MUSLIM PATRONAGE TO
SANSKRITIC LEARNING

CHAUDHURI
MUSLIM PATRONAGE TO SANSKRITIC LEARNING

PART I

BY

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SUPPLEMENTS:
2. THE ĀSAF-VILĀSA ĀKHYĀYIKĀ by Jagannātha/Paṇḍitarūja (ed. for the first time)
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MESSRS. MEHAR CHAND LACHHMAN DAS,
Jain Street, Said Mitha Bazar, Lahore.

ORIENTAL BOOK AGENCY,
15, Shukrawar Peth, Poona.

CHUCKERVERTTY, CHATTERJEE & CO., LTD.,
15, College Square, Calcutta.

And FROM THE AUTHOR,
3, Federation Street, Calcutta.

Price: Indian, Rs. 2½

Foreign: 5 Sh.

Printed by J. C. Sarkhel at the Calcutta Oriental Press, Ltd.
9, Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta.
PREFACE

This work presents for the first time a systematic history of the contribution of Mahomedan rulers and scholars to Sanskrit Learning and the manifold attempts of several Mahomedan rulers to spread the same during their rule in India. A large number of Sanskrit MSS. has been used for collecting first-hand and authentic information about the poets and their royal patrons. Some of the anthological works used for this purpose are being edited for the first time in my Series No. 4: The Sāṃskṛta-kośa-kāvyā-saṃgraha.

The Supplement consists of the Sanskrit Text of some of the laudatory verses on the Royal Moslem patrons of Sanskrit Learning (along with their translations) and also of the Āsaf-vilāsa Ākhyāyīkā of Jagannātha Panḍitarāja, edited here for the first time.

Thanks are due to Mr. P. K. Gode, Curator, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, for kindly lending for my use the unique MSS. of the Subhāṣita-hārāvali of Hari Kavi, Padya-veṇī by Veṇīdatta, Sabhya-laṃkaraṇa by Jagajiivana, the Padyāmrta-taraṅgiṇī of Haribhāskara, the Āsaf-vilāsa of Jagannātha and so on. As these are the only MSS. of the respective works that
are known to exist, my gratitude to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute is indeed very great.

*Presidency College, Calcutta, 1942*

J. B. C.
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INTRODUCTION

Communal fraternity may be of two kinds: Sentimental and intellectual. The former implies religious fusion and the latter mutual love for the languages and literatures of each other. Both these interrelated aspects of communal harmony became manifest during Moslem rule in India. The object of the present work is to give an authoritative account of the second aspect only. So, only a brief outline of the first aspect is given below.

Power of assimilation is the characteristic feature of Indian people. Whatever be the creed, it is by and by absorbed by the great assimilating force of Mother India. The consequence in the Mediaeval ages has, therefore, been the fusion of Mahomedan and Hindu Culture and Civilization. The innermost heart of the Indian people is always alert to receive the Truth, whatever be the source and in doing so, it knows no barrier,—of caste and creed. This is exemplified best in the grand intermixture of Hinduism and Mahomedanism in Mediaeval times. Even to-day the Hindus honour no less than the Mahomedans the great reformer saint Makhdüm Saiyad Ali al Hujwiri who was originally an inhabitant of Ghazni. His disciple Muinuddin Chishti (1142-1236), brought very close together both the Hindus and Moslems in their quest of the Supreme Soul. As a
consequence of this intermixture of both the creeds, the Husaini Brahmanas of Rajputana are found following Mahomedan practices though mostly they follow Hindu customs and rituals; again, the Imam-Shahi sect are found following the authority of the Atharva-veda and of Nişkalaṅka. The great saints advocating Sufism such as Nizāmuddin Aulia, Fariduddin Shakarganj, Karim Shāh, Shāh Inayat Shāh Kalandar were either initiated to religious life by Hindu saints or themselves initiated a large number of Hindus to religious life; as a consequence, Hinduism or Mahomedanism as a creed mattered little to them. The celebrated saint Bābā Fattu of Kangra was a disciple of Hindu saint Gulab. He was worshipped alike both by the Hindus and Mahomedans of the Punjab. The Khojas and the followers of Musā Suhāg are tremendously influenced by Hinduism while the Piran Pantha worship Niṣkalaṅka. The Muslim lady Tāj was a great devotee of Kṛṣṇa and wrote many songs on Him as a Supreme Soul. In spiritual life there was thus a great synthesis between Hinduism and Mahomedanism—Hindus being the disciples of Muslims and vice versa—all caring for Truth and Sādhanā, not for the external superfluities of Religion. This was the time when new saints like Satyapīra were worshipped by both the communities. And this was the time when caste-system was abhorred and wilfully violated.
Thus Anđāl, a woman of low caste, was worshipped by the followers of the Ālvārs in the South. The works of Pariahs like Thirupam, author of the Tiru Vayamoli, were recognized by religious leaders like Rāmānuja. Caitanya in Bengal, Saṃkaradeva in Assam, Tukā Rāmā and Nāmadeva in Mahārāṣṭra and similarly, other great religious leaders never cared for caste-system or bothered about distinguishing between Hinduism and Mahomedanism. Among the famous pupils of Rāmānanda were Ravidāsa, a shoemaker, Senā a barbar and Kabir a Mahomedan weaver. Kabir's life-long mission was a synthesis between Hinduism and Mahomedanism and his noble precepts were translated into action by Nānaka, Dādu, Jiwana Dāsa, Prema Dāsa, Bijli Khan, Rajjab and others. Bawrī Saheb, Biru Sahib, Yāri Sāheb, Bulla Saheb—whether Hindu or Moslem—all took up one great mission—viz., unity between the Hindus and Moslems in religious as well as social life. Women, too, at this time, came to the forefront of religious rejuvenation as is evidenced by Nānibāi and Mātā Bāi, (daughters of Dādū), Mīrā, Anđāl, Dayābāi, Kṣemā or Kṣemāṣṭri, Tāj and others.

This internal urge for fraternity between the two leading communities in India became manifest in Literature as well—Vernacular and Classical. The Dohās, etc., in Hindi of great religious leaders—both Mahomedans and Hindus, are the sources of inspiration
and devotion in religious life of the members of both the communities.

Bengali in particular was much enriched by this inner urge for a true religious life—irrespective of caste and creed. Quite a large number of Mahomedan writers—some of them poets of a high order—contributed substantially to Bengali Literature. They were mostly inspired by the Kṛṣṇa cult as preached by Śrī Caitanya; again, there were many who wrote on other subjects. Śrī Caitanya disdained racial or social distinction.¹ The result was that even rulers like Husain Shah soon became attracted to him.² Mahomedans all over Bengal not only enjoyed the Padāvalīs but

1. Yavana Haridāsa was one of his favourite disciples. Again, Buddhimanta Khān became a personal attendant of Śrī Caitanya. Brādāvanadāsa in his Caitanya-Bhāgavata says:

| ब्रजिस्नत खाने प्रखु दिहा ब्राह्मणः |
| ताहार ब्राह्मणश्रति प्रयत्न कथन || 10th chapter |

The Caitanya-caritāmṛta, chapter 10, records:

| श्रीबैतल्ये ब्राह्मणसिंह ब्रजिस्नत खानः |
| प्राजन्म प्राज्जाकारी तिही सेवक प्राहार ||

Buddhimanta accompanied him to Nilācala as well:

| श्रीलोक ब्रजिस्नत खान महासयः |
| प्राजल्ल प्राणाय ब्राह्मण महासय विषय || 9th chapter |

2. यें ब्रजेन साहा सर्व उदिभ्यार देशे ||
| देवमुर्ति भागिनेश देवल विषये ||
| हिम यवनेश्वर मानिलेश गौरचन्दः ||
themselves became the votaries of the Muse. Nasir Māhmud,¹ Fakir Habib,² Saiyad Martujā,³

1. Nasir Māhmud dedicates himself to the holy feet of Śrī Kṛṣṇa:—

प्रायं मनं निम्नम बैल-सार, लीला वे करत सोव-विन्दार।

नवीर मानुष करत खाल, चारों शरंग दानवित।

His Pada of which the above is the end has been included in the Pada-kalpa-taru of Vaiṣṇavadāsa.

2. He, too, cannot live without Kṛṣṇa:—

फकिर हृदिव बले, कानुरे देखितु भाले,

देन शरीर पून्त-उदय।

हेन मन कों हिया, कानुरे समुले युह्या,

निरवच्छि देखि सदाय।

3. The following Pada of Saiyad Martujā included in the Pada-kalpa-taru of Vaiṣṇavadāsa is indeed grand:—

श्रायं वि, भामार पराशु दुम।

कोन्ह दुमदिये, देखि होमा सने,

पारारिते नारि श्रायं।

वचन देखिये, श्रो चाँद-वदने,

भरामारी प्राशु,

हुंदे दशवार मार।

मोरे कर दया,

हुं दुम पराशु काँत।

कुश बाल सव,

आसाह्यु जते,

जीवन तुया विन।

Here the poet himself becomes a woman for ‘higher spiritual blessedness’ and one is naturally reminded of Cardinal Newman’s statement:—“If thy soul wants to attain the higher spiritual blessedness, it must become a woman, yes, however, manly thou mayst be among men”.
Fatan, Cānd Kāji, etc. have sung the praise of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā as enthusiastically and religiously, as gracefully

cp. also—St. Juan—"Make myself thy bride. I will rejoice in nothing till I am in thy arms." His Padas on the description of Kṛṣṇa, Māna, Bhāva-samīlana, etc. too are very beautiful.

1. Fatan in one of his Padas depicts Rādhā in separation. Rādhā says:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{श्रारे मोर पृक्ति परमाद हृदं} \\
\text{हर्षल करे हिया कह ना वेंधुरे याहया} \\
\text{कि किया किया गुणु केल} \\
\text{जोते मोर नाही साच मिह्र मिहिति परिवाद} \\
\text{मिह्रा पाकेडिकिया रैलु} \\
\text{पुरान करम मोर, कलकरे नाही प्रोर,} \\
\text{सहिते ना पारि ब्रार क्रुपा करि कर तार,} \\
\text{जनम खरिंधु दुर्हु पाहिलु} \\
\text{प्रबंध फांलेर साथ, ब्राह प्रभु भ्रुमवरध} \\
\text{राजसा पाय दर्शन लैलु।}
\end{align*} \]

2. The picture of Rādhā in love as found below is indeed beautiful:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{बांधी वाजाना जानना।} \\
\text{ब्राह्मव बाजारो बांधी पराश माने ना।} \\
\text{यहन भ्रामि बंसा थांबि गुहजनार काहे।} \\
\text{दुमि नाम चढरा बाजारो बांधी, ब्राह भ्रामि महरि हाजिने।} \\
\text{प्रोपार हंते बाजारो बांधी, पुपार हुहते दुभि।} \\
\text{ब्राह भ्रामामिया नारी हाम हे सातार नाहि जानि।} \\
\text{ये माहेर बांधर बांधी, से माहेर हागि पाँभ्रो।} \\
\text{जोते मुले उपादिया यमुनाय भासाणो।} \\
\text{बांध काजि बले बांधी दुभि मुरे मरि।} \\
\text{जीतु ना जीतु ना भ्रामि ना देखिे हुरि।}
\end{align*} \]
and sweetly as possible. Alirajā, Ākbar Sāhā, Kabīr.

1. He flourished somewhere near Feni in Chittagong. One of his Padāvalis ends as follows:—

| Ye shune tomar bawari, | Se vad devar baawari, |
| Prachar kahite batis bha, ||
| Ghravate kiva saab, | Vanri mor prashnapa, |
| Ghravate praliraja kapat. ||

2. One of his Padas is devoted to the description of the physical charm of Caitanyadeva:—

| Khun jiward mor man chor gora, ||
| Praperti nacchut graapana rase bhoora, ||
| Khole kirtan baje sitke sitkisya, ||
| Pranandey bhakt nache sitke sitkisya, ||
| Pradhu chari khal nath nitaya, ||
| Thar naahit hoyat pranandey matayalinya, ||
| Aasun padukhe yade pralishar ||
| Saha prachandra tar prem sitkaari, ||

3. He depicts an excellent picture of Rādhā followed by Kṛṣṇa in course of the sports during Holi:—

| Varaj kibari fano xillat raju, ||
| S пома-бандун, | Prahore goolaav |
| Deeyat Praminer raju, ||
| Fano hata karri | Firtat Prishurri |
| Firti firti bolaat rahu, ||
| Huna hoomey |
| Vyan Prapyaat |
| Varer Varer dhesi mohsee bant hukkaah, ||
| Hulita puk sahri, | Fano hata karri |
| Deeyat Kahu Nyan, ||
| Bukhata kijhoori | Hunda yahu chari |
| Bharrat Huma Vyan, ||
| Pranrer puk sahri, | Jaad Jaad karri |
| Kaahaa laagaa Pranrer ||
| Kamari Fano lehe, | Kahu Nyan Varer Varer Deeyat |
| Ha Ha Karat Kiberi, ||
Sekh Bhikhan, Sekh Jālāl, Sekhālā, etc. are also poets of no mean order. They have written on various Mood-types of women as described in the Alamkāra and Kāma Sāstras with particular reference to Rādhā, and also on Kṛṣṇa as Supreme Soul and Śrī Caitanya as an incarnation of God.

I. Rādhā in her "Khaṇḍitā" mood is depicted nicely in one of his Padas. Kṛṣṇa passed the night somewhere else and naturally—Rādhā's wrath knows no bounds. She takes Kṛṣṇa to task:—

असवाह वेरे राधार वराश कानां हमी रजनी वशिले कोन ठोंड़।
केमन वानाले चूड़ा, भवशे हृललेले मेलिले नार हुढ़ि प्राळी।
हव ना मधुरा गति, कि कव छूड़ार भीति,
श्याम-ब्रजे लाघियाळे सालिह।
कुकुम कत्तुरी द्वार, कुकुमक्षि ताम्भुल,
युहवाळाण सियर उड़र।
हा हरि हा हरि कारि, जामिया पोहाँखु निधि
हमी सिले काहार मन्दे दे।
सेला भिखन भणे, वड़ दुस़्त राड़ियर मने,
पारिले पूरव पीरिली।
प्रामार कन्त दोषे हमी धाम धन्य पाणी
हुँक वेन राधार मिरिली।
Just as, on the one hand, many Moslems helped the spread of the Hindu Culture and Civilization by honouring their religious sentiments and ideas, by following many of their rites and rituals, by patronising and contributing to Sanskritic Literature—so, on the other hand, many Hindu devotees and scholars, too, were the torch-bearers of Islamic Culture and Civilization, by preaching the innermost truth of Islam and paying homage to the Prophet and Moslem saints, by observing many Moslem practices and by patronising, and contributing to, Persian and Urdu Literature.

Thus, there was a great synthesis of Hindu and Moslem Cultures and Civilizations during Moslem rule in India. It was possible in those days for individuals of different leanings and capacities to follow the creeds and pursue the course of studies that suited them best, without communal bias and social bar. Otherwise, there could not have been so many Moslem devotees of Hindu saints, etc. and so many Mahomedan scholars in Sanskritic studies just as there could not have been numerous Hindu disciples of Moslem saints and votaries of Islamic Learning. If this could happen even during an age when the relation between the two communities was that between the ruler and the ruled, there is no inner reason why it should not be the case to-day also, when no such relationship exists.
MUSLIM PATRONAGE TO SANSKRITIC LEARNING

It is well-known that the Moslem rulers of India were great patrons of Learning and Fine Arts. But the fact that many of them liberally patronised Sanskritic Culture and Learning as well, is not generally known. Their courts were adorned with Sanskrit scholars and writers of high repute who got every encouragement, monetary and otherwise, from their royal patrons. Unfortunately, many valuable records of their scholarly achievements are irreparably lost to us and the surviving literature also is available only in MSS. scattered all over India and outside. Fortunately, however, the literature that has outstood the cruel ravages of time is not meagre and it enables us to have a clear idea as to how in spite of linguistic and religious differences many Moslem rulers of India were prone to extend their best support to the development of Hindu Culture and Civilization. This spirit of mutual tolerance and reverence for the culture and creed of each other alone can ensure a permanent bond of friendship and collateral progress of the two principal communities of India. That is why it is essential for us to investigate into the cultural advancement of the Hindus during Moslem rule in India.
Of the Sanskrit poets who adorned the courts of the Moslem rulers, three of the greatest are Bhānukara, Akābarīya-Kālidāsa and Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja. In this brochure I shall give brief accounts of their lives and literary activities on the basis of the informations collected from the various unpublished MSS. of their works and anthologies containing some of their verses, etc.

The arrangement followed here is chronological. Of the Mahomedan rulers who liberally patronised Sanskrit poets and scholars, the foremost are Shahbuddin, Nizam Shah, Sher Shah, Akbar, Shah Jehan, Muddafar Shah, Malla Shah and others. Some of the poets patronised by them are Bhānukara, Akābarīya-Kālidāsa, Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, Harinārāyaṇa Mīra, Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala, Amṛṭadatta, Lakṣmīpāti and so on. Short accounts of the lives and literary activities of these poets are given below in chronological order.

BHĀNUKARA

Bhānukara is not only the earliest of the four poets mentioned above but also seems to have enjoyed the widest popularity as a poet. The Rasika-jīvana of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa, Sabhya-laṃkaraṇa of Govindajīt, Padya-veṇī of Venidatta, Padyāṁṛta-taraṅgini of Hari-bhāskara, Subhaśita-hārāvali of Hari Kavi and Subhaśita-sāra-samuccaya which are not as yet published contain
about 160 verses of Bhānu kara. The Padya-racanā published in the Kāvya-mālā Series alone contains 180 verses many of which are not found in the above six unpublished anthological works.

LIFE AND DATE

Bhānu kara vs. Bhānudatta and personal history

The evidence of the anthological works is in support of the identity of Bhānu kara and Bhānudatta, author of the Gita-Gauriṣa and its ṭippaṇaṇa, Kāvya-dipikā, Rasa-maṇḍiṣyā and its commentary as well as Rasa-taraṅgini all of which are available in print and also of the Kumāra-bhārgaviṇī (a campū based on the Purāṇas), Alamkāra-tilaka and Šrīgāra-dipikā which are as yet unpublished. Quite a large number of verses quoted under the name of Bhānu kara are traced in the Rasa-maṇḍiṣyā,


2. 1988 128-1992; etc. = SA. 234 = RM. 21, p. 50; Āraṇītām kīla, etc. = SSS. 836 = RM. 4, p. 9; Pūtē 191-192, etc. = SA. 258 = SHV. 1851 = RM. 26, p. 60; Kṛṣṇa 193-194, etc. = SA. 270 = RM. 29, p. 65; Ānañča 195-196, etc. = SA. 327 = RM. 112, p. 138; Ānañča 197-198, etc. = SA. 303 = SSS. 178 = RM. 79, p. 141; Ānañča 199-200, etc. = SA. 326, v. 111, p. 178; Ānañča 201-202, etc. = SA. 317 = RM. 100, p. 166; Ānañča 203-204, etc. = SA. 246 = RM. 24, p. 15; Ānañča 205-206, etc. = SHV. 1944 = RM. 39, p. 91; Ānañča 207-208, etc. = SA. 177 = RM. 75, p. 136; Ānañča 209-210, etc. = SA.
Gita-Gaurīśa, and Rasa-taraṅgini of Bhānudatta. (2) The same verses are found in different important anthologies under the names of Bhānukara and Bhānudatta. (3) One of Bhānukara’s verses (Serial no. 789) has been quoted by Veṇidatta in his Padya-veṇi 273=RM. 32, p. 72; नव-सहसरस्यो, etc.=SSS. 752=RM. 11, p. 25; नायव मुखित, etc.=SA. 690=RM. 86, p. 149; निद्रालू-कैकिः, etc.=SA. 267=RM. 28, p. 63; नीराचीरस्यापात, etc.=SA. 189=RM. 5, p. 11; पातोपातिनतृस्य, etc.=SSS. 181=RM. 81, p. 142; माला बालामुकुं, etc.=SSS. 582=RM. 41, p. 94; रमसादपिं, etc.=SA. 292=RM. 78, p. 239; होलालिपुजाः, etc.=SA. 206=RM. 12, p. 30; बल्ल-बल्लितलेत, etc.=PV. 464=RM. 105, p. 172; शून्य कृष्ण-श्रूंह, etc.=PV. 361=RM. 56, p. 114; शतस्यव्य स्तन=SSS. 20=RM. 10, p. 22; नायव बालिः, etc.=SA. 288=PV. 363=RM. 62, p. 121; हस्ते छाटार्थि, etc.=SSS. 825=RM 7, p. 15.

1. ब्रह्मीयच सर्वत्र अथातिः=Padya-racanā, p. 72, v. 3=Rasa-
   maṇjari, I=Gita-Gaurīpati, p. 90, 2; खक्रोः=किमौ चेत्र-
   शोधिकार्यं, etc.=Padya-racanā, p. 53, v. 5=Rasa-
   maṇjari, v. 51=Gita-Gaurīpati, p. 146; जीवन तहितं प्रेम, etc.=Padya-
   racanā, p. 42, v. 18=Gita-Gaurīśa, p. 18, 4; श्वेत्वशास्त्राय, etc.=Padya-
   racanā, p. 7, v. 38—with slight alterations in reading=Gita-
   Gaurīśa, p. 48, 7.

2. बिना शास्त्र कीर्ति समुद्रतिः, etc.=Rasika-jīvana, fol.=
   Padya-racanā, p. 33, v. 25=Subhāṣīta-hārāvali, v. 89= Rasa-
   taraṅgini Benares ed., p. 14; निजी निजी प्रतिफलार्थ, etc.=
   Padya-racanā, p. 72, v.21=RT., p. 42; निपिते कालशोभेन
   जलवी, etc.=Padya-racanā, p. 21, v. 32=Sūkти-sundara,=
   RT., p. 45a; सौन्दर्यलय मनोस्वेच्छ मशाल, etc.=Rasika-
   jīvana=RT., p. 53; शब्दशुन्मतस्य बाह्य-बाह्रि, etc.=PR. p. 86, v. 19= 
   RT., p. 77; मूलायेन सत्ता हिताय, etc.=PR. p. 2, v. 10 दिव्यहरेरमुख-
   कुंडे, etc.=PR., p. 87, v. 26=RT. p. 81a.
as 'Gaṇapatiputra-Bhānumkarasya'" and from the last verse of the Rasamañjari etc. as well as from the Pañjīs of Mithilā, we come to know that Bhānumdatta was the son of Gaṇapati. (4) Moreover Bhānumdatta refers to Nizāma-Dharaṇīpāla in verse 121 of his Rasa-mañjari and in the anthologies several verses ascribed to Bhānumkara are devoted to the eulogies of Nizam Shah.

