

**A CULTURAL STUDY OF THE DAŚAKUMĀRACARITA  
OF DAṄḌIN IN LIGHT OF SOCIO-POLITICAL  
HISTORY OF 6TH–8TH CENTURIES CE**

A thesis submitted to

**TILAK MAHARASHTRA VIDYAPEETH, PUNE**

for the Degree of

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN INDOLOGY**

Under the Board of Arts and Fine Arts Studies



By

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(Registration No. 00219004701)

Under the guidance of

**DR. AMBARISH VASANT KHARE**

**SHRI BALMUKUND LOHIA CENTRE OF SANSKRIT  
AND INDOLOGICAL STUDIES**

**NOVEMBER 2023**

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## CERTIFICATE OF THE SUPERVISOR

It is certified that the work entitled “**A Cultural Study of the Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍin in Light of Socio-Political History of 6th–8th Centuries CE**” is an original research work done by **Manisha Deepak Puranik**, under my supervision for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in Indology** to be awarded by Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune. To the best of my knowledge this thesis

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**Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune**

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I, Manisha Deepak Puranik, is the Ph. D Scholar of the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth in Indology subject. Thesis entitled “A Cultural Study of The Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍin in Light of Socio-Political History of 6th–8th Centuries CE”, under the supervision of Dr. Ambarish Vasant Khare, solemnly affirm that the thesis submitted by me is my own work. I have not copied it from any source. I have gone through extensive review of literature of the related published / unpublished research works and the use of such references made has been acknowledged in my thesis. The title and the content of research is original. I understand that, in case of any complaint especially plagiarism, regarding my Ph.D. research from any party, I have to go through the enquiry procedure as decided by the Vidyapeeth at any point of time. I understand that, if my Ph.D. thesis (or part of it) is found duplicate at any point of time, my research degree will be withdrawn and, in such circumstances, I will be solely responsible and liable for any consequences arises thereby. I will not hold the TMV, Pune responsible and liable in any case.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Ait. Br.</i>	- Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
<i>AV</i>	- Atharvaveda
<i>Baudh. D.S.</i>	- Baudhāyana Dharma Sutra
<i>BṛS</i>	- Bṛhatsaṃhitā
<i>K.A.</i>	- Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra
<i>K.N.</i>	- Kāmandakiya Nītisāra
<i>Manu.</i>	- Manusṛti
<i>Mbh</i>	- Mahābhārata
<i>Raghu</i>	- Raghuvamśa
<i>RV</i>	- Rigveda
<i>Śat. Br.</i>	- Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
<i>Yāj.</i>	- Yājñavalkasmṛti

### The Text of the Daśakumāracarita

<i>DKC</i>	- The Daśakumāracarita (the whole text)
<i>P.P.</i>	- Pūrvapīṭhikā (beginning section of the DKC)
<i>daśa.</i>	- Daśakumāracarita (middle section of the DKC)
<i>U.P.</i>	- Uttarapīṭhikā (closing section of the DKC)

## DIACRITICAL MARKS

अ a	आ ā	इ i	ई ī	
उ u	ऊ ū	ए e	ऐ ai	
ओ o	औ au	अं aṃ	अः aḥ	
क ka	ख kha	ग ga	घ gha	ङ ṅa
च ca	छ cha	ज ja	झ jha	ञ ña
ट ṭa	ठ ṭha	ड ḍa	ढ ḍha	ण ṇa
त ta	थ tha	द da	ध dha	न na
प pa	फ pha	ब ba	भ bha	म ma
य ya	र ra	ल la	व va	
श śa	ष ṣa	स sa	ह ha	ळ ḷa

## TABLE OF CONTENT

<i>Certificate of the Supervisor</i>	ii
<i>Declaration</i>	iii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	iv
<i>Table of Contents</i>	v
<i>Abbreviations</i>	vii
<i>Diacritical Marks</i>	viii
<b>Chapter I – Introduction</b>	<b>1-25</b>
I.1. Cultural and Social Study	1
I.2. Kathā and Ākhyāyikā	3
I.3. Works of Daṇḍin	6
I.4. Author of the DKC and the Avantisundarīkathā	8
I.5. Daṇḍin and his time	9
I.6. Importance of the DKC	12
I.7. Story of the DKC	15
I.8. Chapterization of the Research Work	23
<b>Chapter II – Review of Previous Research Work</b>	<b>26-30</b>
<b>Chapter III – Research Methodology</b>	<b>31-33</b>
III.1. Research Gap	31
III.2. Research Objectives	31
III.3. Research Problems	31
III.4. Research Methodology	32
III.5. Data Source	33
III.6. Limitations of Research	33
<b>Chapter IV – Analysis</b>	<b>34-148</b>
IV.1. Geographical Data	34
IV.2. Historical Aspects	60
IV.3. Polity and Governance	65



IV.4. Trade and Commerce	78
IV.5. Social Life	87
IV.6. Religion and Philosophy	107
IV.7. Cultural Study	124
IV.8. Architecture	143
<b>Chapter V – Conclusions</b>	<b>149-154</b>
V.1. Cultural Aspects of the DKC	149
V.2. Political Aspects	149
V.3. Religious Aspects	150
V.4. Kandukanṛtya	151
V.5. Date of Daṇḍin	151
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>155-163</b>
<b><i>Appendices</i></b>	<b>164-198</b>
1. Chart showing the genealogy of 10 <i>kumāras</i>	164
2. List of geographical places mentioned in the DKC	165
3. Maps of geographical places mentioned in the DKC	169
4. Maps of ancient kingdoms and trade routes	172
5. Sculptural Depiction of <i>Kandukakrīḍāmagṇā</i> in temples	178
6. Plan of the Shore Temples and Viṣṇu image at Mahabalipuram	179
7. Material Culture depicted in the Paintings in the Caves at Ajanta	182
8. Maṇibhadra Yakṣa	188
9. Currency Dināra	189
10. Select Plans of Ancient Indian Architecture	190
11. Occupations mentioned in the DKC	192
12. Weapons mentioned in the DKC	193
13. Utensils and Tools mentioned in the DKC	194
14. Flora and Fauna mentioned in the DKC	195

## ABSTRACT

The Daśakumāracarita is a Sanskrit prose *kāvya* composed by Daṇḍin, who was a distinguished writer and a scholar of poetics. It portrays the adventures of ten young men, the *kumāras*, who are either princes or sons of royal ministers, as narrated by themselves. Through his writing, while providing an insight of contemporary culture and civilization, Daṇḍin has highlighted the various aspects of the political, social and religious life of his time. The present research aims to analyse the text of the Daśakumāracarita, to throw a fresh light on the social, political, and cultural conditions of that era.

The text of the DKC is divided into three main parts. The *pūrvapīṭhikā*, *daśakumāracarita* and the *uttarapīṭhikā*. The *pūrvapīṭhikā* has five *ucchvāsas* (chapters), *daśakumāracarita* has eight *ucchvāsas* (chapters) and the *uttarapīṭhikā* is the *upasaṁhāra* (concluding part of the story).

The present study is mainly the analysis of historical and cultural information mentioned in the text. An effort has made to correlate the geographical information imbibed in the text with the ancient trade routes, historical or some important religious places. Discussion about the polity and administration of that period is covered in the present work. While studying religious aspects, different religions and sects are observed. The part of social study of the research work covers the social structure of society, *varṇāśrama* system and marriage system etc. Further position of women in the society, information about *śakunas* and *muhūrtas*; costumes and jewelry; food and drink habits of people and types of entertainment are observed and analysed.

While considering cultural aspects, different *samskāras*, rituals and various festivals are studied. Also, some references to the semidivine beings like Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇī are observed. Different types of architecture, *viz.*, palaces, cities, temples and caves are mentioned in the text. The political situations mentioned in the text clearly shows the shift of the political power, importance of the different places with a religious or commercial affiliation.

An effort has made to fix the date of Daṇḍin after observing the inscriptional data, architectural plans and narratives mentioned in the Avantisundarīkathā. This is one of the important and fresh contributions of the present research.

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### I.1. CULTURAL AND SOCIAL STUDY

“In the Indian history, the term ‘early medieval’ denotes an intermediate period between the ancient and the medieval.”<sup>1</sup> As stated by Singh (2013: 545), after the Gupta and Vākāṭaka period, which is known as the golden age, there are no evidences to showcase the decline of urban life, crafts or trade. The extensive work in Sanskrit literature along with art and architecture in ancient India were largely grounded on the patronage of urban elite. This tradition was continued in the early mediaeval period. In this period, cities, craft, trade and trade guilds flourished. The social, political and cultural levels of the society became distinctive<sup>2</sup>.

To understand the social and cultural aspects of our past, literature and art are the two main sources. By doing extensive study and research in these sources we could get closer to the life and thoughts of our ancestors. There are enormous social and cultural data treasured in the classical Sanskrit literature. It is necessary to conduct a systematic and scientific analysis of such a source material in view of the history of that period known from other sources like archaeology, epigraphy etc.

The study or research in the field of literature does not consist only of its literary skill or linguistic elaboration. The research can also bring to light the general characteristics of that age as revealed through the portrayal of living men with their various actions and feelings, customs and habits, costumes and ornaments, foods and drinks and so on. From the works of literature, one might form a picture of the modes of human feelings and thoughts through the progressive walk of history. The study of society and culture which are interconnected is a matter of deep interest to a student of history. Through literature, one can note the social practices of that period. For this purpose, pieces of our ancient literature should be intensely evaluated<sup>3</sup>.

Cultural study is an interdisciplinary subject. We have a definition of cultural studies as “An interdisciplinary field concerned with the role of social institutions in the shaping of culture. Cultural studies became a well-established field in many

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<sup>1</sup> Singh (2013: 547).

<sup>2</sup> Singh (2013: 643).

<sup>3</sup> Chakravarty (1980: 02).

academic institutions, and it has since had a broad influence in sociology, anthropology, historiography, literary criticism, philosophy, and art criticism. Among its central concerns are the place of race or ethnicity, class, and gender in the production of cultural knowledge.”<sup>1</sup>

Social study is also important to understand the history of society. Through social study, we can observe our historical, geographical, social, economic, and political environments. We can understand how people interact with each other, and the societies they generate. Also, we can recognize the principles and values they hold, and the consequences of their activities.

Social study can be explained by the definition as, “It is a scientific approach to the study of history. Social studies tend to be focused on change or improvement, and it rests on the idea that by studying the past we can ensure a brighter future.”<sup>2</sup>

Political study is the study of politics and power. It involves political ideas, institutions, and behaviour. Also, it has a study of different classes, government, law, strategy and war.

The political study can be described as, “It looks at power within a society. Who has power, how are they using it, who wants power, and what will they do to get it. By studying political science, you will gain insight into how government institutions work, and how the power relationship works between people and the state.”<sup>3</sup>

Socio-political history is mainly the research that highlights the study of transformations over a period. It is the study and understanding of the societies, cultures, political systems, and economic conditions of the past. “It helps to understand historical, cultural, economic, and political values and priorities in the society from more tangible social structures, policies, and practices which embody sociopolitical values.”<sup>4</sup>

Many scholars like Agrawal (1953) and Jamkhedkar (1965) have done a cultural study based on literature.

Sanskrit literature has different genres. One of them is narrative literature. For the ease of understanding, first, we will have a look at the types of narrative literature.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/law-of-three-stages>

<sup>2</sup> <https://theclassicalclassroom.com/2019/08/26/history-and-social-studies-whats-the-difference/#:~:text=Social%20studies%20tends%20to%20study,beings%20individually%20and%20in%20society.>

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.iiemsa.co.za/study-areas-explained/what-is-political-studies/>

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC8056461/#bib22>

## I.2. KATHĀ AND ĀKHYĀYIKĀ

We find that the traditional and mythological stories continue through the literature of different time periods. These stories are sometimes used for entertainment, but most of the time, they are used to convey the values of faith, and the values of religion for a layperson. Sometimes these stories are also used to educate the princes about the administration system and moral ethics. Most of the stories we have today have reached us from the oral tradition. With the passing time, these stories have also moved from one place to another. Among these stories, some deal with historical matters, while some are related to the topics of religion and morals. Some stories portray the life of the common people.

The interesting part of Indian story literature is that many stories are religion-centric. The good conduct of people is usually an essential part depicted in any culture. These stories narrate the same values, knowledge systems, customs and beliefs that help society to imbibe the moral and ethics. The purpose of all these stories might be the entertainment of the reader, but the basic purpose is to convey morals to the society at large. Many stories have the baseline to admire either a deity or a leader. The gods, goddesses and sometimes semi-divine characters like *yakṣas* and *yakṣiṇīs*, *gandharvas* or *kinnaras* are part of these stories. It is not easy to identify the actual date and the original writer of these stories. There is a very long oral tradition of these stories, which might be a few millenniums old. This tradition has been kept alive by bards and storytellers. Many times these bards and storytellers held positions in the royal court. The basic plot of these stories used to be taken from famous epics or narratives.

According to Winternitz (1927: 100), it is not possible to identify the exact time when these stories became the part of our Indian literature. In the Vedic period, the *ṛṣis* used to worship nature. They worshipped natural forces like the sun, the moon, wind, and the fire, in the form of gods Sūrya, Soma, Pavana and Agni etc. To glorify these gods and goddesses, they narrated various myths and legends. These *ṛṣis* initiated the use of narration to circulate their ideas or thoughts. They not only used the myths and legends to adore gods and goddesses in a monologue but also used the form of dialogue. These dialogue hymns or *ākhyāna-sūktas* have an ancient tradition, contain narrative, and have a dramatic nature. Winternitz (1927: 189) has also stated that, “in the Brāhmaṇa texts, the stories or myths are set for the clarification or justification of a sacrificial ceremony. These stories are important as they are the oldest illustrations of

Indian narrative prose. In the Upaniṣadas, philosophical opinions are articulated. The stories from the Upaniṣadas are described to enlighten certain principles.”

These stories are composed in two forms, namely, verse (*padya*) and prose (*gadya*). In early classical Sanskrit, there were many types of prose romances. These have been normally divided into two types, *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*. The story in an *ākhyāyikā* is narrated by the hero himself, while that in a *kathā* may be told by someone else as well. While an *ākhyāyikā* contains some verses in the metres named *āryā*, *vaktra* and *aparavaktra* and is divided into chapters called *ucchvāsas*, these features are absent in a *kathā*.<sup>1</sup> An *ākhyāyikā* deals with events such as the battle between two kings, separation of lovers, royal victory, kidnapping of a maiden, etc. and is marked by a peculiar sign indicative of the intention of the poet. Such features are not present in a *kathā*.

However, Daṇḍin did not agree with such distinction made by Bhāmaha. In the *Kāvyaḍarśa*, he opines that a *kathā* and an *ākhyāyikā* are two names of one and the same form:

तत्कथाख्यायिकेत्येका जातिः संज्ञाद्वयाङ्किता ।- *Kāvyaḍarśa* I.28.

He forcefully disagrees the theory of differences on the following grounds:

- i) The difference cannot be made on the base of the narrator being the hero himself or someone else. Chakravarty (1980: 39) states, “There are exceptions in the *ākhyāyikās* where persons other than the heroes appear as narrators”.
- ii) Use of metres for composing the verses like *āryā* is not an exclusive feature of *ākhyāyikā*. Such a metre can occur in a *kathā* also.
- iii) It is immaterial whether the chapters are called *lambas* or *ucchvāsas*.
- iv) Themes like the kidnapping of a maiden, battle etc. are, in fact, characteristics common to all the types of *kāvya*, and they occur in a *mahākāvya* too.

According to Bhāmaha,<sup>2</sup> an *ākhyāyikā* deals with the facts of actual experience and it is written in Sanskrit, while other languages (like Apabhraṁśa) are used in a

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<sup>1</sup> kathāyām sarasaṁ vastu gadyaireva vinirmitam ..... āryāvaktrāpavaktrāṅām chandasā yena kenacit | anyāpadeśeṇāśvāsamukhe bhāvyarthasūcanam | *Sāhitya Darpaṇa*, VI.332-336

<sup>2</sup> Prakṛtānākulaśravyaśabdārthapadaḥṛttinā ..... svaguṇāviṣkṛtiṁ kuryādabhijñātaḥ kathamja naḥ | *Kāvyaḍarśa*, I.25-29

*kathā*. *Ākhyāyikā* is a literary composition, which is written in prose with words pleasing to the ear and agreeable to the matter intended. It may contain the metrical pieces in *vaktra* and *aparavaktra* metres. The purpose of these verses is to give a timely indication of the future events of the story. The interpretation of the actions of the hero should be given by himself. The story should be divided into several parts called *ucchvāsas*. In a *kathā*, on the other hand, there are no verses in the metres like *vaktra* and *aparavaktra*, and the division into *ucchvāsas* too is absent. The story may be written either in Sanskrit or in Apabhraṁśa, which should be narrated not by the hero, but by someone else.

Bhattacharyya (2013: 5) explains, “Rudraṭa who came after Daṇḍin, accepted and generalized the characteristics of Bāṇa’s two works, viz., the *Kādambarī* and the *Harṣacarita*, into universal rules governing the composition the *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā* respectively. According to him, we have in the *kathā* an introductory *namaskriyā* in verse to the gods and preceptors, and a statement of the author’s family and the purpose of writing the book. A theme consisting of the winning of a girl, which is the main issue, the emotions of love are developed fully in it. On the other hand, in the *ākhyāyikā*, we have the *namaskriyā* to gods and preceptors in verse together with praise of older poets, a confession of one’s own inability to express properly, a writer’s devotion to a particular king etc. The story in an *ākhyāyikā* should be written in the manner of a *kathā*, but the emphasis is put on the order that an account of the poet himself. His family have to be contained in it, and also it should be written in prose and not in poetry. The story should be divided into *ucchvāsas* and two verses in *āryā* metre should occur at the beginning of each chapter, except the first one.”

Bhattacharyya (2013: 5) mentions that, Viśvanātha Kavirāja also expressed similar views on *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā* as those of Bhāmaha. Viśvanātha (Sāhitya Darpaṇa, VI.332-336) states, the *kathā* deals with an interesting plot which is arranged in prose. Occasionally a verse in *āryā* and sometimes in *vaktra* and *aparavaktra* metre also occurs. In the beginning, there should be a salutation in verses, an account of the behaviour of wicked persons and so on, in the *kathā*, e.g. *Kādambarī*. The *ākhyāyikā* resembles the *kathā*. A statement of the poet’s family, and sometimes, an account of other poets, in verse, occurs in it. Different parts of the story are divided into sections named *āśvāsa*. At the beginning of each *āśvāsa*, the future happenings are suggested in any one of the metres, *āryā*, *vaktra* or *aparavaktra*, through some other subject put forward as a pretext, e.g., the *Harṣacarita*. Considering the above-mentioned views of

different poeticians, it becomes clear that the earliest traditional prose forms are described by Bhāmaha. Daṇḍin differed in his views from Bhāmaha. Rudraṭa submitted himself to things as they were and adapted his definition to suit the Kādambarī as a *kathā* and the Harṣacarita as an *ākhyāyikā*. Most of the poeticians after Rudraṭa did not discuss on this issue much, though the orthodox view was not yet forgotten by Viśvanātha. Taking into consideration above mentioned points, we can say that the DKC of Daṇḍin is an uncommon example of *gadya ākhyāyikā*, i.e., prose romance in Sanskrit literature.

### L.3. WORKS OF DAṆḌIN

Daṇḍin was a writer of enormous merit and significant literary attainments and was held in high esteem by the scholars of India.

जाते जगति वाल्मीकौ कविरित्यभिधाभवत् ।

कवी इति ततो व्यासे कवयस्त्वयि दण्डिनि ॥ <sup>1</sup>

This *śloka* opines that the position of Daṇḍin is foremost, next only to Vālmīki and Vyāsa.

Daṇḍin was a prominent realistic writer in Sanskrit with his intense observation of life around him. He occupies an important place in Sanskrit literature with his unique style of portraying it in an entirely different manner. In his works, he painted the aspects of political, social and religious life of his time. General trends of the contemporary events are also mainly reflected in it.

Kālidāsa is praised for his use of similes (*upamā*) and Bhāravi for his profundity of thought (*arthagaurava*). Similarly, Daṇḍin is praised for his elegance of diction (*padalālitya*).

As one of the pioneers in the field of Sanskrit poetics, Daṇḍin has made rich contribution in classical Sanskrit literature. He had a unique place as a poetician and as a writer of prose romances. His name in the field of prose comes with Subandhu and Bāṇa with whom he formed the famous trio of Sanskrit prose romances.

The works traditionally ascribed to him are the two prose romances, the DKC and the Avantisundarīkathā, along with the Kāvyaḍarśa, a work on poetics. However, these works are not collectively attributed to him. Some scholars doubted the common

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<sup>1</sup> Mishra (2013: 63).



authorship of Daṇḍin as the content, style and language of these works are different. Scholars like Tripathi (1996: 13) also state the possibility of two or even more poets having the name Daṇḍin, who might have composed each of these works of literature separately. But the tradition records only one Daṇḍin and there is no other direct evidence of the existence of more than one author with the name or title Daṇḍin.

Vide Chakravarty (1980:43), “Daṇḍin was recognized by the ancient poets and his writings were a constant source of inspiration and guidance to them in the field of poetic composition. Daṇḍin belonged to a period when poetic beauty was demonstrated on the basis of *mārgas* and *guṇas*. In the first chapter of the *Kāvyaḍarśa*, Daṇḍin presents an exposition of the usage and the critical appreciation of the *mārgas* (poetic dictions) and *guṇas* (poetic excellence). During the learned assemblies of his time, poetical compositions contained the application of the Vaidarbha and the Gauḍa *mārgas* along with the underlying ten *guṇas*, which were the very essence of these *mārgas*. Such importance was given to this exercise, that each poet claimed the *mārga* of his composition to be novel and original. Daṇḍin also confirms this practice and says Vaidarbha and Gauḍa are the two distinct styles of poetic composition.”

As a poet, Daṇḍin belonged to the Vaidarbha *mārga*. According to him, in poetry writing, the ways of expression are manifold and the mutual distinction amongst them is very subtle. The Vaidarbhī style derives its name from the *dākṣiṇātyas* (southern poets) whose poetical usages were considered to be exemplary. The Vaidarbhī style flourished in the entire region of Madhyadeśa, and later it became popular amongst the Sanskrit poets. The poetic illustrations presented in Daṇḍin’s *Kāvyaḍarśa*, form the ideals of the Vaidarbhī poetry. Daṇḍin, undoubtedly, belongs to the Vaidarbhī style of poetry writing.

Daṇḍin has authorised three works, on which his popularity and his immortal contribution to Sanskrit literature has rested.

1. The *Kāvyaḍarśa* is a treatise on rhetorical doctrines. The discussion in the text throw ample light on the time and environment in which the author flourished. It consists of four sections. The first section contains definitions and classifications of various literary forms and describes the eastern Gauḍī and the southern Vaidarbhī style of classical Sanskrit writing. It also specifies the *guṇas* or qualities of poetic expression. The second section illustrates thirty-five *alaṅkāras* or figures of speech which embellish literary language. The third have discussion of the *yamaka*, another embellishment which consists of rhyming repetition of syllables, and goes on to

deal with *citrabandhas* or unusual literary techniques, and also discourses on the *doṣas* or blemishes of expression.

2. The DKC is a prose romance that deals with the love stories of the ten princes and the fascinating and thrilling accounts of their country-wide travels. These stories give us a realistic approach of the society towards the life, of that period.
3. The *Avantisundarīkathā* is also a prose romance but available in fragments. According to some scholars, the *Avantisundarīkathā* is the first portion of the whole story, *daśakumāracarita* is the middle part and there is one *ucchvāsa* available of *uttarapīṭhikā*. Kane (2002: 95) is inclined to accept that the *Avantisundarīkathā* is the work of Daṇḍin and constitutes the prelude of the current DKC.

#### I.4. AUTHOR OF THE DKC AND THE AVANTISUNDARĪKATHĀ

The colophons of manuscripts available from the University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum, prove that both are the works of Daṇḍin. The colophon in the *Avantisundarī*, according to the manuscript available, is as follows:

इत्याचार्यदण्डिना कृता अवन्तिसुन्दरी समाप्ता ।

It is also stated in the work itself that the story is narrated by Daṇḍin at the instance of his friends. This is sufficient proof that the *Avantisundarīkathā* is the work of Ācārya Daṇḍin. There is also strong evidence to ascribe the DKC to Daṇḍin. Tradition is quite in favour of this attribution. In the colophons of the manuscripts of the DKC, Daṇḍin is mentioned as the author of the work. The colophon in one paper manuscript (14035 A in University Manuscripts library, Trivendrum) is as follows:

इति दण्डिनः कृतौ दशकुमारचरिते अपहारवर्मचरितं नाम द्वितीय उच्छ्वासः ।

In another palm leaf manuscript (10635, University Manuscripts library, Trivendrum), again the name of Daṇḍin is mentioned:

इति श्रीदण्डिविरचिते दशकुमारचरिते प्रथमं चरितम् ।

According to some scholars Daṇḍin was not author of the available version of the *pūrvapīṭhikā* of the work, but the facts stated above regarding the authorship of the *Avantisundarīkathā* and the DKC are sufficient to ascribe both the works to Ācārya Daṇḍin.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Preface of the *Avantisundarī* by S. K. Pillai.

Also, the verse ascribed to Rājaśekhara clearly states the three works of Daṇḍin:

त्रयो ऽग्नयस्त्रयो वेदास्त्रयो देवास्त्रयो गुणाः ।

त्रयो दण्डिप्रबन्धाश्च त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुताः ॥– Sūktimuktāvalī 4.74.

“just as the three fires, the three Vedas, the three gods, and the three *guṇas* are well-known in the three worlds, similarly, the three works of Daṇḍin are famous in the world.”

Daṇḍin’s unique contribution to the Sanskrit literature made him immortal.

## I.5. DAṆḌIN AND HIS TIME

Daṇḍin was a distinguished writer and a scholar of Sanskrit poetics. He was in the court of Pallavas, one of the famous ancient dynasties of South India. He was renowned for his three works: the *Kāvyaḍarśa*, a work on poetics; and two romantic prose *kāvya*s, namely, the *DKC* and the *Avantisundarīkathā*.

From the *Avantisundarīkathā*, we are able to get some information about Daṇḍin and his ancestors. As mentioned in this text, Daṇḍin was from *Kāñcī*, the capital of the Pallava rulers. At that time, *Kāñcī* was famous for trade and culture. Traditionally, *Kāñcī* is also known as one of the seven sacred cities of ancient India.<sup>1</sup> Daṇḍin descended from a family of Brahmin scholars of the *Kauśika gotra*. His great-grandfather, *Dāmodaravarman*, was born in *Acalapura* near modern *Nashik* in *Maharashtra* but migrated southwards. He secured the friendship of the prince *Viṣṇuvardhana*<sup>2</sup> through the poet *Bhāravi* who was his friend. When *Dāmodaravarman* was twenty years old, he was a friend of *Gaṅga* king *Durvinīta*. After some time, *Dāmodaravarman* was patronised by the Pallava ruler *Siṃhaviṣṇu*, and he settled at the Pallava court. Under the patronage of King *Siṃhaviṣṇuvarman*, he composed several works of literature. *Dāmodaravarman*’s son *Manoratha* and grandson *Vīradatta* continued their scholarly family tradition in the court of Pallavas. *Vīradatta* and *Gaurī* were parents of Daṇḍin. When Daṇḍin was eight years old, his father passed away. After some time, the kingdom of Pallavas was invaded and Daṇḍin had to leave *Kāñcī*. During this period of exile, Daṇḍin wandered all over the country and returned to *Kāñcī* when peace was restored. After Daṇḍin returned to *Kāñcī*, he once visited

<sup>1</sup> Sahay (2008: 151) states: अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काञ्ची अवन्तिका । पुरी द्वारावती चैव सप्तैते मोक्षदायकाः । ।

<sup>2</sup> Possibly *Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana*, as suggested by *Shastri* in the introduction of the *Avantisundarīkathā*.

Māmallapuram, with one sculptor to check the restoration of a Viṣṇu image on the seashore. All this information is available in the *Avantisundarīkathā*.

According to many scholars, Daṇḍin lived there during the reign of Parameśvaravarman (I) and his son Narasimhavarman (II).<sup>1</sup>

According to Kane (2002: 119), the date of Bhāravi's work (the *Kirātārjunīya*) is between 580–590 CE. Dāmodara must therefore have lived in the last quarter of the sixth century CE. Daṇḍin, thus, may have thrived nearly a hundred years after the decline of the Vākātakas. Therefore, he might have had some authentic knowledge about the last years of the Vākātika dynasty from Vidarbha. Kane opines that the said invasion was perhaps by the neighbouring Cālukya king Vikramāditya (I) who is known from separate records<sup>2</sup> to have captured Kāñcī in 674 CE. He was thrown away by the Pallava king Parameśvaravarman (I) later, sometime around 670–680/695 CE.<sup>3</sup> Probably, Daṇḍin came back to Kāñcī during the reign of Parameśvaravarman (I) or the earlier period of the reign of his son, Narasimhavarman (II) (i.e., 680/695–722 CE).<sup>4</sup>

Many scholars have mentioned different dates for Daṇḍin. To confirm the date of Daṇḍin, we must consider the text of the *Kāvyaadarśa*. As stated by Keith (1953: 297), if we place the *Kāvyaadarśa* before *Bhāmaha* (c. 700 CE), there is no purpose in stating that he wrote it much earlier. According to Collins (1907: 46), the geography of the DKC was considered as of belonging to the period later than the reign of the king Harṣavardhana (first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE). Thus, it is suggested that he can be dated next to Subandhu and Bāṇa.

The Jaina poet Svayambhū, who has composed his works in the *Apabhraṃśa*, belonged to the 8th century CE, He has mentioned the name of Daṇḍin in the introduction of his composition, the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*. He says:

*indeṇa samappiu bāyaraṇu | rasa bharahe vāse vitharaṇu ||*

*piṅgaleṇa chhandapathapatthāru | bhāmaha daṇḍinīh alamkāru ||*

*bāṇeṇa samappiu ghaṇaghaṇeu | te akkharaḍambara ghaṇaghaṇau ||*

Tripathi (1996: 10) translates, “I have acquired grammar from Indra, sentiment (*rasa*) from Bharata, the composition of the story from Vyāsa, application of metres

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<sup>1</sup> Majumdar (1954: 262).

<sup>2</sup> Garhwal plates of Cālukya king Vikramāditya (I).

<sup>3</sup> Majumdar (1954: 261).

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 261.

from Piṅgala, poetic embellishments (*alamkāras*) from Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, and the resounding ostentatious verbosity (*akṣarāḍambara*) from Bāṇa.”

It is possible that Daṇḍin in the seventh century conveniently used the historical events of about a century back as a background in his composition. If this be conceded, the DKC can be placed in the seventh century. According to Collins (1907: 132), the kingdom of Vidarbha mentioned in the text refers to the Vākāṭaka rule in Deccan in the sixth century CE. Mirashi opines that the historical data contained in the work reflect the actual political situation of the Deccan in the sixth century CE.

According to Mirashi (1945: 12), the narrative in the eight *ucchvāsa* of the DKC faithfully reflects the actual political situation of the Deccan at the beginning of the sixth century CE. Such type of detailed information about the different kingdoms which have flourished in that age clearly shows that Daṇḍin could have lived at that time, when all these events happened or these events were at least in the memory of someone. As the date of Daṇḍin is a matter of controversy, some scholars placed him in the sixth century CE while some in the ninth or eleventh century CE. He further state, “the political conditions described in the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, obtained in Vidarbha only in the sixth century C.E. In later centuries the centre of imperial power in the Deccan shifted successively to Māhiṣmatī, Badāmī, Mānyakheṭa and Kalyāṇī but it was never in Vidarbha. In later times, some of the geographical names were not in use. One such example is that of Ṛṣīka. This country is mentioned in the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Bṛhatsamhitā as well as in the Nashik cave inscription of Puḷumāvi, but it is unknown to later works and inscriptions.” Considering all these points he concluded that Daṇḍin must have flourished not long after 550 CE.

Kane (2002: 133) has stated that the date of Daṇḍin has been accepted as 6<sup>th</sup> century CE by many scholars like Max Müller, Weber, Prof. Macdonell and Col. Jacob. That date must now be given up in favour of the view that Daṇḍin’s literary activity lay between 660–680 CE.

To confirm the date of Daṇḍin, we must have a look at the details of the Pallava dynasty and the other kings mentioned in the *Avantisundarīkathā*. We have a mention of Gaṅga king Durvinīta from the text, who ruled from 540–600 CE.<sup>1</sup> In an earlier period, Dāmodaravarman, the great-grandfather of Daṇḍin was with him. Then Dāmodaravarman came to the Pallava king Siṁhaviṣṇu, who ruled from c. 575–600

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<sup>1</sup> Majumdar (1954: 269).

CE.<sup>1</sup> If we consider that Dāmodaravarman was born in c. 530–540 CE, then at the age of twenty he was with Gaᅅga king Durvinīta, i.e., from c.550 to 575 CE. After 575 CE, he came to the Pallava king Simhaviᅣᅇu. His son and grandson were also in the royal court of Pallavas. After Simhaviᅣᅇu, Mahendravarman (I) ruled the Pallava dynasty from c. 600–630 CE.<sup>2</sup> As mentioned by Majumdar (1954: 259), he gave up Jainism and became Śaiva under the influence of Saint Appar. He was attacked by the Cālukya king Pulakeᅣin (II) as mentioned in the *Aihole-praśasti*, but he was not totally destroyed. He only had to leave Kāñcī. Daᅇᅇin must have been born in this period. If we consider that Daᅇᅇin was born in c. 615 CE, then because of the invasion of Pulakeᅣin (II), Daᅇᅇin must have left the Pallava capital and started travelling at the age of 15 years. After Mahendravarman (I), Kāñcī was ruled by Narasiᅇhavarman (I) from c. 630–668 CE. He was also known as Mahāmalla. He defeated Pulakeᅣin (II) and captured Vātāpī, the capital of the Cālukyas. This event took place in 642 CE as mentioned in the inscription at Badāmī. He erected some monolithic shrines called *rathas* in Māmallapuram (the city name kept after his name Mahāmalla). Daᅇᅇin must have come back to Kāñcī at this time as the political situation was settled. After Narasiᅇhavarman (I), Parmeᅣvaravarman (I) and Narasiᅇhavarman (II) ruled the Pallava dynasty. The temples known as Shore Temples at Māmallapuram (modern Mahabalipuram) were built during the period of Narasiᅇhavarman (II).<sup>3</sup> He was also known as Rājasimha and ruled from c. 680/695–720 CE.<sup>4</sup> According to some scholars, Daᅇᅇin was in the court of Narasiᅇhavarman (II).<sup>5</sup>

In the present research work, considering all the above discussions, an attempt has been made to settle the exact date of Daᅇᅇin. The details are presented in the last chapter (Conclusions).

## L.6. IMPORTANCE OF THE DKC

The DKC is a prose romance. It is the first work of its type at present available in Sanskrit literature. The other two prose romances namely, the Vāsavadattā of Subandhu and the Kādambarī of Bāᅇa are different in style and elaboration to the extent that they dominate the narrative. The DKC portrays the adventures of ten young men, the

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<sup>1</sup> Seshadri (1963: 47).

<sup>2</sup> Majumdar (1954: 259).

<sup>3</sup> Majumdar (1954: 262).

<sup>4</sup> Seshadri (1963: 52).

<sup>5</sup> Majumdar (1954: 262).

*kumāras*, who are either princes or the sons of royal ministers, as narrated by themselves. Through the DKC, while providing an insight into contemporary culture and civilization, Daṇḍin also highlights various aspects of the political, social and religious life of that period.

The present dissertation defines the aspects of cultural and socio-political importance as revealed through the DKC of Daṇḍin. There are various reasons to select this particular text. Firstly, this creation of Daṇḍin has some unique features that attract the attention of those who have interest in literature. The subject matter of many Sanskrit *kāvya*s is generally derived from the Indian epics, namely, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, and also from different *purāṇas*. The distinct quality of Daṇḍin is not to follow the common trends. The major part of the DKC consists of heroic adventures, which illustrates the originality of the author who supersedes the conventionality of themes. Secondly, he does not follow the monotony of ongoing literary patterns. The Sanskrit *kāvya*s were generally a stereotype creation to have aesthetic pleasure and the themes were the ideal characters of heroes and heroines who always won over the evil.

The misery and struggle of life and suffering were not considered in such *kāvya*s. But the work of Daṇḍin is exceptional in this regard. The characters of the heroes and the heroines do not always follow moral principles. Their presence is more mortal than divine, and more realistic than idealistic. The adventures of the princes are full of things like burglary, robbery, abduction, gambling etc. This quality makes creation lively and attractive. Hence the DKC offers a good scope for tracing contemporary social and cultural urban life.

The DKC is a prose romance which reveals the adventures of Prince Rājavāhana and his nine friends. An extraordinary characteristic of these stories is the geographical locations of their action, ranging from present-day Gujarat to Assam, Uttar Pradesh to Andhra Pradesh and all the way to the islands of the Indian Ocean. It is also rich in variety of characters and situations. Daṇḍin animates every personality, provides lively information about assassinations, conquests, dance festivals and royal assemblies, and describes in detail the training of a courtesan and even the tools for burgling a house. The DKC is a text with varied narratives containing information for historians. It has tremendous potential as the source of contemporary cultural, social and historical data. It has given us a brilliant picture of Indian life in all its varied aspects. The text has been translated into many Indian and foreign languages. This text attempts to portray the

religious life of the people with reference to different sects and cults they followed and the mass of superstitions that gathered around their beliefs in the course of time.

The DKC interprets and describes various social and socio-cultural institutions. These institutions give an account of the diverse activities of social and economic life such as food and drink, costumes and ornaments, socio-cultural gatherings and means of entertainment, social taboos, agriculture and cattle rearing, trade and industry. Information regarding the daily way of life of the common people is gleaned from the DKC. Their domestic life and family relations have been depicted very well. Information regarding various animals and birds is mentioned. Women are seen doing various odd jobs and this information helps to get some idea about the position of women in the society of that time. While setting forth on a journey, various good and bad omens are mentioned. Superstitions, customs and beliefs existing in the society of those times are noticed at many places. Along with such practices, various deities are mentioned and one can get some idea of the religious life of that society as well.

This text also deals with education, texts and art of the period, and details the intellectual activities of the teachers, scholars and literature and artists who, under the patronage of the royalty and the nobility of the time, brought their creative genius to bear upon the rich cultivation of various branches of learning and different forms of literature, and different types of arts such as music, dance, painting, sculpting and architecture.

The distinctiveness of Daṇḍin lies in his power of characterization. He makes the characters of the story alive on his stage. He invests reality and liveliness in the minor characters. Apart from these factors, what impels us most to undertake this work is the manifestation of manifold aspects of social life as found in the stories of the ten princes. The cosmopolitan cities such as Ujjayinī, Campā, Kusumapura, Śrāvastī etc. are the places of incidences that come to the front. Daṇḍin gives prominence to the urban society in his work. The text is appropriately termed 'the romance of roguery', because gambling, fraud, violence, abduction, illicit love and other features are penned with precision and vivacity. These were certainly some of the characteristic features of the urban society which was crowded with harlots, debauches, gamblers, thieves, imposters and so on. These and other such peculiarities are prominently illustrated by Daṇḍin.



These colourful stories of adventure and intense accounts of the life of the DKC attracted Western scholars, and it has been translated into English and German.<sup>1</sup>

According to Keith (1953: 297), “There is a probability that Daṇḍin has derived the conception of the plot of the romance from Guṇādhya. In the Bṛhatkathā, Naravāhanadatta and his friends came together after strange adventures. They narrate what has happened to each of them. A similar plot is used by Daṇḍin to illustrate the ten princes and their adventures when they reunited after a separation. This creative idea is a series of some independent stories.”

As stated by Keith (1953: 300), “The core attention of this romance prose lies in the matter, its rich and attractive reading of life and adventures. It is a portrait of princesses and ruined kings; it is a story of magicians and fake revered men. It gives the details about expert thieves, of ardent lovers. These lovers in their dream or by a prediction are urged to pursue their beloved.”

Winternitz (1927: 388), mentions that the DKC, ‘The Adventures of Ten Princes’ varies from the work of Guṇādhya’s Bṛhatkathā. The difference is in the perfection of the style, and the material of the subject matter. Daṇḍin’s work is also a series of stories and narratives.

Daṇḍin’s varied knowledge is borne out in his description of the elephants and horses in the army, and his proficiency in *Dharmaśāstra* and *Gṛhyasūtra* in the portrayal of the Brahman villages on the banks of the Kāverī. The thoughts and expressions of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya run throughout the texture of this work. In his knowledge of astrology, medicine, herbs, plants, *āgamas*, *purāṇas* and architecture, Daṇḍin leaves many great writers far behind.

## **I.7. STORY OF THE DKC**

The story of the DKC contains three main parts. The *pūrvapīṭhikā*, *daśakumāracarita* and the *uttarapīṭhikā*. The *pūrvapīṭhikā* has five *ucchvāsas* (chapters), *daśakumāracarita* has eight *ucchvāsas* (chapters) and the *uttarapīṭhikā* is the *upasaṁhāra* (concluding part of the story).

The name of the whole text is Daśakumāracarita and the middle part (between the *pūrvā-* and the *Uttara-pīṭhikā*) is also known by the same name. Therefore, to avoid

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<sup>1</sup> A large number of scholars such as Wilson (1846), Jacob (1873), Mayer (1902), Ryder (1927), Kale (1966), Haksar (1995) and Onians (2005) has carried out the translation work of the DKC.

any confusion, the complete composition of the Daśakumāracarita (whole text) is referred to as the DKC, and the middle portion of the composition is referred to as the *daśakumāracarita*, in the present research work.

The available text was authored by Daṇḍin. Based on some shreds of evidence, it is considered that only the middle part i.e. *daśakumāracarita* was written by Daṇḍin. The name itself suggests the stories of ten kumāras. But actually, it contains the stories of eight princes only. The first part, i.e., the *pūrvapīṭhikā* has the stories of two *kumāras*. The first chapter of the *pūrvapīṭhikā* has details about the birth of ten *kumāras*. The third and fourth chapters have stories of two *kumāras*. The second and fifth chapters have a story of Rājavāhana only. The second (middle) part, i.e., *daśakumāracarita*, abruptly starts with the story of Rājavāhana and ends with the incomplete story of Viśruta. This part has stories of eight *kumāras*. In the last part, i.e., the *uttarapīṭhikā*, the story of Viśruta is completed. On this basis, some scholars believed that the first and the third parts were added later by someone else. Even the second part was also incomplete as there are only eight stories in it.

As mentioned by Bhattacharyya (2013: 20), Kavīndrācārya in his commentary *Padacandrikā* and Śivarāma in his commentary *Bhūṣaṇa* have mentioned only the middle part, i.e., *daśakumāracarita*. They reject the *uttarapīṭhikā* as it is not an original part of the whole DKC. The indication by these commentators shows that the middle part of the DKC is the only original work by Daṇḍin. Bhattacharyya further states that the fact that the *pūrvapīṭhikā* has a modern commentary, namely, the *Padadīpikā* and there is no commentary available for the *uttarapīṭhikā*, these two parts must have been added later.

Keith (1953: 297) mentions that there is a probability that Daṇḍin got the idea of the romance story from Guṇāḍhya. Daṇḍin repeated the plot of the Bṛhatkathā, in which Naravāhanadatta and his companions reunited after their strange adventures. He (1953: 298) further states, “What is certain is that we have in our manuscript quite frequently beside the text of the work proper an introduction, the *pūrvapīṭhikā* and in one manuscript and its derivatives a conclusion, *uttarapīṭhikā*. That these are no part of Daṇḍin’s work seems suggested at once by the names, and this conclusion is confirmed by overwhelming evidence. The *pūrvapīṭhikā* ought to lead up merely to the first tale in the text of the romance, but in point of fact it gives tales of two princes in order to make up the number of ten, Daṇḍin’s own work extending only to eight, the last imperfect.”

We get differences in some stories in the *pūrvapīṭhikā* and in *daśakumāracarita*. There was no inconsistency in the lineage of the princes Rājavāhana, Puṣpodbhava, Apahāravarman and Upahāravarman. But in the stories of Arthapāla, Pramati and Viśruta we find some differences. In the middle part, i.e., *daśakumāracarita*, Arthapāla and Pramati were Kāmapāla's sons from the wives Kāntimatī and Tārāvalī. But in the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, Arthapāla was Tārāvalī's son and Pramati was the son of the minister Sumati. Again, in the case of Viśruta, he descended from the merchant Vaiśravaṇa and was grandson of Sindhudatta according to *daśakumāracarita*. However, in the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, he is shown to be the grandson of minister called Padmodbhava. Upahāravarman in his narration says that he was brought up by an ascetic. But in the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, it is shown that the king brought him up. Keith (1953: 299) states, "We may safely say that the author of this stupidity was not Daṇḍin, whose own purpose doubtless was, as in chapter vi, to insert just before our present text some anecdotes of ancient love stories. The case against the *uttarapīṭhikā* is even more convincing, for it is obvious from the end of the text that Daṇḍin was about to paint the model of a wise ruler, a task which the present conclusion does not even attempt. It is possible that two hands are to be distinguished even in the *pūrvapīṭhikā* itself."

In his introduction, Agashe (1907) discusses about the differences found between the two parts and also the authorship of Daṇḍin in detail. He (1917: xix) cites a remark of Wilson that "either the author has been nodding or the Introduction is the work of a different writer who has been heedless or forgetful of the narrative of his predecessor." There are differences in the use of grammar, arrangement of words and language also.

Wilson (1846: 5) mentions that the DKC universally accepted that it begins abruptly and also ends abruptly. He also stated that if three parts are not composed by the same person, then they must be composed by another who was nearly the same time and of the same school. Maybe it can be the work of one of the author's disciples.

Though there are some differences in the text, for the current research, the text as translated by M. R. Kale is used as a primary source. The brief outline of the story is as follows:

## A) THE PŪRVAPĪṬHIKĀ

### ***Ucchvāsa 1 – The Birth of All Princes***

King Rājahaṃsa was a ruler of the Magadha kingdom and Puṣpapurī was the capital of Magadha. A beautiful queen Vasumatī was his wife. He had three chief ministers namely Dharmapāla, Padmodbhava and Sitavarman. Dharmapāla had three sons, Sumantra, Sumitra and Kāmapāla; Padmodbhava had two sons, Suśruta and Ratnodbhava; and Sitavarman had two sons, Sumati and Satyavarman. Among these Satyavarman was religious and he went on a pilgrimage. Kāmapāla was different in nature. He wandered around the world for pleasure and visited gambling houses and prostitutes. Ratnodbhava was interested in business. He became a trader and went to another island for business. After their father's death, the remaining four sons succeeded to their duty.

The war began between the kingdoms of Magadha and Mālavā. As Rājahaṃsa was a very commanding warrior he defeated Mānasāra, the king of Mālavā. In revenge, Mānasāra worshiped Śiva and obtained a miraculous mace from him. He again marched Magadha. Despite of minister's advice, Rājahaṃsa did not avoid the war, he lost his kingdom and got injured. With his pregnant queen and other ministers, he took shelter in the forest of Vindhya. The sage Vāmadeva predicted that his son would conquer the empire again. Soon the prince Rājavāhana was born and other ministers also had their sons Pramati, Mitragupta, Mantragupta and Viśruta. Prahārarman, the king of Mithilā was a friend of Rājahaṃsa. One day while travelling he was attacked by *śabaras* and he lost his twin sons. After some period, these two sons, Apahārarman and Upahārarman were brought to king Rājahaṃsa. Arthapāla the son of Kāmapāla and Puṣpodbhava, the son of Ratnodbhava were brought to the king. Satyavarman's son Somadatta was found by sage Vāmadeva. These ten princes started their education together.

### ***Ucchvāsa 2 – The Story of Rājavāhana and Mātaṅga***

After completing education, on the suggestion of sage Vāmadeva, all ten *kumāras* went on a conquest tour. While travelling in the forest of Vindhya, Rājavāhana went to the *pātālaloka* with a brāhmaṇa Mātaṅga at night. The next morning the other nine princes saw that Rājavāhana was nowhere to be seen. They travelled in different directions in search of Rājavāhana.

In the *pātālaloka*, Mātaṅga with Rājavāhana performed a *homa* as described in the copperplate given by the god Śiva. Then he put himself in the fire altar and he was transformed into a handsome man. Further, they met Kālindī, princess of pātāla and she married Mātaṅga. Kālindī gave a miraculous bead of no hunger and thirst to Rājavāhana. After some days Rājavāhana returned to his original place but he did not find his friends. So, he started his journey in search of his friends. He came to a garden near a big city. There he saw Somadatta with his wife and some servants.

### ***Ucchvāsa 3 – The Narration of Somadatta***

Somadatta, the son of minister Satyavarman, travelled in search of Rājavāhana. Some soldiers of king Vīraketu stole jewellery from Mattakāla's palace by digging a tunnel. Due to a misunderstanding, Somadatta was imprisoned by an army of Mattakāla, the king of Lāṭa. Mattakāla wanted to marry Vāmalocanā, daughter of Vīraketu by force. Somadatta freed himself from prison and he met Mānapāla, the minister of Vīraketu. Mattakāla marched Vīraketu for Vāmalocanā. But in the battle, Somadatta killed Mattakāla and Vīraketu gave Vāmalocanā and his kingdom to Somadatta. After marriage, they both came to visit the temple of Mahākāla in Ujjayinī where Somadatta met Rājavāhana.

### ***Ucchvāsa 4 – The Narration of Puṣpodbhava***

Ratnodbhava, the minister of king Rājahaṁsa travelled to Kālayavana island for trade. There he settled and got married. While returning, the ship was wrecked and he lost his wife and son, Puṣpodbhava. In this *ucchvāsa*, Puṣpodbhava fortunately met his parents after sixteen years. Then he got underground wealth from the Vindhya forest. They all came to Ujjayinī and settled there. Mānasāra, king of Ujjayinī handed over his kingdom to his son Darpasāra. But he did not rule the kingdom and he handed it to his cousins Caṇḍavarman and Dāruvarman. Puṣpodbhava and Bālacandrikā, daughter of a rich merchant of Ujjayinī, both fell in love with each other. But Dāruvarman, ruler of Ujjayinī wanted to marry her. By fabricating the story of *yakṣa*, Puṣpodbhava killed Dāruvarman and married Bālacandrikā. When he came to a garden of Ujjayinīnagarī, he saw Rājavāhana and Somadatta. Somadatta left to take his family home and Puṣpodbhava brought Rājavāhana to his home.

### ***Ucchvāsa 5 – The Narration of Rājavāhana***

Rājavāhana and Puṣpodbhava both came to Avantikānagarī. People were celebrating the festival of Vasanta (*Vasantotsava*). Daṇḍin has given a beautiful description of the *vasantotsava*. Avantisundarī, daughter of the king Mānasāra came to the garden to worship Kāmadeva with her friend Bālacandrikā. There she saw Rājavāhana and they both fell in love with each other. Rājavāhana remembered that in his previous birth, they both were together and he had troubled one ascetic. Due to this, he was cursed by that ascetic that in his next birth, he would remain in bondage for some days. Rājavāhana met Vidyeśvara, who was a magician. Vidyeśvara performed various types of magical games in the royal court. While performing a magical play (*indrajāla*) about the marriage of Avantisundarī, they both got married and Rājavāhana started living with Avantisundarī.

### **B) THE DKC**

#### ***Ucchvāsa 1 – The Narration of Rājavāhana***

Rājavāhana gave a description of 14 *bhuvanas* to Avantisundarī. Due to the curse of their previous birth, they got separated from each other. Rājavāhana was captured by Caṇḍavarman and was kept in a cage. Caṇḍavarman wanted to kill him with an elephant. Puṣpodbhava was also imprisoned by Caṇḍavarman. Caṇḍavarman wanted to marry Ambālikā, princess of Aṅgadeśa, so he marched towards Campā, the capital of Aṅgadeśa. He carried a cage with Rājavāhana with him. Simhavarman, king of Aṅgadeśa invited other kings for help. Simhavarman was caught by Caṇḍavarman. While Caṇḍavarman was getting married to Ambālikā, Apahārarman came there and killed Caṇḍavarman. Due to the end of the curse, Rājavāhana was freed. Rājavāhana and Apahārarman met the other *kumāras* Arthapāla, Pramati, Mitragupta and Viśruta who came there to help the king of Aṅgadeśa. Prahārarman, king of Mithilā; Kāmapāla, king of Kāśī; Simhavarman, king of Campā and Dhanamitra also gathered there. All *kumāras* started narrating their stories of adventures.

