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## C H A P T E R   O N E

### LIFE AND PERSONALITY OF KAVI DHANAPĀLA

#### A : LIFE:-

##### I : Source-material:-

Like Bāṇa,<sup>2</sup> Dhanapāla, the author of the Tilakamañjarī (TM), has given in his works many indications about his ancestors and patrons. Jain tradition, both literary and religious, has also preserved valuable information about the life of Kavi Dhanapāla. Professor H.R.Kapadia<sup>1</sup> has noted the following works as source-material bearing on this point:-

(i) The Tilakamañjarī of Dhanapāla—introductory verses 51-53 ;

(ii) The Pālalacchīnāmamālā of Dhanapāla (V.Sam. 1029 i.e. 973 A.D.);

(iii) The Sāvagavihī of Dhanapāla ;

(iv) The Sanskrit Vṛtti by Dhanapāla (SSV) on the Sobhana-stuti of his younger brother Sobhanā Muni ;

(v) The Mahendrasūri-prabandha (Chapter 17), the Vadivetāla-Sāntisūri-caritam (Chapter 16) and the Sūrā-cārya-caritam (Chapter 18) of the Prabhāvaka-caritam (PRC) of Prabhācandrasūri (1278 A.D.);

(vi) The Dhanapāla-prabandha in the Bhoja-prabandha

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1.RP(HRK) Intro. p. 13.

of the Prabandhacintāmaṇi of Merutuṅga (1305 A.D.);

(vii) A commentary called the Caitya-vandanā-kulaka-vṛtti<sup>2</sup> by Jinakusalasūri (1327 A.D.);

(viii) A commentary on the samyaktva-saptati by Sanghatilakācārya (1366 A.D.);

(ix) The Kumarapāla-prabandha of Jinamaṇḍanagaṇi (1436 A.D.)

(x) The Bhojaprabandha of Ratnamandirgaṇi<sup>3</sup> (1461 A.D.);

(xi) The Upadeśa-kalpavalli of Indrahamsagaṇi<sup>4</sup> (1499 A.D.);

(xii) The Kathāratnākara of Hemaviṇḍayagaṇi (1601 A.D.);

(xiii) The Ātma-prabodha of Jinalābhasūri<sup>5</sup> (1748 A.D.);

(xiv) The Upadeśa-prāsāda of Vijayalakṣmīsūri<sup>6</sup> (1787 A.D.);

We can add one more to the list, viz,

(xv) The Bhoja-carita of Rājavallabha<sup>7</sup> (1440 A.D.).

## II : Evaluation of the source-material :-

The most authentic information is, of course, that available from the TM, the PIN and the SSV. Next to them chronologically, the Prabhāvakacarita of Prabhācandra-sūri (V.Sam. 1334 i.e. 1278 A.D.)<sup>8</sup> can be taken as comparatively the most reliable external source for the data regarding the life of Dhanapāla. Next to it in importance

2. CVKV folios 93-97. 3. BPR.5. 4. UKV. pp. 166-175. 5. APR. Ch.1. 6. UPr. Pt.1 Discourse 23. 7. BC(R).I.261-333. 8. PRC. p.216: वेदावलजिसि शशधर (१३३४) वर्षे चैत्रस्य धवल-सप्तम्याम् । शुक्ले पुनर्वसुदिने सायुर्गं पूर्वन्दिषि-सवितम् ॥२२॥

stands the Prabandha-cintāmaṇi (PC) of Merutuṅga (V.Sam. 1361 i.e.1305 A.D.),<sup>9</sup> who might have been a junior contemporary of Prabhācandrasūri, the timelag between the composition of their works being only a score of years. Merutuṅga seems to have inherited the information from hearsay and a different tradition.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, his information is sketchy and at time incorrect, and perhaps biassed to some extent in favour of his own monk-order (gaccha). The same is more or less the case with the rest of the sources listed above, as almost all of them seem to have adopted, with some modifications, the tradition preserved in the PC. Again there is a tendency in most of these latter accounts to father the credit, for converting to Jainism such a Brahmin scholar like Dhana-pāla, on a teacher of their own 'gaccha', and another tendency to depict that both Dhanapāla and the heroes and the heroines of his prose-romance got initiated (dīkṣita) to the monk order and attained to 'Nirvāṇa' consequent to their having forsaken the mistaken creeds (mithyātva) and taking to the right path, viz, the Jainism.

9.PC(SJGM).p.125 : त्रयोदशस्वर्गशतकेषु चैकषष्ट्यधिकेषु क्रमतो गतेषु ।  
वैशम्पायनस्य च पूणिनीयौ ग्रन्थः समाप्तौ अभितो  
10.PC(S).vss.31,33. p.263. भितोऽयम् ॥

As has been rightly pointed out by Pandit Durgadas K. Sh<sup>astri</sup>,<sup>11</sup> the Prabandha works have been composed not with a view to preserve historical facts but rather for religious instruction or hero-worship or for popular entertainment. In the P<sup>ur</sup>anic tradition all these purposes are simultaneously present. The same is the case with the J<sup>ai</sup>nistic and the Buddhistic traditions. We should not expect pure history from them. But we should not be too sceptical about the details available from them if they are not contradicted by historical research. They are more welcome when they are supported by them or serve to supplement them. Such traditional accounts may be more reliable in proportion to their proximity to the personage concerned in point of time.

We should, therefore, rely — apart from Dhanapāla's own works — primarily on the PRC of Prabhācandrasūri and secondarily on the rest of the sources listed above, for the following reasons:

(i) Prabhācandra is chronologically the nearest to Dhanapāla of all the above-mentioned authors;

(ii) His PRC is the earliest available external source for Dhanapāla's life-history;

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11. Ait.Sam. pp. 5-6.

(iii) He gives an elaborate account of Dhanapāla's life, the details being more numerous than are found in any of the other sources noted above.

(iv) The account given by the PRC tallies whatever few details that are given by Dhanapāla himself in his works and it does not exhibit a Jainistic bias in its narrations, except that it deals only with the part of Dhanapāla's life after his conversion to Jainism, as it is a chronicle of prominent Jain preceptors and scholars.

Merūtunga's work will be useful in so far as it affords details which might supplement the information supplied by the work of Prabhācandra.

### III : Ancestry :-

The TM<sup>12</sup> and the SSV<sup>13</sup> inform us that Dhanapāla's grandfather was Devarṣi, a highly generous Brahmin, who was born in a habitation called 'Sāṅkāśya', wellknown in in the whole of the Madhyadeśa (i.e. the present Uttar Pradesh). The PRC gives the name "Saṅkāśya"<sup>14</sup>. The PC mentions "Sāṅkāśya" as the name of the family (gotra)

12. TM(N).Intro.vs.51: आसीदुज्ज्वलमध्यदेशप्रकाशशङ्कास्य निवेश-  
जन्मा । अलब्ध देवर्षिरिति प्रसिद्धिः यो दानवर्षित्वविभूषितोऽस्ति ॥५१॥

13. SSV. Intro.vs.1 is identical with the TM(N)Intro.vs. 51 as above. Prof. Kapadia has, however, expressed a doubt regarding the exact name of the place by giving the textual reading as "शङ्कास्य(?)".

14 PRC.17.9: इत्यथ मध्यदेशीयसंकाश्यस्थानसंश्रयः । देवर्षिरस्ति देवर्षि-  
प्रभावे भूगिनिर्जरः ॥५॥

and 'Viśālā' as that of the city<sup>15</sup> ! Merutuṅga commences his narrative not with Devarṣi but with Sarvadeva, the father of Dhanapāla. But he has mixed up the details about the ancestral native place with the family-name. Vikramavijayasūri has identified this place with 'Saṅkīsa' in the Farookhābad District.<sup>16</sup> Due to some reasons Devarṣi seems to have migrated to Avantī, the then capital of the Mālavadesa. It might be due to the insecurity consequent to the Muhammada<sup>17</sup> invasions of the region, as was the case with the wellknown Jain scholar Pundit Āśādhara who migrated from Māṇḍalagaḍh to Dhārā by about V.Saṁ. 1249 i.e. 1193 A.D. when Sahabuddin Ghorī defeated Prthviraja Cāhamana and captured Delhi.<sup>17</sup>

#### IV : Parents and Birth-place :-

Devarṣi's son was Sarvadeva, a scholar well-versed in many sciences, adept in fine arts and a past-master in composing as well as appreciating literature in many languages.<sup>18</sup> Sarvadeva had two sons, the elder of whom was Dhanapāla, and the younger one was Sobhana. Neither

15. PG(SJGM) p.26: पुरा समुद्रिविशालया विशालया पुरि मध्यदेशजन्मा  
साक्षाद्व्यगोत्रः सर्वदेवः च।

16. cf. IHQ. March 1929, p.142 quoted by PLN(V).Intro.p.6ff.

17. PLN(V).p.38x var277x

17. JSAI.p.133.

18. TM(N).p.7.Intro. vs.52: शास्त्रेष्वधीति कुशलः कलासु बन्धे च  
बोधे च गिरा प्रकृतः । तस्यात्मजन्मा समभून्महात्मा देवः स्वयंभूरिव  
सर्वदेवः ॥ ;

also cf. SSV.Intro.vs.2 which is identical with the above verse of the TM.

the TM nor the SSV give any definite statement about this.<sup>19</sup> But it is doubly hinted at in the SSV when Dhanapāla says that he composed the 'Vṛtti' at the request of his "younger brother".<sup>20</sup> This corroborates both the PRC<sup>21</sup> and the PC<sup>22</sup> wherein this is clearly spelt out. Sarvadeva seems to have had at least one daughter named Sundarī, for whom her elder brother Dhanapāla composed the Pāia-lacchī-nāma-mālā (PLN).<sup>23</sup> Bühler is inclined to identify her with the famous Avantisundarī.<sup>24</sup> It is not possible to know who was elder of the two, viz, Sobhana and Sundarī.

All these children born to Sarvadeva during his stay at Ujjayinī, where he might have his permanent residence, though he might be visiting Dhārā off and on. It is, therefore no use raising a controversy whether the ~~with~~

19. TM(N).Intro.vs.53: तज्जन्मा जनकोद्धिपङ्कजरजःसेवाप्तविद्यालवो  
विप्रः श्रीधनपाल इति etc. ॥५३॥ ; SSV.Intro.vs.

3: अज्जायताक्षः समजायतास्य श्लोघ्यस्तनुजो गुणलब्धपुङ्गवः यः  
शोभनत्वं शुभवर्णभाजा न नाम नाम्ना वपुषाऽप्यधत्ते ॥२॥

20. SSV.Intro. vs.7: एतौ यथामति विमुक्त्यै निजानुजस्य तस्योज्ज्वला  
कृतिमलङ्कृतवान् स्तुत्या । अभ्यर्चितो विदधता विदिवप्रयाणं  
तैर्नैव सम्प्रतकविधेनपालनामा ॥७॥ ; also the colophone:

तस्यैव ज्येष्ठभ्रातुः पण्डितधनपालस्य ॥

21. PRC.17,11: तस्य पुत्रद्वयं जयो विशोभयितक्रमम् । अथः श्रीधनपाला-  
रव्यो द्वितीयः शोभनः पुनः ॥२१॥

22. PC(SJGM).p.36:... सैवदेवनाग द्विजे --- धनपालशोभनपुत्रद्वयेनाञ्जितः ॥

23. PLN(D).p.38.vs.277: धारानयरीः परिटिण्ण मग्गे ठिआए --- ।  
अणवज्जे । कज्जे कणिट्ठवट्ठिणीए 'सुंदरी' नामधिज्जाए ॥ २७७॥

24. HPD.p.282.

birth-place of Dhanapāla was Ujjayinī or Dhārā, as has been done by Professors Kapadia, Gune and others.<sup>25</sup> Devarṣi, it seems, was in royal favour,<sup>26</sup> since Sarvadeva, who seems not to have been well-off, is said to have been searching for some ancestral property which, as he was certain, must be lying buried somewhere in his house.<sup>27</sup> Evidently Sarvadeva could not reap sufficient monetary benefit from the royal court, which was then shifted to Dhārā.<sup>28</sup> Possibly it was at Ujjayinī that Sarvadeva's father obtained royal patronage. But Sarvadeva might not have shifted to Dhārā later on when the capital was transferred there. Hence his monetary slimness and perhaps financial dependence on his son Dhanapāla.

According to Vijayalakṣmīsūri, however, the name of Sobhana's father was 'Lakṣmidhara'.<sup>29</sup> Sanghatilakācārya, on the other hand, gives 'Somacandra' and 'Somaśrī' as names respectively of the father and the mother of both Dhana-

25.RP(HRK).p.8.

