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EPIGRAPHICAL ECHOES OF KĀLIDĀSA

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Epigraphical Echoes of Kālidāsa



Frontispiece

This lovely theme of the ideal mates and the object of their love described by Kālidāsa has excellent examples in the Somāskanda sculptures which abound in Pallava monuments being ever present behind the Śivalinga in the inner sanctuary; this picture is a painting of the theme from one of the cells in the courtyard of the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeevaram.

(Block lent by the Author)

Epigraphical Echoes of Kālidāsa

BY

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35277

WITH A FOREWORD

BY

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Sculpture inspired by Kālidāsa.

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Amarāvati sculptures in the Madras Government Museum.

With a Foreword by Dr. F. H. Gravely, pp. xviii and 376, 65 plates including illustrations by the author, Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, Madras,

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Siv

TO
The Memory of
Professor F. Kielhorn, PH.D., C.I.E.,
and
Professor G. Bühler, PH.D., LL.D., C.I.E.,
Pioneers in this line of work.

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FOREWORD

The Golden age of classical Sanskrit literature has undoubtedly left its indelible mark in the footprints of time in India. One of the most important respects, however, in which Sanskrit literature differs from other literature is the absence of a proper historical perspective. Indian tradition loves to think of its literary idols like Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti, and Dandin as contemporaries and a well-known tradition speaks of a contest between these authors decided by Sarasvati, the Goddess of learning, herself. Another tradition speaks of a galaxy of nine poets and authors as forming nine jewels in the court of Vikramaditya, the contemporaneity of some of whom at any rate, is open to serious doubt. The importance of dateable inscriptions embodying thoughts couched in exactly similar expressions as found in the classical poets opens the way to a better appreciation of the historic position of the masters of literature and the evolution of style. In the entire discussion about the date of the greatest Sanskrit poet, Kalidasa, the mention of this poet in the dated Aihole inscription of Ravikriti forms the latest firm limit. A careful study of the epigraphical material on these lines has enabled scholars to fix the dates of Sanskrit poets and authors within narrow limits.

The present study of Mr. Sivaramamurti however confines itself to a limited objective viz., the discussion of such expressions and passages in epigraphical literature as can be recognised as borrowed from or at least echoed from Sanskrit literature. The title of the work refers specifically to Kalidasa, although reference to Valmiki, the first poet, Bharavi, Bana, and Dandin are also included. As Kalidasa undoubtedly exemplifies the best spirit of Sanskrit literature and ancient India and his thoughts and expressions set the standard for all his successors, it is but natural that such a large number of his ideas and idioms should have place in the compositions of the Court poets and authors in various ages and climes which have been preserved to this day in the shape of inscriptions in stone and copper-plate. Sound knowledge of Sanskrit literature is undoubtedly a help to the understanding of ancient India in which epigraphy forms such a vitally important section. Mr. Sivaramamurti has further enlivened his book by reproducing (as is his wont) the actual forms of the letters in which the thoughts forming the echoes from Kalidasa, and other poets are embodied, so that the reader should be introduced to the interesting world of epigraphy. He has searched far and wide among Indian inscriptions to find out the material he had in view and his selection of epigraphical passage thus covers a wide range

from the 2nd century A.D. to the 12th century and from Kathiawar in the West to Bengal in the East and from Kurukshetra in the North to the extreme South of Peninsula, thus exhibiting every variety of writing found in Indian inscriptions. It is hoped that this work to the preparation of which the author has devoted great labour will have the effect of interesting Sanskrit scholars to the treasures embodied in ancient writings. The work is a fitting sequel to the author's fascinating though somewhat inaccurately titled work "Sculpture inspired by Kalidasa" and we may hope to have more delightful studies at the hands of one who combines in himself in rare proportions such accomplishments as a connoisseur of Sanskrit literature, a sound archaeologist and last but not least a fine artist.

POONA,

22nd July 1944

K. N. DIKSHIT.

PREFACE

I am glad to welcome this the first of the publications to be issued under the auspices of the Archaeological Society of South India. The author is well-known for the keen interest that he takes in archaeological studies. It is the hope of the Society that similar publications may be issued in future from well-known archaeologists who are members of the Society. The inscriptions contained in this book afford interesting reading and give a good insight into the thought of Kalidasa immortalised in the inscriptions. The Archaeological Society of South India is anxious that many of the ancient inscriptions of archaeological interest should be brought to light. It is well known that South India presents a unique field for archaeological research and it is the hope of the Society that many more will interest themselves and publications such as this will serve as a useful stimulus to that end. To Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the thanks of the Society are due for his interest and the foreword. To Messrs. Thompson & Co., Ltd., special thanks are due for their kind offer to print this as a publication of the Society.

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS,
TRIPPLICANE, MADRAS,
30th August 1944.

A. L. MUDALIAR.
Vice-Chancellor & President,
The Archaeological Society
of South India.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Cat. Ind. Coins: Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta
dynasties and Śaśānika, by J. Allen
(London 1914).
- C. Inscr. Ind. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,
volume III, Inscriptions of the Early
Gupta Kings and their successors, by
J. F. Fleet (Calcutta 1888).
- Daśakumāra. Daśakumāracarita, by Daṇḍin.
- Epigraph. Ind. Epigraphia Indica, volumes I to
XXV (Calcutta 1892-1942).
- Ind. Antiq. Indian Antiquary (Bombay).
- Kirāta. Kirātārjunīya by Bhāravi.
- Kumāra. Kumārasambhava by Kālidāsa.
- Mālavikā. Mālavikāgnimitra by Kālidāsa.
- Megha. Meghadūta by Kālidāsa.
- Pallava Antiq. Pallava Antiquities by G. Jouveau-
Dubreuil.
- Rāma. Rāmāyaṇa by Vālmiki.
- Raghu. Raghuvamśa by Kālidāsa.
- Ś. Ind. Inscr. South Indian Inscriptions, volumes
I, II, and III.
- Śāk. Abhijñāna-Śākuntalam by Kālidāsa.
- Śīsupāla. Śīsupālavadhā by Māgha.
- Vikrama. Vikramorvaśīya by Kālidāsa.

ILLUSTRATIONS

FRONTISPIECE. Somāśkanda painting from a cell in the Kailāsanātha temple, Pallava, 7th century A.D., Conjeevaram.

HEADPIECE. Ardhanārīśvara from a panel of the Dharmarāja ratha, Pallava, 7th century A.D., Mahabalipuram.

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Epigraphical Echoes of Kālidāsa



वागर्थाविद्य संप्रुक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरी ॥¹

Raghu, I, 1.

Introductory

The gateway to the realm of Sanskrit literature was first opened by early poets who prepared

1 To understand properly words and their meanings I bow to Pārvaṭī and Parameśvara, the parents of the universe, who are closely united like a word and its meaning.

the way for Kālidāsa like easy passage for thread in the gem bored with diamond point.

अथवा कृतवाग्द्वारे वंशेस्मिन्पूर्वसूरिभिः ।

मणौ वज्रसमुत्कीर्णे सूत्रस्येवास्ति मे गतिः ॥² Raghu. I, 4.

The earliest of these poets was Vālmiki whom Kālidāsa describes as the sage whose sorrow at the sight of a bird hurt by a hunter translated itself into poetry.

निषादविद्धाण्डजदर्शनोत्थः श्लोकत्वमापद्यत यस्य शोकः³

Raghu. XIV, 70.

The highest merit in the work of this poet-sage is acknowledged by the sweetest poet of India

वृत्तं रामस्य वाल्मीकेः कृतिस्तौ किन्नरस्वनौ ।

किं तद्येन मनो हर्तुमलं स्यातां न शृण्वताम् ॥⁴ Raghu. XV, 64.

The poetry of Kālidāsa bears clear marks of Vālmiki's thought and diction. Sucking the mother's milk is no fault of a baby ; and all poets after Vālmiki have drunk deep at the fount of his muse. Bhavabhūti has not only used whole verses of Vālmiki in his works but has also paid this glowing tribute to the author of his inspiration, that sense hastens to follow the utterances of such early sages.

2 Or in that dynasty, where the gate of poetic composition has been opened by earlier poets, there is passage for me, even as there is passage for thread in a gem bored with diamond-pin.

3 Whose outburst of sorrow at the sight of a bird struck by a fowler took the shape of verse.

4 The theme being Rāma's story, the composition of Vālmiki, and they sweet-voiced like Kinnaras, what was it that they lacked to captivate the hearts of listeners.

ऋषीणां पुनराद्यानां वाचमर्थोनुधावति⁵

Uttararāmacarita. I, 10.

When such eminent poets were proud of their indebtedness to this prime author of poetry, it is no wonder that lesser writers freely drew their inspiration from his compositions. The poets who are remembered and studied by scholars in Sanskrit literature are purely literary writers. But there is another class of little known writers some of whom at least rank among the better class of Sanskrit poets. Their poems though recorded on more permanent material like stone and metal have nevertheless remained more obscure than the more popular works copied on perishable substance. Poetry in inscriptions is itself important in a study of Sanskrit literature and a peep into the indebtedness of the composers to the early poets is indeed pleasant.

Valmiki's influence on epigraphical literature

The first half-line of the opening verse of the Rāmāyaṇa occurs in one of the early grants of South India of the 4th century A. D. In the Maṭṭepād plates of Dāmodaravarman the gift of land to Brāhmanas described as of various gotras and caraṇas and practising austerities and recitals of their sacred texts

एभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यो नानागोत्रचरणतपस्स्वाध्यायनिरतेभ्यः⁶

Epigraph. Ind. XVII, p. 329 (Fig. 1).

5 Sense hastens to associate itself with utterances of the early sages.

6 To these Brāhmaṇas of different gotras and caraṇas, and devoted to penance and study of their Vedas.

is clearly reminiscent of the line

तपस्त्राध्यायनिरतं तपस्वी वाग्विदां वरम्⁷ Rāma. I, 1, 1.

Fig. 1. तपस्त्राध्यायनिरतेभ्यो

Earlier even in the 2nd century A.D. the composer of the inscription of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman shows his indebtedness to Vālmiki by the use of the expression

पर्जन्येन एकार्णवभूतायामिव पृथिव्यां कृतायां⁸

Epigraph. Ind. VIII p. 42 (Fig. 2)

savouring of the line in the Rāmāyaṇa

अयं ह्युत्सहते क्रुद्धः कर्तुमेकार्णवं जगत्⁹ Rāma. V. 49, 20.

Fig. 2. पर्जन्येन एकार्णवभूतायामिव पृथिव्यां कृतायां

In the Nāsik cave inscription of Balasiri of about the same time the line

पौरजननिविसेससमसुखदुखस¹⁰

Epigraph. Ind. VIII, p. 60 (Fig. 3).

7 The sage (asked) that best of scholars, devoted to penance and study of his Veda.

8 When by the downpour of the clouds the earth was transformed as it were all into one expanse of ocean.

9 When angry he can transform the earth into one ocean.

10 Who fully felt as his own the joys and sorrows of the citizens.

is suggestive of the description in the Rāmāyaṇa

व्यसनेषु मनुष्याणां भृशं भवति दुःखितः ।

उत्सवेषु च संवेषु पितेव परितुष्यति ॥¹¹ Rāma. II, 2, 40-41.

८१६१३२२ ५४५२३२५

Fig. 3. पोरजननिदिसेससमसुखदुःखस

On the rock at Girnār the line of Skandagupta's inscription of 457 A.D.

संरजयां च प्रकृतीर्बभूव पूर्वस्मिताभाषणमानदानैः¹²

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 60 (Fig. 4)

reminds us of the description of Rāma

स्मितपूर्वाभिभाषी च धर्मं सर्वात्मना श्रितः¹³ Rāma. II, 2, 42.

८१६१३२२ ५४५२३२५

Fig. 4. संरजयां च प्रकृतीर्बभूव पूर्वस्मिताभाषणमानदानैः

Even the previous line of the inscription

यो लाल्यामास च पौरवर्गान्— पुत्रान्सुपरीक्ष्य दोषान्¹⁴

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 60.

is after the immediately preceding line in the Rāmāyaṇa

11 He grieves immensely at the distress of his people; and like a father rejoices in their merry-makings.

12 He pleased the subjects by his conversations always prefaced by a smile, his courtesies and gifts.

13 Whose speech is ever preceded by a smile, who adheres to Righteousness wholeheartedly.

14 Who fondled the citizens (like a father) his children, carefully scrutinizing their faults.

पौरान् स्वजनवन्नित्यं कुशलं परिपृच्छति ।
 पुत्रेष्वग्निषु दारेषु प्रेष्यशिष्यगणेषु च ॥
 निखिलेनानुपूर्व्या च पिता पुत्रानिवौरसान् ॥¹⁵

Rāma. II, 2, 38-39.

The line

देवद्विजगुरुवृद्धोपचायिन¹⁶

Epigraph. Ind. VIII, p. 161.

in the Pīkīra grant of Pallava Simhavarman is clearly a borrowal from the Rāmāyaṇa

बहुश्रुतानां वृद्धानां ब्राह्मणानामुपासिता¹⁷ Rāma. II, 2, 33.

A single line from the Rāmāyaṇa

बाहुच्छायामवधभ्य यस्य लोको महात्मनः¹⁸ Rāma. V, 34, 31.

is elaborated in the verse of the Tālagunda inscription of Kākusthavarman

चर्माक्रान्ता इव मृगगणा वृक्षराजिं प्रविश्य
 छायासेवामृदितमनसो निर्वृतिं प्राप्नुवन्ति ।

तद्वज्रथायोविहितगतयो बान्धवास्सानुबन्धाः

प्रायुः शर्माव्यथितमनसो यस्य भूमिं प्रविश्य ॥¹⁹

Epigraph. Ind. VIII, p. 33.

15 As a father his own children, he asks his citizens as if they were his kinsmen, collectively and individually, their welfare among their children, wives, servants and pupils.

16 Respectful to gods, Brāhmaṇas and aged people.

17 The adorer of great scholars, aged folk and Brāhmaṇas.

18 That great being on whose arm-shade relied everyone.

19 As flocks of deer overcome by heat feel relieved by entering a grove of trees and gladdening their hearts by enjoyment of their shade, similarly his kinsmen, with all their dependants, checked in their careers by stronger folk and distressed in mind, gained relief on entering his domain.

(see below p. 84). This idea is compressed in one of the short birudas of the Pallava king in the Kailāsanātha temple,

छायावृक्षः²⁰ S. Ind. Inscr. I, p. 18. (Fig. 5.)

whose source is also to be sought in the Rāmāyaṇa and the line of Kālidāsa where the word itself occurs

भस्मिजमुनिदाघार्ताच्छायावृक्षमिवाश्वगाः²¹ Raghu. X, 5

Fig. 5. श्री छायावृक्षः

On the Mahākūṭa pillar a line of the inscription of Maṅgaleśa reads

समुद्र इव गम्भीरः क्षमया पृथिवीसमः²²

Ind. Antiq. X/X, p 17 (Fig. 6).

at once calling to one's memory the lines of Vālmīki describing Rāma

समुद्र इव गम्भीर्ये वैर्येण हिमवानिव ॥

विष्णुना सदृशो वीर्येण सोमवत्प्रियदर्शनः ।

कालाग्निसदृशः क्रोधे क्षमया पृथिवीसमः ॥²³

Rāma. I, 1, 17-18.

20 Tree affording shade.

21 They went to him as travellers afflicted by heat seek a tree affording shade.

22 Deeply noble like the ocean and equal to the earth in the quality of forbearance.

23 Deeply noble like the ocean, like Himavān (Himalayas) in courage, equal to Viṣṇu in valour, pleasant in appearance like the moon, equal to the Fire of Deluge in anger and like the earth in forbearance.

समुद्र इव गंभीरः क्षमया पृथिवीसमः

Fig. 6. समुद्र इव गंभीरः क्षमया पृथिवीसमः

Another line of the same inscription

ज्येष्ठः श्रेष्ठगुणसमुदयोदितपुरुरणपराक्रमाङ्कप्रियः²⁴

Ind. Antiq, XIX, p. 17 (Fig. 7).

is after the line in the Rāmāyaṇa

ज्येष्ठं श्रेष्ठगुणैर्युक्तं प्रियं दशरथः सुतम्²⁵ Rāma. I, 1. 20

दृष्टुं श्रेष्ठगुणैर्युक्तं प्रियं दशरथः सुतम्

Fig. 7. ज्येष्ठश्रेष्ठगुणसमुदयोदितपुरुरणपराक्रमाङ्कप्रियः

In the Satārā grant of the Eastern Cālukyan king Viṣṇuvardhana, nephew of Maṅgaleśa, the lines

तस्य पुत्रो महातेजाः कन्दर्प इव मूर्तिमान् ।

धर्मज्ञश्च कृतज्ञश्च पार्थतुल्यपराक्रमः ॥²⁶

Ind. Antiq, XIX, p. 309 (Fig 8).

are clearly after those in the Rāmāyaṇa

रूपवान् सुभगः श्रीमान् कन्दर्प इव मूर्तिमान्²⁷

Rāma. V, 34, 30

24 The eldest, of excellent qualities that ennobled his name Pururaṇaparākramāṅka that he loved.

25 His eldest, possessed of excellent qualities and most beloved, Daśaratha . . .

26 His son of great lustre, like Cupid incarnate, righteous and grateful, equal in valour to Arjuna.

27 Beautiful, pleasing and auspicious, like Cupid incarnate.

and

धर्मज्ञश्च कृतज्ञश्च सत्यवाक्यो दृढव्रतः²⁸

Rāma. I, 1, 2.

न पुत्रो महातेजा कन्दर्प इव
मूर्त्तिमान् धर्मज्ञश्च कृतज्ञश्च

Fig. 8. तस्य पुत्रो महातेजा कन्दर्प इव
मूर्त्तिमान् धर्मज्ञश्च कृतज्ञश्च

Among the 7th century inscriptions of Pallava Narasimhavarma at Mahābalipuram there is one on an ornamental pavilion of the Dharmarāja ratha which gives one of his birudas or titles

सत्यपराक्रमः²⁹

S. Ind. Inscr. I, p. 4 (Fig. 9),

one of the many epithets used by Vālmīki to describe Rāma

दिव्यैर्गुणैः शकसमो रामः सत्यपराक्रमः³⁰ Rāma. II, 2, 28;तमेवं गुणसंपन्नं रामं सत्यपराक्रमम्³¹

Rāma. I, 1, 19 ; II, 2, 48.