#### ***Ucchvāsa 2 – The Narration of Apahārarman***

Apahārarman came outside of Campānagarī. There he met sage Marīci who was digressed in his path and got frustrated by Kāmamañjarī, the famous *ganikā* of Campānagarī. She also cheated a businessman Vimardaka and looted all his wealth. So

Vimardaka became a Jaina ascetic. When Apahāvarman got to know this, he decided to teach a lesson to Kāmamañjarī and to return all the wealth to Vimardaka. Apahāvarman became a gambler and with his skills, he won a lot of money in gambling. With the help of Dhanamitra, Apahāvarman made a plot to teach a lesson to rich and wealthy people of the city. He became a burglar and looted the people. He also helped Dhanamitra to marry his lover Kulapālikā. Apahāvarman had many adventures and finally, he succeeded in teaching a lesson to Kāmamañjarī. Kāmamañjarī returned all the wealth to Vimardaka. Meanwhile, he fell in love with her sister Rāgamañjarī and married her. After some days Apahāvarman was imprisoned by soldiers for his burglary. With the help of the jailor, he dug a tunnel and reached the palace. There he saw Ambālikā, daughter of king Simhavarman. He fell in love with her. Caṇḍavarman attacked the Campā and arranged a marriage with Ambālikā. At the time of Marriage, Apahāvarman came there, killed Caṇḍavarman and married Ambālikā.

### ***Ucchvāsa 3 – The Narration of Upahāvarman***

After reaching Mithilānagarī of the Videha region, Upahāvarman met an old lady. She told him about his parents. Vikaṭavarman, the cousin of Upahāvarman has captured the kingdom by force and imprisoned the parents of Upahāvarman. Upahāvarman fell in love with Kalpasundarī, queen of Vikaṭavarman. He made a plan with the help of Kalpasundarī and managed Vikaṭavarman to change his body into a handsome one with the help of some rituals. While doing rituals he killed Vikaṭavarman and released his parents. After making his father king and himself prince, he married Kalpasundarī. When Caṇḍavarman attacked Campā, on the invitation of Simhavarman, he reached Campā for help.

### ***Ucchvāsa 4 – The Narration of Arthapāla***

In search of Rājavāhana, Arthapāla came to Kāśī. Near Maṇikarṇikā tīrtha he met Pūrṇabhadra, who was a friend of minister Kāmapāla. Actually, Kāmapāla was a son of the king Rājahaṃsa's minister. When Kāmapāla came to Kāśī, he met princess Kāntimatī. They had a son Arthapāla, who was handed over to the king Rājahaṃsa by Tārāvalī yakṣiṇī. Unfortunately, Kāntimatī's brother Simhaghoṣa gave Kāmapāla a death sentence. Arthapāla rescued his father with his skills. He found Maṇikarṇikā who lived in an underground palace. They both married and he became the prince of Kāśī.

### ***Ucchvāsa 5 – The Narration of Pramati***

When Pramati was in the forest of Vindhya, he saw Navamālikā in his dreams. She was a daughter of Śrāvastī king Dharmavarman. To find her, Pramati travelled to Śrāvastī. On the way, he met an old man in a game of cock fight. With the help of that old man, he became a friend of Navamālikā in the attire of a female. He pretended that he was the daughter of that old man. By doing some tricks he managed to marry Navamālikā. When he got the message from Simhavarman, he reached Campā with his army to help Simhavarman.

### ***Ucchvāsa 6 – The Narration of Mitragupta***

Mitragupta visited Dāmalipta nagarī. There in the festival of ball (*kandukotsava*) he saw the princess Kandukāvati who was performing kandukanṛtya. She was a daughter of the king Tuṅgadhanvā and the queen Maidīnī. Bhimadhanvā, brother of Kandukāvati wanted to kill Mitragupta, so he threw him into the sea but some *yavana* people came there in a ship and saved him. When his ship wrecked, he reached a beautiful island. There he met one brahmarākṣasa. He asked him some questions. In answer, Mitragupta told him four stories – Dhūminī, Gominī, Nimbavati and Nitambavati. Then with the help of that *Brahmarākṣasa*, Mitragupta rescued Kandukāvati from a *rākṣasa*. Then they both returned to Dāmalipta nagarī and got married. He also came to Campānagarī to save the king Simhavarman.

### ***Ucchvāsa 7 – The Narration of Mantragupta***

Mantragupta came to Kaliṅga region. There he saw a *tāpasī*, who was trying to sacrifice the princess Kanakalekhā. Mantragupta saved her and lived with her in the palace. When the king Kadanaka of Kaliṅga was celebrating the festival of spring (*vasantotsava*) with his family and friends, Jayasimha, a king of Āndhra attacked Kaliṅga from ships. Jayasimha captured king Kadanaka and princess Kanakalekhā and took them with him to Āndhra. Mantragupta reached Āndhra to rescue Kanakalekhā. He became an ascetic and started living near a lake. Kanakalekhā was possessed by a *yakṣa*. Mantragupta as an ascetic made a plan and advised Jayasimha to enter into a lake to set free Kanakalekhā from yakṣa. When Jayasimha entered the lake Mantragupta killed him and declared himself as a king. Then he married Kanakalekhā and became



the ruler of both Āndhra and Kaliṅga. He also reached Campā to help king Siṃhavarman.

### ***Ucchvāsa 8 – The Narration of Viśruta***

Viśruta was wandering in the forest of Vindhya in search of Rājavāhana. There he met an old man and a boy called Bhāskaravarman, the prince of Vidarbha. The old man narrated the story of Vidarbha. After the death of an ideal king Puṇyavarman, Anantavarman became a king of Vidarbha. Though he was brave, he was not good at administration. Vasurakṣita, his old minister suggests to him the *rājanīti* from Arthaśāstra and Nītiśara, but he did not follow it. Due to his ignorance, anarchy was widespread in the state. The king of Aśmaka captured his kingdom with the help of other kings. Vasurakṣita escaped from the state with the queen, princess Mañjuvādinī and prince Bhāskaravarman. They took shelter in the kingdom of Mitravarman, stepbrother of Anantavarman. But Mitravarman wanted to kill Bhāskaravarman so Vasurakṣita took him to the forest, where they met Viśruta. Pracaṇḍavarman came to take Mañjuvādinī but Viśruta killed him. He also killed Mitravarman. Viśruta taught all the education of the king to Bhāskaravarman and married Mañjuvādinī.

### **C) THE UTTARAPĪṬHIKĀ**

Viśruta installed Bhāskaravarman in the kingdom of Vidarbha. He killed the king of Aśmaka. At the same time, a messenger from king Rājahaṃsa came there. All kumāras returned to Puṣpapurī with their army and wives. On the way, they killed Mānasāra, king of Mālavā. King Rājahaṃsa distributed all the kingdoms among the ten kumāras and with his queen, he left the kingdom for the *vānaprasthāśrama*. Rājavāhana became a king of Puṣpapurī and other kumāras started ruling their kingdoms.

## **I.8. CHAPTERIZATION OF THE RESEARCH WORK**

The present research aims to analyse the text of the DKC and to throw fresh light on the social, political, and cultural conditions in the 6<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> centuries CE. As per the norms mentioned by the university, the present research is divided into five chapters.

The first chapter is the introduction. In this chapter, an introduction to the types of literature and the importance of the DKC is discussed. In this chapter, information about Daṇḍin, his period and his other works and the importance of the DKC is given. This chapter also has a plot of the DKC in short.

In the second chapter, a review of the previous research work including some Ph.D. theses and some articles done on the DKC by different scholars, is mentioned.

The third chapter talks about the methodology used for the present research. It also deals with the information about the primary and secondary sources. The objectives and different methods used for the research are also discussed in this chapter. It also has limitations of the current research work.

The fourth chapter has a detailed analysis of the DKC. For analysis purposes, different aspects are covered. The Geographical data and historical data found in the DKC were identified. Aspects like Polity and administration, Trade and commerce were also considered with religion and philosophy. Data regarding social and cultural studies analysed with art and architecture as seen in the DKC. The observations from the DKC and other texts are also mentioned in this chapter.

In the fifth chapter, the conclusion of the research work is given. In conclusion, different aspects like political, religious and some other are considered. Also, an effort has been made to identify the exact date of Daṇḍin.

The Bibliography containing the details of all the primary and secondary sources used for the present dissertation has been given after the five chapters.

While presenting the research work in the form of a dissertation, it was necessary to provide some maps, charts and plans, for the ease of understanding of the points put forth in the research work. The material culture can be shown with the help of figures. This information has been presented at the end in the form of appendices.

- Appendix 1 – Chart showing the genealogy of 10 *kumāras*
- Appendix 2.A – States mentioned in the DKC
- Appendix 2.B – Cities mentioned in the DKC
- Appendix 2.C – Mountains/ Rivers/ Forests / Islands mentioned in the DKC
- Appendix 3.A – Map of cities mentioned in the DKC
- Appendix 3.B – Map of states mentioned in the DKC
- Appendix 3.C – Map of places travelled by 10 *kumāras* in the DKC
- Appendix 4.A – Map of the kingdoms of the Guptas, Vākāṭakas and some contemporary dynasties
- Appendix 4.B – Map showing major dynasties of peninsular India, c.700-1300
- Appendix 4.C – Map showing ancient Indian cities and Mahājanapadas
- Appendix 4.D – Map showing ancient Indian places

- Appendix 4.E – Major trade routes of early historical India
- Appendix 4.F – Major trade routes of early historical India and places visited by  
10 *kumāras*
- Appendix 5 – Sculptural Depiction of *Kandukakrīḍāmagnā* in temples
- Appendix 6.A – Plan of the Shore Temples and Viṣṇu image at Mahabalipuram
- Appendix 6.B – Section and plan of the Shore Temples at Mahabalipuram
- Appendix 6.C – Inscription of Pulakeśin at Aihole
- Appendix 7 – Material Culture depicted in the Paintings in the Caves at Ajanta
- Appendix 8 – Maṇibhadra Yakṣa
- Appendix 9 – Currency Dināra
- Appendix 10 – Select Plans of Ancient Indian Architecture
- Appendix 11 – Occupations mentioned in the DKC
- Appendix 12 – Weapons mentioned in the DKC
- Appendix 13 – Utensils and Tools mentioned in the DKC
- Appendix 14 – Flora and Fauna mentioned in the DKC

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF PREVIOUS WORK

Any research activity has an essential task, i.e., the literature review. It is important because it helps the researcher to know about the related works that have been done previously. It helps to appraise promising research methods. It gives a course of action to know which problems have been solved in what way and which problems are yet to be solved and how it can be designed to solve these problems.

While doing a review of some previous works, that are directly or indirectly connected to this research topic, some highlighted points are noted as follows:

1. In the work which is a part of Ph.D. thesis, **Gupta (1970)** attempts a study of the literary aspect and gives a critical evaluation of the study of Poetics and Classical Sanskrit prose. Gupta's work is mainly based on three texts of Daṇḍin i.e. the Kāvyaḍarśa, the Avantisundarīkathā and the DKC.

The work is divided into three parts having diverse aspects of the subject. Part one deals with problems related to Daṇḍin's identity, period, life and work. The second part deals with Daṇḍin as a rhetorician and various concepts and theories of Poetics that appeared in Daṇḍin's work. Also, he discussed Daṇḍin's place in the history of Sanskrit Poetics and his exceptional achievements. In the third part, he discussed a significant assessment of Daṇḍin's work with art and style in his prose romances. He also discussed in detail the rhetorical doctrines of Daṇḍin, his *mārga* theory.

2. **Gupta (1972)** made an attempt to study society and culture at the time of Daṇḍin with the help of his works, viz. the DKC, the Avantisundarīkathā and the Kāvyaḍarśa.

Gupta discussed the time of Daṇḍin in detail considering various opinions of many scholars. He also tried to work well on geographical data and State administration which occur in the work of Daṇḍin. To highlight the social and economic life and the impact of religion on social life, he elucidates various social and socio-cultural institutions. He tried to portray the religious life of the people and Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and other cults were discussed with their popular beliefs and superstitions of the contemporary period. The education

system and literature have also been discussed in brief. However, Gupta didn't give more information about the fine arts, music, or architecture of that period.

3. **Chakrabarti (1982)** remarks that the DKC proves to be an important Sanskrit text, because of the humanistic approach of Daṇḍin. His work is the manifestation of manifold aspects of social life as found in the stories of the ten princes.

The work mainly outlines the social system at the time of Daṇḍin with reference to social institutions and cultural aspects. It also tries to throw light on the problem of the socio-cultural background of the development of early Indian history. In the social aspect section, Chakrabarti discussed in detail about the position of women in society, systems like caste and education, occupation, food and drink of that period. In the section on economic life, different professions, agriculture, trade and industry all these topics are covered by an author. Along with the social aspect, this work also talks about the way of expression or linguistic excellence of the DKC and its literary technique as a prose Kāvya.

4. **Ohari (1995)** in her work tries to portray the cultural conditions with the help of Daṇḍin's two works viz. the DKC and the *Avantisundarīkathā*. Her work is mainly focused on the socio-economic conditions of ancient India at the time of Daṇḍin. How the caste system, four *āśrama* system and rituals were followed by people is extracted in detail from the above two texts. The position of women in society, and the trading system is discussed; also how the education system could be observed in these texts is deeply studied in this work. The daily routine of the people, festivals and rituals are also explained. How the spread of Jainism and Buddhism in society started declining is observed in this work.

5. **Pankaj (2002)** studied Daṇḍin's realistic approach to social life in the DKC. While presenting Daṇḍin's observations on various aspects of the cultural life of the age, she tried to avoid making a sweeping generalization. She has attempted to record almost all data related to social life and governance like the duty of kings, education of kings etc. She also covered the geographical data, flora and fauna and territorial divisions. In the chapter Polity and Governance, she gave detailed information about the Theory of State and the King's relationship with

the state. Also, the personal qualities, duties, and education of the King were discussed in detail.

In the social life chapter, she discussed the structure of society. The caste system, marriage system, food and drink habits, costumes and ornaments, all these topics were covered in social life. However, there was no critical analysis done about these social factors. Sufficient effort has been taken on the Religion and Philosophy part, but the section on Art and Architecture has not been covered effectively.

6. The work of **Tripathi (2008)** was a comparative study of the DKC and the Kādambarī of Bāṇa. She tried to explore the social, cultural and religious aspects of these texts with comparative analysis.

In the first two chapters, she discussed about Sanskrit literature, prose literature and general social life depicted in Sanskrit literature. She also gave information about both composers, their period and their works. *Varṇāśrama* structure which can be seen in these texts is deeply discussed with reference to the *Smṛti granthas*. Some important aspects like the status of women in society, the education system, and the lifestyle of the people are the topics of the next 3 chapters. The section that deals with religion and art is not extensively explored as compared to the other aspects.

7. In his research work, **Singh (2012)** stated that the DKC is an important literary source for the study of social and cultural history. He explored the cultural development and the religious aspects thoroughly in this work.

In the beginning, he gave details about the life of Daṇḍin, his works and the details about the prose literature in Sanskrit. Further, he tried to explore the social and religious life of that period with some important aspects like the *varṇāśrama* system, sixteen *Saṃskāras*, family system, duties of family members etc. In this chapter, he discussed these factors deeply compared with the *Dharmaśāstras*. Further, he deliberated some points with reference to the economic condition and international trading of that period.

8. **Mishra (2013)** primarily worked on the DKC with the focus on the social and economic aspects of the text. She emphasised an analytical study with these

aspects. After discussing the period, life and works of Daṇḍin she highlighted Sanskrit prose literature, the importance of the DKC in Sanskrit literature and an appraisal of Daṇḍin's work in comparison with other scholars.

In the social study, she tried to focus on the *varṇa* and *āśrama* system depicted in the DKC, the social structure, and lifestyle of the people. She also explored various factors related to the social customs, religious rituals, town planning, and duties of different layers in society. There is some discussion about the fine arts and festivals-celebrations which can be seen in the DKC, which gives the idea of the society of that period.

9. **Bhattacharya (2013)** worked on the DKC in a very appropriate way. She has discussed different topics like the source of the plot and, the influence of previous texts on the DKC. But she mainly worked on social and cultural aspects. She also discussed the other *kathā* and *ākhyārikās* which are similar to the DKC. In the social aspect, she extensively covered the topics like position of women in society, religious customs and beliefs. Bhattacharya also worked on other social aspects akin to the *varṇa-āśrama* system, food and drink, disease, tribes etc.
10. **Pieruccini (2018)** has very significantly highlighted the story from the DKC. This article is based on the story of Gominī from the sixth *ucchvāsa* of the DKC, where the narrator is Mitragupta. It is an interesting tale having a documentary value of the recipes, utensils used and practices associated with food. To find a suitable girl (bride) what criteria were there in ancient India can be carried out from this story. The exercise done by the author in this article is very much appreciable, as it covers the detailed task done by Gominī to prepare complete food from *prastha* (measuring unit) of rice. An analysis of this story gives an idea about the management skills of domestic resources used by Gominī.
11. **De Caroli (1995)** in his article tried to analyse the DKC and its implications for the Vākāṭaka and Pallava courts. The article tried to give social, political and literary facts with the help of the eighth *ucchvāsa* which has covered the narrative by Viśruta. He focused on the historical information depicted in *daśakumāracarita* along with evidence from the fifth century Vākāṭaka

inscription. He also noted the work of scholars like Walter Spink, V.V. Mirashi and Mark Collins, to illustrate the tale of Viśruta as a historical account of the fall of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.

12. **Mirashi (1945)** has done his work on the Historical Data in the DKC of Daṇḍin. He worked extensively on the historicity or the historical aspects found in the DKC in 6<sup>th</sup> century CE. For this study, he mainly referred to the eighth *ucchvāsa* of the text. He also examined the work done by Mark Collins for the historicity of the DKC. He tried to identify one *kumāra*, Viśruta with a historical personality. He also tried to establish a connection between this story and with decline of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.



## **CHAPTER III**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **III.1. RESEARCH GAP**

Most of the previous research works on the DKC are done by Sanskrit scholars. Their approach to the research was basically on the language of the text. They covered the linguistic and social study of the text. Some work on cultural study was also done previously. However, very little research has been done on the DKC from the geographical, and historical approach. Also, the topics related to art and architecture were not covered in detail in their research.

#### **III.2. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

Being a cultural study of a literary work, following specific objectives were put forth while beginning the research work:

- To explore the geographical data in the DKC.
- To identify the exact period of Daṇḍin using different contexts.
- To analyse social conditions of 6<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> century CE.
- To observe the cultural traditions and religious conditions of that period.
- To find out the art and architecture of that period.
- To explore the historical and political data from the text.
- To compare the data from the text with other contemporary work.

#### **III.3. RESEARCH PROBLEMS**

There are a number of problems that can be enumerated in the form a list, when a cultural study of any piece of literature is being conducted. The problems considered while conducted the present research work were:

- What was the cultural condition of ancient India during the period of Daṇḍin?
- What was the role of the social organisation during the period of Daṇḍin?
- What was the exact period of Daṇḍin?
- Is there any historical data mentioned in the text?
- Is there any correlation between the geographical places mentioned in the text?

- Does the political data mentioned in the text have any reference to contemporary historical situations?

#### **III.4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

Different types of methodology are used in this research work. The research is mainly based on qualitative methods. This qualitative research is achieved through many books and articles. The review of books and articles related to the research topic is done using qualitative methods. The historical analysis method is used for the understanding of the cultural data. Inscriptional data is also studied for the research purposes.

The text of the DKC is thoroughly studied for the cultural and historical data of that period. The method used for the research is qualitative analysis. The cultural and historical aspects are observed carefully.

A few things are important while studying such types of texts. Various objectives are planned for the research. The cultural and historical data of that period from different texts helped to corroborate data and to state conclusions. Field visits were also done for some places mentioned in the text.

This method helped in finding a precise and more appropriate description of some topics. The topics which remain unobserved by previous scholars are included in the thesis.

The focus of the present research is basically on the cultural and historical study of the DKC. The research involves finding out the life of contemporary people. It also includes the correlation of geographical data found in the text with modern context. This study also deals with the social, economic and religious conditions of the people from 6<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> Century C.E. The study tries to find the connection between historical data from the text and contemporary political data. Using all these aspects researcher tries to find the exact period of Daḡḡin.

While giving observations, the exploratory and observatory methods are used. For the observations and analysis, the researcher has tried to cover the maximum aspects of cultural, and socio-political conditions mentioned by Daḡḡin. The shreds of evidence collected are used as data for the historical approach. The data and information collected during research are thoroughly studied. The researcher tries to present the picture of the society as described in the DKC. Through the results, the researcher made an attempt to study the cultural and socio-political conditions and

historical aspects of the 6<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> century CE. Also, the researcher has tried to fix the date of Daṇḍin.

### **III.5. DATA SOURCE**

The primary data source for the present research work is mainly based on the Sanskrit text edited by Dr. M.R. Kale, the English translation by Dr. M.R. Kale and the Hindi translation by Dr. Vishwanath Jha.

For secondary sources, different works related to the research topic are used. The researcher has tried to understand the cultural condition of that period with the help of these sources. While doing this study, secondary sources like various articles, journals, reference books, and inscriptional data are also referred to, as well as some theses, which provide information regarding historical data of that period.

Many scholars have done their research on Indian history and culture. The researcher has also gone through some of these works. This type of comparative method helped in getting an overview of the research area.

### **III.6. LIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH**

Different manuscripts of the Daśakumāracarita are available but those are not studied for the research purpose. Even the focus of this research is not on the Sanskrit language or the authenticity of the manuscripts. A comparative study of different versions of the manuscripts is not done in this research. The research mainly aims at conducting the cultural and socio-political study of the text under consideration.

## CHAPTER IV

### ANALYSIS

#### IV.1. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Ancient geography is an essential adjunct to ancient history and they are always connected. They cannot be kept secluded and always act and react to each other.

Bhandarkar (1928: 2) mentioned that Bhāratavarṣa, the ancient name used for India, was conventionally separated into two parts, the northern half, namely, Āryāvarta or Uttarāpatha, and the southern half known as Dakṣiṇāpatha. The Vindhya and the river Narmadā is considered as the line of separation. The Āryāvarta is supposed to be bound on the north by the Himālaya and the south by the Vindhya ranges. Dakṣiṇāpatha or Dakṣiṇa was the name of the whole peninsula to the south of Narmadā. With reference to the Vāyupurāṇa, he stated that the river Godāvarī as well as other rivers originating from the mount Sahya are mentioned as the rivers of Dakṣiṇāpatha.

The conventional aspect of ancient Indian geography is chiefly based on the Purāṇas which in certain cases seem to represent different traditions of geographical location. Cunningham (2006: 6) compared the detailed list of divisions of ancient India from the Bṛhatsamhitā with the Purāṇas like the Brahmāṇḍa, the Mārkaṇḍeya, the Viṣṇu, the Vāyu and the Matsya. All the Purāṇas mention the nine divisions and give their names, but only the Brahmāṇḍa and Mārkaṇḍeya state the names of districts in each of the nine divisions. The Viṣṇu-, the Vāyu- and the Matsya-purāṇa agree with the Mahābhārata in describing only five divisions in detail. As observed by Cunningham (2006: 9), the names of the nine divisions given in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas differ entirely from those of the Bṛhatsamhitā. The same division of five great provinces was accepted by the Chinese traveller Xuanzang in the seventh century, who named them in the same manner, as north, south, east, west and central, according to their relative position.

The early history of India is very much associated with the early geography of the country. But sometimes it is difficult to study ancient geography as the Sanskrit literature makes it generally impossible to assign the geographical data of any work to a particular period. In case of the classical literature, while the date of an author can be roughly identified, we are not sure whether his writings give proper geographical conditions of that time, or they are imaginary names. We find the same name used for

describing different places and different names used for one and the same place, tribe or natural feature. Sometimes it is because of conflicting Sanskritization of the original Prakrit names. Names appear to be passed down from author to author and used without any regard to the existence of those places.

We get to know some references of the rivers, mountains and places from ancient India in the DKC. Most of them are still found with the same names in the modern times also. They are to be found, in the Purāṇas and in the travelogues of the Chinese travellers in the fourth and seventh centuries. In this respect, the work by Daṇḍin may be considered of historical value, as adding contemporary witness to the accuracy of the political position of a considerable part of India, as derived from other sources of information.

#### **IV.1.1. STATES AND CITIES**

In the DKC, Daṇḍin has mentioned many places like states and cities. Some of them were very well-known places of that period. Some are identified with different *janapadas*. Singh (2013: 261) observes that Buddhist and Jaina texts list 16 powerful states (*janapadas*) that flourished in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE. *Janapada* also meant a region consisting of urban and rural settlements, along with its inhabitants. According to Singh there are two kinds of states included in the list of *mahājanapadas*: first monarchies, i.e., *rājyas* and second non-monarchical states, i.e., *gaṇas* or *saṅghas*. Among them were the powerful *mahājanapadas* like Magadha, Kosala, Vatsa, Avanti and others were Cedi, Kāśī, Aśmaka, Mālava, Lāṭa etc.

At the time of Daṇḍin some of these places were also powerful states and well known to him. He mentioned some lesser-known places too. Some important places are as follows:

##### **1) Aṅga**

As described in the first *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, King of Aṅga was Siṃhavarman and his capital was Campā. Caṇḍavarman, the king of Ujjain, attacked Aṅga.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 66–7) observes that the Buddhist and Jaina texts refer to Aṅga as one of the sixteen *Mahājanapadas*. The Aṅga was situated to the east of Magadha and river Campā later separated it. Campā, the capital of Aṅga is situated on the river of Campā and the Ganges. He further points out that, according to Pargiter,

Aṅga contained the modern districts of Bhagalpur and Munger in Bihar, and extended northwards up to the river Kosi and included the western portion of the district of Purnia. In ancient times, Aṅga was also known as Mālinī.

## 2) Aśmaka

In the eight *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Vasantabhānu, the king of Aśmaka, overthrows Anantavarman, the prince of Vidarbha.

According to Dey (1984: 12), the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa mentions Aśmaka as one of the *deśas* of Southern India, but the Kūrmapurāṇa mentions it in connection with the *deśa* of Punjab and the Bṛihatsamhitā also places it in the north-west of India. It was also called Alaka or Mūlaka and its capital was Pratiṣṭhāna (identified with modern Paithan) on the northern bank of the river Godāvarī. It became a part of the Mahārāṣṭra *deśa* at the time of the king Aśoka. It is also mentioned in the Harṣacarita. It was Aśvaka as mentioned in *bhīṣmaparvan* of the Mahābhārata.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 75) states that Aśmaka is the same as the Assaka mentioned in the Buddhist texts. It was a territory on the river Godāvarī. Its earliest mention is found in the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. It is described as one of the sixteen *mahājanapadas* in the Buddhist texts lying between Mūlaka and Kalinga with the capital at Potali, Potana, Podana or Paudanya, to be identified with Bodhana on the river Godāvarī. He further gives the reference of inscriptions from Nashik and Ajanta which have mention of Aśmaka.

## 3) Avanti

In the DKC, Mānasāra was the king of Mālvā kingdom and Avanti was the capital of Mālava. Avanti was also described as Ujjain in the DKC.

Singh (2013: 264) mentions that Avanti is in the Mālava region (modern Malwa) of central India. Mālava was divided into a northern and a southern part by the Vindhyas. The two important towns of this kingdom were Māhiṣmatī (identified as modern Maheshwar) and Ujjayinī (modern Ujjain). Both the places are mentioned in ancient texts as the capital of Avanti *janapada*. These two cities were important places on trade routes which connect north India with the Deccan and also with the ports on the western coast.

As stated by Bhattacharyya (1999: 79), Avanti was one of the sixteen *mahājanapadas* corresponding roughly to the modern Malwa, Nimar and adjoining

parts of Madhya Pradesh. Due to its geographical position, it served as a great commercial centre in ancient times. Three main routes came together in Avanti, one from the western coast with its seaports at Śūrpāraka (modern Sopara) and Bhṛgukaccha (modern Bharuch), second from Dakṣiṇāpatha and third from Śrāvastī. He further stated that, originally Avanti corresponded to the modern Ujjain region together with a part of Narmada valley from Mandhata to Maheshwar and certain adjoining districts. The original seat of the ancient Avanti was the Ujjayinī region where they spread over the south Narmada valley. Subsequently, two separate kingdoms- one on the north centring around Ujjayinī and the other on the south centring on Māhiṣmatī in the Nimar region came into existence. In the seventh century, the Chinese traveller Xuanzang had mentioned Mālava and Ujjayinī as separate countries. Seventh-century's Sanskrit poet Bāṇa in his Kādambarī described Ujjayinī as the capital of Avanti, and Vidiśā (modern Besnagar in Bhilsa) as that of Mālava.

According to Dey (1984: 13) Ujjain was the capital of Mālava. Avanti has been called Mālava since the seventh or eighth century C.E.

#### 4) Āndhra

The Seventh *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita* mentions Jayasimha as the king of Āndhra. He attacked the kingdom of Kalinga from sea with ships and boats and captured the royal family. Āndhra has been described as a *nagara* (city) having a huge lake that looks like a sea.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 65–6) states that the extension of Āndhra power was from the west to the east down the modern Godavari and Krishna valleys. Xuanzang applies the name An-to-lo (Andhra) to the district around Vengipura in Krishna district. In the later times the Āndhra territory extended from Godavari to the borders of Kalinga. With reference to *Indian Antiquary*, he further states that Pliny says that the Andare (Āndhras) possessed numerous villages and thirty towns defended by walls and towers. They supplied their king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants. The Sāvāhanas are claimed by the Purāṇas to have been the Āndhras or Āndhrabhṛtyas.

Dey (1984: 7) observes Andhra as the country between the rivers Godavari and Krishna. Its capital was Dhanakaṭaka or Amarāvātī at the mouth of the river Krishna. Vengi, five miles to the north of Ellur, was its ancient capital as observed by Xuanzang.

## 5) Bhojakāṭa

Daṇḍin refers to this country as belonging to the kings of Bhoja dynasty which had a stronghold at Bhojakāṭa as described in the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 97) notes that the central site of Bhojakāṭa may be recognised with modern Bhatkuli in the Amaravati district.

Collins (1907: 28) mentions that according to the Viṣṇupurāṇa, Bhojakāṭa was founded by Rukmin, the brother of Rukminī (wife of Kṛṣṇa) and son of Bhīṣmaka, the king of Vidarbha. This Bhojakāṭa, as well as its king Rukmin, is also mentioned in the *digvijaya* of Sahadeva in the second *parvan* of the Mahābhārata. It was an important administration place (*viṣaya*) of the Vākāṭaka dynasty and the inscription of the king Pravarasena called it *bhojakāṭa-rājyam*.

As observed by Dey (1984: 33), the Bhoja dynasty ruled over Vidarbha and is mentioned in one of the inscriptions of Aśoka. He further explains that the name Mahābhoja occurs several times in Kuṭā inscriptions.

Mirashi (1963: 22) pointed out that in the Chammak Copperplate inscription of the king Pravarasena (II), Bhojakāṭa was labelled as a monarchy of Vākāṭaka dynasty which is identified as Berar or Vidarbha. This inscription makes it clear that the Bhojakāṭa territory included parts of Wardha and Amaravati districts of Maharashtra, a part of ancient Vidarbha.

## 6) Campā

Campā was situated on the banks of river Gaṅgā and had fortification. There was a residential place outside the city for Jaina monks. As described in the first *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, people used to celebrate the *kāmotsava* (festival of Kāma). Main roads of the city were decorated and hundreds of young ladies gathered in the main garden.

As depicted by Daṇḍin, Campā was suitable for different religious activities. There were the hermitages of both the Brahmin ascetics and of the Jaina monks before entering the town. In the town itself, was a hermitage of a Buddhist nun, who used to work as a messenger for the famous courtesan of the city. When Caṇḍavarman attacked Simhavarman, all the *kumāras* gathered near Campā to help Simhavarman and killed Caṇḍavarman.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 103) described that Campā was the capital of Aṅga, and was situated at the confluence of the rivers Campā and Gaṅgā. Two villages, namely,



Champanagar and Champapura, exist even today, near modern Bhagalpur. They are probably present on the actual site of the ancient Campānagarī. With reference to the *mahā-janaka-jātaka* he informs that the traders used to sail from Campā to Suvarṇabhūmi in the trans-Gangetic region. It is observed that, in ancient times people emigrated to Southern Annam, the region around modern Vietnam. They named their settlement in Vietnam as Campā, after this famous Indian city.

As mentioned by Singh (2013: 262), Campā was a significant commercial centre situated on the ancient trade routes. Merchants sailed overseas from Campā to Suvarṇabhūmi (modern Southeast Asia). She (2013: 284) further describes that archaeologically this ancient city had artefacts of the Northern Black Polished Ware culture, with a surrounding fortification and moat. Reference of fortification is important as we get its mention in the DKC.

### 7) Dāmaliptī

Dāmaliptī was the capital of Sumha region and was ruled by king Tuṅgadhanvan as mentioned in the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. A temple dedicated to the goddess Vindhyavāsini was very famous in the Dāmaliptīnagarī. There was a garden (*upavana*) outside the city and city was situated near sea. In the sea near Dāmaliptī, there was an island having colourful and astounding stones and water.

Dāmaliptī is a corrupt form of the word Tāmraliptī. Bhattacharyya (1999: 114) mentions that Dāmaliptī is the same as the port near modern Tamluk in the district Midnapur, West Bengal. According to the Jaina text Prajñāpanā-sūtra, Dāmaliptī was a part of the Vaṅga *deśa*. The land was low and moist forming a bay where land and water met. The decline of this famous port commenced after the eighth century CE.

Cunningham (2006: 425) points out that, it was the Tamalites of Ptolemy and Xuanzang mentioned that it was about 250 miles in circuit. The place was situated in a bay and can be reached by land and water.

### 8) Daṇḍakāraṇya

According to the second *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, there was a river in the heart of Daṇḍakāraṇya. On the bank of the river there was an opening which led to the pātālaloka.

As described by Bhattacharyya (1999: 114), the Daṇḍaka forest was between Narmada and Godavari rivers. Daṇḍakāraṇya seems to have stretched from modern

Bastar region along the banks of the river Godavari to Daulatabad area, and part of Nashik district.

According to Dey (1984: 52), in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Daṇḍakāraṇya was situated between the Vindhya and the Saibala mountains. As mentioned by Pargiter (1894: 242), the Daṇḍakāraṇya comprised all the forests from Bundelkhand to the river Krishna.

### 9) Drāviḍa

Drāviḍa is mentioned as a country (Drāviḍadeśa) having Kāñcī as its capital in the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*.

According to Bhattacharyaa (1999: 123), Drāviḍa was the name of the region and people. It is the same as Damirica as mentioned in the Greek travelogue Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, and now represented by Tamil speaking areas.

As described by Dey (1984: 57), Drāviḍa was the part of the Deccan from modern Chennai to Shringapatam and Cape Comorin (Kanyakumari) and its capital was Kāñcīpura. It was also called Cola by Bühler in the introduction to the *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*.

### 10) Kālayavanadvīpa

As described in the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, Ratnodbhava, the son of the minister of Magadha, went to Kālayavanadvīpa for trade and settled there.

The Kālayavana dvīpa is mentioned in the story of Puṣpodbhava. His father Ratnodbhava was a trader and he used to live in Kālayavanadvīpa with his wife. While returning home his ship sank in the sea. His wife, who was pregnant at that time, reached the land with her maid. In the DKC, we do not get much details about the region where they reached. But the ASK gives the details of this story.

The *Avantisundarīkathā* is another work by Daṇḍin. In the ASK, there are references of trading activities between the east coast of India with the Far East. Ratnodbhava, the father of Puṣpodbhava, sailed on the seas. His ship wrecked and he reached the island of Kālayavana. There he married the daughter of a rich merchant, Kālagupta. While returning home with wife his ship again sank in the sea. His wife and her maid took shelter at the coast of Kalinga coast. Unfortunately, he reached to an unknown island from which he went to Bali, in search of his wife.

Bühler (1873:5) identified Kālayavana island with Zanzibar on the coast of Arabia. Some other scholars also identified Kālayavana as *Yavana-dvīpa* with Greek

islands, i.e., Ionian Islands. But considering the reference to the east coast in the ASK, Kālayavana *dvīpa* might be in the southeast direction of India and not the Greek island or Zanzibar as identified by Bühler.

### 11) Kaliṅga

King Kardana was the ruler of the Kaliṅga region as stated in seventh *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. The city was situated near the seacoast. In the DKC there was a reference of cremation land outside the Kaliṅga city.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 165) describes Kaliṅga as an ancient *janapada* mentioned by Pāṇini. He further explained that Pargiter has identified Kaliṅga consisting of the plain between the eastern ghats (Mahendra range) and the sea. In Xuanzang's time, Kaliṅga has occupied a small region. It was distinguished from modern Odisha and Kongoda in Ganjam District and Andhra or Vengi in the south and seemed to have embraced parts of the Ganjam and Visakhapatnam Districts.

According to Cunningham (2006: 435), Kaliṅga was situated with Godavari river on the south-west and the Indravati river on the north-west. At the time of the Mahābhārata, a large portion of Odisha was included in Kaliṅga. However, at the time of Kālidāsa, Utkala (Odisha) and Kaliṅga were separate kingdoms.

As mentioned by Dey (1984: 85), Kaliṅganagara was the ancient name of Bhuvaneśvara in Odisha. With reference to the R.L. Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, he stated that it was the capital of Odisha from the sixth century BCE to middle of the fifth century CE.

### 12) Kāmarūpa

As mentioned in the third *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Kalindavarman was the king of Kāmarūpa.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 167) mentions that, Kāmarūpa was the name of Assam, i.e., the Brahmaputra valley. Xuanzang estimated Kia-mo-lu-po to be more than 1667 miles in circuit. On account of Xuanzang, Cunningham (2006: 421) states that at that time it must have comprised of the whole valley of the Brahmaputra river, together with Kusa-Vihara and Bhutan. The ancient capital of this country, which was known as Prāgjyotiṣapura was generally taken to have stood somewhere near the modern town of Gauhati.

Dey (1984: 87) describes that Assam, the modern name of Kāmarupa, extends from Goalpara to Gauhati. On the basis of the Kālikāpurāṇa, he further states that, Kāmarūpa's capital was Prāgjyotiṣa which has been identified either with Kāmākhyā or Gauhati.

### 13) Kāñcī

As described in the sixth *ucchvāsa* of Daśakumāracarita, Kāñcī was located in Draviḍadeśa.

The Avantisundarikathā, another text composed by Daṇḍin, informs us that Daṇḍin himself was from Kāñcī. He was in the court of Pallava king Narasimhavarman-II.

As stated by Bhattacharyya (1999: 169), Kāñcī is the modern Kanchipuram located in the Chengalpattu district of Tamil Nadu. It was the capital of the Pallava dynasty situated on the river Palar, about 43 miles from Chennai. He further stated that Xuanzang also mentioned Kan-chih-pu-lo (Kāñcī) as the capital of the Ta-lo-pi-tu (Draviḍa) country and Ptolemy also mentioned Aruvānāḍu (Tamilnadu), and the city as Nandipatna or Pandipatna, i.e., Kāñcipattana.

Dey (1984: 88) mentions that in the Padmapurāṇa, Kāñcipura (Conjeveram) appears to be the capital of *Drāviḍa* or Cola country, situated on the river Palar (near modern Chennai). The region of Drāviḍa, in which it is situated, was called Toṇḍamaṇḍala. It was reigned by the Pallava dynasty from the fifth to the ninth centuries CE.

### 14) Kheṭakapura

The narration of Mitragupta refers to Kheṭakapura in the sub-story of Nimbavatī in the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 183) has identified Kheṭakapura as a constituent of Lāṭadeśa (modern Gujarat). Some parts of the Kheda and Surat districts might have been included in Kheṭakapura. The place has been identified as modern Kaira / Kheda city. He further stated that the Valabhī records have mentioned Kheṭaka-ṣayā which has been identified as Kheda district.

According to Dey (1984: 100), the Padmapurāṇa has described Kaira city on the river Vetravatī (modern Vatrak) in Gujarat.

Cunningham (2006: 415) describes that Xuanzang has placed Kie-cha (Kheda) district at 50 miles to the northwest of Malwa.

## 15) Koṅkaṇa

Kumāragupta was the ruler of Koṅkaṇa as mentioned in the eighth *uchhvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 190) states that Koṅkaṇa is the same as the modern Konkan region located on the western coastline of India. It roughly resembles to the Ariake of Ptolemy and Aparānta region of the ancient India. Nerur copperplates of the Badami Cālukyas mention it as a *viṣaya*. With reference to the Epigraphia Indica, he further states that the Yādava records too, mention Koṅkaṇadeśa as an administrative division containing parts of Thane district and parts of the Salsette island (modern Mumbai) on the west coast of India.

Dey (1984: 103) has mentioned that, in the Bṛhatsamhitā it is known as Paraśurāma-kṣetra. It represents the whole north-south strip of land between the western ghat and the Arabian sea. As stated in the Aihole inscription of Cālukya king Pulakeśin (II), Maurya rulers of Koṅkaṇa region were defeated in the latter half of the sixth century by the Cālukya king Kīrtivarman, and in the early part of the seventh century by his successor Pulakeśin-II.

## 16) Kosala

The eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita* gives a reference of Kusumadhanvan as the king of Kosala kingdom.

As stated by Singh (2023: 262), Kosala was one of the most powerful sixteen *mahājanapadas*. Afterwards Kāśī was absorbed into the Kosala kingdom. The powerful kingdom of Kosala was bound by the Sadānīrā (river Gandak) on the east, the Gomatī on the west, Sarpikā or Syandikā on the south, and the Nepal hills to the north. It is divided into a northern and a southern part by Sarayū river. Śrāvastī (modern Sahet-Mahet) was the capital of north Kosala, and Kuśāvastī was the capital of south Kosala.

According to Bhattacharyya (1999: 191), in the Rāmāyaṇa, Kosala appears to be bound by the river Sarpikā in the south and its capital was Ayodhyā. In the Buddhist texts, Kosala is mentioned as one of the sixteen *mahājanapadas* with capital at Śrāvastī near the border of modern Gonda and Bahraich districts in Uttar Pradesh. The northern border of Kosala was the hills in modern Nepal.

Dey (1984: 103) describes Kosala as Ayodhyā. During the Buddhist period, it was divided into Uttara Kosala and Dakṣiṇa Kosala by the river Sarayu.

### 17) Kuntala

King Avantideva was the ruler of Kuntala as mentioned in the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. It is placed among the dependent kingdoms of Vidarbha in the DKC.

Kuntala was the region ruled by the Sātavāhanas which comprised a large portion of modern Karnataka as described by Bhattacharyya (1999: 198) and its capital was Vaijyantī (modern Banavasi).

Dey (1984: 109) has stated that at the time of Cālukyās, Kuntala-deśa was circumscribed on the north by the Narmada, on the south by Tungabhadra, on the west by the Arabian sea, and on the east by the river Godavari and the eastern ghats. It had two capitals, Nāsika and Kalyāṇa, at two different periods. In the later times, the southern part of Maharashtra was called as Kuntala. But in Rājaśekhara's Karpuramañjarī, the tenth-century text, the town of Vidarbha is mentioned as being situated in Kuntaladeśa.

### 18) Kusumapura / Puṣpapurī

Kusumapura was the capital of Magadha as mentioned in the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*. It was like an ornament to the country of Magadha ruled by king Rājahaṃsa. City was like an ocean of gems; various precious articles and it serves as a touchstone to all other towns. It was famous for countless commodities for sale. It surpassed in grandeur even the city of Amarāvātī, the capital of Indra. After defeating Rājahaṃsa, Mānasāra became the king of Kusumapura.

The capital of the Magadhan empire Kusumapura / Puṣpapurī was also known as Pāṭaliputra in ancient times and its modern name is Patna. Bhattacharyya mentions (1999: 246) that archaeological remains found in Kurmahar, Bulandibagh and other outskirts of the Patna city in Bihar give us the exact location of the ancient city known as Puṣpapura or Kusumapura. Cunningham (2006: 381) gave details about the city that, it was called as Palibothra or Palimbothra by Greeks in ancient times and Palien-fu by the Chinese. Xuanzang also gave a detailed account of this city. He has noted that the city was originally called Kusumapura, and it had been deserted for a long time, and was then in ruins. By the accounts of Xuanzang, he further stated that, in the seventh century, Kusumapura might have been about half of the original size.

As described by Dey (1984: 164) modern Patna is the name of ancient Pāṭaliputra and was inhabited by the rich and the nobles as mentioned in the

Mudrārākṣasa. The whole town was called as Pushapura or Kusumapura, where the royal palace was situated. He further stated that (1984: 153) when Xuanzang visited this place in 637 CE, the Magadha was under the rule of the kings of Kanouj. At that time, it was an ordinary village. Kumrāra, where the ancient palaces have been discovered, is evidently a corrupt form of word Kusumpura, where the king and the wealthy people resided as stated in the Mudrārākṣasa.

### 19) Lāṭa

The third *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā* has described that Mattakāla the king of Lāṭa, was later killed by Somadatta.

Dey (1984: 114) states that Lāṭa is a region of Southern Gujarat including Khandesh situated between the river Mahi and Tapti. According to Bülher, Lāṭa is the central Gujarat and its main city was Broach (modern Bharuch).

### 20) Magadha

In the *ucchvāsa* one of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, Magadha was referred to as a country ruled by the king Rājahaṁsa. Kusumapura or Puṣpapura was the capital of Magadha.

As stated by Singh (2013: 262) Magadha was one of the most powerful *mahājanapadas* of ancient India. The Magadha kingdom roughly covered the area from modern Patna and Gaya districts of Bihar. It was surrounded by the rivers Ganga on north, river Son on west and river Champa on east and offshoots of Vindhya on the south. Girivraja or Rājagriha, near modern Rajgir was its capital in previous times.

As stated by Bhattacharyya (1999: 208) name Magadha occurred for the first time in the Atharvaveda, and it was an ancient *janapada* located roughly in South Bihar. Xuanzang mentioned (Cunningham, 2006: 383) the region of Magadha about eight hundred thirty-three miles in circuit and was bound by the Ganga river on the north, the district of Benares on the west, the Hiranya Parvata or Monghyr on the east and Kiraṇa-suvarṇa or Singbhūm on the south-east. Thus, Magadha corresponded basically to the Patna and Gaya districts in Bihar, but it had extensions in different ages.

Vide Dey (1984: 116), the province of Magadha is modern south Bihar. Its western boundary was the river Son. Referring to the Vāyupurāṇa he further stated that, the ancient capital of Magadha was Girivrajapura (modern Rajgir), then it was shifted to Pāṭaliputra by Udayāśva, the grandson of Ajātaśatru.

The information from the Purāṇic, Buddhist and Jaina texts suggests that the political supremacy of the Magadha region was from Haryaṅka, Śīsunāga and up to the Nanda dynasty. After the Nandas, the Mauryas ruled the Magadha kingdom. In the DKC we also get to know the importance of the Magadha ruler as the hero of the story. It suggests the political influence of Magadha from 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE up to the period of Daṇḍin (7<sup>th</sup> century CE). But the accounts of Xuanzang suggest the ruined state of Kusumapura which is contradictory to the other sources.

## 21) Māhiṣmatī

Mitravarman was the king of Māhiṣmatī as described in the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*.

According to Bhattacharyya (1999: 211), Māhiṣmatī was an ancient city celebrated in the Buddhist and Purāṇic literature. It has been identified with modern Mandhata in Nimar district, Madhya Pradesh. Pargiter (1904: 333) also identified it with Mandhata.

But Dey (1984: 120) identifies Māhiṣmatī as modern Maheshvar or Mahesh, on the bank of the river Narmada. He further stated that according to the Dīghanikāya, Mahissati or Māhiṣmatī was the capital of Avanti (Mālava).

## 22) Mālava

As mentioned in the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, Mālava was ruled by the king Mānasāra. In the DKC Mālava was recognized as a part of the northern empire of ancient India.

Mālava was one of the *mahājanapadas* in ancient India. Its former capital was Avanti or Ujjayinī. Dhārānagara was its capital at the time of king Bhoja. Before the seventh to eighth century Mālava was called as Avanti.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 213) states that the province of Mālava (*Mālavakabhukti*) corresponds to the region which has the Mandasur district in the north and the Rutlam district in the south as mentioned in the Nogawa copperplates of the king Dharasena-II.

Cunningham (2006: 415) states that Xuanzang mentioned that Mālava was an esteemed place for the study of the Buddhist religion and there were hundreds of monasteries. However, Daṇḍin did not mention anything about Buddhism in this region in the DKC.



### 23) Mathurā

In the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Mathurā is mentioned as the capital city of Śūrasenadeśa.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 218-19) identifies Mathurā as modern Mathura on the river Yamuna, which was the capital of the Śūrasenadeśa. It was also known as Madhupurī, Madhura, Madhupaghna and Śivapura in ancient times. Mathurā was the centre of numerous religious systems. Xuanzang, according to Cunningham (2006: 314), called it Mo-tu-lo which he described as 833 miles in circuit. It included the present district of Mathura, small states of Bharatpur and northern part of Gwalior. As mentioned by Cunningham (2006: 315), Ptolemy has described Mathurā as city of the gods or holy city.

Vide Singh (2013: 281), in ancient India, Mathurā was a significant city. The association of Mathurā in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas was with the Yādava clan, which included the Vṛṣṇis, the clan of Kṛṣṇa. This city was situated at the junction of the northern trade route, one going southwards into Malwa, and other to the western coast.

### 24) Mithilā

As stated in the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā* Prahāvarman, a friend of Rājamaṃsa, was the king of Mithilā. After defeating Prahāvarman, Vikaṭavarman became the ruler of Mithilā.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 221) states that Mithilā was the capital of ancient Videha. he identified it with the small town of modern Janakpur within the Nepal border and north of the place where the borders of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga districts meet. This city is described in detail in various Jātaka stories and some other Buddhist texts.

### 25) Murala

In the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, the Murala region is seen as ruled by the king Vīrasena.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 224) notes that Murala was the name of people living on the banks of the river Murala as mentioned in Rājaśekhara's Bālabhārata. The river Murala has been identified with the Narmada, but in the Raghuvamśa, it is in the Kerala region.

Dey (1984: 134) also identifies Mural same as Kerala or Malabar with reference to the Kathāsaritsāgara (chapter XIX).

## 26) Nāsikya

As mentioned in the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Nāgapāla was the prince of Nāsikya, which is the modern Nashik situated at the source of the river Godāvarī.

Collins (1907: 45) states that the Nāsikya would therefore have been close neighbours of the Aśmaka. Their territories may have been separated by the Ajanta hills.

According to Bhattacharyya (1999: 232), Nashik is an archaeological site located in Maharashtra mentioned as *deśa* and *viṣaya* in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records.

## 27) Puṇḍra / Puṇḍradeśa

Reference to Puṇḍra appears in the third *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 254) states that Puṇḍranagara, the capital city of the Puṇḍras is situated in the modern Bogura district of north Bangladesh, on the river Karatoy. A record in brāhmī script found at this place, which is usually assigned to the Maurya period, refers to Puṇḍranagara as a prosperous city.

According to Dey (1984: 155), it was also called Puṇḍradeśa after the name of Puṇḍra, a son of Bālī. It was bound on the east by the river Karatoyā, on the west by the river Kauśikī (modern Kosi), on the north by the Hemakūṭa mountain of the Himālaya, and on the south by the river Ganga.

## 28) Ṛṣīka

Ṛṣīka was ruled by king Ekavīra as mentioned in the eight *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*.

As opined by Bhattacharyya (1999: 261), the Ṛṣīka country was in the Vindhyan range as mentioned in the Nagarjunakonda inscription of Ābhīra Vasusena and related to the Anūpas and Mahiṣakas. Some scholars identified the Ṛṣīkas as the same as Asika of the Nashik inscription of Gautami Balaśrī.