26.PRC.17.18 cd, 19 ab :..... जगदाशौ पिता नः पुण्यजानभूत् ॥१८॥

राज्यपूज्यस्ततो लक्ष्मीं प्रापदसौ सदा ।  
27. ibid. 19 cd: गृहे मम निधिः शक्यः तृणायिकसितं (अदः ॥१९॥  
also p.36 : तिरोहितं निजपूर्वजनिधिं पृच्छन्-etc. ॥१९॥

28. At the time of Munja the capital was Ujjayini. cf.

NSC. I and IA. Vol. VI. pp. 51-52.

29. UPr. pp. 111-121.

pāla and Śobhana, and adds that they lived in Ujjayinī.<sup>30</sup>

In the opinion of Jinalābhasūri the name of Dhanapāla's father was 'Sarvadhara'.<sup>31</sup> Professor H.R.Kapadia tries to reconcile all this with an excuse that one and the same person may have been known by these different places due to different reasons.<sup>32</sup>

Sarvadeva educated his children carefully, especially his eldest child Dhanapāla<sup>33</sup> who is said to have developed poetic talents right from his very young age when he won royal patronage and honour, as is evident from the fact that the paramāra King Vākpatirāja Muñja<sup>34</sup> conferred on him the title 'Sarasvatī', i.e. the veritable Goddess-of-Learning.<sup>35</sup> ~~with a beard~~ This title seems to have rather been 'Śrī-kūrcāla-sarasvatī', i.e. the veritable Goddess-of-Learning with beard and moustache. This

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30. SSHV. folios 74-75: उज्जयिणी वसवजरी --- ॥१॥ सिरिभौयरायराया ---  
--- ॥२॥ --- तस्मात्सि वेयवेई एककमपरो परोवयास्कइ । विउससहपत-  
लीहो दीहगुणो सोमचन्ददिओ ॥५॥ सोमसिरी से भज्जा, निरवज्जा  
वज्जिभज्जसमरूवा --- ॥६॥ --- दो तणया बुहपणया सँजाया जाय-  
रूह रूवपहा ॥७॥ पढमो धन सिरिधणपालो --- ॥८॥ बीओ सोहणजामा --- ॥३॥

31. Apr.p.139 ff.

32. RP(HRK).p.8.

33. See supra foot-note No.19.

34. Nāthuram Premi wrongly states that Bhoja conferred this title on Dhanapala. cf. JSAI.p.133.

35. TM(N).p.7.Intro. vs.53 cd: अक्षुण्णोऽपि विविक्तमूर्तिश्चने  
यः सर्वविद्याब्धिना श्रीमुनेन सरस्वतीति सदसि क्षोणीभूता  
व्याहृतः ॥५३॥

event~~xx~~ occurred when Dhanapāla was between fifteen to twenty years of age, as Muñja is said to have placed him on his lap when he conferred this title on him.<sup>36</sup> Not only that, Muñja regarded him as good as his adopted son elder to Bhoja, so far as poetic talent and scholarship were concerned.<sup>37</sup> Both Dhanapāla and Bhoja, thus, grew up under sholarly patronage of Muñja.<sup>38</sup> This corroborates the elderly tone and independent thinking as well~~xx~~ as freedom of expression evidenced in many of the incidents and dialogues between Dhanapāla and Bhoja as recorded in the PRC and the PC.<sup>39</sup>

Though a Brahmin, Sarvadeva used to go to the Jain mendicants at their monasteries and practice meditation there for days together.<sup>40</sup>

36. PRC.17.271: पुरा ज्ञायमानं महाराजस्त्वाभुत्सुकोपवेशितम् । प्राहेति विरुदं

तैः स्तु श्रीकृष्णलक्ष्मणस्वतो ॥ २७१ ॥

37. ibid.17.270: श्रीमुञ्जस्य महीभर्तुः प्रतिपन्नसुतो भवन् । श्रीभोज-  
लक्ष्मणाय नमः ॥ २७० ॥ ~~अथ श्रीमुञ्जस्य महीभर्तुः प्रतिपन्नसुतो भवन् । श्रीभोज-~~

38. ibid.17.44. तदा श्रीमुञ्जराजस्य प्रतिपन्नसुतो भवन् । श्रीभोज-  
स्त्वं बालसौहार्दभूमिभूमिसुरो ब्रह्म ॥ ४४ ॥

39. cf. PRC.17.120-134; 135-139; 141-145; 146-150; 151-154;  
155-158; 159-162; 163-170; 171-190. Also PC(SJGM).pp.36-42.

40. PRC.17.14: स चास्योपाश्रये प्रायादुचितं मानितश्च तैः । दिन-  
त्रयमहोरात्रं तत्रैवास्थितसमाधिना ॥ १४ ॥

V: A Clash with his father:-

At an early age Dhanapāla is recorded to have had a difference of opinion with his father as a result of which he separated from him, left Ujjayinī and began to stay at Dhārā.<sup>The</sup> PRC relates an incident<sup>41</sup> in this connection, which is suggested but in passing by the PC.<sup>42</sup> Once there arrived, in Ujjayinī, a Jain monk named Mahendrasūri of Cāndra-gaccha.<sup>43</sup> According to Merutuṅga his name was 'Var-dhamānasūri', which, however, goes against Dhanapāla's reference in the TM where he salutes one 'Mahendrasuri'.<sup>44</sup> Sarvadeva had heard about the prophetic powers of the monk. Hence, inspite of the fact that he was himself a Brahmin, he went to see the monk in the Jain monastery, where he passed three days and nights in mystic trance. The monk enquired of him as to whether he had come there to test him or for some other purpose. Sarvadeva confided to him that he was searching for some hidden treasure which must have been buried somewhere in the house as his father was getting substantial munificence from his royal patrons. He requested the monk to help him get at that. The monk, who

41. PRC. 12-70; Note especially vs. 70 ab: इतश्च धनपालेन सर्वदेवः पृथक्कृतः ।

42. PC (SJGM). p. 36: धनपालेन मिथ्याग्रन्थप्रतिज्ञा जैनभार्गवनिदापरैश्च निमित्तः etc.

43. ibid. 17. 12: मूर्तिर्महेन्द्र एवैको वैष्णवधर्मधितकम्भन्त एवान्दराययौ चान्द्रगच्छपुष्करभस्करः । श्रीमहेन्द्रप्रभुः उदारदृष्ट्या श्रुतपयोनिधिः ॥ १२ ॥

44. TM (N). Intro. vs. 34: मूर्तिर्महेन्द्र एवैको वैष्णवधर्मधितकम्भन्तः etc.

was an adept ~~in~~ in Astrology and Nimittasāstra, foresaw a chance of getting a good disciple in one of the sons of this Brahmin. He, therefore, agreed to find the treasure out for Sarvadeva on the condition that he must get the desired half share from him. The monk, then <sup>></sup> showed him the place where, on digging, Sarvadeva got the treasure consisting of forty lacs of gold coins. Sarvadeva honestly offered twenty lacs to the monk, who, however, demanded one of his two sons towards his choicest equal share! Sarvadeva was dumbfounded. But, having guaranteed to implement his promise, he ~~h~~ went home and threw himself into the bed out of intense worry. Dhanapāla, on returning from the court, enquired about the cause of his worries. But when he came to know about his father's promise and saw through the monk's intention in his insistence upon the unusual manner of its fulfilment, ~~he~~ he was furious and scolded his father while haranguing on the deceitfulness of the Jain monks.<sup>45</sup> Being a ~~favourite~~ favourite court-poet of both Muñja and Bhoja, and as a staunch Brahmin, he thought it sinful to undergo the

45.PRC.17.72 bc: ... एषां पाषण्डमदुष्टं । दयात्वा --- ॥७२॥

"wretched" initiation of Jainism and deprive his ancestors of their rightful oblations.<sup>46</sup> He, then, left his father, possibly at Ujjayinī, and migrated to Dhārā where he lived independently of his father.<sup>47</sup> This must have been during the early years of the career of the Paramāra King Bhojarāja, when Dhanapāla was proud of being a devout Brahmin, favourite court-poet and chief pundit, due to which position he could afford financial independence.<sup>48</sup> Not only that, he also seems to have already been married to one Dhanaśrī, his rather shrewish wife whom he would not dare to forsake in order to comply with the promise of his father.<sup>49</sup> The father was now doubly worried. Then came young Sobhana, the other son, who, having come to know about his father's promise and his brother's natural, though disfavoured, attitude, willingly got ready to go with the monk and rid his father ~~from~~ of the awkward position. Simple as he was by nature and

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46. PRC. 17. 42 vs. 45-46 :  $\text{तत्पूर्वजाणिह स्वयं यान् पुत्रो भूत्वा प्रजापते । स्वभ्रौ पतितराज्ञाणां दीक्षया ह्यवगीतया ॥४५॥ एकस्मिन् ऋणतो मोच्यः पात्याः सर्वेऽपि पूर्णजाः । इमं कुर्व्यवहारं नाधार्यै सज्जन-निन्दितम् ॥४६॥$

47. See supra ft. nt. 41.

48. PRC. 17. 52 : धनपालो राजपूज्यः कुटुम्बभरणक्षेमः ॥५२॥

49. ibid. vs. 60-61 : इदं कार्यमिदं कार्यमिति चिन्तति जर्जरः ॥ बिभे-  
त्युभयथा बन्धुर्पुत्रमाया धनक्षयः । असन्नुद्धिदोऽस्ति हृत्स्व-  
पि भोग्येषु वस्तुषु ॥६१॥

hence very obedient, he did not relish the idea of ever entering the shackles of unhappy married life, for which he perhaps pitied his elder brother.<sup>50</sup> The father made over younger his/son Sobhana to Mahendrasūri who initiated the boy as<sup>51</sup> his disciple and, out of fear<sup>52</sup> from Dhanapāla and his royal patron Bhoja, immediately left with him for Anahillapura. Dhanapāla complained about this to Bhoja who promulgated an ordinance banning the Śvetāmbara Jain monks from entering the Mālava territory for a period of twelve years.<sup>53</sup> Merutuṅga adds that Sarvadeva, on his part, set out on a pilgrimage to atone for his sin of having once refused to give one of his sons as the share and thus temporarily breaking the promise.

#### VI. CONVERSION OF DHANAPĀLA TO JAIN FAITH :-

During this period of twelve years of ban on the entry of the Jain monks in the Mālava territory, Mahendrasūri groomed Sobhana into a fine scholar well-versed in many branches of learning culminating in the title of a

50. PRC.vss.54,62 : अहं तु सरलो बाल्यादेतदेव विचारये । पित्रादेशविधे-

रन्त्यो न धर्मस्तनुजन्मनाम् ॥६४॥ --- ममापीदृग्गतिः कन्या-  
सम्बन्धे भाविनी द्रुवम् ॥६५॥

51. ibid.vs.68 : सुखस्तमनुशाप्यादीक्षयंस्तं सुतं मुदा ।...॥६८॥

52. ibid.vs.69 : ते विजहूः प्रभाते चापभ्राजन् विशङ्किताः ।...॥६९॥

53. ibid.vs.73 : एवं द्वादशवर्षाणि श्रीभोजस्याज्ञया तदा । न मालये  
विजह्वे तच्छ्रीम्वैताम्बरदर्शनम् ॥७३॥

"vācanācārya"<sup>54</sup>. Dhanapāla has himself testified to his younger brother's mastery over the grammatical systems of Kātantra and Cāndra, the philosophical systems of Buddhism and Jainism, his deep learning in literature and mysticism along with his genius as a poet of high order.<sup>55</sup> At the end of twelve years, during which the Jain society of Malwa went on requesting Mahendrasūri to devise a way out of this blanket ban, Sobhana fathered the responsibility and undertook to win over his elder brother to his faith in order to restore the religious freedom of the Jain order in Malwa.<sup>56</sup>

About the first encounter of the two brothers, Meru-tuṅga relates a humorous incident, which is translated by Tawney in the following words: 'As he was entering, the pandit Dhanapāla, who was accompanying the king on his royal circuit, not recognizing that he was his brother, ~~xx~~ said to him jeeringly, "All hail! ass-toothed mendicant!"<sup>58</sup> The hermit, Sobhana, answered, "Good luck befall you, my friend, with a mouth like a Kapivr̥ṣaṇa."<sup>59</sup> Dhanapāla was

54.PRC.17.75: इत्यथ शोभनदेवस्योद्घापितः सुरभिस्तदा। विदधे वाचनान्धार्यः --109॥

55.SSV.Intro.vs.4: कातन्त्र-चन्द्रोदिततन्त्रवेदी यो बुद्धयौद्गाहृततत्त्वतन्त्रः।  
साहित्यविद्यार्णवपारदर्शी निदर्शनं काव्यकृतां वञ्च ॥४॥  
~~56.SSVx xxxxxxxx~~

56.PRC.17.77: दौर्जनस्यमिदं सद्ये मन्त्रिमित्तं समाययौ। अहमेव प्रतीकारं  
तत्र सन्धातुमुत्सहे ॥७७॥

57.PRC PC(T).pp.52-53.