सत्यपराक्रमः

Fig. 9. सत्यपराक्रमः

28 Righteous and grateful, truthful and steadfast.

29 Truly valorous.

30 Equal to Indra in his divine qualities Rāma was truly valorous.

31 Rāma, full of such qualities and truly valorous.

The line चक्रवर्तिलक्षणोपेतस्य³² Epigraph. Ind. VIII, p. 239. in the Candalūr plates of the Eastern Cālukyan king Sarvalokāśraya is clearly after the line of Bāṇa चक्रवर्तिलक्षणोपेतः³³ Kādambarī I, p. 7-

though the ultimate source is Vālmiki's

पार्थिवव्यञ्जनैर्युक्तः पृथुश्रीः पार्थिवर्षभः³⁴ Rāma. V, 31, 5.

The model for Ravikīrti's verse in the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśi

जलनिधिरिव व्योम व्योन्नः समोऽभवदम्बुधिः³⁵

Epigraph. Ind. VI, p. 6 (Fig. 10).

is clearly Vālmiki's verse

गगनं गगनाकारं सागरः सागरोपमः ॥

रामरावणयोर्युद्धं रामरावणयोरिव ।³⁶ Rāma. VI, 110, 23-24.

Fig. 10. जलनिधिरिव व्योम व्योन्नस्समो भवदम्बुधिः

General influence of other poets in inscriptions

The influence of other eminent poets has not been any less in inscriptions. With the opening verse of Bāṇa's Harṣacarita

32 & 33 Possessing the marks of an emperor.

34 Having the marks of a king, immensely wealthy and foremost among monarchs.

35 The sky resembled the ocean and the ocean the sky.

36 The sky resembled the sky and the ocean the ocean as the battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa just resembled that very battle.

नमस्तुङ्गशिरस्त्रुम्बिचन्द्रचामरचारवे ।

द्वैलोक्यनगरारम्भमूलस्तम्भाय शम्भवे ॥³⁷ Harṣacarita I, 1. begin later Western Cālukyan inscriptions and it is an invariable feature as the invocatory verse of all Vijayanagar inscriptions.

One of the invocatory verses from Bāṇa's Kādambari

जयन्ति बाणासुरमौलिलालिताः दशास्थचूडामणिचक्रचुम्बिनः ।

सुरासुराधीशशिखान्तशायिनो भवच्छिदस्त्र्यम्बकपादपांसवः ॥³⁸

Kādambari I, 2.

has been used similarly in Mahārāja Kumārapāladeva's Rewah copper plate as pointed out by Kielhorn (Ind. Antiq. XVII p. 230, 232).

The language of Bāṇa has been a model for many of the composers of inscriptions. The descriptive epithets in the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman

कलियुगपराक्रमाकलितविग्रहस्य समुच्छ्वास इव भगवतो
धर्मस्याधिष्ठानमास्पदं गुणानां निधिः प्रणयिनामुपमः संलस्तानां
श्रीसम्पदामायतनं³⁹ Epigraph. Ind. XI, p. 118

37 Salutation to Sambhu, the pivotal post in the construction of the three worlds, whose high head is beautiful with the moon-chauri on it.

38 Victorious are the dust particles on the feet of three-eyed Śiva, dust particles that are fondled by the head of the demon Bāṇa, that are kissed by the cluster of crest jewels of ten-headed Rāvaṇa, that rest on the crown-tops of the lords of gods and demons and that terminate the cycle of births.

39 Like the revived breath of the Lord of Righteousness whose body was overcome by the power of the Kali age, the seat of Polity, the abode of good qualities, the treasure of loving folk, the support of the frightened ones, the residence of Prosperity and wealth.

are clearly contemporary imitation of the great court poet of the paramount sovereign of the time. In the same vein run the lines of the Candalūr plates of Sarvalokāśraya

मूर्ते इव वसन्तः समुद्र इव गुणानां दृष्टान्त इव भूमिपतीनां ⁴⁰

Ibid. VIII, p. 239.

In the same plates the description

निजभुजपराक्रमावनमितानेकशत्रुसामन्तानीतद्विरदपति-
मदधाराभिषेककर्दमितसप्तच्छदसुरभिरम्यांगणोपविष्टानेक-
राजन्यामितसमितिकोलाहलीभूतराजद्वारः⁴¹

Ibid. p. 239 (Fig. 11).

is clearly reminiscent of a verse of Bhāravi, the popular poet of the time so well praised in the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin

अनेकराजन्यरथाश्वसंकुलं तदीयमास्थाननिकेतनाजिरम् ।

नयत्ययुग्मच्छदगन्धिरार्द्रतां भृशं नृपोपायनदन्तिनां मदः ॥⁴²

Kirāta. I, 16.

40 Like Spring incarnate, a chest of good qualities, an example for all kings.

41 Whose royal gateway was tumultuous with the huge assembly of kings seated in the courtyard, fragrant as with the smell of Saptaparṇi leaves by the miry wash of streams of ichor of huge elephants brought by feudatories and enemy kings overcome by his own might of arm.

42 The courtyard of his audience palace bustling with many kings, chariots and horses is rendered quite wet by the ichor of the elephants, presentations of kings, smelling of Saptaparṇi.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 सत्त्वोऽस्य सत्त्वोऽस्य सत्त्वोऽस्य
 सत्त्वोऽस्य सत्त्वोऽस्य सत्त्वोऽस्य
 सत्त्वोऽस्य सत्त्वोऽस्य सत्त्वोऽस्य
 सत्त्वोऽस्य सत्त्वोऽस्य सत्त्वोऽस्य
 सत्त्वोऽस्य सत्त्वोऽस्य सत्त्वोऽस्य

Fig. 11. निजभुजपराक्रमावनमितानेक-
 शत्रुसामन्तानीतद्विरदपतिमद-
 धाराभिषेककर्दमितसप्तछन्द-
 सुरभिरम्यांगणोपविष्टानेक-
 राजन्यामितसमितिकोलहली-
 भूतराजद्वार

The invocation to Sarasvati by Daṇḍin, descendant of Bhāravi,

चतुर्मुखसुखाम्भोजवनहंसवधूर्मम ।

मानसे रमतां निलयं सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥ ⁴³ Kāvyaḍarśa I, 1. is the third invocatory verse of the Rewah plates of Trailokyamalla Kalacuri as pointed out by Dr. Chakravarti (Epigraph. Ind. XXV p. 5). The opening verse of the same plates

जयतु जयतु देवो देवकीनन्दनोऽयं

जयतु जयतु कृष्णो वृष्णिवंशप्रदीपः ।

43 May Sarasvatī, all-white, the swan-bride in the cluster of face-lotuses of the four-faced Brahmā ever sport in my mind.

जयतु जयतु मेघश्यामलः कोमलाङ्गो
जयतु जयतु पृथ्वीभारनाशो मुकुन्दः ॥⁴⁴

(Ibid. p. 5) is from the Mukundamālā stotra of Kulaśekhara where it occurs as the third verse.

One of the invocatory verses of the Pathārī inscription of Parabala

त्रिभुवनभवनस्तम्भो नभस्थलाम्भोधिसेतुरघदहनः ।
ब्रह्माण्डमण्डलाम्बुजदण्डरुचिर्जयति हरिचरणः ॥⁴⁵

Epigraph. Ind. IX, p. 252, U. 3

is clearly after the opening verse of the Daśa-kumāracarita

ब्रह्माण्डच्छदण्डः शतधृतिभवनाम्भोरुहोनालदण्डः
क्षोणीनौकूपदण्डः क्षरदमरसरित्पट्टिकाकेतुदण्डः ।
ज्योतिश्वक्राक्षदण्डस्त्रिभुवनविजयस्तम्भदण्डोद्भिदण्डः
श्रेयस्त्रैविक्रमस्ते वितरतु विबुधद्वेषिणां कालदण्डः ॥⁴⁶

Daśakumāra. I, 1.

44 May the god, the son of Devakī be victorious, may Kṛṣṇa, the lamp of the family of Vṛṣṇis be victorious, may the one dark as the cloud and soft-limbed be victorious, may Mukunda, the remover of Earth's burden, be victorious.

45 Prosperous is the foot of Hari, the pillar of the mansion of the three worlds, the bridge over the sky-ocean, the fire consuming sins, beautiful like the stalk of the lotus composed of the universal globe.

46 May the foot of Trivikrama render you good, the foot that is the handle of the umbrella of the universe, the stalk of the lotus residence of Brahmā, the mast of the earth-ship, the staff of the flowing celestial stream-silk-banner, the axle of the wheel of luminous objects, the pillar of victory of the three worlds, the mace of destruction to the enemies of the gods.

The influence of Māgha on the composer of this praśasti is clear in other verses also as pointed out by Kielhorn ; and

पुराणपुरुषोऽपि यः सदा नवकायः⁴⁷

Epigraph. Ind. IX, p. 252

is reminiscent of

नवं बुधा यं पुराणपुरुषं प्रचक्षते⁴⁸ Śisupāla. XIV, 70.

Similar description of Kālidāsa

पुराणमजरं विदुः⁴⁹ Raghu. X, 19

may here be compared as the common source. Māgha's verse

सह कज्जलेन विरराज नयनकमलाम्बुसंततिः⁵⁰

Sisupāla. XV, 90.

is reminded by the verse from the inscription

विभ्वस्तवैरिवनितानयनप्रणालीसंसक्तकज्जलयुताश्रुजलप्रवाहैः⁵¹

Epigraph. Ind. IX, p. 253.

In this inscription there is also a display of the poet's facile handling of Śabdālamkāra exactly in imitation of Māgha. The verse

शकलीकृतसर्वाङ्गा नानाभरणभूषिताः ।

दृश्यन्ते रिपवो यस्य नानाभरणभूषिताः ॥⁵² Ibid. p. 2, 53.

47 Who though an ancient person is ever new in form.

48 Whom new, seers call an ancient person.

49 They knew that ancient person as unaging.

50 The stream of tears from the lotus eyes shone with the collyrium.

51 With the streams of tears mixed with collyrium issuing from the eye-channels of the womenfolk of enemies destroyed.

52 With all their limbs cut into bits and adorned with different ornaments, his enemies appear to abide on different battlefields.

is after

शस्त्रव्रणमयश्रीमंदलङ्करणभूषितः ।

ददशोऽन्यो रावणवदलङ्करणभूषितः ॥⁵³ Śiṣupāla, XIX, 52.

A suggestion of Daṇḍin's verse

आदिराजयशोबिम्बमादर्शं प्राप्य वाङ्मयम् ।

तेषामसन्निधानेपि पश्य नाद्यापि नश्यति ॥⁵⁴ Kāvyaḍarśa, I, 5,

is at once recalled by the line of the Śrirangam plates of Mummaḍi Nāyaka

वृत्तानि यद्वर्तनदर्पणेच्छे राज्ञामलक्ष्यन्त पुरातनानां⁵⁵

Epigraph. Ind. XIV, p. 90.

Verses like

आलौहित्योपकण्ठात्तलवनगहनोपत्यकादामहेन्द्रा-

दागङ्गाश्लिष्टसानोस्तु हिनशिर्धारणः पश्चिमादापयोधेः ।

सामन्तैर्यस्य बाहुद्रविणहतमदैः पादयोरानमद्भि-

श्चूडारत्नांशुराजिव्यतिकरशबला भूमिभागाः कियन्ते ॥⁵⁶

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 146.

53 Decorated with splendid ornaments of wounds caused by weapons, another appeared like Rāvaṇa, though resting on a battlefield unconnected with Lankā.

54 Look! The image of fame of early kings reflected in the mirror of literature does not fade even now even in their absence.

55 In whose polished mirror of deeds the deeds of ancient kings appeared.

56 From the neighbourhood of the river Lauhityā to the Mahendra mountain dense with palm groves, from the snow-peaked Himālaya mountain with its slopes embraced by Gaṅgā to the western ocean, feudatories, with their pride humbled by the might of his arm, render the ground variegated by the interplay of the rays of their crest-jewels as they bow at his feet.

from the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman and

भासेतोः सानुवप्रप्रबलकपिकुलोल्हनफुल्लवङ्गा-
 दकैलासाद्भवानीचलचरणरणन्तूपुरोन्नादितान्तात् ।
 यस्याङ्गां भूमिपालाः करमुकुलमिलन्मौलिमालायमाना-
 मानम्रैरुत्तमाङ्गैरवनितललुठज्जानवो मानयन्ति ॥⁵⁷

Epigraph. Ind. IX, p. 34,
 of the Bagumrā plates of Indrarāja III and many
 other similar verses in inscriptions remind us of
 verses in general literature like Viśākhadatta's
 verse

आशैलेन्द्राच्छिलान्तस्वलितसुरनर्दाशीकरासारशीता-
 तीरान्तान्नैकरागस्फुरितमणिरुचो दक्षिणस्यार्णवस्य ।
 आगत्यागत्य भीतिप्रणतनृपशतैः शश्वदेव क्रियन्तां
 चूडारत्नांशुगर्भास्तव चरणयुगस्याङ्गुलीरन्ध्रभागाः ॥⁵⁸

Mudrārākṣasa, III, 19.

Kalidasa's influence in inscriptions : Aihole inscription of Ravikirti

The poetry of Kālidāsa has been most
 aesthetically described by Bāṇa in his verse

57 From the Setu with blossoming cloves pulled by herds of
 mighty monkeys on the mountain slopes, to the mountain
 Kailāsa with its ends resounding with the jingle of the anklets
 on the moving feet of Bhavānī, kings honour with their heads
 his command appearing like a crest-garland touched by their
 hands in adoration as their knees rubbed the ground.

58 May the interspaces between the toes of your two feet
 be filled with the rays of the crest-jewels of kings bowing in
 fear as they come again and again from the lord of mountains
 (Himālaya), cool with spray showers of the divine river
 (Gaṅgā) flowing down its slopes, to the shores of the southern
 ocean, effulgent with the hues of different gems.

निर्गतासु न वा कस्य कालिदासस्य सूक्तिषु ।

प्रीतिर्मेधुरसान्द्रासु मञ्जरीष्विव जायते ॥⁶⁰

Harṣacarita, I, 16.

Such luscious poetry has sweetened the composition of many a poet that came after him. In fact the composer of the Aihole inscription whose reference gives the later limit of Kālidāsa's date has made no secret of his great admiration for Kālidāsa and Bhāravi whose compositions have influenced his own in no small measure. The parallels pointed out by Kielhorn are striking. Though it is unnecessary to repeat all the parallels it is essential to note some of the more important. The line

वातापीं नगरीं प्रविश्य नगरीमेकामिवोर्वीभिमां

चञ्चनीरधिनीलनीरपरिखे सत्याश्रये शासति⁶⁰

Epigraph. Ind. VI, p. 6 (Fig. 12.)

is after Kālidāsa's verse in the Raghuvamśa

स वेलावप्रवलयं परिखीकृतसागराम् ।

अनन्यशासनामुर्वीं शशासैकपुरिमिव ॥⁶¹

Raghu. I, 30.

59 Who is it that is not delighted with the lovely expressions of Kālidāsa as they are uttered, sweet and juicy, like flower bunches.

60 When after entering the city Vātāpī, Satyāśraya ruled the earth, encircled by the blue-watered surging ocean moat, as if it were but a single city.

61 He ruled the earth encircled by sea-shore rampart and with ocean as its moat, having no second to command over it, as if it were a single city.

Fig.12. वातापीनगरीम्प्रविश्यनगरीमेकामिवोर्वीमिमाम्चञ्चनीराधिनीलनीरपरिखे
सत्याश्रये शासति ।

Another idea of Kālidāsa expressed in the digvijaya of Raghu in describing the river Kāveri made turbid by the emperor's elephants

स सैन्यपरिभोगेन गजदानसुगन्धिना ।

कावेरीं सरितां पत्युः शङ्कनीयामिवाकरोत् ॥⁶² Ibid. IV, 45.

is given a second life in the verse of Ravikīrti

कावेरी दृतशफरीविलोलनेत्रा चोलानां सपदि जयोद्यतस्य यस्य ।

प्रश्च्योतन्मदगजसेतुरुद्धनीरा संस्पर्शं परिहरतिस्म रत्नराशेः ॥⁶³

Epigraph. Ind. VI, p. 6 (Fig. 13).

Fig. 13. कावेरी दृतशफरीविलोलनेत्रा चोलानां सपदि जयोद्यतस्य यस्य
प्रश्च्योतन्मदगजसेतुरुद्धनीरा संस्पर्शं परिहरतिस्म रत्नराशेः ।

62 By the enjoyment of his soldiers that rendered her sweet-smelling on account of the ichor of his elephants he made the river Kāveri suspicious to the lord of streams i.e. ocean.

63 When suddenly he strove to conquer the Colas, the Kāveri with tremulous eyes of darting fishes and with her water checked by the bridge of elephants in rut with streaming ichor avoided the touch of the treasurehouse of gems i.e. ocean.

In this the idea of elephants forming a bridge as it were across the river is from another line of Kālidāsa

स तीर्त्वा कपिशां सैन्यैर्बद्धद्विरदसेतुभिः⁶⁴ Raghu. IV, 38.

while the passage describing the tremulous eyes of the river suggested by the darting fishes दृशफरी विलोलेनेत्रा⁶⁵ is from Bhāravi's line

शफरीपरिस्फुरितचारुदृशः⁶⁶ Kirāta. VI, 16.

The fleeting fickle nature of the Goddess of Prosperity described by Kālidāsa in verses like

येन श्रियः संश्रयदोषरूढं स्वभावलोलेलयशः प्रमृष्टम्⁶⁷

Raghu. VI, 41.

and

प्रसादाभिमुखे तस्मिंश्चपलापि स्वभावतः ।

निकषे हेमरेखेव श्रीरासीदनपायिनी ॥⁶⁸ Ibid. XVII, 46.

specially the wording in the latter verse is repeated in the line of Ravikīrti

लक्ष्मीर्भावितचापलापि⁶⁹

Epigraph. Ind. VI, p. 4 (Fig. 14).

64 Having crossed the river Kapiśā with his troops by means of the bridges of elephants arranged.

65 With tremulous eyes of darting fishes.

66 With beautiful eyes tremulous like darting fishes.

67 Who removed the notoriety of Prosperity, based on her irregular stay, that she was fickle by nature.

68 Though by nature fickle, Prosperity was ever with him, who was fond of conferring favours, even as the gold streak is ever present on the touchstone.

