CHAPTER: IIII

LITRARY WORKS

Sanskrit literature produced during the fifteenth century hint at one vital point of justification in favour of the Bharuch region. It is the location of Bharuch on the map of the Indian continent. The location of Bharuch may be wowed as the crossroads at which many creative writers and artists and thinkers and innovators from diverse origins and cultures would meet and interact. As a result of it, there occurred many-folded ventures in the fields of letters and art and culture that eventually realized as versatile representation of the Vedic knowledge in diverse from. Various disciplines of knowledge including the literary and the creative were explored by these authors carrying with them intentions of their own. Thus, instead of having concentrated efforts or focused ventures in one specific field or area as designated in the modern terminology viz. literature, art, philosophy, science, culture, theology, etc. the region throws off scattered documents that may be related to diverse field that may go undesignated. This prevents the region from lodging a big claim to have done a virtual contribution in a specific field. Hence, the present study calls for a different approach that allows consideration to diversity and so to say unfocussed exploration of mind. What needs to be considered of the region is not "how big" its contribution is, but "how tall" is its contribution to serve as sparks to light more lamps of knowledge or as fertilizer to affect further fertilization and germination of knowledge in which the age-old tradition of Vedic knowledge may continue.

In this light of diverse exploration of Sanskrit knowledge the present study views it appropriate to present a brief survey of Sanskrit literature. As pointed out earlier, Bharuch being a significant seaport located at the opening of the Narmada River on the western sea-coast served as a gateway for foreign traders and adventurers into the land. Further, for the simple reason of business prospects in that place the place was connected with highways going in the extreme north up to Vārānasi and in the extreme south up to Shri Lanka or the Sinhaladvip of that time. This location advantage allowed dual effects to Bharuch. If on one side, the location made Bharuch an immediate target of foreign invasions and its prosperity made it a target of envy of neighboring kings who attacked it often and caused serious damage to it number of time, the location, on the other side, offered it an opportunities to develop contacts and interactions among peoples of diverse origins, regions, religions and

cultures. It eventually resulted into cultural exchange and academic pursuits in the region and enhanced creatively and writing talent among the people majority of whom were brāhmana. As such, conventionally Brāhmanas are supposed to get involved in getting and imparting knowledge. The presence of hermitages and temples in and around the place speaks of the activity of writing and learning that was carried on a large scale since the ancient times. Even amidst the shadow of foreign invasions and local attacks hurling constant damage, Bharuch seems to have continued the tradition of writing in Sanskrit. It may be said that in case of Bharuch material dismantling and cultural building occurred simultaneously. Hence, one may get a surprise to find a manuscript of a look amidst debris of broken houses. Tendency to write that one discovers in the Bharuch region tells one that Bharuch still retains its glorious tradition of Sanskrit writing even while it was destined to incessant blows of decline. This reminds us of the popular Gujarāti saying for Bharūch: "Bhāngyu Bhangvu to ye Bharuch", meaning although battered and shattered at the tidal waves of time, it is still the Bharuch.

Jayasinhasūri (12th Century):

The beginning of the thirteenth century witnessed the emergence of literary writing with Jayasinhasūri's drama Hammīramadamardana. He wrote it same time between 1223 and 1237 A.D. Jayasinhasūri added a new page in the development of Sanskrit literature in the region with a remarkable creative dimension to writing. Although Jayasinhasūri's drama takes in the line of delineating historical events, it marks shift by giving literary and creative touch to the treatment of the subject.

Tejapāla prašasti: What about T.P.?

What is the content of T.1

A Jain hermit Jayasinhasūri was a head priest of the famous Śakunikāvihāra of Bharūch. He was Vīrasūri's disciple and looked after the temple of *Muni*suvratswāmī.

Two books are available in the name of Jayasinhasūri who said to have written them in the temple of *munī* Suvrata at Bharūch. These books are Tejapāla praśasti and Hammīramadmardana, a drama. The former is a long poem of adoration written in honour of Tejapāla, a brother of the famous minister Vastupāla, the donor of the golden mast for the temple, the Śakunikāvihāra. The poem is inscribed on the walls of the

by a Muslim ruler. But the same poem in stone inscriptions is found to be annexed to Jayasinh's second writing, a drama, Hammiramadmardan and this second book is available in print

Jayasinhsūri, came in contact with the minister Tejapāla who was a brother of the historically renown minister of Gujarat Vastupāla. Vastupāla was a minister in the court of king Vīradhavalaa of the Vāghelā dynasty that ruled over the Dhavallaka city of Gujarat that is today's Dholkā. The minister was a recognised expert in political affairs and also well-versed in art and literature. He encouraged art and literature in the state. As a first step in that direction, he formed a group of scholar under his headship that affected good development of literary activities. The group included celebrated poets and scholars of Gujarat of that time like Someśvara, Harihara, Nānanka, Yashovīra, Rāmachandrasūri, etc. The author of the present drama Jayasinhasūri too was its member.

Jayasinhasūri met Tejapāla, Vastupāla's brother on one of his visits to the Śakunikāvihāra and the temple in Bharūch. He was the chief priest there. He suggested Tejapāla to donate a

golden mast for a flag on the temple in honour of twenty five divine daughters in the Śakunikāvihāra that was constructed originally by Shri Lankana princess, Sudarsanā and was renovated by the minister Ambada. With Vastupāla's consent, Tejapāla arranged to make the golden mast and donated it to the admiration ofthose two generous brothers. Jayasinhasūri wrote a poem. This literary eulogy narrates in brief the dynasties in series beginning with king Mülrāja to Viradhavala. The poem was carved in stones fixed in the walls of the temple in Bharuch. The temple was in good state up to King Karnadeva's regime. Then after a muslima Sultan Gyasuddina Taghlaqa captured the city in A.D.1320-25 and the temple got converted in a mosque. The mosque still displays distinctly the Jain architecture and writing if an archeological survey is conducted. The archeological reports confirm the fact that the Jumma mosque of Bharuch is none other but the famous Sakunikāvihāra. The mosque displays the only stone inscription in Sanskrit.

Hammiramadamardana:

Hammiramadamardana may claim a unique place in historical dramas that were produced in Gujarāt. The obvious

reason for it is its selection of unconventional and contemporary event in history to focus on. And that too comes from a Jain hermit who would not speak on any other subject by Jainism. The second point that marks it unique is a treatment of political subject of treachery and intrigues in a royal court a Jain hermit who has nothing to do with that kind of environment.