Thus it seems that Bhānumkara is really identical with Bhānumdatta. His father's name was Gaṇapati as given in the Padya-veṇi, Rasa-mañjari as well as the Pañjīs of Mithilā, etc. Unfortunately, however, nothing is known about his mother, early life etc.

1. यशोधननिन्धि, etc.
2. ततो यस्य गणेशर: कविकुलाशिव-श्रीमानिः
   देशो यस्य विदेहवन: सुरसरित-क्षेत्रिय-किम्यरिता।
   परोसन हय-कृतेन तेन कविना श्रीमानुना योकिता
   वारदेवी-शुरु-पारितात-कुषम-स्पष्टकृत मकरी॥
3. The Pañjīs of Mithilā furnish the following lineage of Bhānumcandra:

   Ratnaśvara Miśra
     └── Suresvara Miśra
        └── Raviṇātha Miśra

        └── Jivanātha Miśra
            └── Bhavanātha Miśra
                └── Devanātha Miśra

        └── Śaṅkara Miśra
            └── Mahādeva Miśra
                └── Bhāse Miśra
                    └── Dāse Miśra
                      └── Gaṇapati Miśra
                          └── Bhānumdatta

4. P. 190, Benares ed.
Bhānudatta himself gives his own genealogy in the Kumāra-bhārgaviya which is quite in agreement with the evidence furnished by the Pañjis of Mithilā except that in the former Viśvanātha is represented as the son of Suresvara and Ravinātha as the grandson of Suresvara, not his son.¹

Date.

In one of his verses Bhānukara eulogises Sher Shah.² As Sher Shah ruled from 1540-1545 A.D., it is evident that Bhānukara flourished in the first half of the sixteenth century, if not a bit earlier.

Again, two verses of Bhānukara devoted to the praise of one mighty ruler Kṛṣṇa are preserved in the Padyaracanā of Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa Ānkolakara.³ This Kṛṣṇa was, most probably, emperor Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagara who ruled from 1509-1530 A.D.

2. श्लोकार्यां व लघुरी दिः विनिहितं कृप्या हुन्दु रुपे:। कि नरसिंहा तद्रा ह्यातु कविकुलविखुचिं काव्यकोटीशःसाम।।
   शंकाशेषेऽति गण्यवाहिनिः शक्तिमयाः। प्रश्नता कालः-प्रक्रिया:
   का हसिनि: श्रेष्ठान्तिते-कृतमभोगकोटीशःरस्य।।
3. (a) कृप्या समर-सर्प्संहै द्रष्टव्यः [कालिन्दी] विद्वर्जनः।
   राजस्य-मन्न्यमुहो भूजेश्वरे पुलक्षुजुक्तिः।।
   (b) प्रस्तावं ददिश्मा रत्नमन्दिराति कलालिनी-विनाव्रति वेदनयः।
   कृप्या कालीविवेचि विनाव्रति चर्च्या-न्यासः प्रक्षियामयी।
   कि च कलसम्मतात्तत्त्वपन्न: प्रत्यक्षांविद्वश्यः।
   द्रष्ट्वन्त्य किंतुंरस्यां कृप्या-नुतने: प्रत्यव-वामस्मुवासः।।
In several verses\(^1\) Bhānukara eulogises one Nizam Shah. Either of the two Nizams who were ruling in India in the first half of the sixteenth century may be referred to by Bhānukara in his verses. One was Boorhan Nizam Shah I and the other Nizam Khan, later on known as Sikander Lodi (1489-1517 A.D.). It is more likely that the former is meant as in some of the verses the Nizam is also addressed as Nizam Shah. Now, Nizam Shah was a general title of the rulers of the Nizam Shahi dynasty whose ruling period extended from 1497 A.D. to 1637 A.D. The particular Nizam Shah who was ruling during the period of Sher Shah’s reign was Boorhan Nizam Shah I who ruled from 1510 to 1553 A.D. As he ruled about 43 years, probably the majority of the verses of Bhānukara referring to Nizam Shah would refer to him. The poet referring to Sher Shah as ruler (1540-45 A.D.) cannot be young in age as he professes in the same verse that he himself composed a very large number of verses by that time. Boorhan Nizam Shah already ruled for 39 years when Sher Shah was crowned king. He ruled for 13 years more after the accession of Sher Shah to the throne. Unless the poet was very long-lived, he could not probably praise any other living ruler of the Nizam Shahi dynasty except Boorhan Nizam Shah I.

\(^1\) See under the heading *Patrons of Bhānukara*.
In three of his verses Bhānukara refers to one king Virabhānu who is represented as lording it over the kings of Delhi, Orissa, Bengal and Gujrat. There were several kings of the same name who ruled before the time of the poet himself and therefore he could not refer to them as living rulers in his verses. The reference may be to king Bhānu of the Kacchapa dynasty, father of Bhagavantadāsa and grandfather of Mādhava-

1. (a) लक्ष्मी-भामनि वीरभानु-वृत्ति: प्रेक्ष्य प्रतापसबोवः
   प्रवर्गारसशाहीर-नीरजङ्ग्लो भूलो हुताश-भ्रमाल।
   श्रुत्त्वान्तिके विद्वेदत्वाहि विशालस्तुका-छवि प्रस्खलणु-
   बायप्प-श्रीभि विलोम-शेषि दुःखित काल-स्याले विषेन्ति

   Padya-veni, Ms., v. 68 and Sūkti-sundara, Ms., v. 102.

(b) भरी-भारतिमितिनुवरण-निन्दः कुम्भीरन्द्र-कोलाहलः
   प्रस्थानं तत। बीरमानं दुःखत महायद्य-महायोद्वर?
   व्रजाधाय ज्वलति प्रताप-वृहि राजः: पुण्वेयस्वाय
   ताराकायक-तारकाक-उससिद्धायाजरिवास्योक्षितम्

   Padya-veni, Ms., v. 114; Sūkti-sundara, Ms., v. 150.

(c) दिहिन्दो हुदाश्वे नमस्ति गजपतिस्तत्तातुतुष्टि:
   गोरीह्रेणी नध्यन्यावला तदन्त नरपतियुग-ज्ञोऽभिवेद्यै
   श्रेष्ठते बलिन्दुन्दाद्यवत-पदनो गौरवे तत्र कुञ्जि
   वीर ब्रीवारनाली: रचयिसि पुलकं वीर-स्वर्णी-कवाले

   Sāra samgraha of Sambhudāsa Paṇḍita, Ms. of RASB.,
   31A.

2. See List of Inscriptions and sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India by Robert Sewell, Madras, 1884, p. 47 (Virabhānudeva inscriptions are dated 1235, 1237-1240 A.D.). Inscriptions of Madras Presidency by Raṅgācārya, vol. III. p. 2055, etc. The Ganjam (274) and Vizagapatnam inscriptions (96-97) of Virabhānu are dated Śaka 1275 (1353 A.D.) and 1298 (1376 A.D.) respectively.
siṁha and Mānasimha. Mādhavasimha as the patron of Puṇḍarika Viṭṭhala, author of the Rāga-maṇjarī, has been referred to by him in his work. The same work also mentions that Mādhavasimha the patron and his brother Mānasimha were great favourites of emperor Akbar who ruled from 1556 to 1605 A.D. So chronologically there is not much difficulty in Bhānukara's referring to the grandfather of Mādhavasimha, favourite of Akbar. But it is more probable that by Vīrabhānu, Bhānukara really refers to Vaghela Vīrabhānu of Rewah (1540-1555 A.D.) who was married to Sukumāradevi and father of Rāmacandra who ruled from 1555 to 1592 A.D. and was a contemporary of Akbar. There is no chronological difficulty; again, reference to Vaghela kings in the verses of Sanskrit poets of the sixteenth century A.D. and the liberal patronage extended by

1. श्रीमलकण्ठ्य-वंश-श्रीक-महाराजाधिराजनिर्देश- 
   तेजसुर्ख-महाप्रताप-निकरो मानु: जिती राजले।

In a MS. of Somadeva's Kathā-sarit-Sāgara copied by Rūpaṇi who enjoyed the patronage of Bhāvasimha, one of the descendants of Vaghela Vīrabhānu of Rewah, the lineage of Vīrabhānu is given; vide MM. Haraprasad Shastri's Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, vol. VII. For a further reference to Vīrabhānu of Rewah, see Pradyot-tana Bhattacharya's commentary Sāradāgama on Candrāloka (Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 75). The account given here is slightly confusing.
Vaghela kings to Sanskrit scholars, confirm our conjecture.

All the above evidences lead to the conclusion that Bhāṅukara or Bhāṅudatta flourished during the first half of the sixteenth century A.D. Patrons of the poet were Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagara, Virabhānu of Rewah, Nizam Shah as well as Sher Shah.

Another evidence helps the positive determination of the lower limit of the date of Bhāṅukara or Bhāṅudatta. In connection with showing that some poets wrongly use “Purataḥ” in the sense of “in front of”, Jagannātha quotes in his Rasa-Gaṅgādhara the very first line of the Rasa-mañjarī of Bhāṅudatta— श्यामीय चरणं द्वारा पुरातो निर्मोचनायं भुवि। Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, author of the Asaf-vilāsa was connected with the court of Shah Jahan who ascended the throne in 1627 A.D. Therefore, Bhāṅukara quoted by Jagannātha must have flourished before that date.

**Patrons of Bhāṅukara.**

Bhāṅukara was liberally patronised both by Hindu and Moslem rulers of his time. As we have seen, he adorned the court of king Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagara, Virabhānu of Rewah, Sher Shah and Nizam

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1. इदमविन्यासरैव वाचकोपमेय-सुप्तायायसुदास्त्राय निर्मीयत, etc., pp. 271-272 of the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara with Nāgėśa Bhaṭṭa’s commentary. Benares ed.
Shah. Therefore, he seems to have been wandering from place to place, from one court to the other, although we have no means of knowing the exact period of his stay in each.

He appears to have a very great respect for Nizam Shah as he devoted as many as nine verses to his eulogy. Most probably, he wrote many more verses in his praise which are now lost to us. In his verse devoted to the description of the physical charm of the Nizam¹, the poet fancies that the eye of the lovely-browed one, unable to distinguish between Kāma and Nizam, approaches the ear for its help in the matter. In another,² he declares that the beautiful foot of the Nizam was made by the Creator for being placed upon the head of the wife of his enemy; the parting line of the hair, the vermilion-dust and the kundas on the head represent the foot of the Nizam with shooting rays and beautiful nails.

In one verse³ he praises Nizam Shah for making magnificent gifts. In order to keep a record of his gifts, Brahmā used the Mandākini as a piece of chalk and drew a long line on the floor of his house Puṣkara. Brahmā was on the look out for another person at least who would be Nizam’s rival in the award of gifts. As he

1. Padya-racanā, 17. 6  
2. Padya-racanā, 16. 4  
3. Padya-veṇi, MS., v. 100
could not find out any, he put a dot by the side of that line which is nothing but the moon.

In one verse Bhānukara gives a glorious description of the march of Nizam Shah for conquest. When he marches out, the earth faints away under the pressure of, and on account of the physical torture caused by, the hoofs of horses. Therefore the sea, terribly perturbed and agitated in roaring waves, sprinkles water on her. The Lady presiding over the quarters flutters the flag, generating violent wind; and the dust-storm dashes towards the sky in order to ask the divine physician Āsvina about the remedy for recovery from swoon.

In the verse on the sword of the Nizam, the king is highly praised for his military skill. His sword is so handled that it instantaneously kills innumerable mighty elephants of his enemies who are consequently vanquished in a moment.

In the verse devoted to the victory of the Nizam in battle, the poet says that when the Nizam casts his angry look at his enemies, they all break atwain; even the sun high above begins to tremble and in order to save his own skin has recourse to the banner of all-conquering Nizam.

1. Padyāṃṭa-taraṅgini, MS., v. 91; Padya-veṇi, MS., v. 113; Rasika-jīvana, MS., fol. 18.
2. Padyāṃṭa-taraṅgini, 85; Sūkti-sundara, v. 134
In the verse on the flag of the Nizam\(^1\) the poet’s fancy takes a lofty flight. He assumes that the flag of the Nizam is nothing but the tongue of the earth stretched out on account of the heavy pressure of the army on the same. Similarly, in the verse on the prowess of the Nizam.\(^2\) On account of the excessive heat of the king’s prowess, the gold all over the universe, even of the Sumeru, melts; as a consequence, the stairs of Indra’s palace situated on it fall down, even the sun sinks within the melting gold again and again and the women there are terribly terrified.

In one verse\(^3\) Bhānuṣkara describes the world-wide fame of his patron. Brahmā is engaged in making verses on the glorious deeds of the Nizam with the help of a chalk. The long syllables in the verse stand for the curved lines representing the lunar disc, the conch, the jasmine and the swan and the short ones for the lotus-stalk, the snake, the Mandākinī and the tusks of an elephant.

Unfortunately, only one verse of the poet in praise

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1. Padyāṃṛta-taraṅgiṇī, v. 84; Sūkti-sundara, v. 143 and Padya-veṇī, v. 131


3. Padya-racanā, 10. 8 and Rasika-jīvana, Ms. No. 140 (Kāvya) of Calcutta Sanskrit College, fol. 15.
of Sher Shah is left to us. Here, he says that it matters little to a poet of his standing who has to his credit innumerable verses if in a verse, or one half of it, the fastidious manage to find some fault or other just as it matters little to Sher Shah if out of crores of horses vying in motion with wind, some five or six happen to be lame or one-eyed.

BHĀNUKARA AS A POET*

The verses of Bhānukara collected from unpublished anthological works may be classified as follows:—

I. Gods and incarnations of Viṣṇu (6 verses).

1. Gaṇapati...SA. I (See also Bhānu Miśra for another verse on Gaṇapati, PT. v. 7, p. 3.)
2. Śiva...SHV. 27
3. Kṛṣṇa...PV. 866
4. Varāha...PV. 853 = SHV. 46 (Viṣṇu)
5. Paraśurāma...PV. 858
6. Buddha...PV. 864 = SHV. 74 (Viṣṇu)

II. Kings (16 verses)

1. Nizam or Nizam Shah...6 verses: PT. 85 = SS. 134 (description of sword); PV. 69 = SS. 105 (description of prowess); PV. 100 (description of gifts); PV. 132 (description of the flag);

1. SHV. v. 468.

* For additional verses in the Padya-rcacana, see Appendix, Verses of Bhānukara quoted in the Padyaracana.
PT. 84 = SS. 143 = PV. 131 (description of the flag); PT. 91 = SS. 168 (description of the battle-field).

2. Sher Shah...1 verse: SHV. 468

3. Virabhānu...3 verses: PV. 68 = SS. 102 (description of prowess); SS. 150 = PV. 114 (description of the marching of the king). The former reads वीरमान and the latter gives the reading वीरवंस. One verse in the Sāra-saṃgraha of Sambhudāsa, दिशारो द्वार-देशे, etc.

3. Contd.?...2 verses: PV. 161 (the flight of the enemy [सप्त श्रीवत्स-द्रह्न-भलालिनि, etc. may refer to वीरमान्] SS. 163 (description of the battle); the word भान् in the verse may have a bearing upon the name of the king.

4. Kings in general...3 verses: PT. 107 (the flight of the enemy); SS. 172 (the city of the enemy); PT. 95 = SS. 156 (description of the battle); SS. 131 and 132 (the assertion of a hero vanquishing others).

III. Sentiments (5 verses)

1. Karuṇa...PV. 793

2. Raudra...PV. 810

3. Śānta...PV. 812

Śāntasya paścāttāpa...PV. 815

Śāntasya... PV. 819
IV. Women

1. Stage of life...(7 verses)
   a. Vayāḥ-saṃdhī...3 verses: SA. 189; SA. 192; SSS. 799 and SSS. 798
   b. Taruṇāṁ vayāḥ...4 verses: SSS. 817, 825, 835; SA. 199, 836

2. Beauty of features...(12 verses)
   a. Face...2 verses: PT. 136=SHV. 1637; SHV. 1647
   b. Mark on the forehead...SA. 74
   c. Eyes...SA. 80
   d. Arm-pit...SA. 115
   e. Romāvalī...2 verses: SA. 137 and SA. 139
   f. The middle of the body...2 verses: SA. 134; SA. 135
   g. Thighs...PV. 199
   h. General description...2 verses: SHV. 1749; SA. 62; SA. 53 (suppleness of the body).

3. Types...(31 verses)
   a. Paroḍhā...SA. 234
      Sāmānyā-vanitā...2 verses: SA. 273; PV. 321
      Ativīśrābdha-navoḍhā...PV. 305
      Prema-garvītā...2 verses: SA. 278 and SA. 279
      Virahīni...SHV. 1944
      „ -anutāpa...SHV. 1933
BHĀNUKARA

Virahini avasthā-varṇana...SHV. 1952
,, pralāpa...SA. 697
Māṇinī (heading Bhartuḥ śuśrūṣa in the SA.; it is really a verse on Māṇinī)...SA. 222
Vāsaka-sajjītā...SA. 402
Karkaśā...PV. 387
Kalāhāntaritā...SA. 756
Vipralabdha...PV. 361
Utkā...SA. 288 = PV. 363
Madhyā Dhīrāh...SA. 206
Kriyā-vidagdha...SA. 246
Vṛtta-surata-gopanā...SA. 236
Vartisyaṃaṇa-surata-gopanā...SA. 238
Vṛtta-vartisyaṃaṇa-surata-gopanā...SA. 240
Kulaṭā...SA. 258; SHV. 185
Kulaṭopadesā...SA. 260
Bhāvi-sthānābhāva-śaṃkayā...SA. 267
Bharturgamanānumānena...SA. 270
Anusayānā...SA. 264
Abhisārikā: saṃcāra-kathana...SSS. 177
Jyotsnābhīsārikā...SA. 303 = SSS. 178
Divābhīsārikā...SSS. 181
Dūti:
(a) Nāyakasyāgre Dūty-uktih...SSS. 582
(b) Dūty-upahāsa...SSS. 606
V. Men (4 verses)
1. Śṛṅgāra-rasopayogino Nāyaka-bhedāḥ tatra Anukulah...SA. 317
2. Śṛṅgāra-rasopayogino Nāyaka-bhedāḥ tatra Dakṣīṇāḥ...SA. 318
3. Viyoginaḥ pralāpaḥ...SSS. 564
4. Kupuruṣaḥ...PV. 766

VI. Love (14 verses)
Vacana-vyaṅga-samāgama...SA. 326
Cestā-vyaṅga-samāgama...2 verses: SA. 327 and SA. 328
Gamana-vighnopāya...SA. 690
Surata-varṇana...3 verses: SA. 469 = SSS. 713; SA. 470; SSS. 714; SSS. 727
Ratārambha...2 verses: SSS. 706 and SSS. 707
Ratāvasāna...2 verses: SSS. 751 and SSS. 752
Viparīta-surata...SA. 478 = SSS. 737
Parakiyā-rata-prāṣaṁsā...SA. 464
Sama...SA. 672

VII. Nature (8 verses)
Morning...2 verses: SSS. 13 and SSS. 20
Midday...SA. 529
Evening...SA. 348; PV. 560; SSS. 148
Moon-rise...PV. 573
" " ...2 verses: SSS. 192 and SSS. 193
Darkness...SSS. 152
VIII. Seasons (13 verses)
Summer...3 verses: SSS. 327; PV. 615 and PV. 616
Rainy-season...SA. 574
Autumn...SSS. 404 = SA. 591
Hemanta...2 verses: PV. 649 = SSS. 423 = SA. 599; PV. 650 = SSS. 424 = SA. 601
Winter...3 verses: SA. 610; SSS. 451; PV. 656
Spring...2 verses: PV. 602; SA. 617

IX. Religion: Devotion (1 verse)
Kirtana...PT. 266

X. Holy places, rivers, etc. (4 verses)
Venī (Trivenī)...PV. 877
Manikarnikā...PT. 42
Lake...PV. 726
Tapovana (attributed to both Gaṇapati and Bhānukara)...PV. 665

XI. Anyokitis (3 verses)
Cuckoo...PV. 690
Parrot...PV. 691
Lion...PV. 707
Cloud...PV. 717
Moon...PV. 741
XII. Miscellaneous (6 verses)
Khadyota...SA. 558
Bhramaari-krida...SA. 173 = SSS. 113
Vana-keli...2 verses: SSS. 82 and SSS. 83
Kavi-varhana...PV. 789 (Here Bhanaukara is expressly stated to be the son of Ganaapatii).
Vidy...PV. 881 (Here his name is given as Bhanaukara Misra; PT., however, attributes the verse to Bhashaka).

Bhanaukara as a poet

That Bhanaukara or Bhanaucandra Misra was a poet of a high order can by no means be doubted; that he was very popular is manifest from the evidence furnished by the authors of the anthologies composed after the sixteenth century A.D. This extreme popularity enjoyed by him is due to his depth of thought and analytic power. He was a great rhetorician and naturally, his writing is very rich from the rhetorical point of view. He has dealt with various subjects as shown above; in almost every subject, there are beautiful verses which at once arrest our attention. Only a few are noticed below.

In his verse on the Buddha, he says that when the Buddha stood against the Vedas (Vedic rituals), the Om-kara fled off, leaving aside its dot (bindu). Then it had come into the possession of Siva who used it as
a trident (really on the top of it) and the dot began to shine in the hand of Śrīkṛṣṇa as the disc Sudarśana. Here the poet suggests that Siva and Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) came into prominence as gods after the wane of Buddhism in India. His picture of the earth as it was when it emerged out of the ocean and hung on the teeth of the Boar, is also interesting.

His verses on the Nizam³ are of paramount interest establishing as they do a good relationship between the poet and his patron. This, among other evidences, shows that Mahomedan patronage for Sanskrit learning was not lacking in India in the sixteenth century A.D.

In a verse on the flag of the Nizam the poet assumes that it is nothing but the tongue of the earth stretched

1. पायादुरुवु; etc.; Subhāṣīta-hārāvali, MS., v. 74; Padya-veṇī, MS. v. 864. The Padya-veṇī reading is:—

[ बुध-वर्षा० ]
माया-व्यंजनले भगवति व्यासोलययागमा-
नौद्वीर्भ भयापुरूर्वा चलते विन्दु’ विहाय कचित् |
स्मृता; कर-पशरं गुरुद्वरं भुजयित्वा-|
विन्दुवर्ज्य-मिथेष्व कैटीरिन्यास्यथो कराभोधे॥

2. [ वराह-वर्षा० ]
भूपादेष सतं हिताय भगवान् कोशावतारो हरि:
सियो: क्वेश्चम्पास्य कथा वृत्त-प्राप्ते नल्ल्या भुवः |
तारा हारिः वारिष्टिकलक्ष्म व्यवहारी भाववति |
कोशा-दुर्यथाति वर्षितहृद्वेषं तात्प्रकारः॥

Subhāṣīta-hārāvali MS. v. 46; Padya-veṇī, MS. v. 853.