69 Prosperity though understood as fickle.



Fig. 14. लक्ष्मीर्भावितचापलापि

The red glow of twilight on the clouds in the sky used as simile for graphic portrayal as in the lines of Kālidāsa

सान्ध्यमेघरुधिरार्द्रवाससः⁷⁰

Raghu. XI, 60.

and

पश्यावरोधैः शतशो मदीयैर्विगाह्यमानो गलिताङ्गरागैः ।

सन्ध्योदयः साभ्र इवैष वर्णं पुष्यत्यनेकं सरयूप्रवाहः ॥⁷¹

Ibid. XVI, 58

etc. has its repetition in Ravikirti's verse

आसीजलं यदवमर्दितमभ्रगर्भं कौनालमम्बरमिवोजितसान्ध्यरागम्⁷²

Epigraph. Ind. VI, p. 6 (Fig. 15)

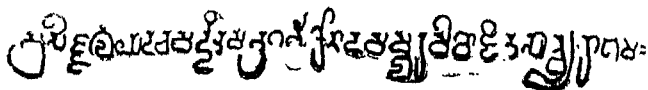


Fig. 15. आसीजलं यदवमर्दितमभ्रगर्भं कौनालमम्बरमिवोजितसान्ध्यरागम् ।

Another borrowing can be seen in the line of the inscription

70 Draped in ruddy evening clouds as in clothes wet with blood.

71 Look! The stream of Sarayū, stirred by hundreds of my womenfolk with the unguents on their bodies washed off, suggests a number of hues like the twilight with clouds.

72 The water of the Kunāla lake stirred by him appeared like the sky cloud-laden and red with the glow of twilight.

यः पूर्वपश्चिमसमुद्रतटोषिताश्वसेनारजःपटविनिर्मितदिग्वितानः⁷³

Ibid. p 5 (Fig. 16).

which combines the thought of two lines of Kālidāsa in one

वेलातटेषूषितसैनिकानां⁷⁴

Raghu. XVIII, 23.

and

गगनमश्वखुरोद्धतरेणुभिर्नृसविता सवितानमिवाकरोत्⁷⁵ Ibid. IX, 50.

Fig. 16. यःपूर्वपश्चिमसमुद्रतटोषिताश्वसेनारजःपटविनिर्मितदिग्वितानः

Ravikirti's fondness for some of the usages of Kālidāsa is evident from such expressions as जगदेकनाथः⁷⁶, वपुःप्रकर्षात्⁷⁷, नृत्यत्कबन्ध⁷⁸ etc. which occur in the inscription.

दिव्यानुभावो जगदेकनाथः⁷⁹

Epigraph. Ind. VI, p. 4 (Fig. 17).

is reminiscent of

जगाद् भूयो जगदेकनाथः⁸⁰

Raghu. V, 23.

73 Who caused a canopy for the quarters by the dust raised by his forces resting on the shores of the eastern and western oceans.

74 Whose soldiers camped on the shores of the ocean.

75 That sun among men made the sky appear canopied by the dust raised by the hoofs of his horses.

76 One lord of the world.

77 Noble form.

78 Dancing headless trunks.

79 One lord of the world and of divine bearing.

80 The one lord of the world again spoke.

दिव्यानुभावो जगदेकनाथः

Fig. 17. दिव्यानुभावो जगदेकनाथः

सुप्तस्य जानाति वपुःप्रकर्षात्⁸¹

Epigraph. Ind. VI, p 4 (Fig. 18).

of

वपुःप्रकर्षेण विडम्बितेश्वरः⁸²

Raghu. III, 52;

भ्रान्ताश्वपत्तिद्विपे नृत्यद्भूमिकबन्धखड्गकिरणज्वालासहस्रे रणे⁸³

Fig. 18. सुप्तस्य जानाति वपुःप्रकर्षात्

भ्रान्ताश्वपत्तिद्विपे नृत्यद्भूमिकबन्धखड्गकिरणज्वालासहस्रे रणे⁸³

Epigraph. Ind. VI, p. 4 (Fig. 19).

of

शस्त्रक्षताश्वद्विपवीरजन्मा⁸⁴

Raghu. VII, 42.

and

नृत्यत्कबन्धं समरे ददर्श⁸⁵

Ibid. VII, 51.

भ्रान्ताश्वपत्तिद्विपे नृत्यद्भूमिकबन्धखड्गकिरणज्वालासहस्र रण

Fig. 19. भ्रान्ताश्वपत्तिद्विपे नृत्यद्भूमिकबन्धखड्गकिरणज्वालासहस्र रण

81 Even when asleep men knew him by his noble form.

82 Resembled Īśvara by his noble form.

83 In the battle where horses, soldiers and elephants were frightened, and thousands of flashes from the rays issuing from swords with terrible headless trunks dancing about.

84 Issuing from horses, elephants and soldiers wounded with weapons.

85 Saw his headless trunk dancing on the battlefield.

Apart from these pointed out by Kielhorn there are two more noteworthy echoes of Kālidāsa in the inscription. The epithet

परदारनिवृत्तचित्तरपि धीर्यस्य⁸⁶

Epigraph. Ind. VI, p. 5 (Fig. 20).

brings at once to one's mind the line describing the high moral standard of the descendants of Raghu

आचक्ष्व मत्वा वक्षिणां रघूणां मनः परस्त्रीविमुखप्रवृत्ति⁸⁷

Raghu. XVI, 8.

Fig. 20. परदारनिवृत्तचित्तरपि धीर्यस्य
वृत्ते

Ravikirti's line

यत्त्रिवर्गपदवीमलं क्षितौ नानुगन्तुमधुनापि राजकम्⁸⁸

Epigraph. Ind. VI, p. 4 (Fig. 21).

is strongly reminiscent of Kālidāsa's

न किलानुययुस्तस्य राजानो रक्षितुर्यशः⁸⁹ Raghu. I, 27.

86 His mind, though his thoughts were turned away from others' wives.

87 Tell me remembering well that the mind of the Raghus possessing self-restraint is turned away from love towards others' wives.

88 Whose path in the pursuit of the three objects of life, the whole assemblage of kings is not even now able to follow on this earth.

89 Other kings really could not rival the fame of that good protector.

यत्त्रिभुवर्गपदवीमलं क्षितौ नानुगन्तुमधुनापि राजकम्

Fig. 21. यत्त्रिभुवर्गपदवीमलं क्षितौ नानुगन्तुमधुनापि राजकम्
The same idea is found in the line of the Harahā inscription of the Maukhari king Īśānavarman

यस्योत्खातकलिखभावारितस्याचारमार्गं नृपा
यत्नेनापि ययातितुल्ययशसो नान्येनुगन्तुं क्षमाः⁹⁰

Epigraph. Ind. XIV, p. 116 (Fig. 22).

तु यत्नेन ययातितुल्ययशसो नान्येनुगन्तुं क्षमाः

Fig. 22. नृपा यत्नेनापि ययातितुल्ययशसो नान्येनुगन्तुं क्षमाः

Mahakuta inscription and Arumbaka plates :

That the realm of Pulakeśi, the land of Vaidarbhī, was alive to the exponents of that sweet style is evident even from the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgaleśa wherein whole lines from Vālmiki and Kālidāsa are inserted.

यथाविधिहुताग्नीनां यथाकामार्चितार्थिनां⁹¹

from Kālidāsa's Raghuvamśa (I. 6).

90 Even by effort other kings could not rival the path of virtue of that king whose character was such as removed the nature of Kali (evil) and whose fame was equal to that of Yayāti.

91 Who offered oblations in the sacrificial fire according to the rules ordaining them, who honoured those desiring anything from them by granting all that they desired.

is cleverly dovetailed into the Mahākūṭa inscription as an epithet of the Cālukyas and reads

मानव्यसगोत्राणां हारीतीपुत्राणां अप्रतिहतोत्साहबलमति-
प्रतापशौर्यैर्यैर्वीर्याणां मातापितृपादानुध्यातानां यथा-
विधिहुताग्नीनां यथाकामार्चितार्थिनां अनेकधर्मकर्मपुण्य-
प्रसवानां चलिक्थानां⁹²

etc. Ind. Antiq. XIX, p, 16 (Fig. 23).

Fig. 23. यधिहुताग्नीनां यथाकामार्चितार्थिनां
यावि

Centuries later this taste for Kālidāsa is evident in the eastern empire of the Cālukyas ; and the Arumbāka plate of Bādapa has a verse

उमावृषाङ्कयोर्यथा गुहः शचीन्द्रयोरिव ।
जयन्त इत्यभूत्सुतस्तयोश्च तत्समानयोः ॥⁹³

Epigraph. Ind. XIX. 144 (Fig. 24).

92 Of the Cālukyas, belonging to the Mānavya gotra (clan), sons of Hārīti, of unassailable enthusiasm, power, intellect, effulgence, valour, bravery and energy, contemplative of the feet of their parents, who offered oblations in the sacred fire according to the rules ordaining them, who honoured those desiring anything from them by granting all that they desired, who generated merit by numerous deeds of merit....

93 Like Guha to Umā and Śiva (Bull-bannered), like Jayanta to Indra and Śaci, there was a son Jayanta to them who resembled these two pairs.

clearly after Kālidāsa's

उमावृषाङ्कौ शरजन्मना यथा यथा जयन्तेन शचीपुरन्दरौ ।
तथा नृपः सा च सुतेन मागधी ननन्दतुस्तत्सदृशेन तत्समौ ॥⁹⁴

Raghu. III. 23. (See Frontispiece).

८ उमावृषाङ्कौ शरजन्मना यथा यथा जयन्तेन शचीपुरन्दरौ ।
तथा नृपः सा च सुतेन मागधी ननन्दतुस्तत्सदृशेन तत्समौ ॥

Fig. 24. उमावृषाङ्कयोर्ग्रथया गुहृक्षचीन्द्रथोरिव
जयन्त इत्यभूत्सुतः तथोश्च तत्समानयो

In the same plates even identical half lines from Kālidāsa are used ; in

व्यूढोरस्को वृषस्कन्धः स्कन्दप्रतिमविक्रमः⁹⁵

Epigraph. Ind. XIX. p. 144 (Fig. 25).

the first half is from the description of Dilipa

व्यूढोरस्को वृषस्कन्धः सालप्रांशुर्महाभुजः⁹⁶ Raghu. I, 13.

व्यूढोरस्को वृषस्कन्धः स्कन्दप्रतिमविक्रमः

Fig. 25. व्यूढोरस्को वृषस्कन्दः स्कन्दप्रतिमविक्रमः

94 As Umā and Śiva (Bull-bannered) through the reed-born Skanda, as Śacī and Indra by Jayanta, similarly the king and the Magadha princess who resembled both these pairs rejoiced through him who resembled them both.

95 With broad chest and shoulders lusty as those of a bull, of valour equal to that of Skanda.

96 With broad chest and shoulders lusty as those of a bull, tall as the Śāl tree and with mighty arms.

A phrase from similar description of the physical stature of Raghu

युवा युगव्यायतबाहुरंसलः कपाटवक्षाः परिणद्धकन्धरः⁹⁷

Raghu. III, 34

has been adopted by the composer of the inscription of Tejahpāla from Mount Ābū.

इदं सदा सोदरयोरुदेतु युगं युगव्यायतदोर्युगश्चि⁹⁸

Epigraph. Ind. VIII, p. 210. (Fig. 26)

इदं सदा सोदरयोरुदेतु युगं युगव्यायतदोर्युगश्चिः

Fig. 26. इदं सदा सोदरयोरुदेतु युगं युगव्यायतदोर्युगश्चि ।

Sunanda's descriptions repeated in inscriptions

In the sixth canto of the *Raghuvamśa* Sunandā describes all the princes of India assembled for the *svayamvara* of Indumatī. These descriptions have naturally been a source of inspiration for many composers of inscriptions in their eulogy of the royal donors and the narration of legends of their ancestors in almost identical language. The verse

प्रत्यादिशन्नविनयं प्रतिवेश्म राजा बभ्राम कर्मुकधरः किल कर्तवीर्यः ।

अस्याभिषेकविधिमन्त्रपदैर्निरीतिरारोपितो विनयवर्त्मनि जीवलोकः ।⁹⁹

Epigraph. Ind. XIV, p. 160. (Fig. 27).

97 Young, with arms lengthy like a yoke, thickset, with wide chest and stout neck.

98 Let this splendour of the pair of arms lengthy like a yoke always shine in the case of these two brothers.

99 The king Kārtavīrya, bow in hand, moved about from house to house restraining bad conduct. By the sacred hymns uttered for his coronation his people, rendered free from troubles, were entertained in the path of virtue.

in the Naihati grant of Vallālasena describing the mythical ancestor of the king is an echo of Kālidāsa's verse of the same ancestor of the king of Anūpas

अकार्यचिन्तासमकालमेव प्रादुर्भवंश्चापधरः पुरस्तात् ।
अन्तःशरीरेष्वपि यः प्रजानां प्रत्यदिदेशाविनयं विनेता ॥¹⁰⁰

Raghu, VI, 39.

प्रत्यादिशन्नविनयं प्रतिवेश्म राजा बभ्राम कार्मुकधरः
किल कार्कुवीर्यः । अस्याभिषेकविधिमन्त्रपदैर्निरीतिरारो
पितो विनयवर्त्मनि जीवलोकः ॥

Fig. 27. प्रत्यादिशन्नविनयं प्रतिवेश्म राजा बभ्राम कार्मुकधरः
किल कार्कुवीर्यः । अस्याभिषेकविधिमन्त्रपदैर्निरीतिरारो
पितो विनयवर्त्मनि जीवलोकः ॥

The first half of the immediately preceding verse from the Raghuvamśa

सङ्ग्रामनिर्विष्टसहस्रबाहुरष्टादशद्वीपनिखातयूपः¹ Raghu. VI, 38.
has been bodily incorporated in describing the valourous deeds of Narasimhavarman I in the Kūram grant of Pallava Paramēśvaravarman

सहस्रबाहोरिव समरशतनिर्विष्टसहस्रबाहुकर्मणः²

S. Ind. Inscr. I, p. 148 (Fig. 28).

100 That king restrained bad conduct even in thought amongst his people by appearing before them bow in hand as soon as a bad thought occurred to them.

1 Who had a thousand arms experiencing fight in battle, and who had fixed sacrificial posts in the eighteen continents.

2 Who like the thousand-armed Arjuna had as it were a thousand arms experiencing fight in hundreds of battles.

सहस्रबाहोरिव समरशतनिर्विघ्नसहस्रबाहुकर्मणः

Fig. 28. सहस्रबाहोरिव समरशतनिर्विघ्नसहस्रबाहुकर्मणः
Sunandā's description of the Pāṇḍya king in the Raghuvamśa has also its epigraphical echo in the plates issued by rulers of that lineage.

विन्ध्यस्य संस्तम्भयिता महाद्रेर्निःशेषपीतो जिह्नतसिन्धुराजः ।

प्रीत्याश्रमेधावभृथार्द्रमूर्तेः सौज्ञातिको यस्य भवत्यगस्त्यः ॥³

Raghu. VI, 61.

is the model for the verse

अस्तम्भयत्क्षितिधरं प्रविजृम्भमाणमम्भः समस्तमपिबज्जलधेश्च यः सः ।

कुम्भोद्भवो भवति यस्य मुनिः पुरोधाः स श्रीनिधिर्जयति पाण्ड्यनरेन्द्रवंशः ॥⁴

Epigraph. Ind. XVIII, p. 298 (Fig. 29).

of the Velvikūḍi grant of the Pāṇḍya king

अस्तम्भयत्क्षितिधरं प्रविजृम्भमाणमम्भः

कुम्भोद्भवो भवति यस्य मुनिः पुरोधाः स श्रीनिधिर्जयति

पाण्ड्यनरेन्द्रवंशः ॥

अस्तम्भयत्क्षितिधरं प्रविजृम्भमाणमम्भः

Fig. 29. अस्तम्भयत्क्षितिधरं प्रविजृम्भमाणमम्भः

3 Agastya, the controller of the great mountain Vindhya and who completely drank up and again disgorged the ocean, is the person enquiring after the successful completion of bath of this king whose body is wet with the bath after Aśvamedha sacrifices.

4 All prosperous is this Śrīnidhi of the Pāṇḍya royal family whose priest is the sage Agastya (Pitcher-born) himself who subdued the rising mountain (Vindhya) and drank up all the water of the ocean.

स्समस्तमपिबज्जलधेस्व यस्सः

कुम्भोद्धवो भवति यस्य मुनिः पुरोधः

स्सश्रीनिधिज्जयति पाण्ड्यनरेन्द्रवंशः

Neduñjaḍayan. Similarly the very next verse in the Raghuvamśa

अस्त्रं हरादाप्तवता दुरार्षं येनेन्द्रलोकावजयाय दत्तः ।

पुरा जनस्थानविमर्दशङ्की सन्धाय लङ्काधिपतिः प्रतस्थे ॥⁵

Raghu. VI, 62.

has its echo in the line of the larger Śiṅṅamanūr plates of Rājasimha

दशाननं सन्धिपरं चकार नरेश्वरः कश्चिदखण्डिताङ्गः⁶

S. Ind. Inscr. III, p. 451 (Fig. 30).

३०१२३४५६७८९१०१११२१३१४१५१६१७१८१९२०२१२२२३२४२५२६२७२८२९३०३१३२३३३४३५३६३७३८३९४०४१४२४३४४४५४६४७४८४९५०५१५२५३५४५५५६५७५८५९६०६१६२६३६४६५६६६७६८६९७०७१७२७३७४७५७६७७७८७९८०८१८२८३८४८५८६८७८८८९९०९१९२९३९४९५९६९७९८९९१००

Fig. 30. दशाननमसन्धिपरश्चकार नरेश्वरः कश्चिदखण्डिताङ्गः

The verse in Sunandā's description of the Ikṣvākus in the Raghuvamśa

इक्ष्वाकुवंश्यः ककुदं नृपाणां ककुस्थ इत्याहितलक्षणोऽभूत् ।

महेन्द्रमास्थाय महेन्द्रकल्पं यः संयति प्राप्तपिनाकिलीलः ।

चकार बाणैरसुराङ्गनानां गण्डस्थलीः प्रोषितपत्रलेखाः ॥⁷

Raghu. VI, 72.

5 Formerly the lord of Laṅkā, proudly desirous of conquering the kingdom of Indra, but apprehending attack in Janasthāna from this king, who had obtained a difficult weapon from Śiva, concluded peace with him before starting out.

6 Another king whose commands could not be crossed made the ten-headed Rāvaṇa ask for peace.

7 There was a scion of the Ikṣvāku family, a peak among kings, who was known by the title Kakustha; who mounted on Indra in the form of a bull in battle, and thereby assuming the sport of Śiva, made the cheeks of the asura women devoid of unguent patterns by his arrows.

is repeated in a slightly different form in the Tiruvālangāḍu plates of the emperor Rājendra Cola I whose ancestry is also traced to the Ikṣvākus

वृषभरूपधरस्य हरेरसौ ककुदि यत्स्थितवान्निधिरोजसाम् ।
युधि जघान सुरेतरसैनिकानजनि तेन ककुस्थसमाह्वयः ॥⁸

S. Ind. Inscr. III, p. 393.

The undisturbed life of pleasure of the courtesan as a mirror of the general peace and prosperity in the kingdom given in the same context

यस्मिन्महीं शासति वाणिनीनां निद्रां विहारार्थपथे गतानाम् ।
वातोऽपि नास्त्रंशयदंशुकानि को लम्बयेदाहरणाय हस्तम् ॥⁹

Raghu. VI, 75

has its copy in

संहर्षाद्वाणिनीनां कररभसहतोद्यानचूताङ्कुराग्रा राजन्वन्तो
रमन्ते भुजविजितभुवा भूरयो येन देशः¹⁰

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 153.