## 29) Saurāṣṭra / Valabhī

In the DKC, Saurāṣṭra is mentioned in one of the secondary stories of the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, the story of Nimbavatī. There is a reference to Valabhinagarī in Saurāṣṭradesh having a seven-storey house.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 282) states that it is the same as the modern Saurashtra, and its earlier mention is found in the epigraphic records of the Kārdamaka Śakas and the Sātavāhanas. It was the territory of the Maitrakas which roughly corresponds to Saurashtra. According to Dey (1984: 183) Ptolemy identified it as Syrastrane.

Xuanzang records, vide Cunningham (2006: 273), that Surāṣṭra was 667 miles in circuit including the city of Valabhī. The province was small but very rich, and had the ocean to the south.

### 30) Śibi / Śivi (Siboi)

In the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, the river Kāverī is referred to as flowing from the Śivīdeśa.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 273) states that a place Śivapura is mentioned by Patañjali which is identical with Śibipura mentioned in a Shorkot inscription and the Mahābhārata refers to the Śibi state near Yamunā ruled by king Uśīnara.

Dey (1984: 187) opines that Śivi may be identified with Mewar as many coins were found having the name of Śivi Janapada in Rajputana near Chitore.

As stated by these scholars, Śibi or Śivi region could be in the North India. As mentioned in the DKC, Śibi may be in south India as we have a reference of the river Kāveri in its connection. Raychaudhuri (1927: 155) states that the southern Śibī could probably be identified with the area ruled by the Colas.

### 31) Śrāvastī

As mentioned in the fifth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, King Dharmavardhana is the ruler of Śrāvastī. Princess Navamālikā had a seven-storey palace. The city had a main broad-way where a cockfight would go on. There was a garden outside the city. The festival of Mahādeva of this city was very famous and enormous.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 278) notes that Śrāvastī was the capital of Kosala which is identified with modern Sāhet-Māhet situated on both the banks of the river Rapti near the border of Gond and Bahraich districts in Uttar Pradesh. Chinese visitors Faxian and Xuanzang are known to have visited this place.

Dey (1984: 189) mentions that this town was founded by king Śravasta, who was in the lineage of Manu Vaivasvata.

As observed by Cunningham (2006: 347), importance of Śrāvastī gradually declined after the end of the Gupta dynasty. In the seventh century CE, it was completely deserted. Xuanzang assigns Śrāvastī a circuit of 667 miles.

### 32) Sum̄ha (Subhbha)

In the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, king Tuṅgadhanvan is shown as the ruler of Dāmaliptinagarī of Sum̄hapradeśa. The city was located near the seacoast. There was an island of colourful boulders and water near the city. As per the description, there was a temple of the goddess Vindhyavāsini and a garden outside the city. The festival of ball, *kandukotsava*, was very famous in the Sum̄hapradeśa.

As described by Bhattacharyya (1999: 281), the heart of the Subhbha or Sumha (Sumbha of certain Buddhist texts) was the Trivenī-Saptagrāma-Paṇḍuā area of the modern Hooghly district of West Bengal.

According to Dey (1984: 195), Sumha is placed between Baṅga and Kaliṅga according to the 16<sup>th</sup> chapter of the Bṛhatsamhitā, and it is mentioned as an independent country in the Matsyapurāṇa (chapter 113) and *Kalkipurāṇa* (chapter 14). The Surama port has been identified with the port of Tāmralipta by Satis Chandra. As stated by him, this identification may be correct as Surama can be a corruption of Sumha.

### 33) Śūrasena

Mathurānagarī from Śūrasenadeśa is mentioned in one of the secondary stories of the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita* (the story of Nitambavatī). These stories however are generally considered to be taken from earlier sources and their context cannot be accepted with certainty for the time of Daṇḍin.

Vide Bhattacharyya (1999: 282), Śūrasena was one of the sixteen *mahājanapadas* according to the list from the Aṅguttaranikāya. The name Śūrasena occurs in the epics and different Purāṇas. The Śūrasena-janapada with capital at Mathurā (in Pali Madhura), corresponds to the present Agra division of Uttar Pradesh.

### 34) Trigarta

Trigarta is also mentioned in one of the secondary stories of the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita* (the story of Dhuminī) as a *deśa*. There is a reference of famine of twelve years.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 292) states that Trigarta is the region in modern Jalandhar, Punjab. Coins belonging to the first century BCE with the legend *trakata janapada* in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī have been reported. These coins are supposed to be related to this state.

According to Dey (1984: 206), it appears from the inscriptions that the modern Jalandhara was the ancient Trigarta. Pargiter (1904: 321) has identified Trigarta as the land watered by the three rivers, viz., Ravi, Bias and Sutlej. Cunningham (2006: 213) states, on the basis of Rājatarangiṇī, that in the second half of the fifth century, the king of Kashmir offered the kingdom of Trigarta to the king Pravareśa and in the seventh century the Chinese traveller Xuanzang was courteously entertained by the king Uditā.

### 35) Ujjayinī

We get references of Ujjayinī in most of the chapters of the DKC. In the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, Ujjayinī is a city of king Mānasāra having a temple of Mahākāla. This reference to the temple of Mahākāla is more important because the temple of Mahākāla, which is one of the famous twelve *vyotirlinga* places, is present in Ujjain even today. In the fourth *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, Puṣpodbhava made friendship with a son of a merchant named Candrapāla and entered Ujjayinī in his company. He brought his parents to this great city. As per the description in the DKC, there is a *krīḍodyāna* with beautiful lake outside the city. We get reference of the *vasantotsava* (spring festival) in the fifth *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*. Outside the city, there is a garden having sandy land. In this garden under a mango tree, the god of love, i.e., Kāmadeva was worshipped. As described in the first *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Ujjayinī was as beautiful as heaven.<sup>1</sup>

In the narrative of Pramati, the fifth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, one Brahmin comes to Ujjayinī from Śrāvastī for education. This indicates the importance of Ujjayinī as an important centre of education of that period. Also, in the same story, we get reference of the temple of Karttikeya. As per the description in the narrative of Mitragupta, the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, there was a Buddhist nun who served in the crematory which was specifically for *śreṣṭhins*.

As seen above, more than 6 *ucchvāsas* have the mentions of Ujjayinī *nagari*. It demonstrates the absolute prominence of the city.

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<sup>1</sup> इति नियुज्य ..... भूस्वर्गायमानमवन्तिकापुरं विवेश ।

Sahay (2008: 151) mentions that Ujjayinī is one of the seven sacred cities of India. At the centre of the city, there is a celebrated temple of the Mahādeva called Mahākāla according to the Purāṇas and Kālapriyanātha in the Sanskrit drama. It is one of the twelve great *vyotirlingas* mentioned in the Śivapurāṇa (chapters 38, 46).

Bhattacharyya (1999: 297) describes that Ujjayinī was the capital of ancient Avanti or Mālva, situated on the river Shipra. Ujjayinī is the area around the present city of the Ujjain in district Ujjain of Madhya Pradesh.

As stated by Singh (2013: 286) Ujjayinī was the capital of Avanti and situated on the banks of the river Shipra which is a tributary of the river Chambal. In ancient times, it was also an important trade centre, from where the routes from northern India bifurcated southwards and westwards. Archaeologically, four occupational stages have been identified at the site.

Cunningham (2006: 412) states that Xuanzang has described Ujjain as the capital city. It was 5 miles in circuit and the whole kingdom was 1000 miles in circuit. It was bound to the west by the kingdom of Mālva with the capital Dhār, to the north by Mathurā, to the east by Maheśvarapura and to the south by Sātpura mountains. At the time of Xuanzang Ujjain was under the rule of Brahman king but to the west, the king of Mālava was a staunch Buddhist. In Ujjain, there were several monasteries but Xuanzang noticed that there were only three or four which gave shelter to about 300 monks. He further noted that there were many gods and temples.

### **36) Utkala**

As described in the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, the ruler of Utkala was Pracaṇḍavarman. In later times Viśruta became the king of Utkala.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 298) explains that between the eighth and eleventh centuries, Utkala was comprised of the lower part of the present Odisha. The geographical limits of Utkala varied from time to time.

Dey (1984: 213) states that Utkala is a corrupt form of Ut-Kalinga which means north (*ut*) part of Kalinga. Odisha was reigned by the Kesarī dynasty from 474 to 1132 CE. At the time of the Mahābhārata, Utkala formed a part of Kalinga, but at the time of Kālidāsa, Utkala appears to have been an independent kingdom.

### 37) Valabhī

In the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Valabhī is mentioned as one of the cities from Saurāṣṭradeśa.

As described by Cunningham (2006: 266), in the ancient times, peninsula of Gujarat was known as Suraṣṭra. From the Baroda inscription of the fifth century CE, we get to know that Valabhī was the beautiful kingdom of Valabhadra, but in the local traditions, it is generally known as Valabhī. Xuanzang visited Valabhī in 640 C.E. Baroda copperplates of Govinda recorded that he captured Valabhī and re-established his old family in 658 C.E.

Cunningham (2006: 272) states that in the seventh century, Xuanzang has noted Valabhī as having 1000 miles in circuit including Bharuch and Surat and the whole of the peninsula of Saurashtra. The capital of Valabhī was described by Xuanzang as 5 miles in circuit.

Bhattacharyya (1999, 302) states that Valabhī was the territory of the Maitraka dynasty which nearly resembles to the modern Saurashtra. The site of the capital city is represented by Vala in old Bhavnagar state in the eastern Kathiawar peninsula.

Dey (1984: 18) has noted that Valabhī was the capital of Saurāṣṭra or Gujarat. The Valabhī dynasty from Bhaṭārka to Śīlāditya (VII) reigned from *circa* 465 to 766 CE. Famous Sanskrit poet Bhaṭṛhari was in the court of Śrīdharasena (I), the king of Valabhī in the seventh century.

### 38) Vanavāsī/ Banavāsī

In the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Vanavāsī is mentioned as *deśa* ruled by the king Bhānuvarman.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 87) states that Vanavāsī is same as the modern Banavasi in the North Kannada district of Karnataka. Its ancient name is Vaijyantī. It occurs in many early inscriptions as the name of a country, a province, a district and a city. It occurs as a *viṣaya* (administrative division) of the Cālukyas in the Aihole inscription of 634 CE. At that time, Vanavāsī comprises the North Kannada district and part of Shimoga district.

As stated by Dey (1984: 21) Vanavāsī is the town on the left bank of the Varadā river, a tributary of the Tuṅgabhadrā, in Uttara Kannada district as mentioned by Ptolemy. Vanavāsī was the capital of the Kadamba dynasty till the sixth century. They were then overthrown by the Cālukyas of Badami.

### 39) Vārāṇasī / Kāśī

As mentioned in the fourth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Kāśī was ruled by king Caṇḍasimha. There is a mention of Maṇikarṇikā *tīrtha* having the waters pure like diamonds and there was a temple of Avimukta Śiva<sup>1</sup> (Śiva who killed Andhakāsūra) in Kāśī *nagarī*. Kāśī is one of the most sacred places for Śaiva sect. Maṇikarṇikā *tīrtha* or *ghāṭ* is a famous auspicious place in Kāśī even today. The above reference in the DKC shows the antiquity of the Kāśī. The DKC describes that outside the city, there was *pramadāvana*, i.e., garden of joy and *krīḍā-parvata*, i.e., mountain for play.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 176) describes Kāśī as an ancient *janapada* on the banks of river Ganga, the region around modern Varanasi. The Buddhist and Jaina texts mention that Kāśī was one of the sixteen *mahājanapadas* with the capital at Vārāṇasī. The extent of Kāśī as given in the Jātakas was three hundred leagues, and it was bordered by Kosala on the north, Magadha and Vajji on the east and Vatsa on the south. The epics and the Purāṇas abound with references to Kāśī.

As noted by Dey (1984: 95), Vārāṇasī was the capital of Kāśī. During the period of the Buddha, the kingdom of Kāśī was merged with the kingdom of Kośala. The name Vārāṇasī was derived from the rivers Vāraṇā and Assī, as the city was located between these two rivers.

Singh (2013: 283) identifies the northeast area of Benares as the site of ancient Vārāṇasī. This city was famous for its fine textiles and was an important point on the northern trade routes. Archaeologically, this site shows a five- or six-fold cultural sequences.

### 40) Vidarbha

In the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Daṇḍin has pointed to the large southern power as Vidarbha. The ruler of this country was the king Anantavarman, who was son of Puṇyavarman of the Bhoja dynasty. Daṇḍin gives special prominence to Vidarbha which indicates that Vidarbha was an important power at that time. The *Daśakumāracarita* names six feudatories of Vidarbha. These kingdoms are Aśmaka,

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<sup>1</sup> उपस्पृश्य मणिभङ्गनिर्मालाम्भसि मणिकर्णिकायामविमुक्तेश्वर भगवन्तमन्धकमथनमभिप्रणम्य ....



Kuntala, Murala, Ṛṣīka, Koṅkaṇa and Sāsikya or Nāsikya. Several of these names can be found in Ajanta inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

Also, the Br̥hatsamhitā has mentioned Aśmaka, Koṅkaṇa, Kuntala, Kerala, Nāsika and Ṛṣīka together along with Daṇḍaka, from which we may perhaps infer that, they were all neighbouring tribes occupying the region of western Deccan.

द्रविडविदेहान्द्राश्मकभासापुरकौङ्कणाः समन्त्रिषिकाः ।

कुन्तलकेरलदण्डककान्तिपुरहेच्छसङ्करिणः ॥ (Br.S. XVI,11)

नासिक्यभोगवर्धनविराटविन्ध्याद्रिपार्श्वगा देशाः ।

ये च पिबन्ति सुतोयां तापीं ये चापि गोमतीसलिलम् ॥ (Br.S. XVI, 12)

Bhattacharyya (1999: 310) describes that Vidarbha was an ancient *janapada* corresponding to modern Berar. It's capital Kuṇḍina has been identified with modern Kaundinyapura on the bank of Wardha in the Chandur Taluka of district Amravati, Maharashtra.

Dey (1984: 34) states that in the ancient times, Vidarbha comprised of the kingdom of Bhopal and Bhilsa to the north of Narmada. Its principal towns were Kuṇḍinanagara and Bhojakatapura. The Bhoja dynasty of the Purāṇas lived in Vidarbha.

Collins (1907: 42) has placed the southern boundary of Bhoja empire either along the Kṛṣṇā or along the Varadā and Tuṅgabhadra rivers. On the east, it was bounded partly by Kaliṅga and possibly Kosala, and partly by Āndhra, by which name we must understand the eastern territory between the rivers Kṛṣṇā and Godāvarī. Withing this region are the six feudatory kingdoms of Vidarbha.

Mirashi (1945: 25) has explains that, the eighteenth verse of the Vākāṭaka inscription<sup>2</sup> from Ajanta, tells us that Hariṣena conquered Kuntala, Avanti, Kaliṅga, Kosala, Trikūṭa, Lāta, Āndhra and possibly one or two more countries the names of which are not legible. It will be seen that the area enclosed, corresponds very closely indeed with that of the dominions of Vidarbha in the DKC, where the bounding kingdoms are Kosala and Kaliṅga on the east, Lāta on the west, Āndhra and Vanavāsī on the south and Mālava on the north. This close resemblance between these two areas can be explained if Daṇḍin's Vidarbha represents the kingdom of the Vākāṭakas.

<sup>1</sup> For details see, Archaeological Survey of Western India, IV, Ajanta inscriptions No.4, v.10, p. 131, No. 5, v.9, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> For details see, Corpus Inscriptionum Inducarum. Vol. V. Inscriptions of The Vākāṭakās.

According to Collins (1907: 37), the Vidarbha represents kingdom of the Vākātakas, and the use of the name Bhoja gave an explanation that Daṇḍin wrote his text at a time when this dynasty was predominant in the south.

#### **41) Videha**

In the third *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Videha is mentioned as region having Mithilā as its capital. Before entering the city there was a *maṭha* outside the city.

According to Bhattacharyya (1999: 310), Videha nearly corresponds to the modern Tirhut division in North Bihar. It was separated from Kosala by the river Sadānīrā, usually identified with the modern Gandaki river rising in Nepal. According to Pargiter (1904: 329), Videha comprised the country from Gorakhpur on the Rapti to Darbhanga, with Kosala on the west and Aṅga on the east. On the north, it reached the hills and to the south, it was bound by Vaiśālī. In ancient times its capital was Mithilā.

### **IV.1.2. MOUNTAINS**

#### **1) Himālaya**

As stated by Law (1954: 82), Himālaya is situated to the north of India, it is also known as Śaṅkaragiri, Acalarāja, Haimavata and Rājarājagiri and Himavat in ancient times. It is also called the *parvatarāja* and *nagādhirāja*.

Further, Law (1954: 83) points out that according to the Pali literature, the *Himavantapadesa* (Himalayan region) of the Jambūdvīpa (continent of India) extended northwards, as far as the south side of the Sineru (Mt. Sumeru).

Pargiter (1904: 132) mentions that the author of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* knew the Himalayan Mountain to have stretched from sea to sea like the string of a bow.

#### **2) Kailāsa**

In the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, Kailāsa is used to compare the spotlessness character (white as Kailāsa) of king Rājahaṁsa,

Kailāsa is one of the peaks of the Himalayan Mountain range, which is 22,000 feet above the sea level and twenty-five miles north of the Manas Lake. It is known to the Jains by the name of the Aṣṭāpada mountain. According to Bhattacharyya (1999: 163), its other names are Vaidyutaparvata, Bhūteśagiri, Hemakūṭa etc. as mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Matsyapurāṇa* and the *Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa*.

Law (1954: 83) states that, the Kailāsa was a part of the Himalayas, and is said to be the abode of Mahādeva and Pārvatī. According to Dey (1984: 83) the Mahābhārata, and the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa include the mountains of the Kumaun and Garwal in the Kailasa range and the Kailasa mountain is also called as Hemakūṭa in the Mahābhārata.

### 3) Mandāra

In the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, Rājahaṁsa's long arm serves him like the Mandāra mountain to churn the ocean of the army of his opponents.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 216) describes, consulting the Viṣṇupurāṇa, the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa and the Vāmanapurāṇa that, the Mandāra mountain is a mythical mountain to the east of mount Meru and stretches up to the sea on the east. A branch of the Vindhya range which is locally known as the Mandāra hill is roughly located about thirty miles from Bhagalpur in Bihar.

As stated by Dey (1984: 125) the Varāhapurāṇa says that the Mandāra is positioned on the south of the Gaṅgā river and on the Vindhya range and the Mahābhārata recognises the Mandāra mountain of the Himalaya range. He further stated that, according to the Vāmanapurāṇa, Mahādeva resided here after his marriage with Pārvatī.

### 4) Sumeru

In the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, mount Sumeru is used for comparison of the beauty.

Dey (1984: 196–7) states that Sumeru *parvata* is bounded on the north by Uttara-kuru, on the south by the Bhāratavarṣa, on the west by Ketamāla and on the east by the Bhadrāśvavarṣa, according to the Matsyapurāṇa. The Padmapurāṇa mentions that the river Gaṅgā issues forth from the Sumeru *parvata*. He further describes that the Kedāranātha mountain in Garhwal is still traditionally known as the original Sumeru *parvata*. It is also called *pañca-parvata* because of its five peaks: Rudra Himālaya, Viṣṇupuri, Brahmapuri, Udgārikanṭha and Svargārohiṇī.

### 5) Malaya

In the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā* the breeze from the mountain Malaya has been used to compare coolness of Vasumatī's breath.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 213) mentions that Malaya is one of the seven *Kulaparvatas* (principal mountains) as mentioned in the Purāṇas viz. the Vāyupurāṇa, the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, and the Kūrmapurāṇa. The Malaya has been identified with the portion of the western ghats from the Nilgiris to the Cape Comorin. The southern extension of the western ghats below the Kaveri, now known as the Travancore hills formed the western side of the Malaya. Ptolemy has mentioned it as Mount Bettigo.

Dey (1984: 122) identifies the Malaya as the southernmost peak of the Anamalai mountains where the river Tāmraparṇī has its source.

Law (1954: 23) mentions that the ancient Malaya mountain has been correctly identified by Pargiter with the portion of the western ghats from the Nilgiris to the Cape Comorin. Malaya was also known as the Śrīkhaṇḍādri and Candanādri. He further states that, in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, there was the hermitage of the sage Agastya on the summit of the Malaya.

## 6) Vindhya

Daṇḍin mentions the Vindhya region as Vindhyācala and Vindhyavana or Vindhyāṭavi also. Vindhyācala is referred to as mount Vindhya and Vindhyavana is referred to as Vindhya forest.

In the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, women of the Rājahaṁsa's royal family from Puṣpapura took shelter in the heart of the forest of Vindhya for protection, at the time of war between king Rājahaṁsa and king Mānsāra. After the war, Rājahaṁsa also resided in Vindhya forest with all other *kumāras*. As described in the second *ucchvāsa* Vindhyāṭavi having difficult pathways was destitute of human habitation and was fit only for fierce animals. In the fourth *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, Puṣpodbhava came to Vindhyāvana and excavated treasure from some ruined place. In the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Viśruta came to Vindhyācala where he met prince Bhāskaravarman of Māhiṣmatī.

The Vindhyas along with Narmada separate the North India from the Deccan plateau. In ancient times, it was a dividing line between Uttarāpatha (Aryāvarta) and the Dakṣiṇāpatha.

Dey (1984: 37) mentions that the Vindhya is the modern Vindhya ranges. The famous temple of Vindhyavāsini is situated on the hills near Mirzapur in Uttar Pradesh. It is one of the 52 *śakti-pīṭhas*, where the toe of Satī's left foot is said to have fallen. He further stated that the town of Vindhyācala was included within the circuit of the ancient

city of Pampāpūra. According to the 55<sup>th</sup> chapter of the Vāmanapurāṇa, the fight between the goddess Durgā and the two demon brothers Śumbha and Niśumbha took place on the Vindhyācala. As mentioned in the chapters 52 and 54 of the Kathāsaritsāgara, this place was considered as one of the most sacred places of pilgrimage and the goddess Vindhyavāsinī was extensively worshipped in the seventh century.

Law (1954: 20) describes that the Vindhya corresponds to Ptolemy's Ouindon. According to Ptolemy the Ouindon stands for only that portion of the Vindhya from where the Narmada and the Tapti originate.

### **IV.1.3. RIVERS**

#### **1) Gaṅgā**

The Gaṅgā is one of the most important sacred rivers of India. In religious and secular literature of India as well as in the epigraphs it is mentioned as the most important river of India. Its sanctity has given it the sacred character and its name Gaṅgā is ascribed to different rivers in India. Bhattacharyya (1999: 131) states that the Gaṅgā is known by various other names such as Viṣṇupadī, Jāhnavī, Mandākinī, Bhāgirathī etc. It first comes to light near Gangotri in the territory of Garhwal. At Devaprayag it is joined on the left side by Alakananda. From Devaprayaga the confluence is called the Gaṅgā.

#### **2) Narmadā**

Bhattacharyya (1999: 232) describes that the Narmadā is the most important river of central and western India, which is mentioned by Ptolemy as Namados. It rises in the Maikal range, runs through Madhya Pradesh and meets the sea at Bharuch. As the river takes its course between the Vindhya and Sātpura ranges, it is joined by no less than 13 tributaries. It receives no more tributary in the rest of its course up to the sea. This river is also known as Revā, Samodbhavā and Mekalāsutā. He further stated that, according to Mahābhārata, Kūrmapurāṇa and Agnipurāṇā the Narmadā formed the southern boundary of the ancient kingdom of Avanti.

#### **3) Revā**

Bhattacharyya (1999: 261) states that Revā is also known as Narmadā, Indujā, Pūrvagaṅga and Mekalādrijā. But according to Vāmana and Bhāgavata purāṇas Revā and Narmadā are different rivers.

#### 4) Kāverī

In the first *ucchvāsa* of *pūrvapiṭhikā*, on the bank of Kāverī river a pilgrimage place is mentioned. Also, in the story of Gominī, Śaktikumāra visited one *nagara* on the banks of Kāverī.

Bhattacharyya (1999: 178) describes that Kāverī is called as Dakṣina-Gaṅgā. this celebrated river rising from the Sahyādri mountain is mentioned in numerous texts. In the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, its synonym is given as *Ardhajāhnāvī*. Ptolemy mentions it as *Khaberos* and traces its sources to the *Adeisathron* or *Sahyādri* range.

Dey (1984: 97) states that Kāverī river flowing in southern India, as mentioned in *Kūmapurāṇa* rises from a spring called *Candratīrtha* in the *Brahmagiri* mountain in *Coorg* district.

#### 5) Śivisu

This river is not identified

#### 6) Murala

As described in the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, *Vīrasena* was the king of *Murala*, but there is no mention of a river or other details of this place.

*Collins* (1907: 43) states that the position of *Murala* is not identified by many scholars. The name occurs in an inscription found at *Bheda Ghat* on the *Narmada*, but there is no other reference to the exact location of this place.

As per the description by *Dey* (1983: 134) *Murala* is the same as *Kerala* or *Malabar* as mentioned in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*,

*Bhattacharyya* (1999: 224) states that in *Rājaśekhara's Bālabhārata*, there is mention of river *Murala* where people were living on the banks of the said river. In the *Raghuvamśa* it is said to be in the *Kerala* country.

## IV.2 HISTORICAL ASPECTS

After the downfall of the *Gupta* period in the latter half of the sixth century CE, the country was divided into small independent kingdoms. These kingdoms have a constant conflict among them. In this period, a powerful ruler was neither in south nor in north India. The only exception was *Harṣavardhana*, who ruled from *Thanesara*. He tried to

unite the small kingdoms. However, his efforts ended with his death (647CE).<sup>1</sup> In south India, Pallavas from Kāñcī and Cālukyas from Badāmī had great influence. As stated by Majumdar (1954: 261), Daṇḍin was in the court of the Pallavas during the reigns of Parameśvaravarman (I) (670-695 CE) and his son Narasimhavarman (II) (695-725 CE). During this period, he witnessed the political and cultural changes of the Pallava and Cālukya dynasties.

Gupta (1972: 26) states, “Daṇḍin had to leave Kāñcī due to the attack of Cālukyas over Pallavas, and he started travelling. He was able to gather rich impressions about the countries he visited and their rulers and rules and he has faithfully recorded them in his works which, though mentioning no historical event of the time, richly reflect the political atmosphere that prevailed in the age.”

Daṇḍin’s narrative showcased the political life, rise and fall of the kingdoms and the battle between kings with great reality. However, in this text, we must not expect the exact historical names of kings or kingdoms. Mirashi (1945: 24) states that, like Kālidāsa and Rājaśekhara, Daṇḍin has changed the names of persons in this narrative. However, the DKC may contain some reflections of the historical events.

Collins first pointed out the historical reflections from the DKC in his work, *The Geographical Data of the Raghuvamśa and Daśakumāracarita*. Mirashi also discussed in detail the historical data from the narration of Viśruta. Let us have a look at some historical aspects of their works.

From the Ajanta inscription, we get information that, Pravarasena-I has performed four Aśvamedhas and other sacrifices like Agniṣṭoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Śoḍaṣin, Atirātra, Vājapeya, Bṛhaspatisava and Sādyaskra.<sup>2</sup> These sacrifices are Vedic sacrifices. Names of the kings from Vākāṭaka’s Vatsagulma branch are known from the Ajanta inscription. Hariṣeṇa was the last king of this branch. From this inscription, we get the information that he ruled Kuntala, Avanti, Kaliṅga, Kosala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa and Āndhra. During his reign, Ajantā Caves no. sixteen, seventeen, and nineteen and Ghaṭotkaca Cave were also excavated. After Hariṣeṇa the Vākāṭaka power was destroyed. This unexpected collapse of the Vatsagulma branch and the circumstances caused were not noted in history. According to Collins (1907: 46), the eighth *ucchvāsa*

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<sup>1</sup> Majumdar (1954: 121).

<sup>2</sup> Mirashi (1945: 25).

of the DKC after properly interpreted could give some information regarding the sudden downfall of the Vākātakas.

In the DKC, Daṇḍin has mentioned king Puṇyavarman and his son Anantavarman were the rulers of Vidarbha and the ruler of Mahiṣmatī was Mitravarman. Three of them belonged to the Bhoja dynasty as mentioned in the DKC. We get a reference of Bhojakaṭarājya as part of Vidarbha in the Cammaka plate of Pravarasena-II<sup>1</sup>. In the *Setubandha*, Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena, the composer of this kāvya called himself as Bhojadeva.<sup>2</sup> From above mentioned information Collins inferred that the Vākātakas called themselves as Bhojas and they ruled from Bhojakaṭa. According to him, political conditions described in the DKC existed before the Hariṣeṇa. But Mirashi did not agree to the inference made by Collins.

However, in history there were no kings with the suffix *varman* who ruled the Vidarbha region, but Vākātakas had their names ending with *sena*. Bhoja dynasty having names with *varman* mentioned by Daṇḍin in the DKC was the Vākāṭaka dynasty. Daṇḍin has changed the names of rulers but he continued the history of Vākātakas.

Mirashi has identified Puṇyavarman, the father of Anantavarman with Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa. He also identified other feudatories of Anantavarman mentioned in the eighth *ucchvāsa* of DKC as follows,

Vasantabhānu of Aśmaka – From the inscription of Ajanta cave no. 26, in the sixth century CE, the Aśmaka region was ruled as an independent country. However, no king has yet been discovered suggestive of Vasantabhānu.

Avantideva of Kuntala– Mirashi has identified the rulers of Kuntala with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa having capital at Mānapura (modern Man in Satara district). From the inscription in Ajanta cave number sixteen Kuntala was two times defeated by Vākātakas. Therefore, after the sudden death of Hariṣeṇa, they overthrown the Vākātakas.

Ekavīra of Ṛṣīka- Mirashi has stated that Ṛṣīka was the ancient name of the modern Khandesh district. He identified Vāghli rulers who were contemporary with Ṛṣīka rulers mentioned in the DKC.

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<sup>1</sup> Fleet (1888: 236).

<sup>2</sup> Mirashi (1945: 26).



Nāgapāla of Nāsikya- According to Mirashi, he probably belonged to the Traikūṭakas. From Hariṣeṇa's claims of the copper plate grant dated 490 CE, he probably defeated Trikūṭaka ruler Vyāghrasena.

Kumāragupta of Koṅkaṇa- In the fifth century CE Koṅkaṇa was under the rule of Traikūṭakas. The ruler of Koṅkaṇa may be first owed allegiance with Traikūṭakas and then to the Vākāṭakas.

Vīrasena of Murala- There is no evidence to identify the ruler of Mural of that period.

Mirashi further states that, as mentioned in the DKC, Anantavarman's mother was the daughter of the king of Kosala. The Āndhra king perhaps belonged to the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty and also had a family connection with Vākāṭakas. Therefore, these two rulers were not mentioned in the DKC as the feudatory states. From the Barwāni and Gwalior copper plates, he stated that in the fifth century CE, the king Subandhu was ruling at Māhiṣmati. However, as mentioned in the DKC he does not belong to the Vākāṭaka family.

Caṇḍavarman of Mālava- Mirashi states that he may be identified with Yaśodharman of Mandasore who defeated the Hūṇa king Mihirakula.

Bhānuvarman of Vanavāsī- Mirashi mentions that Ravivarman, father of king Harivarman of Kadamba dynasty may be identical with this Bhānuvarman mentioned in the DKC.

Collins (1907: 24) suggests that the ruler of Campā may be Maukhari kings, as Harṣacarita have mention of Maukhari king. From the Bārābara and Nāgārjunī hill inscriptions, we get to know that Maukharis were powerful in this region. These inscriptions have names Yajñavarman, Anantavarman etc. After the Gupta period, they became more influential. He (1907: 25) further states that, "The Maukharis and the rulers of the eastern Campā may both have been descended from the same royal family, the early king of Aṅga. These early kings may have been the Mauryas. It is even possible that Campā was still under Mauryan rule when the DKC was written." This statement helps to explain the tradition of Mauryas to exempt *Vaiśyas* from the death punishment mentioned in the narration of Apahāravarman. Collins identified Vidarbha from the DKC as the kingdom of the Vākāṭakas. He stated the boundaries of Vidarbha from inscriptions as, Kosal and Kaliṅga on the east, Lāṭa and Trikuṭa on the west, Andhra on the south and Avanti on the north. In the DKC, Vidarbha has boundaries as

Kosala and Kalinga on the east, Lāta on the west, Āndhra and Vanavāsī on the south and Magadha, Mālava on the north.

Gupta (1972: 31) explains that Mānasāra, the ruler of Mālava as mentioned in the DKC, can be identified with Yaśodharman of the Mandasor inscription (533 CE). The powerful ruler of the Kadamba from Banavāsī may be identified with the Bhānuvarman of Vanavāsī mentioned in the DKC. He defeated the Western Gaṅga kings in the first half of the sixth century CE.

As mentioned in the DKC, Bhāskaravarman, son of Anantavarman may be identified with the grandson of Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa. In reality after Hariṣeṇa, Vidarbha was occupied by Kalacurīs from Māhiśmatī. But Daṇḍin has shown that Viśruta helped Bhāskaravarman to regain his lost kingdom. Maybe Daṇḍin has made convenient changes in his narrative.

Spink (2005: 155) also comments on the historicity of the DKC's eighth *ucchvāsa*. Considering Viśruta as Subandhu of Kalacuri dynasty, he explained the details. He explained his 'short chronology' of Ajanta with the help of the narration of Viśruta. According to Spink (2003: 131), DeCaroli has suggested that the DKC was written by Daṇḍin for the moral education and practical political education for the Pallava king Narasimhavarman-II. Daṇḍin adds 'varman' as a suffix to the names of Vidarbha rulers in the DKC like Pallava kings. He identified Hariṣeṇa as Puṇyavarman and Sarvasena-III as Anantavarman. He also interpreted Hariṣeṇa's second son as Mirtravarman and his grandson as Bhāskaravarman. However, Spink (2005: 130) would prefer to see a connection with Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings having the 'varman' suffix, who filled the political and geographical gap after the Vākāṭaka's fall.

Daṇḍin has focused mainly on the conflict between Magadha and Mālava in his narrative. He also gave some clues for the sudden disappearance of the kingdoms, some political scenarios from north India and also from the Deccan especially from Vidarbha. Spink (2005: 136) suggests that Viśruta could be a Gupta prince of Magadha, whom Bhāskaravarman and his old servant met in the forest. Viśruta already has a maternal connection with Bhāskaravarman and by marrying the grand-daughter of the king of Vidarbha (Hariṣeṇa) he became powerful. Spink states that, "this may suggest why the Viśrutacarita breaks off so suddenly at this point before a darker chapter of Viśruta's biography had to be written. The final chapter of the text, the *uttarapīṭhikā*, considered a later composition, finished the story in the 'proper' way, with Viśruta restoring the

young prince to the throne. However, this bears no relevance to the historical situation, as we can construct it from the original body of the text.”

Spink (2005: 139) concludes that Viśruta of the DKC was mahārāja Subandhu. According to him, Subandhu in his Barwani inscription has mentioned date in the Gupta era and not in the early Kalacuri era, as stated by Mirashi and other scholars. Subandhu’s Gupta era dating for the inscriptions clearly evidences Viśruta’s connection with the Gupta. Subandhu successfully planned the destruction of Mālava ruler and his brother who wanted to marry the Vākāṭaka princess. Mirashi has dated Hariṣeṇa to 475 to 500 CE, but according to Spink, it should be 460 to 478 CE. Spink (2005: 155) further stated that the whole Viśrutacarita relates to the adventures of the ten Magadhan princes, i.e., Gupta princes which showcased the decline of the Gupta empire and region of Mālava.

Daṇḍin flourished more than hundred years after all these incidences. However, he maintained the reflection of the political circumstances of that period and the contemporary historical events. The political, historical events and affairs of the sixth and seventh century CE mirrored in the DKC were appreciable.

One interesting thing can be noticed that Daṇḍin did not talk about Harṣavardhana or he did not mention Thāṇesara anywhere in the DKC. Harṣavardhana from Thāṇesara was a powerful king at that time, who ruled from 606 CE to 647 CE<sup>1</sup>. He ruled Thāṇesar and later Kanauj also. Bāṇabhaṭṭa a contemporary famous Sanskrit scholar also portrayed the life of Harṣavardhana in his Harṣacarita. From the Aihole inscription we get the information that there was a battle between Harṣavardhana and Cālukya king Pulakeśin-II<sup>2</sup>.

### **IV.3. POLITY AND GOVERNANCE**

#### **IV.3.1. KINGSHIP**

It is observed that in the ancient Indian administration system, the king had always a superior position. Among the seven constituents of the government<sup>3</sup> mentioned in the Nītisāra, the king was the first one. Based on Kātyāyana, Majumdar (1957: 342) stated that the king is the representative of Indra on earth and his duty is to rule. He (1957:

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<sup>1</sup> Majumdar (1954: 97)

<sup>2</sup> Epigraphia Indica, vol.6, page 10

<sup>3</sup> king, minister, kingdom, castle, treasury, army and allies

342) further mentioned that according to the Devalasmṛti, “the king is a god in human form, and therefore none should harm him”. In the *praśasti* of Samudragupta from Alāhābāda Pillar Inscription, he was considered as God, who is residing on the earth and he was doing his duty to watch the world. In the further description, he was considered “as Puruṣa (the supreme being), equal to the gods Dhanada (Kubera), Varuṇa, Indra and Antaka (Yama), who had no antagonist of equal power in the world.”<sup>1</sup> Gupta emperors used titles such as *paramadaivata*, *paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *mahārājādhirāja*, *parameśvara* on their coins and inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> This is evidence of considering the king as ‘above all,’ a divine status or an attempt to compare the king with the gods.

In the DKC, Daṇḍin has maintained this tradition. He has given a divine status to the king as *Īśvara*<sup>3</sup>, *Deva*<sup>4</sup>, *Indra*<sup>5</sup>. In the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, he denoted king with titles such as *Mahīpati*, *Adhipati*, *Bhūnāyaka*, *Swāmin*, *Bhūvallabha*, *Adhinātha* etc. Daṇḍin also mentioned king as *Janādhinātha*<sup>6</sup>, *Bhūpati*<sup>7</sup>, *Narapati*<sup>8</sup>, *Rājan*<sup>9</sup>, *Bhūpa*<sup>10</sup>, *Nātha*<sup>11</sup>.

Chakravarty (1980: 143) states that monarchy was the only system of administration in ancient India. The king was the main power of administration. Generally, the prince was considered as a future king. In some cases, if the king is not having a son, his son-in-law will become king.

In the DKC, Rājavāhana was the prince of Magadha who became king later by heredity. The other *kumāras* such as Apahāravarman, Somadatta, and Pramati became kings as they married the princesses. These were the examples of that son-in-law becoming king. Viśruta became king because prince Bhāskaravarman was only eight years old.

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<sup>1</sup> Alāhābad pillar inscription (CII, III. 8).

<sup>2</sup> Singh (2013: 485).

<sup>3</sup> P.P. 1, 3.

<sup>4</sup> P.P. 1.

<sup>5</sup> P.P. 1.

<sup>6</sup> daśa. 7.

<sup>7</sup> daśa. 8.

<sup>8</sup> daśa. 7.

<sup>9</sup> daśa. 4, 7.

<sup>10</sup> P.P. 3.

<sup>11</sup> daśa. 2.

### IV.3.2. EDUCATION OF THE KING

Kauṭilya suggested four types of knowledge for the king.<sup>1</sup> According to Kāmandaka, *ānvikṣikī* is philosophy and logic, *trayī* means Vedas, i.e., Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda and *vārtā* is wealth, i.e., agriculture and commerce and *daṇḍanīti* with government administration<sup>2</sup>.

Daṇḍin also mentioned four types of knowledge the king should study, in the eight *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. In the DKC we get references to the training of the prince, the future king. In the first *ucchvāsa* of *pūrvapīṭhikā*, he mentioned all *kumāras* should study the work written by Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka. Prince Rājavāhana learned different types of *vidyās* like scripts, languages, rhymes, narratives, theatre, purāṇas, history and traditional stories. The king should know the science of politics, law and justice. He should be well versed with the knowledge of astrology, grammar, logic and ‘Mīmāṃsā’ as mentioned in the DKC.

Daṇḍin was very much influenced by the texts on *sāstras* like the Arthaśāstra or the Nītisāra. Daṇḍin has mentioned Śukra, Aṅgīrasa, Viśāla, Akṣabāhu, Dantiputra, Parāśara and others who were authors of the texts on the *dharmasāstras* and practical government. In the narration of Viśruta, he described the importance of these texts. The knowledge from these texts has a power like a divine eye, which can give insight into the past, present and future without making king the blind. Along with this knowledge king should master riding elephants, and horses. He should be an expert in using various weapons. The minister Vasurakṣita advised Anatarman, the king of Vidarbha that, for the ideal king, knowledge of different types of *vidyās*, was not sufficient. He further stated that this type of knowledge is only *bāhya vidyā*. The king should be capable of applying this knowledge in practice.<sup>3</sup> After completing education, king should expand his country. Vāmadeva, the royal sage advised prince Rājavāhana and other *kumāras* to go out and use their skills to conquer other regions.

Daṇḍin has mentioned an *ācārya* called Viṣṇugupta and the Maurya king. Viṣṇugupta described *daṇḍanīti* in six thousand *ślokas* for the Maurya king. Every king should learn this *daṇḍanīti* first and then do other education. In the eighth *ucchvāsa*,

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<sup>1</sup> आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति विद्याः । (K.A.1, 1.1)

<sup>2</sup> आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयी वार्ता.... देहिनाम् । (K.A.2, 2)

<sup>3</sup> daśa. 8

the minister Vasurakṣita advised all these things to the newly crowned king Anantavarman.

### IV.3.3. QUALITIES OF THE KING

Puṇyavarman, the ruler of the Vidarbha region was referred to as the ideal king because of his qualities. As mentioned in the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, he was the ornament of the Bhoja dynasty. He was powerful, honest, generous, well-behaved and unbiased. He educated his people and kept his servants happy. “He was famous, conspicuous both by his intellect and his imposing form; ambitious of greatness, defender of the faith, and an undertaker of things possible to achieve and beneficial in the end. He respected the wise and promoted his dependents; he raised his kinsmen to dignity but buried his foes in misery.”<sup>1</sup>

Daṇḍin further described the qualities of the ideal king as “He never lends his ear to nonsensical talk. Over a seeker of merits, he was thoroughly proficient in all the arts. He was fully conversant with sacred lore and political science. He himself looked after his treasury and conveyances. He took great pains to supervise the work of the heads of the various departments and encouraged with honour and fitting rewards those who well acquainted themselves of the duties entrusted to them.”<sup>2</sup>

Some other qualities of king Puṇyavarman mentioned by Daṇḍin were “He was an expert in the employment of the six expedients in foreign politics, he himself maintained in order the four classes according to the path laid down by Manu, and his name it was auspicious to repeat. Having lived the full period of human life by the force of meritorious deeds, he came to be numbered among the immortals, owing to the want of religious merit on the part of his subjects.”<sup>3</sup> These were the qualities mentioned by Daṇḍin to become a memorable king like Puṇyavarman.

In the narration of Viśruta, minister Vasurakṣita advised prince Anantavarman of Vidarbha about the conduct of the king. He explained the importance of the study of political science to the prince. He said that not applying the intellect to the right subject, e.g. the study of the science of government does not shine brightly like unrefined gold in the fire. Daṇḍin described that the king must have luster like the mid-day sun. The necessary requirement of the king was his popular and pleasing personality. He should

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<sup>1</sup> Kale (2003: 133).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid 133.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid 133.

not follow too much the traditional acts like gambling, hunting, women and drinking.

Daṇḍin has illustrated some kings like Rājahaṃsa of Magadha, Puṇyavarman of Vidarbha, Simhaviṣṇu of Kāñcī and Viśruta of Māhiṣmatī having all these qualities.

#### IV.3.4. DUTIES OF THE KING

Authors like Manu, Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka mentioned the principal duties and ideal conduct of the king in their works. The wealth and growth of the world depend on the king.<sup>1</sup> As stated by Kāmandaka, the king must make efforts to establish a government which has those seven constituents.<sup>2</sup> To acquire prosperity by fair means, preserve and increase it, and reward it to deserving recipients, are the four duties suggested by Kāmandaka in verse 18 of Nītisāra. Kāmandaka further suggested that the king should control his senses and follow the four branches of knowledge *Anvikṣikī*, *Trayī*, *Vārtā* and *Daṇḍanīti*.<sup>3</sup> Bhattacharyya (2014: 46) states according to Manu the most important duty of a king is to protect his subjects. To rule the kingdom perfectly is the duty of an ideal king. Pankaj (2002: 50) states that king is called as *rājā* as his main responsibility was to satisfy (*rañj*) the people by maintaining virtuous administration.

Daṇḍin also used this interpretation for the king. In the narration of Viśruta, he explained that the duty of a king is to please his people (*rañjita*). In the fifth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, brāhmaṇa trusted the king and told that it was king's responsibility to look after his daughter when she was alone. The king has to appoint his representatives in different regions to collect news from other states. He must take the help of spies to collect political data from foreign countries. In the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, the spy in the attire of an ascetic went to Mālava and gathered all the information about king Mānasāra. Then he returned to Magadha and in front of king Rājahaṃsa, told everything about the attack planned by Mānasāra.

Daṇḍin has referred to the work of Manu, Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka in the DKC. He also mentioned Śukra, Aṅgīrasa, Viśāla, Akṣabāhu, Dantiputra, Parāśara and other writers of Śāstras and practical government. In the narration of Viśruta, the ideal lifestyle and daily routine of the king were described. King's day and night were divided into specific fixed divisions and in every division, king must perform his specific allotted duties. Daṇḍin must have assigned these duties based on old treatises on polity

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<sup>1</sup> K.N. 1.9.

<sup>2</sup> K.N. 1.17.

<sup>3</sup> K.N. 2.1.

like Arthaśāstra and Nītisāra, because the divisions and duties of king explained by Daṇḍin were like those mentioned by Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka. Daṇḍin explained that in the first eighth division of the day, the king should see the accounts of receipts and expenses; in the second division, he should discuss with the authorities of the subjects and state. In the third division, he should take a bath and take food and also he has to study in this division. During the fourth division, he must think of his revenue; during the fifth, he should have meetings with his ministers (*mantraṇā*) and get secret information from spies. The sixth division is reserved for his favourite amusements. In the seventh division, he has to supervise his *caturaṅga senā*. The eighth division was reserved for discussion with the chief officer of the army (*senāpati*). At the end of the day, he should do evening ritual (*sandhyā*).

Daṇḍin has divided night also in eight parts. In the first eighth division of the night, the king should get messages from his secret agents. In the second he should take his food and do *vedābhyāsa*. During the third division king can take rest in his room with the sound of trumpets and can sleep during the fourth and fifth divisions of the night. In the sixth part of the night, he should wake by the sound of trumpets and he should think over the *śāstras* and his duties. King should arrange meetings with ministers (*mantraṇā*) and send messengers in all the directions in the seventh division. During the last division, he must discuss with his priests and teachers about his dreams, good omens and bad omens.

The above-mentioned routine of the king mentioned by Daṇḍin is evident that king had to work day and night. He was expected to do hard work for the administration of the state. As mentioned in the eight *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, the king had to work every day, he had to protect and please his subject and he was considered as a servant (*bhṛtya*) of his people. Pankaj (2002: 53) explained the other duties of the king as “the maintenance of brāhmaṇas, suppression of the enemies, welfare of his subjects (*yogakṣema*), use of six expedients and four means of statecraft and to neglect the group of six enemies (*kāma, krodha, lobha, moha, mada* and *matsara*), to give right judgment and to punish the criminals were the other important duties of king, referred to by the author.”

To patronize brahmins was the duty of the king. In the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, there is a reference to donations, especially for Brahmins. King Rājahansa patronized thousands of scholarly and distinguished Brahmins with rich gifts in the sacrifices which were constantly going on. There was a mention of *agrahāra*



where Satyavarman lived with his wife. In ancient times *agrahāra* was the village that was donated by the king to a Brahmin<sup>1</sup>. This evidenced that the king did donation of the village to the Brahmin during that period.

Daṇḍin has mentioned the characteristics of model king in the narration of Viśruta. Pankaj (2002: 53) has explained it “the king who appears to be pure, whose generosity is unbounded, whose bodily strength is super-human and mind is extraordinary, whose skill wielding weapons is very surprising, whose heart is damp with mercy, whose prowess is unfailing and irresistible to his enemies and who, towards his enemies, is as deadly as a poisonous tree and towards the humble is the *Kalpavṛkṣa* of the celestials.”

#### IV.3.5. ADMINISTRATION

The administration is necessary for the harmony and opulence of the state. With proper administration, society can become secure and prosperous.

In the administration system, king was treated as an uppermost authority. Prince was next to the king as he was the successor of the kingdom. In ancient India, we found such tradition in most of the dynasties. To assist the work of administration, the king was supported by a group of ministers. Kauṭilya mentioned them as *mantrī* in his Arthaśāstra. Kauṭilya also talked about the selection of ministers and priests (*purohitas*) in Arthaśāstra<sup>2</sup>. Daṇḍin called these ministers as *sacivaratna* in the narration of Viśruta. In ancient India, there was a tradition to appoint ministers by hereditary. The inscription of Vākāṭaka from Ajanta cave 16 had details about king Hariṣeṇa and his minister Varāhadeva<sup>3</sup>. From this inscription, we get information of the hereditary appointment of ministers. In the DKC we also get references to ministers who were appointed by heredity. In the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, King Rājahaṃsa had three hereditary ministers, Dharmapāla, Padmodbhava and Sitavarman. The sons of these ministers after the death of their fathers succeeded to their offices. The word ‘Maula’ was used for hereditary ministers. The texts like Arthaśāstra and Nītisāra talked about ‘Mūlavala’ which indicates inherited officers whose faithfulness was indisputable.

The state of the king was divided in parts or provinces for the purpose of administration. Majumdar described the details about the administration system of the

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<sup>1</sup> Apte (1985: 14)

<sup>2</sup> K.A. prakaraṇa 5, adhyāya 9

<sup>3</sup> Mirashi (1963: 7)

Gupta period based on inscriptional records. He (1954:344) stated that the province (*bhukti*) was governed by officers called as *uparikas* and sometimes by princes known as *mahārājaputra devabhaṭṭāraka*. Generally, these *bhuktis* were divided into small regions called as *viṣayas* and they were ruled by *kumārāmātyas*, *āyuktas* or *viṣayapatis*. The administration was carried out by *kumārāmātya* or *āyuktaka* in association with local authorities (*adhiṣṭhānādhikaraṇa*), village headman (*grāmika*) and householders (*kuṭumbin*). He (1954: 345) further stated that these local authorities consist of four members, namely the guild president (*nagaraśreṣṭhī*), the chief merchant (*sārthavāha*), the chief artisan (*prathamakulika*) and the chief scribe (*prathamakāyastha*).

Daṇḍin portrayed the chief minister as a true adviser of the king. Many times, he was the best friend of the king. In the narration of Viśruta, Vasurakṣita, the minister of Vidarbha was very loyal to the king. After the death of the king Puṇyavarman, firstly he advised Anantavarman for the right administration. He told him about *sāstra* and *nīti* from the texts like Arthaśāstra and Nītisāra. Then after he tried to save prince Bhāskaravarman. Similarly, Kāmapāla the minister of Vārāṇasī and Kosala minister Āryaketu were also having all the qualifications of competent ministers. They were next to the king.

Daṇḍin has also mentioned other ministers. The war minister was described as *daṇḍacakra*<sup>1</sup>, *senāpati*<sup>2</sup>, *daṇḍabhara*<sup>3</sup>. Generally, a person having royal blood was selected for this post. Minister Vasurakṣita talked about this in the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. Daṇḍin has mentioned the policy of *sāma*, *dāma*, *daṇḍa* and *bheda* to defeat the enemy. He also mentioned six measures *sandhi*, *vigraha*, *yāna*, *sthāna*, *saṁśraya* and *dvaidhī* to protect the kingdom.

At the time of Daṇḍin, inscribed copper plates were used for the order of the king. In the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, Mātaṅga found a copper plate that was as pious as Bramhājñā. Rājavāhana and Mātaṅga reached *pātālaloka* by following the instructions on the copper plate.

