

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

POLITICAL DATA

(1) ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF TERRITORY :-

The government of those days was monarchical. It has been explicitly declared in the Śṛṅgāramañjarī-kathā of Bhoja,¹ that the emperor ruled over eighty-four feudatories, ~~twelve~~ twelve circle commissioners, thirty-six royal families, seventy-two chieftansⁱ of forest tribes, twenty-four village chieftains, twenty-one chieftains of Koṅkana and thirty-six tribes living in ports. Dr. D.C. Ganguly² informs us that the whole kingdom was ~~sub~~divided into a number of provinces (maṇḍala), each of which was again divided into districts (bhoga). Each Bhoga was subdivided into Pathakas, which in turn were further subdivided into Pratijāgarāṇas, which were further split into groups, each of which was consisted of a certain number of villages. The village was the lowest unit of territorial divisions. Besides these there were a number of cities and towns which probably served as provincial and district head quarters respectively.

1. SMK, p.66 : सः चतुरशीतेः सामन्तानां द्वादशानां च मण्डलेश्वराणां षट्त्रिंशतश्च राजकुलिकानां द्वासप्ततेः राज्यिकपत्नीपतीनां च चतुर्विंशतेः कार्दारानामेकविंशतेः कोष्कणानां षट्त्रिंशतश्च वेलाकुलानां प्राधिपत्यमकरोत् ।

2. HPD, pp.235-236.

Dhanapāla has mentioned only three territorial denominations, viz., Maṇḍala-vibhāga, Maṇḍala-grāma, and Nagara.³ Thus, Kaśmīra and Draviḍa were Maṇḍalas.⁴ The land granted for maintenance of temples was known as 'Devāgrahāra'.⁵ Vast territories bequeathed to princes and his royal dependents for personal expenses were known by the term 'Bhukti', and the boundaries were well-marked by watershed.⁶

(2) THE KING AND HIS PERSONAL QUALITIES :-

Supreme power vested in the monarch, who was expected to be a man of extraordinary qualities and capabilities. It was popularly believed that mastery of divine powers - Vidyās - was necessary in order to qualify for emperorship of the Vidyādharas, which position conferred all-embracing unfettered sovereignty of the whole world with all its wealth and prosperity, and which was not to be attained by persons of meagre merit.⁷ His personality was powerful enough to command unquestionably the respect of the subjects.⁸ His responsibilities included the maintenance

3. TM(N), p.182(9); 182(1).

4. *ibid.*, p.211(22) -- कश्मीरमण्डलम् -- ; 321(5) -- इविड मण्डलाधिपतिना...

5. *ibid.*, p.182(1).

6. *ibid.*, p.182(6ff.) -- इमां -- तरङ्गिणीपुत्तिय युवराजसमरकेतोर्भुक्ति-
रितः प्रदेशदारभ्य पश्चिमेन समग्राऽपि ग्रामनगरग्रामो विलम्बके सेनान्यः
कमलगुप्तस्य ।

7. *ibid.*, p.402(3ff.) -- उपपत्तिविद्यमानिय सादरमेव प्राप्तने देवस्य -- निवे-
श्यामि -- -- ; 402(11ff.) -- अलभ्यमल्पपुण्यैः पुंभिरन्यैरिति-
प्राप्तयेभ्यः शय्याभिषेकम् ।

8. *ibid.*, p.14(21ff.) -- यस्य च प्रताप एव वसुधामसाधयत् -- ।

of the Varnāśrama order intact, commanding the subjects, subjugation of internal and external enemies of the state, impartiality in administration and equality in justice.⁹ He was also expected to be skilled in the use of six political expedients, well-versed in all the four branches of statecraft, having sharp discriminatory intellect, farsighted, possessed of flawless character, generous, commanding utmost respect of the people, unfathomable in nature, unrivalled in physical prowess and highly cultured in speech.¹⁰ He was generally well-educated in various arts and sciences, such as, music, dancing, painting, literature and erotics.¹¹ The family-line of crowned kings was held in great respect by the warrior class,¹² since it was generally traced back to some remote divine source, as is evident from the fire-pit origin of the Paramāras.¹³

9. TM(N), p.12(22ff.) --- यथाविधि व्यवस्थापितवर्णाश्रमधर्मे यदीयः प्रजापतिः
प्रतिपदाणां भान्तराणां भन्तराणां च विनेता -- मध्यस्थो सर्वलोकानां -----
विशेषतोऽपि समदर्शिनः --।

10. *ibid.*, p.13(11ff.) -- बाण्डुण्यप्रयोगचतुरः चतसृष्वपि विद्यासु लब्ध-
प्रकर्षे -- परमाणुसूक्ष्मया -- अतिदूरप्रसृतया प्रत्यया सम्बन्धतातद्देशोपादेश-
विभागः --- उदात्तेन -- चरितेन पवित्रितत्रिभुवनावनिः, --- वृषद्वयागशीलो ---
गुरुवित्तीर्णशक्तो भक्त्या --- सर्वसागरेरिवोत्पदितगाम्भीर्यः -- सर्वकेशरिभि-
रिव कल्पितपराक्रमः --- सरस्वतीप्रया इव वचसि ---।

11. *ibid.*, p.17(6ff.).

12. *ibid.*, p.27(22) -- महति मूर्धाभिषिक्तक्षत्रियाम्नाये ---।

13. *ibid.*, p.5(11ff.) -- अस्वग्नि कुण्डोद्भवो भूपालः परशर इत्यभिधेया
ख्यातः ---।

(3) HISTORICAL ALLUSIONS :-

Dhanapāla has afforded a few faint glimpses to some of the historical facts about his royal patrons like Muṇja and Bhoja. We might not be stretching the point too far when we read an oblique reference to Vairisiṃha, the first historical ruler of the Paramāra line, in a phrase like 'Dr̥ṣṭvā vairasya vairasyam'.¹⁴ The details about ~~the~~ King Meghavāhana, viz., being annointed as a king at an early age,¹⁵ his qualities like ~~marital~~ martial ambitiousness, bravery, affording protection to his subjects, generosity and religiosity,¹⁶ his efforts at consolidating his domains in his early career and ~~erection~~ erection of victory-pillars,¹⁷ his entrusting of the regal responsibilities to the ministers,¹⁸ his deeply engrossing himself in sensual pleasures,¹⁹ and his being wellknown among the people by the term 'Bhujaṅga' - all these amply apply to the

14. TM(N), p.16(12).

15. *ibid.*, p.16(14) -- स राजा बाल एवाधिगत राज्याभिषेकः --- ।

16. *ibid.*, p.39(10ff.) -- जिगीषुः -- शूरः -- प्रजापालः -- त्यागशीलः -- धार्मिकः --- ।

17. *ibid.*, p.16(14ff.) -- बाल एव -- भुजबलेन निर्जित्य -- काश्यपीम्, कृत्वा -- निष्कण्टकाः ककुभः -- सप्तरोपितश्च नाम वर्णश्रेणीकानारोप्य ---- जयस्तम्भान् --- ।

18. *ibid.*, p.16(20ff.) -- समग्रमपि राज्यम् -- अमात्यवर्गस्याधत्तमकरोत् ।

19. *ibid.*, p.17(1ff.) आत्मनापि -- नवयौवनेनोपदर्शितेष्विन्द्रियशामहारिषु विषयेषु परिभोजलालसं भानसमासञ्जयाभास ।

Paramāra kings like Muñja and Bhoja. Similarly, the sway of King Kusumāśekhara over the whole of the south India, with its seat of power at Kāñcī,²⁰ can easily remind us of the empire of Rājarāja Cōla. Muñja's and Bhoja's attempts at subjugating this southern kingdom are duly reflected in Vajrāyudha's expedition against Kāñcī.²¹ Dhanapāla's depiction of the defeat of Samaraketu²² might have suggested the employment of fraud and consequent victory over the Cōla king and also a mutual reconciliation in the form of a friendly treaty. We do not know if the names of the feudatories like Bhavadatta, Bhīma and Bhanuveḡa indicated historical personages of the times,²³

(4) REGAL AND OTHER INSIGNIA :-

White parasol was the exclusive insignia of an imperial monarch, like Meghavāhana and Harivāhana,²⁴ but it seems to have been actually used by lesser kings also.²⁵ The parasols of peacock feathers were used for inmates of

20. TM(N), p.262(5ff.) -- यस्य च मलयाचलस्येव पूर्वापरदिगन्तलब्ध-
यतेर्दक्षिणोदाधिवेलावनं व्यापदस्त्रिमपि कटकविस्तारः । येन च ----
प्रसाधिता पवित्रिता च दक्षिणा दिक् -- ।

21. *ibid.*, p.82(5ff.).

22. cf. *ibid.*, p.96(12) -- व्याजविजितसिंहलेद्भसुत -- ।

23. *ibid.*, p.81(13ff.) -- असंभ्रमप्रवृत्ताश्चार्चयन्ति देवस्य चरणनख-
चिन्तामणिपरंपरां मूर्धभिषिक्तपार्थिवकुलोद्भवा अवस्तभीमभानुवेगप्रभृतयः
सपरिजना राजानः -- ।

24. *ibid.*, p.68(12) -- निवारितललाटं तपोतपः सितातपत्रेण ---- । ;
233(9) -- श्वेतातपत्रिकया निवार्यमाणा तपः -- ।

25. *ibid.*, p.6(14) -- जायन्ते श्वगिता हि प्रांशु महसः श्वेतातपत्रेर्दिशः । ;
153(12) -- उपरिधृतकुब्जध्वलातपत्रिकाभिः -- ।

royal harem.²⁶ The annointed principal queen wore a golden fillet which indicated her special status and, like the king, she was entitled to the honour of distinguished marks of privilege, such as a golden staff, parasol, Cāmara, and etc..²⁷ Special servants were commissioned for the purpose of holding these royal insignia. Moreover, it was popularly believed that a destined imperial monarch has the distinguishing signs of a lotus, a pitcher, a parasol and etc., on the surface of his sole, as in the case of Bhoja and Harivāhana.²⁸ Such was supposed to be the case with a destined queen also, e.g. Tilakamañjarī.²⁹ The feudatories seem (cihnaka) to be putting on a sort of an emblem/on their crests as a distinguishing mark.