Even the word for the courtesan is repeated in the inscription, and the idea of displacing or pulling something from its place of beauty is so modified,

8 As this King, a treasurehouse of valour sat on the hump of Indra who assumed the form of a bull, and thus killed the asura soldiers, his name became Kakustha.

9 When he ruled the earth, not even the breeze disturbed the garments of drunken courtesans fallen asleep midway on their route to their pleasure-ground; who was there that could extend his arm to touch them.

10 Many countries conquered by whose arm-prowess and prosperous by the rule of a model sovereign, are happy with the tips of mango sprouts in the pleasure gardens eagerly pulled by the hands of joyous courtesans.

that the suggestive link, accounting for the modification of lovely damsel by the blossoming bough or flowery creeper, is seen in the verse uttered by Cārudatta

योऽहं लतां कुसुमितामपि पुष्पहेतोराकृष्य नैव कुसुमावचयं करोमि ।
सोऽहं कथं भ्रमरपक्षरुचौ सुदीर्घे केशे प्रगृह्य रुदतीं प्रमदां निहन्मि ॥¹¹

Mṛcchakaṭika IX, 28.

And this in its turn has its source of inspiration in Vālmiki's

मालेव ग्रथिता सूत्रे शुशुभे मत्तषट्पदा ।
लतानां माधवे मासि फुल्लानां वायुसेवनात् ॥
अन्योन्यमालाग्रथितं संसक्तकुसुमोच्चयम् ।
व्यतिवेश्रितसुस्कन्धमन्योन्यभ्रमराकुलम् ॥
आसीद्वनमिवोद्भूतं स्त्रीवनं रावणस्य तत ॥¹²

Rāmāyaṇa, V, 9, 64-66.

The happy unhampered movement of the courtesan being the common theme the disturbance of the silken garments of women is substituted by a close

11 How can I who would not pull and pluck even flowers for gathering them from creepers in blossom, catch a weeping woman by her long braid beautiful like the wings of bees and kill her.

12 Like a string-woven garland of creepers fully blossomed by the effect of breeze in spring and full of intoxicated bees, that concourse of women of Rāvaṇa, woven as it were into garland with closely knit collection of flowers, appeared like a grove all astir by the intermixture of fair shoulders agitated by ringlets of their hair.

parallel, by plucking the blossoms of tree or creeper, the courtesan herself being the blossom-gatherer in the latter instance.

This is an instance of slight modification of the original model in the later adaptation as opposed to an *in toto* copy of the original of which also instances have been given. In sculpture and painting this is of common occurrence. It is enough to note two examples one of each type. The repetition of the same pose in almost identical shape can be seen in the kneeling woman from Amaravati and Ajanta, the sculpture preceding the painting by about three centuries. (Fig. 31.)

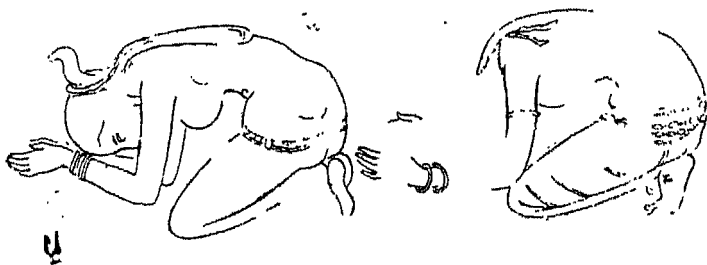


Fig. 31.

The instance of the second type may be seen in the adoring woman from Karla and Amaravati, two sculptures with no great distance of date between them. (Fig. 32.)

Here the pose of one is just reversed in the other, every other feature being retained. What is true of art is also true of literature and this

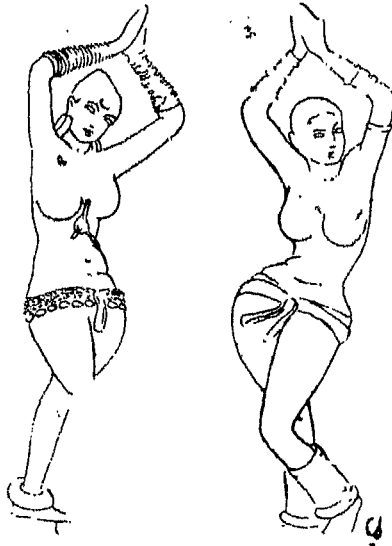


Fig. 32.

possibility of slight modification of motif in art equally assures such modification in literary themes. As clear examples of the two types may be given the verses

शौर्यं श्रीयैवतं राज्यमेकैकं मदकारकम् ।

सर्वं श्रीमानभीतस्य निर्विकारमुपस्थितम् ॥¹³

Epigraph. Ind. XIX, p. 269 (Fig. 33.)

¹³ Valour, wealth, youth and kingship are each individually the cause of pride; but all these were present in Śrībhara without change in his demeanour.

and

अस्त्युर्वीध्रः प्रतीच्यां हिमगिरितनयः¹⁴

Ibid. I. p. 234 (Fig. 34).

The former verse is from the Koṇḍēḍḍa plates of Dharmarāja and is clearly after the verse of Kālidāsa

वथोरूपविभूतीनामेकैकं मदकारणम् ।

तानि तस्मिन्समस्तानि न तस्योत्सिषिचे मनः ॥¹⁵

Raghu. XVII, 43.

and its repetition by Bāṇa

गर्मेक्ष्वरत्वमभिनवयौवनत्वमप्रतिमरूपत्व-

ममानुषशक्तित्वं चेति महर्तायं खल्वनर्थपरम्परा सर्वा ।

अविनयानामेकैकमप्येषामायतनं, किमुत समवायः ॥¹⁶

Kādambari, p. 196.

शौर्यं श्रीदौवतं राहु यत्केकयकारकं
मदुःखं श्रीयवकीरु कुविद्विकारयुयुक्तरु

Fig. 33. शौर्यं श्रीदौवनं राज्यमेकैकं मदकारकं

सर्व्वन् श्रीमानभीतस्य निर्व्विकारमुपस्थितं

The other is a line from the Udepur praśasti of the Paramāra kings and is a modification of Kālidāsa's

14 There is a mountain in the west, son of Himavān.

15 Of youth, beauty, and wealth each one individually is the cause of pride; all of them he had, but his mind was unaffected by pride.

16 Noble birth, fresh youth, peerless beauty, superhuman power, all these are a great chain of troubles; each one individually is the abode of pride, what then when they combine.

अस्त्युत्तरस्यां दिशि देवतात्मा हिमालयो नाम नगाधिराजः¹⁷

Kumāra. I, 1

अस्त्युत्तरस्यां दिशि देवतात्मा हिमालयो नाम नगाधिराजः

Fig. 34. अस्त्युत्तरीयः प्रतीच्यां हिमगिरितनयः

The direction and the subject are modified; उत्तरस्यां¹⁸ is substituted by उत्तरीयां¹⁹ and हिमालय²⁰ is replaced by हिमगिरितनय²¹. But the copy and the adaptation are sufficiently alike to suggest this source of origin. Another and completely reversed original thought is the line

चन्द्रात्किमुष्णं भविता कदाचित्²²

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 60 (Fig. 35).

from Skandagupta's inscription at Junāgaḍh in which is expressed the impossibility of the reverse of the normal thing described in the Raghuvamśa

लोकेन चैतन्यमिवोऽगरश्मेः²³

Raghu. V, 4

उत्तरीयां दिशि देवतात्मा हिमगिरितनयः

Fig. 35. चन्द्रात्किमुष्णं भविता कदाचित्

17 In the northern quarter there is a lordly mountain named Himālaya of divine essence.

18 North.

19 West.

20 Himālaya.

21 Son of Himavān.

22 Can there ever be heat from the moon?

23 As the world gets sentience from the hot-rayed sun.

Kālidāsa's description of the king of Anūpas who as the permanent abode of the goddess of Prosperity destroyed her blemish as fickle and fleeting by nature

येन श्रियः संश्रयदोषरूढं स्वभावलोलेखशः प्रमृष्टम्²⁴

Raghu. VI, 41

is expressed in almost similar manner in the line of the Tandantottam plates of the Pallava king Nandivarman

श्रीश्च यस्मिन्निवसति सुचिरं त्यक्तचापल्यदोषा²⁵

S. Ind. Inscr. II, p. 520 (Fig. 36)

Fig. 36. श्रीश्च यस्मिन्निवसति सुचिरन्त्यक्तचापल्यदोषा

As already noted (*see* p. 20) Kālidāsa has described the fickle nature of Prosperity in other contexts also and the Aihole inscription has the line in almost exactly the same wording.

The idea in Sunandā's remark that the Goddesses of Prosperity and Learning, usually different in their abodes, dwelt together in the king of the Āngas

निसर्गभिन्नास्पदमेकसंस्थमस्मिन्द्रयं श्रीश्च सरस्वती च²⁶

Raghu. VI, 29

24 Who removed the notoriety of Prosperity, based on her irregular stay, that she was fickle by nature.

25 In whom Prosperity dwelt long discarding the blemish of her fickleness.

26 In whom dwelt together Prosperity and Learning who had different abodes by nature.

is again repeated by Kālidāsa in the Bharatavākya of his Vikramorvaṣiya

परस्परविरोधिन्योरेकसंश्रयदुर्लभम् ।

संगतं श्रीसरस्वत्योर्भूतयेस्तु सदा सतात् ॥²⁷ Vikrama. VI.

This had its exact repetition in the Baṭeśvar Chandella inscription of Paramardideva in the verse

परस्परविरोधस्य तस्य राज्ये कथैव का ।

संगतं श्रीसरस्वत्योरपि येन प्रवर्तितम् ॥²⁸

Epigraph. Ind. 1, p. 209.

The line from the Girnār inscription of Skandagupta

संरञ्जयां च प्रकृतीर्वभूव पूर्वेस्मिताभाषणमानदानैः²⁹

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p 60 (Fig. 4).

has, as already pointed out, two sources of inspiration, Raghuvamśa and Rāmāyaṇa. The idea of a king deserving that name by the pleasure he assured his subjects is a favourite one of Kālidāsa. The line

तथैव सोऽभूदन्वर्थो राजा प्रकृतिरञ्जनात्³⁰ Raghu. IV, 12

27 May the union of Prosperity and Learning the one opposed to the other and rarely together in one abode be always for the prosperity of the good.

28 How can there be any talk of mutual opposition in the case of Prosperity and Learning even the union of whom has been achieved by him.

29 He pleased his subjects by talks prefaced by smiles, courtesies and gifts.

30 Similarly he was a king in the real etymological sense of the word by pleasing his subjects.

is repeated again in another

राजा प्रजारजनलब्धवर्णः परन्तपो नाम यथार्थनामा³¹

Raghu. VI, 21.

The other idea of a king smiling to reassure people before he spoke to relieve them of needless fear and awe in such august presence is from the Rāmāyaṇa

स्मितपूर्वाभिभाषी च धर्मं सर्वात्मना श्रितः³²

Rāma. II, 2, 42 (see above p. 5).

This glorious phrase स्मितपूर्वाभिभाषी³³ has tempted even the sweetest of poets and in his poem we find the verse

प्रसन्नमुखरागं तं स्मितपूर्वाभिभाषिणम् ।

मूर्तिमन्तममन्यन्त विश्वासमनुजीविनः ॥³⁴ Raghu. XVII, 31,

suggestive of what even Kālidāsa owes to Vālmiki not to speak of what the inscriptional line owes to both.

Sunandā's description of the king of Magadha

राजा प्रजारजनलब्धवर्णः परन्तपो नाम यथार्थनामा ॥

कामं नृपाः सन्तु सहस्रशोन्ये राजन्वतीमाहुरनेन भूमिम् ।³⁵

Raghu, VI, 21, 22 ;

31 A king in the real sense of the word, being clever in pleasing his subjects, and appropriately named Parantapa.

32 Who spoke with a smile preceding his speech, and upheld Righteousness wholeheartedly.

33 Who spoke with a smile preceding his speech.

34 His followers considered him, with his face lit with benevolence and speeches prefaced by smiles, as Trust incarnate.

35 A king appropriately called Parantapa who was clever in pleasing his subjects.... There may be thousands of other kings, but the earth is said to be possessed of a good king only by this one.

puts its stamp on the verse of the Sihāwā inscription of Karṇarāja

राजन्वती समभवज्जगती समन्ताद्येन प्रजासु पितृतां भजता नृपेण³⁶

Epigraph. Ind. IX. p 185 (Fig. 37).

राजन्वतीसमभवज्जगतीसमन्ता
द्येनप्रजासुपितृतांभजतानृपेण॥

Fig. 37. राजन्वती समभवज्जगतीसमन्ता
द्येन प्रजासु पितृतां भजता नृपेण ॥

The other half of the first of the two verses of Kālidāsa just quoted

असौ शरण्यः शरणोन्मुखानामगाधसत्वो मगाधप्रतिष्ठः³⁷

Raghu. VI, 21.

occurs again in inscriptions; it reads

शरण्यभूतः शरणोन्मुखानां³⁸

S. Ind. Inscr. II, p. 520 (Fig. 38),

शरण्यभूतः शरणोन्मुखानां

Fig. 38. शरण्यभूतः शरणोन्मुखानां

in the Tandantotṭam plates of the Pallava king Nandivarman and earlier still it is

36 As the king was paternal towards his subjects the earth became everywhere possessed of a good king.

37 This king stationed in Magadha and of unfathomable might is the refuge of those who sought his protection.

38 Who was the refuge of those who sought his protection.

नृणां शरण्यः शरणागतानां³⁹

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 59. (Fig. 39.)

in the Girnār rock inscription of Skandagupta.

नृणां शरण्यः शरणागतानां

Fig. 39. नृणां शरण्यः शरणागतानां

A clear borrowing in inscription from Kālidāsa's poetry is pointed out by Kielhorn (Ind Antiq. XX, p. 190) in the line

यस्याहूतसहस्रनेत्रविरहक्षामा सदैवाध्वरैः

पौलोमी चिरमश्रुपातमलिनं धत्ते कपोलश्रियं⁴⁰

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 224. (Fig. 40.)

which is after the verse

क्रियाप्रबन्धादयमध्वराणामजस्रमाहूतसहस्रनेत्रः ।

शच्याश्विरं पाण्डु कपोललम्बान्मन्दारशून्यानलकांश्चकार ॥⁴¹

Raghu. VI, 23

यस्याहूतसहस्रनेत्रविरहक्षामा सदैवाध्वरैः
पौलोमी चिरमश्रुपातमलिनं धत्ते कपोलश्रियं ॥

Fig. 40. यस्याहूतसहस्रनेत्रविरहक्षामा सदैवाध्वरैः

पौलोमी चिरमश्रुपातमलिनं धत्ते कपोलश्रियं ॥

39 Who was the refuge of men who came to him for protection.

40 Indrāṅī, emaciated by the separation from Indra who was always invited by him for his sacrifices had for a long time the beauty of her cheeks marred by her tears.

41 Incessantly inviting Indra in the sacrificial ceremonies, this king made the ringlets of Indrāṅī, devoid of Mandāra flowers, flow on her pale cheeks.

It may be noted that the line

ऋतुगणेष्व्वाहृतवृत्रद्विषः⁴³

Epigraph. Ind. XIV, p. 116.

in the Harāhā inscription of Īśānavarman Maukhari is also suggestive of the same source of origin as it recalls the first half of the verse of Kālidāsa quoted above. A flash of Kālidāsa's verse

अध्यास्य चाम्भःपृषतोक्षितानि शैलेयगन्धीनि शिलातलानि ।
कलापिनां प्रावृषि पश्य नृत्यं कान्तासु गोवर्धनकन्दरासु ॥⁴³

Raghu, VI, 51.

is found in the mutilated line of the Jaunpur inscription of Īsvaravarman

प्रपातसलिलैः स्नातं शिलागन्धिभिः प्रालेयाद्रिभुवश्च शीतपयसः⁴⁴

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 230.

Other royal eulogies

A number of other eulogies of Kālidāsa describing royal prowess and grandeur have become favourite themes incorporated by many other poets, composers of inscriptions. The phrase पञ्चमं लोकपालानां⁴⁵ from the verse of Kālidāsa

42 Who invited Indra in a number of sacrifices.

43 Seated on the surface of the rocks in the lovely Govardhana caves sprinkled with water spray and sweet with moss, see the dance of peacocks in the rainy season.

44 Bathed in the water of torrents sweet with moss, cool water of the snowy mountain (Himālaya) regions.

45 The fifth protector of the worlds.

पञ्चमं लोकपालानमूचुः साधर्म्ययोगतः ।

भूतानां महतां षष्ठमष्टमं कुलभूमुताम् ॥⁴⁶ Raghu. XVII, 78,

has an almost invariable place in many early Pallava grants,

लोकपालानां पञ्चमस्य⁴⁷ Epigraph.

Ind. VIII, p. 161 (Fig. 41.)

Fig. 41. लोकपालानां पञ्चमस्य

being one of the epithets used for describing the king; and the line from the Pikira grant of Simhavarman is only a sample of the rest. In the verse of the Pahlādpur inscription of Śiśupāla this is expressed

विहित इव विधात्रा पञ्चमो लोकपालः⁴⁸

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 250 (Fig. 42)

Fig. 42. विहित इव विधात्रा पञ्चमो लो...लः

This idea is again expanded by Kālidāsa in his description of Daśaratha

46 By the close similarity they said he was the fifth protector of the worlds, the sixth great element and the eighth notable mountain.

47 The fifth protector of the worlds.

48 He appeared as if ordained by Brahma as the fifth protector of the worlds.

though even here the source is to be traced to the elaborated idea of the same theme by Kālidāsa himself in the verse

समतया वसुवृष्टिर्विसर्जनैर्नियमनादसतां च नराधिपः ।
अनुययौ यमपुण्यजनेश्वरौ सवरुणावरुणाप्रसरं रुचा ॥⁵²

Raghu. IX, 6.

