CHAPTER VII

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7/1. Introduction:

Politics is concerned with the policy relating to the protection of the state and its proper administration. It was called dandaniti by the ancient Indian thinkers. In śāntīparva of Mahābhārata it is called prajāpāta or jātānya of the nation. It governs the subject and protects it, and always remains active. It is, therefore, called dharma. The detailed discussion of polity by Śiśiṣṇa shows that prajāpāta is paramadharma and it is the support of all. It shows that polity was not thought of as separate from religion, before talking about it, Śiśiṣṇa refers to it as eternal religion. Indian poets directed their thoughts to it. It applies to Śankardeva and Tulsīdāsa well. The political ideas in their writings are mainly of two types - (1) Practical and (2) Ideal. The political thoughts of Śāṅkar and Tulsī are analysed below keeping these two forms in mind.

7/2. Contemporary polity:

Śāṅkar and Tulsī had lived and seen the practical polity practiced by the contemporary rulers. Their feelings and thoughts were influenced by it. Since in the second chapter of this dissertation much has been said in this regard, only
essential arguments are presented here.

A. King:

The qualities and duties of a king are discussed in Mahābhārata. Two important qualities of a king are (I) praśajaranā, and (II) praśapāla. There is always a possibility of disturbance and insecurity in a state. That is why at the time of coronation a king was required to take oath that he would look after his subject as God's representative - pālānaprīśyāmyaham bhaumam brahma ity eva cāsakṛta. In Indian polity the king is supposed to be the cause of time or its controller. As such, the king is supposed to be the cause of the ages like satyayu, tretā, dwāpara and kali. Deviation from true polity, and the use of evil means for the oppression of the subject is called kaliyug. The picture of the contemporary rulers and their polity through metaphors of the rulers in purāṇas in the writings of Sāṅkar and Tulsī should be evaluated in the context of above mentioned ideas.

Sāṅkar and Tulsī have generally used words like nṛpati, nṛpati, mahāpāla, praṇu, nāraṇātha, uṇāpāla, prāṇī, mahīśa, mahīśa etc. for the king. The ideal of ruler or the religious kings is mentioned in scriptures. The contemporary rulers are found lacking and therefore adhārmik. They torture their
subjects are unkind and have the nature of a monster. Their duty degenerated into oppressing the good and encouraging the bad. The activities of contemporary rulers are compared with those of mlecchas. The entire political organisation is found unjust and tyrannous. Bhūmipura became bhūpa. They were greedy, proud, lascivious, ill-behaved and evil-minded. Destruction of subject became their duty. Tulsi’s description of ruler and his policy presents a vivid picture of contemporary polity:

\[
gonga gwunār nepāla muni, yamena māhā mahipāla, sāme na dāma, na oheāa kali, kevala gonga karālā.\]

- Tulsi, Lohā, 559

It compares with ‘... yadā kāṣṭhyanān unūmiṣah, prajā kliśnātyayogena pravisyati tadā kali’ of Mahābhārata (sānti parva, 70/18). Sāṅkar and Tulsi used the scriptural stories of Kamsa and Kāruṇa respectively to describe contemporary political condition. They have described the policies of Harisāhachandra, Bhīṣmaka, Pratāpahānu, and Rāma to represent the conception of ideal polity.

B. Subject:

When the king becomes irreligious and tyrannical it naturally leads to the growth of disquiet, insecurity and loss of religion amongst the people. This condition is presented by the two poets mainly in the description of kali.
It is based on scriptures but to see it only as such would be overlooking the presentation of the bitter reality of the time. In Sankardeva's words, the very character of the subject of the period was corrupted. The people had given up good conduct and adopted greed and lust. The aim of polity was confined to accumulation of wealth. The subject has discarded its religion. The deteriorating condition of the common man resulting from the contemporary polity is sympathetically described at many places in Tulsi. Violence, hypocrisy etc. were prevalent all round. It was due to the wrong administrative policy -

durita dârida dukha dunî dusâsaẖa tihun tāpe tâi nāi.

- Tulsi, V.P., 139

The ruler and his ministers and other officials have become hardhearted. The subject was oppressed for realizing money. Collection of tax had become their aim. Religion and justice had no place in administration. Material concern had become predominant and hence dependence on injustice. Immoral conduct was polluting the social life. In the words of Sankar and Tulsi -

lobhâviata huwā karma karibekâ ghora.
dârûṇa nirdaya duṣṭa yana khâta cora.

- Sâṅkar, Āhâg, 12/35
māraga māri, mahīsura māri, kumārga koṭika kai bhana tiyo.

Tulsi, Kavit., 7/179

It may thus be seen that the society of Šāṅkar and Tulsi was one of political disorganisation. The rulers lacked the traditional ideals. In Šāṅkar's area, the rulers were no doubt local but they had fallen from political ideals. In Tulsi's area the rulers were Mughals who came from different country with different religion. Their administration was based on Qurān and Hadīs. It explains why Šāṅkar used Kamad as the symbol of political disorganisation and Tulsi, Rāvana.

7/3. Political Ideals :

Like other ideals the political ideals of Šāṅkar and Tulsi conform to the Indian tradition. They treat politics along with religion. In Mahābhārata political ideal is explained keeping religion in its centre. It can be seen in the ideas of religious king, religion-oriented nation and subject. Religio is the prime concern of rulers- en. Em radiation of ṛāja bhavati na kāmakārapayā tu. Religion is the standard of the rulers success. Šāṅkaraeva's conception of Hariāchandra and Tulsi's of Desāratha is that of dutiful king.