58.PC(SJGM).pp.36: गर्दभरन्त भदन्त! नमस्ते।

59-ibid. कपिवृषणास्य वयस्य! सुखं ते।

inwardly astonished at this speech of Śobhana's, and said to himself, " I said 'All hail to you', in pure ~~jast~~ joke, but this man, by saying 'Good luck to you, my friend', has conquered me by his dexterity in speech." So he said to Śobhana, "Whose guests are you?" These speeches of Dhanapāla elicited from the hermit Śobhana the reply, "We are your guests, sir!"<sup>60</sup> When Dhanapāla heard this speech of hermit Śobhana, he sent Śobhana, with his attendant novice, to the palace, and with polite speeches invited Śobhana with his attendants to dinner. But they, who were addicted to taking only pure food, refused. Dhanapāla earnestly inquired what objection could be taken to his food. They answered,—"A hermit should eat food collected as bees collect honey, even if given by a family of Mlecchas. He should not eat a regular meal, even if offered by one equal to Vṛhaspati. Moreover, the same doctrine is laid down in the Jain religions in the ~~Das~~ Daśavaikālika,—

Those wise persons, who like bees, not depending on  
any person for food,  
Delighting in many scraps, self-subdued, are for  
that reason, called saints.<sup>61</sup>

60. PC(SJGM).p.36; कुत्र भवेद्भवदीयनिवासः ? -- यत्र भवेद्भवदीयनिवासः ।  
Mark the Viśloka metre with rhyming syllables.

61. *ibid.* तथा च जैनसमये दशैकालिके षडुक्तरामा बुद्धा  
जे भवन्ति अर्गसिन्धो । नागादिपुत्रया दन्ता तेषां  
बुद्ध्यन्ति षडुक्ते ॥ ; also cf. p.613 of Prof. Lanmann's edn.

Prabhācandra ignores the above incident and relates another one<sup>62</sup> which also is partly adopted by Merutuṅga.<sup>63</sup> After his arrival at Dhārā with a couple of fellow-monks, Śobhana directed them for begging to the house of his brother, The monks went to the house of Dhanapāla abegging with the words : "May merit accrue to you !", Dhanapāla's wife, true to her nature, caustically reported : "It is in the lake !" <sup>64</sup> At that Dhanapāla, who was proceeding for a bath after oil-massage, told her that it would be improper if the monks go without getting anything at all. Dhanapāla's wife thereupon brought some stale food and sour curds. The monks accepted the food except the curds, which, according to them, contained maggots as it was stale for three days. Dhanapāla challenged them to prove their allegation. The monks then dropped into the curds a pill of red resin on which the grown up live bacteria could easily be noticed.<sup>65</sup> The Brahmin pundit was astonished and highly impressed by the minute care of the

62.PRC.17.79-119.

63.PC(SJGM).pp.36-37.

64.PRC.17.81: व्याहृत्य धर्मलाभं तौ तस्थतुः स्वस्थचेतसौ । सरस्य-  
स्तीति विदधे धनपालप्रियोत्तरम् ॥८१॥

65. ibid. 17.88-89: पुलिकालकस्याथ तोभ्यां तत्र द्यमोच्यत । जीवा  
दधनस्ततस्तस्यां प्रागेवोरुरुहुस्तदा ॥८८॥ चलन्तस्ते हि चक्षुष्या  
अचक्षुष्याः स्थिताः पुनः । तद्वर्णास्तद्रसा जीवास्तदा तेनेक्षिताः  
स्फुटाः ॥८९॥

monks for their vow of non-violence, and it served to wean his mind away from the Vedic rituals entailing violence while the Jain faith with its emphasis on mercy and non-violence appealed very deeply to his heart. He enquired of the monks about their preceptor and went to see him and formally avowed himself to the householder's order of Jain religion, to which he stuck till the end of his life.<sup>66</sup>

VII : RELATION WITH BHOJA :-

Muñja, as has been noted above, honoured Dhanapāla in his court. But it is not certain whether he enjoyed the same favour from Muñja's successor Sindhurāja, who, as has been described by Padmagupta alias Parimala, ruled from Ujjayinī, though Dhārā also might have been continued as one of the seats of the sovereign. Otherwise why should Sindhurāja ask Parimala, instead of Dhanapāla, to compose an epic on his life history? Dhanapāla could not have been converted to Jainism by that time. It was after at least twelve years of Bhoja's rule that Dhanapāla was won over by Jainism. This might have been possibly

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66. PRG.17.111: समुवाच ततः श्रीमान् धनपालः शिष्या निधिः । प्रतिपन्नो  
मया जैनो धर्मः सदगतिहेतवे ॥११॥; also vs.322:... जेहि धर्म एव  
स्थितः सदा ॥३२२॥.

after A.D. 1111. Before that he was a staunch Brahmin scholar well-versed in the Veda, Smṛti, Stoma and sacrificial & ritual.<sup>67</sup> By this time Dhanapāla must have been at least fifty seven years of age.<sup>68</sup> Till then his relation with Bhoja must have been very cordial and he was considered as one of the indispensable scholars of Bhoja's famous assembly of five hundred pundits.

But, according to the Jain tradition as preserved in the PRC and PG, this relation steadily deteriorated after the change of faith on the part of a well-versed staunch Brahmin like Dhanapāla whom the Jains considered as a valuable asset and a worthy defender of their faith — rather worthier — in that he was a royally recognized superior to all other pundits of Bhoja's court and a prized product of the Brahmanical faith in which they were trying to make inroads. This must have put Bhoja himself on the defensive in favour of the Brahmanical religion, a staunch votary of which he himself was. The

anecdote about the dialogues between Bhoja and Dhanapāla

67. PRC. 17. 53: वेदस्मृतिश्रुतिस्तोत्रपात्रः पण्डितोऽग्रजः । कृत्या-  
कृत्येषु निष्णातः --- ॥ ५३ ॥

68. This is in view of the discussion in the next chapter where the year of Dhanapāla's birth is tentatively fixed at about 955 A.D., and Bhoja was coronated by about 999 A.D. After twelve years, i.e. by about 1011-12, Sobhana could not have met Dhanapāla, who must, then, be about fifty-seven years of age.

seem to emphasize the elocutionary skill and a superior convincing power of Dhanapāla who is ever shown to have ~~defending~~ defended Jainism and deprecated Brahmanical Hinduism. The dialogues generally concern such aspects of the Brahmanical faith as the status of Śiva as a yogi par excellence inspite of his having married with Pārva-tī, the violence involved in the sacrificial ritual, the cow-worship, the practice of hunting, the ceremony of investing Mahākāla with sacred ~~xxxxxx~~ fibre-garland (pavitrāropana), the superiority of the Jain faith and of its founder Tīrthaṅkaras to the Brahmanical gods, and, above all this, the bold outspokenness and staunchness of Dhanapāla in favour of his newly acquired Jain faith.

The following incidents have been preserved by the popular Jain tradition as a proof of his having gradually ~~xxx~~ acquired considerable staunchness in his faith.<sup>69</sup>

(1) Once when Dhanapāla accompanied Bhoja to the Mahākāla temple (probably at Ujjayinī), the poet would not come in front of the image of Śiva even though he

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69. PRC 17. 119: क्रमेण धनपालश्च धर्मतत्त्वविचक्षणः ।  
इदं सम्यक्त्वनिष्ठाभिर्द्वैतस्तमिथ्यामनिर्बोधै ॥ ११३ ॥

was called thrice by the king. When the latter asked the reason, Dhanapāla replied that as the god was in company of his bride he felt ashamed to witness it.<sup>70</sup> Of course he used to visit the temple before he acquired the "true faith", i.e. Jainism, but that was because he was as ignorant as a child then.<sup>71</sup> He further added that it was the ancient sensuous people like the king who had, on the strength of their regal power started such an absurd worship of male and female organs.<sup>72</sup> The king, however, thought that the poet was rather joking, though, according to Bhoja, the joke had a grain of truth in it!<sup>73</sup> This seems to have occurred very shortly after Dhanapāla's conversion to Jainism as is evident from the question of the king, who is clearly surprised, as to why the poet had been paying homage to the same Mahākāla for so long a time till that day.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, the poet also seems to be sufficiently advanced in age — at least fifty-seven years — to be able to talk with the king on such equal terms.

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70. PRC.17.122: देवोऽस्ति शक्तिसम्बद्धो व्रीडया न विलोक्यते ॥१२२॥

71. ibid. vs. 123: राजाहं दिवसेष्वेतावत्सु किं त्वीदृशोऽर्चितः । भवता प्राह स्तोऽहं च बालत्वाल्लज्जितो न हि ॥१२३॥

72. ibid. vs. 125ff: कामसेवापरैः प्राच्यैरपि भूपैर्भवादृशैः । बलित्वा-  
र्चनं त्वस्य प्रवर्तितमिहेदृशः ॥१२५॥

73. ibid. vs. 127: स्मिन्त्वा दध्यौ स भूपालो हारयं सत्यसम् (धदः ॥१२७॥

74. See supra. ft. nt. 71, vs. 123 ab.

(2) The next incident might have been in continuation of the above one when they came out of the temple. The king asked the poet as to why Bhr̥ṅgiriti looked lean. The poet bluntly, though poetically, brought out the mental confusion on the part of Bhr̥ṅgiriti at the incoherent conduct of his lord Śiva, viz., if he intends to remain unclad why keep a bow? If he wants to keep a bow, why have the ashes? Well, if he wants to apply ashes to his body, why have anything to do with a woman? And if he wants the company of a woman, what is the sense in having the enmity with Cupid? Poor ~~Bhr̥ṅgī~~ Bhr̥ṅgī is, thus, worn by anxiety as to the real intention of his master<sup>75</sup>. This incident is noted, but with scanty background, by Merutuṅga.<sup>76</sup>

(3) The third incident, not found in the PRC, but preserved by Merutuṅga, seems to have followed in sequence to the above one. Once the courtiers of Bhoja reported to him about the concentration of Dhanapāla in Jina-worship. At that the king gave him a basket of flowers and ordered him to pay homage to all the deities

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75. PRC.17.130: दिञ्जासा यदि तत्किमस्य धनुषा सास्त्रस्य किं  
भस्मना, भस्माप्यस्य किमङ्गना यदि च सा कामं परिद्वेष्टि किम्।  
इत्यज्योऽयमिदं विरुद्धं चेष्टितमहो पश्यन्निजस्वामिनं, भृङ्गी शुष्कशिर-  
वन्मृगमधिकं धत्तेऽस्थिशेषं वयुः॥१३०॥

76. PC(SJGM).p.39.

in the city. Dhanapāla did go round, but he worshipped only at the Jain temples and returned. The spy, who had pursued him, reported the matter to the king who, later on enquired of the poet how he worshipped the deities. The poet replied that he worshipped there only where he had a scope, and added that he had no scope before Viṣṇu due to the invariable presence of his bride, nor before Rudra due to his being perpetually embraced by his wife, nor before Brahmā due to his being ever engrossed in meditation which one could disturb only at the risk of incurring a curse, nor before Vināyaka due to the necessity of avoiding a touch at the dish full of sweet-balls, nor before Caṇḍikā due to the fear of Mahiṣāśura ru<sup>5</sup>hing towards him out of the pain consequent to an onslaught of her trisūla and spear, nor before Hanumat due to the fear of getting a slap as he is short-tempered. Moreover, how can one offer a garland to one who has no head or a head-dress, to one who has no forehead, or dancing and music to one who has no eyes nor ears, or a salutation to one who has no feet ? The poet, then, added that he had

77.PC(SJGM).p.40: विष्णुपादौ एकान्तकलत्रसद्भावात् रुद्रद्विजो पार्वती-  
सदभावात्, ब्रह्मणो ध्यानभक्तौ श्लाघादिभावात्, विनायकौ स्वस्थाः कृतमोदका-  
शने स्पर्शनिर्वयमानौ, चण्डिकायोरिच्छुलहेति सखेत्रेस्तमहिषमत्सङ्मुखानामन-  
मसात्, हनुमतः कोपादोपवशंवदस्य चोद्यमेयात् कुत्राप्यवसरो नाभूत् ॥  
अपि च — विनायकौ तमाङ्गौ वृथा पुष्पमाला, ललाटे विनाहो कथं पटु-  
वन्द्यः । अकर्णौ त्वेनेत्रे कथं जीतनृत्ये अपादस्य पादे कथं मे  
प्रणमनः ॥

a scope of worshipping only at a Jain temple where the eyes of the deity were beautifully liquid like the nectar, the face was always smiling and cheerful and the demeanour was ever peaceful.<sup>78</sup>

(4) Another incident is connected with the investiture ceremony (Pavitrārōpana) of Mahākāla (probably at Ujjayinī), when the king remarked about the lack of an investiture ceremony on the part of the Jain deities, who must, therefore, be without the sacred thread (also 'a-pavitra' i.e. impure). Dhanapāla retorted that it was only the impure ones who need a purifier (pavitraka). Since the Jain Tīrthaṅkaras are ever pure, they do not stand in need of any purifier like a thread.<sup>79</sup>

(5) the next one also is connected with the above incident, as it seems to have occurred at the porch of the Mahākāla temple where the king pointed out to the poet a sculpture and asked the reason why the Love-god therein was giving a clap in the palm of his beloved Rati. The poet gave a sharply intelligent reply saying that this Śiva, though well-known as an ideal of abstinence, has been even now clasping to his body his

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78. *ibid.*

79. PRC.17.157: पवित्रमपवित्रस्य पवित्र्यादिरोहति । जिह्वः

स्वयं पवित्रः किमन्यैस्तत्र पवित्रकैः ॥ २५७ ॥

beloved out of the fear of separation. And poor public believe that he has conquered the lust ! It is for this reason that the Love-god is amused and enjoys the joke with his believed!!<sup>80</sup>

(6) Another incident, ~~omitted~~ omitted by Prabhacandra but noted by Merutuṅga, concerns the cow-worship against which Dhanapāla remarks that a cow is in no way superior to any other animal. And if she is to be worshipped in spite of the absence of any special quality in her, why should a buffalo also be not worshipped ? Merutuṅga has<sup>81</sup> connected this dialogue with the occasion of a donation of cows to Dhanapāla.