A couple of centuries later the Banskhera copper plate of Harṣavardhana bears the line

परिगृहीतधनदवरुणेन्द्रप्रभृतिलोकपालतेजाः⁵³

Epigraph. Ind. IV p. 210

the source in this case being the verse of Kālidāsa, giving the idea of the king bearing the virtues of the lokapālas

नरपतिकुलभूत्यै गर्भमाधत्त राज्ञो गुरुभिरभिनिविष्टं लोकपालानुभावैः⁵⁴

Raghu. II, 75

The description of a king in the line of the Śrīrangam plates of Mummaḍi Nāyaka as a mighty person at once inviting and awe-inspiring

स्थिरोभिगम्यो बलवानधृष्यो नवोपि सोभूत्परदुष्प्रधर्षः⁵⁵

Epigraph. Ind. XIV p. 91

52 He closely followed Yama, Kubera and Varuṇa by his equity, showers of wealth and punishing of the wicked respectively, and the one fore-run by Aruṇa (Sun) by his effulgence.

53 Who had the lustre of the lords of the worlds like Kubera, Varuṇa and Indra.

54 For the prosperity of that king's line the queen conceived the embryo being infused with the great lustre of the lords of the worlds.

55 Firm and accessible, strong and unapproachable, though new he was unassailable to his enemies.

is derived from two verses of Kālidāsa

भीमकान्तैर्नृपशुणैः स बभूवोपजीविताम् ।

ऋष्यश्वाभिगम्यश्च यादोरत्नैरिवाणवः ॥⁵⁶

Raghu. I. 16

and

अक्षोभ्यः स नवोऽप्यासीद्दृढमूल इव हुमः⁵⁷

Raghu. XVII, 44.

The king can make and unmake whomsoever he chooses ; but he acts justly. Kālidāsa describes Raghu as धर्मदिजयी⁵⁸ and calls him the extirpator of the proud

अनघ्राणां समुद्धर्तुः⁵⁹

Raghu. IV, 35

and the reinstator of the uprooted

उत्खातप्रतिरोपिताः⁶⁰

Raghu. IV, 37

and

गृहीतप्रतिमुक्तस्य⁶¹

Raghu. IV, 43

The idea is repeated by him in the verse describing Daśaratha

उदयमस्तमयं च रघूद्वहादुभयमानशिरे वसुधाधिपाः ।

स हिः निदेशमलङ्घयतामभूत्सुहृदयोहृदयः प्रतिगर्जताम् ॥⁶²

Raghu. IX, 9.

56 He was at once accessible and unapproachable to his dependants by his terrible and benign qualities as the ocean is inviting and repelling by its gems and sea-monsters.

57 Though new he was unshakable like a tree with firm roots.

58 Righteous conqueror.

59 The extirpator of the disrespectful.

60 Removed and reinstated.

61 Caught and released.

62 Kings obtained both uplift and downfall from that descendent of Raghu; he was a friend of those who obeyed his commands but was steel-hearted to those who challenged him.

These at once remind us of the description of Samudragupta in the Allahābād pillar inscription

साद्भवसाधूदयप्रलयहेतुपुरुषस्याचिन्त्यस्य⁶³

C. Inscr. Ind. III p. 8, (Fig. 44.)

Fig. 44. साद्भवसाधूदयप्रलयहेतुपुरुषस्याचिन्त्यस्य

In the Abhijñānaśākuntala Duṣyanta with his bow ready for action in his hand is reminded by one of the ascetics that such weapons with kings are for protection of those in distress and not for hurting innocent creatures

आर्तत्राणाय वः शस्त्रं न प्रहर्तुमनागसि⁶⁴

Sak. I. 8.

This idea finds a place in the Valabhi grants in almost the same words

यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्नत्राणाय⁶⁵

Epigraph. Ind. IX. p. 297 (Fig. 45)

Fig. 45. यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्नत्राणाय

Another epithet illustrating noble qualities of Royalty from the Pehoa inscription

63 That great person not easily conceived (Viṣṇu) who was the cause of the rise and downfall of the good and the wicked.

64 Your weapon is for the protection of the distressed, not to hurt the innocent.

65 Whose weapon was for the protection of the distressed.

लस्तान्धदीननिकरोद्धरणोरुकीर्तैः⁶⁶

Ibid. I, p. 246 (Fig. 46.)

recalls the line of Kālidāsa

सप्त व्यतीयुस्त्रिगुणानि तस्य दिनानि दीनोद्धरणोचितस्य⁶⁷

Raghu. II, 25.

मुसुभुयीनिकरोद्धरणोरुकीर्तैः

Fig. 46. लस्तान्धदीननिकरोद्धरणोरुकीर्तैः ।

There is no doubt a suggestion in the line of the Allahābād inscription wherein Hariṣeṇa describes Samudraguṇḍa as

लोकसमयक्रियानुविधानमात्रमानुषस्य⁶⁸

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 8, (Fig. 47.)

of Kālidāsa's line

अवैमि कार्यान्तरमानुषस्य विष्णोः सुताख्यामपरां तनुं त्वाम्⁶⁹

Raghu. XVI, 82.

लोकसमयक्रियानुविधानमात्रमानुषस्य

Fig. 47. लोकसमयक्रियानुविधानमात्रमानुषस्य

66 Whose fame was rich by upraising the frightened, blind and lowly.

67 Days numbering three times seven were passed by that king capable of upraising the lowly.

68 Who was mortal only in so far as it pertained to the performance of normal worldly functions.

69 I know you to be another image, known as a son of Viṣṇu, who was mortal only for the performance of certain functions.

though the belief

नविष्णुः पृथिवीपतिः⁷⁰

can well be brought in also ; but the construction of the wording and the sense brought out reveal the influence of the great poet.

The ambition of the king is not only to be a lord of earth but also of heaven. He earns life in heaven as almost an equal of Indra by his own good deeds like the performance of the Rājasūya and Aśvamedha sacrifices. The coins of the Guptas abound in the legends recording this feat



Fig. 48. Legend on right partially lost

अप्रतिरथो विजिस्य [क्षितिं]

Legend on left

सुचरितैर्दिवं जयति

Beneath left arm of figure

समुद्र

⁷⁰ Without being of the essence of Viṣṇu one cannot be king.

of the king. In the archer type of Samudragupta's coins it is

अप्रतिरथो विजित्य क्षितिं सुचरितैर्दिवं जयति⁷¹

Cat. Ind. Coins : Gupta. p. 6, (Fig. 48.)

The legend on the Chattra type of coins of Candragupta II, is

क्षितिमवजित्य सुचरितैर्दिवं जयति विक्रमादित्यः⁷² Ibid. p. 35.

On Kumāragupta's swordsman type of coin it reads

गामवजित्य सुचरितैः कुमारगुप्तो दिवं जयति⁷³ Ibid. p. 67.

though other forms of the legends are found in the archer, horseman and other types

विजितावनिरवनिपतिः कुमारगुप्तो दिवं जयति⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 61.

क्षितिपतिरजितो विजयी कुमारगुप्तो दिवं जयति⁷⁵

Ibid. p. 71 etc.

The Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman has a noble verse

गामेवोन्मातुमूर्ध्वं विगणयितुमिव ज्योतिषां चक्रवालं

निर्देष्टुं मार्गमुच्चैर्दिव इव सुकृतोपार्जितायाः स्वकीर्तेः ।

71 Having conquered the earth without an opponent, he wins heaven by his good deeds.

72 Vikramāditya having conquered the earth wins heaven by good deeds.

73 Kumāragupta having conquered the earth wins heaven by good deeds.

74 King Kumāragupta, after conquering the earth, wins heaven.

75 King Kumāragupta, unconquered and victorious, wins heaven.

तेनाकल्पान्तकालावधिरवनिभुजा श्रीयशोधर्मणायं

स्तम्भः स्तम्भभिरामस्थिरभुजपरिधेणोच्छ्रितं नायितोऽत्र ॥⁷⁶

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 147.

The line

निर्देष्टुं भार्गसुचैर्दिव इव सुकृतोपार्जितायाः स्वकीतैः⁷⁷ (Fig. 49.)

suggesting the path on high to his own fame to reach heaven earned by his good deeds is more

Fig. 49. दिव इव सुकृतोपार्जितायाः स्वकीतैः

telling; and all these have a common source in Kālidāsa

तस्मिन्गते द्यां सुकृतोपलब्धां⁷⁸

Raghu. XVIII, 22.

answers the version referring to the attainment of heaven by सुकृत⁷⁹ the same word being used सुचरितैः,⁸⁰ सुकृतोपार्जितायाः⁸¹ etc. in coins and inscriptions. The other line of Kālidāsa with the same idea

76 As if to measure the heights of heaven above, or to count the galaxy of luminous objects, or to show the path on high to heaven to his own fame acquired by his good deeds, this pillar, lasting till the end of the aeon, has been set up by Śrī Yaśodharman whose firm bolt-like arm is lovely like a column.

77 To show the path on high to heaven to his own fame acquired by his own good deeds.

78 When he went to heaven obtained by good deeds.

79 & 80 Good deeds.

81 Won by good deeds.

कौमुद्वतेयः कुमुदावदातैद्यामार्जितां कर्मभिरारुरोह⁸²

Raghu. XVIII, 3.

has the word कर्मभिः⁸³ which is also repeated in coin legends as the Kāca type of Samudragupta's coins that show the reading

काचो गामवजित्य दिवं कर्मभिरुत्तमैर्जयति⁸⁴

Cat. Ind. Coins : Gupta, p. 15.

Many other happy expressions of Kālidāsa, short but suggestive of might and nobility in Royalty, have their echoes in inscriptions

कुलापीड⁸⁵ Raghu. XVIII, 29, कुलप्रदीप⁸⁶ Ibid. VI,

74 and कुलध्वज⁸⁷ Ibid. XVI, 37, or वंशकेतु⁸⁸

Ibid. II, 33 ; XIV, 7

are suggestive of high importance. We find these repeated in inscriptions. The term कुलकेतु⁸⁹ occurs in the Śrirangam plates of Mummaḍi Nāyaka

कूनाभिधानः कुलकेतुरासीत्,⁹⁰ Epigraph. Ind. XIV, p. 90.

The term कुलध्वज⁹¹ S. Ind. Inscr. I, p. 17 (Fig. 50.) is found among the numerous gracefully worded Pallava Royal birudas in the Kailasanātha temple. This series of birudas owes much to Kālidāsa and

82 The son of Kumudvatī climbed to heaven won by his acts pure like the lily.

83 Acts.

84 Having won the earth, Kāca wins heaven by his excellent acts.

85 Chaplet of the family.

86 Light of the family.

87, 88, 89 & 91 Banner of the family.

90 One named Kūna was a banner of the family.

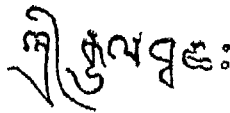


Fig. 50. श्री कुलध्वजः

many of his lovely phrases are here repeated as Royal birudas.

उन्नतेच्छ⁹² S. Ind. Inscr. I p. 17 (Fig. 51).

is from the line of Raghuvamśa

काकुस्थशब्दं धत उन्नतेच्छाः श्लाघ्यं दधत्युत्तरकोसलेन्द्राः⁹³

Raghu, VI, 71.

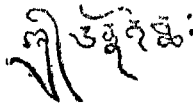


Fig. 51. श्री उन्नतेच्छः

The next biruda उत्खातकण्ठक⁹⁴

S. Ind. Inscr. I p. 17 (Fig. 52).

is clearly from the line of Kālidāsa

उत्खातलोकत्रयकण्ठकेऽपि सत्यप्रतिज्ञेऽप्यविकल्पनेऽपि⁹⁵

Raghu, XIV, 73,

with just the word त्रय⁹⁶ omitted as it cannot make any sense here in the case of the Pallava king whose vanquished enemies had no heaven or Hades

92 Of lofty aspirations.

93 Whence the kings of north Kosala of lofty aspirations bear the praiseworthy title Kākustha.

94 Rid of thorns.

95 Though he has removed the thorn of the three worlds, is true to his promises and modest.

96 Three.

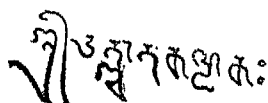


Fig. 52. श्री उत्खातकण्टकः

to torment like the foe of Rāma. Another eulogistic epithet for the Pallava monarch in this series is

एकधनुर्धरः⁹⁷ S. Ind. Inscr. I p. 17 (Fig. 53.)

and elsewhere एकवीर⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 24.

Both trace their source to the Raghuvamśa, the former to the lines

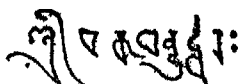


Fig. 53. श्री एकधनुर्धरः

न केवलं तद्गुरुरेकपार्थिवः क्षितावभूदेकधनुर्धरोऽपि सः⁹⁹

Raghu. III, 31,

and अमोघं सन्दधे चास्मै धनुष्येकधनुर्धरः¹⁰⁰

Ibid. XII, 97,

and the latter to

एकातपत्रां भुवमेकवीरः पुरार्गलादीर्घभुजो बुभोज¹

Ibid. XVIII, 4.

97 The only bowman.

98 The only hero.

99 His father was not only the only sole sovereign on earth but was also the only bowman.

100 That only bowman applied an unfailing arrow to his bow to shoot him.

1 That only hero with arms long like the bolt of a city-gate enjoyed the earth on which was raised only a single umbrella.

The line of Kālidāsa

मानोन्नतेनाप्यभिवन्ध्य मूर्ध्ना मूर्ध्नाभिषिक्तं कुमुदो बभाषे²

Ibid. XVI, 81.

is the inspirer of the Pallava biruda उन्नतमान³

S. Ind. Inscr. I p. 16 (Fig. 54.)

of this series, though the order of the words in the compound is here reversed. The same form is, however, adopted in the Dewal praśasti of Lalla

Fig. 54. श्री उन्नतमानः

सन्मार्गानुगतः शुचिर्दृढमतिर्मानोन्नतो नीतिमान्⁴

Epigraph. Ind. I p. 78.

Another भीमकान्त⁵ S. Ind. Inscr. I p. 16 (Fig. 55.)
is clearly from

भीमकान्तैर्नृपगुणैः स बभूवोपजीविनाम्⁶ Raghu. I, 16,

the epithets of the qualities being applied to the very abode of those qualities, the king. The term

धर्मविजयी⁷ S. Ind. Inscr. I p. 17 (Fig. 56.)

2 Bowing to that anointed king with his head erect though it was with his sense of dignity, Kumuda spoke.

3 High in his sense of dignity.

4 Follower of the right path, pure, firm in thought, high in his sense of dignity and of right morals.

5 Terrible and pleasant.

6 By his kingly qualities both terrible and pleasant he was to his followers....

7 Righteous conqueror.

found among these birudas is from the description of Raghu as the righteous conqueror of the world

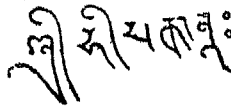


Fig 55. श्री भीमकान्तः

गृहीतप्रतिमुक्तस्य स धर्मविजयी वृषः ।

श्रियं महेन्द्रनाथस्य जहार न तु मेदिनीम् ॥ ⁸ Raghu. IV, 43.

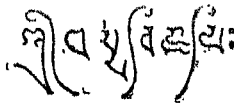


Fig. 56. श्री धर्मविजयिः

The term परंतप⁹ used repeatedly by Kālidāsa with its significant meaning stressed has been adopted as the Pallava biruda in this list. The lines

राजा प्रजारञ्जनलब्धवर्णः परंतपो नाम यथार्थनामा¹⁰ Ibid. VI, 21.

and यः कश्चन रघूणां हि परमेकः परंतपः¹¹ Ibid. XV, 7.

are thus the precursors of the biruda परंतप¹²

S. Ind. Inscr. I p. 18 (Fig. 57).

on the walls of the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeevaram. Another of the birudas is

शास्त्रदृष्टि¹³ Ibid. p. 18 (Fig. 58.)

8 That king, a righteous conqueror, took only the Prosperity and not the kingdom of the king of Mahendra who was captured and again released by him.

9 & 12 The consumer of enemies.

10 A king appropriately called Parantapa who was clever in pleasing his subjects.

11 Any one among the Raghus, consumer of enemies....

13 Whose sight was scientific knowledge.

which is a very short resume of Kālidāsa's line

चक्षुष्मता तु शास्त्रेण सूक्ष्मकार्यार्थदर्शिना¹⁴ Raghu. IV, 13.

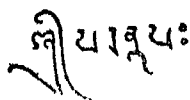


Fig. 57. श्री परन्तपः

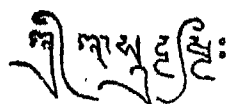


Fig. 58. श्री शास्त्रदृष्टिः

The Banskhera copper plate of Harṣvardhana describes the king Rājyavardhana as

अतिशयितपूर्वराजचरित¹⁵ Epigraph. Ind. IV, p. 210.

This is reminiscent of the line of Kālidāsa

भक्तिः प्रतीक्ष्येषु कुलोचिता ते पूर्वांमहाभाग तयातिशेषे¹⁶

Raghu V, 14.

A battle scene

The Kūram grant of the Pallava king Parameśvaravarman has one of the most graphic descriptions of a battle scene in epigraphical literature (Fig. 59). The battle described is dharm-

14 He was endowed with sight only by his scientific knowledge which saw the purpose of even minute things.

15 Who excelled the character of earlier kings.

16 Devotion towards the adorable is your family trait; but in this you excel those that preceded you.

रथिरमधुपानमत्तप्रगीतकूष्माण्डराक्षसपिशाचे
दत्तलयतुल्यकालप्रतिभयनीनृत्यम्कवन्धशत्रुयोनी

uddha or righteous warfare of which an excellent word picture is given by Kālidāsa in his verse

पत्तिः पदातिं रथिनं रथेशस्तुरङ्गसादी तुरगाधिरूढम् ।

घन्ता गजस्याभ्यपतद्गजस्थं तुल्यप्रतिद्वन्द्वि बभूव युद्धम् ॥¹⁷

Raghu. VII, 37

and which has a permanent record for ocular app-

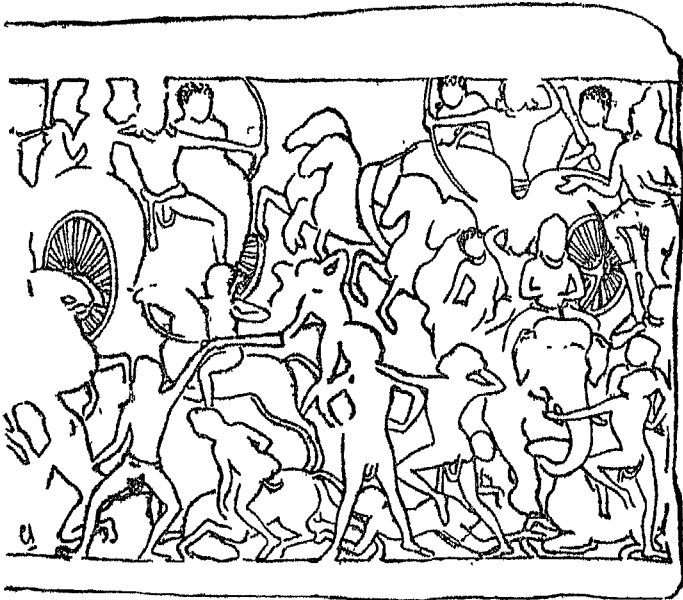


Fig. 60.