A. Rājadharma :

We come across eight legislators of rājadharma in Mahābhārata- Vṛhaspati, Viśālākṣaṇa, Śukra, Sahasrākṣa, Mahendra, Prācetasā Manu, dhāraṇḍwāja and Gaṅgāśīrṣa.
administration based on the principle propounded by them has generally been the ideal in India. Sankardeva and Tulsidasa do not mention as to which of these they follow. There is no systematic explanation of the principles of rājadharma in their writings. It appears that they broadly accepted the common traditional idea of rājadharma. Sankar’s knowledge was possibly greater as he was himself related to rājakula. The word rājadharma is loosely used by the two poets.  

The ancient exponents of politics have related the rise and fall of saptāṅga rāja to sādāṇuyā. It is not separately mentioned in Sankar and Tuliśa. It may be inferred that they referred to rājadharma as conformity to sādāṇuyā. Tuliśa describes the path of Veda, giving of alms and listening to scriptures as rājadharma. The reference to vedākie māsa is comprehensive. He declares -

rāju ki rahai nīti binu jānein.

- Tuliśa, Mānas, 7/111/3

Similar indication is there in Sankardeva -

rājadharma karanta prajāka pratipāla.

- Sankar, R.H.K., 125

The following gives us the central idea of polity in Kautilya-

prajāsukhe sukham rājñah prajānaṁ ca hite nitam.
It is acceptable to the two poets, Tulsī's Rāma stresses on the significance of 'chief' along with the country, treasury, relatives and the family - 'rājadharma sarabasu atandī' (Mānas, 2/315/1). It concludes Kautilya's prajāsukha, utthāna and arthānuṣāsana. Rāma desires that he should be reminded if he deviates from true policy.36 The Sānkara's Hariśchandra, rājadharma means gift to brāhmaṇas, protection to the oppressed, battle with enemies for justice etc.37 Sānkara's Daityarāj Bali is also described as follower of rājadharma.38 Freedom from rumour is also a part of rājadharma. It has been given practical form by Sānkara and Tulsī. Sānkara's Hariśchandra and Tulsī's Rāma illustrate it.39

It can be said that in Sānkara and Tulsī there is no doctrinal statement of rājadharma. But they have accepted the traditional Indian concept of rājadharma which is in essence the nourishment of the people. For them the true rājadharma is son-like nourishment of the subject and moral and religious acts guided towards it.

B. Ministry:

In the administration of a state ministers and ministerial
officials come after the king. Ministers had special place in the state administration of Sāṅkarā's and Tulsi's times.

As Sāṅkar and Tulsi took scriptural stories as the subject of their poetry, they had mentioned the ministers of the scriptural kings and sometimes the ministry. However, there references are meagre and we can't form any definite opinion about ministers or the form of ministry, its organisation and the scope.

In Sāṅkarā's writing ministers are also mentioned along with the king-Kamsa and his minister, Śūrgītaka and his minister, minister like Uddhava of Yādava rājya, and his ministers, Indradhyumna and his minister etc. For successful administration Sāṅkarā has envisaged the contentment of the ministers as king's duty. For ministry Sāṅkarā has used words like - sābhā, samāja, etc. It can be found in the description of Indra and his gods, Rāmacandra and his ministers. Sāṅkarā has referred to Dasāratha's minister Sumantaka, Jūnak's Satānanda, Rāvana's Viśiśtan and Mālyvent, Sūrgītaka's Hanumāna, Rāma's Sūrgītaka, Pratāpabhūna's Dharmaraja, etc. Tulsi's description of ministry is more detailed than Sāṅkarā's. Dasāratha's consultation with his ministers on Rāma's coronation, Sūrgītaka and Rāvana's consultation with their ministerial officials, the consultation between Rāma, Sūrgītaka and Viśiśtan, etc. before the battle are its
examples. In Tulsi's eyes a minister is not only an official but also a confidant of the king and well-wisher of the subject. Sumanta is both a minister and a friend of Dasharatha. He is treated as an uncle by Rama and other princes. Sugriva and Vibhishana are addressed as 'sakha' by Rama. It reflects the intimacy between the king and his ministers.

It is clear that for Sankar and Tulsi minister or other cabinet was necessary for proper administration. Their significance is acknowledged by the kings.

C. Priest:

King's family-priests and guruś occupied a special place in Indian ājādharma. References to family-priest or royal priest in Sankar and Tulsi conform to Indian tradition. Sankardeva mentions Harishchandra's family priest Vasistha, Nanda's Garg, Bali's Sukra etc. The provision of such priest was for the growth of yajman's family, wealth, sons and peace etc. They complete through their well wishes or good council or yajña etc.

Vasiṣṭha has an unique place as family-priest in Tulsi literature. He is not only a priest but also most respected and inseparable part of Dasāratha family. He becomes instrumental in Dasāratha enjoying fatherhood. Dasāratha seeks his advice before Rāma's coronation. While going to
the forest Rāma submits his servants to his care. On
 Vasāratha's death Vasiṣṭha advises dharata to look after
 the kingdom. Rāma ascribes the fulfilment of the
 responsibilities of the kingdom, the treasury, the family
 etc. to the guru's grace. It reflects the all importance
 of rājadharma. Like Vasiṣṭha, Vāmadeva occupies the place
 of importance in the royal family at Mithilā.

 The two poets have accorded a place of privilege to
 the royal priest or Kula-guru. The royal priest received
 special offers and gifts on auspicious occasions. It can
 be said that royal priest was important like the royal
 minister in the administration of the state and sometimes
 even more.