The drama narrates a Muslim invasion on Gujarat during the regime of King Viradhavala. The action of the drama centers on how the king could turn down the *muslima* invasion with the help of his minister Vastupāla's shrude and sharp policy, of warfare that caused disgrace of failure to the *muslima* invader and he had to run away like a doge with a raised tail. This historical event forms the central focus of the drama. Jayasinhsūri's drama is a writer's sincere attempt to represent this historic event and to praise in adoration of the king and his minister Vastupāla. B.J. Sāndesarā informs that the drama saw the first public performance in the time of Jayantasinh, Vastupāla's son, who was a governor of Khambhāta in the beginning of the thirteenth century. It was staged on the religious celebration of the Bhīmeśvara Mahādeva. This seems

to establish that the drama was written between the year 1223 and 1237. (953, P.78)².

A manuscript of the drama is available on palm leaves. It is dated as of the Hindu year (*Vikrama Samvat*) 1286. This shows that the drama was written during the *Hindu* year 1276 that is prior to 1286 and during the tenure of Vastupāla's minister ship between the year 1276 and 1286. The manuscript was said to be written by a Jain hermit namely Hemachandra at the royal command of king Jaitrasinh of Ādhāt *durga* when Jagatasinh held the minister ship. The hermit revived all the doctrines and inscribed all the sutras on palm leaves. The manuscripts that Hemacandra prepared include Jayasinhsūri's Hammīramadamardana of 1286. The manuscript is preserved carefully presently at the archives at *Jesalamera*. It helps to determine the date between 1223 and 1237 when the drama was supposed to be written.

The drama, Hammiramadamardana may be said to have a unique contribution in Sanskrit literature and historical writing as well, particularly to the tradition of history plays, by its subject matter that rests on a historical event. Its greatness lies in unique co-relation of history and literature. Thus, it can claim

dual contribution; to the history by way of focusing graphically on social and political conditions of contemporary Gujarat and to literature by its creative treatment of the historical subject matter. The drama marks a different trend in Sanskrit literature which was mostly based on mythological and divine or religions themes by its very selection of historical subject. History remained a last preference for Sanskrit literary writers. For instance, Sanskrit dramas of the time, to name a few Lalit Vigrharāja, Pārijātmanjari, Karnasundari, Mudita Kumudcandra, Moharājaparājya, Candralekhā Vijay, Gangādās Pratāpavilās, etc, are written on mythological subjects. They however, include few historical facts. But Hammiramadamardana is a drama exclusively on contemporary historical event. This shows the writer's courage to deviate from a set trend and carved a niche in literary drama in Sanskrit.

The title of the drama too is unusual to title of writing in Sanskrit. It includes an Arabic word "Hammīra" which means a Muslim ruler "Sultan". The title, Hammīramadamardana thus means crushing of the arrogance of a "Sultana", a Muslim king from northwest who dared to attack Gujarat. The word is used for a sultan of Delhi, Turuṣka who attacked on Gujarat, the title

also reflects on the spirit of courage and determination of a Gujarati ruler and his minister that is popularly thought of quite unusual or unbecoming of people of Gujarat who are famous for their compromising behavior for want of courage and determination and surrendering to any adverse situation. In this sense, the drama may thus be read as, along with an admiration of a Gujarātī king and his minister Vastupāla of the writer's time, also admiration or glorification of courage of the Gujarāti people. Or it may also be read as being written with a purpose of inspiring the people of Gujarāt of writer's time to be determined and courageous in the time of crisis. It may be noted that there lived earlier brilliant and courageous Gujarātīs like Vastupāla and Tejapāla who resisted the foreign invasions with wit and courage. It may also be noted that there lived in the recent past a Gujarāti like Mohanadāsa Gāndhi was resisted the British with his wit and courage and earned global recognition as a No-similarity. legendary person.

The plot and the subject matter:

The drama is written in five acts. It begins with invocation to the divine light. Then there appears on the stage the director (anchor) and an actor who get into conversation befitting to the

occasion. In their conversation they refer to the matters like the drama, the dramatist, the minister of the drama, the subject matter of the drama, etc. the preface of the drama gives a dialogue between the director and an actor. They throw the light on the occasion of the performance and its intention. The preface informs that the drama has been performed to present on the stage before the audience a literary work endowed with nine kinds of ragas, human moods (sentiments) on the religious celebration in devotion of Lord Bhimeśvara Mahādeva. The writer (dramatist) thus claims that his literary creation is rich (replete) with all nine kinds of human moods or sentiments. The preface ends with the suggestion of the entry of Tejapāla and Viradhavala on the stage.

Then follows the main scene in which the king praises Vastupāla's unique qualities of political brilliance and sharp wit. But Tejapāla tells him that it is not the right time for praising someone as the clouds of troubles have not yet dispersed. The situation is very serious. On one hand Sinhaṇa Yādava is preparing himself to attack taking the military help of the king of Lat and Sangrāmsinha Sinha's nephew, while on the other hand the *muslima Sultana Turuska* Hammīra too declares to

attack on king Viradhavala. The king states that he has with him his able minister Vastupāla who has the wit and to capability confront and restrict invasions or revolts on two fronts at the same time. Following the king's statement there enters the minister, Vastupāla.

On the appearance, Vastupāla breaks good news that Tejapāla's son Lāvaṇyasinh has appointed efficient spies to keep an eye on the situation. Now they will bring to us all information about the enemy's movements and make our path clear for further action. The king praises Lāvaṇyasinh's brilliance. He calls himself very lucky to have such brilliant ministers. Now he declares his whish to attack Hammīra's army. But Vastupāla requests him to stay back and wait, for a long distance and have a straight fight. He also advises him to invite kings of the Mārvāra region to help his mission to save the motherland against foreign invaders and rebels. Here ends the first act.

