣadhānanda, flourished at the court of Mahīpāla. Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the protege of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Indra III, composed his Nalacampū and the Madālasā-campū. Veṅkaṭa Mādhava, the Vedic commentator, lived at this time in the Cōla empire. Someśvarasūri (959 A.D.), the author of the valuable Yaśastilaka-campū was a senior contemporary of Dhanapāla. Bhaṭṭotpala commented on the works of Varāhamihira and on the Brhājġātaka in 966 A.D. He also wrote an independent

131.HIS.p.417 ff.

a treatise on Horāśāstra. Kṛṣṇamīśra's Prabodhacandro-
 daya, Lilāsuka's Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛta, Ksemendra's Bṛhatka-
 thāmañjarī, Daśāvatāra, Nṛpāvali, Kalāvilāsa, Aucitya-
 vicāracarcā and summaries of the Rāmāyana and the Mahā-
 bhārata, are an imposing array in the literary field.
 Padmagupta's Navasāhasāṅkacarita is valuable for the
 history of Paramāra Sindhurāja. Kuntaka's Vakroktijīvita,
 Vijnāneśvara's Mitākṣarā on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, Abhi-
 navagupta's commentaries on Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra and
 on Ānandavardhana's Dhvanyāloka, Cakrapaṇḍita's com-
 mentaries on the Saṁhitas of Caraka and Suśrūta and his
 Cikitsasamgraha, a work on curative medicine — all these
 testify to the literary renaissance of the period.

V. CONTEMPORARY LITERARY TRENDS :-

The highly cultivated poetry was meant for the
 cultured audience indicating the general prevalence of
 scholastic learning. The rulers encouraged Sanskrit
 learning. It was an age of scholastic elaboration and
 systematic analysis, of technical skill and learning,
 of commentaries and sub-commentaries, and of manuals
 and sub-manuals.¹³² Practically all branches of literature
 were well represented and their volume was also immense.

The large number of royal authors and patrons of learning

is striking. Bhoja, Yaśahpāla, Someśvara, Kulāśekhara, Aparārka, Ravivarman, Prahlādanadeva, Vighraharāja (Viśaladeva) and Ballālasena figure among the crowned men-of-letters who composed poetry, drama, poetics, Dharmaśāstra etc. Polymaths like Kṣemendra and Bhoja were by no means rare. Encyclopaedic works like the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, Mānasollāsa, Kṛtyakalpataru, Caturvargacintāmani and so on testify to a dynamic age rather than the one of decadence.

The Jain productions possess practically all the regular features of the Kāvya. They deal with the usual Kāvya topics and contain the elaborate descriptions of nature, seasons, battles and erotic sports.¹³³

The new literary form, the anthology, originated shortly after 1001 A.D. They rescue from oblivion many an unknown author and bring forth unknown "beauties" of well-known authors not found in their extant works, and often serve as important landmarks for fixing dates.¹³⁴

A peculiar type of literary composition written in indifferent prose and verse, styled as 'Campū', became popular with author from the tenth century ^{A.D.} onwards.

133. SE. p. 302.

134. ibid. p. 305.

The Yaśastilaka-campū of Somadeva, the Campū-rāmāyana of Bhojadeva and the Nala-campū of Trivikramabhaṭṭa testify to this general trend at exhibiting one's poetic and punditic skill both in the field of Sanskrit prose as well as verse. Polymathy was an ideal aspired for by every scholar of ability. The composition of a lexicon each by Bhoja, Dhanañjaya, Halāyudha and Dhanapāla indicates to the literary fashion of the times. Kṣīraswāmin's Dhātuvṛtti, Kaiyaṭa's Pradīpa on the Mahābhāṣya, Haradatta's Padamañjarī, Vardhamāna's Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi, Saranadeva's Durghaṭavṛtti, Bhoja's Sarasvatīkanthābharana, ~~Daiva's~~ Daiva's Daivam and Halāyudha's Kavirahasya — all these works dealing with different aspects of Sanskrit Grammar point to the ~~xxx~~ attempt at popularising Sanskrit by simplifying the science of grammar for the enlightenment of the laity.

In the field of Sanskrit poetics the Dhvani school was well established and literary critics sought to harmonize the results of the controversies their predecessors like Bhāmaha, Dandi, Vāmana, Kuntaka, Rudraṭa, Rājasekhara and Abhinavagupta. Rājasekhara has given us a graphic picture of the expected poetic environment of the times in his Kāvya-mīmāṃsā.¹³⁵ The

135.cf.KMR.Ch.X.

poet enjoyed a highly prâvileged and enviable status in the assemblies and concourses of the cultured classes in those days. The gift of composing poetry was considered to be the acid test of polish in speech and manners. The poets by education and practice were not less respected than the poets by nature who were equally loved. Genius and talent joined in friendship and found a mutual succour in each other.

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