A golden staff (kanaka-danda) or a golden cane was carried by the door-keepers and forerunners of royal dignitaries.³¹

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26. TM(N), p.153(12ff.) -- जायन्ते स्थगिता दिग्गन्धमसः स्वेतात्पत्रै
-- कनकदण्डोद्धारमायुर्यत्र प्रण्डलाभिः -- प्रधानावरोधमुन्दरीभिः -- -- ।
27. *ibid.*, p.343(14ff.) अकरोच्च तस्याः कनकवेष्ट्रच्छत्रचामरादि राज्या-
लङ्कारभूषितमहोदयं महादेवीपदवन्दनम् । -- -- -- ; 159(19ff.) --
आसन्नयेत्रधारीश्चन्द्रविन्द्यस्तदामहस्तकिशलयामुभयतः शलीलमुप्युयमान-
चामरकलापाम् -- स्वेतात्पत्रेण वारितातपाम् -- ।
28. *ibid.*, p.6(3) आकीर्णजिह्वलः सरोजकलशच्छत्रादिभिर्लीच्छनैः -- । ;
77(19ff.) -- स्फुरविभाजमानशकलचक्रवर्तिलक्षणां प्रतिदीपप्रबलोक्य
सुतोः -- अवयवश्रियम् -- ।
29. *ibid.*, p.245(12ff.) -- आगमोत्तप्रमाणप्रतिपन्नशकलमुकुमारावयवाभञ्ज-
चक्रचामरच्छत्रानुकाशाभिरनल्पबहुभिरच्छिन्ननिम्नाभिः प्रशस्तलेखाभिर्लीच्छिता
-- पद्मानां पश्चिमम् -- ।
30. *ibid.*, p.116(11). / 31. *ibid.*, p.403(1); 80(13).

(5) LIFE IN A ROYAL PALACE :-

The retinue of a royal personage, like a king, queen, prince or princess, consisted of cavaliers who rode in the front, foot soldiers, courtesans holding items of royal insignia, chamberlain and harem-maids.³² The servants were divided into two categories, viz., internal and external. The internal servants (*āntarvāmsika*) were authorized to enter into the innermost apartments of the harem, while the external servants (*bāhya-parijana*) were confined to the first external hall of the palace and were not allowed to enter beyond those limits.³³

When the king returned to the royal palace with his retinue, the soldiers, along with their transport animals, stopped at the main gate; at the signal from the king the feudatories lined up in rows on both sides of the path to the interior; the king then proceeded on his royal elephant upto the second gate and thence went further on foot, while only trusted and close ~~servants and~~ relatives were allowed to follow him inside.³⁴ Similarly, Prince Harivāhana is said to have dispersed his servants at the door of

32. TM(N), pp.152-153.

33. cf. *ibid.*, p.68(19ff.) -- द्वितीये द्वारे ... निवारितपरिवारलोकश्च... ; 309(9) -- आक्षेपरिजने -- ।

34. *ibid.*, p.68(17ff.) -- राजकुलमाससाद । द्वारदेशे च तस्य विधृतवाहने-
स्तिमितमावासगमनाय तिर्यग्गुण्णमितमुखसंज्ञया प्रस्थाप्योन्मथतः पार्श्वसमूहमन्ताः
प्रविश्य द्वितीये द्वारे वासनादवततार । निवारितपरिवारलोकश्च द्वारपालैः परिमितो-
त्तराजपुत्रपरिवृतश्चरणायामेव भ्रम्य गत्वा मध्वन्तां मण्डपिकां ... ।



his palace.³⁵ There is an interesting reference to quarrels of petty maid-servants and their being stopped from doing so by small children in the palace.³⁶

Since the kings were generally polygamous,³⁷ the royal harem consisted of a number of queens and always swarmed with the chamberlain and harem-maids. The princesses seem to have been housed in separate building adjoining the harem and in the innermost part of the royal palace, and it was guarded at the gate by armed servants.³⁸ By the palace of the princess was situated a guest house. Thus, Prince Harivāṇa was lodged in such a guest house (nija-nivāsa-bhavana) which was just beside Tilakamañjarī's palace and was surrounded by a compound-wall; a Vimāna could go right into the harem upto the guest house.³⁹

In the early morning the panegyrics (cāraṇa) moved outside below near the palace window and recited their

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35. TM(N), p.174(6) --- आगत्य निजमन्दिरं द्वाग्देशादेव विसर्जितवु धायि-
स्वेवकजनः --- वासभवनं विवेश ।
36. *ibid.*, p.65(9ff.) --- अर्भकैरपि विनयनिभृतैः प्रवीणपुरुषैरिव निवार्य-
माणदुष्टदासीपरस्परकलहम् --- ।
37. *cf. ibid.*, p.22(10) --- समस्तान्तःपुरशिरोरत्नभूता --- ; 262(11) ---
--- सर्वान्तःपुरपुरीक्षामुख्य --- ; 427(14ff.) --- स्वेचरैरवनिगोचरैश्च नृपतिभि-
रहं प्रदीपिकोपपाद्यमानस्वकन्या रत्नपाणिग्रहः --- ।
38. *cf. ibid.*, p.367(13ff.) --- प्रविश्य राजकुलाश्रयन्तरातिक्रम्य विस्तार-
वत्यपि त्रितान्तदुःप्रवेशान्यनेककक्षास्तशणि तोरणोपान्तपुञ्जितनिरन्तरो-
न्म्यातशरत्ररेण्यातवशान्तवैशिकनरं कन्यान्तःपुरमगच्छत् ।

39. *ibid.*, p.367(16ff.).

morning verses.⁴⁰ Young girls used to come to the main gate daily for offering morning worship to the king.⁴¹ The queens of the ^{eu}predatories used to send various kinds of wine to the royal palace.⁴² City women seem to be gathering in the royal harem to participate in general rejoicing on festive occasions.⁴³ The heralds used to announce the arrival of the king ^{by} ~~repeatedly~~/repeatedly shouting the exclamation 'Jaya', which they amplified by applying their hands to their mouth.⁴⁴

(6) DAILY ROUTINE OF KINGS AND PRINCES :

A few details regarding the daily routine of the king can be gathered from the stray references in the TM. In the morning the king awoke, and left his bed, on hearing the morning verses sung by the bard and, accompanied by a pack of soldiers, went outside the city pricinets for a walk in the course of which he visited the gardens, the lakws and the temples.⁴⁵ Then he took bath and performed his daily worship in the palace temple; the saints,

40. TM(N), p.237(16ff.) -- आरोहति -- पूर्वशिखरिणमरुणसारक्षौ सौध-
वातायनसविध-चारिणा चारणेन बहिरन्त्यायमाणं वृत्तकुलकमशौचीत् ।

41. cf. ibid., p.372(19ff.) -- द्वारमण्डपादुत्थापय प्रभातसेवाशोभ-
स्विलमपि खेचरकुमारीजनह -- ।

42. cf. ibid., p.373(3) -- गृहण विद्याधरेन्द्रगृहिणीभिः प्रेषितानपूर्व-
पश्चिमलमुचः फलपुष्पासवाह -- ।

43. ibid., p.76(20) -- गनर्त सान्तःपुरं नगरनारीवृन्दह -- ।

44. ibid., p.65(19ff.) -- मुहुर्मुख्यन्धस्त करतलप्रतिस्फलनविस्फारितनिर्गुणां
अग्निना जयशब्दकलकलेन कथितनिर्गमः -- ।

45. ibid., p.238(21ff.) -- श्रुत्वा चैदमुन्मिषितलोचनः सलील-(P.T.O.)

scholars, ministers, friendly feudatories, relatives, friends and foremost citizens came to see him, and were ushered in by the door-keeper after duly announcing their arrival, and were made to sit according to their status; such an assembly was generally held in the outer Assembly-Hall (bāhyāsthāna-maṇḍapa), where the king gave public audience and talked to them.⁴⁶ The meeting seems to have been rather brief and immediately he took bath. ~~and~~ After distributing Tāmbūla to the chief-priest and other Brahmins as a mark of welcome and royal favour, the king went round the city and returned to the palace at noon.⁴⁷ At midday, when the bards indirectly reminded him of his midday routine by reciting midday verses, he proceeded to the Dining-Hall (āhāra-maṇḍapa), washed his hands and feet and took his lunch in the company of scholars and relatives and went to the upper room with an ivory turret (danta-valabhikā), lay down on a couch and passed his time with teachers of fine arts till late in the evening.⁴⁸ Then he went to the Assembly-Hall (āsthāna-maṇḍapa), granted audience to the guest princes, conferred with chief spies, offered welcome ~~and~~ and

46. TM(N), pp. 62-63.

47. *ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

48. *ibid.*, pp. 69-70; also pp. 236-237 and p. 374 (16ff.) in the case of a prince.

usual courtesy to the members gathered, adjourned the meeting and, probably after evening worship and supper, proceeded to the harem and passed his night with the queens.⁴⁹ The daily routine of a prince also was almost the same except that after the evening worship (sāndhya-vidhi), he went to the topmost storey of his palace and passed his time in various types of discussions in company of his princely companions till it was time to go to bed.⁵⁰

(7) CARE OF A PRINCE AND HIS TRAINING :-

Since kingship was generally hereditary, meticulous care was taken in proper protection, education and development of the prince. In his childhood the prince was constantly looked after by carefully selected youthful nurses who had recently delivered and were free from any physical or mental affliction, and who were closely screened as to their high trustworthiness.⁵¹

The education of a prince was intended to train him up as a future king and consisted of rigorous training in various arts like music, painting, dancing, literature etc.,

49. TM(N), pp. 71-72.

50. *ibid.*, p. 237(8ff.).