 D. The area of the Kingdom - village and town:

 A state has definite area. The two poets have not made
 any doctrinal statements about it nor have they referred to
 the activities for its development. They have, however,
 mentioned some important towns, villages etc. of the state.
 The descriptions of the prosperity of towns, their palaces,
 markets, roads etc. are sometimes borrowed from scriptures
 and sometimes reflect the prosperous towns of the Mugal
 period. Towns and villages are no doubt parts of states.
 But no idea of its area can be found merely on this basis.
In Sankar's literature there is mention of Harishchandra's capital town Ayodhya\(^72\), Kaṁsa's Mathura\(^73\), Śrīkṛṣṇa's Dwārakā\(^74\), Śiśmaka's Kuṇḍilipur\(^75\), Biswaketu's Kauśambi\(^76\) etc. Sankar calls the dwellers of town- nagariā loka\(^77\), nīgarī\(^78\), nīgarī\(^79\) etc. He has shown special interest in the description of Ayodhyā, Dwārakā and Kuṇḍilipur. It is mostly traditional and idealistic. The towns are mostly described as full of decorated palaces, gardens with trees, elephants and horses on roads, ponds with beautiful flowers like lotus and prosperous markets.\(^80\) Besides, small villages like Gokul are also described.\(^81\) In this context Sankar's reference to his village Vṛndāvana is significant.\(^82\) Some forests are also mentioned, where Vṛndāvana is called mukhāsthāna.\(^83\) These descriptions are more or less imaginative and not realistic, as it of village or town. An element of realism has crept in the descriptions of rivers, forests, mountains and villages reflecting the natural beauty of Assam.

There is a mention of kingdom of Ayodhyā\(^84\), Mitilī\(^85\) and Lankā\(^86\) in Tulsī, but without any definite boundary. There is gorgeous description of their capitals Ayodhyā, Janakpur and Lankā. In his description Tulsī has used scriptural materials as well as taken help of the actual presence of prosperous towns of the Mughals. Ayodhyā finds place in Sankar as well as in Tulsī. Their Ayodhyā is a culty
prosperous and described with equal craftsmanship. However, Tulsi’s description of Ayodhya in ‘dekhin nagara dirēga bisarāvahin’ (Mānas, 7/26/1), and of Janakpurī in ‘vannana bānana nagara nikāia’ (Ibid, 1/212/1) reflects his better artistic grasp than Sankar. There is no mention of villages in Tulsi’s literature except that the village atmosphere is described in the contexts of Rāma’s vanamana. Besides grāma and nagara, Tulsi has also used the word kānana which helps in grasping the idea of contemporary janapadī.

It may thus be said that the two poets have described towns and villages, rivers, hills and forests. These descriptions indicate prosperity and show the poets’ contacts with scriptures. In those villages and towns political activity appears to be missing. When young Rāma, Lakshmana and Sītā go to the forest, the village-women feel sorry at the thought of their difficult life there. Their sorrow is not a result of any consciousness of injustice. The people of Ayodhya have come to know of Kaikai’s plot and express their anger, but it does not show any tendency towards political consciousness. The incident at best reflects the fact that the king’s order was irreversible. It is confirmed by Sītā’s exile in Sankar’s Rāmāyaṇa (uttarā kānda). Similarly, Gokul’s Gopīs obey Kṛṣṇa; the role of the citizen was insignificant. The description of the two poets in this regard is similar with
practically no difference.

E. Treasury:

The treasury is necessary for the prosperity of the state. The importance of treasury and its prosperity is stressed by political pundits. For it the means have been prescribed taxation and property received through conquest of other states. Sankar and Tulsī have accorded sufficient significance to the treasury of the state. Both means are mentioned by them. But there is no doctrinal reference.

In Sankar's there are many references to tax collection. Harishchandra, the king of Ayodhya was influential enough to receive tax from other kings. It leads to the prosperity of Ayodhya. After the death of the Kamsa Śrīkṛṣṇa assures Ugrasena that for the administration of the kingdom not only kings but also gods would pay tax. Gokul's chief, Nana, goes to Mathurā to pay tax to Kamsa. Tax would be paid not only in the form of gold, silver and money but also milk, curd, ghee etc. Tyrant kings were indifferent to people's welfare and realised tax through torture. They took tax even in times of famine and epidemic. It reflects the tyrannical politics of the period.

Tulsī has stressed on tax-realisation through dāna, cāma, nīti and also people's welfare. He has more than
categories of tax realisation - uttama, medhama, and adhama. The uttama is like plucking ripe fruits, the medhama unripe ones, and adhama is like plucking raw fruits along with leaves etc. and thus causing damage. Tulsi’s attention was focussed on agricultural India. He held the view that tax should be collected when the crop was ripe and the grains were taken to the safety of the house. Tulsi had also mentioned indirect tax. It is compared with the unseen process of evaporation and the following rain. The sun imperceptibly collects water but also it gives back to the earth leading to all round happiness. Similarly, the process of collection should be such that it does not cause misery to the people and at the time of their need the king should be anxious to help them. It is only luckily that a sun-like king is available to the people.

There is no direct mention of money collection by king in either poet. But the description of Kama and Revenue tyranny in Sankar and Tulsî, indirectly points to it. The treasury could also be increased through conquest, but for Sankar and Tulsî it is condemnable.