3. See supplement.
out on account of the heavy pressure of the army on the same. In another verse also on the king, Bhāṇukara’s poetic fancy takes a lofty flight. The enemies of the king in heaven feel like fighting on hearing the violent blowing of the conch; they swing about their hands on the arrows in the form of the eye-brows of the divine-damsels who present themselves for embracing them. In the verse on the march of Virabhānu for conquest, the poet says that the world had a crack in between on account of the sound of drums, neighing of horses and trumpeting of elephants when he started; (then) the resultant crack was removed by means of borax in the form of the Mandākini, the moon and stars heated on the fire of the king’s prowess. The pun employed by the poet in the verse on the plight of enemies much enhances its beauty.

1. नृत्ति-निघ्राम-वन्दु-चरणार्पण-जनित-प्रभूत-वीढ़ामि:।
   रचयति वाहिरिव रसनामहुः-धवज-कैतावादविनः॥
   PT. 84=PV. 131.

2. भृहीभिन्नसं: प्रतिगुप्तय: बाजुनानावजुरारसं-
   श्रत्वा राजयः पुनर्घि भृजाभु-दुर्गह-कहुङ्गितमाजः।
   प्राणिन्यायिन्यः-चुंबको भ्रू-लतां वृक्ष भुजा
   धाप-आन्विका चक्षु-मनसो हस्तमावर्तयतिः॥
   PT. 95=SS. 156.

3. भेरी-भाङ्ग तिमिस्तुरुङ्की-बिन्दुः, etc.

4. ताहंदुर्गः-विवर्त-नितित-मही-चक्राद्यपकामिता:
   कापिः कापिः च किंतुकंडयता राजोपरिकारामः।
   यहं प्राङ्गन-प्राङ्गन-स्फूर्ति-न्यायालिङ्गे दिशा-
   मापाने निपतन्ति पार्थिव-चंद्रा श्रीर्तिः श्रीर्यंति च॥
   PV. 161.
The poet demonstrates the sentiment of tranquility well in one of his verses on the same. Nothing appears substantial, he says, when one looks back upon life from a very advanced stage; thus the roaming about of the past appears to be all waste of energy, acquisition of knowledge nothing but provision for wrangling about and love for women all worry due to final separation and nothing more; moreover, a man at that time wholeheartedly cares for a religious life and pines for the past part of life that appears to them almost void. In another verse he longs for worshipping Dāmodara in a creeper bower at Benares, undisturbed by any woman.

All the verses under sections 4-5 could well have been placed under the heading ‘Love’. But as the Nayakas or Nāyikās are the main objectives of the poet in the verses in question, they have been grouped under the headings—‘Women’ and ‘Men’. Woman is almost synonymous with Love and therefore, it is only natural that out of a collection of 130 verses of a poet, only four verses are devoted to Men in love.

1. बोधि-पर्यंतं ब्रामण विद्वानं बाराह्य विषालिन्ति
   मान-द्वसन-आते परिक्षितस्ते ते चाराध्यरा:।
   विषादात वरेज-चन्द्र-हस्मानास्ये कृता ह्रस्यः
   कुशालेन मया प्रवाह-नाये नाक्शराधि नारायणः।।
   परीम्भरम्भ-स्वयम्भु-बक्र-ब्रम्ह-रवं
   तृतीयार्ध ब्रह्माभिनव-हस्य-सुमथमचरम्।
   कर्त्ता काश्यमक्ष्याकपवने-रत्ने-कुंकुम-कुंकुरे
   नमस्यामि दामोदर तव पदाम्मेघम-रज:।।
   PV. 815.

2. परीम्भरम्भ-स्वयम्भु-बक्र-ब्रम्ह-रवं
   तृतीयार्ध ब्रह्माभिनव-हस्य-सुमथमचरम्।
   कर्त्ता काश्यमक्ष्याकपवने-रत्ने-कुंकुम-कुंकुरे
   नमस्यामि दामोदर तव पदाम्मेघम-रजः।।
   PV. 812.
A beautiful woman at the advent of youth is a marvel and the poet says, even the god of Love on rare occasions finds the Venus influencing his fate and only a person with Brhaspati in the eleventh zodiac sign can expect to dally with her.

The eye is a predominant feature of the beauty of a woman; it is more beautiful than a lotus because when God weighs them in a balance, He is required to place Māsas (Phaseolus Radialis) on the scale of the lotus, the bees representing them as such.

Again, a verse on the middle of a woman’s body assigns a fine reason why the middle region is appropriately called a vacuum.

1. प्रातः स्मेर-घरोइजाम्यमुच्छायायो स्त्रोििष्र्रमः पाविनं कोकिल-वाणिः पहुँच-सहायायी समुन्मोलिति। सरद्वारो वचलां पशुलिम-छपा-सिंजान्त-वेतलिको जानामें: कुंडमायुषस्य भगवानु सावहायते भाषायात् ह्वान्त:।
SA. 198=SSS. 817.

2. बाणी कार्तिक-रोहिणीपित-चलन-पीरस-काहोलिनी पाते इतरकाल-कुन्द-काहीका-सावहाय-सीलावितमः। नो जाने गमयिष्ठतस्तव चिरादुः दिने केदिनिः। कल्य श्रीफल-पीरस-स्तरि भवेदकादशायो गुह:।
SA. 199=SSS. 835.

3. कवमदय तुलां च कहें नलिनेय नल-श्रृवः। त्यूविः च नलिनेय नल-मायावस विविष्ये।।
SA. 80

4. तुहामोंगे हवन-गिरियको पौड़-किमवे नितन्ते। सतमादेश हरति दुःश्रृवः याविः ज्ञातमादे।।
SA. 135.
Various types of heroines—Svakiyā, Parakiyā, etc. and their mood types such as Mānini, Kalahāntarītā, Utkā, Vipralabdha, etc. have also been successfully depicted by the poet. A lady-love separated from the beloved as a consequence of a quarrel takes it for granted that a man is restless and a woman, on the other hand, steady and sincere and moreover, she argues, there is no reason why two youthful persons should not from time to time quarrel, but why should these wretched creatures—the bee, the Moon, and Madana—be tormenting her all along? The pangs suffered by a separated woman eat into her vitals and she presents a really painful sight but a lady-love longing for reunion at any cost whatsoever presents in herself a much more pitiable object; she indeed goes to any length to recover her lost love and even a stone must melt at her solicitations.

1. चलं चेत: पूर्णा साहु-सरले पञ्च-ह्रोभवत्तेखो कोधः कन्तःपि कण्तःचित्तःहायोः।
हेिद्वर् सुखो विदुर्मिर्विदुर्मात् परिवतेः
स्मरो मां महिन्याविवति किमपि नाज्यासिष्यसहम्॥ SA. 756.

2. दुःखं हीयसंह बहुस्तगिः सखीयाग्य नो मायते
श्रवोः शरणं सुखं पुनः शैःते नवा हन्यता।
काहे गदुरबद्धास्मास्ति हस्तीकः न बायोध्येव
सर्वसां सहते यहमुहुमुही तहदु चेतोमि:॥ SHV. 1944.

3. श्लासं बालित-वारितिवर्तितो वासो तमे काने
श्रीसुन्दराविदुर्सिंहसेवीः देहः समारापितः।
नित्ता जागरण-अलङ जनार्नी गीता कहा कहिबा
तसमें फञ न तपस्त्यापि स कस्वेन नाम्यापि नेत्रातिविचि:॥

PV. 363 = SA. 288.
The psychology and doings of a fallen type of woman, a lady on tryst in broad day-light or at night, etc. etc. have been nicely analysed by the poet. Fallen women care for money alone and are the very antithesis of love and do not believe even in the sympathy of God for them; they simply exclaim that He has done absolutely nothing for them. They go to the length of inciting even their daughters—in any case, those who are very much like daughters to them—to evil acts.

1. (a) केशा: कुल्लु-मिष्वातिवोधसब्दि दुर्गीविहीनाभावनान्
युनां प्रभु-पानं विलोकितमिश्रोषुपुरी-स्तनस्वासिति।
प्रेमलग्नेः-कुलाय-बङ्ङ-पाम्रो रोमालिनराज्यानन्ते
वट्या: सा कथमतु चेतसि चमकाराय चाम-क्रमः।

PV. 321

(b) हनुम ग्राज्ञाः-सन्धियाः बहुओं दातारसम्बन्धांत
वहिताः सन्धितः परस्परमिवासहयेः कुर्द्रीश्च:।
प्राणाः-सन्धिः सन्धितं मुखाः-饷तिः कुन्तालो
हदं: किश धनागांम कथपितुं कथःसत्सं मण्डितं

SA. 273.

2. पुते वारि-क्रोधारम् किरित्वा दुष्कान्ति वर्ष्णति नाम्भोधराः।
शेषाः शान्तिसुभद्रा मिति न गुजस्येऽत पुनर्गुप्ताः।
प्रेक्षोत्यत तरव: फलानि घटते नभास्करभन्ने जनानां
धातः कातरासयायात कुदाटा-हेतोयस्या कि हहामु।

SA. 258=SHV. 1851.

3. चेवू पौराणिक दात्ते हिमम्बरभिविचरितं लक्ष्मीं
भोगीन्द्रादिदीप्ती चेवू विभोपि लिम्ब-स्त्रोमादिदीप्ति
सलांि। कुलनादानं तुवेशे जलाचर-भागानं दुम्पसि
प्रायः पुष्पं हिताल्पम हुन्त भविता त्यजः कलाकः कुले।

SA. 260.
The messenger-maidens engaged in love-intrigues are always very clever fellows. One of them reports to the lover that ever since he was away the unfortunate girl got rid of her garland of budding lotuses, pearl-necklace and waist-girdle but that was not all; her bracelets slipped down from her arms to the wrist as if to ascertain whether she had lost her pulse too.

The poet has also drawn good pictures of men, as distinguished from women. Howsoever, a woman may decry that a man is insincere in love-matters, the poet shows that a man also may love to the extent of madness. Almost like a woman, he piteously bewails that he is in no way an enemy of the kunda flower, honey, bee, waves of nectar, cloud, lunar disc, and lotus, but they all have turned out hostile to him simply because she puts them all to shame by her teeth, melodious voice, sweet gaze, laughter, hair, face and breast respectively, while residing in his heart.

1. माला बालामुख-वल्लभी मौतिकी हार-पदि: कान्ती याते प्रभवति हुरी शुद्रुष्ृ प्रत्यंतिताः ।
   श्रवण्वम् मः किमति धमनी वल्लति वा न वेति
   नानुं पाणे रहस् वलयो बाहु-मूलं प्रयाति ॥

SSS. 582.

2. कुन्दं दृत्तेमणु निगंधविते स्तुपं धर्मबलाये-रम्भस्वपन्तिस्वपन्तः-लहिः कृत्तविशेषवाहम् ।
   हन्तोभिमयं वनन-शशिवा पञ्चमां हस्तनामध्यं
   तथे जित्वा तानु (?)/ वसलि हुः तेन ते मां हित्यति ॥

SSS. 564.
A lady-love does not always explicitly speak out that the beloved one must not go; but she has her own ways to do things. She tells him that even after death a woman never recovers from the fever of separation she once contracts; before she departs from this world she must know whether the betel-nut, flowers, sandal, water, etc., which act like poison in this life would be so painful in the other world as well.¹

Bhānukara’s verses on nature are novel in conception and enchanting in expression. The night, the poet says, leaves its bower, the sky, having arranged its hair in the form of darkness that scattered all over in course of its dalliance and having worn its earring, viz. the lunar disc, as soon as the dawn appears.² Again, the morning would, no doubt, appear to many as very pleasant but it is most unpleasant to some at least. The poet draws a beautiful picture of a lady-love concealing in the morning the blue lily on her ear so that her

1. नायं सुकंतलं ह्रदं वामपि तद्वरुपं वियोगं-ज्वर-स्तेरानां लिङ्गलिङ्गपते प्रवहामि सत्यं वद | 
   तामूलं कुम्भं पदोखरकं यदु वन्धुभंदीवते 
   ह्याद्रीं परशु ततुं कितु विषं-ज्वालावली-दु-सहम् ||
   SA. 690

2. सत्रिंगुष्ठं चिखं तमोमवं वामनीं तदु केलि-विष्णुम् | 
   कुम्भवं श्रविंचि चन्द्र-मधुदं कुम्भलं गान-कुम्भसुक्षम् ||
   SSS. 13.
beloved one may not be disappointed.\(^1\) Herself knowing that the morning is there to torment them by separation she somehow conceals the faded lily in order to save him from a rude shock and violent despair.

In one verse Bhānukara depicts the evening as a chaste wife who enters the room for having a light as soon as she sees the moon.\(^2\)

The poet explains the moon-rise as follows. The night is a lady, the sky a bower, the moon a lover and the darkness her dress and therefore, the moon extends his ‘kara’ out of love.\(^3\) Again, he thinks that the moon-rise is due to the machination of Kāmadeva who intends to find out the stolen Sun. In order to detect the real thief, he performs a magical rite, viz. setting a dish (moon) to motion. For this purpose, Kāmadeva scatters all around uncooked rice in the form of stars; the

1. संप्रदय स्तनमाकल्पय वदनं संस्लिपय कातु-स्यालं
   निप्रीवाधर-विम्बसम्भवसंपाक्कुय व्युदुप्यालकं य
   देवस्यामाण्यापतः समुद्रं जिन्तासमाने प्रिये
   वामानी वसनाभः श्रवणायोनीलोपलं निन्हुः ते
   SSS. 20.

2. मुगामाकल्पां वीक्ष सनवध्या कुल-वच्चृतिविष
   द्रोपलेख-निवाधसे निर्विवेच नित्येसलः
   PV. 560=SĀ. 348=SSS. 140.

3. नकोलता-कुलमुपागातया: प्रमोद-पर्यंकुल-तारकाया:
   निवा-प्रियया: स्त्रुता करेख शारी तस्माक्कु ब्रम्मुमोच
   SSS. 193.
cooing of the cuckoos is nothing but the chanting of mantras by him and the moon is the dish he uses.\(^1\)

In one of his verses on the summer Bānukara has employed a pun very effectively.\(^2\) Of much effect has been the use of a happily chosen word viz. Kanyā-rāśi in a verse of the description of the Autumn.\(^3\) In his description of the Hemanta the poet strikingly attributes the husband-wife relationship to the Day and the Night, during this season. The Day offers the major portion of the sky (or the cloth) to the beloved night and himself shrinks for her satisfaction.\(^4\)

Bānudatta was the author of the Gita-Gauriśa with the tippana on the same work that is a prototype of the

1. ताराचकतालिब किरसू कलक्षणादाय-
   न्मन्नराशिः निगदनु कुछुप्रुये?।
   लाभाय वासोऽयोर्मितिन्य सार्व
   सदायथार्थत्रस्त्रिधिति-कांस्य-पार्श्वम्। PV. 573.

   तारा—1. a star; 2. pupil of the eye.
   स्कुलित—1. bright; 2. restless. क्र—1. rays; 2. hand.
   This magical rite is performed even today in some parts of the country for detecting thieves.

2. SA. 529. 3. PV. 650=SSS. 424=SA. 601.

4. प्राम्बरमेष समद्व्य यामिन्याय वासोऽ प्रेयात्।
   प्रविक्षत्वं दद्रू निजाङ्गाय ससूक्षितस्यायौ॥
   PV. 650=SSS. 424=SA. 601.

   प्राम्बर—1. the sky; 2. the cloth. The idea is that in the Hemanta the day is very short and the night is long.
Gita-Govinda of Jayadeva, and had certainly some leaning towards religion. The authors of the anthologies consulted have not, however, cared to quote his verses on religious topics such as Śravaṇa, Manana, Kirtana etc., the PT. being the only work to preserve one verse on the utterance of the holy name of Nārāyaṇa. Through a figure of speech known as prativastūpamā, the poet states that just as the digging and the levelling of the earth, etc. are useless if no seed be sown, the perusal of the holy scriptures, the Purāṇas etc. are all in vain if the sacred name of Kamalākānta be not uttered.

The anthologies preserve a few verses of Bhānukara on the holy places, etc. In a verse on Maṇikarnikā, he suitably employs the Virodha alāṃkāra in showing how a bather in the same attains the state of Śiva and in a

1. वेदांताच्ययनं कृतं, etc. PT. 266.
2. चारतः चारिई निर्माले जतिलो जातः पुनः कुन्तलः
काय-शालितमेव पहु-पवलं कव्वे पुनः कालिमा।
उद्दालम्: खलु वैच्य: परिचित: कालः करो भस्मना
मात: श्रीमान्यकरिः कर्कि-परवं जल्पार्मि कोड्यं कमः।। PT. 42.

This is a good example of the figure of speech Virodha. Here the devotee means to say that he has really attained the state of Śiva on account of his bath in the Maṇikarnikā though the wording is such that the second part of each pāda may be interpreted otherwise.
verse on the Triveni he assigns some reason in his poetic way why its water should be darkish.¹

In his Anyokti on the Lion he illustrates how heredity works. No sooner is a cub born than it exhibits a tendency to jump upon the temple of an elephant even before sucking its mother’s breast.² Thus, in his other Anyokti verses too he hints at some truth or other.

One outstanding feature of Bhānukara’s composition is his great liking for the employment of figures of speech.³ The lofty flight of his poetical fancy couched in the garb of idiomatic language reaches at times the maximum height of poetic excellence, particularly with the aid of rhetorical perfection.

1. करीकावऽ तुलिन-किर्याप्रीतिधारामुद्दारों
बूरीकावऽ विनकर-कर-कलेखापाणमाधम।
यद्यः युगे पयसिर विषादिः ग्राथुकामम प्रियामाम
प्रायस्तत्वास्तिमिरसितिभिः स्थामांलं भीमरस्यः।

PV. 877.

2. जातं स्तम्भं न जप्राह कडीरेब-किषोरेकः।
चन्द्रमापारायामास कुण्ये कुशारालिनि।

PV. 707.

3. प्रतिलिपिमाः in PT. 266; गैस in a large number of verses; व्यज्ञ्य-प्रतिलेक and प्रत्यक्ष in SSS. 564; भार्य-परिलेखंगु-प्राक्षिल-विषमाला in PV. 815; भार्यावचं, in SA. 1; परमपरित सात्त्रुपक in PV. 573; तुव्वम in SSS. 606; पक्षेष-विलषव्य-पिलाप-रूपक in SSS. 193; etc. etc.
AKBARIYA-KALIDASA

His date

Akbariya-Kalidasa composed a work entitled Rama-
candra-yaśah-prāṣasti in praise of Vaghela Rāmacandra
of Rewa who was a contemporary of Akbar and ruled
from 1555-1592. There are two MSS. of this work
as yet known, one belonging to the Royal Asiatic
Society of Bengal, No. 3109, Catalogue No. 82691
and the other to Bikaner Maharaja’s Library.2 Owing to the
exigencies of the International situation, the first-men-
tioned MS. has been sent away from Calcutta to a safer
place and is at present out of the reach of scholars and the
second-mentioned MS. too could not be availed of in spite
of my best attempts. It is expected that some more
informations about this poet will be availed of from this
work when the MSS. will be available in course of time.

From the colophon as given in the Catalogue—

इत्यक्विवेरी-कालिदास-कवि-धामोकंद्र-भाष-विरचितः श्रीमहाराजिराज-राम-
चन्द्र-वश:प्रबन्धः समास—

it is clear that Akbariya-Kālidāsa’s real name was Govinda
Bhāṭṭa. As a contemporary of Rāmacandra and Akbar,
Akbariya-Kālidāsa must have flourished about 400 years
ago.

1 See p. 85 of Mm. Haraprasad Shastri’s Catalogue of
Sans. Mss. belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal,
Vol. IV, p. 85, Calcutta 1923.

His patrons

Akbariya-Kālidāsa was one of the greatest Sanskrit poets of his age. Though he had other patrons, the name of the poet itself shows that this Kālidāsa of the sixteenth century A.D. was a great favourite of Akbar. Nothing about his parentage is, however, known. He praises in his verses several kings who must have extended patronage to him in some form or other, and he avowedly acknowledges the patronage of Akbar by assuming a name after him. Thus, he refers to Gurjarendra, Jallāla, Vaghela, Dalapati, Virabhānu-putra or Rāmacandra of Rewa and Akbar. He praises the king of Gurjara as one whose fame has pervaded the whole world.¹ King Jallāla is referred to in a beautiful verse on the wife of his enemy.² The Vaghela king praised by Akbariya-Kālidāsa was Rāmacandra of Rewa who was responsible for sending Tānasena to the court of Akbar.³ His father Virabhānu was the patron of poet Bhānukara.⁴

1. विद्वानोऽवधाय व्यास-गृहीतां तद्यदृश्यते दयां कृतार्थमभवति॥
2. देशस्य नामात्म तत्त्वायशी संस्कृतमोक्षाः कृतां नामात्मविशार्दी संवाचविवर्तयेति॥
3. For details about the kings of Rewa, see Dr. Hirānanda Sāstri’s Memoir on the Vaghela Dynasty of Rewa, 1925.
4. See under Bhānukara.
One of his verses is devoted to the praise of king Rāma for his charitable acts, particularly the gift of elephants. The king of Kābila who is said to have invaded the country of Vaghela was repulsed by the latter in spite of the former’s very strong army. In another verse he describes the sword of the Vaghela king; to him it appears like a swarm of bees emerging out of the calyx of his hand-lotus. In a verse in the form of a colloquy between Gauri and Rambhā he alludes to the mighty prowess of the son of king Virabhānu i.e. king Rāmacandra of Rewah. He praises the queen of Dalapati in one verse. He describes Akbar as an

1. राम स्वहस-मचेम-कुम्म-विन्दरक्ष्मुसिः।
   विद्रुम मिक्छा-रुह-द्वारी बासरिविखिलढ़रति॥
   PV. 96

2. Padyāmṭa-taraṅgiṇī, 72 = PV. 66 = SS. 121

3. मृण्डुल निग्रान्तयमी जलद-चन्द्राल-च्योलिसं
   महासित-सतिकर्म करे तव पङ्कज-प्रकाशन ॥
   प्रताप-तप-स्तुत-कर-सरोज-कोषोविच-व्रित्रे-लहरीति मे मनसि बुद्रीखुज्ञुम्मते॥

4. हे गौरि इहि रमि कनकमथनदीमेहिः, लीलावताहि
   महाबंजनन्तु-सुरंगे कनकमयंदी कुट ? केवन प्रयाति ?
   बीरभ्री-वीरभालु-विविकितलक-कुलस्तमः-चश्चत्-प्रताप-
   ध्वाला-कछोल-ताप-तु त-कनक-गिरि-स्वन्दु-धाराप्रवाहः॥
   PV. 65

5. चन्द्र’ कन्द्राचेफुदुः कन्द्राचेफुदुः चन्द्रकान्तं
   चाँड्याचेफ-लोचनान्तम चमर-चंद्रची-बाल-मारोलचं च।
   खर्मफुर्निते दर्माक-स्तित्कमपि चव्यस-सुवीती-मलः
   स्वच्छयिन्न प्रेषिता रे तुलपति-गुलिखि ल्यचचा-स्तोम-सोमा॥
   PV. 76
outstanding ruler who possesses the might of a lion. The emperor he says, is so powerful that he extirpates all his enemies instantaneously and terrifies even the king of Ceylon. In another verse his sword is beautifully compared with various objects. The Sūkti-sundarā preserves a verse in which the poet describes the march of the Nizam for conquest. But as both the Padyāṃta-
taraṅgini and the Padya-vēni attribute the verse to Bhānukara, the attribution of Sundarācārya does not seem authentic.