51. *ibid.*, p. 78(7ff.) -- तत्कालोपजात प्रसूयाभि रभिनय यौवनोपचि त परिभण्डल-
स्तनीभि रच्यङ्गनीरोगा ङ्गयष्टिभि रष्टि विप्रयोगादिभि र्दुःखै रनुपतप्ताभिरुप्ततया
निपुणम व दृताभि र्दक्षीभि रनवरत मुपन्यसि भाषस्य -- ।

and in sciences like statecraft, weilding of various types of weapons like sword, mess, discus, spear, javelin and particularly in archery and battlecraft.⁵²

In absence of a suitable boy from his own family or that of his relatives, the king searched, through his spies, for a suitable princely companion for the prince before appointing him as an heir-apparent; such a companion was expected to be an equal of the prince in points of obedience, intelligence, bravery, handsomeness, humility, speech, endeavour, generosity, prowess, profundity and other masterly qualities.⁵³ It was the king himself who appointed the principal companion to the prince,⁵⁴ and he was considered as the prince's brother, servant, minister and companion, all rolled into one, and was to be honoured as his equal in all matters.⁵⁵ King Meghavāhana particularly advised Prince Harivāhana to confide with his principal friend Samaraketu in matters like statecraft, donations, enjoyments,

52. TM(N), p.79(17ff.) -- परिणता शेष शस्त्रास्त्रादित सकलास्त्र विद्यापारम् ; 114(17ff.) -- यथाशक्ति कृतशस्त्र परिचयमधीतनीति विद्यमश्वस्त निरवयव- धनुर्वेदमसिगदायक कुन्त प्रासादिषु प्रहरणविशेषेषु कृतशस्त्रम् -- ।

53. *ibid.*, p.80(1ff.) -- कर्तुंकादर्थ यौवराज्याभिषेकं तस्य साहायकार्थ- माताभरसह प्रत्या पराक्रमेणास्त्रिकारेण विनयेन वचनविन्यासेनोद्यमेना- परैश्च त्यागशौर्यगाम्भीर्यादिभिः प्रभुगुणैर्धृताकारमुर्वीपति कुमारमादर- प्रेषितैः परिधिपुरुषैरनिशमुच्यमन्विषे । — ; also cf. p.102(12ff.) समाधिकं शत्रं चात्मबन्धुवर्गे प्रधानपुरुषमपश्यता -- ।

54. cf. *ibid.*, p.102(13) -- मया तमेव सहचरः परिकल्पितः ।

55. *ibid.*, p.103(1) एष ते भ्राता च अत्यन्ध सचिवश्च सहोदरश्च । ; cf. also p.201(9) -- गृहानी त हरिवाहन प्रयोज्य पूजानि विशेषां सपर्यमन्वभूत ।

calamities, prosperity, disputations, acquisition of wealth, secret parleys, festivals etc..⁵⁶

(8) GOVERNMENT OFFICERS AND SERVANTS :-

Dhanapala has mentioned a number of designations of government officers. It is not easy to exactly determine the actual distinction in the executive function of each of them, and many of the designations seem to be rather synonymous.

The following terms have been used for various types of ministers: Pradhāna-mantri (62,18), Mahāmantri (402,10), Mantri (271,4), Pradhāna-saciva (99,4), Saciva (424,18), Pradhāna-buddhi-saciva (401,18), Buddhi-saciva (232,16) and Narma-saciva (15,4; 272,16).

A feudatory in charge of a province was called Maṇḍalādhipati (321,5), while the one in charge of a district was called Mahāsāmanta (62,18). Head of a locality of a village was called Goṣādh^hhipa (117,20).

The designations of treasury officers were Ratna-koṣādhyakṣa (81,20; 395,6), and Pradhāna-ratnādhyakṣa (63,10).

A number of military officers and other ranks of different categories are mentioned, such as Senāpati (82,5; 86,3; 86,17; 192,1), Senādhipa (89,5; 93,10), Senānī (91,11),

Sainyādhīpati (81,12), Senādhīpati (90,4), Daṇḍādhīpati (80,15), Mahādaṇḍanāyaka (71,2), Sainya-nāyaka (14,22), Anīka-nāyaka (187,12), Padāti (323,7), Camūcara (124,11) Mahamatra (115,19) and Karisādhanādhyakṣa (184,4).

The trusted subordinate officers of higher dignities were known by the general designation Pradhāna-puruṣa (298,13).

Among the naval officers only a few, such as, Karnadhāra (127,13) and Kaivarta-tantrasya nāyaka (126,19) are mentioned.

Gūḍhapuruṣa (80,2ff.) and Dūta (321,16) seem to be synonyms for spy, though the last term often indicated a mere messenger also.

The officers presiding over matters religious were Dharmādhyakṣa (15,3), Purodhas (15,5) and Rāja-naimittika (403,11).

A host of officers and servants employed for various duties in the court are also mentioned, viz., Akṣapaṭalika (163,13), Kāyastha (246,17), Mahā-pratīhāra (100,8), Pratīhāra (14,22; 60,20), Pratīhāra-pālī (421,23), Pradhāna-dauvarika (71,6), Pradhāna-dvārapālī (365,12), Dvārapāla (68,20) and Vētradhārī (71,11; 340,17).

The following were the domestic officers and servants

in charge of various tasks in the palace etc.; Pradhānāntarvaṁsika (72,15), Antarvaṁsika (342,43), Kancukī (352,13), Antahpurikā (301,4), Śuddhācārādārikā (373,11), Śuddhāntaśayyā-pālikā (72,23), Śuddhānta-dāsī (373,11) and Bāhya-parijana (309,9).

There were a number of officers and servants entrusted with security duties in the palace and elsewhere. They were: Yāmāṅgarakṣaka (28,14), Aṅgarakṣa (15,2), Sakala-kośāgāra-rakṣādhikāra-niyukta, Pālikā (341,14ff.), Śarīra-rakṣādhikāra-niyukta-puruṣa (80,7ff.), Aṅga-rakṣādhikāra-niyuktā Aṅganā (341,24) and Sthāpatya (15,1).

Chatradhārī (233,7ff.), Cāmaragrāha (15,2), Patad-grahaka (233,15), and Vāri-karaka-vāhaka (233,16) were personal servants of the royal personages.

(9) THE COURT AND ITS ETIQUETTE :-

Dhanapāla has given a brief picture of the court-assembly of King Meghavāhana.⁵⁷ The court was held in the Āsthāna-maṇḍapa of the royal palace. The king would sit on a beautiful golden throne and preside over the assembly. On both of his sides, the body guards, with unsheathed raised swords in their hands, closely lined up. Courtesans constantly fanned him with waving of Cāmaras. The favourite

57. TM(N), p.80(6ff.).

feudatories sat in rows at a short distance. The crown prince used to sit near the feet of the emperor on the pavement of the assembly-hall. The queen also sat with the emperor on the same golden throne.⁵⁸

It was normally necessary to be properly bathed and well-dressed before appearing in the royal presence in the court.⁵⁹ The arrivals in the court were duly announced to the king and only after the permission of the king was the person concerned ushered in and granted the royal audience.⁶⁰ Before announcing the arrivals, the door-maid would bow down by resting her hands and knees on the ground.⁶¹ At the arrival of the queen the staff-bearer maid (Vetradhārī) used to ward the people off with loud shouts in order to clear the path, and Cārāṇa women served as forerunners uttering 'Jaya Jaya' exclamations.⁶²

All dignitaries right from the king to the commander-in-chief were to be saluted by servants and youngsters by bowing down in such a way as to touch all the limbs to the ground,⁶³

58.cf. TM(N),p.428(13ff.) -- एकहेमासनार्द्धेपिषिष्टया -- तिलकमञ्जर्या --।

59.cf. ibid.,p.80(21ff.) -- उपरचित राजदरि नोचितवेध मचिररत्नां तम् ----।

60. ibid.,p.80(16ff.).

61. ibid.,p.80(13ff.) -- प्रतीहारी प्रविश्य दितितलव्यस्त जागुहस्त युगला सविनये व्यजिषपत् ----।

62. ibid.,p.340(17ff.).

63. ibid.,p.81(5ff.) -- कृतप्रणाममसार लकुटिमरजोधू सरललारजागु - करपुरम् ----। ; 85(20) -- सर्वाङ्गास्मृष्टभूतलो प्रणम्य -- ; 101(8) --

आदरप्रणतिलग्न कुट्टिमोपहारकुसुमकिञ्जल्क सारीकृतशिरोरुहम् ----।

and the chief-door-keeper would look to it that this sort of a courtesy was duly shown by the entrants into the court.⁶⁴ Very senior officers like ministers, treasurers, and etc., were not required to stretch so low on the ground, but they too bent themselves very low from the waist so as to touch the ground with their left palm, while they covered up their mouth with the skirt of their upper garment held in the right hand, and looked to the king.⁶⁵ One was expected to salute again after his normal general courtesy, if called near by the king.⁶⁶ Even the salutations conveyed in absentia were to be mentioned as being done by touching all the five limbs to the ground.⁶⁷ The arrived person would then take his proper seat pointed out by the authority concerned.⁶⁸ While taking leave of the king or a prince, one was required to salute by touching one's folded hands to the forehead.⁶⁹ The king or the prince also showed in return due courtesy to his subordinates and servants in accordance to their rank. Thus, Prince Harivāhana came two or three steps forward

64. TM(N), p.101(7ff.) -- आसनं सर्विणा महाप्रतीहारेण कारितप्रणामम् -- ।

65. ibid., p.63(9ff.) -- महोदधिनामानं रत्नाध्यक्षं -- विनयवामनीकृत-
देहायाम् -- वामपाणिस्सृष्टवसुधातलमित्रं करद्वितोत्तरीयपल्लवप्रान्तमुद्रित-
मुखमुन्मुखेक्षणम् -- ; 274(17ff.) -- पुरस्तादास्य विन्यस्तवस्त्र-
पल्लवव्यञ्जितप्रश्रयम् -- ।

66, cf. ibid., p.101(10) -- उपसृत्य चरणान्तिके भूयः कृतप्रणामम् -- ।

67. cf. ibid., p.81(12ff.) -- सैन्याधिपतिना निशामितोऽस्मद्वचनेन पञ्चाङ्ग-
मुद्रितमणिमुद्रितः प्रणामः ।