17 The foot-soldier attacked a foot-soldier, the chariot-soldier one in chariot, the cavalry-man one mounted on horse, the soldier on elephant another on elephant, equally matched in the opponents there was the battle.

reciation in the sculptural presentation of the theme by the gifted artists of the marble rail of the Amarāvati stupa (Fig. 60.) Though damaged there is yet enough left in the carving to suggest what a noble artistic presentation it is of this beautifully described affray. Though all individual lines in the inscription and Kālidāsa's verses cannot be made to tally *in toto* the indebtedness of the former to the latter is clear and there can be no doubt about the source of inspiration. The verses

उत्थापितः संयति रेणुरश्वैः सान्द्रीकृतः स्यन्दनवंशचक्रैः ।

विस्तारितः कुञ्जरकर्णतालैर्नेत्रक्रमेणोपररोध सूर्यम् ॥¹⁸

Ibid. VII, 39.

भावृष्वतो लोचनमार्गमाजौ रजोऽन्धकारस्य विजृम्भितस्थ¹⁹

Ibid. VII, 42,

नीहारमग्नो दिनपूर्वभागः किञ्चित्प्रकाशेन विवस्वतेव²⁰

Ibid. VII, 60.

and

शस्त्रक्षताश्वद्विपवरिजन्मा²¹ Ibid. VII, 42.

may be seen in the lines of the inscription

18 Raised in battle by the horses, thickened by the wheels of many chariots, spread about by the flapping ears of elephants, the dust hid the sun as with a cloth.

19 To the darkness that increased hiding the range of vision on the battlefield.

20 Like the earlier part of the day (morning) obscured with mist by the sun only partially lit.

21 Issuing from horses, elephants and soldiers wounded with weapons,

अगणितनरहयकरिकुलविमर्दजनितेन रेणुतुहिनेन ।
आरोपितशशिमण्डलसादृश्यसहस्रकरबिम्बे ॥ ²²

S. Ind. Inscr. I, p. 148 (Fig. 59.)

Kālidāsa's lines

नदत्सु तूर्येष्वमिभाव्यवाचः ²³ Raghu. VII, 38.

स्वमर्तृनामग्रहणाद्भूव सान्द्रे रजस्यात्मपरावबोधः ²⁴

Ibid. VII, 41.

तनुल्यजां धर्मभृतां विक्रोशैर्बृहत्सु दन्तेष्वसिभिः पतद्भिः ।

उद्यन्तमग्निं शमयांबभूवुर्गजा विविम्नाः करसीकरेण ॥ ²⁵

Ibid. VII, 48.

have faint echoes in the next two lines of the inscription

पटहरवगर्जितोभ्रे विक्रोशनिस्त्रिशविद्युदाभोगे ।

प्रचरितकुञ्जरजलदे विकालवर्षावतार इव ²⁶

S. Ind. Inscr. I, p. 148 (Fig. 59.)

the ideas of battle din, sword drawn from the sheath विक्रोशनिस्त्रिश ²⁷ and elephants discharging

22 When the disc of the thousand-rayed sun was led to assume the appearance of the lunar disc by the mist of dust raised by the stampede of countless troops of soldiers, horses and elephants.

23 When the martial musical instruments were resounding, voices were inaudible.

24 In that thick dust distinguishing ones own men from the enemy was by the utterances of the names of their overlords.

25 The frightened elephants put out by the spray from their trunks the fire that flashed as the unsheathed swords of dying accoutred warriors fell on their tusks.

26 Like an untimely downpour terrible with the noise of thunder in the sound of drums, with lightning flashes in the unsheathed swords, with clouds in the marching elephants.

27 Unsheathed sword.

water like clouds being equally present in both.
The lines of the inscription

अन्योन्यमूर्धपातितखड्गव्यतिषक्ततुरगसादिगणे ।
अन्योन्यसदृशगणनपरिभवनिर्या²⁸

S. Inscr. I. p. 149 (Fig. 59.)

reminds us of Kālidāsa's verse

पत्तिः पद्दतिं रथिनं रथेशस्तुरङ्गसादी तुरगाधिरूढम् ।
यन्ता गजस्याभ्यपतद्गजस्थं तुल्यप्रतिद्वन्द्वि बभूव युद्धम् ॥²⁹

Raghu. VII, 37.

The lines

गन्धवद्गुधिरचन्दनोक्षिता³⁰ Ibid. XI, 20.

and शस्त्रक्षताश्वद्विपवीरजन्मा बालारुणोभूद्गुधिरप्रवाहः³¹ Ibid. VII, 42.
may be seen in the inscriptional line

मृगमदमिश्रितशोणितकुङ्कुमधनलिप्यमानभूमितले³²

S. Ind. Inscr. I, p. 149 (Fig. 59.)

while the line

अन्योन्यजयपराजयसन्देहप्रैखलप्रलक्ष्मीविहिते³³

Ibid. p. 149 (Fig. 59.)

28 In which horse-soldier troops were connected by their swords which cut one another's heads; considering one another as equal or unpraiseworthy.

29 See f. n. 17 on p. 60 for the English rendering of this verse.

30 Smear'd with blood as with sandal paste.

31 The torrent of blood issuing from horses, elephants, and heroes struck with weapons was as the ruddy sun at dawn.

32 With the ground smear'd thick with saffron as it were by the blood mixed with musk.

33 In which the goddess of Success was made to dangle as it were in a doubt regarding success or defeat of the one or the other.

suggests two verses of Kālidāsa

व्यूहावुभौ तावितरैतरस्माद्भङ्गं जयं चापतुरव्यवस्थम्⁸⁴

Raghu. VII, 54

and विक्रमव्यतिहारेण सामान्याभूद्द्वयोरपि ।

जयश्रीरन्तरा वेदिर्मत्तवारणयोरिव ॥⁸⁵

Ibid. XII 93,

The line

शस्त्रोद्यतभुजदण्डैः सारम्भविलोहिताक्षदष्टोष्ठपुटैः...⁸⁶

S. Ind. Inscr. I, p. 149 (Fig. 59.)

can be seen in Kālidāsa's verse

स रोषदष्टाधिकलोहितोष्ठैर्व्यक्तीर्ध्वरेखा भ्रुकुटीर्वहद्भिः⁸⁷

Raghu. VII, 58.

Two other verses of his

रणक्षितिः शोणितमद्यकुल्या रराज मृत्योरिव पानभूमिः⁸⁸

Ibid. VII, 49.

and

वामाङ्गसंसक्तसुराङ्गनः स्वं नृत्यत्कबन्धं समरे ददर्श⁸⁹

Ibid. VII, 51.

34 The two forces attained success or suffered defeat one from the other inconsistently.

35 Like a wall between a pair of elephants in rut, the goddess of Success was common to both by the fluctuation of might.

36 With raised club-like hands carrying weapons, with eyes bloodshot and lips bitten in frenzy.

37 Whose lips were blood-red being bitten with fury, and who wore a frown with clear-marked vertical lines of knit brows.

38 The battlefield shone like the drinking-room of Death with a stream of bloody wine.

39 With a divine nymph clinging to his left he saw his headless trunk dancing on the battlefield.

at once come to to our mind as we read two other lines of the inscription

रुधिरमधुपानमत्तप्रगीतकूष्माण्डराक्षसपिशाचे⁴⁰

S. Ind. Inscr. I, p. 129 (Fig. 59.)

and

दन्तलयतुल्यकालप्रतिभयनीनृत्यत्कवन्धशत्रुयोनौ⁴¹

Ibid. I, p. 129 (Fig. 59.)

The phrase नृत्यत्कवन्ध⁴² as already noted (*see above* p. 23) occurs even in the Aihole inscription.

In the sculptural representation of the battle scene there is not only the equal fight of equal ranks

तुल्यप्रतिद्वन्द्वि बभूव युद्धम्⁴³

Raghu. VII, 37.

but also such portrayals as the āliḍha warrior posture of the archer in chariot reminding one of

अतिष्ठदालीढविशेषरोमिना वपुःप्रकर्षेण विद्धम्बितेश्वरः⁴⁴

Ibid. III, 52.

and fight of warriors deprived of their vehicles and weapons with just the resources at their disposal as described in the verse

40 With Kūṣmāṇḍas, Rākṣasas and Piśācas singing, intoxicated by draughts of bloody wine.

41 With headless trunks of enemies fearfully dancing keeping time and in tune with it.

42 Dancing headless trunk.

43 There was a battle with opponents equally matched.

44 He stood a picture of Śiva with his noble form extremely beautiful in the āliḍha posture in which he stood.

अन्योन्यसूतोन्मथनादभूतां तावेव सूती रथिनौ च कौचित् ।
 व्यश्वौ गदाव्याप्यतसंप्रहारौ भग्रायुधौ बाहुविमर्दनिष्ठौ ॥ ⁴⁵

Ibid. VII, 52.

Other thoughts of Kālidāsa in inscriptions

Kālidāsa has a beautiful simile in his description of Daśaratha in his old age where he compares the emperor who has enjoyed the pleasures of life and approached the very end of his term of life to a lamp flame at dawn near the very end of the wick after its full feed of oil. Kielhorn has pointed (Ind. Antiq. XX, p. 190) that this striking verse from the Raghuvamśa

निर्विष्टविषयस्नेहः स दशान्तमुपेयिवान् ।

आसीदासन्ननिर्वाणः प्रदीपार्चिरिदोषसि ॥ ⁴⁶ Ibid. XII, 1.

has an epigraphical version in the verse of the Bodhgayā inscription of Mahānāman

व्यपगतविषयस्नेहो हततिमिरदशः प्रदीपवदसङ्गः ⁴⁷

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 276 (Fig. 61).

45 By the death of their charioteers each one in an opposing pair was rendered both charioteer and chariot-fighter in one; with their horses dead they struck each other with clubs, and when their weapons were broken they pounded each other with their arms.

46 Having enjoyed the love for pleasures, reaching the end of his career and with his end approaching, he was like the lamp flame at dawn that had sucked the oil, reached the tip of the wick and was about to get extinguished.

47 With no more love for pleasures, with ignorance removed and free from attachment, like a lamp with oil exhausted, whose burning wick had removed darkness.

उपगतविषयज्ञेदेवतरिषिाःपुष्टिपटसप्तः

Fig. 61. व्यपगतविषयज्ञेदेव हततिमिरश्शः प्रदीपवदसप्तः

The emperor Raghu, with all his treasures given away in the Rājasūya sacrifice is compared by Kālidāsa to the waning moon with his ambrosiacal digits all spent in feeding the gods and hence far more praiseworthy than the waxing lunar disc in all its glory. This idea embodied in the verse

स्थाने भवानेकनराधिपः सन्नकिंचनत्वं मखजं व्यनक्ति ।

पर्यायपीतस्य सुरैर्हिमांशोः कलाक्षयः श्लाघ्यतरो हि वृद्धेः ॥⁴⁸

Raghu. V,

is utilised in the Karhād plates of Kṛṣṇa III

निःशेषामरतर्पणापिततनुप्रक्षीणतालङ्कृते

र्यस्यांशः शिरसा गुणप्रियतया नूनं धृतः शम्भुना⁴⁹

Epigraph. Ind. IV, p. 281 (Fig. 62.)

where the special glory of the crescent moon chosen by Śiva as ornament for his head is explained.

48 It is but right that being the sole sovereign you yet display poverty born of your liberality in the sacrifice; the diminution of the digits of the moon drunk by the gods in the dark fortnight is more praiseworthy than their increase.

49 Whose (moon's) digit is borne by Sambhu on his head certainly because of his appreciation of merit, as he is beautiful in his diminution caused by his offer of his person for the gratification of all the gods without exception.

निःशेषामरतर्पणाप्यिततनुप्रक्षीणतालंकृते
 र्यस्याशः शिरसा गुणप्रियतया नूनं धृतः शम्भुना ॥

Fig. 62. निःशेषामरतर्पणाप्यिततनुप्रक्षीणतालंकृते
 र्यस्याशः शिरसा गुणप्रियतया नूनं धृतः शम्भुना ॥

Kālidāsa's description of people singing the glory of the king narrating tales of his deeds from his boyhood even as they guarded their crop-laden fields

इक्षुच्छायनिषादिन्यो तस्य गोप्तुर्गणोदयम् ।

आकुमारकथोद्घातं शालिगोप्यो जगुर्यशः ॥ ⁵⁰ Raghu. IV, 20.

is clearly a model for the verse of the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta

चरितममलकीर्तेर्गीयते यस्य शुभ्रं दिशि दिशि परितुष्टैराकुमारं मनुष्यैः⁵¹

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 54 (Fig. 63.)

उत्तमममलकीर्तेर्गीयते यस्य शुभ्रं
 दिशि दिशि परितुष्टैराकुमारं मनुष्यैः

Fig. 63. चरितममलकीर्तेर्गीयते यस्य शुभ्रं
 दिशि दिशि परितुष्टैराकुमारं मनुष्यैः

50 Seated in the shade of sugarcanes, the women guarding paddy-fields sang that king's praise born of excellent qualities beginning with stories of his childhood.

51 The immaculate story of that prince with spotless fame beginning with his childhood is sung by joyous men in every quarter.

The stream of noisy elements composing Kuśa's army and his followers in the valleys of the Vindhya described by Kālidāsa in the verse

मार्गैविणी सा कटकान्तरेषु वैन्ध्येषु सेना बहुधा विभिन्ना |
चकार रेवेव महाविरावा बद्धप्रतिश्रुन्ति गुहामुखानि ॥⁵²

Raghu. XVI, 31.

has a resume in the similar but shorter description in the Mandasor inscription

यस्योत्केतुमिरुन्मदद्विपकरव्याविद्धलोध्रदुमै
रुद्धधूतेन वनाध्वनि ध्वनिनदद्विन्ध्याद्विरन्ध्रैर्बलैः⁵³

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 153 (Fig. 64.)

यनध्वनिध्वनिनदद्विन्ध्याद्विरन्ध्रैर्बलैः

Fig. 64. वनाध्वनि ध्वनिनदद्विन्ध्याद्विरन्ध्रैर्बलैः

The line describing the ocean

उत्तस्तनकमकरैः क्षतफेनमालैश्चण्डानिलोद्धततरङ्गसमस्तहस्तैः⁵⁴

Ibid. p. 75 (Fig. 65.)

in the Gaṅgdhar inscription of Viśvavarman at

52 Seeking a way through the dales of the Vindhya slopes and branching off in different groups that army made a tremendous noise causing echoes in the mouths of caves like the river Revā.

53 With his armies, full of raised banners and elephants in full rut breaking Lodhra trees with their trunks, and causing the caves of the Vindhya mountain to resound with their noise in the forest track.

54 With terrified crocodiles and alligators darting up, garlands of dashing foam, and long arms of mighty waves caused by furious wind.

once suggests fragments of the idea of three or four verses of Kālidāsa just in one,

तस्मात्समुद्रादिव मथ्मयानादुद्वृत्तनक्रात्सहसोन्ममज्ज⁵⁵

Raghu. XVI, 79

मातङ्गनक्रैः सहसोत्पतद्भिर्भिन्नान्द्रिधा पश्य समुद्रफेनान्⁵⁶

Ibid. XIII, 11

वैदेहि पश्यामलयाद्विभक्तं मत्सेवेना फेनिलमम्बुराषिम्⁵⁷

Ibid. XIII, 2.

and

दूरे वसन्तं शिशिरानिलैर्मा तरङ्गहस्तैरुपगृह्णीते ॥⁵⁸

Ibid. XIII, 63.

कुत्रचिदुत्पन्नं यत्कवेः ॥ उत्पन्नं यत्कवेः ॥ उत्पन्नं यत्कवेः ॥

Fig. 65. वृत्तनक्रमकरै क्षतफेनमालैः ॥ चण्डानिलोद्धततरङ्गमस्तहस्तैर्षस्य
The first line of another noteworthy verse from the same canto of Raghuvamśa describing Padmanābha resting on the waters of the ocean even as the first Creator born of his navel lotus sang his praises

55 From that, as from the ocean when it was churned, with crocodiles darting up, arose.

56 Look at the foam of the ocean divided into two halves by elephant-crocodiles (sea-monsters) darting up in haste.

57 O Vaidehi! Look at the foamy ocean divided up to the Malaya mountain by my bridge.

58 Appears to embrace me as it were with her wave-hands laden with cool breeze even as I am far away.

नाभिप्ररूढाम्बुरुहासनेन संस्तूयमानः प्रथमेन धात्रा |
 असुं युगान्तोचितयोगनिद्रः संहत्य लोकान्युरुषोऽधिसेते ॥⁵⁹

Ibid. XIII, 6.

is repeated in the first invocatory verse of the Udayendiram plates of Hastimalla

यस्याष्टमूर्तिरभवत्स्वयमर्धमूर्तिर्यन्नाभिपङ्कजभुवो जगतां प्रसूतिः |
 यस्यानिशं प्रथमवाग्विवृणोति तत्त्वं स श्रीधरो दिशतु विश्वपतिः श्रीयं वः ॥⁶⁰
 S. Ind. Inscr. II, p. 382 (Fig. 66.)

यस्याष्टमूर्तिरभवत्स्वयमर्धमूर्तिर्यन्नाभिपङ्कजभुवो जगतां प्रसूतिः |
 यस्यानिशं प्रथमवाग्विवृणोति तत्त्वं स श्रीधरो दिशतु विश्वपतिः श्रीयं वः ॥

Fig. 66. च्यन्नाभिपङ्कजभुवो जगताम् प्रसूतिः
 यस्यानिशम् प्रथमवाग्विवृणोति तत्त्वं
 सश्रीधरो दिशतु विश्वपतिश्चियम् वः ॥

Here the single sentence of Kālidāsa is split into two in the inscription and the Vedic utterances of Brahmā in praise of the Supreme Being are spoken of separately as revealing his glory.

59 The Lord, accustomed to sleep after the deluge, sleeps on this ocean after destroying the worlds, praised by the first Creator seated on the lotus issuing from his navel.

60 May that Śrīdhara the lord of the universe half of whose body was taken up by the eight-bodied Śiva, the one born of whose navel lotus is the cause of the worlds, and whose glory is explained by the first utterances of Brahma (i.e. Veda).