There are a few other verses which he presumably composed for pleasing some king or other.

1. शाहलोबसि प्रकोटे महक्त-कर्ती मांसल-स्नन्ध-कृते
   दोस्तमें नागराजो धवनिः जलपर: केसरी मध्य-देशे।
   चर्मिण्डे ध्वान्त-धारा मनसि जलनिलिन्द्री-युगे काल-दुर्शक-
   स्तलसत्यं भीममाधु-कुश-तिलकमयेभीयालाक्ष्योदे।
   PV. 53

2. वीर लं कार्युकमेवकर, etc. = PT. 97 = SS. 158

3. PT. 89 = PV. 138 = Rasika-jivana, fol. 14a, 29 =
   Padya-racanā, 20.27. Probably, Jallāla praised by Akbariya-
   Kālidāsa (p. 34) is the same as Akbar.

4. V. 168 (see Sahitya Parishat Patrika)

5. V. 191.

6. शाह-ध्रुव-सुर-हतो वधर्माः संवीत्य सुधीवती, etc. = PT. 91
   (भाजुकर) = PV. 133 (भाजुकर) = SS. 168 (क्रमबीरी)।

7. (a) वद्वन्तु देव ताबकं प्रतापमेव पावकं
   महा-न्द्वार-शीतलं वद्वाम हं वर्य वत्तः।
   समेभ-कन्द्रास्त्रो द्वितो गुहीत-कन्द्र- 
   स्तवारिः-प्राप्त-नावकः प्रक्रमपते मुखथुः।
   PV. 67
Akbariya-Kālidāsa as a poet

Akbariya-Kālidāsa was proud of his achievements as is manifest from one of his verses preserved in the Padya-venī.¹

The verses of Akbariya-Kālidāsa that are traced may be classified as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>No. of verses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Personal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Deities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Bhavānī</td>
<td>6: PV. 16, 36-38; SHV. 273-274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhavānicchātra</td>
<td>1: PV. 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devicchātra</td>
<td>1: PV. 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Šambhu</td>
<td>3: PV. 25, 14-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Gaṇeśa</td>
<td>2: PT. 6=PV. 11; SHV. 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Krṣṇa</td>
<td>3: PV. 33-35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Animal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The horse</td>
<td>1: PV. 126=SS. 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Love</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virahīṇī</td>
<td>1: PV. 611=SSS. 309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Nature</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Summer-wind</td>
<td>2: PV. 620=SSS. 330; and SSS. 329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Malaya-breeze</td>
<td>1: PV. 609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Moon-rise</td>
<td>1: PV. 580; SSS. 205</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ PV. 111

(b)  
(c)  

V. 786
6. Description of kings 12: PV. 53; PV. 67; PV. 76; PV. 111; PV. 168 = SS. 174; SS. 63 = PR. 11. 14; SS. 168 = PT. 91 = PV. 133; PV. 77 = SS. 80; PT. 97 = SS. 158; PT. 72 = PV. 66 = SS. 121; PT. 89 = PV. 138 = PR. 21. 27; PV. 65

Sword of a Vaghela king 1: PV. 139
Gifts of king Rāma ... 1: PV. 96
7. Anyāpadeśa ... 1: PV. 732
8. Features: Hair ... 1: PV. 259
9. Kavi-varṇana ... 1: PV. 786

Akbarīya-Kālidāsa did not professedly belong to any particular religious sect such as Śākta or Vaiṣṇava. He pays homage to Viṣṇu, Śiva, Bhavānī and Gaṇeśa. Three of his verses are devoted to Viṣṇu (including one on Kṛṣṇa), three to Śiva, eight to Bhavānī and two to Gaṇeśa.

In a verse on goddess Durgā he prays to her for protecting him from all evils in that majestic form in which she is worshipped by Indra with the Mandāra flowers that attract a large number of bees. As they sit on the golden umbrella of the goddess, they constitute another umbrella as it were and the goddess appears like wearing two umbrellas.¹ In another verse he praises the um-

¹. सेवा-सारम्ब-अम्म-प्रतिम-रमसीनुमुक-मन्दार-माहा-कन्यमाचीक-पार-वहितिम-खैरी-समपातिच्छाटामि।
उर्ज बहसलापारिविराजित-रचनाबंबं देवी दुःखे 
हैमचल्लोपरिर्स्वचिक्षर्ति मथुरक्षक्त्रमम्भायात्म। PV. 47
brella of the goddess as a wonderful thing. No sooner is it seen than it enters the head. Again, he pays homage to the goddess in her Jvalamukhi form in two verses. Very fortunate are they, exclaims the poet, who worships the holy feet of Jvalamukhi with bodies horripilated, eyes tearful, and heads rolling on the ground—muttering prayers in faltering accents. Again, the poet worships her for dispelling all the gloom of his miseries by means of the shooting rays of her toes.

He has depicted Siva in a very pleasant as well as angry mood. In one verse he intends to deceive Parvati and replies accordingly to her questions regarding the identity of the person on his head. It is really the goddess Gangā, traditionally, the co-wife of Parvati, but

1. कुच्चे कुतुक महतुः।
   विष्णुदेव इद्दोत्सर्वस्यगच्छति सुर्येश्वरम्।
   PV. 46.

   The significance is that it is very pleasant to the eye; and secondly, it remains long in the memory of the visitor. Again, the verse is designed to contain the figure of speech Virodhābhāṣa.

2. चांग्योधमाक्ष-जीविः-विवेक-क्ःचितांद्रज्ञः।
   त्यग्यामानः
   छोड़ो-मित्रानाचरेऽभिषिर्भिः।
   PV. 38.

3. त्रूंतं-चचीकोर-प्रमदन-पठोऽरत-सम्पत-समुज्जना-
   नुमवल्लालस्वर्णवर्णादि-शुच-सरस्वती-तरा-कुदम्मः।
   मूम्पृतानि-ताप-प्रकाशन-सरस्वत-ब्रजानि-विशेषेद्वस्त्रा
   धर्मज्ञासुधिक्ष्णिः श्रवण-पदम-कमल-भद्र-प्रसुरचन्द्र-चिम्बरः।
   PV. 37
Śiva tries to explain away the questions of Pārvatī. In the verse describing Śiva in his destructive mood, he is seen with one leg lifted up for the Tāṇḍava dance and Aparṇā clinging to his body in fear; the terrible sounds of his anklets are piercing the whole world as it were. In the third verse he describes the neck of Śiva with its dazzling bluish colour resembling various dark objects such as the waves of the Yamunā, the bed of blue lotuses, etc. and earnestly prays for getting rid of all evils.

Ganēśa has been praised in two of Akbarîya-Kālidāsa’s verses collected by us. In one he is found in a very happy mood, and in the other rather in a terrific

1. मौली कृतू मानिन्न जलि किव पक्ष गणिन नन्दन निद्रित कृतू त्रिभुवन सार्वज्ञातिकः गोचरण धरि स्तरां संभागवः पातु न: || PV. 16

2. श्रुतिप्रसन्नि-शीति-मणिमिलितक्षुचिरामणिकृः.
   ग्यांगिरुजुदुंग-मण्डु-निम्न-मुरु-न्यास-हस्तोत्करमुमः.
   ब्रह्माक्षरमाध्यक-न्याय-क्रिया-कन्याकन्यासुत समाने
   प्रौढःपुरुष रिका-भूमित्रान्त-दलोदङ्गायत्मान्य मरे || PV. 14

3. कान्तिन्द्री-वीरि-पुण्ये कुक्षव-चिरिविर्द्वाराकृष्टा भनिभ:
   शरावतः काशहोम्बर्त तिमिर-महाबोधोऽभिमुः-जाते।
   कल्याणी-कोक्षामा लघुविभिन्ति महा-वाक्किलृ-प्रगम्य-
   हन्त्र ह्वलकवं प्रकटति शमयतु विषयं शास्त्रवी कवल-माला ||
   PV. 25
form. In the former he is found pulling the foliage, placed on the ear of Durgā as adornment, with his trunk; consequently, Mahādeva goes on smiling, Kārtika enjoys the fun; the confidantes and the Gaṇas also are amused. In the latter he is found dancing with such high jumps that Paulomi shrinks out in fear at his sight from the top of the premises and Indra consequently begins to worship him with a view to appeasing him; the poet prays to such Gaṇeśa for his grace.

In two verses out of three devoted to Kṛṣṇa, the poet prays to Viṣṇu for his blessings and warding off all evils. In one, his dazzling blue colour is compared to the waves of the Yamunā, a new patch of cloud and a cluster of the leaves of the Tamāla. In the other, Kṛṣṇa is detected by the poet-devotee in a very happy mood when he is enjoying the company of his consort

1. स्मेरे चन्द्रावतले हसति ब्रक्तुकं पद्मुदं सोपहार्षं
   पर्यावरणी-कर्मभे गंधः-स्वरूपं शिखरं-गौरितं प्रेममालं।
   शा में औत ब्वाहरस्वात्सुतनिन-गिरि-चुबः कप्पमानाय-पायोः।
   कर्तुती काशं-केशि-किकलांर्मबताद्वृत्त-देसम्य-खुव्या॥
   SHV. 124

2. हंगाथी-दत-पद्मारङ्कः, etc. == PT. 6

3. कास्मिन्द्री-वाह-वीरी-निचय हस्यं सुदा गाहिता नैविन्निवि-
   बौंमं काव्यम्बनीति प्रमुद्वित-हङ्घं वीजिता नीलक्षणः॥
   उत्सत्तायं तमाल-स्त्रकं हस्यं हुतं सुवर्ग-गोपाज्ञातः॥
   श्रेयं वं: कल्यणस्तु महुर्मथन-तनु-स्वच्छः-कान्ति-प्रवाहः॥
   PV. 33
Lakṣmi and the poet offers his prayers for protection. In his verse on Kṛṣṇa the poet prays to him for unflinching devotion alone; nothing else matters to him.

We have only four verses of Akbariya-Kālidāsa on nature which has a permanent bearing on the sentiment of Love. These verses might as well be termed Love-verses. Unfortunately, we have only one more Love-verse of the author—a verse on a separated lady-love. Out of the four verses on nature, two are devoted to the description of summer-wind. In one the summer-winds are stated to be the elephants of king Madana who are rushing on after roaming about on the outskirts of the golden mountains in the form of the breasts of the Ladies of Kaṇṭā, jumping in the Pampā Lake, scattering the pollens of the Malli flowers—and followed by swarms of bees throughout. The pleasant

1. चन्द्रमाली: किमाघे किंसु वदन-रंचे काव्य-किया वदन-कुलुमे किंसु कुच-कल्शी-काम्यो मरगेसे।

2. घन-स्नायुच्छायु-कवः-प्रस्थित-नहे-स्पष्टे-केवः-पिष्टे हस्तसमाहु-पुल्ले।

3. कृत्वा काव्याला-कालाला-कुच-कनक-गिरि-ग्राम्य-संभार-हीला।

PV. 34

PV. 35

PV. 620 = SSS. 330
summer-winds towards the end of the day joyously passing through the Campaka forest and accumulating honey drops and consequently, slowing down its gait, are sufficiently capable of relieving people of all fatigue.¹

The verse on Malaya-breeze attributes the nature of a boy to it and all the adjectives are so used that they may be interpreted with reference to the Malaya-wind as well as a boy. The poet really describes the advent of the spring and chooses this happy metaphor for the purpose.²

1. चतुमान-चिमक-वनास्तरोहा-कमलन्द-विन्दु-भर-मन्द्र-भंकामाः।
   शहस्रांता तापस्महरस्ता-सम्भवः। पवनः। परिहासन-गन्ध-बल्बः।
PV. 329

2. शहस्रांता-कर्मात्रा-स्फुत-कमलिनी-पूविभिक्षुसाराः।
   स्वतंत्र-शत्रुकन्या-लघुसी-सही-धीरकरासार-सातः।
   ज्ञातः मजन्तो विकसित-विलसन्त-केलकी-महिषकाणा।
   मोदते मन्दमल्ले मलय-गिरि-दुर्गमतो वात-पोता।
PV. 609

Boys

a. कर्मात्रः — wearing garlands of tigers' nails, etc.
b. पूविभिक्षुसारः — covered with dust

c. धीरकरासारः — emitting saliva
d. ज्ञातः — passing from one lap to the other

Winds

a. Wearing garlands in the form of bees
b. Full of the pollens of lotuses
c. Scattering tiny particles of water, etc.
d. Passing through various sorts of flowers
In the verse devoted to moon-rise, the poet says that the evening is the time for the god of Love to proceed for the conquest of the world and accordingly, the ceremonial for the purpose is to be observed; a copper-plate, therefore, floats on the sea in the form of the setting sun and the East, too, bears on her head a pitcher in the form of the moon.¹

The pursuit of a horse is beautifully described by the poet. It stretches forth its head as it intends to measure the earth and its feet are raised up as it considers the sky as nothing but a stage to dance on.²

The poet has left us to the legacy of only one Anyāpadeśa or Anyokti. It is on the lotus. There is no

1. मदन-विजय-यात्रा-मक्खं घोटवस्ती
   विचारति जलवि-मये ताप्र्याप्रीयं मानु:।
   हयमपि एक्युत-प्रेयसी मु मृति सरस्य
   कलरमक्षो भंवानु' सार्थमुक्तालीति॥

   PV. 580

   v. r. in SSS. 205a. मदन-विजय-यात्रा-काल-विशाप्नाय।

   Floating copper-plates and holding pitchers on the head are parts of the auspicious rites observed as Yātrāmaṅgala.

2. हयती जगती किंत्यती भविता
   नमि-मा-नमि-सति याति हुयः।
   वियब्धन-निद्र-नज्व-रिदी
   परिवर्तितमुक्तालीमैनम॥

   PV. 126=SS. 124.
flower that can outdo the lotus by rivetting the attention of the bees even for a while.¹

Akbariya-Kālidāsa is indeed a great Sanskrit poet. His verses are inspiring and really enjoyable. Almost every verse has some figure of speech or other in it, such as the metaphor including the Mālārūpaka, Utprekṣā, Atiśayokti, śleṣa, and so on. Nowhere in his composition, is there any looseness. The style of Akbariya-Kālidāsa reminds one of the excellent styles of his illustrious predecessor whose name he shares—though at a much later period. One is apt to think that his name Akbariya-Kālidāsa is really a pen-name so designed as to please both Akbar as well as to suit his own capacity as a supposed rival of the best poet of Hindu India.

1. 

हे मन्द ते मालकति हे सब्रजः 
न ताहसी कांपि भवाहसीनाम्।
श्रवण समाधाय मथुरत्या 
विस्मारयामः पुजिनी-विवरोगम्॥

PV. 732.

The Rasika-jīvana records हेमामोहक-पतने, etc. as a verse of Akbariya-Kālidāsa. But see KVS. p. 34, हेमामोहक-पतने, etc. ascribed to Kālidāsa in two MSS. of the SP.
JAGANNATHA PANDITARAJA

Court-poet of Shah Jahan (1628-1658) and great favourite of Dara Shikoh (d. 1659).

Personal history

Jagannatha was the son of Perubhatta¹ or Peramabhatta² and Laksmi of the village Mungundu in the Godavari district. He was a Tailanga brahmin³ of the Veginada community.⁴

He was very fortunate in his training as a student, his father himself being the teacher. His father in his turn was the disciple of Jnanendra Bhikshu in Vedanta, of Mahendra in Nyaya and Vaisesika, of Khanda-deva

1. Rasa-Gangadhar, 1. 3:—
   पाण्डुबारावि पीयूष स्मरेरि पत्नी होलिया।
   तं कसे पेहमहालयं लक्ष्मीकान्तं महापुरुषम॥

   In commenting upon Laksmi, Nagesa says, "लक्ष्मीति
   तनु-पकी-नाम।"

2. Concluding verse (52) of the Pranabharana (No. 53 is an interpolation):—
   तेष्यज्ञानत्व-ज्ञात्यात्म-ज्ञात्यमहामहेश्वरी-दय-साङ्ख्यः।
   श्रीमन्तप्रेममहसंघुर्वनिधं विभूतिनास्तवः॥
   सन्तुष्टं कमतासिख्यं कबितामायक्यं तद्भवांत्।
   श्रीमद्वैभिषेकराजं-विभवेंत्य-जगतायो व्याख्यासीतिर्दृष्टम॥


4. See colophon to the Bhamin-vilasa.
in Pūrva-mīmāṃsā and Ṣeṣāvīrēśvara in the Mahā-
abhāṣya.¹ Ṣeṣāvīrēśvara taught Jagannāṭha Paṇḍitarāja as
well.

It is said that Jagannāṭha started a school at Jaipur.
He as well as other Paṇḍitas of Jaipur were once
challenged by a Kāzī to an open debate in matters con-
cerning Islam. It was only Jagannāṭha who took up
the challenge, studied the religious literature of
the Moslems as much and as quickly as he could within
the fixed date and defeated the Kāzī. This creditable
performance had such a telling effect upon the ruler of
Delhi that he at once invited Jagannāṭha to his court.
Jagannāṭha accepted the same and a fresh chapter in his
life’s history began.

There is a tradition that he fell violently in love
with a Muslim girl called Lavaṅgi whom he married.
Probably, he was unmarried when he came to the court
of the ruler of Delhi.² That he was much enamoured

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1. Rasa-Gaṅgādhara, 1. 2:—

2. Cpr. श्रीमतातीथीयमः हुय सम्भवित्ति दिलसा नैवास्मब्राह्मचरी
वाणी मुद्रितम् कि च हुतहुतुकौशण्य गतो भास्करः।
तव्य चानाजु-चुडूनार-भाजी हुद्रे श्रीमत्तिनीविहि गतो
नास्मायं वसनं न’वा बुद्धतय: हुत्र ब्रजामो वयम्॥
of this Muslim girl is evidenced by several verses attributed to him.\textsuperscript{3}

Probably Jagannātha had a son by Lavaṅgi whose loss he mourns in one of the verses of the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara.\textsuperscript{9} Jagannātha, probably, first came to Delhi during the rule of Jehangir to whom he refers in a verse of the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara.\textsuperscript{8}

Jagannātha himself states in the introductory part of his Āsaf-vilāsa that he got his title Pāṇḍitarāja from emperor Shah Jehan. His work on Āsaf-khān, counsellor of Shah Jehan and brother of Nurjāhān, manifestly shows his reverence for him and also for Rāya

1. वचनी-रमणी विपदः शमनी कमलीयतमा नवनीत-समा ||
   उहिकि-चंकोङ्गु-पर्यंतस्य स ख्यानी जगतीह यद्गुरुगता ||
   शमनी नवनीत-कोमलाप्रणी शमनीये यदि भीतरे कथष्टतु ||
   बचवनी-तात्रहेव लाखु मन्ये न बचनी मापवनी बिनो-हेतुः ||
   न च याचे गरजालि न च बाजिराजि न बिजेठू चिंत मरीयं कालायित ||
   इर्वं गुदस्यानी सल्लक-स्वल्लक-होद्ता लवज्जी कुरवकोवार्य समर्थत्रोः ||

2. प्रणायं सकल-वान्नव-चिन्तामुद्रास्त्य गुद-कुल-प्रभावम्.
   हा तनय विनयशालितनु कथमिव पर-सोक-परिकोभूमिः.

   P. 42, 5th Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press ed.

3. यामां व्यक्तीपत्ते तद्धिसितं सर्वथा-संग्रामाय खुश जातः
   सोर्वं श्रीरामकु-कन्या-पर्यस्ति कथमहुःस्ततं कान्तज्ञांकम्.
   य्यामां न्यायवृत्ती-व्यायाम-रमणी-विषु-स्रोतिविधुत-पतंगलाप्रणी
   लख्ना-व्रीणाधु-पारा-समुदित-सतिंशा सय शंभेन || (P. 703).

The full name of Jehangir was Nuruddin Muhammad Jehangir.
Mukunda of Kashmir at whose instance he composed the same. The verse attributed to Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja declaring that only two Isvaras or Lords, either the Lord of Delhi or of the Universe, are to be approached for help, the rest being simply worthless from the point of view of real patronage, would, probably, refer to Shah Jahan during whose reign he passed the longest period of his life at the court of Delhi.

In some MSS. of his work Jagad-ābharaṇa, there is a reference to his enjoyment of the patronage of Dara Shikoh (see below: under the works of Jagannātha—Jagadābharaṇa). Moreover, Dara Shikoh was murdered in 1659, only one year after the imprisonment of his father Shah Jahan.

The tradition is that Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja left the court of Delhi in sheer disgust after the murder of Dara Shikoh and came to Benares where he was severely reprimanded by Appayya Dīkṣita apparently for marrying a Muslim girl. This was, most probably, only retaliating for Jagannātha’s severe criticism of his work Citra-mimāṃsa in the Citra-mimāṃsa-khaṇḍana. Jagannātha, however, took the insult so terribly to heart that he is said to have committed suicide along with his

1. विद्वीर्यरो वा जगदीशरो वा मनोरधानो पुष्पितं समर्थः।
   प्रज्ञेवृं पल्लें परिदीयमाने शाकाय वा स्वाध्वराय वा स्वातू।॥
beloved Lavañgi in the holy water of the Ganges. There is a tradition that the Gaṅgā-Lahari of Jagannatha was composed for this purpose; as he stepped down and down, he recited one after another the 53 verses of this stotra after which he and Lavañgi were drowned.