68. ibid., p.165(16) -- निर्दिष्टसमुचिताशनोपविष्टः -- ।

69. ibid., p.173(10) -- प्रणम्य चाभयं च ललाटमुन्मिना पाणिशुद्धेन -- ।

towards Samaraketu and embraced him, when the latter arrived and saluted to him by touching his head to the ground.⁷⁰ Similarly, Prince Samaraketu showed courtesy to his subordinates in various ways, such as, nodding the head, folding the hands, light remarks, a smile, or an affectionate glance according to their ranks.⁷¹ King Meghavāhana showed courtesy to his door-keeper by speaking gently to her.⁷²

It seems the brief-bag containing a message was not given hand to hand by the door-keeper, but was rather gently thrown into the lap or hands of the dignitary.⁷³

It is interesting to note that ^{when} it was required to confer in ~~the~~ secret, the door-keeper requested the king to order seclusion, and her very utterance of such a request was deemed as a sufficient indication for the members of the assembly to withdraw themselves, of their own accord with due ~~g~~ ~~and~~ dignity, out of the hall.⁷⁴

It was customary to honour the princes and feudatories by presenting gifts (prābhṛta) at their arrival. Thus, Prince Hariivāhana was presented with various gifts by the

70. TM(M), p.231(10) --- द्वित्राणि पदान्यत्रिमुखमगच्छत् । उपसृतं च तं
क्षिति-युष्मिना शिरसा कृतप्रणामम् --- आलिलिङ्गा ।

71. *ibid.*, p.131(13) --- पुरस्थितानुत्तमाऽऽवर्जनेन विनयाञ्जलि कर्मणा ,
नम्रलिपेन स्मितेन शिर्षावलोकितेन च यद्योचितं प्रयुक्तेन --- ।

72. *ibid.*, p.80(15ff.) --- प्रवेश्य इति तं स्मरन्वदत् ।

73. cf. *ibid.*, p.321(14) --- पुरस्ताल्लैखनक्षिपत् ।

74. *ibid.*, p.421(23ff.) --- प्रविश्य प्रतिहारपाली --- व्यजिज्ञपत् - विजने-
नादिश्यताम् --- । आकर्ण्य चैतदपसृतेषु स्वयं समरकेतुप्रभृतिषु सगौरवम् --- ।

local princes when he arrived at the Prāggyotiṣa region;⁷⁵ similarly, Samaraketu was duly presented with clothings and ornaments by queen Madiravati;⁷⁶ so again was Gandharvaka honoured by Harivāhana with presents of ornaments, clothings and Tāmbūla.⁷⁷ A friend was at times led by the hand as a mark of affection.⁷⁸

(10) SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS :-

The castle was vigilantly being guarded by hundreds of soldiers from the guard-posts in the castle-gates,⁷⁹ and it is natural that the regular sentinels and contingents were detailed for guard-duty in the guard-posts of the gates, and the lanes leading to them. Similarly, guard-duties, changing at an interval of every three hours, seem to have been regularly arranged, particularly during the night hours which were heralded by a flourish of trumpets. The contingents deployed for the purpose consisted of a number of elephants and armed soldiers who guarded different parts of the royal palace; the elephants also seem to have been changing with the change in the duties of the

75. TM(N), p.182(18ff.) --- उत्तरार्धनिवासिनो दर्शनिर्दिनः पार्दिवाः
समाजगुः । उप ति युध्व विजनिजदेशजातानि जातप्रीतयः
प्रधानानि तस्मै प्राशृतानि ।

76. ibid., p.103(3ff.) --- करे गृहीत्वा समरकेतुं --- मदिरावतीभवनमगच्छत् ।
तत्र च --- अवाप्तवस्त्रभूषणेन तेनानुगम्यमानः --- ।

77. ibid., p.173(3) --- दिव्याभरणवस्त्रताम्बूलदानेन तस्मै प्रसादमुपदशयत् ।

78. see supra ft.nt. 76.

79. TM(N), p.41(14) --- अप्रमत्तविबुधयोधशतसंरक्षमाणगोपुरप्राकारम् --- ।

soldiers.⁸⁰ The duties of the body-guards also seem to have been changing at an interval of every three hours.⁸¹

The residential halls of the king's and prince's palace were properly guarded on all sides by hundreds of trustworthy armed guards who would allow only duly authorized servants to enter therein, and, when the king returned to his palace from outside, the door-guards would first carefully inspect the interior parts and allow other followers only after properly searching them.⁸² Royal harem was guarded by sentinels posted on its outer side.⁸³

In the court-hall also the king was flanked by a posse of brave body-guards, perpetually ready with unsheathed raised sword in hand, and standing lined up on both ~~the~~ sides of the ~~the~~ royal throne⁸⁴ Armed guards followed the prince everywhere.⁸⁵ Thus, Prince Harivahana was accompanied

80. cf. TM(N), p.83(21ff.) -- अतीते निरीक्षित्याः प्रदीपयामे राजद्वारप्रागतासु
द्वितीययामगजघटासु रसिते प्रदीपयामसरलूये ---- । ---- ;
173(20ff.) -- आरुह्य च सपर्ययां यामकरिणी -- सत्वरं प्रधावता निज-
गृहेभ्यो गृहीतासिकुन्त कार्मुकेण पदतिस्तथेन --- ।
81. cf. ibid., p.28(14ff.) -- यामाङ्गास्तेन -- ।
82. cf. p.174(6ff.) -- तत्कालविरलपरिजनपचारप्रमत्ताप्तशस्त्रपुरुषशत-
परिक्षिप्तमादृतैर्द्वाररक्षिभिर्निरीक्ष्य सम्यक् प्रवेश्यमानतत्कालसेवोपभुक्त-
कथं गार्धकप्रायलोकम् ---- । ; 68(14ff.) -- प्रदीपमेव
सत्वरप्रविष्टैरितस्ततः प्रहितदृष्टिभिर्द्वारपालैर्निरीक्षिताशेषकक्षान्तरम् -- राजकुलम्- ।
83. cf. ibid., p.14(22) -- स्तौभाग्यमेवान्तःपुरं रक्षा स्थितिः स्थापत्याः --- ।
--- ; 77(1ff.) -- परिगतप्रान्तमुखातश्चण्डौः समन्ततो वीरपुरुषैः ---
--- (प्रसूतिगृहम्) ।
84. ibid., p.80(6ff.) -- अध्वारितविकरहेमविद्धरमुल्खातखड्गैः कृतनिरन्तर-
वस्थितभिरन्धर्वस्थितैश्चक्रेपङ्क्तिभिः शरीररक्षाधिकारनियुक्तैर्वीरपुरुषैरुभयतः
परिक्षिप्तम् --- ।
85. cf. ibid., p.78(17) -- धृतायुधान्तवैशिकं ज्ञातशततानुगम्यमानमागस्थि- ।

by a small pack of infantry soldiers when he went to the garden.⁸⁶ So also was he surrounded by the body-guards when he left the court-hall and proceeded to mount the royal elephant.⁸⁷

Similarly, the queen and the princess were always followed by armed female-guards or harem-maids. Thus, the female guards of Queen Pattralekḥā and those of Princess Tilakamañjarī are said to be flourishing swords in their hands, had successfully mastered powerful~~m~~ mystic Vidyās, were consequently undaunted in their bravery like man, and were hundreds in strength.⁸⁸

Special maids were entrusted with the duties of guarding the bed-chambers of royal harem,⁸⁹ and the harem-maids posted in the royal mess were put under the supervision of the Śuddhācāra-dārikās.⁹⁰

(11) ORDER OF ROYAL PROCESSION:-

When the king went round the city, he rode the elephant, and a white parasol was held over his head. The

86. TM(N), p.177(10) -- अल्पप्रशस्तिबलपरिवृतस्तदेवोद्यानमगतत् ।

87. *ibid.*, p.232(19) -- द्वारसंगलितरुत्तराकारक्षकरतलप्रचलदुत्तरात् खड्गभण्डली-परिगतश्च -- वातगजवशात् -- अर्धशोहत् ।

88. *ibid.*, p.341(1ff.) -- धृतास्त्रिफलकाभिः परिवृता समन्ततः स्नाधित-महाप्रभावविधा विवृष्टपौरुषावलेपाभिरनेकशतसंख्याभिरङ्गारदमाधिकारनियुक्ताभि-रङ्गानाभिः --- 1; 361(12ff.) -- प्रौढविद्याबलविवृष्ट-विवृष्टशैत्यवलेपाभिरुःस्थलापुष्पमुक्ताफलस्वचित्त्यामीकरवर्म्माभिरनेक रत्नाकिमीर-काष्मिरास्त्रिपट्टप्रणवरमणीयभीषणाभिरक्षिप्रकृताभिरङ्गारदीपविधावनेकशतसंख्याभिः स्रवितो नभश्चरभटीभिर्धरितपरिवेष्टा --- ।

89. *cf. ibid.*, p.72(23ff.) -- निर्यतारु शुद्धान्तशय्याभोलिकारु --- ।

90. *ibid.*, p.373(11ff.) -- शुद्धाचारदारिकाधिष्ठिताभिः शुद्धान्त- (P.T.O.)

accompanying princes followed him on horse back.⁹¹ There is a reference to beating the drums in front of the elephants when they were taken for bath,⁹² though this practice is not referred to in connection with the royal procession.

The procession was longer and larger on the occasions of a royal dignitary's starting on an expedition.⁹³ The prince rode the royal elephant, on which he was accompanied by a servant who waved Cāmara. The soldiers proudly marched in front of him with thumping steps. The bards shouted the 'jaya Jaya' exclamation. The Vijaya-maṅgala trumpet was loudly blown. Servants, mounted on elephants, loudly beat large drums. Around the white parasol with pendant pearl-strings and golden handle-staff, numerous feudatories marched with their banners bearing various signs like elephant, boar, Śarabha, lion, crocodile, fish and etc., The Brahmins showered their blessings, and citizens and city-damsels gathered in the streets to see the procession.