Thus, it is seen that both the poets give importance to taxation. Sankardeva has mentioned tax collection; Tulsî has taken into account the process of collection as well as
the people's welfare. It reflects Tulsi's liberal and practical view.

F. Justice and punishment:

Sāma, dāma, danda and bheda are recognised by Indian political pundits. For good administration they find place in Sānkar and Tulsi in the traditional form. Sāma and danda are not mentioned. Only few remarks about danda and dama are there. But they are too insufficient to enable one to form any definite idea. Tulsi states that a king should take proper recourse to Sāma, dāma, danda and bheda. It is necessary for performing justice.

In Sānkardeva there is provision of punishment by the kings for the suppression of evil persons, while hunting Harishchandra hears the pitiable call of women and advances to punish the evil persons. King Parikshit gets ready to punish the evil at the call of the Earth in the form of cow and Religion in the form of bull. The incarnation of Kṛṣṇa is for the suppression of the evil. For Sānkardeva, a religious king is one who properly punishes the evil. Such king does not punish an innocent person. One who punishes the innocent is called canda. For Sānkardeva brāhmaṇa is above punishment, but if the evil is not punished it will have undesirable effect on others. Injustice and irreligion will increase. Therefore, for good organisation
and administration the punishment of the evil doers is necessary. 106

Tulsi's idea of punishment compares with Sankar's. His Rama punishes evil and tyrant like Tādakā, 107 Subāhu 108, Kharaduṣāna 109, Rāvaṇa 110 etc. For Sankar and Tulsi the main purpose of divine incarnation is the suppression of evil. It protects the religion and goodmen. 111 To Tulsi's recourse, punishment should be taken after the failure of other ways. Rama thinks of punishing the ocean only after he has waited for three days and the ocean has not yielded. In this context Tulsi has also referred to some objects of punishment:

dhola ganwāra sūdra pasu nārī.
sakala tāḍanā ke adhikārī.

— Mānas, 5/58/3

The references to punishment and its ways in Sankar and Tulsi are many, but generally casual.

Examples of gāma are there in Sankar and Tulsi. Purikṣṇita gets ready to punish kali but leaves him with fearful threat. 112 SriKṛṣṇa's kalīdāmana is another example of gāma. 113 In Tulsi Rāma's words to Lakshmana about Sugrīva are similar —

bhaya dekhāi lai āvahu tīte sikhī sugrība.

— Tulsi, Mānas, 4/18

Good judicial system is essential for good administration. There is some mention of it in the two poets. Purikṣṇita's
administration of justice to kali is memorable. Kali is allowed places of gambling, drinking, brothel, gold etc. In comparison there are more references in Tulsi. Tulsi's Rāma-rājya is a result of good administration and proper organisation of justice. There is no occasion for punishment and discrimination. Every body is large minded and benevolent. People carry on their occupation in conformity with their duties. There is nothing to complain against in Rāma-rājya described in Rāmcaritamānas. But in other works of Tulsi khaga - ulu, śvāna and yatī seek justice from Rāma and get it.

Thus, the two poets were concerned with good administration and accepted the traditional ideas of sāma, dāma, danda, and bheda. The provision of punishment is presented for the suppression of the evil and for administration of justice.

G. War and war-policy:

Sometimes war is imposed against the wishes of the states and its people. Sometimes kings take recourse to war for increasing their kingdom. War and war-policy are important part of statesmanship. Descriptions relating to war in Sānkar and Tulsi show that they were well acquainted with it although they were devotees and religious minded. War and war-policy in their works are studied below:
I. Kinds of war:

The war in the two poets is of two types - individual and collective. Fight exclusively of two persons is called individual war. It is also called _malla yuddha_. The following are of examples of individual battle in Sankardeva - _Rāma-badha_ \(^{121}\), _Trāṇāverta-badha_ \(^{122}\), _Bakāsur-badha_ \(^{123}\), _Anāśa-badha_ \(^{124}\), _Dhenukāsur-badha_ \(^{125}\), _Pralambaśura-badha_ \(^{126}\), _Kuvalya-badha_ \(^{127}\), _Kamsa-badha_ \(^{128}\), _Kālyavana-badha_ \(^{129}\), _Vāsistarvi-Viśvāmitra yuddha_ \(^{130}\), _Kṛṣṇa-Indra yuddha_ \(^{131}\) etc.

In collective battles an army is involved and also more destruction. Its examples in Sankardeva are - Janāśayi's invasion on Mathura \(^{132}\), ŚrīKṛṣṇa's war with Rukma and his army \(^{133}\), the war between Devas and Dīnavaśa etc. Most of the battles in _Tulsì_ are collective in nature, of which the one between Rāma and Rāvaṇa is most important. \(^{135}\)

The war as described by the two poets can be further classified -

1. Between man and man : _Bharata_ etc. with _Lava-Kūsa_; _Kṛṣṇa-Rukma_.
2. Man and devil : _Kṛṣṇa-Kālyavana_; _Rāma-Rāvaṇa_.
3. Monkey and monkey : _Sugrīb-dali_.
4. Surāsura : _Devāsura sangrīma_.
5. Devil and animals : _Hanumāna, Sugrīb_ etc. with the devils of Lanka.
In most of these descriptions, the fearfulness of war is common. The mâyā-yuddha is more tremendous. Thus war is described in both the poets.