(7) The next one criticizes in one full sweep the Brahmanical beliefs about the cow-worship, the tree-worship, the sacrificial killing of a goat for attaining to heaven, the Śrāddha ceremony, the untrustworthiness of the gods, the belief in sacrificial oblations reaching the gods through fire, and the authority of the Śrīti.<sup>82</sup>

80.PRC.17.163: स एष भुवनत्रयप्रवितसंयतः शक्रो, बिभर्ति जपुषाधुना  
विरहकोतरः कामिनीम् । अनेन किल निर्जिता ययमिति प्रियायाः  
करं, करेण परितोऽयम् जयति जातहरिः स्मरः ॥ १६३ ॥

81.PC(SJGM).p.38.

82.PRC.17.134: स्वर्गोऽमेध्यभुजां गवाक्षहरो वन्द्या विस्मृता कुम्भाः  
स्वर्गश्छायावशाद्भिन्नोति च पितृन् विप्रोपभुक्ताशनम् । आप्तश्छाया-  
पराः श्रुताः शिष्यिहृतं प्रीणाति देवान् हविः स्फीतं फल्गु च वल्गु  
च भुतिजिरः को वेत्ति लीलायितम् ॥ १३४ ॥  
; also cf. PC(SJGM).p.38rr.

(8) Another incident censures the violence at the sacrificial ritual. The poet believes that the poor grass-eating animals deserve to be pitied rather than killed. Further he remarks ~~xxxx~~ caustically that if it be argued that the sacrificial animals attain to heaven, why do the sacrificer not offer their parents in the sacrificial fire and pack them off securely to the heaven?<sup>83</sup>

(9) The next incident has its roots in the caustic remarks against hunting. Bhoja seems to have been enraged to the extent of thinking to get him secretly murdered so ~~xxxx~~ as not to be liable to public censure and consequent defamation.<sup>84</sup> But the poet was accidentally saved by his eulogistic and poetically skillful answer to the king's question as to why the old woman, passing on the road, was shaking her head. The poet said that she was wondering whether he (i.e. Bhoja) was the famous Nandī, Murāri, Cupid, Kubera, Vidyādhara, Indra, the Moon or Brahmā, but at last she came to know that he was but King Bhoja himself, superior to all of them!<sup>85</sup>

83.PRC.17. 151-155; PC(SJGM). p.42.

84. *ibid.* vss.139-140: श्रीभोजः कुपितस्तस्यापस्ववचनक्रमैः।  
दध्यावमुं हनिष्यामि विजृम्भन् द्विजम्बुवत् ॥१३९॥ सततं हन्तौ किं  
चापवादः परमो भवेत् । बहः कुत्रापि वेलोयां वधोऽसावेष  
संशयः ॥१४०॥

85. *ibid.* vs.143; किं नन्दी किं मुखरिः किमु रतिरमणः किं हरः  
किं कुबेरः, किं वा विद्याधरोऽसौ किमथ सुसमतिः किं विष्णुः किं  
विधाता । नायं नायं न चायं न खलु न हि न वा नापि नासौ  
न चैषः । क्रीडां कर्तुं प्रवृत्तः स्वयमिह हि हलौ । भूपतिर्भोजदेवः ॥१४३॥

(10) Another incident is intended to emphasize the truthful prophetic authority of the Jain Tīrthaṃkaras in general according to Merutuṅga,<sup>86</sup> and of Dhanapāla in particular according to Prabhācandra.<sup>87</sup> The poet was asked by what door will the king go out. Dhanapāla wrote the answer which was safely secured in a sealed envelop. Merutuṅga holds that the poet pointed out to the answer being contained in the work named 'Arhaccūdāmaṇi'. According to Prabhācandra, the king then got a hole<sup>88</sup> bored into the roof and went out through it. Merutuṅga, however makes the king go out through the underground passage dug in the middle of the room.<sup>89</sup> Next morning the envelop was opened and the king read the answer which tallied with what he had done. Prabhācandra's version praises a wise man's eye in the form of intelligence, while that of Merutuṅga eulogizes the truthfulness, and hence trustworthiness, of the Jain works.<sup>90</sup>

(11) The next incident testifies to almost super-human prophetic and poetic genius of Dhanapāla. A traveller from Setubandha arrived at the court of Bhoja with

86.PC(SJGM).p.39: ---नरेश्वरः -- सर्वज्ञशमस्य प्रशंसापरं चक्रितं धनपालमात्मनः॥

87.PRC.17.163: अन्मदा नृपतिः प्राह त्वं सुवृत्तमावणे । अभिशानं किमप्यस्ति अन्त्यं कथं तन्मम ॥२६॥

88.ibid.vss.166-168.

89.PC(SJGM).p.39.

90.PRC.17.171 ff.;also PC(SJGM).p.39.

a few fragments of inscriptional poetry and reported about an inscription on a ~~temple~~ temple submerged under the waters of the ocean. The traveller had brought a resin dye of it which contained a couple of incomplete verses. Dhanapāla completed them and asserted that it must needs tally with the original ones on the temple walls.<sup>91</sup> Meru-tuṅga adds that while the other court-poets tried their hands unsuccessfully at completing the verse, Dhanapāla could do it in a moment.<sup>92</sup>

(12) Another one dwells upon Dhanapāla's typically Jainistic attitude to public works of munificence, such as, building tanks and etc. Once the king asked him how much merit was earned by constructing such huge tanks. The poet unexpectedly replied in a satirical tone pointing out to the possibility of equally huge demerit due to the death of the aquatic creatures in the event of the tanks getting dried up due to the lack of sufficient rains.<sup>94</sup>

(13) The next incident seems to have occurred in a very advanced age in the life of Dhanapāla, who was called back from his voluntary exile from Malwa. When the king asked him about the condition of his long uninhabited house, the poet brought out, in a ~~pann~~ paronomasiac

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91. PRC.17.177ff.; PC(SJGM).p.41.

92. PC(SJGM).p.40.

93. PRC.17.177ff.; PC(SJGM).p.40.

94. PRC.17.185-190; also PC(SJGM).p.39.

though pathetically poetic reply, the similarity between his own delapidated, dusty, servantless house and the king's palace with the golden vessels, highly adorned servants and elephants.<sup>95</sup>

(14) The PC preserves in one incident the attitude of his contemporaries towards Dhanapāla, who once eulogized Bhoja in a verse which metaphorically depicted the Celestial Gaṅgā as being but a chalk-mark put by Brahmā as he started counting the best of human kings.<sup>96</sup> When the other court-poets ridiculed his metaphor as unrealistic and far-fetched, Dhanapāla paid them back in their own coin by citing similar unrealistic ~~instances~~ instances from the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata and added that those very court-poets blindly praised those

95. PRC.17.285: पृथुकार्तस्वरपात्रं भूषितनिःशेषपरिजनं देव । विलसत्करेणु-  
गहनं सर्वप्रति समभावयोः सदनम् ॥ २८५ ॥ ; which with the  
king means पृथु-कार्तस्वर-पात्रम् (having broad golden  
vessels) भूषित-निःशेष-परिजनम् (having the servants all  
of whom are adorned) विलसत्-करेणु-गहनम् (packed  
with the sportive she-elephants), while with Dhana-  
pala it means पृथुर्कार्तस्वर-पात्रम् (with vessels that  
make a loud jarring noise [due to being broken]) भूषित-  
निःशेष-परिजनम् (all the servants wherein are lying on  
the ground - भूषित → or adorned with the lack of  
servants) विलसत्करेणु-गहनम् (packed with heaps of  
dust) सदनम् ।

96. PC(SJGM).p.41-42: धाराधीशं धरामहीशगणने कौतूहली यमयं,  
वेधास्त्वंदुग्धनां चकार खटिकाखण्डेन रेखां दियि । सैवेकं त्रिदशपद्मा  
समभ्यत् तत्तुल्यभूमिधया, भावात्तत्त्यजति स्म योऽथमवनीपीठे तुषारा-  
चलः ॥

popular works.<sup>97</sup>

It should be noted that there is not the slightest indication of the strained relations between Bhoja and Dhanapāla in the latter's prose-romance, the TM, the eulogistic tenor in the introductory verses of which does not warrant the above religious rivalry between a staunch Śaiva and an equally staunch Jaina. The introductory verses and the contents of the TM definitely indicate that Dhanapāla composed his prose-romance after his conversion to Jainism, which fact afforded ample scope for expression of such a relationship. But the poet must have thought it quite out of place – especially in view of his paternal patronage by Muñja and his personal friendship with Bhoja – to give vent to his personal opinion on such an occasion like the auspicious commencement of his life's labour of love, i.e. the TM. More properly it is the popular tradition – and the Jain one in particular – which would have an interest enough to preserve such minute, though minor, details. If one could take them at their face value, one would have to be thankful to both Prabhācandra and Merutuṅga for

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97.PC(SJGM).p.41-42: शौनैर्वैधयति स्म पत्न्यस्यै वाजरहतेर्वाल्मीकि-  
रम्भोजेधि, व्यासः पार्थशरैस्तथापि न तयो रत्युक्तिरुद्भाव्यते । वस्तु  
प्रस्तुतमेव किञ्चन वयं ब्रूमस्तथाप्युक्तैर्लोकैर्द्वयं हसति प्रसारित-  
मुखस्तुभ्यं प्रतिष्ठे नमः ॥

affording such a peep into the oblivions of the past. In view of the fact that some of the points of the Brahmanical faith, criticized by Dhanapāla in the incidents recounted above, have also been made the target of their satirical salvoes by veteran Jain authors like Haribhadrasūri in his Dhuttākkhāṇa (i.e. Dhūrtākhyaṇa), and by Amitagati in his Dharmaparīkṣā, and by Somadeva in his Yaśaṣṭilaka-campū, leads one to believe that at least Prabhācandra, though not Merutunga, cannot possibly be charged with having fabricated the incidents with the sole intention of using Dhanapāla and his prestige in favour of the propagation of the Jain faith. Dr. M.J.Sharma has upheld the reliability of some of the basic data supplied by the Prabandhas in his thesis on Magha (M.K.M.).\*

#### VIII : POETIC CAREER :-

The incidents narrated above, while revealing different aspects of totally opposed religious tendencies of both Bhoja and Dhanapāla, indirectly but distinctly, record the latter's wit and genius as an instant-poet. During the latter half of his life he seems to have studied the Jain scriptures and bestowed his wealth generously towards building Jain temples both of the first as well as the last Tirthankaras, the image in each one of them being consecrated by his Jain preceptor Mahendrasūri himself.<sup>98</sup>

98. PRC. LX. 191-193.

\* H. 83-90

But, it seems, the poet caught the wind of his times which would not give recognition to a poet unless he compiled a full-fledged literary classic.<sup>99</sup> Merutuṅga gives an impression that Dhanapāla started the composition of his novel without any inspiration whatsoever, from the king, who came to know about it only indirectly from the irregularity of the poet in attending at the royal court.<sup>100</sup> But this is not supported by the TM as well as by the PRC which agree in mentioning that the poet undertook the composition of the TM at the instance of his royal patron Bhoja who expressed a wish to listen to a Jain story.<sup>101</sup> At that the poet composed a prose-romance (Kathā) about twelve thousand verses in extent.<sup>102</sup> Prabhācandra praises the work as being free from any blemishes, purifying the poetic eye by its form, full of words befitting a well-versed scholar, delineating all