But this incident must have taken place not immediately after his leaving the court of Delhi. He says in the Śānta-vilāsa, part IV of the Bhāminī-vilāsa, v. 32, that after leaving Delhi, he resided at Muttra.¹

The third canto of the Bhāminī-vilāsa, viz. the Karuṇa, apparently appears to have been composed after the demise of Jagannatha’s partner in life. But really if the Karuṇa-vilāsa as a part of the Bhāminī-vilāsa were composed with the express intention of having ready illustrations for the Rasa-Gaṅgādharā as Nāgeśa says,² no personal loss need be taken into consideration with re-

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1. शाखावाचार्याचिततानि नित्य-विकारः सवेदिपि खंभारिताः
   विरिषैववाम-पाख्य-पहुँच-वते नीतां नवीनं वयः ।
   सम्प्रदयौजिता-वासनं मधुपुरिः-मध्ये हरि: सेव्यते
   सर्व पतिनताराज-राजि-लिखेन्ताकारि होकारितकम् ॥

2. Jagannātha says in the Rasa-Gaṅgādharā, v. 6: =
   निर्माण्य नूतनमुपवाहराप्रायः
   काश्च्यं मयाक्र निःहितस न परस्य किचिद् ।
   किं सेव्यते स्वमनसां मनसापि गतवः
   कल्पुरिका-जनन-दाहिण-द्रुता श्रेयश् ॥
   Nāgeśa says, “काश्च्यं सामधनीविज्ञासारवस्म्” ॥
gard to the composition of the verses. Moreover, as there is no evidence whatsoever that Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja married a second time, the above supposition distinctly goes against the tradition that he and Lavaṅgi died together in the holy waters of the Ganges.

Date.

The Rasa-Gaṅgādhara contains a verse\(^1\) which refers to Nurdin. Nurdin is really the forename of Nurdin Māhāmmad Jahangir, father of Shah Jahan. Most probably our poet came to the court of Delhi when Jahangir was the ruler. Internal evidence shows that Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja enjoyed the full confidence and liberal patronage of Shah Jahan.\(^2\) If ‘Jagat’ of the work

1. श्याम वझीपवीत, etc., p. 703, NSP. 5th ed.

2. ब्राह्मण सकल-शेष-विस्तार-विस्तारित-महोपकार-परमस्थलीन-मानसेन, प्रतिधिनुमुखदनव-गद-पदाधनके-विधािविदाहितानि-कल्-कर्मिकाश्वास्थमाने, कुल-सुग्रीवसूति-कलि-कलेन, कुमार-पुर्ण-जभ-समाधारित-बेद-बन-मार्ग-विलोकनाय समुद्रीपित-धर्म-व्याला-शाले, स्वर्णितवेष नववाशास्फ-शान-लिङ्गसिद्धेन, स्विन-कुल-सेवा-देवकी-वाह्यन-कायेन, माधुर-कुल-समुद्रकुलुना रायसमुद्रुपदार्थोदेन, सार्वमौष-श्रीशाहजह-प्रसादायित-पविद्तराज-पद्म-विराजिलेन, तेलजु-कुलायतेन, पवित्र-ज्ञानाभेषणासिद्ध-विलासाध्ययमाणायाक निर्मोष्ट।

Introductory part of the Āsaf-vilāsa.

Again, the word ‘विष्ठ-वह्म’ in v. 32 of the Śanta-vilāsa, Part IV of the Bhāmini-vilāsa, most probably, refers to Shah Jahan.
Jagadābharāṇa may be taken to refer to Dara Shikoh as some MSS. show, Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja may be supposed to have continued to enjoy the patronage of the Mughal Raj till the murder of the eldest son of Shah Jahan. Therefore, our poet appears to have enjoyed the patronage of two Mughal emperors and one Mughal prince. It is only likely that Jagannātha was born in the second half of the sixteenth century and continued to contribute to Sanskrit literature till the murder of the unfortunate Mughal prince Dara Shikoh (1659 A.D.) as a court-poet of Delhi. Subsequently to his leaving the Royal court he resided at Muttra and compiled the Bhāmini-vilāsa and necessarily the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara, if the word ‘kāvyya’ in v. 6 of this work really refers to the Bhāmini-vilāsa as Nāgeśa says it does.

Other evidences also help the determination of the date of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja. Our poet is connected with the celebrated School of Grammarians headed by Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita. His exact relationship is best seen in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Śrīmēṅ:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kṛṣṇa-bhaṭṭa, author of the Bhāṣya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāmeśa-bhaṭṭa, (son)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāmeśa-bhaṭṭa, (son)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niśkram-śruta, (disciple)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wrote in 1635 A.D.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nāgēśa Bhaṭṭa flourished towards the end of the 17th century and therefore the date assigned by us to Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja who flourished two generations earlier must be about 50 years earlier still.

In the Kula-prabandha composed in the seventeenth century, which is now included in the Vaṃśa-vīṭhi of the Sāhitya-vaibhava of Bhaṭṭa Mathurānātha Śastrin (Bhaṭṭa Garden, Residency Road, Jaipur, Rajputana), it is stated that one Nārāyaṇa who was a student of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja succumbed to death at an early life in the seventeenth century. This also helps the exact

1. Bhaṭṭoji's disciple Nilakanṭha Śukla composed a work in 1635 A.D.

2. There is a tradition that Hari-Dīkṣita challenged Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja in debate in which our poet first defeated his opponent but later on was himself defeated.

3. लम्ब्या विधा विखिला: पञ्चिवराजावज्ञानासायन।
   नारायणस्तु देवात्मिकायुः स्वपुरुषान्मयूः ॥
determination of the date of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja irrespective of the above evidences.

Again, the Subhāṣita-hārāvalī of Hari Kavi preserves a verse of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja in which he praises one Gaṅgādhara. Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa refers to one Gaṅgādhara as his guru in his commentary on the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara. It may be that these two Gaṅgādharas were identical in which case Gaṅgādhara must have taught Nāgeśa in his old age.

It may further be added that the commentary of Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa on Rasa-Gaṅgādhara was composed by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Jagannātha himself severely criticised Appayya Dīkṣita as a slavish imitator of earlier rhetoricians. Appayya was probably alive up till the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century and was, in any case, a senior contemporary of Jagannātha. Haribhāskara, whose Vṛtta-ratnākara-ṭīkā was composed in 1676 A.D. includes in his Padyāṁṛta- taraṅgiṇī two verses of Jagannātha. The Padyāṁṛta-

1. वित्तमाणा-हेत्वाचैरतिवितत-वाक्येरपि श्रवि -
   नं जेयोऽस्य विग्रहेन-सदृशं गंगाधर-बुधः।

The Lakṣmi-lahārī of Jagannātha seems to refer to the same poet by means of pun on gṛṇāḥ in v. 3—“क्रस्तं
   गायिणि स्कूरितस्य-तञ्च गंगाधर-सुखः।”

2. नला ग्रंगाधरं मर्म-प्रकाशं ततुते गुरुः; the opening line of the commentary.

taraṅgini is dated at 1674 A.D.¹ and was composed only fifteen years after the murder of Dara Shikoh.

From the above evidences we may come to the conclusion that the period of Jagannātha’s literary activities continued from the beginning of the seventeenth century up to about 1660 A.D.

Works of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja.

A survey of the writings of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja at once shows that he wrote on various subjects—(1) Stotras such as those of Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Gaṅgā and Yamunā; (2) Panegyrics of Prāṇanārāyana of Kāmarūpa, Jagatsimha or Dara Shikoh and Āsaf; (3) Nature, e.g. the sun-rise (see Sudhā-lahari below); (4) Sanskrit Grammar such as Praudha-manoramā-kuca-mardini; (5) Sanskrit rhetorical literature, e.g. the Rasa-Gaṅgādharā, a commentary on the Kāvyā-prakāśa and Citra-mimāṃsā-khaṇḍana. Again, the Bhāmini-vilāsa which was composed for the purpose of having ready illustrations for the Rasa-Gaṅgādharā is a monumental work. It contains, among many lyrical stanzas, a large number of Anyoktis which have been amply quoted by the Koṣa-kāras in their anthologies.

Some accounts of the extant works of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja are given below.

1. See p. 72 of my edition of the Padyāṃṭa-taraṅgini.
1. *Amṛta-lahari*.

This hymn of the Yamunā in only eleven verses is meant for daily recitation during the bath. Here the poet earnestly desires to pass his days on the banks of the Yamunā as a mendicant (v. 3) and prays to Kṛṣṇa for salvation.

2. *Āsaf-vilāsa*.

This work is devoted to the praise of Nawab Āsaf Khan, brother of Nur Jahan and minister of Shah Jahan. It is being published for the first time as an Appendix to this work. As Āsaf Khan died in 1641 A.D. as is recorded in the chronogram *Zibe afsos Āsaf Khan*, this work must have been composed before that date; and after the accession of Shah Jahan to the throne in 1628 A.D., as he is described as “Sārvabhauma” in the work itself.

The work deals with Shah Jahan’s visit to Kashmir and Āsaf Khan’s whole-hearted endeavour to promote royal happiness. No historical account about Shah Jahan or Āsaf Khan is found in it.


2. प्रथम स्नान-विहार परस्परे खलू ये नित्य युद्धीत-वते- स्नायुमिन्त्रित-संस्कृत-जन्म-जनितं पाण्य श्राव्हादुज्वितव ॥ V. 10.

3. The MS. used for our edition belongs to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute; see P.K. Gode’s Catalogues of Sansk. MSS., Kāvya volume.
3. Bhāmī-nilāsa, also called Paṇḍitarāja-satāka.¹

The work consists of four vilāsas, viz. Prastāvika-nilāsa, Śrīgāra-nilāsa, Karuṇa-nilāsa and Śānta-nilāsa. Whereas in some editions the total number of verses found are 129, 183, 19 and 45 in the four vilāsas respectively, in others, again, there are 101, 102, 19 and 32 or 33 verses. This great discrepancy in the number of verses in a comparatively recent book is, no doubt, puzzling. It shows, however, that the work enjoys great popularity. In all, 121 verses are left out in several editions. Out of these about 100 are found in the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara; and therefore, there is no doubt that these 100 verses were composed by Jagannātha himself though it may be doubted whether the author himself selected them for inclusion in his Bhāmī-nilāsa. The remaining 21 verses also bear the distinctive stamp of Jagannātha’s poetic excellence and are, most probably, his own.

Nāgėśa Bhāṭṭa in his commentary on the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara says that the Bhāmī-nilāsa was composed

¹. Greek ed. in 1845. Many Indian editions without commentaries since 1870. Ed. with commentary of Mahādeva in the Grantha-ratna-mālā, 1890; with the commentary of Maṇiṛāma by Victor Henry, Paris, 1885; with the vyākhyā by Yadunātha Tārkācārya, Calcutta, Saṁskṛta Press, 1862 and with Kāvyā-marman-prakāśa by Lakṣmana Rāmacandra Vaidya, Bombay, Bhāratī Press, 1887.
earlier than the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara with the object of having ready illustrations for his Magnum opus.¹

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja says that he compiled the Bhāmini-vilāsa as a selection of his verses in order that nobody else could claim them as his own.² But a comparative study of his Bhāmini-vilāsa with the Bhāvaśataka³ of Rudra Nyāyapaścānana or the Anyokti muktālata⁴ of Sambhu Mahākavi reveals that Jagannātha was indebted to both of them for his thought and imagery of a good many verses. Sambhu Mahākavi was the court-poet of king Harṣa of Kashmir (1088-1100 A.D.) and flourished towards the close of the twelfth century A.D. And Rudra Nyāyapaścānana, son of Kāśinātha Vidyānivāsa of Bengal and brother of Viśvānātha Paścānana Bhaṭṭācārya, flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century and continued his literary

1. See Nāgēsa Bhaṭṭa's commentary on the sixth Introductory verse of the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara.

2. At the end of the last part of the Bhāmini-vilāsa, the poet says:—

इन्द्राणि जाते जन्मानो जन्मात्मविशिष्टा श्रद्धा ।
मद्य-पक्ष-रक्षानी मद्य वैयक्ता क्रता मया ॥

3. Cp. Bhāmini-vilāsa, 1.1 with Bhāva-vilāsa, 140; Bhāmini-vilāsa 9 with Bhāva-vilāsa 41 and 37 of the former with 26 of the latter, etc.

4. Cp. Bhāmini-vilāsa, 1.2 with Anyokti-muktā-latā, 14; Bhāmini-vilāsa, 1.19 with AM. 72; BV. 20 with AM. 26; BV. 47 with AM. 12 and so on.
activities during the first half of the seventeenth century.\(^1\) His Bhāva-śataka was composed at the instance of Bhāvasimha, son of Mānasimha.\(^2\)

The Prastāvika-vilāsa is really a collection of Anyoktis. This vilāsa is also found printed under the title Anyoky-ullāsa with Malayalam metrical version by M. N. Rāmakṛṣṇa Śastrin.\(^3\)

The Anyoktis here are all grand in conception as well as expression. The Padyāmṛta-taraṅgini which was composed a few years after the death of our poet Jagannātha quotes a few of these Anyoktis, viz. verses 1, 5, 7 and 14 of the Prastāvika-vilāsa.\(^4\) The first one dwells upon the majesty of the great who justly terrify the rivals, take pity for those who are meek and humble and do not cause any harm to the lowliest. In verse no. 5 the poet establishes that a respectable person must not be dishonoured. In the next verse the poet resorts to the figure of speech Ślesa for bringing out the fact that a poor man must not feel discontented or be despaired; love and appreciation of others' merits are sure

2. Ed. in the Kāvyamālā.
3. Reprinted from the Kavana-kaumudi. [Kottakal], 1916.
4. Padyāmṛta-taraṅgini, verses 200, 213, 252 and 194 respectively.
to be his sustaining forces. In verse no. 34, the proverb “Carrying coal to Newcastle” has been happily substantiated with an illustration.


Our poet expressly states that the defects of the Citra-mimāṁsā of Appayya Dikṣita thoroughly dealt with in the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara are collected in an abbreviated form in this work. Appayya Dikṣita, another outstandingly great Sanskrit scholar of the South, was a sworn enemy of our poet and was responsible for his unnatural death. Unfortunately the Citra-mimāṁsā as well as the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara are both incomplete; no definite reasons for which can be assigned at the present state of our knowledge.

1. Both the Citra-mimāṁsā and the Citra-mimāṁsā-khaṇḍana have been edited in the Kāvya-mālā. Bombay, Nīpāya-sāgar Press.

2. 

The MS. from which the Citra-mimāṁsā-khaṇḍana was edited in the Kāvya-mālā is dated 1652 A.D. and was, probably, written during the life-time of the author himself.
5. Gaṇgā-lahārī,¹ also called Piṭyuṣa-lahārī² and Gaṇgāmṛta-lahārī.

Several editors call Sadāśiva’s commentary on the Gaṇgā-lahārī, as Piṭyuṣa-lahārī. The India Office Library possesses 45 editions of this work, but none is a critical one. This important work badly needs a critical edition. The Gaṇgā-lahārī of Jagannātha is a very sincere outburst of the feelings of a real devotee in 52 stanzas. The poet here remarks with child-like simplicity that he cares little for other goddess as he feels sure of her affection for him; if she now becomes careless about him, who else would come to his rescue, who else would care to console him?³ Her holy water must put an end to his cycle of births.⁴


2. इमी पीयपलहरी जगराणेन निमित्तां।
   य: पैसदत्त सर्वत्र जायन्ते जय-सम्पू:। last verse.

3. सत्वालाम्बादम्भ हयकुलवल्ल-रविष्कार सहवता।
   मया सर्वश्वासे-सरलरूपम् नीताः खरगशा:।
   इदानीमात्राः यदि भजसि मागीरि तत्रा
   निराधारे दा रोदितम कथय केषांमिह पुर:। ॥ १६॥

4. मस्थीला-सोलाश्ररी-सुलिंताम्बोज-पाल-
   स्त्वलवप्पुष्ट-रातिभिरविष्करतौकुमुख-रूप:।
   छरस्त्री-वद्रोह-हरवालू-जस्वाल-जिल्ले
   जलं ते बहुलां मम जनन-जालं जयदु। ॥ २१॥
Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Siva may safely cease to function if only the Ganges is alert about the welfare of the world.¹ The lovely big eyes or the ears are simply useless if they do not see her or hear the sweet sound of her sportive waves.² Many people resort to many austerities, but the poet knows only one way out for avoiding all troubles.³


From the introduction of Durgāprasāda to the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara, it is known that he came across a MS. of the Jagadābharaṇa which had the readings Dara or some epithets such as विस्तीचराराजुग महिम referring to him instead of प्रायाणारायण. So it is certain that a MS. of the poet’s प्रायाणारायण, in that form was found devoted to the praise

1. विस्तीचर विस्तीचर विस्तीचर विस्तीचर
   छले छेपे छेला हरिपिले छुट्टाहुए हर: ।
   को: प्रायाणारायण तपोदान-वजने:
   सबित्री कामानं यद्रि जगति जगति भवती॥२॥

2. विस्तीचराराजुग महिम नयनारम्भा खलू फले
   न यान्यामालीका परम-रमणारा तव तानु: ।
   पर्यं दि नयनारम्भा जननि मनुजन्य भनयायो-
   यत्योपस्यालस्य लहरिहरिला-कलकत:॥३॥

3. यजन्ते वेदान्त कलिन्तर-तेवास्त्वम्परे
   वितान-न्यासका यस्म-नियम-रक्ता: कलिपये ।
   यहां तु त्योग-स्मरणा-उत्तकाम्बमित्रययो
   जगाजालं जाने जननि तुष्य-जालशं सहाराम॥४॥
of Dara Shikoh. The late Mr. S. M. Paranjape, however, says in his edition of the Bhāmini-vilāsa that he came across a MS. of the Jagadābharana which had the concluding verse and the colophon as follows:—

तीलज्ञानवच-महज्ञालालय-महालक्ष्मी-दुर्य-शालितः
ध्रीमत-पेरम-मह-सुनुरविंशं विहेहलालतन्तः
ध्रीरायाकलक्ष्मीनन्दन-जगदृस्तिः-प्रमोर्क्षेि
ध्रीमत-परिष्टलस्य-कल्कब्य-जग्नायो व्यतानीविदम्

इति महामहोपाध्याय-पद-वाक्य-प्रमाण-पारावाराशा-तीलज्ञ-कुलावलस्य-ध्रीपरम-
महज्ञालालयेन विनिमित्तं जगदभराश्च जगादहितं-वहःनम्

Jagatsimha, son of Karnasimha, was the Raṇā of Udaipur and reigned from 1628-1654 A.D. Chronologically, there is no difficulty in the poet’s composing the work in praise of Dara Shikoh or Jagatsimha; and as it was he, who praised विश्नु as जगदीश्वर, one cannot be sure to whose praise the work was really devoted by the poet himself.

7. Karuṇā-lahari, also called Viṣṇu-lahari.

In some MSS, the name Karuṇā-lahari is replaced by Viṣṇu-lahari.² It is a hymn of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa in 60

1. विश्नुवरी वा जगदीश्वर वा मनोरथाय शून्यत्वं समर्थः।

2. विश्नुवरी पालि: परदीप्तमाने शाकाय वा स्वास्तवश्चाय वा स्यायः।

verses and is outstandingly lyrical throughout. The poet, as is clear from his other writings as well, was most religiously minded and in this hymn he declares that he cares for nothing else than the Lord. A child falling into a pit is saved even by a passerby; the poet fallen into the sea must be saved by the father, the Lord. The mind of the poet, a cakora in quest of moonbeams, is terribly scorched by the wild fire of the forest of Universe; the face-moon of the Lord must now save it by the award of what it so badly needs.


No MS. of this work could be availed of. Stein notices one MS. in his Catalogue of Sans. MSS. belonging to Raghunath Temple Library in Kashmir and Jammu (60, 269, 1-2).

1. तद्भवित्तुपलम्ब्यज्ञ-ध्य-निगृहवृत्त-निदर्श-निदान-नितान्त-सम्पतः।
   सनूरशिवेंद्रो भस सुत्त-वायसस्त्वहर्षितमीतीवान तुषारय मन्यते॥ verse 4.

2. प्रवच गतरूपार गतं शिशूं पवितकोपि निवार्यते ज्ञातो।
   जनकेन पत्तनु भवसिपिः न निवायों भवता कथं विषो॥ verse 26.

3. विबाह-विपवातंदी-वलय-लश-दीवानलः।
   प्रभुत्व-शिववली-विकालतं भद्रीं भुं।
   श्रमन्त-मिलस्विद्रिणिते विषिल-मधुरी-मन्दिरे।
   सुकुल्ल-मुख-मन्दिरे चिरिमदं चकोरायताम्॥ verse 59.
9. Lakṣmi-lahari.¹

The Lakṣmi-lahari consists of 41 verses in Śikhariṇī metre and is a hymn of the goddess Lakṣmi. The poet prays to her for removing all his sins and for her kindness to him. He considers it superfluous that in a hand that is matchless in fragrance as well as tenderness adored by by all poets, a lotus should bloom again; it is from this that the well-known figure of speech Simile of the kāvyas originated.² The necklace of the goddess that represents the assemblage of all the beauties in the world and puts to an end all the troubles of the devotees should find out the means of the poet’s salvation.³

10. Manoramā-kuca-mardana.⁴

[also called Prauḍha-manoramā°]

This work that has not as yet been published is

1. Published in the Kāvyā-mālā, part II, pp. 104-111.

2. प्रलयं स्रूरस्य कविकृतं-नमस्त्या शुचिरता
   तथापि तवद्वै निवर्दविन् विकलितम्।
   कलापे काव्यानां प्रहृति-कमनीय-स्तुति-विचारः
   गुहाव्यक्ष्वापां प्रधितसम्पत्तिः समजनि || verse 25.

3. समाहार: श्रीयां विरचिततिविहारो हरिहारा
   परीहारो भक्त-प्रभव-भक्त-सन्ताप-सरसः।
   प्रहार: सवंसामपिन च विविधां विन्यासतये
   समुदारोपायं तत स्पष्टि हारो विश्रावः || verse 27.

4 List of Mss. belonging to Pt. Radhakrishna of Lahore, 9: Classified Index to the Sans. MSS. in the Palace at Tanjore by Burnell, London, 1880, 40b; Lists of Sans. MSS. in Private Libraries of Southern India by Gustav Oppert, MSS. 4339 and 4499; etc.
devoted to a scathing criticism of Manoramā [Praudha-
manoramā], Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita’s commentary on his 
Siddhānta-kaumudi.