II. War-meeting for consultation:

Meeting of ministers, commanders and war-council for consultation before war is necessary. Its mention is found in both Sankar and Tulsi. There is a secret meeting of daityas before the war between devas and Dānavas in Sankar. After Rukmini’s abduction Jarasandha, Śisupāl etc. are engaged in consultation. Tulsi’s Rāma and Rāvana both have consultation before the war. Rāma’s meeting with Sugrīva, Vibhīṣaṇ etc. is important. The discussion between Rāma and Vibhīṣaṇ is confidential. Tulsi has kept in his mind the carefulness in Rāma’s camp at the time of consultation. Tulsi’s attention is drawn to the question of Rāma’s security as well. Lakshmana stands guard behind Rāma. Rāma consults his ministers in an atmosphere of careful security. Tulsi has referred to Rāvana’s consultation also. Thus both the poets have taken into account the pre-war consultation.

III. Messenger and spy:

Messengers and spies play an important role not only in war but also in state administration. In Indian polity the
spies are compared with the eyes of the king. The use of emissaries and spies is not separately mentioned in the context of war. Sankar has mentioned the use of spies in the collection of secret information in the state.\textsuperscript{142}

In Tulsi, the messengers and spies in war is well described. Angada is sent to Rama's emissary in the court of Ravana. The talk between Ravana and Angada reflects the importance that Tulsi accorded to it.\textsuperscript{143} Messengers enjoy the privilege of immunity. That is why Ravana after ordering the killing of Angada out of anger\textsuperscript{144} ultimately leaves him free. It applies to Hanumana also. A messenger is sent by Khara-Dusana to Rama before the war.\textsuperscript{145} There is also mention of spies in war in Tulsi. Suka is sent as spy in Rama's camp by Ravana to collect secret informations. Even when he is caught he is left and returns to Ravana and gives him information.\textsuperscript{146} It may be said that Tulsi has given greater place to messengers and spy in war than Sankardeva.

IV. Weapons and mounts:

Various weapons used in war are mentioned in Sankar and Tulsi. They are mostly traditional. Dhanusa, khāndā, gada, mudgara, parasu, musala, brahma-astra, sudarshān cakra, parigha, pattisā, sula, tomara, trisula, sela, onusandika,
kshura, trikantikā, kāniyāla, ardhacandra, prāśa, cakra, bhindipāla, bhalla etc. are mentioned in Sānkardeva\textsuperscript{147} and in Tulsī - bhindipāla, sāngī (barachi), tomara, mudgara, pharasā, sūla, dudhāri, talāwara, parigha, dhanūsa-bāṇa, sakti, kṛpāna etc. are mentioned.\textsuperscript{148} In Tulsī the weapons used by monkeys and rākshas include branches of trees, rocks, nail, teeth etc.

Elephant, horses and chariots find mention as war mounts. In Sānkardeva the mounts of daityas are gārdabha, bāgha, ghonga sūwara, bhaineśa, sārabha, bhāluka, sīvāra, magara, kumbhirā, gīda, hamsa, erga, gajīga, chāga, ūnta, sarpa, bāndara, sāda, kukura etc.\textsuperscript{149} Tulsī has mentioned aquatic creatures as well as donkeys etc. as mounts.\textsuperscript{150}

In this regard both the poets follow scriptural tradition. It reflects their devotional character in place of realism. It shows their contempt towards the assuras and rākshas.

V. Army and its command:

Victory in war depends on the army and its efficient command. The two poets referred to different kinds of army - caturasanga dala\textsuperscript{151}, padātika\textsuperscript{152}, āśūrōhi, gaiērōhi and rathī.\textsuperscript{153} Sānkardeva has also mentioned some small troops here and there. Mention may be made of Yādavagana\textsuperscript{154}, devadala, dānayadala\textsuperscript{155} etc. Different armies with their commanders are described in different wars.
The army in Tulsi is distributed in sections; collectively it is called bānara-senā. But bears of different colour form different sections. Rāma's bānara senā must have been very large, for it is mentioned that the number of yūtha-paties alone was eighteen padmas. Ravana's senā is innumerable.

Different war-bands are mentioned in the contexts of armies movement and also during the war. The inspection of the army by the troop leaders at the time of marching for war is necessary. Rāma's Yūthpaties Hanumāna, Angada, Vibhiśāṇa, Sugrib, Nala etc. inspect their respective troops:

kapipati begi bolāye, āye jupatha jūtha.

x x x

dekhi rāma sakala kapi senā

- Tulsi, Mānas, 5/34, 34/1

And Rāma himself overseas the entire army. There is no such reference in Sāṅkardeva. However, the troop leaders joined their troops before its movement. The inspection may be taken for granted. Tulsi has presented Rāma and Rāvana ordering their commanders for preparation before the war. The placement of four separate sections at the four gates of Lankā by Rāvana is a practical example of his war policy. Similarly, Rāma's army is divided in four parts to face
Rāvana's army. Thus it is found that there is more systematic treatment of war in Tulsī than in Sānkar.

VI. The policy of war-affair:

The policy of war affair means the craft used during war. In Indian polity there were certain fixed principles which were to be followed by the conflicting sides. But during emergency it was not essential. There are references to war policy in Sānkar and Tulsī but not systematic treatment. In practice it is found that the battles took place only during day time and the enemy was not killed when helpless. These principles were followed in the war between Rāma and Rāvana. When Rāvana faints Jāmbavanta does not kill him. He only kicks and marches away. Similarly unconscious Lakshmana is not killed by Meghanānda.

War is declared by Sānkar and Tulsī as duty of Khatriyas. Rāma says -

hama chatri mṛgaya bana karahīn.

<code>x x x</code>

ripu balavanta dekhi nahin darahīn.

eka bāra kālahu sana larahīn.