The second act opens with Lāvaṇyasinh's entry. He brings a word that his uncle Vastupāla has rightly said (advised) and on his request three kings of the Mārwāra region namely *Somasinh*, *Udayasinh* and Dhāravarsh and Bhīmasinh, the king of

Saurāshtra and Vikramāditya, Sahajapāla and all have entered into a treaty to join hands against the enemy and fight under the king's command. Lāvanyasinh praises his uncle Vastupāla for achieving a befitting result of a noble act. At that moment, a supply called Nipunaka enters. He reports that he got stealthily into the Sinhana's camp and declared that he was king Viradhavalas spy and he has brought an important news that Viradhavala now prepares to attack on Hammira's army. Hence it would be good if she would wait a little and attack when -Viradhavalas army is totally exhausted and tired. Until that time, her soldiers should better hide them in the forests along the banks of the river Tāpi. In the meantime, Nipūnaka's brother Suvega who is in the service of the Mālavā King Devapāla Steals the King's best horse, brings it to Sinhana's commander and gifts it to him. Then after he takes a hermit's guise and goes Sinhana. When Sinhana bows down to the hermit he runs away. The king doubts a treachery. He sends his men after him and catches him. He finds him with a letter on Sangrāmasinha that he hid in his matted hair. The letter reveals a story that Devapāla presented a horse to Sangrāmasinha as a mark of friendship. It also contains a word of advice to him to

attack on Sinhaṇa's army as soon as it enters Gujarat, and he too is ready to attack on Sinhaṇa's army. Then Sinhaṇa sends Nipūṇaka to confirm the facts related to the horse. Nipūṇaka uses his wit to fabricate stories to arouse animosity between Sangrāmasinha and Sinhaṇa at this; Sinhaṇa gets frighten and runs away. When Nipūṇaka finishes his story Vastupāla appears on the stage. His informer Kuśalaka tells him that Sangrāmasinha is about to attack on Khambhāt. Vastupāla thinks out a way to protect Khambhāt. He employs all his shrudeness through persuasion, bribery, threatening and intrigue (deceit) and calls Sangrāmasinha's minister Bhuvanapāla and asks him to persuade Sangrāmasinha to come to Vīradhavalas help. Bhuvanapāla then leaves. Nipūṇaka comes and informs that Sangrāmasinha aggress to take his army beyond the *Mahi* river. There ends act two.

The third act opens with Viradhavala's and Tejapāla's appearance on the stage. A spy named Kāmakala enters and informs about the miserable condition of Jayatāla, the king of Mevāra. His people are panicked with the barbarian attack so much so that instead of facing them bravely in war they gave away their lives by falling them in wells. While some died by

setting them ablaze with their houses or by hanging themselves up. Very few people went to the front to face Turūṣkās in war. He too was present there to witness it in the guise of a barbarian. He shouted loudly, "Oye, run away quickly, run away, Vīradhavala is rushing with his army. The Turūṣka soldiers got frightened on hearing it and they too started running away. This enhanced the confidence of Jayatāla's soldiers and they chased barbarians for a long distance and pushed them away. On hearing the whole story, king Vīradhavala feels relieved and praises Vastupāla's with and brilliance and his political wisdom (diplomacy) and admits that it is because of Vastupāla that he is able to defeat all the enemies but barbarians. Tejapāla assures him that he will get victory over barbarians too. Here ends act three.

Act four has a Viṣkaṃbhaka at the beginning in which the story is related through a conversation between two spies namely Kuvalayaka and Shighraka. Their talk reveals what kind of strategy Vastupāla is working out to get victory over barbarians. Vastupāla spreads a rumour and sends massage to the Khalifa of Bagdada through a spy that arrogant barbarians do not listen to the governor Kshapanka and Kshapanka is

unable to control them. The Khalifa sends a reply to Kharparakhana and commands him to capture all rebellions barbarians and present them in his court. At this, Kharparakhana gets annoyed and starts attacks on barbarians lands. On the other hand, he sends a message through another spy Kuvalayaka and assures all the kings of the Gujarāt region that King Viradhavala intends to restore them their lost land and property once he attains victory over the Turūska army. Such assurance wins him the favour of all Gurjar Kings who agree to join the army under Viradhavala's command. This tightens clutches on Tarūskas from two sides, with Kharparkhan on one side and King Viradhavalaa's army on the other. Yet the Tarūska king remains firm on not to fall back. But the moment he hears Viradhavala's shouts and his armies terrifying noise he runs away with his minister. King Viradhavala is bit disappointed that he could not capture the enemy. But he trustfully sticks to Vastupāla's advice not to run a risk unnecessarily by chasing the enemy for a long distance. Here ends act four.

The fifth act brings about a change in the mood of the drama. An attendant of the harem enters. He has grown bit thoughtful with growing age. But he thinks of the queen,

Jayalatādevī who suffers a long time separation from her husband. Her husband king Viradhavala has remained busy for a pretty long time in a war against the Muslim Sultan Hammira. At that moment, a divine (celestial) speech is heard announcing king Viradhavala's victory over Hammira in the war and that the king is returning to Dhavallaka (Dolkā) with his minister Tejapāla in a human aircraft. Then Tejapāla and Vīradhavalaa are shown to be describing the places falling on their way back home. The places include those like the Abu Mountain, Acaleśvara Mahādeva Vaśishhāśrama(Sage Vaśishtha's Āśram) where sages and hermits reside involved in penance, religions rituals and spiritual endeavors. Then comes on the way Candravati Siddhapur, the capital city of the Parmar kings located on the sacred Sarasvati River. The Badrakāl temple is a unique place in the city. Then come (appear) Anahilvāda, the capital city of the Guriar kings and the Sahasralinga Lake situated at its centre and Karnāvati located on the banks of Sābarmati. After having a glance on all these unique cities of Gujarāt the king enters the city of Dholkā with his minister. There he finds his queen Jayalatadevi eagerly waiting for his arrival. Both meet each other. It is a happy union of two souls

departed for a long. Both greet each other. At that time, Vastupāla discloses one more adventure on the king's part. He informs that two barbarian priests Raddi and kaddi have been captured in between their sea voyage from Bagdada and that the barbarian king has been forced to enter into a trace for friendly relation with king Viradhavala for the sake of the security of the priests. The king agrees to Vastupala's condition. Thus, the king's reputation enhances all around in all directions. At the end of the play, the king goes to the Shiva temple and prays to Lord Siva. Lord Shiva appears before him and graces him with a boon by fulfilling his wish. The king says that he is greatly contented that he has been blessed with two brilliant, witty and loyal ministers like Vastupāla and Tejapāla. Yet the king prays for the Lord's blessings by which he and his people would stay in better conditions and happiness. Thus, the drama ends happily.