The pale light of the moon at dawn is described by the author of the Orissa copper plate of Vidyāzharabhañja in the identical words of Kālidāsa as pointed out by Kielhorn as may be seen by comparing the inscriptional line

स्वकिरणपरिवेषोजित्यजीर्णेन्दुलेखं⁶¹

Epigraph. Ind. IX, p. 275 (Fig. 67).

with

स्वकिरणपरिवेषोद्भेदशून्याः प्रदीपाः⁶²

Raghu. V, 74.

Fig. 67. स्वकिरणपरिवेषोजित्यजीर्णेन्दुलेखं

The verse of Kālidāsa describing the progenitor of the Raghus

वैवस्वतो मनुर्नाम माननीयो मनीषिणाम् |

आसीन्महीक्षितामाद्यः प्रणवश्छन्दसामिव ॥⁶³ Ibid. I, 11.

has been a favourite with many composers of inscriptions giving Royal genealogies, who have used this as a simile while speaking of the progenitors of each dynasty

61 The digit of the moon with the brightness of its rays all around dimmed.

62 Lamps with the brightness of their rays all round dimmed.

63 The first of the monarchs was called Manu, son of the sun, and honoured by men, just as the syllable *Om* is the first syllable of the Vedas.

आसीत्सर्वमहीक्षितां मनुरिव क्षत्रस्थितेर्देशिकः

श्रीमान्मत्तगजेन्द्रखेलगमनः श्रीयज्ञवर्मा नृपः⁶⁴

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 224 (Fig. 68.)

from the Nāgārjuni cave inscription of Anantavarman has already been pointed out by Kielhorn

असीत्सर्वमहीक्षितां मनुरिव क्षत्रस्थितेर्देशिकः

Fig. 68. आसीत्सर्वमहीक्षितामनुरिव क्षत्रस्थितेर्देशिकः

as following the verse of Kālidāsa. In the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjeevaram there is an inscription a line of which has an exactly similar echo

पार्थिवानां शूराणामादिभूतो मनुरिव जयिनामन्ववायस्य कर्ता⁶⁵

S. Ind. Inscr. I, p. 12 (Fig. 69.)

असीत्सर्वमहीक्षितां मनुरिव क्षत्रस्थितेर्देशिकः

पार्थिवानां शूराणामादिभूतो मनुरिव जयिनामन्ववायस्य कर्ता ॥

Fig. 69. पार्थिवानां शूराणामादिभूतो मनुरिव

जयिनामन्ववायस्य कर्ता ॥

64 There was a king Yajñavarman, prosperous, of easy gait like that of a noble elephant, who was a teacher of the duties of a Kṣatriya like Manu of all the kings.

65 The first among heroic monarchs like Manu was the progenitor of this line of conquerors.

It may be noted that

भन्ववायस्य कर्ता⁶⁶

is also a happy expression after Kālidāsa's

वंशस्य कर्ता⁶⁷

in

वंशस्य कर्तारमनन्तकीर्तिं सुदक्षिणायां तनयं यथाचे⁶⁸

Raghu, II, 64.

This inscription contains thoughts of Kālidāsa in some other verses as well

नयोजितपराक्रमाजितमनेन सर्वैजग

न्नृपेण हतकण्ठकं प्रणतराजकं भुजता |

यशःसदृशमात्मनो भवनमेतदुत्थापितं

हरस्य हरहासरूपमतिमानमत्यद्भुतम् ॥⁶⁹

S. Ind. Inscr. I, p. 13 (Fig. 70).

is one of these and recalls the verse

प्रियालुरागस्य यशःसमुन्नतेर्भुजाजितानां च दिगन्तसम्पदाम् |

यथाक्रमं पुंसवनादिकाः क्रिया धृतेश्च धीरः सदृशीर्व्यधत्त सः ॥⁷⁰

Raghu. III, 10.

66 Progenitor of the line.

67 Progenitor of the line.

68 He asked a son by his wife Sudakṣinā who would be the progenitor of his line and of immense fame.

69 This temple of Hara (Śiva) white like Śiva's laughter and exceedingly noble and wonderful, has been erected as befits his fame by this king who enjoys the whole earth, won by policy and power, rid of enemies and with kings subdued.

70 That noble king performed in due order the ceremonies beginning with Pumsavana as befitted his love for his beloved queen, the nobility of his heart, the wealth of the ends of the quarters won by his arm prowess, and his bravery.

नोयोज्जितपराक्रमार्जितमनेनसर्व्वजग
 न्नृपेण हतकण्ठं प्रगतराजकं भुजता
 यशःसदृशमात्मनो भवनमेतदुस्थापितं
 हरस्य हरहासरूपमतिमानमत्यद्भुतम् ॥

Fig. 70. नोयोज्जितपराक्रमार्जितमनेनसर्व्वजग
 न्नृपेण हतकण्ठं प्रगतराजकं भुजता
 यशःसदृशमात्मनो भवनमेतदुस्थापितं
 हरस्य हरहासरूपमतिमानमत्यद्भुतम् ॥

The last quarter of the inscriptional verse recalls the verse from the Meghadūta

राशीभूतः प्रतिदिनमिव त्रयम्बकस्याद्दहासः⁷¹ Megha. I, 58.

Another line from the Meghadūta

तुङ्गमभ्रंलिहाम्नाः प्रासादाः⁷² Ibid. II, 1.

is echoed in another verse from the same inscription

71 Like the loud laughter of three-eyed Śiva heaped up every day.

72 Your height matched by mansions whose tops lick the clouds as it were.

शैले कैलासलीलामपहरति गृहे राजसिंहेश्वराख्यां
विभ्रत्यभ्रंलिहाग्रे विरचयतु सदा सन्निधानं वृषाङ्कः⁷³

S. Ind. Inscr. I, p. 13 (Fig. 71.)

Fig. 71. शैले कैलासलीलामपहरति गृहे
राजसिंहेश्वराख्यां विभ्रत्यभ्रंलिहाग्रे
विरचयतु सदा सन्निधानं वृषाङ्कः ॥

In another Pallava cave inscription from Trichinopoly the idea is repeated in the line

हरेणोक्ता प्रीत्या विभुरदिशदभ्रंलिहमिदं
मनुप्रख्यो राज्ये गिरिभवनमस्मै गुणभरः⁷⁴

Ibid. p. 30 (Fig. 72),

73 May the bull-crested Śiva always assure his presence in the stone-built temple named after Rājasimheśvara, that robs Kailāsa of its glory, and whose top licks the clouds as it were.

74 Being thus told lovingly by Hara, king Guṇabhara, equal in fame to Manu in his rule, assigned this rock-temple with its top licking the clouds as it were to him (Hara i.e. Śiva).

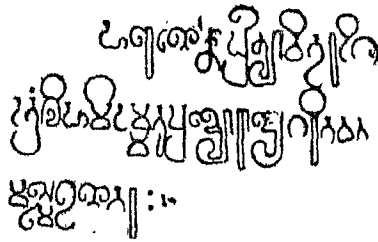


Fig. 72. हरेणोक्ता प्रीत्या विभुरदिश
दभ्रंलिहमिदम्मनुप्रख्यो राज्ये गरिभवन
मस्मै गुणभरः

There are also more complete imitations of the same verse of Kālidāsa. And as Bühler has shown it is interesting to compare

विद्युत्वनतं ललितवनिताः सेन्द्रचारं सचित्राः
सङ्गीताय प्रहतमुरजाः क्षिप्रधगम्भीरधोषम् ।
अन्तस्तोयं मणिमयभुवस्तुङ्गमभ्रंलिहात्राः
प्रासादास्त्वां तुल्यितुमलं यत् तैस्तैर्विशेषैः ॥ ⁷⁵

Megha. II, 1.

with

चलत्पताकान्यवलासनाथान्यत्यर्थशुक्लान्यधिकोन्नतानि ।
तडिल्लताचित्रसिताभ्रकूटतुल्योपमानानि गृहाणि यत्र ॥ ⁷⁶

75 Where (in Alakā) the mansions can very well compare with you in every respect, as they have beautiful damsels to match your lightning, murals to match your rainbow, drums sounded for music your deep rumbling note, gem-decked floors to match your water-laden form, and tops licking the clouds as it were to match your height.

76 Where houses with waving flags, lovely damsels, extremely white and quite lofty exactly compare with gatherings of white clouds with lightning and variegated hue.

कैलासतुङ्गशिखरप्रतिमानि चान्यान्याभान्ति दीर्घवलमीनि सवेदिकानि ।
गान्धर्वशब्दमुखराणि निविष्टचित्रकर्माणि लोलकदलीवनशोभितानि ॥ 77

C. Inser Ind. III, p. 81 (Fig. 73).

of the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman.

चलत्पताकान्यबलासनाथान्यस्यथंशुक्ला
न्यधिकोन्नतानि । तद्धिलताचित्रसिताभ्रकूट
तुल्येपमानानि गृहाणि यत्र ॥ कैलासतुङ्ग
शिखरप्रतिमानि चान्यान्याभान्ति दीर्घवलमीनि
सवेदिकानि । गान्धर्वशब्दमुखराणि निविष्ट
चित्रकर्माणि लोलकदलीवनशोभितानि ॥

Fig. 73. चलत्पताकान्यबलासनाथान्यस्यथंशुक्ला
न्यधिकोन्नतानि । तद्धिलताचित्रसिताभ्रकूट
तुल्येपमानानि गृहाणि यत्र ॥ कैलासतुङ्ग
शिखरप्रतिमानि चान्यान्याभान्ति दीर्घवलमीनि
सवेदिकानि । गान्धर्वशब्दमुखराणि निविष्ट
चित्रकर्माणि लोलकदलीवनशोभितानि ॥

Here the epithet कैलासशिखरप्रतिमानि⁷⁸ is clearly from Vālmiki's lines

77 Other houses with high tops like the peaks of the Kailāsa mountain, with long terrace pavilions and balustrades, resounding with musical notes, decorated with murals, and beautiful with plantain groves waving in the wind.

78 With high tops like the peaks of the Kailāsa mountain.

कैलासशिखरप्रख्यमालिखन्तमिवाम्बरं⁷⁹

Rāma. V, 2, 23; II, 3, 32.

Another verse from the early Kadamba inscription of Kākusthavarman

नानाविधद्रविणसारसमुच्चयेषु मत्तद्विपेन्द्रमदवासितगोपुरेषु |

सङ्गीतवल्गुनिनदेषु गृहेषु यस्य लक्ष्म्यङ्गना धृतिमती सुचिरं च रेमे ॥⁸⁰

Epigraph. Ind. VIII, p. 33 (Fig. 74).

echoes not only the ideas of the verse from the Meghadūta but also more that of another from Raghuvamśa

कामिनीसहचरस्य कामिनस्तस्य वैश्वसु मृदङ्गनादिषु |

ऋद्धिमन्तमधिकर्धिरुत्तरः पूर्वमुत्सवमपोहदुत्सवः ॥⁸¹

Raghu. XIX, 50.

Fig. 74. नानाविधद्रविणसारसमुच्चयेषु मत्तद्विपेन्द्रमदवासितगोपुरेषु

सङ्गीतवल्गुनिनदेषु गृहेषु यस्य लक्ष्म्यङ्गना धृतिमती सुचिरं च रेमे ॥

79 Like the Kailāsa peak, rubbing the sky as it were.

80 The Lady of Fortune, with fortitude, sported for quite a long time in his mansions, rich with the essence of different kinds of wealth, with the entrance towers filled with the aroma of the ichor of elephants in rut, and resounding with sweet musical notes.

81 Every next succeeding festivity, by its excessive splendour, eclipsed the preceding rich festivity in the mansions of that passionate king surrounded by damsels resounding with the notes of musical drums.

The Meghadūta⁸² has other lines that have found themselves of use to the composers of inscriptions. The line describing the wealth of the high-souled as fruitful only by the removal of the distress of the distressed

आपन्नातिप्रशमनफलाः सम्पदो ह्युत्तमानाम्⁸³ Megha. I, 53.

has its inscriptional version in the line

सतां दैन्योत्तापप्रशमनफलाकालजलदः⁸³

Epigraph. Ind. XIV, p. 160 (Fig. 75.)

of the Naihati grant of Vallālasena. The month of Kārtika is expressed by Kālidāsa as that time of

अशदिवात्रापप्रशमनफलाकालजलदः॥

Fig. 75. सतां दैन्योत्तापप्रशमनफलाकालजलदः ।

the year when Viṣṇu wakes from his serpent couch

शापान्तो मे भुजगशयनादुत्थिते शार्ङ्गपाणौ⁸⁴ Megha. II, 47.

This is repeated in similar fashion in the Gaṅgdhār inscription of Viśvavarman

निद्राव्यपायसमये मधुसूदनस्य काले प्रबुद्धकुमुदागरशुद्धतारे⁸⁵

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 75 (Fig. 76.)

82 The purpose of the wealth of the noble-minded is to remove the suffering of those in distress.

83 The unexpected cloud whose purpose is to remove the suffering of good ones in distress.

84 My curse terminates when the horn-bow-bearer Viṣṇu rises from his serpent-couch.

85 When the sleep of Viṣṇu, the destroyer of Madhu, comes to a close, at the time when lotus lakes bloom and stars are clear.

निद्राव्यपायसमये मधुसूदनस्य का... बुद्धकुमुदागरशुद्धतारे

Fig. 76. निद्राव्यपायसमये मधुसूदनस्य का... बुद्धकुमुदागरशुद्धतारे

The phrase स्वर्गसोपानपङ्क्तिम्⁸⁶ in the line of the Meghadūta

जहोः कन्यां सगरतनयस्वर्गसोपानपङ्क्तिम्⁸⁷ Megha. I, 50.

is frequently used in the Gupta and allied inscriptions. The line

स्वर्गसोपानरूपां⁸⁸ C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 44 (Fig. 77).

of the Bilsad pillar inscription of Kumāragupta and

स्वर्गसोपानपङ्क्तिमारोपयता⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 108 (Fig. 78).

of the Majhgawam copper plate of Mahārāja Hastin are only select examples. Kālidāsa himself

स्वर्गसोपानरूपां

Fig. 77. स्वर्गसोपानरूपां

स्वर्गसोपानपङ्क्तिमारोपयता

Fig. 78. स्वर्गसोपानपङ्क्तिमारोपयता

86 The flight of steps to heaven.

87 The daughter of Jahnū (Gaṅgā), the flight of steps to heaven for the sons of king Sagara.

88 Of the appearance of a flight of steps to heaven.

89 Trying to help himself up the flight of steps to heaven.

has elaborated this idea in his verse

समारुरुक्षुर्दिवमायुषः क्षये ततान सोपानपरम्परामिव⁹⁰

Raghu. III, 69.

The line

महानधीतुङ्गतरङ्गभङ्गस्फारोच्चलच्छीकरवद्विरारात् |

यस्मिन्न्रतासक्तिमदङ्गनानां श्रमाभिर्नोदः क्रियते मरुद्भिः ॥⁹¹

Epigraph. Ind. III, p. 356 (Fig. 79)

is clearly after the line from the Meghadūta

यत्र स्त्रीणां हरति सुरतग्लानिमङ्गानुकूलः

शिप्राघातः प्रियतम इव प्रार्थनाच्चाटुकारः⁹² Megha. I, 31.

यस्मिन्न्रतासक्तिमदङ्गनानां
श्रमाभिर्नोदः क्रियते मरुद्भिः ॥

Fig. 79. यस्मिन्न्रतासक्तिमदङ्गनानां

श्रमाभिर्नोदः क्रियते मरुद्भिः ॥

[15] The single line of the Meghadūta summing up all the beauty of the yakshī who is described so meticulously by her lonely beloved one

या तत्र स्याद्युबतिषिषये सृष्टिराद्येव धातुः⁹³ Megha. II, 19.

90 Desirous of climbing up to heaven at the end of his life, he prepared as it were a flight of steps.

91 Where the fatigue of amorous damsels is removed by the breeze blowing all around and laden with the spray shooting up from the dashing high waves of the river Mahānadī.

92 Where the breeze of the river Sīprā, pleasant to the limbs, removes the fatigue of amour of women like the impassioned lover asking sweetly for furthermore.

93 Who appears there as the first creation of Brahmā in the matter of womenfolk.

is repeated in the line

सृष्टिराद्या विधेरस्तु⁹⁴

Epigraph. Ind. XIV, p. 71 (Fig. 80).

of the Daṇḍepalle copper plate of Vijayabhūpati.

सृष्टिराद्या विधेरस्तु

Fig. 80. सृष्टिराद्या विधेरस्तु

Two verses of Kālidāsa have helped the formation of the line from the inscription of Mahendrapāla from Pehoa

स्निग्धच्छायस्तरुविव ततस्सत्फलानम्रमूर्तिः⁹⁵

Epigraph. Ind. I, p. 247 (Fig. 81).

the word स्निग्धच्छायस्तरुः⁹⁶ being reminiscent of
स्निग्धच्छायातरुषु⁹⁷ Megha. I, 1.

and

तत्फलानम्रमूर्तिः⁹⁸ of the line of the Śākuntalam

भवेन्ति नम्रास्तरवः फलागमैः⁹⁹ Śāk. V, 12.

स्निग्धच्छायस्तरुविव ततस्सत्फलानम्रमूर्तिः॥

Fig. 81. स्निग्धच्छायस्तरुविव ततस्सत्फलानम्रमूर्तिः ॥

94 Let it be the first creation of Brahmā.

95 Like a tree with deep shade and weighed down by its fruit.

96 Tree with deep shade.

97 Having trees with deep shade.

98 Weighed down by its fruit.

99 Trees are weighed down by the presence of fruits.

Two other verses from the Śākuntalam

छायाबद्धकदम्बकं मृगगणं रोमन्थमभ्यस्यतु¹⁰⁰ Śāk. II. 6.

शमयति परितापं छायाया संश्रितानां¹ Ibid. V, 7.

and one from the Raghuvamśa

अभिजगमुर्निदाघार्ताश्छायावृक्षमिवाध्वगाः² Raghu. X, 5.

have much in common with the verse

धर्माक्रान्ता इव मृगगणा वृक्षराजि प्रविश्य

छायासेवामृदितमनसो निर्धृतिं प्राप्नुवन्ति³

Epigraph. Ind. VIII, p. 33 (Fig. 82).

of the Kadamba inscription of Kākusthavarman. Similarly a line of the verse from the Śākuntalam



Fig. 82. धर्माक्रान्ता इव मृगगणा वृक्षराजि प्रविश्य छायासेवामृदित
मनसो निर्धृतिं प्राप्नुवन्ति

eulogising the selfless attitude of noble persons whose one aim is to help others even at the cost of their own comfort

स्वसुखनिरमिलापः खिद्यते लोकहेतोः⁴ Śāk. V, 5.

100 Let the deer, gathered in herds under the shade of trees, continue to chew the cud.

1 Removes the suffering of those seeking relief by its shade.

2 Approached him as travellers tormented by heat go to a tree affording shade.

3 As herds of deer suffering from heat obtain relief by entering a grove of trees and gladdening their minds by enjoying the shade.