99. cf. ~~YTC~~ YTC.Intro.vs.40: कवितायै नमस्तस्यै यद्रसोल्लासिताशयाः।

कुर्वन्ति कवयः कौतिल्यतां लोकान्तश्च श्रयाम् ॥१०॥; also USK.p.13:

100. PC(SJGM).p.41: कदाचिद्वासा सेवाकृतेषु पृष्टः शून्या चन्द्रेण गगनं श्रीः।  
स पण्डितः स्व तिलकमन्त्रैर्गुह्यं वैयम् अगो।

101. TM(N).Intro.vs.50: निःशेषवाङ्मयविशेषि जिनागमोक्ताः  
श्रोतुं कथाः समुपजातकुपूहलस्य । तस्यावदातचरितस्य विरोदेहेतोः

राज्ञः स्फुरत्कुलरसा रचिता कथयेत् ॥१०॥

स्मार्तकथाविस्तरविस्तृषः । यद्यस्यमब्दज्जै न कथा श्रवय कामपि ॥११॥

102. PRC.17.195: द्वादशशतं सहस्राणि श्रद्धमानेन ललितः ॥ परिपूर्व... ॥११॥

The extant text, however, is only about nine thousand slokas in extent. This measurement is arrived at by counting the number of syllables in the whole text and dividing it by thirty-two which is the measure of an Anuṣṭubh śloka.

the nine Rasas to which he devoted his full concentration.<sup>103</sup> His scholarly daughter Tilakamañjarī, though only of nine years, used to listen to the part of the story everyday from her father as he composed it from day to day.<sup>104</sup>

IX : REVISION OF THE TM AT THE HANDS OF

SĀNTYĀCĀRYA, THE VĀDIVETĀLA :-

The poet was so much anxious to conform his prose-romance to strictly Jain ideals that, as Prabhācandra notes, he invited, through Bhīma the ruler of Gujarat, the  ~~famous~~  highly renowned and scholarly Jain preceptor Shri Sāntyācārya to revise the work so as to preclude anything which might be opposed to the standard Jainistic precepts.<sup>105</sup> This Jain monk belonged to the Thārāpada Gaccha of the Candrakula and he was famous for having converted seven hundred Śrīmālī Brahmin families to Jainism.<sup>106</sup> He is not to be identified with Sāntisūri,

103. PRC. 17. 196-197: यथायथा काचदोषस्योद्धारान्निलकमञ्जरीम् । रसेन कवितास्वचक्षुर्नैर्मल्यदार्पिणीम् ॥१९६॥ विद्वज्जनान्स्वकर्पूरपूराभौ वर्णस्तम्भृताम् । सुधी विरचयाम्यग्रे कथां गवसम्पदात् ॥१९७॥

; also 198 cd: कथार्या तस्यम-

प्तौ च तदुद्धाने परिनिर्णीते ॥१९८॥  
104. ibid. 218 ff.: मूर्तवेद सरस्वत्या जवहायजबालया । - - - - - etc.; and कदाचिन्न श्रुतं यावत् - - - ॥२२२॥ ; also अहो स्वर्धं वितुद्धाने  
105. सुताज्ञाने च चित्रकृत् ॥२००॥

105. ibid. 201-202: अक्षरशौ गुजराधीशं कोविदेशशिरोमणिः । पादिवेताल-विशदं श्रीशान्त्याचार्यमाह्वयत् ॥२०१॥ अशोधयदितां चारतावुत्तुनादिप्रत्य-गता । शब्दस्ताहित्यदोषान्तु सिद्धकारस्वलेषु किम् ॥२०२॥

106. JSSI(D). p. 207.

the author of the Tippanaka on the TM. This latter one, who belonged to the Pūrṇatalla Gaccha, flourished in the twelfth century A.D. and is removed from Dhanapāla by about a century or so. The PRC elsewhere describes in detail the incidents at Anahillāpura where Dhanapāla went personally to invite and fetch the scholarly saint with full honours.<sup>107</sup>

When Dhanapāla arrived at the monastery of the saint, who was engrossed in meditation, he found a fresh student-disciple whom he asked to explain a verse full of alliterative paronomasia, which purported to inform his preceptor about his arrival.<sup>108</sup> The disciple elucidated the verse without any effort. Not only that, he brought out the cryptic Jainistic significance about the nature of the Tīrthaṅkaras and the individual souls.<sup>109</sup> Dhanapāla was highly astonished, and fully satisfied, at the marvellous scholarship of his preceptor. With due permission of the Chief-Preceptor and the Jain society of Anahillapura, and accompanied by the ministers of

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107. PRC. 16. 21-60. This sixteenth chapter of the PRC is entitled 'Vādivetāla-sāntisūri-caritam'.

108. *ibid.* vs. 28: स्वचरागमने स्वचरो हृष्टः स्वचरेणाङ्कितपत्रधरः।

स्वचरचरं स्वचरश्चरति स्वचरगुप्ति ! स्वचरं पश्य ॥ २८ ॥

109. *ibid.* vs. 30: उपन्यासं प्रतिष्ठायास्तत्र सर्वज्ञजीवयोः। ऊर्जस्वि-  
गर्जिषर्जन्विध्वनिना विदधेऽहं स्वः ॥ ३० ॥

King Bhīma, Śāntyācārya went with Dhanapāla. King Bhoja came forth upto a distance of more than eight miles (yojana) to receive him. Out of confidence in the five hundred scholars of his royal assembly,<sup>110</sup> Bhoja beted one lac coins for each one of them. But Śāntyācārya defeated all the five hundred of them in the discussions and won five crores of Malava coins.<sup>111</sup> Prabhācandra adds that Bhoja paid him equivalent to 12,600,00 Gurjara coins for the revision of Dhanapāla's prose-romance. He has also given the rate of exchange between the coinages of Bhīma and Bhoja, viz, 15,000 Gurjara coins were equal to 1,000,00 Mālava coins.<sup>112</sup> Giving out the secret behind such an extraordinary feat, Prabhācandra says that the goddess Bhārati had given him a boon due to

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110.cf.AA.Vol.II,p.216 :~~AB~~ Abu'l Fazl informs us that of the five hundred poets of Bhoja's court, Barruj (i.e. Vararuci) was the foremost and the next was Dhanapāla.

111. PRC.16.45-46,48,50: एकैकयादिविजये पर्णं स विदधे तदा ।  
मदीया वादिनः केन जय्या इत्यश्रितमिधतः ॥४५॥ लक्षं लक्षं प्रदास्यामि  
विजये वादिनं प्रति । ---- ॥४६॥ --- अजैषीदूर्ध्वहस्तेन प्रत्येकं प्रति-  
वासरम् । ---- ॥४७॥ --- पञ्चकोटिव्ययं प्राप्तो वादिपञ्चशतीजये ॥४८॥

112. ibid. vs. 54<sup>11</sup>: श्रुः पञ्चदश लक्षेण सहस्रा गुर्जरावनेः ।  
एवमङ्केऽथ तज्जले लक्षद्विदशकं ततः ॥४९॥ तथा घट्टिसहस्राश्च  
मया दत्तास्ततोऽधुना कथा शोधयितव्याऽऽशु  
धनपालधिया निधेः ॥ ४९ ॥

which means that Bhoja paid 84,000,00 Mālava coins for it. Possibly Śāntyācārya corrected the TM in eighty-four places in the light of Jainistic tenets.

which, the moment he just raised ~~xxx~~ his hand, his opponent pundit would be defeated inspite of his full mastery of the branch of learning.<sup>113</sup> On coming to know that the winner was none else than the famous Śāntyācārya 'a veritable vampire for the debaters', King Bhoja stopped the discussions and permitted him to revise the work of Dhanapāla, otherwise, adds Prabhācandra, nobody could return home ~~xxx~~ unwounded after defeating his assembly of scholars.<sup>114</sup> The king thereupon conferred the title 'Vādivetāla' on Śāntyācārya, ~~xxxx~~ and Dhanapāla accompanied the preceptor on his way back upto the frontier of the kingdom of Bhīma.

It was during the winter season that the classic was read publicly with necessary elucidation by the poet himself in the court of King Bhoja who was so much pleased with the delineation of various poetical sentiments in it that he literally placed the manuscript on the golden plate lest the flavour (rasa) might not

113.PRC.16.42-43: यद्धि सन्धस्तां तेषां जिशि सङ्गत्य भारती । आदेशं प्रदे वान्ता प्रसादातिशयस्मृशा ॥४२॥ स्वस्वदर्शननिष्णाता ऊर्ध्वं हस्ते त्वया कृते । चतुरङ्गासभाध्यक्षं विद्रविष्यन्ति वादिनः ॥४३॥

114.ibid.vss.53,59: तत्कक्षि शोधकत्वेन नामुमत्र विसूत्रये । अन्यक्षि मत्सभां जित्वा को यात्यक्षितविग्रहः ॥५३॥ ; and कक्षि च धनपालस्य वैरशोधत निस्तुषम् । वादिवेतालकविरुद्धं तदेवां प्रदे नृपः ॥५९॥

115.ibid.17.203: तस्यां व्याख्यायमानाय स्थालं हैममनोचयत् । भूपालः पुस्तकस्याधो रससङ्ग्रहहेतवे ॥ २०३ ॥ ; also PC(SJGM).p.41:... पण्डितेन व्याख्यायमानां तिलकमञ्जरीकथां पाचयस्तदस निपातभीरुः ; पुस्तकस्याधः कन्चोलाकमुत-सुवर्णस्थालस्थापनापूर्वं तां समाप्य ...etc.

115  
overflow on the ground !

X : DISSENTION WITH BHOJA AND MIGRATION TO SĀCORA :-

At the conclusion of the public recital of this prose-romance, Bhoja asked of the poet to introduce five vital changes in the story, viz., to substitute : ~~9x~~

(i) the salutation to Jina by the one to Śiva; (ii)

Bhoja himself as the hero in the place of Meghavāhana;

(iii) ~~Dhara~~ Dhārā for Ayodhyā; (iv) the mahākāla temple

in the place of the Śakrāvātāra one; and (v) Lord Śiva

~~in~~ in the place of Lord Jina Rṣabha. <sup>116</sup> The poet, however,

refused to comply with the royal request which, acco-

rding to him, was tantamount to adulterating a Brahmin's

cup of milk by pouring wine into it, and denounced the

king for trespassing into the forbidden field of

literature. <sup>117</sup> The enraged royal patron thereupon threw

the manuscript into the fire of the oven placed before

him as a heater in the winter season. At this the poet

addressed, in desperate indignation, the following

For ft. 115  
see the  
previous page.

116. PRC. 17. 206-208: पूर्वमेव कथारम्भे शिवः पात्विति मङ्गलम् । चतुः-  
स्थानपरायते तदा कुरु च नदिरा ॥ २०६ ॥ धारासंज्ञामयोध्यायां महाकालस्य  
नाम च । स्थाने शक्रावतारस्य शङ्करं वृषभस्य च ॥ २०७ ॥ श्रोत्रेण-  
वाहनाख्यायां मम नाम कथा ततः । अजिन्दसुन्दरा विश्वे जीवादा-  
चङ्गकालिकाम् ॥ २०८ ॥

117. ibid. vss. 210, 212: पयःपात्रे यथा पूर्णे श्रोत्रियस्य करस्थिते ।  
अपावित्र्यं भवेत्तत्र मद्यस्यैकैव बिन्दुना ॥ २१० ॥ ~~च~~ शेषे  
वा विशेषं ये न जानन्ति द्विजिज्ञताम् । यान्तो हीनकुला किं  
ते न लज्जन्ते मनीषिणाम् ॥ २१२ ॥

couplets:

"You are after all just a Mālava robber. Why do you, then, cherish to entertain yourself with poetry ? You have not spared even Dhanapāla ! I ask you, whence have you turned such a betrayer ?" <sup>118</sup>

Merutuṅga, however, puts the following couplet in the poet's mouth:

" O Double-tongued ignoramus ! O Steel-arrow ! what shall we call you ? You have the audacity to equate a Guṅjā-beed with gold ! Why have you not yet been consigned to the nether worlds ?" <sup>119</sup>

Merutuṅga has added the monetary inducement also by Bhoja if Dhanapāla accepted the proposal of the former. <sup>120</sup>

The heart- broken poet returned home and threw himself into the unprepared bedstead and would care not to take bath nor to perform the daily worship nor <sup>eat</sup> even a morsel of food, nor could he sleep. His daughter, of

118PRC.17.215: मालविओसि किमज्जं कच्च मज्जसि कप्पेण निबुद्धं तसि।  
धण्वालं पि न मुचसि पुच्छामि खवंधणं कत्तो ॥२१५॥

119.PC(SJGM).p.41: दोमुह निश्कस्वर लोहमईय गोशय पुज्ज  
किं भणिमो । गुज्जाहि स्तमं कणयं तुलन्तु न गओसि पायालं ॥

120. ibid.: नृपः पण्डितं ग्राह - मामत्र कथंजायकं कुर्वन्ति नीतायः  
पदेऽवन्ती माशेषयन् शक्रावतारस्मिन् तीर्थस्य पदे महाकालमा-  
कल्पेयन् यदुयाचसे तत्तुभ्यं ददामि --- ।

nine years in age, came to know about it all and consoled him that she knew by heart the whole story which she would dictate again to him.<sup>121</sup> Dr. M.Krishnamachariar follows Merutunga in holding that the name of his daughter was Tilakamañjarī and that the poet gave the title of his work after his daughter's name.<sup>122</sup> Dr. D.C. Ganguly says that we have no evidence to corroborate the story of Bhoja having burnt the original first manuscript of the TM.<sup>123</sup> But we do have some lurking evidence in a couple of loose ends<sup>124</sup> in the story of the TM which would support the Jain tradition which holds that the original work was about twelve thousand grāṁthas in extent, but that the portion of about three thousand grāṁthas in extent, which was unfortunately not read by the poet to his daughter, could not be restored.