The critical review of the drama:

The writer of the drama Jayasinhasūri derives the subject for the contemporary history of king Vīradhavala and his two ministers Vastupāla and Tejapāla. The king ruled over the region of Dholakā during 1270s. The king captured the

prosperous sea-port of Khambhāt and put it under Vastupāla's command. The king Vīradhavala and his father Lavaṇyaprasād indulged in conflicts with many neighboring kings and eventually won their support and fought successfully against the Yādava army and got victory. When the king and his father remained busy in wars against enemies around, there arose an occasion that tested Vastupāla's wit and courage.

Shankha, the king of Bharūch was the son of Sindhurāja who was the Cāhmāna king of the Lāṭa region. He conveyed to Vastupāla at Khambhāta his doubt about the king Vɨradhavala's victory against many Mārvāra kings. He also lodged his claim over Khambhāta as the property that he received as heritage and so demanded to allow him to enter the city. He assured him that Vɨradhavala gifted him just one city, but he would appreciate his qualities even more to appoint him at the helm of the entire kingdom. King Shankha was so arrogant that to put his leg a gold chain filled with idols of twelve feudal kings under his sovereignty. He had once bravely defeated and shattered a huge army of the Yādava king Sinhana. So with arrogance he does not miss a chance to taunt Vastupāla that he was a coward Baniyā who would not be able to fight against the Yāadava king

and as such a Baniā never feels ashamed of running away from a battle field.

Vastupāla conveyed a befitting reply through the messenger. "Unfortunately your master seems to shy away from resorting to justful ways. So tell him clearly that we too know well and are fully equipped to shatter his ego with a sward. I would be rather happy to meet king Shankha as he wishes to do. It is a good sign that he is ready to gift me the entire kingdom. It is even better that he tied at his legs idols of his feudal kings. But he should never forget that he was once put in shackles in the prison of the Yādava king.

Further, it is a false notion that only Kṣatriyās know the secrets of the warfare and baniās are incapable in that matter. Let me remind that king Āmbada was a baniā by caste and hē had slain in war the Koṇkaṇ king Mallikārjuna. I too am a baniā and I am famous how to deal at a shop of a battlefield with weighing scales of a sword. I bay heads of my enemy and in return I give them a chance to go to heaven. If your master King Śaṅkha is a real (true) son of Sindhurāja he should select a place for war and accept his challenge ³.

Then followed a fierce war between the king Śaṅkha and Vastupāla and the king got defeated and ran away in the direction of Bharūch. On the other hand, Vastupāla defeated a barbarian king from the west with the help of the chief of the Arbudgiri, Dhārāvarsha. To celebrate his victory, Vastupāla put the heads of the slain solders in carts, brought them to Dholakā and presented them to his king Vīradhavala ⁴.

The war between Śankha and Vastupāla must have taken place prior to the year 1279 when Vastupāla's son Jayantasinh was appointed the governor of Khambhāta. The drama must have been written during Jayantasinh's tenure, may be with his instruction around the same time, as its first performance was arranged in 1286 at the annual religions celebration of Lord Bhīmeśvara Mahādeva at the Śiva temple in Khambhāta.

The story depicts confrontation of self-respect and confidence of a minister who is baniā by caste and a Kṣatriya King's arrogance. The writer seems to have been fascinated by this element of self respect held by a baniā in minister ship and holds it as strong weapon to resist arrogance of Kṣatriya kings of his time. He knows that arrogance is the Kṣatriya folly and a baniā's self-respect can prove a strong resistance. This echoes

Gandhi's story, doesn't its so the dramatist structures his drama on this èlement of a baniā's self-respect to sing in the glory of brave kings and ministers of his time. With this purpose in mind, he specifically glorifies Vastupāla's character as a witty and courageous minister.

The dramatist seems to have derived inspiration from the Sanskrit drama Viśakhādatta's Mudrārāksasam that was written in sixth or seventh century. The reason is that Vastupāla's character sketch matches to a larger extent the character sketch of the famous minister Canakya in Emperor Candragupta's court. Secondly, in Mudrārākṣasam king Candragupta remains at the centre of the story the real hero is Canakya who monitors by his wit and courage the critical situation in favour of the king. On the same pattern, the dramatist draws Vastupāla as the real hero in action although king Viradhavalaa remains at the centre of the story and utters the Bharatavākya at the outset of the drama. Vastupāla appears to be monitoring all the political events by his wit and courage so that his king would attain glory and prosperity for his people. He is portrayed as the king's counselor, controller of situation and witty like the famous Cānakya in political affairs and diplomacy. More specifically,

the system of intelligence run through spies seems to have been designed on the Chāṇakya brand political intrigue. The dramatist writes an interesting history drama on the political events of the thirteenth century. He thus, writes a remarkable drama of action in Sanskrit on contemporary events and the Sanskrit literature gets an addition to its list of dramas after a gap of seven centuries.

The drama is a faithful reflection of the political events and political systems adopted in the writer's time. This element of contemparaneity of the subject matter in turn reflects upon the writer's boldness and individuality or freedom to go against the age-long set tradition to write mythological or religious dramas. It also speaks of the writer's interest in the current happenings, and his analysis of the events. Thus, the drama may be viewed as a document in the history of the time, although a bit fictional in character. It throws light on contemporary history and polities and also gives valuable information on the system of intelligence that was evolved and adopted by the kings that time. What makes the drama more fascinating is a series of events of warfare and brave actions with witty intrigues and diplomacy to resist political treacheries employed by the

politician who is as selfless as Cāṇakya to work loyally for his king. He outshines his master by his wit and courage and the king takes pride and believes him lucky to have such a minister. Though the drama may be taken on the surface as adoration play in the glory of the king and his good fortune of having two brilliant ministers like Vastupāla and Tejapāla, it stores in it many valuable details that may lead to historical documentation.

The dramatist gives a clever and colourful treatment to the historical subject. The characters in the drama belong to the field of politics and their characterization is done with good observation and touch of reality. As a result, one may find characters like Vastupāla, Tejapāla and Vīradhavala as living persons. The characters are witty and shine with good human qualities and intention. However, the drama is dominated with male characters indulged in political intrigues left with only one female character in the last act. She is the queen Jayalatādevi. As such the mood of aggression and courage ('śaurya') dominates befitting to the action of the drama, the writer claims to have portrayed all six human sentiments or mood. Since in the first four acts of the play the sentiment of 'śaurya' dominates

the fifth act portrays moods of romance pity and wonder through the queen's long separation from her husband, her waiting, her suffering and the appearance of Lord Shiva in the final scene. These, however, seem to be deliberate additions with a view to arouse a variety of human mood in the drama. In this light, the fifth act too appears to be deliberate addition to the main action of the drama.