91. TM(N), p.68(10ff.).

92. *ibid.*, p.67(7) -- प्रतस्थिरे जलावगाहाय सलयमग्रतः प्रहतपटु दृष्ट्वा-
पट्टः पट्टहस्तिकः ...।

93. *ibid.*, pp.115-116.

Similarly, when Harivāhana was being taken for the coronation ceremony by the Vidyādhara⁹⁴, he rode the elephant with Samaraketu, while the feudatories rode the horses. The parasol-bearers came rushing behind. He was followed by numerous elephants and cavaliers. The peacock-umbrella-bearers, the spittoon-carrier and the pitcher-holders also followed the prince.

It seems, a princess was accompanied by numerous horses, elephants, treasures of jewel and gold and with servants when she proceeded to her husband's place.⁹⁵

(12) KING'S RELATIONS WITH HIS SUBJECTS :

Though the royal family was guarded heavily in the palace and everywhere outside by the body-guards, the king seems to have kept himself in good rapport with, and honoured, elder citizens, saints, and learned Brahmins in various ways.⁹⁶ Prince Samaraketu greeted the populace at the time of setting out on his naval expedition.⁹⁷ Prince Harivāhana is said to have honoured the foremost citizens, who had come to pay their homage to him, by presenting⁹⁸ to them various types of clothings, unguents and ornaments.

94. TM(N), pp.232-233.

95. *ibid.*, p.317(10ff.).

96. *ibid.*, p.66(10ff.). क्वचित् --- मान्यमृषिजनं गत्वा तदाश्रयेषु दर्शनेना-
नन्दयतः क्वचिदुत्थाय सोदरमगतः कृतनमस्काराञ्जलिबद्धाञ्जलिनगरध्वान्तगो-
रवमालम्बितः --- द्विजातिजनप्रवधानदानेनानुगृह्यतः।

97. *ibid.*, p.116(13ff.).

98. *ibid.*, p.237(1ff.). -- प्रतिकलोपनीत विविधवस्त्रविलेपनालङ्कारं विविध-
मुपदर्शितादरः प्रस्थप्य दर्शनागतं प्रधाननगरलोकम्।

The king took it as his responsibility to see to it that the members of different classes and orders properly performed their social and religious duties and refrained from creating a heterogenous class-chaos, that proper protection was afforded to all the nationals, that proper worship was being performed in all the temples, that the officers did not quarrel among themselves, that due alms were constantly given to the destitutes, that the taxes ■■■ were light enough to encourage the subjects to willingly pay more than their dues, that the rival neighbour princes were uprooted and were, then, again appointed in their kingdom, that every city and village had its own inn with free boarding facilities for the travellers, and that every city had its residential part surrounded with castæ-wall in order to afford peace to civilian life.⁹⁹

The king used to hold, and preside over, his assembly twice a day in order to ensure constancy of his popularity, to afford, for expressing their love and faithfulness, due opportunity to the subordinates, and to adjudicate in matters concerning temples or rituals, Brahmins and ascetics.¹⁰⁰

99. TM(N),p.427(5-12).

100. *ibid.*,p.19(7ff.) --- सेवकानुरागस्य संरक्षणाय च विकीर्णसर्ववितर-
नन्तरान्तरा संशान्दमध्यास्त । धर्मपक्षपातितया च ॥ देवद्विजाति तपस्वि-
जनकार्येषु महत्यु कामसिद्धं भजे ।

In order to promote satisfaction among the people he used to move among them in the city on the occasions of Spring Festival and etcetara.¹⁰¹

(13) CIVIL ADMINISTRATION :-

It is but natural that in a purely literary work like the TM, the references to details regarding civil administration are casual and they may not give an exhaustive picture. Even then we can collate the few details scattered all over the work to get as clear a picture as possible.

The government being monarchic in nature, the king was the supreme authority in all the three branches of the governmental machinery, viz., executive, judiciary and military. Kingship was hereditary and the prince was educated and brought up to this end. In the latter half of his teens he was duly annointed and appointed as the heir-apparent, with the sole purpose of training him up so as to be able to efficiently shoulder regal responsibilities. The position of an heir-apparent was one of an active vice-king or^a second-in-command to the king.

In the absence of a male child to the king, the chief minister selected a fitting prince who was trained up for the position, as in the case of Harivāhana who was made to

101. TM(N), p.19(9ff.)... पौरलोकपरितोषहेतोश्च वसन्तादिषु सविरोधप्रवृत्तो-
स्तथा निर्गत्य नगरीप्रपश्यत् ---।

propitiate the mystic Vidyās and then crowned on the throne of Vikramabāhu.¹⁰²

The king was assisted in his work by a number of ministers of different categories, of which Dhanapāla has mentioned a few, such as Pradhāna-mantrī, Mahāmantrī, Mantrī, Pradhāna-buddhisaciva, Buddhisaciva, and Narmasaciva. The sons of the ministers were also trained up as prospective ministers in companionship, and under the authority, of the heir-apparent. Each of the territorial division was administered by different officers like Maṇḍalādhīpati and others. ~~Particular~~ Particular pieces of territory were earmarked for, and duly distributed under the royal orders to, the princes, ministers and others to enable them to maintain themselves from the proceeds of the taxes thereof. Thus, the whole of the Uttarāpatha consisting of Kaśmīra and other Maṇḍalas with all their cities and districts was reserved for the princely maintenance of the heir-apparent Prince Harivāhana.¹⁰³ Similarly, King Meghavāhana granted Aṅga and other Janapadas to prince Samaraketu, the principal companion, appointed to the heir-apparent.¹⁰⁴ The

102. TM(N), pp. 401-403.

103. *ibid.*, p. 103 (14ff.) -- अश्वपुर्णवर्तिभिरनेकैः कश्मीरादिभ्यः प्रत्यक्षैः प्रधातनगराद्यैरुपेतं कुमारशुक्रावखिलमुत्तरावर्धप्रपञ्चानिबभूव ।

104. *ibid.*, p. 103 (16ff.) -- समरकैतोद्ध सव्यदिग्धसहितानाजीवानां आदि-जनपदान्प्रापेच्छत् ।

minister Surānanda was evidently granted a well-defined territory, a part of which he could donate for building a religious sanctury (dharmāranya).¹⁰⁵ The commander Kamalagupta was likewise given a number of cities and villages for his maintenance.¹⁰⁶ Later on when King Meghavāhana, before retirement, crowned Harivāhana on his throne and transferred his regal power to him, the latter also distributed well-demarcated pieces of territory for the maintenance of the princely companions of his childhood.¹⁰⁷ This system of administering the territory by distribution of the proceeds thereof generated a sense of responsibility in the administration and promoted the welfare of the subjects who were properly protected and consequently loved their king.¹⁰⁸

There were ministers and officers in charge of royal treasury and all the transactions regarding taking out and depositing the contents thereof were to be done in the presence of witnesses. Thus, Vijayavega informed King Meghavahana that the Bālārūṇa ring which he had obtained from the king himself was returned, along with the booty of the

105. TM(N), p.182(3) -- मन्त्रिणा सुरानन्देन निष्कर्षितं धर्मरान्यम् । च

106. ibid., p.182(7ff.) -- इतः प्रदेशादारभ्य पश्चिमेन समग्रोऽपि ग्राम-
नगरग्रामो विलम्बके सेवान्वयः कौटिल्यगुप्तस्य ।

107. ibid., p.427(2ff.) हरिवाहनेऽपि सुमिरानुभूतकलेशस्य गुणवतो बाल-
सेवकगणस्य विश्राणितानेक मेदिनीमण्डलः --- ।

108. ibid., p.427(4) -- प्रयत्नसंरक्षितप्रजम् --- ।

expedition, in the presence of witnesses, to Mahodadhi, the principal officer in charge of the royal jewel-treasury.¹⁰⁹ Though there is no reference to any type of coinage, we have a passing one to cowrie (kākinī) which seems to have been utilized as a piece of the lowest denomination.¹¹⁰

The minister in charge of religion and justice (dharmastheya) saw to it that no injustice was done to anybody.¹¹¹

Along with the ministers, the heads of various communities of the cities seem to have been attending the court and their advice may have been sought on various occasions; They had a free access to the king.¹¹²

As to the various types of punishments prevalent in those in those days, Dhanapāla has referred to the practices like scolding (tarjana), beating (tādāna),¹¹³ arresting (bandha), threshing (vyadha or vadha), killing (māraṇa),¹¹⁴ cutting off hands and feet (kara-carāṇa-kalpana), banishment (svadesa-nirvāsana), public humiliation by forcing

109. TM(N), p.81(18ff.) -- देव बालारुणाभिधानं दिव्याङ्गुलीयकरत्नं --- मया
--- अथ विषयमणिभूषणगणैः समेतमस्त्रिभारत्नकोशाध्यक्षस्य महोदधेः स्वरा-
क्षिकं समर्पितमित्यवधारयन् दिव्यदृष्ट्या देवः ---।

110. cf. ibid., p.406(13ff.) -- धनदोऽपि पुरुषः कीनाशतां प्रतिपद्य
काकिणीमपि न ददाति।

111. ibid., p.15(3) -- आश्वेनान्यायं न्यषेद्यधर्मो धर्मस्थेयाः ---।

112. cf. ibid., p.68(16ff.) -- अस्य दर्शितार्थितः --- समग्रनगरलोकाश्वेनस्थ
पौरैः समाजगुः।

113. ibid., p.15(13).