121. PRC. 17. 218ff.: .... जवहायनबालया दुहित्रा --- ॥ २१८ ॥ अ --- अक्षयं  
हृदयं मेऽस्ति सकलां ते श्रुये कथाम् ॥ २१९ ॥ ---- कथामाढं ददे --- ॥ २२० ॥  
कथाम् च सकलां तेन श्रुत्वा मेऽत्र सुतामुखात् ॥ २२१ ॥

There is nothing impossible about it. I have myself seen a young girl of seven years who could recite the whole of the Bhagavadgītā by heart and she ~~had~~ gave a demonstration of the recital at the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, in the year 1959.

122. HCSL. p. 475.

123. HPD. p. 284.

124. See infra Chap. VIII ; also cf. TMS. Intro. pp. 25ff.

The poet, however, harmonized the missing links somehow.<sup>125</sup>

It is also significant that the oldest Ms. of the work was written in ~~the~~ V.Sam.1130 (i.e.1074 A.D.) at Jesalmer and nowhere in Malwa.<sup>126</sup> And there ~~is~~ is nothing

impossible in the incident in view of the imperial nature of the royal patron of the poet and their mutual rivalry in scholarship as well as in their religious beliefs. The disillusioned alienated poet seems to have left the Paramāra capital and migrated to

Satyapura (Saccaura i.e. Sācora in Rajasthan).<sup>127</sup> Merutuṅga

makes him go to Nanāgrāma,<sup>128</sup> which, however, goes against the evidence preserved in the form of the poet's work

entitled the 'Satyapuriya-srī-mahāvīra-utsāha'<sup>129</sup> composed

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125.PRC.17.221-222: कदाचिन्न श्रुतं यावत् तावज्जरायाः समाययौ ॥१२३॥

सहस्रत्रितयं तस्याः कथंता अनुवृत्तं तदा । अन्यत्सम्बन्धसम्बद्धं

सर्वं ज्यस्तं च पुस्तके ॥ २२२ ॥ ; also PC(SJGM).p. 41:

आलपण्डितया तत्सुतया -- तिलकमञ्जरीप्रथमादश्लेषेखनात्संस्तु-

त्य ग्रंथस्वाधौ लेखयामक्रे । तदुत्तराद्धौ नूतनीकृत्य ग्रन्थः समर्पितः ।

126. vide Appendix A.A photograph copy of the fragments of this ms. is attached at the beginning of Chap.I.

127. PRC.17.223ff.: अथापमानपूर्णाऽयमुच्चयाल ततः पुरः । ... ॥२२३॥  
पश्चिमा दिशमाश्रित्य परिस्पन्दं विनायकात् । प्राप खल्यपुरं नाम  
पुरं पौरजनोत्तराद्धौ ॥ २२४ ॥

128.PC(SJGM).p.41: ... रुच्यो जाणाग्रामं गतः ॥

129.This hymn in Apabhraṃśa is published in JSS Vol.III. No. 3 pp.241-251 with an introductory article by Muni Shri Jinavijayaji.

probably on the occasion of a festival held, according to Muni Shri Jinavijayaji, after the unsuccessful attempt of Mahmud of Gazni to pull the image down.<sup>130</sup>

There the poet found his heart's resort at the temple of Lord Mahāvīra Jina in praise of whom he composed a hymn in a continuously antithetic strain (Viruddhārthā Śrī-vīra-stuti).<sup>131</sup>

XI : RE-INVITED BY BHOJA TO SAVE THE HONOUR

OF HIS COURT :-

Merutuṅga's account concludes with a discordantly impossible verse put in the mouth of Dhanapāla in reply to a question by Bhoja with regard to any fresh composition.<sup>132</sup> Prabhācandra, on the other hand, gives a very well-knit account which continues that the absence of the poet at Dhārā made Bhoja repent and remember him, especially when, after a few years, a Kaula pundit named Dharma publicly challenged Bhoja's

130. SMU.5-7.

131. PRC.17.225-226: तत्र श्रीमन्महावीरचैत्ये नित्ये पदे इव। दृष्टे स परमानन्दमाससाद विद्वांवरः॥२२५॥ नमस्कृत्य स्तुतिं तत्र विशेषतः भासश्चस्कृताम्। चकार प्राकृतां देव निम्नले-त्यादि सास्ति च॥२२६॥

It is published with Gujarati translation and notes by Prof.H.R.Kapadia in RP(HRK).pp.200-268.

132. PC(SJGM).p.42: अधुना किमपि प्रबन्धादि कियमाणमास्ते नृपेणे-  
तुल्ये धनपाल आह - आरजालजलदाहशङ्कया मन्मुखदमगता  
सरस्वती । तेन वैरिकमलाकचग्रहल्यग्रहस्य न कवित्वमस्ति मे ।

assembly for a scholarly debate.<sup>133</sup> He despatched his spies in search of Dhanapāla and found him at Satyapura in Rajasthana. At first the poet was unwilling to return but agreed when Bhoja appealed to him in the name of Muñja and entreated him, in the capacity of a junior to him in scholarship, to save the honour of the Avantidesa.<sup>134</sup> Moved at this, Dhanapāla returned to Dhara where he was reconciled to Bhoja. Prabhācandra informs us that Dhanapāla now practically led a life of a renounced householder, though he did not seem to have been formally initiated to the order of the Jain monks.<sup>135</sup> It was at this occasion that the pathetic dialogue noted above<sup>136</sup> occurred. The Kaula debater, defeated at Dhanapāla's hands, fled away out of shame during the early hours of the next morning, which event has been jocularly

PR 133.PRC.17.231ff.: इत्यस्य सिद्धिमानस्य चकौरस्य कुहूचिव ।  
 प्रायाद्धर्माभिधः कौलो विद्वान् --- ॥२३१॥ --- स राजमन्दिरद्वारि  
 पत्रालम्बं प्रदत्तवान् । काव्यान्यभूनि चालेश्वीत् तत्र मानादिमूर्धनि ॥२५५॥

134. ibid. vs. 270ff.: श्रीमुञ्जस्य महीभर्तुः प्रतिपन्नसुतो भवान् ।  
 ज्येष्ठोऽहं तु कनिष्ठोऽस्मि तत्किं गण्यं लघोर्वचः ॥२७०॥ --- जये  
 पराजये वाप्यवन्तिदेशः स्थलं तव ॥२७१॥ -- जित्वा धारां त्वयं  
 कौलः परदेशी प्रयास्यति ॥२७३॥ तत्ते रूपं विरूपं वा जानासि  
 स्वयमेव तत् । ---- ॥२७४॥

135. ibid. vs. 278: धनपालस्ततः साश्वरवादीद् बालणोऽप्यहम् । निस्पृहः  
 जैनलिङ्गाभावश्यं तद्व्रतसम्पूढः ॥२७८॥

136. cf. supra. incident No. 14 noted in the PRC. 17. 282. ff.

commemorated by Prabhācandra in a verse which says that the adage "Dharma ultimately wins, not the one other than Dharma (a-dharma)" has been proved false; ~~however,~~ <sup>137</sup> the other adage "Dharma is quick in gait" has come true.

### XII : THE SUNSET OF LIFE :-

Dhanapāla seems to have stayed at Dhārā thence-foreward. During this period he led a highly passive life which almost ruled out literary activity, as has been accidentally noted by Merutunga, <sup>138</sup> though he did compose a few religious works, like the 'Sāvayavihī', the Sanskrit-Prakrit 'Vīrastuti' and a Sanskrit commentary on the 'Stuti-caturviṃśatikā' of his younger brother Śobhana, a Jain monk then, who requested him for that <sup>139</sup> while on his death-bed. When the ending hour of his life was in view, the poet left Dhārā and went to his preceptor Mahendrasūri before whom he took the ~~XXXXXX~~ vow of a fast unto death and left this world of his own accord. <sup>140</sup>

137. PRC.17.310: धर्मो जयति जायते इत्यलीककृतं वचः। इदं तु मृत्युतां जीतं धर्मस्य त्वरिता गतिः ॥३१०॥

138. See supra ft.nt.No.132.

139. SSV.Intro. vs.7: एतां यथामति विदुष्य जिज्ञानुजस्य तस्यो-  
पवर्णा कृतिमलंकृतवान् स्ववृत्त्या। अभ्यर्थितो विदधता त्रिदिव-  
प्रयाणं तेनैव साम्प्रतकविर्धनपालजामा ॥७॥

also PRC.17.320: तासां जितस्तुतीनां च सिद्धसारस्वतः कविः। शिकां चकार सोदर्यस्नेहं दिते वरुण इव ॥३२०॥

This last work might have been written before the poet composed his TM.

140. see next page.

XIII : HIS NAMESAKES :-

References to at least four<sup>141</sup> other Dhanapālas have been preserved by the Jain tradition. Scholars have sometimes wrongly mixed them, or their works, up. It will be of interest to give here a brief account of them all in order to clinch in future any possibility whatsoever of ever mistaking the one for~~the~~ the other, due to the fact that they lived sometime during the span of four centuries from the eleventh to the fourteenth.

(i) DHANAPĀLA OF THE DHAKKADA BANĪĀ FAMILY was the wellknown author of the Bhavisayatta-kahā (also known as Pancamī-kathā) in Apabhraṃśa. It was first published in Roman script by Dr. Jacobi, and later on critically edited at Baroda by Shri Dalāl and Dr. Gune in the GOS. This Dhanapāla is believed to have flourished during the tenth century A.D.<sup>142</sup> and he might have been a contemporary of our Dhanapāla, the author of the TM. Shri Nathuram Premi wrongly confuses Dr. Gune's reference to "Dhanapāla the Prakrit lexicographer of the 10th century"<sup>143</sup>, i.e. the author of the PLN, with that of the BK. On the other hand,

140. PRC. 17. 321ff.: आयुर्लतं परिशाय को विदेशोऽन्यदा नृपम्। अपृच्छत परं लोकं साधितुं गुरुसन्निधौ ॥ ३२१ ॥ श्रीप्रज्जदहेन्द्रसूरीणां पादाम्भोजपुरः-  
शरम् । तनुं समल्लिखद् गेहिधर्म एव स्थितः सदा ॥ ३२२ ॥

141. Shri Nathuram Premi has noticed three Dhanapālas.  
cf. JSIA. pp. 327ff. and 467ff.

142. cf. BK. Intro. p. 3.

143. cf. ICP. pp. 240ff.

Dr. M.Krishnamachariar knows that Dhanapāla of the Dhakkada Baniā family was different from Dhanapāla, the author of the TM. But he seems to hold that it is the latter who is the author of the pancamī-kathā<sup>144</sup> According to Shri M.D.Desai, BK is identical with the Pancamī-kathā.<sup>145</sup> Shri Nathuram Premi concurs with him.<sup>146</sup> This Dhanapāla was born in the Dhakkada family of the Jain Baniā community. His father's name was Māesara and his mother's Dhanasiri.<sup>147</sup> From his reference to the sixteenth Acyuta heaven Dr. Jacobi concludes that he must have belonged to the Digambara faction of Jainism.<sup>148</sup> The Apabhraṃśa of the BK seems to be closer to that of Haribhadrāsūri.<sup>149</sup> Discussing the similarity between the BK and the Pau.C. Dr. H.C.Bhayani has noted that Dhanapāla had before his mind's eye the work of Sayambhū when he composed his introductory stanzas.<sup>150</sup>

(ii) DHANAPĀLA OF THE PALLĪPĀLA FAMILY is the author of a Sanskrit compendium of the TM. He completed it in the year V.Sam.1261 (i.e.1205).<sup>151</sup> His Tilakamañjarīśāra<sup>152</sup>

144.HCSL.p.475.