#### IV.3.6. RELATION BETWEEN KING AND MINISTERS

We can observe that the relationship between the king and his ministers was good in the DKC. Most of them were reliable and free to give guidance to the king. In the first

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<sup>1</sup> daśa. 3.

<sup>2</sup> daśa. 8.

<sup>3</sup> daśa. 3.

*ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, ministers advised the king not to fight with king Mānaśara. Even though king Rājahaṁsa did not follow their advice, they fought with him in the battle. After taking shelter in the forest, when Rājahaṁsa found the sons of his ministers he took responsibility of those. He educated them with Prince Rājavāhana in all types of *vidyās*.

Very often we found that some ministers were loyal to the king while some were selfish. They did not care for their king and kingdom. Daṇḍin has portrayed such types of ministers very well. Vasurakṣita, the minister of the king Puṇyavarman was very loyal to his kingdom. He tried to explain the polity to Anantavarman. But unfortunately, the king ignored it. Then Vasurakṣita tried to save the prince, princess and queen. Anantavarman was influenced by ministers who were self-seeking and not trustworthy. Mānapāla, the minister of king Vīraketu was also devoted to his king. He fought against Mattakāla to save his kingdom.

From the DKC we can observe that if the king has good qualities, then his ministers also have good qualities. But if the king did not follow the rules of the polity as mentioned in Arthaśāstra or Nītisāra, his ministers took the kingdom to the fall.

#### IV.3.7. CITY ADMINISTRATION

For the administration of the city, the king appointed guards. The duty of these guards was to travel around the city and keep an eye on criminals. For criminals there were jails and jailors were appointed. Somadatta was captured by soldiers and was kept in jail for the crime of theft. In the narration of Rājavāhana, a family of Puṣpodbhava was captured by Caṇḍavarman and was kept in jail. After escaping from jail Somadatta saw the security guards<sup>1</sup> of the jail with weapons. Later he also saw some city guards<sup>2</sup>.

In the third *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, there was a mention of Śatahali who was referred as the *rāṣṭramukhyam* and *grāmaṇi* (chief of village) also. He released the parents of Upahārarvarman. In the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, there was a mention of *daṇḍavāhi* (mayor) who lived in the city of Khetakapura. In the DKC we get references of city guards who arrested Apahārarvarman by suspecting him as a thief. In the narration of Apahārarvarman, Kāntaka was the jailor of Campā. His father was also a jailor and after his death, Kāntaka became a jailor. In this *ucchvāsa*, we get details

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<sup>1</sup> द्वाःस्थगण

<sup>2</sup> पुररक्ष

about how Kāntaka manages the jail. In the narration of Apahāravarman, he saw a force of city guards (*nāgarikabalam*) with torches, sticks and swords in their hands. In the same narration, we get a mention of *nāgarikapuruṣa* who were guarding people.

These shreds of evidence show the necessity of jail, as crime may be one of the major problems for city administration.

#### **IV.3.8. LAW AND PUNISHMENT**

Majumdar (1954:352) states the observations of Xuanzang as the judicial administration during his travel in India. The standard of criminal law reform set by Guptas was maintained to a great extent. For violations of the law and revolt against the king, the criminal was imprisoned for life. Xuanzang described that for a break of social morality penalty was defacement or exile. For the other crimes, the penalty was only a money payment.

Daṇḍin talked about the law and punishment in the DKC. In this text, we did not get the reference of a judge as a separate officer. Generally, the king himself does the justice. In the narration of Pramativarman, Dharmavardhan, the king of Śrāvastī was considered equal to Yudhiṣṭhira. He used to sit on *nyāyāsana* in his assembly and did his duty as a judge.

The death penalty seems to be very common for many crimes at the time of Daṇḍin. In the narration of Apahāravarman, the death punishment was suggested for the person who deceived the prostitute. On the request of Kāmamañjarī, the king sentenced Arthapati to death. But when Dhanamitra told the king about the law, which was set by Maurya, he released Arthapati. As per this law, a businessman (*vaiśya*) could not get the death penalty. So, the king seized all his wealth and banished him from the kingdom.

For cheating on her husband and illegal relationship with another person, Dhūminī was punished by serving as the cook for dogs. For criminals, there were jails, where prisoners were kept and their hands, feet were tied with iron chains. Sometimes they get harassed by jailer.

#### **IV.3.9. FOREIGN POLICY**

Kauṭilya has described the foreign policy in the Arthaśāstra. He mentioned a six-fold policy for the king to maintain relations with other states. These six policies are *Sandhi*

(treaty), *Vigraha* (war), *Āsana* (neutrality), *Yāna* (marching), *Samśraya* (shelter) and *Dvaidhibhāva* (making peace with one and war with another)<sup>1</sup>.

In the narration of Viśruta, while mentioning the qualities of an ideal king, Daṇḍin has explained that the king must be an expert in the employment of the six expedients in foreign politics. King Rājahaṁsa appointed his spies in the foreign country in the gesture of ascetics to collect the information.

#### IV.3.10. MILITARY AND WAR

##### a) *Caturaṅga*

From ancient times military of a king was divided into four parts (*caturaṅga senā*): chariots, elephants, cavalry, and infantry. Majumdar (1954:xxii) mentioned that in Harṣacarita chariots were meagerly used in battle. Xuanzang also recorded the same thing. King had to preserve a huge number of elephants. In combat most of the time king rode on an elephant. In the military of a king, cavalry was used on a large scale. There were many chiefs who had their own cavalry and they were used in battlefields. As stated by Majumdar (1954) in the introduction, these chiefs were kṣatriyas who had their own land and regional influence. Their code of honour was prescribed by the *śāstras* and the traditions. They were generally rewarded by grants of land and most of the time they had blood relations with the ruling dynasty.

In the DKC we get several references of the four-fold army. Daṇḍin has described in detail about the battle between Rājahaṁsa and Mānasāra in the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*. King Rājahaṁsa had a four-fold army. Daṇḍin has mentioned chariots, horses and elephants also. At the beginning of the battle, drums were played to make a big sound. “There was a close fight between them, wherein warriors struck one another with weapons and with hands, wherein the army was slaughtered on both sides, all space in the quarters was deafened by the sound of drums that drowned all other sounds in the aerial region, beneath a cloud of the dust thickly spread over the surface of the sky, dust arose from the earth as it was struck up by the hoofs of the horses of the chariots. The root of which was washed away by the streams of rut oozing from the temples of the arrays of elephants.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> K.A., adhikaraṇa 7, prakaraṇa 98.

<sup>2</sup> Kale (2003: 4).

In the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Daṇḍin mentioned that king Anantavarman had ten thousand elephants, three lakh horses and countless infantry.

In the third *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, king Vīraketu also had a four-fold army. His ministers Mānapāla and Somadatta both fought with the king of Lāṭa with his *caturaṅga senā*. Somadatta got a chariot with good horses and a skillful charioteer, very strong armor, an appropriate bow with two quivers which were full of several kinds of arrows and different other weapons required for fighting from Mānapāla. In battle,

Somadatta used a chariot with fast horses and attacked the king of Lāṭa, who was also riding on a chariot. After defeating Mattakāla, the king of Lāṭa, Mānapāla received different kinds of war prizes such as horses, elephants and other weapons.

### b) Naval Force

Along with the *caturaṅga senā* naval force was also important. From ancient times maritime trade was in a flourishing state in India. We get references of dockyards from the Harappan period. Kings like Vasiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvī and Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇī from Sātavāhana dynasty have coins that have ships on them. Pallava coins also have a depiction of a ship, which indicates Pallava dynasty also established a strong naval power in south India.<sup>1</sup>

Daṇḍin has mentioned the naval force of Dāmalipta from the east coast and of Valabhī from the west coast. In the story of Nimbavatī, there was a reference to the chief of a ship (*nāvikanāyaka*) who was as wealthy as Kuber. Bhimadhanvā, prince of Dāmalipta had a fleet of warships (*madgu*) with soldiers who fought with Yavana ship. Mitragupta narrated “A warship surrounded by a number of vessels bore down upon us, and the Yavanas were alarmed. Ships sailing with very great speed surrounded our ship like fleet hounds rushing upon a boar; a fight ensued and the Yavanas were defeated. They took off my chains and I took a bow and with it twanging fearfully poured a shower of huge shafts on them. Jumping into the ship I killed almost all the warriors.”<sup>2</sup> This incident gave a picture of a naval fight of that period.

In the narration of Mantragupta, the king of Kalinga was celebrating *Vasantotsava* with his family and other citizens on the seashore. While they were

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<sup>1</sup> [https://www.academia.edu/36295088/Maritime\\_surf\\_through\\_Indian\\_Coins\\_Coins\\_with\\_ships\\_and\\_boats](https://www.academia.edu/36295088/Maritime_surf_through_Indian_Coins_Coins_with_ships_and_boats)

<sup>2</sup> Kale (2003: 109).

enjoying music and dance, Jayasingh, the king of Āndhra attacked them with a huge army in ships from sea.

From these events, we can get an idea about the naval force during the period of Daṇḍin.

### c) **Military Strategy**

The king of Aśmaka used different types of strategies to destroy the enemy nation Vidarbha. Anantavarman was the king of Vidarbha and Vasantabhānu was the king of Aśmaka. As narrated by Chakravarty (1980:153) “For destroying the warriors of the Vidarbha, various measures were followed, e.g. to induce them to come to dense forest so that they might be the prey to the beasts, to lead them on to high peaks and to cause their downfall, to make themselves engaged in gambling, cock-fight and other sensual enjoyments and to cause injury to them by secret persons and so forth. All these were meant for reducing the followers of the enemy-king.” This was an unfair war strategy used by the king of Aśmaka. He used all the strategies explained by Kauṭilya. He first made *sandhi* with Aśmaka. Then he made a friendship with the enemy of Aśmaka. After defeating Aśmaka he made fights between other kings so that they will destroy each other.

### d) **Military Camp**

In the DKC we get mention of military camps. The term *Śibira* was used for the camp of an army in the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*. These camps have tents made of rough clothes. In the narration of Somadatta, Mānapāla, minister of the king Vīraketu encamped outside the city. In the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, we are told that Vasantabhānu and other feudatory kings marched out and encamped at a short distance on the bank of the Narmadā.

### e) **List of Weapons**

Daṇḍin has mentioned various types of weapons in describing the battle between kings, princes, and other people also. Generally, for weapons terms *astra* (a weapon used to

throw)<sup>1</sup> and *śastra* (a general weapon)<sup>2</sup> were used. In the DKC we get the names of different weapons. The detailed list of weapons is attached in the appendix.

#### **IV.4. TRADE AND COMMERCE**

The prosperity of any country depends on the contribution of trade and industries. Though the economy of ancient India was reliant mainly on agriculture, we get references to trade and different industries from various Sanskrit texts and inscriptions<sup>3</sup>. Because of the availability of raw materials, skilled workers and artisans, many industries developed in ancient India. Xuanzang also described the economic condition and trade of that period. He mentioned “gold, silver, copper, white jade, fire pearls, gems and precious stones of various kinds, as the commercial products of India. Merchants dealt especially with gold, gems, silk, muslins, cutlery and armor, brocades, embroideries and rugs, perfumes and ivory and ivory work”<sup>4</sup>.

##### **IV.4.1. TRADE AND INDUSTRY**

Chandra (1977: 172) stated that in the Gupta period markets of Ujjayinī and Pāṭalīputra were flourishing trade centres. The marketplace of Ujjayinī city was full of animals like horses and elephants; and other kinds of goods. It also had chariots, soldiers. Pāṭalīputra had shops filled with various kinds of things. They had their consumers and suppliers. According to the Pādatāḍitakam, Chandra noted that the markets of Ujjayinī were filled with heaps of foreign goods and was also known as an international city.

Majumdar (1954: 587) states that from the painting of Bagh and Ajanta, we get knowledge of the textile industry of that period. Also, the records from text like the Harṣacarita, we get references to a variety of clothes. He further stated that Vāraṇasī has an ancient reputation as the producer of the best silk garments. Xuanzang also informed that a fine striped variety of cotton cloth was produced in Mathura at that time.

The economic condition portrayed in the DKC was very flourishing. Cities had big roads and gardens. Gardens had a variety of plants and flowers. There were big houses with attached gardens. Multi-storied buildings show the good economic class of

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<sup>1</sup> Apte (1985: 193).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. (912).

<sup>3</sup> Gokhale (2007: 65).

<sup>4</sup> Keny (1960: 30).



society. The standard of living of people in the cities was high. The roads have different types of shops and markets. Trade was in a flourishing condition, traders and merchants were traveling for their business. Daṇḍin has mentioned trade by land and by sea also.

In the DKC we get evidence of flourishing interstate trade and commerce. In the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, the city of Puṣpapurī (Pāṭalīputra) was described as a flourishing city having shops of gems and other valuables for trade. In the narration of Apahāravarman, there were many traders and shopkeepers from whom Apahāravarman stole the wealth.

Daṇḍin has mentioned the extensive use of different types of clothing materials which showed the flourishing textile industry like cotton, silk, linen and wool. The ornaments made up of various kinds such as gold, silver, ruby, pearl, diamond etc. used by princesses evidenced the industry of goldsmiths and jewelers. The metals used such as gold, silver, copper, brass and iron indicate the mining industries were in booming condition. In the narration of Mitragupta, there was a mention of one Yavana named Khanati from whom Vikatavarman purchased a valuable diamond. Leather was also being used by people for various purposes at the time of Daṇḍin. In the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Viśruta met one *kirāta*, who sold the skin of a tiger and leather bags in the market of Māhiṣmatī. In the narration of Apahāravarman, a leather bag (*carmabhasrikā*) plays an important role.

#### IV.4.2. AGRICULTURE

Agriculture and pasturing cattle were the main occupations in ancient India. From the story of Dhūminī we understand, that in ancient times, agriculture was mainly depended on rainfall.

In the DKC, we find mentions of agricultural products many times. In the story of Gominī, we get evidence of rice (*śāli*), *dhānya*, vegetables, ghee, curds, oil and tamarind, sesame etc. Gominī served Śaktikumāra some rice with *ghee* and condiment (salt). The rest of the rice she served with curd spiced with pepper, cinnamon and ginger. She also served fragrant and cool buttermilk and sour gruel. This description clearly shows the production of different types of agricultural products.

In the story of Dhūminī, due to the lack of rainfall in the Trigarta country, there was a famine of twelve years. Due to famine, all grains were withered, trees had no fruits, herbs were rendered futile, roots and fruits became rare. Daṇḍin also mentioned various domestic animals such as cows, goats, and horses many times. The three brothers

consumed all their grain, flocks of sheep and goats, wild buffaloes and all the cattle to survive themselves.

Different types of fruits were found in many places in the DKC. Also, we get references of *tāmbula* with camphor and saffron<sup>1</sup> many times. The extensive use of *tāmbula* shows the huge production of betel leaves.

#### IV.4.3. OCCUPATIONS

The main occupation of the ancient people was agriculture. Some part of society was engaged in government service, i.e., working with the king's administration system. As followed by the *varṇa* system, Vaiśyas mainly engaged in trade and commodity business. Other occupations such as metal workers, potters, carpenters, fishermen, and sailors etc. were also in society.

In ancient India economic institution was governed by some industrial and professional guilds. Majumdar (1974: 592) states that the *smṛti* texts mentioned these guilds have groups such as the *samūhas*, the *gaṇa*, the *pāṣaṇḍa*, the *pūga*, the *vrāta* and *śreṇī*. Kātyāyana mentioned that *pūga* corresponds to merchant guild. The elected members of the group managed the business of the group. These groups had their own legal obligations and roles. Interestingly archaeological excavation from Gupta period sites like Basārḥ near Vaiśāli found seals and sealings that belonged to the guilds of bankers, traders and artisans<sup>2</sup>.

The Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta informs us that silk weavers from Lāṭa had their own guild and its members were proud of it. An inscription of Skandgupta's time informs about the existence of the guild of oil sellers.<sup>3</sup>

Majumdar (1954:589) states that, Goldsmith or jewellery making was an important occupation in the Gupta period. Workers were engaged in cutting and polishing of diamonds, rubies, sapphires, emeralds etc. Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* mentioned the examination of jewels (*ratnaparīkṣkā*) as one of the sixty-four arts.

The Jambūdvīpa Prajñapti, the famous Jain text from the Gupta period mentioned names of various types of guilds from that period as follows: potters, oil pressers, goldsmiths, cooks, calico-printers, barbers, vegetable growers, betel leaf

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<sup>1</sup> P.P. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Majumdar (1954: 593).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

sellers, garland makers, silk weavers, sellers of napkins, braziers, tailors, singers, cowherds, cobblers, fishermen and hunters.<sup>1</sup>

In the DKC, different types of occupations can be traced. Trading was an important profession as Ratnodbhava, son of the minister Padmodbhava traveled to another country for trading. In the narration of Apahāravarman, many names of the traders, and businessmen were found. Vasupālita was the son of *śreṭhin*, Apahāravarman stole a box with valuables from a businessman Krupaṇa. Kuberadatta, Dhanamitra and Vasumitra were other names of traders.

For the detailed list of occupations please refer to appendix.

#### IV.4.4. CURRENCY

Currency is a medium of exchange for trading and coins are metal currency. In ancient India, various kinds of coins were used as currency. It has some standards in weight, metal used and issued by an authorised person. As stated by Singh (2009:51) the use of coinage in ancient India started in 6<sup>th</sup> -5<sup>th</sup> century BCE on the basis of archaeological evidence. In ancient India, the basic unit of currency was *guṇḍja* or *ratti*. Paṇinī's Aṣṭādhyāyī and some Buddhist texts have mentioned *kārṣāpaṇa*/*kaḥāpaṇa*. Chakravarty (1980:161) explained "After the conquest of northern India by Indo-Scythian kings, gold coins came into circulation under the name of '*dināra*'." The term '*dināra*' is derived from the Roman 'Denārius.' Kaniṣka first used it in India<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, the coin *dināra* is mentioned in some inscriptions of the Gupta period<sup>3</sup>. Singh (2009:53) stated that *dināra* is a gold coin that was well-executed and die-struck with metrical legends in Sanskrit.

In the DKC we get references of *dināras* many times. In the second *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Apahāravarman won sixteen thousand *dināras* in the gambling house. While traveling on the journey, Puṣpodbhava found uncountable *dināras* underneath in the forest of Vindhyaācala. The use of gold coins is evidence of the flourishing trade and commerce and rich economic conditions at the time of Daṇḍin.

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<sup>1</sup> Chandra (1977: 174).

<sup>2</sup> Jha (2013: 41).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 46.

Other currencies mentioned in the DKC were *kākiṇī* and *kārṣāpaṇa*. *Kākiṇī* was represented in terms of *cowrie*. The dictionary meaning of *kākiṇī* is money equivalent to 20 *cowries*<sup>1</sup> and that of *kārṣāpaṇa* which is a copper coin equivalent to 16 *cowries*<sup>2</sup>.

In the story of Gominī, she gave husks of rice to her maid, to sell to a goldsmith. Also, she gave charcoal to sell it in the market. By selling these items the maid received *kākiṇīs* as the currency. Using these *kākiṇīs* she bought some ingredients for cooking the food.

#### IV.4.5. SĀRTHAVĀHA

The ancient Indian traders formed the economic guilds. Srivastava stated (1960:71) there was a class of traders who settled in the town (*nigama*) for their business. This class was known as *Naigama*. They have the privilege to issue seals and coins. There was the *sārtha* system which was a moveable institution for the protection of traders who were in transit for trade. This institution was led by a leader called *sārthavāha*.

As narrated by Moti Chandra (1977: 186), in the seventh century, merchants had to face difficulties on the internal roads for trade. The leader of the caravan announced the safety and comfort by beating the drum. After assembling, the leader of the caravan explained the travellers, about the routes and destination.

As stated by Agrawala “*sārtha* means merchants, who invested an equal amount of capital and who carried on trade with outside market traveling in a caravan. Their leader was known as *sārthavāha*.”<sup>3</sup>

In the fourth *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā* and in the narration of Rājavāhana we get the reference of *sārthavāha*.

#### IV.4.6. TRADE ROUTES

In ancient India to develop routes and means of transportation was difficult and for trade, these are very important factors. However, the mention of *rājamārga*, *mahāpatha* etc. suggests the existence of good-conditioned roads and highways. Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* suggested building trade routes, water routes and ports<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Apte (1985: 346)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 353.

<sup>3</sup> Chandra (1977), Introduction by Agrawala

<sup>4</sup> K.A. *adhikaraṇa* 2, *prakaraṇa* 19.

The trade routes depend on geographical features. The routes that pass through hilly regions, mountains, forests or deserts are very challenging. On the other hand, routes passing through plains or open areas are easier to build than the previous ones. It may take a long time to establish any trade route. From ancient times people were in search of natural passages which continued for a long time. Along with the passing of time the entire country was covered with major and minor networks of roads. Chandra (1977: 2) stated “Ancient India has no doubt some big cities but the majority of the people lived in villages and most part of the country was covered with dense forests through which the roads passed. These roads were often infested with wild animals, robbers lay in wait for travellers and as the food problem was difficult travellers had to carry their own provisions. It was very dangerous to travel alone on these roads and therefore people travelled in well-organised caravans. These travellers were not merely traders but were also carriers of Indian culture.”

As stated by Acharya (1960: 37), there were five important but minor trade routes in ancient India that connected the trade centres of India. Rājagṛha was connected with Kapilavastu, Śrāvastī, Mithilā, Campā and Kaliṅga. Sites of Puṣkalāvātī and Pratiṣṭhāna and Sindhu region were also connected to Rājagṛha covering long distances. He further stated that Kauṭilya mentioned chariots and elephants as the means of transport. Kauṭilya also stated his view about the water route. According to him water route is less expensive and involves less labour therefore it is more preferable. But it is more risky and not useful in all seasons.

Chandra (1977: 154) states on the basis of Śilappadikāram that, the big ships could sail through the Kāverī river. The main roads of the city were named as *rājamārga*. There were separate roads for chariots called *rathamārga*; and *āpaṇamārga* was the market road.

As stated by Keny (1960: 25), there were many routes reaching the western and eastern coasts of ancient India from Magadha. There were great caravans as well as river passages, passing through Magadha.

### **Some trade routes in ancient India**

Moti Chandra (1977: 12) mentions about the Grand route from northern India which passes from Taxila to Kāśī and then to Mithilā. On account of the Buddhist texts, he states that in ancient times, merchants used to go to Taxila from the places like Vārāṇasī

and Śrāvastī for the purpose of trade. He also describes how Magadha, Vārāṇasī and Māhiṣmatī were important centres for trading.<sup>1</sup>

He (1977: 27) also states that the route from Mathura to Deccan proceeded from Āgrā and then passed through Ujjayinī. Māhiṣmatī was located between Khaṇḍavā and Ujjayinī. This route after crossing the western ghats further proceeds to Surat. After that, it proceeds to Berāra (Vidarbha region) and Godāvarī valley.

From the account of Xuanzang, Moti Chandra (1977: 20) observes that even in the seventh century CE, people were following the same routes which were existed in the fifth century BCE.

In the DKC, Daṇḍin has described the travel of *kumāras* to various places in ancient India from the east coast to the west coast and from north India to south India. On this basis, we can understand the condition of routes at that time. Most of the places were connected with each other. Routes may be developed and run through all parts of India. Also, some routes passed through forests, which were not considerably safe due to the tribal people living in forests. In the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, we get a mention of *kirātas* who attacked Prahāvarman. From the travelogue of Xuanzang, we also get information about the routes in the sixth and seventh centuries in India. Hundreds of merchants convoyed from Tāmraliptī to Bodhagayā with Xuanzang on his journey.<sup>2</sup>

**In the DKC we observed some routes as follows,**

- King Rājahaṃsa travelled from Puṣpapurī to Vindhyavana.
- All *kumāras* started their travel from Vindhyavana.
- Rājavāhana and Mātaṅga came to Daṇḍkāraṇya and then entered Pātāla. From there Rājavāhana visited Ujjayinī.
- Somadatta travelled to the city near Lāṭa and from there he came to Ujjayinī.
- Puśpodbhava gained treasury from Vindhyavana and reached Ujjayinī.

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<sup>1</sup> Kauśāmbī was the main region for the stay of caravans and the routes to Kosala and Magadha were crowded by merchants and travellers. From Kauśāmbī to Vārāṇasī by the river was thirty *yojanas*. The route to the Deccan from here passed through Māhiṣmatī. On the Grand route between the east and west Vārāṇasī was a great commercial city. Many caravans arrived here from Uttarāpatha. It has commercial relations with Chedi and Ujjayinī through Kauśāmbī. From here one route proceeded to Rājagṛha and the second to Śrāvastī. The second route from Uttarāpatha reached Śrāvastī. The Grand route from Śrāvastī proceeded to the great commercial city of the Campā. From there it entered Bengal and proceeded to the port of Tāmraliptī.

<sup>2</sup> Chandra (1977: 185)

- Rājavāhana along with Somadatta and Puśpodbhava travelled to Campā.
- Apahārarvarman started his journey from Vindhyavana and reached Campā.
- Upahārarvarman reached Mithilā from Vindhyavana and then travelled to Campā.
- Arthapāla came to Vārāṇasī and then reached Campā.
- Pramativarman travelled from Vindhyavana to Śrāvastī and then to Campā.
- Mitragupta reached Dāmaliptanagarī and then he travelled to Campā.
- Mantragupta visited Kaliṅga from Vindhyavana and then to Campā.
- Viśruta reached Vidarbha and then travelled to Campā.
- During their return journey, they travelled from Campā to Ujjayinī and then to Puṣpapurī, i.e., Pāṭaliputra.

(Please see appendix for the graphical representation of routes.)

#### IV.4.7. INTERNATIONAL TRADE

The account of Chinese pilgrims said that there was a regular commercial connection in the fourth and seventh centuries between Tāmraliptī, the seaport of Bengal and Ceylon on one side, and Indonesia and Indo-China on the other.<sup>1</sup> Valabhi was also an ancient port on the west coast which is mentioned by Daṇḍin.

Majumdar (1954: 586) described the objects of trade in ancient India. He stated “Among agricultural products aloes, clove-wood and sandal-wood, according to Cosmas, were sent in in his time from the east coast of India to Ceylon and exported to the Western ports and even to Persia and the Ethiopian coast. In the seventh century, as Xuanzang informs us, sandal, camphor and other trees grew on the Malaya”.

In the DKC we get a mention of *dvīpāntara* or *deśāntara*<sup>2</sup>. The reference of *cīnāmśuka*<sup>3</sup> clearly shows the international trade with China. Pankaj (2002:188) in her thesis stated that, this silk was probably imported by the sea route to India. But considering the history of the Silk Route, in ancient times this route was by land and not sea route. Ratnodbhava the son of minister Padmodbhava travelled to Kālayavanadvīpa for trading. There he married the daughter of a businessman. We get a reference to Yavana Rāmeṣu in the sea near Tāmraliptī in the narration of Mitragupta. There was a fight between the ship of Yavanas and the ship of a prince of Tāmraliptī.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 201.

<sup>2</sup> P.P. 1, daśa. 3.

<sup>3</sup> daśa. 6.

This account shows that sea trading was common in ancient India. Faxian and Xuanzang also mentioned the seaport of Tāmraliptī in their travelogues.

Moti Chandra (1977: 193) stated that Tāmraliptī was a big seaport on the eastern shore. From here ships were navigated to and from Sri Lanka, Malaya and China. At the time of Pallava king Narasimhavarman, two big convoys were sent to Sri Lanka for the help of king Māṇavamma. In the seventh century, Mahābalipuram and Kāñcipuram were two significant ports. He (1977:165-6) further described that “at the time of departure of the ship friends and relatives of the merchants expressed their good wishes and hoped that they would return safely after making considerable profit. The merchants worshipped the sea with flowers and perfumes and then they raised their flags. Before the ship weighed anchor, they obtained the permission of the king. In the noise of the auspicious musical instruments, the merchants boarded the ship and the bards began singing and wishing their safe return.”

The mention of Kālayavanadvīpa clearly suggests the international trade between the two countries. Agashe has identified Kālayavanadvīpa as Zanzibar<sup>1</sup> on the coast of Arabia, but considering references from the Avantisundarikathā<sup>2</sup>, it can be somewhere in the sea near Bali islands.

#### IV.4.8. YAVANA

Singh (2013: 372) has stated that Sanskrit literature used the term Yavana for foreigners who came from the West, including Greeks who came from the Ionian islands. We got a reference of Yavana in the DKC two times, in the third *ucchvāsa* and in the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. Chandra discussed in detail, about the references of Yavana found in the DKC.<sup>3</sup>

He further explained about the name Rāmeṣu, “In the second reference the story mentions that by the order of Bhimadhanvan, Mitragupta was thrown into the sea near

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<sup>1</sup> Agashe (1919: 168).

<sup>2</sup> Pillai (1954: 192).

<sup>3</sup> Yavana merchant Khanati is the Indianised form of the Turkish ‘Khan’, but in the southern recension, the variant of *khanati* is Asabhiti which may be the Indianised form of the Persian Āsaf. However, these words came to the Persian language from the Turkish during the Mughal period, which means, the *khanati* in the DKC is of a very late date, though scholars are almost unanimous that the work could be dated to the 5th-6th century CE. It is, therefore, suggested that Khanati may be derived from the Iranian word *kandan* ‘to dig’. But all these suggestions require further research. However, it is quite possible that Khanati was a merchant of Sassanian Iran who visited India for trade in the sixth century. The word Yavana, however, came after the early centuries of the Christian era. Yet it lost its original significance and began to be used for all foreigners including the Iranians, Arabs, Syrians and Greeks.



Tāmraliptī. The next morning a Yavana ship saw and rescued him from drowning. The rescuers took him to their captain Rāmeṣu who was satisfied to get a strong slave who would help him to irrigate his vine-yard. Meanwhile, a battleship (*madgu*) surrounded by many boats attacked the Yavana ship. The Yavanas began losing the engagement and at that moment Mitragupta requested them to remove his bonds. Being free he attacked and defeated the enemy ship which he found out belonged to Bhīmadhanvan.”

Moti Chandra (1977: 235–6) has stated the nationality of captain Rāmeṣu that, Agashe assigns him the Iranian nationality without any reason. However, Dr. Unwala, who was an authority in Iranian and western Asiatic languages, informed Chandra, that the word Rāmeṣu was of Syrian origin and could be derived from ram= handsome and iṣu=Jesus. On this basis, he concluded that the Syrian Christian merchants also came to India for trade.

From the above data, we can conclude that the Yavanas traveled to the west coast through the Arabian Sea and also to the east coast in the Bay of Bengal in ancient times. It is difficult to make a conclusion on the meaning of the word Rāmeṣu, but all the above mentions are evidence of international trade and communication on both coasts in the seventh century.

## **IV.5. SOCIAL LIFE**

### **IV.5.1. STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY**

Being a vast country, India has a large number of social factors. To understand the social picture of ancient India one should know the mix and complex culture of the society. Sometimes these socio-cultural differences were due to the geographical features that emphasized them. This variety in the texture of the social life, along with the uniformity in general outline, can be broadly observed in the picture of the contemporary society that Daṇḍin has portrayed through his writings.

It may be noted that the social life reflected in the DKC, was the city life and not the rural one. In the story of Dhūminī we get some references rural of life while they were wandering. There are only indirect references to rural life. We get a mention of *kirātas* or *bhillas*; and some mentions of *ācāryas* who lived in the forest. But Daṇḍin has not given any details about their life. In the DKC only the higher and middle classes of society were largely represented. Even if north Indian regions are represented in DKC, the social customs and practices that are described by Daṇḍin in the sixth

*ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita* are found specifically in the Tamil region, which was the original place of Daṇḍin<sup>1</sup>.

In the DKC, crimes and corrupt practices, acts of moral depravity can be observed not only in the lower class of the society but also in the upper class and even in the royal court. There is a general fall in the moral standards of the people. However, it does not mean that there were no good and honest people. In fact, there were indeed people who were honest, simple, God-fearing. It is remarkable to consider the writings of Xuanzang, a Chinese traveller, who travelled almost all over India during in seventh century CE. In his travelogue, he recorded his general impressions of the people of India. According to that, people from Gaṅgā and Brahmaputra basins were generally remarkable for their qualities of honesty, courage, love of learning and so forth, while those of north west India, the Deccan and the extreme north, east, south and west were generally of a contrary nature.<sup>2</sup>

#### IV.5.2. VARṆA AND ĀŚRAMA SYSTEMS

##### a) Varṇa System

To understand the social condition of ancient India one has to study the *varṇa* system. The society which was illustrated by Daṇḍin in the DKC was based on four *varṇas*, viz. Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. These are the traditional *varṇas* of ancient Indian society.

##### i) Brahmin

Pankaj (2002: 111) observes that a Brahmin had a superior position in society. Xuanzang and It-sing also described the high position of Brahmins. They were exempted from capital punishment and confiscation of property. In their case, the general punishment for them was only exile from the country.

In the DKC, Daṇḍin has mentioned them as ‘the god of the earth<sup>3</sup>’ in the seventh *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. The most important duties of the Brahmins were taking part in all ceremonies and the performances of sacrifices as described in the first *ucchvāsa* of *pūrvapīṭhikā* and eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*.

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<sup>1</sup> Pillai (1954: 8).

<sup>2</sup> Majumdar (1954: 570).

<sup>3</sup> *Dharaṇītalataitlla*.

Daṇḍin uses for them the names like *agraja*<sup>1</sup>, *dvijottama*<sup>2</sup>, *vipra*<sup>3</sup>, *bhūsurettam*. Daṇḍin has described them as identical to the Brahman<sup>4</sup> and the auspicious rituals performed by Brahmins are more auspicious.

Though the position of the Brahmins was superior illustrated in the DKC, in the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Daṇḍin has mentioned the condition of Brahmins that, they are in distressful poverty, they have large families and they get donations from kings. Some of them are not following their traditions. There was a reference to some Brahmins who took food in the homes of non-Brahmins in the fifth *ucchvāsa* of the *purvapīṭhikā*. In the second *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, some Brahmins are shown living in the forest as they were exiled from society. They were not following the tradition of the study of Vedas and rejected the customs of their descendants. Daṇḍin has mentioned them as low Brahmin. In the fifth *ucchvāsa* of the *purvapīṭhikā*, Rājavāhana met one Brahmin named Vidyeśvara, who was an expert in the art of magic.

## ii) Kṣatriya

Kṣatriyas got respect in society as they generally belonged to the warrior class. They have military and political power also. As stated by Chakravarty (1980:57), “administrative power belonged to the feudal lords and they were *kṣatriya*. There are references of different kings reigning in different regions which are not big kingdoms and not very far from each other but they are called as king of Aṅga, king of Śrāvastī, or of Mithilā.” As observed by Pankaj (2002:113) generally kings belong to this class. They have military power and command over the society.

In the DKC, Kṣatriyas are addressed as *rājan* and *mahīpati*. The prince Rājavāhana was from Kṣatriya *varṇa* and belonged to the Somavaṁśa<sup>5</sup>. Other *kumāras* such as Apahāravarma, Upahāravarma and Viśruta were also from the same *varṇa*. In the fourth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Daṇḍin has mentioned *kṣātradharmā*, the duty of a Kṣatriya. He must punish the guilty person even if that person has a relationship with *kṣatriya*.

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<sup>1</sup> daśa. 7.

<sup>2</sup> P.P. 1, daśa. 6.

<sup>3</sup> P.P. 3.

<sup>4</sup> daśa. 8.

<sup>5</sup> P.P. 1.

### iii) Vaiśya

This class had an important role in the society. They are associated with trade and industry. Vaiśyas have a significant role in increasing the wealth of the country. This community was famous for its wealth and richness. Daṇḍin has used the terms like *ṣreṣṭhin*<sup>1</sup>, *vaṇikkatakam*<sup>2</sup>, and *sārthavāhas*<sup>3</sup>. These people were trading on national and also international levels, mainly by land and sea. They have a reputable position in society and are also signified in the royal court.

In the DKC, Ratnodbhava, the son of the minister was shown as a merchant. He travelled through the sea and settled on Kālayavana island. Daṇḍin has mentioned in the narration of Apahāravarman that, Vasupālita, Kuberadatta, and Dhanamitra were Vaiśyas. They have a high position in society due to their business and wealth. In the second *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Arthapati was exempted from punishment because of the tradition from the Maurya period. This tradition says that a Vaiśya should not be punished to death, because of which he was exiled from the capital for offenses. Daṇḍin has referred to the designation *janapadamahattara*, by the name of Śatahali. He was capable as *grhapati* and was described as an amigo of the king of Mithilā. “The term *grhapati* denoted the community of merchants who evinced Buddhist influence and were known as such since the time of the Mauryas. The descendants of these *grhapatis* were known as *gahoi vaiśyas*.”<sup>4</sup>

### iv) Śūdra

This part of the society belongs to the low caste and has inferior status. Daṇḍin hardly mentioned about Śūdras in the DKC.

In the DKC, Daṇḍin has mentioned people from some other lower class such as *kirāta*, *śabara*, *bhilla* and *cāṇḍāla*. Though *kirāta* and *śabara* were living in the forests and their occupation was to rob the people passing through the forests, they were not cruel. In the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, the *kirātas* have returned Upahāravarman to the Brahmin. One of the *śabara* women gave back the child Apahāravarman to king Rājahaṁsa.

As found in the DKC, people from the higher caste are following their traditionally defined professions. In the second *ucchvāsa* of *pūrvapīṭhikā*, Mātaṅga was

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<sup>1</sup> daśa. 2.

<sup>2</sup> P.P. 4.

<sup>3</sup> daśa. 2, 6.

<sup>4</sup> Pankaj (2002: 114).

Brahmin by birth but he lived like a *kirāta*, a forest tribe. In the same *ucchvāsa*, there was mention of a group of Brahmins who were outcasted and lived in the forest. These Brahmins have ignored their religious customs and duties and they became robbers. But Mātaṅga returned back to his original Brahmin *varṇa* after purification and he married the *asura* princess, Kālindī.

Many times, we can observe the relationship between *varṇa* and profession, but the rigidity which can be seen in the later times can hardly be noticed in the period of Daṇḍin. Occupations grounded on the *varṇa* system were not always observed in the DKC. Chakravarty (1980: 59) has stated the observation of Xuanzang that, the people from the upper castes follow the occupations of the lower caste. There are some inscriptional references that upper castes adopt the occupation of the other castes. “5<sup>th</sup> century CE inscription refers to two kṣatriya merchants living in a city of upper Gaṅgā basin.”<sup>1</sup>

#### b) Āśrama System

Gupta (1972: 224) mentions that the life of an ancient man in India was broadly divided into four *āśramas*. These *āśramas* represent the different periods of human life, i.e., education, family life, detached life and then renunciation. As described by Kane (1941:418-420), The first stage, *brahmacarya*, denotes a study of a child after the *upanayana* ceremony. After completing education *brahmacārin* enters into the second *āśrama*, *gṛhasthāśrama*. In this stage, he became a householder and could enjoy a family life. After completing all his duties as a householder, he could enter into the third *āśrama*, i.e., *vānaprasthāśrama*. In this stage, he can live with his wife in the forest with a simple and pious lifestyle. *Vānaprasthāśrama* is a preparation for the last *āśrama*, the *saṁnyāsāśrama*. In this stage, man has to renounce all this worldly life and has to accept a life of ascetics.

Daṇḍin did not specifically mention about the *āśrama* system. But we can get references for the *vānaprasthāśrama* and the *sannyāsāśrama* in the DKC. In the narration of Pramati, the old brāhmaṇa after entrusting his daughter to Dharmavarman, the king of Śrāvastī, wanted to follow the *sannyāsāśrama*. In the last chapter of the DKC, i.e., *uttarapīṭhikā*, king Rājahaṁsa handover his kingdom to prince Rājavāhana. After

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<sup>1</sup> Chakravarty (1980: 59).

that, he wanted to accept *vānaprasthāśrama*. Due to his insistence the great sage Kāmadeva allowed the king to follow *vānaprasthāśrama* in his *āśrama*.

As mentioned in the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, prince Rājavāhana and all other *kumāras* started their education in the *brahmacaryāśrama*. After completing his studies, the *brahmacāri* was permissible to marry and he can enter into *gṛhasthāśrama*. According to Keith (1953:98) “the scheme of four stages, is in many ways perfectly adapted to Indian life, for it starves no side of a man’s life”.

### IV.5.3. MARRIAGE SYSTEM

Kane (1941: 516) has mentioned different forms of marriage as follows: *brāhma*, *prājāpatya*, *ārṣa*, *daiva*, *gāndharva*, *āsura*, *rākṣasa* and *paiśāca*. The *home* and the *saptapadi* are the most important ceremonies of marriage. About different types of marriages, Bhattacharyya (2013: 73–81) and Chakravarty (1980: 64–72) have already discussed in detail in their thesis. Therefore, additional discussion about marriage tradition in ancient India has been omitted from this thesis. As stated by Kane (1941: 52) when a man of upper *varṇa* marries a woman of a lower *varṇa*, this type of marriage is called as *anuloma* marriage and when a man of lower *varṇa* marries a woman of upper *varṇa*, it is called as *pratiloma* marriage.

The different kinds of marriage as defined by Daṇḍin are *prājāpatya*, *gāndharva* and *āsura*. The *anuloma* - *pratiloma* type of marriage and some inter-caste marriages can also be seen in the DKC. In the second *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Apahāravarman who was *kṣatriya* prince married Rāgamañjarī, the daughter of a prostitute. As mentioned in the fourth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Kāmapala a Brahmin married *kṣatriya* princess Kāntimatī. There was one reference to child marriage or early marriage in the DKC. In the third *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, Kāhindavarman and Prahāravarman have fixed the marriage before the birth of their children. Marriage within the same caste and which followed the *śāstra* rituals was preferred.

As mentioned by Daṇḍin, marriage is the ritual of joining four hands. He used terms like *pāṇisparśa* in the first *ucchvāsa*, *parigrahatvam* in the second *ucchvāsa*, and *pāṇigraha* in the fourth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. The whole marriage ceremony was acknowledged as *kriyākautukamaṅgala* in the first *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. The newly married couples were mentioned as *vara-vadhu* by Daṇḍin in the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*.

Young men and women have the liberty of matchmaking. In the narration of Mitragupta, Śaktikumāra, the son of a *śreṣṭhin* of Kāñcī, wanted to marry a bride of his own choice. He felt that the elder's choice may not always be right. The pre-marriage love affairs were common in society. Rājavāhana and Avantisundarī, Kāmapāla and Kāntimatī, Pramativarman and Navamālikā, Mitragupta and Kandukāvātī, are examples of love marriages in the DKC. Upahārarvarman fell in love with a married woman Kalpasundarī and he married her.

Different types of marriages can be seen in the DKC but we didn't get any reference to the *Svayamvara* type of marriage mentioned by Daṇḍin.

#### IV.5.4. FAMILY LIFE

Marriage is a bond between two persons and family is a major part of any society. Daṇḍin was well acquainted with the family life. He mentioned the whole family as *kuṭumbaka* in the second and sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. In the DKC, the author narrated the affection and love between family members. The child was considered as an important member of the family. In the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, minister Suśruta and Sumantra took care of their brother's sons namely Puṣpodbhava and Arthapāla. Also, Somadatta was taken care of by his uncle Sumati. Queen Vasumati took care of the sons of Mithilā king Prahārarvarman like her son Rājavāhana. The loss of children due to death was very painful for both the king and queen. In the narration of Pramati, king Tuṅgadhanvā and his queen decided to give up their lives when they lost their children.

Daṇḍin has mentioned various family relations in the DKC. We get mention of relatives as *āptavarga*<sup>1</sup>, mother (*mātr*)<sup>2</sup>, father (*pitṛ*)<sup>3</sup>, sister (*bhaginī*)<sup>4</sup>, daughter (*duhitr*)<sup>5</sup>. He has mentioned other relatives such as maternal grandmother (*mātāmahī*)<sup>6</sup> and maternal grandfather (*mātāmaha*)<sup>7</sup>; father-in-law (*śvaśura*)<sup>8</sup>, brother-in-law

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<sup>1</sup> P.P. 2, daśa. 2

<sup>2</sup> daśa. 2, 3, 8

<sup>3</sup> P.P. 1, daśa. 5, 6

<sup>4</sup> daśa. 8

<sup>5</sup> ibid

<sup>6</sup> daśa. 2

<sup>7</sup> daśa. 8

<sup>8</sup> daśa. 4, 6

(*śyāla*)<sup>1</sup>, sister's son (*svasrīya*)<sup>2</sup>, son in law (*jāmātr*)<sup>3</sup> and son having step mother (*dvaimātura*)<sup>4</sup>.

In the second and seventh *ucchvāsas* of *daśakumāracarita*, Daṇḍin has explained that the daughter should obey her mother and grandmother. Everyone should always respect their elders.

From the above descriptions about family relations, we can understand that, at the time Daṇḍin family bonding in society was strong. The social life of the contemporary period was based on family.

#### IV.5.5. STATUS OF WOMEN

The woman is the most important part of any society as half of the community is formed by women. Any literature can give a true picture of the society of that time. From the position of women, one can understand the culture and progressiveness of society.

In the DKC, Daṇḍin has drawn a picture of women in society from the seventh-eighth century. Different aspects of women are shown in this text. The characters like daughter, mother, and wife as well as friend, maid, and nurse were represented by Daṇḍin. Even female ascetic was shown in some narratives.

##### a) Education of Women

As described by Majumdar (1954: 562) the Kāmasūtra mentions that upper-class women were getting an adequate education. Princesses and daughters of ministers were given various forms of education. The Kāmasūtra mentions a long list of sixty-four types of *aṅgavidyā*, i.e., branches of knowledge or arts to be learned by women. He further gave some examples of educated women from Sanskrit literature. There is a reference in the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa that princess Rājyaśrī who was a sister of king Harṣavardhana has knowledge of music, dancing and other arts. Mālavikā from the Mālavikāgnimitra was skilled in drama and she performed her art of song and dance in the royal court. In the Ratnāvalī and in the Priyadarśī also we get to know that women were getting a proper education of literature, art and music. These accounts may have been drawn from contemporary life.

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<sup>1</sup> daśa. 4.

<sup>2</sup> daśa. 3.

<sup>3</sup> daśa. 1, 4.

<sup>4</sup> daśa. 4.



In the DKC, there are references that the women of that time were literate. Especially upper-class women, princesses could read and write. They were also getting an education in art like dancing, singing and painting. In the fifth *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, princess Avantisundarī fell in love with Rājavāhana and wrote him a letter in her own handwriting. In the fifth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Navamālikā saw Pramati in a dream and she fell in love with him. Her friends drew a beautiful picture of Pramati from her description. In the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Kandukāvati performed a dance with a ball in front of the goddess Vindhyaśinī in a festival. In the narration of Upahārarman, Kalpasundarī, daughter of king Kāḷindavarman was also an expert in the art of singing and dancing.

### b) Women in Society

Women from the upper class have the liberty to choose their life partners but not all women can enjoy this liberty. In the DKC there are several mentions that a powerful person like a king or his friend or brother wants to marry a woman forcefully against her will. In the narration of Puṣpodbhava, Dāruvarman, the brother of Caṇḍavarman tried to rape Bālacaṇḍrikā. In the first *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Caṇḍavarman, king of Ujjayinī forcefully wanted to marry Ambālikā, the princess of Campā. For that he attacked Aṅgadeśa. In the narration of Somadatta, there was also a mention of marriage which was done forcefully. Mattakāla, the king of Lāṭa wished to marry the daughter of Vīraketu against his will. Mattakāla attacked Vīraketu, and Vīraketu gave his daughter Vāmalocanā to Mattakāla in fear.

Such instances indicate that at the time of Daṇḍin, the choice or wish of women was not necessary for marriage. A man with power or money could marry a woman of his choice against her will.

Daṇḍin has revealed some other aspects of women in the stories from the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. The story of Dhūminī shows a woman with a cruel heart. She left her husband and approached another man when her husband was in trouble. The narration of Upahārarman brings out the cunningness of Kalpasundarī. Though she was a married woman, when she fell in love with Upahārarman, she helped him to kill her own husband. In opposite to this aspect, in the story of Gominī, when Śaktikumāra was in search of a good bride, Gominī showed her skill of a good housewife. In the story of Nimbavati, Ratnāvati told an old lady about women that,

especially in upper-class society the husband alone is the idol of women. So, women must do something that will serve men.

Women like Kāmamañjarī were good at being selfish. She used her skill to win a bet. Though she was *ganikā*, a prostitute, she was very much educated in different types of art and *vidyās*. She ruined the sage Marīci and a merchant's son Virūpaka.

The maids or nurses are shown very loyal and faithful to their patron. In the narration of Puṣpodbhava, while returning from Kālayavana dvīpa, the ship wrecked and the maid saved her owner. After the birth of Puṣpodbhava, they lost him, but the maid was with her owner, the mother of Puṣpodbhava for sixteen years. Even the friends and servants of the princess always helped while meeting her lover. In the narration of Arthapāla, king Caṇḍasimha kept his daughter Maṇikarnikā in the pātāla to keep her safe. During this time her friends and maidservants were with her.

Daṇḍin has portrayed the women of that time very realistically. We could see the different shades of women's nature in the DKC.

### c) Polygamy

Polygamy is an ancient tradition in India. Marring many wives was common at that time and was not looked down upon. As stated by Kane (1941: 555) in the Dharmaśāstra there are references of the practice of polygamy. Kauṭilya stated that “a man may marry several wives after giving *śulka* and *strīdhana* to those to whom nothing had been given at the time of marriage and money on supersession and suitable provision for livelihood; for women are for procreating sons.”<sup>1</sup>

At the time of Daṇḍin polygamy was common in the society. One of the ministers of king Rājahaṁsa was Sitāvarman. He had a son Satyavarman who married a girl Kālī. But unfortunately, she didn't have any children, so Satyavarman married Gaurī, sister of Kālī. Apahārarvarman in the second *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, married princess Ambālikā though he had already married Rāgamañjarī. Śaktikumāra married a second woman who was a prostitute even though he had a first wife of his own choice. Gominī, the first wife of Śaktikumāra maintained a good relationship with her co-wife. The characters of Vikaṭavarman and Kāmapāla were also shown as having many wives. Kāntimatī, wife of Kāmapāla treated Tārāvalī, her co-wife as a friend.

These examples show that there was a good relationship between co-wives. But

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<sup>1</sup> Kane (1941: 552).

Daṇḍin has drawn another picture of co-wives also. In some cases, there was jealousy between co-wives. In the narration of Upahāravarmaṇ, queen Kalpasundarī, wife of Vikaṭavarmaṇ was jealous of her co-wives. Satyavarmaṇ married Gaurī, sister of Kālī but Kālī was also jealous of her sister as she had a child. In jealousy, she threw this child into the river.

#### d) *Satī*

From the Sanskrit texts, we can easily get the reflection of the society of that time. Some texts refer to the practice of *satī*. In *sahagamana* or *sahamarāṇa* the widow burns herself after the death of her husband on the funeral pyre of her husband. As stated by Kane (1941: 629), there are numerous inscriptional records that gave the reference of *satī*.

Altekar has tried to find the origin of this practice. As stated by Altekar (1938: 143) the practice of *satī* became popular from the fourth century CE. The Sanskrit poets like Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Śūdraka and Vātsyāyana were very well acquainted with this practice. From their works, it can be clearly seen. “The *satī* however, was an exception, the merit of her self-sacrifice was more than sufficient to annihilate her husband’s sins and raise him to heaven to live in eternal union with his wife.”<sup>1</sup>

Majumdar (1954: 567) stated that the self-immolation of Brahmin widows was prohibited indisputably by Paiṭhīnasi, Aṅgīrasa, Vyāghrapāda and Uśanasa. Literary references about *satī* show that this practice was praised by some authors, but in Gupta period it was strongly convicted by others.

Kane (1941: 625–6) has mentioned that the other *dharmasūtras* did not have reference to *satī*. The Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra says that “on her husband’s death the widow should observe celibacy or should ascend the funeral pyre after him.” The Manusmṛti does not speak about the practice of *satī*. He (1941: 627) further stated that it can be observed that the practice of *satī* was initially limited to the class of noble people and soldiers. The overall practice of widow burning in society was rare.