The drama centre round king Viradhavala's adventurous victory over the muslim ruler Turūṣka from the west. The action packed theme is rightly delineated in a style of fast moving language constructed through long word compounds and word similes. The language seems to be running fast along with the fast moving action. It can be experienced rightly while the drama is read aloud. But the complexity of language may hamper its stage performance. Hence, it may not have been so successful as stage performance.

The drama contains in all one hundred and seventy two verses spread over its five acts. The third act records twelve verses and then after appear nine more verses that are not numbered. Only the fifth act is long with sixty verses in it. The language rightly portrays a historical subject matter of political

plot, intrigues, intelligence activities of spies and warfare. The war is not shown on the stage but it is only reported by a spy to the king. But the play is made more fascinating with beautiful and graphic descriptions of various places, in the fifth act that the king and his minister sees on their way back to home from the battlefield. They include descriptions of the river Sābaramatī. The Sahastralinga Lake, hermits ashram and various cities on the way.

The drama may not be found so striking with high literary merits or may not have been so successful as stage performance for reasons pertaining to the time and place. But it certainly represents the fact that how the influence of living expressions of the Sanskrit literature can work positively and subtly on the minds of the common mass of the time. It does not sound like a rigid representation of literature as high and alien from common people. It rather represents literature as an influential factor on the social make up by combining history and literature, the real and the literary, the contemporary and the traditional through the subject matter, its delineation and its treatment. The writer wants to convey perhaps that the drama has to become a true portrayal of life and history besides being a good literary

expression. The writer's intention is rightly reflected in his treatment of contemporary subject in a literary style to being closer the two distant ends, the literary and the common, the high or 'good' and the popular.

It is therefore, surprising how the drama does not appear on the list of Sanskrit dramas or history plays in Sanskrit and the like. How come it has gone unnoticed or unrecorded. The reasons may vary. The drama was written by the end of the thirteenth century. The time is the middle age that is also called the Dark Age. Possibly much things written during this period must have gone unnoticed or unrecorded due to disturbed time or want of any systematic approach. The present drama may fall into category of such writing in Sanskrit that is lying buried under the layers of time. The present research is an attempt to discover such literature and present it in true light.

The second reason points at a lack of system to continue literature into posterity. It is the system of publicity and publication. The drama could not attract popularity and public attention for two remarkable facts. Eminent literary venture of the time paid indifference to historical subjects for literary creation. As a result, it could not attract public attention despite

perhaps that not many manuscripts of the drama were written. As such, Sanskrit dramas were less popular with the common man and in addition to this deliberate indifference paid to it as a result, the drama could not reach the common readership and to the posterity and they are deprived of the benefits that they would have rendered by reaching if or by watching its stage performance.

One unique character of the drama that may fascinate our mind is the secular spirit delineated in the drama in the last act. The drama is dominated with Jain persons like king Viradhavala and his two able ministers, Vastupāla and Tejapāla. All these persons are religiously and devotionally involved in the spread of the Jainism in Gujarat. The person to arrange the first public stage performance of the play is Vastupāla's son Jayantasinh who too is a strong follower of Jainism. With such eminent personalities, the factors that dominate the action of the play too are associated with the Jain sect. And yet the drama ends with a devotional reference to Lord Śiva who blesses all these eminent Jain persons with happiness and prosperity. The invocation to Lord Shiva at the Śiva temple in the last act, thus, unique with

the secular approach. Besides, the drama written by a Jain hermit Ācārya Jayasinhasūri about a Jain king, Vīradhavala and his two Jain ministers, Vastupāla and Tejapāla and the drama written on Jain theme, such a drama was encouraged for the first stage production again by another Jain person Jayantasinh Surprisingly on the religious celebration of the Shiva sect. This fact too points at its unique feature to display secular spirit of paying respect to the Śiva sect in a literary and patronage. Thus, the drama stays beyond the sectarian attitude and approach and presents a broader vision of life.

It may further be noted that the drama marks a difference from the writing of the time. It was a time when Jainism was flourishing and Jain hermits and priests were actively involved in writing about religion and religious doctrines and philosophy.

Bhūdev Śukla (17th century): Detuiled note is necce

There is another name that attracts our attention with his good number of books in Sanskrit. He is Bhūdev Śukla of Jaṃbusara and he has seven books in Sanskrit ⁵. In his name they are:

- i Dharmavijaya a drama
- 2 Rasavilāsa a book on poetics

- 3 Ātmatatava pradīpa
- 4 Iśvarvilāsa Dīpikā
- 5 Rukamaņi Vilāsa poetry
- 6 Rāmacharita
- 7 Prakirņa Sclokās (Miscellaneous Stanzas)

1. Dharma Vijaya – A drama :

Nārāyaṇa śāśtri believes that Bhūdeva Śukla lived in the 17th Century. It was a time when the Mughala emperor Akabara ruled over India since Akabara adopted a policy of generosity and freedom of thinking and encouraged all religions equally it censed a relaxed environment. But if had address effect on religious morality and strictness of practice of religion among people. Bhūdeva Śukla wrote a drama as a protest to the prevailing situation that caused deterioration in religious practices and encourage vices to sprout all around with ineffective policy decision on the part of the Moghula rules. Thus, the drama may be called a kind of literature of protest.

In the Prastāvanā Sangati, we get information, that an important personality, one keśavadāsa, who is the minister of salaries of the Lord of Delhi (Most probably, mughala emperor Akbara), has asked the actors to play a new drama called

Dharmavijayam composed by Bhūdeva Śukla. In the prelude (Viskambhaka) to the first Act Characters Varnasankara (born of mixed marriage) and Nīcasangati (Low-Society) describe various misconducts spread in the contemporary society, and angers by his vile interpretation of the Mahabharata the king and his queen Ūrdhvagati (upward-movement) who enter in the Act proper. The queen reveals that Adharma (Wickedness) is born in the heart of the mother of the king's enemy, and is the source of all kinds of atrocities. The king had already started a long confect against him, who has taken shelter somewhere in the low-burns. There follows a description of the proper conduct of the people in the kingdom of the new, particularly of the excellent qualities of chaste women. Midday is announced and the royal couple retires.