114. ibid., p.15(15); and 291(9) -- वध्यस्तु ---।

the culprit to ride a donkey, possibly with his face towards the tail of the animal, and any other punishment prescribed by the Nīti treatises in accordance with Dharma-sāstra; conniving at a breach of law was considered a shortcoming on the part of the ruler.¹¹⁵

There are a few glimpses of the lot of the village people under unscrupulous officers who tried to usurp the crops of the tillers in a bid to forcibly extract bribe from them.¹¹⁶ Loot and robbery were a common calamity in rural area, and the money-lender (ṭhakkura) also claimed his pound of flesh by confiscating the houses of poor village debtors who were consequently made to wander, with their belongings, from door to door for shelter.¹¹⁷

(14) STATECRAFT :-

Adherence to the science of statecraft (daṇḍa-nīti) was held to be precursory of growth in national wealth and

115. cf. TM(N), p.115(18ff.) -- कुमारस्यैवायं प्रमादो भवति शोऽप्यपराधे नैनमन्यायकारिणं करचरणकल्पनेन वा स्वदेशनिर्व्यसनेन वा राशभसमाशेषेण वा न्येन वा धर्मशास्त्रप्रणीतनीतिना निग्रहेण विनयं ग्राहयति ।

116. ibid., p.119(10ff.) -- कैश्चित् --- खलधानतः साधनिकलोकेन निश्चितमपि नयमानं बुद्धं बुद्धाय मत्वावधीरयद्भिः कैश्चिद्गृह्यमाणं यवसरक्षण-च्यग्रैरर्थलोभादभिलषितलब्धानां लभ्यया लाकुरिकानां क्लेशमनुभवद्भिः --- (ग्रामेयकैः) ।

117. ibid., p.119(18ff.) -- कैश्चिदलब्धावकाशः कुरहठनिराकृतैराश्रयाय प्रतिगृहं गृहीतभारजैराहिण्डभिः --- (ग्रामेयकैः) ।

the king and the commanders invariably consulted the ministers thoroughly steeped in the wisdom acquired by the profound study of the political science (arthasāstra).¹¹⁸

Though the supreme ambition, as expressed in the contemporary mode of blessings to the kings by their elders,¹¹⁹ was that of conquering the whole world, in actuality we know from historical sources that the kings of those days generally aspired to bring the whole of India under their suzerainty. Thus, King Meghavāhana who is said to have ruled from Ayodhyā, and who^{is} specifically introduced as the supreme lord of the (upper) half of Bhāratavarṣa,¹²⁰ had mounted an expedition, ~~in~~ under the command of Vajrayudha, in order to assert his suzerainty over the southern half of Bhāratavarṣa.¹²¹

The ideal of good government included the following aspects : (i) the royal treasure should be full of wealth of all types; (ii) all the feudatories must be completely subdued; (iii) the ministers must be highly dependable;

118. TM(N), p.13(7) -- सन्निहित दण्डनीतिप्रतीहारसमाकृष्टाभिः समन्ततः पतिवराभिरिवागत्यागत्य बद्धमालाभिरावृते विपक्षलक्ष्मीभिः ।
; 82(5) --- अर्धशतप्रपरापरां पूतमतिभिरमात्यैः
सह कृतकार्यवस्तुनिर्णयः --- ।

119. *ibid.*, p.422(6ff.) -- राजा विचित्रवीर्यः --- महाराजपुत्रहरिकोहनमशेष-
पुत्रीविजयलाभाशिषा संयोज्य --- ।

120. cf. *ibid.*, p.362(4ff.) --- भारतवर्षार्द्धभूभुजो महाराजमेघवाहनस्य --- ।

121. *ibid.*, p.81(18ff.) --- करदीकृतसकलदाक्षिणात्यक्षेत्रीपतिना तेन
(=वज्रायुधेन) --- ।

(iv) the friendly kings must be highly favourable; and (v) all the castles in the domain should be under the command of trusted persons.¹²²

For a factual first-hand report of public opinion, the king often strolled at night incognito by every house, joined the groups of gossiping people, frequented^{ed} the inns crowded by travellers, and initiated criticism of himself, of the ministers or of other subordinates officers in order to extract the frank opinion of his subjects.¹²³

The king particularly saw to it that people did not tend to neglect their religious obligations, that the national wealth did not decrease, that the regal power did not degenerate, that the respect for authority and fear of law was not undermined, that good qualities were not subjected to blame, that knowledge did not come to be ridiculed, that the servants did not get disinterested, that the enemies did not raise their heads, and that the friends were not neglected.¹²⁴

Spies were employed to keep a watch on day-to-day happenings in the domains, and to bring about the downfall

122. TM(NO, p.16(18ff.)) --- इयार्जितप्रभूतकोशं वशीकृतसमस्तसामन्तमायत्त-

सन्निवृत्तमप्युपगृहीतमित्रवर्गमाप्तपुरुषाधिष्ठितदुर्गं समग्रमपि राज्यम् ।

123. *ibid.*, p.19(15-20).

124, *ibid.*, p.19(3-7).

of the inimical kingdoms.¹²⁵

Many princes, deprived of their rightful inheritance and expelled from their kingdoms by their rival relatives, came to serve an emperor and eventually obtain his help to get themselves reinstated and rehabilitated.¹²⁶ Such princes paid tribute to the sovereign or his heir-apparent partly due to their love for the powerful ruler and partly out of their hope of getting assistance in their own cause, and brought precious clothings, jewelled ornaments, unguents, fruits, weapons, vehicles, and other novelties of their region.¹²⁷

In spite of the best efforts of an emperor, it was but natural that the feudatories in charge of distant provinces tried to assert their independence in a bid to carve out an individual kingdom for themselves, by occasionally expressing their displeasure and disaffection towards the supreme regal authority of the suzerain in various ways, such as, haughtiness, refusal to pay their annual tributes, delaying in sending periodical reports, putting forth excuses for not complying when summoned to present themselves

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125. TM(N), p.40(20ff.)... कौतुकदितस्ततो विचरद्भिर्गुचरैर्मदीयैः - - - ; 15(5ff.)-- अतिगामुकगुणश्राम एव परपक्षमाचक्रुर्भूतिर्गूढपुरुषाः - - - ।
 126. *ibid.*, p.103(20ff.)... दुष्टकायादसमवष्टब्धराज्येशगत्यागत्य दिङ्मुखैश्चो निजपदादिभिः पार्थिवकुमारेणवरतगृहमाणसेवयोः - - - ।
 127. *ibid.*, p.103(23ff.)-- गुणानुरागिभिः शान्तुकमलार्थिभिश्च द्वीपान्तर-वरादिभैर्वसितोभिराच्छादनै रत्नालङ्कारैर्विलेपनैः कलैरशुद्धैर्मनैश्च निज-देशसंभवेरपूर्ववस्तुभिः सततमुपचर्यमाणचरणयोः - - - ।

in royal audience, showing dissatisfaction during festivals, displaying lethargy during the national calamities, and expressing lip-sympathy only but acting against the interest of the suzerain.¹²⁸

Over and above the usual references to the three 'Saktis' and six Gupas,¹²⁹ Dhanapāla has given in a pathological allegory a fine, though brief, picture of proper utilization of political expedients calculated to set right the restive feudatories. Thus, some of them were subdued with the power of political strategy, some with political bargainings, some by military action, some by threats administered through the emissaries, some by isolating from their friends, some by uprooting them, some by partial destruction, some by bringing an ^{all-}around pressure from the adjoining districts, some by leaving them no other alternative but to surrender themselves, some by crowning them in their kingdom, some by publicly honouring them, some by granting tax-relief and some by bestowing territory to them.¹³⁰

Defeated rival kings were, when captured alive, confined in mountain castles.¹³¹ At times the daughter of the

128. TM(N), p.114(12-16).

129. *ibid.*, p.54(11ff.); 13(1).

130. *ibid.*, p.133(9-14).

131. cf. *ibid.*, p.181(18)--- बद्धकृतानामरि नरे द्वाणा मेकमन्दिरं मन्दरकारव्यो
दुर्गगिरिः ...।

enemy was demanded in marriage by the military commander as a surity of good conduct in future and as a price of peace.¹³² The subjugated chiefs of forest tribes were subjected to slavery by the victors.¹³³

(15) MILITARY AFFAIRS AND WARFARE :-

(a) FOURFOLD DIVISION OF ARMY :-

The army appears to have consisted of four divisions, viz., foot-soldiers (padāti), war-chariots, cavalry, and elephants. The foot-soldiers marched with heavy steps.¹³⁴ Though Dr. P.C.Chakravarti thinks that the final disappearance of chariots from ~~the~~ India's military system probably came about in the eighth century A.D.,¹³⁵ Dhanapāla's evidence would go against it inasmuch as a regular army, or a part of it, consisting of war-chariots has been specifically mentioned along with the elephants and horses in the TM.¹³⁶ The cavalry consisted of a corps of specially bred good horses (jātyavāha), on which rode the Parikāras, the Menṭhas and the Vanṭhas, who dressed themselves tightly

132. cf. TM(N), 298(11-13) ... दन्तासि पित्रा मन्त्रिकर्जोत्साहितेन विशुद्धो-
पशमाय । संप्रति त्वत्प्रदानभात्रेणैव प्रतिपन्नसंधिरयोध्याधिपति सेनापतेर्वजा-
युधस्य ... ।

133. ibid., p.202(1) ... रणपराजयप्रतिपन्नदास्यान् दस्युसेनायतीन् ... ।

134. ibid., p.116(2ff.) ... स्वर्ष सर्पत्पदातिनिर्द्ध्य पादपातप्रवर्तिताकाण्डमेदिनी-
कम्पः ... ।

135. AOWIAI, p.26.

136. cf. TM(N), p.84(16ff.) - आह रथ रथवरन्धानि ; 371(15ff.) --
-- सन्निहितेरुनाभिभिः श्रेणीयकैः रथवरन्धानीमिव यौवनयुवराजस्य योजय-
न्तीभिः ... ।

and were expert at fast riding.¹³⁷ The elephant corps seems to have formed the major arm of those days and they appear to have been elaborately equipped and employed in great numbers.¹³⁸

Of the military formations only two, viz., Anīkinī and Vāhinī are mentioned.¹³⁹ They were commanded by an Anīka-nāyaka and a Vāhinīpati respectively.¹⁴⁰ The authority of the commander-in-chief (daṇḍādhipa) extended over all the four arms of the military forces, including also the naval corps.