4 Suffers for the sake of the world, unmindful of any personal happiness.

is found repeated in nearly the same form in the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman

खसुखमनति वाञ्छन्दुर्गमेदध्वन्यसङ्गां धुरमतिगुरुभारां यो दधद्भर्तुरथे⁵

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 154 (Fig. 83).

Fig. 83. खसुखमनतिवाञ्छन्दुर्गमेदध्वन्यसङ्गां धुरमतिगुरुभारां
यो दधद्भर्तुरथे

One of the Pallava cave inscriptions from Trichinopoly reads

कृत्वा शिवं शिरसि धारयंतात्मसंस्थमुच्चैःशिरस्त्वमचलस्य कृतं कृतार्थम्⁶

S. Ind. Inscr. I, p. 30 (Fig. 84).

Fig. 84. कृत्वा शिवं शिरसि धारयंतात्म
संस्थमुच्चैः शिरस्त्वमचलस्य कृतं कृता
र्थम् ॥

5 Who for his master's sake bears the great burden even through difficult paths, unmindful of his personal happiness, in any great measure.

6 With Śiva on his peak and bearing him as he rested on him the lofty-headed nature of the mountain was made purposeful.

This is clearly after the verse of the Kumārasambhava

अनेन सम्बन्धमुपेत्य दिष्ट्या मनोरथप्रार्थितमीश्वरेण ।
मूर्धानमालि क्षितिधारणोच्चमुच्चैस्तरं वक्ष्यति शैलराजः ॥ ⁷

Kumāra. VII, 68.

the term उच्चैःशिरस्त्वं⁸ also being from Kālidāsa himself

उच्चैःशिरस्त्वाज्जितपारियात्रम्⁹ Raghu. XVIII, 16.

The line from the invocatory verse of the Mālavikāgnimitra

कान्तासंमिश्रदेहोप्यविषयमनसां यः परस्ताद्यतीनां¹⁰

Malavikā. I, 1.

has its echo in the Harāhā inscription of Īśānavarman where it reads

यस्यार्धस्थितयोषितोऽपि हृदये नास्थायि चेतोभुव¹¹

Epigraph. Ind. XIV, p. 115 (Fig, 85).

From the lament of Rati in the Kumārasambhava the idea

7 O friend! The king of the mountains, having fortunately obtained this coveted connection with Īśvara, will bear still more aloft his head already raised in supporting the earth.

8 Lofty-headed nature.

9 Outshone the Pāriyātra mountain by his lofty-headed nature.

10 Who, though possessing a body in which is included his beloved one, is yet far beyond the ascetics whose minds are turned away from worldly objects.

11 Though half his body was occupied by his wife, Cupid found no place in his heart.

उपमानमभूद्विलासिनां करणं यत्तव कान्तिमत्तया¹²

Kumāra. IV, 5.

Fig. 85. यस्यार्द्धस्थितयोषितोपि हृदये नास्थायि चेतोभुवा

has been utilised in the Junāgadh inscription of Skandagupta where it is elaborated into the verse

न विद्यतेसौ सकलेपि लोके यत्तोपमा तस्य गुणैः क्रियेत |

स एव कारस्न्येन गुणान्वितानां बभूव नृणामुपमानभूतः ॥¹³

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 60 (Fig. 86).

Fig. 86. बभूव नृणामुपमानभूतः

The verse of the Kumārasambhava describing Śiva's burning of Kāma has also been cleverly adapted for inscriptional use and

कामं यथाग्निर्भवनेद्वजन्मा क्रोधात्मकः शत्रुबलं ददाह¹⁴

Epigraph. Ind. XIX, p. 297 (Fig. 87).

12 That body of yours which by its extraordinary splendour served as a model to all fashionable youths.

13 In the whole world there was none who could be compared to him in the noble qualities he possessed; he alone was the ideal of comparison to all men possessing every noble quality.

14 Surely like the fire born of the eye of Bhava his fire of anger burnt the forces of his enemies.

is obviously suggestive of its source

तावत्स वह्निर्भवनेत्रजन्मा भस्मावशेषं मदनं चकार¹⁵

Kumāra. III, 72.

कामं यथाग्निर्भवनेत्रजन्मा क्रोधात्मकः शत्रुबलं ददाह ।

Fig. 87. कामं यथाग्निर्भवनेत्रजन्मा क्रोधात्मकः शत्रुबलं ददाह ।

Even in far off Cambodia Kālidāsa's thought has had its influence in inscriptions. As pointed out by Kielhorn (Epigraph. Ind. VI, p. 4 n. 1.) the verses

शरत्कालाभियातस्य परानवृत्ततेजसः ।

द्विषामसह्यो यस्यैव प्रतापो न रवेरपि ॥¹⁶

and

यस्य सेनारजोधूतमुज्जितालंकृतिष्वपि ।

रिपुस्त्रीगण्डदेशेषु चूर्णभावमुपागमत् ॥¹⁷

are strongly after the verses of Kālidāsa

दिशि मन्दायते तेजो दक्षिणस्यां रवेरपि ।

तस्यामेव रघोः पाण्ड्याः प्रतापं न विषेहिरे ॥¹⁸

Raghu. IV, 49.

15 So soon the fire born of the eye of Bhava reduced Cupid to ashes.

16 His was the effulgent power unbearable to the enemies, not even that of the sun, as he came along in spring with his power unobscured by opposing elements.

17 The dust raised by whose armies served the purpose of face-powder on the cheeks of the enemy-women though they had abandoned ornaments.

18 The effulgence of even the sun diminishes in the southern quarter; but it is in that very quarter that the Pāṇḍyas were unable to bear the might of Raghu.

and

भयोत्सृष्टविभूषाणां तेन केरलयोषिताम् |

मलकेषु चमरेणुश्चूर्णप्रतिनिधीकृतः ॥¹⁹

Ibid. IV, 54.

Many other expressions of Kālidāsa have been incorporated in inscriptions. The term कैलासगौर²⁰ occurring in the verse

कैलासगौरं वृषमास्तक्षोः²¹

Ibid. II, 35.

occurs in the Kaśākuḍi plates of Nandivarman

कैलासगौरः पृथुनागकक्ष्यः²²

S. Ind. Inscr. II, p. 346 (Fig. 88).

Fig. 88. कैलासगौरः पृथुनागकक्ष्यः

A line from another Pallava inscription

कर्ता च कल्याणपरम्पराणां²³

Pallava Antiq. p. 12 (Fig. 89).

is reminiscent of Kālidāsa's line

तद्रक्ष कल्याणपरम्पराणां भोक्तारमूर्जखलमात्मदेहम्²⁴

Raghu. II, 50.

19 The dust produced by the army was made the substitute of face-powder on the forelocks of the Kerala women who abandoned jewels in fear.

20 White as the mountain Kailāsa.

21 Of Śiva desirous of mounting his bull white as the mountain Kailāsa.

22 White as the mountain Kailāsa and with a waist cord composed of a huge snake.

23 The performer of many a series of auspicious acts.

24 Hence, take proper care of this effulgent body of yours which enjoys many a series of auspicious things.

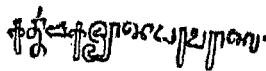


Fig. 89. कर्ता च कल्याणपरम्पराणां

The phrase मूर्ते यशः स्व²⁵ in

मूर्ते लोके यशः स्व रचितमिव मुदा²⁶

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 222 (Fig. 90)-

from the Barābar cave inscription of Anantavarman reminds us of the line of Kālidāsa

तेन स्वहस्तार्जितमेकवीरः पिबन्त्यशो मूर्तेमिवावभासे²⁷

Raghu. VII, 63.

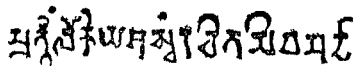


Fig. 90. मूर्ते लोके यशस्व रचितमिव मुदा

The term भूतये भुवः²⁸ in the line of the Śākuntalam

दधानां भूतये भुवः²⁹ Śāk. IV, 4.

is unconsciously repeated in the Pallava inscription of the Atiraṇaṇaṇḍeśvara temple at Śāluvan-kuppam

भवनं भूतये भुवः³⁰ S. Ind. Inscr. I, pp. 7, 8.

25 His own fame incarnate.

26 As it were his own fame incarnate prepared with joy.

27 Hence that unrivalled hero appeared to be drinking his own fame incarnate, won by his own arm prowess.

28 For the welfare of the world.

29 Bearing for the welfare of the world.

30 Temple for the welfare of the world.

The term पल्लवसंस्तर³¹ in Kālidāsa's verse

नवपल्लवसंस्तरेषु ते मृदु दूयेत यदङ्गमर्पितम्³²

Raghu. VIII, 57.

finds itself again in the Kaśākūḍi plate of Nandi-varman Pallava

श्रीपल्लवः सपदि पल्लवसंस्तरेषु³³

S. Ind. Inscr. II, p. 347 (Fig. 91).

Fig. 91. श्रीपल्लवस्सपदि पल्लवसंस्तरेषु

The line

कठिनधनुज्याकिणाङ्कप्रकोष्ठम्³⁴

C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 146 (Fig. 92).

of the Mandasor inscription cannot but remind us of the idea so often occurring in Kālidāsa's poetry

आबद्धमौर्वीकिणलाञ्छनेन³⁵ Raghu. XVIII, 48.

ज्याघातरेखस्थिरलाञ्छनेन³⁶ Ibid. XVI, 84

अनतिछलितज्याघाताङ्कं मुहुर्मणिबन्धनात्³⁷ Śāk. III, 10.

31 Bed of tender shoots.

32 That body of yours which would experience pain even when placed on a bed of tender shoots.

33 Then Śrī Pallava on a bed of tender shoots.

34 Forearm marked with the wound caused by the tough bow-string.

35 Marked with the wound caused by the strung bow-string.

36 With the permanent mark of a streak caused by the wound of bow-string.

37 Often (the golden armlet is pushed up) from the wrist where it is not totally detached from the mark of the wound caused by the bow-string.

and

ज्ञास्यसि कियद्भुजो मे रक्षति मौर्वीकिणाङ्ग इति³⁸ Ibid. I, 12.
to mention just a few examples

Fig. 92. कठिनधनुर्ज्याकिणाङ्गप्रकोष्ठं बाहुं

These are just bits of thought expressed wholly or partially in the original form, sometimes somewhat modified as the poets of the inscriptions chose. But the greatest tribute paid to Kālidāsa's poetry by these later poets, some of whom were capable of good poetry, is the use of his verses *in toto*. As already pointed out (*see above p. 26.*)

यथाविधिहुताग्नीनां यथाकामाचिंताधिनां³⁹

occurs in the Mahākūṭa inscription of Maṅgaleśa. In the Huli inscription of the Western Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI, Epigraph. Ind. XVIII, p. 197 (Fig. 93), the first verse of the Raghuvamśa

वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये |
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥⁴⁰

Fig. 93. वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥

38 You will know how my arm marked with the wound caused by bow-string protects.

39 See p. 25, f. n. 91 for this.

40 See p. 1, f. n. 1 for this.

is repeated *in toto* as one of the invocatory verses. And in another inscription from Rajputana (Epigraph. Ind. XI p. 65) the maṅgalaśloka of the Śākuntalam.

या सृष्टिः स्रष्टुराद्या बहति विधिहुतं या हविर्या च होवी
 ये द्वे कालं विधत्तः श्रुतिविषयगुणा या स्थिता व्याप्य विश्वम्—
 यामाहुः सर्वभूतप्रकृतिरिति यया प्राणिनः प्राणवन्तः
 प्रत्यक्षाभिः प्रपन्नस्तनुभिरवतु वस्ताभिरष्टाभिरिशाः ॥ ⁴¹
 Śāk. I, 1.

finds a place as invocatory verse.

These are among the Arthālamkāra figures of speech connected with sense. Even in the field of Śabdālamkāra figures of speech connected with the play of words and their sounds, alliteration etc., Kālidāsa's sweet diction has had its impress on later poets.

सुतः प्रसूतो यशसां प्रसूतिः⁴² धर्मतो धर्मदोषः⁴³

कृत इव कृतमेतत्⁴⁴ C. Inscr. Ind. III, p. 153, 154.

from the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman are examples closely following Kālidāsa's alliteration like

41 May Īśa protect you provided as he is with eight perceptible forms, the first creation of the creator (water), the recipient of duly offered sacrificial offerings (fire), the sacrificer, the two that determine time (sun and moon), that which pervades the universe having sound as its quality (sky), that which is said to be the essential element composing all beings (earth), and that by which all sentient beings live (air).

42 A son was born that brought forth fame.

43 Dharmadoṣa righteously

44 This was made Kṛta aeon as it were.

ततो मृगेन्द्रस्य मृगेन्द्रगामी वधाय वध्यस्य शरं शरण्यः⁴⁵

Raghu. II, 30.

हरेः कुमारोऽपि कुमारविक्रमः⁴⁶

Ibid. III, 55.

पप्रच्छ कुशलं राज्ये राज्याश्रममुनिं मुनिः⁴⁷

Ibid. I, 58.

कुलप्रदीपो नृपतिर्दिलीपः⁴⁸

Ibid. VI, 74, etc.

The whole of the ninth canto of the Raghuvamśa has alliteration in the fourth quarter of the verse. This should have always interested those who read his poetry which has ever been the highroad for entering the realm of Sanskrit literature. And an unconscious lisp of alliteration from one such verse of Kālidāsa

तिलकजालकजालकमौक्तिकैः⁴⁹

Ibid. IX, 44

is found in the line of the Pehoa praśasti of Mahendrapāla

सरलितप्रचुरालकजालकाः⁵⁰

Epigraph. Ind. I, p. 246 (Fig. 94.)

45 Then that King of leonine gait and assurer of refuge (thought of) an arrow to (kill) the lion that deserved to be killed.

46 The prince valorous like Kumāra

47 The sage asked the welfare in the kingdom of that sage from the kingdom-hermitage.

48 King Dilīpa, the lamp of his family.

49 (The blossom) of the Tilaka tree (resembled) the patterns of pearls for the luxuriant locks of women.

50 With the luxuriant locks of women straightened (i.e. no more curly).

स्सरलितप्रचुरालकजालकाः

Fig. 94. स्सरलितप्रचुरालकजालकाः

Thus it may be seen that the classical poets have largely had their influence on the poets who composed the praśastis and charters; and the influence of the *kavikulaguru*, Kalidasa has been immense. As one reads the inscriptions, and the thoughts of Kālidāsa or his expressions come to one's mind, these echoes charm the literary and aesthetic spirit of the reader making him forget for the moment the ancient scripts in which they are recorded, their varieties and dates, the material for record or the dynasty or the king responsible for them, in the joy of literary appreciation. This has however been the delight only of just a few epigraphists like Kielhorn and Bühler; and the purpose of this small study of mine in the footsteps of these two eminent epigraphists steeped in Sanskrit literature will serve its purpose if it creates that interest in this field of work which is as essential in epigraphy as the study of the historical value of inscriptions.

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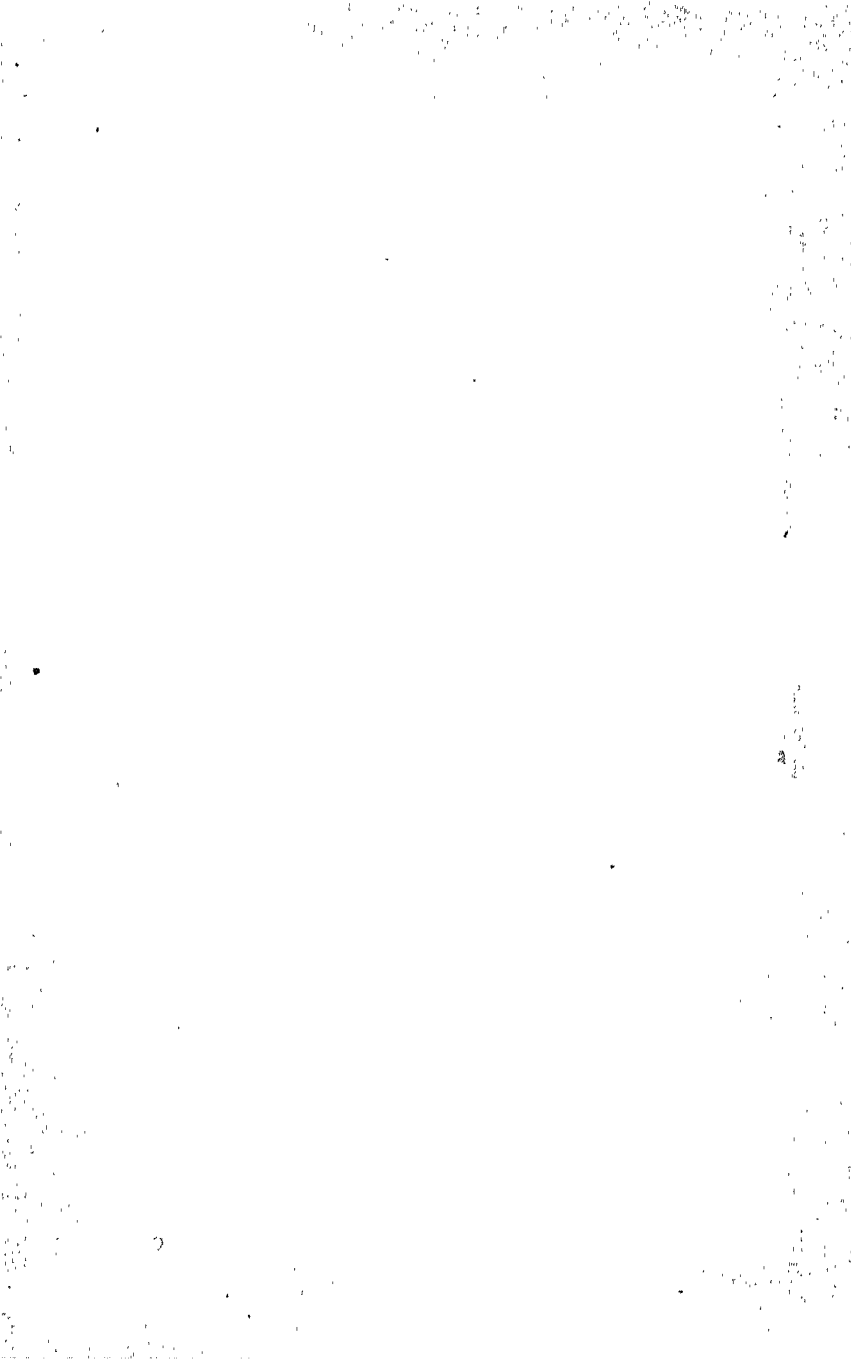
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