145.JSSI(D).p.187-188.

146.JSAI.p.468.

147.BK.Intro.vs.9: धक्कडवणिवुंति माएसरहो समुलभविण । धजसिरि-  
देविसुलण विरइउ सरसइ-संभविण॥९॥

148.JSAI.p.468.

149.ibid.

150.BV.Vol.VIII.No.1-2,1947 pp.48-50.

151.TMS.Epilogue vs.6: इन्दुदशिनसूर्याङ्कवत्सरे मासि कार्तिके ।

शुक्लाष्टम्यां गुरावेष कथासारः समर्पितः॥६॥

152.This work has been critically edited by me and is published by the L.D.Institute of Indology,Ahmedabad.

comprises of 1206 verses divided into nine cantos and the epilogue, and it is the best of all the metrical compendiums of the TM. He was the second son of a poet named Āmana, who belonged to the famous Fallīpāla family of Anahillapura (Patan). His elder brother was Anantapāla, the author of Pāṭi-gaṇita, while the younger brothers were Ratnapāla and Gunapāla.<sup>153</sup>

(iii) DHANAPĀLA OF THE POKHARA COMMUNITY was a son of Suhadadeva and Suhadādevī of the Pokhara ~~Baniā~~ Baniā community and an inhabitant of palhanapura in Gujarat. He flourished during the regime of Vīśaladeva. It was at the instance of Vāsadhara, a minister of King Sāraṅga of Chandawāda, that he composed in Apabhraṃśa an epic poem entitled the 'Bāhubali-carita', which he completed in the year V.Sam.1454 (i.e.1398 A.D.).<sup>154</sup>

(iv) DHANAPĀLA, THE AUTHOR OF THE NEMINĀTHA-VIVĀHAṬI IN Apabhraṃśa, is supposed to have flourished in the latter half of the fifteenth century A.D.<sup>155</sup>

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153. For further details see Appendix N and the Introduction to the TMS.

154 AS.p.234ff.

155. JRS.p.507.

B : P E R S O N A L I T Y :-

The TM presents to us the picture of a poet who obtained royal encouragement right from his very young age during which his principal literary activity was confined to composing occasional lyrical verses as well as participating in scholarly debates. Proud as he seems to have been in capacity of a Brahmin well-versed in the Vedas, Smṛtis and tantric rituals, this royal honour had rather gone to his head as was evident from the fact that he opposed, and separated from, his father on the issue of giving ~~away~~ his younger brother Śobhana, away to a Jain monk. His close friendship with Bhoja enabled him to ban the entry of the Jain monks in the territory of the Mālava empire for a period of twelve years. Though a veritable lion at a scholarly debate-duel, his wife seems to have had an upper hand with him, while it cannot be said that his married life might have been rather discordant. A fine scholarly tradition in his family, coupled with almost continuous royal patronage, did contribute to the persistence of this hereditary learning which percolated not only in his sister Sundarī but more so in his daughter Tilakamañjarī. As years advanced he fell a victim to the enticing prosylitizationary tactics

of the prevalent Jain order and a proud Brahmin scholar was metamorphosed ~~in~~ into a staunchly devout householder follower of Jainism so much so that he had the courage of conviction to stand his ground against the friendly as well as the polemic overtures of his royal patron-friend Bhoja, whom he hit very hard so far as the ~~sm~~ superiority of the Jain faith to Saivism and Brahmanical ritualism was a point at issue. The TM, as is natural and proper, does not give the slightest indication of this difference of opinion between the royal patron and the poet. But the very fact that the former has almost ignored him — by not quoting in his numerous works even a single verse of the latter<sup>156</sup> — while the latter has expressed his disillusion-~~ment~~ as to the outcome of the unequal friendship and penitence for having wasted his best years in serving a royal patron,<sup>157</sup> ~~he~~ unfailingly testifies to that effect.

156. The only verse quoted twice by Bhoja in his SKB with a different reading in the third and the fourth quarters is the one beginning with प्राज्यप्रभावः etc. which is the second of the introductory verses of the TM. The cd according to Dhanapāla reads "ददतां निर्वृतात्मान आद्योऽन्येऽपि मुदं जिनाः ॥" which, according to Bhoja are मुक्तात्मा नः शिवं नेपिरन्येऽपि ददतां जिनाः ॥" — SKB(RJ).p. 116 and 224. And Bhoja has not named Dhanapāla anywhere. On the contrary, he has quoted Bāṇa at least seven times and referred to him once by name. *ibid.* Intro.p.4.

157. PRC.17.114: कतिपयपुरस्वामी कायव्ययैरपि दुर्गहो, मिलवितरिता मोहेनासौ पुरानुसृतो मया । त्रिभुवनविभुर्बुध्याशद्योऽयुना स्वपदप्रदः प्रभुरधिगतस्तत्प्राचीनो दुनोति दिनव्ययः ॥ —————> ; also RP(K).p.129.vs.36: जा गुह सेवाविमुहस्य हनु मा ताड मह समिदीओ । अहियारसंपया इव पेरेन्तयिडन्वणफलाओ ॥३६॥

But the poet was not fully ignorant of the nature of the relation with a royal friend,<sup>158</sup> and knew the ways and ~~xxx~~ means of the courtiers and attendants.<sup>159</sup> Although convinced about the ultimate upper hand of the Fate Almighty,<sup>160</sup> he had a matching confidence in the power of enthusiastic endeavour coupled with sharp discrimination.<sup>161</sup> Normally he would not like to resort to underhand means in accomplishing his ends,<sup>162</sup> but he was fully aware of the ways of the world and would not hesitate to accomplish his

158. TM(N).p.299: न कोऽपि परमार्थतः प्रेयाननुवर्तनीयः पूजनीयो वा प्रजारक्षणमात्रकस्तेष्वानां नरपतीनाम् ।

159. ibid.p.49: श्रेयकाश्च फलप्राप्तिक्रमाः प्रथममुपचारेण गृहीतवाक्यं परिग्राह्यलोकमावर्जयन्ति । ततस्तेन कृतपक्षपरिग्रहेण ग्राहितसंबन्धाः प्रभूषणमस्तन्मात्मशक्तिमुपदर्शयन्ति ।

160. ibid.p.170: अचिन्त्वा हि दैवशक्तिः । p.318: तर्थापि विधिरत्र प्रमाणम् । p.345-346: अहो निरवधिप्रचारे विधिः । नास्त्यगोचरः पुरावृत्तकर्मणाम् । अशक्यप्रतीकारो हि कृतान्तशक्तिः । अव्याहता गतिः सर्वत्र भवितव्यतायाः ।

161. ibid.p.31: प्रज्ञोद्यमावरणिमन्धाविव हविर्भुजः पितरौ कार्यसिद्धेस्तौ हि पुरुषव्यापारानुगृहीतौ नास्ति तद्वस्तु यन्न साधयतः ।

162. ibid.p.60: यद्यपि सुचिरकालसंचितेन सततानुगामिना स्वरभृत्येनैव शुभकर्मणा कृतरक्षाणां महापुरुषाणां सर्वदापि दूस्वर्गिणो दूरवर्तीन्वेव दुरितानि तर्थापि नीतिरनुसर्तव्या ।

desired end by hook or by crook if luck was not unfavourable.<sup>163</sup> He would not loose heart in the face of adversity,<sup>164</sup> but he would not also stake everything for things unimportant.<sup>165</sup>

He regarded ~~him~~ it as his essential duty to maintain, and be faithful to, one's married wife,<sup>166</sup> even if she might be born in a family of socially lower strata.<sup>167</sup> But he did not have the slightest illusion as to the fatal bewitching powers of a youthful beauty when one might happen to meet her in a secluded place especially if she be an abstinent,<sup>168</sup> and he would ever guard himself

163. TM(N).p.155: कलाभिलाषिणा पुरुषेण नैकान्ततो नीतिनिष्ठेन भवितव्यम् । अक्षिमेते वस्तुनि दैवं प्रमाणीकृत्य सर्व्वत्मना प्रवर्त्तितव्यम् । अनुकूलविधिविहितसाहायकस्य साहसिकस्य सर्व्वदा शस्यसंपदिवा-नीतिरनीतिरपि फलति ।

164. ibid.p.176: अपि च विवेकिना विचारणीयं वस्तुतन्वम् । भोजितव्यो निजावष्टम्भः । स्ताम्भनीयं मनः प्रसरदपथे । न देयभ्रष्टणी-

त्वमिन्द्रियगणस्य स्तः; p.402: क्षुण्णोऽपि शेहति तरुः क्षीणोऽप्युप-चीयते पुनश्चन्द्रः । इति विवृशन्तः सन्तः संतप्यन्ते न विधुरेषु ॥ ;

p.348: सुदुश्मपि विषण्णेन धीमता तदेव चिन्त्यं वस्तु यदुपायसाध्यम् ।

165. ibid.185: स्वल्पे प्रयोजने न किञ्चिदात्मना संशयमारोपितेन फलम् ।

166. ibid.p.318: स्वरपरिपालनकर्म गृहमेधिनां धर्म ।

167. ibid.p.229: दुःकुलादपि ग्राह्यमङ्गनारत्नम् ।

168. ibid.p.258: विशेषतः प्रथमयौवना प्रतस्था यतात्मनामपि मोहविकारहेतुरेकाकिनी ।

Even before his conversion to Jainism he seems to have been a devout worshipper of his family-deity,<sup>171</sup> and his meticulousness in daily worship, though transferred towards the Jain Tīrthaṃkaras, did not lose its fervour which is evidenced in his 'Sāvayavihī' wherein he has laid down the daily religious routine for a devout Jain householder. He had an ~~innate~~ innate faith in the righteousness and authoritativeness of saintly persons,<sup>172</sup> who are invariably attracted to the deeply devout and

170. *ibid.* p. 244: सर्व एवायमेव प्रकारः संसारः । इदं तु चित्रं यदीदृश-  
मप्येव भवजन्तुस्तमपि भावानामनित्यतां विभावयतामीदृशान् द्विपि  
दशाविशेषाननुभवतां न जातु विज्जन्तूनां विख्याते चित्तं न  
विशीर्यते विषयाभिलाषः, न भङ्गुरी भवति भोगवाञ्छा, नाभिधावति  
निःसङ्गाता बुद्धिः, नाङ्गीकरोति निर्व्यावाधानित्यसुखमपवर्जरथान-  
मात्मा । सर्वथा तिग्हनो बलीयानेष संसारमोहः --- ।

171. *ibid.* p. 282: --- गोत्रदेवता स्वर्गवर्णन स्वर्गकालमेवोपासनीया ---।

172. *ibid.* p. 362: अविचार्यमहिमा महत्तमनामनुभावः । ऽ। २१५: अविचार्य-  
देशो हि तत्र भवानार्यवशुरातः । न तद्भाषितोऽर्थः कदापि द्विसंबन्धति ।

well-versed persons.<sup>173</sup> His test of a genuine saint or a monk was the disinterestedness towards worldly prosperity.<sup>174</sup> After his firm conviction in, and consequent conversion to Jainism, all efforts of his companions belonging to the now rival, though formerly his own, faith could not wean him back.<sup>175</sup> His change of faith to Jainism seems to have strengthened his belief in the inevitability of the ultimate triumph and the cynical nature of Fate,<sup>176</sup> although, he knew that, It never transgressed the law of causation.<sup>177</sup>

173. ~~ibid.~~ TM(N).p.25: धार्मिकजनानुवृत्त्यभिमुखानि हि भवन्ति सर्व्वदा धर्मतन्त्रवेदिनां हृदयानि ।

174. *ibid.* p.26: केवलमभूतिर्भुविजनो विभवानाम् । विषयोपभोगगृहजनो हि धनान्युपाददते ।

175. *ibid.* p.224: -- असंभाव्यमानतया शिशुजनस्यापि हास्यरसवृद्धिः -- हेतुरीदृशं यत्पुं विशदप्रतिभासमतिदीर्घकालमनुभूतमात्मनापि शक्यते न श्रद्धातुम् ।

176. *ibid.* p.346: इह हि संसारसङ्गनि सभासादितावतारः स्वभाव-विमलोऽपि जन्तुरेकत्रैव जन्मनि दशावशेन दीपाङ्कुर इवाजेकानि रूपान्तरा-प्यनुभवति । --- तदेतदमृतविषभूतं वस्तुस्त्वम् --- ।; p.112: निसृजति एव निरङ्कुशः पापकारी करीव व्याले बलीभान् विधिवद्धोऽपि बुद्धि-मद्भिरतिनिविडेन प्रक्षालोहनिगडेन निरवग्रहो विपरति ।

177. *ibid.* p.20: समग्राण्यपि कारणानि न प्राञ्जन्मज्जितकर्मोदय-क्षान्तिरपेक्षानि फलमुपनयन्ति ।