(b) UNIFORM OF SOLDIERS AND THEIR EQUIPMENTS :

Soldiers covered up their heads with a long piece of cloth on which they wore various types of helmets, and the trunk proper was protected by different types of steel armours.¹⁴¹ Usual auspicious marks, such as, a Tilaka of Rocanā and Durvā sprouts were of course to be put on.¹⁴² Among the military weapons, sword, spear, and bow predominated, though other weapons like mace, discus, dart, fire-missile

137. cf. *ibid.*, p.242(3ff.)-- पृष्ठतो वहद्विरनवरततर्जितजाल्यबाह्वैर्वहिनी-
पतिभिरन्यैश्चावधपरिकरैः परिकारमैष्ठवण्ठप्रायैः प्रजविभिः सैन्ययोधैश्चुब-
धमानः ---।

138. cf. *ibid.*, p.86(16)--- आगत्य करिष्यन्तिः समन्ततः --- etc.;
215(21ff.)-- चक्रवर्ति सैन्यं निवानैः करुणशरीकृतमत्तवारणपरिकरं ---।;
227(22)-- भुवनविजयप्रवृत्तमकरध्वजगजानीक ---।

139. *ibid.*, p.83(2); 242,(3).

140. *ibid.*, p.187(12); 242(3).

141. *ibid.*, p. 85 (11)-- काप्रायपट्टाद्यन्तपीडितोत्तमाङ्गोः (P.T.O.)

are also mentioned.¹⁴³ Drums and trumpets were principal equipments for military band.¹⁴⁴

(c) MILITARY CAMPS :-

Dhanapāla's sketchy descriptions of military camps, such as, the one of Prince Harivāhana on the Lauhitya mountain¹⁴⁵ and the other of Prince Samaraketu on the shore of the Southern Ocean¹⁴⁶ are interesting in some of the details. The camp was generally laid near a river or a lake and consisted of a number of tents of various sizes and types serving as residential quarters, commandant's head-quarters, military store-room, mess and etc., The tents for royal and other dignitaries were of various colours, had number of apartments and were adorned with ⁿornamentations like the crocodile-arches etc.. The royal tent, laid in the centre of the camp, was surrounded by an extensive fence of bamboo poles. The tents of the body-guards and the feudatories were laid in successive series around the central one. The courtyard of the tent was probably plastered with cowdung.¹⁴⁷

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143. TM(N), p.15(23) --- तख्तारि --- ; 92(9) -- कृपाणिका --- ;
 114(18) -- अक्षिगदायक कुन्तप्रासादिषु प्रहरणविशेषेषु --- ;
 16(6) -- यस्य दोष्णि सुदुरदेतौ --- ; 323(7) -- कृपाणकुन्तपाणिना
 --- पदातिलोकेन --- ; 87(7) -- धनुर्गन्त्र --- ; 92(10ff.);
 87(7ff.).
144. ibid., p.86(10) --- सत्प्ररुद्धका --- ; 86(14) -- सत्प्ररुद्धरी --- ;
 86(20) -- काहल --- .
145. ibid., p.182(16ff.). / 146. ibid., pp.123-124.
 147. ibid., p.190(10ff.).

The site of the camp of an emperor's forces could easily be recognized by thousands of partly destroyed elephant-beds.¹⁴⁸ It is interesting to note that lions were also carried in cages along with the camping forces.¹⁴⁹ Cāraṇas had an important place in military forces since they served to enhance the enthusiasm of, and inspired courage in, the troops by encouraging panegyrics and memories of brave deeds of past heroes.¹⁵⁰

Military supplies like utensils and other necessities were transported with the camp on oxen and buffaloes.¹⁵¹ A miniature city life was created in the camp with its shopping facilities. Courtesans accompanied the forces and ran wine bars where music and entertainment were made available to the soldiers. Festivals were duly celebrated with all their rejoicings.¹⁵² During the nights the camp was illuminated by means of torches.¹⁵³

(d) ARMY IN ACTION :-

The king generally marched against an enemy in the Śarad season with the intention of annexing his territory.

148. TM(N), p.235(20ff.) --- अर्द्धजर्जरद्विरदशय्यासहस्रसूचितातिक्रान्तचक्रवर्ति-
न्येन्यस्तनिवेशैः प्रदेशैः ---।

149. ibid., p.84(12) -- गजगर्जितारवश्रवणकुपितानां पञ्जश्वेरुशिणां ---
पूत्कृतेन ---।

150. ibid., p.86(5); 86(11); 141(19).

151. ibid., p.124(15) -- नैलितवृषभूयामार्गानुलग्ननिष्ठुरजरन्महिषपृष्ठकण्ठ-
लावलम्बितकुतुपकाष्ठपात्रीशूर्पलोहकपरिषु ---।

152. ibid., p.84(3ff.).

153. ibid., p.86(19ff.).

The army halted their march during the night-hours and camped.¹⁵⁴ The march was commenced on an auspicious day,¹⁵⁵ on which the king rode the royal elephant, and an auspicious pitcher was placed in his front.¹⁵⁶ The feudatories then mounted their horses¹⁵⁷ and, at the signal of the drum, the foot-soldiers started marching.¹⁵⁸

When the rival forces were stronger and it was not possible to fight single-handed, the kings preferred to shut themselves in the forts situated on the tops of mountains or in the midst of water¹⁵⁹ and tried to secure military ~~an~~ reinforcements from neighbouring kings.¹⁶⁰ Elaborate precautionary and preparatory measures were taken when the forces took refuge in a fort. Thus, the adjoining villages were burnt away, probably after transferring the population to a safer place; the reservoirs of water outside the fort were destroyed; profuse grains were stored and large amounts of fodder and firewood were collected inside the fort; old wells and step-wells were renovated for

154. cf. TM(N), p.38(1) --- तिमिरशिबिरैः ...।

155. ibid., p.16(3ff.) --- यदीयैर्व्येषु सकल्पतिपक्षालदमीजिघृक्षया शरत्स-
मये शमन्ततः प्रचलितेषु ...।

156. ibid., p.97(9ff.) --- अथिरुत्थ च --- प्रधानजयवारणमारोप्य पुरः ---
मङ्गलकलशम् ---।

157. ibid., p.232(2ff.).

158. ibid., p.153(10ff.); 321(23ff.).

159. cf. ibid., p.142(22ff.); 276(7).

160. cf. ibid., p.82(22ff.) --- अपरित्यक्तसम्राजिलापश्च शाहाय्यकथिया
सविधनर्तिना भवनिभोलानामनुसंधानाय प्रधानदूतानुरोधः प्राहिणोत् ।

use and cleared of mud; unnecessary people were expelled from the fort; the ground just near the foot of the castle was made rugged and uneven; the approaches to the mote surrounding the castle-wall were made steep in order to make it difficult to drop in and cross over; unknown or unidentified persons were prevented from entering, or getting out of, the fort. All the roads to the castle-wall, and the gates, were heavily guarded by vigilant trustworthy guards; stones, to be thrown by hands, were collected in heaps near the castle-wall; the divisions of cavalry and elephants were kept constantly moving along the frontier regions; and strange types of firing machines were installed in the guard-posts.¹⁶¹

In such circumstances, the attacking forces laid a heavy and tight ~~se~~ seige around the fort to forestall any reimbursement of enemy forces by the neighbouring kings.¹⁶² Civilians suffered at the hands of the sieging forces.¹⁶³ Brief fighting bouts were resorted to as a strategy.¹⁶⁴ A generally accepted code of military morals deprecated ~~the~~ fighting during the nights as dishonourable.¹⁶⁵ Even then the brave and honourable warriors like Samaraketu did

161. TM(N), p.82(15-22).

162. *ibid.*, p.83(1ff.) ~~सु-पौरलोकानां महान्तमातङ्कमकरोत् ।~~

163. *ibid.*, p.83(4) ~~स्तोकसूत्रिताद्योपनेषु --- ।~~

164. *ibid.*, p.343(19) ~~अ~~

165. *ibid.*, p.94(14) ~~शुद्धक्षत्रियलोकसूत्रितः क्षौद्रिकमुखमर्षः --- ;~~

95(10) ~~नार्यं क्रमो नमस्त्य इति निवार्यमाणोऽपि मन्त्रिभिः --- ।~~

choose to launch a night-attack (yāminī-yuddha)¹⁶⁶ in special circumstances probably as it afforded the advantage taking the enemy by surprise.

Dhanapāla has referred to the following aspects of actual fighting in action : Thus the rival forces (i) shouted at, or abused, each other; (ii) uttered loud war-cries; (iii) pelted stones; (iv) flourished trumpets very shrilly; (v) sprinkled boiling oil from the spouts of the firing machine; (vi) Soldiers, protected under huge shields, crawled ~~under~~ near the foot of the castle-wall and tried to dig out a passage inside; (vii) soldiers on the castle-wall hotly shouted at them; (viii) the shielded soldiers entreated their commanders to allow them to enter into the dug out portions of the castle-wall; (ix) the mounts of the elephants were subjected to fire by throwing lighted bunches of grass on to them; (x) arrows with red-hot blades were shot; (xi) the doors of the gates were subjected to heavy blows of axes; (xii) volleys of stones were directed in the direction of the sounds of the axe-blows; and (xiii) the village people gathered at a safe distant spot to witness the fighting.¹⁶⁷ There are references to the use of hail-stones¹⁶⁸ as bullets to be fired probably from the

166. TM(N), p.63(16).

167. *ibid.*, p.83(7-15).