In the DKC, Daṇḍin has mentioned the practice of *satī*. In the first *ucchvāsa* of *pūrvapīṭhikā*, queen Vasumatī wanted to follow the *satī* practice, as she thought, the king Rājahaṃsa was killed in the war. Kāntimatī, the wife of Kāmapāla wanted to burn herself at the funeral pyre when she knew about the death of her husband. But there are

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<sup>1</sup> Altekar (1938: 147).

some other cases like Vasundharā, wife of Anantavarman, in which she accepted her widowhood and did not follow the *satī* practice.

e) *Gaṇikā*

The topic 'Position of women' will be incomplete without mention of *gaṇikā*. As observed by Majumdar (1954: 568) in ancient India, the courtesans, *gaṇikās* were enjoying high social status. They were graceful in their behaviors and activities. Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra* articulated that *gaṇikās* were well-known for their beauty, luxury and wealth<sup>1</sup>. Bhattacharyya (2013: 102) has stated that, the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* has mentioned two types of prostitution or *gaṇikās* in ancient India. Some women were *gaṇikās* by profession and some chose this for their satisfaction. *Gaṇikās* were wealthy persons of society in ancient India. In the *Mricchakaṭika*, the description of Vasantasenā's palace at Ujjayinī gave us details about the lavish magnificence of *gaṇikā*. They maintained their lifestyle with the help of this profession. As stated by Majumdar (1954: 568) some *gaṇikās* like Vasantasenā in the *Mricchakaṭika*, Rāgamañjarī and Candrasenā in the *DKC* were courtesans of good character. They did not follow their profession and married worthy men of their choice. But in general, the characters of courtesans portrayed in literature were infamous for greed and tricks.

In the narration of Apahāravarmaṇ, Daṇḍin has given a detailed description of the training and nurturing of *gaṇikās*. Kāmamañjarī, a daughter of *gaṇikā* used it as a profession but her sister Rāgamañjarī was against this profession. The mother of Kāmamañjarī has explained that to nurture the body of her daughter and to cultivate her from birth was the duty of the mother of *gaṇikā*. *Gaṇikā* should be educated in the different arts of dancing, singing, playing musical instruments, acting and painting. She also gets training in cooking, preparing perfumes, garlanding flowers and also in reading, writing and expressing herself with elegance and wit. She has to learn grammar, logic and astrology. She must obtain practical knowledge of the science of erotic. She has to appear, carefully decorated and attended with a large retinue, at public festivals. She must be advertised through experts in various arts in different places. She must be proclaimed through palmists and astrologers as being endowed with all the auspicious marks. In the circles of the citizens, she must get her beauty, performances, accomplishments, charms, and amiableness to be discussed with the help of dependents,

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<sup>1</sup> Majumdar (1954: 568).

gay companions, jesters, and female mendicants. When she becomes the constant object of the desires of young men, then confers her youth at a very high price or she has to give her away to one independent master who possesses superior qualities and who is rich. In the same *ucchvāsa*, Kāmamañjarī discussed about *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* in detail with sage Marīci. This shows that she was very versatile with these types of knowledge and in Nītiśāstra also.

From the above description, we can get a clear picture of life of *gaṇikā* at the time of Daṇḍin. They were well-educated in all types of knowledge. They were wealthy and had choices for the decisions of their life.

#### IV.5.6. ŚAKUNAS AND MUHŪRTAS

Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhatsamhitā* gave detailed information about omens, i.e., *śakunas* through the birds and the beasts. According to him, it is a science called *śakunavidyā*.<sup>1</sup> He stated that the omens are not superstitious beliefs. A man going on a journey should consider the omens relating to his own person.

Ganguly (1962: 143) states that to forecast the future from auspicious or inauspicious signs or sounds of birds is called as *Śakunavidyā*. From the behaviour of animals or birds like wailing of cats or dogs, perching of vulture on house roof or sight of special type of snake pair, one can depict the future bad or good.

At the time of Daṇḍin, many people from the society believed in omens and *śubhamuhūrtas*. In the DKC, Daṇḍin has mentioned the use of omen several times. In the first *ucchvāsa* of *pūrvapīṭhikā* on the auspicious moment (*śubhamuhūrta*) wounded king Rājahaṁsa was brought back to the forest after the war. In the same *ucchvāsa* queen Vasumatī gave birth to a prince Rājavāhana on *śubhamuhūrta*.

In the second *ucchvāsa*, after seeing auspicious omens like a favorable uttering sound by a bird, prince Rājavāhana started his journey. Also, in the narration of Puṣpodbhava, there was a reference to omen signs by birds. Bandhupāla, a friend of Puṣpodbhava was able to understand these signs. He told Puṣpodbhava about the auspicious day and on the same day he could meet his friend Rājavāhana.

Daṇḍin also mentioned about the auspicious signs (*śubhalakṣaṇas*). In the second *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, sage Vāmadeva noticed the *śubhalakṣaṇas* like

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<sup>1</sup> Sastri (1946: 645).

the victory flag (*jayadhvaja*), royal umbrella (*chattra*), *vajra* etc. on the palms of all *kumāras*. Then he allowed *kumāras* to go for *digvijaya*.

In the story of Gominī, Śaktikumāra saw different auspicious signs with Gominī and then he decided to marry her. Her palms and fingers were red and marked with a number of auspicious signs like *yava*, fish, lotus, and vase. These signs ensure abundant wealth, prosperity and progeny.

#### IV.5.7. FOOD AND DRINK

Majumdar (1954: 576) has noted some observations about food habits in ancient India on account of Xuanzang, “white cakes and parched grain, milk and sugar with their preparations, as well as mustard oil, formed the common articles of food, fish along with the flesh of goats and sheep was occasionally taken.”

##### a) Food

In the DKC there was no detailed description of the food habits of people from all regions of India. We can collect stray references of contemporary food material and their habits only from the southern part of India.

Daṇḍin has mentioned both types of food, vegetarian and non-vegetarian. Rice or *śāli* can be considered as staple food in the story of Gominī. In the same story, other vegetables and food mentioned with rice were ghee, oil, tamarind, pepper, cinnamon, and ginger as cooking ingredients. Rice with curd spiced with pepper, cinnamon and ginger was served to Śaktikumāra. Also, fragrant and cool buttermilk and sour gruel were served. Water was fumigated with the incense of black aloe wood, having a smell of fresh flowers. In the story of Dhūminī, reference of rice, fruits and roots as a food was found. Some mention of fruits like mangoes, grapes, bananas, wood apples, dates, coconuts sugar cane, *udumbara* and other *kandamūlaphala* was found in the DKC. Daṇḍin has described the preparation of *parmānam* as boiling rice with milk and sugar.

In the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Viśruta killed deer and prepared food. He first killed the deer, then skinned it and then roasted it for a meal. In the story of Dhūminī, at the time of famine, people used to eat roots, flocks of sheep and goats, wild buffaloes, and even cattle. They also ate their servants and children.

From the above-mentioned facts, we can conclude that eating non-vegetarian food was only in exceptional conditions. Otherwise, common people used to eat vegetarian food.

The use of spices can be rarely seen in the DKC. Daṇḍin has referred to asafetida and cumin seed only.

After the meal, chewing of betel was very common in the society as mentioned in the second *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. We get references of the use of camphor with betel and of aloe-wood incense for perfuming drinking water. Repeated references to the use of sandal paste and camphor can be traced in the DKC<sup>1</sup>.

#### **b) Drink**

Drinking alcohol was not prohibited at the time of Daṇḍin. In the narration of Apahāravarman, he drank on some occasions, but he was aware of the bad impacts of alcohol. “It is but the nature of drunkenness and over-excitement, to follow even by taking a wrong course their wanted practices”<sup>2</sup>

In the narration of Viśruta, the consumption of alcohol was shown as common in society. Men and women also used to drink alcohol. There was a reference to *pānagoṣṭhī*, an open space for drinking. Daṇḍin has used some common words for alcohol such as *mada*, *madhū*, and *pāna*. He has also explained the advantages of drinking alcohol. Most of the mentions of alcohol consumption were related to royal and noble families.

But alcohol drinking was not recommended by Daṇḍin. In the same *ucchvāsa*, he tried to narrate the decline of the kingdom by following such types of habits.

### **IV.5.8. ENTERTAINMENT**

Majumdar (1954: 576) has described the different ways of amusement of ancient people which can be observed in different classical literature. Listening to the talk of parrots, and watching the fights of cocks, rams or quails are some examples of entertainment. People also engage themselves in the exhibition of artistic skill and conversing with their companions.

“Besides the daily routine, people have periodical entertainment like the *samāja* (festival) and the *ghaṭā* (assemblies connected with the worship of deities), the *goṣṭhī* (social gathering), *udyānayātrā* (garden party), *āpānaka* (drinking party) and *samasyā-kṛīḍā* (public sports). The *samāja* takes place on an appointed day every fortnight or every month when the actors and others gathered at a temple. On such occasions, other

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<sup>1</sup> P.P. 4, daśa. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Kale (2003: 63).

actors coming from outside also exhibit their skill and receive rewards.”<sup>1</sup> People wore bright fine dresses and engage themselves in poetical competitions and training in arts. People also gather at one another’s place for drinks. Courtesans served various kinds of liquors to them. This can be also observed at the garden parties (*vanavihāra*) and at the water sports (*jalakrīḍā*) during summer.

Daṇḍin has described the most popular entertainments of that time in the DKC. The people have both types of entertainment, indoor and outdoor. In the narration of Apahāravarmana, there was a reference to *utsava-samāja*. Performances of dance and music were very common entertainment at the time of Daṇḍin. In the narration of Viśruta, he performed a dance in gay attire, in front of king Pracaṇḍavarman.

#### a) Gambling

In ancient India, gambling (*dyūta*) was basically for the amusement of the people. *Dyūtakalā* was considered as one of the sixty-four *kalās* or *vidyās*. Ganguly (1962: 148) described *dyūtaviśeṣa* as different sorts of gambling which was considered as one of the sixty-four arts. He further stated that Kauṭilya mentioned officer in charge of gambling house as *Dyūtādhyakṣa*. Bhattacharyya (2013: 104) mentioned that in the Akṣasūtra of the Rīgveda, there is a description of gambling.

Men and sometimes women also gambled. Women from the high class of society mainly played with dice. In the DKC, as shown by Daṇḍin women were experts in gambling. In the second *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Apahāravarman entered the city of Campā. There he joined the company of gamblers in a gambling house. He noticed the skill of gamblers that there were twenty-five types of arts of gambling. They used tricks while rotating a dice on the dice board, and uttered abusive words with arrogance while shifting a piece. After playing with the leader of gamblers he won sixteen thousand *dīnāras*. Daṇḍin has also mentioned *dyūtādhyakṣa* as an officer of a gambling house.

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<sup>1</sup> Majumdar (1954: 576).



### b) Cock-fight

*Meṣakukkuṭa-lāvaka-Yuddhavidhi*, i.e., the procedures of the ram-fight, the cock-fight and the lāvaka (kind of bird)-fight also mentioned as art among sixty-four arts. The first took place on ground and the third one in the air.<sup>1</sup>

For men, Daṇḍin has mentioned entertainments like cock fighting and hunting. In the fifth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Daṇḍin has given a detailed picture of cock fight. In the city of Śrāvastī, on the main road to market place people were engaged in cock fights. Old Brahmin seated near Pramatī asked him the reason for smiling. Pramatī told him “How comes this, that a cock of the western country and of the *balākā* breed is thus thoughtlessly matched by the people against one belonging to the eastern country and of the cocoanut tribe, its superior in strength and size. The two birds fought, furiously excited as the shouts of encouragement were uttered by their partisans after each stroke. The cock of the western country was beaten.”<sup>2</sup> A cockfight was a big and enthusiastic gathering of people. Cocks have particular names, they belong to a specific region. While fighting, they were armed with knives or blades. (for a painting of cock fight see appendix)

As stated by Pankaj (2002: 155), some Prākṛita Jaina stories have been noticed with reference to cock fights. She further stated that, even in the modern south Kanara region of Kerala, the exact cock-fight goes on even today.

### c) Indrajāla

Indrajāla or āndrajāla is mentioned as one of the sixty-four arts. To make people completely spellbound with the utterance of *mantras* or by performing various magical tricks. People can witness unbelievable performances but they cannot realise the real fact.<sup>3</sup>

*Indrajāla* is mentioned as an amusement for the princes in the DKC. Vidyeśvara, a Brahmin was an expert in the art of magic. He traveled to many countries and then he visited Ujjayinī. In the court of the Mālava king, he began his performance. Drums were beaten by servants, girls sang the sweat songs and after the curiosity of people, he whirled his magic bundle of peacock feathers. “After this, serpents, decked with hoods copiously emitting virulent poison and illumining the expanse of the palace

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<sup>1</sup> Ganguly (1962: 147).

<sup>2</sup> Kale (2003: 99).

<sup>3</sup> Ganguly (1962: 133).

with the array of the gems in their hoods, moved about, causing fright, any many vultures taking up those big snakes in their beaks whisked about the in the sky.”<sup>1</sup> Then he exhibited the tearing of Hirṇyakaśipu, the monarch of the demons, by Nṛsiṃha. After this, he asked the king’s permission for the performance of the marriage of princess Avantisundarī as a play act. Vidyeśvara with his face brightened at the prospect of his desired object being accomplished, put in his eyes a collyrium which had the virtue of stupefying all, and looked around. Then as all were looking at the spectacle in astonishment as a feat of magic, he united, in the presence of the sacred fire, on account of his proficiency in the religious rites and other performances attendant on a marriage. While closing the performance he loudly ordered all the magical persons to disappear, all persons conjured up by magic disappeared one by one. Being pleased with his magical performances the king of Mālava rewarded him with a large sum of money.

#### d) Entertainment for Women

For girls or women different pastimes described by Daṇḍin were, playing with balls (*kanduka*), picking up flowers and making garlands, dancing and playing musical instruments. Women gathered in gardens with their friends. In the narration of Rājavāhana, princess Avantisundarī came to *krīḍodyana* with her friend Bālacandrikā.

#### IV.5.9. BURGLARY

From the second *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, we are able to find the reference to a robbery. There was a Brahmin named Mātaṅga, who lived in the forest with other *bhillas* and *kirātas*. Their business was to rob rich people passing through the forest. In the third *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, there was a reference to a robbery. Somadatta was accused of theft and prisoned. In the prison, there were more criminals, who were also caught for burglary.

In the narration of Apahārarman, Daṇḍin mentioned about burglary and thieves. In this *ucchvāsa*, he also mentioned the tools used for robbery. Apahārarman equipped with tools such as a scoop, a whistle, tongs, a sham head, magic powder, a magic wick, a measuring thread, a wrench, a rope, a lamp case and a beetle in a box for robbery. Daṇḍin described that Apahārarman was an expert in digging tunnels like a

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<sup>1</sup> Kale (2003: 38).

son of king Sagara. (for detail story, see Paurāṇika stories in Religion and Philosophy chapter)

Daṇḍin mentioned Karṇīsuta as a leader of robbers. In the Avantisundarīkathā, another text by Daṇḍin, he stated Mūladeva alias Karṇīsuta was a teacher of burglary and snatching etc. As stated by Sastri (1957: xi) in the introduction of the Avantisundarīkathā, “The Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamall was praised in his inscription as Karṇīsuta in his knowledge of arts. In the Mattavilāsa-prahasana of Mahendra Vikrama, Kharapaṭa is said to be the author of *Cora śāstra* (the science of theft) and Kauṭilya in his Arthaśāstra says that the implements of torture should be learned from Kharapaṭa. Bāṇa in his Kādambarī mention the story of Karṇīsuta and the Jaina Upādhyāya Siddhacandra commented on the word quotes a passage identifying Karṇīsuta with Kharapaṭa. The lexicon Tri-kāṇḍaśeṣa of Puruṣottama gives Karṇīsuta, Kharapaṭa, Mūladeva and Kalāṅkura as synonyms.”

In the Kādambarī of Bāṇa, there is a mention of Karṇīsuta as a promoter of burglary.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV.5.10. SOCIAL LIFE

India is a vast country and varied in different regions and classes from the ancient period. In the seventh century CE, a Chinese traveller Xuanzang travelled all over India and recorded his opinions about the people from different parts of India. He noticed that the character of the people was honest. He says “They are of hasty and irresolute temperament, but of pure moral principles. They will not take anything wrongfully and they yield more than fairness requires. They fear the retribution for sins in other lives and make light of what conduct produces in this life. They do not practice deceit and keep their sworn obligation.”<sup>2</sup> He observed that the Kṣatriyas and Brahmins were clean-handed, pure and simple in their lives. At the time of Daṇḍin, though there was *varṇa* system in the society, all people were not following the same. We get references that they changed their profession. Brahmin like Mātaṅga became a robber; Ratnodbhava, son of minister became Vaiśya; Rāgamañjarī, daughter of *gaṇikā* married *kṣatriya* kumāra. These examples show that *varṇa* system was not so rigid at that time.

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<sup>1</sup> Bhagavat (1988: 32).

<sup>2</sup> Majumdar (1954: 570).

Majumdar (1954: 555) has stated that, along with the Gupta period strong brāhmaṇical reaction had set against Buddhism and Jainism. Society tends to follow the social division into four fundamental *varṇas*. In the same period, there was a remarkable development of industry and trade. This resulted in an increase in wealth and prosperity of society. The upper class of society started enjoying a high standard of living and town life. Different literature gave references to the wealth and luxury of the people of that time. The Bṛhatsamhitā mentioned the number of palaces or houses reserved for four *varṇas*. Royal families and nobles have astonishing rich dresses and ornaments. The other texts indicate the luxury of summer houses surrounded by water and fountain houses (*samudragṛha*, *dhārāgṛha*).<sup>1</sup>

In the narration of Viśruta, there was a detailed description that, the king was enjoying music, dancing and drinking alcohol with his friends and *gaṇikās*. In the seventh *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, the king of Kalinga with the royal family and citizens enjoyed *jalakrīdā* on the seashore. They also had pleasure with drinks, music and dance.

Texts like the Śṛṅgāraśataka<sup>2</sup> gave some details about the lifestyle of people through different seasons. In the spring season, people gathered in *latā-maṇḍapa*, with songs and music. In the summer season, girls put pure sandal paste on their hands and gathered at fountain houses.

People were using high and delicate, elegant art of toilets and cosmetics. The use of perfumes, sandal paste and oils was common in society. There are references to the use of camphor with betel leaves, and aloe wood incense for perfuming drinking water. In the first half of the seventh century, Xuanzang mentioned various sanitary practices observed by the people for their personal cleanliness. In the second half of the seventh century, I-Tsing gave a detailed account of sanitary practices and personal hygiene of the people.<sup>3</sup>

We can conclude that ancient India at the time of Daṇḍin had a large number of wealthy and prosperous cities. The capital city has a royal palace and other high towered buildings.

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<sup>1</sup> Majumdar (1954: 571).

<sup>2</sup> Raghavan (1979: 85).

<sup>3</sup> Majumdar (1954: 573).

#### IV.6. RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Religion is undoubtedly the most important aspect of Indian culture. In the purāṇic period, the Vedic pantheon and the sacrificial form of worship gradually became less significant. The Vedic gods became less important. The religious concept in ancient India moved forward from the intangible to the tangible idea of worship. The worship of the image takes the place of sacrificial offerings from the Vedic period. Idols of Viṣṇu, Śiva and other gods, were installed in temples. The gods like Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva became a trinity of major gods. Though Brahmā is notionally recognized to be the creator of the universe, he never gets an important place in the actual religious devotion of the people. Viṣṇu and Śiva became significant gods. They grow in power and they establish their supremacy over other gods.

Majumdar (1954: 367) has explained that “The religion in 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century CE in India has already grown into that montage of various forms, combining the religious and spiritual ideas, both old and new, high and low, losing nothing and eternally adding more and more from new elements introduced into society.” He (1954: 366) further stated that in the post-Gupta period, *purāṇas* performed an important role in religious transformation. They have stories of minor gods and the importance of sacred places (*sthala-māhātmya*) associated with the new gods. The new mode of worshipping, religious acts like *vratas*, *tīrthakṣetras*, *tīrthasnāna*, *dānas* became popular in this period. “Even the whole range of social duties and privileges, including ideas of a moral character, are brought within the orbit of this popular religious cult by suitable stories related about the gods with parables and ethical maxims interspersed throughout them. Along with this popular aspect, the *purāṇas* often discuss also the high philosophical ideas sustaining the new religion.”<sup>1</sup>

As stated by Singh (2013: 434), acknowledgment of other gods and their being also gets respect. Believing in many gods refers to polytheism, but monolatry means the belief in a supreme god without denying the existence of other gods.

The DKC mentioned different types of religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. Daṇḍin in his text had shown the contemporary status of religion.

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<sup>1</sup> Majumdar (1954: 366).

#### IV.6.1. BUDDHISM

As described by Majumdar (1954: 377), Xuanzang noticed the existence of the Hīnayāna sect in several places. Xuanzang's writing describes the unfailing evidence about Buddhism in India in the seventh century CE. He voyaged from 630 CE to 644 CE in India. In Samataṭa (eastern India) and Draviḍa regions he found more than 50 monasteries having thousands of Buddhist monks. Majumdar (1954: 390) mentioned that though Xuanzang gave an excessive condition of Buddhism in India, in many places Buddhism had lost its popularity. In Śrāvastī and Vaiśālī Buddhist monasteries were in uncared condition. Digambara sect of Jainism was in a flourishing condition in parts of India. This condition shows that the status of Buddhism has already limited in the seventh century CE. As per the opinion of Majumdar (1954: 391) Xuanzang's records evidenced that however Buddhism was weakening, it was dominant in some dynamic regions all over India.

In the second *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, a Buddhist nun was shown as a lady messenger of *gaṇikā* Kāmamañjarī. In the story of Nitambavatī, Kalahakaṇṭaka saw a Buddhist nun near the cremation area. She worked as a messenger for him and Nitambavatī.

#### IV.6.2. JAINISM

Jainism was another significant *śramaṇic* religion in ancient India. Along with its spread, there was a shift in its center of gravity. Majumdar (1954: 403) mentioned that due to royal patronage, it spread rapidly and expand all over India. Even though it lost its power in the North, it sustained the support of traders, businessmen and common people also for a long time. In the South, it has a stronghold as ruling families from the South support Jainism. Some changes occurred in the organisation and two sects *viz.* Śvetāmbara and Digambara settled in Jainism. He (1954: 404) further described that in the Gupta period, classical literature in Sanskrit gave evidence of the decline of Jainism. After the Gupta period in the seventh century, Xuanzang recorded monks of both Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects. After the redacting and shaping of the Jaina canon, severe literary activities started by Jaina *sādhus* and *ācāryas*.

In the narration of Apahāravarmaṇ, he saw a Jaina *vihāra* (*kṣapaṇakavihāra*) and Jaina *sādhu* outside the city of Campā. Originally that *sādhu* was Vasupālita, son of *śreṣṭhin* Nidhipālita. After being choused by Kāmamañjarī he lost his everything. He came to one *Jaināyatana*. After listening preaching of a Jaina monk, in frustration, he

became Jaina. He did *keśaluñcana* (plucking hair from the head by hands) by applying mud from the lotus pond. He also gave up his clothing. This description shows the reference to the Digambara sect from the Jaina religion. After realising the falseness of the Jaina religion, he again converted to his original one. He told Apahāravarmaṇ “I covered my body with a thick layer of dirt, smarting under the great pain caused by the plucking of the hair, tormented with severe thirst and hunger, and troubled by severe restraints, in matters such as dwelling, sitting, sleeping and taking food, I thought over my state that, I am a Brāhmaṇa and in following the path of the heretics, I deviate from my proper faith. My ancestors followed the path laid down by the *Vedas* and the *Smṛtis* alone. But I, an unlucky creature, had to follow this unrighteous path of this nature as if it were that of righteousness where the dress is condemnable, which is the abode of excessive suffering, the fruit whereof is hell even after heath owing to one’s having constantly to listen to the blasphemy against the gods Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā and others, which is rewarded with no real fruit, and which is almost a deception.”<sup>1</sup> This event showed that in ancient India conversion system was present in the society.

Daṇḍin has used the words *kṣapaṇaka* and *nirgranthika* to indicate the Jainas. Bhattacharyya (2013: 122) has considered *kṣapaṇaka* as the Buddhist in her thesis. But considering all the descriptions we can say that the *kṣapaṇaka* term should be referred as Jaina and not Buddhist. Kale has also translated *kṣapaṇaka* as Jaina and not Buddhist.

Considering the opinions of Xuanzang, in the seventh century CE, Buddhism was a very popular religion and was practiced by many people. He travelled to most of parts of India and visited many Buddhist *vihāras* in the seventh century CE.<sup>2</sup> But we get such stray references of Buddhism and Jainism in the DKC. Jainism is mentioned as a *pākhaṇḍi patha*. We get references of only *Jaināyatana* and neither Buddha *vihāra* and cave nor a Jaina temple. Considering the religious condition of ancient India in the seventh-eighth century CE, it is not possible that these religions were not prominent at that time. We can say that Daṇḍin as a strong follower of Hinduism omitted the mention of other religions from his story.

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<sup>1</sup> Kale (2003: 53).

<sup>2</sup> preface of Cunningham (2006).

### IV.6.3. VAIṢṆAVISM

Reference of Viṣṇu can be traced in the Rigveda. Singh (2013: 436) states that, there are five hymns mentioning Viṣṇu. He is considered with the solar deities. As explained by Banerjea (2016: 386) in the later development of religion, Viṣṇu became one of the important deities. In the epic and purāṇic period, Viṣṇu is regarded as a preserver of the universe among the trinity. By about the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century CE, Lakṣmī gets absorbed into the Vaiṣṇava cult as the consort of Viṣṇu.

In Vaiṣṇavism, the concept of *avatāras* is very significant and was developed in the Gupta period. As stated by Majumdar (1954: 414) the Bhagavadgītā and some other chapters of the Mahābhārata represent Viṣṇu as an ideal divinity and an almighty savior. The Bhagavadgītā states explicitly that he does it with a specific purpose in order to destroy evil and to protect *dharma*. Traditions regarding the number of *avatāras* varied but the later list refers to ten *avatāras*. The inscription of about eighth century CE in Mahābalipuram near Chennai, mentions ten *avatāras* viz. Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narsimha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Balarāma, Buddha and Kalki.<sup>1</sup>

The worship of some of the *avatāras* can be tested by the Indian epigraphic records of the period between the fourth and the eighth century CE. The Narasimha incarnation is referred to in records like the Alina grant of 766 CE. The most important *avatāra* whose worship was very popular in different parts of India in the Gupta period seems to have been Varāha.<sup>2</sup> The rock-cut caves at Udayagiri and Mahabalipuram have sculptures of Varāha, Narasimha and Vāmana *avatāras*.<sup>3</sup> The temples of Kevala Narasimha and Rudra Narasimha from the Vākāṭaka period are evident that during the Vākāṭaka period worship of Narasimha was also popular.

Daṇḍin himself was a strong follower and devotee of Viṣṇu. In his story, he showed the king Rājahaṃsa of Magadha also a follower of Viṣṇu. In the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, Rājahaṃsa worshipped Nārāyaṇa (one of the names of Viṣṇu) to get a child. Daṇḍin has mentioned different *avatāras* (incarnations) of Viṣṇu in the DKC. In the *maṅgalācarana* he praises Viṣṇu as Trivikrama (Viṣṇu's fifth incarnation as Vāmana) whose foot is like the pole of an umbrella in the form of the universe. His foot is like a stalk of lotus which is the birthplace of Brahmā, his foot covered three worlds and his foot is like a victory banner of a river of sky. In the fifth *ucchvāsa* of

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<sup>1</sup> Report of Madras ASI, No. 26, p. 5; Majumdar (1954: 416).

<sup>2</sup> Majumdar (1954: 417).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 420.



*daśakumāracarita*, he quoted Viṣṇu as *Ādivarāha* which is the third *avatāra* of Viṣṇu in the form of boar. In this *avatāra*, he saved the earth, i.e., Bhūdevī. In the narration of Rājavāhana, we get the reference of *Narasimha*, the fourth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, in the play of *indrajāla*. In *Narasimha avatāra*, he killed the demon Hiraṇyakaśipū to save his follower Pralhāda. In the second *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Daṇḍin has stated Viṣṇu as Hari. Viṣṇu is also identified with the name Hari.

In the other text *Avantisundarīkathā* composed by Daṇḍin, he also mentioned that he visited Māmallapuram to observe the Viṣṇu image on the seashore which was in *anantaśayana* pose.

It shows that up to the sixth-seventh century CE, incarnations of Viṣṇu were established in society. Daṇḍin had a thorough knowledge of *purāṇas*, as these *purāṇas* emphasized the incarnations in the Vaiṣṇavism.

#### IV.6.4. ŚAIVISM

In India, Śaivism is one of the oldest and utmost extensively spread sects. Śiva is considered as the god of destruction among the trinity. Banerjea (2016: 446) states that, he is the great lord (Maheśvara), the greatest of the gods (Mahādeva). He has also been conceived as the lord of all created beings and is often described as Paśupati. The epic or *purāṇic* Śiva had his Vedic and pre-vedic counterparts or prototypes. Rudra was the Vedic counterpart of Śiva. Rudra continued to be one of the principal names of Śiva in the epics and *purāṇas*.

Majumdar (1954: 427) states that two *purāṇas* Matsya and Vāyu which are associated with Śiva, are from the Gupta period. During this period temples and images of Śiva were abundant. He further described that the Pallava king Mahendravarman-I (c. 600–630 CE) was a Jain to start with, and it is said that as a Jaina, he persecuted the followers of other faiths. But when he came under the influence of Saint Appar and adopted Śaivism, he seems to have viewed with disfavor the Jaina doctrine, as a consequence of which its leading exponents fell from grace. After Mahendra became a convert to Śaivism, Kāñcī became a stronghold of Śaivism.

In the story of Apparsvami (Tirunāvukkarasu Svāmī) narrated by Majumdar (1954: 430), he became a religious teacher among the Jainas. He was a contemporary of the great Pallava king Mahendra-I (c. 600-630 CE). He reconverted from Jainism to the Śaiva sect. Alarmed at his increasing popularity, the Jaina preceptors induced the Mahendra-I, to bring him to book. The king was himself a Jaina. He took several tests.

The king was so impressed by the lofty spirituality of the Appar, that he became a convert to Śaivism.

Mānasāra, king of Mālava was a devotee of Śiva. He did penance of lord of Kālī, Mahākāla of Ujjayinī. Being pleased with him, Śiva gave him a weapon. In the second *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Kāmamañjarī a gaṇikā worshipped Śiva by sandal, incense, flower garland, and with dance and song.

Daṇḍin has mentioned Śiva many times in the DKC. He used different names according to Śiva's characteristics. These names are illustrative of Śiva's personification. In the DKC, Śiva was described as carrying a crescent moon on his forehead. He was also mentioned as *bhaktavatsala*. In the *pūrvapīṭhikā* he mentioned Śiva by names - Maheśvara, Girīśa, Purārāti, Śaśikhaṇḍaśekhara, Paśupati, Śitikaṇṭhe, Mahākāla, Gourīpati. Daṇḍin called the temple of Śiva as *śivālaya*. He has described *śivālayas* from various places such as Mahākāla temple at Ujjayinī, Sphaṭikalinga at Daṇḍakāraṇya, the temple of Tryambaka at Śrāvastī and from Banārasi Avimukteśvara temple. In *daśakumāracarita* he mentioned Śiva as – Tyambaka, Hara, Śarva, Bhavānīpati, Candraśekhara, Madanadamana, Dhūrjaṭi, Śaṅkara, Kāmaśāsana, Śiva, Tribhuvaneśvara and Mukteśvara.

Considering above mentioned descriptions we can observe that Śaiva sect was very prominent in the sixth-seventh century CE. Reference of Mahākāla temple from Ujjayinī is the most important one, as still today this temple is a significant place for Śaivites. Mahākāla has been described by poets like Kālidāsa. Bhavabhūti also mentioned the temple of Kālapriyanātha in his plays. Annotators of the plays of Bhavabhūti identify Kālapriyanātha with the Mahākāla of Ujjayinī.<sup>1</sup> The temple of Mahākāla counted among the twelve famous *jyotirlingas* of India. It shows a continuous religious tradition of more than 1,500 years of that place. Erection of Śiva temples in different parts of India and worshipping Śiva were very common. Though Daṇḍin was a follower of Vaiṣṇavism, he gave importance to Śaivism also.

#### IV.6.5. ŚĀKTISM

Śākta cult is one of the important major cults in India. It believes in Śakti, the energetic feminine principle. Originally it is allied with Śiva and then it took a prominent position during the period by various names like Umā, Pārvatī, Durgā etc.

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<sup>1</sup> Mirashi (1960: 37).

In the DKC, people were worshipping goddesses also. Durgā and Vindhyavāsīnī two popular goddesses from Śākta *pantha* were mentioned by Daṇḍin. The tradition of goddess worship in the temple was common at the time of Daṇḍin. In Mahiṣmatī there was a Durgā temple mentioned by Daṇḍin. The *uttarapīṭhikā* chapter gave an account of the Bhavānī goddess. Viśruta spread a rumor that prince Bhāskara had been boon by goddess Bhavānī. Other goddesses mentioned by Daṇḍin were Durgā as somāpidā, Sarasvatī, Ambikā, Lakṣmī. In the narration of Arthapāla, Tārāvalī visited the temple at Śrāvastī to worship goddess Ambikā. Tāntric rituals were also performed by tribal people in the society. In the first *ucchvāsa* of *pūrvapīṭhikā*, *kirātas* were doing the human sacrifice of a child in a beautiful temple of Caṇḍikā.

Vindhyavāsīnī is mentioned as the prominent goddess by Daṇḍin. She is basically a warrior goddess. We get a reference in Devīmāhātmya, “When the twenty-eight age has arrived during the period of Vaivasvata Manu, two other great asurās, Śumbha and Niśumbha will be born. Then born from the womb of Yaśodā, in the home of cowherd Nanda, and dwelling on the Vindhya mountains, I will destroy them both.”<sup>1</sup> We can find types of goddesses as consorts and warriors. The form of a warrior goddess is to destroy demons. As stated by Yokochi (2004: 16), the warrior goddess attains the position of the supreme goddess. Pārvatī who was a consort goddess, developed herself into a warrior goddess by absorbing Vindhyavāsīnī. He further explained that “in the Harivamśa, Vindhyavāsīnī was assimilated to Nidrā, the female personification of Viṣṇu’s cosmic sleep, and on the other hand Kṛṣṇā’s foster sister Yogamāyā.” A goddess like Vindhyavāsīnī may be developed to integrate popular local/tribal goddesses which have a close affinity with tāntric Śaivism.

In the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, the temple of Vindhyavāsīnī is mentioned to be in Dāmalipta nagarī though she was a goddess of Vindhya mountain. A festival known as *kandukotsava* was celebrated every year by king Tuṅgadhanvā, as due to the boon of Vindhyavāsīnī he became a father of two children. Princess Kandukāvatī performed a dance with a ball (*kandukanṛitya*) to worship goddess Vindhyavāsīnī. In the narration of Viśruta, he took shelter in the temple of Vindhyavāsīnī with prince Bhāskara in Vindhyācala.

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<sup>1</sup> Sivanand (2011: 123).

Though Viṣṇu and Śiva were important deities in ancient India, goddesses also had a significant religious position. The Śākta cult basically evolved from Śaivism and was popular in the sixth-seventh century CE in India.

#### IV.6.6. OTHER GODS

Let us have a look at the other gods mentioned by Daṇḍin in the DKC.

##### a) Kārtikeya

The popularity of the goddess Durgā was shared to some extent by her two sons Kārtikeya and Gaṇeśa. In the Gupta period, we can observe it by the names of Gupta kings as Kumāragupta and Skandagupta which are the names of Kārtikeya. The temples of Kārtikeya are generally placed on hilltops.

Daṇḍin has described a temple of Kārtikeya at Śrāvastī in the fifth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. There was a festival in the month of Phālguna. Kārtikeya is mentioned as a mighty brave god.

##### b) Gaṇeśa

Gaṇeśa has a sect of his own known as Gāṇapatya in later times. Gaṇeśa became a popular god as he was the remover of all obstacles and the bestower of success.

In the narration of Upahārarman, Daṇḍin described him as *hastivaktro bhagavāna*. Gaṇeśa came in the dreams of Upahārarman and told that he was an *anśa* of Gaṇeśa and Kalpasundarī is a form of Gaṅgā. They both took birth in this life due to the curse.

##### c) Brahmā/Brahman/Brahmadeva

Brahman is the first deity among the trinity of gods. He is assigned the creation of the universe. Banerjea (2016: 512) states that Brahmā also known as Prajāpati, Dhātā, Vidhātā, Pitāmaha etc., was further developed in the epic literature. In later times he became a non-significant deity as Śiva and Viṣṇu. Brahmā has no success as a cult god. Even temples asserted to him are very rare.

Daṇḍin has described Brahmā as the lord of the universe (*pitāmaha*) in the narration of Apahārarman. He was born in a lotus from the naval of Viṣṇu (*Abjabhū*). In the DKC, Brahmā was considered one of the trinity of gods in the narration of

Mantragupta. In the second *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, he is mentioned as Hiranyagarbha.

#### d) Indra

Indra was considered as the most powerful deity since the Ṛgveda period. In a later period, he was replaced by other purāṇic deities like Viṣṇu and Śiva. Śacī is his wife so he is known as Śacīpati. Banerjea (2016: 522) stated that Indra had no cult of his own but in the ancient period people paid homage to him. In the story of uplifting the mountain Govardhana, worship of Indra is mentioned. Also, a festival for Indra, Śakramaha or Indradhvaja festival was famous and much evidences from literature can be traced.

Daṇḍin has described Indra as *daśaśatākṣa* and *sahasrākṣa*, i.e., having thousand eyes in *daśakumāracarita*. He was considered as Māghavata, who is the reason of the rain. In the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, Pāṭaliputra was compared with Amarāvati, the city of Indra for its beautifulness. Daṇḍin has mentioned the city of Indra by another name, i.e., *Purandaarpura* in the same story. In the narration of Rājavāhana, a garden of Indra is mentioned as *Nandana*. In the story of Dhūminī, Indra was associated with a cause of rain. Indra did not rain for twelve years and there was a famine.

#### e) Yama

Yama is considered as a god of death. He holds a Kāladaṇḍa or Yamadaṇḍa in his hand.

In the DKC, Daṇḍin has described *pretapuri* (*yamaloka*) a city of the dead in detail while describing the story of Mātāṅga. In *yamaloka*, Citragupta showed him the various places where the sinners undergo various types of tortures like being fastened to red-hot iron pillars, thrown into huge boiling oil and their limbs were peeled with sharp chisels.

#### f) Kāmadeva

Kāmadeva is a god of desire. Kulkarni (2023: 273) states that, Kāmadeva was worshiped for fulfilling various desires related to health, wealth, fertility, love life and other pleasures. Kāmadeva is a personification of the power of desire and personification of handsome male beauty. Generally, he is seen as a symbol and god of youthfulness, romance and physical charm.

In the DKC, we can observe that Kāmadeva was popular all over society. Daṇḍin has given several names for Kāmadeva as Madana, Manoj, Puṣpasāyaka and Manobhava in the *pūrvapīṭhikā*. In *daśakumāracarita*, Kāmadeva was referred as Kusumaśara, Kandarpa, Anaṅga, Makaraketana, Nakraketan, Pañcaśara, Manmatha, Kusumadhanvan and Mīnaketana. He is associated with Rati so mentioned as Ratisahacara. Pankaj (2002: 227) has described “The different accompaniment (*sainyas*) of Madana have been referred to by the author. A swarm of bees (*rolambāvati*), the moon (*rajnikara*), the repository of pleasure of loveliness; *mīna*, the banner of victory; the breeze of Malaya, the principal hero among its warrior; the tender sprout, the sharp scimitar for rending the hearts of persons away from home; the conch of victory-the two pitchers, full of water; the pair of the lotus stalk, matchless in delicacy and serving as Kāma’s bowstring; the partially opened lotus bud have been mentioned by Daṇḍin.” The blue lotus (*kuvalayaśara*) is his arrow. He is mentioned as Vasantabandhu in the narration of Apahāravarman. His chariot is *jaitraratha* as mentioned in the *pūrvapīṭhikā*. Temples dedicated to Kāmadeva or Madana are mentioned in the DKC. In the narration of Rājavāhana, princess Avantisundarī worshipped Kāmadeva with sandal, fruits, flowers etc. along with her friend Bālacandrikā in *vasant-utsava*.

The above examples from the DKC show that God was considered as the supreme power in ancient India. People worshipped various gods and goddesses for fulfilling their desires and wishes. Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Śākta cults were prominent at the time of the DKC. Kāmadeva not as a mainstream deity but also popular in society. At the time of Daṇḍin, Kārtikeya still has some importance but Ganeśa has not become as popular as today. Worship of Brahmā, Sūrya was not mentioned by Daṇḍin neither there was any reference of their temple.

#### IV.6.7. OTHER SECTS

References of other sects like Siddha and Kāpālīka were mentioned a few times in the DKC. Devraj (1950: 492) has stated that Kāpālīka is a sect of Śaivism which is a tāntric cult of *aghora mārga*. They follow six *sādhanas* as eating in *kapāla*, using ash from dead bodies, using *laguḍa*, drinking alcohol and following tāntric rituals. They are devotees of Bhairava. Banerjea (2016:451) stated that the Kāpālīkas, the Kālāmukhas and similar other Śaiva sects of a *ghora* type were developed at a fairly early date from the Pāśupata sect as organised by Lakulīśa.

In the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Viśruta and prince Bhāskaravarman became Kāpālīka ascetics to hide from their enemy. The narration of Mantragupta mentioned one tāntric who was performing human sacrifice.

#### IV.6.8. IDOL WORSHIP

The origin of idol worship in India traces back to a very ancient period. Evidence of image worship is found in early Sanskrit literature. The idol or images of gods and goddesses are worshiped in houses and in temples also. Rao (1914: 61) described that these images can be classified into three types. moveable (*cala*), immoveable (*acala*) and moveable-immoveable (*calācala*). *Cala* images are made of wood or metal and used for procession in *utsava* or on festive occasions. *Acala* images are mainly made of stone permanently fixed in the main shrine, *garbhagṛha* of the temple.

Majumdar (1954: 367) has referred to some characteristic features of the religion of this period from the Viṣṇudharmottara *purāṇa* that, worship can be possible only if he endowed with form. This form is a manifestation of a supreme deity. It must be worshipped with proper rites. These elaborated the iconographic evolution of the deity and other gods also get merged into the religion of the period.

In the DKC there are several references to idol worship. Daṇḍin has mentioned the temples of Śiva, Kāmadeva, Vindhyavāsini, Caṇḍikā, Durgā, Kārtikeya, etc. Various objects used for worship like sandal paste, flowers, garlands, fruits, incense, etc. have been described by Daṇḍin. Śiva was worshipped in the form of the *liṅga* as mentioned in the second *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*. In the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, there was a mention of a metal pedestal of goddess Vindhyavāsini. Above mentioned examples show that idol worship was prevalent in the seventh century CE.

#### IV.6.9. PURUṢĀRTHA

Kane (1941: 4) has explained that according to the writers of the *dharmaśāstras*, *dharma* is not meant as religion. *Dharma* is a mode of life or a code of conduct, which regulated a man's work and activities as a member of society. *Dharma* was divided into various divisions such as *śrauta* and *smārta*. Kane stated more comprehensive classification as, *dharma* of *varṇas*, *āśramadharmā*, *guṇadharmā*, *māimittika dharmā*, *sādhāraṇa dharmā*. From ancient times, to cultivate high moral qualities in society the doctrine of goal or *puruṣārtha* was explained. They are four *viz.* *dharma* (right

conduct), *artha* (economic interests), *kāma* (satisfaction of sexual, emotional and artistic life) and *mokṣa* (liberation of spirit).<sup>1</sup> The Mahābhārata and other *dharmaśāstra* writers mentioned different opinions about these four *puruṣārthas*. Kane (1941: 9) asserts, according to the Mahābhārata *dharma* is the source of both *artha* and *kāma*; according to Gautama, *dharma* should be most important; Āpastambha declares that man should enjoy all such pleasures which are not against *dharma*. Kauṭilya says *kāma* can be enjoyed if there is no conflict with *dharma* and *artha*. In the Arthaśāstra he stated that *artha* is the prime because *dharma* and *kāma* both rest on *artha*.

In the DKC, Daṇḍin has mentioned about the *puruṣārthas*. In the narration of Apahāravarman, there was a conversation between *gaṇikā* Kāmamañjarī and sage Marīci on *puruṣārthas*. She stated foolish people place *artha* and *kāma* with equal to *Dharma*. According to her *artha* and *kāma* cannot come into being without *dharma*; but even without regard to them, *dharma* alone is the cause of *mokṣa*. It can be attained only by the concentration of the mind. Like *artha* and *kāma*, *dharma* does not depend on external means. With the help of knowledge of reality, it is not affected by *artha* and *kāma*. To explain her point, she mentioned some stories of Brahmā, Kṛṣṇa, Indra, Bṛhaspati and Parāśara from the *purāṇas*.<sup>2</sup> She emphasized that *dharma* is all above the others *artha* and *kāma*. Sage Marīci asked her about their nature and their results. Then she replied “*artha* is of the form its acquisition, increase and conservation; its concomitants are agriculture, rearing up of cattle, trade, peace, war; and its final object is its bestowal on deserving persons. *Kāma* is a peculiar kind of touch yielding the highest pleasure to persons whose hearts are deeply attached to sensual objects; its concomitants all that is lovely and bright in this world; its fruit is the highest gratification, which gives the highest delight, which springs up from mutual, close contact, which is sweet to remember, in which all self-conceit disappears, which is supreme, which is bliss directly enjoyed, and which is to be felt by one’s own self only.”<sup>3</sup> In the third *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, after listening narration of Upahāravarman, Rājavāhana explained that the use of fraud to some extent can help to achieve *dharma* and *artha*.

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<sup>1</sup> Kane (1941: 8).

<sup>2</sup> For detailed stories, see the discussion under the heading Purāṇic Stories found in the DKC.

<sup>3</sup> Kale (2003: 50).



#### IV.6.10. FOURTEEN LOKAS

Daṇḍin has mentioned fourteen worlds (*lokas*) and the universe (Brahmāṇḍa) in the conversation between Rājavāhana and Avantisundarī.

Mani (1984: 456) has described the universe or Brahmāṇḍa is made of seven layers (*kośas*). Those are concentric layers, and each of them covers the one before it. The innermost *kośa* is very small. Every *kośa* originates from the first one. The seventh *kośa* originates from the first *kośa* and bursting forth through the other six *kośas* spreads out for millions of miles around. If we cut the Brahmāṇḍa vertically, the earth (*Bhuloka*) is the extreme innermost part. In the upper part, other *lokas* in succession are *Bhuvanloka*, *Svarloka*, *Maharloka*, *Janaloka*, *Tapoloka* and *Satyaloka*. The *lokas* in lower half part are *Atala*, *Vitala*, *Sutala*, *Talātala*, *Mahātala*, *Rasātala*, and *Pātāla*. Poddar (1989: 446) has described in detail about these *lokas*. In *Atala*, there resides an *asura* named *Bala*. In *Vitala* there is Hāṭakesvara, a form of Śiva. *Sutala* is considered as greatest of all *lokas*. In *Sutala*, Virocanakumāra Bali resides there. Below *Sutala* in *Talātala* where king of *asura*, Maya is there. Maya was the owner of Tripura *nagara*. In *Mahātala* there is *nāgaloka*. Some significant *nāgas* are Kuhaka, Takṣaka, Suśeṇa etc. Below that in *Rasātala* many *asuras* reside there. The last one is *Pātālaloka* where various kinds of serpents reside. They have five, seven even hundreds of hoods. The main among them is the Vāsuki.

This Brahmāṇḍa comprises of Sun, Moon, Stars and also Śukra, Budha, Aṅgāraka, Bṛhaspati, Śani, Saptarṣis, Dhruva, Śimśumāra and Rāhu, called the Jyotiścakra.

#### Rasātala – Pātāla

In the fourth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, there was a reference of *Rasātala*, where Manikarṇikā and other girls were living. Arthapāla accidentally came there and he married Manikarṇika.

In the second *ucchvāsa* of *pūrvapīṭhikā*, Rājavāhana entered *Pātālaloka* with Mātāṅga. There they mate Kālindī who was the daughter of *asurarāja*. Daṇḍin has mentioned this region as *Rasātala* also. He didn't make a difference between *Rasātala* and *Pātāla*.

#### IV.6.11. NARAKA

Mani (1984: 367) has described the *Naraka*. Hell (*Naraka*) is the world called as *pitṛloka* in the middle of the three worlds, on their southern side below the earth and above the *Atalaloka*. The Agniṣvāttas and other *pitṛs* stay there in a meditative trance for securing prosperity for those who come to *pitṛloka*. Yama is the ruler of *pitṛloka*. Since he is scrupulous in imparting justice, he is also called as *yamadharma*. According to virtues and vices during their earthly lives, he administers justice with an even hand to all living beings brought there by *yamadūtas*. He has the power to assess the virtues and vices of people and to assign suitable punishments to them, but not to alter the laws or methods of punishment. Sinners are sent to the different *narakas* by *yamadharma* according to the nature and seriousness of their sins. The *purāṇas* mentions twenty-eight *narakas* in all.

Below is the list of twenty-eight *narakas* as mentioned by Mani (1984: 368-70) *Tāmisram, Andhatāmtsram, Rauravam, Mahārauravam, Kumbhīpākam, Kālasūtram, Asi(ta)patram, Sūkaramukham, Andhakūpam, Kṛmibhojanam, Taptamūrti, Śālmali, Vajraṅṅakaśāli, Vaitaraṅī, Pūyodakam, Prāṇarodham, Viśasanam, Lālābhakṣam, Sārameyāśanam, Avīci, Ayaḥpānam, Kṣhāarakardamam, Rakṣobhakṣam, Śūlaprotam, Dandaśūkam, Vatarodham, Paryāvartanakam, Sūcīmukham.*

In the second *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, Daṇḍin has described *naraka* in detail. Mātāṅga after his death entered the *yamaloka*. He saw Yama seated upon a lofty throne studded with splendid jewels in the midst of the assembly and surrounded on all sides by men, in a restored form. He has a minister named Citragupta who showed various places of torture from *naraka* to Mātāṅga. The sinners were being fastened to red-hot iron pillars, hurled into huge caldrons of scalding oil, and had their limbs shattered with clubs or pealed with sharp chisels. As Mātāṅga died in the defense of a Brāhmaṇa, his former sins have been eradicated. He restored his previous body.

The detailed descriptions about *lokas* and *naraka* portrayed by Daṇḍin indicate his deep knowledge of the *purāṇas*.

#### IV.6.12. PURĀṆIC STORIES IN THE DKC

In the second *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Kāmamajarī, a prostitute tried to deceive sage Marīci. One day she was discussing topics like Dharma, Artha and Kāma with sage Marīci. She said that Dharma transcends Artha and Kāma. Artha and Kāma depend on external means, but Dharma alone is the creative cause of Mokṣa. It can be attainable

only by the concentration of the mind. The true knowledge does not get affected by the Artha and Kāma, and even if affected, it is set right by the little exertion. It conduces to the highest bliss by eradicating that defect. While explaining her point she gave some examples of stories from different Purāṇas. After listening to these examples, sage Marīci said “You have taken a proper view in that you say that the Dharma of him who has known the Truth is not obstructed by worldly enjoyment. But we, from our birth, are quite ignorant of matters relating to Artha and Kāma.”

1) पितामहस्य तिलोत्तमाभिलाषः

This story comes in Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata. Tilottama was created by Brahma for a special purpose. To kill asura brothers Sunda and Upasunda Brahma ordered Viśvakarman to create a beautiful lady. Some Purāṇas say when Brahmadeva saw her he got attracted to her because of her beauty and he created five heads to see her.