- Tulsī, Mānas, 3/18/5

To Sānkar victory or defeat in war donot mean grace or disgrace. As devotees both the poets look at war as
injurious to the welfare of the people. However, the war becomes inevitable, it must be faced. Victory is taken as the main aim of the war. The following illustrate it -

bairaka mārile doṣa nāhike michāta.
cale bale sātruka kariyo kandhapāta.

- Sānkar, Bhāg, 8/73

rana caḍi kariya kapaṭa caturāi.
ripu para kṛpā parama kadarāi.

- Tulsi, Mānas, 3/18/7

To assume the enemy small or weak would be a mistake. That the two poets thought of war as the only victory over the enemy would be Rāma. In fact war is the last alternative after all other attempt fail. As far as possible it is best to win the enemy with love and friendship. Sānkardēva has said -

priti kari sādhā karma priti vasya hue rāja kandalata pare nāi manda.

- Sānkar, Bhāg, 8/53

mitra bhāve yenamate sātru kari kṣhaya.
kandale nowāri tāka jānibā niscaya.

- Sānkar, Bhāg, 8/55

It compares with Tulsi’s statements regarding dāma and bheda.
Both the poets mentioned war and war-policy. Their
description of fearfulness of war is not presented here in
detail. However, Tulsi’s description are more minute and
organised and credible than Sankar’s.

H. The ideal king:

In Indian tradition an ideal king should be religious.
He must have the quality of loka-ranjana and loka-rakshaka
which is acceptable to Sankar and Tulsi. In Mahabharatkara’s
representation of the subject as son and king as parent reflects
the ideal character of the king. It is the duty of a king
that he should treat his subject as his children. Sankardeva
has praised prajavatsal king. The ideal king is known by
administrative organisation. If there is peace, happiness and
prosperity in the state it results from the proper administra­
tion of his policies. Sankar and Tulsi have projected it in
their works. Tulsi compares the Earth with cow and good king’s
character with father on which the cow flourishes and gives
milk. The Earth become fruitful when the subject-calf sets
the natural process of its lactation in motion. Such king
is also compared with gardener, sun and farmer. If the
king fails to look after the subject he falls from his duty.
A king’s devotion to god, dwija and guru reflects the religious
view point of Sankar and Tulsi. Such king exume brightness.
Tulsi's ideal king has proper fusion of *sāma*, *dama*, *danda*, *bheda* and he walks supported by *nītī* and *dharma*. The welfare of the people is given the greatest importance. It is reflected in Rāma's message for Bharat before he leaves for the forest:

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pālehu prajahi karama mana bānī.
sewehu mātu sakala sama jānī.
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- Tulsi, Mānas, 2/151/2

It is repeated again at citrakuta - 'pālehu puhumi prajā rajadhānī (Mānas, 2/314/4). Sānkara's Harishchandra acts as an ideal king when he redeems the women hearing their call of distress. Harishchandra, Bhīmaka, Yudhīṣṭhīrā, Bali, Vīswakētū, Parīkṣithā, Satyakētū, Pratāpbhānu, Rāmachandra etc., the kings mentioned in their writings are replete with kingly virtues. These kings are no more, but their ideals are alive. All these kings were conscious of their duties towards their subjects:

Harishchandra : putrato adhika dasāgune pāle prajā
- H. U., 8

Bali : pitri yena putraka pālaya rātri dine
- Bhāg, 8/818

Rāma : putravate prajāka palante yānta rāma.
- Rām, U. 710
Bhīṣmaka: putravate kare rājā prajāka pālana.
- R.H.K., 13

Yudhiṣṭhira: putravate karile prajāka pratipāla.
- Bhāg, 1/976

Parīkṣhita: putravate pāli prajā ehiṃate mahārājā āchā jeye hastināpurata.
- Bhāg, 1/1040

Satyaketu: dhārāma dhurendhara niti nidhāṇā.
- Mānas, 1/152/1

Pratāpabhānu: prajā pāla ati bedabidhi, katahun nahin agha leṣa.
- Ibid, 1/153

Dasāratha: sakala sukrta mūrati naranāhu.
   x x x
   saba bidhi saba pura loga sukhārī
- Ibid, 2/1/1,3

Rāma: Kosalpura bāsinya sukhadātā. - Ibid, 1/199/1
   x x x
   kosalpura bāsi nara nāri brdha aru bāla.
   prānahu te priya lāgata saba kanhu rāma kṛpāla.
- Ibid, 1/204

The prajāvatsala form of Rāma has been so prominent that even today he is seen as an ideal king and the establishment of
Rāma-rājya is desirable to Indian social thinkers. Tulsi's ideal king treats his subject as his child.177 Kṛṣṇa and Rāma are bhakta-vatsala. Repeated examphasis on this aspect of the king shows that the vision of the two poets regarding the earthly and the divine moved on unitedly. The ideal attributes associated with God find reflection in the ideal virtues associated with king. The relationship of God and his devotee is transferred to that of the king and his subject. However, there are other requirements of a king too. He should have self control and command over his minister, subordinates and equal control of the treasury and other equiplents.

I. Subject-king relationship:

If the king is ideal, his subject also would be ideal—vathā raja tatha praja. Good policy is the basis of good administration and also of good relationship between the king and the subject. From the description in the writings of Sankar and Tulsi it can be said that the relationship between some kings and their subject was ideal. The relationship of Harishchandra and Bhismaka with their subject can be taken as examples. SriKṛṣṇa is mostly described as the son of Gokul's chief and as peoples protector, though he is not a king.