Act II Prelude (Viskambhaka) Enters Vyabhicāra (Adultery) waiting for his beloved wife Paraspara-Prīti (Mutual Love) to bring report of how adulterous relations have spread in the city. She comes and reports that the entire city is under his influence. Vyabhicāra then himself moves and describes some extramarital relations rampant in the city. One Anācāra (Misconduct) enters and meets Vyabhicāra & Paraspara-prīti

who test his misconduct and discuss with him various antireligious practices of different countries. Vyabhicāra recognizes him as his younger brother. King Adharma arrives and Vyabhicāra goes out to receive. Anācāra and Parasparapriti reveal their amorous intentions and leave. The prelude is a long as almost an Act.

Act III — Lady Panditaa-Sangati (Learned-Company) is about to hang herself from a tree but is prevented by her friend Parīkṣā (Examination) Panditaa-Sangati laments that all the sciences (Vedanta, Ānvīksikī, Sānkhya, Yoga, mīmāvsā, Vedas, Sāhitya) etc. have perished. Parīkṣa points out that, even then suicide is a sin. Together they set out to find if serious learning is going on anywhere. They observe, and even test by asking questions, that Vaidyas (Physiaians) practice their profession without any knowledge of Ayurveda and at the cost of the patients, Gaṇakas (Astrologers) do not know how to find out a muhūrta, yet bluff the ignorant common people, a smārta (a priest, a karma-kāṇdin Brahmin) is not sure whether simanta (hair-parting ceremony) of a pregnant woman is to be performed in the sixth month or the eighth, or both, yet he would argue to

cover his ignorance. Finally Ganaka informs them that some ladies of their kind are heard to be living in the some place secluded like a mountain-fort, and they go to look for them. Exeunt omnes.

Act IV — In the prelude we learn that the king has learnt from spies that falsehood and deception have spread in all the eighteen kinds of count-cases, and has instructed Prād-vivāka (a judge) to be careful and alert in court-proceedings. The judge and a sadasya (jury-member) discuss some details.

Act Proper: Vyauahāra (count-proceedings) and Daṇda (Punishment) enter. They call for dharma-sādhanas (means of justice) i.e. Ahimsā (non-violence), Satyam (Truth), Asteyam (non-theft), Śaucam (Purity), Indriya-higraha (control of senses), Dānam (Charity), Damaḥ (Restraint), Dayā (kindness), Ksāntiḥ (Forgiving) and dispatch them to start fighting against the army of king Adharma who has already conquered the city of Kāsī (Varāṇasi) and has now lodged his camp in prayāga (Allahabad). They leave the police then bring Mahāpātaka (Great sin) who is recognized as Panca-mahā-pāpa (The five great sins the minister or king Adharama.

He declares his atrocities with pride. Hence punishment is ordered. He should be made to drink hot liquor, should be struck on head with golden pestle and then burnt alive on fig-tree-wood. At that time, announcement is made off-stage that the king Drama is marching his army against the enemy.

Act-V - In the interluds, Prāyaścitta (Expiation) returns from Kurukstra and learns from Ganga-snane (Ganga-bath) about the terrible war between Dharma and Adharma in which finally Adharma was defeated. In the act, the victorious king drama along with Kavita (poetry) enters. All the vidyas (Sciences) come to great the king who pays his respects to them and is blessed by them. Thus, the sciences of Nyāya Vaiśeṣika, -Vedanta, Nātya-Vidyā, Sāmkhya, Mimāmsā, Yoga, Brahmavidyā, are greeted by and bless the king in person, while the eighteen smrtis (Sciences of Social Conduct) send their greetings from Mahārāshtra. Finally the king pays his homage to Lord Siva Kasi-Viśvanātha, to Lord Visnu and to Lord Brahma, and the play ends with bharata-vākya with general blessing from all the gods for the king as well as the world.

The drama deals with a contemporary theme and situation.

It adopts allegorical framework to convey the writer's message

to readers. Thus, it is valued more as a piece of poetry than as a dramatic piece. The poetic quality fascinates our attention with good descriptions and poetry. More importantly, the drama is rich in its subject matter. It abounds in flashes of wit and brilliance with discussion on various subjects.

For instance, the first act delineates features of religion (Drama) the second act describes the form of irreligious living (Adharma). The third act seeks to expose those pretenders who deal in various social ventures without actually possessing the knowledge of social science or sociology. The fourth act reflectson the judiciary of the writer's time. The fifth act offers good introduction of various scriptures. Thus, the author's vast knowledge and understanding is duly displayed in the five acts of the drama. By this mint, the drama becomes a valuable document on the writer's time. It may not be so successful as a literary work, but it certainly earned good reputation to the another for the richness of knowledge and information and the another's correct understanding of his contemporary time. The author's selection of the contemporary subject shows his courage to mark a different trend from that of writing on mythological or historical subjects.

Following the convention of dramatic writing the preface of the drama gives a conversation between the anchor (director) and an actress. The anchor speaks in Sanskrit and the address speaks in the Prakrit language. There is an indication in their talk as regards the writer's experimentation that makes a novel kind of drama. It says, "Tad Bhūdeva Śhukla Grathiten navina DharmaVijaya nātaker Sambhāviniyeyam smartasabheti." The author experiments with the theme and its treatment in the way that the presentation becomes fascinating with allegorical structure of the drama. The characters in the drama are personification of virtues and vices and all the social sentiments are delineated as human presence. This is unique about the drama. It would certainly fascinate the audience of the time that own was afflicted with problems of morality in the fluid situation under the Moghula regime. This kind of presentation might have helped the author to make his message on morality much emphatic to exert more positive influence on his audience secondly, the scholarly presentation of the subject made the author popular among the people of his time.