2) भवानीपतेर्मुनिपत्नीसहस्रसंदूषणम्

Appar, the grand old Saint poet of *Thevaram*, describes Shiva’s strange behavior toward the wives of *rishis* of the *Tarukavanam*.<sup>1</sup>

3) पद्मनाभस्य षोडशसहस्रान्तःपुरविहारः

According to the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, when Kṛṣṇa killed Narakāsura, he freed more than sixteen thousand girls. They were used as slaves of Narakāsura. After getting released these girls requested Kṛṣṇa to marry them. Because people would never accept them as if they were slaves. Therefore Kṛṣṇa married them all and took them to Dvārakā.

4) प्रजापतेः स्वदुहितर्यपि प्रणयप्रवृत्तिः

Kālikāpurāṇa mentioned one story of Brahmā, that he got affection to his own daughter Sandhya. She became doe and Brahmā became deer and ran after her. After seeing this

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<sup>1</sup> article by Somasundaram (2017).

Śiva cut the head of Brahmā with his arrow. Mythologically the cut head of Brahma became *mrugaśirā nakṣatra*.

5) शचीपतेरहल्याजारता

In Vedic stories Indra takes the form of Sūrya and goes to Uṣā. But in purāṇas and Rāmāyaṇa, when Gautama Riṣī went for bathing, Indra came in the form of Gautama and cheated his wife Ahalyā.

6) शशाङ्कस्य गुरुतल्पगमनम्

As mentioned in the Viṣṇupurāṇa, after the Rajasuya yagna, Candra became arrogant and he abducted Tārā, wife of guru Bṛhaspati. Brahmadeva told him many times but Candra did not listen to it. In the battle, Śiva cut the body of Candra in two parts. After that, he returned Tārā to Bṛhaspati. Budha was born from the Candra and Tārā.

7) अंशुमालिनो बडवा लङ्घनम्

Sañjnā, daughter of Viṣvakarman was married to Anśumālin (Surya). But due to the heat of Surya, she came back. She started penance in the form of a female horse. Surya came there in the form of a horse and from their relationship, the twin Aśvinīkumāras were born.

8) अनिलस्य केसरिकलत्रसमागमः

Añjanā was the wife of *kapi-rāja* Kesarī. One day while she was sitting on the mountain, Vāyu saw her and got attracted. She had relation with him on the condition that her virginity would remain. From their relationship, Hanūmat was born.

9) बृहस्पतेरुतथ्यभार्याभिसरणम्

Mamatā was the wife of Utatthya, who was the elder brother of Bṛhaspati. One day Bṛhaspati gets attracted to her. She refused it but he did not listen to her and make a relation.

10) पराशरस्य दाशकन्यादूषणम्

Satyavatī was the daughter of Dāśarāja. She was working on a boat to cross the river. One day ṛṣi Parāśara came on the boat. When the boat was in the middle of the river, he had sex with her. From their relationship, Vyāsa was born.

11) पाराशर्यस्य भ्रातृदारसंगतिः

After the marriage with king Śāntanu, Satyavatī had a son Vicitravīrya. But he died without having a child. Satyavati called her previous son Vyāsa to have *niyoga* with the wives of Vicitravīrya. From their *niyoga*, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu and Vidura were born.

12) अत्रेर्मृगीसमागमः

Atri was famous ṛṣi, but once he had a relationship with a doe. Even though he composed many *ślokās*.

The stories mentioned above are from different purāṇic literature. As Kāmamañjarī knew these stories, these must have been familiar at the time Daṇḍin. It also shows that prostitutes had the knowledge of *purāṇas* in ancient times.

13) Story of Sagaraputras

Sagara was the king from Sūryavaṁśa. While performing Aśvamedha sacrifice he appointed his sixty thousand sons for the protection of horse of sacrifice. However, Indra abducted this horse and kept it in the *pātāla*. Sixty thousand *sagaraputras* dug the earth up to the *pātāla* and brought back the horse.

In the second *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Apahāravarmaṇ refers to the *sagaraputras* who were famous for digging the ground.

#### 14) Story of Ganeśa and Gaṅgā

In the third *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Upahāravarman fell in love with Kalpasundarī. But she was already married to king Vikaṭavarman. He thought it would be a sinful act to love a married woman. On account of the violation of another's wife, Dharma may be obstructed. He thought the writers of the sacred books allowed such acts if it was related to wealth and love. While in sleep he had a dream. Ganeśa came to his dream and said, "Upahāravarman, don't you have any misgivings since you are a portion of me, and that beautiful lady is the heavenly river. Once she not like my wading through her stream, denounced a curse upon me that I should be born a mortal. In return I also cursed her that she should also be a mortal and that, as here, she should be an object of common enjoyment. She then addressed a request to me, saying, being the wife of one man first, I should sport throughout my life with you, ministering to your comfort. So, this is a matter destined to happen, and you should have no scruples about it at all."

During this research, the last story about Ganeśa and Gaṅgā was not found in many purāṇas. We can conclude that this story was not famous or may have been created by Daṇḍin to explain the act of Upahāravarman, to marry another's wife.

### IV.7. CULTURAL STUDY

#### IV.7.1. SAṂSKĀRA

In ancient Indian tradition, various rites had a very important place. Different rites were to be performed at different stages of human life from birth to death. As stated by Kane (1941: 192) "The *saṁskāra* had been treated from very ancient times as necessary for unfolding the latent capacities of man for development and as being the outward symbols or signs of the inner change, which would fit human beings for corporate life and they also tended to confer a certain status on those who underwent them." *Smṛtigranthas* also give information about these *saṁskāras*.

Some of the important *saṁskāras* mentioned by Kane (1941: 194) are as follows- *garbhādhāna*, *puṁsavana*, *sīmantonayana*, *nāmakaraṇa*, *jātakarma*, *niṣkramaṇa*, *annaprāśana*, *cūḍākaraṇa*, *karṇavedha*, *vidyārambha*, *upanayana*,

*vedārambha, samāvartana, vivāha* and *antyeṣṭi*. In DKC Daṇḍin has mentioned some of these *saṃskāras*.

**a) Garbhādhāna**

As mentioned by Kane (1941: 201) this ceremony can be traced back to the Atharvaveda. The *smṛtis* and *nibandhas* added many details to this ritual. On the basis of the Manusmṛti and Yājñyavalkasmṛti, Kane (1941: 205) stated that it is a *saṃskāra* of the *garbha* and not of the woman. According to some texts, *garbhādhāna* ceremony should be performed after marriage only once, while some texts stated that this has to be performed after every menses till conception.

In the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīthikā*, queen Vasumati saw a dream at the time of dawn. After the *garbhādhāna* ritual, she got pregnant.

**b) Sīmantonnayana**

As described by Kane (1941: 222) literal meaning of this word is parting of the hair. This has to be performed in the fourth month of pregnancy. Even though this rite is religious, it is also of social and festive nature envisioned to maintain the good mood of the pregnant woman.

Daṇḍin has mentioned in the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīthikā* that, king Rājahaṃsa of Magadha, organized this ceremony for his queen in a grand manner. His friends and family had gathered together for this function. The king of Mithilā, Prahāravarman also came with his family to attend this ceremony.

**c) Jātakarman**

On the basis of the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra, Kane (1941: 231) has described *jātakarman* ceremony. In this ceremony when the son is born, his father should touch him, and the child should be given to lick honey. Then the father mutters *medhājanana* in the ears of the child.

In the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīthikā*, the king Rājahaṃsa performed the rite of *jātakarma* after the birth of his son and named him Rājavāhana. At the time of the ritual, the prince was adorned with ornaments.

#### d) Nāmakaraṇa

This is the ceremony of naming a child. Kane (1941: 232) stated that the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra does not prescribe a separate *nāmakaraṇa* ceremony but a secret name should be given to the child on the day of birth.

In the DKC, we get a reference that the *nāmakaraṇa* ceremony of ten *kumāras* was performed at the time of *jātakarma*. The names of the ten *kumaras* show their specific meaning. *Brāhmiṇa kumāras* are named as Śarmā, *Kṣatriya kumāras* are Varmā and *Vaiśya kumāras* are Gupta.

#### e) Cūḍākarāṇa

*Cūḍākarman* or *cūḍākarāṇa* is the ritual to cut child's hair on his head for the first time. Kane (1941: 260) has described the meaning of *cūḍā* as “lock of hair kept on the head when the remaining part is shaved, so *cūḍākarāṇa* means that rite in which a lock of hair is kept for the first time after birth. According to many writers *cūḍākarāṇa* was performed in the first or third year from birth”

In the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, Daṇḍin mentioned the ritual of *cūḍākarāṇa*.

#### f) Upanayana

The literal meaning of the word Upanayana is taking near to *ācārya*. Kane (1941: 269) has explained that “upanayana is a *saṃskāra* (purificatory rite) laid down by revelation for him who seeks learning. This would mean that *upanayana* principally is *gāyatriyupadeśa* (the imparting of the sacred Gāyatrī *mantra*).”

In the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā* after the *upanayana* ritual (thread ceremony) ten *kumaras* started their education. In the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Bhāskaravarman, son of Anantavarman was shaved on an auspicious day, then Viśruta had performed his *upanayana* ritual by the family priest. Then after Bhāskaravarman started his education in politics.

#### g) Vivāha

Among all *saṃskāras* marriage (*vivāha*) is the most important one. Kane (1941: 427) has defined that “several words are employed to denote the idea of marriage that indicate one or more elements of the *saṃskāra* of marriage. Such words are *udvāha*



(taking the girl out of her parental home), *vivāha* (taking the girl away in a special way or for a special purpose, i.e., for making her one's wife), *pariṇaya* or *pariṇayana* (going round, i.e., making a *pradakṣiṇā* to fire), *upayama* (to bring near and make one's own), and *pāṇigrahaṇa* (taking the hand of the girl). Though these words express only one component element of the rite of marriage they are all used in the *śāstras* to indicate the totality of the several acts that go to make up the ceremony of marriage.”

On the basis of the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra, Kane (1941: 432) said “one should marry a girl who is endowed with intelligence, beauty, a good character and auspicious characteristics and who is healthy.” Some *smṛtis*<sup>1</sup> mentioned that the girl should be possessed of auspicious characteristics. These *lakṣaṇas* are of two kinds, *bāhya* (visible) and *ābhyantara* (invisible). In the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Śaktikumāra first observed the *lakṣaṇas* of Gominī for the ideal bride and then he decided to marry her.

#### IV.7.2. RITUALS

Rituals are an essential part of ancient society. Two types of rituals are mentioned, daily rituals (*nitya*) and occasional rituals (*naimityika*). In this chapter, only those rituals are discussed which are mentioned in the DKC by Daṇḍin.

##### a) Sandhyā

Sandhyā is a daily ritual. The actual meaning of the word *sandhyā* is twilight. The prayer performed in the morning and evening twilight is known as *sandhyāvandana*. Kane (1941:313) has stated that generally the *sandhyā* is prescribed twice a day. He further described that in ancient times offering water to the Sun in worship and recitation of Gāyatrī mantra are the main rituals of *sandhyā*.

We get to know about daily practices like *sandhyā* in the story of Pramati in the fifth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. He told Rājavāhana how he performed his daily rituals even while he was traveling. When he was in Vindhyācala area he performed his evening rituals like *ācamana* and *sandhyā* in a small pond. In the second the *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Apahārarvarmana did his daily evening rituals (*sandhyāvandana*) at the *āśrama* of sage Marīci. In the narration of Upahārarvarman, he did his morning

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<sup>1</sup> Manu. III.4 and Yāj. I.52.

daily auspicious rituals<sup>1</sup> after bath and then he met his ministers in the third ucchvāsa of *daśakumāracarita*. Daṇḍin has mentioned many rules from the Arthaśāstra and the Nītisāra. While explaining the duties of the king he mentioned evening rituals should be performed by the king in the eighth ucchvāsa of *daśakumāracarita*.

### b) Worship

*Devapūjā* is considered as one type of worship of the god. As stated by Kane (1941: 729) *devapūjā* contains certain items and stages called as *upacāras*. Some of these *upacāras* are *snāna*, *vastra*, *gandha*, *puṣpa*, *dhūpa*, *dīpa*, *naivedya* etc.

In the second ucchvāsa of *daśakumāracarita*, for the daily ritual of worshipping the god, Kāmamañjarī collected flowers. She also prepared offerings of different sorts and kept ready the sandal paste, flowers, frank incense and lamp light.

In ancient times there must have been a tradition of worshipping the hearth before cooking. The sixth ucchvāsa of *daśakumāracarita* mentions that Gominī worshiped the hearth before she started cooking. But Kane didn't mention this tradition in his History of Dharmashastra.

### c) Marriage Rituals

At the time of marriage, the fire (*Agni*) was considered very important as a witness. As quoted by Kane (1941: 540) the Kāmasūtra mentioned the undisputed opinion of the ācāryas that marriage performed by witnessing the *agni* cannot be withdrawn.

In the DKC we get to know that marriages were performed as per tradition. Rājavāhana and Avantisundarī, Kāmapāla and Kāntimatī, Arthapāla and Maṇikarnikā, Puṣpodbhava and Bālacandrikā, Mantragupta and Kanakalekhā, all these marriages were performed keeping fire as a witness and with an incantation. The ritual of *pāṇigrahaṇa* is mentioned in the second and the fourth *ucchvāsas* of *daśakumāracarita*. The marriage of Śaktikumāra and Gomati was performed with traditional rituals and keeping fire as a witness in the sixth ucchvāsa of *daśakumāracarita*.

In the DKC there are many mentions of *kautukasūtra* being tied at the time of marriage. According to Kane (1941: 536) in the marriage ritual called *ārdrākṣatāropana*, a thread with turmeric piece on each other's hand should tie. This is

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<sup>1</sup> स्नात्वा कृतमङ्गलो...

called *kañkaṇa-bandhana* or *kautuka-bandhana*. In the first *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, the auspicious marriage thread called *kautukamaṅgala* was tied to both bride and groom. This thread is to be tied before the marriage ceremony. But as mentioned by Kane (1941: 536), in the *Raghuvamśa*, Kālidāsa has described *ādrākṣatā-ropaṇa* as the last of the marriage rituals and he also speaks of the *kautuka*.

In the second *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, reference of *maṅgalasūtra* can be traced. This *sūtra* was described as *kautukasūtra* or *maṅgalapratīśara* by Daṇḍin. Kane (1941: 537) has stated that *maṅgalasūtra-bandhana* is a different ritual in marriage ceremonies. He quoted “Gadādhara says that *maṅgala-sūtra* should be worn and garlands be placed round their necks by the bride and bride-groom, though the *sūtra* of the Pāraskara is silent on the point.”

Daṇḍin does not give much information about the other marriage rituals. But he gave importance to the *vidhīvata* marriage and witnessing *agni*.

#### d) Pāvaka Saṃskāra

Funeral rites, i.e., *antyeṣṭi* is one of sixteen *saṃskāras* according to different *smṛtis* as mentioned by Kane (1953: 190). There are two *saṃskāras* of every human being that must be performed *viz.* *saṃskāras* on birth and on death.

Daṇḍin has mentioned this last ritual as *pāvaka saṃskāra*. There are many references to this *saṃskāra* and *dāhasthāna*, i.e., cremation area outside the city in the DKC. Kane (1953: 205) mentioned that *śmaśāna/dāhasthāna* should be open on all sides. It should flourish in herbs but not with thorny plants. There should be water flowing nearby. These are the required characteristics for the cremation area.

In the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, a disciple of *ācārya* Vāmadeva performed a *pāvaka saṃskāra* of Satyavarman’s wife. There was mention of *agnisaṃskāra* in the second *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. The sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita* described that there was a separate cremation area for elite people in the society and Kalaha-kaṇṭaka started working there. He took care of the cemetery by covering the dead bodies with a piece of cloth. In the seventh *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Mantragupta came to Kaliṅgadeśa and he took a rest at *dāhasthāna* outside the city area. Queen Vasundharā performed the *pāvaka saṃskāra* of the king Pracaṇḍavarman in the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*.

### e) Sacrifice

In ancient India, there was a tradition of sacrifice. The sacrifice was a way to influence the gods in favour of the *yajamāna*. In sacrifice, these offerings were carried out from earth to the gods in heaven by fire, i.e., the *agnī*. As stated by Majumdar (:381) the *āprī-sūktas* indicated animal sacrifices and the actual human sacrifice was not described in the *Puruṣa-sūkta*.

In the DKC, the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā* mentioned king Rājahaṁsa performed different types of sacrifices. He also donated Brahmins in these *yajñas*. King Vikaṭavarman used milk, ghee, blood, meat etc. while worshiping god and sacrifice rituals.

We observe that human sacrifice was not unknown at the time of Daṇḍin. The first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā* mentioned a human sacrifice. One of the *kirātas* wanted to sacrifice a boy, who was the son of Mithilānareśa. Later on, he was saved by a *Brahminkumāra*. In the narration of Mantragupta, he saw a *tāntrika* performing a ritual who covered his body with ashes and used human bones, and skull as ornaments. The *tāntrika* gave *āhuti* of sesame and mustard seeds to fire with his left hand. He ordered his servant *kinnara* to bring princess Kanakalekhā, daughter of king Kardana from the palace. That *tāntrika* desired to sacrifice princess Kanakalekhā as a victim, so he tried to strike off her head with a sword on a whetting stone.

In the DKC we get some references of rituals from the Atharvaveda as mentioned by Daṇḍin. In the narration of Upahāvarman, he planned to kill king Vikaṭavarman. As suggested by him, a fire altar was prepared and animal sacrifice was done according to the Atharvaveda. For the ritual, offerings were used such as milk, ghee, curds, sesamum, white mustard, fat, flesh and blood. There was also mention of worship with offerings and a hundred *samidhā* of the sandal tree, a hundred of *agaru*-wood, a handful of camphor and many rich garments on new moon day. This worship was suggested for converting the body of king Vikaṭavarman into a new handsome form.

### IV.7.3. PILGRIMAGE

In India, holy places have a very important role in society. Rivers, forests and mountains are considered as sacred or holy places. Pilgrimages to such holy places, i.e., *tīrthayātrā* is a common practice in ancient India. Visiting a pilgrimage place (*tīrthayātrā*) is a very important and ancient religious tradition. This pilgrimage place is considered as a holy

place where bathing (*tīrthasnāna*) is a ritual. This ritual is supposed to wash out sins and to achieve merit for the bather. Particular days are fixed for bathing in *śāstras*. Kane (1953: 553) has mentioned “the obvious benefits and the belief that a holy place was the abode of some divinity led ancient *dharmasāstra* writers to lay emphasis on visits to *tīrthas*.”

There is a reference to the ritual of *tīrthasnāna* by King Rājahaṃsa, on the auspicious day in the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*. Another reference was of a disciple of *ācārya* Vāmadeva. While doing *tīrthayātra* of Rāmatīrtha he found one of the kumaras.

In the fifth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita* the day of Uttara Phālguna *nakṣatra* in the month of Phālguna is mentioned as an auspicious day for the *tīrthasnāna*. King Dharmavardhana with his family members went for *tīrthayātrā* and took *tīrthasnāna* in the holy river Gaṅgā. In the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, one of the disciples of sage Vāmadeva found one *kumāra*, Somadatta when he was doing *tīrthayātrā* of river Kāverī. In the same *ucchvāsa*, king Rājahaṃsa found another *kumāra* Apahārarman when he was travelling for *tīrthasnāna* on an auspicious day (*parva*). Daṇḍin has mentioned Rāmatīrtha as a holy place for *tīrthasnāna* on river Gomatī. In the narration of Arthapāla Manīkarṇikā *ghāṭa* of Banārasa, is mentioned as a sacred place by Daṇḍin. Even today this place is famous for *tīrthasnāna*.

#### IV.7.4. FESTIVALS

Festivals have a significant role in the life of people. A Festival is a celebration which is a social need of society. When we try to understand the social or religious life of ancient India, we can easily find that it was very rich in festivals.

##### a) **Kandukotsava**

In the DKC festivals were mentioned as *utsava* or *mahotsava*. In the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, there was a ritual of celebrating a temple festival named *kandukotsava* in Dāmalipta *nagarī*.

This *mahotsava* was held for the religious purposes of goddess Vindhyavāsinī, in which princess Kandukāvati performed a *kandukanṛtya* (dancing with a ball)<sup>1</sup>. As the princess became seven years old, the king started celebrating this great festival of the

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<sup>1</sup> See details of Kandukanṛtya under the heading Performing Arts.

ball (*kanduka mahotsava*) every month when the moon was in the constellation (*nakṣatra*) *Kṛtikā*. Raghavan (1960: 149) stated that, as only some texts have references, maybe this festival was not so popular in ancient times.

It originated from some tribal cult, as *kandukanṛitya* was considered as *desi nṛitya* in *Nritta-ratnāvalī* of Jāyasenāpatī. We get some visuals of *kandukakrīḍā* in sculptural art form on temple walls as *kandukakrīḍāmagnā*. This indicates the importance of *kandukanṛitya* in temple architecture even though it was considered as a *desi nṛitya*.

#### **b) Kāmotsava/ Madanamahotsava**

Indian classical literature depicts Kāmadeva as a noticeable deity. The concept of Kāmadeva is conceived as the god of Desire. Kāmadeva was worshiped for fulfilling various desires related to health, wealth, fertility, love life and other pleasures. This god was important to the masses and classes.

It can be observed from the literature that there used to be temples devoted to Kāmadeva as a central deity. He was worshiped in society and to many festivals and rituals are attributed to him. A few festivals related to Kāmadeva, which are also noted in the literature, are *kāmotsava*, *vasantotsava* and *madanamahotsava*. As stated by Raghavan (1979: 86) the spring festival is for celebrating the pleasant season of Spring (*vasanta*). He states on the basis of the Jayamangalā, that music and dance were part of this festival to welcome the season. In the Ratnāvalī, there is a description of the spring festival going on in the palace and city. People drink and rejoice in the company of women, and throw water, coloured powder on each other.

Raghavan (1979: 86) mentioned that *madanotsava* is a part of *vasantotsava*. It is a worship of Madana or Kāmadeva, the god of love comes off on *śukla-trayodaśī* of Caitra month which is called *Madana-trayodaśī*. He further described the ritual of the festival “The image of Kāma has to be painted under the figure of an Aśoka tree, with his two spouses Rati and Prīti. Other figures to be drawn in the scene are Śiva, the spring season, celestial damsels, gandharvas and musicians. Men and women are to worship these in a group at noon. It is however especially for ladies who should not only worship the god of love on this day but worship also their husbands as images of that god. The Bhaviṣyottara purāṇa adds that the night has to be spent without sleep. Friends should be presented with camphor, saffron, sandal water and *pāna-supārī* and a drink is to be served to the servants. This is to be a public festival too and it is the

duty of the king to have it properly conducted. The fruit is that men and women will be blessed with mutual love and felicity.”<sup>1</sup> Raghavan (1979: 88) states the Mālatīmādhava mentioned separate temples for Kāmadeva with a garden called *Madanodyāna*. The Śilappatikāram, a Tamil text also mentioned the temple of Kāmadeva and the festival of song and dance.

In the DKC, we get references of *madanamahotsava* many times. This was a seasonal festival also known as *vasantotsava* celebrated in the spring season (*vasanta ṛtū*). The *gaṇikā* Kāmamañjarī insulted sage Marīci in the celebration of *kāmotsava* in the narration of Apahāravarman. In the fifth *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, prince Rājavāhana and princess Avantisundarī met at the time of *madanamahotsava*. Avantisundarī came to a small garden near a city, for a worship of Kāmadeva with her friends. In the narration of Upahāravarman, there was a reference to *vasantotsava* in which Kalpasundarī participated with her friends. In the seventh *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Kardana, king of Kaliṅga was caught by Āndhra king when he was celebrating *vasantotsava* with his family and citizens on the seashore.

### c) Other Festivals

There was a reference to *utsava-samāja* in the narration of Apahāravarman. The fifth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita* talks about the *tīrthyātrā-utsava* which was celebrated in the month of Phālguna on *uttara-fālgunī nakṣatra*. Daṇḍin has mentioned about a festival which was celebrated in the Mahākāla temple from Ujjayinī. The narration of Pramati mentioned the reference of *utsava* for god Tryāmbaka in *Śrāvastīnagarī*.

## IV.7.5. YAKṢA-YAKṢINĪ

The origin of the concept of *yakṣa* can be traced in the literary tradition of India. The *yakṣas* seem to assimilate the idea of their supernatural acts, form and appearance. As stated by Misra (1981: 7) the earliest mention of *yakṣa* is found in the Rigveda. The ambivalence of attitude defines *yakṣas* as good and bad. Eventually, *yakṣas* became pre-eminently folk deities to fulfill the worldly needs of people. He (1981: 26) further stated that the trāntric aspect of *yakṣa* seems to be directly connected with the early concept of *yakṣa* as ‘magical power.’ Although Kubera is the chief of the *yakṣas*, another *yakṣa*-chief like Maṇibhadra is also known from the epics. *Yakṣas* were not beyond death,

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<sup>1</sup> Raghavan (1979: 87).

although they belonged to the class of celestial spirits. Misra (1981: 30) described that “in the Mahābhārata, Maṇibhadra *yakṣa* was the protector *yakṣa* of travelers and caravans. In *purāṇas* also, *yakṣas* were regarded as semi-celestial beings. *Yakṣiṇīs* were regarded as creatures of great beauty but the *yakṣas* are described invariably as creatures of great strength, possessing very odd and outrageous features.”

In Pali literature, *yakṣas* are described as both, benevolent and malevolent. *Yakṣas* are represented as helping human beings in various forms.

Misra (1981: 43) stated that Maṇibhadra *yakṣa* is mentioned in the Milindapanho. Maṇibhadra *yakṣa* has a position next only to Kubera in the *yakṣa* pantheon. As a *yakṣa chief*, his position is well recognised in the Jain works also. The evidence of archaeology connects Maṇibhadra and his cult with Mathurā in north India and Pavayā in the central region of India. The literary sources also associate this *yakṣa* with the north-western region besides eastern India. On this evidence, it may be said that Maṇibhadra’s cult was prevalent in a wide area in east, north-west, north and central India. Madanamañjarī, the daughter of the chief *yakṣa* Dundubhi, is called the wife of Maṇibhadra in the Kathāsaritsāgara.

*Yakṣa* worship was a popular tradition of ancient society. *Yakṣas* have supernatural powers, they have rebirth. They could retain their memory even in the next birth. Some texts have mentioned the description of *yakṣas*. They were capable of hurting or helping human beings because of their supernatural powers. They possessed human beings by entering into them.

Misra (1981: 166) described that *yakṣa* mythology is a combination of contradictions. There are good *yakṣas* and at the same time bad ones. Some *yakṣas* relish human sacrifice; others specifically hate it. Some are benevolent, some malevolent.

In the DKC, we get the reference of *yakṣa* in the fourth *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*. Puṣpodbhava fell in love with Bālacandrikā. But Dāruvarman, the ruler of Ujjayinī wanted to marry her. Puṣpodbhava made a plan and he spread a rumor that Bālacandrikā was possessed by one *yakṣa* and if someone wanted to marry her, that *yakṣa* would kill him. Another reference of *yakṣa* can be seen in the fourth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. In this narration, Tārāvalī was the daughter of *yakṣarāja* Maṇibhadra and had beautiful eyes. Though she was from a *yakṣa* family she married Kāmapāla. She had knowledge of the previous three births, in which Kāmapāla was her



husband. Simhaghoṣa wanted to kill Kāmapāla, but because of his wife Tārāvalī, who was *yakṣhiṇī*, he did not dare to harm Kāmapāla.

In the narration of Puṣpodbhava, we didn't get other details about the *yakṣa* cult or worship. As mentioned in the story, this *yakṣa* has shown as malevolent as he will kill someone. In another narration also we get only mention of Maṇibhadra *yakṣa* and Kubera as a king. This shows that the relationship between Maṇibhadra and Kubera *yakṣas* was known to Daṇḍin, but the worship or cult tradition was not so prominent at the time of Daṇḍin or in the south region where he belongs.

(for the image of Maṇibhadra *yakṣa* see appendix)

#### IV.7.6. PERFORMING ARTS

In ancient India, performing arts became a cultural part of the life of people. The pursuit of art eventually became a significant feature of human civilisation. Music, dance, singing, drama and painting were the main arts that people enjoyed a lot. Sixty-four arts (*catuḥṣaṣṭi-kalā*) were part of their study syllabus. Every prince and princess must gain knowledge of some of these arts.

##### a) Music

Music was extensively illustrated and appreciated feature in Sanskrit literature. Ganguly (1962: 14) has stated that “the music of India owes its origin to the practice of chanting of the Vedas. Music is the language of human souls and is the one and only medium which can easily convey human feelings direct to the divine realm.” Music has been regarded as a part of religion. *Gītakalā*, i.e., the art of music regarded as an important branch of sixty-four fine arts. Music played a vital role in the cultural history of India. As mentioned in Bhāgavatapurāṇa, music is called as *gandharvavidyā* and Brahmadeva is considered as the originator of this *vidyā*.<sup>1</sup> This *vidyā* has some fundamental parts like dancing, singing and playing an instrument.

In the DKC, Daṇḍin has described many times the art of music. Both the men and women were renowned for their performing arts. Rājavāhana, the main character of the DKC, was shown as an expert in knowledge of *gandharvavidyā*. In the fifth *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā*, lady singers started singing in the act of *Indrajāla* with melodious voices. In the narration of Apahāravarman singing is mentioned as an art that

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<sup>1</sup> Bhāgavatapurāṇa III.12.23.

every *gaṇikā* must know. In the same *ucchvāsa*, there was a reference that, Rāgamañjarī, sister of *gaṇikā* Kāmamañjarī participated in a musical program in public performance. In the narration of Mitragupta, a young man Kośadāsa was playing a *vīṇā*, in the thoughts of his lover. In the seventh *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, we get a mention of music and singing in the *śṛṅgārakrīdā* performed by king of Kaliṅga and citizens.

### b) Dance

Dance known as *nṛtya* is one of the major branches of *Catuḥśaṣṭi kalā*. On the basis of Yaśodhara's commentary and the Kāmasūtra, Ganguly (1962: 56) described two varieties of *nṛtya* as *nāṭya* and *anāṭya*. The act of imitating all activities of the three worlds is known as *nāṭya nṛtya*, i.e., dramatic art and performance of artists and dancers is known as *anāṭya nṛtya*. The terms, *nṛtya*, *nṛtta*, and *nartana* are used as diverse terms to describe the dance styles. According to Nandikeṣvara, any rhythmic movements can be called as *nṛtta* and rhythmic movements suggesting some deep sentiments are called as *nṛtya*.

*Nṛtya* has been an integral part of ancient Indian culture and during the period of Daṇḍin, it has acquired the highest position in performing arts. In the DKC we get so many references of dance and dancers. In the narration of Apahāravarman, *nṛtya* is mentioned as an essential *kalā* for *gaṇikās*. Kāmamañjarī a *gaṇikā* was an expert in *nṛtya kalā*. Apahāravarman fell in love with Rāgamañjarī when she performed dance in a public program. In the third *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita* an ugly and sinful king Vikatavarman, fell in love with dancer Ramayantikā. In the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Viśruta put on a dancer attire and he performed various styles of dancing and singing. He displayed different athletic feats like jumping on his hands, raising his legs up and whirling his head while palms rested on the ground, also raising up one leg and dancing sideways. He also showed moving like a scorpion, leaping like a crocodile and darting like a fish.

### c) Kandukanṛtya

In the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Daṇḍin has described details about the *Kandukanṛtya*. The dance with ball, i.e., *Kandukanṛtya* is also known as *kandukakrīdā*. Raghavan (1979: 114). explained this game in detail. In *kandukakrīdā* one plays with the ball which is made up of such material which makes it jump. Sometimes a string is

also attached to the ball. This is considered as fine art and is featured in love stories, like those of Udayana's marriages in Sanskrit as well as in Tamil literature, e.g. Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadatta*, Act II and the 12<sup>th</sup> section on ball-playing (*Pandaḍi*) in the IV<sup>th</sup> book *Vattava* (*Vatsa*) kāṇḍa, of the Tamil version of the *Bṛhatkathā*, the *Perumkathai* by Koṅguvel (c. 800-900 CE). There are several stray verses (*Muktakas*) on the charm and attraction of young women engaged in this game.

As mentioned in the *Nāṭyasarvasva* quoted by Mallinātha in his commentary on the *Meghadūta*

खङ्गकन्दुकवस्त्रादिदण्डिकाचामरस्रजः ।

वीणां च धृत्वा यत्कुर्युः नृत्यं तद्वैशिकं स्मृतम् ॥

In the late dance treatises, dance with a ball is found as one of the forms of popular dance, along with dances with the sword, piece of cloth, shaft, fly-whisk, garland, lute etc. The Tamil poem *Perumkathai* referred to above has an elaborate account of ball-playing as an integral part of the story of Udayana's marriage with the Kosala princess Mānanikā. Another form of it as practiced by boys is described in the *Gaṇeśa-purāṇa*, *Uttara khaṇḍa*<sup>1</sup>.

Playing with *kanduka* is an old pastime. The dance described by Jāya in *Nṛtta-ratnāvali* is playing with the ball, systematized into a dance. Raghavan (1960: 150) has mentioned that Jāya described the *kandukanṛtya* as a group dance having several ladies. The ball might be of metal or wood with small round metal pieces inside to make them resonant during play. The employment of several dancers is to have the ball bandied about among them. The throwing and the catching of the ball involve movements and while moving, the *cārīs*, *gatis* and the *lāsyāṅgas* are to be displayed and it is this that lifts up the game with the ball into a dance.

As we see, in the DKC, the play was built into an elaborate dance and the player, the princess, beat the ball alternately with the two hands, the ball bounced in different directions and she caught it as it came down. The playing involved sitting, rising and bending of the body, and movements of *cārīs* in different tempos, slow and fast, in different degrees of force, in the beating of the ball soft and heavy, and in different styles and patterns of step, *cūrṇapada* or quick steps, *maṇḍalabhramaṇa* or wheeling

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<sup>1</sup> Raghavan (1979: 115-6).

round, *gomūtrikā* or wavy step, also called the lighting movement, *pañca-binduprasṛta*, *gīta-mārga* and so on.

According to Daṇḍin's description, this was danced on a platform and beating the ball and catching it. The princess executed steps in different rhythms and patterns, starting with medium-slow tempo, then quickening her pace, and then with quick forward and backward movements called *cūrṇapada*. In explaining *cūrṇapada*, it is interesting to note that the commentary *Padacandrikā* quotes a treatise called *Kandukatantra* on the art of playing with the ball. In the beating of the ball, Daṇḍin refers to soft and violent strokes, *mṛdu* and *amṛdu prahāras*, and as the ball bumped up on the sides or straight in front, the Princess used either hand in dealing with it. A further technical element introduced by Daṇḍin at this stage is that after striking it severely and allowing it to go high, the dancer did *gīta-mārga*, which, from its name, seems to mean that in the time taken by the ball to touch the ground again and come up, the dancer did some singing. But Raghavan (1960: 149) mentioned that the commentator says that *gīta-mārga* is taking ten stepping<sup>1</sup>. We may assume that this taking of ten steps was done, not mutely but with a bit of singing.

We did not get so many references of *kandukanṛtya* or *kandukotsava* in Sanskrit classical texts. As only some texts have references, we can state that this festival was not so popular in ancient times. It may be originated from some tribal cult, as *kandukanṛtya* was considered as *desi nṛtya* in the Nṛtta-ratnāvali of Jāyasenāpati (13<sup>th</sup> century CE text). In the DKC we get an association of *kandukotsava* with Goddess Vindhyavāsini, which was also considered as a tribal goddess. Raghavan (1979: 65) has mentioned that Someśvara in his Mānasollāsa (12<sup>th</sup> century text) described seasonal pastimes and festivals in its last part. He described twenty types of games or festivals. But this text does not have any reference of *kandukakrīḍā* or *kandukanṛtya*.

We get some visuals of *kandukakrīḍā* in sculptural art form on temple walls as *surasundarī* known as *kandukakrīḍāmagnā*<sup>2</sup>. This indicates the importance of *kandukanṛtya* in temple architecture even though it was considered as a *desi nṛtya*. (for images of *kandukakrīḍāmagnā* see appendix).

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<sup>1</sup> 'दशपदचङ्कमणं गीतमार्गं विदुः' इति कन्दुकतन्त्रे ।

<sup>2</sup> Deglurkar (2004: 45).

#### d) Painting

The painting known as *ālekhyā* in Sanskrit is one of the sixty-four arts mentioned in ancient India. The information about original colours, intermixing of colours, quantity of colour to be mingled with the other and the total effect after mixing of colours, these topics were taught in this art. Also, a proper sense of drawing, the anatomy of figures in painting, the perspective of objects and expressions are all aspects of this art.<sup>1</sup>

Ganguly (1962: 83) stated that many Sanskrit poets gave references of painting in their literature. In the *Abhijñāna-Śākuntalam*, king Duṣyanta was a very good painter. In the *Ratnāvalī*, Sāgarikā fell in love with king Udayana and she painted his portrait. Also, in the *Mālavikāgnimitram*, there was a reference to a portrait. Agnimitra discovered Mālavikā by using one group portrait. In the *Svapnavāsavadattā*, Bhāsa also mentioned the portraits of Udayana and Vāsavadattā. In Bhavabhūti's *Uttara Rāmacarita*, the artist drew a series of pictures depicting the important events of Rāma's life. After returning from exile, Rāma along with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa enjoyed these paintings.

In the second *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Apahāravarman was shown as an expert in various arts like singing, dancing and painting. When he saw Ambālikā asleep in her palace room, he picked up a painting brush and sketched her in a sleeping manner, and himself kneeling at her feet with *añjalimudrā*. He was also an expert in poetic art. He composed a verse in *āryā* metre for princess Ambālikā.<sup>2</sup> This shows that he was also an expert in the art of *kāvaykriyā*, i.e., composing verses and *chandajñāna*, i.e., knowledge of metres. These arts are considered from sixty-four arts in Sanskrit literature.<sup>3</sup> We can estimate that Ambālikā also knew the art of painting because Apahāravarman found all the painting material in her room. In the narration of Pramati, Navamālikā described her friends, the features of Pramati to whom she saw in sleep. According to those descriptions, her friends drew a picture of Pramati very accurately. On the other hand, Pramati also painted a picture of Navamālikā. In the third *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Upahāravarman drew his own portrait and handed over it to Kalpasundarī. An old maid of Kalpasundarī told her that Upahāravarman was an expert

<sup>1</sup> Viṣṇudharmottara part III ch.27, verses 7–26.

<sup>2</sup> त्वामयमाबद्धाञ्जलि दासजनस्तमिममर्थमर्थयते ।

स्वपिहि मया सह सुरतव्यतिकरखिन्नैव मा मैवम ॥

<sup>3</sup> Ganguly (1962: 165–6).

in different kinds of arts and *vidyās*. In the narration of Viśruta, Anantavarman the son of Puṅyavarman was proficient in several art forms *viz.* dance, vocal and painting etc.

Pleasing the god through dance and music, both vocal and instrumental was not unknown in Daṇḍin's time. Also, we can conclude that different kinds of performing arts have a high status in the cultural life of ancient Indian society. These arts have become an integral part of the life of people. No doubt that Daṇḍin had a knowledge of Indian music, dancing and painting in depth.

#### IV.7.7. COSTUMES AND ORNAMENTS

We get the references of costumes and ornaments used by ancient Indian people from literature and art. The importance of dressing can be seen through the Amarakośa. It mentioned five words *ākalpa*, *veśa*, *nepathya*, *pratikarma* and *prasādhana* for dressing.<sup>1</sup> Chandra (1944: 95) mentioned that in the Amarakośa variety of materials for costumes and textiles has been given. The use of bark fibers, linen, silk and goat's hair is defined.

Majumdar (1954: 572) states, the description by Xuanzang proved that the kings were using rich dresses and couches in the seventh century and it was followed by the rich merchants. The people used materials like silk, muslin, calico, linen and two types of fine wool for clothing.

Ganguly (1962: 87) described that *Nepathyaprayoga*, methods and techniques of wearing different types of dress, flower garlands and ornaments are considered as one of the sixty-four *vidyā*. One has to dress in such a way that the appearance becomes attractive.

In the DKC, Daṇḍin has described various names for costumes such as *vasana*<sup>2</sup>, *vastra*<sup>3</sup>, *veśa*<sup>4</sup> and *ambara*<sup>5</sup>. People were using upper garments (*uttarīya*) and lower garments (*antarīya*). Separate clothing for hunting is mentioned as *mṛgayuveśa* in the eighth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. For marriage rituals, costumes were mentioned as *vaivāhikena nepathyenā* in the third *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. The ascetics were using *kāpālikaveśa*,<sup>6</sup> their characteristic costume.

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<sup>1</sup> Chandra (1944: 4).

<sup>2</sup> daśa. 1, 3.

<sup>3</sup> P.P. 4.

<sup>4</sup> P.P. 4, 8.

<sup>5</sup> P.P. 5, daśa. 2.

<sup>6</sup> daśa. 8.

Different colours for clothes were described by Daṇḍin such as milky white, saffron, yellow, black, blue and white. He also described colours like rainbow and dust grey.

He has mentioned a cloth imported from China. Princess Ambālikā wore a lower garment made of Chinese cloth (*cīnānśuka*<sup>1</sup> or *cīnāmbara*<sup>2</sup>). He also mentioned garments made from silk (*paṭṭansuka*<sup>3</sup>).

The love of jewelry is not confined to modern people only. People from ancient India of any religious sect or class used jewelry in large amounts. There may be some special ornaments peculiar to a particular status or person. Ganguly (1962:89) states ornaments like single pearl string as *Sūtra*, when jewel pieces are inserted, it is called *Ratnāvalī*. *Śīrṣaka*, *Upaśīrṣaka*, *Prakāṇḍaka*, *Avaghāṭaka* were varieties of ornaments used in ancient times.

People at the time of Daṇḍin used different types of ornaments and cosmetics. The use of gold, silver and gems can be traced in the DKC. Daṇḍin has described various kinds of ornaments such as bracelets, armlets, pearl necklaces and ear ornaments in the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. For marriage ritual mention of *maṅgalapratīśara* was found in the second *ucchvāsa* of the *purvapīṭhikā* and *daśakumāracarita*. Mentions of bangles or bracelets (*kaṅkaṇa*, *valayala*) and rings (*aṅgulīyaka*) show the tradition of these ornaments from ancient times. Different types of ear ornaments were mentioned as *karṇapūra*<sup>4</sup>, *karṇakuvalaya*<sup>5</sup>, *ratnakarṇikā*<sup>6</sup>, *karṇapāśa*<sup>7</sup>. In the second *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, reference to another type of ear ornament such as *kuṇḍala*, *karṇikā* studded with diamonds and *karṇāvatansa* was found. We also find mention of women wearing foot ornaments like *nūpura*. These *nūpuras* were of gold (*hemanūpura*<sup>8</sup>) and diamonds (*maṇinūpura*<sup>9</sup>).

In the narration Arthapāla, different types of ornaments were mentioned, such as *maṇinūpura*, *mekhalā*, *kaṅkaṇa*, *kaṭaka*, *tāṭaṅka*, *hāra*, *kṣauma*, *kajjalām*.

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<sup>1</sup> daśa. 2.

<sup>2</sup> P.P. 5.

<sup>3</sup> daśa. 2.

<sup>4</sup> daśa. 6.

<sup>5</sup> daśa. 2.

<sup>6</sup> daśa. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> P.P. 4.

Jewelry was made using precious stones called as *ratnālamkāra*. Daṇḍin also described a golden box (*hemakaraṇḍa*<sup>1</sup>) containing ornaments in the second *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. In the narration of Rājavāhana, he was tied with silver chains due to the curse of the sage.

Women used natural things like camphor, sandalwood paste and musk to decorate themselves. In the second *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Kāmamañjarī after bathing used sandal paste and decorate herself with flower garlands. Bālacandrikā used camphor with flower juice to wash her body. She also used musk and sandalwood paste. The use of flowers for body decoration was observed to be a normal practice in ancient India. People always used various kinds of flowers and flower garlands to beautify themselves.

#### IV.7.8. FAMINE

Dhavalikar has studied famine conditions in ancient India on the basis of level recordings of the Nile river. He (2017: 20) stated that the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa has reference of famine in 7<sup>th</sup> century CE for 100 years. After the Gupta period, ancient India faced many famine calamities. He states the famine mentioned in the DKC was in 683-96 CE, as the water level of the Nile river was very low at this time period.

We get the archaeological reference of famine from the Sohgaurya inscription and Mahasthan inscription. While writing about the famine, Singh (2013: 329) states, “a copperplate from Sohgaurya village, U.P., stated that in case of famine, the contents of the storehouses of Triveni, Mathura, Chanchu, Modama, and Bhadra were to be distrusted and withheld.” According to some scholars, this inscription can be assigned to the pre-Ashokan or post-Maurya period. Another inscription from the post-Ashokan period is from Mahasthan. Singh (2013:329) mentioned, “This inscription appears to record an order issued by a ruler to the *mahāmātra* stationed at Pundranagara, in order to relieve the distress caused on account of famine to some people known as the Samvamgiyas.” The distribution of *dhāna* from the granary was also suggested.

Jain tradition also talks about famine. In the reign of the king Candragupta Maurya, ācārya Bhadrabāhu predicted a famine of twelve years in Magadh. As suggested by him Candragupta, Bhadrabāhu and his disciples migrated to south India<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> daśa. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Deo (1956: 88).



In Śravaṇabelgolā there is an inscription of c. 600 CE, mentioning the migration of Bhadrabāhu to the south<sup>1</sup>.

The sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita* mentioned the famine of twelve years in Trigarta country. In the story of Dhuminī, Indra did not pour rain for twelve years. The grains were withered, medicinal herbs were rendered futile, trees bore no fruit, clouds were empty, rivers had their currents dried up, pools had only mud left in them, streams entirely ceased to flow, roots and fruits became very rare; conversation ceased, the celebrations of religious rites and festivals fell into disuse, thieves and rogues multiplied, the people ate one another, here and there were to be seen wallowing the skulls of men, pale white like cranes, swarms of crows suffering from starvation flew about, and cities, villages, towns and hamlets were almost depopulated. Dhūminī's husband and his brothers consumed all their store of grain, flocks of sheep and goats, wild buffaloes, all the cattle, all their servants, children and even the wives of the eldest and the elder brothers in turn. They decided to eat up Dhūminī the wife of the youngest brother on the next day. Dhanyaka, Dhūminī's husband could not bear the idea of having to eat his own wife, they both ran away at night. On the journey when she was hungry, he fed his own flesh and blood to her.

This mention of famine in the DKC shows the terrible condition of society in the seventh-eighth century CE. As Daṇḍin has described a famine situation in detail, he must have witnessed the famine in his life.

## **IV.8. ARCHITECTURE**

### **IV.8.1. CITY ARCHITECTURE**

Kauṭilya has explained how to develop and plan the architecture of the city and capital centre in his *Arthaśāstra*<sup>2</sup>. We also get some information about the architecture of ancient Indian cities from Xuanzang's travelogue<sup>3</sup>. Chakravarty (1980: 130) states that in ancient times Indian towns or cities developed mainly as capitals or as pilgrimage places or trade centres.

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<sup>1</sup> Epigraphia Carnataka, II, No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> K.A., *adhikaraṇa-2*, chapter 19, 22.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham (2006: 213).

In the DKC, we do not get a direct reference of city architecture. But while describing the story, Daṇḍin has mentioned about the different parts of the city. Using those points we can imagine the whole picture of the architecture of the town.

Daṇḍin has stated in the first *ucchvāsa* of the *pūrvapīṭhikā* that, Puṣpapurī city was as beautiful as Indra's capital Amarāvati. It was like a touchstone to all other towns.

In the Arthaśāstra, Kauṭilya explained various types of roads<sup>1</sup>. In the DKC Daṇḍin also described different types of roads. The main roads of the capital were mentioned as *rājapatha*<sup>2</sup>, *rājamārga*<sup>3</sup>, *nṛpatipatha*<sup>4</sup> and also as *rājavīthi*<sup>5</sup> in the second *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. These roads may be the highways passing through the capital city or major roads of the city. The general roads are described as *pantha*<sup>6</sup> and *mārga*<sup>7</sup>. *Ṣṅgāṭika*<sup>8</sup>, where four roads meet, was also mentioned in the third *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. Other types of roads described are *sthalapatha*<sup>9</sup> which may be used for walking and *saikatapatha*<sup>10</sup>, the sand road. The roads passing through the forest were also mentioned as *āṭavīpatha*<sup>11</sup> and *kāntārapatha*<sup>12</sup> in the narration of Upahāvarman. Also, there were underground roads known as *surāṅga*<sup>13</sup> and *bila*<sup>14</sup>. Kauṭilya in his Arthaśāstra has stated, fortification and a moat are necessary for the protection of the capital city<sup>15</sup>. In the DKC, Daṇḍin has mentioned fortification and moat for Campā, the capital of Aṅgadeśa in the first *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. In the battle, Simhavarman, the king of Aṅgadeśa made a passageway in the fortification issued forth with a massive force.

#### IV.8.2. PALACE ARCHITECTURE

In the Arthaśāstra, Kauṭilya has explained details about the palace. He suggested separate places for queens, prince and princes at the back side of the palace. Palace

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<sup>1</sup> K.A., adhikaraṇa-2, chapter 22.

<sup>2</sup> daśa. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> daśa. 2, 4, 6.

<sup>6</sup> daśa.2.

<sup>7</sup> daśa. 1,2,5,6.

<sup>8</sup> daśa. 3.

<sup>9</sup> daśa. 8.

<sup>10</sup> daśa. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> daśa. 2.

<sup>13</sup> P.P. 3; daśa. 2, 7.

<sup>14</sup> daśa. 4, 8.

<sup>15</sup> K.A., adhikaraṇa-2, chapter 17.

should be decorated with trees and gardens. The meeting hall, conference hall and common hall should be on the front side. Guards should be kept everywhere in the palace complex.<sup>1</sup>

In the DKC we get references of palace architecture many times. Daṇḍin has mentioned palaces with different names, viz. *rājamandira*<sup>2</sup>, *rājagṛha*<sup>3</sup>, *prāsāda*<sup>4</sup>, *rājabhavana*<sup>5</sup>, *nṛpagṛha*<sup>6</sup>. Royal palaces have many buildings and can be divided mainly into two parts, the inner area, i.e., royal harem (*antaḥpura*) and the courtyard. The *antaḥpura*<sup>7</sup> is basically for royal families and the outer area is for meeting halls, court-hall and for outsider people.

Daṇḍin has mentioned different buildings for the king and queen. The prince and princess have the separate palaces too. These buildings were multi-storied. Princess Navamālikā has seven storied palace in the city of Śrāvastī. In the narration of Upahāvarman, Daṇḍin has described the palace of Vikaṭavarman in detail. The palace was enclosed by a trench and rampart. Upahāvarman reached the palace, “then he took up the bamboo-pole and got over the ditch and then the rampart. Then he reached the ground by means of a flight of steps made of baked bricks, that rose up to the tower attached to the gate of the palace. When got down he passed beyond the row of the Bakula trees, and going a little further by Caṃpaka avenue, he turned to the north, nearly a bow-shot distance, by the row of Pātali trees, where the bulging wall of the spacious palace could be felt, then due east by the gravel path, both the sides of which were decked with thickets of red Aśokas and Jasmines. Then he walked a little further north, he entered the mango grove to the south. Then the inner bower surrounded on all sides with walls of the thick rows of young Kurabakas with full-blown flowers.”<sup>8</sup>

In the narration of Arthapāla, Maṇikarṇikā with her maid and friends was kept in the spacious underground mansion constructed as a shelter for protection from king Darpaśāra. This place was furnished with several drawing rooms carved out in the interior of an artificial hill. It has a provision of food and other items which can be used for a hundred years. The entrance of this place was in the wall of the bedroom of a king.

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<sup>1</sup> K.A., chapter 17, *niśāntapranidhi*, 10-13.

<sup>2</sup> P.P. 3, daśa. 1, 3, 5.

<sup>3</sup> daśa. 4.

<sup>4</sup> daśa. 2.

<sup>5</sup> P.P. 5, daśa. 1.

<sup>6</sup> daśa. 4.

<sup>7</sup> P.P. 5, daśa. 6, 8.

<sup>8</sup> Kale (2003: 78).

There was a trap door made up of stone in the wall. Such type of description shows the excellence in the architecture of that time. The palace of minister Kāmapāla was also protected by a wall and it has its own armory.