Sankar's Harishchandra was popular with his subject when he gives up his kingdom to Viśwāmitra and prepares to
leave the condition of his subject becomes pitiable. The father-son relationship of Harishchandra and his subject is reflected in the verses there. It can also be seen that Harishchandra receives the grace of gods and goes to heaven but he wants to take his subject with him. If at all he would prefer a life in hell with his subject. The following words of Harishchandra forcefully express the king-subject relationship:

yateka sijila karma prajārese bale,
prajā jēbe nāhi kibā karibo ekale.

- Sānkar, H.U., 493

Ultimately he goes to heaven with all his subject and other creatures. It reflects Harishchandra as ideal king and his people as ideal subject. There is similar description of the relationship between Rāma and his subject in Sānkar's Ramāyaṇa (uttarā kānda). People in distress begin to cry at Sītā's grief. Rāma's conduct towards his people has been parental. He takes his subject along with him to heaven on the celestial transport. The people of dāli and Bhiśmaka are presented as ideal subjects. The relationship between the inhabitants and the chief of Gokul is similarly an ideal one. The villagers feel happy in the happiness of Nanda and sorry in his grief. The entire village is delighted at the birth of
his son and congratulates him.\textsuperscript{185} The relationship of his fellow with king is very sweet.

Similar description relating to the king-subject relationship is found in Tulsi. The people of Pratāpbhānu, Daśaratha, Janak have good relationship with their kings. Daśaratha is loved by his people.\textsuperscript{186} The entire Ayodhyā is delighted by the news of Rāma's birth. Rāma's subject participates not only in his happiness but also in his grief as is evident on the occasion of his marriage\textsuperscript{187}, coronation, exile\textsuperscript{188}, his return. The following verses show the subjects love and respect to Rāma:

\begin{quote}
janhā rama tanhā sabuj samājū.
binu raghubīra avadhā nahin kājū.
\end{quote}

\textit{- Tulsi, Mānas, 2/83/3}

Not only human beings but also other creature feel the separation from Rāma.\textsuperscript{189} People are restless when the term of Rāma's exile is to end\textsuperscript{190} and they along with Bharata receive him back to Ayodhyā.\textsuperscript{191}

There is a similarity in the descriptions of the relationship of king and the subject in the writings of Sānkara and Tulsi. Their ideal 'subject' helps in the prosperity and happiness of the kingdom and is partner in the king's happiness.
and grief. If the king looks to his subject as his child, the subject looks to the king as its parent and gives proper respect. It is obedient and co-operative.

J. Ideal State:

Sankardeva and Tulsīdāsa have described ideal state in their ways. There is no doctrinal statements of this ideal. Tulsī's ideas are comparatively more clear. The Mugal administration is metaphorically presented by Tulsī as Rāvana-rājya. It is for its destruction that Rāma takes a vow -

\[ \text{nīśicara hīna karaun mahī, bhuja uthāi pana kīnha.} \]

- Tulsī, Mānas, 3/9

The entire story of Rāma moves along this line and terminates with the establishment of Rāma-rājya. In Sankardeva there are references to ideal states but it is not well described. Certain standards can be deduced from the characteristics of Tulsī's Rāma-rājya.

The ideal state is also referred to as cakravarti-rājya. That is why Sānkar's Harishchandra and Yuddhiṣṭhir and Tulsī's Pratāpbhānu, Daśārath and Rāma are also cakravarti-king. Tulsī has defined such state as follows:

\[ \text{bhūmi sapta sāgara mekhalā,} \]
\[ \text{eka bhūpa raghupati kosalā.} \]

- Tulsī, Mānas, 7/21/1
This ideal state finds reflection in the general happy condition and all round welfare of the people. The following are its illustrations:

Harishchandra: nāhike lokara soka yāhāra rājyata.
naḥi māri maraka durbhikṣa dukha yata.
naḥike sacala cora ghora bighni bhaya.
akalāto karō nāhi marañaka bhaga.

mahāsukhe prajā jena vaikunṭhata base.
- Sankar, H.U., 10-11

Bhīṣmaka: keho nohe dukhi sabe mahā sukhi,
bhīṣmaka rājāra prajā.
- Sankar, R.H.K., 205

Bali: nāhi ādhi vyāḍhi upasarga pīdācaya.
nāhi sōka moha jadā marañaka bhaya.
jehi mane pāńcha kare sehi mile tāta.
hena mahāsthāna sito jagate prakhyāta.
- Sankar, Bhāg, 8/1235

Pratāpbhānu: bhūpa pratāpbhānu bala pāi.
kāmadhenu bhai bhūmi suhāī.
saba dukha barajita prajā sukhāri.
dharamśīla sundara nara nāri.
- Tulsī, Mānas, 1/154/1
Sankar and Tulsi's ideal state includes varnāśrama-dharma. It is described in Sankar's Bhīṣmaśaka and Tulsi's Rāma-rājya. It reflects the devotional and religious tendencies of the two poets. In the present context its relevance can be interpreted in the sense that everyone should perform his duties and properly discharge the responsibilities. It is certain to lead to the establishment of an ideal state.