168. *ibid.*, p.16(1)--- करकोपलप्रकरप्रत... ।

firing-machine, like a cannon; to battle formations and selection of hard ground as suitable for fighting.¹⁶⁹

Rival kings were at times completely exterminated along with their wives and children.¹⁷⁰ It was but a custom to capture women and children along with the seizure of the wealth of the enemy.¹⁷¹ Soldiers were allowed to loot the cities and villages of the enemy. Libraries were also looted and the books obtained thereof were then distributed by the victorious king to the scholars of his own court.¹⁷²

TI

(e) CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES AND POST-BATTLE TREATMENT :-

Hostilities were ceased during the Summer season for the following reasons : (i) the weather was too hot; (ii) the elephants were likely to be averse to fighting in such a hot season; (iii) it was prudent to avoid the predicament of incurring heavy losses of elephants in the odd season.¹⁷³

Once the enemy was defeated decisively, the cease-fire was declared to the beat of the drum, and the soldiers

169. TM(N), p.86(12) -- कृतव्यूहविस्मयश्च समरसंदतोभक्षमाया मुपान्तश्रुमा-
वस्थत् ।

170. ibid., p.16(7) -- नाशो शत्रुं निरन्वयः ।-

171. cf. ibid., p.137(4ff.) -- शोकलम्बालकं खलालकमादाय तदीयमन्तःपुर-
पुरस्त्रिसार्धमर्थभारं च भूयः स्वशिविराभिमुखोऽभवत् ।

172. cf. ibid., p.291(3ff.) -- प्रवितर यथायोग्यमुद्धता राति नगरलुण्ठानु
लुण्ठयकैः सहतानि प्रशस्तताडपि त्रविन्ध्यस्तलोचनलेखलिपिदिशेजाणि पिण्डीकृत्य
पण्डितेभ्यः समस्तानि पुस्तकरत्नानि ।

173. ibid., p.24(20ff.).

of the defeated army were granted general amnesty.¹⁷⁴ Śrāddha ceremony was performed, in a near-by river, for the deceased fighters.¹⁷⁵ Wounded soldiers even of the enemy were given red-cross treatment.¹⁷⁶

(f) MARITIME ACTIVITIES AND NAVAL EXPEDITION :-

Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji¹⁷⁷ informs us that towards the end of the tenth century and the early part of the eleventh one, Southern India witnessed a remarkable outburst of naval activity under the strong government of a succession of Cōla kings. Rājarāja the Great conquered Ceylon (Ilam) by means of his powerful navy, and his operation extended to the countless islands, like the Laccadives and Maldives, in the ocean. His inscriptions record his achievement of a great naval victory over Saṅgrāma Vijayottuṅga Varman, the king of Kadaram, whom he caught by dispatching his army in many ships across the stormy Bay of Bengal. In addition to Kadaram he also took the flourishing sea-ports of Takkolam and Matama or Martaban, and annexed the whole kingdom of Śrī Vishaya (or Vijaya) and Nakkavaram or the Nicobar and Andaman Islands. This has been confirmed by

174. cf. *ibid.*, p.97(4ff.) --- कांदिशीकस्य शत्रुलोकस्याश्वासनार्थं समन्ता-
दभयप्रदानं च दहमदापयत् । तदीयसाक्षाद्दृष्टोद्यतं चात्प्रसैनिकलोकं न्यवारयत् ।

175. *ibid.*, p.97(6ff.) -- आसन्नसमिति -- दन्त्या शङ्करसम्प्राप्तप्राणेश्वरो बान्धव-
श्चः प्रणयिभ्यश्च -- तिलोदकं निवापाञ्जलिम् --- ।

176. *ibid.*, p.97(8ff.) --- आदिभ्यः चायुधप्रहारक्षतमर्मणा भसतियोधानाभौषध-
कर्मणास्तनम् --- ।

177. *HIMSA*, pp.174-176.

Prof. K.A.Nilakanta Śāstri.¹⁷⁸ In the opinion of Dr. Moti-
 chandra,¹⁷⁹ the naval expedition by Prince Samaraketu of
 Raṅgasālā, the capital of the Siṃhala country, reflects
 the contemporary naval expedition of the Cōla king. It is
 possible that such expeditions were also mounted by the
 Paramāra kings like Sīyaka II, Vākpatirāja Muñja and es-
 pecially by Bhoja whose victory over Koṅkana¹⁸⁰ must have
 helped him to annex, or obtain in political bargain, some
 of the islands along the western coast. It is probable
 that Bhoja had concluded a naval treaty with the king of
 Ceylon, after annexing the islands of Maldives and Lacca-
 dives, as a counter move against his Cōla rival in the
 South India; The latter's rivalry with the Ceylon kingdom
 is a wellknown fact of history. Thus, the Cōla kings en-
 joyed supremacy over eastern islands in the Bay of Bengal,
 and these of the Greater India such as Java, Sumatra and
 others, while the Paramāra king confined his supremacy to
 the islands along the western and south-western coast;
 this is in view of the fact that in Dhanapāla's TM, Me-
 ghavāhana, the king of Ayodhyā, appointed Prince Samaraketu
 of Siṃhala as the principal companion of his heir-apparent

178. C, pp.168-250.

179. Sr.V., p.220.

180. EI, Vol.XIX, pp.69-75.

Prince Harivāhana, thus removing a powerful naval ally of the king of Kānci who was the rival of the North Indian empire, the end result being the treaty between these two powerful empires. Dr. Motichandra has noticed ~~that~~ the eye-witness account of naval vessels, as given by Bhoja in his Yuktikalpataru.¹⁸¹ It is possible that Dhanapāla was also taken with one of the expeditionary naval campaigns by Muñja or Bhoja, during which the poet might have witnessed a naval fight.

A few details in the description of the naval expedition as given by Dhanapāla are worth noting. Ships were made of tightly fastened wooden planks.¹⁸² Special care was taken to plug the joints and the holes in the ship by means of paste prepared from flour.¹⁸³ The naval fleet consisted of thousands of vessels.¹⁸⁴ Before commencing the voyage, things of daily use, such as Ghee, edible oil, blankets, medicines, etc., were carefully stuffed and stored in the ships.¹⁸⁵ War-chariots, horses and elephants were considered useless for the naval expedition.¹⁸⁶ Fresh banners of variegated colours were tied to the flagpost of the ships.¹⁸⁷ After ceremonial obeisance to the Ocean, the

181. Sr.V., p.231.

182. TM(N), p.131(5) --- दृढकाष्ठगुम्फनिष्ठुरा नावः ।

183. ibid., p.132(8) --- स्थगित निःशेषसन्धिरन्ध्रया दासपुरांश्चिदन्तपिष्टपञ्चाङ्गुलया...

184. ibid., p.149(23) --- अनेकनौसहस्रसंकोचिताम्बुधेः ---।

185. (Contd. on next page.)

prince boarded the ship and took his seat on the Mattavāra-
naka at the head of the vessel, the feudatories and the
commanders boarded their respective vessels which surroun-
ded the royal ship. A flourish of the conches signalized
the commencement of the voyage of the fleet. The voyage
was marked by war-music of the naval band consisting of
musical instruments like Jhallarī, Paṭaha, Paṇava, and etc.,
accompanied by the loud 'Jaya Jaya' exclamation of the ba-
rds and recital of auspicious verses of the panegyrics;
the melodious singing, in high pitch, of the Mantras by the
Brahmuns who showered rice grains and flowers as a token of
blessings enthused the atmosphere.¹⁸⁸

The voyage was broken for the following reasons : when
a long distance was covered; the dignitaries were getting
sick sick due to cold sea-winds; the sailors were too tired
to ~~quickly~~ quickly weild the oars; the sailor-chiefs in the
observation posts were too exhausted to keep awake and wa-
tchful; the wind was blowing against the direction of the

(Ft. nts. continued from p.687 :-)

185. *ibid.*, p.131(3ff.) --- देहस्थितिसाधनं --- सर्पिस्तैलकाम्बलौ वधप्रायः ---
विन्यस्तः सप्रस्तोऽपि द्विपान्तरदुरापो द्रव्याणां कलापः ।

186. *ibid.*, p.131(6ff.) -- निवर्तते नगरसंमुखमखिलोऽपि --- रक्षाश्ववारणादि-
नौतन्त्रयात्रायामुपयुक्तः सेनापरिच्छेदः ।

187. *ibid.*, p.132(9) -- स्वजाग्रदवस्थाभिनववर्णाशुकपताकया --- ।

188. *ibid.*, pp.132-133.

voyage and the vessels could not proceed further inspite of the efforts of the sailors; and when it was not possible to reach land again in a short duration of time.¹⁸⁹ The break of the voyage was utilized for waiting for the following x ships, giving medical treatment and rest to wounded soldiers, reimbursing the supplies and equipments for feeding the forces, repairing the vessels, and for storing adequate amount of drinking water and fire-wood.¹⁹⁰

All equipments, such as tents and their accessories, for pitching a naval camp, were carried in the vessels. The inmates of royal harem and courtezans accompanied the expedition along with necessary servants and labourers.¹⁹¹ Among the naval soldiers, Dhanapāla has specifically mentioned the wrestlers.¹⁹²

Various ways and means were adopted in order to ward off the aquatic creatures, ~~and~~ insects, and etc., Thus, boiling oil was poured on to the water; palms were clapped to produce loud noise; huge fishes etc., were avoided by working the oars swiftly; frog-jewels were tied in order to avoid being stung by aquatic insects; collyrium of x

189. TM(N), p.138(1-8).

190. *ibid.*, p.138(8-14).

191. *ibid.*, pp.140-141.

192. *cf. ibid.*, p.141(18) -- मल्लानामा रक्तेन रवेण ---।

crocodile fat was applied to the eyes to enable one to see in the darkness and into the waters.¹⁹³

During the naval expedition against the restive feudatories of the islands in the Southern Ocean, Prince Samaraketu started from Raṅgasālā, the capital of Siṃhala country, in the direction of the Suvela mountain¹⁹⁴ and seems to have dealt with the feudatories administering the Maldives and Laccadives. ~~Then he appears~~ Then he appears to have returned to Laṅkāpurī.¹⁹⁵

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193. TM(N), pp. 145-146.
194. *ibid.*, p. 132 (15ff.) -- सुवेलगिरिदेशनाय सैन्या सह प्रचलितानिवा-
वलोकयन्वेलावना-यलान्---।
195. *ibid.*, p. 136 (19ff.) -- लङ्कापुरीपरिरुद्देशान् सहर्षभीक्ष्णः कतिचिदिना-
न्वलिङ्गम्---।

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