11. Prāṇābharāṇa.¹

The poet composed this panegyric in 53 verses for 
expressing his heart-felt delight on hearing the verses of 
Prāṇanārāyana, king of Kāmarūpa.² He highly praises 
Prāṇanārāyana for his vast learning, particularly in verses 
16 and 50. There is a ṭippanā on this work 
composed by the poet himself for bringing out the rhetor-
cical excellence of each verse. Every stanza is designed 
to be an excellent example of one or more rhetorical 
figures of speech. Grand indeed is the verse (no. 52) con-
taining a pun on the word ‘Vāmā’³ and the adjectives 
are so used that they may be interpreted both with 
reference to the enemies of the king as well as his wife. 
By means of a pun on the word ‘Arjuna’⁴ the poet


2. See the last verse (no. 52). No. 53 is an interpolation. 
The name of the king is given in verse no. 5. His designa-
tion कामक्रेश्वर is given in verses 2, 15 and 22.

3. प्राग्राभास्तक्षितिसितमां बोल रसाकाव्याम 
लक्ष्यात् वचातां तनोषि करते जलसा-सलाहसा-सतम। 
प्रत्यक्ष परिनिर्माणम्यो चेति समालन्ते 
वामानां विषये नामेष्वर भवत: प्राग्राभास्तक्षितम्। II Verse 7.

4. प्रापरे खलु संसारे विभिन्नकोशिन्न न: कुतः। 
कीत्यां निर्मलया भूप त्वया सर्वेष्वः न: कुतः। II Verse 43.
charmingly describes the fame of the king extending all over the world.\(^1\)

The MS. of the Prāṇābharana belonging to the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library (no. 3828) gives the name of the poet’s father as Raghunātha Bhāṭṭa and has the reading ‘Kamalādhipasya’ instead of ‘Kamatādhipasya’ in verse 53. Again, at the end of this MS. there is a long prose passage which is not found in the printed edition.

12. Rasa-Gaṅgādhara.

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja was not only a great poet but also one of the best rhetoricians India has ever produced. The Rasa-Gaṅgādhara of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja is one of the best rhetorical works of India from every point of view, viz., clarity of expression, superb judgment, depth of insight, wide range of learning and so on. All the examples of the work are Jagannātha’s own composition.

Unfortunately the work is available in an incomplete from, breaking off in the middle of the Uttara alaṅkāra. No definite reason for its incompletion is known. His Citra-mimāṁsā-khaṇḍana shows that it was composed after the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara and one would naturally think that Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja really completed the work,

1. गमने चन्द्रिकायले हिमायले हिमाधले ।
   पृथिव्यां सागरायले भूपाल तब कवित्यः। II Verse 48.
though the remaining portion of it is not available to-day even in MS. form. Or, it may be that in his anxiety to oppose vehemently his greatest rival Appayya Dikṣita, he really undertook the work khaṇḍana even before the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara was completed. The tradition that the learned scholar courted death along with his wife Lavaṅgī owing to the deliberate insult meted out by Appayya Dikṣita probably furnishes a clue as to why both the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara and Citra-mimāṃsā-khaṇḍana are found incomplete.

13. Sudhā-lahari.¹

The Sudhā-lahari presents a grand description of sunrise in 30 verses in the metre Srāgḍhārā. The Sun rising in the East from the Udayagiri causes immense delight to all—particularly, to the lotus. It is the best healer of all diseases and inspirer to all devotees. Its rays, shooting through trees and falling on the earth, appear to young parrots like sticks and they, therefore, try to put their legs on them; the dew-drops on leaves, mixed with them, resemble the pomegranate-seeds in order to eat which they open their beaks.² The Sun is the son of

1. Ed. in the Kāvyamālā, Part 1, pp. 16-22.

2. निर्विन्द्र हस्ताक्षरामविवाहमुद्रेव बेदु गोत्रां गंगेशु

द्राक्षेन्द्रनि-क्षेत्र-प्रस्तुत-हिमकत: द्राक्षिर-निहित-सीखुद्वर

येव: निन्निन्ने दलाय-प्रकाष-हिमकतो द्राक्षिर-निहित-सीखुद्वर

पाण्डु. जाताययमध्वनिति न युक्तिश्चयस्वतेः पाण्डु हनो: ||k||
Indra by the Eastern horizon as it were and therefore, it appears as though the birth-rites are performed in the morning. The drops of water offered as oblation to the Sun appear like so many jewels in course of their fall to the ground. The Sun is ever merciful to all men inasmuch as it seeks the aid of the Fire-god for their protection during its absence at night.

14. Yamunā-varṇana, a prose work.

No complete MS. of it is as yet traced. Only two quotations from it are preserved for us in the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara.

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja flourished at a time when even the vernacular poets were excessively fond of introducing alliteration in composition. Several Hindi verses of Vihārin and Sanskrit verses of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja are very much alike in style as well as thought. There are traces of the influence of his age upon Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja; e.g. it was customary among aristo-

1. See v. 8, कीलाले: कुकुमान्ना, etc.
2. See v. 13, अन्नानीं नष्टीन्ना etc.
3. नित्यानन्दःसमुखः सकलकपित द्वारां भारमाधाय वन्दा-वन्दायायामपीयः स भवदुभव्यते मूर्तस्मय ||
crats during Mughal rule to maintain a couple of pigeons. There is a verse in the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara which refers to a pair of these love-birds.¹

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja is undoubtedly one of the greatest rhetoricians in Sanskrit, if not the very greatest. If he could have completed the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara, he would have undoubtedly eclipsed the glory of all the rhetoricians of India. It is only unfortunate that such an outstanding personality should have faced such a sad end of life. He was a great poet as well as a good prose-writer. It may be taken for granted that his Kāvyaparakāśa-tīkā bears the same stamp of rhetorical perfection as the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara does. It is a great pity that such an important work should still be known in name only. We implore to the authorities of the Raghunath Temple Library, Kashmir and Jammu, to undertake the publication of this work at the earliest opportunity. It may also be presumed that the work of our Paṇḍitarāja

1. Cp. e.g.

"वीरेश्वर दत्तराधिता जयमन्तराधिता हरिकर्तावनयायः।
प्रतिसिद्धितं इव यामुना-भार-गीर-तीर-तेरः॥ P. 258 of RG.

with Vihārin's verse: —

"विपिष्ठो प्रभो उर्ध्वतन्त्रो नीरो चाँचलपीर न।
मो गंगाविष्ठ सरसस्वर्गालिनी नीरो न।
विकृत्वा वान्तता तरसा कनोती कुंजतकशोथस्य पुरो द्वारे।
मयं हिम्मतादि वदनारकिन्द्रम नस्मृतसबृत।॥

P. 97 of R.G."
on Sanskrit Grammar, the Monoramā-kuca-mardana, would be also a work of outstanding merit. Trained in the same school as that of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita and probably, his contemporary too—in any case, a direct disciple of Vireśvara, son of Seśakṛṣṇa, Bhaṭṭoji’s guru—Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja was eminently fitted for the work. Jagannātha’s panegyrics of the then kings of India and hymns on various deities are also quite up to the standard of the author of the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara.
SEVERAL OTHER SANSKRIT POETS PATRONISED BY MUSLIM RULERS

Amṛtadatta was the court-poet of Shahabuddin who severely threaten Miraśāha planning for the invasion of Kashmir. Shahabuddin must have flourished in or before the twelfth century when Śrīdharadāsa, author of the Sadukti-kārṇāmṛta, adorned the court of Lakṣmaṇasena as is evident from the fact that one of the verses of Amṛtadatta is quoted in the Sad-uktikārṇāmṛta. This verse and several other verses quoted

1. Verses 608 and 609 of the Subhāsītāvalī:
   कामीरागमुक्तामत्वः मीराकाहारणा-भूपते।
   शाधुभूषिन्न-भूसीन्नः प्राहिमोददिति लेखकम्॥
   किमेवमविद्रक्कतः विपु-कुरुक्षो होल-कर्मे
   परिक्षितुमिहसे विरस नव शूलं वनमु॥
   स्वयमोमर गजयूध-नाथ-मधोभाजलोङ्गोख्विति-
   जिबटा-पटल-भाषोरक्कट-सदा-भरे केसरी॥ भारा भ्रमूत्तरः

2. 11. 20. 3, p. 81, Lahore ed., उत्तरयस्य-कान्तार्थ, etc.

3. Verses of Amṛtadatta quoted in the SSV.

Subjects

No. 805: स्वामविवहितालयाः श्रमभागोः [वववीरणोऽकैः]
,, 2455: स्‍वामविवहितालयाः [तत्त्वकैः]
,, 429: स्वामविवहितालयाः [दुर्जन-निन्द्वा]
,, 2456: श्रमधी पान-करभाभा: [तत्त्वकैः]
in the Subhāṣītāvalī are not found anywhere else. Two of his verses are found in the Subhāṣītāvalī as well as the Sūktimuktāvalī of Jalhaṇa.¹

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<td>989</td>
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<td>2453</td>
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<td>[चार्या]</td>
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<td>2574</td>
<td>सौभाग्यस्तु समस्तेऽन</td>
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1. SSV. 1032, कोश्य श्राविति-प्रकारस्य, etc.

Sūktimuktāvalī, p. 68, v. 6.

1143, भक्ति-प्रह-विस्तोक्तः, etc.

Sūktimuktāvalī, p. 27, v. 64.

This second verse has been quoted by Mammaṭa also in his Kāvya-prakāśa.
Amṛtadatta is a good poet. Some of his verses are really enjoyable. Thus in censuring the wicked, he says that neither the nectar was drunk by the gods, nor the poison by Śiva but they persist still in the world in the honeyed speech and the heart of the wicked respectively.¹

Again censuring the desert, the poet says he censures it not because it cannot be of any service to anybody but because it deceives the thirsty people by deluding them through mirage.²

In his verse on the sentiment of Laughter, Lakṣmī is said to be fond of the dull-witted (go-buddhi) because her husband used to play with the cows (go-s). As a chaste lady, she is intensely devoted to those who have some semblance with the favourites of her husband.³ This refers to the traditional enmity between the two co-wives Lakṣmī, the goddess of Fortune and Sarasvatī,

1. प्रमर्शकृत्ते न पीतमयेणं व हालाशलमुर्ज्ज्यं हरेखा ।
विचित्रा निद्वित्तं खलस्य वाचि द्रवयेतलहरिरक्रमन्तरन्यायं ॥

भाराप्रमृतश्चत्यं ॥ SSV. 429.

2. प्रव षेन्द्रियाचि क्योस्वपुष्कतम् कल्याचिपिपिज्जामः
कांम् मोपक्षायास्तत्स्तव मरो वाच्यं न धीरो भव ।
किन्तुवाराजस्यस्वप्नवन्यजनवक्रमेभुतीस्बाह वशनां
प्रेमं करसि तत्र-श्रुव्दिति-चित्रोपिन्यायातः गोवर्षेचे ॥ SSV. 949

3. कुभवः क्रीरिकतामु गोर्मिरिति गो-हल्य-हुदिञ्चु ।
पञ्चमातवति क्षत्रीरहो देवी पतिवितः ॥ SSV. 2291.
the goddess of Learning. Lakṣmi is said to favour the
dull-witted while scholars are destined to suffer from
poverty. It is not improbable that the verse has a
personal significance.

In his verse on the sea, he says the sea may at times
transgress its coastal limit (maryādā) but never violates
the self-imposed rule (maryādā) that it would not be
of any service to the thirsty.¹ In the verse मह्म-प्रह-विलोकन,
etc. he exhibits his skill in intellectual exercises.
He uses all the adjectives to Netre (neuter-dual) and
tanuḥ (feminine-singular) as well as the verb in such a
way that they qualify both Netre and tanuḥ without
any alteration in form:—

मह्म-प्रह-विलोकन-प्रहयिनी नीलोतल-स्पर्शिनी
ध्यानलम्बनवतो समाधि-निरतसतिहित-प्राप्ते ।
लोचनवेल महानिधि रसिकतो लज्जाहरोपरावती
युभारस करतां भवानि-रामन नैते तत्तवो हरे: II SSV. 43.

In this verse the poet prays that either the eyes of
Hari or his body may remove all the sorrows of the
people due to the cycle of births. From the available
verses, however, Amṛtadattra does not seem to have
possessed a very fertile imagination and novelty of
thought. His verses are rather stereotyped.

¹:  म पाल्यति मयौऽताः पेघान्यामम्मुलिस्यथा ।
हृष्यतां नौफळस्वयम्मितीमामपरां वथा II SSV. 853.
PUNÇARîKA VIṬṬHALA

Punḍarika mainly wrote on Music. He belonged to the court of Burhan Khan of the Pharuki family which ruled between 1370-1600 A.D. at Anandavalli in Khandesh. Burhan’s father and grand-father were Taj Khan and Ahmed Khan respectively. Subsequently Punḍarika came to the court of Mādhavasimha of the Kacchapa dynasty, son of Bhagavantadāsa and grandson of Bhānu and composed his Rāga-maṇjarī at his instance. Punḍarika was a favourite of Akbar as well.

As the Rāga-mālā of the same author is dated Saka 1498 (1576 A.D.), Punḍarika must have flourished in the middle of the 16th century A.D.1

HARINĀRĀYANA MISRA

The Padya-veṇī preserves two verses by this poet in one of which he praises emperor Shah Jahan (1628-1658 A.D.) and therefore, he flourished about three hundred years ago. The last line of this verse presents some difficulty in sense; probably, the readings of both the MSS. are corrupt; still, the verse2 is a good one.

1. Bhandarkar’s Reports, 1884-87, No. 1026.
2. मूललोकमित्र-नन्दिण, etc. PV. 141=SS. 138. For the complete verse, See Supplement: Shah Jahan.
VAMŚIDHARA MIŚRA

VAMŚIDHARA MIŚRA

The Padyāmṛta-taranāgini preserves one verse of Vaṃśidhara Miśra who was a great favourite of the queen of Shah Jahan. Thus in one verse Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, favourite poet of Shah Jahan, says that he is a Lion who does not find anywhere even an elephant, all that he sees around him are really deer who are easily assailable. Vaṃśidhara Miśra, however, retorts him by saying that Jagannātha as the favourite of Mahādeva (Shah Jahan) is really a bull. It is he, not Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, who as a favourite of Durgā (the queen) is really the Lion and is capable of vanquishing all others.¹

I. Padyāmṛta-taranāgini, v. 200, p. 49:—

विगाते भूयन्ते मदु-मलिन-गम्हधा: करिते:
करियतः कांडुक्वायल्यदवम-मृत्तिता: खलु सुगा:।
इत्यादी लोकेषम्भवंतुस्यम-तथाबनां पुनःस्वं
नवानां परिहार्यं प्रक्ट्यतु कर्मन्यूपापति: ॥

पवित्तराजस्य ॥

Op. cit., v. 201, p. 49:—

विधिनागाः प्रतिपादित्र प्रथमतो जात्वंब जतत्वंता
सम्भव्य-स्वत-विकमोधव वृत्तमो गौरवं गौरीपते:।
विकामनोगतं करोतु करतं नाम ब्रह्माकी-हले
करणकाल-कृत्तबधिनी-करणस्य सिफः स करणिरवः: ॥

वंशीचर-मिश्रस्य ॥

Commenting on the second verse, Jayarāma, author of Sopāna, commentary of the Padyāmṛta-taranāgini of his father Haribhāskara, says:—

“प्रयत्नस्यायायापदेश्यत्स्य दिशीत्रव-शाहजहां-महिष्य: ते सेवको वंशीचर-नामा
CATURBHUJA

This poet and rhetorician composed his Rasa-kalpadruma for the gratification of his patron Shayasta Khan, Aurangzib’s maternal uncle and General. Unfortunately, this valuable work has not as yet been published.¹ It was written in Saṅvat 1745 or 1689 A.D. (वाष्णवशसशास्त्र बैशाखे पुर्णिमामयृ) i.e. the 31st year of Alamgir’s reign. Herein he gives the genealogy of his patron:—

Itamāddoulā
               | Asak Khān
               | Shayasta Khān²

¹ कवियंद्राज-परेन प्रत्युपराजतूपन्यथ्यति विह्वानह इति...। यदि ब्रह्मे गौरीपति-सम्बन्धेन विक्रम: सम्भाव्यते, तथा सम्प्राप्त कान्तेश्वरकुटुम्बनी-सम्बन्धेन स हुय एव, परन्तु ब्रह्मे वाणिज्य-विक्रम-संभाव्यन नैय प्रायोभिर्वंति द्यनप्रभास कान्तेश्वर इत्याविता......’
² 1. Ms. belongs to the Ulwar Maharaja Mss. Library; see Peter Peterson’s Catalogue of Sansk. Mss., No. 1067.
² 2. आध: सर्वकालीनम् प्रतिभाग-व्यासोसी-सम्बन्धी
   राजधी-नववहि-वेषित-सुज्य-स्तम्भ-द्वय: सहय:।
   प्रष्टावरा-करि-क्षणतालज-समुन्नीति-प्रतापावलः
   इमाश्रयपौर-इशालिस्तव्याहृ. इतमाहैस्यतिनामाभवतु ||
   ब्रम्हसुचि-जन-भीतोहम-वाप-प्रताप-
   अर्जु-कमल-मनोत्साहारितेन-वाप:।
   आर्थिन करिबोधिरस्मारक-स्तम्भ-पीढः
   छतुरसनक-क्षान: सुधरस्मातू ब्रह्मारि: ||
This work consists of Caturbhuja's verses as well as those of other poets, viz. Acalarudra, Aniruddha, Avilamba, Īśvaradāsa, Ugragraha, Kaṁsanārāyaṇa, Kavindra, Kuṇjaṅkutira, Kulapati, Kṛṣṇānanda-Miśra, Gadādhara, Gauḍayādava, King Jaganmāni(?) Dhakkārāva, Daśāvadhāna, Dhanadeva, Navina-Kavindra, Nāthamiśra, Paṅcānana, Paraśurāma, Bhārati-Kavi-Bhūpati-Miśra, Maṇḍana, Mati, Mahāmanuṣya, Mohana-Miśra, Raghupati, Rantideva, Rāmacandra-Sarasvatī, Rāmarāma, Ruci, Vasanta, Vānirasaḷa, Vāhinipati, Viśvambhara, Vidyānidhi, Shayasta Khan, Saṁjayā(?), Kavirāja, Sarvadāsa, Svasthāna-Miśra, Haripati Bhaṭṭa and Harindra. Besides these, the verses of three women poets have also been quoted, viz. Madhuravalli, Lakhyā and Vidyā. The pratikas of their verses are given below:—

यहांनशु जगत्सत्त्वभूषमन्मव्यायानि याहान्का
राजान: छल्तान्नगाि-शहसा ये चापे मानिन:।

यहुत्याद्व नह न्यासवस्थनुचरा वल्य प्रतापो रवि-श्रद्धा वर्ष्य यशोभ्रुदेवसक-खानासीतृष्ण:। सोहु:।।

प्रस्ति स्वस्तिकक: समस्त-जगति-वास्तवभ-लोकस्य यो
वास्तवानुभ-सप्त-सम्स्तक-रोगो लक्ष्यातिवास्तोष्ण:।

शस्त्र-स्तुत्य-यथा निरस्त-निविलिहवस्तोमो मन्त्रस्तुवः
शास्त्रात्मान-न्यपो विशुद्ध-मतिभ्रुद्धस्राप-लाखाद्व:।॥

जानामि दुनाय व्यवस्थयो श्रेयो वस्त्रवाय तद्वज्ञानाय वेदा:।
शास्त्र-व्यायाम यथा:प्रताप-साम्याय श्रोम-द्रम्बधरो सरसः।॥

तत्त्वात्तुत्तरानाथेभ्र वर्णं नव-रासात्मकम्।

पत्रवृजो ध्वनिति स्वपचिक परीरंचि।
Muslim Patronage to Sanskrit Learning

1. Madhuravalli—(i) रक्षाशोक-कृष्णदरी; (ii) बुझन-विभवः;
   (iii) विचित्रस्वयं शुक; (iv) दिनयव्रुह; (v) मित्र तत्र भवता;
   (vi) बिनियमं कवरी; (vii) वृक्ष-नयना
2. Lakhya := (i) छायमहो रजनी
3. Vidyā := (i) अन्यांशां ताहाः

There are sixty-five Prastāvas or chapters and one thousand verses in the Rasa-kalpa-druma.

Lakṣmīpati

The lineage of the poet, as given by himself in the Lipi-mālikā, which is not published as yet is as follows:

Jayadeva

Viśvarūpa

Srīnivāsa Vīreśvara Vidyāpati Lakṣmīpati

The date of the composition of the work is 1643 of the Śaka era i.e. 1721 A.D.

Lakṣmīpati composed the work with the object of bringing to the notice of his ruler-patron how mischief-mongers bring about the destruction of great people as well as of the poor; particularly, with the object of secur-

1. विष्ठ-विष्ठायान-भूडेवो जगदेवात्मजो महान्
   विशेषत: स्वतः तथे भलवास्तु यतः स्वतः: ||
   तेवामेति: श्रीपिष्टाः नाम-पुजय-पुजान्वित: ||
   बृहस्पतिः हिंदीपतिः विष्ठा-विष्ठक-विश्वरी: ||
   तस्मीपतिः चतुः तस्त: वा लिपि-मालिका: ||
   विबुधाः चिन्त-कमले भ्रमरीवास्तु चा नाम: ||
2. This MS. belongs to Calcutta Sanskrit College Library, No. 2484.
ing his own position against all the odds that might befall him.  

Mahammad Shah ascended the throne in 1720. The historical incidents dealt with in the work mostly took place between 1707 when Alamgir died and 1721, the second year of the reign of Mahammad Shah.  