In Sankar and Tulsi the performance of Yajña is also an element of ideal state. Sankardeva refers to rājasūya, asvamedha, visvajīta and mahāyajña. Tulsi refers to asvamedha as bājpeya. These yajnas show the king's power and prosperity and also his popularity among the subjects. Asvamedha is performed by Sankar's Bali and Parikshita and Tulsi's Pratāpbrāhma and Rāma. Sankar's Harishchandra performed rājasūya and Bali visvajīta yajña. On these occasions money and materials are freely given to the poor and the brahmin.
It appears that Śāṅkar and Tulsi's ideas of yajña derived from tradition. These yajñas may not be relevant today. But in the changing present day context they can be seen in their changed forms. The works taken by their administration and the means used for their execution for the welfare of the people are a kind of yajña.

Conferences and the meetings in Śāṅkar and Tulsi are part of ideal states. In Śāṅkardeva we find ŚrīKrṣṇa organising a mahāyajña. Śāṅkardeva has attempted to give it the form of a political conference. Many kings assembled on the occasion and it appears that the aim of the assembly is replacement of bitterness of love and friendship.

kurukshetra juri jena jagata adhāra.
pātila pracura prabhu premara pasāra.
jagatara rājā prajā behāileka hāta.
karaīlā īśvara krṣne premamoya nāta.

— Śāṅkar, Bhāg, 10/340

Besides, discussion take place on creation and devotion as well. It may be compared with the international conference of today which aim at thrashing out a common viewpoint and removing conflict and bitterness. There is no mention of such conference in Tulsi. But there are descriptions of small gatherings in which political subjects are discussed. The
meeting between Rāma and Bharata at Citrakūta, the assembly there and Rāma’s conversation with his brother in uttara-kāṇḍa (Mānas) are such examples. The assembly of citrakūta is some sort of conference.

The ideal state of Tulsi is no doubt the rule of the king. But it has much similarity with northern aristocracy. There is a scope for intervention by others, the king himself declare:

joun anīti kachu bhāsaun bhāi.
tau mohi barajahu bhaya bisarāi.

- Tulsi, Mānas, 7/42/3

The description of the meeting at Citrakūta presents a scene in which every member expresses his opinion.

In the ideal state of Sāṅkar and Tulsi, emphasis is given to love and friendship; bitterness is undesirable. In Sāṅkar’s words –

prīti kari sādhā karma prīti vasya huye rāja.
kandalata pare nāī manda.

- Sāṅkar, Bhāg, 8/53

mitra bhāve yen mate śatru kari kṣhaya.
kandale nowāri tāka jānībā niścaya.

- Sāṅkar, Bhāg, 8/55
Tulsi is opposed to sycophancy. The ministers and the priest of the kingdom play an important role in administration. They should not be blinded of their selfish interest and echo everything that the king says. It leads to the destruction of the state and its principles. They should always be conscious to keep the king alive to his duties of good administration:

\begin{quote}
\textit{saciva baida guru tini jyon, priya bolahin bhaya āsa. rājadharma taba tīni kara, hoi begihin nāsa.}
\end{quote}

- Tulsi, Dohā, 524

It thus envisages an important role for the royal ministers and the priests of guiding the king on the correct path and restraining him from following policies harmful to the people.

It is thus seen that there is greater similarity than difference in the thoughts of Sānkar and Tulsi about ideal kingdom. Their assumptions are traditional and scriptural but they still remain valued. Like Tulsi, Mahatmā Gāndhī as the architect of modern India also imagined rāmarājya as ideal. The ideal rāmarājya of Mahatmā Gāndhī and Rām manohar Lohiyā is mostly derived from Tulsi. It envisages sweet relation between the ruler and the ruled, allround happiness and prosperity of the people, the rights and duties of citizens,
and mutual love and friendship. It can be said to be welfare state and the ideals of Śāṅkar and Tulsi are those of an ideal welfare oriented kingdom.

7/4. Conclusion :

The above discussion shows that Śāṅkar and Tulsi, inspite of being devotee poets, were not untouched by the contemporary politics. Śāṅkardeva had practical experience of politics. He had also occasion to be acquainted with the Mugal administration in the North. And Tulsi lived under the Mugal administration and did have a feel of its virtues and defects.

In the eyes of Śāṅkar and Tulsi, the contemporary political situations was fearful and adverse to the people. They have symbolically presented the contemporary administration and its policy in their works. Śāṅkar's Kamsa and Tulsi's Rāvana are reflections of contemporary rulers. It may be observed that here Tulsi is more perceptive than Śāṅkar.

The politics of tyranny to the people equally disturbed the devotee minds of Śāṅkar and Tulsi. Both aimed at the abolition of the 'Kali-yugī' rule and for the establishment of able ruler and the policy of beneficience towards the people, so that all round happiness and prosperity may prevail. In their view the ideal ruler was God himself or His representative and true vaisnava. Śāṅkar's Harishchandra and Tulsi's
Rāma are presented as ideal rulers. There is not much difference between Sānkara's description of Harishchandra's rule and Tulsi's Rāma-rajya. In a way, Rāma-rajya is their conception of the ideal, because it is beneficial to the people.

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3 Ibid, 56/2
4 Ibid, 56/3
5 Ibid, 56/10
6 Discussed under Influential factors
7 Mahābhārata, Sānti-parva, 56/12, 59/127. See, rangitāswa prajāḥ sarvāstena rājāti sabdaḥ, ... rājāḥ ranjanakāmmaye.
8 Ibid, 57/42 - 'ṛte rakṣāṅg sutispastāṅg rakṣā lokasya dhāranamā'.
9 Ibid, 59/112
10 kālo vā kārano rājño rājā vā kālakahāranam.
   iti te sangsayo mā bhūdṛājā kālasya kārṇam.
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12 N.N.S., 317; Bhāg, 6/158; Mānas, 7/100/3
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