In the palace of Rājahaṁsa, there was a separate audience hall. When Vidyeśvara went to the gate of the palace of Mālava king, they were stopped by door guards. After permission, they could enter the inner court. The palaces have courtyards<sup>1</sup>, terraces<sup>2</sup>, high doors and separate meeting halls<sup>3</sup>.

### IV.8.3. GARDENS

In ancient India, gardens seem to have been very common in the *nagara* and *grāma*. Most of the *vāstuśāstra* texts mentioned gardens for citizens in town or outside the town. Singh (1976: 372) has stated two types of gardens, first one was *pramadāvana* attached to the royal palace and another *upavana* was a garden for citizens situated outside the town. Both were arranged spaciouly having different types of flowers, bowers that contained stone benches to cool the body and water reservoirs. There were also *pīthikās*, that is, platforms where people could sit and enjoy. He further stated “according to the *Upavana Vinoda*, a text on horticulture, the king whose abode is provided with spacious gardens containing large tanks or pools adorned with beautiful lotus blossoms over which humming bees fly – that may be regarded as the consummation of all happiness on the part of men, and that may give intense pleasure to the mind of sportive and pleasure-seeking ladies puffed with pride of beauty. The pleasure garden attached to the palace was laid out so that the ladies of the palace could walk about without being disturbed.”<sup>4</sup>

We get a mention of different types of gardens in the city or near town. A garden for sports or pleasure (*krīḍodyana*), a garden having a water tank. The royal palaces have gardens with trees like bakula, caṁpaka, piṇḍi, bhāṁdīra, mādhavī and various other flower plants and creepers. The *vāṁtikā* is a garden for the fun time of the princess and her friends. Some gardens were reserved for *Madanotsava*. In the fifth *ucchvāsa* of *pūrvapīthikā*, Avantisundarī went to the garden to worship Kāmadeva.

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<sup>1</sup> P.P. 4, daśa. 2.

<sup>2</sup> daśa. 6.

<sup>3</sup> daśa. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Singh (1976 :372).

#### IV.8.4. TEMPLES

From the Gupta period, temple building created a history of Indian architecture. Before this period temples were commonly constructed using perishable materials like wood, bamboo etc. But now they started to build a temple with permanent materials like brick and stone.

In the DKC, we get mention of many temples but Daṇḍin does not talk about any architectural form of temples. From the narration of Arthapāla, we can understand that the temple has sufficient space around as Arthapāla did *pradakṣiṇā*. Some temples were near the town, some were in the forest. The temple of Kārtikeya was on a hilltop. The Temple of Vindhyavāsinī which was in Tāmraliptī has a large courtyard. Where people gathered for *Kanduka mahotsava* and Kandukāvati performed a dance with the ball. Another temple of Vindhyavāsinī from the narration of Viśruta had an iron pedestal (*lohapādapīṭha*) for the idol and the shrine had adjacent rooms and sturdy doors.

#### IV.8.5. CAVES

Rock-cut caves are representations of Indian architecture which was characteristic of the earlier period. Daṇḍin has mentioned this architectural wonder as *darīgṛha* in the fourth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*. Kāmapāla took shelter in caves where he was caught by soldiers. Maṇikarṇikā was living in an underground place that was carved out of the hillock.

In the history of Pallava dynasty, cave architecture was in very flourishing condition. In Māmallapuram, there are many caves carved before the period of Parameśvaravarman-I and Narasimhavarman-II. Daṇḍin was said to live in this period. However, in the DKC, Daṇḍin did not mention much about the cave architecture.

#### IV.8.6. OTHER ARCHITECTURE

Arthapāla came to Vārāṇasī, where he took a bath at Maṇikarṇikā *ghāṭa* on the banks of river Gaṅgā. It shows the tradition of constructing *ghāṭa* on rivers from ancient times.

The construction of an artificial hill (*kṛdāsaila*) seems to be a common feature at the time of Daṇḍin. We get several mentions of *kṛdāsaila*<sup>1</sup> in the DKC. This place was mainly for the entertainment of royal families. As stated by Raghavan (1979: 73) these artificial mountains specially created for *Bhūdhara-kṛdā* were called as *Jagati-*

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<sup>1</sup> daśa. 2, 4.

*parvata*. This place was created by raising the forest and mountain with different types of trees, steams, elevations and peaks. Kind should enjoy this place with women and courtiers with drinks, music and other entertainments.

The other names used for houses of common people were *niketana*<sup>1</sup>, *āgāra*<sup>2</sup>, *grha*<sup>3</sup> etc. Poor people were living in the houses like huts called as *kuṭīra*<sup>4</sup> and *parṇasālā*<sup>5</sup>. In the story of Dhuminī, at the time of famine, they lived in *parṇasālā* in the forest.

Pankaj (2002: 178) stated that the Mānasāra has given the description for *vedi*. *Vedi*<sup>6</sup> is an important part of building architecture having a canopy of four pillars in the garden. It was made of sand or jewels (*ratnavedī*).<sup>7</sup>

The tent made up of cloth (*upakāryā*) for the royal family is mentioned in the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*.

We get references to water bodies like *kūpa*<sup>8</sup>. In the sixth *ucchvāsa* of *daśakumāracarita*, Dhuminī pushes her husband into the well (*kūpa*). In the narration of Viśruta, he sees Bhāskaravarman near well and his old servant also falls into the well.

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<sup>1</sup> daśa. 7.

<sup>2</sup> P.P. 4, 5; daśa. 2, 7.

<sup>3</sup> daśa. 2, 4.

<sup>4</sup> P.P. 1, daśa. 3.

<sup>5</sup> daśa. 6.

<sup>6</sup> daśa. 1, 3.

<sup>7</sup> daśa. 5.

<sup>8</sup> daśa. 6, 8.

## CHAPTER V CONCLUSIONS

### V.1. CULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE DKC

As mentioned in the chapter on methodology, different aspects such as social, cultural, and religious have been studied in the present research work. Along with them, the geographical, historical and political data have also been considered in detail. The detailed observations are noted in the chapter IV. There are a number of scholars who have done their research on the DKC in the past. It was observed that they have discussed some of these topics in their theses. Such topics are not included in this chapter discussing the conclusions of the present research work. However, the topics that were not covered by previous researchers, are mainly being discussed here.

### V.2. POLITICAL ASPECTS

While studying the geographical data presented by the DKC, it was noticed that, Daṇḍin, in his DKC, mentions most of the important places in ancient India. These places had a significant importance in ancient Indian history. States like Magadha, Aṅga, Mālava, Vidarbha, Kāñcī, and Māhiṣmatī were strong political powers. Cities like Campā, Ujjayinī, Mathurā, and Pāṭaliputra were important places for trade. Cities like Vārāṇasī and Kāñcī were also famous for their religious affiliation.

The DKC shows that after the defeat of the Magadha king Rājahaṁsa, the political power shifts to Ujjayinī. It highlights the political importance of the Ujjayinī in the sixth–seventh centuries CE. Campā has also been shown as an important city in the DKC. From the details of the places where the ten *kumāras* travel, we observe that all these places are mostly situated on the ancient trade routes. Although Daṇḍin has mentioned different places from all over India, the main story takes place in the regions around Pāṭaliputra, Ujjayinī and Campā. We can conclude that this part of India was politically powerful during the sixth to eighth centuries CE.

That Daṇḍin never mentions Thāneśvara, the capital of the king Harṣavardhana, is interesting to note. Same is the case of Kanauj, which was an important centre of trade under the rule of Harṣavardhana. Harṣavardhana is dated little earlier than Daṇḍin. He was a famous king of that time. Therefore, Daṇḍin must have been aware of his name, and probably also about the battle between

Harṣavardhana and Cālukya king Pulakeśin (II).<sup>1</sup> However, he never mentions these important cities. It seems that the religious aspect might have played some role in absence of these names in the DKC.

### V.3. RELIGIOUS ASPECTS

On a careful observation, it can be noted that most of the deities from the Purāṇic religion have been mentioned by Daṇḍin. He was a strong follower of Vaiṣṇavism, as stated earlier, in the section on Religion and Philosophy. He also mentions different temples of Śiva like Mahākālesvara at Ujjayinī or the one at Vārāṇasī. He talks about the goddesses like Vindhyavāsini and Durgā. There are references of other gods like Kārttikeya, Indra, and Brahman. Even the later deity like Gaṇeśa, is mentioned in the narration of a dream by one of the *kumāras*. But it seems that Daṇḍin has knowingly omitted the references of the Jaina and Buddhist religions. A son of a *vaiśya* who became ascetic belonging to the Digambara Jaina sect is shown in on narration. Here too, after realising the truth, he is depicted returning to his original faith from “*pākhaṇḍī patha*”. Also, there is a reference to one Buddhist *bhikṣuṇī* only.

While observing the historical data in the DKC considered by different scholars<sup>2</sup>, one thing can be noticed. The historical personalities identified as the main characters in the DKC by these scholars, were followers of the Vedic and Purāṇic religion, such as the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa and Subandhu of the Kalacurī dynasty.

At the end of the eighth *ucchvāsa*, Viśruta clearly states his purpose of acquiring the throne. Kale (2003: 367) translates, “With their help ..... tormented the heretics, cleared out all who stood like thorns in the way of the prosperity of the state, thwarted the secret plans of the foes, and firmly established the four castes<sup>3</sup> in their respective religious spheres and duties— since all undertakings that are based on policy emanate from wealth, and that no sin would be worse than showing weakness in adhering to the principles of policy— I zealously took all the proper measures”.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For details, see the discussion under the point V.5.

<sup>2</sup> For details, see the discussion under the heading “Historical Aspects” in the chapter IV.

<sup>3</sup> Kale has translated चातुर्वर्ण्य as four castes instead of four varṇas.

<sup>4</sup> तच्चापि श्रुत्वा ..... धार्मिकत्वमुद्गावयन् नास्तिकान्कदर्थयन् कण्टकान्विशोधयन् अमित्रोपधीरपघ्नन् चातुर्वर्ण्यं च स्वधर्मकर्मसु स्थापयन् अभिसमाहरेयमर्थान्। अर्थमूला हि दण्डविशिष्टकर्मारम्भाः । न चान्यदस्ति पापिष्ठं तत्र दौर्बल्यात् । इत्याकलय्य योगानन्वतिष्ठम् ।



These passages showcase the inclination of Daṇḍin towards the Vedic religion. This might be the reason why he avoided referring to the important places like Sthānīśvara and Kanauja in his story. These places were falling under the rule of the king Harṣavardhana, who was a strong follower of Buddhism.<sup>5</sup>

#### V.4. KANDUKANṚTYA

While conducting the cultural study, the festival of ball, i.e., *Kandukamahotsava* and *Kandukanṛtya* were not studied in detail by previous scholars. In the current research, an in-depth study of this festival has been done. *Kandukamahotsava* was an important ancient festival which originated from *deśī* or tribal form of art, *kandukanṛtya*. This form of dance has been depicted also in the visual art of ancient India. An example can be mentioned of the sculptures of one of the *surasundarīs* called *kandukakrīdāagnā* depicted on the walls of temples. It shows the assimilation of tribal art in the classical art form.

#### V.5. DATE OF DAṆḌIN

Regarding the date of Daṇḍin, some points have already been discussed in the first chapter. Here we will consider some other relevant evidence to find the exact date of Daṇḍin. From the *Avantisundarīkathā*, another composition of Daṇḍin, we get to know that Daṇḍin was once invited by a sculptor to see the image of Viṣṇu at Māmallapuram. The sculptor had repaired one hand of the said image. On the visit to Māmallapuram (modern Mahabalipuram), he saw the *anantaśayana* image of (sleeping) Viṣṇu. He notices that the seawaters are touching the feet of the image. It is to be noted that in this narration, there is no mention of any other temples nearby.

There is only one such image in Mahabalipuram, which matches with this description. It is present in a small shrine between the two temples on the seashore. Nowadays, this temple complex is known by the name “Shore temples of Mahabalipuram”. As described by Meister (1999: 53), these three temples are in a row, one behind the other. Between a small temple facing west called Rājasimheśvara and a large temple facing east called Kṣatriyasimheśvara, a small flat-roofed maṇḍapa is present. This shrine is known by the name Narapatisimha Pallava Viṣṇugṛha. The Kṣatriyasimheśvara temple has a surrounding wall (*prākāra*) on all sides but is open

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<sup>5</sup> With reference to Xuanzang, Majumdar (1954: 119) stated.

on the west to provide access to the Viṣṇu temple at its rear. The shrine of Viṣṇu is of rectangular plan and is without any *sikhara* now. According to Meister (1999: 55), this Viṣṇu shrine is the earliest part of this temple complex.

When we observe the plan<sup>6</sup> of the temple complex, the Kṣatriyasimheśvara temple is in front of the Viṣṇu shrine. In other words, the access to the entrance of the Viṣṇu shrine is blocked by the Kṣatriyasimheśvara temple. The wall of the Rājasimheśvara temple touches the wall of the Viṣṇu shrine. There is a small passage between the two temples. Generally, such ancient Indian temples are spacious and have a proper architectural plan. The reason behind such type of intricate construction, must be the addition of temples that took place over the period of time. Therefore, it is possible to argue that the architectural plans of the shore temples of Mahabalipuram support the hypothesis that the Viṣṇu shrine must have been the earliest. The two temples of Śiva were built in later times, adjacent to this temple.

We also get the supporting data from inscriptions. This temple complex has three inscriptions. According to the annual report of ASI (1909: 234), the inscriptions of the Colās from the Shore Temple mention three shrines at Māmallapuram, *viz*, Kṣatriyasimha-Pallava-Īśvara, Rājasimha-Pallava-Īśvara and Paḷḷikoṇḍaruḷiya-deva<sup>7</sup>. These were situated in the temple called Jalaśayana, i.e., the Shore Temple. Kṣatriyasimha-Pallava-Īśvara was probably the name of the larger temple. Rājasimha-Pallava-Īśvara might be the name of the smaller temple, while Paḷḷikoṇḍaruḷiya-deva probably denotes the shrine, where a large mutilated statue of the god Viṣṇu is lying. As stated in the report of ASI, the Pallava king Rājasimha built the smaller temple. It is just possible that Kṣatriyasimha was another name of the same king. Venkayya states that, in this case, the whole complex of the Shore Temples must have been built by the Pallava king Rājasimha, who constructed the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram.

As mentioned by Hultzsch (1890: 66), the inscription of Rājarāja-deva from Māmallapuram mentions three temples. Two temples of these were called after and built by Pallava kings. The first one is Kṣatriyasimha-Pallava-Īśvara-deva and the

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<sup>6</sup> see Appendix

<sup>7</sup> The inscription on the north base of the shore temple is in Tamil. Hultzsch (1890: 68) provides the details as, “Hail! Prosperity! In the twenty-sixth year of the illustrious ... of (the temples of) Jalaśayana, (alias) Kshatriyasimha-Pallava-Īśvara-deva at this town and of Rājasimha-Pallava-Īśvara-deva and of Paḷḷikoṇḍaruḷiya-deva ...”.

second temple is Rājasimha-Pallava-Īśvara-deva. The third temple Paḷḷikoṇḍaruḷiya-deva may perhaps refer to the Śriraṅganāyaka temple at Paḷḷikoṇḍa.

However, Hultsch (1890: 66) states that the third temple should be Viṣṇu shrine and not Śriraṅganāyaka temple, because the term Paḷḷikoṇḍaruḷiya-devar can be roughly translated as “god who is in sleeping posture” or “the god who loves to sleep”.<sup>8</sup> The temple mentioned as Jalaśayana is Shore Temple, which appears in another inscription from the same site.<sup>9</sup> This inscription has a reference of Jalaśayana-deva at Māmallapuram, the chief town of the fifty villages, that form part of today’s Āmūr-koṭṭam village.

Venkayya (1909: 232) also mentions that the third temple which is dedicated to Viṣṇu is from Māmallapuram. However, he placed all three temples in the regime of Pallava king Rājasimha who is also known as Narasimhavarman (II).

The name of the temple Jalaśayana, mentioned in the inscription, suggests its location near the sea or the image of Viṣṇu in *anantaśayana* near the waters. As seen above, the Viṣṇu shrine was the earliest and it was called Narapatisimha Pallava Viṣṇugṛha. From the *Avantisundarīkathā*<sup>10</sup>, we get information that there was only Viṣṇu temple when Daṇḍin visited Māmallapuram. There is no mention of any other temples.

Thus, it can be concluded that this Viṣṇu temple must have been erected during the period of Narasimhavarman (I) and not during the period of Rājasimha, i.e., Narasimhavarman (II). If the Viṣṇu temple was erected in the period of Narasimhavarman (I) (c. 630–668 CE), and as mentioned in the Introduction, Daṇḍin left Kāñcī in c. 630/631 CE and returned after the death of Pulakeśin (II) in 642 CE, then this temple must have been erected between the period 642–668 CE. This time matches with the information given in the *Avantisundarīkathā* by Daṇḍin.

In this scenario, Daṇḍin must have been born in c. 615 CE. He may have left Kāñcī at the age of 15 or 16. This is the same age that he describes in the DKC. All the ten *kumāras* start their journey at the age of sixteen.

Considering all the above facts, Daṇḍin should be dated in the first quarter of the seventh century. He flourished in the period of the Pallava king Narsimhavarman (I) and not Narsimhavarman (II).

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<sup>8</sup> South Indian Inscriptions (1890: 66).

<sup>9</sup> *ibid* 63.

<sup>10</sup> Pillai (1954: 14).

## **V.6. SCOPE FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

In the current research, the researcher has tried to cover different aspects of the cultural study. However, all the political and historical data of that period has not been studied. There is a scope for further research, where one can identify all the characters mentioned in the DKC with the contemporary personalities. This study shall be carried out with the help of inscriptional data of that region.

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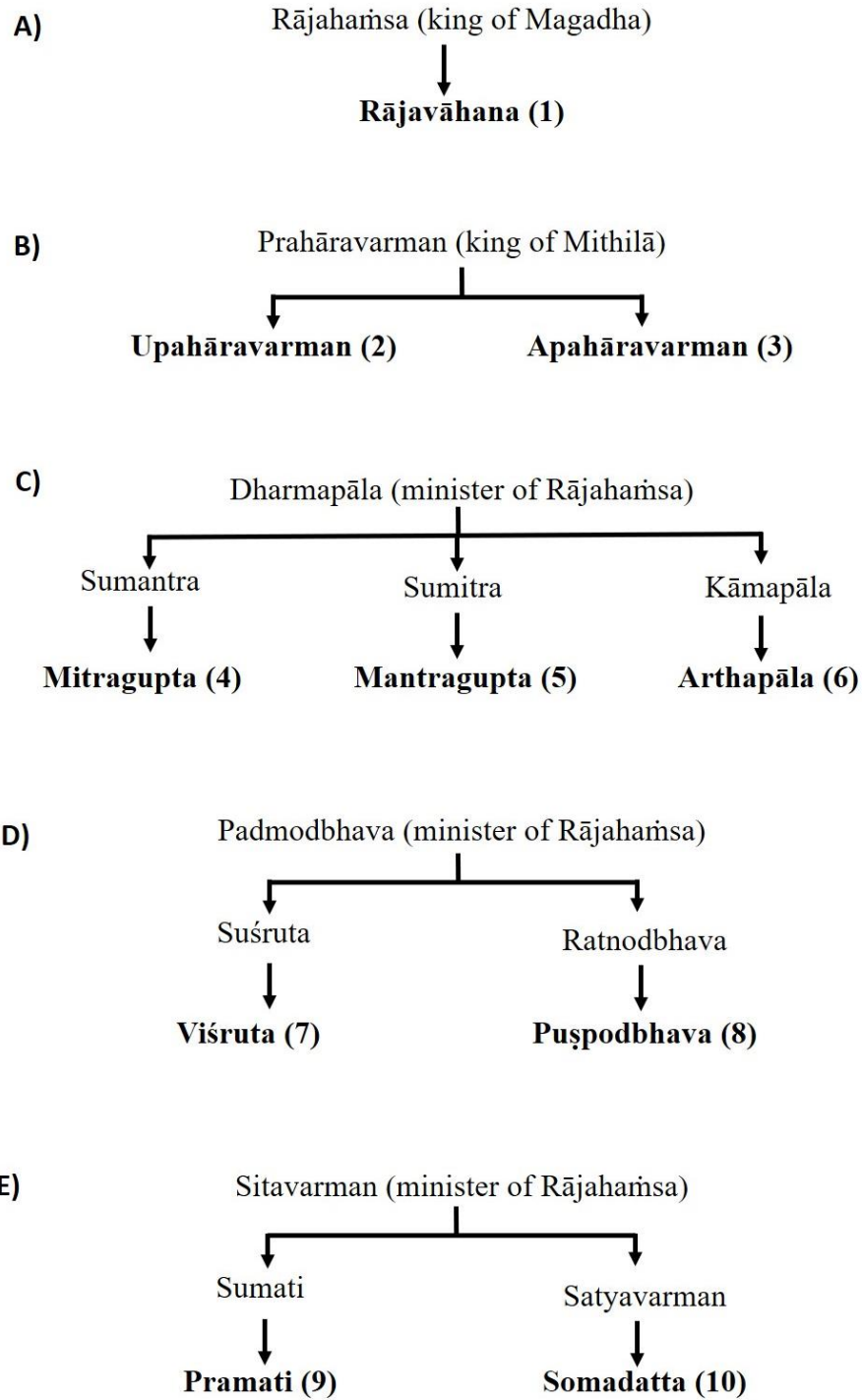
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## APPENDIX 1

### CHART SHOWING THE GENEALOGY OF 10 *KUMĀRAS*



**APPENDIX 2.A**

**STATES MENTIONED IN THE DKC**

	<b>Name</b>	<b>Capital</b>	<b>Modern name</b>	<b>State</b>	<b>Coordinates</b>
1	Aṅga	Campā	Bhagalpur	Bihar	25.25°N, 87.0333°E
2	Aśmaka	Podana	Bodhan	Telangana	18°39' N, 77°50' E
3	Avantī	Ujjain	Ujjain	Madhya Pradesh	23°11'N, 75°51'E°
4	Drāviḍa	Kāñcī	Kanchipuram	Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu	12.818°N, 79.694°E
5	Kaliṅga		Ganjam	Odisha	19.383°N, 85.05°E
6	Kāmarūpa	Prāgyotiṣapura	Gauhati	Assam	26°10'20"N, 91°44'E
7	Konkaṇ		Kokan	Maharashtra	15.6°N, 73.8°E
8	Kośala	Śrāvasti	Shravasti	Uttar Pradesh	27°31'.5"N, 82°03'2.2'E
9	Kuntala	Vajjyantī	Banavasi	Karnataka	14.5341°N, 75.0177°E
10	Lāṭa	Broach	Bharuch	Gujrat	21.712°N, 72.993°E
11	Magadha	Pāṭaliputra	Patna	Bihar	25.6°N, 85.1°E
12	Mālvā	Ujjayini	Ujjain	Madhya Pradesh	23.17°N, 75.79°E
13	Murāla				
14	Puṇḍra	Punḍranagara	Bogra	Bengal	24.96°N, 89.35°E
15	Ṛṣika				

APPENDIX 2.A

16	Saurāṣṭra	Valabhi	Vala	Saurashtra, Gujrat	21.8878 <sup>0</sup> N, 71.8795 <sup>0</sup> E
17	Śibi / Śivi				
18	Suhma	Dāmalipta	Tamluka	West Bengal	22.3 <sup>0</sup> N, 87.92 <sup>0</sup> E
19	Śūrasena	Mathura	Mathura	Uttar Pradesh	27 <sup>0</sup> 29'33''N, 77 <sup>0</sup> 40'25''E
20	Utkala			Odisha	20.27 <sup>0</sup> N, 85.82 <sup>0</sup> E
21	Vidarbha	Bhojakaṭa	Bhatkuli, Amravati	Maharashtra	20.93 <sup>0</sup> N, 77.75 <sup>0</sup> E
22	Videha	Mithila	Janakpur	Nepal	26 <sup>0</sup> 43'43''N, 85 <sup>0</sup> 55'30''E



**APPENDIX 2.B**

**CITIES MENTIONED IN THE DKC**

	<b>Name</b>	<b>Modern name</b>	<b>State</b>	<b>Coordinates</b>
1	Āndhra	ANDhra	Andhra Pradesh	14.9028°N, 79.090°E
2	Bhojakaṭa	Bhatkuli, Amravati	Maharashtra	20.93°N, 77.75°E
3	Campā	Champapuri	Bihar	25°14'14.7"N, 86°56'30.1"E
4	Dāmalīpta / Tāmralīpta	Tamluka	West Bengal	22.3°N, 87.92°E
5	Kāñcī	Kanchipuram	Tamilnadu	12.818500°N, 79.694700°E
6	Khetaka	Kheda	Gujrat	22°45'N, 72°45' E
7	Kusumapurī/ Puṣpapurī/Pāṭalīputra	Patna	Bihar	25.6°N, 85.1°E
8	Māhiṣmatī	Maheshvar	Madhya Pradesh	22.11°N 75.35°E
9	Mathurā	Mathura	Uttar Pradesh	27°29'33"N, 77°25"E
10	Mithila	Janakpur	Nepal	26°43'43"N, 85°55"E
11	Nāsikya	Nasik	Maharashtra	20.00°N, 73.78°E
12	Śrāvastī	Shravasti	Uttar Pradesh	27°31'.5"N, 82°3'2.2'E
13	Trigarta	Jalandhar	Punjab	31.2569°N, 75.4432°E
14	Ujjin / Ujjayinī	Ujjain	Madhya Pradesh	23°11'N, 75°51'E
15	Valabhi	Wala/Vala	Bhavnagar, Gujarat	21°52'N, 71°57'E
16	Vanavāsī	Banvasi	Karnataka	11.7524°N, 77.8787°E
17	Vārānasī / Kāśī	Varanasi / Kashi	Uttar Pradesh	25°19'08"N, 83°46"E

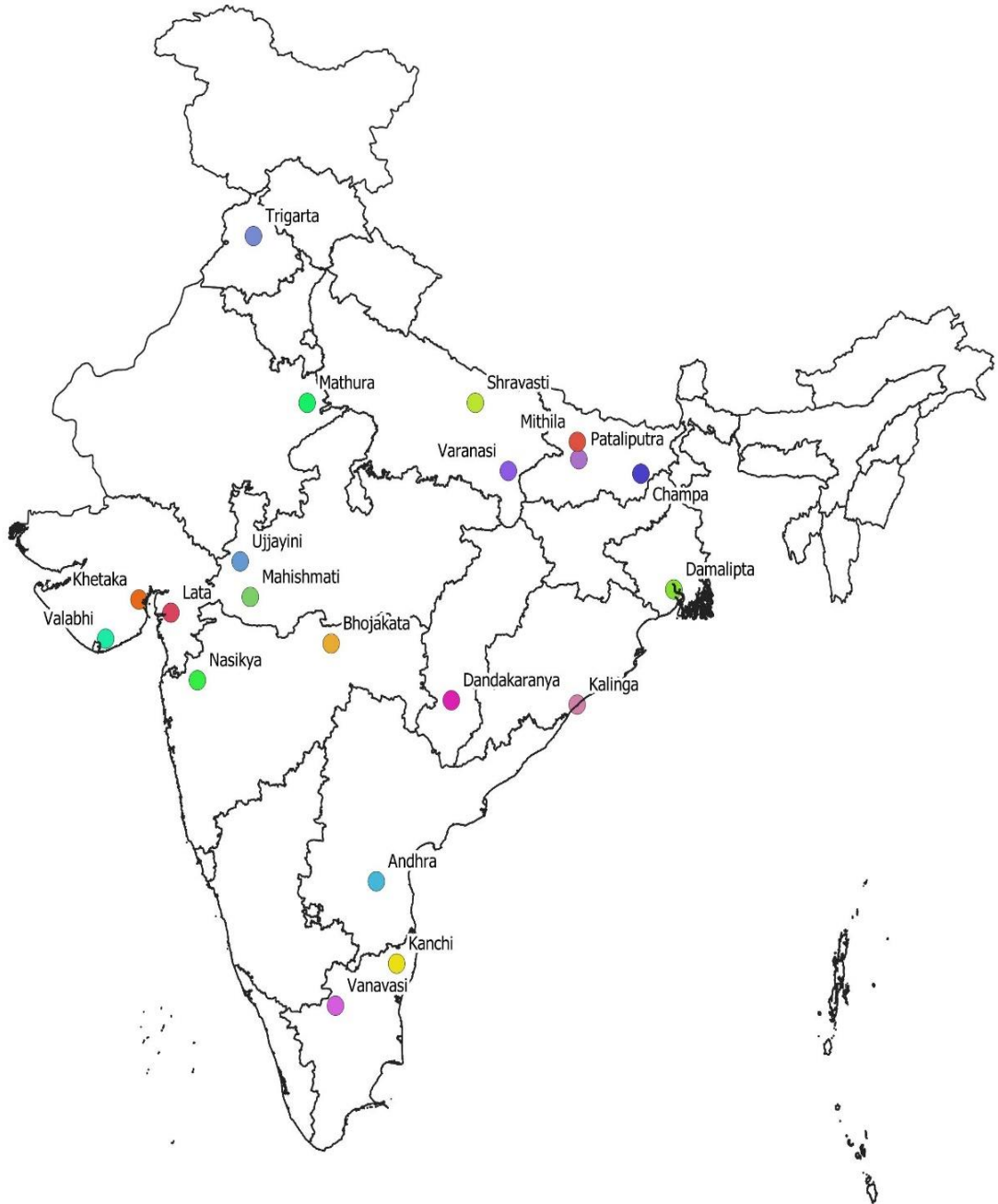
APPENDIX 2.C

MOUNTAINS / RIVERS / FORESTS / ISLANDS MENTIONED IN THE DKC

	<b>Name</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Modern name</b>	<b>State</b>
1	Himālaya	Mountain	Himalaya	
2	Kailāsa	Mountain	Kailasa	
3	Mandāra	Mountain		
4	Sumeru	Mountain		
5	Malaya	Mountain	In Nilgiri mountain ranges	Tamilnadu
6	Vindhya	Mountain	Vindhya	
7	Gaṅgā	River	Ganga	
8	Narmadā	River	Narmada	
9	Revā	River	Narmada	
10	Kāveri	River	Kaveri	
11	Śivisu	River	Not identified	
12	Murala	River	Murala	Kerala
13	Daṇḍakāraṇya	Forest	Daṇḍakāraṇya	Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra
14	Kālayavana Dvīpa	Island	May be in Indonesia	

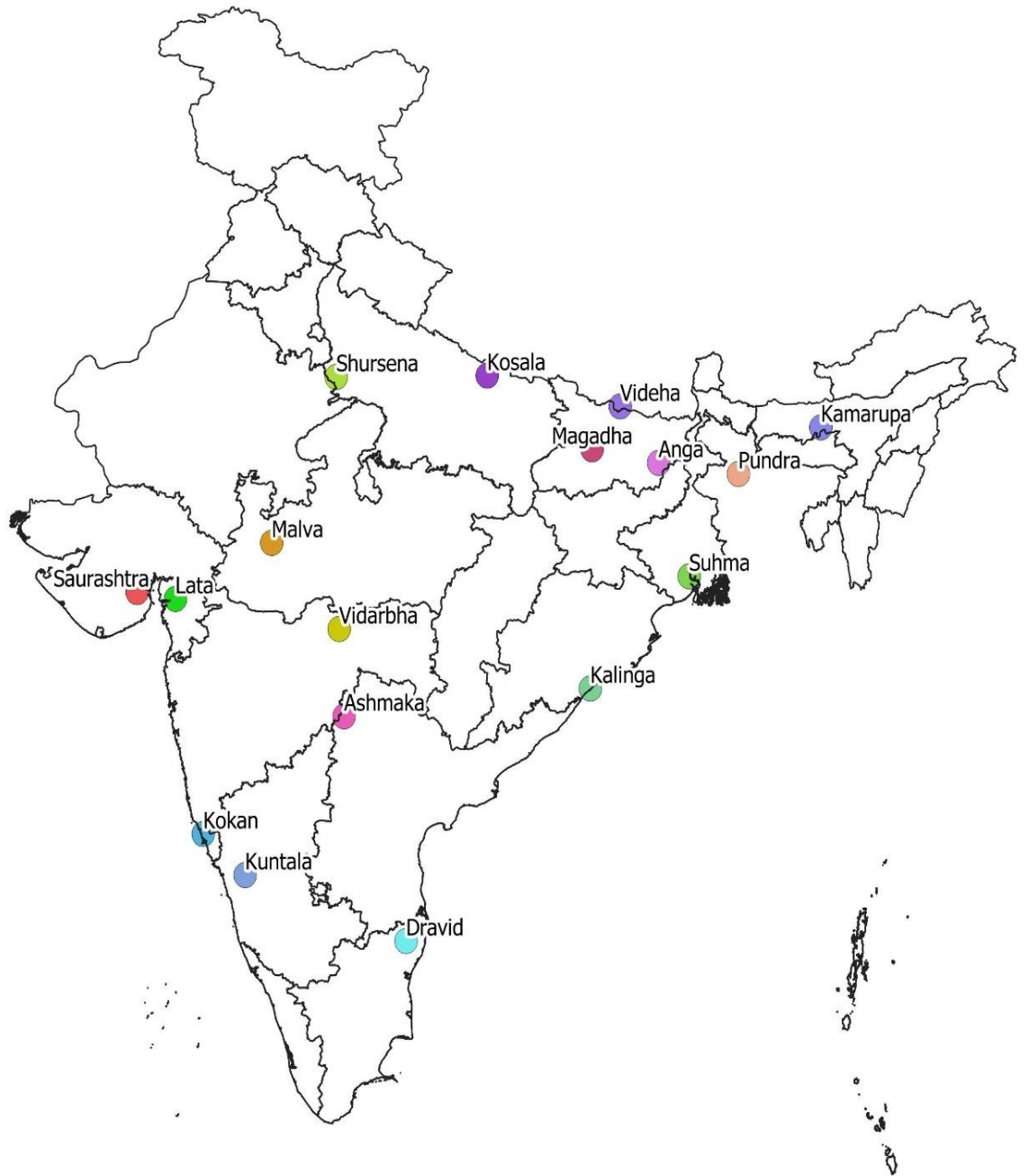
## APPENDIX 3.A

### Map of cities mentioned in the DKC



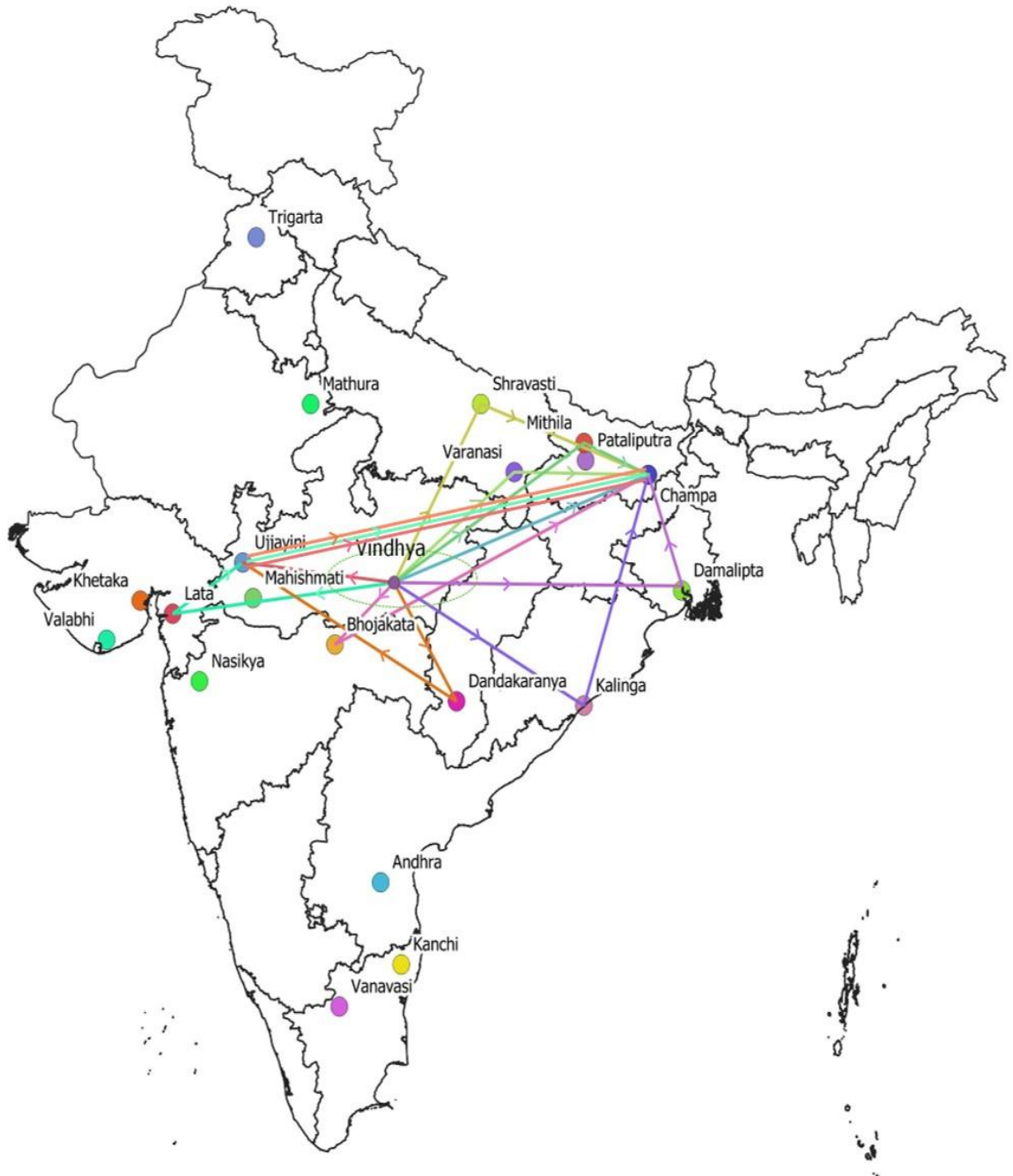
## APPENDIX 3.B

### Map of states mentioned in the DKC



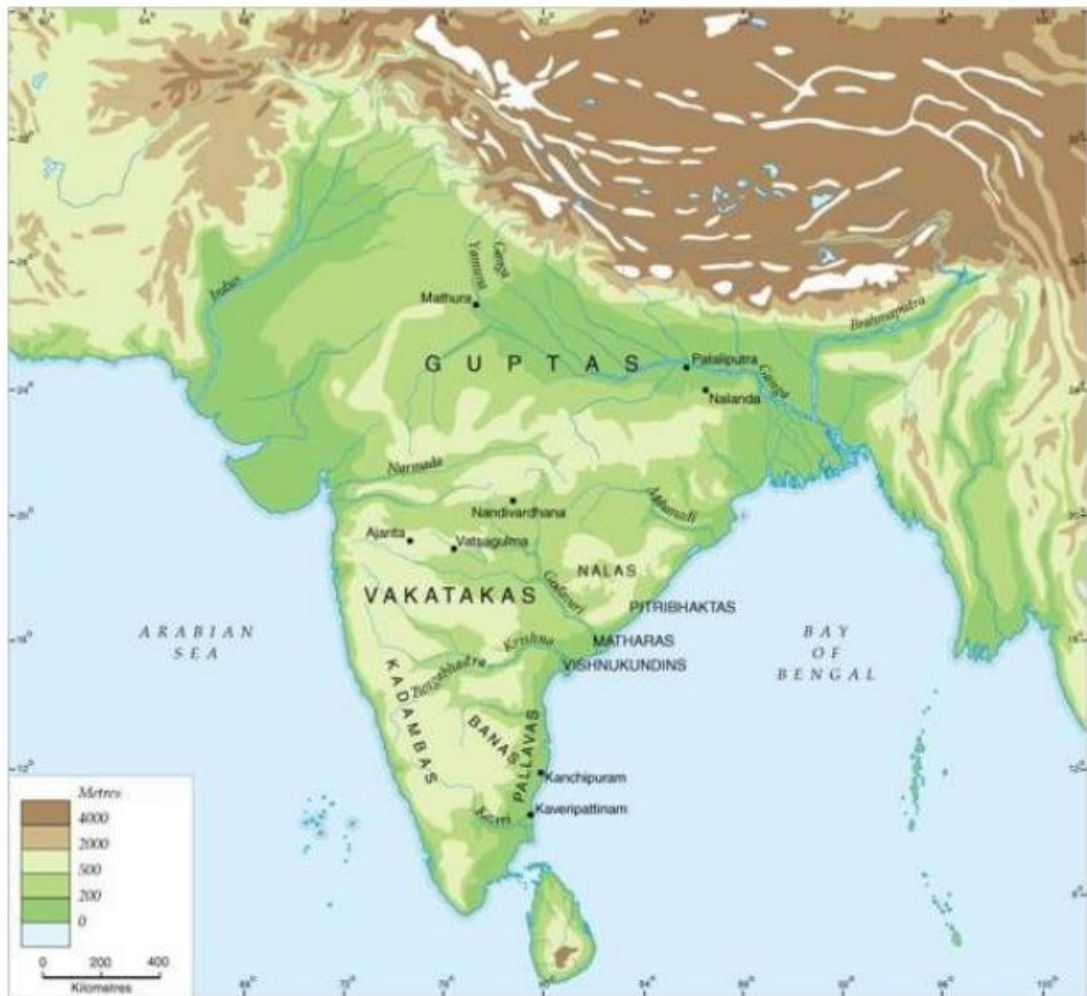
### APPENDIX 3.C

Map of places travelled by 10 Kumāras in the DKC



## APPENDIX 4.A

### The Kingdoms of the Guptas, Vakatakas and some contemporary dynasties



after Singh p. 476

## APPENDIX 4.B

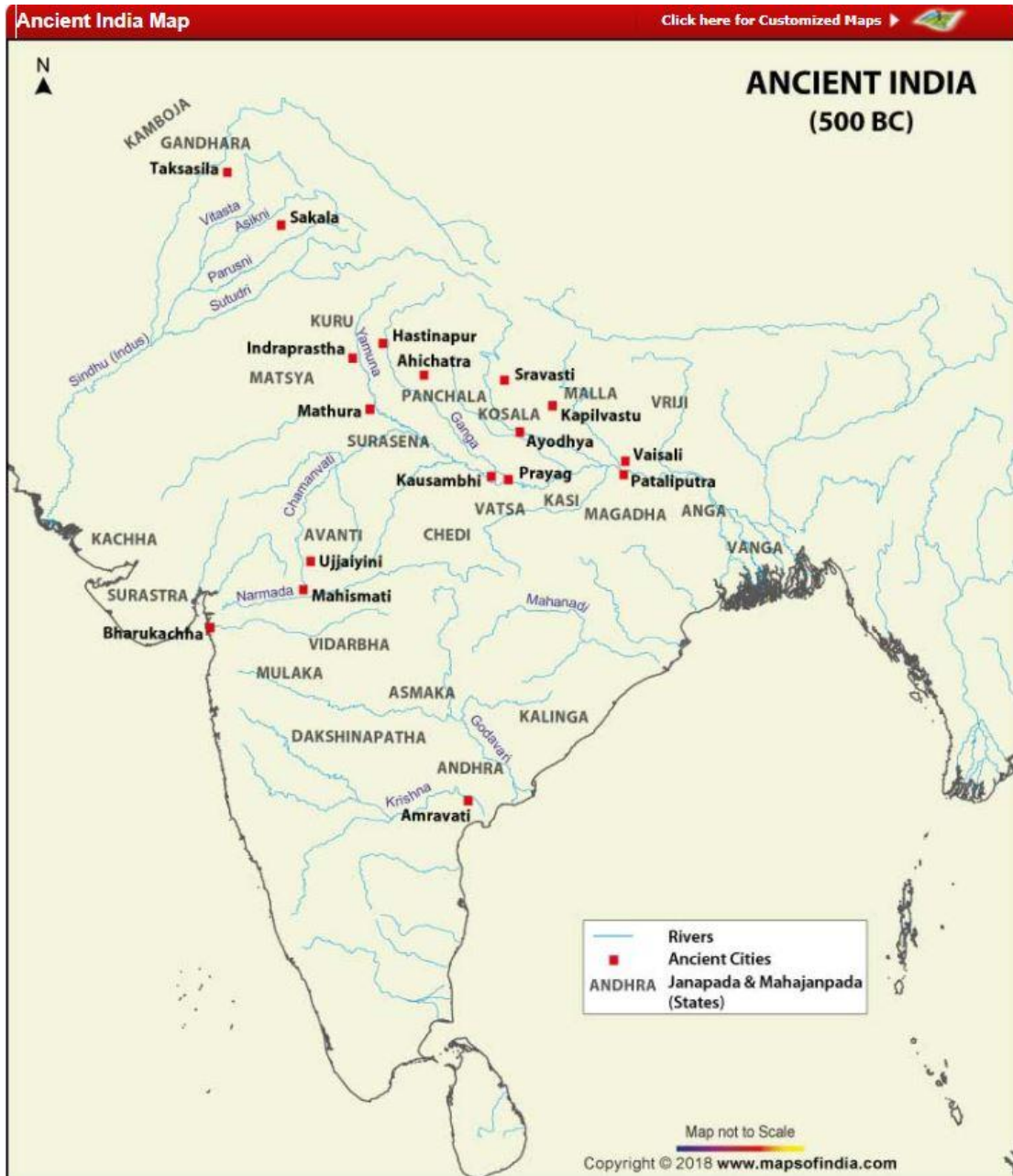
Map showing major dynasties of peninsular India, c.700-1300



after Singh p. 556

## APPENDIX 4.C

Map showing Ancient Indian Cities and Mahajanapadas

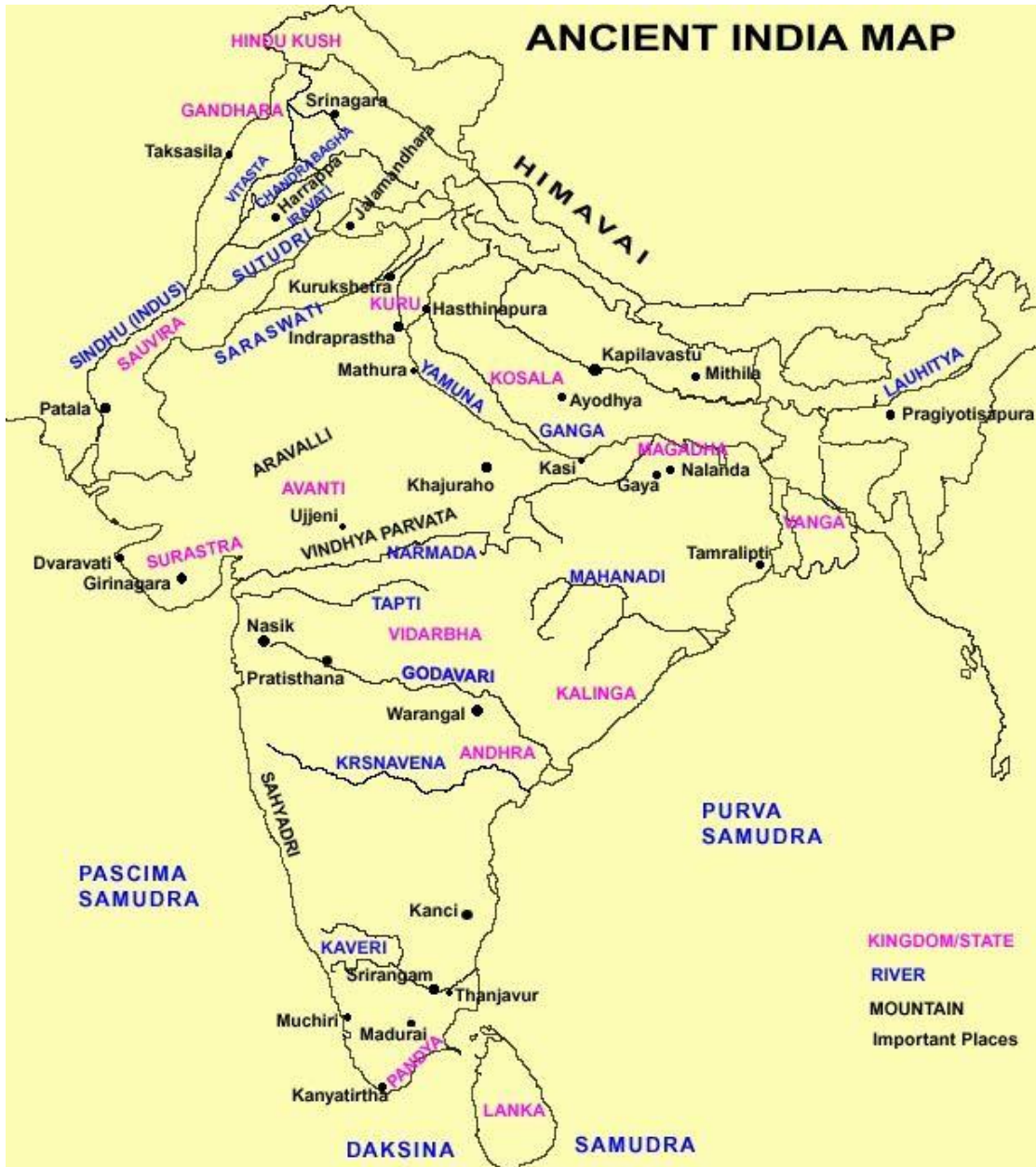


From <https://www.mapsofindia.com/history/ancient-india.htm>



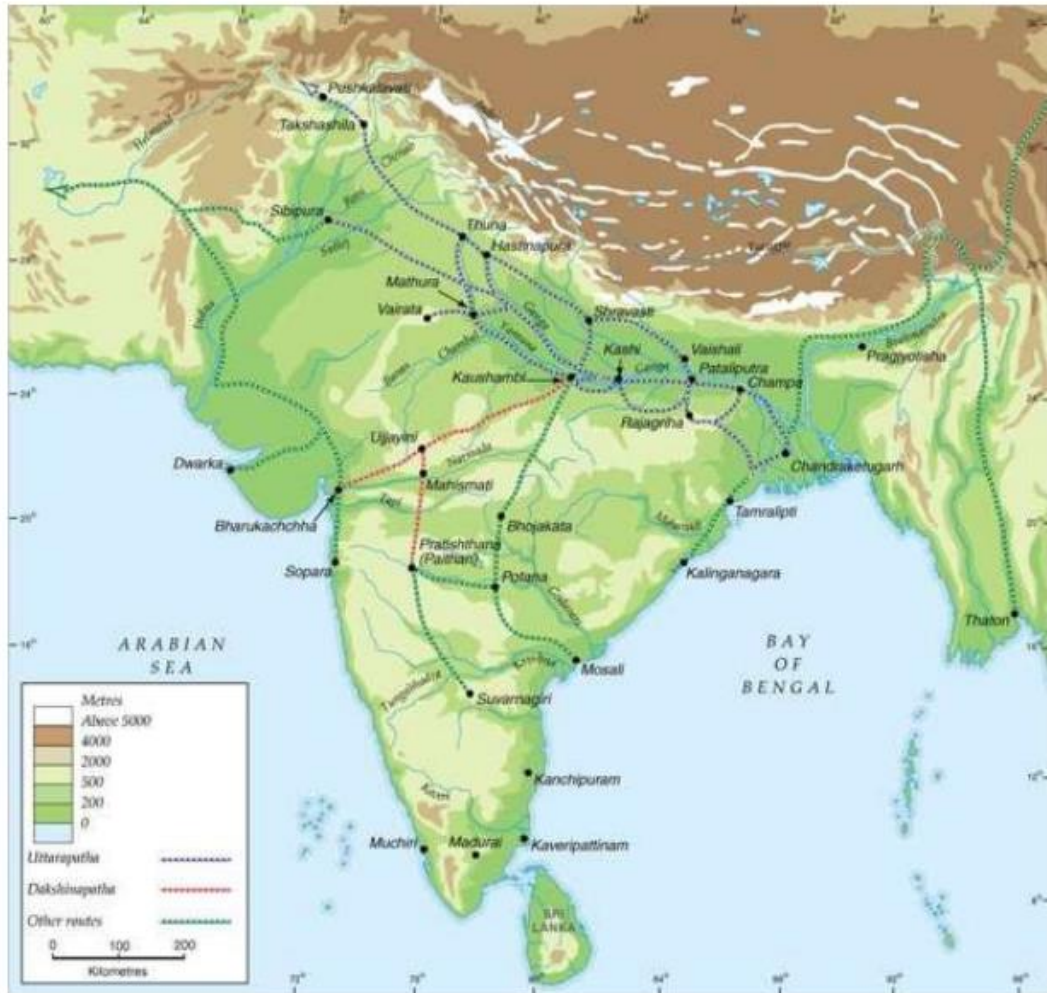
# APPENDIX 4.D

## Map showing Ancient Indian places



## APPENDIX 4.E

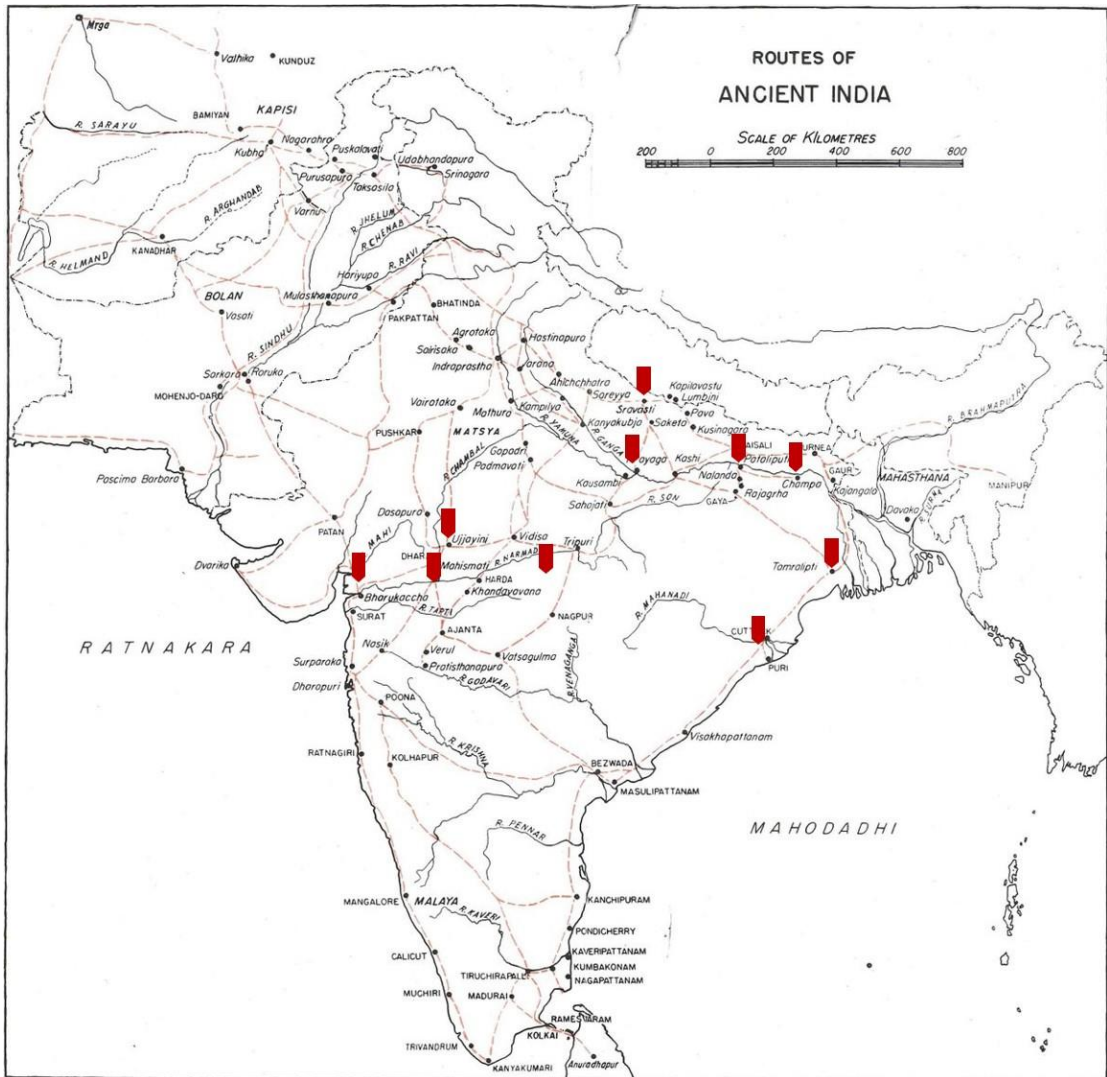
### Major Trade Routes of Early Historical India