1. Rajakaryaheke dveshastahansudharyapay Aayate.
   Shradhaacharyo vaishnavy krivayet nishiloykane. II
   Rajatrisheke sudakhaa tu kriyate teha kuttar. II
   Sudakar-tath' dhrisya nimbabhllaasaroopaya yatha II
   Kriyate kechivun...tatha rajasa tu ch裳amagn. II
   Manthvaro nayapita su kriyate lalivay pah. II
   Kauroro na mahaasatva binna tihaasitaye yatha II
   Tatha nupadpya lalivay binna tihaasita na k急速II
   Lokokkara Manth-pijam Protected Rajasmi: sarva-mahatva II
   Mavlato pucharamprlla nitarasamudaraya. II
   Pravahuho yatha lok-waakto maaajarnina II
   Nishatropadanta lokanaamukhyatru tatha sam II
   Maaajarninadapi karthavao nipratyastvita Jayata II
   Maya vibhavita chalita yugabhuvitaan tulmaya II
   Hinlakshyapay vajanimitranta II pad-hyayte II
   Vahiniyamitva prana stha-pad-hyayaygante II
   Lokokkara na sabh dvean: karthavay sam nasiik II

This work contains copious references to Akbar, Jehangir, Shah Jahan and particularly Aurangzeb.¹

Lakṣmipati deals, in this campū Lipi-mālikā, with the events leading to the campaign against Mahammad Shah, son of Aurangzeb, launched upon by his minister Abdullah and the reinstatement of the latter to the post of minister of Delhi. Abdullah, Husain Ali Khan and Surphadi Saiyed Khan were three brothers of whom Abdullah was the minister of Delhi. Husain Ali Khan was also a very influential man. Mahammad Shah was much indebted to Abdullah for many reasons; still, as he became apprehensive of the tremendous power of Abdullah, he decided to assassinate Hasan which he actually did. As a consequence, Abdullah led a vast army against him but was subsequently defeated. Mahammad’s army did not kill Abdullah because he was a Saiyad. Mahammad himself reinstated him to his post of minister as a token of his previous gratitude to Abdullah. It is clear from the

¹ E.g. p. 119—

bhūra-jñāne mārasaṃna līpi-vahāraśtraccha kīlā āhi.

bhūra-jñānaṃ tābdhiāvīrēva......

śrīrāma-hiṇaśāha-vuṣṭaṃ kṛṣṇa bhajanāye āhi.

bhūra-jñāne-hiṇaśāhaṃ nay-tattvāmi: samarpita āhi.

p. 129—Mahammad Shah is here addressed bhūra-jñāne-

bhūmahe-bhūmahe jñāna-pramāṇa-vahāna-vahāna āhi. devahe śva jñātaśānta......
work that Lakṣmīpati was a good Sanskrit scholar, showing here as he does his thorough acquaintance with various branches of Sanskrit literature, particularly, Nyāya,\(^1\) Jyautiṣa\(^2\) and Tantra.\(^3\) He also profusely quotes many maxims, verses from the Bhagavad-gītā, the Bhāgavata and so on. He shows his proficiency in the Koran as well.\(^4\)

That Lakṣmīpati was thoroughly conversant with Arabic and Persian is evidenced by his use of a large number of Arabic and Persian words in his composition. Although the value of this sort of admixture of different languages may be questioned, it must be said to his credit that the sense and the metre are not in any way jeopardised.

E.g.

P. 5 स नरे गोलानी लहराई करौ ति गोला (कोशल)\(^5\)-भज्ञसम्।

P. 5 वजिरो मया मुक्ता जहूर (जहूर)\(^6\) लेजिते गुप्त।।

P. ६ गुणाहमन्तरा कोनास (नल)\(^7\) लहराई करौ ति क्षेष्य दिशाके।।

P. ९ लाभामि व तमोदेवं पश्चात्तित्व-रि रु पर (शरीर)\(^8\)।।

P. ९ कमः कमः (कबिखस्ति)\(^9\) सोपि हातमि: कुलद्रम म-कुठारक:।।

P. १० स वाशवहितो... जवाव (जराब)\(^10\) कि प्रदास्यति।

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1. E.g. p. 186, प्रतिवन्धक-कार्ये शु न कार्य-कार्यादिपि। जायते हु एtc.; p. 104, घटन द्रव्य-कारका, etc.

2. E.g. pp. 202-205. 3. शत-क्रका-नीरुपान, p. 130.

4. E.g. p. 81—योपित्वहृदयोवरं निनिपिदमस्ति व यथा।।


7. Without vice. 8. In the soul.

9. Like a lion. 10. Sinner; unfortunate. 11. Reply.
Lakṣmipati was also thoroughly conversant with the political conditions of the whole of the North India of his time as copious references to many places and personalities show. He was not only a poet but also a good historian. It is, however, regrettable that he sometimes lets his imagination get the upper hand with the result that the facts stated are at times exaggerated.
PROPAGATION OF SANSKRITIC LEARNING DURING MUSLIM RULE

In Mediaeval ages the Mahomedan rulers devoted much attention to the spread of Sanskritic knowledge and Culture. In this respect the attention of the Moslem rulers of Bengal was first drawn to the two great Epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. Nasir Shah of Bengal (1282-1325 A.D.) to whom our great Vidyāpati dedicated one of his Padas,¹ ordered the first Bengali rendering of the Mahābhārata. It is not exactly known whether Kṛttivāsa undertook the execution of the Bengali version of the Rāmāyaṇa at the instance of a Moslem ruler or of Kaṃsanārāyaṇa. Even though the latter might have ordered the same, the initiative was certainly obtained from Nasir Shah. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa was translated into Bengali by Mālādhara Basu at the instance of emperor Husain Shah. Kavindra Parameśvara translated up to the Strī-parvan of the Mahābhārata by order of Parāgal Khan, general of Husain Shah. The encouragement Parāgal gave the poet is unique. Every evening he and his courtiers con­gregated in his palace at Parāgalpur in Feni for listening

1. In one of his Padas, Vidyāpati respectfully refers to another of Bengal, viz. Sultan Ghiyasuddin II (1367-1373 A.D.).
to Kavindra’s translation. His son Chuṭi Khān also encouraged Śrīkara Nandin for carrying out a similar work. When he became the Governor of Chittagong, he ordered Śrīkara to translate the Aśvamedha-Parvan of the Mahābhārata which he did.

Not only the rulers of Bengal but also the Imperial rulers of Delhi encouraged the propagation of Sanskritic learning in various ways. Bābar was a firm believer in Hindu Astronomy which, consequently, became a very popular subject for studies throughout his kingdom. He makes significant remarks about this science in connection with the observatory at Samarkand the calculations of which were followed by all Indian Mahomedans.\(^1\) Nothing much about Humāyūn’s enterprise for the spread of Sanskritic learning or his encouragement to Sanskritic scholars is known. But his great son Ākbar compensated enough for this lack, if any, on his father’s part. In 1582 A.D., he ordered Naqīb Khān to translate the Mahābhārata. He evinced much personal interest in this work. He personally explained to Naqīb night after night the procedure to be followed for its successful execution. He ordered Ābdul Qādir, author of the Tārikh-i-Badāuni, to assist Naqīb in this

\(^1\) Erskine’s Memoirs of Babar, pp. 50, 51. Ulugh Beg Mirzā entrusted the charge to Qāzīzādah Rūmī; on his death, to Maulānā Ghiyasuddin Jamshīd; and subsequently to Ibn’ Alī Muhammad Koshjī.
work. Two *parvan*s were translated within a few months. Then Mulla Sheri and Sulțan Ḥāji Thāneswari collaborated. Shaikh Faizi was engaged in versifying the rough translation, but he progressed only up to the second Book. Ḥāji who was engaged in revising Faizi’s work was dismissed after he had finished only a fraction of the work. This work was not a literal translation but really a summary of this great epic. This condensed version was named Razm-Nāmah or Book of War. Subsequently it was highly decorated with pictures. For the MS. of this work Akbar spent £40,000. The preface to the work was written by Abul Fazl and copies of the work were distributed among the nobles. By order of the emperor, Abdul Qādir began the translation of the Rāmāyaṇa in 1585 A.D. and completed the same in 1589 A.D. At his instance, again, a converted Mahomedan of the South and Abdul Qādir began the translation of the Atharva-veda. On account of their failure in doing the work properly, it was entrusted to Shaikh Faizi. Subsequently, however, the duty devolved upon Ḥāji Ibrāhīm Sarhindi.

1. Martin notices in his Miniature Painting and Painters of India, Persia and Turkey, vol. I, p. 127, that the MS. is at present at Jaipur.
2. Gladwin’s *Āin-i-Akbari*, p. 85; and *Tārikh-i-Badāūnī*; Elliot, V, p. 537-538.
Faizi translated into Persian the Lilāvati and Mukammal Khān Gujrāti the astronomical work Tājak. Maulānā Shāh Muhammad Shāhbādī translated the History of Kashmir in Sanskrit into Persian. This history translated is, probably, to be distinguished from the Rāja-taraṅgini as Maulānā Imāmuddin is the reputed translator of this work. 1 A Persian version of the Hari-varṇa was made by Naṣrullah Muṣṭafā and of the Pañcatantra under the title Kalilah-Dammah by Maulānā Husiani Wāiz. An easier adaptation of the latter work was also made under the title ‘Ayār-Dānish.’ 2 The model of Layalā and Majnūn was followed in the Persian version of the famous story of Nala and Damayanti under the title Naḥ-Daman. 3 The Emperor ordered Abdul Qādir to translate the Dvātrīṃśat-Puttalikā-sīṃhāsana 4 with the help of a learned Brāhmaṇa under the title Khirad-Afzā-Nāmah. 5 The Gaṅgādhara and the Maheśa-Mahānanda were translated under the general supervision of Abul Fazl. 6

1. Elliot V, p. 478; Asiatic Researches, vol. XV, p. 2; and Blochmann’s Āin-i-Akbari, vol. 1, p. 106.
2. Gladwin’s Āin-i-Akbari, p. 87.
3. Faizi’s collection was in possession of 101 copies of this work; Tārikh-i-Badāūnī, Elliot, V, p. 548.
4. Also called Sīṃhāsana-dvātrīṃśat, Vikramārka-carita, Dvātrīṃśat-puttalikā-sīṃhāsana, Dvātrīṃśat-puttalikā and Sīṃhāsana-dvātrīṃśikā.
5. Tārikh-i-Badāūnī, Elliot, V, pp. 483, 484 and 513.
Dara Shikoh was a very great Sanskrit scholar. He patronised a very large number of Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍītas hailing from all over India, particularly, Benares and with their help, he translated into Persian several Upaniṣads under the name Sirr-ul-Akbar or the Great Secret. He states in the preface to the work that he became a disciple, while at Kashmir, of a great Sufi called Mullā Shāh and studied a lot about Sufi-ism. His labour was in vain; Sufi-ism could not give the peace of mind he was earnestly seeking for. This, however, he obtained from a study of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads.1 On account of his very deep interest in Sanskrit and great respect for Hindu Culture, he always engraved “Prabhu” or Lord on his Diamond-rings and other valuable articles. His Sirr-ul-Akbar was completed in 1657 A.D.2 He also translated the Yoga-Vāsiṣṭha though two earlier Persian translations of this already existed, one being executed under the patronising care of his great-grand-father Akbar. In order to demonstrate a real harmony between Sufi-ism and Hindu pantheism he composed in 1654 A.D. a very valuable work called Majma-ul-Bahārin on the technical terms of Hindu pantheism and their equivalents in Sufi phraseology. In his grand work Mukālamah-i-Bābā Lāl Das he deals

1. Alamgīr-Nāmah, Elliot, VII, p. 179.
2. Anquetil-Duperon published a Latin translation of this work in 1801; see Constable’s Bernier, p. 323 n.
with, in course of a dialogue between himself and Bābā Lāl Dāsa, the ideals of Hindu asceticism.

Dārā Shikoh, probably, got much encouragement in his Sanskritic studies from his maternal uncle Shayasta Khan who was so well-versed in Sanskrit that he used to compose verses in it. Six of them are quoted in Caturbhūja’s Rasa-kalpa-drūma which is not as yet published and a MS: of which is in the possession of Ulwar Maharaja’s MSS. Library.¹ The Pratikas of the verses are given below:—

i. करानु प्रसार्थि             iv. बिशुद्ध-व्याजतो
ii. वस्तुत: शुद्ध प्रारम्भ              v. नीरादेव जयुः:
iii. गन्तव्याासारिके            vi. चाराम्बु-मघु—

This was indeed a great age when the Mahomedan aristocrats, Princes, etc. not only cared whole-heartedly for Sanskritic studies but themselves contributed to Sanskrit Literature.

The Mahomedan rulers helped the spread of Sanskritic learning in another way as well. That is no less important than their personal initiative in having important Sanskrit works translated into vernaculars or Arabic and Persian. The Hindu nobles and Chiefs followed the noble example set by them. Thus, the noble initiative of the Mahomedan rulers gained in momentum in course

¹ Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Ulwar by Peter Peterson, Bombay, 1892, MS. No. 1067. For details, see pp. 78-80.
of time and a great enthusiasm for Sanskritic learning, prevailed throughout the country. It is during the Moslem rule in Bengal that she came to the fore-front of Sanskritic learning and two new important branches of Sanskritic studies, viz. the Navya-Smṛti and the Navya Nyāya, came into existence.

Thus we see, many Moslem rulers of India, Chieftains as well as Emperors, contributed to the spread of Sanskritic learning in the following main ways: (1) by liberally patronising many scholars in various branches of Sanskrit Literature such as poetry, astronomy, philosophy, etc.; (2) by themselves composing Sanskrit verses, etc.; (3) by themselves composing works, in Arabic and Persian, on Sanskritic learning and Culture; (4) by translating themselves various Sanskrit works into Arabic, Persian and Vernacular; (5) by making great Sanskrit scholars translate well-known Sanskrit works into Arabic, Persian and Bengali. From the evidences adduced above, we can at once trace the fusion of Hindu and Moslem culture from the eleventh century A.D.
SUPPLEMENT

I

TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF SOME LAUDATORY VERSES ON THE MAHOMEDAN PATRONS OF SANSKRITIC LEARNING.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PATRONS</th>
<th>NO. OF VERSES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Akbar</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Emperor of Delhi</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Jahangir</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Muddafar Shah</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Nizam Shah</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Shah Jahan</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Sher Shah</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21
TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF SOME LAUDATORY VERSES ON MUSLIM RULERS OF INDIA

1. AKBAR

1. [ अभ राज-वर्णनम् ]

शादेवीलोकसि प्रकोष्ठे मदुकल-काण्डी मांसत-संक्वन्त-कुटे
दोऽकभे मांगराजो चनिषु जलचरः केशारी सप्तदेशे ।

परमले भवन्त-पारा भण्डर जलनिपिंडु-मुगे काल-वर्ष-वाल-स्तस्तिन्
श्रीहुमाउँ-कुलतिलक-मेघे श्रीषाणाश्रीश्वरसि ॥

॥ ब्रह्मरी-कालिदासस् ॥

[DESCRIPTION OF THE KING]

As regards your forearm, you are a tiger; as regards your shoulder, a fleshy intoxicated elephant; as regards your pillar-like arms, a noble elephant; as regards your voice, cloud; as regards your waist, a lion; in your sword, there is immense darkness; as regards your mind, you are an ocean; as regards your eye-brows, the staff of death; there is no doubt, O scion of the family of Humayûn, that you are more terrible than the terrible one (Yama).

2. [ अभ खंगः ]

हस्ताम्मोचालि-माला नक्ष-शासिः-हिषर-रसामलचाय-गोची
तेजोगनेम्पूँ-पारा वितरण-करिषो गाह्य-दान-प्रवाली ।

वैरि०-श्री-वेषी-दुर्गो लता-शीर्स-काल-श्रीवाल-वक्षी
वेषुम्मोचारश्रीरक्षर-तवरी-पाल-पालु कुपाली० ॥

॥ ब्रह्मरी-कालिदासस् ॥

1. PV. 53.
2. V.r. वर्षी
3. P.T. 89=PV. 138=PR. 21. 37
The sword shines in the hand of Emperor Akbar (as it were) like a swarm of bees on the hand-lotus, the agreeable and dark shade of the moon-like nails, the column of smoke of the fire of prowess, the flow of ichor on the temple of the elephant of Gift, the stuff-like plaited hair of the Fortune of the enemy, the young duck-weed (Blyxa Octandra) growing in the lake of beauty—the sword which is as graceful as (the dark) cloud.

3. [अष्ट रथ-प्रयाणम्]

गाजी-जल्लालुद्दीन-चितिप-कुलम्बितः

प्रेयस: प्रारम्भे तरस्वत्ते-नति-व्याकुला मन्नलानि;

नेतामः-पूर्णाः-सन्न-कुला-मुखन्यत्स-बाल-प्रशाला-

हस्तक्षणमुका-कलाप-चुरु-कुन-कुसुमचुंभना कीर्तु-लाजः।

1. This implies the generosity of the King.
2. I.e. the emperor is pulling the hair of Lady Fortune of his enemy. This implies that his rivals are constantly under his strict control.
3. The sword is here compared to various dark objects.

Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hand of Akbar compared to</th>
<th>His sword compared to</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. lotus</td>
<td>1. swarm of black bees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. moon (finger-nails)</td>
<td>2. dark spot of the moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. fire</td>
<td>3. smoke issuing from it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. elephant of Gift</td>
<td>4. ichor flowing from it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ×</td>
<td>5. plaited hair</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
O Gāzi Jallaluddin, the foremost of all kings, as soon as your beloved ones are convinced of your march for conquest they,—moving to and fro in confusion—begin to perform the auspicious rites; their children are the tender leaves on the tops of the breast-pitchers filled up with tears and they go on scattering fried rice under the pretext of falling pearls and the flowers dropping down from their breasts.¹

4. [ भर रघु: ]
बीर सवं कामुकं चेदकर फलवसुध-टहार-पोष
दूरे सवं: फल्सा इव धरविमृसो यातित कशाल-शेषा:।
शशाप्रभुर कि कारणमिति मनसा आन्ति-पश्चायितेन
लक्ष्माद्वाहरस्माद्वद्विजाजति युद्धियान्ति कि च लक्ष्मापिनायः।।

The emperor on the battle-field.

O Akbar the hero! when you carry the bow with a terrible twanging sound, the stain-like Kings reduced to skeletons immediately recede to a great distance. The

1. For the performance of auspicious rites, new mango-leaves are placed on the top of pitchers filled with holy water. Further, fried rice is scattered all around. Here the breasts of the ladies of the harem soaked with their tears are conceived as pitchers filled with holy water and the suckling babes as the fresh leaves covering the top of the pitchers; and the pearls and flowers, torn asunder in distress, as the fried rice scattered all around.

2. PT. 97=SS. 158
king of Lanka seized with terror, shunning his pride as a consequence of his mind being besmeared with the mud of confusion about the (real) cause, abandons his wife.  

5. [ ब्राह्मणिः ]

विस्फावः स्मो-मनामल-पुरुषः-लहरी-कैतवाद्-केसराली-  
रूपालम्बकः-दैती-हिमकर-कलटानमालीकृतम् ।  
विह्वाकरुणा-बहममलं 4 विश्राद-णार-केसरी कालिलेन्त्रैः  
महाशब्दार्थं वीच्चि-मिरि-महन-दूरी-कार्मी चंकमीति ॥  

[ अक्षररूप-कालिदासस्य ]

Fame.

O Lord of Kabul, the great lion of your fame is again and again roaming about, having spread out its manes in the form of transparent and big waves of the Mandākinī, and having coiled up its tail on its lofty head in the form of the Moon,  

1. The king of Laṅkā is unable to determine the cause of the terrible sound of the Emperor’s bow and of the immediate destruction of the enemies of the Emperor. This confuses his mind which again makes him give up his pride and run away, leaving even his wife behind.

2. v.r. SS. गामणालुकः 3. v.r. SS. मस्तिष्क-देशे

4. v.r. SS. लम्बस्तव 5. v.r. SS. गुजरेत्र

6. PV. 77=SS. 80.

7. Here the fame of the king is conceived as a mighty lion as high as the sky. So the manes of the lion are said to be the waves of the celestial river Mandākinī while the coil of its tail, the moon.
quarter-crephants\(^1\) and having come into contact with all the forests in the world and the deep caves in mountains.\(^2\)

2. EMPEROR OF DELHI

राजेति चक्षुदात्रं विजयते दानोहलचमीरिति
खण्डाय बहु-बाहिनीपतिरिति धूरोदमासस्तन्ति।
दुर्गचिशी इति स्फुरं पुररिपु विद्वैषि भोगोक्रान्तः
श्रीरिवर्दिति वायुकर्णि ख-वशसा दिशानन्द्र चूडामणि:।
बायसीके गहरणाय।

As a king\(^3\) the paramount lord of Delhi puts the Moon to shame and the Airāvatas that is exquisitely beautiful on account of shedding ichor,\(^4\) challenges the Kṣīroda sea which is the lord of many rivers,\(^5\) rivals,

1. I.e. the King’s fame spread over the quarters. It implies that the King’s fame spread far and near on all sides.

2. I.e. just as a lion has access even to a deep and remote forest, caves etc., so the king’s fame is resounding in every nook and corner of the world.

3. Here the pun is on the word Rājan:—1 king; 2 Moon.

4. The pun here is on the Dānorulakṣmī. In the case of the king, his fortune has increased immensely by the practice of charity while in the case of the elephant, it means whose beauty has increased immensely by the flow of ichor.

5. Here the pun is on the word Bahuvāhinipati. In the case of the king it means the lord of many armies while in the case of sea, it means the lord of many rivers.
openly the enemy of the (three) cities i.e. Mahādeva, lord of Durgā¹ and torments Vāsuki possessing a supremely beautiful hood² on account of his fame.

3. JAHANGIR

Why is your sacred thread black? On account of its contact with tuk? Wherefrom is it (nill)? From the water of the Nerboda. How did its water become tinged with collyrium? On account of its union with all around, the rivers originating from the ceaseless blow of tears of lakhs of the (beautiful) ladies with long eyelashes (of the courts) of the hostile kings of the infuriated king Nūrdina.

4. MUDDAFAR SHAH

1. Here the pun is on the word Durgādhiṣa. i. The lord of many fortresses; ii. Śiva; Lord of Durgā.

2. Here the pun is on the word समोदिहत्वी meaning in the case of the Emperor of Delhi—i. Whose great fortune increases enjoyment; and the case of Vāsuki—ii. whose beauty is enhanced by its hood.

O sky, widen yourself; O quarters, you too extend yourselves; O earth! You too be larger; you (all) have witnessed the glorious upheaval of the fame of Veṇa. The Universe will attain the plight of a pomegranate bursting on account of the swelling up of the seeds due to the wide extension of the fame of king Muddafar Shah.

5. NIZAM SHAH

1. [ श्रय सौन्दर्य-प्रचाराय मुख-खुलिततः ]
   अर्थ कामो निजामो वा किं त्या न्यवधारितम्।
   इति दिष्टिरिव प्रस्तुः शुचिः अभ्यति बुधु वामः॥
   इति भावकर्ष्य॥

King's physical charm.

Whether this is Nizam or Cupid—what do you think—in order to ask this as it were the eye of the lovely-browed (ladies) approaches the ear.