2. Rasavilāsa:

Bhūdev Śhukla's second book, Rasavilāsa is a useful book on the poetics. The author seems to write under the influence of Mammat and Jagannatha, the two proponents of the poetics in the Sanskrit literature. He discusses the features of Jagannātha's treatise and Mammat's based Kāvyaprakaśa. In seven chapters of the book, he discusses seven 'rasas' (moods) with their basic form and utility in poetic creation. The chapters are appropriately called 'Saptaka' and they delineate subjects like Rasaviveka', 'Navrasvivechana', 'Bhāva', 'Guṇa', Doṣoddhār', 'Kāvyalakṣhaṇa' and 'Abhīdhā-Lakshaṇā-Vyanjanā Vrittis'. In order to illustrate the principles of poetry, Bhūdev draws examples from his two other books namely Rūkmaņīvilāsa and Rāmacarita and quotes poetic stanzas that he himself wrote. The author attempts here to give a new dimension to 'rasas' as nine different manifestations of the human soul. The following stanza is an apt illustration:

> काव्यवाक्यसमुत्पनं मनोवृत्त्या विनाशिने । अज्ञानांशे स्फुरन् नव्यादात्मा नवरसात्मकः ।। (रसविलास - पृ.-१).

3. Aatmatattva pradipa:

It is a stotra containing twenty stanzas. The book and the commentary on it are available only in the form of manuscripts.

4. Iśvarvilās dīpikā:

The book is a voluminous commentary on the author's own book, Atmatattvapradipa.

5. Rukamani Vilāsa:

The book is a romantic poetry. The author's earlier book, Rasavilāsa gives its reference. However, the book is not available.

6. Rāmcarita:

This is a long poem describing various scenes from the epic, the Ramayana. Many of the stanzas of the book are used by the author as his own illustrations in his another book Rasavilāsa to help the explanation of the principles of the poetics. The book is not available till date.

7. Miscellaneous Stanzas (Prakīrņa Shloka):

These stanzas are found scattered in the book, Rasavilās as 'muktaka', free or-independent verse used as references to illustrate the principles of poetry.

If all these book, the book, Rasavilās marks Bhūdev Śhukla's qualitative contribution to the development of Sanskrit literature. The writer shares some knowledge and opinions that eminent theorists like Mammat, Jagannātha and Sārangdeva discuss in their celebrated treatises on the poetics and the 'rasa' theory. He states, for instance, in the first chapter, "Rasaviveka" that rasa with its nine forms gives out expression of the human soul. He also states that when one listens to poetry, a kind of attitude gets shaped (cultivated) by which element of ignorance gets shattered and diminishes. Explaining the process of mood in poetry he states that the mood suggested is more significant that the mood delineated to attribute beauty to poetic creation to render it as more fascinating and enchanting. The author further discusses 'Śānta rasa' as the ninth mood. Here he agrees with what Jagannātha states in his treatise, Rasagangādhara.

Bhūdeva Śukla does not consider the 'bhakti rasa' as poetic mood. He calls 'chamatkāra' — magic as soul of poetic moods. In these references, he criticises the opinions that Viśvanātha put forth stating that 'chamatkāra' is common among all other poetic moods.

The author discusses vicious moods that affect poetry. He devotes the third chapter for the discussion. He follows the line of his predecessors and counts that there are thirty three vicious moods. He strictly follows Bharata's line of discussion. He does not think if wise to change or alter his opinion. He defines 'Rasābhāsa' and 'Bhāvābhāsa' as illusory moods. He also 'Bhāvasndhi', 'Bhāvashānti', 'Bhāvodaya' describes 'Bhāvasabalatā', in this original form and calls them as a blend of different stages of experiences of moods (Rasanispatti). Lastly, in the last chapter he discusses 'Vrittinirupana' and discusses, three-fold functions of a words as 'Abhidha', 'Lakshana' and 'Vyanjana'. He agrees that besides six kinds of 'Lakshana', there is the seventh kind which is called 'Jahadajahallakshnā! Jagannātha too gives an explanation of similar kind.

Aśadhara Bhatta (17th Century):

Āsādhara Bhaṭṭa is one more scholar whose association with Bharūch is very clear. He was son of Rāmaji Bhaṭṭa and students of Dharnidhara (A.D. 1720 to A.D. 1790). He was a great scholar of Gujarāt in Eighteen Century. He is generally

known to be the \$\overline{A}cārya of \$P\overline{a}\$tha\u00e4\overline{a}\$\overline{a}\$ in Vaso, which must have been a middle-sized town in Eighteen Century situated about 30 km. west of Nadiada. But at least one work of the \$\overline{A}\$\u00e4\overline{a}\$dhara is composed in Bharuch. In the end of his work Rasikananda, he says:

कचित्तु भक्तिरसिकाः कलाविप महाधियः । ल्लुभायिप्रभृतयः पुण्यक्षेत्रनिवासिनः ।। तथाहि -जयित नर्मदा पुण्यकर्मदा सकलशर्मदा भूरिभर्मदा । जनितसंसदा सत्पदप्रदा विबुधसंसदा वंदिता हदा ।। तीरे तदीये भृगुकच्छसंज्ञं ्रपुरं पुराणप्रथितं चकास्ति । तत्राधिकारी खलु लल्लुभायी सतां मतो भक्तिरसानुयायी ।। दयालिदासप्रभवो दयालुः राधावराराधन धन्यताभाक् । पराक्रमे भक्तिरसे च दाने यस्योपमानं न भुवीति जाने ।। यस्य प्रियं भागवतं पुराणं तदुक्तधर्माचरणं च शश्वत् । तदाश्रिताशाधरपण्डितेन ग्रंथः कृतोऽयं सुधियां मुदेऽस्तु ।।

These verses mention these facts:

(1) Lallubhāi, Son of Dayāladās, was a Dīvān in Bharūch.

(2) He was a Vaiṣṇava, a worshipper of Rādhā-vara, i.e.

Krishṇa, hence a follower of Vallabhācārya and
Śuddhādvaita. (3) He loved śrīmad-Bhāgavata-purāṇa

and followed its precepts in practice, (4) Āsādhara

Paṇḍita was his protege, and (5) he composed this work

Rasikānanda obviously to please him.

The colophon of the work Rasikananda says:

इति श्री पदवाक्यप्रमाणपारावारीण रामजीभट्टात्मजाशाधरभट्टकृतो रसिकानंदे प्रकीर्णप्रकरणम् समाप्तम् ।।

This Lallubhāi, Son of Dayaludāsa, is a historical person. He was the Divān of Nawab Imtiyaz Uddoulla Mouzizakhan Bahadur Dilerajanga of Bharūch (1771 A.D) in the second half of Eighteen Century. In 1793, Bharūch came under the rule of Gaekwads of Baroda State who put Lallubhāi in Jain under charges of corruption. Lallubhāi died in 1797. As this work shows, he was a patron of scholars, at least of one scholar named Paṇḍita Āsādhara Rāmajī Bhaṭṭa, who was expert in the

Śāśtras of Pada (i.e. Vyakaraṇa), Vākya (i.e. mĩmānsā) and pramāṇa (i.e. Nyāya).