Inspite of his conversion to Jainism, he did not have the slightest hesitation to utilize his knowledge of the Brahmanical lore<sup>178</sup> which he fully used to advantage in his literary allusions. His knowledge of Jain scriptures and mythology<sup>179</sup> is matched by his equally deep acquaintance with the Brahmanical scriptures and mythology. But the Jain faith appealed to him mainly for its emphasis on mercy and non-violence and on the austere ideal of life as embodied in the Tīrthamkars, whom he regarded as disinterested ones par excellence and nothing less than the Omniscient All-pervading Personal God, the ultimate resort of the individual souls drifting in their sojourn from birth to birth.<sup>180</sup>

178. TM(N).p.11: गाढधृतभृत्प्रादं वासुदेवम् --- मखाकलधूमकोटिभिः...  
 सकृत्तुगेव --- सवल्लोकेव द्विजसमाजैः --- ससमुद्रमधेनैव ---  
 साम्रस्यैरिव.. विश्वकर्मासहस्रैरिव। p.200: निभृतमुच्चारितचण्डिकास्तोत्र-  
 दण्डकेनैव --- त्रयीभक्तेनैव p.200: गाढाञ्चितदृश्यगर्भ-  
 केशविशेष --- । ; p.13: उदन्तेनापि स्वरितेन...। ;  
 p.31: अरणिमन्थाविव हविर्भुजः पितरौ --- । ; p.10: शात-  
 विः शेषपुराणेतिहाससारैः...। ; p.79: सव्विगमोपनिषेधान्नाम् --- । ;  
 p.9: कपिलकोपानलेन्धनीकृतसगरतनयस्य जीवार्तामिव --- । ;  
 p.8: प्रजोऽयमवभवानीभवतैः --- । ; p.8: जाम्बवज्यमार्गणाहल-  
 क्रोधादिच्छिदैः । ; p.7: शततमकतुवाञ्छविच्छेदार्थमिव --- ।

179. ibid. p.39: आद्यो धर्मचक्रवर्तिनामाराध्यश्चतुर्विधस्यापि शुरनिकायस्य  
 नायकः समग्रार्णा गणधरकेवलिप्रमुखारणा महर्षिणामृषभ-  
 नामा जिनवृषः --- ; p.40: महाधराधरे-  
 न्द्रजोऽशकपरिक्षेपणीनां जम्बूद्वीपप्रमाणपरिमण्डलाकृतीनां ---  
 महापुष्करिणीनाम् --- । ; p.41: दिव्यलोकचयन --- । ; p.400:  
 प्रशस्तिशेहिणीप्रभृतयोऽष्टप्रधानविद्यादेवताः --- ।

180. ibid. p.11: स्नेहशून्यमातरं जिनम् । ; Intro.p.1: स वः पातु  
 जिनः कृतज्ञभीक्षते यः प्रतिक्षणम् । स्वैरनन्तैरेकजन्तोऽर्पितं जगत्त्रयम् ॥१॥  
 p.39: सर्वसत्त्वजिनिमित्तबन्धुः सैतुबन्धः संसारसिन्धोः --- ।

His scholarship was sufficiently extensive to make him an indomitable debater of his times. Prof. H.R.Kapadia rightly holds that Dhanapāla was well-versed in the Cāndra as well as the Kātantra systems of Sanskrit Grammar.<sup>181</sup> It is the Cāndra system, according to Pandit Yudhiṣṭhira Mimansaka, on which is based the famous work on Sanskrit Grammar entitled the 'Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharana' ascribed to Bhoja.<sup>182</sup> Shri T.R.Cintamani, however, holds that Bhoja has tried to frame a system intended to be a complete synthesis incorporating the Pāṇinian system.<sup>183</sup> Prabhācandra has clearly mentioned that during Bhoja's regime it was this new system of Bhoja which was adopted for the curriculum at the centres of oriental learning (pāṭhaśālās) at Dhārā.<sup>184</sup> But before its composition the Cāndra and the Kātantra systems may have been in vogue as it is proved by some of Dhanapāla's references in the TM which utilize the grammatical terms like 'Vyañjana; 'Svara' etc.,<sup>185</sup> and a few grammatical processes.<sup>186</sup> These

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181. JSSI. p. 58.

182. SVSI. Vol. I. p. 143.

183. SKB(C). Intro. p. xvi.

184. PRC. 17. 143: तत्र व्याकरणं श्रीमद्भोजराजविनिर्मितम् । तस्य विद्यामठे छात्रैः पठ्यतेऽहमिदं भूषणम् ॥१४३॥

185. TM(N). p. 134: शब्दशास्त्रकारैरिव विहितह्रस्वदीर्घव्यञ्जनकल्पनैः ....; p. 15: ... अस्वरवर्गा अपि परं व्यञ्जनमशिश्रियन्ताः .....।

186. ibid. 406: शब्द इव संस्कृतोऽपि प्राकृतबुद्धिमाधत्ते । प्रसिद्धपुंभावोऽपि नपुंसकतया व्यवहियते । सर्वदा स्त्रीलिङ्गावृत्तिरपि परार्थं प्रवर्तमानः पुस्त्वमर्जयति ।

terms have been utilized for the first time in the Aitareya Āraṇyaka and later on in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali and in the Kātantra-ṭikā. His <sup>187</sup> wide knowledge of the Sanskrit and the Prakrit literature, <sup>188</sup> Poetics, <sup>189</sup> Erotics, <sup>190</sup> Political Science, <sup>191</sup> and military affairs <sup>192</sup> is exhibited throughout the ~~TM~~ TM. His acquaintance with fine arts like Music, <sup>193</sup> Dancing, <sup>194</sup> Painting, <sup>195</sup> Elephant-taming, <sup>196</sup> and sciences like Astrology, <sup>197</sup> Palmistry, <sup>198</sup> Geometry, <sup>199</sup> Tāntric Mysticism, <sup>200</sup>

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187. TTSg.p.187-188.

188. cf. Dhanapāla's tributes to Sanskrit poets like Vālmīki, Vyāsa, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Bhāravi, Māgha, Bhavabhūti, Rāja-śekhara, Rudra and Kardamarāja and to Prakrit poets like Guṇādhya, Pravarasena, Pādalīptācārya, Jīvadeva, Vākpatirāja and Bhadrakīrti in the introductory verses of the TM; also TM(N).p.134: संस्कृतानुविद्धस्वदेश-

भाषानिवृत्तकाव्यप्रबन्धानि --- । ; p.10: इष्टकलकाव्यभारतप्रबन्धैः  
परिचितनिखिलारव्याधिकारव्यानव्याख्यानैः --- ।

189. ibid.p.10: अभ्यस्तानाद्यशास्त्रैः --- । लोकोक्तिभिः --- । सन्तिकैः --- ।  
ओजस्विभिरपि प्रसन्नैः --- । सकलरसभावाभिज्ञैः --- ।

190. ibid.

191. ibid.p.11: कामसूत्रविद्याभिः --- । ;  
p.28: राज्यनीतिरिदं सन्निपतिपादमानुवर्तार्थिगतार्थः --- । ;  
p.166: राजनीतिरिव यद्येते चित्त-  
--- अतिकला त्रिवर्गसंपत्तिः --- । ; p.166: वर्यपितवर्गसमुदाया --- ।

192. ibid.p.63: यामिनीयुद्धेषु --- । ; cf. also ibid.p.83-97  
for matters concerning, and a description of, a  
night attack.

193. TM(N).p.236: प्रहृतपटुषट् हस्तलरीमृदङ्गमङ्गलतूर्यैः --- etc. ;  
p.34: दत्तमार्जनमृदङ्गस्तनितगम्भीरेण स्वरेण सङ्गीतकमिव --- । ;  
p.186 where technical terms like 'Grāmaḥ', 'Mūrchanā',  
'Tāna' etc. are utilized.

194. ibid.p.270: अवसिते च नृत्यकर्मणि कृतरङ्गाप्रणामात् --- ।

195. cf. ibid.pp.166-167 where Harivāhana examines a portrait of Tilakamañjarī.

196. ibid.p.186 where Harivāhana attempts to tame an elephant gone mad due to the rutting cycle.

197. ibid.p.75-76: अङ्गीर्णाश्रितलः सरोजकलसच्छनादिभिर्लङ्घ्यैः --- ।  
यथास्वमुच्चस्थानस्थितैः --- शुभ्रहैवलोकिवै विशुद्धे लङ्घने --- ऊर्ध्वगुरव्यां होरायां --- ।

198. ibid.Intro.vs.43: अङ्गीर्णाश्रितलः सरोजकलसच्छनादिभिर्लङ्घ्यैः --- ।

199. ibid.p.24: ... क्षेत्रगणितमिव लम्बभुजकर्णोद्भासितम् --- ।

200. ibid.p.47: --- अतिरिखण्डितं मन्त्रसाधकमुण्डम् --- । ; p.22: वंशीकरण-  
विद्या मदनमहावातिकस्य --- । ; p.219: इन्द्रजालिक इव मायाप्रगल्भः --- ।

Metallurgy<sup>201</sup> and Calligraphy<sup>202</sup> and etc. is evidenced in many imageries in the TM. But he takes care to subordinate and harmonize this scholarship with his innate faith in Jainism.<sup>203</sup> Everywhere in the whole of the TM do we come across the devout, though not bitter, touch of Dhanapāla's profound predilection for Jainism. His references to the Sāṅkhya doctrines of Sattva, Rajas and Yogic mysticism and meditation,<sup>204</sup> the Buddhist doctrines of momentariness, void and subjectivism,<sup>205</sup> the Pramāṇa doctrine of the Nyāya system,<sup>206</sup> the Vaiśeṣika doctrine<sup>207</sup>

201. TM(N).p.22:-- अससिद्धिर्वैदग्ध्यधातुवादिकस्य ---।

202. ibid.p.134:-- असकीर्णस्वरताडपण्णकोत्कीर्णकण्णशरिलिपिषु पुस्तकेषु ---।

203. ibid.p.11:-- अर्हदृशं न स्थितिरेव नैकमव्यवहारक्षिप्तलोक ---।

204. ibid.p.10:-- आत्त्विकैरपि राजसभावाप्तश्रव्यातिभिः ---।

205. ibid.p.30:-- मुनिस्तत्क्षणमेव योगनिद्रामगते ---।; also references to 'Dhyāna' on p.255 and 399; also ibid. p.45:-- योगिज्ञानशोचरं चालनो रूपम् ---।

206. ibid.p.16:-- बौद्धतक इवार्थिनां नाशः ---।; p.28: बौद्ध इव सर्वतः शून्यदर्शी ---।; p.15: बौद्धानुपलब्धेरसद्व्यवहारप्रवर्तकत्वम्।

207; ibid. p.10:-- प्रमाणाविद्धिः --- व्यायदर्शनानुसारिभिरपि न शैदैः; p.24:-- सत्तकविद्यामिव विधिनिरूपितानवद्यप्रमाणाम् ---।

of 'Dravya' as being permanent substratum of all other Categories,<sup>208</sup> the Vedānta system of Bādarāyaṇa,<sup>209</sup> the Vaiṣṇava doctrine of devotion to Kṛṣṇa<sup>210</sup> or Vāsudeva<sup>211</sup> are noteworthy. The PRC records that he built at least one Jain temple to the memory of Lord Ṛṣabha Jina.<sup>212</sup> The TM also would warrant corroboration in the matter in view of his two hymns addressed to the First Tīrthamkara,<sup>213</sup> to whom he seems to have transferred all his profuse devotion which, as a prestine Brahmin he possessed before conversion/in his devout heart towards the Premordial Originator of his family, viz., Brahmadeva and the Premordial Preceptor of the universe, viz., Viṣṇu, the Lord of his family-deity and the goddess Śrī.

208. TM(N).p.12: ... वैशेषिकमते द्रव्यस्य कूटस्थनित्यता ।; वैशेषिकमते द्रव्यस्य प्राधान्यं गुणानामुपसर्जनभावः ... ।

209. ibid.p.24: ... त्रिभुवनसृष्टिमिव प्रकटोपलक्षमाणब्रह्मसूत्रम् ।

210. ibid.p.11: ... शाब्धृतभूतत्वादं वासुदेवम् .... ।

211. ~~xxix~~ ibid.p.12: ... वैष्णवानां कृष्णवर्त्मनि प्रवेशः ... ।

212. PRC.17.192: ... प्रभो नीभिसूनोः प्रासादमातमेत ... ॥१११॥

213. TM(N).p.218 and 416.

Thus, in Dhanapāla we have had a mixed personality of a proud pundit, a hot debater, a shrewd court-poet quite at home in a luxurious royal palace in a regal capital or a tough military expedition both on the land and the sea throughout length and breadth of India and abroad, a well-versed Brahmin and a staunch Jain householder with his ultimate resort to a Jain temple and extremely full of the milk of human kindness coupled with religious generosity.

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