1. The sense is that the earth, etc. witnessed glory of former kings such as Veṇa but they did not burst then. The fame of Muddafar Shah is such that the earth is unable to bear it and is on the point of bursting asunder, so to speak.

2. Padya-racanā, 17.6

3. I.e. the eyes of these damsels are so large that they are conceived as stretching up to the ear (ākaṇḍavistṛta). The sense is that even exquisitely beautiful damsels are enamoured of the physical charm of the king and taking him to be Cupid incarnate.
O Nizam Shah longed for by the world, the creator
made your foot and placed the same on the head of the
beautiful wife of your rival king shining with vermilion
and a garland of kundas. The parting of the hair (of
that lady) shines as the shooting upward lines of your
feet; the particles of vermilion (looking like rays)
triumph (too); and methinks, the kundas are the nails
(of your feet).

1. Padya-racanā, 16.4
2. So it turns out that the rival of the king is always
under his control.

Bhānudatta gives this verse as an illustration of all the
sātvika-bhāvas or bodily signs due to amorous sentiments
manifesting themselves all together. The idea is that some
lady has been subject to all the Sātvika-bhāvas all at once;
this is only possible if a handsome and pleasant personality
Personal charm.

The choking of the voice, water in both the eyes, perspiration of breasts, tremulation in the lower lip; cheeks white, (entire) body horripilated and the mind (is) merged; the dimness of the beauty of the eyes and the motionlessness of the feet are on the increase. Is it then that the Nizam is seen on the high street?

[ झाड़ हँगामः ]
धरणिोधर निजामशाह सुभाष-कर-करवाल-कराल-कालसर्फः।
ह्यवदुः-पवन निपीय-पीनो दिशि दिशि मुखि कळुकुर यशस्ते॥
॥ मातुकरस्य ॥

The sword.

O King Nizam Shah, the terrible cobra in your hand, the sword, sucks in the vital breath of your enemies, attains obesity and leaves off its skin, your fame, on all sides.¹

like the Nizam be seen by her. A lady, therefore, asks her friend or the lady undergoing the Sātvika-bhāvas whether she has actually seen the Nizam on the High Street. “नहि ताहाः-उन्नदरमन्तरेषा सहैव सवें सास्तिक-विकारां उहसेयुविरिति तात्त्त्यं।
इह स्वर-वर्षसु-क्षेत्र-कम्प-बैवारय-रोमांश-प्रकाश-सुभाष-स्मृता-कुट्ठा एव।
प्रधर-क्षेत्र चुम्बन-स्नातः; गगड-पाविव्यस्य विश्रु-कर्तनः; मनोजीतस्या तर्क-तात्त्त्यं वाद्वस्मेत्-वैमुख्यं राज-विषयक-प्रतिभां प्रतीयते।”

1. The sword is here compared to a terrible cobra. A snake is conventionally supposed to live on air (Vāyubhuk). In the same manner, the sword is conceived as sucking in the life-breath (prāṇavāyu) of the enemies, that is why it becomes fat, and its old skin is torn asunder as a result.
The sword of the Nizam

O Nizam longed for by the whole world, evidently your sword, a female-serpent, came into contact with your hand, lord of serpents, and became pregnant. Flashing again and again, she (the sword) is producing bright eggs one after another, in the guise of gems quickly dropping down from the shattered temples of (the) elephants (of rival kings²).

Description of his flag (a).

This cast off skin, white in colour, is conceived as the fame of the king (fame too is traditionally white in colour) spread far and wide. The sense is that the king’s heroism gains a world-wide repute.

1. PT. 85=SS. 134.

2. Here the sword of the king is conceived as a female serpent. King’s hand as a male one. The king by means of his sword is mowing down the huge elephants of rival kings and the pearls from their heads are dropping down like eggs.

3. PT. 84=SS. 143=PV. 131.
NIZAM SHAH

Immensely pained on account of the placing of the feet of the soldiers of Nizam the ruler, the earth throws out its tongue under the pretext of (the Nizam's) red banner.¹

_Description of his flag (b)._

निजाम-वच्चा भाषीये जःपति शोभा-कोणे हुशी
रणात्मक-समुद्रः प्रतिभाती विविधश्रीकर्तम् ।
विपुरिपुल-नेपुर व्यवितमहिनी-प्रेयसो
मणि-ज्वल-विशाश्वया फिरू पताकया स्तुतयते॥ भाषुकरस्य ॥

When the Nizam, ruler of the earth, casts his angry look (at them), the rival fighters, very skilful in the battle-field, break atwain. The banner (of the Nizam) touches (wraps up) the body of the lover of the lotus i.e. the Sun shivering violently with the apprehension of contracting fever due to sores.⁵

1. The earth is conceived as a lady who being trampled down by the huge army of the Nizam puts out her tongue in exhaustion. The triumphant red banner of the Nizam is here conceived as the tongue of the exhausted earth. The sense is that the huge army of the Nizam conquered the entire world and unfurled their flag all over.

2. PV. 132.

3. The glance of the King is conceived as a sharp arrow capable of causing sores and fever even to the sun. To save the sun from this plight, the King's banner is conceived as wrapping it up. The sense is that the triumphant banner of the King is tremendously high.
Nizam’s bounteouness.

O Nizam, a long series of (your) gifts continuing, Brahmā secretly drew a line on the wall of his lodge Puṣkara with a chalk, Mandākinī; then nowhere did he find a second to you, and therefore, he, stupefied, put in a full stop (by the side of that line) in the form of the moon.²

[ राज-कीर्ति: ]

विद्वानः-गर्भं प्रतिमं-दुस्म श्रीनिवास प्रलोमः
कुल्ला लक्ष्मी-गाठं वहति गण-विन्ध्य पदयोति: कठिन्या।
बका लेखा गुरुश्राम-प्रत्स्थ-कला-कम्भु-मात्री-भरातः:
शुद्धा लेखा लघुंश्व विषु-भजन-समविविध-दृष्टि-द्रव्यः।

॥ भागुकरण॥

O, Nizam, the most venerable one in the assembly of the learned, the vanquished of (all) rivals, it then

1. PV. 100.

2. Here Brahmā is described as creating the celestial river Mandākinī and the Moon respectively by way of recording the bountifulness of the King and the absence of equally bountiful ruler. The Bhāgirathī is conceived here as a white chalk-mark representing the liberal disposition of the King while the moon is conceived as a full-stop excluding the possibility if any other equally liberal King.
appears that the lotus-born God (or Brahmā) composed a verse in praise of you and (now) goes on counting the syllables i.e., ascertains the long and short syllables with a chalk. The moon-digits, the conch, the Jasmine and the swan are the curved marks (of long syllables) and the lotus-stalk, the snake, the Mandākini and the teeth of the elephant are the vertical marks (of short syllables).  

1. In Sanskrit scanning long and short syllables are marked with curved (s) and vertical lines respectively. Brahmā is here represented as scanning the verse which he composed in praise of the Nizam i.e. marking the syllables with curved and vertical lines. Now, the poet artistically represents the curved neck of the Swan, etc., as the curved lines of Brahmā's scanning while the straight lotus-stalk, etc., as the vertical lines. The sense is that all animate and inanimate beings, not only human beings but also birds and beasts, etc., like elephant, swan, serpent and inanimate objects like Lotus, Jasmine, Kunda etc., are singing the praise of the King in unison.

2. PV. 65=SSS. 105.
into a liquid form speedily on account of the mighty fire of your prowess, the Meru or the golden mount,—bereft of the stairs of the abode of Indra,\(^1\) with the foremost planet (i.e. the Sun) frequently setting,\(^2\) all the women trembling, the forests gradually disappearing,—is becoming fully expanded.\(^3\)

[ अथ रण-यात्रा ]

अष्ट्रा: संभ्रात-भ्राता पन-बनवसति-प्रासर्जना: कलिन्हा-स्तैलस्या: कर्म-ग्रामविषयं-सत्यं: शीर्षदशाय ब्रज: ।
लाटा: सिंचकालाटा: पद-गमन-हड़ा: श्रास्वतोलाद चोला
जायन्ते धनिज्जाम (?) पुषुरय भवत: प्रौढ़न्तिसाध-नादात ॥

March for victory.

O, Nizam engaged in severe fight, the inhabitants of Aṅga take to hills; the Kalingas take delight in residing in dense forest; the Tailaṅgas feel like bathing in the Mandākini; the Bengalees become emaciated; the Lāṭas perspire on their forehead; the Colas (grow) deter-

1. According to Hindu mythology, the golden mount Meru or Sumeru forms the centre of the Universe round which all the planets revolve. It is supposed to be the abode of Brahmā and other gods. That is why, with the melting of the mountain, the stairs to the abode of Indra came to be destroyed.

2. The Sun being frightened of the prowess of the King thought it best to go on setting once and again.

3. As the melting gold scattered all around.
minded to walk about and (consequently) breathe heavily—due to the roaring sound of your departure.¹

**Description of the battle-field.**

বাহ-ম্যূহ খুর-জ্বলত বহুমতী সাগরেত্য মৃদুক্তিঃ
মেহর-মাইলত-চব্বিস পালসার বারাং নিধि: সিদ্ধতি I
দিগ্বিজয় তথ্যে নিজাম শুধুতে বার্তা পতাকায়-পূর্ণতা-পরমিনিশিনীশ্রুতমিচ পূর্ণতা দিব্য ধাবতি ²

|| মানুষকৃষ্ণ ||

Having seen the earth unconscious on account of the sores caused by the hoofs of arrays of horses, the sea sprinkles water—restless in mind (as is evidenced by) the Bheri sounds of trumpets.³ The quarter-damsel⁴ fans (the earth) with the clothes of the banners of the Nizam⁵ and masses of dust dash towards the sky in order to ask the son of Aśvinī⁶ (about the remedy for the recovery of the earth).

1. The sense is that the very preparations for Nizam’s march for victory frighten all his rivals, not to speak of actual encanters with him.
2. PT. 91=SS. 168=PV. 133.
3. I.e. the roaring sound of the waves dashing against the beach.
4. The quarter is deified as a damsels.
5. I.e. the triumphant flags of the King are fluttering all around.
6. The Aśvinī-kumāras are divine physicians. This implies that the King had innumerable horses.
6. SHAH JAHAN

When the dense cloud pours rain on the summits of the mountains, O king, the Sarasvati becomes triumphant, sonorous and sanctifying. O Shah Jahan, I am telling you of her greatness—how the head of a person plunging her in water, is turned into a lotus and his hairs into bees.²

1. Padyaveṣi, 141 = SS. 138.

The PV. preserves another verse of the same author, viz. No. 872 (on the Ganges),

लिङ्ग खासपिसंयुक्तसततेनिरूपसम्मातिसिद्धम्यसमानाम्
तत्र कर्तिष्ठसंयुक्तसिद्धिस्मातिसिद्धिस्मातिसमानाम्।

2. The sense is that (i) the Sarasvati swells up if there is heavy rain in the mountains; (ii) if the Emperor beheads the Kings, the red-coloured Sarasvati comes into existence out of the blood flowing from them.

The first meaning is that the water of the Sarasvati enhances the beauty of the bathers; the second meaning is that the destruction of the enemies by the king ensures the permanent peace and happiness of the inhabitants.

For Jagannātha’s verse referring to Shah Jahan, see p. 50 f.n. 1.
7. SHER SHAH

If the critics find some fault with one-half of a verse (of mine) or even with one-half of that (i.e. one-fourth of the whole verse), what harm accrues to me, the most learned of all poets and the composer of millions of poems. What is the harm accruing to the paramount lord Sher Shah if out of his million of horses, only five or six, speedier than air, happen to be one-eyed and lame.

1. SHV. 468
पारीभद्रां धुरीणरचनिवंभर-गुहा-गर्भं: प्रोत्पत्तिः स्वाप-श्रंशापराध-प्रचलित-नयन-श्रंस्मानकर्पयमानः || यत्रस्थानांतर्द्वहतः जलधर-व्यान-यिक्षार-धीरो यूष्ट-शारीरोद-तीरो जगति विजयते दुंभि-ज्वलनाऽः ||
द्वारांदोलनम्बंध-द्विरंद-वनघटा-गण्ड-पद्म-प्रसर्प-
हनोद्हाम-प्रणाली-सिल्दलितच्चल्ल्योहीत-चाप-प्रतापः।
भूपास्तेति भ्रमातोन्मद-कमलसुध्द्वासि-शोभामिमरामां
शैत्य-ग्रामांकार-कथन-दिनकुलो यस्य दृष्टि श्रयन्ते॥२॥
यस्योद्हाम-दिवानिशार्थि-विलसहान-प्रवाह-प्रथा-
माकर्ण्यवग्नि-मण्डलगत-वियुहवैन्द्र-वन्दननात्।
ईर्ष्या-निर्भर-फुड़-रोमनिकर-व्यावलुगदृशः॥३॥
पीयूष प्रसरः सुरेन्द्र-सुरभि प्रावर्तप्रयोदायते॥३॥
वद्तो निमशि शैलवेन दूरीत्रतन-निद्रस्य गजाननस्य गौरी।
उपगाययति भीत्ये यदुचन्द्रद-यूथाधिप-यूथ-
द्वानकीर्तिम्॥४॥

स कदाचिचिद्धपुलः बलः वशीभवद्यमातो वलय-
वेद्यनीकृत्य-रशोविमलांशुकः प्रचण्ड-सुजस्वित-मण्डली-
भवतकोड़ण-निःसर्तकांड-खंडीकृताश्च-शालवः करत-
तम-निर्गृहनम्द-द्रव-निधारणां संप्रति समुत्पचानां
द्वाराधर-शिस्तिनारमिभ रिहगां मतंगजानां संबंधः प्रथम-
समागम-क्तम्-नवंगना-नासात्र-लंबि-सुचकाफ़ु-चापल-
मलिम्स्थुचानां प्रतिखुर्निकर-शिलातत्-संघट्ट-समुच्छल-
हियुद्धशीकृत-विपुल-विकुलित्रक्षि-पटलानां वाजिनां।
राजिभिष्ट समाकुल्या सागर-सम-सेनया समाबृतो विषमतरारोहावरोहाभिः॥ खराब्रतिभिरिव क्रेश-प्रचुर - परिणाम - सुखार्थिवैदिक - कर्म - सरणिभिरिव पद्धतिभिरिव नाकस्तित-दुःखेशं कदमीर-देशमाजगम॥

यस्मिन्नवर्तमपरिभि-प्रयोगपदलब्ध्याद्वित्त्वानेयः पुंज-पंजरितेन परितः स्फुरता रजत-श्राकारणेव गौरी-गुह्णा हिमगरिणा वेषिता, अभिन-कुलमामोद-माधन-मधुबच-वात-गीत-भाषात्यः कैरपि परिणत-रसभारा-तुंडिश्वां फलान्न प्रकरणोपनम-शाखाश्चतैराचार्येनारि गृहस्वेषरसंल्यः शाखिभि: शोभिता, परिफुल्ल-पद्मिनी-परिषद्धूननोदूत-पराग-पटल-पंडितैवंचुपुंटैरितरिस-लंपटामित्वारतामि: कण्डूर्यित-कणोलानां राजहंसानामा-वलिभि: सेवितौरीकमवदिन्त्रनीति-मणि-मयूह-मांसलाना-मंतरिभावनाविषेष - बिलोकविणीय - शेष - शिखामणीमां सखिलामाकरेः कमनीयतरा निबिद्तर - शाहदल-ह्यामिन्त्रा मरकतमणिमयीव समुद्रसति क्षुमती॥

अथ तत्व सकुल-साम्यत - चक - चूडा-चुम्बित - निखिल - भूमण्डल - मण्डलायित-चरण-कमल-परिमल-लंपटीमवदुब्बहुल-विगुधजन-वात-मार्थिन्दित्तिर-मण्डल-
गुज्जितैत्तिकरित-हरिदंतरालो विलसित-हिमशैल-श्रुंग-स्वल्पतुंग-गंगा-तरंगांबिराम-तिला शरदश्राहि-वि-श्राजि-श्रुमांशु-वरकिरण-कांततिष्ठिता चतुह्रधि-परस्क्षिण यशः-सुधा-पतलेन परिपरा-रित-जगदुङ्ग-संहलोजनवरत-चिह्न मद्दोहि - दारिध्रु-भाष्यदृश्यिपोहम-दप्यंच-विद्रावण-श्रौद-पंचाननो महामहीरस्व इव द्विजकुलायहितं: कतुरिव मधुरिव सकल-सुमनं भ्रातुदानोऽपि हिमांशुरिव सकल-सुमनं भ्रातुदानं: समाराचितोऽधमराचितं: सार्भभौम-संवंधिसु सकलेषु सामतेषु वाङ्मयेष्विव काव्य-कलापः काव्य-कलापेष्विव ध्वनिः: ध्वनिः रसो रसेष्विव भ्रुवः सकल-सहःयु-हद्यंगमेन महिम्मा मधुरिमणा च संभावितं: सकल-शाखा-साराकाश्यी नवावासफजाहि।

कदाचित्सुतकककुलनयया विविध-सुमनः-समूह-सुषमा-समास्तरण-संभावित-विशमरावल्लयम् उपरि-मिलदलि-पुंज-मंजुल-गुज्जितैत्तिक-द्रवं-वदनं-विनिगत-विविधविनिप-विजयविश्वद्राकालिभिरिविवातं-कंधंरेरसंख्ये-रविनीस्व: कठिनकर-कर-निकर-संबासत: शरणा-गतरिव तिमिर-कुंतुबैंकुनिकुर बैराग्यताधिवार्तावृषीमिष्ठ मनोहरमकीकृतासिरं लौक्यलक्ष्मी-लकणं निशान्तोपवनं
प्रविशाल्य (१) बड़मनस-वर्त्तमातिवर्ति-पुंजीकृत-साय-कुसुम-सौकुमार्याः-सारमयेवतयेवः क्षणनमः निर्मित्ताति-भृदं नयन-निपात-स्थायिभवंगिर्मिन्तुतर-तुर्च्छाया-दंतुरित-वनात्मरिनिकथा-पिला-तलोध्दिखिताकिरितम् कांचन-रेखामिनिजित्तर-नील-पयोद्-भ्रमणागताभिबित्र-सौदामिनिभिर्दुर-बिकसित-पद्म-मणि-किरण-सरणि-समायायित्व-चकरोभिन्नार्थक विभाग्यमाणेनापि खतो नौराजिताङ्गने परिशुढ्द-कमलेन राजित-कर-किश-लयाभिर्दूरादनुस्क-पाथोर्हाणामुनुर्धु-धावतासुल्म-मघुबतानामालिएमिराकुलीकृताभिषः काहिरपि किंचिदुध-परिणत-फल-ग्रहण-डाक्षातिसिद्धिभवकृत-तट-समाप्तिभिन्य-नयन-संकोचेन चोरचित-परावर्तित-सु-अज-लक्षाभिन्याभिषकः कर-कमल-कलित-मुकर-मंडक-प्रति-स्विचित-प्रिय-वदन-चुंबन-मुक्तीकृताघराभिषः काहिरपि गायितीभिः सारिकावलि-मृत्युर्गुलि-कंप-संपाधित-वीणा-गीत-अमामिरंगनाभिरः समुद्रसायनांमूः

तः च शुग्रानं परस्पर-संसगम-जनित-मुह-गर्व-निर्वासनाय विधिवत निर्मितिभि सभा-मंडलं परम-सौन्दर्य-सुन्दरी-करण-लालित-लोचन-लोभणीयमूलिम् ,
ताधानंग - सर्वस्थायमन-रुप-योवनशालिनीरवधीनभिरामता-गुणस्य निदानानि प्रथम-रसस्य अगोचरं कवि-गवीनाम्, तच निकळ-जन-नयन-निर्माण-साप्तविर्मिव वन्मालोक्य चंदीश - कर - तांडवित - चंड-दंडाहति-कंडीकृत-कोटि-कोटिर-कोटिमिर्धर्णीतल-पूर्ति-धवलो-भवदश्यांगाभिरामैः: पितामहादिशिर्मभरनिकैः सेवितं भगवतमरस्तराश्चं सदाशिवमचिचितमायत: कदसीर-मंदिरम् आखंडः नयन-साहस-विकृतीकृताननमात्मानं, मुक्तिः - परंपरोंभोग्यास्त्रिदशतस्वीनिशंतोपवनापहुत - रमणीयतया निज-नयनानामनांवनं नंज दनं [च] नातिवहुमेने।¹

अथ सकल-लोक-निस्तार-विस्तारित-महोपकार-परंपरावीन - मानसेन प्रतिदिनमुखुदनवच-हव - गद्ध-पद्याचनेक-विया-विच्छोतितांतःकरणाः कविविर्मिप्रथमानेन कृत्यगीकृत-कलिकालेन कमतित-तृणजाल-समाच्छादिति-वेद - वन - मार्ग - विलोकनाय समुदोपित-सत्तक-दहन-
ज्वाला-ज्वाखेन मूर्तिमलेभ नवावसफलाव-मन्मकादेन
हिजुकुल-सेवा-हेवाकी-वाड़मकादेन सुखर-कुलसम्
द्रेणुना राय-कुलेनासविद्येन श्रीसार्वभूमि-साहिजहान
प्रसादाधिगत-पंडितराय-पदवी-विराजितेन लै(तै)।
कुलावतसेन पंडित-जगचाथेनासविलासाल्येय-
माध्यायिक निरसीयत \ सेयमतुग्मन्वदुभव्यनामनु
दिनमुखसित भवतात।।
इति श्रीतैलंग-वैगिनालीय-कुलोद्वय-श्रीपंडितराजः
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### ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF THE VERSES OF BHĀNUKARA QUOTED IN THE PADYA-RACANĀ

The first figure against each Pratikā refers to the page of the Padya-racanā and the second to the verse number as given in that page.

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List of Abbreviations

PR. = Padya-racanā
PT. = Padyāmṛta-tarāṇgini
PV. = Padya-veṇi
RM. = Rasa-mañjari
RT. = Rasa-tarāṇgini
SA. = Sabhyālaṃkaraṇa
SHV. = Subhāṣita-hārāvalī
SS. = Sūkti-sundara
SSS. = Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya
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Anyokti-muktālatā by Śambhu Mahākavi. Published in Part II of the Kāvya-mālā. Pp. 61-79. 2nd ed. 1932. Āsaf-vilāsa (MS) Ed. here for the first time from a MS. of the same belonging to Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. No. \( \frac{732 (iii)}{1886-92} \). Size 8 × 3½ inches. Extent 19a-23b leaves; 8 lines to a page; 30 letters to a line.

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History of India (as told by her own Historians) by Elliot.


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