after Singh p. 290

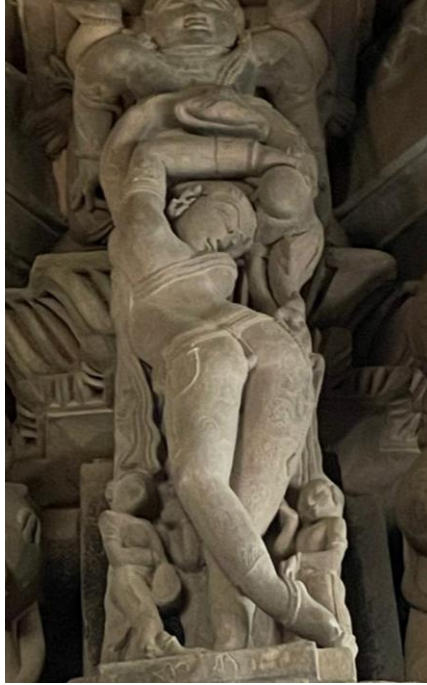
APPENDIX 4.F

Major Trade Routes of Early Historical India and places visited by 10 *kumāras*



APPENDIX 5

Sculptural Depiction of *Kandukakrīḍā* in temples



Lakshman Temple, Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh

PC: Vidya Gadre, Shalmali Shirodkar



Markandi Temple, Gadchiroli,  
Maharashtra

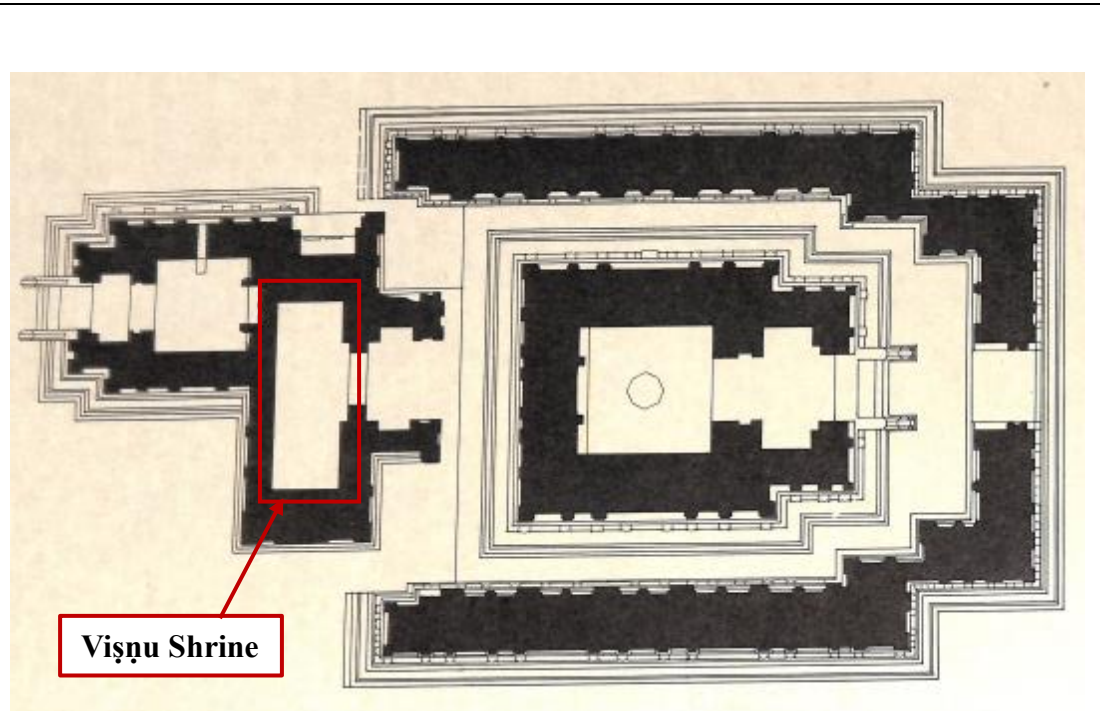


Mukteshwar Temple,  
Bhuvaneshwar, Odisha

PC: Ashutosh Bapat, Sonali Shah

## APPENDIX 6.A

### Plan of the Shore Temples and Viṣṇu image at Mahabalipuram



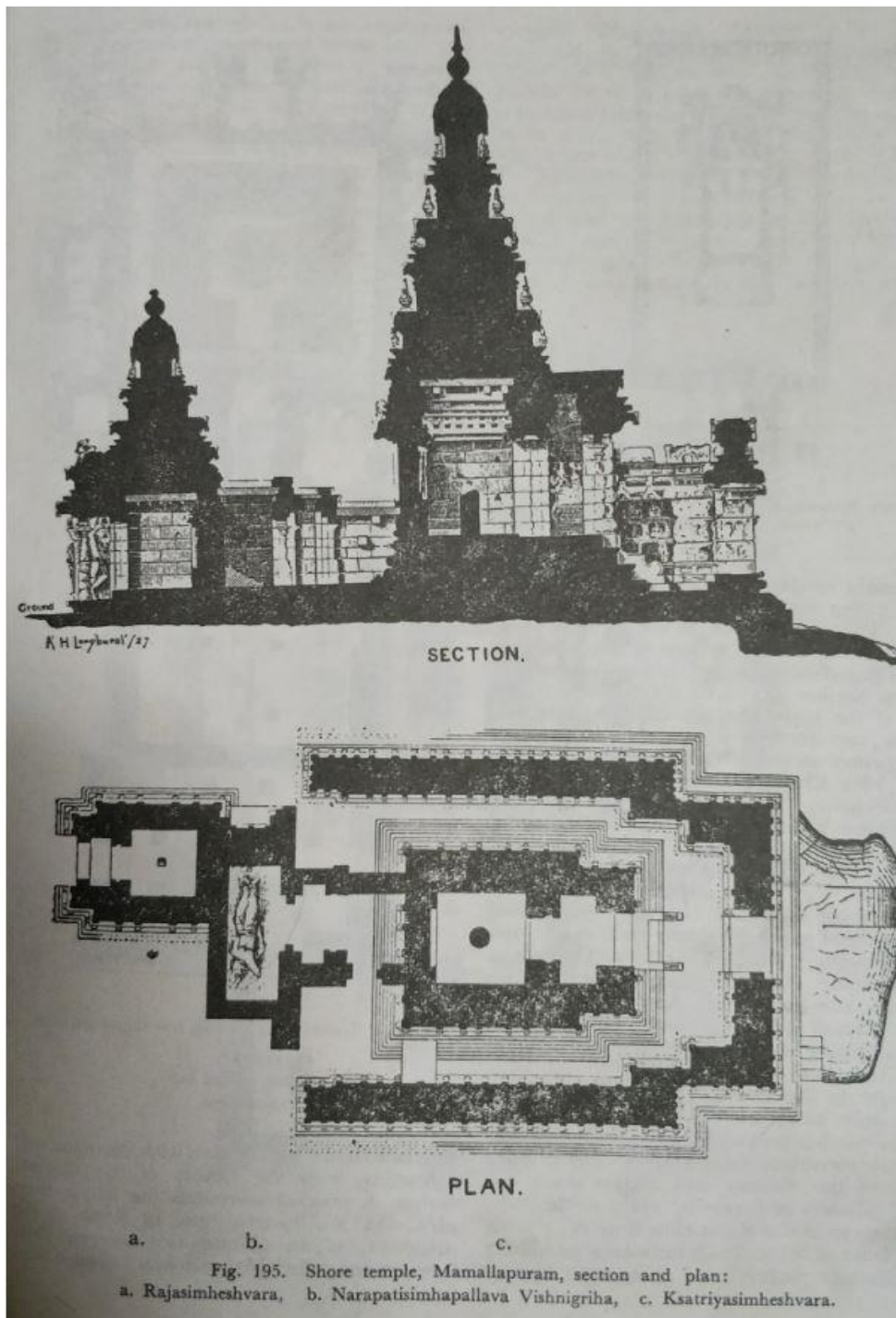
Plan of Shore temples, Māmallapuram, Tamilnadu  
After Meister, p. 64



Viṣṇu image, Shore Temple, Māmallapuram, Tamilnadu

## APPENDIX 6.B

### Section and plan of the Shore Temples at Mahabalipuram



## APPENDIX 6.C

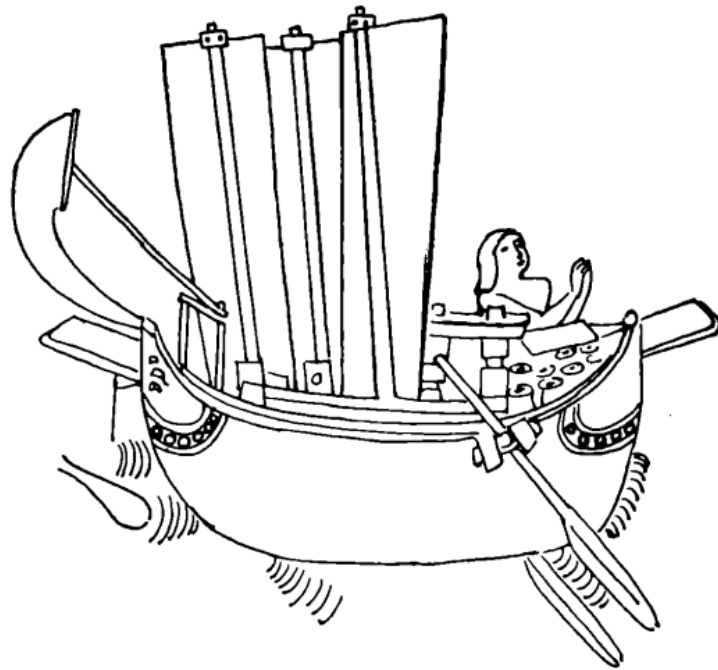
### Inscription of Pulakeśin at Aihole



[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/81/Aihole\\_inscription\\_of\\_Ravi\\_Kirti.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/81/Aihole_inscription_of_Ravi_Kirti.jpg)

## APPENDIX 7.A

### Material Culture depicted in the Paintings in the Caves at Ajanta



Ship at Ajanta cave no. 2, 6<sup>th</sup> century CE

After Moti Chandra, p. 230



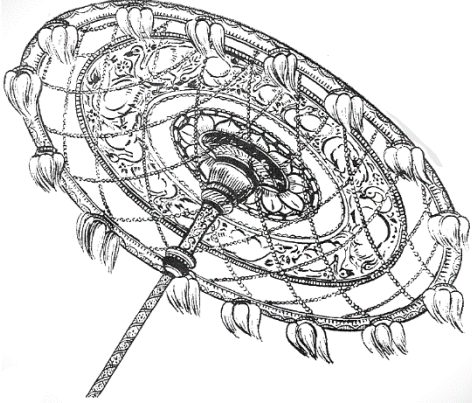

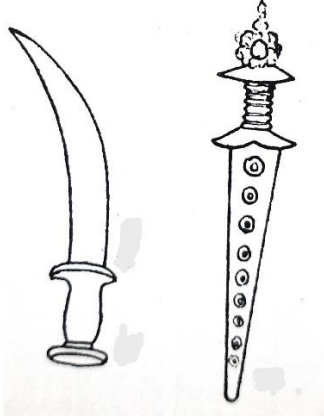
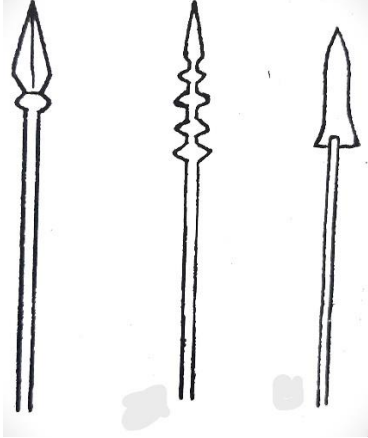
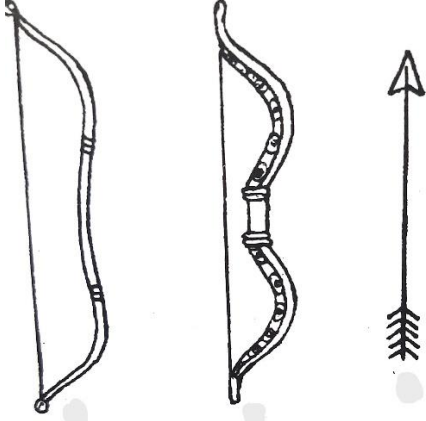
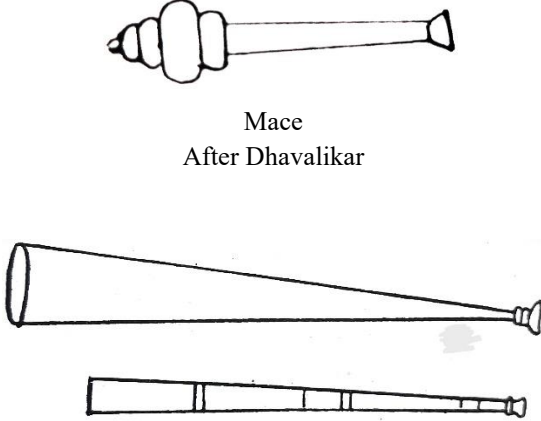
Ship at Ajanta cave no.17, 5<sup>th</sup> century CE

After Moti Chandra, p. 229



APPENDIX 7.B

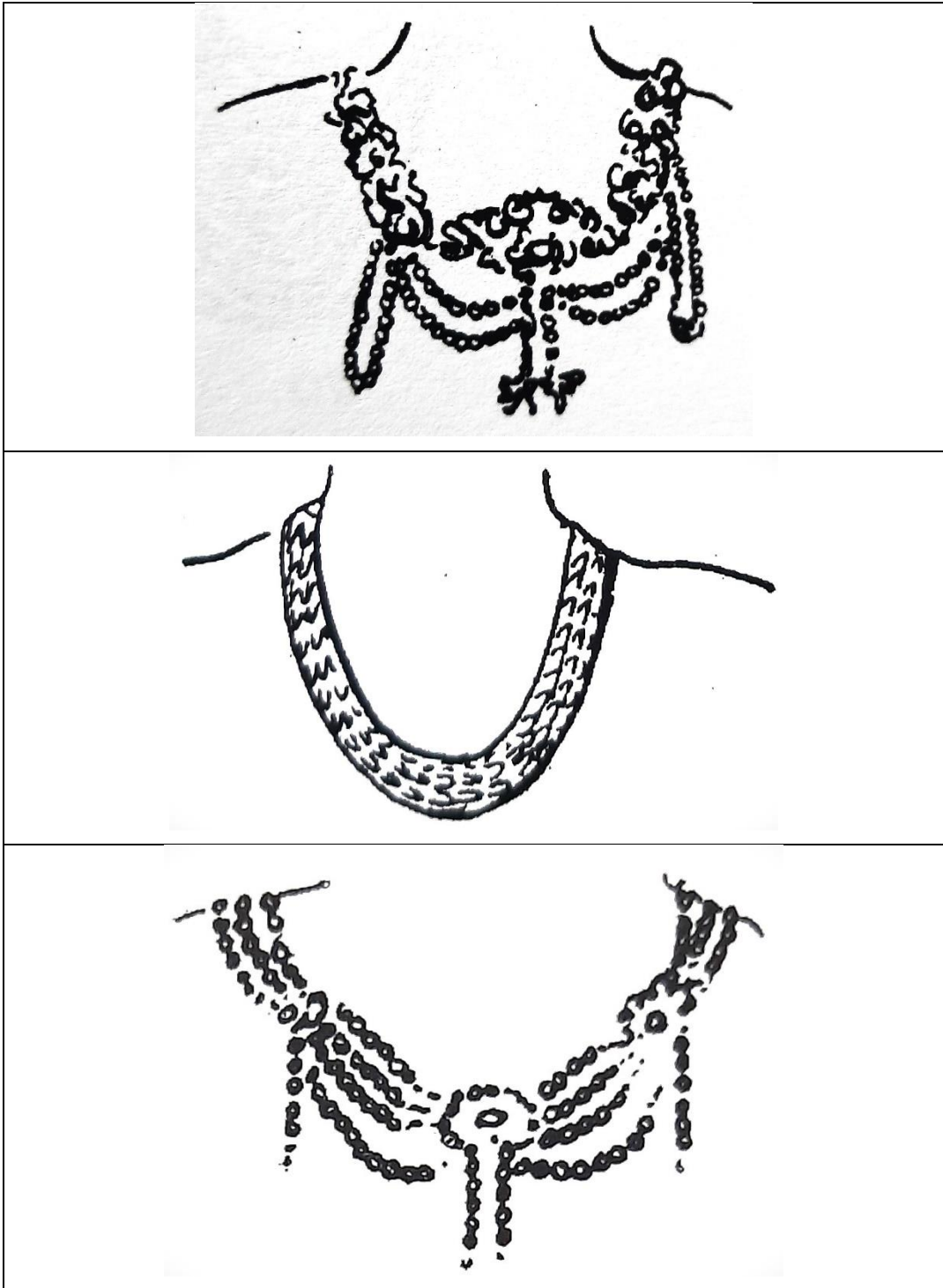
Material Culture depicted in the Paintings in the Caves at Ajanta

 <p>Royal Umbrella After Agrawal</p>	 <p>Warrior After Dhavalikar</p>
 <p>Types of Swords After Dhavalikar</p>	 <p>Types of Spears After Dhavalikar</p>
 <p>Bow and arrow After Dhavalikar</p>	 <p>Mace After Dhavalikar</p> <p>Trumpets After Dhavalikar</p>

APPENDIX 7.C

Material Culture depicted in the Paintings in the Caves at Ajanta

Types of necklaces



After Dhavalikar

**APPENDIX 7.D**

**Material Culture depicted in the Paintings in the Caves at Ajanta**



**Cock fight, Ajata painting, Cave no. 17**

After John Griffiths, plate 142

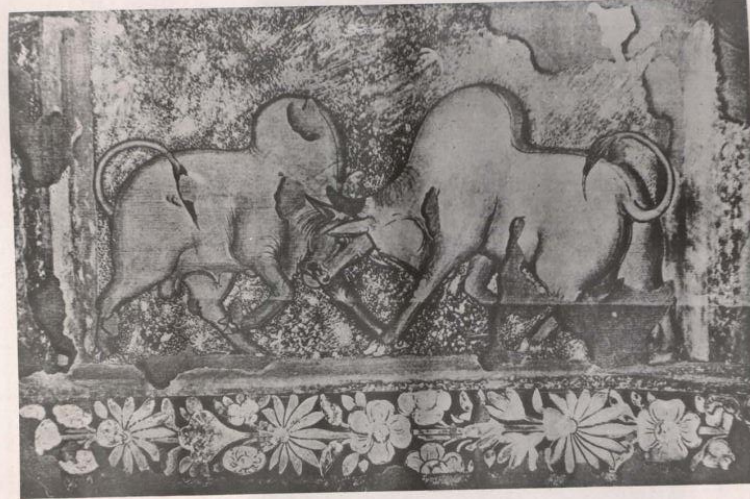


**Ram fight, Ajata painting, Cave no. 17**

After John Griffiths, plate 142

APPENDIX 7.E

Material Culture depicted in the Paintings in the Caves at Ajanta



114. TWO BULLS FIGHTING FROM BRACKET CAPITAL.

**Bull Fight, Ajanta Cave no.**  
After John Griffiths,



**Pleasure boat, Ajanta cave no. 1**  
After John Griffiths, p. 21

**APPENDIX 7.F**

**Material Culture depicted in the Paintings in the Caves at Ajanta**



**Musician, Ajanta cave no.**  
After John Griffiths, p.



**Musician, Ajanta cave no.**  
After John Griffiths, p.

## APPENDIX 8

### Manibhadra Yaksha, Mathura Museum



[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Yaksha\\_Manibhadra\\_Made\\_by\\_Gomitaki\\_-\\_Parkham\\_-\\_Circa\\_3rd-2nd\\_Century\\_BCE\\_-\\_Government\\_Museum\\_-\\_Mathura\\_2013-02-24\\_6158.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Yaksha_Manibhadra_Made_by_Gomitaki_-_Parkham_-_Circa_3rd-2nd_Century_BCE_-_Government_Museum_-_Mathura_2013-02-24_6158.JPG)

## APPENDIX 9

### Currency - Dināra



**Dināra - Coin of Samudragupta**

<https://indiancoins.com/product/ancient-guptas-samudragupta-king-and-queen-type-gold-dinar-g-819/>

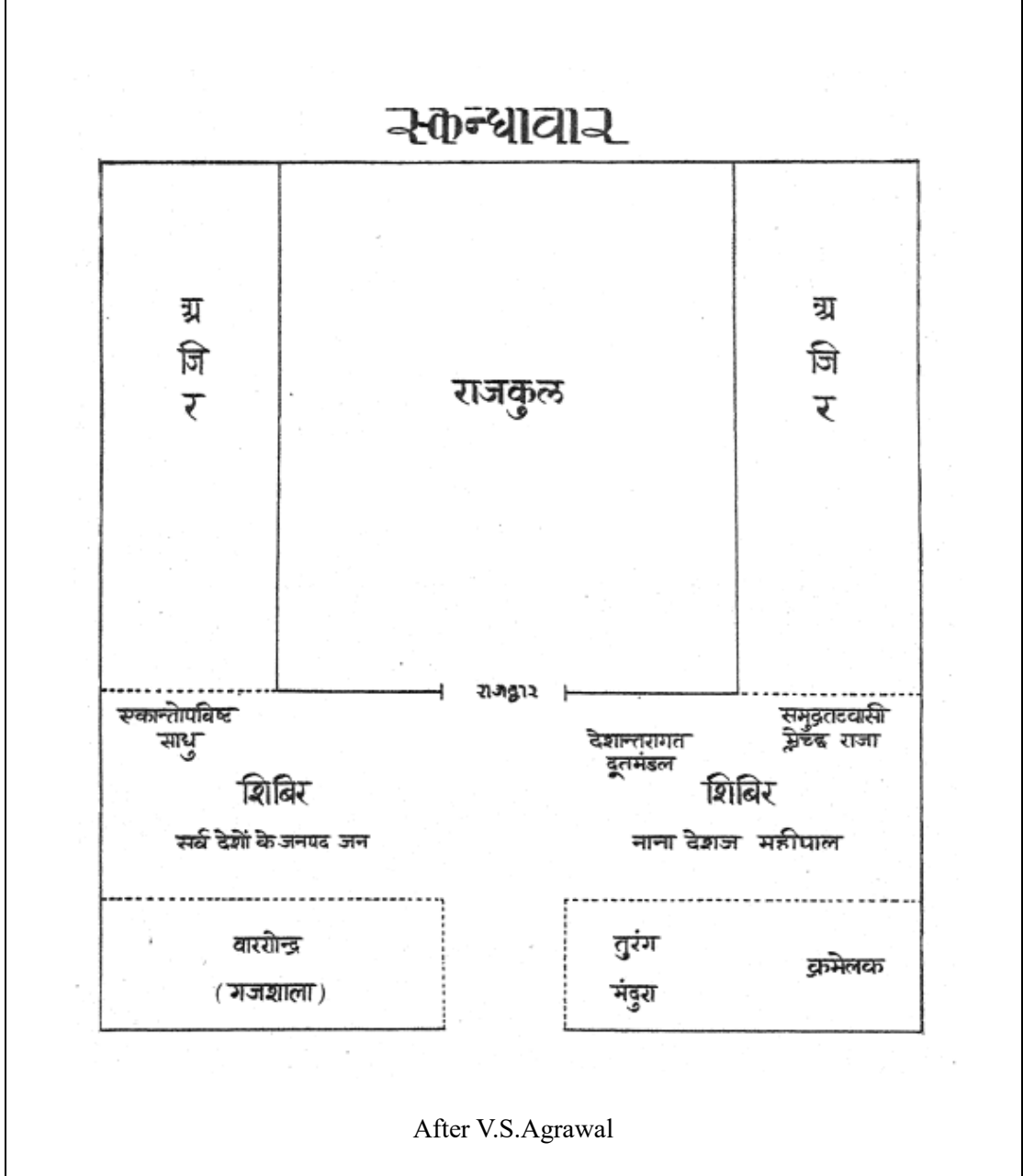


**Kumaragupta I, gold dinar, c. 415-455**

<https://coinindia.com/galleries-kumaragupta.html>

APPENDIX 10.A

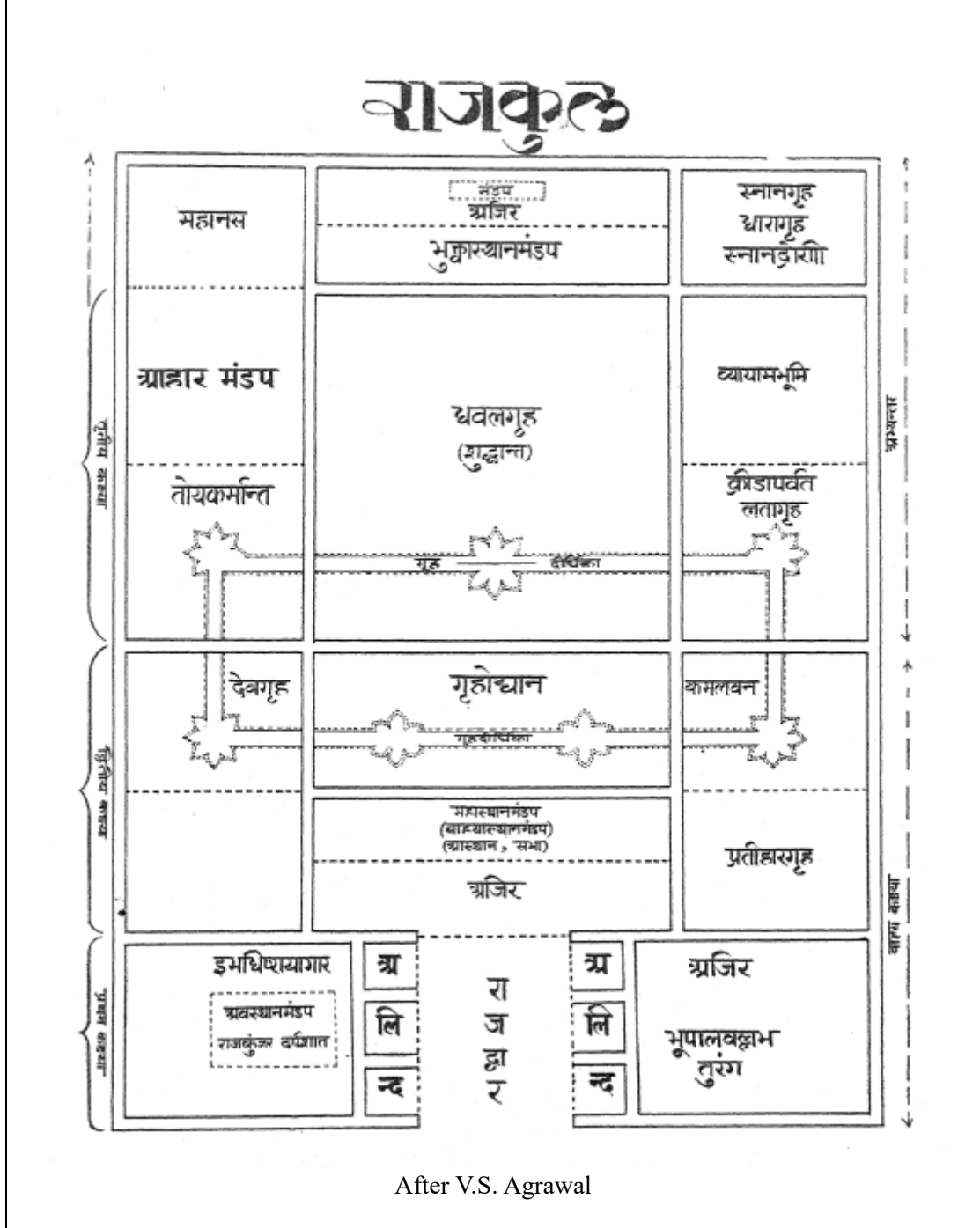
Select Plans of Ancient Indian Architecture





## APPENDIX 10.B

### Select Plans of Ancient Indian Architecture



## APPENDIX 11

### OCCUPATIONS MENTIONED IN THE DKC

Traders  
Shopkeepers  
Farmers  
Government workers  
Administrative officers  
Priests  
Musicians  
Dancers  
Magicians  
Soldiers  
Thieves  
Shepherds  
Prostitutes  
Sailors  
Maids  
different artisans like  
Jewellers  
Goldsmiths  
Ship makers  
Carpenters  
Tailors  
Blacksmiths etc.

## APPENDIX 12

### WEAPONS MENTIONED IN THE DKC

Dhanuṣ – Bāṇa	- Arrow and bow
Cāpa	- Bow
Cakra	- Wheel
Kaṇapa	- Kind of iron bar
Pattiśa	- Spear with a sharp edge
Karpaṇa	- Kind of a spear
Prāsa	- Spear
Musala	- Mace
Tomara	- Javelin
Bhalla	- Type of arrow
Gadā	- Mace
Khaḍga	- Sword
Asi	- Long sword
Vāṇāsanayantra	- Machine to throw arrows
Kavaca	- Shield

## APPENDIX 13

### UTENSILS MENTIONED IN THE DKC

Śūrpa	- Winnowing basket
Sthālī	- Earthen pot
Darvī	- Ladle or spoon
Śarāva	- Shallow dish or plate
Bhr̥ṅgāra	- Vase
Karaka	- Water pot
Karaṇḍaka	- Basket or Pot
Mṛdbhāṇḍa	- Vessel of clay
Carmaratnabhastrikā	- Leather bag
Cullī	- Fire stove
Ulūkhala	- Mortar
Musala	- Pestle
Vaṅgerikā	- Small basket
Vetra putikā	- Cane vessel
Peṭikā	- Box

### TOOLS MENTIONED IN THE DKC

Faṇimukha	- Kind of spade used by housebreakers
Sandaṁśaka	- Pair of tongs or pincers or nippers
Yogacūrṇa	- Magical powder
Yogavartikā	- Magical wick
Mānasūtra	- Measuring cord
Karkaṭaka	- Pair of tongs
Rajju	- Rope

## APPENDIX 14

### FLORA MENTIONED IN THE DKC

Name in text	Common Name	Botanical Name
Aguru	Agarwood tree	<i>Aquilaria malaccensis</i>
Āmalaka	Indian gooseberry	<i>Phyllanthus emblica</i>
Aravinda	Indian Lotus	<i>Nymphaea, Nelumbo</i>
Aśoka	Ashok tree	<i>Jonesia Asoka</i>
Bakula	Cherry tree	<i>Mimusops Elengi</i>
Campaka	Champaka	<i>Magnolia champaca</i>
Candana	Sandal wood	<i>Santalum album</i>
Ciñca	Tamarind	<i>Tamarindus indica</i>
Ghanasāra	Camphor	<i>Cinnamomum camphora</i>
Haridrā	Turmeric	<i>Curcuma longa</i>
Ingudī	Ingudi	<i>Balanitis aegyptiaca</i>
Indīvara	Blue lotus	<i>Nymphaea Stellata</i>
Juthikā	Juhi Jasmine	<i>Jasminum Auriculatum</i>
Kadalī	Banana	Musaceae
Kadamba	Kadamb tree	<i>Nauclea Cadamba</i>
Kamalinī	Lotus	<i>Nelumbo nucifera</i>
Kandalī	Banana	Musaceae
Kairava	White lotus	<i>Nymphaea lotus</i>
Karṇikāra	Kanak Champa	<i>Pterospermum Acerifolium</i>
Karañja	Indian beech	<i>Pongamia Glabra</i>
Karavīra	flower of Oleander	<i>Nerium oleander</i>
Kāśa	type of grass	<i>Saccarum Spontaneum</i>
Keśara	Saffron	<i>Crocus sativus L</i>
Khadira	Khair	<i>Acacia Catechu</i>
Kiṃsuka	Palasa	<i>Butea monosperma</i>
Kuśa	Grass	<i>Desmostachya bipinnata</i>
Kunda	Kind of jasmine flower	<i>Jasminum multiflorum</i>

<b>Name in text</b>	<b>Common Name</b>	<b>Botanical Name</b>
Kuvalaya	Blue lotus	Nymphaea caerulea
Kuṃkuma	Autumn crocus	Crocus Sativus
Kuraṅtaka	Yellow amaranth	Barleria longifolia
Śāla	Monkey fruit	Arto Carpus Lacucha
Mādhavī	One type of creeper	Hiptage benghalensis
Muktaka	Kind of flower	----
Navamālikā	Jasmine	Jasminum Sombac
Palāśa	Flame of forest	Butea Frondosa,
Pātala	Red lodhra	Symplocos racemosa
Picumanda	Nimba tree	Azadirachta Indica
Piṅḍī	Bottle gourd	Cucurbita Lagenaria
Pumnāga	----	Rottleria Tincotoria
Raktāśoka	Asoka with red flowers	Saraca asoca
Rājīva	Blue lotus	Nymphaea caerulea
Rohiṇa	Banyan	Ficus benghalensis
Sahakāra	Mango tree	Magnifera Indica
Śāla	Shala tree	Vatica Robusta
Śiriṣa	Plantain tree	Andropogon muricatum
Sindhuvāra	Five-leaved Chaste tree	Vitex Negundo
Tamāla	Indian gamboge tree	Garcinea Morilla
Tāmbula	Betel-nut	Piper betle
Tīla	Sesame	Sesamum Indicum
Tilaka	bleeding heart plant	Clerodendrum Phlomoides
Uśīra	Fragrant root of grass	Andropogn Muricatus
Utpala	Blue lotus	Nymphaea caerulea
Vaṃśa	Bamboo	Bambusa vulgaris
Vaṭa	Banyan	Ficus benghalensis

## FAUNA MENTIONED IN THE DKC

Aja	- Goat
Asibiṣa	- Snake
Baka	- Crane
Balīvarda	- Bull or ox
Bhogin	- Snake
Bhujāṅga	- Snake
Cakravāka	- Ruddy goose
Darvikara	- Snake
Go	- Cow
Gavala	- Wild buffalo
Gṛdhra	- Vulture
Gavaya	- Species of ox
Haya	- Horse
Harīṇa	- Deer
Haṁsa, Rājahaṁsa	- Swan
Hastin	- Elephant
Kapila	- Brown cow
Kalandāja	- Cuckoo
Kalahaṁsa	- Swan, duck
Kalakaṇṭha	- Cuckoo, pigeon
Karin	- Elephant
Kāka	- Crow
Kālasarpa	- Venomous Serpent
Kīra	- Parrot
Kokila	- Cuckoo
Kaṇṭhīrava	- Lion
Kukkuṭa	- Cock
Kūrma	- Tortoise
Makara	- Horned Shark
Markaṭa	- Monkey
Marālika	- Swan

Matsya	- Fish
Mṛga	- Deer
Mayūra	- Peacock
Nakra	- Crocodile
Pārāvata	- Pigeon
Rājahaṁsa	- Flamingo, kind of swan
Sārasa	- Indian Crane
Simha	- Lion
Śārdūla	- Tiger
Śuka	- Parrot
Śvāna	- Dog
Śyena	- Falcon
Tāmracūḍa	- Red crested cock
Turaga	- Horse
Utkrosa	- Sea Eagle
Vandara	- Monkey
Vāraṇa	- Elephant
Vṛka	- Wolf, jackal
Vyāghra	- Tiger



**A CULTURAL STUDY OF THE DAŚAKUMĀRACARITA  
OF DAṄḌIN IN LIGHT OF SOCIO-POLITICAL  
HISTORY OF 6TH–8TH CENTURIES CE**

A thesis submitted to

**TILAK MAHARASHTRA VIDYAPEETH, PUNE**

for the Degree of

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN INDOLOGY**

Under the Board of Arts and Fine Arts Studies



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**NOVEMBER 2023**

## 80\_Recommendation

### CONCLUSIONS

#### V.1. CULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE DKC

As mentioned in the chapter on methodology, different aspects such as social, cultural, and religious have been studied in the present research work. Along with them, the geographical, historical and political data have also been considered in detail. The detailed observations are noted in the chapter IV. There are a number of scholars who have done their research on the DKC in the past. It was observed that they have discussed some of these topics in their theses. Such topics are not included in this chapter discussing the conclusions of the present research work. However, the topics that were not covered by previous researchers, are mainly being discussed here.

#### V.2. POLITICAL ASPECTS

While studying the geographical data presented by the DKC, it was noticed that, Daṇḍin, in his DKC, mentions most of the important places in ancient India. These places had a significant importance in ancient Indian history. States like Magadha, Aṅga, Mālava, Vidarbha, Kāñcī, and Māhiṣmatī were strong political powers. Cities like Campā, Ujjayinī, Mathurā, and Pāṭaliputra were important places for trade. Cities like Vārāṇasī and Kāñcī were also famous for their religious affiliation.

The DKC shows that after the defeat of the Magadha king Rājahaṁsa, the political power shifts to Ujjayinī. It highlights the political importance of the Ujjayinī in the sixth–seventh centuries CE. Campā has also been shown as an important city in the DKC. From the details of the places where the ten *kumāras* travel, we observe that all these places are mostly situated on the ancient trade routes. Although Daṇḍin has mentioned different places from all over India, the main story takes place in the regions around Pāṭaliputra, Ujjayinī and Campā. We can conclude that this part of India was politically powerful during the sixth to eighth centuries CE.

That Daṇḍin never mentions Thāneśvara, the capital of the king Harṣavardhana, is interesting to note. Same is the case of Kanauj, which was an important centre of trade under the rule of Harṣavardhana. Harṣavardhana is dated little earlier than Daṇḍin. He was a famous king of that time. Therefore, Daṇḍin must have been aware of his

name, and probably also about the battle between Harṣavardhana and Cālukya king Pulakeśin (II).<sup>1</sup> However, he never mentions these important cities. It seems that the religious aspect might have played some role in absence of these names in the DKC.

### V.3. RELIGIOUS ASPECTS

On a careful observation, it can be noted that most of the deities from the Purāṇic religion have been mentioned by Daṇḍin. He was a strong follower of Vaiṣṇavism, as stated earlier, in the section on Religion and Philosophy. He also mentions different temples of Śiva like Mahākālesvara at Ujjayinī or the one at Vārāṇasī. He talks about the goddesses like Vindhyavāsini and Durgā. There are references of other gods like Kārttikeya, Indra, and Brahman. Even the later deity like Gaṇeśa, is mentioned in the narration of a dream by one of the *kumāras*. But it seems that Daṇḍin has knowingly omitted the references of the Jaina and Buddhist religions. A son of a *vaiśya* who became ascetic belonging to the Digambara Jaina sect is shown in on narration. Here too, after realising the truth, he is depicted returning to his original faith from “*pākhaṇḍī patha*”. Also, there is a reference to one Buddhist *bhikṣuṇī* only.

While observing the historical data in the DKC considered by different scholars<sup>2</sup>, one thing can be noticed. The historical personalities identified as the main characters in the DKC by these scholars, were followers of the Vedic and Purāṇic religion, such as the Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa and Subandhu of the Kalacurī dynasty.

At the end of the eighth *ucchvāsa*, Viśruta clearly states his purpose of acquiring the throne. Kale (2003: 367) translates, “With their help ..... tormented the heretics, cleared out all who stood like thorns in the way of the prosperity of the state, thwarted the secret plans of the foes, and firmly established the four castes<sup>3</sup> in their respective religious spheres and duties— since all undertakings that are based on policy emanate from wealth, and that no sin would be worse than showing weakness in adhering to the principles of policy— I zealously took all the proper measures”.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For details, see the discussion under the point V.5.

<sup>2</sup> For details, see the discussion under the heading “Historical Aspects” in the chapter IV.

<sup>3</sup> Kale has translated चातुर्वर्ण्य as four castes instead of four varṇas.

<sup>4</sup> तच्चापि श्रुत्वा ..... धार्मिकत्वमुद्गावयन् नास्तिकान्कदर्थयन् कण्टकान्विशोधयन् अमित्रोपधीरपघ्नन् चातुर्वर्ण्यं च स्वधर्मकर्मसु स्थापयन् अभिसमाहरेयमर्थान्। अर्थमूला हि दण्डविशिष्टकर्मारम्भाः । न चान्यदस्ति पापिष्ठं तत्र दौर्बल्यात् । इत्याकलय्य योगानन्वतिष्ठम् ।

These passages showcase the inclination of Daṇḍin towards the Vedic religion. This might be the reason why he avoided referring to the important places like Sthāniśvara and Kanauja in his story. These places were falling under the rule of the king Harṣavardhana, who was a strong follower of Buddhism.<sup>5</sup>

#### V.4. KANDUKANṚTYA

While conducting the cultural study, the festival of ball, i.e., *Kandukamahotsava* and *Kandukanṛtya* were not studied in detail by previous scholars. In the current research, an in-depth study of this festival has been done. *Kandukamahotsava* was an important ancient festival which originated from *deśī* or tribal form of art, *kandukanṛtya*. This form of dance has been depicted also in the visual art of ancient India. An example can be mentioned of the sculptures of one of the *surasundarīs* called *kandukakrīdāagnā* depicted on the walls of temples. It shows the assimilation of tribal art in the classical art form.

#### V.5. DATE OF DAṆḌIN

Regarding the date of Daṇḍin, some points have already been discussed in the first chapter. Here we will consider some other relevant evidence to find the exact date of Daṇḍin. From the *Avantisundarīkathā*, another composition of Daṇḍin, we get to know that Daṇḍin was once invited by a sculptor to see the image of Viṣṇu at Māmallapuram. The sculptor had repaired one hand of the said image. On the visit to Māmallapuram (modern Mahabalipuram), he saw the *anantaśayana* image of (sleeping) Viṣṇu. He notices that the seawaters are touching the feet of the image. It is to be noted that in this narration, there is no mention of any other temples nearby.

There is only one such image in Mahabalipuram, which matches with this description. It is present in a small shrine between the two temples on the seashore. Nowadays, this temple complex is known by the name “Shore temples of Mahabalipuram”. As described by Meister (1999: 53), these three temples are in a row, one behind the other. Between a small temple facing west called Rājasimheśvara and a large temple facing east called Kṣatriyasimheśvara, a small flat-roofed maṇḍapa is present. This shrine is known by the name Narapatisimha Pallava Viṣṇugṛha. The Kṣatriyasimheśvara temple has a surrounding wall (*prākāra*) on all sides but is open on

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<sup>5</sup> With reference to Xuanzang, Majumdar (1954: 119) stated.

the west to provide access to the Viṣṇu temple at its rear. The shrine of Viṣṇu is of rectangular plan and is without any *śikhara* now. According to Meister (1999: 55), this Viṣṇu shrine is the earliest part of this temple complex.

When we observe the plan<sup>6</sup> of the temple complex, the Kṣatriyasimheśvara temple is in front of the Viṣṇu shrine. In other words, the access to the entrance of the Viṣṇu shrine is blocked by the Kṣatriyasimheśvara temple. The wall of the Rājasimheśvara temple touches the wall of the Viṣṇu shrine. There is a small passage between the two temples. Generally, such ancient Indian temples are spacious and have a proper architectural plan. The reason behind such type of intricate construction, must be the addition of temples that took place over the period of time. Therefore, it is possible to argue that the architectural plans of the shore temples of Mahabalipuram support the hypothesis that the Viṣṇu shrine must have been the earliest. The two temples of Śiva were built in later times, adjacent to this temple.

We also get the supporting data from inscriptions. This temple complex has three inscriptions. According to the annual report of ASI (1909: 234), the inscriptions of the Colās from the Shore Temple mention three shrines at Māmallapuram, viz, Kṣatriyasimha-Pallava-Īśvara, Rājasimha-Pallava-Īśvara and Paḷḷikoṇḍaruḷiya-devar<sup>7</sup>. These were situated in the temple called Jalaśayana, i.e., the Shore Temple. Kṣatriyasimha-Pallava-Īśvara was probably the name of the larger temple. Rājasimha-Pallava-Īśvara might be the name of the smaller temple, while Paḷḷikoṇḍaruḷiya-devar probably denotes the shrine, where a large mutilated statue of the god Viṣṇu is lying. As stated in the report of ASI, the Pallava king Rājasimha built the smaller temple. It is just possible that Kṣatriyasimha was another name of the same king. Venkayya states that, in this case, the whole complex of the Shore Temples must have been built by the Pallava king Rājasimha, who constructed the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram.

As mentioned by Hultzsch (1890: 66), the inscription of Rājarāja-deva from Māmallapuram mentions three temples. Two temples of these were called after and built by Pallava kings. The first one is Kṣatriyasimha-Pallava-Īśvara-deva and the second temple is Rājasimha-Pallava-Īśvara-deva. The third temple Paḷḷikoṇḍaruḷiya-deva may perhaps refer to the Śriraṅganāyaka temple at Paḷḷikoṇḍa.

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<sup>6</sup> see Appendix

<sup>7</sup> The inscription on the north base of the shore temple is in Tamil. Hultzsch (1890: 68) provides the details as, “Hail! Prosperity! In the twenty-sixth year of the illustrious ... of (the temples of) Jalaśayana, (alias) Kshatriyasimha-Pallava-Īśvara-deva at this town and of Rājasimha-Pallava-Īśvara-deva and of Paḷḷikoṇḍaruḷiya-deva ...”.

However, Hultsch (1890: 66) states that the third temple should be Viṣṇu shrine and not Śriraṅganāyaka temple, because the term Paḷḷikoṇḍaruḷiya-devar can be roughly translated as “god who is in sleeping posture” or “the god who loves to sleep”.<sup>8</sup> The temple mentioned as Jalaśayana is Shore Temple, which appears in another inscription from the same site.<sup>9</sup> This inscription has a reference of Jalaśayana-deva at Māmallapuram, the chief town of the fifty villages, that form part of today’s Āmūr-kotṭam village.

Venkayya (1909: 232) also mentions that the third temple which is dedicated to Viṣṇu is from Māmallapuram. However, he placed all three temples in the regime of Pallava king Rājasimha who is also known as Narasimhavarman (II).

The name of the temple Jalaśayana, mentioned in the inscription, suggests its location near the sea or the image of Viṣṇu in *anantaśayana* near the waters. As seen above, the Viṣṇu shrine was the earliest and it was called Narapatisimha Pallava Viṣṇugṛha. From the *Avantisundarīkathā*<sup>10</sup>, we get information that there was only Viṣṇu temple when Daṇḍin visited Māmallapuram. There is no mention of any other temples.

Thus, it can be concluded that this Viṣṇu temple must have been erected during the period of Narasimhavarman (I) and not during the period of Rājasimha, i.e., Narasimhavarman (II). If the Viṣṇu temple was erected in the period of Narasimhavarman (I) (c. 630–668 CE), and as mentioned in the Introduction, Daṇḍin left Kāñcī in c. 630/631 CE and returned after the death of Pulakeśin (II) in 642 CE, then this temple must have been erected between the period 642–668 CE. This time matches with the information given in the *Avantisundarīkathā* by Daṇḍin.

In this scenario, Daṇḍin must have been born in c. 615 CE. He may have left Kāñcī at the age of 15 or 16. This is the same age that he describes in the DKC. All the ten *kumāras* start their journey at the age of sixteen.

Considering all the above facts, Daṇḍin should be dated in the first quarter of the seventh century. He flourished in the period of the Pallava king Narsimhavarman (I) and not Narsimhavarman (II).

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<sup>8</sup> South Indian Inscriptions (1890: 66).

<sup>9</sup> *ibid* 63.

<sup>10</sup> Pillai (1954: 14).

## **V.6. SCOPE FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

In the current research, the researcher has tried to cover different aspects of the cultural study. However, all the political and historical data of that period has not been studied. There is a scope for further research, where one can identify all the characters mentioned in the DKC with the contemporary personalities. This study shall be carried out with the help of inscriptional data of that region.