The work Rasikānanda is a small tract of about four hundred verse. (All in sloka metres except the last few which are quoted above) on the topic of रस. It expands the ten रस^S and related topics in thirteen chapters (called Prakaraṇa's) as follows:

- (1) परिभाषाप्रकरणम् (2) श्रृंगाररसप्र. (3) हास्यरसप्र.(4) करुणरसप्र.
- (5) रौद्ररसप्र. (6) वीररसप्र. (7) भयानकरसप्र. (8) बीभत्सरसप्र.
- (9) अद्भुतरसप्र. (10) शान्तरसप्र. ($\widehat{11}$) भक्तिरसप्र. $\widehat{.}$ (12) भावप्र.
- (13) प्रकीर्णप्र.

In परिभाषाप्र. the terms विभाव, अनुभाव etc. are explained; in the next ten chapters each रस is defined in one chapter with its types and dealt with illustrations by referring to the incidents only from the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, in the twelfth chapter the व्यभिचारिभाव are dealt with (विभाव s and अनुभाव s are not certain and are too varied to be dealt with); and in the final chapter miscellaneous topics like रसाभास etc. are treated.

rasa; and (2) he illustrates all the types at रस s and all the व्यक्ति । चारिभाव s only from a single text, the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa.

Āsādhara has written many other works, but none is mentioned to have been composed specifically in Bharūch. Generally, his association with Vaso only is known. We, therefore, only mention his other works below:

- (A) Works on Śabda-Śakti
 - (1) Kovidānanda.
 - (2) Trivenikā.
 - (3) Vṛtti-Vivecanā, a to-commentary on Triveṇikā.
- (B) Works on Alamkāra-Šāśtra.
 - (4) Rasikānanda.
 - (5) Alamkāra-dīpikā, a commentary on the Kuvalayānanda- Kārikā of Appayya Dīkṣita.
 - (6) Chātrānanda, Super-Commentary on the introductory portion of Mallinātha's commentary Ghaṇṭāpatha on Bhāravī's epic Kirātārjunīyam.
- (C) Works on Vyākaraņa.
 - (7) Satṛśānaj-ādeśa.
 - (8) Pūrva-pakṣa-praśnottarā (or ⁰ manjūṣā).

- (9) Varņa-samāmnāya-vivecana.
- (10) A commentary on the Vaiyākaraṇa-Bhūṣaṇa-Kārikā of Bhaṭṭoji-dīkṣita.
- (D) Works on Nyāya.
 - (11) Āśādharī.
 - (12) Prabhā-paṭalam.
- (E) Works on Vedānta.
 - (13) Advaita-Viveka.
 - (14) A commentary on 'Śruti-gitā, the 87th chapter of Śrīmad Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, Dsaśama skandha.
- (F) (15) A°work on classical Sanskrit metrics written by him
- Either an original work or a commentary on Pingala's

 Chandaḥ-Sūtra is referred to by his learned pupil

 Kavi Bhagavat Ānandarāma Bhaṭṭ of Lāligrāma (20

 km South of Ahmedabad) in his Nūtanatari which is a

 commentary on the famous work Rasa-tararigiṇi of

 Bhānudatta.

Thus, it appears that Āsādhara Bhaṭṭa was a learned scholar, well-versed in many sastras and has composed small works also in these śāśtras. He must have taught many pupils some of whom later composed independent works or

commentaries (like Kavi Bhagavata above). However, his association with Bharūch seems to have been limited to the only work Rasikānanda, which appears to be a strange and inexplicable fact.

(For the entire information about $\overline{A}s\overline{a}dhara$ Bhatta I am indebted to my guide, Prof. R. I. Nanavati).

Śāśtri Vaijanāth Rājārām Bhatt (1914 A.D):

There lived another scholar namely Sasstri Vaijanāth Rājārām Bhaṭṭ. Born at Gajerā town of the Bharūch district near Jambusar, he acquired scholarship in 'Nyāyaśāstra' by pursuing study at Sanskrit Pāthaśālā at Pūnā. He was, therefore, called 'Naiyāyika', a special category of a scholar specialized in law and judiciary. The information available confirms four books in Sanskrit in his name. They are namely, Satsaṅgvijaya, Niśhcayābhadi, Mithyācārprahasana and jūādīpa. It is also know that he wrote commentaries on the Śrīmad Bhagavad Gītā and other books of all his books, only the book, Jūāndīpa is available today the book was translated by in Gujarati by Narbherām Bhaṭṭa of Āmoda and published as a book.

Jñāndīpa:

The book, Jñāndīpa was written in view of affecting reforms in thinking. It gives priority to thoughts of clearing doubts and misapprehensions that were carried on in the name of religion. The book begins with a statement, "One ought to think" and concludes with a statement, "One ought to think for the reason". Thus, the book deals with subjects that was highly disputed and presents neutral views on them. The subjects include the discussion on the following:

- 1. Is there god?
- 2. Are the Vedas authentic? Which follies are found or pointed out in the Vedas and Purāṇas? On what ground does the Jyotiṣa contradict with Purāṇas?
- 3. What matter has to be taken as authentic and which one has to be discarded as Inauthentic?
- 4. How do different news generate? How are they known by name, kind and contradictions with each other?
- 5. Preaching of worldly wisdom in view of normal routine of life.
- 6. Half truth of the imaginary proposition of 'Rāhu', etc. that shows on the ground of eclipse that the earth is round.

7. What is true about the statements of predictions given in Purāṇas, etc. the power of mantra sacred (word), illusion of ghosts, etc., success in getting gold, talks about the touchstone, etc?

8. Is there rebirth?

Vaijanatha refers to his two other books in his book, Jñāndīpa. They are: Satsangvijaya a (drama) and Mithyācārprahasana. There is another book called Nishcayābdhi written by him ⁶. But these books are not available.

-All these books display the writer's enthusiasm and tremendous 'efforts to explore difficult and disputed subjects and offer clear explanation to enhance people's thinking and understanding. It certainly goes towards a valuable contribution in the development of Sanskrit literature.

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